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DIPLOMOVÁ PRÁCE

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Interpersonální metatextové prostředky v odborném textu anglickém a českém

The expression of interpersonal metadiscourse in English and Czech academic texts

PODĚKOVÁNÍ

Ráda bych poděkovala vedoucí své diplomové práce, PhDr. Markétě Malé PhD., za cenné rady, podporu, trpělivost a ochotu kdykoli konzultovat vše potřebné.

Prohlašuji, že jsem tuto diplomovou práci vypracovala samostatně, že jsem řádně citovala všechny použité prameny a literaturu a že práce nebyla využita v rámci jiného vysokoškolského studia či k získání jiného nebo stejného titulu.

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Abstrakt

Tato diplomová práce se zabývá prostředky vyjadřování interpersonální funkce v českých a anglických odborných textech. Tyto prostředky nacházíme na různých jazykových rovinách a naše klasifikace zohledňuje jak funkční, tak formální hledisko popisu. Z různých přístupů k metadiskurzu jsme vybrali přístup integrační, zahrnující jak textové, tak interpersonální rysy metadiskurzu. Tato práce se však zaměřuje pouze na rysy interpersonální. V první části práce byla provedena detailní analýza čtyř vědeckých článků a na jejím základě pak byl vybrán repertoár výrazů pro kontrolní vyhledávání. Účelem kontrolního vyhledávání bylo ověřit naše zjištění z detailní analýzy a zjistit, do jaké míry jsou vybrané výrazy zastoupené ve větším souboru dat. Pro toto vyhledávání jsme shromáždili dvacet odborných článků z oblasti jazykovědy, deset pro každý jazyk. I přes odlišné jazykové typy vyjadřují čeština a angličtina interpersonální složku metadiskurzu podobně. Největší rozdíl jsme zaznamenali v kategorii relačních markerů a self-mentions, ostatní kategorie jsou z hlediska frekvence srovnatelné. Při diskuzi výsledků bylo zohledněno také pragmatické hledisko.

Klíčová slova: metadiskurz, interpersonální funkce, čeština, angličtina, odborný styl, jazykověda

Abstract

This MA thesis explores the means of expressing interpersonal function in Czech and English academic texts. These expressions are found at various levels (e.g. lexical, grammatical and lexico-grammatical) and our classification takes into account both formal and functional point of view. From the various approaches to metadiscourse we have chosen the integrative approach subsuming both interpersonal and textual features of metadiscourse. However, this thesis focuses mainly on the interpersonal features. In the first part of the thesis, a detailed analysis of four academic texts was performed in order to get a range of expressions for the controlling search. The aim of the controlling search was to verify the findings from the detailed analysis and to find out to what extent the selected expressions were represented in a larger set of data. For this search we gathered twenty academic articles dealing with linguistics, ten per each language. Despite the different language types, Czech and English use similar means to express interpersonal features of metadiscourse. The greatest difference was found in the category of relational markers and self-mentions, other categories displayed relatively similar frequencies.

Key words: metadiscourse, interpersonal function, Czech, English, academic register, linguistics

The list of abbreviations

AM	attitude marker
B	booster
CGEL	A Comprehensive grammar of the English language
H	hedge
RM	relational marker
SM	self-mention

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1. Introduction

This MA thesis explores the means of expressing interpersonal function in Czech and English academic texts. These interpersonal features (also called metadiscourse) subsume categories like *hedges*, *boosters*, *attitude markers* and *relational markers* and we shall try to investigate how these features are represented in the two languages. Concerning the means of expressing metadiscourse, we expect to encounter a broad range of expressions, namely the means of expressing modality (modal verbs, adverbs and adjectives), evaluative adjectives and adverbs and also clausal means of expression. Since English and Czech are recognized to represent different language types and are spoken in different cultures, we expect that the means of expressing interpersonal function in these two languages will differ not only in form but also in frequency of occurrence.

Concerning methodology, this thesis will follow the work of Ken Hyland dealing with academic English. The material obtained for the purpose of this study will be classified according to the form of expression and type of modification. The conclusions will be discussed also in terms of pragmatics (especially possible influences of different writing cultures and academic communities will be taken into account). We also hope that the thesis may contribute to the description of Czech and English academic writing.

2. Theoretical background

2.1. The notion of academic writing

Before we begin to deal with metadiscourse itself, it may be useful to introduce briefly the genre of academic writing. Though this genre has traditionally been described as impersonal, faceless and objective, some authors view it quite differently. Academic writing can be regarded, for example, as persuasive endeavour involving interaction between writers and readers. This view suggests that writers not only create texts representing an external reality but by intentionally controlling the level of personality in their writing they create a convincing argument (Hyland 2005: 2). Čmejrková et al. (1999: 20) remark that the earlier interest in the language of science has been replaced by the interest in *scientific communication*. After a long period of ignoring or even refusing the presence of a human element in scientific texts, the authors are taken into account again. As a result, academic texts are no longer considered anti-rhetorical, i.e. objective and impersonal. Sanderson (2008: 91) even sees academic writing as personal presentation of subjective arguments. According to her, one of the most interesting features of academic discourse is the tension between the impersonality of the scholar and the personal identity which each academic author conveys through writing. On the one hand, academics are no less personal than any other group of authors. On the other hand, the texts which they produce are expected to be objective, factual and impersonal since it is believed that facts are independent of both the form and the person who presents them. However, as Sanderson (2008: 92) points out, even purely factual information is conveyed through language by a human agent and neither language nor its users are entirely objective. Therefore, the reputation of academic writing as depersonalized transmission of knowledge is at least questionable.

2.2. Defining metadiscourse

To begin with the most basic definition, metadiscourse is usually described as ‘writing about writing’ or rhetorical strategy which authors use when they talk about their own text (Sanderson 2008: 165). It is a way of organizing discourse, helping the readers to orientate themselves within the text as well as guiding writer-reader interaction. As Hyland (2004: 2) explains:

With the judicious addition of metadiscourse, a writer is able to not only transform a dry, difficult text into a coherent, reader-friendly prose, but also relate it to a given context and convey his or her personality, credibility, audience-sensitivity, and relationship to the message.

Metadiscourse can be seen as a means of facilitating communication, it is believed to support the position of the writer and at the same time to build a relationship with the reader. In his earlier works, Hyland (2004: 3) recognizes two main functions of metadiscourse: textual and interpersonal. Though he himself cancels this distinction later on, it might be useful to describe these two functions of metadiscourse. Within its textual function, metadiscourse helps to organize the discourse by pointing out topic shifts, signaling sequences, cross-referencing, connecting ideas, previewing material and so on. Interpersonal metadiscourse, on the other hand, modifies and highlights aspects of the text and signals the writer's attitude to it. As Biber (2006: 87) notes, a crucial aspect of liberal education is the ability to assess the status of information, to distinguish between speculation and fact. In academic texts, writers not only convey propositional information but by using metadiscourse they also help their readers to assess how statements presented in their writing are to be interpreted.

In terms of Poldauf's three syntactical plans, metadiscourse belongs to the third one. The first plan represents the core of a sentence and includes all the structurally indispensable components of the sentence. The second plan encompasses the different dispensable components of a well-defined function which may be essential for the content of the communication. According to Poldauf (1964: 241), there are, moreover, certain elements that should be regarded separately, as the third syntactical plan. In this plan, the content of the sentence is placed in relation to the individual and his ability to perceive, judge and assess. An individual may be in some way concerned with the content of what is being communicated. It is assumed that this concern follows from the individual's close connection with the matter communicated. The individual might feel that what is being communicated is somehow his or her 'mental property' (e.g. thoughts, ideas, beliefs etc.), hence the concern in the content of the communication. This content may be directly connected to the opinion of the person perceiving, judging and assessing (e.g. an academic writer) since what is being communicated is usually the judgment of the speakers / writers or a judgment they present as generally accepted and with which they associate themselves.

2.3. Problems with the concept

Though various definitions of metadiscourse describe the phenomenon quite neatly, there are certain aspects of metadiscourse which may seem a bit problematic. First, every writing culture, perhaps even every writer or reader, might think of metadiscourse in a slightly different way. For example, as Mauraren (1993: 134) points out in her paper dealing with Finnish and English academic texts, Finnish school system teaches that using metadiscourse is a sign of the poor writer since anything apart from the propositional content of a text is perceived as superfluous. Moreover, different cultures seem to use different rhetorical strategies in academic writing, which are perhaps related to how metadiscourse is perceived and handled in these cultures. Mauraren (1993: 147) assigns English and Finnish two contrary rhetorical strategies which the writers use in interaction with their readers. These are marketing-type strategy typical for English (writer acting as a guide, the main thesis is pointed out repeatedly, not to be missed or misinterpreted) and poetic-type strategy prevalent in Finnish (more interpretative effort is demanded from the reader, the writer stays in the background most of the time). As we can see, though the concept of metadiscourse may be considered universal, it is always dependent on the writer and the writing culture, their beliefs and value systems.

Second, there are no simple linguistic criteria for recognition of features conveying interpersonal function since metadiscourse can be realized through a broad range of linguistic units (Mauraren 1993: 135). This may constitute a problem, especially in methodology (e.g. in classification of metadiscourse features). Metadiscourse is, moreover, an open category and thus new items can always be added to it, according to the needs of the situation.

Third, as both Hyland and Sanderson claim, metadiscourse is undertheoretized and empirically vague with inconsistencies in literature dealing with this issue. According to Sanderson (2008: 171), the main problem is that the scope of the category of metadiscourse is not restricted and as a consequence, metadiscourse ends up as ‘catch-up-all’ term encompassing anything apart from the propositional content of a text. Another difficulty is due to the absence of a single accepted methodology. Since there is a great variety of different approaches to metadiscourse, it is difficult to compare the results of the methodologically different studies (Sanderson 2008: 49).

The last issue to be mentioned in this section is the fact that metadiscourse is not an independent stylistic device, writers cannot vary it at will. On the contrary, it is integral to the contexts in which it occurs and is also linked to the norms and expectations of a particular community (Hyland 1998: 2). The form expressing some category of metadiscourse is thus

always bound to the contexts in which it occurs, having no independent function which would be universal in all circumstances.

2.4. Writer-reader interaction

In recent years, there has been a great deal of research devoted to academic texts. As Hyland (2005: 39) states, this research encourages the view of academic writing as evaluative and interpersonal rather than informational and objective. The aim of this research is then to find out how academic writers intervene in their texts not only to present their findings but also to evaluate these findings, comment on them, and build solidarity with their readers. Thus, writer-reader interaction has become one of the crucial topics.

In the genre of academic writing, authors must adopt a point of view both to the matter communicated and to the readers. According to Hyland (2005: 5) if academic writers want to claim a right to be heard and if their work is to be taken seriously, they must display a competence as *disciplinary insiders*. This competence is achieved through writer-reader dialogue, at least in part. The motivation for this dialogue arises from the fact that readers can always refuse or disprove writers' claims. This gives to the reader a constitutive role in how writers create their arguments. Hyland (2005: 6) sees metadiscourse as having a dialogical purpose in that it refers to, anticipates, or otherwise takes up the actual or anticipated voices and positions of potential readers. It can also be perceived as one indication of a writers' response to the potential negatability of their claims. Therefore, the role of metadiscourse in academic discourse is rhetorical - using metadiscourse enables expressing collegiality, gaining support, resolving difficulties and avoiding disputation (Hyland 1998: 4).

2.5. Pragmatics of metadiscourse

As we have already mentioned, the category of metadiscourse may vary across different writing cultures. According to Sanderson (2008: 15), academic authors from different cultural backgrounds react differently to the tension between ideal-type scientific objectivity and the reality of individual subjectivity. They allow themselves varying degrees of visibility in their texts. Cultural background also influences the kind of relationship writers establish with their readers. Hyland (1998: 2) maintains a similar position, claiming that metadiscourse is intimately linked to the norms and expectations of a particular cultural and professional community. Moreover, there is an indivisible relationship between metadiscourse and its context since the setting of metadiscourse determines its use and gives it meaning. Though our work is focused on how two different languages express interpersonal function,

i.e. it deals mainly with structures that are used to achieve this function, we shall also try to take into consideration the pragmatic factors mentioned above.

2.6. Selected approaches to metadiscourse and its categories

2.6.1. Hyland

It seems that Hyland perceives metadiscourse as a very dynamic language feature, necessary for successful communication. According to him, the fact that readers can always disprove writers' claims plays a crucial role in academic writing. Writers have to anticipate potential negation of their claims and respond to that possible refusal; this can be achieved through devices of metadiscourse. Most authors dealing with metadiscourse distinguish between propositional content (which is often regarded as primary) and features of metadiscourse (regarded as secondary). However, as Hyland (2004: 5) points out, there is a problem in stating what actually this propositional content is. It is not only difficult to distinguish sometimes what is content and what is not, but, moreover, the traditional test of falsifiability does not often apply here since both propositional and metadiscourse aspects of texts are subject to similar infelicities and misfires. In addition, both propositional and metadiscourse elements are able to convey the writer's intended meaning in a given situation. Hyland assigns an equal status to these categories, seeing metadiscourse as a part of the message, a crucial element of its meaning, and not just a 'glue' holding the more important parts of the text together. For him the distinction between primary propositions and secondary metadiscourse is unhelpful, denying metadiscourse the function of communicating meaning.

Another traditional distinction that Hyland challenges is the duality between textual and interpersonal metadiscourse. Whereas in his earlier works (e.g. Hyland 1998) he sticks to this distinction, distinguishing textual and interpersonal type of metadiscourse and further recognizing specific functions within these, later on (Hyland and Tse 2005: 6) he suggests that all metadiscourse is interpersonal. He claims that even when organizing text, writers act on purpose, bearing in mind readers' needs and trying to facilitate readers' orientation in the text. Thus, the distinction is no longer useful since all metatextual features are aimed at building the relationship with readers.

If we take into account Hyland's newest assumption that all metadiscourse is, in fact, interpersonal, a following model for describing metadiscourse categories can be proposed. It is adopted from Hyland and Tse's paper 'Metadiscourse in Academic Writing: A Reappraisal' (2005, their model is presented in Table 1) and incorporates Thompson's distinction between

interactive and interactional features. Whereas interactive resources refer to the writer's management of the information flow to guide readers through the text (and thus might remind us of the original textual function of metadiscourse), interactional features refer to the writer's explicit interventions to comment on and evaluate the material (Hyland 2004: 13).

Table 1: A model of metadiscourse in academic texts.

Category	Function	Examples
<hr/>		
Interactive resources	Help to guide reader through the text	
<hr/>		
Transitions	express semantic relation between main clauses	in addition/but/thus/and
Frame markers	refer to discourse acts, sequences, or text stages	finally/to conclude/my purpose here is to
Endophoric markers	refer to information in other parts of the text	noted above/see Fig/in section 2
Evidentials	refer to source of information from other texts	according to X/(Y, 1990)/Z states
Code glosses	help readers grasp functions of ideational material	namely/e.g./such as/in other words
<hr/>		
Interactional resources	Involve the reader in the argument	
<hr/>		
Hedges	withhold writer's full commitment to proposition	might/perhaps/possible/about
Boosters	emphasize force or writer's certainty in proposition	in fact/definitely/it is clear that
Attitude markers	express writer's attitude to proposition	unfortunately/I agree/surprisingly
Engagement markers	explicitly refer to or build relationship with reader	consider/note that/you can see that
Self-mentions	explicit reference to author(s)	I/we/my/our
<hr/>		

On the basis of Hyland's earlier description of the interpersonal function of metadiscourse (Hyland 2005), the category of interactional features can be extended, actually split up into two sections with one section describing stance (*hedges, boosters, attitude*

markers and self-mentions) and the other engagement (with reader pronouns, personal asides, appeals to shared knowledge, directives and questions). Hyland perceives stance as ‘textual voice’, as an attitudinal dimension which includes features referring to the ways writers present themselves and convey their judgments, opinions and commitments. Engagement, on the other hand, is defined as an alignment dimension where writers acknowledge and connect to others, bringing their readers into the discourse (Hyland 2005: 176).

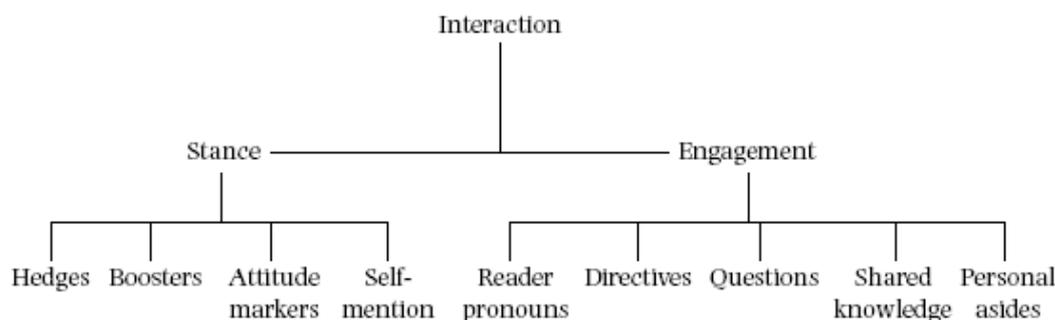


Figure 1 *Key resources of academic interaction*¹

2.6.2. Sanderson

Another scholar dealing with the genre of academic writing is Tamsin Sanderson. In her monograph *Discipline. Culture. Discourse*, Sanderson introduces her approach to academic discourse which is based on combining two disciplines employing different methodologies: discourse analysis and corpus linguistics. According to Sanderson, one of the greatest problems in academic research of metadiscourse is that this field lacks a sound methodology since many researchers employ highly subjective, unreliable and inconsistent methods of discourse analysis. To improve the situation, Sanderson therefore suggests to combine some of the corpus linguistic methods with discourse analysis, as well as an appropriate statistical analysis of results.

One of the methods offered by corpus linguistics is to compile a specialized corpus of data. Sanderson (2008: 61) claims that many currently-available corpora are usually decontextualized and for this reason they are not suitable for discourse research purposes since they do not provide sufficient contextual information about the participants or circumstances surrounding the interaction recorded in the corpus. Moreover, the texts in such corpora are just fragments randomly chosen from some section of a research article or a

¹ Adopted from Hyland, K. (2005), ‘Stance and Engagement: a model of interaction in academic discourse.’, in *Discourse Studies*. Vol. 7, Issue 2, s. 177

university lecture. Therefore, specialized corpora eliminating all these insufficiencies (and thus promising reliable results) are needed for analyzing academic discourse.

