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Hedging Pragmatically in Written Political Discourse: A Study of Trump's Letter to the Speaker of the House of Representatives on the Occasion of His Impeachment Trial

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Abstract

The current study attempts to investigate how hedges are employed in written political discourse. Its main aim is to identify the hedging devices used in Trump's letter to the speaker of the House of Representatives on the occasion of his impeachment trial. The study aims at determining the types, forms and pragmatic functions of the hedges in the letter under study. To achieve the aims of the study, an eclectic model of which is composed of Hyland's (1996) and (2005) is used in the analysis of data. The most important conclusions of the study are: the most commonly type of hedges used in Trump's letter is content-oriented hedges, reader pronouns is the most widely used form of hedges, and the most commonly pragmatic function used is seeking the reader's involvement.

Keywords: Hedges, Trump's letter, Impeachment Trial, written political discourse

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التحوط تداوليًا في الخطاب السياسي المكتوب: دراسة رسالة ترامب الى رئيس مجلس النواب بمناسبة محاكمة اقالته

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المستخلص

تحاول هذه الدراسة تقصي الطريقة التي استخدمت فيها الفاظ التحوط في الخطاب السياسي المكتوب. ان الهدف الرئيسي للدراسة هو لبيان الفاظ التحوط المستخدمة في رسالة الرئيس الامريكي (ترامب) الى رئيسة مجلس النواب الامريكي بمناسبة محاكمة عزله من الرئاسة. تهدف الدراسة الى تحديد انواع واشكال والوظائف التداولية لألفاظ التحوط في الرسالة قيد الدراسة. لغرض تحقيق اهداف الدراسة فقد تم استخدام انموذج انتقائي بالاعتماد على انموذجي (هايلاند) ((2005) و((1996) كانت اهم نتائج الدراسة ان تعابير التحوط المسندة الى المحتوى استخدمت اكثر من تلك المسندة الى القارئ بينما استخدمت ضمائر القارئ اكثر من بقية الاشكال كما وكانت الوظيفة التداولية الاكثر استخداما في الرسالة قيد الدراسة هي تلك التي تبحث عن انخراط القارئ في فهم دواعي النص.

الكلمات الدالة: ألفاظ التحوط، رسالة ترامب، محاكمة عزل، الخطاب السياسي المكتوب

1.Introduction

Hedging has received considerable attention in recent years. It represents an important element in the rhetorical means employed in many fields of study. Hedging devices are important tools which have been commonly used in political discourse.

Language users may modify their language to suit the situations they are in. In this regard, Channell (1994:3) asserts that "speakers and writers tailor their language to make it suitable to the situation(when, where, why?) and their linguistic context." Camiciottoli (Cited in Rahmawati, 2016:2) states that "hedges help writers to present information in a clear, convincing and interesting way to promote acceptance and understanding as well as reader- writer solidarity. Hedges can act as persuasive devices to affect and influence reader's reactions to texts according to the values and established rules and conventions of a discourse community." Political discourse is characterized by presenting certain claims that are drawing on various linguistic resources. Emphasizing the importance of hedging in political discourse, Olbunmi and Mercy (2019:257) confirm that "hedging is an operational feature of political discourse [which] allows politicians to express some level of commitment towards their claims in order to gain acceptability and self-protection."

The influence of language on politics is highlighted by Chilton and Schaffner (1997:206) as they argue that "it is surely the case that politics cannot be conducted without language." Noting the exclusion of the study of language beyond the domains

of linguistics and literature, Pelinka (2007:129) asserts that "language must be seen (and analyzed) as a political phenomenon."

Elaborating on the issue of meaning-making conducted by politicians, Dunmire (2012:737) emphasizes that "the meaning-making practices of politics involve both political actions and the political language used to describe them."

