

UNIVERSITY OF HELSINKI

Approaching Author Identity through  
First-person Pronouns and Metadiscourse:  
A study of opinion articles in US news  
media

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December 2018



Tiedekunta/Osasto – Fakultet/Sektion – Faculty Faculty of Arts		Laitos – Institution – Department Department of Modern Languages	
Tekijä – Författare – Author Kolla, Elena			
Työn nimi – Arbetets titel – Title Approaching Author Identity through First-person Pronouns and Metadiscourse: A study of opinion articles in US news media			
Oppiaine – Läroämne – Subject English Philology			
Työn laji – Arbetets art – Level Master's Thesis		Aika – Datum – Month and year 12.2018	Sivumäärä– Sidoantal – Number of pages 67
Tiivistelmä – Referat – Abstract			
<p>This study combines metadiscourse research and sociolinguistic methods to establish which social variables influence the choice of metadiscourse resources containing first-person pronouns in US opinion news texts.</p> <p>The study has three main goals. The first goal is to establish which first-person pronouns are used by the authors of opinion articles, and which social variables influence or at least correlate with their choice of first-person pronouns the most, as well as to study the contexts in which these pronouns are used. The second goal is to establish which metadiscourse resources and to what extent are used by the authors of different social groups. The third goal is to establish if there is any correlation between various social factors and the usage of particular metadiscourse resources. The corpus for the study was collected from articles posted on the sites of eleven US news publishers and consists of op-ed texts on politics and social issues along with the information about the authors of these texts including gender, age, ethnic background, education and occupation. To fulfill these goals the study uses corpus linguistics methods for calculating and comparing the occurrence frequencies of first-person pronouns by social variables and Ken Hyland's interpersonal model of metadiscourse.</p> <p>The results show that social variables do indeed significantly correlate with the choice of first-person pronouns and the metadiscourse resources containing these pronouns. The pronouns that are mostly used are the subject pronouns <i>I</i> and <i>we</i>, the mostly used metadiscourse resources being Self-mentions and Engagement markers. The most prominent social variables that correlate with the use of pronouns are gender and, to a lesser degree, occupation. The female authors of the articles in the corpus use more first-person pronouns than male authors and show a preference for first-person singular pronouns and plural inclusive pronouns while male authors use more first-person plural pronouns. The most noticeable difference in pronoun usage between genders can be observed between male and female journalists; however, journalists of one gender do not differ from each other in either pronoun or metadiscourse use with other factors being equal.</p>			
Avainsanat – Nyckelord – Keywords metadiscourse, sociolinguistics, corpus linguistics, first-person pronouns, opinion			
Säilytyspaikka – Förvaringställe – Where deposited Helsinki University Central Campus Library			
Muita tietoja – Övriga uppgifter – Additional information			

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## 1 Introduction

The identity of the author of a text has been the focus of linguistic research for decades. Various aspects of authorial presence have been studied and, among them, the influence of the author's cultural identity and social traits on their text and the ways they construct the text to communicate with their audience. In recent years, the first aspect has been part of the domain of sociolinguistic research, while the second to discourse analysis, specifically metadiscourse studies.

One of the most powerful tools the author possesses to personalize their discourse is the use of first-person pronouns. The first person singular pronouns *I*, *me*, *my*, *mine* and *myself* refer to the author or the author's persona in the text, the first person plural pronouns *we*, *us*, *our* *ours* and *ourselves* can serve the same purpose if used exclusively (i.e., excluding the audience) or can be used to involve the readers of the text if used inclusively (i.e., including the audience). Thus, metadiscursively first-person pronouns can be part of various interpersonal linguistic resources.

Metadiscourse resources, including those that contain first-person pronouns, have been studied in great detail in the last two decades, but metadiscourse models have focused more on the genre of the text and the author's goal, and less on the author's personality (Hyland, 2005, Ädel, 2006, Tang & John, 1999). However, although metadiscourse resources are often referred to as tools of an author, it does not mean that they can always be used at the author's will or whim. As many other text features, they can be fully or partially influenced by the author's personality and cultural identity (Hyland, 2005, 17).

The author's linguistic repertoires depend on many social variables that have been extensively studied by sociolinguistics, and correlation between certain variables, such as gender, age, ethnic background, education etc. and specific linguistic patterns have been established. Pronouns have often been in the scope of sociolinguistic research. For instance, many studies have established the dependence of first-person pronoun usage on gender (Rayson et al. 1997, Argamon et al. 2003); correlation between the extent of first-person pronoun usage and the author's age has also been established (Pennebaker & Stone. 2003, 295).

At the same time, many metadiscourse researchers have recognized the importance of first-person pronouns as metadiscourse resources that reflect and

project the author's identity and have suggested that metadiscourse is also influenced by the author's sociocultural traits (Hyland, 2005, 17). However, the connection between social variables and metadiscourse resources remains understudied to date.

This study aims to fill this gap. It will examine the correlation between the author's choice of first-person pronouns and metadiscourse resources containing these pronouns as well as the social variables that influence this choice. As the material for this study I have chosen opinion articles or op-eds. The choice of the genre is predetermined by the aim of the study. The English word *opinion* originates from Latin *opinōr*, the first-person indicative of *opināri* – to think; to believe (OED)<sup>1</sup>. Thus, *opinion* literally meant *I think*, and the word has preserved this meaning until today: there can be no opinion without a holder. The presence of the author is central in opinion texts, and the studies of metadiscourse resources in opinion articles confirm that these resources are predominantly of interpersonal nature: they present the author and engage the audience (Fu & Hyland, 2014, 9-14). Opinion articles or op-eds have been a feature of news media for over 50 years. They were introduced in the 1970s to give voice to different authors and increase the diversity of authors. Diversity of authors means, in turn, larger variety of sociocultural traits that can be studied. Therefore, opinion articles appear to be suitable material for this study.

## 2. Theoretical background and aims of the study

Pronouns in general, and first-person pronouns in particular, have been researched in depth. The reason for this lies in the specificity of first-person pronouns. Along with second-person pronouns, they are interpersonal and explicitly refer to human beings in a dialogue (Wales, 1996, 3). Also, unlike third-person pronouns, first-person singular pronouns are rather semantically stable (the *I* in speech or text almost always will refer to the 'ego', i.e. the person who speaks). Thus, *I* is an egocentric and reflexive pronoun and the fact that this is the only personal pronoun except '*the royal we*' that is always capitalized in writing emphasizes its significance (Wales, 1996, 69). However, while the semantics and the importance of these pronouns are clear, the implications of their usage are not as trivial. Being a manifestation of self-focus, first-person singular pronouns can reveal an increased self-awareness and insecurity of the author, and excessive usage of first-person

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<sup>1</sup> Oxford English Dictionary, <http://oed.com>

singular pronouns is often associated with people of lower social rank (Kacewicz et al. 2013, 12).

While first-person singular pronouns (*I, me, my*, etc.) refer to the author of the text, first-person plural pronouns (*we, us, our*, etc.) can refer to the author and their audience if used inclusively and to the author and the group the author belongs to (whether introduced in the text or referred to) if used exclusively. Exclusive *we* can be relatively easily singled out in the text, because the author usually refers to the third-party that they identify with. Inclusive *we*, however, can be more ambiguous and ambivalent and this ambivalence is often used to influence the reader, especially in political texts (Harwood, 2007, 32-34). Moreover, even when the intention of the author to speak on behalf of the audience is clear, it does not mean that the audience will necessarily agree with the author and the author's ideas (Wales, 1996, 62).

It has long been known that first person pronouns, both singular and plural, can reflect a wide range of social and political roles and stances. However, only in the last quarter of the 20th century, did sociolinguistics and discourse analysis draw attention to the discourse situation and the speaker/writer the first-person pronouns represent (Wales, 1996, 51).

## 2.1 Sociolinguistic studies

Since the introduction of corpus linguistics and variational sociolinguistics, many studies have investigated the influence of social factors on the language choices of individuals. Among the social variables that have proven to influence people's linguistic repertoires, the most prominent are social class (and all the features related to it, such as educational or occupational opportunities), gender, age, mobility (class and geographical), ethnicity or cultural background, as well as communities of practice (Tagliamonte, 2012, 32-54).

Gender, as a social construct, and its influence on the languages choices of individuals has been studied extensively since the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, though predominantly as a binary category. Numerous studies have been conducted on the issue of possible differences in the linguistic styles of men and women in conversational speech as well as in writing (e.g. Lakoff 1975, Pennebaker et al. 2003, Palander-Collin, 1998, Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2003, etc.). Since the 1990s, there have also been attempts to investigate gender-specific differences in language repertoires of men and women using quantitative analysis (Rayson et al. 1997,

Argamon et al. 2003). These studies, among other linguistic differences between male and female speakers and writers, have demonstrated a noticeable asymmetry in the usage of personal pronouns. Paul Rayson's 1997 study of the spoken section of the British National Corpus (BNC) demonstrated that female speakers used certain pronouns, such as third-person pronouns *she/her/hers* and especially first-person pronouns *I/me/my/mine* significantly more often than male speakers (Rayson et al. 1997). A similar comparison conducted later on the written section of the BNC confirmed significant differences in the usage of English first- and second-person pronouns which allowed the authors to list excessive usage of personal pronouns among 'female features' (Argamon et al. 2003, Pennebaker et al., 2003, 557). It has also been suggested that females use the inclusive *we* more often, because women are believed to be more cooperative than men, whose ethos or character is regarded as more competitive, and some studies do indeed suggest that female physicians, for example, use inclusive caretaker's *we* and *let's* more often than their male colleagues (Wales, 1996 67). Another universally recognized difference between male and female speakers is that females tend to prefer more prestigious language norms which can be explained by the fact that, by having less social power, women have to follow the rules more diligently than men. Thus, this linguistic choice is also believed to reflect women's social insecurity (Tagliamonte, 2012, 37).

Another social category that undoubtedly influences the word choices of individual speakers is age. In sociolinguistic research, several aspects are considered when linguistic variation across different age-groups is studied, including age grading and longitudinal change. Longitudinal or lifespan change refers to the change in the linguistic style of individuals over time. Age grading refers to language variation due to the different stages of people's lives because people use language appropriate for their age groups. For instance, it has been noticed that adolescents use more non-standard language forms, because of a greater impetus to non-conformism in this group. Middle-aged individuals, between 35 and 55 years old are regarded as more conservative because their careers and social status require more standard language norms. Senior speakers may later return to non-standard forms as peer-pressure is reduced and people become more relaxed in their language usage (Tagliamonte, 2012, 147). In their study on the influence of age on language choices, Pennebaker and Stone claim that with age, people tend to use less first-person pronouns, self-references, and past tense verbs, but use more words associated with

positive emotions (Pennebaker & Stone, 2003, 295).

Ethnicity and cultural background are aspects that have also been associated with the language styles of individuals. Several studies have confirmed that people with different ethnic and cultural backgrounds tend to make different choices in English as the second language for various reasons: the influence of the community, the influence of the family, the pressure of the peers, etc. (Hewitt, 1986, Rampton, 2005). It has been shown that, for example, in the United States, the linguistics styles of African-Americans and Hispanic Americans differ from those of Americans of European descent (Tagliamonte, 2012, 39). Also, Calhoun & Cann argue that according to their findings, ethnic minority students have a higher sense of self-worth which manifested itself in their attitude to questionnaire statements containing first-person pronouns (Calhoun & Cann, 1994. 769).

The reason why the choice of first-person pronouns depends so considerably on social and demographic factors lies in the fact that first-person pronouns reflect the speaker's/writer's identity. The author's linguistic choices give away a lot of information about them, whether intentionally or not (Pennebaker et al. 2003, 558). These choices in turn determine how the authors represent themselves, how they organize their texts and communicate with the audience: all features commonly included in the term metadiscourse. In this study, I will rely on Ken Hyland's definition of metadiscourse and his interpersonal metadiscourse model.

## 2.2 Metadiscourse Model

Hyland defines metadiscourse as follows:

“...the cover term for the self-reflective expressions used to negotiate interactional meaning in a text, assisting the writer (or speaker) to express a viewpoint and engage with readers as members of a particular community.”

(Hyland, 2005, 37)

Hyland views metadiscourse as the way the author can refer to the piece of writing, to the author and to the reader (Hyland, 2005, 48). He emphasizes, however, that metadiscourse is not a set of stylistic resources that the author uses at will. Metadiscourse represents the choices the author makes to create meanings, but these choices are not arbitrary (Hyland, 2005, 17). Writers have their own identities that are influenced by the social factors discussed above: age, gender, the culture they were raised in, the language they speak and their mother tongue. All of these factors can also influence the choice of metadiscourse devices that they use in their texts.

Therefore, it appears relevant to combine metadiscourse studies with sociolinguistic research.

In his interpersonal model of metadiscourse Hyland differentiates between two 'dimensions' of metadiscourse; the interactive and the interactional (Hyland, 2005, 49). The interactive dimension consists of the author's communication with the audience, taking into consideration its needs and interests as the author understands them. The interactional dimension serves to render the opinions, stance and the persona of the author, and to create a dialogue with the audience, engage them into the text. Each of the two dimensions employs its own set of metadiscourse resources. It is important to note though that the dividing line between the resources is not always clear and the same lexical units can, at the same time, perform different metadiscourse functions and that explicit metadiscourse resources might not completely encompass the authorial presence and intentions (Hyland, 2005, 59). Below is a brief description of the resources of each dimension.

Interactive resources include Transition markers, Frame markers, Endophoric markers, Evidentials and Code glosses. **Transitions** such as *but, thus, and* show the relations between clauses. **Frame markers**, such as *finally, to conclude, I argue here* show the stages of discourse making them clear to the audience. **Endophoric markers**, such as *noted above, see Fig. N*, refer to the information previously mentioned in the text. **Evidentials**, e.g. *according to X, I was told* refer to the information from other sources. **Code glosses**, for instance, *namely, e.g., such as* supply additional information in order to specify the writer's meaning.

Interactional resources include Hedges, Boosters, Attitude markers, Self-mentions and Engagement markers. **Hedges**, such as *might, perhaps* evade the author's complete commitment to the statement and present the information as an opinion rather than a fact, and thus open the dialogue with the readers who are given the opportunity to decide what weight to attribute to the information. **Boosters**, such as *definitely, in fact* do the opposite, they express certainty and narrow down the alternatives for the reader. **Attitude markers** usually expressed by attitude verbs such as *agree, prefer*, adjectives and adverbs: *logical, hopefully* render the author's "affective rather than epistemic" attitude (Hyland, 2005, 53) to the information in the text. **Self-mentions** signal the extent of authorial presence and authorial identity in the text. They are usually expressed by first-person pronouns *I, me, my, mine, myself* and exclusive *we, us, our, ours*. **Engagement markers** serve to address the audience

and engage the readers in the author's discourse as participants. Hyland identifies two different purposes of Engagement markers. The first, to acknowledge the need to take the readers' expectations into account, is usually realized by using second-person pronouns *you*, *your* and inclusive *we*. The second, to involve the readers in the discourse and guide them to certain interpretations, can be achieved by imperatives and modal verbs, such as *see*, *note*, *should*, etc. (Hyland, 2005, 53)

In this study, I will most often focus on those metadiscourse resources that involve purely first-person pronouns, such as Self-mentions and Engagement markers. However, other resources can also contain first person pronouns. Below are some examples demonstrating these resources from Hyland's work (underlining author's):

**Hedges:**

'I think it highly probable that our domestic dogs descended from have descended from several wild species.' (Darwin, The Origin of Species in: Hyland, 2005, 68)

**Boosters:**

'I think we are driven to conclude that this greater variability is simply due to our domestic productions...'(Darwin, The Origin of Species in: Hyland, 2005, 69)

'I cannot doubt that there has been an immense amount of inherited variation. ' (Darwin, The Origin of Species in: Hyland, 2005, 69)

**Attitude markers:**

'My own view is that Krashen's hypotheses do not, on closer inspection, conform to the three linguistic questions' (Applied linguistics TB in: Hyland, 2005, 111)

'Thus I believe for my part that the ontological need cannot be silenced by an arbitrary dictatorial act... (Philosophy TB in: Hyland, 2005, 111)

While the majority of metadiscourse resources that involve first-person pronouns belong to the interactional dimension, at least two of the interactive resources also use pronouns. They are Evidentials and Frame markers.

**Frame markers:**

'In this chapter we introduce the fundamental theorems and operations of Boolean algebra (Electronic engineering TB in: Hyland, 2005, 104)

Although no examples of Evidentials containing pronouns could be found, I believe that phrases such as *I was told/informed by...*, etc. can be considered Evidentials as they clearly refer to the source of information other than the author, and thus meet the model's requirements.

As mentioned previously, the choice of metadiscourse resources is dependent on the identity of the author and all the social variables that influence it. Another factor that determines the choice of metadiscourse resources is the text genre. Hyland has investigated different genres, such as academic prose, business prose, popular science articles and opinion articles from the point of view of the metadiscourse resources. His own research as well as other studies (Harwood, 2008, Kuo, Proctor & Su, 2011, etc.) showed that different genres indeed employ different metadiscourse dimensions and resources and, among them, the resources that involve the usage of first-person pronouns because different genres suggest different extents of authorial presence. It was found, for example, that academic texts use more interactive resources and predominantly exclusive *we* in Self-mentions, while opinion journalistic texts, whose primary purpose is to represent the opinion of the author and engage the audience, rely heavily on interactional resources (Fu & Hyland, 2014). Fu and Hyland's study, however, did not look into interactive resources in opinion articles.

When studying journalistic articles there is one more factor that requires attention because, despite not being a social variable, it can potentially influence the style of the author and the metadiscourse resources used: the publisher. Publishers not only choose the authors whose text they print, they also employ editors who can alter the texts before publication to avoid grammatical and other errors (Thurman, 2008, 144). Therefore, publishers also need to be considered when opinion articles are concerned.

### **2.3 Aims of the study**

In this study, I aim to continue investigating the metadiscourse resources in opinion (op-ed) articles, in particular, those that contain first-person pronouns. Since the author's choice of metadiscourse resources depends on the personality and identity of the author (Hyland, 2005, 17) and this personality has proven to be influenced by social variables such as gender, age, ethnic background etc., it seems appropriate to combine the study of the metadiscourse resources with sociolinguistic research. Therefore, in this study I intend to establish which first-person pronouns are used by the authors of opinion articles, compare their frequency of occurrence by social category and study the contexts in which these pronouns are used. I will also investigate which social variables tend to influence the first-person pronoun choice

the most. In addition, I aim to establish which metadiscourse resources and to what extent are used by the authors of different social groups and if there is any correlation between the various social factors and the usage of particular metadiscourse resources.

### **3 Materials**

For this study, it was important to choose the texts from a specific genre because the repertoires of metadiscourse dimensions and resources vary from genre to genre. The choice of the op-ed article type for this research is justified by the fact that the genre has a distinct function: representing the attitude of the author. Since first-person pronouns are associated with the authorial presence (Hyland, 2005) and authorial opinion (Tang et al., 1999), op-ed articles provide valid material for studying the aspects of pronoun usage. Moreover, op-eds show a significant diversity of authors (Day & Golan, 2005) and this will allow to review a wider range of social variables that can influence the choice of pronouns. Also, although socially determined patterns of first-person pronoun usage in both spoken and written texts have been studied before (Argamon et al. 2003, Rayson et al. 1997), opinion articles have not yet been assessed from this perspective. I believe that as a distinct genre, these articles can provide interesting grounds for first-person pronoun research both from a sociolinguistic and metadiscourse perspective.

