A Gender – Based study of Hedging in Selected TV interviews in Arabic: A New Approach to Hedging

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Abstract

This paper is an attempt to investigate hedging in selected TV interviews where Arabic is the medium. The reason why the researcher has chosen this topic is that very little attention is given to study hedging and its relation to gender in TV interviews, specifically in Arabic. In the light of Brown and levinson's (1987) politeness principle and a combination of hedging taxonomies, hedging devices and their functions are contextually analyzed. Findings show that men hedge their utterances a little bit higher than their women counterparts in this particular context. These findings disregard what has been assumed by Robin lakoff (1975) that women lean to use hedges much more than men do in conversations. Furthermore, this study proves that context is the pivotal indicator in determining the type as well as the frequency of hedging in discourse.

Key words

Hedging – gender – politeness – talk shows – TV interviews

1. Introduction

In our daily communication, participants want to form and keep good relationships with others, avoid embarrassment or misunderstanding, and maintain interpersonal and social harmony. For this concern, participants draw on various communicative skills, on which the use of 'hedging' is much valued.

In their daily communication, people do not always talk out what they really think about others. They usually use some strategies to mitigate the force of their unpleasant words in order to avoid conflict or friction, so as to make the conversation go on smoothly, and also to maintain a good harmonious relationship. (Fachun Zhang, Hua You, 2009, Cited in Muhammed, 2013). Therefore, 'hedging' is of crucial importance for communication. People lean to hedge to achieve some communicative goals such as; expressing modesty, showing politeness, mitigating unpleasant expressions, toning down the force of the assertions, avoiding conflict and criticism, showing diplomacy and creating harmonious interpersonal relationship. (Curnick, 2000; Vass, 2004; Williamova, 2005; Cabanes, 2007, Taweel et al., 2011).

In its literal sense, the term 'hedging' refers to the idea of a barrier, limit, defence or to the means used to protect or defenedonself. It has been generally taken to mean those expressions in language which make messages indeterminate, that is, they convey inexactitude or in one way or another mitigate or reduce the strength of the assertions that speakers or writers make (Heng and Tan, 2002, p.6).

The term 'hedges' was first coined by LakoffG (1972, p. 194). In his pioneering article, "Hedges: A study in meaning criteria and the logic of fuzzy sets", Lakoff refers to hedges as words whose job is to make things more or less fuzzy. Since then, the concept of 'hedging' has been adopted by pragmaticists, discourse analysts, and it has become a subject of interest for many researchers in various discourses. There has been considerable interest in exploring the use of hedging within different genres of language use, such as research articles, mathematics talk, politicians talk, negotiation talk, and the speech of language learners (Schroder and Zimmer, 1997).

Some linguists claim that 'gender' has an influence on the use of hedges, meaning that women use hedges more than men. Thus, LakoffR(1975) lists hedges as one of the typical features of women's speech as one way of sounding feminine and thus reflecting their position in society.

Research on 'gender' and 'hedging' has been strongly influenced by Robin Lakoff's book, "Language and Woman's Place" (1975). In this book, Lakoff argues that women's speech lacks authority because, in order to become feminine, women must learn to adopt an unassertive style of communication. Lakoff coined the phrase women's language to refer to a group of linguistic devices that serve this function, including 'hesitations', 'intensive adverbs', 'empty adjectives', 'super polite forms', 'tag questions' and 'compound requests'. Hedges form part of this group. Since Lakoff's pioneering work, hedges have been featured prominently in research on gender and communication. For LakoffR, 'hedging' represents a typical feature of women's speech and it is a signal for deficiency and powerlessness on the women's side. However, this claim has become very controversial for many linguists. Some linguists approve ofLakoff's claim that hedging is typically a female feature expressing deficiency and powerlessness(Priesler, 1986; O'Barr / Atkins (1986, 1998), Dixon and Foster (1997). Some others disagree with this claim (Holmes, 1990, 1995, Coates 1996, Van Baleen, 2001).

As Lewin (2005) puts it, 'hedging' is a universal phenomenon that is different from one language to another and from one culture to another,

therefore, like English, Arabic does employ lexical, syntactic and strategic hedges such as:('mummkin' 'maybe' ;'ssaat' 'kind of', 'I think' 'ast\$qd\$', 'law' 'if' ,'as long as', 't?ri:bn' 'kind of', 'somehow', 'wdshtnaðarikaðh' 'to my own viewpoint' ,'rubbma' 'probably', 'hwalli' 'about','I do not know' 'anamustarf','aħjann' ,'sometimes','að\$n' 'I guess' ,'ataskak' 'I doubt it' etc(see table.1 IPA Din 33 Arabic Pheonetic transcription)).This Study is an attempt to investigate the influence of 'gender' on the use of 'hedging' in some selected TV interviews in Arabic.

