Styles of stance in English: Lexical and grammatical marking of evidentiality and affect

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Abstract

The present paper identifies and describes various speech styles of English as marked by stance. By stance we mean the lexical and grammatical expression of attitudes, feelings, judgments, or commitment concerning the propositional content of a message. In an earlier paper (Biber and Finegan, 1988), we limited our investigation to the adverbial marking of stance; here we extend the analysis to include adjectival, verbal, and modal markers of stance. All occurrences of a large set of stance markers are identified in 500 texts, drawn principally from the LOB and London-Lund corpora (of written and spoken British English). The stance markers are divided into 12 categories based on semantic and grammatical criteria, and the frequency of occurrence for each category in each text is computed. The twelve categories are (1) affect markers (adverbs, verbs, and adjectives); (2) certainty adverbs; (3) certainty verbs; (4) certainty adjectives; (5) doubt adverbs; (6) doubt verbs; (7) doubt adjectives; (8) hedges; (9) emphatics; (10) possibility modals; (11) necessity modals; and (12) predictive modals. Using a statistical technique called cluster analysis, texts that are maximally similar in their exploitation of stance markers are sorted into clusters. We interpret each cluster as a stance style by consideration of the predominant stance features in the cluster, the situational characteristics of the texts constituting the cluster, and a functional analysis of individual texts. Overall, six stance styles are identified, among which are 'Emphatic Expression of Affect', 'Expository Expression of Doubt', and 'Faceless'.

1. Introduction

The linguistic expression of attitude has been studied under two main topics: evidentiality and affect. Evidentiality refers to the speaker's expressed attitudes towards knowledge: towards its reliability, the mode

01655–4888/89/0009–0093 $2.00

of knowing, and the adequacy of its linguistic expression (Chafe, 1986). Affect, on the other hand, involves the expression of a broad range of personal attitudes, including emotions, feelings, moods, and general dispositions (Ochs and Schieffelin, this issue). In the present paper, under the rubric of 'stance', we explore the lexical and grammatical encoding of both evidentiality and affect in English. Studies of evidentiality and affect have tended to focus on non-Western languages. Most of the papers in Chafe and Nichols (1986), for example, describe the function of evidentials in such non-Western languages as Quechua, Turkish, and Tibetan. Affect has been most studied in Asian and Pacific languages, often in the context of language development; see, for example, Besnier (this issue) on Tuvaluan, Clancy (1986) on Japanese, Ochs (1988) on Samoan, and Schieffelin (1986) on Kaluli.

Surprisingly, there have been few studies on the marking of evidentiality or affect in English. In part, this oversight stems from an assumption that stance is not lexically or grammatically encoded in English but is marked by tone of voice, duration, loudness, and other paralinguistic features. In the only major studies of evidentials in English, Chafe (1985, 1986) distinguishes three aspects of the marking of evidentiality: (1) the reliability of the knowledge itself, (2) the mode of knowing (belief, induction, hearsay, and deduction), and (3) the source of knowledge (belief, evidence, verbal reports, and hypothesis). There is even less research on the marking of affect in English, although several studies discuss 'intensity' and 'emphatics', which mark both affect and evidentiality. Labov (1984: 43–44) defines 'intensity' as 'the emotional expression of social orientation toward the linguistic proposition: the commitment of the self to the proposition'. He identifies several linguistic markers of intensity, including specialized prosodic contours and emphatic adverbs such as *really*, *so*, and *very*, as well as other markers such as negative concord, repetition, inversions, interjections, and universal quantifiers. Other related studies are typically restricted to adverbial intensifiers, commonly referred to as 'amplifiers' and 'emphatics'. Amplifiers (e.g., *absolutely, completely, extremely*) boost the force of a proposition (Quirk et al., 1985: 590–597), indicating its reliability in positive terms (Chafe, 1985). Emphatics (e.g., *for sure, really, a lot*) are similar in function to amplifiers, differing in that they mark the simple presence of certainty towards a proposition, while amplifiers indicate the degree of certainty. Emphatics, which are characteristic of informal, colloquial discourse, mark 'involvement' with the topic (Chafe, 1982; Aijmer, 1985; Stenström, 1986). Holmes (1984) notes that amplifiers and emphatics can both be used to signal solidarity with a listener.

In the first empirical study to analyze the distribution and function of

stance markers across a wide range of spoken and written texts (Biber and Finegan, 1988), we focused on the adverbial marking of 'stance' in terms of six linguistic categories: HONESTLY adverbials (marking manner of speaking), GENERALLY adverbials (expressing generalization or approximation), SURELY adverbials (expressing conviction or certainty), ACTUALLY adverbials (expressing actuality or emphasis), MAYBE adverbials (expressing possibility or hedging), and AMAZINGLY adverbials (expressing affective attitudes towards the content). We showed that adverbials are important markers of stance in English, and we identified ways in which different kinds of texts mark various aspects of stance, such as caution, concession, generalization, and emphasis.

In the present paper we undertake a broader description of the marking of stance in English. In particular, we investigate the extent to which different kinds of texts employ different grammatical categories for the marking of stance. We include here markers of affect (both positive and negative) and of evidentiality (both certainty and doubt) in the four grammatical categories of verbs, adjectives, adverbs, and modals. Our goal is to identify and interpret the basic stance styles of English, as defined by the use of lexical and grammatical features. We use a cluster analysis to identify texts that are maximally similar in their use of stance features; these clusters of similar texts are interpreted as stance styles of English. Overall, we find six stance styles represented in our corpus, although only one of these reflects the marking of affect. It is clear, therefore, that evidentiality in English is more commonly marked by lexical and grammatical means than is affect.

Moreover, with respect to evidentiality, there are striking preferences for particular grammatical categories in different styles, although an unmarked, or 'faceless', style is by far the most common stance style in our corpus.

In Section 2 we briefly describe our methodology, focusing on the linguistic features investigated. In Section 3 we describe the statistical technique of cluster analysis and give an overview of our findings. In Section 4 we interpret the clusters as stance styles by considering the types of texts in each cluster and their linguistic characteristics.

2. Methodology

The present study comprised four steps: (1) survey previous research and individual texts in order to identify potentially important grammatical markers of stance; (2) identify all occurrences of these features in texts and compute a frequency count of each feature for each text; (3) identify

the clusters of texts that are most similar in their use of the stance features; (4) interpret the clusters as stance styles.

To identify the major stance styles of English, it was necessary to analyze the similarities and differences among a large number of texts representing many different spoken and written genres. In all, 500 texts taken from 24 genre categories were analyzed, as summarized in Table 1.[1] Some of the genre categories represent several distinct sub-genres. For example, press reportage includes cultural, sports, and financial news reports; academic prose includes humanities, social sciences, and engineering expositions; radio broadcasts include sports reporting and reportage of events such as funerals and scientific demonstrations. The other categories are self-explanatory. The three genres of letters (categories

Table 1. *Texts used for identificaiton of the stance styles*

Genre	Number of Texts
Written (genres 1–15 from the LOB Corpus)	
1. Press reportage	44
2. Press editorials	27
3. Press reviews	17
4. Religion	17
5. Skills and hobbies	14
6. Popular lore	14
7. Biographies	14
8. Official documents	14
9. Academic prose	80
10. General fiction	29
11. Mystery fiction	13
12. Science fiction	6
13. Adventure fiction	13
14. Romance fiction	13
15. Humor	9
16. Personal letters	10
17. Professional letters	10
18. Letters of recommendation	14
Spoken (from the London-Lund Corpus)	
19. Face-to-face conversations	44
20. Telephone conversations	27
21. Public conversations, debates, and interviews	22
22. Radio broadcasts	19
23. Spontaneous speeches	16
24. Prepared speeches	14
Total	500
Approximate number of words:	980,000

16–18 in Table 1) are mixed British and North American; all other genres are British. Taken together, these 500 texts represent a large range of communicative situations found in English, and they should thus represent the range of variation in the marking of stance.

The major restrictions of the present study relate to the limits on our knowledge concerning the inventory of stance features in English. As noted in the Introduction, there has been little previous research on the marking of affect and evidentiality in English. To undertake an overall analysis of the English stance styles, we needed to compile an extensive list of lexical and grammatical features used to mark stance. To do this, we surveyed previous studies, examined English grammars (principally Quirk et al., 1985), checked dictionaries and a thesaurus for functionally related lexical items, and surveyed texts in several varieties of English. We do not claim to have identified all of the stance features of English; rather our goal has been to identify a large number of features representing the range of lexical and grammatical markers of affect and evidentiality.

