

Hedging in political Discourse
A Pragmatic Analysis of Hedging Maxims in David
Cameron's Interview in 29th September 2013

by

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Abstract

Hedging is a political rhetorical strategy. Despite the studies that address hedging in academic discourse and conversation analysis, studies that investigate hedges in relation to political power are tremendously few. To this aim, this study presents a pragmatic analysis of hedging Maxims found in David Cameron's answers to different questions raised by the reporter Andrew Marr in a political interview in 29th September 2013. The researcher limits her study to hedging Maxims. The research problems investigated are which maxims are hedged? And how they are hedged? So that, the study aims at analyzing the maxims hedged and describing how hedging maxims are used in Cameron's replies in accordance with Grice's theory of cooperative principle.

1. Introduction

Politicians manipulate language to shape people's thoughts. They use political rhetoric to persuade people to act in the way they want. One tactful strategy in political rhetoric is hedging which is associated with vagueness and innuendos (Jalilifar&Alavi,2011:43-44). The present study brings into view

hedging as a linguistic strategy which is frequently and strategically exploited by politicians to cover up their ideas.

The terms hedge and hedging, in their literal sense, are used as means to protect or defend oneself, or to refer to the idea of barrier, limit and defence (Cabanès, 2007:140). In linguistics, Weinreich (1966) was the first person to write about hedging (Fraser, 2010:16). However, it is Lakoff (1972) who introduced the term "hedge/hedging" to consider certain lexical units' jobs as to make things fuzzier or less fuzzy (Clemen, 1997:235). To explain, he gives us an example, the way we might talk about birds: Eagles, Capercaillies, kingfishers, Albatrosses are birds, but what about a chicken? Lakoff suggested that we might find ourselves saying: A chicken is a sort of bird, "sort of" is a hedge (Skelton, 1988:37).

Lakoff is not mainly interested in the communicative use of hedges but is concerned with the logical properties of words and phrases as: largely, rather, very, in a manner of speaking (Markkanen & Schroder, 1997:2). Out of context, the lexical items never have only one fixed meaning / function. So, hedges could not be achieved by straight forward statements, but, also, by setting utterances in context (Hovy, 2004:2). Cabanès (2007:140) stresses that Lakoff's theories served to facilitate understanding of the semantic base on which the concept rests. His approach also suggested the importance of context and meaning in the study of linguistics, and for this reason most of these subsequent studies have evolved towards pragmatic aspects.

Accordingly, new approaches widened the scope to become mainly interested in the use of hedges in pragmatics and discourse analysis, and among them the use of hedge for vagueness, politeness, and mitigation (Hovy, 2004:2). Fraser (2010:204) expounds:

There have been a variety of discourse uses which hedging serves, some of which overlap: to accomplish politeness, both negative and positive; to mitigate; to provide some

degree of self- protection; to avoid confrontation; to avoid responsibility for a fact or an act; to appear modest; to conceal the truth, to be apologetic, and to seem less powerful .

(Farser,2010 :204)

2. Definition of Hedging

Hedging is a strategy that reduces the force of the speakers' utterances by rendering their messages more tentative and vague(Nickula, 1997: 190) . Hedging is a strategy used by speakers to protect themselves from unpleasant or unwanted condition, for instance, answering questions . Markkanen and Schroder(1997:1) account that:

if you hedge against something unpleasant or unwanted that might affect you, you do something which will protect you from it. If you hedge or hedge a problem or a question you avoid answering the question or committing yourself to a particular action or decision.

Hedging is a linguistic strategy employed by conversationalists to weaken the illocutionary force of utterances, to reduce the intensity of utterances and also their directness. It is utilized in situations which would otherwise lead to loss of face and which would thus make communication untenable mainly due to the infringing of politeness principle (Urbanova, 2003:58).

Taufiqillah (2010:23) cites hedges as forms of euphemism. They are adjectives, or adverbs, and can also consist of clauses, for example:

1. He is a slightly stupid person.
2. There might just be few insignificant problems we need to address.
3. I am not an expert but you might want to try restarting your computer.

