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The Discursive Construction of Republicanism through the Quotes of the President of the Autonomous Government of Catalonia after the 2017 Self-Determination Referendum. The Case of President Joaquim Torra I Pla

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I. Introduction

This work is part of the doctoral thesis in linguistics written by the author at NOVA FCSH, *Discourse and Ideology in the UN: Discursive Built-up and Textual Broadcast*. It follows the approach of Text and Discourse linguistics proposed by the French line, namely Polyphony (Ducrot 1988), "enunciation scene" (2002a, 2007), and "aphorization" (2012) proposed by Maingueneau; textualization of Points of View (Rabatel 1998, 2007, 2012) and semiotization of emotions[1] (Rabatel & Micheli 2013a, 2013b). This paper aims to reflect on the use of quotations as a polyphonic phenomenon whose intertextual nature both constructs emotions and conveys ideologically shaped Points of View (hereafter POV) in a sample of political interventions of the President of the *Generalitat de Catalunya*[2], Joaquim Torra i Pla, since his election on May 16, 2018, after the self-determination referendum won by the supporters of a Catalan Republic. The selected period includes 88 quotes in 16 political speeches (06.06.2018 / 04.01.2020) and 38 tweets posted on the social network Twitter (27.09.2019 / 27.02.2020) in Catalan.

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[1] We understand emotions as the program of physical actions triggered by the mind - of an interpretative nature - in reaction to a stimulus, as defined by Damásio (1998).

[2] Not to be confused with the sovereign institution of the Principality of Catalonia, founded in 1359. This *Generalitat* is part of the constitutional monarchy of the Spanish State, established in 1977.

The proclamation of Torra resulted from the overthrow of the government of President Carles Puigdemont i Casamajó after the referendum of 01.10.2017. After the announcement of Catalonia's independence from the Spanish state, President Puigdemont adjourned it to initiate a negotiation phase. Nonetheless, the Kingdom of Spain intervened economically, politically, and legally in Catalonia on 28.11.2017, illegally calling elections in Catalonia.[3] The President then won the 20.12.2017 elections government. However, the intervention of state judicial bodies prevented his proclamation and that of the two subsequent candidates, who were remanded in custody while Puigdemont was in exile in Belgium. The fourth candidate was Joaquim Torra i Pla, who began the legislature with the slogan "From restitution (of the legitimate government) to the Constitution (drafting the Charter of the Catalan Republic)." On 27.01.2020, the President was stripped of his seat in Parliament by court order, but he remained President, albeit without voting rights in the chamber.

II. Methodology

In this paper, we examine, from an enunciative perspective, how the locutor, as a speaking subject (Ducrot 1984), discursively constructs the "act of global enunciation" (Lundquist 1980, 1991) to convey a particular ideology. To this end, we will examine the embodiment of these acts, the texts. Our analysis will be conducted on a sample of texts in Catalan, including quotations, produced by a single locutor, President Joaquim Torra i Pla. The texts for the study consist of a series of 48 posts published on his official Twitter account between 09.27.2019 and 02.27.2020, as well as a collection of 13 political speeches delivered between 06.06.2018 and 04.01.2020. In total, the sample contains 88 quotes.

For this study, we adopt the discourse concept developed by Volochinov[4] (1929-30 *apud* Bronckart

[3] The President of the Catalan Parliament is the only person legally authorized to call elections for the Parliament in Catalonia.

[4] In the words of Bronckart (2008:863), referring to Volochinov's interactionist approach: *«Pour cet auteur, les phénomènes langagiers se présentent concrètement sous la forme d'énoncés et/ou de discours, qui constituent des révélateurs ou des matérialisations de la psychologie du corps social.»*

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2008) and Bakhtine (1984 *apud* Bronckart 2008). According to the authors, discourse is both a means to understand and represent the world and a tool for sociocultural change. Thus, discourse has a dynamic character. That is why we can define discourse as a sociological means (Volochinov 1929-30) resulting from the sum of culturally and historically situated utterances. That is because the discourse is conditioned by and represents the context of a particular epoch. This feature enables us to identify the ideology present at a specific historical moment. It also allows the subject to act socially through conscious linguistic intervention when shaping the discourse.

Volochinov points out that ideology at the enunciative level can be especially significant when observing syntactic constructions since the utterance is sociologically structured. In this case, the introduction of citations into the enunciative act affects both the syntax at the enunciation level and the content through the symbolism they convey, thus influencing the sense of the utterance and the emotional impact it can trigger. This analysis aims to show how a particular rhetorical resource, the quotation, plays a crucial role in the ideological construction of discourse. We argue that this is where we can find much of the ideologic and symbolic content aimed at building or reinforcing the *ethos* of a target community while activating *pathos*. In other words, they arouse empathy in the target audience. That is because ideology is not only a conceptual system but also has a material manifestation (Althusser 1971) that we can grasp through a discursive and, particularly, textual analysis.

According to the above, since ideology is present in discursive practices, it is subject to change for historical, cultural, and social reasons. As it is precisely in discursive practices where there is a constant negotiation over the meaning of symbols, i.e., linguistic signs (Volochinov 1929-30), we decided to structure our dialogical analysis mainly based on Maingueneau's theoretical proposals (2002a, 2007, 2012). The author addresses the topic of discourse and discursive genres by distinguishing between different discourse types depending on the sphere of use, namely political, religious, and others. Within each discursive type, a distinction is also drawn between instituted and authorial discursive genres (Maingueneau 2002a:321)[5]. In the case under study, the discourse type is political, whereas the discursive genre is "instituted" because there is no direct or immediate interaction (political speech or post).

On one hand, to Maingueneau, established genres depend on context and situation of production, namely the global scene (Maingueneau 1993). On the other hand, each established genre, depending on the institution where the communicative act takes place, features a specific generic scene or a prototypical model. Consequently, the locutor has at its own disposal a series of standardized structures, a script (Maingueneau 2002a), to develop the enunciation according to a specific scene of enunciation. However, the enunciative act is not solely the result of the socio-discursive constraints established by the scene of enunciation within a given discursive genre. The locutor enjoys a certain degree of creativity we can spot when analyzing certain linguistic elements of the scenography (Maingueneau 1998), namely of the text, such as the quotes.

In light of the above, we shall begin our analysis describing the scene of enunciation and its components (Maingueneau 1998): global scene, generic scene, and scenography. Next, we will outline the quotations featured in the scenography, focusing on two essential aspects. Firstly, we will emphasize the transtextual and polyphonic nature of the quotes. Secondly, we will reflect on the potential impact of their use in the ideological construction of a collective and individual *ethos* as a means for activating *pathos* and triggering social action.

