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Linguistic Insights

Studies in Language and Communication

Eleonora Federici and
Stefania M. Maci (eds.)

Gender Issues

Translating and Mediating Languages,
Cultures and Societies

Peter Lang

The starting point of this publication is that in LSP domains many studies have been devoted to the languages of law, medicine, media, tourism, advertising, arts and business, but they have not fully exploited the gender perspective which can disclose new insights into the use of specialized lexicon, the role of translation, the influence of cultural aspects, and social habits and values in the transmission of equality or in-equality notions. This volume aims at bridging the gap existing between LSP translation and gender issues, offering a broad view of research on translation and gender/sexuality, LSP and the professional world. The purpose is to broaden the discussion on gender awareness in specialized language and translation, to pinpoint gender issues in audiovisual translation, to analyse gendered language in the media and advertising, and last but not least, to consider gender differences reiterated through language in specific domains.

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Gender Issues



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Studies in Language and Communication

Edited by Maurizio Gotti,
University of Bergamo

Volume 281

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CONTENTS

<i>Eleonora Federici and Stefania M. Maci</i> Introduction	9
---	---

GENDER ISSUES IN HIGHER EDUCATION

<i>José Santaemilia</i> At the Crossroads of Gender and Specialized Translation: Interdisciplinarity and a Commitment to Sexual Equality. An Example from <i>Soft Legal Genres</i>	23
---	----

<i>M^a Carmen Acuyo Verdejo</i> Gender-based Violences and Higher Education: A Case Study	49
--	----

<i>Bruna Di Sabato, Antonio Perri</i> Gender Awareness Through and In Translation: a Learner Corpus Study	81
---	----

<i>Paolo Nitti</i> Pedagogical, Normative-Prescriptive, and Descriptive Grammars - The Representation of Concordance and Grammatical Gender in Italian Language Manuals	99
--	----

GENDER ISSUES IN INSTITUTIONAL DOCUMENTS

<i>Elena Castellano-Ortolá</i> The Search for Gender Equality in Institutional Translation: Quebec's Bureau de la Traduction	119
--	-----

<i>Federico Pio Gentile</i> Gender-sensitive Language and Intra-linguistic Translation: the Canadian <i>Employment Equity Act</i> Case Study	141
--	-----

Sole Alba Zollo

- The Council of Europe Manual to Fight Gender-based Hate
Speech: Translating and (Re)Mediating Institutional, Political
and Legal Discourses 159

GENDER ISSUES IN SPECIALISED TRANSLATION

Sonja Đurić, Radiša Pavlović

- Translation and Gender-based Analys in Health Research.
Sexism in LSP Translation in Health Research in Serbia: The
Documents Registered by ALIMIS 185

Carmen Fiano, Agnese Daniela Grimaldi

- Gender Advisor*, a New Role to Ensure Gender Equality within
NATO. To Translate or Not to Translate? 199

Vittoria Massaro

- Women in the Maritime Industry through Job Ads: A Male
Dominant or a Gender-Neutral Environment? 221

Vanessa Leonardi

- United in Diversity and Trapped in a Paradox: (Il)legal Gender
Equality in the EU Legal Documents and Their Translations 243

GENDER ISSUES IN INTERPRETING AND AUDIOVISUAL TRANSLATION

Deborah Giustini

- Conference Interpreting – A Female Professional Monopoly
or a Case of Occupational Segregation? 269

Francesco Vitucci

- (Re)inventing the Genre: The Translation of the *Onē Kotoba*
Idiolect in the Japanese-Italian Subtitling 295

<i>Flavia Cavaliere</i> Ferrante Fever: A Worldwide Literary Phenomenon and her Translator's Visibility	317
---	-----

GENDER ISSUES IN THE PRESS AND ADVERTISING

<i>Michele Bevilacqua, Vincenzo Simoniello</i> <i>L'écriture inclusive</i> in the Language of Online Newspapers: Gender Translation from French into Italian	345
--	-----

<i>Marzia Iasenza</i> Female Views on the Press: How Women Reported the Economic Crisis in the British and Italian Press	377
--	-----

<i>María Lucía Carrillo Expósito</i> <i>Trans (Gender)</i> and <i>Fobia</i> in the Spanish and in the Italian Press	395
---	-----

<i>Stefania M. Maci</i> Translating Gender, Transgender and Identity. The Case of <i>NatGeo</i>	417
---	-----

<i>Saida Afef Gardabbou</i> Pushing Boundaries with Ad Parodies: Feminist Translation of Gendered Narratives in Advertisements	439
--	-----

<i>Eleonora Federici</i> Acceptance with a Twist: From Drag Queens to Transgender Persons in U.S and U.K Advertising Campaigns	457
--	-----

Notes on Contributors	477
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MARÍA LUCÍA CARRILLO EXPÓSITO

Trans (Gender) and Fobia in the Spanish and in the Italian Press

1. Introduction

The press is an extraordinary observatory in which the emergence of new words or the revival of voices that seemed to have fallen in disuse are appreciated daily. The journalist, as a professional, acquires an essential role in the journalistic language, acting as a transmitting vehicle not only of social and political behaviour but also of linguistic habits. Consequently, the media are exposed as the best transmitters of essentially lexical innovations.

