

The Process en Route: The Metaphor of the Journey as the Dominant Narrative for the Political Discourse in Catalonia.

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Political actors use metaphor in their speeches in order to frame political issues (Charteris-Black, 2011). If they succeed in imposing a particular (metaphorical) frame, especially when there is no agreement on the definition of certain political issues, this can become the prevailing way for referring to that issue (Semino, 2008). In this research, we argue that this was the case for the metaphor of the JOURNEY in the Catalan political conflict during electoral periods. To that end we use Critical Metaphor Analysis (Charteris-Black, 2004) to analyse televised campaign ads from the last three elections for the Parliament of Catalonia —from 2010, 2012, and 2015—in order to identify how political actors’ use metaphors to talk about the Catalan political situation during these years and to verify if JOURNEY metaphor resulted into the dominant narrative. The results show that the political situation has been conceptualized in terms of a ‘process en route,’ although the narratives generated by the political actors that shaped that discourse differ.

Keywords: journey metaphor, electoral campaign, political advertising, Catalonia, independence process

Introduction

Metaphors play an important role in political actors’ discussion of public affairs, as they help them frame ‘how we view or understand political issues by eliminating alternative points of view’ (Charteris-Black, 2011, p.32). This is especially relevant when the definition of the issue that is being discussed is under negotiation due to its conflictual character as well as when it deals with an event that has no precedent. In keeping with that, Santa Ana (1999, p.195) points out that metaphors can be used creatively by political parties ‘as a heuristic for exploring

new conceptualizations of political semantic domains’, and, therefore, they ‘embody otherwise amorphous or remote concepts in ways that the public can readily understand’. In the case of Catalonia, which is undergoing a long-term political conflict named ‘the Catalan transition’ (Xambó et al., 2012; Ordeix and Ginesta, 2014; Xicoy et al., 2017), the uncertainty about the outcome of this situation prompted political actors to use metaphorical expressions when defining their proposals for changing the country’s status quo (Moragas-Fernández, 2016).

Different authors (Rico, 2012; Serrano, 2013; Guibernau, 2014) state the decision of the Spanish Constitutional Court on the Catalan Statute in 28 June 2010 was among the main factors that triggered the rise of a pro-independence civil movement that started claiming Catalonia’s status as a nation with a right to decide its own future. From that moment on – especially after the 2012 massive demonstration ‘Catalonia, New State of Europe’ (Crameri, 2015)–, Catalan political and media actors have been forced to articulate new discourses about self-determination and independence (Montagut 2012, Xambó et al, 2012; Capdevila and Moragas Fernández, 2014; Moragas-Fernández and Capdevila 2015, 2018 forthcoming). Within this periodⁱ, Catalonia has faced three different regional elections (2010, 2012 and 2015) that have rendered visible the existing political polarization in the public arena between those who back independence and those who do not, while the traditional left/right political positions have been replaced by a clear nationalist division (Ordeix and Ginesta 2014, p.3).

Hence, the radicalization of the Catalan political conflict is especially remarkable in the way public discourses have evolved during this five-year period and we believe that their study can provide insights in how political actors have articulated metaphorical frames as well as which has resulted into the dominant one. Our main hypothesis is that the metaphor of the JOURNEY has become the main way for conceptualizing Catalonia’s complex political situation. For that reason, we analyse the campaign ads broadcast in the three above-mentioned elections, considering they are instrumental in the promotion of political actors’ views. In doing so, we

apply Critical Metaphor Analysis (Charteris-Black, 2004, 2011) as it provides the tools for approaching political speeches from a critical discourse perspective and, thus, it lets us work with particular lexemes without renouncing an analysis of the ideological features underlying language use.

The Role of Metaphor in Political Discourse

Although metaphor's persuasiveness has been acknowledged at least since Aristotle first codified it in his *Rhetoric* and the *Poetics*, the study of its use in political discourses has expanded since the early 1980s. The first contributions to the field of conceptual metaphor theory (Charteris-Black, 2004, 2006; Gibbs, 2001; Goatly, 1997; Grady, 2005; Kövecses, 2005, 2010; Lakoff and Johnson, 1980; Musolff, 2004, 2006; Semino, 2008; Steen, 1999) showed that metaphor can be powerful in shaping people's political ideas (Lakoff, 2008), beyond its consideration as a linguistic ornament. Before that, the paradigm surrounding metaphor theory was that 'metaphorical expressions were assumed to be mutually exclusive with the realm of ordinary everyday language' (Lakoff 1993, p. 202). Lakoff and Johnson (1980), however, argued that metaphorical thought is the basis of our conceptual system, and consequently, it plays a central role in our daily lives. Therefore, the use of metaphor usually appears to us as natural, because it is taken for granted (Cammaerts, 2012). This, combined with metaphor's ability 'to simplify and make understandable political events' (Mio, 1997, p.121), leads to this rhetorical figure's frequent use in shaping political realities through political discourse.

Despite acknowledging its framing ability, the consensus on the degree to which the use of metaphor influences public's attitudes towards the targeted political issue varies across theoretical and methodological perspectives. Boeynaems et al. (2017) identify at least two main approaches that study the effects of metaphorical framing: a critical-discourse approach (CDA) and a response-elicitation approach (REA). The former claims strong effects derived from the

use of metaphorical expressions for framing political issues and focuses on the analysis of real discourses considering that linguistic choices also imply political choices and influence evaluation (Charteris-Black, 2011). Whereas the latter states that the effects of metaphorical frames ‘can only be detected by testing falsifiable hypotheses, using measuring methods that go beyond the systematic analysis of language patterns, in a (semi) controlled environment’ (Boeynaems et al., 2017, p.120). The present research is framed under the paradigm of CDA and so we study if the use of metaphor in the analysed ads is connected to political objectives of persuasion.

CDA considers political discourses are the tool by which political actors transmit their ideologies (Fairclough, 2001; Mayr, 2008), in the sense that it is only in discourse that they may be explicitly ‘expressed’ and ‘formulated’ (Van Dijk, 2005). As a result, texts usually become fighting arenas that show the footprints of discourses and ideologies, which contended and struggled to predominance (Wodak, 2003). Metaphor can be regarded as one of these footprints considering that ‘lexical items not only may be selected because of official criteria of decorum, but also because they effectively emphasize or de-emphasize political attitudes and opinions, garner support, manipulate public opinion, manufacture political consent, or legitimate political power’ (Van Dijk, 1997, p.25). In view of this, we consider novel, non-primary or/and structural (Kövecses, 2010) metaphorical expressions used in political speeches may imply intentionalityⁱⁱ and are motivated by the rhetorical intentions of the speaker (Hart 2008, p. 94), because ‘constructing something in terms of something else results in a particular view of the ‘something’ in question, often including specific attitudes and evaluations’ (Semino, 2008, p.32). Thus, as Hellín García (2009, p.130) observed, metaphors become ‘a convenient and natural way through which political leaders communicate their beliefs, identity, and ideology.’ In terms of political communication, metaphors’ ability to communicate the ideology of political parties allows them to make sense in political discourse. So, in fact, the

use of metaphor is itself ideological, because metaphors are not chosen arbitrarily (Hellín García, 2009).

