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Journalistic translation and *tribalisation*:
a study of the international depictions of the Catalan
indpendence conflict as represented in the Spanish
digital press.

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1. Introduction

At the end of the 20th century, the development of new systems of information transfer based on computer-mediated communication and online platforms provided global access to massive amounts of information (Castells, 2000, pp. 392-4). This global transfer of information, mainly characterised by its “simultaneity” (O’Hagan and Ashworth, 2002, p. 11), had a considerable impact on several fields, among them journalism (Bielsa and Bassnett, 2009, pp. 38-44). While the possibility of accessing news in different languages already existed before the digital revolution, the Internet significantly broadened the scope of press transmission, providing the millions of users of the World Wide Web with immediate media coverage of events from all around the globe in multiple languages. Consequently, translation became an integral part of journalism.

As some scholars have pointed out (González Rodríguez, 1999; Hernández Guerrero, 2011), the Spanish press is one of the main consumers of foreign news in Europe, and consequently translation stands out as a crucial resource. However, despite the important role news translation plays in our contemporary society, both in Spain and abroad, research into this field only started to be more prominent some decades ago (Basnett and Bielsa, 2009, pp. 4-9).

The present dissertation analyses how a number of foreign news texts written in English regarding the Catalan independence conflict are used by several Spanish newspapers to portray an international point of view of the events that took place on the 1st and 27th of October 2017 in Spain, by means of translation.

The rationale behind this subject choice is the important role “translation-mediated

communication” (O'Hagan and Ashworth, 2002) plays in the Spanish press at the present moment, as an instrument to render international opinions regarding Spanish political events. In this respect, we are referring to a recently born report type, which is becoming fairly noticeable among Spanish newspapers. It consists of a compilation of translated fragments from journalistic texts written by several international well-known media (e.g. *Le Monde*, *The Guardian*, *Corriere della Sera...*), which are mixed and reorganised to generate a new piece of news, while framing a specific perspective of a given event. These texts could be described as a recontextualisation of a previous text type, known as the press review.

As it has been mentioned above, translation makes global news more accessible for a wider audience. Nevertheless, as Orengo points out (2005, p. 169), it is not the worldwide availability of a product that makes it global, but the fact that it has been adapted to numerous cultural and social contexts. With respect to journalism, Lozano Bartolozzi (2006) argues that an “international piece of news” should not be described as equivalent to a piece of news produced outside the national territory, but as a text that domesticates the foreign and makes it local in a particular context (p. 160).

Therefore, translation is instrumental in bringing international news closer to local audiences. Nevertheless, this process of adaptation is not carried out freely by the journalist or the translator, whose work is very rarely credited on the target text. The person in charge of the translation process is bound to obey certain guidelines established by the newspaper's editorial line, such as stylistic recommendations, time and space constraints, and the presumed ideology and political orientation of the intended readership (Hernández Guerrero, 2006).

In the case of the Spanish press, which will be examined in this analysis, the ideological and political orientation of the target audiences, according to Orengo (2005) will very likely

be the same as that of the newspapers', since "in Mediterranean countries [...] the purchase of daily newspapers is often directly related to strong and well-defined party allegiance" (p. 176).

Even though the news translation process is carried out with little transparency (Hernández Guerrero, 2009, p. 72), a number of scholars (Van Leeuwen, 1987; Stetting, 1989; Vuorinen, 1995; Hursti, 2001; Hurtado Albir, 2001; Orengo, 2005; Bielsa and Bassnett, 2009; Hernández Guerrero, 2009; Cheesman and Nohl, 2011; Schäffner, 2012; Valdeón, 2014) have tried to describe its different steps, yet without a terminological and functional agreement.

Bielsa (2010) distinguishes three main tasks in the news translation process: i) the "selection and synthesis" of the information that will be provided to the target audience; ii) the "prioritisation of information", and iii) the adaptation of the selected information to the intended function the target text will perform in its final context (pp. 45-46). Of those tasks, the selection and prioritisation of information can be considered part of the process of *gatekeeping*. Vuorinen (1995) was the first scholar to apply this term in translation studies to describe the "process of controlling the flow of information into and through communication channels" (p. 170).

Cheesman and Nohl (2010) also use the term *gatekeeping* to refer to the process of information selection and rearrangement that takes place before translation, and identify the subsequent task as *transediting* to allude to modifications performed "during translation" (Schäffner 2012, p. 875). The purposes of those changes might vary. On the one hand, modifications might contribute to a process of *localisation* (Orengo 2005), the adaptation of global news to national contexts. On the other hand, the changes might seek to adapt the original information to the political and ideological orientation of a specific local audience, i.e.

the particular readership of a newspaper, generally with common political and ideological beliefs, in a process known as *tribalisation* (Orengo, 2005).

The present dissertation focuses on the Catalan independence conflict for several reasons. Firstly, it is a current topic which has generated considerable media attention, especially over the last year. The research and documentation carried out has shown that news regarding the subject of Catalan independence are published practically on a daily basis, both in Spain and in English-speaking countries, particularly in the United Kingdom and the United States. Secondly, the nature of some publications turns out to be of special interest. Apart from the regular articles published concerning this issue, there seems to be a tendency in the Spanish press to elaborate specific reports that compile translated excerpts from international newspapers. While the titles of these reports suggest that they represent international attitudes towards the conflict already mentioned, it seems obvious that the final texts produced by some Spanish online newspapers are quite differing in terms of interpretation, even though they use the same source materials.

This paper aims to analyse to what extent the Spanish reports represent the international views that they purport to portray by comparing the source and target texts published on the digital versions of the respective media. For that purpose, in the first section I will summarise and explain the main concepts related to journalistic translation that will be the basis of the analysis. Then, in the second section I will examine which criteria might be at work in the Spanish newspapers to select the source texts. Finally, the third section comprises an analysis of the most prominent translation techniques in these translations, and the possible effects they might have in terms of interpretation. In both cases, I will evaluate how the way selection and translation that has been carried out contributes to portray a particular image of the conflict, and hence to the *tribalisation* of news.

Corpus

Due to the narrow scope of the present paper and the extensive media coverage available regarding the Catalan independence conflict, the analysis has been delimited to texts published on specific dates: on the 1st and 2nd October 2017, when Catalan citizens held a referendum to vote for or against independence from Spain, and on the 27th October 2017, when the Catalan parliament unilaterally declared independence from Spain. The consequences of those measures, as well as a detailed description of the events that took place on those dates, were extensively covered by the international media.

The corpus for the analysis comprises a total of 25 pieces of news published on the dates above mentioned. The source texts (henceforth STs) are 13 news articles from the digital editions of a number of newspapers from different English-speaking countries, namely England (*Financial Times*, *The Guardian*, *The Times* and *The Independent*), Scotland (*The National* and *The Scotsman*) and the United States (*The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*). These source articles have been compared with their corresponding translations (i.e. target texts, henceforth TTs), which constitute part of the 12 news reports elaborated by the Spanish digital press, and more specifically by *La Vanguardia*, *eldiario.es*, *La Razón*, *El Confidencial*, *El País*, *El Mundo*, *El Periódico* and *Público*.

A list of all the STs and TTs that comprise the corpus, as well as the links to access them, are available at Appendix 1 of this paper.

2. The concepts of *gatekeeping*, *transediting* and *tribalisation* in the translation of news

For the purpose of the analysis available at the following section, we will first draw on Cheesman and Nohl (2010) distinction between *gatekeeping* and *transediting* as two different, consecutive processes in journalistic translation. On a first step, information is selected and rearranged, thus deciding “what and in which sequential order things are put into a report” (Cheesman and Nohl 2013, p. 3). After that, a combined process of translation and edition is carried out, referred to as *transediting* (Cheesman and Nohl, 2013).