The present study focuses on the analysis of the lexical units that appear persistently in the press in relation to an event that took place at the beginning of 2017 in Spain. The investigated entries arise around the transgender group and the feeling of aversion towards this group enacted by some members of society.

In recent times, transsexuals have achieved important conquests in the legal and social field. These small advances have raised the attention of certain conservative sectors of society generating an upsurge in attacks against this group. The resulting conflict between these two well-defined social groups has led to a series of interesting linguistic cases treated here as study material.

The first part of the work starts with the Spanish press. From a previous work, namely *El elemento compositivo –fobia en la prensa española del 2017*, it emerged that *fobia* and its variants became a resource used profusely in Spanish newspapers in 2017 to express aversion and rejection. The study reveals that *fobia* works as a paradigm for its ability to synthesize and for its reader-friendly comprehensibility; it can be extrapolated from other languages such as those under investigation, that is Spanish and Italian, so that it can be defined as an internationalized word

with a very interesting reflection for translation activity. The neologisms found in the investigated texts testify a global society and display lexical tendencies in the two languages. However, attention should be paid to usage preferences when using these terms in news texts.

The present work focuses on the entry *transfobia* and on its variants as one of those lexical tendencies that appears repeatedly in the media and in political discourse as a result of the controversial campaign of the ultra-Catholic group *Hazte Oír* in 2017.

1.1 *Precedents and Context*

The action of the ultraconservative group started in Spain, specifically in Madrid, at the beginning of 2017. This caused instant and unanimous reactions from the civilian population and institutions. The news reached the Spanish newspapers at the end of February and remained in the media until the end of the year, registering a higher incidence between February and June.

The permanence over time of the news in the media implies the transformation of its nature, going from the immediate news to the current news (Martínez Albertos 1974; Parrat 2007; Lizano Briceño 2010). Wide-ranging news generates higher expectations and creates relevant consequences because it is analysed by professionals in the opinion genres, often creating social processes and trends that consequently result in linguistic tendencies.

The permanence over time of the news in the media implies the transformation of its nature, going from the immediate actuality to the current news (Martínez Albertos 1974; Parrat 2007; Lizano Briceño 2010). Wide-ranging news generates higher expectations and creates relevant consequences because it is analyzed by professionals in the opinion genres, often creating social processes and trends that consequently result in linguistic tendencies.

The insistence of the *Hazte Oír* campaign responds to this phenomenon. The media began to alternate the news, following the journey through the national territory, with more elaborate texts that responded to the genres of opinion.

Transfobia and its variants were lexical units commonly used at that time. The present study tries to verify the frequency of its employment in the titles and subtitles of some selected newspapers. In a second moment, it will be seen if it occurs with the same frequency in the Italian press when the ultraconservative group jumps to the international panorama when it also visits Italy

The second part of the work, on the contrary, focuses on analysing the discourse of the headlines of the selected newspapers, whether Spanish or Italian, to observe the linguistic and strategic treatment of the word *transfobia* in the transmission of the same reality and if it is modified according to the ideology of the newspaper. The study will reveal that, depending on the culture, some obviate the word *transfobia* adopting alternatives borrowed from English, in the Italian case, whereas in Spanish newspapers, they simply tend to use *transfobia*. The cultural distinction in the use of one option or another significantly affects the work of linguistic mediation and translation of current texts.

2. Methodology

Starting from the suffix *-fobia*, the formation of the units that make up the neologism *transfobia* is analyzed, as well as its formal variation and its validity of use in two Spanish digital newspapers and in two Italian digital newspapers: *El Mundo* and *El Diario* for the Spanish newspapers and *Il Fatto Quotidiano* and *Il Giornale* for the digital versions in Italian. The chosen newspapers correspond to the most widely read in 2017 (according to comScore) and represent political ideological extremes that favour the contrastive analysis of use. *El Mundo* and *Il Giornale* tend towards the conservative ideology, while *El Diario* and *Il Fatto Quotidiano* tend towards a progressive view.

For all the selected newspapers, the study focuses on the time span covering the year 2017.

In order to carry out this study, a combined methodology - positivist (analytical-quantitative) and interpretative (constructivist-qualitative) approach - is applied, with the aim of contrasting and describing the use of *transfobia* in the selected headlines.

The hypothesis posed by the research has two aims: first, to check whether the use of the word *transfobia* and its derivatives have the same representativeness in the selected newspapers and then to locate the paradigm in the journalistic language of the composing element *-fobia*. Secondly, a reflexion is prompted of the adequate use of the desired conceptual expression, which can be more or less subjective, in the texts where it appears. Two aspects lead to the acknowledgement that the word *transfobia* takes strength in the news language in Spain and Italy.

Regarding the references of the investigated neologisms and their first records, two databases are consulted, namely the BOBNEO platform of the Observatory of Neology of the Institute of Applied Linguistics of the Pompeu Fabra University and the ONLI platform, *Osservatorio neologico della lingua italiana*.

For the creation of a complete corpus, all the headlines and subtitles published in the different sections of the newspaper (news, blog, opinion, economy ...) are collected. Firstly, the headlines and subtitles analysed are those in which the investigated words appear and are eventually analysed. Secondly, other headlines and fundamental subtitles are integrated to show the socio-cognitive structure that emerges in the production of the messages and in the syntactic structures in order to construct Van Dijk's (1996: 21) "ideological square" on the reality that we want to build.

