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Modal Hedges in Para-pharmaceutical Product Instructions: Some Examples from English and Serbian

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ABSTRACT

The paper investigates how modal hedges (Coates 1983) understood as expressions of procedural meaning, i.e. expressions which instruct the addressee/reader how to process the propositional content of an utterance/statement (Watts 2004) are used in product descriptions, advertisements and consumer instructions leaflets for a number of products belonging to the Consumer Health Care category for the purposes of complying with consumer protection laws on the one hand and serving as an implicit disclaimer of manufacturer's responsibility on the other. The analysis is carried out contrastively for two languages, English and Serbian. The results obtained are discussed and viewed as a matter of cultural variety and difference, especially taking into consideration the fact that consumer protection laws seem to be equally strict in US, UK and Commonwealth, Europe and Serbia.

Key words: consumer health care product description, epistemic modality, expressions of procedural meaning, hedges, modal verbs.

1. Theoretical background

The theoretical framework underlying the research presented starts from the notion of modality understood, on the one hand, as the speaker's commitment to the truth of the proposition, and on the other, as "the structural and semantic resources available to a speaker to express judgment of the factual status and likelihood of a state of affairs" (Frawley: 1992:407). This implies the necessity of some reference point in relation to which the factuality status of the proposition is assessed. Therefore, modality can be understood as *epistemic deixis*, and the speaker's commitment to the truth of the proposition as the function of epistemic distance. The research extends into the domain of pragmatics, focusing on the notions of *bedge* and *bedging*. It has been shown consistently in the literature (Bybee & Fleischman 1995; Coates 1983; Holmes 1995; Hoye 2005; Skelton 1997; Vande Kopple 1985; Vázquez & Giner 2008) that modality and hedging overlap closely, and if modality is understood as epistemic distance, then the overlapping is easy to demonstrate.

1.1. Hedges

The definition of 'hedge' in linguistics, discourse analysis and pragmatics has gone a long way since 1972, when G. Lakoff first defined 'hedges' as expressions featuring an ability to "to make things fuzzier or less fuzzy" (Lakoff 1972: 195). Later, following a similar line, Brown and Levinson (1987) defined 'hedge' as

a particle, word or phrase that modifies the degree of membership of a predicate or a noun phrase in a set; it says of the membership that it is partial, or true only in certain respects, or that it is more true and complete than perhaps might be expected. (Brown & Levinson 1987, p. 145)

The definition is quite commensurate to that of Lakoff's, as it includes both boosters and downtowners. However, R.T. Lakoff in her groundbreaking Language and Woman's Place (1975), when depicting characteristics of women's language, defines hedges as "words that convey the sense that the speaker is uncertain about what he (or she) is saying, or cannot vouch for the accuracy of the statement" (Lakoff 1975: 79).

Hedges, therefore, encode the relation between the speaker and language (or rather, the truth of the utterance) and the relation is one of *distance*. And distance, of course, is a function of politeness, both first and second-order politeness¹. Hence the above-mentioned overlapping with modality. The literature on hedging offers more such views: Vande Kopple (1985) sees hedges as a subclass of what he calls *validity markers* in discourse, i.e. expressions that modify the truth value of the proposition, since they show a lack of commitment to the truth of the propositional content, and not only as particles, words or phrases that merely 'fuzzy' some parts of the utterance. Practically, the definition of validity markers here corresponds to the definition of modality.

In a contrastive study, House and Kasper (1981) offered a typology of linguistic expressions that are used to signal politeness in English and German. Their typology reflects the linguistic structure of politeness and among some 11 structural categories they include hedges, which serve the purpose of avoiding to state precise propositional content; by doing so, the speaker leaves it to the addressee / hearer to read in his/her own interpretation (e.g. kind of, sort of, somehow, etc). House and Kasper distinguish hedges from understaters (which, in a way, diminish, or underrepresent the propositional content of the utterance, e.g. just, simply, possibly,

The notion of *first order politeness* refers to the ways in which laymen interpret individual behaviour within a community as polite or impolite. The *second order politeness* is a theoretical notion within the universal theory of politeness and refers to behaviour which shows or does not show consideration for others. (Watts, 2004).

really), from downtoners (that mitigate the perlocutionary effect of the utterance) and from committers (whose purpose is to lower the speaker's commitment to the propositional content of the utterance). It is exactly those four types that Holmes (1995) sees as one category in her two-category classification of linguistic expressions through which linguistic politeness is realized, namely hedges and hoosters.