Many studies have been conducted on hedges in political discourse. Moreover, they are limited to the investigation of the spoken form from different perspectives: Press conferences (Fraser,2010); political interviews (Jalilifar and Alavi, 2011 and Taweel et al, 2011); presidential debates (Al-Rashady, 2012); politeness in conversation (Tang, 2013); Political speeches (Laurinaitytė, 2011 and Rabab'a and Abu Rumman, 2015); and presidential inaugural addresses(Teng,2015). Despite the prevalence of the studies that address hedging devices in political discourse, those that investigate hedges in written political discourse, are rare. In addition, the studies which tackle written political discourse are confined to the investigation of hedges in editorials: contrasting editorials (Tahririan and Shahzamani,1997); hedges and boosters as metadiscourse markers (Yazdani, Sharifi and Elyassi, 2014); and pragmatic functions (Hassan and Said, 2020 and Omo and Destiny, 2020). Therefore, there is a need for studies which account for various aspects of hedges in written political discourse.

Issues related to the national security, democracy, constitutional laws and foreign policy represent a vital and essential aspect of political leaders' concern (Olubunmi and Mercy, 2019:250). One of the ways of conveying these issues is by means of the letters written by politicians which are considered part of written political discourse. In these letters, politicians claims are introduced by way of some available linguistic devices. Exploiting hedging devices is a strategy that is employed by political figures to cover up their ideas. Trump has been accused of being guilty of misconduct in some cases such as abuse of power and obstruction of the Congress (Trial Memorandum of Donald J. Trump https://www.justsecurity.org/wpcontent/uploads/2020/01/ukraine-clearinghouse-Trial-Memorandum-of-President-Donald-J.-Trump-january-20-2020.). His letter of the 17th of December, 2019 to the speaker of the House of Representatives on the occasion of his impeachment trial is an attempt to refute the accusations directed at him to charge him with the aforementioned cases.

https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/3/3a/Letter_from_President_Trump_to_House_Speaker_Nancy_Pelosi_%E2%80%94_December_17%2C_2019.pdf.

To the best of researcher's knowledge, no previous study has been conducted to examine the hedging devices used in Trump's letter to the speaker of the House of Representatives(henceforth, TLSHR). Thus, this study is an attempt to bridge this gap by investigating hedges used in this letter. Within its scope, the current study has the following questions:

- 1. What are the types of hedges that are more prevalent in *TLSHR*?
- 2. What are the most commonly used forms of hedges employed in the letter under scrutiny?
- 3. What are the most frequently pragmatic functions conveyed by the types of hedges in *TLSHR*?

In order to answer the questions above, it is hypothesized that:

- 1. Content-oriented hedges are more prevalent that reader-oriented hedges in *TLSHR*.
- 2. Within the forms hedges employed in *TLSHR*, boosters are the most commonly used ones.

3. Seeking the readers' involvement is the most commonly pragmatic function of hedges used in the letter under study. (1)

2. Hedges: Definition and Introduction

Hedges vary in nature and their realization. This variation makes them escape any widely accepted definition. In spite of this fact, it seems necessary to present some definitions and relevant properties of hedges.

The term *hedge* has firstly been coined by Lakoff (1972: 195) as she states that it is a word or phrase "whose job is to make things fuzzier or less fuzzy." Zuck and Zuck (1986: 172) define hedging as a "process whereby the author reduces the strength of what he is writing." Salagar-Meyer (1994:153) introduces a three-dimensional definition of *hedge* as she says that "[it is] of purposive fuzziness and vagueness...; [it] reflects the authors' modesty for their achievements and avoidance of personal involvement; and [it is] related to the impossibility or unwillingness of reaching absolute accuracy and of quantifying all the phenomena under observation." Hedges are those items which signal carful or cautious assessment of the truth and participate reducing the senders responsibility with respect to the information the present (Crismore and Vande Kopple 1998: 185). Crystal (2008: 227) adds that hedge is an application in pragmatics and discourse analysis of a general sense of the word ('to be non-committal or evasive') to a range of items which express a notion of impression or qualification." According to Tang (2013: 155) hedges "have a pragmatic colour" that makes them an effective communicative strategy. Hyland (Cited in Adimata.2016:17) describes a hedge as "any linguistic means used to indicate either a lack of complete commitment to the truth of a proposition or a desire not to express that commitment categorically." Fraser (Cited in Marta, 2017: 880) emphasizes that hedges are " an open functional class...with a polypragmatic character." This leads to assigning various pragmatic functions to hedges in the contexts in which they are used.

The reader's involvement in inferring hedges meaning is highlighted by Teng (2015:1688) as he states that "with the help of hedges, authors may leave some room for readers to judge the truth value of their[authors] statements." According to Malåškovå (2014:33), hedges are linguistic devices which are necessary for writers to interact with the readers in the text, since they help to open space for discussing and evaluating issues presented in the text.

