Constructing issues in the media through metaphoric frame networks

Abstract: This article draws on metaphor and framing theory to build on our understanding of how metaphor works to frame issues. It suggests that metaphors not only may operate as frames in themselves, but they can also combine in hierarchies of metaphoric frames which together co-construct superordinate metaphoric or non-metaphoric frames. Using insights from theory on mixed metaphor, metaphor hierarchies and scenarios, the article introduces the new concept "metaphoric frame networks" to explain interconnections and relationships between frames and metaphors within the same texts, which could at first appear to be unrelated. The article proposes a set of criteria by which a metaphoric frame network can be defined and distinguished from simpler frames. The argument of the article is then illustrated through an empirical analysis of the process frame in television coverage of the 2015 Catalan regional election.

Introduction

The concepts of frame and metaphor share considerable common ground: both create connections between two notions, issues or domains and encourage language users to apply considerations from one to the other. Despite this similarity, framing and metaphor theories have evolved in relative isolation from each other. In framing, metaphor is seen as one of many framing devices which may express a frame linguistically (Gamson and Modigliani, 1989); while the term "frame" is occasionally encountered in metaphor theory as alternative to "domain" (Kovecses, 2016). As was recently suggested though, metaphors are not merely framing devices operating at the linguistic level alone, but figurative language (including

metaphor, hyperbole and irony) itself frames issues at the conceptual level (Burgers et al., 2016). Still, the question of how the two concepts may interrelate and draw from each other remains relatively undertheorised.

This article advances new thinking on figurative framing by introducing the concept of metaphoric frame networks. It proposes that several conceptual metaphors (or metaphoric frames) can work together within a text and co-construct broader frames in hierarchical structures. It illustrates this proposal through an empirical analysis of the process frame in Catalan and Scottish television coverage of the 2015 Catalan regional election. The article makes a contribution to framing, which is a commonly used approach in media analysis, by showing how the study of frames can be enhanced through a study of mixed metaphor (Gibbs, 2016), metaphor hierarchies (Lakoff, 1993) and metaphor scenarios (Mussolf, 2006).

Frames and metaphors

Frames are cognitive schemata, or ways of understanding and talking about events and issues, which "select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation" (Entman, 1993: 52). Like metaphors, frames make connections of "applicability" between issues or events: they apply considerations, which are relevant to one problem, to questions about another problem (Price et al., 1997); or they "suggest a connection between two concepts, issues, or things, such that after exposure to the framed message, audiences accept or are at least aware of the connection" (Nisbet, 2010: 47). For example, the economic consequences frame may

construct negotiations between European states as an economic issue, affecting the "bottom line" in individual states (de Vreese et al., 2001).

Framing theory sees metaphor as just one of several framing devices, or linguistic indicators of the presence of a frame in a text (Gamson and Modigliani, 1989). However, just like frames, metaphors also draw their discursive power from putting a label on an event or issue. A metaphor is a figure of speech whereby a word or phrase is used with a sense that is different from its original or literal meaning (Charteris-Black, 2011: 31). Traditionally associated with literary language, its understanding was considerably broadened by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), who proposed that metaphor is a feature not only of language but also of the way we think about things and events in our daily experience. According to the cognitive linguistic view of metaphor they introduced, metaphor is a property of concepts rather than of words, and involves understanding one conceptual domain (the target domain) in terms of another conceptual domain (the source domain).

The effect of this is that metaphor evokes characteristics, which we associate with the source domain, and transfers or maps them onto a new concept, using "a system of implications […] as a means for selecting, emphasizing and organizing relations in a different field" (Black, 1962: 46). A metaphor may thus help to simplify new or abstract concepts and make them more intelligible by connecting them to a more familiar or concrete domain (Mio, 1997), and at the same time metaphors, similarly to frames, perform an ideological function, in that they propose how to comprehend these new or abstract concepts. For this reason, metaphor has attracted significant attention in critical studies of discourse (Fairclough, 2003; Charteris-Black, 2011). Choosing one metaphor over another, just like choosing one frame over

another, when many are pragmatically possible, has ideological implications for how an object or issue is constructed. This is because, just like frames, metaphors place a label on what is going on.

For example, whether one labels relationships between states as "marriage", using metaphor, or as an "economic" issue, using a frame, in both cases one determines which aspects of these relationships are or are not relevant in understanding them. This conceptual overlap between frame and metaphor was pointed out by Burgers et al. (2016), who proposed the term "figurative frame" to highlight that figurative language, including metaphor, hyperbole and irony, does not only work as a framing device on the linguistic level, but also on the conceptual level. As they suggested, metaphors and frames both promote problem definitions, causal interpretations, moral evaluations or solutions to problems; in fact some much-studied generic frames, such as the horserace frame in political communication, are metaphors as well as frames. Because in our subsequent analysis we focus on metaphor (rather than hyperbole or irony) we shall thereafter refer to such frames, which are at the same time frames and metaphors, as "metaphoric" frames.

