Creating new discourses for new feminisms: A critical socio-cognitive approach

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ABSTRACT

Drawing from a critical and socio-cognitive approach to discourse analysis, this paper analyses the discursive creativity deployed by feminists in the production of slogans for the last 8M (International Women's Day) rallies from 2018 to 2020 in Spain. Findings show how the creative discourse strategies identified in the 8M banners, *recontextualization* and *multimodal metaphor* in the main, triggered by new feminist movements (Feminism 4.0, Feminism of the 99%), as well as by salient socio-cultural events taking place within the community, are construing a new discourse of optimism, festivity and empowerment, that is helping to transform gender relations in Spanish society.

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1. Introduction

Recent studies on protest movements have proven to be a prolific field of research, real labs, not only for the study of social change processes, but also for the online observation of language change and creativity. New forms of protest, rising in the last 10 years, the so-called 'occupy' or 'indignées' movements, starting in the 'Arab Spring' of Tunisia and Egypt in 2011 and rapidly spreading throughout the world,[2] not only brought new alternative forms of demonstrating but, most importantly, new transforming discourses (Romano, 2013; Pujante and Morales, 2013; Morales, 2016a; Romano and Porto, 2018, Porto and Romano, 2019, among others). Recent feminist marches taking place in Spain on March 8 (International Woman's Day) have clearly been influenced by the more horizontal and open ways of democratic participation of these new forms of protest, bringing not only rallies involving the whole community (citizens of all age, race, sexual orientation and socio-cultural and economic backgrounds) but, most importantly, a new discourse of optimism, festivity and creativity, accompanied by musicians, 'batucadas', as well as other multimodal performances.[3]

The Spanish political slogans analysed in this paper add a new dimension to the study of the discourse of feminist claims, not only for the massive marches of the last years taking place worldwide,[4] but also for the changes *Fourth Wave Feminism* has brought to the movement since 2012. *Feminism 4.0.* or *Feminism for the 99%* (Arruzza et al., 2019; Requena, 2020) evidently fight to establish the political, economic, personal and social equality of the sexes, as well as to put an end to men's violence against women, but without losing sight of a general fight against racism, social class inequality, and its struggle for sexual diversity and sustainability, among many other anti-neoliberal claims. It is thus a more plural, integrating and transversal

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organization than in the past, both in its main objectives and demands, as well as in its new tools for social action. This new feminism is an adding, intersectional programme; there has not only been no generational renewal, as we see grandmothers and granddaughters carrying the same banners together, but many other social, sexual and religious groups have been integrated within it. Moreover, the use of new technologies and social networks has been one of the most revolutionary instruments for its dissemination. In addition to the organization of massive global marches, reaching almost every corner of the world, social networks are also functioning as loudspeakers for women to share and divulge issues which have long been silenced -even among women-, such as sexual harassment and violence.[5]

In order to unravel the discursive strategies deployed by Spanish feminists in the creation of their slogans, this work analyses banners from the last three 8M marches (2018–2020) taking place in the country. The study draws on the conceptual tools of Critical Socio-Cognitive models of discourse (Chilton, 2004; Charteris-Black, 2005; 2018; Dirven et al., 2007; Musolff and Zinken, 2009; Koller, 2014; Hart, 2014; 2017; Steen, 2014; Romano and Porto, 2016; Soares da Silva et al., 2017; Alonso and Porto, 2020) and their applications to recent Spanish protest discourse (Vivero, 2011; Pujante and Morales, 2013; Romano, 2013; Martín Rojo, 2014; Montesano and Morales, 2014; Romano and Porto, 2018). At the same time, the study wishes to contribute more specifically to Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis (Weedon, 1997; Sunderland, 2004; Lazar, 2005, 2007; Wodak, 2008; Holmes and Marra, 2010; Ehrlich and Meyerhoff, 2014), as the slogans expressed in the banners seek the social transformation of an unjust society for women.

To this aim, section 2 presents the main theoretical notions which help to explain how specific discursive strategies are created; section 3 describes the data and methodology used to find out why feminist protesters are so creative; a detailed qualitative analysis of the main discursive strategies identified is included in section 4; and finally, section 5 summarizes preliminary results and conclusions.

2. How to analyse creativity in feminist social protests: some theoretical tools

The key concept in the construal of feminist claims in the Spanish 8M is *creativity*, understood in its most general sense as 'the ability to produce work that is both novel (i.e. original, unexpected) and appropriate (i.e. adaptive concerning task constraint)' (Sternberg, 1999: 47). In order to understand how the 8M slogans are construed by making use of both novel and appropriate conceptual and discursive creativity, analytical tools coming from three overlapping theoretical models, as already mentioned, have been used, namely Socio-Cognitive models of discourse analysis, together with Critical Discourse Analysis as applied to protest movements, and Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis. The combination of these models has helped to explain how and why the slogans are created within a very specific socio-political, cognitive and linguistic context, as well as their function as powerful ideological tools for social action and change in Spanish society.

