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Pragmatic linguistic analysis of the videos by terrorists of the Barcelona and Cambrils attacks

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Abstract. Three homemade audiovisual recordings filmed a few days before the 2017 terrorist attacks to Barcelona and Cambrils by some individuals involved in these events were weighed as evidence during the trial held at the Audiencia Nacional between November, 10 2020, and May, 27 2021. No expert in linguistics analyzed this evidence in the proceedings. In Spain, the literature on jihadist terrorism has focused on the process of radicalization, including the use of digital media for this purpose and the importance of counter-narratives to battle it. However, few studies have analyzed terrorist productions from a linguistic perspective. This study examines the recordings screened in the trial for the 2017 attacks through the lens of the comprehensive model for pragmatic and discourse analysis put forward by Fuentes Rodríguez (2000, 2009). Results show how various linguistic devices perform multiple functions at the super-, macro- and microstructural levels, allowing the participants to address various audiences and fulfill three communicative goals. Participants claim membership of a jihadist community and convey a message aimed, on the one hand, to intimidate the viewers they discursively construct as their opponents and, on the other, to obtain recognition from those that share their ideological stance. The discursive singularities of these recordings and their commonalities with productions linked to other forms of terrorism are discussed against the literature.
Keywords: Pragmatics, discourse analysis, jihadist videos, forensic linguistics.

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1. Introduction

The second deadliest attack by jihadist terrorists in Spain after the 2004 bombings in Madrid was perpetrated in August 2017 in Barcelona and Cambrils, a coastal town in the province of Tarragona. Both cities were struck by vehicle-rammings and melee attacks. In total, 16 pedestrians were killed and 150 were injured. During the events and in the days afterwards, six terrorists were killed by police officers. In May 2021, three more individuals (Said ben Iazza, Driss Oukabir and Mohamed Houli Chemlal) were sentenced to 8, 46 and 53 years of imprisonment for their involvement in the events. Specifically, for offences such as belonging to a terrorist group and manufacturing explosives. In the trial for these attacks, some of the evidence weighed against the accused consisted of messages exchanged between some of the perpetrators on social media and three homemade video recordings taken a few days before the events. In these videos, three of the perpetrators can be seen in the group's headquarters, an abandoned house in the town of Alcanar. They appear to be working on explosive devices while they talk to the camera and among themselves. These recordings were filmed by Mohamed Houli, one of the three men prosecuted for the attacks.

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2. Linguistics and terrorist discourse

As samples containing jihadist discourse, the written and audiovisual evidence used in the trial for the 2017 attacks can interest scholars of fields including communication sciences (Veres, 2012; Jan, 2015), intelligence and security (Vicente, 2018), international relations (Baele, Bettiza, Boyd & Coan, 2019) but also critical discourse analysis (Bhatia, 2009) and forensic linguistics (Shuy, 2010). Indeed, the expertise of (forensic) linguists can contribute a wide array of insights relevant to threat and terrorism investigations. Linguistics has been applied to threat assessment (e.g., Storey, 1995; Solan & Tiersma, 2005; Smith, 2008; Gales, 2010, 2011; van der Vegt, 2021), profiling and authorship analysis in relation to terrorism (e.g., Abbasi & Chen, 2005; Leonard, Ford & Christensen, 2017; DANTE, 2019:37-41; Aston University, 2022), the analysis of the (psycho)linguistic features of mass attackers' (cf. Hamlett, 2017; Brindle, 2018; Kupper & Meloy, 2021; Hunter & Grant, 2022) and terrorists' discourse (e.g., Johansson, Kaati & Sahlgren, 2016; Giménez & Queralt, 2021).

Scholars have used various methods to analyze productions by terrorist groups and individuals. Some have examined texts and recordings through a qualitative lens (e.g., Gales, 2011; Rothenberger, Müller & Elmezeny, 2016; Renaut, 2019; Johnston, Iqbal & True, 2020), others have employed more automated approaches (e.g., Abbasi & Chen, 2005; Wignell, Chai, Tan, O'Halloran & Lange, 2018; Litvinova & Litvinova, 2020; Araque & Iglesias, 2022), and a growing number of studies combine computerized tools with qualitative interpretations of the results (e.g., Brookes & McEnery, 2020; Longhi 2021). Qualitative contributions to this area of research have examined the discursive strategies used in websites, public statements or social networks through semiotics, Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), critical discourse analysis of ideological elements or feminist Content Analysis, among others.

Qualitative studies have found that different forms of jihadist discourse include features like merging group and individual identities (Rothenberger *et al*., 2016); tailoring content to the addressees' perceived gender, as well as perpetuating a differentiation of the social roles of each gender (Johnston, Iqbal & True, 2020; see also Bermingham *et al*., 2009 on gender differences in radicalized individuals online); a polarized worldview in which agents are ascribed to opposing parties, such as 'good' or 'bad', 'us' or 'them' (El-Nashar & Nayef, 2019; Etaywe & Zappavigna, 2021; Patterson, 2022); elements that convey negative polarity and explicit judgment in relation to the authors' religious and moral standards (Etaywe & Zappavigna, 2021); legitimizing violence by drawing on moral principles (i.e., a particular understanding of the Islamic religion; Rothenberger *et al*., 2016; El-Nashar & Nayef, 2019; Etaywe & Zappavigna, 2021); and presenting the Muslim community as a victim of the 'West' (cf. Lorenzo-Dus & Macdonald, 2018; Lorenzo-Dus, Kinzel & Walker, 2018), as a key element of a narrative that may lead radicalized individuals to take on the role of 'righter of wrongs' (Renaut, 2019; cf. Ingram, 2016).

Some discursive features of jihadist productions seem to be shared with texts linked to other forms of terrorism. For instance, Gales (2011) analyzes threats by Eric Robert Rudolph, who wrote as The Army of God, using Appraisal analysis, the same discourse analytic framework rooted in SFL that Etaywe & Zappavigna (2021) apply to public statements by former Al-Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden, and finds that Rudolph, similarly to authors who support religious extremism, dichotomizes 'us' and 'them', negatively evaluates targets, foregrounds the importance of his cause to other discursive elements and employs repetition to reinforce key elements of his message ("support and strengthen his stance" Gales, 2011:40). Other findings in Gales (2011), however, contrast with the characteristics of jihadist discourse described by the literature, including the absence of the author's self-portrayal as morally superior to his addressees and the absence of personal affect (e.g., anger; Gales, 2011:36).

Works which apply computerized tools to linguistic productions by jihadist authors are commonly categorized as efforts towards the analysis, detection or prediction of radicalization (Araque & Iglesias, 2022:50). Dedicated reviews of this literature are currently available (e.g., Fernandez, Asif & Alani, 2018:4-7). Combined approaches have been used to analyze a wide array of materials. On the one hand, magazines which propagate extremist ideologies, such as IS's *Dabiq* and *Rumiyah*, have been analyzed by scholars with complementary objectives. Among others, Wignell, Chai, Tan, O'Halloran & Lange (2018) approach them with a focus on the differences between texts that invite readers to become violent and texts that merely report on or oppose extremism, whereas Baele, Bettiza, Boyd & Coan (2019) focus on the group's depiction of 'the West'. On the other, El-Nashar & Nayef (2019) apply critical discourse analysis both qualitatively and quantitatively to a corpus of IS statements and Longhi (2021) employs digital tools to carry out statistical calculations which are then used to characterize anonymous texts posted online by members of terrorist groups ideologically linked to the far left.