Mixed metaphor in framing

Our discussion so far suggests that there are common areas between metaphor and framing theory which render an exploration of bridges between them fruitful, but that few scholars have done this until now, at least explicitly. This article takes further the connection between the two fields proposed by Burgers et al. (2016), by exploring specifically the role of mixed metaphor in conceptually constituting superordinate metaphoric or non-metaphoric frames.

Mixed metaphor involves "metaphors that occur in close textual adjacency" but which do not share the same conceptual ontology (Kimmel, 2010: 98). For instance, the same target domain may be discussed within a single text using a range of different, unrelated source domains. This is a phenomenon so common in everyday discourse that it tends not to be noticed or recognised as mixing up cognitive domains, especially when it is not done deliberately to achieve a rhetorical effect (Steen, 2016).

Metaphor theory acknowledges that target domains have multiple aspects, and the role of different source domains in mixed metaphor is to capture these different aspects: each source domain renders a different meaning focus to the target domain and together these foci co-create a complex picture of the issue or object being talked about (Kovecses, 2016). In this account though, Kovecses (2016) uses the term "frame" as alternative to "target domain" and does not expand on the implications of his very insightful analysis of mixed metaphor for framing theory. Here, frames are seen as simple topic areas, rather than complex cultural schemata for constructing meaning (Van Gorp, 2007).

Framing theory, on the other hand, does not account for how multiple metaphors describing the same issue may co-create meaning. Mixed metaphor is neither acknowledged nor discussed in framing, where metaphors, as we mentioned earlier, are traditionally seen as linguistic framing devices. In this approach, the presence of a source domain associated with a frame (for instance, sporting metaphors associated with the game frame) is just taken as an indicator that the frame is present in a text. What is left unacknowledged though is that mixed metaphors with unrelated source domains may complement each other conceptually within

the same text, providing different "variants of the continuation of an action, including causal chains, counterfactual reasoning or suggestions for resolving a problem in the future, and weighing action alternatives" (Kimmel, 2010: 106). This is important because, if diverse, unrelated source domains are used to describe a target domain, framing theory would take them as indicators of different, competing frames, and thus fail to acknowledge that they can be in fact complementary in co-constructing meaning.

This article proposes a new approach to understanding methaphor's role in framing by suggesting that (a) the combination of different source domains does not necessarily express competing frames, but may co-construct the same overarching (metaphoric or non-metaphoric) frame, capturing in mixed metaphor different elements of the same complex picture, as we discuss earlier in this section. We will explore this hypothesis in our analysis of textual evidence.

Metaphor scenarios as bridges of meaning in metaphoric frame networks

Our second hypothesis in this article is that (b) when mixed metaphors co-construct frames this is done in a structured way, through networks of metaphors expressing a range of possible scenarios. We will discuss this directly below.

Different metaphors to discuss the same issue, bring into focus not just different meaning foci, but also different *scenarios* (Mussolf, 2006), comprising micro-narratives that together make up a superordinate frame. According to Musolff (2006) a metaphor scenario activates our previous knowledge of typical narratives that may be associated with the source domain

and transfers them to the target domain. For example, negotiations among European states may be constructed as a marriage. This same marriage metaphor may have multiple scenarios, such as the meeting – flirting - getting engaged - marrying plot and the arguing - becoming distant - taking time apart – divorcing plot. Similarly, a metaphor that constructs immigration as water (Charteris-Black, 2006) may have scenarios involving floods and natural disasters, as well as containment scenarios.

We thus suggest that metaphor scenarios may help explain how different source domains combine to co-construct frames. More specifically, if different source domains in mixed metaphor networks support the same (metaphoric or non-metaphoric) frame, we expect these to be notionally connected rather than unrelated to each other, and we expect scenarios to provide the bridges between them.

In Lakoff's (1993) account of metaphor hierarchies a superordinate metaphor (e.g. one that structures events as movement in space) is expressed through subordinate ones with semantically similar source domains (e.g. A PURPOSEFUL LIFE IS A JOURNEY; A CAREER IS A JOURNEY). Adapting this concept to metaphorical frames and metaphor scenarios, we propose that a superordinate frame (for instance, the "process" frame to describe the developing political situation in Catalonia) is not just manifested but also created and composed through scenarios, or micro-narratives, which are expressed by a range of subordinate metaphors with semantically diverse source domains.

Thus the questions we explore subsequently are:

    RQ 1. How do different metaphoric frames, appearing within the same text, relate to

each other and do they constitute different frames when they use different source domains?

RQ 2. What is the role of metaphor scenarios in mixed metaphoric frames, and how does this contribute to the content of frames? How do metaphor scenarios relate to the different source domains used in mixed metaphor?

We will attempt to answer these questions using a corpus of television coverage of the 2015 regional election in Catalonia. Our aim is to explore the relationships between metaphors and frames through this case study and not to answer questions about the media framing of the event per se. As we will suggest in the next section, this case provides fruitful ground for exploring our questions above, because discourse on the issue of Catalan autonomy over the years has been found to be highly metaphorical (Castelló and Capdevila, 2015) and also because there is a dominant frame in public discourse on this issue, namely the "process" frame, whose content is complex and open to different definitions (Xicoy et al., 2017).

