They were not radical, even when they committed that

An appraisal-driven discourse analysis of feelings and attitudes towards the 17-A terrorist cell in Barcelona

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Identity conflict and the loss of meaning experienced by some Muslim young people in Western countries are key factors behind fanaticism, leading some of them to find purpose in life within extremist groups (Adam-Troian et al. 2021; Moyano and González 2021). The narrative that emerges from the radicalisation process provides a rich source for psychologists and discourse analysts, exploring not only the 'why' and the 'how', but also issues stemming from self-perception and other-representation. Such conflict-based narratives materialise in individuals' evaluative language patterns (Etaywe and Zappavigna 2022). In this paper, we conduct a close analysis of the discursive construction of emotion and opinion in a collection of semi-structured interviews with social workers or neighbours who knew the perpetrators of the 2017 terrorist attacks in Barcelona and Cambrils. To do so, we use corpus-driven methodologies and a refined version of Martin and White's (2005) Appraisal framework (see Benítez-Castro and Hidalgo-Tenorio 2019). Our analysis aims to cast light on the social frictions that may have contributed to their endorsement of violence (Moyano et al. 2021).

Keywords: identity conflict, radicalisation, 17-A terrorist cell, CDA, Appraisal framework, emotion

1.   Introduction

1.1   The current threat of terrorism

The phenomenon of radicalisation (and/or violent extremism) continues to be a global multi-dimensional threat (Bélanger et al. 2019; Moyano 2019) requiring a comprehensive and cross-disciplinary approach. For this reason, scholars and professionals from various disciplines have tried to come to grips with the likely triggers behind violence. Their general goal is to offer evidence-based applications helping improve decision-making and socio-political actions (Moyano and González 2021; Moyano and Trujillo 2013).

According to the EU's Terrorism Situation and Trend Report (2021), during 2020, 57 attacks were documented, and 449 individuals were detained on suspicion of terrorism. Among them, more than half were between the ages of 19 and 35, and almost 70% were non-EU citizens or born outside the EU. The attacks were mainly carried out by lone actors or individuals who appear to act without the logistical support of an organization (Moyano et al. 2021). In this context, we must not forget the pandemic or the current armed conflicts, offering certain terrorist groups an opportunity to exploit all the weaknesses such times of uncertainty and social change entail (Altuna and García 2020). The report mentioned above presents a dynamic social phenomenon with no forecast of a short-term solution.

Often, conflictive situations are a breeding ground for intolerance, manifested through prejudices towards a given outgroup (Moyano and González 2021). According to UNESCO (2019), these are risky behaviours built upon a culture of hate and ignorance; when they become chronic, they can constitute a starting point for radicalisation (Moyano 2019), identified as a process of cognitive, emotional and behavioural changes aimed at supporting a specific cause. These changes can occur at the individual or group level and derive from the perception of a conflict (Moyano et al. 2021). Radicalisation shares the following aspects:

i.   It is a process with a gradual dimension;
ii. It involves different degrees or intensity;
iii. There is not a single profile, but a heterogeneity of social profiles;
iv. Psychopathology does not explain it;
v.   It is influenced by various factors, not a single one;
vi. It is a situated phenomenon, linked to specific contexts.

Some authors highlight a distinction between the radicalisation of ideas (or narratives), based on feelings or opinions and the radicalisation of actions, translating into acts of violent extremism (e.g., Khalil et al. 2019). Radicalisation, therefore,

does not always lead to violence, with only a small percentage of individuals resorting to the latter (Wolfowicz et al. 2021). This being so, we still need to understand the causes behind these processes and gain deeper awareness of what we are facing. As shown in Benítez-Castro and Hidalgo-Tenorio (2022), and Etaywe and Zappavigna (2022), this requires exploring in detail the attitudinal underpinnings of this phenomenon, because it is through our self- and other-construed stances that allegiance to in-groups and hostility to out-groups is conveyed and enacted. In recent years, terrorism researchers have moved away from a profiling-based understanding of radicalisation to focus on the pathways leading to radicalisation, thereby paying more attention to group factors and dynamics (Horgan 2008). There are many factors (personal trajectory, group membership and social networks) precluding any monolithic interpretation of radicalisation, with each subject being driven by personal specific needs (Oppetit et al. 2019).

A need thus arises for an approach geared towards uncovering the likely personal and social motivations behind radicalised individuals. In Moyano et al. (2021), for instance, identity conflict and the loss of meaning experienced by some Muslim youths in the West are found to be key driving factors for violent radicalisation, which becomes a regulatory modulator whereby the individual obtains meaning and purpose (Adam-Troian et al. 2021). This type of study not only exposes a social problem, but also makes us reflect on whether it is being addressed appropriately. An example indicating that perhaps the policies applied have not been that effective may be found in the terror attacks that a group of local Muslim youths from Ripoll (i.e., the 17-A cell) perpetrated in Barcelona and Cambrils on August 17, 2017.

1.2   The 17-A cell and attacks

The 17-A cell originated in Ripoll in 2015, a small Catalan town in the pre-Pyrenees area. The group comprised its leader, Abdelbaki Es Satty, and nine youths, including four pairs of brothers (Mossos d'Esquadra 2018). The members' ages ranged from 17 to 28; they all lived there, and shared ties of kinship and friendship. According to the documents consulted, Es Satty, the imam, could have inspired them in the Salafist-jihadist Takfir wal-Hijra doctrine (Trujillo et al. 2018), drawing upon a range of terrorist groups linked to bin Laden, whilst considerably more extremist in essence. To do this, he used family and friendship ties within the group, thereby guaranteeing cohesion and confidentiality among them.

Although the cell initially intended to conduct large-scale attacks using vans loaded with explosives, the accidental deflagration of the operational base in Alcanar, resulting in the deaths of the leader and one member, sped up their plans. On August 17, 2017, one cell member rammed a van into pedestrians in the Barcelona

Ramblas, causing 14 deaths and numerous injuries (Igualada 2021). The next attack took place on August 18, when five cell members, wearing knives and fake bomb vests rammed another vehicle into a police checkpoint, running over and attacking pedestrians on the public road. The result was another fatality and more injuries (Mossos d'Esquadra 2018). As for the perpetrators, four of them were shot by the Catalan police forces on August 18th in Cambrils, and the last one three days later after having hidden in a rural area of Barcelona.

1.3   The cell's local context

The population of Ripoll comprises 10,751 inhabitants, 1,455 of whom are foreigners (IDESCAT, 2020). It features as one of the towns in Catalonia with a smaller immigration population, which is a significant fact when analysing these dire events. It is the capital of an economically depressed region, with an ageing population and most young people migrating to cities. Not long ago, Ripoll had resources allocated to citizenship and immigration policies in which Muslims and non-Muslims worked together, but after the 2008 crisis they were dismantled (Pla-MIC 2021).

Following the 17-A attacks, Ripoll was deeply shaken, this being accentuated by the perpetrators being young locals who seemed to be "apparently integrated". This perception of integration stemmed from their good school grades, good work relationships, high community participation, mastery of the language, and the absence of a criminal record. As such, no vulnerabilities or gaps were detected that could have driven them towards violent radicalisation (González et al. 2022).