Hence, we should conclude that the effectiveness of metaphor in political communication relies on its ability to ‘provide cognitively accessible ways of communicating policy through drawing on ways of thinking by analogy’ (Charteris-Black, 2011, p.321). Mio (1997, p.118) argued that metaphors are used especially in ‘times of heightened public anxiety, when the public needs to be reassured that there is some sense or organization to the problem at hand and that government is addressing it,’ which could be the case for the current political situation in Catalonia. In light of this, we should reflect on why metaphor is used so often in political speeches. Charteris-Black (2011, p.312) answered this question when he established that ‘metaphor is especially persuasive because it influences evaluation and creates sets of associations that have both emotional meanings but also contain implicit cause and effect arguments.’ Because metaphors ‘can stir emotions or bridge the gap between logical and emotional (rational and irrational) forms of persuasion’ (Mio, 1997, p.121), they give politicians a unique opportunity to influence voters’ judgement on a topic based not only on feelings (pathos), but also on arguments (logos).

When it comes to persuasion (pathos), the JOURNEY/PATH/WAY is one of the most used source domains. This is because it is rooted in the source-path-goal image schema (Johnson, 1987), which is connected to the way we experience movement, because ‘every time we move anywhere, there is a place we start from, a place we end up at, places in between, and a direction’ (Turner, 1998). As pointed out by Kövecses (2005, 2010), the cognitive theory of metaphor ‘rests on an experientialist framework’ (Zinken, 2003, p.507), which links with the foundational idea of CMT that our way of thinking is determined by the way our bodies interact with our minds. For instance, Gibbs (2013) and Ritchie (2008) used the JOURNEY metaphor as a case study for their research on mechanisms for embodiment in metaphor interpretation.

Gibbs' (2013, p. 377) work concluded that the way people understand metaphorical narratives partly entails the construction of an embodiment simulation of the metaphorical actions these stories refer to. Focusing on RELATIONSHIPS ARE JOURNEYS metaphor, he argued that people's inclination to understand abstract concepts in more concrete metaphorical ways made them 'readily engage in [embodied] simulations when hearing metaphorical language'. Nevertheless, this claim can only be made for certain metaphors that are relevant in concrete context situations, according to Ritchie (2008). Despite approaching the issue differently, both studies agree that conceptual and linguistic knowledge is based on bodily experience and show that some source domains –JOURNEY among them– can affect how people understand, process and physically react to the object/target they are conceptualizing. This suggests that when being exposed to JOURNEY metaphors, people are more predisposed to participate in the metaphorical actions mentioned in the narrative in which they are inserted (Gibbs, 2013) and this is an interesting aspect regarding the research developed in the following lines, as it could entail the course of action (Mio, 1997).

Likewise, Cibulskienė (2012, p.131) emphasized that the JOURNEY/PATH/WAY metaphor appears to be 'one of the most prevailing metaphors underlying our thinking,' which could be why it has traditionally been one of the most frequently used conceptual schemas in various fields of knowledge. Semino et al. (2017) have demonstrated that the metaphor of the JOURNEY is employed by patients with cancer as a discursive strategy for dealing with their disease, whereas reporting it can be either empowering or disempowering dependent on who uses it and how, and Goldstein (2005) has investigated how the hero's journey metaphor helps preservice elementary school teachers in their first working experience. Similarly, Lawson (2005) has analysed if this kind of metaphor can be applied within the developmental counseling for assisting clients. The JOURNEY metaphor has also been studied within other domains such as environmental sustainability (Milne et al. 2016), documentaries (Forceville,

2012), video games (Kromhout and Forceville, 2013), immigration (Musolff, 2015) and political discourse in a broad sense, where political aims use to be conceptualized in terms of destinations that need to be reached (Semino, 2008), means as paths and difficulties as impediments to motion (Charteris-Black, 2011).

In this conceptualization, politicians also need to develop how these destinations will be reached or what the path they have to take will look like. Of course, JOURNEY/PATH/WAY metaphors can also ‘represent politicians and their policies as guides, and may systematically be used to give positive evaluations of political leadership and negative evaluations of absence of leadership’ (Charteris-Black, 2011, p.318). As a result, the use of metaphorical expressions by politicians and leaders may entail the development of complex narratives about the issues at hand, and this can contribute to the trust they seek to establish (Charteris-Black, 2011). These narratives or alternative extensions of general mappings that underlie a whole domain have been defined by Musolff (2006, p.25) as scenarios. Scenarios are relevant when talking about metaphor since they ‘provide, as it were, the main story-lines or perspectives along which the central mappings are developed and extended’ (Musolff, 2004, p.18). The ability to create ‘mini-narratives’ (Mottier, 2008, p.191) by telling a story in a concentrated format results in fitting a ‘specific political interpretation on the topic’ (Musolff, 2004, p.22).

Therefore, it is precisely the combination of metaphor’s cognitive dimension with its persuasive function that makes metaphor interesting from a CDA perspective. Bearing our hypothesis in mind, we ought to see what the implications are of conceptualizing a contested political issue as an ongoing journey rather than a stable situation. And, of course, to evaluate how the definition of the political situation in Catalonia has changed within the five-year period discussed here while attempting to discern who has managed to impose the dominant frame regarding this issue.

Methodological Note

The sample in this study contains a total of 65 televised campaign ads: 24 from the Catalanian Parliament elections of 2010, 22 from the 2012 elections, and 19 from 2015 (Table 1). The sample comprises campaign ads broadcast by the political parties participating in each of these elections. Although the Internet and social networks have emerged as a powerful campaign tool since Obama won the U.S. elections in 2008 (D'heer and Verdegem, 2014), traditional channels for political communication have not still been replaced by social media (Craig 2016) and television remains the medium by which most voters access political information (Gurevitch et al., 2009; Perloff, 2014; Gripsrud, 2016). The quantity of information broadcast increases during campaigns. In the weeks before a given election, ads become a fundamental means by which to learn about the political positions of the parties they promote (Benoit, 1999; Johnston and Kaid, 2002). Ads' strength as a discursive tool is that, unlike other audiovisual products, they are not mediatized—that is, they do not pass through any journalistic filter—and as a result, their content remains intact (Sábada, 2003). Thus, through an analysis of campaign ads, we can detect a party's positioning on the political topics that frame a campaign's agenda, considering electoral periods are the moment of highest political argumentation.

