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**Title:** Engagement strategies in online opinion articles: Analysis of the dialogistic positioning adopted by the authors of news articles about the attack on the Capitol in CNN and Fox News.

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*I declare that the work I am submitting for assessment is my own work and contains no section copied in whole or in part from any other source unless explicitly identified in quotation marks and with detailed, complete and accurate referencing.*

**This dissertation is dedicated to my family, especially to my beloved sister, Camila, whose support, help and love were really valuable to the making of this work. I would also like to thank my tutor, Verónica Vera, for her advice and guidance, and my boyfriend and friends for being by my side when I most needed them.**

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## 2. INTRODUCTION

We live in a media-saturated world. Television, newspapers, radio, social networks and other widely available communication forms play an important role in society. As Matheson (2005) posits, “the shared world of a culture—what its members think is real, interesting, beautiful, moral and all the other meanings they attach to the world—is partly constructed by each member and partly by institutions such as newspapers or radio stations...” (p. 1). Mass media exerts a considerable impact on people’s perceptions of the reality that surrounds them. What individuals see, read or hear in the media may profoundly influence their own judgement and lead them to construct certain viewpoints. Allan reaffirms this idea by stating that “media discourses lend shape to so many of our everyday experiences” (Allan in Matheson, 2005, p. ix). However, even though most people are aware of this phenomenon, they tend to process and accept the information published in different media sources without critically analysing it, regarding it as objective facts which do not need to be put into question.

Speakers and writers, and among them journalists, are always subjectively present in the texts they produce since they adopt stances and approach matters from different standpoints treating both the material they present and the people to whom they communicate—their intended audience—in accordance with their own perspectives. Martin and White (2005) point out that “writers/speakers approve and disapprove, enthuse and abhor, applaud and criticise” and “position their readers/listeners to do likewise” (p. 1). They enter into a dialogue with their potential or imagined interlocutors, may respond to something previously stated and anticipate possible responses or objections, attempting to establish alignment and rapport with their putative addressees.

Within this area of interest, a key concept to be mentioned is that of appraisal, which is “concerned with evaluation - the kinds of attitudes that are negotiated in a text, the strength of the feelings involved and the way in which values are sourced and readers aligned” (Martin and Rose, 2003, p. 25). Hence, appraisal comprises the different ways in which text producers employ various linguistic resources to express approval or disapproval for certain people’s behaviour, objects, events or ideas and also to put forward their viewpoints with the aim of aligning the reader/listener into a community of shared values and beliefs.

At the beginning of the 21st century, J. R. Martin and P. R. R. White developed the Appraisal Framework which is placed within the field of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) and which focuses on meaning in context and rhetorical effects, bringing together “a lexically and grammatically diverse selection of locutions on the basis that they all operate to locate the writer/speaker with respect to the value positions being referenced...” (Martin and White,

2005, p. 94). This framework provides valuable tools for conducting analyses of those meanings by which speakers/writers engage dialogistically with prior speakers/writers or with potential respondents, opening up or completely shutting the dialogue with alternative voices and by which they positively or negatively assess the content of their propositions. These two authors argue that appraisal can be divided into three interacting domains: attitude, engagement and graduation, each of which comprises other categories within them. As the present study will centre around the engagement subsystem, this concept needs to be clearly defined. Engagement deals with the ways in which the speaker/writer is positioned “with respect to the value position being advanced and with respect to potential responses to that value position - by quoting or reporting, acknowledging a possibility, denying, countering, affirming, and so on” (p. 36). Therefore, it could be said that engagement is concerned with the dialogue the author holds with prior utterances and anticipated responses, and with the extent to which alternative viewpoints are allowed into the conversation.

The aforementioned framework has been applied by some researchers in order to carry out analyses of different spoken and written texts; however, to my knowledge, only a few number of studies have especially focused on both the category of engagement and online publications. Arunsirot (2012) described and analysed Thai online newspaper opinion articles retrieved from different sources. This researcher examined the various lexical strategies employed by the commentators to express and negotiate attitudes with their readers. This study was based on Appraisal Theory and its emphasis was exclusively laid on the domains of attitude and graduation, thus not taking the subsystem of engagement into consideration. A significant number of instances of evaluative lexis were identified by the author of this study and the results revealed that the journalists expressed their attitudes in terms of affect, judgement and appreciation: “the commentators made use of both positive and negative emotional responses through either adjectives, noun phrases or verb phrases” (p. 70).

Miller (2004) conducted a study on the various “linguistic and discursive strategies of speaker-hearer alignment and/or alienation” (p. 1) in a speech delivered in 2002 to the UN by the former US president George W. Bush. The Appraisal System, and within it the engagement subsystem, was used as the basis for this analysis. It was argued that such engagement strategies “are often aimed at negotiating an inherent fundamental conflict between the US-as-speaker’s discursive position and that of the international community” (p. 1). An important number of linguistic and discursive resources belonging to the category of engagement were found in the oral text. Moreover, it was observed that resources of dialogic expansion were basically non-existent whereas resources of dialogic contraction proved predominant. The



study showed how certain patterns of lexicogrammatical choices were employed by the speaker to textually enact relations of status, power and solidarity.

Khoo, Nourbakhsh and Na (2012) evaluated the usefulness of the Appraisal Framework by undertaking a sentiment analysis of online news texts. They exclusively focused on the domains of attitude and engagement, thus excluding the aspect of graduation from the analysis. All the articles selected were examined in terms of polarity, type of sentiment, actors involved in the process of appraisal and manner of engaging in the expression of attitude. According to the researchers, the framework proved useful in uncovering various aspects of sentiment, such as the appraisers and objects of appraisal, among other elements. They also concluded that the problems encountered with identifying appraisal phrases and attitude categories should be attributed to the subtlety of expression in political news articles.

Finally, Marín Arrese and Núñez Perucha (2006) explored “the expression of evaluation and the treatment of the same event in news reportage and journalistic commentary, in two different languages, English and Spanish” (p. 225). They drew on the framework of Appraisal Theory and particularly concentrated on the domain of engagement. The study revealed the presence of the diverse linguistic resources used for expressing evaluation in the two subgenres of journalistic discourse mentioned above. The results obtained indicated that whereas “journalistic commentary clearly represents writer’s subjective evaluations as well as writer-reader intersubjective views, news tends to rely on external voices as sources of authority and knowledge” (p. 246). As regards the distribution of engagement resources across languages, the news texts presented the same features in both English and Spanish.

The studies mentioned above comprise just a small number of research which has been undertaken on the applicability of Appraisal Theory in different texts, particularly print and online newspaper articles and commentaries. What the data selected by the aforementioned researchers shared was that all the oral and written texts examined dealt with similar topics such as government decisions, political unrest, social discontent and conflict, issues which tend to arouse strong public feelings and awaken interest in readers. However, only some of these research projects especially focused on the domain of engagement in depth and on digital discourse. Therefore, this paper aims to explore how—i.e. by means of what linguistic resources—and to what extent writers engage with their own writing, acknowledge or ignore different viewpoints, and therefore take up a stance in relation to the topic being addressed and the potential responses to that position in eight online opinion articles on the attack on the US Capitol extracted from different media sources which hold

differing views: CNN and Fox News. Hence, the research problem is to inquire into the language devices—i.e. lexicogrammatical formulations—used by the writers to adopt a particular stance, construct reality from a certain worldview and achieve consensus among their readership. The authors' dialogistic positioning—whether their discourse tends to be more dialogically expansive or contractive—will be analysed in each case. As previously mentioned, this exploration will be conducted in the light of the Appraisal Theory, developed by Martin and White, and this research piece will exclusively concentrate on the engagement category.

The dissertation will be organised as follows: this introduction will be followed by the theoretical background, which will serve as the basis for the analysis. The following section will deal with information on the data selected and the methodology employed to fulfil the purposes of the present study. The fourth section will be devoted to the description and the analysis of the opinion articles. The results obtained will be examined and discussed in the subsequent section. Lastly, the conclusion will consist of some final remarks, the acknowledgement of the limitations present in the study and some lines of inquiry for further research.

### **3. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND**

In this section, information about the theory on which the present analysis will be based will be provided.

#### **3.1 THE APPRAISAL THEORY**

The Appraisal Theory developed by Martin, White and their colleagues will provide the theoretical framework to qualitatively analyse lexical and grammatical locutions employed by the journalists of the selected articles to pass judgement, adopt a stance or introduce other voices into the debate.

The Appraisal Framework, under which this piece of research will be conducted, is situated within the Systemic Functional Linguistic (SFL) paradigm of M.A.K. Halliday and his associates who hold that meaning-making practices can be divided into three broad modes or what Halliday terms "metafunctions": the textual, the ideational and the interpersonal, which "operate simultaneously in all utterances" (Martin & White, 2005, p. 1). While ideational resources are "concerned with construing the world of experience", with what is happening,

who is involved, where, when, why and how, textual resources deal “with information flow”, i.e. with the ways in which meanings are organised into cohesive and coherent texts to serve a communicative function (Martin & White, 2005, p. 7). As regards interpersonal resources, which will be the focus of the present study, they are concerned with the interaction among people, with the feelings individuals attempt to share, with the enactment of social roles and relationships (Martin & White, 2005, p. 7). As White (2015) posits, “the evaluative meanings described by the appraisal framework provide some of the mechanisms by which the interpersonal metafunction operates” since they present writers/speakers as taking a position on different matters, expressing their viewpoints, making evaluative judgements, revealing their feelings and tastes, engaging with their own writing/speech “with greater or lesser degrees of intensity and directness”, and “aligning or disaligning with value positions in play in the current communicative context” both in individual utterances and as the text unfolds cumulatively (p. 1). Thus, appraisal is placed within discourse semantics since both lexicogrammar and discursive resources contribute meaning to the text.

Furthermore, this approach is informed by Bakhtin’s/Voloshinov’s notions of dialogism and heteroglossia,

“under which all verbal communication, whether written or spoken, is ‘dialogic’ in that to speak or write is always to reveal the influence of, refer to, or to take up in some way, what has been said/written before, and simultaneously to anticipate the responses of actual, potential or imagined readers/listeners” (Martin and White, 2005, p. 92).

Hence, this framework provides the means to describe the ways in which speakers/writers construct their text in terms of this “heteroglossia backdrop of other voices and alternative viewpoints”, taking into consideration how they engage with that backdrop (Martin & White, 2005, p. 93).

Within the Appraisal Theory, three broad interacting domains can be found: attitude, engagement and graduation. Attitude deals with our feelings, emotions, “judgements of behaviour and evaluation of things”. Engagement is concerned with “sourcing attitudes and the play of voices around opinions in discourse” (Martin and White, 2005, p. 35). Graduation is related to grading phenomena, to how strong or weak feelings are and to how clear boundaries between categories are. These three subtypes of appraisal can be also divided into areas. As the present study will be based only on Engagement, the other domains will not be addressed any further.

Figure 1, found below, illustrates the three interacting domains into which appraisal resources can be divided.

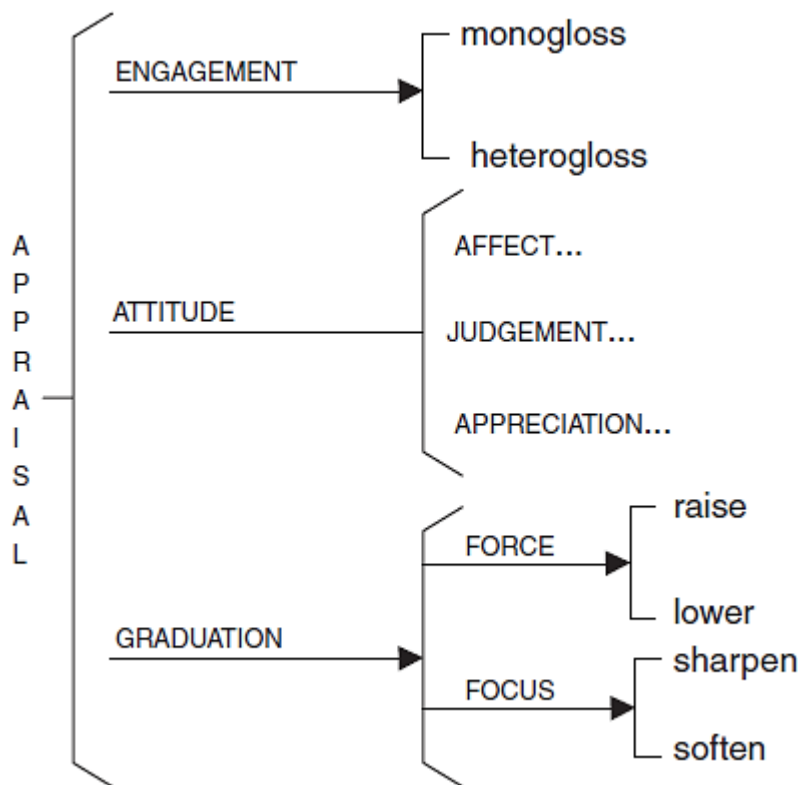


Figure 1. An overview of appraisal resources (taken from Martin & White 2005, p. 38).

### 3.2 THE ENGAGEMENT CATEGORY

Engagement attends to all those linguistic resources—a lexically and grammatically diverse selection of locutions—through which writers/speakers engage with other voices and adopt different stances “with respect to the value position being advanced and with respect to potential responses to that value position” (Martin & White, 2005, p. 36).

This subtype of appraisal can be further divided into four subcategories, referred to as engagement meanings. These are: disclaim, proclaim, entertain and attribute. Both disclaim and proclaim are considered dialogically contractive resources since they do not make allowances for alternative positions; they limit and even challenge other voices and viewpoints. Entertain and attribute function differently; they are regarded as dialogically expansive resources because, instead of restricting alternative positions, they make space for them (Martin & White, 2005). Thus, whereas disclaim and proclaim strategies tend to narrow or

close down the space for dialogic alternatives, entertain and attribute strategies tend to expand or open it up.

### 3.2.1 DIALOGIC CONTRACTION: DISCLAIM AND PROCLAIM

As Martin and White (2005) explain, the term 'disclaim' refers to "meanings by which some dialogic alternative is directly supplanted, or is represented as not applying" (p. 117). In this way, the textual voice positions itself as at odds with some contrary position. This category, then, comprises all those "formulations by which some prior utterance or some alternative position is invoked so as to be directly rejected, replaced, or held to be unsustainable" (p. 118).

The aforementioned authors distinguish two subtypes of disclaim: deny and counter. As regards the former, negation is a resource employed "for introducing an alternative position into the dialogue, and hence acknowledging it, so as to reject it" (Martin & White, 2005, p. 118). This type of disclaim includes phrases such as "*There is nothing wrong with*", "*This is not the case*", among others. It is important to notice that the denial may both indicate disalignment with a third party, thus not affecting the writer-reader relationship, or it might be directed against the putative addressee, against some beliefs the speaker/writer assumes they may hold (Martin & White, 2005, p. 119). As for counter, it includes wordings which "represent the current proposition as replacing or supplanting, and thereby countering, a proposition which would have been expected in its place" (Martin & White, 2005, p. 120). This countering is usually realised via conjunctions or connectives, such as *however*, *although*, *even though*, *yet* and *but*, and also through a small set of comment adjuncts or adverbials such as *surprisingly*, *even* and *still*.

Regarding the other resource used for dialogic contraction, Martin and White (2005) define 'proclaim' as "those formulations which, rather than directly rejecting or overruling a contrary position, act to limit the scope of dialogistic alternatives in the ongoing colloquy" (p. 121).

These authors distinguish three subtypes of proclaim: concur, pronounce and endorse. The category of concur deals with those locutions employed by the addresser to overtly announce that "they are agreeing with, or having the same knowledge as some projected dialogic partner" who, most of the time, turns out to be the putative addressee, the imagined reader/listener (Martin & White, 2005, p. 122). Some formulations that can be found under concur are *naturally*, *of course*, *not surprisingly*, *admittedly*, and *certainly*. Concur may also be conveyed via certain types of rhetorical or leading questions, which are not expected to be

answered on account of that answer being obvious. Concurring formulations can be further classified into conceding and affirming. Whereas conceding concurrence occurs as a precursor to a countering (for instance, *admittedly... but...*) so that the authorial voice can first “present itself as agreeing with the construed reader with respect to a proposition, only to step back ... and to indicate a rejection...”, affirming concurrence shows what is generally agreed upon or known, thus “excluding any dialogistic alternative from the ongoing colloquy” (Martin & White, 2005, pp. 124-125). As far as pronounce is concerned, Martin and White (2005) state that it “covers formulations which involve authorial emphases or explicit authorial interventions or interpolations”. Thus, the writer/speaker adopts a more prominent subjective role and intervenes in the text so as to “assert or insist upon the value or warrantability of a proposition” (pp. 127-128). Examples of this type of resources include wordings such as “*I contend...*”, “*The truth of the matter is that...*”, “*We can only conclude that...*”, among others. Even though these formulations acknowledge the diversity of positions of the current communicative context, they also challenge, question and confront those alternative viewpoints. Finally, with regard to the term ‘endorse’, it refers to those locutions by which “propositions sourced to external sources are construed by the authorial voice as correct, valid, undeniable or otherwise maximally warrantable” (Martin & White, 2005, p. 126). Endorsements, then, associate the proposition with an external voice, with an individual subjectivity which is not that of the internal textual voice. This is usually achieved by the use of some verbs or their equivalent nominalisations, for instance, *show*, *prove*, *demonstrate*, *find*, and *point out*. It is important to mention that, in the case of endorsements, the internal voice “takes over responsibility for the proposition, or at least shares responsibility for it with the cited source” (Martin & White, 2005, p. 127).

