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METAPRAGMATICS OF ACADEMIC WRITTEN DISCOURSE

Yaroslava Gnezdilova

Kyiv National Linguistic University, Kyiv, Ukraine

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Abstract: The article focuses on the notion of metapragmatics in general, including three steps of metapragmatic analysis, and studies academic written metadiscourse in particular. Special attention is drawn to the delimitation of the main types of metacommunicative means, or meta-means, with an emphasis on their functional specifics in academic written discourse. The article concludes with a list of meta-means, which are most typical of this discourse type.

Key words: metapragmatic analysis, meta-index, metadiscourse, meta-means, academic written discourse.

1. Introduction

In Western linguistic studies of metalanguage in general and metacommunication in particular, there has lately been observed a considerable terminological shift caused by the introduction of the notion of metapragmatics. The term itself belongs to Jakobson (1960); yet, the socio-linguistic and anthropologic research of Silverstein (1993) is deemed fundamental as the one which aroused interest to the phenomenon of metapragmatics and happened to be the most cited work in this field (*see* Caffi 2009; Geert 1999; Lempert 2012; Mertz & Yovel 2002: 252–253; Ruiz-Gurillo 2016; Verschueren 2000 etc.), including an article, devoted to its definition and general principles, in the "Concise Encyclopedia of Pragmatics" (Caffi 2009).

The notion of metapragmatics covers psychological, cognitive, and social backgrounds, and is a universal concept which comprises the metalinguistic function in terms of Jacobsonian classification (1960), the metacommunicative function according to Bateson (1972), and the reflexive function as stated in Lucy (1993: 9). However, a narrow focus on metapragmatics can be given, and as such the latter can be interpreted either as a self-reflexive process bound to the contextualized language use; a metalanguage process, a reflexive capacity of the language, even a metalinguistic process concerning the pragmatic code and pragmatic capacity (Ruiz-Gurillo 2016: 1); or as a metalinguistic process, which has no relation to the reflexivity of the language (Verschuieren 2000: 441); finally, as a metacommunicative process (Parvaresh & Tavangar 2010: 133).

Nevertheless, the phenomenon of metapragmatics is of little concern in Eastern (or the so-called Post-Soviet) linguistic school, except for Sivenkova (2013), a Belarusian scholar. Let us consider the reasons for such a situation. On the one hand, in the Western linguistic tradition, a focus is made on a separate study of metalinguistic, reflexive and metacommunicative means or utterances. I would like to point out that metacommunicative means are less popular as objects of investigation, because in most cases they are viewed narrowly, in Bateson's interpretation (1972), except for the cases when metacommunication is interpreted as a description of processes and mechanisms through which metalanguage operates (Caffi 2009: 629; Mertz & Yovel 2002: 250). The borderline between metalinguistic, reflexive and metacommunicative means is somewhat vague, sometimes subjective and disputable. Consequently, the idea of a sort of 'generalizing theory' and, accordingly, terminology, which would unify the aforementioned means and make their analysis easier, has been well-liked and warmly accepted. As a result, there is no need to stress particular metalanguage means that are studied; on the contrary, it is enough to say 'metapragmatic means' or, simply, meta-means / utterances / acts, suggesting that these means refer to the 'meta-level' or are studied in 'metadiscourse'.

On the other hand, in the Eastern linguistic tradition, a majority of the aforementioned means belong to 'metacommunicative' ones in accordance with the broad interpretation of metacommunication as it is viewed as some global communicative modality (Девкин 1981; Watzlawick, Beavin et al. 1967 etc.). In fact, the urgent need of launching the notion of 'metapragmatic' might be under question, as the term 'metacommunicative', in fact, equals 'metapragmatic'.

Yet, for both linguistic schools the definition of metapragmatics as the pragmatics of meta-means (Hubler & Bublitz 2007: 1, 6; Sivenkova 2013) in the discourse of a particular genre seems to be logical. Metapragmatics is closely connected to discourse-analysis (Barron 2002: 8) due to the fact that discourse is "taken as a metapragmatic condition which not only refers to the immediately perceived context (...); it also comprises the hidden conditions that govern such situations of language use" (Fetzer 2014: 35; Mey 2001: 190). Consequently, metapragmatics is the theory of how metadiscourse is used in interaction (Hubler & Bublitz 2007; Sivenkova 2013: 21).

What is beyond question about metapragmatics or, to be more precise, the metapragmatic organization of discourse, is its interplay with social-institutional power dynamics, which helps to understand the ideological structuring of society in and through language and discourse (Mertz & Yovel 2002: 254). I have come to a conclusion that metapragmatics is actualized in social and cultural environment in three basic ways. Firstly, metapragmatics is identified with the capacity of speakers to articulate pragmatic rules, judge whether the behaviour is appropriate or inappropriate, and comment on it (Becker 2014: 1), or, in other words, to formulate explicit rules of speaking (Blum-Kulka & Sheffer 1993: 216) and "describe the ground rules for understanding communicative action which permeates a given community of practices" (Ide 2009: 27). Secondly, metapragmatics is intertwined with the awareness of social power in the context of language structure and use (here a 'metapragmatic awareness' is meant). The factors that influence the metapragmatic function are the socio-cultural background of the interlocutors and the setting of the communicative

situation. Accordingly, the role of metapragmatic awareness in filtering the influence of social structure on language use and form is connected with both the theory of speech genres and the theory of language ideologies (Mertz & Yovel 2002: 257-259); as a result of the interplay of the aforementioned theories a number of discourses of different genres have emerged (ibid.: 261-262; Verschueren 2000: 451-452).

The forenamed work of Silverstein (1993) prompted the further studying of the phenomenon of metapragmatics in three directions: (i) through a simplified approach to its interpretation, metapragmatics equals pragmatics of metacommunicative means (Hubler & Bublitz 2007: 1,6; Sivenkova 2013: 21); (ii) at a deeper level of analysis, metapragmatics is understood as the investigation of pragmatic phenomena at a meta-level of some discourse (Barron 2002: 8; Mey 2001: 190); (iii) finally, in the scope of social linguistics and linguistic anthropology, metapragmatics is tightly bound to social and cultural environment (Blum-Kulka & Sheffer 1993; Ide 2009; Mertz & Yovel 2002: 254).

This article focuses on the metapragmatic analysis of academic written discourse via distinguishing its main types of meta-means with an emphasis on their functional specifics in the aforementioned type of discourse. In other words, let us answer the question what meta-means, selected from the research articles, are most typical for this discourse type.

