"I Am Proud to Be a Traitor": The EMOTION/OPINION Interplay in Jihadist Magazines

Abstract

Neojihadism taps successfully into the Internet's influence to disseminate its oppression narrative of Muslims vs. non-believers (Al Raffie 2012). Whilst this type of radicalisation has received attention from psychoanalysis (Kobrin 2010), jihadist discourse is in need of more exhaustive examination. By detecting recruiters' key persuasive strategies, we may understand what can move people to violent action. In this paper, we employ SFL Appraisal Theory (Martin and White 2005; Bednarek 2008, 2009; Benítez-Castro and Hidalgo-Tenorio 2019), to undertake a detailed analysis of the interplay between EMOTION and OPINION in a pair of exemplars from two jihadist magazines: The Taliban's *Azan* and Al-Qaeda's *Inspire*. The close inspection of these texts reveals two distinct persuasive strategies: One revolving around a markedly negative pathos of victimhood and deep distress caused by injustice, past and present; and the other conveying pride and confidence at the many virtues behind the jihadi path.

1. Introduction

Perhaps more than ever, this is a historical time. Social media networks are employed to proselytise young men and women into adopting radical views and extremist behaviour, mobilising them in a common endeavour to retaliate against the perceived global injustices and unfair personal treatment perpetrated by a community they do not feel attached to (Miranda 2015). As argued in Benigni et al. (2017), Al-Qaeda first and the Islamic State later use social media systematically as an effective locus of propaganda.

In this paper, we study jihadist magazines from a corpus-assisted discourse studies perspective to observe and explain how these propagandistic materials can reach a large target audience. Undoubtedly, persuasion is key to jihadism. This is an outstanding feature shared with another global phenomenon of current relevance, namely populism (see Hidalgo-Tenorio and Benítez-Castro 2021). Despite jihadism's more radicalising and violent focus, both polarise the world into a struggle between *us* (standing for purity and goodness) and *them* (epitomising evil and corruption) (Barbalet 2006). The persuasive appeal of this type of discursive practice depends on its loaded pathos, and its success hinges upon social actors' ability to convey their messages in such a way that they either elicit certain emotions from their recipients or tap into their existing affective states (Nabi 2002; Petty and Briñol 2015). It is our contention that the Appraisal analysis of the EMOTION/OPINION interplay in jihadist discourse can help uncover its evaluative and affective roots,[1] thereby offering a better understanding of the typical emotions and motivations it manages to engender among the people who feel convinced by its positioning.

Accordingly, in this section, we will firstly go through what jihadism is; secondly, we will see how this has been approached so far; the basic tenets of our emotion-based theoretical model will be introduced afterwards; and, finally, from our preliminary hypotheses, we will list the main goals this study aims to achieve.

---

[1] Following the conventions of Systemic Functional Linguistics (henceforth, SFL), we use small capitals whenever we refer to the main semantic systems and sub-systems within Appraisal (e.g. OPINION, EMOTION, JUDGEMENT, APPRECIATION).

1.1. Jihadism: The Global Phenomenon

The endorsement of ISIS, ISIL, IS or Daesh means either emigrating to the Islamic State territories (i.e. make *hijra*) and waging war against non-believers there,[2] or staying at home to recruit new followers via Skype, Telegram, Facebook, Tumblr, Twitter or Instagram, and terrorise their fellow citizens in Europe or the States, mainly. Males are generally involved in the former, but they can often become "lone wolves" committing all sorts of suicide bombings anywhere (Weimann 2012; Speckhard 2015). Females, known as "jihadi brides" (like British adolescents Amira Abase, Shamima Begum and Kadiza Sultana) (Fisher 2019), are claimed to play a vital role in the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant. After joining jihad, they get involved in the recruitment process, marry one Daesh fighter in Syria or Iraq, become widowed and remarry (if they are considered superior enough), or work as sex-slaves for the combatants (if they do not meet the necessary requirements for marriage) (Ben-Israel 2018).

Once they have contacted local activists (Dzhekova et al. 2017), regularly watched radical online videos (Chouliaraki and Kissas 2018) and devoured jihadist online magazines (Macdonald et al. 2018), cognitive radicalisation is bound to happen among certain sections of the Muslim population as well as Christian converts to Islam the world over (Vidino and Brandon 2012); these are often subsequently moved to engage in extremism and acts of terrorism. Della Porta and LaFree (2012: 7) report that this self-radicalisation may not be explained on the grounds of the adherence to radical views only; peer pressure plus other social and individual loyalties are also instrumental in making this happen.

Sunni Salafi jihadism's reinterpretation of Islam is key to explaining the evolution of jihadist groups (Aarabi 2020), not to mention their need to retaliate against the West, Israel, as well as (in their opinion) the corrupt governments in some Muslim countries allegedly attacking their creeds and humiliating their community (Dalgaard-Nielsen 2010: 798). As a result, they feel legitimised to fight against the enemies of their faith through violent means. Whilst they realise that they have an obligation to foster their sense of brotherhood, their narratives are about self-worth and achievement of significance in God's eyes (Milla, Putra and Umam 2019: 112).

---

[2] For a clear overview on the different labels used to refer to this terrorist organisation, see Irshaid (2015).

1.2. Approaches to Jihadism

The multifariousness of radicalisation and de-radicalisation (just like of terrorism and counter-terrorism) justifies a comprehensive interdisciplinary approach, spanning law, history, theology and philosophy (e.g. Murshed 2003; Patterson 2010; Llamas 2013; van Ginkel 2015; Tziarras 2017); sociology and political communication (e.g. Nielsen 2013; Maggioni and Magri 2015; Braddock and Horgan 2016; Andersen and Sandberg 2018; Ibrahim 2019); psychology and psychiatry (e.g. Rogers 2003; Moyano Pacheco and Trujillo Mendoza 2013; Coppock 2014; Kruglanski et al. 2014; Jasko et al. 2018).

Extremism in its various manifestations has also been explored within corpus linguistics, discourse analysis and other related disciplines, such as artificial intelligence (e.g. Davulcu et al. 2010; Mahmood 2012; Rashid et al. 2013; Wadhwa and Bhatia 2013; Scanlon and Gerber 2014), the latter of which needs the cooperation of the former to produce ontologies and algorithmic models suitable for machine learning (e.g. Francisco and Castro 2020). In these fields, the focus tends to be on jihadists' use of rhetorical communicative devices (in both monomodal and multimodal discourse) for the construal of social groups like the youth and women (e.g. Huey 2015; Christien 2016), and building their own identity (e.g. Rothenberger et al. 2018; Etaywe and Zappavigna 2021). It is the latter that primarily inspires our paper. The language of jihad and extremism in propaganda magazines, and radicals' recruitment and indoctrination strategies in social media (visual violence orgasm included; cf. also Cottee 2019 for an analysis of ISIS' pornography of violence) are the main concern of a small number of books and journal articles (e.g. Barker 2009; Wilkinson and Barclay 2011; Prentice et al. 2012; Walli 2015; Martini 2018; Shaw and Bandara 2018; Windsor 2018; Brookes and McEnery 2020; Myhre Sunde et al. 2020). Interestingly, to the best of our knowledge, even fewer studies deal with one salient feature of this type of discourse, namely, emotion.[3]

Emotional persuasion is crucial in this process of radicalisation, spurring disaffected citizens to sympathise with and justify violence, and eventually become terrorists forming part of "an imagined transnational polity" allegedly fighting to defend and gradually implant the 'true' and 'pure' Islam everywhere (Wright-Neville and Smith 2009: 87; cf. also McCauley and Moskalenko 2014). It is indeed through the feelings and emotions conveyed in discourse that jihadists manage to set in motion a process of *mediated disorder*, which, as Aggarwal (2019: 11) affirms, involves the use of media "to disorder the thoughts and emotions of individuals" and to "convince individuals of its cultural justifications to behave violently".

---

[3] For a further analysis of emotionality in English and Polish online political and extremist radical social comments, see Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk (2020).

