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ФИЛОЛОГИЈА, КУЛТУРА И ОБРАЗОВАНИЕ ФИЛОЛОГИЯ, КУЛЬТУРА И ОБРАЗОВАНИЕ PHILOLOGY, CULTURE AND EDUCATION

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WHERE DIRECTNESS AND INDIRECTNESS RESIDE

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Abstract

Our primary aim in this paper is to contribute to the understanding of directness and indirectness across cultures. Our secondary aim is to help to improve intercultural communication by focusing on those elements in speech that might lead to misunderstanding. Directness and indirectness seem to be two of the elements which most often lead to breakdown of communication between members of different linguistic or cultural groups, and lead to judgements of people from a particular culture as being rude or distant. In particular, we focus on evidentiality and epistemic modality as sources of (in)directness by discussing the translation of seem in the Macedonian translation of the book "Harry Potter and the Sorcerer's Stone". Being marked for evidentiality and epistemic modality, seem functions as a hedge – a pragmatic function of linguistic means that allows the speaker not to express the commitment categorically. Because of its multiple functions, seem has different translations in Macedonian. In this paper we focused on the instances with zero correspondences because they most significantly show that Macedonian is less tolerant for vagueness and tentativeness. Epistemic modality expresses the attitude towards the probability of proposition. It allows the speaker to convey that his position is not binding or that to some extent he distances himself from it.

Keywords: evidentiality, epistemic modality, hedging, vagueness, politeness.

1. Defining directness and indirectness

Directness and indirectness are terms that often appear in research in the field of pragmatics and intercultural communication. Direct speech acts are associated by Austin (1962) and Searle (1979) with the literal meaning of utterances. On the other hand, their indirect illocutionary meaning refers to the other illocutions that a statement could express. The direct locution of the statement *I'm very busy (Имама многу работа)* is a declarative sentence, an assertion. But it can also be a request, an apology, or a refusal.

According to Searle (1979), there are two types of indirect speech acts: 1. those that can be derived by inference; and 2. those that can be derived by conventional expressions. Sperber & Wilson (1986) state that indirectness can be determined by the cognitive effort that the interlocutor makes to understand the message. They propose that there are two models of communication: "According to the code model, communication is achieved by encoding and decoding of messages. According to the inferential model, communication is achieved by the communicator providing evidence for her intentions, and the audience inferring her intentions from the evidence" (Sperber & Wilson 1986, p. 24). The second group of indirect speech acts are characterized

by their form, their conventionality. Searle takes the request as an example. Referring to them, the questions *Could you help me?*, *Do you mind passing this message to David?* (Можеш ли да ми помогнеш?, Ќе сакаш ли да му пренесеш нешто на Давид?) are indirect because their literal meaning is different from the speech act they typically represent (question: asking). Indirectness, therefore, means deriving meaning by inference or by conventional expressions.

2. Indirectness and politeness

Directness and indirectness are often related to politeness (Brown & Levinson, 1987). According to Brown and Levinson, speech acts can be realized indirectly, in the form of allusions or hints, and directly, with or without mitigation. Mitigation means modification of utterances by using language means that give face to the interlocutor. When someone says *Excuse me*, is this seat taken? the request is conventionally direct and clear, but it is mitigated by the speech act of apology and the question form. The more linguistic means the speaker uses to mitigate his/her utterance, the politer the utterance is considered.

The role of mitigation has received most attention by Brown and Levinson (1987) who suggest that a central concept in interaction is the concept of face. In their view, everyone has both positive face, the desire for approval, and negative face, the desire not to be impeded. Based on the assessment of social distance, relative power and degree of imposition, people choose how to formulate their speech. Mitigation is seen as a form of politeness conceptualized as conflict avoidance. By showing hesitation and uncertainty, the speaker leaves space for a different opinion and gives options to the interlocutor.

Brown and Levinson (1987) present a lot of linguistic means used in support of the positive or the negative face of the interlocutors. The positive face is reinforced by showing interest and attraction to the speaker, avoiding disagreement, use of endearment terms and terms of solidarity, jokes, etc. The negative face is supported by the use of linguistic expressions by which the speaker shows that he does not want to impose himself on the interlocutor and that he gives him the freedom to act as he pleases. This is achieved by the use of questions, hedges, downtoners, apologies, hypothetical statements, modal verbs, etc.

In this paper, we discuss the role of hedges and epistemic modality as sources of (in)directness. In particular, we focus on the verb *seem* and its translation into Macedonian in the book "Harry Potter and the Sorcerer's Stone" by J. K. Rowling.

3. Hedging and epistemic modality

Propositions expressed through utterances and sentences are considered true (Frajzyngier, 1985). And so it is with speakers of all languages. However, our knowledge is very limited and very often we cannot be absolutely sure of the truth of the proposition we are talking about. Our evaluation of the situation can range from great certainty to great uncertainty, even to the conclusion that something is amazing or impossible. Hence the large number of expressions to express different degrees of evaluation of the probability of the proposition. This function is primarily carried out by hedges and epistemic modal expressions.