Two basic notions that stem from Socio-Cognitive approaches to discourse (SCL), and which are intrinsically related to persuasion in protest discourse, are *recontextualization* and *metaphorical creativity*. Recontextualization (Linell, 2002; Cameron, 2011; Romano, 2013; Semino et al., 2013) matches Stenberg's 1999 definition of creativity, since it explains the process by which language is continuously being (re)adapted or (re)contextualized to fit the new discursive and socio-cultural contexts and needs it occurs in. Feminist protestors, we will see, make use of concepts and events that are *context-induced* or created under the *pressure of coherence* (Kövecses, 2010, 2015, 2020); that is, salient concepts which are active within the community at the moment of creation and adapted to the expressive and persuasive needs of the new situation. Examples in this dataset are, for instance, the recontextualization of well-known idiomatic expressions, songs, poems, comics and movies, as well as recent and highly traumatic events taking place in Spanish society, like the *Manada* ("wolf pack") gang rape[6] or the Covid19 pandemic. Metaphorical creativity naturally derives from recontextualization, since creative metaphors are explicit invitations to rethink a conventional concept or expression from a new perspective. In the recontextualization of conventional metaphors in the data under study, it is usually the most positive connotations that are transferred to the newly created one (Romano and Porto, 2018) in order to call attention and persuade. But negative meanings can also be (re)appropriated by a specific social group, feminists, in order to create a new a powerful tool for female empowerment and resistance, as we will see in the *Manada* rape case in section 4.

Discursive and metaphorical creativity in the 8M protest slogans have also benefited from the analytical tools of *multimodal metaphorical creativity*, since many of the examples involve mappings across different modes -verbal and visual, in the main- (Forceville and Uriós-Aparisi, 2009; Tasića and Stamenkovićb, 2015; Porto and Romano, 2019; Forceville, 2020). The interaction of modes enhances the persuasive aims of protest discourse, which, in addition, is influenced by the new developing communication media. The result is the emergence of new affordances and demands (Kress and van Leeuwen 2001), but most importantly, of novel, creative discourses construed to fulfil the new cognitive, emotional and social needs of the community.

This context-induced approach clearly overlaps with Critical Metaphor Analysis (Chilton, 2004; Charteris-Black, 2005, 2013, 2018; Dirven et al., 2007; Musolff and Zinken, 2009; Koller, 2014; Hart, 2014; Steen, 2014; Soares da Silva et al., 2017; Romano, 2019; Musolff, 2020; among others); a model which draws on CDA (Fairclough, 1992; Van Djik, 1993, 2014;

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[5] See #MeToo (worldwide), #Cuéntalo (Tell it) (Spain), #BalanceTonPorc (France), #Quellavoltache (Italy), #Unvioladorentucamino (Chile), etc., where thousands of women have started to tell their own stories of sexual harassment.
[6] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/La_Manada_rape_case.

Fairclough and Wodak, 1997; Hart and Cap, 2014; Wodak and Meyer, 2015), as it intends to explain the social effects of metaphors in real discursive settings. In Charteris-Black's words, metaphor has "the potential to construct representations of the world that impinge on human understanding of various aspects of social and political life and for its vital role in forming and influencing human beliefs, attitudes and action" (Charteris-Black, 2004: 28). In the context under study, we will see how the (multimodal) metaphors created by feminists can be considered powerful tools for social action and transformation.

Following CDA as applied to recent Spanish protest movements (Vivero, 2011; Pujante and Morales, 2013; Romano 2013; Montesano and Morales, 2014; Morales 2016a; Romano and Porto, 2018; Porto and Romano, 2019), the 8M feminist slogans can also be understood as social and political *transforming narratives* (Montesano and Morales, 2014), which are changing the identity of a large part of Spanish women from victims to outraged. The slogans, in addition, can be related to Laclau's (1990) concept of *myth*, the will to change gender inequality and *social imaginary*, the power to impact and introduce real changes in Spanish society; notions that are especially relevant in the *Manada* rape case. Closely related to these concepts, the 8M slogans can be interpreted in terms of Wodak et al.'s (2009) *transformation* and *reconstruction* discourse strategies as they clearly seek the transformation of society by building a new feminist frame or identity, as well as in terms of van Dijk's (2014) *ideological schemas*, structures which form the cognitive basis of ideological group formation and reproduction, and help members share identity, action, goals, norms and values, reference groups, and resources.

