

A Study of Stance Markers in the American Feminine Political Speeches

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Abstract:

The study investigates the grammatical markers adopted to show stance-taking in the American feminine political speeches. These markers are to be identified according to Biber's (2006) framework in a sample that consists of nine political speeches delivered by the three female American Secretaries of State; Madeleine K. Albright, Condoleezza Rice, and Hillary Clinton. The findings mainly reveal that epistemic modals and adverbs expressing certainty are the most common grammatical formulations used in expressing stance in the American feminine political speeches which go in line with the rhetorical features of political speeches and the speaker's aim as well.

Keywords: Stance-taking, political speeches, lexical and grammatical stance markers.

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دراسة تراكيب لغة اتخاذ الموقف في الخطاب السياسي النسائي الأمريكي

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الملخص:-

تسعى الدراسة الحالية الى تقصي ابرز المفردات و التراكيب النحوية و جدواها المستخدمة في اتخاذ الموقف في الخطاب السياسي النسائي الأمريكي. اعتمدت منهجية البحث على انموذج باير (٢٠٠٦) و الذي ينطوي على تمييز ثلاثة انواع من الصيغ اللغوية و دلالاتها و التي تستخدم في اتخاذ الموقف في عينة من الخطابات السياسية لثلاث من ابرز واهم النساء السياسيات الامريكيات اللاتي شغلن منصب وزير الخارجية في الحكومة الامريكية و هن : مادلين ك. اولبرايت و كوندليزا رايس و هيلاري كلينتون. خلصت الدراسة الى تكرار استخدام انواع محددة من المفردات و التراكيب النحوية في اتخاذ الموقف طبقا الى الميزات البلاغية لنص الخطاب السياسي و الهدف المنشود من القاء الخطاب و موضوعه.

الكلمات المفتاحية: صيغ اتخاذ الموقف, الخطاب السياسي, المفردات و التراكيب النحوية .

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1. Introduction

Expressing stance is one of the most important things we do with words (Du Bois, 2007: 139). A general consensus among linguists identifies the fact that, in any situation of interaction, people do not normally convey information without adding their own attitudinal and moral flavors to it, which is regarded as acts of stance. Mohammed and Abdullah (2018:40) assume that stance is a central act of communication as social actors tend to make assessment towards both the action and the participants involved. In this context, Stubbs (1996: 202) confirms that :

Whenever speakers or writers say anything, they encode their point of view towards it. Whether they think it is a reasonable thing to say, or might be found to be obvious, questionable, tentative, provisional, controversial, contradictory, irrelevant, impolite or whatever. The expression of such speaker's attitudes is pervasive in all uses of language. All utterances encode such points of view, and the markers of such points of view and their meanings is a central topic for linguistics (Cited in Szczyrbak, 2014: 92).

Biber et al. (1999: 966) define stance as the expression of “*personal feelings, attitudes, value judgements, or assessments [by speakers and writers]*”. Thus, stance, has always been viewed to be an interactional phenomenon which should not be assumed to be “*either present or absent in an utterance but as always being present, to some degree*” (Rauniomaa, 2008: 40). Gray and Biber (2015: 220) presume that mostly all the studies conducted to investigate stance have confirmed the fact that it is mainly found “*in spoken registers and in written registers that are interpersonal or persuasive in nature*”.

A political speech is a form of interaction among people in which the speaker demonstrates and discusses major events, whether international or domestic, from a political point of view. One of the most important features of political speeches is persuasion as the speaker aims to influence his/her audience through language to urge them change what they used to believe in and take some action for the speaker's benefit. Aristotle explained that persuasion in speeches comprises a

combination of three essential elements: logos (talking about facts), pathos (tapping the argument emotional aspect), and ethos (the speaker presents his/her apparent moral standing). Cockcroft and Cockcroft (1992: 21), in fact, explain that the contemporary usage of ethos involves, in addition to personality, what the speaker believes in (i.e. stance) and how he/she is able to convey it persuasively to the addressees. From here comes the importance of examining stance formulations in political speeches as being correlated with its persuasive aspect.