#### **3.1 Corpus**

The materials for this study comprise a variety of opinion articles collected from the Internet sites of eleven of the top-20 US news media publishers. The corpus was collected during two periods: in the second half of the year 2016, and in the second half of the year 2017. All texts are devoted to various aspects of the US politics, and social issues.

The compilation of this corpus began in October 2016 and continued in November 2017. October 2016 was chosen because this was the election period in the USA and many newsmakers and media published political op-eds. It was important to collect the article with similar subjects so that less other variables could influence the pronoun use. The same period in 2017 was chosen because, due to the new president's in-office anniversary, the number of political and social op-eds was also high.

Before the materials could be collected, the news publishers to be included in the corpus were selected. For this purpose, I used the *Allyoucanread*<sup>2</sup> database. *Allyoucanread* is one of the largest databases of magazines and newspapers on the Internet that rates publishers based on their popularity among readers. The publishers to be included in the corpus were chosen from the list of 'Top 20 US Newspapers and News Media'. Since my research focuses on one specific genre, I chose only those publishers whose internet sites contained articles that were either labeled 'op-ed' or 'opinion' or placed in an 'opinion'/'op-ed' rubric to ascertain that the texts included in the corpus belonged to the opinion genre. With this limitation, out of the twenty top-ranking US news media eleven could be chosen. Some of the publishers that ranked high on the list of the US news media, such as, for example, *Huffington Post*, had to be excluded from the selection process because their sites had neither a specified opinion/op-ed column nor articles labeled as 'opinion'/'op-ed'. This is the list of publishers that were included in the corpus in 2016: *CNN*, *Fox News*, *Los Angeles Times*, *NBC News*, *The New York Post*, *New York Daily News*, *The New York Times*, *TIME*, *The Washington Post*, *USA Today* and *VICE*.

During the second part of data acquisition, the articles were collected from the same publishers even though two of the media publishers, namely *Los Angeles Times* and *The New York Post* have lost their positions and were no longer in the 'Top 20' list by the end of 2017. This was done to keep the variables controlled because the guidelines and requirements of the publishers can be one factor that can influence the authors' choice of metadiscourse resources and pronouns. However, this is also one of the limitations of the corpus. The list of sources included into the corpus can be found in Appendix 1.

Once an opinion article was chosen for the corpus, the page with the article was edited using a custom-made research software that extracted the text, cleared of any metadata, such as links, advertisements videos and photo captures. The software also calculated the total word count of the text. After the initial automated editing, the texts had to be further edited manually to exclude any references to other people, quotes or citations of other people that contained pronouns to assure that all the pronouns within a text could be undoubtedly attributed to its author (Harwood, 2005, 351). After editing, the text was added to the corpus database for further mark-up.

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<sup>2</sup> [www.allyoucanread.com](http://www.allyoucanread.com)

### 3.2 Authors

The mark-up of the corpus involved collecting and registering the information on the authors of the texts, since the purpose of the study is to investigate the sociolinguistic aspects of the pronoun usage in opinion articles. As a result, each author in the corpus was placed in the following groups by social variables: Gender, Age, Background, Education, and Occupation. Table 1 presents the variables with categories and the number of texts belonging to each category.

Gender	# of texts	Age	# of texts	Background	# of texts	Education	# of texts	Occupation	# of texts
Male	113	20-35	32	American	114	Doctorate	66	Journalism	95
Female	83	36-50	43	African-American	18	Higher	116	Politics & Law	49
Other	2	51-65	52	Other	37	Other	19	Academia	29
		66-70+	38					Other	25

*Table 1: Texts in the corpus by social variable and category*

As can be seen from Table 1, the Background variable was divided into the following categories: American (USA-born Caucasian Americans), African American (USA-born Americans of African descent) and Other (born outside of the USA to non-American parents, Hispanic Americans, Asian Americans, Native Americans, etc.). The Education variable includes categories such as Doctorate (including Doctor of Philosophy (PhD), Doctor of Medicine (MD) and Doctor of Jurisprudence (JD)), Higher (including both Bachelor and Master's degrees) and Other (Secondary and unknown education). The variable Occupation is divided into 4 categories: Journalism (journalists, columnists, TV-hosts) Politics&Law (politicians, political consultants, lawyers), Academia (university Professors, researchers, PhD students) and Other (other occupations including writers, artists, etc.). Initially, the list of categories also included the category Political Affiliation, and showed the authors' political views when available, the largest categories being Republican and Democrat. However, as this information was hard to obtain, probably due to the authors' desire to be viewed as politically unbiased, this variable was excluded from the list.

The information on the authors was primarily taken from *Wikipedia*, social networks such as *LinkedIn* and *Facebook*, authors' personal sites or blogs and, in several cases from authors' own articles. In case when the age of the author was not directly stated in any of the sources, the age group was calculated based on high school graduation, and first employment years, assuming the age threshold for these activities to be approximately 18-20 years old. This estimation resulted in possible marginal loss of accuracy when determining the exact age group. If for any variable

the information was completely unavailable, the category was marked as Other. All the information used in the corpus was in open public access, and the authors are anonymized in this paper, therefore no ethical issues are expected.

My initial aim was to choose, from each source, twenty opinion articles for each sub-corpus in order to uniformly represent all the selected media sources. This, however, was impossible for two reasons. First, the selection criteria used for finding relevant publishers does not guarantee a particular number of political opinion articles available on their sites, and second, the fact that this study required articles written by different authors further limited the pool of texts suitable for the corpus as some publishers had many op-eds written by the same few authors. Therefore, it was not possible to collect an equal number of articles from each publisher and, as the result, some of the media, such as *CNN* and *The New York Times* are overrepresented in the corpus and some, for instance *The Washington Post* and *Los Angeles Times* are underrepresented. This has undoubtedly impacted the overall representativeness of the corpus. The resulting corpus consists of 198 texts written by 194 different authors and totals to 160,117 word tokens.

#### **4. Methods**

As previously mentioned, in this study I am using a combination of sociolinguistic and corpus linguistics research methods and Hyland's interpersonal model of metadiscourse. The methods involve both quantitative and qualitative analysis. However, this study does not implement either multi-factor or multidimensional analysis. Primarily, such analysis would require a larger sample for performing meaningful analyses. Besides, I am already looking into well-studied phenomena with established variables and trying to combine and compare existing variables rather than discover new ones.

##### **4.1 Quantitative Methods**

In order to investigate the influence of social variables on pronoun usage in opinion articles, the quantitative research design recommended by Biber and Jones for corpus-based studies of texts and text categories was chosen (Biber & Jones, 2009). To establish whether social variables such as gender, age or education can impact the author's use of pronouns, the texts were grouped by category and analyzed

using the AntConc concordance software version 3.4.4.0<sup>3</sup> and Regular Expression formulas.

First, the occurrence frequencies of all first-person pronouns were calculated for the categories. The frequencies were calculated separately for different pronoun forms such as *I, me, my, mine, myself, we, us, our, ours* and *ourselves*. Since the sizes of samples for each group differ, the occurrence frequency numbers had to be normalized to a rate per 1,000 words of text, as the median word count per text was approximately 800 words.

Once the occurrence frequencies had been calculated, the statistical significance of the differences between the frequencies was established. In order to choose an appropriate statistical test, the distribution of data in the sample was tested for normality. Below, in Figure 1, is the resulting histogram.

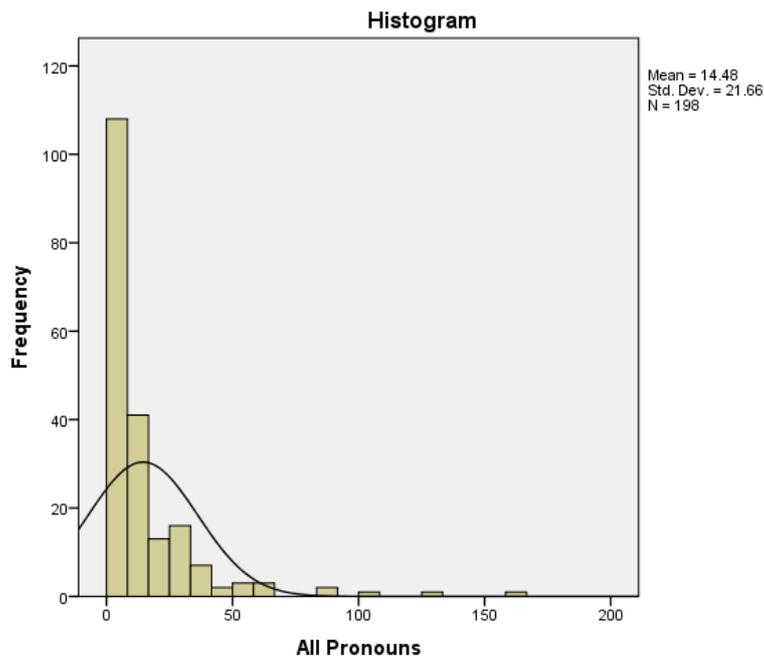


Figure 1: Data distribution in the sample

As can be seen, the data is not normally distributed, which means that the sample does not fulfill the assumptions for the t-test or Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) (Meyerhoff et al., 2015). As a non-parametric alternative to ANOVA, the Kruskal-Wallis H test was chosen, as it does not assume normal distribution and allows more than two groups of data to be compared (Dörnyei 2007, 230). The data

3 <http://www.laurenceanthony.net/software.html>

set fulfills the four assumptions of the test: the dependent variables (pronoun occurrence frequencies) are measured on a continuous scale, the independent variables (social variables) consist of two or more categorical independent groups, the variables are non-related, and finally, the data groups are similarly distributed. All statistical tests were performed using IBM SPSS Statistics version 24.

When general pronoun occurrence frequencies in the categories were calculated, the metadiscourse resources were also manually marked up, counted and normalized to a rate per 1,000 words to establish if different categories could reveal patterns of metadiscourse resources use. Since only metadiscourse resources containing first-person pronouns were reviewed, no additional statistical significance tests were deemed necessary.

As mentioned previously, one of the limitations of Hyland's metadiscourse model is that one phrase can, at the same time, serve as two or more metadiscourse resources. Thus, all phrases containing first-person singular pronouns and first-person plural exclusive pronouns can function as both Self-mentions and Hedges/Boosters/Attitude markers, etc. For the purposes of this study such phrases were always logged and counted several times as separate resources.

## **4.2 Qualitative Methods**

After the occurrence frequencies have been calculated and compared for different categories, the co-occurrences of the pronouns were explored to see in which contexts the first-person pronouns are used by the authors of the opinion articles and whether these contexts are similar or different for the categories in question. For this purpose, the key word in context (KWIC) analysis of the texts was performed using the AntConc concordancer. The results for different groups of texts were then compared to establish if pronouns in the texts written by authors belonging to different social categories demonstrate any tendency to differ in co-occurrences.

The resulting word lists were studied further to reveal the context of the most frequent pronoun collocates to be able to make conclusions about the existence of any influence of social category on the authors' choice of first-person pronouns in the sample.

## **5. Results**

The results of the study are presented in this section, one social variable per

chapter. The variables that demonstrated significant differences in pronoun use will be discussed in detail. However, some findings that appeared interesting in those categories that did not show noticeable difference will also be briefly mentioned.

## 5.1 Gender

The variable Gender includes the following categories: Male (male authors of articles in the corpus), Female (female authors of articles in the corpus) and Other (two transgender authors). The sub-corpus Male consists of 113 texts and 92,101 word tokens, the sub-corpus Female consists of 83 text and 67,503 word tokens, the sub-corpus Other consists of 2 texts and 1,719 word tokens.

### 5.1.1 Quantitative data analysis

The occurrence frequency results for the first-person pronouns are contrasted with Gender in Tables 2 and 3. As the category Other is too small to be representative, it was excluded from the comparison. The comparison between the Male and Female sub-corpora demonstrates considerable differences in the use of the first-person singular pronouns *I*, *me*, *my* and the first-person plural pronouns *we* and *us*. The Kruskal-Wallis H test conducted to compare the data sets confirms that this difference is statistically significant. The adopted p-value for statistical significance is  $<0.05$ .

Gender	Word count	I	/x1000	p-value	me	/x1000	p-value	my	/x1000	p-value
Male	92,101	288	3.13	<0.05	56	0.61	<0.05	93	1.01	<0.05
Female	67,503	606	8.98		107	1.59		204	3.02	

Table 2: Occurrence frequencies of *I*, *my* and *me* by Gender

Gender	Word count	we	/x1000	p-value	us	/x1000	p-value	Our	/x1000	p-value
Male	92,101	325	3.54	<0.05	59	0.64	<0.05	241	2.62	>0.05
Female	67,503	425	6.3		65	0.96		279	4.13	

Table 3: Occurrence frequencies of *we*, *us* and *our* by Gender

The p-value for the first-person plural determiner *our* is larger than 0.05 which means that the difference between the Male and Female data for these pronoun forms is not statistically significant. Also, because the occurrence frequencies of reflexive pronouns *myself* and *ourselves* as well as possessive pronouns *mine* and *ours* were small, these pronouns will not be discussed further.

It is important to note, that while the sub-corpus Other is too small for

drawing any conclusions it demonstrates an interesting tendency. Although the occurrence frequency of the subject pronoun *I* is small ( $fx1000=3.63$ ), the occurrence frequency for object pronoun *me* is noticeable ( $fx1000=33.2$ ). Also, the first-person plural pronoun *we* is used frequently by both authors – the occurrence frequencies per 1,000 words are 9.9 and 6.4 respectively.

The overall pronoun distribution within the groups, presented in Figure 2, shows that Male authors of the sample use more plural first-person pronouns: *we*, *us* and *our* (58.5%), while female authors use more singular first-person pronouns: *I*, *me* and *my* (54.1%).

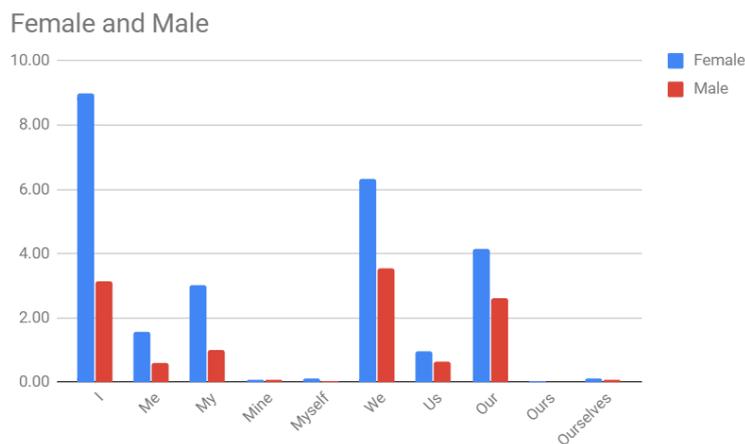


Figure 2: Pronoun distribution comparison between groups (per 1,000 words)

Table 4 and Figure 3 show the comparison between inclusive and exclusive first-person pronouns *we*, *us* and *our*. Overall, 73.6 % of all plural first-person pronouns *we* in the Female sub-corpus are inclusive and 26.4% are exclusive, while in the Male sub-corpus 79.4% are inclusive and 20.6% are exclusive. Thus, while female authors of the sample used first-person plural pronouns more often, male authors show more preference for inclusive pronouns.

Gender	Incl. we	fx1000	Excl. we	fx1000	Incl. us	fx1000	Excl. us	fx1000	Incl. our	fx1000	Excl. our	fx1000
Male	253	2.75	74	0.8	53	0.56	16	0.17	200	2.17	41	0.45
Female	288	4.27	137	2.03	49	0.73	16	0.24	228	3.38	49	0.73

Table 4: Occurrence frequencies of first-person plural exclusive and inclusive pronouns by Gender

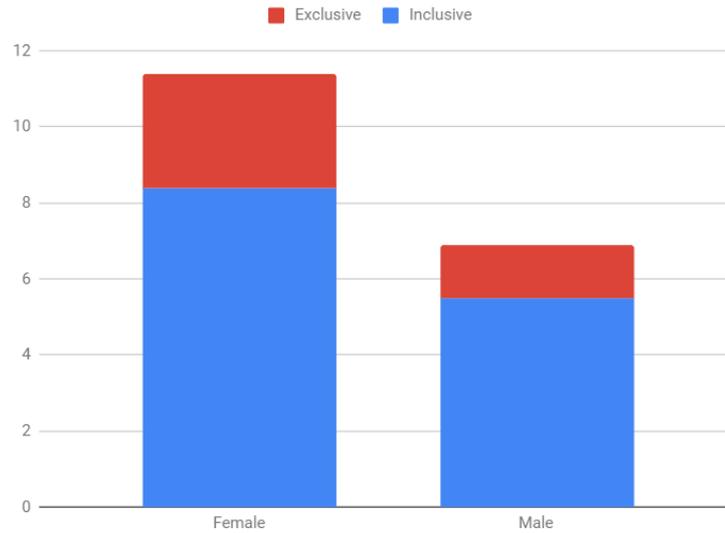


Figure 3: Comparison of exclusive and inclusive first-person plural pronouns between sub-corpora by Gender (per 1,000 words)

### 5.1.2 Metadiscourse resources

As previously mentioned, in Ken Hyland's metadiscourse model (Hyland, 2005) pronouns can be part of various metadiscourse resources: Self-mentions, Frame markers, Evidentials, Hedges, Boosters, Attitude markers and Engagement markers. All of these resources were found in the samples in both sub-corpora except one: Frame markers which, for this reason will not be discussed further.

First, both male and female authors of op-ed articles in the corpus used first-person pronouns in Evidentials, as a reference to the source of information in the text:

- (1) After 9/11, I didn't go to the United States for several years because *I was warned* privately by some influential people that I, being outspoken and Muslim, was on some blacklist. (Female)
- (2) *I'm told* that any such debate would be too painful for our students. (Male)
- (3) In school *I was taught* that slavery had been defeated, that Lincoln was a hero and that the remaining wrongs were at least partly righted by the civil rights movement. (Female)
- (4) Some *tell me*, in 2016 we should no longer expect the president of the United States to be a role model. (Female)
- (5) Serious people – friends, associates and colleagues, including an editor *who*

*told me* race no longer mattered after the 9/11 attacks. (Male)

Second, both male and female authors used first-person pronouns in Hedges and Boosters.