The notion of hedging is used in linguistics to describe words "whose job is to make things more or less fuzzy". It has been applied to linguistic devices used to qualify a speaker's confidence in the truth of a proposition, such as *I think*, *perhaps*,



might and *may(be)* which speakers use to avoid commitment to categorical assertions. Hedges therefore express tentativeness and possibility in communication, and their appropriate use in scientific discourse is critical (Hyland, 1998, p. 1).

We do not doubt that speakers of all languages evaluate the proposition and formulate their statements in relation to a certain proposition, in fact, they express their evaluation of it. However, in English, the use of these language means is particularly extensive, so a speaker from another language community may remain confused and insecure. This group includes expressions such as *I expect*, *I believe*, *I suppose*, *I assume*, *I imagine*, *I gather*, *I presume*, *I guess*, *I suspect*, *I take it*, *I understand*, *I trust*, *I wonder*, *I feel*, which may be additionally modified as in *I should think*, *I should ve thought*, *I'm inclined to think*, *I tend to think*, *I don't think*, *I don't suppose*, *I would guess*, *I would argue*, *I would suggest*. These imprecise expressions have a purpose and represent a special communication strategy related to politeness. The use of these means in communication is not stylistic, but is essential and is used for certain communication purposes.

The use of such linguistic means shows the culture's tolerance for inaccuracy. In the Macedonian language, for example, the frequent use of these language means sounds unacceptable and unclear.

The expression of tentativeness and personal attitudes as well as of commitment and detachment, traditionally falls within the semantic domain of modality. Some linguists propose that hedging is one aspect of epistemic modality as well. Modality is essentially concerned with a speaker's standpoint, judging the truth of a statement in terms of possibility, probability or certainty. It includes lexical verbs (think, believe, doubt, assume, suppose presume), modal verbs (can, could, may, might, will, would), epistemic adjectives (certain, probable, definite) and epistemic adverbs (certainly, probably, maybe, definitely).

Both hedges and expressions of modality have a great role as mitigating devices. Their role has been addressed not only by Brown and Levinson (1987) but by other linguists as well (Caffi, 2007; Fraser, 2010; Hyland, 1998; Zhang, 2011; Cornillie, 2009; Lampert & Lambert, 2010; Wiemer, 2018).

4. The Macedonian translation of seem and what it indicates

We discuss the mitigation in English and Macedonian by analyzing examples of *seem* extracted from the book "Harry Potter and the Sorcerer's Stone" by J. K. Rowling and its Macedonian translation. What has aroused our interest in the verb *seem*, however, is the observation that Macedonian learners of English rarely use it although they are aware of it. Similarly, translators often drop it because examples with *seem* are rather awkward to translate in a way that they would sound natural in Macedonian. This has been noticed in other languages as well (Johansson, 2007; Aijmer, 2009; Usonienė and Šinkūnienė, 2013). Table 1 presents the linguistic means used to translate *seem* in Macedonian:

Table 1 Macedonian correspondences	of seem in	ı "Harry	Potter	and the	Sorcerer's
9	Stone"				

Seem correspondences	Frequency	Seem correspondences	Frequency
omittted	39.6% (38)	како да-clause	7.3% (7)
се чини дека/како/ AdjP/Ø	29.2% (28)	мисли	1% (1)
изгледа дека/како/ AdjP/Ø	16.7% (16)	навидум	1% (1)
личи	5.2% (5)		

The table shows that sometimes *seem* is not translated at all. In the Macedonian translation of the first Harry Potter book, there were 38 examples when *seem* was omitted, which mounts up to 39.6%. Consider the examples below.

- (1) This seemed to cheer Ron up. Ова го орасположи Рон.
- (2) Malfoy, it seemed, had sneaked up behind Neville and grabbed him as a joke. Малфој му се прикрал на Невил од зад грб и на шега го зграпчил.

Johansson (2007) notes that "the general background for the occurrence of zero correspondences is the weakened meaning of *seem*". This may apply to cases when *seem* is followed by another copula verb (*to be, to become*) and the translator decides to drop *seem*.

(3) It seemed to be a handsome, leather-covered book. Тоа беше убава книга со кожени корици.

Also, the translator may regard *seem* redundant because there are other mental or perception verbs around it. (Johansson, 2007)

- (4) ... they seemed to think he might get dangerous ideas. ... тие сметаа дека тој би можел да добие опасни идеи.
- (5) ... the Dursleys were his only family. Yet sometimes he thought (or maybe hoped) that strangers in the street seemed to know him. Дарслиеви беа неговата единствена фамилија. Сепак, понекогаш имаше впечаток (или можеби, се надеваше) дека непознатите луѓе на улица го знаат.
- (6) No one seemed to have noticed that Harry's broom was behaving strangely. Никој не ни забележа дека метлата на Хари се однесува чудно.

However, this explanation does not account for the examples below, in which there are no other mental or perception verbs. There is no uncertainty either and the speakers do not express any reservations or doubts about the truth of the assertion. On the contrary, both sentences refer to something that is certain or usual.

(7) The afternoon's events certainly seemed to have changed her mind about Snape. Настаните од тоа попладне очигледно го сменија нејзиниот став кон Снејп.

Seem may be lost in translation if the translator thinks that it is redundant because of the presence of many seems and other hedges in the book. We may agree with Usonienė and Šinkūnienė (2013: 307) that "[t]he given cases of translation differences perhaps could be attributed to a culture-specific alternative conceptualization of seem or culture-specific understanding and realization of certain pragmatic functions, for instance, hedging". This is especially true for Macedonian speakers when referring to something that we consider a fact and the translator may feel that seem twists reality.



This may be the reason why Macedonian speakers are often confused by the use of *seem* in certain collocations:

(8) I can't seem to find them in the telephone book.

I can't seem to think straight.

I can't seem to stay awake.

What seems to be the matter?

Why would an English speaker prefer *What seems to be the matter?* to *What is the matter?* There is clearly a difference in impact between the first and the second question. The form without *seem* is direct and asks for the identification of a particular problem with no hesitation. The question with *seem*, on the other hand, is politer and gives the addressee more options in answering; it does not presuppose that there really is a problem. But Macedonian speakers would certainly get rid of *seem* in it. To them, the question requires a factual answer and when we talk about facts they are not to be hedged.

The omission of *seem* in translation casts light on some differences between Macedonian and English. This could be indicative of both meaning bleaching of *seem* and of the overuse (redundancy) of evidential-epistemic markers in English. (Usonienė and Šinkūnienė, 2013)

According to Frajzyngier (1985:247) indicative sentences express what the speaker wants to convey as the truth. If they have any doubts about the truth, they may use hedging devices such as sort of, or constructions "with such verbs as seem, appear, sentential adverbs apparently, presumably, etc.". Therefore, by using seem speakers express some doubt in the truth of the sentence indicating that it does not reflect their belief. While "it appears that in English there are no limitations in expressing doubt" even about one's own speech (Frajzyngier, 1985: 247), in Macedonian, this "hedging" of the truth may work somewhat differently. Native speakers of Macedonian feel that it is not possible to express doubts about the truth if you have actually seen or experienced something. You don't say *I can't seem to stay awake* when you really feel like going to bed or *I can't seem to find my glasses* when you clearly can't find them. The translator has dropped seem in (9) because the use of useneda, ce чини, or any other of the mentioned correspondences would negate the personal experience of the noticing.

(9) As he sat in the usual morning traffic jam, he couldn't help noticing that there seemed to be a lot of strangely dressed people about. Додека се пробиваше низ вообичаениот утрински сообраќаен метеж, не можеше да не забележи дека по улиците се моткаат многу чудно облечени луѓе.

Similarly, the situation in (10) would seem absurd if any doubt was expressed that people vanished the second Harry tried to get a closer look.

(10) The weirdest thing about all these people was the way they seemed to vanish the second Harry tried to get a closer look. Најчудно во целата таа работа беше тоа што во моментот кога Хари ќе се обидеше да ги погледне одблиску, луѓето исчезнуваа.

These sentences are given in isolation here. But in the book they are usually elaborated and there is enough evidence of what happened or how it happened. Such situations are understood as facts and we do not speculate about facts. The use of *seem* would deteriorate the truth and resort to speculation. For Macedonian speakers, the insecurity and doubt that *seem* conveys in these instances is in contradiction with factive data.

Another motivation for the translator to drop *seem* may be the abundant use of evidential-epistemic markers. For instance, *think* and *might* were used in (4) and *thought*, *maybe* and *hoped* in (5).

Our research of the English interlanguage of Macedonian learners of English also showed poor mitigation even at higher levels. We searched the conversations in the Macedonian Corpus of Learner Language (MACOR) and were able to find only 10 examples with *seem*. Three of them were used with the meaning of the copula verb *look* and were not appropriate in the given context:

- (11) It makes them seem irresponsible maybe.
- (12) if I have a piercing I'm don't seem like a serious person.
- (13) It definitely would make the city seem cleaner and everything

In this corpus of conversations which mount to 591.35 minutes (9.9 hours), with the total number of 66,696 words, there were only seven instances in which *seem* was used appropriately.

- (14) they seem like they don't care
- (15) it's the authorities who don't seem to care about it enough?
- (16) they don't seem like they care about the street dogs

5. Conclusion

One of the fields that has often been marked as a stark difference between English and Macedonian is directness and indirectness. Macedonian speakers sound more direct in comparison with English speakers. This analysis has successfully proven that some of the sources of this may be the different attitude of Macedonian speakers towards firsthand experience and the much smaller amount of epistemic markers and hedges in their speech.

Because of its multiple functions, *seem* has different translations in Macedonian. The roots of zero correspondences may be the abundant use of hedging words in English and their different use in Macedonian. But the cultural aspect of hedging may also account for the omissions. The wide range of correspondences gives evidence of the translators' struggle to find ways of expressing the different meanings of *seem* in another language.

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