Even if the methods currently used to examine terrorist discourse are very diverse, studies which combine qualitative and quantitative methods share the fact that a sound qualitative interpretation of the results is of paramount importance to the construction of knowledge of terrorist discourse. This can be seen in all the works which employ combined methods mentioned so far as well as the study by Brookes & McEnery (2020), in which correlational analysis of texts authored by individuals convicted of terror-related offences contributes to the exploration of the rhetorical functions fulfilled by the linguistic elements identified through a quantitative analysis. Indeed, combined approaches offer the advantage of uncovering meaningful patterns in limited as well as large volumes of data (cf. Baker, Vessey & McEnery, 2022).

In the context of Spain, literature on jihadist terrorism has focused on the process of radicalization (Jordán, 2009a and 2009b; Reinares, García-Calvo & Vicente, 2017; Vicente, 2018) and the use of digital media for this purpose (Fanjul Fernández, 2015; Veres, 2017; Torralba, 2019). Several authors emphasize the role of counter-narrative in a successful, long-lasting battle against radicalizing discourse (Moyano, Bermúdez & Ramírez, 2016; Morillas, 2018). However, studies on the linguistic features of productions by terrorists are still very scarce in this context.

3. Methodological approach

The study presented here analyzes three homemade recordings screened in the trial for the 2017 terrorist attacks of Barcelona and Cambrils through the lense of pragmatic linguistics (Fuentes, 2000).

3.1. Data

The three video recordings were filmed by Mohamed Houli Chemlal in the house used as the headquarters of the terrorist cell responsible for the attacks of Barcelona and Cambrils of 17 and 18 August, 2017. They feature Youssef Aallaa, Younes Abouyaaqoub and Mohamed Hichamy, three of the radicalized individuals who participated and died in the attacks, and Mohamed Houli Chemlal, who is not shown on camera. The terrorists manufacture and handle explosives as they talk to the camera and to themselves. Table 1 summarizes the characteristics of the recordings and the corresponding transcripts.

Participants	Recording	Length	Total word count		Source: El País (2020)	
			MT1	MT2		
Youssef Aallaa Younes Abouyaaqoub Mohamed Hichamy Mohamed Houli Chemlal	Video 1	00:05:20	572	493	Begins	00:50:40
					Ends	00:56:03
	Video 2	00:01:56	246	218	Begins	00:56:10
					Ends	00:58:05
	Video 3	00:00:51	124	120	Begins	00:58:18
					Ends	00:59:09

MT1: multilingual transcript. MT2: monolingual transcript.

Table 1. Data analyzed

Multilingual and monolingual (Spanish) transcripts were obtained for each recording with the help of an experienced transcriber with high skills in the languages used by the speakers, Spanish, Darija (Moroccan Arabic vernacular) and English. Since neither author is a speaker of Darija, the linguistic analysis was performed on monolingual transcripts. The transcription criteria outlined in Garayzábal *et al*. (2019:56-57) were slightly modified in response to the characteristics of the recordings (low image and sound quality, frequent overlapping between speakers, frequent use of code switching), as shown in Table 2 below.

	Code	Meaning	Example
1	A:	Speech turn / intervening speaker	Hichamy: *con permiso de Dios todopoderoso.* ('with God almighty's permission.') *Youssef: Dios nos ha prometido el paraíso y a vosotros os ha prometido el infierno, enemigos de Dios ((alegraos)).* ('God has promised us paradise and you hell, enemies of God ((rejoice)).')
2	((A)):	Uncertain intervening speaker	((Youssef)): ¿Está grabando? ('Is it recording?')
3	(( )):	Unknown intervening speaker	(( )): *Gracias a Dios*. ('Thank God.')
4	aa/ss	Vowel / consonant elongation	Que miren, que miren {((Houli)) se ríe} cómo hemos hecho nuestros eeh- ('Let them look, let them look {((Houli)) laughs} at how we've made our uuh-')
5	¿ ?	Interrogative	((Youssef)): ¿Está grabando? ('Is it recording?')
6	¡ !	Exclamation	Vale! ('Alright!')
7	pal-	Self-interruption / self-correction	Que miren cómo van a- a sufrir. ('Let them look at how they are going to- to suffer.')
8	[ ]	Overlap	(( )): *Mira, mira*. [Estamos trabajando ('Look, look. [We're working') (( )): *Enfoca aquí*]. ('Focus [the camera] here].')
9	(( ))	Unintelligible	((Ahora lo que hay que hacer (( )). ('Now what needs to be done (( )).')
10	((doubt))	Doubtful utterance / element	*Si Dios quiere* ((*esperad, esperad*)) *nosotros también esperaremos con vosotros.* ('God willing ((wait, wait)) we will also wait with you.')
11	xx'	Phoneme elision	Seréis engaña'os ((*enemigos de Dios*)). ('You'll be fooled ((enemies of God)).')
12	//	Non-normative pause (≥ 30")	Comforsa. Y lo he trabajado ahí delante de vuestros // aliados, que me veían que yo los hacía [...] ('Comforsa. And I've worked on it right there in front of your // allies, who saw me making them [...]')
13	*italics*	Original statement in Arabic (code-switching)	*Con permiso de Dios todopoderoso*. ('with God almighty's permission'.)
14	SMALL CAPS	Statement in Catalan or English (*code-switching*)	He visto fotos ((*de los cinturones*)) IN THAT POSITION. ('I've seen photos ((*of the belts*)) IN THAT POSITION.')
15	{ }	Short explanation / onomatopoeia	¿Qué hace esto? {Se ríe}. ('What does this do? {Laughs}.')

Source: adapted from Garayzábal *et al.* (2019:56-57).

Table 2. Transcription criteria

3.2. Methods

The data are analyzed from a pragmatic and discourse-analytical perspective. Authors like Brown & Fraser (1979) argue for the importance of the interplay between context and language (see also Verschueren, 2008; Van Dijk, 2008, or Fetzer & Oishi, 2011, among others). We resort to the model for pragmatic analysis put forward by Fuentes Rodríguez (2000, 2009) due to its comprehensiveness. It combines elements from textual linguistics, argumentation theory, the polyphonic theory of enunciation, speech act theory, relevance theory, and ethnomethodology. More specifically in relation to the latter, in this paper, due to the nature of the data, we draw on Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson's (1974) Conversation Analysis, especially in connection with the implications of silence in the recordings.

This is a modular model (Figure 1), in which the information stemming from the linguistic elements and the different situational factors interact to determine the meaning conveyed and its effects on the addressee (Fuentes Rodríguez, 2009:97). The model integrates an analysis of enunciation and modality and of three textual dimensions: the superstructure (sequences and intertextuality), the macrostructure (argumentation and information structures, polyphony and cohesive devices), and the microstructure, which involves looking at the syntactic constructions, lexical elements and phonetic resources that make up the text. Thus, linguistic features are analyzed in relation to each other and the communicative situation in which they were produced, so as to arrive at a comprehensive understanding of the complex system of operations they perform simultaneously at various levels of discourse.

Source: adapted from Fuentes Rodríguez (2000:307; 2009:68).

Figure 1. Fuentes Rodríguez's (2000, 2009) model for the pragmatic linguistic analysis of texts

The linguistic analysis resulting from the application of this model to the data was complemented with a measure of the texts' lexical density. This was obtained as a first approximation to the transcripts. Using Hallebeek's (1986) list of Spanish function words, the lexical units in the transcripts were classified into function or content items (excluding words not uttered by the participants, i.e., information on the intervening speaker for each turn and contextual details). Words were counted independently of whether or not they appeared more than once. The total of content words for each video was divided by the total number of words and the result was converted into a percentage for comparability.