Hedges:

- (6) *I am prone to believe* the accuser. (Female)
- (7) *I am not even sure* how long the weeping and gnashing of teeth will last. (Male)
- (8) *...well I just think* that if children have proper healthcare and education. (Female)
- (9) *My guess is* that “Gentlemen’s” went out at the same time that the quarterly changed to a monthly publication, but I don’t know for sure. (Male)
- (10) Unfortunately, *I suspect*, if you asked these questions of the political, financial and media elite they would have a very different response. (Male)
- (11) *...I doubt* there’s anyone out there who would argue that Trump gives 200 percent like a great mom. (Female)
- (12) Anyhoo, when nobody wrote about Olbermann’s vulgarity by Monday, *I kinda thought* that was odd... (Male)
- (13) If Clinton wins on Tuesday, *I suspect* we’ll feel less like that. (Female)

Boosters:

- (14) *I believe strongly* that in a democracy, we should respect the will of the people and to me, that means it’s time to do away with the Electoral College and move to the popular election of our president, Clinton said at an airport news conference in 2000. (Male)
- (15) *I do think* it’s meaningful for women to support other women. And not just any woman. But *I do know* that whatever Hillary does, she’s going to keep giving 200 percent and taking abuse. (Female)
- (16) As an academic, *I am increasingly convinced* that a mass defunding of public higher education is coming to an unprecedented degree... (Male)
- (17) *I have no doubt* that we can be heroes for each other no matter how big or small the feat. (Female)

Third, first-person pronouns were used in Attitude markers, primarily with the attitude verbs such as *think*, *believe* and *feel*.

- (18) *I think* it was his biggest mistake. (Male) *I felt sick* at the idea that Trump will be the example they're going to have during their early teen years, breaking crudeness out of the furthest recesses of pop culture into the public discourse in ways that may get even worse. (Female)

(19) *I am absolutely terrified* of not knowing what will become of my family or the millions of hard-working immigrants in our country after he takes office. (Female)

(20) In fact, *I believe* that is the ultimate point of the book: to clear the Democratic decks for desperately needed new leadership and messages. (Male)

(21) *I abhor* Donald Trump and all he stands for. (Female)

(22) *I accept* that Trump duly won the Republican nomination. But *I do not accept* that he represents Republican values – not the ones I grew-up respecting. (Female)

Also, first person pronouns were used as Engagement markers, which aim to involve the reader. This function was mostly performed by inclusive *we*, however there were also two instances of pronouns *I* and *me* used for that purpose.

(23) *I beg* you to vote and get everyone you know to vote this Tuesday as if your life depended on it. (Female)

(24) I want to ask—am I the only person noticing Trump is bad? Or do you notice too? *Email me*, and let me know. Thanks. (Female)

The occurrence frequencies of metadiscourse resources are contrasted to Gender in Table 5 and Figure 4.

Gender	Self-mentions	<i>/x1000</i>	Engagement markers	<i>/x1000</i>	Attitude markers	<i>/x1000</i>	Evidentials	<i>/x1000</i>	Hedges	<i>/x1000</i>	Boosters	<i>/x1000</i>
Female	1,131	16.75	566	8.38	82	1.21	30	0.44	27	0.4	17	0.25
Male	578	6.28	406	5.49	47	0.51	20	0.22	18	0.2	8	0.09

Table 5: Occurrence frequencies of metadiscourse resources by Gender

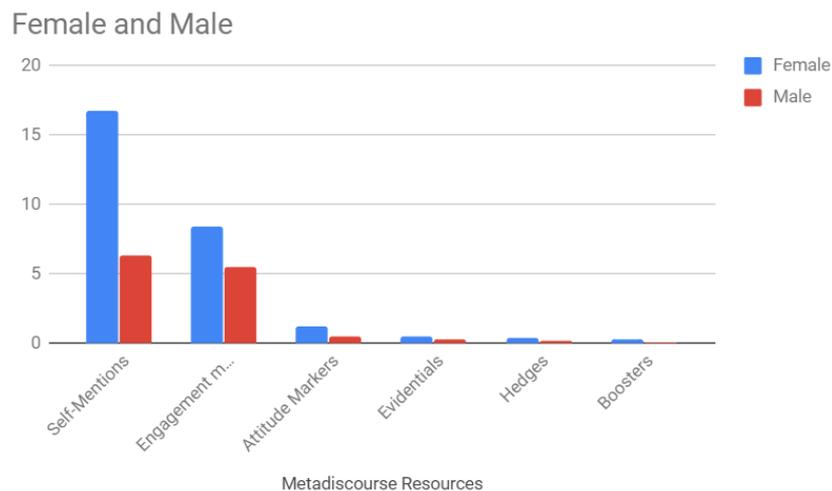


Figure 4: Metadiscourse resources containing first-person pronouns by Gender (per 1,000 words)

Figure 4 shows that the female authors of the sample used, in general, more metadiscourse resources than the male authors. This implies that, in this sample, the female authors are concerned both with authorial presence and the reader engagement. However, the female authors used twice as many Self-mentions as Engagement markers. The male authors used Self-mentions and Engagement markers almost equally often. It was also interesting to see that the female authors used not only more Hedges than male authors, which is consistent with previous research (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2003, 115, 183), but also more Boosters.

Finally, the pronoun *I* as the most frequent of all first-person pronouns in the corpus and the most prominent indicator of Self-mentions was additionally studied for collocations. The top 10 lexical units co-occurring with the pronoun *I* are presented in Table 6.

Male			Female		
Rank	Frequency	Cluster	Rank	Frequency	Cluster
1	18	I am	1	39	I'm
2	18	I was	2	34	I am
3	18	I don't	3	34	I was
4	15	I'm	4	31	I have
5	11	I think	5	25	I don't
6	10	I have	6	22	I had
7	10	I know	7	22	I voted
8	8	I asked	8	20	I voted against
9	6	I told	9	19	I could
10	6	I've	10	19	I know

Table 6: Lexical units co-occurring with the pronoun *I*

The expressions *I'm* and *I am* that are on the top of both lists were studied additionally, and some examples are listed below. Both sub-corpora demonstrate co-occurrences of pronoun *I* with adjectives, both positive and negative: *I'm afraid, I'm terrified, I am grateful, I am hopeful*. However, the Female co-occurrence lists contain more self-references such as *I'm a big fan of fathers, I am a Republican, I am also a diehard Donald Trump supporter*, 13 phrases in total. The Male co-occurrence list contains only 4 such examples *I am an unabashed advocate for everyone, I'm a graduate student, I'm the first to concede* and *I'm as American*. Although, the phrase *I vote/I voted* occurred frequently in the Female sub-corpus, it is an outlier: 18 out of 22 such clusters were used repeatedly in one text. It is worth noting, however, that the phrase *I vote/I voted* does not occur in the Male sub-corpus despite the fact that at least half of the op-eds in the corpus are related to the US presidential elections.

All in all, it can be noted that both quantitative and qualitative reviews show differences between the ways male and female authors of the sample used pronouns. Female authors used more pronouns in general, they showed preference for first person singular pronouns (*I, me, my, mine, myself*), and exclusive *we, us, our*, which from the point of view of metadiscourse, all belong to Self-mentions resource. Male authors used less first-person pronouns, they used more first-person plural pronouns (*we, us, our, ours, ourselves*) and inclusive *we, us, our*, which belong to the Engagement markers. It can be concluded, therefore, that female authors of the sample paid more attention to authorial presence and stance than did the male authors, while male authors paid more attention to engaging their readers.

## 5.2 Age

The next variable reviewed in this study was Age. The authors were divided into four age groups: 20-35, 36-50, 51-65, and 66-70+ years old. Group 20-35 consists of 32 texts and 27,535 word tokens, group 36-50 consists of 43 texts and 34,895 word tokens, group 51-65 consists of 52 texts and 40,342 word tokens, the sub-corpus 66-70+ consists of 38 texts 28,658 word tokens.

### 5.2.1 Quantitative Analysis

When pronoun occurrence frequencies were calculated, the Kruskal-Wallis H test was conducted. It demonstrated that this difference among the age groups is not statistically significant.

The occurrence frequencies and the p-values for different age groups in the sample are presented in Tables 7 and 8.

Age group	Word count	<i>I</i>	<i>fx1000</i>	p-value	<i>me</i>	<i>fx1000</i>	p-value	<i>my</i>	<i>fx1000</i>	p-value
20-35	27,535	238	8.64	>0.05	43	1.56	>0.05	76	2.76	>0.05
36-50	34,895	191	5.47		31	0.89		43	1.23	
51-65	40,342	222	5.50		68	1.69		78	1.93	
66-70+	28,658	99	3.45		20	0.7		29	1.01	

Table 7: Occurrence frequencies of *I*, *my* and *me* by Age

Age group	Word count	<i>we</i>	<i>fx1000</i>	p-value	<i>us</i>	<i>fx1000</i>	p-value	<i>our</i>	<i>fx1000</i>	p-value
20-35	27,535	186	6.76	>0.05	34	1.23	>0.05	92	3.34	>0.05
36-50	34,895	181	5.19		32	0.92		133	3.81	
51-65	40,342	144	3.57		29	0.72		131	3.25	
66-70+	28,658	125	4.36		24	0.84		71	2.	

Table 8: Occurrence frequencies of *we*, *us* and *our* by Age

Inclusive and exclusive first-person plural pronouns are contrasted to Age in Table 9 and Figure 5.

Age group	Incl. <i>we</i>	<i>fx1000</i>	Excl. <i>we</i>	<i>fx1000</i>	Incl. <i>us</i>	<i>fx1000</i>	Excl. <i>us</i>	<i>fx1000</i>	Incl. <i>our</i>	<i>fx1000</i>	Excl. <i>our</i>	<i>fx1000</i>
20-35	99	3.60	88	3.20	21	0.76	13	0.47	68	2.47	24	0.87
36-50	125	3.58	56	1.60	31	0.89	7	0.2	113	3.24	20	0.57
51-65	132	3.27	12	0.30	22	0.55	2	0.05	119	2.95	12	0.30
66-70+	97	3.38	28	0.98	20	0.70	7	0.24	57	1.99	21	0.73

Table 9: Occurrence frequencies of first-person plural exclusive and inclusive pronouns by Age

As Table 9 and Figure 5 show, the sub-corpus 20-35 demonstrates a higher number of exclusive pronouns *we* than other age groups in the sample. The frequency of exclusive pronoun *we* in this sub-corpus is almost equal to the frequency of inclusive pronoun *we*.

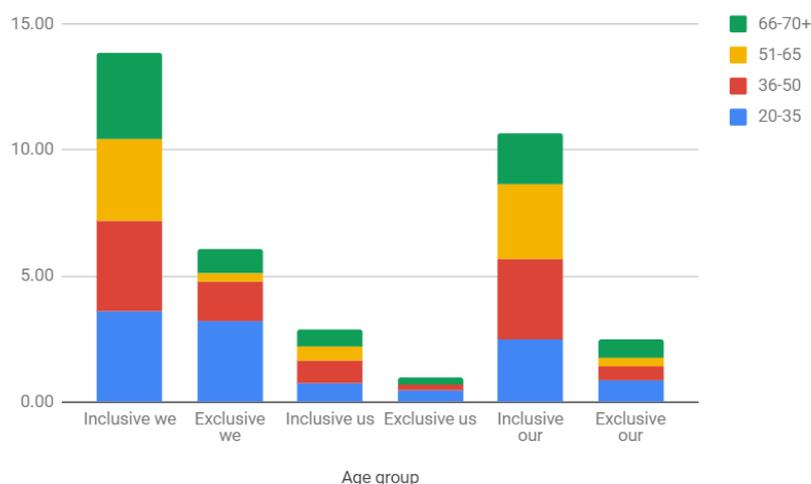


Figure 5: Comparison of exclusive and inclusive first-person plural pronouns among the sub-corpora by Age (per 1,000 words)

### 5.2.2 Metadiscourse resources

The authors of all four sub-corpora used various Metadiscourse resources. The most used were Self-mentions, Engagement markers and Attitude markers, the least used were Hedges, Boosters and Evidentials. Below are some examples.

Attitude markers:

(25) It feels like every day he's acting crazier and crazier, so *I think* we oughta do something about this guy. (20-35)

(26) *I believe* the ones who feel the need to lie, or to use their power to dominate women, are really just fearful. (36-50)

Engagement markers:

(27) But as *we* enter 2017, it's clear that *we* are more divided than ever, with no clear path forward getting to more prosperity and freedom for all Americans. (56-65)

(28) What are *we* saying if we say *we* are against free trade? (66-70+)

The occurrence frequencies of metadiscourse resources are contrasted to age in Table 10 and Figure 6.

Age group	Self-mentions	<i>fx1000</i>	Engagement markers	<i>fx1000</i>	Attitude markers	<i>fx1000</i>	Evidentials	<i>fx1000</i>	Hedges	<i>fx1000</i>	Boosters	<i>fx1000</i>
20-35	612	22.22	189	6.86	31	1.13	7	0.25	12	0.44	6	0.22
36-50	350	10.03	269	7.7	32	0.92	14	0.40	7	0.20	7	0.20
51-65	401	9.94	273	6.77	39	0.97	12	0.30	14	0.35	6	0.15
66-70+	206	7.18	174	6.07	9	0.31	9	0.31	4	0.14	2	0.70

Table 10: Occurrence frequencies of metadiscourse resources by Age

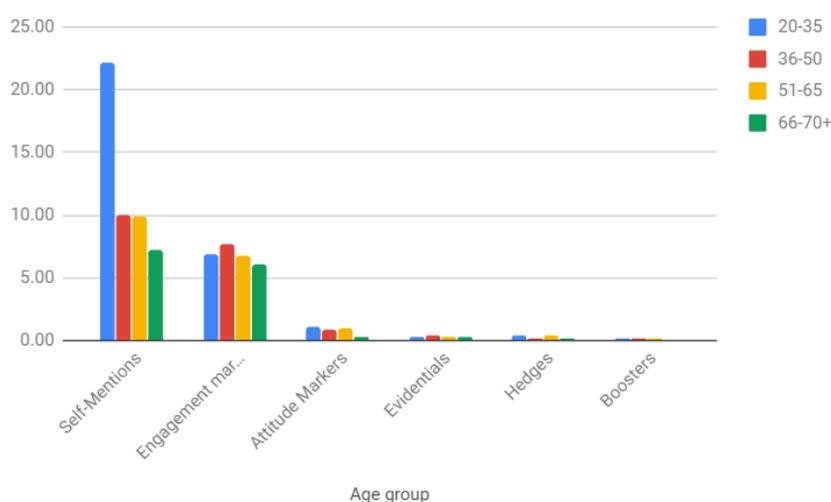


Figure 6: Metadiscourse resources containing first-person pronouns by Age (per 1,000 words)

As can be seen from Figure 6, the only noticeable difference among the groups is in the use of Self-mentions by the youngest group of the sample, the 20-35

years old authors. Additional study of the co-occurrences of first-person pronouns showed another peculiarity of this group's pronoun use.

Authors of the sub-corpus 20-35 used the expressions *I am* and *I'm* to describe their feelings (*I am thankful, I am hopeful, I'm tired*) but only the contracted form *I'm* for self-reference (*I'm a graduate student, I'm legal, I'm hardworking and law-abiding*). Group 36-50 demonstrated the opposite tendency: only the full expression *I am* was used for self-reference (*I am Hispanic, I am not of Mexican descent, I am a Republican*) and *I'm* to describe feelings. This group on the whole used fewer contractions, only 6 occurrences of *I'm* were found in the sample and the authors of the group never used the contracted form *we're*, only the full form *we are*. Groups 51-65 and 66-70+ used both forms equally.

Overall, while there was no statistically significant difference in pronoun use among the four age groups, the difference was observed in the use of Self-mentions by the group aged 20-35 years old. They used Self-mentions considerably more often than other groups and more often than Engagement markers. This implies that, for the youngest group of the sample, authorial presence is more important than reader involvement. Also, this group, unlike others, showed preference for the contracted form *I'm* for self-reference.

### 5.3 Background

For this variable, three different sub-corpora were compared: American (authors of Caucasian American background), African-American (authors of African-American background) and Other (authors who originate from outside of the US, authors of Hispanic-American background, and authors whose background was not established). The sub-corpus American consists of 144 texts and 113,115 word tokens, the sub-corpus African-American consists of 18 texts and 16,546 word tokens, the sub-corpus Other consists of 37 texts and 31,518 word tokens.

#### 5.3.1 Quantitative Analysis

The data analyzed showed certain differences in the first-person pronoun use, however, similarly to the category Age, the Kruskal-Wallis H test proved these differences to be not statistically significant. The occurrence frequencies and the p-values for different background groups in the sample are presented in Tables 11 and 12.

Background	Word count	<i>I</i>	<i>I</i> / fx1000	p-value	<i>me</i>	<i>me</i> / fx1000	p-value	<i>my</i>	<i>my</i> / fx1000	p-value
American	113,115	511	4.59	>0.05	87	0.78	>0.05	178	1.60	>0.05
African-American	16,546	87	5.26		20	1.21		30	1.81	
Other	31,518	301	9.55		58	1.84		89	2.82	

Table 11: Occurrence frequencies of *I*, *my* and *me* by Background

Background	Word count	<i>we</i>	<i>we</i> / fx1000	p-value	<i>us</i>	<i>us</i> / fx1000	p-value	<i>our</i>	<i>our</i> / fx1000	p-value
American	113,115	485	4.36	>0.05	72	0.65	>0.05	352	3.16	>0.05
African-American	16,546	89	5.38		20	0.91		70	4.23	
Other	31,518	188	5.96		38	1.21		100	3.17	

Table 12: Occurrence frequencies of *we*, *us* and *our* by Background

Exclusive and exclusive first-person plural pronouns are contrasted to background in Table 13.

Background	Incl. <i>we</i>	Incl. <i>we</i> / fx1000	Excl. <i>we</i>	Excl. <i>we</i> / fx1000	Incl. <i>us</i>	Incl. <i>us</i> / fx1000	Excl. <i>us</i>	Excl. <i>us</i> / fx1000	Incl. <i>our</i>	Incl. <i>our</i> / fx1000	Excl. <i>our</i>	Excl. <i>our</i> / fx1000
American	390	3.45	98	0.87	63	0.56	15	0.13	292	2.58	58	0.51
African-American	49	2.96	40	2.42	9	0.54	8	0.48	46	2.78	24	1.45
Other	111	3.52	75	2.38	31	0.98	11	0.35	90	2.86	10	0.32

Table 13: Occurrence frequencies of first-person plural exclusive and inclusive pronouns by Background

Table 13 shows that while all sub-corpora demonstrate similar numbers of inclusive first-person plural pronouns *we*, *us*, *our*, authors in the sub-corpora African-American and Other use more exclusive pronouns, especially pronoun *we*.