Though Sanderson praises corpus linguistic methods, she also shows that methods of discourse analysis are very useful for this kind of research. In fact, she advocates a balanced combination of these two approaches. As she claims, 'if the combination of corpus and discourse is to be practicable and worthwhile, it is clear that neither the fully-automated analysis methods of the corpus linguist nor the exclusively manual methods of the discourse analyst are sufficient' (Sanderson 2008: 63). In fact, both methods have their drawbacks. For example, a discourse analyst working exclusively manually will take the risk of being highly subjective whereas a fully-automatized method of corpus linguistic will be of little help in analyzing discourse categories, being unable to identify e.g. context dependent cases or new items belonging to open categories (like, for example, hedges). To sum up, Sanderson believes that corpus linguistics can offer an empirically sound methodology whereas discourse analysis may help to describe the communicative context and purpose of the message.

In her study, Sanderson deals with identity construction and social interaction in academic discourse. As she points out, Hyland's studies approach the connection between discourse and lexico-grammatical features representing particular discourse functions from different directions. Some of Hyland's work centers on a lexico-grammatical feature, and examines the discourse functions this feature fulfills: e.g. personal pronouns are examined as part of authorial identity or reporting verbs are interpreted as having evaluative functions. Other studies by Hyland start with a discourse function, and then examine the linguistic features that can be employed for that purpose, e.g. Hyland on textual and interpersonal metadiscourse (2000) or Hyland (2005) on stance and engagement (Sanderson 2008: 76-77). Sanderson's study then approaches social interaction and identity construction from both directions. She considers these two discourse topics by analyzing two, according to her opinion main, phenomena: *person reference* (representing a lexico-grammatical feature) and *text comments* (a discourse category). Sanderson chooses text comments since she supposes that they represent one of the most obvious and important places where negotiation takes place within research articles. By using text comments, authors explain the text to the reader, justify its structure, state their intentions and point out connections between different parts of the argument (Sanderson 2008: 165). Person reference was chosen since it is an explicit indication of authorial presence in the text.

There are two distinctions concerning metadiscourse which Sanderson does not approve of. Similarly as Hyland and Tse (2005), she assumes that the distinction between textual and interpersonal metadiscourse is not valid at all since ‘textual metadiscourse is just as interpersonal as the so-called interpersonal metadiscourse. Indeed, metadiscourse is interpersonal *per se*.’ (Sanderson 2008: 175). The second distinction challenged by Sanderson is Hyland’s idea of dividing interactional features of metadiscourse into two categories, into *stance* (or writer positioning) and *engagement* (reader positioning). Hyland’s idea of stance and engagement roughly corresponds to Sanderson’s idea of authorial identity (stance) and writer-reader interaction (engagement). Sanderson agrees that such distinction may be useful but she is strictly against the idea that these categories should be regarded as mutually exclusive communicative intentions since ‘the way in which authors present themselves also play role in their interaction with the reader’ (Sanderson 2008: 79).

Though both Hyland and Sanderson claim that all metadiscourse is interpersonal, they both feel the need for distinguishing further subcategories within this phenomenon. Sanderson (2008: 176) claims that people intuitively know that there is a difference between comments on the form and/or organization of a piece of writing (i.e. structural features) and between comments on the writing and/or its expression (i.e. matters of opinion). Sanderson believes this distinction to be fundamental and central. It may remind us of Thompson’s conception of interactive (text management) and interactional features (involving the reader in the argument) which was adopted by Hyland and Tse (2005).

Concerning her approach to metadiscourse, Sanderson introduces two ways of understanding this phenomenon. There are two basic approaches, integrative and non-integrative. In broader sense (integrative approach), metadiscourse comprises both interactive and interactional features of a text (this is, for example, Hyland’s approach). On the contrary, non-integrative definitions say that ‘metadiscourse consists of the linguistic elements that show how the text is organized or that make references to the text itself’ (Sanderson 2008: 177). Sanderson favours the non-integrative approach, since one of its advantages is that it helps to restrict the scope of metadiscourse. Interactive features of discourse (or ‘textual’ metadiscourse in earlier conceptions) are called by Sanderson metadiscourse proper whereas interactional features (or ‘interpersonal’ metadiscourse) are presented as evaluation. In her study, Sanderson focuses on metadiscourse proper, examining writer-reader interaction through text comments and authorial identity through personal reference.

2.6.3. Mauraren

There remains to introduce the third model of metadiscourse which we were considering when deciding about the approach to be adopted in this thesis. It is to be found in the paper of Anne Mauraren ‘Contrastive ESP Rhetoric: Metatext in Finnish-English Economic Texts’. Similarly as Hyland (1998) and Sanderson (2008), Mauraren also tries to prove that culture influences academic writing to a considerable extent. According to her (Mauraren 1993: 128), academic texts contain both universal and variable features, which leads Mauraren to establishing another distinction, namely between genre and rhetoric. She argues that universal aspects of academic writing can be assigned to genre, whereas more variable features come under rhetoric. Mauraren (1993: 129) sees rhetoric as separate from genre but limited by it, since genre obviously constrains rhetorical choices. However, by using appropriate rhetorical strategies, writers can convince readers of their claims. This claim of hers is in accordance with Hyland’s view that for writers to be accepted and heard it is necessary to follow the norms and writing conventions of their professional community. What Mauraren and Hyland do not agree upon is the notion of metadiscourse. For Hyland, metadiscourse represents evidence that the writer understands a text as discourse. Mauraren, on the contrary, presents metadiscourse as a feature of textual organization, using even a different term, namely *metatext* (Mauraren 1993: 134).

In her model of metadiscourse (or rather metatext), Mauraren uses a narrower classification than Hyland – she only focuses on those metatextual features which help to organize the text (in terms of Hyland’s categories, she deals solely with interactive features of metadiscourse). Among these, she distinguishes four categories: *connectives*, *reviews*, *previews* and *action markers*. *Connectives* represent elements that indicate relationships between units in the text, e.g. conjunctions, adverbials and prepositional phrases. *Reviews* are clauses which explicitly indicate that an earlier stage of the text is being repeated or summarized, whereas clauses indicating that a later stage of the text is being anticipated are classified as *previews*. Under *action markers* Mauraren understands indicators of discourse actions performed in the text (e.g. *the explanation is, to illustrate the point etc.*) Since we would like to describe rather the means of expressing metadiscourse in Czech and English in broader sense than Mauraren, her approach, though interesting, is too narrow for the purpose of our analysis.

2.7. The approach adopted for this study

In this study, we shall adopt the approach of Ken Hyland since the views of metadiscourse presented by Mauraren and Sanderson are too narrow for our purposes. They both focus on interactive features of metadiscourse (or, in Sanderson's terms, on metadiscourse proper), i.e. on the devices used for the organization of discourse. We are, on the contrary, interested rather in the other sphere of metadiscourse, in interactional features (which Sanderson calls evaluation), and we would like to focus on the means which are used to achieve this function in Czech and English. Concerning the two approaches to metadiscourse, we follow the integrative approach which supposes that metadiscourse contains both interactive and interactional features, yet we would like to describe only one of these categories, namely interactional features, also because of the intended scope of this paper. We assume that choosing just one category and endeavour a thorough analysis of it is more useful than trying to capture the phenomenon of metadiscourse all at once. Regarding the direction of our analysis, we shall adopt the approach of Hyland (2000, 2005), starting with a discourse function and then examining the linguistic devices that can be employed for that purpose. Since Hyland's model was designed for English, we expect some modifications might be necessary because English and Czech represent different language types and thus the phenomena encountered in English do not have to correspond to those found in Czech.

Concerning the presentation of results in Chapter 4, we shall proceed as follows. First, we shall describe the metadiscourse expressions encountered in the four academic texts proceeding always from the metadiscourse function to the lexico-grammatical realization. Later on we shall try to verify some of the findings of the detailed analysis by searching for the selected expressions in a corpus of Czech and English academic texts.

3. Materials and methods

3.1. The means of expressing interpersonal function in Czech and English

3.1.1. Selected classification

One of the initial steps in the practical part of this study was to determine how to classify metadiscourse features found in Czech and English academic texts. We compared the classifications suggested by Hyland & Tse (since we try to follow their integrative approach to metadiscourse) with two other sources, namely with the classification created by Biber (2006) for the purposes of analyzing stance in university language and by Čmejková et al. (1999) analyzing academic Czech. Considering all these means of classifying metadiscourse expressions, we have decided to use Hyland and Tse's model (2005) with some additional criteria adopted from the work of Biber. The reason for combining these two approaches was our interest not only in the categories of metadiscourse but also in structures which are used to express these categories. Whereas Hyland and Tse deal mainly with discourse functions of metadiscourse expressions and do not investigate the types of structures which are employed to achieve these functions, Biber's classification is concerned with structures to a great extent. Biber focuses on lexico-grammatical expression of stance (conveying personal feelings, attitudes, value judgments or assessments²) by investigating three structural categories: modals (and semi-modals), stance adverbs and stance complement clauses (i.e. stance verb/noun/adjective + that-/to-clause). Some examples of our classification may therefore look as follows:

² Douglas Biber, *University Language. A corpus-based study of spoken and written registers* (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2006)

metadiscourse function category	expression of the function		examples	
	level	type of expression (realization form)	English	Czech
attitude marker	lexical	stance adjective	important, significant	zbytečné a nevhodné, nežádoucí
		stance adverb	easily, particularly, fortunately	zejména, podstatně, především
		stance noun	threat, explosion	nepřiměřenost
	lexico- grammatical	stance adjective + to clause	it is interesting to note	bude snadnější uvědomit si
		stance adjective + that-clause	more interesting is the fact that...	
		stance adjective + stance noun	considerable importance	
		stance verb + stance adverb		za zvlášť aktuální považujeme
		comment clause		je tomu podle mého názoru zejména kvůli...

The complete table containing the selected expressions is to be seen in Appendix 2.

To mention also the Czech approach to metadiscourse and its categories, Czech scholars seem to be concerned mainly with modality. Čmejrková et al. (1999) classify metadiscourse features according to three criteria: communicative function (affirmative, interrogative...), type of modality (intrinsic or extrinsic) and the function expressed by the particular type of modality (necessity, obligation, intention, hedging, evaluation, etc.). It is interesting that all the authors mentioned in this section deal roughly with the same kind of expressions, yet they classify them from a different point of view: Hyland prefers discourse functions, Biber structures (though he implements modal meaning as well) and Čmejrková et al. deal mostly with modality.

Though we admit that a classification combining all three approaches might be interesting, we prefer a rather less complicated way of analysis. In our study, the type of modality will be noted as a characteristics or description but not as a criterion of classification. One reason for this decision is the focus of this paper, the other the endeavour to keep the suggested classification general and simple enough for us to be able to compare the selected languages in terms of expressing metadiscourse.

3.1.2. Metadiscourse categories in Czech and English

To find out the approximate range of metadiscourse expressions that can be encountered in Czech and English academic writing, we went through four texts (two per each language) and selected elements that, according to our opinion, function as metadiscourse. As mentioned above, we adopted Hyland and Tse's integrative approach and focused on interactional features of metadiscourse (known also as interpersonal function). The encountered expressions were classified according to the following criteria: metadiscourse function (hedges, boosters, relational markers, etc.), structural level (in our case it was lexical, grammatical or lexico-grammatical level) and realization form (e.g. stance adjective, stance verb + *that*-clause etc.). For Table 1 summarizing this classification, see Appendix 2.

Concerning the direction of our classification, we proceeded from function to form: each selected expression fulfills a particular metadiscourse function (this category is thus functional) and is expressed at one of the structural levels by a particular type of expression (these two being formal, linguistic categories, not functional). Another approach is to select a range of particular lexical and grammatical forms and examine their frequency, distribution and function in the text. This procedure is often used, e.g. by Hyland, and in this thesis it will be employed as a supplementary approach later to test the result of the qualitative functional analysis in a larger corpus of academic texts.

When trying to classify the encountered expressions according to the selected criteria, we came across several difficulties which will be described in greater detail in the sections below. However, it turns out that despite the different language types, Czech and English seem to use similar means for expressing interactional features of metadiscourse. We can find the same types of expressions at the grammatical level (e.g. modal verbs, questions or personal pronouns / endings), lexical level (e.g. stance adjectives or stance adverbs), as well as lexico-grammatical expression of metadiscourse functions such as stance verbs followed by a *to*- clause or *that*-clauses controlled by stance adjectives.

Since there is no strict boundary between interactional ('interpersonal') and interactive ('textual') metadiscourse, we included into our analysis some expressions which seem to be on the borderline between interactive and interactional metadiscourse. These expressions, for instance adverbials with the textual role of expressing a connection between one part of the text and another (e.g. *thus*) or correlative conjunctions (e.g. *not only, but also*), are primarily seen as features of interactive metadiscourse but, in our opinion, they are also very close to the interactional function. We believe that by organizing the text writers take into

consideration their readers' needs helping them orientate themselves in the ongoing discourse or guiding them through the argument. For this reason we have decided to subsume these expressions under relational markers and not to add an extra category for them. They seem to be quite reader-oriented and may be viewed as relational markers, though not strictly prototypical ones, thus pointing to the fact that no strict boundary between the two types of metadiscourse can be drawn.

3.1.2.1. The analyzed texts

For the purposes of this analysis, i.e. finding out the range of metadiscourse features occurring in Czech and English academic texts, we have chosen four articles dealing with linguistics. The English texts come from two journals, namely from *Journal of Pragmatics* and from *Journal of the American Society for information science and technology*, the Czech articles were taken from *Slovo a Slovesnost*. In terms of our classification, it was Hyland's text that was probably the easiest to analyze. The metadiscourse expressions in this text were not difficult to categorize and it seems that Hyland uses the interactional features quite cautiously. On the contrary, Hanks' study is rather specific not only in terms of its subject matter but also in displaying quite a high number of self-mentions³. Hanks chooses to describe the experimental part from his point of view (presenting himself as the agent), rather than presenting it impersonally, which is probably more common in academic writing. He also uses many questions (including dependent ones), thus making the text more engaging and interpersonal.

Concerning the Czech representatives of academic writing, both articles seem to employ interactional features of metadiscourse to a large extent. Klein's text is again slightly more specific than the other article, since in his study this author employs rather a high number of parenthetical text comments placed in brackets. These brackets proved problematic during the classification since it is not always clear whether their content was meant as a text comment or just an elaboration of the argument that could be presented outside the brackets with the same information effect. Though Hanks' and Klein's texts may not represent a typical way of academic writing in all respects, we hope that by including them into this analysis, we will be able to capture a broader range of metadiscourse expressions than when dealing just with uniform texts (if anything as a uniform scientific text does exist).

³ For particular numbers see Table 2 and Table 3

4. Analysis and Results

4.1. From function to form – a detailed qualitative analysis of four academic articles

4.1.1. The means of expressing metadiscourse in the two English texts

In this section, we shall summarize the findings of our analysis for the English texts. Each metadiscourse category will be described in terms of its function (according to Hyland and Tse's approach) and structures that are used to express the particular category in the analyzed texts. Unclear or problematic cases will be given some more space in order to explain how they were coped with.

Hedges

By using hedges, writers usually want to withhold a full commitment to their statements. As Hyland (2004: 101) puts it, hedges are typically employed when writers move away from what can be safely assumed or experimentally demonstrated. In both pieces of writing we can find very common and expected expressions like stance or modal verbs (*seem, tend, appear, suggest, can, may, might, would*).

Ex. 1 Francis Crick **seems to endorse** this ego-centred model of scientific activity in his memoir *What Mad Pursuit* when he says... (Hyland)

Ex. 2 They **tend to be** very sensitive to whether the referent is an object of mutual knowledge or not...(Hanks)

It is interesting to note that apart from three exceptions, Hyland's hedges are represented solely by these stance verbs. The exceptions are two adverbials of time (*usually* and *often*) which we subsume under intensifiers and a concessive *if*-clause. Dušková (1988: 452) classifies *usually* and *often* as adverbials of time expressing indefinite temporal reference⁴ and we suggest that these adverbials can be viewed as intensifiers since they indicate the frequency (or 'intensity') of some action similarly to the way intensifiers indicate the degree of action expressed by the verb or the degree of quality expressed by the adjective.

⁴ the Czech term is "neurčitá časnost"

We classify *usually* and *often* as hedges since in our opinion they signal that something is happening but the speaker does not want to or cannot be specific about the precise frequency of occurrence.⁵ Concerning the concessive *if*-clause, it seems to weaken the previous statement and thus we regard it as an instance of hedging:

Ex. 3 Scientific claims, **if accepted**, are generally regarded as discoveries which argument an orderly and coherent sequence of accredited facts. (Hyland)

Hanks' hedging is slightly more varied though he also uses mainly stance and modal verbs (the same as listed in the previous paragraph). Apart from these, we can find expressions like *often*, *more or less*, *looking like*, *a kind of* which again weaken the propositions to which they belong. An interesting case is the modification of otherwise clear boosters resulting in hedging, e.g. *it is not entirely clear* or *almost always*:

Ex. 4 But since **it is not entirely clear** how natural languages actually configure the categories...(Hanks)

Ex. 5 The subtlety of deictic categories is compounded by the fact that actual speech contexts **almost always** involve several different dimensions at once. (Hanks)

On the other hand, a combination of two hedging expressions strengthens the hedge, thus weakening the force of the statement as in the following example:

Ex. 6 **I have tried to suggest** that this interaction is systematic, tractable to fieldwork, and of great interest to pragmatics...(Hanks)

Boosters

Contrary to hedges, boosters are used to emphasize the writer's certainty in what s/he presents. It can be said again that Hyland's usage of boosters is more prudent and conventional, with stance adverbs like *typically*, *clearly*, *of course* and *by far*, stance adjectives like *doubtless*, *strong* and *obvious* (two of these occurring in superlative *the*

⁵ Hyland (2004: 90) speaks about "indefinite frequency expressions ... which can be used to adjust the strength of claims" and also states that "Indeterminacy is a widely recognised feature of modal semantics ... indeterminacy is likely to be part of the writer's intention in selecting a particular form" (Hyland, 2004: 88-89). This may help to understand our view of these expressions as instances of hedging.

strongest demonstration and *most obvious*) or stance verbs complemented by that-clause (*clearly shows that, this study found that, this means that...*). We noted also a combination of hedging and boosting in *participation in published research is perhaps the strongest demonstration a writer can make* resulting in a hedge.