To select the texts of the corpus, the search function of the Spanish newspapers' websites is used, entering the keyword *transfobia*. On the other hand, for the Italian texts, the search tool of the GOOGLE browser is preferred since it has proved to be more effective than the one of the web pages of the Italian newspapers.

3. Premises

This comparative study between Spanish and Italian is made possible by the affinity of the languages. After consulting academic dictionaries, it can be said that on a graphic and on a conceptual level the word *transfobia* does not present any distinction in either language.

The word *fobia* derives from the Greek *fobos*, which stands for terror, fear. *Fobia* is a loanword with Greco-Roman historical roots that have been preserved both in the Italian language and in the Spanish language. This character of the word favours the universal representation of the lexical units that it can form.

In the consulted dictionaries¹ the definition seems to coincide; namely, *fobia*: “aversion”; “Exaggerated aversion to someone or something”; in its first entry and for the medical-psychiatric field “sick, obsessive and agonizing fear”; “temor angustioso e incontrolable ante ciertos actos, ideas, objetos o situaciones, que se sabe absurdo y sea próxima a la obsesión”. For instance, the examples they offer are *xenofobia*, *hidrofobia* in the *Diccionario de la Lengua Española* (DLE). It is interesting to note that the dictionaries show compound lexical units as examples. This does not occur in the *María Moliner* dictionary, which adds a clarifying note, “se usa también en lenguaje corriente, ofrece el siguiente ejemplo: ‘Le tiene fobia a los aviones’”.

It is necessary to emphasize that only the *Diccionario Actual de la Lengua* reports the entries *transfobia*, *transfóbico* –ca y *tránsfobo* –ba, although noting “rare” between parentheses.

Confirming the first idea stating that the press is an extraordinary observatory, the examples offered by the dictionary are, in fact, taken from the press: “nace la ‘transfobia’. País 4.3.04.”; “País 25.7.03.: *Gracias a la campaña. . . el anuncio transfóbico ha sido retirado*”.

With reference to the different denominations for transgenders, the Spanish dictionaries consulted give for the entry trans-prefix meaning “on the other side” (*al otro lado de*) or “through” (*a través de*) or “step on the opposite side or situation on the opposite side” (*paso al lado opuesto o situación en el lado opuesto*). In no case do they refer to the transsexual person.

However, for the entries *transexual*, *transexualidad*, *transexualismo*, the DLE refers to the change of sex and as an example proposes *cirugía transexual*. In its second definition, it reports “dicho de una

1 Royal Spanish Academy. (2014). *Fobia*. Espasa Calpe; Edition: 23. Auflage; María Moliner Dictionary. 4th Edition. *Fobia*. Editorial Gredos; Dictionary of Current Spanish. (2011) by Manuel Seco, Olimpia de Andrés and Gabino Ramos. 2nd edition updated.

persona: Que se siente del sexo contrario, y adopta sus atuendos y comportamientos”; in its third definition “dicho de una persona: Que mediante tratamiento hormonal e intervención quirúrgica adquiere los caracteres sexuales del sexo opuesto”.

This dictionary also includes the entry *travesti* or *travestí* defining it as a person, usually a man, who dresses up and is characterized as someone of the opposite sex.

The *María Moliner* dictionary for the entry *transsexual* is more brief but interesting because it refers only to those who have undergone a medical / surgical treatment or operation: “Se aplica a la persona que ha cambiado de sexo mediante un tratamiento hormonal y una intervención quirúrgica”.

As has been said above, only *trans* is not included in any of the consulted Spanish dictionaries even though generally speaking it is identified with the transsexual person. It is a totally normalized word on the street and in the media. This is confirmed by the *Fundéu* BBVA foundation on its website where it is explained that the form *trans* is a valid abbreviation of the adjectives transsexual and transgender.

acortamiento adecuado desde el punto de vista lingüístico (como foto, tele, hetero o progre) que engloba los dos términos anteriores y es, en general, la forma preferida por las personas de este colectivo. [. . .] Al igual que transsexual y transgénero, trans es un adjetivo que se emplea en ocasiones como sustantivo («un/una trans»).

The LGTBI community rejects this use and prefers an adjective to be used (“a trans”). In any case, *Fundéu* warns, it is not necessary to highlight it in italics or quotation marks (*Fundéu* BBVA, 2017, February 3).

On the other hand, it should be noted that for Italy, in the 2014 version of the *Treccani* dictionary, *trans* is recognized as an abbreviation of transsexual, although the main concept refers to the prefix “che indica passaggio oltre a termine, attraversamento, mutamento da una condizione a un'altra, ecc.”

The entry *transsexual* in the *Treccani* dictionary is applied to the person “il cui comportamento sessuale è caratterizzato dalla non accettazione del proprio sesso e dall'identificazione in quello opposto” and in its second meaning it points to the person who has undergone surgery.

In the *Grande dizionario italiano dell'uso*, (Torino 1999), the lexical unit *transfobia* is included in its 2007 update in *Nuove parole italiane dell'uso*.

It is curious to note that the 2014 version of the Italian *Treccani* dictionary does not mention the entry *transfobia* in its physical version, although six years earlier, in 2008, it had already been included in the *Neologismi. Parole nuove dai giornali* (it is an appendix of the dictionary itself).

