Can algorithms translate the world?

A digital discourse analysis of Google Translate's algorithmic agency in the translation of news reports

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Abstract

Google Translate's mission is "to enable everyone, everywhere, to understand the world and express themselves across languages" (Pitman, 2021). But are algorithms capable of leading us beyond the translation of the word toward an understanding of the world? Computational linguistics research has been interested in assessing this kind of real-world effects of technology and invited other disciplines to join their effort. With this purpose, this study examines the ways the algorithmic agency (Maly, 2022) elicits a 'movement of meanings' (Silverstone, 1999) when mediating news reports from English to Portuguese – the official language of Brazil, the country with the greatest use of Google Translate (Turovsky, 2016). For that, it investigates how algorithms convert appraisal and semiotic elements that carry ideological stances. The bilingual sample consists of six news articles on the U.S. Capitol attack published in U.S. outlets, two each of right, center, and left political leaning, along with their translations obtained through Google Translate. The analytical framework encompasses Fairclough's (2003) CDA methods that allow an exploration of how discourses embedded in these texts represent the social phenomena that are being depicted. This lens is complemented by the Appraisal theory (Martin & White, 2005) to investigate how value positions are constructed within texts through evaluation. A third analytical tool is necessary to engage with the ways in which meanings are moved from source to target texts. For this, van Leeuwen's (2008) notion of recontextualization affords an assessment of the processes inherent to translations. The analysis showed that algorithms neutralized appraisal through lexical choices, changed semiotic elements through recontextualization, and blurred stances by standardizing the target language. The paper, thus, concludes that Google Translate constructed power by renaming reality and enacted it by reshaping evaluations, advancing research that seeks to examine algorithms' impacts on digital discourse. Speaking from the epistemic locus of the Global South, this thesis proposes a critical reflection on the ideologies concealed by the self-proclaimed discourse of the universality of digital technologies.

Keywords

Algorithmic agency, translation, bilingualism, Google Translate, U.S. Capitol, critical discourse analysis, recontextualization, appraisal, ideology, Global South.

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Abbreviations

AP	Associated Press
BLM	Black Lives Matters
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
GNMT	Google Neural Machine Translation
LM	Language Models
MT	Machine Translation
NLP	Natural Language Processing
RBMT	Rule-based Machine Translation
SFL	Systemic Functional Linguistics
TT	Target Text

1. Introduction

"Machines have less problems. I'd like to be a machine, wouldn't you?"

Andy Warhol, 1968

Google Translate, the machine translation (MT) application developed by Google, celebrated its 15th anniversary in 2021 with a landmark of 1 billion installs in Android operating system[1] devices (Pitman, 2021). Providing translations in 133 languages (Caswell, 2022) and converting over 100 billion words a day (Turovsky, 2016), the application's mission, according to Google's official blog 'The Keyword', "is to enable everyone, everywhere to understand the world and express themselves across languages" (Pitman, 2021). But paraphrasing the late education philosopher Paulo Freire (Freire & Macedo, 1987), is Google Translate capable of leading us beyond the translation of the word toward an understanding of the world?

MT applications are algorithmic models, and one of the many ways algorithms have been part of the daily lives of ordinary citizens. Algorithms are everywhere, from selecting resumés in a job recruitment process or approving credit for a bank loan to trivial activities such as using a voice-based assistant, unlocking the phone with face recognition, or choosing the best driving route. Together with their growing relevance to society's functioning, questions on the fairness of such systems have also been raised (Mehrabi et al., 2019). Notably, natural language processing (NLP) models have been at the center of research regarding algorithmic bias, and as far as MT applications are concerned, issues of gender bias have been the primary focus, investigated with quantitative methods (Cho et al., 2019; Font & Costa-jussà, 2019; Gonen & Webster, 2020; Prates et al., 2019; Saunders & Byrne, 2020; Stanovsky et al., 2019; and Vanmassenhove et al. 2018). An exception to this subject is Vanmassenhove's et al. (2021) study exploring the lexical and morphological diversity of MT-created texts in the language pairs English↔French and English↔Spanish. Still, the research was conducted with quantitative methods.

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[1] Google did not disclose the number of installs comprising other operating systems.

Therefore, bias in MT that goes beyond gender representation is yet to be qualitatively examined, particularly with regard to concerns about impoverishing and selective translations. For instance, when using Google Translate to translate the news on the U.S. Capitol[2] attack from English to Portuguese, I came upon the word 'mob' being converted into the neutral noun '*multidão*,' which means 'crowd,' carrying no negative indexicality. The noun '*bando*' would better convey the sense of the English word in this context. This is an example of how an impoverished translation can influence the interpretation of a real-world event. The instance becomes more relevant when we consider that 92% of Google Translate's usage occurs outside the United States, and Brazil, where Portuguese is the official language, is the number one country using this application. (Turovsky, 2016).

From an epistemological perspective, an additional gap in research on algorithmic preferences in MT applications can be discerned. Most studies have been restricted to assessing the models within the computational linguistics framework (see Blodgett et al., 2020). An exception is the field of language education, which has demonstrated an increasing interest in exploring how MT tools influence language use and meaning-making in the classroom (see Vinall & Hellmich, 2022). Still, there is the need for research that engages with other language disciplines, such as sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology, seeking a more comprehensive understanding of the issue.

Critical discourse analysts have also been interested in exploring digital data, but as Maly (2022) points out, only a few studies (Bucher, 2018; Georgakopoulou et al., 2020; Maly, 2021) have taken into consideration the algorithmic agency in the creation of digital discourse (p. 2). Particularly the impact of the automatic translations in discourse is yet to be investigated. Thus, this study applies critical discourse analysis methods to examine the ways the 'algorithmic agency' (Maly, 2022) of machine translation systems, more specifically Google Translate, elicits 'movement of meanings' (Silverstone, 1999) when mediating texts in the language pair English (source language)-Portuguese (target

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[2] The Capitol building is where the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives meet to deliberate (*U.S. Capitol Building | Architect of the Capitol*, n.d.). The building was attacked on January 6, 2021, by supporters of the, then, outgoing president Donald Trump who questioned the results of the presidential election.

language). I use 'agency' instead of 'bias' to emphasize the focus on the analysis of what Maly (2022) calls the "the performative workings" of algorithms in which these entities are taken "as dominant ideological structures that react to certain input and turn them into specific outputs" (p. 21). In the same vein, the 'movement of meanings' refers to the semiotic transformations that texts endure after being recontextualized in the target language by the digital application.

The bilingual sample examined in this study consists of six news reporting covering the U.S. Capitol attack that took place on January 6, 2021, two each published by center, right, and left-leaning U.S. online media outlets in the English language (source texts) and their respective translations (target texts) created by Google Translate. These text pairs are analyzed through the lens of three inter-related approaches to discourse analysis that see language as a social practice. One of them is Fairclough's (2003) critical discourse analysis methods that allow gripping the ways the multiple discourses embedded in these news reports represent the social phenomena that are being depicted. It complements the Appraisal Theory's (Martin & White, 2005) approach to how value positions are constructed within these texts through evaluation. Moreover, van Leeuwen's (2008) notion of recontextualization adds the perspective of processes inherent to translations, such as substitutions, deletions, and repetitions, to assess the shifts undergone by semiotic elements. Fairclough's (2003) and Martin & White's (2005) frameworks stem from the Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) paradigm, first developed by Halliday (1978, 1994), while van Leeuwen's (2008) methods derive from Bernstein's (1981, 1986) concept of recontextualization. All approaches take on linguistic elements as resources for the creation of meaning and allow a comparative analysis of the transformations realized in the move from the source to the target texts.

The overarching motivation for the study is to investigate the ways, if any, Google Translate reproduces and reinforces the "epistemologies and power relations" (Souza, 2019, p. 38) inherent to the Global North – represented in this case by Google Translates' mission of making everyone understand the world – when translating to a language that is epistemically located in the Global South. Following Souza (2019), I take on the target texts created by Google Translate as instances of a "glocal language," meaning that:

> [E]ven though transformation occurs and changes the language from its original form, the appearance of formal continuity needs to remain in order for the glocal language to be considered part of or related to the hegemonic global language from which it emerged. (Souza, 2019, p. 35)

Addressing issues beyond translation accuracy, it is in these aspects of apparent formal continuity from the hegemonic to the 'local' language that the main interest of this study lies.

1.1 Research Questions

In order to elicit the meaning transformations undergone by texts when mediated by Google Translate, the study is guided by the following questions:

RQ 1. In what ways does Google Translate mediation of online news articles in the language pair English→Portuguese affect the 'movement of meanings' (Silverstone, 1999) from the source to the target texts?

> **RQ 1.1.** In what ways does the algorithmic agency change how appraisal is conveyed from the source to the target text?

> **RQ 1.2.** In what ways does Google Translate's 'recontextualization of social practices' (van Leeuwen, 2008) affect the semiotic elements realized in the source texts?

RQ 2. To what extent is Google Translate's authorial voice incorporated into the resulting target texts?

1.2 Outline of the thesis

The thesis departs from a brief review of how the computational linguistic literature has treated questions of algorithmic bias, complemented by an introductory notion of the machine translation functioning, and an overview of the key concepts that theoretically support this work. I then describe in more detail the analytical framework employed for this purpose and present my data.

In what follows, I invite the reader to delve into the analysis of the text pairs, built comparatively in order to make salient the 'movement of meanings' from the source to the target language. The main results are consolidated in the Discussion section, and a

short conclusion indicates ways for further research. But before I start, I shall say a few words about my motivations and locus of enunciation when conducting this investigation.

1.3 Reflexivity

The insight for this study emerged on a very personal note. My father, a Brazilian in his mid-sixties who is deeply engaged in the social, environmental, and political issues of our times, told me one day about his morning routine: skimming the news from around the globe published in the most prominent media outlets' websites from China, Russia, Western Europe, and the USA. Having limited knowledge of any language other than Portuguese, he admitted being an enthusiast of Google Translate, the primary tool that enables his access to a vast range of information. This conversation with my father happened in January 2021. At that time, in order to have a glimpse at his experience with the translated news, I used Google's application to read in Portuguese the news published by the U.S. online press reporting on the attack on the U.S. Capitol. The resignifications I noticed in the target texts reminded me of my reading of Souza's (2019) discussion on glocal languages and the importance of translation:

> The need for translation implies the need to know what one does not know. Translation, like the knowledges interconnected horizontally in an ecology, rather than signifying a total transference of meaning, implies incompleteness and ignorance and the need to overcome both; translation refers also to the fact that overcoming both of these in order to attain the desire of completeness is beyond realization. However, these difficulties in translation do not indicate incommensurability; they do indicate the need for constant exchange and for the [*sic*] persistence in the continuous work of translation. (Souza, 2019, p. 20)

I immediately found myself struck by questions concerning the prerogative of algorithms to mediate our access to translations and, consequently, to knowledge. When Google declares that its "mission is to organize the world's information so that it is universally accessible and useful to everyone"[3] (Google, n.d.), I oppose this claim with Souza's (2019) urge to " … 're-localize the global,' mark the unmarked and in short,

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[3] Retrieved from about.google.com on February 24, 2022.

'provincialize' the apparently universal" (p. 20). That is what drives me throughout the investigation I present in this work.

According to Souza (2019), a fundamental step in this direction is to make evident "one's locus of enunciation" (p. 20). Hence, I speak as a Brazilian researcher who is epistemically located in the Global South and whose broader purpose is to contribute to the body of work that seeks to unveil hegemonic discourses from a decolonial perspective. With this intention, I take a subject that has been mainly of interest to the computational linguistics field into the terrain of the digital discourse analysis within a post-globalization world.

I started this paper with a quote from Andy Warhol, who said that machines have fewer problems. Extrapolating the irony in his statement, this imaginary of technology objectiveness and impartiality that lies behind his observation is an essential part of the Global North ideological framework. Technology is unproblematic only when it is taken out of the context of who created it, to whom, and with what purpose. If we choose not to do that, we must problematize technology in the context of our complex digital world.

2. Literature review and theoretical framework

This study proposes to bring together the current debate within the computational linguistics field about NLP models, more specifically about MT bias and fairness, with a digital discourse analysis approach that seeks to understand how meaning-making processes are realized in the algorithm-human interaction. For that, in this section, I briefly review recent studies in computational linguistics that advocate for a broader understanding of the social impacts of the algorithms, followed by an account of how discourse analysts can integrate issues of algorithmic agency into their studies. I then present the current status of the machine translation operating model to conclude with a broader discussion of this technology in the context of hegemonic globalization and the digital culture.

2.1. Algorithmic bias from a computational linguistics perspective

Bias in NLP systems has been the focus of investigation of at least 146 articles published up to May 2020, according to a review undertaken by Blodgett et al. (2020). Despite the increasing importance of the issue, their study revealed a series of gaps in the literature, from a lack of normative reasoning and vague motivations to the absence of engagement with related literature from other fields in the research on language models. These findings led the authors to propose new paths for future studies, among which is the "[g]round work [*sic*] analyzing 'bias' in NLP systems in the relevant literature outside of NLP that explores the relationships between language and social hierarchies" (Blodgett et al., 2020, A path forward, para. R1).

Concerned with another overlooked issue, namely the definition of the types of bias in machine learning, Hellström et al. (2020) proposed a classification of bias. In this context, NLP models would fall under the category "inherited bias," meaning that "[i]f the output of the tool is biased in any way, this bias may be inherited by systems using the output as input to learn other models" (Hellström et al., 2020, Inherited bias, para. 1). The authors made an essential contribution to the taxonomy of bias in the computational linguistics field but failed to systemically establish what is deemed "good" and "bad" bias and, most importantly, ignored the question of who benefits from this distinction.

In another recent study, Bender et al. (2021) attempted to tackle these issues by drawing a comprehensive description of the risks and harms of large language models (LM). The authors argued that these models "[are] a system for haphazardly stitching together sequences of linguistic forms it has observed in its vast training data, according to probabilistic information about how they combine, but without any reference to meaning: a stochastic parrot" (Bender et al., 2021, Coherence in the Eye of the Beholder, para. 3). In this sense, linguistic forms, such as gender assignment, can be biased according to the training data, and meaning does not result from an intentional communicative act – it is attributed to texts by their human recipient. Differently, in the case of MT-generated texts, there is a human intention in the creation of the input (source text). However, as the authors argued, there is the risk that the output bears an inaccurate meaning though fluent and apparently coherent in the target language. In this case, the human addressee who cannot access the source text or does not know the source language will be led to an erroneous understanding, which can create real-world harm (Bender et al., 2021, Risks and Harms, para. 8). Nevertheless, Goldberg (2021) criticized the emphasis of Bender's

et al. study on attributing these risks and harms to the bias resulting from the large size of language models. Goldberg claimed that the real issue was not the size but the quality of the model and that this mistaken focus acted as a distraction to the debate.

Lastly, Vanmassenhove et al. (2021) hypothesized that algorithmic bias in MT systems not only reflects the preferences embedded in the training data resulting in gender-biased outputs, for example. The authors argued that MT has a broader impact on language: the impoverishment of the target language, an effect they called "machine translationese." In order to demonstrate this effect, they conducted a quantitative study on the lexical and morphological diversity of MT using the language pairs English↔French and English↔Spanish. The authors showed that MT algorithms produced translations in the languages investigated that were lexically and morphologically impoverished, confirming the first motivation of the study. However, they failed to address their second motivation, namely the "sociolinguistic perspective of machine translationese" (Vanmassenhove et al., 2021, "Introduction," para. 3), by not approaching the qualitative consequences of their findings.

2.2. Algorithmic agency and the movement of meaning

Digital scholars' encouragement to other disciplines to join their effort in promoting a critical understanding of the impacts of technology in real-world interaction was accepted by Maly (2022), as it is by this study. As Maly (2022) points out, discourse analysts have been taking on digital data since the late 1990s, but the prominent role of algorithmic-based technologies has considerably affected how we should relate to this research object. He emphasizes that in order to apprehend the complexity of digital data, Blommaert's definition of discourse as "all meaningful semiotic human activity in connection to social, cultural and historical patterns and developments of use" (Blommaert, 2005, as cited in Maly, 2022, p. 3) must be expanded to include the " … non-human activity in contemporary meaning making [sic] processes" (Maly, 2022, p. 3).

Thus, Maly (2022) advocates that contemporary discourse studies interested in the ways people communicate and construct meaning through digital tools must take into account the impact of the 'algorithmic agency'. He understands this agency as the autonomy algorithms have in shaping communication during human-machine interaction and considers it a fundamental aspect of digital discourse analysis. For him, algorithmic

agency can be explicit, e.g., when an application suggests an emoji for a comment or a different spelling of a word, or concealed, e.g., when a social media platform determines whose posts will be visible first in each user's timeline, but it is always built – and must be seized – in relation to the user:

> The power, and thus also the responsibility in meaning making [*sic*] processes, is distributed among many human and non-human actors and thus not to be located in the technology itself but in the relation and interaction with the 'assumed' agency of algorithms. (Maly, 2022, p. 5)

This study, thus, follows Maly (2022) by focusing on 'algorithmic agency' instead of 'bias,' as preferred in the computational linguistic literature. The reason for this choice is that 'bias' points to the patterns that result from the processes of creation, development, and training of machine learning technologies, whereas 'agency' indexes the semiotic mediation in which algorithmic recontextualization of texts results in the emergence of new meanings in interaction.

This study also grasps Google Translation's operation as a process of 'mediation' rather than 'translation'. In 1999, a few years before the world saw the mass use of digital applications, Silverstone (1999) drew a comparison between the act of mediating and that of translating, as defined by Steiner (1975, as cited in Silverstone, 1999), when discussing the resignification of discourses in the media. He argued that mediation and translation are similar in the sense that they are both transformative, rarely completely satisfying, and often disputed. However, while translations are a "work of authorship" and confined to a single text, mediation results from the acts of institutions and technologies in an ongoing process of "movement of meaning" (Silverstone, 1999). In his terms, "[t]he meanings that do emerge, … emerge without the intensity of specific and precise attention to language or without the necessity to recreate, in some degree, an original text" (Silverstone, 1999, Mediation, para. 10).

In this sense, a target text created with Google Translation can be taken neither as an author's work nor as confined to one particular text. It is the result of the agency of algorithms that had multiple authors and learned from previous data in an ongoing process. Still, these texts carry new indexicalities, moving meanings from the source to

the target language, from the authors' stances in the original text to the resignifications resulting from the human-machine interaction.

These effects are the primary focus of this study's analysis, but before I expand on the implications of the algorithmic agency, I shall briefly describe the logic and challenges behind the machine translation functioning.

2.3. The Machine Translation problem

In this paper, I adopt Monti's (2020) definition of machine translation:

> We define Machine Translation as a computer program that is able to translate from a source language to a target language automatically, i.e., without any human intervention in the translation process performed by the machine (Monti, 2020, p. 459).

Therefore, even if humans are responsible for creating the algorithms that make up these computer programs, the algorithmic agency in interaction with the technology users is the focus of concern in this study.

Since the mid-20th century, MT systems have significantly evolved from Rule-based Machine Translation (RBMT) approaches to statistical models and then to the current developments in neural networks (Monti, 2020). Google Translate was launched in 2006 as a phrase-based system (Le & Schuster, 2016) which is a statistical approach. A statistical model is "based on the distribution probability $p(e|f)$ whereby e in the target language is the translation that is statistically more frequent for a string f in the source language" (Koehn, 2009, as cited in Monti, 2020, p. 459).

Ten years later, in 2016, Google announced the launch of the Google Neural Machine Translation (GNMT) system, which, according to an article signed by Le and Schuster published on the Google AI Blog (Le & Schuster, 2016), "utilizes state-of-the-art training techniques to achieve the largest improvements to date for machine translation quality (para. 2)." The training techniques of such a neural network model are described by Monti (2020) as follows:

> [T]he underlying principle is that the translation process consists of finding sentence y in the target language that maximizes the conditional probability of y given a sentence x in the source language,

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namely arg max$_y$ p (y | x). This approach also uses parallel corpora as a translation model to train the system: once the neural network has learnt the translation model from the parallel reference corpus and a sentence x has been received in the source language, a translation can be generated by selecting the sentence y in the target language which maximizes the conditional probability. (Monti, 2020, p. 460)

According to Le and Schuster (2016), GNMT also applies a "human-rated side-by-side comparison" as a measure of the translation, reducing errors by "5%-85% on several major language pairs measured on sampled sentences from Wikipedia and news websites with the help of bilingual human raters" (para.6). Still, the article admits that "GNMT can still make significant errors that a human translator would never make" (Le & Schuster, 2016, para. 8) and that the problem of machine translation is not yet resolved.

The primary problem faced by an MT system is inherent to the translation itself: no two languages are exact equivalents. As Kohen (2020) points out:

> Translation is always an approximation. Translators have to make choices, and different translators make different choices. The main competing goals are **adequacy** and **fluency**. Adequacy means retaining the fluency meaning of the original text. Fluency requires producing output text that reads just like any well-written text in the target language. (Kohen, 2020, p. 4, emphasis in the original)

As described previously, MT algorithms make decisions on adequacy and fluency based on the frequency of words and collocations they encounter in large monolingual and parallel corpora. However, this model bears two challenges for accuracy in algorithmic translation. The first one is the sparsity of language, that is, following Zipf's law[4], the distribution of words in any text is highly skewed. Therefore, in any corpus, most of the words are rare. The second issue is related to representativity in the training data. A study conducted by Aylin Caliskan et al. (2017, as cited in Monti, 2020, p. 462) shows how algorithms will adjust and improve according to the groups of individuals that are most frequently represented in the available data, hence reproducing their biases.

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[4] In 1949, George Zipf formulated that the "frequency of a word, f(w), appears as a nonlinearly decreasing function of the rank of the word, r(w), in a corpus" (Pustejovsky & Stubbs, 2013, p. 61).

For these reasons, the disambiguation of meaning in MT is so complex that Kohen (2020) believes that "(…) solving machine translation ultimately requires solving the core problem of **artificial intelligence** (pp. 8-9, emphasis in the original)." After all, translations require not only linguistic knowledge but also the symbolic knowledge of what "speech acts mean in the world" (Kohen, 2020, p. 9).