A related restriction is that we focused only on markers of stance that were direct and explicit expressions of speaker attitude, ignoring more integrated markers of attitude. Thus, we counted constructions like *I fear xxx*, *it frightens me*, *I am frightened*, and *it is frightening*, which directly express the speaker's own stance, but we did not investigate constructions like *it frightens her*, *he was frightened*, or *that must have been a frightening experience* because they are primarily descriptive rather than directly expressive of the speaker's *own* feelings, even when they give a secondary indication of those feelings. We recognize the importance of these secondary expressions of stance but have restricted ourselves in this study to overt lexical and grammatical markers of the speaker's stance. (We return to this issue in the conclusion.)

Related to this last restriction is the important one of channels. With almost negligible exceptions (such as underlining and certain marks of punctuation), written genres are limited to lexical and grammatical channels for their means of expression. Speech, on the other hand, has the same lexical and grammatical resources as writing, while also having paralinguistic channels such as tone of voice, loudness, and so on, as well as gesture. Such paralinguistic channels of expression are beyond the scope of this paper.

Stance features were divided into categories on the basis of pragmatic function, semantic field, and grammatical category, as shown in Table 2. We differentiated between two pragmatic functions, marking affect and evidentiality; and we distinguished two semantic subcategories within each: positive and negative (affect), and certainty and doubt (evidentiality). We further distinguished among adjectives, verbs, adverbs (including

Table 2. *Major stance categories investigated*

1. AFFECT
   - Positive
     - Adjectives (e.g., *I feel FORTUNATE; It is AMAZING that...*)
     - Verbs (e.g., *I ENJOY...; It really PLEASES me that...*)
     - Adverbs (e.g., *happily; conveniently; luckily*)
   - Negative
     - Adjectives (e..g, *I am SHOCKED; it seems UNNATURAL that*)
     - Verbs (e.g., *I DREAD...; It EMBARRASSES me that...*)
     - Adverbs (e.g., *alarmingly; disturbingly; sadly*)
   - EVIDENTIALITY
   - Certainty
     2. Adjectives (e.g., *impossible; obvious; true*)
     3. Verbs (e.g., *I CONCLUDE; This DEMONSTRATES that...*)
     4. Adverbs (e.g., *assuredly; indeed; without doubt*)
     5. Emphatics (e.g., *for sure; really; so* + ADJ)
     6. Predictive modals (e.g., *will; shall*)
   - Doubt
     7. Adjectives (e.g., *alleged; dubious; uncertain*)
     8. Verbs (e.g., *I ASSUME: This INDICATES that...*)
     9. Adverbs (e.g., *allegedly; perhaps; supposedly*)
     10. Hedges (e.g., *at about; maybe; sort of*)
     11. Possibility modals (e.g., *might; could*)
     12. Necessity modals (e.g., *ought; should*)

emphatics and hedges), and modals as grammatical markers of these stance categories.[2] The features were identified and counted in texts by computer programs.[3] As noted above, the programs identify occurrences of potential stance items in particular syntactic frames, so that only those items that function as stance markers are counted. The Appendix lists all syntactic frames and all lexical items identified for each stance category.

At the outset of this study, we distinguished among 17 stance categories. This included six affect groups: positive and negative affect markers in separate categories for adjectives, adverbs, and verbs. We also counted occurrences of each of the major syntactic frames separately (e.g., *it is frightening* and *I am afraid*). These distinctions, however, proved to be too fine to permit an analysis of the overall patterns of variation. Because affect markers occur very infrequently in these texts, we combined the six affect groups (positive and negative markers of all three grammatical categories) into a single class, yielding 12 stance categories instead of the original 17.

The statistical analyses are based on frequency counts of each stance category in each text. The frequencies are normalized to a text length of 1,000 words and are standardized to a mean of 0.0 and a standard deviation of 1.0. Normalization enables comparison across texts of different length, and standardization enables comparison of both rare and common features.

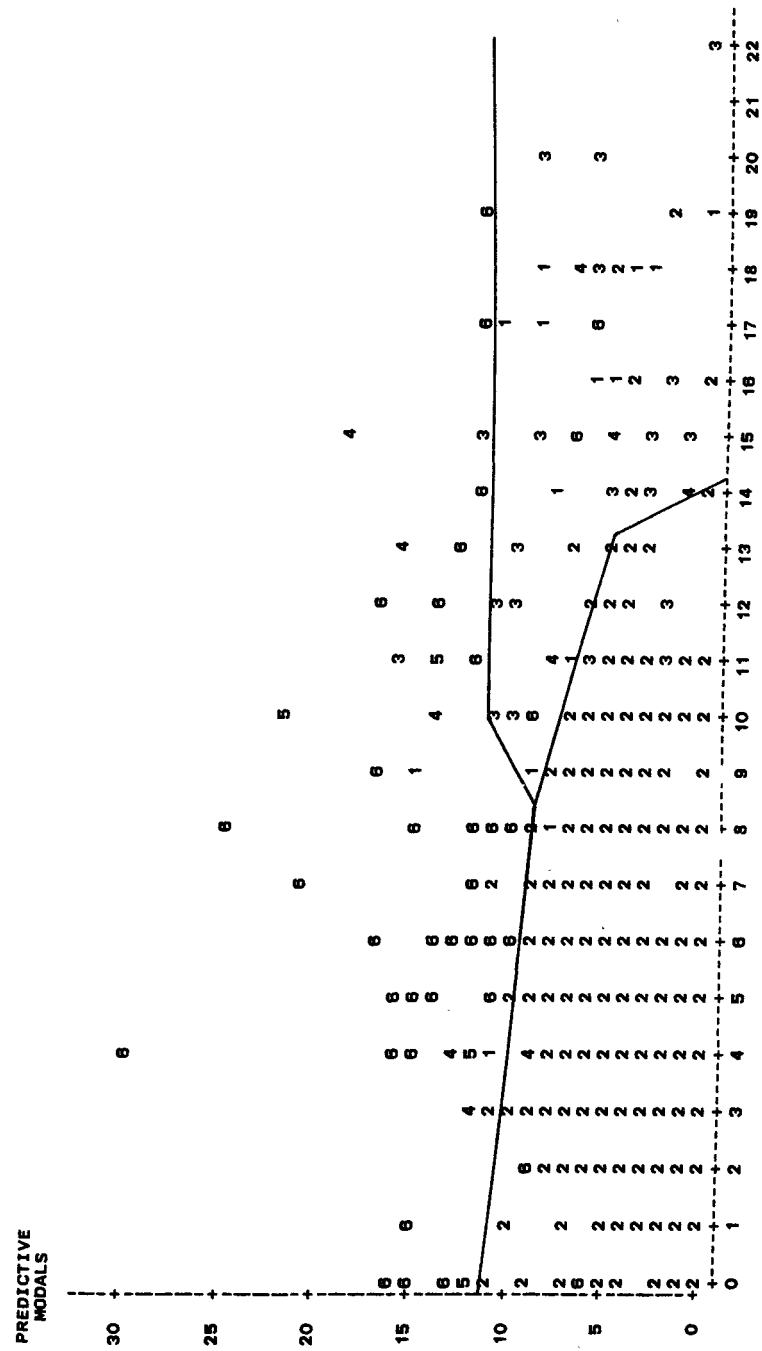

Figure 1. *Scatterplot of the distribution of texts (and clusters) with respect to their use of emphatics versus predictive modals (Note: 295 observations are hidden).*

3. The cluster analysis

We used a clustering technique to identify groupings of texts on the basis of their exploitation of the 12 stance categories. [4] The cluster analysis assigns each text to one of six clusters. If each text is labeled with the number of its cluster, all 500 texts can be plotted in a way that illustrates the differences among clusters. Figure 1, for example, shows the distribution of texts with respect to their use of emphatics and predictive modals. The horizontal axis plots the frequency of emphatics in each text; the vertical axis plots the frequency of predictive modals. The numbers in the plot represent the cluster (C) of the texts having the given scores on these two dimensions. Thus, C2 texts tend to have few emphatics and few predictive modals; texts in C6 tend to have frequent predictive modals; and texts in C1 and C3 tend to have frequent emphatics and few predictive modals.