Finally, even though CDA is concerned with all forms of social inequality and the need to change them through discursive practice, this study also resorts to Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis (FCDA) (Weedon, 1997; Sunderland, 2004; Lazar, 2005, 2007; Wodak, 2008; Holmes and Marra, 2010; Ehrlich and Meyerhoff, 2014, among others), as a subfield within CDA. FCDA's main aim is to 'criticize discourses which sustain a patriarchal social order, that is, relationships that systematically privilege men as a social group and disadvantage, exclude and disempower women as a social group' (Lazar, 2005: 5). It is, in addition, a praxis-oriented program, which implies mobilizing theory in order to create critical awareness and develop feminist strategies for resistance and change (Lazar, 2005: 6). This means that, even though unequal gender relations are subtle and acceptable in modern society, that is, 'hegemonic', using Gramsci's term (Hoare and Smith, 1971) and 'misrecognized' (Bourdieu 1991), FCDA advocates for their contestation and change. The feminist slogans under study evidently belong to this research program since they not only intend to denounce specific unequal social practices such as misogynistic verbal harassment against women, physical violence, unequal pay, or gatekeeping social practices, among many others, but they also aim to transform the social structures of gender oppression and resistance.

In short, the theoretical approach followed, (Critical) Socio-Cognitive Discourse Analysis, is a model which has been studying, in the last years, how cognitive and social factors interact in the production, representation and perpetuation of social injustice, as well as attempting to contest it critically. The analytical tools mentioned help to explain in detail how the new feminist claims are construed by means of highly creative, transforming and empowering discourse strategies; and, most importantly, how they are contributing to change Spanish society through the creation of new feminist identities.

3. Why feminist protestors are so creative: data and methodology

The methodology used in this study can be described as experimental and ethnographic, as it is based on real data, photos of banners taken by researcher at demonstration sites, as well as slogans retrieved from different feminist websites and blogs during the celebration of the 8M.[7] The dataset for the study consists of 137 slogans appearing in the 8M Spanish demonstration banners from 2018 to 2020; more specifically, 47 from 2018, 36 from 2019 to 54 from 2020. As for the methodology, the sample was first cleaned for those slogans that were considered too general; mottos including demands that could be applied to other political protests, such as *Por un convenio digno* ("For a decent collective agreement"), were thus eliminated. Once the samples were collected and filtered, a first analysis of general linguistic and discursive features present in the data was performed, in order to check whether the strategies already identified within previous work in the field, and summarized in section 2 'theoretical concepts', also appeared in the data under study. This first approach included strategies such as personal pronouns, deontic uses of verbs and negation (see section 4.1.), as well as the use of polysemy, alliteration, word creation, rhyme and paradox, among others, in the creation of humour and irony (section 4.2.). Within a third stage, the main aim of this study, metaphorical creativity, both monomodal and multimodal, as defined in section 2, was searched for; that is, all those slogans created by giving already existing, conventional metaphorical concepts a new twist or perspective (recontextualized) within the specific context of the 8M marches, with the main purpose of calling interlocutors' attention and inviting them to rethink salient conceptualizations active in the community. In order to detect the metaphors, the researcher first applied the MIPVU[8] identification tools (Steen et al., 2010) and then performed a double-check test with experts.[9] Finally, a qualitative analysis of (multimodal) metaphorical creativity strategies was realized on the 63 (45,9%) metaphorical slogans identified; of which 37 (58,7%) were multimodal. The analysis includes 23 of the most representative samples from the database chosen to illustrate the aforementioned linguistic and discursive features; examples 11 to 23 were

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[7] Some of the webpages and blogs analysed were Comisión 8M, Tribuna Feminista, Pikara, Sangre Fuscia, Mujeres en Red, El Poderío and AmecoPress. The names of sites often coincide with some of the most popular 8M slogans that also appear as hashtags (#NiUnaMenos - NotOne(Woman)Less, #8M, #NoEsNo – NoIsNo).

[8] Metaphor Identification Procedure Vrije Universiteit.

[9] 8 Master and Doctoral students at the UAM and 2 members of the Research Group FF16 77540-P.

specifically selected to understand how cognitive, linguistic and (multimodal) discursive strategies interact in the construction of the feminist mottos.