Based on our above discussion, we suggest that the process frame comprises a network of different metaphoric frames in our corpus, co-existing within the same media texts and interconnected through a logical hierarchy. Before we move on to explore this proposal in our empirical analysis though, the next section will briefly contextualise this Catalan process frame within the events that it has come to be associated with in public discourse.

The Catalan process

Spain's territorial structure after Franco's dictatorship was established in the constitution of

1978. The country was split in 17 regions and 2 autonomous cities with their own governments and varying levels of administrative autonomy. The "Estatutos de Autonomia" are regional "constitutions", setting the parametres of autonomy for each region. Especially Catalonia, Galicia and the Basque Country are recognized in the Spanish Constitution as historical communities, with their own culture and language, and enjoy a significant degree of autonomy with their separate regional governments and administrative structures. However territorial conflict remains unresolved in these regions, and political discourse is guided to a great extent by cultural identity (Castelló and Capdevila, 2015; Liñeira and Cetrà, 2015). The last decade saw a series of developments in Catalonia's relationship with the central Spanish state, which the term "process" has come to characterise. As Capdevila and Ferran (2012) propose, Spanish and Catalan political actors, as well as the mainstream media, "put into movement" a previously stable reality, namely Spain's regional distribution as described above, through the use of journey metaphors that reinforced the "process" frame.

In order to explain what the Catalan process is, 2004 is a good starting point. In that year, the Catalan government at the time decided to renew the region's Estatut (statute) with an aim to address new social and economic challenges. Following long negotiations between Catalan parties, the amended statute was approved by the regional parliament, by the Spanish Parliament, and by Catalan citizens through a referendum in 2006. Following this, the Partido Popular (PP), then in opposition at the Spanish parliament, argued that the new statute was not compatible with the Spanish constitution and the text was taken to the Constitutional Court. The Court's decision in 2010 declared 14 articles as unconstitutional and the statement "Catalonia is a nation" "was explicitly described as being without legal standing" (Liñeira and Cetrà, 2015: 263).

Catalan parties reacted to this decision originally through a large demonstration in 2010, and thereafter through a growing political polarisation around the issue of independence. The Catalan sovereigntist party (CIU) won the subsequent election but found it difficult to reach an agreement on the issue with the new PP-led government in Madrid. Independence grew further as a salient issue on the political agenda, perhaps most visibly in the large pro-independence demonstration of 11th September 2012. According to Castelló and Capdevila (2015), media coverage of that event reinforced the demonstration's position as a game-changer in the elite political conflict. Indeed, after that demonstration CIU abandoned its previous "negotiated" position with Spain in favour of pursuing a binding independence referendum. On this manifesto, it called and won a further regional election later that year. The 2012 election may thus be considered as the official beginning of the "Catalan process" (Orriols and Rodon, 2016).

Despite the fact that the Spanish constitution makes no legal provision for a referendum on independence, pro-independence civic organizations, backed by the Catalan government, organized an informal consultation on 9th November 2014 where 36% of the Catalan population voted. The consultation did not have legal status (CIU leader Artur Mas was later prosecuted for this initiative), but it was seen as a large-scale symbolic demonstration reinforcing the cause of the Catalan government and the other pro-independence forces. The Spanish government, on the other hand, suggested that the lack of legal legitimacy and the low participation in this consultation meant a lack of adequate support for independence (Orriols and Rodon, 2016).

Following this, another regional election was called. The election of 27th September 2015, whose coverage will be analysed in this article, was framed as a decision on Catalan

independence: if sovereignist parties as a collective won the majority of votes, the argument was that Catalonia would declare its independence unilaterally. Junts pel Si, a cross-party pro-independence coalition, with the support of CUP, a radical independentist left wing party, won a majority of parliamentary seats, but with 48% of the vote. Sovereignist parties saw in the results a mandate for independence, since they had a majority in parliament. Unionist forces on the other hand argued that with under 50% of votes, there was no such mandate.

Therefore the 2015 Catalan election, that this article focuses on, is one of the events described by the process frame. Our subsequent analysis will demonstrate how a range of other metaphoric frames co-constructed the content of the superordinate process frame in media coverage of this election. The article will explore how these frames complemented and expanded each other within a notional hierarchic network.

Materials and methods

The corpus for our qualitative study comprises television current affairs coverage of the 2015 Catalan election from two regions: Catalonia and Scotland. Our rationale for doing this was to compare the use of metaphor across two languages and national contexts, and Scotland provided a good comparative context because it also had an ongoing national debate on its own independence from the UK around the same period, including an official independence referendum in 2014. In a sense, Scotland was also undergoing its own "process" in relation to independence and for this reason we decided to focus on this country.

As explained earlier in the article, the purpose of this empirical analysis is to illustrate our broader argument about how metaphoric frame networks can contribute to constructing different aspects of the same frame. The purpose of the analysis is not to draw representative conclusions about the construction of the Catalan issue in either Catalonia or Scotland, but to illustrate through an example how different source domains may work together to co-construct meaning within the same frame. As a result, the coverage we analysed is of a specific point in time, in four specific broadcasts, rather than a more expansive sample of coverage of the Catalan issue. Future research can apply our construct in further coverage of the same issue, or test it in other, rather different empirical contexts.