2. Aim of the Study

This paper aims at determining the most dominant types of hedging in selected TV interviews where Arabic is the medium. The study also attempts to identify the different functions of the extracted hedges in these interviews. Moreover, this research aims at investigating the effect of gender on the use of hedging in the selected TV interviews under discussion.

3. Research questions

- 1- How is hedging defined in the linguistic literature?
- 2- What are the most dominant types of hedging utilized in the TV interviews under investigation?
- 3- How can gender play a role on the use of hedging in this particular context?

4. Review of Literature

After G. Lakoff's (1972) pioneering work on hedging, this linguistic phenomenon has become a subject of interest for many linguists and researchers in various discourses (e.g. political discourse, Al-Btoush 1999; Al-Rashady 2008; Abdul Majeed 2010; Fraser 2010; Jalilifar&alavi 2011, Taweel et al 2011); journalistic discourse, Zuck and Zuck 1985; Buitkiene 2008; Fernandez and compillo 2013; economic discourse, Celemen 2007; Milanovic&Milanovic 2010); Scientific and academic discourse, Prince et al 1982; Pappas 1988; Wishnoff 2000; Varttala 2001; Hyland 2003, 2004, 2005; Hinkel 2005; Mojica 2005; Ghaleb 2013, Gender research on hedging, Lakoff.R1975; Bonanno 1985; Holmes 1986, 1988, 1990, 1995; Priseler 1986; Dixon and Foster 1997; Naomi 2007; Acosta 2009; Ansarin and Bathaie 2011; TakaeDubar 2012; Karlsson 2013, Pellby 2013).

This paper is an attempt to investigate hedging and its relation to 'gender' in selected TV interviews in Arabic. The researcher has given due attention to the popularity of both the interviewer and the interviewee as well as the context in which these interviews are presented.

5. Theoretical Framework

An eclectic approach has been adopted to be the basis for the thesis, namely Brown and Levinson's 'politeness theory' has been chosen as well as a combination of some taxonomies of hedging devices and their forms applied by some theorists in the field, namely Williamov's taxonomy of hedges (2005), Salager – Meyer's taxonomy of hedges (1997), Martin and Martin's typology of hedging (2008) and Fraser's classifications of hedges (2010).

The reason why this thesis has taken a politeness approach is that both 'politeness' and 'hedging' have become forms of social interpretation of verbal and non-verbal behaviour revolving around the concept of saving face, thus playing a crucial role in social interaction strategies.

For many Linguists and theorists, 'hedging' is mainly used for achieving some politeness purposes (Brown and Levinson, 1987; Meyers 1989; Leech 1983; Crunick 2000; Vass 2004; Cabanes 2007, Jalilifar and Shooshateri 2011). Thus, by using hedging devices, speakers take precautionary measures to protect themselves from the negative effect of their sayings or to protect themselves or their interlocutors from any harm to the concept of face caused by their utterances. By using hedging devices and displaying uncertainty and reservations, authors and speakers alike attempt to suggest the absence of absoluteness or the varying amount of their statements. At the same time, they may try to save face in case of any possible falsification of their judgments.

Brown and Levinson (1987) consider 'hedging' as a sub-category of both 'positive politeness' and 'negative politeness' since 'hedging' can be seen as a means for showing solidarity and maintaining harmony at one hand and as a way of minimizing imposition and decreasing authoritativeness on the other.

Brown and Levinson (1987) suggest that these language means such as (e.g. you know, you see, I think, I suppose, I'm sure), which are typically hedging devices can be used as part of politeness strategies.

Language is not merely a means of passing information, it is also a way to form relationship and negotiate interpersonal meaning (Locher, 2012, cited in Khorshidi, 2013). Hedging is effectively used by illocutions sometimes, to hide some negative ideas in the presence of another party without letting the latter suspect anything, so it is a way of showing politeness to the part of the addressee (Cited in Lafi 2011). Hedges are generally used to produce the effect of interposing the speaker's opinion between the propositional content and the addressee's assessment (Throat 2000, cited in Lafi 2011).