Language change and creativity processes, we know, are enhanced in specific sociolinguistic contexts, such as political rallies, in which speakers-demonstrators share very urgent and specific communicative needs (Romano, 2013). The reasons why demonstrators are so creative seem to lie on the fact that they need to express or vent out a feeling of outrage against a general common cause, such as gender inequality and violence in the case under study, while trying to persuade their interlocutors; and these highly demanding needs have to be fulfilled in very short and efficient texts: slogans on banners, hashtags or tweets. In this sense, political slogans, as those under study, can be considered a text type of their own that share certain formal and functional features with newspaper and advertisement headlines (Dor, 2003). Some of the main cognitive and pragmatic requisites of political slogans (Romano 2013) are thus that: (i) they are created to catch people's attention and persuade them to join the movement, vote, or participate in the marches; (ii) they need to express a maximum amount of information with a minimum cognitive effort and within physically limited contexts (banner size or the 280 characters of tweets); and (iii), they require to activate the shared cultural and emotional knowledge of the community they are rooted in (Kövecses, 2015, 2020).

A last tool enhancing discursive creativity in feminist political slogans is the new ways of communication. Twitter, Telegram, Facebook, Instagram and other similar social media[10] enable creators to capture and rapidly spread slogans, even while the process of creation is still taking place and with no filter or control by institutions or the more traditional mass-media. The interlocutors or recipients of these messages can also (re)elaborate online on the slogans, disseminating them worldwide, as the coinage of the terms *ecstatic sharing* (Giaxoglou, 2018) or *Twitter Revolution* and *Youtube War* (Lotan et al., 2011) show.

4. Creating new slogans: main discursive strategies

4.1. Some linguistic strategies

Socio-political discourse has been amply analysed within CDA (Fairclough, 1992; van Dijk, 1993, 2001; Butler, 2004; among many others). It is well known, for instance, that the deictic use of first and second person pronouns, for instance, serves to create the discourse participants, to align the banner creator and/or carrier with their audience, as in examples 1 and 2, which are especially interesting because they were banners carried by elderly people, a woman in 1 and a man in 2, and which show the intersectional character of the demonstrations:

(1) Lo que no tuve para mi que sea para vosotras
     [What I didn't have for myself, I (want) for you]

(2) Estoy harto de pasar miedo cuando mis hijas salen de noche
     [(I'm) tired of being scared when my daughters go out at night]

Deontic uses of verbs, as in example 3, are also frequent, as their main function is to directly express demonstrators' wishes and urge for changes: men to stop mistreating women, politicians to react, women to take action, etc. Together with deontic verbs, negation, present in examples 3 and 4, is another productive strategy used mostly to create counterfactuals, that is, a new desired world or space that contrasts with the negative, dangerous present one in which many women still live. Examples 3 and 4 reflect one of the most demanded claims of the 8M rallies, a desired world where women can walk the streets alone without any fear of being harassed; the same feeling of safety the creator of slogan 4 feels when surrounded by thousands of demonstrators:

(3) Quiero ser libre no valiente
     [I want to be free not brave]

(4) Tranquila mamá, que hoy no voy sola por la calle
     [Calm down mum, today I'm not out on the streets alone]

Even though linguistic strategies such as the use of personal pronouns, negation and deontic verbs conform the texts under study and are thus present in most examples, our main aim is to explain how the more creative discursive strategies work in the 8M slogans compiled; strategies such as humour, recontextualization and multimodal metaphor, shown in the next sections.

4.2. Humour and irony

Humour and irony are well-known political discursive tools (Vivero, 2011; Morales, 2016b; Casado, 2017). 'Militant' humour, can not only help to provide a distanced stance of reality, but, as Vivero (2011: 1) states, it can also be a powerful weapon to transform the world by transgressing the dominant socio-discursive codes and, at times, the only way for the dominated to express their demands in a way that is acceptable to their environment.

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[10] Transmodal features of metaphors are not analysed in this paper. For a recent application of how metaphors change meanings and functions from one medium and mode of communication to another see Porto and Romano (2019).

The 8M slogans analysed make extensive use of this strategy. By means of devices such as polysemy, alliteration, word play, word creation, rhyme and paradox or incoherence, among many others, feminists are able to spread their serious and justified claims for a more equal and inclusive society, for sexual diversity and liberation, against men's violence towards women, among others, by provoking and thus persuading with a smile, as in examples 5–10:

(5) El patriarcado me da 'patriarcadas'
    [Patriarchy makes me retch]
(6) No somos histéricas. Somos históricas
    [We are not hysteric. We are historic]
(7) Pussytime
(8) Á(r)mate mujer. Inicia la revolución
    [Arm/love yourself woman. Start revolution]
(9) Las niñas ya no quieren ser princesas. Quieren ser alcaldesas[11]
    [Girls don't want to be princesses any longer. They want to be mayoresses]
(10) If you sexist me, I will feminist you[12]

