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# **The marking of stance in news magazines: a gender-based analysis of epistemicity and attitude**

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## **Abstract**

The present investigation stems from two tenets: the need to bring together the fields of research of stance and gender in language, and to observe how they interact in the discourse of news magazines. In recent years, there has been extensive research on gender-related differences in language, but few works have regarded possible differences in the expression of stance by men and women. In order to tackle this issue, this paper studies epistemic and attitudinal stance from a lexico-grammatical perspective, using a mixed-methods approach to the analysis. Taking frequency as the primary variable, findings reveal that men use more stance strategies than women, both epistemic and attitudinal. The analysis of epistemic stance items indicates that men are more assertive in their articles, whereas women are more tentative. Additionally, through the analysis of attitudinal stance expressions, this study concludes that male writers are more affective when using stance adjectives and adverbials, while female writers are more prone to make assessments or judgments. These results emphasize the importance of taking into account both gender-related differences and genre in the analysis of stance expressions.

**Key words:** stance, epistemicity, attitude, gender, news discourse, news magazines.

## **Resumen**

El presente trabajo tiene como objetivo unir las áreas de la subjetividad y las diferencias de género en el lenguaje y observar cómo estas interactúan en el discurso de las revistas de noticias. Existen numerosas investigaciones que han abordado las diferencias lingüísticas relacionadas con el género. Sin embargo, las posibles diferencias que pueden existir en cuanto a cómo los hombres y las mujeres expresan la subjetividad no han sido estudiadas en profundidad. Con el fin de abordar dicho tema, este trabajo estudia la subjetividad en el lenguaje desde un punto de vista epistémico y actitudinal con un enfoque léxico-gramatical. Para ello, se ha tomado la frecuencia como la principal variable del estudio. Los resultados muestran que los hombres utilizan más estrategias de subjetividad que las mujeres, tanto epistémicas como actitudinales. Además, gracias al análisis de estrategias epistémicas, se ha podido concluir que los hombres son más asertivos en sus artículos; en cambio, las mujeres son más inciertas o tentativas. El análisis de expresiones actitudinales señala que los hombres emplean expresiones de afectividad con mayor frecuencia a través

de adjetivos, adverbios y locuciones adverbiales que las mujeres, puesto que estas tienden a expresar juicios de valor al hacer uso de estos elementos lingüísticos. Estos resultados recalcan la importancia que tiene considerar tanto las diferencias lingüísticas de género como el género discursivo a la hora de analizar expresiones de subjetividad.

**Palabras clave:** subjetividad, epistemicidad, actitud, género, discurso periodístico, revistas de noticias.

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

Given the overload of information that characterizes the past few decades and the easiness with which that information is sent to the mass audience, many linguists are interested in how information is conveyed (Bell, 1991; Fairclough, 1995; Semino, 2018). It is reasonable, then, to put the focus on the extent to which writers express their own bias in language since no account of events can ever be fully objective (Semino, 2018, p. 382). The logical entailment of this is that speakers and writers position themselves towards propositions made in language. This predisposition of speakers/writers to express their own opinions, feelings and assessment is widely known as *stance*. Although stance is a relatively recent area in linguistics, there is an ample spectrum of studies which offer multifaceted approaches to the field (Biber & Finegan, 1989; Biber, Johansson, Leech, Conrad, & Finegan, 1999; Englebretson, 2007; Hunston & Thompson, 1999; Martin & White, 2005). Likewise, thorough research has been conducted regarding stance in the news discourse (Marín, Hidalgo & Molina, 2004; Marín & Núñez, 2006; Martínez-Caro, 2014). News discourse is not an exception, and stance is undoubtedly reflected in the language used by reporters, thus conditioning the way in which information is conveyed.

Similarly, there is another factor that might influence the way in which events are presented: gender. Since very early in the 1970s, many linguists, sociologists and anthropologists have observed and remarked that men and women may share a common language, but do not speak in the same way. Pioneering works in the area of linguistics such as that of Lakoff (1975) served as a landmark illustration of the differences between men and women's discourse. These gender differences in language have also been studied from different perspectives – e.g. socio-pragmatic, discursive, phonological – and in different types of discourse and contexts (Coates, 2012, 2013; Holmes, 1995; Lakoff 1975; Tannen, 1990). Given the existing gender differences in language, it could be argued that the expression of author stance may also differ from men to women's discourses. Yet, the question remains as to how these differences are manifested in the news discourse, specifically the discourse of news magazines, upon which this study draws.

Therefore, a wide range of works have studied the phenomenon of stance in depth, but there are few studies that encompass stance and gender-related variations in language. Meanwhile, the subfields of sociolinguistics, ethnography or pragmatics have provided linguistics with ample research on gender differences in language, but there is little

thorough research combining both stance and gender or gender in the news discourse. Moreover, research addressing the issues of stance and the news discourse has been extensive, but the variable of linguistic gender-related variation has not been considered in previous studies. For this purpose, this paper studies the disparate ways in which men and women mark their personal stance in the discourse of news magazines. In particular, it focuses on two aspects of stance: epistemicity and attitude.

Considering these factors and given the necessity of casting light on these areas concurrently, this paper aims to give an answer to the following research questions:

1. What are the differences in terms of frequency and use in how men and women mark epistemic and attitudinal stance in the discourse of news magazines?
2. Does the corpus reflect the linguistic features predicated of men and women, i.e., assertiveness in the language of men and tentativeness in that of women?
3. Do the articles of women writers present a larger number of affective expressions?

In the following sections, the most relevant literature regarding the fields in question is commented, thus defining the framework of the paper (section 2); next, in section 3, a description of the corpus and the procedure is provided; finally, sections 4 and 5 attempt to answer the research questions formulated in this section by presenting the analysis and the discussion of findings.

## **2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

### **2.1. Defining stance**

The term stance can be broadly defined as the expression of a speaker/writer's attitude, impressions, opinions and assessment with regard to a proposition made in language. Nevertheless, this definition is, to the least, quite limited; it is not an easy task to define stance in a precise way, partly since its definition is not ascribed to only one linguistic level, but it is rather tackled by scholars from various perspectives.

Biber and Finegan (1989) take a lexico-grammatical approach and define stance in terms of the "attitudes, feelings, judgments or commitments" expressed by speakers and writers towards a proposition (p. 93). Along similar lines, Du Bois (2007) puts forward a vision of stance that is rather sociocultural, giving way to concepts like 'alignment', which is connected to the notion of intersubjectivity to a large extent: "Stance is a public act by a social actor, achieved dialogically through overt communicative means, of

simultaneously evaluating objects, positioning subjects (self and others), and aligning with other subjects, with respect to any salient dimension of the sociocultural field” (p.163). It could be said, then, that both definitions are complementary since Biber and Finegan’s (1989) approach is rather corpus-based, whereas Du Bois’ one involves cognitive linguistic notions (Vis, 2011, p. 16). In brief, both contribute to give shape to the notion of stance.