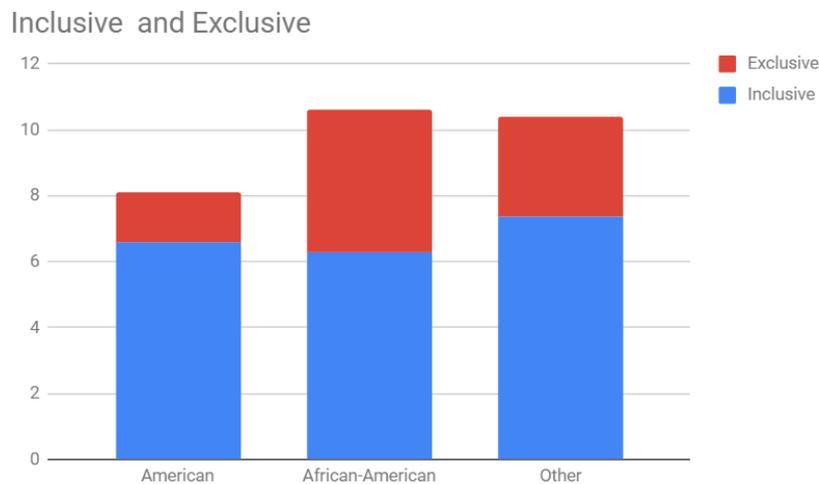


Figure 7: Comparison of exclusive and inclusive first-person plural pronouns by Background (per 1,000 words)

It can be seen that the greatest proportion of exclusive first-person plural pronouns is used by the authors with an African-American background and the least proportion – by authors with an American background.

### 5.3.2 Metadiscourse resources

The occurrence frequencies of metadiscourse resources are contrasted to Background in Table 14.

Background	Self-mentions	/x1000	Engagement markers	/x1000	Attitude markers	/x1000	Evidentials	/x1000	Hedges	/x1000	Boosters	/x1000
American	957	8.46	745	6.59	79	0.7	26	0.23	32	0.28	18	0.16
African-American	223	13.4	104	6.29	12	0.73	3	0.18	2	0.12	0	0
Other	552	17.5	233	7.39	39	1.24	14	0.44	11	0.45	7	0.32

Table 14: Occurrence frequencies of metadiscourse resources by Background

Table 14 shows that the authors in the sub-corpus Other use slightly more Attitude markers and Evidentials than the other authors of the sample. However, the greatest difference can be seen in the use of Self-mentions and Engagement markers. The authors with an American background use both almost equally often, while the authors with African-American background and authors of other backgrounds use considerably more Self-mentions than Engagement markers. This implies that authorial presence is more important for these authors than reader involvement.

As Self-mentions is the only resource by which the three sub-corpora differ, they were investigated further using the AntConc, however this study did not reveal any particular differences in pronoun usage.

### 5.4 Education

The next variable investigated was education. This variable consists of 3 categories: Doctorate (authors with Doctorate degree, including Juris Doctor (JD) and Doctor of Medicine (MD)), Higher (authors with higher education) and Other (authors with secondary education, and those whose education is unknown.) The sub-corpus Doctorate consists of 66 texts and 49,557 word tokens, the sub-corpus Higher consists of 116 texts and 94,450 word tokens and the sub-corpus Other consists of 19 texts and 16,110 word tokens.

#### 5.4.1 Quantitative Analysis

When the occurrence frequencies for first-person pronouns were calculated and the Kruskal-Wallis H test was conducted, it revealed no statistically significant difference among the three groups of authors.

The occurrence frequencies and the p-values for different education groups in the sample are presented in Tables 15 and 16.

Education	Word count	<i>I</i>	/x1000	p-value	<i>me</i>	/x1000	p-value	<i>my</i>	/x1000	p-value
Doctorate	49,557	263	5.47	>0.05	44	0.91	>0.05	66	1.37	>0.05
Higher	94,450	608	6.46		115	1.22		235	2.50	
Other	16,110	63	3.9		41	2.54		19	1.18	

Table 15: Occurrence frequencies of *I*, *my* and *me* in the corpus by Education

Education	Word count	<i>we</i>	/x1000	p-value	<i>us</i>	/x1000	p-value	<i>our</i>	/x1000	p-value
Doctorate	49,557	208	4.32	>0.05	56	1.16	>0.05	170	3.53	>0.05
Higher	94,450	470	4.99		108	1.15		269	2.86	
Other	16,110	98	6.08		15	0.93		47	2.92	

Table 16: Occurrence frequencies of *we*, *us* and *our* in the corpus by Education

Exclusive and exclusive first-person plural pronouns are contrasted to Education in Table 17.

Education	Incl. <i>we</i>	/x1000	Excl. <i>we</i>	/x1000	Incl. <i>us</i>	/x1000	Excl. <i>us</i>	/x1000	Incl. <i>our</i>	/x1000	Excl. <i>our</i>	/x1000
Doctorate	168	3.39	43	0.87	41	0.82	9	0.18	180	3.63	14	0.28
Higher	299	3.17	155	1.64	51	0.53	24	0.25	202	2.14	77	0.81
Other	83	5.15	15	0.93	11	0.68	1	0.06	46	2.86	1	0.06

Table 17: Occurrence frequencies of first-person plural exclusive and inclusive pronouns by Education

Except a higher frequency of inclusive *we* and lower frequency of exclusive *we* in the sub-corpus Other no significant difference was observed among the groups. Evidently, education is not a factor that influences the frequency of pronoun usage in the sample.

#### 5.4.2 Metadiscourse resources

The occurrence frequencies of metadiscourse resources are contrasted to education in Table 18. The most frequently used metadiscourse resources were Self-mentions, Engagement markers and Evidentials. The group of authors with higher education used more Self-mentions than the other two groups, while the group of authors with Doctorate degrees used more Attitude markers, however the numbers are still small for any conclusions. Further review of co-occurrences of first-person pronouns in the sample did not reveal any particular differences among the three sub-corpora.

Education	Self-mentions	/x1000	Engagement markers	/x1000	Attitude markers	/x1000	Evidentials	/x1000	Hedges	/x1000	Boosters	/x1000
Doctorate	442	8.92	390	7.87	51	1.03	10	0.20	16	0.32	11	0.22
Higher	1234	13.07	552	5.84	67	0.71	36	0.38	26	0.28	11	0.12
Other	142	8.81	140	8.69	12	0.74	4	0.25	3	0.19	3	0.19

Table 18: Occurrence frequencies of metadiscourse resources

Overall, the data implies that education is not a factor that influenced the choice of either first-person pronouns or the metadiscourse resources that contain these pronouns in the sample.

## 5.5 Occupation

The last variable studied was occupation. This variable is represented by 4 categories divided by occupational field: Journalism (journalists, columnists, TV hosts) Politics&Law (politicians, political consultants, political advisors, lawyers), Academia (university Professors, researchers, PhD students) and Other (other occupations including writers, artists, a medical doctor etc.). The sub-corpus Journalism consists of 95 texts and 80,179 word tokens, the sub-corpus Politics&Law consists of 49 texts and 38,564 word tokens, the sub-corpus Academia consists of 29 texts and 22,533 word tokens and the sub-corpus Other consists of 25 texts and 18,841 word tokens.

### 5.5.1 Quantitative Analysis

The Kruskal-Wallis H test revealed a statistically significant difference among the four groups of authors in the use of the pronouns *me*, *us* and *our*. However, differences in the use of the pronouns *I*, *my*, and *we* were not statistically significant. The occurrence frequencies and the p-values for different occupational groups in the sample are presented in Tables 19 and 20.

Occupation	Word count	<i>I</i>	<i>I</i> /fx1000	p-value	<i>me</i>	<i>me</i> /fx1000	p-value	<i>my</i>	<i>my</i> /fx1000	p-value
Journalism	80,179	465	5.80	>0.05	129	1.61	<0.05	159	1.98	>0.05
Politics&Law	38,564	176	4.56		26	0.67		49	1.27	
Academia	22,533	115	5.1		12	0.53			1.73	
Other	18,841	143	7.59		50	2.65		48	2.55	

Table 19: Occurrence frequencies of *I*, *my* and *me* in the corpus by Occupation

Occupation	Word count	<i>we</i>	<i>we</i> /fx1000	p-value	<i>us</i>	<i>us</i> /fx1000	p-value	<i>our</i>	<i>our</i> /fx1000	p-value
Journalism	80,179	345	4.30	>0.05	52	0.65	<0.05	177	2.21	<0.05
Politics&Law	38,564	187	4.85		33	0.86		168	4.36	
Academia	22,533	99	4.39		12	0.53		65	2.88	
Other	18,841	131	6.95		37	0.96		110	5.84	

Table 20: Occurrence frequencies of *we*, *us* and *our* in the corpus by Occupation

Exclusive and inclusive first-person plural pronouns are contrasted to Occupation in Table 21 and Figure 8.

Occupation	Incl. <i>we</i>	Incl. <i>we</i> /fx1000	Excl. <i>we</i>	Excl. <i>we</i> /fx1000	Incl. <i>us</i>	Incl. <i>us</i> /fx1000	Excl. <i>us</i>	Excl. <i>us</i> /fx1000	Incl. <i>our</i>	Incl. <i>our</i> /fx1000	Excl. <i>our</i>	Excl. <i>our</i> /fx1000
Journalism	233	2.91	113	1.41	34	0.42	18	0.22	144	1.80	33	0.41
Politics&Law	121	3.14	66	1.71	29	0.75	12	0.31	127	3.29	41	1.06
Academia	83	3.68	16	0.71	12	0.53	0	0	55	2.44	10	0.44
Other	113	6	18	0.96	28	1.49	4	0.21	102	5.41	8	0.42

Table 21: Occurrence frequencies of first-person plural exclusive and inclusive pronouns by Occupation

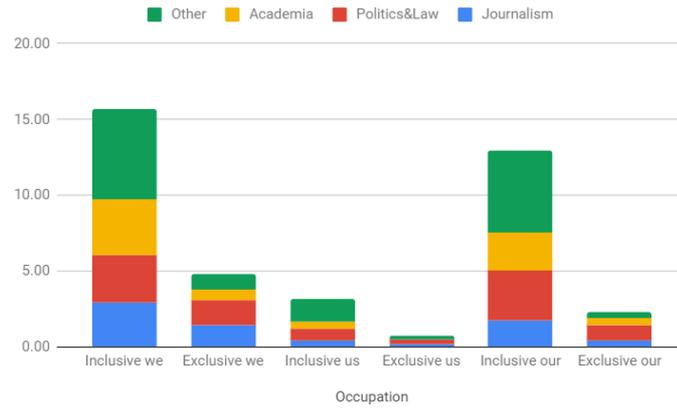


Figure 8: Comparison of occurrence frequencies of inclusive and exclusive pronouns by Occupation (per 1,000 words)

Figure 8 shows that the most frequently used pronouns are inclusive *we* and *our*. It is interesting to see that the authors in the sub-corpus Academia used less exclusive first-person plural pronouns and more inclusive *we* than politicians and journalists. However, this is probably explained by the genre of the corpus (op-ed articles). In academic articles, the numbers could be higher (Harwood, 2005, 351).

### 5.5.2 Metadiscourse resources

The occurrence frequencies of metadiscourse resources are contrasted to occupation in Table 22 and Figure 9. The most frequently used metadiscourse resources were Self-mentions and Engagement markers.

Occupation	Self-mentions	<i>fx1000</i>	Engagement markers	<i>fx1000</i>	Attitude markers	<i>fx1000</i>	Evidentials	<i>fx1000</i>	Hedges	<i>fx1000</i>	Boosters	<i>fx1000</i>
Journalism	917	11.44	411	5.13	59	0.74	35	0.44	24	0.30	16	0.20
Politics& Law	371	9.62	277	7.18	22	0.57	10	0.26	4	0.1	2	0.05
Academia	195	8.65	151	6.7	18	0.8	3	0.13	5	0.22	2	0.09
Other	271	14.38	243	12.90	31	1.65	2	0.11	12	0.64	5	0.27

Table 22: Occurrence frequencies of metadiscourse resources by Occupation

Below are some examples.

Self-mentions:

(29) *I* also felt a sense of justice in 1964 when President Lyndon Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act. (Journalism)

(30) When *I* was younger, *I* never hesitated to tell him he was wrong about something and why, and he always expected it during our talks. (Journalism)

(31) *We* are honest leaders who, each of *us*, governed as centrists without scandal in two terms in office. (Politics&Law)

- (32) Anyways, *I think I should* start raising awareness about this Trump character. Maybe I could start an email newsletter, or just tweet links to old articles about things he's said that seem kind of crazy. (Journalism)

Engagement markers:

- (33) Mr. Trump asks *us* what *we* have to lose, and *we* must answer, only the dream, only everything. (Other)
- (34) It has been there throughout *our* history, and each time *we* move closer to a genuinely multiracial version of the American Dream, it bubbles back to the surface. (Academia)
- (35) I voted against Donald Trump for every American who looks and sounds like me. Because *we love* this country. *We are proud* of this country. *We stand as equals* in the United States of America. (Journalism)
- (36) That's what *we get* if we don't win: more scandal, and more of the same. Choose a better way. Vote Republican. (Politics&Law)

The third place was occupied by Attitude markers, however, the numbers were low in comparison to Self-mentions and Engagement markers

- (37) *I think* he'll be an excellent President. (Journalism)
- (38) *I didn't agree* with his premise (he didn't fully remember what a hammering Reagan took over the Iran-Contra scandal). But Reagan did get fair coverage. (Politics&Law)
- (39) *I still believe* that our destiny as a nation is inextricably linked to how seriously we take King's legacy. (Journalism)
- (40) *I admit*, this election has evoked immense fear, nostalgia and uncertainty within me. (Journalism)
- (41) The personal decision for me boiled down to choosing between a person who *I consider* to have very bad character and a person who has exercised bad judgment. (Politics&Law)

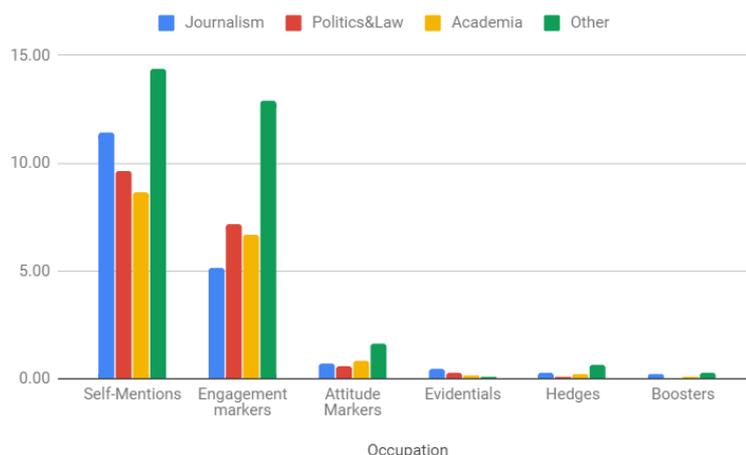


Figure 9: Metadiscourse resources containing first-person pronouns by Occupation (per 1,000 words)

According to Table 22 and Figure 9, the most frequently used resources are Self-mentions and Engagement markers, which is consistent with previous research (Fu & Hyland, 2014, 9-14). The authors of the sub-corpus Journalism used more Self-mentions than Engagement markers, which implies that authorial presence was more important for journalists in the sample. Authors in the sub-corpus Politics&Law used more Engagement markers than Self-mentions, placing more emphasis on reader involvement, they also often used phrases that combined inclusive and inclusive we to imply that their party and the whole population think alike such as Example 37. It is interesting, however, that it is the authors of occupations other than politics, journalism or academia, who used metadiscourse resources the most.

Overall, occupation is a factor that influences the choice of certain first-person plural pronouns as well as metadiscourse resources containing these pronouns. The occurrence frequencies of metadiscourse resources by occupation showed that in the corpus journalists tend to emphasize their authorial presence, while politicians pay more attention to their audience. The sub-corpus Other that stands out of the sample needs further investigation. Such results can be explained by the fact that some of the authors of the sub-corpus were professional writers. However, as the sample was too small to be a separate sub-corpus, it is not possible to draw any far-reaching conclusions.

The pronoun *me* was the one that demonstrated the greatest difference per 1,000 words among the sub-corpora and was additionally tested in the AntConc for

co-occurrences. The top 10 AntConc results are presented in Table 23.

Rank	Journalism		Politics&Law		Academia		Other	
	Frequency	Cluster	Frequency	Cluster	Frequency	Cluster	Frequency	Cluster
1	15	told me	4	for me	2	for me	7	to me
2	9	like me	3	like me	2	let me	2	made me
3	6	for me	3	told me	1	allowed	2	make me
4	6	tells me	2	to me	1	me	1	around me
5	5	tell me	1	about me	1	carry me	1	ask me
6	4	to me	1	and me	1	enabled me	1	at me
7	3	give me	1	around me	1	telling me	1	call me
8	3	led me	1	asked me	1	threw me	1	get me
9	2	around me	1	astounds me	1	told me	1	inside me
10	2	inspires me	1	believe me			1	like me

Table 23: Lexical units co-occurring with the pronoun *me* in the corpus by Occupation

The only noticeable difference among the groups is that the category Journalism used *me* mostly in phrases *told me/tells me/tell me* to refer to the sources of information as Evidentials. Other groups, however, did not use such phrases as often. This finding is consistent with the results of metadiscourse resources analysis as journalists indeed used more Evidentials than other occupational groups in the corpus.

## 5.6 Gender + Occupation

As previous chapters have shown, the variables that have demonstrated most variation among sub-corpora were Gender and Occupation. It was decided to compare the sub-corpora considering both variables to see which combination of factors has the most influence on pronoun and metadiscourse use.

Thus, occupational groups were compared by gender and within one gender group. It was interesting to see that there was a gender-occupation division within the sample with the most noticeable differences in categories Politics&Law and Academia. Unlike Journalism, where the number of texts by male authors exceeds that by female authors only by 20% (52 vs. 42), there were more than twice as many male texts in Academia and Politics&Law than female texts. Table 24 below shows the number of texts by authors of different occupations by gender.

Occupation	Female	Male
Journalism	42	52
Politics	17	32
Academia	9	20
Other	14	10

Table 24: Texts in the corpus by Gender and Occupation

Different occupational groups by gender are presented in Tables 25-27. As

can be seen, the statistically significant difference in first-person singular pronoun use between male and female writers can only be observed in the category Journalism. Categories Politics&Law, Academia and Other do not demonstrate statistically significant difference between men and women. In the category Journalism, a statistically significant difference was found for pronouns *I*, *me* and *my*, similar to the difference observed when only genders were compared. However, the category Journalism does not show any difference in the use of the first-person plural pronoun *we*. Such difference can only be seen in the category Other.

