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We're All In This Together. Exploring the use of second person perspective in television newscasting

Todos estamos juntos en esto. Explorando el uso de la segunda persona en los informativos de televisión

Mark Finney, Emory & Henry College

Ph.D. in Mass Communication and Associate Professor at Emory & Henry College, Dr. Finney's research strives to combine the insights and methodologies of conflict theory and mass communication theories into a broad approach for understanding international conflict and the relationship between conflict and media.

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Abstract:
Literature on the use of the second person perspective revolves around the relationship of the audience to the text. Interpersonal communications scholars, narratologists and rhetoricians argue that in social interaction, narrative fiction, and interactive fiction, the use of the second person point of view can alter the boundaries between author, text and audience. The literature suggests that the use of second person may change audiences' sense of connectedness, create a sense of authority, and enhance the believability of the narrative.

In this paper, I take these insights and consider how the presence of second person perspective in the text of television news accounts may similarly alter audiences' perceptions of news events and their involvement in them. Following a review of second person perspective literature in the contexts of interpersonal interaction, narrative fiction and interactive video games, I explore how such insights can be usefully exploited to further understand television news effects, by adapting a method and applying it qualitatively to the text of news accounts and situating the findings in the conceptual trajectories of Michele Foucault and Edward Said.

Keywords:
News, television news, media effects, second person perspective, second person point of view

Resumen:
La literatura existente sobre el uso de la segunda persona gira en torno a la relación del público con el texto. Los investigadores de la comunicación interpersonal y los expertos en narración y retórica sostienen que el uso de la segunda persona puede

alterar los límites entre el autor, el texto y la audiencia en la interacción social, la ficción narrativa y la ficción interactiva. La literatura sugiere que este uso de la segunda persona puede cambiar la forma en que se conecta con el público, pero también crear un sentido de autoridad y aumentar la credibilidad de la narrativa.

En este texto, recojo estas ideas y analizo cómo el uso de la segunda persona en el texto de los informativos de televisión puede también alterar la percepción de la audiencia sobre los acontecimientos narrados y su involucración en ellos. Tras una revisión de la literatura existente sobre la perspectiva en segunda persona en los contextos de la interacción interpersonal, la ficción narrativa y los videojuegos interactivos, analizo la forma en que esas percepciones pueden utilizarse para comprender mejor el efecto que generan las noticias en televisión, adaptando un método y aplicándolo cualitativamente al texto de las noticias, y ubicando las conclusiones en la trayectoria conceptual de Michele Foucault y Edward Said.

Palabras clave:
Noticias, noticias televisivas, efectos de los medios, segunda persona, punto de vista de segunda persona

1. Introduction

> TUCKER CARLSON, FOX NEWS CHANNEL: Good evening, and welcome to TUCKER CARLSON TONIGHT. It is the most reliable standard in politics. In fact, take these words, put them on a piece of paper, put them on your fridge and leave them there because this is the Rosetta Stone to American politics, and here it is.
> Whatever the left accuses you of is exactly what they're doing themselves every time. They'll scream at you for being a racist, and yet, they're literally the ones imposing a system of inflexible racial discrimination on the entire country.
> They'll call you a fascist even as they work to eliminate the First and Second Amendments, and of course, they regularly attack their opponents as sexist while they protect actual rapists and abusers who are useful to them politically (Carlson, 2019).

In the above quotation, Fox News anchor Tucker Carlson addresses the viewer directly, commanding them to write down his words, post them on the refrigerator and remember them. He then tells members of the audience what the left is doing to them and some of the names that the left are calling them.

Carlson is employing the second person perspective. As defined by the OED Online (2020), the second person is a grammatical "category used in the classification of pronouns…according to whether they indicate… the addressee." In this segment, Carlson addresses viewers directly, implicating them in his representation of the news. In so doing, he makes use of rhetorical and narrative techniques that are more commonly employed in fiction and video games. A good deal of scholarship has been directed towards the study of the second person perspective in those media. In this paper

I will explore the ideas that have emerged from that scholarship and apply them in the context of television news.

The literature on the use of the second person perspective (2PP) revolves around the relationship of the audience to the text. Interpersonal communications scholars, narratologists and rhetoriticians argue that in fiction and social interaction, the use of 2PP can alter the traditional boundaries between author, text and audience (or author/speaker in interpersonal interactions). The literature suggests that this alteration may establish a sense of humanity, create a sense of authority, and/or enhance the believability of the narrative. These ideas are supported by scholarship focused on video games and Interactive Fiction (IF), which explores digital narratives that are explicitly interactive and in which the audience is involved, to varying degrees, in creating the narrative as it evolves.

These findings can be fruitfully applied to the study of news, in order to begin understanding how the use of 2PP in the text of news accounts may similarly alter audiences' perceptions of news events and their involvement in them. Following an accounting of the scholarship from fiction, IF and video games, I will explore how such insights might be usefully exploited to further understand television news texts, by situating them in the conceptual trajectories of Michele Foucault and Edward Said.