Ex. 7 Table 2 (...) **clearly shows** that academic writing is not the faceless, formal prose it is often depicted to be. (Hyland)

Ex. 8 This explicitly persuasive use of self-mention is **most obvious** where it is used to summarise a viewpoint or make a knowledge claim. (Hyland)

Ex. 9 **This means that** references are relatively diffuse and opportunities for self-citation are comparatively fewer than in the hard fields (Hyland)

Ex. 10 In this way, participation in published research is **perhaps the strongest demonstration** a writer can make of his or her claim. (Hyland)

As another means of expressing boosters Hyland uses adverbials *of course*, *by far* and *in fact* in the following contexts:

Ex. 11 No research occurs in social vacuum, **of course**. (Hyland)

Ex. 12 We noted above that molecular biology had **by far** the greatest number of citations in the corpus... (Hyland)

Ex. 13 The need to have one's work recognized and cited by others is, **in fact**, an increasingly valued commodity...(Hyland)

It seems that in case of *of course* and *in fact* the adverbials function as content disjuncts, *by far* can be classified as intensifier. As Dušková (1988: 476) points out, disjuncts, adverbials of manner and intensifiers are sometimes homonymous. It is therefore important to check the particular item in context in order to be able to determine its syntactical or textual function.

Attitude markers

As the term itself suggests, attitude markers express the writer's attitude to the communicated message. Hyland (1998: 444) notes that it is sometimes difficult to differentiate attitude markers from relational markers since 'writers frequently indicate

attitudes for interpersonal reasons' and we have to admit that we sometimes hesitated between these two categories in cases of expressions that seemed to be on the borderline. However, we tried to follow Hyland's criteria for these markers to the greatest possible extent to avoid 'unclear' cases. To name at least a few expressions functioning as attitude markers in the two English texts, we encountered especially stance adjectives (e.g. *important, major, significant, interesting*) and stance adverbs (*easily, essentially, fiercely, more usefully, mainly, starkly, heavily*) in Hyland's study and actually the same types are to be found in Hanks' article:

Ex. 14 One of the **interesting** and productive instruments developed by the Max Planck group is...(Hanks)

Ex. 15 In this article I take a different stance and argue that self-citation is **more usefully** seen in the wider context of authorial self-mention. (Hyland)

However, Hyland again seems to follow rather more common wording while Hanks uses a broader range of expressions, e.g. stance adjectives like (*in*)*valuable, significant, great, critical* or stance adverbials (*notably, fortunately, rather, exceedingly, inevitably* etc.). These differences are probably idiosyncratic, resulting from the different writing habits of these authors. It also seems that the stance adverbials found in these texts are mostly intensifiers modifying a verb or adjective (e.g. *blatantly inadequate, severely constrained, relatively rare*) and not sentence adverbs. Some disjuncts, nevertheless, were found in these texts as well, for instance in examples 16 and 17. Example 18 is an instance of rather unusual wording for an evaluative construction.

Ex. 16 **Fortunately**, it is not the whole story and may not even be that central. (Hanks)

Ex. 17 **Strictly speaking**, the particles illustrated in this section are functionally mixed between markers of information source... (Hanks)

Ex. 18 The egocentric spatialist picture has proven exceedingly robust and resistant to revision, yet it is **blatantly inadequate** as a basis for pragmatic research. (Hanks)

What proved slightly problematic was the analysis of focalizers like *especially, particularly, even, precisely, only* etc. After some hesitation and reconsideration of our original assumptions, we have decided to include these expressions into the category of

attitude markers. By using a focalizer, the writer is presenting the content as rhematic, i.e. very important. In other words, by signalling what s/he considers to be a most important part of the communicated message, the writer is expressing his attitude towards the content (rhematic is what *I* consider important). The other view might be to place focalizers into the category of relational markers. It can be said that by placing the clause element into the rhematic part of a sentence, the reader is guided to perceive this part of the sentence as carrying the most important information and since relational markers (or, in this case, directives) are used to make the reader see things in a way determined by the writer, we may place focalizers into this metadiscourse category as well. Though focalizers are sometimes used to focus readers' attention⁶ and Hyland himself (2004: 113) admits that "because affective devices can also have relational implications, attitude and relational markers are often difficult to distinguish in practice", focalizers do not seem to be prototypical representatives of relational markers. Rather than the author's attitude towards the readers they seem to express his or her attitude towards the propositional content.

Ex. 19 This is **particularly** so when the authors have a long history of engagement in an area...(Hyland)

Ex. 20 In the remainder of this paper, I want to briefly sketch several kinds of data that have proven **especially** productive for the study of deixis.(Hanks)

Relational markers

Relational (or engagement) markers explicitly refer to or build the relationship with the reader. As Hyland (1998: 444) states, they are usually expressed by second person pronouns, imperatives and asides that interrupt the ongoing discourse whereas attitude markers are signaled mainly by stance verbs, necessity modals and sentence adverbs. Hyland (1998) further divides relational markers into following categories: *reader pronouns* (with inclusive *we*), *personal asides* (comments, parentheses etc.), *appeals to shared knowledge* (readers should recognize something as familiar or accepted), *directives* (instructing the reader to perform an action or to see things in a way determined by the writer) and *questions*.

Concerning our texts, Hyland uses relatively few relational markers. In his study, this category is represented mainly by inclusive *we*, another instance was a directive *it should also be remembered*. Hanks, on the contrary, employs relational markers to a greater extent also

⁶ Hyland 2004: 113

using inclusive *we*, questions (including dependent ones which are relatively numerous in his study) and constructions like *it is fair to ask how, it is hard to determine, it is very useful to invert* etc. which are formed by stance adjectives followed by a to-clause (the infinitive in extraposition being the notional subject⁷).

Ex. 21 **It should also be remembered** that these disciplinary conventions are enabling rather than deterministic, and typical patterns of self-mention only provide broad perimeters of choice. (Hyland)

Ex. 22 **If an object is far away but clearly visible, is it “proximal” for deixis? What if it is a recent memory or something approaching at high speed from out of sight, like an oncoming train?** These, too, are empirical issues for which evidence is required, **and the empirical question is how the linguistic forms are used and understood** by native speakers under the corresponding circumstances. (Hanks)

Ex. 23 While these self-reports offer plausible explanations for the different rhetorical practices of the disciplines, **we cannot ignore** the promotional role of self-mention as a potential factor in citational choices. (Hyland)

Ex. 24 It turns out that indexicals are tricky, and **it is hard to determine** how they actually function in different languages. (Hanks)

Self-mentions

The category of self-mention is probably the easiest one to recognize since in English it is represented solely by either personal or possessive pronouns. Both Hyland and Hanks use direct *I* when talking about themselves but sometimes authorial *we* occurs, though not very often. When *we* is used, it is most often inclusive *we* (a relational marker) referring to both reader and writer and thus creating a kind of companionship (*we* are here now *together* to deal with this topic). What is again slightly atypical in Hanks' text is the extent in usage of self-reference. While academic style is often described as impersonal (or authors are at least believed to avoid self-mentioning if possible), Hanks does not hesitate to use self-mention fifty times in his study, even when describing how he obtained data, which could easily be achieved impersonally. However, this feature contributes to the particularity of Hanks' text and might signal a new trend of more personal academic authors.

⁷ The implied agent of the infinitival action is inclusive *we*, which is another reason why we subsume these constructions under relational markers

Ex. 25 As one of **my informants** pointed out, research on particular issues is often conducted at a restricted number of sites and by a limited number of researchers (Hyland)

Ex. 26 **I** will do so using the example of Yucatec Maya, a language on which **I** have worked for several decades (Hanks).

Between interactive and interactional features

There remains to mention the borderline expressions which we introduced in Section 3.1.2. and which we subsume under relational markers. We would like to emphasize that since interactive (or textual) features of metadiscourse are not the primary concern of this study, we do not deal with these expressions in any great detail. On the one hand, we would like to show that they do exist and that a strict borderline between interactive and interactional features cannot be drawn. On the other hand we admit that the focus of this thesis lies elsewhere and therefore we deal with these expressions only marginally. However, we do include here, for example, the ordering (*the first thing to note*) and indication of gradual increase in importance (*not only ... but ...*) since these are not only means of organizing the text but also of expressing the author's stance and evaluation. Some other expressions that may represent this borderline category are e.g. *thus, indeed, especially, the first thing to note, not only suggests, but acts* and *great interest and great difficulty*. The last item may draw attention due to parallelism, the correlatives *not only, but* may help the readers to orientate themselves in the text and its flow as well as the connective *thus*.

Ex. 27 The dependence of arguments in networks of references **not only suggests** a cumulative and linear progression of knowledge, **but acts to locate** both writers and their claims within a recognised disciplinary framework. (Hyland)

Ex. 28 **The first thing to note** about Tables 1–3 is that the four categories are similar in overall structure. (Hanks)

4.1.2. The means of expressing metadiscourse in the two Czech texts

Let us now focus on expressing metadiscourse categories in the Czech texts. To be able to compare Czech and English in terms of expressing interpersonal function, we tried to

adopt Hyland's classification also for Czech. Though we doubted this decision to some extent, it seems that there are no greater problems with such classification. In both languages metadiscourse categories are expressed by similar means; at least it seems possible to classify them in the same way.

Hedges

Concerning hedging, both articles display quite a broad range of expressions including mainly stance verbs, stance adverbials and modal verbs. In the article written by Čermák et al. we find expressions like *často, mnohdy, víceméně, může vést, určité znejistění* etc. Klein uses hedges like *spíš, do určité míry, téměř, snaží se říct, považovali bychom* etc.

Ex. 29 Tento nepoměr **může vést** k určitému znejistění mluvčího, resp. pisatele. (Čermák a kol.)

Ex. 30 To, **zdá se**, potvrzuje korespondenci mezi argumentem a indukci a mezi vysvětlením a dedukcí. (Klein)

Ex. 31 Vyjadřují tedy postoj epistemické modality a **považovali bychom** je za **zřejmý** případ argumentu... (Klein)

At this point we would like to mention how Czech metadiscourse expressions like *jistě (certainly, of course), zřejmě (obviously), pravděpodobně (probably), nejspíš (most probably, most likely), stěží/sotva (hardly, barely)* etc. were classified. Grepl and Karlík (1998) describe these expressions as modal particles but as they add immediately, these particles are also called sentence adverbs. The reason for this is that they do not function as constitutive clause elements, do not enter syntactic relationships and play the role of parentheses or comments. Moreover, when we look up the English equivalents of these words⁸, we get what Dušková (1988: 474) calls adverbials not integrated in the sentence structure⁹ which are often homonymous with intensifiers (a special type of manner adverbials) and focalizers (vytýkací příslovce) and it is the position in the sentence that determines the type and function of a particular expression. This is why we have decided to subsume these particles under stance adverbials.

⁸ Fronek, J. *Velký anglicko-český překladový slovník*, Praha: LEDA: 2006

⁹ the Czech term is "příslovečná určení nezačleněná do větné stavby"

Another means of hedging found in the Czech articles was expressing uncertainty through verbs in conditional mood (*by pomáhalo podporovat, by se tak navázalo*), verbs expressing future (*v obou případech půjde spíš o*) or verbs in iterative form (*argumenty bývají nazývány, bývají často řazena mezi*). There seems to be an interesting feature that is not to be found in the English texts (apart from one exception in Hanks' study), namely combining more hedging expression together in order to weaken the statement even more. Structures like *bychom spíše usuzovali, dovolím si navrhnout pravděpodobné vysvětlení, spíš snad ustupující* etc. illustrate this phenomenon and are rather numerous in both articles.

- Ex. 32 Ve studiích argumentace **bývají argumenty**, které takové syntaktické struktury zpravidla podkládají, **nazývány** argumenty o příčině...(Klein)
- Ex. 33 V obou příkladech **půjde spíš** o poučený odhad na základě našich zkušeností...(Klein)
- Ex. 34 Bez bližší dokladové argumentace si **na závěr dovolím navrhnout pravděpodobné vysvětlení**. (Klein)

Boosters

In both Czech texts, the category of boosters is represented e.g. by stance adverbials (*nepochybně, vždy, silně, evidentně*), modal verbs (*čeština se nemůže vyhnout, ani zdaleka tu nemůže jít o úplný účet*) or stance adjectives (*zřejmý, nepochybný, obavy jsou zbytečné*). We can find also *that*-constructions controlled either by a stance verb or stance adjective, e.g.:

- Ex. 35 **Konference** o proměnách spisovnosti pořádaná Pedagogickou fakultou Masarykovy univerzity v Brně v únoru 2004 **ukázala, že** velká část bohemistů v Čechách...(Čermák a kol.)
- Ex. 36 **Je už dlouho nesporné, že** mezi spisovnou normou a běžnou mluvou není černobílá hranice. (Čermák a kol.)

Concerning the range of expressions, the text by Čermák et al. seems to be more varied; Klein repeatedly uses the same repertoire of boosters (e.g. *vždy, nepochybně, pochopitelně* etc.). Boosting is sometimes strengthened by combining more expressions, as in:

Ex. 37 **Ani zdaleka tu nemůže jít** o úplný výčet. (Čermák a kol., stance adverb + modal verb)

Ex. 38 **Jistěže vždy** neúplný. (Klein, modal particle + stance adverb)

We have also noticed one weakened booster *bude jistě existovat*, where the boosting effect is achieved through a stance adverb (or modal particle *jistě = of course*) but the force of the message is weakened by using the verb *to be* in future (*bude = will be*).

Ex. 39 Na druhou stranu **bude jistě existovat** celá řada případů mluvnických aktů... (Klein)

Attitude markers

In the case of attitude markers, we sometimes had to deal with the question whether through a particular expression the author is really evaluating, and thus using an attitude marker, or whether he is just objectively describing the situation. Since these modifiers (adjectives and adverbs) can also be used descriptively, the borderline is often difficult to draw. When in doubt we generally opted for the attitudinal interpretation, keeping in mind the potential evaluative meaning of the modifiers. By choosing a particular word the author is already taking some stance, some attitude towards the communicated message and thus, apart from neutral descriptions lacking any personal opinion or commitment, we classify many adjectives and adverbs occurring in these texts as attitude markers. These are e.g. stance adjectives *zásadní, nepodařená, zbytečné a nevhodné, úporné, nežádoucí*, stance adverbs as in *dost špatně přijímaná, nevhodně zatížená dvojice, vhodně nabízí, nepřiliš šťastná kodifikace* etc. We also encountered constructions like *bude snadnější uvědomit si* or *bude možné a vhodné tolerovat* where the stance adjectives are followed by *to*-clause. Similarly as in the English texts, we also count as attitude markers various stance adverbials (or modal particles) including *zejména, především, ostatně, dokonce* etc.

Ex. 40 Ty sice nejsou nebezpečné, ale **zbytečné a nevhodné**. (Čermák a kol.)

Ex. 41 ...**bude možné a vhodné tolerovat** kolísání i u jiných konjugačních a deklinačních typů (Čermák a kol.)

Ex. 42 Nyní viz i diskuzi v Jazykovědných aktualitách z posledních let, **zejména** jednoznačné stanovisko Ch.Twonsenda... (Čermák a kol.)

Ex. 43 Argument pro nás představuje **především** jakousi nadstavbovou funkci...(Klein)

Relational markers

Relational markers are quite numerous in both Czech texts (for exact numbers see Table 3). However, in Klein's text this is given by a relatively high number of comments in brackets. This seems to be rather a feature of personal style than a common practice in academic writing, yet we have decided to subsume all the additional information under relational markers since it seems to function as specifications or additions helping the reader to comprehend the text or follow the argument.

Other relational markers include personal and possessive pronouns representing inclusive *we*, stance adjectives followed by a *to*-clause (e.g. *je nezbytné se aktivně vyrovnávat, je třeba zvážit*) or modal verbs in constructions such as *což by bohemistika měla patřičně zaregistrovat, má se orientovat na výchovu* or *škola musí chápat...i když snad nemusí kontrolovat a přeceňovat*. These constructions can be considered directives since they make the reader see things in a way determined by the writer. Another representative of directives is the imperative mood plus the first person plural ending corresponding to the inclusive *we* e.g. in *vraťme se, připomeňme, pokusme se nastínit* etc.

Ex. 44 **Vraťme se** k prvnímu distinktivnímu kritériu indukce a dedukce...(Klein)

Ex. 45 To znamená, že i tento jev je součástí hovorového standardu, **což by bohemistika měla patřičně zaregistrovat**. (Čermák a kol.)

In both texts we can find questions which are either rhetorical or immediately answered by the author. Hyland (1998: 445) describes rhetorical questions as presenting the author's opinion as an interrogative so the reader appears to be the judge whereas by answering the question immediately the writer is simultaneously initiating and closing the dialogue. Comment clauses like *podle našeho názoru, domnívám se, zdá se mi* could be regarded as personal asides or self-mentions.

Ex. 46 A to, **domnívám se**, není pravda. (Klein)

- Ex. 47 Vysvětlení (představující deskripci kauzálních vztahů reálného světa) totiž **podle našeho názoru** podkladné struktury neobsahují. (Klein)

Self-mentions

Like the English texts, the Czech ones differ in the use of self-reference in terms of frequency. Whereas Čermák et al. refer to themselves rather scarcely with only nine occurrences of self-mentioning, Klein uses this device twenty-five times. Moreover, both texts also display a different range of self-mentioning expressions. In the text written by Čermák, Sgall and Vybíral we found only personal endings attached to particular verbs in order to express first person plural signalling self-reference (e.g. *chceme upozornit, vyzýváme, jsme si vědomi*). Apart from the first person plural endings, Klein's text also contains possessive pronouns (e.g. *z našeho pohledu*) and first person singular ending, which we find rather interesting. Klein obviously does not stick to one given pattern of self-reference when talking about himself, but employs sometimes *I*, sometimes authorial *we* expressed by respective verbal endings:

- Ex. 48 Tímto **argumentuji** pro tvrzení, že vysvětlení i argument bychom měli vnímat na dvou rozdílných rovinách popisu...(Klein)
- Ex. 49 Jinými slovy, jak **hodláme** ukázat, souvětí na syntaktické rovině formálně obdobná, se liší na rovině svého pragmatického významu...(Klein)
- Ex. 50 Taková diskuse mezi lingvisty by měla být prvním z kroků, které, jak **doufáme**, umožnily v budoucnu nové chápání...(Čermák a kol.)

Between interactive and interactional features

Concerning the borderline category including the means of interactive (or textual) metadiscourse being very close to interactional (or interpersonal) features, we subsume under this heading expressions like *tedy, jinými slovy, totiž, vlastně*, etc. These are, for example, connectives or listing conjuncts helping the reader to orientate themselves in the text. We would include here also Klein's numerous specifications and additions beginning with *tj.* (meaning *that is*), though primarily we consider them as relational markers for the reasons stated above.