1.3. Emotion and Discourse

Martin and White's (2005) Appraisal Theory is perhaps one of the most comprehensive approaches to the analysis of linguistic evaluation and stance (e.g. Thompson and Hunston 2000; Hyland 2005). These authors aim to elucidate how human beings negotiate their social relations through alignment. To that end, they elaborate a taxonomy that characterises the interpersonal resources people apply to express their views on, and attitudes to, their inner and outer worlds. The main categories of this classification are GRADUATION, ENGAGEMENT and ATTITUDE.

GRADUATION refers to the lexico-grammatical features whereby speakers increase (or decrease) the impact of their utterances (FORCE), or specify the extent to which their semantic categorisations are more or less in/determinate (FOCUS). ENGAGEMENT encompasses the resources for the author's positioning vis-à-vis the propositions and proposals the text conveys, which allows for one or more viewpoints to be simultaneously articulated, and thus is paramount to the negotiation of the author's own voice. ATTITUDE includes all the strategies necessary for emotional (AFFECT), ethical (JUDGEMENT) and aesthetic (APPRECIATION) evaluation; more precisely, AFFECT encodes emotion, as it deals with our reactions to events, situations and people through surprise, interest, inclination, happiness, fear, anger, love or hatred (see White 2004; Bednarek 2009); as for APPRECIATION and JUDGEMENT, these are concerned with opinion about entities' intrinsic characteristics, and human behaviour (socially regulated and favoured, or frowned upon), respectively.

Although ENGAGEMENT and GRADUATION are the main focus of various studies (e.g. Hood and Martin 2005), ATTITUDE has been investigated more often and thoroughly due to its pivotal role (e.g. Hommerberg and Don 2015; Ngo and Unsworth 2015; Su and Hunston 2019). In this paper, we examine ATTITUDE from a redefined taxonomy that combines Martin and White's (2005) original JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION sub-categories with Benítez-Castro and Hidalgo-Tenorio's (2019) psychologically-inspired EMOTION model, built upon the argument that emotion permeates all levels of linguistic description (e.g. Alba-Juez and Thompson 2014; Thompson 2014; Alba-Juez and Mackenzie 2019), and that all utterances are produced and interpreted through emotions (Klann-Delius 2015). Pleasure and goals feature in this refined taxonomy as basic emotion parameters. This view assumes that emotional responses derive from the objectives humans pursue, and by how pleasurable those aims and the reactions themselves are to the Emoter (e.g. Power and Dalgleish 2008; Fontaine, Scherer and Soriano 2013). Three sub-categories result from this classification: The key to Goal-seeking emotions is the extent to which one stimulus can be of any relevance for someone's needs and goals, and the subsequent

cognitive engagement with it. Goal-achievement emotions are the reaction mechanisms operative when people attempt to achieve and keep, or when they lose, their goals. Lastly, Goal-relation emotions revolve around the idea of someone feeling attracted, or repelled, by the Trigger causing the emotion. Figure 1 shows an overview of the entire ATTITUDE system applied in this paper.

INSERT FIGURE 1 HERE

1.4. Research hypotheses and questions

When young people espouse jihadi ideology, they must have swallowed huge amounts of propaganda from terrorist organisations such as Al-Qaeda or the Islamic State. The way the jihadi mindset is discursively presented, expounded and justified in magazines, videos, social media posts, etc. is intended to sway these troubled individuals towards a deeply disturbing version of the status quo, one that will eventually impel them to rise and take action to tear it down.

Given the above and, as suggested by the stark rise in radical extremism over the past few years (e.g. the terror attacks in Paris, Barcelona or Manchester), it appears to be important to be equipped with the necessary tools to explore the discursive features of radical profiles, and to associate them to the communicative function of the messages they disseminate on the Internet (namely, recruitment, indoctrination, radicalisation and instruction). The analysis of jihadists' language, particularly when expressing emotion and/or opinion, may offer illuminating insights into their psyche and their success in persuading others. From the persuasive strategies uncovered, we may then work on subverting radicalising processes through other counter-narratives deconstructing jihadist discourse both in substance and in form (Miravitllas 2015). We understand that this information may be especially relevant to those working in the area of criminal prosecution, as only by gaining insights into the discursive patterns behind radicalisation can we eventually offer more effective solutions to the mass dissemination of terror. The combination of forensic linguistics, corpus-based critical discourse analysis and artificial intelligence can result in an efficient mixed method for identifying profiles on the net.

Islamist extremism relates to a master narrative of acute crisis, total unfairness and polarisation, evoking feelings of humiliation and rage, which, in turn, act as catalysts for the onset of terrorist acts whose destructive effects do not fill individuals with remorse (e.g. Wright-Neville and Smith 2009; Wright and Bachmann 2015; Ingram 2016). We hypothesise that this moral disengagement may derive from persuasive messages loaded with both negative and positive pathos. Exposure to texts leaning to both evaluative ends may help recruiters fulfil their goals in the initial stages of the radicalising process. Negativity contributes to painting a grim picture of a divided world with Muslims as the victims of an all-out global war against them, whilst positivity highlights jihad as the path they will eagerly embark on as the only solution to such problems.

In this paper, a qualitative and quantitative analysis of two articles drawn from a larger corpus of propaganda magazines (see Section 2 and Table 1) is conducted with a view to ascertaining the following:

    (i)   How is the EMOTION-OPINION interplay discursively constructed in each?

(ii)   Which EMOTION and OPINION semantic categories prevail in each?

(iii)   Which lexico-grammatical and pragmatic realisations stand out in each?

(iv)   What similarities and differences emerge between both in their persuasive pathos, and what may this reveal about recruiters' ultimate intentions?

2. Data and Method

This article pertains to the research output of a large EU-funded research project (see Funding Information) partially resting upon linguistic data drawn from Aaron Y. Zelin's website Jihadology.net, which collects all sorts of materials on jihadism for research purposes. The Richard Borow Fellow at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy and author of the 2020 book *Your Sons Are at Your Service. Tunisia's Missionaries of Jihad* neither endorses jihadist groups' ideas, nor allows guests' use of this resource for incitement to violence, or intimidation of individuals. Besides posts and video messages, Zelin's website gives researchers access to the propaganda magazines of terrorist organisations such as Al-Qaeda or ISIL. For the completion of our project, we downloaded all the issues available of six of them, namely, *Jihadi Recollections*, *Inspire*, *Gaidi Mtaani*, *Azan*, *Dabiq* and *Rumiyah*. Table 1 outlines the most important sociological details regarding our JIHAD corpus such as who published them and during which period, the number of articles retrieved and to which type of audience each is addressed, plus more technical linguistic information such as word types and word tokens.

INSERT TABLE 1 HERE

Accordingly, each article was anonymised and coded for its descriptive characteristics: The alphanumeric code randomly assigned to the journal, the gender and the three-letter code of the author, the function of the article (i.e. indoctrination, recruitment, instruction, terror plan) and the publication date; for example, RV5_ID_FE_JDN_000509 is an indoctrination article from *Jihadi Recollections* published in May 2009 by JDN, one female who talks about the importance of hijab, and of dressing appropriately and modestly.

In our approach to jihadist discourse, we follow Coffin and O'Halloran (2005, 2006) and Bednarek (2009) in combining quantitative and qualitative analytical approaches. We first extract lemmatised frequency and keyword lists from our entire study sample to cast light on some of the most visible evaluative choices; then, we explore each text in detail through our Appraisal-driven data coding. Our analysis uses two articles from the English-language magazines *Azan* and *Inspire*. Despite some differences (e.g. *Azan* does not include articles on attack methods or instructions on bomb making), both are comparable in many respects: They stress the persuasive use of images to construct their anti-West argument; their target audience is Muslims in the West, especially young people feeling alienated; they encourage readers to send in materials; very

often they also cover the same themes (e.g. US government, American drone attacks and quotes from well-known late jihadists).