Table 1 about here

Despite acknowledging the relevance of methods such as the analysis of metaphorical scenarios (Musolff, 2016) or the MIP (Pragglejazz Group, 2007) and the MIPVU (Steen et al., 2010), a qualitative methodology approach based on Critical Metaphor Analysis (Charteris-Black, 2004, 2011) is used for analysing the before-mentioned sample. As a method that lets us identify the intentions and ideologies underlying language use (Charteris-Black, 2004, p.34),

Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA) can be properly employed for understanding why some metaphorical expressions are used and on what purpose by also considering the pragmatic dimension of discourse. This is relevant for our case study, bearing in mind that ‘understanding ‘what is going on’ in communication and interaction is obviously more than just understanding the (semantic) meaning of discourse’ (Van Dijk, 2006, p. 171). Thus, we consider that, being the discovering of speaker intentions and the articulation of legitimacy strategies the focus of this method, CMA is an appropriate approach for analysing how did Catalan political actors use the metaphor of the JOURNEY and to understand why did they chose it for framing the country’s political situation.

CMA is applied in three stages: the identification of metaphors (A), their interpretation (B) and their explanation (C). This study specifically focuses on the first stage and works further on the second and the third as the results and discussion section moves forward. In terms of this first stage, we consider that an expression is used metaphorically when it breaks with the isotopy of the text (Greimas, 1987), which is closely related to what Charteris-Black (2011) defines as ‘semantic tension’. Eco (1980, p.153) defined isotopy as ‘the direction that a text exhibits when submitted to rules of interpretive coherence.’ We detect a metaphor through the moment in which interpretive coherence is broken, and this allows us to question what has led the author of the discourse to use figurative rather than literal language. As Le Guern (1990, p.19) states: ‘the interpretation of metaphor is possible thanks only to the exclusion of its own meaning, whose incompatibility with the context orients the reader or the listener toward the particular process of metaphorical abstraction.’ Then, once a word or a set of words have been identified as potentially metaphorical, researchers have checked their original meaning in the dictionary in order to confirm that these words are being used in a different way from the one that was intended in their most basic meaning. Most of the ads were broadcast in Catalan language (48 out of 65) while only PP and C’s used Spanish language in some of their ads (17

out of 65), so this led us to use the *Diccionari de la Llengua Catalana de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans* when working with Catalan expressions and the *Diccionario de la Lengua Española de la Real Academia Española* for Spanish words.ⁱⁱⁱ

Given that the context of each of the elections analysed was different, we have chosen to focus on information related to political topics connected to the Catalan conflict. We chose topics that can be conceptualized through metaphorical expressions and concluded that (a) the political situation [independence and (b) the relationship between Catalonia and Spain were the two most interesting objects on which to focus our attention. Once identified, metaphorical expressions have been classified according to the following categories (Table 2): (a) 2010, 2012 or 2015 election, (b) extract or piece, (c) political party (CiU, PSC, ERC, PP, ICV-EUiA, C's, SI, CUP, JxSí, CSQP), (d) metaphorical expression, (e) source domain, (f) target domain, (g) commentary.

Table 2 about here

The sample has been codified by two researchers. Intercoder reliability has been calculated by applying the formula suggested by Holsti (1969): $C.R. = 2M/N_1 + N_2$, in which (M) is the number of coding decisions on which the two researchers agree (M) and N_1 and N_2 refer to the number of coding decisions made by researchers 1 and 2, respectively. This formula is used in content analysis for qualitative and quantitative samples (Wimmer and Dominick 2013, p. 180) for establishing acceptable reliability parameters (between 0.75 and 1.0) to assess the level of agreement between coders in terms of percentage of agreement. By applying this formula, we have obtained a coefficient of 0.91 for the identification of metaphorical expressions, a 0.85 for the source domain and a 0.89 for the target domain, which are acceptable levels.

Table 3 about here

Table 3 shows that JOURNEY/PATH/WAY is amongst the most used source domains for framing the political situation of Catalonia within the analysed ads and that the percentage of metaphorical expressions related to it increases between the 2010 and the 2015 election. In view of this, we analyse how are these metaphors used in order to determine whether ‘movement’ is used for starting a debate that was not present in the public arena as a political objective. To that end, we focus on source domains derived from the superdomain JOURNEY/PATH/WAY (such as movement, speed, obstacle, crossroads, map, schedule, means of transportation) to categorize the metaphorical expressions found in the campaign ads and to be able to draw on the conceptual mappings that let us interpret and explain the ideological motivation of their use, including contrastive conceptualizations (Musolff, 2006). Precisely, after realizing that a super-domain can be developed from different conceptual mappings and that the way in which they are constructed influences the understanding of the metaphorized topic, Musolff (2004, p. 13) presents scenario as ‘an intermediate analytical category between the level of the conceptual domain as a whole and its individual elements’ which helps us draw the main storyline that will guide its interpretation. For that reason, we consider that the construction of scenarios is useful when addressing CMA interpretation stage. In this research, we have attempted to provide insights on the main narratives derived from the use of the metaphor of the JOURNEY by Catalan political actors.

The analysis has been structured chronologically in order to trace the appearance of all the metaphors tied to the source domain of the JOURNEY in regard to the two target domains mentioned above. In doing so we aim to identify the evolution of political discourse in the campaign ads of the parliamentary elections held between 2010 and 2015 in Catalonia and to

establish if there was progressive monopolization of the narratives around an idea of the political situation as a ‘process’.

Results and Discussion

The metaphor of movement (as well as its opposite, that of the halt or the impasse) appears in preliminary forms in the campaign ads of 2010. It is presented as a linguistic device to construct, socially and communicatively, Catalan independence, or the process of attaining it. During this election only two political parties used this metaphor. *Solidaritat per la Independència* (Solidarity for Independence, SI), a pro-independence party, used this resource extensively and gave it a central place in its political advertising. The *Partit dels Socialistes de Catalunya* (Socialist Party of Catalonia, PSC), a centre-left party, used this metaphor much more tangentially. The PSC referred to independence only once in its ads and did so negatively, when its then-candidate, José Montilla, stated in one ad that he would ‘not make a pact with those who want to *lead* the country *toward* independence, nor toward the right.’^{iv} In this case, the metaphor was used only to refer to the parties defending independence; however, independence was not the theme of the ad, and as such, it was not conceptualized.

The SI’s case was different, in that it devoted two of its four ads to developing its notion of independence.^v The metaphor of the path was the basis for its discourse in these ads. SI wanted independence and constructed it as a journey where Catalan citizens found themselves involuntarily ‘dragged’ along: i.e. ‘[...] just breathe deeply and *get swept up* in your dreams; *at the beginning* it seems complicated, but then the *path* will be easier *to walk*’; ‘[...] maybe it is difficult to *leap*, but you feel you cannot contain your conscience’.^{vi} In this sense, independence was a practically irrational impulse that could not be controlled. This perspective was interesting because it posed independence as a road that Catalans were forced to begin to travel —specifically, the ad referred to *rauxa*^{vii}— despite the difficulties of this path. For this

party, the primary obstacle consisted of those who wanted to ‘stop’ this impulse or wanted the Catalans to ‘wait’ to begin the path. Thus, the SI’s electoral discourse swung between two opposing metaphors: that of the path that must be travelled and that of the impasse created by those who wanted to stop the process.