4. Results

4.1. Lexical density

The totals of function and content items for each recording are as follows. The first transcript contains 209 function and 187 content words; the second transcript, 126 function and 90 content words, and the third, 42 function and 28 content items. Thus, the lexical items correspond to 47,22 % of the total number of words in the first transcript, 41,67 % of the second and 40 % of the third. Although the varying lengths of the videos should be considered in comparing these figures, they may be used as a measurable indicator of the differences in the complexity of the texts observed from a qualitative perspective in the remainder of this section.

4.2. Pragmatic linguistic analysis

Firstly, it should be noted that we are dealing with informal conversations among participants who know each other and share ideological features and goals, but also who, simultaneously, address themselves to parties who are not present (i.e., the future viewers of the recordings), as these videos are instances of propaganda (cf. Veres, 2017). This shapes the linguistic interactions among the participants at different levels of linguistic inquiry.

4.2.1. Superstructure

In Fuentes' (2000, 2009) analytical model, the superstructure affects the organization of textual sequences and a text's intertextuality. There are three main types of sequences: narrative, expository, and instructional. Expository sequences are descriptive when they present objects of reality and deliberative when they characterize an idea. Sequences may be coordinated, subordinated or juxtaposed. Here, we face three spoken interactions which predominantly comprise deliberative and instructional sequences. There are also a few narrative and descriptive sequences, but deliberative sequences are dominant in these videos, in line with their goal of subjectively describing the participants' imminent actions, linked to their ideological convictions.

Expository (deliberative) sequence	Youssef: Dios nos ha prometido el *paraíso* y a vosotros os ha prometido el infierno *enemigos de Dios* ((*alegraos*)). [Youssef: God has promised paradise to us and hell to you *enemies of God ((rejoice))*]
Expository (descriptive) sequence	((Houli)): *Aquí están los hermanos. Aquí está Younes.* [((Houli)): Here are the brothers. Here is Younes.]
Instructional sequence	Hichamy: Venid. Venid. [...] [Hichamy: Come. Come. [...]]
Narrative sequence	Hichamy: Comforsa. Y lo he trabajado ahí delante de vuestros // aliados, que me veían que yo los hacía, [...] [Hichamy: Comforsa. And I have worked on it right there in front of your allies, who saw me making them, [...]]

Table 3. Examples of the sequence types found in the data

The organization of sequences of the first recording reflects the two goals of the participants, i.e., the conversation among the participants is interspersed with messages to the viewers. The latter mainly correspond to deliberative sequences and make up most of the interventions. Other sequence types are less frequent and often correspond to interventions from a participant to another. The first sequence (*Aquí están los hermanos*. *Aquí está Younes* 'Here are the brothers. Here is Younes' in line 1 and ((*Ah, falta*)) *Youssef* '((Oh, I skipped)) Youssef' in line 5) is descriptive and introduces the participants. This is followed by a combination of deliberative and instructional sequences, the first warning message for the addressees of this recording (lines 4, 6 and 7: ((*Alegraos mientras observáis*)) '((Rejoice while you watch))', ((*Este es el veneno seguro con permiso de Dios*)). *// Probad* '((This is the definite poison by God's leave)). // Taste' and *Si Dios quiere* ((*esperad, esperad*)) *nosotros también esperaremos con vosotros* 'God willing ((wait, wait)) we will also wait with you'), interrupted by a first aside about the recording itself (lines 8 to 17, including *Este quizás sea el último vídeo* ((*que vamos a pasar*)) 'This perhaps will be the last video ((we will send))').

From lines 18 to 43, participants resume their warnings in a mainly deliberative sequence (e.g., *Esto es para que sepáis que el musulmán- que el musulmán tiene ((la dignidad)) y la fuerza con permiso de Dios todopoderoso* 'This is for you to know that the Muslim man- that the Muslim man has ((dignity)) and strength by the leave of God almighty' in line 26) with a few instructional elements (such as *Venid, venid* 'Come, come' in lines 37 and 39). This sequence again contains two parenthetical fragments among the participants, characterized by instructional (*Mohammed, hazles un pequeño discurso-* 'Mohammed, give them a small speech-' in line 22 and *Diles que les querías engañar]* 'Tell them you wanted to fool them]' in line 24) and narrative sequences (*Ah, está bien otra vez ellos ((que practiques tú también un [poco- practiques)) (( )). Siguen diciendo otra vez hombres-* 'Ah, it's okay them again ((that you also practice a [little- practice)) (( )). They're still saying again men-' in line 47 and *((Hombres… ¿Qué les pasa a estos hombres?))* '((Men… What's up with these men?))' in line 49). In the last section of this recording (line 52 to 63), participants resume their warnings one more time in another deliberative sequence (*((Nosotros, con permiso de Dios, defenderemos nuestra religión y defenderemos nuestra doctrina y destruiremos a los enemigos (( )) con permiso de Dios con permiso de Dios todopoderoso))* '((We, by leave of God, will defend our religion and will defend our doctrine and will destroy our enemies (( )) by leave of God by leave of God almighty' in line 52 and *(( )) ((Dios es el más grande, Dios es el más grande)) (( ))* '(( )) ((God is the greatest, God is the greatest)) (( ))' in line 53). Additionally, they make use of the possibilities of audiovisual recording to reinforce their warning by showing the amount of explosives at their disposal (lines 54 to 63 in the first transcript, corresponding to Houli showing the chemical products stored in another room). Just as the camera is leaving the room where the other participants remain, we can hear an intervention from one of them to his fellows, which constitutes one last short instructional sequence (*(( )) Ahora lo que hay que hacer (( ))* '(( )) Now what one must do (( ))', line 55).

Expository sequences are also predominant in the second recording. The first sequence (*((La única cámara que le enfocaba y)) (( )) ((¿quién es este?))* '((The only camera focusing on him and)) (()) ((who is this?))', line 1), however, is narrative and corresponds to an exchange between the participants which presumably started before the recording. The "official" beginning of the recording is signaled by the instructive sequence in line 2 (*¡Vale!* 'Alright!') and the first utterance in line 3, used as a greeting (*En nombre de Dios, alabado sea y que la paz y la oración sean sobre el mensajero de Dios* 'In the name of God, praised be and may peace and prayer be upon God's messen-

ger'). The following sequence comprises from the rest of line 3 to line 9 and can be viewed as a combination of deliberative (e.g., *Ya está, gracias a Dios* 'That's it, thank God' in line 7), descriptive (*Hace mucho daño* 'It does a lot of damage', lines 4, 6 and 7) and instructional elements, since line 3 is addressed to the participants' sympathizers and explains what is necessary to perform an action according to the speaker (*Esto hermano- hermanos no cuesta nada de hacer. Lo único que te hace falta es fe. El fe en Dios y tener- y tener un odio a estos infieles exagera'o. Sin esto no puedes* ACONSEGUIR *esto. Y esto- su presupuesto no supera los quince euros entre los quince y los veinte. Y...* 'This brother- brothers is not at all difficult to make. The only thing you need is faith. Faith in God and to have- and to have a steep hatred for these infidels. Without this you can't achieve this. And this- its budget is not more than fifteen euros between fifteen and twenty. And…'). Lastly, lines 10 to 12 form a mainly deliberative sequence (e.g., *Dios todopoderoso* con *vuestro dinero nos prepara para mataros* 'God almighty with your money is preparing us to kill you' in line 12) with some narrative elements (e.g., *todo lo que tenemos lo he traído de mi trabajo* 'everything we have I brought from my workplace' in line 10) and is directed to the participants' opponents.