On the other hand, the 2008 digital version of *Treccani* does include the term *transfobia* as a neologism.

trans s. F. Avversione ossessiva nei confronti dei transessuali. Compost dal s. m. e f. inv. trans, accorciata di transessuale form, con l'aggiunta del confisso -

For the entries *transessualismo* and *transessualità*, the *Treccani* refers to the concept of transsexual.

For the entry transgender, neither the Italian dictionary nor the Spanish normative dictionaries contemplate it.

4. Transfobia

Considering the normative scheme that revolves around the words consulted for this study, it is interesting to observe the morphological construction of the word trans, its validity in the press and its occurrence in the observatories of Italian and Spanish neologisms.

Indeed, the elements constituted from *-fobia* and *-fobo / a* are one of the most profitable pairs in the language of the press because of their capacity for synthesis, allowing the construction of extremely short linguistic expressions.

The formation of compound words with the suffix *-fobia* is not new in the Spanish press. This is confirmed by the BOBNEO database that reports Islamofobia in 2002 and *homofobia* in 1998. On the other hand, *transfobia* has been reported since 2006 with 20 files, including the last 4 registered in 2016 and two in 2017 up to the time of this study. For the word *turismofobia* the result of BOBNEO is more significant because

of the novelty of the word, since it contains 19 files, 17 of which were registered in 2017.

On the other hand, ONLI's database, *Osservatorio neologico della lingua italiana*, registered *transfobia* in 2007 for its use in the Italian newspaper *Repubblica*, on June 27th.

As we have seen, *fobia* appears in the dictionaries consulted as a complete noun, it works as a historical lexical base with all its connotation and without suffering any mutation. For its part, *-fobia* can also function as an affix next to a lexical root. In the field of terminology, these combinations are called compound complex terms. They are formulas that can create new terminological units (Cabré 1993: 176). In our language there have been examples such as *xenofobia*, *homofobia*, *aracnofobia*, *claustrofobia*, *agorafobia*, *hidrofobia*. To these are added new terms such as *transfobia*, *turismofobia* or *islamofobia*.

The versatility of the suffix in the Spanish press makes it very successful in the construction of neologisms, also because it has the ability to provide cognitive equivalent to the accompanying word: *catalanofobia*, *homofobia*, *transfobia*, *turismofobia*, *xenofobia*, *islamofobia*, *LGTBIfobia*. The balance of the conceptual burden of both parties comes from their ability to function autonomously, such as tourism and *fobia*.

In turn, it should be noted that the preferred model in the construction of neologisms in the language of the Spanish press is compositions based on current lexical bases used in the general language. This choice guarantees transmitting concepts without misunderstanding. An instance of this is found in the neologism *aporofobia*, which was also the chosen word of the year 2017 by *Fundéu*. The lexical basis of this neologism belongs to the historical background, so there is a need for an a priori knowledge of its meaning or it must be inserted in a suitable context to refer to its meaning. For this reason, it ceases to be effective in a headline.

On the other hand, the affixes *-fobo/a* or *-fóbico/a* are able to build neologisms if they are linked later to the lexical base; this is fundamental in this case as they contain the lexical base. These neologisms operate as an adjective that accompanies the noun: *la manifestación homófoba*, *el autobús xenófobo*.

At the other extreme, news language has no qualms about profusely using neologisms whose lexical bases do not even appear in academic dictionaries: *LGTBI*, *trans*, *transgénero*.

In any case, these creations allow a considerable economy of language and a beneficial saving of physical space in writing, an essential operation in the language of the news.

5. Quantitative Results

The study concerns 261 texts with a total of 204 words, 90 of which appear in the headlines, and are distributed in the 4 selected newspapers.

The first point that draws our attention is the overwhelming use of neologism in the Spanish press (91 %) compared to the Italian (16 %). It is also interesting to highlight the numerical difference of the use of neologism in the headlines in Spanish newspapers: 80 hits in *eldiario.es* versus 5 hits of *transfobia* or variants in the headings of *elmundo.es*.

The following table (2) refines the selection and represents the frequency with which the neologisms appear explicitly in the headlines and subtitles.

The *Fundéu* foundation explains on its website that “el adjetivo preferible es *tránsfobo*, aunque la forma *transfóbico* no es incorrecta” (2017, February 3rd). Table 2 shows how the newspaper *eldiario.com*

NEWSPAPERS	Relevant words in the headlines or in the text	<i>Transfobia</i> or variants ^a only in headlines
<i>El Diario</i>	155 (75 %)	80 (89 %)
<i>El Mundo</i>	33 (16 %)	5 (5,5 %)
<i>Il Giornale</i>	8 (4 %)	3 (3,3 %)
<i>Il Fatto Quotidiano</i>	8 (4 %)	2 (2,2 %)
TOTAL	204	90

a For the analysis of *transfobia* variants see table 2

Table 1. Breakdown of collected texts

NEWSPAPERS	Transfobia	Tránsfobo/a	Transfóbico/a
<i>El Diario</i>	11	67	2
<i>El Mundo</i>	2	1	2
<i>Il Giornale</i>	1	0	0
<i>Il Fatto Quotidiano</i>	1	0	1
TOTAL	15	68	5

Table 2. Occurrences of Transfobia / tránsfob* / Transfóbic*

follows *Fundéu's* recommendation, registering 2 uses of the adjective *transphobic* - *transfóbico* compared to 67 uses of *tránsfobo*. On the contrary, *elmundo.com* registers 2 *transfóbico/a* and 3 adjective forms.