Regarding the selection process, some scholars such as Bielsa and Bassnett (2009, p. 57), Hernández Guerrero (2009, p. 97), Schäffner (2012, p. 879), Conboy (2013, p. 87) and Valdeón (2014, p. 56; 2008) have pointed out that the election or exclusion of a particular news, or parts of it, is never arbitrary nor unconscious, since it is bound to convey those ideologies and viewpoints preferred by the newspaper's editorial line. Therefore, it could be said that *tribalisation* is likely to be at play even before the actual translation and edition processes start.

Further exploring the concept of *gatekeeping*, Hernandez Guerrero (2009) highlights the dual nature of the selection process, understood as the selection of a piece of news, and then, of its “visible parts” (p. 97). In relation to this, she also describes two translation practices which notably rely on selection and reorganisation: compiled and fragmented translation (Hernández Guerrero, 2009, pp. 82 -99). The first procedure was first defined by Toury (2004) as a translation that “gathers more than one original” (p. 76). The second one, fragmented translation, refers to “the partial translation” of a piece of news from another

newspaper (Hernández Guerrero, 2009, p. 94). According to this author (Hernández Guerrero, 2009), these strategies generate “coherent” target texts through the rearrangement of the chosen source texts and fragments, and while their publication portrays an “open-minded” attitude on the part of the producer, they have been structured in such a way that the views they ultimately convey share few similarities with the source texts that compose them (pp. 96-99). In both cases, the sources are generally *attributed* (Bednarek, 2006), crediting either the author who wrote them or the newspaper in which they were published. In this respect, Hernández Guerrero (2009) claims that the attribution of the translated texts to the author of the STs reinforces the presupposition that the target audience (henceforth TA) is accessing a “preexisting” piece of news, and that the mere mention of a foreign news-organisation lends “credibility and status” to the TT (pp. 99-102).

On the subject of the usage of attributed foreign sources, Oehlbers (2000) argues that the publication of foreign news regarding a conflict developed within the target context in a national newspaper serves to articulate international points of view (i.e. “international media echo”), which are generally accepted as faithful representations of foreign attitudes. However, the recoding of the ST to portray “what they think” hinders the heterogeneity of thoughts that might be present abroad, thus producing a partial representation (pp. 32-33).

The target texts that will be analysed are an example of both compiled and fragmented translation. In general, they all compile fragments from international news regarding the Catalan independence conflict.

In which concerns the selection criteria, which I will apply to both news and fragments selection, Bednarek (2006) stresses the importance of *news values*, which she defines as “the values by which events or facts are judged more newsworthy than others (p. 16). Moreover,

these values are “shared both by the producers and the audience of news media” (Van Dijk, 1988, p. 119). In a recent study by Harcup and O’Neil (2017), the list of news values elaborated by Galtung and Ruge (1965) is revisited. As a result, the authors claim that a piece of information should satisfy at least one or more of the following requirements to be considered newsworthy. They propose an updated list of factors: exclusivity, bad news, conflict, surprise, audio-visuals, shareability, entertainment, drama, follow-up, eliteness, relevance, magnitude, celebrity, good news and news organisation’s agenda (Harcup and O’Neil, 2017, pp. 1481-1483).

The second step in news translation is *transediting*. This concept was originally introduced by Stetting (1989) to allude to the modifications that occur during the journalistic translation process in order to adapt the text to “the needs of the translation receivers”, which “will depend on the function the translated text serves “ within its new target context (p.373). She also established a further distinction between two types of *transediting*: *cultural*, which aims to produce a text properly adapted to the needs and expectations of the target culture, and *situational*, which consists in the adaptation of the translation to the function it is meant to fulfill within the target context. (p. 377). *Situational transediting* can be related to the compiled and fragmented translations the Spanish press elaborates, since each media adapts a number of foreign news so that they fit their particular editorial context through translation techniques.

Hurtado Albir (2001) proposed a definition of translation techniques as “procedures to obtain equivalence [...] whose effects are visible on the target text” (p. 268). She puts special focus on their functionality, since the use of a particular technique depends on the translation purpose. Then, she offers a classification of 18 techniques consistent with the modifications

they introduce with respect to the source text: adaptation, amplification, borrowing, calque, coined equivalent, compensation, description, discursive creation, elision, generalisation, linguistic amplification, linguistic compression, literal translation, modulation, particularisation, substitution, transposition and variation (Hurtado Albir, 2001, pp. 269-271).

Regarding the concept of *tribalisation* in journalistic translation (Zlateva, 2000; Orengo, 2005), it is used to refer to conscious changes applied through translation to a source text “in such a way that the reader's ideological identity and sense of political affiliation are maintained and reinforced” (Orengo, 2005, p. 179). That is to say, the resulting text adjusts to the political or ideological orientation of its intended readership.

3 . The selection of news: a comparative analysis.

In this section, I will first analyse the possible reasons why the Catalan conflict was so extensively covered by the international press, as well as which information might have been deemed more relevant. For that purpose, I will identify the factors i.e. news values why the Catalan conflict events were considered newsworthy. Then, I will apply the same criteria to examine the selection and exclusion of information from the source texts by the Spanish newspapers to elaborate their reports. By doing so, I intend to evaluate to what extent the Spanish digital press portrays international attitudes and opinions towards the conflict, and how this process may contribute to reinforce and support specific political and ideological orientations. This part of the analysis relies on the contemporary classification of *news values* proposed by Harcup and O'Neil (2017).

The events that took place on the 1st and the 27th October 2017 show six predominant aspects signalling “newsworthiness” (Harcup and O'Neil, 2017) can be observed: bad news, conflict, drama, the power of elite, magnitude and news organisation's agenda.

a) Bad news

“Bad news” refers to stories with notably negative connotations. This factor applies especially to the events that took place on 1st October 2017 in Catalonia.

The negative implications of the incidents were described in all the STs with a special focus on the number of wounded as a result of clashes with riot police sent by the Spanish government to stop the referendum and prevent people from voting, which made the front pages, headlines and report leads:

"Spain torn apart as 850 hurt in Catalan referendum clashes". (*The Times* headline, 2nd October 2017).

"Catalan referendum: More than 760 people injured by police". (*The Scotsman* headline, 2nd October 2017).

"Hundreds hurt as Catalonia poll descends into violence". (*The Guardian* front-page lead story, 2nd October 2017).

Most information concerning the number of people hurt is covered in all the TTs, with the exception of *La Razón*. Even though this medium actually mentions that a foreign newspaper, namely *The Washington Post*, kept track of the number of injured, it does not attribute this information to any other source. Equally, more precise numbers are never stated. Moreover, *La Razon* fails to report that, as stated on a majority of STs, violent clashes resulted from the police measures taken by the government.