These two examples illustrate that the definition of stance is far from being homogenous. In fact, the word *stance* itself is not consolidated either since there is a wide variety of terms that refer to the same phenomenon. Hunston & Thompson (1999) adopt the superordinate term ‘evaluation’, whereas Halliday (2013) talks of ‘modality’ and ‘attitudinal meanings’ without creating an encompassing label. The former thus follow a more holistic or ‘combining’ approach to stance, while the latter opts for a ‘separating’ approach (Hunston & Thompson, 1999, pp. 4-5). Moreover, scholars have provided the field with a rich variety of taxonomies. For instance, Englebretson (2007) divides stance into three subcategories: ‘evaluation’ (assessments and attitudes), ‘affect’ (personal feelings) and ‘epistemicity’ (commitment) (p. 17). Similarly, Martin & White (2005) elaborate a multiplex taxonomy under the label of ‘Appraisal Theory’; in this model, ‘appraisal’ (stance) is adopted as an umbrella term comprising the categories of ‘attitude’ (feelings, assessments and evaluation of things), ‘engagement’ (positioning of speaker/writer regarding evaluations and opinions) and ‘graduation’ (degree of evaluation) (pp. 35-38). Therefore, taking into account the variety of terminologies and taxonomies available, it can be deduced that there is no solidified agreement regarding the definition of stance and the forms in which it should be addressed. This issue becomes problematic when establishing its boundaries and subcategories for they are blurred.

For the sake of clarity, this study will follow a lexico-grammatical approach to stance, according to the framework of Biber et al. (1999) and Conrad and Biber (1999). These linguists divide stance into three semantic subcategories, those of ‘epistemic stance’, ‘attitudinal stance’ and ‘style stance’. The first category has to do with the degree of certainty or reliability of a proposition, the second addresses the speaker/writer’s attitudes, feelings or assessment, and the third refers to the way in which a proposition is being presented (Conrad & Biber, 1999, p. 57). This subdivision is key when analyzing naturally occurring data since it allows us to detect the various ways in which speakers/writers mark their stance when using the grammatical tools available in the

English language. For this reason, it is also key to the development of the empirical analysis of this paper, as it is corpus-based.

### 2.1.1. *Epistemicity*

Epistemicity or epistemic stance refers to a speaker/writer's evaluation of the degree of certainty or reliability of an information given in language. For Gray & Biber (2012), this notion has to do with the "assessment of the status of knowledge" (pp.15-17) According to Marín-Arrese (2015), epistemic stance is "aimed at the legitimization of the assertions, through the expression of speaker/writer's degree of certainty regarding the realization of the event and/or the reference to the sources and modes of access to that knowledge" (p. 211). In the taxonomy of Biber et al. (1999), epistemic stance can be expressed through different grammatical categories: adverbials, verbs, adjectives, modals and various types of clauses and constructions. Boye (2012), on the other hand, provides an alternative classification. He points out that epistemicity can be divided into two subcategories: epistemic modality and evidentiality<sup>1</sup>. Epistemic modality, also referred to as 'epistemic support', refers to the degree of certainty and commitment expressed by the speaker/writer, while evidentiality, 'epistemic justification' for Boye, deals with "evidence, justification and source of information" (p. 2). Within the category of epistemic modality, Boye (2012) includes meanings of 'epistemic possibility', 'probability' and 'certainty' (pp. 3-4). In similar fashion, this investigation regards epistemic stance from a broader perspective in which this semantic notion comprises all grammatical categories that contribute to mark degree of certainty in language, whether they express doubt, possibility, probability, actuality or total certainty. Evidentiality, conversely, is delimited to the speaker's degree of certainty towards a source of information, its reliability and/or the evidence for knowledge. The terms *evidentiality* or *evidential expressions* will consequently not be used, partly because they will be understood to be part of epistemic stance acts (e.g. adverbs such as 'apparently', 'seemingly') and partly because other evidential expressions do not belong to the scope of this study (e.g. adverbs like 'allegedly' and 'reportedly' or verbs like 'seem').

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<sup>1</sup> Evidentiality as defined by Chafe and Nichols (1986) refers to the linguistic attitudes that speakers or writers present toward knowledge – toward its reliability, the source of knowledge and the mode in which this is expressed. This term appears to partially overlap with the notion of epistemicity since it also deals with degree of certainty. This paper nevertheless understands evidentiality to be comprised within the notion of epistemicity and to be focused on how epistemology and justification are coded in language.

### **2.1.2. Attitude**

Attitude or attitudinal stance broadly refers to the feelings, emotions, evaluations and judgments expressed by speakers and writers with respect to propositions made in language. Biber et al. (1999) distinguish two functions of attitudinal stance markers: marking of attitude and evaluation or marking of feelings and emotions. Nevertheless, the boundary between both is often blurred, and several markers may fall into fuzzy areas. In like manner, Martin & White (2005) divide attitude into the subcategories of ‘affect’ (emotion, feelings), ‘judgment’ (assessment of human behavior) and ‘appreciation’ (evaluation of objects and phenomena) (pp. 42-43). This classification is slightly more fine-grained as it includes judgment as part of the broad term of attitude – as also do Conrad & Biber (1999). In general, taxonomies usually include within the domain of attitude notions of “affect” or feelings and emotions and notions of assessment and judgment. Evaluation of phenomena, however, seems to be more difficult to categorize since it can be understood as an attitude of the speaker or as evaluation involving personal feelings and opinions. In an attempt to combine these views, this study will discern between attitudinal markers expressing feelings, emotions and evaluations, and those which express assessment and judgment of information, things or participants.

As a final remark, it is worth mentioning that attitudinal stance strategies, unlike epistemic stance markers, tend to be not only grammatical, but also lexical. The use of value-laden words such as evaluative adjectives, verbs or nouns do not reflect a grammatical marking of stance (Biber et al., 1999; Conrad & Biber, 1999; Gray & Biber, 2012). Yet, they belong to a speaker/writer’s personal stance since they also convey his /her feelings, emotions, evaluations, opinions and judgments. This is a further reason why this study follows a lexico-grammatical approach towards stance and, particularly, towards attitude.

### **2.2. Gender variation in language: men and women**

The study of gender variation in language has been thorough and extensive since it has been a topic of great interest for scholars of varied disciplines. Within the linguistic scope, the study of gender-related variation in language has undergone many changes over the years and it has been addressed from several perspectives.

Coates (2012) argues that there are roughly three strands in the study of gender in language: the ‘dominance’ approach, the ‘difference’ approach and the ‘social constructionist’ approach. The first is concerned with the relationships of inequality

sustained and maintained through language, with works as that of Lakoff (1975). The second one puts forward that gender differences in language surge from growing up into and socializing in two different subcultures; remarkable works within this approach include that of Tannen (1990). The last approach is the predominant one in the fields of discourse analysis and sociolinguistics; in this strand, gender is believed to be constructed and enacted within a social context (pp. 91-96).

Within the dominance approach, Lakoff (1975) raised the idea that there was such a thing as ‘women’s language’ and identified several features that differed from the language of men. She discovered distinct lexical, syntactic and politeness patterns, and established the unequal upbringing and position of women in society as the basis for her claims. For instance, she noticed that women use more tag questions than men as a means to avoid commitment or strong claims, i.e., women are more likely to hedge. Hedging relates to the notion of epistemicity to a large extent since it allows speakers to express their degree of certainty toward a proposition. In general terms, Lakoff argued that women’s language is rather tentative, while that of men is characterized for its assertiveness. However, her work has been harshly criticized as it was based on intuition rather than on an empirical analysis. In contrast, in an empirically based study, Holmes (1987, as cited in Coates 2013) centered her work on the function of hedges and found that the hedge ‘you know’ is used by women to express confidence rather than uncertainty (p. 89). In sum, evidence on whether men’s language is more assertive or women’s one more tentative is contradictory.