The present study is set to identify:

1. the dominant lexico-grammatical stance markers in the American feminine political speeches, and
2. the meaning that these stance markers are supposed to indicate in relation to the purpose and topic of the speech.

2. Theoretical Background

In their seminal work, **Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English**, Biber et al. (1999) have developed a systematic approach dealing with lexico-grammatical marking of stance. Biber and colleagues have identified three important categories of stance markers, namely, paralinguistic, lexical and grammatical. Due to the fact that they are “*not linguistically explicit*” (p:966), the paralinguistic stance markers like loudness, pitch, and duration have been considered difficult to investigate as well as they are limited only to the spoken forms of communication. Hence, the framework began to be labelled as the lexico-grammatical one. It involves the value-laden lexical items, like nouns, adjectives, and verbs, and five grammatical constructions, viz. modals and semi modals, adverbials, complement clauses, nouns followed by prepositional phrases, and premodifying adverbs followed by an adjective or a noun. Moreover, Biber et al (1999 : 972-975) have outlined three major semantic distinctions conveyed by the stance markers, as follows:

1. Epistemic stance markers which comment on the status of information or proposition indicating certainty, doubt, actuality, limitation, ... etc., e.g.

I **know** I can get off the bus. (LGSWE, p:973)

In fact, it's actually quite nice. (LGSWE, p:973)

2. Attitudinal stance markers that express attitudes or feelings, e.g.

Fortunately, this did not stop women from trying. (LGSWE, p:974)

I **hope** you told him we swear a lot here. (LGSWE, p:974)

I was **curious** to see why it had happened. (LGSWE, p:974)

3. Style stance markers that comment on the communication itself.
This type of stance markers has been limited to the adverbials only, e.g.

Honestly, I've got no patience whatsoever. (LGSWE, p:975)

It can be said that Biber and colleagues' framework in LGSWE laid the foundation for the more current stance framework that was refined to describe stance marking strictly in the university registers (Biber, 2006). This refined framework focuses only on the lexico-grammatical markers of stance excluding the purely lexical ones due to the fact that they express stance explicitly whereas the value-laden words are very hard to operationalize as many English words convey some sort of stance on the part of the speaker or writer. Furthermore, Biber (2006: 92) has limited the lexico-grammatical stance markers to three only, namely, the modals and semi-modals, the adverbials, and the that- and to-complement clauses for being more commonly used in English than the other two ones (Table 1). Gray and Biber (2015: 221) find that these three stance markers can be arranged in terms of how clearly they can express stance. Hence, these stance markers start with the **that-** and **to-**complement clauses to be the clearest indication of stance as the head of these clauses which can either be a noun, a verb, or an adjective conveys a specific stance in relation to the proposition involved in the clause following it, e.g.

I **suggest** that you go through your notes before tomorrow.

It is also **important** to consider the method of cancer detection when reviewing the results of a surveillance policy.

Stance adverbials, which include single adverbials, prepositional phrases and comment clauses, come second in that they are regarded an

“they provide an overt assessment of the proposition contained in the matrix clause”, e.g.

Obviously, everybody’s important here or you wouldn’t have had your position

Modals and semi-modals express stance less obviously than the previous two constructions as they are part of the verb phrase, e.g.

A certain stratification **may** occur due to successive deposits.

Table (1): The Lexico-grammatical stance markers
(adapted from Biber (2006: 92-93))

