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**Title:** Epistemic modality markers in Polish-English and English-Polish consecutive interpreting : modal values and categories

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## Epistemic modality markers in Polish- -English and English-Polish consecutive interpreting: Modal values and categories

### 1. Introduction: Epistemic modality and its markers

This paper is concerned with the treatment of epistemic modality markers in Polish/English consecutive interpreting tasks with regard to the direction of interpreting. In particular, it focuses on the frequency of transfer of modal meanings to the outputs with regard to the value and category of the markers, looking for regularities and differences which might be attributed to the direction of transfer.

Epistemic modality relays the degree of speaker's commitment to the claim made in the proposition and evaluation of its probability. Epistemic necessity encodes the speaker's confidence in the truth of the proposition, while epistemic possibility relays lack of confidence in the truth of the statement (Coates 1983), the former expressed by high value modality markers, close to bare, unmodalised assertions (Ex. 1), the latter by middle and low modal values, at the end of the scale close to negation of the propositional meaning (Ex. 2, Halliday 1994).

- (1) *Genres are defined as conventionalised message-forms which are certainly culture-specific.*
- (2) *The elements read into the current communicative situation by one communicator might not be accessible to the other.*

Following Halliday (1994: 354ff), it is possible to identify subjective or objective modality orientation, each of which can be realised explicitly or implicitly. In contrast to objective orientation (Ex. 1, 4), subjective modality expresses the speaker's point of view without further reference to common sense or general knowledge of the world (Ex. 2, 3). Unlike implicit realisations of modal meanings, which place the modality marker within the clause (Ex. 1, 2), explicit realisations set it off as a projecting clause (Ex. 3, 4).

- (3) *I believe this results in apparent equivalence of genres.*
- (4) *It is obvious that they become conventionalised routes for the interpretation and production of messages.*

Epistemic modality can be expressed by a variety of devices specific for a particular language system. Central exponents of epistemic stance in English are modal auxiliaries and quasi-modals (Palmer 1986; Coates 1983), but epistemic meaning can also be expressed by certain lexical verbs, adjectival and participial constructions, modal adverbs and particles, and nouns referring to various degrees of likelihood (Gavins 2005: 86; see Table 2 below).

In Polish, modal verbs do not constitute such a well-defined subsystem as English modals, but they also act as vectors of epistemic modality (Kakietek 1991; Ligara 1997). Other markers of epistemic stance in Polish include modal adverbs and particles, adjectival and participial constructions, predicatives, modal lexical verbs, nouns imparting various degrees of likelihood, and morphological/grammatical markers, such as future tense and conditional forms (Rytel 1982: 41f; see Table 1 below).

## 2. Methodology

### 2.1. Objectives

This paper reports on the results obtained in the second phase of small-scale research into the treatment of epistemic stance markers in interpreting. The first part of the study (Warchał & Łyda forthcoming) focused on stance markers in consecutive interpreting from Polish into English. The results obtained at that time indicated that epistemic meaning was rare-

ly transferred to the outputs and that the frequency of transfer was not markedly influenced by the experience of the interpreters. The second part of the study, on which this paper reports, addresses the problem of the transfer of modal values in the consecutive mode with regard to the direction of interpreting. It attempts to answer the following questions: (i) Is the frequency of transfer of epistemic modal markers (EMs) related to the direction of interpreting in this mode? (ii) Are high and non-high modal values transferred with the same frequency in both English-Polish and Polish-English tasks? (iii) Does the value of the EMs transferred to the outputs reflect their value in the ST and how does this relate to the direction of transfer? (iv) What categories of EMs are most frequently transferred to the outputs in respective tasks?

## 2.2. Subjects

Material for analysis was obtained from a group of 19 Polish students of translation and interpreting in the Institute of English of the University of Silesia. All the subjects were advanced students of English (language B) in the last year of university training, with 5-semester experience in consecutive interpreting prior to the collection of data. All the students took an intensive course in German (language C) as part of their regular studies, a course which also included a consecutive interpreting module. Only 4 students were male. Since the data were collected during two sessions, one student missing at each, finally only 36 outputs (18 in the Polish and 18 in the English batch) were analysed.

## 2.3. Material and procedure

For the purposes of this study 36 audio-recordings of consecutive interpreting were collected: 18 of an 822-word long text of speech in Polish (ST A) and 18 of a 1019-word long text in English (ST B; Appendix 1).<sup>1</sup> Both STs were prepared specially for this task and represented an academic, prepared, monologic, formal genre presented orally to a group of advanced students of linguistics and related disciplines. ST A was delivered at a pace of about

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<sup>1</sup> We very much appreciate the help of our colleague Andrzej Porzuczek, who prepared the English recording.

86 words/min and lasted 9'30"; ST B lasted 9'40" and was delivered at a pace of about 106 words/min. The STs, challenging in terms of semantic and syntactic complexity, were recorded with pauses and divided into 5 units each, the longest lasting 2'20".

When preparing the STs, attention was given to epistemic expressions, which were used 47 times in each of the texts. ST A contained 23 EMs imparting high degrees of certainty and likelihood and 24 representing middle or low modal values, among them: 3 modal verbs, 4 lexical verbs, 3 predicatives, 7 adjectives or participles, 7 modal adverbs or particles, and 4 nouns relaying various degrees of likelihood and certainty (see Table 1).