Likewise, most STs¹ highlight that violence was mainly caused by the Spanish national riot police, and the fact that they were sent by the government:

National police officers in riot gear, sent by the central government in Madrid from other parts of Spain, used rubber bullets and truncheons in some places as they fanned out across Catalonia, the restive northeastern region, to shut down polling stations and seize ballot boxes. (*The New York Times*, 1st October 2017, paragraph 2)

However, English pieces of news in which it is reported that police was sent by the government are only translated in *El País* (2nd October 2017), *El Periódico* (2nd October 2017) and *La Vanguardia* (1st October 2017). In a similar manner, as it will be analysed in the next section, the agents of violence are also prompt to be omitted in some translations:

"The New York Times"("El voto catalán por la independencia degenera en caos y enfrentamientos") destacaba en la entrada "cientos de heridos en enfrentamientos con la policía" y subayabaa [sic.] que antidisturbios, "enviados por el gobierno central desde Madrid y otros puntos de España, usaron pelotas de goma y porras en algunos lugares mientras peinaban Catalunya". (*El Periódico*, 2nd October 2017)

1 For more examples, see Appendix 2

In addition, a majority of the STs reproduce and criticize that the violent measures implemented to try to stop the vote were considered “proportionate” by the Spanish prime minister:

Prime Minister Mariano Rajoy, at a news conference Sunday evening, characterized the police actions as a proper and measured response to the acts of secessionists. “We did what we had to do,” he said. (*The New York Times*, 2nd October 2017, paragraph 12)

In contrast, only *El País* (*EPI*, 2nd October 2017) reflects the approval of the initiatives promoted by the Spanish government covered abroad, though exclusively on the part of *Financial Times* (2nd October 2017), a newspaper which attributed those words not to Rajoy, but to the government in general:

[...] así como que el Gobierno, identificado como "Madrid", defiende el uso "proporcionado" de la fuerza. (*El País*, 2nd October 2017)

Apart from the evident general focus on *bad news* present throughout most STs, a number of them also highlight some *good news* (i.e. stories which reflect positive overtones) that took place on both dates. In particular, several foreign newspapers² highlight what they consider a pacific attitude towards the events on the part of Catalan citizens and regional police:

Calling for “peaceful resistance” secessionists in Barcelona called on public servants to ignore orders from Madrid. (*The Times*, 27th October 2017, paragraph 5).

Nevertheless, those positive aspects observed abroad seem re not chosen to be translated in the Spanish newspapers we are analysing.

² For more examples, see Appendix 2

b) Drama

Another factor that might have made those events remarkable abroad is that of “drama” (Harcup and O’Neil, 2017), as elderly citizens resulted injured due to the government's measures.

The crackdown, in which one protester lost an eye to a rubber bullet and elderly voters were seen with blood streaming from head wounds, sent shockwaves through Europe and led to calls for the resignation of Mariano Rajoy, the conservative prime minister. One elderly man was critically ill after suffering a heart attack when police raided a polling station in Lerida. (*The Times*, 2nd October 2017, paragraph 3)

The international interest towards this information item has only been reflected by *El Mundo*. However, the writer disendorses him or herself from the information. It seems that this medium intentionally highlights that the translated excerpt corresponds to *The Times* opinion, even though it consists of an objective account of facts that happened in Catalonia, with no additional, subjective considerations:

Según su opinión, la represión de la Policía, que causó que un manifestante perdiese un ojo y que gente de avanzada edad fuese vista con heridas de sangre en la cabeza, provocó llamamientos que pedían la dimisión de Mariano Rajoy. (*El Mundo*, 2nd October 2017)

Some foreign newspapers³ also portray the fearful feelings expressed by several Catalan citizens and tourists regarding the repressive measures implemented by the government. In contrast, this information does not appear in any of the TTs:

A few outsiders had traveled to Catalonia from other countries to act as observers, saying they wanted to make sure that the police did not use force against voters. (*The New York Times*, 2nd October 2017, paragraph 36)

3 For more examples, see Appendix 2

According to the tendencies demonstrated by the diverse Spanish media, the omission or non-selection of this information to be translated could be related to an intentional omission of signals of international empathy towards Catalans regarding the conflict. Moreover, the fact that visitors were portrayed as being scared while trying to enjoy Spain could cause unrest among the Spanish readers in which concerns one of Spain's main economic activities. This can be related to the factor of *magnitude*, which will be analysed later on this paper.

c) Conflict

The factor of conflict is present in stories concerning “controversies, arguments, splits, strikes, fights, insurrections and warfare” (Harcup and O'Neil, 2017, p. 1481)

Apart from the conflictive situations above mentioned, on the 2nd October the Catalan parliament declared independence from Spain. This action was considered illegal according to the Spanish 1978 constitution, which states that the Spanish state cannot be divided. As a consequence, the already-existing tensions between Catalonia and the central government aggravated, and the Senate granted Rajoy permission to apply article 155 of the constitution.

The regarding conflict that have received special attention in the international press⁴ are the problems between national and regional police forces, the reluctance of the Catalan regional police to take part on the measures, the divisions among secessionist and pro-unity Catalans and, in particular, the refusals to dialogue or negotiate with Catalonia on the part of the national government:

Spanish Prime Minister Mariano Rajoy told the Senate that his government had repeatedly tried to rein in the secessionists in Catalonia. He scoffed at Catalan President Carles Puigdemont offers of "dialogue" to end the impasse. (*The Washington Post*, 27th October 2017 : paragraph 24)

⁴ For more examples, see Appendix 2

Except for the divisions among secessionist and pro-unity Catalans, which are included in one of the articles published by *eldiario.es* (1st October 2017) concerning the partial translation of the editorial written by *The Guardian* (1st October 2017), it is necessary to note that all those considerations were excluded through the translation of the STs, and do not appear in any of the TTs. The selection of fragments about clashes between national and regional police, as well as the Catalan policement reluctance to take part in the actions to stop the vote might have been avoided by the Spanish press to retain the original secessionist individuals and institutions vs central government dichotomy. Thus, possible internal divisions concerning both parts are not translated. Likewise, the portrayal of the impossibility to find a solution through dialogue, of which the international press seems to be conscious, might generate agitation regarding the possible outcomes of the conflict.

d) The power elite

According to this factor, a story or event could be considered newsworthy when it involves influential “individuals, organisations, institutions or corporations” (Harcup and O’Neil, 2017, p. 1482). The TTs they compile fragments from reports published by well-known news organisations, which might be considered to have a high status within the journalistic realm. Hence, the attributed use of these excerpts is instrumental in lending their translations credibility and prestige.

Most of the STs include the opinions of a number of prominent foreign political representatives and nations with respect to the Catalan independence conflict⁵, such as Donald Tusk, the president of the European Council;

5 For more examples, see Appendix 2

The independence declaration met with an unambiguous response from Donald Tusk, the president of the European council. “For [the] EU nothing changes. Spain remains our only interlocutor,” Tusk tweeted. However, in an apparent reference to the police violence that marred the unilateral independence referendum held on 1 October, he said: “I hope the Spanish government favours force of argument, not argument of force.” (*The Guardian*, 27th October 2017, paragraphs 24-25)

Or the British Government:

Britain condemned the violence. Boris Johnson, the foreign secretary, said: “The Catalanian referendum is a matter for the Spanish government and people. It is important that the Spanish constitution is respected and the rule of law upheld. Spain is a close ally and a good friend, whose strength and unity matters to the UK.” (*The Times*, 2nd October 2017, paragraph 8).

This information was not chosen to be translated and included in none of the TTs under study. This is particularly interesting and relevant, because the Spanish publications we are analysing are supposed to represent international views on the conflict. Nevertheless, all the appretiations above mentioned are excluded.

e) Magnitude

This factor measures the significance of an event in relation to the amount of people it might involve and the scope of its potential impact. Most STs also stress the international magnitude of the incident. The following fragment exemplifies the extended concern that the Catalan case might trigger actions from other European nationalist groups: ⁶

The issue is also being watched closely across Europe and in the corridors of the EU. A Yes vote could encourage other separatist groups such as those in Scotland or Flanders. (*Financial Times*, 2nd October 2017, paragraph 9).

In contrast, other STs argue that establishing links between the Catalan movement and other secessionist causes might prompt “exaggerated comparisons” (see *TG2*, 2nd October 2017: paragraphs 8-11).