Hedging, in fact, is considered as a rhetorical strategy. Fraser(2007:201) maintains that the speaker signals a lack of a full commitment either to the full category membership of a term or expressions in the utterance , or to the propositional content of the message which will affect the interpretation of the intended illocutionary force of the utterance through including a particular term, choosing a particular structure, or imposing a specific prosodic form on the utterance. Fraser(2007:202) adds that since that the speaker chooses a linguistic device over and above the utterance, by modifying the content of the utterance or its force, so hedging must be considered as an intentional action. Hedges are used unconsciously in everyday speech, whereas in political debates, they could be used consciously to diminish or empower someone or something (Player, 2013:6). Hedging is a phenomenon frequently found in political interview. Political speech revolves around being manipulative and hedgy, giving less information about the truth of things. Hedging is one of the basic features of political speeches, for hedges are known as mitigators; in addition, they are connected with politeness, or face saving strategies, which is something that makes an essential part of political speeches (Ibid).

In academic writing, however, hedging is most appropriately described as "either (a) a lack of complete commitment to the truth value of an accompanying proposition, or (b) a desire not to express that commitment categorically" (Hyland, 1998:1). Cabanes(2007,141) considers hedges as devices that express the authors' degree of commitment to the truthfulness of his or her statements. Salager-Meyer & Fran (1995 :17) believe that for hedging there are two main functions: (1) to protect the authors against reactions which their proposition might provoke and (2) to reflect their modesty and deference towards the target audience. The exclusive association of hedges with evasiveness must not obscure other important functions of hedges, and certain expressions that express lack of certainty do not necessarily show confusion . Thus, hedging is a linguistic resource used to express some fundamental characteristics of science of doubt and skepticism (Salager-Meyer& Fran, 1995 :1). To be too certain can often be unwise, so,

academics want to remain vague in their statements. They want their readers to know that they do not claim to have the final word on the subject (Ibid:4).

Hedging is all around us , it is not only help us to achieve our communicative goals, but, failing to hedge where it is expected has a great potential for miscommunication (Farser,2010:33). Adding to that, writing in a direct/unhedged fashion is open to criticism and un hedged conclusion could even be considered as intellectually dishonest (Skelton, 1988:38).

3. Reasons for Hedging

Hedges can be used as softeners, that is to say, to soften claims, complaints, requests and commands, per formatives, and criticism. Examples of each softener are:

4. The data **appear** to support the assumption. (softened claim)
5. Excuse me. **I think** I came here before her. (softened complaint)
6. I was **wondering if probably** you **could** bring me another cup.
(softened request)
7. Open the window, **will you?** (softened command)
8. **I can** promise you that we will be there on time. (softened per formative)
9. **Well, personally, I think** it **would** be better if the table was placed there. (softened criticism)
(Nugroho, 2002: 19)

Hedges are, also, used as cooperative devices in conversation, for example, to encourage participation and to negotiate sensitive topics, to strengthen or weaken statement (Brown& Levinson 1987 as cited in Himmah, 2010:32). Finally, hedges are used to mitigate an undesirable effect on the hearer to make the message more polite (Farser,2007:206)

4. Taxonomy of Hedges

In English there are a very large number of ways in which one can hedge, for instance, the use of adverbs like (perhaps, possibly, probably, practically, apparently,...), adjectives as (possible, unlikely, probable,...), impersonal pronouns like (one, it,...), concessive conjunctions like (although, though, while, even though, even if,...) , introductory phrases as (I believe, to our knowledge, it is our view that, we feel that,...), modal verbs like (might, can, would, could,...), epistemic verbs as (to seem, to appear, to believe, to assume, to suggest,...), and meta linguistic comment such as (strictly speaking, so to say, exactly, almost, just about,...). The following are examples of hedged utterances:

10. I can possibly do that

11. Even though you dislike the beach, it's worth going for the view.

12. I believe that he should go, if possible.

13. John might leave now.

(Fraser, 2010:23-24)

Besides, Salager- Meyer & Fran (1995 :7-8) suggest compound hedges such as (1). Modal with hedging verb (It would appear that...), (2) . Hedging verb with hedging adverb /adjective(it seems reasonable that...) , (3). Double hedges(it may suggest that...) (Ibid :24). Whereas Hylands (2005:223-224) produces a long list of hedging items, among them are:

About, almost, apparent, apparently, appear, appeared ,appears, approximately,, argue , argued , argues , around , assume , assumed , broadly , certain amount , certain extent , certain level , claim , claimed , claims , could , couldn't , doubt , doubtful , essentially , estimate , estimated , fairly , feels , felt , frequently , from my perspective , from our perspective , from this perspective , generally , guess , indicate , indicates , in general , in most cases , in most instances , in my opinion , in my views , in this view , in our view

To sum up hedging is the general use of a linguistic device to minimize the risk of rejection and to increase the likelihood of a better acceptance . Hedging is then away to adhere to Grice maxims of conversation (Hovy , 2004 : 3) .