1.1. The Second Person Effect, Second Person Perspective and Motivation

In 2006, Stephen Darwall published The Second Person Standpoint: Morality, Respect and Accountability, in which he argued that the use of 2PP is a rhetorical act that enhances the authority (ethos) of the speaker and establishes an imbalance of power between the addressor and addressee. He writes, "What makes a reason 2nd personal is that it is grounded in (de jure) authority relations that an addressor takes to hold between him and his addressee" (p. 4). In Darwall's conception, an addressor makes demands of an addressee and the addressee understands that authority. Darwall argues that the presupposition of authority in second person standpoint demands is that the addressor and addressee understand that they have relational responsibility to one another and especially that the addressee understands and accepts responsibility and the "fault for noncompliance" (p. 8).

Darwall distinguishes second person standpoint authority from other forms of authority, such as moral, epistemic or social desirability, stating that "the authority to demand implies not just a reason for the addressee to comply but also his being responsible for doing so" (p. 11). Other kinds of authority rest on the content of the argument, whereas second person standpoint authority rests on the contextual relation between the interactants. Darwall claims that second person standpoint authority rests on the established and understood authority between interactants, and the application of second person standpoint reasons, such as reciprocity and empathy (p. 43). These, Darwall reasons, rest on the mutual awareness of "our second-personal relating" or the "imaginative projection into another's standpoint" (p. 44). He describes this kind of interaction in the interpersonal context: "I must be able to see the others' response to my address as more or less rational from her point of view" (p. 44). He implies that mediated or extra-personal interactions cannot be second personal because they lack

interactivity. Instead, Darwall relies on the process of the interaction itself to contextualize it as second personal. It is the interaction - or the evaluation of the interaction in real time - that enables an addressor to establish authority and act upon it. Interactivity enables disrespect, or the addressor's reaction against noncompliance as "an affront to the dignity of the speaker," which is an important part of the interactive dynamic (p. 57). But while Darwall argues that the second person standpoint is exclusively interactive, he describes an interactive dynamic that can exist outside of the interpersonal context because the the crux of the second person standpoint seems to be when the addressee believes something simply because someone is "telling you it is so… When you believe something for this reason, you give the person whose testimony you trust a kind of second person authority in your own reasoning about what you believe" (p. 57).

Second person standpoint is distinguished from the second person effect (as well as first and third) by scholars such as Edward Frederick and Kurt Neuwirth (2002, 2008). Neuwirth and Frederick (2002) explain the second person effect within the third person effect framework. Neuwirth and Frederick use Davison (1983), to define the third person effects framework, as one in which researchers attempt to understand the relationship between audience attribution of influence and its effect. Explaining that researchers have "identified several important motivational and cognitive factors" that are critical to audiences' attribution and effect, they then go on to explain that "researchers have overlooked the theoretical and empirical implications of a 2PE, a term we apply to instances of joint media influence on self and others" (p. 117).

Second-person effects (2PE) refer to the idea that audiences believe themselves and others to be influenced by media (p. 117). In contrast to believing that media influence only us (first-person effect) and only them (third-person effect), Neuwirth and Frederick remind readers that in Davison's study, "fully a third (36%) of New York respondents surveyed believed that the media had an equal influence on them and other voters in a gubernatorial race" (p. 117). They go on to draw out Davison's implied definition of second-person effect: "From this we infer that 'you,' as applied by Davison, means 'same influence on public and on self. Assuming that the meaning of 'influence,' public,' and 'self' are commonly understood, the term 'same' becomes the object of meaning analysis" (p. 118).

At this moment, it is worth pointing out that Neuwirth, Frederick and Davison are defining second-person effect, not defining 2PP, which is the subject of this paper. These are related but distinguishable terms, the former dealing with media audiences' attribution of influence and the latter dealing with authorial intent, which will be described shortly. Still, Davison, Neuwirth and Frederick offer an important perspective on the latter, by providing a framework from within which the significance of 2PP can be understood. In defining the second-person effect, Neuwirth and Frederick explain:

> Sameness has at least three possible meanings. First, the term can imply that something is unchanged through time. Second, we might take the term to mean that something is identical or alike in every respect. Third, we might view "same" as alike in degree or quality. The first sense of "same" is irrelevant to present concerns, the second meaning clearly is too restrictive, leaving the third

> sense of "same" as preferred. We take the term "alike" to mean similar in degree and thus, at a conceptual level, define a 2PE as the degree to which people believe that the media have a similar influence on self and others. Here "similar" is concerned to convey a sense that something is shared, is mutual, held in common, and otherwise conjoint (p. 118).

Neuwirth and Frederick, by using Davison to define 2PE in this way, provide a baseline that this research can extend. If media influence can be attributable to the idea that audiences find commonality with others, what factors alter that influence? How can 2PE be enhanced?

Tom Ryan (2014) provides one answer to this question in his study of the "second personal" resonance of religious texts by examining Andrew Pinsent's 2012 "reading of Aquinas's treatment of the virtues, gifts, beatitudes and fruits of the Spirit in the light of the second person perspective and the interpersonal experience of Joint Attention" (p. 49). Ryan explains that there is an essential second personal quality to the virtues-gifts-beatitudes-fruits construction, which is used by God to command good in believers.