Ex. 51 Zajímá ji pouze, zda premisy (i ty nevyjádřené) platí vzhledem ke světu **(tj.zda jsou pravdivé)** a zda syntaktické spojení...(Klein)

Ex. 52 Jednotlivé argumenty, a jejich dílčí verbalizované části **(premisv a konkluze)**, vstupují totiž v konkrétním textu do široké a složité sítě vztahů...(Klein)

To summarize the findings described in this chapter we include here Table 2 and Table 3 presenting the frequency of the individual metadiscourse categories found in the analyzed texts. The greatest difference seems to be in the category of relational markers where the Czech pieces of academic writing display much greater number of occurrences than their English counterparts. Similarly, hedges are more numerous in the Czech articles.

Table 2: Metadiscourse categories found in the two English texts					
author	hedges	boosters	attitude markers	relational markers	self-mentions
Hyland	38	17	45	8	10
Hanks	39	30	35	49	50
total	77	47	80	57	60
Corpus size: 12,931 words					

Table 3: Metadiscourse categories found in the two Czech texts					
author	hedges	boosters	attitude markers	relational markers	self-mentions
Čermák a kol.	50	30	39	60	9
Klein	63	24	14	80	25
total	113	54	53	140	34
Corpus size: 10,438 words					

4.2. From form to function – a corpus-based qualitative and quantitative analysis

In this section we shall present our findings based on the corpus of academic texts collected for the purpose of this thesis. Some selected expressions encountered in the four texts described in Chapter 2 were searched for in order to find out to what extent (if at all) they are represented in a larger set of data. Again, each metadiscourse category will be dealt with separately and we shall try to compare to what extent these categories are represented in the Czech and English academic texts.

4.2.1. The corpus of academic texts

In order to test whether the metadiscourse expressions found in the four academic texts occur also in a larger collection of data, we gathered twenty articles dealing with linguistics, ten per each language, and searched for some selected expressions in this corpus. The English texts come solely from *The Journal of Pragmatics*, the Czech articles were taken from *Slovo a Slovesnost*. When selecting the texts, we wanted to meet several criteria. First, all authors had to be native speakers of the language they represented¹⁰ and all texts had to be published after the year 2005. Second, the articles had to deal with linguistics and third, the texts had to be approximately of the same length in order to achieve a comparable word count for both languages. Quite surprisingly, the factor that caused us the greatest difficulty was the texts' length. Whereas English academic texts published in prestigious linguistic periodicals tend to be rather long (from twenty to forty, sometimes even to fifty pages), Czech articles are usually much shorter, many of them containing mere six or seven pages. This made our selection slightly limited since we had to consider only the texts that were all approximately of the same length. However, this criterion was eventually met as well and we ended up with a comparable balanced corpus containing 84,055 words for English and 82,890 words for Czech.

As mentioned above, we decided to work with the same number of texts of approximately the same length and rather than with the same word count for each language. This is because we wanted to compare the texts as whole units with all their characteristic features, not only some selected parts of them. Moreover, it seems that metadiscourse devices are not distributed evenly in the academic text, some appear to be associated primarily with the introduction, others e.g. with the conclusions and thus by leaving out any part of a text to gain the same word count for both languages, we may miss items belonging into our analysis. We therefore follow iso-textual approach since our corpus is compiled of complete texts. The opposite, iso-lexical approach, where the criterion for the construction of comparable corpora is the number of tokens in each corpus, was not useful for our present purposes. These two approaches were studied by David Oakey who claims that “further comparative studies of fixed collocational patterns should be isotextual, so that their functions can be investigated across similar numbers of communicative acts rather than across similar amounts of language.” (Baker 2009: 140). Since our sub-corpora are comparable in size, we shall only give raw frequencies of the phenomena observed, rather than normalized frequencies.

¹⁰ We admit that as far as the English texts are concerned we cannot be absolutely sure that the authors are native speakers but in this case we rely on the work of the respective editorial boards.

4.2.2. Monoconc Programme

As for the next step, we had to select a corpus tool that would enable us to search for the selected expressions both for Czech and English. First we considered using Antword Profiler 1.200w, a vocabulary profiler by Lawrence Anthony. However, since this programme cannot read Czech characters we turned to another text searching software, namely to Monoconc Pro 2.0 by Athelstan. This programme can cope with Czech language very well and thus it could be used for our present purposes.

4.2.3. Selected expressions

As mentioned above, the aim of the controlling search was to test whether our findings from Chapter 2 will be confirmed also in a larger set of data. At this point we would like to say that the main part of our thesis lies in the analysis of the four academic texts and in suggesting the means of classifying metadiscourse expressions occurring in Czech and English. This is one of the reasons why we do not search for all encountered expressions but select only some of them. The other reasons are more of a practical nature. First, we are well aware of the fact that by a detailed analysis of only four academic texts we cannot capture *all* possible metadiscourse expressions and thus it would be somewhat awkward to expect that all the expressions encountered in the four articles from Chapter 2 (and only these) will also occur in the larger corpus. This is why we tried to select prototypical examples instead. Second, not all expressions from Table 1 occur in both analyzed languages, e.g. *stance adjective + to-clause* is to be found only in English, not in Czech. Since we would like to compare to what extent a metadiscourse expression or construction is represented both in Czech and English, we decided to search only for items that could be found in both languages.

We checked all results of the controlling search in their contexts since, as we have already mentioned, whether an expressions belongs to a metadiscourse category or not depends on its function within a context. To gain access to a sufficient cotext for each item, the hits were viewed in a sentence-context-type, not in lines or KWIC view. Some of the hits were not included into our analysis since they were obviously not metadiscourse expressions. Though many of the results were quite clear, there appeared a number of cases in which it was rather difficult to determine whether the item in question was an instance of a metadiscourse expression or not. These problems occurred mainly with modal verbs and personal reference and will be dealt with in greater detail in the sections below.

Most of the searched items could be typed directly in the Monoconc Pro searching window since their form does not change. However, in Czech there are numerous declinations

and conjugations and thus one item can occur in several forms. Therefore, some of the Czech expressions had to be searched for using wildcards (e.g. *zřejm** for *zřejmý, zřejmého, zřejmému, zřejmým* etc.). There were also cases when we wanted to search for a construction regardless of its wording and thus proximity queries like *it is @ that / je @ že* were used (@ stands for the range of one to five expressions).

In the following sections we shall present the results of the controlling search. The expressions selected for this search are presented in Table 4 and Table 5. Each metadiscourse category will be dealt with separately and its occurrence in the two languages will be compared. We shall also try to discuss the collocates of selected metadiscourse expressions occurring in the Czech and English academic texts gathered for the purposes of this analysis.

Table 4: Metadiscourse expressions in the corpus of the English academic texts¹¹				
			Corpus size: 84,055 words	
expression	category	level	type of expression	occurrences
often	H	L	stance adverbial	80
usually	H	L	stance adverbial	6
perhaps	H	L	stance adverbial	34
may	H	G	modal verb	55
might	H	G	modal verb	58
can	H	G	modal verb	39
suggests that	H	LG	stance verb + that-clause	40
total for hedges: 312				
typically	B	L	stance adverbial	9
of course	B	L	stance adverbial	10
always	B	L	stance adverbial	23
obvious	B	L	stance adjective	3
typical	B	L	stance adjective	7
(the study) shows that	B	LG	stance verb + that-clause	22
total for boosters: 74				
important	AM	L	stance adjective	22
significant	AM	L	stance adjective	18
easily	AM	L	stance adverbial	3
especially	AM	L	stance adverbial	21
particularly	AM	L	stance adverbial	14
it is interesting to note	AM	LG	stance adjective + to-clause	2
total for attitude markers: 80				
see	RM	G	imperative	63
we	RM	G	personal pronoun	106
our	RM	G	possessive pronoun	10
should	RM	G	modal verb	35
thus	RM	LG	connective	66
total for relational markers: 281				
I	SM	G	personal pronoun	77
we	SM	G	personal pronoun	26
my	SM	G	possessive pronoun	29
our	SM	G	possessive pronoun	12
total for self-mentions: 143				

¹¹ The abbreviations used in Table 4 and 5 are as follows: H = hedge, B = booster, AM = attitude marker, RM = relational marker, SM = self-mention, L = lexical, G = grammatical, LG = lexico-grammatical

Table 5: Selected metadiscourse expressions in the corpus of the Czech academic texts				
			Corpus size: 82,890 words	
expression	category	level	type of expression	occurrences
často	H	L	stance adverbial	40
obvykle	H	L	stance adverbial	10
zřejmě	H	L	stance adverbial	16
může	H	G	modal verb	6
mohl by	H	G	modal verb (conditional)	54
zdá se, že...	H	LG	stance verb + that-clause	5
total for hedges: 307				
pochopitelně	B	L	stance adverbial	6
vždy	B	L	stance adverbial	28
samořejmě	B	L	stance adverbial	1
zřejmý	B	L	stance adjective	22
to znamená, že...	B	LG	stance verb + that-clause	5
total for boosters: 62				
důležité	AM	L	stance adjective	30
podstatné	AM	L	stance adjective	9
zejména	AM	L	stance adverbial	28
především	AM	L	stance adverbial	50
snadno	AM	L	stance adverbial	4
total for attitude markers: 121				
viz	RM	G	imperative	101
my	RM	G	personal pronoun	1
1st person plural	RM	G	personal ending	404
náš	RM	G	possessive pronoun	18
měl by	RM	G	modal verb	15
je třeba (se zamyslet)	RM	LG	stance adverbial + inf	27
tedy	RM	LG	connective	152
total for relational markers: 718				
já	SM	G	personal pronoun	16
my	SM	G	personal pronoun	0
1st person plural	SM	G	personal ending	227
1st person singular	SM	G	personal ending	61
můj	SM	G	possessive pronoun	9
náš	SM	G	possessive pronoun	48
total for self-mentions: 361				

4.2.3.1. Hedges

Stance adverbials

Stance adverbials employed for hedging were more prevalent in the English texts. This is caused especially by the adverbial *often* which occurred eighty times in the English articles. After checking the item in its contexts, we have decided to count all hits as instances of hedging since we believe that in our contexts *often* weakens the proposition. Moreover, it seems that by using this expression the author somehow prevents his or her readers from making rush generalizations, from interpreting the message too narrow-mindedly. The other two adverbials were not so numerous in the English texts, *usually* occurred six times, *perhaps* thirty-two times. In example 1, *perhaps* functions as a sentence modifier and is not restricted to the sentence-initial position:

Ex. 1 **Perhaps** the white dove as a symbol of peace and celebration is associated with the white flag. (Allan)

Ex. 2 In type 2, the hyperpartons are possible parts, **perhaps** alternatives. (Bilmes)

Ex. 3 Older people **often** tend to see the changes that they perceive to be occurring in society in a negative way. (Mills)

The stance adverbials found in the Czech texts function similarly to their English counterparts. *Zřejmě* is used as a sentence adverb, *často* again prevents from rush generalizations and indicates exceptions. It is perhaps not surprising that the usage of *obvykle* corresponds to that of *usually* since it seems that in general the lexical hedges found in our corpus function in Czech and English very similarly.

Ex. 4 Výchozí lexém **často** implikuje pozitivní nebo negativní hodnocení a intenzifikací se jeho pozitivní nebo negativní hodnota zvyšuje. (Veselý)

Ex. 5 **Zřejmě** nejde o konstatování faktů, nýbrž o stipulativní výrok charakterizující autorův programatický požadavek nebo hypotézu o podstatě vědy a racionality. (Kocourek)

Ex. 6 Protože právě tento test je **zřejmě** nejlépe použitelným testem telicity/atelicity. (Dočekal)

Modal verbs

Unlike lexical hedges, modal verbs expressing this metadiscourse category were often difficult to deal with. Modal verbs were quite numerous in our corpus and it sometimes was not easy to decide to which type of modality a particular verb should be ascribed. Modal meaning is traditionally considered to be either epistemic or root/agent-oriented. Epistemic modality modifies the proposition as a whole and is characterized as extra-propositional whereas root modality (being also described as intra-propositional) modifies only the lexical verb. As Huschová (2008: 141) points out in her PhD thesis, the traditional modality-type test including paraphrasing is not reliable enough¹²; it is often the scope of modality which is considered as a better criterion for distinguishing the root from the epistemic modal meaning. Epistemic modality expresses the speaker's lack of confidence in the truth of the proposition whereas root or agent-oriented modality points to a possible realization of an action based on external circumstances or enabling conditions. Huschová (2008: 148-149) further claims that as a means of hedging, *can* is usually not used since it primarily expresses a possibility emerging from external circumstances. She also states (Huschová 2008: 144) that whereas *may* can convey both modal meanings, *can* lacks a comparable epistemic use since in her data, it occurred only as root or unclassifiable (i.e. it is sometimes difficult to tell which type of modality *can* represented). She also adds (2008: 145) that if *may* occurs in academic style, it is often impossible to distinguish which modal meaning it should express. Such cases (which she calls *mergers*) point to the fact that the boundary between epistemic and root possibility is not strictly defined and thus these categories cannot be clearly distinguished.

In our corpus we encountered similar difficulties concerning English modals. We analyzed *can*, *may* and *might* and in each case we tried to decide whether a particular item was an instance of metadiscourse (expressing epistemic modality) or not (expressing root modality). Unlike Huschová, we did not employ the third category, “undecided”, but attempted to ascribe one of the modal meanings to each modal verb chosen for the controlling search (for details see Table 6 and Table 7). Whereas sometimes it was quite clear into which category a particular modal belonged, in other cases we were not sure how to classify the expression in question (ex. 7 could perhaps be viewed as an instance of epistemic modality). Examples 8 and 10 illustrate epistemic *can* and *may*, the verbs in example 9 and 11 were considered as expressing deontic modality. In accordance with Huschová we can say that *may*

¹² This test is proposed e.g. by Leech in his book *Meaning and the English verb* (London: Longman, [1971] 3rd ed. 2004).

and *might* occur in both modal meanings but with *can* we came to a different conclusion: it seems that in some instances, *can* may also express the epistemic modality.

Ex. 7 There are a number of reasons that **may begin to account for** why shared laughter is recurrently constituted as a suitable topic termination by the initiation of a new topic or closing relevant talk in the next turn. (Holt)

Ex. 8 His use of ‘we’ **can be interpreted** as referring, not to the guests in question but to the programme team by whom decisions about appropriate topics for programmes are made. (O’Malley)

Ex. 9 A negative response is the most direct and unambiguous way in which interlocutors **can demonstrate** themselves to be competent identifiers of humor, who, nonetheless did not find the particular effort amusing. (Bell)

Ex. 10 These findings suggest that gender **may not be** a particularly important variable in responses to failed humor. (Bell)

Ex. 11 To begin, however, I want to highlight the alternative actions that participants **may perform** in terms of laughing or responding ‘seriously’ to the topical import of a potential laughable/laugh invitation. (Holt)

Table 6: Modal verbs in the English academic texts			
modal	epistemic	root	total
can	39	60	99
may	55	105	160
might	25	20	45
Corpus size: 84,055 words			

Table 7: Modal verbs in the Czech academic texts			
modal	epistemic	root	total
může	6	170	176
mohl by	11	32	43
Corpus size: 82,890 words			

In Czech there is just one counterpart for *can* and *may*, the modal verb *může*. Its conditional form is *mohl by*¹³ which again expresses similar meanings as the English *could* and *might*. Because inflection in Czech affects also the verbs, we again searched for all possible forms of

¹³ When speaking about *může* and *mohl by*, we always mean the whole conjugation, i.e. all forms of these verbs

these modals. It is interesting to note that in our corpus the findings of Huschová (2008) were confirmed rather for Czech than for English modals, though we are aware of the fact that these results may be influenced by the different approaches to the classification of modal verbs.

Stance verb + that-clause

This stance-marking construction is to be found in both languages, yet the counterparts seem to differ both formally and functionally. The subject of the construction *it suggests that* is anaphoric *it*, connecting one part of a text to another. Since this structure modifies the relationship between two proposition, it can be viewed also as an instance of textual (or linking) metadiscourse. The Czech construction *zdá se, že* is somewhat different. Unlike in English, the subject of the Czech structure is rhematic, represented by the subordinate clause beginning with *že* (the English *that*). Thus, the Czech construction does not function as a means of connection, it only introduces a new piece of information into the ongoing discourse.

First we wanted to compare the constructions *it seems to* and *zdá se, že* but whereas the verb is identical, it is complemented by a different type of clause. It may be interesting to note that the construction *it seems that* was found in the English texts only scarcely. Moreover, despite the fact that these constructions may be viewed as counterparts, *it seems to* was found sixty two times whereas *zdá se, že* only eight times. To achieve at least some comparison, we searched also for *(it) suggests that* to gain a counterpart to *zdá se, že*. There again arises a discrepancy between the two languages, since in our corpus Czech displays only eight instances of this construction whereas English forty.

Table 8: Stance verb + dependent clause in the two subcorpora	
ENGLISH	CZECH
It seems to focus...(ex.14)	Zdá se, že...(ex.13)
It seems likely that...(ex.12)	
These findings suggest that...(ex.15)	

Let us now look more closely at the subjects of these constructions. In English the subject is expressed either by anaphoric *it* as in example 14 (the subordinate clause is then the subject complement) or by anticipatory *it* as in example 12, the subordinate clause then represents the notional subject of this construction. Another type of subject is the noun phrase with anaphoric reference which can be seen in example 15. As far as Czech is concerned, the subject is represented by the subordinate content clause (see example 13). Moreover, whereas

in English the verb *seem* belongs to the category of copular verbs, the Czech verb *zdát se* is lexical.

