



GRAO EN LINGUA E LITERATURA INGLESAS (2015-2019)

The rise of national identities in Europe.

*The representation of Catalanian independence movement
in English-Speaking press from a CDA perspective*

Álvaro Herves Fortes

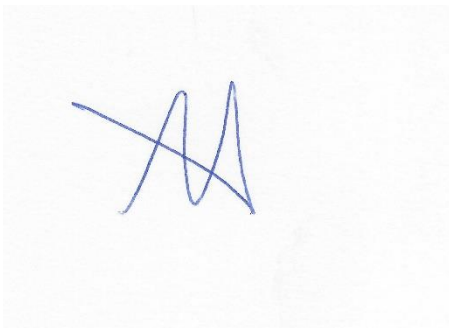
SUPERVISED BY DR. MARIA DE LOS ÁNGELES GÓMEZ GONZÁLEZ



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List of Abbreviations

Abbreviation	Meaning
EP	El Pais
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CDS	Critical Discourse Studies
DHA	Discourse- Historical Approach
PDA	Political Discourse Analysis
TNYT	The New York Times
TDT	The Daily Telegraph

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First of all, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my BA thesis supervisor, Prof. Dr Maria de los Ángeles Gómez González for all the help and support in this project. She has shown me the importance of Critical Discourse Analysis for daily life, especially as regards the topic under analysis and politics in general. It has been a pleasure to enjoy the wisdom of, in my opinion, one of the most important researchers in this field of study. Secondly, I would also like to thank my teachers for the training received over the last four years. Through their commitment and enthusiasm for English studies, I have strived to fully develop my skills, realising how important it is to do whatever you love. Finally, I would like to recognize my family for the unconditional support and patience during my formal education. Without them, it had been impossible to reach my goals.

Abstract



FACULTADE DE FILOLOXÍA

CUBRIR ESTE FORMULARIO ELECTRONICAMENTE



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Título:

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The representation of Catalanian independence movement in English-speaking press from a CDA perspective

Resumo [na lingua en que se vai redactar o TFG; entre 1000 e 2000 caracteres]:

Over the last years Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) has been gaining ground in the academic sphere, spreading beyond linguistics across wide ranging disciplines such as psychology, anthropology, sociology or political studies, to name but a few.

The aim of this BA thesis is to examine how the press in the UK and/or America reports on the events related to Catalan nationalism and independence movement that have happened lately in Spain. For that purpose, a CDA perspective is endorsed in order to determine whether such social media are politically biased, highlighting the differences in the news coverage and stressing the ways in which different reporting strategies may revive political debate.



First, the concepts of nationalism and national identity are described, noting how these feelings are interwoven with political discourse as a consequence of the nationalistic movements that spread through Europe during the nineteenth century. As a case in point we examine the so-called *Catalonian independence movement*, a controversial social movement historically derived from Catalan nationalism. The CDA framework for the investigation is provided by reference works on the issue of politics and national identities such as Fairclough (1989), Van Dijk (2009) and Wodak (2009), to name but a few. In the empirical part, the CDA analysis of a selection of news serves as a basis to determine whether different political stances on the issue of Catalan independence (and nationalism) are instantiated. The study is brought to an end with a summary of conclusions and suggestions for further research.

SRA. DECANA DA FACULTADE DE FILOLOXÍA (Presidenta da Comisión de Títulos de Grao)

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SRA. DECANA DA FACULTADE DE FILOLOXÍA (Presidenta da Comisión de Títulos de Grao)

Chapter 1: Introduction

This study deals with the events taking place in Catalonia over the last few years as regards its attempts to achieve independence. After explaining the main circumstances that have led to this process within a wider evolution of a national feeling in that region, this BA thesis offers a qualitative and quantitative analysis of a selection of news reporting on Catalanian non-binding referendum on 1st October 2017. Using the framework provided by Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth CDA), the study intends to uncover the strategies used by different newspapers to report on those events with a view to ascertain whether they are biased or not.

When we are reading a newspaper, the reader might not be thinking about its ideology, although it exists. As Mancini (2008, p.26) mentions, no serious media analyst would support that journalism is totally neutral. Actually, journalism has been associated to politics since its origins, trying to shape people's opinions. In fact, social media have had a great impact since events are narrated almost minute by minute. In such a complex world many people are not conscious about the fact that discourse has *opaque* aspects and the reader should be attentive to them. I found striking the fact that many people were supporting Catalan independence movement, although some of the main arguments such as the economic grievance are not true at all. For instance, official statistics show that Catalonia has considerable levels of investment from the national government. I decided to choose this topic for two main reasons. On the one hand, in my capacity of a Spanish citizen, I have a personal interest in what is happening in Spain. On the other hand, politically and otherwise similar phenomena such as Scottish or Quebec's nationalist movements have been the object of analysis within the field of CDA (Rivoire, 2013 & Bekker, 2017). However, Catalonia has not received the same degree of attention in CDA studies so I found it interesting to embark on this investigation since this kind of studies are needed to better understand society and reality.

In order to clarify his/her ideas in this very polarized scenario, it might be useful to the reader to think of a divide between two parties -pro- and against-Catalonian independence. The issue, however, is much more complex. In my opinion, CDA analyses like the one offered here can act as an eye opener. They contribute to raise awareness of the importance of critical reasoning, which asks you to think about an issue in depth and decide the best course of action.

This BA thesis is structured as follows: Part I provides the theoretical foundations for the empirical part presented in part II. Chapter 2 describes the main tenets of CDA, its origin, implications and main approaches, with specific subsections being devoted to the description of the CDA approaches that serve as a basis for the empirical analysis discussed in Part II. In Chapter 3 the concepts of nationalism and national identity are analysed, as well as the historical context in order to better understand the origins of this conflict in connection with those basic notions. Chapter 4 is devoted to journalistic discourse, paying attention to media systems and how they differ and the implications of those differences. Moving on to Part II, Chapter 5 describes the corpus, the methodology and the main research questions pursued in this investigation. In Chapter 6, the results of this research are discussed, which is followed by a summary of the main conclusions and suggestions for further research.

In order to complete this BA thesis, in addition to the knowledge acquired throughout the investigation under the supervision of Prof. Gómez-González, I have benefited greatly from the training received in the degree, particularly in the English language and English linguistics courses such as *English Morphosyntax*, *English Syntax and Semantics* and *English Grammar and Discourse*.

Part I

CDS¹ is not merely interested in any kind of power but it specifically focuses on abuse of power, in other words, on forms of domination that result in social inequality and injustice (Van Dijk, 2009, p. 1)

¹ CDS: Critical Discourse Studies. Some authors use this label instead of Critical Discourse Analysis (Van Dijk, 2008, p.1)

Chapter 2: Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

In this section an overview of CDA is offered (Section 2.1). After this the approaches that inspire this study will be described: Section 2.2 presents Fairclough three-dimensional method upon which the whole study is grounded. In addition, Section 2.3 presents Richardson's approach which applied the previous premises of CDA to journalistic discourse. Finally, Section 2.4 refers to Wodak's model of CDA.

2.1 Overview

The Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is generally defined as a type of qualitative content analysis that approaches the analysis of a text from distance, according to Rivoire (2013, p.43). For Van Dijk (2001, p.352) CDA is discourse analytical research that firstly studies the way social-power abuse and inequality are enacted, mirrored, legitimated or resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. It uses different methods of research and analysis and other strategies in order to collect and assess data to test hypothesis, develop theories. Since CDA considers discourse a social practice, there is a relationship between a particular discursive element and one particular situation or event. Van Dijk (*ibid*, p. 260) points out that discourse is socially constitutive, but also socially shaped and socially influential. One of the main purposes of CDA is to make visible those opaque aspects of discourse. Fairclough & Wodak (1997, pp.271-280) underline eight key principles for CDA analysis:

1. CDA addresses social problems
2. Power relations are discursive
3. Discourse constitutes society and culture
4. Discourse does ideological world
5. Discourse is historical
6. Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory
7. Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory
8. Discourse is a form of social action

In order to find the origins of CDA it is necessary to go back to Western Marxism. Some of these principles are related to the Frankfurt School of Philosophy, a school of social theory associated to the Institute for Social Research at Goethe University Frankfurt. While reading a text it is possible to find different interpretations depending on some sociological factors such as age, gender, race, economic status, etc. In CDA there is no unitary theoretical framework, so different approaches can be found. They differ in the way they see the

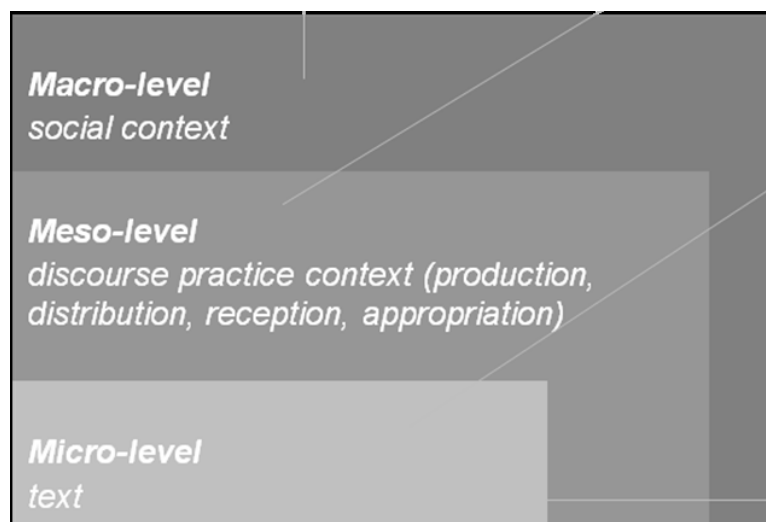
mediation between the text and people, how the discursive events are interpreted (more interpretative or more text-oriented texts).

There is no agreement as to where Political Discourse Analysis (PDA) is placed. On the one hand, the very notion is confusing since the most common interpretation is that PDA focuses on the analysis of political discourses, although it is necessary to determine what is political discourse and what is not. However, there are more critical approaches such as the one adopted in political approaches to discourse analysis. According to Van Dijk (1997, p.11) It would be interesting to preserve both about political discourse as well as a *critical enterprise*.

2.2 Fairclough's Approach

As presented in *Figure 1*, according to Fairclough, three levels of analysis must be distinguished in order to implement his approach to CDA:

- *Macro-level*: related to the social context. This is explained in Chapter 3 when explaining nationalism and national identity.
- *Meso-level*: the context in which discourse takes places. It includes the production of a text, its distribution, reception or its appropriation. This is explored in Chapter 4, devoted to the description of journalistic discourse and media systems.
- *Micro-level* or textual analysis, which is discussed in detail in Chapter 6



[Figure 1: Fairclough's model of CDA](#) (Koller, 2012, p. 6)

As the three levels are interrelated the analysis of other levels can be also important. For instance, it is important to take into account the macro-level when describing the findings of textual analysis since it can be helpful to understand some linguistic choices. In fact, the macro or contextual level has an impact, via the meso-level, in linguistic choices at the micro-level.

For Fairclough (1995), CDA consists on the analysis of relationships between concrete language use and wider social cultural structure. For this author it is necessary to analyse the relationship between language form and function, how the text relates to other texts, its relationship with the way it is produced or consumed in a context of a wider society where it occurs.

Firstly, at textual level, it is required to analyse how propositions are structured, combined or sequenced. Here a content analysis cannot be used as a single device, a more interpretative approach is needed since it provides an alternative to how events have been presented. It is assumed that content is marked by the choices the writer makes. However, linguistic elements are not only important for their presence, but for the function they play. For Richardson (2007), those forms should be examined in terms of the direct or indirect involvement when reproducing power relations or a particular ideology. This includes how actors are presented in discourse (how they are referred, if they are excluded or not), the analysis of processes (including the participants and circumstances), the qualities associated with those actors.

At the meso-level there is a proper discourse analysis, since, as previously explained, it involves the analysis of texts according to the way they are inserted within other circumstances such as social conditions, production or consumption. For this reason, sometimes it is less developed than the micro-level. Here CDA expands previous studies so it considers not only the producer's intentions, but also some professional practices and techniques, where personal interests are involved. Fairclough explains that both the producer and the way of production encode meaning in the text (e.g. choosing one particular story, excluding others). Moreover, the text also has an effect on the reader since information is re-shaped according to conventions. Richardson (2007, p.41) explains that our reception of a text a text is often affected by the judgment of the people who produced it, given more credibility to some actors than to others.

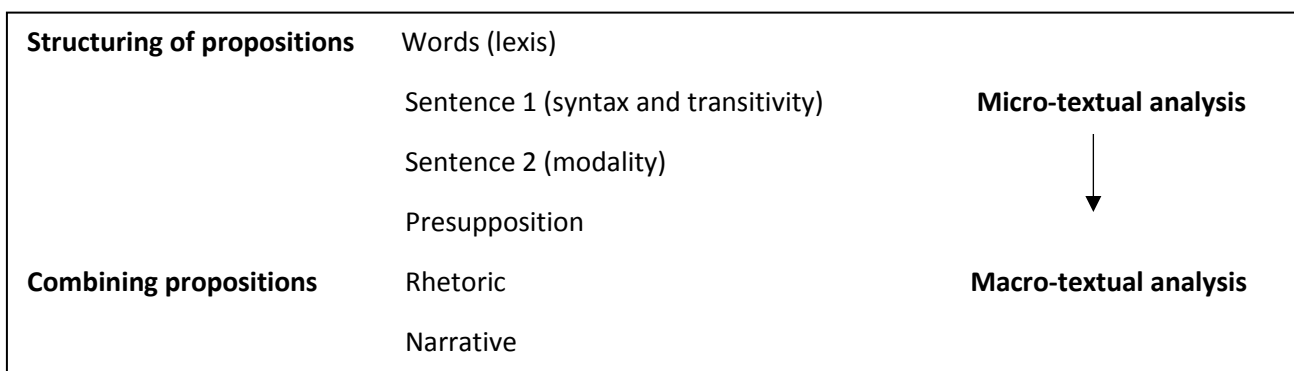
Finally, at the top of the hierarchy, it is necessary to take into account the social context or macro-level of analysis. According to Fairclough, socio-cultural practices are also very important

to understand the text. This may include the context of situation, institutional practices, culture or society in general. CDA analysis of social practices focuses on the reproduction of social relations, from equal to unequal or even discriminatory power manifestations. In those ideological analysis the examination of text structure is useful only if it is understood in the context of a social theory (e.g. nationalism) that influences it.

2.3 Richardson’s Approach

Richardson (2007) explains that Fairclough’s approach is the one he feels more satisfied with since it is more accessible than more theoretical approaches. As in Fairclough’s model, Richardson explains that, in order to fully understand a particular discourse, it is required to take a look at language form and function, as well as the way it is produced or consumed and the relation with a wider society where it takes place. The point of departure is, therefore, the text itself and after this the discursive strategies and the social practices. Elements of vocabulary, grammar or semantics are not important by themselves, but for their direct or indirect relationship with a particular ideology in the context of a specific culture. According to this scholar, there are two major aspects of texts to consider when analysing them: the structuring of propositions, as well as their combination; the first refers to the representation in clauses of actors, processes, and events and the second one has to do with clausal coherent organisation as a whole (Richardson,2007, p.46).

As can be seen in *Figure 2*, following Richardson, two levels of analysis are recognized in the empirical analysis carried out for this investigation: a *micro-textual analysis* (including words, syntax, transitivity, modality or presupposition) and a macro- textual analysis (rhetoric and narrative).



[Figure 2: Richardson’s model](#) (Richardson, 2007, p.47)

For Richardson lexical choice is probably the first stage in micro-textual analysis. Although sometimes we are not aware of it, words are charged with values and thoughts of a particular society. It is necessary to take into account both *denotative* (the direct meaning of a word) and *connotative* (associated with a secondary meaning, something that can be suggested or implied) meanings. Naming should be also analysed since the way people is named can influence on how things are viewed. People have simultaneous identities, roles but the choice of one of them could be of significant importance in a particular moment, when the journalist plays a key role. Those choices can support the speaker or writer's purposes. They also have a textual function since they help to establish cohesive relations in the text by attributing certain qualities or behaviours to a specific person or group. Related to this association is what Van Dijk called *ideological square*, what for him determines choices among referential strategies and it is characterised by a positive self-presentation and a negative other-presentation. As previously mentioned, it is also required to pay attention to the way words are chosen to represent in a more direct way the values and characteristics of social actors. In fact, predication involves those strategies used to assign qualities to persons, animals or objects.

Another important aspect in discourse analysis is syntax and transitivity. While reading a newspaper the reader is not aware of the importance of the study of syntax in discourse construction. Transitivity refers to the relationship between participants and the role participants have, which is very important here. Behind the events journalists are narrating, there are processes. In English there are four different types of processes: verbal, mental, relational and material (divided into transitive, involving two or more participants, and intransitive, involving just one participant) ones. Fairclough explains that linguistic choices involving processes are crucial. For instance, the choice between active and passive has side effects in terms of agency omission or objectivity, as well as regarding the focalization on a subject participant that is affected by positive or negative actions. All these are important dimension in the political scene. Moreover, the circumstances associated with processes can be changed by *extra-contextualization* (with prepositional or adverbial phrases).

Also related to transitivity, modality refers to judgments, comments or attitudes in text or talk; for Richardson mentions, modality provides also the links between content and function, apart from the link between form and function. As argued in Halliday's Systemic Function Linguistics (SFL) modality is generally signalled through the use of modal verbs (*may, could, should, could, will*, etc), their negations or adverbs (e.g. *certainly*). More precisely, modality has two mains manifestations: *truth modality* (scale of options from something categorical towards different degrees of certainty) and *obligation modality* (more focused on the future, the speaker

or writers predicts about the course of events). Richardson further explains that modal verbs and adverbs tend to be more heavily used in editorials and columns in journalistic discourse.

Finally, he analyses presupposition, which occurs when a proposition *q* is presupposed by *p*, if it is implied by *p* as well as by *non-p*. Sometimes there are some hidden meanings, so the reader has to infer them. There are several strategies to be used: state verbs (*stop, begin, continue*), implicative verbs (*manage, forget*), determiners (especially definite articles or demonstratives) and wh-questions (*who, why* or *when*). There is also an especial type called nominal presupposition by means of nouns or adjectives.

At the macro-textual level textual level, Richardson distinguishes two main strategies: rhetorical tropes and narrative. As previously pointed out, journalistic discourse tries to persuade the reader to adopt the same point of view, so journalists use rhetorical tropes such as hyperbole, metaphor or metonym. In few words, tropes use words and its denotative and connotative meanings to play with them with a purpose and very often to suggest other meanings. On the one hand, hyperbole is a way of speaking with an excessive exaggeration, as in the headline *Bambi turns to killer* (Richardson, 2007, p.65). Another widely-used trope is metaphor, which implies the perception of one thing in terms of another. For instance, *war is business* was a widely-used metaphor during the Iraq War. Furthermore, metonymy can also be used, implying a change in an association that people normally have in mind, normally belonging to a semantically similar field or reference. Wodak specifies a number of metonymic references such as the substitution of the cause/creator by the product (*the Antiterrorism, Crime and Security Act 2001 criminalises Muslims*) the user of the object replaced by the object (*Rachel Corrie was killed by an Israeli bulldozer*), people replaced by a place (*The White House declared*) or events replaced by the date when they occurred (*September 11th must never be allowed to occur again*). .

