Transediting Identity across Languages: *Euronews* coverage of Catalan Independence Aspirations

Identitatearen transediting *hainbat hizkuntzatan:* Euronews-ek Kataluniako asmo independentisten berri ematea

Transediting de la identidad en distintos idiomas: la cobertura de las aspiraciones independentistas en Catalunya por *Euronews*

Lesia Ponomarenko, Laura Santamaria Guinot★

Université de Genève, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

ABSTRACT: Our objective in this paper is to compare how lexical units created in Catalan discourse, and related to the aspirations of independence, are reproduced by *Euronews* in Spanish, English, German and French and how their function as linguistic tools of discursive identity construction changes after translation (transediting). Based on the discourse-historical approach (Wodak *et al.,* 2005), we could detect three main strategies of discursive identity construction (autonomisation, legitimation, and unification) in the 37 selected articles between 2015-2021. Certain adaptations are often inevitable to comply with the media format and journalistic register of a particular target culture.

KEYWORDS: journalistic translation, transediting, identity construction, multilingual news, media discourse, Catalan identity.

RESUMEN: Nuestro objetivo en este artículo es comparar cómo las unidades léxicas creadas en el discurso catalán, y relacionadas con las aspiraciones independentistas, son reproducidas por Euronews *en español, inglés, alemán y francés y cómo cambia su función como herramientas lingüísticas de construcción identitaria discursiva tras la traducción* (transediting). *Con base al enfoque histórico-discursivo (Wodak* et al., *2005), pudimos detectar tres estrategias principales de construcción identitaria discursiva (autonomización, legitimación y unificación) en los 37 artículos seleccionados entre 2015-2021. Ciertas adaptaciones a menudo son inevitables para cumplir con el formato de los medios y el registro periodístico de cada cultura de llegada.*

PALABRAS CLAVE: traducción periodística, transediting, *construcción de identidad, noticias multilingües, discurso mediático, identidad catalana.*

★ Correspondencia a / Corresponding author: Laura Santamaria Guinot. Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. Campus Universitari Ed. K 2015 (08193 Bellaterra) – Laura.santamaria@uab.cat – https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7484-5925

Introduction

Political and social processes often come along with creation of new lexical units (words or expressions) and addition of new meanings to the existing ones. Wodak (2009: 580) mentions that in historical context, many words acquired new meanings, some words became forbidden, and neologisms were created, which contributed to the first attempts to establish a separate academic discipline for the research of the political discourse. Lexical units that emerge or acquire new meanings in political and social change are predominantly spread by the news and social media. International and local press of various regions has been widely approached by researchers describing the linguistic tools through which identities and differences are constructed (Saez Gallardo, 2019).

Broad Internet accessibility has brought news production to a different level, increasing the global audience of international news companies, such as *BBC, CNN, Al Jazeera, Deutsche Welle, Euronews,* and others. Translation is an essential part of international news production. However, final news texts are rarely straightforward translations from one language into another. Instead, the content and structure of information are adjusted considering various factors, particularly relevance for the reader, background knowledge of the target audience, media format, and cultural or social and political constraints. The principles of translators' work in this domain include focusing on a specific geographical, temporal and cultural context, taking into account the limitations of the media format (Bielsa and Bassnet, 2009: 63).

Media agencies that produce news for international audiences in various languages also tailor their texts for the corresponding language users in terms of content, structure, and journalistic style. For example, one of *Euronews'* missions is «to improve viewers' knowledge of the culture and history of Europe's peoples» (Euronews Editorial Charter for European Union Contract, 2017). This mission is related to the construction of a common European identity alongside multiple national identities and diverse viewers' expectations. Probably, for this reason, the home page of *Euronews* looked similar in all the languages and visually has the same content in all language versions. It was established in 1993 as a news television channel aiming to cover world news from a pan-European perspective and broadcasting throughout the world. After 2017, the website started to feature different snapshots of the news video spots serving as an illustration for the news texts, so that the websites in different language versions started to look slightly different, yet the video spot itself remained the same. Almost every *Euronews* article or video has counterparts in all the other Euronews languages, and although all the versions cover the same events, their textual content may vary.

However, the mission to appeal to a common European identity seems to be a rather complex endeavor. The research titled «How television failed to integrate

Europe» (Ruvalcaba García, 2007) contains a chapter on *Euronews*. The paper mentions that although the channel managed to have a daily reach of 1.331 viewers, it failed in its mission to showcase European institutions and facilitate European integration. According to the research, the multi-linguistic approach posed multiple challenges, as it was not easy to adapt the product to the market and live broadcasting for the general audience. Besides, the attempt to homogenize the content and merge journalistic styles in various languages led to the creation of a specific *Euronews* style that was «so neutral we could think it is broadcasted from space» (Ruvalcaba García, 2007: 95). Similarly, the «respect for viewers» and «viewer's sensibilities» mentioned in Euronews' Editorial Charter for European Union Contract (2017), in our understanding, may justify or prompt the reason for most of the omissions, additions, and alterations made during news production, as the aim is «to meet viewers' expectations and needs» on the one hand and to protect «viewers' sensibilities» on the other.

The Euronews' principle of diversity aiming, in particular, «to improve viewers' knowledge of the culture and history of Europe's peoples» may be viewed as directly related to the construction of collective European identity. At the same time, instead of creating a perception of a common European identity, it tended to distantiate from all the nations and could not provide any solid historical, cultural or social foundation (Ruvalcaba García, 2007). However, in terms of this analysis, the neutral tone of *Euronews* gives us an advantage for a comparative analysis of the corpus in different languages, where specific discrepancies related to the adaptation of the content to target audiences are visible. Its multilingual website, published in eight language versions, already caused interest for the research of Valdeón (2009), in the paper titled «Euronews in Translation: Constructing a European Perspective for/of the World».

Therefore, the objective of this article is to analyze the coverage of Catalan independence aspirations by Euronews and describe how national and regional identities are represented alongside the common European in news texts. For this purpose, we compare how lexical units created in Catalan discourse and related to the aspirations of independence are reproduced by *Euronews* in Spanish, English, German and French and how their function as linguistic tools of discursive identity construction changes after translation (transediting).

In order to see how textual and contextual adaptations are related to the construction of identities, we compared news text excerpts in English, German, French, and Spanish languages, focusing, in particular, on the words and expressions that originated in the Catalan media discourse. For this purpose, we selected a corpus of articles published by Euronews between 2015 and early 2021 on Catalonia. We decided to start our research in 2015, when the members of the Catalan party, *Unió Democràtica de Catalunya*, were dismissed from the Catalan government due to dis-

crepancies in relation to the aspirations of independence for Catalonia asserted by the Catalan President and his party, *Convergència Democràtica de Catalunya*, and as a consequence, in the same year, new elections were called (Moragas-Fernádez and Montagut, 2019). We ended our research the previous year before the elaboration of our analysis. We wanted to see whether *Euronews* showed different possible approaches to the same subject in different languages.