Taking a different perspective, Holmes (1995) found two functions of language: the ‘referential’ and the ‘affective’, which are “particularly pervasive and basic” (p. 3). The referential function serves to convey factual information and content; conversely, the affective function has to do with the expression of feelings and the social relationship between speaker and listener. Nonetheless, even in referential-oriented contexts, the affective function also plays a part in conveying information about the social relationship between, for instance, writer and reader. Ultimately, Holmes associates the referential function with the language of men and the affective one with the language of women. It can be inferred, then, that women are more likely than men to show their feelings and try to establish a connection with the audience, even in contexts where the referential function predominates.

Although the insights of these linguists were groundbreaking and enlightening, most research has prominently focused on oral registers – conversation and talk – and few works have regarded gender differences in written language or in other type of genre. Exceptions include the fields of stylistics or critical discourse analysis. However, these fields do not seem to deal with gender-related characteristics of style to a great extent.

Empirical studies are hence needed to unveil how gender-related differences are manifested in written language and how these relate to author stance. To address this concern this study attempts to test whether the differences discussed above are also present in a genre and context different from that of conversation. Namely, it attempts to provide empirical evidence that supports or refutes that these differences are also manifested in men and women’s marking of stance in news magazines.

### **3. METHODOLOGY**

This section aims to present the corpus and to explain both the criteria and the steps carried out for the empirical analysis. As mentioned in sections 1 and 2, this paper intends to throw light on how men and women mark their lexico-grammatical stance in the discourse of news magazines. Besides, it seeks to test whether those differences conform with the linguistic features predicated of them. For a more detailed description, the methodology has been therefore subdivided into three sections which describe the texts used (3.1), the criteria of analysis (3.2) and the procedure itself (3.3).

#### **3.1. The Corpus**

The corpus consists of authentic online articles in English taken from the *Time* magazine (see Appendix 1). According to Martínez-Caro (2014), news magazines are “carefully-edited texts, claiming a relatively objective presentation of information” (p. 323). The sort of texts that are found in news magazines are typically news reports, which are intended to inform about factual events and are thus considered part of what are known as hard news (Semino, 2018, p. 380). However, texts dealing with journalistic commentary are also frequently found in news magazines. These texts belong to the so-called soft news, which are usually claimed to involve the writers’ opinions and judgement more overtly, presenting events rather subjectively. Nevertheless, Marín and Núñez (2006) argue that “this prototypical characterization of these genres fails to detect more indirect or covert means by which the writer positions him/herself with respect to

the information proffered in news articles” (p. 226). On this account, this study analyzes indistinctively both news reports and journalistic commentary and searches for the same covert and/or overt stance expressions in both subgenres.

For the empirical analysis, a total of 30 articles have been collected, 15 of which were written by men while the other 15 were written by women; as a whole, the complete corpus consists of 33,435 words – 17,178 belonging to the female subcorpus and 16,257 to the male one. For the purpose of this study, all the articles selected were written by different authors so that factors like idiolect or personal style could have the least interference in the analysis of stance expressions. Furthermore, the articles varied in typology with the purpose of avoiding any sort of regularity; these ranged across science, history or current events in the world among others.

### **3.2. Linguistic items searched for**

The linguistic items that have been searched for the empirical analysis are, on the one hand, epistemic modals. It has been argued that women’s language is more tentative and lacks commitment (Lakoff, 1975); this feature is markedly related to the notion of epistemicity as it determines the degree of certainty of the speaker with respect to an utterance. Epistemic modals have also been proven to be very frequent stance markers, which are comprised within Biber et. al’s (1999) category of epistemic stance. As mentioned in section 2.2, Lakoff’s assertion has been refuted by Holmes (1987), as her empirical study argues the opposite – that neither men are more assertive nor are women more tentative. The analysis of epistemic modals will thus shed some light in favor or against the aforementioned assumptions. To the same end, this study has also looked for three types of epistemic adverbials – adverbs, adverbial phrases and prepositional phrases.

As section 2.1 discussed, the expression of one’s feelings is connected to the semantic category of attitudinal stance within the framework of Biber et. al (1999). According to Holmes (1995), women are more prone to use the affective function of language, which concerns the expression of feelings and interpersonal interaction. On this account, this paper also analyzes two lexico-grammatical categories of attitudinal stance: adjectives and adverbials – the latter including adverbs, adverbial phrases and prepositional phrases. The analysis of these is aimed to test whether Holmes’ (1995) assertion applies to the analysis of stance in news magazines.

Analyzing two types of grammatical categories in each stance category – epistemic and attitudinal – allows for more reliable results since it provides information about how epistemicity and attitude are marked using multiple linguistic items.

### 3.3. Data collection and procedure

The data have been collected and classified manually. To carry out the classification, the corpus has been divided into two – articles written by men and articles written by women. Next, the aforementioned linguistic items have been collected and classified in tables according to their grammatical and semantic category, as figure 1 shows:

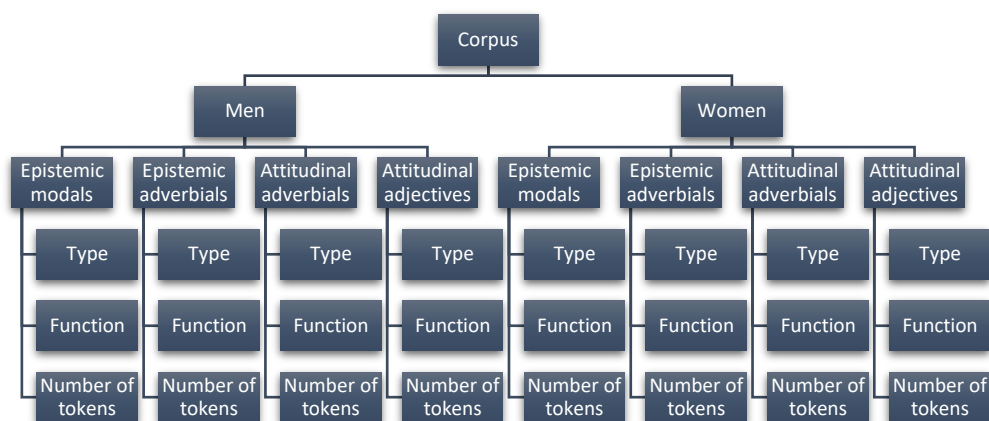


Figure 1. *Data classification procedure*

As illustrated in figure 1, every token of epistemic modals and adverbials as well as of attitudinal adverbials and adjectives have been counted and classified according to the function they fulfilled (see below). This procedure allows the observation of the frequency of occurrence, which is the variable upon which this study draws when comparing the primary subsections of the corpus.

For the quantitative analysis, the number of tokens within each semantic-grammatical category of each subcorpus (male and female) have been compared and normalized<sup>2</sup> to get more reliable results, as the number of words in each subcorpus differs. Then, the normalized results have been summed and converted into percentages accounting for the frequency of use of both male and female writers.

<sup>2</sup> The results have been normalized by dividing the number of tokens of each category by the number of words in each subcorpus and multiplying that result by 1,000. This way, we obtain the number of tokens per 1,000 words.