An important point about hedging here is that the more elaborate the hedging and the more hesitant the delivery of the utterance, the more polite it will seem (cited in Lafi 2011). In other words, 'hedging' is the conveyer of 'politeness' as well as 'politeness' is the conveyer of 'hedging' (cited in Al-Btoosh 1999, Taweel et al., 2011).

Brown and Levinson (1987, p.65) suggest some politeness strategies that can minimize the seriousness of a face- threatening act (FTA). These strategies are as follows:

Bold on record politeness

This strategy is used in situations where people know each other well or in a situation of urgency. In these instances, maintaining face is not the first priority or main goal of a conversation. A person may shout "watch out" if they see someone in danger or a mother may tell her son "eat your peas at supper". This strategy does not try to preserve face but can be used to threaten it if taken out of context.

Emergency:

Help: Task oriented "Give me these".

Request:

"Put your jacket away".

Altering:

"Turn your lights on while driving".

Off record

This strategy is more indirect. The speaker does not impose on the hearer. As a result, face is not directly threatened. This strategy often requires the hearer to interpret what the speaker is saying.

- Give hints: "It's a bit cold in here".
- Be vague: "perhaps someone should open the door".
- Be sarcastic or joking: "Yeah, it's really not here".

Positive politeness

This strategy tries to minimize the threat to the audience's positive face. This can be done by attending to the audience's needs, invoking equality and feelings of belonging to the group, hedging or indirectness, avoiding disagreement, using humour and optimism and making offers and promises.

Negative politeness

This strategy tries to minimize threat to the audience's negative face. This can be done by being indirect, using hedges or questions, minimizing imposition, apologizing, being pessimistic and using obviating structures.

In order to account for the various strategies, types and forms of hedges, a combination of taxonomies of hedges has been adopted, namely

Williamov's (2005) taxonomy of hedging, Salager- Meyer's (1997) typology of hedging forms, Martin and Martin's (2008) taxonomy of hedging devices and Fraser's (2010) classifications of hedging forms. The reason for choosing such taxonomies is that they include to a great extent the different forms and strategies of what is agreed upon as a hedge. Moreover, these taxonomies discuss not only the forms but the functions as well. There are some strategies of hedging devices as introduced by the aforementioned theorists in the field.

5.1. Strategy of subjectivization

This strategy is introduced by both Williamova (2005) and Martin-Martin (2008). It reflects the subjective attitude of the speaker towards the message. The relevant point here is that the degree of subjectivity increases as typical pragmatic expressions such as 'I think', 'I guess', 'I suppose', 'to our knowledge', 'in our view', 'in my experience'.

It is assumed that an utterance which includes a subjectivity marker is considered to be more polite because the subjectivity signals that the utterance should not be understood as something universally true and definite but rather as a personal opinion, judgment or belief. In this way, the addresser shows respect for the addressee's alternative opinion and invites him to become involved in the communicative situation. The addressee is given an opportunity to react freely saving his face. Williamova (2005) also asserts that this type of hedging device is typically used to express disagreement, reservation, refusal, suggestion, uncertainty and indecision.

5.2. Strategy of Indetermination

Martin and Martin (2008) assume that this strategy takes place when the addresser gives a proposition a coloring of lesser semantic, qualitative and quantitative explicitness as well as of uncertainty, vagueness and fuzziness. This strategy may comprise, modal auxiliary verbs expressing possibility, such as "may, might, can..", semi auxiliaries such as "to seem, to appear", epistemic Lexical verbs such as "to suggest, to speculate, to assume", that is verbs which relate to the probability of a proposition or hypothesis being true. Verbs of cognition such as "to believe, to think", modal adverbs (perhaps, possibly, probably), modal nouns (possibility, assumption, suggestion), modal adjectives (possible, probable, likely), approximators of quantity, frequency, degree and time such as "generally, approximately, most, relatively, frequently, etc."

5.3. Strategy of Depersonalization

This strategy refers to those cases in which the addresser diminishes his presence in texts by using various impersonal agentless

passive constructions in order to relieve himself /herself of responsibility for the truth of the propositions expressed. This strategy is syntactically realized by means of agentless passive and impersonal constructions such as "an attempt was made ,it seems, appears that", impersonal active constructions in which the personal subject is replaced by some non-human entity such as "findings, results, data, , findings suggest / reveal... these data indicate that...."

5.4. Downgrading strategy

The main function of this strategy is to minimize the size of imposition (Williamova 2005, p.94). Downgraders help to understate the degree to which things are negative or non-desirable... Expressions such as just, just in case, a bit, a few, one thing, rather, scarcely, a little and more are embedded in sentences and provide not only the preservation of the addressee's face but protect the addresser's face as well.

5.5. Tentativeness Strategy

According to Williamova (2005), pragmatic markers that involve hesitation, uncertainty or vagueness are called tentivizers. The first group of these markers expresses hesitation and uncertainty is represented by 'well' and 'I don't know', markers of hesitation / uncertainty attenuate the speaker's meaning as well as subjectivity markers do. The second subcategory of tentivizers is a group of particles, words and phrases representing vagueness, pragmatic expressions such as "kind of, sort of" are typical markers of vagueness. The goal of these pragmatic expressions is either to disguise the addressee's lack of information, which Williamova (2005) calls non-intentional vagueness or to express.

- (i) Self- deference and self- protection.
- (ii) Negative politeness.
- (iii) Formality and chatty atmosphere.
- (iv) Persuasive use of language.

5.6. Hedging on Politeness Maxims

Williamova (2005) asserts that hedging on politeness maxims are speaker oriented devices that mitigate an FTA such as a refusal or criticism and they are mainly used to soften uncomfortable or unpleasant statements. These devices are expressed in sentence adverbials such as 'to tell you the truth', 'I must say nothing personal', 'you don't mean to tell me', I'm afraid, or unfortunately.

5.7. The avoidance strategy

Taweel et al (2011) maintains that the avoidance strategy has three different means, namely, i) topic-shift, to move from a subject to another unrelated one, ii) generalization, to avoid mentioning any specific answer, and iii) ignorance, to purposely ignore the question topic completely. As

it is claimed, this strategy is mostly used by politicians to achieve a sort of self- protection from being proved wrong later.

However, these strategies are very introduced by some forms of hedging devices. Here is a table of some forms of what is agreed upon by the aforementioned linguists and theorists to be a hedge.

Modal auxiliary verbs

may, might, can, could, would, should

Modal lexical verbs

To seem, to appear, to believe, to assume, to suggest, to estimate, to tend, to think, to argue, to indicate, to propose, to speculate

Adjectival, adverbial and nominal modal phrases

Possible, probable, unlikely, assumption, claim, possibility, estimate, suggestion, perhaps, possibly, probably, practically, likely, presumably, virtually, apparently.

Approximatorsof degree, quantity, frequency and time

Approximately, roughly, about, often, occasionally, generally, usually, somewhat, a lot of

Introductory phrases

I believe, I think, to our knowledge, it is our view point that, we feel that, in my experience.

Compound hedges

double hedges

It may suggest that; it seems likely that; it would indicate that; this probably indicates

Treble hedges Quadruple hedges

It seems reasonable to assume that.

It would seem somewhat unlikely that, it may appear somewhat speculative that

Propositional hedges

About, actually, almost, approximately, as it were, basically, can be viewed as, Crypto especially, essentially, exceptionally, for the most generally, in a manner of speaking, in a real sense, in a sense, in a way, kind of, largely, literally, loosely speaking, more or less, mostly, often, occasionally, on the tall side, par excellence, particularly, pretty much, principally, rather, real, really, regular, relatively, roughly, so to say, somewhat, sort of, strictly speaking, technically, typically, ...

A gentless passive An at and impersonal seems constructions these

An attempt was made to see that, it is assumed that, it seems, appears that, findings suggest, reveal that, these data indicate that..

Concessive conjunctions

Although, though, even though, while, whereas, even if, as long as, so long as, assuming that, given that...,

Pragmatic idioms Clausal mitigators

Please, kindly, perhaps or may be

ors | If clauses and but clauses

Conditional clause

If you don't mind me saying so, your slip is showing.

implying permission

Conditional clause

His style is florid, if that's the right word.

as a meta linguistic comment

Reversal tag tentivizers

He's coming, isn't he?

Well, I don't know, you see, I think..

6. Data & Research Methodology

6.1. Data

Data consist of ten TV interviews in which Arabic is the medium. These interviews have been collected from a famous TV programme introduced by AmrEllithy called "The Seven Sins". The idea of this programme stems from Dante's "Divine Comedy" and his consideration for the human being's seven sins such as envy, jealousness, greediness, sexual lust and injustice. The interviewee is faced with some questions revolving around these seven sins. He has got to confess his faults in public. The researcher has given due attention to the popularity of the interviewees under discussion. Also, the researcher has divided these interviewes into two groups. The first group consists of five interviews for men interviewees whereas the second group consists of five interviews for women interviewees. The researcher hasgiven due attention to the popularity of both the interviewer and the interviewees as well as the sensitivity of the topic under discussion.

6.2 Data sources

1- AmrEllithy's interview with LailaOlwi on "The Seven Sins". 28/7/2012. At https://www.youtube.com//watch?v=70TD4u7QsuY.

- 2- AmrEllithy's interview with Youssra on "The Seven Sins". 20/7/2012. athttps://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RaghHAQXHE4.
- 3- AmrEllithy's interview with Somia El-khshaab on "The Seven Sins" 24/7/2012 at https://www.youtbue.com/watch?V=co906xjqong.
- 4- AmrEllithy interview with ReemMaged on "The Seven Sins" 29/7/2012 at https://www.youtbue.com/watch?V=OBSUC_HPWG4.
- 5- AmrEllithy's interview with Nilli Kareem on "The Seven Sins" 8/9/2012 at https://www.youtbue.com/watch?V=bxaw1mnznxa.
- 6- AmrEllithy's interview with Alaa El- Aswany on "The Seven Sins" 16/8/2012.athttps://www.youtbue.com/watch?V=6A0IB6D_ZM8.
- 7-Amr Ellithy's interview with AymanNour on "The Seven Sins" 17/8/2012 at https://www.youtbue.com/watch?V=K3hoyhdi-ps.
- 8- AmrEllithy interview with MofeedFawzi on "The Seven Sins" 2/8/2012 at https://www.youtbue.com/watch?V=xckdys8ag6m.
- 9- AmrEllithy's interview with AmrHamzawy on "The Seven Sins" 15/8/2012 at https://www.youtbue.com/watch?V=DKNTamdpyno
- 10- AmrEllithy's interview with Magdi El-Glaad on "The Seven Sins" 15/8/2012 at https://www.youtbue.com/watch?V=TGRUwmaqoxq.

6.3. Research Methodology

Data analysis deals with quantative procedures which involve a careful investigation into the hedging markers and strategies in the data under discussion. To do so, there are some steps to follow:

- 1- Recording the collected interviews at first;
- 2- Transcribing each interview in order to extract the hedging devices;
- 3- Establishing a frequency count and percentage for each of the lexical and syntactic hedging markers;
- 4- Exploring the main types and strategies of hedging employed in the data:
- 5- Analyzing the basic pragmatic functions of lexical and syntactic hedges as used contextually in the data;
- 6- Highlighting the most dominant types and strategies used by each interviewer;

6.4. Data analysis

Investigating the interviews where Arabic is the medium, findings show that men hedge their utterances a little bit higher than women do. Men use hedges in almost 13% (see figure.11) whereas women hedge their utterances in almost 12.95%(see figure.12). Magdi El-Glaad uses hedges in nearly 14.78%. (see figure.1) Depersonalization devices come the first position as they represent about 15.25%. Tentivizers come in the second position with 12.70%. Subjectivity markers, modals and

approximatorscome the third position as they represent about 8.47%. AymanNour leans to use hedges in almost 14.56% (see figure.2). Tentivizers and clausal mitigators come at the highest position since they represent about 11.50%. Modals and hypothetical constructions come in the second position as they represent about 9.69% and 9.09% whereas subjectivity markers come in the third position representing about 8.48% from the total text. MofeedFawzi hedges his utterances in nearly 14.16% (see figure.3). Subjectivity markers come in the first position as they represent about 14.70% whereas clausal mitigators come in the second position as they represent about 10.70% and conjunctive adverbs come in the third position representing about 8.82%.

Alaa El-Aswany leans to use hedges in almost 14.01%(see figure.4). Tentivizers come at a higher position since they represent about 15.11% from the total text. Modals come in the second position representing about 9.30% whereas hypothetical constructions come in the third position with 8.14%.