5. The cooperative principle

To achieve a successful conversation, participants must be co-operative with each other. Grice claimed that people expect one another to cooperate in conversation rather than contributing random utterances , so, they say things that are true , relevant , clear , and as concise as possible. Then , the cooperative principle (cp) is that " make your conversational contribution such as is required , at the stage at which it occurs , by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged ." (John stone , 2008 :234) .

The cooperative principle is furthered by four maxims , and each has their own regulations respectively :

5.1. The maxim of quantity

- 1- Make your contribution as informative as is required (for the current purposes of the exchange) .
- 2- Do not make your contribution more informative than is required .

5.2. The maxim of Quality : Try to make your contribution one that is true .

- 1- Do not say what you believe to be false.
- 2- Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence .

5.3. The Maxim of Relation : Be relevant .

5.4. The Maxim of Manner : Be perspicuous .

- 1- Avoid obscurity of expression .
- 2- Avoid ambiguity .
- 3- Be brief (avoid unnecessary prolixity) .
- 4- Be orderly.

(Yule , 1996 : 37)

6. Hedging maxims

In order to have an effective communication, people should apply the cooperative principle that is reflected in the four maxims of

conversation; they are the maxim of quality , the maxim of quantity, the maxim of relevance, and the maxim of manner . Hedging maxims are used to refer to all words, expressions, and structures that:

1. Show the receiver a degree of uncertainty that the sender has about the proposition.
2. Mitigate direct criticism.
3. Avoid sender's commitment to the truth of the proposition.
4. Express/ show politeness and modesty.

Quality hedges may suggest that the speaker is not taken full responsibility for the truth of his utterance . Speakers , then , use some expressions such as I (think , believe , assume) or alternatively, they may stress speakers commitment to the truth of his utterance, for example: with complete honesty..., I absolutely deny or promise. They, also, may deny the assumption that " the point of speakers assertion is to inform hearer " , for example : as you know, as is well known, as you and I both know ... (Ibid : 34) . For instance :

14. As far as I know , they're married .

15. I may be mistaken , but I thought I saw a wedding ring on her finger .

16. He couldn't live without her , I guess . (Yule : 1996 : 38)

Quantity hedges indicate that not as precise the information is provided as might be expected. Speakers may use expressions as : I should think, in short , basically , for instance : As you probably know I am terrified . Quantity hedges can be expressed by expressions with clear politeness functions, for example:

17. A: How far is it ?

B: Well , it's too far to walk .

(Himmah , 2010 : 34)

Relevance hedges can be found in the middle of speakers' talk when they go on to mention some potentially unconnected information during a conversation . So , they say things like " oh, by the way " , or " well , any way"

to show that " they may have drifted into a discussion of some possibly non-relevant material and want to stop " – For example :

18. I don't know if this is important , but some of the files are missing

19. Not to change the subject, but is this related to the budget?

(Yule : 1996 : 38)

Taufiqilla (2010 : 26) provides another example :

By the way you like this car ?

He accounts that :

By using ' by the way ' what has been said by the speakers is not relevant to the moment in which the conversation takes place. Such a hedge can be found in the middle of speakers conversation as the speaker wants to switch to another topic that is different from the previous one. Therefore, "by the way" functions as a hedge indicating that the speaker wants to drift into another topic or wants to stop the previous topic .

Manner hedges are indicated by some words, as : what I meant were ..., more clearly ..., to put it more simply (Himmah , 2010 : 35) . For example:

20. I am not sure if this makes sense , but the car had no lights.

21. I don't know if this is clear at all , but I think the other car was reversing .

(Yule : 1996 : 38)

Hedging maxim is a strategy that people depend , in communication , to make their conversation goes safe . It is found in our daily conversation ,but, occasionally , we do not realize it (Himmah , 2012 : 2) .