1.2. Hedges as expressions of procedural meaning (EPM)

In this paper, hedges are also seen as a communicative strategy or an interactional element of metadiscourse (Hyland 1998), whose function is to modulate the propositional content of the utterance/text to the effect of evidentiality marking, mitigation, tentativeness, indirection or vagueness, depending on the communicative function, context and utterer's/author's intent. As interactional elements, hedges may be placed into the category of expressions of procedural meaning (EPM), i.e. linguistic expressions which, on the one hand, signal to the addressee/reader how to draw inferences related to the interpersonal meaning (e.g. greetings, terms of address, etc.) and on the other, how to process and derive inferences from the given propositional content (Watts 2004). Though primarily referring to spoken communication, hedges are also used in written discourse and can be understood as EPMs too. Although there has been extensive research on the use of hedges in, say, written academic discourse (Crompton 1997; Fraser 2010; Hyland 1995), which is to a certain degree relevant to the present research, most of those papers attempt to make thorough and exhaustive taxonomies of hedges (Fraser 2010; Hyland 1995). Such an approach may be very useful when processing a specific register, but actually it does not work for all registers. So, if we take that, viewed within a broader theory of politeness, hedges are communicative strategies that address the speaker's /author's positive face wants2 (the speaker's desire to preserve

² According to Brown and Levinson (1978, p. 61), any adult, competent member of a society wants to claim a public self-image called 'face' that has two related aspects – negative and positive. Negative face relates to a person's basic claim to territory, freedom and independence of actions, whereas a person's positive face relates to his/her desire to be accepted and appreciated and that his/her wants be desirable for at least some others in the community.

a positive self-image), the need for which arises in socially and culturally marked interactions, then it is acceptable that the list of hedges is not set and given. Therefore, any signal that:

- a. enables the speaker/author to avoid directness / commit herself to the truth of the propositional content, and
- b. triggers inferences on the part of the addressee, listener or reader as regarding the speaker's commitment to the propositional content is an EPM that functions as a hedge.

1.3. Hedges in academic and academic-like writing³

The research on hedging in academic writing⁴ have confirmed that the motivation for this kind of strategy lies in the fact that research articles get faced with the audience/readership that is well informed about the subject matter on the one hand, and prone to scrutinizing and criticising on the other. Also, it is the audience that expects the author to comply with certain cultural patterns of behaviour that ask for modesty and humbleness. So, it is the socio-cultural context that exerts pressure on the author to use hedges in academic writing.

Quite similarly, hedges are found in the leaflets accompanying drugs and medicines (academic-like writing); not too surprisingly, it turns out that there is a great similarity between the hedges used in academic writing and those used in patient instructions. A preliminary pilot research I carried out on a smaller corpus of prescription medicines descriptions and patient instructions leaflets (10 widely used prescription and over—the counter drugs, such as antibiotics, antipyretics and antimycotics), focusing primarily on modal verbs, has shown that modals *CAN* and *MAY* are the most frequent hedges used in this type of text. Also,

³ The category of academic-like writing is introduced here to include texts such as patient/user instruction leaflets accompanying prescription drugs, over-the-counter drugs and consumer health products, e.g. nutrition and dietary supplements. Although sharing a number of features with academic writing, these texts are shorter, even more formulaic, and, although based on the results of scientific research, they address a much wider audience than academic texts do.

⁴ Especially in the domain of biomedical sciences (Hyland 1998, Panocova 2008, etc.).

they are predominately used in their Root Possibility meanings when occurring in statements concerning adverse reactions and unwanted side effects of certain drugs or preparations, as in

(1) Like all medicines, D^{*****} can cause side effects, although not everybody gets them.

In the case of MAY, it is supposed that it occurs in its 'merger' meaning⁵ (Coates, 1995) as a consequence of the weak Root/Epistemic contrast, as in:

(2) Like all medicines, D***** may cause some side effects that are usually mild to moderate.

When patient instructions leaflets in English (both from the US and EU manufacturers) are compared to their counterparts in Serbian, modals CAN and MAY correspond either to

- (1) their Serbian formal correspondent, modal verb MOĆI and/or
- (2) other devices equivalently expressing Root Possibility or merger of Root/Epistemic Possibility.