### 3.2.2 DIALOGIC EXPANSION: ENTERTAIN AND ATTRIBUTE

With respect to ‘entertain’, one of the abovementioned resources for dialogic expansion, Martin and White (2005) explain that this category comprises those locutions by which “the authorial voice indicates that its position is one of a number of possible positions and thereby, to greater or lesser degrees, makes dialogic space for those possibilities” (Martin & White, 2005, p. 104). Therefore, by acknowledging the fact that their own viewpoint is just one among a set of diverse alternative positions, the writer/speaker makes allowances for other voices. This is usually conveyed via modal auxiliaries such as *may*, *might*, *could*, and *must*, via modal adjuncts of the type of “*it’s possible that...*”, “*it’s likely that...*”, via circumstances of the *in my view* type, and via certain mental/verb attribute projections such as “*I suspect that...*”, “*I think*”, “*I believe*”, “*I’m convinced that*”, “*I doubt that*”, among others. Moreover, the authorial voice may entertain dialogic alternatives through

evidence/appearance-based postulations (“*it seems*”, “*it appears*”, “*apparently*”, “*the research suggests...*”) and certain types of rhetorical or expository questions which do not require a specific response (Martin & White, 2005, p. 105). According to the developers of this theory, “the explicit grounding of the value position in the writer’s own subjectivity acts to construe a heteroglossic backdrop by which speakers/writers can be strongly committed to a viewpoint” while, nonetheless, recognising that others may not agree with this standpoint and may not share this value position (Martin & White, 2005, p. 107).

As regards ‘attribute’, this category deals with “those formulations which disassociate the proposition from the text’s internal authorial voice by attributing it to some external source” (Martin & White, 2005, p. 111). By doing so, the writer/speaker does not take over responsibility for what is being conveyed. This is typically achieved through the use of reported speech and thought in its both forms, direct and indirect. Communicative process verbs such as *said*, or verbs which reference mental processes such as *believe* and *suspect* are some of the most common locutions employed. This category also includes formulations which “involve nominalisations of these processes”, for instance, “*assertion that...*”, “*belief that...*” and several adverbial adjuncts such as “*according to...*” and “*in X’s view...*” (Martin & White, 2005, p. 111). Within attribution, two subtypes can be distinguished: acknowledge and distance. Whereas the former refers to “those locutions where there is no overt indication (...) as to where the authorial voice stands with respect to the proposition”, the latter comprises “formulations in which (...) there is an explicit distancing of the authorial voice from the attributed material” (Martin & White, 2005, pp. 112-113). Acknowledgements are often realised through the use of reporting verbs such as *say*, *report*, *state*, *declare*, *announce*, *believe* and *think*. This type of attributions signal that the viewpoint being conveyed is individual and contingent and that it should be considered just one of a range of possible dialogic options. As for the subtype of distance, “it is most typically realised by means of the reporting verb “*to claim*” and by certain uses of ‘scare’ quotes” (Martin & White, 2005, p. 113). Distancing formulations are as dialogistically expansive as acknowledgements but they present the internal textual voice as “explicitly declining to take responsibility for the proposition”. Hence, attributions may allow the writer/speaker to sound impersonalised or impartial and to “remain aloof from any relationships of either alignment or disalignment” (Martin & White, 2005, pp. 114-115).

Figure 2, found below, illustrates the four subcategories comprised within the semantic domain of engagement.

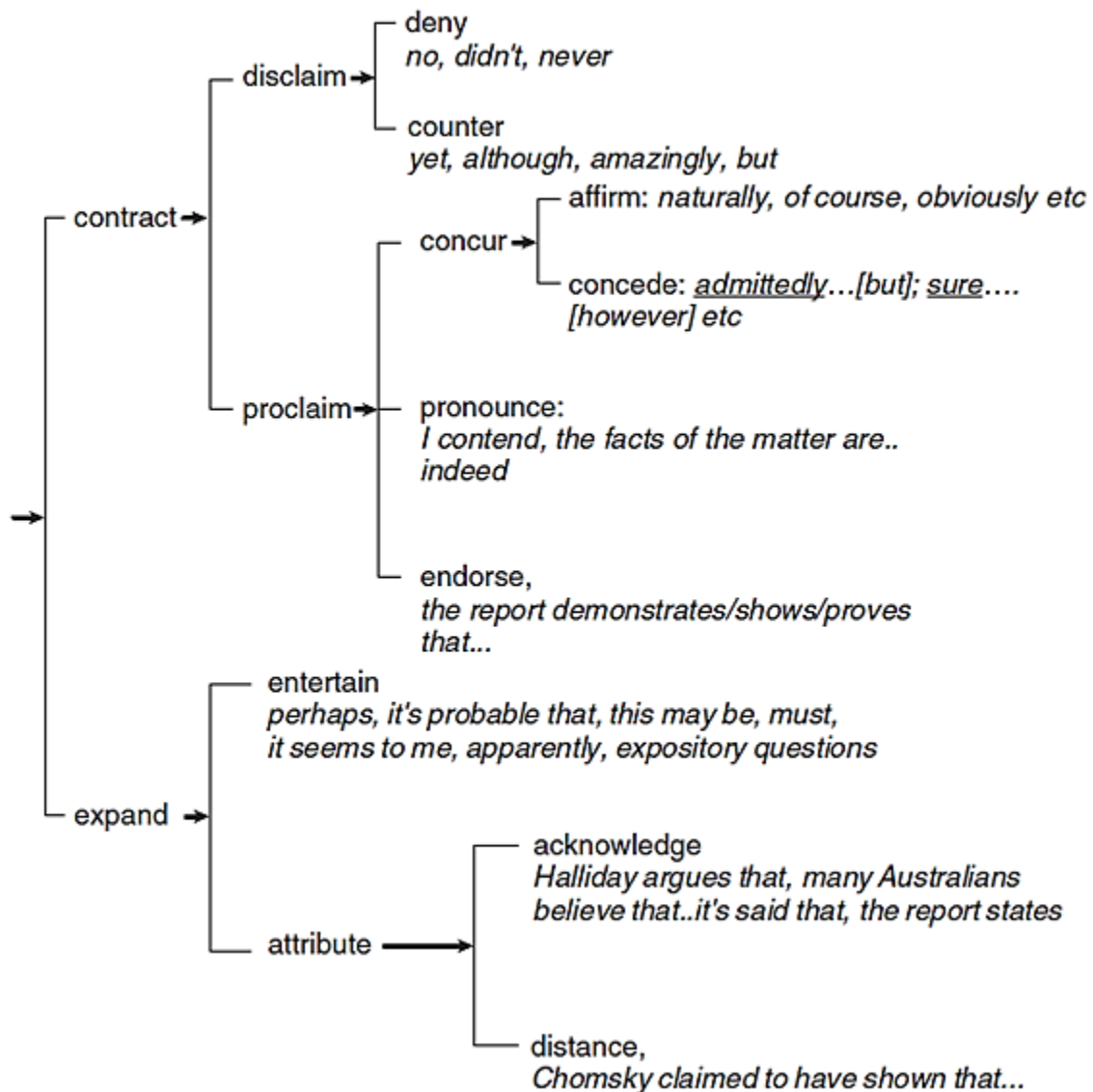


Figure 2. The engagement system (taken from Martin & White 2005, p. 134).

#### 4. DATA AND METHODOLOGY

In this section, the approach and methods adopted to conduct this study will be described.

##### 4.1 THE AIM OF THE STUDY

This study will attempt to explore, describe and quantify the different linguistic resources (lexicogrammatical formulations) employed by the writers of eight opinion articles



on the same topic—the attack on the US Capitol which took place on January 6th, 2021. It is of considerable importance to mention that these eight articles were written by different journalists and were published in two opposing-view online newspapers: CNN and Fox News.

The analysis will focus on the language devices which were used by the authors to adopt a stance regarding the information being provided and to acknowledge, support, ignore or reject diverse viewpoints.

## **4.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

These are the research questions that the present study will aim to address:

1. How dialogically contractive is each of the opinion articles?
  - a. What writer-reader alignment strategies of disclaim are used in each of the articles?
  - b. What writer-reader alignment strategies of proclaim are used in each of the articles?
2. How dialogically expansive is each of the opinion articles?
  - a. Are there any instances of entertain?
  - b. Are there any instances of attribution?
3. Are the articles published in one of the news channels more dialogically contractive or expansive than those published in the other? If so, could this be associated with the political affiliation of each of these media?

## **4.3 DATA SOURCES**

Two American news networks will be used as sources to conduct the present study. The opinion articles which will be analysed were written by different journalists and were published in two online newspapers which hold differing views: CNN and Fox News; hence, differences are expected to be found when comparing the dialogistic positioning adopted by the writers.

The eight articles selected deal with the attack on the US Capitol on January 6th. These publications appeared in and were extracted from the opinion sections of the news channels' corresponding websites; hence, the writers' viewpoints are explicitly presented.

These opinion articles form a corpus of about 8.000 words, which are evenly distributed between the two online media.

As there are no restrictions imposed on browsing these sites or on the reading of the various publications, and as no permission needs to be requested, obtaining access to the articles did not pose any problems.

#### 4.4 METHODS OF ANALYSIS

A qualitative study will be conducted. The articles will be printed out to facilitate the analysis, which will be manually performed by systematically going through the different subcategories comprised in the Engagement domain of the Appraisal Theory (disclaim – proclaim – entertain – attribute). The various lexicogrammatical formulations found will be highlighted in each article. Colour coding will be employed: highlighters of different colours will be used and each colour will be assigned to a specific subtype of engagement.

The chart below displays the code that will be employed to carry out the analysis.

| <u>Subcategories of Engagement</u> | <u>Colour code</u> |
|------------------------------------|--------------------|
| <b>Disclaim: Deny</b>              | <b>Blue</b>        |
| <b>Disclaim: Counter</b>           | <b>Purple</b>      |
| <b>Proclaim: Concur</b>            | <b>Pink</b>        |
| <b>Proclaim: Pronounce</b>         | <b>Green</b>       |
| <b>Proclaim: Endorse</b>           | <b>Orange</b>      |
| <b>Entertain</b>                   | <b>Red</b>         |
| <b>Attribute: Acknowledge</b>      | <b>Yellow</b>      |
| <b>Attribute: Distance</b>         | <b>Light blue</b>  |

Figure 3. Colour coding of each engagement subcategory.

The formulations will be thus classified and the most significant examples will be explained. The different wordings denoting *deny*, *counter*, *concur*, *pronounce*, *endorse*, *entertain*, *acknowledge* and *distance* will be signalled in bold and contextualised in their corresponding quotes (see Appendices 1 to 8 for the full texts). The various grammatical and

lexical expressions will be analysed and quantified with the aim of determining how dialogically contractive or expansive the eight opinion articles are.

When determining which articles appear to be more dialogically contractive or expansive based on the number of locutions of disclaim, proclaim, entertain and attribute which were employed in each publication, quantitative research will be involved. Natural numbers will be used to quantify the various lexicogrammatical formulations present in the different articles, and once this information has been gathered, bar graphs and pie charts will be designed to display the results obtained.

## **5. ANALYSIS**

Before delving into the analysis proper, a brief reference to the event addressed in the articles will be provided. On January 6th, 2021, the U.S. Capitol located in Washington D.C. was stormed during a riot and a violent attack against the U.S. Congress. This incident took place the day Joe Biden's victory as the new elected president was being certified. Allegedly, a group of supporters of former president Donald Trump attempted to overturn his defeat in the presidential elections held in November 2020. Five people died either shortly before, during or after this event.

### **5.1 OPINION ARTICLES EXTRACTED FROM CNN**

In this section, the results obtained after conducting the analysis of the four opinion articles published in CNN will be displayed.

#### **5.1.1 GENERAL OVERVIEW**

As can be observed in the pie chart below, the percentage of locutions found to challenge, fend off or restrict the scope of alternative positions was almost the same as the percentage of formulations found to make allowances for dialogically alternative voices. Therefore, the journalists who wrote these articles neither firmly rejected nor tightly embraced other voices but opted for a balance between dialogic contraction and expansion.

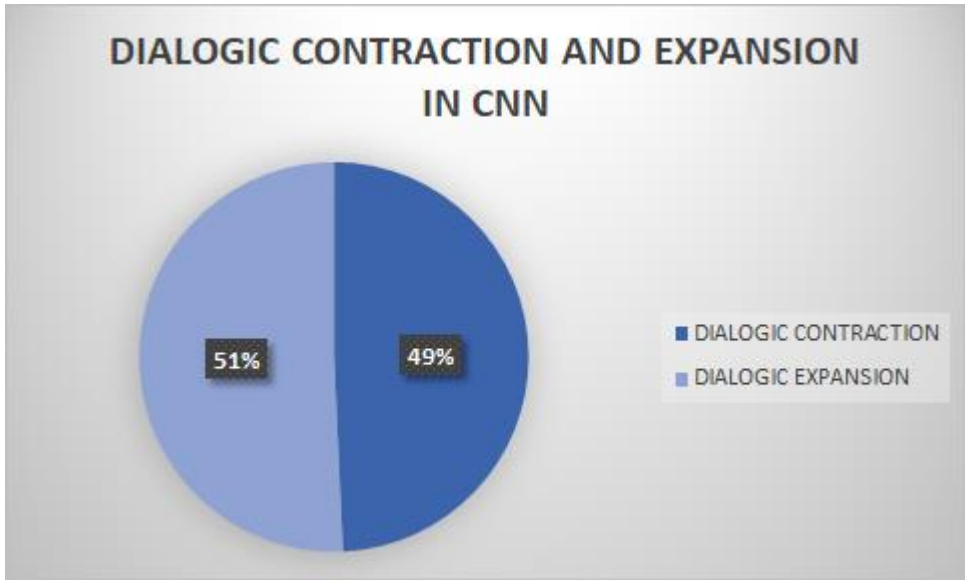


Figure 4. Dialogic contraction and expansion in CNN.

**5.1.2 DIALOGIC CONTRACTION: DISCLAIM AND PROCLAIM**

In regard to dialogic contraction, the formulations found under the category of disclaim considerably outnumbered those placed under the category of proclaim.

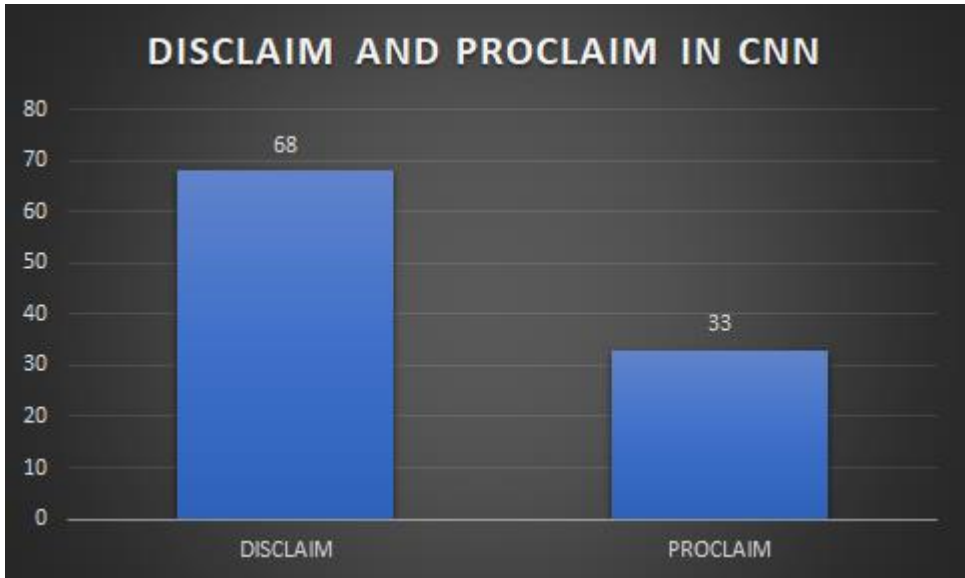


Figure 5. Disclaim and proclaim in CNN.

### 5.1.2.1 DISCLAIM: DENY AND COUNTER

Within the category of disclaim, the instances of denial surpassed those of countering in number. However, the difference was minor.

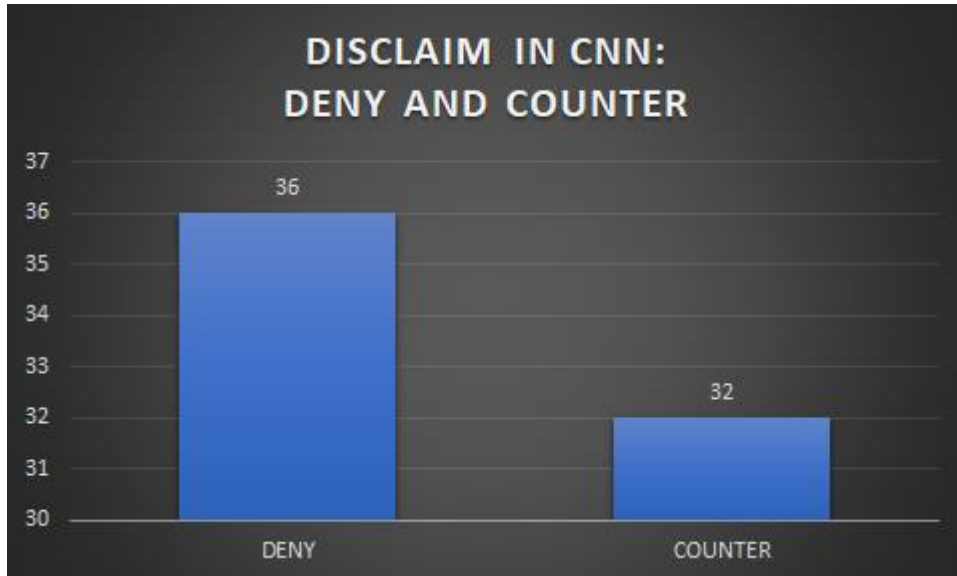


Figure 6. Disclaim in CNN: deny and counter.

