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A functional-semantic approach to discourse markers: A contrastive analysis between Ukrainian and Russian

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Abstract: The aim of this study is to define and classify discourse markers (henceforth DMs) in Ukrainian. In addition, a comparative analysis with corresponding data of DMs in Russian was conducted, leading to the claim that the number of possible meanings and semantic interpretations of DMs in these two languages differs. In this study we concentrate on two DM categories:[1] (1) Contrasting and (2) Detailing, and explore semantic characteristics (analyzing usage schemes in the context and possible meaning gradation accounting facets A,B,C) of the following DM pairs: *R:Наоборот — U:Навпаки "on the contrary, vice versa"; R:Впрочем — U:Втім "however, though"; R:Как раз — U:Якраз "exactly, just"*; *R:По меньшей мере — U:Щонайменше "at least"*. According to the results of the analysis conducted, we observed that Ukrainian and Russian DMs differ in the following aspects. 1. The number of facets presented in Russian (Kiseleva, Paillard, 1998) does not coincide with the facets that could be distinguished in Ukrainian, and vice versa. 2. Depending on the DM, Ukrainian has a wider spectrum of possible meanings inside and outside of the earlier proposed classification of facets. Furthermore, it is proposed that the number of facets in certain DMs in Ukrainian can be extended (adding facet D); as such, DMs have a broader scope of possible semantic interpretations.

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1. Introduction and Previous Research

The definition of DMs varies among different studies. As each study views discourse differently, the researchers describe these items differently as well. DM analysis is incorporated into the study of language by each researcher. In their research on cohesion, Halliday and Hasan (2006) examine conjunctive relations, whereas Schiffrin (2006) defines DMs within her discourse model. Fraser (1999) approaches a pragmatic theory of meaning applied both within and across sentences. In her research on DMs, Blakemore uses the Relevance Theory. According to Lenk (1998), giving a standard definition for DMs is nearly impossible. Each study of discourse markers should produce its own definition based on

1 Developed on Khilkhanov and Khilkhanova (2019) and Manaenko's (2017) classifications of DMs, the original functional-semantic classification accounting for 12 categories was proposed.

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the items, type of discourse, and context.

Numerous studies on the topic of DMs in Russian have been conducted in recent years[2] and various ways to classify and describe DMs have been proposed; however, among them the most comprehensive and extensive analysis was that of Kiseleva, Paillard (1998).

- Description of usage schemes and typical behavior scenarios — so called facets.
- The notion of facets is based on the hypotheses of the inner flexibility and variability of words.
  Ex.: The meaning of the DM is based on the correlation between "DM **p**" (the action does happen) and "DM **not p**" (the action does not happen).
  Facet A: **p** prevailing over **not p**
  Facet B: **not p** prevailing over **p**
  Facet C: balance between **p** and **not p** (both options are possible)

The analysis of Ukrainian DMs in this study is based on Paillard's approach and the criteria used to analyze the data on DMs in Russian.

2. Comparative Analysis

2.1. Contrasting DMs

2.1.1. Rus: Наоборот "naoborot" — Ukr: Навпаки "navpaky" (on the contrary; vice versa)

Наоборот "naoborot" (Rus)

In the Russian language discourse marker *Наоборот* has four meanings according to the dictionaries.

1) in the opposite direction, order, from the other side;
2) in a different, opposite manner;
3) in contrast to the previously uttered words or expected situation (often used as an introductory word);
4) denial "no, not at all, on the contrary."

The useage scheme of *Наоборот* is as follows. *Наоборот* $\mathbf{p_j}$ means that there is a certain circumstance **P**, where $\mathbf{p_j}$ is a new realization of this circumstance **P** and is defined through the connection/opposition to the previously existing realization $\mathbf{p_i}$. The two following types of connection between $\mathbf{p_i}$ and $\mathbf{p_j}$ can be distinguished.

- $\mathbf{p_i}$ and $\mathbf{p_j}$ have a common trait of being two different (possible at the same time) realizations of the same circumstance **P**.
- $\mathbf{p_j}$ is a realization of **P** that is completely opposite to $\mathbf{p_i}$.

Facets of *Наоборот* are defined based on the the type of connection between $\mathbf{p_i}$ and $\mathbf{p_j}$ that is the center of attention to the speaker: common traits, differences, or both at the same time.

In facet A, common traits prevail. The original realization $\mathbf{p_i}$ of the circumstance **P** allows the opposite (different) realization $\mathbf{p_j}$ to exist at the same time.

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2 The researchers approached DMs from different perspectives such as through analysis of specific DMs such as *nu* and *to* and their usage in conversation (Bolden: 2016); semantic analysis of a group of DMs such as *пожалуй - pozhaluj "well", никак - nikak "in no way",* and *все-таки - vsjo-taki "after all"* (Zalizniak, Paducheva: 2018), etc. was conducted.

In facet B, the difference between $\mathbf{p_i}$ and $\mathbf{p_j}$ prevails. New realization of the circumstance $\mathbf{p_j}$ that is introduced by *Наоборот* is defined as the one completely opposite (interchangeable) to the previously established realization $\mathbf{p_i}$.

In facet C, the common traits and differences between $\mathbf{p_i}$ and $\mathbf{p_j}$ are equally present. $\mathbf{P_j}$ presents such a realization of the circumstance **P** that at the same time preserves some traits of $\mathbf{p_i}$, but also points out the possibility of the opposite to $\mathbf{p_i}$ realization: $\mathbf{p_j}$.

Facet A

1) Слушаю вас, - сказал старик доброжелательно.
- Вы меня? - улыбнулся капитан. - Давайте уж лучше **наоборот**. Давайте я вас послушаю.
"I am listening to you, - said the old man kindly.
- You (listening to) me? - the captain smiled. - Let's do the **opposite**. Let me listen to you."

Contextual meaning: *Наоборот* $\mathbf{p_j}$ means that in addition to that previously established in the context realization $\mathbf{p_i}$, the circumstance **P** can have another, opposite realization $\mathbf{p_j}$.

Facet B

2) Вместо того что бы затормозить, он, **наоборот**, встал на козлах и отчаянно закрутил над головой кнутом.
"Instead of slowing down, he, **on the contrary**, got up on his haunches and desperately twirled the whip above his head."

3) Иногда случается, что горы и лес имеют привлекательный и веселый вид. Иногда, **наоборот**, горы кажутся угрюмыми и дикими.
"Sometimes it happens that the mountains and the forest have an attractive and cheerful look. Sometimes, **on the contrary**, the mountains seem gloomy and wild."

Contextual meaning: In 2), *Наоборот* $\mathbf{p_j}$ denies/replaces realization $\mathbf{p_i}$ previously given in the context. In 3) $\mathbf{p_j}$ gives a characteristic to the given **P** that serves as the opposite to the one given in $\mathbf{p_i}$.

Facet C

In facet C, $\mathbf{p_j}$ can not exist separately from $\mathbf{p_i}$, and is defined through the connection to $\mathbf{p_i}$.

4) Она так спешила, что надела туфли **наоборот**, а заметила это только в метро.
"She was in such a hurry that she put her shoes on **backward**, and only noticed it in the subway."

Contextual meaning: $\mathbf{P_i}$ *Наоборот* means that the realization $\mathbf{p_j}$ of the circumstance **P** that took place, is in opposition to $\mathbf{p_i}$, which represents the norm, expectation and generally accepted usual realization of **P**.

Навпаки "navpaky" (Ukr)

The Ukrainian DM *Навпаки* has corresponding data to the three facets A, B, C presented in the

analytic model proposed for *Наоборот* in Russian. Consider the following examples with contextual meaning scheme distinguished accordingly.

Facet A

5) Ви скоріш одважуєтесь писати, ніж говорити, а я **навпаки** (Л. Укр., III, 1952, 682).
"You rather dare to write than to speak, and I am **the opposite**."