As far as the transtextual nature is concerned, we recall that citations are an example of the phenomenon of transtextuality described by Genette (ch. I *Palimpsestes*, 1982). The author considers it an inherent phenomenon in all texts since every text belongs to a textual tradition from which it retains certain aspects and modifies others. Historicity, hence, plays a decisive role in textual structure. In this regard, Genette defined five types of transtextual relationships, among which we stress the relevance of intertextuality (Kristeva 1969; Barthes 1973-1974)[6] or the co-presence of two or more texts. To characterize intertextuality, the authors Authier-Revuz (1982) and Maingueneau (1987) proposed a further distinction that we consider relevant. They distinguish between manifest intertextuality, occurring when the words of a third party get transmitted through quotations or allusions within a specific text, and constitutive intertextuality, involving a text sharing elements with other earlier or later texts.

Quotation as a phenomenon of manifest intertextuality stands for dialogical socio-discursive continuity, for when it appears in a current text, it establishes a connection to existing texts from a historical and cultural point of view. Thus, each text is part of a continuum, of a tradition to which it legitimates and to which the text contributes. Due to the nature of

[5] As part of the "instituted genres," the author includes authorial and routine genres (Maingueneau 1999), formerly two separate groups, the latter being monologue-based.

[6] Kristeva (1986:36) also distinguishes between two dimensions of intertextuality: one horizontal, existing between the text and other previous or subsequent texts with which it forms a chain; the other vertical, between a specific text and other texts, more or less contemporary or distant in time susceptible of being interpreted as contexts for a particular text.

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this research, we will focus on the study of manifest intertextuality, so we will not cover the study of other relations of transtextuality, even if present in the sample.

As mentioned earlier, quotes are not only a transtextual phenomenon but also a polyphonic one. The polyphonic nature of quoting was already the subject of consideration by Volochinov (1929). He addressed the authorial discourses and the discourses of others in literary works, showing the difficulties in delimiting, from a syntactic perspective, the boundaries between direct and indirect discourses (in the grammatical sense). Volochinov realized that the characterization of discourse types between the mode (grammatical) and the modality (stylistic) is unclear, sometimes overlapping. In an attempt to solve the issue of analyzing constructions in indirect discourse, he proposed a distinction between two modalities: thematic-analytical and analytical-discursive.

In the first modality, the author reproduces the other person's words objectively, using the stylistic resource of quotation. Meanwhile, in the second modality, the author creates a character that includes the author's assessments from a more subjective perspective. The latter acts as an utterer presenting its point of view. Nevertheless, from our perspective, a quote in the political discursive genre, despite being objectified, would fall under the analytical-discursive modality. The main reason is that this character stands for an utterer other than the locutor that conveys a concrete point of view, generally shared with the locutor.

In this way, we approach the study of quotations as manifestations of a common point of view. As for the relationship between locutor and enunciators, we base our analysis on the theoretical approach of Rabatel (1998, 2007, 2012). The author theorized about the textualization of POV, distinguishing a set of enunciators who appear in texts. Those enunciators may or may not share the author-locutor's POV. The enunciators that the locutor activates along the enunciative act represent a textual manifestation of his creativity. These enunciators inscribe various POVs (Rabatel 1998, 2007, 2012) in the texts through which the locutor enriches the scenography (Maingueneau 1998). Moreover, the set formed by the present POVs reveals the POV of the locutor and is part of the constitution of the discursive *ethos* (Maingueneau 2002b; Charaudeau 2008, 2009).

The importance of this analysis rests on the author-locutor's ability to create a text capable of gaining audience support through an identification process with the discursive *ethos* the locutor can shape. The more POVs the author considers, the more opportunities there are to reach a broader and more diverse audience. The locutor accomplishes it by choosing a variety of enunciators. For this reason, we seek to identify the nature of the relationship between the enunciators (quotes from the authors) and the author-locutor.

As a polyphonic phenomenon, the quotation not only introduces into the enunciative act the POV and symbolic charge of the new enunciator, the author of the quote but also adds the symbolic value of the sociocultural context of its earlier production. The POV expressed by this enunciator often represents a projection of the enunciator-locutor's own POV, which seizes on the symbolic charge of both the quote and its original author and sociocultural context to adopt their attributes and create a discursive *ethos* that benefits the locutor's political and social interests. The strategy used in practice is to compare two situations and apply the previously proposed solution or POV to the current situation.

As for *ethos*, defined in the Aristotelian sense of character, Maingueneau (2002b) considers that persuasiveness results from the audience identifying the speaker as a member of the same *ethos*. Thus, to be successful, the locutor must adapt his discourse to the audience's *ethos*. In this way, the author proposes to distinguish between the discursive *ethos* that develops during the enunciative act and the prediscursive *ethos* that results from the effect that a pre-existing *ethos* of the locutor at the beginning of the enunciative act can have on the creation of expectations on the part of the audience. For this reason, Maingueneau (2012) highlights that, especially in aphorization, the locutor adopts the *ethos* of the author of the citation. As a result, the locutor benefits from the public projection of the author's image, the discursive *ethos*. In other words, he assumes a particular moral or legal height that is universal in nature. Therefore, the POV conveyed by the quotation has a sententious character.

In the recently developed theory by Maingueneau (2012) on "textless sentences"[7] or "detachable utterance / detached utterance," based on the concept of aphorization, the author explains that this is a polyphonic phenomenon involving the existence of an enunciator acting as a Subject. The result of this aphorization can be either an "aphorizing utterance or a textualizing utterance":

> *«[…] l'énonciation aphorisante est inévitablement intégrée à une énonciation textualisante. L'aphoriseur prend de la hauteur, il libère l'ethos d'un homme autorisé, au contact d'une Source transcendante, de valeurs au-delà des interactions et des argumentations. L'aphorisation implique un énonciateur qui se pose en Sujet ; réciproquement, un Sujet se manifeste comme tel par sa possibilité d'aphoriser.»* Maingueneau (2012)

[7] Concerning textless sentences, the author differentiates between two types: *« (1) celles qui sont inséparables d'un support non-verbal, (2) les autres.»* (Maingueneau 20013:101).
«L'énonciation aphorisante, ou aphorisation, se divise elle-même en aphorisations «primaires» (non détachée d'un texte) et «secondaires» (détachées d'un texte).» (Maingueneau 2013:100) i.e.: "*primaires*" *(devises, slogans, maximes...) ou* "*secondaires*" *(extraites de textes: titres, petites phrases, citations célèbres...)»* Maingueneau (2012, author's website version).