Example 5 creates a new word, *patriarcadas*, by blending the root of *patriarcado* ("patriarchy") with that of *arcadas* ("retching"), a new coinage that coincides phonetically almost completely with *patriarcado*. Example 6 plays with two very similar words, nearly homophones due to alliteration and stress patterns, to create the humorous slogan, as well as with the stereotypical and patriarchal common belief in western and Spanish societies that women are more hysteric than men. Slogan 7 is an example of the new 'vibrant' festive feminism (Requena, 2020), in which social changes cannot take place without real sexual changes in society, as expressed in the new compound. It is also interesting to notice how many protest slogans use English, a fact that proves the new bilingual society Spain has turned into, as well as the use of English as a lingua franca. Example 8 is another creative word composed by merging *ámate* ("love yourself") and *ármate* ("arm yourself"), urging women to take action, while getting empowered. Humour is created in example 9 by comparing two apparently unconnected concepts, even opposites, princess and mayoress, resulting in a very provocative incoherence. Stereotypically, but still deeply rooted in many western societies, girls are raised as princesses (dressed in pink, encouraged to take specific careers and jobs, to pay attention to their physical appearance rather than their intellectual capacities, e.g.). Feminists, as we know, are struggling for girls to be offered all possibilities (from becoming the mayoress of Madrid to the dragon in the story), roles that are still associated with boys. One last example has been chosen to exemplify humour, slogan 10, where the coinage of two new verbs 'to sexist' and to feminist' is used to get the message straight, while inciting a smile in interlocutors.

Humour, we will see, permeates the construal of most of the banners in the dataset, overlapping with other creative discursive strategies as recontextualization and creative (multimodal) metaphor.

4.3. Recontextualization and (multimodal) metaphorical creativity

As mentioned in section 2, theoretical tools, the creators of political slogans need to comprise and blend -in physically-short and cognitively-efficient ways- highly complex conceptual, cultural and emotional meanings present in a community to persuade their interlocutors. The 8M lemma makers did so by readapting or recontextualizing those topics, concepts and experiences active in the community's minds at the moment of creation.

The slogans thus show how conventional metaphors and idiomatic expressions, well-known songs, comics, poems, different gadgets and objects, movies and tv series, as well as the most recent and salient social events of the last years, such as Covid19 pandemic and the *Manada* gang rape, are given a new twist for the new context. The following lines intend to show only a small selection of these strategies in order to understand how they work, as it is impossible to condense the great variety of banners encountered in the 2018–2020 protests.

A first category of deeply rooted cultural conceptualizations recontextualized in the 8M slogans are highly conventional idiomatic expressions and metaphors (examples 11–13). Example 11, for instance, re-adapts the familiar Spanish saying *A palabras necias oídos sordos* ("Harsh words fall on deaf ears") into "Machist'/sexist words, violet ears". The conventional metonymical mapping from VIOLET to FEMINISTS is created through the interaction of the word *violeta* ("violet"), the banner showing the same colour, and the feminist logo♀ replacing letter 'o' in *violeta*. The recontextualization of this well-known proverb in the 8M rallies creates the new meaning 'feminists are no longer willing to put up with 'machist'/sexist commentaries, messages or behaviours', while helping to disseminate the message in a more original, humorous way.

(11) A palabras machistas, oídos violetas
    ['Machist'/sexist words, violet ears]

(12) Nos quisieron enterrar, pero no sabían que éramos semillas

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[11] Interestingly, during Manuela Carmena's time as mayoress of Madrid (2015–2019), many little girls expressed their wish to become mayoresses rather than teachers, models or mothers. A similar version of this slogan says: 'Girls don't want to be princesses any longer. They want to be dragonesses.
[12] Slogans 7 and 10 were produced in English.

[They wanted to bury us, but did not realize we were seeds]

(13) Gritad por las calladas, las que no tienen alas, las que ya no volverán
[Shout for the silent, for those who have no wings and that will never fly again]

Example 12 addresses one of *Feminism 4.0.*'s most productive messages, the fact that women today are empowered and resilient. The source domain ENTERRAR ("bury") is polysemic in this context as it can refer literally to the fact that so many women are being killed by men each year, but also metaphorically to the SUBJUGATION and DOMINATION, still typical of gender relations. The resulting new creative mapping, WOMEN ARE FLOWERS/PLANTS, is projected from the source domain SEMILLAS ("seeds") onto the target domain WOMEN, meaning that women are resilient and therefore will grow, move forward, no matter how hard the surrounding conditions; a new meaning intensified by the flowers representing women in the banner.