6 For more examples, see Appendix 2

Interestingly enough, while the intended purpose of the target reports is to depict the international attitudes towards the Catalan issue, almost none of these texts includes excerpts regarding the international magnitude of the events. Moreover, the few cases which make reference to it do not elaborate on the topic, which is vaguely mentioned:

[...] con un análisis en el que se asegura que las "ondas del referéndum catalán podrían extenderse más allá de España". (*El Mundo*, 2nd October 2017).

Concerning the effects of the conflict at a national level, most STs also gather opinions and reflections uttered by ordinary Spanish citizens who were present during the events and witnessed what had happened⁷:

Encarna Buitrago was with her friends in a flag-waving crowd in front of the Parliament in Barcelona when independence was declared. "Now we need to support our Catalan government. To go out to the streets! And now it's up to the people," said Buitrago, a pensioner. "If we are all together, we can do it." (*The Washington Post*, 27th October 2017, paragraphs 21-22)

However, the interest of the international press in collecting the Spanish citizens points of view (henceforth POV) is not reported in any of the TTs.

f) News organisations' agenda

This factor concerns the selection of stories that fit the particular editorial line of the newspaper, either for ideological, commercial or other reasons. It is the predominant criterion for the selection and exclusion of the fragments which make up the TTs, in order to portray a particular stance. Thus, it could be said that this factor plays an essential role in deciding which of the factors previously analysed might serve the intended function of the translation within its target context.

7 For more examples, see Appendix 2

A notable case concerns the tendency to employ excerpts from *The Scotsman* and *The National*, with special emphasis on the typical ideological positioning of these newspapers :

El principal diario en Escocia (país donde la mayoría de la población se declara independentista), "The Scotsman", abre su edición impresa y digital con los 760 heridos durante el 1-0. (*El Mundo*, 2nd October 2017)

El también diario escocés 'The National', que se define como periódico "que apoya una Escocia independiente", es contundente en el titular de primera: "El día de la vergüenza de España".(*El País*, 2nd October 2017)

La prensa de Escocia, país con un amplio sector de la población independentista, también se vuelca en la cobertura del referéndum. 'The Scotsman' titula: "Cientos de heridos tras el envío de la policía a frenar el voto de Cataluña". El diario destaca también en su primera la "indignación internacional" por el uso de pelotas de goma contra la población. (*El País*, 2nd October 2017)

El rotativo independentista escocés The National califica la jornada como "el día de la vergüenza en España" y The Scotsman subraya los "cientos de heridos" por los agentes policiales. (*eldiario.es*, 2nd October 2017)

The use of excerpts from these newspapers can be considered important, since they might be used as a means to render the opinion of a medium which supports independence. However, the partial selection and translation of short excerpts and its use by the different TTs can serve diverse purposes, which might not match the original significance of those STs.

4. Analysis of translation techniques

Even though the analysis of the corpus has shown that a majority of the fragments selected from the STs are translated literally (i.e. word-for-word), there are also some other techniques used. In this section, I will analyse the most prominent translation techniques used to adapt the STs to the particular stance of the target audience of each newspaper towards the the Catalan conflict.

a) Amplification

Amplification refers to the insertion of information which is not included in the ST. In journalistic translation, the use of this translation technique is related to the addition of contextual and explanatory information as a means to facilitate the TA's comprehension of the events (Hernández Guerrero, 2006). However, she also argues that the insertion of “information of explanatory nature” not found in the ST might sometimes serve manipulative purposes (Hernández Guerrero, 2009, p. 75).

A comparative examination of the STs and TTs has shown three main uses of amplification: i) to add explanatory information regarding Spanish and Catalan institutions and political figures; II) to explain the reasons for the implementation of certain measures to face the independent movement, and iii) to insert precisions concerning some aspects of the conflict. With this in mind, it must be remembered that of the most information provided by the STs is very likely to be already known by the TA, since it involves cultural, social and political data about their own national context. Hence, since the intended readership can be assumed to be already familiar with the STs' material, the addition of tribal clarifications might indicate other purposes rather than the enrichment or facilitation of understanding.

As mentioned above, amplification is employed to include descriptive details regarding Catalan and Spanish institutions and politicians, as in the following examples:

ST: The Catalan National Assembly urged regional civil servants not to cooperate with their new bosses in Madrid. (*The Times*, 27th October 2017, paragraph 8)

TT: Además, se ha hecho eco de la reacción de la Asamblea Nacional Catalana, organización soberanista que —según informa *The Independent*— ha pedido a los funcionarios de Cataluña que "no cooperen con sus nuevos superiores elegidos desde Madrid". (*El País*, 27th October 2017)

In the first example, *El País* explicitates that, according to *The Independent*, the Catalan National Assembly is a sovereignist organisation by adding the underlined sentence. The inclusion of this specification might serve to highlight the secessionist nature of this Catalan institution, although this aspect is not emphasised nor present in the original text. Thus, the incorporation of this explanatory sentence could be understood as a means to bring the ST closer to the editorial line of the newspaper.

ST: Minutes later in Madrid, the Spanish senate granted Rajoy unprecedented powers to impose direct rule on Catalonia under article 155 of the constitution. (*The Guardian*, 27th October 2017, paragraph 8)

TT: El Senado de España ha otorgado al primer ministro del país, Mariano Rajoy, "poderes sin precedentes para imponer un Gobierno directo sobre Cataluña" minutos después de que el Parlamento de la región votará establecer una república independiente el viernes por la tarde, informaba. (*El País*, 27th October 2017)

In the second example, *El País* adds that Mariano Rajoy is the prime minister of Spain. It is interesting that while this clarification seems unnecessary for the English audience, it is included in a report which addresses a national readership who is aware of the political status of this politician. Therefore, the purpose of this amplification turns out to be ambiguous. On the one hand, it might serve to remark Rajoy's high-status and role in the conflict. On the other hand, the explicitation of his political role could be understood as a strategy to add a foreign flavour to the text. The TA might assume that this explicitation was originally

included in the ST to enrich and facilitate the understanding of an audience unfamiliar with Spanish political representatives. Hence, the translation acquires more credibility and it might contribute to assist *El País* to reinforce the reliability of its intended target audience towards the international stance the newspaper purports to depict in the corresponding TT.

Amplification also occurs at word-level, with the addition of terms which introduce connotations missing in the original (i.e. semantic amplification):

ST: Spanish PM sacks Catalan government for declaring independence (*The Times*, 27th October 2017, headline)

TT: "El primer ministro español destituye al Gobierno catalán como represalia por declarar la independencia" (*El País*, 27th October 2017)

The word “represalia” (reprisal) implies a punishment or revengeful response towards an action. While the original merely states the measures implemented as a consequence of the declaration of independence, the addition of this nuance suggests a more negative overtone that emphasises the tensions between the government and the supporters of independence.

Regarding semantic amplification, there are some other instances recurrent throughout the TTs that, even though they do not include new factual information as such, they add considerations whose connotative meaning may affect the interpretation of the text, as can be observed in the following example:

ST: Who wants to be ruled by a state like this, many are asking. (*The Guardian* 1st October 2017)

TT1: Y lanza una pregunta retórica: “¿Quién quiere obedecer a un estado como este?, se preguntan muchos”. (*eldiario.es*, 1st October 2017)

TT2: "¿Quién quiere ser gobernado por un Estado como este?, se preguntan muchos", apunta. (*P*, 2nd October 2017)

The paragraph from the editorial published by *The Guardian* in which this fragment is included criticizes the controversial measures implemented by Rajoy (i.e. sending riot police to stop the vote for independence), and states that the use of force will encourage more citizens to join the secessionist cause and reject the national government. Thus, the sentence “who wants to be ruled by a state like this, many are asking” appears to have been used to express certain support for the long-lasting independence cause and their willingness to split from Spain, given the circumstances. In other words, the critique focuses on the government's actions. However, the interpretation that might arise from *TT1* differs from that of the ST. *Eldiario.es* translates “be ruled by” as “obedecer” (“Who wants to obey a state like this?). Consequently, it depicts a different point of view, in the sense that it could be inferred that *The Guardian* favours recent and future disobedience on the part of secessionist Catalans, which might imply their support for the illegal vote. *TT2* has also been included to illustrate how the same fragments are translated and therefore used differently throughout the Spanish press.