Ex. 12 It **seems** likely that other modes of linguistic semantic analysis may have similar applicability. (Bilmes)

Ex. 13 **Zdá se, že** v českém prostředí jde o příspěvek dosud ojedinělý, a to i přesto, že OT dnes už bezesporu patří do současného paradigmatu lingvistiky. (Stichauer)

Ex. 14 Truss' book is a non-academic book and aimed at a popular readership; however, it **seems** to focus on some of the common perceptions about impoliteness at a cultural level which inform academic work on this subject. (Mills)

Ex. 15 These findings **suggest that** gender may not be a particularly important variable in responses to failed humor. (Bell)

4.2.3.2. Boosters

Stance adverbials

As examples of stance adverbials functioning as boosters we have chosen *typically*, *of course* and *always* for English and *pochopitelně*, *samozřejmě* and *vždy* for Czech. Whereas lexical hedges function similarly in both languages and we may thus expect that the same would apply also to lexical boosters, it seems that the expression *of course* may have a different usage. In English it functions as a typical booster, enforcing the author's opinion or statement. In Czech, on the contrary, *samozřejmě* is sometimes used to express tentativeness. Though often considered a prototypical example of boosting, in our corpus there are examples in which *samozřejmě* appears to indicate the author's uncertainty or perhaps his or her effort to stay polite and offer also other interpretations. This tentativeness can be seen in example 16, the booster is illustrated by examples 17 and 18:

Ex. 16 Navržený systém zachycuje do jisté míry fungování českého aspektu, ale nemá **samozřejmě** aspiraci na to, aby vyřešil jakýkoliv problém týkající se českého vidu. (Dočekal)

Ex. 17 Jako zkušený čtenáři **samozřejmě** víme, že stav nejasnosti může být i cíleně navozován záměrným literárním postupem. (Hoskovec)

Ex. 18 Mode adoption is, **of course**, a possibility in response to other types of humor. (Bell)

The adverbial *vždy* occurs more often than the corresponding English expression *always* but what is interesting about our results is the fact that especially in the English texts, this expression tends to occur in negative sentences. Again the negative context very often changes this typical booster into a hedge or at least it is weakened by some modification as in the following examples:

Ex. 19 Yellow is nearly **always** orthophemistic but occasionally dysphemistic. (Allan)

Ex. 20 But speaking at a higher level of generality does not **always** decrease the amount of information conveyed. (Bilmes)

In the Czech texts, *vždy* functions most often as a booster, it scarcely appears in the special contexts described above. These mitigating and boosting uses of *vždy* are illustrated by examples 21 and 22, respectively:

Ex. 21 Skutečnost, že určitá otázka byla zodpovězena v rozporu s odpovědí, kterou by tato otázka – chápána jako řečnická – implikovala, nemusí **vždy** znamenat, že nebyla jako řečnická otázka mluvčím zamýšlena a/nebo adresátem pochopena. (Mrázková)

Ex. 22 Vidíme, že dosud se nám dařilo držet jednotný sématický popis lexému těžký a jeho různé (dokonce i situačně proměnlivé) interpretace jsme **vždy** zvládli vysvětlit kontextovou přítomností jiného sématu. (Hoskovec)

Since there was only one hit for *typicky* as a counterpart for *typically* in our corpus, we have chosen *pochopitelně* as a representative of another Czech stance adverbial. Both selected adverbials are not particularly numerous in the texts (for exact numbers see Tables 2 and 3), nor do they show any interesting or anomalous features. Both of them represent adjuncts functioning as boosters.

Ex. 23 Zatímco teorie jazykového plánování se **typicky** zabývají jen „organizovaným“ managementem, TJM si klade za prvořadý cíl ukázat souvislosti „jednoduchého“ a „organizovaného“ managementu (v tradiční terminologii souvislosti jazykového mikro- a makroplánování). (Nekvapil)

Ex. 24 Unripe fruit such as apples, pears and peaches is **typically** green and unpalatable; these characteristics have been transferred and extended in that people and other things are dysphemistically said to be green if they are immature, inexperienced, undeveloped, unripe, raw, and therefore greenhorns. (Allan)

Ex. 25 Individuální odlišnosti v chápání jazykového významu se **pochopitelně** netýkají pouze neurčitých kvantifikátorů, ale i řady jiných jednotek. (Veselý)

Stance adjectives

Concerning stance adjectives employed as boosters, our selected examples include *obvious* and *typical* for English and *zřejmý* for Czech. The direct translation for *typical* was not found in the Czech articles, which suggests that *typicky* and *typický* may not be particularly common in academic Czech. As an alternative for *typický* we tried to search for *charakteristický*¹⁴ but this search returned only seven occurrences. Neither of the adjectives in question is popular or numerous in the Czech subcorpus. At this point we would like to mention that stance adjectives may occur in a number of syntactic functions, e.g. as adjectival modifiers (adjective in attributive use, ex. 26) or as subject complements (predicative use, ex. 27) including the predicative use of the adjective in evaluative superordinate clauses, whose subject is expressed by a content clause (*že* – clause) following the stance Cs adjective (*je známo, že ...*, *je nepochybné, že ...*, see ex. 28).

Ex. 26 Probably because laughter has been frequently (if incorrectly) associated with humor, it has not been thought of as a **typical** response to failed humor, yet it was the most common response, occurring in over 1/3 of the data. (Bell)

¹⁴ According to the English-Czech dictionary, translations for *typical* are either *typický* or *charakteristický* (in sense of typical of sb./sth., see Fronek, *Velký anglicko-český překladový slovník*, Praha: LEDA: 2006)

Ex. 27 Domnívám se ale, že implikace odpovědi je tu příliš **zřejmá** na to, abychom opakované otázky mohli považovat za pravé. (Mrázková)

Ex. 28 Je **zřejmé**, že neurčité kvantifikátory nejsou schopny myšlenkový obsah přenést přesně. (Veselý)

It may be interesting to note that in example 27 the booster *zřejmý* is accompanied by a comment clause *domnívám se* which not only points to the author's presence in the text but may also slightly weaken the force of the booster. The verb *domnívat se* indicates authorial opinion and thus may convey the impression of subjectivity which goes together with hedges rather than with boosters.

Stance verb + that-clause

To illustrate at least some examples representing the construction *stance verb + that-clause*, we have chosen to search for two constructions with a different wording, namely (*the study*) *shows that* for English and *to znamená, že* for Czech. The English variant is slightly more numerous with twenty hits, whereas the Czech example occurred only five times. The construction *show that* was found with various subjects, e.g. *we, I, analysis, study, evidence, results, research* etc., some of them are illustrated by the following examples:

Ex. 29 We have **shown that** in some respects affiliating and disaffiliating with complaining are two sides of the same coin. (Drew)

Ex. 30 The examples from the different corpora **show** that Tsui's and Diana's categories still apply. (Grant)

Ex. 31 Table 4 **shows that** responses were split fairly evenly between negative and neutral, with less than 10% judged as positive. (Bell)

Ex. 32 I hope by now that I have **shown that** nevertheless, still and yet share the same core pragmatic instruction of cancellation, that is an aspect of information derivable from *Pis canceled in Q*. (Bell)

Of some interest may be example 32 where the booster *show* occurring in the subordinate clause is weakened by the verb *hope* from the main clause, these two expressions together representing an instance of hedging rather than boosting. Moreover, we admit that example 31 could perhaps be viewed also as a representative of textual metadiscourse, since it refers to

some information in another part of the text and thus may be seen as an endophoric marker. Nevertheless, we classify it as a booster, though perhaps not a prototypical one, bearing in mind that a clear distinction between interactive and interactional features of metadiscourse cannot always be drawn. The boosting character of the verb *show* may be better seen in contrast with more neutral expressions that could be used in this construction as well. For instance, instead of *Table 4 shows* the writer may have used something like *as we can see in Table 4 / as can be seen in Table 4 / Table 4 suggests*, thus making the statement sound more neutral or less confident.

4.2.3.3. Attitude markers

Stance adverbials

In the controlling search, stance adverbials in the role of attitude markers were represented by *easily*, *especially* and *particularly* for English and by *zejména*, *především* and *snadno* for Czech. Whereas *snadno* and *easily* are by no means numerous in the corpus and the results show practically no differences (four occurrences for the Czech expression and three for its English counterpart), in the case of the focalizers the situation looks slightly different. In our corpus, *zejména* and *především* were approximately twice as frequent as *especially* and *particularly*. As we have already mentioned, it seems that by placing some information in rhematic position the author signals that it is important and thus expresses his or her attitude towards the communicated message. However, it should be added that focalizers can occur also in the thematic part of a sentence and they are not the only focusing device. Unfortunately, the scope of this paper does not allow us to go into greater detail though the topic sounds rather interesting. We will, therefore, present only some examples of the focalizers occurring in our corpus:

- Ex. 33 Redefinice umožňují autorovi používat existující slova a termíny ve významech, které vyhovují jeho nové noetice. Změna konotace termínů nebo její přidání povznáší jedny termíny, ostrakizuje jiné, opět v souladu s danou noetikou. Nekonceptualizovaná metaforizace uprostřed teoretického textu mění stylová pravidla odborného sdělení a odstraňuje překladu mezi předmětovým jazykem a metajazykem odmítnutou poststrukturalisty (Barthes, 1971, s. 232). **Zejména** tu metafory reprezentují novost pojetí a zvyšují zneklidňující

názornou nedefinovanost pohybu významů, drahou poststrukturalismu.
(Kocourek)

Ex. 34 Pokud jsem v oddíle 5 upozornil na licenci, s níž mluvíme o abstraktním systému, musím teď připomenout, že i o konkrétních textech mluvíme s licenci, jak jsme objasnili v oddíle 4. V následujících příkladech totiž nesáhneme po skutečně konkrétních textech, ale mnohem spíš jen po náznacích textů jaksi možných, «myslitelných». Nepůjde přitom o argumentační nepoctivost, nýbrž o pedagogický nástroj, kterým dokazujeme, že znakově interpretační práce s textem podléhá kulturně-sociálním normám: užívané postupy mají nadindividuální platnost (rys sociální), dají se naučit a předat (rys kulturní), za jistých podmínek se vyžadují jako závazné (podstata normy). Aby to tak mohlo fungovat, musíme být schopni vystačit s pouhým «typem» textu, který si vlastně jen «dokážeme představit», vybaveni několika málo pokyny, jak se k textu postavit (připomeňme si roli situační ukotvenosti a žánrového zařazení, jež jsme vyložili v oddíle 3). **Předešším** upozorníme na skutečnost, že ze sémat roztroušených po textu dokážeme poskládat sémémy morfémů, jež v textu přítomny ani nejsou. (Hoskovec)

Ex. 35 Extract (9) is a **particularly** nice example as both participants initiate closing relevant talk following shared laughter. (Holt)

Ex. 36 Colour terms applied to races have semantic value only by contrast with one another but **especially** with white people, who are in fact pinky-beige through to a light shade of brown; the prototypical 'white' is ethnically north European. (Allan)

Examples 35 and 36 illustrate a typical use of focalizers since their scope is quite obvious, they highlight a clause element which the authors want to make prominent¹⁵. The Czech examples are different since here the items in question occur in the initial position and seem to function as conjuncts rather than focalizers. *Předešším* resembles *in particular* or *above all*, and CGEL (1985: 635) classifies these expressions as listing conjuncts. It may also be

¹⁵ Both *especially* and *particularly* belong to the category of restrictive adverbs which “focus attention to a certain element of the clause. They serve to emphasize one part of the proposition by restricting the truth value of the proposition either primarily or restrictively to that part.” (Longman, 556)

interesting to point out that no similar examples were found in the English subcorpus, suggesting that *especially* and *particularly* do not appear sentence-initially.

Stance adjectives

As for stance adjectives expressing attitude, we again, if possible, tried to choose such items that would be direct counterparts. Thus for English we have *important* and *significant* and for Czech *důležitý* and *podstatný*. The Czech expressions were again searched for in all their possible forms with all their endings taken into consideration. Again the adjectives occurred in various syntactic functions as the following examples try to illustrate:

Ex. 37 This is **significant** because any single item may have a place in numerous taxonomies. (Bilmes)

Ex. 38 K tak **důležité** environmentálně etické světové otázce řekneme v rámci této jazykovědné recenze pouze to, že doufáme, že lidstvo najde řešení na cestě lidské rozumnosti, etické odpovědnosti, představivé moudrosti a uskutečnitelnosti. (Kocourek)

Ex. 39 Tyto typy sice do určité míry korespondují s určitými časovými obdobími, **podstatné** je však to, že v jazykověplánovacím systému konkrétní země může být přítomno i několik těchto typů nebo jejich rysů zároveň. (Nekvapil)

Stance adjective + to-clause

This construction may be interpreted in two ways depending on the approach taken. Either we would see it as identical for both Czech and English or we would consider it to be a different grammatical structure. As we can see in the examples below, in both languages there is a stance adjective and an infinitive in this construction. However, in English there is an infinitival subject in extraposition, the formal subject being the anticipatory *it*. The Czech counterpart may look similar at first sight but there seem to be some differences. Most importantly, there is no anticipatory *it* since in Czech a subject represented by a personal pronoun is often not expressed. The only subject of the Czech construction is therefore the infinitive (in our case it is *uvažovat*), whereas the English counterpart displays two subjects, formal and notional (anticipatory *it* and *to remember* respectively). This probably allows

Biber (2006: 92-93) to classify this construction as a *to*-clause controlled by a stance adjective and as mentioned in the beginning of Chapter 2, we adopted his approach also for our classification, at least for English. Thus we have basically two options. Either we claim that in both languages the constructions are formally identical which forces us to consider a possibility that there might be an unexpressed anticipatory *it* in Czech, or we would follow the more traditional, and perhaps also more natural, description and thus will conclude that in Czech the ‘stance-adjective-plus-to-clause construction’ is missing. Since our knowledge of Czech grammar is by no means sufficient to argue for the less traditional view, we would rather incline to the latter option.

Ex. 40 It is **important** to remember that these beliefs are hypothesised and therefore not something which is agreed on by all within a society. (Mills)

Ex. 41 Je **důležité** uvažovat dynamické stránky řeči i jazyka (dynamika objektu). (Kocourek)

4.2.3.4. Relational markers

Personal and possessive pronouns

In the category of relational markers it was mainly the use of personal pronouns and endings that was rather interesting to compare since here the differences between the two language systems become quite salient. It is perhaps not surprising that for expressing inclusive *we*, English as an analytical language uses solely the personal pronoun *we* (and its possessive variant *our*). On the other hand, Czech as a representative of an inflectional language signals this category mainly through the corresponding personal endings attached to the verb. No personal pronoun is usually present in such sentences since the expression of the pronominal subject in Czech is a typically marked choice. This systemic difference between the two languages was rather expected and by no means surprising. However, the interesting point is the frequency of the corresponding expressions (if we agree upon the fact that for expressing the reference of inclusive *we* English personal pronoun and Czech personal endings indicating that pronoun may be viewed as counterparts). In the Czech texts, the verbal ending *-me* indicating the first person plural is much more common than the corresponding personal pronoun *we* in the English articles (for exact numbers see Tables 9 and 10).

Table 9: The use of the 1st person plural in the English academic texts			
Corpus size: 84,055 words			
	relational marker	self-mention	total
personal pronoun	107	25	132
possessive pronoun	10	12	22
personal ending	0	0	0
total	117	37	154

Table 10: The use of the 1st person plural in the Czech academic texts			
Corpus size: 82,890 words			
	relational marker	self-mention	total
personal pronoun	1	0	1
possessive pronoun	18	48	66
personal ending	279	144	423
total	298	192	490

This can be explained by a different usage of the passive in Czech and English academic texts in general. As we know, one of the typical features of the English academic style is the frequent use of the passive. Crystal and Davy (1969: 21) claim that ‘the use of the passive in some types of scientific English is a distinctive feature of this variety, as it has a greater frequency of occurrence than in most other varieties.’ As the research of Alessandra Molino suggests the, use of the passive voice in academic English is by no means an outdated strategy. In her study of personal and impersonal authorial reference Molino (2010) compares linguistic research articles in English and Italian in terms of the use of the passive in both languages and of the use of authorial *we* (exclusive first person subject pronouns) in English and first person inflected verbs in Italian. Molino’s results indicate that personal and impersonal authorial reference is employed in English and Italian to a different extent. Perhaps quite surprisingly, personal forms are less frequent in Italian linguistic articles. Molino (2010: 86) explains her findings by differing interpersonal strategies, subjectivity and objectivity, employed in the two academic communities.

By using the impersonal construction, the writer allows himself “to disappear” from the text, thus gaining more objectivity and credibility for his argument. This strategy may

account for a relatively low number of personal pronouns in the English articles (applying both for relational markers and self-mentions). It seems that no such strategy can be seen in the Czech academic texts we analyzed. In our corpus, the personal endings expressing either inclusive *we* or self-mentions were quite numerous. Unfortunately, the topic of this thesis is not the use of the passive in academic Czech and English and thus we cannot go into any greater detail but it will definitely be interesting to explore this matter further. One possible explanation of this phenomenon might be that the impersonal construction (in Czech it would be the reflexive passive, e.g. *udělá se* instead of *uděláme*) is already too archaic in academic Czech and thus the authors opt rather for the personal variant¹⁶. Another reason may be that Czech academics use the personal construction intentionally to create a greater appeal to their audience. If a personal construction implying inclusive *we* is used, the reader may feel that s/he is really a part of the ongoing discourse and thus may take more interest in the subject matter than if the information was presented impersonally¹⁷. This possibility was also one of the factors in deciding how to classify the hits returning *we* or the corresponding personal endings. When in doubt, we generally opted for the relational marker. In the following example we can see a personal construction which, if the author chose the impersonal variant, could have been replaced by the agentless reflexive passive (*se nachází* instead of *nacházíme*):

Ex. 42 Důvodů bylo několik: umělecká próza je rozmanitější než odborný a publicistický styl; umělecké texty jsou rozsáhlejší než texty těchto stylů; konečně umělecké texty obsahují i dialogy, **v nichž právě obvykle nacházíme komentující věty.** (Štěpán)

There is a number of instances when *we* could be viewed as implying general human agent. Nevertheless, in our opinion even this ‘generic’ *we* contributes to the impression that the reader is a part of the argument, makes him or her feel more engaged in the discussion and thus we considered these examples as belonging to the category of relational markers as well. On the other hand, we admit that there exist more typical instances of inclusive *we* that help building the relationship with readers, such as those in the following examples:

¹⁶ Čmejková et al. (1999: 219) suggest that academic authors should not avoid subjective means of expression since individuality and vivacity has its place also in academic style.

¹⁷ In *Mluvnice současné češtiny* (2010: 237) the section dealing with academic style states that when presenting something, the authors tend to use plural forms. The aim of this strategy is to make their reader a part of the ongoing argument.

Ex. 41 So far **we** have seen that nevertheless is a concessive cancellative that has two main features. (Bell)

Ex. 42 **Vidíme**, že tato definice je ještě poměrně úzká a pokrývá v zásadě jen to, co bylo později konceptualizováno jako „korpusové plánování“ (viz výše). (Nekvapil)

Unlike the analyzed personal pronouns and endings, the possessive pronouns *our* and *náš* functioning as a variant of inclusive *we* are used quite similarly in the two languages, none of them being particularly frequent.