The Arabic word *azan* means "a call to prayer", to which the magazine's editors added the expression "a call to jihad" in the title. Six issues with 50 pages each were published from March 2013 until the summer of 2014. Its interest in Pakistan-related issues suggests its probable creation by the Pakistani Taliban. The articles are generally authored by regular writers who seem to use fake names and normally cover the same topic (e.g. Ikrimah Anwar's contributions are on Islam, Muhammad Qasin's on education). On the other hand, *Inspire* is the English-language Internet newspaper *Azan* draws on; its title comes from the Quranic verse "And inspire the believers to fight" (Lemieux et al. 2014: 18); it was distributed online by Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula, although some authors believe that it is a hoax (Fisher 2010). Its sixteen issues, released from July 2010 to November 2016, partly focus on "outgroup violence endorsement and self-sacrifice" (Zmigrod et al. 2019: 10).

As for the manual annotation of Appraisal, we now explain the main characteristics of the software chosen and the tagging decisions taken beforehand.[4] O'Donnell's (2016) UAM CorpusTool is a versatile and flexible desktop application with several in-built annotation schemes, which also offers the levels of statistical significance of reported differences through T-test and Chi-Squared Test. In our annotation scheme, we incorporate Martin and White's (2005) and Bednarek's (2008) main categories, as reformulated in Benítez-Castro and Hidalgo-Tenorio (2019), and add Polarity (i.e. contrast between assertion and non-assertion), Modality (i.e. cline between yes and no, or Modulation and Modalisation), Valence and Axiology (i.e. positive and negative emotion and opinion, respectively), and Graduation (i.e. degree of intensity of adjectival, nominal and verbal groups, or Intensification, Quantification and Enhancement, respectively). See below some examples drawn from the entire JIHAD corpus:

(1)   (…) the blood which was shed (…) (RV3_ID_MA_JCL_000814) [Assertive Polarity]

(2)   (…) he is not a believer (RV4_IN_MA_JEP_000615) [Non-assertive Polarity]

(3)   And whoever disobeys Allah (…) has certainly strayed into clear error (RV2_RE_FE_JIT_13072015) [Modalisation]

(4)   (…) it is an obligation for him to wage jihad with his wealth (RV6_IN_FE_JIT_05092016) [Modulation]

(5)   We are sharing with you the joy, glad, and happiness (RV4_RE_MA_JAT_000611) [Positive Valence]

(6)   And feel hatred and anger in your heart for the disbeliever (RV1_RE_MA_JCA_000613) [Negative Valence]

(7)   We are fighting for truth and justice (…) (RV4_RE_MA_JAQ_000610) [Positive Axiology]

---

[4] For more information concerning the latter, see Read and Carroll (2012).

(8) (…) the <u>corrupted</u> western-dominated world (RV4_IN_MA_JGY_001212) [Negative Axiology]

(9) (…) preventing <u>much</u> evil from occurring (…) (RV4_RE_FE_JES_000314) [Quantification]

(10) (…) Kufr is <u>more</u> detrimental than any physical threats (…) (RV3_RE_MA_JCR_000814) [Intensification]

(11) They <u>murdered</u> Ahlus-Sunnah (…) (RV6_IN_MA_JJF_07122016) [Enhancement]

Apart from these categories, we have also tagged: EMOTION and OPINION components (i.e. Trigger and Emoter, and Appraiser and Appraised, respectively); degree of explicitness and implicitness of the evaluative markable; and the various instantiations of ATTITUDE (e.g. epithet, attribute, adjunct, process, metaphor, metonymy). The examples below illustrate the coding of these features in the two articles under analysis:[5]

(12) These <u>ruthless</u> people (…) (*Azan*)

Epithet - Explicit OPINION [(-) Propriety]

(13) How <u>precious</u> has this word 'honor' become in these times? (*Azan*)

Attribute - Explicit OPINION [(+) Social Valuation]

(14) (…) they have freely raped the Islamic nation <u>at will</u> (*Inspire*)

Adjunct - Explicit EMOTION [(+) Inclination] and implicit OPINION ([-] Propriety)

(15) (…) something <u>had struck</u> me at that moment (*Inspire*)

Process - Explicit EMOTION [(-) Surprise]

(16) (…) they intend to cool <u>the hatred that their mentor ibn Saba had planted in their hearts</u> (…) (*Azan*)

Metaphor - Explicit EMOTION [(-) Repulsion] and implicit OPINION [(-) Propriety]

(17) (…) those who <u>tremble</u> at the death of the Kafir (*Azan*)

Metonymy - Explicit EMOTION [(-) Security] and implicit OPINION [(-) Tenacity]

We must mention separately one subset of related categories that deserve some attention, namely, social and personal in/compatibility. Social in/compatibility rests upon the general values of a given society; personal in/compatibility reflects the author's own belief system, which may be (or not) congruent with the former. Thus, we have also annotated the compatibility of the evaluative meanings displayed in the corpus, the entities appraised and the entities that have actually caused some emotional reaction in any human being. For example, "The elderly have been bloodied in the streets" (*Azan*) has been tagged as incompatible both personally and socially. In principle, though, due to the radical nature of our dataset, most ideas articulated by

---

[5] From now on, *Azan* and *Inspire* will be used to refer to the two texts under analysis. No such mention will be made when, from the discussion, the examples may be clearly identified as coming from one or the other text.

the authors tend to clash with common-sense views about ethics and morals. That is the case of the title of the article taken from *Inspire*, "I am proud to be a traitor to America". When someone reports their pride in their own success, or when they say they are proud of a relevant someone after having managed to achieve their goals, we normally assume that the pleasure they feel is a result of agreeable outcomes. The title exemplifies quite well the complexity of the notion of evaluation itself. To betray one's own country is universally deemed to be a criminal act (i.e. socially incompatible), but, once adherence to John Stuart Mill's (1859/2001: 77) *harm principle* is adopted, it can be justified as personally compatible. Nevertheless, this particular case proves to be more complex, given that, when someone like this individual rejects the societal values of the country where he was born, he is also endorsing others legitimised by a different social group, thereby making his act of treason both personally and socially compatible.

The last methodological aspect of this paper we must refer to here is well explained in Fuoli (2018): The more fine-grained any analysis is, the more difficult it becomes to reach inter-coder agreement. With this mind, we have developed an annotation protocol combining individual and collaborative tagging, as well as re-annotation, which increases inter-rater reliability (see Fuoli and Hommerberg 2015).

3. Findings and Discussion: Emotion and Radicalisation

Radicalisation and the eventual destructive behaviours engendered cannot be understood without the pivotal role played by persuasive discourse (Rothenberger et al. 2018). Violence, linked to the final stage of the radicalisation process, does not constitute an idea that develops overnight; the moral disengagement terrorists come to feel vis-à-vis human life stems from their gradual adherence to communities embracing discourses where a deep and insurmountable rift is presented between the true righteous God-fearing *Ummah*, and deviant non-believers and apostates, i.e. *Kafir*, *Murtadd* and *Takfir* (e.g. McCauley and Moskalenko 2014).

Jihadists' justification of their actions rests upon a brew of emotions spanning a widespread sense of crisis, malaise, discontent and injustice, along with their deep sympathy and love towards their fellow brothers and sisters (e.g. Wright-Neville and Smith 2009; Ingram 2016). What we need to examine in further detail, though, is not so much how jihadists feel, but how these emotions are induced and conveyed through the discourse whereby radicalisation is construed and done (Price Dillard and Meijnders 2002). As Aggarwal (2019: 8) argues, the exhaustive analysis of single exemplars of radicalising discourse may suffice to cast light on the persuasive strategies at work in these texts. That is precisely what we set out to do in this section.

The first text under scrutiny, "The Pain of Syria", features in *Azan*'s 2013 second issue, while the second one, entitled "I Am Proud to be a Traitor to America", appears in *Inspire*'s 2010 second issue. The former adopts a markedly elegiac tone to elaborate on Sunnis' suffering in Syria at the hands of Shias and their allies. The latter, by contrast, constitutes a first-person narrative expounding on the author's reasons and motivations behind his turning against the West to join jihad. As will become evident, both texts epitomise two distinct ways through which jihadism enacts its persuasive power.