In general, the results are very similar to those in Table 1. While Italian newspapers once again represent low numbers, the Spanish newspaper *eldiario.es* is the one that makes wide use of these innovative lexical formations.

6. Analysis of the Linguistic Strategies and the Discursive Dynamics

As is well-known, the heading of a news content has the main function of persuading the reader to read the rest of the text. To achieve this effect, the organization, the distribution of contents and the different sections play a major role in a newspaper. This semiotics of the news confers categorization and offers a more ordered reading to the user (Mapelli 2008). However, these semiotic devices are limited or annulled in newspapers published in digital format. The design of web pages is governed by other criteria and other types of instruments based mainly on graphics. The visual element reaches greater importance in this case. Another interesting feature to keep in mind is the adaptation of news language to new technologies. On the evolution towards a particular model of elaboration and diffusion of the messages Fernández says:

La incorporación de tecnología digital está modificando los procesos tradicionales de investigación, elaboración y difusión de los mensajes periodísticos y, de hecho, hasta la propia barrera entre periodista y público, entre emisor y receptor, se difumina. La tecnología digital, en fin, ha llegado para transfigurar aspectos esenciales de la profesión periodística. (Fernández 2004: 23)

The headline and the subtitle in the digital newspapers are written with great care. The persuasion becomes more incisive and biting and the words chosen gain relevance as well as the distribution of the elements within the sentence. Everything is made to stimulate the reader's attention. This is also picked up by *El Libro de Estilo* de El País (2014): "los titulares en la Red deben ser lo suficientemente ricos para que el lector deduzca el contexto en el que se inscriben".

The writing of a headline or subtitle is not totally innocuous and harmless if analyzed from Van Dijk's theoretical perspective. The scholar states that the choice of certain statements in the headlines responds to ideological motivations (Van Dijk 2003: 68–69).

In this part of the work, the aim is to analyse the transmission of information and the discursive dynamics of the use of the word *transfobia* through the linguistic strategies found. In other words, we will examine the use of neologism and its variants or its omission when referring to the same news or when formulating the same reality.

Van Dijk (2005) states that newspapers are not capable of fully reflecting reality. The irremediable interferences of the mental models when producing texts condition that reality. To this it should be added that, on occasion, the professional journalist must align with the ideological policy, business, etc., that the newspaper wants to reflect, affecting once again the impartiality and the objectivity of the final production. Therefore, each medium of communication constructs a reality adjusted to a specific ideology that is exposed as the most truthful and objective. It is the linguistic and discursive strategies that make this operation possible. In this perspective, the headline can be considered to be "como un elemento 'poderoso', capaz de definir por sí mismo la tendencia ideológica de un medio de comunicación" (Oliva Marañón 2011: 29).

In this study it emerges that the greater use of *tránsfobo/ transfóbico/a* adjectives in the headlines corresponds to the desire to

denounce and reject the *Hazte Oír* bus. The quantitative results meaningfully support this claim. In the headlines of the newspaper *eldiario.es* – of progressive and leftist² ideology - there is a greater use of *tránsfobo/ transfóbico/a* adjectives in their headlines (up to 67 times) with a mark of denunciation towards the campaign of the ultraconservative group *Hazte Oír*. Since the first appearance of the news about the controversial bus, *El Diario* uses the adjective *tránsfobo* without reservation to refer to the bus on the same day that the bus leaves the streets of Madrid.

- (1) Un autobús de *Hazte Oír* recorre Madrid con el mensaje tránsfobo “los niños tienen pene y las niñas tienen vulva”. *eldiario.es* 27/02/2017. <http://www.eldiario.es/sociedad/autobus-Hazte-Oir-mensaje-enganen_0_616989126.html>

El Mundo, on the other hand, takes 4 days to insert the adjective *tránsfobo* in a headline:

- (2) Un juzgado prohíbe de forma cautelar la circulación del autobús *tránsfobo* de *Hazte Oír*
El Juzgado de Instrucción Número 42 de Madrid ha acordado como medida cautelar la prohibición de circulación del autobús desplegado por *Hazte Oír* hasta que no retire el mensaje contra la transexualidad. *elmundo.es*. EFE. 02/03/2017.

The following day, on March 3rd, the word *tránsfobo* appears again in a subtitle of *El Mundo* but not in the heading:

- (3) La Policía denuncia ahora a la caravana de *Hazte Oír*, que estudia sacar más autobuses a la calle
La Policía Municipal de Madrid ha denunciado, por incumplir la ordenanza municipal de publicidad, a la autocaravana fletada por la organización *Hazte Oír* con los mensajes *tránsfobos* que hoy ha vuelto a circular por la capital tras añadir unos signos de interrogación al mensaje [...] *elmundo.es*. EFE. 03/04/2017.

And it takes 9 more days before these lexical units return in a heading of *elmundo.es*.