1	Modals and semi-modal verbs <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - possibility/permission/ability: can, could, may, might - necessity/obligation: must, should, (had) better, have to, got to, ought to - prediction/volition: will, would, shall, be going to
2	Stance Adverbs <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Epistemic: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Certainty: actually, always, certainly, definitely, indeed, inevitably, in fact, never, of course, obviously, really, undoubtedly, without doubt, no doubt ▪ Likelihood: apparently, evidently, kind of, in most cases/instances, perhaps, possibly, predictably, probably, roughly, sort of, maybe - Attitude: amazingly, astonishingly, conveniently, curiously, hopefully, even worse, fortunately, importantly, ironically, rightly, sadly, surprisingly, unfortunately - Style: according to, confidentially, frankly, generally, honestly, mainly, technically, truthfully, typically, reportedly, primarily, usually
3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Complement clauses controlled by stance verbs, adjectives, or nouns - Stance complement clauses controlled by verbs - 3.1.a. Stance verb + that-clause - Epistemic verbs: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Certainty: conclude, demonstrate, determine, discover, find, know, learn, mean, notice, observe, prove, realize, recognize, remember, see, show, understand ▪ Likelihood: assume, believe, doubt, gather, guess, hypothesize, imagine, predict, presuppose, presume, reckon, seem, speculate, suppose, suspect, think - Attitude verbs: agree, anticipate, complain, concede, ensure, expect, fear, feel, forget, hope, mind, prefer, pretend, require, wish, worry - Speech act and other communication verbs: announce, argue, assert, claim, contend, declare, emphasize, explain, imply, insist, mention, promise, propose, recommend, remark, respond, say, state, suggest, tell
3.1b.	Stance verb + to-clause <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Probability (likelihood) verbs: appear, happen, seem, tend - Cognition/perception verbs (likelihood): assume, believe, consider, expect, find, forget, imagine, judge, know, learn, presume, pretend, remember, suppose - Desire/intention/decision verbs: agree, choose, decide, hate, hesitate, hope, intend, like, love, mean, need, plan, prefer, prepare, refuse, want, wish

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Verbs of causation/modality/effort: allow, attempt, enable, encourage, fail, help, instruct, manage, oblige, order, permit, persuade, prompt, require, seek, try - Speech act and other communication verbs: ask, claim, invite, promise, remind, request, be said, show, teach, tell, urge, warn
3.2. Stance complement clauses controlled by adjectives	
3.2.a. Stance adjective + that-clause	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Epistemic adjectives: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Certainty: apparent, certain, clear, confident, convinced, correct, evident, false, impossible, inevitable, obvious, positive, right, sure, true, well-known ▪ Likelihood (extraposed): doubtful, likely, possible, probable, unlikely - Attitude/emotion adjectives: afraid, amazed, aware, concerned, disappointed, encouraged, glad, happy, hopeful, pleased, shocked, surprised, worried - Evaluation adjectives: amazing, appropriate, conceivable, crucial, essential, fortunate, imperative, inconceivable, incredible, interesting, lucky, necessary, nice, noteworthy, odd, ridiculous, strange, surprising, unacceptable, unfortunate
3.2.b. Stance adjective + to-clause	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Epistemic (certainty/likelihood) adjectives: apt, certain, due, guaranteed, liable, likely, prone, unlikely, sure - Attitude/emotion adjectives: afraid, ashamed, disappointed, embarrassed, glad, happy, pleased, proud, puzzled, relieved, sorry, surprised, worried - Evaluation adjectives: (in)appropriate, bad/worse, good/better/best, convenient, essential, important, interesting, necessary, nice, reasonable, silly, smart, stupid, surprising, useful, useless, unreasonable, wise, wrong - Ability or willingness adjectives: (un)able, anxious, careful, determined, eager, eligible, hesitant, inclined, obliged, prepared, ready, reluctant, (un)willing - Ease or difficulty adjectives: difficult, easier, easy, hard, (im)possible, tough
3.3. Stance complement clauses controlled by nouns	
3.3.a. Stance noun + that-clause	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Epistemic nouns: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Certainty: assertion, conclusion, conviction, discovery, doubt, fact, knowledge, observation, principle, realization, result, statement ▪ Likelihood: assumption, belief, claim, contention, feeling, hypothesis, idea, implication, impression, notion, opinion, possibility, presumption, suggestion - Attitude/perspective nouns: grounds, hope, reason, view, thought - Communication (non-factual) nouns: comment, news, proposal, proposition, remark, report, requirement
3.3.b. Stance noun + to-clause	<p>agreement, decision, desire, failure, inclination, intention, obligation, opportunity, plan, promise, proposal, reluctance, responsibility, right, tendency, threat, wish, willingness</p>