Facet B

6) Голос його був зовсім не рокований, а, **навпаки**, бадьорий та глузливий (Ю. Янов., II, 1954, 137).
"His voice was not worried at all, but, **on the contrary**, cheerful and mocking."

7) Чисте небо не налягало на гори, а, **навпаки**, своєю високою легкою синявою довершувало, гармонійно доповнювало їх (Гончар, III, 1959, 173).
"The clear sky did not overlap with the mountains, but, **on the contrary**, completed and harmoniously complemented them with its high light blue."

Facet C

8) Кинути що-небудь **навпаки**.
"To throw something **in the opposite direction** (lit. in reverse)."

Facet D: Additional meaning

Additionally, in Ukrainian, DM *Навпаки* can be used to mean "contrary to, in spite of," where the action that takes place is usually intentional and can happen in order "to prove a point," or to highlight in spite of the circumstances. The action occurs in (9).

It is proposed in this study that the Ukrainian DM *Навпаки* has a fourth **facet D**, as it has a broader spectrum of possible meanings, being accounted for not only by the opposition between $\mathbf{p_i}$ and $\mathbf{p_j}$ in its connection to the previously given **P** from the objective perspective (customs, norms of behavior), but also from the subjective point of view (expectations) of the speaker.

9) Колісник уражений пішов від неї, не сказавши ні слова **навпаки** (Мирний, III, 1954, 358);
"The charioteer left her in shock, **(intentionally)** without saying a word. (lit. **in spite of**)."

In Russian the same meaning nuance can be expressed by means of the word (DM) *Вопреки* "vopreki" (against). In *Наоборот* such a meaning is absent.

Summary

- Ukrainian data corresponds to Russian data in terms of all three Facets A, B, and C.
- The Ukrainian DM *Навпаки* has a broader usage in the discourse and more possible meanings, leading to a proposal to broaden the number of possible facets, and analyse the additional meaning as Facet D.

2.1.2. Rus: Впрочем "*vprochem*" — Ukr: Втім "*vtim*" (however, though)

Впрочем "*vprochem*" (Rus)

According to the dictionary DM *Впрочем* is defined as having two meanings: an adversative that opposes the previously stated thought, and a parenthesis that expresses doubt, hesitation, or uncertainty.

Usage scheme: *Впрочем* **p** means that in relation to circumstance **Z**, introduced to the context through **q**, **p** is introduced as the element that serves as the baseline for **Z**. **P** differs from **q**, and at the same time supplements **q** in its correlation to circumstance **Z**.

Facets of *Впрочем* are defined based on the prevailing aspect of **p**: **p** as an element directly connected to given circumstance **Z**, or **p** as an element forming a connection with **q**.

Facet A

10) То окно было самое крайнее, мы доходили до забора и оказывались прямо напротив него. Когда прогулки были днём, там сидела высокая блондинка. Она нам казалась красавицей. **Впрочем**, все женщины нам тогда казались красавицами - машинистка или секретарша.
"That window was the last one. We would reach the fence and found ourselves right in front of it. If we had our walks during the day, a tall blonde would sit there. She seemed beautiful to us. **However**, all women seemed to be beautiful at the time — (whether it was) a typist or a secretary."

Z — presence of a blonde
q — describing her as a beauty
p — adding that everyone seemed pretty at that time (implying the possibility of her not being beautiful)

Contextual meaning: *Впрочем* **p** means that **p** introduced right after **q**, related to circumstance **Z**, serves as the base line for **Z**. **P** does not directly deny **q**, but implicitly opposes **q** being the only possibility, through a generalization related to **q**.

Facet B

11) Это был очень невысокий, чопорный старичок, лет, **впрочем** не более пятидесяти, с довольно румяным личиком...
"He was a very short, prim old man, **however**, no more than fifty years old, with a rather ruddy face..."