2. Methodology and theoretical framework

The objective of this article is achieved by fulfilling the following tasks: (i) to develop a generalized classification of various meta-means, systematizing and grouping them into different types and sub-types on the basis of the main metapragmatic functions they perform; and (ii) to study their specific use in academic written discourse. To reach the objective of the research and accomplish its tasks, a number of general scientific methods (deduction, induction, analysis and synthesis) as well as methods of

linguistic (pragmatic, metapragmatic, discourse and contextual analyses), and mathematical analyses (the quantitative method of Greenberg (1990)) have been used.

2.1 Metapragmatic analysis as a pragmatic analysis of meta-means

In my research, metapragmatic analysis is viewed as the one which covers all the three aforementioned levels of investigation (see above), and the first step is to single out general tendencies in the classification of meta-means. Here I present a more elaborate version of the classification of meta-means in comparison with the one offered in my previous article (Gnezdilova 2017). Even despite the fact that I analyzed there an autonomous group of meta-means only, yet the focus was made rather on the metapragmatic functions they performed than on distinguishing the different types and sub-types of those lexical means. Thus, an autonomous group of meta-means is introduced by four main groups of means: contact (or phatic) and reflexive means, speech regulators, and discourse organizers (see Fig. 1 below).

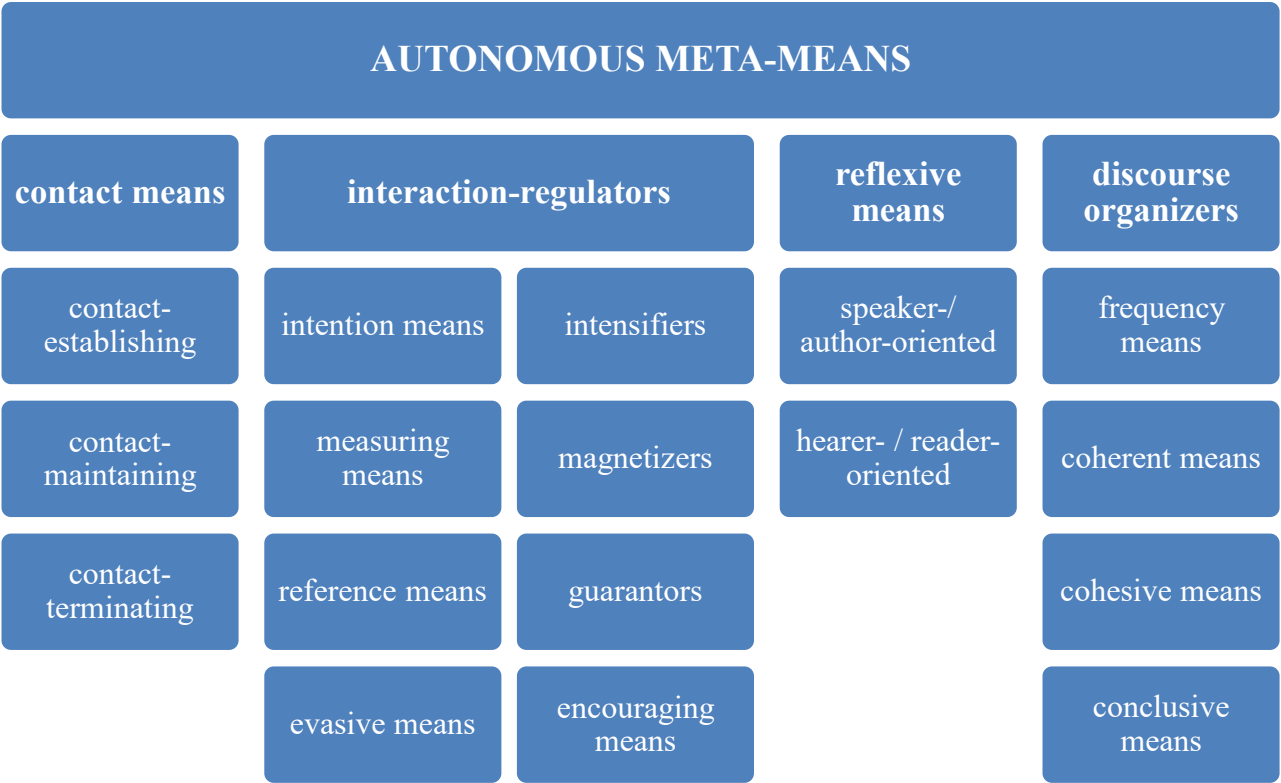


Figure 1. The classification of autonomous meta-means

Autonomous meta-means are explicit and stereotypical and, therefore, regular in their use. They may be occasional, but these are usually authorial (Hubler & Bublitz 2007:

13). Compared to autonomous meta-means, a group of contextually-dependent ones is not so typologically various because, firstly, they are predominantly implicit and, thus, occasional; and, secondly, they appear in different situations as clues that extract a hidden context.

2.2 Metapragmatic and discourse analyses

The second step includes (i) the adaptation of the generalized classification of meta-means (discussed above) with an emphasis on singling out "anchoring means", as defined by Silverstein (1993), considering the peculiarities of metapragmatic functions they perform in a particular discourse type, here, in the academic one; besides, (ii) discourse itself is subjected to "metapragmatic calibration" (Silverstein 1993), which, to my mind, equals relative gradation of discourse types in accordance with their degree of "metapragmatic intensity".

The first point, which should be discussed here, is the illustrative material taken for the study of "anchoring means" in academic metadiscourse. The research corpus is comprised of different scientific articles (subjectively and randomly chosen) devoted to the problems of metapragmatics and metacommunication. But here, the illustrative material is limited to two articles only, i.e. *Jef Verschueren "Notes on the role of metapragmatic awareness"* (2000) and *Klaus Bruhn Jensen "Meta-media and meta-communication – revising the concept of genre in the digital media environment"* (2011), totalling 11,533 words.

Let me proceed to the notion of "metapragmatic calibration". Silverstein (1993) uses pragmatic and semantic interpretation of metapragmatic calibration, yet I view it as "metapragmatic intensity" of discourse, which can be studied by means of quantitative analysis. The idea to measure metapragmatic intensity of discourse was borne out of the quantitative approach to linguistic analysis, applied by Greenberg (1990: 3-26) in historical and comparative linguistics where he calculated synthetic, polysynthetic, compositional, and inflectional indexes, the index of agglutination of languages under

comparison, etc. I am a firm believer that this method can be adjusted for calculating the metapragmatic / metacommunicative index, or the meta-index, in different discourse types (e.g., everyday, media, political, rhetoric, religious, academic, law etc.). The identification of this index would serve as a proof of the theory of metapragmatic calibration (even though the mathematical results might seem to simplify Silverstein's conclusions) and would help to verify the hypothesis that metacommunication is present in any discourse type, i.e., the metapragmatic function is realized in all forms of human communication, yet the degree of metapragmatic intensity of various discourse types might be different.