The first sequence in the third video (lines 1 to 7) is narrative, like in the previous one, and reflects part of a conversation among the participants which seems to have been already happening when the camera started recording (e.g., *¿Qué?* 'What?' and *He visto fotos ((de los cinturones))* IN THAT POSITION 'I've seen photos ((of the belts)) in that position', lines 2 and 3). This is interrupted by an indirect instructional sequence (lines 8 to 10) in which the participants are requested to replace their conversation with a new topic through the question *¿Qué es esto?* ('What's this?') in lines 8 and 10. This sequence is followed by a descriptive one which comprises lines 11 to 16 and in which the participants mockingly explain that the items they are showing are explosives (e.g., *¿Esto? Esto hace bum. {Se ríe}* 'This? This goes boom. {Laughs}' in line 11). Next, we find a deliberative sequence (lines 17 to 23), in which they comment on what else would be necessary (*Faltaría algo de metralla* 'It would be missing some shrapnel' in line 17) and how an explosive belt looks on one of them (e.g., *Ahora está bien, ¿no? // Te queda bien, ¿eh?* 'It's okay now, isn't it? // It looks good on you, hm?' in line 21). This recording ends abruptly, with an instructional sequence (namely, *((Ah, tráeme a alguien que ((se inmole)) vamos))* '((Ah, bring me someone who ((sacrifices himself)) come on)) in line 24).

Still on the superstructure, we can observe the texts' intertextuality features. Participants make constant references to the divine (e.g., *Si Dios quiere* 'God willing' in lines 7 and 61 of the first transcript) and what they claim is their duty to "defend their religion" (first transcript, line 52) by combatting "God's enemies" (e.g., first transcript, line 26). In these instances, participants link their productions to those of other groups and terrorists with which they share ideology. Scholars like Jordán (2009b:205) explain that jihadist individuals and organizations often cite fragments of the Quran or the Sunna covering a divine mandate to fight the non-believers if they attack Islam, so as to grant religious legitimacy to exercising violence. This is seen in the recordings. Participants justify their actions as "God's commands" (e.g., *Dios todopoderoso nos ha elegido entre millones de hombres // para haceros llorar san[gre* 'God almighty has chosen us among millions of men // to make you cry blo[od' in line 27 and *por orden de Dios vais a arrepentir- os vais a arrepentir de haber nacido* 'by leave of God you will regret- you will regret having been born' in line 39 of the first transcript), label viewers who do not share their worldview as "God's enemies" (in lines 25, 26, 31, and 52 of the first transcript), and refer to a senior leader of IS and religious elements (e.g., *como dijo* ((*Abu Mohammed Adnan aceptado por Dios*)) *que la oración y la paz sean sobre el profeta* 'as said by ((Abu Mohammed Adnan accepted by God)) may prayer and peace be upon the prophet', in line 12 of the second transcript). As shown in numerous studies, linguistic elements may be used to, directly or indirectly, "evoke ("index") social elements of the context in which and of the speakers by whom [they are] typically used" (Zenner, Rosseel and Claude, 2019:2; Bucholtz & Hall, 2005:378-379). Thus, by using these linguistic devices, participants do not simply draw on the religious texts and jihadist propaganda they have been exposed to in order to produce their own (e.g., *He visto fotos ((de los cinturones))* IN THAT POSITION 'I've seen photos ((*of the belts*)) IN THAT POSITION' in line 3 of the third transcript), but also signal their commitment to a particular ideology and claim membership of a (jihadist) community.

4.2.2. Macrostructure

The superstructure just outlined interrelates with the texts' macrostructure, which involves their cohesion, polyphony, thematic progression, and argumentation structure, all of which are realized by means of linguistic (phonetic, lexical and morphosyntactic) devices. The cohesive devices in these texts correspond to those of naturally occurring informal conversation. These include deictic expressions (e.g., *aquí* 'here', *esto* 'this', *ahora* 'now' in lines 11, 15 and 55 of the first transcript), ellipsis (e.g, of *cabezas* 'heads' in *Con permiso de Dios, cada gramo de este hierro se os va a meter en ((nuestras)) cabezas o la de vuestros hijos o la de vuestras mujeres* 'By leave of God, every gram of this iron will go into ((our)) heads or your children's or your wives'', line 12 of the second transcript), the use of very few and simple connectors (such as *y* 'and'), grammatical agreement (except in a few instances affected by code-switching, such as *Nos queríais comprar con vuestros trabajos y vuestros*$_{[Spanish]}$ *... mundo*$_{[Darija]}$ 'You wanted to buy us with your jobs and your$_{pl}$… world' in line 27 of the first transcript), anaphoric reference (e.g., *Lo único que te hace falta es fe. El fe en Dios y tener- y tener un odio a estos infieles exagera'o. Sin esto no puedes* ACONSEGUIR *esto* 'The only thing you need is faith. Faith in God and to have- to have a steep hatred for these infidels. Without this you can't achieve this' in line 3 of the second transcript), repetitions (like *¿Qué hace esto? ¿Esto? Esto hace bum* 'What does this do? This? This goes boom' in lines 10 and 11 of the third transcript) and lexical cohesion. The latter includes the use of words from two main semantic fields, religion (e.g., *fe* 'faith', *infieles* 'infidels' and *paraíso* 'paradise') and armed

conflict (e.g., *sangre* 'blood', *mataros* 'kill you' and *granada de mano* 'hand grenade'), as well as the relations of synonymy, antonymy and hyper- and hyponymy established in discourse (Figure 3).