AmrHamzawy leans to use hedges in about 13.33% (see figure.5). Clausal mitigators come in the highest position as they represent about 15.79% from the total text. Subjectivity markers and approximators come in the second position representing about 13.68% whereas modals and hypothetical constructions come in the third position as they represent 11.57%. However, women interviewees where Arabic is the medium lean to hedge their utterances a little bit fewer than their men counterparts since they represent about 12.95%. Youssra is the highest interviewee to use hedges among women as she leans to use hedges in about 16.43% (see figure.6). Clausal mitigators come in the first position since they represent about 23.58%. Modals come in the second position as they represent about 16.03% whereas tentivizers come in the third position representing about 8.49%. Somia El-Khshaab leans to use hedges in about 15.33%(see figure.7). Clausal mitigators come in the highest position representing 22.30%. Tentivizers come in the second position since they represent about 18.09% whereas modals and depersonalization devices come in the third position representing about 8.50%.

LailaOlwi uses hedges in nearly 15% (see figure.8). Modals and clausal mitigators come in the highest position as they represent about 19.30%. Tentivizers come in the second position representing about 15.90% whereas hypothetical constructions come in the third position as they represent about 10.23%. Neilli Kareem leans to use hedges in almost 14.16% (see figure.9). Modals come in the first position representing about 24%. Clausal mitigators come in the second position as they represent about 20% from the total text and tentivizers come in the third position representing about 16% from the total text.

ReemMaged leans to use hedges in about 10.99% (see figure.10). Clausal mitigators come in the first position representing about 32.90% while tentivizers come in the second position as they represent 17.07% from the total text and approximators come in the third position as they represent about 9.76%.

7. Conclusion

In the light of the previous discussion, the study of male and female language in selected TV interviews in Arabic has come up with the following conclusions:

- 1- Hedging is of crucial importance to spoken discourse in general and TV interviews in particular since it is used to maintain smooth and friendly discussion among the participants.
- 2- Hedges function interpersonally as they occur whenever speakers want to reduce their commitment towards the truth of a proposition being conveyed or when they want to mitigate possible negative illocutionary effects on the audience.
- 3- Hedges are contextually-dependent since they acquire such attribute in the light of the context in which they are used, therefore; context plays the principal role in determining the type and frequency of hedging use.
- 4- The inappropriate use of hedging devices may lead to miscommunication and miscomprehension whereas the appropriate use of these devices shows pragmatic awareness and language efficiency.
- 5- Hedging is not a typical feature of women language since men can lean to use these devices when it is required.
- 6- In some situations, men lean to hedge more frequently than women when they are put under pressure or in a critical situation. Moreover; unlike some previous work (e.g., Fishman, 1998; Lakoff, 1975), there is little evidence of gender differences in the overall rate of usage of hedged speech here. In short, hedging is not gender-differentiated in this study, at least in the interviews investigated.
- 7- Caution, diplomacy, self-protection, self-deference, confrontation-avoidance and friendliness are some of the principal functions of hedging in TV interviews.

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Appendixes

Table (1):

IPA	English approximation	Arabic letter/symbol	Usual romanization	Notes			
А-В							
<u>a</u>	father, but shorter		a, e	[a][b]			
<u>ar</u>	father	<u>ي, ا</u>	ā, aa a	[c]			
aj	/a/+/j/, similar to $bright$	<u>É</u>	ay, ai, ey, ei	[q]			
aw	$/a/+/\underline{w}/$, similar to cow	<u>ě</u>	aw, au	[e]			
<u>b</u>	b ee	<u>ب</u>	b	<u>[f]</u>			
D							
<u>d</u>	d ash	7	d	[g]			
<u>d</u> ^s	emphatic /d/, no equivalent	<u>ض</u>	d	[h][g]			
<u>d</u> 3	j am	٥	j, ğ, j, g	<u>[i]</u>			
<u>ð</u>	th ese	<u> </u>	dh, d	(i)			
<u>ð</u> ^r	emphatic /ð/, no equivalent	<u><u></u></u>	z	[h][k]			
F–H							
<u>f</u>	f ather	<u>ف</u>	f	[1]			
<u>h</u>	h e	<u> </u>	h				
<u>ħ</u>	No equivalent, Mexican <i>jota</i>	۲	þ	[m]			
I–K							
<u>I</u>	m i lk	Д	i, e	[n][b]			
<u>iː</u>	mach i ne	ي	ī, ee, i	[0]			
j	yes	<u>ي</u>	у				
<u>k</u>	s k in	<u></u>	k	[p]			
L-N							
1	lease (Received Pronunciation)	<u>ل</u>					
<u>ł</u>	too l			वि			
<u>m</u>	m e	ع	m				
<u>n</u>	no	<u>ن</u>	n				
		O–S					
q	emphatic /k/, no equivalent	<u>ق</u>	q, g, '	[r]			
<u>r</u>	"tapped" or "trilled" r; Spanish <i>pero</i>	٦	r	[8]			
<u>S</u>	see	<u>س</u>	s				
<u>s</u> ^s	emphatic /s/, no equivalent	<u>ص</u>	ş	[h]			
ſ	s h e	<u> </u>	sh, š, ch				