Hasanah and Wahyudi (2015:208) present four reasons for hedging:
Firstly, to reduce the risk of opposition by toning down the statement ...; secondly, to be more precise in reporting results ...; thirdly, to show positive or negative politeness strategies ...; and lastly, to support someone's position, build writer-reader relationships, and guarantee the level of accepting within a certain community.

It seems that there are various definitions of the term *hedge* that encompass different aspects. This can be attributed to the use of the phenomenon in different disciplines and to the way it is tackled by different scholars which leads to the adoption of different perspectives of it.

3. Theoretical Framework

3.1 Hyland's (1996)Taxonomy of Hedges

Hyland's (1996) taxonomy of hedges includes two main categories of hedges: content-oriented hedges and reader-oriented hedges. They will be explored in the following sections.

3.1.1Content-oriented Hedges

Hyland (1996:9) states that the function of content-oriented hedges is " to mitigate the relationship between propositional content and the representation of reality; they hedge the correspondence between what the writer says about the world and what the world is thought to be like." They involve two categories: the accuracy of the proposition and the writer's protection from poor judgement, i.e., accuracy-oriented hedges and writer-oriented hedges (ibid). They will be discussed below.

3.1.1.1Accuracy-oriented Hedges

Accuracy-oriented hedges are used as a means of stating results accurately and to imply that a proposition is based on reasoning. The main function of accuracy-oriented hedges is to persuade the reader of the objectivity and plausibility of the information given. In addition, they enable readers to distinguish between what is inferential and what is actual (Hyland, 1996:9-10). Accuracy-oriented hedges are further subdivided into: attribute hedges and reliability hedges. They are discussed below.

3.1.1.1.1Attribute Hedges

These hedges represent words ability to convey some non-linguistic facts that depend on relevant background knowledge, Writers employ attribute hedges in order to gain precision of expression rather than writer's perspective(ibid:10-12). Examples are *generally*, *approximately*, and *quite*.

3.1.1.1.2.Reliability Hedges

Reliability hedges indicate the writer's uncertain knowledge and his /her confidence exploited towards the validity of his claims. For this reason, they are used to express uncertainty of the proposition prompted by the writer's understanding of the truth (ibid:12) Examples *may*, *could* and *presumably*.

3.1.1.2Writer-oriented Hedges

Writer-oriented hedges aim to enable the writer to refer to some possibilities that depend on conjecture with their protection from criticism(ibid: 14). Hyland (ibid) adds that these hedges are contrasted with other content hedges where the former are writer-focused while the latter are proposition-focused. Examples are *appear*, *assume*, and *propose*.

3.1.2Reader-oriented Hedges

Reader-oriented hedges address the various aspects of the writer-reader relationship (ibid:18).using these hedges, writers try not to take readers away by inviting them to participate in the discourse with open minds. Hyland (cited in Livytska 2019: 45-46) states that writers negotiate with the reader reliability of his claims in a form of a dialogue which, in turn, serves as a strategy that addresses the reader as an interlocutor which is capable of viewing claims with open mind. Examples are you, your, we and our.

3.2Hyland's (2005) Stance and Engagement

Stance and engagement represent the two main ways of interactions managed by writers of texts .According to Hyland (2005:5), stance is "an attitudinal dimension...[which] includes features which refer to the ways writers present themselves and convey their judgements, opinions, and commitments. It is the ways that writes intrude to stamp their personal authority onto their arguments or step back and disguise their involvement." He (ibid) states that engagement is an" alignment dimension where writers acknowledge to connect to others, recognizing the presence of their readers, pulling them along with their argument focusing their attention, acknowledging their uncertainties, including them as discourse participants, and guiding them to interpretations." Hyland (ibid:4-14) presents the key resources of

realizing stance and engagement. Some of them that are used in the current study will be shown below:

- 1. Hedges: they are devices that indicate the writer's decision to withhold his commitment to a proposition presenting information as an opinion rather than a fact. Examples are: *possible*, *might*, and *perhaps*.
- 2. Boosters: they are words that allow writers to convey their certainty and to shoe their involvement with both the topic and solidarity with the readers. Examples are: *clearly* and *obviously*.
- 3. Attitude markers: they indicate the writer's affective attitude to propositions in order to show surprise, agreement and frustration. Examples are: verbs (*prefer*, *agree*), adverbs(*hopefully*, *unfortunately*), and adjectives (*logical*, *remarkable*). Using these words, writers can attract the reader's attention without being able to dispute the former's judgements.
- 4. Self-mention: they are used to present propositional, interpersonal and affective information by means of the first person pronouns and possessive adjectives.
- 5. Reader pronouns: these pronouns may be the most explicit way used to bind writer and reader. Examples are: *you*, *your*, and *we*.
- 6. Personal Asides: they allow writers to address the reader directly by interrupting the argument to give a comment on what is said. In addition to their being a key reader-oriented strategy, they can also be used to express writer's personality.
- 7. Appeals to shred knowledge: they are used by writers to presuppose that readers hold the same beliefs and to acknowledge their contribution to the writer's argument while moving the focus away from the writer to the role to form the reader's role.
- 8. Directives: they are used to carry out an action or to see things in a way that is specified by the writer. They are indicated by an imperative like(*consider*, *note*); a modal (*must*, *should*); and a predicative adjective like (*it is important to...*). They have three kinds of activity which are textual acts, physical acts and cognitive acts.
- 9. Questions: they are used by writers as a strategy of inviting the reader's engagement and to lead him to the writer's point of view.

4. Methodology

This section presents the research methodology which includes: data description, research design, and the model adopted in the study. An account of each one of them will be shown below.

4.1 Data Description

The data used for this study is represented by *TLSHR*. The scrip of the letter is downloaded from:

https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/3/3a/Letter_from_President_Trump_to_House_Speaker_Nany_Pelosi_%E2%80%94_December_17%2C_2019.pdf and used as the data of the current study. The analysis will be limited to the types , forms and pragmatic functions of hedges in this letter.

4.2 Research Design

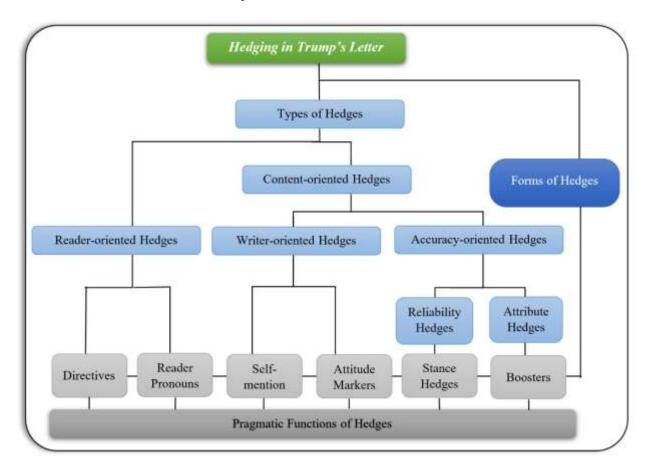
The method adopted in this study is a mixed one, i.e. qualitative and quantitative. A qualitative method is used to find out the hedging devices used in *TLSHR* depending on the eclectic model adopted in the analysis in order to present an explanation of how and why such hedges are used. A quantitative (statistical) analysis will be carried out by showing the frequencies and percentages of the appearance of the hedging devices employed in *TLSHR*. A discussion of the findings of the study will

also be made. To facilitate cross reference, the various types and forms of hedges found in the letter under study are identified, classified and tabulated in a separate table which is presented in Appendix (A).

4.3 The Model Adopted

The model adopted in this study is an eclectic one. It draws on Hyland's model (1996) and (2005). The main categories of his model of (1996) are content-oriented hedges and reader-oriented hedges. The former is composed of two dimensions which are accuracy-oriented hedges and writer-oriented hedges. Accuracy oriented hedges, in turn, are subdivide into attribute hedges and reliability hedges. In addition, the model adopted includes Hyland's (2005) includes boosters, stance hedges, attitude markers, self-mention, reader-pronouns, and directives. This model is chosen because its subcategories are expected to be found in the data under scrutiny. Below is a diagram that shows the categories and subcategories of the model adopted in the analysis.