Figure 1 about here

The SI’s ads *Pensa un desig: Independència* as well as *Rauxa* developed the metaphor of the path that had to be travelled to attain the ‘dream’ of being independent. Specifically, they argued that Catalans favouring independence felt an impulse (*‘rauxa’*) that they had been repressing before (or that someone had repressed in them). Now ‘the moment has come’ to ‘let themselves be carried’ by it in order to go ‘far.’ SI proposed the path to independence as difficult at first, but more feasible as one goes along. The hard part was to begin to walk it, and so a little craziness or impulsiveness was needed to provide the *‘rauxa.’* This path was not exempt from difficulties represented by the metaphor of the ‘wait’ or the ‘halt.’ This independence party went against the *‘seny’*—which could be defined as common sense— of those who did not want this journey to begin yet or those who wanted to ‘stop’ the impulse entirely.

The discursive structure of the SI, a party that did not win any seats in the 2012 and 2015 elections, established the basis for the evolution of the sovereignist parties’ discourse in the elections after 2010. In these elections, the left/right axis—which had capitalized on the advent of the economic crisis in the 2010 campaign—waned, giving way to the national axis (Capdevila and Moragas-Fernández, 2014).

The issue of independence gained ground in the 2012 campaign ads, and various parties shaped their vision of independence and the relationship between Spain and Catalonia in terms

of movement—although not exclusively toward independence. Four parties in particular developed a position around this theme. In favour of Catalan independence, albeit from different ideological positions, were the CiU and the ERC, the first being a center-right party and the second coming from the left. Pro-unity parties were the PP and the Ciutadans – Partido de la Ciudadania (Citizens – Party of the Citizenry, C’s), both of which took ideologically centre-right positions. In this election, the pro-independence parties utilized the metaphor of the JOURNEY, while those favouring unity used other source domains to define the relationship between Spain and Catalonia.

In the CiU’s three campaign ads,^{viii} the party used images and words to construct a metaphor of the Catalan people as a living being capable of feeling and thinking that, as a result, also had its own will. ‘The people’ were personified through a variety of phrases, such as ‘together we make it possible’; ‘we will make ourselves heard’; ‘all is possible if we make [the will of the people] heard’, ‘your dreams are going to indicate Catalonia’s steps’, etc.^{ix} Catalonia was shown to be an entity that could act and make its voice heard. These people were charged with traveling the path toward a world where they could express themselves freely (that is, through a referendum).

As Musolff observed (2004: 12), the metaphor of journey is one of the best-developed metaphors in the world of political communication. On the basis of the metaphor of Catalonia’s journey, in which it was possible to celebrate a referendum of self-determination, the CiU reinforced the values of opportunity, possibility, the necessary strength, and the difficulty of the journey: i.e. ‘together we are making a path, a path toward the future, a path were nothing is decided. We know that it is not going to be an easy path, but everything is possible’.^x This path represented the process of achieving Catalan independence, and, like all journeys, it consisted of a series of stages. Catalonia, insofar as it was a people, was the one who had to travel this path, where it would face difficulties and have to make an effort for the process to

be successful. The path culminated with a call for the referendum. Neither the people nor Catalonia would be alone on this journey. Recurring to a certain messianism, the CiU candidate, Artur Mas, was presented as the leader who needed to bring Catalonia to the Promised Land, appearing between a sea of flags like Moses, parting the waters of the Red Sea (Figure 2). This choice of Moses as a leader, among all other possibilities, was important because as such this election turned Catalonia into a chosen people, like the people of Israel in the biblical story, enslaved beneath the yoke of the Egypt of the Pharaohs, a role that the Spanish state played here.

Figure 2 about here

At the margins of this mystical vision we find one last metaphor that signalled it is Catalonia's time. This metaphor was a path that began and, as mentioned earlier, would end when the people decided to 'make it possible,' that is, when they voted for those who encouraged them to 'make it possible,' Artur Mas and the CiU. The journey along this path had a departure time, and this time had already come. It began with the campaign that provided the opportunity to choose Mas, the guide, as the president of the *Generalitat*, or Government of Catalonia. As we can see, the metaphor of the guide, as well as Catalonia's time, related to the metaphor of the path or the journey.

Figure 3 about here

The other pro-independence party, ERC, opted to develop two axes of its campaign, independence and a rejection of budget cuts, through a structure it employed in two ads titled *Campanya si al parlament 2012*.^{xi} The person in charge of explaining the party's political

program was their candidate, Oriol Junqueras, who travelled on a train through the ‘new country for all’ that he proposed, turning to the metaphor of the journey that the CiU also used in its ads, but without the CiU’s connotations of messianism. In the first ad, the candidate saw people from different groups through a train window, who walked through the streets carrying *estelades*. In the second ad, also while looking through a train window, the candidate saw groups affected by the previous government’s budget cuts (doctors, teachers, etc.). In both ads, the candidate ended by arriving at the Government’s headquarters with other party members as a response to the national and social questions around which this party’s campaign revolved.

The metaphor of the JOURNEY related the construction of a new country for all through a journey that, in this case, was collective. This journey began with the protest presented metonymically through the statement the *estelades* made. Values like ‘will’ and ‘hope’ led society to want to start on the path to flee from a weak Catalonia, immersed in multiple difficulties. This personified version of society could feel hope and resolve to go forward with the process. The path that Catalonia needed to embark on ended with the ERC reaching the government or the *Generalitat*.

Pro-unity parties also employed various metaphors to construct the concept of independence. The PP recurred to the source domain of DREAM/FANTASY (Charteris-Black, 2011), presenting Catalonia’s current situation as a nightmare from which people needed to wake up. C’s, meanwhile, used the domain FAMILY/LOVE/FRIENDSHIP (Musolff, 2004: 18) to conceptualize the relationship between Catalonia and Spain and to position itself as a political actor guaranteeing unity. As we will see, these two parties abandoned these domains to assume the journey narrative in the 2015 elections.

In the 2015 electoral campaign for Parliament of Catalonia, the metaphor of the journey was clearly integrated into the electoral discourse, in that each party participating in this election used this metaphor to frame Catalan independence or the independence process, with

the exception of the PSC, which referred to independence in terms of rupture in its campaign ads. Pro-unity parties that had not used this metaphor in previous elections now clearly integrated it into their conception of this reality, although with a vision completely opposite that of the pro-independence parties. Generally speaking, the pro-unity parties proposed a negative vision of the pro-independence movement, while they assigned positive values to ‘resistance’ to this movement and proposed, as an alternative, ‘moving forward’ together, in the case of the PP, or ‘moving’ toward other destinations, in the case of C’s.