Ryan uses the term "triadic joint attention" to describe the 2PP phenomenon wherein "individuals in a second-personal relationship can simultaneously have his or her attention fixed on some third object, event or state of affairs" (p. 51). What Ryan ends up arguing is that two of the four features of the construction, gifts and fruits, "emerge from an interpersonal relationship and joint attention activity" (p. 53). Quoting Pinsent, Ryan argues that they pertain "'to a triadic person-person-world relationship, in which there is a harmony of desire and union of affection with the other person in relation to some object'" (p. 53).

Ryan finds that religious loyalty and believers' decision to act "good" is a consequence not just of the virtues that are inscribed in the Bible, but also because of the second personal relationships that are established therein. "The virtue of love means that 'one loves with the beloved what the beloved loves.' The difference lies in the form of movement. With the virtue, one moves oneself as the image of the divine exemplar (as p*er se potestativus*). With the gifts, one is moved by a second person, namely, God, within a second personal relationship" (p. 53).

The writings of Davison, Neuwirth and Frederick, Ryan and Darwall and others point to the importance of second personal relationships in developing and enhancing motivation. To summarize Ryan, one loves with God: what God loves, the faithful loves as well. This conception conforms with the motivational potential of the second-person effect, as described by Neuwirth and Frederick as well as the relational authority that is explored by Darwall. The influence of this relationship is clear in Ryan, who argues that the second personal is centrally-motivational in enhancing the believer's loyalty to God's will. Neuwirth and Frederick similarly explain that the second-personal effect is "transpersonal…[that it] increases the possibility of developing a sense of common interest and the potential for social action" (p. 118).

1.2. Fiction and the Second Person Perspective

Narratologists and literary scholars have long studied the rhetorical and literary tools, including 2PP, that authors use to improve readability and reader engagement. In his book Story Logic, David Herman (2002) describes several typologies of address that he uses to explore contextual anchoring, the characteristics of a text that "trigger recipients to establish a more or less direct or oblique relationship between the stories they are interpreting and the contexts in which they are interpreting them" (p. 330).

Herman focuses on two types of "contextual anchoring in narrative, deictic reference and mechanism of address" (p. 332). He argues that these two related analytical tools provide scholars with ways of understanding how authors use "all the resources of language" to connect with readers and finds special resonance in the use of "narrative *you*," which he argues "does not simply or even mainly refer to storyworld participants but also (or chiefly) addresses the interpreter of the narrative" (p. 332).

Herman describes five types of "textual you," which he explains in terms of their deictic qualities. "Closer study of this superimposition of deictic roles via textual *you* can, I believe, help theorists fruitfully redescribe the oftentimes disorienting, sometimes uncanny experience of reading second-person fictions" (p. 345).

- Fictional reference: in which the protagonist is a character in the novel themselves, along with other characters, while also serving as narrator, making them "intradiegetic" (p. 340). "A coded reference to I" (p. 343).
- Generalized you: this pseudo-deictic you "plays a prominent role not only in second-person literary narratives but also in (the language of) proverbs, maxims, recipes, VCR instructions, song lyrics and, though they might tell you otherwise, astrologers' prognostications" (p. 340-341).
- Fictionalized (horizontal) address: "which entails address to or by the members of some fictional world and thus constitutes 'horizontal' address" (p. 341).
- Apostrophic (vertical) address: "entails address that exceeds the frame (or ontological threshold) of a fiction to reach the audience, thus constituting 'vertical' address" (p. 341).

In addition to these four typologies, Herman identifies a fifth, which accounts for a textual you that "functions not (or not only) as discourse particle relaying and linking the various components of a fictional protagonist's self-address, but (also) as a form of address that exceeds the frame of the fiction itself" (p. 342).

- Doubly deictic you: "it is a mode of pronoun usage that draws attention to and so de-automatizes processes of contextual anchoring" (p. 342).
  By parsing the use of *you* in fiction in terms of their deictic reference - the dependentness or linkages to context that are implicated by the use of 2PP - Herman provides scholars with a way of understanding the complex and differing ways in which *you* can be employed by authors as well as an analytical tool that scholars can apply to other fictional texts for similar purposes.

This was precisely the task taken on by Marie-Laure Ryan (2002), in her text, Narrative and Digitality and by Jeremy Douglass (2010), in his book review of Andrew Plotkin's *Shade* (from Harrigan and Wordrip-Fruin's Second Person: Role-Playing and Story in

Games and Playable Media). In these pieces, the authors employ tools similar to Herman's to explore the literary/software subgenre of Interactive Fiction, and thereby provide important contributions to the study of 2PP that extends beyond the scope of narrative fiction.

Interactive Fiction (IF) is a kind of software, akin to both video games and fiction, in which the user is the protagonist in a text-based narrative. Through their interactions with the text, which adapts on the basis of that interaction, the fictional text is created and re-created in each iteration, as users make different decisions and interact differently. As Douglass describes, "Player input serves as id, parser response as superego, and the emerging character is a negotiation between play and design" (p. 130).

Ryan takes Douglass' analysis a step further, describing IF as "one of the rare narrative forms where the user of 'you' enters into a truly dialogical rather than merely rhetorical relation with the other" (p. 519). It is here that Ryan and Douglass demonstrate an avenue for exploring the use of 2PP within a mass communications context: Ryan and Douglass argue that 2PP, employed in digital contexts, creates a sense of reader involvement that supersedes the experience of reading because of its interactivity. "By inviting the reader to become in imagination...a personalized member of a fictionalized world and an active participant in a pseudo-live action, IF pioneered a type of narrative experience that takes full advantage of the interactivity of digital media and that represents consequently the purest form of thinking with the medium" (p. 520).