2 Wikipedia. *El diario*. <https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eldiario.es>

- (4) Manifestación de *Hazte Oír* por la “libertad de expresión” tras la polémica del autobús *tránsfobo*, en directo noticia
El autobús de la organización ultracatólica ha generado una gran polémica.
elmundo.es - 12/03/2017

To refer to this news for the first time, the newspaper *El Mundo* preferred to omit the word *tránsfobo* or *transfobia* in its heading, resorting to the use of less categorical words to refer to the bus:

- (5) El polémico autobús de *Hazte Oír* que recorre España: “Los niños tienen pene y las niñas vulva”.
elmundo.es. 28/02/2017. <<http://www.elmundo.es/f5/2017/02/28/58b522f4268e3ea2708b4715.html>>

For *El Mundo*, then, the bus was “controversial” and the word *transfóbica* is used only in the body of the news and only to refer to third party statements. As is well-known, the indirect or direct style of what is said is a linguistic strategy that allows a certain distance to be maintained from what other people outside the newspaper declare; as in this case:

- (6) La Plataforma por los Derechos Trans ha mostrado su estupefacción e indignación por la campaña “transfóbica” promovida por la organización *Hazte Oír* .org y **ha pedido la intervención del fiscal general del Estado**, José Manuel Maza, por considerar que **es una “incitación al odio”**.
En un comunicado, la Plataforma por los Derechos Trans ha condenado esta nueva llamada al odio hacia las personas transexuales, que ahora circula en forma de un autobús “transfóbico” por las calles de Madrid. <<http://www.elmundo.es/f5/2017/02/28/58b522f4268e3ea2708b4715.html>>

The editorial department of *El Mundo*, far from following the recommendations of *Fundéu*, puts the adjective *transfóbica/transfóbico* in inverted commas. The latter also become a linguistic strategy for the press. In general, the use of inverted commas is made with the clear intention of evidencing the word. The RAE specifies that the use of quotation marks³ is intended to reproduce textual citations and also when improper or vulgar words or expressions are used. A third accepted use is added here: inverted commas are used to call attention to a word

3 RAE. Comillas. <http://dle.rae.es/srv/fetch?id=9wCRIV0>

or expression that is being used in an ironic or different sense from the usual one. Therefore, an interesting degree of subtleties prompting analysis are denoted.

From the point of view of the importance pointed out by Van Dijk in *Opiniones e ideologías en la prensa* (2005), it is noticed that eldiario.es focuses its attention on the attack suffered by the trans, reiterating its denunciation in the headlines. While the newspaper elmundo.es soon finds the subject of denunciation in the lack of “freedom of expression”.

Thus, in headlines such as:

- (7) Cifuentes, Carmena y el PSOE instan a actuar contra el autobús transfobo de *Hazte Oír*.
eldiario.es. 28/02/2017. <http://www.eldiario.es/sociedad/Denuncian-Comunidad-Madrid-Hazte-Oir_0_617338435.html>

El Mundo uses a discursive strategy with the aim of highlighting its local intonation in the lack of “freedom of expression” denounced by the *Hazte Oír* group:

- (8) Manifestación de *Hazte Oír* por la “libertad de expresión” tras la polémica del autobús transfobo, en directo noticia”.
elmundo.es. 12/03/2017. <<http://www.elmundo.es/madrid/2017/03/12/58c5203446163fad348b4624.html>>

If it is true that the inverted commas are used for the key words of the denunciation, at a syntactic-semantic level the choice of the subject and the lexical selection show a manoeuvre responding to the first general strategy for the expression of attitudes and ideologies shared by mental models (Van Dijk 1996: 21; Fowler 1991; Trew 1979; Van Dijk 2005: 14). Effectively, here the negative actions are attributed to the people who appear to be in the agent role and who are implicitly in the scene: those who attack the bus.

On the other hand, the concept of “freedom of expression” plays a decisive role too. Freedom of expression is a widely accepted concept in the 21st century and it is considered as a basic right in a democratic society. The lexical selection and the position within the heading are resolved by aligning with the basic principles of a democratic state, thus the resulting headline infers that the law has been attacked by a controversy unleashed by a bus marked as *tránsfobo*. It is necessary to emphasize that this line of “topicality” taken by *El Mundo* is maintained in other headlines where priority is given to the denunciation

of the lack of freedom of expression by the group *Hazte Oír* instead of reference to the attack on transsexuals, as referred to below.

Based on the semantic structure of the displacement dimension of attribution, Van Dijk notes:

Las estrategias ideológicas globales de auto-presentación positiva y presentación negativa del otro también pueden implementarse al nivel local de las oraciones y secuencias de oraciones. De este modo, en una cláusula se puede expresar una proposición que ejecuta una estrategia, y en la siguiente cláusula una proposición que ejecuta la otra estrategia (2005: 30).

He explains that *our* our bad actions are mitigated by the good ones the good ones. In this case, in the headline “freedom of expression” appears before the controversy of the transphobic bus, located at the end of the sentence.

In this way it can be confirmed that the media are not limited to directing the audience’s attention to certain issues, but they also present these issues in accordance with certain interpretative frameworks that contribute to selecting and emphasizing some features or properties of the object in question (Shaw and McCombs 1977; Tankard 2001).

It is not the first time that *El Mundo* has tried to divert attention to other news “tematización del discurso, y por lo tanto en su coherencia global y en lo que se presenta como información más importante o menos importante” (Van Dijk 1996: 22). This happens in the following headline and subtitle dated March 17, just 20 days after the news of the bus jumped to all national media. *El Mundo* omits the words *transfobia*, *tránfobo* / *a* and focuses the news on the attacks suffered on the *Hazte Oír* bus.

- (9) Los Mossos dispersan a un grupo que increpaba a impulsores del bus de *Hazte Oír*.