Before digging into our Appraisal analysis of each, we first turn to Sketch Engine (Kilgarriff et al. 2014) to obtain raw frequency and keyword lists. Table 2, outlining the 20 most frequent lemmas in each file, is remarkable for the predominance of third-person plural pronouns in *Azan*, compared to the prevalence of first-person singular ones in *Inspire*. This is due to the former article's explicit focus on Sunnis' ordeal (as perpetrated by their enemies' ruthless actions), and to the latter's autobiographical orientation.

INSERT TABLE 2 HERE

Table 3 below reveals the top twenty keywords in each text, when compared to the other. *Azan* urgently calls on the transnational *Ummah* to react to the terrible pain, anguish and oppression inflicted on fellow Sunnis in Syria (also referred to as *Shaam*) by the demonic forces (i.e. *Dajjal*) of the Shias and their allies (e.g. *Iran*). Not speaking out against the latter's atrocities involves disrespecting the Prophet and His family (i.e. *Mother Ayesha*) and thereby defiling one's honour and status as a true Muslim. *Inspire*'s article, by contrast, is primarily concerned with the author's exulting self-portrayal as a traitor to his own country, after realising his religious beliefs were no longer in sync with America's lifestyle and imperialistic attitudes. His deeply held convictions, therefore, impelled him to join the ranks of jihadi fighters (i.e. *Mujahidin*), which he did willingly (i.e. *want*) and happily (i.e. *proud*) under the assumption that he was emulating former Western malcontents eventually turning into jihadi heroes (i.e. *like bin Ladin, like Nidal Hassan*, etc.).

INSERT TABLE 3 HERE

Turning now to the intricacies of our Appraisal-based analysis, in all the findings displayed in the remaining of this section each analytical category is presented with its raw number of occurrences, its percentage as based upon the global evaluative N in each text, and the Chi-squared score and level of statistical significance of the reported difference, as calculated by UAM CorpusTool.[6] To begin with, Table 4 shows the overall preference for positive or negative OPINION, and pleasant or unpleasant EMOTION in the dataset.

INSERT TABLE 4 HERE

As indicated above, negative OPINION is the broad Appraisal sub-system that stands out in both articles. This being the case, remarkable differences emerge between both in relation to the actual proportions of EMOTION or OPINION in each. As far as EMOTION is concerned, in *Azan*, valence is markedly unpleasant, prevailing over pleasant emotions. This noticeable negativity is also evident in OPINION, with axiologically negative evaluative statements featuring as the

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

preferred option. *Inspire* differs in showing a stronger association with pleasantness and positivity, with pleasant EMOTION and positive OPINION being more frequent in this text.

These results point to two different persuasive strategies. *Azan* exploits negative pathos to the full to highlight fellow brothers' and sisters' blood-curdling suffering at the hands of evil, hate-filled others. The author feels an urgent need to cast light on Sunnis' misery as a result of the endless list of wrongs they have been subjected to. Contrariwise, *Inspire* employs positive pathos to foreground the author's pride at the cause he has embarked on. In so doing, he is encouraging readers to shed all their fears, and join a righteous and honourable endeavour, one that is imbued with the confidence, joy and love that one's unshakable religious faith offers.

Narrowing now the focus to the sub-categories and components within the broad Appraisal systems, Tables 5 and 6 below outline the results for EMOTION. The most striking finding here concerns the prevalence of Dissatisfaction in *Azan* and of Satisfaction in *Inspire*. Emoters also differ sharply in both texts, with *Azan* preferring Non-authorial Collective Emoters and *Inspire* favouring Authorial Individual Emoters. This is expected given the third-person collective orientation of the former (i.e. *Can't you see fellow Sunnis in Syria are suffering?*), and the first-person individual focus of the latter (i.e. *This is what I felt before and upon joining jihad*).

INSERT TABLE 5 HERE

INSERT TABLE 6 HERE

Azan's Dissatisfaction rests chiefly upon markables indicating Sadness, which ties in with the sorrowful tone of the text (e.g. (18) and (19)). Repulsion Antipathy, as in (20), also features prominently in this article, helping explain Shias' brutal actions out of their hatred and indifference towards Syrian Sunnis. As for *Inspire*'s Satisfaction, this is primarily linked to Security Trust and Happiness (as in (21) and (22), respectively), serving to portray how his trust, confidence and joy at his religious dogma and status anchored him to his decision to pursue his 'holy' mission.

> (18) The <u>cries</u> of the mother of believers Ayesha have spread <u>a scene of autumn</u> upon its beautiful valleys.
> (19) Witness the news, images and <u>heart-wrenching</u> videos emerging from the holy land of Shaam (…).

(20) (…) their historical <u>spite</u>. Maybe, with it, they intend to cool the <u>hatred</u> that their mentor ibn Saba had planted in their hearts (…)

(21) My <u>faith</u> and <u>convictions</u> gave me strength to lambast the greatest tyrant of our time.

(22) Therefore, I am <u>proud</u> to be a traitor in America's eyes just as I am <u>proud</u> to be a Muslim (…)

Inspire's first-person awakening narrative is seeking to sway its readership by tapping into the emotional well-being experienced after engaging in the cognitive opening whereby one comes to realise the fallacy of the status quo, and, in so doing, starts questioning and opposing it (e.g. Droogan and Peattie 2018). *Azan*'s elegiac and condemnatory tone, by contrast, attempts to influence its audience by devoting considerable rhetorical effort to highlighting the narrative of utter loss, shame, and oppression jihadism typically feeds into (e.g. Al Raffie 2012; Wright and Bachmann 2015).

Shifting our attention now to OPINION's sub-categories and components, Table 7 reveals JUDGEMENT Propriety as the paramount evaluative choice in our dataset, this being more evident in *Azan*.

INSERT TABLE 7 HERE

Azan's JUDGEMENT Propriety statements are, in the main, axiologically negative, which, as the author intends, contributes to painting a devastating picture of Shias' immoral behaviour against Syrian Sunnis. Examples (23) and (24) are two cases in point. The former shows three clearly explicit realisations, whilst the latter exhibits three multi-layered evaluative markables, explicitly denoting the others' EMOTION while also implicitly conveying the author's damning OPINION-driven criticism of their actions.

(23) The Shias are a <u>thorn in the heart</u> of the Muslim Ummah…an <u>ulcer</u>…They are <u>the worst group of people on the entire earth</u>.

(24) But some still seem <u>satisfied</u> at having steady crowds in their own mosques (even if this comes at the price of <u>praising the tyrants</u> and being <u>silent at Kufr</u>).

Inspire's JUDGEMENT Propriety markables, whilst fewer in proportion, are also primarily negative in their elaboration of America's wrongdoings against Muslims the world over (see (25) and (26)). Here, the author also devotes some space to extolling the virtues of the jihadi path,

showing how changing one's life's course away from the West's pernicious influence is a necessary and honourable decision. Example (27) shows the spiritual healing he experienced following his decision to become a terrorist. In his new mindset, negative ethical labels, whilst keeping their inherent axiological negativity, come to identify behaviours that are no longer personally incompatible; this cognitive dissonance between inherently unethical actions and jihadists' growing commitment to the moral standards of their newly-forged identity ends up leading to the kind of moral disengagement terrorists come to undergo, as evidenced in (28).

(25) (…) they have <u>freely raped</u> the Islamic nation at will (…)

(26) America has a long history of <u>massacring</u> and <u>subjugating</u> Muslims (…)

(27) (…) America labels me a terrorist due to my love for <u>correcting</u> and <u>straightening my soul out for the better</u>.

(28) I am acutely aware that <u>body parts have to be torn apart</u>, <u>skulls have to be crushed</u> and <u>blood has to be spilled</u> in order for this to be a reality.

OPINION statements in *Inspire* are not concentrated only in the JUDGEMENT Propriety semantic region (as in *Azan*); JUDGEMENT Tenacity and Capacity, and APPRECIATION Valuation also stand out. Tenacity and Capacity occurrences are predominantly positive in their axiology, depicting jihadists as brave, powerful, and always ready to engage in strife against the Kuffar, presented as often incapable of acting wisely and effectively (e.g. (29) to (31)).