Inspired by Greenberg (1990: 12-14), an attempt is made to define meta-features involved in various discourse types in terms of a ratio of two units, each defined by a sufficient rigor and by the calculation of a numerical index based on the relative frequency of these two units over the sketches of discourse. The meta-index is the ratio of meta-constructions to informationally meaningful lexical units, i.e., M/W , where M equals the number of words which belong to meta-constructions and W equals the number of informationally meaningful words.

Now then, the calculation results of an academic written discourse under study (11,533 words in total) show that 4,052 words constitute meta-constructions, which is 35% in comparison to 65% of meaningful words (i.e., 7,481 lexical items). The meta-index of academic written discourse is 0.54 (the averaged result). It should be noted that this index-number is not a constant and it can slightly differ from one scientific article to another, irrespective of the fact that all the ten articles, selected for analysis, thematically belong to the field of metapragmatics. Yet, it depends on the author's style of presenting his / her research results (*see* Table 1 below). For example, meta-indexes of articles under analysis in this paper are 0.59 (Verschueren's research paper) and 0.45 (Jensen's research paper). In accordance with Greenberg's theory (1990: 3-26), an averaged result can be considered as the one which is characteristic of an academic written discourse.

Table 1. The results of the calculation of meta-indexes in academic written discourse

Discourse type	Mathematical operation	The results for every 100-word fragment under analysis										Average d result
		37	31	18	26	47	40	55	30	20	25	
academic written	%											32.9
	i_m	0.5	0.4	0.2	0.3	0.8	0.6	1.2	0.4	0.2	0.3	0.54
		9	5	2	5	9	7	2	3	5	3	
		Verschueren (2000)	Jensen (2011)	Hyland (2007)	Polovna (2012)	Tannen (2002)	Craig (2016)	Hoppenbrouwers and Weigand (2000)	Spencer-Oatey (2011)	Stephen (2004)	Yuan, Xu, Lai and Liberman (2016)	

Moreover, for the purity of my scientific experiments in a complex study of various discourse types (everyday, political, rhetoric, media, academic written / scientific etc.), I take ten 100-word thematically-close fragments of every discourse type, each exemplifying the writing styles of different authors. The averaged results for the ten fragments of every discourse type are used for a further comparative analysis with other discourse types and help to differentiate discourses on the basis of their 'metacommunicativeness'. The higher the value of meta-index in a discourse is, the higher the level of its metapragmatic intensity. Therefore, the general method of index calculation based on discourse ratios of carefully defined meta-elements has a definite value in metadiscourse typological studies.

2.3 Metapragmatic analysis in socio-cultural environment

The last step of metapragmatic analysis concerns a social context and behavioural norms in various socio-cultural environments. The social and cultural aspect of discourse analysis deals with speech genres; as a result, there emerge discourses of different genres. Every discourse type has its own organization and structure, specific lexical units, including definite signaling / "anchoring" means or, simply, meta-means. Yet, as stated earlier (2017), it would be over-confident to say that every discourse type has its unique set of meta-means. In fact, it is absolutely possible, under certain conditions, to use any meta-means of any group in any discourse type. However, the preference in a particular discourse type is given to those meta-means, which perfectly

suit and reflect the style of speech and the communicative tradition in accordance with which the discourse is built.

Hence, any discourse of any genre, even despite the fact that many of them are characterized by more or less universal structure and characteristics, is greatly influenced by the social and cultural background of the speakers, participants, or authors of the discourse. To explain what I mean, let us take academic written discourse, which is under analysis in this article. In the Ukrainian scientific society nowadays, great attention is paid to academic writing in English, which is due to the demands of globalization processes and politics in Ukraine. As a result, a number of lectures, seminars, or training courses have been held for those who desire to improve their academic writing skills. General demands to the structural organization of articles, dissertations, and other scientific works are, in fact, the same, and might be viewed as universal truths. Any scientific work consists of such structural parts as abstract, key words, introduction, methodology, main body, summary, references, and resume. An author must study the background of the problem he / she investigates; prove his / her ideas with facts, examples, mathematical and statistical data processing, etc. Yet, I would like to cite the words of an autonomous reviewer who commented on one of my articles: *"Like with the other paper, I have no idea what it is about. I often have the feeling that these authors live in a completely different scientific world than the one I am familiar with. This doesn't mean that one world is better than the other, it only means that I cannot be very helpful because I don't know what these authors are trying to say in their resumes"*. And unfortunately it is true not only for my article. The key problem here, I think, is in our mentality, socio-cultural specifics of our teaching methods, and the manner of presenting arguments in our articles. It is not enough to replace *we/our*-style, peculiar for our scientific tradition, with *I/my*-style; it touches much deeper levels of perception, and one of them is metapragmatics.

In support of what has been said above, I will return to the outset of my practice in academic writing in English, when I asked my colleague from the University of Alberta

in Canada, Sivachenko, to look through an article of mine. I hypothesized that it was not ideal and I would get a number of remarks and corrections. Some were, I would say, internationally general and 'customary' for young scholars, like *'I think you should work on the introduction more. It is not very clear what you investigate and why'* or *'The fact that you believe that it is necessary does not mean it is necessary. You should prove WHY it is necessary'*. Others were culturally-specific, as in *'Here you have to say what these studies did rather than describing how they named metacommunicative means'* [in our tradition the terminological choice itself is also under focus] and *'In Anglo-American cultures, it is important to maintain politeness, which is associated with indirectness. Direct structures are viewed very rude'*. But I was greatly surprised when the majority of her notes concerned the meta-level, I, in fact, was researching, e.g., *'so' is too colloquial, use 'therefore'; 'all units possible' sounds very ambitious; 'that is why, no attention is paid to ...'* was commented as *'Don't be negative!!!! It sounds very rude!!!!'* etc. These 'mistakes' prompted me to consider the use of meta-means in English academic written discourse. The results of this research are discussed below.

3. Meta-means in academic written discourse

What I want to begin with is, according to Trunova (Трунова 2016), the terminological dissonances concerning the notion of 'academic discourse' or, to be more precise, the genres of academic writings. In the Eastern linguistic tradition there is a differentiation between academic, scientific, academic and scientific, and pedagogical discourses (Белова 2002; Ільченко 2002; Шепітько 2014); from this perspective, scientific/research articles belong to scientific, not academic, discourse. This point of view is also shared by some Western scholars, for example, American linguist Tannen (2002). Moreover, in fairness it must be said that the term 'scientific discourse' sometimes occurs in the context of Western academic discourse studies, but these are rather isolated instances than a regular use (Hyland 2007: 266; Menzel & Degaetano-Ortlieb 2017; Verschueren 2000: 451-452). Nevertheless, Western interpretations of the aforementioned term are broad-spectrum and generalizing, while 'academic writing / discourse' – or, as an alternative, 'published academic writing' (Hyland 2004: 1) and

'academic written discourse' (Povolna 2012: 131) – remain more popular among Western scholars. Following Hyland's classification (2004: 1), published academic writing is represented by research articles, abstracts, book reviews, textbooks, and scientific letters. In view of the fact that I study research articles, I use the term 'academic written discourse' as a working definition in this paper.

Academic written discourse is characterized by the ways in which the writers display their topics, signal their audiences, and present their arguments (identifying, classifying, and interpreting), as they should be most persuasive to particular communities of readers (Hyland 2004: 1; 2007: 266). An interaction between an author / writer and a reader has drawn attention of many scholars (see Hyland 2007: 267; Povolna 2012: 131) that resulted in further research of some conventional signals, i.e., discourse markers (for a more detailed overview of them see Gnezdilova 2017; Volkova 2017), for instance, causal and contrastive discourse markers (Povolna 2012), which constitute a group of meta-means; and discourse strategies, such as exemplifying and reformulating (Hyland 2007), and agonism (Tannen 2002) used to make author's / writer's communicative intentions clear to the reader(s). In the process of encoding as well as decoding information both the writer and the reader(s) rely on their common metapragmatic awareness (see details in Gnezdilova 2017: 45), which includes entire situational context as well as the background knowledge shared by the members of a particular discourse community and their prior experience of discourse processing (Povolna 2012: 132).

In keeping with the objectives of this paper, I need to underline that academic written discourses (despite the demands, put to scientific writings, to keep to the point and be precise) are of rich metapragmatic nature. It is proved, primarily, by the results of the quantitative analysis according to which meta-means constitute 35% and the meta-index of this discourse type is 0.54 (see chapter 2.2 above). Additionally, the use of meta-means is not limited to discourse organizers only (coherent and cohesive means in particular) or to regular means; there is a number of casual authorial meta-means,

built on similar structures-clichés (see chapter 3.4 below). Here two groups of means are studied: a group abundant in autonomous means, including interaction-regulating ones, reflexive means, and discourse organizers; and a group of contextually-dependent meta-means.

3.1 Interaction-regulating means in academic written discourse

Interaction-regulating means in academic written discourse are responsible for controlling, adjusting, and normalizing the content of the discourse by commenting on the author's words and providing them with additional shades of meaning. This group of means is the most numerous in academic written discourse, comprising seven main types (magnetizers, intensifiers, guarantors, commentary means, intention, grading, evasive and reference means), each of them having various sub-types. Further, in accordance with the given classification I am going to describe every type of interaction-regulating means in details.

Commentary means give some comments or remarks on an utterance / idea / event and are of various sub-types, which specify that commentary. These sub-types of commentary means with an emphasis on the specifics of metapragmatic functions they perform are discussed below.

- **confirmators** additionally validate some ideas (e.g., *(but) of course*); **verifiers** convince or prove that something is / might be true (e.g., *to be sure; indeed*);
- **specifiers** set up restrictions or establish the framework for analysis (e.g., *in this case; as a kind / form / sign of; in particular / and in particular; – here, ...; seen as ...; related to – / (hence) in relation to ...; ...in question; that are introduced by; namely ...; – more specifically still–; a special place is occupied by instances of; from this perspective; along this dimension; it is with reference to this dimension that; within its scope; in the context(s) of; in a Silversteinian perspective; in this domain; in itself; on the self-referential level; under certain circumstances; in conversation analysis; in a pragmatic theory*), defining the field, aspect, method, conditions, etc. under which some ideas / events / analyses are possible (e.g., *as used in linguistics; as documented*

in the literature on; as we know it, as in most academic writing; in a post-mass media setting; in terms of/ in evolutionary, psychological, and social terms; in a comparative perspective; in fact; at least in mass media studies; in the perspective of the history and theory of communication); **adders / means of addition** introduce some supplemental information for the reader, said as a further remark (e.g., *in addition to their being determined by the workings of such mechanisms*); **explicators** mark deviational remarks targeted at introducing extra details (e.g., *during a meeting of which this article is a side product*), often given in brackets, like: (*a topic which has been commonly debated in philosophy at least since Carnap (1937)*), (*a term borrowed from Jespersen (1921)*), (*numbers in square brackets added for easy reference; boldface, italics, and underlining added*); *taking an interdisciplinary (primarily anthropological-linguistic) point of view*); bring in explanations as to the reasons (e.g., *there is a reason why such confusion could arise; because of...; i.e.; in order to show that; such as...*) or speculations about some ideas (e.g., *As to (i) / (ii) / (iii); in the sense that...; and the notion lends itself to easy speculation*). It is worth mentioning that the metapragmatic status of explanatory means may be doubted even despite their clearly explicit parenthetical nature because the information provided by them might be considered, in some situations, propositionally valuable;

— **generalizers** simplify (e.g., *what we are concerned with is simply...*) or take a broad view of some theory / approach / idea / event, etc. (e.g., *in more general terms, in general, and creative arts generally –; all of which feed into what is reported as; which would generally be regarded as; it is this general aspect of; anything ever discussed under the labels; generally accepted or hegemonically imposed even if not generally adhered to; the entire literature on ... is fundamentally concerned with; at large; it was a common practice to; in the realm of social life in general*); **means of abstraction** are used by the speaker to abstract from or go beyond the scope of his / her analysis / traditional approach or interpretation (e.g., *the task of completing the picture is far beyond its scope; this is not only the case at the obvious levels of..., but also at much lower levels of...; this ... provides a way of moving beyond the notion of*), irrespective of the circumstances / in any case (e.g., *independently of the Silversteinian*

tradition; what happens in such cases is that; whatever pragmatic functioning there may be; whatever the preferred term may be; regardless of whether; which is not always equally observable);

— **concessive means** point at what interferes with the main idea / event (e.g., *in spite of / despite the fact that; notwithstanding that*); **means of congruence** reflect (in)compatibility, analogy / difference, (dis)similarity (e.g., *and as with all linguistic choice-making; similarly; though fully compatible with it; which corresponds directly with a term; though not coinciding with*); **means of comparison** underline similarity or draw parallels between two or more ideas (e.g., *in comparison; the same can be said of; as well as the definition used in this article; in comparison to more spontaneous oral interaction; like any other form of social action; just like other forms of; and the like*);

— **means of contrasting** highlight the differences via negations, denials or hesitations (e.g., *the point is not only that; nor is it merely that; is hardly a matter of; is not really the product of; is not entirely a thing of; rather than*); **means of warning** show that the reader should be careful with some statements (e.g., *to be approached with due caution; are not subject to further negotiation; which should not simply be taken for granted by*); **means of conditioning** make the utterance sound less peremptory (e.g., *as it were; if anything*).