As the strategies of disclaim, as well as those of proclaim, belong to the field of dialogic contraction, all the locutions identified were employed to challenge or constrain alternative positions and voices.

Various formulations to convey countering were used by the different writers in order to represent the current proposition as replacing another proposition which would have been expected in its place. Hence, counterings operated contrary to the expectation(s) previously built up in the text, i.e. they introduced propositions which expressed the opposite idea of what readers may have assumed would follow the prior utterance(s). With regard to denials, they were employed by the journalists to introduce the alternative positive position into the dialogue, and therefore acknowledge it, so as to reject it and state the opposite.

Concerning the way in which these two subcategories were linguistically manifested in the articles, counterings were mainly conveyed via the conjunction *'but'*. The conjunctions and connectives *'however'*, *'only'* and *'yet'* as well as the adjunct *'even'* were also used but much less frequently. As for denials, they were mainly realised via the adverbs of negation *'no'* and *'not'*, via negative auxiliaries, such as *'don't'*, *'did not'*, *'will not'*, *'would not'* and *'doesn't'* and via the negative forms of the verbs 'to be' and 'can': *'were not'*, *'isn't'* and *'can't'*. The adverb of frequency *'never'* and the pronoun *'no one'* were also identified; however, the latter only occurred once and the former just a small number of times.

The examples below have been extracted from the corpus to illustrate the way in which the journalists used these two subcategories.

**Fragment #1 (counter - deny):** *“...authorization to activate the National Guard came approximately 40 minutes after the start of a conference call between officials around 2:20 p.m. **However**, the first National Guard personnel **did not** arrive on the scene until 5:40 p.m. By the time the mob withdrew, four people lay dead, and one Capitol Police officer was so severely injured he died the next day.”*

In fragment #1, the adverb ‘*however*’ was used to counter the expectation created in the previous proposition. The journalist aimed to emphasise the fact that even though the deployment of the National Guard was authorised less than an hour after the call was made, the force failed to arrive in time to quell the riot. This countering operates in conjunction with the denial, conveyed via the auxiliary for the past tense ‘*did not*’. The denying proposition acts in direct contradistinction to the expectation which is assumed to arise from the immediately prior proposition (that the National Guard should have arrived earlier/sooner). Thus, the writer employed both countering and denial to raise doubts about why it took so long for help to arrive and to wonder whether this delay was in fact intentional.

**Fragment #2 (counter - deny):** *“The mob was later labeled criminals. **But** when they were rampaging, they **were not** treated as criminals.”*

In fragment #2, the conjunction ‘*but*’ was included to introduce a new instance of countering in the text. Once again, the denial which follows, conveyed via the negative form of the verb ‘to be’ in the past ‘*were not*’, works together with it, to highlight the fact that what actually happened was not the same as what must have been expected. The writer of this article laid strong emphasis on the lenient way in which the rioters were treated and affirmed that the race of the perpetrators, who were white, accounted for this treatment.

**Fragment #3 (deny - counter):** *“**There was no** shortage of finger-pointing and blame-passing, **but** one big takeaway was clear: We’ve barely scratched the surface of what happened on one of the most ignominious days in American history.”*

In fragment #3, the determiner ‘*no*’ was employed to introduce a new instance of denial in the article. Through the use of this denying proposition, the writer recognised the alternative positive position, just to immediately show the readers that it was held not to apply. The denial ‘*There was no shortage of finger-pointing and blame-passing*’ invokes and presents itself as responding to beliefs or claims that ‘there WAS shortage of finger-pointing and blame-passing’, thus contracting the dialogic space. The writer aimed to make it clear that the police

officers who testified got someone to blame for the attack on the Capitol. Moreover, the conjunction *'but'* was, once more, used to introduce a proposition which supplanted the one expected: that in spite of the fact that some of the main actors have already made their statements, there is still a large amount of information which hasn't been revealed.

**Fragment #4 (counter - deny):** *"When Democrats tried to hold Donald Trump accountable in impeachment hearings, Republican Sen. Mike Lee opined that 'everyone makes mistakes, everyone is entitled to a mulligan once in a while.' Many rioters and their friends and family have made this same defense in court: That they were simply very passionate, if very stupid. **But** stupid people caught in the heat of the moment **don't** typically find that Tasers and zip ties materialize in their hands out of thin air."*

In fragment #4, the idea that the riot had been preplanned and well-organised is reinforced. After acknowledging what Republicans, a number of the rioters and their beloved ones had said about the attack, the journalist, who disagreed with their thoughts, went on to express her point of view. Via the conjunction *'but'*, the writer introduced a new instance of countering in the text with the aim of opposing and rejecting the alternative voices and of highlighting the fact that it is not common to have Tasers and zip ties at your disposal anywhere anytime. The auxiliary for the present tense *'don't'* constitutes a denial which operates together with the countering and contributes to reducing the space for dialogic interaction.

The above cited fragments clearly illustrate the way in which the writers employed a variety of formulations, which are considered to fall under the category of disclaim, in order to invoke some alternative positions so as to replace or reject them, or to hold them to be unsustainable.

#### **5.1.2.2 PROCLAIM: CONCUR, PRONOUNCE AND ENDORSE**

Within the category of proclaim, pronouncements outnumbered concurrences. However, these pronouncements were mainly found in one of the four articles analysed in this section, whereas concurrences were more evenly distributed. As regards endorsements, a total of three were identified and only two of the four writers included them.

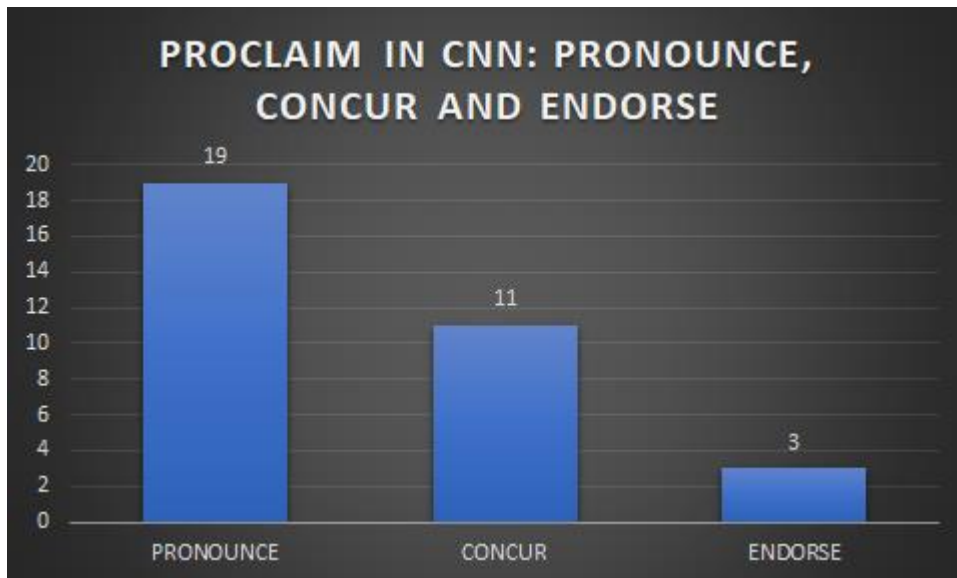


Figure 7. Proclaim in CNN: pronounce, concur and endorse.

Pronouncements covered overt authorial interventions or interpolations and were mostly included in the articles to insist upon the warrantability of the propositions; therefore, the authorial voice adopted a more prominent subjective role. As far as concurrences are concerned, the different journalists employed them to present addresser and addressee in alignment, i.e. the writers overtly announced they agreed with or had the same knowledge as their putative readers and assumed that their positions would be shared by their audience. As for endorsements, they signalled propositions from external sources which the authors held as valid and correct.

In regard to the linguistic manifestation of these three subcategories, concurrences were realised via locutions such as *'clearly'*, *'certainly'* and *'seemingly'*, and via rhetorical questions which were not expected to receive a response. Pronouncements were conveyed via a number of formulations which involved authorial emphases or interpolations of the authorial presence, among which were *'there's no question that'*, *'there is mounting evidence that'*, *'it's undeniable now, unmistakable'*, *'it is also true that'*, *'it's clear that'*, *'if we tell the truth, we will admit that'*, *'what we know for sure is that'*, and *'few want to admit that'*. The adverbs *'really'* and *'indeed'* and the phrase *'in fact'* were also used by the writers to assert or insist upon the value of some of the propositions. Moreover, one of the writers employed upper case letters to show where the stress was placed in two utterances with the aim of confronting and defeating a contrary position. Lastly, endorsements were signalled by the verbs *'noted'* and *'reported'* and were included in the articles to show that the internal voice shared some responsibility for the proposition with the cited source.



The examples below have been taken from the corpus in order to demonstrate how the journalists exploited the above mentioned linguistic resources.

**Fragment #5 (concur):** *“The failures **clearly** started at the top, with a federal government that did not want to take these threats seriously because they came from supporters of the president who were responding to his encouragement and his lies about widespread election fraud.”*

In fragment #5, the adverb ‘*clearly*’ was included by the authorial voice to introduce an affirming concurrence, which highlights the fact that the American federal government failed to handle the situation effectively from the beginning, when threats were being made, even before the attack took place. This concurring formulation denotes that the author is publicly agreeing with the projected dialogic partners, i.e. the readers. The writer is perceived as in dialogue with the putative addressees, and as sharing the same beliefs and knowledge as them in this communicative context. Hence, other voices are excluded and so reader and writer are seen as in alignment. Agreement on the fact that the federal authorities were to blame for not giving those threats the importance and seriousness they deserved is taken for granted and therefore solidarity between addresser and addressee is enhanced.

**Fragment #6 (endorse - concur):** *“Many have **accurately noted** that Black Lives Matter social justice protests have faced much stiffer security, but one historian who has watched multiple protests on Capitol Hill, says he saw more security in other pro-Trump demonstrations. **Was the Capitol left deliberately underprotected?**”*

In fragment #6, the journalist made use of the verb ‘*noted*’ to bring into the conversation an utterance of a prior speaker so as to endorse it, i.e. take over responsibility for the proposition. The writer aligned herself with the external voice and construed it as undeniable to support the belief that former protests had faced tighter security. In this endorsing formulation, which is reinforced by the presence of the adverb ‘*accurately*’, the external source is held by the author as valid and maximally warrantable. Therefore, the reader is aligned into the value position being advanced by the authorial voice and so other alternatives are excluded since the proposition is regarded as truthful. Furthermore, the writer chose to close this paragraph with a rhetorical question, which operates as a concurring formulation by which the author and the audience are presented as in alignment. No response needs to be supplied for this particular question since the answer is regarded as obvious. Through this question, whose assumed answer is ‘yes’, the writer aimed to place emphasis on the fact that the Capitol seemed to have been left without protection on purpose.

**Fragment #7 (pronounce):** *“There’s no question that Trump has been trying to overturn the legitimate, democratic result of the election. His followers believed they were about to help him succeed.”*

In fragment #7, the expression *‘there’s no question’* was used by the journalist to make an explicit intervention into the text in order to insist upon the value of the proposition that followed. Thus, the authorial voice made its subjective role more salient by asserting that the former American president, Donald Trump, had attempted to object to and change the result of the elections held in November, 2020. This authorial interpolation, which presents the proposition as valid and highly warrantable, offers resistance and challenges alternative viewpoints, reducing the space for dialogic interaction. The writer appears to be absolutely convinced that Trump and his followers must be held responsible for the attack on the Capitol, and her overt intervention seems to be directed towards confronting and defeating any contrary position.

**Fragment #8 (pronounce):** *“After the Capitol attack, President-elect Joe Biden said, “America is better than this.” But herein lies the problem: America is **NOT** better than this. America **IS** this. White supremacy is unwilling to surrender its reign.”*

In fragment #8, another instance of pronouncement can be identified; however, the way it is linguistically manifested differs considerably from the previous example. The author of this article chose to use capital letters to highlight specific words—the ones that if uttered, would be prominent—with the aim of indicating emphasis. Even though this is considered more a feature of speech than of writing, we can also observe this phenomenon in written language, as in this particular case where the writer employed formatting (all upper case letters) to give more importance to certain words. This formulation constitutes an overt intervention into the text by the authorial voice which insists upon the fact that the Capitol attack was not an isolated incident but the product of years of historical White privilege and power in the U.S. The highlighted words express a marked contrast between what the current American president, Joe Biden, said about the country and what the authorial voice firmly contends.

The above cited fragments contain a number of locutions which belong to the category of proclaim and which help illustrate the way in which the journalists represented some of their propositions as valid, well-founded or highly warrantable and, in doing so, ruled out alternative positions, thus lessening or dismissing the possibility for dialogic interaction.

### 5.1.3 DIALOGIC EXPANSION: ENTERTAIN AND ATTRIBUTE

In regard to dialogic expansion, the formulations found under the category of attribute outnumbered those placed under the category of entertain.

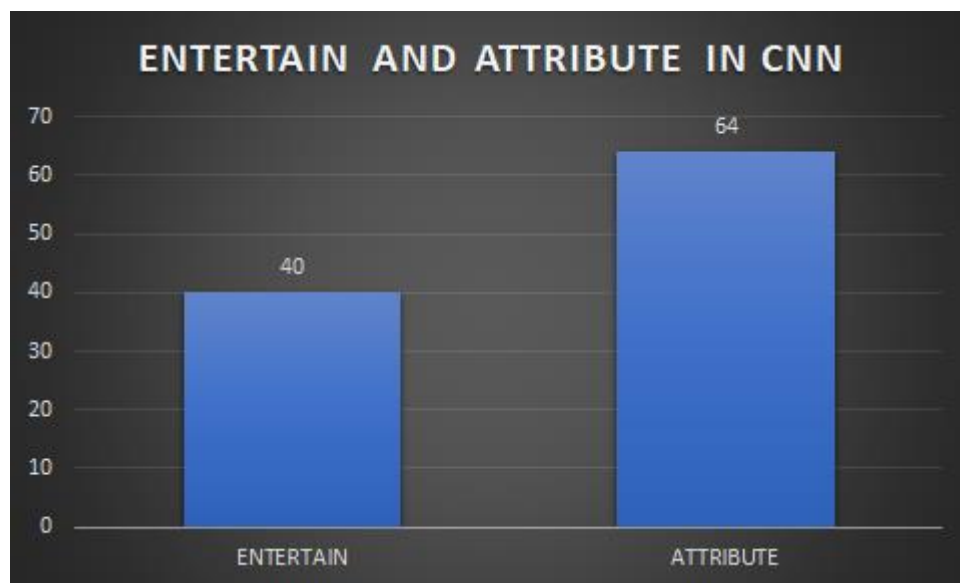


Figure 8. Entertain and attribute in CNN.

#### 5.1.3.1 ENTERTAIN

As the strategies of entertain, as well as those of attribute, belong to the field of dialogic expansion, all the formulations identified were used to make space for alternative positions and voices.

The variety of locutions associated with the subcategory of entertain, which were found in the online opinion articles analysed, were employed by the different authors with the aim of presenting some of their propositions as grounded in their own individual subjectivity, i.e. indicating that those propositions represented just one of a range of possible positions. These wordings, therefore, contributed to opening up the space for dialogic interaction.

As far as the linguistic manifestation of this subcategory is concerned, the various instances of entertain were signalled by modal auxiliaries, such as *'may'*, *'might'*, *'must'*, *'could'* and *'should'*, and by the semi-modal verb *'need to'*. Furthermore, the adverbs *'possibly'*, *'perhaps'*, *'apparently'*, *'seemingly'* and *'reportedly'* as well as the appearance-based postulations *'seemed to'*, *'appeared to'*, *'it seems'* and *'suggests'* were also employed by the authorial voices to entertain dialogic alternatives. Finally, some 'pseudo' questions were

included in the articles to introduce propositions which should be regarded as just one possibility among a number of propositions available in the communicative context.

The fragments below have been extracted from the corpus to exemplify the way in which the writers made use of this subcategory.

**Fragment #9 (entertain):** *“After Trump and his proxies inflamed their anger over the legitimate election results into a fiery frenzy, they **seemingly** followed his instructions and headed to the Capitol. There, Capitol Police failed to stop them. The failure of law enforcement, according to this narrative, was the result of a mixture of lack of preparation, poor communications, race of the perpetrators and **possibly** sympathy for the rioters among some who were supposed to stop them.”*

In fragment #9, two instances of entertain can be observed. The writer of this article chose to employ an adverb in each case in order to indicate that the proposition containing the adverb in question represented just one position among a number of possibilities and that it was grounded in her own contingent subjectivity, thus allowing other voices into the conversation. The adverb ‘*seemingly*’ was used so as to entertain the possibility that the rioters had followed the former American president’s instructions to head to the Capitol and attack it. The adverb ‘*possibly*’ was included to consider the fact that the rioters may not have received a harsher treatment by the officers who were supposed to control their behaviour because of a feeling of sympathy they might have had towards the attackers. Both propositions were then incorporated into the article as representing possible positions but not the absolute truth.