We focused on television coverage specifically, because television maintains a primary position among sources of information on news and current affairs in both countries (Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, 2015), despite the increasing importance of online media. We decided to analyse coverage from current affairs programmes rather than news items because they provide a more in-depth analysis of current events, but also because in the Scottish case the two current affairs programmes we selected were the only coverage of the Catalan election on the days before and of the election. Catalan television had obviously more coverage of the election than Scottish broadcasters, but we selected a comparable sample to the Scottish one by choosing two programmes, both of them providing in-depth, feature-length analysis of the election, similar to the Scottish programmes. All four programmes were transmitted at a time when the election was highly topical and thus had a key role in informing public understandings of the issue in their respective territories.

The Scottish coverage consisted in two items, one from BBC Scotland's daily evening current affairs programme Scotland 2015 (28.09.2015) and one from STV's equivalent Scotland Tonight (24.09.2015). These are the only regular current affairs programmes produced specifically for a Scottish audience. In both cases, the Catalan election was the second of three topics dealt with in that evening's programme. Scotland Tonight's item featured a brief video with a voice-over by a reporter setting the scene, a studio anchor and three interviewees: a Catalan journalist interviewed by the anchor via a live link, a Scottish National Party MEP observed the election in Catalonia, and a Scottish academic specializing in Hispanic studies. The Scotland 2015 item also started with a scene-setting video voiced over by a reporter, followed by a conversation between the studio anchor and the channel's correspondent in Madrid, who had covered the election in Catalonia and spoke via live link.

The Catalan coverage also consisted in two items, one from 8 Al Dia (24.09.2015), which is a daily current affairs program on private broadcaster 8TV, and the second from Catalan public service station Tv3. In the latter case the closest equivalent on Tv3 was a weekly program, 30 Minuts (04.10.2015), a reportage programme on political and social issues. From 8 Al Dia, we used the editorial of the host, an in-depth analysis of election issues by a politics editor, and live links to the final electoral campaign meetings, which summarized the different political parties' positions. From 30 Minuts, we used the report "Parlem?" which presents political and expert interviews, linked by a voice over, explaining and analysing the political situation immediately after the election. Like the Scottish sample, both these programmes analyse the election from the programme's perspective, incorporating the views of relevant sources.

Together the programmes in the corpus provided a rich database of discourse on the issue of our analysis, because the Catalan situation was their central topic. Our analysis is based entirely on linguistic content and not on visual material or tone of voice. We watched the programmes and we transcribed all instances of metaphors relating to the target domain of the Catalan situation. We did this by identifying instances of words and phrases that were used with a different sense from their original, literal meaning. We then identified their source domains and mapped the correspondences between those and the target domain. We took as instances of mixed metaphor those metaphors which appeared close to each other in the analysed texts, but which did not "share any imagistic ontology or any direct inferential entailments between them" (Kimmel, 2010: 98). Each of the metaphors we identified provided an understanding of what the Catalan situation was about, therefore these metaphors were also metaphoric frames, as these were defined earlier in this article.

In explaining how, despite the lack of *direct* ontological relationship between them, these adjacent methaphors contribute to a singular rather than competing understandings of the text, we identified notional hierarchic relationships (Lakoff, 1993) between these mappings. We discuss in our analysis how these hierarchic structures create links between domains which support a particular understanding, or frame, of "what is going on" (Goffman, 1974).

Early in the analysis we found that both the process frame and the metaphoric frames used in both sets of coverage were the same, with the Scottish coverage repeating some, but not all, of the metaphors found in the Catalan coverage. This is likely because Scottish journalists relied on Catalan sources for their accounts of what was happening. In both languages, a

similar range of source domains came together to construct the meaning of the process frame, as will be seen below.