Ex. 43 I would like instead to argue that we need to focus **our** attention less on what we think are the norms of a culture, since these will inevitably be hypothesised stereotypes. (Mills)

Ex. 44 **Náš** autor ostatně v bibliografii cituje důležitý Derridův text Bílá mytologie: Metafora ve filosofickém textu (Derrida, 1993), který používá i Norris ve své argumentaci. (Kocourek)

Other devices

Concerning the other expressions functioning as relational markers, we searched for *see*, *thus*, and *should* to represent the English texts and for *viz*, *tedy*, *měl by* and *je třeba* to represent the Czech articles. Both *see* / *viz* and *tedy* / *thus* may be viewed as direct counterparts, yet their frequencies differ in our corpus, the Czech expressions being approximately twice more frequent than the English ones.

Ex. 45 **See** the section below: “A Comparison Of Nevertheless, Still And Yet” for examples of the clines of scope and concession. (Bell)

Ex. 46 Tento přístup je nadále velmi živý a v Evropě byl aplikován i na řadu menšinových jazyků (**viz** Janich – Greule, 2002). (Nekvapil)

Ex. 47 **Thus**, judgements about impoliteness between individuals are meshed with many different factors such as the assessment of status difference. (Mills)

Ex. 48 Závíslost poskytuje jednodušší aparát, ekonomičtější popis, a **tedy** přehlednější zachycení větné stavby než koncepce složková. (Hajičová)

We assume that *should* corresponds to *měl by* (with all its possible endings), so these two expressions create another pair for a direct comparison. In addition, we included into this category also the construction *je třeba + infinitive* since it appears to be a relatively common phrase in the Czech articles with twenty-seven occurrences. The question is whether this phrase has a direct counterpart in English. First we considered the expression *it is necessary + to-clause* but this construction was found in the English texts only once (the stance adjective *necessary* occurred six times but solely in predicative use outside this construction). It is possible that through this phrase the reader would feel too coerced into some opinion or action and thus it tends to be avoided. On the other hand, this finding may be only accidental and another or a larger corpus would prove that the phrase is commonly used. As a result of the scarcity of *necessary* in our data, we also considered the option that *je třeba* might be loosely translated also as *should* which would somewhat even the numbers of these expressions in the two languages (thirty five occurrences for *should* and forty-eight for the Czech counterparts). However, since the aim of this thesis is to compare the two languages and not to gain the same numbers for the corresponding expressions, we would leave this interpretation as a theoretical possibility rather than a conclusion. Another counterpart to *je třeba + infinitive* might be *we need + to-clause* which occurred in our corpus fourteen times. If this was the case, it would be quite interesting since the tendencies for academic Czech and English would be reversed here. Academic English known for its frequent use of the passive would employ a personal construction in this case whereas academic Czech would use an impersonal one, though more commonly doing otherwise.

Ex. 49 In order to be able to make statements about what norms are in place at any given moment at the level of a culture, **we need** to be able to describe language as a dynamic entity. (Mills)

Ex. 50 Pro popis aspektového systému češtiny **je třeba** důsledně rozlišovat mezi perfektivitou a imperfektivitou na jedné straně a telicitou a atelicitou na druhé straně. (Dočekal)

4.2.3.5. Self-mentions

Since we have already dealt with self-mentions partly in the preceding section, there remains to add only some more observations about this category. Concerning the frequency of self-mentions in our corpus, it seems that the Czech authors make themselves much more visible in their texts than their Anglo-American colleagues. Whereas the category of possessive pronouns displays quite similar numbers for both languages, the English personal pronouns are far less numerous than the personal endings expressing the first person singular and plural in Czech (if we agree upon that despite their systemic differences these two categories represent the same phenomenon¹⁸). This difference can again be explained by the tendency to use the passive constructions in academic English, which allows the authors to make their texts sound more objective and impersonal. The Czech authors, on the other hand, may have no such construction at hand (the reflexive passive being perhaps already too archaic) and thus may be forced to use the personal variant. However, it may also be possible that they chose the personal construction intentionally to make their readers more engaged in the ongoing argument. Here are some examples illustrating the use of self-mentions in the two languages:

- Ex. 51 **I** have found that the notion of semantic taxonomy can be applied to the conceptual relationships created in real occasions of talk. (Bilmes)
- Ex. 52 **My** attempt to classify the connotations of English colour terms reveals networks of associations, but no surprises. (Allan)
- Ex. 53 **We** have shown that in some respects affiliating and disaffiliating with complaining are two sides of the same coin. (Drew)
- Ex. 54 Ani práce o fonetice a fonologii češtiny se, alespoň pokud se **mi** podařilo zjistit, intonací řečnické otázky příliš nezabývají. (Mrázková)
- Ex. 55 Podle **mého** názoru lze zde už uvažovat o semihypotaxi. (Štěpán)
- Ex. 56 **Řekli jsme** již, že Saussureův boj o binární, důsledně nemateriální jazykový znak je vybojován. (Hoskovec)

¹⁸ Cvrček (2010: 237) states that authorial *we* is to be found mainly in academic style and its function is to weaken the meaning of the first person singular and thus express the modesty of the author.

It may be interesting to point out that authorial *we* and *I* often occur with expressions such as *show, highlight, conduct, analyze, mean, depict* etc. These verbs may serve as another criterion in deciding whether the personal pronoun in question should be classified as authorial or relational. The relational markers may, on the contrary, occur in phrases such as *we shall see, we are ready to return, if we look at* etc. The possessive pronouns seem to function quite similarly. Whereas authorial *our* or *my* will often be found with nouns like *research, analysis, thesis, example* etc., *our* or *naš* as relational markers will occur e.g. in *to draw our attention to, our present purposes, v našem případě, středem našeho zájmu* etc. An interesting example may be ex. 57 in which we can see both an authorial *my* and a relational *we*. On the contrary, ex. 58 is obviously an instance of both authorial possessive pronoun and first person plural verb suffix.

Ex. 57 Nonetheless, taxonomy is the essential resource in **my** analysis, so **we** will start from there. (Bilmes)

Ex. 58 V **naší** stati nejprve stručně **shrňeme** základní východiska obou přístupů a **ukážeme**, jaké důvody vedou k postupnému pronikání závislostní syntaxe do popisů založených na analýze složkové. (Hajičová)

The following examples are rather special among all others in our corpus. What they seem to represent is not the typical strategies used by the authors of the Czech articles but rather the individual idiolects. In ex. 59 a variant of the first person singular ending is used, namely *u*-ending, which seem to be more common in spoken Czech or in more colloquial varieties of the language. The verb *zdůrazňovat* belongs to the third verbal conjugation which typically displays two possible endings for first person singular (in this case it is *zdůrazňuji* or *zdůrazňuju*). According to *Mluvnice současné češtiny* (Cvrček 2010: 262), in spoken Czech we will find almost exclusively the *u*-ending whereas in written form, the variant with final *-i* is more prevalent (the *u*-form takes 33% whereas the *i*-form is to be found in 66% in written Czech). Moreover, as Cvrček (2010: 315) claims, in academic style the language tends to be used in its higher, more formal variants and thus the form *zdůrazňuju* may be viewed as inappropriate in academic texts. Example 58 is therefore a rather rare instance of this ending in an academic article and in our Czech subcorpus, this ending was found only once. Example 60 can be considered quite an extreme case of hedging, again being very unusual among the other analyzed metadiscourse expressions.

- Ex. 59 Aby bylo jasno, **zdůrazňuju**, že teď **nemám** na mysli nějaké dělení celku národního jazyka na spisovný standard coby maximálně úplný, hierarchicky nejvyšší a funkčně nejzatíženější jazykový systém a na všelijaké regionální či sociální variety národního jazyka, systémy spíše jen částečné a funkčně omezené. (Hoskovec)
- Ex. 60 Zároveň **přiznávám, že se mi nedostává odvahy** k tomu, abych jednotlivá ohniska přímočaře spojil do jediného velesouboru textů označeného za «strukturalismus vůbec». (Hoskovec)

4.2.4. Collocates of selected metadiscourse expressions

In this section we would like to present the results of the advanced searches that were performed in order to look more closely at some parallel metadiscourse structures found in both languages. We have chosen three types of expressions, namely modal verbs, first person plural and the lexico-grammatical constructions *it is @ that / je @ že* and we were interested especially in the collocates of these expressions. Moreover, it seems that these three parallel searches show that it is possible to move from a small-scale detailed analysis towards a corpus-assisted research. Though this type of analysis indicates a promising direction of research, in this thesis we employ it rather as a supplementary device allowing us to look more closely at the collocational patterns of the selected expressions.

The proximity query *it is @ that / je @ že*¹⁹

This construction was chosen in order to illustrate that in both languages there exist lexico-grammatical sequences which function as metadiscourse markers. It means that in most cases these constructions are employed to express non-propositional content. In our corpus, we found 58 occurrences of this sequence for English (with 46 instances of metadiscourse) and 52 occurrences for Czech (with 40 hits expressing non-propositional content). Based on our previous detailed analysis of the four academic texts for Chapter 2, we expected for these constructions to express a certain evaluative pattern that is to be found in both analyzed languages. The sequences seem to correspond both in form and function and both can be subsumed under a more general scheme highlighting their syntactic structure. The scheme for

¹⁹ @ indicates a distance of maximum five words both for Czech and English

English is as follows: *it is (Adverbial 1) (not) (Adverbial 2) ADJECTIVE that* where *Adverbial 1* is usually a downtoner²⁰ and *adverbial 2* is usually an intensifier (e.g. *very* or *quite*) modifying the adjective. The Czech construction found in our corpus is less modified and thus its scheme contains fewer slots than its English counterpart. We may describe it as *je (Adverbial or Particle) ADJECTIVE, že*. The typical pattern occurring in these constructions is illustrated by examples 61-64:

- Ex. 61 **Je však zřejmé, že** bychom o nich mohli uvažovat i v souvislosti s jinými řetězy slovních tvarů. (Nebeský-Novák)
- Ex. 62 **Je příznačné, že** prvky závislostního přístupu se odedávna uplatňují v těch teoriích, které se orientují na vztah větné stavby a sémantiky. (Hajičová)
- Ex. 63 **It is clear that** perceptions of impoliteness seem to play an important role in relational work in interactions between individuals. (Mills)
- Ex. 64 **It is very important that** we should not simply see linguistic change as echoing social change. (Mills)

When checking the hits manually, we came across instances in which the position intended for adjective was occupied by another type of expression. In this position we also came across non-adjectival expressions of stance such as *no coincidence*, *worth noting*, *interesting / important to note*, *arguable* or *je třeba + infinitive* (which seems to be quite popular in the Czech texts). Here are some more examples:

- Ex. 65 Pro přesnost **je třeba dodat, že** s doklady z odborného stylu nelze počítat jako s příklady použití a reflexe řečnické otázky v komunikaci, neboť jde často o užití termínu v lingvistických a literárněvědných textech. (Mrázková)
- Ex. 66 **It is no coincidence that** the clines of scope and concession are inversely related: the more vague the instruction carried by a concessive marker, the greater its ability to operate globally and conversely, the more detailed the instruction, the less its ability to operate globally. (Bell)

²⁰ Downtoners or diminishers are degree adverbs which scale down the effect of the modified item, e.g. *slightly*, *somewhat*, *rather*, *quite* etc. (Biber et al. 1999:555)

Ex. 67 **It is to be noted that**, in making this crucial observation, Sacks is drawing on his (and the reader's) cultural knowledge. (Bilmes)

However, a stance adjective is still the most frequent type of expression occurring in this construction. For Czech we can find stance adjectives like *charakteristické, zřejmé, jasné, běžné, možné, patrné, pochopitelné, příznačné, podstatné* or *zajímavé*, for English it is *arguable, conceivable, surprising, clear, possible, interesting, difficult* or *apparent*. The range of these adjectives appears to be limited and they express the writers' attitude towards the propositional content. However, a more detailed analysis based on a larger set of data would be required to prove this assumption.

Modal verbs

Another parallel search included modal verbs *may* and *might* for English and *může* and *mohl by* for Czech. In this search we included only the items which were recognized as instances of metadiscourse in the analyses described in the previous chapters. We were interested mainly in the type of verbs which were modified by the selected modals and also in expressions that accompanied such sequences (e.g. listing conjuncts, focalizers etc.) To make the results more organized we had the hits sorted according to their right context, thus getting a list of right collocates ordered alphabetically. This allowed us to see more clearly which types of expressions occur together with the modal verbs in question. However, the results of these parallel searches do not allow us to move to a more general level of description. Since we worked only with items expressing metadiscourse, the numbers were so low that no generalizations were possible.

Table 11: MAY and MIGHT in the English subcorpus			
Corpus size: 84,055 words			
English	metadiscourse	non-metadiscourse	total
may	55	105	160
might	25	33	58
total	80	138	

Table 12: MŮŽE and MOHL BY in the Czech subcorpus			
Corpus size: 82,890 words			
Czech	metadiscourse	non-metadiscourse	total
může	6	167	173

mohl by	11	96	107
total	17	263	

From the four modals mentioned above *may* was the most frequent one, it occurred fifty-five times as a device of metadiscourse (from 160 occurrences in total). For this verb it was therefore possible to observe at least some expressions that combine with it most often, though we are well aware of the fact that the findings may be influenced by the styles of the individual authors and the scarcity of our data (for details see Table 13). *Might* occurred twenty-five times, the most frequent verb attached to it was *expect*, the most frequent subject of the modal was *we* (for exact numbers see Table 14).

Table 13: Collocates of MAY	
metadiscourse items: 55 (out of 160)	
Corpus size: 84,055 words	
most frequent phrases	number of occurrences
may be that	5
may well be	2
may not be	2
may have + object	4
may also + verb	2
may be appropriate	2
most frequent subjects	
it	7
which/that	7
most frequent verbs	
account for	2
indicate	2
need	2
voice	
active	45
passive	10

Table 14: Collocates of MIGHT	
metadiscourse items: 25 (out of 58)	
Corpus size: 84,055 words	
most frequent phrases	number of occurrences
might be expected	4
most frequent subjects	
it	3
which/that	2
we	7
most frequent verbs	
apply	2
expect	6
seem to	2
voice	
active	20
passive	5

Concerning the Czech modal verbs, we do not include any tables here since the low numbers do not allow us to make any relevant conclusions about their possible collocates. *Může* occurred only six times, its conditional form *mohl by* eleven times, with verbs such as *chápat*, *považovat* or *zařadit* (two occurrences for each), the most frequent subject being again *we*.

First person plural

In this parallel search we were interested in the most common verbs occurring in first person plural. The hits were again ordered alphabetically and the distinction of relational markers and self-mentions was preserved. Both English *we* and Czech verbal ending *-me* expressing first person plural provided a larger set of data for comparison and potential conclusions than the pairs of modal verbs or proximity queries. Whereas English authorial *we* occurred only twenty-six times and with no distinct collocational patterns, relational *we* was approximately four times more frequent and returned some rather interesting results. As we can see in Table 15, in our English subcorpus relational *we* combines often with the verbs *need* and *see* and also with modals.

Table 15: Collocates of relational WE	
metadiscourse items: 106 (out of 186)	
Corpus size: 84,055 words	
most frequent expressions	number of occurrences
modal verbs	
can	12
could	2
may	2
might	7
should	9
total	32
other verbs	
analyze	3
need	14
take	4
the verb "to see"	
we saw	2
we have seen	10
we see	4
we can see	2
we shall see	2
total	20

The Czech counterpart to relational and authorial *we* is the verbal ending *-me*. As mentioned in Chapter 4, here the difference between the two languages becomes quite prominent since the Czech verbal ending is far more frequent than the English personal pronoun, though both express the same grammatical category. Whereas English authorial *we* occurred in our corpus only twenty-six times, its Czech counterpart was found in more than two hundred instances, making the authorial presence much more apparent in the Czech texts. Concerning the most frequent verbs used with authorial *-me* ending, there were no extraordinarily prevalent items, the most frequent verbs occurred approximately six times (for exact numbers see Table 16 below).

Table 16: Most frequent verbs with authorial - ME ending	
metadiscourse items: 224 (out of 628)	
Corpus size: 89,890 words	
verb	number of occurrences
domnívat se	6
chápat	6
ilustrovat	3
mít	3
moci	5
nahradit	6
nazývat	4
předpokládat	4
ukázat	3
uvést/uvádět	8
vycházet	4
zaměřit se	4
zmínit	4

The relational markers expressed by the first person plural *-me* ending were almost four times more frequent than their English counterparts. This difference may be explained by the different usage of the passive construction in the two languages or by the effort of the Czech academics to make their texts sound more personal and engaging (for further details see the section dealing with relational markers). If we compare the most frequent verbs occurring with relational *we* in Czech and English, we can see that in our corpus modal verbs are more frequent in English than in Czech (32 out of 106 and 20 out of 404 occurrences, respectively). However, to obtain a more relevant comparison of the verbs, we would need samples of approximately the same size and probably a larger set of data.

Table 17: Most frequent verbs with relational -ME ending	
metadiscourse items: 404 (out of 628)	
Corpus size: 89,890 words	
verb	number of occurrences
dělat	3
dodat	5
dokázat	5
dostat	11
moci	17
mít	9
nahradit	3
najít/nalézt/nacházet	13
označit	7
podívat se	6
porovnávat	6
potřebovat	4
poznamenat	6
předpokládat	5
představit si	7
připomenout	7
setkat	6
shodnout se	4
uvažovat	4
uvědomit si	10
uznat	4
vidět	11
vědět	11
vrátit se	9
všimnout si	6
zaznamenat	6
získat	5
zkoumat	8

Let us now look more closely at the Czech verbal ending *-me*. Since this ending expresses the first person plural in all verbal tenses in Czech and, moreover, also in the imperative mood, we wanted to find out to which extent these categories are represented in the Czech subcorpus for both relational markers and self-mentions. Whereas the present tense displays quite similar numbers (33% for authorial and 37% for relational ending), other categories returned rather different results. Concerning the past tense, it was more frequent with authorial first person plural, occurring in 27% of instances. As a relational marker, the verbs in the past tense represent only 8% of the sample.