**Fragment #10 (entertain):** *“And that’s what Wednesday was really about -- **who are the true Americans?** Those who stormed the Capitol believed they are. And from the way they were handled, **it seems** that many -- but not all -- police authorities agreed. In fact, the scarcity of law enforcement at all, from the beginning of the mutiny, **suggests** that too few in authority feared these insurgents or thought it prudent or necessary to guard against them.”*

In fragment #10, three instances of entertain can be identified, none of which shares the same linguistic manifestation of the other two. Once again, these wordings were used by the author to entertain a dialogic alternative. In the first place, the writer employed a ‘pseudo’ question (‘*who are the true Americans?*’), which was not expected to have a specific response, with the aim of considering and reflecting on the subject raised. The journalist wondered whether those who had stormed the Capitol were the real patriots. Secondly, the appearance-based postulation ‘*it seems that*’ was included in order to point to the fact that a considerable

number of police officers appeared to think that the rioters were the true Americans since they did not offer much resistance against the attackers. Finally, the verb ‘*suggests*’ was used to raise the possibility that those in authority might not have experienced a feeling of fear towards the insurgents or may not have considered it a priority to provide protection against them.

These two fragments prove useful to illustrate the way in which the journalists presented certain propositions as rooted in their own individual subjectivity to show they represented just one possibility among a range of possible positions and, hence, expanded the space for dialogic interaction.

### 5.1.3.2 ATTRIBUTE: ACKNOWLEDGE AND DISTANCE

Within the category of attribute, acknowledgements surpassed the instances of distancing in number. In fact, no examples of distancing formulations were found in these four opinion articles.

The diversity of locutions which form part of the subcategory of acknowledge, and which were identified in the texts analysed, were employed by the writers in order to represent some of their propositions as grounded in the subjectivity of an external voice. Therefore, as in the case of propositions which entertain certain ideas that are rooted in the authors’ own subjectivity, acknowledgments presented the various propositions as just one possible viewpoint and, therefore, invoked other dialogic alternatives, making space for different voices and value positions in the ongoing conversation. Moreover, the authorial voices did not overtly indicate whether they agreed or disagreed with those external voices, but limited themselves to acknowledging those dialogic alternatives.

With regard to the linguistic manifestation of this subcategory in the articles examined, acknowledgements were mainly conveyed by a wide variety of reporting verbs, such as ‘*tell*’, ‘*told*’, ‘*says*’, ‘*said*’, ‘*asked*’, ‘*expressed*’, ‘*revealed*’, ‘*opined*’, ‘*argued*’, ‘*reported*’, ‘*pleaded*’, ‘*implored*’, ‘*agreed*’, ‘*disagreed*’ and ‘*denied*’. Furthermore, the preposition ‘*according to*’, was also used to introduce other voices into the colloquy.

The fragments below have been extracted from the online opinion articles to portray how the journalists employed the aforementioned linguistic resources.

**Fragment #11 (acknowledge):** “*According to the police union, some 140 officers were injured and graphic body camera footage shows officers being beaten and crushed by heaving hordes of rioters as they scream for help.*”

In fragment #11, the writer included the preposition *'according to'* with the aim of acknowledging what the police union had said about the attack on the Capitol and the ill-treatment they had received by the rioters. The author, therefore, made space for this alternative voice, but did not explicitly indicate where she stood with respect to the proposition.

**Fragment #12 (acknowledge):** *"Sund **told** The Washington Post that he **pleaded**, "I am making an urgent, urgent immediate request for National Guard assistance," he **implored**, "I have got to get boots on the ground."*

In fragment #12, three reporting verbs can be observed: *'told'*, *'pleaded'* and *'implored.'* Each of them was used by the writer in order to introduce the former Capitol police chief's voice into the conversation. The authorial voice chose to acknowledge Steven Sund's words so as to inform the audience of what he had done on learning about the attack. By associating the propositions being advanced with a position which is external to that of the text itself, the journalist expanded the space for interaction and engaged interactively with this alternative voice. The writer expressed alignment with the external voice through the employment of the verbs *'pleaded'* and *'implored'* which show the author experienced a feeling of empathy towards Sund.

**Fragment #13 (acknowledge):** *"At a rally held the night before the riot, attendees heard former national security adviser Michael Flynn **tell** them Americans were prepared to "bleed" for freedom. At Wednesday's rally, Trump lawyer Rudy Giuliani **advocated for** "trial by combat" to settle the election. Then **came Trump's instructions**: "fight like hell." Following Trump's speech, and his false promise to join them there, they stormed the Capitol."*

In fragment #13, the writer acknowledged the voices of three different figures. In the first place, Michael Flynn's position was mentioned. The reporting verb *'tell'* was employed to present his view. According to the advisor, American people were willing to bleed in order to remain free. Secondly, the author introduced Giuliani's voice via the verb *'advocate'* to show that Trump's lawyer had publicly supported the idea of fighting—using violence—to overturn the results of the election. Finally, the former American president's position was acknowledged. The expression *'came Trump's instructions'* was used to make space for his voice. This phrase preceded a verbatim quote (*'fight like hell'*) by which, according to the writer of this article, Donald Trump had encouraged his supporters to spearhead a fight. In summary, the three acknowledgements mentioned above were employed by the author to expose Flynn, Giuliani and Trump and indirectly accuse them of having incited the riot.

The above cited fragments contain a number of formulations which belong to the category of attribute, and more specifically to the subcategory of acknowledge, and which help illustrate the way in which the journalists represented some of their propositions as grounded in the subjectivity of external voices, thus incorporating alternative viewpoints into the dialogue.

## 5.2 OPINION ARTICLES EXTRACTED FROM FOX NEWS

In this section, the results obtained after carrying out the analysis of the four opinion articles published in Fox News will be displayed.

### 5.2.1 GENERAL OVERVIEW

As can be observed in the above pie chart, the percentage of locutions found to contract the dialogic space was higher than the percentage of formulations identified to open it up and allow alternative voices into the dialogue. Therefore, the journalists who wrote these articles tended more to exclude, confront, challenge, reject and supplant other value positions and to constrain the scope of these other alternatives in the conversation.

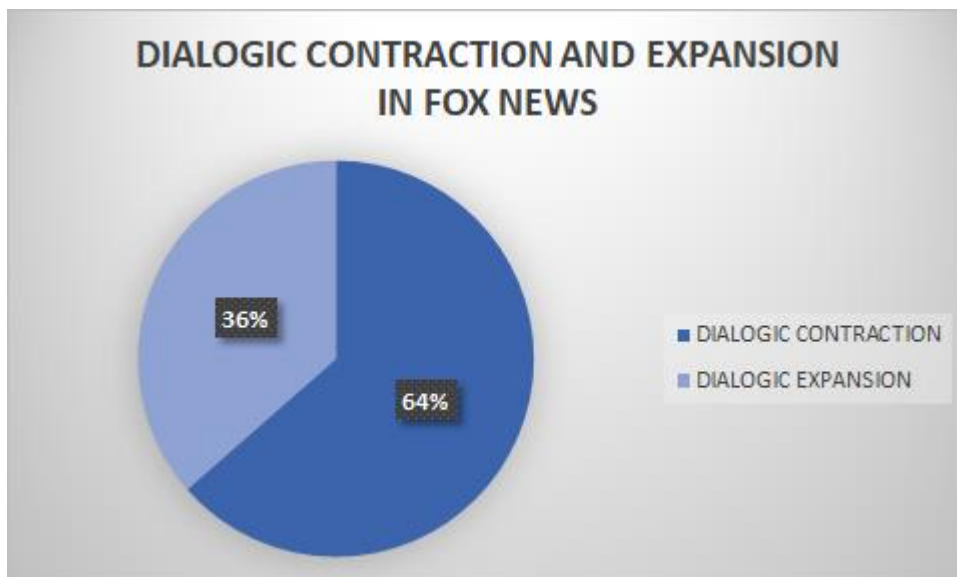


Figure 9. Dialogic contraction and expansion in Fox News.

## 5.2.2 DIALOGIC CONTRACTION: DISCLAIM AND PROCLAIM

With respect to dialogic contraction, the locutions found under the category of disclaim substantially outnumbered those considered to be placed under the category of proclaim.

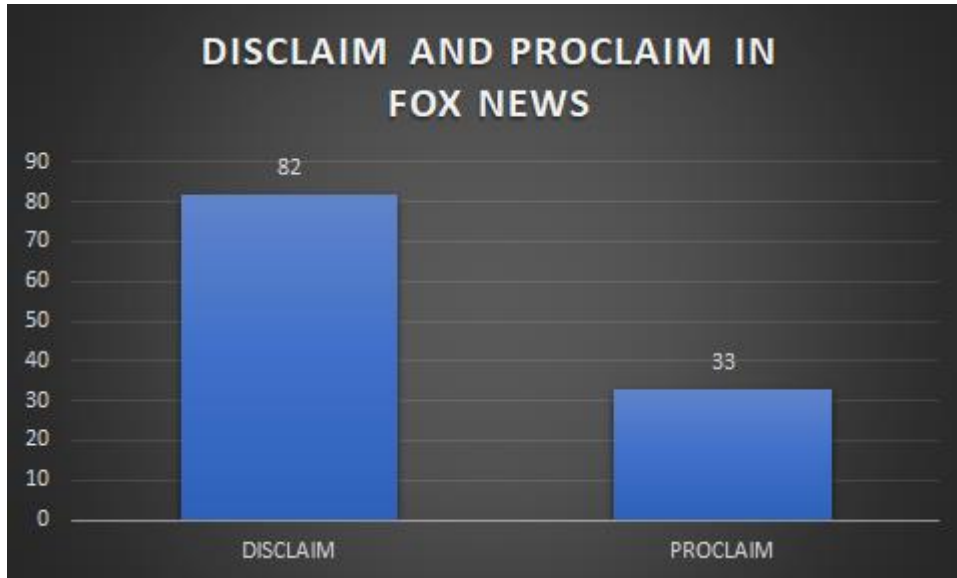


Figure 10. Disclaim and proclaim in Fox News.

### 5.2.2.1 DISCLAIM: DENY AND COUNTER

Within the category of disclaim, the instances of denial surpassed those of countering in number. Nevertheless, the difference was not remarkably wide.

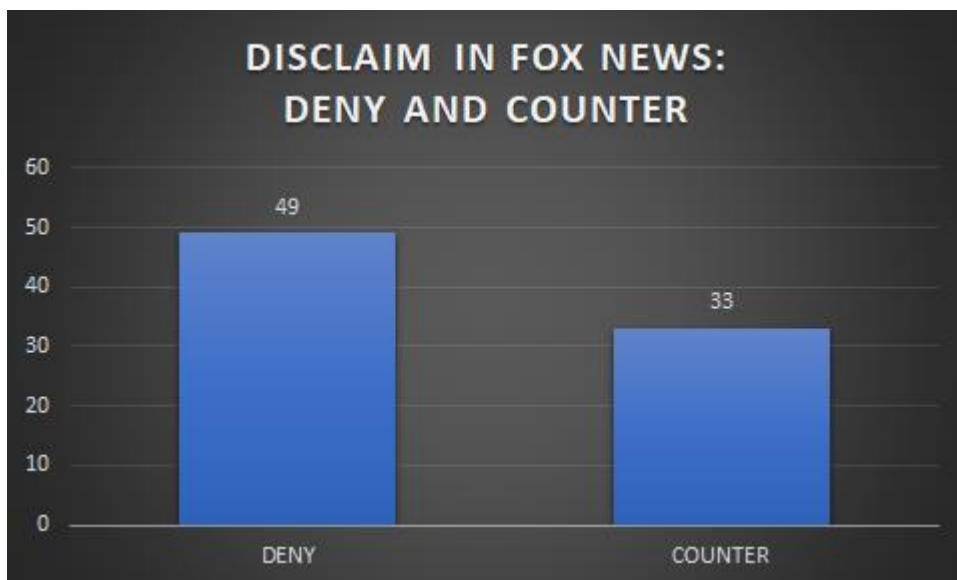


Figure 11. Disclaim in Fox News: deny and counter.



Since the category of disclaim, as well as that of proclaim, is a constituent part of dialogic contraction, all the wordings found were used by the journalists to limit the scope of alternative positions and voices.

As in the case of the articles published in CNN, certain locutions were employed by the different authors in order to express countering, i.e. to represent the current proposition as being in the exact place where another statement should have been, considering the expectations previous propositions in the text may have created. Concerning denying propositions, they were included in the various opinion articles by the writers with the aim of acknowledging that there existed a positive position which, then, they proceeded to deny.

With regard to the way in which these two subcategories were linguistically manifested, most counterings were conveyed via the conjunction *'but'*. The adjunct *'even'* was also used by three of the four journalists to introduce a proposition which supplanted another one which the putative readers may have been expecting. The conjunctions *'however'*, *'yet'*, *'although'*, *'nevertheless'* and the adverbial adjunct *'still'* were also employed but not by all the authors, and they only appeared once or twice in the four articles analysed in this section. In the case of denials, they were mainly realised via the adverbs of negation *'no'* and *'not'*, via negative auxiliaries, such as *'doesn't'*, *'did not'*, *'will not'* and *'don't'*, and via the negative forms of the verbs 'to be' and 'can': *'aren't'*, *'is not'*, *'weren't'*, *'wasn't'*, *'can't'*, and *'cannot'*. The adverb of frequency *'never'* and the pronouns *'no one'* and *'nothing'* were also identified; however, they occurred much less frequently.

The examples below have been extracted from the corpus to illustrate the way in which the writers made use of these two subcategories.

**Fragment #14 (deny - counter):** *"The third was 50-year-old Benjamin Phillips of Ringtown, Pa. Phillips was a Trump supporter who organized a bus trip to Washington for the rally that day. He died of a stroke on the grounds of the Capitol. **There is no evidence** that Phillips rioted or was injured by rioters or **even** went inside the Capitol building."*

In fragment #14, the adverb of negation *'no'* was employed by the author in the expression *'there is no evidence'* to firmly deny the fact that one of the victims had been an active participant in the riot or had been hurt by some of the attackers. The journalist of this article laid great emphasis on the importance of getting to know who the victims were and insisted on showing that not all the information the media had reported about them was true. Furthermore, the adverb *'even'* was included in the same proposition in order to counter the

thought that the audience may have had about this man: that he had entered the Capitol building and had died fighting inside. Both the denial and the countering work together to convey a clear message.

**Fragment #15 (deny - counter):** *“We do know that Ashli Babbitt **was not** holding a weapon when she was killed. **Nevertheless**, at the impeachment trial this week, Rep. David Cicilline, D-R.I., described what happened at the Capitol as “an armed insurrection.”*

In fragment #15, information about another victim is provided by the authorial voice. Once again, an instance of denial is followed by one of countering. The writer made use of the negative past form of the verb ‘to be’, ‘*was not*’, so as to deny the fact that the woman in question had been carrying weapons the moment she was killed. This denial is dialogic in that it invokes, and presents itself as responding to the claim that ‘*Ashli Babbitt was holding a weapon when she was killed*’. As for the countering, the conjunction ‘*nevertheless*’ was employed by the author with the aim of highlighting some contrast between this known fact and how the U.S. congressman, David Cicilline, had depicted the riot. Thus, the journalist questioned the label given to the attack by this politician: ‘armed insurrection’.

**Fragment #16 (counter - deny):** *“They used words like “rebellion” to glamorize unrest. **But this is not** rioting at an Apple store. This is where our democracy lives.”*

In fragment #16, the conjunction ‘*but*’ was used to introduce an instance of countering in the text. The writer chose to include this connector to represent the proposition in which this linking word is embedded as replacing some other proposition which the putative addressees might have been expecting. ‘*But*’, therefore, counters those other statements the audience may have assumed would follow. Moreover, the negative present form of the verb ‘to be’, ‘*is not*’, was employed by the author to deny the fact that the riot had taken place in any unimportant or insignificant site for the American society, such as an Apple store. The countering and the denial operate together in the same proposition. Both strategies were employed by the authorial voice in order to explicitly emphasise the fact that the building at which the riot had been sparked off is not just any place but a symbol of American democracy.

**Fragment #17 (counter - deny):** *“This was an attempted coup to keep Trump in power despite his election loss. And disgracefully, the president initially incited and applauded those who marched on the Capitol before pulling back and telling them in a video he tweeted out to be peaceful. **But** that call for peaceful protest **did not** come until after rioters successfully stormed the Capitol.”*

In fragment #17, one instance of countering and one of denial can be observed operating in the same sentence. The conjunction ‘*but*’ was employed to express that what followed this connector countered what had been said before. In this particular case, the writer laid emphasis on the fact that even though Trump had told his followers to act peacefully, that message had been conveyed after the rioters had already stormed the Capitol and not before so as to prevent the attack. The auxiliary for the negative past form ‘*did not*’ was also used by the writer to deny the fact that Trump’s call for peaceful protest had taken place before the riot started. The journalist therefore aimed to expose Trump and show the readers that the message he had relayed should have been given before.

These four fragments help illustrate the way in which the various authors made use of disclaiming strategies—counterings and denials—in order to challenge alternative positions and to reduce the possibility of interacting with other voices.

#### 5.2.2.2 PROCLAIM: CONCUR, PRONOUNCE AND ENDORSE

Within the category of proclaim, pronouncements outnumbered concurrences but the difference in number was slight. Both types of proclaiming strategies were mainly found in two of the four articles analysed in this section. As regards endorsements, a total of four instances were identified and three of the four writers included at least one of them.