Defining the process frame through a metaphoric frame network

In what follows we argue that clusters of metaphoric frames with different source domains can work together to construct a superordinate frame, which may be metaphoric or, like the process frame in our corpus, non-metaphoric. We propose the new term "metaphoric frame network", whereby a range of metaphoric frames interconnect coherently and co-create a larger macronarrative, or superordinate frame.
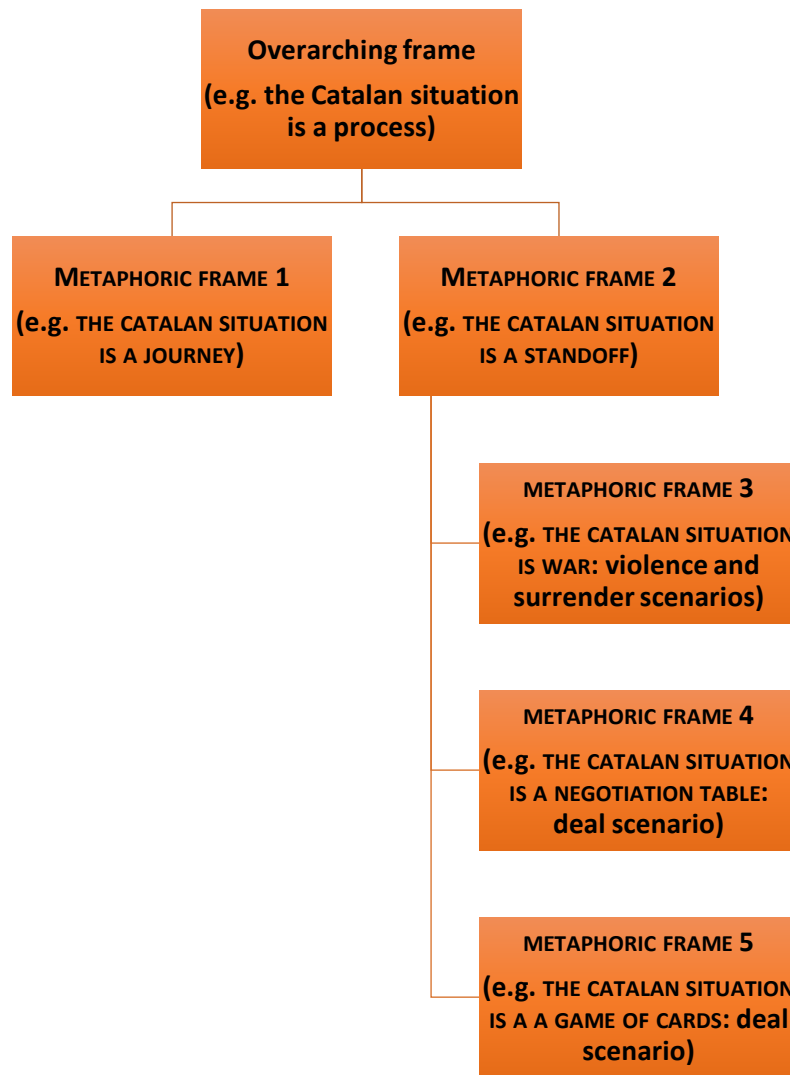
As opposed to a simple frame, which does not comprise other frames, a metaphoric frame network is constituted by a range of metaphoric frames in hierarchical relationships with each other. This structure is illustrated in figure 1.

In metaphoric frame networks the same target domain is connected to source domains that do not share the same ontology, but are still notionally connected. This notional connection between subordinate and superordinate frames in the network can be manifested either *conceptually* (in the example we will discuss below the connection between the first and second levels of the metaphoric frame network, i.e. between the process frame and the journey and standoff frames, is provided by the concept of movement, or lack thereof, despite the fact that the journey and the standoff do not belong to the same domain ontology); or via metaphor *scenarios* (in figure 1, the metaphoric frames on level 3 are scenarios of one of the metaphoric frames on level 2). The network gives conceptual

coherence to the cluster of metaphoric frames, and supports a single interpretation of what is going on (i.e. a process). In other words, the different components of the network are consistent with the process frame and qualify what kind of process the issue discussed is.

Traditional framing theory views frames as self-contained interpretations of reality, often in competition with other frames. This article argues that this is not always so. Instead we suggest that some frames are composit networks of conceptually complementary or elaborating metaphoric frames. On the other hand, metaphor theory is also enhanced in this proposal, by looking at frame networks as complex discourse units, co-produced by several metaphors. Although he makes no reference to frames, Kimmell insightfully observes that often "metaphors are embedded in multi-metaphor argumentation units", which convey complex arguments, and that single metaphors do not have the same power to construct arguments (2010: 112). The concept of metaphoric frame networks, which we propose, takes this idea further, by offering a systematic account of *how* metaphor clusters "join forces and […] interact conceptually" (ibid: 113).

Figure 1. The Catalan process metaphoric frame network

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                        ┌──────────────────────────┐
                        │     Overarching frame     │
                        │  (e.g. the Catalan situation │
                        │       is a process)       │
                        └──────────────────────────┘
                          │                      │
          ┌───────────────────┐        ┌───────────────────────┐
          │ METAPHORIC FRAME 1 │        │  METAPHORIC FRAME 2   │
          │ (e.g. THE CATALAN  │        │  (e.g. THE CATALAN    │
          │  SITUATION         │        │   SITUATION           │
          │  IS A JOURNEY)     │        │   IS A STANDOFF)      │
          └───────────────────┘        └───────────────────────┘
                                                 │
                                         ┌───────────────────────┐
                                         │  METAPHORIC FRAME 3   │
                                         │  (e.g. THE CATALAN    │
                                         │   SITUATION           │
                                         │   IS WAR: violence and │
                                         │   surrender scenarios) │
                                         └───────────────────────┘
                                         ┌───────────────────────┐
                                         │  METAPHORIC FRAME 4   │
                                         │  (e.g. THE CATALAN    │
                                         │   SITUATION           │
                                         │   IS A NEGOTIATION TABLE: │
                                         │   deal scenario)      │
                                         └───────────────────────┘
                                         ┌───────────────────────┐
                                         │  METAPHORIC FRAME 5   │
                                         │  (e.g. THE CATALAN    │
                                         │   SITUATION           │
                                         │   IS A A GAME OF CARDS: deal │
                                         │   scenario)           │
                                         └───────────────────────┘
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Hierarchical level 2: Conceptual subcategories

Hierarchical level 3: Scenarios

Based on the above discussion, we propose that the following three criteria distinguish a metaphoric frame network as opposed to a simple frame:

- A number of metaphors (metaphoric frames) with different source domains co-exist within the text and describe the same target domain, and

- some source domains, although ontologically distinct, are connected conceptually

- some source domains, although ontologically distinct, express different scenarios of other metaphoric frames which are also present in the text.

We will hereafter illustrate metaphoric frame networks through the specific example of the Catalan process frame, as this was constructed in our corpus of television coverage. The process frame, despite having metaphorical roots associated with the domain of movement, is not currently a metaphor because the word "process" is nowadays used conventionally to denote a procedure or course of action in abstract rather than in physical terms - it is no longer used to denote physical movement. "Process" was used by journalists and their sources in both our coverage samples to describe the situation around the Catalan election, and the content of this process was constructed through different metaphors, which at first appear ontologically distinct. THE CATALAN SITUATION IS A JOURNEY; THE CATALAN SITUATION IS A STANDOFF; THE CATALAN SITUATION IS WAR; THE CATALAN SITUATION IS A NEGOTIATION TABLE; THE CATALAN SITUATION IS A GAME OF CARDS all share the same target domain but the source domains appear to have little conceptual coherence. However, all these metaphoric frames make sense as part of different metaphor scenarios, as will be discussed below.

THE CATALAN SITUATION IS A JOURNEY

The journey metaphoric frame, which constructs the Catalan situation as a physical journey, is located at the second level of the process metaphoric network (figure 1). At this level, subordinate metaphoric frames (the journey and the standoff in this case) are connected with the overarching process frame via the concept of movement.

In Catalan political narratives, the journey metaphoric frame is almost as well established as the process frame. This metaphor featured heavily in political debate at key moments in the years preceding the 2015 election (Castelló and Capdevila, 2015). Although it lends itself

particularly well to describing the independence cause, its flexibility (the destination of the journey can be determined by the speaker) means that it can be accommodated in both pro- and anti-independence discourses. In pro-independence narratives the journey obviously leads to independence, but unionist politicians also talk about a "journey/path/way" towards abolishing the regional structure and re-centralising the Spanish state. Indeed this is one of the most popular metaphors used by politicians across different historical moments and national contexts to describe a range of social purposes as concrete destinations (Charteris-Black, 2011). The reason it is so popular in political discourse is that "it can be turned into a whole scenario where [politicians] represent themselves as 'guides', their policies as 'maps' and their supporters as 'fellow travelling companions'" (ibid: 47) and this helps them win people's trust.

In the coverage of the 2015 election we analysed, although it was a distinct metaphoric frame from the process frame, the journey frame complemented the latter notionally:

1. Scotland Tonight (reporter voice-over): 'They say all they need is a majority of seats in the Catalan Parliament and they'll **press right ahead** with the **roadmap** to forming their own state.'

2. Scotland Tonight (Catalan journalist): 'It's really difficult to **see it in the horizon**, as I can say, what they say is we want a mandate to start a new process of 18 months.'

3. 8 Al Dia (correspondent): 'The **van,** the process that this symbolizes, **is going slowly but it's arriving.**' ('La **furgoneta**, el procés que simbolitzava que **va lent però que arriba'**)

All highlighted words in the above examples map elements of the journey domain onto the target domain. The Catalan situation is presented as being in motion, moving (or "pressing ahead", in a "van" that is "arriving") on a physical road towards a destination which is not visible "in the horizon". In the last two examples the journey metaphoric frame collocates with the process frame. It is clear in both these examples that the journey is one manifestation of the process frame ("the process that this symbolizes"). In the above excerpts the destination of the metaphorical journey is independence, however in the Catalan coverage we also have examples where the destination is destruction instead:

4. 30 Minuts (former Spanish government minister and law expert): 'When **you leave** an unquestionable unity and you open spaces, every time that you open more self-government spaces, it is like **rushing towards dissolution at high speed**' ('Cuando **uno parte de** la unidad incuestionable y va abriendo espacios, cada vez que da más espacios de autogobierno, **es como ir hacia el vértigo de la disolución**').

Journey metaphors activate our experience not only of moving forward, but also of moving purposefully toward a specific destination. They are powerful because they additionally evoke a range of scenarios of what may happen during a journey, such as facing difficulties, delays or obstacles along the way, or even a road accident, as in excerpt 4 above. The journey metaphoric frame complements the process frame and for this reason it is located at the second level of the metaphoric frame network (figure 1): it translates what kind of process the Catalan process may be. The same is true of the standoff frame explored next.

THE CATALAN SITUATION IS A STANDOFF

The second metaphoric frame that complements the superordinate process frame uses a different source domain, which, although it has the element of movement in common with the journey frame, renders a different ontology to the process. Movement in this metaphoric frame is not part of a journey but of a conflict. However, like the journey frame, the standoff frame also elaborates on the superordinate process frame and is thus located at the second level of the hierarchy (figure 1).