While Fig. 1 shows the groupings of texts in a two-dimensional space, the actual grouping of texts into clusters is based on the frequencies of all 12 stance categories. Each text has a specific characterization within this 12-dimensional space, and the cluster analysis groups together those texts that are maximally similar in terms of this space—reflecting similarity in their overall use of the stance features.

It is possible to summarize the distinguishing linguistic characteristics of each cluster by plotting its mean stance scores, as in Figs. 2 and 3. Figures 2 and 3 represent exactly the same information, Fig. 2 highlighting C1–C3, and Fig. 3 highlighting C4–C6. Figures 2 and 3 also summarize the information presented in Fig. 1; the vertical scale for emphatics in Fig. 2 (fourth from the right) corresponds to the horizontal axis of Fig. 1 and shows that C2 is the lowest ranking cluster in its use of emphatics, while C1 and C3 rank highest. In the same figure, the scale for predictive modals (the rightmost scale) corresponds to the vertical axis of Fig. 1; it shows that C2 ranks lowest in its use of predictive modals, while C6 ranks highest.

On the basis of Figs. 2 and 3, it is possible to give a linguistic characterization of each of the six clusters. Texts in C1 have very frequent affect markers, and frequent certainty verbs, doubt verbs, and emphatics. C2 is characterized by the marked absence of all stance features; the almost straight line linking all C2 rankings at or below zero indicates that texts in C2 exhibit fewer stance markers than average for 11 of the 12 categories of stance. C3 texts have very frequent hedges, emphatics, and certainty verbs; and moderately frequent certainty adverbs, doubt adverbs, doubt verbs, and possibility modals. C4 texts are characterized primarily by their frequent doubt adjectives. C5 has very frequent

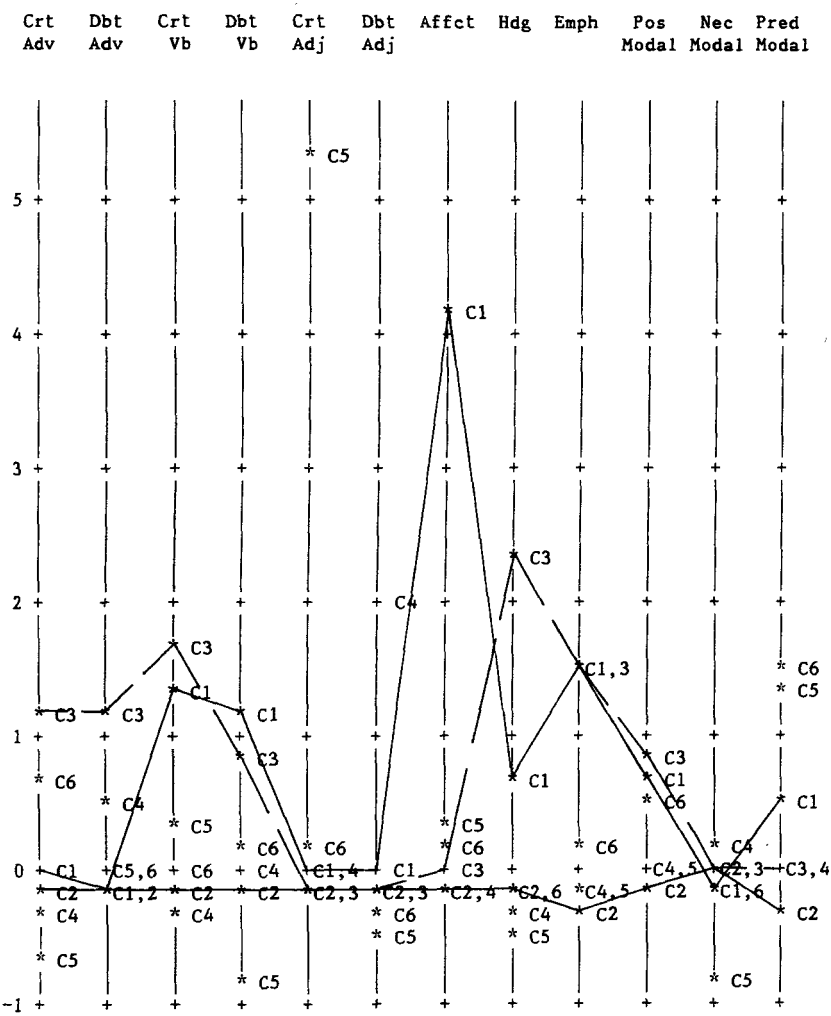

Figure 2. *Distribution of stance features in the six clusters, highlighting Clusters 1–3.* Crt = Certainty; Dbt = Doubt; Adv = Adverbs; Vb = Verbs; Adj = Adjectives; Affct = Affect; Hdg = Hedges; Emph = Emphatics; Pos Modal = Possibility Modals; Nec Modal = Necessity Modals; Pred Modal = Predictive Modals

certainty adjectives, and frequent predictive modals. Finally, C6 has frequent predictive modals, with moderately frequent certainty adverbs and possibility modals.

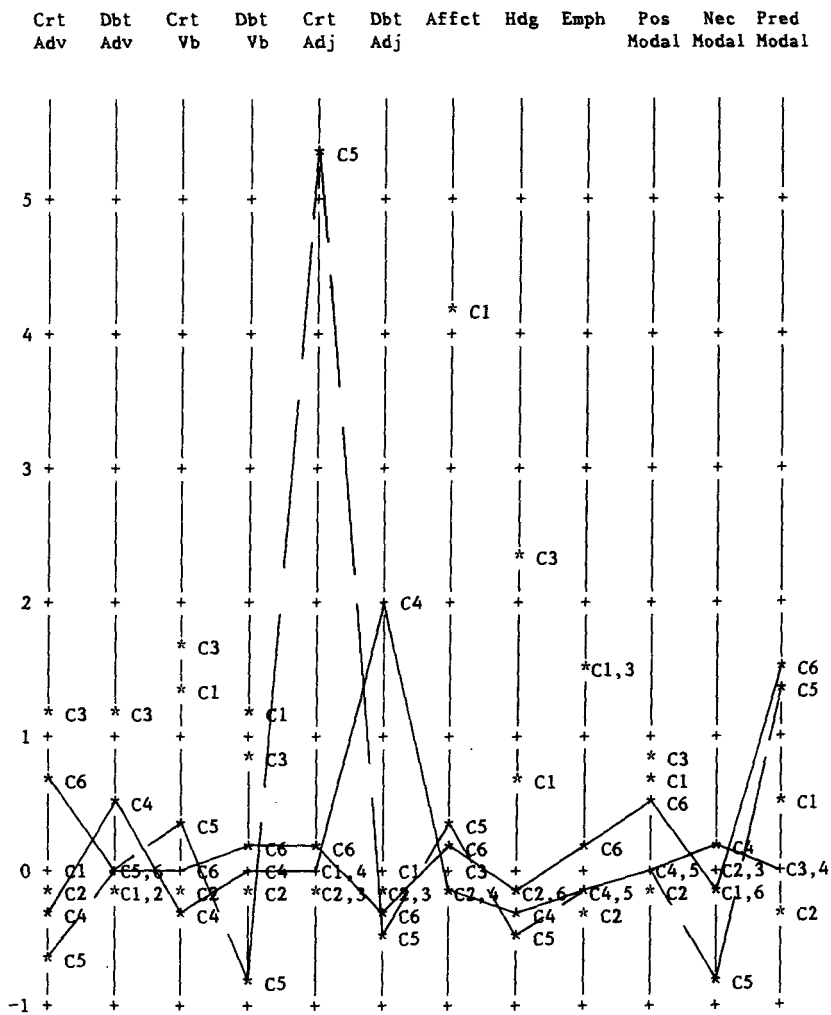

Figure 3. *Distribution of stance features in the six clusters, highlighting Clusters 4–6.* (See Figure 2 for key to abbreviations)

4. Six stance styles of English

Table 3 presents a breakdown of the texts in each cluster by genre. For each cluster Table 3 gives the total number of texts in the cluster, and interpretive label, and the number of texts from each genre occurring in the cluster. When a large percentage of the texts from a genre occurs in a

Table 3. *Composition of stance styles by genre*

CLUSTER 1 (15 texts) 'Emphatic Expression of Affect'
(Very frequent Affect Markers; frequent Emphatics, Certainty Verbs, Doubt Verbs, Hedges, and Possibility Modals)
7 Personal letters (70%)
3 Face-to-face conversations
3 Telephone conversations
1 Letter of recommendation
1 Romance fiction