2.4. Digital Culture and Hegemonic globalization

The overarching motivation of this study is to describe how the algorithmic agency in machine translation is intertwined with issues of language and symbolic power. I must reinforce that the choice for using 'algorithmic agency' is rather methodological since this study is focused on the impacts of the algorithm's decisions in the recontextualization of discourses and by no means indicates a belief that algorithms are autonomous, unbiased entities. As Bender (2022) poses it, " … every time someone applies pattern recognition at scale over data to produce systems that are supposedly 'unbiased' and 'objective' in a way that makes decisions (or produces content) affecting real humans, there's harm" ("Not just an academic debate," para. 9).

When Google, a private company controlled by the holding Alphabet Inc, based in Mount View, California, United States, declares that "[its] mission is to organize the world's information and make it universally accessible and useful" (Google, n.d.), it illustrates what Walter Mignolo calls "the geopolitics of knowledge and sensing" (Mignolo, 2002, as cited in Stingl, 2015, p. 169) and concurs with Stingl's (2015) view that "the space of Digital Culture is the space of (Western) empire" (p. 169). Stingl (2015) views the current model of digital culture as a form of neocolonialism and argues that the ideal of progress and civilization sustains it. In his words:

> And part of this neocolonialism is this need to have digital memory/culture appear as this major epistemic break or (civilizational step of) progress. We must open this up, relentlessly, by epistemic disobedience and epistemic delinking. (Stingl, 2015, p. 150)

This effort for epistemic delinking is found in Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2002, as cited in Souza, 2019) notion of 'hegemonic globalization' and 'glocalization'. On the one hand, there is the "globalization of a localism" (Souza, 2019, p.18), meaning that every knowledge that is deemed global has a local origin. On the other hand, there is the

"localized globalism [that] refers to the imposition on particular localities of elements originating in the hegemonic transnational 'global'" (Souza, 2019, p. 19). Complementarily, the idea of a 'glocalization' comes in hand to describe the dynamic between the global and the local, which is sometimes conflicting and other times convergent, and that "could benefit from a more complex analysis of globalization involving notions of emancipation and resistance, a multiplicity of knowledge and an ongoing process of translation" (Souza, 2019, p. 23).

In connection with this project, we must critically think of Google, particularly Google Translate, as a worldwide application with its geographic and epistemic origins in the Global North but which is offered in local contexts as a borderless, 'universal' solution. This study takes the perspective of Google Translate as part of an "ecology of knowledges" wherein "no knowledge is total, complete and capable of everything" (Souza, 2019, p. 19).

3. Methodology and data

This is a qualitative and descriptive study aimed at assessing in what ways the algorithmic agency of Google Translate impacts the representation of ideological stances regarding real-world events. In order to achieve this goal, the analysis is focused on a sample of news articles covering an event of global repercussion: the attack on the U.S. Capitol on January 6, 2021. The analytical framework derives from SFL-inspired approaches, more specifically Fairclough's (2003) transdisciplinary approach to critical discourse analysis (CDA) and Martin and White's (2005) developments of Appraisal theory (see also White, 2004; White, 2012; White, 2015; White, 2020). The examination of the target texts also employs van Leeuwen's (2008) notion of "discourse as recontextualized social practice" (p. 3) to capture the additional element of changes in meaning occasioned by the movement from original to translated texts. This section further expands this framework, followed by a description of the data set and a few words on this thesis's limitations.

3.1. Method of analysis: CDA, Appraisal theory, and Recontextualization

The Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) paradigm, initially developed by Michael Halliday (Halliday, 1978, 1994), considers language a social semiotic, a system that exists

to meet the communicative needs of its users. For Halliday (1978, 1994), language has three general functions that he calls metafunctions – 'ideational,' 'interpersonal,' and 'textual' – that, respectively, "represent aspects of the world (the physical world, the social world, the mental world); enact social relations between participants in social events and the attitudes, desires, and values of participants; and coherently and cohesively connect parts of texts together, and connect texts with their situational contexts" (Halliday 1978, 1994, as cited in Fairclough, 2003, p. 27). This study focuses on Halliday's 'ideational' and 'interpersonal' meanings as analytical instruments to generate insights into how power is both constructed and enacted, in Fairclough's (2003) terms, through the algorithmic agency evident in the target texts. [5]

Following Halliday (1978, 1994), Fairclough (2003) sees meaning-making in texts as multi-functional. Still, instead of using the term 'metafunctions,' Fairclough's analyses depart from "major types of text meaning" that he defines as 'Action,' 'Representation,' and 'Identification'. Comparing his concept of 'types of meaning' to Halliday's metafunctions ('ideational meaning,' 'interpersonal meaning,' and 'textual meaning'), Fairclough (2003, p. 27) concludes that 'Representation' is equivalent to 'ideational meaning'. In this study, I find Fairclough's (2003) notion of 'Representation' a more helpful label than ideational meaning for the phenomena I am studying in report genres – my study is concerned with how participants and processes are represented in original versus translated reports. Accordingly, when examining Representation in this study's sample, I seek to identify how the multiple discourses embedded in the source texts (the outlets' political leaning, the authorial voices, the quoted sources), as expressed through lexical and grammatical choices, represent the social phenomena that are being depicted.

Fairclough (2003) defines his second type of meaning, 'Action,' as including both 'interpersonal meaning' and 'textual meaning'. Here 'Action' focuses more on the understanding of texts "as a way of (inter)acting in social events" (p. 27) than on the enactment of value positions. Therefore, the emphasis is more on the external than the

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[5] Halliday's (1978, 1994) third metafunction – 'textual meaning' – as well as Fairclough's (2003) understanding of how this metafunction can serve to naturalize power relations would be an issue of crucial importance to identify ways in which the target texts obtained through Google Translate become sedimented in interpretations of a key political event such as the U.S. Capitol attack by those who are users of the Portuguese language. However, this task too is beyond the scope of this thesis.

internal relations in the text. Moreover, 'Action' also encompasses what Fairclough calls 'Identification,' that is, "the relationship of the text to the persons involved in the event" (p. 27), which is expressed at the level of styles. 'Identification' is not a distinct function in Halliday's terms, and it is not a concern in my analysis.

For these reasons, I have opted to use Halliday's 'interpersonal meaning' as the second analytical lens in my study, more particularly, the understandings of interpersonal meaning that have been further developed by Martin and White (2005; see also White, 2004, 2012, 2015, 2020) within Appraisal theory.

The elements of attitude, engagement, and graduation that make up this framework are especially useful in the investigation of news reporting as they enable the analyst to unpack the ways in which authorial and quoted voices "adopt stances towards both the material they present and those with whom they communicate" (Martin & White, 2005, p. 1). 'Stances,' here, are understood as to where these voices are epistemically or attitudinally positioned in relation to how the world is (epistemic stance) or must be (attitudinal stance) (White, 2015, p. 408).

Taking attitudes as ideological stances, I concentrate the analysis on both explicit inscriptions of attitude and what White (2015) defines as 'attitudinal invocation,' that is, "attitudinal assessments [that] are 'invoked' rather than 'inscribed' in that they arise via processes of implicature, and not via explicit assertion of attitudinal values" (p. 3). This examination is complemented by the notion of 'engagement' which refers to "sourcing attitudes and the play of voices around opinions in discourse" (Martin & White, 2005, p. 35). The ways texts engage the quoted sources are apprehended as, in White's (2020) terms, "the heteroglossic diversity of voices and value positions" (p. 408) that are represented in texts. One more observation that is worthy of attention is how these value positions can also be projected onto the presumed reader, signaling "authorial assumptions of attitudinal and epistemic likemindedness on the part of the construed addressee" (White, 2020, p. 14). Finally, these stances can be intensified or mitigated through 'graduation,' another key element in the 'movement of meanings' across texts. Graduation is understood as "meanings by which the intensity of utterances can be raised or lowered, or the boundaries of semantic categories can be blurred or sharpened" (White, 2012, p. 59).

Both Fairclough's and the Appraisal theory approaches will then be applied to the target texts seeking to investigate the extent of Google Translate's agency in the process of meaning-making. Furthermore, to capture the additional processes at work once meanings move across texts in Google's automatic translations, I add van Leeuwen's (2008) concept of 'recontextualization'. Expanding Bernstein's (1981, 1986) use of the term in connection with educational practices to include the notion of discourse "as resources for representing social practices in text," he defines recontextualization as the possibility "to reconstruct discourses from the texts that draw on them" (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 6). Hence, I include this approach for two reasons, the first being his understanding of recontextualization of social practices as a chain of semiotic transformations. According to van Leeuwen (2008), as social practices are recontextualized, that is, inserted in a chain of different contexts, new meanings can emerge and, although these practices are not necessarily linguistic acts, "[t]he *recontextualizing* social practice, however, must always be a sequence of linguistic (and/or other semiotic) activities, a 'genre'" (p. 12, emphasis in the original). In this sense, we can understand news reporting as a genre that results from a series of recontextualizations of real-world events and its translation as another genre – a step further in the recontextualization chain – from which new semiotic elements may emerge.

The second reason is related to the notion of 'entextualization,' which can be described as the ways "unique pieces of discourse are lifted out of their original context and transmitted, by quoting/echoing them, by inserting them into another discourse" (Leppänen & Kytölä, 2017, p. 159). van Leuween's (2008) framework offers a systematic method for investigating processes of entextualization by approaching them through mechanisms of repetitions, deletions, substitutions, rearrangements, additions, reactions, purposes, legitimations, and evaluations realized in the recontextualized texts.

The overall purpose is to shed light on the ways the algorithmic mediation of Google Translate can affect stance and embedded ideologies that make up the examined news reports.

3.2. Dataset

I searched for the online news report using google.com. To format my query, I applied the combination of the terms *capitol + invasion + mob*, which returned approximately 236.000 hits[6] under the tab 'News' available on the search website. The first two terms were chosen due to their direct reference to the event, hence, a better chance of returning a higher number of hits. The latter term 'mob' – a noun whose first definition in the Merriam-Webster dictionary is 'a large and disorderly crowd of people' – was included in the query for two reasons. The first one comes from my observation that this word had been adopted by some reporters in the U.S. press to designate the mass of people who assaulted the Capitol on January 6, 2021. The second reason is that the direct translation of 'mob' (in the sense mentioned above) into Portuguese is the noun '*turba*,' a low-frequency word according to the Brazilian Portuguese corpus[7]. This lexical item seemed, therefore, to be an example of the kinds of shifts in meanings occasioned by Google Translate and to offer a means of identifying texts that would offer substantial degrees of appraisal. To narrow down my quest, I used the advanced search options on google.com to customize the date range (from January 6 to January 31, 2021) and the region (United States), obtaining 3,580 hits.

The next step was to qualitatively assess these results to obtain a sample that reflected, to some extent, the different stances represented in the U.S. press discourse. I used the AllSides Media Bias Rating[8] as a reference to balance the political bias representation in the sample. This led me to the selection of one news piece issued by the Associated Press (available on Fox5 DC online) and one published on Newsweek online, both rated center-leaning outlets; two retrieved from the conservative Fox News online; one posted on the left-leaning Los Angeles Times and another on the progressive business content website Fast Company. These texts were translated into Portuguese using the Google Translation extension installed in my Chrome web browser.

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[6] Retrieved from google.com on February 22, 2022.

[7] In a search in February 22, 2022, in the Brazilian Portuguese corpus 'Corpus Brasileiro' (https://www.linguateca.pt/acesso/corpus.php?corpus=CBRAS) that contains 991,8 million words, '*turba*' appears in 329 hits whereas the word '*multidão*', that can be literally translated to *crowd*, has 7,649 hits.

[8] Retrieved from Allsides.com on February 22, 2022.

Therefore, the overall sample consists of 12 texts, being:

- Six news reports (two for each political leaning) published online in the English language by U.S. media outlets.
- Six translations, that is, each of these news reports translated into Portuguese using Google Translate extension.

Following the translation studies tradition, I refer to original news reports as the source text and the translations as the target texts.

3.3. Limitations

As a descriptive study, this work's first limitation is the fact that it does not explore the possible causes of the algorithmic agency. However, the qualitative description of how this agency is realized in automatically translated texts is a step towards understanding how digital technology impacts the ways in which we use language and access knowledge.

Discourse analysis methods also impose constraints. A thorough analysis of a text is extremely time-consuming. Due to the strict timeline required in the elaboration of a Master's thesis, the amount of data that can be examined is limited. Hence, the attention to the sample's representativeness is even more crucial. The same applies to the restriction to only one language pair when assessing an application that offers translations in 133 languages, such as Google Translate. Although significant, this limitation is mitigated by the fact that Brazil is the top country in Google Translate's usage rank. Moreover, according to Google, translations between English and Portuguese are among the most common ones in the application – together with English and Spanish, Arabic, Russian, and Indonesian (Turovsky, 2016).

Finally, it is beyond the scope of this thesis to analyze how the effects of the algorithmic agency realized in the target texts influence the ways Google Translate's users in the Portuguese language interpret key sociopolitical events such as the ones reported in the sample of news pieces. However, I hope that the results described in this paper provide arguments and incentives for new studies to take this step further.

4. Data analysis

This section analyzes the six text pairs that make up this study's sample. For each pair, I first examine the source text by applying Fairclough's (2003) transdisciplinary approach to critical discourse analysis combined with the analytical tools offered by the Appraisal framework (Martin & White, 2005; White, 2004; White, 2012; White, 2015; White, 2020) in an effort to unravel its process of meaning-making (White, 2015). Then, I turn to the target text employing the abovementioned framework aided by van Leeuwen's (2008) notion of recontextualization of social practices to depict the transformations operated by Google Translate's algorithm in the target text and the 'movement of meanings' (Silverstone, 1999) they produce.

I start the analysis with the text pairs retrieved from the center-leaning outlets, followed by the right-leaning media, and then the ones on the left side of the political spectrum[9]. The choice for this ordering was motivated, first, by the prospect of establishing a parameter to which the two political poles could be compared. Yet, I must spare the reader this expectation: Google Translate's algorithm did not demonstrate any remarkable difference in behavior according to this criterion. Secondly, the news report retrieved from the Fast Company brings a metalinguistic discussion that seemed appropriate to close the analyses. In between, this section presents a data-driven examination of how the algorithmic agency impacts discourse through changes in the appraisal and the transformation of semiotic elements that derive from recontextualization processes.

Thus, in text pair 1, I look mainly at how the source text's lexical choices construct appraisal to examine how algorithmic choices impact meaning-making through changes in evaluation. The analysis of text pair 2 focuses on how stances are 'invoked' (White, 2012) in the source text to explore the effects of recontextualization in these invocations. Text pair 3 shows how the source text works on elements of existential and attitudinal assumptions to illustrate how algorithmic changes in semantic relations blur these assumptions. The analysis of text pair 4 builds on the source text's interdiscursivity to investigate the algorithmic agency influence in heteroglossic representation, while the

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[9] According to All Sides Media Bias Ratings https://www.allsides.com/media-bias/ratings.

impact of algorithms in the monoglossic representation is the main topic in the examination of text pair 5. Finally, in text pair 6, metalinguistic features are explored to then demonstrate how Google Translate's mediation recontextualizes and, consequently, transforms semiotic elements.

Only excerpts are reproduced in this section, and the complete text pairs are available in the appendices. Line numbers are provided both in the extracts and in-text examples (indicated in square brackets; instances from target texts are marked with the abbreviation TT followed by the line number) to facilitate the consultation of the complete texts.

4.1. Text pair 1: Fox 5 DC

In this first text pair, I focus primarily on how the authorial lexical choices present in the source text construct appraisal regarding the representation of social events, to then examine how the algorithmic choices for these same instances impact meaning-making through changes in appraisal in the target text.

4.1.1. Source text 1: Fox 5 DC (Appendix A)

The first source text is signed by the center-leaning news agency Associated Press (AP) and published on Fox 5 DC[10] online (a local TV broadcaster and news website that report from Washington, D.C.) on January 8, 2021. The headline *After Capitol riot, many point out stark contrast between treatment of BLM protesters, pro-Trump mob* (Associated Press, 2021) already reveals the chain of social events (Fairclough, 2003) to which the text is related: the invasion of the Capitol and the Black Lives Matter[11] (henceforth, BLM) demonstrations.

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[10] Fox 5 DC website (https://www.fox5dc.com/about-us) states that the outlet is owned by Fox Television Stations, but is a different enterprise from Fox News.

[11] According to The New York Times (Buchanan et al., 2020), the Black Lives Matter protests were possibly the largest movement in U.S. history. Demonstrations occurred throughout the summer of 2020, and they peaked on June 6, 2020, when approximately half a million people gathered in demonstrations across nearly 550 locations in the country. Protests were sparked by the assassination of a Black man, George Floyd, by a white police officer but were motivated by a broader agenda against police violence.

The piece starts with a summary of the aftermath of the two events in question. By presenting the facts without the use of verbs [6-12], hence, without action, the authorial voice assumes an epistemic modality implying "strong commitments to truth" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 201), that is, a strong commitment to the representation of the social events being described.

Source text 1 (Associated Press, 2021) - Extract 1

1 **After Capitol riot, many point out stark contrast between treatment of BLM**
2 **protesters, pro-Trump mob**
3 **Published January 8, 2021**
4 **Capitol Riot**
5 **Associated Press**
6 **NEW YORK (AP)** - Black Lives Matter protests, 2020: Overwhelming force from law
7 enforcement in dozens of cities. Chemical dispersants. Rubber bullets and hand-to-hand
8 combat with largely peaceful crowds and some unruly vandals and looters. More than
9 14,000 arrests.
10 The U.S. Capitol, Jan. 6, 2021: Barely more than a few dozen arrests. Several weapons
11 seized, improvised explosive devices found. Members of a wilding mob escorted from
12 the premises, some not even in handcuffs.

Throughout the news piece (Appendix A), the lexical choices establish semantic relations (Fairclough, 2003) that bring to the fore the appraisal of the authorial voice and the quoted sources concerning the represented social events. Thus, the Capitol attack is referred to as a 'riot' [1], and the attackers as 'rioters' [74] and a 'mob' [2; 11], a noun whose first meaning, according to the Merriam-Webster dictionary, is "a large and disorderly crowd of people" (Merriam-Webster, n.d.). The choice of 'rioters' [74] and 'mob' working as hyponyms (Fairclough, 2003, p. 101) of 'crowd' unveils an attitude of negative judgment (White, 2015) both from the authors and from the quoted sources toward the designated group. These judgments can also be intensified in force using adjectives such as 'wilding' [11]. In contrast, the BLM activists are defined by the neutral nouns 'protesters' [63] and 'demonstrators' [49] (see extracts 1 above and 2 below for examples).

Source text 1 (Associated Press, 2021) - Extract 2

46 The show of force by law enforcement at the Capitol bore little resemblance to the lines
47 of National Guardsmen and other police forces that assembled last year to protect luxury
48 brand retailers against looting, government buildings against breaching and highways
49 against marching by demonstrators across the country.

(…)

21

63   In June, Trump administration officials had federal officers clear BLM protesters with
64   flash bang grenades and tear gas, to facilitate a now infamous photo-op in front of a
65   church near the White House.

(…)

74   The thousands of Capitol building rioters, many who were egged on by the president's
75   speech at a Wednesday afternoon rally over his election loss, heard a much more
76   compassionate message from their leader, albeit a defiant one.

Other mechanisms subtly support the negative appraisal of one represented group by mitigating the agency of other participants or by starkly contrasting perceived differences in police treatment of one group versus another.

Source text 1 (Associated Press, 2021) - Extract 3

16   The violent breaching of the halls of power on Capitol Hill by the insurrectionist mob on
17   Wednesday, which left one woman dead of a police gunshot wound, represents one of the
18   plainest displays of a racial double standard in both modern and recent history.

(…)

38   Newly sworn-in St. Louis Rep. Cori Bush, who was among the protesters to face down
39   police and National Guardsmen in 2014 after police killed Michael Brown in Ferguson,
40   Missouri, told The Associated Press that the race of the Capitol rioters played a big part
41   in their ability to breach the congressional fortress.
42   Had the mob been Black, "we would have been laid out," Bush said.

In Extract 3, the noun phrase 'a police gunshot wound' [17] is a nominalization in which the action of a police officer shooting someone is softened by ascribing the cause of death to the gunshot wound. This process termed "grammatical metaphor," or lexical metaphor, turns processes into 'things,' or entities (Fairclough, 2003, p. 131), often erasing or obscuring human agency. Combined with the previous 'violent breaching,' the sentence emphasizes the brutality of the group of 'insurrectionists' and mitigates that of the police.

Another example in Extract 3 is the use of the phrasal verb 'laid out' [42] that, according to Merriam Webster Dictionary, can mean "to prepare (a corpse) for viewing" (Merriam-Webster, n.d.), working as a 'verbal process' (Martin & White, 2005, p. 148) that intensifies the force of the metaphor to emphasize the very different consequences of police violence against Black people, hence, evoking a negative attitudinal assessment.

22

I now turn to the translation of this text obtained with Google Translate to examine the ways the algorithm's decisions influence the construal observed in the source text.

4.1.2. Target text 1: Fox 5 DC (Appendix B)

Even if Google Translate's algorithm kept the epistemic modality that opens this news report (conveyed in the source text through the absence of verbs), the first element that draws attention to the target text is the change in 'invoked attitudinal meanings' (White, 2015) that arise from algorithm's lexical choices. According to the Appraisal theory, attitudinal meanings refer to the positive or negative assessment of a particular phenomenon that can be conveyed to the reader through emotional reactions, a moral or ethical judgment of behavior, and the appreciation of objects or events (White, 2015). The noun 'mob' [2; 11], as seen in Appendix A, is repeatedly used in the source text to designate the mass of people that invaded the Capitol. In contrast, BLM protesters are referred to as 'crowd' [8]. However, the invoked distinction is neutralized in the target text when both nouns are translated into '*multidão*' [TT 8], a noun that means the gathering of a large number of people (Dicionário Priberam, n.d.) but does not carry the sense of a 'disorderly crowd' as in 'mob'.