Douglass expands the conception beyond IF, arguing for an approach to studying digital media that is similar to the studies represented previously in this article, which considers the variability of user experience:

> In language simulations such as IF, game books, or RPGs, this process works differently. Rather than the process of simulation occurring as if from the player's viewpoint, the simulation is addressed to the player from the simulator ("You are in a maze of twisty little passages") creating complementary thoughts in the mind of the player ("I'm in a maze!"). Second-person narration ("You are") evokes first-person participation ("I am!"). Like the visual form of a first-person shooter, second-person text is the most immediate, with most of the "you" ("I!") being automatically cropped out of the mental image. Conversely, a 3D game with a first-person camera image of a field and a white house could be described as an assertion on the part of the simulator in the second-person mode of address: "You are standing in an open field west of a white house...."
> In both the textual and visual case, the game system describes an inhabitable experience through assertion (second person) for the purpose of the player's participation, identification, or immersion (first person). We can conclude that the "first-person camera" as it is discussed in games studies and the "second-person narration" of RPGs and IF are not, in fact, two categories, but rather two perspectives on the same category of simulated immediacy (p. 135).

1.3. Critical Cultural Analysis

The works represented in this article have so far been mostly positivistic. The preceding authors have been oriented towards the exploration of 2PP with authors in mind whose goals are to improve reader engagement. But in the Carlson quotation used to introduce this essay, 2PP is used differently, within a different media context and arguably to a different end. A critical approach is therefore needed in order to properly situate the use of 2PP within a critical sociological context.

Peter J. Rabinowitz' (1977) article, Truth in Fiction: A reexamination of audiences, examines the extent to which readers engage with texts from a perspective that recognizes the inherent unreality of fiction and the degree to which authors try to obscure that unreality by enhancing reader engagement. Similar to the media studies concept of suspended disbelief, which describes a willingness on the part of audiences to believe something that they know to be untrue, Rabinowitz articulates four types of reading audiences on a continuum of engagement. An Actual Audience is "the flesh-and-blood people who read the book...the only audience which is entirely 'real' and the only one over which the author has no guaranteed control" (p. 126). Rabinowitz argues that the joint mission of an author and a reader is to move from this Actual Audience to the other end of the continuum, through rhetorical and contextual manipulation.

Recognizing that the Actual Audience consists of the whole world of potential readers, Rabinowitz argues that the effective author writes instead for their Hypothetical Authorial Audience, which is the second step on this continuum. "The author of a novel designs his work rhetorically for a specific hypothetical audience...he cannot write without making certain assumptions about his readers' beliefs, knowledge, and familiarity with conventions" (p. 126). Rabinowitz argues that this transition is achieved through appeals that the author makes to the audience's existing knowledge and preferences. "Most novelists...will only call upon those moral qualities which they believe the actual audience has in reserve, just as they try not to rely on information which we will not in fact possess. For most novelists are concerned with being read and hence try to minimize the distance between the actual and authorial audience" (p. 126).

Rabinowitz' third and fourth types of audiences are developed through rhetorical devices that enable the reader to enhance their suspension of disbelief through connection with the text's protagonists and narrators. He argues that members of an author's Narrative Audience "*pretend* [sic] to be a member of the imaginary narrative audience for which this narrator is writing" (p. 127). A member of the Narrative Audience temporarily, at least, adopts certain beliefs in conformity with the text, in order to not be distracted by its contradictions with reality. "Thus, for a while we believe that a woman named Anna Karenina really exists, and thinks and acts in a certain way…" (p. 128)

Whereas the transition between the Actual and Narrative audiences are questions of fact (the audience's willingness to accept "facts" from within a text), the difference between the Narrative Audience and the Ideal Narrative Audience (Rabinowitz' fourth conception) is one of faith or trust. "This final audience believes the narrator, accepts his judgments, sympathizes with his plight, laughs at his jokes even when they are bad" (p. 134).

As Rabinowitz describes movement through his continuum of reader engagement, authors and audiences are equally complicit in the work. An author knowingly constructs a fictional world, narrative and characters with audience preferences and proclivities in mind, while a member of the audience willingly suspends their disbelief and adopts more and more of the author's perspective, in order to enhance their engagement and improve enjoyment.

Walker Gibson's (1950) essay, Authors, Speakers, Readers and Mock Readers is a more critical example of Rabinowitz' approach to the study of audiences and authorial intent. Noting a commonality between the work of advertising copywriters and fiction authors, Gibson distinguishes between the "real" reader and the mock reader, "whose mask and costume the individual takes on in order to experience the language. The mock reader is an artifact, controlled, simplified, abstracted out of the chaos of day-to-day sensation" (p. 266). Gibson argues that the mock reader is called upon by a text, to "pretend" understanding, when called to do so by a text that is designed to elicit such pretense through careful selection of the audience and the use of jokes and other tropes that call on the reader to identify with the piece (p. 267). "The literary experience is not just a relation between themselves and an author, or even between themselves and a fictitious speaker, but a relation between such a speaker and a projection, a fictitious modification of themselves" (p. 268).