Occupation	Word count	<i>I</i>	<i>fx1000</i>	p-value	<i>me</i>	<i>fx1000</i>	p-value	<i>my</i>	<i>fx1000</i>	p-value
Journalism	33,743	330	9.78	<0.05	68	2.02	<0.05	122	3.62	<0.05
Politics&Law	14,287	128	8.96	>0.05	18	1.26	>0.05	38	2.66	>0.05
Academia	6,055	36	5.96	>0.05	3	0.5	>0.05	4	0.66	>0.05
Other	11,405	112	9.82	>0.05	18	1.58	>0.05	40	3.51	>0.05

Table 25: Occurrence frequencies for pronouns *I*, *me*, and *my* by Occupation in the sub-corpus Female

Occupation	Word count	<i>we</i>	<i>fx1000</i>	p-value	<i>us</i>	<i>fx1000</i>	p-value	<i>our</i>	<i>fx1000</i>	p-value
Journalism	33,743	219	6.49	>0.05	30	0.89	>0.05	107	3.17	>0.05
Politics&Law	14,287	78	5.46	>0.05	17	1.19	>0.05	83	5.81	>0.05
Academia	6,055	31	5.12	>0.05	5	0.83	>0.05	20	3.30	>0.05
Other	11,405	97	8.51	<0.05	13	1.14	>0.05	67	5.87	>0.05

Table 26: Occurrence frequencies for pronouns *we*, *us*, and *our* by Occupation in the sub-corpus Female

Occupation	Word count	<i>I</i>	<i>fx1000</i>	p-value	<i>me</i>	<i>fx1000</i>	p-value	<i>my</i>	<i>fx1000</i>	p-value
Journalism	45,543	135	2.96	<0.05	32	0.7	<0.05	37	0.81	<0.05
Politics& Law	24,277	48	1.98	>0.05	8	0.33	>0.05	11	0.45	>0.05
Academia	16,478	79	4.79	>0.05	9	0.55	>0.05	35	2.12	>0.05
Other	6,610	28	4.24	>0.05	4	0.61	>0.05	7	1.06	>0.05

Table 27: Occurrence frequencies for pronouns *I*, *me*, and *my* by Occupation in the sub-corpus Male

Occupation	Word count	<i>we</i>	<i>fx1000</i>	p-value	<i>us</i>	<i>fx1000</i>	p-value	<i>our</i>	<i>fx1000</i>	p-value
Journalism	45,543	125	2.74	>0.05	19	0.42	>0.05	70	1.54	>0.05
Politics& Law	24,277	109	4.49	>0.05	16	0.66	>0.05	85	3.50	>0.05
Academia	16,478	68	4.13	>0.05	7	0.42	>0.05	45	2.73	>0.05
Other	6,610	24	3.63	<0.05	16	2.42	>0.05	41	6.20	>0.05

Table 28: Occurrence frequencies for pronouns *we*, *us*, and *our* by Occupation in the sub-corpus Male

When different occupational groups were compared within one gender, they showed no statistically significant difference. It is an important finding because it shows that within the gender, male and female authors do not differ in their pronoun use by occupation, but male and female authors of one profession do differ from each other.

Metadiscourse resources by occupation and gender are presented in Tables 8

and 29 and Figure 10.

Occupation	Self-mentions	$\times 1000$	Engagement markers	$\times 1000$	Attitude markers	$\times 1000$	Evidentials	$\times 1000$	Hedges	$\times 1000$	Boosters	$\times 1000$
Journalism	649	19.23	244	7.23	36	1.07	22	0.65	16	0.47	10	0.30
Politics&Law	251	17.57	115	8.05	15	1.05	6	0.42	1	0.07	0	0
Academia	44	7.27	55	9.08	8	1.32	1	0.17	3	0.5	1	0.17
Other	197	17.27	152	13.33	23	2.02	1	0.09	6	0.53	4	0.35

Table 29: Occurrence frequencies of metadiscourse resources in the sub-corpus Female

Occupation	Self-mentions	$\times 1000$	Engagement markers	$\times 1000$	Attitude markers	$\times 1000$	Evidentials	$\times 1000$	Hedges	$\times 1000$	Boosters	$\times 1000$
Journalism	254	5.58	167	3.67	23	0.51	13	0.29	8	0.18	6	0.13
Politics& Law	119	4.90	162	6.67	7	0.29	4	0.16	3	0.12	0	0
Academia	155	9.41	96	5.83	10	0.61	2	0.12	2	0.12	1	0.06
Other	41	6.20	81	12.25	7	1.06	1	0.15	5	0.76	1	0.15

Table 30: Occurrence frequencies of metadiscourse resources in the sub-corpus Male

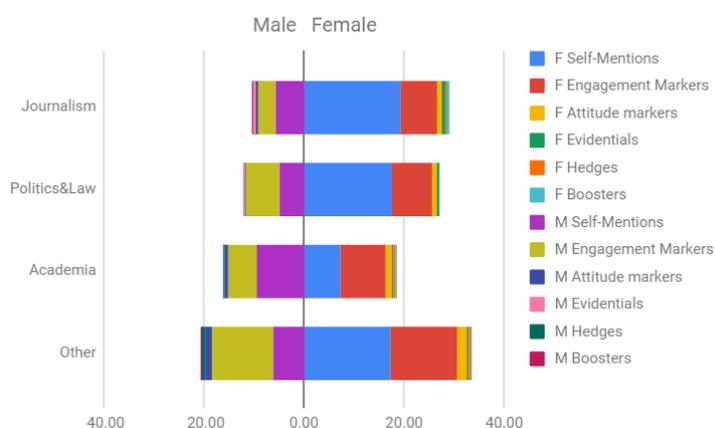


Figure 10: Metadiscourse resources containing first-person pronouns by Gender and Occupation (per 1,000 words)

As Figure 10 shows, male and female authors of different occupations used metadiscourse resources differently. Overall, female authors used more Self-mentions than Engagement markers and male authors used more Engagement markers than Self-mentions. The exception is the category Academia, where male authors used more Self-mentions than female authors and more Self-mentions than Engagement markers. It can be assumed that for male authors of the category in the sample authorial presence and opinion are more important than building rapport with their audience.

Overall, from the point of view of pronoun and metadiscourse use, both gender and occupation are factors that can influence the pronoun choice and the choice of metadiscourse resources that the authors use, however, since within one gender no differentiation was observed, apparently occupation impacts this choice to a lesser degree than gender.

### 5.7 Publishers

All of the social variables examined above – gender, age, background, education, and occupation – pertained to the authors of the texts in the corpus. However, there is at least one more variable that could have influenced the style of the texts and, correspondingly, the author's use of pronouns: the publisher, or the publisher's editor. Therefore, for the sake of completeness of the research, it was relevant to check if the sample shows any variability in pronoun and metadiscourse resources use by publisher. The corpus represents 11 publishers: *CNN*, *Fox News*, *Los Angeles Times*, *NBC News*, *The New York Post*, *New York Daily News*, *The New York Times*, *TIME*, *The Washington Post*, *USA Today* and *VICE*. As previously mentioned, the publishers are unequally represented, due to the unequal number of op-eds available on their sites, therefore the data was normalized to 1,000 words. The pronoun occurrence frequencies and the result of the Kruskal-Wallis test are presented in Tables 30 and 31.

Publisher	Word count	<i>I</i>	<i>I</i> /1000	p-value	<i>me</i>	<i>me</i> /1000	p-value	<i>my</i>	<i>my</i> /1000	p-value
CNN	17,892	192	10.7	>0.05	39	2.18	>0.05	52	2.9	>0.05
Fox News	15,751	68	4.31		12	0.76		19	1.2	
Los Angeles Times	11,131	34	3.05		3	0.27		8	0.71	
NBC News	8,491	61	7.18		6	0.7		31	3.65	
New York Daily News	12,821	60	4.68		12	0.94		23	1.79	
The New York Post	11,631	22	1.89		4	0.34		4	0.34	
The New York Times	21,507	152	7.07		53	2.46		54	2.51	
VICE	19,435	183	9.42		33	1.7		70	3.60	
The Washington Post	12,602	22	1.75		34	2.7		2	0.15	
TIME	15,724	66	4.2		14	0.9		26	1.65	
USA Today	13,132	39	2.97		7	0.53		6	0.45	

Table 31: Occurrence frequencies of *I*, *my* and *me* by publisher

Publisher	Word count	<i>we</i>	<i>fx1000</i>	p-value	<i>us</i>	<i>fx1000</i>	p-value	<i>our</i>	<i>fx1000</i>	p-value
CNN	17,892	110	6.15	<0.05	19	1.06	>0.05	89	4.97	<0.05
Fox News	15,751	103	6.54		15	0.95		89	5.65	
Los Angeles Times	11,131	19	1.71		5	0.45		23	2.07	
NBC News	8,491	85	10.01		16	1.88		72	8.48	
New York Daily News	12,821	50	3.90		2	0.16		24	1.87	
The New York Post	11,631	15	1.29		5	0.43		13	1.12	
The New York Times	21,507	93	4.32		27	1.26		43	2.00	
VICE	19,435	138	7.10		20	1.03		59	3.04	
The Washington Post	12,602	42	3.33		8	0.63		30	2.38	
TIME	15,724	75	4.77		13	0.83		44	2.80	
USA Today	13,132	32	2.44		4	0.30		34	2.59	

Table 32: Occurrence frequencies of *we*, *us* and *our* by publisher

All first-person pronouns are compared by publisher in Figure 11.

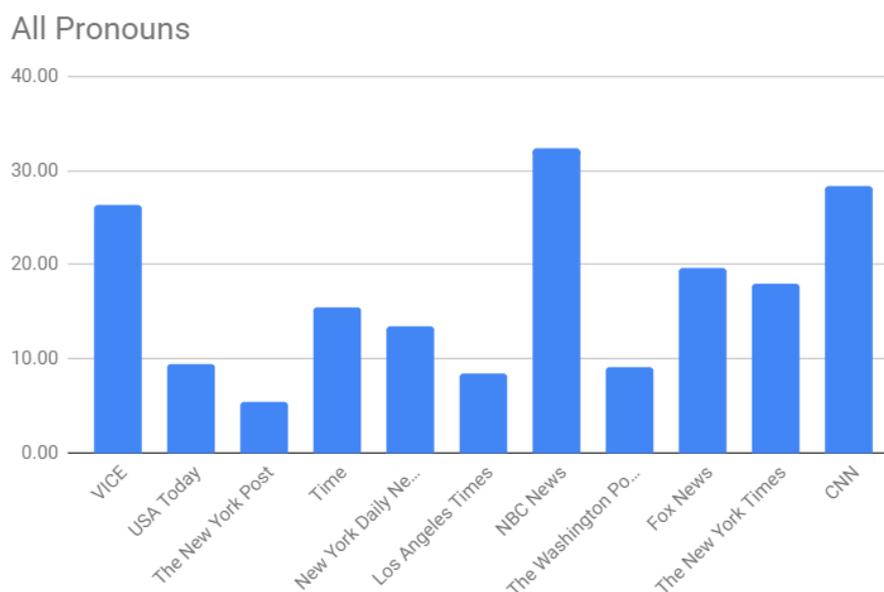


Figure 11: Pronoun distribution by publisher (per 1,000 words)

As can be seen from Tables 31 and 32, the Kruskal-Wallis H test showed statistically significant difference for the first-person plural pronouns *we* and *our*. Figure 11 also shows that publishers differ by pronouns used in their op-ed texts. The difference is quite noticeable, with *CNN* and *VICE* demonstrating the largest numbers of pronouns per 1,000 words: 28.4 and 26.4 respectively and *The New York Post* the least: 5.5. Tables 30 and 31 also show that high or low numbers of first-person singular pronouns usually correspond with similar numbers of plural pronouns.

Occurrence frequencies for first-person plural exclusive and inclusive pronouns are presented in Table 33 and Figure 12. They show that among publishers, *NBC News* demonstrates the highest frequency of inclusive pronouns, followed by *CNN* and *Fox News*. This publisher also shows the highest frequency of exclusive

pronouns, but it is very closely followed by *VICE*. All publishers demonstrate higher numbers of first-person plural inclusive pronouns compared to exclusive, the smallest found in The New York Post and USA Today. In the case of *VICE* the frequencies of exclusive and inclusive pronouns are very close.

Publisher	Incl. we	fx1000	Excl. we	fx1000	Incl. us	fx1000	Excl. us	fx1000	Incl. our	fx1000	Excl. our	fx1000
CNN	78	4.36	33	1.84	15	0.84	8	0.45	72	4.02	17	0.95
Fox News	73	4.63	30	1.90	13	0.83	2	0.13	68	4.32	21	1.33
Los Angeles Times	16	1.44	3	0.27	5	0.45	0	0.00	19	1.71	4	0.36
NBC News	55	6.48	30	3.53	14	1.65	2	0.24	57	6.71	15	1.77
New York Daily News	45	3.51	5	0.39	2	0.16	0	0.00	18	1.40	6	0.47
The New York Post	13	1.12	2	0.17	6	0.52	0	0.00	13	1.12	0	0.00
The New York Times	79	3.67	14	0.65	22	1.02	4	0.19	38	1.77	5	0.23
VICE	75	3.86	63	3.24	7	0.36	15	0.77	43	2.21	16	0.82
The Washington Post	19	1.51	23	1.83	4	0.32	1	0.08	25	1.98	5	0.40
TIME	67	4.26	8	0.51	11	0.70	2	0.13	41	2.61	3	0.19
USA Today	30	2.28	2	0.15	4	0.30	0	0.00	34	2.59	0	0.00

Table 33: Occurrence frequencies of first-person plural exclusive and inclusive pronouns by publisher

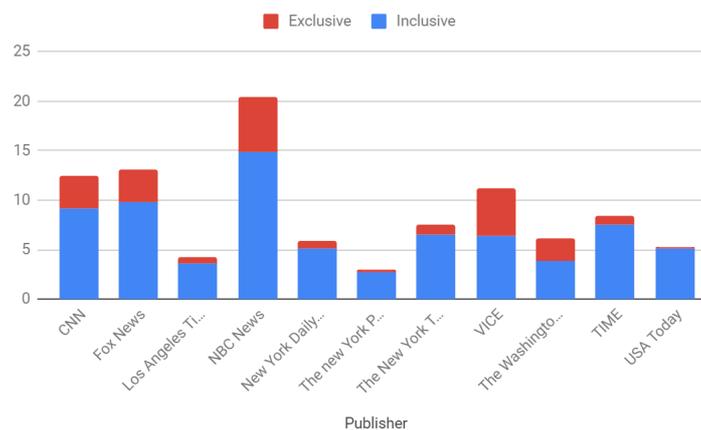
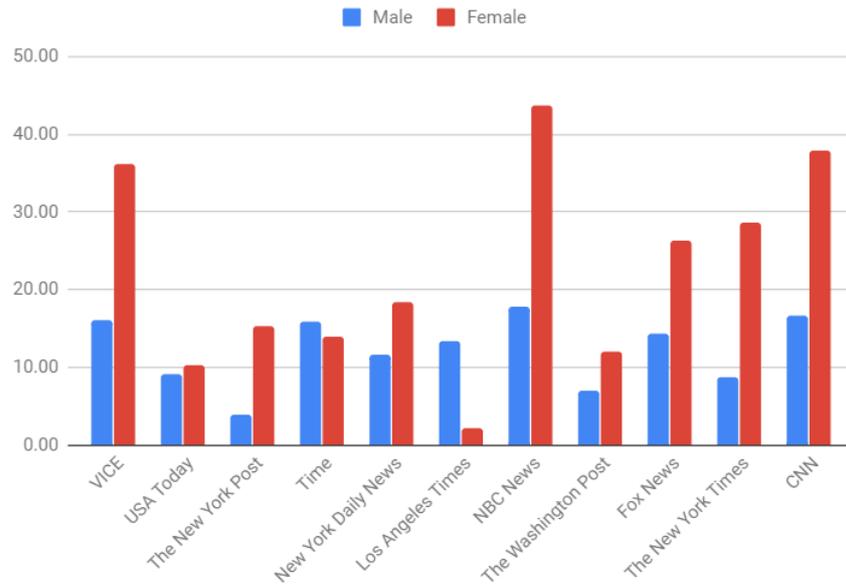


Figure 12: Comparison of inclusive and exclusive pronouns by publisher (per 1000 words).

Since it has already been established that gender is the variable that most prominently influences the first-person pronoun use, it was decided to check if pronoun use varies by gender and publisher. The results can be observed in Figure 13.



*Figure 13: All pronouns by publisher and gender*

In sum, the results are consistent with the previous findings that gender is a prominent factor in pronoun choice. In 8 cases female authors used considerably more pronouns than male authors. However, in the case of two publishers, *Los Angeles Times*, and *TIME* male authors used more pronouns than female authors and in the case of *USA Today*, the difference is marginal.

Since Occupation, specifically the category Journalism, was found to be an important factor that influenced the choice of first-person pronouns, the publishers were also compared according to the pronouns that male and female journalists used in the texts they published. The results are presented in Figure 14.

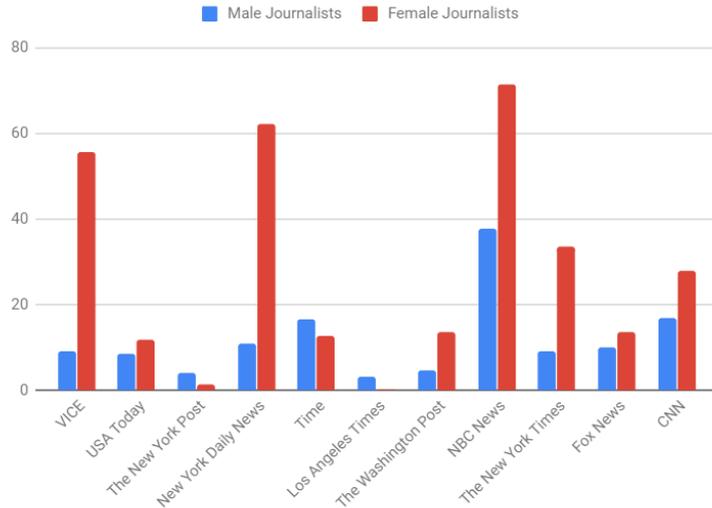


Figure 14: Pronoun distribution by publisher and gender within the category Journalism

It can be seen that, on the whole, the tendency remained the same: female journalists used more pronouns than male journalists. The two cases that showed the opposite tendency are *The New York Post* and *Los Angeles Times*. The first case can be explained by the fact that out of 11 journalists from *The New York Post* only one is female, all other are male. In *Los Angeles Times*, however, there are more female journalists than male (4 and 3 respectively) and none of them used first-person pronouns. Apparently, this publisher is an outlier and would require further investigation. Tables presenting texts by gender, occupation and publishers can be found in Appendix 2.

Metadiscourse resources were also compared by publisher. The results are presented in Figure 15.

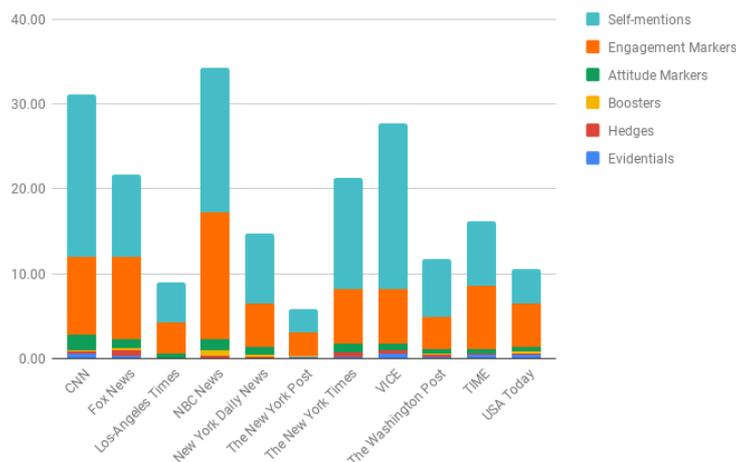


Figure 15: Metadiscourse resources containing first-person pronouns by publisher (per 1,000 words)

According to Figure 14, *NBC News*, *CNN* and *VICE* show the highest frequencies of metadiscourse resources however, they differ slightly in the resources that were used the most. In all three cases, the most prominent resource is Self-mentions, but *NBC News* showed greater use of Engagement markers than its counterparts and the largest number of Engagement markers by 1000 words in the sample. Two news publishers show the least use of metadiscourse resources: *Los Angeles Times* and *The New York Post*, these two media publishers are outliers in the sample and it is a question how much their presence in the sample skews the data.

All in all, publishers are evidently a factor that influences the use of first-person pronouns and metadiscourse resources containing these pronouns as there is a difference in first-person pronoun use among the publishers in the corpus. However, within the same publisher social variables seem to have a similar influence as that found in the corpus in general. Therefore, further research is required to establish to what extent publishers can influence the use of first-person pronouns and metadiscourse resources and whether this influence stems from their choice of the authors or their stylistic guidelines.

### 5.8 Changing the focus: Lemmatization

Finally, one more factor important for this study is the choice of the pronoun forms. I chose to start with examining each first-person pronoun form separately,

which was justified by the fact that different pronoun forms can serve as different metadiscourse resources. However, if pronoun forms were lemmatized and pronouns were reviewed in groups of first-person singular and first-person plural, the outcome of the research would also differ for certain groups. In this chapter I will investigate what change regrouping pronouns would bring to the results of the study. Tables 34-40 present the occurrence frequencies for lemmatized pronouns by social variable and the results of the Kruskal-Wallis H Test.

When lemmatized pronouns were examined, variable Gender still demonstrated significant difference in the use of first-person pronouns, both singular and plural.

Gender	Word count	All singular	fx1000	p-value	All plural	fx1000	p-value
Male	92101	443	4.8	<0.05	632	6.86	<0.05
Female	67503	929	13.7		778	11.53	

Table 34: Occurrence frequencies for lemmatized first-person pronouns by Gender

The results for the variable Age presented in Table 35 showed no significant difference, which was consistent with the results of the previous analysis of individual pronoun forms. Apparently, Age is not a factor that influences the use of first-person pronouns.

Age	Word count	All singular	fx1000	p-value	All plural	fx1000	p-value
20-35	27,535	361	13.11	>0.05	316	11.48	>0.05
36-50	34,895	267	7.65		351	10.06	
51-65	40,342	374	9.27		307	7.61	
66-70+	28,658	152	5.3		231	8.07	

Table 35: Occurrence frequencies for lemmatized first-person pronouns by Age

The same is true for the variable Education.

Education	Word count	All singular	fx1000	p-value	All plural	fx1000	p-value
Doctorate	49,557	381	7.67	>0.05	458	9.24	>0.05
Higher	94,450	927	9.81		815	8.63	
Other	16,110	125	7.76		161	9.99	

Table 36: Occurrence frequencies of lemmatized first-person pronouns by Education

Category Background, however showed significant difference in the use of first-person plural pronouns which is different from the study of individual pronouns.

Background	Word count	All singular	fx1000	p-value	All plural	fx1000	p-value
American	113,115	837	7.4	<0.05	933	8.25	0.17
African-American	16,546	141	8.52		177	10.7	
Other	31,518	455	14.43		324	10.27	

Table 37: Occurrence frequencies of lemmatized first-person pronouns by Background

The most noticeable difference from the previous results was observed in the variable Occupation. When individual pronoun forms were studied, the sub-corpora demonstrated significant difference for the pronouns *me*, *us* and *our*. However, the study of lemmatized pronouns showed no significant difference. The results are presented in Table 38.

Occupation	Word count	All singular	fx1000	p-value	All plural	fx1000	p-value
Journalism	80,179	766	9.55		581	7.25	
Politics&Law	37,430	248	6.63		383	10.23	
Academia	23,667	176	7.43	>0.05	190	8.02	>0.05
Other	18,841	243	12.9		280	14.86	

Table 38: Occurrence frequencies of lemmatized first-person pronouns according to Occupation

When Occupation was cross-tabulated with Gender the difference in pronoun usage became significant again as can be seen from Tables 39 and 40. As when individual pronouns were studied, the difference can be observed only in the category Journalism.

Occupation	Word count	All singular	fx1000	p-value	All plural	fx1000	p-value
Journalism	33,743	530	15.71	<0.05	363	10.76	<0.05
Politics& Law	14,287	185	12.95	>0.05	181	12.67	>0.05
Academia	6,055	43	7.10	>0.05	56	9.25	>0.05
Other	11,405	171	14.99	>0.05	178	15.61	>0.05

Table 39: Occurrence frequencies of lemmatized first-person pronouns in the sub-corpus Female by Occupation

Occupation	Word count	All singular	fx1000	p-value	All plural	fx1000	p-value
Journalism	33,743	207	4.55	<0.05	214	4.7	<0.05
Politics& Law	14,287	70	2.88	>0.05	211	8.69	>0.05
Academia	6,055	126	7.65	>0.05	125	7.59	>0.05
Other	11,405	40	6.05	>0.05	82	12.41	>0.05

Table 40: Occurrence frequencies of lemmatized first-person pronouns in the sub-corpus Male by Occupation

In general, the results of the lemmatized pronouns review are consistent with the results of the individual pronoun review. The statistically significant difference is also still observed in the category Gender and in a cross-tabulated study of pronouns by Occupation and Gender, in the category Journalism. However, some results differ. For instance, the difference that was observed in the variable Occupation no longer appears significant, but there is a difference in the category Background that was not observed earlier, when individual pronoun forms were studied. All in all, this review shows how the research choice of grouping random or continuous variables can influence the outcome received.

## 6. Discussion

This study implemented the quantitative methods of sociolinguistic research recommended by Biber and Jones (Biber & Jones, 2009) and Hyland's interpersonal model of metadiscourse (Hyland, 2005) to establish whether and how the author's identity and social parameters influence their choice of first-person pronouns and the metadiscourse resources containing these pronouns. The correlation between certain social variables and the use of pronouns and the metadiscourse resources containing pronouns has been established and confirmed as significant. The results of the metadiscourse resources review are consistent with the previous research of Fu and Hyland who found that opinion authors used predominantly interactional resources and among them mostly Self-Mentions and Engagement Markers. Such results are explained by the goal of an opinion article which is to render the author's stance and to persuade the audience to agree with the author's opinion and is thus predetermined by the genre (Fu & Hyland, 2014, 9-14). Another factor that could have influenced the result is the topic of the corpus: elections and the president's in-office anniversary. As could be seen from the examples, some authors openly used op-eds to campaign for their political party (e.g. *Vote Republican!*).

### 6.1 Findings

The most prominent social variables that correlate with the authors' choice of pronouns as well as pronoun-containing metadiscourse resources in the data studied are Gender and, to lesser degree, Occupation. The study confirmed that male and female authors of the corpus used pronouns differently, and that female authors used considerably more first-person pronouns, both singular and plural. This finding is consistent with the results of previous research, which showed that women tend to use more pronouns than men (Rayson et al. 1997, 138, Argamon et al. 2003, 326-32, Pennebaker et al. 2003, 557). Since excessive use of first-person pronouns can be associated with lower social status of the author (Kacewicz et al. 2013, 12), this finding is also consistent with other studies claiming that women's linguistic repertoires reflect their weaker economic and social power and greater sense of insecurity compared to men (Tagliamonte, 2012, 37).

Another finding consistent with previous studies was that female authors used inclusive *we* more often than male authors. In previous research, the use of inclusive plural pronouns such as “caretaker's *we*” by women has sometimes been explained

by women's cooperative ethos (Wales, 1996, 67). However, when pronoun distributions within groups were examined, it became apparent that while women indeed used more inclusive plural pronouns than men, men used more inclusive plural pronouns than exclusive plural pronouns as well as a larger proportion of inclusive pronouns than women. It can be assumed, that women use more inclusive plural pronouns not because of their cooperative character, but for a different reason.

The overall asymmetry in pronoun use by men and women explains the result of metadiscourse study. As female authors used more first-person pronouns than men, it means that they also used more Self-mentions and Engagement markers which, in turn, implies that females are more concerned with authorial presence and audience involvement (Hyland, 2005, 53). However, the evaluation of the distribution of metadiscourse resources within the sub-corpora showed that females used twice as many Self-mentions per 1,000 words than Engagement markers while males used these two resources in approximately equal proportions. Also, many phrases that involved first-person pronouns in the female sub-corpus were self-references such as *I am a Republican*, while the male sub-corpus did not contain many self-reference phrases. This implies that for female authors authorial persona and visibility are more important than audience involvement.

Even though the occurrence frequencies of other metadiscourse resources in the sample were relatively small, they confirmed that in general female authors used more metadiscourse resources. One minor finding is that female authors used not only more Hedges, which were once considered a 'female feature' but also more Boosters (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2003, 115, 183).

The second social variable that demonstrated differences in pronoun usage was Occupation, which showed a statistically significant difference in the use of the object pronouns *me* and *us* and the plural determiner *our*. When inclusive and exclusive plural pronouns were compared, the category Other showed a noticeably greater usage of inclusive pronouns than other categories, followed surprisingly by the category Academia. This, however, can be explained by the genre of the corpus.

Other differences in the choice of metadiscourse resources were also found: journalists used more Self-mentions than Engagement markers, while politicians and lawyers used more Engagement markers than Self-mentions. It can be concluded that, for journalists, authorial presence is more important than audience involvement while the opposite is true for politicians. Such differences in rhetoric can be

explained by the different goals of the two professions: journalists can simply share personal opinions, whereas politicians and lawyers often need to persuade their audience (Harwood, 2007, 37).

Combined analysis of the two variables that demonstrated a significant difference in pronoun use showed Journalism as the most notably distinct occupation. In this category the greatest difference between genders was observed in the use of the pronouns *I*, *me*, and *my*. The difference was also observed in the use of the pronoun *us* in the occupation category Other. The study of metadiscourse resources showed that female journalists, like other female authors in the sample, use more Self-mentions and Engagement markers than male journalists, but when these metadiscourse resources were counted within the sub-corpus it became apparent that female journalists used more Self-Mentions than Engagement markers. Overall, the metadiscourse resource distribution was similar to that by gender except in the category Academia, where the male authors used more Self-mentions per 1,000 words than the female authors, while the females used more Engagement markers implying that for the male academics in the corpus authorial presence was more important than for the female ones. When different occupational categories were compared within the same gender, no significant difference was observed. It can be concluded, therefore, that gender is a prominent factor that determines the choice of pronouns. As also shown, occupation has an influence on the choice of pronouns but it is less prominent than that of gender.

The influence of other variables such as Age, Education or Background was not found to be statistically significant in this study. Nevertheless, some patterns pertaining to these variables were observed. For example, the lexical co-occurrence study demonstrated that the authors younger than 36 years old preferred contracted forms of the copula verb *to be*: *I'm*, while middle-aged authors mostly used the non-contracted *I am and* only the non-contracted *we are*. This is consistent with the previous research of age grading that shows that middle aged people prefer more standard language forms due to the requirements of their careers and social status (Tagliamonte, 2012, 147).

Finally, it was established that pronoun frequencies in the sample also differ by publisher. Texts from certain publishers, such as *NBC News*, *CNN*, and *VICE* contained large numbers of first-person pronouns, both singular and plural. Texts from other publishers, such as *The New York Post* and *Los Angeles Times* featured

very limited numbers of pronouns. Overall pronoun frequencies correlated with the metadiscourse resources used, however the range of the resources differed among publishers. For example, *NBC News*, *CNN* and *VICE* featured the largest number of metadiscourse resources in the sample, among them *CNN* and *VICE* featured more Self-mentions, while *NBC News* featured more Engagement markers. There can be no doubt that publishers influenced the occurrences of pronouns used in their texts, but further research is required to establish whether this influence is direct or indirect, whether it stems from the publisher's guidelines or from their choice of authors with a particular style. It is known that news publishers have requirements for the texts that appear on their sites, however it is not clear whether these guidelines encourage or limit the use of personal pronouns (Thurman, 2008, 144).

## 6.2 Further suggestions

Although this study has some important findings, there are further steps that can be undertaken to study the subject in more depth as the study has certain limitations. The first limitation is the size of the sample as well as the amount of the information on the authors. The corpus is quite small and, to derive conclusions about the whole population, a bigger, more varied by publisher sample would be required. In addition, since a lot of information about the authors, such as age, was not available, the results in some cases may be too skewed and the factors deemed insignificant may play a larger role.

Another limitation is that the sociolinguistic methods of studying variation and the linguistic choices of individuals operate with fixed, discrete categories and have limited tools for continuous categories such as age. Therefore, the groups that are studied are predetermined by the choice of the researcher. Even though age groups or cohorts are formed on the basis of meaningful stages in a person's life, grouping inevitably influenced the result (Tagliamonte, 2011, 137). For instance, in this study I investigated four age groups. However, in the pilot preceding the study, seven groups divided by decade were formed instead of four. The main outcome of the study did not change: the difference between age groups was not statistically significant, however, some patterns became less apparent in a bigger group. For instance, the review of pronoun distribution within groups showed that the group of authors between 20 and 30 years old used the largest proportion of the pronoun *I* among the age groups – (38.7%), while the group of authors aged over 70 used the

largest proportion of the pronoun *we* – (35%), this is similar to other findings that noticed that, with age, people tend to use less self-references (Pennebaker & Stone, 2003, 295). When bigger groups were formed, this difference disappeared. Also, when groups were divided by decade, it was noticed that in the groups 20+, 30+, 40+ and 70+ the most frequent cluster was the combination of the pronoun *I* and the verb *to be* in the present tense: *I am/I'm* but in the groups 50+ and 60+ the most frequent combination was the pronoun *I* followed by the verb *to be* in the past tense: *I was*. Concordance plot in the AntConc showed that the cluster was observed in 16 different texts (10 out of 42 in the group 50+ and 6 out of 36 in the group 60+), so this result is not a coincidence. However, it is important to emphasize that, in this case, the occurrence frequencies were low, so further research would be required to draw any conclusion on their basis.

Another important factor is the choice of the pronouns to study. In this study, I chose to examine each pronoun separately, because they formed different metadiscourse resources but when pronoun forms were lemmatized and pronouns were reviewed in groups of first-person singular and first-person plural, the outcome of the research differed for certain groups. In general, the results of such study were consistent with the results of studying individual pronouns, but a statistically significant difference was still observed in the category Gender and in a cross-tabulated study of pronouns by Occupation and Gender, in the category Journalism. However, the change of perspective did affect the outcome to some degree. For instance, the difference that was observed in the category Other of the variable Occupation no longer appeared significant, but a difference in the category Background that was not observed when individual pronoun forms were studied became noticeable. This shows how the choice of grouping variables within the research can influence the outcome received.

Further research can also consider using different metadiscourse models. This study relies on Hyland's interpersonal metadiscourse model, which appears appropriate because this model distinguishes specific metadiscourse resources that project the author's personality into the text (Hyland, 2015). Nevertheless, it would be interesting to investigate metadiscourse resources containing pronouns through other models, such as the reflexive metadiscourse model developed by Mauranen and Ädel (Mauranen, 1993, Ädel, 2006) or the first-person functional taxonomy developed by Tang and John on the basis of Ivanič's 'aspects of writer identity' (Tang

& John, 1999, 29). As Hyland's model was primarily developed for and applied to academic texts, adding another model may contribute to our better understanding of the significance of certain metadiscourse patterns in the opinion genre. For example, Tang & John's model that specifically focuses on writer's identity could be used to evaluate opinion texts from the point of view of the author's personality and its reflection in the text.

Also, the step-by step quantitative method could be supplemented by factor analysis to assure that all possible combinations of variables were studied thoroughly to strengthen the findings. Such approach, however, would require a bigger corpus and a more detailed categorization, but the result would help investigate the connection between metadiscourse and the author's personality in greater depth.

Finally, this study examined only a limited set of social variables and some of them only briefly because they did not show significant differences in the sample. Perhaps a more detailed study of background as well as the varieties of English used by the authors would reveal new underlying patterns in pronoun and metadiscourse use. For example, the fact that the authors who were Caucasian and born in the USA were considered Americans does not mean that they spoke a uniform variety of American English. For this reason, it would be necessary to consider the state the author is from, and, if possible, the author's family background, because other languages spoken in the family can influence the linguistic repertoire of a person (Tagliamonte, 2012, 39). Future studies of these and other nuances can enrich our knowledge of metadiscourse resources and the sociolinguistic factors underlying them.

## **7. Conclusion**

This study of first-person pronouns and metadiscourse resources within the genre of op-ed articles has not only confirmed previous findings on metadiscourse in the genre but also revealed the correlation between certain social variables and the use of metadiscourse resources containing first-person pronouns. The most prominent social variables that correlated with first-person pronouns and metadiscourse resources in question were gender and occupation. The female authors in the study used considerably more first-person pronouns than the male authors and they showed preference for first-person singular pronouns. The male authors used fewer pronouns in general, and preferred first-person plural pronouns. Both genders

used exclusive and inclusive plural pronouns in comparable, though not equal proportions: men used a slightly larger proportion of inclusive plural pronouns than women.

These results, as well as the fact that all first-person singular pronouns, metadiscursively, are part of Self-mentions and all first-person plural inclusive pronouns are part of Engagement markers, explain why the female authors in the corpus also featured more Self-mentions than Engagement markers, and why male authors used Self-mentions and Engagement markers in a more balanced way. As this distinction in pronoun and metadiscourse use between genders was most noticeable among journalists, it can be concluded that male journalists in the corpus considered authorial presence and audience engagement as equally important, while female journalists were more concerned with their authorial presence.

While this study established that the publisher is a factor that can influence the use of pronouns and corresponding metadiscourse resources, it could not show whether the differences originated from the publisher's guidelines and requirements for the text or from the publishers' choice of authors with particular personalities and social traits. Despite that, when pronoun use by gender was studied within each publisher, the results were similar to the overall results: female authors used more pronouns than male authors in the majority of cases. It was found that certain publishers chose authors of certain genders or backgrounds, so the author's choice must be an important factor. However without further investigation it is not possible to draw any conclusions.

All in all, my findings demonstrate that the use of metadiscourse resources that contain first-person pronouns is indeed influenced by social variables and confirm the contention that metadiscourse depends on the author's personality and cultural identity (Hyland, 2005, 17). Thus, this study successfully established the connection between social variables and metadiscourse resources containing first-person pronouns. However, since this was just a concise investigation of the possibility to combine metadiscourse research with sociolinguistic research, further study of the sociolinguistic determinants of metadiscourse is required.