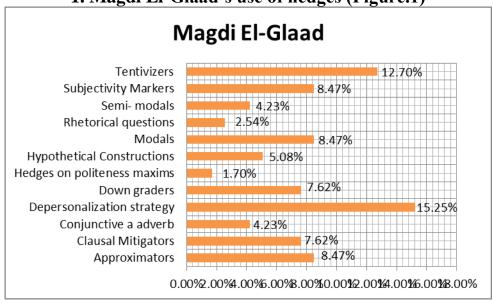
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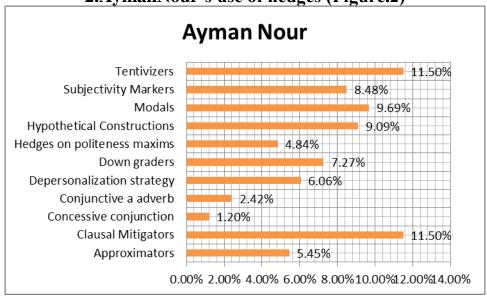
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T–W							
<u>t</u>	stick	(sometimes <u>š</u>)	t	[g][p]			
<u>t</u> s	emphatic /t/, no equivalent	<u>4</u>	ţ	[h][g]			
<u>θ</u>	th ink	<u>ث</u>	th, <u>t</u>	(ji)			
<u>u</u>	p u t		u, o, ou	[t][b]			
<u>ur</u>	r u le	<u>9</u>	ū, oo, ou, u	<u>[u]</u>			
<u>w</u>	we	و	w				
X-Z							
<u>X</u>	Scottish <i>loch</i> , Spanish <i>jota</i> , German <i>Bach</i>	Ċ	kh, ḫ, ḳ	[v]			
¥	Spanish <i>fuego</i> , French <i>parler</i>	غ	gh, ġ, ḡ	[w]			
<u>Z</u>	z 00	ز	Z				
<u>z</u> s	emphatic /z/, no equivalent	<u>ظ</u>	Ż	[h][k]			
Other							
?	The pause in <i>uh_oh!</i> ; Cockney <i>butter</i>	<u>e</u>	, ; !	[x]			
<u>؟</u>	no equivalent	٤		[y][z]			
<u>θ</u>	see under <u>T—W</u>						
1	'kiwi' کیوي [ˈkiːwi]	Means that the following syllable is stressed: /'Sarabi:/.					
<u> </u>	[kiːs] کیس 'sack'	Means that the preceding vowel is long					
[ˈdʰɑħ.ħæː] ضَحَى [he] 'sacrificed' A geminated consonant never belongs to one syllable and [mudæ rˈr ɪsæ] مُدَرَّسة [female] 'teacher'							

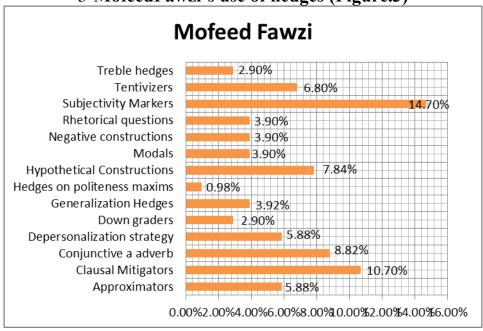
1. Magdi El-Glaad's use of hedges (Figure.1)



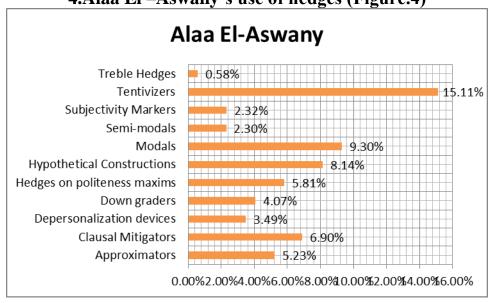
2.AymanNour's use of hedges (Figure.2)