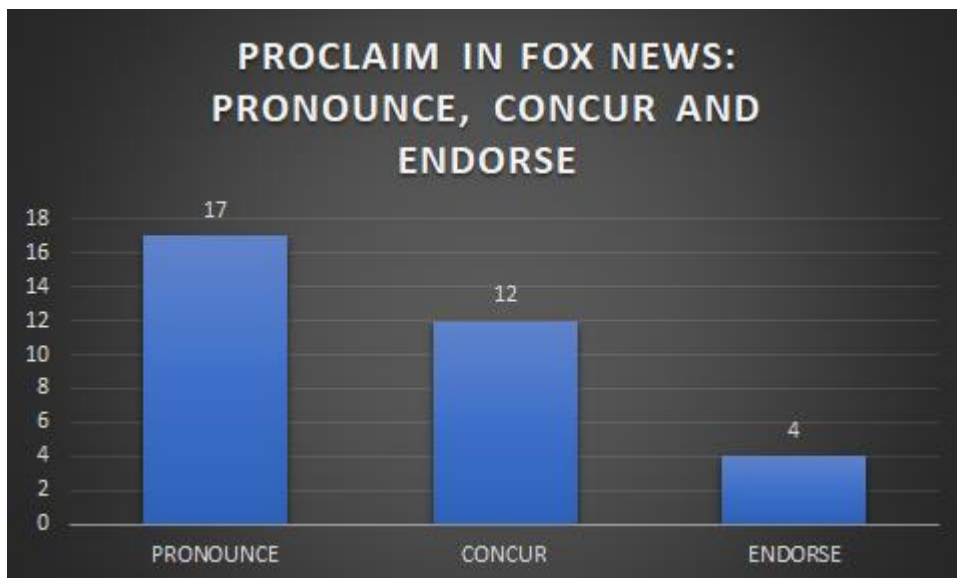


Figure 12. Proclaim in CNN: pronounce, concur and endorse.

In a similar way to the one discussed previously when analysing the articles published in CNN, pronouncements covered explicit interventions made by the authors into their texts in

order to insist upon the value of certain propositions; thus causing their subjective role to become more prominent and visible to the audience. With respect to concurrences, the writers who included them in their articles did so with the aim of presenting addresser and addressee as agreeing with each other and as sharing the same knowledge of the topic being discussed. Concerning endorsements, they were employed by the journalists to hold some propositions put forward by external sources as valid and right and to show they shared some responsibility for those propositions with the cited source.

In regard to the linguistic manifestation of these three subcategories, concurrences were conveyed via locutions such as *'of course'*, *'obviously'*, *'certainly'*, *'clearly'* and *'presumably'*, and via rhetorical questions for which no answers needed to be supplied. Pronouncements were realised via a number of formulations which involved authorial interpolations and a stronger presence of the authorial voice in the text, among which were *'there's no question that'*, *'without question'*, *'we do know (for certain) that'*, *'here are the facts'*, *'that's essentially the extent of what we know'*, *'if we believe in democracy, we should believe that'* and *'it is still hard to forget that'*. The adverb *'indeed'* and the phrase *'in fact'* were also used by the writers to assert or insist upon the warrantability of some of the propositions. Moreover, one of the writers employed the singular form of the first person 'I' so as to overtly intervene in the text with phrases such as *'to be clear I...'*, *'as I argue'* and *'I do understand that'*. Finally, endorsements were signalled by the verbs *'shows'* and *'tweeted'* (followed by the interjection *'amen'*) and by the preposition *'according to'* and were included in the opinion articles to show that the internal voice assumed some responsibility for the propositions cited.

The examples below have been taken from the corpus in order to show how the journalists exploited the linguistic resources mentioned above.

**Fragment #18 (pronounce - concur):** *"Here are the facts: Four of the five who died that day were Trump supporters. The fifth was a Capitol Hill police officer who apparently also supported Donald Trump. Why is this relevant? Of course, the political views of the deceased shouldn't matter, but unfortunately, in this case, they do."*

In fragment #18, the formulation *'here are the facts'* was employed by the author with the aim of insisting upon the value of the proposition which followed. The writer intended to emphasise the fact that the people who had lost their lives on the day the Capitol was stormed had all been Trump supporters. Moreover, the adverb *'of course'* was included to present the statement that came after as one that both the writer and the putative readers agreed upon, thus presenting addresser and addressees in alignment. The journalist who wrote this article focused his efforts on pointing out the fact that even though Trump and his supporters were

being accused of the attack, all the victims the riot had left had been followers of the former American president and not part of the opposition.

**Fragment #19 (pronounce):** *“We do know for certain that the known facts of what happened on Jan. 6 deviate in very important ways from the story they are now telling us, including the story Democrats are telling in the impeachment trial. In many places, the known facts bear no resemblance to the story they’re telling. They’re just flat-out lying. **There’s no question** about that.”*

In fragment #19, two pronouncements can be identified. Firstly, the author made use of the locution ‘we do know for certain that’ in order to assert the warrantability of the proposition, i.e. to insist upon the fact that some of the versions which were circulating about what had happened on the 6th of January were not truthful. Through the use of the pronoun ‘we’, the writer aimed to indicate a further intensified personal involvement, including himself as part of the readership and displaying a sense of belonging. Furthermore, the author employed the formulation ‘there’s no question’ to reinforce the idea that Democrats were telling lies about the storming of the Capitol, thus emphasising which side he was on (Republicans).

**Fragment #20 (pronounce - concur):** *“Indeed, the right is not wrong to say that the left has acted in anti-systemic ways in the past. But the attack on the Capitol — the first since British troops attacked during the War of 1812 — was **certainly** more serious because it was armed insurrection.”*

In fragment #20, ‘indeed’ was used by the writer to introduce an instance of pronouncement. Through the employment of this adverb, the authorial voice asserted the value of the proposition and, hence, challenged any other contrary positions. Moreover, the adverb ‘certainly’ was employed by the author with the aim of presenting himself and the audience as sharing the same viewpoint on the way the attack on the Capitol should be perceived: as a much more serious incident than others which had been provoked by the left in the past.

**Fragment #21 (endorse):** *“After a pro-Trump crowd breached the U.S. Capitol on Wednesday, forcing lawmakers to flee, my friend and former colleague Dan Isett **tweeted**: “Yeah, the media covered for left-wing riots last year. So what? We aren’t children and we don’t use misbehavior by those we disagree with to excuse the misbehaviors of those we do. Personal responsibility is a hallmark of our philosophy.” **Amen.**”*

In fragment #21, through the use of the verb *'tweeted'* and the interjection *'amen'*, the writer endorsed the utterance of a prior speaker, thus showing his support. The author entered into a dialogic relationship of alignment with that speaker and took over and shared some responsibility for the proposition with the cited source. The journalist who wrote this article aimed to make it clear that no matter the political affiliation of rioters, the media should always expose those who misbehave.

The above cited fragments, which contain wordings that can be associated with the category of proclaim, contribute to showing how the journalists represented some of their propositions as legitimate, reliable, valid, or highly warrantable, and, therefore, suppressed alternative positions.

### 5.2.3 DIALOGIC EXPANSION: ENTERTAIN AND ATTRIBUTE

With respect to dialogic expansion, the formulations found under the category of attribute surpassed those placed under the category of entertain in number.

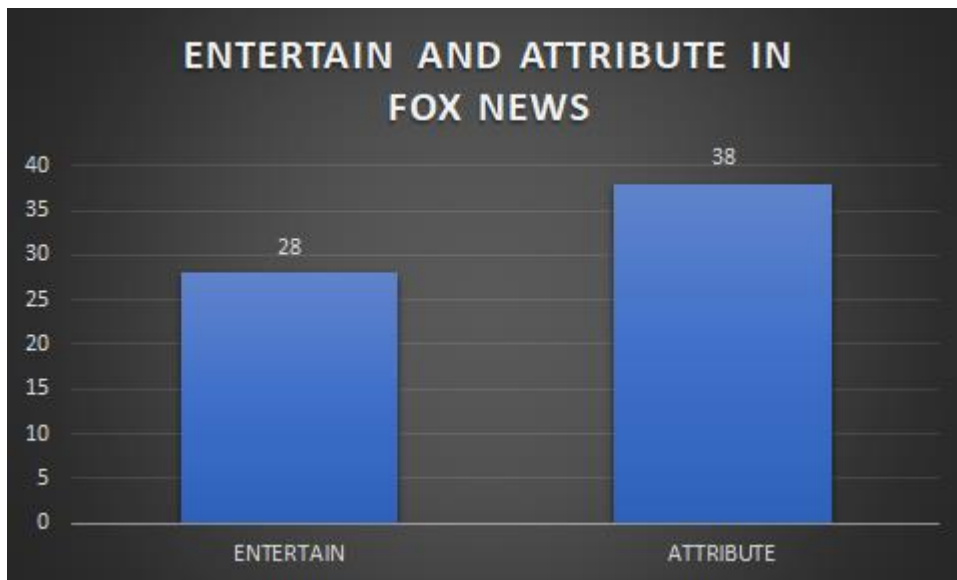


Figure 13. Entertain and attribute in Fox News.

### 5.2.3.1 ENTERTAIN

Since the category of entertain, as well as that of attribute, is a constituent part of dialogic expansion, all the wordings found were used by the journalists to open up the space for dialogic interaction.

As in the case of the articles published in CNN, the diversity of formulations connected with the subcategory of entertain, identified in the online opinion articles analysed in this section, were employed by the various writers so as to indicate to the audience that their propositions represented just one possible viewpoint—rooted in their own individual subjectivity—among a number of other possible positions.

In regard to the way in which this subcategory was linguistically manifested, the various instances of entertain were realised by modal auxiliaries, such as *'may'*, *'must'*, *'must not'* and *'should'*, and by the semi-modal verbs *'need to'* and *'have to'*. Moreover, the adverbs *'apparently'* and *'maybe'* were also employed by the authors to entertain dialogic alternatives. Some appearance-based postulations (e.g. *'looked as if'*, *'might seem to'* and *'suggested'*) as well as some 'pseudo' questions were also used by the writers in order to signal that their propositions represented only one possible way of looking at the events but not the absolute truth.

The fragments below have been extracted from the corpus to exemplify the way in which the authors employed this subcategory in their writing.

**Fragment #22 (entertain):** *"However, before we remake America to prevent future genocide at the Capitol, **maybe** we **should** know a little bit more about the crime that occurred on Jan. 6, if only to understand the justification for overturning our lives permanently. What exactly did happen that day? You **may** be surprised to learn how little we know, even now."*

In fragment #22, the textual voice made use of the adverb *'maybe'* to entertain the idea that knowing more about the events that took place at the Capitol before introducing changes may be important to the American society. Furthermore, the author employed the modal verb *'should'* in the same proposition to express what he considered the sensible thing to do would be. Through the use of this modal auxiliary, the writer explicitly grounded the expectation in his own subjectivity and, therefore, allowed for the possibility of alternative positions. Finally, the modal verb *'may'* was included in another statement so as to indicate that the putative readers were likely to experience a feeling of surprise when realising how little was actually known about the day the Capitol was stormed. These propositions were presented by the

journalist as contingent and subjectively based, and therefore opened up dialogic space for potential alternatives.

**Fragment #23 (entertain):** “In order to confront threats from our adversaries, the U.S. **needs to** show that we stand for democracy. Sadly, as rioters overran the Capitol on Wednesday, it **looked as if** America stands for nothing.”

In fragment #23, the authorial voice employed the semi-modal verb ‘*need to*’ to express what he considered was vital for the country after the attack on the Capitol—to believe in and support democracy. By using this semi modal, the writer made it clear that the demand was based on his own feelings and thoughts and was, hence, open to other voices and positions, bearing in mind the possibility of alternative actions. Moreover, the author included the appearance-based postulation ‘*looked as if*’ to entertain the idea that America may be standing for nothing after the storming of the Capitol.

**Fragment #24 (entertain):** “*Was it a spontaneous event incited by a reckless president in a fit of vicious pique? Was the riot long-planned, the result of a conspiracy? Those are two theories of what happened and both cannot be true.*”

In fragment #24, the journalist included two ‘pseudo’ questions, which were not expected to receive an answer. Through the employment of these questions, which centred on whether the attack had been spontaneous or preplanned, the textual voice entertained two opposing ideas, thus allowing alternative viewpoints into the conversation. These questions were followed by a proposition which reinforced the fact that there were two conflicting theories of what had happened circulating that could not coexist.

These three fragments contribute to displaying the way in which the journalists presented certain propositions as grounded in their own contingent, individual subjectivity to show they represented just one stance among a range of possible positions and, thus, expanded the space for dialogic interaction.

### **5.2.3.2 ATTRIBUTE: ACKNOWLEDGE AND DISTANCE**

Within the category of attribute, there was a considerable difference between the number of acknowledgements found in the articles and the number of distancing propositions.



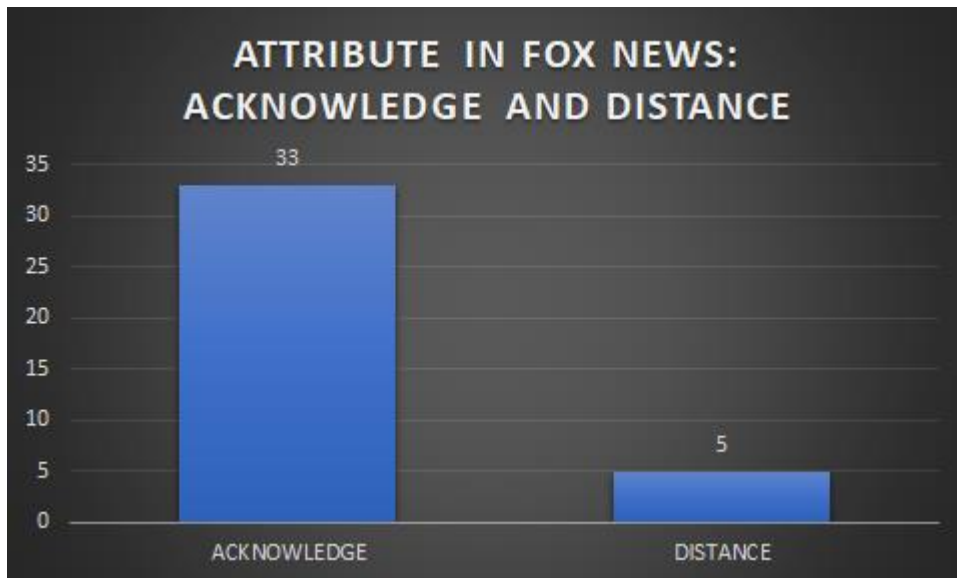


Figure 14. Attribute in Fox News: acknowledge and distance.

The diversity of locutions used to acknowledge what others have said or think about the topic being discussed were employed by the writers to represent some of their propositions as grounded in the subjectivity of an external voice, thus disassociating them from the text's internal authorial voice. By attributing these propositions to some external source, the writers informed the audience these statements constituted just one possible viewpoint and, therefore, invoked other dialogic alternatives, making space for different voices and value positions in the ongoing conversation. Whereas the employment of acknowledgments meant the authors did not explicitly indicate whether they agreed or disagreed with those external voices, the use of distancing formulations involved the writers overtly announcing they did not want to align themselves with the attributed material.

With respect to the linguistic manifestation of these subcategories in the articles examined, acknowledgements were mainly conveyed via a wide variety of reporting verbs, such as *'told'*, *'say'*, *'said'*, *'reported'*, *'announced'*, *'suggested'*, *'decried'*, *'denounced'*, *'promised'* and *'described'*. Furthermore, the preposition *'according to'*, was also used to introduce other voices into the colloquy. As regards instances of distancing, they were all realised via the verb *'claim'* or *'claimed'* or its equivalent noun *'claim'*.

The fragments below have been extracted from the online opinion articles to portray how the journalists employed the aforementioned strategies.

**Fragment #25 (acknowledge):** *"Congress has certified the results. A new administration will be inaugurated on Jan. 20th," Trump **said**. "My focus now turns to ensuring a smooth, orderly and seamless transition of power. This moment calls for*

*healing and reconciliation." The president added that he was "outraged" by individuals who participated in the violent attack on the Capitol and **said** those who broke the law "will pay."*

**Fragment #26 (acknowledge):** *"On Thursday Biden **denounced** those who attacked the Capitol as "a riotous mob" and "domestic terrorists."*

In fragments #25 and #26, the author made use of the verbs 'said' and *denounced*' so as to acknowledge what the former and the current American presidents had said concerning the attack on the Capitol. In this way, the writer attributed the propositions to two external sources (Trump and Biden) but did not overtly indicate where he stood with respect to the propositions.

**Fragment #27 (distance):** *"Rep. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, D-N.Y., and many other elected Democrats **claim** the mob was coming for them that day. Yet the only recorded casualties on Jan. 6 were people who voted for Donald Trump."*

In fragment #27, through the use of the verb '*claim*', the authorial voice detached himself from responsibility for what was being reported and explicitly expressed some distancing from the cited source. The journalist acknowledged what Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez and other Democrats had said about their being the targets for the riots on January 6th, but overtly conveyed his disagreement with these external voices. This disagreement was linguistically manifested through the employment of the conjunction 'yet', which introduced a proposition that countered what had been said before and clarified that all the victims of that day had been Trump voters.

In the above cited fragments, a number of formulations which belong to the subcategories of acknowledge and distance can be observed. These extracts help illustrate how the journalists associated some of the propositions being advanced with voices or positions external to the text itself, and, by doing so, construed a heteroglossic communicative setting.

## 6. DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

As can be observed in the bar graph below, the journalists who work for CNN opted for a balance between dialogic contraction and expansion; therefore, they neither firmly rejected nor tightly embraced other voices. In contrast, the authors of the articles published in

Fox News employed a higher number of locutions to challenge, reject or restrict the scope of alternative positions than those used to make allowances for dialogically alternative voices.



Figure 15. Dialogistic positioning in both CNN and Fox News.

Concerning dialogic contraction, 101 locutions employed to close down the space for dialogic alternatives were identified in the articles published in CNN while 115 formulations of this type were found in the articles which appeared in Fox News. Even though the number of wordings related to dialogic contraction used by the writers working for each news channel do not differ considerably, the real difference is seen when comparing the categories of dialogic contraction and expansion.



Figure 16. Dialogic contraction contrast.