Figure (1): The Model Adopted in Analyzing Hedges in *TLSHR*. Adopted from Hyland's (1996) and (2005)



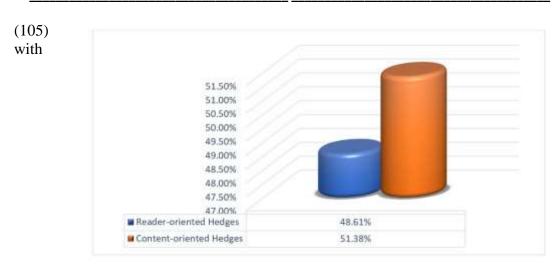
5.Findings and Discussion

5.1Findings

The presentation of findings will be guided by the three research questions of the study.

1. The types of hedges that are more prevalent in TLSHR?

As shown in Table(1) and Figure (2) and Figure (3), the total number of hedges in *TLSHR* is (216). The most commonly hedge type used is content-oriented hedges at (111) with (51.388%) whereas reader- oriented hedges are used with the frequency of



(48.612%). The number of accuracy-oriented hedges (49) with (44.144%) and writer-oriented hedges is hedges (62) with (55.856%). The sub-types included in accuracy-oriented hedges are: attribute hedges and reliability hedges. The former appear at (21) with (42.857%) whereas the latter appear at (28) with (57.143%).

Table (1): Frequency of the Types of Hedges in TLSHR

Table (1). Frequency of the Types of fleuges in TES				Total				
Type s of Hedg es		Freque ncy	Percent age		Freque ncy	Percent age	Freque ncy	Percent age
Conte nt- Orien	Accura cy-	40	44.144	Attribu te Hedges	21	42.857 %		
ted Hedg es	d Hedge s	49	%	Reliabi lity Hedges	28	57.143 %	111	51.388
	Writer- oriente d Hedge s	62	55.856 %					
Reade r- Orien ted Hedg es							105	48.612
Total							216	100%

Figure(2): Rates of the Types Hedges in TLSHR

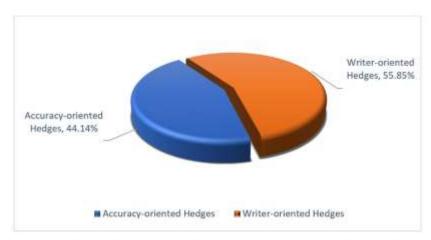


Figure (3): Rates of the Accuracy-oriented Hedges and Writer-oriented Hedges in *TLSHR*

2. The most commonly used forms of hedges employed in the letter under scrutiny? Table(2) and Figure (4) indicate that reader pronouns are the most commonly used forms of hedges in the letter under study with the frequency of (103) with (47.688%). It is followed by self-mention at (48) with (22.222%) whereas the least form used is that of directives at (2) with (0.925%).

Table (2): Frequency of the Forms of Hedges in TLSH

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Forms of Hedging	Frequency	Percentage		
Devices				
Boosters	21	9.722%		
Stance Hedges	28	12.962%		
Attitude markers	14	6.481%		
Self -Mention	48	22.222%		
Reader Pronouns	103	47.688%		
Directives	2	0.925%		
Total	216	100%		

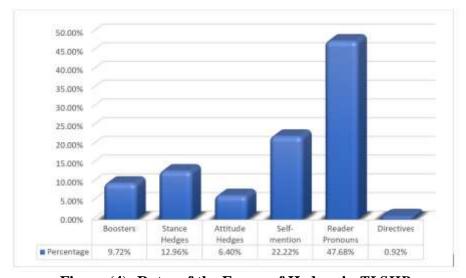


Figure (4): Rates of the Forms of Hedges in TLSHR

3. The most frequently pragmatic functions conveyed by hedges in TLSHR?

Regarding the pragmatic functions conveyed in TLSHR, as shown in Table (3) and Figure (5), seeking the reader's involvement in the claims the writer presented is the most commonly used one with the frequency of (105) at (48.611%). Presenting the writer in the text comes second at (62) with (28.704 %) then, the function of ensuring claims accuracy at (49) with (22.685%).