Through his description of the mock reader, Gibson implicates the deliberate use of rhetorical devices, such as 2PP. Citing examples of literary texts that use 2PP, Gibson notes "it is interesting to observe how frankly the speaker throws his arm around the mock reader at the end of the passage...as the two comrades experience their common giddiness…" (p. 266). Arguing that the role of an editor is to provide authors with a venue through which they are likeliest to reach audiences effectively (p. 267), Gibson ends his piece by stating that "a skillful control of tone" in such circumstances, "could persuade us in an instant to don a fictitious toupee and to feel in all possible vividness the tug of a textile scalp against our own suddenly naked head. It is, finally, a matter of the details of language, and no mock reader can be divorced for long from the specific words that made him" (p. 269).

Whereas the early authors presented in this article describe tools that can be used by fiction authors to draw audiences in, the authors in this section implicate their uses in less charitable ways. Gibson, Rabinowitz and others (see also Bell and Ensslin (2011)) establish that the narrative and extra-narrative techniques that are used by fiction authors to draw a reader into a fictional world can have real world implications and consider some of the cognitive and behavioral consequences of such suspension of disbelief. For instance, about the Ideal Narrative Audience, Rabinowitz states, "Sometimes, however, we must go even further, and pretend to abandon our real beliefs and accept in their stead 'facts' and beliefs which even more fundamentally contradict our perceptions of reality" (p. 128).

Assertions like this exemplify the basis for this article and the questions upon which it rests. Rabinowitz asks, "What sort of person would I have to pretend to be - what would I have to know and believe - if I wanted to take this work of fiction as real" (p. 128). Similarly, in the next section of this article, I ask what happens when the fictional

techniques described above are transferred into the nonfiction context of television news. This article will conclude with a discussion of the consequences of such transferal.

2. Methodology

This essay seeks to examine the use of 2PP in the texts of television news programming. This will involve applying Herman's textual *you* typology and distinguishing between characterizations that perform referential and address functions. This will be performed on a qualitative basis to a small group of examples which illustrate the various uses of 2PP by news professionals. The purpose is not to demonstrate the sociological significance (which will be considered in the context of related theories) or prevalence (which will be considered in subsequent research) of the phenomenon, but rather to parse its application in this media environment. To recapitulate, Herman describes these types as:

- Fictional reference, in which the protagonist is a character in the novel themselves, along with other characters, while also serving as narrator, making them "intradiegetic" (p. 340). "A coded reference to I" (p. 343).
- Generalized you: this pseudo-deictic you "plays a prominent role not only in second-person literary narratives but also in (the language of) proverbs, maxims, recipes, VCR instructions, song lyrics and, though they might tell you otherwise, astrologers' prognostications" (p. 340-341).
- Fictionalized (horizontal) address: "which entails address to or by the members of some fictional world and thus constitutes 'horizontal' address" (p. 341).
- Apostrophic (vertical) address: "entails address that exceeds the frame (or ontological threshold) of a fiction to reach the audience, thus constituting 'vertical' address" (p. 341).
- Doubly deictic you: "it is a mode of pronoun usage that draws attention to and so de-automatizes processes of contextual anchoring" (p. 342).

He groups two of these (Fictional Reference and Fictionalized Address) into the referential category, while the remaining three (Generalized, Apostrophic and Doubly-deictic) address readers.

3. Results

1) Tucker Carlson Tonight, NBC and Hillary Team Tried to Kill Weinstein Story…, October 9, 2019

> TUCKER CARLSON, FOX NEWS CHANNEL: Good evening, and welcome to TUCKER CARLSON TONIGHT. It is the most reliable standard in politics. In fact, take these words, put them on a piece of paper, put them on your fridge and leave them there because this is the Rosetta Stone to American politics, and here it is.
>
> Whatever the left accuses you of is exactly what they're doing themselves every time. They'll scream at you for being a racist, and yet,

> they're literally the ones imposing a system of inflexible racial discrimination on the entire country.
> They'll call you a fascist even as they work to eliminate the First and Second Amendments, and of course, they regularly attack their opponents as sexist while they protect actual rapists and abusers who are useful to them politically (NBC and Hillary Team…)

There are two types of second person reference contained in this exerpt. In the first paragraph, Carlson employs the generalized *you* construction to command the audience, much like an instruction manual. “Take these words, put them on a piece of paper…” is an address to the audience, a direction to complete a task.

The second type of *you* employed in this passage is more complex. It is clearly an address because Carlson is speaking to the audience (“whatever the left accuses you of…”) but it also refers to the second person within the story-world. Carlson claims that the left is doing things (or saying things) to other people in the narrative. At the same time, he is addressing his audience as those to whom the left is doing things. This therefore is an example of doubly-deictic reference. It is both a reference to the narrative world and to the audience. It uses 2PP within both contexts.