1. Research Methodology

1.1 Corpus and Method

The corpus used in the study consists of 9 political speeches distributed into three speeches for each of the American women who served as a Secretary of State, as follows:

- Madeleine K. Albright who was the first female to serve as the American Secretary of State from (1997 – 2001) under the American president Bill Clinton. The speeches selected to be analysed for Albright are:
 1. Speech at California Women’s Conference (Oct. 5, 1999)
 2. Policy Speech on Iraq (March 26, 1997)

3. American Leadership for the 21 Century (March 25, 1997)
- Condoleezza Rice was the first female African – American Secretary of State. She served in the period between 2005 to 2009 under the American president George W. Bush. Rice’s speeches are:
 1. Thematic Debate on Women, Peace and Security (June 19, 2008)
 2. 9/11 Commission Opening Statement (April 8, 2008)
 3. Foreign Policy (August 7, 2005)
- Hillary Clinton served as the 67th United States Secretary of State from 2009 to 2013 under the American president Barack H. Obama. Clinton’s speeches to be analysed are:
 1. Speech at Women in the World Summit (March 10, 2012)
 2. Remarks at 48th Munich Security Conference (Feb. 4, 2012)
 3. Speech at Town Hall Meeting (July 13, 2009)

The speeches selected expound comparable topics, mainly, women’s rights, war in Iraq / on terrorism, and America’s foreign policy. All the speeches are available at: <https://awpc.cattcenter.iastate.edu/>.

In order to accomplish the study two objectives, the methodology chosen is a corpus-analytical one drawn from Biber’s (2006) Lexico-grammatical framework of stance (Table1). To ensure its validity, first the texts have been examined manually so as to identify the lexico-grammatical stance markers. Second, the results obtained from the manual work have been used as inputs to the computerized analysis using Wordsmith software (version 8) for each speech in order to identify the markers, count them, and make sure that nothing has been left out.

1.2 Results and Discussion

The study first objective is related to the frequency of the lexico-grammatical stance markers used across the corpus of the study. Table (2) exposes the frequencies of the four lexico-grammatical stance markers in the American Females’ Secretaries of State selected speeches. It can be noticed that the use of these stance markers varies from one

Secretary of State to another. Madeleine K. Albright had used more modals in all her three speeches than the other stance markers, while Condoleezza Rice tended to use more modals in her speech about the foreign policy of America in comparison to the other two speeches where stance adverbs scored higher frequencies of occurrence. Hillary Clinton, on the other hand, seemed to favour expressing her attitudes and positions using the modals when talking about war and the foreign policy of America, but she used more adverbs when discussing women’s rights. As for the complement stance clauses, they scored less frequencies of use than both of the modals and adverbs and at the same time a noticeable variation of use is found between its two types from one topic of speeches to another.

Table (2): The frequencies of lexico-grammatical stance markers in the speech samples

	Stance Markers	Madeleine K. Albright	Condoleezza Rice	Hillary Clinton
Speech 1	Modals & Semi-modals	33	19	20
	Stance Adverbs	29	24	39
	That-clauses	26	8	20
	To-clauses	21	15	17
Speech 2	Modals & Semi-modals	29	23	31
	Stance Adverbs	24	26	18
	That-clauses	9	12	7
	To-clauses	7	10	14
Speech 3	Modals & Semi-modals	48	28	23
	Stance Adverbs	24	20	12
	That-clauses	16	12	9
	To-clauses	13	14	16

As for the study second objective which has to do with the meanings of the lexico-grammatical stance markers which were used more frequently than the others, the following tables would illustrate this. Table (3) exposes the frequency of the modals in the speech samples in terms of the meanings of these modals.

Table (3): The frequency of stance modals in the sample of speeches

Deontic and epistemic are the two semantic domains of the modals. The former involves meanings of obligation, volition and permission, whereas the latter represents meanings of possibility, logical necessity and prediction. This classification goes in line with Biber et al's (1999: 485) intrinsic modality; relating to the actions or events that human can directly control, and extrinsic modality that relates to the "*logical status of events or states*", respectively.