7. Methodology

The researcher presents the way she does the research, starts from the research design, data source, research instrument, data collection, and data analysis.

7.1. Research Design

This research is classified as descriptive qualitative method because the data of this research are in the form of utterances. In addition, the data are analyzed descriptively based on Grice's theory of cooperative principle.

7.2. Data Source

The source of data in this research is a political transcript interview with the Prime Minister David Cameron in 29th September 2013. The data used are in the form of utterances which contain hedging maxims.

7.3. Research Instrument

The key instrument of this study is the researcher herself.

7.4. Data Collection

To collect the data, two steps are done as follows: first, reading and understanding all the questions and answers which are contained in Cameron's interview. Second, selecting Cameron's answers which contain hedging maxims.

7.5. Data Analysis

After collecting process, the data are analyzed by using the steps as follows: first, categorizing the data in accordance with the hedging of Grice's maxims. Second, discussing the data from each category based on Grice's theory of cooperative principle. Third, making conclusion from the results of the analysis.

8. Discussion

In a political interview in 29th September 2013, David Cameron, the prime minister, leader of conservative party, answered and discussed different questions raised by the reporter Andrew Marr. Out of 65 replies, 45 replies contain hedged expressions. The verb phrase "I think" is repeated for 25 times. This phrase "I think" is a hedge indicating that the speaker is providing a personal point of view of the matter. Doing so he is declining responsibility for the truth value of the proposal he is making. This kind of hedge is related to the maxim of quality and thus can be labeled as quality maxim hedges. For instance, with samples (22,23) Cameron tries to focus on his personal view point towards the huge amount of controversy in his country about the Niqap or the full veil that are used by Muslims in schools, and courts:

22. I backed the school, it had a uniform policy and the government, *I think* should back those institutions that want to have sensible policies that actually, you know....

23. In institutions, they should be free, it's a free country and I think a free country should have free and there are no.....

A phrase like "I think" shares the purpose of weakening the illocutionary force of the statements that are used and indicates that Cameron is not taken full responsibility towards the truth of his utterances. For more examples, see appendix (1) in which Cameron shows his personal view points towards many questions related to different political and social matters in the Britain society. I have not provided the context in which the utterance occurred, both for space considerations and because it would not change the general thrust of this point.

Similar to the above phrase, phrases like " I believe, I don't think, I'm not sure" . In (24) Cameron, again, shows less responsibility towards the huge amount of controversy in his country about the Niqap or the full veil. In sample (25), he attempts to defend his acceptance to gay marriage and to lessen the

impact of the furor that happened after wards. He describes the events according to his best knowledge to decline the responsibility for the truth value of the statements:

24. So, for instance, in school, if they want to have a particular dress code, *I believe* the government should back them.

25. *It's certainly* true to say, you know that this is an important change. *I don't think* I expected quite the furor that there was. It's clearly been very difficult for some people to take on and *I completely* understand and respect that, back that. *I'm not sure* perhaps at the beginning we got across to people that this was about marriages that could take place in registry office- this was not going to change what happened in Church, Mosque or Synagogue. *I'm not sure* we got that point across...

With the following examples Cameron, also, hedges the maxim of quality by showing his subjective opinion towards the application of the mansion tax on properties above two million pounds:

26. I don't think this is a good idea.

27. I don't think that is a sensible thing to do.

Quality maxim hedges can, also, be expressed by expressions like "absolutely, certainly, completely, frankly, actually, obviously, and you know". All these expressions contribute towards the perception of the truth value of the proposition encoded in the utterance. Devices like: absolutely, certainly, completely, present the statement as an absolute truth. With the following examples, David Cameron tries to stress his commitment to the truth of his utterances, so, he *absolutely* doesn't want to make the market more competitive even with the presence of six energy companies competing with each other, and *certainly* doesn't go through all the constituencies to conclude there is no arithmetical possibility of a Tory overall majority and start to plan for a coalition, a way before the actual vote take place, and he *completely* understands and respects the furor against gay marriages:

28. Well, there are six energy companies competing with each other, which is better than what we used to have in the past but do we want to make the market more competitive- absolutely.
29. I certainly, I certainly did not do that. I spent my entire time trying to win that election.
30. I completely understand that, back that.