Finally, amplification is also instrumental to insert precisions and emphasise some aspects of the conflict. In the following example, the addition of the underlined sentence on the TT points out “two different Catalonias” (separatist and non-separatist). In this case, amplification serves to put the focus on the fact that not all Catalans wanted to split from Spain (as it is stated later on in the fragment), and that only those wishing to separate from Spain have lost. However, the interpretation provided by the TT through the addition of this precision is limited since, according to the ST, the events that took place on the 1st October had a negative impact those Catalans for or against independence.

ST: But if Catalan leader Carles Puigdemont was right to say that the Spanish state had “lost much more than what it had already lost”, his assertion that Catalonia had won is at best half true. Most Catalans wished both for a referendum and to remain in a united

country. (*The Guardian*, 1st October 2017, paragraph 8).

TT: El diario considera que la Catalunya de los separatistas tampoco ha logrado la victoria de la que habla Puigdemont. “La mayoría de los catalanes quieren las dos cosas un referéndum y permanecer unido a España. (*El Periódico*, 2nd October 2017)

In this final example, *El País* uses amplification to explicit the nature of the “police storm”, consisting of police charges and evictions, thus highlighting the violence inherent in police intervention.

ST: Hundreds hurt as police storm polling stations in Catalan vote (*Financial Times*, 2nd October 2017, front page headline)

TT: El diario financiero 'Financial Times', referente mundial de la prensa económica, destaca los "cientos de heridos" causados por las cargas y desalojos policiales durante el voto. (*El País*, 2nd October 2017)

b) Compensation

Compensation entails the relocation of an information item or stylistic effect when it is not possible to translate it on the same position it appears on the ST. In this analysis, since the TTs we are dealing with are examples of fragmented and compiled translation, its employment might be relevant to produce a coherent and cohesive text that conveys a particular view through the reorganisation of the chosen STs excerpts.

One of the most prominent uses of this technique consists in the rearrangement of related data from different paragraphs to construct a coherent statement:

ST: “We never wanted to reach this situation, never,” Prime Minister Mariano Rajoy said on television, announcing the emergency steps he was taking under the Constitution to crush Catalan independence. (paragraph 3)

“We believe it is urgent to listen to Catalan citizens, to all of them, so that they can decide their future and nobody can act outside the law on their behalf,” Mr. Rajoy said. (*The New York Times*, 27th October 2017, paragraph 7)

TT: El diario estadounidense destaca parte de la comparecencia de Mariano Rajoy tras reunirse con su gabinete. "Nunca quisimos llegar a esta situación, nunca. Creemos que

es urgente escuchar a los ciudadanos catalanes, a todos ellos, para que puedan decidir su futuro y nadie pueda actuar al margen de la ley en su nombre". (*El País*, 27th October 2017)

In this example, excerpts from different paragraphs of the ST are put together to provide a full statement. However, this procedure involves a change of POV regarding both factuality and the ST. In the first place, Rajoy never pronounced those sentences on that specific order. On the other hand, the rearrangement of his discourse in the TT may prompt an interpretation which is not conveyed in the ST. While Rajoy pronounced the first statement addressing the measures he had to implement to face the illegal vote, its combination with the second utterance seems to imply that he never wanted Catalans to be manipulated by the interests of the independence movement.

In the same fashion, headlines and leads tend to be combined to produce explanatory sentences that give place to new relations cause-effect, as it can be seen in the following example:

ST: "The Spanish state has lost" (headline)

Police brutality has ignited the political crisis. (*The Guardian*, 1st October 2017, lead)

TT: Tras el duro editorial publicado este domingo por el diario británico 'The Guardian' en la que aseguraba que "el Estado español ha perdido" tras la "brutalidad policial" mostrada en la jornada de votación [...] (*El Mundo*, 2nd October 2017)

The TT by *El Mundo* integrates the headline and the lead of the ST in a single sentence, in which the cause for the Spanish state "loss" is attributed to police brutality. Hence, this translation does not portray all the reasons why *The Guardian* considers that the Spanish state has lost.

c) Discursive creation

Discursive creation is a translation technique that establishes a vague equivalence between the ST and TT which would not make sense out of context. The final product resulting from its use has been rewritten in a way that it can barely be considered a translation per se. Thus, its application generates important shifts of sense. It is widely used in audiovisual and literary translation for the translation of titles, in order to produce a title more attractive for the TA. Since the purpose of this kind of adaptation is to fulfill the particular expectations of the TA, it could be stated that its usage in news translation is closely related to the process of *tribalisation*.

As an illustration, the following example is provided. In this case, even though discursive creation is only applied to the last sentence (my underlining), the contrast between the ST's message and TT's is significant:

ST: The clashes quickly spoiled what had been a festive, if expectant, atmosphere among voters, many of whom had camped inside polling stations and stayed on into late Sunday night, fearful that officers might seize ballot boxes. (*The New York Times*, 1st October 2017, paragraph 3)

TT: “Los enfrentamientos destruyeron rápidamente lo que había sido una atmósfera festiva, aunque expectante, durante la noche y la madrugada entre los votantes, muchos de los cuales habían acampado dentro de las sedes electorales para asegurarse de que permanecieran abiertos.” (*La Vanguardia*, 1st October 2017)

Here we can see that the equivalence in terms of sense is superficial and incomplete. The TT omits the reference to the “fearful” mood of the voters who stayed at polling stations. Furthermore, the reason why they stayed over night is modified to the point that it might be considered manipulative. The TT erases the negative connotations present in the ST, and substitutes the original reason for another one which, while it might still make sense within the context of the TA, it conceals important nuances portrayed in the ST.

d) Modulation

Modulation is a translation technique which consists in a change of POV or a shift of focus in relation to the original form of the ST (Hurtado Albir, 2001, p. 270). In the sample modulation is present, in most cases, through sentence rearrangement, and it has a major impact on the translation of headlines.

Two uses of modulation stand out when comparing the STs and TTs.

Firstly, modulation is frequently employed by the Spanish press to introduce changes of POV with regards to the STs:

ST: Imposing direct rule on the breakaway region marks a sharp escalation in the constitutional crisis. (*The Washington Post*, 27th October 2017, lead)

TT: La entradilla pone el énfasis en la imposición directa del artículo 155 para frenar la importante escalada de ruptura dentro de la crisis constitucional. (*El País*, 27th October 2017)

The translation of *El País* uses modulation at a semantic level to invert the action-purpose / outcome relationship portrayed in the ST. In the original, *The Washington Post* argues that the imposition of a direct rule by the Spanish government will aggravate the conflict. The TT, however, construes the idea that, according to *The Washington Post*, this measure was implemented as a means to stop the constitutional crisis.