Source text 1 (Associated Press, 2021) - Extract 1

1   **After Capitol riot, many point out stark contrast between treatment of BLM**
2   **protesters, pro-Trump mob**
3   **Published January 8, 2021**
4   **Capitol Riot**
5   **Associated Press**
6   **NEW YORK (AP)** - Black Lives Matter protests, 2020: Overwhelming force from law
7   enforcement in dozens of cities. Chemical dispersants. Rubber bullets and hand-to-hand
8   combat with largely peaceful crowds and some unruly vandals and looters. More than
9   14,000 arrests.
10 The U.S. Capitol, Jan. 6, 2021: Barely more than a few dozen arrests. Several weapons
11 seized, improvised explosive devices found. Members of a wilding mob escorted from
12 the premises, some not even in handcuffs.

Target text 1 - Extract 1

1   **Após o motim no Capitólio, muitos apontam um forte contraste entre o tratamento**
2   **dos manifestantes do BLM, da multidão pró-Trump**
3   **Publicados 8 de janeiro de 2021**
4   **Revolta do Capitólio**
5   **Imprensa associada**
6   **NOVA YORK (AP)** - Protestos Black Lives Matter, 2020: força esmagadora da
7   aplicação da lei em dezenas de cidades. Dispersantes químicos. Balas de borracha e

8 combate corpo a corpo com multidões em grande parte pacíficas e alguns vândalos e
9 saqueadores indisciplinados. Mais de 14.000 prisões.
10 Capitólio dos EUA, 6 de janeiro de 2021: Pouco mais de algumas dezenas de
11 prisões. Várias armas apreendidas, dispositivos explosivos improvisados
12 encontrados. Membros de uma multidão selvagem escoltados para fora do local, alguns
13 nem mesmo algemados.

A similar case is observed in extracts 2 below with the nouns 'demonstrators' [49] and 'protesters' [63], used to refer to BLM activists, and 'rioters' [74], employed to describe Trump's supporters. The three nouns were converted into the neutral form '*manifestantes*' [TT 54, 69, and 80] in the target text. Once again, the algorithmic choice erased the implied judgment of behavior that distinguished the two groups and changed the stance the reader was inducted to adopt towards them.

Source text 1 (Associated Press, 2021) - Extract 2

46 The show of force by law enforcement at the Capitol bore little resemblance to the lines
47 of National Guardsmen and other police forces that assembled last year to protect luxury
48 brand retailers against looting, government buildings against breaching and highways
49 against marching by demonstrators across the country.

(…)

63 In June, Trump administration officials had federal officers clear BLM protesters with
64 flash bang grenades and tear gas, to facilitate a now infamous photo-op in front of a
65 church near the White House.

(…)

74 The thousands of Capitol building rioters, many who were egged on by the president's
75 speech at a Wednesday afternoon rally over his election loss, heard a much more
76 compassionate message from their leader, albeit a defiant one.

Target text 1 - Extract 2

51 A demonstração de força da aplicação da lei no Capitólio tinha pouca semelhança com as
52 linhas da Guarda Nacional e outras forças policiais que se reuniram no ano passado para
53 proteger varejistas de marcas de luxo contra saques, prédios governamentais contra
54 invasões e rodovias contra marchas de manifestantes em todo o país.

(…)

68 Em junho, funcionários do governo Trump fizeram com que oficiais federais liberassem
69 os manifestantes do BLM com granadas e gás lacrimogêneo, para facilitar uma agora
70 infame sessão de fotos em frente a uma igreja perto da Casa Branca.

(…)

80 Os milhares de manifestantes no edifício do Capitólio, muitos dos quais foram instigados
81 pelo discurso do presidente em um comício na tarde de quarta-feira sobre sua derrota nas

24

82 eleições, ouviram uma mensagem muito mais compassiva de seu líder, embora
83 desafiadora.

The way Google Translate dealt with the lexical and grammatical metaphors discussed in the previous section also influenced the assessment of attitude in the targe text. The noun phrase 'a police gunshot wound' was translated into '*um tiro policial*,' [Appendix B; 19], meaning 'a police gunshot', that is, 'wound' was deleted from the target version. According to van Leeuwen (2008), 'deletions' may also be a part of any recontextualization process, and its consequences are context-dependent. Hence, when 'wound' is excluded from the target text, it emphasizes the agency of the police and mutes the damage inflicted. In this way, it shifts the stance of the authorial voice and creates different social relations.

A similar effect occurred in the following extracts when the algorithm translated 'laid out' [42] into '*derrotados*' [TT 47], the equivalent in Portuguese to 'defeated'. Here, the image invoked by the metaphor used by the quoted source in the original text is blurred in the target text, that is, its force is mitigated (White, 2015). In fact, the translation of this extract is worthy of further comments:

Source text 1 (Associated Press, 2021) - Extract 3

38 Newly sworn-in St. Louis Rep. Cori Bush, who was among the protesters to face down
39 police and National Guardsmen in 2014 after police killed Michael Brown in Ferguson,
40 Missouri, told The Associated Press that the race of the Capitol rioters played a big part
41 in their ability to breach the congressional fortress.
42 Had the mob been Black, "we would have been laid out," Bush said.

Target text 1 - Extract 3

42 O recém-empossado deputado de St. Louis Cori Bush, que estava entre os manifestantes
43 que enfrentaram a polícia e a Guarda Nacional em 2014 depois que a polícia matou
44 Michael Brown em Ferguson, Missouri, disse à Associated Press que a corrida dos
45 manifestantes do Capitólio teve um grande impacto. parte em sua capacidade de romper
46 a fortaleza do Congresso.
47 Se a multidão fosse negra, "nós teríamos sido derrotados", disse Bush.

The first observation is related to gender assignment. Since Portuguese is a language that has gendered nouns, adjectives, articles, possessive and demonstrative pronouns, whereas these are usually gender-neutral parts of speech in English, gender can be seen as an 'addition' (van Leeuwen, 2008) in the process of recontextualization of this extract. The

algorithm misassigned Cori Bush with the masculine gender marked by the definite article '*o*' and the 'o' ending in '*empossado*' and '*deputado*' [TT 42], assuming the masculine as the generic form since no contextual cue indicated otherwise. Likewise, in another excerpt, while the source text said " … the grievances of white people above those of their Black, often disenfranchised, and downtrodden countrymen and women" [Appendix A; 33], the emphasis on the gender inclusion ('men' and 'women') was deleted from the target text, and the masculine form "*conterrâneos*" [Appendix B; 36] was adopted as the unmarked form for generalization. Consequently, a different social relation is constructed, from one that explicitly addresses women as a fundamental social actor in the phenomenon discussed to another that assumes men as the legitimized representation of the whole.

Furthermore, the noun 'race' [40] was translated into '*corrida*' [TT, 44], which corresponds to 'race' in the sense of a "contest of speed" (Merriam-Webster, n.d.), even though the contextual cues realized through semantically related lexicon such as 'racial,' 'Black,' and 'Black Lives Matter' indicated otherwise (the correct translation would be '*raça*'). This case is an instance of a text that sounds fluent and adequate to the reader in the target language who does not know or does not have access to the source text. However, it is entirely devoid of its original meaning.

Lastly, Google Translate's algorithm also ignored the graduation effect that intensified the force of the statement '[w]hen black people protest for our lives, we are all too often met by National Guard troops … ' [Appendix A; 19-20]. The phrase 'all too often' implies the assumption that a particular situation happens more frequently than it should. When it is translated into '*quando os negros protestam por nossas vidas, muitas vezes* [too often] *somos recebidos por tropas da Guarda Nacional ...* ' [Appendix B; 21-22], it becomes an assertion about the recurrence of an event, losing the moral judgment embedded in the original text.

These instances that result from Google Translate mediation illustrate how the authorial voice and quoted sources' attitudinal assessments can be blurred depending on the algorithm's decisions when generating the target text.

4.2. Text pair 2: Newsweek

As previously discussed in this thesis, translations can be understood as a form of recontextualization of social practices realized through mechanisms such as substitutions and deletions (van Leeuwen, 2008). These mechanisms are particularly useful for examining instances in which imprecise or erroneous translations that may or not sound fluent in the target language significantly affect semiotic elements that build the ideological stances of the text. Thus, this section first focus on how stances are 'invoked' (White, 2012) in the source text to then explore the effects of recontextualization.

4.2.1. Source text 2: Newsweek (Appendix C)

Another center-leaning media outlet, Newsweek published an online news report on January 6, 2021, that embodies a "chain of events" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 38). Like the piece previously examined, the text headlined *NBA Questions Race Double Standard, Again, After Capitol Riots, Jacob Blake Cop Dismissal* (McDonald, 2021) draws on discourses that compare the reactions to the Capitol assault and the demonstrations against police brutality that took place in the United States in 2020. However, it expands the chain further by adding two other events: the dismissal of criminal charges of the white police officers involved in the shooting of Jacob Blake and the National Basketball Association's (NBA) reactions to this dismissal. [12]

As seen in Extract 1 below, the article starts with the 'attribution' of a 'value position' (White, 2012) to a secondary voice, namely 'athletes' [5] in a mechanism that 'invokes' the author's detachment to what is being reported, that is, " … the [author's] attitudinal value is activated indirectly via implication, association or optional entailments" (White, 2012, p. 59).

Source text 2 (McDonald, 2021) - Extract 1

1 **NBA Questions Race Double Standard, Again, After Capitol Riots, Jacob Blake Cop**
2 **Dismissal**
3 Sports
4 By Scott McDonald On 1/6/21 at 9:55 PM EST

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[12] Jacob Blake, a Black man, was shot seven times by a white police officer in August, 2020. The shooting left Blake partly paralyzed, and triggered demonstrations throughout the USA. Professional athletes, led by NBA players, refused to play games as a sign of protest. The U.S. Justice did not charge the police officers participating in the shooting (Morales, 2021).

27

5   Athletes in America have been vocal today regarding race in this country, particularly a
6   "double standard" they claim of Blacks not treated the same as non-Blacks. Wednesday's
7   concerns is two-thronged. First, there's the news that the Wisconsin cop who shot Jacob
8   Blake in the back won't be criminally charged. Then, there was the massive mob that
9   rioted at the U.S. Capitol. On Tuesday, prosecutors in Kenosha, Wisconsin, said they

    […]
17 On Wednesday afternoon, rioters began storming the Capitol building in Washington in
18 part of their protests of Congress getting ready to approve the Electoral College votes,
19 which would mean Joe Biden would become the 46th President of the United States in a
20 couple of weeks. The rioters Wednesday were seen wearing pro-Trump gear and waving
21 Trump flags. Why is this relevant? Last summer, after the May 25 death of George Floyd,
22 there were Black Lives Matter protests—from coast to coast—against the police brutality
23 of Black people. Floyd was a Black man who died while in custody of Minneapolis police

The use of a direct quotation in 'double standard' [6] combined with the reporting verb
'to claim' [6], which dissociates the value proposition of the authorial voice from that of
the quoted source (White, 2012, p. 64), supports the notion of the author attempts to
position himself as a neutral narrator of the facts.

The author then asks the rhetorical question, 'Why is this relevant?' [21], which,
according to White (2020), is a mechanism to introduce reasons "in support of contentious
propositions" (p. 420). In this news piece, the author then builds an argument through a
series of quotes and indirect citations from external sources, as, for instance, in the
following excerpts.

Source text 2 (McDonald, 2021) - Extract 2

28 On Wednesday afternoon, Philadelphia 76ers coach Doc Rivers questioned if it had been
29 a Black mob instead of a mostly-white group that stormed the Capitol. "Could you
30 imagine today, if those were all Black people storming the Capitol, and what would have
31 happened?" Rivers said in this video released by the NBA on TNT's Twitter account.

    [...]

35 released team statements and then played the games as scheduled. Michele Roberts, the
36 executive director of the National Basketball Players Association, said she has received
37 messages from players all day regarding the decision. She spoke to ESPN about it. "Today
38 started yesterday, when the Jacob Blake shooting was being justified, although I'm not
39 sure there was a single human surprised at that finding," Roberts said. "Every single
40 player that contacted me—or that I contacted—saw the same connection to the Blake
41 shooting being justified. We were watching these people essentially committing treason
42 at the Capitol and I have yet to hear about a single shot being fired. "We saw a Black

These quotes exemplify what White (2020) defines as an author's attempt to build an 'attitudinal likemindedness' (p. 408) with readers, which is illustrated by the use of the conditional 'if it had been' [28] in the first quotation, and the graduation of force with 'every single player' [39-40] in the second. However, the author chooses to present these stances through other voices, seeking to increase the strength of the argument by appearing less present yet projecting the expectation of shared values onto the reader.

4.2.2. Target text 2: Newsweek (Appendix D)

Once the piece was translated, Google Translate offered the following transformations to the news report headline [TT 2-3]:

Source text 2 (McDonald, 2021) - Extract 1

1 **NBA Questions Race Double Standard, Again, After Capitol Riots, Jacob Blake Cop**
2 **Dismissal**
3 Sports
4 By Scott McDonald On 1/6/21 at 9:55 PM EST
5 Athletes in America have been vocal today regarding race in this country, particularly a
6 "double standard" they claim of Blacks not treated the same as non-Blacks. Wednesday's
7 concerns is two-thronged. First, there's the news that the Wisconsin cop who shot Jacob
8 Blake in the back won't be criminally charged. Then, there was the massive mob that
9 rioted at the U.S. Capitol. On Tuesday, prosecutors in Kenosha, Wisconsin, said they

Target text 2 - Extract 1
1 **ESPORTES**
2 **NBA questiona corrida de duplo padrão, novamente, após motins no Capitólio,**
3 **demissão de Jacob Blake Cop**
4 **POR SCOTT MCDONALD EM 06/01/21 ÀS 21:55 EST**
5 Atletas na América têm falado hoje em relação à raça neste país, particularmente um
6 "duplo padrão" que eles afirmam de negros não serem tratados da mesma forma que não-
7 negros. As preocupações de quarta-feira são duplas. Primeiro, há a notícia de que o
8 policial de Wisconsin que atirou em Jacob Blake pelas costas não será acusado
9 criminalmente. Então, houve a multidão maciça que se rebelou no Capitólio dos EUA.

For the second time in this sample, '*Race*' [1] was again mistranslated into '*corrida*' [TT 2] (as in 4.1.2 above), erasing from the headline the fundamental social element from which the entire argument of the article is built. Furthermore, the inaccuracy of 'dismissal' [2] being converted into '*demissão*' [TT 3] ('resignation'), combined with the change in capitalization and the absence of translation for 'cop' [3], works as a demonstration of the algorithmic agency to make decisions that transform semiotic elements. Google Translate let only 'NBA,' '*Capitólio*' [TT 2], and 'Cop" in capital letters, possibly leading the reader in the target language to a misinterpretation of Jacob

Blake Cop as someone's full name. Thus, the representation of participants and the chain of events prefigured in the original headline become misleading to the reader of the target text and, in fact, distort the central argument along with its associated stances.

There are also subtler moves from the source to the target text that affect the ways social representation is construed, observed in Extract 1. Google Translate converted the reporting verb 'to claim' [6] – considered a 'dissociating' (White, 2012, p. 63) verb – into the neutral reporting verb '*afirmar*' [TT 6] ('to state'). Subsequently, the adverb 'then' [8] – which could have been translated into the adverb of time '*depois*' – is substituted with '*então*' [TT 9]. This adverb can either be of time or assume the function of a conjunction, establishing a causality relation between the two sentences. The latter affords the interpretation that there is a causal relationship between the dismissal of the cop's charges and the Capitol being attacked by the '*multidão*' [TT 9] (once again the preferred translation for '*mob*' [8], according to Google Translate's algorithm). In short, not only invoked stances were neutralized by these substitutions, but the two opposing social realities represented in the source text, from which stems the main argumentation of the article, are blended in a relation of causality.

The work of the algorithm had a similar impact in Extract 2 when it substituted the subjunctive mood 'if it had been' [28] with the simple past '*se foi*' [TT 34] in the target text, hence transforming the conditional 'if' in the former into the conjunction '*se*' in the latter. This change leads the reader in the target language to the interpretation that Doc Rivers was questioning the actual race of the mob – 'whether' ('*se*' [TT 34]) a Black 'crowd' ('*multidão*' [TT 35]) or 'a mostly-white group' [29] invaded the Capitol. Thus, it rendered the question entirely epistemic rather than hypothetical, completely inverting the source's stance.

Source text 2 (McDonald, 2021) - Extract 2

28 On Wednesday afternoon, Philadelphia 76ers coach Doc Rivers questioned if it had been
29 a Black mob instead of a mostly-white group that stormed the Capitol. "Could you
30 imagine today, if those were all Black people storming the Capitol, and what would have
31 happened?" Rivers said in this video released by the NBA on TNT's Twitter account.

    [...]
35 released team statements and then played the games as scheduled. Michele Roberts, the
36 executive director of the National Basketball Players Association, said she has received

37   messages from players all day regarding the decision. She spoke to ESPN about it. "Today
38   started yesterday, when the Jacob Blake shooting was being justified, although I'm not
39   sure there was a single human surprised at that finding," Roberts said. "Every single
40   player that contacted me—or that I contacted—saw the same connection to the Blake
41   shooting being justified. We were watching these people essentially committing treason
42   at the Capitol and I have yet to hear about a single shot being fired. "We saw a Black

Target text 2 - Extract 2

34   Na tarde de quarta-feira, o técnico do Philadelphia 76ers, Doc Rivers, questionou se foi
35   uma multidão negra em vez de um grupo majoritariamente branco que invadiu o
36   Capitólio.
37   "Você poderia imaginar hoje, se todos fossem negros invadindo o Capitólio, e o que teria
38   acontecido?" Rivers disse neste vídeo divulgado pela NBA na conta do Twitter da TNT.

[…]

41   programado. Michele Roberts, diretora executiva da National Basketball Players
42   Association, disse que recebeu mensagens de jogadores o dia todo sobre a decisão. Ela
43   falou com a ESPN sobre isso.
44   "Hoje começou ontem, quando o tiroteio de Jacob Blake estava sendo justificado, embora
45   eu não tenha certeza de que houve um único humano surpreso com essa descoberta", disse
46   Roberts. "Todos os jogadores que me contataram – ou que eu contatei – viram a mesma
47   conexão com o tiroteio de Blake sendo justificada. We were watching these people
48   essentially committing treason at the Capitol and I have yet to hear about a single shot
49   being fired.[13]

Google Translate also had an effect on the intensity of one source's assertion in the above excerpt when it substituted the phrase 'every single player' [39] with '*todos os jogadores*' [TT 46] ('all players'), mitigating the 'force' (White, 2015) of the statement.

As these semiotic elements are recontextualized (van Leeuwen, 2008), the algorithmic decisions would inevitably influence the interpretation of attributed attitudes and assumed stances by the target text's addressees.

4.3. Text pair 3: Fox News

In this text pair, I focus on how the source text suggests its ideological stance through elements of existential and attitudinal assumptions to illustrate the ways the algorithm changes in semantic relations blur these assumptions in the target text.

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[13] Google Translate did not translate the last sentence of this excerpt. The reasons for this error and its significance to the reader are beyond the scope of this thesis.

4.3.1. Source text 3: Fox News (Appendix E)

The next examined news report, *How Wednesday's Capitol riot came to fruition and who made it happen* (McKay, 2021), was published on the right-leaning media outlet Fox News online on January 8, 2021. As seen in Extract 1 below, the article starts with what Fairclough (2003) calls an 'existential assumption,' that is, "assumptions about what exists" (p. 55), that is realized through the use of the simple present in the sentence that says "[t]he congressional endeavor of certifying the presidential winner ... *is* typically a banal ritual" [6-7] (my emphasis). However, it quickly shifts to an evaluative tone, qualifying the Capitol attack as a 'jaw-dropping event' [9]. Still, the author opts for describing the event through nominalizations ('shots ringing out,' 'tear gas,' 'lives lost' [10]) instead of revealing the social actors involved. This mechanism works to dissociate the author's stances from what is being depicted, which is reinforced by a rhetorical question [10] that, similarly to what was shown in the previous section (4.2), is used to engage the reader in the construal of contentious arguments.

Source text 3 (McKay, 2021) - Extract 1

6   The congressional endeavor of certifying the presidential winner in the Electoral College
7   is typically a banal ritual. But on Wednesday after weeks of mounting emotions, lawsuits
8   to overturn the results, and an insistence from President Trump and his supporters that
9   the election was stolen, the ceremonial duty became a jaw-dropping event pockmarked
10 by a raid of the Capitol, shots ringing out, tear gas and lives lost. So what happened?
11 According to one U.S. military veteran heavily involved in the planning of Wednesday's
12 protests, attendees came from across the country. "Whether it

[…]
18 In the days leading up to Wednesday, Trump supporters started "pouring in," the source
19 said. "Everything was booked; you couldn't get a room. People were camping out in the

The answer is presented not by the author but by a quoted source whose descriptive text ("U.S. military veteran heavily involved in the planning of Wednesday's protests" [11-12]) is revealing of an 'attitudinal lexis' (White, 2012) that accredits them as someone legitimized to narrate the related facts. The author's choice for this social actor to retell the facts indexes the right-leaning ideological stance of the outlet where the piece was published. She attributes the invocation of intensity of the action as in 'pouring in' [18] to the quoted source, distancing her voice from this assertion while referring, in her own voice, to Trump followers as 'supporters' [18], a noun of favorable indexicality.

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The positive appraisal in the authorial voice becomes more evident farther in the article, as observed in the extract that follows:

Source text 3 (McKay, 2021) - Extract 2

25 rallies. Around 10 a.m., in bone-chilling cold, Trump's sons and his longtime lawyer
26 spoke to the growing crowds, and after the president's speech, in which he said he would
27 never concede, thousands marched toward the Capitol after he suggested that they should.
28 "We're going to walk down to the Capitol and we're going to cheer on our brave senators
29 and Congressmen and women," Trump said. Meanwhile, many more protesters
30 accumulated by the White House lawn. But shortly after 1 p.m.,
31 demonstrators started clashing with law enforcement on the steps of the Capitol. Less
32 than 30 minutes later, representatives inside the building were being evacuated amid
33 reports of a bomb outside. And at about 2:10 p.m., rioters managed to blow past police
34 lines and scale the walls around the building.