CLUSTER 2 (326 texts) 'Faceless Stance'
(Marked absence of all stance features)
60 Academic prose (75%)
31 Press reportage (70%)
26 General fiction (90%)
20 Press editorials (74%)
16 Radio broadcasts (84%)
16 Face-to-face conversations (36%)
15 Press reviews (88%)
13 Religion (76%)
12 Biographies (86%)
12 Skills and hobbies (86%)
12 Prepared speeches (86%)
12 Adventure fiction (92%)
11 Mystery fiction (85%)
10 Popular lore (71%)
10 Official documents (71%)
10 Public conversations (45%)
7 Humor (78%)
6 Letters of recommendation (43%)
6 Telephone conversations (22%)
6 Science fiction (100%)
5 Romance fiction (38%)
5 Spontaneous speeches (31%)
4 Professional letters
1 Personal letter

CLUSTER 3 (37 texts) 'Interactional Evidentiality'
(Very frequent Hedges, Emphatics, and Certainty Verbs; frequent Certainty Adverbs, Doubt Adverbs, Possibility Modals, and Doubt Verbs)
18 Face-to-face conversations (41%)
13 Telephone conversations (48%)
3 Public conversations
1 Personal letter
1 Radio broadcast
1 Academic prose

CLUSTER 4 (52 texts) 'Expository Expression of Doubt'
(Frequent Doubt Adjectives; moderately frequent Doubt Adverbs)
15 Academic prose (19%)
13 Press reportage (30%)

Table 3. (*continued*)

4 Press editorials (15%)
2 Official documents (14%)
2 Popular lore
2 Biographies
2 Professional letters
2 Prepared speeches
2 Radio broadcasts
2 Face-to-face conversations
1 Press review
1 Skills and hobbies
1 Adventure fiction
1 Romance fiction
1 Humor
1 Personal letter

CLUSTER 5 (6 texts) 'Predictive Persuasion'
(Very frequent Certainty Adjectives; frequent Predictive Modals)
3 Letters of recommendation (21%)
1 Religion
1 Spontaneous speech
1 Professional letter

CLUSTER 6 (64 texts) 'Oral Controversial Persuasion'
(Frequent Predictive Modals; moderately frequent Certainty Adverbs and Possibility Modals)
10 Spontaneous speeches (63%)
9 Public conversations (41%)
6 Romance fiction (46%)
5 Face-to=face conversations
5 Telephone conversations
4 Academic prose
4 Letters of recommendation (29%)
3 Professional letters (30%)
3 Press editorials
3 Religion
3 General fiction
2 Popular lore
2 Official documents
2 Mystery fiction
1 Skills and hobbies
1 Press review
1 Humor

cluster, that percentage is given in parentheses (for example, 70% of the personal letters occur in C1).

The labels in Table 3 summarize the interpretations of the clusters as stance styles. These interpretations reflect consideration of the predominant stance features in the cluster (as indicated in Figs. 2 and 3), the

communicative characteristics of the kinds of texts in the cluster, and micro-analyses of individual texts.

Overall, there are two striking observations about the distribution of stance markers in the English texts that constitute our corpus. One is the very large number of 'faceless' texts. With 65% of our 500 texts falling into a single cluster marked principally by the absence of stance markers (C2), we can only conclude that a majority of English texts do not mark stance (or do not mark it with the features we have examined). The other observation is that the clusters seem to be organized by both semantic and grammatical criteria. Some clusters, such as C4, seem to be organized primarily along semantic lines (in this case, marking doubtful evidentiality). Other clusters seem unified not so much by the semantic character of their stance markers as by their grammatical character; for example, C3 is marked for stance primarily by its frequent use of adverbials and secondarily by its use of verbs, irrespective of the semantic distinction between doubt and certainty.

We turn now to a detailed interpretation of each stance type. We will return to the overall implications of our findings in the Conclusion.

4.1 *Cluster 1: 'Emphatic expression of affect'*

The 15 texts in C1 are the only texts in our study to make extensive use of affect markers. This is all the more striking in that our counts combine six affect categories (adverb, adjective, and verb markers of positive and negative affect) as explained in Section 2 above. There are thus many lexical items and frames included in this stance category. Still, only 3% of our texts are identified as expressing personal affect to a marked degree.

The distribution of these texts is also somewhat surprising. We expected to find the highest use of affect markers in conversational settings; but only three face-to-face and three telephone conversations fall into C1 (a mere 7% of the former category, 11% of the latter). In contrast, seven of the 15 texts in this cluster are personal letters, comprising 70% of this genre. There thus seems to be a strong preference for lexical and grammatical marking of affect in personal letters, but a general absence of such expression in other types of English discourse.

There are two distinctive linguistic characteristics of C1: the extremely frequent use of affect markers, and the relatively frequent use of several other stance markers. As Fig. 2 shows, these additional markers include emphatics, hedges, certainty verbs, doubt verbs, and possibility modals. Texts A and B below illustrate the stance style represented by C1. Text A is from a telephone conversation, and Text B is from a personal letter.

The affect markers in these samples are CAPITALIZED, and the other stance features of this style are underlined.[5]

Text A. Telephone conversation (LL: 7, 1d)
B: I did have a nice birthday #
A: you did
B: yes thank you # IT WAS LOVELY #
A: oh good [pause] what happened [long pause] ...
B: they gave me # a very nice writing case # a sort of white [pause] plastic [pause] covered thing # and IT'S NICE and large # you know # ...
B: and I
A: mhm got a gorgeous cross from Morgan [long pause]
B: and it's all sort of irregular shapes you know # [pause] four nails incised on the front of it # [long pause] IT'S VERY NICE # I'M LUCKY [pause]
A: oh good ...

Text B. Personal letter (private corpus: X, 1)
IT WAS so NICE to hear from you, and I ENJOYED the picture too...
I'M GLAD your life has straightened out for you. I feel the same way about my life. We really lived through a troubled period of history ...
I HOPE that if you get to come to Texas that you could visit us ... I HOPE we can get together. I WOULD really LIKE to meet your family, and I'D LIKE for you to meet mine ...
There is nothing like having our little dependent baby ...
It's all new to me, and I LOVE it.
She's fifteen months old, and I've worked the whole time. At times I WISH I could have quit ...
I have a very good job, nice people and good pay. There are 37 people in our area office ... We get along so well IT'S WONDERFUL ...

In the telephone conversation (Text A), the affect expressed is positive and adjectival (e.g., *it was lovely, I'm lucky*). The personal letter (Text B) shows a much more extensive use of affect markers, including adjectives (*it was so nice, I'm glad, it's wonderful*) and verbs (*I enjoyed, I hope, I would really like, I love it*). Text B also illustrates how the other characteristic stance markers of C1 work together with the affect markers to intensify the expression of personal feelings (e.g., *it was SO nice, I would REALLY like, we get along SO well*).

These sample texts thus illustrate a stance style that involves direct expression of personal affect. As noted, this style is quite rare in our corpus. It is found primarily in spoken and written exchanges between personal friends, thus suggesting that a personal relationship may be required to make the lexical expression of affect appropriate in English. This affective style is surprisingly rare in personal face-to-face and telephone conversations, however. Perhaps we would find more affect

expressed in certain types of very private conversations, especially involving expressions of anger and disagreement on the 'negative' side and expressions of affection on the 'positive' side. Our findings indicate, however, that overt lexical and grammatical affect is not frequently expressed during typical conversational interactions.[6]

In contrast, our findings indicate that lexical and grammatical affect is an important component in personal letters, although the letters in our sample are not especially intimate. The personal relationship underlying Text B, for example, involves female friends from high school who have written to each other sporadically over a 15-year period. Our corpus contains no 'love letters' and only one letter written to a relative. Thus, the personal letters and conversations included in the study are of comparable intimacy, and the extreme expression of affect in these personal letters seems representative of typical friendly letters, in contrast to typical friendly conversations.