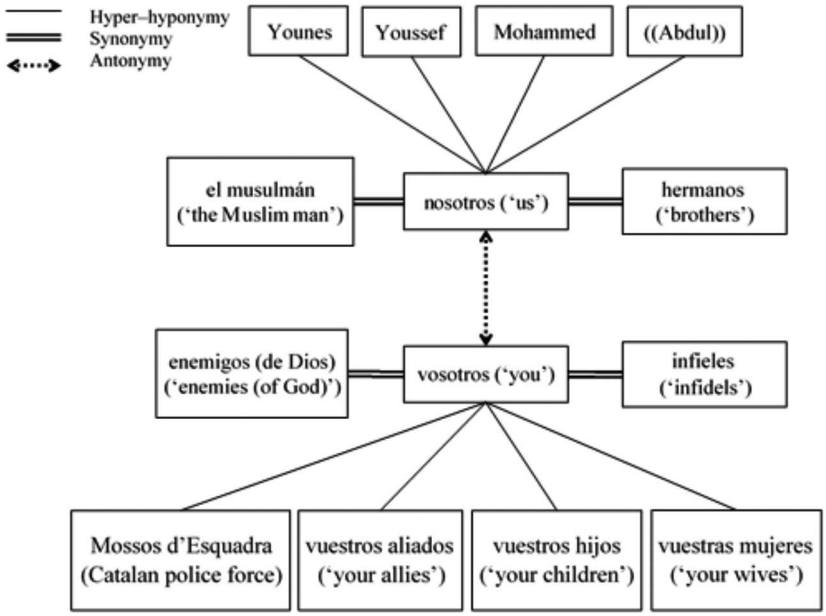


Figure 3. Synonymy, antonymy and hyper-hyponymy relations in the texts

Additionally, cohesion is achieved across the recordings in relation to the two antonymic entities of the participants and those addressees they construct in discourse as their opponents through the consistent use of the personal pronouns *nosotros* ('us') and *vosotros* ('you$_{pl.}$') and the corresponding system of grammatical agreement (e.g., *Dios todopoderoso con vuestro dinero nos prepara para mataros, o sea el problema lo tenéis vosotros, no nosotros* 'God almighty with your money is preparing us to kill you, that is you have a problem, not us' in line 12 of the second transcript). However, these are not the only grammatical persons used by the speakers in reference to themselves or their intended viewers. In the first recording, Houli introduces the rest in the third person (*Aquí están*$_{3rd.pl}$ *los hermanos*. *Aquí está*$_{3rd.sg}$ *Younes* 'Here are the brothers. Here is Younes', line 1), adopting the role of a mere voice-over, a distant narrator not involved in what is seen on camera. Similarly, in line 15, when discussing the recording itself, Houli uses the second person to refer to the others and what they are doing (*que vean cómo trabajáis*$_{[2nd.pl]}$ *eso* 'let them see how you work on that'), underscoring his role of cameraman, in contrast to the others' more active engagement in the preparation of explosives. Thus, he distances himself from their activities. Yet, this distance is not maintained by Houli throughout his interventions. He also uses the second person singular T-pronoun *tú* in reference to other specific participants, which indicates familiarity or lack of distance (e.g., *Te queda bien* 'It looks good on you', line 21 of the third transcript), and even the first person plural (e.g., line 61 of the first transcript, *Si Dios quiere* esto nos abrirá las puertas del *paraíso* 'God willing this will open the gates of heaven for us'), self-portraying as a member of the group along with the others. This lack of consistency in Houli's portrayal as an insider or an outsider of the group through the grammatical persons relates to the spontaneity and multiple audiences of the recordings.

A variety of grammatical persons are also used in reference to the viewers. In addition to the second person plural, participants refer to their audience in the third person when chatting to each other (e.g., *Mohamed, hazles un pequeño discurso-* 'Mohammed, give them a small speech-' and *Sí, sí, eso del el último vídeo, Mohammed, quizás, es mejor. ((Que la gente esté prepara'o))* 'Yes, yes, that thing in the last video, Mohammed, maybe it's better. ((Let the people be ready))' in lines 22 and 45 of the first transcript). Nonetheless, viewers are also referred to through the second person singular in line 3 of the second transcript, when a participant explains how to make the explosives they are preparing (*Lo único que te hace falta es fe […] Sin esto no puedes* ACONSEGUIR *esto* 'The only thing you need is faith […] Without this you can't achieve this'). By using this grammatical person, the speaker places himself in the viewer's position, thus eliminating the distance between him and his audience (particularly, those who sympathize with the ideology he represents). This use of the second person has been termed *non-specific*, *generalizing* or *objectivizing* (cf. Serrano & Aijón Oliva, 2014). As Serrano & Aijón Oliva (2014:230) put it: "[o]bjectivizing second-person singular *tú* is not so much a notional blurring of the first person as it is a discourse strategy aimed at involving the hearer by indexing him/her". By using different grammatical persons in their discourse, participants address themselves to their different simultaneous audiences.

This is part of what Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson (1974) refer to as 'recipient design' and also contributes to the texts' thematic progression, given the scarcity of explicit information management mechanisms like sentence connectors or discourse markers. In the first recording, for example, the change from third person plural in line 24 (*Dileles que les querías engañar* 'Tell them you wanted to fool them') to second person plural in line 25 (*Seréis en-*

gaña'os ((*enemigos de Dios*)) '<u>You</u> will be fooled ((enemies of God))') signals the turns' different recipients (a participant, in line 24, *vs.* the opponents, in line 25) but also the transition from the parenthetical sequence identified above, about the video itself (lines 8 to 17), to a new topic, their intention to perform an attack.

Another element essential to the thematic progression of the texts is the existence of silence between turns (gaps and lapses, Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974). For example, the end of line 43 of the first transcript constitutes a transition-relevance place after which there is an extended silence (which a participant attempts to fill by humming, line 44). This lapse in the conversation is interrupted by Youssef's self-selected turn in line 45 which changes the topic from the intended attack (*US ESTEU CARDANT EN UN- EN UN berenjenal {se ríe}, QUE NO SABEU ON US POSEU* 'You are getting yourself into a mess {laughs}, you have no idea what you're getting yourself into', line 42) to the contents of the recording (*Sí, sí, eso del el último vídeo, Mohammed, quizás, es mejor. ((Que la gente esté prepara'o))* 'Yes, yes, that thing in the last video, Mohammed, maybe it's better. ((Let the people be ready))', line 45), taking advantage of Hichamy's mention of the video in the last part of his turn (*((Esto todavía os lo vamos a mostrar bien en el vídeo))* '((This we will yet show you well enough on the video))' line 42). The same pattern of lapse and topic transition is observed a few lines later, where after the laughter in line 50 in response to Hichamy's mimicry of part of the audience's hypothetical reaction to their videos (*(((Hombres… ¿Qué les pasa a estos hombres?))* '((Men… What's up with these men?))', line 49), there is a lapse where we hear humming (line 51) and this is followed by Younes' self-selected turn in which he does not continue the previous topic but instead (re)introduces another subject by addressing himself to their audience and announcing their future actions (*((Nosotros, con permiso de Dios, defenderemos nuestra religión y defenderemos nuestra doctrina y destruiremos a los enemigos (( )) con permiso de Dios con permiso de Dios todopoderoso))* '((We, by leave of God, will defend our religion and will defend our doctrine and will destroy our enemies (( )) by leave of God by leave of God almighty', line 52). Interestingly, this statement ends with the religious expression *con permiso de Dios todopoderoso* ('by leave of God almighty'), which invokes the other participants' *Dios es el más grande* ('God is the greatest', line 53). These two turns function, therefore, like an adjacency pair and serve as an indicator of the end of the exchange in the way that a farewell-farewell adjacency pair would in other conversations. This is evidenced by the fact that this pair of turns is followed by Houli leaving the room (line 54) as the other participants start a new conversation (line 55).

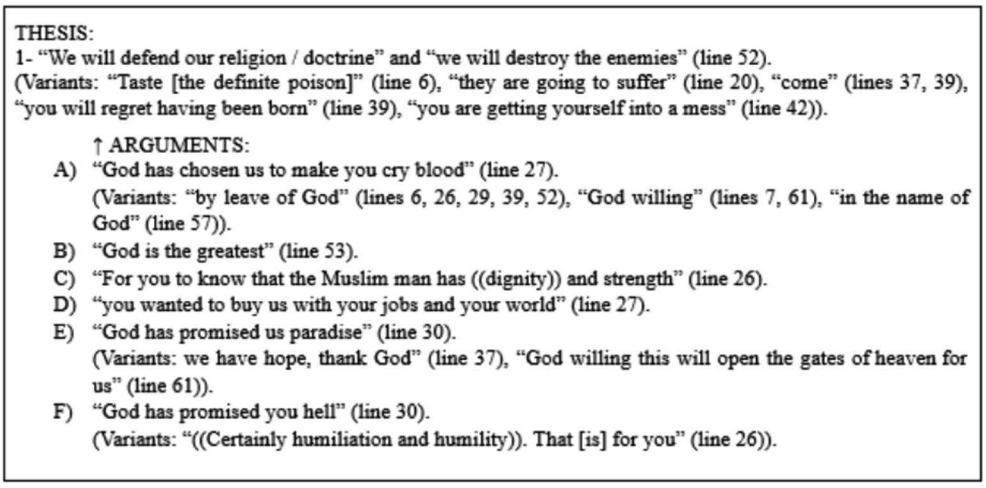
The second recording is a succession of three topics. The transition from the first (the conversation the participants were having before the recording began, line 1) to the second (the necessary elements to act like them) is abrupt, explicitly brought about by Houli's *¡Vale!* ('Alright!'), as noted above. In contrast, this second topic is concatenated to the third (the alleged divine legitimacy of their actions proclaimed by Hichamy in line 12) by means of the connector *es decir* ('that is'). This device allows him to introduce his interpretation of the facts he narrates (*El presupuesto de cada una no sé cuánto es porque todo lo que tenemos lo he traído de mi trabajo* 'The budget for each of these I don't know how much it is because everything we have I brought from my workplace', line 10) as evidence that their actions respond to the will of a divine figure (*es decir, Dios todopoderoso con vuestro dinero nos prepara para mataros, o sea el problema lo tenéis vosotros, no nosotros* 'that is, God almighty with your money is preparing us to kill you, that is you have a problem, not us', line 12). In this fragment, thematic progression is realized by employing a linguistic device typical of spoken interaction which facilitates the addition of new information to the content already produced. The new informative element is presented as a justification of its precedent. From the perspective of argumentation, this new element is the conclusion of two convergent arguments coordinated in a narrative sequence *todo lo que tenemos lo he traído de mi trabajo* ('everything we have I brought from my workplace') and *lo he trabajado ahí delante de vuestros // aliados, que me veían que yo los hacía* ('I have worked on it right there in front of your allies, who saw me making them', line 12; cf. Figure 5 below).