The reference to the 'bone-chilling cold' [25] emphasizes the harsh climate conditions of that morning and indexes a positive attitude, signaling their resilience and commitment to the cause, and other relatively mild or neutral nouns like 'crowds' [26], 'protesters' [29], and 'demonstrators' [31] are used to refer to those supporting Trump. Nevertheless, when the violence of the event starts to be described, the lexical choice shifts to nouns of negative indexicality, such as 'rioters' [33], seen in Extract 2, 'mob' [41], and 'attackers' [51] (Appendix E). This shift can be interpreted as hyponyms (Fairclough, 2003), that is, the 'mob,' 'rioters,' and 'attackers' represent a part of the attendees previously described, whereas 'crowds' and 'supporters' designate the superordinate group of Trump's followers. This semantic relation reinforces the ideological stances that permeate the text.

4.3.2. Target text 3: Fox News (Appendix F)

The semantic relations that construct the invoked stances of the source text (Appendix E) are missing from the target text (Appendix F) due to the blurring of appraisal that resulted from Google Translate's mediation. For instance, 'pouring in' [18] is translated into the neutral '*chegar*' [TT 19], which is the equivalent of 'to arrive'. Hence, the symbolic image of a flow of people arriving fast and in significant numbers that the original lexical item raises has vanished. Furthermore, the evoked objectivity of '*chegar*' does not justify to the reader in the target language the author's decision to present it as a quote and does not establish a strong semantic relation with the following quotation ("Everything was booked; you couldn't get a room. People were camping out …" [19]).

But it is the lexical repetition that has the most significant effect on the ways the assumption of shared values changes from the source to the target text. 'Protesters' [29], 'demonstrators' [31], and 'rioters' [33] are all translated into the same word, '*manifestantes*' [TT 31, 32, 35], which accurately conveys the meaning of the two formers nouns but does not encompass the violent or disorderly implication of the latter. In the same vein, the target text does not differentiate 'crowds' [23, 26] and 'mob' [41] (both translated into '*multidão*' [25, 27] or the plural '*multidões*' [43]). Therefore, the appraisal and associated indexicalities carried in the lexicon used in the source text to represent these social actors undergo a 'blurring of semantic boundaries' (White, 2015) and a weakening of nuance.

There are two other elements of the algorithmic choices for this text that are worthy of attention and are demonstrated in the extracts below. The first one refers to deletion and its 'graduation' effect. The term 'bone-chilling cold' [25] that emphasizes the challenging conditions of the event in the representation of that particular time and space is translated into '*frio de arrepiar*' [TT 26] ('chilling cold), mitigating the 'intensity' (White, 2015) of the image invoked in the source text, once again removing some of the force of the appraisal.

<u>Source text 3 (McKay, 2021) - Extract 2</u>

25   rallies. Around 10 a.m., in bone-chilling cold, Trump's sons and his longtime lawyer
26   spoke to the growing crowds, and after the president's speech, in which he said he would
27   never concede, thousands marched toward the Capitol after he suggested that they should.
28   "We're going to walk down to the Capitol and we're going to cheer on our brave senators

29	and Congressmen and women," Trump said. Meanwhile, many more protesters
30	accumulated by the White House lawn. But shortly after 1 p.m.,
31	demonstrators started clashing with law enforcement on the steps of the Capitol. Less
32	than 30 minutes later, representatives inside the building were being evacuated amid
33	reports of a bomb outside. And at about 2:10 p.m., rioters managed to blow past police
34	lines and scale the walls around the building.

Target text 3 - Extract 2

26	para comícios aprovados. Por volta das 10 da manhã, com um frio de arrepiar, os filhos
27	de Trump e seu advogado de longa data falaram para a multidão crescente, e após o
28	discurso do presidente, no qual ele disse que nunca cederia, milhares marcharam em
29	direção ao Capitólio depois que ele sugeriu que deveriam. "Vamos caminhar até o
30	Capitólio e torcer por nossos bravos senadores, congressistas e mulheres", disse Trump.
31	Enquanto isso, muitos mais manifestantes se acumulavam no gramado da Casa Branca.
32	Mas pouco depois das 13h, os manifestantes começaram a entrar em confronto com a
33	polícia nos degraus do Capitólio. Menos de 30 minutos depois, representantes dentro do
34	prédio estavam sendo evacuados em meio a relatos de uma bomba do lado de fora. E
35	por volta das 14h10, os manifestantes conseguiram passar pelas linhas da polícia e escalar
36	os muros ao redor do prédio.

The second one refers to a rare instance of a gender-marked noun in English corresponding to a gender-neutral noun in Portuguese (as Portuguese is mostly a gender-marked language, it is usually the contrary). The translation of 'Congressmen' in Portuguese is gender-neutral '*congressistas*'. However, in the source text, 'women' [29] is added to reinforce gender representativeness ('Congressmen and women' [29]). However, instead of deleting 'women' from the target text, translating 'Congressmen and women' into its gender-neutral form in Portuguese '*congressistas,*' the algorithm included a third social actor in Trump's quote, '*mulheres*' [30] (as if saying 'our brave senators, Congressmen and women, and women').

As demonstrated, these algorithmic decisions intervene in how social events and actors are represented, often blurring or changing the way stances are construed in a text.

4.4. Text pair 4: Fox News on NY Post editorial

The next text pair shows many of the same processes at work in the translation as changing appraisal and inverting stances. However, here I focus on the degree to which engagement, that is, the openness to more than one point of view or alternative voices (Martin & White, 2005), present in the source text is maintained in the target text. To do

this, I analyze degrees of interdiscursivity and the ways in which openness is signaled but differences nevertheless negated.

4.4.1. Source text 4: Fox News/NY Post (Appendix G)

The headline of a different piece published on the Fox News website on January 8, 2021, *Capitol Riot: NY Post says Democrats suffer from 'liberal amnesia' over past violence from the left* (Flood, 2021), reveals its metalinguistic properties. The title anticipates that the examined object of this news report is another journalistic piece – the right-leaning NY Post editorial article that expresses the opinion of its editorial board toward the social events that had convulsed the United States, namely BLM protests during the summer of 2020 and the invasion of the Capitol Hill in January 2021. The NY Post's arguments are opposed to those presented by the then president-elected of the USA, Joe Biden, whose discourse synthesizes the liberal view. Therefore, this is a text marked by interdiscursivity. Furthermore, stances on various events represented are made salient through stylistic choices that convey appraisal.

This news report is built on dialogic relations between the cited NY Post opinion piece and Fox News's explicit stance and between Fox News and its projected readers. The first paragraph is dedicated to setting a common ground for the three parties, based on monoglossic assertions ('declared' [7]) attributed to the quoted editorial that build an 'assumed attitudinal and epistemic likemindedness' (White, 2020) between the two outlets and between them and the reader, as below:

<u>Source text 4 (Flood, 2021) - Extract 1</u>

7 The New York Post's editorial board declared Friday that liberals are suffering from
8 "amnesia" about last summer's riots when discussing the chaos that occurred when
9 proTrump supporters mobbed the U.S. Capitol on Wednesday. President-elect Joe Biden

The epistemic likemindedness in Extract 1 above is evidenced by the nominalization of the events ('last summer's riots,' 'chaos' [8]) and the lexical choice for the verb 'to mob' to describe the action of the represented event presuming that the reader is familiar with the mentioned events.

In the remainder, the piece brings 'heteroglossic' (White, 2020) formulations that oppose the arguments posed by the NY Post Editorial [15-23] to those of the "liberals" [23-27] as observed in Extract 2 below.

Source text 4 (Flood, 2021) - Extract 2

15   to the Capitol riot. "Across the country, BLM and Antifa were coddled. Portland allowed
16   them to set up an autonomous zone in the middle of the city for months, and police and
17   politicians did nothing. In liberal cities, politicians told cops to back off and pushed for
18   more lawbreakers to be released without bail or no charges. The thugs who attacked the
19   Capitol were met with officers fighting back at barricades and tear gas. Guns were drawn
20   and, in one case, deadly force was used," the editorial board wrote.
21   "The rioters were able to get the run of the Capitol because cops were vastly outnumbered.
22   Officials are already resigning or being fired because of that failure," the editorial board
23   continued." This was a horrible insurrection and should be condemned." However, Biden
24   on Thursday declared that Capitol Hill rioters would have been treated differently if they
25   weren't predominantly White. "No one can tell me that if it had been a group of Black
26   Lives Matter protesters yesterday that they wouldn't have been treated very differently
27   than the mob that stormed the Capitol. We all know that's true — and it's unacceptable,"

Here, the lexical choice for the representation of the social actors in the considered events is once again a salient feature. By choosing nouns of heavy negative judgment such as 'thugs' [18] and 'rioters' [21] to make reference to the Capitol attackers, the NY Post demonstrates a consensus regarding the unacceptableness of this event. In the excerpt above, Biden also refers to the attackers with a noun of negative connotations ('the mob' [27]). However, the NY Post shows a similar view regarding the BLM activists by, for example, using 'lawbreakers' [18] and referring to their protests as 'last summer's riots' [8], in opposition to Biden, who sees this group as 'protesters' [26]. These points of agreement and disagreement not only mark the different stances but also works as a resource for the news piece to build a monoglossic argument, even though more voices are presented. Moreover, the assumption of a shared stance with its readers is reinforced through mechanisms of graduation, as seen in 'cops were vastly outnumbered' [21], in which the adverb intensifies the force of the assertion.

The text ends by adding one more element of 'intertextuality' (Fairclough, 2003) that expands the genre chain further: an invitation for the addressee to watch a Fox News video introduced as a corroboration of the point made by the NY Post editorial board.

36 House Speaker Nancy Pelosi, Jerry Nadler, CNN's Chris Cuomo and Vice President-elect
37 Kamala Harris were also seen flip-flopping on whether or not riots should be frowned
38 upon during the must-see "Fox & Friends" video.

In the excerpt above, the use of the argot 'flip-flopping' [37] to describe the attitudinal stance of these prominent politicians and journalists, followed by the adjective modal 'must-see'[38] to classify the video, takes for granted the value position of the reader, disregarding any other potential 'un-likemindedness' (White, 2020), overtly reinforcing the text's ideological stance.

Hence, although this news piece has the façade of a heteroglossic text, bringing in other voices, it is still monoglossic in the way it constructs events as open to only one interpretation.

4.4.2. Target text 4: Fox News/NY Post (Appendix H)

Turning to the target text (Appendix H), what is observed is that the algorithmic translation blurred the value positions of the different voices represented in the text through substitutions that changed appraisal and deletions that inverted semiotic elements. This phenomenon is evident in the extracts below:

Source text 4 (Flood, 2021) - Extract 2

15 to the Capitol riot. "Across the country, BLM and Antifa were coddled. Portland allowed
16 them to set up an autonomous zone in the middle of the city for months, and police and
17 politicians did nothing. In liberal cities, politicians told cops to back off and pushed for
18 more lawbreakers to be released without bail or no charges. The thugs who attacked the
19 Capitol were met with officers fighting back at barricades and tear gas. Guns were drawn
20 and, in one case, deadly force was used," the editorial board wrote.
21 "The rioters were able to get the run of the Capitol because cops were vastly outnumbered.
22 Officials are already resigning or being fired because of that failure," the editorial board
23 continued." This was a horrible insurrection and should be condemned." However, Biden
24 on Thursday declared that Capitol Hill rioters would have been treated differently if they
25 weren't predominantly White. "No one can tell me that if it had been a group of Black
26 Lives Matter protesters yesterday that they wouldn't have been treated very differently
27 than the mob that stormed the Capitol. We all know that's true — and it's unacceptable,"

Target text 4 - Extract 2

15 brutalidade policial em comparação com o motim do Capitólio. "Em todo o país, BLM e
16 Antifa foram mimados. Portland permitiu que eles estabelecessem uma zona autônoma
17 no meio da cidade por meses, e a polícia e os políticos não fizeram nada. Nas cidades
18 liberais, os políticos disseram aos policiais para recuar e pressionaram por mais os

19 infratores da lei sejam libertados sem fiança ou sem acusações. Os bandidos que atacaram
20 o Capitólio foram recebidos com oficiais lutando contra barricadas e gás lacrimogêneo.
21 Armas foram sacadas e, em um caso, a força letal foi usada", escreveu o conselho
22 editorial.
23 "Os desordeiros conseguiram controlar o Capitólio porque os policiais estavam em grande
24 número. Os funcionários já estão se demitindo ou sendo demitidos por causa desse
25 fracasso", continuou o conselho editorial. "Esta foi uma insurreição horrível e deve ser
26 condenada." No entanto, Biden declarou na quinta-feira que os manifestantes do Capitólio
27 teriam sido tratados de maneira diferente se não fossem predominantemente brancos.
28 "Ninguém pode me dizer que, se tivesse sido um grupo de manifestantes do Black Lives
29 Matter ontem, eles não teriam sido tratados de maneira muito diferente da multidão que
30 invadiu o Capitólio. Todos sabemos que isso é verdade - e é inaceitável", escreveu Biden.

In the above excerpt of the target text, the deletion of the preposition 'at' (seen in [19] in the source text) leaves the reader with '*os bandidos … foram recebidos por oficiais lutando contra barricadas e gás lacrimogêneo*' [TT 19-20], a sentence that means that the thugs were met with officers fighting back barricades and tear gas. Hence, the point made by the editorial piece of sturdy police response to the rioters has been substituted with the opposite idea, one that it was the officials who had to face strong resistance. Subsequently, the reader of the target text is presented with the information that the rioters could get the run of the Capitol because cops were in greater number ('*os policiais estavam em grande número*' [TT 23-24]. This was produced by the deletion of the intensifier adverb 'vastly' combined with the mistranslation of 'outnumbered' [21]. Consequently, the elements of social practice (van Leeuwen, 2008) were rearranged by a shift in the agency: from the rioters – when the source text reads that the rioters vastly outnumbered the cops – to 'the cops' – since the target text says otherwise.

Furthermore, as seen above, 'rioters' [24] and 'protesters' [26] were again translated into the same noun, '*manifestantes*' [TT 26, 28] and 'mob' [27] into '*multidão*' [29], erasing the different appraisal conveyed by each of the terms in the original text. Other instances of lexical choices also contributed to blurring the value positions observed in the source text. 'Flip-flopping' [37] was substituted with '*discutindo*' [41] (the equivalent of 'discussing'), neutralizing the moral judgment contained in the original and fading out the emphasis on the assumption of an 'attitudinal likemindedness' (White, 2020) with the reader, as seen below:

Source text 4 (Flood, 2021) - Extract 3

36 House Speaker Nancy Pelosi, Jerry Nadler, CNN's Chris Cuomo and Vice President-elect
37 Kamala Harris were also seen flip-flopping on whether or not riots should be frowned
38 upon during the must-see "Fox & Friends" video.

Target text 4 - Extract 3

40 A presidente da Câmara, Nancy Pelosi, Jerry Nadler, Chris Cuomo, da CNN, e a vice
41 presidente eleita Kamala Harris também foram vistos discutindo se os tumultos devem
42 ou não ser desaprovados durante o imperdível vídeo "Fox & Friends" .

To sum up, the resulting translation affects the semantic relations of sentences in the target text compared to what was observed in the source text, blurring the effects invoked by the engaged source and the projected 'likemindedness' with the reader. The choices made by the algorithm affect the 'interdiscursivity' of this piece, removing significant elements that construct the heteroglossia in the original. Furthermore, the changes in appraisal make it harder for the reader in the target language to apprehend the different ideological stances represented in the source text.

4.5. Text pair 5: Los Angeles Times

The substantial lexical work to construct monoglossic assertions that convey the author's value attributions toward the social events and actors represented in the source text is the focus of analysis in the first part of this section. In the second part, I look at the ways the algorithmic agency blurred and even inverted the unveiled stances of the source text through lexical neutralization and inaccurate substitutions.

4.5.1. Source text 5: Los Angeles Times (Appendix I)

Swinging to the other side of the political spectrum, the left-leaning outlet, the Los Angeles Times, also employs mechanisms of representation of social events that invoke the assumption of 'attitudinal and epistemic likemindedness' (White, 2020) with the projected reader. Opening with the headline *'Second revolution begins': Armed right-wing groups celebrate Capitol attack* (Hennessy-Fiske, 2021), this news report published on the Los Angeles Times website on January 6, 2021, shows a presupposing formulation that normalizes the violence of the represented social event through the use of a nominalization ('armed right-wing groups'). As White (2020) explains, "(…) such a 'naturalizing' has a dialogistic potential – that is, to project the particular value position onto the construed reader in that it is this construed reader who is 'taken for granted' in

40

this way", (p. 409). Thus, starting from the headline, this text carries a set of value assumptions that construes its stance.

As we can see in Extract 1 below, the choice for the noun 'rabble' [7] – which can mean both a synonym for 'mob' or 'the lowest class of people'[14] – to designate the Trump's supporters associated with the use of attitudinal verbs such as 'to espouse' [13] and the reduced passive 'whipped up' [29], are elements that invoke the attitudinal assessment of this group. These excerpts show high, cumulative levels of negative appraisal through terms such as 'futile attempt' [5], 'mob attack' [6], 'disturbing, surreal scene' [8-9], and 'violent inclinations' [9], to highlight a few examples. Verbs, adjectives, and nouns all work together in monoglossic assertions that unveil the author's stances and signal the expected likemindedness with the projected reader (White, 2020).

Source text 5 (Hennessy-Fiske, 2021) - Extract 1

4 HOUSTON — Members of armed right-wing groups that stormed the Capitol on
5 Wednesday in blind support of President Trump's futile attempt to stay in office said they
6 supported the mob attack, calling it the beginning of another American revolution. As the
7 rabble pushed through barricades and swept through government corridors, Trump's
8 followers — wearing camo, backpacks and MAGA hats — created a disturbing, surreal
9 scene that revealed the loyalty and violent inclinations among the extreme elements of
10 the president's base.

[...]
13 office. The attackers, mostly white men, some of whom espoused the sentiments of hate
14 groups and white nationalists, were condemned by President-elect Joe Biden, who said
15 of the mob violence: "This is not dissent. It's disorder. It's chaos. It borders on sedition,
16 and it must end now." But Trump's supporters saw themselves in a different light, even

[...]
29 illegitimate legislators." But members of other armed right-wing groups — whipped up
30 by Trump's speech earlier in the day in which he refused to accept his election loss —
31 praised the rioters for entering the Capitol by force.

Typically, interdiscursivity is a characteristic observed in the news report genre employed as an element of impartiality through the presentation of dissonant stance to lead the readers with the task of reaching their own conclusions. However, as White (2012) argues, "[o]bviously it serves journalistic self interest in providing a basis to any claim that journalists are impartial, disinterested conveyors of 'facts,' but ignores what, upon

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[14] According to Merriam-Webster dictionary.

closer analysis, is surely the obvious point that the journalistic author is entirely responsible for introducing the attributed material into the text and accordingly for putting this particular proposition into play" (p. 62). Hence, in choosing to include the following quote [19-22] in the source text (Appendix I), the author is aiming at a certain representation of the referred social actors:

Source text 5 (Hennessy-Fiske, 2021) - Extract 2

19 threat to American democracy. Trump lost by more than 7 million votes. "You've got
20 pissed-off patriots that are not going to accept their form of government being stolen,"
21 said Stewart Rhodes, who traveled to Washington to join the protest with members of the
22 right-wing group he founded, the Oath Keepers.

The option to incorporate a quote that uses the vulgar[15] form 'pissed-off' [20] reinforces the author's stance and reveals an ideological alignment with the lexical choices discussed above, for example, by corroborating the use of 'rabble'. Other lexical choices also play a significant role in this construal, but they will be discussed in relation to the effects of the algorithmic agency in their translation.

4.5.2. Target text 5: Los Angeles Times (Appendix J)

Google Translate's algorithm made thought-provoking changes in the evaluative meanings of key terms used by the author and the quoted sources in this target text (Appendix J). On top of the once again observed pattern of 'rioters' [31] being converted into '*manifestantes*' [TT 33] and 'mob' [6; 11; 15] to '*multidão*' [TT 7; 12; 16], there are shifts in the semantic relations that result from other lexical substitutions.

The first one is related to the translation of 'rabble' [7] into the Portuguese noun '*ralé*' [TT 8]. Although both 'rabble' and '*ralé*' can mean "a group of individuals belonging to the lowest class of society" (Oxford Languages, n.d.), '*ralé*' is not a synonym for '*multidão*.' In contrast, 'rabble' can be a synonym to 'mob,' meaning "a disorganized or disorderly crowd of people" (Merriam-Webster, n.d.). The second one is the quoted 'pissed-off' [20] translated into the adjective '*irritados*' [TT 22] which translates into 'upset'. In this case, the 'invoked attitude' (White, 2015) attributed to the quoted source was mitigated in the target text. On the other hand, the stance of the authorial voice was

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[15] According to Merriam-Webster dictionary.

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intensified by the algorithmic choice for '*ralé*'. These instances combined invert the stances in comparison with the original text.

Furthermore, the metaphorical images provoked by the author's choice of the verb 'to espouse' [13] and the reduced passive 'whipped up' [29] were also faded out from the target text. The former carried the symbolic notion of marrying an idea. Translated into '*defendiam*' [TT 14], it maintains the perception of supporting an ideal but does not invoke the image of a long-term commitment to it. In the case of 'whipped up,' the phrasal verb was substituted with the passive '*estimulados*' [TT 32], literally meaning 'stimulated'. Then, the possible interpretation of the author's attribution of attitude intensified by a verbal process that invokes an image of gregarious behavior is absent in the target text.