Los Mossos d’Esquadra han dispersado a empujones y porrazos a un grupo de jóvenes que increpaba y arrojaba huevos, agua y pintura en Barcelona a tres representantes de *Hazte Oír*, después de que la policía catalana les ha inmovilizado e incautado el autobús que querían pasear por Cataluña. *El Mundo*, 17/03/2017EFE. <http://www.elmundo.es/cataluna/2017/03/17/58cc1052e5fdea1b678b4678.html>

This headline highlights the attack on the bus and the need for the intervention of security forces to safeguard the integrity of *Hazte Oír* members. In this way, like the previous proclamation on “freedom of

expression”, this group is positioned on the right side, watching over law and order. It must be noted that the bus is qualified as belonging to *Hazte Oír*, both in the headline and in the subtitle, probably to avoid a certain disqualification and to focus the news on the points to be highlighted.

On the other hand, *eldiario.es* deals with the attack on the group *Hazte Oír* in a different way. One of the headlines dealing with this opts for the use of direct speech with an interesting characteristic being used to describe the president of the organization:

- (10) El presidente de HazteOír se siente víctima: “La inquisición gay ha impuesto su dictadura”
(Raúl Rejón. *eldiario.es*, 02/03/2017).

In this case, the selection of the lexicon for the construction of the headline does not seem fortuitous. The choice of the word ‘*victima*’, which may initially evoke a negative connotation, can be taken as a value judgment when accompanied by the verb that points to what the president feels. On the other hand, the headline is in direct style, in quotes. As stated above, inverted commas are used to literally reproduce and translate quotes from third parties and are also used to highlight certain enunciations or specific words to draw attention to a word or expression. It also exempts the writers from any responsibility of what has been said and allows them to detach themselves and to take a certain distance from the writing. The headline in inverted commas by the president of *Hazte Oír* includes words such as inquisition, gay and dictatorship that were considered by the editorial team to be worth highlighting. These three words together in the same sentence create a paradoxical quote by the president of *Hazte Oír*. In short, it makes a historical comparison: the inquisition, a catholic invention, is characterized as gay and imposes a dictatorship (the last one in Spain was that of Francisco Franco who the group venerates). The choice of lexical items that involve evaluations is part of the whole ideological strategy of the newspaper. These are, in short, functional mechanisms of discursive strategies.

In general, the headlines of *El Mundo* omit the word transfobia and its variants. In order to name the *Hazte Oír* campaign bus, other discursive and qualifying strategies are used, such as “antitranssexualidad”, “homofóbico”, “diversidad sexual”, “delito de odio”, “polémico

autobús”; this is done with the aim of distancing from harder semantic schemes and stronger statements used in the headlines of *El Diario*.

- (11) Artolazabal, Vitoria y San Sebastián rechazan el autobús de HazteOir.org contra la diversidad sexual (elmundo.es, 28/02/2017)
- (12) LGTB convoca una protesta por la llegada a Valencia del autobús anti-transsexualidad (elmundo.es, 28/02/2017)
- (13) Tensión en la llegada del autobús de *Hazte Oír* a Pamplona (elmundo.es, 21/03/2017)

Differently, the headlines of the *eldiario.es* make use of the neologism *transfobia* or its variants in a much more profuse way (80 times in headlines and subtitles) and without any kind of objection, following the writing recommendations of *Fundéu*.

- (14) Un autobús de *Hazte Oír* recorre Madrid con el mensaje transfobo “los niños tienen pene y las niñas tienen vulva” (27/02/2017)
- (15) Cifuentes, Carmena y el PSOE instan a actuar contra el autobús transfobo de *Hazte Oír*. (28/02/2017)
- (16) Quiénes son *Hazte Oír*, los ultracatólicos que han lanzado el bus transfobo (28/02/2017)
- (17) La Fiscalía pide al juez que inmovilice el autobús transfobo de *Hazte Oír* por “alterar la paz pública” (01/03/2017)
- (18) El autobús transfobo de *Hazte Oír* permanece retenido en una nave de Madrid (01/03/2017)
- (19) El presidente de *Hazte Oír* se siente víctima: “La inquisición gay ha impuesto su dictadura” (02/03/2017)
- (20) El juez ordena que el autobús de *Hazte Oír* no circule hasta que retire los mensajes transfobos (02/03/2017)
- (21) *Hazte Oír* coloca un nuevo mensaje transfobo en su autobús para llevarlo a Barcelona (16/03/2017)

- (22) El eurodiputado sancionado por hablar de “inferioridad femenina” sale en defensa del bus *tránsfobo* de *Hazte Oír* (22/03/2017)
- (23) El juez archiva la denuncia de *Hazte Oír* contra Manuela Carmena por inmovilizar su autobús *tránsfobo* (13/06/2017)
- (24) La justicia levanta la inmovilización del autobús *tránsfobo* de *Hazte Oír* (21/07/2017)
- (25) *HazteOír* anuncia que lanzará un nuevo autobús el lunes y una campaña “vía aérea” a lo largo del verano (23/07/2017)
- (26) *Hazte Oír* dobla la apuesta de su mensaje *tránsfobo* en avioneta: “Van a por tus hijos” (01/08/2017)

The examples show that from the beginning the *eldiario.es* makes use without hesitation of the adjective *tránsfobo* to qualify the bus in its headlines and maintains this line in almost all its headlines, generally with a tone of complaint. In the same way, the noun ‘mensaje’ is qualified with the adjective *tránsfobo* in a fixed way.

