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The chocolate battle:  
Media representation of product  
quality in the British press

di Antonio Fruttaldo

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CULTURA | LINGUA E LINGUE

## Antonio Fruttaldo

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### Abstract

In the implementation of given EU directives, forms of resistance may originate, in particular, when given directives try to uniform the production of given goods. This was particularly the case of chocolate production, which has sparked over time furious reactions by EU member states, since the directives linked to its production clearly defined what should be considered 'pure' chocolate and, conversely, what should be defined as a poor imitation. Indeed, the controversial 1973 Directive 73/241/EEC, which expressly prohibited the use of any fat other than cocoa butter, created a double standard for those countries that used alternative fats or, as in the case of the UK, traditionally used higher quantities of milk in the production of chocolate and a cocoa content lower than the minimum authorised by the EEC directive. Thus, these countries were forced to market their products outside of their national borders as 'chocolate-flavoured', thus, subtly acknowledging the lower quality of their products when compared to 'pure' chocolate.

Thus, the aim of this contribution is to analyse the animated debate surrounding chocolate quality standards in the British press thanks to the analysis of a corpus of newspapers articles in a time-span that goes from 1994 to 2000, that is, the period during which the EU re-opened the debate over chocolate production standards and which brought to the Directive 2000/36/EC that introduced more flexibility in the manufacture of chocolate. The analysis will be carried out by using corpus linguistic methodologies (Baker, 2006, 2013; Baker et al., 2013) and, in particular, we will focus on the legitimisation strategies (van Leeuwen, 2007, 2008) used to define product quality in the news stories under investigation.

## I INTRODUCTION

Food may be widely acknowledged as being intrinsically imbued in the cultural and historical tradition of given countries. The production of given alimentary goods is, thus, radically linked to the local, regional or national cultural heritage of specific communities, whose standards of production are established according to their history, regardless of the requirements coming from governmental authorities.

However, as Dahan (2014) argues, if product categories are defined according to quality standards that allow given items to be deemed worthy of a product denomination, this allows institutions to discriminate subtly between what can be considered as adhering to these standards and what must be regarded as not worthy of the denomination, since it does not comply with them.

While the purpose of institutions in introducing given quality standards is to harmonise the market and offer consumers the same quality in the consumption of given goods, these standards may not consider that, for the production of given goods, given cultural heritage elements are intrinsically linked to their manufacture.

This is particularly the case of chocolate production, which has sparked over the years furious reactions by EU member states, since the directives linked to its manufacture clearly defined what should be considered 'pure' chocolate and, conversely, what should be defined as a mere 'substitute'. Indeed, the controversial 1973 Directive 73/241/EEC (Council Directive of 24 July 1973), which expressly prohibited the use of any fat other than cocoa butter, created a double standard for those countries that used alternative fats and/or traditionally used higher quantities of milk in the production of chocolate and a cocoa content lower than the minimum authorised by the EU directive. Thus, these countries were forced to market their products as 'chocolate-flavoured', thus, subtly acknowledging their poor quality.

### *1.1 Willy Wonka & the Chocolate Factionists*

Focusing our attention on the chocolate recipe as produced in the UK, its origins can be traced back to WWI and the period after. Due to the extreme conditions of poverty experienced by the UK and Ireland, imports of cocoa beans suffered a severe drop during these years. Therefore, these countries were forced to reduce the cocoa percentage in the production of chocolate, opting for cocoa butter equivalents (i.e., vegetable fats such as shea butter, illipe oil, sal nut oil, palm oil, mango kernel, etc.) and increasing the content of sugar and milk. Over the years, British and Irish people developed a certain taste for the chocolate produced according to this new recipe, which was part of their national history as the result of a period of hardship that they overcame by embracing the limitations of a new world.