THE CATALAN SITUATION IS A STANDOFF suggests the opposite of movement, the suspension of action. Just like other metaphors that emphasise a lack of change, the standoff metaphor contains a negative evaluation of the situation (Goatly, 2007: 172; Charteris-Black, 2011: 213). A standoff however is more complicated than simply a lack of movement and it does not evoke the imagery of a journey. It may be defined as a:

"situation of mutual and symmetrical threat, wherein [two] central parties face each other […] across some key divide. Stand-offs engage committed adversaries in a frozen and exposed moment of interaction. […] Participants in standoffs usually spend a good deal of time just waiting to see what the 'enemy' will do." (Wagner-Pacifici, 2000: 5-7).

A standoff is characterized by a diametric opposition between two antagonists. Prototypical examples of standoffs include hostage situations or building occupations dealt with by official authorities, such as the police (Wagner-Pacifici, 2000). The excerpts below exemplify the use of words from the standoff source domain to describe the Catalan situation:

5. Scotland Tonight (Hispanic studies academic): 'We know that the positions of both sides are very, very entrenched and I don't suppose **either of them is going to shift** particularly. And so it's very hard to see what's going to happen without knowing how the Spanish government is going to react exactly and whether the Catalans will **stand their ground** to whatever the Spanish government tries to do. So we could be in a **standoff** for a very long time to come.'

6. 8 Al Dia (anchor): 'Meanwhile the Spanish government **is not moving a millimeter from its position.**' (Mentrestant el govern espanyol **no es mou ni un mil·límetre** en la seva posició).

In excerpt 5 the Spanish and Catalan governments are mapped as the two antagonists. The standoff metaphor maps the negotiation between them as lack of physical movement ("[n]either of them is going to shift", "stand their ground"). In excerpt 6, the standoff is constructed as being caused by the Spanish government alone, which "is not moving a millimeter from its position".

All three components of the hierarchy in figure 1 that we discussed so far, namely the process, the journey and the standoff frames, are bound together *conceptually* by movement or its lack. Subsequently though, we will see that further metaphors are used to co-construct the process frame which don't involve movement. Yet these metaphors too elaborate on what kind of process the process frame involves, and are therefore part of the same frame network. At the third level of the network, coherence with the superordinate frames is achieved via *elaboration*, that is through metaphoric scenarios (Mussolf, 2006) of the standoff metaphoric frame, as will be explained directly below.

Ending the standoff: deal, surrender or violence?

On the third level of the metaphoric frame network (figure 1) we have further metaphoric frames, which express different scenarios of the standoff frame. Standoffs are essentially temporary situations and come with an inherent expectation that they will end eventually, but it is not possible to determine when. There are three possible conclusions to a standoff: a deal, whereby actors make concessions to the opponent and come to a mutual agreement; surrender, where the less powerful actor gives in; or violence (Wagner-Pacifici, 2000: 215). By using lexical expressions from the standoff domain therefore, the same possible metaphoric scenarios are transferred to the target domain, namely the Catalan situation.

These scenarios are not however expressed in our sample with metaphors from the standoff source domain. In fact the Scottish coverage hardly mentions them. In the Catalan coverage, by contrast, all three scenarios are present, but they are manifested through different metaphors. Although they are ontologically distinct, we argue that these metaphoric frames complement the standoff metaphor by "filling in" the parts of the script stereotypically associated with ending a standoff. The violence and surrender scenarios are expressed with war metaphors:

7. 30 Minuts (political expert): 'The **fortress** that will prevent this situation from degenerating into a **conflict** that nobody wants […] is Europe.' ('El **baluarte** para que esta situación no degenere en un **conflicto** que no quiere nadie (…) es Europa.'

8. 8 Al Dia (pro-independence politician): 'A nation that doesn´t want to **surrender**, doesn't want to **resign**, and it´s not going to resign, it´s not going to **surrender**'. ('Un poble que no es vol **rendir**, que no es vol **resignar** i no es **resignarà** i que no es **rendirà'**).

'Conflict', 'fortress' and 'surrender' are all lexical expressions of the metaphor THE CATALAN SITUATION IS WAR. The war source domain does not relate to movement, like all the previous frames/metaphors we examined, but it is still connected to the standoff metaphoric frame because it expresses two of the scenarios that may end the standoff, namely violence in example 7, and surrender in example 8. Both the violence and surrender scenarios are relatively rare in the coverage and when they appear, they are mostly found in the discourse of politicians rather than experts or journalists, but they are consistently expressed with the same source domain.

This connection between the war metaphor and the different standoff scenarios becomes even clearer in the example below:

9. 30 Minuts (law expert): 'The Spanish government would have to **put on the table** a different project, not only resort to **defending itself** from the independist project, but also to **defend** a project of its own' ('El gobierno español tendría que haber **puesto encima de la mesa** un proyecto diferente, no solo salir a **defenderse** del proyecto independentista, sino salir a **defender** su propio proyecto')