The attacks have made Ripoll reconsider its model of coexistence, ushering in a Pla-MIC community intervention plan (2021) to reflect on any contextual conflict-generating factors.[1] The impact suffered has opened a rift between some parts of the community, with the emergence of far right-linked political formations (Pla-MIC 2021). Additionally, some locals with close ties to the perpetrators have developed contradictory emotions, especially, disappointment, frustration and possible unfinished conflicts. For this reason, Ripoll keeps trying to use comprehensive community work as a change driver to improve coexistence and minimise the risk (or prevalence) of cases similar to 17-A.

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1. Pla-MIC stands for Catalan Community Intervention Plan (see https://bloc.xarxa-omnia .org/ladevesa/files/2021/07/Pla_MIC_2021-1.pdf).

1.4   Research goals

This research aims to look at how the local people construct some possible vulnerabilities (or fracture points) that may have led the 17-A perpetrators to assimilate to a radical narrative and eventually come to legitimise violence. To do so, a corpus of eight semi-structured interviews with locals who knew them (two Muslims and six non-Muslims) has been examined to delve into how the attitudinal stances in their discursive construal of their personal and interactional identities vis-à-vis the perpetrators and Ripoll's local environment (Etaywe and Zappavigna 2022) may help to pinpoint the most likely social gaps as perceived by the cell's acquaintances allegedly contributing to these otherwise inconspicuous young locals' radicalising path. This is accomplished through Corpus-Assisted Discourse Analysis, combining a purely automated inspection of the entire dataset with the close and intensive coding of several interviews. This perspective is inspired by, among others, Bednarek's (2009) three-pronged approach to the analysis of linguistic data, highlighting the importance of examining the discursive construction of social phenomena from both a purely quantitative macro- and a more qualitative micro-angle. With this in mind, this paper is guided by the following research questions:

i.   What are the most salient evaluative representations of the cell, their environment and the terror attacks in the eyes of all the interviewees?
ii. What emotions and opinions feature most frequently in the two interviews with the two Muslim interviewees, and what might this reveal about Ripoll's Muslim community's stance towards the perpetrators and the perceived causes behind their radicalization?
iii. Are there any differences in the communicative style of the two interviewees?

We intend to show how the analysis of keywords, semantic prosodies, preferences, and the identification of emotions and opinions in discourse may shed light on the socio-psychological vulnerabilities impelling these people to embark upon violent radicalisation. The multidisciplinary team behind this paper, including psychologists and discourse analysts, epitomises the many benefits of joining efforts with scholars from various areas to reach a more thorough understanding of such a complex phenomenon in our current globalised and fractured societies.

2.   Theoretical framework

The present paper draws on (Corpus-based and Corpus-driven) Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), and Martin and White's (2005) Appraisal Framework. Their main features are briefly described below.

2.1   Corpus linguistics and CDA

CDA is a well-established field, with a clear linguistic leaning, analysing social issues presented discursively in mono- and multimodal textual material. With prominent figures such as Fairclough (1995); Wodak (2020) and van Dijk (2009), offering diverse views on the observation and understanding of discourse practices, CDA has evolved immensely in the last decades due to its eagerness to avoid researcher bias. In this particular instance, given our interest in delving into the interviewees' relationship with, and construal of the terrorists, as well as their perceived agency, we have drawn upon Wodak's (2001) nomination strategies and van Leeuwen's (2008) Social Actors Theory (see Section 4.1). Tracy and Robles' (2002) fluid conceptualisation of identities as 'master', 'interactional' and 'personal' (Etaywe and Zappavigna 2022) will also be useful to better understand how the two Muslim interviewees' attitudinal positioning towards the perpetrators and Ripoll's local community may materialise in differences in their evaluative style (see Section 4.3).

In line with Baker and McEnery (2015), much recent CDA research can now go beyond intuition thanks to digitalised corpora and the application of Corpus Linguistics techniques. The latter improvement allows for the integration of quantitative and qualitative data analysis. From this angle, there are two ways of conducting a CDA of texts: either corpus-driven (e.g., Hunston and Francis 2000) or corpus-based (e.g., McEnery et al. 2006). Frequencies, sketches or keyword analysis can disclose features and/or patterns of a corpus without tagging it previously, with no pre-established hypotheses or theoretical assumptions (Baker 2011, 26); this is what inductive corpus-driven CDA does, which we have employed to examine our first research question. Contrariwise, in corpus-based CDA, the researcher aims to validate a point, within a framework, with the help of the data they analyse deductively (McEnery and Hardie 2012). This is evident in the manual intensive coding of two texts through SFL's Appraisal, addressed through research questions 2 and 3. Despite the doubts voiced by a few authors like Widdowson (1998) about a method that is claimed to rest on the study of decontextualised corpora, the synergy between Corpus Linguistics and CDA has proven to be successful. As Biber et al. (1998) report, this is explained on its capacity for granularity, replicability, objectivity and systematicity.

2.2   The language of evaluation

Martin and White's (2005) Appraisal Framework constitutes a major attempt to comprehend the nitty-gritty of the lexico-grammar and discourse-semantics of the interpersonal metafunction, through a taxonomy capturing the complexity of evaluation and alignment. ATTITUDE, the superordinate system, deals with: (a) emotional reactions, (b) ethical assessments and (c) aesthetic evaluations. The terms AFFECT, JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION are used to refer to each of the former individually. Finally, ATTITUDE is complemented by ENGAGEMENT and GRADUATION, comprising the resources used to show, on the one hand, the source of attitudinal meanings, and, on the other, the values of up- or down-scaling those meanings.

Appraisal has been applied extensively, even encouraging the refinement of some of its categories (e.g., Bednarek 2008; Hommerberg and Don 2015; Thompson 2014). Here, we use one such revised model (see Benítez-Castro and Hidalgo-Tenorio 2019; and Figure 1). One of the most visible changes concerns AFFECT, which is redefined on the basis of the following principles: (1) emotion is a goal-related and pleasure-based phenomenon (e.g., Fontaine et al. 2013); (2) it is conveyed at all levels, both linguistically and paralinguistically (e.g., Thompson 2014); (3) the production and interpretation of utterances is always filtered through emotion (Klann-Delius 2015). The labels employed for the new sub-categories reflect these points unambiguously. Goal-seeking emotions have to do with triggers' relevance for emoters' needs. Trying to achieve (or keep) one's goal, and the reaction caused after losing any, describe what goal-achievement emotions are. As for goal-relation emotions, they encapsulate the examples of attraction and repulsion generated by any trigger.
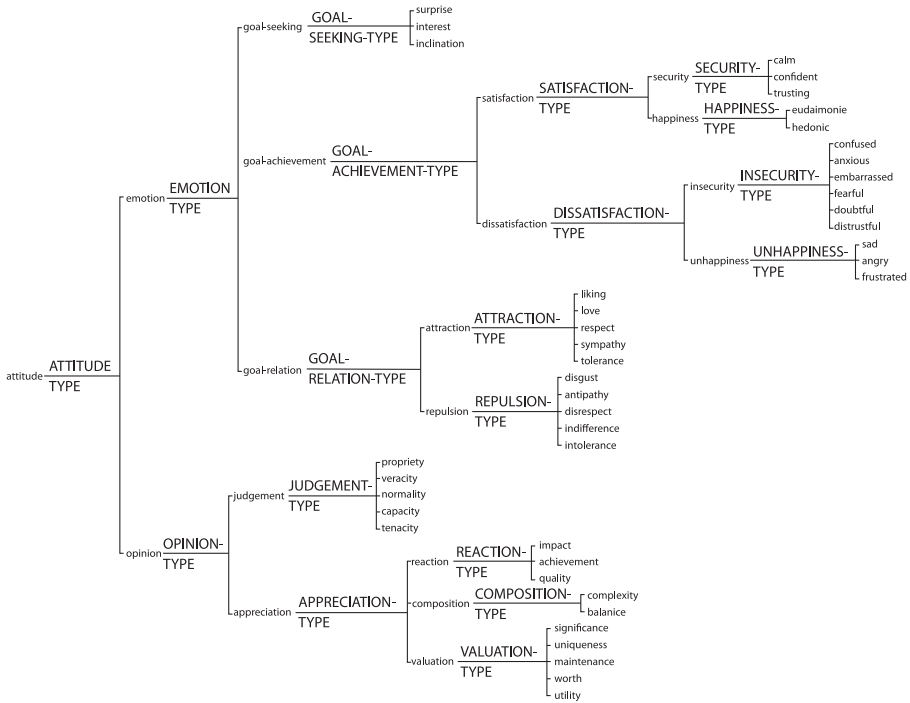
Figure 1. The refined ATTITUDE framework