When, however, in 1973, Denmark, the UK, and Ireland, joined the EEC, the six founding members (i.e., Belgium,

France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and West Germany) shared similar chocolate policies, which were in accordance with the French 1910 law (Décret 1910). This law was used as a starting point in the creation of the 1973 Directive 73/241/EEC (Council Directive of 24 July 1973), which clearly defined chocolate as (Council Directive of 24 July 1973: 31): *[T]he product obtained from cocoa nib, cocoa mass, cocoa powder, or fat-reduced cocoa powder and sucrose, from milk or milk solids obtained by evaporation, with or without added cocoa butter, and containing:*

- a minimum total dry cocoa solids content of 20 % including at least 2-5% of dry non-fat cocoa solids;
- at least 20% of milk solids obtained by evaporation, including at least 5% of butter fat;
- not more than 55% of sucrose;
- at least 25% of fat [...].

As we can see, the use of cocoa butter equivalents was (maybe purposefully) not acknowledged, thus, prohibiting countries using these ingredients to sell their products in the EEC as 'pure' chocolate. This was particularly due to the resistance of the six founding members of the EEC, which feared that the quality of 'pure' chocolate would be compromised if cocoa butter equivalents and high percentages of milk and sugar had been introduced in the manufacture of chocolate. Thus, their argument was based on *«guaranteeing the original recipe, and protecting the consumers»* (Meloni and Swinnen, 2016, p. 288). However, as Meloni and Swinnen (2016) maintain, *«the existing EEC regulations were obviously also protecting chocolate producers in these countries from competition from large British chocolate companies»* (Meloni and Swinnen, 2016, p. 288). Thus, while officially advocating for the protection of the original recipe of the chocolate produced by the six founding members, they were actually and at the same time protecting also their companies from the competition represented by British chocolate manufacturers.

Therefore, the previously described judicial scenario created a double-standard, according to which the new three countries joining the EEC were subtly 'banished' from selling their products outside their national borders, and forced to sell their chocolate products only if they adhered to the EEC quality standards or only if they acknowledged that their chocolate should be considered as a substitute and a poor imitation of the products produced by following the actual guidelines of the EEC.

While lobbyists advocating for the 'purists' and those advocating for cocoa-non-conforming countries unsuccessfully tried to reach a compromise between the parties involved, only in 1995, the EC was forced to review its position on chocolate quality standards due to the entry of new countries in the EC that used cocoa butter equivalents and high percentages of milk and sugar in the production of their chocolate (i.e., Austria, Finland, and Sweden). The process, however, was not smooth, and only in 2000, the European

Commission, MEPs, and the European Council reached an agreement, embodied in the Directive 2000/36/EC (2000). The Directive showed more leniency towards those countries using alternative fats in their national chocolate standards, allowing them to market their products in the EU as 'chocolate' and not as 'chocolate-flavoured'. The Directive nonetheless ensured that *«[i]n the case of chocolate products to which vegetable fats other than cocoa butter have been added, consumers should be guaranteed correct, neutral and objective information in addition to the list of ingredients»* (Directive 2000/36/EC, 2000, p. 19). Therefore, according to these revised standards, chocolate products that contain vegetable fats other than cocoa butter *«[...] may be marketed in all of the Member States, provided that their labelling [...] is supplemented by a conspicuous and clearly legible statement: 'contains vegetable fats in addition to cocoa butter'»* (Directive 2000/36/EC, 2000, p. 20).

While some member states showed some forms of resistance towards Directive 2000/36/EC (in particular, Italy and Spain, which were subsequently sanctioned by the EU since they kept selling British chocolate with the label 'chocolate substitute'), this legislation officially ended what has been named as the 'chocolate war' in the EU.

Given the fact that the various directives had a significant impact on the definition of what can be considered chocolate and, therefore, had a remarkable impact on the cultural heritage of given countries in the production of this good, the 'chocolate war' gave rise to animated debates since, as Meloni and Swinnen (2016) argue, *«the question 'what is chocolate?' was not only related to the 'quality' of the product but also to who got access to the EEC chocolate market»* (Meloni and Swinnen, 2016, p. 288).

## 2 Aims

Given the previously outlined historical context where the 'chocolate war' took place, our investigation focuses on the way the debates surrounding what should be considered as 'chocolate' were framed in the British press. In particular, our focus is on the strategies of legitimization (van Leeuwen, 2007, 2008) adopted by British newspapers in reclaiming quality standards that seemed to be under attack by the EEC and, later, by the EC Directives.