Excerpt 9 provides more lexical instances of the same war metaphor ("defending itself", "defend"), however what is significant about these is that they collocate with another metaphor, THE CATALAN SITUATION IS A NEGOTIATION TABLE. This latter metaphor articulates the deal scenario, the second of the three scenarios of the standoff discussed earlier. It is expressed by the metaphorical use of "to put on the table" and its contrasting with the war metaphor in sentence 9 suggests that it constitutes a different scenario within the standoff metaphor from the one expressed by the war metaphor. Here we propose that mixed metaphor does not just convey different aspects of a target domain (Kovecses, 2016) randomly, but that there is a logical relationship between these aspects, provided, at this level of the network, by metaphor scenarios. Indeed, the same expression of "sitting" at a metaphorical negotiation table is repeated in the Catalan coverage:

10. 30 Minuts (political expert): 'If there is a new majority [in the Spanish parliament, after the next general election] and it makes some kind of reform, Junts pel Si will have **to sit at the table** in some kind of way.' ('Si hay una nueva mayoría y se hace algún tipo de reforma, Junts pel Si va a tener que **sentarse en la mesa** de algún tipo de manera').

This, however, is not the only metaphoric frame used to represent the deal scenario for ending the standoff. THE CATALAN SITUATION IS A GAME OF CARDS from the source domain of games also conveys the same scenario of a deal:

11. Scotland Tonight (Catalan journalist): 'Everyone is **playing now hard**. [...] No one wants to **play these cards** in Catalonia without taking into account the consequences for the general elections in December.'

The presence of two source domains (negotiation table, game of cards) to express the deal scenario indicates that, among the three possible endings to a standoff proposed by Wagner Pacifici (2000), this is the one translated metaphorically the most and thus it is the preferred one. This is understandable, since it is the only option where both sides involved in the standoff may benefit to a certain extent and it is an in-between, non-radical solution. Moreover, the deal scenario is the only one of the three also found in the Scottish coverage (articulated through the card game metaphoric frame in excerpt 11).

It is therefore clear from the above discussion that, what might initially appear as a cluster of unconnected metaphors describing the Catalan situation is instead an interlinked hierarchy - what we have named a "metaphoric frame network". The journey, standoff, war, negotiation table, and cards game metaphoric frames are all hierarchically interlinked within the same narrative and they co-construct the content of the process frame. The three levels of the network presented above are bound together in relationships of complementation and elaboration, where one metaphoric frame expands on the other. This example has illustrated how the different levels of a metaphoric frame network may co-construct meaning, as opposed to how a single metaphoric frame works.

Our example has also demonstrated that key concepts in metaphor theory, such as metaphor hierarchies (Lakoff, 1993) and metaphoric scenarios (Mussolf, 2006) can enhance our understanding of how frames convey meaning. Our study supports and further extends the proposition that framing theory can be fruitfully expanded by exploring insights from metaphor theory (Castelló and Capdevila, 2015; Burgers et al, 2016).

Conclusions

The question of how source domains that describe a specific issue evolve over time and what this means for the evolution of discourses on this issue has often preoccupied researchers (Burgers, 2016; Nerghes et al., 2015; Matlock et al., 2014). However, this research strand does not focus on how different source domains may be used concurrently to describe an issue – in other words how different metaphors with the same target domain may co-exist at the same time, within the same texts, and how they relate to each other. This is a question our analysis has sought to address.

The role of metaphor in creating frames has traditionally been underappreciated. Not only can metaphors function as frames in themselves (Burgers et al., 2016), but, as we have argued here, a range of metaphoric frames may come together to comprise higher discourse units. In the metaphoric frame network concept that we have introduced, the upper levels are connected through common semantic threads (e.g. movement in the journey and standoff cases), and the lower levels through metaphoric scenarios.

The concept of the metaphoric frame network is important in highlighting that different metaphors do not necessarily focus our attention on different aspects of the same target domain, as has been previously suggested (Kovecses, 2016), but they also interconnect with each other to logically construct a narrative about the target domain, or the issue being discussed. Within these networks, micro-narratives associated with one frame are expressed through other metaphoric frames.

These insights are particularly useful for framing theory and empirical frame analysis, which often treat metaphor mechanistically as a linguistic indicator. In traditional thinking around framing, metaphor is not seen as a conceptual entity that organises thought and interpretation of issues and events in itself. Instead it is viewed as part of the vocabulary of a frame, whose presence in a text calls up the frame (Hertog and McLeod, 2001: 148). In other words, metaphor is considered as a 'framing device' similar to lexical choice, catch phrases or images (Gamson and Modigliani, 1989).

However, metaphor constructs a deeper and more complex narrative about issues than traditional framing theory acknowledges. As previously suggested (Burgers et al., 2016), metaphors can be frames in themselves and, additionally as we proposed here, frames may work together in networks to co-construct how issues are understood. Metaphors can connect narratively multiple scenarios with different source domains, acting as bridges of meaning that combine hierarchically to build superordinate constructs. This has important implications for how we operationalise frames and how we conceptualise the relationships between them.

Our proposed network structure can be adapted to other frames and issues in future studies and deliver a richer understanding of how different issues are framed in the public domain, as well as contribute to their more detailed analytical operationalisation. It is especially applicable in narratives around complex issues, such as conflicts with deep cultural roots. Both frames and metaphors are conceptual in nature as well as socially constructed; they therefore operate in similar ways and we have proposed a fruitful way of conceptualising how they co-create macro-narratives about social reality.

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