In the third recording, the participants contribute to the interaction in a less cohesive manner than in the other videos. The topics alternate somewhat suddenly, as turns succeed one another. Although the contributions all relate to what is visible (a participant wearing an explosive belt), they are not explicitly concatenated by linguistic devices. Thus, the topic at hand progresses as speakers take the floor. There are six main subtopics in this conversation. The first corresponds to the exchange between Younes and another participant which unfolds from lines 1 to 7 and appears to have started before the recording. This is interrupted by Houli's question *¿Qué hace esto?* ('What does this do?') in line 8, the spontaneity (unexpectedness) of which is indicated by Younes' request for repetition in line 9 (*¿Ah?*). After Younes' answer in line 11, thematic progression is further slowed down by the repetitions in lines 12 and 14 (*Hace buk* and *Esto hace buk* '(This) goes *buk*'). This topic is cut short by Houli's 'meta' intervention about the recording (*Vamos a grabarlo de cerca*, 'We'll take a close-up') in line 16, which, aside from containing the deictic pronoun *lo* ('it') referring to the explosive belt like the demonstrative pronoun *esto* ('this') in the previous turns, is not directly related to the preceding or the following interventions. The conversation goes on to revolve around physical elements other than those visible which will hypothetically also be present in the participants' future attack (e.g., *Faltaría algo de metralla* 'It would be missing some shrapnel', line 17). This subtopic is abruptly replaced in line 21 by a compliment in the form of two successive questions (*Ahora está bien, ¿no? // Te queda bien, ¿eh?* 'It's okay now, isn't it? // It looks good on you, hm?'). Just before the recording ends, as reflected in line 24 of the transcript, a participant produces yet another formally disconnected intervention, which nevertheless, as in the previous cases, ties in with the preceding turns on the levels of information organization and semantics by still being related to the topic of the participants' projected action in which they intend to use the explosive belt (*((Ah, tráeme a alguien que ((se inmole)) vamos))* '((Ah, bring me someone who ((sacrifices himself)) come on))').

The three recordings are clearly argumentative. They intend to convince the viewers of the participants' imminent actions. In the framework of an armed conflict that they construct in discourse, this argumentative goal corre-

sponds, firstly, to intimidating their opponents and, secondly, to obtaining recognition from their sympathizers. The argumentative organization, however, is made visible to varying degrees across the recordings through specific linguistic devices. Participants make more use of connectors linking arguments to conclusions in the second video than in the other two. In contrast, repetition is used across the recordings to call attention to and emphasize their arguments and conclusions. The recordings are characterized by scarce counter-argumentation and the accumulation of convergent arguments, sometimes produced by different speakers, in support of a thesis (conclusion). This is directly related to the participants sharing a particular ideology which underlies their interactions and dyes them of a well-nigh homogeneous hue.

The main thesis of the first video is clearly formulated in line 52: *defenderemos nuestra religión y nuestra doctrina y destruiremos a los enemigos* ('we will defend our religion and our doctrine and destroy the enemies'). It is semantically also conveyed throughout the recording (see Figure 4). The six arguments supporting this conclusion are distributed across the exchange. In sum, from the perspective of argumentation, the main message of this recording is a threat or announcement (depending on the audience at the receiving end) of imminent action by the speakers, which is justified by an accumulation of arguments laid out in conversationally collaborative interventions and reinforced through the reiteration of ideas. In line 39, this threat is directed with a special emphasis to the Catalan police force through the scalar marker *sobretot* ('especially'), which presents *Mossos d'Esquadra* as a specific target of their future acts (*Venid. Venid. Todo lo que os tenemos preparados de por orden de Dios vais a arrepentir- os vais a arrepentir de haber nacido.* SOBRETOT VOSALTRES, MOSSOS D'ESQUADRA 'Come. Come. Everything we have in store for you by leave of God you will regret- you will regret having been born. Especially you, Mossos d'Esquadra').


THESIS:
1- "We will defend our religion / doctrine" and "we will destroy the enemies" (line 52).
(Variants: "Taste [the definite poison]" (line 6), "they are going to suffer" (line 20), "come" (lines 37, 39), "you will regret having been born" (line 39), "you are getting yourself into a mess" (line 42)).

↑ ARGUMENTS:

A) "God has chosen us to make you cry blood" (line 27).
(Variants: "by leave of God" (lines 6, 26, 29, 39, 52), "God willing" (lines 7, 61), "in the name of God" (line 57)).

B) "God is the greatest" (line 53).

C) "For you to know that the Muslim man has ((dignity)) and strength" (line 26).

D) "you wanted to buy us with your jobs and your world" (line 27).

E) "God has promised us paradise" (line 30).
(Variants: we have hope, thank God" (line 37), "God willing this will open the gates of heaven for us" (line 61)).

F) "God has promised you hell" (line 30).
(Variants: "((Certainly humiliation and humility)). That [is] for you" (line 26)).

Figure 4. Argumentation structure of the first recording

On the level of enunciation, in line with Houli's backgrounding himself as a mere presenter of the recording by enumerating his interlocutors, the use of expressions like *Si Dios quiere* ('God willing') in lines 7 and 61, describes future actions as dependent on a factor external to the speakers, as opposed to presenting them as direct consequences of their decisions. Thus, speakers ascribe volition to an imagined, inaccessible entity, on which they place the responsibility for their behavior and, in doing so, self-portray as not entirely accountable for the future developments they discuss. In line 42, Hichamy also portrays himself (and, implicitly, the other participants) as more knowledgeable about these future events than other agents in their discourse (US ESTEU CARDANT EN UN- EN UN *berenjenal {se ríe},* QUE NO SABEU ON US POSEU 'You are getting yourself into a mess {laughs}, you have no idea what you're getting yourself into').

Regarding modality in the first video, speakers only mitigate the illocutive force of their interventions (Brown & Levinson, 1987) in the sequences about the recording process. For instance, the adverb *quizás* ('perhaps') in line 8 (*Este quizás sea el último vídeo ((que vamos a pasar))* 'This perhaps will be the last video ((we will send))') functions as a hedge, allowing the speaker to "present [an] unproven propositio[n] with caution and precision" (Hyland, 1998:78). In contrast, when participants address the viewers, their utterances display markers of high degrees of certainty, like verb forms in the future and, especially, in the analytic future (e.g., *Que miren cómo van a- a sufrir* 'Let them look at how they are going to- to suffer' in line 20), which not only is more common than the synthetic future (e.g., *sufrirán* 'they will suffer') in verbal productions (Berschin, 1986:301) but also conveys a stronger link between the future and the present (Berschin, 1986:303). With the analytical form, speakers boost their illocutionary force, since this periphrastic construction "indicates confidence in the materialization of the future event" (Bermúdez, 2016:178, our own translation).