7. The Italian Press

From a general comparison between the Spanish and the Italian newspapers, it is observed that the news had much less impact on the Italian media in 2017. The quantitative result of this study corroborates this assertion. The ultraconservative organization *Hazte Oír* maintains important international relations and through several interviews the founder and president himself warned that the campaign that had begun in Spain had international aspirations. This was how *eldiario.es* picked up the arrival of the bus in the Italian territory in the following headline:

- (27) La plataforma internacional de *Hazte Oír* pone en circulación un autobús con lemas *tránsfobos* en Italia.
eldiario.es 23/09/2017.

Indeed, the impact of the media in Italy was not the same as in Spain and in the headlines the words inherent to this study have little representation.

There are 3 headlines, two for *Il Fatto Quotidiano* and one for *Il Giornale* with none of them referring to the current status of the *Hazte Oír* bus (CitizenGo, in its international version) that has been discussed in this study. Below, the headlines found in the Italian digital newspapers.

- (28) Giornata mondiale contro l'omo-transfobia, il pregiudizios colpisce tutte le diversità. *Il Fatto Quotidiano*, 17/05/2017
- (29) Impegno della Giunta su mozione presentata da Mimmo Carretta (Pd). La grillina Ferrero integra il testo inserendo anche i riferimenti contro chi promuove l'odio sessista e transfobico. Ora tocca alla Appendino adeguare i regolamenti. *Il Fatto Quotidiano*, 10/11/2017
- (30) La mossa delle parrocchie: veglie anti-omofobia in chiesa
Decine di parrocchie in Italia prendono parte alle iniziative organizzate per la Giornata mondiale per la lotta contro l'omo-transfobia. *Il Giornale*, 10/05/2017

Despite the poor representation, the same method of analysis used for the Spanish press is followed.

For the Italian case, this little representation of the words inherent to the study can be explained by the preference for the use of the English loanword *gender-transgender* to refer to the transsexual group. This happens although the transsexual lexical unit has been normalized in the Italian academic dictionaries as has been noted in another section of this study. It must be observed that the use of *gender* is given as a lexical strategy to draw the readers' attention to the topicality of the headline covering the matter of the controversial bus. In this way *gender* also takes the forms *transgender* and *antitransgender*, the latter being combined with the prefix *anti-*:

- (31) Il bus antigender che non piace ai benpensanti
Bus antigender promosso da CitizenGo e Generazione Famiglia parte per il tour italiano: immediate le proteste dei benpensanti. *Il Giornale*, 24/09/2017
- (32) Gender, il 'bus della libertà' è una provocazione omofobica. I sindaci si oppongono.
Il Fatto Quotidiano, 30/09/2017

Il Fatto Quotidiano, prefers the word *omofobica* to refer to the campaign of *Hazte Oír*, but it also introduces the qualifier "*della libertà*" to refer to the bus. In this case a correlative can be traced with the

controversy raised around the freedom of expression initiated by the president of the ultraconservative Spanish group.

8. Conclusions

The new model used by the Spanish press, built from the suffix *-fobia* and the current lexical bases, including those that do not appear in the academic dictionaries (*LGTBI, trans, transgender*) is explained by Hernando Cuadrado's (2006: 49) consideration. The scholar points out that the written press tends to use a kind of language which is as accessible as possible to the average reader, minimizing technicalities and foreign words; in a nutshell, it seeks to elaborate the information with a language that is intelligible to the recipient - conceived as a massive entity - who is addressed with a language free from technical or specialized features; a language that is capable of overcoming the individual characteristics of the possible multiple readers (Méndez Santos 2011: 36).

The quantitative study shows that the Spanish press makes greater use of *transfobia* and its variants in comparison with the Italian press. Likewise, the progressive Spanish newspaper *-eldiario.es-* is the one that uses the neologism unreservedly in its headlines. On the contrary, *El Mundo* prefers to omit the use of the word *transfobia* and its variants using other linguistic and discursive strategies in the headlines such as the use of inverted commas, highlighting a preferred local intonation, alternative words such as “antitranssexualidad”, “homofóbico”, “diversidad sexual”, “delito de odio”, “polémico autobús” in an attempt to get away from harsher and stronger semantic schemes used in the headlines of *El Diario*.

It is clear from the study that although the composition formed by *-fobia* and *-fobo / a* is revealed as one of the most profitable pairs in the language of the news due to its capacity for synthesis, allowing the construction of extremely short linguistic expressions, its use in the headlines depends strongly on the political and commercial ideology of the newspaper.

From the sociolinguistic point of view, it is emphasized that according to the role of neologisms in discourse, *transfobia* and its variants are framed within expressive neology. This kind of neology aims to

introduce subjective elements; it is produced simply to introduce new expressive forms in the communicative event (Cabré 1994: 447).

The study has also revealed that the choice of one option or another depends on the culture where the news is developed; the neologism *transfobia* is ignored in the Italian case favouring alternatives borrowed from English, i.e., gender-transgender; on the other hand, the Spanish headlines choose *transfobia* and its variants as a communicative option. The cultural distinction intervening in the use of one choice or another significantly affects the work of linguistic mediation, translation or writing of topical texts.

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