Z — description of the person
q — calling him an old man
p — adding information about his possible age

Conceptual meaning: *Впрочем* **p** means that **p** introduced right after **q**, describing circumstance **Z**, serves as the base line for **Z**. **P** elaborates information previously stated in **q** without denying it.

Facet C

12) Неутомимо создавал какие-то партии, лиги, объединения. Писал нескончаемые манифесты и декларации. Призывал окружающих к борьбе за новую Россию. Как, **впрочем**, и за новую Америку.
"(He) Tirelessly created some parties, leagues, associations. He wrote endless manifestos and declarations. He called on those around him to fight for a new Russia. As, **however**, for the new America as well."

Z — political activity
q — a call to fight for Russia
p — a call to fight for America

Conceptual meaning: *Впрочем* **p** means that **p** introduced right after **q**, characterizing the given circumstance **Z**, serves as the base line for **Z**. **P** and **q** are representing two equal aspects of **Z**.

Втім "*vtim*" (Ukr)

Ukrainian DM *Втім* has data corresponding to the two facets A and B. Consider the following examples with contextual meaning scheme distinguished accordingly.

Facet A

13) От уже кого спроста не розкусиш, так це Левка, — і собі посміхнулася Зося. — А **втім**, усі вони добрі (Стельмах, I, 1962, 279).
"Levko is someone who doesn't open up easily, — Zosia smiled to herself — **however**, they are all good (people)."

Z — description of the people present
q — implication that Levko is not a trustworthy person
p — additional information about the good nature of the people including Levko (indirectly denying the idea that he is not trustworthy)

Facet B

14) Було написано небагато, а **втім**, досить ясно: … («Смерть» Борис Антоненко-Давидович)
"Not much was written; **however**, it was quite clear: ..."

Z — description of the text
q — stating that not much was written
p — adding information about the text being clear

Facet C

Data corresponding to facet C in Ukrainian DM *Втім* is not distinguished.

Additional meaning

In Ukrainian, DM *Втім* can be used in the meaning of "meanwhile," expressing several actions or events happening at the same time.

15) **Втім** брама скрипнула, і пси завили, І грубії почулись голоси (Фр., XI, 1952, 261)
"**Meanwhile**, the gate creaked, and the dogs howled, and coarse voices were heard."

Summary

- Ukrainian data corresponds to Russian data only in terms of Facets A and B.
- Ukrainian DM *Навпаки* has broader usage in the discourse and more possible meanings, accounting for additional meaning "meanwhile."

2.2. Detailing DMs

2.2.1. Rus: Как раз "*kak raz*" — Ukr: Якраз "*yak raz*" (exactly, just)

Как раз "*kak raz*" (Rus)

Russian DM *как раз* translates to English as *exactly* meaning emphasis, and *just, just right* meaning accuracy and correspondence.

According to Paillard its usage scheme is as follows: *Как раз* **p** means that **p**, a priori being an accidental (random) event, etc. in relation to the given **q**, is regarded as the one that intersects with **q**.

Facets are classified according to the significance of the intersection between the accidental **p** and the given **q**. Depending on the contextual and situational factors, generally, the intersection between **p** and **q** can have a higher influence on either **p**, or **q**, or be regarded as a complete coincidence that is affecting neither.

Thus, Paillard's classification is as follows.

Facet A is classified as the one where accident prevails.

16) В тот день случилось несчастье: на дядю Самада наехал автомобиль. **Как раз** когда я возвращался из школы, машина скорой помощи остановилась возле нашего дома.
"A misfortune happened that day: uncle Samad was hit by a car. **Just** as I was returning from school, an ambulance stopped outside our house."

Contextual meaning: *Как раз* **p** means that **p** and **q** that are not initially related but have intersected due to having common time or/and space parameters.[3]

Facet B is classified as the one where intersection prevails.

17) [···]

3 In case of (16), **p** is the moment when 'I' — the speaker — return from school, and **q** is the moment when the ambulance stopped outside the house. These two events intersect in the same moment in time — a common time parameter — and thus, become related.