For more examples, see 10 in appendix (1) and 25 above.

Cameron, also, uses the hedged adverb "actually" to reflect his wish to provide as truthful information as possible, while still being polite and diplomatic, and advises the people how to perceive the message, for instance:

31. Well, we have been looking at this for a long time because of course the appalling attack that happened in Mumbai, in India, and so I personally shared a whole series of meetings, you know, years ago, but again actually this week, to check that we've got everything in place to prepare for those sorts of attacks.
32. If a school has- and this did happen actually some years ago. A school put in place a uniform policy, which they had actually talked to parents about and it respected those who were Muslim.
33. I'm passionate about running a Conservative only government, not for my own benefit but because I actually think the country needs us to go further and faster on the things that really matter.
34.as a first act without actually altering the relationship with the European Convention on Human Rights.

The verb phrase "you know", and the expression "obviously" are also used, by the Prime Minister, as a quality maxim hedge to disclaim the assumption that the point of the speaker's assertion is to inform the hearer. In (31) the verb phrase "you know" is used by Cameron to show that his shared series of meetings towards the possibility of AL Shabab attacks on British shopping centers, are something known. And here are more examples :

35. But obviously, you know, in court a jury needs to be able to look at someone's face.
36. You know, again year after year after year. With petrol, we've taken away Labour's planned increase in petrol duty we've cut petrol duty.....(interjection)
37. To put up Corporation Tax, you know, Jaguar Land Rover is now making world- beating cars, selling them all over the world and Ed Miliband wants to put up their taxes. That's nuts.
38. You know, I recognize that so far, as this economy has started to recover.
39. The reform of things like public sector pensions so that they're affordable for the future, you know....
40. You know, if we're going to let to grips with the problems of the cost of living people face, we've got to say people, were not going to go on putting up taxes.
41. You know, and we have twenty five million people have got a tax cut because of the lifting of the personal allowance.
42. Well, obviously, there are a range of options as I have suggested in the past.

The same use of "you know" can be found in (22) above. Concerning "frankly", Cameron uses this expression to stress his sincere intentions:

43. I don't want another coalition; I want a Conservative only government and I think that's right for the country. That's what I'm going to be going all out for in these next twenty months and *frankly*, I'm not going to speculate about anything else because that's not what I want, it's not what I'm planning and *frankly*, it's not what the country needs.

The Prime Minister's attempt to convince the reporter and the audience that the information he provides is adequate and necessary, is commonly indicated by the hedges of quantity maxim. Such attempts are reflected through the use of expressions like "well, I mean, for instance, I just

thought ". The expression "well" is repeated for 22 times, it represents the first word in 22 replies uttered by Cameron to reflect, with clear politeness, that the information provided is not as much precise as might be expected. In sample (44), for instance, the Prime Minister provides two long sentences as an answer to the reporter question about the possibility of Al-Shabaab attacks on British shopping centers:

44. *Well*, we have been looking at this for a long time because of course the appalling attack that happened in Mumbai, in India, and so I personally share a whole series of meetings, you know, years ago, but again actually this week, to check that we've got everything in place to prepare for those sorts of attacks. Now, we don't have intelligence that something is about to happen but it pays to be very, very prepared, very, very cautious and to work out we have everything in place that we could to try and deal with awful events like this.

Still the information provided is not as precise as the reporter expected, so, he repeats the same question for the sake of precise and adequate information (see: news.bcc.co.uk/2/shared/bsp/hi/pdfs/99999.pdf). Again, Cameron answers with a hedge to the maxim of quantity:

45. *Well*, there is always a worry of that and there is a hot bed of terrorism in Somalia that spills over into other countries and we're concerned about that and follow that.

For more examples see appendix (2), and 12,17, 20 in appendix (1), and 28, 31, 42 above.

The maxim of quantity is also hedged by the use of the expression "for instance". In samples (87, 88, and 45 above) Cameron is aware of the complexity of the problem he talks about; he decides to use an example to illustrate what particular case he has in mind:

46. So, for instance, in a school, if they want to have a particular dress code, I believe the government should back them.