Comparing the form of the future tense may also be interesting. In Czech the form of the future tense depends on the type of the verb, whether it expresses the perfective or imperfective aspect. Verbs in the imperfective aspect form their future forms through the future tense of the verb *být* + infinitive of a particular verb. Verbs expressing the perfective aspect have only two forms, the past and the present one, and the future tense for these verbs is expressed by their present forms (Cvrček 2010: 241). As Cvrček (2010: 245) states, the present forms of the verbs in the perfective aspect usually express future, since the perfective aspect is not compatible with actions happening in the moment of the utterance (such an action cannot be viewed as completed). Despite their present forms, these verbs thus usually refer to the future. It might also be interesting to compare the use of the future forms in Czech and English (also in terms of metadiscourse since the future tense may be used as a means of attenuation). However, by doing so we would somehow go beyond the scope of this paper and thus we shall proceed only with some general remarks concerning our Czech sample. Whereas in the category of authorial *-me* ending, the proportion of perfective and imperfective verbs is almost the same, the verbs indicating relational markers seem to prefer the perfective aspect (for exact numbers see Table 18 and 19). The imperative mood was also represented to a different extent but since it is also used to express directives (e.g. *podívejme se, vraťme se, uvažujme* etc.), the higher frequency in the category of relational markers is not surprising.

Table 18: Verbs with authorial -ME ending		
Corpus size: 82,890 words		
verbal tense	number of occurrences	%
present	74	33
past	61	27
future: perfecta	47	21
future: imperfecta	42	18
imperative mood	3	1
total	227	100%

Table 19: Verbs with relational -ME ending		
Corpus size: 82,890 words		
verbal tense	number of occurrences	%
present	148	37
past	33	8
future: perfecta	114	28
future: imperfecta	14	3
imperative mood	95	24
total	404	100%

5. Conclusions

The aim of this MA thesis was to explore the means of expressing the interpersonal function in Czech and English academic texts. For the purpose of this study we gathered twenty academic articles dealing with linguistics in order to find out how and to what extent the interpersonal function is represented in the two languages. We expected to encounter a broad range of expressions at lexical, grammatical and also lexico-grammatical level, e.g. the means of expressing modality or evaluative adjectives and adverbials. We also expected that the means of expressing metadiscourse would differ not only in form but also in the frequency of occurrence. The conclusions were supposed to be discussed also in terms of pragmatics, i.e. we wanted to take into account possible influences of different writing cultures and academic communities.

From the various approaches to metadiscourse we have chosen the integrative approach including both interactive (or ‘textual’) and interactional (or ‘interpersonal’) features of metadiscourse since the non-integrative approach was too narrow for the purpose of our study. Whereas Sanderson (2008: 171) favours the non-integrative approach since it helps to restrict the scope of metadiscourse (which, according to his words, often ends up as a ‘catch-up-all’ term for everything apart from the propositional content), we prefer Hyland’s integrative approach subsuming both interactive and interactional features. We assume that the interaction between the writer and reader (expressed by the interpersonal function) is a part of metadiscourse as well as its textual features. As Hyland (2010: 127) states, one of the advantages of the integrative approach is the possibility to capture writing (and speech) as a social and communicative engagement between writers and readers. Moreover, Hyland and Tse (2004: 6) challenge the distinction between textual and interpersonal function of metadiscourse by claiming all metadiscourse to be interpersonal (see also Sanderson 2008: 175). In our corpus we found a broad range of expressions at various lexical levels and our classification subsumes both formal and functional point of view. Concerning the direction of our analysis, we proceeded always from function to form observing what types of expressions and structures were employed to express a particular metadiscourse category.

Despite the different language types, it seems that Czech and English use similar means of expressing the interactional features of metadiscourse. The greatest difference was found in the use of personal pronouns in English and the corresponding verbal endings in

Czech expressing either authorial or inclusive *we*. In the case of the detailed analysis of the four linguistic articles, the greatest difference between the Czech and English texts was in the category of relational markers (140 and 57 occurrences, respectively), though in such a small set of data, the difference may be caused by the individual styles of the authors. For instance, Hyland uses only 8 relational markers in the whole article whereas Hanks employs 49 items belonging to this category. The Czech authors do not differ to such an extent, with 80 relational markers in Klein's text and 60 in the article written by Čermák et al. Hedges are more numerous in the Czech articles (113 occurrences compared to 77 occurrences in the English texts). What we found particularly interesting among the results of the detailed analysis was that metadiscourse expressions are sometimes combined or modified in order to weaken a statement even more. Such combinations were found especially in the Czech texts, e.g. in the case of two hedges occurring together. A combination of hedging and boosting often results in a hedge, which we found rather interesting since an expression conveying uncertainty affects the one connected with self-confidence and certainty and not vice versa. In some cases, the booster is just slightly weakened by the presence of a modifying expression, e.g. by an intensifier or a downtoner. Another interesting finding was the use of the verbs *will* or *bude* as a means of attenuation. Unfortunately, because of the scope of this paper we did not pursue this phenomenon further (especially in terms of its frequency), though it would definitely be interesting to do so. To be able to verify our findings from the detailed analysis of the four academic texts, we performed a controlling search in a larger set of data (twenty linguistic research articles, ten per each language). This search confirmed most of the findings from the detailed analysis and also revealed some new phenomena.

Although the category of hedges displays similar numbers in both languages (312 for English and 307 for Czech), the individual subcategories seem to differ to some extent, at least in their frequencies. Stance adverbials classified as lexical hedges function quite similarly in both languages, occurring also in the same syntactic positions. The English expressions were slightly more numerous than their Czech counterparts. In the case of modal verbs it was sometimes difficult to decide to which type of modality a particular verb should be ascribed. This distinction was necessary since the epistemic modality expresses speaker's lack of confidence in what he or she is saying, thus representing a means of hedging. The root modality, on the contrary, suggests a possible realization of an action based on external circumstances or enabling conditions and thus cannot be considered a means of attenuation. After this selection, there remained only few instances of the Czech modals *může* a *mohl* by to be classified as devices of hedging. English modals *may*, *might* and *can* were again more

frequent in our corpus. The greatest difference was found in the case of the lexico-grammatical construction *stance verb + that-clause* since the counterparts seem to differ both formally and functionally.

Unlike lexical hedges, lexical boosters *of course / samozřejmě* and *always / vždy* are rather different in Czech and English. *Samozřejmě* is sometimes used to express tentativeness, though we may presume that, similarly as *of course*, it is a typical example of boosting. The adverbial *always* is sometimes influenced by its context, especially when the sentence is negative. In such cases this otherwise typical booster often changes into a hedge. It might also be weakened by a downtoner which again reduces its boosting potential. It may be interesting to point out that in our corpus, *vždy* as a direct counterpart of *always* does not occur in contexts that would change it from a booster to some other metadiscourse device. Sometimes it was not possible to compare items that would be direct counterparts in Czech and English, as in the case of *typical* and *typický*, since whereas in one subcorpus the item was found, in the other one it was not. Therefore we had to replace such missing item by an expression with similar function and ideally also with similar meaning.

In the category of attitude markers we compared pairs of stance adjectives and adverbials including focalizers and also the lexico-grammatical construction *stance adjective + to-clause*. The stance adjectives were used quite similarly in Czech and English and in both languages they occurred in various syntactic functions, e.g. as adjectival modifiers (adjective in attributive use) or as subject complements (predicative use) including the predicative use of the adjective in evaluative superordinate clauses, whose subject is expressed by a content clause (*že* – clause) following the stance Cs adjective (*je známo, že, je nepochybné, že* etc.). Concerning focalizers, *zejména* and *především* were approximately twice as frequent as *especially* and *particularly*. The lexico-grammatical construction was found only in the English subcorpus.

The most salient difference between Czech and English was found in the category of relational markers, namely in expressing the first person plural. Whereas English as an analytical language uses the personal pronoun *we*, in Czech we find the verbal ending *-me*. Though this systemic difference between the two languages was rather expected and thus by no means surprising, an interesting point was the frequency of the corresponding expressions (pronouns vs. endings). In the Czech texts inclusive *we* functioning as a relational marker was much more common than in the English articles, with 106 occurrences for English and 404 occurrences for Czech. This difference may be explained by different usage of the passive in academic Czech and English in general. Since academic English is known to employ passive

constructions to a great extent and such constructions are impersonal, it is obvious that the numbers for relational *we* will not be particularly high. On the other hand, no such strategy can be found in the Czech articles we analyzed. Instead of using a personal construction, the Czech authors may have chosen the reflexive passive implying a general human agent (*dělá se* instead of *děláme*). However, they seem to favour the personal variant, which could have basically two reasons. It is possible that the reflexive passive is already too archaic in academic Czech (or perhaps even in Czech in general) and thus the authors opt rather for the personal construction. Another possible explanation is that they use the personal variant intentionally for the text to have a greater appeal to their readers²¹. Even generic *we* (implying a general human agent), which we subsume under relational markers as well, helps to create the impression that the reader is a part of the ongoing argument. Possessive pronouns *our* and *náš* indicating the same category as personal pronouns or the ending *-me* are used quite similarly in the two languages, none of them being particularly frequent. Concerning self-mentions, the Czech authors from our corpus make themselves much more visible than their Anglo-American colleagues. Whereas authorial *we* was found only in twenty-six instances in English, the corresponding verbal ending expressing the first person plural returned 227 hits for Czech. Quite surprisingly, authorial *I* shows the same frequency for both languages (77 occurrences in each subcorpus).

At the end of Chapter 4 we included a brief description of the collocates of three selected metadiscourse devices, namely of modal verbs, first person plural and the lexicogrammatical sequence *it is...that / je ... že*. These three parallel searches show that it is possible to move from a small-scale detailed analysis towards a corpus-assisted research. Unfortunately, the scope of this thesis did not allow us to go into any greater detail, leaving this direction of analysis rather a suggestion for further research. Since we chose to work only with items representing metadiscourse, we struggled with rather small set of data allowing no relevant generalizations or conclusions.

To return to the pragmatics of metadiscourse, even our small-scale analysis seems to suggest that academic writing is not as impersonal as it is sometimes claimed to be. For example, the Czech articles display relatively high numbers of self-mentions and inclusive first person plural contributing to a more vivid, personal style of writing. Moreover, academic

²¹ Hyland (2010: 127) claims that ‘the use of imperatives, second person pronouns and evaluative commentary helps the writer to involve himself in the text to both convey information more clearly and to engage the reader as a fellow enthusiast. Removing these metadiscourse features would make the text much less personal, less interesting and less easy to follow.’ We assume that the same applies to all metadiscourse categories, including relational *we*.

writing has been gradually gaining a different status. Instead of being primarily seen as informative and objective, it is now perceived rather as evaluative and interpersonal (Hyland 2005: 39). Moreover, both Hyland (2004: 2) and Čmejrková et al. (1999: 219) are in favour of a more dynamic and interactional nature of academic texts, advocating the use of personal forms and interactional features of metadiscourse instead of a dry and impersonal academic prose. Hyland (2010: 135) adds to this issue:

While students are often taught to avoid the use of first person, it is a key way in which professional academics gain credit for their research claims (...) While we cannot say that more metadiscourse equals better writing, this might also be seen as a greater awareness of readers and self. Metadiscourse represents a reflective awareness of self, text and audience, and its use suggests writers' attempts to present themselves as competent academics immersed in the ideologies and practices of their fields.

This may remind us of another Hyland's claim (1998: 2) suggesting that for the writers to be heard and acknowledged as disciplinary insiders, it is necessary to follow the norms and expectations of a particular writing community. We assume that if the writer knows how to use metadiscourse and is able to use it properly (according to the demands of his or her discipline, colleagues and also readers), s/he may gain more acceptance and credit for his or her work.

Although scholarly register is often described as very exact and objective, aimed at the transmission of very specific information (Cvrček 2010: 315), the results of our analysis seem to point to another direction. Taking into account the frequencies of relational markers and self-mentions, academic Czech seems to be much more interactive than we expected. This finding goes not only against our previous assumptions but it is also against the notion of scientific register defined as 'belonging to public styles, and opposed to those which have a close or well-known addressee (...) Being aimed at an unknown and distant addressee, the public design is to be understood as a formal design' (Čmejrková 1994: 306).

In her article on non-native academic writing Čmejrková (1994: 305) compares the different approaches to the process of writing in Czech and Anglo-American culture. Whereas Anglo-Saxon tradition emphasizes an interactive nature of every writing process (based on its philosophical tradition of pragmatic approach to language naturally aimed at handling the phenomenon of text composing in terms of interaction, and even transaction from sender to

receptor), in Czech the scientific functional style is mostly treated as a monologue with typical monological parameters:

The author's text strategy oriented towards the reader is approached mainly through metatextual comments accompanying the exposition, whereas the macrostructure of a scientific exposition is considered to follow from the "internal needs of the theme development", i.e. not from external factors such as situation or reader.

In other words, whereas paragraph writing is often essential to English and American writing instructions, the Czech students are usually almost free to decide about the structure of their text. This practice again seems to have a cultural background. Whereas the Anglo-Saxon tradition considers writing as a skill that can be taught, acquired, tested and qualified, the Czech stylistic tradition views writing rather as result of an individual gift or talent. Čmejrková (1994: 306) also adds that English academic texts are said to be closer to non-academic ones since one of the main tasks of the writers is to make their texts readable. On the contrary, in Czech tradition it is the reader's responsibility to understand rather than the writer's responsibility to make the text understandable. Since our thesis is primarily concerned with metadiscourse structures and their functions, we did not consider the way how the Czech and English academic texts are structured and organized. However, we find this direction of research very interesting and worth following.

To return to the results of our study, the greatest difference between the two languages is in the categories of relational markers and self-mentions. Quite surprisingly, the number of hedges and boosters is very similar, and the number of attitude markers is at least comparable. This seems to go against the findings of Čmejrková et al. (1999: 196) who claim that Czech academic texts express quite a high degree of uncertainty about the propositional content (compared to Anglo-American scientific texts). We assume that this uncertainty is conveyed mainly through hedges (including modal verbs and conditionals) and may also be reflected in the limited usage of boosters. However, no such tendencies were found in our two subcorpora (for exact numbers see Table 20). The authors themselves may offer a possible explanation for this (Čmejrková et al. 1999: 196). They state that under the influence of English academic texts, the high degree of uncertainty about the propositional content in Czech scientific articles has been gradually diminishing. Another reason might be that the degree of uncertainty is still quite high but we have chosen a direction of analysis that cannot reveal this phenomenon.

Table 20: Frequency of metadiscourse categories in Czech and English						
Corpus size (English): 84,055 words						
Corpus size (Czech): 82,890 words						
	hedges	boosters	attitude markers	relational markers	self-mentions	total
English	312	74	80	281	143	890
Czech	307	62	121	718	361	1569
total	619	136	201	999	504	

Another feature of Czech academic register mentioned by Čmejrková et al. (1999: 196) is the frequent use of impersonal constructions. It seems that this tendency was again not confirmed in our set of data, though we admit that we did not focus on the frequencies of personal and impersonal forms or on the use of passive constructions and thus we cannot conclude that impersonal forms are not frequent in academic Czech. We would rather say that personal constructions are by no means scarce in the Czech subcorpus we analyzed.

We would conclude that our corpus is probably not large enough for the findings to allow any greater generalizations. Moreover, our subcorpora may still reflect individual idiolects of the writers rather than general tendencies in both academic communities. To be able to describe academic Czech and English at more general level, a more detailed study with a larger set of data would be required. Nevertheless, we hope that this thesis has fulfilled its objective, has captured at least some general tendencies for Czech and English academic writing and may contribute to a further research in this area.

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7. Resumé

Cílem této diplomové práce bylo prozkoumat prostředky vyjadřování interpersonální funkce v českých a anglických odborných textech. Pro účely této studie bylo shromážděno dvacet čtyři vědeckých článků z oblasti lingvistiky. Na základě těchto textů jsme pak zkoumali, jak a do jaké míry je interpersonální funkce v obou jazycích zastoupena. Nejprve jsme provedli detailní analýzu čtyř lingvistických článků, dvou v každém zkoumaném jazyce, abychom získali repertoár formálních prostředků vyjadřování interpersonální funkce. Četnost těchto prostředků a jejich případné obměny jsme pak ověřili s využitím korpusových nástrojů v českém a anglickém korpusu odborných lingvistických článků vytvořeném za účelem této práce. Očekávali jsme široký repertoár výrazů na lexikální, gramatické i lexikálně-gramatické rovině, např. prostředky vyjadřování modality nebo evaluativní adjektiva a adverbia. Předpokládali jsme také, že prostředky vyjadřování interpersonální funkce se v češtině a angličtině budou lišit nejen z formálního hlediska, ale také frekvencí. Výsledky jsme chtěli interpretovat i z hlediska pragmatiky, tj. vzít v úvahu i možné vlivy odlišných kultur psaní a akademických komunit.

Co se týče směru analýzy, v detailním rozboru čtyř odborných textů jsme postupovali vždy od funkce k formě a všimli si, jaké typy výrazů a struktur se užívají k vyjadřování příslušné metadiskurzní kategorie²². Naše klasifikace je založena na modelu Hylanda a Tseho (2004: 177), který jsme doplnili o některá kritéria z práce Bibera (2006: 92-93). Z různých přístupů k metadiskurzu popsaných v sekundární literatuře jsme si vybrali přístup integrační, který pod metadiskurz zahrnuje jak interaktivní (neboli interpersonální), tak interakční (neboli textové) prvky. Pro rozsah naší práce nebyl neintegrakční přístup vhodný, vylučuje totiž z oblasti metadiskurzu právě interpersonální funkci, na kterou jsme se rozhodli v práci zaměřit. Domníváme se, že interakce mezi autorem a čtenářem, kterou interpersonální funkce vyjadřuje, je součástí metadiskurzu stejně jako jeho textová funkce. Proto jsme zvolili přístup Hylanda a ne např. Sandersona nebo Maurarenové. Jak píše Hyland (2010: 127), jednou z výhod integračního přístupu k metadiskurzu je možnost zachytit psaní (a řeč) jako společenskou a komunikativní interakci mezi autorem a čtenářem. Hyland a Tse (2004: 6) navíc zpochybňují tradiční dělení metadiskurzu na textový a interpersonální. Podle nich je celý metadiskurz interpersonální, protože i organizace textu je zaměřená na čtenáře a má mu usnadnit jeho roli (srov. Sanderson 2008: 175).

²² Termínem „metadiskurz“ zde označujeme nepropoziční složky textu, které plní interpersonální funkci. Metadiskurz se také definuje jako rétorická strategie, kterou autoři užívají, když mluví o svém vlastním textu. Je to způsob organizování diskurzu, usnadňuje čtenáři orientaci v textu a zprostředkovává interakci autora se čtenářem (viz Sandersonová 2008: 165).