As regards dialogic expansion, 104 wordings employed to open up the dialogic space for alternative positions were identified in the articles published in CNN whereas only 66 locutions of this type were found in the articles that appeared in Fox News. Hence, the use the writers made of these strategies was quite dissimilar. The journalists working for CNN tended to be more open to other voices and viewpoints whereas those working for Fox News appeared to be more restrictive.

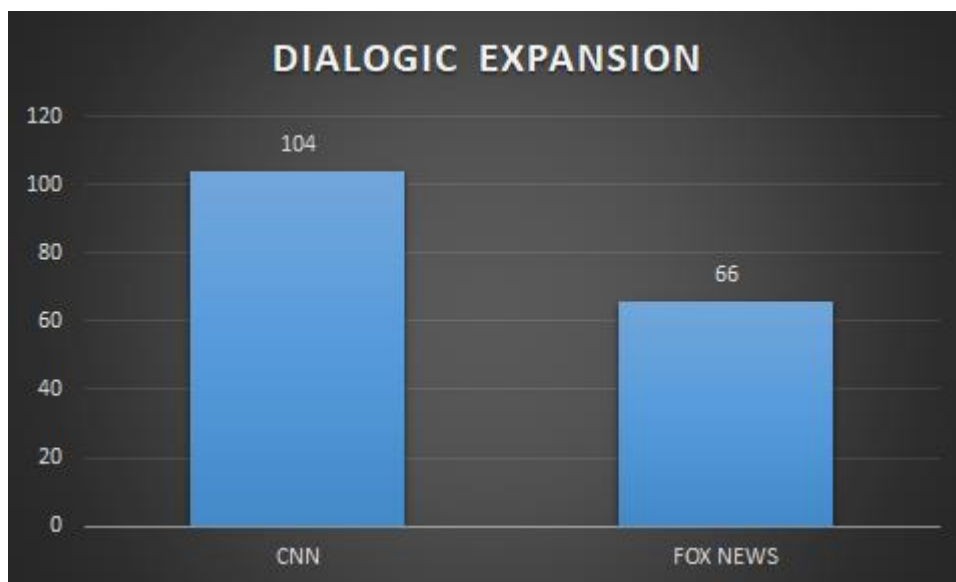


Figure 17. Dialogic expansion contrast.

Despite the fact that the professionals who work for CNN proved to be more willing to allow other voices into the conversation, in contrast to the journalists who work for Fox News who seemed more reluctant to validate alternative positions, similarities regarding the type of strategies they employed could be identified.

With respect to dialogic contraction, the category most frequently used in both media was that of 'disclaim' and, within it, the subcategory of 'deny'. The category of 'proclaim' was also employed by the different journalists but less frequently, and, within it, the subcategory most frequently used was that of 'pronounce'. Therefore, the writers chose to challenge, deny or reject contrary positions more often than to represent their own propositions as valid or well founded. And when they opted for the latter, they preferred doing so by making overt authorial interventions into the text.

As for dialogic expansion, the category most frequently used in both news channels was that of 'attribute' and, within it, the subcategory of 'acknowledge'. The category of 'entertain' was also employed by the various authors but less often. Thus, the journalists

tended more to represent their propositions as grounded in the subjectivity of an external voice than to explicitly present them as rooted in their own individual subjectivity.

Concerning the least frequently used subcategories, ‘endorse’ and ‘distance’ were the two not much employed by the writers. The authors did not include in their texts many instances in which they assumed some responsibility for the propositions attributed to external sources nor did they explicitly express distancing from the cited material (at least not via the semantics of the framer employed).

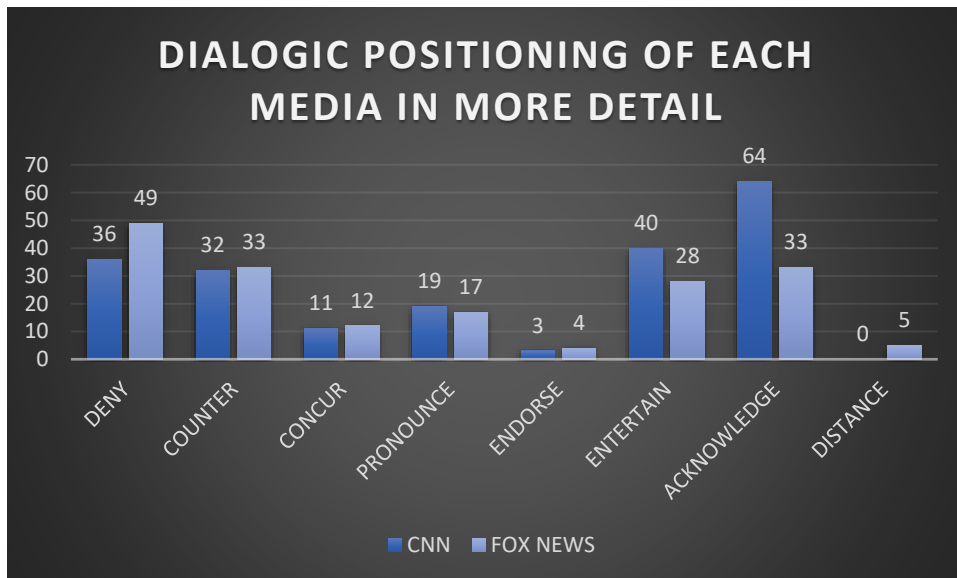


Figure 18. Dialogic positioning of each media in more detail.

In regard to writer-reader relationships, all journalists constructed for themselves an ‘envisaged’ or ‘ideal’ reader, whom they addressed in their mass communicative texts, and attempted to achieve consensus and align with them through the use of the various resources analysed in the present study. In the different articles, there were instances in which writers and readers were presented as sharing the same viewpoint or having the same knowledge. Moreover, on some occasions, the various writers also tried to win the putative addressees over to a particular point of view by insisting upon the value of certain propositions or by confronting a contrary position. When comparing the journalists working for each news channel, those writing for CNN seemed more willing to maintain solidarity with those with whom they disagreed by recognising a diversity of viewpoints and showing more tolerance towards them. In contrast, the journalists from Fox News appeared to be more reluctant to take alternative viewpoints into consideration by challenging, rejecting or not acknowledging other voices and insistently tried to align the putative readers with their own ideas.

Finally, if the political affiliation of each of the news channels were to be considered, it could be possible to make some assumptions concerning the topic being addressed in the opinion articles and the dialogic positioning adopted by these two media. On a number of occasions, Fox News has been accused of having a bias towards the Republican Party, to which the former American president Donald Trump belonged, and of reporting in favour of conservative causes. In contrast, CNN seems to have a political leaning towards liberal ideas and was much more critical of Trump when he ruled the country. Therefore, since the subject discussed in the opinion articles analysed was the attack on the Capitol, which most attributed to Trump, it could be expected that the journalists writing for Fox News assume a more contractive dialogic positioning in defence of the former American president, fending off or limiting the scope of other voices and reinforcing their own viewpoints. However, when one reads the articles published in Fox News and analyses their content, one realises that only one journalist determinedly stood up for Donald Trump whereas two overtly placed responsibility for the storming on the Capitol on him, stating that he initially incited and applauded those who took part in this event. Consequently, neither the political alignment of this online newspaper nor the content of the articles analysed can clearly account for how dialogic expansive or contractive each article is and, therefore, other factors should be taken into consideration. As for CNN, the journalists appeared to be more in alignment with this publication's political leaning and all of them laid responsibility on Trump for inciting the riot. In spite of the fact that these writers allowed more voices into the conversation and seemed more open to alternative positions, these voices were mainly introduced to reinforce their own viewpoints. Therefore, as in the case of Fox News, other aspects should be examined to fully justify the employment of contractive or expansive resources by the authors.

## **7. CONCLUSION**

In the present dissertation, a qualitative and quantitative study of journalistic discourse was conducted based on the Appraisal Theory—and particularly focused on the domain of engagement—posited by J. R. Martin and P. R. White. As mentioned in the introduction of this work, engagement deals with the ways in which the speaker/writer is positioned “with respect to the value position being advanced and with respect to potential responses to that value position - by quoting or reporting, acknowledging a possibility, denying, countering, affirming, and so on” (Martin and White, 2005, p. 36). Hence, the focus was placed on the dialogue the writers of the articles analysed held with previous utterances and anticipated responses.

The study explored how—i.e. by means of what linguistic resources—and to what extent writers engaged with their own writing, acknowledged, validated, rejected or ignored different viewpoints, and thus took up a stance in relation to the topic being addressed and the potential responses to that position in eight online opinion articles on the attack on the US Capitol extracted from two ideologically-diverse media networks—CNN and Fox News.

It was found that the journalists who work for CNN opted for a balance between dialogic contraction and expansion and so neither firmly rejected nor tightly embraced other voices. In contrast, it was noticed that the authors of the articles published in Fox News employed a higher number of locutions to challenge, reject or restrict the scope of alternative positions than those used to make allowances for dialogically alternative voices. Nevertheless, in spite of the fact that the professionals who work for CNN proved to be more willing to allow other voices into the conversation, in contrast to the journalists who work for Fox News who seemed more reluctant to validate alternative positions, similarities regarding the type of strategies they all employed were identified; what differed was the frequency of their use.

Regarding how the political affiliation of these two media channels could exert an impact on the type of strategies employed by the writers, it was found that even though the journalists from Fox News seemed less willing to take alternative viewpoints into consideration, the political alignment of each online publication was not enough to account for the various resources the journalists employed and for the dialogistic positioning each of them adopted. The fact that the writers who work for Fox News appeared to be more reluctant to introduce other positions into their texts could be at first associated with the fact that the topic being discussed was that of the attack on the Capitol, attributed to Donald Trump by many; therefore, since Fox News has often reported in favour of the Republican Party and the former American president, some rejection of other voices was expected to be found in this online publication as well as a tendency to defend Trump. Nevertheless, when analysing the content of the articles, one can learn that two of the journalists placed responsibility on him—something which may not have been expected to appear in Fox News—and only one defended and supported him. As for the writers from CNN, an online publication which seems to have a political leaning towards liberal ideas and was much more critical of Trump when he ruled the country, they appeared to be more open to other voices, which they incorporated into their texts, and also focused on various aspects of the event in question. However, most of these external voices were introduced to validate and reinforce their own viewpoints. Consequently, for all the above mentioned, other factors, other than the one concerning political affiliation, should be examined in order to fully justify the use of certain expansive or contractive strategies by the journalists.

The importance of this work lies in the fact that, nowadays, mass media exerts a considerable impact on people's perceptions of the reality that surrounds them. Therefore, since people's experiences are shaped by different forms of media discourses, whether written, auditory, or audiovisual, it is necessary to start analysing what is consumed in a critical way and to start questioning this phenomenon.

Finally, it is of paramount importance to acknowledge the limitations of this study. Taking into consideration the small number of articles that have been analysed along with the constraints on the length of the present work, the interpretations and final conclusions found in this dissertation should be regarded as representing just a limited view of reality. Since the corpus analysed is not highly substantial, it would be fruitful to examine a larger corpus that could provide more conclusive data. Moreover, it could be interesting to analyse the readers' comments on each piece of news to see if the contractive and expansive strategies implemented influenced the response elicited from the addressees. Future research may also consider whether the kind of issues addressed by the media have any impact on the type of strategies employed by the writers. Additionally, analysing other genres from the perspective of Appraisal Theory may yield enriching results.



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## 9. APPENDICES

### APPENDIX 1: “The urgent unanswered questions about the attack on the Capitol”

By Frida Ghitis

(CNN) – The images will remain etched in our collective memories; throngs of MAGA-hatted attackers rampaging through the US Capitol in a deadly assault stoked by the President of the United States and his accomplices, determined to prevent the winner of the presidential election from taking office.

We know how it looked, how it felt, **but** we **don't** have the full story.

Some alarming details, **however**, are starting to emerge. On Monday, as acting Homeland Security Secretary Chad Wolf resigned, CNN **reported** that the FBI had received information indicating “armed protests” are being planned at all 50 state capitols and at the US Capitol in Washington, DC. Capitol Police officers are under investigation for their behavior during the riot; two have been suspended.

**So was the storming of the Capitol a spontaneous event, or was it part of something more orchestrated?**

**There is mounting evidence** to justify profound concern and urgent investigations **may** face barricades of stonewalling.

**Yet**, it is imperative that we find out what exactly happened on January 6, and what **may** still be unfolding. It requires an investigation on two levels at two speeds.

First, the FBI and law enforcement agencies **must** track down and detain the instigators and ascertain what **might** remain on their agenda for the coming days. This is particularly pressing because the day after the assault, when President Donald Trump finally agreed to a peaceful transfer of power, in a video that was taped at the White House and over which he **reportedly** “**expressed** regret,” he **told** his supporters, “Our incredible journey is only just beginning.”

Separately, Congress **must** establish a bipartisan committee to pull every thread and see what unravels.

**The generally accepted version of** what played out is that a mass of passionate Trump followers gathered on the day Congress would certify Biden’s electoral victory. After Trump and his proxies inflamed their anger over the legitimate election results into a fiery frenzy, they **seemingly** followed his instructions and headed to the Capitol. There, Capitol Police failed to

stop them. The failure of law enforcement, **according to this narrative**, was the result of a mixture of lack of preparation, poor communications, race of the perpetrators and **possibly** sympathy for the rioters among some who were supposed to stop them.

**But is this an accurate recounting of what occurred?**

**Perhaps** the most disturbing aspect of the day's events was the failure of National Guard forces to respond quickly. The timeline is mind-boggling.

At a rally held the night before the riot, attendees heard former national security adviser Michael Flynn **tell** them Americans were prepared to "bleed" for freedom. At Wednesday's rally, Trump lawyer Rudy Giuliani **advocated for** "trial by combat" to settle the election. Then **came Trump's instructions**: "fight like hell." Following Trump's speech, and his false promise to join them there, they stormed the Capitol.

By 1:18 p.m. on Wednesday, multiple officers had already been injured, **according to** a Wall Street Journal reconstruction. At 1:41 p.m., a citywide "Broken Arrow" alert went out **reporting** the rioters had overrun the police. By 3 p.m., The Wall Street Journal **reported** that at least three key officials had urgently requested support from the National Guard, Washington, DC, Mayor Muriel Bowser, Maryland Gov. Larry Hogan, and Capitol Police Chief Steven Sund, who has since resigned.

Details of their conversations reveal mounting anguish and bafflement as the Pentagon failed to swiftly approve and deploy the troops. Sund **told** The Washington Post that he **pleaded**, "I am making an urgent, urgent immediate request for National Guard assistance," he **implored**, "I have got to get boots on the ground."

At the same time, Hogan was trying to get the Pentagon to approve deployment of Maryland's guard, **but** like Sund, he **says** the urgent request was met with inexplicable delays.

Sund **told** The Washington Post he asked six separate times. Hogan, who had approved Maryland's deployment, **told** CNN it took two hours to get the necessary authorization.

With people getting killed in the Capitol mayhem, the troops were **nowhere** to be found. Lt. Gen. Walter Piatt, the director of the Army Staff, reportedly disputed Sund's account and **said** in a Monday statement that authorization to activate the National Guard came approximately 40 minutes after the start of a conference call between officials around 2:20 p.m.

**However**, the first National Guard personnel **did not** arrive on the scene until 5:40 p.m. By the time the mob withdrew, four people lay dead, and one Capitol Police officer was so severely injured he died the next day.

What happened? Why did it take so long for help to arrive?

Many have **accurately noted** that Black Lives Matter social justice protests have faced much stiffer security, **but** one historian who has watched multiple protests on Capitol Hill, **says** he saw more security in other pro-Trump demonstrations. **Was the Capitol left deliberately underprotected?**

Once inside, **according to** Rep. Jim Clyburn, some rioters headed straight for his office, which is unmarked. “That to me indicated, something untoward may have been going on,” he **told** CNN.

Investigators **should** answer questions about why, in the midst of the assault, Trump and Giuliani phoned senators and asked them to try to delay the vote on certifying Biden’s win. Giuliani **said** it was because he wanted the process slowed down “so we can get these legislatures to get more information to you.” **But was something more supposed to happen in the aftermath of the Capitol’s occupation?**

If the rampage was **nothing** more than a spontaneous rally that spun out of control, **why were some of the men who occupied the Capitol carrying bundles of flex-cuffs, the plastic restraints used by law enforcement to detain suspects?**

If it was all an unplanned protest gone off the rails, **why did authorities discover pipe bombs in the area?**

And what about the truck, parked two blocks from the Capitol and carrying 11 homemade bombs built in such a way that federal investigators **said** if exploded would have the effect of napalm. Court documents **said** the explosive-filled mason jars and supplies found closely packed together could have made for a “destructive device.” Authorities **say** other participants brought guns and hundreds of rounds of ammunition.

**There’s no question** that Trump has been trying to overturn the legitimate, democratic result of the election. His followers **believed** they were about to help him succeed. **But** we need to know if their attack in the citadel of American democracy was the result of overflowing emotion, or if it was something more sinister. Something **even** worse than what we saw in those images that will remain engraved in the country’s collective memory. Something that **will not** end with a Trump impeachment.

## APPENDIX 2: "The Capitol attack was White supremacy, plain and simple"

By Daniel Black

(CNN) – How in the world do scores of seditious rioters simply waltz into the United States Capitol, so casually that many of them record their invasion on their phones and take selfies with cops? How do they scale the walls and push through the doors and scatter the police and not get forcibly stopped by whatever means necessary? How does anyone breach the House speaker's office and relax in her chair as if he owned the place?

Two words: White supremacy. **It's undeniable now, unmistakable.** What happened on Wednesday was simple: Donald Trump **told** White people that America had been stolen from them, and he summoned them to Washington to take it back. He was their commander in chief, he gave them their marching orders, and all they had to do was obey. They saw insurrection as their duty, **but** also as their right.

If these overwhelmingly White invaders had instead been Black, the news headline would have read: "Massacre in the Nation's Capital." **There is no** damn way throngs of Black people could have similarly smashed their way into that citadel of world power without losing their lives en masse. Only with White privilege does such reprehensible behavior **not** meet deadly reprisals.

The mob was later labeled criminals. **But** when they were rampaging, they **were not** treated as criminals.

**In fact**, while listening to news coverage I heard one pundit **say** that the pride of America was how "protesters" -- in this case, she was talking about the rioters at the Capitol -- were protected by the Constitution and thus not attacked by police in the streets. My mouth fell agape. She **should** have said that, in America, Whites enjoy the privilege of acting out as they please without fear of being brutalized by the police.

In a video taken inside the Capitol during the invasion, a Black security guard is confronted and chased by angry White Trump supporters. As he orders them to stop, they rush at him, **seemingly** with the aim of overcoming him. He **screams** into a shoulder microphone, "I need back up! Send back up!" as he races up flights of stairs, pursued by a crowd of audacious whiteness.

The incident reminded me of scenes from D.W. Griffith's racist 1915 film, "The Birth of a Nation," in which White men chase Black men who run frantically for their lives. It's a caricature of race relations in a country that has **never** been honest about its history.

After the Capitol attack, President-elect Joe Biden **said**, "America is better than this." **But** herein lies the problem: America is **NOT** better than this. America **IS** this. White supremacy is unwilling to surrender its reign. It declared itself alive and well at the Capitol, and, for the most part that day, the authorities left it alone. Four days later, authorities are identifying members of the mob, making arrests, and **seemingly** hunting down violators who overran and unashamedly damaged the Capitol. Many had dressed in attire so conspicuous that they **seemed to** want to be discovered.

This, too, is American. Self-righteous White supremacy has **never** felt the need to hide. Consider our history of lynching. These hangings of Black bodies were **never** a one-person act. **Indeed**, lynchings were public events where entire communities of Whites gathered -- including children -- to watch and cheer as Black life was decimated. Lynching was an American ritual, something of an American tradition, which the government at that time **did not** decry, and for which few were ever punished. So, **no, America is not** better than this. **In fact**, peaceful Black protesters in the 1960s were battered by fire hoses and attacked by dogs. Black elders were shoved and beaten like animals on live TV.

**No, we can't say** America is better than what happened on Wednesday. **Not** unless we are willing to lie about our history, to turn a blind eye to the injustices suffered by the Scottsboro Boys or the Central Park Five or George Floyd. **If we tell the truth, we will admit that** Trump supporters' behavior is in the tradition of White supremacy in America, which is willing to destroy anyone and anything to retain its power.

Imagine, again, if that mob had been Black. The rioters **would not** have gone safely home. They would have been arrested or beaten senseless or killed. I watched in total disbelief as the President **asked** his riotous followers to calm down and told them to go home. Go home? **Who gets to break into the Capitol then go home? Aren't you at least taken downtown for questioning?** Black, brown and many conscious White people watched the unfolding Capitol invasion with speechless awe, **wondering** who in the world gets to assault the American government without being destroyed? Well, **now we know**.

This attempt at coup was precipitated because, since November, Trump **has convinced** himself and his followers that the election was rigged and stolen from him. The allegation is preposterous and borderline insane. **But** this strategy -- composing lies to avoid difficult truth -- is **not** a Trump creation. It's an American tradition. In antebellum days, many slave masters **told** themselves and others that their slaves were happy and content. Everyone **knows** that White settlers murdered Native Americans and took their lands, **but** that's too much truth to

swallow, too much ugliness to admit, so we simply transmute this truth into the Thanksgiving holiday and perpetuate a myth of early colonial harmony.

Another rejected truth is the caste system in America, which has locked Black and brown people into a prison of poverty from which many **never** escape. Americans like to **say** that any child willing to work hard can prosper. This **isn't** true, **but** we want to believe it, so we **say** it. Public school systems have for decades **labeled** Black children inferior and troubled and disadvantaged and underrepresented in ways that determine their scholastic achievement. **Few want to admit that** often the real problem is the assumptions made about Blackness and its inability to succeed.

America maintains its glory by lying about its history and its shortcomings. Trump knows this game. If we blame him alone for this madness, we ignore the inner workings of racism and the fear that accompanies any challenge to White supremacy.

And that's what Wednesday was **really** about -- **who are the true Americans?** Those who stormed the Capitol **believed** they are. And from the way they were handled, **it seems** that many -- **but not** all -- police authorities **agreed**. **In fact**, the scarcity of law enforcement at all, from the beginning of the mutiny, **suggests** that too few in authority feared these insurgents or thought it prudent or necessary to guard against them.

**It is also true that** some officers worked hard to keep the Capitol secure as the horde surged in. One officer died in the line of duty. For this, America **should certainly** be grateful. **Yet I hold fast to the position that** had authorities taken the threat seriously from the beginning, the 60 police injured in the invasion **might not** have needed to sacrifice themselves for our safety. One cop, **apparently** a Metropolitan police officer who'd arrived to help reinforce a pitifully outnumbered Capitol Police force -- was seen in a horrendous viral video, pinned in a doorway screaming for help as the rioters in the doorway crushed him. Are his overwhelmingly White assailants -- any of them? -- in custody now?

Many truths will become apparent in the coming days. **What we know for sure is that** White supremacy is protected and respected in America, **even** when it is in full betrayal of the laws of the land. The inability and unwillingness of authorities to stop those who breached Capitol Hill security reminds Black and brown people **not** to forget their place in this land. "You can't do what White folks do," my father **used to tell me**. On Wednesday, his warning became abundantly clear.



### APPENDIX 3: “What Americans deserve to know after the deadly Capitol riot”

By Joe Lockhart

(CNN) – Every American who watched in horror as our Capitol was overrun by domestic terrorists on Wednesday has a right to know how this happened, why it happened, who is responsible and what we are going to do about it.

If we gloss over the attack on our Capitol, January 6, 2021 **may** be seen in the rear view mirror as the worst day in our country's history. Moving on from this without holding the perpetrators accountable **may** very well sound the death knell of our democracy as we know it.

Having worked in and around government for the past four decades, I know how important it is for federal officials to communicate with the American people during unprecedented times. Here is what we all deserve to know right now.

First, we **need to** hear directly from Christopher Wray, the director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. We **don't** need background quotes, tweets or written statements; we need Wray, along with our federal law enforcement officials, to stand at a podium on live television and explain how Trump supporters, who had been organizing online for months, were allowed to storm the Capitol. The FBI **might not** have all the answers now -- **but** we deserve to know exactly what they are planning to do to get them.

The American people also deserve to know that everyone who participated in this act of seditious terror will be investigated and prosecuted under the law. That includes those who participated -- many of the rioters proudly posed for photographs and documented their actions on social media -- along with those like Trump's personal lawyer, Rudy Giuliani, who goaded these domestic terrorists with calls to arms.

President-elect Joe Biden has been pitch perfect in his responses so far. **But** he **needs to** continue driving home the point that defending our democracy will be his priority when he takes office and make it clear that he **will not** just let this pass. Lawlessness **will not** stand in the Biden administration. We can't unify and heal this country unless we bring these fascist thugs to justice.

Our leaders **need to** openly acknowledge how our justice system is tilted in favor of White Americans at the expense of Black people in this country. **No one** can escape the vivid images of White privilege on display yesterday in contrast to the heavy-handed police response against Black Lives Matter activists last summer.

Democratic leaders also **need to** make clear how they will hold the President accountable. It is deeply disappointing and dangerous that Congress is now adjourned. Instead of taking swift action, this break signals that the President -- who **should** be held responsible for inciting violence -- will be allowed to act with impunity. The failure to act will **only** exacerbate domestic terrorism and fuel acts of sedition.

Congress **should** move to impeach and convict Trump to bar him from holding office ever again. Initiating impeachment proceedings would also force Republican members of Congress to go on the record and declare whether they are on the side of Trump's fascist thugs or our democracy. At a minimum, lawmakers **should** censure Trump and condemn his actions.

Republican leaders also **need to** take responsibility and look within their own party to confront those who helped encourage this insurrection. By spreading disinformation and trying to overturn the results of the election, Republican lawmakers have given domestic terrorists the justification to take matters into their own hands. The Republican Party **must** clean house before it can restore its credibility with the American people.

Republican senators **condemned** the violence, **but** it was Sen. Mitt Romney who had the courage to **tie this all back to the real source**: President Donald Trump. The idea that Trump is going away on January 20 is woefully naive. Letting him get away with this unscathed will **only** tighten his grip on this corrupt and morally bankrupt party.

The President's cabinet also has a responsibility to seriously consider invoking the 25th amendment for the good of our country. If they **believe** Trump **does not** pose a clear and present danger to our nation, they **should** issue a public statement saying so. **But** they work for us, **not** the President, and they **should** -- at the very least -- sit down and have that discussion. They owe us this.

**I know from personal experience that** a strong voice from a White House in crisis is critical to our country and our democracy. If White House Press Secretary Kayleigh McEnany **can't** face a free press and answer any questions after what happened yesterday, she **should** resign. Reading a prepared statement and then fleeing without facing questions just **doesn't** cut it.

Regardless of whether White House officials decide to jump ship just days before the end of Trump's term, these staffers owe us all an explanation for their role during the President's reign of political terror. We pay their salaries, and a clear-eyed explanation of what happened and why they chose to stand behind Trump **might** help avoid another dangerous presidency.

Trump **has revealed** to all of us how unprincipled politicians will continue to recklessly play with fire until we all get burned. Every time we let Trump and his henchman get away with something, they are emboldened to try something **even** more sinister. Simply put, we have to make the political pain of this disturbing behavior disproportionately higher than the political gain of malfeasance.

Too many Republican leaders today are more interested in preserving their own power than protecting our democracy. **But** failing to act now **could** very well turn yesterday's events from an ugly and shameful episode into a pivotal turning point that sparks the destruction of our democracy. It is impossible to overestimate what's at stake if we **don't** move quickly and decisively to crush the anti-democratic forces that threaten us all.

## APPENDIX 4: "The truly shocking failures on the day rioters stormed the Capitol"

By Jill Filipovic

(CNN) – On Tuesday, three of the Capitol police's former top leaders and the acting chief of the Washington, DC police testified before the Senate about the cascading law enforcement failures that occurred on January 6 as rioters stormed the Capitol complex.

There was no shortage of finger-pointing and blame-passing, but one big takeaway was clear: We've barely scratched the surface of what happened on one of the most ignominious days in American history.

Republicans have tried to cast the January 6 attacks as an unfortunate incident, a moment when emotions ran high, many otherwise decent people were swept up in the fervor and things simply got out of hand. Rep. Kevin McCarthy argued that "everybody across the country has some responsibility" for the deadly violence on January 6.

Several House Republicans blamed Nancy Pelosi. Others equated an attack on the Capitol done in the name of the former president with sporadic violence and property destruction during Black Lives Matter protests.

When Democrats tried to hold Donald Trump accountable in impeachment hearings, Republican Sen. Mike Lee opined that "everyone makes mistakes, everyone is entitled to a mulligan once in a while." Many rioters and their friends and family have made this same defense in court: That they were simply very passionate, if very stupid.

But stupid people caught in the heat of the moment don't typically find that Tasers and zip ties materialize in their hands out of thin air.

"These criminals came prepared for war," said former Capitol Police Chief Steven A. Sund, testifying that he believes the violence was preplanned and well organized. Testifying along with him were former Senate sergeant-at-arms Michael C. Stenger and former House sergeant-at-arms Paul D. Irving.

Sund and other law enforcement officials noted that the rioters seemed to have a basic understanding of how they could strike when law enforcement was at their thinnest, that they came equipped with items that one would not expect to find at a peaceful protest == bear mace, climbing equipment, tactical gear -- and that the attackers appeared to use coordinated hand gestures to communicate.

Two explosives, Sund **said**, had been placed near the Capitol perimeter, and he **believes** those **may** have been intentional distractions to divert law enforcement attention away from the Capitol building as rioters attempted to sack it.

As they contended with insurrectionists shrouded in military paraphernalia, many Capitol police officers lacked riot gear and had **no** training on how to respond to a horde storming the Capitol.

All three men **denied** having seen an FBI report issued the day before the attack that warned extremists were traveling to Washington in pursuit of "war," and that the extremists had shared maps of the Capitol complex's tunnel system.

**According to** the report, one social media thread **said**, "Be ready to fight. Congress needs to hear glass breaking, doors being kicked in, and blood from their BLM and Antifa slave soldiers being spilled. Get violent. Stop calling this a march, or rally, or a protest. Go there ready for war. We get our President or we die. NOTHING else will achieve this goal."

Acting Metropolitan Police Chief Robert Contee **said** another compounding problem was that the Defense Department hesitated in deploying the National Guard. He was "stunned," Contee **said**, at the foot-dragging. The men **disagreed** with each other on the timeline of requesting National Guard intervention, and who asked for what when, **but it's clear that** the guard was deployed far too late.

Capt. Carneysha Mendoza of the Capitol Police **testified** that she was gassed with what she **believes** to be military-grade tear gas that was "mixed with fire extinguisher spray deployed by the rioters." Rioters nearly broke her arm, and she sustained chemical burns to the face which still **have not** healed.

Capt. Mendoza is sadly representative of so many officers caught in the crosshairs that day: **According to** the police union, some 140 officers were injured and graphic body camera footage shows officers being beaten and crushed by heaving hordes of rioters as they scream for help. Two officers who were at the Capitol that day have since died by suicide.

The failures **clearly** started at the top, with a federal government that **did not** want to take these threats seriously because they came from supporters of the president who were responding to his encouragement and his lies about widespread election fraud.

To hear these four men **tell** it, they were left unprepared and in the dark -- which **is not** an excuse coming from the Capitol's top law enforcement brass, **but certainly** raises questions about who else contributed to this deadly ignorance.

And the lack of communication and dearth of understanding of the scale of the threat is truly shocking, given that reporters, researchers of the far right and average folks online were sounding the alarm about the potential for violence at the January 6 event well before it happened.

Tuesday's testimony was disturbing and enlightening. **No** huge new bombshells were dropped, **but** the contours of the story were sharpened.

And what's coming into focus includes and goes well beyond law enforcement failures and calls into question decisions made by our country's top security and defense agencies, and our most powerful leaders.

## APPENDIX 5: “What we still don’t know about the Capitol riot”

By Tucker Carlson

(Fox News) – Where was the necessary security? How did the riot start? How did Officer Brian Sicknick die?

It’s funny how change happens. You thought the big change came on Election Day, when the incumbent president lost, **but** that turned out to be **nothing** compared to the change that came two months later.

On Jan. 6, supporters of Donald Trump swarmed the Capitol building. Some forced their way inside, and Washington has **never** been the same. It may **never** be the same. As a result of what happened on Jan. 6, your descendants will live in a different country. Some in Congress **compared** that day to 9/11. Senate Majority Leader Chuck Schumer, D-N.Y., **has likened** it to Pearl Harbor, which spurred America’s entry into the Second World War.

Every day we hear new and more fluid comparisons from Democratic partisans. **But** Tuesday night, CNN outdid all of them by **comparing** what happened Jan. 6 to the Rwandan genocide.

Keep in mind that close to a million people were murdered in Rwanda in 1994, about 70% of all ethnic Tutsis in the country. Entire towns were hacked to death with machetes. People were set on fire and crushed alive by bulldozers. Hundreds of thousands of women were raped. It was among the most horrifying crimes in human history.

How does a country recover from something like that? Well, first, **obviously**, you punish the guilty quickly and severely. Then, and this is more important, you set about reordering your society from top to bottom to make certain nothing like that ever happens again. So you purge the military, suspend basic civil liberties, send troops to the capital, tear down the old, destroy all vestiges of the past in order to save the future.

**However**, before we remake America to prevent future genocide at the Capitol, **maybe** we **should** know a little bit more about the crime that occurred on Jan. 6, if only to understand the justification for overturning our lives permanently. What exactly did happen that day? You **may** be surprised to learn how little we know, **even** now. **In fact**, it’s remarkable how many of the most basic questions remain unanswered more than a month after the fact.

Let’s start with the headline of the day: Five Americans died on the Capitol grounds on Jan. 6. You’ve heard that, **but** it **doesn’t** really tell you very much. It’s the details, **as always**, that

matter. Who were these people and how did they die? That's how you understand what actually happened.

So with that in mind, **here are the facts**: Four of the five who died that day were Trump supporters. The fifth was a Capitol Hill police officer who **apparently** also supported Donald Trump. Why is this relevant? **Of course**, the political views of the deceased **shouldn't** matter, **but** unfortunately, in this case, they do. Rep. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, D-N.Y., and many other elected Democrats **claim** the mob was coming for them that day. **Yet** the only recorded casualties on Jan. 6 were people who voted for Donald Trump.

The first among them was a 34-year-old woman from Georgia called Rosanne Boyland. Authorities initially **announced** that Boyland died of a "medical emergency". Later video footage **suggested** she **may** have accidentally been trampled by the crowd. We're **still not** sure, **but** that's the best guess.

The second casualty was 55-year-old Kevin Greeson, who died of heart failure while talking to his wife on a cell phone outside the Capitol. "Kevin had a history of high blood pressure," his wife later **said**, "and in the midst of the excitement, suffered a heart attack."

The third was 50-year-old Benjamin Phillips of Ringtown, Pa. Phillips was a Trump supporter who organized a bus trip to Washington for the rally that day. He died of a stroke on the grounds of the Capitol. **There is no evidence** that Phillips rioted or was injured by rioters or **even** went inside the Capitol building.