As a matter of fact, expressing stance through the modals is considered one of the explicit strategies. This is due to placing the modal verb before the main verb in the sentence which enables the speaker/writer to express his/her attitude towards the proposition and encourages the addressees to interpret the following proposition from the same point of view (Orta, 2010: 80). Thus, the sentence would only indicate the time of the action happening and not expressing stance when no modal is used.

	Modals Meaning	Madeleine K. Albright	Condoleezza Rice	Hillary Clinton
Speech 1	Ability	2	1	6
	Possibility	6	2	5
	Necessity	11	10	4
	Obligation	3	0	1
	Volition	2	3	0
	Prediction	9	3	4
Speech 2	Ability	1	4	5
	Possibility	5	5	4
	Necessity	7	3	4
	Obligation	4	2	2
	Volition	3	4	4
	Prediction	9	5	12
Speech 3	Ability	6	5	3
	Possibility	4	3	1
	Necessity	8	10	4
	Obligation	3	3	0
	Volition	2	2	8
	Prediction	25	5	7

Examining Table (3) above, we can notice the dominant use of the epistemic category of modals. In political discourse, Marin-Arrese (2011: 220) explains that these modals enable the politicians to persuade their audience by “*claiming true knowledge of the events and claiming to be morally right in the proposed realization of events*”. Piper et al. (2005, cited in Vukovic, 2014: 40) relate the use of epistemic modality to confidence, truthfulness and probability. Moreover, Vasilescu (2010: 371) reports that the frequent occurrence of epistemic modals in political speeches is part of persuasion intended “*to construct a competent, trustworthy, powerful professional identity that can influence deliberative and decision-making processes*”.

It is worthwhile to notice that prediction has registered the highest frequency of occurrence in Albright’s speech on America’s foreign policy and Clinton’s speech in regard to the war in Iraq. This reflects how important it is for the politician to share with the audiences his/her expectations to the future basing on the information and facts that have been already mentioned or asserted in the speech, e.g.

1. When you who are students graduate, you will compete in a global market place. Your jobs may depend on the vigor of overseas trade. The security of your families will be influenced by whether we are able to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons, whether we can stop small wars from growing into large ones,

- and whether we can win the fight against international terror, crime, drugs, and disease (American Leadership for the 21 Century, 1997).
2. An important part of my job as Secretary of State is to spread the word that the success or failure of American foreign policy will be one of the determining factors in your lives--as it has been in mine (American Leadership for the 21 Century, 1997).
 3. We have to do more together to build a sense of trust and to overcome mistrust among us. That will have to be one of our strategic imperatives, if we expect to address successfully the issues ahead (Hillary Clinton, Remarks at 48th Munich Security Conference, 2012).
 4. We also need to build our capacity to work with partners such as Sweden, Japan, Australia, members of the Arab League, and many others. And this will be a focus of our efforts in Chicago to ensure that NATO remains the hub of a global security network with a group of willing and able nations working side-by-side with us (Hillary Clinton, Remarks at 48th Munich Security Conference, 2012).

In example no.1, Albright asserts certain facts from the lives of her addressees and their families and then she predicts accordingly the future for them. Similarly, in example no. 3, Clinton discusses the present state of the NATO and the security situation to predict what is necessary to do in the future.

Table (4) shows stance adverbs frequency of occurrence in the sample of speeches selected. Biber et al (1999: 972-975) and Biber (2006: 92) distinguish three types of stance adverbs, as follows:

- Epistemic adverbs which present the speaker's comment about the status of information in the proposition. Epistemic adverbs indicate two meanings; certainty when the speaker asserts the truth of the proposition, and likelihood when expressing doubt about it like *always, indeed, certainly, ...* etc.
- Attitude adverbs which report personal attitudes, feelings, value judgment or expectations such as *importantly, (un)fortunately*, and others.

- Style adverbs which comment on the manner of presenting information.