Changes in attribution are also seen in the translation of the noun 'claim' [18] and the verb 'to urge' [24] in Extract 3 below:

Source text 5 (Hennessy-Fiske, 2021) - Extract 3

16 and it must end now." But Trump's supporters saw themselves in a different light, even
17 as courts, electoral boards, judges and bipartisan members of Congress have agreed that
18 the president's claim that he won the November election was dangerous fantasy and a
19 threat to American democracy. Trump lost by more than 7 million votes. "You've got

[…]

23 "We're walking down the same exact path as the Founding Fathers," said Rhodes, a
24 former Army paratrooper and Yale law school graduate who urged members to monitor
25 the polls during the presidential election. Rhodes said his group, which includes veterans

Target text 5 - Extract 3

17 desordem. É o caos. Faz fronteira com a sedição e deve acabar agora." Mas os apoiadores
18 de Trump se viram sob uma luz diferente, mesmo quando tribunais, conselhos eleitorais,
19 juízes e membros bipartidários do Congresso concordaram que a afirmação do presidente
20 de que ele venceu as eleições de novembro era uma fantasia perigosa e uma ameaça à
21 democracia americana. Trump perdeu por mais de 7 milhões de votos. "Você tem

[...]

25 "Estamos seguindo exatamente o mesmo caminho dos Pais Fundadores", disse Rhodes,
26 ex-paraquedista do Exército e formado em direito de Yale, que pediu aos membros que
27 monitorem as pesquisas durante a eleição presidencial . Rhodes disse que seu grupo, que

When the author refers to Trump's allegations as 'claims,' she infers that the then outgoing president was making "an assertion open to challenge" (Merriam-Webster, n.d.). However, when the target text tells that what Trump said was an '*afirmação*' [TT 19], it neutralizes any attitudinal value attributed to that quote. The same effect of mitigation of force happens when 'urged' is translated into '*pediu*' [TT 26] (equivalent to 'asked').

Lastly, it is worth noting what happened in the translation of the following excerpts:

Source text 5 (Hennessy-Fiske, 2021) - Extract 4

33 a "shot heard round the world." "The second revolution begins today," Hill said.
34 Similar elation and bravado filled a national Three Percenter online forum Wednesday,
35 even as much of the nation watched in alarm the scenes that appeared more reminiscent
36 of unstable nations facing coups and insurrections in troubled parts of the world. A

Target text 5 - Extract 4

36 "A segunda revolução começa hoje", disse Hill.
37 Alegria e bravura semelhantes encheram um fórum nacional online do Three Percenter
38 na quarta-feira, mesmo que grande parte da nação assistisse alarmada às cenas que
39 pareciam mais uma reminiscência de nações instáveis enfrentando golpes e insurreições
40 em partes problemáticas do mundo. Várias postagens foram acusações assustadoras e uma

In extracts 4, we can see that 'elation and 'bravado' [34] were substituted with '*alegria e bravura*' [TT 37], which means 'joy and bravery'. Thus, not only the presumed stance of the author towards these social actors becomes blurred in the target text, but also it affords the assumption that the authorial voice is attributing a positive value to them. Therefore, the different marked stances in the represented voices in the source text were lost in automatic translation.

4.6. Text pair 6: Fast Company

In this final text pair, I examine the metalinguistic features of the source text to analyze how Google Translate's mediation recontextualizes and, consequently, transforms semiotic elements.

4.6.1. Source text 6: Fast Company (Appendix K)

The last source text to be examined was published by Fast Company, a media outlet specialized in business coverage whose content is described on its website as "[w]ritten for and about the most progressive business leaders … " (Fast Company, n.d.). On

January 6, 2021, Fast Company issued a piece on its website titled *The media is wrestling with what to call Trumpists who invaded the Capitol* (Sullivan, 2021), in which a metalinguistic discussion about the nominalization of the group responsible for the related event is proposed.

The assumption of an 'epistemic likemindedness' (White, 2020) with the projected reader is evident from the beginning of the text, realized through the use of 'evaluative adjectives' (Fairclough, 2003, p.172):

Source text 6 (Sullivan, 2021) - Extract 1

4   On Wednesday, media outlets around the country and the world hurried to make sense of
5   the events in Washington, D.C. But even knowing what to call the Trump supporters who
6   breached and vandalized the U.S. Capitol proved difficult. All of a sudden, for horrifying
7   reasons, these media outlets have had to confront the ugly question of how to put a quick
8   label on the main characters in the story.

In the above extract, the fact that the reasons are appraised as 'horrifying' [6], and the question as 'ugly' [7] leaves the reader with a monoglossic assertion with no room for dissonance. However, there is a modality shift in what follows. The text invites the reader to an implicit dialogue as a knowledge exchange (Fairclough, 2003, chapter 10) while navigating the different stances inferred from the various labels attributed to the represented social actors. For that, the news piece quotes several media outlets from distinct political leanings and references sources that have the authority to 'legitimize' (Fairclough, 2003, p. 219) the implicit stances behind these labels. Text 2 illustrates this mechanism:

Source text 6 (Sullivan, 2021) - Extract 2

8   label on the main characters in the story. Should the people who stormed the Capitol be
9   called a mob? Are they rioters? Are they domestic terrorists? Extremists? Fox News calls
10   them "protesters." So do Newsmax and C-SPAN. Initially, headlines on CNN's website
11   referred to the Trump supporters as a "mob" and as "rioters." By Wednesday evening the
12   network said it was officially characterizing Wednesday's violence as "domestic
13   terrorism."
14   The Wall Street Journal chose to call them "rioters."
15   The Los Angeles Times, The Washington Post, and The New York Times, after some
16   reflection, settled on "mob" or "pro-Trump mob." The San Francisco Chronicle and USA
17   Today landed on the same terminology. Germany's Deutsche Welle initially referred to
18   "pro-Trump protestors," but amended its report to refer to a "pro-Trump mob" a few hours
19   later. In France, Le Monde went with "pro-Trump demonstrators." The BBC referred to
20   them as "rebel Republicans" and a "violent pro-Trump mob." The Oxford Dictionary

21 defines mob as "a large crowd of people, especially one that is disorderly and intent on
22 causing trouble or violence."

Introduced with the 'Speech function of Question' (Fairclough, 2003, p.169), Extract 2 starts with a question formulated with the modal 'should' [8], positioning the sentence in the 'deontic modality' (Fairclough, 2003, chapter 10) that suggest an assessment of value. The effect is twofold: it indicates the necessity of reaching an agreement regarding how to refer to this social actor and points to the different value assessments that the possible labels presented in the subsequent questions carry.

What follows are 'categorical assertions' (Fairclough, 2003, p. 43) about each media outlet's designations to the group. The absence of a descriptor to indicate the origin of the English language media outlets (including the BBC, from England) [9-10; 14-16; 19] differently from those of Germany and France [17; 19] once again points to the assumption that the reader shares an 'epistemic likemindedness' (White, 2020) with the authorial voice. Finally, the definition of the noun 'mob' is attributed to a secondary voice, the Oxford Dictionary, conferring legitimacy to the statement [20-22].

Then, the subtitle '*Taking it further*' [Appendix K; 23] introduces another shift in the text when "axiological positioning (that is, advancing a particular value position)" (White, 2012, p. 58) is realized through the use of attribution. The value position that is being expanded [see Appendix K] is that these social actors should be called 'terrorists' [24] or 'extremists' [28], and their actions should be described through the use of verbs such as 'to pour into' [30], 'to storm' [40] and 'to break into' [54-55] as well the nominalization 'the breach' [25]. These arguments are supported by quoted sources that adhere to this stance. The source text also offers the reader the definition of these terms according to official sources.

4.6.2. Target text 6: Fast Company (Appendix L)

The reader who relies on the automatic translation provided by Google Translate to grasp the meaning of this Fast Company piece is caught in a wordplay that makes little or no sense in the Portuguese language. The dialogic exchange of knowledge (Fairclough, 2003, chapter 10) seen in the source text is lost due to what seems to be a random pattern

for the translation of the nouns used in the nominalization of the social actors. Table 1 shows in numbers the distribution of these translations.

Table 1
Distribution of translations

	Mob	Rioters	Protesters	Demonstrators
Multidão	2	-	-	-
Manifestantes	-	1	3	1
Máfia	3	-	-	-
Turba	2	-	-	-
Desordeiros	-	2	-	-

Note: The number of times Google Translate translated the nouns presented on the top row into the ones shown on the left column when converting Fast Company's news piece (Sullivan, 2021)

One clear example of the effects of these substitutions (van Leeuwen, 2008) is seen in the translation of Extract 2.

Source text 6 (Sullivan, 2021) - Extract 2

8 label on the main characters in the story. Should the people who stormed the Capitol be
9 called a mob? Are they rioters? Are they domestic terrorists? Extremists? Fox News calls
10 them "protesters." So do Newsmax and C-SPAN. Initially, headlines on CNN's website
11 referred to the Trump supporters as a "mob" and as "rioters." By Wednesday evening the
12 network said it was officially characterizing Wednesday's violence as "domestic
13 terrorism."
14 The Wall Street Journal chose to call them "rioters."
15 The Los Angeles Times, The Washington Post, and The New York Times, after some
16 reflection, settled on "mob" or "pro-Trump mob." The San Francisco Chronicle and USA
17 Today landed on the same terminology. Germany's Deutsche Welle initially referred to
18 "pro-Trump protestors," but amended its report to refer to a "pro-Trump mob" a few hours
19 later. In France, Le Monde went with "pro-Trump demonstrators." The BBC referred to
20 them as "rebel Republicans" and a "violent pro-Trump mob." The Oxford Dictionary
21 defines mob as "a large crowd of people, especially one that is disorderly and intent on
22 causing trouble or violence."

Target text 6 - Extract 2

9 As pessoas que invadiram o Capitólio deveriam ser chamadas de multidão? Eles são
10 desordeiros? São terroristas domésticos? Extremistas?
11 A Fox News os chama de "manifestantes". Assim como Newsmax e C-SPAN.
12 Inicialmente, as manchetes do site da CNN se referiam aos apoiadores de Trump como
13 uma "turba" e como "manifestantes". Na noite de quarta-feira, a rede disse que estava
14 caracterizando oficialmente a violência de quarta-feira como "terrorismo doméstico".
15 O Wall Street Journal optou por chamá-los de "desordeiros".

16   O Los Angeles Times, o Washington Post e o New York Times, após alguma reflexão,
17   decidiram pela "máfia" ou "máfia pró-Trump". O San Francisco Chronicle e o USA
18   Today chegaram à mesma terminologia.
19   A Deutsche Welle da Alemanha inicialmente se referiu a "manifestantes pró-Trump",
20   mas alterou seu relatório para se referir a uma "turba pró-Trump" algumas horas depois.
21   Na França, o Le Monde foi com "manifestantes pró-Trump".
22   A BBC se referiu a eles como "rebeldes republicanos" e uma "violenta multidão pró-
23   Trump".
24   O Dicionário Oxford define máfia como "uma grande multidão de pessoas, especialmente
25   uma que é desordenada e tem a intenção de causar problemas ou violência".

The fact that 'mob' [9; 11; 16; 18; 20] receives three different translations in the above extract ('*multidão*' [TT 9; 22], '*máfia*' [TT 17; 24], and '*turba*' [TT 20]) not only blurs the argument made by the author but also erases the legitimization provided by the reference to the Oxford Dictionary since the description presented does not match the meaning of '*máfia*'[16] in the Portuguese language. '*Turba*' is the corresponding noun that would better suit Oxford's definition, but it is a low-frequency word in the Portuguese language. In a search in the *Corpus Brasileiro*[17], '*turba*' returns only 329 hits, against 6,357 hits for '*máfia*' and 7,649 for '*multidão*'.

It is worth noting that a human translator would probably have recontextualized the target text seen in Extract 2 above to the Portuguese reader by adding a descriptor to the U.S. and British outlets (the source text introduces the 'foreign' French and German newspapers to its readers). According to Kohen (2020), this is an element of adequacy that constitutes one of the main goals of translation. In his words, "[r]eaders should not notice any artifacts of translation and should be given the illusion that the text was originally written in their own language" (Kohen, 2020, p. 5). However, this is a step in recontextualization that Google Translate's algorithm did not achieve.

Another key observation in the target text is repetition (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 19), especially in the second part of the news piece, when the verb '*invadir*' (and its conjugations 'invadiu' and 'invadiram') [Appendix L; 2; 5; 9; 33; 45; 54; 60] is used repeatedly to substitute different lexical choices used in the source text, as seen below:

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[16] According to the Dicionário Priberam, '*máfia*' means: 1. A clandestine organization of criminals, of Sicilian origin; 2. Any clandestine organization of criminals (this author's translation).

[17] Searched in the Brazilian corpus *Corpus Brasileiro* on March 25, 2022.

Table 2.
Verbs translated into '*invadir*'

	invaded	stormed	breached	poured into	broke into
Invadir/invadiram/invadiu	1	3	1	1	1

Note: The number of times Google Translate translated the verbs presented on the top row into the verb '*invadir*' and its conjugations when converting Fast Company's news piece (Sullivan, 2021)

As van Leeuwen (2008) illuminates, "[n]ew angles, new semantic features are added each time a new expression is used, gradually building up a more multifaceted concept" (p. 19). Therefore, when the opposite occurs, there is a clouding effect in the semantic nuances that are at play in the construal of the text's stance.

5. Discussion

This chapter presents a systematic summary and discussion of the instances of meaning-creation resulting from the algorithmic agency of Google Translate. Each section focuses on a group of recontextualization effects as identified in the above chapter, showing how each contributes to MT-driven shifts in ideological stances. 'Stances,' here, include attitudes and evaluations concerning how the world is (epistemic) or must be (attitudinal) that are explicitly or implicitly expressed in these texts.

The primary goal of the two first parts of this section is to shed light on the overarching RQ 1 that seeks to explore how Google Translate mediates the 'movements of meanings' (Silverstone, 1999) when translating English news reports into Portuguese. Section 5.1 aims to answer RQ 1.1, showing how the algorithmic decisions significantly changed the ways attitude, engagement, and graduation are seized in the target texts, hence, affecting the appraisal of the represented social events and social actors. Section 5.2 contemplates the issue raised by RQ 1.2, demonstrating how Google Translate mechanisms of 'recontextualization of social practices' (van Leeuwen, 2008), namely repetition, deletion, and substitution, create new semiotic elements that affect meaning conveyed in the target texts. Lastly, section 5.3 deals with RQ 2, summarizing the extent to which Google Translate's authorial voice is integrated into the resulting texts.

5.1. Peeling off the value positions

A key phenomenon repeatedly observed in the news reports examined is a change in the way appraisal is conveyed through lexical choices when comparing the target texts to their respective source texts (RQ 1.1). These discrepancies between texts significantly alter the attribution of authorial attitudes towards the social actors represented and cascade to consequences in the assumption of 'likemindedness' with the projected reader.

They (the discrepancies) can be observed in three main processes: the removal of inscribed or invoked attributions of value (attitude), the blurring of the functions of engagement of quoted voices', and the weakening of attitudinal force and focus (graduation). In this sample, the first process – attributions of value – occurs in both nominal groups and verbal processes. In the translations of the nouns or nominal groups discussed, 'attitudinal invocation' (White, 2015) is routinely removed. Two recurrent examples were when the original authorial voice chose to create distinctions between particular social actors as either a 'mob' or a 'crowd' and between 'rioters' and 'protesters'. Both cases invoked attributions of either negative or neutral value that were nullified when Google Translate's algorithm decided to translate both 'mob' and 'crowd' into '*multidão*,' and 'rioters' and 'protesters' into '*manifestantes*'. [18]

With regard to verbal processes, the heavily loaded evoked appraisals in, for example, 'pouring in,' 'laid out,' 'mobbed,' 'whipped up,' and 'pissed-off' were also erased when translated into the neutral, factual verbs '*chegar*[19],' '*derrotados*,[20]' '*cercaram*[21],' '*estimulados*' and '*irritados*[22],' respectively. It can be argued that Google Translate's algorithmic agency was peeling off the layers of value positions, leaving the target language reader with only plain, value-free meanings.

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[18] See sections 4.1.2 and 4.3.2 for examples.

[19] See section 4.3.2.

[20] See section 4.1.2.

[21] See section 4.4.2.

[22] See section 4.5.2 for '*estimulados*' and '*irritados*'.

The second observed process is how Google Translate dealt with the engagement present in the source texts, that is, the ways value positions were advanced through the presence of secondary voices in theses texts. For instance, when strong reporting verbs such as 'to claim' and 'to urge' were converted into the neutral reporting verbs '*afirmar*' ('to state') and '*pedir*[23]' ('to ask'), respectively, the strength of countering voices was attenuated. Similarly, the sarcasm invoked by Fox News' (Flood, 2021) use of 'flip-flopping' to refer to the opinions of those whose stances diverge from that of the media outlet was made to vanish from the target text when the term was translated simply into '*discutindo*[24]' ('discussing'). Arguably, Google Translate lessened the heteroglossic features of texts, that is, the perception of dissonance in the quoted voices. By creating target texts that are more monoglossic, it makes alternative points of view less evident to the reader.

These neutralizations of lexicon also affected the assumption of likemindedness, that is, the assumptions projected into the reader that is perceived in the original news reports but frequently blurred in the target texts. Taking 'flip-flopping' as an example, the choice for this expression is justified by the assumption that the reader of Fox News shares with the outlet an epistemic and attitudinal likemindedness towards the secondary voices that the term referred to. The neutral form used in the translation also erases this assumption. In another instance, retrieved from the Newsweek[25] piece (McDonald, 2021), on top of a drastic change in the semantics, the assumption of an 'attitudinal likemindedness' with the addressee was broken by the algorithm's failure in translating the subjectively modalized 'if it had been' used by a quoted source. In the original, by creating this hypothesis, the secondary voice is making a moral judgment that is presumably shared with the reader. When Google Translate turned it into the indirect question '*se foi*' ('whether it was'), this assumption was broken, and the stance it embodied was lost.

A third observation is the effects of translation on intensity ('force') and sharpness ('focus') of appraisal through the process of semantic 'graduation' (White, 2015, p. 4). Google Translate mediation implicated in changes that affected not only the emphasis

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[23] See sections 4.2.2 and 4.5.2, respectively.

[24] See section 4.4.2.

[25] See section 4.2.2.

that the source text expressed but the implicit moral value embedded in it as well. This effect was observed on two occasions in the translation of the Newsweek[26] (McDonald, 2021) piece. In the first one, 'all too often' was converted into '*muitas vezes*' ('too often'), erasing from the target text the semantic force that strengthened the source's exasperation with the fact that the referred event happened more often than it should. Thus, the reader of the target language is left only with the realization of the event's recurrence. A similar instance was seen when 'every single player' was converted into '*todos os jogadores*' ('all players'). Here, the sharpened focus on the fact that each player individually had the same behavior was transformed into a generalization that blurred the moral value emphasized in the original.

Moving on to the next session, I discuss the ways in which elements of recontextualization, in van Leeuwen's (2008) terms, indicate semiotic transformations. Here, I focus the analysis mainly on aspects of repetitions, deletions, and substitutions. I recognize that some of the lexical items discussed here also carry appraisals, as in the discussion above. However, in presenting this section of the analysis through the lens of recontextualization, I aim to unveil other crucial aspects of the effects of the algorithmic agency, not visible when we look at metafunctions, namely, the impoverishment of language – and, consequently, a more limited concept formation – as an outcome of a pattern of repetition and the exclusion or inversion of key semiotic elements resulting from deletions and substitutions in the target text.

5.2. Recontextualizing semiotic elements

A second key phenomenon repeatedly observed in this study's sample is the way mechanisms of recontextualization (repetitions, deletions, and substitutions) that made up the target texts affected semiotic elements of the social practices represented in the original news reports (RQ 1.2). Starting with repetitions, the analysis of the source texts showed how the use of synonyms to refer to particular social actors and events was a resource that authors employed to build certain concepts. This was seen, for example, when 'invaded,' 'stormed,' 'breached,' 'poured into,' and 'broke into' were used in the

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[26] See section 4.2.2.

Fast Company[27]'s (Sullivan, 2021) piece to refer to the actions of the U.S. Capitol attackers. With this lexical variation, "[a]n ongoing *concept formation* takes place, with the resulting concept fusing the semantic features of all of the expressions used as synonyms" (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 19, emphasis in the original). However, the target text's examination showed that Google Translate's algorithm understood the use of these synonyms as a pattern of repetition, selecting one Portuguese word as the single translation of a lexical variation in English. 'Invaded,' 'stormed,' 'breached,' 'poured into,' and 'broke into' were repeatedly translated into '*invadir*' (and its conjugations), impoverishing the lexicon in the Portuguese version and excluding from the target text the semiotic elements that formed a concept in the source text.

This same observation was realized throughout this study's sample when Google Translate repeatedly used '*manifestantes*' to indistinguishably translate 'rioters,' 'protestors,' and 'demonstrators,' and '*multidão*' to translate 'mob' and 'crowd'. Not only did repetition impoverish the linguistic variation in the target language, but also it erased the ideational meaning that the lexical variation carried in the source texts.

The second element of recontextualization is deletion which, when it occurred, led to a shift in the understanding of semiotic elements. This was the case when the algorithm excluded 'wound' from the noun phrase 'a police gunshot wound[28]', translating it into '*um tiro policial*,' for example. In the Fox 5 DC (Associated Press, 2021) text, this noun phrase was used in a context where the police response to the U.S. Capitol invasion was being assessed as less violent than the reaction to BLM protests. Still, during the former, one person died of 'a police gunshot wound'. The noun phrase, then, put more emphasis on the damage inflicted than on the police action itself. However, when 'wound' ('*ferimento*' in Portuguese) was deleted from the target text, this semiotic element was also excluded, and the focus turned to the police agency in shooting a fatal shot.

In another instance, the deletion of a preposition caused a complete shift in meaning. It occurred when the preposition 'at' was removed from the translation of the sentence

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[27] See section 4.6.2.

[28] See section 4.1.2.