Another example of metaphorical creativity triggered by an existing fossilized, conventional one is example 13, where the metaphors SHOUTING IS FIGHTING and FREEDOM IS FLYING are recontextualized into the new feminist context creating the new mappings DEAD WOMEN ARE WINGLESS BIRDS, meaning the rest of women need to fly, take action in the name of those killed.

A second productive field for recontextualization, also entrenched in the socio-cultural history of the community is songs and poems, as shown in example 14 and in Fig. 1. The lemma in banner 14 is a readaptation of a famous song by the Spanish rock group Burning written in 1991. Its title, *Qué hace una chica como tu en un sitio como este* ("What is a girl like you doing in a place like this?") and its lyrics reflect a highly sexist and stereotypical conceptualization of women as 'femmes fatales', 'hunting' for men in the wrong places and hours. The creator of this slogan construes a new ironic meaning by completely inverting the participants -from woman to man- and the location -from a late-night-bar to the 21st century. The words *sitio* ("place") and *siglo* ("century") enhance this new creation as they alliterate in Spanish:

(14) ¿Qué hace un machista como tu en un siglo como este?
[What is a 'machist'/sexist like you doing in a century like this?]

In Fig. 1, a line from Pablo Neruda's famous poem, *Me gustas cuando callas* ("I like it when you are silent"), is used in a new negative version to denounce another stereotypical behaviour expected of women in our society and inherited from Franco's Dictatorship, namely that women should be repressed, silent and pious beings. This multimodal banner includes a second slogan in English, making explicit the urge to change these conceptualizations and empower women to speak up, fight and act; messages that are intensified by the multimodal metaphorical mappings of the source MOUTH for SPEAK UP and FISTS for ACT.

Fig. 1. Pablo Neruda.

A third category of recontextualization comprises the new twist given to different gadgets and objects (examples 15 and 16):

(15) No soy Siri, búscate la vida
[I'm not Siri, get by on your own]

(16) Somos más fuertes que un Nokia 3310
[We are stronger than a Nokia 3310]

In the slogan in example 15 Siri is reused as a metaphorical personification of a woman who is willing to obey orders, as the 'intelligent assistant' is described to do. The fact that these obedient voice assistants have been given female names and have been programmed with a soft, submissive and insinuating tone helps to maintain the stereotypes feminists are precisely fighting against. The new meanings are created by negating this idea, 'I'm not Siri', and amplified by the violet banner colour and the inclusion of the feminist logo. Slogan 16 recontextualizes a very similar gadget, but with a completely different

meaning. In this case, the lemma projects the metaphorical mappings 'strength', 'resistance' and 'resilience' from the source NOKIA PHONE to the target WOMEN/FEMINISTS, multimodally represented with the image of a phone and again the violet colour of the banner. It is common shared knowledge that 3310 is one of Nokia's emblematic mobile phones, bought by millions in the 2000's and known for its toughness and durability.

Fig. 2. Once, Stranger Things.

Fig. 3. Princess Leia, Star Wars.

Fig. 4. Hermione, Harry Potter.[13]

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[13] 'It's feminist, not feminazi'.

Movies and TV series have been another important source of creativity in the three 8M rallies under study, as shown in Figs. 2–4. Banners 2, 3 and 4 recontextualize famous female characters from the more recent TV series 'Stranger Things' and the well-known 'Star Wars' or Harry Potter. Strong, active and independent female characters, such as Eleven, Princess Leia or Hermione, together with the more direct lemmas present in the banners, help to project the features of strength and empowerment to the 8M multimodal messages.

Banners 5 and 6 are especially relevant for social protest discourse, feminist and non-feminist, since 'The Handmaid's Tale', one of the most famous TV series of the last years, based on Margaret's Atwood's novel, has become a symbol of oppression and resistance and thus a repeated source of metaphorical creativity in rallies all around the world. The multimodal banners, posters, costumes and performances[14] that emerge from the series have direct correspondences in our 21st century society:

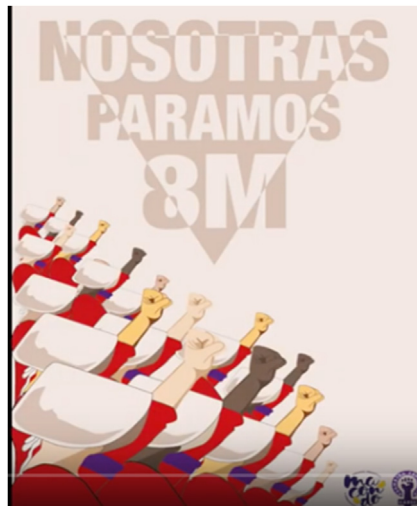**Fig. 5.** Handmaid's Tale (performance).[15]

Fig. 6. Handmaid's Tale (banner).