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In this article, we will focus on citations known as secondary aphorizations or textual sequences detached from a source text. That is the case for quotes used in public speeches marked with quotation marks or introduced by a *dicendi* verb, but also for fragments of literary, narrative or poetic texts. Usually, secondary aphorizations, inserted in a new context, require from the recipient an interpretive effort (Maingueneau 2013:110). In other words, interpretation will depend on the ability of the recipient to mobilize sociocultural knowledge in order to frame the uttered citations in a particular pragmatic category.

Therefore, it is crucial for us to identify the author. Ultimately, it is the one responsible for the moralizing or hermeneutic sentence. So, if we aim to fully comprehend the symbolic power conveyed by both the author and the quote by means of the aphorization, we must be able to frame it in a specific pragmatic category. That is the key to understanding the conveyed *ethos* and ideology.

> *«En effet, qu'il s'agisse d'une aphorisation primaire ou d'une aphorisation secondaire, l'«aphoriseur» n'énonce pas pour un allocutaire déterminé par un genre de discours, mais pour un auditoire situé sur un autre plan, qui n'est pas susceptible d'intervenir dans l'énonciation. Cet aphoriseur assume l'ethos du locuteur qui prend de la hauteur, de l'individu autorisé, au contact d'une Source transcendante. Il est censé énoncer sa vérité, soustraite à la négociation, exprimer une conviction. En lui tendent à coïncider sujet d'énonciation et Sujet au sens juridique et moral: quelqu'un se pose en responsable, affirme des valeurs et des principes à la face du monde, s'adresse à une communauté par-delà les allocutaires empiriques qui sont ses destinataires, par-delà la diversité des genres de discours.»* (Maingueneau 2013:109)

In this regard, Maingueneau (2013:113) points out that the use of a citation implies the introduction into the text of a phrase with an indisputable character whose symbolic force we will understand when we pragmatically categorize it into one of the three groups the author proposes: interpretative, informative and testimonial.

Given the nature of our sample, the quotes fall into the last two categories: informative and testimonial. In addition, the author makes a further distinction between these two categories, drawing a line between the current regime and the memorial regime (historical or wise), both of which are related to the encyclopedic knowledge required for their correct interpretation; the former being dependent on present-day socio-discursive conditions and the latter on a more or less distant collective memory. Thus,

> *«[…] au cadrage informationnel est associé l'Expert[8], au cadrage testimonial ce qu'on pourrait appeler un «Existant», au cadrage historique le «Personnage», au cadrage sapiential le «Sage».»* (Maingueneau 2013:114)

After identifying the authors and placing them in one of the three categories: existent, character, or sage, we will group the secondary aphorizations according to the characteristics previously identified while studying the biographies and the quotations. That will allow us to highlight the traces of ideology drawn and transmitted in the interventions delivered by the locutor.

Regarding the language activity, the one aspect we would like to emphasize is the emotional factor. Emotions are a crucial aspect of the construction and transmission of knowledge. Individuals construct their knowledge through interaction with the environment. In other words, the mind consciously or unconsciously acquires knowledge through experimentation and experience. According to Culioli (1986:163), «*Il n'y a pas de cognition sans représentation et pas d'activité symbolique sans opérations*,» since the cognitive is inseparable from the symbolic. The experiential nature of knowledge, and thus its affective or emotional nature, plays a crucial role in the appropriation of the text by the recipient. The activation of *pathos* through linguistic means, such as quotations, triggers complex emotions in the target audience, as these are related to the community's value system (*ethos*). Hence, the locutor, aware of its importance, will put them into play to emotionally involve the audience. In this sense, we argue that aphorizations present in political utterances may serve to achieve such an effect.

The outcome of such activation can affect collective and individual identity, in the shaping of which linguistic ideology plays a central role, according to the thesis put forward by anthropologist and linguist Kroskrity (2005:501). According to him, the choice of linguistic means is an expression of ways of thinking about the world based on the ideals of a society that are achievable through social action. Because of this, we also want to consider whether the enunciators of the quotations are symbolic transmitters of determined emotions, either through the relevance of their historical figure or through their words.

To take into account the above aspects, we will put into practice the three-part analytical model of the way emotions can be semiotized developed by Micheli (2010, 2013a, 2013b), namely: "*émotion dite, émotion montrée, emotion étayée*." According to the author, the last one is the one that involves an argumentative dimension, derived from social and cultural conventions or the knowledge shared by a community. In the words of the author:

> *«[…] les énoncés qui disent l'émotion manifestent typiquement une relation prédicative entre, d'une part, une expression incorporant un terme d'émotion et, d'autre part, une autre expression désignant une entité humaine ou humanisable. Ils peuvent, de plus, contenir une troisième expression indiquant la cause ou l'objet de l'émotion. […]*

[8] *Expert* = Expert; *Existant* = Existent; *Personnage* = Character; *Sage* = Sage.

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dans le cas d'une émotion montrée, l'énoncé présente un ensemble de caractéristiques qui sont susceptibles de recevoir une interprétation indicielle, au sens où l'allocutaire est conduit à inférer que le locuteur […] éprouve une émotion […] une émotion peut être inférée à partir de la schématisation, dans le discours, d'une situation qui lui est conventionnellement associée selon un ensemble de normes socio-culturelles et qui est ainsi supposée en garantir la légitimité.» (Micheli 2013b:5, 8, 11)

In short, the author proposes a tripartite process to evoke emotion. We can translate it as "asserted emotion," "shown emotion," and "argued emotion." In the first process, the evoked emotion results from an expression that denotes it. In the second process, the elicited emotion results from a derived interpretation of a range of features that lend themselves to indexical interpretation. In the third procedure, the evoked emotion results from an inferred interpretation of a conventional situation according to a set of socio-cultural norms. However, we will keep the terms in French.

III. Analysis

First, we will outline the scene of the enunciation under study. Our sample is homogeneous. All the texts share the global scene, namely the political type of discourse. Because of its political nature, it is a public address intended to persuade or affirm an ideology within the target community. At the same time, it aims to constitute a concrete *ethos* within it. Furthermore, the texts are classified in the "instituted genre of discourse," as there is no direct or immediate interaction between the interlocutors. However, they differ in the outcome, namely in the generic scene, because the texts result from acts of enunciation delivered in two different institutions.

On the one hand, there is a group of public political speeches delivered at formal meetings where the President has limited time to intervene, so he recurs to a previously planned monologue. On the other hand, the second group consists of posts on a digital service, *Twitter*, which allows other users of the same social network to intervene in the topic line, the hashtag, through comments that can eventually be answered by the locutor or by other users. Therefore, we are referring to two generic scenes that we will describe.