(29) (…) my religion required me to <u>fight</u> America and her allies as Islam <u>doesn't shy from</u> stating who is the occupier. [(+) Tenacity]

(30) It's just absolutely enthralling to know that guerrillas <u>can fight off global superpowers with the bare minimum</u> (…) [(+) Capacity]

(31) (…) I was surprised that they all <u>easily fell for</u> my cover. [(-) Capacity]

It is important at this point to draw attention to the noun *traitor*, featuring in the article's title and several times throughout the text, and coded as (-) Tenacity. This noun exemplifies once again terrorists' moral subversion; intrinsically, it is axiologically negative (i.e. someone that is disloyal, that cannot be trusted), but in terms of the author's personal standards, it becomes compatible with his mentality, as the act of betrayal is enacted against America, number one enemy, rendering it a semantically negative quality that is, nonetheless, personally compatible and even conducive to positive emotions (i.e. pride) (see Section 2).

As observed in Table 7 above, *Inspire*'s article is also remarkable for its relatively large proportion of APPRECIATION Valuation occurrences. These are largely negative, as they are intended to indicate the many difficulties of the jihadi path ahead, one that needs to be taken to avoid the loss and destruction ensuing from a life non-compliant with jihadism's religious tenets (e.g. (32) to (34)).

(32) What they were doing (…) in the Muslim lands is what I felt, <u>totally unacceptable</u> to my religion.
(33) (…) Islam's claim to power in the modern world is <u>not going to be as easy as walking down a red carpet or driving through a green light</u>.
(34) (…) entering paradise will be <u>a difficult task</u>.

Once the EMOTION-OPINION profile of each text has been analysed, we now turn to identifying some of the most striking differences in the lexico-grammatical and pragmatic realisations of all the evaluative markables. First of all, we must mention that, when considering EMOTION and OPINION occurrences globally, explicit realisations far outweigh implicit ones (i.e. 85.96% vs. 13.59%). Therefore, the evaluative work in the dataset rests primarily upon realisations whose axiology or valence is transparent enough to be either intrinsically or contextually understood without much difficulty as positive/pleasant or negative/unpleasant (e.g. *happily*, *angered*, *frustrated*, *crying*, for EMOTION; *ferocious*, *champion*, *slaughter*, *assassinate*, for OPINION). This shows that persuasion is enacted quite forcefully in both texts, as the authors are actively trying to make a point, and, in so doing, either change or strengthen their readers' behaviour and beliefs (e.g. Torres-Soriano 2017; Vergani and Bliuc 2018).

Lexico-grammatically, TRANSITIVITY Processes are the predominant realisation for evaluative markables in the entire dataset (51.97%). The most obvious divergence here applies to Mental Processes, commonest in *Inspire*, and to Verbal and Behavioural Processes, prevailing in *Azan* (see Table 8).

INSERT TABLE 8 HERE

As regards Mental Processes, *Inspire*'s preference for this kind of realisation is due to the large presence of Cognitive and Desiderative verbs in this text (e.g. (35) to (38)). This is expected given the article's focus on delineating the author's motives behind his decision. He feels impelled to highlight his own conviction that something needs to be done about America's carnage against

the Ummah; as such, he foregrounds his inner awareness, knowledge and desire, and contrasts this with some Muslims' unreasonable qualms. The jihadi path involves determination, confidence, inner peace and motivation, whilst straying from this path entails a life full of uncertainty, worry and doubt. It is worth mentioning that this finding is reflected in this text's wider use of Epistemic Certainty and Dynamic Volition Modality.[7]

(35) I <u>knew</u> I could no longer reside in America (…) [Cognitive]
(36) I <u>seriously question</u> the veracity of one's faith when they have to <u>think twice</u> on taking a stand against America (…) [Cognitive]
(37) (…) I <u>decided</u> to take up the pen and write out my thoughts and feelings (…) [Desiderative]
(38) (…) what Muslim <u>wouldn't want</u> to be a traitor? [Desiderative]

As for Verbal and Behavioural Processes, through examples such as (39) to (42), *Azan* is, on the one hand, desperate calling on all good Muslims to verbally voice their condemnation of Shias' murderous attacks. On the other, by frequently relying on behavioural processes, the author is trying to stir up readers' intense emotions in the hope that they will come to identify with, or be moved by, the suffering Syrian Sunnis are experiencing.

(39) Why isn't someone (…) <u>speaking</u> the words that need to be <u>spoken</u>? [Verbal]
(40) Everyone starts <u>giving sermons</u> of humanity (…) [Verbal]
(41) (…) the land of the Prophets stands <u>crying</u> over the youth of the Ummah. [Behavioural]
(42) Why don't their bodies <u>shake</u> while hearing it? [Behavioural]

Material Processes feature as the dominant evaluative realisation in our sample. Whilst the reported differences here are negligible (see Table 8), an examination of the use of Grammatical Voice may offer illuminating insights into the overall evaluative orientation of each text. As indicated in Table 9, active realisations predominate in both articles (see (43) and (44)).

INSERT TABLE 9 HERE

----

(43) (…) they <u>narrow</u> the earth for the Sunnis. (*Azan*)

---

[7] Epistemic Certainty (0.53% in *Azan* vs. 7.12% in *Inspire*); Dynamic Volition (1.06% in *Azan* vs. 4.87% in *Inspire*).

(44) (…) they <u>have been assassinating</u> people (…) (*Inspire*)

Passive occurrences, nonetheless, are statistically commoner in *Azan*, as illustrated below:

(45) (…) the people <u>were slaughtered</u> inside their houses.
(46) The youth <u>have been arrested</u> and <u>thrown into prison</u>.

This may be explained by the author's marked focus on the victims and on their excruciating torment at the hands of their depraved enemies, whose identity is widely known. In so doing, the author is trying to arouse deep compassion for the victims and utter revulsion at the out-group's callousness. *Inspire*'s minimal presence of passive realisations ties in with a more explicit emphasis on the perpetrators' wrongdoings, and on what the author and other fellow jihadists must do to fight back. In line with Martin (2004), both texts appear to exemplify two kinds of alignment: With the victim (in *Azan*), and with the righteous saviours and against the evil perpetrators (in *Inspire*).

Pragmatics-driven evaluative realisations are also interesting, in particular, conceptual metaphors and metonymies. Table 10 displays the most outstanding quantitative results pertinent here.

INSERT TABLE 10 HERE

Regarding metaphors, ontological ones are roughly equivalent in both articles (16.93% in *Azan* vs. 11.24% in *Inspire*); this also applies to orientational instances (1.59% in *Azan* and 3.00% in *Inspire*). A sharp contrast emerges, though, with structural metaphors, prevailing in *Inspire.* These metaphors, which help us "use one highly structured and clearly delineated concept to structure another" (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 62), are frequently employed by *Inspire*'s author to, among others, liken his outspoken verbal attacks to a war-like confrontation (e.g. (47)); America's invasion of Muslim lands and handling of their governments to a dishonest game of chess where institutions are treated as mere pieces, tools, or machinery exploited to their own advantage (e.g. (48)); foreign governments to tyrannical monarchies (e.g. (49)); jihad to an exciting journey marked by many changes of fortune (e.g. (50)); and Islam (i.e. religion) to the bricks, stones and mortar required to make humanity a good and homogeneous building (e.g. (51)).

(47) (…) strength to <u>lambast</u> the greatest tyrant of our time.

(48) They <u>installed</u> and supported <u>pawn</u> regimes (…)

(49) (…) he is the man that has shook <u>the thrones of the tyrants of the world</u>.

(50) How could I become a traitor to myself by throwing away <u>this holy odyssey</u>?

(51) Islam (…) is what <u>bonds</u> humanity together for the good.

Finally, metonymies feature mostly only in *Azan*, unsurprising given the aforementioned prominence of Behavioural Processes in this article. Here, the writer draws readers into his cause by giving full vent to the negative bodily reactions the outgroup's heinous acts trigger among victims (e.g. (52)); good caring Muslims are urged to experience similar reactions when being faced with such atrocities (e.g. (53)). *Azan*'s marked negative pathos, conveying extreme distress, is thus rendered even more harrowing by making this ordeal one readers may also experience bodily, evoking the inner gut reactions aroused by these emotions and, in so doing, more effectively tugging at their heartstrings.