47. For instance, well, for instance, we have frozen the council tax.

Quantity maxim hedge is also indicated through expressions as " I mean, I just thought " which show that the speaker gives imprecise propositional content leaving an option for the listeners to impose his own intent. All these hedges indicate that the information provided is less precise than might be expected:

48. Let me just make one point first which is, I mean at this election you've just been talking about, well have a very clear message which is if you want a referendum.....there is only one way to get it and that is to put me back in Number 10 Downing Street.
49. I think they were pretty surprised by how rapidly I did react and that was because I'd slept on it- for about an hour- and I just thought, look what does the country need right now.

See also 4 and 7 in appendix (2)

Only three cases for the manner maxim hedge are found. In the following samples Cameron doesn't want to be misinterpreted, so, he uses a cautious note "what I want to see, as I say, as I have suggested ". These hedges are related to the maxim of manner and provide instructions for the recipients how to infer the likeliest meaning in the given context. In the following example Cameron tries to be clear in answering the reporter's question about the tax rises:

50. . David Cameron: No, no, *what I want to see* us is go on helping hard working people, particularly low paid people, to keep more of their own money to spend as they choose. You know and we have twenty five million people have got a tax cut because of the lifting of the personal allowance. We've taken over two million people out of tax altogether.
51. Well, there are a range of options as I have suggested in the past.
52. Well, as I say, the Bank of England has advised that there is no housing bubble

No case for the relevance maxim hedge is found.

9. Conclusions

In the majority of the examples here, hedges are concerned with truth telling. Several examples are used by the speaker (David Cameron) to present the statement as an absolute truth (e.g. absolutely, certainly, actually, completely). Several phrases share the purpose of weakening the illocutionary force of the statements and show the speaker's wishes to decline the responsibility for the truth value of the statements (e.g. I think, I believe, I don't think, I am not sure). While other examples disclaim the assumption that the point of the speaker's assertion is to inform the hearer (e.g. you know and obviously). All these examples indicate quality maxim hedges. Adding to that, many examples are used as quantity maxim hedges and manner maxim hedges. Cameron uses certain expressions to provide imprecise and less adequate information (e.g. well, for instance, I mean, I just thought). He, also, uses other expressions, to gloss on his effort to be clear and succinct (e.g. what I want to say, as I say, as I have suggested). All these expressions are examples of quantity and manner maxim hedges respectively.

Within the quality maxim hedge group, the verb phrase "I think" is repeated for 26 times. While "well" is repeated for 22 times, within the quantity maxim hedge group. This obvious repetition indicates that:

1. Cameron is aware of the hedging strategy. So hedging maxims is an intentional action
2. Cameron avoids his commitment to the truth of the proposition by showing personal point of view of the matter.
3. Cameron expresses uncertainty and imprecision when the precise information is not available or purposely avoided.

Moreover Cameron's awareness of hedging maxims can also be focused through his use of two or more devices belong to the same or different hedging maxims within the same utterance, for example:

53. But *frankly*, looking ahead, *you know* if we're going to get to grips with the problems of the cost of living people face.....

54. *I actually think* the country needs us to go further and faster on the things that really matter

55. *I think* wealth taxes have been tried in a lot of European countries.
I think it's a bad idea

The repetition of the same hedging device in the same utterance indicates the purpose of emphasis and better impact on the hearer.

To hedge, then, is to behave diplomatically and politely. Similar to what Martin-Martin (2008, as cited in Al-Rashady, F, 2012:39) stresses, the use of the personal pronoun (I) followed by verbs of cognition (think, believe), can be interpreted as the speakers signaling what they say is simply their personal/subjective opinion. By the way, the speakers show respect for the listeners' alternative opinion and invite the listeners to become involved in the communicative situation. In addition, using quality-emphasizing adjectival and adverbial expressions as (completely, certainly, absolutely, actually) also shows the speakers awareness that through emphasizing quality, viewers would be able to measure up their certainty. Such devices adds a certain effect that the speakers are so confident of what they say and of their accomplishments thereby making people think the speaker is really good. To sum up, by lowering the authoritativeness, and definitiveness of the utterance by increasing the degree of subjectivity, imprecision, and vagueness, Cameron signals to the hearer(s) both that his/their privacy and freedom of decision are fully respected and that an item in focus is open to further negotiation.