GILEAD is our PRESENT OPPRESSIVE PATRIARCHAL WORLD; HANDMAIDS are FEMINISTS FIGHTING AGAINST INEQUALITY, ABUSE, e.g.; RED CLOAKS stand for REBELLION through the metonymical mapping RED - BLOOD; WHITE BONNETS also project metonymically religious PURITY and gender

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<superscript>14</superscript> See, for example, submissive gesture of both demonstrators as they bow in Fig. 5.
<superscript>15</superscript> 'Blessed be fight (see Fig. 6). Blessed be revolution'.

SUBSERVIENCY, among others. In short, this is one of the most recurrent creative metaphors for social action today, both in the 8M Spanish protests and worldwide.

A fifth and last category analysed in this paper is the recontextualization of highly significant events taking place in the community at the moment of creation of the 2018–2020 8M slogans. Two prototypical cases are shown, namely Covid pandemic and the *Manada* gang rape.

Many banners made use of creative multimodal metaphors using the Covid pandemic as source in the 2020 8M; a fact that proves the virus was already one of the community's top worries during the days preceding the 8M rally, even though Spain was not confined until March 15 and Spaniards were still attending other massive gatherings and sports events. Examples 17 to 21 show how the targets 'MACHISM'/SEXISM and PATRIARCHY are conceptualized in terms of a DANGEROUS VIRUS that needs to be fought with education, not masks nor vaccines.

(17) El machismo mata más que el coronavirus
      ['Machism'/sexism kills more than coronavirus]

(18) El verdadero virus es el patriarcado[16]
      [Patriarchy is the real virus]

(19) El machismo sí es una pandemia
      ['Machisim'/sexism is the real pandemic]

(20) Machismo virus. Agotadas las vendas para evitar el contagio
      ['Machisim'/sexism virus. Sold out all masks to avoid infection]

(21) El machismo es una enfermedad de transmisión social y su vacuna es la educación
      ['Machism'/sexism is a socially transmitted disease and its vaccine is education]

Fig. 7. Coronavirus.

Especially interesting for Critical Feminist Discourse Analysis is our last example of recontextualization of an especially salient event in Spanish society, the *Manada* rape case.[17] This case, that shook feminists and Spanish society in general, began with the gang rape of an 18-year-old woman by five men on July 7, 2016 during the Pamplona San Fermín celebrations in Spain. The five rapists called themselves *La Manada* ("wolfpack"), a common, conventional metaphor for GROUP OF PEOPLE in many European languages. Because the event was considered sexual abuse and not rape or sexual aggression, the offenders were sentenced to 9 years in April 2018 and thus set free on parole until the final sentence in January 2019. Finally, the Supreme Court of Spain upgraded the sentence from abuse to aggression in June 2019. The effects of the *Manada* rape and the way it was treated by the regional panel of judges have been of great importance for the Spanish justice system and for society. Thousands of citizens, women in the main, took the streets in uproar all around the country periodically since the 2016 events, also influencing the number of participants in the 8M rallies from 2017 till today (Raffio, 2018). The massive demonstrations clearly helped to reissue the whole sentence and to make explicit that consensual sex is only made clear by explicit consent or clearly inferred from the circumstances.

The banners created to protest specifically against the *Manada* case coincide to a large extent with those shown at the different 8M rallies, even four years later. This means that the same lemmas and messages are still necessary, but also that the *Manada* case is still active and thus being recontextualized in order to fit its new social demands. Popular slogans emerging from this context are, for instance: *De camino a casa quiero ser libre, no valiente* ("On my way home I want to be free, not brave"); *Por nosotras, por las que vendrán y por las que ya no están* ("For us, for those who will come and for those who are no longer here"); *Los violadores no son monstruos, son hombres* 'Rapists aren't monsters, they're men'; *Vivas nos queremos* ("We

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[16] In Fig. 7.
[17] The academic interest in this metaphor was highlighted to me by Dr. María Muelas (UAM).

Fig. 8. La Manada (the wolfpack).

Fig. 9. La Manada (the wolfpack).

want each[18] other alive"); *Hasta que no me maten, no me van a creer* ("Until I'm killed nobody is going to believe me"); *Hermana yo sí te creo* ("Sister, I do believe you"); *Resist is an anagram of sister*; *No estás sola* ("You are not alone"); *Ni una menos* ("Not one [woman] less"); *No es no* ("No is no"); *Si tocan a una, nos tocan a todas* ("If they touch one, they touch us all"); e.g.