That is, they state the way in which information is being presented or meant to be understood. These adverbs are often used to strengthen the truth-value of a proposition or claim like *according to, honestly, literally, ... etc.*

Table (4): The frequency of stance adverbs in the sample of speeches

	Meaning of Adverb	Madeleine K. Albright	Condoleezza Rice	Hillary Clinton
Speech 1	Certainty	15	10	23
	Likelihood	4	0	1
	Attitude	5	4	10
	Style	5	10	5
Speech 2	Certainty	11	14	7
	Likelihood	1	0	1
	Attitude	8	5	6
	Style	4	7	4
Speech 3	Certainty	13	10	8
	Likelihood	0	2	0
	Attitude	9	5	4
	Style	2	3	0

In all the speeches examined, it can be noticed from Table (4) that the adverbs of certainty have been dominantly used by the three female Secretaries of State, no matter what topic they are expounding in their speeches in comparison with the likelihood stance adverbs. Again, this can be regarded as a strategy of persuasion as the speaker has to sound certain of the ideas, positions and expectations he/she presents in order to be able to convince the others either to align with them. Epistemic stance adverbials encoding certainty are used in order to boost their arguments and put forth their opinions more strongly, e.g.

1. We know that in many countries women's journey for equal rights and equal opportunity is not an easy one. It was not easy for women of our country, either. In fact, it took more than 130 years before America's founding promise that all men are created equal was also a promise that women could vote, too. (Condoleezza Rice, Thematic Debate on Women, Peace and Security Speech, 2008)
2. To protect our nation, advance our interest, and spread opportunity to more people in more places, we, of course, need more than a top – notch

military. (Hillary Clinton, Town Hall Meeting Speech, 2009)

3. The Kurdish parties have been working with us to limit their differences and seek common ground. Although old rivalries remain difficult, we are firmly engaged alongside Turkey and the United Kingdom in helping the inhabitants of the region find stability and work towards a unified and pluralistic Iraq (Madeleine K. Albright, Policy Speech on Iraq, 1997).

Attitudinal stance adverbs have come second in their frequency of occurrence in the speeches. It seems that the three female politicians had the tendency to express their own attitudes, feelings and even sometimes expectations, whether positive or negative, towards the topics they discussed in their speeches, e.g.

1. American policy makers set out to create new institutions, such as NATO, to help realize this vision. We supported European efforts to promote economic integration -- efforts that eventually evolved into the European Union. We promoted democratic values at every opportunity. And, perhaps most importantly, we made a generational commitment to creating a democratic Germany -- which became a linchpin of a democratic Europe..(Condoleezza Rice, America Foreign policy,)
2. Unfortunately, today, despite the progress that has been made, in many countries appalling abuses are still committed against women. These include coerced abortions and sterilizations, children sold into prostitution, ritual mutilations, dowry murders and domestic violence.(Madeleine K. Albright, California women's conference speech, 1999)

Moreover, it can be noticed that Condoleezza Rice has used more style adverbs than Albright and Clinton, especially in her first speech about women's rights. As has been mentioned earlier, style adverbs state how the information is presented and can be understood. They reinforce the truth-value of the original proposition. And this is what Rice was trying to do in her speech. She repeated the adverb (in accordance with

....) more than once to ensure that everything she was referring to or suggesting would be official and legal, e.g.

- In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the consideration without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and Rule 37 of the Council’s provisional rules of procedure. Hearing no objection, it is so decided. (Condoleezza Rice, Thematic Debates Speech, 2008)

As for the complement that-clauses controlled by verbs, nouns and adjectives in Albright’s speeches, it has been noted that That-clauses controlled by verbs encoding certainty are by far the most common grammatical realization of that-clauses, especially those verbs which encode certainty (Table 5), e.g.

1. As we approach the new century, we know that American prosperity, security and freedom depend on whether others have those blessings as well. And there can be no doubt that the contributions of women are needed to achieve these goals (Madeleine K. Albright, California women’s conference speech, 1999)
2. More importantly, we **recognized** that no counterterrorism strategy could succeed in isolation. As you know from the Pakistan and Afghanistan strategy documents that we have made available to the Commission, our counterterrorism strategy was a part of a broader package of strategies that addressed the complexities of the region (Condoleezza Rice, 9/11 Commission Opening Statement, 2004) (Attitude Adverb, certainty verb + that-clause)
3. Now, we know that young woman in Tunisia and her peers across the region already are facing extremists who will try to strip their rights, curb their participation, limit their ability to make choices for themselves (Hillary Clinton, 2012).

Table (5): The frequency of stance complement that-clauses

	Madeleine K. Albright	Condoleezza Rice	Hillary Clinton			
Speech 1	Certainty verbs	9	Certainty verbs and nouns	3	Certainty verbs	5
	Attitude verbs	6	Evaluation Adj.	2	Likelihood verbs	5
	Communication nouns	5	Attitude verb and noun	2	Communication nouns	4
	Speech acts	4	Speech acts	1	Attitude verbs, nouns and Adj.	6
	Likelihood verbs	2				
Speech 2	Certainty verbs and nouns	5	Certainty verbs	6	Certainty verbs and nouns	4
	Likelihood verb, Adj. and noun	3	Certainty Adj.	3	Likelihood verbs and nouns	2
	Evaluation Adj.	1	Speech acts	3	Attitude Adj.	1

Turning now to complement To-clauses controlled by stance verbs, nouns, and adjectives, the frequencies of occurrence have shown some sort of variation in the grammatical realization of these clauses in all the speeches examined. However, desire verbs have been repeatedly used across the nine texts, namely (want) and (need) (Table 6), e.g.

1. At any rate, my intention today is to discuss women and foreign policy, but before I do, I want to highlight an especially timely question that should be on any woman's agenda, and any man's. And that is whether the United States Senate should approve the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty when it comes to a vote during the next week. (Madeleine K. Albright, California Women's Conference Speech, 1999)
2. Thank you all for joining us. And I would especially like to thank Secretary General Ban for his leadership. I want to commend you, Mr. Secretary General, for your commitment to increasing the number of women candidates for UN Special Representative and for Special Envoy positions. (Condoleezza Rice, Thematic Debates Speech, 2008)
3. And also, America and Europe can and should be trading more with each other and with the rest of the world. That means we also need to be focused on promoting our economic values. Too often, American and European companies face unfair practices that tilt the playing field against us: favoritism for state-owned enterprises, barriers to trade emerging behind borders, restrictions on investment, rampant theft of intellectual property. Together, America and Europe need to instill

that all nations must respect the rules of the road that guarantee fair competition and market access. And above all, we need to remember that our investment in global leadership is not the cause of our fiscal problems. And pulling back from the world will not be the solution.

Table (6): The frequency of stance complement to-clauses in the speeches sample

	Madeleine K. Albright		Condoleezza Rice		Hillary Clinton	
Speech 1	Nouns	8	Desire verbs	13	Desire verbs	5
	Desire verbs	7			nouns	5
	Ability adj.	3	Speech acts	2	Ease/difficulty Adj.	3
	Attitude adj.	3			Evaluation Adj.	2
				Causation verbs	2	
Speech 2	Ability adj.	4	nouns	8	Desire verbs	6
	Desire verbs	1	Certainty Adj.	1	nouns	6
	Likelihood adj.	1	Desire verbs	1	Evaluation Adj.	2
	Attitude adj.	1				
Speech 3	Desire verbs	6	Desire verbs	9	Desire verbs	5
	Ability adj.	4				
	Evaluation adj.	4	nouns	3	Ability Adj.	4
	nouns	3	Evaluation Adj.	2	Evaluation Adj.	4
	Likelihood adj.	2			Attitude Adj.	3

2. Conclusions

The main objectives of the present study are first to find out the most common lexico-grammatical formulations that female politicians adopt in their political speeches so as to express stance-taking. Second, the study aims to examine whether the use of these stance markers would be influenced by the topic that the addresser discusses in her speech. The results come to show that epistemic modals and adverbs of certainty are the dominant grammatical stance markers due to the fact that speeches in general have to be persuasive. Thus, mentioning facts and asserting truths are important to achieve this aim. Furthermore, it is found out that the topic of the political speech does not have much influence on the speaker's choice of certain stance markers rather it is the way that the speaker chooses to show facts and expounds issues in her speech.

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