Additionally, the quantitative data have been complemented by the qualitative analysis that explores the function of the linguistic items searched for and delves into how these are used by both men and women. Regarding function, epistemic modals and epistemic adverbials have been understood to convey three meanings: total or high degree of certainty, probability and possibility or uncertainty. These three meanings have been selected according to Boye's (2012) taxonomy of epistemic support<sup>3</sup>. Attitudinal adverbials and adjectives, on the other hand, were assigned two functions: expression of feelings, evaluations or emotions, and expression of assessment and judgements – whether personal or belonging to a value system.

This mixed-methods approach to the analysis allows for a more comprehensive description of how stance is marked by each group, thus answering the first research question, and how the results relate to the differences discussed in section 2.2., which addresses the second and third research questions.

#### **4. ANALYSIS**

For a better understanding of the data, the results stemming from the general frequency of tokens will be presented in the first place. These will be followed by the qualitative interpretation of the patterns of function and use of the same tokens.

##### **4.1. General findings**

The first research question of this study asked about the differences in how men and women mark their stance in news magazines in relation to epistemicity and attitude. Results stemming from the quantitative analysis of epistemic modals and adverbs as well as attitudinal adverbials and adjectives indicate that men tend to use more epistemic modals, whereas women seem to prefer attitudinal adverbials. Epistemic adverbials, nonetheless, are almost equally frequent in the writings of male and female authors and attitudinal adjectives are more frequent in the male subcorpus. Table 1 illustrates these differences to a larger extent:

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<sup>3</sup> Boye (2012) distinguishes three degrees of epistemic support. First, 'full support', which he equates to total certainty. In the second place, he talks of 'partial support', which expresses probability. Lastly, he names 'neutral support' to expressions of possibility and uncertainty.

Table 1. *General frequency of tokens*

Categories	MEN	NORMALIZED RESULTS		WOMEN	NORMALIZED RESULTS	
	No. tokens	1000 words	%	No. tokens	1000 words	%
Epistemic modals	104	6.40	63%	65	3.78	37%
Epistemic adverbials	80	4.92	51%	82	4.77	49%
Attitudinal adverbials	36	2.21	48%	42	2.44	52%
Attitudinal adjectives	131	8.06	55%	115	6.69	45%

As Table 1 shows, the frequency of use of epistemic modals by male writers is significantly higher than that of female writers – 63% men versus 37% women. The use of epistemic adverbials is almost equal in both subcorpora (51% - 49%). Regarding attitudinal stance markers, women seem to use slightly more attitudinal adverbials than men with a 52% of the total. Contrarily, attitudinal adjectives are more common in the male subcorpus with a 55% of the total. In sum, when marking their stance, men seem to use stance strategies more frequently. Specifically, they prefer using epistemic modals and attitudinal adjectives with greater frequency in comparison to women. Women, conversely, tend to use more attitudinal adverbials, though the difference is not as substantial as that of modals. Epistemic adverbials, on the other hand, seem to be the common ground as they are used nearly to the same extent by both male and female writers.

These results suggest that men are more ‘epistemic’, but that does not mean that women are more ‘attitudinal’. Notwithstanding, the differences in terms of frequency are not especially remarkable – with the exception of epistemic modals – which means that, when expressing their own stance in the discourse of news magazines, men and women seem to use similar patterns with similar frequency.

#### 4.2. Patterns of function and use

This section delves into the patterns of use of each semantic-grammatical category, describing the function fulfilled by each token in each subcorpus – male and female. Thus,

I will attempt to give an answer to the second research question – which asked about assertiveness in the language of men and tentativeness in that of women – and to the third one – which was concerned about whether the articles female writers presented a higher number of affective expressions.

#### 4.2.1. Epistemic modals

In section 4.1., epistemic modals were proved to be used more frequently by men than by women. We will see now that the meanings those epistemic modals convey also differ from men to women. Table 2 illustrates the differences in the use male and female writers make of epistemic modals:

Table 2. Frequency of functions of epistemic modals

EPISTEMIC MODALS	MEN	NORMALIZED RESULTS		WOMEN	NORMALIZED RESULTS	
	No. tokens	1000 words	%	No. tokens	1000 words	%
Expressing total/ high certainty	49	3.01	78%	15	0.87	22%
Expressing probability	14	0.86	57%	11	0.64	43%
Expressing possibility/ uncertainty	41	2.52	53%	39	2.27	47%

As Table 2 points out, men seem to use epistemic modals expressing high certainty far more than women – 78% versus 22%. In the male subcorpus, modals such as *will* or *would* with an epistemic meaning predominate with 31 instances of the former and 18 of the latter. These vary to a great extent in comparison to the female subcorpus since *will* was used 9 times and *would*, 4. The following examples (1 & 2) show these phenomena:

1. “First, oil prices *will* continue to trade at historically low prices so long as the world economy moves slowly as a result of the pandemic.” (M14, 2020 April 23)<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> The titles of the articles were coded through the abbreviations M. (men) or W. (women) and the number assigned to each article in the reference list provided in Appendix 1. Articles will be henceforth referred to accordingly. See Appendix 1 for more information.

2. “Playing ball *would* offer quarantined fans, many already struggling economically or otherwise, welcome psychic rewards.” (M8, 2020 May 13)

As these examples illustrate, *will* and *would* are used by male writers to make ‘safe’ predictions that they believe to have a high probability of becoming real, thus expressing high certainty towards the propositions made.

Conversely, women seem to opt for epistemic modals expressing possibility or uncertainty. Even if men use them slightly more than women – 53% versus 47% – the difference of a 6% is substantially lower than the previous difference of 56% in modals expressing high certainty. Epistemic modals expressing possibility or low certainty such as *may* or *might* were consistently common in the female corpus (cf. Appendix 2). Examples 3 and 4 illustrate this tendency:

3. “But Bolsonaro’s sense of impunity *may* have sowed the seeds for his eventual downfall.” (W24, 2020 May 21)
4. “The situation *might* seem hopeless and society *might* never be the same, but that should not stop us from working toward a better future for everyone.” (W17, 2020 May 21)

In the case of these examples, these writers seem to avoid making strong or controversial claims, i.e., they avoid being as assertive as the male authors in examples 1 and 2. Nonetheless, modals expressing possibility were also frequently used by men. The epistemic *could* was, for example, more common among male writers, with 17 instances, than among female writers, with 12 instances.

Finally, epistemic modals conveying probability (can/cannot) were more common among male writers (57%) than among female writers (43%). These are in the middle way between assertiveness and tentativeness so relevant conclusions cannot be drawn from their frequency of occurrence in this respect.

As has been already mentioned, epistemic modals have been found to be more frequent in the articles written by men than in those by women. Yet, even if using more epistemic modals may suggest less assertiveness, male authors have been proven to be assertive indeed, as the percentages and examples indicate. However, the percentages of epistemic modals expressing possibility are not high enough to assert that women are notably more tentative.

#### 4.2.2. Epistemic adverbials

In section 4.1., it has been observed that the use of epistemic adverbials is almost equally frequent in both subcorpora. However, the function they fulfill differs. Let us discuss, then, the patterns of use of each subcorpus, as Table 3 illustrates:

Table 3. Frequency of functions of epistemic adverbials

EPISTEMIC ADVERBIALS	MEN	NORMALIZED RESULTS		WOMEN	NORMALIZED RESULTS	
	No. tokens	1000 words	%	No. tokens	1000 words	%
Expressing total/high certainty	56	3.44	54%	50	2.91	46%
Expressing probability	8	0.49	58%	6	0.35	42%
Expressing possibility/uncertainty	16	0.98	41%	24	1.40	59%

Table 3 shows that, like epistemic modals, epistemic adverbials expressing high certainty (54%) are more common among male writers, whereas women writers seem to use epistemic adverbials expressing possibility to a greater extent (59%). These differences are nevertheless smaller than those concerning epistemic modals. A third type of epistemic adverbials, those expressing probability, are more frequently found among men's articles (58%) than women's ones (42%). Examples 5, 6 and 7 will show an example of a high certainty epistemic adverbial, an epistemic adverbial expressing probability and a low certainty one by two male authors and one female respectively:

5. "Their marks were so good, *in fact*, that some in Washington did not believe they could be real." (M7, 2020 May 19)
6. "Nini *likely* grew up lower class because in addition to being a housekeeper she had a far more modern role." (M5, 2020 May 5)
7. "It may have taken longer than innovators of the pre-Internet era expected, but the ubiquity of visual calls proves – and *perhaps* exceeds – their audacious goals." (W28, 2020 May 11)

As can be seen in examples 5 and 7, both writers are evaluating the certainty of the proposition that has been put forward. In the case of 5, the writer ascertains the validity of the information, whereas in example 7, the writer seems to be avoiding responsibility for the claim by adhering an epistemic adverb that suggests uncertainty. Lastly, example 6 indicates the writer's assessment with respect to the existence of probability. Epistemic adverbials of this type often have a hedging function and suggest both high and low certainty depending on context. What all these examples have in common is that these adverbials work at sentence level, which give strength or weakness to the whole linguistic proposition. However, other type of adverbials with a local scope were outstandingly common in both subcorpora; these will be presented in the following section (4.2.3).

In short, the results indicate that men are more likely to express high certainty through epistemic adverbials or to be more neutral in any case. Women, on the other hand, seem to be more cautious and uncertain when using epistemic adverbials.

#### 4.2.3. Attitudinal adverbials

Attitudinal adverbials have been found to be more common among female writers than male writers. This type of stance adverbials have been assigned two functions: expression of feelings, evaluations or emotions, and expression of assessment and judgments. Table 4 points to the distribution of these functions in the male and female subcorpora:

Table 4. *Frequency of functions of attitudinal adverbials.*

ATTITUDINAL ADVERBIALS	MEN		NORMALIZED RESULTS		WOMEN		NORMALIZED RESULTS	
	No. tokens	1000 words	%	No. tokens	1000 words	%		
Expressing feelings and evaluations	29	1.78	53%	27	1.57	47%		
Expressing assessment	7	0.43	33%	15	0.87	67%		

As Table 4 illustrates, attitudinal adverbials expressing feelings or evaluations are more common than those expressing assessment or judgments. The former are more frequently found in the articles written by men with a 53% of the total; the latter are more frequent among female writers with 67% of the tokens. These percentages challenge the notion

that women are more likely to show their feelings than men. It seems that when it comes to expressing their attitudinal stance in the news discourse, women tend to make judgments rather than express their feelings. Men, contrary to what is usually expected, express their feelings – either personal or intersubjective – to a larger extent in this type of discourse. The following excerpts will exemplify these patterns:

8. “*Interestingly*, the signs so far are that many people have “been to church” in that virtual reality who would not have come to a church building.” (M15, 2020 May 21)
9. “As of April 30, the price was *dramatically* lower than that – \$1.87 per million BTUs.” (W26, 2020 May 4).

Example 8 shows how this male writer uses an attitudinal adverbial to evaluate the interest of the information proposed afterwards, thus expressing his attitude towards the information. In example 9, on the other hand, we can see how the writer, female in this case, makes a judgment about the proposition made by using *dramatically* + an adjective.

These results suggest that, even if women use slightly more attitudinal adverbials, men use them with the function of expressing feelings to a greater extent. Contrarily, women seem to make assessments of the information proposed instead of conveying feelings and emotions about it.

In addition to these findings, it is worth discussing the presence of some focal adverbials that also have a semi-evaluative function, thus belonging to the category of attitudinal stance. These are *enough* after an adjective (M: x6; W: x4), *even (if)* (M: x23; W: x24), *just* (M&W: x5), *not only* (M: x2; W: x1) and *only* (M: x10; W: x15). These adverbials alone could not be considered stance adverbials. However, they function locally, contributing to the strength or weakening of the claim, as the following examples illustrate:

10. “Under the best of circumstances, up to half of patients sick *enough* to require this type of ventilation won’t make it.” (W20, 2020 April 16)
11. “A few husbands *even* lent a hand with cooking and washing up or put the children to bed when wives worked evening shifts at the factory.” (W23, 2020 May 15)

12. “Despite the exceedingly rare cases of vaccine-derived polio, attenuated-virus vaccines present *only* a vanishingly small risk to health—smaller than the risk of going unvaccinated...” (*M11*, 2020 May 15).

As can be observed in the examples, these adverbials present slight evaluation or assessment by the implicature created – this is the case of *only* and *enough*. Also, they state the author’s opinion of what is normal and what is an exception as is the case of *even*. To some extent, they may hint the author’s opinion of what he or she considers to be worthy of attention or of mentioning. Finally, they may as well intensify what comes after, as is the case of *not only*.

#### 4.2.4. Attitudinal adjectives

Attitudinal adjectives were proved to be remarkably common in this corpus. These have also been divided into those that express feelings, emotions and evaluations, on the one hand, and assessments and judgments, on the other. It should be noted that some adjectives may fall into fuzzy areas between expressing feelings or expressing assessment, as is the case of the adjective *good*. *Good* expresses the feelings of the speaker towards some information, but it also assesses and classifies that information into a good-bad schema. For these reasons, every instance of *good*, *bad*, *right* and *wrong*, among other adjectives, have been classified as expressing both functions. Table 5 presents the patterns of function and use of attitudinal adjectives:

Table 5. Frequency of functions of attitudinal adverbials.

ATTITUDINAL ADJECTIVES	MEN	NORMALIZED RESULTS		WOMEN	NORMALIZED RESULTS	
	No. tokens	1000 words	%	No. tokens	1000 words	%
Expressing feelings and evaluations	95	5.84	52%	92	5.36	48%
Expressing assessment	87	5.35	59%	65	3.78	41%

As we may see in Table 5, men use slightly more adjectives expressing feelings, emotions or evaluations, and as a result, the percentage of use is higher (52%). These results are similar to the ones of attitudinal adverbials. Moreover, adjectives expressing assessment

and judgment are more frequently found in the articles of male writers. This result nevertheless contrasts with the previous pattern of assessment adverbials, which were more frequently used by women. It seems that, when it comes to assessment adjectives, the pattern changes. Example 13 will showcase the two phenomena:

13. “I am *appalled* by reports of would-be devout but *misguided* people ignoring safety regulations because they believe that as Christians they are automatically protected against disease...” (M15, 2020 May 21)

In this example, the writer (male) employs two attitudinal adjectives. The first one, *appalled*, is an adjective expressing the feelings or the emotions of the writer. Moreover, the strength of the adjective is reinforced by the use of the 1<sup>st</sup> person singular *I*. The second adjective, *misguided*, is rather expressing assessment or judgment toward the people he mentions. Hence, we can see the attitude of the writer with regard to feelings and judgments.