As observed in this analysis, in political discourse the Prime Minister uses hedges and a range of hedging devices to indicate that he is abiding by the respective conversational maxims. These linguistic expressions advice the hearer of the extent to which the speaker is committed to the well-foundedness and informativeness of his talk. They show the speaker viewpoint and advise the hearer how to take what is in focus.

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Appendix 1

1. What it shows I think is that we have to keep going against Islamistic extremism.
2. I think the big argument about living standards which is only way to sustainably raise living standards is to keep the recovery going and the economy is now moving.
3. I think we need to look at all of these markets and make sure they are working for hard working people.
4. I think if we take his approach as a whole, it's ant business, it's anti enterprise.
5. So I think let's put our trust in the Bank of England, particularly now we've given them everything they need to intervene if necessary.
6. I want to live in a country where people work hard, they save, they put money into their home and I think it's right people pay council tax, its right people pay stamp duty and we put that up.
7. I think wealth taxes have been tried in a lot of European countries
8. I think it's a bad idea.
9. I think wealth tax is not sensible for a country that wants to attract wealth creation, wants to reward saving and people who work hard and do the right thing.
10. I am absolutely convinced, not for my benefit but I think for the country's benefit.
11. I want a conservative, only government, and I think that's right for the country.
12. Well,I think if you ask people who were with me that morning, in that hotel room in central London, I think they were pretty surprised by how rapidly I did react.
13. I think that this next election is wide open to win.
14. I think there are thirty six battle ground constituencies where the UKIP vote will let Labour in.

15. I actually think the country needs us to go further and faster on the things that really matter.
16. I think we've already had three.
17. Well, I think what we need to do is look and think about what's the outcome we need.
18. I think this coalition has achieved huge things for our country.
19. I think Margaret Thatcher, for instance, would look at our school reforms....and think absolutely in the spirit of handing power back to people.
20. Well, I think this is something we need to look out and work out how to make sure that in all parts of our welfare system, there's no more something for nothing.
21. I think it's a great institution and I think it should be available to people who are gay as well as to those of us who aren't.
22. I think that the real.....(interjection)
23. HS2 is going to happen and there are two points I think.
24. I think people all over the country are worried that HS2 is going to take up too much money.

Appendix 2

- 1 .Well, I have a very simple view which is that we're a free country and people should be free to wear whatever clothes they like in public or in private,
2. Well, I'm very happy to look at that. But obviously, you know, in court a jury needs to be able to look at someone's face. You need to- I've sat on a jury, that is part of what you do.
3. Well, in the end we have to make- I think the big argument about living standards which is the only way to sustainably raise living standards is to keep the recovery going and the economy is now moving.
4. Well, I often use phrases that are perhaps a little bit er, but I mean there is, its nuts.
5. Well, I don't want, I'm going to get into a huge argument with the mental health lobby, that's not what I want.
6. Well, look, I'm not complacent about our recovery. We've got a long way to go. We've got a huge deficit still to pay down.
7. Well, first of all let's start with the state of the housing market. I mean don't take it from me; take it from the Bank of England.
8. Well, as I say, the Bank of England has advised that there is no housing bubble.
9. Well, I've never been in favor of this idea. I think wealth taxes they've been tried in a lot of European countries.
10. Well, of course there's much more we can say.
11. Well, I'm not going to go through area by area.
12. Well, it may be that that is where we end up.
13. Well, of course, there's a limit, we're not going to just spend any money on this.
14. Well, (interjection)....I stood by him after these allegations took place.

أخلاصه

تمثل الدراسة الحالية تحليل براغماتي لقواعد التفادي الموجودة في ردود رئيس الوزراء البريطاني ديفيد كاميرون في حوار سياسي مع الصحفي اندرو مار في 2013/9/29. أما المشاكل التي تبحث في هذه الدراسة هي ما القواعد التي تتفادي؟ وكيف يمكن مفاداتها؟ ولذلك تهدف الدراسة إلى تحليل القواعد المتفاديات ، ووصف لكيفية استخدامها. وقد اعتمدت نظرية كرايس (Principle) لتحليل المعطيات .