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### Appendix 1. Primary Sources

#	Article title	Hyperlink	Publisher
1	The Choice Facing America	<a href="https://www.foxnews.com/opinion/kimberley-strassel-the-fusion-gps-dossier-was-one-of-the-dirtiest-political-tricks-in-us-history">https://www.foxnews.com/opinion/kimberley-strassel-the-fusion-gps-dossier-was-one-of-the-dirtiest-political-tricks-in-us-history</a>	CNN
2	Should Democrats cooperate with Trump?	<a href="http://edition.cnn.com/2016/11/20/opinions/democrats-cooperate-trump-zelizer/index.html">http://edition.cnn.com/2016/11/20/opinions/democrats-cooperate-trump-zelizer/index.html</a>	CNN
3	I'm voting for Hillary Clinton – and against Donald Trump	<a href="https://edition.cnn.com/2016/11/07/opinions/navarro-republican-voting-for-clinton/index.html">https://edition.cnn.com/2016/11/07/opinions/navarro-republican-voting-for-clinton/index.html</a>	CNN
4	How Trump awakened a feminist revolution in America	<a href="https://edition.cnn.com/2016/10/27/opinions/trump-brings-back-feminism-ghitis/index.html">https://edition.cnn.com/2016/10/27/opinions/trump-brings-back-feminism-ghitis/index.html</a>	CNN
5	There's nothing for Muslims in Trump's America	<a href="https://edition.cnn.com/2016/11/10/opinions/trump-america-for-muslims-alibhai-brown-opinion/index.html">https://edition.cnn.com/2016/11/10/opinions/trump-america-for-muslims-alibhai-brown-opinion/index.html</a>	CNN
6	Trump Cannot Keep the Justice Down	<a href="https://edition.cnn.com/2016/11/10/opinions/trump-cannot-keep-justice-down-kohn/index.html">https://edition.cnn.com/2016/11/10/opinions/trump-cannot-keep-justice-down-kohn/index.html</a>	CNN
7	We need to talk about American values in a changing America	<a href="https://edition.cnn.com/2016/11/10/opinions/america-must-rediscover-inclusiveness-ispahani/index.html">https://edition.cnn.com/2016/11/10/opinions/america-must-rediscover-inclusiveness-ispahani/index.html</a>	CNN
8	Why this first-time voter sees hope amid hurt	<a href="https://edition.cnn.com/2016/11/10/opinions/first-time-voter-post-election-pupino-opinion/index.html">https://edition.cnn.com/2016/11/10/opinions/first-time-voter-post-election-pupino-opinion/index.html</a>	CNN
9	The Lessons to Learn from Trump's voters	<a href="https://edition.cnn.com/2016/11/07/opinions/lessons-of-trump-voters-peniel-joseph/index.html">https://edition.cnn.com/2016/11/07/opinions/lessons-of-trump-voters-peniel-joseph/index.html</a>	CNN
10	America has a love/hate relationship with Sarah Sanders	<a href="https://www.cnn.com/2017/12/15/opinions/sarah-sanders-confounding-opinion-costello/index.html">https://www.cnn.com/2017/12/15/opinions/sarah-sanders-confounding-opinion-costello/index.html</a>	CNN
11	Donald Trump, Martin Luther King Jr. and the backlash against progress	<a href="https://edition.cnn.com/2016/11/11/opinions/martin-luther-king-donald-trump-ellis-opinion/index.html">https://edition.cnn.com/2016/11/11/opinions/martin-luther-king-donald-trump-ellis-opinion/index.html</a>	CNN
12	I have no fear, so 'Access Hollywood' tape will never define me	<a href="https://edition.cnn.com/2017/12/05/opinions/access-hollywood-arianne-zucker-opinion/index.html">https://edition.cnn.com/2017/12/05/opinions/access-hollywood-arianne-zucker-opinion/index.html</a>	CNN
13	All tweets belong in the Library of Congress	<a href="https://edition.cnn.com/2017/12/27/opinions/library-of-congress-should-keep-all-tweets-opinion-alaimo/index.html">https://edition.cnn.com/2017/12/27/opinions/library-of-congress-should-keep-all-tweets-opinion-alaimo/index.html</a>	CNN
14	A vote for this tax plan is a vote against women and families	<a href="https://edition.cnn.com/2017/11/29/opinions/gop-tax-plan-women-families-rowe-finkbeiner-opinion/index.html">https://edition.cnn.com/2017/11/29/opinions/gop-tax-plan-women-families-rowe-finkbeiner-opinion/index.html</a>	CNN
15	Flynn may be the bait, but he's no coffee boy	<a href="https://edition.cnn.com/2017/12/01/opinions/flynn-plea-coates-opinion/index.html">https://edition.cnn.com/2017/12/01/opinions/flynn-plea-coates-opinion/index.html</a>	CNN
16	The secret to a healthy relationship with the press	<a href="https://edition.cnn.com/2017/11/27/opinions/media-politics-ethics-opinion-gergen/index.html">https://edition.cnn.com/2017/11/27/opinions/media-politics-ethics-opinion-gergen/index.html</a>	CNN
17	Why Trump is still winning	<a href="https://edition.cnn.com/2017/12/05/opinions/why-trump-is-winning-bauerlein/index.html">https://edition.cnn.com/2017/12/05/opinions/why-trump-is-winning-bauerlein/index.html</a>	CNN
18	The Trump campaign's cocktail of stupid	<a href="https://edition.cnn.com/2017/11/01/opinions/the-trump-campaigns-cocktail-of-stupid-jennings/index.html">https://edition.cnn.com/2017/11/01/opinions/the-trump-campaigns-cocktail-of-stupid-jennings/index.html</a>	CNN
19	Trump's disrespect for Native Americans is nothing new	<a href="https://edition.cnn.com/2017/11/29/opinions/trump-native-americans-moya-smith-opinion/index.html">https://edition.cnn.com/2017/11/29/opinions/trump-native-americans-moya-smith-opinion/index.html</a>	CNN
20	America deserves better	<a href="https://edition.cnn.com/2016/11/07/opinions/what-we-will-do-with-opportunity-weld/index.html">https://edition.cnn.com/2016/11/07/opinions/what-we-will-do-with-opportunity-weld/index.html</a>	CNN
21	The White House ethics ship is sinking in the swamp	<a href="https://edition.cnn.com/2017/11/27/opinions/red-flare-on-ethics-schaub-opinion/index.html">https://edition.cnn.com/2017/11/27/opinions/red-flare-on-ethics-schaub-opinion/index.html</a>	CNN

22	The real election surprise The uprising of the American people	<a href="https://www.foxnews.com/opinion/patrik-caddell-the-real-election-surprise-the-uprising-of-the-american-people">https://www.foxnews.com/opinion/patrik-caddell-the-real-election-surprise-the-uprising-of-the-american-people</a>	Fox News
23	The Fusion GPS dossier was one of the dirtiest political tricks in US history	<a href="http://www.foxnews.com/opinion/2017/11/10/kimberley-strassel-fusion-gps-dossier-was-one-dirtiest-political-tricks-in-us-history.html">http://www.foxnews.com/opinion/2017/11/10/kimberley-strassel-fusion-gps-dossier-was-one-dirtiest-political-tricks-in-us-history.html</a>	Fox News
24	Donald wins: 'Deplorables' trump Clinton	<a href="https://www.foxnews.com/opinion/donald-wins-deplorables-trump-clinton">https://www.foxnews.com/opinion/donald-wins-deplorables-trump-clinton</a>	Fox News
25	How the Tea Party helped Trump win the election	<a href="https://www.foxnews.com/opinion/how-the-tea-party-helped-trump-win-the-election">https://www.foxnews.com/opinion/how-the-tea-party-helped-trump-win-the-election</a>	Fox News
26	Thank you, Hillary Clinton	<a href="http://www.foxnews.com/opinion/2016/11/09/jessica-tarlov-thank-hillary-clinton.html">http://www.foxnews.com/opinion/2016/11/09/jessica-tarlov-thank-hillary-clinton.html</a>	Fox News
27	Whether Clinton or Trump wins on Nov. 8, we can't let America lose by remaining divided	<a href="https://www.foxnews.com/opinion/whether-clinton-or-trump-wins-on-nov-8-we-cant-let-america-lose-by-remaining-divided">https://www.foxnews.com/opinion/whether-clinton-or-trump-wins-on-nov-8-we-cant-let-america-lose-by-remaining-divided</a>	Fox News
28	I'm stepping down as chairman of the House Budget Committee after a successful year with Trump	<a href="https://www.foxnews.com/opinion/rep-diane-black-im-stepping-down-as-chairman-of-the-house-budget-committee-after-a-successful-year-with-trump">https://www.foxnews.com/opinion/rep-diane-black-im-stepping-down-as-chairman-of-the-house-budget-committee-after-a-successful-year-with-trump</a>	Fox News
29	Conservatives don't riot. They understand that individuals are good	<a href="https://www.foxnews.com/opinion/erick-erickson-conservatives-dont-riot-they-understand-that-individuals-are-good">https://www.foxnews.com/opinion/erick-erickson-conservatives-dont-riot-they-understand-that-individuals-are-good</a>	Fox News
30	Thank you, Dr. Trump – Our Stockholm Syndrome's finally been cured	<a href="https://www.foxnews.com/opinion/thank-you-dr-trump-our-stockholm-syndromes-finally-been-cured">https://www.foxnews.com/opinion/thank-you-dr-trump-our-stockholm-syndromes-finally-been-cured</a>	Fox News
31	Politics really is broken, so let's finish the job, President-Elect Trump	<a href="https://www.foxnews.com/opinion/politics-really-is-broken-so-lets-finish-the-job-president-elect-trump">https://www.foxnews.com/opinion/politics-really-is-broken-so-lets-finish-the-job-president-elect-trump</a>	Fox News
32	Liberal women go into hysterics attacking Sarah Sanders, but they don't speak for most women	<a href="https://www.foxnews.com/opinion/liberal-women-go-into-hysterics-attacking-sarah-sanders-but-they-dont-speak-for-most-women">https://www.foxnews.com/opinion/liberal-women-go-into-hysterics-attacking-sarah-sanders-but-they-dont-speak-for-most-women</a>	Fox News
33	Exposing sexual misconduct is necessary to change horrible behavior, NOT to score political points	<a href="https://www.foxnews.com/opinion/exposing-sexual-misconduct-is-necessary-to-change-horrible-behavior-not-to-score-political-points">https://www.foxnews.com/opinion/exposing-sexual-misconduct-is-necessary-to-change-horrible-behavior-not-to-score-political-points</a>	Fox News
34	It's time for the Congressional Hispanic Caucus to realize that being a Latino is not a partisan issue	<a href="https://www.foxnews.com/opinion/its-time-for-the-congressional-hispanic-caucus-to-realize-that-being-a-latino-is-not-a-partisan-issue">https://www.foxnews.com/opinion/its-time-for-the-congressional-hispanic-caucus-to-realize-that-being-a-latino-is-not-a-partisan-issue</a>	Fox News
35	Did the FBI and the Justice Department, plot to clear Hillary Clinton, bring down Trump?	<a href="https://www.foxnews.com/opinion/greg-jarrett-did-the-fbi-and-the-justice-department-plot-to-clear-hillary-clinton-bring-down-trump">https://www.foxnews.com/opinion/greg-jarrett-did-the-fbi-and-the-justice-department-plot-to-clear-hillary-clinton-bring-down-trump</a>	Fox News
36	Iranian missiles going to rebels in Yemen pose a danger to our ally Saudi Arabia	<a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/29/opinion/is-trump-going-to-lie-our-way-into-war-with-iran.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/29/opinion/is-trump-going-to-lie-our-way-into-war-with-iran.html</a>	Fox News
37	Can Trump walk away from the Iran deal	<a href="https://www.foxnews.com/opinion/can-trump-walk-away-from-the-iran-deal">https://www.foxnews.com/opinion/can-trump-walk-away-from-the-iran-deal</a>	Fox News
38	Trump doesn't need to fire Mueller – here's why	<a href="https://www.foxnews.com/opinion/alander-showitz-trump-doesnt-need-to-fire-mueller-heres-why">https://www.foxnews.com/opinion/alander-showitz-trump-doesnt-need-to-fire-mueller-heres-why</a>	Fox News
39	Trump shuts down ginned-up liberal 'uprising' in three words	<a href="https://www.foxnews.com/opinion/trump-shuts-down-ginned-up-liberal-uprising-in-three-words">https://www.foxnews.com/opinion/trump-shuts-down-ginned-up-liberal-uprising-in-three-words</a>	Fox News
40	What Doug Jones' victory over Roy Moore really means for Washington (and America) in 2018	<a href="https://www.foxnews.com/opinion/what-doug-jones-victory-over-roy-moore-really-means-for-washington-and-america-in-2018">https://www.foxnews.com/opinion/what-doug-jones-victory-over-roy-moore-really-means-for-washington-and-america-in-2018</a>	Fox News
41	We have a chance to make history by electing America's first woman president. Why aren't we celebrating?	<a href="https://www.latimes.com/opinion/oped/la-oe-daum-clinton-as-first-female-president-20161106-story.html">https://www.latimes.com/opinion/oped/la-oe-daum-clinton-as-first-female-president-20161106-story.html</a>	Los Angeles Times

42	It's been an otherworldly campaign and we're not returning to Earth anytime soon	<a href="https://www.latimes.com/opinion/op-ed/la-oe-goldberg-bizarro-earth-2-campaign-20161108-story.html">https://www.latimes.com/opinion/op-ed/la-oe-goldberg-bizarro-earth-2-campaign-20161108-story.html</a>	Los Angeles Times
43	The Founders anticipated Trump We can handle this	<a href="https://www.latimes.com/opinion/op-ed/la-oe-michaels-checks-balances-trump-20161111-story.html">https://www.latimes.com/opinion/op-ed/la-oe-michaels-checks-balances-trump-20161111-story.html</a>	Los Angeles Times
44	Whatever happened to the party of fiscal responsibility?	<a href="http://www.latimes.com/opinion/op-ed/la-oe-sykes-gop-fiscal-20171110-story.html">http://www.latimes.com/opinion/op-ed/la-oe-sykes-gop-fiscal-20171110-story.html</a>	Los Angeles Times
45	Trump has declared open war on the ACA. We'll all get hurt	<a href="http://www.latimes.com/opinion/op-ed/la-oe-bagley-cost-sharing-sabotage-20171013-story.html">http://www.latimes.com/opinion/op-ed/la-oe-bagley-cost-sharing-sabotage-20171013-story.html</a>	Los Angeles Times
46	The high price of the Trump administration's waffling on healthcare	<a href="http://www.latimes.com/opinion/la-ol-covered-california-trump-surcharge-20171011-story.html">http://www.latimes.com/opinion/la-ol-covered-california-trump-surcharge-20171011-story.html</a>	Los Angeles Times
47	Republicans don't trust higher ed. That's a problem for liberal academics	<a href="http://www.latimes.com/opinion/op-ed/la-oe-deboer-higher-ed-republican-20170724-story.html">http://www.latimes.com/opinion/op-ed/la-oe-deboer-higher-ed-republican-20170724-story.html</a>	Los Angeles Times
48	Obama's former staffers hope to build upon his legacy as they run for office	<a href="http://www.latimes.com/politics/la-pol-ca-obama-alumni-congress-20170823-htmlstory.html">http://www.latimes.com/politics/la-pol-ca-obama-alumni-congress-20170823-htmlstory.html</a>	Los Angeles Times
49	These political newbies are stepping up to run for Congress, and many say it's because of Trump	<a href="http://www.latimes.com/politics/la-pol-ca-first-time-candidates-20170731-story.html">http://www.latimes.com/politics/la-pol-ca-first-time-candidates-20170731-story.html</a>	Los Angeles Times
50	Trump's DACA decision could have a sweeping effect on who controls the House in 2018, especially in California	<a href="http://www.latimes.com/politics/la-pol-ca-daca-california-congress-20170905-story.html">http://www.latimes.com/politics/la-pol-ca-daca-california-congress-20170905-story.html</a>	Los Angeles Times
51	As Trump looms over the race, Virginia tests whether an establishment Republican can succeed	<a href="http://www.latimes.com/politics/la-na-pol-virginia-governor-election-20171020-story.html">http://www.latimes.com/politics/la-na-pol-virginia-governor-election-20171020-story.html</a>	Los Angeles Times
52	What's missing from the GOP tax bill? Just about anything that would help the working and middle classes	<a href="https://www.latimes.com/opinion/op-ed/la-oe-mcmanus-taxes-missing-20171217-story.html">https://www.latimes.com/opinion/op-ed/la-oe-mcmanus-taxes-missing-20171217-story.html</a>	Los Angeles Times
53	If the GOP gets its way on taxes, the party could doom post-graduate education in the U.S.	<a href="http://www.latimes.com/opinion/op-ed/la-oe-marsicano-grad-student-tax-20171127-story.html">http://www.latimes.com/opinion/op-ed/la-oe-marsicano-grad-student-tax-20171127-story.html</a>	Los Angeles Times
54	Did the media help Trump win? Look at the numbers	<a href="http://www.latimes.com/opinion/op-ed/la-oe-patterson-media-study-election-20161207-story.html">http://www.latimes.com/opinion/op-ed/la-oe-patterson-media-study-election-20161207-story.html</a>	Los Angeles Times
55	Opinion: Trump Embraces Caudillo Politics as Latin America Shuns It	<a href="http://www.nbcnews.com/news/latino/opinion-trump-embraces-caudillo-politics-latin-america-shuns-it-n686861">http://www.nbcnews.com/news/latino/opinion-trump-embraces-caudillo-politics-latin-america-shuns-it-n686861</a>	NBC News
56	A DREAMer's Opinion: I'm Afraid, But Trump's Win Doesn't Define Us	<a href="http://www.nbcnews.com/news/latino/dreamer-s-opinion-i-m-afraid-trump-s-win-doesn-n683156">http://www.nbcnews.com/news/latino/dreamer-s-opinion-i-m-afraid-trump-s-win-doesn-n683156</a>	NBC News
57	Opinion: Black Women Should Be More Than Voters	<a href="http://www.nbcnews.com/storyline/2016-presidential-debates/opinion-black-women-should-be-more-voters-n669041">http://www.nbcnews.com/storyline/2016-presidential-debates/opinion-black-women-should-be-more-voters-n669041</a>	NBC News
58	Protecting the Dream: DACA Is a Fight Over America's Soul	<a href="https://www.nbcnews.com/news/nbcblk/oped-protecting-dream-daca-fight-over-america-s-soul-n798986">https://www.nbcnews.com/news/nbcblk/oped-protecting-dream-daca-fight-over-america-s-soul-n798986</a>	NBC News
59	Dear White People, Time to Use Your Privilege, Whether You Believe You Have It or Not	<a href="https://www.nbcnews.com/news/nbcblk/oped-white-people-it-s-time-use-your-privilege-whether-n804361">https://www.nbcnews.com/news/nbcblk/oped-white-people-it-s-time-use-your-privilege-whether-n804361</a>	NBC News
60	Charlottesville Changed My Mind on Removing Confederate Monuments	<a href="https://www.nbcnews.com/news/nbcblk/oped-charlottesville-changed-my-mind-removing-confederate-monuments-n796331">https://www.nbcnews.com/news/nbcblk/oped-charlottesville-changed-my-mind-removing-confederate-monuments-n796331</a>	NBC News
61	I'm Voting Against Trump's Rhetoric	<a href="https://www.nbcnews.com/news/latino/opinion-i-m-voting-against-trumps-rhetoric-n678101">https://www.nbcnews.com/news/latino/opinion-i-m-voting-against-trumps-rhetoric-n678101</a>	NBC News
62	Protect Our Voting Machines From Hackers	<a href="https://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/opinion-protect-our-voting-machines-hackers-n628441">https://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/opinion-protect-our-voting-machines-hackers-n628441</a>	NBC News
63	Democrats Must Forget About Trump and Join the GOP on Tax Reform	<a href="https://www.nbcnews.com/think/politics/democrats-must-forget-about-trump-join-gop-tax-reform-ncna808976">https://www.nbcnews.com/think/politics/democrats-must-forget-about-trump-join-gop-tax-reform-ncna808976</a>	NBC News