3. Data and method

3.1 The interviews

We analyse data collected for a psychology-oriented investigation. The eight semi-structured interviews under analysis were with individuals within the community who had important information about the cell, and were selected through the incidental sampling technique; in this respect, certain factors – such as the issue of social desirability bias – were considered. Seven interviews were conducted individually and, due to the personal circumstances of the interviewees, one was conducted in group; all of them were recorded in audio format for later transcription and analysis. Depending on the interviewees' needs, both online and offline environments were used. Each 90-minute interview consisted of 60 open questions adapted to the interviewees and the research interests. They began with a general message inviting them to share their experiences or any other interesting information. Informed consent for data collecting and processing was obtained; the interviewer's attitude was always assertive, respectful and open, to encourage good communication.

In total, there were eight participants: five women and three men; two were of Moroccan origin and six of Spanish origin. Most of them worked in the areas of community development or social cohesion activities (e.g., sports coaches or association spokespersons), and were neighbours of, or knew, the cell's members, who they met ~~especially~~ through leisure activities.

The corpus comprises nine files. For technical reasons, the first female was interviewed twice. This finally produced a total of 70,036 tokens. The Table below outlines the basic information about the whole corpus. As for the code of the interviews, each ~~is formed by~~ the interviewee's number and their gender (e.g., E3_MA). As shown in Section 4, our study combines the automated corpus-driven analysis of the entire corpus to ~~uncover~~ the most salient evaluative representations, and the close Appraisal-driven analysis of E1a_FE and E7_MA.

Table 1. The Ripoll Interview Corpus

Interviewee no.	Gender	Background	Relationship with the cell	Type of relationship	Type of interview	Tokens no.
la	Female	Moroccan	Yes	Work, friendship	Offline	3,576
lb						8,155
2	Female	Spanish	Yes	Work, friendship	Offline	10,512
3	Male	Spanish	No	Later, with the Muslim community	Offline	3,902
4	Female	Spanish	Yes	Work, friendship	Offline	8,615
5	Female	Spanish	Yes	Work, friendship	Offline	10,224
6	Male	Spanish	Yes	Sports, friendship	Offline	4,954
7	Male	Moroccan	Yes	Friendship	Offline	10,482
8	Female	Spanish	No	Later, with the Muslim community	Online	9,616
						70,036

3.2   The tagging system

To code the interviews, we use O'Donnell's (2016) UAM CorpusTool, a free software programme allowing for multi-layered tagging of multiple texts and data statistical measurement. Our coding scheme firstly incorporates *Attitude* (i.e., Affect, Judgement and Appreciation), *Polarity* (i.e., assertiveness vs. non-assertiveness), *Modality* (i.e., epistemicity vs. deonticity), *Graduation* (i.e., quantification, intensification and enhancement), *Valence* (i.e., degree of un/pleasantness of emotions

and triggers) and *Axiology* (i.e., degree of positivity or negativity of appraised entities). Some of these categories are exemplified below:

(1) Epistemic modality: <u>*Quizás*</u> hablaban más conmigo (E1a_FE) ('<u>Maybe</u> they spoke with me more often')

(2) Intensification: …*Es una opinión <u>muy</u> clara* (E1a_FE) ('It's a <u>very</u> clear opinion')

(3) Pleasant valence: …*les <u>gustaba</u> ir al país de origen de sus padres* (E1a_FE) ('They <u>liked</u> going to their parents' country')

(4) Negative axiology: …*los extremos <u>son malos</u>* (E1a_FE) ('The extremes <u>are bad</u>')

Our coding also included all the emotion and opinion components: The *trigger* causing the emotion, the *emoter* experiencing it, the sentient entity expressing their opinions (or *appraiser*), and the *appraised*, or entity evaluated on their ethical or aesthetic quality. We wanted to observe whether it was the interviewee who felt or judged, or, on the contrary, they represented others' feelings or opinions, especially the terrorists, the terrorists' families, or the non-Muslim local society.

Additionally, we annotated whether evaluative meanings were explicitly expressed ~~(or not)~~. It is easy to analyse inscribed realisation of hatred or ethical propriety in "The soldiers hate them" or "They are murdering thousands of civilians"; the challenge, though, is to detect implicit evaluation. In line with Martin and White (2005), previous research shows that emotion can be inferred from opinion, and opinion from emotion (e.g., Hidalgo-Tenorio and Benítez-Castro 2021, 2022). We agree, therefore, that "something we approve or disapprove of can be treated as affectual inscriptions invoking judgement or appreciation" (Martin and White 2005, 68), and the other way around. As such, our scheme includes explicit and implicit realisations of evaluative meanings. The following exemplify the former:

(5) Affect through a congruent process: …*siempre <u>quería</u> hablar en árabe* (E1a_FE) ('…always <u>wanted</u> to speak in Arabic')

(6) affect through an attribute: …*se sienten <u>cómodos</u>* (E7_MA) ('they feel <u>comfortable</u>')

(7) judgement through a congruent process: *Creo que ellos fueron <u>manipulados</u>* (E1a_FE) ('I believe they were <u>manipulated</u>')

(8) judgement through an epithet: *El padre es el que hace el rol del policía <u>malo</u>* (E7_MA) ('The father is the one playing the role of the <u>bad</u> cop')

(9) appreciation through a congruent process: … *la vergüenza te <u>impide</u> hacer las preguntas* (E1a_FE) ('shame <u>prevents</u> you from asking questions')

(10)   APPRECIATION through an epithet: … *un gusto agrio* (E7_MA) ('a sour taste')

As for invoked emotion and opinion, JUDGEMENT (e.g., *skilled, lazy*) may at times be read simultaneously either as (+/−) SATISFACTION or (+/−) ATTRACTION; APPRECIATION (e.g., *ugly, beautiful*) may also entail (+/−) ATTRACTION; negative surprise (or even fear) can be inferred from (−) NORMALITY (e.g., *weird*), and so on and so forth. Such a complex interplay is illustrated below:

(11)   Explicit (+) TENACITY and implicit INCLINATION: *Eran muy partícipes* (E1a_FE) ('they were highly involved/committed')