2) CNN New Day, California Gripped by Raging Wildfires, October 29, 2019

> A) OMAR JIMENEZ, CNN NATIONAL CORRESPONDENT: John, well, it's another morning of fighting the Getty Fire, but there's still plenty of work to be done, especially in places like where we are right now. This is in a Brentwood neighborhood in the Los Angeles area.
>
> And one of the things that they are focusing on right now is structure protection in evacuation zones, again, like the one we are in right now. So throughout the course of this morning, you may be able to hear at some points we've seen helicopters come through and dropping water on some of the hillsides. Even though it is dark out, they've been trying to, again, make sure that this fire doesn't get ahead of them in any way on that front.

In this CNN standup from Los Angeles, reporting on a red flag warning having been issued, Omar Jimenez employs an apostrophic (vertical) address. Jimenez calls to the audience with his use of 2PP, but that audience plays no role in the story itself. Instead, the narrator (Jimenez) uses 2PP to point the audience towards some feature of the story that he wishes to emphasize.

> B) ALISYN CAMEROTA, CNN ANCHOR: Yes, Omar, we do remember that yesterday, and, obviously, the winds are exacerbating everything. Thank you very much for reporting from the ground for us.

In this second instance, CNN Anchor, Alisyn Camerota uses 2PP in a referential fictionalized address. She directly addresses another character in the storyworld as *you*, communicating to them horizontally. However, in the preceding sentence, Camerota uses a plural, first-person subjective construction that might also be construed as

second-person, to the extent that it includes the audience. Similar to Jimenez in the quotation above, Camerota uses an apostrophic "we," which calls on the audience to join her in remembering. As with Jimenez, the audience plays no role in the narrative.

3) CNN Newsroom, China Celebrates 70t Anniversary of Communist Rule, October 1, 2019

> WILL RIPLEY, CNN CORRESPONDENT: It's interesting because, so far, today, things have been relatively quiet, actually, very quiet, considering that normally on a public holiday in Hong Kong you would have businesses open and people out shopping. But this here in Causeway Bay, which was the starting point for a protest on Sunday that ended with violence, it has been relatively peaceful.
>
> They've close the Causeway Bay subway station so it will be difficult for protesters to come here and assemble. There have been calls to assemble within the next hour or so, you do see people in black but these are not the radical fringe protesters, the ones that are carrying Molotov cocktails or picking up bricks from the sidewalk.
>
> These are peaceful demonstrators and relatively small numbers of, them but peaceful demonstrators that are out here to see what happens. And we saw riot police station along the streets where we are within the last couple of hours, they have since cleared out.
>
> But you can see it's extraordinary, businesses that would be catering to mainland tourists, people out on the public holiday, closed, closed, closed. And that is the situation here, you see all the people in vests. These are all the reporters, including us, who are out here waiting to see what happens, not too many protesters at this stage.

There is ambiguity in the use of 2PP in this passage. Factually, the use of *you* stands out as improper: In the first paragraph, you (members of the audience) are not there to "have" business or to verify whether businesses are there or not there or whether, as Ripley states, their relative quiet is typical or not. Instead, Ripley has used the second person phrase "you would have" as a stand-in for a third person statement, such as "there would be." Grammatically, Ripley has used an expletive construction, a filler that shifts the subject of the sentence. Instead of the businesses being the subject of the sentence (such as if they had said "...normally on a public holiday...businesses would be open…"), the expletive construction in this case shifts the subject to the "you." As such, it is difficult to qualify, using Herman's typology. Simply described, it is a general fictionalized reference, a coded reference to I, in which Ripley is referring to themselves and their observations in the second person (e.g., "...normally on a public holiday...I'd expect to see…). However, it could be argued that the "you" in this passage is a vertical referential usage, in which Ripley is calling on the audience to support their assertion (e.g., "...you can see…" or "...don't you see…"). It therefore is probably best described as doubly-deictic, due to its referential ambiguity.

In the subsequent paragraphs, Ripley alternates between the use of 2PP and first person perspective to describe similar phenomena. In paragraphs two and four, he again uses *you* as a stand in, but in paragraph three, he refers to himself as the subject. In all cases, he's using both first and second person perspective as an explitive stand in, but the repeated use of 2PP alongside the first person point of view suggests the correctness of the assertion that Ripley's use is doubly deictic, ambiguously referring to the second person as both within and outside the storyworld.

4) CNN Newsroom with Ana Cabrera, NBA Warns Teams to Prepare to Play Without Fans, March 7, 2020.

> BORIS SANCHEZ, CNN ANCHOR: Were there any additional sanitation measures or was there anything before you got through that, sort of checked you at the door to make sure that you weren't infected with something?
>
> TIM KAWAKAMI, EDITOR-IN-CHIEF, THE ATHLETIC BAY AREA: Nothing like that and I would imagine that's a few steps away. There was some conversation that, you know, possibly at some point the media wouldn't be allowed in the locker room before games. We were allowed in the locker room at the normal time. It was pretty sparsely attended, most of the players were not there. But you do see additional people kind of walking around wiping down door handles. You do see that. All the logical things. Nothing like testing you as you walk in or looking at you. Nothing like that.

CNN's coverage of the COVID-19 pandemic turned to changes in the NBA in March, when Boris Sanchez interviewed Tim Kawakami, who was live in the Chase Center, prior to that evening's Golden State Warriors game. In the first paragraph, Sanchez uses a horizontal address, speaking directly to Kawakami and asking for Kawakami's observations and experience.