In this scenario, two authorities appear to be clashing with each other: the one coming from the voice of the European Community as a whole, which more specifically voiced the concerns of the six founding members in the protection of quality standards; and the voices coming from British authorities, which tried to defend the way their products should be acknowledged and sold in European countries not as merely resembling chocolate, but as chocolate produced according to different standards. And since evaluative judgments, as van Leeuwen (2008) argues, *«[...] are ultimately always connected with legitimations»* (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 21), we will concentrate on these cues in the corpus of British news stories under investigation in order to highlight which legitimising discourses were used to represent quality standards in the British press.

1 For a more detailed discussion of the worldwide and European regulations and directives regarding the production of chocolate, see Meloni and Swinnen (2016).

### 3 Methodological framework and corpus collection

The following contribution is part of an ongoing research project investigating the way British and French press portrayed the debates surrounding the 'chocolate war' from 1973 to 2000. More specifically, this project wants to combine mixed methodologies (i.e., Critical Discourse Analysis (see Fairclough *et al.*, 2011 for an overview) and Corpus Linguistics (Baker, 2006, 2013; Baker *et al.* 2013) in order to highlight how argumentative structures are used with a view to defining quality standards and, thus, advocate for given policies while excluding others. Therefore, looking at the way oppositions are construed in discourse is the primary goal of this research project. In order to analyse the way the British press has reported the events linked to the 'chocolate war', for the following contribution, a corpus has been collected of all the news stories published in British newspapers from 1994 to 2000. The corpus

news sources in the time-span that goes from January 2, 1982 to current editions. In order to collect news stories specifically linked to the event under investigation, we have decided to search for the seed words [(chocolate) OR (cocoa)) AND ((EU) OR (Europe) OR (European) OR (EEC) OR (EC))] in the headlines and lead paragraphs of news stories published in the time-span that goes from January 1, 1994 (i.e., the year previous to the EU decision to revise the 1973 Directive on chocolate production) to December 31, 2000 (i.e., the year when the EU finally introduced a more tolerant Directive on chocolate quality standards). The search resulted in 118 news stories published from March 19, 1994 to October 19, 2000, thus, limiting our focus on these years, which corresponds to the period during which the EC was forced to review its position on chocolate quality standards due to the entry of new countries in the EC. The distribution of news stories over the years is summarised in Figure 1:

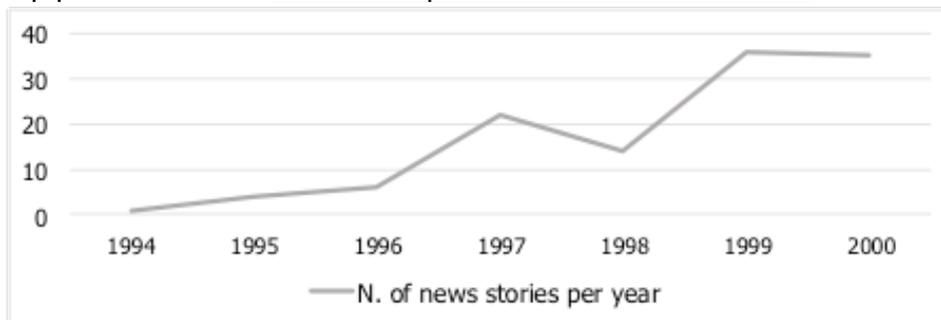


Figure 1 Distribution of news stories per year on the 'chocolate war' in UK newspapers.

has been collected by using the online database LexisNexis, which offers the possibility to access a broad range of full-text documents from over 17,000 sources from around the world

The sources where the news stories have been taken from, and the number of news stories per newspapers have been summarised in Figure 2:

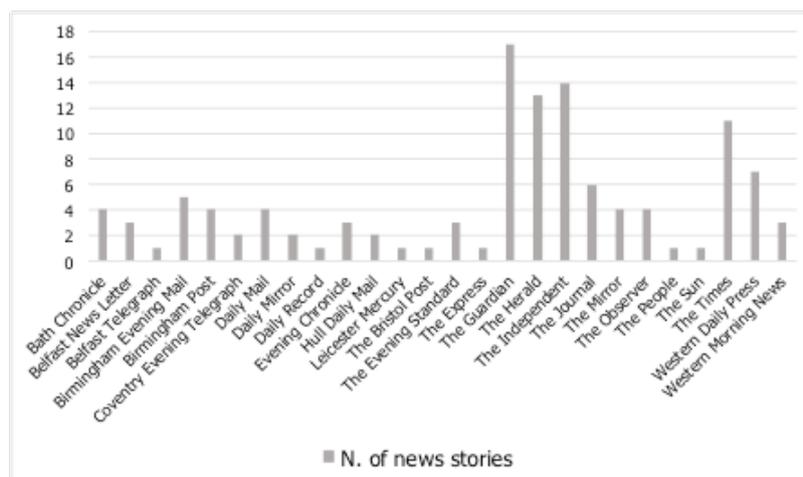


Figure 2 Complete list of the sources where the news stories have been taken from and the number of news stories per newspapers.

and download them for a wide variety of academic research projects. In the specific case of news research sources, it currently features more than 3,000 newspapers from around the globe and more than 2,000 magazines, journals, and newsletters.

The corpus has been collected by accessing the UK newspapers section of LexisNexis, which features more than 668 UK

After collecting the data from LexisNexis, the corpus has been cleaned of all the additional information automatically encoded by the database (e.g., the number of news stories retrieved in a given time span and the identification number for each news story (e.g., 1 of 118 DOCUMENTS, 2 of 118 DOCUMENTS, etc.); the number

of words in a given news story; etc.). The corpus was, then, semi-automatically annotated through XML encoding (Hardie 2014), which has allowed us to specify where each news story was published and its date of publication.

The Chocolate UK corpus (from now on, the CHUK corpus) was finally uploaded on the online corpus analysis tool Sketch Engine (Kilgarriff et al. 2004; Kilgarriff et al. 2014), which was used as our main analysis tool for this investigation.

In order to investigate the way through which legitimation strategies have been used discursively to advocate for the quality standards of British chocolate in the CHUK corpus, we have decided to approach this by performing a keyword analysis (Scott, 2009; Scott and Tribble, 2006) thanks to the online corpus analysis tool Sketch Engine by comparing the corpus under investigation with the Siena-Bologna, Portsmouth corpus (from now on referred to as the SiBol/Port corpus), available on Sketch Engine and used as our reference corpus in the extraction of key words. The Sibol/Port corpus is a collection of up-market British print newspapers, consisting of 787,000 newspaper articles taken from various British newspapers from the years 1993, 2005, and 20102.

Once the keyword extraction was performed in the comparison between the CHUK corpus and the Sibol/Port corpus, we have decided to focus our attention only on those key words that were used in order to construct 'otherness' discursively since, by looking at their collocational network, they could be seen as being used so as to create forms of opposition between the parties involved in the 'chocolate war'. If, as media agencies have repeatedly reinforced, the process of revision of the EU directives on chocolate production was constructed through the use of a war metaphor between 'purists' and cocoa-non-conforming countries, this entails the construction in discourse of the Foucauldian concepts of division and rejection (Foucault, 1972). Indeed, based on the work of Martín Rojo (1995), Reyes (2011) argues that, in political discourse, «*division establishes an inclusive 'us' and an exclusive 'them', and rejection evokes an ideological dimension that portrays the excluded as mad, irrational, immoral, evil, etc.*» (Reyes, 2011, p. 787). This binary construction of division and rejection can also be applied to media discourse, thus, revealing the way the British press has constructed quality standards linked to national production of chocolate and how 'purists' were portrayed in the legitimation process of advocating for the re-appropriation of chocolate products as truly genuine and not as a mere substitute.