The fourth person to die, the only one from intentional violence, was 35-year-old Ashli Babbitt, a military veteran from San Diego. Babbitt was wearing a Trump case when she was shot to death by a Capitol Hill police lieutenant. Babbitt's death was caught on video, so hers is the best-documented death that took place that day. **Yet** it is surprising how little we know about it.

Babbitt was shot as she tried to crawl through a broken window into the Speaker's Lobby within the Capitol, and **that's essentially the extent of what we know**. Authorities have refused to release the name of the man who shot her or divulge any details of the investigation they **say** they've done. We **may never** know exactly why this unnamed Capitol Hill police officer took her life.

**According to** that officer's attorney, "There is no way to look at the evidence and think that he is anything but a hero." **Of course**, we **can't** actually look at that evidence, because they're withholding it. We **can't even** know his identity. Killing an unarmed woman **may** be justified



under certain specific circumstances, **but since when is it heroic?** When the dead woman has read QAnon websites? Republicans **aren't** asking that question.

Rep. Markwayne Mullin, R-Okla., **has said** he immediately hugged the officer who shot Ashli Babbitt and **told** him, "Listen, you did what you had to do." **Did the officer really have to do that?** We **don't** know. **We do know that** Ashli Babbitt **was not** holding a weapon when she was killed. **Nevertheless**, at the impeachment trial this week, Rep. David Cicilline, D-R.I., **described** what happened at the Capitol as "an armed insurrection."

Cicilline is a former mafia lawyer from Providence, so **presumably** he knows what it is to commit a felony with a firearm. **There are no reports** of rioters at the Capitol building Jan. 6 discharging weapons or threatening anyone with a gun. So **what exactly is David Cicilline talking about?**

**Apparently**, he's referring to the death of Officer Brian Sicknick. In the hours after the riot, The New York Times **reported** that Trump supporters had brutally beaten Officer Sicknick to death with a fire extinguisher. The news of Sicknick's death by violence was quickly picked up by countless other media outlets that repeated and then amplified it.

That account forms the basis of the myth that Democrats have constructed around Jan. 6. Sicknick's remains lay in honor at the Capitol building. Streams of politicians, who just months before **had told** us that cops were racist by definition, **praised** Brian Sicknick as a hero. They had finally found a police officer who served their political uses.

**Just** one problem: The story they told was a lie from beginning to end. Officer Sicknick **was not** beaten to death, with a fire extinguisher or anything else. **According to** an exhaustive and fascinating new analysis on Revolver News, **there's no evidence** that Brian Sicknick was hit with a fire extinguisher at any point on Jan. 6. The officer's body **apparently** bore **no** signs of trauma. **In fact**, on the night of Jan. 6, long after rioters at the Capitol had been arrested or dispersed, Brian Sicknick texted his mother from his office. **According to** his brother, Sicknick **said** he'd been "pepper sprayed twice" but was otherwise "in good shape". Twenty-four hours later, Officer Brian Sicknick was dead.

How did he die? The head of the Capitol police union **has said** he had a stroke. His body was cremated immediately, and authorities have refused to release his autopsy. **No one** has been charged in his death, and **no** charges are pending. Whatever happened to Brian Sicknick was tragic, **obviously**, **but** it was also very different from what they have told us. They have lied about how he died. They've lied about a lot.

How did this riot start, anyway? **Was it a spontaneous event incited by a reckless president in a fit of vicious pique? Was the riot long-planned, the result of a conspiracy?**

Those are two theories of what happened and both **cannot** be true.

This weekend, former Capitol Police Chief Steven Sund **claimed** in a letter to House Speaker Nancy Pelosi that there was no intelligence suggesting that a riot might be imminent at the Capitol.

**Apparently**, the Washington Post has better sources than Sund. Days after Jan. 6, the newspaper **reported** that it was well-known that a group of Trump supporters was headed to the city to cause trouble. The FBI almost certainly knew this. They likely had paid informants in the ranks of protesters.

So if the authorities knew that violence might be coming to the Capitol, where was the necessary security? It **wasn't** there.

We're **not** sure what all this means and we're **not** going to speculate. **We do know for certain that** the known facts of what happened on Jan. 6 deviate in very important ways from the story they are now telling us, including the story Democrats are telling in the impeachment trial. In many places, the known facts bear **no resemblance** to the story they're telling. They're just flat-out lying. **There's no question** about that.

## APPENDIX 6: “Capitol riot incited by Trump shows democracy at risk – Dems & GOP must work together peacefully”

By Doug Schoen

**(Fox News)** – We are deeply divided and in peril here at home, and this puts America at a heightened risk from our adversaries abroad.

The unprecedented, shocking and disgraceful violent attack on the U.S. Capitol Wednesday as lawmakers met to certify Electoral College votes **shows** that the foundation of America’s democracy is at risk. We are deeply divided and in peril here at home, and this puts America at a heightened risk from our adversaries abroad.

**We can rightfully** blame President Trump for inciting his followers to storm the Capitol with the intent of jeopardizing the democratic process of certifying President-elect Joe Biden’s legitimate election victory. Trump has done our country a great disservice through his unrelenting efforts to sow doubt about the integrity of our elections in the absence of proof.

Four people died as rioters swarmed the Capitol — a woman shot by Capitol Police and three people who died as a result of medical emergencies, authorities **said**.

Trump finally took the important step early Thursday of **acknowledging** in a statement tweeted out by an aide that there will be an "orderly transition" of power. **But** we **have to** view this statement in the context of the president’s encouragement of the riots Wednesday, when he urged his protesting supporters — who had come to Washington at his request — to march on the Capitol to demand that he be declared the winner of the November election.

And the president at long last released a video message Thursday night in which he **said** on camera for the first time that he will be leaving office Jan. 20.

"Congress has certified the results. A new administration will be inaugurated on Jan. 20th," Trump **said**. "My focus now turns to ensuring a smooth, orderly and seamless transition of power. This moment calls for healing and reconciliation."

The president added that he was "outraged" by individuals who participated in the violent attack on the Capitol and **said** those who broke the law "will pay."

These comments are **of course** greatly welcome and substantially ease the crisis created by the attack on the Capitol. **But it is still hard to forget that** the president took a very different stance just a day earlier.

Fortunately, Vice President Mike Pence is honoring and supporting the Democratic process and our Constitution. On Wednesday he rejected Trump's calls to refuse to accept the electoral votes of several states that voted for Biden in November. Once Congress finally accepted all the electoral votes Thursday morning, turning back challenges from some Republicans, Trump ran out of options to challenge his election loss.

**Even** Sen. Josh Hawley, R-Mo. — who sought to keep Trump in the White House by rejecting some Biden electors, and whose position I couldn't disagree with more — **decried** the violent attack on the Capitol. Hawley **said** the place to resolve issues with our electoral process is first in the courts and then in Congress — **but never** with violence.

To that end, some **have likened** the Wednesday rioting to what we witnessed this summer in major cities across the country, when racial justice protests in the streets turned violent. Buildings and cars were set on fire, stores were looted, and law enforcement officers were attacked when the protests got out of control and embraced criminal activity.

At the time, many Democrats were more interested in explaining the violence by discussing America's long history of systemic racism and advocating for defunding the police than they were in decrying lawbreaking and supporting lawful government and policing.

**To be clear, I** do not see equivalence here. **But I do understand** the concerns of those on the right who believe that those on the left have, when it has suited them, been willing to put our democratic values and public safety at risk for political purposes.

**Indeed**, the right is not wrong to say that the left has acted in anti-systemic ways in the past. **But** the attack on the Capitol — the first since British troops attacked during the War of 1812 — was **certainly** more serious because it was armed insurrection.

This was an attempted coup to keep Trump in power despite his election loss. And disgracefully, the president initially incited and applauded those who marched on the Capitol before pulling back and **telling** them in a video he tweeted out to be peaceful. **But** that call for peaceful protest **did not** come until after rioters successfully stormed the Capitol.

**Without question**, the rioting and violence in our cities and in the Capitol were both wrong. **But** the lawless mob that invaded our Capitol put our democracy in jeopardy.

Being so close and so partisan, the results of the U.S. Senate runoff elections in Georgia that were held Tuesday **clearly** fed into the passions and suspicions of Trump voters. Democrats Jon Ossoff and the Rev. Raphael Warnock won those two races, giving Democrats a razor-thin majority in the Senate.

As a result of the Georgia elections, Democrats and Republicans now each hold 50 seats in the 100-member Senate, enabling incoming Vice President Kamala Harris to cast the tie-breaking vote to give Democrats control. Democrats retained their majority in the House of Representatives in the November election, **although** their majority is now slimmer.

Once Biden and Harris are inaugurated as president and vice president Jan. 20, they and Democrats in both houses of Congress will have a responsibility to govern in a moderate way. They will **need to** reach out to soon-to-be Senate Minority Leader Mitch McConnell, R-Ky., and House Minority Leader Kevin McCarthy, R-Calif., to make it clear that our country is deeply divided and **has to** be brought together by both parties.

This means all sides **must** make it clear that they **will not** tolerate extreme behavior on the left or the right. Biden rightfully **decried** the violence at the Capitol Wednesday and called for a de-escalation of violence for the "work of democracy to go forward."

On Thursday Biden **denounced** those who attacked the Capitol as "a riotous mob" and "domestic terrorists."

Importantly, with Democrats set to control the presidency and both chambers of Congress, they **must not** allow the radical left to encourage or condone violent protests and **should** reject calls to defund the police.

The larger challenge now is to move beyond this moment in our nation's history and get our country back, because we are at risk from threats we face at home and abroad.

**As I argue** in my most recent book, "The End of Democracy? Russia and China on the Rise and America in Retreat," our authoritarian adversaries like Russia and China grow stronger

as Americans' faith in our democratic processes erodes and as more of our own citizens lose faith in their institutions and their government.

In order to confront threats from our adversaries, the U.S. **needs to** show that we stand for democracy. Sadly, as rioters overran the Capitol on Wednesday, it **looked as if** America stands for **nothing**.

Ultimately, the attack on the Capitol was deeply upsetting moment for our country. All patriotic Americans **should** rightfully be profoundly troubled by what transpired.

**But** right now, it is of the utmost importance that lawmakers from both parties commit to peaceful resolution of our differences and to a bipartisan approach to ending the coronavirus pandemic with mass vaccinations, additional economic stimulus and economic recovery, improved health care, and ultimately national reconciliation and revitalizing our sense of purpose. **Nothing** is more important.

## APPENDIX 7: “No excuse for Day of Infamy at Capitol – democracy was under siege by people wearing Trump hats”

By Tim Graham

(Fox News) – You **don't** make America great again by shoving cops and breaking glass on Capitol Hill.

Critics of liberal media bias are often accused of whataboutism. We're accused of diverting everyone's attention from some conservative or Republican scandal or offense by changing the subject to the media's performance.

After a pro-Trump crowd breached the U.S. Capitol on Wednesday, forcing lawmakers to flee, my friend and former colleague Dan Isett **tweeted**: "Yeah, the media covered for left-wing riots last year. So what? We aren't children and we don't use misbehavior by those we disagree with to excuse the misbehaviors of those we do. Personal responsibility is a hallmark of our philosophy."

Amen. If we were raised right, our parents **told** us two wrongs **don't** make a right. This **is not** a time for calling out double standards. This is a time for standards. Respecting the home of our Congress is the lowest possible standard for American civilization. You **don't** Make America Great Again by shoving cops and breaking glass on Capitol Hill.

It's **not** hard to find prominent voices on the left who are suddenly finding lawlessness inexcusable after **having suggested** it was excusable if it forwarded their agenda. They used words like "rebellion" to glamorize unrest. **But** this **is not** rioting at an Apple store. This is where our democracy lives.

NBC News' Chuck Todd **suggested** that the attack on Congress could have the strange effect of bonding the politicians together. After all, they were all at risk in this melee. That's **not** much of a silver lining. **But if we believe in democracy, we should believe that** all the people who have been elected have a right to feel safe in their workplace, just as we all do.

Conservatives **have lectured** that rioting is not a justifiable shortcut to implement "social change." Conservatives **have lectured** that impeachment shouldn't be a partisan plaything, that we should hash it out in elections. This is **no** time for "yes, buts."

For four years now, we have scolded liberals who **claimed** repeatedly that President Trump is an authoritarian who would make democracy die in darkness. **But** the riot of Trump supporters at this late date, deluded with the bizarre notion that Trump won in a landslide, suddenly falsifies our critique. Democracy was under siege by people wearing Trump hats and waving American (and Confederate) flags.

The "told you so's" from liberals **weren't** half as depressing as the "protests" from so-called "born-again Americans" themselves. And at this sad hour, **I'm not invested in** driving the notion that a vast left-wing conspiracy somehow overtook a peaceful Trump rally. In this moment, it feels like another unproven **claim**, like the Trump landslide.

Adding salt to the wounds of video showing "conservatives" ramming through police barricades were pictures of "conservatives" destroying media equipment. If you're stomping on someone's camera, you're **no** friend of America.

Just because journalists **might seem to** wear hats that say America has never been great **doesn't** excuse your destruction of property. They have a right to report — **even** a right to distort — and we have the right to call out distortions. That's the First Amendment, too.

The media deserve our everyday attention. **But** this riot **wasn't** an everyday phenomenon. **No** arrogant scold with a microphone and an expensive peacoat compares to thugs who make the U.S. Capitol Police draw their guns. Right now, **we should call this what it is**: a day that **should** live in infamy.



## APPENDIX 8: “Protestors storm Capitol - this is how mobs act, not patriots and all American hearts should ache”

By Karl Rove

(Fox News) – What happened at the US Capitol on Wednesday **should** sicken anyone who loves America.

What happened at the U.S. Capitol on Wednesday afternoon – what we saw on our screens – **should** sicken anyone who loves America.

Yes, the First Amendment gives us all the right to peacefully protest.

**But nothing** contained within that right gives anyone the right to force doors and break windows in order to shut down a constitutionally prescribed meeting of the United States Congress.

People have been hurt on Wednesday and a great symbol of our republic desecrated. That's **not** freedom of speech: it's the work of thugs, mindless cretins who stride to the presiding officer's chair in a chamber emptied by violence so they can mug for selfies.

Some protestors **scream** that the Capitol is the people's house and that they are the people. That's the language of the violent left, of anarchists and ANTIFA, **not** of law-abiding Americans who love their Constitution and country.

It's the language like we heard from the CHAZ zone in Seattle and on Chicago's Miracle Mile as people mindlessly smashed storefronts.

It's how mobs act, **not** patriots.

Those who defiled the chambers of the United States House and Senate, parading with Confederate flags and defying lawful orders to stop and disperse are **nothing** more than common criminals. They have stained America's Capitol and thereby our national government in front of the entire world and they did it **claiming** they were doing this for us.

Mr. President, the people who did this are responsible for their vile actions, **but** you brought them together today, asked them to share your anger and sent them down Constitution

Avenue to the Capitol. It's up to you to end this attack on our government and the rule of law by people declaring they act in your name and for your benefit.

Two pathetically weak tweets followed by a video that **didn't** condemn the violence **won't** cut it, Mr. President.

It's up to you to tell your followers that what some among them have done is unacceptable to you and the entire country.

You **must** promise justice will be meted out to those who broke into our Capitol just as you **promised** justice to those who tried to break into the Federal Courthouse in Portland.

This is a time when every American **should** ache for our country. The disruption of Wednesday's Constitutionally mandated meeting of the House and Senate to receive the votes of the electors is a disgraceful moment.

May God protect our country in this moment of peril.

## APPENDIX 9: QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS CHART

| NEWS CHANNEL | ARTICLE  | DENY      | COUNTER   | CONCUR    | PRONOUNCE | ENDORSE  | ENTERTAIN | ACKNOWLEDGE | DISTANCE |
|--------------|--|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|-------------|----------|
| CNN          | "The urgent unanswered questions about the attack on the Capitol"    | 5         | 10        | 5         | 2         | 2        | 11        | 24          | 0        |
| CNN          | "The Capitol attack was White supremacy, plain and simple"           | 14        | 9         | 4         | 15        | 1        | 9         | 14          | 0        |
| CNN          | "What Americans deserve to know after the deadly Capitol riot"       | 9         | 8         | 0         | 1         | 0        | 17        | 4           | 0        |
| CNN          | "The truly shocking failures on the day rioters stormed the Capitol" | 8         | 5         | 2         | 1         | 0        | 3         | 22          | 0        |
| <b>TOTAL</b> |  | <b>36</b> | <b>32</b> | <b>11</b> | <b>19</b> | <b>3</b> | <b>40</b> | <b>64</b>   | <b>0</b> |
| FOX NEWS     | "What we still don't know about the Capitol riot"                    | 24        | 16        | 9         | 7         | 1        | 13        | 16          | 2        |

|              |   |           |           |           |           |          |           |           |          |
|--------------|---|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|-----------|----------|
| FOX NEWS     | "Capitol riot incited by Trump shows democracy at risk – Dems & GOP must work together peacefully"  | 5         | 10        | 3         | 7         | 1        | 9         | 11        | 0        |
| FOX NEWS     | "No excuse for Day of Infamy at Capitol – democracy was under siege by people wearing Trump hats"   | 13        | 5         | 0         | 3         | 2        | 2         | 4         | 2        |
| FOX NEWS     | "Protestors storm Capitol – this is how mobs act, not patriots and all American hearts should ache" | 7         | 2         | 0         | 0         | 0        | 4         | 2         | 1        |
| <b>TOTAL</b> |   | <b>49</b> | <b>33</b> | <b>12</b> | <b>17</b> | <b>4</b> | <b>28</b> | <b>33</b> | <b>5</b> |