The political interventions were delivered in the exercise of political office in an official public setting and by oral transmission, with the official version posted on the government website in PDF format. The length of the speeches is not uniform, ranging from ten minutes to an hour. The place where the locutor spoke is also heterogeneous: in parliament, at an official event (award ceremony), in a televised institutional message or statement, at a conference (at university, at a business meeting, and so on). However, these diverse texts have some essential features in common. Therefore, we will consider them as a single unit. They were all created in advance. That is, they are not spontaneous. In most of them, there is no possibility of direct interaction. The roles played by the participants are determined by social and institutional hierarchy and by the nature of the communicative event. Moreover, they are also subject to protocol constraints.

The generic scene for Twitter posts, a digital social network, has characteristics that differ from those established for official political statements. The President's posts on his official Twitter account allow registered users to send short texts (280 characters maximum since 2017), photos, videos, links, and other content. The publication is instantaneous, thus offering all followers of a specific account the opportunity to receive a notification and interact with it on a thread, usually marked with a hashtag. Such posts may be replies to a hashtag created by other users, edits to other posts, or sharing content that is not the author's own (distribution of posts from other accounts) but also the author's content. The role of the participants in this social network is quite democratic because all users are on the same level. It allows a certain level of interaction, even if mediated digitally. In this way, the President can interact with citizens virtually in an almost "direct" way, without protocol or hierarchical restrictions beyond the 280-character limit and compliance with ethical standards (it forbids promoting hatred or violence). We retrieved messages from 27.09.2019. until 27.02.2020.

Both of the generic scenes mentioned above, despite the differences described earlier, have one feature in common that we consider crucial: the resulting acts have a media impact. News reports nowadays include references to the official statements of political representatives but also frequently quote and comment on their posts on social media, especially on Twitter. In addition to the influence that audiences experience during the political speeches in person or digitally, these statements amplify their impact by becoming the subject of a transtextualization[9] process as they pass through the filter of journalistic media and become news.

The consequences are ultimately a prominent presence of political statements in society and the profiling of the politician himself, both through his communicative acts and through the transmission made by the media. As for Twitter, in addition to the posts themselves, journalists also value the impact these comments have had on the social network, prioritizing the controversial reactions over the original content of the post, namely the one that triggered the chain. That is why we included both in the same type of discourse.

[9] Despite the obvious interest that the study of this further process of transtextualization can arouse, in this study we will not deal with it due to reasons of time and space.

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The importance of its social impact determined the inclusion of the two generic scenes in our sample.

IV. Scenography: The Study of Quotations

Since the object of our analysis is the study of the aphorization, the question of the generic scene remains in the background. Scenography takes relevance in the enunciative act as it is in the text where creativity will reflect. The texts in the sample are different, but they all contain secondary aphorizations. Moreover, due to their nature, the quotes, in this case, are usually short and fit well with the format of the Twitter social platform, where posts are often limited to brief comments, aphorisms, or catchy phrases.

Quotations also respond to the strategy often used in political speeches to using aphorisms or slogans. These types of phrases aim to have an impact on the audience, as they tend to stick in the memory. Moreover, they are usually reproduced in the media and repeated by other politicians, so they become part of the encyclopedic knowledge of the community. Regarding citations, the locutor frequently picks them because of the author's prestige or hierarchical position in a political, historical, ethical, or moral perspective. The community perceives them as referents, sages, or leaders.

In summary, aphorizations are a polyphonic and transtextual device in which the locutor introduces a third enunciator who brings in a concrete POV that usually coincides with the locutor's POV, as is the case with the quotations studied in this paper. Therefore, the locutor capitalizes on the social image and symbolic charge of the author-enunciator of the quote to enhance his position and create a particular discursive *ethos*.

V. Results

Next, we will comment on the results and illustrate them with a sample of 27 numbered examples. Our corpus consists of 88 quotations relevant to our study, reflecting on their use to convey ideology. Among these, we would like to highlight a case of "surassertion[10]" (Maingueneau 2004) in an address by the locutor (1), which will later become part of the citations published on Twitter by the same author-locutor. With this quote, the author underlines the illegality of the Electoral Board's intervention in the proceedings of the parliament and the removal of an elected President.

(1) *«Però l'estat espanyol ha de saber que els Presidents els nomena i els cessa el Parlament. És a dir, els únics representants legítims de la ciutadania. I no permetré, ni acceptaré, que un tribunal i encara menys una junta política suplanti la sobirania dels catalans.»* (Institutional New Year's message, 30.12.2019).

(2) *«Els Presidents de Catalunya els nomena i els cessa el Parlament. No permetré, ni acceptaré, que un tribunal -i encara menys una Junta política- suplanti la sobirania dels catalans.»* (Tweet 31.12.2019)

That is the only case we have noted in the entire analysis. As a rule, the locutor does not quote himself but prefers quoting other authors. As Maingueneau suggests, the locutor anticipates the transition to a citation for a concrete text sequence by overemphasizing it within a text, signaling its potential prominence (strong or weak).

The quote (2) referenced above comes from a text produced by the locutor. It can be defined as "strong detachment" due to the proximity, in this case temporal, between the aphorization and the original textual source. According to Maingueneau (2013:103), its use marks a specific POV about a controversial subject involving a particular *ethos* that highlights the figure of the enunciator, in this case, the locutor-enunciator. On this occasion, the controversy is the disqualification of the President by an Electoral Board (JEC, for its acronym in Spanish), a state administrative body[11].

Next, we will reflect on the relationship between aphorizations, ideology, and emotions. As might be expected, the remaining quotations come from different authors. After consulting their biographies, we have decided to classify them into three groups based on authorship. Nevertheless, some authors can belong to more than one group (Pau Casals and Eugeni Xammar, among others). Note that we have used the following code to ease interpretation:

[10] Notion introduced at *Ci-Dit colloquium* in Cadiz (2004) and developed in Citation et surassertion, *Polifonia*, Cuiabà (Brésil), n° 8, 2004, 1-22.
« *Un fragment surasserté constitue un énoncé:*
- relativement bref, de structure prégnante dans son signifié et/ou son signifiant ;
- susceptible d'être décontextualisé (il s'agit souvent d'énoncés génériques) ;
- en position saillante dans un texte ou une partie de texte ;
- dont la thématique doit être en relation avec l'enjeu essentiel du genre de discours, du texte ou de la partie de texte concernés : il s'agit d'une prise de position dans un conflit de valeurs;
- qui implique une sorte d'amplification de l'énonciateur, liée à un ethos qui marque un engagement subjectif dont la modalité varie avec le type de discours concerné. » (Maingueneau 2004)

[11] The functions of the Electoral Board (JEC) are to monitor the electoral process, under no circumstances can it intervene in the course of parliamentary action after the electoral process has been concluded to alter the results. Parliament members can only be dismissed by a ruling of a competent legal court and by firm resolution. In the case of the President of Parliament, only parliamentarians can decide or terminate their President.

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t = tweet a= allocution cursive = renowned journalists

underlined = in exile red = literary texts bold = 13th-14th centuries

blue = Second Republic of Catalonia green = Third Republic of Catalonia

25 Representatives of the Catalan institutions: 34 (18t/16a)

Ramon Muntaner (1a), Prat de la Riba i Sarrà[12] (1a), Lluis Companys (2t), Francesc Macià i Llussà (1a1t), Rafael Campalans (1t), *Antoni Rovira i Virgili* (1a2t), Lluís Nicolau i d'Olwer (1a), Pompeu Fabra i Poch (2a1t), Josep Benet i Morell (1t), Víctor Torres i Perenya (1a), Jordi Carbonell i de Ballester (1t), Lluís Mª Xirinachs i Damians (1t), Heribert Barrera i Costa (2t), Carles Puigdemont (1a), Oriol Junqueras (1a), Clara Ponsatí (1t), Raül Romeva (1a), Quim Forn (1a), Jordi Turull i Negre (1a2t), Josep Rull (1a), Carme Forcadell (1a), Dolors Bassa (1a), Mertixell Borràs (1a), Carles Mundó (1a), Joaquim Torra i Pla (2t).

21 Representatives of the Catalan culture, intellectuals: 28 (20t/9a)

Vicent Partal (1t), Enric Casasses (1t), Joan Margarit Consarnau (1t), Zoraida Burgos i Matheu (1a1t), Francesc Garriga i Barata (1t), Montserrat Abelló i Soler (2t), Teresa Pàmies i Bertran (1t), Josep Maria Llompart de la Peña (1t), *Montserrat Roig i Fransitorra* **(1a),** *Manuel de Pedrolo* (3a), Joan Vinyoli i Pladevall (2t), *Eugeni Xammar* (1t), Ferran Soldevila i Zubiburu (1a), Agustí Esclasans i Folch (1t), Josep Carner (2t), Armand Obiols (Colla de Sabadell) (1a duas vezes), Màrius Torres i Perenya (1t), Lluís Solà i Sala (1t), Joaquim Ruyra (1t), Josep Vallverdú i Aixalà (1t), **Cant de la Sibil·la do século XIII (1t).**

20 Peace and human rights activists: 24 (3t/21a)

José Antonio Guevara (1t), Ramin Jahanbegloo (1a), Paul Engler (1t), Jordi Cuixart (2a), Jordi Sánchez (1a), George Steiner (1a), Nelson Mandela (1a1t), Václav Havel (2a), Howard Zinn (1a), Paulo Freire (1a), Jean Monnet Cognac (1a), Pau Casals i Defilló (1a), Robert Kennedy (1a), JF Kennedy (2a), Albert Camus (1a), Dietrich Bonhoeffer (1a), Stefan Zweig (1a), Òssip Mandelstam (1a), Rosa Luxemburg (1a), Sòcrates (1a).

Locutor privileges historical figures from the late 19th to the late 20th century, both locally and internationally, focusing on those who belong to the group of representatives of Catalan institutions, with 34 citations from 25 authors considered "existents, characters or sages" distributed in 18 tweets and 16 quotes in public speeches.

This selection of personalities and quotations arouses certain emotions in the target community. In particular, the complex emotions brought to the fore, *the pathos* meant to be triggered, can be summarized in three main themes: Freedom, Dignity, and Identity, as we will see throughout the analysis. In most cases, these are "*émotions étayées*" that require an understanding of the historical meaning of the authors to be understood and comprehended.

Of all the enunciators, 16 were in exile (underlined), 10 took part in the government of the Second Republic of Catalonia[13] (in blue), and 13 participated in the declaration of the Third Republic of Catalonia on 27.10.2017 (in green). However, the most quoted are the politicians and intellectuals of the Second Republic, first and foremost Antoni Rovira i Virgili, author of a quote that was repeated twice:

(3) *«No es tracta que els governants de Madrid ens governin millor o pitjor, sinó que deixin de governar-nos.[14]»* (05.01.2020)

In my translation: "It is not a matter of the governors of Madrid govern us, but that they stop governing us."

Through it (3) a complex emotion, namely Freedom, is constructed by recourse to an "*émotion étayée*." The desire for Freedom, historically present in the Catalan nation[15], is a shared knowledge of the community that helps to interpret these words, in which the use of the verbal periphrase "*deixa de* + infinitive" (stop doing something) and the negative construction "*no... sinó que...*" (not… but) stand out, implying two opposing forces aimed at semiotizing this emotion. The locutor also quotes in a tweet the message inscribed on Rovira i Virgili's epitaph:

(4) *«No em descoratjo, no renuncio, no deserto. I somnio en la més gran CAT, la més gran pel territori, la més gran per la llibertat, la més gran per la civilització.»* (05.12.2019).

In my translation: "I don't get discouraged, I don't give up, I don't desert. And I dream of the greatest Catalonia, the greatest for the territory, the greatest for Freedom, the greatest for civilization."

[12] President of the *Mancomunitat* of Catalonia (1914 – 1917). He suffered political repression for an opinion piece and was imprisoned.

[13] The First Catalan Republic was declared on 16.01.1641, by Pau Claris i Casademunt, 94th President of the Generalitat de Catalunya, at the beginning of the Segadors War. According to new research (see Sapiens magazine nº 45), he died of poisoning and was the victim of a conspiracy. The Second Catalan Republic was proclaimed on 14.04.1931, by Francesc Macià i Llussà, the 122nd President of the Generalitat de Catalunya. He died on 25.12.1933. His successor was Lluís Companys i Jover (31.12.1933). The latter was assassinated by Franco's genocidal forces on 15.10.1940.

[14] *Plantem-nos i avancem: és a les nostres mans.* On 04.01.2020, the President addresses Parliament in response to the threat of suspension by the Electoral Board (JEC).

[15] Despite Archduke Charles' victory, after the Treaty of Utrecht (1713-15), he gave Catalonia to the Bourbon Philip V of Castile. With the Decrees of Nueva Planta (1707, 1715, and 1716), Philip V dissolved the sovereign political structures, the kingdoms of Aragon, Valencia, Majorca, and the Principality of Catalonia. For general information, the Principality of Catalonia dates its foundation back to the 9th century. It is the first medieval European state with a parliamentary system of government. The first constitutions' compilation dates from 1283, with the 1705 edition being the last one never derogated.

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The first secondary aphorization presents a common POV of the locutor and the author-enunciator on the form of government in Catalonia, which in turn includes the negation of the POV of those who agree with the established power, thus questioning the basis of a political and social conviction according to which the government is in the hands of Madrid politicians and not of the Catalan people. The second one conveys the POV of Rovira i Virgili, the locutor and the republican society. Moreover, the words of the epitaph build up a series of emotions, the desire for Freedom and the recognition of national and cultural Dignity. Those intended emotions are semiotized using a negative syntactic phrase "*no... no... no...*" in contrast to the four superlative structures "*la més...*" which aim to encourage the audience.

The President as locutor-enunciator also quotes three times Pompeu Fabra, a member of the Republican General Government in exile and author of the modern normative of the Catalan language:

(5) «Només tindrem el que nosaltres sapiguem guanyar.» (repeated twice[16]) and (6) «si la llengua falla, fallarà tot.» (13.12.2019). Through these aphorizations, the locutor expresses the shared POV with Fabra about the difficulties of the Catalan struggle, among which he emphasizes the protection of the Catalan language.

In this sense, the second quote focuses on a concrete emotion, Dignity, semiotized by means of a conditional syntactic structure and the lexical choice of the verb to fail (*fallar*). This is identified with the defense of a concrete aspect of Catalan cultural identity, its language. Next, we find two quotes (7) from Lluís Companys which also build up the emotions of Dignity, Freedom and love for the homeland; semiotized through a poetic text with a syntactic negative structure to which the locutor adds the historical context of his execution by Spanish fascism:

(7) «"No admetis, doncs, condols, ni ploris. Aixeca el cap. moriré estimant-te." A 2/4 de 7 del matí, just abans de disparar-lo, va cridar: "Per Catalunya!"»

A quote from Francesc Macià used twice:

(8) «El seny si no va acompanyat d'una ferma voluntat de combat només serveix per tapar covardies.» (20.08.2019)

and two more quotes from Heribert Barrera:

(9) «Jo proclamo des d'aquesta tribuna que CAT té dret a l'autodeterminació.»

(10) «No vaig votar la Constitució, i com em va dir un dia Tarradellas, és l'honor més gran de la meva carrera política.»

[16] Conference *El nostre moment* at the National Theater of Catalonia (04.09.2018); and the 51st edition of the Catalan Summer University (UCE) in Prada de Conflent. Closing ceremony to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the UCE (20.08.2019).

If we examine the question of emotions conveyed by the secondary aphorizations of this group, we find that they have to do with Freedom and Dignity in the context of defending sociocultural identity. We can classify such emotions as "*émotions étayées*," for which it is necessary to know the historical significance of both the authors and their time, which is why they are considered "characters" and "sages" according to the historical and sapiential interpretative frameworks (Maingueneau 2013:114).

About the Third Republic, the President primarily quotes Jordi Turull with three aphorizations (11, 12) that also construct complex emotions through the current POV: Dignity and Freedom, semiotized by the lexical choice and the syntactic construction of the future, which has the appearance of a prophecy. They are thus "*émotions étayées*." But we also find "*émotions montrées*" (underlined) as hope and determination, conveyed through the lexical choice:

(11) *«És el sentit que vull trobar a la presó, amb l'esperança i el convenciment que si #*persistim *ens en sortirem i el temps ens demostrarà que res haurà estat en va i tot haurà valgut la pena.»*

(12) *«Benvinguda la proposta de fer un altre referèndum.» «Confonen discrepància i crítica amb atac i falta de respecte. Aquesta confusió només es dóna en mentalitats insegures o en mentalitats autoritàries.»*

The group of representatives of Catalan culture includes 21 authors and is the second largest regarding the number of aphorizations with 28 (20 tweets and nine quotes in speeches). One of the quotes belongs to the Catalan community since the 13th century, not to a specific author. It is a fragment of a liturgical drama and medieval ecclesiastical Gregorian chant, declared World Heritage in 2010, the song of the "Sibyl." However, most of the quotes, 20 in total (in red), correspond to fragments of literary texts that the locutor copies on his Twitter feed, 18 poems or excerpts, and one narrative fragment, for example:

(13) *«Finalment submergida l'ombra del vell temps*
al fons orb del celler,
compassarem la cadència del pas per camins ignorats
buscant les genuïnes arrels a les paraules mítiques
de pau i llibertat.» Zoraida Burgos i Matheu (tweet 25.01.2020)

(14) *«En aquesta nit d'un Nadal fosc i trist jo us convido a obrir el finestral com un acte d'esperança.*
Fa fred. No es veu res. Tot és negre. Però si teniu voluntat d'escoltar, sentireu la veu de l'àngel.» Eugeni Xammar. *Nadal de 1939*. (tweet 25.12.2019)

The remaining aphorizations are the opinions of the authors. In this case, the author highlights the POVs of Manuel de Pedrolo, a writer also known for his journalistic activity and political struggle against Franco's regime, quoted three times:

(15) «el combat és ara o no n'hi ha.» (used twice on 04.01.2020)

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and Armand Obiols' quote, used twice:

(16) «D'il·lusions només en tenen els febles; els forts tenen programa.»

In these examples, we see how the semiotized emotions are "*émotions étayées*," namely the determination and fatality of life.

Linguistically, the authors draw on the cultural relationship between light and hope ("*obrir el finestral*"), on the one hand. And darkness and oppression ("*l'ombra del vell temps*," "*nit... fosc i trist... fred... negre*") on the other. To the content is added the symbolic charge of the authors, who are considered "sages" according to the sapiential interpretative framework (Maingueneau 2013:114).

First, Obiols, a member of the "*Colla de Sabadell,*" a group of intellectuals based in Sabadell who modernized Catalan cultural life through cultural actions at the beginning of the 20th century, went into exile during the 1936-39 war and died there. Secondly, Pedrolo, a writer who fought against fascism, defended the Catalan language and Catalonia's Freedom to the point of becoming an internal exile. Towards the end of his life, the latter decided not to grant interviews or publish articles if they were not about Catalonia's Freedom.

Most of the aphorizations are tweets intended as calendars of cultural events, but we would like to point out the presence of authors also known for their journalistic work in political speeches: Rovira i Virgili (3, 17), Roig (18) and Pedrolo (15, 19 and 21).

(17) «*Com deia Rovira i Virgili,* ***"No es tracta que els governants de Madrid ens governin millor o pitjor, sinó que deixin de governar-nos***". *L'autonomisme, el conformisme, és una opció legítima; però no és la meva i sostinc que tampoc no és la de la majoria dels catalans. No soc President per gestionar una autonomia. És per fer la República que jo vaig anar a una llista electoral el 21-D.*» 51st edition of the Catalan Summer University (UCE) in Prada de Conflent. Closing ceremony to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the UCE. (20.08.2019)

(18) «*La cultura és el ciment també de la llibertat. Perquè no hi ha llibertat sense cultura, ni cultura sense llibertat. Quan Montserrat Roig deia que "****la cultura és l'opció política més revolucionària a llarg termini",*** *volia dir això. Invertir en cultura és invertir en una societat més democràtica, més justa i més lliure.*» Presentation of the Government's structure and composition in Parliament. (06.06.2018)

(19) «*Manuel de Pedrolo, de qui enguany commemorem el centenari del seu naixement, ho deia d'aquesta manera: "****No som lliures d'ésser lliures; hi estem condemnats."*** *Amb tota l'esperança i també amb tot el coratge pels dies que vindran, us desitjo una molt bona Diada.*» Institutional message to commemorate Catalonia's National Day, September 11 (10.09.2018)

(20 and 21) «*Tota Europa ens està mirant per saber si som demòcrates de veritat i dignes de dirnos europeus o si no som més que això que la Junta Electoral Central vol que siguem. Avui és pertinent citar un dels grans polítics que ha donat Europa, Václav Havel:* ***"Els drets humans s'han d'avantposar als drets estatals."*** *La decisió és a les vostres mans, diputades i diputats. Deia Pedrolo que* ***"el combat és ara o no n'hi ha"****. Per defensar la democràcia, a vegades cal plantar-se per avançar. » Plantem-nos i avancem: és a les nostres mans*. Addressing Parliament over the threat of incapacitation by the Electoral Board (JEC) (04.01.2020)

The third group includes 20 authors, three of them Catalan, known for their commitment to peace and human rights; it comprises 24 aphorizations, namely three tweets and 21 quotes, preferably inserted in political speeches. These secondary aphorizations deal with two main interdependent issues, namely the Declaration of Independence and the subsequent imprisonment and trial of political and civil representatives for this reason; on the other hand, they focus on a broader and more universal issue, the exercise of human and political rights.

The locutor-enunciator selected several authors to cite that fall under the interpretative testimonial framework. Five of them belong to the current regime because they are relevant figures who play a leading role in or comment on the events that followed the Declaration of Independence (imprisonment, repression, persecution). For this reason, we consider them "Existents". Thus, the words of Jordi Sánchez and Jordi Cuixart are echoed in the Presidential Institutional Declaration at the end of 1-O hearing in the Supreme Court on 12.06.2019 or in the conference "*El nostre moment*" at the National Theater of Catalonia on 04.09.2018.

The most quoted of this group is Jordi Cuixart (twice):

(22) «*Aquesta ha de ser la nostra actitud durant el judici oral al qual serem sotmesos: no pas defensar-nos sinó acusar l'Estat de vulneració flagrant dels nostres drets fonamentals i, alhora, interpel·lar el conjunt de l'opinió pública davant el retrocés democràtic que vivim. Els presos polítics i exiliats som una palanca democràtica: cal aconseguir que la comunitat internacional denunciï el nostre empresonament. No cedir a l'intent de silenciar la barbaritat jurídica de la justícia espanyola, amb acusacions desproporcionades i sense fonament.*» (04.09.2018)

(23) «*Si la violència policial no va poder amb milers de persones el Primer d'Octubre, algú creu que una sentència farà que els catalans deixin de lluitar pel dret d'autodeterminació?*» (12.06.2019)

Other "Existents" are José Antonio Guevara, referred to in a retweet of an article published in the digital newspaper Vilaweb, in which he calls for the release of prisoners; Ramin Jahanbegloo, referred to in the II General Policy Debate in Parliament on 25.09.2019, in which he characterizes Catalan independence; or Paul Engler, author of the book Handbook of Civil Disobedience, *Resistance Guide: How to Sustain the Movement to Win*, in a retweet of an interview published in the newspaper Vilaweb. The last

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two "Existents" go hand in hand with the second theme central to this group, the defense of individual and civil rights, that is, human, social, and political rights, which are the subject of the secondary aphorizations of historical characters who fall under both the testimonial and sapiential regimes. Therefore, we consider them "characters and sages". We thus find sententious quotations that revolve around Freedom.

In this second group, the emotional factor becomes significant as the "sages" reflect on the nature of Freedom and its implications. In these aphorizations, the semiotized emotions are "*émotions étayées*". They require collective knowledge, the ability to connect sentences and historical events with experiences, to perceive the complex emotion that each of the aphorizations constructs. Considering all the quotations, we can summarize that the "Sages" portray the concept of Freedom as being associated with exercising human, civil, and political rights. Nonetheless, they also associate liberty with concepts such as responsibility, conscience, moral Dignity, sacrifice, improvement (of one's being and the community), hope (kindness, compassion, commitment, courage), or the association of risk and benefit, rebellion, and affirmation.

The "Sages" use opposites to build these emotions when juxtaposing slavery and empire to Freedom, oppression, violence, fear, resignation, and lies to truth or hope to rebellion. They all defend the path of civil resistance and the resource of nonviolent methods to ensure the exercise of rights. Internationally, stand out Václav Hável (20):

(24) «*Hável defensava que "**cal viure en la veritat**", en tant que acte de resistència, de rebel·lió contra la mentida de la qual el mateix poder totalitari n'és presoner. Viure en la veritat permet als ciutadans crear una situació que confon tot règim i el fa reaccionar de manera inadequada. Per Havel, el poder que té "**la vida en la veritat**" és el poder d'acabar amb les estructures repressives, és el poder de retrobar la identitat i la dignitat reprimida. I aquest enorme poder rau al sí de cada persona.*» (17.11.2019)

and Nelson Mandela:

(25) «*En una carta de la presó estant, Nelson Mandela va escriure: "**Els honors són per a aquells que no abandonen mai la veritat, ni tan sols quan tot sembla fosc i lúgubre, que ho intenten una vegada i una altra, que no es deixen desanimar mai pels insults, ni per les humiliacions, ni tan sols per les derrotes.**"*» (04.09.2018)

In sum, most aphorizations fall within the testimonial[17] interpretive framework that circulates in the media, as described by Maingueneau (2013:112): «*tend à réduire, voire à annuler, la dimension informationnelle, au profit de l'expression d'une conviction à la face du monde.*» Especially in the context of the memorial, historical, and sapiential regime, in which the enunciator is considered a character or sage with historical relevance, in this case, 44 of them.

When interpreting secondary aphorizations set in a historical framework, the audience must have an encyclopedic knowledge of the event where the quote is situated. In the sapiential framework, however, the aphorization manifests as a moralistic or hermeneutic frame conceived as the POV of a privileged Subject (Maingueneau 2013:114). Linguistically, we recover memory through the context in which we found the quotation. That is usually done through the use of an indirect style introduced by a *dicendi* verb (say, defend, write, and others) (24, 25) or the paraphrase of the author-enunciator (25), but also through the enunciative situation.

Next, there are the aphorizations that belong to the testimonial interpretative framework of the current regime[18], in which the authors are relevant contemporary figures, "Existents," 22 out of a total of 66 authors who talk about what is in the news daily. That is because the author favors historical figures over contemporary ones to highlight similarities between historical events and the current situation.

It is worth highlighting the high presence of cultural ephemeris in the sample corpus, as 25 texts refer to cultural ephemeris and actions, including historical dates and commemorations (holidays, defunctions, so on) or celebrations (awards, cultural acts, and others) of authors and historical figures relevant to Catalan society and culture. Of those 25, there are 22 tweets (out of 38), and only four (out of 13) political speeches. The locutor wants to reaffirm the cultural and historical background of his community, the Catalan nation, by evoking these events over time and posting them on the social network Twitter, which allows him to constantly update information and rescue key moments, situations, and personalities from history.

The locutor thus uses Twitter as a sociocultural almanac. By recalling ephemerides in quotations, the locutor builds a complex emotion, an identity composed of love, Dignity, and a sense of belonging. Emotions are triggered when interpreting aphorizations, most of them (19 quotations) literary excerpts. These literary pieces, seen as a trigger of emotions, can also be interpreted as "*émotions étayées*" if we consider the symbolic charge

[17]«*[…] «mémoriel», où l'aphorisation est portée par une mémoire collective à plus ou moins long terme. Les aphorisations qui en relèvent sont référées à un auteur identifié, inscrits dans un Thésaurus de paroles vouées à la transmission. Ce régime mémoriel peut correspondre à deux grands cadrages: «historique», et «sapiential».*» (Maingueneau 2013:113)

[18]«*[…] c'est-à-dire qu'elles sont interprétables à l'intérieur du vaste interdiscours de «ce qui se dit», de ce qui est susceptible de nourrir les conversations ordinaires, les forums sur Internet ou les débats télévisés à un moment donné.*» (Maingueneau 2013:113)

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they bestow when inserted into a contemporary context, for instance:

(26) *«Viuré, si em vaga encar de viure, supervivent d'un cant remot. Viuré amb la cella corrugada contra les ires, contra el llot. Viuré dreçant-me com un jutge, només mirant, sense dir mot, com la paret en el seu sòtol, com una pedra en el seu sot.»* Josep Carner (tweet 23.01.2020)

(27) *«Amollo en la nit la veu amarga o la veu esperançada. I aprenc a dir que NO. Que ja no és temps de plorar ni de lamentar-se, ni tampoc el de cercar excuses fàcils. I aprenc a dir que NO.»* Montserrat Abelló (tweet 24.01.2020)

Josep Carner (26), a poet and diplomat of the Republic, uses an "*émotion montrée*," determination, to semiotize a complex emotion, Dignity, through "a straight posture and a wrinkled brow." Historically, however, Carner gives the quote a symbolic charge. Carner remained loyal to the Republic's government and died in exile, defending his beliefs. Thus, the poem's determination is strengthened by what the author demonstrated in his life.

Similarly, in the case of the quotation (27) from a poem by Montserrat Abelló, she presents an "*émotion montrée*," sadness, with expressions such as "bitter voice, weeping or lamenting," while at the same time resorting to an "*émotion étayée*" through the construction "learning to say no." The author, as a historical character, has more symbolic weight. She fled to exile with her parents after 1939, where she worked as a poet, translator, and teacher (Chile). She carried out humanitarian aid activities for refugees (France and Great Britain) and returned to Catalonia in 1960, where she devoted herself to teaching in the Catalan language, facing the repression experienced by the Catalan language at the time. So, the locutor constructs a complex emotion: identity, using other emotions, Dignity, and perseverance; this being an "*émotion étayée*" because only those who know about the character quoted and her biography can perceive it.

In short, we argue that ideology is contained either in the quotes themselves (reflections, opinions, or political doctrine) or in how the locutor uses them. President Joaquim Torra i Pla uses secondary aphorizations not only to convey a certain *ethos* and trigger a particular *pathos* but also for ideological purposes, namely to:

- defend human rights from a Europeanist and universalist perspective;
- demonstrate his commitment to achieving political objectives by resorting to nonviolence;
- underline his belief that a Republic is the ideal form of government for Catalonia;
- defend and protect the Catalan cultural and linguistic uniqueness as part of the community's identity.

VI. Conclusion

To sum up, quotations understood as textless sentences are used by the locutor as a linguistic means to express and convey a particular point of view on a given situation. To that end, the locutor activates an enunciator who is in some sense considered superior to the purpose pursued by the enunciative act. Consequently, the locutor represents one enunciator, whereas the author of the quoted text represents a second one. The POV conveyed by the citation becomes part of both enunciators. Occasionally, as mentioned, when using negative utterances, aphorizations involve a third enunciator who represents the opposite POV, which may be a sociocultural assumption.

The sense of the text fragment that the locutor has recovered thus derives from its (re)interpretation in the new context. Aphorizing, however, has a certain implicit historical content and a symbolic charge (historical, cultural, and so on) that allows it to get re-evaluated since it creates continuity, from a historical-cultural perspective, in the community who receives it. Thus, aphorization is a polyphonic transtextual phenomenon capable of evoking a great deal of shared knowledge in a particular audience. This knowledge is rooted in a set of shared values and opinions. At the same time, it aims to evoke complex emotions resulting from the collective or subjective interpretation of it. The awareness of a shared background within a community leads the locutor to resort to aphorizations to trigger a specific set of thoughts and emotions that can move subjects to social action. Such a symbolic charge aims to reinforce the collective and individual *ethos* of the audience.

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Abbreviations

JEC	*Junta Electoral Central* (Electoral Board)
POV	Point Of View
UCE	*Universitat Catalana d'Estiu* (Catalan Summer University)

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