The high degree of similarity (practically identical usage of modal hedges) can be attributed to the identical social context, i.e. a very high degree of standardization in regulations concerning marketing and administration of pharmaceutical products considered 'drugs'. Drug description and function claims are strictly prescribed across the global pharmaceutical market (though, of course, there may be some variation). Both in English and Serbian, *CAN* and *MAY* in these instances stand as verbal substitutes for a piece of quantitative data, i.e. the relative frequency of incidence of the effects listed/described, particularly where the incidence is low, i.e. the side effect is rare. As hedges, they function as warnings toward the consumer, and protectors of manufacturer's positive face on the other. Translated to the practical, social context, they function as disclaimers of responsibility on the part of the manufacturer.

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⁵ If both root and epistemic meanings co-exist in one linguistic form (e.g. *MAY*) in a *both/and* relationship, thus rendering two readings for a given utterance, then we talk of 'merger'. (Coates 1995, p. 151).

2. Aim of the research

The aim of the present research is threefold:

- a. To identify and describe the expressions of procedural meaning (EPMs) that function as hedges in the instructions for consumer health products sold in the US, UK, European and Serbian markets;
- b. To contrast the hedges in English and Serbian;
- c. To check (if possible) whether the obtained patterns reveal any cultural particularities, relying on the ethnopragmatic notion of 'cultural script' as defined by Wierzbicka (1994, 1996) and Goddard (2002, 2006).

3. The Corpus

The corpus for the research consists of the instruction leaflets for certain categories of health care products⁶, mostly dietary supplements⁷ found on the global market and Serbian market in particular. As those products are not categorized as 'drugs' or 'medications', the instruction leaflets found with them do not have to follow the highly standardized form/content requirements as those for 'drugs' do. Still, the claims made in these leaflets can roughly be categorized into three categories: health claims, nutrient content claims and structure/function

⁶ The motive for compiling and analysing this corpus sprang some time ago, by accident, from an everyday situation; looking at a package of then-heavily-advertised slimming nutrient, The Green Coffee, I accidentally removed the Structural Claims and Instructions sticker from the package I bought at a local pharmacist's. The original English and the Serbian text differed drastically: the English text abounded in modal expressions, dominantly epistemic modals, that mitigated the strength and directness of the claims; the Serbian text abounded in assertions and categorical judments. I started wondering whether it was a mere incident, or whether a pattern could be established on a larger corpus. Please, cf. Appendix 1 for illustration.

⁷ The Dietary Supplement Health and Education Act (DSHEA) of 1994 in the US defines the term 'dietary supplement' as a product taken by mouth that contains a dietary ingredient intended to supplement the diet. The dietary supplements come in the form of tablets, capsules, softgels, gelcaps, liguids, powders or bars and the US legislation places them under the general category of 'foods', not 'drugs'.

claims. Those claims describe the role of the product or some of its ingredients that produce an effect or a benefit on the functioning of the human system or its part/s. An example of such a claim, for example, is

'Calcium builds strong bones' or 'Antioxidants preserve cell integrity'

The legal provisions have it that these claims must be qualified to assure accuracy and non-misleading presentation of facts to the consumer. The responsibility for the truthfulness of these claims lies with the manufacturer in Europe and the UK, whereas in the States it may also lie with the Food and Drugs Association, or, in the case of advertising, with the Federal Trade Commission.

It is precisely the third type of claims (the structural/functional claims) that constitute the corpus for this research. The reason why this particular part of the instruction leaflet was chosen should be self-evident from the discussion above: claims of any kind inevitably have the form of assertions, i.e. propositions. On the one hand, it is the assertions from the structural/function part of the leaflet that actually sell the product. On the other, it is to be expected that the manufacturer be 'torn' between at least three aims: the desire to sell, the obligation to abide by the legal requirement to be truthful toward the customers and, finally, the desire to be as protected as possible.

3.1. Corpus size

Twenty five products that can be found primarily in the US, UK and European markets and twenty five products that can be found in the Serbian market were chosen to supply the linguistic data for the corpus (slimming products, such as diet pills, powders and bars, products to combat nicotine addiction, male potency products and feminine menopausal relief products). Both corpora, English and Serbian amounted to approximately 3500 words each. The Serbian corpus consists of

- a. Translations⁸ of the original structural/function claims found on the original product packaging;
- b. Structural/function claims found on the packing of originally Serbian products of the same kind.