'officers fighting back at barricades and tear gas' in the Fox News[29] article (Flood, 2021). Without the preposition, 'barricades and tear gas' become the direct object of 'fighting back,' meaning that these were elements that the police fought against instead of their own instruments of defense (as in the original sense). On top of this inversion in meaning, the deletion of this preposition left the reader in the target language without the semiotic element that justified the point made by this sentence in the text in the first place. In the source text, this sentence was meant to praise a strong police response, an aspect that became absent from the translation.

A similar effect stemmed from the deletion of the intensifier adverb '*vastly*' in ' cops were vastly outnumbered,' combined with the mistranslation of 'outnumbered,' also observed in the translation of the Fox News[30] article (Flood, 2021). The result was a rearrangement of the elements of social practice (van Leeuwen, 2008) in which not only the graduation of force was lost, but there was a shift in the semantic elements. The reader of the target text reads '*os policiais estavam em grande número*' ('cops were in great number'), changing 'cops' from object to agent, hence emphasizing their failure when the original text mitigated it. Additionally, when the algorithm excluded 'bone' from the translation of 'bone-chilling cold' ('frio de arrepiar' in the target text) in the Fox News report[31], it removed some of the force in the appraisal, but mainly it transformed an expression that signaled resilience and commitment into a redundant observation in the target language.

Gender representation was also impacted by Google Translate's deletion. In one instance, the algorithm excluded the feminine gender seen in 'countrymen and women[32],' taking the masculine '*conterrâneos*' as the unmarked form for generalization in the target language. In contrast, instead of translating 'congressmen and women[33]' into the gender-neutral '*congressistas*,' hence deleting the literal translation of 'women,' Google

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[29] See section 4.4.2.

[30] See section 4.4.2.

[31] See 4.3.2.

[32] See section 4.1.2.

[33] See section 4.3.2.

Translate added '*mulheres*' ('women') to the target text. It functioned as the inclusion of one more social actor (since '*congressistas*' already implicate men and women) that was actually inexistent in the original news report.

Translations are, *per se,* a practice in which 'substitutions' add new "semiotic elements" (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 17) to the represented social events. However, when mistranslation occurs, new meanings are created. It was the case when the noun 'race' (referring to someone's ancestry; 'raça' in Portuguese) was substituted with '*corrida[34],*' meaning a speed competition. As a native speaker of Portuguese, I can attest that this substitution sounded fluent and adequate to the reader in the target language, though completely detached from its original meaning. In the Los Angeles Times[35] piece, an equally critical instance happened when 'elation and bravado' were substituted with '*alegria e bravura*'. The neutralization of 'elation' combined with the mistranslation of 'bravado' provoked a shift in the understanding of the author's stance from criticism to praise of the represented social group.

Subtler substitutions, e.g., when Google Translate changed the capitalization of the Newsweek[36] piece headline (McDonald, 2021), also led to a semiotic transformation. The algorithm appeared to have followed a rule in which only proper names should be left capitalized. Hence, by leaving the noun 'cop' capitalized and without a translation in the target text, Google Translated transformed a descriptive into the proper name 'Jacob Blake Cop,' creating a whole new meaning to the headline.

Although the algorithm demonstrated considerable autonomy to make linguistic decisions such as the one illustrated above, it did not reach the level of content like a human translator would have achieved. For instance, when the author of Fast Company[37]'s article (Sullivan, 2021) chose to include a descriptor to the non-English language media outlets cited in the source text, it assumed the reader was probably familiar with the U.S. and

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[34] See sections 4.1.2 and 4.2.2.

[35] See 4.5.2.

[36] See section 4.2.2.

[37] See section 4.6.2.

British media, but perhaps not with the French Le Monde and the German Deutsche Welle. A translation in the Portuguese language could, then, include descriptors to the English language media as well, establishing a new 'epistemic likemindedness' with the target text reader. However, Google Translate did not go as far in the adequacy of the recontextualization.

These aspects combined demonstrate that the algorithmic agency prompted significant changes in the semiotic elements, creating new meanings through the recontextualization, but failed in establishing new epistemic likemindedness with the reader. I now turn to RQ 2 to grasp the extension of Google Translate's own authorial voice in the resulting translations.

5.3 Standardizing language

The third key phenomenon observed in this study follows the effects of the other two discussed above: Google Translate constructed power by renaming reality and enacted power by reshaping evaluations (Fairclough, 2003), which is the expression of its own authorial voice in the target texts (RQ 2).

The analyses of the source texts showed how even a genre characterized by "a regime of strategic impersonalisation" (White, 2020, pp. 57-58), such as news reporting, presents "evaluative meanings" (p. 58) that stem from lexical choices, semantic relations, assessment of attitude, among other elements. From these mechanisms, it was possible to grasp the stances of the authorial voices and quoted sources, as well as the presumed positions of the projected addressees.

However, the sample analysis demonstrated that the algorithm's translations converged to a standardization of the represented world. Nuanced lexicon carrying symbolic meaning, such as 'laid out' and 'whipped up,' or pointing to certain behaviors, such as 'stormed,' 'breached,' 'mob,' 'rioters,' and 'protestors' were substituted with neutral verbs and nouns. These neutral choices, such as '*multidão*,' '*manifestantes*,' and '*invadir*,' were also constantly repeated, impoverishing the lexicon in the target texts, blurring the semantic relations initially observed in the source ones, and consequently obscuring ideological stances embedded in the original pieces.

56

Through mediation, Google Translate demonstrated to be an additional social actor in the 'recontextualization chain' (van Leeuwen, 2008) of the represented events in the news reports. The algorithmic decisions were capable of blurring stances and concealing ideologies. Moreover, the pattern of neutralization and repetition, that is, standardization of the target language, realized in this study's examinations can also be read as a form of ideology – an expression of Google Translate algorithmic voice in the texts it generates.

6. Conclusion

When pondering the similarities and distinctions between translation and mediation, Silverstone (1999) suggests that:

> Mediation seems to be both more and less than translation, as Steiner discusses it. Mediated meanings move between texts, certainly, and across time. But they also move across space, and across spaces. … But mediation is less than translation, maybe, because mediation is sometimes less than amorous. The mediator is bound necessarily neither to his or her text nor to his or her object by love, though in individual cases he or she might be. (Silverstone, 1999, Mediation, para. 8)

Mediating the relationship between its users and texts, Google Translate goes beyond traditional translations by providing ubiquitous access to translations through different mediums to all its users. However, the lack of a bound to each of these texts impacts the level of commitment it presents to the value positions that make up the texts themselves and that are projected onto the presumed reader. In this sense, the algorithms deliver less than a translation.

When Google Translate says its mission is to enable everyone to understand the world, what it has to offer, at least in the language pair English-Portuguese, is far from achieving this intent. As this study's analysis showed, the algorithm's construction and enactment of power by mechanisms that renamed reality and transformed appraisal led to the blurring, erasing, and even the inversion of ideological stances embedded in the original texts. Google Translate played the role of a social actor whose agency originates in an epistemic locus that reflects the ideological notion that knowledge can be objective and impersonal. However, the ways Google Translate's algorithm reshaped language and representation were anything but neutral.

There is nothing wrong with Google Translate as an ally tool for instant translations – on the contrary, it has numerous merits and advantages. However, it is crucial that we critically examine the role of this and other algorithmic applications within the context of practice, including the discourses that support their role in society. It is in the symbolic power of neutralizing stances and blurring ideologies, masked under Google's self-proclaimed mission of making information universally accessible, that lies the risk of an acritical use of this technology.

 In this sense, this study contributes to research in the social sciences that seeks to examine issues of ideologies in shaping our digital culture and indicates several paths to be explored in future research. Studies that work with larger corpora, mixing quantitative and qualitative methods, could examine translation patterns related to collocations or text genre, for example, and the movement of meanings that may arise from that. Qualitative research that investigates what participants make of the changes observed in the target texts created through automatic translation will also contribute to a critical understanding of real-world outcomes of the algorithmic agency. To conclude, I hope the present study encourages digital discourse analysts to investigate the effects of Google Translate's work on other language pairs to amplify the scale of research to a broader understanding that closely approaches the application's reach.

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Source text 1: Fox DC5 (Appendix A)

1 **After Capitol riot, many point out stark contrast between treatment of BLM**

2 **protesters, pro-Trump mob**

3 **Published January 8, 2021**

4 **Capitol Riot**

5 **Associated Press**

6 **NEW YORK (AP)** - Black Lives Matter protests, 2020: Overwhelming force from law

7 enforcement in dozens of cities. Chemical dispersants. Rubber bullets and hand-to-hand

8 combat with largely peaceful crowds and some unruly vandals and looters. More than

9 14,000 arrests.

10 The U.S. Capitol, Jan. 6, 2021: Barely more than a few dozen arrests. Several weapons

11 seized, improvised explosive devices found. Members of a wilding mob escorted from

12 the premises, some not even in handcuffs.

13 The key difference? The first set of protesters were overwhelmingly Black Americans

14 and their allies. The second group was overwhelmingly white Americans who support

15 outgoing President Donald Trump's baseless claims of election fraud.

16 The violent breaching of the halls of power on Capitol Hill by the insurrectionist mob on

17 Wednesday, which left one woman dead of a police gunshot wound, represents one of the

18 plainest displays of a racial double standard in both modern and recent history.

19 "When Black people protest for our lives, we are all too often met by National Guard

20 troops or police equipped with assault rifles, shields, tear gas and battle helmets," the

21 Black Lives Matter Global Network Foundation said in a statement.

22 "When white people attempt a coup, they are met by an underwhelming number of law

23 enforcement personnel who act powerless to intervene, going so far as to pose for selfies

24 with terrorists," it said.

25 Broad and bipartisan condemnation of the insurrectionist mob came swiftly as they had a

26 nearly unhindered, hours-long run of the Capitol building complex, the Senate chamber

27 and the House speaker's office. The ordeal drew expressions of bewilderment and

28 disbelief from some observers who believed such a display was impossible in a

29 democracy as revered as America's.

30 However, the response to the mayhem is consistent with a long pattern of society's

31 coddling of racists and downplaying the violent white supremacist ideology that routinely

32 places the grievances of white people above those of their Black, often disenfranchised

33 and downtrodden countrymen and women.

34 Since the founding of the democracy in the blood and secession of the American

35 Revolution, white people's destructive and obstructionist conduct has been couched in

36 patriotism. It's been a fundamental part of a national myth about whose dissent and pursuit

37 of redress for grievance is justified, and whose is not.

38 Newly sworn-in St. Louis Rep. Cori Bush, who was among the protesters to face down

39 police and National Guardsmen in 2014 after police killed Michael Brown in Ferguson,

40 Missouri, told The Associated Press that the race of the Capitol rioters played a big part

41 in their ability to breach the congressional fortress.

42 Had the mob been Black, "we would have been laid out," Bush said.

43 "The thing is, these are the same people who called us terrorists," Bush continued.

44 "Confederate flags, 'don't tread on me,' 'blue lives matter' flags, the Trump flags — all

45 of it symbolizes the same thing. It symbolizes racism and white supremacy."

46 The show of force by law enforcement at the Capitol bore little resemblance to the lines

47 of National Guardsmen and other police forces that assembled last year to protect luxury

48 brand retailers against looting, government buildings against breaching and highways

49 against marching by demonstrators across the country.

50 Rashad Robinson, president of Color of Change, the nation's largest digital racial justice

51 advocacy group, told the AP that he sees it as "a clear example of how racism works in

52 this country and the clear ways there are different sets of rules and different sets of

53 outcomes based on what race you are."

54 Although Wednesday's events represented one of the most alarming attacks on

55 democratic institutions in recent memory, it wasn't the only seen that day. Apparent

56 Trump supporters forced disruptions at statehouses across the country, including in

57 Georgia, New Mexico and Ohio.

58 And that wasn't the first time that such a disparate law enforcement response to such

59 attacks drew national outrage and criticism of police. Last May, a large group of mostly

60 white men carrying long rifles stormed the Michigan Statehouse building in Lansing over

61 the governor's coronavirus pandemic shutdown mandates. There were few arrests and

62 little condemnation from the White House.

63 In June, Trump administration officials had federal officers clear BLM protesters with
64 flash bang grenades and tear gas, to facilitate a now infamous photo-op in front of a
65 church near the White House.

66 BLM protesters and their supporters in Portland, Oregon, quickly pointed out Wednesday
67 the huge disparity between Trump's response to racial justice protests in the Pacific
68 Northwest city and his encouragement of the violence in D.C.

69 On July 27, following his deployment of U.S. agents to quell weeks of demonstrations,
70 Trump tweeted: "Anarchists, Agitators or Protestors who vandalize or damage our
71 Federal Courthouse in Portland, or any Federal Buildings in any of our Cities or States,
72 will be prosecuted under our recently re-enacted Statues and Monuments Act.
73 MINIMUM TEN YEARS IN PRISON. Don't do it!"

74 The thousands of Capitol building rioters, many who were egged on by the president's
75 speech at a Wednesday afternoon rally over his election loss, heard a much more
76 compassionate message from their leader, albeit a defiant one.

77 "I know your pain, I know your hurt," Trump said in a now-deleted video posted to his
78 Twitter account. "You have to go home, now. … We love you. You're very special."

79 On Thursday, President-elect Joe Biden noted the double standard, saying he had received
80 a text message from his granddaughter, Finnegan, of a photo showing "military people in
81 full military gear — scores of them lining the steps of the Lincoln Memorial" during a
82 BLM protest last year.

83 "She said 'Pop, this isn't fair.'" the president-elect recounted.

84 "No one can tell me that if it had been a group of Black Lives Matter protesting yesterday
85 ... they would have been treated very, very differently than a mob of thugs that stormed
86 the Capitol," Biden said.

87 "We all know that's true. And it is unacceptable," he added.

88 Former presidents Barack Obama, George W. Bush, Bill Clinton and Jimmy Carter also
89 weighed in with expressions of consternation, some of them placing blame squarely on
90 Trump.

91 Adding to the cruelty of it all, some observers have noted, is the Capitol building's history.
92 It was built with help from enslaved Africans, whose blood and sweat later allowed the
93 union to meet there and strategize its battle against pro-slavery Confederates. On
94 Wednesday, images emerged showing custodial staffers of color in the Capitol sweeping
95 up the shards of glass and trash left behind by the rioters.

96   NAACP President Derrick Johnson said the people who violated the Capitol on

97   Wednesday should not be seen as patriotic.

98   "This is not protesting or activism; this is an insurrection, an assault on our democracy,

99   and a coup incited by President Trump," Johnson said.

100   ___

101   *Associated Press writers Gillian Flaccus in Portland, Oregon, and Padmananda Rama*

102   *in Washington, and Michelle Price in Las Vegas contributed. Morrison is a member of*

103   *the AP's Race and Ethnicity team.*

Target text 1: Fox DC5 (Appendix B)

1 **Após o motim no Capitólio, muitos apontam um forte contraste entre o tratamento**

2 **dos manifestantes do BLM, da multidão pró-Trump**

3 **Publicados 8 de janeiro de 2021**

4 **Revolta do Capitólio**

5 **Imprensa associada**

6 **NOVA YORK (AP)** - Protestos Black Lives Matter, 2020: força esmagadora da

7 aplicação da lei em dezenas de cidades. Dispersantes químicos. Balas de borracha e

8 combate corpo a corpo com multidões em grande parte pacíficas e alguns vândalos e

9 saqueadores indisciplinados. Mais de 14.000 prisões.

10 Capitólio dos EUA, 6 de janeiro de 2021: Pouco mais de algumas dezenas de

11 prisões. Várias armas apreendidas, dispositivos explosivos improvisados

12 encontrados. Membros de uma multidão selvagem escoltados para fora do local, alguns

13 nem mesmo algemados.

14 A diferença chave? O primeiro conjunto de manifestantes era majoritariamente de

15 negros americanos e seus aliados. O segundo grupo era predominantemente de

16 americanos brancos que apoiam as alegações infundadas do presidente Donald Trump

17 de fraude eleitoral.

18 A violenta violação dos salões do poder no Capitólio pela máfia insurrecional na quarta-

19 feira, que deixou uma mulher morta por um tiro policial, representa uma das

20 demonstrações mais claras de um duplo padrão racial na história moderna e recente.

21 "Quando os negros protestam por nossas vidas, muitas vezes somos recebidos por

22 tropas da Guarda Nacional ou policiais equipados com rifles de assalto, escudos, gás

23 lacrimogêneo e capacetes de batalha", disse a Black Lives Matter Global Network

24 Foundation em comunicado.

25 "Quando os brancos tentam um golpe, eles são recebidos por um número abaixo do

26 esperado de agentes da lei que agem impotentes para intervir, chegando ao ponto de

27 posar para selfies com terroristas", afirmou.

28 A condenação ampla e bipartidária da multidão insurrecional veio rapidamente, pois

29 eles tinham uma corrida quase sem impedimentos, de horas de duração, do complexo do

30 Capitólio, da câmara do Senado e do gabinete do presidente da Câmara. A provação

31 provocou expressões de perplexidade e descrença de alguns observadores que

32   acreditavam que tal exibição era impossível em uma democracia tão reverenciada

33   quanto a dos Estados Unidos.

34   No entanto, a resposta ao caos é consistente com um longo padrão de mimar os racistas

35   da sociedade e minimizar a violenta ideologia supremacista branca que rotineiramente

36   coloca as queixas dos brancos acima das de seus conterrâneos negros, muitas vezes

37   desprivilegiados e oprimidos.

38   Desde a fundação da democracia no sangue e na secessão da Revolução Americana, a

39   conduta destrutiva e obstrucionista dos brancos tem sido expressa em patriotismo. Tem

40   sido uma parte fundamental de um mito nacional sobre cuja dissidência e busca de

41   reparação por queixas são justificadas e quais não são.

42   O recém-empossado deputado de St. Louis Cori Bush, que estava entre os manifestantes

43   que enfrentaram a polícia e a Guarda Nacional em 2014 depois que a polícia matou

44   Michael Brown em Ferguson, Missouri, disse à Associated Press que a corrida dos

45   manifestantes do Capitólio teve um grande impacto. parte em sua capacidade de romper

46   a fortaleza do Congresso.

47   Se a multidão fosse negra, "nós teríamos sido derrotados", disse Bush.

48   "A questão é que são as mesmas pessoas que nos chamaram de terroristas", continuou

49   Bush. "Bandeiras confederadas, 'não pise em mim', 'vidas azuis importam', bandeiras de

50   Trump - tudo isso simboliza a mesma coisa. Simboliza racismo e supremacia branca."

51   A demonstração de força da aplicação da lei no Capitólio tinha pouca semelhança com as

52   linhas da Guarda Nacional e outras forças policiais que se reuniram no ano passado para

53   proteger varejistas de marcas de luxo contra saques, prédios governamentais contra

54   invasões e rodovias contra marchas de manifestantes em todo o país.

55   Rashad Robinson, presidente da Color of Change, o maior grupo de defesa da justiça

56   racial digital do país, disse à AP que o vê como "um exemplo claro de como o racismo

57   funciona neste país e as maneiras claras de como existem diferentes conjuntos de regras

58   e conjuntos diferentes. de resultados com base na raça que você é."

59   Embora os eventos de quarta-feira tenham representado um dos ataques mais alarmantes

60   às instituições democráticas na memória recente, não foi o único visto naquele

61   dia. Apoiadores aparentes de Trump forçaram interrupções em casas estaduais em todo o

62   país, inclusive na Geórgia, Novo México e Ohio.

63   E essa não foi a primeira vez que uma resposta tão díspar da aplicação da lei a tais ataques

64   atraiu indignação nacional e críticas à polícia. Em maio passado, um grande grupo de

65   homens em sua maioria brancos carregando rifles longos invadiu o prédio do Michigan

66   Statehouse em Lansing devido aos mandatos de fechamento da pandemia de coronavírus

67   do governador. Houve poucas prisões e pouca condenação da Casa Branca.

68   Em junho, funcionários do governo Trump fizeram com que oficiais federais liberassem

69   os manifestantes do BLM com granadas e gás lacrimogêneo, para facilitar uma agora

70   infame sessão de fotos em frente a uma igreja perto da Casa Branca.

71   Manifestantes do BLM e seus apoiadores em Portland, Oregon, rapidamente apontaram

72   na quarta-feira a enorme disparidade entre a resposta de Trump aos protestos por justiça

73   racial na cidade do noroeste do Pacífico e seu incentivo à violência em DC

74   Em 27 de julho, após o envio de agentes dos EUA para reprimir semanas de

75   manifestações, Trump twittou: "Anarquistas, agitadores ou manifestantes que vandalizem

76   ou danifiquem nosso Tribunal Federal em Portland, ou quaisquer edifícios federais em

77   qualquer uma de nossas cidades ou estados, serão processados. sob a nossa Lei de

78   Estátuas e Monumentos recentemente promulgada. MÍNIMO DE DEZ ANOS DE

79   PRISÃO. Não faça isso!"

80   Os milhares de manifestantes no edifício do Capitólio, muitos dos quais foram instigados

81   pelo discurso do presidente em um comício na tarde de quarta-feira sobre sua derrota nas

82   eleições, ouviram uma mensagem muito mais compassiva de seu líder, embora

83   desafiadora.

84   "Conheço sua dor, conheço sua dor", disse Trump em um vídeo agora excluído postado

85   em sua conta no Twitter. "Você tem que ir para casa agora... Nós te amamos. Você é

86   muito especial."

87   Na quinta-feira, o presidente eleito Joe Biden observou o duplo padrão, dizendo que

88   recebeu uma mensagem de texto de sua neta, Finnegan, de uma foto mostrando "militares

89   em equipamento militar completo - dezenas deles alinhados nos degraus do Lincoln

90   Memorial" durante um protesto BLM no ano passado.

91   "Ela disse 'Pop, isso não é justo'", contou o presidente eleito.

92   "Ninguém pode me dizer que se fosse um grupo de Black Lives Matter protestando

93   ontem... eles teriam sido tratados de maneira muito, muito diferente de uma multidão de

94   bandidos que invadiu o Capitólio", disse Biden.

95   "Todos sabemos que isso é verdade. E é inaceitável", acrescentou.