**Tab. 1. Markers of epistemic modality in ST A by category**

modal verbs [MV]	MÓC 'may', MUSIEĆ 'must', POWINIEN 'should'
lexical verbs of thinking and perception [LV]	MYSLEĆ 'think', PRZYPUSZCZAĆ 'suppose', SĄDZIĆ 'reckon', ZDAWAĆ SIĘ 'seem to'
predicatives [PR]	BYĆ MOŻE 'perhaps', WIDAĆ 'apparently', WYDAWAĆ SIĘ 'it seems'
adjectives and participles [ADJ] ( <i>być ADJ, że 'be ADJ that'</i> )	BEZDYSKUSYJNY 'indisputable', MOŻLIWY 'possible', NIEWYKLUCZONY 'conceivable', OCZYWISTY 'obvious', PEWNY 'certain', PRAWDOPODOBNY 'probable', PRZEKONANY 'convinced'
modal adverbs and particles [MAD]	CHYBA 'perhaps', NA PEWNO 'for sure', NIEWĄTPLIWIE 'undoubtedly', OCZYWIŚCIE 'obviously', PRAWDOPODOBNIENIE 'probably', PRZYPUSZCZALNIE 'conceivably', ZAPEWNE 'probably'
phrases with nouns [N]	BEZ WĄTPIENIA 'without doubt', JEST PRAWDOPODOBIEŃSTWO 'there is likelihood', PONAD WSZELKĄ WĄTPLIWOŚĆ 'beyond doubt', Z PEWNOŚCIĄ 'with certainty'

ST B contained 24 EMs imparting high epistemic modal values and 24 encoding middle or low degrees of likelihood or certainty. These included: 6 modal verbs, 5 lexical verbs, 6 adjectives or participles, 12 modal adverbs or particles, 2 phrases with nouns relaying various degrees of likelihood and certainty, and additionally 1 idiomatic phrase (see Table 2).

**Tab. 2. Markers of epistemic modality in ST B by category**

modal verbs [MV]	BE BOUND TO, CAN'T, MAY, MIGHT, MUST, WILL
lexical verbs of thinking and perception [LV]	APPEAR, BELIEVE, SEEM, SUPPOSE, THINK
adjectives and participles [ADJ] ( <i>be ADJ that, be ADJ to</i> )	CLEAR, CONCEIVABLE, CONVINCED, LIKELY, OBVIOUS, POSSIBLE
modal adverbs and particles [MAD]	APPARENTLY, CERTAINLY, CLEARLY, EVIDENTLY, FOR SURE, NECESSARILY, OBVIOUSLY, OF COURSE, PERHAPS, POSSIBLY, PRESUMABLY, PROBABLY
phrases with nouns [N]	BEYOND DOUBT, THERE IS NO DOUBT
idiomatic phrases [ID]	IT GOES WITHOUT SAYING

The recorded outputs were then analysed with regard to the extent to which modal meaning was transferred to the TT depending on the direction of interpreting, the modal values transferred and the category of the marker.

### 3. Results

No substantial differences were noticed with regard to the quality of the outputs between the Polish-English (P-E) and English-Polish (E-P) tasks. For the 47 focal units in the Polish text (ST A), 665 successful communicative English translations were produced (for the total of 846), which amounted to almost 79% of all the attempts. With regard to the English text (ST B), the 47 units were successfully transferred into Polish in 602 cases (for the total of 817 attempts, 29 outputs being illegible), amounting to 74% of all the attempts. If the rate of success varied slightly depending on the direction of interpreting, tilted by 5% in favour of the P-E task, the frequency with which modal values were transferred into the outputs was comparable in both tasks and reached 22% of all the translation attempts (28% of the successful translations in P-E and 30% of the successful translations in E-P; Fig. 1).

It is worth noting that in a number of cases EMs were transferred into the outputs as deontic markers. In the P-E task, 24% of the modal meanings transferred represented deontic modality (45 instances), with CAN being the most frequently used marker (31 instances, Ex. 5), followed far behind by HAVE TO, MAY (each with 3 occurrences, Ex. 6 and 7), and rare instances of other auxiliaries. It is also worth noting that for ST units 37 and 46, deontic forms seem to have been preferred over epistemic.

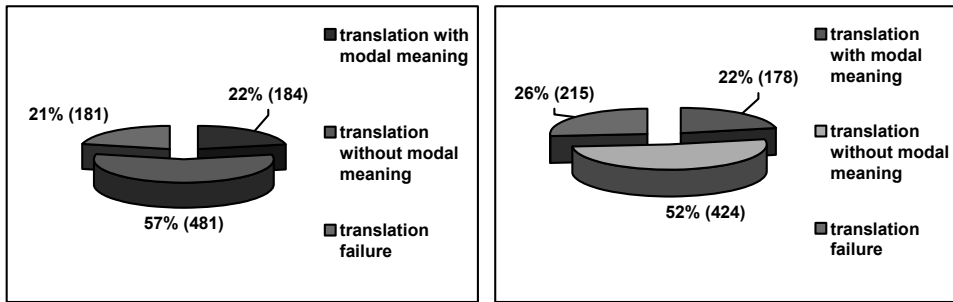


Fig. 1. Modal meanings in the outputs:

a – Polish-English task

b – English-Polish task

- (5) *The axiologisation of space can be seen in the way we describe things (3-37, C-7)<sup>2</sup>*
- (6) *We have to ask the question if it is possible to create such a world without those linguistic effects (3-46, C-17)*
- (7) *In Themerson's novel we may very easily notice the reversion of Maeterlinck's work (3-10, C-3)*

In the E-P task, deontic modality appeared in 21% of the modal meanings present in TT units (38 instances), the most popular markers being MUSIEĆ ('must') and the impersonal verb MOŻNA ('can'), each noted in 11 outputs (Ex. 8, 9), followed by the modal verb MÓC ('can', 7 instances), impersonal verbs NALEŻY and TRZEBA ('should', 6 and 2 instances respectively) and the modal verb POWINIEN ('should', 1 case). Deontic markers tended to be preferred over epistemic in ST units 11 and 12, in the former used 7 times for 8 successful translations with modal markers and in the latter in all 10 outputs containing modal meanings.

- (8) *Aby tego dokonać, musimy przyporządkować odpowiednie dane . . . odpowiednim ramom ('in order to do that, we must assign appropriate data to appropriate frames'; 4-12, C-1)*
- (9) *Można to przypisać pewnemu podejściu do wiedzy ('this can be attributed to a specific attitude to knowledge'; 4-40, C-8)*

<sup>2</sup> The first number refers to the table in Appendix 2, the second number indicates the context with the epistemic marker, the last number indicates the subject.

With regard to modal values, there were no substantial differences between the frequency of transfer for high and non-high (henceforth low) modal values in both tasks, the balance tilted by 3% in favour of low values in the P-E task. In the E-P task the difference was negligible (Fig. 2).

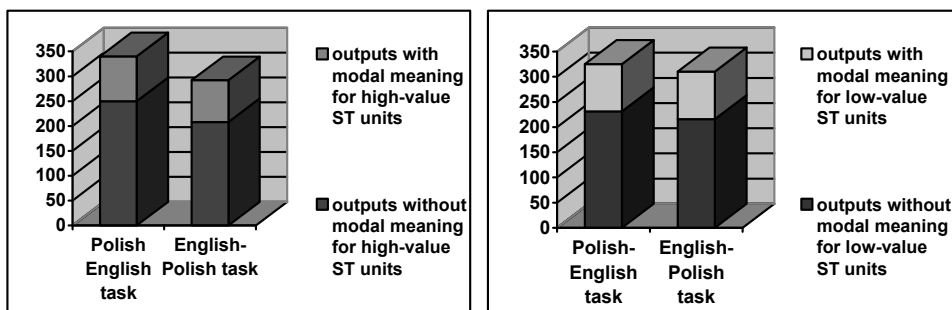


Fig. 2. Modal values transferred to the outputs:

a - high modal values

b - low modal values

Interestingly, high-value EMs were often transferred to the TT as low-value markers, as shown in 39% of the outputs with modal meaning in the P-E task and 32% of the outputs in E-P task (Ex. 10, 11). A change of modal value was also observed in the case of low-value EMs, but on a much smaller scale (19% and 12% in respective tasks; Fig. 3).

- (10) *It all seems to make sense* ('wyrażenia i zwroty pozostają na pewno czytelne', H to L value shift; 3-20, C-13)
- (11) *Ten stosunek zdaje się być różny w różnych językach* ('the share of responsibility for its success will vary', H to L value shift; 4-44, C-5)

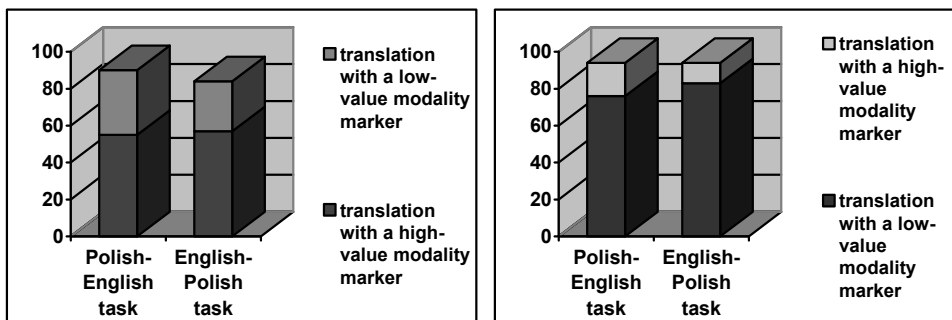


Fig. 3. Transfer of high and low epistemic values to TT:

a - high modal values

b - low modal values



It was observed that the EMs most frequently transferred to the outputs in both tasks belonged to the same three categories: modal verbs (MV), phrases with adjectives and participles (ADJ), and phrases with nouns (N), as shown in Fig. 4. In the case of the P-E task, 43% of successful translations of ST units with ADJ involved a modality marker, followed by units with N (34%) and MV (30%). For the E-P task, 44% of translations of ST units with MV involved modal meaning, followed by units with N (43%) and ADJ (37%). In both tasks, modal adverbs and particles were transferred to the outputs in only 18% of successful translations.

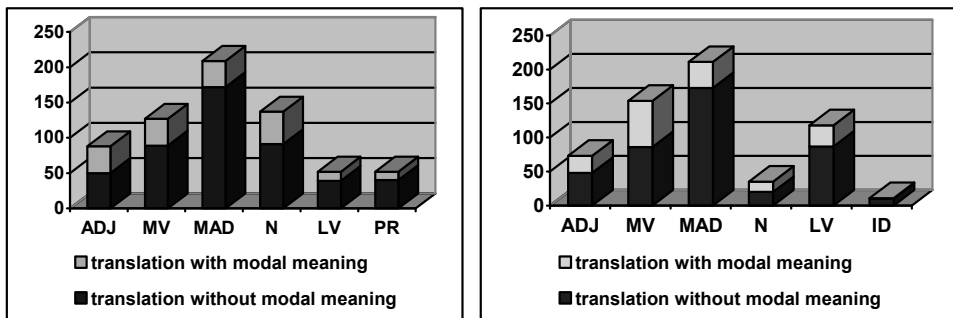


Fig. 4. Transfer of EMs by category:

a – Polish-English task

b – English-Polish task

#### 4. Concluding remarks

The results of this small-scale study can be summarised in the following way:

1. Epistemic modality is transferred to the outputs in about 30% of successful translation attempts, a proportion which does not seem to be related to the direction of consecutive interpreting. Distinct from propositional content (Ransom 1977: 357), it may be either reduced by trainee interpreters, who struggle with specific constraints imposed by this mode of interpreting (see, e.g., Gile 1995), or perhaps unwittingly ignored (as shown in previous studies on the treatment of irrealis; Łyda 2007).
2. Epistemic modality is transferred to the outputs as deontic modality in more than 20% of successful translation attempts with modal meaning. In the P-E task, the high frequency of CAN in the outputs may be related to the fact that the Polish translation equivalent MÓC relays ei-

ther deontic ('can') or epistemic ('may') meaning. In the E-P task, one of the two most frequently used markers, *MUSIEĆ*, functions in Polish as a deontic or an epistemic modal verb (similar to English *MUST* in this respect). Moreover, in many cases deontic markers were found to combine with verbs of perception and in this way to act as hedges, which tone down the author's commitment to the expressed proposition.

3. High and low-value EMs seem to be transferred to the outputs with a similar frequency independent of the direction of interpreting, the balance only slightly tilted in favour of the low-value markers.
4. In about one-third of the cases, high-value modality is transferred to the outputs as low-value modal meaning. In view of the fact that the treatment of low-value markers is much more consistent in this respect regardless of the direction of interpreting, this could perhaps be viewed as an additional hedging strategy on the part of the interpreter, who focuses on the precise rendering of the propositional content.
5. The most frequently transferred categories of EMs include MV, ADJ, and N. Phrases with adjectives and participles usually realise modality explicitly (100% of cases in the P-E task, where this category is the one most frequently transferred to the outputs) and hence, occurring in projecting clauses, are possibly more easily noticed by the interpreter. Modal verbs, most frequently transferred in the E-P task, although necessarily implicit as vectors of modal meaning, form in English a well-defined subsystem and are prototypical means for expressing modal values. Nouns appear to render more easily to the subject-verb-object analysis of meaning which helps interpreters identify main ideas (Jones 1998) compared to, e.g., adverbs, and perhaps are in this respect more salient than other categories. By contrast, modal adverbs, the least frequently transferred category in the P-E task and the second least frequently transferred group of markers in the E-P task, realise modal meanings implicitly and seem to belong to the least salient items in the process of interpreting.

None of these findings seems to show any clear relation to the direction of interpreting, although the results must be treated with caution considering the small-scale nature of the present study.

## Appendix 1: The source texts (STs)

### Text A

Szanowni Państwo, tytuł mojego krótkiego wystąpienia brzmi „Relacje przestrzenne a porządek świata w powieści Stefana Themersona”. **Możliwe**, że termin „porządek świata” nie dla wszystkich oznacza to samo. Otóż ja przez porządek świata rozumiem tutaj nie tyle „stan świata zgodny z prawami natury”, ile obraz tego stanu funkcjonujący w świadomości pewnej zbiorowości. **Może** on sprawiać, że jej uczestnicy postrzegają rzeczy i relacje w określony sposób. Czynnikiem generującym ten obraz **muszą** być z jednej strony **zapewne** doświadczenia fizykalne, z drugiej zaś zjawiska semiotyczne, m.in. językowe, na gruncie których **niewątpliwie** rozwija się i funkcjonuje kultura. Istotnym czynnikiem kształtującym tak pojęty porządek świata jest **z pewnością** jego obraz językowy, a więc struktura pojęciowa utrwalona we właściwościach gramatycznych i leksykalnych języka danej zbiorowości oraz zawarta w nim interpretacja rzeczywistości. Będąc sposobem opisu rzeczywistości, język **nie może** więc pozostawać wobec niej bierny, lecz wpływa **na pewno** na postrzeganie przedmiotu opisu. Właśnie poprzez język przyjrę się tutaj porządkowi świata wybranej na dziś powieści, szczególnie zaś dwóm rodzajom zależności: pomiędzy ciałem podmiotu i sposobem ujmowania relacji przestrzennych w języku oraz pomiędzy sposobem ujmowania relacji przestrzennych a porządkiem aksjologicznym. **Jest wielce prawdopodobne**, że zależności te stanowią podstawową oś, na której opiera się logika stworzonego przez autora świata.

Powieść Themersona jest **być może** odwróceniem dzieła Maeterlincka: tam człowiek bada życie termitów, tu zaś termit obserwuje świat ludzi. Obok czytelnich, **jak sądzę**, nawiązań do języka noblisty, sparodiowaniu ulega **chyba** także Maeterlinckowska postawa metodologiczna, która, zastosowana do badania człowieka, **musi** prowadzić do absurdalnych wniosków.

Wnioski, do jakich dochodzą termyty, stosując metodę naukowego opisu, **nie pozostawiają wątpliwości**, że język nauk przyrodniczych nie jest wystarczającym narzędziem poznania. Zafałszowanie obrazu poznawanej rzeczywistości jest tu **przypuszczalnie** konsekwencją interpretacji świata wyłącznie z punktu widzenia termita – jego budowy ciała, fizjologii, możliwości poznania zmysłowego, tworzonych przezeń struktur społecznych, sposobu uprawiania nauki, religijności i hierarchii wartości. **Niewykluczone** więc, że te same czynniki, które kształtują porządek świata zbiorowości, utrudniają poznanie i zrozumienie elementów tworzących odrębne porządki i w ich ramach funkcjonujących.

Ponieważ bohaterami powieści są termyty, **przypuszczam**, że nie dziwi nikogo obecność w tekście takich terminów jak abdomen czy thorax. Jednocześnie jest to **bez wątpienia** opowieść o człowieku i jego rzeczywistości. Czytelnik ma więc pa-

miętać, że termit jest maską sporządzoną z języka, w którym zachodzi metodyczne naruszanie związków frazeologicznych z udziałem nazw części ciała.

W przykładach widocznych teraz na ekranie rzeczowniki, oznaczające części ciała człowieka, zastąpiono **oczywiście** nazwami części ciała zwierząt, nie zawsze odpowiadających im pod względem funkcji. Wyrażenia i zwroty leżące u podstaw tych 'nowych' formacji pozostają **na pewno** czytelne i **myślę**, że zrozumienie tych fragmentów w kontekście całej powieści **nie powinno** nastęrczać czytelnikowi kłopotów. Podobną rolę **zdaje się** pełnić neologizm, który widzą Państwo niżej.

Analogicznej manipulacji można by się **przypuszczalnie** dopatrzeć w odniesieniu do jednostek leksykalnych oznaczających zmysły i związków frazeologicznych z udziałem takich leksemów. Także w tym przypadku u podstaw mechanizmu leży **zapewne** kwestia możliwości fizycznych bohaterów oraz zasada przejrzystości 'nowych' formacji.

Wszystkie omawiane wcześniej zabiegi językowe mają **prawdopodobnie** na celu z jednej strony podtrzymanie iluzji niezależnej rzeczywistości, z drugiej zaś podkreślenie symetrii pomiędzy światem tekstu i ludzkim porządkiem świata, jako że wprowadzone zmiany **zdają się** mieć charakter jedynie formalny.

Budowa ciała, organy zmysłów i sposób poruszania się **muszą** mieć **niewątpliwie** decydujący wpływ na postrzeganie przestrzeni. **Jest także oczywiste**, że te same cechy oraz codzienne doświadczenie skłaniają nas do organizowania przestrzeni w określony sposób – sprawne funkcjonowanie organizmów roślinnych, zwierzęcych i wielu przedmiotów codziennego użytku uwarunkowane jest **prawdopodobnie** zdolnością 'trzymania pionu'. **Nie ulega wątpliwości**, że zmiany polegające na wprowadzeniu w miejsce nazw części ciała człowieka nazw części ciała owadów mają konsekwencje dla modelowania stosunków przestrzennych w tekście.

Tak jak **sprawą bezdyskusyjną jest** stwierdzenie, iż budowa ciała podmiotu i podstawowe doświadczenia fizyczne modelują sposób postrzegania przestrzeni, tak też sposób ujmowania relacji przestrzennych ma **bez wątpienia** konsekwencje aksjologiczne. Sposób postrzegania przestrzeni stanowi bowiem podstawę metaforycznego ujmowania pojęć w jej kategoriach.

**Jest pewne**, że metaforyczne ujmowanie pojęć w kategoriach przestrzennych ma charakter systematyczny i charakteryzuje się tym, że wartości pozytywne są **oczywiście** utożsamiane z ruchem w górę. Aksjologizacja przestrzeni **może** więc z  **pewnością** znaleźć odbicie w sposobach mówienia o pojęciach bardzo złożonych.

**Jestem przekonana**, że odwrócenie porządku aksjologicznego w omawianej powieści wpisuje się w logikę tworzenia innego świata i wynika **ponad wszelką wątpliwość** z zastosowanych zabiegów językowych, których celem jest stworzenie iluzji, iż powieść traktuje o życiu owadów. Zabiegi stosowane przez autora **nie mogą** być przypadkowe, **wydaje się**, że cechuje je duża konsekwencja, począwszy od nieco mechanicznych operacji słownikowych, przez zabiegi słowotwórcze, zaburzenie związków frazeologicznych, po odmienną od ludzkiej aksjologizację przestrzeni. Mamy tu **chyba** do czynienia z umotywowanymi odstępstwami od normy języko-

wej, które, umożliwiając inną konceptualizację przestrzeni, prowadzą do wykreowania nowego porządku świata. **Widać, że** odstępstwa te charakteryzuje jednocześnie duża spójność i konsekwencja. **Możliwe**, że w tej właśnie spójności i konsekwencji tkwi cały urok powieści. **Pozostają wątpliwości**, czy wykreowanie świata o tak odmiennym porządku jest możliwe bez radykalnych zabiegów na poziomie języka. **Istnieje duże prawdopodobieństwo**, że nie, nie zapominajmy bowiem, że nasza percepcja rzeczywistości warunkowana jest językiem, jakim o tej rzeczywistości mówimy. Dziękuję bardzo.

### Text B

Ladies and Gentlemen, today I'd like to talk to you about genre awareness in second language acquisition. Genres could perhaps be defined as conventionalised message-forms which are certainly culture-specific and which seem to constitute a frame through which members of a given culture make sense of an actual communicative situation and by which they are apparently guided while engaging in linguistic interaction. The aim of the present discussion is to look into the sources of certain communicative problems non-native speakers of a language appear to encounter, problems which are likely to stem from the unawareness of what such frames hold.

**It is possible** to view genres as a type of highly complex frames which **probably** act as models for dealing with specific communicative tasks and which are **necessarily** shared by members of a culture or a community. As a property of a community or culture, **it is obvious** that they become conventionalised routes for the interpretation and production of messages, a kind of rough-and-ready solution to recurrent communicative problems.

Indeed, the ability to identify a text as a representative of a text-type or genre is **beyond doubt** an essential step in the interpretation of the message. If one treats the communicative purpose as the defining characteristic of a genre, then what renders a text interpretable **must be** the ability to recognise its overall communicative goal, that is, firstly, the ability to recognise its predominant illocutionary force, and, secondly, the ability to recognise the social function in which it is used. This is **clearly** done by fitting current data, linguistic and non-linguistic, into the pre-existing structures or frames. Once the frame has been identified, all the elements within it are **of course** activated, read into the current communicative situation, and thus brought into the interpretation of the received message.

**There is no doubt** that knowledge of genre-conventions **may** facilitate communication, making certain communicative decisions natural or 'non-problematic' – a point which is **for sure** particularly important for a non-native user of a language, who has a chance to compensate for inadequacies of his or her grammatical competence. Still, **it is possible** that ignorance of genre-conventions either compli-

cates a communicative situation by forcing the speaker to deal with a communicative task the hard way although a routinised procedure has been established, or becomes a serious obstacle to communication if the frames used by the speakers do not tally. In the latter case, the elements read into the current communicative situation by one communicator **might not** be accessible to the other, as they **might** be absent from the frame he or she applies. Even if the communicative goal is shared, **it is conceivable** that the conventional strategies applied to attain it have evolved differently and are highly culture-specific. **I believe** this results in apparent equivalence of genres. On the one hand, both **obviously** serve the same overall communicative purpose and both are called by conventional names. On the other hand, these genres-frames **may** contain elements which are **possibly** incompatible. Although **it goes without saying** that incompatibility of frames **may** result from many elements, here I will focus on only one such domain which **is bound to** influence heavily the choice of strategy and which, if not recognised by the communicator as culture-specific, **must certainly** result in adopting a strategy that misses the point. This domain is intellectual tradition.

While certain languages **clearly** favour directness in addressing a problem and linearity in development of argumentation, others **seem to** prefer different discourse strategies and **apparently** prioritise different values. **It is clear** that there are considerable differences in the ways speakers of different languages introduce a subject, develop argumentation, and present their results, and that these differences **are bound to** reflect the speakers' discourse expectations and criteria they apply in text evaluation. **I suppose** that a substantial proportion of the resulting problems **may** originate in the differences in intellectual traditions, a case particularly well exemplified by academic texts.

**It seems that** the differences in the organisation of academic texts stem from the following factors: different attitude to knowledge, different status of the researcher, and different attitude to the reader. With regard to the first source of differences, speakers of English **presumably** prefer linear argumentation and high precision of expression, while speakers of German **evidently** value digressions and often postpone definitions as if developing them in the course of writing. **I am convinced** that these differences are manifestation of the attitude to knowledge, which in the German tradition is idealised and valued per se, regardless of the way in which it is presented.

Another source of the incompatibility of frames is the status of the writer. Certain differences in the structure of English and German academic texts **seem to** be related to the need to confirm the academic status of a German author by heavy use of terminology, syntactic complexity, and digressiveness of argumentation.

Finally, the divergence of apparently equivalent genres could **possibly** be related to different attitudes towards the reader. This problem is **perhaps** best formulated in terms of reader or writer responsibility for the understanding of the text. While communication presupposes co-operation, the share of responsibility for

its success **will** vary. English criteria for academic writing require that the authors make their texts understandable and easy to follow. This in turn demands that the writers explicitly specify the purpose of writing early in the text, that they attach importance to clarity of expression and definition of key terms used, and that they avoid digressions. These norms, though, **can't be** universal and reflect the Anglo-Saxon perspective on communicative co-operation in general and on academic discourse in particular.

To sum up, **I think** that in many cases knowledge of culture-dependent genre conventions is decisive for the success of a text. Arguing for genre-awareness in second language acquisition does not imply arguing for adopting English assumptions, expectations and values by non-native speakers of the language. Rather than advocate close adherence to English patterns, the focus on genre structure aims at a better understanding of the beliefs, social models and conventions others bring into a communicative situation, which, in turn, **is likely to** make communication more effective. Thank you.

## Appendix 2: Epistemic modal markers in contexts

	Table 3. Epistemic modal markers in ST A		category	value high / low	realization explicit / implicit
1.	możliwe, że termin nie dla wszystkich oznacza to samo	'it is possible'	ADJ	L	E
2.	może on sprawić, że	'may'	MV	L	I
3.	czynnikami tym <b>muszą</b> być doświadczenia fizykalne	'must'	MV	H	I
4.	<b>zapewne</b> doświadczenia fizykalne	'probably'	MAD	L	I
5.	na gruncie których <b>niewątpliwie</b> rozwija się kultura	'undoubtedly'	MAD	H	I
6.	czynnikami jest z <b> pewnością</b> obraz językowy	'with certainty'	N	H	I
7.	język <b>nie może</b> pozostawać bierny	'cannot'	MV	H	I
8.	wpływa <b>na pewno</b> na postrzeganie	'for sure'	MAD	H	I
9.	<b>jest wiele prawdopodobne</b> , że zależności te stanowią ós	'it is very probable'	ADJ	L	E
10.	powieść jest <b>być może</b> odwróceniem dzieła	'perhaps'	PR	L	I
11.	obok czytelnich, <b>jak sądzę</b> , nawiązań	'I reckon'	LV	L	E
12.	sparodiowaniu ulega <b>chyba</b> postawa	'perhaps'	MAD	L	I
13.	postawa, która <b>musi</b> prowadzić do wniosków	'must'	MV	H	I
14.	wnioski <b>nie pozostawiają wątpliwości</b> , że język nie jest	'leave no doubt'	N	H	E
15.	zafalszowanie jest tu <b>przypuszczalnie</b> konsekwencją	'conceivably'	MAD	L	I
16.	<b>niewykluczone</b> , że te same czynniki utrudniają poznanie	'it is conceivable'	ADJ	L	E
17.	<b>przypuszczam</b> , że nie dziwi obecność	'I suppose'	LV	L	E
18.	jest to <b>bez wątpienia</b> opowieść o człowieku	'without doubt'	N	H	I
19.	rzeczowniki zastąpiono <b>oczywiście</b> nazwami	'obviously'	MAD	H	I
20.	wyrażnia i zwroty pozostają <b>na pewno</b> czytelne	'for sure'	MAD	H	I
21.	<b>myślę</b> , że zrozumienie tych fragmentów	'I think'	LV	L	E
22.	<b>nie powinno</b> nastęrczać kłopotów	'should not'	MV	L	I



23.	podobną rolę <b>zdaje się</b> pełnić neologizm	'seem to'	LV	L	I
24.	można by się <b>przypuszczalnie</b> dopatrzeć	'conceivably'	MAD	L	I
25.	u podstaw leży <b>zapewne</b> kwestia	'probably'	MAD	L	I
26.	zabiegi mają <b>prawdopodobnie</b> na celu	'probably'	MAD	L	I
27.	wprowadzone zmiany <b>zdają się</b> mieć charakter	'seem to'	LV	L	I
28.	organy zmysłów <b>muszą</b> mieć decydujący wpływ	'must'	MV	H	I
29.	muszą mieć <b>niewątpliwie</b> decydujący wpływ	'undoubtedly'	MAD	H	I
30.	<b>jest oczywiste, że</b> te same cechy	'it is obvious'	ADJ	H	E
31.	funkcjonowanie uwarunkowane jest <b>prawdopodobnie</b> zdolnością	'probably'	MAD	L	I
32.	<b>nie ulega wątpliwości, że</b> zmiany mają konsekwencje	'there is no doubt'	N	H	E
33.	<b>jest sprawą bezdyskusyjną, iż</b> budowa podmiotu	'it is indisputable'	ADJ	H	E
34.	sposób ujmowania relacji ma <b>bez wątpienia</b> konsekwencje	'without doubt'	N	H	I
35.	<b>jest pewne, że</b> ujmowanie pojęć w kategoriach	'it is certain'	ADJ	H	E
36.	wartości pozytywne są <b>oczywiście</b> utożsamiane	'obviously'	MAD	H	I
37.	aksjologizacja przestrzeni <b>może</b> znaleźć odbicie	'may'	MV	L	I
38.	aksjologizacja przestrzeni może z <b>pewnością</b> znaleźć odbicie	'with certainty'	N	H	I
39.	<b>jestem przekonana, że</b> odwrócenie porządku	'I am convinced'	ADJ	H	E
40.	odwrócenie wynika <b>ponad wszelką wątpliwość</b> z zabiegów	'beyond doubt'	N	H	I
41.	zabiegi <b>nie mogą</b> być przypadkowe	'cannot'	MV	H	I
42.	<b>wydaje się, że</b> cechuje je konsekwencja	'it seems'	PR	L	E
43.	mamy tu <b>chyba</b> do czynienia	'perhaps'	MAD	L	I
44.	<b>widać, że</b> odstępstwa te charakteryzuje	'apparently'	PR	H	E
45.	<b>możliwe, że</b> w tej spójności tkwi urok	'it is possible'	ADJ	L	E
46.	<b>pozostają wątpliwości, czy</b> wykreowanie świata jest możliwe	'there are doubts'	N	L	E
47.	<b>istnieje duże prawdopodobieństwo, że</b> nie	'in all likelihood'	N	L	E

	Table 4. Epistemic modal markers in ST B	category	value high / low	realization explicit / implicit
1.	genres could <b>perhaps</b> be defined	MAD	L	I
2.	message-forms which are <b>certainly</b> culture-specific	MAD	H	I
3.	which <b>seem to</b> constitute a frame	LV	L	I
4.	by which they are <b>apparently</b> guided	MAD	H	I
5.	problems non-native speakers of a language <b>appear to</b> encounter	LV	L	I
6.	problems which are <b>likely to</b> stem from the unawareness	ADJ	L	I
7.	highly complex frames which <b>probably</b> act as models	MAD	L	I
8.	which are <b>necessarily</b> shared by members of a culture	MAD	H	I
9.	<b>it is obvious</b> that they become conventionalised routes	ADJ	H	E
10.	is <b>beyond doubt</b> an essential step in the interpretation	N	H	I
11.	what renders a text interpretable <b>must</b> be the ability to recognise	MV	H	I
12.	this is <b>clearly</b> done by fitting current data	MAD	H	I
13.	all the elements within it are <b>of course</b> activated	MAD	H	I
14.	<b>there is no doubt</b> that knowledge of genre-conventions	N	H	E
15.	knowledge of genre-conventions <b>may</b> facilitate communication	MV	L	I
16.	a point which is <b>for sure</b> particularly important	MAD	H	I
17.	<b>it is possible</b> that ignorance of genre-conventions	ADJ	L	E
18.	the elements <b>might not</b> be accessible	MV	L	I
19.	they <b>might</b> be absent from the frame	MV	L	I
20.	<b>it is conceivable</b> that the conventional strategies applied	ADJ	L	E
21.	<b>I believe</b> this results in apparent equivalence	LV	L	E
22.	both <b>obviously</b> serve the same communicative purpose	MAD	H	I
23.	genres-frames <b>may</b> contain elements which are incompatible	MV	L	I

24.	elements which are <b>possibly</b> incompatible	MAD	L	I
25.	<b>it goes without saying</b> that incompatibility of frames may result from incompatibility of frames <b>may</b> result from	ID	H	E
26.	domain which <b>is bound to</b> influence heavily the choice of strategy	MV	L	I
27.	<b>must</b> certainly result in adopting a strategy that misses the point	MV	H	I
28.	<b>must</b> certainly result in adopting a strategy that misses the point	MAD	H	I
29.	certain languages <b>clearly</b> favour directness	MAD	H	I
30.	others <b>seem to</b> prefer different discourse strategies	LV	L	I
31.	<b>apparently</b> prioritise different values	MAD	H	I
32.	<b>it is clear</b> that there are considerable differences	ADJ	H	E
33.	differences <b>are bound to</b> reflect the speakers' discourse expectations	MV	H	I
34.	<b>I suppose</b> that a substantial proportion of the resulting problems	LV	L	E
35.	the resulting problems <b>may</b> originate in the differences	MV	L	I
36.	<b>it seems that</b> the differences in the organisation stem from	LV	L	E
37.	speakers of English <b>presumably</b> prefer linear argumentation	MAD	L	I
38.	speakers of German <b>evidently</b> value digressions	MAD	H	I
39.	<b>I am convinced</b> that these differences are	ADJ	H	E
40.	differences . . . <b>seem to</b> be related to	LV	L	I
41.	could <b>possibly</b> be related to different attitudes	MAD	L	I
42.	this problem is <b>perhaps</b> best formulated	MAD	L	I
43.	the share of responsibility for its success <b>will</b> vary	MV	H	I
44.	these norms, though, <b>can't</b> be universal	MV	H	I
45.	<b>I think</b> that in many cases knowledge of genre conventions	LV	L	E
46.	which <b>is likely to</b> make communication more effective	ADJ	L	I
47.				

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