The selection of the samples included searching in the *Euronews'* English version archive by the keyword «Catalonia» and after selecting articles related to its independence aspirations, and we came up with 37 instances. The search engine results were further reduced to articles available not only in English but also in at least one more of the mentioned languages (Spanish, French or German) therefore, our sample was reduced to 20. It is important to note that not all pieces of news have counterparts in all languages, as it is confirmed below in the examples analyzed. Further, we provide examples with links to the English version of the article. The other language versions may be accessed by changing the language of the website. The links specified in the footnotes also contain the date on which the article was published. The methodology applied in this paper combines mixed methods of critical discourse analysis and approaches of translation studies, in particular comparative analysis of a multilingual corpus.

The press coverage of Catalonia's independence aspirations has previously been discussed in various papers. For instance, Pont-Sorribes *et al.* (2019) found that most stories in Europe and the USA contained specific predominant frames, including conflict and responsibility. The authors concluded that the media discourse in the international press was based on conflict and difference. Similar findings of this complex study were made in an earlier analysis of the Spanish-Catalan political crisis in the UK, German and French Press (Perales-García *et al.,* 2018). Moragas & Montagut (2019) also emphasize the frames of conflict and responsibility in their analysis alongside the role of the media as mediators between cultures. There are also more recent studies that compare the editorial opinions of the Mainstream Media during the Catalan elections of 2017 between Madrid and Barcelona (Xicoy-Comas *et al.,* 2021) and establish how they are related to public opinions and political orientations.

Instead of analyzing various media as it was the case in the mentioned studies, this article approaches *Euronews* as a news broadcaster intending to represent a «pan European perspective.» Focusing on one multilingual media permits us to track textual transformations between languages and see how information is tailored for the target audience. Rather than covering the general discourse of the articles, we focus on the concepts in the context in the parallel corpora of various language versions. Alongside discourse analysis, we apply translation studies approaches, comparing text fragments related to the same facts and headlines of the articles.

The research consisted of the following stages:

—Detecting fragments containing lexical units related or specific to the Catalan independence process and analyzing how they appear in various language versions.
—Describing if and how the identity construction function of such fragments is transformed compared to the original discourse.

We have applied a discourse-historical approach alongside translation studies' comparative analysis to reflect better the connection between specific lexical choices in various languages and discursive construction of identities.

1. Construction of national identities in multilingual media and transediting

In order to carry out the objectives of this study, we will deal with identity construction in multilingual news from the critical discourse analysis approach and discursive construction strategies. Although Critical Discourse Analysis is not a method but rather an approach, the methodology of Discourse Analysis Studies introduced by Norman Fairclough (1995) provides a wide range of possibilities for a detailed study of discourse and its effects in the adjacent disciplines. This includes three layers (Fairclough, 1995):

—Text analysis (rhetoric devices, metaphors, collocations);
—Discourse practice analysis (how and for whom the text is produced);
—Discourse events analysis (relation between discourse and social structures).

According to Christina Schäffner (2012), methods of Critical Discourse Analysis can be used effectively to reveal translation and interpreting strategies as well as transformations that occur in recontextualisation processes across languages, cultures, and discourse domains, in particular, recontextualisation in mass media. Teun A. van Dijk (2001) defines Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as «a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context» and aims to resist social inequality (van Dijk 2001). Hilary Janks provides a brief yet exhaustive summary of how Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is applied as a research tool approaching the use of language as a form of social practice:

> «All social practice are tied to specific historical contexts and are the means by which existing social relations are reproduced or contested and

different interests are served. It is the questions pertaining to interests – How is the text positioned or positioning? Whose interests are served by this positioning? Whose interests are negated? What are the consequences of this positioning? […] Where analysis seeks to understand how discourse is implicated in relations of power, it is called critical discourse analysis.» (Janks, 1997)

The discourse-historical approach (Wodak *et al.,* 1999) describes various levels of discursive identity construction through linguistic tools. According to Wodak *et al.* (1999), constructive strategies attempt to construct and establish a specific national identity by promoting unification, identification, solidarity, and differentiation. The *discursive macro-strategies* of identity construction comprise *perpetuation, justification, transformation, and dismantling* (Wodak *et al.,* 1999). These strategies feature linguistic tools of identity construction, including various levels of argumentation, metaphors, comparisons, and explicit or implicit references to similarities and differences between «us» and «them.» For instance, the Catalan word *procès* ('process') implies continuous movement towards an objective (independence of Catalonia), *desconnexió* ('disengagement') deconstructs attachment to the Spanish state, and the neologism *espolímetre* (Vidal, 2015) for 'embezzlement calculator' is used as argumentation of financial burden and a reason for deconstructing attachment.

Discourse-conceptual analysis has previously proved to be efficient in the studies of the European press. For example, the research of Krzyzanowsy (2019) on Brexit coverage showed patterns of domestication of UK events. The concept of domestication is particularly relevant to our research as we also aim to add the perspective of translation studies to analyze various pieces of information that were translated and adapted for specific audiences.

Journalism has comprehensive social functions and a crucial role in nation-building and identity maintenance (Lewis, 2004: 99-101). Therefore, multilingual news broadcasters' missions are often multifaceted; however, the work of translators in this process is not always visible. It is difficult to differentiate between translator's and journalist's tasks in multilingual editorials as, for example, *Euronews*, which has multilingual journalists who work in different languages to prepare an article in their native language. In this case, the journalists act as translators, writers, and re-writers. Nevertheless, there is still no clear definition of the translation process that is embedded into the journalistic profession. Bielsa and Bassnet (2009) mention Stetting's (1989) term '*transediting*'; however, they still prefer to talk about the translation of news as they consider the term '*transediting*' somewhat artificial. Van Doorslaer (2012) introduced the term '*journalator*' to refer to «an interventionist newsroom worker who makes abundant use of translation when transferring and reformulating or recreating informative journalistic texts» (van Doorslaer, 2012:

1046). Lucile Davier (2017), who researched the stakes of translation in news agencies, uses the word 'translation'; however, she notes that the term 'translation' is applied for the sake of simplification and is far from being evident (Davier, 2017: 15). As the present article mainly covers editing and translation of news texts, we consider the term 'transediting' appropriate as we are talking about the creation of news texts: the word «translation» here would be too general on the one hand and still not complete on the other.

In our attempt to trace how linguistic means constructing Catalan identity in news discourse are further «transedited» into other languages, we have defined three main strategies of identity construction:

1. Autonomisation (Wodak *et al.,* 2005): this section includes the names of institutions and symbols representing the Catalan identity and their translations in other languages; This part also contains new meanings of some existing words, as well as new expressions, coined to refer to Catalonia's independence aspirations. The discursive strategy of autonomisation is expressed through semantic components constructing autonomy.
2. Legitimation/delegitimation (Wodak *et al.,* 2005): This section covers concepts that have been used to refer to the legal context of the political demand for independence in Catalonia and describes how they appear in various languages. In this way, we intend to determine whether the tools of identity construction have been preserved or modified. The discursive strategy of legitimation (delegitimation) includes an appeal to compliance with the law for specific steps towards independence.
3. Unification (Wodak *et al.,* 2005): In this part, we focus on strategies of common European identity construction in the context of Catalan independence aspirations. The discursive strategy of unification is represented by references to similarity, sameness, shared objectives, and values.

The Catalan media have used, and to some extent spread, these new denotations as they now appear in a multilingual news environment such as *Euronews*. The examples in the following sections appeared in two or more language versions (Spanish, English, French, and German) and thus were available for comparative analysis.

2. **Autonomisation of Catalan identity in European multilingual context**

According to Wodak *et al.* (2005: 38), autonomisation is a strategy of discursive identity construction that implies presupposition/emphasis on national auton-

omy or independence and includes lexical units with semantic components constructing autonomy. Vidal (2015) compiled a glossary of words in Catalan that became 'keywords' of the independence process. Such words included, for example, *procés'* - process', *desconnexió* —'disengagement', *consulta*— 'poll', and other words and expressions that the Catalan media have actively used. Further, we analyze to which extent these and other new denotations have spread in the multilingual news environment of *Euronews*.

As Van Dijk (1988) writes, lexical style may signal «the group-based or institutional embedding of discourse and especially the attitudes and hence ideologies of the speaker» (Van Dijk, 1988: 91). At the same time, he mentions that some lexical choices «do not originate in sociopolitical ideology but are part of professional registers used to denote specific event or characteristics» (Van Dijk, 1988: 91). This becomes relevant to the observation that different language versions show differences in their lexical choices describing the same events. For example, while in Spanish and French languages, the most common word to refer to the independence supporters in Catalonia is '*independentist'* (Spanish: *independentista*; French: *indépendantiste*), the English and German language versions of *Euronews* tend to interchange the concepts' *pro-independentist'*, '*separatist'*, '*secessionist'* as contextual synonyms. A comparative analysis showed that the frequency with which these different terms appeared in the English language versions was relatively equal. In contrast, the German language versions often used the component '*Separatist'* repeatedly throughout the article or avoided it in other news articles. As shown in the example below, these observations also applied to headlines:

> **Example (1)**[1]
>
> SPA*: Pulso igualado entre **partidarios y detractores de la independencia** Catalana.*
> FR*: Catalogne: la victoire se precise pour les **independantistes.***
> ENG*: Catalan **Separatists** on Collision Course with Madrid after Election Victory.*
> GER*: Jubel in Barcelona: absolute Mehrheit für Katalanische **Separatisten.***

The terms' independentist', 'secessionist', 'nationalist', 'separatist', and their corresponding equivalents with the same Latin root in the other relevant languages have similar definitions in various dictionaries and Encyclopedia. However, the levels of positive and negative associations (or frames) in different languages and contexts for these words vary. The *Gran Enciclopedia Catalana* (1995) defines the word

---

[1] Available at: http://www.euronews.com/2015/09/27/separatist-parties-win-majority-of-seats-in-catalan-regional-poll

'*independentisme*' as «*movement, seeking independence of a people, a country, a nation, etc.*» and mentions that since the 60ies, the Catalan Countries accepted this description, denying the traditional '*separatisme*'. The article for '*separatisme*' describes this term from two aspects. From one point of view, it is referred to as will, attributed to a group of people with defined geographical location, to separate from the state which it forms part of in order to exercise the right of peoples to self-determination and create a new independent and fully sovereign state and is therefore identified with '*secessionisme*' and '*independentisme*'. On the other hand, the Encyclopedia mentions that the term '*separatism*' does not have a clear definition in legal terminology, and neither is this term mentioned or defined in international law or international relationships (Gran Enciclopedia Catalana 1995). Another word that frequently appears in the Catalan and Spanish media discourses to refer to the supporters of Catalonia's independence is *sobiranista* – '*sovereignist*.' In the compared samples, the word «*soberanista*» that appeared in Spanish did not have a full equivalent in any of the other language versions. After these observations, we decided to analyze also how other words and expressions related to Catalan identity are reproduced in the news discourse of different language versions.

2.1. References to institutions and symbols as identity markers

Names of Catalan institutions and references to national or regional symbols are important representations of unification and identity construction. References to the symbols of the Catalan independence movement represent a similar function of autonomisation strategy. Besides, the way they appear in various language versions has common features with that of the names of institutions. Example (2), for instance, shows that in the Spanish language version, *Euronews* prefers to use the names of the Catalan institutions in Catalan, whereas the English and French language versions reproduce them descriptively:

Example (2)[2]

SPA*: El presidente del Gobierno Mariano Rajoy ha cesado al presidente catalán Carles Puigdemont y la mayor parte de altos cargos del* **Govern***, ha disuelto el* **Parlament** *y ha convocado elecciones el próximo 21 de diciembre.*

FR*: Dans la soirée, Mariano Rajoy a annoncé la dissolution du* **Parlement catalan** *et la convocation d'élections régionales anticipées le 21 décembre prochain.*

ENG*: Catalonia's deposed leader has criticised Madrid's decision to sack the* **Catalan government** *and dissolve the* **Parliament***, which he said is «contrary to the will expressed at the polls.»*

---

[2] Available at: https://es.euronews.com/2017/10/28/cataluna-independencia-directo-parlament-senado-dui-articulo-155-puigemont-rajoy

The following example shows the case when names of streets and squares in Barcelona may carry additional information that the readers of different target cultures. For example, *Jardinets* is a square where most demonstrations of the left independentist parties take place. However, besides the square's name, the English language version does not contain any further references that would give more information to its readers, whereas the readers in the source culture can easily understand the nature of the demonstration:

> ### Example (3)[3]
>
> SPA*: Llegamos otra vez a **Jardinets**, y ahí ya empieza a haber mucha gente. Me coloco al lado del Palau Robert, en Passeig de Gràcia con Diagonal, y me encuentro a un chaval que lleva por capa una bandera española. Le pregunto si no se siente inseguro llevando esa bandera, entre tanta **estelada** y me contesta que no, que hace poco que ha salido de casa. Aun así, por la tele se había visto muchísima gente llevando banderas españolas que iban caminando junto a otra gente llevando **esteladas**. Y todo en orden.*
>
> ENG*: Back at **Jardinets** again, another boy is wearing a **Spanish flag** as a cape. Asked if he feels unsafe wearing amid so many **estelades**, he answers no, he is not far from home. The TV pictures show Spanish flags, alongside **estelades** and there is no sign of trouble.*

The word *estelada* is present in the Spanish version in Examples (3), (4), and (5). *Estelades* are the flags used by the pro-independence parties and associations in Catalonia. The difference between the Catalan official flag and the *estelada* is that the latter contains a five-pointed star in a triangle at the hoist. Nevertheless, in the English version, *estelada* is only used in the example (3), whereas in (4), it is generalized by the '*Catalan flag*'. Such generalization may be viewed as mistranslating the word *estelada,* because the official Catalan flag is a different symbol. Therefore, this lexical choice fails to convey the pro-independence reference in the news article.

> ### Example (4)[4]
>
> SPA*: Independentistas de todas las edades volvieron a sacar ayer sus **esteladas** para celebrar la proclamada independencia.*
>
> ENG*: Madrid's moves to thwart the breakaway didn't spoil the party, with **Catalan flags** flying and revellers singing and dancing with joy.*

---

[3] Available at: https://es.euronews.com/2017/10/05/punto-de-vista-asi-vivi-la-huelga-general-de-cataluna

[4] Available at: https://es.euronews.com/2017/10/28/cataluna-viernes-de-manifestaciones-a-favor-y-contra-la-independencia

In the following example, however, the Catalan word *estelada* is used alongside the Scottish Saltire in the context of unification over a common idea (including European identity). In this case, the autonomisaton function of these lexical items is maintained and reinforced over unification strategy: appeal to similarity.

Example (5)[5]

ENG: **The Saltire and the Estelada flags** *are almost always found together at marches in support of independence, be they down the Royal Mile, Edinburgh's medieval thoroughfare, or along Barcelona's tree-lined boulevard Las Ramblas.*

SPA: **Las banderas del Saltire y de la Estelada** *se encuentran casi siempre juntas en las marchas de apoyo a la independencia, ya sea en la Royal Mile, la calle medieval de Edimburgo, o en el arbolado bulevar de Las Ramblas de Barcelona.*

Another symbol representing the supporters of independence and the demand for freedom of politicians and social leaders is the *llaç groc* – 'yellow ribbon.' The reference to this symbol appears in Examples (6) and (7). The translation differs between languages and examples. In Example (6), only the word *rubans* is used in French, and the German language version uses the reference to the colors in the first part of the headline. The headline of the French language version talks about the 'ribbons of discord', a metaphor which is present in the other two language versions, and serves for the purpose of captation of readers' attention (*Guerra* in Spanish, *Kampf* in German). This metaphor of discord may blur the understanding of the opposing groups, as hypothetically, non-independentist (unionist) persons may also express themselves against political imprisonments without necessarily being independence supporters.

Example (6)[6]

SPA*: Se recrudece la guerra de* **lazos amarillos** *en Cataluña.*
FR*: Catalogne: les* **rubans** *de la discorde.*
GER*:* **Gelb** *gegen rot-gelb: Kampf der Schleifen in Katalonien.*

Example (7)[7]

SPA*: Con los escaños vacíos teñidos de **lazos amarillos**, Marta Rovira, secretaria general de Esquerra Republicana, entregó el voto de Oriol Junqueras entre ovaciones de los independentistas.*

FR*: Représenté par un **ruban jaune** tout comme les autres absents, Carles Puigdemont entend reprendre la présidence de la Catalogne depuis la Belgique.*

ENG*: The seats of absent lawmakers were marked with giant **yellow ribbons** on Wednesday.*

In the following Example (8) related to the celebration of the National Day of Catalonia, the *«Diada»,* the German language version does not use the Catalan word, and the French language version explains it. The national Catalan holiday, known as *la Diada* is one of the symbols of Catalan national identity. The three language versions refer to slightly different requirements of the demonstrators on this day: the Spanish language version mentions that the protests are aimed against the imprisonment of pro-independence politicians, whereas the German language version says they demand independence for Catalonia:

Example (8)[8]

SPA*: El encarcelamiento de los políticos catalanes independentistas ha sido el mayor reclamo para la **Diada**.*

FR*: Les Catalans se sont réunis pour célébrer la **Diada, la fête nationale catalane**.*

GER*: Am **katalanischen Nationalfeiertag** sind in Barcelona Hunderttausende auf die Straße gegangen und haben für ein unabhängiges Katalonien demonstriert.*

2.2. Flexibility of language in discursive identity construction

The autonomisation strategy was marked also by new expressions and attribution of new loads to the words. Thus, for example, the Catalan word *procés,* literally meaning 'process,' is used to refer to the steps taken by the independence supporters to progress with the independence aspirations (Vidal, 2015). This word has been widely used by the Catalan and Spanish media. In the latter, the Catalan word is almost always preferred over the Spanish word *proceso*. It seems, however, that the

---

[7] Available at: https://es.euronews.com/2018/01/17/los-independentistas-retoman-el-control-del-parlamento-de-cataluna

[8] Available at: https://es.euronews.com/2018/09/11/multitudinaria-manifestacion-en-la-diada-pide-la-libertad-de-los-politicos-presos

Catalan word has not been adopted by the other languages, and its translation tends to be descriptive, as it is the case in the following examples (9), (10), and (11):

Example (9)[9]

SPA*: El FC Barcelona sobre la sentencia del **'procés'**: «La prisión no es la solución».*

FR*: Espagne: le Barça critique la condamnation des indépendantistes catalans.*

Example (10)[10]

SPA: *Everybodysland, la campaña del Gobierno español para frenar las críticas por el **juicio del 'Procés'.***

ENG*: Everybodysland, the Spanish government's campaign to curb criticism after **separatists conviction**.*

Example (11)[11]

SPA: *Miles de manifestantes han vuelto a llenar este domingo el centro de Barcelona. Lo han hecho por séptima noche consecutiva. Es su manera de protestar ante **la sentencia del 'procés'** y tras una semana la movilización persiste.*

GER: *Nach sechs Protesttagen in Folge mit zum Teil schweren Ausschreitungen sind die Fronten **im katalanischen Unabhängigkeitskonflikt verhärtet**. In der Nacht zum Sonntag versammelten sich rund 6000 Separatisten zu weitestgehend friedlichen Protesten.*

In the above Examples (10) and (11), the French and the English language versions do not refer to the 'process' but rather to its activists. These excerpts have similar inconsistencies as already described before in Example (1). The German language version in Example (11) refers to the 'Catalan independence conflict,' which has a different metaphorical representation: a 'clash' instead of 'moving forward'.

Another example of a word that has adopted a new meaning is «*desconnexió*» (disengagement). The word refers now to the feeling of a part of Catalans who consider themselves no longer Spanish (deconstruction of identity). The former president of the Catalan Government between 2006-2010 started to use the Spanish

---

[9] Available at: https://es.euronews.com/2019/10/14/el-barcelona-sobre-la-sentencia-del-proces-la-prision-no-es-la-solucion

[10] Available at: https://es.euronews.com/2019/10/14/everybodysland-la-campana-del-gobierno-espanol-para-frenar-las-criticas-por-el-jucio-del

[11] Available at: https://es.euronews.com/2019/10/20/septimo-dia-de-protestas-en-cataluna-por-la-sentencia-del-proces

word *desafección* - «disaffection» to refer to this new orientation. We have observed that the Spanish language version of *Euronews* uses both expressions: the Spanish word *desafección,* as in Example (13), and the Catalan borrowing *desconnexió*, as in Example (14) below.

Example (12)[12]

SPA*: El proceso llamado de «**desconexión**» de Cataluña del Estado español duraría 18 meses hasta que el Parlamento catalán declararía formalmente la independencia y comenzaría a redactar una constitución.*

FR*: Alors commencera le «**désengagement**» de la Catalogne de l'Etat fédéral, et 18 mois plus tard le parlement catalan pourrait déclarer formellement l'indépendance et commencer à rédiger une constitution.*

ENG*: Known as «**disengagement**» from the Spanish state, the process would take around 18 months. Only then would the Catalan parliament be able to formally declare independence and begin to draft a constitution.*

GER*: Die **Ablösung** von Spanien würde 18 Monate dauern, dann erst könnte sich die Generalitat unabhängig erklären und an einer eigenen Verfassung feilen.*

Here, the English and the French language versions translate *desconexión* as 'disengagement' in quotation marks, and the German translation is *Ablösung*. In other cases, as in the following Example (13), we can observe the use of descriptive translations and generalization as in the French and German language versions:

Example (13)[13]

SPA*: La economía, o **la desafección política** están entre las motivaciones más citadas, pero la ilusión de construir algo nuevo se contagia.*

FR*: La volonté d'émancipation économique et **les déceptions répétées vis-à-vis de Madrid** ont beau être des raisons régulièrement invoquées, l'élan collectif joue à plein.*

ENG*: The economy, self-determination or **political disaffection** are among the most-cited motivations. But the illusion of building something new is contagious.*

GER: Und **diese Emotionen** sind ansteckend.*

In the above example, the French language version describes 'political disaffection' as 'continuous disappointment towards Madrid'. The German language ver-

---

[12] Available at: https://es.euronews.com/2015/09/23/elecciones-catalanas-todo-lo-que-necesita-saber

[13] Available at: https://es.euronews.com/2017/09/29/la-conversion-de-muchos-independendista

sion makes the sentence shorter by a generalization and refers to 'emotions'. The references to symbols, institutions, and other specific lexical units related to Catalan identity and independence aspirations often had to be adapted in the other language versions and therefore omitted, generalized, or additionally described. In the original discourse contained in the Spanish language version, such lexical units would reinforce the identity of '*us*' and '*them*.' Thus, the autonomisation function contained in the original discourse appears blurred and more distant in the other language versions, switching the identity focus to '*them*' and '*them*' instead.

3. Legitimation strategy recontextualized through languages and discourses

The discursive strategy of legitimation (delegitimation) includes an appeal to compliance with the law for specific steps towards independence. On the rhetoric level, such components may be attributed to the frame of conflict as the discrepancies between the Spanish and Catalan positions are expressed through a struggle for discursive dominance of certain normatively loaded terms. Legal terminology is meant to be very specific in its meanings and use within legal systems, at the same time, as Gotti and Williams note, it can be 'so culture-bound (for a variety of historical, sociological, political or jurisprudential reasons) that a satisfactory translation of all the legal terms of a text from one context to another is at times impossible.' (Gotti Williams, 2010: 17-18). If such terms appear in the context that is different from the legal discourse (i.e., political or media), translators will face additional challenges to transfer them according to the function of the target text. Bhatia *et al.* (2008) note that '(t)he process of politically merging in the different European countries into a single European Union has involved much effort at harmonizing legislation and procedures within the Union,' which in its turn contributed to multicultural studies of legal discourse (Bhatia *et al.,* 2008: 10-11). In this section, we consider some examples that show differences in legislation among the countries of the European Union and explain how this may be reflected on the use of legal terms in the media discourse and, consequently, which effect this may have in terms of discursive identity construction.

Reference to law and legal terms in context may be approached from several perspectives, for instance, as argumentation (topos) of danger and threat, delegitimization and appeal to authority, defamation of opponents and certain pillars of identity, and thus exclusion from a larger 'we'–group (Wodak *et al.,* 1999). The first example in this section appeared on *Euronews* on April 15th 2018 when some Catalan members of Parliament were prosecuted by specific charges, the term for which did not have an equal counterpart in other European countries such as Germany or the United Kingdom:

Example (14)[14]

SPA*: Cientos de miles de personas han llenado este domingo las calles de Barcelona para apoyar a los líderes independentistas presos y exigir el retorno de los políticos que están en el extranjero (…). Piden la libertad de los políticos en prisión por* **cargos de rebelión y sedición**.

FR*: Des centaines de milliers de personnes sont descendues dans les rues de Barcelone, pour réclamer la libération des figures de l'indépendantisme catalan (…). Les dirigeants ont été emprisonnés dès octobre, au moment de l'organisation du référendum d'autodétermination.*

ENG*: Tens of thousands of supporters of Catalan independence took to the streets of Barcelona on Sunday calling for the release of jailed separatist leaders. The demonstrations come after a Supreme Court ruling prevented the latest attempt to appoint a regional leader.*

GER*: Hunderttausende Menschen haben in Barcelona Freiheit für führende katalanische Separatisten gefordert. Diese sitzen seit einigen Monaten in Untersuchungshaft. Ihnen wird im Zusammenhang mit dem Referendum über Kataloniens Unabhängigkeit* **unter anderem Rebellion** *vorgeworfen.*

The text in Spanish contains the words *rebelión* —'rebellion' and *sedición*— 'sedition' that have their origin in the Spanish Criminal Law and were used in the 'European Arrest Warrant' issued by a Spanish court in Spring 2017 to arrest and extradite former President of Catalonia, Carles Puigdemont as well as in the subsequent documents (*Auto retirando la orden europea de detención*, 2018). The terms that are central in a legal document may function as secondary or supplementary in media discourse. Such a shift of function may explain the omissions of terms in some language versions and the focus of the news reports on the general overview. In the above Example (14), the German language version uses the literal translation through the German word *Rebellion* and does not translate the Spanish word *sedición*. At the same time, both texts in French and English omit the Spanish legal terms. In political and media discourses use of legal terms referring to the charges under criminal law is often a tool of delegitimation strategy. These details, however, are often blurred in other language versions, and the information that their target readers perceive may be more generalized and aloof.

The Example (15) in English includes a quote of the German lawyer Heribert Prantl where he explains the German terms *Rebellion* and *Hochverrat* - 'high treason', a proper legal term according to the German legislation. It should be noted that the English term '*high treason*' is also used as a further explanation of the German term *Hochverrat*. This news appeared after Carles Puigdemont was set free by the German

---

[14] Available at: http://www.euronews.com/2018/04/15/thousands-of-pro-independence-supporters-take-to-the-streets-of-barcelona-calling-for-the-

court that had to decide whether he was to be sent to Spain for trial; that is when the audience of *Euronews* was probably more interested to learn about the resolution of the situation between Spain and Germany regarding the Catalan President. In these cases, we may also observe the recontextualization of legal terms across discourses: the terms that originate in legal discourse change their function into argumentative in political discourse and informative in media discourse. As the aim of the target text is also to provide general information and not political argumentation or legal expert knowledge, the content is translated and transedited according to its purpose (*Skopos* theory of translation) (Reiss, Vermeer, 1984). As a result of a functional change, omissions may occur, whereby the original text may still conserve the features of political argumentation and discursive identity construction. Similarly to the previous example, the information that the other readers get may result in being more generalized.

Example (15)[15]

GER*: **Rebellion** ist in Deutschland nicht strafbar. Der **Hochverrat** in Deutschland —so heißt die Vorschrift hier— hat bestimmte Voraussetzungen, in Spanien ist es anders. Da ist **Rebellion** simpler konstruiert. Aber mit dieser Konstruktion kommt man nach deutschem Recht nicht weiter. Es wäre nach den Regeln des internationalen Rechtshilferechts eine politische Straftat - wegen einer solchen Straftat kann nicht abgeschoben werden.*

ENG*: **Rebellion** is not punishable in Germany. Heribert Prantl: The charge of '**high treason**' in Germany —that is the rule here— has certain conditions, in Spain it is different. '**Rebellion**' there is a simpler concept. But this concept cannot be applied to German law. Under international rules on mutual assistance in law enforcement, it would be a political offence: in the case of such an offence deportation is not possible.*

Finally, in the following Example (16), we can observe how the differences between the terms 'rebellion' and 'high treason' in the German legislation are explained in the German and Spanish language versions; however, these explanations are omitted in the English language version. The latter uses a direct translation of the term *rebelión* and thus contains fewer details.

Example (16)[16]

SPA*: Según apunta, «por motivos jurídicos» no puede aceptarse una extradición por **rebelión** de acuerdo con el Código Penal español, ya que «los actos que se le im-*

---

[15] Available at: http://www.euronews.com/2018/04/06/puigdemont-rebellion-charge-was-extremely-risky-german-legal-expert

[16] Available at: http://www.euronews.com/2018/04/05/german-court-rejects-puigdemont-extradition-to-spain-for-rebellion

*putan no serían punibles en Alemania según la legislación vigente aquí». A su juicio, el delito que podría ser equiparable en Alemania, el de «**alta traición**», no puede aplicarse porque no se cumple el requisito de la «violencia».*

ENG*: The charge of misuse of public funds remains possible as grounds for extradition, the judges said, but the more serious charge of **rebellion** was ruled inadmissible as German law deems violence necessary for such an offence to have been committed.*

GER*: Eine Auslieferung des Verfolgten wegen des Straftatbestands der ‹**Rebellion**› komme aus Rechtsgründen nicht in Betracht. Das dem Verfolgten zur Last gelegte Verhalten wäre in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland nach hier geltendem Recht nicht strafbar. Der in Betracht kommende Straftatbestand des ‹**Hochverrats**› sei nicht erfüllt, weil es an dem Merkmal der ‹Gewalt› fehle», so steht es in einer Pressemitteilung des Gerichts in Schleswig.*

In consequence, we assume that the use of the legal terms in Spanish, the country where the proceedings began, and which have their Catalan legal counterparts *rebel·lió* and *sedició*, could not be maintained in English and German due to the differences between the Spanish legislation and the German and British law. Therefore, Spanish readers of *Euronews* find in this news media the exact legal terms explained broadly by the local media of that country, reinforcing the Spanish identity consequently. Nevertheless, the incapacity to use the same words in other languages becomes an example of the distinction between 'us' and 'them,' highlighting the national identities over the European counterpart.

4. Unification: 'us' and 'them' identities within common European discourse

According to Wodak *et al.,* the discursive strategy of unification is represented by references to similarity, sameness, common objectives, and values. We have seen in Example (6) section 3.1. how similarity between Catalonia and Scotland was expressed by references to national symbols. The following Example (17) contains appeals to common European identity (unification) as legitimation of the opposing positions of Madrid and the Govern:

Example (17)[17]

SPA: *«Puigdemont corre un grave riesgo viniendo a España, si yo fuese su abogado le diría que no lo intentase», añade Ruiz. Sin embargo, el expresident sigue ignorando la orden de detención vigente y asegura que quiere averiguar si «**España es la excepción europea**», por lo que espera que el Parlamento Europeo aclare este asunto.*

---

[17] Available at: https://es.euronews.com/2020/01/15/puede-la-justicia-detener-a-puigdemont-durante-la-visita-que-planea-a-espana

> ENG: «*Puigdemont runs a serious risk coming to Spain*», *Ruiz said.* «*If I were his lawyer, I would tell him not to try.*» *The former president has said that he wants to find out if* «**Spain is the European exception**». «*Puigdemont läuft ernsthaft Gefahr, wenn er nach Spanien kommt*», *sagte Ruiz.* «*Wäre ich sein Anwalt, würde ich ihm sagen, er soll es nicht versuchen.*»
>
> GER: «*Puigdemont läuft ernsthaft Gefahr, wenn er nach Spanien kommt*», *sagte Ruiz.* «*Wäre ich sein Anwalt, würde ich ihm sagen, er soll es nicht versuchen.*»*Der ehemalige Präsident sagte, er wolle herausfinden, ob* «**Spanien die europäische Ausnahme ist**».

The below Example (18) is an extract from the first paragraph of the article. It contains different discursive loads referring to the Catalan independence referendum in the context of common European identity: the Spanish language version emphasizes that the referendum was unilateral, the English language version mentions that it was Madrid that considered it illegal, and the German language version refers to the former Catalan president as the 'separatist leader':

> **Example (18)**[18]
>
> SPA: *Para la Comisión de Asuntos Jurídicos (JURI) del Parlamento Europeo, la Eurocámara debería retirarles la inmunidad parlamentaria a los eurodiputados independentistas catalanes, Carles Puigdemont, Clara Ponsatí y Toni Comín. La Comisión considera que los tres tienen cuentas pendientes con la Justicia española por su **implicación en el referéndum unilateral de independencia de Cataluña de 2017**.*
>
> ENG: *Catalonia's former leader Carles Puigdemont has told Euronews he will continue fighting after Members of the European Parliament voted to lift his immunity from prosecution. He fled Spain after the north-east region declared independence following **a 2017 referendum that Madrid considered illegal**.*
>
> GER: *Der Justizausschuss des Europäischen Parlaments hat dem Plenum empfohlen, die Immunität dreier spanischer Abgeordneter aus Katalonien aufzuheben. Dabei handelt es sich um den früheren Separatistenführer Carles Puigdemont und zwei seiner Mitstreiter, Clara Ponsatí und Antoni Comín.*

The below Examples contain references to regions reinforcing local national identities and emphasizing unification by a common European identity.

---

[18] Available at: https://www.euronews.com/2021/02/24/carles-puigdemont-vows-to-keep-fighting-after-meps-vote-to-lift-his-immunity

Example (19)[19]

> SPA: *El martes, el expresidente catalán Carles Puigdemont, después de perder su inmunidad como europarlamentario, declaró a Euronews* **que apoyaba todos los movimientos de autodeterminación en Europa. «En el Reino Unido, el caso de Escocia nos inspira mucho»,** *dijo. Este año será trascendental para ambos movimientos.*

> ENG: *On Tuesday ex-Catalan leader Carles Puigdemont told Euronews as much admitting* **he supported all movements for self-determination across Europe. «In the United Kingdom, the case of Scotland is very inspiring us,»** *he said. This year will be a consequential year for both movements.*

This Example (20) originates in Austrian discourse and therefore the German language version is more expanded: it contains the argumentation of moving forward to change Europe, where nations have to 'find the way'. The French language version has changed the direct discourse into indirect, which is common case for the French press:

Example (20)[20]

> ENG: *«We see right now how towards Catalonia, Europe is behaving in a scandalous way,» added Klotz. «This Europe that wants to keep and defend the power of the nation states at any price is really reactionary.*

> GER: *Eva Klotz: «Wie erleben ja gerade das skandalöse Verhalten Europas gegenüber Katalonien. Dieses Europa, das die Macht der Nationalstaaten um jeden Preis erhalten will, ist wirklich reaktionär. Die Völker müssen daher einen Weg finden, natürlich mit demokratischen und friedlichen Mitteln, um Europa zu verändern».*

> FR : *L'élue régionale fait spontanément le lien avec la situation en Catalogne et ne manque pas de critiquer la façon dont l'Union européenne a soutenu l'Espagne au détriment de la région indépendantiste.*

All these analyzed samples that contained unification over the common European identity also contained strong references to national identities. Thus, we may conclude that in the analyzed cases, the construction of common European identity in no way blurs national or regional identities. On the contrary, the fragments analyzed in this section contain a solid appeal to both autonomisation and unification over common European identity.

---

[19] Available at: https://www.euronews.com/2021/03/13/trials-troubles-and-tribulations-scots-and-catalans-look-to-each-other-to-ease-independenc

[20] Available at: https://www.euronews.com/2017/12/18/has-austria-just-sparked-a-new-independence-struggle-in-italy-

5. **Conclusions**

In the process of newswriting, words and expressions often undergo multiple stages of recontextualization as they are taken from one type of discourse (e.g., political or legal) to the informative media discourse. Terms associated with more positive or more negative scenarios may be used in political discourse as tools of argumentation and identity construction, gaining implicit expressive overtones, as described in Section 3. Such argumentation may include, for instance, appeals to the right of self-determination and the principle of territorial integrity as a legitimation strategy. As a result, even legal terms may acquire additional functions in political and media discourses (Examples 14-16). Differences in the lexical choices combined with different background knowledge of the target audiences may contribute to the construction of different perceptions with the readers. As words and concepts that construct identities are challenging to reproduce in the target culture, their adaptations reflect a more generalized and distant picture for the readers in the target cultures.

Autonomisation was the most frequent strategy of identity construction that appeared through its verbal expression, originating in Catalan as a source culture. This strategy represented about 61% of samples (out of 37 articles) and included references to Catalan institutions, symbols of national identity and independence movement, as well as words related to the independence aspirations itself. Although Euronews intends to convey a general European perspective, it remains focused on the target readers of each language and is still limited by the media format. These limitations do not always allow for a detailed explanation of concepts related to social and political specifics of the source culture (e.g., *estelada* vs. 'Catalan flag'). A general description is often prioritized over such details, expressed through linguistic tools of discursive identity construction. We have seen that different language versions tend to use different words to refer to Catalan independence aspirations with different frequencies (Example 1). This may be explained by the difficulties in finding the corresponding equivalents that refer to the same concept in the target language and carry the same load in various contexts (legal, political, and media discourses).

Legitimation strategy appeared in approximately 21 % of the analyzed samples. Terms related to legal processes and institutions in most cases need to be explained in other languages through the addition of background information to facilitate better understanding for the target readers. As we have described in section 3.1, legal concepts pass from the discourse of legal documents to media discourse, and this may result in a lack of consistency in lexical choices in the different language versions.

Although in multilingual news production, it is not always possible to establish the original text, which is further translated into other languages, it is still feasible to

track the origin of words and expressions in the source culture. Names of national symbols, institutions, and references to symbolic places are strong unifying tools in the original culture, which may shift their function after translation into a different language. Closer languages and cultures are more likely to use borrowings. However, it does not always imply that the target reader will understand all the meanings and connotations carried by the borrowed word (e.g., example 6). At the same time, the tendency to add information or generalize words and their meanings, as it happens in Examples (14) and (15), may potentially construct different perceptions. Besides, the discursive focus on 'us' and 'them' in the original discourse may often be switched to «them» and «them» in the article tailored for a target audience in a different language. These observations also become relevant to the understanding of the common European identity and its complex nature in terms of the visions of specific local events across the EU countries.

Unification strategy constructing the common European identity appeared in 18% of the analyzed samples and was accompanied either by autonomisation or legitimation strategies to reinforce the national identities. This observation is relevant in terms of identification of 'us' and 'them' groups, where the emphasized differences between specific national 'us and them' may construct stronger unity over the common European 'us.' These findings may contribute to further attempts to create or develop common European information services that intend to report on events from the perspective of a common European identity.

We have seen that the mentioned discrepancies between linguistic components of discursive identity construction are often inevitable to comply with the media format, journalistic tradition, and professional register of a particular target culture. At the same time, these adaptations lead to the loss of information related to culture or ideology that is available for readers in the source culture. We believe that further research in this domain would contribute to the general awareness of how various groups and their identities are represented in different information environments.

Specific contribution and order of authorship in the article

This interdisciplinary article combines perspectives from communication and journalism, as well as translatology. Lesia Ponomarenko has contributed her knowledge of the first two subjects and Laura Santamaria is a specialist in translation. The order of signature is alphabetical.

References

Bassnett, S. and Bielsa, E. (2009). *Translation in global news,* London, New York: Routledge.

Bhatia, V., K., Candlin, C., N., Evangelisti Allori, P. (2008). *Language Culture and the law***.** Peter Lang, Bern, Switzerland Linguistic Insights, Volume 64.

Davier, L. (2017). *Les enjeux de la traduction dans les agences de presse*, Villeneuve d'Ascq: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion.

Gotti, M. and Williams, C. (2010). 'Introduction', in M. Gotti and C. Williams (eds), *Legal Discourse across languages and cultures*, Volume 117, Peter Lang, Bern, Switzerland Linguistic Insights, (pp. 7-23).

Gran Enciclopedia Catalana (1995). Volum 13, 21 Barcelona: Grup Enciclopèdia Catalana.

Janks, H. (1997) Critical Discourse Analysis as a Research Tool. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 18(3), 329-342.

Krzyżanowski M. (2019). Brexit and the imaginary of 'crisis': a discourse-conceptual analysis of European news media, Critical Discourse Studies, 16:4, 465-490, DOI: 10.1080/17405904.2019.1592001

Lewis, D. (2004). 'Online news A new genre?' in J. Aitchison and D. Lewis (eds), *New Media language,* Routledge: London pp. 95-104.

Moragas-Fernández, C. M. and Montagut M. (2019). 'Recerca en comunicació i Procés català'. Civil i Serra, M. and López López, B. (ed.). *Informe de la comunicació a Catalunya* 2017-2018. 269-290.

Perales-García, C., Pont-Sorribes, C., (2018). The Spanish-Catalan political crisis as represented in the UK, French and German press (2010-2017). *Essachess*, Vol.11 ((2)22), p.147-162; Essachess.

Pont-Sorribes C., Pereales-García C., Mauri-Rios M., Tulloch C., D. (2019). 'The coverage of the international press in framing the Catalan sovereignty Process: Analysis of ten leading EU and US newspaers 2010-2017', *Catalan Journal of Communication & Cultural Studies*, 11:2, pp. 209-226.

Reiß, K. and Vermeer, H. (1984). *Grundlegung einer allgemeinen Translationstheorie*, Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Ruvalcaba G. A. (2007). *How television failed to integrate Europe*, Geneva: Publications euryopa. Institut européen de l'Université de Genève.

Schäffner, C. (2012). Unknown Agents in Translated Political Discourse. In: E. Brems, R. Meylaerts, and L. van Doorslaer, eds., *The Known Unknowns of Translation Studies*. Aston University, pp. 103-125.

Saez Gallardo, J. R. (2019). La construcción periodística de la cultura mapuche en la prensa escrita de Chile; *Zer*, 24(46), 13-36. (https://doi.org/10.1387/zer.19930).

Stetting, K. (1989). 'Transediting: A New Term for Coping with the Grey Area between Editing and Translating', in G. Cale, K. Haarstrup and A. Lykke Jakobsen (eds.), *Proceedings from the Fourth Nordic Conference for English Studies*, Copenhagen: University of Copenhagen, pp. 371-382.

Valdeón, R. A. (2009). Euronews in Translation: Constructing a European Perspective for/ of the World. *Forum*, 7(1), 123-153.

Van Dijk, T., A. (1988). *News as discourse,* Hillsade, New Jersy, Hove and London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Van Dijk, T., A. (1995). 'The Mass Media Today: Discourses of domination or diversity'. *Communication Beyond the Nation-State*, 2:2. 27-45.

Van Doorslaer, L. (2010). 'Journalism and Translation', in Y. Gambier and L. van Doorslaer (eds.), *Handbook of Translation Studies,* Volume 1, Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, pp. 180-185.

Van Doorslaer, L. (2012). 'Translating, Narrating and Constructing Images in Journalism with a Test Case on Representation in Flemish TV News', *Meta: Translators' Journal*, 57:4, pp. 1046-1059.

Vidal, P. (2015). *Manual del procés Vocabulari imprescindible de combat*, Barcelona: Angle Editorial.

Wodak, R., De Cillia, R., Reisigl, M., and Liebhart, K. (2005). *The discursive construction of National Identity*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Wodak, R. (2009). 'Language and Politics'. In: *English Language: Description, Variation and Context,* in J. Culpeper, P. Kerswill, R. Wodak, A. McEnery, F. Katamba (eds.), London: Palgrave, pp. 578-593.

Xicoy-Comas, E., Perales-García, C., Xambó, R. (2021). The Editorial Opinion of the Mainstream Media During the Catalan Elections of 2017: A Madrid-Barcelona Comparative Study. *The American behavioral scientist* (Beverly Hills), 2021-04, Vol. 65 (4), p.600-615; Los Angeles, CA: SAGE Publications.

Websites

Euronews (2017). *Euronews «Editorial Charter for European Union Contract»*. Available at: http://www.euronews.com/services-ue/#p1-6 (Accessed: 03 April 2021).

El Periodico (2017) *Auto retirando la orden europea de detención de D. Caries Puigdemont i Casamajó, D. Antonio Comín i Oliveres. D. Lluis Puig i Gordi, Da Meritxell Serret i Aleu y Da Clara Ponsatí i Obiols*. Available at: https://estaticos.elperiodico.com/resources/pdf/8/6/1512468316668.pdf?_ga=2.142738549.174511579.1580925794–56283212.1580925794 (Accessed: 03 April 2021).

Termcat, Centre de Terminologia (2020) https://www.termcat.cat/ca. Available at: https://www.termcat.cat/ca/cercaterm/sobirania?type=basic (Accessed 03 April 2021).