96   Os ex-presidentes Barack Obama, George W. Bush, Bill Clinton e Jimmy Carter também

97   expressaram consternação, alguns deles colocando a culpa diretamente em Trump.

98   Adicionando à crueldade de tudo isso, alguns observadores notaram, é a história do

99   edifício do Capitólio. Foi construído com a ajuda de africanos escravizados, cujo sangue

e suor mais tarde permitiram que o sindicato se reunisse lá e traçasse sua estratégia de batalha contra os confederados pró-escravidão. Na quarta-feira, surgiram imagens mostrando funcionários da custódia de cor no Capitólio varrendo os cacos de vidro e lixo deixados pelos manifestantes.

O presidente da NAACP, Derrick Johnson, disse que as pessoas que violaram o Capitólio na quarta-feira não devem ser vistas como patriotas.

"Isso não é protesto ou ativismo; isso é uma insurreição, um ataque à nossa democracia e um golpe incitado pelo presidente Trump", disse Johnson.

___

Os escritores da Associated Press Gillian Flaccus em Portland, Oregon, e Padmananda Rama em Washington, e Michelle Price em Las Vegas contribuíram. Morrison é membro da equipe de Raça e Etnia da AP.

Source text 2: Newsweek (Appendix C)

1 **NBA Questions Race Double Standard, Again, After Capitol Riots, Jacob Blake Cop**

2 **Dismissal**

3 Sports

4 By Scott McDonald On 1/6/21 at 9:55 PM EST

5 Athletes in America have been vocal today regarding race in this country, particularly a

6 "double standard" they claim of Blacks not treated the same as non-Blacks. Wednesday's

7 concerns is two-thronged. First, there's the news that the Wisconsin cop who shot Jacob

8 Blake in the back won't be criminally charged. Then, there was the massive mob that

9 rioted at the U.S. Capitol. On Tuesday, prosecutors in Kenosha, Wisconsin, said they

10 would not file criminal charges against Rusten Sheskey, a white officer who shot Blake,

11 a Black man, seven times in the back during an Aug. 23 confrontation that was caught on

12 video. The Blake shooting last summer sparked a three-day boycott by the NBA during

13 its playoffs, and also boycotts by the WNBA and Major League Baseball. Though the

14 Wisconsin prosecutor made its announcement Tuesday, all five NBA games played on

15 with no interruptions that evening. On Wednesday, teams began releasing statements

16 about their ongoing pursuit of social justice in America.

17 On Wednesday afternoon, rioters began storming the Capitol building in Washington in

18 part of their protests of Congress getting ready to approve the Electoral College votes,

19 which would mean Joe Biden would become the 46th President of the United States in a

20 couple of weeks. The rioters Wednesday were seen wearing pro-Trump gear and waving

21 Trump flags. Why is this relevant? Last summer, after the May 25 death of George Floyd,

22 there were Black Lives Matter protests—from coast to coast—against the police brutality

23 of Black people. Floyd was a Black man who died while in custody of Minneapolis police

24 officers. Floyd was last seen on a video with former Minneapolis officer Derek Chauvin

25 kneeling on Floyd's neck for nearly nine minutes. The last words heard from Floyd were,

26 "I can't breathe." The Black Lives Matter protests over the summer took over major cities

27 in the U.S.

28 On Wednesday afternoon, Philadelphia 76ers coach Doc Rivers questioned if it had been

29 a Black mob instead of a mostly-white group that stormed the Capitol. "Could you

30 imagine today, if those were all Black people storming the Capitol, and what would have

31 happened?" Rivers said in this video released by the NBA on TNT's Twitter account.

32 "Could you imagine today, if those were all Black people storming the Capitol, and what

33 would have happened?"

34 As for the Blake decision, NBA teams organized their own protests for Wednesday, they

35 released team statements and then played the games as scheduled. Michele Roberts, the

36 executive director of the National Basketball Players Association, said she has received

37 messages from players all day regarding the decision. She spoke to ESPN about it. "Today

38 started yesterday, when the Jacob Blake shooting was being justified, although I'm not

39 sure there was a single human surprised at that finding," Roberts said. "Every single

40 player that contacted me—or that I contacted—saw the same connection to the Blake

41 shooting being justified. We were watching these people essentially committing treason

42 at the Capitol and I have yet to hear about a single shot being fired. "We saw a Black

43 police officer being chased and players said to me, 'So this is what they can do?' And

44 people don't get this privilege stuff? I know how they're feeling. I am so angry and

45 pained—and refusing to cry. It reminded me of something that James Baldwin said, when

46 asked what it was like to be a Negro in the United States of America. He said that if you're

47 conscious of what's going on in the country, and you're a Negro, you're in a constant state

48 of rage. "On a day like this, it's the first thing that comes to mind. And all I can say is that

49 I'm grateful knowing that hopefully nobody who looks like me is going to Capitol Hill to

50 respond to this, because if they do, you'll see a different response by law enforcement.

51 You know it—and I know it." Players from the Boston Celtics met before their game at

52 the Miami Heat, which is a rematch of last year's NBA Eastern Conference FInals. The

53 Celtics left the floor after warmups, but then returned for tipoff. But not before both teams

54 kneeled during the national anthem. The teams released this statement.

55 The Toronto Raptors and Phoenix Suns locked arms in a circle during the playing of the

56 American and Canadian national anthems Wednesday night.

57 The Suns and Raptors lock arms in a unified circle for the Canadian and U.S. anthems.

Target text 2: Newsweek (Appendix D)

1 **ESPORTES**

2 **NBA questiona corrida de duplo padrão, novamente, após motins no Capitólio,**

3 **demissão de Jacob Blake Cop**

4 **POR SCOTT MCDONALD EM 06/01/21 ÀS 21:55 EST**

5 Atletas na América têm falado hoje em relação à raça neste país, particularmente um

6 "duplo padrão" que eles afirmam de negros não serem tratados da mesma forma que não-

7 negros. As preocupações de quarta-feira são duplas. Primeiro, há a notícia de que o

8 policial de Wisconsin que atirou em Jacob Blake pelas costas não será acusado

9 criminalmente. Então, houve a multidão maciça que se rebelou no Capitólio dos EUA.

10 Na terça-feira, promotores de Kenosha, Wisconsin, disseram que não apresentariam

11 acusações criminais contra Rusten Sheskey, um policial branco que atirou em Blake, um

12 homem negro, sete vezes pelas costas durante um confronto de 23 de agosto que foi

13 capturado em vídeo.

14 O tiroteio de Blake no verão passado provocou um boicote de três dias da NBA durante

15 seus playoffs, e também boicotes da WNBA e da Major League Baseball. Embora o

16 promotor de Wisconsin tenha feito seu anúncio na terça-feira, todos os cinco jogos da

17 NBA aconteceram sem interrupções naquela noite.

18 Na quarta-feira, as equipes começaram a divulgar declarações sobre sua busca contínua

19 por justiça social nos Estados Unidos.

20 Na tarde de quarta-feira, manifestantes começaram a invadir o prédio do Capitólio em

21 Washington em parte de seus protestos contra o Congresso se preparando para aprovar os

22 votos do Colégio Eleitoral, o que significaria que Joe Biden se tornaria o 46º presidente

23 dos Estados Unidos em algumas semanas. Os manifestantes na quarta-feira foram vistos

24 vestindo roupas pró-Trump e agitando bandeiras de Trump.

25 Por que isso é relevante? No verão passado, após a morte de George Floyd em 25 de maio

26 , houve protestos do Black Lives Matter – de costa a costa – contra a brutalidade policial

27 dos negros. Floyd era um homem negro que morreu sob custódia de policiais de

28 Minneapolis.

29 Floyd foi visto pela última vez em um vídeo com o ex-oficial de Minneapolis Derek

30 Chauvin ajoelhado no pescoço de Floyd por quase nove minutos. As últimas palavras

31 ouvidas de Floyd foram: "Não consigo respirar".

32 Os protestos do Black Lives Matter durante o verão tomaram conta das principais cidades
33 dos EUA

34 Na tarde de quarta-feira, o técnico do Philadelphia 76ers, Doc Rivers, questionou se foi
35 uma multidão negra em vez de um grupo majoritariamente branco que invadiu o
36 Capitólio.

37 "Você poderia imaginar hoje, se todos fossem negros invadindo o Capitólio, e o que teria
38 acontecido?" Rivers disse neste vídeo divulgado pela NBA na conta do Twitter da TNT .

39 Quanto à decisão de Blake, as equipes da NBA organizaram seus próprios protestos para
40 quarta-feira, divulgaram declarações da equipe e depois jogaram os jogos conforme
41 programado. Michele Roberts, diretora executiva da National Basketball Players
42 Association, disse que recebeu mensagens de jogadores o dia todo sobre a decisão. Ela
43 falou com a ESPN sobre isso.

44 "Hoje começou ontem, quando o tiroteio de Jacob Blake estava sendo justificado, embora
45 eu não tenha certeza de que houve um único humano surpreso com essa descoberta", disse
46 Roberts. "Todos os jogadores que me contataram – ou que eu contatei – viram a mesma
47 conexão com o tiroteio de Blake sendo justificada. We were watching these people
48 essentially committing treason at the Capitol and I have yet to hear about a single shot
49 being fired.

50 "Vimos um policial negro sendo perseguido e os jogadores me disseram: 'Então é isso
51 que eles podem fazer?' E as pessoas não entendem essas coisas de privilégio? Eu sei como
52 elas estão se sentindo. Estou com tanta raiva e dor - e me recuso a chorar. Isso me lembrou
53 de algo que James Baldwin disse, quando perguntado como era ser um negro nos Estados
54 Unidos da América Ele disse que se você está ciente do que está acontecendo no país, e
55 você é um negro, você está em constante estado de raiva.

56 "Em um dia como este, é a primeira coisa que me vem à mente. E tudo o que posso dizer
57 é que sou grato por saber que espero que ninguém que se pareça comigo vá ao Capitólio
58 para responder a isso, porque se o fizerem, você verá uma resposta diferente por parte da
59 polícia. Você sabe disso - e eu sei disso."

60 Os jogadores do Boston Celtics se encontraram antes do jogo no Miami Heat, que é uma
61 revanche das finais da Conferência Leste da NBA do ano passado. Os Celtics deixaram a
62 quadra após o aquecimento, mas depois voltaram para a partida. Mas não antes de ambas
63 as equipes se ajoelharem durante o hino nacional.

64 As equipes divulgaram esta declaração.

65 O Milwaukee Bucks, que iniciou o boicote da liga no verão passado, também emitiu este

66 declaração que afirma que continua a se opor à força excessiva por parte da polícia.

67 O Toronto Raptors e o Phoenix Suns deram os braços em um círculo durante o jogo da

68 Hinos nacionais americanos e canadenses na noite de quarta-feira.

69 Os Suns e os Raptors fecham os braços em um círculo unificado para o Canadá e os EUA.

Source text 3: Fox News (Appendix E)

1   **How Wednesday's Capitol riot came to fruition and who made it happen**

2   Hollie McKay

3   Published January 8, 2021 6:59pm EST

4   Pre-planned social media-circulated events and a window of opportunism paved the

5   way for the unprecedented breach

6   The congressional endeavor of certifying the presidential winner in the Electoral

7   College is typically a banal ritual. But on Wednesday after weeks of mounting

8   emotions, lawsuits to overturn the results, and an insistence from President Trump and

9   his supporters that the election was stolen, the ceremonial duty became a jaw-dropping

10 event pockmarked by a raid of the Capitol, shots ringing out, tear gas and lives lost. So

11 what happened? According to one U.S. military veteran heavily involved in the

12 planning of Wednesday's protests, attendees came from across the country. "Whether it

13 was Veterans for Trump or Bikers for Trump or Latinos for Trump, we were all there

14 together. We came together by action and the call of our president," the source, who

15 spoke on background, told Fox News. "Our commander-in-chief had requested our

16 assistance, and any veteran with honor listens to the commander-in-chief. That is the

17 spirit in which we live."

18 In the days leading up to Wednesday, Trump supporters started "pouring in," the source

19 said. "Everything was booked; you couldn't get a room. People were camping out in the

20 cold," the organizer said, explaining that buses brought supporters from out-of-state. "It

21 was a call to action. We knew this was going to be a big day and an important point in

22 time."

23 Jan. 6, the date for certification of the Electoral College, began with small crowds of

24 Trump supporters filtering into designated areas around the Ellipse for permit-approved

25 rallies. Around 10 a.m., in bone-chilling cold, Trump's sons and his longtime lawyer

26 spoke to the growing crowds, and after the president's speech, in which he said he

27 would never concede, thousands marched toward the Capitol after he suggested that

28 they should. "We're going to walk down to the Capitol and we're going to cheer on our

29 brave senators and Congressmen and women," Trump said. Meanwhile, many more

30 protesters accumulated by the White House lawn. But shortly after 1 p.m.,

31 demonstrators started clashing with law enforcement on the steps of the Capitol. Less

32 than 30 minutes later, representatives inside the building were being evacuated amid

33 reports of a bomb outside. And at about 2:10 p.m., rioters managed to blow past police

34 lines and scale the walls around the building.

35 Within another 40 minutes, the barricades ruptured and thousands headed into the

36 chambers with anger, exhilaration, determination and confusion. After the initial scuffle

37 and breach, word spread quickly through social media forums and scores followed each

38 others' footsteps inside.

39 In this Jan. 6, photo, President Donald Trump arrives to speak at a rally in Washington.

40 Although pro-democracy and human rights activists around the globe were stunned to

41 see a raging mob storm the U.S. Capitol, they say they were heartened and inspired

42 because the system ultimately prevailed. (AP Photo/Jacquelyn Martin, File) From the

43 one insider's point-of-view, the "doors were already open to them, and the barricades

44 had been pulled down already." People simply "wanted to be heard in the chambers,"

45 they "wanted their voices heard," and were "sick and tired of what had been going on."

46 Trump eventually urged backers to protest "peacefully and patriotically," but the chaos

47 continued. But whether or not detailed plans to overrun the federal building had been set

48 in motion earlier was subject to debate. One Washington security employee connected

49 to the White House told Fox News that it's likely 95% of the attendees were there to

50 protest nonviolently. Still, there was likely a sub-section of attendees with more violent

51 intentions. "Many of the attackers appeared dressed for a riot – suggesting some

52 element of planning," said Jordan Strauss, managing director of business intelligence

53 and investigations at Kroll, a division of New York-based risk consultancy Duff &

54 Phelps. "But I suspect that it was a combination, with some individuals having

55 announced themselves as having come to storm the Capitol or incite some sort of

56 revolution. It would surprise me if some otherwise peaceful protesters were not swept

57 up in the fever of the moment and decided to cross the threshold from peaceful

58 protesters to criminals on the spot."

Target text 3: Fox News (Appendix F)

1 **Como o motim de quarta-feira no Capitólio se concretizou e quem fez isso**

2 **acontecer**

3 Hollie McKay

4 Publicados 8 de janeiro de 2021 18h59 EST

5 Eventos pré-planejados nas mídias sociais e uma janela de oportunismo abriram o

6 caminho para a violação sem precedents

7 O esforço do Congresso de certificar o vencedor presidencial no Colégio Eleitoral é

8 tipicamente um ritual banal. Mas na quarta-feira, após semanas de emoções crescentes,

9 ações judiciais para anular os resultados e uma insistência do presidente Trump e seus

10 apoiadores de que a eleição foi roubada, o dever cerimonial se tornou um evento de cair

11 o queixo marcado por uma invasão ao Capitólio, tiros ecoando. , gás lacrimogêneo e vidas

12 perdidas. Então o que aconteceu? De acordo com um veterano militar dos EUA

13 fortemente envolvido no planejamento dos protestos de quarta-feira, os participantes

14 vieram de todo o país. "Seja Veteranos para Trump ou Motociclistas para Trump ou

15 Latinos para Trump, estávamos todos lá juntos. Nos reunimos por ação e pelo chamado

16 de nosso presidente", disse a fonte, que falou em segundo plano, à Fox News. "Nosso

17 comandante-chefe pediu nossa ajuda, e qualquer veterano com honra ouve o comandante-

18 chefe. Esse é o espírito em que vivemos."

19 Nos dias que antecederam a quarta-feira, os apoiadores de Trump começaram a "chegar",

20 disse a fonte. "Tudo estava reservado, não se conseguia um quarto. As pessoas estavam

21 acampando no frio", disse o organizador, explicando que os ônibus traziam apoiadores de

22 fora do estado. "Foi um apelo à ação. Sabíamos que este seria um grande dia e um

23 momento importante."

24 6 de janeiro, data para a certificação do Colégio Eleitoral, começou com pequenas

25 multidões de partidários de Trump se infiltrando em áreas designadas ao redor da Elipse

26 para comícios aprovados. Por volta das 10 da manhã, com um frio de arrepiar, os filhos

27 de Trump e seu advogado de longa data falaram para a multidão crescente, e após o

28 discurso do presidente, no qual ele disse que nunca cederia, milhares marcharam em

29 direção ao Capitólio depois que ele sugeriu que deveriam. "Vamos caminhar até o

30 Capitólio e torcer por nossos bravos senadores, congressistas e mulheres", disse Trump.

31 Enquanto isso, muitos mais manifestantes se acumulavam no gramado da Casa Branca.

32 Mas pouco depois das 13h, os manifestantes começaram a entrar em confronto com a

33 polícia nos degraus do Capitólio. Menos de 30 minutos depois, representantes dentro do

34 prédio estavam sendo evacuados em meio a relatos de uma bomba do lado de fora. E

35 por volta das 14h10, os manifestantes conseguiram passar pelas linhas da polícia e escalar

36 os muros ao redor do prédio.

37 Em mais 40 minutos, as barricadas se romperam e milhares entraram nas câmaras com

38 raiva, alegria, determinação e confusão. Após a briga e a violação iniciais, a notícia se

39 espalhou rapidamente pelos fóruns de mídia social e as pontuações seguiram os passos

40 uns dos outros.

41 Nesta foto de 6 de janeiro, o presidente Donald Trump chega para falar em um comício

42 em Washington. Embora ativistas pró-democracia e de direitos humanos em todo o

43 mundo tenham ficado surpresos ao ver uma multidão enfurecida invadir o Capitólio dos

44 EUA, eles dizem que ficaram animados e inspirados porque o sistema acabou

45 prevalecendo. (Foto AP/Jacquelyn Martin, Arquivo)

46 Do ponto de vista de uma pessoa de dentro, as "portas já estavam abertas para eles, e as

47 barricadas já haviam sido derrubadas". As pessoas simplesmente "queriam ser ouvidas

48 nas câmaras", "queriam que suas vozes fossem ouvidas" e estavam "doentes e cansadas

49 do que estava acontecendo".

50 Trump acabou pedindo aos apoiadores que protestassem "de forma pacífica e

51 patriótica", mas o caos continuou.

52 Mas se os planos detalhados para invadir o prédio federal foram ou não colocados em

53 movimento antes era assunto para debate. Um funcionário de segurança de Washington

54 ligado à Casa Branca disse à Fox News que é provável que 95% dos participantes

55 estivessem lá para protestar de forma não violenta. Ainda assim, provavelmente havia

56 uma subseção de participantes com intenções mais violentas.

57 "Muitos dos atacantes pareciam vestidos para um tumulto - sugerindo algum elemento

58 de planejamento", disse Jordan Strauss, diretor administrativo de inteligência de

59 negócios e investigações da Kroll, uma divisão da consultoria de risco Duff & Phelps,

60 com sede em Nova York. "Mas suspeito que tenha sido uma combinação, com alguns

61 indivíduos se anunciando como tendo vindo para invadir o Capitólio ou incitar algum

62 tipo de revolução. Me surpreenderia se alguns manifestantes pacíficos não fossem

63 varridos pela febre do momento e decidiu cruzar o limiar de manifestantes pacíficos

64 para criminosos no local."

Source text 4: Fox News/NY Post(Appendix G)

1 **Capitol riot: NY Post says Democrats suffer from 'liberal amnesia' over past**
2 **violence from left**

3 Brian Flood

4 Published January 8, 2021 12:22pm EST

5 'We all saw what happened then, we all see what happened now,' the Post's editorial
6 board wrote

7 The New York Post's editorial board declared Friday that liberals are suffering from
8 "amnesia" about last summer's riots when discussing the chaos that occurred when
9 proTrump supporters mobbed the U.S. Capitol on Wednesday. President-elect Joe Biden
10 joined lawmakers and media members in questioning whether the police reaction to the
11 rioters would have been the same had they been Black Lives Matter demonstrators – but
12 the New York City tabloid doesn't agree.

13 The Post's editorial board penned a scathing piece headlined, "Liberal amnesia about last
14 summer's riots," that detailed the response to police brutality demonstrations compared
15 to the Capitol riot. "Across the country, BLM and Antifa were coddled. Portland allowed
16 them to set up an autonomous zone in the middle of the city for months, and police and
17 politicians did nothing. In liberal cities, politicians told cops to back off and pushed for
18 more lawbreakers to be released without bail or no charges. The thugs who attacked the
19 Capitol were met with officers fighting back at barricades and tear gas. Guns were drawn
20 and, in one case, deadly force was used," the editorial board wrote.

21 "The rioters were able to get the run of the Capitol because cops were vastly outnumbered.
22 Officials are already resigning or being fired because of that failure," the editorial board
23 continued." This was a horrible insurrection and should be condemned." However, Biden
24 on Thursday declared that Capitol Hill rioters would have been treated differently if they
25 weren't predominantly White. "No one can tell me that if it had been a group of Black
26 Lives Matter protesters yesterday that they wouldn't have been treated very differently
27 than the mob that stormed the Capitol. We all know that's true — and it's unacceptable,"
28 Biden wrote on Twitter, irking the Post's editorial board in the process. "Mr. Biden, don't
29 hypocritically try to rewrite the story of last summer's riots to suggest that liberals weren't
30 permissive or that there's some sort of double standard or racism at work here," the

31 editorial board concluded. "We all saw what happened then, we all see what happened

32 now." But Biden isn't the only person suffering from what the editorial board described

33 as "liberal amnesia," as "Fox & Friends" aired a montage of media members such as

34 MSNBC's Joy Reid and CNN's Don Lemon dismissing riots that coincide with their

35 liberal agenda but condemning the Capitol tragedy.