Magnetizers are means that create a center of attention or catch the attention of the reader by means of either **attractants**, aimed at drawing attention of the reader to some ideas and arousing his / her interest (e.g., *I would simply like to draw the attention once more to the fact that; singling ... out for separate scientific attention is therefore a valuable heuristic strategy in order not to forget its fundamental contribution to*); **accentuators**, which (i) emphasize the (im)possibility of a certain theory / approach / idea / event etc. (e.g., *within the context of this article it is not even possible to begin spelling out; which cannot really be broken up into; cannot be understood without an understanding of the notions in terms of which; there is always the possibility of; it becomes possible to talk about; may be suspended in favor of*), the exclusivity /

exceptionality (e.g., *with the exception of; except in the odd aesthetic experiment*), and the contrast by which an additional emphasis is given to the main message (e.g., *and formulated against the background of; which does not only refer to ..., but which also categorizes that...*), (ii) underline the doubts about the theory / concept / approach etc. in question (e.g., *the very concept of ... is in doubt*) or, on the contrary, something that is undoubtful (e.g., *the validity of which is not questioned*); (iii) stress the importance of certain points (e.g., *it is important to keep such ... in mind; studying this type of awareness is crucial to an understanding of; being a crucial aspect of what goes on; it may be useful to point at; demonstrate clearly the importance that is generally attached to; so that understanding these processes is necessary for; it is an integral part of what goes on in; importantly*) or the key reason of why this or that opinion is worth speaking about (e.g., *insight into the ingredients of ... may therefore help us to understand; there is a reason why the title of this article is simply...; a notion which would not make sense without*); and **topicalizers**, which put the accent on, for instance, difficulties (e.g., *though because of the difficulty in giving all phenomena a specific place on the scale; if this condition is not satisfied, ... would be hard to understand without*).

Referential means constitute an integral part of academic discourse as the latter cannot exist without

(i) **references** which render the idea of some scholar(s) in the way the author understands it, and 'that idea' is usually introduced with: *according to Tomasello (1999); in the person of Roman Jakobson (1971); Jakobson (1971) presented / refers to; by Silverstein (1976, 1979, 1993); In Silverstein's view (1993); as Silverstein puts it (1993); that Silverstein would call (1993); strongly inspired by Jakobson, Silverstein identifies (1993); ...situate the theoretical contribution of Gumperz's (1982); a term originally inspired by Errington (1988); to use Silverstein's term (1993); as reflected in Lucy (ed.) 1993; the example is borrowed from Blommaert (1999); as D'hondt (2000) points out; as studied by the historian Thompson (1999, pp. 467-538); in unsentimental terms, Joshua Meyrowitz (1994, p. 54) noted that*);

- (ii) **citations** which represent one's words in extenso, no changes are made to a quote and it is syntactically marked with inverted commas. The quotes can be introduced in the way the references do, for example, *as noted by the linguist, Benveniste (1985[1969], p. 236), "the signs of society can be interpreted integrally by those of language, but the reverse is not so" (see also examples above)*. But the point is that quotes themselves are considered to belong to a meta-level (Verschueren 2000: 447);
- (iii) **self-references / citations** (e.g., *as I have mentioned above*);
- (iv) **examples** which are introduced with *for instance; e.g.; as in...; as with ...; the incidence of; by way of illustration; such as..., exemplified in (2); exemplified with reference to (1) above; example (2) illustrates; should be clear from a small example such as (4); as illustrations; one historical example is so-called*.

Measuring means as such accentuate a certain amount, degree, or comparative extent of one idea / utterance / procedure considered in relation to a unit of another one. In academic discourse, measuring means are introduced only by **intensifiers**, the task of which is to make the effect of what have been said before stronger (e.g., *significantly; fortunately; that are most visibly at work in*).

Means of evasion are used when the author wants to avoid responsibility for some ideas / events / approaches etc. Being not very popular in academic written discourse, they are mostly represented by **means of distancing**, which stress remoteness (e.g., *which I want to distance myself from in what follows; disregarding for the moment the question whether; leaving aside the issue of the line that is drawn between*). **Intention means** show that the author plans to investigate the object under analysis deeper (e.g., *first we have to go deeper into; and can be fully accounted for in terms of*). **Guarantors** in academic written discourse are used as those which ensure the obviousness / clarity of some facts (e.g., *clearly; it should be clear that; this is most clearly the case in; this is most typically the case when*).

Now, let me take an academic written discourse fragment, analyze it and specify the context in which the interaction-regulating means fulfill their metapragmatic functions: (1) *The classic example of a linguistic-semiotic model of communication was presented by the linguist and literary critic, Roman Jakobson (1960). Compared to the two aspects of meta-communication that Bateson noted – codification and communicative relationships – Jakobson identified an entire set of communicative functions. The implication of the model was that all discourses bear traces of all these constituents of communication – sender, message, and receiver; channel, code, and context – to varying degrees and in shifting configurations. Addressing a classic question in poetics – is there a special poetic language? – Jakobson concluded that there is, instead, a poetic function of language, and that this function is manifest in many other genres, for instance, advertising. Poets, while inviting people to ponder what might be the 'message' of their poems (poetic function), also address their readers (conative function) about some possible world (referential function). Web advertising, in its turn, relies liberally on the poetic function in order to address internet users about the merits of specific commodities that will be sold and consumed in the real world.* (Jensen 2011: 14-15)

Example 1 demonstrates the use of various interaction-regulating meta-means. The specifier '*Addressing a classic question in poetics*' defines the aspect of further discussion, which is poetics. A deviational remark '*in its turn*', as a means of coherence, supports the sequence of ideas. The means of comparison '*Compared to*' shows that some parallels are drawn, between '*the two aspects of meta-communication*' in particular; on the contrary, a means of contrasting '*instead*' marks the opposing comment about '*a poetic function of language*'. Referential means which are typical of academic discourse, include references (*Roman Jakobson (1960), Bateson noted, Jakobson identified, Jakobson concluded*) and the introduction of examples (*The classic example of, for instance*). Special attention should be drawn to the metacommunicative (rhetoric) question – *is there a special poetic language?* – that was discussed in my previous article (2017).

In sum, it is necessary to point out the richest and most various groups of interaction-regulating means, which are commentary means, especially specifiers, explanators, generalizing means and means of abstraction; magnetizers with their accentuators; reference means, which, in fact, make academic written discourse possible. Less frequent are measuring, evasive, intention means and guarantors due to the fact that some of their sub-types are not typical of the discourse under discussion. Here I would like to specify means of encouragement; guarantors, used to reassure an addressee in sincerity and truthfulness; means of evasion, which function in situations when the speaker tries to avoid a straightforward answer, distract attention or even responsibility for something; accentuators, which stress either accidentalness of some words / actions / events, or their incompleteness; and measuring means, accentuating a degree of one idea / utterance / procedure, which are often emotionally-coloured and imprecise.

3.2 Reflexive means in academic discourse

Reflexive means constitute a meta-vocabulary, which represents author's speculations on some utterance / idea, and include either author- or reader-oriented word-groups. They are distinguished by personal pronouns (first / second person pronouns correspondingly), accompanied by verbs of saying, sense perception and mental activity like *see, say, tell, (let me) know, hear, ask, understand, inform, describe etc.* (Dossena 2012: 49).

Author-oriented meta-means exclude the reader from participation in discussion as the attention is drawn to author's assumptions, ideas, comments etc. via, mostly, stative verbs of mental activity, for example, *I characterize; I describe; I discuss; I distinguish between; I refer to; I return to; I consider; I include*. The use of *I/my/me*-pronouns is typical of the Western linguistic traditions, while in the Eastern ones the preference is given to the use of *We/our/us*-pronouns. Yet, it is not a rule as the research data show, e.g., *we would still have to demonstrate what..., we would have to demonstrate that..., the study of ... could be called; of which we should remember that; on the basis of these observations we may be able to understand Mey's confusion about; looking at ..., we*

find illustrations for the above claim on; from such observations we should learn that ... is not a luxury but a prerequisite for. Of a peculiar focus, in my view, are the imperative structures with 'let' when it looks as if the author asks permission to perform some kind of action, arousing a feeling that the reader is involved in discussion, as in: let us illustrate this with reference to; let me specify; let us assign.

Reader-oriented meta-means are not typical of academic written discourse as, in fact, it is out of the scope of this discourse type to involve an addressee in discussion. As a result, there are no instances of *you/your*-pronoun predicative structures like *you know, you see*. The only examples when the author implicitly addresses the reader are imperative structures, such as: *just consider the opening sentences of this section / the following features; take example (3); just think of; see Eelen's (1999); for a more detailed overview of / for an interesting study of how / for an overview of research on / for remarks on / for some recent contributions to this topic area / for an excellent example of such a critical approach to some of the linguistic literature, see Verschueren (1999) / Jacobs (1999) / Woolard & Schieffelin (1994) etc.*

Particular notice should be taken of the **neutral structures** as to their author- / reader-orientation. In academic written discourse these structures are of two types. The structures of the first type are represented by pronouns *one / other(s) / rarely they* and are used in cases when criticism is observed. As a result, it is more polite to address a hypothetic scholar(s) and make your critical speculations sound softer (e.g., *one might object that; others, mostly linguistic anthropologists, followed suit in their criticisms of; one included in... the other included in...; one assumes; and what they might do*). The structures of the second type are formed by predicative structures with a verb either in the active voice (e.g., *this observation gives rise to; this observation definitely lifts; the theory in question views; a recent plea for the study of folk linguistics (Preston 2000), linked to earlier proposals such as one by Hoenigswald (1966), is entirely in line with this interest; the fact that...suggests; developmental research (e.g. Hickmann 1993) suggests that; the relation to problems of ... is clear from a close study of; a*

second type of ... relates primarily to; the form of ... hinges on the fact that; but also linguistic theories and analyses themselves do not escape from their influence; this article situates genre; this article takes the current reconfiguration of; news reported that; this paper argues that) or in the passive voice (e.g., *this paper is formulated against the background of a theory of; which was declared to be*). Such representation of research results and argumentation is perceived as objective, but not subjective, and, consequently, the standpoints sound more serious and profound from a scientific perspective.

Consider the use of reflexive means in academic written discourse in example (2):

(2) *This article takes the current reconfiguration of mass, interpersonal, and networked forms of communication, and of the media environment at large, as an occasion to revisit the concept of genre. First, I distinguish between media of three different degrees: the human body enabling communication face-to-face; the technically reproduced means of mass communication; and the digital technologies facilitating networked interaction one-to-one, one-to-many, as well as many-to-many. This framework provides a way of moving beyond the notion of remediation (Bolter & Grusin, 1999), including not just mass and networked communication, but also face-to-face embodied communication. As illustrations, I refer to different kinds of sound communication (Jensen, 2006). Second, I return to Gregory Bateson's (1972[1955]) concept of meta-communication, which, at least in mass media studies, has not been given its due. In a post-mass media setting, it still holds an untapped potential for the understanding of communication as social interaction. Third, I consider whether a concept of meta-genres could help to capture some of the distinctive features of what people do (Katz, 1959), and what they might do, with 'new', digital media. (Jensen 2011: 8)*

Example (2) shows that author-oriented meta-means (*I distinguish between; I refer to; I return to; I consider*) are characteristic of this discourse fragment. Besides, structures neutral as to their author- / reader-orientation are widely used here; they are introduced by predicative structures with either an active verb (*This article takes the current*

reconfiguration of; This framework provides a way of; it still holds an untapped potential for the understanding of) or a passive one (*...has not been given its due*). They make the arguments sound objective and scientific.

Overall, in academic written discourse, reflexive means are mostly represented by neutral structures as to their author- / reader-orientation. Yet, typical are also author-oriented meta-means, including structures with '*Let*'. Reader-oriented meta-means are not characteristic of modern English academic discourse. The only exception here is such imperative structures as *just consider, see, take example*, etc.

3.3 Discourse organizers in academic written discourse

Discourse organizers are 'structure-oriented' as they are responsible for discourse cohesion and coherence (2017: 67-68). These means can be organized into four groups:

- **frequency means** that mark the periodicity of actions, e.g., *is no less than; more often than not with the implication that; at least; the issue was raised repeatedly of how; rarely;*
- **coherence means** that either show the order and sequence of ideas (e.g., *first / the first is... / first of all; second; third; then; in a first Section; Section 2 goes into; a third section elaborates on; let's start out by; a second way of; a second dimension is formed by; according to the second*); or how the ideas expressed earlier are developing (*and, ...; etc.; – which further strengthens the assumption that; ... is followed by*);
- **cohesive means** that stress
 - (i) analogous relations via paraphrase (e.g., *in other words; put simply; similarly*) and parallel structures (e.g., *while a discussion of this dimension would have to refer to..., it moves beyond; while ... can only be conceived in terms of; while at the same time incorporating; as well as; while it is not necessary to adhere strictly to; simultaneously in play with; a usage that is in line with*);
 - (ii) contrasting relations (e.g., *however; nevertheless; we are confronted with; is opposed to; is in contrast to; for one thing, ...; on the one hand, on the other (hand); at the same time, ...; thus, ...; including not just ..., but also...*);

- (iii) causative-consecutive relations (e.g., *thereby, therefore, yet, hence, in order to make the vast field of inquiry opened up by this view more manageable; resulting in...; assuming that...; but it may also result from*);
- (iv) temporal relations (e.g., *before doing so; but we can only explain that later*):
 - with reference to what was said above (e.g., *the text you have just started to read; as visualized in Table 1; returning to (1); introduced in Table 1; as already mentioned / as already suggested; referred to at the end of Section 1; as reviewed briefly above, in Table; returning briefly to the scalarity of the distinction, (see Table 2); as could already be concluded from example (2)*),
 - what is being currently under consideration (e.g., *as is graphically suggested in Figure 1; in terms of Figure 1*),
 - what will be discussed further (e.g., *we will return to this point in Section 3; the following Section will be an attempt to define...; in the following Section we will introduce the notion of...; and whatever follows it in this text; at least some of my further comments will be based on results obtained in this line of research; for the sake of easy reference in what follows*),
 - what is marked as the perspectives of the research (e.g., *depending on the perspective one takes*);
- (v) spacious relations in the communicative process (e.g., *at the implicit end of the scale we find; – here, ...; it is here that one may; far from labeling these as inferior*);
- **concluding means** that summarize the article (*finally; by way of conclusion; in conclusion*).

Let me illustrate the use of discourse organizers on examples (3-4).

(3) *In a first section, the notions of metalanguage and metapragmatics will be briefly introduced and clarified. Section 2 goes into the relevance of metalinguistic or metapragmatic phenomena as reflections of metapragmatic awareness, a notion that will be situated in relation to an overall theory of pragmatics. A third section elaborates on some aspects of the functioning of metapragmatic awareness in actual language use. Finally, some of the social implications of this functioning will be*

reviewed, in particular in relation to language ideologies and identity construction.
(Verschueren 2000: 439-440)

In example (3) the coherent means (*in a first section; section 2 goes into; a third section elaborates on; finally*) show not only the order of arguments in the article, but also specify the tasks to be accomplished in every section.

(4) *Face-to-face interaction, however, comprises diverse modalities of expression. We encounter other people as audio- visual media and in multimodal communication. And, our tools and artifacts create more or less durable mediascapes* (Appadurai, 1996).
(Jensen 2011: 8)

Example (4) illustrates the use of a cohesive means *however* indicating slight contrast to or disagreement with what was said before; the coherent means *and* which stresses that there is something to add in order to develop the afore-stated ideas.

A special attention should be paid to the fact that the cohesive and coherence means enumerated above do not always perform metapragmatic functions; on the contrary, depending on the context, the majority of them may be informationally meaningful, used as conjunctions. In this case, they are integral elements of the sentence, and their cohesive or coherence function is restricted to the sentence / clause boundaries. As meta-units, they operate on the level of two or more sentences / passages and are, in fact, optional / parenthetical, but they make the discourse clear and well-organized. Consider examples (5)-(10).

(5) *During a meeting of which this article is a side product, the issue was raised repeatedly of how useful the notion of METALANGUAGE was, more often than not with the implication that its usefulness was very limited. Yet, depending on the perspective one takes, the significance of the notion may range from useful and interesting to absolutely necessary* (Verschueren 2000: 440).

(6) *Yet its usefulness, from this perspective, remains limited* (Verschueren 2000: 440).

Example (5) clearly demonstrates that *yet* is a meta-unit, a cohesive device, while in example (6) it is a meaningful conjunction.

(7) *In the following section we will introduce the notion of 'metapragmatic awareness' in relation to a general theory of pragmatics, arguing for the central role it plays in any type of language use, thus strengthening the view of metalanguage as a dimension rather than an object in its own right and demonstrating the relevance – indeed, necessity – of taking metalinguistic or metapragmatic functioning into account when approaching instances of language use* (Verschueren 2000: 443).

(8) *Thus for someone with a reasonable command of English the verb to be quite naturally transforms into is when a correspondence with this paper is required in the present, and into are when the subject is the plural processes* (Verschueren 2000: 450).

(9) *Thus, while all linguistic choice-making implies some degree of consciousness (which is not always equally observable), some choices openly reflect upon themselves or upon other choices.* (Verschueren 2000: 445-446)

(10) *The printing press, thus, facilitated the modern understanding of religion as a personal matter, and of politics as a public matter.* (Jensen 2011: 11)

Examples (8)-(9) demonstrate the usage of *thus* in the initial position, and examples (7) and (10) show its usage in the medium position; but *thus* is used as a meta-unit only in examples (9) and (10).

To sum up, discourse organizers are of vital importance in academic discourse as they support an easy comprehension of thoughts presented in research articles. Their most striking feature, maybe, is that due to inherent peculiarities of this discourse type, the afore-mentioned meta-means have no relation to past, present, or future events / actions. Yet, the references are found on the ideas which were argued above, positions which are being discussed in the process of reading, viewpoints which will be mulled over below (e.g., in the following chapter), and aspects, which are going to be additionally studied from other perspectives.

3.4 Contextually-dependent meta-means in academic written discourse

A group of contextually-dependent meta-means comprises all lexemes which can function metapragmatically in specific, even unique contexts exclusively, and their usage is occasional and often implicit. It may be proved by the assumption of Devkin (Девкин 1981: 85) that context is metacommunicative. He states that metacommunication includes implied / additional meanings which show up under specific conditions and demonstrate another side of the transmitted content. These meta-means should not be mixed with the autonomous group of meta-means, discussed above.

All autonomous meta-means fall into two groups: regular and occasional. Both of them are explicitly and easily differentiated, especially regular meta-means which are clearly visible irrespective of the context (e.g., *of course*, *in fact*). Yet, the group of regular meta-means is not very numerous. Occasional meta-means are, actually, contextually-dependent. On the one hand, I mean such units as *thus*, *yet*, etc. which occur in both metacommunicative and communicative functions (see examples (1)-(6) above). On the other hand, occasional meta-means may be lexically various and depend on the context and author's style of writing, but the structure-cliché is preserved, as with the following parenthetical specifiers: *in this case* / *in this domain* / *in a Silversteinian perspective* / *in conversation analysis* / *in a pragmatic theory* / *as in most academic writing*; or *in the context(s) of* / *in realm of* / *in terms of*, etc.

In the reality of scientific writing, it is not possible to find an example when a meaningful lexical unit turns into a contextually-dependent meta-unit because the style of academic written discourse presupposes that the material under discussion should be clear and explicit, excluding hidden and implicit meta-meanings. However, word-groups with modal verbs are sometimes viewed as metapragmatic since the latter are considered to change and modify basic, propositional modality expressing the speaker's modal position (see Арюхина 2006), i.e., they influence the modality of the main utterance, adding some metapragmatic meaning. As a result, modal verbs make the

utterance sound less categorical (e.g., *have to come to terms with the role of; human beings can be understood as; might help to account for; could help to capture*) and modal expressions and words are used to maximally soften the impression of the said (e.g., *and enable each of us to communicate with; is perhaps most commonly associated with; and their copying of as many manuscripts as possible for as wide a group of other readers as possible; are to be appropriately interpreted*).

In conclusion, let me illustrate and analyze the contextual usage of various meta-means in example (11):

(11) *Aspects of denotational explicitness and mutual calibration between the pragmatic and the metapragmatic, on the other hand, will help to structure the following exposition. At the same time, they should function as a frame of interpretation for what follows; for instance, when we use the contrast explicit–implicit, it should be clear that this is a scale rather than a dichotomy, though because of the difficulty in giving all phenomena a specific place on the scale, the presentation will still look dichotomous.* (Verschueren 2000: 442)

In example (11) there are such interaction-regulating meta-means as a reference means which introduces an example (*for instance*) and a magnetizer (*though because of the difficulty in giving all phenomena a specific place on the scale*), which topicalizes and explains the difficulties concerning the problem of specifying the status of the opposition '*explicit–implicit*'. Discourse organizers show up via the use of cohesive means, indicating contrasting relations: *on the other hand; at the same time*. Most disputable here is '*it should be clear that*' because it can refer to any of the three groups of meta-means: interaction regulators, reflexive meta-means and contextually-dependent meta-means. As an interaction regulator, it ensures that '*this is a scale*'. As a reflexive meta-means, it belongs to a group of structures neutral as to their author- / reader-orientation and is formed by a predicative structure with a verb in the passive form. It might also be analyzed as a contextually-dependent meta-means due to the use

of the modal verb *should*, which guarantees that the idea, introduced by this meta-means, is very probable to be true.

4. Conclusions

The analyses presented in the foregoing sections make it possible to claim that, firstly, there exist three stages of metapragmatic analysis and, secondly, any discourse type can be subjected to analysis on meta-level, which is proved on the example of academic written metadiscourse.

With respect to metapragmatic analysis, one should begin with the general overview of meta-means and the functions they can perform; the next step is to study the specificity of meta-usage in particular discourse type(s); and, finally, to consider the influence of social context and cultural environment on discourse generating.

Moreover, the modification of the quantitative method of Greenberg for the needs of metapragmatic analysis helped to establish the degree of metapragmatic intensity of academic written metadiscourse (or meta-index of the discourse). It allowed me to assume that the comparative analysis of meta-indexes of various discourse types will give me a proof to state that it is, in fact, impossible to have a meta-index equaling zero. Yet, I will additionally study this point in my further investigations.

In relation to specifics of academic written metadiscourse, the research results show that most typical of this discourse type are commentary means, performing the functions of specification, explanation, generalization and accentuation; discourse organizers, i.e., frequency, coherence, cohesive, and conclusive means; and reference means, including citations and examples. Reference means are, actually, a distinctive characteristic of academic written discourse. On the contrary, due to specific structural organization of academic written discourse, the whole group of contact means is missing as well as some sub-types of regulators in the function of stimulation and encouragement. In addition, reflexive means are mostly introduced with structures

neutral as to their author- / reader-orientation or with author-oriented meta-means, though it is a rare case to find reader-oriented meta-means. The group of contextually-dependent meta-means, as opposed to autonomous ones described above, comprises, in my view, all those means, which function metapragmatically under unique conditions in specific contexts. Owing to clear and explicit style of academic writing, it is out of the ordinary to create hidden meanings or ambiguous contexts in this discourse type and to use contextually-dependent meta-means.

Thus, this paper has outlined the levels of metapragmatic analysis for academic written discourse only, yet in future, the study will include such analyses of other discourse types and, I hope, the generalized results I am going to receive will help me to calibrate and range various discourse types in accordance with the degree of their metapragmatic intensity.

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<p>Contact data Yaroslava Gnezdilova, CSc. (Philology), Associate Professor, Postdoctoral student at the Department of German and Finno-Ugrian Philology, Kyiv National Linguistic University, 73, Velyka Vasyl'kivs'ka St., Kyiv, 03680, Ukraine e-mail: yaroslava.gn@gmail.com</p>		<p>Fields of interest</p> <p>Pragmatics, discourse studies, rhetoric, public communication, speech manipulation, emotiology, grammar.</p>
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Résumé

This article focuses on developing the main principles of metapragmatic analysis and singling out its three stages on the example of academic written discourse. The first step is connected with the elaboration of a unified classification of various meta-means in general, which the author differentiates into an autonomous group of meta-means, including contact means, interaction-regulating means, reflexive means and discourse-organizers; and a contextually-dependent one. Then, the metapragmatic functions they perform in academic written discourse are studied, with an emphasis on the specifics of their use in this discourse type. Thereafter, the metapragmatic calibration is examined from the point of view of the degree of metapragmatic intensity of a particular discourse type. The author falls back upon the quantitative method used in contrastive linguistics and adjusts it to metapragmatic analysis. Therefore, the meta-index of academic written discourse is estimated, as well as the percentage of meta-means, which are used in the research articles under analysis. In relation to specifics of academic written metadiscourse, the research results show that most typical for this discourse type are commentating markers, performing the functions of specification, explanation, generalization, and accentuation; discourse organizers, i.e., frequency, coherent, cohesive, and conclusive markers; and reference markers, including citations and examples. Reference markers are, actually, a distinctive characteristic of academic discourse. On the contrary, due to peculiarities in structural organization of academic discourse, the whole group of contact markers is missing as well as some sub-types of

markers-regulators in the function of stimulation and encouragement; reflexive markers are mostly introduced with neutral structures as to their author- / reader-orientation or with author-oriented meta-means, but not with reader-oriented meta-means; the use of contextually-dependent meta-means is also scarce in academic written discourse.

Key words: metapragmatic analysis, meta-index, metadiscourse, meta-means, academic written discourse.

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