3.2. Results obtained

As for the frequency of occurrence, the English corpus showed by far higher frequency per 1000 words:

a. English: 38 EPMs /hedges per 1000 words.b. Serbian: 10 EPMs /hedges per 1000 words.

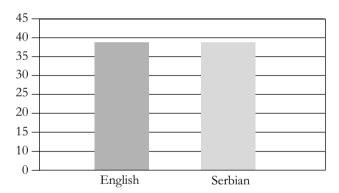


Fig. 1. Occurrence of hedges in English and Serbian per 1000 words (English: 3.8%; Serbian: 1%)

⁸ The fact that approximately 40% of the Serbian corpus were Serbian renderings of the the original structural claims in English does not affect the validity of the results; namely, the failure (or reluctance?) to render linguistically accurate equivalents of hedging in Serbian translations makes these translations non-distinguishable from those instructions given with the originally Serbian products. It is this failure, actually, that triggered the whole research. (Cf. Appendix 1).

In the English instruction leaflets, the occurrence of hedges per 1000 words is 3.8%, whereas in Serbian it turned out only 1%.

3.2.1. What language items were found functioning as hedges in the corpora?

The range of expressions was rather limited, which is easily accountable for. The structural/function part of the instructions leaflet counts up to 150 words only; very often it is printed on the packaging itself, i.e. there is not plenty of space. So the language, which needs to get across the most important information about the product, needs to be as objective, neutral and concise as possible. At the same time it should help sell the product and be truthful to the consumer.

The EPMs found could be roughly categorized into three categories:

- a. Grammaticalized forms
- b. Lexical forms
- c. Verb Phrases and Subordinate Clauses

3.2.2. Hedges found in the English corpus

- a. Grammaticalized forms:
 - 1) Modal verbs: CAN, MAY, WOULD

1a...which may result in body mass reduction

1b Research has also shown that Chromium can burn fat

1c H**** is a naturally made diet pill that would only aid in suppressing appetite

- b. Lexical forms:
 - 1) verbs: help, believe;
 - 2) nouns: potential;
 - 3) modal adverbs and adverbs of frequency: possibly, usually, often;
 - 4) quantifiers and approximators: some, about

1a L**** pills are proven to help reduce body fat and weight

1b Researches **believe** Chromium helps reduce body fat

- 2a M**** has shown potential to reduce hot flushes
- 3a C**** can lead to weight loss and possibly bad cholesterol lowering
- 3b V**** usually works in about 30 40 minutes
- 3c Often, an adjustment in dose may help.
- 4a In some patients, it works in as little as 17 minutes
- 4b....in about 30-40 minutes
- c. Complex verb phrases and subordinate clauses:
 - if-clauses and other subordinate clauses (temporal);
 1a H **** can play an effective part in an overall weight loss plan if used correctly
 1b Helps whiten your teeth while you use it.
 - 2) 'Double hedge' constructions: *modal* + *help* + *lexical verb*
 - 2a While H**** pills may help suppress your appetite
 - 2b S*** Snack Bar can help you maintain your blood sugar levels during exercise.
 - 2c C**** will help you boost your overall beauty & well being

Hedges/1000 words: English

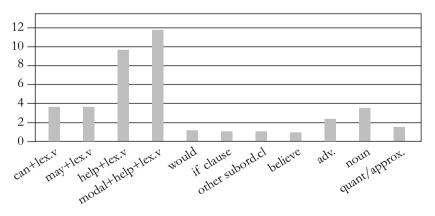


Fig. 2. Linguistic items serving as hedges in the corpus data

3.2.3. Hedges found in the Serbian corpus

The linguistic forms obtained from the Serbian corpus (per 1000 words) were:

a) Grammaticalized forms

1a Modal verb MOĆI (eng. CAN/MAY)

Practically, the modal MOĆI was found only in 'double hedges'.

b) Lexical forms

Lexical verb POMAGATI (imperfective form) (HELP – imperfective)

Pomaže varenje proteina

Help-3rdpers sg IMPERF digestion proteins GEN

'X helps protein digestion'

c) Complex Verb Phrases

Modal verb **MOĆI** + lexical verb **POMOĆI** (perfective form⁹) + PrepP/Noun/Gerund

Može pomoći u prevenciji

Can help PERF in prevention

X can help in prevention...'