#### 4 Preliminary Findings

As previously underlined, the keyword analysis performed

2 Further information on the SiBol/Port corpus can be found online at [http://www.lilec-clb.it/?page\\_id=8](http://www.lilec-clb.it/?page_id=8)

on the CHUK corpus can highlight given linguistic cues that can substantially allow us to see how oppositions have been construed in discourse. Our focus on evaluative stances and legitimation is strictly linked to this hypothesis. Indeed, as van Leeuwen (2008) argues, moral evaluation may be defined as «*legitimation by (often very oblique) reference to value systems*» (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 108). Thus, some discourses may be legitimised by appealing to linguistic expressions that draw on specific value systems, thus, presenting something as 'good' or 'bad', 'desirable' or 'undesirable'. In the specific case of the 'chocolate war', as we will see in this paragraph, journalists seem to convene around specific discourses of legitimation of the product quality of the British chocolate, which are specifically constructed in opposition to an outside authority seen as constantly challenging these standards, which are linked to the socio-cultural heritage of the UK citizens. Therefore, in challenging these standards, the EEC was constructed in discourse as contesting a series of value systems represented as cultural-specific elements of the national identity of the UK. The 'chocolate war' is, thus, constructed in the British press as a way to defend the national identity of the products produced in these countries.

As previously said, key words have been extracted thanks to the online corpus analysis tool Sketch Engine (Kilgarriff et al. 2004; Kilgarriff et al. 2014) by comparing the CHUK corpus with the Sibol/Port corpus. Given the different number of news stories per newspaper collected in the CHUK corpus (see Figure 2), we have decided to make use of the Average Reduced Frequency (from now on ARF) in the calculation of key words. This statistical measure allows users to see if a given key word is not only 'key' in the sense that it is more frequently used in a corpus when compared to another, but it also allows users to see if the key word is evenly distributed in the corpus. Thus, as Kilgarriff (2009) argues, «*for a word with an even distribution across a corpus, ARF will be equal to raw frequency, but for a word with a very bursty distribution, only occurring in a single short text, ARF will be a little over 1*» (Kilgarriff 2009). Thus, given the uneven number of news stories per newspaper, this statistical measure has allowed us to calculate only those key words that were evenly distributed in the corpus under investigation, discarding those that were, on the other hand, only present in a single text.

After the calculation of the key words according to the procedure previously outlined, we have gone through the word list to highlight only those lexical items that entail forms of opposition in the topic-specific corpus under investigation. The complete list of key words entailing opposition can be found in Appendix I.

As we can see from the very first key words, opposition is created between 'non-cocoa' (ARF score: 110.9) and 'pure' products. More specifically, the lemos 'non-cocoa' strongly collocates in the CHUK corpus with expressions such as 'ban' or 'not allow'.

This restriction on selling products with this characteristic comes from a very specific authority, which the keyword

analysis highlights among its first lempos in the word list, that is, 'Belgium-n' (ARF score: 70.8), 'Belgian-n' (ARF score: 63.4), 'Belgian-j' (ARF score: 54.1), and 'Brussels-n' (ARF score: 50.6). While some of these occurrences are strictly used as synonyms of the EU (more precisely, the lempos 'Brussels-n'), in most of the cases these key words are used in order to identify in the EU member country of Belgium what can be considered as an antagonist in the narrative of opposition created in the British press. Indeed, the lempos 'Belgium-n', 'Belgian-n', and 'Belgian-j' strongly collocate with expressions such as 'purists', 'kill-joys', 'chocolate barons', highlighting the general feelings expressed towards this country, seen as the source of the 'nannyng urge' to control what EU countries are producing and the standards according to which this production should be carried out.

Another source of opposition can be found in the lempos 'continental-j' (ARF score: 48.4) and 'continent-n' (ARF score: 26.1). In this case, opposition is created by using these expressions with words such as 'purists' or 'rivals', thus, giving voice to already flourishing voices of Euro-scepticism, which saw the EU as already failing to create a single market. Thus, the discourses surrounding the 'chocolate war' are already pouring in the readers' mind those feelings of nationalism that see 'continental cocoa purists' as threatening the inclusion of non-continental countries in the EU single market. The harmonisation process of directives is, therefore, seen as a challenge to national standards and as the instruments in the hands of given countries to enforce their policies, while forcing non-continental countries to either abide by these policies or see themselves excluded from the EU market.