- Может быть, Наташа?
- Пусть будет Наташа.
Так он и стал ее называть. Но каждый раз он спрашивал:
- Наташа, как тебя зовут? […] У Наташи должны быть светлые волосы.
- У меня **как раз** светлые.

"- Maybe [your name is] Natasha?
- Let it be Natasha.
And so he started calling her. But every time he would ask:
- What's your name, Natasha? […] Natasha must have blonde hair.
- That's **exactly** the color I have."

Contextual meaning: *Как раз* **p** means that situation in **p** has a common element **x** with the given **q**, even though initially **q** made it possible to believe that **p** had **x'**.

Facet C is classified as the one where accident and intersection are equal in their significance in the context.

18) - Ну как ботинки?
- **Как раз.**
"- How is the size of the boots?
- **Just right**."

Contextual meaning: *Как раз* **p** means that **p** originally independent from **q**, is reassessed according to **q**, and is regarded as coinciding to **q**.

Якраз "yakraz" (Ukr)

Corresponding to the Russian *как раз*, Ukrainian DM *якраз* is typically used to clarify or emphasize the circumstances of time and place, to specify a person, an object or a feature. In colloquial speech it can also be used to express objection or irony.

Similar to Paillard's classification, the following three facets can be distinguished in the usage schemes of *якраз.*

Facet A where, in terms of the intersection of two elements, accident prevails.

19) Мати біля припічка **якраз** насипала в миску борщу. (Головко, А. Гармаш, 1971, 529)
"Mother was **just** pouring borscht into a bowl by the stove."

Contextual meaning: *Якраз* **p** means that **p** and **q,** which are not initially related, have intersected due to having common time or/and space parameters.

Facet B where intersection prevails.

20) З вулиці веде на наше подвір'я кам'яна ступанка, **якраз** така, яку можна поб-

ачити на малюнках Венеції, Рима або Неаполя. (Коцюб., III, 1956, 148)
"Stone steps, **exactly** as one can find in the pictures of Venice, Rome, or Naples, lead from the street to our courtyard."

Contextual meaning: *Якраз* **p** means that situation in **p** has a common element **x** with the given **q**, even though initially **q** made it possible to believe that **p** had **x'**.

Facet C where accident and intersection are equal in its significance in the context.

21) Сонце в полудень, Юстинці душно, Максимові — **якраз**. (Бабляк, Жванчик, 1967, 48)
"The sun being at noon, Yustinka suffocating, Maxim — [feeling] **just perfect**."

Contextual meaning: *Якраз* **p** means that **p** oiginally being independent from **q**, is reassessed according to **q** and is regarded as coinciding to **q**.

Additional meaning

Unlike Russian *Как раз,* Ukrainian *Якраз* can be used in the contexts aimed to express both: irony and objection. This claim is supported with the following examples. First, consider the dialog in (22).

22) — Хіба не вгадав, що її звати Олена?
— Ха-ха! А може, і не Олена?
— Ну, то Наталя.
— **Якраз**! Ха-ха! (Коцюб., II, 1955, 210)

"- Didn't you guess that her name is Olena?
- Haha! What if it's not Olena?
- Well, then Natalia.
- **Yeah, sure**! Haha!"

Якраз in (22) represents the nuance of irony toward the words of the interlocutor.
In addition, consider the following example in (23).

23) — Ні, далі, мабуть, я з тобою не піду, Вутанько… Бо, чого доброго, ще впастку заведеш.
— **Якраз**, може, вивела б, а не завела. (Гончар, II, 1959, 257)
"- No, then, probably, I will not go with you, Vutan'ko⋯ Because, who knows, you might lead me into a trap.
- Well, maybe I could **actually** lead you out of it, not into."

In (23), *Якраз* **p** means that in opposition to the action previously mentioned by the interlocutor, the speaker is underlining an objection toward that specific action/event.

Summary

- The three facets ABC can be distinguished equally in both Russian and Ukrainian data.
- It is suggested that in addition to facets ABC, Ukrainian *Якраз* has two additional meanings that derive the nuances of irony and objection, respectively.

2.2.2. Rus: По меньшей мере "*po menshei mere*" — Ukr: Щонайменше "*shchonaimenshe*" (at least)

По меньшей мере "*po menshei mere*" (Rus)

Dictionaries provide the two following meanings for DM *По меньшей мере* in Russian: 1) not less than; 2) at least, in any case.

Usage scheme: *По меньшей мере* $\mathbf{x_i}$ means that in a certain multitude (number) **X**, elements of which are organized in order from the biggest to the smallest, and that is also perceived through the connection to a certain circumstance **p**, element $\mathbf{x_i}$ is distinguished as the minimum for **p**. Further, if $\mathbf{x_i}$ is connected to **p**, then the following element $\mathbf{x_{i+1}}$, which is smaller than $\mathbf{x_i}$, according to the same parameter will be connected to **p′**.

The comparison between $\mathbf{x_i}$ and $\mathbf{x_{i+1}}$ allows us to perceive the opposition between **p** and **p′**.

Facets of this DM are distinguished according to the nature of the opposition between **p** and **p′**.

Facet A. Opposition between **p** and **p′** is originally not present and is directly connected to the fact of distinguishing element $\mathbf{x_i}$.

Facet B. Opposition between **p** and **p′** is originally present in the context and is not related to the element $\mathbf{x_i}$.

Facet A

24) ...во вторых...саркофаг-то огромный.... Чтоб привезти и выкопать яму для такой махины, надо человек десять **по меньшей мере**.
"... secondly ... the sarcophagus is huge .... To bring (it here) and dig a hole for such a colossus, you need **at least** ten people."

Contextual meaning: *По меньшей мере* $\mathbf{x_i}$ means that among the multiple quantitative characteristics connected to the discussed circumstance **p**, $\mathbf{x_i}$ is distinguished as the minimal number necessary for achieving **p**.

Facet B

25) Вы не правы, было довольно много народу. Пришло **по меньшей мере** двадцать человек.
"You are wrong, there were quite a lot of people. **At least** twenty people came."

Contextual meaning: *По меньшей мере* $\mathbf{x_i}$ means that in the context where quantitative evaluation **p'** ("few"), corresponding to the $\mathbf{S_1}$ point of view, is present, $\mathbf{x_i}$ is distinguished as the minimal quantitative characteristic **p** corresponding to the $\mathbf{S_0}$ point of view. Introducing $\mathbf{x_i}$ is interpreted as argumentation against the $\mathbf{S_1}$ point of view as rejection/denial of **p'.**

Щонайменше "*shchonaimenshe*" (Ukr)

Ukrainian DM *Втім* has data corresponding to the two facets A and B. Consider the following examples with the contextual meaning scheme distinguished accordingly.

Facet A

26) — Я заборонив би людям одружуватись, поки кожне з них не посадить **щонайменше** по десять дерев (Ткач, Арена, 1960, 31)
"- I would forbid people to marry until each of them plants **at least** ten trees."

Facet B

27) Здавалося, від страху оця жінка **щонайменше** збожеволіє (Ю. Бедзик, Студ. Води, 1959, 19)
"It seemed that this woman would **at least** go crazy from fear."

Summary

- The two facets A and B can be distinguished equally in both Russian and Ukrainian data.

3. Conclusion and Remaining Problems

According to the results of the analysis conducted, we observed that Ukrainian and Russian DMs differ in the following aspects. 1. The number of facets presented in Russian does not coincide with the facets that could be distinguished in Ukrainian, and vice versa. 2. Depending on the DM, Ukrainian has a wider spectrum of possible meanings inside and outside of the earlier proposed classification of facets. Furthermore, it is proposed that the number of facets in certain DMs in Ukrainian can be broadened (adding facet D); as such, DMs have a broader scope of possible semantic interpretations.

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