Modal Adj MOGUĆE + that Cl

Moguće je da ublaži tegobe

Possible is that relieve-3rd pers sg disorders

d) Prepositional Phrases which can easily be expanded into full conditional clauses

Uz razuman unos hrane

With sensible intake food-GEN

If you take sensible amounts of food'

⁹ By choosing the perfective form of the verb in this construction, certain enhancement of hedging is achieved, as the implied meaning is that the instances of 'helping' are sporadic, not habitual (the effect is the same as with the existential quantifier 'sometimes').



4. Discussion of results

The 'mechanisms behind' these EPMs, which enable their perception and interpretation as hedges were:

Fig.3. Linguistic items serving as hedges in Serbian corpus data

- Encoding epistemic possibility (MAY-examples)
- Encoding root possibility (CAN-examples)
- Encoding tentative prediction achieved by 'distancing' using the distal form (WOULD-examples)
- Logical 'fuzzying' of a part of the utterance (using quantifiers and approximators such as *some* men, *about* 30-40 minutes adds imprecision and vagueness to the utterance by means of implicature):

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some men \rightarrow but not all about 30-40 \rightarrow but not precisely
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- Lexical verb HELP that in other contexts does not behave as an EPM; it hardly can be interpreted as a hedge in the examples such as:
 - e.g. I helped him up the stairs, where it rather means: 'I didn't climb the stairs for him; he did it but I provided support, conditions, etc.'

Also, in the context under investigation, the signal is interpreted as:

If something helps – it does not **do** the action; it provides favourable conditions for some other agent, as in

'H**** may help you reduce your weight' where it means

'it is possible that H**** creates favourable conditions for you to lose weight'

Therefore, the manufacturer does not guarantee the favourable result of the H**** pill. In other words, if the pill fails to yield the desired effect, the blame does not fall on it or the manufacturer. The customer has been informed properly.

• Epistemic status of *believe*, whose non-factuality does not imply the truth of the ensuing propositional content, but rather creates an epistemic distance, and therefore a hedge:

Researchers believe that Chromium burns fat' does **not** imply that 'Chromium burns fat' is true.

The inferences triggered by the EPMs in Serbian are the same; generally, it is not either the inventory of linguistic means or their pragmatic effects that show any considerable contrast between the two languages; rather, it is the extent to which the speakers/authors of these texts use these means to signal procedural meaning, i.e. to hedge. Even the rather small corpora, such as these two of 3500 words each, show a considerable difference in the frequency of occurrence in hedging (cf.3.1.).

4.1. Why hedge?

Choice to hedge is not governed by legal regulations only. Actually, it seems to be similarly motivated in both languages, as far as the scope of the standardized legislation reaches. Pharmaceutical giants rule the global market, and they dictate the market standards, including the linguistic standards of the patient instruction leaflets across the globe. However, the products in question, as already said above, do not belong to the category of 'drugs' and legislation does not treat them the same. That opens the doors to 'a more natural use of language', not as

bound by the strict codes. It is at this point that we need to turn to cultural theories for explanation of these discrepancies, and it is at this point that the notions *innocence* and *experience* come in.

4.2. The experience of the Anglo-market and the Anglo-customer

Below are two examples taken from the web site of New Zealand Commerce Commission www.comcom.govt.nz:

- 1. A company made claims on its website and in a newspaper advertorial that it had homeopathic cures for, or could protect against, diseases with no known cures, such as avian influenza, SARS and herpes. It also claimed that its directors had medical qualifications they did not hold. The company was convicted and fined.
- 2. A company claimed in a brochure and on its website that a pill was a natural alternative to breast implants and could make women's breasts larger and firmer. The Commission's investigation found that taking the tablets at the recommended dose would have no significant effect on breast shape or size and that the company's marketing material failed to substantiate its claims. The company was convicted and fined" (The Fair Trading Act: Health and Nutrition Claims: August 2010).

It is such practice that builds the experience of the participants in the market:

- a) of manufacterers and traders, who extensively employ hedging in the product accompanying instructions because they are obliged by the law to provide truthful information and who are aware that assertions trigger responsibility in each and every case of the item sold.
- b) the responsibility is at least shared with, if not entirely shifted onto the buyer/patient when he/she makes an informed choice on the basis of vague and mitigated assertions which do not imply that the product really and always does what it is expected to do.

However, in this respect, the Serbian market and participants show an incredible innocence:

The buyers make choices on the basis of claims which are, at least in most cases in my corpus, full claims with no hedges;

even if the products do not do what the claims say they should, I have found no such recorded cases of legal action against the manufacturer.