In line with the previous observation, the process of revision of the controversial 1973 Directive 73/241/EEC is represented in the British press through expressions such as 'wrangle-n' (ARF score: 46.5), 'dispute-n' (ARF score: 8.3), 'argument-n' (ARF score: 6.5), 'battle-n' (ARF score: 5.7), 'row-n' (ARF score: 4.8), 'debate-n' (ARF score: 4.7), 'war-n' (ARF score: 3.9), 'argue-v' (ARF score: 3.3), 'fight-n' (ARF score: 3.2), and 'crisis-n' (ARF score: 2.1). In this way, the parties involved in the process of revision are once more portrayed as clashing against each other in the defence of given standards in the production of chocolate.

The clear-cut division between these two sides is clearly advocated through the use of given expressions in the definition of the quality of the chocolate produced in continental and non-continental countries of the EU. Indeed, the continental side of this 'battle' is presented as regarding British products as 'inferior-j' (ARF score: 39.6) or 'cheap-j' (ARF score: 4.4), while defending their manufacture of chocolate through evaluative expressions such as 'pure-j' (ARF score: 15.7) and 'good-n' (ARF score: 4.9). Therefore, the quality of their products must be protected (lempos 'protect-v', ARF score: 2.6) by the threat (lempos 'threat-n', ARF score: 2.4; and 'threaten-v', ARF score: 2.1) posed by non-continental countries.

On the other side of the coin, the UK is represented as

defending their 'recipe-n' (ARF score: 15.4), and as legitimising the national production of chocolate according to this recipe by appealing to 'tradition-n' (ARF score: 4.6; see also 'traditional-j' (ARF score: 2.7). As van Leeuwen (2007) argues, appealing to the authority of tradition in legitimising given practices means that «[e]veryone has a know-how that is not only experienced as having always existed, but also as not in need of being made explicit or justified» (van Leeuwen, 2007, p. 96). This means that, in the specific case of the chocolate war, by appealing to tradition, newspapers are linking the issue to something that goes deeper than the mere protection of a recipe: the press is creating a shared identity, imbued in the national standard of manufacture of chocolate. This also explains the advocacy for the preservation of each 'variety-n' (ARF score: 4.6) of chocolate produced in EU countries, which should be, thus, regarded as varieties and not as substitutes for the 'pure' chocolate produced by 'continental' countries.

## 5 Conclusions

This preliminary investigation in the way the British press has reported the process of revision of the controversial 1973 Directive 73/241/EEC has allowed us to see how oppositions have been discursively created in order to represent the events in a specific way. Indeed, thanks to the analysis of key words linked to the creation of opposition in discourse, we have seen how the 'chocolate war' has been represented as a specific 'fight' between continental and non-continental countries. More precisely, Belgium has been construed as the main antagonist, while the quality standards of British chocolate have been advocated through the use of the authority of tradition.

In this final paragraph of this investigation, we would like, however, to underline some of the limitations of this study. Indeed, while focusing on strategies of opposition, other argumentative strategies have been overlooked. This was particularly due to the specific nature of this pilot study in the media representation of the 'chocolate war' in a well-delimited time-span. Additionally, given the absence of a counterpart corpus allowing us to see the 'continental' view on the topic, we have decided to focus here only on those strategies particularly frequent in the CHUK corpus, leaving to future research the analysis of other argumentative strategies in discourse.

Indeed, as part of an on-going research project, we will further extend the time-span of analysis, by retrieving all the British and French news stories published on the topic from 1973 to 2000, thus, allowing us to analyse discursively and historically how argumentative strategies have been used in order to advocate and/or oppose the revision of the directives linked to the 'chocolate war'.

## APPENDIX

Appendix I:

Key words entailing opposition computed in the comparison between the CHUK corpus and the Sibol/Port corpus.