Among the unity parties, the PP was the one that presented a scenario most opposed to the independence process. In its three 2015 campaign ads, it presented two conceptual universes: that of Catalan independence and that of unity between Catalonia and Spain.^{xii} These two conceptualizations were shown through two opposing metaphors: that of a path or movement and that of resistance to this movement. Interestingly, the resistance movement was posed as a positive ‘advancing’ together, assuming that movement, or advancing, is positive from a political point of view. The independence movement toward independence was metaphorically portrayed as a ‘dead end’ through the concrete image of an abyss in which the movement was about to fall (Figure 4). This conception highlighted the idea that the path was propelled by people—those who support independence—who wanted to drag the rest along. The ad captured this through phrases such as, ‘They will *take us out* of Europe and the euro.’ Against this backdrop, the PP proposed the metaphor of ‘resistance,’ as was evident through the slogan, ‘Plantemos cara,’^{xiii} which roughly translates to, ‘We stand.’ This phrase has a double meaning—that of steadfastness but also challenge, opposition, because ‘plantar cara’ can also be translated as ‘to face something.’ The PP proposed an active resistance that on the one hand, offered stability, and on the other, provided an alternative to the advancement proposed by those in favour of independence. In its ads, the PP promoted a unified ‘advancing’

in order to be able to go further. The idea of ‘plantar cara’ was to be used to ‘begin a new stage.’

Figure 4 about here

The C’s campaign ads also used the idea of ‘moving’ toward other destinations, and doing so together.^{xiv} Along the lines of the PP, C’s constructed the pro-independence world through the metaphor of a path, in which they ‘don’t know where it [the path] goes.’ The path was insecure and not peaceful. C’s opposed this metaphor with that of the ‘road travelled together’ (‘come from where you are’), represented through images of people moving forward on Catalan roads in a peaceful, orderly manner. They asked citizens to ‘mobilize’ so that the path could be travelled. As in the PP ads, there was a fundamental difference between the path proposed by those in favour of independence and their own. The first was travelled involuntarily, because the citizens found themselves ‘dragged’ along it. The second, meanwhile, was travelled in a voluntary manner, through citizen ‘mobilization.’ It is interesting to see how the structure of the discourse changes with respect to which agents are doing the ‘dragging’—recall the case of SI in 2010—and how this demonstrates the ways in which completely opposing narratives can be constructed from a single domain of knowledge.

Figure 5 about here

This takes us back to Musolff’s (2004, p. 18) notion of scenarios. As Castelló and Capdevila (2015, p. 615) observed, ‘in these scenarios, we can evaluate the particular dispositions and preferences of national discourse communities.’ It is important, through scenarios, to go beyond identifying metaphorical expressions and instead examine the intention with which these expressions were inserted in the political discourse. For example, CSQP—a

non-nationalist leftist party—used the metaphor of movement in its ads,^{xv} but interestingly, not in reference to the independence process, but rather so that ‘new paths may be travelled’ and lost spaces recovered for Catalans. These new journeys referred to social goods like health, education, or the end of evictions. To carry out this new reality, CSQP sought to ‘leave the dinosaurs behind,’ embodied in the figures of Rajoy and Artur Mas. Although CSQP did not refer to an independent Catalonia in these ads, the party defended the self-determination referendum, which it also referred to through the metaphor of the journey, as ‘a meeting point to decide freely,’ reinforcing the metaphor visually with images of a map and a highway.

The pro-independence parties, JxSí and the Candidatures d’Unitat Popular (Popular Unity Candidacy, CUP) utilized the metaphor of the road with differing degrees of prominence. JxSí presented this metaphor subtly but consistently in all of its campaign ads,^{xvi} while the CUP devoted one of its two ads^{xvii} to developing this metaphor in detail. JxSí proposed a scenario in which ‘there is no other path to follow’ than independence. This path would take time to travel, and it has led ‘here,’ to the present, the moment proposed as a turning point (‘now is the time’), a unique opportunity in terms of ‘all that is to come.’ It is interesting to note that JxSí suggested that everyone travel this path together, and ‘no one remain behind.’ For JxSí, this was the only way to change reality. The idea of a path was reinforced through images of vehicles moving very quickly and people looking at maps or doing exercise (thus being in motion). This party explained the path, but it did not define what independence would look like, once attained. The metaphor of the path referring to independence contributed to an avoidance of defining the future independent state and reinforced the desired plebiscite character of the 2015 elections.

Figure 6 about here

The CUP made the metaphor of the journey the central discursive axis of their campaign ad, since the whole construction of the ad was based on a real path their members were traveling together with the Catalan people, using at least fifteen verbal metaphors accompanied by several visual references (i.e. the path, a broken van because of a damaged engine, a map of the Catalan countries, etc.) that reinforced their speech. Like JxSí, they did not define the country that independence would create, although they made it clear that their ‘path’ was not the same as that of other political parties. In this advertisement, various candidates from the party travel in a van—a metaphor for the independence process—that breaks down halfway through the trip. While they try to fix it, they argue about the difficulties of the route (‘the path is full of stones, the stones of the path. Those that others put there and those we put there ourselves’^{xviii}). They look at maps to clarify what the destination is and watch other parties pass them by at different speeds or with destinations different from their own (these parties are characterized by other vehicles driving past the point where the members of the CUP are stopped). Finally, the van starts moving again, thanks to a group of people who arrive there to push the vehicle, thus showing that the people are the ‘motor’ of the van (Figure 7). This aspect of the ad was this party’s most innovative element: locating the power to move in the Catalan people themselves.

Figure 7 about here

The above analysis of the discourses of the political parties represented in the 2010, 2012, and 2015 electoral campaigns for Parliament of Catalonia allows us to venture a series of conclusions. First, we can conclude that independence was a minor issue in the 2010 elections, in which only one political party, the SI, restricted its campaign to this issue. This was a minority party (with four deputies), perceived as a radical organization because it placed

the national issue at the centre of its campaign. Even so, this party rehearsed what came to be the dominant discourse to refer to the Catalan political situation. Since the 2012 elections, it has seemed impossible to find a narrative of the ‘process’ that is not rooted in the source domain JOURNEY/PATH/WAY. The different articulations of the journey metaphor drawn up by the political parties in 2015 provided a clear example of this. Even if the use of this metaphor by different parties led to the development of different stories, it seems clear that CiU and ERC—who ran together under the coalition JxSí in 2015—were the two parties that imposed the ‘process’ framework on the Catalan political situation.

The pro-independence parties and the pro-unity parties adapted this framework differently. The PP and C’s subverted the idea of the path that the CiU and ERC initiated, and instead they proposed independence as an uncertain journey without a future in order to delineate their own path where it is possible to ‘advance together.’ Those who denied that there was a debate about independence and who questioned the plebiscite character of the 2015 elections in fact adopted the terms of that debate and tried to redefine the ‘process’ instead of denying that it was real. The C’s redefined the Catalan political situation by presenting an alternative journey with ‘reform’ as its underlying ideal, which was the leitmotif of its 2014 European Parliament campaign and the 2015 Catalan general election campaign. We can conclude that even if their discourse conceptualized the situation in Catalonia as a ‘process’ in transit, each political party used the metaphor of the JOURNEY to make its own argument about its objective and how it should be attained.