As Table 5 showed, these phenomena are also common among female writers as examples 14 and 15 show:

14. “As Steven Johnson points out in his *engrossing* book, *The Ghost Map*, Snow was not just a public health tourist...” (W22, 2020 April 14)
15. “Welcome to another *false* equivalence election. Congratulations, you’ll hate it here.” (W16, 2020 April 24)

In the case of 14, the writer is not showing her feelings but, by using an evaluative adjective, she is expressing her views and opinion on the book she writes about. In example 15, we can observe how the writer considers the “equivalence election” to be false. By employing this adjective, she is making an assessment which has an added negative connotation toward the election process.

A final example (16) will illustrate how some adjectives may convey both feelings or evaluations and assessments or judgments:

16. “Secondly, it’s a *good* idea to let the FTC know about it, so it can track and warn others of scams.” (M1, 2020 April 27)

In this case, it can be observed how *good* conveys the feelings of the writer as well as his assessment by determining what is good and, consequently, what is bad within his personal image-schema of goodness and badness.

## 5. DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

This study has attempted to cast some light on the ways in which men and women mark their stance in terms of epistemicity and attitude in the discourse of news magazines by addressing three research questions. The first one asked about the differences regarding the use of lexico-grammatical strategies. The second one was concerned about whether these differences suggested assertiveness in the language of men and tentativeness in that of women whereas the third asked whether affective expressions were more common in the female subcorpus.

Findings regarding the first research question indicate that men use more stance strategies on a general basis. More specifically, they use a fair number of epistemic modals – 63% in comparison to women – and attitudinal adjectives (55%). Women, on the other hand, use more attitudinal adverbials (52%). Epistemic adverbials are the middle ground between both since the frequency of use is almost the same (51% - 49%). We may conclude, then, that markers of stance are more common in the articles of male writers than in those of female ones, although both present similar patterns of use overall. Furthermore, epistemic strategies are more characteristic of male writers in this type of discourse, but attitudinal ones are equally distributed between both – in adverbial form in the articles of women and in adjectival form in those of men. Additionally, not only have overt strategies been found but also covert ones, such as the use of focal adverbials which have a semi-evaluative function, and thus contribute to reveal the stance of the writer towards the information proposed.

Concerning the meanings conveyed through epistemic modals, men have been found to use modals expressing total or high certainty more frequently. This tendency can be noticed through the extensive use of *will* or *would*, which were served to make safe predictions. Women, conversely, barely use *will* and *would*, but they do use a high percentage of epistemic modals expressing possibility such as *may* or *might* – although these are also used to a greater extent by male writers. Epistemic adverbials did not point to a very different pattern. Adverbials expressing high certainty and probability continued to be more common among male writers, thus confirming the previous pattern. Nonetheless, epistemic adverbials with meanings of possibility or uncertainty were more frequently used by women writers – presumably to avoid making strong claims about what is being said. If we compare these results with the findings of Lakoff (1975) and Holmes (1987), we may answer the second research question. The analysis of epistemic

stance markers has supported the hypothesis of Lakoff (1975) in that, within this corpus, men have been proven to be more assertive through their use of modals and adverbials, while women have been more tentative, especially when using epistemic adverbials. It can therefore be concluded that, when expressing their stance in the discourse of news magazines, men are indeed more assertive and women more tentative.

It is worth noting that these three categories of meaning are not altogether clear-cut, i.e., there is gradience within each category; I have therefore attempted to make each word fit as faithfully as possible in the taxonomy adopted. However, as is usually the case in linguistics, some members can be more prototypical than others. Some are more central, and others can rather be considered marginal members of the same category. Besides, several adverbs can have an added meaning – e.g. frequency. In this study, frequency has been equated to degree of likelihood. Thus, adverbs expressing higher frequency have been understood to express higher certainty and vice versa.

Regarding the third research question, findings point out that affective expressions of feelings, emotions or evaluations are more frequently found in the articles written by men. This pattern has been confirmed by the two types of linguistic items searched for – attitudinal adverbials and adjectives. Interestingly, women have been found to use attitudinal stance expressions to make assessments or judgments. These results can be considered to lay the groundwork for the study of stance from a gender perspective since these differences have not been discussed in previous literature so far. Holmes' (1995) assertion that women tend to use what she calls the affective function of language was mostly based on spoken registers, and, as has been found in this study, these findings cannot be extrapolated to the discourse of news magazines. Conversely, the findings of this study suggest completely different linguistic hypotheses since men seem to be more affective when expressing attitudes in the language of news magazines.

As a final remark, it must be said that, on some occasions, it has been challenging to separate epistemicity from attitude since some items seemed to convey both meanings. Upon these cases, I have made a decision based on the different manuals and literature consulted – Biber et. al (1999), Conrad and Biber (1999), Gray and Biber (2012) among others.

## 6. CONCLUSION

The overall aim of the present study has been the research of stance, gender-related variation in language and their interaction in the discourse of news magazines to provide the fields of stance, sociolinguistics, linguistic variation and discourse analysis with new insights to continue to learn about the use of language.

Findings have revealed that men show a predilection for epistemic modals and adverbials that express high certainty, hence making them more assertive and supporting previous works. The analysis of women's articles, on the other hand, has revealed different patterns since women seem to use attitudinal stance markers to express assessments and judgments, rather than feelings. More particularly, it is men that use these affective expressions with higher frequency. Therefore, the findings of this study contrast with those of the previous literature.

Like all research, this investigation acknowledges its limitations. Firstly, it has centered on specific lexico-grammatical items expressing stance, which reduces the scope of the study. Secondly, it has only focused on two aspects of stance – epistemicity and attitude. Nonetheless, this paper provides the areas of stance and gender in linguistics with new food for thought and alternative insights. With little previous research on these areas concurrently, this study breaks new ground and encourages future research. It would be interesting to draw new patterns by analyzing and comparing markers of style stance. Future works could also focus on deontic meanings – in fact, deontic modals were pretty frequent in the corpus of this paper – or study the symbiosis of stance and gender linguistic variation in a different type of discourse. Further investigations into stance from a gender perspective are therefore needed to continue to enlarge our knowledge on both areas.

In conclusion, I hope the present study has succeeded in providing new insights into the fields of stance, epistemicity, attitude and linguistic variation in the discourse of news magazines.