<b>lempos</b>	<b>CHUK corpus</b>		<b>Sibol/Port corpus</b>		<b>Score</b>
	<b>ARF</b>	<b>ARF/mill</b>	<b>ARF_ref</b>	<b>ARF_ref/mill</b>	
non-cocoa-n	6.1	110.1	1	0	110.9
Belgium-n	39.3	710	3504.4	9	70.8
Belgian-n	8.4	151.9	547.8	1.4	63.4
purist-n	10.7	193.4	830.1	2.1	61.9
Belgian-j	22.4	404.1	2516.7	6.5	54.1
Brussels-n	40.9	739	5283.8	13.6	50.6
continental-j	18.1	328	2245.8	5.8	48.4
Luxembourg-n	11.3	204.1	1286.3	3.3	47.5
wrangle-n	5.3	95.9	420.6	1.1	46.5
MEPs-n	5.7	103.2	581.1	1.5	41.7
inferior-j	8.1	146.3	1052.4	2.7	39.6
Strasbourg-n	6	108	688.5	1.8	39.3
Denmark-n	15	271.6	3629.3	9.4	26.3
Euro-n	19.5	352.1	4833.2	12.5	26.2
continent-n	18.6	335.6	4613.8	11.9	26.1
ban-n	30.8	557	8594.7	22.2	24.1
Finland-n	6.3	114.2	1623.7	4.2	22.2
pure-j	12.4	223.5	5155.9	13.3	15.7
recipe-n	9	162.5	3729.4	9.6	15.4
Netherlands-n	6.6	118.5	2776.5	7.2	14.6
Alliance-n	6.7	121.1	3151.6	8.1	13.4
ban-v	20.5	371.2	11341.9	29.3	12.3
oblige-v	8	143.9	4657.3	12	11.1
Austria-n	5.6	101.8	3244.6	8.4	11
British-j	124	2241	83237.2	214.8	10.4
favour-v	12.1	218	7828.2	20.2	10.3
Swiss-j	6.2	112.6	4028.7	10.4	10
permit-v	7.5	135	5004.4	12.9	9.8
dispute-n	10.3	185.6	8351	21.5	8.3
block-v	9.6	174	7928.8	20.5	8.2
UK-n	59	1065.7	51566.2	133	8
bitter-j	6.8	123.2	5914.2	15.3	7.6
parliament-n	8.6	154.9	7948.4	20.5	7.2
Britain-n	85.9	1553	92321.1	238.2	6.5
argument-n	13.6	246.3	14335.6	37	6.5
France-n	28.6	517.6	31135	80.3	6.4
battle-n	18.5	333.7	22272	57.5	5.7
country-n	79.9	1443.3	102052.1	263.3	5.5
commission-n	7.8	141.8	9783.2	25.2	5.4
French-j	22.7	410.5	31067.8	80.2	5.1
union-n	12.7	229.1	17040.3	44	5.1
good-n	6.5	118.1	9063.9	23.4	4.9
row-n	10.6	190.7	15082	38.9	4.8
debate-n	12	217.3	17626.2	45.5	4.7

member-n	39.3	710.2	59050.4	152.4	4.6
tradition-n	7	126.4	10344.1	26.7	4.6
variety-n	6.4	115.3	9388.1	24.2	4.6
impose-v	8	143.7	12031.8	31	4.5
cheap-j	10.7	193.7	16605	42.8	4.4
separate-j	6.4	116.2	9822.6	25.3	4.4
Germany-n	13	235.8	21867.3	56.4	4.1
war-n	22.4	404.4	40370.4	104.2	3.9
Italy-n	8.2	147.5	14562.6	37.6	3.9
standard-n	10.9	196.9	19976.8	51.5	3.8
Irish-j	7.5	135.4	13370.9	34.5	3.8
committee-n	8.9	160	16837.5	43.4	3.6
quality-n	12.9	233.3	27337.3	70.5	3.3
argue-v	12.2	219.7	25296.3	65.3	3.3
German-j	9.4	169.9	20000.7	51.6	3.2
Spain-n	6.2	112.7	13487.1	34.8	3.2
fight-n	5.7	102.1	12067.4	31.1	3.2
reject-v	6.7	121.1	14727.8	38	3.1
traditional-j	7.1	128.5	17969.4	46.4	2.7
protect-v	6.9	125.3	18405.4	47.5	2.6
other-j	73.8	1334.1	217347.5	560.8	2.4
national-j	13	235.6	38151.4	98.4	2.4
British-n	12.1	218.9	34598.8	89.3	2.4
threat-n	7.3	131.9	20638.5	53.2	2.4
demand-v	5.8	105.7	17106.3	44.1	2.4
eight-x	10	181.6	31365.9	80.9	2.2
threaten-v	5.9	106.6	19874.5	51.3	2.1
crisis-n	5.3	95.9	17405.4	44.9	2.1

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