Kawakami's response to Sanchez employs several instances of 2PP. In the second sentence, he seems to refer to Sanchez, using a horizontal address ("you know…"). The proximity of the usage to a question from Sanchez suggests horizontal, but it's also ambiguous - he could just as easily be referring to members of the audience, when he says "you know…" because he doesn't clearly delineate the object of his comment. Later in the passage, Kawakami employes 2PP again, when describing what he has experienced. As with previous examples, the simplest explanation is that Kawakami is using an expletive construction, which suggests that it is a fictionalized reference.

Kawakami's last two sentences introduce a third 2PP usage. Like the previous instance, his statements about not being tested may be a fictional reference. However, unlike the previous instance, Kawakami is not noting a personal observation, he is analyzing the Warriors' policy on public access to the players. This implicates the audience in the reference because they too could (or could not) be tested or looked at, when entering the locker room. The potential for this to be an apostrophic (vertical) address through ambiguity implicates the doubly-deictic.

4. Discussion

In these several examples of television in news accounts, I have applied Herman's typology to show how the authors/reporters/anchors/narrators/speakers have used 2PP in various ways. These examples have spanned the gamut of types and exemplify both referential and address functions. But the intellectual question that inspired this work must still be addressed: What are the sociological implications of 2PP in news accounts? How do such grammatical and narratological usages (strategies?) alter audiences' perceptions of news events and reporters/anchors? While generalizable answers to these questions can only be developed via quantitative study and are beyond the scope of this paper, an appropriate starting point is to consider the question through a theoretical lens.

Scholars have long demonstrated the differences between events and the reporting of events. In the 1970s and '80s, Gaye Tuchman (1978), Edward Epstein (1973) and others published findings explaining how news is produced within the confines of organizations whose goals are to yield profit. While they do not argue that such an aim influences the production of every story, studies of this type find that the institutional pressure to make profit shapes "the logic by which [a story] is selected, shaped and reconstructed into news pictures" (Epstein, 1973, p. 41). Shortly thereafter, Mark Fishman (1980) and others found that newsrooms promote a crime-and-punishment mentality, run on a schedule that favors bureaucratic needs, and function in ways that undermine the perspectives of those in opposition to existing power and bureaucracies (See also Tuchman, 1978). Efficient reporting means locating journalists in places where "news" is likely to occur and keeping attention focused on "newsmakers" and their practices (Fishman, 1980, p. 44-45).

The coverage of "others" is another content area about which scholars have fruitfully explored the distinctions between events and the coverage of events. As Edward Said (1997) and many others have pointed out, the coverage of Islam has been particular, principally negative, borne of and supporting irrational fear, and resulting in a fundamental misunderstanding of the religion, its followers, those who use it to perpetrate terrorism, and the realities in Muslim-majority countries.

One of the most prominent and influential studies of American coverage of Islam was written by Said in 1981. In Covering Islam, Said lays out the case of:

> Western and specifically American responses to an Islamic world perceived, since the early seventies, as being immensely relevant and yet antipathetically troubled and problematic. Among the causes of this perception have been the acutely felt shortage of energy supply...the Iranian revolution and the hostage crisis…, alarming evidence of what has come to be called 'the return of islam"...the resurgence of radical nationalism in the Islamic world and, as a peculiarly unfortunate adjunct to it, the return of intense superpower rivalry there (p. l).

Said argues that the only encounters with Islam that entered the consciousness of the American media audience in the 1970s were those involving political and violent clashes between the United States and others. The oil crisis, the Iranian revolution and hostage crisis all compelled US media outlets to cover Islam, and in so doing those outlets provided Americans with a (false) sense for what Islam was and who Muslims were. In the remainder of the book, Said demonstrates how the American coverage of Islam during the 1970s was framed through the lenses of oil and terror and "has given consumers of news the sense that they have understood Islam without at the same time intimating them that a great deal in this energetic coverage is based on far from objective material. In many instances 'Islam' has licensed not only patent inaccuracy but also expressions of unrestrained ethnocentrism, cultural and even radical hatred, deep yet paradoxically free-floating hostility" (p. ii).

In 1975, Michele Foucault published Discipline and Punish, in which he described the "double" disciplinary systems of "gratification and punishment" which are used to produce docile and productive bodies of citizens (p. 18). In this text, Foucault explores the complex phenomenon of Bio-Power, in which human bodies are objectified to achieve state or hegemonic ends through the exertion and representation of disciplinary force, via such institutions as prisons, the military, the hospital and media. Dreyfus and Rabinow explain, in their analysis of Foucault, that punishment in a modern sense involves more than just punishment for punishment's sake. Instead, because crime is "a breach of contract in which the society as a whole was the victim," punishment is also an important way that society conveys its mores to others (p. 148).

While Foucault spends the bulk of his energy examining the complex and compelling power of discipline, he leaves mostly unexplored its inverse, gratification. Briefly noted across the text, Foucault describes gratification in terms of a "system of indulgences," in which "good and bad subjects" are tellingly distinguishable from one another along the continuum of a hierarchy of acceptability (p. 180-182). In addition, Foucault fails to differentiate between content and form. Instead, there is an implicit reception of disciplinary content without much consideration for how those messages are created, distributed or received.