Table(3): Frequency of the Pragmatic Functions of Hedges in TLSHR

Pragmatic Functions of Hedges	Frequency	Percentage	
Ensuring claims accuracy	49	22.685 %	
Presenting the writer in the text	62	28.704%	
Seeking the reader's involvement	105	48.611%	
Total	216	100%	

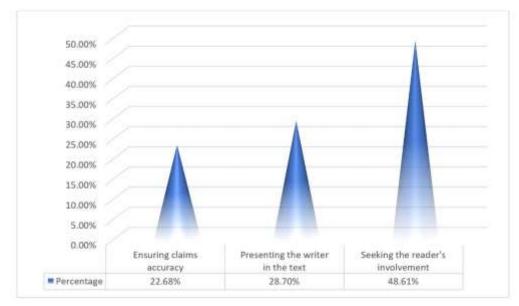


Figure (5): Rates of the Pragmatic Functions of Hedges in TLSHR **5.1 Discussion of Findings**

The findings of the study demonstrate that content-oriented hedges are used more frequently than reader-oriented hedges in TLAHR. This shows that Trump tends to use hedges that support the accuracy of his message than those which supports the establishment of a rapport with the reader. This does not mean that he has not been concerned with establishing a relation with the reader but it seems that he gives more priority to the clarity of the message he tries to convey to the reader in a way that serves the objectivity of his claims as far as possible.

Regarding the forms of hedges used in the letter under study, it seems that Trump employs reader pronouns more than other forms. This by itself, suggests that he cares about establishing a good relationship with the reader. Another abundant use of forms of hedges is represented by the use of self-mention hedges. This use may be attributed to the fact that these hedges indicate the writer's involvement in the letter content since

that content is of high importance to him but he utilizes those forms that are related to the reader more than others in order to gain the readers' satisfaction.

With respect to the pragmatic functions of hedges used in *TLSHR*, it seems that Trump intends to employ a reader-centered pragmatic function. This becomes a distinguishing feature in the text in that the writer pays more attention to the establishment of rapport with the readers as he intends to persuade the senate members that he is not guilty of the crimes he is charged with. This shows the writer's interest in satisfying the readers with his claims by establishing an interpersonal relationship with them and to make his argument approved. This does not mean that Trump hasn't paid attention to other pragmatic functions but he gives priority to the reader's satisfaction more than to ensuring the text accuracy or to presenting himself in the text since his major aim is to prove that he is not guilty- an idea which represents his major concern behind sending the letter to the House of Representatives.

6. Conclusions

The most important conclusions of the study can be shown as follows:

- 1. It is found that content-oriented hedges are more prevalent compared to reader-oriented hedges in *TLSHR*.
- 2. It is shown in *TLSHR*, that reader-pronouns are the most frequently used forms of hedges.
- 3. Seeking the reader's involvement appears to be the most commonly pragmatic function employed by Trump in his *TLSHR*.
- 4. Results of the study prove the applicability of the eclectic model adopted in analyzing written political discourse.
- 5. In written political discourse, a hedge has various interpretations by readers. Thus, it seems necessary to take the context of a text and the writer's intention into consideration in order to recognize the intended pragmatic function of the hedge used.

Notes

(1) Due to the fact that hedges are of polypragmatic character and to ensure the manageability of data analysis, the analysis of the pragmatic functions of the hedges used in *TLSHR* will be based on their main respective types.

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APPENDIX (A)

Types of hedges		Sub-types	Forms of Hedges		
Content- oriented hedges	Accuracy- oriented hedges	Attribute hedges	Boosters	continually, completely(twice),totally (twice),fraudulently,immediately, repeatedly, duly,constitutionally,precisely,democra tically,directly,only(twice),sumberely,reluctantly,scarcely,fully, soon, full well	
		Reliability hedges	Stance hedges	possible, can, cannot(3 times) dare, could(twice), will(13 times),would(7 times)	
	Writer- oriented hedges		Attitude markers	falsely, actually, explicitly, privately, really, sadly, unfortunately, fortunately, truly (twice),deeply, certainly, badly, harshly	
			Self- mention	I (38 times),my (8 times),me(twice)	
			Reader pronouns	You (58 times). Your (29 times), we(once), our (15 times)	

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Reader- oriented hedges	Directives	Do us a favour, it is time for you to
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HEDGES IN TRUMP'S LETTER TO THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES