

Zorica P. Trajkova  
Department of English Language and Literature  
Ss. Cyril and Methodius University  
Skopje, Republic of Macedonia  
trajkova\_zorica@yahoo.com

UDC 811.163.3'42:070(497.7)  
originalni naučni rad

## TONING DOWN STATEMENTS IN NEWSPAPER EDITORIALS

*ABSTRACT:* This paper<sup>1</sup> examines the linguistic form and function of hedges in English and Macedonian newspaper editorials as well as their role in the construction and attainment of persuasion. Hedges are interpersonal metadiscourse markers which help editorial writers to tone down their statements and present uncertainty in their factuality thus making them more acceptable for the readership. This study also points out the cultural differences reflected in the style of the Macedonian and American editorials' writers. The objective of this paper is to help readers become more aware of the writers' style and persuasive power as well as to point out the cultural differences in the way writers write and readers perceive a written text.

*Key words:* hedges, metadiscourse, persuasion, editorials.

### INTRODUCTION

Hedging generally refers to the technique of using tentative language by writers or speakers in order to express a certain degree of doubt and uncertainty in the truth of their propositions. Writers employ hedges to tone down the strength of their propositions and present them as opinions rather than facts thus avoiding their possible opposition by the readers. Their purpose is to sway the reader to accept their points of view, without being too imposing and aggressive. The linguistic term hedge/hedging was introduced by Lakoff (1972) to describe 'words whose job is to make things more or less fuzzy'.

Since Lakoff, the study of hedging has attracted the attention of many linguists who analyzed its use in textbooks (Crismore 1984; Hyland 2000), students' writing (Crismore et al., 1993), academic research articles (Mauranen 1993; Hyland 1998), newspaper discourse (Dafouz 2008). In the scientific literature, hedges have been referred to as: *compromisers, downtowners, downgraders, weakeners, softeners* and *backgrounding items*. From the readers' perspective, hedges have been found to

---

<sup>1</sup> A shorter version of this paper was presented at the international conference 'Memory and Truth' organized by the English Department at the Faculty of Philology, South-Western University, Neofit Rilski, Blagoevgrad, held from 28<sup>th</sup>–31<sup>st</sup> October 2009.

be very important in persuasive writing. By toning down the strength of their claims, writers don't seem very intrusive and are more persuasive.

### 1.1 Hedges as interpersonal metadiscourse markers

Hedges are considered interpersonal metadiscourse markers.<sup>2</sup> Metadiscourse, also known as metatext or metalanguage, refers to writers' directions for how readers should read, react to, and evaluate the information presented in the text. The use of interpersonal metadiscourse markers shows that the writer is seeking to establish a relationship with readers and does not simply state unmediated facts.

Hedges as interpersonal metadiscourse markers denote the writer/ speaker's presence and involvement in the discourse building their relationship with the readers/ listeners. Through the use of hedges the writer gives directions to readers on how they should read and interpret the text. Crismore and Vande Kopple (1988: 184–185) draw a link between hedging and metadiscourse. According to them, hedges function interpersonally and tend to mark modality, which is why they are often considered part of metadiscourse. Writers use these linguistic elements to express tentativeness or cautiousness regarding the truth assessment of referential information.

### 1.2 Hedging and modality

Along with several other linguists, Hyland (1994, 1998) connects hedging to the concept of epistemic modality. Hedging is associated with epistemic modality since they 'both express a degree of speaker/ writer's confidence or belief about the likelihood of a proposition'. The lexical category mostly associated with epistemic modality is modal auxiliaries. In order to avoid any misunderstanding or confusion of categories, Palmer (1986) and Coates (1983) make a clear distinction between epistemic and deontic modality. Epistemic modality expresses the speaker's opinion or belief concerning the truth of what is being said, while deontic modality indicates his or her observations about the necessity or obligation to perform particular actions.

- (1) a) They *may* have done that. (epistemic-possibility)
- b) You *may* do it. (deontic-permission)

<sup>2</sup> Researchers identified five main categories of interpersonal metadiscourse markers: 1. *hedges*, markers that withhold full commitment to statements displayed in the text (may, might, seem); 2. *boosters*, markers which express full commitment to writer's statements (fully, certainly, undoubtedly); 3. *attributors*, which mention explicitly the source of information (as the president indicated); 4. *attitude markers*, which express the writers attitude towards the reader and the content presented in the text (surprisingly, unfortunately, it is absurd) and 5. *commentaries*, which help to establish and maintain rapport with the audience (Let's us summarize; You must understand) (Dafouz-Milne 2007: 99).

However, sometimes it is hard to distinguish between these two types of modality and realize whether the writer uses it to hedge their statement or not. Palmer (1986: 121) gives some examples of situations like these and points out that it is only from the context that the readers or listeners can infer speaker's/ writer's intentions.

(2) He *may* come tomorrow. (expressing belief/ possibility or permission?)

(3) The book *should* be on the shelf. (expressing tentative assumption or weak order/ request (Put it there!)?)

Epistemic modality in Macedonian can be expressed by using: 1. **modal verbs**: 'може' or 'треба' + the modal particle 'да' + another verb, (e. g. 'Тој може да дојде утре' (He may/ might come tomorrow) meaning: 'Тој можеби ќе дојде утре' (He will maybe come tomorrow) or 'Мислам дека тој ќе дојде утре' (I think that he will come tomorrow)). It is very important to note that the modal verb 'може' is used to replace *can*, *could*, *may* and *might* in Macedonian. However, when used in its epistemic sense it is more grammaticalized syntactically and is not marked for tense and person, while when used in its deontic meaning, it is marked for tense and person; 2. **modal particles**, because of their ability to combine with imperfect forms of perfect verbs: 'ќе' (e. g. *ќе отиде/ will go*), 'да' (e.g. *може да разбере/ he might figure out*), 'би' (*би било/ it would be*), 'ако' (*ако се случи/ if it happens*) etc.; 3. the so called **modal words**, with which one can express probability (*веројатно/ probably*, *наводно/ allegedly*, *изгледа, по сè изгледа/ It seems*, *можеби/ maybe* etc.) Minova-Gjurkova (2000: 154–157).

### 1.3 Hedging and politeness

Brown and Levinson (1987) treated hedging as a sign of politeness. Normally, hedges are a characteristic of negative politeness, but they are sometimes considered to be a positive politeness strategy too. Negative politeness (Brown and Levinson 1987: 129) refers to 'addressee's want to have his freedom of action unhindered and his attention unimpeded. It performs the function of minimizing the particular imposition that the face-threatening act unavoidably affects'.

(4) I *wonder* if you could help me with lifting this box.

The italicized verb in sentence (4) is used to hedge the illocutionary force of the statement. This shows that the speaker does not want to impose an undesirable request to the listener, recognized as negative politeness strategy.

According to Brown and Levinson (1987: 101), some hedges, such as: *sort of*, *kind of*, *like*, *in a way* can have a positive-politeness function as well. Positive politeness refers to 'redress directed to the addressee's positive face, his perennial desire that his wants (or the actions/ acquisitions/ values resulting from them) should be thought as desirable' (1987: 101).

(5) I *kind of* want Florin to win the race, since I've bet on him.

### 1.4 The function of hedges in editorials

In editorials, hedging plays an important role for the writer's presentation of statements with an appropriate accuracy and caution in order to persuade the readers in his/ her points of view. Newspaper discourse and editorials in particular are usually considered the most adequate examples of persuasive writing in all countries. Editorials deal with topics which are usually of great importance for the society. However, the editorialist's views may not always reflect the official stance of the newspaper or the wider readership they target. Therefore, the writers' toning down of their statements can be crucial in attracting the readers' attention and 'making' them accept their points of view.

Le (2004: 690) analyses editorials as a written genre and states that, compared to academic texts, they are 'much shorter in length, have a content that can be exposed with less complexity and they benefit from a much larger and less specialized audience'. Furthermore, editorials contain opinions expressed in a much more personal manner, so, naturally, they might contain fewer textual markers and be more interpersonal. Therefore, since knowledge is more subjective in editorials, it needs to be mitigated in order to be accepted by a wider group of people.

### 1.5 Form of hedges

Linguists have so far categorized hedges in different ways. However, most of them (e. g. Crompton 1997, Hyland 1998) agree that hedging is typically expressed by modal epistemic verbs, modal lexical verbs, epistemic adjectives, adverbs and nouns, then conditional sentences, question forms, passive constructions, impersonal phrases and time reference. In this paper we analyze the following linguistic categories as hedging devices:

#### a) Modal epistemic verbs

Modal auxiliaries 'provide the least marked and thus the most straightforward means of expressing modality in English' with *would*, *will*, *could*, *may*, and *might* occurring most frequently in written discourse (Coates 1983: 23). However, observing that sometimes it seems very hard to distinguish among different meanings of modals, since meanings do not reside in the modals themselves, Coates gives an adequate descriptive framework for modality (see Figure 1).

| modal  | Epistemic function/ meaning             | paraphrase            | Primary meaning       |
|--------|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| must   | Confident inference based on deduction  | I am sure             | Obligation/ necessity |
| should | Tentative assumption based on inference | I assume/<br>probably | Weak obligation       |

|       |   |  |                                    |
|-------|---|--|------------------------------------|
| ought | Tentative assumption based on inference               | I assume/<br>probably  | Weak obligation                    |
| can   | None  |  | Root possibility<br>(possible for) |
| could | Tentative possibility                                 | I believe/<br>perhaps  | Root possibility                   |
| may   | Epistemic possibility                                 | I believe/<br>perhaps  | Epistemic possibility              |
| might | Epistemic possibility                                 | I believe/<br>perhaps  | Epistemic possibility              |
| will  | Prediction about present based on repeated experience | I confidently<br>expect  | Epistemic prediction               |
| shall | Prediction about present based on repeated experience | I confidently<br>expect  | Obligation/ intention              |
| would | Past prediction/ hypothetical prediction              | I confidently<br>expected/ I<br>expect given<br>unlikely<br>conditions | Hypothetical (unreal<br>condition) |

Figure 1. Coates' descriptive framework of epistemic modal verbs

According to this framework, the modals related to assumption are *must*, *should* and *ought* and those related to possibilities are *will*, *may*, *might* and *could*. *Shall* and *would* represent hypothetical epistemic uses. Affirmative *can* and *need* have no epistemic senses.

In Macedonian, the particles 'ќе'+ verb and 'би'+ verb are used to express epistemic prediction and hypothetical prediction respectively.

(6) *Некои полесно, некои потешко ќе поминат со тестовите./ Some will find it*

*easy, some more difficult to pass the exams.*

(7) *Би било неприродно да се преведуваат на македонски./ It would be unnatural to translate them in Macedonian.*

'Може' + 'да' construction is used to express epistemic possibility and to replace *could*, *may*, *might* in English.

(8) *Карциномот може да се развие./ The cancer might progress.*

'Треба' + 'да' construction is used to express a tentative assumption based on inference and it replaces both *should* and *ought to* in English.

(9) *Новите проблеми никој не ги споменува затоа што ќе треба да се признаат и грешките./ Nobody mentions the new problems because they should admit the mistakes.*

As we mentioned before, the modal verbs are not marked for tense and person when used in their epistemic sense, and they are used together with the main verb in an impersonal ‘да’ construction.

#### b) Modal lexical verbs

The most common means of expressing epistemic modality in written discourse, after modal verbs, is through the use of lexical verbs, often referred to as ‘speech act’ verbs as they are used to perform acts such as doubting and evaluating rather than merely to describe acts. Hyland (1998: 120) distinguishes between two types of epistemic verbs:

1. *epistemic judgement verbs* employed by writers to mitigate their claims by indicating that they are presenting information as a subjective opinion or a deductive conclusion. The most frequently used judgemental verbs, according to Hyland, are: (speculative) *indicate, suggest, propose, predict, assume, speculate, suspect, believe, imply*, (deductive) *imply, estimate, calculate*. In Macedonian, the verbs: *укажува, проценува, предвидува, шпекулира, претпоставува, предложува, верува, смета* are used as epistemic judgment verbs.

2. *epistemic evidential verbs* used by writers to refer to evidentiary justification based either on reports of others, the evidence of the writer’s senses or the feasibility of matching evidence to goals. The most frequent evidential verbs are: (quotative) *report, note*, (sensory) *appear, seem*, (narrators) *attempt, seek*. In Macedonian, the modal lexical verbs such as: *изнесува, забележува, изгледа, се чини, се обидува, се стреми* are used as epistemic evidential verbs.

#### c) Epistemic adjectives

Epistemic adjectives serve to reduce the writer’s categorical commitment in editorials (Hyland 1998: 130). The most frequently used ones are: *(un)likely, possible, apparent, probable, most, consistent with, similar, significant*. In Macedonian, the following adjectives are used as hedges: *веројатно, можно, очигледно, неспорно, несомнено, значајно, објективно, важно*.

#### d) Epistemic adverbs

Modal verbs are considered ‘peripheral in clause structure’ because they are not syntactically integrated as an element of the clause but can appear in a number of positions without affecting the meaning relation between clause and adverb (Hyland 1998: 134). Hyland distinguishes between downtoners, which have a lowering effect on the force of the modified verb: *quite, partially, rarely, virtually, entirely*, and disjuncts, or probability adjuncts such as: *generally, broadly, presumably, pos-*

sibly, probably, apparently, evidently, intuitively, allegedly, reportedly, supposedly. The following adverbs are used as hedges in Macedonian: *конечно, јасно, делумно, ретко, целосно, потполно, природно, несомнено, најверојатно, навидум, небаре, условно речено, веројатно, наводно, изгледа.*

#### e) Epistemic nouns

The most frequently used nouns with the function of hedges in editorials are: *possibility, probability, speculation.* In Macedonian, nouns such as: *можност, веројатност, претпоставка,* are used as hedges.

## 2. CORPUS DESCRIPTION AND PROCEDURE

The corpus consisted of 9 editorials from American quality newspapers: *the Arizona Republic* and *the New York Times* and 9 editorials from Macedonian quality newspapers: *the Dnevnik, Vecher* and *Nova Makedonija.* Each editorial was about 600 words long on average. The editorials were selected to cover similar topics in both Macedonian and American newspapers, such as: language, education, health, energy, immigration, journalism, (un)employment. The texts were also carefully selected in order to avoid political or any other influence which might affect the readers. The writer's name and the name of the newspaper were also erased.

First, the distribution of hedges was analyzed in both Macedonian and American editorials and the results were compared. The aim was to see whether there is any difference in the use of these markers between Macedonian and American editorial writers. Furthermore, in order to see whether there is any correspondence between the use of hedges and the persuasive effect of the editorials, 40 native Americans, (students at Arizona State University in USA) were asked to rank the American editorials on a scale from 1–5, 1 representing the least persuasive text and 5 the most persuasive, and 40 Macedonians (students at Ss. Cyril and Methodius University in Macedonia) were asked to do the same with the selected Macedonian editorials. They were also invited to explain the reasons for their decisions. The questionnaire was adopted and adapted from the Dafouz-Milne (2008) model and contained three basic criteria for evaluating the persuasive effect: rational appeals, credibility appeals and affective appeals. *Rational appeals* are logical lines of reasoning: arguments based on the structure of reality, offering argumentation by example, illustration and model, analogy and metaphor, comparisons, facts and statistics, and cause and effect examples. *Credibility appeals* include the writer's personal experience, knowledge of the subject, and awareness of the audience's values. Devices such as personal pronouns and personal references are usually used to build a credible textual persona. And finally, *affective appeals* include the use of concrete and charged language, of vivid pictures, and of metaphors to evoke emotion and sentiment in the audience (Dafouz-

Milne 2008: 101). The respondents were introduced to these criteria before they were given the editorials for assessment.

### 3. DISTRIBUTION OF HEDGES

The analysis showed that modal verbs are by no means the most numerous items in the corpus. Among them, *will* and *would* (in English) and their equivalents ‘би’ / ‘ќе’ (in Macedonian) were used most frequently (see examples 10 and 11).

(10) *Полицјата нема што да прави со децата. Ќе да е тоа проблем.*  
(*There is*

*nothing the police can do with the children. That might be a problem*). (Maced. data)

(11) *That should be the local television’s view on the situation.* (American data)

Table 1 shows that Macedonian writers used *will* twice as often than American writers, who, on the other hand, used the modal verbs *could*, *may* and *might* more frequently than Macedonian writers did. However, this being a very small corpus, there was not really any significant difference in the overall usage of modal epistemic verbs between Macedonian and American editorial writers.

| Modal verbs (English) | American data (5566 words) Percent (%) | Modal verbs (Macedonian) | Macedonian data (5538 words) Percent % |
|-----------------------|--|--------------------------|--|
| Will                  | 0.43                                   | ‘ќе’ + verb              | 0.79                                   |
| Would                 | 0.21                                   | ‘би’ / ‘ќе’ + verb       | 0.16                                   |
| Cannot                | 0.05                                   | не може + ‘да’ constr.   | 0.09                                   |
| Could                 | 0.14                                   | може + ‘да’ constr.      | 0.07                                   |
| May                   | 0.04                                   |                          |  |
| Might                 | 0.02                                   |                          |  |
| Should                | 0.04                                   | треба + ‘да’ constr.     | 0.09                                   |
| Ought to              | 0.02                                   |                          |  |
| Must                  | 0.04                                   | мора + ‘да’ constr.      |  |
| Totals                | 0.99                                   |                          | 1.19                                   |

Table 1. Frequencies of modal epistemic verbs used to express hedging

Table 2 below presents the distribution of lexical verbs in both American and Macedonian data. Macedonian writers do not seem to use these verbs as hedges very often. The research showed that Macedonian writers use verbs only to address the readers directly, but rarely do they use lexical judgemental and evidential verbs



as hedges. The results show that American writers used epistemic lexical verbs about 6 times more frequently than Macedonian writers. However, this might mean that Macedonian writers use other interpersonal markers to achieve the persuasive effect. Some examples of the use of lexical verbs are presented in 12 and 13.

| Lexical verbs     |             |                         | American data<br>(5566 words) | Macedonian data<br>(5538) |
|-------------------|-------------|-------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------|
| Judgemental verbs | Speculative | indicate (укажува)      | 0.07                          | ---                       |
|                   |             | suggest (предложува)    | 0.04                          | ---                       |
|                   |             | believe (верува)        | 0.09                          | ---                       |
|                   | Deductive   | estimate (проценува)    | 0.05                          | ---                       |
| Evidential verbs  |             | report (изјавува)       | 0.07                          | ---                       |
|                   |             | seem (изгледа, се чини) | 0.05                          | 0.05                      |
|                   |             | attempt (се обидува)    | 0.04                          | ---                       |
|                   |             | seek (бара)             | 0.02                          | 0.02                      |
| Total             |             |                         | 0.43                          | 0.07                      |

Table 2. Frequencies of lexical verbs used to express hedging

(12) *There seems little doubt that the decline in cancer death rates since the early 1990s is real.* (American data)

(13) *Се чини дека проблемот е многу подлабок отколку што изгледа. It seems that the problem is more serious than it looks.* (Macedonian data)

As for the usage of epistemic adjectives, adverbs and nouns, Table 3 shows that American writers use a wider variety of these words and they use them about four times more frequently than Macedonian writers. Epistemic nouns were almost not used at all in the data.

|            |         | American data<br>(5566 words)<br>( %) |                  | Macedonian data<br>(5538 words)<br>( %) |
|------------|---------|---------------------------------------|------------------|---|
| adjectives | likely  | 0.05                                  | можен (possible) | 0.04                                    |
|            | most    | 0.23                                  |                  |   |
|            | similar | 0.04                                  |                  |   |

|                |               | American data<br>(5566 words)<br>(%) |                              | Macedonian data<br>(5538 words)<br>(%) |
|----------------|---------------|--------------------------------------|------------------------------|--|
| <b>Adverbs</b> | generally     | 0.04                                 | наводно (allegedly)          | 0.02                                   |
|                | broadly       | 0.02                                 | веројатно (probably)         | 0.02                                   |
|                | potentially   | 0.02                                 | можеби (maybe)               | 0.02                                   |
|                | almost        | 0.05                                 |                              |  |
|                | approximately | 0.02                                 |                              |  |
| <b>Nouns</b>   |               |                                      | веројатност<br>(possibility) | 0.02                                   |
| Total          |               | 0.47                                 |                              | 0.1                                    |

Table 3. Frequencies of adjectives, adverbs and nouns used to express hedging

(14) *Веројатно* членовите на владата знаат дека сегашната политика не нуди никакво решение за невработеноста./ *Probably* the members of the government know that their current politics does not offer any solution for the unemployment. (Macedonian data)

(15) *The administration will likely have to consider a range of additional strategies.* (American data)

The overall results show that American editorial writers hedge their propositions more often and with a wider variety of epistemic lexical verbs, adjectives and adverbs. However, this specific corpus was a limited one and the results are just an indication of some general findings which need further and more elaborate research in order to be confirmed.

### 3.1 Findings for the questionnaire on persuasive effect

In order to see whether there was any connection between the use of hedges and the persuasive effect of the editorials, 40 Macedonian and American students read the editorials in their native language and marked them according to their persuasive effect. Interestingly enough, the results showed that the use of hedges in a text is related to its persuasive effect on the readers. As it can be seen from Figures 1 and 2 (see below), the use of hedges plays a key role in the construction of persuasion in editorials. There is a correlation between the use of hedges in texts and the persuasive effect that each text had on the readers. For instance, Figure 1 shows that the use of hedges in editorial 1 is relatively high and readers also consider that text highly persuasive. On the other hand, the analysis of the second editorial shows that there is a low usage of hedges in it so its persuasive effect is lower. The persuasion rises again in situation 3, where the use of hedges is higher than in situation 2.

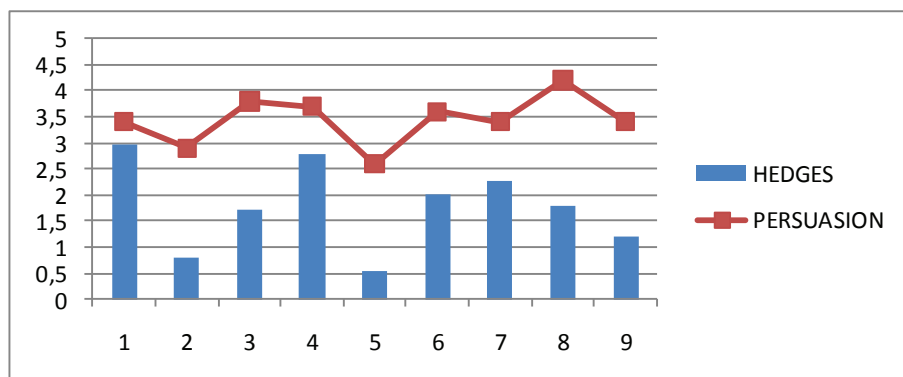


Figure 1. Hedges and their persuasive effect in the American corpus

However, there is a mismatch in the assessment of text 4 and text 8 from the American corpus, where the use of hedges does not really correspond to the marks given by students. To discover the reasons for the inconsistency, these two editorials were further analyzed. Editorial 4 was about global warming and the preservation of energy. It is probable that the respondents (being young people) may not have been that interested in this area therefore did not mark the text as persuasive. Editorial 8, on the other hand, was about brain drain or the smart young people who immigrate to the US from all over the world. Again this topic might not have been that interesting for the respondents because they were all American and never actually faced that kind of situation.

The analysis of the use of hedges and the persuasive effect of the Macedonian editorials showed more or less the same results (see Figure 2 below). The persuasive effect is high in texts 1, 3, 5 and 6 in which the use of hedges is also higher, while it's lower in texts 4, 7 and 8 in which the use of hedges is also lower. However, there is a mismatch between the use of hedges and the persuasive effect in texts 2 and 9. Further analysis of the content revealed that editorial 2 was about the protection of the Macedonian language from the words of foreign origin used lately by the young population (mostly English words from the area of computers and technology). The respondents might not have been that concerned about this phenomenon because, they themselves, representing a student population, probably use these foreign words the most. Therefore, they assessed the text as not that persuasive. Editorial 9, on the other hand, was on education and the new universities established in different towns of the country, besides the capital city. The journalist is trying to convince the readership that this project was on the whole a bad idea. The students, however, did not assess this text as persuasive because they might have already been convinced in the opposite.

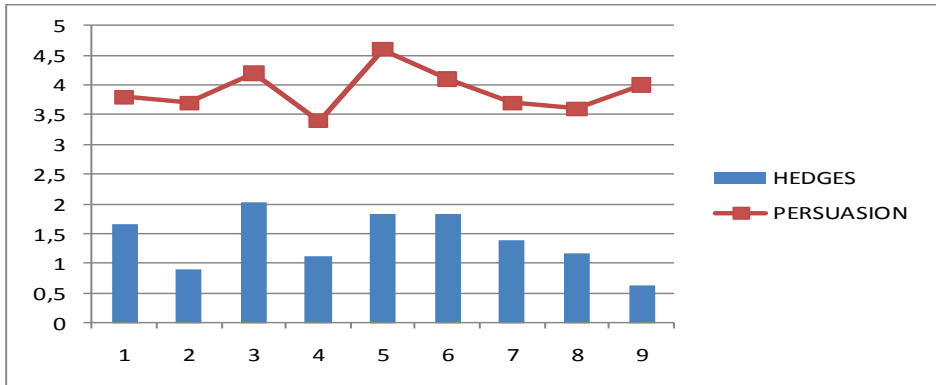


Figure 2. Hedges and their persuasive effect in the Macedonian corpus

#### 4. CONCLUSION

This paper has aimed to present the form and use of hedges in Macedonian and American editorials. Considering the fact that editorials are written in order to reach to a wider audience and persuade it in the views presented, at the same time protecting the authority and image of the newspaper, editorials' writers need to write their propositions with cautious and tentative language. Hedges as interpersonal metadiscourse markers help them to modify and tone down the potential risky claims and avoid their possible opposition, thus establishing a fair and appropriate attitude with the readers.

The analysis of the 18 editorials (9 editorials from American newspapers and 9 editorials from Macedonian newspapers) showed that the most frequently used hedges in editorials are modal verbs. *Will* and *would* as well as their Macedonian equivalents '*šu*' / '*ke*' + *verb* were the most numerous items in both American and Macedonian corpus. American writers used about 7 times more lexical epistemic verbs which might be an indication that Macedonian writers address the audience more directly or use other metadiscourse markers to achieve persuasion. The analysis of the epistemic adjectives, adverbs and nouns showed that they were, in general, not very frequently used by writers. Nouns were almost not used at all in both data.

Furthermore, the analysis of the editorials' persuasive effect on readers showed that although the percent of hedges used in the texts was not very high, their use is of vital importance for the overall persuasive effect of the editorials. However, it should be noted that hedges are just one type of metadiscourse markers and that in order to get the overall picture of an editorial's persuasive effect, one would have to analyze the use of the rest of the interpersonal and all the textual metadiscourse markers.

To sum up, the analysis of the form and use of hedges in this paper was done on a limited corpus but it is very significant because it offers some very important indications of the cultural differences in the way writers write and readers perceive a written text in a specific genre.

## REFERENCES

- Brown, Penelope and Levinson, C. Stephen. 1978, 1987. *Politeness. Some Universals in Language Usage*. Cambridge University Press.
- Coates, Jeniffer. 1983. *The semantics of the modal auxiliaries*. Beckenham: Croom Helm.
- Crismore, Avon. 1984. "The rhetoric of textbooks: metadiscourse". *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 16 (3): 279–296.
- Crismore, Avon and Vande Kopple, J. William. 1988. "Readers' learning from prose: The effects of hedges". *Written Communication* 5: 184–202.
- Crismore, Avon, Markannen, Raija and Steffensen, Margaret. 1993. "Metadiscourse in Persuasive Writing. A study of texts written by American and Finnish University students". *Written Communication* 10 (1): 39–71.
- Crompton, Peter. 1997. "Hedging in academic writing: Some theoretical problems". *English for Specific Purposes* 16: 271–287.
- Dafouz-Milne, Emma. 2008. "The pragmatic role of textual and interpersonal metadiscourse markers in the construction and attainment of persuasion: A cross-linguistic study of newspaper discourse". *Journal of Pragmatics* 40: 95–113.
- Hyland, Ken. 1994. "Hedging in Academic Writing and EAP Textbooks". *English for Specific Purposes*. Vol. 13 (3): 239–256.
- Hyland, Ken. 1995. "The Author in the Text: Hedging Scientific Writing". *Hong Kong Papers in Linguistics and Language teaching* 18: 33–42.
- Hyland, Ken. 1998. *Hedging in Scientific Research Articles*. John Benjamins Publishing Company
- Hyland, Ken. 2000. "Hedges, Boosters and Lexical Invisibility: Noticing Modifiers in Academic Texts". *Language Awareness* Vol. 9 (4): 179–197.
- Lakoff George .1972. "Hedges: A study in meaning criteria and the logic of fuzzy concepts". *Chicago Linguistic Society Papers* 8: 183–228.
- Lakoff, George. 1973. "Hedges: A study in meaning criteria and the logic of fuzzy concepts". *Journal of Philosophical Logic* 2: 458–508.
- Le, Elizabeth. 2004. "Active participation within written argumentation: metadiscourse and editorialist's authority". *Journal of Pragmatics* 36: 687–714.
- Mauranen, Anna. 1993. *Cultural Differences in Academic Rhetoric*. Peter Lang, Frankfurt am Main.
- Minova-Gjurkova, Liljana. 2000. *Sintaksa na makedonskiot standarden jazik*. Magor, Skopje.
- Palmer, Frank. 1986. *Mood and Modality*. Cambridge University Press.

Zorica P. Trajkova

## УМЕКШАВАЊЕ ИЗЈАВЕ У НОВИНСКИМ УВОДНИЦИМА

## Резиме

Овај рад анализира језичке форме и прагматичко функционисање ограда у македонским и америчким новинским уводницима. Ово поређење је посебно занимљиво јер даје увид у културне разлике које се огледају у начинима на којим македонски и амерички писци одлучују да ублаже своје изјаве тако да су прихватљивије за читаоце. Анализа је заснована на корпусу од 18 уводника (9 из Америчких новина и 9 из Македонских), који се баве свакодневним социјалним темама које су у интересу оба друштва. Осим тога, уводници се процењују од изворних говорника (40 Американаца и 40 Македонаца) на скали од 1–5 за то колики је степен њихове убедљивости. Свеобухватне анализе употребе и дистрибуције ограда показале су да амерички писци уводника користе шири избор ограда у односу на македонске писце. Осим тога, анализа је показала да коришћење ограда у оба уводника, македонском и енглеском, потакло је ефекат убедљивости који имају на читаоце. Што је већи број ограда, текст је убедљивији. Да сумирамо, ова студија даје јединствен увид у наше разумевање моћи новинарског дискурса и посебно уводника, и осветљава важну димензију њеног реторичког значаја за две различите културе. Иако овај рад се бави са ограниченим корпусом, он даје неке врло важне правце које треба узети у обзир када се суочавамо са уводницима и као писци и као читаоци.

*Кључне речи:* ограда, метадискурс, убеђивање, уводници.