Conclusions

Defining the Catalan political situation in terms of a journey leads to questions about who travels, the nature of the journey, who serves as a guide, the speed of travel, and what the destination is. The political malleability of the source domain allows the narratives to adapt to

an array of political discourses (Charteris-Black, 2011). Specifically, the metaphor of the JOURNEY applied to the Catalan political situation is a first order indicator of how discourses evolve, how they mutate, and how they adapt to a tremendously uncertain context, providing different answers about what path to travel and whom to travel it with. Through the metaphor of the JOURNEY, we can establish a symbiotic relationship between frames and metaphors that goes beyond a theoretically hierarchical relationship in which frames are detected or constructed through metaphors as well as lexical choices, catchphrases, or images as frame devices (Gamson and Modigliani, 1989, p. 3–4). According to Entman (1993), a frame defines a problem, diagnoses their causes, makes moral judgements and suggests treatment recommendation for the item described. Following Burgers et al. (2016, p.411), who consider that ‘figurative language types (metaphor, hyperbole, and irony) work as framing devices (by serving as linguistic packaging cues) and as reasoning devices (by containing important conceptual content)’, we believe that certain metaphors can articulate a frame completely (Castelló and Capdevila 2015).

The metaphor of the JOURNEY in the analysed campaign ads, for instance, works as a macro-frame, in which a close relationship between different political scenarios can be established. Our research goes further to conclude that metaphors, beyond their capacity for detection, their explicatory power, and their precision in the definition of a particular *frame*, are also elements of discursive connections between different discursive narrative structures. The metaphor of the JOURNEY, as applied to the Catalan political case, has appeared as a central connecting narrative structure in very different and even radically opposed political frames, depending on which ‘scene/narrative’ or reasoning device it has used. The metaphor thus exceeded the limits of a specific interpretive frame that connected different political interpretations of reality and instead bestowed a common discursive structure on a group of political actors that operated in a single context.

The adoption of narrative structures involving the metaphor of the JOURNEY as a source domain to talk about ‘Catalan independence’ by the large majority of Catalan political parties in 2015 campaign ads implies a uniformity of topics and political discourses and a monopolization of narratives explaining the Catalan political situation in order to persuade people to vote a certain way. The so-called ‘procés català,’ which we can define as a ‘macro-frame’ that portrayed the Catalan situation as a political reality in movement, seems to be the only possible narrative structure in the Catalan context, especially if we compare the 2010 and 2012 ads in which there was a greater diversity of discourse, both in the variety of topics as well as of metaphors and narratives.

For instance, CONFLICT/WAR was also among the most used source domains for conceptualizing Catalan politics during the three analysed elections, but its usage decreased between 2010 and 2015. Different from the JOURNEY metaphor, which is inclusive because presents keeping the status quo or modifying it as a common project where citizens are active agents travelling the path, the use of CONFLICT/WAR metaphors in the analysed case pointed at the existence of two fighting blocks where there would necessarily be winners and losers. Therefore, to present independence or pro-union campaigns as a journey responded to the need of constructing a positive discourse, away from polarization and competition, that prevented political actors from communicating the risk, the danger or the personal sacrifices that would be linked to a conflict scenario. In the analysed case, the JOURNEY metaphor acted as a catalyst for the ‘the moral integrity of the speaker’ (Charteris-Black, 2006), because it put the ones walking through the path in the right position. Considering the political context in Catalonia, where support to independence has grown 30 points in the last ten years –reaching a 48,7 per cent in 2017^{xix} but not being a majority option–, and other constitutional preferences are supported by the 51,3 per cent of the population, the use of the JOURNEY metaphor instead of the CONFLICT/WAR may be explained because of the need to appeal to less radical positioning

in order to broaden either pro-independence or pro-union political basis. This does not mean that CONFLICT/WAR metaphors are unavoidably negative. They can be used in political speech with the aim of evoking a positive self-image of assertiveness when confronting adversity that situates the political actor using it in a position of strength. Actually, this was the case for JxSí ads in 2015, where politicians such as Artur Mas and Oriol Junqueras asked Catalan people to confront the election with ‘the same attitude of riot and fight’ they had in 9 November 2014, when a participatory consultation on the independence of Catalonia was held. They encouraged Catalan citizens to ‘fight’ against a State that used ‘all its intimidation forces’ to prevent people from voting in that consultation and demands them to ‘defend the imprisoned Catalonia and release it’. Hence, we agree with Semino et al. (2017) when they conclude that VIOLENCE or JOURNEY metaphors cannot be considered just negative or positive on the basis of type, but that their usage and empowering or disempowering function needs to be understood in context. As for the Catalan political situation –regarding electoral gain– politicians have preferred to opt for the latter. Future research should focus on the interrelation between both source domains in the discursive construction of future electoral campaigns in Catalonia. Considering that the path described by Catalan political parties did not take to the planned final stage of the journey they presented in 2015 ads, it could be the case that people walking that path would lose their agency and clear the way for ‘combatants’ facing up the opposite bloc, which implies a more active role. Hence, CONFLICT/WAR metaphors could be worthwhile for political actors in the 2017 political scenario.

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ⁱ At the moment of submitting this article, Catalonia had not hold the 21 December 2017 parliamentary election.

ⁱⁱ As one of the reviewers of this article noted, the extent to which a metaphorical expression implies intentionality can vary dependent on the kind of metaphor that is used. For instance, novel metaphors –in which two different concepts are compared, asking users to find what properties do they share and requiring a greater interpretation effort from them– are thought to be intentional or deliberately used because their aim is to provide an alternative view on the topic targeted. On the other hand, conventional metaphors, primary metaphors (Lakoff and Johnson 1999, Grady, 2005) and catachresis (Eco, 1989) are often perceived as being close to literal language and they are processed through categorization rather than comparison, which entails their persuasive function lies in the fact they go unnoticed (Semino 1996, p.244).

ⁱⁱⁱ Because Catalan and Spanish share a romance origin as well as a similar cultural background there were no meaningful differences in the way metaphorical expressions were used in one or another language. When an expression had a specific meaning in Catalan or Spanish or could be misunderstood for some reason, the authors have added a footnote (i.e. notes vii and xiii) that clarifies its meaning according to the definition provided by the before-mentioned dictionaries.

^{iv} The PSC aired five different ads in the 2010 campaign. The metaphor appears in the ad titled *Segon spot de campanya* that can be seen at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3TQHu-AVdUo>. (Last viewed January 2, 2017).

^v SI aired four ads in its 2010 campaign. Two of them, *Pensa un desig: Independència* (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zd9QV8B_GNk) and *Ara toca independència; La rauxa intel·ligent* (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ndUHP_ju9J8) centre on developing the concept of independence. (Last viewed January 2, 2017).

^{vi} [...] Inspira profundament i deixa't emportar pel teu somni; costa al principi, però després tot serà planer; [...] llançar-s'hi és difícil, però no pots contenir la teva consciència.