Through enunciative and modal features such as these, participants construct themselves as actors with credibility and authority. They claim legitimacy to discuss the topics in their discourse and to issue commands (especially, to their viewers) without the need for facework like employing hedging devices (e.g., *probad* 'taste' and *venid*

'come', lines 6 and 39), since, they claim, they possess more knowledge than others and have been authorized (even more, commanded) by the divine to behave a certain way.

The argumentation structure of the second recording reflects the two messages addressed by the speakers to two types of viewers. There are two conclusions, each laid out in a mainly monologic sequence (lines 3 and 10, and 10-12, respectively) and supported by two sets of arguments (Figure 5). Firstly, participants aim to convince their sympathizers to imitate them by providing arguments in support of the idea that to make the explosives they show is easy and that these are very effective. Differently to the simply structured arguments leading to the second conclusion, some of those that back the first thesis are, in turn, an argument linked to a conclusion. For example, the argumentative sequence "I don't know how much each of these costs (C) *because* everything we have I have brought from my workplace (A)", produced by Hichamy in line 10, supports the main thesis "This is not at all difficult to make" (roughly A → C, where A contains (C ← A)).

The contributions by this participant contain linguistic devices primarily conveying information relevant to the argumentation structure of the text. In addition to the causal connector *porque* ('because') linking the argument and conclusion just outlined, in line 10, Hichamy employs the adversative conjunction *pero* ('but') to introduce an element (*pero que hace su trabajo* 'but which does the trick') anti-oriented to the inference deriving from his statement *Esto es una granada de mano IMPROVITZADA* ('This is an improvised hand grenade'). This counter-argument does not only anticipate and correct the inference that this explosive will not be effective but also supports the main thesis that "it does a lot of damage". In the last turn of this recording, Hichamy signals the two conclusions he presents through the reformulating connectors *es decir* and *o sea* ('that is'). As well as introducing arguments, counter-arguments and conclusions, these four linguistic devices (*porque*, *pero*, *es decir* and *o sea*) highlight discursive elements relevant for the information structure because they introduce new information.

THESIS:
1- "This is not at all difficult to make" (line 53) and "it does a lot of damage" (lines 4, 6 and 7).

↑ ARGUMENTS:

A) "You only need faith in God and a steep hatred for these infidels" (line 3).
↑ Reinforcement: "Without this you can't achieve this" (line 3).

B) "The budget for this is [only] between fifteen and twenty euros" (line 3).
Example 1: "This is an improvised hand grenade" (←counter-arg: "but it does the trick") (line 10).
Example 2: (narrative sequence) "Everything we have I brought from my workplace" (line 10) (→conclusion: "I don't know how much each of these costs", line 10) and "I have worked on it right there in front of your allies, who saw me making them" (line 12) (→conclusion: "God almighty with your money is preparing us to kill you", line 12).

THESIS:
2- "You have a problem, not us" (line 12).

↑ ARGUMENTS:

A) "God almighty with your money is preparing us to kill you" (line 12).
B) "This iron will go into ((our)) heads or your children's or your wives" (line 12).

Figure 5. Argumentation structure of the second recording

As for enunciation in the second video, along with the second person singular observed in relation to the instructions by a participant in line 3, the last intervention (line 12) displays another linguistic feature through which the speaker controls how he "shows himself in discourse" (Fuentes, 2000:56; our own translation). As described above, this turn contributes to a narrative sequence in which Hichamy explains that he obtained the material for the explosives. In this sequence, he uses four verb forms in the first person singular. Interestingly, however, he only makes the personal pronoun (*yo* 'I') explicit in the sentence *[...] delante de vuestros // aliados, que me veían que yo los hacía* (lit. 'in front of your // allies, who saw me that I made them'). Before this, he utters *El presupuesto de cada una [Ø] no sé*$_{1st.sg.}$ *cuánto es* ('The budget for each of these I don't know how much it is'), *todo lo que tenemos [Ø] lo he traído*$_{1st.sg.}$ *de mi trabajo* ('everything we have I brought from my workplace') and *Y [Ø] lo he trabajado*$_{1st.sg}$ *ahí delante* ('And I've worked on it right there'). Yet, in the last element of the sequence, he makes the personal pronoun *yo* explicit to emphasize that it was him that was seen making them (the explosives?). Thus, he contributes to the argumentative structure without needing to make the inference of this narrative sequence explicit: he (and no other) was seen extracting materials from his workplace to make explosives (but this did not prevent him from succeeding).

In line with the use of modal markers in the previous recording, no hedges are found in the second video, addressed to the viewers. Participants indicate their strong commitment to the content of their utterances through linguistic means also present in the first video, including the analytic future (*cada gramo de este hierro se os va a meter en ((nuestras)) cabezas o la de vuestros hijos o la de vuestras mujeres* 'every gram of this iron will go into ((our)) heads or your children's or "your wives"', line 12). Not even line 3, despite containing reformulations, is modulated to attenuate the speaker's illocutionary force (e.g., in relation to the false start and self-repair in *Y esto- su presupuesto no supera los quince euros entre los quince y los veinte euros* 'And this- its budget is not more than fifteen euros between fifteen and twenty').

In the last video, considerably shorter (§3.1) and less lexically dense (§4.1) than the others, participants do not use connectors like in the previous recording to make the argumentative organization of the text explicit. Rather, this textual dimension is characterized by repetition (e.g., *Esto hace bum*, *Hace buk*, *Esto hace buk* '(This) goes boom/k', lines 11, 12 and 14; *los clavos esparcidos* and *((Los clavos están esparcidos))* 'the nails (are) scattered', lines 5 and 15) and an accumulation of convergent elements (i.a., *he visto fotos ((de los cinturones))* IN THAT POSITION 'I've seen photos ((of the belts)) in that position', *¿Esto? Esto hace bum* 'This? This goes boom', *Faltaría algo de metralla* 'It would be missing some shrapnel', lines 3, 11 and 17). Both mechanisms reinforce the participants' commitment to the message they convey graphically by showing not only how they manufacture explosives, as in the other videos, but that they are prepared to even wear an explosive belt.

Additionally, participants discuss the topic of putting the belt to use gaily, as though it were not a serious matter with the potential to gravely impact themselves and their physical and social surroundings. This is evidenced in the casual manner with which their turns succeed one another, which resembles informal interaction among peers about insubstantial matters (Hidalgo Navarro, 2003:368). For instance, participants laugh throughout (in lines 8, 10, 11 and 23), only minor disruptions occur (short overlaps which do not seem to affect the flow of the conversation or requests for clarification, such as the one in line 9) and these are inconsequential or promptly repaired through interactional means (e.g., the repetition of the question in line 10).