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# **APPENDICES**

## **Appendix 1 – Primary sources: Articles of *Time*.**

### ***Articles written by men***

Austin, P. L. (2020, April 27). Scammers Could Be After Your Stimulus Check. Here's How to Avoid Them. *Time*. Retrieved from: <https://time.com/> [M1]

Barakat, M. (2020, May 20). Man Convicted for Sept. 11 Attacks Now Says He Renounces Terrorism, bin Laden and the Islamic State. *Time*. Retrieved from: <https://time.com/> [M2]

Borenstein, S. (2020, May 6). Astronomers Identify New Black Hole, Closest Ever to Earth. *Time*. Retrieved from: <https://time.com/> [M3]

Campbell, C. (2020, May 22). 'This Is a Price We Must Pay.' China Ditches a 2020 Growth Target in a Worrying Sign for the Global Economy. *Time*. Retrieved from: <https://time.com/> [M4]

Cassidy, C. (2020, May 5). Who Discovered Soap? What to Know About the Origins of the Life-Saving Substance. *Time*. Retrieved from: <https://time.com/> [M5]

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### ***Articles written by women***

Alter, C. (2020, April 24). Why 2020 Could Be Another False Equivalence Election. *Time*. Retrieved from: <https://time.com/> [W16]

Axelsson, I. (2020, May 21). You Don't Have to Be Hopeful to Fight for a Better Future. *Time*. Retrieved from: <https://time.com/> [W17]

Copeland, L. (2020, March 2). You Can Learn a Lot About Yourself From a DNA Test. Here's What Your Genes Cannot Tell You. *Time*. Retrieved from: <https://time.com/> [W18]

Degregory, C. A. (2019, September 4). Here in the Bahamas, Every Generation Has Its Storm Stories. The Tale of Hurricane Dorian Is Still Being Written. *Time*. Retrieved from: <https://time.com/> [W19]

Ducharme, J. (2020, April 16). Why Ventilators May Not Be Working as Well for COVID-19 Patients as Doctors Hoped. *Time*. Retrieved from: <https://time.com/> [W20]

Luscombe, B. (2020, May 21). What We Lose When We Hide Our Smiles Behind a Mask. *Time*. Retrieved from: <https://time.com/> [W21]

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## Appendix 2 – Data collection and classification<sup>5</sup>

Epistemic modals	No. tokens men	No. tokens women	Function
<i>Can / Cannot</i>	14	11	Probability
<i>Could</i>	17	12	Possibility
<i>Could not</i>	-	1	High certainty
<i>May / May not</i>	19	20	Possibility
<i>Might / Might not</i>	5	7	Possibility
<i>Must</i>	-	1	High certainty
<i>Will / Will not</i>	31	9	Total certainty
<i>Would / Would not</i>	18	4	High certainty

Epistemic adverbials	No. tokens men	No. tokens women	Function
<i>Actually</i>	1	4	High certainty
<i>Almost certainly</i>	3	-	High certainty
<i>Almost never</i>	-	1	High certainty
<i>Always</i>	-	3	Total certainty
<i>Apparently</i>	2	1	Low certainty
<i>Approximately</i>	2	1	Low certainty
<i>At times</i>	-	1	Possibility
<i>Certainly</i>	-	1	Total certainty
<i>Chiefly</i>	-	1	High certainty
<i>Clearly</i>	3	2	Total certainty
<i>Definitely</i>	1	1	Total certainty
<i>Fairly</i>	-	1	High certainty
<i>Generally</i>	3	1	High certainty
<i>Hardly</i>	1	1	High certainty
<i>Indeed</i>	2	1	Total certainty

<sup>5</sup> During the data collection process, the context in which every linguistic item appeared was taken into consideration as this study analyzes naturally occurring data.

<i>Inevitably</i>	2	-	Total certainty
<i>In fact</i>	3	2	High certainty
<i>In general</i>	-	1	High certainty
<i>In many cases</i>	-	1	High certainty
<i>In particular</i>	2	1	High certainty
<i>In some rare cases</i>	1	-	Uncertainty
<i>Likely</i>	6	4	Probability
<i>Maybe</i>	1	1	Possibility
<i>Mostly</i>	1	1	High certainty
<i>Nearly</i>	-	1	Low certainty
<i>Never</i>	3	1	Total certainty
<i>No doubt</i>	1	-	Total certainty
<i>Normally</i>	1	1	High certainty
<i>Not always</i>	1	-	Probability
<i>Of course</i>	3	3	Total certainty
<i>Often</i>	8	6	High certainty
<i>Particularly</i>	9	5	High certainty
<i>Perhaps</i>	6	2	Possibility
<i>Possibly</i>	-	2	Possibility
<i>Potentially</i>	1	1	High certainty
<i>Pretty + adj.</i>	2	-	High certainty
<i>Probably</i>	1	2	Probability
<i>Rarely</i>	-	1	Possibility
<i>Really</i>	1	-	High certainty
<i>Roughly</i>	1	2	Low certainty
<i>Seemingly</i>	-	2	Possibility
<i>Sometimes</i>	3	10	Possibility
<i>Sure</i>	-	1	Total certainty
<i>Truly</i>	1	1	Total certainty
<i>Typically</i>	2	3	High certainty
<i>Undoubtedly</i>	-	1	Total certainty
<i>Usually</i>	2	4	High certainty

<b>Attitudinal adverbials</b>	<b>No. tokens men</b>	<b>No. tokens women</b>	<b>Function</b>
<i>Absolutely</i>	-	1	Feeling <sup>6</sup> (emphatic)
<i>Accurately</i>	1	-	Assessment
<i>Almost completely</i>	-	1	Feeling (emphatic)
<i>At least</i>	2	1	Feeling
<i>Awfully</i>	1	-	Feeling
<i>Barely</i>	1	1	Assessment
<i>Bleakly</i>	1	-	Feeling
<i>Clearly</i>	3	2	Feeling
<i>Completely</i>	1	-	Feeling (emphatic)
<i>Correctly</i>	-	1	Assessment
<i>Crucially</i>	-	1	Feeling
<i>Deeply</i>	1	1	Feeling
<i>Dramatically</i>	-	3	Assessment
<i>Especially</i>	2	4	Feeling
<i>Exceedingly</i>	1	-	Assessment
<i>For obvious reasons</i>	-	1	Feeling
<i>Incredibly</i>	-	1	Feeling
<i>Interestingly</i>	1	-	Feeling
<i>Luckily</i>	-	1	Feeling
<i>Most critically</i>	1	-	Assessment
<i>Notoriously</i>	3	1	Feeling
<i>Ominously</i>	-	1	Feeling
<i>Remarkably</i>	-	1	Feeling
<i>Sadly</i>	-	1	Feeling
<i>Significantly</i>	1	-	Feeling
<i>Simply</i>	1	-	Feeling
<i>So</i>	4	3	Feeling

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<sup>6</sup> For the sake of brevity, I will be using the word ‘feeling’ to refer to linguistic expressions of feelings, emotions and evaluations. Likewise, ‘assessment’ will encompass notions of judgment as well.

<i>Spectacularly</i>	-	1	Feeling
<i>Strikingly</i>	1	-	Feeling
<i>Surprisingly</i>	-	1	Feeling
<i>Too + adj.</i>	1	1	Feeling
<i>Too little</i>	-	1	Assessment
<i>Too much</i>	-	2	Assessment
<i>Under the best of circumstances</i>	-	1	Assessment
<i>Unfortunately</i>	-	1	Feeling
<i>Very</i>	3	2	Feeling (emphatic)
<i>Well</i>	3	6	Assessment
<i>Wrongly</i>	3	-	Feeling

<b>Attitudinal adjectives</b>	<b>No. tokens men</b>	<b>No. tokens women</b>	<b>Function</b>
<i>Appalled</i>	1	-	Feeling
<i>Bad</i>	1	-	Feeling & assessment
<i>Best</i>	-	1	Feeling & assessment
<i>Better</i>	1	4	Feeling & assessment
<i>Bizarre</i>	-	1	Feeling
<i>Bleak</i>	1	2	Feeling
<i>Breakthrough</i>	1	1	Assessment
<i>Breathtaking</i>	-	1	Feeling
<i>Catchy</i>	1	-	Feeling
<i>Cavalier</i>	-	1	Feeling
<i>Cheeky</i>	-	1	Feeling
<i>Chimeric</i>	1	-	Assessment
<i>Clear</i>	2	1	Assessment
<i>Cleverer</i>	1	-	Feeling
<i>Colossal</i>	1	-	Assessment
<i>Compelling</i>	-	1	Assessment