36 House Speaker Nancy Pelosi, Jerry Nadler, CNN's Chris Cuomo and Vice President-elect

37 Kamala Harris were also seen flip-flopping on whether or not riots should be frowned

38 upon during the must-see "Fox & Friends" video.

Target text 4: Fox News/NY Post(Appendix H)

1 **Motim no Capitólio: NY Post diz que democratas sofrem de 'amnésia liberal' por**

2 **violência passada da esquerda**

3 Brian Flood

4 Publicados 8 de janeiro de 2021 12h22 EST

5 "Todos nós vimos o que aconteceu na época, todos vemos o que aconteceu agora",

6 escreveu o conselho editorial do Post.

7 O conselho editorial do New York Post declarou na sexta-feira que os liberais estão

8 sofrendo de "amnésia" sobre os distúrbios do verão passado ao discutir o caos que ocorreu

9 quando apoiadores pró-Trump cercaram o Capitólio dos EUA na quarta-feira. O

10 presidente eleito Joe Biden juntou-se a legisladores e membros da mídia para questionar

11 se a reação da polícia aos manifestantes teria sido a mesma se fossem manifestantes do

12 Black Lives Matter – mas o tablóide de Nova York não concorda.

13 O conselho editorial do Post escreveu um artigo contundente intitulado "Amnésia liberal

14 sobre os distúrbios do verão passado", que detalhou a resposta às manifestações de

15 brutalidade policial em comparação com o motim do Capitólio. "Em todo o país, BLM e

16 Antifa foram mimados. Portland permitiu que eles estabelecessem uma zona autônoma

17 no meio da cidade por meses, e a polícia e os políticos não fizeram nada. Nas cidades

18 liberais, os políticos disseram aos policiais para recuar e pressionaram por mais os

19 infratores da lei sejam libertados sem fiança ou sem acusações. Os bandidos que atacaram

20 o Capitólio foram recebidos com oficiais lutando contra barricadas e gás lacrimogêneo.

21 Armas foram sacadas e, em um caso, a força letal foi usada", escreveu o conselho

22 editorial.

23 "Os desordeiros conseguiram controlar o Capitólio porque os policiais estavam em grande

24 número. Os funcionários já estão se demitindo ou sendo demitidos por causa desse

25 fracasso", continuou o conselho editorial. "Esta foi uma insurreição horrível e deve ser

26 condenada." No entanto, Biden declarou na quinta-feira que os manifestantes do Capitólio

27 teriam sido tratados de maneira diferente se não fossem predominantemente brancos.

28 "Ninguém pode me dizer que, se tivesse sido um grupo de manifestantes do Black Lives

29 Matter ontem, eles não teriam sido tratados de maneira muito diferente da multidão que

30 invadiu o Capitólio. Todos sabemos que isso é verdade - e é inaceitável", escreveu Biden.

31   no Twitter, irritando o conselho editorial do Post no processo. "Sr. Biden, não tente

32   hipocritamente reescrever a história dos tumultos do verão passado para sugerir que os

33   liberais não foram permissivos ou que há algum tipo de duplo padrão ou racismo em ação

34   aqui", concluiu o conselho editorial. "Todos nós vimos o que aconteceu então, todos nós

35   vemos o que aconteceu agora." Mas Biden não é a única pessoa que sofre do que o

36   conselho editorial descreveu como "amnésia liberal", já que "Fox & Friends" exibiu uma

37   montagem de membros da mídia como Joy Reid, da MSNBC, e Don Lemon, da CNN,

38   descartando tumultos que coincidem com sua agenda liberal. mas condenando a tragédia

39   do Capitólio.

40   A presidente da Câmara, Nancy Pelosi, Jerry Nadler, Chris Cuomo, da CNN, e a vice

41   presidente eleita Kamala Harris também foram vistos discutindo se os tumultos devem

42   ou não ser desaprovados durante o imperdível vídeo "Fox & Friends" .

Source text 5: Los Angeles Times (Appendix I)

1 **'Second revolution begins': Armed rigt-wing groups celebrate Capitol attack**

2 By Molly Hennessy-FiskeHouston Bureau Chief

3 Jan. 6, 2021 9:30 PM PT

4 HOUSTON — Members of armed right-wing groups that stormed the Capitol on

5 Wednesday in blind support of President Trump's futile attempt to stay in office said they

6 supported the mob attack, calling it the beginning of another American revolution. As the

7 rabble pushed through barricades and swept through government corridors, Trump's

8 followers — wearing camo, backpacks and MAGA hats — created a disturbing, surreal

9 scene that revealed the loyalty and violent inclinations among the extreme elements of

10 the president's base.

11 In the wake of the mob attack on the U.S. Capitol, the top two Democrats in Congress —

12 Nancy Pelosi and Charles Schumer — called for the removal of President Trump from

13 office. The attackers, mostly white men, some of whom espoused the sentiments of hate

14 groups and white nationalists, were condemned by President-elect Joe Biden, who said

15 of the mob violence: "This is not dissent. It's disorder. It's chaos. It borders on sedition,

16 and it must end now." But Trump's supporters saw themselves in a different light, even

17 as courts, electoral boards, judges and bipartisan members of Congress have agreed that

18 the president's claim that he won the November election was dangerous fantasy and a

19 threat to American democracy. Trump lost by more than 7 million votes. "You've got

20 pissed-off patriots that are not going to accept their form of government being stolen,"

21 said Stewart Rhodes, who traveled to Washington to join the protest with members of the

22 right-wing group he founded, the Oath Keepers.

23 "We're walking down the same exact path as the Founding Fathers," said Rhodes, a

24 former Army paratrooper and Yale law school graduate who urged members to monitor

25 the polls during the presidential election. Rhodes said his group, which includes veterans

26 and members of law enforcement, did not enter the Capitol or confront police. "We

27 shouldn't be clashing with police," he said. "We were in the streets and we were talking

28 to the cops, telling them they should stand down and refuse to follow orders of the

29 illegitimate legislators." But members of other armed right-wing groups — whipped up

30 by Trump's speech earlier in the day in which he refused to accept his election loss —

31   praised the rioters for entering the Capitol by force. Chris Hill, a Marine veteran who

32   leads the 75-member Georgia-based III% Security Force called the attack on the Capitol

33   a "shot heard round the world." "The second revolution begins today," Hill said.

34   Similar elation and bravado filled a national Three Percenter online forum Wednesday,

35   even as much of the nation watched in alarm the scenes that appeared more reminiscent

36   of unstable nations facing coups and insurrections in troubled parts of the world. A

37   number of posts were scary indictments and a window into the rhetoric that has been

38   playing out for years on nationalist and white supremacist channels and chat rooms. "A

39   start to a new beginning brothers! Let's set the scales straight and if war sets afoot we

40   will rebel!" Zachary Wallace wrote Wednesday in an online forum for members of the

41   Three Percenters group. "The time for voting and getting a little piece of the pie for our

42   own labors is OVER. The time for action and a reset is NOW. ARE YOU AWAKE

43   YET?" wrote a user identified as "Rodger OH" in the same forum, signing off in Latin

44   "God's Will," a rallying cry from the Crusades. "When do we take our country back?"

45   asked Ian Gunning. "I hope this isn't just a one time thing. The country needs to be reset

46   and politicians need to be reprimanded. We run the country not them."

47   Some called for peaceful protests at state capitals on Inauguration Day. Others were

48   disappointed that those who stormed the Capitol appeared to be unarmed and didn't seize

49   the building. "You took and held the high ground just to walk away without even drawing

50   your sword," Nino Brunori wrote. Rhodes said his group planned to stay in Washington

51   on Thursday, although he wasn't sure what would happen. He dismissed the presidential

52   election as "a sham" and said Congress shouldn't certify the results. "We're having an

53   election stolen from us, we no longer have effective representation, we have pretend

54   legislators," Rhodes said. "We'll see what President Trump does."

Target text 5: Los Angeles Times (Appendix J)

1 **'Segunda revolução começa': grupos armados de direita celebram ataque ao**

2 **Capitólio**

3 Por Molly Hennessy-Fiske Houston Bureau Chief

4 6 de janeiro de 2021 21h30 PT

5 HOUSTON — Membros de grupos armados de direita que invadiram o Capitólio na

6 quarta-feira em apoio cego à tentativa fútil do presidente Trump de permanecer no cargo

7 disseram apoiar o ataque da multidão, chamando-o de início de outra revolução

8 americana. Enquanto a ralé atravessava barricadas e varria os corredores do governo, os

9 seguidores de Trump – vestindo camuflagem, mochilas e chapéus MAGA – criaram uma

10 cena perturbadora e surreal que revelou a lealdade e as inclinações violentas entre os

11 elementos extremistas da base do presidente.

12 Após o ataque da multidão ao Capitólio dos EUA, os dois principais democratas do

13 Congresso – Nancy Pelosi e Charles Schumer – pediram a remoção do presidente Trump

14 do cargo. Os agressores, principalmente homens brancos, alguns dos quais defendiam os

15 sentimentos de grupos de ódio e nacionalistas brancos, foram condenados pelo presidente

16 eleito Joe Biden, que disse sobre a violência da multidão: "Isso não é dissidência. É

17 desordem. É o caos. Faz fronteira com a sedição e deve acabar agora." Mas os apoiadores

18 de Trump se viram sob uma luz diferente, mesmo quando tribunais, conselhos eleitorais,

19 juízes e membros bipartidários do Congresso concordaram que a afirmação do presidente

20 de que ele venceu as eleições de novembro era uma fantasia perigosa e uma ameaça à

21 democracia americana. Trump perdeu por mais de 7 milhões de votos. "Você tem

22 patriotas irritados que não vão aceitar que sua forma de governo seja roubada", disse

23 Stewart Rhodes, que viajou para Washington para se juntar ao protesto com membros do

24 grupo de direita que ele fundou, os Oath Keepers.

25 "Estamos seguindo exatamente o mesmo caminho dos Pais Fundadores", disse Rhodes,

26 ex-paraquedista do Exército e formado em direito de Yale, que pediu aos membros que

27 monitorem as pesquisas durante a eleição presidencial . Rhodes disse que seu grupo, que

28 inclui veteranos e membros da polícia, não entrou no Capitólio nem confrontou a polícia.

29 "Não deveríamos entrar em confronto com a polícia", disse ele. "Estávamos nas ruas e

30 conversávamos com os policiais, dizendo que eles deveriam se retirar e se recusar a seguir

31   as ordens dos legisladores ilegítimos". Mas membros de outros grupos armados de direita

32   – estimulados pelo discurso de Trump no início do dia em que ele se recusou a aceitar sua

33   derrota eleitoral – elogiaram os manifestantes por entrarem no Capitólio à força. Chris

34   Hill, um veterano da Marinha que lidera a Força de Segurança III%, com 75 membros,

35   sediada na Geórgia, chamou o ataque ao Capitólio de um "tiro ouvido em todo o mundo".

36   "A segunda revolução começa hoje", disse Hill.

37   Alegria e bravura semelhantes encheram um fórum nacional online do Three Percenter

38   na quarta-feira, mesmo que grande parte da nação assistisse alarmada às cenas que

39   pareciam mais uma reminiscência de nações instáveis enfrentando golpes e insurreições

40   em partes problemáticas do mundo. Várias postagens foram acusações assustadoras e uma

41   janela para a retórica que vem ocorrendo há anos em canais nacionalistas e supremacistas

42   brancos e salas de bate-papo. "Um começo para um novo começo irmãos! Vamos acertar

43   a balança e se a guerra começar, vamos nos rebelar!" Zachary Wallace escreveu na quarta-

44   feira em um fórum online para membros do grupo Three Percenters. "Acabou o tempo de

45   votar e receber um pedacinho do bolo para o nosso próprio trabalho. O tempo para ação

46   e redefinição é AGORA. VOCÊ AINDA ESTÁ ACORDADO?" escreveu um usuário

47   identificado como "Rodger OH" no mesmo fórum, assinando em latim "God's Will", um

48   grito de guerra das Cruzadas.

49   "Quando vamos retomar nosso país?" perguntou Ian Gunning. "Espero que isso não seja

50   apenas uma coisa de uma vez. O país precisa ser redefinido e os políticos precisam ser

51   repreendidos. Nós administramos o país, não eles." Alguns pediram protestos pacíficos

52   nas capitais estaduais no dia da posse. Outros ficaram desapontados porque aqueles que

53   invadiram o Capitólio pareciam estar desarmados e não tomaram o prédio. "Você pegou

54   e segurou o terreno alto apenas para ir embora sem nem mesmo desembainhar sua

55   espada", escreveu Nino Brunori. Rhodes disse que seu grupo planeja ficar em Washington

56   na quinta-feira, embora não tenha certeza do que aconteceria. Ele descartou a eleição

57   presidencial como "uma farsa" e disse que o Congresso não deveria certificar os

58   resultados. "Estamos tendo uma eleição roubada de nós, não temos mais representação

59   efetiva, temos legisladores falsos", disse Rhodes. "Vamos ver o que o presidente Trump

60   faz."

Source text 6: Fast Company (Appendix K)

1 **The media is wrestling with what to call Trumpists who invaded the Capitol**

2 **Mark Sullivan**

3 January 6, 2021

4 On Wednesday, media outlets around the country and the world hurried to make sense of

5 the events in Washington, D.C. But even knowing what to call the Trump supporters who

6 breached and vandalized the U.S. Capitol proved difficult. All of a sudden, for horrifying

7 reasons, these media outlets have had to confront the ugly question of how to put a quick

8 label on the main characters in the story. Should the people who stormed the Capitol be

9 called a mob? Are they rioters? Are they domestic terrorists? Extremists? Fox News calls

10 them "protesters." So do Newsmax and C-SPAN. Initially, headlines on CNN's website

11 referred to the Trump supporters as a "mob" and as "rioters." By Wednesday evening the

12 network said it was officially characterizing Wednesday's violence as "domestic

13 terrorism."

14 The Wall Street Journal chose to call them "rioters."

15 The Los Angeles Times, The Washington Post, and The New York Times, after some

16 reflection, settled on "mob" or "pro-Trump mob." The San Francisco Chronicle and USA

17 Today landed on the same terminology. Germany's Deutsche Welle initially referred to

18 "pro-Trump protestors," but amended its report to refer to a "pro-Trump mob" a few hours

19 later. In France, Le Monde went with "pro-Trump demonstrators." The BBC referred to

20 them as "rebel Republicans" and a "violent pro-Trump mob." The Oxford Dictionary

21 defines mob as "a large crowd of people, especially one that is disorderly and intent on

22 causing trouble or violence." **Taking it further**

23 Some have observed that terrorist might be the most descriptive word for the Trump

24 supporters who participated in the breach of the Capitol today. Here's the FBI's definition

25 of domestic terrorism: "Violent, criminal acts committed by individuals and/or groups to

26 further ideological goals stemming from domestic influences, such as those of a political,

27 religious, social, racial, or environmental nature." The FBI uses the term extremist in the

28 context of both domestic and international terror.

29 The large group of Trump supporters that poured into the Capitol did indeed break laws.

30 They destroyed, defaced, and stole federal property, and they endangered the lives of

31 lawmakers and their staffs. They attacked and injured Capitol Police officers, who are
32 charged with protecting lawmakers and the lawmaking process. And yet, as of 5:38 p.m.
33 EST, the D.C. police say they've made only 13 arrests. But no news outlet anywhere near
34 the mainstream directly referred to today's event as a terrorist act in news reporting, or to
35 the perpetrators as domestic terrorists. An article by Mother Jones D.C. bureau chief
36 David Corn used the word terrorist in the headline, but that was an opinion piece in an
37 outlet that makes no pretense to neutral reporting. Others have referred to the Trumpists
38 as extremists, a term normally used in the media to describe foreign groups. NPR had this
39 guidance for its staff: "We won't be calling the people who stormed the Capitol
40 'protestors'—they are 'pro-Trump extremists' and what they are doing is 'insurrection'."
41 The FBI uses the term extremist in the context of both domestic and international terror.
42 "[D]omestic violent extremists have developed an extensive presence on the Internet
43 through messaging platforms and online images, videos, and publications," the FBI says
44 on its website. "These facilitate the groups' ability to radicalize and recruit individuals
45 who are receptive to extremist messaging." During a speech on Wednesday, President-
46 elect Joe Biden used an array of terms to describe the perpetrators.
47 "To storm the Capitol, to smash windows, to occupy offices on the floor of the United
48 States Senate, rummaging through desks, on the House of Representatives, threatening
49 the safety of duly elected officials," Biden said. "It's not protest; it's insurrection."
50 The folks at Merriam-Webster thoughtfully tweeted out the definition of insurrection
51 today: ???? We define 'insurrection' as "an act or instance of revolting against civil
52 authority or an established government."
53 There will be lengthy public debate over how the law should treat the people who broke
54 into the Capitol. As that debate continues, the names media uses to describe those Trump
55 supporters may evolve too.

Target text 6: Fast Company (Appendix L)

1 **A mídia está lutando com o que chamar de trumpistas que**

2 **invadiu o Capitólio**

3 Na quarta-feira, os meios de comunicação de todo o país e do mundo se apressaram para

4 entender os eventos em Washington, D.C. Mas até mesmo saber como chamar os

5 apoiadores de Trump que invadiram e vandalizaram o Capitólio dos EUA se mostrou

6 difícil.

7 De repente, por razões horríveis, esses meios de comunicação tiveram que enfrentar a feia

8 questão de como colocar um rótulo rápido nos personagens principais da história.

9 As pessoas que invadiram o Capitólio deveriam ser chamadas de multidão? Eles são

10 desordeiros? São terroristas domésticos? Extremistas?

11 A Fox News os chama de "manifestantes". Assim como Newsmax e C-SPAN.

12 Inicialmente, as manchetes do site da CNN se referiam aos apoiadores de Trump como

13 uma "turba" e como "manifestantes". Na noite de quarta-feira, a rede disse que estava

14 caracterizando oficialmente a violência de quarta-feira como "terrorismo doméstico".

15 O Wall Street Journal optou por chamá-los de "desordeiros".

16 O Los Angeles Times, o Washington Post e o New York Times, após alguma reflexão,

17 decidiram pela "máfia" ou "máfia pró-Trump". O San Francisco Chronicle e o USA

18 Today chegaram à mesma terminologia.

19 A Deutsche Welle da Alemanha inicialmente se referiu a "manifestantes pró-Trump",

20 mas alterou seu relatório para se referir a uma "turba pró-Trump" algumas horas depois.

21 Na França, o Le Monde foi com "manifestantes pró-Trump".

22 A BBC se referiu a eles como "rebeldes republicanos" e uma "violenta multidão pró-

23 Trump".

24 O Dicionário Oxford define máfia como "uma grande multidão de pessoas, especialmente

25 uma que é desordenada e tem a intenção de causar problemas ou violência".

26 **Levando mais longe**

27 Alguns observaram que terrorista pode ser a palavra mais descritiva para os apoiadores

28 de Trump que participaram da violação do Capitólio hoje. Aqui está a definição do FBI

29 de terrorismo doméstico: "Atos violentos e criminosos cometidos por indivíduos e/ou

30   grupos para promover objetivos ideológicos decorrentes de influências domésticas, como

31   as de natureza política, religiosa, social, racial ou ambiental".

32   O FBI usa o termo extremista no contexto de terror doméstico e internacional.

33   O grande grupo de apoiadores de Trump que invadiu o Capitólio de fato infringiu as leis.

34   Eles destruíram, desfiguraram e roubaram propriedades federais e colocaram em risco a

35   vida de legisladores e seus funcionários. Eles atacaram e feriram policiais do Capitólio,

36   encarregados de proteger os legisladores e o processo de legislar. E, no entanto, a partir

37   das 17h38. EST, a polícia de D.C. diz que fez apenas 13 prisões.

38   Mas nenhum meio de comunicação em qualquer lugar próximo ao mainstream se referiu

39   diretamente ao evento de hoje como um ato terrorista na reportagem, ou aos perpetradores

40   como terroristas domésticos. Um artigo do chefe da sucursal de Mother Jones D.C., David

41   Corn, usou a palavra terrorista na manchete, mas era um artigo de opinião em um meio

42   de comunicação que não tem pretensão de reportagem neutra.

43   Outros se referiram aos trumpistas como extremistas, um termo normalmente usado na

44   mídia para descrever grupos estrangeiros. A NPR tinha esta orientação para sua equipe:

45   "Não chamaremos as pessoas que invadiram o Capitólio de 'manifestantes' – eles são

46   'extremistas pró-Trump' e o que estão fazendo é 'insurreição'".

47   O FBI usa o termo extremista no contexto de terror doméstico e internacional. "Os

48   extremistas violentos domésticos desenvolveram uma presença extensa na Internet por

49   meio de plataformas de mensagens e imagens, vídeos e publicações online", diz o FBI

50   em seu site. "Isso facilita a capacidade dos grupos de radicalizar e recrutar indivíduos

51   receptivos a mensagens extremistas".

52   Durante um discurso na quarta-feira, o presidente eleito Joe Biden usou uma série de

53   termos para descrever os perpetradores.

54   "Invadir o Capitólio, quebrar janelas, ocupar escritórios no plenário do Senado dos

55   Estados Unidos, vasculhar mesas, na Câmara dos Deputados, ameaçando a segurança de

56   autoridades devidamente eleitas", disse Biden. "Não é protesto; é uma insurreição".

57   O pessoal do Merriam-Webster twittou cuidadosamente a definição de insurreição hoje:

58   ???? Definimos 'insurreição' como "um ato ou instância de revolta contra a autoridade

59   civil ou um governo estabelecido".

60   Haverá um longo debate público sobre como a lei deve tratar as pessoas que invadiram o

61   Capitólio. À medida que o debate continua, os nomes que a mídia usa para descrever

62   esses apoiadores de Trump também podem evoluir.