The question that starts tickling is 'Why?' How can those differences be accounted for, given the extremely high similarity in the inventories of linguistic means for expressing modal concepts and pragmatic meanings. At this point, I believe we should turn for answers to those theoretical approaches that study culture specific norms, rules and models of usage, which is the definition of *ethnopragmatics* (Goddard 2002, p. 53).

4.3. Cultural script of directness supported

The main technique of ethnopragmatic description is the so-called 'cultural script': 'cultural scripts' are not rules, they are assumptions about cultural norms that underlie people's thinking and behaviour within a given culture/society, formulated by means of the metalanguage of universal semantic primes (Wierzbicka 1994; 1996). It would be very wrong to understand cultural scripts as strict rules applied in every instance of interaction. People enter interaction carrying with themselves their 'baggage' of assumptions concerning the preferred ways of interaction, but they do not always abide by them – it is rather that against the background of such shared assumptions one's (linguistic) behaviour can be interpreted, either in a positive or negative way (Wierzbicka 1996).

Cultural scripts operate on higher and lower levels of generality: an example of a high-level cultural script in Anglo-American culture is the script stating preference for 'personal autonomy':

People think like this: when a person does something, it is good if this person can think about it like this: "I am doing this because I want to do it" (Goddard 2006, p. 6).

An example of a lower-level script, which is complementary to the higher-level one described above, is the Anglo-American script blocking 'imperative directives':

If I want someone to do something I can't say to this person something like this: 'I want you to do this; because of this, you have to do it' (Goddard 2002, p. 60).

The communicative practice of Anglo-American speakers confirms their avoidance of 'strong directives', but it also reflects another lower-level script for 'interrogative directives':

If you want to say to someone something like this: 'I want you to do this' It is good to say something like this at the same time: 'I don't know if you will do it' (Goddard 2002, p. 61).

Speaking of politeness norms, Anglo-American culture favours *indirectness* over *directness* just as much as it favours *distance* over *closeness*. Serbian culture, though – or, at least it has turned out so in my previous research (Trbojević 2008; 2009) on preferences for directness and indirectness in these two cultures, reveals a possible cultural script relating to directness of request:

If I want someone to do something It is not bad to say to this person something like this I want you to do something; because of this, you have to do it'

I find it quite significant for this research of hedges, as this cultural script models not only the encoding, but also the perception of directness and, consequently, the possible reactions, verbal or behavioural. The opposition between directness /indirectness should be understood as the measure, or extent to which speaker reveals his/her true needs, wants, intentions, judgments or evaluations. By indirectness, on the other hand, is meant that the speaker 'camouflages' his/her message by means of various (linguistic) devices in order to conceal his/her true wants, needs, intentions etc., and/or to mitigate the illocutionary force and the perlocutionary effect of his/her utterances/statements. It could be argued, therefore, that the difference in perception of directness governs the use of hedges and their interpretations and renders hedging a much less employed communicative strategy in Serbian discourse than in its English counterparts. That could account plausibly for the observable difference in the frequency of occurrence of hedging expressions in the analyzed texts, in spite of the striking similarity between the inventories of linguistic means that both English and Serbian speakers/writers have on their disposal when choosing to hedge.

Appendix 1

The two slides below show 1) the original text of structural claims appearing on a package of the product; 2) the Serbian rendering of the structural claims:

1)

THIS IS WHAT THE ENGLISH DESCRIPTION SAID:

o Garcinia Cambia is a fruit extract (hidroxy citric acid) ... derived from a small pumpkin shaped fruit (Malabar Tamarind) which may help inhibit and reduce.. fatty acid synthesis and reduce ... Also, it may help naturally balance the apettite Green Tea extract has antioxidant activity and may assit in protecting the body from potential free radical damage.... It may help boost metabolism to aid weight loss.

2)

AND THIS IS WHAT THE SERBIAN DESCRIPTION SAID (ON THE SAME PRODUCT)

o Garcinia Cambia je ekstrakt (limunska kiselina) koji se dobija iz ploda Malabar Tamarind i koji (Ø modality) inhibira (indicative) sintezu masnih kiselina i redukuje ... Takođe, prirodno reguliše apetit... Ekstrakt zelenog čaja je antioksidans koji (Ø modality) štiti (indicative) organizam od dejstva slobodnih radikala... (Ø modality) ubrzava (indicative) metabolizam.

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