Secondly, modulation through sentence rearrangement can, in some cases, invert the sequential order of actions and events. The result of this operation is a shift in focus:

ST: Spain Dismisses Catalonia Government After Region Declares Independence. (*The New York Times*, 27th October 2017, headline)

TT: El Parlamento catalán declara la independencia y Madrid cesa a las autoridades regionales. (*El País*, 27th October 2017)

In this example, The sentences from the original headline have been rearranged inverting the ST sequential order. While the original order is effect-cause, the TT sequence is established as cause-effect. Thus, since the main focus of a sentence usually lies at the beginning, the emphasis has shifted from the causes implemented by the government to the declaration of independence and its successive consequences. Particularization is also noticeable in this translation. Region has been substituted for the Catalan parliament, and the Spanish government for Madrid.

e) Elisión

Elision implies the exclusion of information items from the ST. It is the most prominent technique in our analysis and, according to Ruano (as cited in Hernández Guerrero, 2009, p. 96) in all news reports elaborated through fragmented translation. For the final product to be coherent and fulfill an independent function, elision is frequently used in combination with other techniques, such as modulation or linguistic compression.

Provided that we have already dealt with the exclusion of full paragraphs of information concerning specific issues in the previous section of the analysis, this part will focus on omissions at paragraph and sentence level. A thorough examination of the corpus under study has revealed the following information items to be prominently elided.

As it has been illustrated in the previous section, even though a majority of the data reflects the violent nature of police repression and its consequences on the 1st October 2017, most TTs tend to erase references to the political crisis referred to in the STs:

ST: Police brutality has ignited the political crisis. Can Madrid and the pro-independence movement find a way forward? (*The Guardian*, 1st October, lead)

TT1 : [...] se critica la respuesta del Gobierno español y habla de “brutalidad policial”. (*Público*, 2nd October)

TT2: Tras el duro editorial publicado este domingo por el diario británico 'The Guardian' en la que aseguraba que "el Estado español ha perdido" tras la "brutalidad policial" mostrada en la jornada de votación [...] (*El Mundo*, 2nd October 2017)

TT3: El británico The Guardian publica un duro editorial titulado: "El Estado español ha perdido". En él se critica la respuesta del Gobierno español y habla de “brutalidad policial”. (*Público*, 2nd October 2017)

The reason for the exclusion of this information might be to avoid generating a feeling of unrest among the TA. Although the crisis is evident in the national context, the portrayal of the fact that it is also considered so prominent abroad could generate more unrest and agitation.

Likewise, the order from Madrid to seize ballot boxes to stop the referendum is also elided by some newspapers, and particularly by those originating in Catalonia (my own underlining):

ST: National police officers in riot gear, sent by the central government in Madrid from other parts of Spain, used rubber bullets and truncheons in some places as they fanned out across Catalonia, the restive northeastern region, to shut down polling stations and seize ballot boxes. (*The New York Times*, 1st October 2017, first paragraph)

TT1: [...] y subrayaba que antidisturbios, “enviados por el gobierno central desde Madrid y otros puntos de España, usaron pelotas de goma y porras en algunos lugares mientras peinaban Catalunya.” (*El Periódico*, 2nd October 2017)

TT2: “La policía, enviada por el gobierno central de Madrid desde otras partes de España, usó balas de goma y porras en algunos lugares”, apunta el diario neoyorquino. (*La Vanguardia*, 1st October 2017)

The omission of the purpose that motivated the use of force produces a translation that depicts gratuitous violence. Even though the measures taken to stop the referendum that prompted violence might be considered inadequate or unreasonable on themselves, the translation provided by these TTs entails even worse connotations, maybe with the intention of reinforcing the Catalan stance, as well as that of the readership, against the state.

Another piece of information that is recurrently reported in the STs and TTs concerns the

declaration of Ada Colau, in which she calls Rajoy “a coward” and calls for his resignation for using national and regional police to prevent the independence vote. Nevertheless, some Spanish media such as *El País* and *La Vanguardia* avoid including the reasons for that demand. These translations provide a partial representation of the STs, which could be interpreted as a means to express a bold rejection on the part of the Catalans towards the prime minister:

ST: Barcelona’s mayor Ada Colau branded the PM “a coward...hiding behind thousands of police” and demanded Mariano Rajoy resign or be removed from office as a result of the violence. (*The Scotsman*, 2nd October 2017, paragraph 3)

TT: Recoge las declaraciones de la alcaldesa de Barcelona, Ada Colau, en las que califica de “cobarde” a Rajoy. (*El País*, 2nd October 2017)

In relation to political discourses, in the previous section it has been mentioned that most STs reflect the peaceful attitude demonstrated by Catalan citizens and politicians on both dates. However, it was also pointed out that this information is excluded in the Spanish newspapers' translations. In contrast, they reproduce part of Rajoy's speech demanding serenity:

ST: Both he [Puigdemont] and Mr Rajoy had earlier called for calm, with the Catalan leader urging “pacifism and dignity”. (*The Times*, 27th October 2017, paragraph 8)

TT: El medio, que con anterioridad había recogido las palabras de Rajoy "llamando a la calma" tras la votación en el pleno del Parlament [...] (*El País*, 27th October 2017)

As a result, it could be said that the omission of positive traits attributed to Catalans together with the echoing of the words of the prime minister might serve as a means to reinforce the particular ideological positioning of the medium and its intended audience towards the conflict.

Elision is often combined with linguistic compression. While elision entails the omission

of information items present in the STs, linguistic compression is a technique that employs fewer lexical items than the ST to communicate the same meaning:

ST: Finding a way out of this mess will require a willingness to listen, to Catalans most of all. (*The Guardian*, 1st October 2017, paragraph 8)

TT: La conclusión a la que llega el rotativo británico es que debe haber una salida dialogada. (*La Vanguardia*, 1st October 2018)

The first part of the sentence is rewritten through translation in a manner that it uses fewer linguistic items to express the same meaning. However, the final clause in the ST, which puts emphasis on the importance of listening to Catalan citizens over the rest of Spaniards, is omitted. Consequently, there is a shift of focus and interpretation with regards to the ST. While the ST states that the solution to the political crisis calls for the Spanish government disposition to pay attention to Catalans in particular, the translation implies that finding a way out of the conflict will require an equal collaboration between the Spanish government and secessionist Catalans.

The international impact of the conflict, and particularly the negative reactions originated abroad from the implementation of violent measures, is also elided from most TTs:

Example 1:

ST: The crackdown, in which one protester lost an eye to a rubber bullet and elderly voters were seen with blood streaming from head wounds, sent shockwaves through Europe and led to calls for the resignation of Mariano Rajoy, the conservative prime minister. (*The Times*, 2nd October 2017, paragraph 3)

TT: Según su opinión, la represión de la Policía, que causó que un manifestante perdiese un ojo y que gente de avanzada edad fuese vista con heridas de sangre en la cabeza, provocó llamamientos que pedían la dimisión de Mariano Rajoy (*El Mundo*, 2nd October 2017)

Example 2:

ST: The wider effect is the shock expressed well beyond Catalonia, and Spain. (*The Guardian*, 1st October 2017)

TT: Así arranca un duro editorial del periódico británico the Guardian sobre lo sucedido este 1 de octubre en Catalunya, que “ha producido un gran shock no solo en Catalunya, sino también en España”. (*eldiario.es*, 1st October 2017, paragraph 2)

Although it is uncertain whether the second example might be an instance of inappropriate (erroneous) translation, both TTs avoid references to the international shock caused by the events that took place in Catalonia, thus lessening their wider impact.

5. Conclusions

The present dissertation has attempted to analyse the process of selection and the main translation techniques involved in the elaboration of several Spanish reports by means of the compiled and fragmented translation of a number of international news in English regarding the Catalan independence conflict. In addition, it has also tried to show the relationship between those processes and *tribalisation*, and how they might contribute to produce TTs that support a particular positioning, depending on the intended readership. In other words, this dissertation intended to examine to what extent the analysed Spanish report represent the international views that they purport to portray.