As Besnier (this issue) points out, linguists tend to regard spoken language as expressing more affect than written language, with conversation perceived as the most affective genre of all. To the extent that this perception is based on empirical research, it arises from consideration of features of 'involvement' and 'intensity' (cf. Chafe, 1982; Labov, 1984) rather than analysis of explicit markers of affect. That is, conversation has been shown to be the most involved and interactive speech event in English, in terms of its use of such features as first and second person pronouns, contracted forms, hedges, and emphatics (cf. Chafe, 1982; Biber, 1988). Conversation is also the most involved in its marking of evidentiality (as shown in the discussion of C3 below). But we are aware of no study that shows conversation to be the most *affective* register of English in terms of the overt expression of personal feelings and attitudes. In fact, Mulkay (1985) indicates that the contrary is the case with regard to the marking of agreement and disagreement—that strong, direct disagreements are more acceptable in personal letters than in conversations.

Our findings support previous expectations in that they show explicit affect to be essentially limited to personal interactions; they call previous expectations into question, however, in that they show personal letters to be considerably more affective than conversations in the use of lexical and grammatical markers. It is interesting to compare our findings with those of Besnier (this issue), who found personal letters to be the most affective genre in his examination of Nukulaelae Tuvaluan. We suspect that it is no accident that personal letters are the most lexically affective genre in both English and Tuvaluan and would attribute this similarity to two facts. The first is that letters are less face-threatening than conversations, simply because of the physical separation of the interlocutors—and this would

appear to be a fact about letters and conversations across cultures. Letters would thus permit extensive overt expression of personal affect with a reduced possibility of loss of face (at least in the short term). To the extent that cultures emphasize this physical consequence of the communication situation, we would expect to find roughly comparable distributions of affective markers in the genres of other languages as well. The second fact is also true cross-culturally: multiple channels (including paralinguistic and nonlinguistic ones) are available in speech but not in writing. Thus, affect can find expression only lexically or grammatically in writing, whereas other channels of expression can be exploited in speech.[7] Additional cross-linguistic research like Besnier's on the linguistic characteristics of spoken and written registers is required to enable an adequate analysis of universal versus culture-specific expression of affect.

4.2 *Cluster 2: 'Faceless stance'*

Cluster 2, marked by the relative absence of all affective and evidential stance features considered here, is by far the largest cluster identified in the present study. It has 326 texts (65%) of our corpus, including large majorities of most written expository and fiction genres (88% of press reviews, 86% of skills and hobbies, 86% of biographies, 76% of religion, 75% of academic prose, 74% of press editorials; 100% of science fiction, 92% of adventure fiction, 90% of general fiction). There are also large majorities of prepared speeches (86%) and radio broadcasts (84%), although the other two spoken informational genres (public conversations with 45% and spontaneous speeches with 31%) are considerably less frequent in this cluster. Even many face-to-face conversations occur in C2, with 36% characterized by the relative absence of lexical and grammatical markers of stance. This overall pattern indicates that such expression of stance (affective or evidential) is a 'marked' choice in English, and that the prevailing norm is to leave stance lexically and grammatically unmarked, thus putting the burden on addressees to infer a speaker's stance.

The text samples below illustrate this 'faceless' style. Text C is from press reportage, Text D from an academic article, and Text E from a novel.

Text C, Press reportage (LOB: A, 1)

The two rival African Nationalist Parties of Northern Rhodesia have agreed to get together to face the challenge from Sir Roy Welensky, the Federal Premier.

Delegates from Mr. Kenneth Kaunda's United National Independence Party (280,000 members) and Mr. Harry Nkumbula's African National Congress (400,000) will meet in London today to discuss a common course of action.

Sir Roy is violently opposed to Africans getting an elected majority in Northern Rhodesia, but the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Lain Macleod, is insisting on a policy of change.

Text D, Academic prose (LOB: J, 70)

The spinel unit cell (see Fig. 2.1) consists of a close packed cubic array of 32 oxygen anions, between which there are 96 spaces or interstices, 24 of which are filled with a cation, the remaining 72 being empty....

Unless great care is taken in the manufacture, the final ferrite formed is not exactly that corresponding to the proportions of raw materials used. This is because most ferrites can take up oxides into solution without forming a second phase....

Text E. General fiction (LOB: K, 12)

While the Anchorite was speaking I looked out over the expanse of the bay, and could almost behold the faintly-discernible architecture that he described. Outlined against the sky, it appeared distinctly to the mind's eye at least; and I could imagine that it had taken but little carving of the rocks from which it grew to turn nature into art.

Texts C and D illustrate the faceless norm of formal, expository genres. Here the emphasis is on the information being presented rather than the author's stance relative to the information. As we saw with C1, affect is seldom expressed in expository genres. In addition, evidential certainty is not overtly expressed because all information presented is assumed to be factual unless explicitly marked otherwise. This seems to be the case both in reportage of current events (Text C) and in academic expositions (Text D). In contrast, doubt is explicitly marked in these genres, as shown below in the discussion of C4. A 'doubtful' style of formal exposition is relatively rare because of the emphasis on findings and observations and a dispreference for speculation. The norm for written expository genres in English is thus a text relatively devoid of both affective and evidential stance markers.

Similarly, Text E illustrates the faceless style typical of fictional genres. In this case, the exposition is presented *as if* it were factual, as a true and accurate description, albeit of a fictional world. Since the author creates, and therefore fully knows, this world, the exposition is in some sense wholly factual.

Finally, C2 identifies an interesting split among the spoken informational genres: prepared speeches and radio broadcasts as faceless, and spontaneous speeches and interviews as not. The difference here seems to relate to differences in typical purpose of communication: presenting factual or known information, as in radio broadcasts (which report events actually in progress) and prepared speeches (sermons, academic lectures, and political speeches) versus presenting one's own opinion or argument in support of a particular view, as in public conversations (including panel discussions and debates) and spontaneous speeches (such as debates in

Parliament and cross-examination in court cases). The stance characteristics of public conversations and public speeches will be considered further in the discussion of C6.

4.3 *Cluster 3: 'Interactional evidentiality'*

Cluster 3 corresponds to the involved, intense conversational style noted by Chafe, Labov, and others. The texts of this cluster make frequent use of hedges, emphatics, certainty verbs, doubt verbs, certainty adverbs, doubt adverbs, and possibility modals. There is no preference for either certainty or doubt here; rather, these texts show an extreme marking of general evidentiality (both certainty and doubt) for emphasis and to create a general sense of involvement. As Table 3 shows, 31 of the 37 texts in the cluster are from private conversations, while an additional three are from public conversations. Text F illustrates the characteristic linguistic features of 'interactional evidentiality'.

Text F. Telephone conversation (LL: 8, 3h)

A: on the other hand # [pause] it MIGHT SORT OF [pause] Mr. Lumsden is going to have to have two mortgages out # and OBVIOUSLY # his solicitors # looking after his interests # are SORT OF chivvying # [pause] ...
A: we're JUST SORT OF well # we're [pause] we are # left in the lurch # as much as they are # REALLY #
C: yes # you are INDEED # they're being very [pause] they're being extremely slow # ...
A: well I told them # that you'd been SORT OF you yourselves had been JUST behaving with the greatest alacrity # and been extremely SORT OF interested # and wanted it # and everything and #
C: yeah #
A: you know # I JUST SORT OF
C: yes #

As Text F illustrates, the use of evidential features in C3 texts seems only secondarily related to any direct assessment of certainty or doubt. In fact, certainty and doubt (hedging, in this instance) are sometimes expressed side by side:

a. *OBVIOUSLY his solicitors ... are SORT OF chivvying*
b. *we're JUST SORT OF ... left in the lurch as much as they are REALLY.*

The certainty and emphatic forms here seem to reflect a sense of heightened emphatic excitement about the interaction, while the hedges seem to reflect a lack of concern with precise details, indicating that the focus is on involved interaction rather than precise semantic expression.

This style is affective in the sense that the participants are clearly

emotionally involved in the interaction. In this case, however, the affect is not lexically encoded. Whereas in the texts of C1 a variety of personal affective feelings are openly expressed while being supported by the involved use of emphatics, hedges, and other general evidential markers, the style associated with C3 has very few direct markers of personal affect. The frequent use of emphatics, hedges, and other evidential markers reflects the presence of strong emotions, but typical conversational participants minimize expression of lexical and grammatical affect (as indicated by the very large number of telephone and face-to-face conversations in this cluster and in C2). An examination of the large number of affect expressions included in our study (see category VII in the Appendix) and the recognition that they are notably lacking in the conversations of C3 (as well as those of C2) indicates one of two things: either conversationalists consider affect too personal for direct lexical expression in a face-to-face situation, or the other channels available in speech permit a more effective (and perhaps more diffuse and less vulnerable) mode of expressing affective emotion.