But demonstrators also made use of the specific concept *manada* ("wolfpack") for their slogans, as in Fig. 8 ("We are the pack") and 9 ("We will howl in a pack") and examples 22 and 23. Banners in Figs. 8 and 9 show some of the new creative multimodal metaphors displayed by the 8M protestors which combine the feminist logo with different images of wolves, creating the new mapping FEMINISTS/WOMEN ARE A WOLFPACK.

(22) Tranquila hermana, aquí está tu manada
  [Easy, sister, here is your pack]
(23) Mira qué bonita mi manada
  [Look how beautiful my pack is]

What is discursively interesting about this metaphor is how a group of speakers, feminists, who share the same specific and urgent communicative needs, namely to denounce the normalization of gang rapes through the specific sentences of the Regional Court,[19] managed not only to change the evaluative meaning of the metaphor but, most importantly, to introduce changes in Spanish society. Not only did more citizens feel the need to participate in the protests but, more specifically, and because of the rallies, the Supreme Court was compelled to reissue the sentence.

The term *manada* was used by the five rapists because of the attributes 'strength', 'membership' and 'bond', mapped from the source WOLFPACK to the target HUMAN GROUP in the highly conventionalized metaphor A GROUP OF PEOPLE/FRIENDS ARE A WOLFPACK. This originally neutral metaphor is first recontextualized by Spanish society into a new creation: THE PAMPLONA RAPISTS ARE A WOLFPACK immediately after the Pamplona events; this time choosing the most negative attributes from the source domain, namely

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[18] Notice vivas "alive" is feminine plural in Spanish.
[19] Gang rapes have increased in Spain since the first sentence https://www.publico.es/sociedad/agresiones-sexuales-manada-espana-registra-155-agresiones-sexuales-grupo-ultimos-cuatro-anos.html.

'brutality,' 'danger' and 'violence', and completely changing the axiological-evaluative meanings and use of the metaphor from neutral to negative. A second and even more interesting recontextualization and axiological shift takes place when feminists reappropriate the new negative metaphor spread by the mass media and use it to refer to their own movement by ascribing positive mappings such as 'solidarity', 'hope', 'sorority' and 'empowerment' to it. By means of this apparently simple discursive strategy, the creation of a new metaphor FEMINISTS ARE A WOLFPACK, women managed to take over its meanings and use, and to change the discourse of brutality and violence into that of optimism, solidarity and hope, typical of *Feminism 4.0.*

The changes undergone by this metaphor in the specific context of the Pamplona rape case and the emergence of new feminisms is, in addition, a prototypical example of how discourse influences and triggers social change in the sense of Laclau's (1990) concept of *myth,* an alternative to the logical form of the dominant discourse and *social imaginary*, the impact of the myth in the modification of the political system or constitution of a country. In the case under study, direct changes in the final sentence of the convicts were clearly achieved by demonstrators and their new discourses. In the same line, Wodak et al.'s (2009) notions of *transformation* and *reconstruction* discourse strategies, as well as Montesano and Morales' (2014) notion of *transforming narratives*, can also be applied to the *Manada*, as the main function of the creative metaphor seeks the transformation of society by reconstructing and/or building a new social identity or frame, the empowerment of women.

5. Conclusions

Results presented in the previous sections corroborate the close relationship between cognition, discourse and society in the creation of political slogans in recent Spanish feminist marches. The more inclusive and transversal feminisms (*4.0.*, *99%*) of the last years together with the summoning and dissemination possibilities of new technologies and social networks have triggered more 'loud and noisy' forms of protest and consequently, new festive and creative discourses.

Political banners have proven to be a text type of their own, characterized by specific cognitive and pragmatic functions such as their strong need to call attention and persuade, as well as by particular physical-material limitations; all features that influence the discursive strategies deployed by protesters. These strategies, *recontextualization* and *(multimodal) metaphorical creativity*, in the main, are not new, but the way they interact within the specific socio-historical and cultural context they are construed in, clearly enhances discursive creativity. Recontextualization together with (multimodal) metaphor show how highly salient concepts and events which are active in the community's mind at the moment of creation are given a new twist to fit the new expressive and persuasive needs of feminist demands.

Tools coming from (Critical) Socio-Cognitive Discourse Analysis evidence how the apparently simple and humorous (multimodal) 8M slogans, result in highly complex texts that are helping to foster new empowered gender identities in Spain; analytical tools that can also help to understand how these creative discourse strategies are contributing to transform Spanish society by re-narrating a present violent and unequal situation while building new cognitive frames, an alternative world where women can *walk home alone.*

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