This conflation masks an important area of inquiry, however. One must know or be able to discover whether one is in compliance or transgressing, whether one is in or out. Added to this is the problem of the state being unable to account for all behaviors all the time. Discipline involves more than the representation of content, it implicates a form as well. From this, it could be argued that the use of such dialogical tools as 2PP provides ways for audiences to consider the extent to which they are or are not in conformity. The arrangement of address forms of 2PP, alongside ideological or other content that serves the content functions as described by Foucault, enables audiences to compare themselves with the norm. In this way, media serve as one of many disciplinary technologies, as described by Foucault, that serve to show subjects how well they fit in. The use of 2PP can be one of many "normalizing technologies…[that] operate by establishing a common definition of goals and procedures, which take the form of manifestos and, even more forcefully, agreed-upon examples of how a well-ordered domain of human activity should be organized" (Dreyfus and Rabinow, p. 198).

Whereas discipline and punishment demonstrate the limits of normal and abnormal behavior, gratification too must point subjects towards right behavior. Like Said, whose work focuses on one end of a continuum (othering), Foucault's attention, focused on punishment, implies but does not adequately explain the ways that power is exerted positively over subjects, showing some that they are included while others are not.

The exploration of 2PP in newscasting fits in with this genre of media studies through the examination of another mediation taking place between the events being covered and their representation in news accounts. Like Said, Tuchman and others who have studied how news representations of events influence the perceptions of audiences, so too this research aims towards understanding how the use of 2PP by newscasters and subjects can alter audiences' understanding of what is happening in the world and how they (audiences) are affected by them. As is the case with Foucault and Said, this points to ways that media interventions further delineate the boundaries of acceptable/unacceptable and in/out group dynamics.

Fundamental to this study is Rabinowitz' insight presented earlier, that "as good readers we usually try to become the authorial audience as much as possible" (p. 130). Rabinowitz argues that when it comes to fiction, audiences and authors work equally hard to connect with one another. 2PP helps to achieve this goal in numerous ways, such as triadic joint attention, as described by Ryan, in which authors and audiences connect with one another through their shared understanding of a third object or subject. It also provides an avenue through which the Second Person Effect can be achieved, in which audiences find commonality with each other through their joint belief in mutual influence.

But the dynamic of power between author and audience is not equivalent. As Darwall explains, the author or speaker is imbued with authority on the basis (in part) of their use of 2PP. Whereas in other circumstances, an audience might make compliance decisions on the basis of ethical, moral or some other sense of obligation, Darwall asserts that the use of second person creates its own dynamic of authority between speaker and audience, along with a mutually understood set of consequences for noncompliance. This corresponds nicely with the concepts of hegemony, bio-power and othering. Foucault and Said contribute the sociological power of in/out group dynamics and the consequences of nonconformity. While we already know that news producers work very hard to connect with audiences, my contention is that the use of 2PP is likely to provide news producers with a way to enhance that acceptance. As with fiction authors, news producers and programmers do not rely simply on their recitation of facts as the basis for their credibility. Instead, complex cues are employed throughout newscasts to reaffirm the credibility of what is being presented; to move audiences all the way from Actual to Ideal Narrative Audiences, who have faith and trust in the narrator.

Furthermore, the ideological divide that drives contemporary news presentations is also a factor, I would argue, in the alteration of the us/them dichotomy and the narrowing of "us" groupings. Tucker Carlson's quotation above is not meant for a general American audience. Instead, it is intended for political conservatives. Us, in this case, does not refer to "American" in a general sense. Us is a subset of that audience that shares his

ideological predispositions. Echoing Said's work to explore US news accounts of foreigners and especially Muslims, Carlson is, in no small part, othering Democrats and liberals. He points to their dissimilarities, he draws attention to the ideological fault lines (in a way that is similar to how Said describes the coverage of oil crises or the Iranian revolution). Said's concept of Orientailism need not refer only to non-white or non-Christian foreigners. Instead, it is a theory of othering and how US news accounts exacerbate it.

One important caveat to the ideas presented above is that news is not fiction. Reporters are not narrators of make-believe stories, they are narrators of events. For fiction audiences, an author must construct a believable world, but with news the believable world already (presumably) exists. This implicates the analysis of 2PP in terms of referential usages, since the real world is not constructed via the text. However, Tuchman (1978) and others remind us about the constructedness of news content. For instance, within the examples above, both Carlson and Kawakami stated a generalized "facts" alongside vertically referential you, which both factually and grammatically implicated the audience in the story-world. It is also worth noting that this caveat has no bearing on vertical second person usages.

Further research in this area should expand the study of 2PP. More work is needed to be able to understand how Herman's typology can be applied to newscasts, to develop a more sophisticated method for parsing the use of 2PP and quantifying the various usages, especially in terms of distinguishing and quantifying the relative uses of referential and address functions and exploring the ambiguous doubly-deictic use. In addition, audience research should be undertaken to explore the influence that 2PP has on viewers, listeners and readers. Does (or can) the presence of 2PP enhance the connectedness that audiences feel about news content and news presenters? Is it necessary, as Darwall argues, for 2PP influence to be interpersonal, or can mediated communication alter the authority of the addressor and the addressee's sense of responsibility?

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