<i>Comprehensible</i>	1	-	Assessment
<i>Concerning</i>	1	-	Assessment
<i>Confusing</i>	1	1	Feeling
<i>Convenient</i>	1	-	Feeling
<i>Cozy</i>	-	1	Feeling
<i>Cramped</i>	1	1	Assessment
<i>Crucial</i>	1	-	Feeling & assessment
<i>Dangerous</i>	2	-	Feeling
<i>Depressing</i>	-	1	Feeling
<i>Difficult</i>	4	1	Feeling & assessment
<i>Disastrous</i>	1	-	Feeling
<i>Dizzying</i>	-	1	Feeling
<i>Dramatic</i>	-	1	Feeling & assessment
<i>Dubious</i>	-	1	Assessment
<i>Easier</i>	1	-	Feeling & assessment
<i>Easy</i>	1	1	Feeling & assessment
<i>Effective</i>	1	1	Assessment
<i>Engrossing</i>	-	1	Feeling
<i>Essential</i>	4	-	Feeling
<i>Extraordinary</i>	1	-	Feeling
<i>False</i>	-	2	Assessment
<i>Fierce</i>	1	-	Feeling
<i>Flawed</i>	1	-	Feeling & assessment
<i>Formidable</i>	1	-	Feeling
<i>Forthright</i>	-	1	Assessment
<i>Frightening</i>	1	-	Feeling
<i>Frustrating</i>	-	1	Feeling
<i>Fulfilling</i>	1	-	Feeling
<i>Fundamental</i>	1	1	Assessment
<i>Futile</i>	-	1	Feeling

<i>Good</i>	5	5	Feeling & assessment
<i>Great</i>	-	3	Feeling & assessment
<i>Greater</i>	1	-	Feeling & assessment
<i>Groundbreaking</i>	1	-	Assessment
<i>Hard</i>	2	3	Feeling & assessment
<i>Harder</i>	1	2	Feeling & assessment
<i>Happy</i>	1	2	Feeling
<i>Heartbreaking</i>	-	1	Feeling
<i>Heartwarming</i>	-	1	Feeling
<i>Hollow</i>	1	-	Feeling
<i>Hopeless</i>	-	2	Feeling
<i>Huge</i>	3	-	Assessment
<i>Ideal</i>	-	1	Feeling
<i>Impassioned</i>	-	1	Feeling
<i>Imperfect</i>	-	1	Assessment
<i>Important</i>	2	2	Feeling & assessment
<i>Impressive</i>	1	-	Feeling
<i>Irrelevant</i>	1	-	Feeling & assessment
<i>Key</i>	4	3	Feeling & assessment
<i>Less effective</i>	-	1	Assessment
<i>Less reliable</i>	1	-	Feeling
<i>Little</i>	-	1	Assessment
<i>Magnificent</i>	-	1	Feeling
<i>Meaningful</i>	-	1	Feeling
<i>Mind-boggling</i>	-	1	Feeling
<i>Misguided</i>	1	-	Assessment
<i>Misleading</i>	-	1	Assessment
<i>Mistaken</i>	1	-	Assessment
<i>More attractive</i>	-	2	Feeling
<i>More candid</i>	-	1	Feeling

<i>More cautious</i>	1	1	Assessment
<i>More difficult</i>	2	-	Feeling & assessment
<i>More harrowing</i>	-	1	Feeling
<i>More impressive</i>	1	-	Feeling
<i>More prudent</i>	1	-	Assessment
<i>Most optimistic</i>	1	-	Assessment
<i>Most useful</i>	1	-	Assessment
<i>Nice</i>	1	-	Feeling
<i>Ominous</i>	1	-	Feeling
<i>Optimistic</i>	-	1	Assessment
<i>Outraged</i>	-	1	Feeling
<i>Overwhelming</i>	1	-	Feeling
<i>Pleasant</i>	-	1	Feeling
<i>Positive</i>	-	1	Feeling
<i>Proper</i>	1	1	Feeling & assessment
<i>Reassuring</i>	-	1	Feeling
<i>Relentless</i>	2	-	Assessment
<i>Reliable</i>	1	-	Feeling
<i>Remarkable</i>	2	1	Feeling
<i>Relevant</i>	-	1	Feeling & assessment
<i>Right</i>	2	2	Feeling & assessment
<i>Rosy</i>	-	1	Feeling
<i>Safe</i>	2	1	Assessment
<i>Severe</i>	-	1	Assessment
<i>Significant</i>	4	1	Feeling & assessment
<i>Sharp</i>	1	1	Feeling
<i>Shocking</i>	-	1	Feeling
<i>Slickly-produced</i>	1	-	Assessment
<i>Small</i>	1	1	Assessment
<i>Smaller</i>	1	-	Assessment
<i>Special</i>	2	2	Feeling

<i>Star</i>	-	1	Feeling
<i>Startling</i>	1	2	Feeling
<i>Straightforward</i>	1	-	Assessment
<i>Stranger</i>	-	1	Feeling
<i>Striking</i>	1	-	Feeling
<i>Strong</i>	1	2	Feeling & assessment
<i>Stupid</i>	1	-	Feeling
<i>Sure</i>	2	-	Feeling
<i>Terrible</i>	-	2	Feeling
<i>The best</i>	-	1	Feeling & assessment
<i>The bigger</i>	1	-	Assessment
<i>The greatest</i>	2	1	Feeling & assessment
<i>The largest</i>	1	-	Assessment
<i>The most important</i>	2	2	Feeling & assessment
<i>The most comprehensive</i>	1	-	Assessment
<i>The most lifesaving</i>	1	-	Assessment
<i>The most obvious</i>	-	-	Assessment
<i>The most popular</i>	-	-	Assessment
<i>The most vulnerable</i>	1	-	Assessment
<i>The worst</i>	2	1	Feeling & assessment
<i>Tough</i>	1	1	Feeling
<i>True</i>	1	-	Feeling & assessment
<i>Unacceptable</i>	-	1	Feeling
<i>Uncanny</i>	-	1	Feeling
<i>Unclear</i>	1	-	Feeling
<i>Unequivocal</i>	1	-	Feeling
<i>Unlucky</i>	-	2	Feeling
<i>Unnecessary</i>	-	2	Assessment
<i>Unsafe</i>	-	1	Assessment
<i>Unsavory</i>	1	-	Feeling

<i>Useful</i>	2	1	Assessment
<i>Useless</i>	-	1	Assessment
<i>Valuable</i>	2	-	Feeling
<i>Vexing</i>	1	-	Feeling
<i>Virulent</i>	-	1	Feeling & assessment
<i>Vital</i>	3	-	Feeling & assessment
<i>Warm</i>	-	1	Feeling
<i>Weaker</i>	-	1	Feeling
<i>Worrying</i>	1	-	Assessment
<i>Worse</i>	2	1	Feeling & assessment
<i>Worth</i>	-	1	Feeling & assessment
<i>Worth + present participle</i>	2	-	Feeling & assessment
<i>Wrong</i>	1	-	Feeling & assessment