In relation to the main findings, I have identified six factors of newsworthiness with respect to the events that took place on the 1st and 27th October 2017. Even though a majority of the STs have shown in-depth representations of diverse aspects of the conflict, it has also been observed that the international view provided by the TTs relies mainly on information with particularly negative overtones. In general, information concerning the international consciousness of aspects that may cause further unrest and agitation among the Spanish readers is excluded. Likewise, data that might change or elaborate on the nature of the conflict as conceived by the Spanish press is also omitted.

Of special interest is the fact that, though the texts that comprise the TT corpus are supposed to portray international points of view, neither the opinions expressed by well-known international political figures and nations reported in the STs are translated, nor the wider impact that the conflict may have had abroad. On the contrary, a majority of the excerpts selected to be translated has to do with factual information which had already been extensively covered by the Spanish media. Thus, it could be concluded that although the TTs

claim to represent foreign opinions and views of the conflict, they actually render just data which is very likely to be already known at a national level. Furthermore, the use of attributed, high-status sources can be seen as a device to provide more credibility and support for a particular stance to these publications.

Concerning the process of translation per se, it has been shown that the use of diverse techniques might be instrumental in changing the original stance of the STs to adapt it to the particular interpretation each TT wants to convey.

Amplification is mainly used at sentence level to add explanatory information and insert precisions which can be assumed to be already known by the target readership. The purposes of these additions, as we have seen, are to highlight some aspects of the conflict, stress the fact that the information comes from a foreign source and to establish shifts of focus that favour the particular view of the medium. At word level, semantic amplification is employed to include nuances missing in the original that might introduce notable deviations in relation to the STs' interpretation.

Furthermore, compensation and modulation have been shown to be instrumental for the rearrangement of sentences and information in order to construct a coherent translation that, through changes of points of view and emphasis, fits the editorial line political stance.

A more aggressive technique, that of discursive creation, is used to provide a rewriting of the original that only makes sense within the target context, but which is not faithful to the STs' intended meaning. In the same fashion, elision is extensively used as the most prominent translation technique in our analysis to eliminate –at paragraph, sentence and word level– any data or nuances that might prompt interpretations different from those of the medium that

publishes them.

To conclude, I would like to remark that the theoretical and analytical scope of this analysis, as well as the data we have examined regarding the Catalan independence conflict, is limited due to space constraints. In my opinion, further research into international depictions of the Catalan independence conflict as represented in the Spanish digital press through the compilation of international journalistic sources in English in this type of reports would be interesting within the realm of journalistic translation, and, in particular, to gain more insight into translation as an instrument of *tribalisation*.

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Appendix 1: Texts for the analysis

a) STs:

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Appendix 2: Additional examples from section 3 (*The selection of news: a comparative analysis*)

A) BAD NEWS
<p>– Examples that highlight that violence was mainly caused by the Spanish national riot police, sent by the government:</p>
<p>Riot police who bludgeoned, kicked and fired rubber bullets at voters taking part in an illegal referendum in Catalonia yesterday acted within the law, the Spanish prime minister said. (<i>The Times</i>, 2nd October 2017, paragraph 1)</p>
<p>In a day of violence unprecedented in modern Spanish history, 850 people were hurt, three seriously, according to the Catalan authorities. Riot police fired baton rounds in Barcelona and beat pro-independence supporters trying to stop them confiscating ballot boxes. (<i>The Times</i>, 2nd October 2017, paragraph 2)</p>
<p>More than 760 people were injured by police as they took part in a disputed referendum on Catalan independence from Spain, emergency officials revealed. (<i>The Scotsman</i>, 2nd October 2017, paragraph 1)</p>
<p>Others came out to taunt the national police sent by Madrid. There was celebration — but mixed with anxious jokes about when Spanish tanks would appear to take back the streets. (The Washington Post, 27th October 2017, paragraph 11)</p>
<p>“La policía, enviada por el gobierno central de Madrid desde otras partes de España, usó balas de goma y porras en algunos lugares”, apunta el diario neoyorquino. (<i>La Vanguardia</i>, 2nd October 2017)</p>
<p>El diario financiero 'Financial Times', referente mundial de la prensa económica, destaca los "cientos de heridos" causados por las cargas y desalojos policiales durante el voto. (<i>El País</i>, 2nd October 2017)</p>
<p>The Scotsman' titula: "Cientos de heridos tras el envío de la policía a frenar el voto de Cataluña". (<i>El País</i>, 2nd October 2017)</p>

– **Examples that highlight what the international press considered as a pacific attitude towards the events on the part of Catalan citizens and regional police**

The attempt by Rajoy and his ministers to depict the Catalan independence movement as belonging to the wider, recent phenomenon of rightwing European nationalism, xenophobia and populism was an obvious smear. Many Catalans distrust rule by Madrid. That does not mean they have renounced values of tolerance and inclusion. Quite the opposite, as any visitor to Barcelona knows. (*The Guardian*, 2nd October 2017, paragraph 12)

In at least one incident, riot police tussled with local police who had stayed broadly neutral as the Catalan leadership tried to hold a ballot on becoming an independent republic. (*The Times*, 2nd October 2017, paragraph 5)

The result of the vote was greeted with jubilation by pro-independence MPs, who applauded and began singing the Catalan anthem, Els Segadors. Thousands of people who gathered outside Catalonia’s parliament cheered the announcement. Addressing the crowds, Puigdemont called for a peaceful response to the coming crackdown. “In the days ahead, we must keep to our values of pacificism and dignity,” he said. “It’s in our – in your – hands to build the republic.” (*The Guardian*, 27th October 2017, paragraph 18)

Calling for “peaceful resistance” secessionists in Barcelona called on public servants to ignore orders from Madrid. (*The Times*, 27th October 2017, paragraph 5)

Both he and Mr Rajoy had earlier called for calm, with the Catalan leader urging “pacificism and dignity”. (*The Independent*, 27th October 2017, paragraph 16)

B) DRAMA

– Examples in which citizens' fearful feelings are portrayed:

At a Barcelona polling station, school teacher Isa said of the polices: “I was so afraid, they were so big and they grabbed me. It's not going to stop me, though. I'm going to find somewhere else”. (*Financial Times*, 2nd October 2017, front page lead story)

Eva Granados of the Catalan socialist party asked: “Have you any idea how frightened many Catalans are?” (*The Guardian*, 27th October 2017, paragraph 22)

Many wept openly, including those old enough to remember the dictatorship of Francisco Franco, whose death in 1975 freed Spain to chart its modern course. Others came out to taunt the national police sent by Madrid. There was celebration — but mixed with anxious jokes about when Spanish tanks would appear to take back the streets. (*The Washington Post*, 27th october 2017, paragraph 9)

C) CONFLICT

- **Examples where the international press portrays clashes between national and regional police forces:**

Mr. Millo deplored the fact the national police were forced to take over from Catalan police officers who failed to stop the voting. “We’re being forced to do what we didn’t want to do,” he said. Some videos posted on social media even showed arguments and some tussling between Spanish national police and the Catalan police. (*The New York Times*, 2nd October 2017, paragraph 25)

The Spanish state said that it was going to directly co-ordinate all police operations in Catalonia amid fears the local Mossos d’Esquadra police force were too sympathetic towards independence. However, the proposal was rejected over the weekend by the Catalan government. The Mossos are a semi-autonomous local police force, although much of their funding comes from Madrid. (*Financial Times*, 2nd October 2017, paragraph 21)

In at least one incident, riot police tussled with local police who had stayed broadly neutral as the Catalan leadership tried to hold a ballot on becoming an independent republic. (*The Times*, 2nd October 2017, paragraph 5)

- **Examples regarding the refusals to dialogue or negotiate with Catalonia on the part of the central government:**

Those separatist passions rose in recent years as Catalans complained that Madrid was unfairly siphoning off their wealth and denying them the right to choose their own political destiny. (*The New York Times*, 2nd October 2017, paragraph 23)

In 2006 a grand accord — the Estatut — was agreed by both parliaments to grant new powers to Catalonia, only to be struck down in 2010 by Spain’s constitutional court. In 2012, the Catalan president asked for talks with Madrid about greater financial autonomy, only to be denied. (*Financial Times*, 1st October 2017, paragraph 23)

“He was given the opportunity to clarify whether there had been a unilateral declaration of independence,” the prime minister said. “This is not a trifling matter. An answer was required and it wasn’t a difficult one: yes or no.”