4.4 *Cluster 4: 'Expository expression of doubt'*

The first three clusters are marked by the presence (or, in the case of C2, absence) of a broad range of stance feaures, including both certainty and doubt evidentials. In contrast, as Fig. 3 shows, C4 is marked by the frequent use of only two stance markers, both of which express doubt. In addition, evidentiality in C1 and C3 is marked primarily by the frequent use of adverbial stance classes (emphatics, hedges, certainty adverbs, and doubt adverbs) and secondarily by verb classes (certainty verbs, doubt verbs, and possibility modals). Again contrasting with this pattern, C4 is distinguished primarily by a very frequent use of an adjectival stance class. As Table 3 indicates, the 52 texts in C4 are primarily informational written exposition: 34 of them are from academic prose, press reportage, press editorials, or official documents, and each of these genres has between 14% and 30% of its texts in this cluster.

The constellation of written expository texts, overt expression of doubt, and adjectival forms is striking in C4. The interactive texts in the study (spoken and written; C1 and C3) show an extreme marking of both certainty and doubt. In contrast, informational expository texts typically do not mark stance (as noted in the discussion of C2); in particular, certainty is not marked in such texts because a factual presentation of information is the norm. For this reason, doubt tends to be expressed in these texts when it exists. The preference for adjectivally marked stance, which is more integrated and more structurally complex than the adverb

or verb marking found in the interactive texts, reflects the opportunity for planned production and editing in the communication situations of written expository texts. Texts G and H illustrate this stance style in academic prose and press reportage.

Text G. Academic prose (LOB: J, 31)
... Also, although the informants seemed to understand the terms on the card showing the list of contraceptives, it is POSSIBLE that incorrect answers were given by a few who only knew a different colloquial name for the method used. The following analysis shows that a large majority of the informants only ever used one contraceptive method or group of methods simultaneously; however, it is POSSIBLE that a few informants, weary at this stage in a long interview, may not have taken the trouble to outline their whole contraceptive history.

Text H. Press reportage (LOB: A, 15)
Air fares in Europe may be increased—POSSIBLY by amounts between 2 and 5 per cent—from April 1 as a result of a special private meeting of European airlines which opens in Paris this morning....

It is thought LIKELY that at the meeting B.E.A. [British European Airways] will fight any proposal to raise fares.... The airline has booked many hundreds of thousands of passengers ... and it is LIKELY to argue that the administrative problems involved in raising fares now would be enormous....

Compared to the texts in C1 and C3, Texts G and H show a judicial use of stance markers. However, compared to the faceless texts in C2, which represent the more typical kinds of written exposition, the texts in C4 are quite explicit in marking areas of doubt. Expository expression of doubt is marked mainly by adjectival forms which function as heads to *that*-clauses or infinitival complement clauses (e.g., *it is possible that, it is likely to argue*). Cluster 4 thus represents a stance style characteristic of informational exposition; it is distinguished by both the semantic marking of doubt and the use of adjectival constructions.

4.5 *Cluster 5: 'Predictive persuasion'*

Containing only six texts, C5 is extremely specialized, and its interpretation must thus be tentative. This cluster can be considered the counterpart to C4: a relatively informational stance style characterized by the explicit marking of certainty. Given our description above of the marking of doubt in informational exposition, it is not surprising that the expression of certainty should be so uncommon. That is, we proposed above that the unmarked case for informational exposition is a factual presentation of information, thus requiring only marking of doubt. The stance style represented by C5 represents a type of informational exposi-

tion where this is not the case, where an overt emphasis on certainty is required in order to be convincing. Not surprisingly, three of the six texts in this cluster are letters of recommendation, where writers are expected to emphasize their certainty in the academic potential of the prospective student. Text J illustrates this style in a letter of recommendation, while Text K illustrates the specialized use of this style in a spontaneous speech—in this case actually a cross-examination in a legal trial.

Text J. Letter of recommendation (private corpus: Y, 6)
... She is determined to become a teacher of English as a second language, and in view of the above-mentioned qualities and her good record at ABU, I am CERTAIN she WILL reach her goal and be an excellent teacher.

Text K. Spontaneous speech—court case (LL: 11, 1)
A: was there any time # between your arrival # at two o'clock # and your departure # [pause] after she had signed the will # [pause] when she had any alcoholic drink # [pause]
B: no #
A: are you sure #
B: I'M ABSOLUTELY POSITIVE #
A: very good # [long pause] were you in the room # when she phoned the doctor # [pause]
B: no # [pause] I was not # my mother didn't phone the doctor # [pause]
C: are you sure about that # [pause]
B: yes I AM SURE # [pause] my lord # [pause]
C: well you heard Doctor Fell # give his evidence yesterday # [pause] was he ⟨wrong⟩
B: I think [pause] I think probably # [pause] the doctor's a busy man # [pause] he had a phone call # [long pause] from the [pause] somebody # [pause] my mother didn't phone him at three o'clock # [pause] that I'M CERTAIN # [pause]

As in C4, stance in the texts of C5 is marked primarily by adjectival forms, reflecting a relatively extensive opportunity for careful production and editing. In these situations, though, certainty is not the unmarked case. For example, in letters of recommendation, it is not typically appropriate to express overt reservations about a candidate. Within this context, a 'faceless' letter indicates a certain degree of reservation, so a truly positive letter requires overt marking of certainty, as in Text J. Text K is from a court trial, an interactive situation where the truthfulness of interlocuters is not assumed. Thus, the defendant is required to assert *I'm absolutely positive, I am sure*, and *I'm certain* in order to be persuasive about the certainty of his information. In Text K, unlike the interactive texts in C3, the use of certainty stance markers expresses certainty rather than general evidential emphasis. Overall, then, C5 represents a very

specialized stance style, which is required only in those exceptional circumstances where an informational presentation is not automatically assumed to be factual.

4.6 *Cluster 6: 'Oral controversial persuasion'*

With 64 texts, C6 is well represented, although its linguistic characteristics are relatively indistinct. As Fig. 3 shows, C6 is marked by frequent predictive modals, and a moderately frequent use of certainty adverbs and possibility modals. Various texts are grouped into this cluster, including spontaneous speeches, interviews, romance fiction, conversations, academic prose, letters of recommendation, and professional letters; 63% of all spontaneous speeches and 41% of all interviews fall into this cluster. Like that of C3, the style of C6 marks both certainty (prediction) and doubt (possibility), although it shows a greater use of certainty. In contrast to C3, the texts of C6 have an informational focus, although they tend to be oral. The use of stance features here often seems to give a persuasive force, as Text L (from an interview) and Text M (from a debate) illustrate.

Text L. Interview (LL: 6, 1a)

A: if we CAN feed # into this model # the right kind of numbers # [long pause] relating to # the market situation # it should be possible # ... to predict [long pause] eventually # what·WOULD happen # [pause] ... this means # ... [that] one MAY be able to get # more accurate predictions of # [pause] the most effective kind of strategy # to pursue # [pause] now CLEARLY this is of great interest # to mathematicians # ...

Text M. Spontaneous speech (debate in Parliament; LL: 11, 4)

A1: the honourable gentleman WILL have to await # the [pause] questions which my right honourable friend WILL be answering # on the question of the policy review # [pause] ...

Q2: does the British Airways Concorde contract # [pause] contain an escape clause # [pause] should operating rights in the United States not be forthcoming # [pause]

A1: [coughs] I've no reason to suppose # that IN FACT # [pause] those operation rights WILL not be forthcoming # [pause] and the contractual question that WOULD arise if IN FACT # [pause] we were disappointed in that respect # WILL OF COURSE have to be considered # ...

Q3: ... does he ['my right honourable friend'] not think that he ought to have an investigation of some of these firms # to see how their export departments are organized # [pause]. . .