Moving on to narrative, it refers to the study of news stories, that is to say, the contents of the news as well as the way in which they are presented. A distinction is made between *narrative content* and *narrative form*. On the one hand, the narrative content is the sequence of events as they occurred in the story, the plot. They are normally structured in an introduction of characters, setting, a complication and a climax with the final resolution.

On the other hand, the narrative form is the sequence in which events are presented to the reader. As Richardson claims, hard news narratives are organized according to the inverted pyramid, where the most important information is placed at the beginning and uses the lead

paragraph to answer the five *w-questions* (*who, what, where, why* and *when*). They rarely follow a chronological structure since the most salient information is placed at the beginning. Following the three-part structure mentioned before, the order is as follows: the complication (the event itself), the setting and then the outcome of the story. Despite of that, the inverted pyramid is not the only way of structuring information and occasionally the writer leaves the important information in a secondary place. Sometimes the report begins with a pronoun with no specific references and progressively the journalist reveals more information. This is named *cataphoric reference* and it consists on a pronoun that refers forward to its co-referent. To sum up narratives are, on one level, the result or product of our culture and values. The form of those cultural assumptions is object of debate.

For a deeper analysis the author suggests the study of discursive practices, that is, the processes through journalists produces texts and, at the same time, the readers use and understand them. This may include *intertextuality*, one of the main points of Fairclough's model of CDA. It is based on the idea that texts are not produced in isolation since they exist and they are understood due to their realtions with other texts. Two different types of intertextuality are distinguished: *manifest intertextuality* (how quotes are selected and treated) and *constitutive intertextuality* (how texts are made by means of generic conventions, register or style). For Youseffi *et al* (2013, p.1346) both direct and indirect are very significant since they made include the reinterpretations of events giving more projection to one particular groups wheras others are silenced. As Richardson (2007, p.105-106) points out, news narration needs the reproduction of actions and other people's opinions of others since it may add information through comments, declarations of the protagonist of the event narrated or just background information. It is convenient to refer to the different strategies when quoting:

- Direct quotation: the exact words are reproduced (*'Susan said: "We did two shows in English when we first joined, that were already booked, at Rotters in Doncastter and Liverpool. I was 17" '*)
- Strategic quotation: the direct speech or thoughts are placed between quotation marks to indicate its contentious nature (*'Jury hears father's 999 call admitting 'murder' of son'*)
- Indirect quotation: here the journalits writes a summary of what it was said or written, but not the exact words (*'Tory leaders are **pledging** to slash public by spending by £35 billion'*)

- Transformed indirect quotation: as direct quotation it uses quotation marks but it changes reporting verbs (e.g. *say, accuse, allege*) and replaces them with transitive actions (e.g. *discover, reveal*) or mental state verbs (e.g. *believe*), as in ‘*A survey of 4,300 cancer patients by the National Audit Office **found** widespread improvement in services provided by the NHS since 2000*’
- Ostensible quotation: the structure of the clause entails direct quotation but it is different since it is created. It is very used, for instance, in satyric publications (e.g. ‘*Yes, I was a 20-franc tart. No, you can’t be a Labour MP*’)

Finally, it should be kept in mind that news articles come from some prior texts² that arrive at journals as fully formed news reports. Press agencies such as Reuters, the Press Association (PA) or Agence France Presse (AFP) sell that copies to some newspapers. Sometimes these events are included in a newspaper in a very similar way to the original that they are mentioned at the beginning of the article. However, they are modified in accordance to specific requirements of journal such as style or space. As Richardson points out (*ibid*, p.106), it is possible to see two newspapers using the same news agency report, allowing the reader to see how newspapers shape the information according to the target audience or the political ideology.

2.4 Wodak’s Discourse- Historical Approach

Ruth Wodak -a sociolinguist- and her co-workers are the leaders of the Discourse-Historical approach (henceforth DHA) within CDA, which will also be endorsed in the empirical analysis. According to Van Dijk (2009, p.270), it attempts to integrate systematically all available background information in the analysis and interpretation at different levels of written and spoken texts. Wodak claims that it is not possible to come up with a good analysis of a text without taking a look at its context or speech circumstances, as explained by Echitchi (2017, p.11). These include not only time and place, but also some other factors such as cognitive circumstances or background knowledge, closely linked to the historical context. Many linguists have pointed out that discourse is not arbitrary and it

² Prior text: ‘what people expect to say or hear, write or see in a given context and how they expect it to sound or look’. In Johnstone, Barbara. (2018). *Discourse analysis*. New York: Wiley Blackwell (p.179)

is defined by its content. They also claim that political discourse can be only defined as such through the socio-historical context, thereby a non-context-oriented approach is not possible. Generally, it uses a political speech as a point of departure, but fundamentally it goes back to Van Dijk's sociocognitive approach by 'assuming different types of schemata which are important for text production and text comprehension' (Van Dijk, 2009, p. 267). As Wodak points out, there are three steps in order to understand correctly a text: a) the identification of the themes that are pervasive in given pieces; b) the description of strategies which are used to foster those contents; c) the presentation of linguistic resources used to realize those strategies.

In short, Discourse-Historical Approach combines historical study, contextual information and the analysis of linguistic choices to make sense of discourse. For Wodak systematic qualitative analysis in DHA takes into account four main levels: the intertextual and interdisciplinary relationships between utterances, genres and discourses; the extra-linguistic social and sociological variables; the history and archaeology of texts and organizations and the institutional frames of the specific context of situation. Four main strategies are used when using Wodak's model of CDA:

- Continuation: follow the steps of the pioneers of that presupposed nation, so history is very important here. In addition to that, national legacy has to be kept in an adequate way.
- Assimilation: create an illusion of an imaged united nation in terms of language, culture and history.
- Cohesivation: call for collective efforts to achieve their goal- independence-
- Singularisation: definition of the nation and unique and special. It presents the nation as distinct (and, therefore, better) from the rest of the country.

Chapter 3: Macro-level of CDA. National identities

3.1 Nationalism

Over recent decades, the political debate in Catalonia have been dominated by what it is called *the national question*, that is to say, how is the relationship between Catalonia and Spain, as well as with the European Union. Before starting it is necessary to explain what nationalism means: it is defined as a political phenomenon trying to defend the interest of a particular nation; as Rivoire (2013, pp.8-13) it should be distinguished from patriotism that

intends to preserve the dominance of one particular group over another. Only recognizing the existence of that nation but not the other way around. It is essential to make a distinction between a more traditional definition of nationalism (related to violent movements to achieve independence) and modern trends of nationalism, trying to achieve its goals in a peaceful way.

Although many scholars (Michael Keating or Etherington, to name but a few) have paid attention to this topic, no general theory of nationalism has been able to explain a wide variety of nationalist movements that have emerged over time and space. In fact, it is not easy to explain that concept because it refers to an abstract notion. On the one hand, nationalism is very often considered more a territorial question rather than a political one, although it is widely used by politicians to exercise power in the name of the nation. It is required to take into account when dealing with nationalism that there is a mixture between ideology and political praxis, as it is possible to see in Spanish politics since 1978: non-nationalist parties agree with the necessity of a special recognition for each of the historical nations of Spain (the Spanish constitution of 1978 recognised three: Galicia, Basque Country and Catalonia), but nationalist have asked the government for benefits for a single nation. This complexity is strengthened due to the flexibility of nationalism, as well as its capacity to be presented as a collective enterprise, appealing to all members of an imagined community. In this respect it is sometimes considered a racist or xenophobic ideology since it is necessary to establish the boundaries of that group. Another key feature of nationalism is its emotionality: it is a common strategy that they appeal to that feeling of belonging to a particular group by means of symbols, the valuation of their own culture, etc.

In the field of small nationalism movements, the scholar Michael Keating (2004) is one of the most influential authors. For him European integrations have fostered these movements by providing them with a discursive space so nationalism can claim more power and autonomy. Another feature he discusses is the fact that these movements try to use a normative language to point out a civic nature of their cause so as to increase the legitimacy of that demands. If we take a look at official documents created by the Generalitat of Catalonia (2014), the regional government, they appeal to self-determination on the basis of two major arguments: the principle of democracy (so they have the right to decide about their own future) and the principle of right of all national communities (they defend that the Statue passed in 2006 recognized Catalonia as a nation). As Anderson (1983) suggests, total homogeneity is not achievable in modern states.

In order to find the roots of this phenomenon it is also necessary to go back in history. Catalonia was initially a confederation of several counties. After this period, it was incorporated to the Kingdom of Aragon, although it preserved its local administration, as it happened with the union of the Castilia-Aragonese confederation. Due to its geographical situation, it was very often a cause of conflict between Spain and France, so some Catalan dependencies were annexed by the neighbouring country. Especially problematic was Nueva Planta Decree in the eighteenth century since Spain was made a unitary country governed from Castile by King Phillip V. From this moment onwards, Spain will be a very centralized country, which will have an impact reinforcing Catalan nationalism.

The first reference to Spain as a *socio-political* concept is also found in the Constitution of Cadiz (1812). In the early twentieth century Catalonia earned the restoration of its local government. Nonetheless, with the dictatorship of Francisco Franco it lost again some degree of autonomy achieved during the Spanish Second Republic (1931) and any attempt to assert Catalan identity was rejected. At the end of this period, the Spanish Constitution (1978) recognized the region as one of the historical nations of Spain, which gave it a special status reinforced with a Statue of Autonomy (1979). This statue was substituted by another statue passed in 2006 but in 2010 the Spanish Constitutional Court made considerable reductions to this statue passed by both the Catalan and the Spanish parliaments and approved in a referendum by Catalans. Since then, the region has experienced ongoing social- and political- tensions over its autonomy.

To defend this issue Catalan nationalism relies on three main aspects: on the one hand, an economic grievance promoted by the Spanish state (so there is a gap between the money they pay to Spain and the quantity they receive back). On the other hand, they understand self-determination as a right to decide in a democratic way and, finally, the conception of Catalonia as a nation. Especially relevant was November 9th 2014, when a symbolic vote to claim the right to decide on political future took place. In 2017, on 1st of October, the Catalan government called for an independence referendum. The Spanish government tried to stop it, but the vote took place despite the official warnings. The event ended up with the Spanish government invoking the article 155 of the Spanish Constitution reflected on the suspension of regional autonomy. This is one of the most controversial events in the relationship between Spain and Catalonia since it has divided Catalan and Spanish societies in pro-

independentists (known as *separatists*) and people against Catalan independence movement (known as *unionists*).

In order to find international support in their fight for independence, Catalan nationalism has argued that two similar cases can be found: Quebec and Scotland. In the case of Europe, it has undergone a long process of integration of all its members in order to create a community since the end of Second World War. Although the European Union has been advantageous for many countries, there is an increasingly social unrest over the last few years due to the economic crisis. This has also fostered *Euroscepticism*, which influenced other events such as the Brexit Referendum. Most member states have become multicultural centres where some dissenting voices have emerged to denounce the lack of recognition of certain groups, demanding more pluralism. In Europe this rise of nationalism is directly related to the right of self-determination. In both Catalonia and Scotland, the presence of nationalist parties is important and they have similar circumstances (an existing nationalist feeling or a dispute with the central government). Nevertheless, there are some differences: regarding Catalonia, the referendum contravenes the Spanish constitution, whereas in the United Kingdom territorial integrity is not legally recognized. Besides, the Scottish referendum in 2014 was agreed, whereas Catalan authorities broke the law during October 1st 2017. Furthermore, there is a historical debate: it very often discussed if Catalonia has ever been independent from Spain, while Scotland has been independent from the UK until the eighteenth century.

In the case of Quebec, the situation is slightly different. Traditionally, nationalism has not necessarily been separatist and the conflict is derived from colonialism: after being a French colony, it was conquered by the British Empire so a marginalisation of francophone background took place, which led to an increasing national feeling. In fact, party that has ruled Quebec for many years -the *Parti Québécois*, supporter of Quebec's independence- has promoted an impulse for this French minority. This region, as Catalonia, has already undergone two referendums: one in 1980 and the other in 1995. Although this question was not recognized in Canadian legal system, the government asked the courts of justice for legal advice. The court answered that the unilateral right to secession was not recognized by international laws and the referendum needs for a constitutional reform, supported by a referendum. If that was the case, the referendum would need a broad support and some negotiations were needed to establish the terms of the separation, as it happens with the Brexit. For this a law known as the *Clarity Act* was passed in order to clarify a hypothetical

scenario of secession. Since this law was passed, the supporters of independence have decreased. As previously mentioned, in Spain the law recognizes the integrity of the territory so a constitutional reform where the whole country would vote is required. This is rejected by Catalan nationalists since they want Catalan citizen to decide about their future by their own. After its independence, the region would automatically leave the European Union.

3.2 Identity question

It is important to take into account the connection between identity and discourse since identity is very often reproduced in discourse. It has been pointed out that there is a clear relationship between the origin of national consciousness, the collapse of Latin and the increasing publication of books in the vernacular languages. In fact, language choice and other aspects of discourse can be considered major markers of identity. Guibernau (2007) also points out the awareness about individuality is a relatively recent phenomenon. This scholar relates it to the emergence of modern societies, as well as the differentiation of the division of labour. From the Middle Ages society finished operating on the basis of lineage, gender, social status and other attributes, so people began to think as individuals. This prestige of the individual reached a high-time in the nineteenth century, but it declined again in the twentieth century when a devaluation of the individual took place. The main point is, therefore, who I am?

Identity is often considered a definition, an interpretation of the individual according to a system of psychological and social terms, recognizing the other. For Guibernau (*ibid*) identity is defined by continuity (the conception of a nation as *historically rooted*, taking into account the future) and differentiation from others (forming a distinctive community with a shared culture, past, language, etc).

Within identity, we should refer to *national identity*. This is generally defined as a collective feeling based in a sense of belonging to a particular community, with some shared features that makes it different from other nations. It is very often considered a fluid, dynamic, modern phenomenon, as previously discussed. The elements on which this identity is based may remain the same or they may vary; scholars of nationalism warn us

about the subjectivity of national identity's components. The belief in a common ancestry, a common language, history or territory have been used when talking about national identity. Some of these features may be attributed to a nation-state individual, but some of them are shared with those belonging to nations without state such as Catalonia. Significant events of the time when some nations were independent, powerful or free are invoked to strengthen the sense of belonging to that community both if it lacks its own state or not. For Guibernau (2007) national identity has five different dimensions:

- Psychological dimension: it emerges from the awareness of forming a group on the basis of felt closeness. She explains that national identity is fundamentally based on a feeling so it is mainly psychological and non-rational. Politics, aware of the power of national identity, very often charge events emotionally so that they mobilize people.
- Cultural dimension: it includes values, beliefs, practices, customs or languages, which form the culture of a nation and it also has an emotional component on the surface. This fosters the collaboration and solidarity between members of a particular group and, at the same time, they incorporate those elements as part of themselves. Communication is here transcendental and it is required to share the same language in order to understand each other, strengthening national identity.
- Historical dimension: members of a particular group usually feel proud -and even superior- of their past. Nations usually turn to crucial moments of history both admirable and painful events, creating a collective memory. As Guibernau (*ibid*) points out, history get people closer to their ancestors, and strengthen the feeling of belonging to a group.
- Territorial dimension: actually, people's identity is determined by the role they have within a limited territory. People usually have more sense of that territory thanks to education. In national identity people very often sees the territory as their home; it was necessary a change to achieve that since many people have not travelled around their country so they could not imagine its extension. Thanks to print and media in general, people is more aware of this dimension. The landscape and national resources are very important likewise.
- Political dimension: it is related to the modern nation-state idea of a homogeneous group, selecting and imposing the language and culture of the dominant group. This is achieved by means of national media and a national education system.

Chapter 4: Meso-level of CDA. Journalistic discourse

The role of journalism in society has been widely discussed. Some people believe that journalism aims to just entertain people, which is not true since politicians very often try to control them due to the power they can exert. Although this is true, journalism gives voice to different people, including those who lack power. It is compulsory to make a distinction between propaganda and journalism; in propaganda powerful people's opinions are promoted and circulated, whereas in journalism the situation is more balanced. Many have also argued that journalism is a business. For Richardson (2007, p.7) this is true, but he affirms that what is more important is the fact that it helps us to better understand the world we live in and our position as citizens. Apart from these functions, the form of journalism should be also examined. Many people can understand the meaning of a text or what the writer wants to convey, but it is more difficult to identify how this is achieved depending on the writer's goal (it is not the same a sport commentary than an interview). The issue of bias is also important: some readers identify that ideology, but is not easy to come out with an explanation to support our statements. There are also some variables to discuss about journalistic discourse: how it is produced, how texts function or how arguments are shaped to win people's support by producing or reproducing social inequalities.

Over the last few years online journalism is becoming a trend, with some newspapers stopping their printed editions by online ones. Although some people criticized it, both online and printed journalism are considered forms of disseminating information, despite the fact that they use different of delivery. In fact, online journalism has some strengths as opposed to more traditional journalism: as it is not so constrained space- and economic-wise as traditional journalism, online journalism allows for more information to be permanently accessible and easily updated, or even commented upon and shared by the readership. Furthermore, online journalism is multimedia, so texts, images, graphics or audios are combined, allowing to include links to similar or related texts. Despite its many advantages, online journalism also has some flaws: although it is more accessible, there is too much information so it is not so easy to filter it. Readers should be aware of the existence of fake news, as well as of other problematic issues such as authorship and plagiarism.

4.1 Media systems

In such a globalized world, media are very influential in modern societies, with an advantageous position in informing about and for society, as suggested by Perales-Garcia & Pont-Sorribes (2008, p.149), among others. In fact, the comparisons between media systems are recent because in previous times it was thought that it was not possible to compare different systems. However, it is necessary to be careful when comparing media systems since they report on realities that are not always experienced first-hand, and the ways events are reporting on affect the organization of information and the way we process, which in turn has an impact on our thinking. Media are also very influential in politics from their origin onwards since journalists thought that it was their role to influence on public opinion, an idea that would change in the nineteenth century. Today they still preserve an ideological component. The role of the state was to regulate media as it was the prompter of their appearance. Furthermore, the influence of media on identity should be also considered since identity is nurtured by the media through their power over society.

Hallin and Mancini (2008) proposed a triangular differentiation of dynamic media systems, represented in *Figure 3*, which enables us to distinguish three different models: the *Mediterranean or Polarized Pluralist Model*, the *North/Central European or Democratic Corporatist Model* and the *North Atlantic or Liberal Model*. We are going to focus on the Mediterranean Model, as well as in the North Atlantic Model since they are the relevant ones for this research.

As regards the Mediterranean Model, it is characterised by its close relationship with political power, as well as for being an elite-oriented press. It is present in countries such as Spain, Portugal or Greece, where democracy and industrialization took place latter as opposed to other European countries. With the consolidation of democracy, high degree of political parallelism was preserved, in newspapers (the commercial press did not develop as strongly as in the other models) as well as in broadcasting. It is frequent media instrumentalization with political aims, so they deviate from one of the main principles of journalism: neutrality. There are certain problematic elements in this model: a narrow readership of printed press; a large gender gap in the readership; some elements of an authoritarian culture, which means that people have limited access to public information; some attempts to avoid critical journalism or the instrumentalization of media as previously mentioned. Despite this, people enjoy media pluralism where different views have place.

Concerning the North Atlantic Model, it has been dominated by an informational aim and political neutrality. It is frequently considered the ideal model, although some people disagree with this idea (official statistics show that British people feel little confident with press, with one of the lowest levels of trust within the EU). This is related to an early consolidation of democracy -as it happens with Britain- as well other political and social events related to their history (for example, the industrialization). This would lead to a strong development of commercial press, together with a long tradition of *fact-centred* information and respect for the objectivity principle. In this case the intervention of the state is more limited if compared with the other models. Especially in the case of Britain -and to a certain extent in Ireland or Canada- with a considerable importance of broadcasting and a party-press parallelism in the press, with a clear *partisan* imbalance and a high degree of instrumentalization; the same happens with the American press, with a lack of diversity.

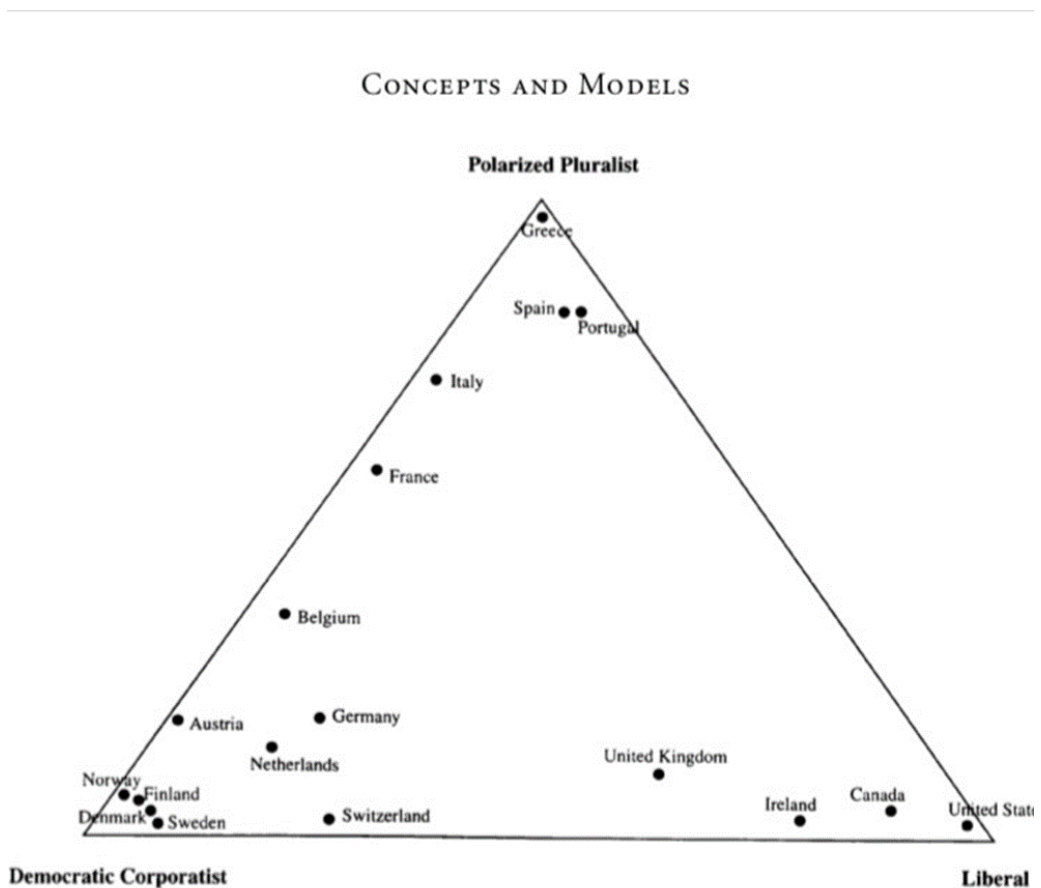


Figure 3: [Media systems](#) according to Hallin & Mancini (2008, p.70)

4.2 Domestication of news

Gurevitch et al explains that comparison between media systems allow to prove that foreign news have been included in the priorities of television, changing their traditional priorities. This is related to globalisation and an increasing and potentially global interest (Gurevitch *et al*,1993, p.205). For them those foreign stories have the interest more commonly reserved to domestic affairs of interest for the audience. Taking this into account, it is possible to claim that television combine both global and culturally specific orientations. In order to do that, televisions use frameworks that make foreign events more comprehensible, appealing and relevant for the audience. In addition to that, they adapt those events so that they are more compatible with the culture and the dominant ideology. This is problematic as it promotes uncritical assumptions about media globalization. They argue that the domestication of news can be considered 'a countervailing force to pull of globalization' (*ibid*, p.206), so the readers should be careful about that since the same events are told in different and even contradictory ways.

There is another phenomenon called *agenda setting theory*. It was first developed by McCombs and his co-worker Shaw in 1972. Entman (2007, pp.163-173) defines it as the influenced exerted by media in configuring public and governmental agendas. For Perales-Garcia & Pont-Sorribes (2018) this refers to how the most important media issues reflected priority themes for the public and, thus, the impact of the media agenda on the public agenda. The importance of this theory is that, in a sense, it conditions what people think about and the way they do that. Those scholars explain that media construct symbolic universes that are not helpful to achieve a certain degree of consensus based on solidarity and dialogue. They point out that media adopt their discourses to the territorial scope of the target consumers of their new stories, as previously explained. It is necessary to take into account the concept of framing, very used in political communication research over the last few decades. It is understood as the ways by which certain aspects of reality are chosen and emphasized in a text with a particular purpose, in such a way that a specific definition, causal interpretation, moral judgement or recommendation for finding out the solution for a problem or situation is put forward.

Part II

Newspapers as agenda fixers are more influential than other media

(Perales-Garcia & Pont-Sorribes, p.153)

Chapter 5: Corpus, methodology and research questions

5.1 Corpus

The data of this study is based on the coverage of the events taking place in Catalonia in October 1, 2017 by Spanish and English press, retrieved from the online versions of those newspapers. Four news items reproduced in corresponding appendices (see *Figure 4*) were extracted from four online newspapers: *The New York Times* (TNYT), *The Daily Telegraph* (TDT), *ABC* and *El País* (EP). The aggregated data includes news texts from October 2nd 2017, the day after the referendum took place. The selection of news is due to the following reasons: two news items from corresponding Spanish papers were selected because the events under scrutiny happened in Spain. It was considered interesting to see whether differences on the way reality is reported on could be related to the national-international press factor. To make the analysis clearer, two ideologically different newspapers have been chosen: one more conservative, (*ABC*) and one more progressist (*El País*). The news appearing in two comparable newspapers in Britain and America were also chosen, to expand the contrastive perspective, so as to include not only the English-Spanish linguistic contrast, but also the American versus the European perspective. This analysis combines quantitative and qualitative explanations.

Headline	Source	Abbreviation	Date of Publication
1 Catalonia Leader Seek to Make Independence Referendum Binding (see <i>Appendix 1</i>)	<i>The New York Times</i>	<i>TNYT</i>	2 October 2017
2 Catalonia referendum violence plunges EU into a crisis as '90pc of voters back independence' (see <i>Appendix 2</i>)	<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>	<i>TDT</i>	2 October 2017
3 1-O: un referendun fracasado que deja España dañada (see <i>Appendix 3</i>)	<i>ABC</i>	<i>ABC</i>	2 October 2017
4 Rajoy recurre a la fuerza policial para descabezar el referéndun ilegal (see <i>Appendix 4</i>)	<i>El País</i>	<i>EP</i>	2 October 2017

[Figure 4: News selection](#) (Own elaboration)

Newspapers

The New York Times and The Daily Telegraph have been chosen because they belong to the North Atlantic or Liberal Model. *TNYT* is very often considered the American newspaper par excellence since it is a reference for public opinion-it has won the Pulitzer Prize one hundred and twenty-five times-. According to official data, it is ranked the second in circulation in the US. It is considered a liberal newspaper-closer to democrats than republicans- and it regularly includes transcripts of important debates and discourses. *TDT*, on the other hand, is a national British daily broadsheet newspaper. It is widely valued for its prestige and quality, being recognized by the BBC as one of the world's great titles. In modern times, it has been considered a conservative newspaper, close to Conservative Party and its organization structure. During the 2014 Scottish Independence Referendum it supported *Better Together*, the official against-independence campaign.

In contrast, *ABC* and *El País* represent the Mediterranean or Polarized Pluralist Model. Firstly, *ABC* is one of the largest newspapers in Spain- the third one largest general-interest, according to official statistics of the OJD-. It is also the oldest newspaper operating in Madrid. It is widely defined as conservative (liberalism conservative), monarchical and catholic, interested in the unity of Spain or the defence of public order and the army. Its neutrality has been questioned due to its exaggeration, the bias of some news and the phobias it generates. On the other hand, *EP* is, according to official statistics, the second most circulated newspapers in Spain, as the Office of Justification for Disseminations' (OJD) data showed last year. It emerged after the end of Franco's dictatorship related to the need of the Spanish audience for a more European, progressist newspaper. It is usually considered a centre-left newspaper. Maria José Canel (Córdoba Hernández, 2009, pp.233-234) consider that *EP* has an analytic profile, using a discursive and logic drafting, so enumerations are frequent. Moreover, it presents at the end some conclusions after presenting the different points of view. For this author, it provides a lot of background information and it has an impersonal when expressing its ideology, although some adverbs or expressions that blur the presupposed objectivity of journalism (such as *como era de suponer, es de esperar que or previsiblemente*).

5.2 Methodology

As already explain in chapter 2, this study adheres to Fairclough's three-dimensional approach to CDA as applied by Richardson (2007) to analyse journalistic discourse. Accordingly, in chapter 6, corresponding sections will be devoted to the analysis of:

- Lexical choice
- Naming and reference
- Predication
- Syntax, transitivity and modality
- Presupposition
- Rhetorical tropes
- Narrative
- Intertextuality

In addition, insights from Wodak's DHA will be also incorporated in section 6.5.

5.3 Data exploitation

Two main tools were used to extract the quantitative data: *Wmatrix4* and *AntConc*. On the one hand, *Wmatrix4*³ is a software tool for corpus analysis and comparison, developed by Paul Rayson in 2012. It allows you to carry out a statistical analysis of linguistic features in online corpora by frequencies lists and concordances. It extends the keywords method to key grammatical categories and key semantic domains.

*AntConc*⁴, on the other hand, is a freeware corpus analysis tool for concordances and text analysis. It allows you to carry on a key-word-in-context search, identify word patterns, use more specific search queries or looking at statistically significant differences between corpora.

In order to exploit the data, it was first necessary to follow a step-by- step process to upload and exploit the materials. After devising the searches best suited for our purposes, results were retrieved in conformity to the parameters previously selected.

³ Lancaster University Webpage. Retrieved from <<http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/wmatrix/>>

⁴ Laurence Anthony's Website. Retrieved from: < <https://www.laurenceanthony.net/software.html>>

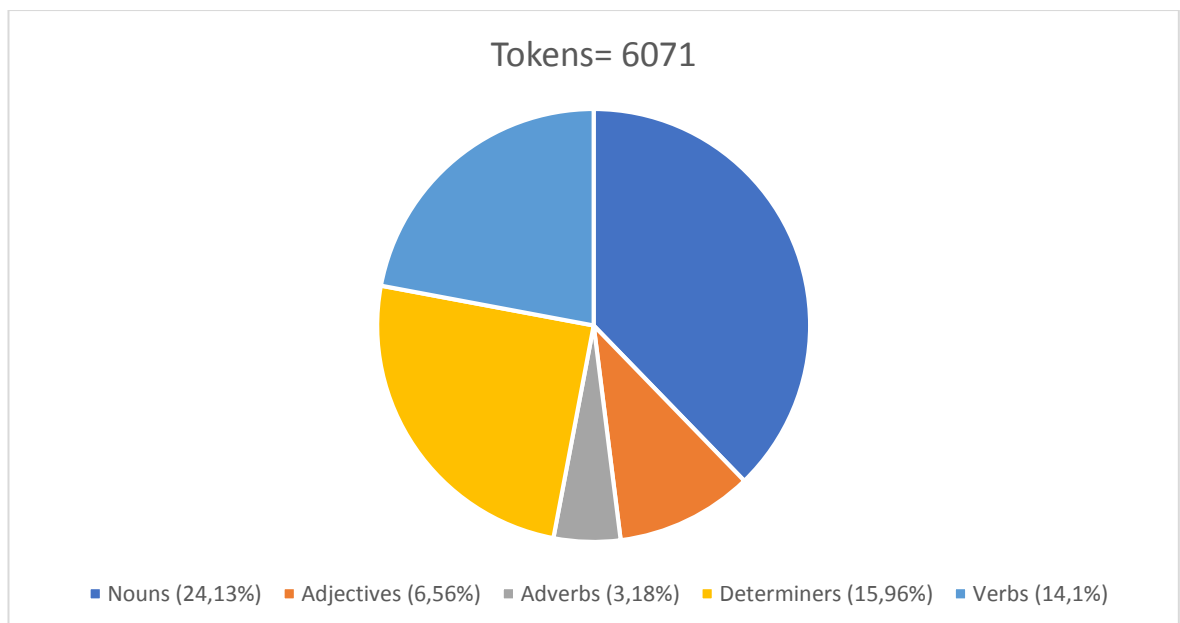
5.4 Research questions

In order to set a clear goal for this research, rather than being a mere analysis, I consider relevant to answer two main questions after an exhaustive analysis of different newspaper articles related to the issue of Catalanian referendum on October 2nd 2017:

1. Are there any differences or similarities in the linguistic choices made across the four news items used for this analysis?
2. Is journalistic discourse used in these news biased? If so, how?

Chapter 6: Micro-level of analysis. Discussion of results

As will be explained in the following sections a total of 6071 lexical items were analysed as can be seen in *Figure 5*. They were the basis for the quantitative and qualitative analyses reported on this section.



[Figure 5: Distribution of tokens](#)

6.1 Micro-textual analysis

6.1.1 Lexical choice

As can be observed in Table 1, among the most frequent nouns used across the four newspapers are Proper or common nouns referring to the main participants involved in the

facts. Interestingly enough, the international press, particularly *TNYT*, seems to prioritize the angle provided by the separatists as such independence (with a frequency of 12), *Puigdemont* (only politician's name in the first 10 ranks) and *Catalonia* (with a frequency of 8 and 11, respectively) are used more frequently. These participants are presented as antagonist of the unionist's position adopted by the government and Spain (with a frequency of 15 in *TDT*), which is associated with the police in a context of violence (with corresponding frequencies of 13 and 9 in *TDT*). In contrast, the Spanish press news items focuses more on institutional nouns like *gobierno*, *colegios* or *Generalitat* (not mentioned in the international press in the first ranks), with the word *referendum* coming second in rank in both *ABC* and *EP*.

Rank	TNYT	F	TDT	F	ABC	F	EP	F
1	police	13	government	15	gobierno	11	Colegios	14
2	independence	12	police	13	referéndum	10	Referéndum	14
3	Sunday	11	Spain	11	Generalitat	9	Jornada	10
4	Spanish	11	EU	9	jornada	8	Generalitat	9
5	Puigdemont	10	referendum	9	colegios	7	Gobierno	8
6	Monday	9	violence	9	Cataluña	6	Policía	8
7	Spain	9	Catalonia	8	presidente	6	Garantías	8
8	Government	8	people	6	estado	5	Fuerza	7
9	Catalonia	8	independence	5	Hecho	5	Situación	7
10	Leader	7	Mr	5	personas	5	Cataluña	6

[Table 1: Noun frequencies \(complete list on Appendix 1\)](#)

It is also important to go back to what Van Dijk called *ideological square*. For him this phenomenon determines choices among referential strategies and it is characterised by a positive self-presentation and a negative other-presentation. In this case it is possible to find some examples when referring to police intervention during the referendum. For example, in *ABC*- more conservative- there is a clear difference when describing the role of police forces: while the National Police (despite the violence used during the riots) was fulfilling their duty, the autonomous police force (*Mossos D'Esquadra*) were passive; this idea is reinforced by some

intensifiers such as *absoluta*, referring police action. However, the other Spanish journal (*EP*) puts the emphasis on the violent police action by the Spanish security forces. On the English-speaking side, both *TDT* and *TNYT* also refer to the violent scenes during police intervention. In fact, as shown in *Table 1*, *police* is quite mentioned in *TNYT*, *ABC* and *EP*. It is also interesting to analyse the case of the word *benemérita*, mentioned in *ABC*. This word has two meanings: on the one hand it is defined by the Dictionary of the Spanish Royal Academy of the Language as something that is worthy of award, but it is used as the surname for Civil Guard, one of the Spanish police forces. This security force, created in the nineteenth century, was awarded with the *Gran Cruz de la Orden Civil de Beneficencia* thanks to its contribution to the security of the population. Besides, there is another clear example of ideological square in *TDT* where some declarations of the former Catalan president Puigdemont are collected. He refers to the 1st October 2017 as *a day of hope and suffering*. This is a very common feature of nationalist discourse where the construction of one side implies the destruction of the other one. By saying that, they are appealing to an emotional component, trying to win people's support. They want to transmit an idea of Spain as an oppressive country expressed through linguistic structures. In that sense it is striking the fact that the word *separatist* only appears in *TNYT*, while it is not mentioned in the other articles since it is widely used in Spain in the political debate. Due to the polarization of both Catalan and Spanish societies, *separatist* has substituted the noun *nationalists* to refer to people supporting Catalan independence movement.

6.1.2 Predication

Following Richardson's model described in Part I, this section focuses on predication as expressed by lexical choices other than nouns (described in the previous section) and processes (scrutinized in Section 6.1.4). Accordingly, the frequencies and function of the following categories are examined: adjectives, adverbs and determiners.

First of all, it is very important to analyse the use of adjectives since the way reports on reality are adjectivised affects the way reality is reconstructed by writers and readership. On the one hand, as can be seen in *Table 2*, there are some matches: *Catalan*, *Spanish* and *European* are widely used in *TNYT* or *TDT*, while Spanish newspapers are more focused on other adjectives such as *ilegal*, *legal*, *electoral* or *policial*.

As regards adverbs the most widely-used adverb across the different journalistic article is the adverb of negation, as shown in *Table 3*. In the case of the Spanish articles, the most frequent ones are adverbs of time (*ayer*, *ahora*, *cuando*, *ya*, *mientras*) or space (*dentro*). In *TDT* or *TNYT* there are more diverse types of adverbs: *also*, *almost*, *very*...

Rank	TNYT	F	TDT	F	ABC	F	EP	F
1	Catalan	15	Spanish	11	Catalán	4	electorales	9
2	Spanish	11	Catalan	9	electoral	4	civil	4
3	European	4	European	8	heridos	3	nacional	4
4	national	3	illegal	5	electorales	2	policiales	4
5	Human	2	foreign	4	grave	2	electoral	3
6	Leftist	2	human	4	graves	2	general	3
7	Main	2	constitutional	3	ilegal	2	gran	2
8	Major	2	independent	3	nacional	2	legal	2
9	regional	2	injured	3	policial	2	numerosas	2
10	unilateral	2	prime	3	propia	2	público	2

[Table 2: Adjective frequencies \(see complete list on Appendix 6\)](#)

Rank	TNYT	F	TDT	F	ABC	F	EP	F
1	Not	8	No	5	no	8	no	10
2	No	5	Not	3	más	7	también	7
3	Even	4	Yes	3	ayer	5	cuando	6
4	After	3	Again	2	durante	4	ayer	4
5	Almost	3	Daily	2	solo	3	más	4
6	Also	3	Today	2	adelante	2	dentro	2
7	Around	2	Very	2	ahora	2	todavía	2
8	Firmly	2	When	2	cuando	2	así	1
9	Later	2	yesterday	2	mientras	2	claramente	1
10	Very	2	across	1	ya	2	completamente	1

[Table 3: Adverb frequencies \(see complete list on Appendix 7\)](#)

Finally, the most frequent types of determiners are clearly the definite and indefinite articles in all newspapers, as can be seen in *Table 4*. Although it is not very frequent, it is interesting to analyse the use of the first-person plural pronoun in nationalist movements. For example, Puigdemont tends to use this pronoun to speak on behalf of the citizens of Catalonia (*the citizens of Catalonia have won the right to be an independent state*, TNYT), whereas Rajoy uses it to speak on behalf of the Spanish government and not of the whole country (*we did what we have to do*, TNYT).

Rank	TNYT	F	TDT	F	ABC	F	EP	F
1	The	77	The	112	la	73	la	96
2	A	21	A	24	el	47	el	53
3	He	15	He	16	los	30	los	38
4	It	7	It	9	se	28	las	25
5	Their	5	An	7	las	23	se	22
6	An	4	other	5	una	18	un	14
7	Who	4	Its	4	un	14	una	14
8	Which	3	they	4	su	13	lo	8
9	His	3	We	4	lo	10	su	8
10	I	3	which	4	este	2	toda	4

[Table 4: Determiner frequencies \(see complete list on Appendix 8\)](#)

6.1.3 Syntax, transitivity and modality

Another important aspect in discourse analysis is syntax and transitivity. Transitivity refers to the relationship between participants and the role participants have, which is very important here. As explained in Section 2.3, there are four different types of processes: *verbal*, *mental*, *relational* and *material* (intransitive and transitive), whose frequency of distribution in the first ten ranks registered across the four news items under analysis is offered in *Table 5*.

Type of process	TNYT	TDT	ABC	EP
Verbal	1	1	1	1
Mental	0	0	0	0
Relational	7	7	4	4
Material	1	1	5	5
Modal	1	1	0	0

[Table 5: Types of processes](#)

Concerning verbal processes, the verb *to say* is the most widely used in all news articles. Since this is a narration, reporting verbs are expected in this genre. Moreover, mental processes are not present in them. On the English-speaking side, the most frequent type of process are relational processes, whereas in the Spanish newspapers the material ones are the predominant ones, as shown in *Table 5*, although the difference with the relation processes is very slight. Finally, regarding the use of modal verbs, two examples are found (*could, would*), while they do not appear in *ABC* or *EP*. As presented in *Table 6*, the events narrated have occurred, so the past tense is the most widely used. It should also be noted that in the Spanish news items the past participle was also registered in other ranks, which infuses the narration with dynamism.

The circumstances associated with processes can be changed by *additional contextualization* or *the structuring or framing* of a process meaning relations. For instance, in some disputes with the police, police officers are presented as objects (afflicted) and the protestors are the agents of that violence, while in other narrations we can find just the opposite situation. It is also very frequent in newspapers to use the passive voice instead of the active one, so the agent is omitted. By doing that, the sentence is less specific and more relevance is given to the fact than the agent, though the agent may be redundant and, therefore, unnecessary.

Rank	TNYT	F	TDT	F	ABC	F	EP	F
1	said	14	Said	15	fue	4	había	10
2	had	12	would	10	ha	4	votar	7
3	was	9	Be	9	había	4	fue	6
4	have	7	Had	9	ser	4	dijo	3
5	is	6	was	9	votar	3	era	3
6	be	5	Are	8	anunció	2	habían	3
7	called	5	were	7	anunciado	2	hizo	3
8	could	5	been	6	celebrado	2	impedir	3
9	has	4	have	6	comenzó	2	tuvo	3
10	were	4	Is	5	dado	2	abrieron	2

[Table 6: Verb frequencies \(complete list on Appendix 9\)](#)

Modality, on the other hand, refers to judgments, comments or attitudes in text or talk; content and function. Modality has, as already explained, two main manifestations: *truth modality* (scale of options from something categorical towards different degrees of certainty) and *obligation modality* (more focused on the future, the speaker or writers predicts about the course of events). At the end of the article published in *ABC*, an example of obligation modality can be found. In that article it is mentioned that the *procés*⁵ is entering a new and more serious dimension, predicting the future of this phenomenon (*entra en una nueva y más grave dimensión*). *Tables 5 & 6* shows that the use of modals is not very frequent in those articles, so there are no compelling results.

6.1.4 Presupposition

As explained in Richardson's method, there are some linguistic structures that may hide a presupposed meaning, something the reader take for granted: some verbs such as states /implicative verbs, definite articles or possessives, wh-questions such as *who*, *why* or *when* or *nominal presuppositions*. TDT includes the statements of the Belgium prime minister, assuring

⁵ *Procés* 'process': used to refer to the fight of Catalonia for independence.

that *Violence can never be the answer*. In this case the fact that violence has been the answer to the riots is being presupposed simply by the use of the definite article. asking for something and, at the same time, some information is being presupposed (e.g. if we ask for a responsible, we want the answer but, at the same time, we assume that there is a responsible). In *ABC* an example of nominal presupposition was found: it is mentioned that Spain is entering to another step in this crisis as regards Catalan nationalism (*entra en una nueva y más grave dimension*), so the reader may infer that others have occurred before.

6.2 Macro- textual analysis

6.2.1 Rhetorical tropes

As previously pointed out, journalistic discourse tries to persuade the reader by means of rhetorical tropes. Three main tropes have been analysed: *hyperbole*, *metaphor* and *metonymy*.

On the one hand, a very good example of hyperbole can be found in the conservative *ABC*: it refers to Catalan referendum as the major institutional crisis for Spanish democracy (*El estado se enfrenta ahora a su más grave crisis institucional*), and it is possible to appreciate a frequent use of the superlative and comparative forms, which contributes to that effect. This strategy cause in the reader an emotional effect, as it happens in *TDT* when it says that *Catalonia referendum plunges the EU into a crisis* (in this case it is necessary to take into account the effect of the verb *plunge*, a very illustrative one).

One of the widely-used tropes is metaphor, which implies the perception of one thing in terms of another. The previous example (*Catalonia referendum plunges the EU into a crisis*) contains a metaphoric use of the verb *to plunge*. It has been mentioned before the example of the referendum as an *attack* or *blasting of institutions* in *ABC* and a *defiance* in *EP*, used in a metaphoric way. In *TNYT*, the Spanish interior minister uses *the brink of a precipice* in a metaphoric way to exemplify the situation that citizens in Catalonia have undergone. Besides, metonymy can also be used, implying a change in an association that people normally have in mind, normally belonging to a semantically similar field or reference. In *ABC* there is a very clear example of that metonymic substitution date-event: in the heading it refers to the referendum by making a reference to the day when it took place, the first of October 2017. In the case of a Spanish readership it is not necessary to remember the events since they keep it in mind.

6.2.2 Narrative

In this case the events, setting, characters and the complication are almost the same, although some distinctions should be noticed. In *ABC* the article starts making a reference to effect of the Catalan referendum for Spain, in harmony with the title, whereas in *EP* puts the emphasis on the police action as suggested in the headline. In the case of *TNYT* and *TDT* additional contextual information is presented, including some statements of political leaders and they begin the narration by introducing the topic, the referendum. As previously mentioned, news articles tend to follow the inverted pyramid model, so the most important information is placed at the beginning. Here the name is revealed first and, after that, it is substituted by a pronoun to avoid repetition. In this respect the narrative is closer to journalistic conventions rather than narrative ones. When dealing with naming in a previous section, it was shown that names were omitted for more generic references such as *government*, but there are no cataphoric references since the referent has been mentioned.

6.3 Intertextuality

When analyzing intertextuality, the different strategies when quoting should be examined. Here there are two main ones: *direct quotation* (the exact words are reproduced) and *strategic quotation* (the direct speech or thoughts are placed between quotation marks to indicate its contentious nature. In this case, there are some quotes in direct speech in all news articles, but very clearly in *TDT*, with several declaration of politicians, either national or international ones, and less frequently in the other news items, as shown in examples 1,2,3 & 4. Those quotations are incorporated to discourse following conventions: in the case of English press a comma is put before what is going to be quoted headed by quotation marks; in Spanish it is possible to use two dots (if the name of the protagonist is at the beginning) or a comma (if the name is at the end).

(1) 'If somebody tries to declara indepdence of part of the teritory- something that cannot be done, we will have to do everything possible to apply the law' (TNYT)

(2) ' Obviously we are very anxious about violence. We hope that things will sort themselves out, though clearly you have to be sensitive to the constitutional proprieties' (TDT)

(3) 'Hemos hecho lo que teníamos que hacer, somos el Gobierno de España, yo soy el presidente y he asumido mi responsabilidad' (ABC)

(4) 'tendrá que acabar respondiendo delante de los tribunales internacionales' (EP)

There are also some examples of strategic quotation: for example *EP* quotes some key words when explaining the reaction of the Catalan government (e.g. *situación comprometida*). Other examples are also present in *TDT* (e.g. *unpleasant*), or *TNYT* (e.g. *very disturbed*).

6.4 Using texts: press agency copy

In the news under inspection this phenomenon is not reflected, with the only exception of images, whose credits are just below them (e.g. in *TDT* the photograph of the Spanish Former Prime Minister, Mariano Rajoy, see appendixes). Following long-established conventions, newspapers usually have the news classified according to some label such as *national*, *international* or *opinion*. In the case of Spanish newspapers, they will appear on the front page, whereas in the English-speaking press they will be included in a section about international news. The media resonance was so huge that all those newspapers include a specific section in their online versions with all the information regarding Catalan nationalism and its development over the last few years.

6.5 The DHA perspective

From a DHA perspective, two are the most remarkable phenomena detected in the news under study:

- *Assimilation*: create an illusion of an imaged united nation in terms of language, culture and history. For instance, in *ABC* the former president of Catalonia, Carles Puigdemont, assures that *we have won the right to be an independent state*, referring the whole population of Catalonia, although only a 42,3% of people voted in a non-binding vote with no internal consensus.
- *Singularisation*: definition of the nation and unique and special. It presents the nation as distinct (and, therefore, better) from the rest of the country. An example can be found in *TDT*, where Puigdemont refers to Spain as *the Spanish*

state. As Echitchi (2017, p.13) explains, Catalan nationalists tend to name Spain as *the state* in order to represent the current Spanish state excluding Catalonia.

Chapter 7: Conclusions and suggestions for further research

The present research has aimed to analyse a corpus of news events dealing with the events taking place in Catalonia during October 1st 2017. The study intended to compare the different ways in which information is treated, trying to show differences and convergences across the different newspapers trying to determine whether there is a particular bias or stance. The analysis has focused on Fairclough's three-dimensional model, modulated by Richardson's and Wodak's approaches.

- Macro-level: related to the social context
- Meso-level: the context in which discourse takes places
- Micro-level: including words, syntax, transitivity, modality or presupposition
- The DHA perspective: continuation, singularisation

In order to achieve those goals several steps are needed. As background to this BA thesis, the study of very important concepts such as CDA (what it consist on, its main principles and some approaches; as no single approach seemed suitable and the three different approaches fused in this thesis), nationalism (what is and how it has evolved over time, its relationship with identity, and some insights about this phenomenon in this particular case), journalism (with an overview about journalistic discourse, the main differences between the two systems relevant for this study and the phenomenon of domestication of news).

This empirical analysis has shown that there are convergences, as well as divergences to varying degrees across the news items under inspection. There are some convergences: all of them include the same events, two differentiated sides in conflict and almost the same actors, but they differ in strategies. For example, the English newspapers include more background information. In contrast, the Spanish journals are more opposite in lexical choices and their implications, reflecting the polarization previously mentioned which seemingly evidences the divide between a *Catalan-centred press* and *Madrid-centred press*. As being citizen of one of the three historical nations considered in The Spanish constitution, I found interesting to analyse the differences or similarities in the coverage of the *procés*. I think that many people (especially

the younger generations) are concerned with this issue and with the consequences of fake news disseminated in this regard.

This BA thesis seeks to lay the foundation for a more ambitious research, for instance a PhD thesis. It would be interesting to expand the number of news and newspapers analysed so as to include all the news published on the issue during October 1st 2017. By doing that, the conclusions and assertions about the results would be more conclusive. In addition, more levels of analysis should be included such as Theme-Rheme patterns, the Given-New distinction and the distribution of Topics and Foci throughout the texts. All these are relevant choices that affect the reconstruction of reality. For instance, by placing Catalonia in thematic position of their headlines both *TNYT* and *TDT* are providing a framework or discourse angle from which reality is reported on. Likewise, headlines can be used as global topics that present a (mis)conception about (one of) the parties involving antagonistic positions, as is the case here. Similarly, it would also be interesting to analyse the reasons why, for instance, in *ABC* and *TNYT* some sentences are in bold or underlined. In this connection, multimodal analysis seems to be an additional research line worth pursuing to see the relationship between text and image and formal lay-out. In modern societies news have become very visual, influencing public opinion. Technological advances and online publishing have made that possible. As it is widely known, sometimes a picture is worth a thousand words. This also happens in the news items under inspection, where the emotional dimension of the procès is captured and expressed with very powerful images reflecting violent scenes with a clear emotional purpose.

All the aforementioned can be understood as arguments to see CDA not only as a way to delving into reality, but also as a means to help people face modern world challenges, including the political convulsion through which Spain and other nations are being dragged.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Catalonia Leader Seek to Make Independence Referendum Binding (TNYT)

Catalonia Leaders Seek to Make Independence Referendum Binding



Supporters of Catalan independence marched in Barcelona, Spain, on Monday. Credit: Felipe Dana/Associated Press

By Raphael Minder

Oct. 2, 2017

BARCELONA, Spain — The leader of Catalonia insisted on Monday that Sunday's independence referendum, though [marred by clashes](#) and rejected by the Spanish government, had earned his region the right to a separate state and that he would press ahead to make the vote binding.

Without specifying when, [Carles Puigdemont](#), the Catalan leader, said he would submit the result for approval to the regional Parliament. That could lead to a unilateral declaration of independence and tip the country even deeper into crisis — already one of the worst since the start of Spain's democracy in the 1970s.

Shortly after midnight on Sunday, the Catalan government announced that 90 percent of almost 2.3 million voters had cast ballots in favor of independence.

But a consensus on the vote, even among Catalans, was by no means assured, despite Mr. Puigdemont's stated determination.



The Catalan leader, Carles Puigdemont, center, said late Sunday that Catalans had earned the right to have their own state. Credit Alberto Estevez/European Pressphoto Agency

The referendum's tallies could not be independently verified; the voting registers used were based on a census whose validity is contested; and, most important, Spain's constitutional court had [ordered that the referendum be suspended](#).

Rafael Catalá, Spain's justice minister, warned Monday morning that the central government in Madrid was prepared to use its emergency powers to prevent a unilateral declaration of independence. Under Spanish law, the government could suspend Mr. Puigdemont from office, and take full administrative control of Catalonia.

"If somebody tries to declare the independence of part of the territory — something that cannot be done — we will have to do everything possible to apply the law," Mr. Catalá said on national television on Monday.



Catalan police officers surrounded the offices of the Spanish National police, as protesters gathered outside on Monday. Dan Kitwood/Getty Images

Most polling stations stayed open on Sunday, he said, “because the security forces decided that it wasn’t worth using force because of the consequences that it could have.”

In fact, hundreds of Catalans were injured as Spanish police forces moved in to block the vote.

Mr. Puigdemont also called on the European Commission, the executive arm of the European Union, to “encourage international mediation,” though it has made clear that it considers the dispute internal to Spain.

Catalan separatists face several major hurdles to having the vote recognized as legitimate, in Spain and abroad, though for them, simply holding the referendum amounted to a victory of sorts. If nothing else, it has helped shift the debate from the issue of independence — which has split Catalans, and for which there had not been majority backing — to the more basic question of whether Catalans have a right to decide on statehood.

In the short term, the police crackdown on the independence movement could help Catalan separatists, who are part of a fragile coalition in the regional government, broaden their support.

On Sunday, Ada Colau, the influential leftist mayor of Barcelona who has been ambivalent about independence, called on [Prime Minister Mariano Rajoy](#) to resign, describing his decision to bring in police officers from around the country as an act of cowardice.

Ernest Urtasun, a leftist Catalan politician, said on Spanish television on Monday that “today, Catalan society isn’t discussing whether the result is valid or not, but is in a state of shock about how the voting took place.”

Mr. Puigdemont called on Madrid to remove its police forces, which Catalans criticized as having overreacted on Sunday, and said that he would open an investigation into their actions.

The United Nations high commissioner for human rights, Zeid Ra'ad al-Hussein, issued a statement Monday saying he was "very disturbed" by the violence. "I urge the Spanish authorities to ensure thorough, independent and impartial investigations into all acts of violence," he said.

Juan Ignacio Zoido, the Spanish interior minister, acknowledged on Monday that Catalonia had witnessed "a very sad day," but he defended the Spanish police and blamed separatist leaders. He said they had pushed Catalans "to the brink of a precipice" by encouraging them to vote in an illegal referendum.



A polling officer counting votes in Barcelona on Sunday. The Catalan government announced that 90 percent of almost 2.3 million voters had backed independence. Chris Mcgrath/Getty Images

Mr. Zoido said the police had intervened only to withdraw election-related equipment, but had been confronted by major obstacles, including voters forming a human chain to stop police officers from leaving polling stations.

"The resistance was passive in some cases, but also active in others," he told the Spanish broadcaster Antena 3. The clashes, he said, mostly started after police officers were stranded inside polling stations.

The police used rubber bullets, he said, "to avoid something even worse."

That version of events, however, was firmly rejected by Catalan leaders, who accused Mr. Rajoy of returning Spain to authoritarianism.



Wearing the Catalan flag in Girona, Spain, on Monday. Credit Francisco Seco/Associated Press

The vote also set off a debate in Madrid over the loyalty of security forces, after the [Mossos d'Esquadra](#), Catalonia's autonomous police force, failed to follow Madrid's orders and close down polling stations early Sunday. Catalan television stations later showed some Mossos and Catalan firefighters confronting the national police as tensions mounted at polling stations.

On Tuesday, Catalans plan to stage a general strike, although it is unclear how widely it will be supported. Spain's two main labor unions have called on their members in Catalonia not to take part.

Pablo Iglesias, the leader of Podemos, Spain's far-left party, said the country was "in a state of crisis," showcased by the images that were broadcast around the world on Sunday of "policemen who scuffle with firemen and in some cases even with other security forces."

Albert Rivera, the leader of Ciudadanos, a party fiercely opposed to secessionism, called on Monday for Mr. Puigdemont "to stop this folly" and abandon his plans to declare independence. Otherwise, he said, Mr. Rajoy's government would have no alternative than to take full charge of Catalonia.

"A lot of people are forgetting that most Catalans don't support this" independence movement, Mr. Rivera told the broadcaster Telecinco. "I don't want them to destroy the Constitution, and I want to be Catalan, Spanish and European."

As he faces insurgency in Catalonia, Mr. Rajoy's political survival in Madrid is on the line. He was scheduled to meet later on Monday with Pedro Sánchez, the leader of the main opposition party, the Socialists.

Mr. Sánchez was critical Sunday night of both Mr. Rajoy and Mr. Puigdemont for provoking “an image that shames us,” but he put the blame more firmly on Mr. Puigdemont for ignoring Spanish law and threatening the “territorial integrity of Spain.”

Appendix 2: Catalonia referendum violence plunges EU into a crisis as '90pc of voters back independence' (TDT)

Catalonian referendum violence plunges EU into crisis as '90pc of voters back independence'

Catalonia's government said 90 percent of those who voted in an unauthorised independence referendum chose to split from Spain.

On a day marred by clashes between police and voters, 2.26 million people took part in the referendum, regional government spokesman Jordi Turull said. That represents a turnout of 42.3 percent of Catalonia's 5.34 million voters.



A woman tends to her injuries in front of riot police near a school being used as a polling station CREDIT: GERALDINE HOPE GHELLI/BLOOMBERG

Of those who took part, 2.02 million Catalans voted "yes" to the question: "Do you want Catalonia to become an independent state in the form of a republic?"

The preliminary results pave the way for the region's leader to declare independence in the coming days, despite the Spanish government ruling the referendum illegal.

The brutal scenes of police cracking down on the referendum plunged the EU into a new crisis after hundreds of people were injured in the violent stand-offs with Spanish police.

In violent scenes beamed around the world, officers in riot gear fired rubber bullets into crowds and beat would-be voters with batons as they queued at polling stations.

The Catalan government claimed 844 people were injured.

There was widespread condemnation of the Spanish government's attempt to crack down on the vote, which Catalan authorities had called despite the courts ruling it illegal.

However, the European Union remained conspicuously silent on the police tactics, which saw masked officers smash their way into polling stations and forcibly remove ballot boxes.

Carles Puigdemont, the Catalan leader, said the region had "won the right to an independent state" after "millions" turned out to vote in a banned independence referendum.

"With this day of hope and suffering, the citizens of Catalonia have won the right to an independent state in the form a republic," he said in a televised announcement after polls had closed.

Before the results were announced, he said he would keep his pledge to declare independence unilaterally within 48 hours of the vote if the "Yes" side won the referendum.



People hold Catalan flags as they listen to Catalan President Carles Puigdemont speak via a televised press conference as they await the result of the Independence Referendum at the Placa de Catalunya CREDIT: GETTY

"Today the Spanish state wrote another shameful page in its history with Catalonia," he said, adding that he would appeal to the European Union to look into alleged human rights violations during Sunday's vote.

Violence broke out across Catalonia as armoured police moved in to break up the vote.

Video footage showed officers from Spain's national police - 4,000 of whom had been brought in by the government to help quash the ballot - fighting with elderly voters, some of whom were left bleeding, and dragging young women away from polling stations by their hair.

Amid tense scenes, uniformed Catalan firefighters appeared to act as human shields to protect voters from advancing lines of police.



Firemen try to hold a group of people in front of Spanish Guardia Civil officers outside a polling station in San Julia de Ramis CREDIT: LUIS GENE/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Responding to the unfolding crisis, Boris Johnson, the Foreign Secretary, told the Daily Telegraph last night: "Obviously we are very anxious about any violence. We hope that things will sort themselves out, though clearly you have to be sensitive to the constitutional proprieties."

He added: "As I understand it the referendum is not legal, so there are difficulties."

Nicola Sturgeon described the Foreign Office's statement as "shamefully weak".

"The referendum is a matter for the Spanish government and people. We want to see Spanish law and the Spanish constitution respected and the rule of law upheld. Spain is a close ally and a good friend, whose strength and unity matters to us."



[Nicola Sturgeon](#)

✓ [@NicolaSturgeon](#)

Statement from [@foreignoffice](#) on [#Catalonia](#) is shamefully weak. A true friend of Spain would tell them today's actions wrong and damaging.

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"A true friend of Spain would tell them today's actions wrong and damaging," Scotland's First Minister said.

Andrew Rosindell, a Tory MP who sits on the Foreign Affairs Select Committee, said he believed the European Union's response would have been much stronger if such scenes were playing out in other EU countries.

He told the Daily Telegraph the European Union was "showing itself again to be completely hypocritical".



Spanish police push people with a shield outside a polling station in Barcelona CREDIT: PAU BARRENA/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Mr Rosindell accused the Spanish government of trying to “bully the people” and that the violence “shows both Spain and the EU in a very bad light”.

He said: “For years the Spanish have used the Guardia Civil to make life as difficult as possible for Gibraltar and they are using the same police force again to attack the people of Catalonia.

“In other circumstances there is no doubt the EU would be coming down like a tonne of bricks. They are demonstrating double standards: If this was happening in Hungary or another country there would certainly be a different reaction.”

While some MEPs including Guy Verhofstadt - the parliament's Brexit negotiator - condemned the police violence as 'disproportionate', the European Commission said it would not respond to the crisis until Monday.

European leaders were also noticeably silent. The only voice emerging from Brussels was that of the Belgium prime minister, Charles Michel.

On Twitter, he called for political dialogue to resolve the crisis, insisting: “Violence can never be the answer!”

Spain, meanwhile, did not waver in its assertion that the referendum - which was ordered suspended by the Spanish constitutional court - is illegal, and that its hand has been forced by a Catalan government it claims is engaged in a coup.

Spain's foreign minister Alfonso Dastis said the violence was "unfortunate" and "unpleasant" but "proportionate", blaming the violence exclusively on Mr Puigdemont and his regional government.



Spain's Prime Minister Mariano Rajoy delivers a statement at the Moncloa Palace in Madrid CREDIT:SERGIO PEREZ/REUTERS

Spanish Prime Minister Mariano Rajoy last night said: "We did what we had to do", describing the ballot as a "premeditated attack on the legality of the Spanish state faced down with serenity by the forces of order".

Making no mention of the large number of people injured in police charges outside polling stations, Mr Rajoy said: "Democracy won today because the Constitution was upheld".

He said the police 'performed their duty' in Catalonia.



People clash with Spanish Guardia Civil guards CREDIT: RAYMOND ROIG/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

The Spanish deputy prime minister, Soraya Sáenz de Santamaría, blasted the Catalan government's "irresponsibility" in insisting on holding an "illegal referendum with no democratic guarantees", demanding that they end what she described as a "farce".

The Catalan government contends it has been forced to go ahead with the unilateral poll, saying it has been left no other option after the central government consistently refused substantive negotiations over the region's status.

In the event of a "Yes" vote, Mr Puigdemont plans to make a unilateral declaration of independence 48 hours after the results, which are expected to be announced Monday.

He told The Telegraph last week that he would then be seeking dialogue with Spain and the European Union, insisting that Europe could no longer "keep looking the other way".

Mr Puigdemont insisted Sunday that the poll had been carried out successfully despite the police crackdown, with voting taking place in 95 percent of polling stations.



Spanish National riot policemen form a security cordon around the Ramon Llull school. CREDIT:EPA/ALBERTO ESTEVEZ

"Batons against ballot boxes, violence against public spirit," he said, claiming "the shame will stay with (Spain) forever". Security concerns even had an impact on Sunday's football.

FC Barcelona initially suspended its home match against Las Palmas as a precaution, but ended up playing behind closed doors after Spain's RFEF federation rejected the postponement.

The European Commission, the EU's civil service, has repeatedly backed the Spanish government and constitutional court's stance that the vote is illegal.

Yesterday the EC told The Telegraph it had nothing to add a statement made by Jean-Claude Juncker on Friday, when he backed "the rule of law" in Spain.

But human rights groups and politicians from around the world contended that regardless of the legality of the poll, the heavy-handed response went beyond what was unacceptable in a 21st century democracy.

Andrew Strohlein, of Human Rights Watch, said that despite the court suspension, the government had a duty to protect the rights to peaceful assembly and freedom of expression.

The EU would "have to say something more soon," he suggested. Catalans have expressed particular concern about the use of rubber bullets, which the Catalan police force are banned from using, and which left one person needing eye surgery yesterday.

1-O: un referéndum fracasado que deja a España dañada

La Generalitat escenifica su golpe y conduce al país a su mayor crisis institucional

La Generalitat de Cataluña escenificó ayer su golpe a España con la escenificación de su anunciado referéndum ilegal. El Estado se enfrenta ahora a su más grave crisis institucional de las últimas décadas: un referéndum sin garantías -no reconocido por nadie pero con una importantísima movilización ciudadana- lleva al independentismo a dar un paso más adelante hacia la ruptura.

En una comparecencia junto a todo su gobierno, el presidente de la Generalitat, Carles Puigdemont, anunció que «nos hemos ganado el derecho a ser un Estado independiente en forma de república». En los próximos días, informó desde el Palau de la Generalitat, **trasladará al Parlamento catalán los resultados de la consulta para actuar de acuerdo con la suspendida ley del Referéndum**, que establece que en 48 horas la cámara declare la independencia una vez se ratifiquen los resultados. La ANC y Òmnium le exigieron que cumpla.

Desde el Gobierno, por contra, se hizo un llamamiento a la unidad de los partidos, a los que se convocará para «reflexionar juntos sobre un futuro que tendremos que afrontar juntos». La intervención del Estado, aseguró el presidente Mariano Rajoy, fue la única posible: «Hemos hecho lo que teníamos que hacer, somos el Gobierno de España, yo soy el presidente y he asumido mi responsabilidad». **La de ayer, con toda su trascendencia, se intuye solo como la víspera de jornadas mucho más graves.** Todos los puentes están rotos.

Como se había anunciado, la jornada comenzó muy temprano. De hecho, fueron miles las personas que acamparon durante toda la noche tanto dentro como fuera de los colegios electorales. A partir de las cinco comenzó a llegar más gente atendiendo la llamada de la Asamblea Nacional Catalana (ANC), junto a Òmnium Cultural y la propia Generalitat responsables de todo el despliegue logístico. A las seis de la mañana, cuando vencía el plazo dado por el Tribunal Superior de Justicia de Cataluña (TSJC) a los Mossos d'Esquadra para precintar los colegios, centenares de personas se agolpaban en cada centro de votación a modo de cordón de seguridad.

Durante esas horas, **la actitud de la policía autonómica ya se vio que iba a ser de absoluta pasividad**, como lo fue durante toda la

jornada: parejas de agentes, a lo sumo cuatro, se dirigieron a cada centro para comunicar a los congregados que la votación era ilegal. No hicieron más, tampoco cuando en forma de goteo comenzaron a llegar las urnas y las papeletas a los colegios, material que según ha trascendido se había guardado en Perpiñán (Francia) para luego ser repartido en el territorio desde casas de particulares.

844 heridos

La pasividad de los Mossos, que solo requisaron algunas urnas en colegios puntuales a última hora de la tarde, en una actitud que compromete su prestigio, autoridad y relación futura con el resto de policías, llevó a la pronta intervención de la Policía Nacional y de la Guardia Civil. Desde las nueve de la mañana, y a lo largo de una jornada de gran tensión, con incidentes a lo largo y ancho del territorio, ambos cuerpos requisaron las urnas y todo el material electoral de 92 centros de votación. En su conjunto, y según datos de la Generalitat, 319 colegios electorales de los 2.315 previstos no pudieron abrir o fueron clausurados a lo largo del día. El balance de la actuación policial revela el alcance del que fue el mayor operativo desplegado nunca por las Fuerzas y Cuerpos de Seguridad del Estado.

Según el departamento de Salud de la Generalitat se produjeron 844 heridos y contusionados, dos de los cuales graves: un hombre que con probabilidad perderá el ojo por el impacto de una bola de goma, y otro con un ataque al corazón, aunque este último producto de la impresión, sin que llegara a ser golpeado. Por su parte, diecinueve policías nacionales y catorce guardias civiles resultaron heridos durante la jornada.

En una catarata de escenas que el Gobierno daba por descontado que tendría que asumir como coste de imagen, **los agentes del CNP y la Benemerita tuvieron que emplearse a fondo para conseguir requisar las urnas de los centros:** en algunos casos bastó con el uso de los escudos para empujar y despejar el paso, en otros se tuvo que usar las porras y el lanzamiento de pelotas de goma. La Generalitat habló de «brutalidad policial», mientras que desde el Gobierno se respondió que los agentes actuaron con la proporcionalidad debida. El ejecutivo catalán anunció que denunciará ante el juez a los dos cuerpos.

Por parte de la Generalitat, toda la jornada fue un maratón para intentar burlar la acción de la Justicia. De manera sorpresiva, a las ocho de la mañana, una hora antes de la apertura de los colegios, el gobierno catalán desde el centro de prensa organizado por un grupo privado de comunicación anunciaba un nuevo sistema de votación mediante un «censo universal electrónico» que permitía a las personas votar en cualquier colegio electoral del territorio, al margen de su lugar de residencia. **Mediante una aplicación informática en la que se introducía el DNI de cada persona, el sistema**

debía evitar las votaciones dobles, algo que a la postre no se pudo generalizar dado que o la aplicación fallaba o funcionaba con extrema lentitud. Fuentes policiales aseguraron que el sistema no llegó a entrar en funcionamiento en ningún caso, y que a lo sumo se pudieron guardar los datos en un disco duro, sin que los dispositivos desplegados en los centros llegaron a trabajar de manera cruzada para evitar las duplicidades. En buen número de colegios, de hecho, las mesas simplemente se limitaron a anotar el número de DNI, lo que propició, como pudo comprobar este diario, que se pudiese votar por duplicado o triplicado, o que incluso personas con residencia fuera de Cataluña pudiesen votar. El cambio del sistema de censo a última hora, la inexistencia de una Sindicatura Electoral -disuelta desde la pasada semana- o el hecho de que se pudiese traer la papeleta desde casa e introducirla en la urna sin sobre llevaron al Gobierno a concluir que el pretendido referéndum, en realidad, no se había celebrado. «Todo el mundo ha podido ver que no se ha celebrado un referéndum», apuntó el presidente del Gobierno. No obstante, y como sucedió con la consulta de noviembre de 2014, la postura del Ejecutivo contrastaba con la realidad de una jornada en la que de hecho sí se voto: sin garantías, en nada de lo que pudiera parecerse a una consulta homologable, pero con decenas de miles de personas en la calle y el secesionismo celebrando la jornada como si se tratase de una victoria, tan solo el anticipo de una ruptura que anuncian como inminente.

En los próximos días se verá hasta qué punto el soberanismo está dispuesto a llevar adelante sus planes hasta las últimas consecuencias. Por lo pronto, la CUP y la ANC ya animaban a acelerar la desconexión, mientras que desde la propia Generalitat, el vicepresidente Oriol Junqueras reunía por la tarde a CC.OO, UGT y la ANC tratando de buscar una respuesta «unitaria». A la huelga general que los sindicatos minoritarios habían convocado para mañana se sumaron ayer los centrales mayoritarias, CC.OO y UGT, así como las patronales adheridas al soberanismo.

Ruptura total

Si la ruptura entre las instituciones catalanas y las del resto del Estado se adivina ahora mismo irreversible -al menos con los actuales liderazgos en Cataluña-, la quiebra y la conmoción por los sucesos de ayer alcanza también al frente constitucional. Así se lee la posición del PSOE, y de manera especial del PSC, que tras unas semanas en las que su apoyo a las políticas del Gobierno en Cataluña ha sido valorada por el Ejecutivo, ayer recuperó la equidistancia para responsabilizar a partes iguales al presidente Rajoy y a los líderes independentistas. **Miquel Iceta hasta pidió la dimisión del presidente del Gobierno.** Pedro Sánchez, por su parte, garantizó

que su partido apoyará la «estabilidad» del país «a pesar del Gobierno del PP». Más allá, Podemos y los «comunes» de Colau confirmaron que su estrategia de voladura de las instituciones se solapa y es paralela a la del independentismo, una realidad a tener en cuenta en el escenario electoral que puede abrirse en Cataluña. Tras una jornada que el independentismo celebró como victoriosa, y el constitucionalismo como un día negro, el «proceso» catalán entra en una nueva y más grave dimensión

Appendix 4: *Rajoy recurre a la fuerza policial para descabezar el referéndum ilegal (EP)*

Rajoy recurre a la fuerza policial para descabezar el referéndum ilegal

Pese a la ofensiva judicial y policial de las últimas semanas contra la consulta, centenares de colegios electorales abrieron en toda Cataluña en un acto de desafío al Gobierno

El Gobierno recurrió este domingo a la Policía Nacional y la Guardia Civil y al uso de la fuerza para descabezar el referéndum de independencia convocado por la Generalitat y suspendido por el Tribunal Constitucional. Pese a la ofensiva judicial y policial de las últimas semanas contra la consulta, cientos de colegios electorales abrieron en toda Cataluña en un acto de claro desafío al Ejecutivo y a los tribunales que culminó con numerosas cargas policiales. La Generalitat cifró en 844 las personas atendidas por los servicios médicos. El Govern reivindicó la validez del referéndum pese a carecer de cualquier garantía legal. La notable movilización ciudadana para intentar votar sirvió al *president*, Carles Puigdemont, para apuntar a una declaración de independencia.

La Generalitat consiguió abrir a lo largo de la jornada del domingo la [mayor parte de los 2.315 colegios](#) electorales que había previsto en su dispositivo. Dentro había urnas y papeletas que [cientos de voluntarios](#) habían conseguido introducir pese a los controles policiales de los últimos días. Pero la situación no fue en absoluto normal en todo el día, pues quedó patente que el referéndum no ofrecía [ninguna garantía legal](#). El Govern no supo explicar ni el origen del censo empleado ni el método que se usaría para recotar los votos, que se realizó en medio de grandes dificultades técnicas.

La situación de excepcionalidad se hizo todavía más patente por los constantes cierres de colegios por la Policía Nacional y la Guardia Civil. Los Mossos también [lo acabaron haciendo](#) en algunos casos, pero la inacción de la policía catalana fue la tónica general durante las primeras horas de la jornada, incumpliendo claramente el auto del Tribunal Superior de Justicia de Cataluña que ordenaba impedir la apertura de todos los centros.

La policía autonómica [hizo caso omiso](#) también a la exigencia de sacar de los colegios los activistas que los habían ocupado los últimos días para impedir la entrada de la policía. En todos los casos los Mossos argumentaron que su intervención podía aumentar el riesgo de disturbios, especialmente por la presencia de menores en dichas sedes electorales.

[La situación estalló](#) a las ocho y media de la mañana, cuando efectivos de la Policía Nacional procedieron al desalojo de colegios electorales en Barcelona y las principales ciudades. La Guardia Civil hizo lo propio en municipios más pequeños. En total fueron cerrados 319 colegios, según datos de la Generalitat.

La actuación dejó numerosas escenas de uso de la fuerza para romper las cadenas humanas que los manifestantes habían formado para blindar los colegios electorales. Agentes de la Policía Nacional usaron la fuerza en una veintena de escuelas en Barcelona. En algunas, como el instituto Ramon Llull, el Jaume Balmes o la Escuela Mediterránea cargaron contra los votantes. Un joven tuvo que ser intervenido quirúrgicamente fruto del impacto de una pelota de goma en el ojo.

Al menos seis juzgados catalanes abrieron diligencias durante la jornada de ayer para investigar si los Mossos d'Esquadra han desobedecido la orden del Tribunal Superior de Justicia de Catalunya de impedir la utilización de locales públicos para celebrar el referéndum de

independencia de este domingo.

El objetivo del Gobierno era descabezar el referéndum en los principales centros de población requisando urnas y material electoral. Las actuaciones con entradas por la fuerza en centros electorales [provocaron 844 heridos, contusionados y atendidos por ataques de ansiedad, según la Generalitat](#). Dos de los afectados requirieron hospitalización. En Lleida un hombre de 70 años sufrió un infarto durante el desalojo de un colegio y fue trasladado al hospital en estado crítico.

Entre los colegios que fueron cerrados estaba el del presidente catalán, Carles Puigdemont, en Sant Julià de Ramis (Girona). La operación de la Guardia Civil para cerrarlo fue particularmente aparatosa, ya que los agentes tuvieron que utilizar un mazo para entrar en él y lo hicieron en presencia de decenas de cámaras de televisión que esperaban la llegada del *president*.

Pese a estas escenas, incluidas las de retiradas de urnas por la fuerza con votos dentro, miles de personas siguieron acudiendo a los centros de voto. El Govern también lo alentó durante todo el día pese a las [cargas policiales](#) que se sucedían en toda Cataluña. Sin embargo, el principal mensaje tanto de Puigdemont como de otros miembros de su gabinete estuvo dirigido durante toda la jornada a las autoridades europeas, a las que buscan hacer reaccionar para que se ofrezcan como mediadores en el conflicto.

El consejero de Presidencia, Jordi Turull, fue la cara más visible del Govern durante toda la jornada. Tras las cargas policiales y los cierres de colegios electorales subrayó en una comparecencia sin preguntas que España es “la vergüenza de Europa” y que el país está en una “situación comprometida”, pues auguró que “tendrá que acabar respondiendo delante de los tribunales internacionales”. Puigdemont denunció en un vídeo, tras votar en un colegio alternativo, la “represión enloquecida con violencia injustificable contra gente pacíficamente concentrada” en los colegios electorales. “El Estado español, en una nueva operación de represión contra la población que quiere ejercer su derecho a votar, no ha impedido que mucha gente haya estado votando”, señaló.

Cuando todavía no había transcurrido ni una tercera parte de la jornada electoral el vicepresidente catalán y líder de Esquerra Republicana, Oriol Junqueras, fue el único que quiso insistir en la idea de que lo de ayer era un referéndum vinculante pese a la absoluta falta de garantías.

El Gobierno central vivió la jornada en un clima de máxima tensión. Intentó transmitir la imagen de control de la situación pero sin lograr esconder señales de gran preocupación. La comparecencia de la vicepresidenta del Gobierno a mediodía buscaba responsabilizar a Puigdemont de lo que estaba ocurriendo en el terreno del orden público. Rajoy [no compareció hasta las ocho y cuarto de la noche](#), cuando muchos colegios seguían recibiendo electores. Rajoy quiso insistir en la idea de que en Cataluña no hubo un referéndum sino una “mera escenificación”. “Se ha demostrado que el Estado tiene recursos para defenderse”, dijo y anunció que comparecerá en el Congreso de los Diputados. También anunció una ronda de contactos con “todos” los partidos con representación parlamentaria.

Proceso de “negociación”

La actuación del Gobierno y las imágenes de uso de la fuerza [disgustaron al líder del PSOE](#), Pedro Sánchez, y así se lo transmitió al presidente del Gobierno. “Con la misma contundencia que apoyamos el Estado de derecho pedimos al presidente del Gobierno que cumpla con su función”, dijo Sánchez en su comparecencia posterior a la de Mariano Rajoy. El líder socialista llamó a “un proceso de negociación con el Govern de la Generalitat”.

Ciudadanos tardó en mostrar su apoyo a la actuación del Ejecutivo. Fuentes del partido se quejaron de que no se había impedido votar y consideraron que había existido “violencia” en las calles.

Desde el exterior llegaron también algunas críticas tras las muestras de apoyo al Gobierno que las últimas semanas han formulado los gobiernos alemán, francés y la Comisión Europea. Ayer, el presidente de Finlandia, Sauli Niinistö, dijo que “las conversaciones deben empezar” tras afirmar en las redes sociales que la “situación en España parece seria”. El primer ministro belga, Charles Michel, también criticó los hechos. Condenó “todas las formas de violencia” y lanzó una llamada “al diálogo político”.

La reacción en la calle tuvo su réplica también en los sindicatos. La amenaza de una huelga general en Cataluña subió de nivel con las escenas de utilización de fuerza policial que se sucedieron durante buena parte de la jornada. A pesar de que los sindicatos mayoritarios, UGT y Comisiones Obreras, no son partidarios de la huelga general que impulsan algunas centrales poco representativas sí defienden una “gran movilización” en “defensa de las instituciones catalanas”, explicaron fuentes de dichos sindicatos. El vicepresidente de la Generalitat, Oriol Junqueras, se reunió con ellos por la tarde para intentar pactar una

estrategia de movilización. Las matrices nacionales de los dos sindicatos instaron a “partidos y Gobiernos” a “encauzar la situación” de Cataluña a “escenarios de diálogo” mediante la vía de la “negociación, deliberación y democracia”.

VOTACIONES CUESTIONADAS POR LA CAÍDA DEL SISTEMA

La fragilidad del sistema informático de la votación de ayer y que el censo se convirtiese sobre la marcha en universal —que se pudiera votar en cualquier colegio— generó la sospecha de que no había control de si se podía votar más de una vez. El sistema, cuando funcionaba, era el siguiente: un vocal de la mesa introducía el DNI del elector en el móvil que verificaba que la persona figuraba en el censo elaborado por la Generalitat. Otro vocal anotaba el nombre y el DNI en un papel y, por último, el voto se introducía en la urna. Cuando el sistema se caía, el control pasó a ser completamente manual, sin comprobación con la aplicación del censo, y se explicaba que los datos se introducirían en el sistema cuando este funcionara.

Appendix 5: Noun frequencies

Rank	TNYT	F	%	TDT	F	%	ABC	F	%	EP	F	%
1	police	13	1,07%	government	15	1,10%	gobierno	11	0,69%	colegios	14	0,73%
2	independence	12	0,99%	police	13	0,96%	referéndum	10	0,63%	referéndum	14	0,73%
3	Sunday	11	0,91%	Spain	11	0,81%	Generalitat	9	0,56%	jornada	10	0,52%
4	Spanish	11	0,91%	EU	9	0,66%	jornada	8	0,50%	Generalitat	9	0,47%
5	Puigdemont	10	0,82%	referendum	9	0,66%	colegios	7	0,44%	gobierno	8	0,42%
6	Monday	9	0,74%	violence	9	0,66%	Cataluña	6	0,38%	policía	8	0,42%
7	Spain	9	0,74%	Catalonia	8	0,59%	presidente	6	0,38%	garantías	8	0,42%
8	government	8	0,66%	people	6	0,44%	estado	5	0,31%	fuerza	7	0,37%
9	Catalonia	8	0,66%	independence	5	0,37%	hecho	5	0,31%	situación	7	0,37%
10	leader	7	0,58%	Mr	5	0,37%	personas	5	0,31%	Cataluña	6	0,31%
11	stations	6	0,49%	rights	5	0,37%	mañana	4	0,25%	centros	5	0,26%
12	forces	5	0,41%	stations	5	0,37%	Cataluña	4	0,25%	estado	5	0,26%
13	Madrid	5	0,41%	Telegraph	5	0,37%	policía	4	0,25%	govern	5	0,26%
14	Rajoy	5	0,41%	Union	5	0,37%	ruptura	4	0,25%	Puigdemont	5	0,26%

15	referendum	5	0,41%	voters	5	0,37%	sistema	4	0,25%	sistema	5	0,26%
16	state	5	0,41%	ballot	4	0,29%	urnas	4	0,25%	urnas	5	0,26%
17	officers	4	0,33%	crisis	4	0,29%	votación	4	0,25%	censo	5	0,26%
18	right	4	0,33%	minister	4	0,29%	agentes	3	0.19%	guardia	4	0,21%
19	voters	4	0,33%	Puigdemont	4	0,29%	centro	3	0.19%	presidente	4	0,21%
20	Barcelona	3	0,25%	scenes	4	0,29%	centros	3	0.19%	sindicato	4	0,21%
21	Carles	3	0,25%	citizens	3	0,22%	consulta	3	0.19%	actuación	3	0,16%
22	country	3	0,25%	Commission	3	0,22%	cuerpos	3	0.19%	caída	3	0,16%
23	law	3	0,25%	court	3	0,22%	ejecutivo	3	0.19%	cargas	3	0,16%
24	million	3	0,25%	million	3	0,22%	heridos	3	0.19%	casos	3	0,16%
25	minister	3	0,25%	officers	3	0,22%	independentismo	3	0.19%	colegio	3	0,16%
26	part	3	0,25%	percent	3	0,22%	manera	3	0.19%	comparecencia	3	0,16%
27	party	3	0,25%	poll	3	0,22%	parte	3	0.19%	control	3	0,16%
28	percent	3	0,25%	region	3	0,22%	realidad	3	0.19%	domingo	3	0,16%
29	security	3	0,25%	results	3	0,22%	territorio	3	0.19%	escenas	3	0,16%
30	television	3	0,25%	Sunday	3	0,22%	actitud	2	0,13%	España	3	0,16%
31	broadcaster	2	0,16%	way	3	0,22%	aplicación	2	0,13%	independencia	3	0,16%

32	cases	2	0,16%	Andrew	2	0,15%	cámara	2	0,13%	líder	3	0,16%
33	Catalá	2	0,16%	attack	2	0,15%	censo	2	0,13%	Mossos	3	0,16%
34	center	2	0,16%	batons	2	0,15%	Datos	2	0,13%	movilización	3	0,16%
35	clashes	2	0,16%	boxes	2	0,15%	España	2	0,13%	negociación	3	0,16%
36	crisis	2	0,16%	Brexit	2	0,15%	Forma	2	0,13%	parte	3	0,16%
37	debate	2	0,16%	Brussels	2	0,15%	garantías	2	0,13%	personas	3	0,16%
38	declaration	2	0,16%	bullets	2	0,15%	Goma	2	0,13%	Rajoy	3	0,16%
39	force	2	0,16%	Catalans	2	0,15%	Horas	2	0,13%	tribunal	3	0,16%
40	images	2	0,16%	countries	2	0,15%	instituciones	2	0,13%	uso	3	0,16%
41	leaders	2	0,16%	day	2	0,15%	intervención	2	0,13%	video	3	0,16%
42	mossos	2	0,16%	democracy	2	0,15%	justicia	2	0,13%	violencia	3	0,16%
43	movement	2	0,16%	dialogue	2	0,15%	material	2	0,13%	votos	3	0,16%
44	officer	2	0,16%	duty	2	0,15%	Miles	2	0,13%	activistas	2	0,10%
45	Rivera	2	0,16%	force	2	0,15%	Mossos	2	0,13%	apoyo	2	0,10%
46	support	2	0,16%	form	2	0,15%	País	2	0,13%	años	2	0,10%
47	violence	2	0,16%	hope	2	0,15%	pasividad	2	0,13%	Barcelona	2	0,10%
48	votes	2	0,16%	hours	2	0,15%	Rajoy	2	0,13%	barricadas	2	0,10%

49	Zoido	2	0,16%	leader	2	0,15%	resultados	2	0,13%	Carles	2	0,10%
50	act	1	0,08%	legality	2	0,15%	seguridad	2	0,13%	cierres	2	0,10%
51	actions	1	0,08%	member	2	0,15%	soberanismo	2	0,13%	críticas	2	0,10%
52	acts	1	0,08%	Monday	2	0,15%	Tarde	2	0,13%	datos	2	0,10%
53	Ada	1	0,08%	negotiations	2	0,15%	Omnium	2	0,13%	decenas	2	0,10%
54	agency	1	0,08%	night	2	0,15%	número	2	0,13%	derecho	2	0,10%
55	Albert	1	0,08%	Rajoy	2	0,15%	actuación	1	0,06%	desarrollo	2	0,10%
56	alternative	1	0,08%	republic	2	0,15%	acuerdo	1	0,06%	diálogo	2	0,10%
57	Antena	1	0,08%	response	2	0,15%	alcance	1	0,06%	días	2	0,10%
58	approval	1	0,08%	right	2	0,15%	anticipo	1	0,06%	disturbios	2	0,10%
59	arm	1	0,08%	Rosindell	2	0,15%	apertura	1	0,06%	ejecutivo	2	0,10%
60	authorotianism	1	0,08%	rubber	2	0,15%	Apoyo	1	0,06%	fuentes	2	0,10%
61	authorities	1	0,08%	stance	2	0,15%	Asamblea	1	0,06%	gente	2	0,10%
62	ballots	1	0,08%	standards	2	0,15%	Ataque	1	0,06%	gobiernos	2	0,10%
63	brink	1	0,08%	statement	2	0,15%	autoridad	1	0,06%	huelga	2	0,10%
64	broadcast	1	0,08%	world	2	0,15%	balance	1	0,06%	idea	2	0,10%
65	bullets	1	0,08%	affairs	1	0,07%	barricadas	1	0,06%	imagen	2	0,10%

66	census	1	0,08%	Alfonso	1	0,07%	benemérita	1	0,06%	Junqueras	2	0,10%
67	chain	1	0,08%	Altafaj	1	0,07%	Bola	1	0,06%	justicia	2	0,10%
68	charge	1	0,08%	Amadeu	1	0,07%	brutalidad	1	0,06%	material	2	0,10%
69	ciudadanos	1	0,08%	announcement	1	0,07%	cambio	1	0,06%	operación	2	0,10%
70	coalition	1	0,08%	answer	1	0,07%	Carles	1	0,06%	Oriol	2	0,10%
71	Colau	1	0,08%	assembly	1	0,07%	casa	1	0,06%	partidos	2	0,10%
72	commission	1	0,08%	assertion	1	0,07%	casas	1	0,06%	población	2	0,10%
73	comissioner	1	0,08%	attempt	1	0,07%	caso	1	0,06%	presencia	2	0,10%
74	consensus	1	0,08%	authorities	1	0,07%	casos	1	0,06%	president	2	0,10%
75	consequences	1	0,08%	Barcelona	1	0,07%	catarata	1	0,06%	proceso	2	0,10%
76	constitution	1	0,08%	Belgium	1	0,07%	centenares	1	0,06%	represión	2	0,10%
77	control	1	0,08%	blame	1	0,07%	centrales	1	0,06%	Sánchez	2	0,10%
78	court	1	0,08%	Boris	1	0,07%	civiles	1	0,06%	semanas	2	0,10%
79	cowardice	1	0,08%	bricks	1	0,07%	Colau	1	0,06%	tribunales	2	0,10%
80	crackdown	1	0,08%	Carles	1	0,07%	colegio	1	0,06%	utilización	2	0,10%
81	day	1	0,08%	century	1	0,07%	comparecencia	1	0,06%	vicepresidente	2	0,10%
82	decision	1	0,08%	charges	1	0,07%	comunicación	1	0,06%	vocal	2	0,10%

83	democracy	1	0,08%	Charles	1	0,07%	conjunto	1	0,06%	voto	2	0,10%
84	determination	1	0,08%	circumstances	1	0,07%	conmoción	1	0,06%	acto	1	0,05%
85	dispute	1	0,08%	claims	1	0,07%	consecuencias	1	0,06%	actuaciones	1	0,05%
86	election	1	0,08%	clashes	1	0,07%	constitucionalismo	1	0,06%	amenaza	1	0,05%
87	emergency	1	0,08%	Claude	1	0,07%	corazón	1	0,06%	ansiedad	1	0,05%
88	equipment	1	0,08%	committee	1	0,07%	cordón	1	0,06%	apertura	1	0,05%
89	Ernest	1	0,08%	complacency	1	0,07%	coste	1	0,06%	aplicación	1	0,05%
90	Esquadra	1	0,08%	concern	1	0,07%	crisis	1	0,06%	ataques	1	0,05%
91	events	1	0,08%	concern	1	0,07%	cuenta	1	0,06%	auto	1	0,05%
92	fact	1	0,08%	condemnation	1	0,07%	decenas	1	0,06%	autoridades	1	0,05%
93	favor	1	0,08%	constitution	1	0,07%	departamento	1	0,06%	cadenas	1	0,05%
94	firefighters	1	0,08%	core	1	0,07%	derecho	1	0,06%	calle	1	0,05%
95	fireman	1	0,08%	country	1	0,07%	desconexión	1	0,06%	calles	1	0,05%
96	folly	1	0,08%	coup	1	0,07%	despliegue	1	0,06%	cámaras	1	0,05%
97	hundreds	1	0,08%	courts	1	0,07%	diario	1	0,06%	cara	1	0,05%
98	hurdles	1	0,08%	crackdown	1	0,07%	dimensión	1	0,06%	caso	1	0,05%
99	Hussein	1	0,08%	crowds	1	0,07%	dimisión	1	0,06%	Catalunya	1	0,05%

100	Iglesias	1	0,08%	Dastis	1	0,07%	disco	1	0,06%	centrales	1	0,05%
101	Ignacio	1	0,08%	days	1	0,07%	dispositivos	1	0,06%	Charles	1	0,05%
102	image	1	0,08%	declaration	1	0,07%	duplicidades	1	0,06%	ciudadanos	1	0,05%
103	insurgency	1	0,08%	difficulties	1	0,07%	estabilidad	1	0,06%	ciudades	1	0,05%
104	integrity	1	0,08%	doors	1	0,07%	equidistancia	1	0,06%	climas	1	0,05%
105	investigation	1	0,08%	doubt	1	0,07%	escenario	1	0,06%	Comisión	1	0,05%
106	investigations	1	0,08%	Europe	1	0,07%	escenas	1	0,06%	comisiones	1	0,05%
107	issue	1	0,08%	event	1	0,07%	escenificación	1	0,06%	comprobación	1	0,05%
108	Juan	1	0,08%	expression	1	0,07%	escudos	1	0,06%	conflicto	1	0,05%
109	line	1	0,08%	farce	1	0,07%	Esquadra	1	0,06%	congreso	1	0,05%
110	lot	1	0,08%	federation	1	0,07%	estrategia	1	0,06%	consejero	1	0,05%
111	loyalty	1	0,08%	firefighters	1	0,07%	fondo	1	0,06%	consulta	1	0,05%
112	Mariano	1	0,08%	footage	1	0,07%	Francia	1	0,06%	contactos	1	0,05%
113	mayor	1	0,08%	football	1	0,07%	fuentes	1	0,06%	controles	1	0,05%
114	mediation	1	0,08%	forces	1	0,07%	fuerzas	1	0,06%	contundencia	1	0,05%
115	members	1	0,08%	freedom	1	0,07%	funcionamiento	1	0,06%	conversaciones	1	0,05%
116	midnight	1	0,08%	Friday	1	0,07%	futuro	1	0,06%	declaración	1	0,05%

117	morning	1	0,08%	gear	1	0,07%	gente	1	0,06%	defensa	1	0,05%
118	nations	1	0,08%	Gibraltar	1	0,07%	golpe	1	0,06%	deliberación	1	0,05%
119	obstacles	1	0,08%	groups	1	0,07%	goteo	1	0,06%	democracia	1	0,05%
120	office	1	0,08%	guarantees	1	0,07%	grupo	1	0,06%	desafío	1	0,05%
121	offices	1	0,08%	Guardia	1	0,07%	Guardia	1	0,06%	detalles	1	0,05%
122	one	1	0,08%	guy	1	0,07%	guardias	1	0,06%	dificultades	1	0,05%
123	orders	1	0,08%	hair	1	0,07%	hombre	1	0,06%	diligencias	1	0,05%
124	Pablo	1	0,08%	hand	1	0,07%	huelga	1	0,06%	diputados	1	0,05%
125	parliament	1	0,08%	history	1	0,07%	lceta	1	0,06%	dispositivo	1	0,05%
126	Pedro	1	0,08%	hundreds	1	0,07%	imagen	1	0,06%	efectivos	1	0,05%
127	people	1	0,08%	Hungary	1	0,07%	impacto	1	0,06%	elector	1	0,05%
128	plans	1	0,08%	impact	1	0,07%	impresión	1	0,06%	electores	1	0,05%
129	Podemos	1	0,08%	irresponsibility	1	0,07%	incidentes	1	0,06%	empleado	1	0,05%
130	policeman	1	0,08%	Jean	1	0,07%	independencia	1	0,06%	entrada	1	0,05%
131	politician	1	0,08%	Johnson	1	0,07%	jornadas	1	0,06%	entradas	1	0,05%
132	powers	1	0,08%	Jordi	1	0,07%	juez	1	0,06%	escenarios	1	0,05%
133	precipice	1	0,08%	Juncker	1	0,07%	Junqueras	1	0,06%	escenificación	1	0,05%

134	protesters	1	0,08%	law	1	0,07%	lanzamiento	1	0,06%	escuela	1	0,05%
135	question	1	0,08%	leaders	1	0,07%	lentitud	1	0,06%	escuelas	1	0,05%
136	Rafael	1	0,08%	life	1	0,07%	lanzamiento	1	0,06%	Esquadra	1	0,05%
137	region	1	0,08%	light	1	0,07%	ley	1	0,06%	Esquerra	1	0,05%
138	registers	1	0,08%	lines	1	0,07%	lentitud	1	0,06%	estrategias	1	0,05%
139	resistance	1	0,08%	Mariano	1	0,07%	liderazgo	1	0,06%	Europa	1	0,05%
140	rights	1	0,08%	match	1	0,07%	líderes	1	0,06%	excepcionalida d	1	0,05%
141	rubber	1	0,08%	mention	1	0,07%	llamada	1	0,06%	exigencia	1	0,05%
142	secessionism	1	0,08%	Michel	1	0,07%	llamamiento	1	0,06%	falta	1	0,05%
143	separatist	1	0,08%	millions	1	0,07%	Lugar	1	0,06%	Finlandia	1	0,05%
144	shock	1	0,08%	negotiator	1	0,07%	maratón	1	0,06%	formas	1	0,05%
145	socialists	1	0,08%	Nicola	1	0,07%	margen	1	0,06%	fragilidad	1	0,05%
146	society	1	0,08%	number	1	0,07%	Mariano	1	0,06%	función	1	0,05%
147	sorts	1	0,08%	office	1	0,07%	mesas	1	0,06%	gabinete	1	0,05%
148	statehood	1	0,08%	one	1	0,07%	Miquel	1	0,06%	Girona	1	0,05%
149	statement	1	0,08%	option	1	0,07%	Modo	1	0,06%	goma	1	0,05%

150	strike	1	0,08%	order	1	0,07%	movilización	1	0,06%	grupos	1	0,05%
151	survival	1	0,08%	page	1	0,07%	mundo	1	0,06%	hechos	1	0,05%
152	tallies	1	0,08%	Palmas	1	0,07%	Noche	1	0,06%	hombre	1	0,05%
153	Telecinco	1	0,08%	parliament	1	0,07%	noviembre	1	0,06%	horas	1	0,05%
154	tensions	1	0,08%	person	1	0,07%	ojo	1	0,06%	hospital	1	0,05%
155	term	1	0,08%	place	1	0,07%	operativo	1	0,06%	hospitalización	1	0,05%
156	territory	1	0,08%	plans	1	0,07%	Oriol	1	0,06%	imagenes	1	0,05%
157	tuesday	1	0,08%	pledge	1	0,07%	Palau	1	0,06%	impacto	1	0,05%
158	two	1	0,08%	Poland	1	0,07%	papeletas	1	0,06%	inacción	1	0,05%
159	union	1	0,08%	politicians	1	0,07%	parejas	1	0,06%	infarto	1	0,05%
160	unions	1	0,08%	polls	1	0,07%	parlamento	1	0,06%	instituciones	1	0,05%
161	validity	1	0,08%	postponement	1	0,07%	partes	1	0,06%	instituto	1	0,05%
162	version	1	0,08%	precaution	1	0,07%	particulares	1	0,06%	intervención	1	0,05%
163	victory	1	0,08%	proprieties	1	0,07%	partido	1	0,06%	Jaume	1	0,05%
164	Zeid	1	0,08%	quarters	1	0,07%	partidos	1	0,06%	Jordi	1	0,05%
165				question	1	0,07%	patronales	1	0,06%	juzgados	1	0,05%
166				reaction	1	0,07%	Pedro	1	0,06%	llamada	1	0,05%

167				representative	1	0,07%	pelotas	1	0,06%	llegada	1	0,05%
168				riot	1	0,07%	Perpignon	1	0,06%	Lleida	1	0,05%
169				rule	1	0,07%	persona	1	0,06%	Llull	1	0,05%
170				Santamaría	1	0,07%	planes	1	0,06%	locales	1	0,05%
171				secretary	1	0,07%	plazo	1	0,06%	manifestantes	1	0,05%
172				security	1	0,07%	Podemos	1	0,06%	mañana	1	0,05%
173				serenity	1	0,07%	políticas	1	0,06%	marcha	1	0,05%
174				service	1	0,07%	porras	1	0,06%	Mariano	1	0,05%
175				shame	1	0,07%	posición	1	0,06%	mazo	1	0,05%
176				shields	1	0,07%	postura	1	0,06%	mediadores	1	0,05%
177				side	1	0,07%	prensa	1	0,06%	ministro	1	0,05%
178				Soraya	1	0,07%	prestigio	1	0,06%	Niinsist	1	0,05%
179				spirit	1	0,07%	probabilidad	1	0,06%	nivel	1	0,05%
180				spokesman	1	0,07%	proceso	1	0,06%	noche	1	0,05%
181				stake	1	0,07%	producto	1	0,06%	nombre	1	0,05%
182				states	1	0,07%	proporcionalidad	1	0,06%	objetivo	1	0,05%
183				status	1	0,07%	puentes	1	0,06%	ofensiva	1	0,05%

184				Stroehlien	1	0,07%	Puigdemont	1	0,06%	ojo	1	0,05%
185				Sturgeon	1	0,07%	quiebra	1	0,06%	organización	1	0,05%
186				suggestions	1	0,07%	relación	1	0,06%	origen	1	0,05%
187				surgery	1	0,07%	república	1	0,06%	país	1	0,05%
188				suspension	1	0,07%	responsabilidad	1	0,06%	papel	1	0,05%
189				tactics	1	0,07%	responsable	1	0,06%	papeletas	1	0,05%
190				things	1	0,07%	salud	1	0,06%	partido	1	0,05%
191				tone	1	0,07%	secesionismo	1	0,06%	Pedro	1	0,05%
192				tory	1	0,07%	semana	1	0,06%	pelota	1	0,05%
193				Turull	1	0,07%	semanas	1	0,06%	persona	1	0,05%
194				twitter	1	0,07%	sindicatos	1	0,06%	preguntas	1	0,05%
195				Verhofstadt	1	0,07%	sindicatura	1	0,06%	preocupación	1	0,05%
196				video	1	0,07%	sucesos	1	0,06%	presidencia	1	0,05%
197				violations	1	0,07%	trascendencia	1	0,06%	Ramón	1	0,05%
198				voice	1	0,07%	tribunal	1	0,06%	reacción	1	0,05%
199				week	1	0,07%	unidad	1	0,06%	recuento	1	0,05%
200				women	1	0,07%	urna	1	0,06%	recursos	1	0,05%

201				years	1	0,07%	uso	1	0,06%	redes	1	0,05%
202							víspera	1	0,06%	registros	1	0,05%
203							vicepresidente	1	0,06%	representación	1	0,05%
204							victoria	1	0,06%	réplica	1	0,05%
205							voladura	1	0,06%	retiradas	1	0,05%
206							votaciones	1	0,06%	riesgo	1	0,05%
207										ronda	1	0,05%
208										sedes	1	0,05%
209										servicios	1	0,05%
210										señales	1	0,05%
211										sospecha	1	0,05%
212										tarde	1	0,05%
213										televisión	1	0,05%
214										tensión	1	0,05%
215										terreno	1	0,05%
216										Turull	1	0,05%
217										urnas	1	0,05%

218										validez	1	0,05%
219										vergüenza	1	0,05%
220										vez	1	0,05%
221										vicepresidenta	1	0,05%
222										voluntarios	1	0,05%
223										votación	1	0,05%
224										votaciones	1	0,05%
225										votantes	1	0,05%
T	1213 tokens			1358 tokens				1593 tokens				1907 tokens

Appendix 6: Adjective frequencies

Rank	TNYT	F	%	TDT	F	%	ABC	F	%	EP	F	%
1	Catalan	15	1,24%	Spanish	11	0,81%	catalán	4	0,25%	electorales	9	0,47%
2	Spanish	11	0,91%	catalan	9	0,66%	electoral	4	0,25%	civil	4	0,21%
3	European	4	0,33%	European	8	0,59%	heridos	3	0,19%	nacional	4	0,21%
4	national	3	0,25%	illegal	5	0,37%	electorales	2	0,13%	policiales	4	0,21%
5	human	2	0,16%	foreign	4	0,29%	grave	2	0,13%	electoral	3	0,16%
6	leftist	2	0,16%	human	4	0,29%	graves	2	0,13%	general	3	0,16%
7	main	2	0,16%	constitutional	3	0,22%	ilegal	2	0,13%	gran	2	0,10%
8	major	2	0,16%	independent	3	0,22%	nacional	2	0,13%	legal	2	0,10%
9	regional	2	0,16%	injured	3	0,22%	policial	2	0,13%	numerosas	2	0,10%
10	unilateral	2	0,16%	prime	3	0,22%	propia	2	0,13%	público	2	0,10%
11	active	1	0,08%	civil	2	0,15%	última	2	0,13%	patente	2	0,10%
12	administrative	1	0,08%	disproportionate	2	0,15%	últimas	2	0,13%	policial	2	0,10%
13	ambivalent	1	0,08%	peaceful	2	0,15%	próximos	2	0,13%	principales	2	0,10%
14	autonomous	1	0,08%	regional	2	0,15%	absoluta	2	0,13%	superior	2	0,10%

15	basic	1	0,08%	rubber	2	0,15%	actuales	1	0,06%	últimas	2	0,10%
16	binding	1	0,08%	silent	2	0,15%	ancho	1	0,06%	últimos	2	0,10%
17	central	1	0,08%	unilateral	2	0,15%	autonómica	1	0,06%	absoluta	1	0,05%
18	constitutional	1	0,08%	violent	2	0,15%	buen	1	0,06%	absoluto	1	0,05%
19	critical	1	0,08%	anxious	1	0,07%	Catalana	1	0,06%	afectado	1	0,05%
20	deeper	1	0,08%	armoured	1	0,07%	catalanas	1	0,06%	alternativo	1	0,05%
21	disturbed	1	0,08%	bad	1	0,07%	ciudadana	1	0,06%	aparatosa	1	0,05%
22	early	1	0,08%	banned	1	0,07%	Civil	1	0,06%	autonómica	1	0,05%
23	emergency	1	0,08%	brutal	1	0,07%	civiles	1	0,06%	catalana	1	0,05%
24	executive	1	0,08%	central	1	0,07%	conjunto	1	0,06%	catalanas	1	0,05%
25	fragile	1	0,08%	democratic	1	0,07%	constitucional	1	0,06%	central	1	0,05%
26	full	1	0,08%	different	1	0,07%	cultural	1	0,06%	centrales	1	0,05%
27	general	1	0,08%	difficult	1	0,07%	cruzada	1	0,06%	ciudadana	1	0,05%
28	high	1	0,08%	double	1	0,07%	disuelta	1	0,06%	claro	1	0,05%
29	illegal	1	0,08%	elderly	1	0,07%	dobles	1	0,06%	comprometida	1	0,05%
30	impartial	1	0,08%	fundamental	1	0,07%	duro	1	0,06%	constantes	1	0,05%
31	important	1	0,08%	handed	1	0,07%	electrónico	1	0,06%	constitucional	1	0,05%

32	independent	1	0,08%	heavy	1	0,07%	extrema	1	0,06%	crítico	1	0,05%
33	influential	1	0,08%	hypocritical	1	0,07%	futura	1	0,06%	cuestionadas	1	0,05%
34	injured	1	0,08%	important	1	0,07%	general	1	0,06%	dicho	1	0,05%
35	interior	1	0,08%	large	1	0,07%	gran	1	0,06%	enloquecida	1	0,05%
36	internal	1	0,08%	laxer	1	0,07%	homologable	1	0,06%	español	1	0,05%
37	international	1	0,08%	legal	1	0,07%	iguales	1	0,06%	europea	1	0,05%
38	left	1	0,08%	longer	1	0,07%	importantísima	1	0,06%	europeas	1	0,05%
39	legitimate	1	0,08%	masked	1	0,07%	independiente	1	0,06%	exterior	1	0,05%
40	passive	1	0,08%	national	1	0,07%	independentista	1	0,06%	humanas	1	0,05%
41	political	1	0,08%	new	1	0,07%	inminente	1	0,06%	injustificable	1	0,05%
42	possible	1	0,08%	only	1	0,07%	institucional	1	0,06%	internacionales	1	0,05%
43	prime	1	0,08%	permanent	1	0,07%	irreversible	1	0,06%	judicial	1	0,05%
44	rubber	1	0,08%	political	1	0,07%	mayor	1	0,06%	largo	1	0,05%
45	separatist	1	0,08%	possible	1	0,07%	mayoritarias	1	0,06%	manual	1	0,05%
46	short	1	0,08%	preliminary	1	0,07%	minoritario	1	0,06%	máxima	1	0,05%
47	territorial	1	0,08%	premeditated	1	0,07%	mismo	1	0,06%	mayor	1	0,05%
48	unclear	1	0,08%	proportionate	1	0,07%	nacionales	1	0,06%	mayoritario	1	0,05%

49	united	1	0,08%	public	1	0,07%	negro	1	0,06%	mediterránea	1	0,05%
50	valid	1	0,08%	same	1	0,07%	paralela	1	0,06%	médicos	1	0,05%
51	worse	1	0,08%	sensitive	1	0,07%	pasada	1	0,06%	menor	1	0,05%
52	worst	1	0,08%	shameful	1	0,07%	policiales	1	0,06%	mero	1	0,05%
53				strict	1	0,07%	posible	1	0,06%	nacionales	1	0,05%
54				stronger	1	0,07%	pretendido	1	0,06%	normal	1	0,05%
55				substantive	1	0,07%	privado	1	0,06%	notable	1	0,05%
56				televised	1	0,07%	pronta	1	0,06%	nueva	1	0,05%
57				unacceptable	1	0,07%	puntuales	1	0,06%	obreras	1	0,05%
58				unauthorised	1	0,07%	responsables	1	0,06%	omiso	1	0,05%
59				unfolding	1	0,07%	rotos	1	0,06%	parlamentaria	1	0,05%
60				unfortunate	1	0,07%	sorpresiva	1	0,06%	pequeños	1	0,05%
61				uniformed	1	0,07%	superior	1	0,06%	político	1	0,05%
62				unpleasant	1	0,07%	total	1	0,06%	posterior	1	0,05%
63				valued	1	0,07%	último	1	0,06%	primer	1	0,05%
64				weak	1	0,07%	única	1	0,06%	primeras	1	0,05%
65				widespread	1	0,07%	unitaria	1	0,06%	principal	1	0,05%

66				young	1	0,07%	universal	1	0,06%	propio	1	0,05%
67							victoriosa	1	0,06%	público	1	0,05%
68										representativas	1	0,05%
69										republicana	1	0,05%
70										seria	1	0,05%
71										sociales	1	0,05%
72										socialista	1	0,05%
73										técnicas	1	0,05%
74										total	1	0,05%
75										universal	1	0,05%
76										vinculante	1	0,05%
77										visible	1	0,05%
T	1213 tokens			1358 tokens			1593 tokens			1907 tokens		

Appendix 7: Adverb frequencies

Rank	TNYT	F	%	TDT	F	%	ABC	F	%	EP	F	%
1	not	8	0,66%	no	5	0,37%	no	8	0,50%	no	10	0,52%
2	no	5	0,41%	not	3	0,22%	más	7	0,44%	también	7	0,37%
3	even	4	0,33%	yes	3	0,22%	ayer	5	0,31%	cuando	6	0,31%
4	after	3	0,25%	again	2	0,15%	durante	4	0,25%	ayer	4	0,21%
5	almost	3	0,25%	daily	2	0,15%	solo	3	0,19%	más	4	0,21%
6	also	3	0,25%	today	2	0,15%	adelante	2	0,13%	dentro	2	0,10%
7	around	2	0,16%	very	2	0,15%	ahora	2	0,13%	todavía	2	0,10%
8	firmly	2	0,16%	when	2	0,15%	cuando	2	0,13%	así	1	0,05%
9	later	2	0,16%	yesterday	2	0,15%	mientras	2	0,13%	claramente	1	0,05%
10	very	2	0,16%	across	1	0,07%	ya	2	0,13%	completamente	1	0,05%
11	ahead	1	0,08%	ahead	1	0,07%	allá	1	0,06%	delante	1	0,05%
12	already	1	0,08%	also	1	0,07%	antes	1	0,06%	especialmente	1	0,05%
13	down	1	0,08%	away	1	0,07%	dentro	1	0,06%	menos	1	0,05%
14	early	1	0,08%	behind	1	0,07%	incluso	1	0,06%	mera	1	0,05%

15	else	1	0,08%	beyond	1	0,07%	luego	1	0,06%	particularmente	1	0,05%
16	far	1	0,08%	certainly	1	0,07%	muy	1	0,06%	todavía	1	0,05%
17	fiercely	1	0,08%	clearly	1	0,07%	menos	1	0,06%	quirúrgicamente	1	0,05%
18	independently	1	0,08%	completely	1	0,07%	nunca	1	0,06%			
19	inside	1	0,08%	consistently	1	0,07%	pronto	1	0,06%			
20	mostly	1	0,08%	conspicuously	1	0,07%	simplemente	1	0,06%			
21	only	1	0,08%	even	1	0,07%	también	1	0,06%			
22	shortly	1	0,08%	exclusively	1	0,07%	tampoco	1	0,06%			
23	simply	1	0,08%	forcibly	1	0,07%	temprano	1	0,06%			
24	there	1	0,08%	forever	1	0,07%						
25	today	1	0,08%	initially	1	0,07%						
26	widely	1	0,08%	meanwhile	1	0,07%						
27				never	1	0,07%						
28				noticeably	1	0,07%						
29				obviously	1	0,07%						
30				repeatedly	1	0,07%						
31				shamefully	1	0,07%						

32			soon	1	0,07%					
33			successfully	1	0,07%					
34			unilaterally	1	0,07%					
T	1213 tokens		1358 tokens			1593 tokens			1907 tokens	

Appendix 8: Determiners frequencies

Rank	TNYT	F	%	TDT	F	%	ABC	F	%	EP	F	%
1	the	77	6,35%	the	112	8,25%	la	73	4,58%	la	96	5,03%
2	a	21	1,73%	a	24	1,77%	el	47	2,95%	el	53	2,78%
3	he	15	1,24%	he	16	1,18%	los	30	1,88%	los	38	1,99%
4	it	7	0,58%	it	9	0,66%	se	28	1,76%	las	25	1,31%
5	their	5	0,41%	an	7	0,51%	las	23	1,44%	se	22	1,15%
6	an	4	0,33%	other	5	0,37%	una	18	1,13%	un	14	0,73%
7	who	4	0,33%	its	4	0,29%	un	14	0,88%	una	14	0,73%
8	which	3	0,25%	they	4	0,29%	su	13	0,82%	lo	8	0,42%
9	his	3	0,25%	we	4	0,29%	lo	10	0,63%	su	8	0,42%
10	I	3	0,25%	which	4	0,29%	este	2	0,13%	toda	4	0,21%
11	them	3	0,25%	their	3	0,22%	algo	1	0,06%	algunas	3	0,16%
12	its	2	0,16%	this	3	0,22%	algunas	1	0,06%	algunos	3	0,16%
13	own	2	0,16%	what	3	0,22%	algunos	1	0,06%	este	3	0,16%

14	this	2	0,16%	who	3	0,22%	ambos	1	0,06%	todo	3	0,16%
15	all	1	0,08%	another	2	0,15%	cual	1	0,06%	todos	3	0,16%
16	both	1	0,08%	his	2	0,15%	cualquier	1	0,06%	cualquier	2	0,10%
17	that	1	0,08%	much	2	0,15%	mi	1	0,06%	ellos	2	0,10%
18	they	1	0,08%	that	2	0,15%	mucho	1	0,06%	estas	1	0,05%
19	us	1	0,08%	those	2	0,15%	nada	1	0,06%	mucha	1	0,05%
20	we	1	0,08%	whom	2	0,15%	nadie	1	0,06%	nadie	1	0,05%
21	whose	1	0,08%	you	2	0,15%	nos	1	0,06%	otra	1	0,05%
22	whose	1	0,08%	any	1	0,07%	otro	1	0,06%	otras	1	0,05%
23				both	1	0,07%	otros	1	0,06%	otro	1	0,05%
24				I	1	0,07%	sus	1	0,06%	otros	1	0,05%
25				itself	1	0,07%	todo	1	0,06%	sus	1	0,05%
26				las	1	0,07%	todos	1	0,06%	todas	1	0,05%
27				nothing	1	0,07%	yo	1	0,06%			
28				several	1	0,07%						
29				she	1	0,07%						
30				something	1	0,07%						

31				such	1	0,07%					
T	1213 tokens			1358 tokens			1593 tokens			1907 tokens	

Appendix 9: Verb frequencies

Rank	TNYT	F	%	TDT	F	%	ABC	F	%	EP	F	%
1	said	14	1,15%	said	15	1,10%	fue	4	0,25%	había	10	0,52%
2	had	12	0,99%	would	10	0,74%	ha	4	0,25%	votar	7	0,37%
3	was	9	0,74%	be	9	0,66%	había	4	0,25%	fue	6	0,31%
4	have	7	0,58%	had	9	0,66%	ser	4	0,25%	dijo	3	0,16%
5	is	6	0,49%	was	9	0,66%	votar	3	0,19%	era	3	0,16%
6	be	5	0,41%	are	8	0,59%	anunció	2	0,13%	habían	3	0,16%
7	called	5	0,41%	were	7	0,51%	anunciado	2	0,13%	hizo	3	0,16%
8	could	5	0,41%	been	6	0,44%	celebrado	2	0,13%	impedir	3	0,16%
9	has	4	0,33%	have	6	0,44%	comenzó	2	0,13%	tuvo	3	0,16%
10	were	4	0,33%	is	5	0,37%	dado	2	0,13%	abrieron	2	0,10%
11	would	4	0,33%	told	5	0,37%	evitar	2	0,13%	abrir	2	0,10%
12	announced	3	0,25%	has	4	0,29%	fueron	2	0,13%	anunció	2	0,10%
13	been	3	0,25%	won	4	0,29%	hemos	2	0,13%	cerrados	2	0,10%
14	earned	3	0,25%	injured	3	0,22%	informar	2	0,13%	descabezar	2	0,10%

15	take	3	0,25%	insisting	3	0,22%	llegar	2	0,13%	estaba	2	0,10%
16	are	2	0,16%	left	3	0,22%	pudieron	2	0,13%	fueron	2	0,10%
17	backed	2	0,16%	announced	2	0,15%	pudiese	2	0,13%	ha	2	0,10%
18	declare	2	0,16%	attack	2	0,15%	pudo	2	0,13%	han	2	0,10%
19	having	2	0,16%	backed	2	0,15%	requisaron	1	0,06%	impedido	2	0,10%
20	open	2	0,16%	called	2	0,15%	abrirse	1	0,06%	insistir	2	0,10%
21	rejected	2	0,16%	closed	2	0,15%	acamparon	1	0,06%	intentar	2	0,10%
22	stop	2	0,16%	declare	2	0,15%	acelerar	1	0,06%	introducía	2	0,10%
23	told	2	0,16%	described	2	0,15%	actuar	1	0,06%	introducir	2	0,10%
24	used	2	0,16%	did	2	0,15%	actuaron	1	0,06%	podía	2	0,10%
25	want	2	0,16%	do	2	0,15%	adheridas	1	0,06%	quiso	2	0,10%
26	will	2	0,16%	forced	2	0,15%	adivina	1	0,06%	ser	2	0,10%
27	abandon	1	0,08%	keep	2	0,15%	afrontar	1	0,06%	volvieron	2	0,10%
28	accused	1	0,08%	make	2	0,15%	agolpaban	1	0,06%	acabar	1	0,05%
29	acknowledged	1	0,08%	playing	2	0,15%	alcanza	1	0,06%	acabaron	1	0,05%
30	amounted	1	0,08%	protect	2	0,15%	animaban	1	0,06%	acudiendo	1	0,05%
31	apply	1	0,08%	ruling	2	0,15%	anotar	1	0,06%	afirmar	1	0,05%

32	assured	1	0,08%	suspended	2	0,15%	anunciaba	1	0,06%	alentó	1	0,05%
33	avoid	1	0,08%	taking	2	0,15%	anuncian	1	0,06%	anotaba	1	0,05%
34	backing	1	0,08%	took	2	0,15%	apoyar	1	0,06%	aparecer	1	0,05%
35	based	1	0,08%	using	2	0,15%	apuntó	1	0,06%	apoyamos	1	0,05%
36	blamed	1	0,08%	voted	2	0,15%	aseguró	1	0,06%	apuntar	1	0,05%
37	block	1	0,08%	will	2	0,15%	aseguraron	1	0,06%	argumentaron	1	0,05%
38	bring	1	0,08%	accused	1	0,07%	asumido	1	0,06%	blindar	1	0,05%
39	broadcast	1	0,08%	act	1	0,07%	asumir	1	0,06%	buscaba	1	0,05%
40	broaden	1	0,08%	add	1	0,07%	atendiendo	1	0,06%	buscan	1	0,05%
41	cannot	1	0,08%	added	1	0,07%	bastó	1	0,06%	carecer	1	0,05%
42	cast	1	0,08%	adding	1	0,07%	burlar	1	0,06%	cargaron	1	0,05%
43	close	1	0,08%	advancing	1	0,07%	buscar	1	0,06%	celebrar	1	0,05%
44	confronted	1	0,08%	alleged	1	0,07%	celebró	1	0,06%	cerrarlo	1	0,05%
45	confronting	1	0,08%	appeal	1	0,07%	celebrando	1	0,06%	cifró	1	0,05%
46	considers	1	0,08%	appeared	1	0,07%	clausurados	1	0,06%	comparecer	1	0,05%
47	contested	1	0,08%	attack	1	0,07%	comenzaron	1	0,06%	compareció	1	0,05%
48	criticized	1	0,08%	beamed	1	0,07%	comprobar	1	0,06%	concentrada	1	0,05%

49	decide	1	0,08%	beat	1	0,07%	compromete	1	0,06%	condenó	1	0,05%
50	decided	1	0,08%	become	1	0,07%	comunicar	1	0,06%	conseguido	1	0,05%
51	defended	1	0,08%	being	1	0,07%	concluir	1	0,06%	consideraron	1	0,05%
52	describing	1	0,08%	believed	1	0,07%	confirmaron	1	0,06%	consiguió	1	0,05%
53	destroy	1	0,08%	blaming	1	0,07%	congregados	1	0,06%	contusionados	1	0,05%
54	discussing	1	0,08%	blasted	1	0,07%	conseguir	1	0,06%	convirtiese	1	0,05%
55	disturbed	1	0,08%	bleeding	1	0,07%	contrastaba	1	0,06%	convocado	1	0,05%
56	do	1	0,08%	break	1	0,07%	contusionados	1	0,06%	criticó	1	0,05%
57	done	1	0,08%	broke	1	0,07%	convocado	1	0,06%	culminó	1	0,05%
58	encourage	1	0,08%	bully	1	0,07%	convocar	1	0,06%	cumpla	1	0,05%
59	encouraging	1	0,08%	can	1	0,07%	cumpla	1	0,06%	dado	1	0,05%
60	ensure	1	0,08%	carried	1	0,07%	daba	1	0,06%	deben	1	0,05%
61	face	1	0,08%	chose	1	0,07%	dar	1	0,06%	defenderse	1	0,05%
62	faces	1	0,08%	claimed	1	0,07%	debía	1	0,06%	defienden	1	0,05%
63	failed	1	0,08%	claiming	1	0,07%	debida	1	0,06%	dejó	1	0,05%
64	follow	1	0,08%	closed	1	0,07%	declare	1	0,06%	demostrado	1	0,05%
65	forgetting	1	0,08%	comes	1	0,07%	denunciar	1	0,06%	denunció	1	0,05%

66	forming	1	0,08%	coming	1	0,07%	descontado	1	0,06%	desobedecido	1	0,05%
67	gathered	1	0,08%	concerns	1	0,07%	despejar	1	0,06%	dirigido	1	0,05%
68	help	1	0,08%	condemned	1	0,07%	desplegado	1	0,06%	disgustaron	1	0,05%
69	helped	1	0,08%	contended	1	0,07%	desplegados	1	0,06%	ejercer	1	0,05%
70	holding	1	0,08%	contends	1	0,07%	dirigieron	1	0,06%	elaborado	1	0,05%
71	ignoring	1	0,08%	could	1	0,07%	dispuesto	1	0,06%	empezar	1	0,05%
72	including	1	0,08%	crack	1	0,07%	disuelta	1	0,06%	empleado	1	0,05%
73	insisted	1	0,08%	cracking	1	0,07%	emplearse	1	0,06%	encauzar	1	0,05%
74	intervened	1	0,08%	damaged	1	0,07%	empujar	1	0,06%	entrar	1	0,05%
75	issued	1	0,08%	demanding	1	0,07%	enfrenta	1	0,06%	es	1	0,05%
76	lead	1	0,08%	demonstrating	1	0,07%	entra	1	0,06%	esconder	1	0,05%
77	leaving	1	0,08%	describing	1	0,07%	entrar	1	0,06%	esperaban	1	0,05%
78	legitimate	1	0,08%	dragging	1	0,07%	era	1	0,06%	existido	1	0,05%
79	made	1	0,08%	emerging	1	0,07%	es	1	0,06%	explicaba	1	0,05%
80	make	1	0,08%	end	1	0,07%	escenificó	1	0,06%	explicar	1	0,05%
81	marred	1	0,08%	ended	1	0,07%	establece	1	0,06%	explicaron	1	0,05%
82	meet	1	0,08%	engaged	1	0,07%	exigieron	1	0,06%	figuraba	1	0,05%

83	mounted	1	0,08%	expected	1	0,07%	fallaba	1	0,06%	formado	1	0,05%
84	moved	1	0,08%	expressed	1	0,07%	funcionaba	1	0,06%	formulado	1	0,05%
85	opposed	1	0,08%	faced	1	0,07%	ganado	1	0,06%	funcionaba	1	0,05%
86	ordered	1	0,08%	fighting	1	0,07%	garantizó	1	0,06%	funcionara	1	0,05%
87	overreacted	1	0,08%	happening	1	0,07%	generalizar	1	0,06%	generó	1	0,05%
88	plan	1	0,08%	holding	1	0,07%	golpeado	1	0,06%	habilitados	1	0,05%
89	prepared	1	0,08%	including	1	0,07%	guardado	1	0,06%	hacer	1	0,05%
90	prevent	1	0,08%	insisted	1	0,07%	guardar	1	0,06%	haciendo	1	0,05%
91	provoking	1	0,08%	look	1	0,07%	habló	1	0,06%	haya	1	0,05%
92	pushed	1	0,08%	looking	1	0,07%	habían	1	0,06%	heridos	1	0,05%
93	put	1	0,08%	made	1	0,07%	hacer	1	0,06%	hicieron	1	0,05%
94	recognized	1	0,08%	making	1	0,07%	he	1	0,06%	hubo	1	0,05%
95	remove	1	0,08%	marred	1	0,07%	hicieron	1	0,06%	impulsan	1	0,05%
96	resign	1	0,08%	moved	1	0,07%	hizo	1	0,06%	incautara	1	0,05%
97	returning	1	0,08%	needing	1	0,07%	iba	1	0,06%	incluidas	1	0,05%
98	saying	1	0,08%	ordered	1	0,07%	intentar	1	0,06%	incumpliendo	1	0,05%
99	scheduled	1	0,08%	pave	1	0,07%	introducía	1	0,06%	informó	1	0,05%

100	scuffle	1	0,08%	performed	1	0,07%	Introducirla	1	0,06%	intentó	1	0,05%
101	set	1	0,08%	plunged	1	0,07%	intuye	1	0,06%	intentando	1	0,05%
102	shames	1	0,08%	quash	1	0,07%	lee	1	0,06%	intervenido	1	0,05%
103	shift	1	0,08%	queued	1	0,07%	limitaron	1	0,06%	investigar	1	0,05%
104	showcased	1	0,08%	refused	1	0,07%	llegó	1	0,06%	lanzó	1	0,05%
105	showed	1	0,08%	rejected	1	0,07%	llegara	1	0,06%	llamó	1	0,05%
106	specifying	1	0,08%	remained	1	0,07%	llegaron	1	0,06%	llegaron	1	0,05%
107	split	1	0,08%	remove	1	0,07%	llevó	1	0,06%	lograr	1	0,05%
108	stage	1	0,08%	represent	1	0,07%	lleva	1	0,06%	montaron	1	0,05%
109	start	1	0,08%	resolve	1	0,07%	llevar	1	0,06%	mostrar	1	0,05%
110	started	1	0,08%	respond	1	0,07%	llevaron	1	0,06%	obstaculizar	1	0,05%
111	stated	1	0,08%	responding	1	0,07%	organizado	1	0,06%	ocupado	1	0,05%
112	stayed	1	0,08%	saw	1	0,07%	parecerse	1	0,06%	ocurriendo	1	0,05%
113	stranded	1	0,08%	say	1	0,07%	partir	1	0,06%	ofreció	1	0,05%
114	submit	1	0,08%	saying	1	0,07%	perder	1	0,06%	ofrezcan	1	0,05%
115	support	1	0,08%	seeking	1	0,07%	permitía	1	0,06%	ordenaba	1	0,05%
116	supported	1	0,08%	seems	1	0,07%	pidió	1	0,06%	pactar	1	0,05%

117	surrounded	1	0,08%	select	1	0,07%	podido	1	0,06%	parece	1	0,05%
118	suspend	1	0,08%	showed	1	0,07%	precintar	1	0,06%	pasó	1	0,05%
119	suspended	1	0,08%	showing	1	0,07%	previstos	1	0,06%	pedimos	1	0,05%
120	threatening	1	0,08%	shows	1	0,07%	produjeron	1	0,06%	previsto	1	0,05%
121	tip	1	0,08%	sits	1	0,07%	propició	1	0,06%	procedieron	1	0,05%
122	took	1	0,08%	sort	1	0,07%	pudiera	1	0,06%	provocaron	1	0,05%
123	tries	1	0,08%	split	1	0,07%	pudiesen	1	0,06%	pudiera	1	0,05%
124	urge	1	0,08%	stay	1	0,07%	puede	1	0,06%	quedó	1	0,05%
125	use	1	0,08%	suggested	1	0,07%	ratifiquen	1	0,06%	quejaron	1	0,05%
126	using	1	0,08%	trying	1	0,07%	recuperó	1	0,06%	quiere	1	0,05%
127	verified	1	0,08%	turned	1	0,07%	reflexionar	1	0,06%	reaccionar	1	0,05%
128	vote	1	0,08%	upheld	1	0,07%	repartido	1	0,06%	realizó	1	0,05%
129	warned	1	0,08%	used	1	0,07%	requisar	1	0,06%	recibiendo	1	0,05%
130	withdraw	1	0,08%	valued	1	0,07%	respondió	1	0,06%	recontar	1	0,05%
131	witnessed	1	0,08%	want	1	0,07%	responsabilizar	1	0,06%	recurrió	1	0,05%
132				watch	1	0,07%	resultaron	1	0,06%	registraron	1	0,05%
133				waver	1	0,07%	reunía	1	0,06%	reivindicó	1	0,05%

134				went	1	0,07%	revela	1	0,06%	requirieron	1	0,05%
135				wrote	1	0,07%	sidó	1	0,06%	requisando	1	0,05%
136							solapa	1	0,06%	respondiendo	1	0,05%
137							somos	1	0,06%	responsabilizar	1	0,05%
138							soy	1	0,06%	reunió	1	0,05%
139							sucedió	1	0,06%	romper	1	0,05%
140							sumaron	1	0,06%	sacar	1	0,05%
141							tendremos	1	0,06%	sería	1	0,05%
142							tener	1	0,06%	siguieron	1	0,05%
143							teníamos	1	0,06%	sirvió	1	0,05%
144							trabajar	1	0,06%	son	1	0,05%
145							traer	1	0,06%	subió	1	0,05%
146							trascendido	1	0,06%	subrayó	1	0,05%
147							trasladar	1	0,06%	sucedían	1	0,05%
148							tratando	1	0,06%	sucedieron	1	0,05%
149							tratase	1	0,06%	sufrió	1	0,05%
150							tuvieron	1	0,06%	supo	1	0,05%

151						tuvo	1	0,06%	suspendido	1	0,05%
152						usar	1	0,06%	tardó	1	0,05%
153						vencía	1	0,06%	tardó	1	0,05%
154						vio	1	0,06%	tendrá	1	0,05%
155									tiene	1	0,05%
156									trascurrido	1	0,05%
157									transmitir	1	0,05%
158									trasmitió	1	0,05%
159									trasladado	1	0,05%
160									tuvieron	1	0,05%
161									usar	1	0,05%
162									usaron	1	0,05%
163									utilizar	1	0,05%
164									verificaba	1	0,05%
165									votando	1	0,05%
T	1213 tokens			1358 tokens			1593 tokens			1907 tokens	