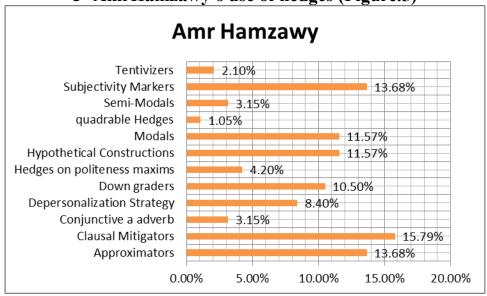
3-MofeedFawzi's use of hedges (Figure.3)



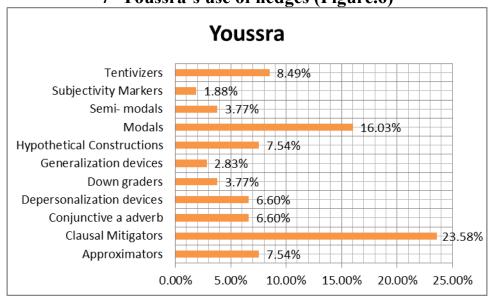
4.Alaa El -Aswany's use of hedges (Figure.4)



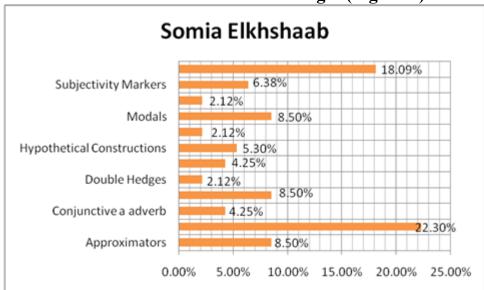
5- AmrHamzawy's use of hedges (Figure.5)



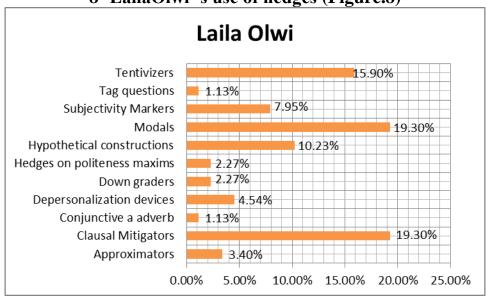
7- Youssra's use of hedges (Figure.6)



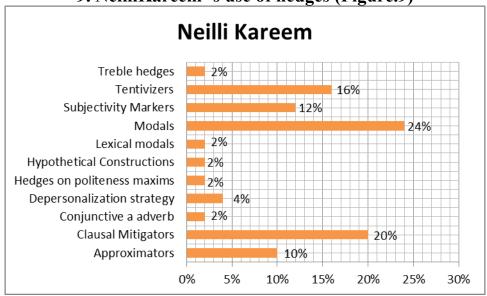
7. SomiaElkhshaab's use of hedges (Figure.7)



8- LailaOlwi 's use of hedges (Figure.8)



9. NeilliKareem 's use of hedges (Figure.9)



10. ReemMaged 's use of hedges (Figure.10)

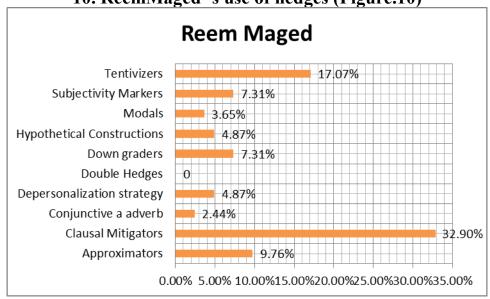
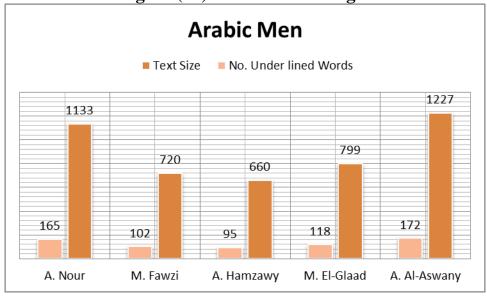


Figure (11) Arabic Men Hedges



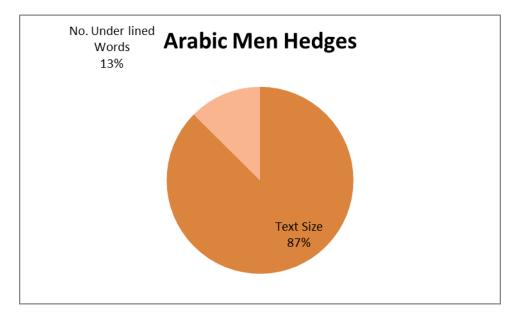


Figure (12) Arabic Women Hedges

