



A Contrastive Study of English and Spanish Campaigns against Domestic Violence

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Summary in Spanish/ Resumen en castellano

En las últimas décadas, la violencia de género se ha convertido en un problema social en diferentes países y se han lanzado muchas campañas contra la violencia de género con el propósito de concienciar e intentar luchar contra ella. En el ámbito de la lingüística, algunos estudios en el área del análisis del discurso se han centrado en el análisis de la violencia de género, así como en otros temas relacionados, tales como el abuso sexual o la victimización, analizando por ejemplo, procesos judiciales (Cotterill 2001; Erlich 2001), documentales o interrogatorios policiales (Michelle and Weaver 2003; Stokoe 2010), narrativas de víctimas (Núñez-Perucha 2004a, 2006), artículos periodísticos (Frazer and Miller 2009), películas (Wheeler 2009), canciones (Enk and McDaniel 2012) o conversaciones (Lockwood et al. 2012). Sin embargo, se ha prestado menos atención al análisis de la violencia de género en campañas contra la violencia de género (aunque véase Maíz-Arévalo 2008). Además, parece no haber estudios que comparen la representación de la violencia de género en campañas pertenecientes a dos o más lenguas. De esta manera, la presente investigación se centra en el análisis de varias campañas contra la violencia de género en el Reino Unido y España entre los años 2006 y 2011.

Las campañas contra la violencia de género pertenecen al discurso publicitario, y una de sus características es que es multimodal (Fairclough 1989, 1992, 1995a; Fairclough and Wodak 1997; Renkema 2004; Forceville and Urios-Aparisi 2009). Así, en un análisis de campañas contra la violencia de género, el papel de la multimodalidad debería tenerse en cuenta, porque imagen y lenguaje se articulan juntos para crear el significado global de los posters. La importancia del estudio del papel de la multimodalidad en el discurso publicitario puede enmarcarse en una tendencia más

general en humanidades hacia la multimodalidad (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996; Kress and Mavers 2005; Kress 2010; Ventola et al. 2004).

Por otra parte, el estudio de la representación de las mujeres y los hombres en el discurso publicitario se ha estudiado desde la lingüística en términos de un análisis multimodal (De Gregorio-Godeo 2009; Del Saz-Rubio and Pennock-Speck 2009; Martínez-Lirola and Chovanec 2012) y dentro de la lingüística cognitiva y del análisis crítico del discurso teniendo en cuenta el papel de las metáforas en la representación de género en anuncios (Velasco-Sacristán and Fuertes-Olivera 2006; Velasco-Sacristán 2010).

Esta investigación analiza campañas contra la violencia de género combinando teorías sobre metáfora y aspectos del Análisis Crítico del Discurso, con el fin de (1) ofrecer un estudio contrastivo de cómo la violencia de género se representa y cómo se posicionan los sujetos en posters contra la violencia de género en inglés y en español y (2) mostrar cómo éstos se dirigen a la audiencia (víctimas, maltratadores o testigos) para examinar si hay algunas diferencias o similitudes en posters contra la violencia de género en ambos idiomas.

Por una parte, debido a que la violencia de género es un problema social muy importante en la sociedad contemporánea, parece apropiado estudiarlo por medio del Análisis Crítico del Discurso porque, como Fairclough and Wodak (1997: 271) declaran, éste aborda problemas sociales. Por otro lado, uno de los propósitos de las campañas de violencia de género, como el discurso publicitario en general, es la persuasión y debido a esto, es probable encontrar metáforas en ellas (El Refaie 2009, Koller 2009, Urios-Aparisi 2009), por lo que el papel de la metáfora en posters contra violencia de género, desde una perspectiva cognitiva, también se tiene en cuenta en este trabajo.

Según este primer objetivo, es decir, la representación de la violencia de género en campañas inglesas y españolas, este estudio identifica y analiza las representaciones metafóricas más comunes asociadas con violencia de género en campañas inglesas y españolas desde una perspectiva multimodal, es decir, cómo la violencia de género se representa a través del uso de metáforas multimodales en cada lengua, al igual que mediante otras representaciones no metafóricas. Asimismo, este estudio también examinará el posicionamiento de los sujetos para estudiar cómo se construyen, es decir, cómo se representan los hombres y mujeres.

El análisis ha demostrado que los posters de ambos corpora señalan ciertos aspectos de la violencia de género mediante la relación del texto y la imagen. Normalmente, la imagen por si sola no hace referencia a la violencia de género sino que la combinación de texto e imagen contribuye a transmitir las representaciones de violencia de género. Sin embargo, sus efectos en la audiencia son probablemente mayores mediante la imagen debido a lo impactantes que suelen ser, especialmente los posters ingleses.

Se puede observar que algunas de las representaciones de la violencia de género se encuentran tanto en campañas inglesas como españolas mientras que cada corpus tiene algunas representaciones específicas. Así, la violencia de género no se representa de la misma manera en el Reino Unido y en España y estas diferencias pueden deberse a diferencias culturales porque las campañas contra la violencia de género transmiten ciertos aspectos ideológicos y culturales.

En las campañas inglesas, parece haber una tendencia a representar el daño físico como el signo más claro de la violencia de género, que está relacionado con la representación metafórica de ésta en términos deportivos, concretamente como un partido de fútbol o como boxeo, donde los hombres aparecen como los jugadores o

boxeadores, mientras que las mujeres serían los objetos que reciben sus patadas y puñetazos, relacionando la violencia de género con una víctima femenina y un agresor masculino.

En las campañas españolas, parece haber una tendencia a representar la violencia de género principalmente en términos de ausencia de control. De esta manera, la falta de control de la víctima es uno de los efectos de la violencia de género que este corpus trata de destacar, es decir, la víctima de la violencia de género no posee ningún tipo de control y el agresor la controla.

Parece relevante destacar que a pesar de estas tendencias de representar el daño físico y la ausencia de control como los principales signos de la violencia de género en el corpus inglés y español respectivamente, estas representaciones aparecen en ambos corpora. Otra metáfora que aparece en ambos corpora, tanto visual como verbalmente, es LA VIOLENCIA DE GÉNERO ES UN ESPECTÁCULO. Asimismo, en ambos corpora la violencia de género se representa afectando a la mujer, es decir, independientemente del destinatario, estos posters principalmente representan a las mujeres como víctimas. Además, en el corpus español la violencia de género también aparece como afectando a los niños, que no son meros espectadores de la violencia de género sino que también son víctimas.

Por otra parte, la idea de muerte como uno de los efectos de la violencia de género aparece en ambos corpora. Sin embargo, las campañas inglesas son visualmente más impactantes y más frecuentemente asocian de manera visual la violencia de género con muerte y asesinato, es decir, la violencia de género puede conducir a la muerte y tiene que considerarse un crimen, mientras que en las campañas españolas la presuposición juega un papel importante en la interpretación de la muerte como una de las consecuencias de la violencia de género. En este sentido, la violencia de género en

las campañas inglesas se describe como un asesinato y un crimen, mientras que en las campañas españolas aparece como algo intolerable.

Los datos obtenidos del corpus han revelado que, aunque la violencia de género se entiende principalmente en términos de daño físico, no es sólo asociada con daño físico sino también con daño emocional, y en ambos corpora se representa como algo que tiene una víctima femenina. Asimismo, algunos de los posters de ambos corpora se construyen intertextualmente mediante la combinación de las voces de diferentes sujetos y la voz de las instituciones.

En cuanto al segundo objetivo, es decir, la representación de la audiencia, este estudio tiene en cuenta por ejemplo, el papel del léxico, el uso de los pronombres y el papel de la intertextualidad o presencia de diferentes voces. Así, esta investigación trata de analizar si estas campañas están dirigidas a las víctimas, maltratadores o testigos, y cómo se posicionan los destinatarios en ambos corpora, intentando revelar ciertos patrones en común en relación a la audiencia de estos posters, para ofrecer una visión más completa de cómo se representa la violencia de género en posters ingleses y españoles contra la violencia de género.

Los resultados muestran que el corpus inglés parece estar principalmente dirigido a testigos de la violencia de género y a víctimas, mientras que el corpus español a víctimas de la violencia de género y a testigos, pero los agresores apenas aparecen como los destinatarios de este tipo de campañas en ninguno de los corpora. Además, mientras que en ninguno de los posters ingleses se puede encontrar la voz de las víctimas, cuatro de los posters españoles muestran las palabras de la víctima, siendo así un ejemplo para otras mujeres viviendo la misma situación y animándolas a denunciar, y se construyen intertextualmente mediante la combinación de la voz de las víctimas y de las instituciones.

Abstract

In recent times, domestic violence has become an important cause of concern in different countries and many campaigns against domestic violence have been launched in order to try to fight against it and to increase public awareness. In the area of Linguistics, some studies have dealt with the study of domestic violence and other related topics such as sexual abuse or victimization (Cotterill 2001; Erlich 2001; Michelle and Weaver 2003; Núñez-Perucha 2004a, 2006; Frazer and Miller 2009; Wheeler 2009; Stokoe 2010; Enk and McDaniel 2012; Lockwood et al. 2012). However, less attention has been paid to the analysis of domestic violence as it takes shape in campaigns against domestic violence (but see Maíz-Arévalo 2008) and there seem to be no studies comparing the representation of domestic violence in campaigns in two or more languages. Thus, this piece of research focuses on the analysis of several campaigns against domestic violence launched in the UK and in Spain between 2006 and 2011, combining metaphor theories and aspects of Critical Discourse Analysis. This study offers a contrastive study of how domestic violence is represented and how subjects are positioned in English and Spanish posters against domestic violence. In order to do this, it examines the metaphorical representations of domestic violence and other non-metaphorical representations from a multimodal perspective, as well as showing how the target audience of them is addressed, taking into account for instance, the role of lexis, the use of pronouns and the role of intertextuality. The results show that the posters of both corpora highlight certain aspects of domestic violence by means of the relationship between verbal and visual modes. Moreover, the analysis suggests that some of the posters of both corpora are intertextually built and that domestic violence in both corpora is mainly represented as having a female victim.

KEYWORDS: Domestic violence, metaphor, multimodality, discourse analysis, intertextuality.

Table of Contents

| | |
|---|--------------|
| 1. Introduction | 11-14 |
| 2. Theoretical Background | 14-36 |
| 2.1. Advertising discourse as multimodal discourse: the importance of the study of multimodality | 15-18 |
| 2.2. Advertising discourse and gender representations | 18-19 |
| 2.3. CDA and gender studies | 19-24 |
| 2.4. Metaphor views and functions | 24-32 |
| 2.4.1. Conceptual Metaphor Theory | 25-26 |
| 2.4.2. Nonverbal and multimodal metaphors | 26-28 |
| 2.4.3. Multimodal metaphors and persuasion in advertising | 28-30 |
| 2.4.4. The study of metaphor and ideology | 30-32 |
| 2.5. An overview of linguistic studies on domestic violence | 32-36 |
| 3. Corpus and methodology | 36-43 |
| 3.1. The Corpus: Description and Selection | 36-42 |
| 3.1.1. The English Campaigns | 36-39 |
| 3.1.2. The Spanish Campaigns | 39-42 |
| 3.2. Methodology | 42-43 |
| 4. The representation of domestic violence and subjects in English and Spanish campaigns | 43-68 |
| 4.1. The representation of domestic violence and subjects in English campaigns | 44-57 |

| | |
|---|---------------|
| 4.2. The representation of domestic violence and subjects in Spanish campaigns | 57-68 |
| 5. The representation of the target audience | 68-77 |
| 5.1. Target audience in the English corpus | 68-73 |
| 5.2. Target audience in the Spanish corpus | 73-77 |
| 6. Conclusion | 77-81 |
| References | 82-86 |
| Source Text Websites | 87-88 |
| Other Websites | 89 |
| Appendix A: English posters against domestic violence analysed | 90-97 |
| Appendix B: Spanish posters against domestic violence analysed | 98-103 |

List of Tables

Table 1: Posters in the English corpus

Table 2: Posters in the Spanish corpus

Table 3: Signs of domestic violence in the English corpus

Table 4: Distribution of metaphors in the English corpus

Table 5: DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IS A FOOTBALL MATCH

Table 6: DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IS BOXING

Table 7: DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IS WAR

Table 8: DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IS A SHOW

Table 9: Signs of domestic violence in the Spanish corpus

Table 10: Distribution of metaphors in the Spanish corpus

Table 11: DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IS A CONTAINER

Table 12: DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IS A FOOTBALL MATCH

Table 13: DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IS A SHOW

Table 14: Distribution of addresses in the different English posters and campaigns

Table 15: Distribution of addresses in the different Spanish posters and campaigns

1. Introduction

In recent times, domestic violence has become an important cause of concern in different countries and many campaigns against domestic violence have been launched in order to try to fight against it and to increase public awareness. In the area of Linguistics, some studies in the field of discourse analysis have dealt with the study of domestic violence and other related topics such as sexual abuse or victimization, focusing on different texts such as trials and sexual assault adjudication processes (Cotterill 2001; Erlich 2001), police documentaries and interrogations (Michelle and Weaver 2003; Stokoe 2010), victims' narratives (Núñez-Perucha 2004a, 2006), mass media reports (Frazer and Miller 2009), films (Wheeler 2009), songs (Enk and McDaniel 2012) or conversations from focus groups and interviews (Lockwood et al. 2012). However, less attention has been paid to the analysis of domestic violence as it takes shape in campaigns against domestic violence, but see Maíz-Arévalo's (2008) study on Spanish campaigns following a social semiotic approach. Furthermore, there seem to be no studies comparing the representation of domestic violence in domestic violence campaigns in two or more languages. Thus, this piece of research focuses on the analysis of several campaigns against domestic violence launched in the UK and in Spain between 2006 and 2011.

Campaigns against domestic violence belong to advertising discourse, one of its features being that it is multimodal. Thus, in an analysis of campaigns against domestic violence, the role of multimodality should be taken into account, because image and language are articulated together in order to create the overall meaning of the posters. The importance of the study of the role of multimodality in advertising discourse can be embodied in a more general trend in the humanities towards multimodality (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996; Kress and Mavers 2005; Kress 2010; Ventola et al. 2004).

Likewise, the study of women and men's representation in discourse, more specifically in advertising discourse, has been recently addressed from linguists in terms of a multimodal analysis (De Gregorio-Godeo 2009; Del Saz-Rubio and Pennock-Speck 2009; Martínez-Lirola and Chovanec 2012) and within Cognitive Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA hereafter) taking into account the role of metaphors in gender representation in advertisements (Velasco-Sacristán and Fuertes-Olivera 2006; Velasco-Sacristán 2010).

This paper deals with the analysis of campaigns against domestic violence, combining metaphor theories and aspects of CDA, with the following two main objectives in mind:

1. To offer a contrastive study of how domestic violence is represented and how subjects are positioned in English and Spanish posters against domestic violence.
2. To show how the target audience of the English and Spanish campaigns is addressed.

In particular, the research questions can be formulated as follows:

1. How is domestic violence represented in English and Spanish posters against domestic violence and how are subjects (men and women) positioned in English and Spanish posters against domestic violence?
2. Who is the target audience (victims, abusers and third parties) of this kind of posters and how it is addressed?
3. Are there any differences or similarities between the representation of domestic violence in English and Spanish campaigns against domestic violence?

On the one hand, due to the fact that domestic violence is a very important social problem in contemporary societies, it should be studied by means of CDA because as

Fairclough and Wodak (1997: 271) claim, CDA addresses social problems. On the other hand, one of the aims of domestic violence campaigns, as advertising discourse in general, is persuasion and due to this intention of persuasion, metaphors are likely to be found in them, so the role of metaphor in posters against domestic violence, from a cognitive approach, should also be taken into account in this paper.

Having the first aim in mind, that is, the representation of domestic violence in English and Spanish campaigns, this study focuses on the analysis of the metaphorical representations of domestic violence and other non-metaphorical representations that are highlighted in them. Thus, the most common metaphorical representations associated with domestic violence in English and Spanish campaigns against domestic violence will be identified and analysed from a multimodal perspective, taking into account the visual and written modes of the posters in order to identify what kind of metaphors are conveyed both by the text and by the image and how the combination of them may contribute to the meaning of the posters, that is, how domestic violence is represented through the use of multimodal metaphors in each language. The study of metaphorical representations regarding domestic violence in English and Spanish posters may be useful to examine the unconscious aspects of ideology that are conveyed by means of those metaphors and may shed some light on how domestic violence is represented. Apart from the metaphorical representations, this contrastive study is also meant to analyse other non-metaphorical representations of domestic violence. In addition, the positioning of the subjects will also be examined in order to study how they are construed, that is, how men and women are represented.

As far as the second main aim is concerned, that is, the representation of the target audience, this study takes into account some aspects of CDA, for instance, the role of lexis, the use of pronouns and the role of intertextuality or the presence of

different voices, among other things. Thus, this paper is aimed at analysing whether these campaigns are addressed to victims, abusers or third parties, and how addressees are positioned in these two corpora, trying to discover certain common patterns regarding the target audience of these posters, in order to offer a more comprehensive view of how domestic violence is depicted in English and Spanish posters against domestic violence.

In sum, the present study is expected to provide a way of understanding how domestic violence is depicted in the United Kingdom and in Spain. In fact, a contrastive study of English and Spanish campaigns against domestic violence may shed some light on the differences and similarities in the representation of domestic violence in both countries.

This study is organised as follows. After the introduction section, the theoretical background offers a description of advertising discourse as multimodal discourse and of the importance of the study of gender representations and previous linguistic studies on domestic violence. Second, a description of the English and Spanish campaigns is offered and the methodology is explained. Afterwards, the analysis and discussion of data are presented. Here attention is paid to the analysis of the most common metaphorical and non-metaphorical representations of domestic violence and to the positioning of the subjects, as well as the study of the target audience. Finally, Section 6 presents some concluding remarks, summarising the study and drawing some preliminary conclusions.

2. Theoretical Background

This section offers an overview of the theoretical framework underlying the present study. First, an overview about advertising discourse as multimodal discourse and the

importance of the study of multimodality is provided. Second, some previous studies on gender representation in advertising discourse are presented. Finally, some previous linguistic studies addressing domestic violence from a CDA and cognitive approaches are included.

2.1. Advertising discourse as multimodal discourse: the importance of the study of multimodality

Advertising discourse is a major discourse type in contemporary societies that “can tell us a good deal about our own society and our own psychology” (Cook, 1992: 5) and one of its features is that it is multimodal. As Fairclough (1989: 208) points out, in advertising there is a tendency to combine verbal and visual elements in order to constitute texts. The importance of the study of the role of multimodality in advertising discourse can be inscribed in a more general trend in the humanities towards multimodality, that is, research in the humanities is beginning to shift from a focus on exclusively verbal text to discourses in which language is one of the communicative modes (Forceville and Urios-Aparisi, 2009: 3). As Renkema (2004: 76) points out, in discourse studies the simultaneous use of modes was neglected during a long time but in the last decades multimodality has become an important factor in discourse studies. According to Kress and Mavers (2005: 172), “language alone can no longer give us full access to the meanings of most contemporary messages, which are now constituted in several **modes** [...] Each mode, language included, is a partial bearer of meaning only”. As Hodge and Kress (1995: vii) put it

Meaning resides so strongly and pervasively in other systems of meaning, in a multiplicity of visual, aural, behavioural and other codes, that a concentration on words alone is not enough [...] no single code can be successfully studied or fully understood in isolation.

Some of the main figures in critical linguistics have been recently involved in developing Social Semiotics, which focuses on the multi-semiotic character of most texts in contemporary society (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 264; Fairclough, 1995a: 4). In other words, there is a concern with a variety of semiotic systems and with the interplay between language and visual semiosis (Fairclough, 1992: 29-30), that is, with multimodality. According to Kress and Van Leeuwen (1998: 186), all texts are multimodal and language always comes in the company of other semiotic modes. This offers a way “of accounting for the multiple modes in which signs can be made and of understanding more about the interrelationships between different modes” (Kress and Mavers, 2005: 175). Putting it differently, human societies use a variety of modes of representation that interact, each mode having a different potential for meaning-making, depending on the social context (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996: 39-40). Therefore, according to Kress (2010: 6), the semiotic effects are recognizable at the level of *media* and the *dissemination* of messages, especially in the shift from the book to the screen; at the level of *semiotic production* in the shift from the older technologies of print to digital means; and in *representation*, in the shift from the dominance of writing to the visual mode, as well as others. This author argues that nowadays multimodality is impossible to overlook, because

We are in the centre of a major hysterical move in so-called technologically developed (western) societies which is re-ordering the public, social weighting of the various media of expression. The visual is becoming increasingly dominant, as the verbal is becoming less so in many areas of public communication – and this is not simply the effect of technology [...] it is the effect of much larger social forces, of which multiculturalism is one significant one (1996: 20)

As Anthonissen (2003: 310-311) notes, there are circumstances in which visual media seem to say more than the verbal and some kinds of information may be more directly

communicated visually than verbally, for instance in the printed media, which provides a suitable context for using more than the written word in communicating sensitive material. On the one hand, nowadays different modes or signifying systems are often complemented or combined, establishing interactions between them (Forceville and Urios-Aparisi, 2009: 3). On the other hand, texts in contemporary society are increasingly becoming visual (Fairclough, 1995b: 17; Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996: 4; Fairclough, 1989: 28, 208), mainly “controlled by the global cultural/technological empires of the mass media” (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996: 4). In this sense, they argue that images play a very important role because texts such as newspapers, magazines or advertisements involve a combination of written text and images (1996: 15). According to them, “the place of language in public forms of communication is changing. Language is moving from its former, unchallenged role as *the* medium of communication, to a role as *one* medium of communication” (1996: 34), thus suggesting that the boundaries between language and image in printed media are becoming less pronounced by the influence of media communication, and they offer a framework for analysing visual images and understanding the interaction between verbal and visual components, which is also the case in advertising discourse, as mentioned at the beginning of this section. Furthermore, these authors claim that the meanings which can be realised in language and in visual communication overlap and diverge in part, that is, some things can be expressed both visually and verbally and some things can be conveyed only visually or verbally (1996: 2). Thus, as noted by Goddard (1998: 16), “readers do not simply read images in isolation from the verbal text that accompanies them; nor do they read the verbal text without reference to accompanying images.” Therefore, the strongest argument for the connection between language and image is, as Stöckl (2004: 19) observes, their co-presence in almost all

forms of communication, that is, they are combined reciprocally balancing out the limitations and weaknesses of each mode. As a result, in CDA research, language is increasingly critically analysed together with other semiotic modes (Lazar, 2007: 144) because a multimodal approach to the study of discourse is necessary for the analysis of meaning-making practices (Lazar, 2007: 156). In this sense, in an analysis of campaigns against domestic violence, which might be considered as a type of advertising discourse, the role of multimodality should be taken into account. In these campaigns, image and language are articulated together in order to create the overall meaning of the posters, and multimodality plays an important role.

2.2. Advertising discourse and gender representations

The study of gender and women and men's representation in discourse, more specifically in advertising discourse, has been recently addressed from linguists in terms of a multimodal analysis. For example, De Gregorio-Godeo (2009) analyses the multimodal discursive construction of masculinity in British men's magazines' scent advertising by means of the integration of Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996) social semiotics framework and Fairclough's (1995) CDA methodology for the examination of media discourse. Del Saz-Rubio and Pennock-Speck (2009) deal with the multimodal analysis of a corpus of Spanish and British TV ads featuring female hygiene products, which indirectly transmit stereotypical beliefs of women which help to reproduce and sometimes perpetuate a gender-biased type of discourse. They analyse how female identities are constructed through these menstruation-related products TV commercials, which either tend to focus on the advantages of the product as the solution to women's worries during menstruation, something that brings the negative aspects of this biological activity to prominence, or create a female identity based on the celebration of

womanhood, thus breaking with old myths and taboos. Martínez-Lirola and Chovanec (2012) describe multimodal and rhetorical strategies in cosmetic surgery leaflets, analysing how advertising discourse exploits the image of an idealised female body in order to achieve its economic goals, in particular, by means of the visual mode, which can non-verbally reproduce stereotyped representations.

The study of gender representation in advertising discourse has also been addressed combining Cognitive Linguistics and CDA. For example, the paper by Velasco-Sacristán and Fuertes-Olivera (2006) on advertisements published in British Cosmopolitan deals with the convenience of a critical cognitive-pragmatic approach to gender metaphors, which are considered indirect cognitive-pragmatic devices used to give rise to sexist interpretations. Thus, by means of the combination of cognitivism, pragmatics and CDA they claim that advertising gender metaphors provide an opportunity to consider gender relations in advertising. Along these lines, Velasco-Sacristán (2010), focusing on advertising gender metaphors in commercial ads published in British Cosmopolitan, offers an integrated cognitive-pragmatic approach to the interaction of metaphor and metonymy.

2.3. CDA and gender studies

Campaigns against domestic violence, on which this paper is focused, might be considered as a type of advertising discourse. As Goddard (1998: 10) claims, “advertising is not just about the commercial promotion of branded products, but can also encompass the idea of texts whose intention is to enhance the image of an individual, group or organization.” In this sense, posters of campaigns against domestic violence are not aimed at selling a product but at trying to fight against it by means of increasing public awareness.

As Mooney (2000: 2-3) points out, domestic violence has always existed but it has only become publicly evident since the 1970s, as well as being increasingly recognised as a serious social problem. Thus, nowadays domestic violence is continuously present on the media, and it has become a priority for many local authorities and police divisions around the world.

In the field of Linguistics, this issue has been mainly studied from a CDA perspective. As pointed out by van Dijk (1993: 280), CDA is “primarily interested and motivated by pressing social issues which it hopes to better understand through discourse analysis.” This author claims that CDA is “a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context” (2001: 352). According to Fairclough (1989: 5), *critical* is used to reveal connections which may be hidden from people, for instance, “connections between language, power and ideology as imposed by powerful elites.” Fairclough and Wodak (1997: 271-280) distinguish eight features of CDA:

- CDA addresses social problems.
- Power relations are discursive.
- Discourse constitutes society and culture.
- Discourse does ideological work.
- Discourse is historical.
- The link between text and society is mediated.
- Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory.
- Discourse is a form of social action.

As they mention, CDA analyses social problems. Consequently, due to the fact that domestic violence is a very important social problem in contemporary societies, it should be studied by means of a CDA approach.

Moreover, Fairclough (1995b, 1992) claims that any text is both socially shaped and socially shaping, that is, discourse does not only reproduce society (social identities,

social relationships, systems of knowledge and belief) but it also contributes to transform it. Thus, he links discourse analysis to analysis of social and cultural change, pointing out that the mass media have the power to influence knowledge and beliefs, social relations and social identities. Media discourse, like any other text, simultaneously represents the world (ideational function) and enacts social relations and identities (interpersonal function), as well as seeing texts as built out of choices which can carry ideological meaning (1995b: 25). As he points out, “media texts constitute a sensitive barometer of sociocultural change” (1995b: 52), and, as a result, the “analysis of media language should be recognized as an important element within research on contemporary processes of social and cultural change, a theme which is attracting growing interest in the social sciences” (1995b: 2). Therefore, the analysis of the discourse (taking into account both language and image) in campaigns against domestic violence can make a contribution to research about this relevant sociocultural aspect because, as Fairclough (1995b: 126) points out, understanding how relations and identities are constructed in the media plays an important role in the understanding of relations of power and domination in contemporary societies, as well as projecting cultural values.

To his theory of the investigation of discursive change within wider processes of cultural and social change he adds an intertextual view of texts, which is important because of his focus upon discourse in social change. He defines *intertextuality* as “the property texts have of being full of snatches of other texts, which may be explicitly demarcated or merged in” (1992: 84), that is, how a text incorporates parts of other texts at different levels of heterogeneity (1992: 104). He draws a distinction between *manifest intertextuality*, which consists of the constitution of texts out of specific other texts, and *interdiscursivity* or *constitutive intertextuality*, the constitution of texts out of elements

of orders of discourse (1992: 85). The notion of intertextuality is related to what Fairclough (1995b: 13) refers to as the presence of a diversity of *voices* which are textured together or incorporated into the text (Fairclough, 2003: 47-53). As a result, he thinks that texts “are inherently intertextual, constituted by elements of other texts” and that intertextuality should be a main focus in discourse analysis due to the contemporary fast transformation and restructuring of textual traditions and orders of discourse (1992: 102). Thus, he mentions that intertextuality has important implications for “the constitution of subjects through texts, and the contribution of changing discursive practices to changes in social identity” (1992: 133), that is, intertextuality plays a central role in the understanding of processes of subject constitution.

It is also worth noting that Fairclough (1995b: 106-108) also mentions the importance of absences from the text because any text consists of explicit meanings, or what is actually said, and implicit meanings or what is left unsaid but taken as presupposed. As he points out, “texts inevitably make assumptions. What is ‘said’ in a text is ‘said’ against a background of what is ‘unsaid’, but taken as given. As with intertextuality, assumptions connect one text to other texts” (2003: 40). Therefore, intertextuality and assumptions are also related, and in his discussion about the contrast between them, Fairclough (2003: 41) claims that intertextuality opens up difference by bringing other ‘voices’ into a text, accentuating the dialogicality (the dialogue between the voice of the author and other voices) of a text, whereas assumption reduces difference by assuming common ground, that is, it diminishes the dialogicality of a text. Thus, Fairclough (2003: 214) considers all texts as dialogical, establishing relations between different voices, but all texts are not equally dialogical. He mentions “a scale of dialogicality, in which the most dialogical option is the inclusion of other voices and the attribution to them of quotations (a form of intertextuality), and the least

dialogical option is assumption, taking things as given” (2003: 61). With regard to this, he says that implicitness and assumptions are an important issue with respect to ideology (2003: 55).

Regarding the presence of different voices in texts, Goddard (1998: 7-10) claims that the idea of advertisements as simple texts has been challenged and advertisements often involve complex sets of addressers and addressees (see also Núñez-Perucha 2009); there might be several voices, messages and different audience groups. Consequently, the analysis of intertextuality and the different voices in campaigns against domestic violence may be useful to study the construction of identities and relations in them, that is, how the victims, aggressors and witnesses are represented.

It should be noted that, as mentioned before, CDA sees discourse as a form of social practice. As Erlich (2001: 35-36) mentions, CDA assumes that dominant social structures are partly discursive and tries to show how such discursive practices encode and support unequal social relations and contribute to their production and reproduction, that is, language functions as an ideological filter, shaping and constructing our reality rather than labelling that reality in a transparent way. As a result, discourse analysis provides a powerful, subtle and precise way to show the everyday manifestations and displays of social problems in communication and interaction (van Dijk, 1985: 7). Consequently, CDA is necessary to social change, and specifically to the main aim of this contrastive study. As illustrated by Sunderland and Litosseliti (2002: 1), “a discourse approach to the study of gender and language can facilitate the study of the complex and often subtle ways in which gender identities are represented, constructed and contested through language.” In this sense, Erlich (2001: 61) points out that the way that domestic violence is linguistically encoded can affect individuals’ interpretations of

it and that ideologies have to be challenged because if they are “left unchallenged, such ideologies become ‘naturalized’, rendered invisible and commonsensical.”

An effective way of catching the audience’s attention is, as Bellés (2005: 65) and Semino (2008: 168) argue, using metaphors. Metaphor is likely to influence people’s way of thinking and understanding and it works as a persuasive strategy (Charteris-Black 2005; Semino 2008). Domestic violence campaigns, as advertising discourse in general, have a persuasive intention, metaphors being likely to be found in them. As claimed by Schilperoord and Maes (2009: 232), metaphor is argumentative. For this reason, in an analysis of the role of metaphor in campaigns against domestic violence, the role that metaphor plays in persuasion should be taken into account. According to Hawkins (2001b: 49), there are powerful social dimensions to language usage and “cognitive linguistics can be of considerable utility in a critical analysis of the strategic manipulation of human language to accomplish certain social and/or political goals.” Campaigns against domestic violence are behaviour-change campaigns that want to persuade people to fight against it and influence people’s way of thinking, that is, they try to influence attitudes and to raise awareness about the importance of taking responsibility in order to stop domestic violence, as well as urging victims not to remain silent but to report it. Due to this intention of persuasion, metaphors are likely to be found in campaigns against domestic violence.

2.4. Metaphor views and functions

This section deals with an overview of Conceptual Metaphor Theory, nonverbal and multimodal metaphors, multimodal metaphors in advertising and the study of metaphor and ideology.

2.4.1. Conceptual Metaphor Theory

Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) considers that metaphors are a conceptual rather than a linguistic phenomenon and this theory, since *Metaphor and Thought* (Ortony, 1979) and *Metaphors We Live By* (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980), has had a great impact on the analysis of metaphor, involving a change in metaphor research from a primarily verbal to a conceptual phenomenon. In Cognitive Linguistics, the interpretation of metaphor and metonymy has been a major concern, shifting the focus of analysis from the stylistics and embellishing function of them in discourse to their structure and language use (Panther, 2006: 147). Thus, metaphor influences or reflects thinking, as claimed by Geeraerts (2006: 42), and it is not simply an ornamental aspect of language, but a way of conceptualising the world (Gibbs, 2008: 3). Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 147) discovered that many of our experiences and activities are metaphorical in nature and much of our conceptual system is structured by metaphor, language being shaped by metaphors. For them (1980:153), “metaphor is primarily a matter of thought and action and only derivatively a matter of language.” As Rohrer (2006: 125) points out, they called these kind of metaphors conceptual metaphors in order to distinguish them from the previous tradition of linguistic or literary metaphors and to highlight that conceptual metaphors are a matter of cognition and conceptual structure, since Cognitive Linguistics considers that language is integrated with the other cognitive capacities (Geeraerts, 2006: 29). Thus, CMT, as Lakoff and Johnson’s model is usually referred to, claims that “metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action” and that “[o]ur ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature” (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 3). As a result, as Forceville (2006: 379) puts it, this “humans’ pervasive use of verbal metaphor reflects the fact that they think largely metaphorically.”

Metaphor in Cognitive Linguistics is generally regarded as a cognitive mechanism relating two separate conceptual domains by means of mappings of features from a source domain to a target domain (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). As Coulson (2006: 188) points out, conceptual metaphor theory is aimed at identifying and explaining systematic correspondences in language between two cognitive domains, where the second domain (target) is partially understood in terms of the first one (source). As a result, conceptualisations of many phenomena have relied on metaphorical forms, in which the metaphor's target is usually abstract and its source is concrete, and its interpretation depends on the mapping of features between both of them (Forceville, 2006: 380). As Semino (2008: 1) claims, metaphor is the phenomenon whereby we think and talk about something in terms of something else. Therefore, in campaigns against domestic violence, domestic violence will be identified as the target domain and it will be conceptualised in terms of another domain (i.e. the source domain).

2.4.2. Nonverbal and multimodal metaphors

Forceville (2006: 381) points out that, although Lakoff and Johnson's characterisation of metaphor as understanding one kind of thing in terms of another does not mention the word *verbal* or *linguistic*, CMT considers metaphors as exclusively verbal. However, he deals with the idea that conceptual metaphors may occur non-verbally and multimodally as well as verbally. He further claims that some aspects of metaphors may only take place in multimodal representations. One consequence of the idea that "metaphor [is] not a figure of speech, but a mode of thought" (Lakoff, 1993: 210) is the CMT's belief that people think metaphorically, that is, metaphor is considered as a cognitive mechanism that characterises thinking. Thus, it is not an exclusive feature of language,

and it can occur in other modes apart from language, such as pictures, music, sounds, and gestures (Forceville and Urios-Aparisi, 2009: 4; Forceville, 2006: 379, Yu, 2009: 123). Consequently, Forceville (2006) distinguishes between monomodal and multimodal metaphors. On the one hand, monomodal metaphors are “metaphors whose target and source are exclusively or predominantly rendered in one mode” (2006: 383), that is, their target and source domains are conveyed by the same mode, the verbal metaphor being the prototypical one. On the other hand, multimodal metaphors are those “whose target and source are each represented exclusively or predominantly in different modes” (2006: 384). In this sense, Forceville (2006: 381) claims that a theory of metaphor cannot only be based on verbal manifestations, since this may result in a biased view of metaphor because each of the modes can cue, in its own or in combination, metaphorical targets and sources. As a result, he distinguishes between different types of modes such as pictorial signs, written signs, spoken signs, gestures, sounds, music, smells, tastes and touch (2006: 383). In this sense, Forceville and Urios-Aparisi (2009: 4) point out that what can be conveyed differs from one mode to another and the choices for particular modes over others will affect the overall meaning. According to these authors (2009: 13), non-verbal and multimodal metaphors may make salient certain aspects that are not expressible in their verbal manifestations. For this reason, it is necessary to integrate the different modes in order to analyse how they contribute to the overall meaning (Urios-Aparisi, 2009: 96). Moreover, Yus (2009: 147) points out that when multimodality is analysed in metaphors, the verbal and visual inputs do not need different interpretive strategies. In this sense, the interpretation of verbal, visual and multimodal metaphors is “decoded by specialized mental modules [...and] involves the hearer’s inferential adjustment of the concept that the speaker encodes” (Yus, 2009: 148).

As pointed out by Forceville (2006: 394), if metaphor is a key element in human thinking, and, if this is not only reflected in verbal manifestations, researching multimodal metaphor is necessary for the further development of metaphor studies, given its contribution to the more recent field of multimodality in general (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996; Ventola et al., 2004).

According to Zbikowski (2009: 364-365), due to the fact that much of our communication is realised through language, the contribution of non-linguistic forms of communication to the construction of meaning often goes unnoticed, but non-linguistic forms of communication are an important way in which humans shape their thought. Consequently, the analysis of the different modes that are “chosen to convey a metaphor is a central factor in how a metaphor is construed and interpreted” (Forceville, 2007: 15) because each mode has “its own possibilities and limitations of meaning” (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996: 17).

2.4.3. Multimodal metaphors and persuasion in advertising

Although, as stated by Kristiansen et al. (2006: 10), multimodal systems are now dominating global communication systems, non-verbal and multimodal metaphors have been less studied than verbal metaphors. However, during the last years considerable research has been devoted to the study of multimodality and there has been growing interest in multimodal metaphors in different areas (Forceville 2006; Forceville and Urios-Aparisi 2009), especially in advertising (Koller 2009; Urios-Aparisi 2009; Yu 2009), where the purpose is to attract the attention of potential customers and create cognitive links between the product and some desirable abstract quality (El Refaie, 2009: 175). Therefore, as far as multimodal metaphor in advertising is concerned, its context and the persuasive functions of advertising must be taken into account in order

to understand how metaphor creates meaning (Urios-Aparisi, 2009: 111). As noted by Koller (2009: 49), multimodal metaphor in advertisements may be used as a persuasive tool because it requires the reader to construct a meaningful reading by considering verbal and visual elements together, which reinforces the conceptualisation of the product in the reader's mind. She also points out that the persuasive aim would be therefore less likely to be met if the visuals were omitted, especially since the elements that are visualised carry affective components that are intended to reinforce the verbal meaning (2009: 62). In this sense, El Refaie (2009: 177) claims that there are significant differences with regard to what the visual and verbal modes are able to convey. For instance, it is not possible to represent abstract meaning visually without symbols, metonyms or metaphors. Furthermore, she claims that since images always represent a particular instance of someone or something, they are more specific than words and capture meaning that would be hard to convey through language, thus evoking profound emotional responses that are not easy to explain and of which the viewer may not be always entirely conscious. In her view, metaphors "offer the opportunity to explore different people's understanding of the same material" (2009: 190). As noted by Forceville (1998: 34), each metaphor gives only a partial and partisan structure to the concept embodied, that is, the metaphor stresses some aspects, thus being a certain perception of an aspect of reality, and this conceptualisation is especially prominent when a metaphor is uttered by someone that wants to promote some sort of power because, as Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 157) point out, "whether in national politics or in everyday interaction, people in power get to impose their metaphors." Therefore, metaphors can define reality (1980: 157), that is, they play a significant role in determining what is real for us (1980: 146), by means of highlighting some features of reality and hiding others (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 157) because when

conceptualising experience through metaphors we pick out the important aspects of an experience in order to categorise it (1980: 83). As Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 163) state

A categorization is a natural way of identifying *a kind of* object or experience by highlighting certain properties, downplaying others, and hiding still others. [...] To highlight certain properties is necessary to downplay or hide others, which is what happens whenever we categorize something. Focusing on one set *of* properties shifts our attention away from others.

Furthermore, regarding the persuasive function of metaphors, it appears noteworthy to add that Lakoff (Pires, 2001: 37) claims that since language reflects our conceptual systems, it also reflects the social aspects of them, and seeing language from a cognitive perspective entails seeing language from a social point of view. As pointed out by Lakoff (Pires, 2001: 37), language, being a means of expression, always occurs in a social and interpersonal context, due to the fact that people use their conceptual systems to function socially and to comprehend social life. Likewise, Fairclough (1989: 25) argues that any discursive instance takes shape as part of social interactions among individuals as part of wider socio-cultural phenomena, “involving power relations, embodying ideologies and positioning individuals as social subjects.”

2.4.4. The study of metaphor and ideology

Metaphor has also been studied, for instance, in terms of the ideological meanings that it can convey. As Koller (2009) mentions, following the sociocognitive tradition in critical discourse analysis, metaphor can be located at the interface between cognition and discourse. In addition, she also points out that “its selective use in discourse represents an ideologically vested strategy to shape models of social reality, e.g., to present and ingrain particular traits but not others as positive and desirable” (2009: 49). In this sense, Núñez-Perucha (2004b, 2011) has shown how cognitive linguistics and

critical discourse analysis can be combined for the study of ideology, which, as Lakoff (Pires, 2001: 37) points out, is a conceptual system with both conscious and unconscious aspects, the hidden or unconscious part being the most interesting one and where cognitive linguistics may make a contribution. Thus, metaphors may convey ideology, that is, they may be considered as “bearers of ideology” (Velasco-Sacristán, 2010: 67). In other words, “metaphors are not merely conceptual matters but also persuasive devices that are not arbitrary but ideologically loaded” (Velasco-Sacristán and Fuertes-Olivera, 2006: 1987); thus, the choice of metaphors has cognitive as well as ideological consequences (Goatly, 1997: 79).

Ideologies may be found in language (Hawkins, 2001a: 2) and, as van Dijk et al. (2004: xv-xv) point out, the notion of ideology is relevant in all disciplines of the humanities and social sciences, and linguistics and discourse studies may focus on how ideologies are verbally expressed and reproduced, most of the time unconsciously. According to Hawkins (2001a: 6), ideology has a relevant role in language and “language and ideology interact in a number of different ways.” In this sense, Jones (2001: 227) argues that ideology has to do “with the social function of ideas, with the way in which ideas [...] play a role in justifying, defending, disguising or concealing economic exploitation or political and social inequalities and oppression.”

As mentioned before, ideology may be conveyed by metaphors. According to Charteris-Black (2004: 7), an ideological metaphor is often found in influential types of discourse, and it can be defined as concealing social processes because, as Fairclough (1992: 195) argues, metaphors structure reality in a particular way. Consequently, “different metaphors imply different ways of dealing with things” (Fairclough, 1989: 120) and different metaphors have different ideological attachments (Fairclough, 1989: 119). As Semino (2008: 31-33) claims, since metaphors involve

constructing something in terms of something else, metaphors are seldom neutral because the choice of the source domain affects how the target domain is represented. As a result, the study of metaphorical representations regarding domestic violence in English and Spanish posters may be useful to examine the unconscious aspects of ideology that they convey.

2.5. An overview of linguistic studies on domestic violence

As mentioned briefly in the Introduction section, the issue of domestic violence or other related topics such as sexual abuse, or victimization have been approached from a linguistic perspective (Cotterill 2001; Erlich 2001; Michelle and Weaver 2003; Núñez-Perucha 2004a, 2006; Maíz-Arévalo 2008; Frazer and Miller 2009; Wheeler 2009; Stokoe 2010; Enk and McDaniel 2012; Lockwood et al. 2012). Some of these studies have focused on trials and sexual assault adjudication processes. For instance, Cotterill (2001) examines the semantic prosodies of some of the words and phrases used to describe domestic violence by both sides at trial, as well as their conflicting representations of it, illustrating the role played by lexical choice in constructing representations of reality, whereas Erlich (2001) analyses the language of sexual assault adjudication processes in order to study how individuals draw upon linguistic resources to produce themselves as gendered and how culturally-dominant notions of gender are encoded in linguistic representations. This author shows how dominant ideas about male and female sexuality and violence against women are reproduced in the discourse of sexual assault adjudication processes and how those discursive practices shape and constrain the kinds of gendered identities that are produced in these institutional contexts.

Other studies on domestic violence have dealt with police documentaries and interrogations. Thus, Michelle and Weaver (2003) focus on the discursive representation of domestic violence in three police documentaries in New Zealand and show how domestic violence is constructed by the documentary presenters and the victims, perpetrators, witnesses, and commentators featured. This study is aimed at making visible the discursive manoeuvres occurring within each documentary, specifically in terms of how domestic violence is represented and which discursive meanings are privileged or marginalised. The results reflect that the manner in which these documentaries are constructed is indicative of a patriarchal society, and that they reinforce patriarchal hegemonic interests since the texts privilege discourses that silence the roles of both abusers and society in perpetuating male violence. Along this line, Stokoe (2010) explores the way male suspects deny accusations of assaulting women in interrogations by police officers, focusing on a large corpus of British police interrogation materials. She shows how suspects construct different categories of men, claiming membership in one (men who do not hit women) by recruiting the notion of the other (men who do).

Domestic violence has also been studied from a linguistic point of view taking into account victims' narratives. For instance, Núñez-Perucha (2004a) presents an exhaustive study of victimization from a linguistic point of view and claims that there exist common conceptual and discursive patterns for what may be called "the language of victimization". She focuses on the conceptualization of the victim's experience (rape victims, racial discrimination victims and mental diseases victims) and its expression in language, analysing in detail a corpus of victim's literary narratives from a cognitive and a critical discourse analysis approach.

As noted by Núñez-Perucha (2006: 213), discourse studies on gender violence carried out within the fields of CDA and social psychology have revealed different strategies in the discourse of aggressor and victims but they all coincide in identifying issues of blame and responsibility as pervasive in the discourse of victims of sexual violence: whereas victims tend to blame themselves for their own victimization, aggressors are found to avoid blame and disclaim their taking part in the sexual assault. This author focuses on the analysis of narratives of women who have been victims of sexual abuse and battering at the hands of their husbands or stepfathers. In this sense, her study investigates the connection between cultural models, cognitive distortions and domestic violence, by means of exploring the effects of patriarchal cultural models and their associated cognitive distortions on the aggressor's justification of violence against women and on women's construction of a victim identity. Her study also shows that the different activation of cognitive distortions concerning men's and women's stereotyped social behaviour is also manifested in discourse.

Other studies on domestic violence have focused on mass media reports, as is the case of Frazer and Miller (2009), who analyse the impact of perpetrator gender on verb voice; that is, they compare descriptions of violent acts in which women are the perpetrators with those in which men are the perpetrators. Results reveal an increased frequency of passive voice when perpetrators are male, which suggests that writers specifically prefer the passive voice to describe male-on-female violence, thus placing blame on the victim and reducing the responsibility of the perpetrator.

The issue of domestic violence has also been studied as it takes place in films and songs. In this sense, Wheeler (2009) examines how domestic violence has been depicted in mainstream English-language cinema, focusing on English-language films that have reached a sizeable audience and that address intimate partner abuse as their

principal subject matter. Enck and McDaniel (2012) analyse the interplay between the lyrics and the visual images in Eminem and Rihanna's music video "Love the Way You Lie" in terms of cycles of violence, which they consider replicating the larger U.S. cultural investment in hegemonic masculinity as a mechanism of power and control, thus indicating attitudes of cultural complicity regarding domestic violence that re-secure hegemonic masculinity at the expense of female victims. They suggest that the visual images and narrative combine to serve as a reminder that while society wants to end violence between intimates on the interpersonal level, we continue to romanticise and excuse abusers on the cultural level.

Likewise, other studies have dealt with the study of domestic violence in conversations from focus groups and interviews, such as Lockwood et al. (2012), which is aimed at analysing the communicative aspects of intimate partner violence (IPV) in order to study how the relationship between gender and power is framed and how this accounts for the role of gender in IPV perpetration. Thus, they explore the ways in which talk about IPV challenges and reinforces discourse that normalises and legitimises this type of abuse.

With regard to campaigns against domestic violence, Maíz-Arévalo (2008) adopts Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006) multimodal approach in the analysis of five campaigns against domestic violence used in different Spanish countries by focusing on how the message is conveyed by different semiotic modes, specifically by means of the linguistic and visual ones. Within this multimodal approach, she concretely focuses on three aspects of these campaigns that are powerful tools in the (de)construction of ideologies: the visual composition or lay-out, the interaction with the viewers and the textual analysis of presuppositions. Among other things, her analysis shows that these campaigns aim at reinforcing the ideology that domestic violence is not a private

problem but a social one in whose eradication all people should be involved and victims themselves should contact the governmental institutions.

Although issues such as domestic violence, sexual abuse and victimization have been studied in different texts, it is still necessary to examine how domestic violence is represented and how subjects are positioned in English and Spanish posters against domestic violence and how the target audience of them is addressed in order to analyse how domestic violence is depicted in the United Kingdom and in Spain.

3. Corpus and methodology

This section describes the corpus and methodology used in this study in order to achieve the aims presented in section 1 above. The study reported here is based on data from two sets of posters against domestic violence belonging to different campaigns launched in the United Kingdom and in Spain between the years 2006 and 2011.

3.1. The Corpus: Description and Selection

3.1.1. The English Campaigns

The English corpus consists of 16 posters belonging to 8 different campaigns against domestic violence, as Table 1 below illustrates. All of them were retrieved from the Internet (last accessed 02/06/2013), and they were launched in the United Kingdom by different Police Departments or organisations between the years 2006 and 2011.

Table 1: Posters in the English corpus

| CORPUS | | |
|--------|------|--|
| Poster | Year | Organisation |
| E01 | 2006 | Refuge and Women's Aid |
| E02 | | |
| E03 | 2008 | Derbyshire Constabulary |
| E04 | 2008 | Crimestoppers |
| E05 | | |
| E06 | | |
| E07 | 2010 | Cleveland, Northumbria and Durham Police |
| E08 | | |
| E09 | 2010 | Cumbria Police |
| E10 | 2010 | NHS Manchester |
| E11 | | |
| E12 | | |
| E13 | 2011 | Essex Police and Essex County Council |
| E14 | | |
| E15 | | |
| E16 | 2011 | Scottish Government |

First, a considerable amount of posters against domestic violence in English were randomly collected from the Internet, due to their relatively easy accessibility. Second, after an examination of these posters, the final corpus (see Appendix A) was selected. Two main criteria were taken into account: first, they had been published in the United Kingdom, and second, they had been launched within the same time scope, i.e. between the years 2006 and 2011, which would allow for a focus on how domestic violence has been represented in recent domestic violence campaigns. Then, the selected posters were grouped according to different campaigns (see Table 1 above) because some of the posters belonged to the same campaign.

Regarding the English corpus, it seems also worth noting that some of the posters (E7, E8, E9, E10, E11 and E12) belong to campaigns that were launched to avoid domestic violence during 2010 World Cup, as BBC News points out¹, because it

¹ See the following articles: Police target domestic violence during World Cup fever (12 June 2010, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/10300954>), Poster campaign tackles World Cup domestic abuse (7 June 2010,

may be thought that domestic violence tends to increase during major sporting events, when the tension around them and people's excessive use of alcohol can provoke abuse and violence at home.

As far as the organisations that launched the posters are concerned, many of them were launched by Police Departments from different areas of the United Kingdom, such as Derbyshire (E03), Cleveland, Northumbria and Durham (E07 and E08), Cumbria (E09) and Essex (E13, E14 and E15). Two of the campaigns were launched by the government, as is the case of Posters E13, E14 and E15 by the Essex County Council (in collaboration with Essex Police, as mentioned before) and Poster E16 by the Scottish Government. Posters E01 and E02 were created by an English advertising company called *Rkcr/y&r²* and launched by the collaboration of two organisations: Refuge and Women's Aid, as can be seen at the bottom of Poster E02. Since 1971, when it opened the world's first safe house for women and children escaping domestic violence in West London, the Refuge organisation has become "the country's largest single provider of specialist domestic violence services", according to its website³. As can be seen at this site, Refuge aims to provide a range of high quality services for abused women and children, empowering them to rebuild their lives, free from violence and fear. It also offers protection by means of advocating improvements to domestic violence policy and practice and the implementation of legislation, as well as helping to prevent domestic violence through campaigning, education, training and research in order to raise awareness of domestic violence, its causes and solutions.

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/10258945>) and Warning of increased domestic abuse during World Cup (25 May 2010, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/8703030.stm).

² See <http://www.rkcr.com/#/>

³ See <http://refuge.org.uk/about-us/who-we-are-2/>

Regarding Women's Aid organisation⁴, this is a national domestic violence charity that grew out of the women's liberation movement from the late 1960s and early 1970s, and it works to end violence against women and children in the UK. It is aimed at empowering women who have been affected by domestic violence, meeting the needs of children affected by domestic violence, providing services based on listening to survivors, challenging the disadvantages which result from domestic violence, supporting diversity and equality of opportunity, as well as promoting and developing partnerships. Thus, it also offers protection (by influencing laws and working in partnership with national and local agencies), prevention (through raising public awareness and developing education programs) and provision (by providing services needed to help abused women and children).

Posters E04, E05 and E06 belonged to a campaign created by a Newcastle and London based agency called *Different*⁵. This campaign was created for Crimestoppers⁶, "an independent charity helping to find criminals and help solve crimes" by means of passing information anonymously about a crime via its phone number or website. Finally, Posters E10, E11 and E12 were launched by the National Health Service (NHS) in Manchester.

3.1.2. The Spanish Campaigns

The Spanish corpus also consists of 16 posters, belonging to 10 different campaigns against domestic violence that were launched in Spain between the years 2007 and 2011, as shown in Table 2 below.

⁴ See <http://www.womensaid.org.uk/>

⁵ See <http://www.different-uk.com/>

⁶ See <http://www.crimestoppers-uk.org/>

Table 2: Posters in the Spanish corpus

| CORPUS | | |
|--------|------|--|
| Poster | Year | Organisation |
| S01 | 2007 | Ministerio de Sanidad, Servicios Sociales e Igualdad |
| S02 | 2008 | Ministerio de Sanidad, Servicios Sociales e Igualdad |
| S03 | | |
| S04 | | |
| S05 | 2008 | Dirección General de la Mujer de la Comunidad de Madrid |
| S06 | 2009 | Dirección General de la Mujer de la Comunidad de Madrid |
| S07 | 2010 | Ayuntamiento de Gijón a través de la Oficina de Políticas e Igualdad y en colaboración con el Consejo de Mujeres y las Asociaciones Juveniles de la ciudad |
| S08 | 2010 | Dirección General de la Mujer de la Comunidad de Madrid |
| S09 | 2010 | Instituto Asturiano de la Mujer |
| S10 | 2011 | Ministerio de Sanidad, Servicios Sociales e Igualdad |
| S11 | | |
| S12 | | |
| S13 | 2011 | Consejería de Empleo, Mujer e Inmigración |
| S14 | | |
| S15 | | |
| S16 | 2011 | Dirección de Atención a las Víctimas de Violencia de Género (Basque Country) |

The Spanish corpus was collected over a period of approximately four months: from July to October 2012. As can be seen from Table 2 above, the posters were not launched by Police Departments as was the case of some of the posters of the English corpus, but most of them belonged to both national and regional governments⁷, such as the Ministerio de Sanidad, Servicios Sociales e Igualdad, the Dirección General de la Mujer de la Comunidad de Madrid, Gijón Government via the Equality Department and in collaboration with the Women Council and youth associations of the city, the Instituto

⁷ Their websites are provided at the end of this dissertation, in the Other Websites Section.

Asturiano de la Mujer, the Consejería de Empleo, Mujer e Inmigración, and the Dirección de Atención a las Víctimas de Violencia de Género in the Basque Country.

In order to compile the corpus, different Spanish official departments were visited: Instituto de la Mujer, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Ministerio de Sanidad, Servicios Sociales e Igualdad and Dirección General de la Mujer de la Comunidad de Madrid.

A first search was carried out through hundred of posters available from the Instituto de la Mujer⁸ regarding several issues related to women such as gender inequality, sexual and professional equality, equal opportunities, sexual freedom, motherhood, female rights or the International Women's Day. The Instituto de la Mujer, created in 1983, is an independent Spanish organisation attached to the Ministry of Health, Social Services and Equality, and it seeks to promote the conditions that allow social gender equality and the full participation of women in political, cultural, economic and social life. Thus, it aims to ensure that women are no longer discriminated against by society, to eradicate gender differences and to promote the equality of women and men in all areas of society in order to make Spain a society which is truly and effectively egalitarian for women and men. In this sense, the Instituto de la Mujer offered the author of the present paper the possibility of taking photographs of different posters. Since they were neither classified by country, date, topic or organisation, nor digitally stored, a selection of the posters concerning domestic violence was necessary. Some of them belonged to Spain and some to South American countries, but the latter were discarded since this study was aimed at the comparison between posters against domestic violence published in the United Kingdom and in Spain.

⁸ See <http://www.inmujer.es/>

Then, the Biblioteca Nacional⁹ was also contacted and visited as a bibliographical source. The amount of posters on domestic violence was smaller but they were already digitally classified by means of date of publication and organisation. In this sense, the different posters were examined and the ones that might have a greater potential for the present study were chosen. As photographing the material was not allowed here, some of the posters were found online with the data that had been obtained from the Biblioteca Nacional's catalogue (such as the date of publication, the organisation that launched them or the slogan of the campaigns) and a digital copy of some of them was requested too.

Finally, two more institutions were contacted for the collection of the posters: the Ministerio de Sanidad, Servicios Sociales e Igualdad and the Dirección General de la Mujer de la Comunidad de Madrid, where some posters were obtained both at the very office and through their websites. Apart from these different sources, some of the Spanish posters against domestic violence were randomly collected from the Internet.

Once a significant amount of Spanish posters was collected, a deeper examination of them was carried out, and the final corpus was selected (see Appendix B), all of them being homogeneous in terms of context because they had been launched in Spain between the years 2007 and 2011. Afterwards, the selected posters were arranged according to different campaigns (see Table 2), as was the case with the English corpus, because some of the posters belonged to the same campaign.

3.2. Methodology

After the corpora compilation, all the posters were carefully examined in order to analyse how domestic violence was represented and how the subjects were positioned in

⁹ See <http://www.bne.es/es/Inicio/index.html>

both the English and Spanish campaigns against domestic violence, as well as the representation of the target audience.

With the aim of studying the representation of domestic violence in English and Spanish campaigns, both the visual and written modes of the posters were examined. First, it was identified what kind of metaphors was conveyed both by the text and by the image and how the combination of them contributed to the interpretation of the meaning of the posters as a whole, that is, how domestic violence was represented through the use of multimodal metaphors in each language. Then, the multimodal construction of each metaphor was illustrated by means of tables. Apart from the metaphorical representations, other non-metaphorical representations of domestic violence were also analysed. Consequently, the signs or effects of domestic violence that are highlighted in these two corpora were identified. Furthermore, the positioning of the subjects was also examined in order to study how they were construed, that is, how men and women were represented in the posters.

Finally, the English and Spanish posters were also examined with regard to the representation of their target audience, by taking into account for instance, the role of lexis, the use of pronouns and the role of intertextuality. Thus, it was analysed whether these campaigns were addressed to victims, abusers or third parties and how addressees were positioned in these two corpora.

4. The representation of domestic violence and subjects in English and Spanish campaigns

Domestic violence and its subjects in these campaigns are represented both monomodally, that is, verbally or visually by means of just one mode, and multimodally

through the combination of them. Therefore, this section deals with how domestic violence and their subjects are represented by examining the verbal and visual modes.

4. 1. The representation of domestic violence and subjects in English campaigns

The analysis of these posters shows that they highlight certain domains or aspects of domestic violence. By means of the relationship between verbal and visual modes, physical damage, death, lack of control, and emotional damage, fear, and sexual or financial abuse appear as the main signs or effects of domestic violence in these campaigns, as Table 3 illustrates.

Table 3: Signs of domestic violence in the English corpus

| Features | Poster |
|------------------|---|
| PHYSICAL DAMAGE | E01, E02 E03 E04, E05, E06 E07, E08 E09 E10, E11, E12 E13, E14, E15 |
| FEAR | E01, E02 E10, E11, E12 E16 |
| DEATH | E01, E02 E03 E04, E05, E06 |
| LACK OF CONTROL | E04, E05, E06 E10, E11, E12 E14, E15, E16 |
| EMOTIONAL DAMAGE | E04, E05, E06 E13, E14, E15 |
| A MURDER | E04, E05, E06 |
| A CRIME | E04, E05, E06 E07, E08 |
| SEXUAL ABUSE | E13, E14, E15 |
| FINANCIAL ABUSE | E13, E14, E15 |

Some of the signs of domestic violence are highlighted visually and others linguistically, as well as multimodally. The visual mode on its own does not usually

convey any clue in relation to domestic violence, but verbal and visual modes combine with each other and it is by means of this interaction that the representations of domestic violence are conveyed in these posters. However, their effects on the audience are probably higher by means of the visual mode due to the shocking images that these posters portray. Therefore, the persuasive aim of these posters would be less likely to be met if the visual mode was omitted because it carries affective components that are intended to reinforce the verbal meaning.

Regarding the signs of domestic violence that these posters convey, it is also worth noting that domestic violence seems to have both visible and invisible consequences. This idea of domestic violence being presented as something that is not always clear and visible appears in Posters E04, E05 and E06, which say that “the signs are not always this clear.” Whereas the effects of domestic violence may be visible, as the visual mode of these three posters illustrates, as well as the bruises that can be seen in the woman’s face in Poster E09, domestic violence does not only provoke physical damage but also emotional or psychological damage, which initially may not be visible because its effects do not have an external manifestation.

There seems to be a tendency to represent physical damage as the clearest sign of domestic violence that these English campaigns try more frequently to convey in order to urge people to fight against it. This happens in seven of the eight campaigns (see Table 3). For instance, in Posters E01, E02, E03 and E05, the verbal mode relates domestic violence to physical damage, as instances [1]-[5] illustrate (emphasis mine).

[1] A domestic violence victim **will be beaten** 20 times in the next year (E01)

[2] If your friend **is being hit**, she’s probably too scared to do anything to stop it. So her **beatings** will just go on and on. (E01)

[3] If you know your friend’s **being hit**, it’s time to put a stop to her abuse (E02)

[4] **Hit** 52 times (E03)

[5] On average a domestic violence victim **is beaten** 20 times per year (E05)

Taking into account these examples, it may be worth noting that the victim appears as subject in passive constructions. By placing the victim in what is generally the causal role of the sentence, the subject, the perpetrator's responsibility seems to be reduced, as already pointed out by Frazer and Miller (2009).

Domestic violence is also explicitly represented as physical damage in the verbal mode of Posters E13, E14 and E15. The three posters have part of the written message in common, telling the reader that "whether it's physical, sexual, emotional or financial there's no excuse for domestic abuse". In addition, Poster E14, as well as Posters E04, E05 and E06 also visually represent physical damage as the sign of domestic violence because the former features a woman and a man on a stage having dinner, and he is hitting her in front of the audience, and in each of the last three posters there is a woman with her leg or arm in a cast. Likewise, Posters E07, E08 and E09 also depict physical damage as the effect of domestic violence. In the case of Posters E07 and E08, this is conveyed by means of the slogan "What time is **kick off** in your house?" and showing a bloodied football and a woman's face with a bruise on her eye (E07). In Poster E09, we can see a woman's face being beaten and with bruises on one of her eyes. Similarly, in Poster E10 domestic violence is also represented as related to physical damage because of the word *Strikeher* on the t-shirt.

This representation of physical damage as one of the signs of domestic violence is related to the metaphorical representation of domestic violence in terms of sports, specifically as a football match and as boxing, which, interestingly, have been traditionally associated with men. The metaphor DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IS A FOOTBALL

MATCH appears in three of the eight campaigns. Table 4 below shows the most recurrent metaphorical representations associated with domestic violence that appear in the English posters.

Table 4: Distribution of metaphors in the English corpus

| Metaphors | | Poster |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------------------|--------|
| SPORTS DOMAIN | DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IS A FOOTBALL MATCH | E07 |
| | | E08 |
| | | E09 |
| | | E10 |
| | DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IS BOXING | E01 |
| DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IS A SHOW | | E13 |
| | | E14 |
| | | E15 |
| DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IS WAR | | E16 |

As mentioned before, Posters E07 and E08 show a bloodied football, as well as a woman’s face with a bruise on her eye (E07) and a man’s face shouting (E08). Without taking into account the verbal message, the image might be interpreted as representing football in terms of violence but it could not be associated with domestic violence. However, the slogan of this campaign (“What time is **kick off** in your house?”) evokes the idea of a football match. By means of emphasising the idea that the *kick off* is in *your house*, it allows us to relate it to domestic violence, that is, domestic violence is thus represented as a match that is played at home.

Poster E09 is quite similar to the posters of the previous campaign. It shows a woman’s face being beaten and with bruises on one of her eyes. The image on its own might illustrate a violent situation in which a woman seems to be suffering and with

fear. However, analysing both the verbal and the visual modes together, it may be possible to point out that this poster is referring to domestic violence. For instance, the slogan of this poster is “Give Domestic Violence the **Red Card** this World Cup” (emphasis mine), thus domestic violence being represented in terms of a football match. In a football match a red card is given when a player breaks the rules, and similarly a red card should also be given to domestic violence, that is, it should not be tolerated. In a football match the referee is the one that gives a red card, and, in this case, police as well as people are the ones that have to give the red card to domestic violence by punishing it and by reporting it, respectively.

Likewise, Poster E10 displays a football shirt, an object which takes centre stage throughout the World Cup. However, the football t-shirt has blood and the name *Strikeher* on it and the slogan in E10 is “blow the whistle on domestic abuse”, domestic violence being represented in terms of a football match. Furthermore, it is noteworthy to point out that the word *whistle* could be related to the referee’s whistle in a football match but the expression *blow the whistle on something*, according to the Macmillan Dictionary¹⁰, is an informal expression that means to tell someone in authority that someone is doing something dishonest or illegal in order to try to put a stop to something. Moreover, the t-shirt has the name *Strikeher* on it, which also depicts this representation of domestic violence in terms of a football match. Instead of the word *striker*, i.e. a football player whose main job or skill is scoring goals, the word *strikeher*, formed by *strike* plus *her* appears. That is, domestic violence is related to physical damage and has a female victim. In other words, the player wearing the t-shirt would be the aggressor (*strikeher*), that is, the person who *strikes* the victim. It may also be significant to point out that this name appears with the number 0, in order to express

¹⁰ See <http://www.macmillandictionary.com/>

that domestic abuse is not acceptable in our society and that help is available. Table 5 below illustrates the multimodal construction of the metaphor DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IS A FOOTBALL MATCH in the corpus (emphasis mine).

Table 5: DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IS A FOOTBALL MATCH

| Metaphor | Modes | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------|---|
| DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IS A FOOTBALL MATCH | <i>Verbal Mode</i> | What time is kick off in your house? (E07) |
| | | What time is kick off in your house? (E08) |
| | | Give Domestic Violence the Red Card this World Cup (E09) |
| | | Blow the whistle on domestic abuse (E10) |
| | <i>Visual Mode</i> | A bloodied football and a woman's face with a bruise on her eye (E07) |
| | | A bloodied football and a man's face shouting (E08) |
| | | A woman's face being beaten and with bruises on one of her eyes (E09) |
| | | A football t-shirt with blood and with the name "Strikeher" on it (E10) |

In addition, domestic violence seems to be multimodally represented in terms of boxing. The metaphor DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IS BOXING is also related to the representation of physical damage as one of its signs. Table 6 below shows the multimodal construction of the metaphor DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IS BOXING in the corpus (emphasis mine).

Table 6: DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IS BOXING

| Metaphor | Modes | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------|---|
| DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IS BOXING | <i>Verbal Mode</i> | A domestic violence victim will be beaten 20 times in the next year, unless a friend stops it sooner If your friend is being hit , she's probably too scared to do anything to stop it. So her beatings will just go on and on. (E01) |
| | <i>Visual Mode</i> | A kitchen with a punching-bag and with broken things on the floor as well as a pair of woman's shoes (E01) |

In this sense, Poster E01 shows a kitchen with a punching-bag and with broken things on the floor as well as a pair of woman's shoes. As a result, the metaphor conveyed by the visual mode in this poster would be A KITCHEN IS A BOXING RING, but it is the interaction between the verbal and visual modes that contributes to the whole meaning of this poster, representing domestic violence in terms of boxing. The boxer would be the aggressor whereas the punching-bag is the victim of domestic violence, and the kitchen would be the boxing ring. Thus, just as the punching-bag is designed to be repeatedly punched, the victim of domestic violence is also repeatedly beaten.

As a result of this representation of domestic violence as a football match or as boxing, men are presented as players and boxers in the football match and in the boxing ring, respectively, while women would be the objects that receive their kicks and punches, that is, they would perform as a ball or punching-bag, domestic violence being mainly related to a female victim and a male aggressor. In this sense, in Posters E07, E08 and E09, domestic violence is visually represented as having a female victim because, as previously discussed, they show a woman's face with a bruise on her eye (E07), a man's face shouting (E08), and a woman's face being beaten and with bruises on one of her eyes (E09). Although verbally they do not refer to women as being the victims of domestic violence and then both men and women might be considered

victims of it, visually these posters convey the idea that domestic violence is mainly associated with female victims. This is also the case of Poster E10, which shows a football t-shirt with blood and with the name *Strikeher* on it, as mentioned before. Furthermore, Poster E01 associates domestic violence, both visually and verbally, with a female victim. On the one hand, it represents the kitchen in terms of a boxing ring, as analysed before, with a pair of woman's shoes on the floor. Taking into account the verbal mode, on the other hand, domestic violence is also associated with a female victim, as example [6] shows (emphasis mine). Thus, the interplay between verbal and visual modes gives rise to the representation of domestic violence as affecting women and contributes to the whole meaning of this poster.

[6] If your friend is being hit, **she's** probably too scared to do anything to stop it. So **her** beatings will just go on and on. (E01)

Poster E02 features a kitchen as a cemetery, as mentioned before, and it is verbally that it associates domestic violence with a female victim, as illustrated by [7] and [8] (emphasis mine). Thus, domestic violence seems to be represented in terms of a burial where the corpse is a woman that was victim of domestic violence. Consequently, it is the kitchen, the domain traditionally associated with women, the place of the house that is conceptualised as a boxing ring or as a cemetery in these last two posters.

[7] Every week 2 **women** die due to domestic violence (E02)

[8] It's time to put a stop to **her** abuse, before the abuser puts a stop to **her**. Help **her** take the first step (E02)

Moreover, regardless of their addressee, the English posters mainly present women as victims, that is, not only the posters which are addressed to victims associate these victims with female victims but also the ones that do not have victims as their target audience but that are addressed to aggressors and witnesses. Therefore, domestic

violence is represented as having a female victim, as it is also the case of Posters E04, E05 and E06, which are very similar both verbally and visually and feature a woman with her leg or arm in a cast and a handwritten message on it. These women's faces are not shown, probably to represent any kind of woman. The written message on the plaster is different, but the three of them are signed by men: "Happy birthday bitch. Love, Paul x" (E04), "Try wearing a short skirt with this on! Jeremy x" (E05), and "Next time slag I'll break your neck. Kyle" (E06). Thus, these three posters show the male aggressors' voices, the insults and threats that the aggressors tell the female victim. In addition, each poster has a sentence that is different from each other which presents facts and numbers about the effects of domestic violence: "one in four women are likely to be victims of domestic violence" (E04), "on average a domestic violence victim is beaten 20 times per year" (E05) and "two women each week are killed as a result of domestic violence" (E06). Domestic violence is presented as something that mainly affects women and that has a female victim, as shown by the image in the three of them, apart from the fact that in two of the three posters the word *women* is explicitly mentioned. Therefore, these posters are intertextually construed by means of the inclusion of different voices that are combined in them, that is, the aggressors' voice and institutions' voice.

Domestic violence is also associated with a female victim in Posters E13, E14 and E15, not verbally but visually, because in poster E13 the woman is a puppet that is controlled by a man, Poster E14 features a woman being beaten by a man and Poster E15 depicts a woman with strings as if she was a puppet controlled by another person.

Also related to the idea of damage as one of the signs of domestic violence that has been previously discussed, another pattern that can be perceived regarding the metaphors associated with domestic violence is that it seems to be represented in terms

of war (see Table 4). This is the case of Poster E16, which illustrates a girl on her bed inside a trench formed by sacks, as shown in Table 7.

Table 7: DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IS WAR

| Metaphor | Modes | |
|--------------------------|--------------------|--|
| DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IS WAR | <i>Verbal Mode</i> | Feel like you're living in a war zone ? If there's domestic abuse going on at home, [...] |
| | <i>Visual Mode</i> | A girl on her bed inside a trench formed by sacks |

The image on its own could not be associated with domestic violence but it is the combination of visual and verbal modes that contributes to the multimodal metaphor DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IS WAR. The target domain is expressed by means of the verbal mode, whereas the source domain is conveyed by both the visual and the verbal mode. Thus, the bedroom would be represented in terms of a trench inside a house that is a war zone. The same way a war causes visible physical wounds, domestic violence also provokes damage but it might not always be initially visible because its effects may not be just physical but also psychological.

In this sense, other signs of domestic violence that are highlighted in this corpus are emotional damage, fear, and sexual or financial abuse (see Table 3). Domestic violence is associated with emotional damage in Posters E04, E05 and E06, where the handwritten message is characterised by different types of emotional damage, such as verbal violence, jealousy, dominance, control and threats, as in [9] to [11] (emphasis mine).

[9] Happy birthday **bitch** (E04)

[10] Next time **slag** I'll break your neck. Kyle (E06)

[11] Try wearing a short skirt with this on! (E05)

The idea of emotional damage as one of the signs of domestic violence is also present in Posters E13, E14 and E15, where domestic violence is related to the idea of sexual abuse and financial abuse, as exemplified in [12] (emphasis mine).

[12]Whether it's **physical, sexual, emotional or financial** THERE'S NO EXCUSE FOR DOMESTIC ABUSE (E13, E14 and E15)

Posters E10, E11 and E12, analysed before, also convey this idea of fear as one sign of domestic violence by means of the logo of the campaign (ENDTHEFEAR.CO.UK) because they belong to a campaign against domestic violence called *End the Fear*. Similarly, domestic violence is also verbally associated with fear in Poster E01, as example [13] illustrates (emphasis mine), as well as in Poster E16.

[13]If your friend is being hit, she's probably too **scared** to do anything to stop it. (E01)

Furthermore, death, appearing in three of the English campaigns (see Table 3), is another sign of domestic violence that these campaigns highlight. Domestic violence appears related to death for instance in Poster E03, which depicts a coffin with a wreath on top, that is, someone has died but the visual mode on its own does not convey in this case any association with domestic violence. Regarding the verbal mode, it is possible to read "Hit 52 times, sent flowers only once" and the expression *domestic abuse* is explicitly mentioned. However, thanks to the verbal mode, it is possible to assume that the person that has died has been a victim of domestic violence. In this case, there is a cause-effect relationship between domestic violence and death, that is, domestic violence is the cause of the death, and it is verbally expressed, whereas the death is the effect, and it is conveyed by the image.

Similarly, Poster E06 states that "Two women each week are killed as a result of domestic violence", that is, one of the consequences of domestic violence is death. At

the same time, Poster E02 features a kitchen with flowers and candles on the floor, visually associating a kitchen with a cemetery, as previously analysed, and the verbal mode expresses the association between domestic violence and death, as can be seen in examples [14] and [15] (emphasis mine).

[14]Every week 2 women **die** due to domestic violence (E02)

[15]It's time to put a stop to her abuse, before the abuser **puts a stop to her** (E02)

In this sense, another finding regarding the representation of domestic violence in this corpus is that these campaigns are identifying domestic violence not only with death but also with murder, as exemplified in [16] from Poster E06 (emphasis mine).

[16]Two women each week **are killed** (E06)

Domestic violence can lead to death and it has to be considered a crime. This idea appears in Posters E04, E05 and E06, as example [17] illustrates, and in Posters E07 and E08, as can be seen in [18], where domestic violence is explicitly associated with a crime (emphasis mine).

[17]Call the charity **Crimestoppers** anonymously. (E04, E05 and E06)

[18]Domestic violence. It's a **crime**. (E07 and E08)

Domestic violence in the English corpus is also multimodally represented in terms of a show. Examples of the metaphor DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IS A SHOW can be found in Posters E13, E14 and E15, which depict a stage. Poster E13 features a woman and a man on a stage and he is the ventriloquist who is moving her, whereas in Poster E14 there are a woman and a man on a stage having dinner and he is hitting her in front of the audience, and Poster E15 depicts a woman on a stage with strings as if she was a puppet controlled by another person. The metaphor conveyed by the image in the last

two posters might be verbalised as A WOMAN IS A PUPPET, where the woman is represented as a puppet, but it could not be associated with domestic violence. The clues that relate these posters to domestic violence are conveyed by the verbal messages, which are written in capital letters, probably to create a higher emphasis on the audience, and thus it is the interaction between the verbal and visual modes that contributes to the overall meaning of the poster and to the creation of the multimodal metaphor DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IS A SHOW, as can be seen in Table 8.

Table 8: DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IS A SHOW

| Metaphor | Modes | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------|--|
| DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IS A SHOW | <i>Verbal Mode</i> | TAKE CONTROL BACK (E13) |
| | | BRING THE CURTAIN DOWN ON DOMESTIC ABUSE (E14) |
| | | CUT THE STRINGS (E15) |
| | <i>Visual Mode</i> | A woman and a man on a stage and she is a puppet (E13) |
| | | A woman and a man on a stage having dinner. He is hitting her in front of the audience (E14) |
| | | A woman on a stage as a puppet (E15) |

In this sense, domestic violence is depicted in terms of a show where a woman is a puppet without control and the aggressor controls the victim, just as a ventriloquist makes a puppet move and talk whenever he wants, that is, the aggressor has the control and, consequently, the power. This metaphor is also verbalised by means of slogans such as “bring the **curtain** down on domestic abuse” in E14 or “cut the **strings**” (emphasis mine) in E15. Bringing the curtain down in a play means the end of the performance, and, in this way, Poster E14 is urging people to put an end to domestic violence, whereas Poster E15 is advising people to cut this woman’s strings in order to give her control back.

In relation to this, it seems noteworthy to add that the victim's lack of control is one of the signs of domestic violence that these English posters highlight, in other words, the victim of domestic violence has no control at all but he/she is controlled by the aggressor, as visually represented in Posters E13 and E15, as well as by means of the slogan "Take control back" in the former one. This lack of control as one of the signs of domestic violence can also be seen in Poster E11, whose visual mode on its own does not convey anything in relation to domestic violence because it just shows a remote control with the mute symbol, but it is by means of the interaction between verbal and visual modes that the association with domestic violence can be done, as can be perceived in [19] and [20] (emphasis mine).

[19] **Being controlled** is domestic abuse (E11)

[20] To **take control** of your life, call (E11)

This victim's lack of control is related to the victim's lack of power. In other words, POWER IS CONTROL, and consequently, LACK OF POWER IS LACK OF CONTROL.

4.2. The representation of domestic violence and subjects in Spanish campaigns

The analysis of the Spanish posters shows that they highlight certain aspects of domestic violence by means of the visual mode, the verbal mode, or the combination of both of them. In this sense, verbal and visual modes combine with each other and it is by means of this interaction that domestic violence is represented and subjects are construed in these posters. Sometimes, the visual mode contributes to the persuasive aim of the campaigns because it carries affective components that reinforce the verbal meaning. Thus, lack of control, death and damage, both physical and emotional, are the main signs of domestic violence in this corpus of Spanish campaigns, as illustrated in Table 9 below.

Table 9: Signs of domestic violence in the Spanish corpus

| Features | Poster |
|------------------|------------------------|
| LACK OF CONTROL | S07 S11 S13, S15 |
| DEATH | S01 S10, S11, S12 |
| PHYSICAL DAMAGE | S04 |
| DAMAGE | S07 |
| EMOTIONAL DAMAGE | S10, S12 S14 |

Regarding the signs of domestic violence that these Spanish posters convey, domestic violence tends to be represented as a visible thing, that is, its consequences are visible. This is the case of Poster S01, where domestic violence is represented as having visible effects both visually by means of the graph of the electrocardiogram, and verbally, as can be perceived in [21] and [22] (emphasis mine).

[21] No esperes a que la violencia de género deje **esta señal** (Don't wait until violence leaves **this sign**) (S01)

[22] A la **primera señal** de malos tratos, llama (At the **first sign** of domestic violence, call) (S01)

Thus, in this campaign domestic violence is represented as a visible thing and as death, as it will be analysed later, aimed at highlighting the warning signs of domestic violence in order to prevent victims from death. Poster S05 also presents domestic violence as having visible consequences because it features a woman on the floor outside her flat who is observed through a peephole by a neighbour and the slogan is “No te quedas mirando. ¡Denuncia” (Don't keep watching. Report!). Another example of domestic violence as having visible consequences is Poster S08, which shows the silhouette of a woman's face, without eyes, mouth or nose but with a punctuation mark, specifically a comma. Consequently, without taking into account the verbal message, the image might

not be associated with domestic violence because the visual mode on its own does not convey anything in relation to domestic violence, but thanks to the verbal mode, it is possible to assume that this woman has been a victim of domestic violence because the slogan of this campaign is “Di no, al primer **signo**” (Say no, at the first **sign**) (emphasis mine), which allows us to relate it to domestic violence, and seems to highlight the idea of domestic violence as something that is visible. Being addressed to victims, it tries to persuade them to report domestic violence from the first sign, as will be discussed later. Hence, the idea of the sign is conveyed both by the verbal mode (“Di no, al primer signo”) and by the visual mode (the comma on the woman’s face). The slogan of the Posters S10, S11 and S12 also verbally presents domestic violence as a visible entity, as can be seen in example [23] (emphasis mine).

[23]No te saltes las **señales** (Don’t skip the **signs**) (S10, S11 and S12)

In the Spanish campaigns, there seems to be a tendency to represent domestic violence mainly in terms of lack of control, which appears in three of the ten campaigns (see Table 9) and therefore, it appears to be the clearest sign of domestic violence that these Spanish campaigns try to convey. For instance in Poster S07 it is the interaction between image and text that helps us to associate it with domestic violence and the idea of lack of control as one of the effects of domestic violence is visually conveyed because the carnivorous plant is eating the woman’s head and its roots are grabbing her legs, thus avoiding her to move, that is, the victim does not have any control over her actions but she is controlled by the aggressor. This also implies that RELATIONSHIPS ARE PLANTS, specifically LOVE IS A PLANT, in this case a carnivorous one.

Lack of control as one of the effects of domestic violence can also be verbally seen in Poster S11, as example [24] shows (emphasis mine), as well as in S13 and S15, where domestic violence is related to possession and silence, that is, to lack of control.

These last two posters present the aggressor saying “Eres mía” (You are mine) and “¡Calla!” (Shut up!), having the control of the situation while the victim is represented with no control at all.

[24] **Controlaba** todo lo que hacía (He **controlled** everything I did) (S11)

Death is another sign of domestic violence that is highlighted by this Spanish corpus, appearing in four posters belonging to two of the Spanish campaigns (see Table 9). For instance, Poster S01 shows the plain graph of an electrocardiogram, that is, someone has died, and a phone number. Taking into account the visual mode on its own, it is not possible to associate it with domestic violence if you do not know that 016 is the phone number in charge of providing support against domestic violence. Analysing the visual mode on its own, it is possible to point out that someone has died because that sign illustrates that, but it cannot be associated with a situation of domestic violence. However, the interaction between the verbal and visual modes provides the clues that allow us to relate this poster to domestic violence and death as one of the signs of it. Moreover, the role of presupposition is relevant here in the association of domestic violence and death because the verbal mode says “No esperes a que la violencia de género deje esta señal” (Don’t wait until violence leaves this sign). In this sense, we know that this signal indicates that a person has died, which leads us to the presupposition that domestic violence leads to death, what is also emphasised by means of saying that “016 puede significar otra vida” (016 can mean another life).

Likewise, domestic violence also appears related to death in Posters S10, S11 and S12, which belong to the same campaign. Visually, they are very similar because they feature a woman’s face with a very serious attitude, which might illustrate a woman who seems to be suffering because of her face expression, but it is the interplay between the verbal and visual elements that contributes to relate it to domestic violence.

Moreover, the slogan of these posters is “No te saltes las señales. **Elige vivir**” (Don’t skip the signs. **Choose living**) (emphasis mine), as previously mentioned, where presupposition also plays an important role in the interpretation of death as one of the consequences of domestic violence because by saying “Elige vivir” (Choose living), we can presuppose that domestic violence is related to death. In this case, the image does not show anything in relation to death, but it is by means of the verbal mode and presupposition that it is possible to consider death as one of the signs of domestic violence.

The last effect of domestic violence that appears in this corpus is damage, both physical and emotional damage. In Poster S07, for instance, it is possible to read “El amor no **duele**” (Love does not **hurt**) (emphasis mine), domestic violence being clearly represented as pain. On the one hand, domestic violence is verbally associated with physical damage in Poster S04 by means of the sentence “No se te ocurra **ponerme la mano encima** jamás” (Don’t even think about **getting your hands on me**) (emphasis mine). On the other hand, domestic violence is described as something that not only provokes physical damage but also emotional or psychological damage, which is another sign of domestic violence, for instance in Posters S10, S12 and S14. In Posters S10 and S12 this emotional damage is caused verbally through threats and humiliation, as examples [25] and [26] show, as well as in [27] from Poster S14 (emphasis mine), by means of devaluing the victim.

[25]Nos **amenazaba** a mí y a nuestro hijo (He **threatened** me and my son)
(S10)

[26]Me **humillaba** a todas horas (He **humiliated** me every time) (S12)

[27]**No vales** nada (You are **worthless**) (S14)

Regarding the metaphorical representation of domestic violence in this Spanish corpus, Table 10 illustrates the different multimodal metaphors of the corpus.

Table 10: Distribution of metaphors in the Spanish corpus

| Metaphors | Poster |
|---------------------------------------|--------|
| DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IS A CONTAINER | S06 |
| DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IS A FOOTBALL MATCH | S07 |
| | S09 |
| DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IS A SHOW | S16 |

Domestic violence appears represented as a container in Poster S06, which shows an exit signal with a woman symbol. As seen in Table 11, analysing both the verbal and the visual modes, it is possible to point out that this poster is referring to domestic violence, depicting it as a container from which the victim has to escape, that is, a situation from which a woman has to escape, the slogan being “ESCAPA” (Escape).

Table 11: DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IS A CONTAINER

| Metaphor | Modes | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------|--|
| DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IS A CONTAINER | <i>Verbal Mode</i> | ESCAPA (S06) |
| | <i>Visual Mode</i> | An exit signal with a woman symbol (S06) |

Moreover, the metaphor DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IS A FOOTBALL MATCH appears in two of the ten campaigns (see Table 10). Table 12 below shows the multimodal construction of that metaphor in the Spanish corpus.

Table 12: DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IS A FOOTBALL MATCH

| Metaphor | Modes | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------|--|
| DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IS A FOOTBALL MATCH | <i>Verbal Mode</i> | Saca tarjeta roja al maltratador (S07, S09) |
| | <i>Visual Mode</i> | A woman watering a carnivorous plant, which is eating her (S07) Spanish famous people with a red card (S09) |

Posters S07 and S09 represent domestic violence in terms of a football match. In Poster S07 domestic violence is verbally represented as a football match by means of the sentence “saca **tarjeta roja** al maltratador” (Give the aggressor **the red card**) (emphasis mine), although the visual mode is not related to a football match. In Poster S09, the interaction between verbal and visual modes contributes to the creation of the multimodal metaphor DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IS A FOOTBALL MATCH. It displays 12 different Spanish famous people such as journalists, football players or singers with a red card, and the slogan of it is also “Saca **tarjeta roja** al maltratador” (Give the aggressor **the red card**) (emphasis mine), that is, domestic violence should not be tolerated but reported.

Another multimodal metaphor that can be identified in relation to domestic violence in the Spanish corpus is DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IS A SHOW (see Table 10), illustrated in Table 13 below.

Table 13: DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IS A SHOW

| Metaphor | Modes | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------|---|
| DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IS A SHOW | <i>Verbal Mode</i> | PON FIN A ESTA PESADILLA Las niñas y niños no son meros espectadores de la violencia que sufren sus madres, sino víctimas. (S16) |
| | <i>Visual Mode</i> | A little girl in a theatre or cinema looking at the stage or screen (S16) |

This metaphor appears in Poster S16, which illustrates a little girl on a seat in a theatre or cinema, looking at the stage or screen with fear and holding a lollipop in her hand. Domestic violence is multimodally represented in terms of a play or horror film, the slogan being “Pon fin a esta pesadilla” (Put an end to this nightmare), where a child is a member of the audience. Thus, domestic violence is represented as a nightmare and children are not just spectators of the domestic violence that their mothers suffer but they are also victims (“Las niñas y niños no son meros espectadores de la violencia que sufren sus madres, sino víctimas”), that is, domestic violence is represented as affecting women and children, both of them being the victims of it. Likewise, Poster S03 also presents children, as well as women, as the victims of domestic violence both visually and verbally because it depicts a boy’s face and he tells his mother “Mamá, hazlo por nosotros. Actúa” (Mum, do it for us. Act).

Domestic violence in these Spanish posters is mainly represented as having a female victim. In other words, regardless their addressee (which will be analysed in the following section of the paper), these posters mainly construe women as victims, that is, not only the posters that are addressed to victims associate these victims with female victims, but also the ones that do not have victims as their target audience but that are addressed to aggressors and witnesses. There is only one poster of the Spanish corpus, Poster S01, in which there is no reference to the victim or aggressor’s gender and thus domestic violence is not exclusively related to a female victim but it might be associated with women or men too.

In this sense, Posters S02, S03, S04 relate domestic violence to a female victim. Visually, these posters are very similar because they show the faces of a man, a boy and a woman respectively, the three of them with a very serious expression on their faces.

Moreover, these posters share part of the message because they have the same slogan due to the fact that they belong to the same campaign and they were launched by the same organisation. However, part of the verbal message of each poster is different, as examples [28] to [30] illustrate.

[28] Cuando maltratas a una mujer dejas de ser un hombre (When you abuse a woman, you give up being a man) (S02)

[29] Mamá, hazlo por nosotros. Actúa (Mum, do it for us. Act) (S03)

[30] No se te ocurra ponerme la mano encima jamás (Don't even think about getting your hands on me) (S04)

Although the three of them relate domestic violence to a female victim, intertextuality plays an important role in them because they are construed by means of the inclusion of different subjects' voices with quotations and the institutions' voice represented by the slogan "Ante el maltratador, tolerancia cero" (Against the aggressor, zero tolerance), domestic violence is considered as "intolerable" in these campaigns. This representation of domestic violence as something intolerable can also be perceived in Posters S07 and S09, previously discussed, and the red card has to be given it ("Saca tarjeta roja al maltratador"). Besides, in relation to Poster S02 it is worth mentioning that this poster relates domestic violence to lack of manhood because the man that hurts a woman is not a man, as example [31] illustrates.

[31] Cuando maltratas a una mujer dejas de ser un hombre (When you abuse a woman, you give up being a man)

Posters S05 and S06 also represent the victim of domestic violence as a woman, both visually and verbally, because they show a woman on the floor and an exit signal with a woman symbol, and in both of them it is possible to read "25 de noviembre. Día internacional para la eliminación de la violencia contra la mujer" (25 November. International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women), and "Llama 012

Mujer” (Call 012 Women) in S06, clearly associating domestic violence as affecting women. The same happens with Poster S08, which also links domestic violence to a female victim both visually and verbally: it shows the silhouette of a woman’s face with a comma and it is possible to read “Denuncia 012 Mujer” (Report 012 Women).

Another example of this representation of domestic violence as having a female victim by means of the image and text can be seen in Posters S13, S14 and S15, which are divided into two different parts, showing the male aggressor and the female victim. The top section of each poster depicts a man’s face. For instance, poster S13 shows a man’s face in the top section and a woman’s hand on another woman’s shoulder at the bottom. In the top section, usually associated with the ideal world (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996), it is possible to read “Eres mía” (You are mine) whereas at the bottom, which often conveys the real world, the message is “No eres suya” (You don’t belong to him). As a result, “eres mia” would be the ideal world in the aggressor’s mind while “no eres suya” would belong to the real world. In other words, the aggressor believes that the woman is his possession but this is not true; the reality is that the woman is not the aggressor’s possession, which is the meaning that this poster tries to convey. Poster S14 also shows a contrast between a top section in which a man’s face is depicted and a bottom section that illustrates a woman’s hand between a man’s hands. Regarding the verbal message, it expresses “No vales nada” (You are worthless) in the top section and “Vales mucho” (You are a valuable person) at the bottom, that is, the aggressor believes that she is useless but this is not true. Poster S15 depicts a man’s face in the top section and a very scared woman making a call at the bottom. The verbal mode in this poster is also divided into two sections: “¡Calla!” (Shut up!) and “Habla” (Speak). “Calla” would belong to the ideal world, what the aggressor would desire, i.e. the aggressor wants the victim to remain silent; however, “habla” depicts the real world, that is, the reality is

that the victim has to speak and report domestic violence. Thus, these posters show a contrast between an upper part in which men are depicted, the aggressors, and a bottom section that illustrates a female victim, and they are construed by means of the combination of different voices: the aggressors' voice and institutions' voice.

It may be worth adding that men's faces appear in the three posters and feature men of different age, whereas women's faces are only shown in one of them, probably to represent any kind of woman. In other words, victims of domestic violence may be any kind of woman, regardless of her age. Moreover, these posters urge victims to call the helpline and thus, it is possible to read "Llama al 012 Mujer" (Call 012 Women). Even the name given to this helpline, 012 Mujer¹¹, provided by the Dirección General de la Mujer de la Comunidad de Madrid as a help and support for those women who could be victims of domestic violence but have not decided to report it yet, providing them information, guidance and legal advice, is associating domestic violence with female victims.

Poster S07 visually represents domestic violence as having a female victim because although verbally it refers to the "Día Internacional contra la Violencia de Género" (International Day against Domestic Violence), and thus victims could be both men and women, this poster visually depicts a woman being eaten by a carnivorous plant, consequently visually associating domestic violence with a female victim. Posters S10, S11 and S12 also represent domestic violence as something that affects women by means of the image because they feature the face of a woman who has been victim of domestic violence.

¹¹ For more information, see: http://www.madrid.org/cs/Satellite?c=CM_InfPractica_FA&cid=1114195066266&idConsejeria=1109266187278&idListConsj=1109265444710&idOrganismo=1109266228570&language=es&pagename=ComunidadMadrid%2FEstructura&sm=1109266100977#links

Some of the posters verbally relate domestic violence to a female victim. This is the case of Poster S09, which although visually it does not refer to women as being the victims of domestic violence because it shows different Spanish famous people with a red card and then both men and women might be considered victims of it, verbally this poster conveys the idea that domestic violence is mainly associated with female victims, as can be seen in [32], as well as Poster S16, as example [33] illustrates (emphasis mine).

[32]Denuncia, no estás **so**la (Report, you are not alone). (S09)

[33]La violencia que sufren sus **madres** (the violence that their mothers suffer). (S16)

5. The representation of the target audience

Campaigns against domestic violence may be addressed to victims, abusers or third parties. This section is aimed at analysing how the addressees of these posters are positioned in these two corpora as well as trying to discover certain common patterns regarding them.

Regardless of the addressee of the posters, a textual element that seems worth mentioning is the use of the imperative in these campaigns. Due to its persuasive intention, the imperative is mainly used, as the examples in this section will show, because campaigns against domestic violence want to persuade people and to influence people's way of thinking, that is, they are aimed at raising awareness about domestic violence, as well as urging victims not to remain silent but to report it in order to stop it.

5.1. Target audience in the English corpus

Taking into account the different campaigns that form the English corpus, a summary of the addresses of each poster can be seen in Table 14 below. The English corpus seems

to be mainly addressed to witnesses of domestic violence (11 of the 16 posters) and to victims (9 of the posters), aggressors being hardly ever the target of these kind of campaigns, as Table 14 shows.

Table 14: Distribution of addressees in the different English posters and campaigns

| Addressees | N of posters | | N of campaigns |
|------------|--------------|-------------|----------------|
| Victims | 9 posters | E03 | 6 campaigns |
| | | E07 (Women) | |
| | | E09 (Women) | |
| | | E10 (Women) | |
| | | E11 | |
| | | E13 (Women) | |
| | | E14 (Women) | |
| | | E15 (Women) | |
| Aggressors | 2 posters | E08 (Men) | 2 campaigns |
| | | E12 | |
| Witnesses | 11 posters | E01 | 6 campaigns |
| | | E02 | |
| | | E03 | |
| | | E04 | |
| | | E05 | |
| | | E06 | |
| | | E09 | |
| | | E10 | |
| | | E13 | |
| E14 | | | |
| E15 | | | |

Victims appear as the target audience of these posters for instance in Posters E07, E11 and E16. Poster E07 shows a woman’s face with a bruise on her eye, as well as a telephone number for advice and help. Thus, this poster highlights the support available for victims and encourages people to report what is happening so that action can be taken. The addressees of Poster E11 are also victims, as can be seen by means of saying “to take control of **your** life” (emphasis mine), who are urged to call The Domestic Abuse Helpline to report abuse because help and advice are available, as illustrated by the use of the imperative “Call”, as in the previous poster. Likewise, Poster E16 is

aimed at showing the damage that domestic violence causes on young people and encouraging those living with abuse to speak to a trusted adult.

It is also noteworthy that some posters are addressed to both victims and witnesses at the same time, as can be seen in Posters E03, E09, E10, E13, E14 and E15. For instance, E09 wants to raise awareness of domestic abuse and highlight how victims, family members, witnesses, and others affected by violence can seek help, encouraging all of them to have the confidence to report incidents to police. Poster E03, whose slogan is “Hit 52 times, sent flowers only once”, is urging both victims and witnesses to “do something” against domestic violence by means of the imperative. Likewise, Poster E10 is aimed at urging domestic violence victims, their friends and families (“if it’s happening to you or someone you know, for help or advice” and “to take control of your life”) not to wait but to seek help, support and advice immediately. Posters E13, E14 and E15 emphasise the idea that “whether it’s physical, sexual, emotional or financial there’s no excuse for domestic abuse”, thus urging people to fight against domestic violence (as the slogans “Take control back”, “Bring the curtain down on domestic abuse” and “Cut the strings”, which use the imperative, illustrate) because “Support is available for victims, their families and friends from the National Domestic Violence Helpline.”

As Table 14 above illustrates, six of the nine posters that have victims as the target audience explicitly depict the victim as a woman by means of the image, thus associating domestic violence as having a female victim, which is the addressee of these campaigns. However, Poster E03 and E11 might be addressed to both male and female victims, because they do not show or mention any clue, neither verbally nor visually, about the victim’s gender, whereas Poster 16 presents children as victims, both visually and verbally.

Aggressors seem not to be the addressee of this kind of campaigns very frequently. As illustrated in Table 14, abusers are the target audience in just two of the campaigns of the corpus. This is the case of Poster E08, which shows a man's face shouting and trying to persuade them to change their behaviour before it is too late, and promoting helplines for offenders, as can be seen in the use of the imperative in examples [34] and [35] (emphasis mine).

[34] **Change** your behaviour (E08)

[35] **Call** Respect (E08)

This poster aims at serving as a warning to potential abusers, reminding people that police are taking action against offenders. Likewise, Poster E12, which shows a broken beer bottle which is dripping blood, is addressed to abusers too, conveying the idea that support services are available for them to get help, and also using the imperative, as illustrated in [36] below (emphasis mine).

[36] **Get** help to stop your abusive behaviour, **call**: Respect Phonenumber (E12)

The image on its own could not be associated with domestic violence but the verbal mode explicitly mentions domestic abuse, the slogan being "Have you the bottle to stop?", where there might be a play on words because, on the one hand, *bottle* means the confidence or courage that you need to do something difficult or frightening, according to the Macmillan Dictionary, and on the other hand, it might indicate a link between alcohol and domestic violence, with the former being one of the causes of the latter. Furthermore, it appears noteworthy to add that whereas in E12 the aggressor might be a man or a woman, in E08 the aggressor is explicitly depicted as a man, thus associating a situation of domestic violence as having a male aggressor.

As mentioned before, English posters against domestic violence seem to be very frequently addressed to witnesses of it, emphasising the essential role of third parties in a situation of domestic violence. This is the case of Posters E04, E05, E06, which belong to the same campaign against domestic violence, trying to raise awareness about the importance of reporting domestic violence by a third person. This campaign aims to encourage more third parties to pass on any information they might have about domestic violence anonymously, as can be seen in [37] (emphasis mine) by means of the imperative.

[37] If **you** suspect a friend or family member is experiencing abuse **call** the charity Crimestoppers anonymously (E04, E05 and E06)

In this example, the pronoun *you* refers to society in general and thus, these posters try to encourage third parties to report domestic violence and to make people realise that everyone must be aware of it. Also addressed to third parties are Posters E01 and E02, which belong to a campaign called ENOUGH, and they are aimed at making people aware of how important reporting domestic abuse by witnesses is, as can be seen in [38] (emphasis mine), which shows the organisation's voice and illustrates the use of the imperative.

[38] **Help** her take the first step, **call** the National Domestic Violence Helpline for support (E01 and E02)

Thus, this campaign is urging victims' friends to report domestic violence in order to stop it, as the verbal part of these posters illustrates and can be seen in examples [39] and [40] (emphasis mine).

[39] A domestic violence victim will be beaten 20 times in the next year, unless **a friend** stops it sooner. If **your friend** is being hit, she's probably too scared to do anything to stop it. So her beatings will just go on and on.

[40] Every week 2 women die due to domestic violence. Don't let **your friend** be 1 of them. If **you** know **your friend's** being hit, it's time to put a stop to her abuse, before the abuser puts a stop to her.

5.2. Target audience in the Spanish corpus

This section is aimed at analysing how the addressees are represented in the Spanish corpus. Taking into account the different campaigns that formed the Spanish corpus, a summary of the addresses of each poster can be seen in Table 15 below.

Table 15: Distribution of addresses in the different Spanish posters and campaigns

| Addressees | N of posters | | N of campaigns |
|------------|--------------|---|----------------|
| Victims | 11 posters | S03 (Women and children) | 7 campaigns |
| | | S06 (Women) | |
| | | S08 (Women) | |
| | | S09 (Women) | |
| | | S10 (Women) S11 (Women) S12 (Women) | |
| | | S13 (Women) S14 (Women) S15 (Women) | |
| | | S16 (Women and children) | |
| Aggressors | 2 posters | S02 (Man) | 2 campaigns |
| | | S04 | |
| Witnesses | 4 posters | S01 | 4 campaigns |
| | | S05 | |
| | | S07 | |
| | | S09 | |

As Table 15 shows, the Spanish corpus seems to be mainly addressed to victims of domestic violence (11 of the 16 posters), as well as to witnesses or society in general (4 of the 16 posters), whereas aggressors are hardly ever the target of this kind of campaigns (2 posters). Thus, the main target audience of the Spanish corpus seems to be victims, who in nine cases are women, and in two women and children, specifically in

Posters S03 and S16. In Poster S03, apart from the institution's voice, as can be seen in example [41], the victim's son's voice is also present, as [42] illustrates (emphasis mine).

[41]Ante el maltratador, tolerancia cero (Zero tolerance against the aggressor) (S03)

[42]**Mamá**, hazlo por nosotros. Actúa (**Mum**, do it for us. Act) (S03)

Thus, this poster is intertextually construed by means of the presence of different voices and it is addressed to victims of domestic violence by their sons, that is, domestic violence also affects children. This idea of trying to raise awareness about the damage that domestic violence causes on children also appears in Poster S16, which provides victims of domestic violence a helpline and urges people to put an end to it, as can be seen in [43] (emphasis mine) by means of the imperative.

[43]**Pon** fin a esta pesadilla (**Put** an end to this nightmare) (S16)

This poster claims that children are not just spectators of the domestic violence that their mothers suffer but they are also victims, both women and children being victims of it.

The addresses of Posters S06 and S08 are also women that are victims of domestic violence. They are encouraged to escape from domestic violence, to report incidents and to seek help, highlighting the fact that there is a solution, as the imperatives of examples [44] to [47] illustrate.

[44]ESCAPA (Escape) (S06)

[45]Llama (Call) (S06)

[46]Di no (Say no) (S08)

[47]Denuncia (Report) (S08)

Poster S09, whose target audience are both victims of domestic violence and witnesses, tries to raise awareness of domestic abuse and to highlight the importance of not tolerating it, as well as encouraging victims and witnesses to have the confidence to report incidents, as examples [48] and [49] (emphasis mine) illustrate by means of the imperative, and emphasising the idea that the victim of domestic violence is not alone and that she has the society's support ("No estás sola"/ You are not alone).

[48] **Acude** a la concentración (Attend the demonstration) (S09)

[49] **Saca** tarjeta roja al maltratador (**Give** the aggressor the red card) (S09)

Posters S10, S11 and S12 are also encouraging victims to report domestic violence, and they are built by the combination of different voices. Apart from the slogan of the campaign, illustrated in [50] (emphasis mine), which represents the institution's voice (using the imperative) and it is shared by the three posters, they also contain different messages said by women who have been victims of domestic violence, as examples [51] to [53] show, thus being an example for other women living the same situation and encouraging them to report it.

[50] No te **saltes** las señales. **Elige** vivir (**Don't skip** the signs. **Choose** living)
(S10, S11 and S12)

[51] Nos amenazaba a mí y a nuestro hijo. Lo denuncié (He threatened me and my son. I reported him) (S10)

[52] Controlaba todo lo que hacía. Le dejé (He controlled everything I did. I left him) (S11)

[53] Me humillaba a todas horas. Llamé al 016 (He humiliated me every time. I phoned 016) (S12).

Therefore, these posters are intertextually formed by means of the combination of the victims' voice and the institutions' voice.

Posters S13, S14 and S15, belonging to the same campaign, are also addressed to victims, and they try to encourage them to report domestic violence because help is available, as can be seen in [54] (emphasis mine) below, which also uses the imperative.

[54]Si estás siendo víctima de malos tratos **llama** al 012 Mujer y la Comunidad de Madrid se pondrá en marcha para ayudarte (If you are being victim of domestic violence, **call** 012 Women and the Comunidad de Madrid will work to help you). (S13, S14 and S15)

As with the English corpus, aggressors are not commonly found as the addressees of the Spanish campaigns. Poster S02 is addressed to male offenders because it depicts a man's face with a serious expression, the aggressor's face, and the slogan is "Cuando maltratas a una mujer dejas de ser un hombre" (When you abuse a woman, you give up being a man). Poster S04, which belongs to the same campaign, is also addressed to offenders but in this case it does not depict the offender's face but the female victim's face and her words to the aggressor, by means of the imperative, as example [55] (emphasis mine) shows.

[55]**No se te ocurra** ponerme la mano encima jamás (**Don't** even **think** about getting your hands on me) (S04)

Spanish posters against domestic violence are also frequently addressed to witnesses of it or society in general, trying to raise awareness about the importance of reporting domestic violence by a third person. In this sense, witnesses appear as the target of the Spanish corpus in four of the eleven campaigns. An example of this is Poster S01, which tries to encourage people to report domestic violence by means of imperatives, as examples [56] and [57] illustrate, because this may save lives.

[56]No esperes (Don't wait)

[57]Llama (Call)

Poster S05 is also addressed to witnesses of domestic violence. It features a woman on the floor outside her flat who is observed through a peephole by a neighbour and the slogan of the campaign is “No te quedes mirando. ¡Denuncia! (Don’t keep watching. Report!), using the imperative. Thus, it tries to make people realise that everyone must be aware of domestic violence. Society in general is also the target audience of Posters S07 and S09, both of them urging people to give the aggressor the red card (See Section 4.2.) and aimed at raising awareness about the importance of doing something and taking responsibility in order to stop domestic violence.

6. Conclusion

This research paper has dealt with the analysis of several campaigns against domestic violence launched in the UK and in Spain between 2006 and 2011. Combining metaphor theories and some aspects of CDA, this study was carried out with two main aims in mind: to offer a contrastive study of how domestic violence is represented and how subjects are positioned in English and Spanish posters against domestic violence, and to show how the target audience of the English and Spanish campaigns is addressed.

Regarding the first aim, the analysis of the representation of domestic violence and subjects in English and Spanish campaigns, this study has focused on the identification and analysis of the most common metaphorical representations associated with domestic violence, as well as on other non-metaphorical representations of domestic violence that are highlighted in them, taking into account the visual and written modes of the posters. Also, the positioning of the subjects has been examined in order to study how they are construed, that is, how men and women are represented.

It has been shown that the posters of both corpora highlight certain aspects of domestic violence by means of the relationship between verbal and visual modes. The visual mode on its own does not usually convey any clue in relation to domestic violence, but verbal and visual modes combine with each other and it is by means of this interaction that the representations of domestic violence are conveyed in these posters. However, the effects of these posters on the audience are probably higher by means of the visual mode due to the shocking images that these posters portray, specially the English posters, which tend to be more shocking than the Spanish ones.

Regarding the signs of domestic violence that both corpora convey, it is worth noting that whereas in the English corpus domestic violence seems to have both visible and invisible consequences, in the Spanish posters domestic violence tends to be represented as having visible consequences. Besides, in the English corpus, physical damage, death, lack of control, and emotional damage, fear, and sexual or financial abuse appear as the main signs or effects of domestic violence, whereas in the Spanish corpus, the main signs of it are lack of control, death and damage, both physical and emotional. However, due to the small size of the corpus, it is also important to point out that a bigger corpus would be needed in order to be able to reach generalisations.

The analysis has shown that some of the representations of domestic violence are found both in the English and Spanish campaigns whereas each corpus has some specific representations. There seems to be a tendency to represent physical damage as the clearest sign of domestic violence in the English campaigns, which is related to the metaphorical conceptualisation of domestic violence in terms of sports in the English corpus, specifically as a football match and as boxing, which interestingly, have been traditionally associated with men. English campaigns are likely to focus on the representation of domestic violence as a football match by means of slogans such as

“What time is kick off in your house?”, “Give Domestic Violence the Red Card this World Cup” or “Blow the whistle on domestic abuse”. Whereas in a football match the referee may give a red card or blow the whistle when a player breaks the rules, domestic violence should not be tolerated and a red card should be given to it or people should blow the whistle on it, reporting incidents.

In the Spanish campaigns, there seems to be a tendency to represent domestic violence mainly in terms of lack of control. Thus, the victim’s lack of control is one of the effects of domestic violence that this corpus highlights, in other words, the victim of domestic violence has no control at all but she is controlled by the aggressor.

It seems noteworthy to add that, despite these tendencies to represent physical damage and lack of control as the main signs of domestic violence in the English and Spanish corpus respectively, these representations appear in both corpora. The metaphor DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IS A SHOW can also be perceived in both corpora both visually and verbally. Moreover, domestic violence in both corpora is mainly represented as having a female victim. In other words, regardless of their addressee, these posters mostly construct women as victims. In addition, in the Spanish corpus domestic violence is also understood as affecting children; children are not presented just as spectators of the domestic violence also as victims.

Likewise, the idea of death as one of the signs of domestic violence appears in both corpora. However, English campaigns are visually more shocking and they are more likely to visually identify domestic violence with death and murder, that is, domestic violence can lead to death and it has to be considered a crime, whereas in the Spanish campaigns presupposition plays a relevant role in the interpretation of death as one of the consequences of domestic violence. In addition, domestic violence in the

English campaigns is described as a murder and as a crime, whereas in the Spanish campaigns it appears as intolerable.

The data obtained from the corpora have also shown that, although domestic violence is mainly understood in terms of physical damage, it is not only associated with physical damage but also with emotional damage which may not be initially visible, and it is represented as having a female victim in both corpora. Moreover, it has been found that some of the posters of both corpora are intertextually built by means of the combination of different subjects' voices with quotations and the institutions' voice represented by the slogans.

The second aim, the representation of the target audience, has been attained taking into account some aspects of CDA, such as the role of lexis, the use of pronouns and the presence of different voices. Thus, this paper has analysed whether these campaigns are addressed to victims, abusers or third parties, and how addressees are positioned in these two corpora, trying to discover certain common patterns regarding them, in order to offer a more comprehensive view of how domestic violence is depicted in English and Spanish posters against domestic violence.

It has been shown that these posters tend to use the imperative in an attempt to influence people's way of thinking. The analysis found that the English corpus seems to be mainly addressed to witnesses of domestic violence and to victims, whereas the Spanish corpus is mainly addressed to victims of domestic violence as well as to witnesses, aggressors being hardly ever the target of these kind of campaigns in both corpora. Moreover, whereas in none of the English posters it is possible to find the victims' voices, four of the Spanish posters show the victims' words, thus being an example for other women living the same situation and encouraging them to report, and

they are intertextually built by the combination of the victims' voice and the institutions' voice.

The analysis has shown that some of the representations of domestic violence are found both in the English and Spanish campaigns whereas each corpus has some specific representations. Domestic violence is not equally depicted in the United Kingdom and in Spain, and these differences in the representation of domestic violence in both countries may be due to cultural differences and how campaigns against domestic violence convey aspects of ideology and specific cultural values.

Besides, it should be considered that this research has involved some limitations concerning the small size of the corpus. However, it could be taken as a basis for further studies on the representation of domestic violence in English and Spanish campaigns against domestic violence in a larger corpus in order to be able to reach further generalisations. In addition, a promising line of study would be to analyse campaigns against domestic violence in different English or Spanish speaking countries apart from the UK and Spain in order to determine whether systematic patterns and correlations can be observed across cultures. Likewise, future research could also include for instance leaflets, which will contain more written text. Another appealing line of study would be a chronological study, which will be helpful in order to examine whether the representation of domestic violence through domestic violence campaigns has always been the same or if it has recently changed, and is still changing, as a consequence of the changes in women's situation.

It is hoped that this study has contributed to show how domestic violence and subjects involved in it are represented as well as how the target audience is positioned in campaigns against domestic violence in the UK and in Spain.

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Source Text Websites

This section provides a list of websites (last accessed 02/06/2013) from which the different posters of the two corpora have been obtained.

English posters

E01

Coloribus. Archivo de publicidad mundial.

<http://es.coloribus.com/archivo-de-publicidad-y-anuncios/impresos/anti-domestic-violence-campaign-punchbag-8290355/>

E02

Coloribus. Archivo de publicidad mundial.

<http://es.coloribus.com/archivo-de-publicidad-y-anuncios/impresos/anti-domestic-violence-campaign-flowers-8125605/>

E03

Manchester Evening News. 18 April 2010. Don't suffer in silence.

http://menmedia.co.uk/glossopadvertiser/news/s/1057532_dont_suffer_in_silence

E04, E05 and E06

The Drum. Modern Marketing & Media. 1 December 2008. Crimestoppers domestic abuse campaign is something Different.

<http://www.thedrum.co.uk/news/2008/12/01/crimestoppers-domestic-abuse-campaign-something-different>

E07 and E08

BBC News England. 12 June 2010. Police target domestic violence during World Cup fever.

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/10300954>

Northumbria Police. June 2010: What time is kick off in your house?

<http://www.northumbria.police.uk/campaigns/kickoff/index.asp>

E09

News&Star. 10 June 2010. World Cup No Excuse for Domestic Violence, Warn Cumbria Police.

<http://www.newsandstar.co.uk/news/world-cup-no-excuse-for-domestic-violence-warn-cumbria-police-1.718584?referrerPath=home/2.1962>

E10, E11 and E12

NHS. North, Central and South Manchester Clinical Commissioning Groups. Blow the whistle on domestic abuse.

<http://www.manchester.nhs.uk/news/newsitem.aspx?StoryId=3522>

BBC News Manchester. 7 June 2010. Poster campaign tackles World Cup domestic abuse.

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/10258945>

E13, E14 and E15

Chelmsford City Council.

<http://www.chelmsford.gov.uk/domesticabuse>

E16

YOUth Scotland. The Network of Youth Groups across Scotland. 22 March 2011. Domestic Abuse Campaign aimed at Teenagers.

<http://www.youthscotland.org.uk/news/domestic-abuse-campaign-aimed-at-teenagers.htm>

Spanish posters**S01**

Ministerio de Sanidad, Servicios Sociales e Igualdad. Teléfono 016, A la Primera Señal de Malos Tratos, Llama.

<http://www.msc.es/campañas/campanas07/telefono016.htm>

S02, S03 and S04

Ministerio de Sanidad, Servicios Sociales e Igualdad. Ante el Maltratador, Tolerancia Cero.

<http://www.msc.es/campañas/campanas08/toleranciaCero.htm>

S05, S06 and S08

Dirección General de la Mujer de la Comunidad de Madrid.

http://www.madrid.org/cs/Satellite?c=CM_Agrupador_FP&cid=1109266228570&idConsejeria=1109266187278&idListConsj=1109265444710&idOrganismo=1109266228570&language=es&pagename=ComunidadMadrid%2FEstructura&pid=1109265444699

S07

Conseyu Mucedá Xixón.

http://www.cmx.es/v_portal/informacion/informacionver.asp?cod=4893&te=2&idage=5623&vap=0

El Comercio.es

Gijón dirige a los jóvenes la campaña 'El amor no duele'. 20 November 2010. J. Escudero.

<http://www.elcomercio.es/v/20101120/gijon/gijon-dirige-jovenes-campana-20101120.html>

S09

Instituto Asturiano de la Mujer. 18 November 2010. 25 de noviembre. Día internacional contra la violencia hacia las mujeres.

<http://institutoasturianodelamujer.com/iam/noticias-instituto-asturiano-de-la-mujer/25-de-noviembre-dia-internacional-contra-la-violencia-hacia-las-mujeres/>

S10, S11 and S12

Ministerio de Sanidad, Servicios Sociales e Igualdad. No te saltes las señales. Elige vivir.

<http://www.msc.es/campañas/campanas11/eligeVivir.htm>

S13, S14 and S15

Marketing data-red.com

<http://www.data-red.com/graficas/grafica.php?id=575&keywords=&empresa>

S16

Eusko Jaurlaritza Gobierno Vasco

<http://www.interior.ejgv.euskadi.net/r42->

avvg001/es/contenidos/informacion/otras_campanas/es_campanas/otras_campanas.html

Other Websites (last accessed 10/06/2013)

BBC News (<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/10300954>, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/10258945>,
http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/8703030.stm).

Rkcr/y&r (<http://www.rkcr.com/#/>)

Refuge (<http://refuge.org.uk/about-us/who-we-are-2/>)

Women's Aid (<http://www.womensaid.org.uk/>)

Different (<http://www.different-uk.com/>)

Crimestoppers (<http://www.crimestoppers-uk.org/>)

Ministerio de Sanidad, Servicios Sociales e Igualdad (<http://www.msc.es/>)

Dirección General de la Mujer de la Comunidad de Madrid
(http://www.madrid.org/cs/Satellite?c=CM_Agrupador_FP&cid=1109266228570&idConsejeria=1109266187278&idListConsj=1109265444710&idOrganismo=1109266228570&language=es&pagename=ComunidadMadrid%2FEstructura&pid=1109265444699)

Instituto Asturiano de la Mujer (<http://institutoasturianodelamujer.com/iam/>)

Dirección de Atención a las Víctimas de Violencia de Género in the Basque Country
(http://www.interior.ejgv.euskadi.net/r42-avvg0000/es/contenidos/informacion/avvg_info/es_avvg/r42_avvg_prehome.html)

Instituto de la Mujer (<http://www.inmujer.es/>)

Biblioteca Nacional (<http://www.bne.es/es/Inicio/index.html>)

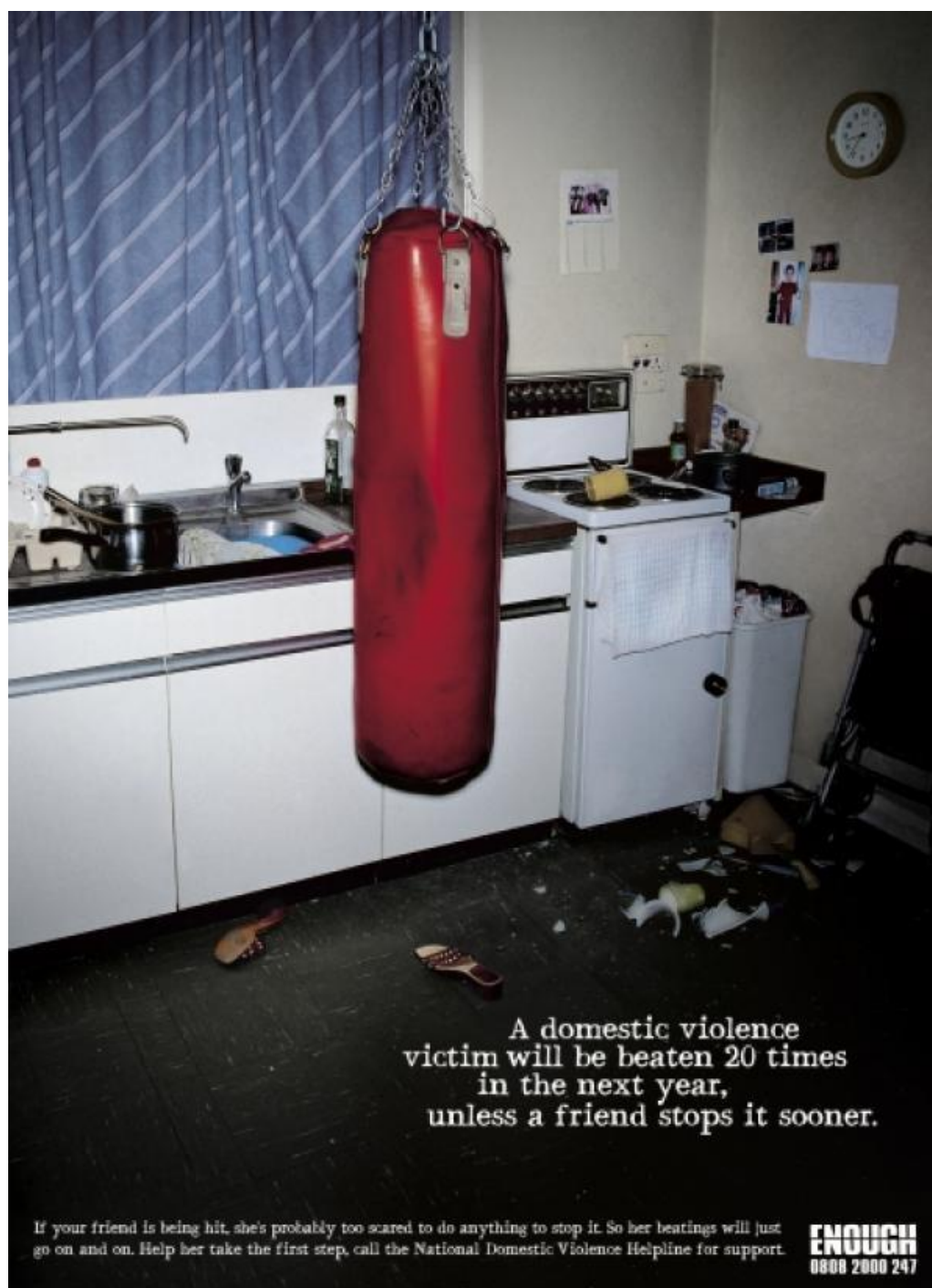
Macmillan Dictionary (<http://www.macmillandictionary.com/>)

012 Mujer

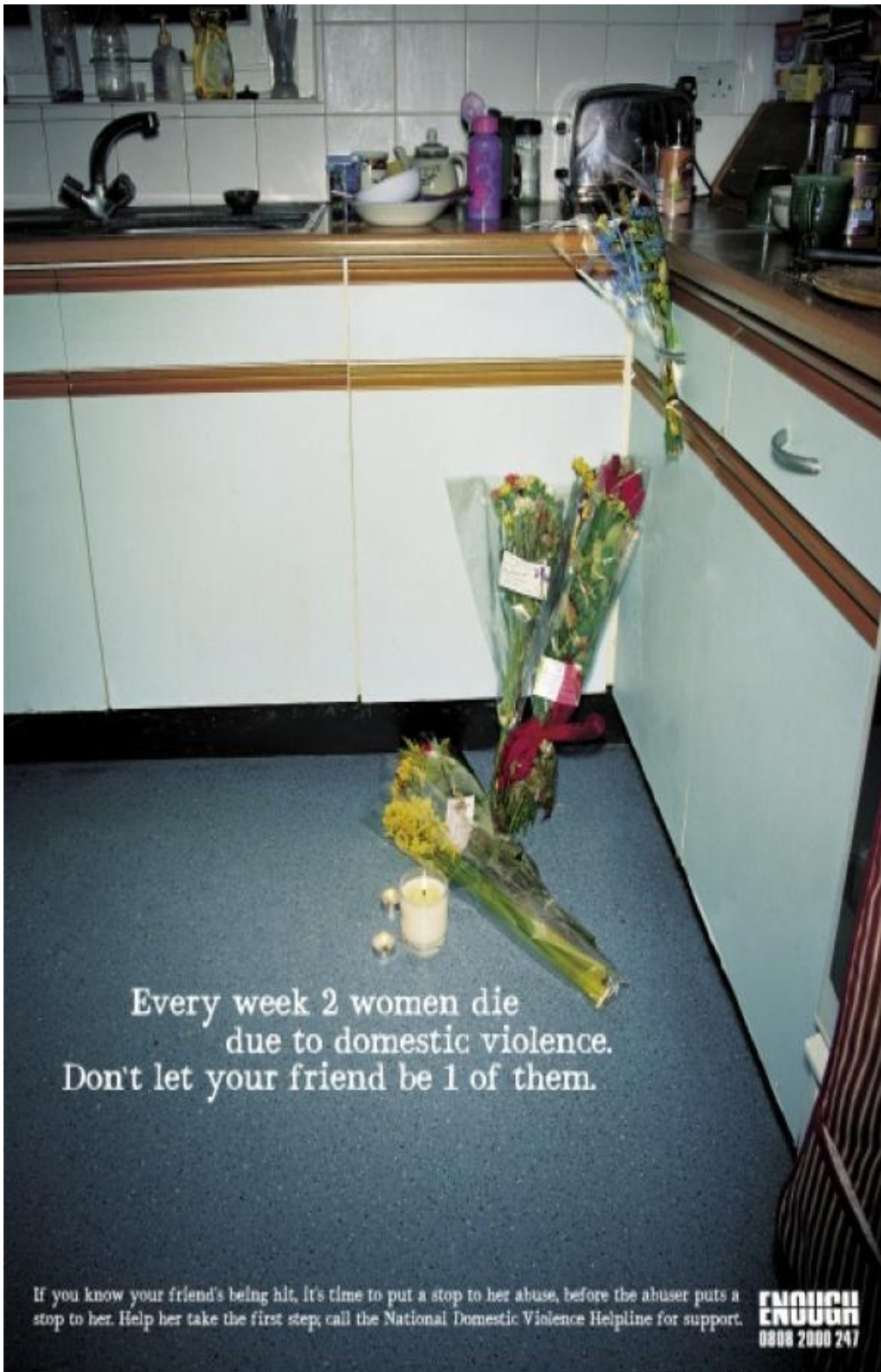
(http://www.madrid.org/cs/Satellite?c=CM_InfPractica_FA&cid=1114195066266&idConsejeria=1109266187278&idListConsj=1109265444710&idOrganismo=1109266228570&language=es&pagename=ComunidadMadrid%2FEstructura&sm=1109266100977#links)

Appendix A: English posters against domestic violence analysed

E01



E02



Every week 2 women die
due to domestic violence.
Don't let your friend be 1 of them.

If you know your friend's being hit, it's time to put a stop to her abuse, before the abuser puts a stop to her. Help her take the first step, call the National Domestic Violence Helpline for support.

ENOUGH
0808 2000 247

Helpline run by Refuge and Women's Aid

E03



hit
52 times
sent flowers
only once

domestic abuse | do something!
Derbyshire Constabulary | t: 0845 123 3333

E04



The signs are not always this clear.
One in four women are likely to be victims of domestic violence.
If you suspect that a friend or family member is experiencing
abuse call the charity Crimestoppers anonymously.

 **CRIMESTOPPERS**
0800 555 111
Call anonymously with information about crime

0808 2000 247 Free-phone 24 Hour National Domestic Violence Helpline, run in partnership between Women's Aid and Refuge

www.crimestoppers-uk.org

Crimestoppers Trust is a registered charity 1209607

E05



The signs are not always this clear.
On average a domestic violence victim is beaten 20 times per year. If you suspect a friend or family member is experiencing abuse call the charity Crimestoppers anonymously.

 **CRIMESTOPPERS**
0800 555 111
Call anonymously with information about crime

0808 2000 247 Free-phone 24 Hour National Domestic Violence Helpline, run in partnership between Women's Aid and Refuge

www.crimestoppers-uk.org

Crimestoppers Trust is a registered charity 1188627

E06



The signs are not always this clear.
Two women each week are killed as a result of domestic violence. If you suspect a friend or family member is experiencing abuse call the charity Crimestoppers anonymously.

 **CRIMESTOPPERS**
0800 555 111
Call anonymously with information about crime

0808 2000 247 Free-phone 24 Hour National Domestic Violence Helpline, run in partnership between Women's Aid and Refuge

www.crimestoppers-uk.org

Crimestoppers Trust is a registered charity 1188627

E07



E08



E09



E10



END THE FEAR .CO.UK

BLOW THE WHISTLE ON DOMESTIC ABUSE

IF IT'S HAPPENING TO YOU OR SOMEONE YOU KNOW, FOR HELP OR ADVICE CALL:
The Domestic Abuse Helpline: 0161 636 7525

Greater Manchester Against Domestic Abuse - www.endthefear.co.uk

E11



END THE FEAR .CO.UK

BEING CONTROLLED IS DOMESTIC ABUSE

TO TAKE BACK CONTROL OF YOUR LIFE, CALL:
The Domestic Abuse Helpline: 0161 636 7525

Greater Manchester Against Domestic Abuse - www.endthefear.co.uk

E12



END THE FEAR .CO.UK

DOMESTIC ABUSE HAVE YOU THE BOTTLE TO STOP?

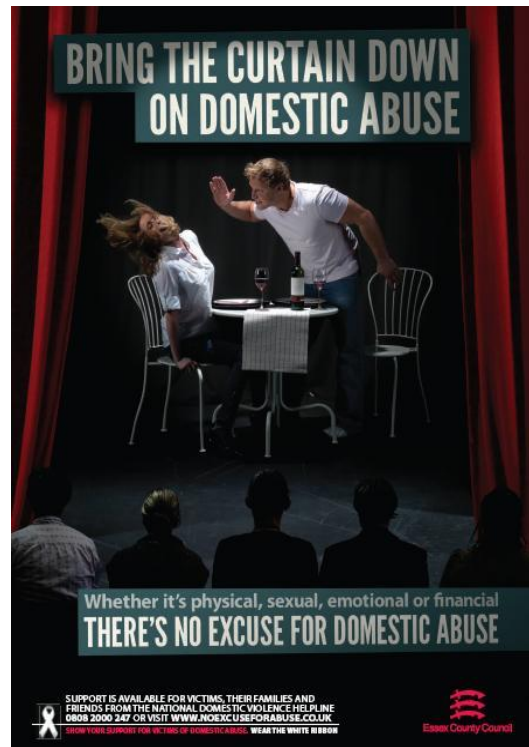
GET HELP TO STOP YOUR ABUSIVE BEHAVIOUR, CALL:
Respect Phoneline: 0845 122 8609

Greater Manchester Against Domestic Abuse - www.endthefear.co.uk

E13



E14



E15



A woman and a child are sitting in a bunker made of sandbags. The woman is wearing a pink jacket and the child is wearing a purple jacket. They are sitting on a purple blanket. There is a green cup and some other items on a small table in front of them. The bunker is made of many sandbags and has a wooden floor. The lighting is dim and there is some smoke or dust in the air.

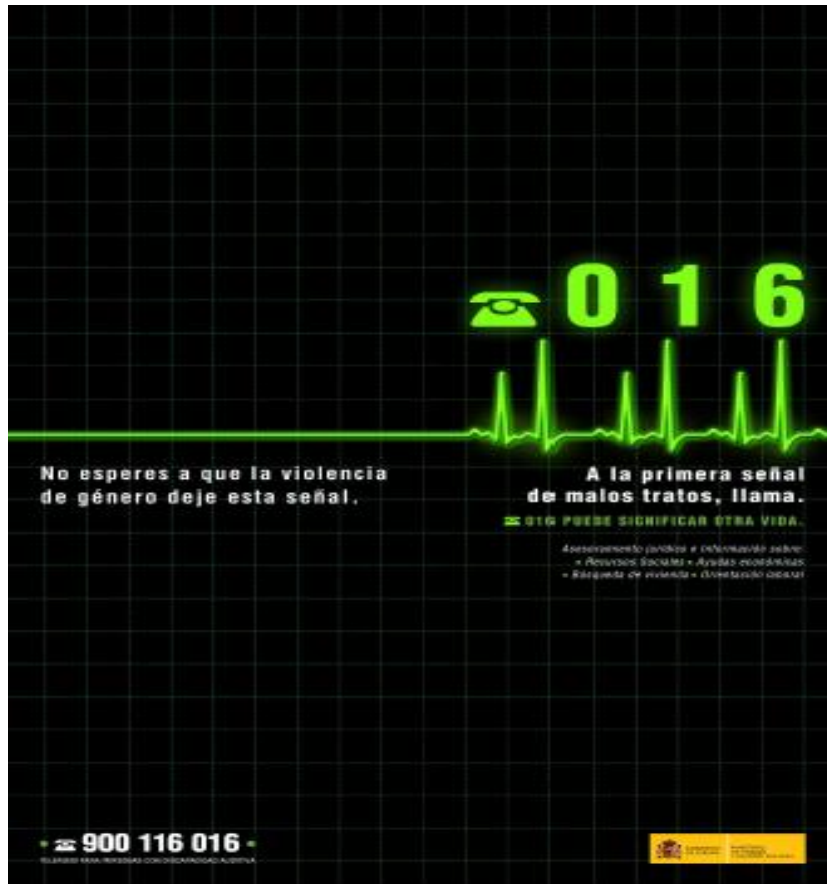
Feel like you're living in a war zone?

If there's domestic abuse going on at home, talking to a trusted adult or teacher, calling ChildLine or webchatting at childline.org.uk can really help.

Appendix B: Spanish posters against domestic violence analysed

S01



S02



S03



S04



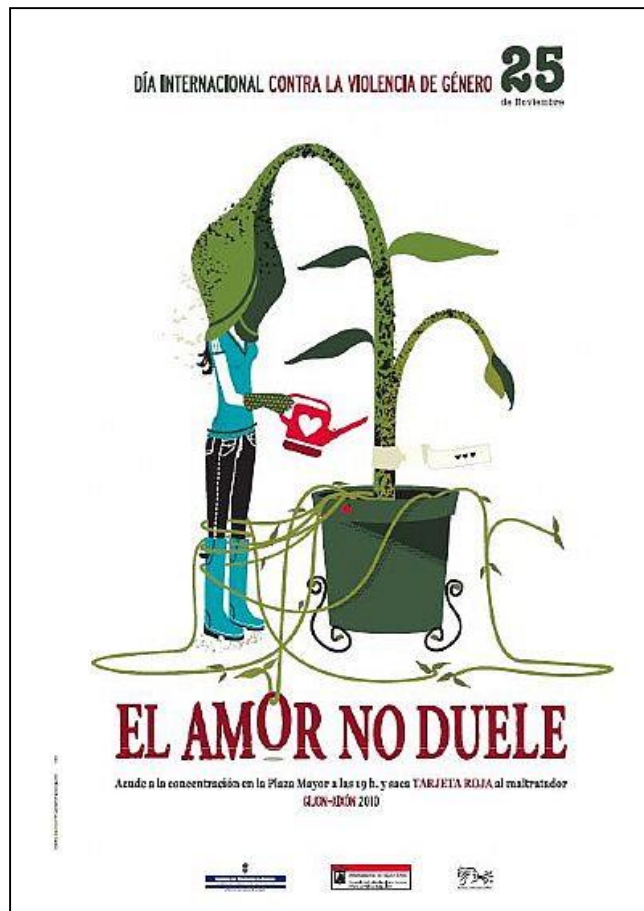
S05



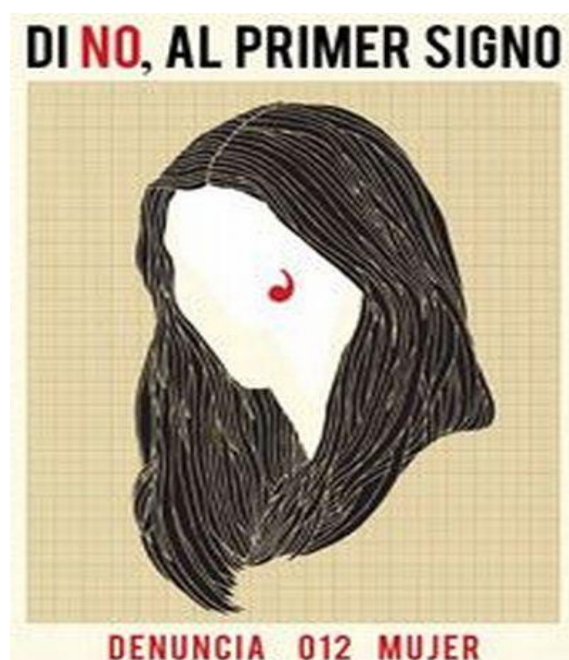
S06



S07



S08



S09

David Félix, Madrid
Pascual del Real, Cantabria
Juan Luis Suárez, Madrid
Raúl Fernández, Aragón
Cristina del Valle, Cantabria
flickr.com/groups/sacatarjeta rojaasturias/
David Villa, Asturias
Sara Castro, Asturias
SACA TARJETA ROJA AL MALTRATADOR
GOBIERNO DEL PRINCIPADO DE ASTURIAS
GOBIERNO DE ESPAÑA
Juan Ramón López, Asturias
Ana G. Gilero, Asturias
Nando Prada, Asturias de 100 años
Jana Endaburu, País Vasco
Victor Sánchez, Madrid
016 + INFORMACIÓN
112 EMERGENCIAS

S10

“NOS AMENAZABA A MI Y A NUESTRO HIJO LE DENUNCIÉ”
NO TE SALTES LAS SEÑALES. ELIGE VIVIR.

016
GOBIERNO DEL PRINCIPADO DE ASTURIAS
GOBIERNO DE ESPAÑA

S11

“CONTROLABA TODO LO QUE HACÍA LE DEJÉ”
NO TE SALTES LAS SEÑALES. ELIGE VIVIR.

S12

“ME HUMILLABA A TODAS HORAS LLAMÉ AL 016.”
NO TE SALTES LAS SEÑALES. ELIGE VIVIR.

016
GOBIERNO DEL PRINCIPADO DE ASTURIAS
GOBIERNO DE ESPAÑA

S13



S14



S15