^{vii} The dictionary of the Institut d'Estudis Catalans defines *rauxa* as a strong emotional force, manifested through extreme actions and little intervening reason, a sudden, unpremeditated decision. One English synonym is 'outburst.'

^{viii} In the ads *Junts estem fent camí* (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=i6FKi78HmWc>); *La voluntat d'un poble* (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8f9krozfmEk>); and *Junts ho farem possible* (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1HPCpxylQuA>). (Last viewed January 2, 2017).

^{ix} *Junts ho farem possible, ens farem escoltar, tot és possible si fem sentir la voluntat d'un poble, els vostres somnis marcaran les passes de Catalunya.*

^x *Junts estem fent camí, un camí on encara no hi ha res decidit, un camí cap al futur. Sabem que no serà un camí fàcil, però tot és possible.*

^{xi} See http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0TyVE9hO_ig and <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-ihlfjDYO3M>. (Last viewed January 3, 2017).

^{xii} *Units guanyem. Platem cara* (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QwQqY7FKW_M); *Unidos ganamos #Plantemos cara* (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SYJEH-HgHeU>); and *Vídeo oficial de campaña. Unidos ganamos #Plantemos cara* (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZN4Jmuv5zsE>). (Last viewed January 3, 2017).

^{xiii} According to the Real Academia de la Lengua Española, one synonym for *plantado* is *quieto*, still. To plant, *plantar*, is to place something in the ground vertically, to put something in its place so that it can be used. *Plantar* also means to stop doing something.

^{xiv} C's aired two ads: *Caminemos juntos* (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OUy-iMDVw_Y) and *Yo voto a Inés* (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uurOfq9tcw0>). (Last viewed January 3, 2017).

^{xv} See CSQP's ad, *Catalunya sí que es pot* (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=t3CizM6Z-mI>). (Last viewed January 3, 2017).

^{xvi} *#VotaPerMi* (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gJyHqjjhPGU>); *Junts ho podem tot, la pel·lícula del Junts pel Sí* (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RGrVuDG0t1M>); *Sí, tot és possible (Junqueras)* (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Yx9WgDuKKKc>); *Sí, tot és possible (Mas)* (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=de1HibPiVUg>); and *Hem de canviar perquè no hi ha un altre camí* (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L4DT9NLLHEM>). (Last viewed January 3, 2017).

^{xvii} Specifically, the ad *Anàvem lents perquè anavem lluny* (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GUvo4sjigLM>). (Last viewed January 3, 2017).

^{xviii} El camí és ple de pedres, les pedres del camí. Aquelles que ens posen els altres i les que ens posem nosaltres mateixos.

^{xix} Opinion Studies Barometer – 3rd Wave 2017:

<http://ceo.gencat.cat/ceop/AppJava/pages/home/fitxaEstudi.html?colId=6408&lastTitle=Bar%F2metre+d%27Opini%F3+Pol%EDtica.+3a+onada+2017>

Table 1. Political Advertisements by Election and Political Party

N.	Parliamentary Election	Political Party	Title
1	2010	CiU	Votaré CiU (I will vote CiU)
2	2010	CiU	No jugaran amb el meu vot (They won't play with my vote)
3	2010	CiU	Jo també votaré CiU (I, too, will vote CiU)
4	2010	CiU	Mas per una Catalunya millor (Mas for a better Catalonia)
5	2010	CiU	Mítting d'Artur Mas (Artur Mas's Speech)
6	2010	CiU	Sumant per una Catalunya millor (Joining together for a better Catalonia)
7	2010	PSC	La vida de Monti (Life of Monti)
8	2010	PSC	2n espot de campanya (Second campaign ad)
9	2010	PSC	3r espot de campanya (Third campaign ad)
10	2010	PSC	4t espot de campanya (Fourth campaign ad)
11	2010	PSC	5è espot de campanya (Fifth campaign ad)
12	2010	PP	Spot de campanya (Campaign ad)
13	2010	PP	Soluciones para la inmigración (Solutions for immigration)
14	2010	PP	Soluciones para el empleo (Solutions for employment)
15	2010	ICV-EUiA	Verd esperança, Solucions d'esquerres (Green hope, left-wing solutions)
16	2010	ERC	Gent valenta (Brave people)
17	2010	ERC	Gent valenta. Espot de campanya (Brave people. Campaign ad)
18	2010	C's	Catalunya somos todos (We all are Catalonia)
19	2010	C's	Rebélate (Rebel)
20	2010	C's	La teràpia (Therapy)
21	2010	SI	El badall (The yawn)
22	2010	SI	Les cartes sobre la taula (Cards on the table)
23	2010	SI	Pensa un desig (Make a wish)
24	2010	SI	Ara toca independència :) la rauxa intelligent (Now it is the time for independence :) smart fun)
25	2012	CiU	Junts estem fent camí (Together we are making our way)
26	2012	CiU	La voluntat d'un poble (The will of a people)
27	2012	CiU	Junts ho farem possible (Together we will make it possible)

28	2012	PSC	Federalisme (Federalism)
29	2012	PSC	Projecte (Project)
30	2012	PSC	Persones (People)
31	2012	PP	¿Pesadillas? El próximo 25 acaba con ellas (Nightmares? The next 25 put an end to them)
32	2012	PP	Atur (Unemployment)
33	2012	PP	Pensions (Pensions)
34	2012	PP	Tots som catalans (We are all Catalans)
35	2012	PP	Temps de dones. Temps d'Àlicia (Time for women. Time for Alicia)
36	2012	ICV-EUiA	Eleccions al Parlament 2012 (Parliamentary election 2012)
37	2012	ICV-EUiA	Junts contra la por i la resignació. I tant si podem! (Together against fear and resignation. Of course we can!)
38	2012	ERC	Catalunya sí al parlament 2012 (1) (Catalonia Yes for parliament 2012 (1))
39	2012	ERC	Catalunya sí al parlament 2012 (2) (Catalonia Yes for parliament 2012 (2))
40	2012	C's	Derribando muros #MejorUnidos (Tearing down walls #BetterTogether)
41	2012	C's	MasMedia. El gran d'Espanya en campanya (MasMedia. The grandee of Spain on the campaign trail)
42	2012	C's	Las propuestas prioritarias de Ciudadans (Ciudadans's urgent proposals)
43	2012	C's	La España que sueña Ciudadans (The Spain of Ciudadans's dreams)
44	2012	CUP	#SomUnitatPopular (#WeArePopularUnity)
45	2012	CUP	#hovolem tot (#wewantitall)
46	2012	CUP	És l' hora del poble #hovolem tot (It is the people's time #wewantitall)
47	2015	JxSí	Hem canviat perquè no hi ha un altre camí (We have changed because there is no other path)
48	2015	JxSí	UNTS HO PODEM TOT, la pel·lícula de Junts pel Sí (Together we can do everything, the film by Junts pel Sí)
49	2015	JxSí	#VotaPerMi (#VoteForMe)
50	2015	JxSí	Sí, tot és possible (Junqueras) (Yes, everything is possible (Junqueras))
51	2015	JxSí	Sí, tot és possible (Mas) (Yes, everything is possible (Mas))
52	2015	PSC	No volem triar, ho volem tot! (We don't want to choose, we want it all)
53	2015	PSC	Per una Catalunya millor i una Espanya diferent (A better Catalonia and a different Spain)