(52) The <u>flowing tears</u> and <u>stoned eyes</u> of our mothers and daughters (…)

(53) Why do not their <u>throats get dry</u>? (…) Why do not their eyes <u>get red</u> because of emotion?

4. Conclusions

Over the past decades, jihadists' skilful and strategic use of social media and their manifold online publications has managed to seep through Western societies' apparently sturdy walls to capture the minds and hearts of many socially alienated individuals, planting a poisonous seed that, once established, cannot but wreak tremendous havoc (Kobrin 2010). The "mediated disorder" (Aggarwal 2019: 11) jihadist communication feeds on would not be as effective were it not for the centrality of emotion in their persuasive appeals. Their narratives, replete with raw feelings, offer a vivid and poignant account of a world torn apart by a struggle between the self-anointed defenders of the true Islamic faith, and the oppressors, usurpers and detractors, allegedly bent on making the Ummah's existence a living hell. Their marked emotional pathos is very often laid bare through their ethos-driven condemnation of their enemies' vicious and inhuman conduct. SFL Appraisal Theory's coding framework, and more specifically the refined version employed herein, offers a degree of analytical precision that enables discourse analysts to uncover or, at least, highlight jihadists' preferred persuasion strategies. Such descriptive power has helped us scrutinise the persuasive appeal of two, rather randomly chosen, articles from two flagship jihadist media outlets. Our selection has revealed two clearly recognisable persuasion profiles: One stressing victims' affliction, as caused by their enemies' nefarious acts; and the other bringing the 'commendable' personal story of a good and brave jihadi 'fighter' to the forefront of readers' attention. Therefore, whilst one constitutes a mournful lament and a desperate call for help and attention, the other presents an inspirational first-person narrative justifying the many motives behind joining jihad. Despite the observed differences, both persuasive profiles would prove helpful to recruiters' attempts to lure discontented, angst-ridden Western individuals into their cause; these need to be brought face to face with the extreme suffering of the Ummah, convinced of the righteous moral grounds and justification of their 'holy war', and introduced to heroes they can admire.

To conclude, and notwithstanding the limitations of this paper, it opens up a fruitful research avenue for a wider inspection of propaganda magazines with a view to discussing similarities and differences in their construction of the EMOTION-OPINION interface, and exploring the extent to which each text's function (i.e. recruitment, indoctrination, radicalisation and instruction) correlates with one persuasive profile. In this regard, the detailed analysis of jihadists' autobiographical accounts may offer revealing insights into their psyche, their own radicalisation process and the reasons adduced to encourage others to also radicalise (e.g. Altier et al. 2012). Appraisal-based discourse analysis will be paramount in this endeavour, insofar as radicals'

intentions and values may be gleaned from the way they perceive, evaluate and react to themselves, others, and the events and situations they happen to take part in.

5. Funding Information

6. Acknowledgements

7. References

Aarabi, Kasra. 2020. *Beyond Borders. The Expansionist Ideology of Iran's Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps*. Tony Blair Institute for Global Change. Accessed 17 August 2020. https://institute.global/sites/default/files/2020-01/IRGC%20Report%2027012020.pdf

Aggarwal, Neil K. 2019. *Media Persuasion in the Islamic State*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Alba-Juez, Laura, and J. Lachlan Mackenzie. 2019. *Emotion in Discourse*. Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Al Raffie, Dina. 2012. "Whose Hearts and Minds? Narratives and Counter–narratives of Salafi Jihadism". *Journal of Terrorism Research* 3 (2): 13–31.

Altier, Mary Beth, John Horgan, and Christian Thoroughgood. 2012. "In their own Words? Methodological Considerations in the Analysis of Terrorist Autobiographies". *Journal of Strategic Security* 5 (4): 85–98.

Andersen, Jan Christoffer, and Sveinung Sandberg. 2018. "Islamic State Propaganda: Between Social Movement Framing and Subcultural Provocation" *Terrorism and Political Violence*. DOI: 10.1080/09546553.2018.1484356

Barbalet, Jack. 2006. "Emotions in Politics: From the Ballot to Suicide Terrorism". In *Emotion, Politics and Society*, ed. by Simon Clarke, Paul Hoggett, and Simon Thompson, 31–58. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Barker, Brig. 2009. "Decoding the Language of Jihad". *The Middle East Quarterly* 16 (3): 53–60.

Bednarek, Monika. 2008. *Emotion Talk across Corpora*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Bednarek, Monika. 2009. "Language Patterns and ATTITUDE". *Functions of Language* 16 (2): 165–192.

Ben-Israel, Galit M. 2018. "Telling a Story Via Tumblr Analytics: Europe's Young Muslim Female Attraction to ISIS". *International Annals of Criminology* 56 (1-2): 55–78. http://doi.org/10.1017/cri.2018.6.

Benigni, Mathew C., Kenneth Joseph, and Kathleen M. Carley. 2017. "Online Extremism and the Communities that Sustain it: Detecting the ISIS Supporting Community on Twitter". *PLoS ONE* 12 (12): e0181405. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0181405.

Benítez-Castro, Miguel-Ángel, and Encarnación Hidalgo-Tenorio. 2019. "Rethinking Martin & White's AFFECT Taxonomy: A Psychologically-Inspired Approach to the Linguistic Expression of Emotion". In *Emotion in Discourse*, ed. by J. Lachlan Mackenzie, and Laura Alba-Juez, 302-331. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Braddock, Kurt, and John Horgan. 2016. "Towards a Guide for Constructing and Disseminating Counternarratives to Reduce Support for Terrorism". *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 39 (5): 381–404.

Brookes, Gavin, and Tony McEnery. 2020. "Correlation, collocation and Cohesion: A Corpus-based Critical Analysis of Violent Jihadist Discourse". *Discourse & Society* 31 (4): 351–373.

Chouliaraki, Lilie, and Angelos Kissas. 2018. "The Communication of Horrorism: A Typology of ISIS Online Death Videos". *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 35 (1): 24–39.

Christien, Agathe. 2016. "The Representation of Youth in the Islamic State's Propaganda Magazine *Dabiq*". *Journal of Terrorism Research* 7 (3): 1–8.

Coffin, Caroline, and Kieran O'Halloran. 2005. "Finding the Global Groove: Theorising and Analysing Dynamic Reader Positioning Using APPRAISAL, Corpus, and a Concordancer". *Critical Discourse Studies* 2 (2): 143–163.

Coffin, Caroline, and Kieran O'Halloran. 2006. "The Role of Appraisal and Corpora in Detecting Covert Evaluation". *Functions of Language* 13 (1): 77–110.

Coppock, Vicki. 2014. "'Can you Spot a Terrorist in Your Classroom?' Problematising the Recruitment of Schools to the 'War on Terror' in the United Kingdom". *Global Studies of Childhood* 4 (2): 115–125.

Cottee, Simon. 2019. *ISIS and the Pornography of Violence*. London: Anthem Press.

Dalgaard-Nielsen, Anja. 2010. "Violent Radicalization in Europe: What We Know and What We Do Not Know". *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 33 (9): 797–814.

Davulcu, Hasan, Ahmed, Syed T., Gokalpet, Sedat, Temkit, M'hamed H., Taylor, Tom, Woodward, Mark, and Ali Amin. 2010. "Analyzing Sentiment Markers Describing Radical and Counter-Radical Elements in Online News". *IEEE International Conference on Privacy, Security, Risk and Trust*, 335–340. Accessed 17 March 2018. http://www.public.asu.edu/~hdavulcu/scaling-socialcom2010.pdf.

Della Porta, Donatella, and Gary LaFree. 2012. "Processes of Radicalization and De-radicalization. Editors' Introduction". *International Journal of Conflict and Violence* 6 (1): 4–10.

Droogan, Julian, and Shane Peattie. 2018. "Reading Jihad: Mapping the Shifting Themes of *Inspire* Magazine." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 30(4): 684–717.

Dzhekova, Rositsa, Mancheva, Mila, Stoynova, Nadya, and Dia Anagnostou. 2017. *Monitoring Radicalisation. A Framework for Risk Indicators*. Center for the Study of Democracy - CSD Reports. Accessed 17 July 2020. http://old.csd.bg/artShow.php?id=17916.

Etaywe, Awni, and Michele Zappavigna. 2021. "Identity, Ideology and Threatening Communication: An Investigation of Patterns of Attitude in Terrorist Discourse." *Journal of Language Aggression and Conflict*. DOI**:** https://doi.org/10.1075/jlac.00058.eta

Fisher, Lucy. 2019. "Bethnal Green Trio Fled Britain with Help from Isis's Best Female Recruiter". *The Times*. Accessed 13 February 2019. https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/jihadi-bride-shamima-begum-bethnal-green-trio-fled-britain-with-help-from-isis-s-best-female-recruiter-vcvxzrvgj

Fisher, Max. 2010. "5 Reasons to Doubt Al-Qaeda Magazine's Authenticity". *The Atlantic*. Accessed 25 January 2021. https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2010/07/5-reasons-to-doubt-al-qaeda-magazines-authenticity/59035/

Fontaine, Johnny, Scherer, Klaus R. and Cristina Soriano (eds.). 2013. *Components of emotional meaning: A sourcebook*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Francisco, M., and Juan L. Castro. 2020. "A fuzzy model to enhance user profiles in microblogging sites using deep relations". *Fuzzy Sets and Systems* 15: 133–149.

Fuoli, Matteo. 2018. "A step-wise method for annotating APPRAISAL". *Functions of Language* 25 (2): 229–258.

Fuoli, Matteo, and Charlotte Hommerberg. 2015. "Optimizing Transparency, Reliability and Replicability: Annotation Principles and Inter-coder Agreement in the Quantification of Evaluative Expressions". *Corpora* 10 (3): 315–349.

Hidalgo-Tenorio, Encarnación, and Miguel-Ángel Benítez-Castro. 2021. "Trump's Populist Discourse and Affective Politics, or on how to Move 'the People' through Emotion". *Globalisation, Societies and Education*: 1-24.

Hommerberg, Charlotte, and Alexanne Don. 2015. "Appraisal and the Language of Wine Appreciation. A Critical Discussion of the Potential of the Appraisal Framework as a Tool to Analyse Specialised Genres". *Functions of Language* 22 (2): 161–191.

Hood, Susan, and Jim R. Martin. 2005. "Invoking Attitude: The Play of Graduation in Appraising Discourse". *Revista Signos* 38 (58): 739–764.

Huey, Laura. 2015. "No Sandwiches Here: Representations of Women in *Dabiq* and *Inspire* Magazines". *Canadian Network for Research on Terrorism, Security and Society* 15 (4). http://www.tsas.ca/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/PBN_15-04_Huey.pdf

Hyland, Ken. 2005. "Stance and engagement: A Model of Interaction in Academic Discourse". *Discourse Studies* 7: 173–192.

Ibrahim, Yasmin. 2019. "Visuality and the 'Jihadi-bride': The Re-fashioning of Desire in the Digital Age". *Social Identities* 25 (2): 186-206, DOI: 10.1080/13504630.2017.1381836.

Ingram, Haroro J. 2016. "An Analysis of Islamic State's Dabiq Magazine." *Australian Journal of Political Science* 51(3): 458–477.

Irshaid, Faisal. 2015. "Isis, Isil, IS or Daesh? One Group, many Names". *BBC News*. Accessed 17 January 2019. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-27994277

Jasko, Katarzyna, Kruglanski, Arie W., Hassan, Ahmad S. R. B., and Rohan Gunaratna. 2018. "ISIS: Its History, Ideology, and Psychology". In *Handbook of Contemporary Islam and Muslim Lives*, ed. by Ronald Lukens-Bull, and Mark Woodward. Cham: Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-73653-2_30-1.

Kilgarriff, Adam, Vít Baisa, Jan Bušta, Miloš Jakubíček, Vojtěch Kovář, Jan Michelfeit, Pavel Rychlý, and Vít Suchomel. 2014. "The Sketch Engine: Ten Years On." *Lexicography* 1: 7–36.

Klann-Delius, Gisela. 2015. "Emotion in Language". In *Emotion in Language: Theory – Research – Application* ed. by Ulrike M. Lüdtke, 135–156. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Kobrin, Nancy H. 2010. *The Banality of Suicide Terrorism: The Naked Truth about the Psychology of Islamic Suicide Bombing*. Washington: Potomac Books, Inc.

Kruglanski, Arie W., Gelfand, Michele J., Bélanger, Jocelyn J., Sheveland, Anna, Hetiarachchi, Malkanthi, and Rohan Gunaratna. 2014. "The Psychology of Radicalization and Deradicalization: How Significance Quest Impacts Violent Extremism". *Advances in Political Psychology* 35 (Suppl. 1): 69–93.

Lakoff, George, and Mark Thompson. 1980. *Metaphors we Live By.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Lemieux, Anthony F., Brachman, Jarret M., Levitt, Jason, and Jay Wood. 2014. "Inspire Magazine: A Critical Analysis of its Significance and Potential Impact through the Lens of the Information, Motivation, and Behavioral Skills Model". *Terrorism and Political Violence* 1 (1): 1–18.

Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, Barbara. 2020. "Culture-Driven Emotional Profiles and Online Discourse Extremism". *Pragmatics and Society* 11 (2): 262–291.

Llamas, Manuel. 2013. *Melilla y el Islamismo; Luces y Sombras*. Madrid: Atanor.

Macdonald, Stuart, Maravanyika, Nyasha, Nezri, David, Parry, Elliot, and Kate Thomas. 2018. "Online Jihadist Magazines and the 'Religious Terrorism' Thesis". *Critical Studies on Terrorism* 11 (3): 537–550.

Maggioni, Monica, and Paolo Magri (eds.). 2015. *Twitter and Jihad: The Communication Strategy of ISIS*. Milan: Edizioni Epoké.

Mahmood, Shah. 2012. "Online Social Networks: The Overt and Covert Communication Channels for Terrorists and Beyond". *IEEE Conference on Technologies for Homeland Security*, pp. 574-579, DOI: 10.1109/THS.2012.6459912.

Martin, Jim R. 2004. "Mourning: How we Get Aligned". *Discourse and Society* 15(2-3): 321–344.

Martin, Jim R., and Peter R.R. White. 2005. *The Language of Evaluation: Appraisal in English*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Martini, Alice. 2018. "Making Women Terrorists into "Jihadi Brides": An Analysis of Media Narratives on Women Joining ISIS". *Critical Studies on Terrorism* 11 (3): 458–477.

McCauley, Clark, and Sophia Moskalenko. 2014. "Toward a Profile of Lone Wolf Terrorists: What Moves an Individual from Radical Opinion to Radical Action". *Terrorism and Political Violence* 26 (1): 69–85.

Mill, John S. 1859/2001. *On Liberty*. Ontario: Batoche Books. Accessed 25 January 2021. https://eet.pixel-online.org/files/etranslation/original/Mill,%20On%20Liberty.pdf.

Milla, Mirra Noor, Putra, Idhamsyah Eka, and Ahmad Naufalul Umam. 2019. "Stories from Jihadists: Significance, Identity, and Radicalization through the Call for Jihad". *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology* 25 (2): 111–121.

Miranda, Charles. 2015. "Terror Recruits: The Muslim Women Recruiting Friends and Social Media Followers to Create a Caliphate and Wage War". *News Corp Australia Network*. Accessed 24 January 2015. https://www.news.com.au/world/europe/terror-recruits-the-muslim-women-recruiting-friends-and-social-media-followers-to-create-a-caliphate-and-wage-war/news-story/0681d5b65438531c2f1905f1030b42df.

Miravitllas Pous, Enric. 2015. "Hacia una Tipología de Contranarrativas frente al Extremismo Violento". http://www.aecpa.es/congresos/XII–congreso/paper.php?paper=1228

Moyano Pacheco, Manuel, and Humberto Trujillo Mendoza. 2013. *Radicalización Islamista y Terrorismo: Claves Psicosociales*. Granada: Editorial Universidad de Granada.

Murshed, Zubair. 2003. "Power and Identity in the Discourse of Jihad". *Gender, Technology and Development* 7 (3): 399–422.

Myhre Sunde, Hans, Ilan, Jonathan, and Sveinung Sandberg. 2020. "A Cultural Criminology of 'New' Jihad: Insights from Propaganda Magazines". *Crime, Media, Culture: An International Journal*, DOI: 10.1177/1741659020915509.

Nabi, Robin L. 2002. "Discrete Emotions and Persuasion". In *The Persuasion Handbook: Developments in Theory and Practice*, ed. by James Price Dillard and Michael Pfau, 289–308. Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi: SAGE Publications.

Ngo, Thu, and Len Unsworth. 2015. "Reworking the Appraisal Framework in ESL Research: Refining Attitude Resources". *Functional Linguistics* 2 (1): 1–24.

Nielsen, Richard A. 2013. *The Lonely Jihadist: Weak Networks and the Radicalization of Muslim Clerics*. Doctoral Dissertation: Harvard University. Accessed 21 October 2017. https://dash.harvard.edu/handle/1/11124850.

O'Donnell, Mick. 2016. *UAM CorpusTool*. http://www.corpustool.com/.

Patterson, David. 2010. *A Genealogy of Evil: Anti-Semitism from Nazism to Islamic Jihad*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Petty, Richard E., and Pablo Briñol. 2015. "Emotion and Persuasion: Cognitive and Meta-cognitive Processes Impact Attitudes". *Cognition and Emotion* 29 (1): 1–26.

Power, Mick, and Dalgleish, Tim. 2008. *Cognition and Emotion: From Order to Disorder*. Hove, New York: Psychology Press. Prentice, Sheryl, Rayson, Paul, and Paul J. Taylor. 2012. "The Language of Islamic Extremism: Towards an Automated Identification of Beliefs, Motivations and Justifications". *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 17 (2): 259–286.

Price Dillard, James, and Anneloes Meijnders. 2002. "Persuasion and the Structure of Affect". In *The Persuasion Handbook: Developments in Theory and Practice*, ed. by James Price Dillard, and Michael Pfau, 309–328. Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi: SAGE Publications.

Rashid, Awais, Baron, Alistair, Rayson, Paul, May-Chahal, Corinne, Greenwood, Phil, and James Walkerdine. 2013. "Who am I? Analysing Digital Personas in Cybercrime Investigations". *Computer* 46 (4): 54–61.

Read, Jonathon, and John Carroll. 2012. "Annotating Expressions of Appraisal in English". *Language Resources and Evaluation* 46: 421–447.

Rogers, Marc. 2003. "The Psychology of Cyber-Terrorism". In *Terrorists, Victims and Society: Psychological Perspectives on Terrorism and its Consequences*, ed. by Andrew Silke, 77–92. John Wiley & Sons. https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470713600.ch4.

Rothenberger, Liane, Müller, Kathrin, and Ahmed Elmezeny. 2018. "The Discursive Construction of Terrorist Group Identity". *Terrorism and Political Violence* 30 (3): 428-453.

Scanlon, Jacob R, and Matthew S. Gerber. 2014. "Automatic Detection of Cyber-recruitment by Violent Extremists". *Informatics* 3 (5). https://doi.org/10.1186/s13388-014-0005-5.

Shaw, Michael, and Priyantha Bandara. 2018. "Marketing Jihad: The Rhetoric of Recruitment". *Journal of Marketing Management* 34 (15-16): 1319–1335.

Speckhard, Anne. 2015. "Early Detection Key for 'Lone Wolves' Acting in Behalf of ISIS".
 Huffpost. Accessed 6 December 2017.
 https://www.researchgate.net/publication/280534173_Early_Detection_Key_for_Lone_W
 olves_Acting_in_Behalf_of_ISIS

Su, Hang, and Susan Hunston. 2019. "Adjective Complementation Patterns and JUDGEMENT:
 Aligning Lexical-grammatical and Discourse-semantic Approaches in Appraisal
 Research". *Text & Talk* 39 (3): 415–439.

Thompson, Geoff. 2014. "AFFECT and Emotion, Target-Value Mismatches, and Russian Dolls:
 Refining the APPRAISAL Model". In *Evaluation in Context*, ed. by Geoff Thompson, and
 Laura Alba-Juez, 47–66. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Thompson, Geoff, and Susan Hunston. 2000. "Evaluation: An Introduction". In *Evaluation in Text*:
 Authorial Stance and the Construction of Discourse, ed. by Susan Hunston and Geoff
 Thompson, 1–27. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Torres-Soriano, Manuel Ricardo. 2017. "Jihadist Propaganda as a Threat Indicator: The Case of
 Spain." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 32(2): 365–381.

Tziarras, Zenonas. 2017. "Islamic Caliphate: A Quasi-State, a Global Security Threat" *Journal of
 Applied Security Research* 12 (1): 96–116.

Van Ginkel, Bibi. 2015. *Responding to Cyber Jihad: Towards an Effective Counter Narrative*. The
 Hague: International Centre for Counter-Terrorism. Accessed 19 January 2019.
 https://www.clingendael.org/sites/default/files/2016-
 02/Responding_to_Cyber_Jihad_2015.pdf.

Vergani, Matteo, and Ana-Maria Bliuc. 2018. "The Language of New Terrorism: Differences in
 Psychological Dimensions of Communication in *Dabiq* and *Inspire*". *Journal of Language
 and Social Psychology* 37(5): 523–540.

Vidino, Lorenzo, and James Brandon. 2012. *Countering Radicalization in Europe*. London, ICSR,
 King's College. Accessed 25 January 2019. https://icsr.info/wp-
 content/uploads/2012/12/ICSR-Report-Countering-Radicalization-in-Europe.pdf

Walli, Jamil. 2015. *The Psychology of Detachment and Hyperreality. Analyzing ISIL's
 Propaganda.* Doctoral Dissertation: Linnaeus University. Accessed 20 March 2020.
 http://lnu.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:820361/FULLTEXT01.pdf.

Weimann, Gabriel. 2012. "Lone Wolves in Cyberspace". *Journal of Terrorism Research* 3 (2): 75–
 90.

White, Peter R.R. 2004. "Subjectivity, Evaluation and Point of View in Media Discourse". In *Applying English grammar: Functional and Corpus Approaches*, ed. by Caroline Coffin, Ann Hewings and Kieran O'Halloran, 229–246. London: Hodder Arnold.

Wadhwa, Pooja, and M. P. S. Bhatia. 2013. "Tracking On-line Radicalization Using Investigative Data Mining". *National Conference on Communications*, pp. 1-5, DOI: 10.1109/NCC.2013.6488046.

Wilkinson, Benedict, and Jack Barclay. 2011. *The Language of Jihad. Narratives and Strategies of Al-Qa'ida in the Arabian Peninsula and UK Responses*. London: Royal United Services Institute. Accessed 26 June 2019. https://rusi.org/publication/whitehall-reports/language-jihad-narratives-and-strategies-al-qa%E2%80%99ida-arabian-peninsula?qt-related=0&page=81.

Windsor, Leah. 2018. "The Language of Radicalization: Female Internet Recruitment to Participation in ISIS Activities". *Terrorism and Political Violence*, DOI: 10.1080/09546553.2017.1385457.

Wright, Julia E., and Michael Bachmann. 2015. "Inciting Criminal Violence: An Examination of Al Qaida's Persuasive Devices in the Digital World". *Journal of Terrorism Research* 6(2): 70–82.

Wright-Neville, David, and Debra Smith. 2009. "Political Rage: Terrorism and the Politics of Emotion." *Global Change, Peace & Security* 21(1): 85–98.

Zelin, Aaron Y. 2020. *Your Sons Are at Your Service. Tunisia's Missionaries of Jihad*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Zmigrod, Leor, Rentfrow, Peter. J., and Trevor W. Robbins. 2019. "Cognitive Inflexibility Predicts Extremist Attitudes". *Frontiers in Psychology* 10. DOI: 10.3389/fpsyg.2019.00989.