In connection with the text's enunciation and modality, these communicative features indicate that the participants are comfortable with the topic discussed and heavily committed to the content of the interaction. The conversational devices *¿no?* and *¿eh?* ('isn't it?' and 'hm?', respectively) in line 21, along with *((¿Verdad?))* ('((Right?))') in line 22, are used to seek the interlocutors' agreement and, thus, directly contribute to the relational dimension of the exchange. As in the previous recordings, participants use the analytic future (*Vamos a grabarlo de cerca* 'We'll take a close-up', line 16) and an imperative form (*tráeme* 'bring me' in line 24), which modulate the illocutionary force of two turns in the interaction. The conditional verb form in line 17 (*Faltaría algo de metralla* 'It would be missing some shrapnel') appears not to be as linked to the speaker's mitigating the force of his utterance as to his projection of hypothetical events in the future.

Repetitions of key semantic components by different speakers are relevant not only to the argumentative but also the polyphonic organization of the recordings. Participants employ them to signal their agreement (ideological alignment) with each other. For example, in lines 34, 35 and 36 of the first transcript, at least two speakers utter the expression *gracias a Dios* ('thank God') after a contribution (*((Alegraos)) (( ))* '((Rejoice)) (( ))', line 33) which seemingly refers to the imminence of their attack. Each of these participants conveys an ideological stance of alignment with the previous intervention while highlighting the fact that he shares this favorable judgment of the preceding content with his interlocutors. Ideological alignment with a specific interpretation of the Islamic religion is an essential condition for the membership of the terrorist group. However, polyphony is also used to indicate alignment with a previous utterance in line 20. A participant completes the intervention of another interlocutor by repeating some of this previous contribution (namely, *Que miren cómo* 'Let them look at how'), simultaneously appropriating this element as his own and anchoring his utterance to another interlocutor's.

Within an utterance, polyphony sometimes takes the form of code-switching. As explained, participants use different linguistic varieties as part of recipient design. Thus, by employing code-switching, speakers utilize different 'voices' at their disposal, that is, different aspects of their interactional identities. For example, in Hichamy's contributions in lines 37 and 39 of the first transcript, he transitions from Darija (*Tenemos esperanza, gracias a Dios. Venid*$_{[Darija]}$ 'We have hope, thank God. Come'), to Spanish (*Venid. Venid. Venid. Todo lo que os tenemos preparados*$_{[Spanish]}$ 'Come. Come. Come. Everything we have in store for you'), shortly back to Arabic (*por orden de Dios*$_{[Darija]}$ 'by leave of God'), after which he resumes his use of Spanish (*vais a arrepentir- os vais a arrepentir de haber nacido*$_{[Spanish]}$ 'you will regret- you will regret having been born') and lastly switches to Catalan so as to specifically address the Catalan police force (*SOBRETOT VOSALTRES, MOSSOS D'ESQUADRA* 'Especially you, Mossos d'Esquadra'). The elements in Darija correspond to religious references, while those in Spanish are commands and threats directed to the viewers he equates to the targets of the attacks. By uttering religious references in Arabic, he connects his intervention with Islamic religious ceremonies and texts, usually produced in this language, but also with the written and audiovisual products of other jihadist terrorists. Thus, he claims membership of this group, as argued above regarding more explicit forms of intertextuality.

Another instance of polyphony, similarly through code-switching (from the Spanish used right before the fragment in question to Darija), extends across lines 47 and 49 of the first transcript (*Siguen diciendo otra vez hombres-* 'They're still saying again men-' and *((Hombres… ¿Qué les pasa a estos hombres?))* '((Men… What's up with these men?))'). It is difficult to ascertain the contents of the last utterance due to the poor quality of the recording. However, the speaker is apparently reproducing what he hypothesizes some viewers (those with ideological positions different to the group's) might say in reaction to their recordings. From the prosody of this part of his intervention and his interlocutors' reaction (laughter, line 48), it seems that through this polyphonous utterance he successfully ridicules the object of his mimicry.

Finally, from the perspective of multimodality, the accumulation of resources reinforcing each other's contents is another example of polyphony. The participants use four types of resources to convey meaning: linguistic (their utterances), paralinguistic (laughter and gestuality), visual (e.g., the explosives and chemical products) and sound elements (nasheeds playing in the background and participants' humming along).

4.2.3. Microstructure

So far, the texts' enunciation, modality, super- and macrostructure have been analyzed. Several microstructural elements have been highlighted where appropriate. Yet, a brief mention of other elements of this analytical dimension is necessary to reach a comprehensive understanding of the recordings. Firstly, most lexical items in the videos either belong to the semantic fields of armed conflict and Islamic religion or are typical of informal interaction (e.g., *MALPARITS* 'bastards', or *berenjenal* 'mess' in the first video). Secondly, the recordings share morphosyntactic features with unplanned oral conversations, including unfinished sentences (e.g., *Esto lo hemos hecho-* 'We have made this', line 23 in the first transcript) and repairs (e.g., *Y esto- su presupuesto no supera los quince euros entre los quince y los veinte* 'And this- its budget is not more than fifteen euros between fifteen and twenty', line 3 in the second transcript; cf. Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974; Hidalgo Navarro, 2003). Furthermore, participants draw on their pluricultural identities in interaction and leave linguistic traces of their plurilingual competence in their interventions. Traces of language contact extend to their lexical choices, a clear example being *aconseguir* 'achieve' instead of the Spanish *conseguir* (cf. Catalan *aconseguir*). As for phonetics and phonology, utterances in Spanish and Catalan are produced with native-like realizations, e.g., sound elisions common in informal registers (*pa'* instead of *para* 'for') and phonetic realizations typical of northeastern Spanish varieties (like *hazles* as [ˈaθles] and not [ˈasles]). This is coherent with personal details of the participants revealed in the criminal investigation of the facts: despite having been born in the north of Africa, they were raised and educated in Catalonia.

5. Discussion and final remarks

The linguistic analysis has uncovered the multiple functions performed at different discursive levels by the linguistic features that make up the three recordings. Despite their different lengths and lexical densities, we have identified features present across the videos. We have analyzed various mechanisms contributing to their cohesion and allowing viewers to make sense of these productions. The analysis has shown how information units succeed one another in the interactions and what polyphonic devices are used. The argumentative organization of these recordings is not particularly complex, but characterized by the multiple convergent and, predominantly, simple arguments (not containing sequences of arguments and conclusions), along with scarce counter-argumentation. The analysis also revealed that the participants reiterate a particular argument from authority (that their actions respond to God's commands) throughout and across the videos. Repetition is used not only to construe their contributions, but also to emphasize arguments and key discursive components. In sum, many features identified are consistent with a low degree of planning typical of informal spoken interactions (Hidalgo Navarro, 2003).

Additionally, several linguistic mechanisms identified here coincide with those found in previous studies of terrorist productions. Similarly to terrorist discourse studied in Gales (2011) or Etaywe & Zappavigna (2021), these interactions dichotomize 'us' and 'them', evaluate the intended targets negatively and use repetition to emphasize particular ideas. Yet, these recordings also show linguistic traits linked to the sociolinguistic and cultural background of the individuals, absent in productions targeted at non-Spanish audiences. The analysis presented here exemplifies the insight that may originate from future research into the linguistic features of terrorist (and, especially, jihadist) productions addressed to Iberian audiences. As evidenced by a growing number of initiatives and publications (e.g., DANTE, 2019; Hunter & Grant, 2022; Giménez García & Queralt, 2023), linguistic analysis has much to contribute to the global interest of countering terrorism, from threat assessment to improving our scientific comprehension of terrorist discourse, through profiling, authorship and psycholinguistic analysis.

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CREDiT Authorship Contribution

Conceptualization: S. Q. and R. G. G. Data curation: external transcriber and R. G. G. Formal analysis: R. G. G. Methodology: R. G. G. and S. Q. Supervision: S. Q. Writing – original draft: R. G. G. Writing – review & editing: S. Q. and R. G. G.

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