54	2015	PP	Units Guanyem. Plantem cara (Together we win. Let's fight)
55	2015	PP	Vídeo oficial de campanya UNIDOS GANAMOS (Official campaign ad. Together we win)
56	2015	PP	Vídeo oficial de campanya II UNIDOS GANAMOS (Official campaign ad II. Together we win)
57	2015	CSQP	La Catalunya de la Gent (The people's Catalonia)
58	2015	CSQP	Defensem la Sanitat Pública i de Qualitat #VotaSíQueEsPot (We defend high-quality public health care #VoteYesWeCan)
59	2015	CSQP	Per garantir l'educació dels nostres fills i filles #VotaSíQueEsPot (We aim to guarantee the education of our children #VoteYesWeCan)
60	2015	CSQP	Un País per a Tothom #VotaSíQueEsPot (A country for all #VoteYesWeCan)
61	2015	CSQP	El 27S, I tant que Podem! (On September 27, of course we can)
62	2015	C's	Caminemos juntos (Let's walk together)
63	2015	C's	Yo voto a Inés (I vote for Inés)
64	2015	CUP	27 DE SETEMBRE/ GOVERNEM-NOS! #CUP (27 September/Let's rule ourselves #CUP)
65	2015	CUP	Anaven lents perquè anaven lluny (They travelled slowly because they were going far)

Table 2. Identification of Journey Metaphors in Political Advertisements

Election	Extract/Piece	Political party	Metaphor	Source	Target	Comment
2012	Together we are making a path	CiU	Making a path	JOURNEY/PATH/WAY	Independence process	

Table 3. Number of identified metaphors per election and source domain

	2010		2012		2015	
	TOTALS	%	TOTALS	%	TOTALS	%
JOURNEY/PATH/WAY	16	34.8%	22	38%	48	47.5%
CONFLICT/WAR	17	36.9%	13	22.4%	26	25.7%
LOVE/FAMILY/FRIENDSHIP	2	4.4%	5	8.6%	5	5%
FANTASY/DREAM	0	0%	1	1.7%	3	3%
NATURE/WEATHER	0	0%	1	1.7%	1	0.9%
GAME/SPORT	10	21.7%	1	1.7%	5	5%
ECONOMY/BUSINESS	0	0%	8	13.8%	0	0%
BUILDING	1	2.2%	3	5.2%	5	5%
OTHER	0	0%	4	6.9%	8	7.9%
TOTAL	46	100%	58	100%	101	100%

Figure 1. Conceptual mappings for the metaphor of the JOURNEY in pro-sovereignty 2010 ads (SI)

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JOURNEY		INDEPENDENCE CAMPAIGN
Path	→	Electoral Campaign
Final stage	→	Independence
Travellers	→	Catalan citizens
Guide	→	"Rauxa" or Impulsiveness
Obstacles	→	Other political parties

Figure 2. Artur Mas in 2012 ad ‘La voluntat d’un poble’ (The will of a people)



Figure 3. Conceptual mappings for the metaphor of the JOURNEY in pro-sovereignty 2012 ads (CiU and ERC)

Figure 2. Conceptual mappings for the metaphor of the JOURNEY in pro-sovereignty 2012 ads (CiU and ERC)

JOURNEY		INDEPENDENCE CAMPAIGN
Path	→	Electoral Campaign
Final stage	→	To win the election and call a referendum (CiU) To win the election and create new country (ERC)
Travellers	→	Catalan citizens – “The people”
Guide	→	Artur Mas (CiU) Oriol Junqueras (ERC)
Obstacles	→	The Spanish state

Figure 4. Independence is a ‘dead end’ in PP 2015 ad ‘Unidos ganamos’ (Together we win)

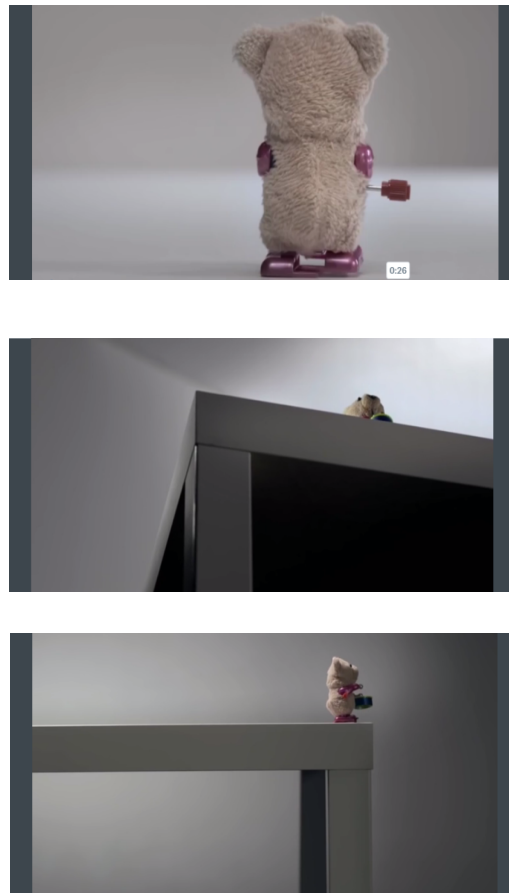


Figure 5. Conceptual mappings for the metaphor of the JOURNEY in pro-union 2015 ads (C’s and PP)

Figure 3. Conceptual mappings for the metaphor of the JOURNEY in pro-union 2015 ads (C’s and PP)

JOURNEY		PRO-UNION CAMPAIGN
Dead end or path leading to nowhere	→	Independence
Obstacles [that prevent independence to move forward]	→	Catalan citizens voting pro-union (PP)
Alternative Path	→	Remaining in Spain (C’s)
Guide	→	Inés Arrimadas (C’s)
Travellers	→	Catalan citizens
Final stage	→	To win the election and stop independence (PP) To win the election and start walking a new road together (C’s)

Figure 6. Conceptual mappings for the metaphor of the JOURNEY in pro-independence 2015 ads (JxSí and CUP)

JOURNEY		INDEPENDENCE CAMPAIGN
Path	→	Independence
Travellers	→	All Catalan citizens (not only those backing independence)
Broken van	→	Independence
Engine	→	Catalan people
Obstacle	→	The Spanish state
Final stage	→	To win the election and start walking the independence path

Figure 7. People are the motor of the independence process in CUP 2015 ad ‘Anaven lents perquè anaven lluny’ (They travelled slowly because they were going far)