(12)   Explicit (−) TENACITY and implicit DISSATISFACTION: …*la misma persona te hace la misma pregunta año tras año* (E7_MA) ('the same person asks you the same question year after year')

(13)   Explicit (−) CAPACITY and implicit REPULSION: …*un idiota que le ha dicho, no, no entres con el velo* (E7_MA) ('…a moron who has told her, no, don't enter wearing your veil')

(14)   Explicit (+) VALUATION and implicit (+) CAPACITY: …*dos al menos que tenían además buenas notas* (E7_MA) ('two of them had good grades')

(15)   Explicit (−) VALUATION and implicit (−) VERACITY: … *no hay nada peor que una media verdad* (E1a_FE) ('there's nothing worse than half a truth')

For the tagging procedure to be effective, we drafted our own annotation manual based on the peculiarities of the corpus and took into account Fuoli and Hommerberg's (2015) inter-annotator agreement measurement. On a regular basis, three trained experts worked together. First, one expert tagged the mark-ables; once all three had agreed on the assignment of tags, another expert selected the features of each markable, whilst two experts checked on the selection. The annotators reached a high level of agreement for span (0.89), and main emotion and opinion sub-categories (0.85). Invoked meanings, though, were challenging and, despite the consistency of the protocol, agreement is more limited (0.61); one of the reasons may be the lack of contextual information in some cases.

4.   Results and discussion

To ascertain the interviewees' stance and feelings towards the cell's violent radi-calisation process and ultimate dire consequences, this section first examines all eight interviews from a corpus-driven perspective intended to extract the most salient representations evidenced through keyword analysis (e.g., Baker et al. 2021). This is in turn was followed by the close Appraisal-driven coding of two

interviews, aimed at uncovering the two interviewees' feelings and attitudes vis-à-vis the social actors involved and the fracture points possibly triggering their radicalisation. Both analyses reported here seem to complement each other, illustrating the benefits derived from the triangulation of methodological approaches and corpus sizes in corpus-assisted CDA (e.g. Coffin and O'Halloran 2005; Baker and Levon 2015).

4.1   What are the most salient evaluative representations of the cell, their environment and the terror attacks in the eyes of all the interviewees?

Table 2 outlines the top 30 keywords in our corpus, calculated by Sketch Engine (Kilgarriff et al. 2014) on the basis of esTenTen18, a 19-billion-word collection of Spanish internet texts used as a reference corpus.

In terms of the aboutness of our corpus, unsurprisingly, the list reveals a marked focus on the cell's members (i.e., *Younes, Houssa, Moussa, Moha, Said, Youssef, Houli, Imam*), and key geographical locations and origins (i.e., *Ripoll; Nador; Marruecos* ('Morocco'); *Ripollés; Vic; magrebí* ('Maghrebi'); *marroquí* ('Moroccan')). A contrast is also observed between local Catalan secular customs (i.e., *Castañada, tió*);[2] and Islamic religious identity, traditions and worship places (i.e., *musulmán* ('Muslim'); *Ramadán* ('Ramadan'); *hijab; mezquita* ('mosque'). Lastly, the list contains expletives indicating surprise and/or anger/frustration (i.e., *ostra, ostras* 'fuck' and *ostia* 'damn'); the verb *verbalizar* ('verbalise'), conveying the youths' inability to put into words their insecurities and perceived social barriers; and the term *moro* ('Moor'), frequently used as a racist slur against any person professing Islam. The negative semantic prosody of the latter term is corroborated after examining the co-text of its occurrences. Whilst it may at times be used jokingly by young members of the Muslim community to banter with each other (e.g., *con cariño* 'with love'), when employed by the non-Muslim local community, it is predominantly construed as an insult term co-occurring with expressions of unwillingness (e.g., *fuera* 'get out'), utter aversion (e.g., *de mierda* 'shitty'), negative agency (e.g., *los moros la habían liado* 'the Moors had messed up') and collectivisation (e.g., *todo lleno de moros* 'everything teeming with Moors') (cf. van Leeuwen 2008). These representations are simultaneously taken to instil disbelief, fear and anger in the local Muslim community (e.g., *pero si yo soy igual que tú* 'I'm just like you'; *me dió miedo* 'it scared me'; *les ofendía* 'it offended them').

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2.   *Castañada* stands for the feast of the Chestnut, celebrated on the first of November, and may remind the reader of Halloween. As for *Tió*, it is a festive day celebrated in Catalonia on the Sunday before Christmas, in which children get goodies out of a giant trunk.

Table 2. Top 30 keywords in our corpus

Item	Frequency (focus)	Frequency (reference)	Score
RIPOLL	63	21997	511.698
RAMADÁN	41	14078	411.533
YOUNES	23	2589	350.819
HOUSSA	20	22	345.113
IMAM	31	15014	302.881
MAGREBÍ	25	11128	275.28
OSTRA	31	28212	219.262
RADICALIZACIÓN	22	24351	169.406
MOUSSA	12	4493	168.956
MOHA	9	2408	138.949
MEZQUITA	43	105307	116.347
OSTRAS	8	5425	108.702
SAID	12	25374	90.499
BEREBER	9	15230	87.787
YERBALIZAR	8	11734	86.811
YOUSSEF	5	4477	70.92
HOULI	4	323	68.767
OMNIA	5	5624	67.694
HIJAB	4	1859	63.843
MORO	46	241956	59.431
KADOR	4	4197	57.569
MARROQUÍ	33	188166	53.701
SUBSTITUCIÓN	4	6434	52.621
MUSULMÁN	65	407465	51.414
CASTAÑADA	3	824	50.549
MARRUECOS	30	188513	48.746
OSTIA	7	29394	48.626
TIÓ	3	2444	46.833
RIPOLLÉS	3	2804	46.08
VIC	6	30323	40.96

Aside from the most salient items, it is also worth exploring the social actors in the interviews, as this may help us bring to light the most relevant participants in the universe of discourse of the interviews and see how individuals are grouped and the bonds between them. Table 3 gathers the 30 most frequent lemmatised nouns in the corpus.

Table 3. Top 30 noun lemmas in our corpus

Item	Frequency
CHICO	204
PADRE	189
COSA	180
VEZ	169
PERSONA	137
FAMILIA	119
DÍA	110
AÑO	108
JOVEN	89
MOMENTO	89
CASA	75
TEMA	74
EJEMPLO	72
CASO	66
NIVEL	66
MADRE	65
PARTE	64
RIPOLL	63
TRABAJO	60
GENTE	58
HERMANO	57
PROCESO	56
GRUPO	56
AMIGO	55
HECHO	52
PROBLEMA	52
ESCUELA	49
EELACIÓX	48
NIÑO	48
COMUNIDAD	46

Remarkably, *terrorist* is almost absent from the corpus to refer to the cell's members (3 tokens as a noun; 5 tokens as an adjective). Instead, they are presented primarily as kids (*chicos*), persons/people (*personas, gente*) or youths (*jóvenes*). The nomination strategies used by the respondents to refer to them, therefore, rest on their age and common humanity (see Wodak 2001), which

couples with ~~these terms'~~ frequent co-occurrence with expressions such as *como cualquiera* ('like everyone else'), *normales* ('normal'), or with common routine activities such as studying, working, hanging out with friends, playing sports or speaking Catalan. Whilst generally portrayed as ordinary, these young people, all well-known to the respondents, are also presented as victims of a community that othered them on ethnic and religious grounds: they were often insulted, mistrusted and disrespected (*la gente los increpara o mirara mal*); barred from entering night clubs (*no le dejan entrar en la discoteca*); and treated by school as different (*en el colegio son los distintos*). However, they also suffered (*sufrían*), and were scared (*tenían miedo*) and tormented by inner conflicts (*conflicto interior*).

Regrettably, after enduring all sorts of vicissitudes (*acostumbrados a aguantar mucho*), cell members fell victim to a radicalising agent offering a window of opportuni~~ties~~ (*agente radicalizador… ventana de oportunidades*). Subsequently, they took a huge jump (*hizo un salto muy bestia*), spurring them on to move from one extreme to the other (*pasó de un extremo al otro*), and to start leading a double life (*hacían una doble vida*).

As illustrated below, interviewees struggle to come to terms with the brutality of cell members' acts, feeling shocked, confused and even torn and guilty about inwardly grieving their deaths. In this latter regard, the verb *matar* ('to kill') features minimally in the corpus, with only 14 occurrences, compared to the 425 hits for the less axiologically loaded verb *hacer* ('to do'); many of these instances are used to refer to the terrorists' acts as *lo que hicieron* ('what they did'), pointing to the kind of experiential avoidance evidenced in trauma victims (Miller et al. 2022).

(16)   … *ni en ningún sueño más macabro puedes pensar que nueve chicos se están radicalizando en un parque de la población…* ('not even in the ~~grisliest~~ dream can you come to think that nine kids are being radicalised in a park of the town')

(17)   … *no puedo permitirme sentirme triste porque se ha muerto Younes, porque Younes mató personas inocentes … muchas personas tienen este duelo interceptado…* ('I can't afford to feel sad for Younes' death, because Younes killed innocent people… many people have this blocked mourning')

Finally, before moving on to the Appraisal-driven analysis of two of the interviews, it is worth highlighting how, in Table 3, ~~besides~~ the age-related terms whereby the cell's members are often presented, the relational identification terms (see van Leeuwen 2008) *father, family, mother*, and *brother* or *sibling* also stand out. A quick examination of the concordances for each of these terms may help cast light on the representations typically attributed to the role of families in ~~these people's~~ lives.

Starting with *families*, the interviewees often construe them as impoverished, traditional, backward, uneducated and unable to understand (e.g*., nivel económico muy bajo* 'a very low economic level'; *muy de antes* stuck in the past'; *muy muy tradicional,* 'very very traditional'; *analfabetos* '~~uneducated~~'; que *no lo entienden,* 'they don't understand'). These are also reported to be reluctant to get involved in the local non-Muslim community, particularly in their children's ~~official~~ education, leading the ~~latter~~ to feel averse to (and even afraid of) turning to ~~them~~ when in trouble (e.g., *mejor que no se entere la familia* 'it's better if the family doesn't find out'; *no había familias apuntadas* 'none of the families signed up'). In the aftermath of the attacks, the terrorists' families are presented as struggling to come to terms with their ~~children's~~ heinous acts, and as feeling sad and annoyed at the little support they received from the local community (e.g., *deben volverse locos* 'they must go crazy'; *se sintieron muy solas* 'they felt really alone').

Turning now to *fathers* and *mothers*, the former are predominantly represented as missing, often due to spending most of their time away from home working hard to scrape a living (e.g., *siempre estaban trabajando* 'they were always working'; *era un padre muy ausente* 'he was a very absent father'). *Mothers*, however, are the bedrocks of the family and their traditions; because most mothers are homemakers, they often take on the role of the 'good cop', show interest in their children's lives, are eager to educate them, and, generally, 'call the shots' through their powerful position within the family home (e.g., *siempre las encontrabas en casa* 'you always found them at home'; *la policía spej de buenas palabras* 'the good cop with kind words'; *lleva la batuta dentro de casa* 'she calls the shots at home').

As for *siblings*, particularly the *elder brothers*, they feature as role models for their younger siblings, who follow them blindly on account perhaps of their assuming the role of devoted and caring fathers (e.g., *eran un spejo de sus hermanos* 'they were ~~a mirror for their brothers~~'; *siempre pendiente de sus hermanos* 'always attentive to his brothers'; *hacía más de padre que el padre* 'acted more as a father than their own father'). This reaction is to be expected given the importance of family bonds in many radicalisation processes, with elder brothers often taking a proactive role in enticing younger ones into embracing a pernicious ideology they absorbed at an earlier stage (e.g., Kruglanski et al. 2019).

4.2   What emotions and opinions feature most frequently in the ~~two~~ interviews with the two Muslim interviewees?

After bringing to light some noteworthy representations which occur in the entire corpus, we now turn to the in-depth examination of the evaluative patterns present in two of the interviews; as stated in Section 3, these correspond to two

Moroccan Muslim interviewees, one male and one female.[3] The results reported and discussed here are intended to gauge the feelings and opinions of two members of Ripoll's Muslim community, to which the perpetrators belonged. From the evaluative trends unveiled, we will draw insights into Ripoll's Muslim community's stance towards the fracture points that may have led the cell members to justify and commit such atrocious acts. All the quantitative results presented below include the raw number of occurrences for each analytical category; percentages as based upon the global evaluative N in both texts or in each text separately; and, when comparing both texts, the Chi-squared score and level of statistical significance of the reported difference, measured through UAM CorpusTool.[4]

As outlined in Table 4, the two texts reveal a marked focus on the expression of opinion, this making up 63.23% of the 922 evaluative markables uncovered in total.

Table 4. General evaluative trends in both texts

Emotion	278	30.15%
Opinion	583	63.23%
Emotion/Opinion	61	6.62%

In terms of the global evaluative flavour in both interviews, as shown in Table 5, negativity prevails over positivity, ~~this~~ accounting for 54.12% of all evaluative markables. 16.27% of this overall negativity corresponds to unpleasant emotion, whilst 37.85% applies to negative opinion. This shows how the two interviewees' personal and relational identities when reacting to the terrorist cell and their local environment appear to be more aligned with an emotionally disturbing and ethically/aesthetically reproachful attitude (Etaywe and Zappavigna 2022).

Table 5. General evaluative flavour in both texts

Positivity	350	37.96%
Negativity	499	54.12%
Neutrality	73	7.91%

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3. From here on, 'Male' will be employed for any reference to the male interviewee (i.e., E7_MA), and 'Female' for any reference to the female interviewee (i.e., E1a_FE).

4. In UAM CorpusTool, * stands for weak significance (90%), ** for medium significance (95%) and *** for high significance (98%).

Narrowing the focus down to the opinion analytical categories, as evidenced in Table 6, Appreciation Valuation and Judgement Propriety feature as the two most prominent semantic realisations in the two texts taken together.

Table 6. Opinion categories in both texts

Appreciation Valuation	250	27.11%
Judgement Propriety	156	16.92%
Judgement Capacity	57	6.18%
Judgement Tenacity	49	5.31%
Appreciation Composition	40	4.34%
Judgement Normality	30	3.25%
Appreciation Reaction	21	2.28%
Judgement Veracity	11	1.19%

This is mostly due to the large number of evaluative markables coded as Destructive (11.28%) and Important (5.21%), serving to depict, on the one hand, the general environment and life conditions of the local Muslim youth as problematic, difficult and thwarted by manifold barriers (Example (18)); and, on the other, getting by in life, clinging to one's culture and promoting tolerance as crucial (Example (19)).

(18) *(…) tengo la puerta <u>cerrada</u> o es un acceso <u>muy difícil</u>* ('the door is <u>shut</u> or access is <u>very difficult</u>'). (Male)

(19) *(…) el trabajo (…) para ellos era <u>muy importante</u>* ('work for them was <u>very important</u>').   (Female)

As for Judgement Propriety, in more than 68.6% of the cases, this is predominantly negative in its axiology, with most realisations portraying the conduct and practices of the non-Muslim local community as discriminatory and insulting, as illustrated in Example (20) and Example (21) below:

(20) <u>*Nos hacen servir como ejemplo de todo*</u>, *somos <u>el mal</u> (…)* ('<u>they use us as examples of everything</u>, we are <u>evil</u>')   (Male)

(21) *(…) el otro <u>te dirá "moro de mierda fuera de aquí"</u>* ('the other one <u>will tell you "shitty Moor get out of here"</u>')   (Male)

In line with Wodak (2001), these examples seem to reveal the non-Muslim locals' collectivization and criminalization of the local Muslim community, thereby portraying an environment quite averse to the full inclusion of all its citizens.

Concerning the remaining Opinion categories, Capacity, Tenacity and Normality reveal evaluative trends worth highlighting. As for Capacity, in more than 68.4% of the cases Capable is the semantic realisation featuring most frequently; in this regard, the perpetrators are described as generally competent young people, who mastered the local language, socialised well with others, and showed themselves as resilient in the face of adversity:

(22) *(…) se relacionaban con todo el mundo, es decir, gente de aquí y de allá (…)* ('they socialised with everybody, that is, people from here and there')   (Male)

(23) *(…) el día a día mostraba que podían hacer o asimilar las cosas que pasaban a su alrededor (…)* ('every day showed that they could do or assimilate the things going on around them')   (Male)

As to Tenacity, in 83.8% of the cases, Tenacious is the most common semantic realisation, serving to portray the cell and the local Muslim community as steadfast in their religious beliefs, hard-working, and determined to pursue valuable life goals (Example (24)). Lastly, in 63.4% of the cases Normal occurs as the most typical semantic realisation for Normality, construing the perpetrators as typical, ordinary kids, no different from any of the non-Muslim local youth (Example (25)); see also Section 4.1).

(24) *(…) mi identidad no me la quita nadie y entonces yo voy con mi velo allí donde vaya* ('nobody will take away my identity and then I will keep wearing my veil wherever I go')   (Male)

(25) *(…) como cualquier niño o chico piensa en catalán* ('just like any other kid, he thinks in Catalan')   (Female)

Moving on to the construction of emotion, Table 7 shows how Dissatisfaction, Inclination and Attraction constitute the top three semantic realisations, accounting for 24.4% of the emotion markables tagged.

Table 7. Emotion categories in both texts

Goal-achievement: Dissatisfaction	85	9.22%
Goal-seeking: Inclination	71	7.70%
Goal-relation: Attraction	69	7.48%
Goal-relation: Repulsion	23	2.49%
Goal-achievement: Satisfaction	21	2.28%
Goal-seeking: Surprise	14	1.52%
Goal-seeking: Interest	7	0.76%

As far as Dissatisfaction is concerned, the predominant subcategories involve Unclear Dissatisfaction (29.4%), Unhappiness Frustrated (16.5%) and Insecurity Fearful (15.3%). The Emoters in these cases are mostly the young local Muslim community, including the perpetrators. These are presented as sufferers of discrimination and mistreatment, which may involve a mixture of sad, angry and scared feelings, hence the coding of these instances as Unclear Dissatisfaction (Example (26) and Example (27)).

(26)   *…la palabra moro… les afecta mucho* ('the word Moor affects them a great deal')   (Female)

(27)   *Y estos chicos esto lo sufrían…* (Male) ('And these kids suffered all this…')   (Male)

The members of the cell are also described as feeling torn between what they want and what their own life imposes or deprives them of, resulting in a feeling of frustration likely triggered by their perceived inability to meet their desired goals:

(28)   *(…) la frustración de ostras y como vuelvo yo estas vacaciones a Marruecos (…)* ('the frustration of damn and how will I go back to Morocco over the holidays')   (Male)

(29)   *(…) ostras es que él está comiendo de todo y yo me tengo que prohibir esto y esto y aquello (…)* ('damn he is eating all sorts of things and I must forbid myself from eating this and that')   (Male)

This frustration is at times accompanied by perceived threats to their own identity because of abuse, ushering in feelings of worry and disbelief, as in Example (30). In this regard, the members of the cell are also presented as the objects of fear, showing how the non-Muslim locals often perceive them as a threat (Example (31)).

(30)   *… me dio miedo básicamente porque dije ¿y por qué?…* ('it scared me basically because I said: and why?')   (Male)

(31)   *… el miedo de que vienen estos a cambiar o a yo que sé (…)* ('the fear that these ones are coming to change or who knows what')   (Male)

Turning now to Inclination, the local Muslim youth and the perpetrators are construed as highly Inclined social actors (91.6%). Both groups are eager to build and lead their own lives, seeking an inner solid identity and a feeling of belonging helping them to counter their generalised dissatisfaction vis-à-vis the reality they face up to. In line with van Leeuwen (2008: 33), the two groups are thus portrayed as hankering for *activation*, thereby somehow reacting to the *passivating* discrimi-

natory treatment they are often subjected to. Examples (32) and (33) are two cases in point.

(32) *… lo que ellos <u>necesitaron</u> fue como un sentimiento identitario…* ('what they <u>needed</u> was like a feeling of identity')   (Female)

(33) *… como cualquiera <u>querían</u> vivir su vida y progresar* (like everyone else, they <u>wanted</u> to live their lives and make progress)   (Male)

Lastly, the high frequency of Attraction in Table 7 above may lie in the large occurrence of Love markables (49.3%). These, on the one hand, convey the perpetrators' fond attachment to their geographical identity, as illustrated in Example (34); and, on the other, the close friendship bonds they shared among themselves and with the imam (Example ~~(35)~~).

(34) *(…) algunos de ellos <u>se sentían muy magrebís</u> (…)* ('some of them <u>felt very Maghrebi</u>')   (Female)

(35) *(…) tenían un núcleo …de una <u>amistad</u> bastante fuerte y entonces <u>se apoyaban los unos a los otros</u>* ('they had a core …of a pretty <u>strong friendship</u> and then they <u>supported each other</u>')   (Female)

Interestingly, the discourse-oriented findings reported so far seem to reflect and tie in with some of the key factors argued by the psychosocial literature to drive any radicalisation process. From the two interviewees' standpoint, the immediate local environment ~~the cell inhabited~~ was fraught with difficulties and episodes of discrimination, which may have aroused feelings of malaise, frustration and fear. As posited by Wright-Neville and Smith (2009) and Adam-Troian et al. (2021), contemporary fractured societies are ~~the~~ breeding ground for the emergence of harmful polarising attitudes aimed to enhance the in-group's status, and to denigrate those perceived not to deserve the same treatment and attention; those feeling excluded from the in-group's safe and wealthy boundaries feel initially confused and scared, and eventually frustrated and angry at the perceived injustices they encounter day after day. This awareness of crisis is often accompanied by a strong urge to attain desired life goals, like making a decent living or feeling part of a social group. As Kruglanski et al. (2019) and Wolfowicz et al. (2021) argue, this quest for significance is at odds with a society perceived to deprive the members of the cell of their basic needs and rights, which, through "chains of equivalences" (Salazar 2017, 144), eventually leads them to seek individuals with similar interests and opinions offering comfort and reassurance. The cognitive closure these men hanker for is enabled by their belonging to like-minded close-knit groups built upon friendship, love and devotion (e.g., González et al. 2022),

which may explain the prevalence of Attraction instances among the Emotion markables in the interviews.

4.3   Are there any differences in the communicative style of the two interviewees?

Following our examination of the most remarkable evaluative patterns found in both interviews, we will now present and discuss a range of statistically significant differences in the communicative style evidenced in the male and female interviewees' answers. It is worth noting that these appear to conform to several characteristic discursive features gleaned from the analysis of gendered discourses (e.g., Coates 1986; Holmes 1997; Sunderland 2004; Tannen 1990), namely, modality, speech acts, authorial presence, emotion valence and degree of elaboration of speech turns.

Starting with Modality, Table 8 shows how, when expressing her emotions and/or opinions, the female interviewee couches her evaluative statements in epistemic possibility and negated certainty (Example (36) and Example (37)), perhaps to save face and, in so doing, to avoid committing to the veracity of her statements, or the likelihood of the proposition. The male interviewee, by contrast, comes across as more assertive, making less use of modality markers overall (21.08% vs. 28.36% for the female). Compared to the female interviewee, use of modality is more deontic and dynamic in nature, revealing a larger concern with obligations (imposed by society and religion (Example (38) and Example (39)) and desires (Example (40)). Obligations, as in Example (38), often occur in evaluative statements connoting frustration.

Table 8. Modality in the evaluative markables in each interview

	Male		Female			
	N	%	N	%	ChiSqu	Sign.
Possibility	24	3.33	27	13.43	30.709	***
Obligation	24	3.33	0	0.00	6.870	***
Certainly	18	2.50	11	5.47	4.570	**
Volition	52	7.21	9	4.48	1.902	

(36)   … *quizás lo tenían todo y lo hacían todo…* ('perhaps they had everything and did everything')   (Female)

(37)   *No sé qué decirte…* ('I don't know what to tell you')   (Female)

(38)   *… ostia todavía <u>tengo que</u> esperar* ('damn I still <u>have to</u> wait')   (Male)

(39)   *… yo <u>tengo que</u> tener compasión con los padres…* ('I <u>must</u> show compassion for
       parents')   (Male)

(40)   *… tú <u>quieres</u> profundizar…* ('you <u>want</u> to delve further')   (Male)

Regarding speech acts (e.g., Searle 1969), as shown in Table 9, the opinion and
emotion markables identified are predominantly conveyed through representa-
tive and verdictive speech acts. Through the former, the interviewees report on
other social actors' feelings and opinions as well as their actions (Example (41)
and Example (42)); through the latter, they articulate their own first-hand opin-
ions (Example (43) and Example (44)).

Table 9. Speech acts in the evaluative markables in each interview

	Male		Female			
	N	%	N	%	ChiSqu	Sign.
Representative	301	41.75	**124**	**61.69**	25.162	***
Directive	12	1.66	0	0.00	3.339	
Commissive	7	0.97	1	0.50	0.409	
Expressive	**121**	**16.78**	2	1.00	33.886	***
Declarative	1	0.14	0	0.00	0.279	
Verdictive	279	38.70	73	36.32	0.377	

(41)   *(…) lo tenían bastante claro, <u>estaban en contra</u>.* ('it was all pretty clear for them,
       they were <u>against it</u>')   (Female)

(42)   *(…) en algún momento dado, <u>alguien les dijo que la violencia era el camino</u>* ('at
       some point, <u>somebody told them that violence was the path</u>')   (Female)

(43)   *(…) es <u>suficientemente inteligente</u> para saber lo que está llevando encima de la
       cabeza* ('she is <u>intelligent enough</u> to know what she's wearing on her head')
                                                                                                     (Male)

(44)   *(…) ahora es <u>importante</u> que la gente pueda conocer la cultura con la que con-
       vive* ('now it's <u>important</u> that people can get to know the culture they live
       with')   (Male)

Whilst verdictive speech acts feature similarly in both interviews, representative
are most prominent in the female interviewee's answers. Remarkably, expressive
speech acts, whereby speakers convey their first-hand emotions, are hardly pre-
sent in the female text, while they happen to prevail in the male interviewee's

interview. This seems to reveal the male interviewee's greater emotional involve-
ment, venting his dissatisfaction and/or disbelief vis-à-vis his immediate social
context; this is done explicitly, as in (45), or more implicitly, as in (46), through
use of expletives, rhetorical questions and exclamatory sentences. Compared to
the more emotional tone of the male text, the female interviewee ~~proves~~ more
detached in her communicative style, trying hard to present others' emotions,
opinions and actions (e.g. (41) above), but perhaps not being willing, ready or
even able to commit emotionally to the situations reported in her answers.

(45)   *A mi me <u>afecta</u> en mi persona* ('It <u>affects</u> me personally')   (Male)

(46)   *(…) <u>¿Qué hace mi padre aquí? ¡Si me ha llevado a España y he estado toda la
        vida!</u>* ('<u>What's my dad doing here? He took me to Spain and I've been there all
        my life!</u>')   (Male)

The lower emotional involvement in the female interviewee's evaluative style is
congruent (see Table 10) with her mostly ascribing emotion realisations to oth-
ers (Example (41)); this contrasts with the male interviewee's marked presence as
an Authorial Emoter (Example (45)). As regards the expression of opinion, whilst
Authorial Appraiser features prominently in both, it stands out in the male inter-
viewee's text, with most opinions here thus being voiced by the interviewee him-
self. Interestingly, the male interviewee's opinions are largely his own (44.38%),
but also, to a smaller extent (16.78%), those shared with members of the local Mus-
lim community (Example (47) and Example (48)). As for the female interviewee,
just like the male interviewee, opinions are mostly individual (43.28%); inclusive
we-related opinions, however, are almost absent (3.48%). Therefore, a contrast is
observed between a communicative style emphasising the speaker's active adher-
ence and emotional commitment to his in-group's grievances, as opposed to a
more detached or cautious approach when voicing her own views.

Table 10. Authorial presence in the evaluative markables in each interview

	Male		Female			
	N	%	N	%	ChiSqu	Sign.
Authorial Emoter	**135**	**18.72**	5	2.49	32.174	***
Non-authorial Emoter	80	11.10	**52**	**25.87**	27.971	***
Authorial Appraiser	**413**	**57.28**	93	46.27	7.699	***
Non-authorial Appraiser	56	7.77	**40**	**19.90**	24.808	***

(47)   *Ellos y todos, yo también me incluyo tenemos un conocimiento <u>limitado</u>* ('They
        and everyone, including myself, have ~~a~~ <u>limited</u> knowledge')   (Male)

(48) *… la policía… evidentemente están haciendo su trabajo, pero <u>no bien equili-</u>*
      <u>brado</u> a ojos nuestros ('the police… evidently they are doing their job, but <u>not</u>
      <u>well-balanced</u> ~~to our eyes~~')   (Male)

The latter may help account for the lengthier and more elaborate quality of the
male interviewee's speech turns, compared to the female interviewee's. In this
respect, Table 11 shows how~~,~~ evaluative markables in the woman's turns are often
elliptical in nature, mostly mirroring or complying with the evaluative frame set
by the interviewer's questions (Example ~~(49)~~). Yet, his evaluative turns reveal a
higher effort (or readiness) to elaborate on his opinions and emotions.

Table 11. Ellipsis and compliance in spoken turns vs. non-ellipsis and elaboration

	Male		Female			
	N	%	N	%	ChiSqu	Sign.
Yes	31	4.30	77	**38.31**	175.792	***
No	**690**	**95.70**	124	61.69	175.792	***

(49) *¿Te comentaron en algún momento si habían tenido conflictos en la escuela con*
      alumnos de otras culturas y/o religiones? <u>Sí</u> ('Did they ever tell you whether
      they'd been involved in any conflict at school with students from other cul-
      tures and/or religions? <u>Yes</u>')   (Female)

The last area where the two interviews show noteworthy differences concerns
the expression of emotion. As Table 12 below indicates, the emotion markables
conveying unpleasantness predominate in the male text; pleasantness, however,
occurs most frequently in the female interview.

Table 12. Emotion valence in each interview

	Male		Female			
	N	%	N	%	ChiSqu	Sign.
Pleasant	65	9.02	**31**	**15.42**	6.918	***
Unpleasant	**129**	**17.89**	21	10.45	6.394	***
Neutral	25	3.47	7	3.48	0.000	***

This is unsurprising given the male interviewee's more expressive and emo-
tionally involved communicative style, one whereby he manages to voice his dis-
satisfaction at his immediate environment, as well as the unfair treatment himself
and the other members of his community often endure (Example ~~(50)~~). The
woman, by contrast, seems to avoid the grievance-oriented style of the male text,

emphasising instead the positive, in this case, the close friendship bonds the perpetrators shared among themselves and with others (Example (51)).

(50) *¿Qué caray pasa?* ('What the hell is going on?')   (Male)

(51) *(...) tenían amistades, se sentían autóctonos* ('they had friends, they felt ~~from here~~')   (Female)

From the findings reported, we may conclude both texts appear to reveal differences consistent with those mentioned in the wide-ranging research on gendered discourses (see Baker 2008, 2014; Speer and Stokoe 2012). The male's style here might be described as more competitive, assertive, confrontational, and elaborate than the female's, which comes across as perhaps more cooperative, non-confrontational, non-assertive and more inclined to agree with and mirror the interviewer's evaluative frames (e.g., West and Zimmerman 1977; Tannen 1990). This said, gender is only one of many possible reasons for such differences; another likely explanation might lie in the female interviewee's ongoing shock (or even mental block) at coming to terms with or accepting the reality of what happened, hence her perceived reluctance to elaborate on her answers. The grievance-oriented communication style of the male interviewee, by contrast, seems to grasp or echo first-hand the unequal atmosphere the perpetrators inhabited, thereby also expressing first-hand the discontent that may have led them to engage in terrorism (e.g., van der Vegt et al. 2022). These differences, therefore, might not just stem from the two interviewees' religious and gender master identities, but may, quite as likely, be due to their construed personal and interactional role or identity during the interview, coming across as more communicative and assertive in one case and as more cautious and perhaps fearful in the other.

5.   Conclusions

This paper set out to explore the linguistic realisations of emotion and opinion within the context of a series of interviews discussing the radicalisation of the 17-A cell in Catalonia. The local community, and particularly, the Muslim minority in Ripoll, were at a loss ~~to fully grasp~~ the likely reasons why this had happened. This confusion appears to mingle with regret as to their inability to realise how these otherwise 'normal' young 'kids' were embracing ~~the~~ violent path.

Using a quantitative-qualitative triangulation analytical approach and, specifically, our own reworking of the Appraisal framework, we were able to systematically detect the thoughts and feelings of the cell's acquaintances, as construed in relation to the perpetrators' lives, environment and eventual radicalisation.

What we have documented here is ~~that the analysis paints~~ a complex (and at times contradictory) picture of evaluative patterns that hint at notions of identity and belonging, uprootedness, and disengagement of the cell, as well as self-perception and representation of the Catalan community as 'They'. The analysis has ~~given an~~ insight into the social perceptions of the way Muslim migrants are treated, generally, and society's reaction to the 17-A cell and the acts of terror, specifically. Our findings support some of the key factors ~~argued by the psychosocial literature to~~ drive the radicalisation process. For instance, from the interviewees' ~~understanding,~~ despite the young men's active engagement with all sorts of local activities, organisations and their neighbours, they appeared to struggle to fully integrate in their village, as evidenced in various episodes of exclusion and discrimination. As poignantly illustrated in the male's interview, all such othering must have invoked feelings of confusion, frustration, fear and anger. All this clashes with these youths' tenacious desire to get by and succeed in their lives, whilst feeling torn between a nostalgic allegiance to their parents' geographic and religious backgrounds and their immediate reality.

Consequently, this quest for significance can be seen as in conflict with the feelings of a society perceived to belittle them. From the interviewees' attitudinal positioning and the nomination strategies employed, a brew of emotions may be inferred in that, whilst not legitimising the violence the cell engaged in, it is possible to observe an empathetic ambivalence regarding the antecedent triggers and the hostility of the environment both the interviewees and the perpetrators pertained to. The linguistic evidence analysed can provide support in the attempt to answer complex questions, such as how one makes sense of conflicting viewpoints (for example, the cell's members as acquaintances, as active members of their community, and also as terrorists), as well as how one's feelings of identity and belonging can influence or justify the shift in ideology to commit such acts of terror.

Another noteworthy ~~strand of this research lies in~~ the differences revealed in the communicative style ~~of~~ the two interviews analysed in detail, which, as posited in Section 4.3, may be gender-related. Interestingly, we documented a greater emotional involvement in the discourse of the male interviewee. The Appraisal analysis signalled his ability to express his dissatisfaction and at times disbelief, while the female interviewee ~~proved~~ more personally detached. Whether her inability or lack of willingness to commit, emotionally, to the sensitive topic is something that could be attributed to gender is as yet to be more fully explored. Equally, the contrast in axiology between the interviewees (the female emphasising more positive aspects such as familial bonds between the community and the perpetrators) is another finding worthy of further consideration.

Without access to the first-hand experiences of the perpetrators themselves, the validity of this paper thus resides in what the accounts of various acquaintances may suggest about the cell's reaction to feelings of othering, offering valuable indicators for the detection of extremism and prevention of violence ~~in educational contexts~~ (Moyano et al. 2021).

Funding

Declaration of interest statement

The authors report there are no competing interests to declare.

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Publication history

Author Queries

- Please provide a complete reference for the citation '(Wright-Neville and Smith (2009)), (Bednarek's (2009))' in this article.

- Please provide a citation for the reference id "CIT0021 (Gabrielatos, Costas, Tony McEnery, Peter Diggle, and Paul Baker. 2012), CIT0030 (Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya (IDESCAT). 2021), CIT0046 (Pla Marc d'Intervenció Comunitaria envers les identitats socials. 2021), CIT0063 (Wright-Neville, David, and Debrah Smith)" since citation is missing in the article.