64	Why Global Citizen is challenging the refugee ban	<a href="https://www.nbcnews.com/globalcitizen/news/op-ed-why-global-citizen-challenging-refugee-ban-ncna793526">https://www.nbcnews.com/globalcitizen/news/op-ed-why-global-citizen-challenging-refugee-ban-ncna793526</a>	NBC News
65	I Wrote DACA. Now I'm Suing to Ensure Trump Can't Destroy It.	<a href="https://www.nbcnews.com/think/opinion/i-wrote-daca-now-i-m-suing-ensure-trump-can-ncna809916">https://www.nbcnews.com/think/opinion/i-wrote-daca-now-i-m-suing-ensure-trump-can-ncna809916</a>	NBC News
66	Trump's Rise Proves How Dangerous Populism Is for Democracy	<a href="https://www.nbcnews.com/think/opinion/trump-s-rise-proves-populism-democracy-s-greatest-threat-ncna809521">https://www.nbcnews.com/think/opinion/trump-s-rise-proves-populism-democracy-s-greatest-threat-ncna809521</a>	NBC News
67	Why I didn't see the Trump wave	<a href="https://www.nydailynews.com/opinion/michael-aronson-didn-trump-wave-article-1.2864643">https://www.nydailynews.com/opinion/michael-aronson-didn-trump-wave-article-1.2864643</a>	New York Daily News
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148	Apparently Republicans want to kick the middle class in the face.	<a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/apparently-republicans-want-to-kick-the-middle-class-in-the-face/2017/11/30/ab0e4e9a-d616-11e7-a986-d0a9770d9a3e_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/apparently-republicans-want-to-kick-the-middle-class-in-the-face/2017/11/30/ab0e4e9a-d616-11e7-a986-d0a9770d9a3e_story.html</a>	The Washington Post
149	On foreign policy, Donald Trump is no realist.	<a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/on-foreign-policy-donald-trump-is-a-fake-realist/2016/11/11/c5fdcc52-a783-11e6-8042-f4d111c862d1_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/on-foreign-policy-donald-trump-is-a-fake-realist/2016/11/11/c5fdcc52-a783-11e6-8042-f4d111c862d1_story.html</a>	The Washington Post
150	Terry McAuliffe's chance to do the right thing.	<a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/terry-mcauliffes-chance-to-do-the-right-thing/2017/11/30/dd11eef8-cfcf-11e7-9d3a-bcbe2af58c3a_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/terry-mcauliffes-chance-to-do-the-right-thing/2017/11/30/dd11eef8-cfcf-11e7-9d3a-bcbe2af58c3a_story.html</a>	The Washington Post
151	The dark side of Trump's focus on immigration and 'merit'	<a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/global-opinions/wp/2017/11/02/okay-trump-lets-talk-about-immigration-and-merit/?utm_term=.556a1c6c6e1c">https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/global-opinions/wp/2017/11/02/okay-trump-lets-talk-about-immigration-and-merit/?utm_term=.556a1c6c6e1c</a>	The Washington Post
152	Totalitarian ideologies never die. Not even in America.	<a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/global-opinions/totalitarian-ideologies-never-die-not-even-in-">https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/global-opinions/totalitarian-ideologies-never-die-not-even-in-</a>	The Washington Post

		<a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/dorchester-county-celebrates-harriet-tubman-as-an-american-hero-trump-should-take-note/2017/10/27/725d0fb2-b903-11e7-be94-fabb0f1e9ffb_story.html">america/2017/11/03/3d39648e-c09c-11e7-959c-fe2b598d8c00_story.html</a>	
153	Dorchester County celebrates Harriet Tubman as an 'American Hero.' Trump should take note.	<a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/dorchester-county-celebrates-harriet-tubman-as-an-american-hero-trump-should-take-note/2017/10/27/725d0fb2-b903-11e7-be94-fabb0f1e9ffb_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/dorchester-county-celebrates-harriet-tubman-as-an-american-hero-trump-should-take-note/2017/10/27/725d0fb2-b903-11e7-be94-fabb0f1e9ffb_story.html</a>	The Washington Post
154	The Gangs of Washington are drawing their knives.	<a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/the-gangs-of-washington-are-drawing-their-knives/2016/11/07/5742f812-a519-11e6-ba59-a7d93165c6d4_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/the-gangs-of-washington-are-drawing-their-knives/2016/11/07/5742f812-a519-11e6-ba59-a7d93165c6d4_story.html</a>	The Washington Post
155	The Watch year in review.	<a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-watch/wp/2017/12/21/the-watch-year-in-review-2/">https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-watch/wp/2017/12/21/the-watch-year-in-review-2/</a>	The Washington Post
156	Gov.-elect Northam's first priority should be teachers.	<a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/gov-elect-northams-first-priority-should-be-teachers/2017/12/29/c0e96b42-e4d4-11e7-a65d-1ac0fd7f097e_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/gov-elect-northams-first-priority-should-be-teachers/2017/12/29/c0e96b42-e4d4-11e7-a65d-1ac0fd7f097e_story.html</a>	The Washington Post
157	Will someone save Trump from this disastrous decision?	<a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/global-opinions/will-someone-save-trump-from-this-disastrous-decision/2017/12/10/ba2b07d8-db70-11e7-b859-fb0995360725_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/global-opinions/will-someone-save-trump-from-this-disastrous-decision/2017/12/10/ba2b07d8-db70-11e7-b859-fb0995360725_story.html</a>	The Washington Post
158	The true cost of Trump's basketball intervention in China.	<a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/josh-rogin/wp/2017/11/29/the-true-cost-of-trumps-basketball-intervention-in-china/">https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/josh-rogin/wp/2017/11/29/the-true-cost-of-trumps-basketball-intervention-in-china/</a>	The Washington Post
159	Democrats are trying to reckon with Bill Clinton's alleged sex crimes. It's not going well.	<a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/post-partisan/wp/2017/11/15/democrats-try-to-reckon-with-bill-clintons-alleged-sex-crimes-and-fail/">https://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/post-partisan/wp/2017/11/15/democrats-try-to-reckon-with-bill-clintons-alleged-sex-crimes-and-fail/</a>	The Washington Post
160	Donald Trump Is an Existential Threat to America and the World.	<a href="http://time.com/4560742/donald-trump-existential-threat/">http://time.com/4560742/donald-trump-existential-threat/</a>	Time
161	Will the Nation Succeed After Charlottesville Where Donald Trump Failed?	<a href="http://time.com/4904270/will-nation-succeed-after-charlottesville/">http://time.com/4904270/will-nation-succeed-after-charlottesville/</a>	Time
162	3 Reasons Human Rights Defenders Should Feel Optimistic Right Now.	<a href="http://time.com/5037701/amnesty-international-ratko-mladic-robort-mugabe/">http://time.com/5037701/amnesty-international-ratko-mladic-robort-mugabe/</a>	Time
163	Hillary Clinton's Emailgate Is an Attack on Women	<a href="http://time.com/4551711/hillary-clinton-emailgate/">http://time.com/4551711/hillary-clinton-emailgate/</a>	Time
164	The Nightmare of Donald Trump's Deportation Promise.	<a href="http://time.com/4566512/donald-trump-deportation-promise/">http://time.com/4566512/donald-trump-deportation-promise/</a>	Time
165	The Revenge of the White Man.	<a href="http://time.com/4566304/donald-trump-revenge-of-the-white-man/">http://time.com/4566304/donald-trump-revenge-of-the-white-man/</a>	Time
166	Donald Trump and the Abyss of the Value Gap	<a href="http://time.com/4565518/donald-trump-value-gap/">http://time.com/4565518/donald-trump-value-gap/</a>	Time
167	Why a Woman President Won't Mean Women Won.	<a href="http://time.com/4562476/hillary-clinton-feminist-movement/">http://time.com/4562476/hillary-clinton-feminist-movement/</a>	Time
168	Why So Many Women Abandoned Hillary Clinton.	<a href="http://time.com/4566748/hillary-clinton-firewall-women/">http://time.com/4566748/hillary-clinton-firewall-women/</a>	Time
169	What Donald Trump Will Do With His Mandate.	<a href="http://time.com/4564256/donald-trump-mandate/">http://time.com/4564256/donald-trump-mandate/</a>	Time
170	What the Polls Were Never Going to Reveal.	<a href="http://time.com/4565560/frank-luntz-polls-never-reveal/">http://time.com/4565560/frank-luntz-polls-never-reveal/</a>	Time
171	Donald Trump Should Speak Out Against the Recent Surge in School Bullying.	<a href="http://time.com/4567048/donald-trump-school-bullying/">http://time.com/4567048/donald-trump-school-bullying/</a>	Time
172	How the Senate's Health Care Bill Will Seriously Hurt Black Women.	<a href="http://motto.time.com/4837782/senate-health-care-black-women/">http://motto.time.com/4837782/senate-health-care-black-women/</a>	Time
173	After This Week, Trump Is a Lot Closer to Being Impeached.	<a href="http://time.com/5007533/allan-lichtman-impeachment/">http://time.com/5007533/allan-lichtman-impeachment/</a>	Time
174	Republicans Bet Tax Cuts Would Help Their Political Fortunes. They May	<a href="http://time.com/5056851/republicans-tax-cuts-bill-paul-ryan/">http://time.com/5056851/republicans-tax-cuts-bill-paul-ryan/</a>	Time

	Have Misread That.		
175	Should You Work for the Trump Administration Even If You Disagree With the President?	<a href="http://time.com/5015356/working-for-trump/">http://time.com/5015356/working-for-trump/</a>	Time
176	Trump's Stubbornly Loyal Base Can't Ignore What Comes Next.	<a href="http://time.com/5009077/trump-indictments-base/">http://time.com/5009077/trump-indictments-base/</a>	Time
177	Joe Biden Would Beat President Trump in 2020, a New Poll Says.	<a href="http://time.com/5025221/joe-biden-beats-donald-trump-in-2020-poll/">http://time.com/5025221/joe-biden-beats-donald-trump-in-2020-poll/</a>	Time
178	Roy Moore Is Going to Cause a Longterm Headache for the GOP.	<a href="http://time.com/5062780/roy-moore-election-republicans-donald-trump/">http://time.com/5062780/roy-moore-election-republicans-donald-trump/</a>	Time
179	Spiro Agnew's Lawyer: Donald Trump's Lies Are Fatally Wounding Our Democracy	<a href="http://time.com/5048402/donald-trump-michael-flynn-russia-lies/">http://time.com/5048402/donald-trump-michael-flynn-russia-lies/</a>	Time
180	The One Single Thing Donald Trump and Martin Luther King, Jr. Have In Common.	<a href="http://time.com/5042070/donald-trump-martin-luther-king-mlk/">http://time.com/5042070/donald-trump-martin-luther-king-mlk/</a>	Time
181	Democrats were the disarray party.	<a href="https://eu.usatoday.com/story/opinion/2016/11/11/democrats-were-disarray-party-christian-schneider/93612024/">https://eu.usatoday.com/story/opinion/2016/11/11/democrats-were-disarray-party-christian-schneider/93612024/</a>	USA Today
182	Trump election anniversary and progressives' delusional race to save democracy.	<a href="https://www.usatoday.com/story/opinion/2017/11/08/trump-election-anniversary-virginia-new-jersey-how-to-save-democracy-jim-bovard-column/834427001/">https://www.usatoday.com/story/opinion/2017/11/08/trump-election-anniversary-virginia-new-jersey-how-to-save-democracy-jim-bovard-column/834427001/</a>	USA Today
183	On sex scandals, Democrats are now the Puritans and it could cost them.	<a href="https://www.usatoday.com/story/opinion/2017/11/29/sex-scandals-democrats-now-puritans-and-could-cost-them-ross-baker-column/903174001/">https://www.usatoday.com/story/opinion/2017/11/29/sex-scandals-democrats-now-puritans-and-could-cost-them-ross-baker-column/903174001/</a>	USA Today
184	This race is about change.	<a href="https://eu.usatoday.com/story/opinion/2016/11/07/donald-trump-election-day-editorials-debates/93448182/">https://eu.usatoday.com/story/opinion/2016/11/07/donald-trump-election-day-editorials-debates/93448182/</a>	USA Today
185	Trump's monumental challenge on race.	<a href="https://www.usatoday.com/story/opinion/2016/11/10/donald-trump-white-men-jim-crow-ellis-cose/93558380/">https://www.usatoday.com/story/opinion/2016/11/10/donald-trump-white-men-jim-crow-ellis-cose/93558380/</a>	USA Today
186	Clinton probably never thought she'd be Gored.	<a href="https://www.usatoday.com/story/opinion/2016/11/10/clinton-trump-popular-vote-electoral-college-column/93584618/">https://www.usatoday.com/story/opinion/2016/11/10/clinton-trump-popular-vote-electoral-college-column/93584618/</a>	USA Today
187	Africans are being sold at Libyan slave markets. Thanks, Hillary Clinton.	<a href="https://www.usatoday.com/story/opinion/2017/11/27/clinton-ponders-2020-rumors-not-forget-her-real-libya-scandal-glenn-reynolds-column/895853001/">https://www.usatoday.com/story/opinion/2017/11/27/clinton-ponders-2020-rumors-not-forget-her-real-libya-scandal-glenn-reynolds-column/895853001/</a>	USA Today
188	'Merry Christmas' didn't disappear, but it's bigger than ever under Trump.	<a href="https://www.usatoday.com/story/opinion/2017/12/22/merry-christmas-didnt-disappear-but-its-bigger-than-ever-under-trump-katrina-trinko-column/972864001/">https://www.usatoday.com/story/opinion/2017/12/22/merry-christmas-didnt-disappear-but-its-bigger-than-ever-under-trump-katrina-trinko-column/972864001/</a>	USA Today
189	NFL protests: Donald Trump fumbles First Amendment football.	<a href="https://www.usatoday.com/story/opinion/2017/09/26/nfl-protests-donald-trump-needs-briefing-free-speech-ellis-cose-column/700521001/">https://www.usatoday.com/story/opinion/2017/09/26/nfl-protests-donald-trump-needs-briefing-free-speech-ellis-cose-column/700521001/</a>	USA Today
190	Trump risks his stature and agenda if he doesn't rise above critics like Corker.	<a href="https://www.usatoday.com/story/opinion/2017/10/25/trump-risks-stature-and-agenda-if-he-doesnt-rise-above-critics-like-corker-michael-medved-column/795360001/">https://www.usatoday.com/story/opinion/2017/10/25/trump-risks-stature-and-agenda-if-he-doesnt-rise-above-critics-like-corker-michael-medved-column/795360001/</a>	USA Today
191	2 bad outcomes loom for Trump Russia reset.	<a href="https://www.usatoday.com/story/opinion/2017/01/06/putin-trump-russia-hacking-tillerson-reset-column/96175756/">https://www.usatoday.com/story/opinion/2017/01/06/putin-trump-russia-hacking-tillerson-reset-column/96175756/</a>	USA Today
192	Trump has damaged Tillerson beyond repair. He should leave, but then what?	<a href="https://www.usatoday.com/story/opinion/2017/10/11/donald-trump-has-damaged-rex-tillerson-beyond-repair-he-should-leave-david-andelman-column/751103001/">https://www.usatoday.com/story/opinion/2017/10/11/donald-trump-has-damaged-rex-tillerson-beyond-repair-he-should-leave-david-andelman-column/751103001/</a>	USA Today
193	Jokes about leaving the country aren't funny.	<a href="https://www.usatoday.com/story/opinion/2016/11/08/trump-liberals-move-to-">https://www.usatoday.com/story/opinion/2016/11/08/trump-liberals-move-to-</a>	USA Today

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194	Trumping the liberal elite.	<a href="https://eu.usatoday.com/story/opinion/2016/11/10/cracker-barrel-americans-elect-trump-cultural-worldview-kirsten-powers/93593088/">https://eu.usatoday.com/story/opinion/2016/11/10/cracker-barrel-americans-elect-trump-cultural-worldview-kirsten-powers/93593088/</a>	USA Today
195	We're sprinting backward on race and gender.	<a href="https://eu.usatoday.com/story/opinion/2016/11/10/trump-clinton-race-gender-melinda-henneberger/93562554/">https://eu.usatoday.com/story/opinion/2016/11/10/trump-clinton-race-gender-melinda-henneberger/93562554/</a>	USA Today
196	Adopt our plan for a popular vote.	<a href="https://www.usatoday.com/story/opinion/2016/11/10/electoral-college-national-popular-vote-editorials-debates/93613408/">https://www.usatoday.com/story/opinion/2016/11/10/electoral-college-national-popular-vote-editorials-debates/93613408/</a>	USA Today
197	On electing prosecutors, follow Florida's lead.	<a href="https://www.usatoday.com/story/opinion/policing/politics-policing/2016/11/10/policing-prosecutors-election-aramis-ayala/93257308/">https://www.usatoday.com/story/opinion/policing/politics-policing/2016/11/10/policing-prosecutors-election-aramis-ayala/93257308/</a>	USA Today
198	GQ's Keith Olbermann cursed at a grandma who prayed for Texas Harvey victims.	<a href="https://www.usatoday.com/story/opinion/2017/08/31/how-hurricaneharvey-prayers-inspired-keith-olbermann-call-betsy-devos-motherf-er/610301001/">https://www.usatoday.com/story/opinion/2017/08/31/how-hurricaneharvey-prayers-inspired-keith-olbermann-call-betsy-devos-motherf-er/610301001/</a>	USA Today

**Appendix 2. Texts in the corpus by gender, publisher and occupation.**

*Table 1. Text distribution by occupation and publisher in the sub-corpus Female*

Publisher		Journalism	Occupation		
			Politics&Law	Academia	Other
CNN		4	3	1	3
Fox Newa		6	2	0	2
Los-Angeles Times		4	0	0	1
NBC News		2	3	1	0
New York Daily News		1	2	1	1
The New York Post		1	3	0	1
The New York Times		6	1	2	3
VICE		4	1	0	2
The Washington Post		5	0	1	0
TIME		5	2	2	1
USA Today		4	0	1	0

*Table 2. Text distribution by occupation and publisher in the sub-corpus Male*

Publisher		Journalism Count	Occupation		
			Politics&Law Count	Academia Count	Other Count
CNN		1	5	5	0
Fox Newa		2	5	0	3
Los-Angeles Times		3	1	4	0
NBC News		1	4	1	0
New York Daily News		10	3	1	0
The New York Post		10	2	0	0
The New York Times		4	4	3	3
VICE		5	0	2	0
The Washington Post		5	1	1	1
TIME		3	4	2	2
USA Today		8	3	1	1