A2: I think there is a great deal of useful work # to be done in firms themselves # as to how they can really best deploy their efforts # [pause] with particular

> emphasis OF COURSE on # [pause] doing better in export markets # [pause] and I WOULD CERTAINLY encourage firms to do that # [pause] I think OF COURSE that one of the advantages of the planning agreement approach # that we SHALL be developing # [pause] soon # WILL be to enable us to have a more sort of structured discussion # with firms # [pause]

The use of modals in these samples emphasizes particular possibilities or expectations that support the speaker's main points. Thus in Text L, the speaker notes that *if we can feed. . .*, we should be able to predict *what would happen.* In Text M, the modals are all predictive, for example, *my ... friend will be answering*, [that] *will of course have to be considered*, [the approach] *that we shall be developing, will ... enable us.* The use of the certainty adverbs in conjunction with these modals seems to be primarily for persuasion, rather than actually expressing additional certainty. For example, in Text L we are told that *clearly this is of great interest.* In Text M, whenever speakers A1 or A2 are put on the spot, they begin using frequent certainty adverbs, in marked contrast to the actual certainty of their discourse. For example, note the series *in fact, in fact, of course* in A1's response to the Concorde question, as well as the series *of course, certainly, of course* in A2's defense of his planning approach.

These forms seem to be used to create a sense of solidarity with listeners when discussing issues that are in fact divisive. Consider A2's response (Text M) in more detail. The issue raised by Q3 in this case is whether the government ought to investigate the export practices of certain firms. In response, A2 begins by disagreeing with Q3 by suggesting that the firms themselves are best able to monitor their own practices; but he frames this disagreement in terms of a point of agreement emphasized by certainty adverbs: *with particular emphasis OF COURSE on doing better in export markets [pause] and I would CERTAINLY encourage firms to do that.* The certainty in this case emphasizes the points of agreement, in order to make the more basic disagreement more acceptable.

Because of the relatively infrequent use of stance markers and the relatively wide range of texts included, the stance style represented by C6 is not as clearly distinguished as in the other clusters. Overall, though, the style here seems to represent an overtly persuasive stance adopted in oral, informational discourse where there is a certain amount of controversy or diagreement concerning the topic of discussion.

5. Summary and conclusion

In the present study we undertook an overall analysis of the lexical and grammatical marking of affective and evidential stance in English. We

Table 4. *Summary of the six stance styles*

Interpretive Label	Distinctive Stance Characteristics	Major Text Varieties
1) 'Emphatic Expression of Affect'	+ + + affect markers + + emphatics, hedges, certainty verbs, doubt verbs, possibility modals	+ + + personal letters + conversation
2) 'Faceless Stance'	+ + + absence of all stance features	+ + + written exposition + + written fiction + + informational spoken texts
3) 'Interactional Evidentiality'	+ + + hedges, emphatics + + certainty and doubt adverbs, certainty and doubt verbs, possibility modals	+ + + conversation
4) 'Expository Expression of Doubt'	+ + + doubt adjectives + doubt adverbs	+ + informational written exposition
5) 'Predictive Persuasion'	+ + + certainty adjectives + + predictive modals	+ + letters of recommendation
6) 'Oral Controversial Persuasion'	+ + predictive modals + certainty adverbs, possibility modals	+ + informational spoken texts + formal letters

considered the distribution of stance markers across 500 spoken and written texts, representing many different speech situations and purposes. We analyzed positive and negative affect markers, and certainty and doubt evidential markers; we distinguished adverbs, adjectives, verbs, and modals within each class. Using a cluster analysis, we identified six major stance styles for English, summarized in Table 4.

The analysis uncovered some surprisingly subtle and interesting differences in the marking of stance in English. For example, the study identifies a major difference between affective interaction (Cluster 1), a style found primarily in personal letters in which personal feelings and affective attitudes are lexically and grammatically expressed, and involved interaction (Cluster 3), a style found primarily in conversation, in which a general emphatic evidentiality is frequently marked. The study also distinguishes among three primary styles of informational exposition: (1) a faceless style, which is characterized by the relative absence of all stance features and the unmarked assumption that the discourse assertions are factual (Cluster 2); (2) an informational style presenting uncertain information with the same un-

marked assumption, so that doubtful assertions are overtly marked (Cluster 4); and (3) an informational but 'challenged' style, in which the unmarked assumption is that discourse assertions are not necessarily true, so that claimed assertions must be overtly marked as certain (Cluster 5). Finally, the analysis distinguishes between two major grammatical styles of marking stance: adjectivally in planned, informational texts, and verbally/adverbially in interactive, informal texts.[8]

Two major overall observations were emphasized in the beginning of Section 2: (1) the extremely large number of faceless texts in English; and (2) the surprising organization of styles by grammatical as well as semantic criteria. With regard to the second observation, a detailed consideration of the clusters has shown how the marking of both grammatical and semantic stance fits the characteristic texts associated with a style. Overall, stance styles might be characterized as general or specialized with regard to their grammatical and semantic marking. That is, some clusters mark a wide range of semantic fields and use a wide range of grammatical devices; others are specialized with respect to both semantic field and grammatical devices. For example, Cluster 3 marks both certainty and doubt evidentiality, using both adverbs (including hedges and emphatics) and verbs (including modals). Cluster 1 is in a sense even more general, marking positive and negative affect as well as certainty and doubt evidentiality and using a broad range of adverbs and verbs. In contrast, Clusters 4 and 5 are specialized: both mark only one semantic field (doubt evidentiality in Cluster 4; certainty evidentiality in Cluster 5), and both depend primarily on adjectival forms. Specialization in semantic field and grammatical devices thus seems to be highly correlated, presumably because of the different communicative requirements of these styles. The general stance styles are common in highly involved, interactive situations, where there is little emphasis on exact presentation of information and thus little need for a precise evidential stance (although affect is overtly marked only in these situations). In contrast, the specialized styles are found in informational, often written, texts, which place strong emphasis on an exact presentation of information and thus require a more precise marking of evidential stance. This does not result in a more frequent marking of stance in these latter texts: rather, it results in a more specific marking of certainty or doubt (as opposed to a general emphatic indication of stance), using adjectival forms (which are more integrative).

There are two possible explanations for the large number of faceless texts found in the study. The first is that these texts mark stance with devices not considered in the present study; the second is that stance is in fact not overtly marked in many types of English texts. With respect to

the first consideration, there are additional features that could have been included in the study. For example, we excluded nouns as markers of stance because it is extremely difficult to identify those instances that clearly mark the speaker's own attitude; contrast *we considered the POSSIBILITY that ...*, which seems not to have an evidential interpretation, with *there is a POSSIBILITY that ...*, which seems to have a direct evidential function. More importantly, stance in English seems to be often integrated into a text rather than overtly marked. For example, attributive adjectives sometimes seem to mark stance in addition to marking descriptive elaboration or referential identification. This is especially the case with certain affect adjectives (e.g., *that was an amazing story; that's a nice hat*). The problem with these forms is that they often do not mark the speaker's own stance. For example, *that was a lucky break* may not be expressing the speaker's own feeling of luck; in contrast, *that was an amazing story* can express the speaker's own sense of amazement. A similar problem arises with attributive adjectives as evidential markers. Consider the following sentences:

a. That is a possible explanation for ...
b. There is a/one possible explanation for ...
c. There is only one possible explanation for ...
d. There are two possible explanations for ...

The attributive adjective *possible* in sentence (a) seems to have an evidential interpretation in one of its readings; that is, it might be paraphrased as *Possibly that is an explanation for ....* This evidential interpretation becomes less likely for sentence (b), however, and it seems not to be possible at all for sentences (c) and (d). Even in sentence (a), the evidential function is not primary. This secondary, integrated marking of stance thus seems to exist along a cline, with the personal force of the expression depending on the particular lexical item and specific grammatical frame. Consideration of a variety of secondary stance markers might show that stance is marked in some fashion and to some extent in many of the texts here labeled 'faceless'. For a large number of English texts, though, this study indicates that a faceless style is the norm.

Investigation of these secondary markers of stance, and identification of other primary stance features, should help in the recognition of additional stance styles. In the present analysis, we described six basic stance styles of English in terms of those features purposefully used to mark a speaker's personal attitude.