I přesto, že čeština i angličtina patří k odlišným jazkovým typům, užívají podobné prostředky k vyjadřování interakční složky metadiskurzu. Největší rozdíl jsme zaznamenali v užívání anglických osobních zájmen a jim odpovídajících českých slovesných koncovek vyjadřujících buď inkluzivní („relational marker“) nebo exkluzivní („self-mention“) první osobu plurálu. V případě detailní analýzy čtyř článků se největší rozdíl objevil v kategorii relačních markerů („relational markers“) se 140 výskyty pro češtinu a 57 výskyty pro angličtinu. Připouštíme ale, že v tak malém souboru dat může být tento rozdíl způsobený idiolekty jednotlivých autorů. Například Hyland použil v textu jen 8 výrazů této kategorie, zatímco Hanks 49. Čeští autoři se ve frekvenci relačních markerů příliš neliší, v Kleinově článku jsme jich zaznamenali 80, v textu Čermáka a kol. 60. „Hedges“, prostředky signalizující nejistotu mluvčího ohledně propozičního obsahu, jsou početnější v českých textech (113 výskytů pro češtinu, 77 pro angličtinu). Na výsledcích detailní analýzy nám připadá zajímavé především to, že některé výrazy se objevují v kombinacích nebo jsou jinak modifikované a tyto kombinace a modifikace vedou k ještě většímu oslabení jistoty, s níž se autor vyjadřuje k propozičnímu obsahu. Tyto případy jsme zaznamenali především v českých textech, např. v případě dvou „hedges“ vztažených k jedné propozici. Kombinace „hedge“ a „booster“²³ ústí často v hedge, což se nám jeví jako poměrně zajímavé. Výraz, který vyjadřuje nejistotu, ovlivňuje výraz implikující jistotu a sebevědomí, nikoli obráceně. V některých případech je „booster“ jen lehce oslabený určitým modifikátorem, např. příslovečným určením míry („downtoner“). Dalším zajímavým zjištěním bylo užívání futura pro funkci atenuace. Kvůli rozsahu této práce jsme se bohužel tomto jevu nemohli dále věnovat (zejména z hlediska frekvence), i když by to nepochybně bylo zajímavé.

Abychom ověřili výsledky detailní analýzy čtyř vědeckých textů, shromáždili jsme dvacet článků z oblasti lingvistiky, deset pro každý jazyk. Všichni autoři museli být rodilí mluvčí jazyka, v němž článek publikovali, a všechny texty musely být přibližně stejně dlouhé, vydané před rokem 2005 v renomovaných lingvistických časopisech. Kontrolní hledání potvrdilo většinu zjištění prezentovaných ve čtvrté kapitole a odhalilo některé nové skutečnosti. Pro účely tohoto hledání jsme vybraly pouze ty výrazy, které se objevily v češtině i angličtině, aby bylo možné jazyky porovnat (úplný seznam výrazů je k nahlédnutí v Tabulce 4 a 5).

I přesto, že kategorie hedges vykazuje pro oba jazyky téměř stejné počty (312 výskytů pro angličtinu a 307 pro češtinu), jednotlivé podkategorie se mezi sebou liší, alespoň co se

²³ Na rozdíl od „hedges“ slouží „boosters“ k vyjádření velké míry jistoty mluvčího o platnosti obsahu výpovědi

týče frekvencí. Postojová adverbia klasifikovaná jako hedges fungují v obou jazycích podobně a objevují se také v podobných syntaktických pozicích. Anglické výrazy jsou o něco četnější než jejich české protějšky. V případě modálních sloves bylo někdy obtížné rozlišit, ke kterému typu modality by mělo být dané sloveso přiřazeno. Toto rozlišení bylo pro naši práci nutné, protože epistemická modalita vyjadřuje nejistotu mluvčího ohledně jeho tvrzení a reprezentuje tak jednu z možností hedging. Deontická modalita naopak naznačuje možnou realizaci děje na základě vnějších okolností nebo podmínek a tak nemůže být považována za prostředek atenuace. Po tomto dělení zbylo pro češtinu v kategorii hedges pouze několik případů sloves *může* a *mohl by*, které se daly klasifikovat jako hedges. Anglická modální slovesa *may*, *might* a *can* byla v našem korpusu opět o něco početnější. Největší rozdíl jsme zaznamenali v případě lexikálně-gramatické konstrukce *stance verb + that-clause*, protože anglické a české protějšky se liší jak z funkčního, tak z formálního hlediska.

Na rozdíl od lexikálních hedges, lexikální boostery *of course / samozřejmě* a *always / vždy* se v obou jazycích spíše liší. *Samozřejmě* se někdy používá k opatrnému vyjádření, i když by se dalo předpokládat, že podobně jako *of course* půjde o typický příklad boosteru. Adverbium *always* je někdy ovlivněno kontextem, zejména pokud se vyskytuje v záporné větě. V takových případech se tento jinak typický booster často mění v hedge. *Always* může být také oslabeno příslovečným určením způsobu s negativní polaritou, které také zmenšuje jeho efekt coby boosteru. Je docela zajímavé, že v našem korpusu se adverbium *vždy*, jakožto přímý protějšek k *always*, nevyskytuje v kontextech, které by ho měnily z boosteru na jiný typ výrazu. V některých případech nebylo možné porovnat výrazy, které fungují jako přímé protějšky v obou jazycích, jako například v dvojici *typický / typical*, protože v jednom z korpusů nebylo dané slovo nalezeno. Takovou chybějící položku jsme proto museli nahradit výrazem, který má podobnou funkci i podobný význam.

V kategorii relačních markerů jsme porovnávali dvojice postojových adjektiv a adverbii včetně vytýkacích adverbii a částic (fokalizátorů) a také lexikálně-gramatickou konstrukci *stance adjective + to-clause*. Postojová adjektiva se v češtině i angličtině užívají podobným způsobem a v obou jazycích se objevují v různých syntaktických funkcích, např. jako adjektivní modifikátory (adjektivum ve funkci přívlastku) nebo jako jmenné části přísudku jmenného se sponou (adjektiva v predikativním užití). Druhá funkce zahrnuje také predikativní užití adjektiva v evaluativní řídicí větě, jejímž podmětem je obsahová věta (uvozená spojkou *že*), která za postojovým adjektivem následuje (*je známo, že...*, *je nepochybné, že...* atd.). Co se týče vytýkacích prostředků, *zejména* a *především* byly přibližně dvakrát častější než *especially* a *particularly*.

Nejnápadnější rozdíl mezi češtinou a angličtinou jsme zaznamenali v kategorii relačních markerů, přesněji ve vyjadřování první osoby plurálu. Zatímco angličtina jako analytický jazyk užívá pro tuto funkci osobní zájmeno *we*, v češtině najdeme slovesnou koncovku *-me*. Přestože jsme tento systémový rozdíl mezi oběma jazyky očekávali, zajímavá byla frekvence daných gramatických kategorií (zájmena vs. koncovky). V českých textech byla inkluzivní první osoba plurálu ve funkci relačního markeru mnohem častější než v anglických člancích, se 404 výskyty pro češtinu a 106 pro angličtinu. Tento rozdíl by se dal vysvětlit odlišným užíváním pasíva v obou jazycích. V anglickém odborném stylu se pasivní konstrukce vyskytuje velmi často a protože tato konstrukce nevyjadřuje konatele děje, je zřejmé, že *we* ve funkci relačního markeru nebude v anglických vědeckých člancích příliš časté. V českých textech jsme žádnou podobnou strategii v užívání pasíva nezaznamenali. Namísto osobní konstrukce vyjadřující první osobu plurálu by čeští autoři mohli použít reflexivní pasívum, které implikuje všeobecného lidského konatele (např. *dělá se místo děláme*). Vypadá to ale, že čeští autoři z našeho korpusu dávají přednost osobním konstrukcím, což může mít v zásadě dva důvody. Je možné, že zvrtné pasívum je v odborné češtině už příliš zastaralé (nebo dokonce v češtině obecně) a autoři proto volí raději osobní konstrukce. Jiné možné vysvětlení je to, že autoři používají osobní konstrukce záměrně, aby jejich text více oslovoval čtenáře. Dokonce ‘generické’ *we*, které také řadíme do kategorie relačních markerů, pomáhá vytvářet dojem, že čtenář je součástí právě probíhající diskuze. Přivlastňovací zájmena *our* a *naš* vyjadřující stejnou kategorii jako anglické osobní zájmeno *we* nebo česká slovesná koncovka *-me* se v češtině i angličtině užívají podobně, ani jedno z nich není v našem korpusu nijak časté. Pokud jde o zastoupení prostředků odkazujících explicitně na autora textu („self-mentions“), v našem korpusu jsou čeští autoři mnohem více viditelní než jejich zahraniční kolegové. Zatímco autorské *we* bylo zaznamenáno v anglických textech pouze ve 26 případech, v češtině se odpovídající koncovka pro exkluzivní první osobu plurálu vyskytla 227 krát. Autorské *já*, tedy první osoba singuláru, je poněkud překvapivě zastoupena v obou dílčích korpusech stejně, a to v 77 případech.

Na závěr čtvrté kapitoly jsme zařadili stručný popis kolokací třech vybraných prostředků metadiskurzu: modálních sloves, první osoby plurálu a lexikálně-gramatické sekvence *it is...that / je ... že*. Tato tři paralelní vyhledávání ukazují, jak je možné přejít od detailní analýzy založené na malém počtu textů k analýze, která se opírá o větší korpus. Rozsah této práce nám v tomto případě bohužel nedovoluje zacházet do detailů, ponecháváme proto tento směr analýzy spíše jako návrh na další možný směr výzkumu. Vzhledem k tomu,

že jsme v tomto oddíle pracovali pouze s výrazy reprezentujícími metadiskurz, potýkali jsme se s malým vzorkem dat, který nám neumožňoval širší generalizace nebo závěry.

Abychom se vrátili k pragmatice metadiskurzu, naše detailní analýza ze čtvrté kapitoly i výsledky opírající se o malý korpus lingvistických textů naznačují, že odborný styl není až tak neosobní, jak se o něm někdy tvrdí. České texty, které jsme analyzovali, například vykazují poměrně vysoké frekvence autorské první osoby („self-mentions“) a inkluzivní první osoby plurálu, které přispívají k živějšímu a osobnějším stylu. Odborný styl navíc postupně získává jiný status, než měl doposud. Místo toho, aby byl primárně považován za informativní a objektivní, je nyní některými autory vnímán jako evaluativní a interpersonální (např. Hyland 2005: 39). Navíc Hyland (2004: 2) i Čmejrková (1999: 219) oba zdůrazňují dynamický a interpersonální charakter odborných textů a namísto nezáživné a neosobní vědecké prózy doporučují používat osobní formulace a výrazy interakční složky metadiskurzu. Hyland (2010: 135, s naším překladem) k tomu dodává:

Zatímco studenti se často učí ve svých pracích první osobu nepoužívat, tato kategorie představuje zásadní způsob, jakým profesionální akademici získávají uznání za svoje výzkumné aktivity (...) Ačkoli nemůžeme říct, že větší podíl metadiskurzu v textu odpovídá lepšímu stylu psaní, můžeme časté užívání metadiskurzních výrazů chápat také jako větší povědomí o čtenáři a o sobě samém. Metadiskurz představuje reflektované vědomí sebe sama, textu a publika a jeho užívání naznačuje, že se autoři pokoušejí sami sebe prezentovat jako schopné akademiky zakotvené v ideologii a praktikách své disciplíny²⁴.

Tento citát nám může připomenout jiný Hylandův postřeh (1998: 2): aby byl akademik přijat mezi ostatní kolegy ve svém oboru a aby jeho práce byla brána vážně, je pro něj důležité psát podle norem a očekávání dané vědecké komunity. Domníváme se, že pokud autor ví, jak má metadiskurz používat, a pokud ho používá správně (tedy podle požadavků, které na něj klade jeho obor, kolegové a také čtenáři), může dosáhnout toho, že jeho práce bude lépe přijímána a hodnocena.

Ačkoli je odborný styl často popisovaný jako velmi přesný a objektivní, zaměřený na přenos velmi specifických informací (Cvrček 2010: 315), zdá se, že výsledky naší analýzy

²⁴ *While students are often taught to avoid the use of first person, it is a key way in which professional academics gain credit for their research claims (...) While we cannot say that more metadiscourse equals better writing, this might also be seen as a greater awareness of readers and self. Metadiscourse represents a reflective awareness of self, text and audience, and its use suggests writers' attempts to present themselves as competent academics immersed in the ideologies and practices of their fields (Hyland 2010: 135).*

ukazují poněkud jiným směrem. Pokud vezmeme v úvahu frekvence relačních markerů a self-mentions, odborná čeština je z tohoto hlediska mnohem interaktivnější, než jsme předpokládali. Toto zjištění je v protikladu nejen k našim původním domněnkám, ale neshoduje se ani s pojetím odborného stylu, který „patří mezi styly vědecké a kontrastuje tak se styly, jež mají blízkého nebo známého adresáta (...) Protože je určený pro neznámého a vzdáleného příjemce, chápe se veřejný styl jako formální.“ (Čmejková 1994: 306).

Čmejková (1994: 305) napsala velmi zajímavý článek o nerodilých mluvčích, kteří píšou anglicky. Porovnává zde také odlišné přístupy k procesu psaní v české a anglo-americké kultuře. Zatímco anglosaská tradice zdůrazňuje interaktivní povahu každého procesu psaní (ta je založená na filozofické tradici pragmatického přístupu k jazyku, který přirozeně chápe tvorbu textů jako interakci, dokonce i jako transakci mezi autorem a příjemcem), v české tradici se odborný styl chápe většinou jako monolog, který má typické parametry tohoto žánru:

Autorovy textové strategie orientované na čtenáře jsou realizované především prostřednictvím metatextových komentářů, které doplňují výklad, zatímco makrostruktura vědeckého textu údajně vyplývá z „vnitřních potřeb tematické posloupnosti“, tj. nikoli z vnějších faktorů jako jsou situace nebo čtenář²⁵.

Jinými slovy, zatímco v anglických a amerických učebnicích je způsob, jak napsat odstavec, často ústředním tématem, čeští studenti si obvykle mohou vybrat, jakou strukturu jejich text bude mít. Tato skutečnost má nejspíš opět kulturní pozadí. Zatímco anglosaské tradice chápe psaní jako dovednost, která se dá vyučovat, osvojit, testovat a hodnotit, česká stylistická tradice chápe psaní spíš jako produkt talentu nebo nadání jednotlivce. Čmejková (1994: 306) dále uvádí, že o anglických odborných textech se říká, že mají blíž k textům neodborným, protože jedním z hlavních úkolů autora je napsat text tak, aby se dobře četl. Naopak v českém prostředí je úkolem čtenáře, aby textu porozuměl a ne úkolem autora, aby text napsal srozumitelně. Vzhledem k tomu, že naše práce se zabývá primárně strukturami, které vyjadřují metadiskurz, a jejich funkcemi, nebrali jsme v úvahu způsob, jakým jsou české a

²⁵ *The author's text strategy oriented towards the reader is approached mainly through metatextual comments accompanying the exposition, whereas the macrostructure of a scientific exposition is considered to follow from the "internal needs of the theme development", i.e. not from external factors such as situation or reader (Čmejková 1994: 305, s našim překladem).*

anglické texty, s nimiž jsme pracovali, strukturované a organizované. Nicméně domníváme se, že tento směr výzkumu je velice zajímavý a stojí minimálně za zvážení.

Vraťme se nyní k výsledkům naší studie. Jak už jsme řekli, největší rozdíl mezi češtinou a angličtinou jsme zaznamenali v kategorii relačních markerů a self-mentions. Počet hedges a boosters je poněkud překvapivě v obou jazycích podobný a počet postojových markerů je alespoň srovnatelný. Zdá se, že tato zjištění jsou poněkud v rozporu se zjištěními Čmejkové a kol. (1999: 196), kteří píšou, že pro české odborné texty je typický poměrně vysoký stupeň nejistoty ohledně propozičního obsahu (ve srovnání s texty anglo-americkými). Domníváme se, že tato nejistota je vyjádřena hlavně pomocí hedges (včetně modálních sloves a kondicionálů) a mohla by se odrážet i v omezeném užívání boosterů. Nicméně v našem korpusu jsme pro češtinu takové tendence nezaznamenali (konkrétní čísla jsou uvedena v tabulce 20). Čmejková a kol. (1999: 196) sami nabízejí možné vysvětlení. Tvrdí, že vlivem anglických odborných textů se stupeň nejistoty ohledně propozičního obsahu u českých autorů postupně snižuje. Dalším možným vysvětlením by mohla být skutečnost, že míra nejistoty je u českých autorů stále vysoká, ale naše výsledky mohou být zkresleny poměrně malým počtem zkoumaných textů, v nichž se tak mohou projevit autorské idiosynkrazie.

Table 20: Frequency of metadiscourse categories in Czech and English						
Corpus size (English): 84,055 words						
Corpus size (Czech): 82,890 words						
	hedges	boosters	attitude markers	relational markers	self-mentions	total
English	312	74	80	281	143	890
Czech	307	62	121	718	361	1569
total	619	136	201	999	504	

Dalším rysem českého odborného stylu, který Čmejková a kol. (1999: 196) zmiňují, je časté užívání neosobních konstrukcí. Tuto tendenci naše data zřejmě také nepotvrzují, ačkoli musíme zmínit, že jsme se nezaměřovali na frekvence osobních a neosobních forem vyjádření ani na užívání pasíva, a proto nemůžeme tvrdit, že neosobní formy v češtině nejsou časté. Spíš bychom rádi poukázali na to, že v české části našeho korpusu nejsou osobní konstrukce vůbec neobvyklé.

Na závěr bychom chtěli zmínit, že náš korpus pravděpodobně není dost velký na to, aby naše zjištění dovozovala jakékoli rozsáhlejší generalizace. Náš korpus navíc může odrážet spíš idiolekty jednotlivých autorů než obecné vyjadřovací tendence v obou vědeckých komunitách. Abychom mohli popsat češtinu a angličtinu na obecnější rovině, byla by potřeba

detailnější studie a větší soubor dat. I přes to však doufáme, že tato diplomová práce splnila svůj cíl, zachytila alespoň některé obecné tendence českého a anglického odborného stylu a může přispět k dalšímu výzkumu v této oblasti.

8. Appendices

8.1. Appendix 1: The four academic texts analyzed in Chapter 3

8.2. Appendix 2: Table of selected metadiscourse expressions encountered in the detailed analysis

8.3. Appendix 3: The corpus of Czech and English academic texts

(the corpus is available at The Department of the English Language and ELT Methodology)