He criticised Puigdemont for turning down an invitation to explain himself before the senate “Dialogue has two enemies,” he said. “The first is abusing the law, ignoring it and disobeying it. The second is when someone only wishes to listen to themselves and won’t understand or try to understand others.”

The Catalan leader dashed hopes of a possible way out of the crisis on Thursday when he refused to call a snap election, saying he could not offer fresh polls without a firm guarantee that the Spanish government would suspend its threat to impose direct rule. (*The Guardian*, 27th October 2017, paragraphs 33-36)

Madrid will not accept any negotiation with the rebel region. Moments after the independence vote in Barcelona, the Spanish Senate in Madrid passed a motion to allow the government to impose direct rule in the rebel region. (*The Times*, 27th October 2017, paragraph 13)

D) THE POWER OF ELITE

– **Examples of the compilation of opinions and declarations from prominent international political representatives:**

Liam Fox, the international trade secretary, said of the violence: “It’s quite tragic to see it. They view the referendum as being illegal and they have a right to uphold the law. All I would say is that in the United Kingdom we were willing to take on the argument of the separatists in Scotland and we were able to defeat those arguments by pointing out the benefits of the Union.”

Jeremy Corbyn, Labour leader, called on Theresa May to appeal to the Spanish prime minister for an end to the police violence. He tweeted that the violence was “shocking”, adding: “I urge Theresa May to appeal directly to [Mariano] Rajoy to end police violence in Catalonia and find a political solution to this constitutional crisis.”

Nicola Sturgeon, Scotland’s first minister, called on the Spanish government to “change course” and let people “vote peacefully” in Catalonia. “Some of the scenes in Catalonia this morning are quite shocking and surely unnecessary. Just let people vote,” she said. (*The Times*, 2nd October 2017, paragraphs 9-12)

The independence declaration met with an unambiguous response from Donald Tusk, the president of the European council. “For [the] EU nothing changes. Spain remains our only interlocutor,” Tusk tweeted. However, in an apparent reference to the police violence that marred the unilateral independence referendum held on 1 October, he said: “I hope the Spanish government favours force of argument, not argument of force.”

Theresa May’s spokesperson said: “The UK does not and will not recognise the unilateral declaration of independence made by the Catalan regional parliament. It is based on a vote that was declared illegal by the Spanish courts. We continue to want to see the rule of law upheld, the Spanish constitution respected and Spanish unity preserved.” (*The Guardian*, 27th October 2017, paragraph 25 and 26)

“For [the] EU nothing changes. Spain remains our only interlocutor,” Donald Tusk, the president of the European Council, said. However, Mr Tusk also cautioned against using force to restore order, urging the Spanish government to favour “force of argument, not argument of force”. (*The Times*, 27th October 2017, paragraph 4)

“For [the] EU nothing changes. Spain remains our only interlocutor,” Donald Tusk, the president of the European Council, said. However, Mr Tusk also cautioned against using force to restore order, urging the Spanish government to

favour “force of argument, not argument of force”. (*The New York Times*, 27th October 2017, paragraph 26)

Donald Tusk, head of the European Council, said that nothing would change for the EU and that it would only deal with the Madrid government, while France's Emmanuel Macron made similar comments. (*The Independent*, 27th October 2017, paragraph 11)

After the day's votes, the Trump administration came down on the side of Madrid. "Catalonia is an integral part of Spain, and the United States supports the Spanish government's constitutional measures to keep Spain strong and united," the State Department said in a statement. (*The Washington Post*, 27th October 2017, paragraph 17)

E) MAGNITUDE
<p>– Examples of the international concern regarding the Catalan conflict possible impact abroad:</p>
<p>The issue is also being watched closely across Europe and in the corridors of the EU. A Yes vote could encourage other separatist groups such as those in Scotland or Flanders. (<i>Financial Times</i>, 2nd October 2017, paragraph 9)</p>
<p>The ripple effect of the Catalan crackdown could potentially extend beyond Spain. There were covert links at one time between Eta and the IRA during Northern Ireland's Troubles, with the two groups comparing notes and sharing expertise. Belfast, like Bilbao, is another place where a dissident minority remains unimpressed by placatory measures such as devolution, limited autonomy and power-sharing. Fringe outfits such as the New IRA, responsible for several attacks since 2012, find self-justification in the violence of the state. (<i>The Guardian</i>, 2nd October 2017, paragraph 6)</p>
<p>The widening impasse has left scant middle ground in Spain for compromise and has spilled over to the European Union, whose leaders fear another internal crisis after major upheavals such as Britain's vote to exit the bloc and the financial meltdown in Greece. (<i>The Washington Post</i>, 27th October 2017, paragraph 15)</p>
<p>- Examples of citizens opinions compiled by the international media</p>
<p>"Spain has shown us today its ugliest and darkest face, that which we really thought had disappeared 40 years ago," said Mario Pulpillo, 54. "You simply can't use violence against people who just want to vote." Despite the police threat, Mr. Pulpillo, who uses a wheelchair, said he went to vote "to make sure this was our feast of democracy, not our humiliation at the hands of a Spanish state that believes in repression." (<i>The New York Times</i>, 2nd October 2017, paragraph 10)</p>
<p>Olga Noheda, a doctor in Centelles, said one of her patients, an older man, began crying in her examination room, and explained that his granddaughter had begun expressing dislike for Spaniards.</p> <p>"He was very sad, because he didn't understand where it all came from," she said. "He migrated to Catalonia many years ago, from Seville, and he was wondering if his granddaughter was aware that he was a Spaniard."</p>

In Barcelona's Placa de Catalunya late Sunday night, voters chanted and celebrated the referendum, even if it remained very unclear how the separatist leaders hope to enforce its outcome.

"We've shown our way of making politics and changing things is very different to that of Spain," said Marti Feliu, 21, a history student at Barcelona University. "It's our opportunity to create a different kind of country, even if we don't yet know exactly how and when." (*The Times*, 2nd October 2017, paragraphs 41-44)

"I am not afraid [of being arrested]," says Carles Escolà, the 39-year-old mayor of Cerdanyola del Vallès, just outside Barcelona. "We have the strength of numbers behind us."

Similarly, the organisers are hoping that the police will not be able to close voting booths. Neus Lloveras, a pro-independence mayor of the town of Vilanova i la Geltrú, says the wish of millions to do something as simple as vote cannot be prevented: "Will the police on the day really turn against the people?"

She adds: "It is no longer important what Madrid says, because we are working with Catalan law here." (*Financial Times*, 1st October 2017, paragraphs 18-20)

Encarna Buitrago was with her friends in a flag-waving crowd in front of the Parliament in Barcelona when independence was declared. "Now we need to support our Catalan government. To go out to the streets! And now it's up to the people," said Buitrago, a pensioner. "If we are all together, we can do it." (*The Washington Post*, 27th October 2017, paragraph 20)