Appendix

List of Stance Features Investigated

I. Certainty adverbs
actually, admittedly, assuredly, avowedly, certainly, decidedly, definitely, evidently, in actuality, incontestably, incontrovertibly, indeed, indisputably, indubitably, in fact, in reality, in/with certainty, irrefutably, manifestly, obviously, of course, patently, unambiguously, unarguably, undeniably, undoubtedly, unmistakably, unquestionably, without doubt, without question

to be _____: certain, clear, realistic, sure

In sentence- and clause-initial position: clearly, plainly, surely

II. Doubt adverbs
allegedly, apparently, arguably, conceivably, ostensibly, perchance, perhaps, possibly, presumably, purportedly, reportedly, reputedly, seemingly, supposedly

In sentence- and clause-initial position: formally, hypothetically, ideally, likely, officially, outwardly, superficially, technically, theoretically

III. Certainty verbs
I/we (ADV/MODAL/AUX) _____: ascertain, calculate, conclude, deduce, demonstrate, determine, discern, establish, know, note, perceive, prove, realize

I/we (ADV/MODAL/AUX) _____ that: find, show
BE (ADV) _____ (i.e., passive forms of verbs): ascertained, calculated, concluded, deduced, demonstrated, determined, discerned, established, known, noted, perceived, proved, realized

BE(ADV) _____ that (i.e., passive forms of verbs): found, shown

the/this/that/it (N) shows (that)

the/these/those N show (that)

it (ADV) follows that

demonstrates, establishes, proves, signifies

IV. Doubt verbs
I/we (ADV/MODAL/AUX) _____ that/WH: disbelieve, expect, feel, gather, imagine, sense, think

I/we (ADV/MODAL/AUX) _____: assume, conjecture, doubt, estimate, guess, hypothesiz(/s)e, infer, postulate, presume, speculate, suppose, surmise, suspect, wonder if

BE(ADV) _____ (i.e., passive forms of verbs): assumed, conjectured, disbelieved, doubted, estimated, expected, felt, gathered, guessed, hypothesiz(/s)ed, imagined, inferred, postulated, presumed, sensed, speculated, supposed, surmised, suspected, thought

the/this/that/it (N) _____ (that): intimates, suggests

the/these/those N _____ (that): intimate, suggest

appear, appears, assumes, implies, indicates, presumes, seem, seems

V. Certainty adjectives
certain, evident, impossible, inconceivable, incontestable, incontrovertible, indisputable, indubitable, irrefutable, known, manifest, obvious, patent, true, unambiguous, unarguable, undeniable, undoubted, unmistakable, unquestionable, untrue, well-known

it/that (ADV) BE/SEEM _____: apparent, clear, definite, plain, sure (frame includes contracted forms)

I/we (ADV) BE/SEEM/feel _____: convinced, definite, sure (frame includes contracted forms)

VI. Doubt adjectives
alleged, arguable, conceivable, disputable, doubtful, dubious, imaginable, improbable, likely, possible, presumable, probable, questionable, reputed, supposed, uncertain, unlikely

it/that (ADV) BE/SEEM _____: indefinite, unclear, unsure (frame includes contracted forms)

I/we (ADV) BE/SEEM/feel _____: unclear, unsure (frame includes contracted forms)

VII. Affect expressions
Positive affect verbs

I/we (ADV) _____: ache for, enjoy, fancy, hope, like, long for, love, prefer, relish, seek, want, wish, yearn

it (ADV) _____ me/us: amazes, amuses, astonishes, delights, interests, pleases, refreshes, suits, surprises, thrills

Negative affect verbs

I/we (ADV) _____: begrudge, can't stand, deign, despise, detest, dislike, dread, envy, fear, hate, loathe, regret, resent, scorn

it (ADV) _____ me/us: aggravates, agitates, alarms, annoys, bothers, confuses, disappoints, discourages, disgusts, dismays, distresses, disturbs, embarrasses, frightens, horrifies, irritates, kills, overwhelms, pains, perplexes, perturbs, puzzles, rubs, saddens, scares, shocks, slays, troubles, upsets, worries

Positive affect adjectives

I/we (ADV) BE/SEEM/feel _____: amazed, amused, astonished, content, curious, delighted, eager, enchanted, fascinated, fortunate, glad, happy, hopeful, interested, jubilant, keen, lucky, overjoyed, pleased, proud, relieved, satisfied, surprised, thankful (frame includes contracted forms)

it/that (ADV) BE/SEEM _____: amazing, amusing, appropriate, astonishing, convenient, curious, delightful, fascinating, fitting, fortunate, funny, incredible, inevitable, interesting, ironic, lucky, merciful, natural, nice, pleasing, predictable, preferable, proper, refreshing, remarkable, significant, surprising, understandable, unexpected (frame includes contracted forms)

Negative affect adjectives

I/we (ADV) BE/SEEM/feel _____: afraid, aggrieved, alarmed, annoyed, ashamed, concerned, depressed, disappointed, disgusted, dismayed, dissatisfied, distressed, disturbed, embarrassed, frightened, furious, impatient, indignant, irritated, mad, odd, overwhelmed, perplexed, perturbed, puzzled, regretful, sad, scared, shocked, suspicious, unhappy, upset, worried (frame includes contracted forms)

it/that (ADV) BE/SEEM _____: alarming, annoying, confusing, disappointing, disgusting, distressing, disturbing, embarrassing, frightening, hopeless, horrible, improper, irritating, odd, perplexing, puzzling, regrettable, sad, scary, silly, strange, suspicious, terrible, tragic, unfortunate, unnatural, upsetting, worrisome (frame includes contracted forms)

Positive affect adverbs

amazingly, amusingly, appropriately, astonishingly, conveniently, curiously, enchantingly, fortunately, funnily, happily, hopefully, incredibly, inevitably, interestingly, ironically, luckily, mercifully, naturally, predictably, preferably, refreshingly, remarkably, rightly, significantly, suprisingly, thankfully, unaccountably, understandably, unexpectedly

Negative affect adverbs

alarmingly, annoyingly, ashamedly, depressingly, disappointingly, disgustingly, disturbingly embarrassedly, frighteningly, impatiently, oddly, perplexingly, regretfully, regrettably, sadly, shockingly, strangely, suspiciously, tragically, unfortunately, unhappily, unluckily, unnaturally

VIII. Hedges
almost, at about, kind of, maybe, more or less, something like, sort of

IX. Emphatics
a lot, DO + Verb, for sure, just, real + ADJ, really, more, most, so + ADJ, so + ADV, such a

X. Possibility modals
can, may, might, could (plus contractions)

XI. Necessity modals
ought, should, must (plus contractions)

XII. Predictive modals
will, would, shall (plus contractions)

Notes

1. The spoken texts are taken from the London-Lund (LL) Corpus; the written texts are taken from the Lancaster-Oslo/Bergen (LOB) Corpus or a private corpus of letters.
2. We excluded nouns because of the difficulties in identifying those occurrences with an exclusive stance function. We recognize that in certain constructions nouns do have an explicit stance function; for example, in existential constructions as *there is a possibility that*, the noun (in this case *possibility*) clearly marks the author's stance.
3. The computer programs used grammatically 'tagged' texts as input; that is, each word in the text is marked for its grammatical category. Biber (1988) includes a description of the tagging programs.
4. The FASTCLUS procedure from SAS was used for the clustering. Disjoint clusters were produced since there was no theoretical reason to expect a hierarchical structure. Peaks in the Cubic Clustering Criterion and the Pseudo F Statistic, both produced by the FASTCLUS procedure, were used to determine the number of clusters to extract for analysis. These statistics provide a measure of the similarities among texts within each cluster in relation to the differences between the clusters. In the present case, both measures showed a peak for the six cluster solution, indicating that this solution provided the best fit to data.
5. Texts are labeled as follows:
   CORPUS: GENRE, TEXT-NUMBER
   For example, Text A is labeled LL: 7, 1d, because it is from the London-Lund Corpus,

genre type 7 (telephone conversation), and text number 1d within that genre. In the spoken text samples, # marks intonatin unit boundaries.

6. Note that our conversations are drawn from a corpus of British English; in the absence of a standardized corpus of spoken American English, we have been unable to explore possible differences between British and American conversational expression of affect. Note, too, that our personal letters are mixed North American and British written primarily by females, in contrast to the exclusively British spoken texts with mixed male and female speakers. And, of course, it should be noted again that conversation allows the possibility of paralinguistic expression of affect in addition to lexical and grammatical markers.
7. Writing, of course, can also employ paralinguistic orthographic conventions such as bold face, underlining, quotation marks, and other punctuation.
8. There are some interesting correspondences between the stance styles identified here and the adverbial stance styles identified in Biber and Finegan (1988). For example, both analyses identify a 'faceless' stance style, a cautious informational style, and a persuasive style of oral argumentation. In addition, Dimension 4 of Biber (1988), which is labeled 'Overt Expression of Persuasion', corresponds roughly to Cluster 5 of the present analysis.

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