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

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Abstract: This study aims to define and categorize discourse markers (DMs) in Ukrainian, and to conduct a comparative analysis with corresponding DMs in Russian, leading to the claim that the number of possible meanings and semantic interpretations of DMs in these two languages differs. We focus on the category of repetition markers[1], examining their semantic characteristics through an analysis of usage patterns and potential meaning gradations across Facets A, B, and C. We examine the following DM pairs: *R: Опять — U: Знову "again; one more time"; R: Заново — U: Заново "one more time; again; from the beginning."* Our findings reveal that Ukrainian and Russian DMs differ in two key ways. First, the number of facets in Russian does not always match those distinguishable in Ukrainian, and vice versa. Second, depending on the DM, Ukrainian can exhibit a broader range of potential meanings, both within and beyond the previously proposed facet classification. We propose that the number of facets for certain Ukrainian DMs be expanded (adding Facet D), thereby broadening their possible semantic interpretations.

1. Introduction and Literature Review

The definitions of DMs vary across studies, owing to the unique perspectives each study takes on discourse, leading to distinct descriptions of these elements. Each researcher incorporates DM analysis into their language study in their own way. For instance, Halliday and Hasan (2006) focus on conjunctive relations in their research on cohesion, whereas Schiffrin (2006) defines DMs within her discourse model. Fraser (1999) applies a pragmatic theory of meaning, both within and across sentences, and Blakemore (1987) uses Relevance Theory in her DM research. Lenk (1998) suggests that providing a standard definition for DMs is nearly impossible, arguing that each DM study should give its own definition, considering the specific items, type of discourse, and context.

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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There have been many recent studies on DMs in Russian,[2] resulting in a variety of proposed classifications and descriptions. However, the most comprehensive and extensive analysis to date was conducted by Kiseleva and Paillard (1998):

- Description of usage schemes and typical behavior scenarios (i.e., facets).
- The notion of facets is based on hypotheses of the inner flexibility and variability of words. For example, 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)

In this study, we analyze Ukrainian DMs using the approach of Kiseleva and Paillard (1998), applying the same criteria as those used to analyze the Russian DMs.

2. Repetition DMs: A Comparative Analysis

2.1. Rus: Опять "*opyat*"; Ukr: Знову "*znovu*" (again; one more time)

2.1.1. Опять "*opyat*" (Rus)

Опять is a DM used to indicate a repetition or recurrence of certain events, actions, and so on.

The usage scheme of *Опять* is as follows.

Опять **pi** means that **pi** is not the first realization of circumstance **P** (not the first time that **P** happens), but at the same time, is beyond the space/areas formed by the previous realizations of **P**.

The "new" **pi** means that the realization recreates one or several previous realizations of **P**. At the same time, the process can present or become an "object" of assessment (qualitative assessment unrelated to the order of discourse continuity), as well as an "event" introduced in the frame of the discourse continuity. Thus, facets of DMs are determined based on the prevalent status of **pi** (the object or the event):

- Facet A: the prevailing status of **pi** is as an object that is being assessed somewhat separately from the discourse continuity.
- Facet B: the prevailing status of **pi** is as an event in terms of the discourse continuity.
- Facet C: the realization of **pi** is simultaneously regarded as both an object and an event.

First, we examine examples of Facet A.

Example 1:

Выпил наконец и Илья. Выпил и **опять** замахал перед ртом ладонью, как машут на прощанье. Такая у него выказалась привычка. Вчера она забавляла Михаила, но ничего интересного в этом для себя не нашел.

2 Studies have examined DMs from various perspectives, including an analysis of specific DMs, such as *nu* and *to*, and their usage in conversation (Bolden, 2016), and a 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).

Finally, Ilya also drank. He drank and **again** waved his hand in front of his mouth, as one waves goodbye. He had such a habit. Yesterday it amused Mikhail, but he did not find anything interesting in that for himself.

P — the action of waving the hand repeated as a habit;
pi — the action of waving the hand this specific time.

Contextual meaning: The action is seen as boring.

Example 2:

Назвал нужный номер, телефонистка соединила, и никто не ответил. Он перезвонил, стоял, кусал губы, понимал, что ее нет, но все таки стоял и ждал [...]. "**Опять** упустил…— сказал он громко, — Ах ты…"

He gave the right number, the telephone operator connected, and no one answered. He called back, stood there, biting his lips, realizing that she was not there, but still stood and waited [...]. "I missed her **again**..." he said loudly, "Oh⋯"

P — making a phone call with the girl not picking up;
pi — the girl not picking up this specific time.

Contextual meaning: Emotion of regret is expressed.

Next, we show examples of Facet B.

Example 3:

Именно избирателям придется в очередной раз стать заложниками в политических битвах верхов [...], оставаясь к тому же виноватыми: мол, **опять** не тех выбрали…

It is the voters who will once again have to become hostages in the political battles of the top [...], ending up, moreover, being guilty (receiving accusations of), **again** they have chosen the wrong ones⋯

P — making a choice during elections;
pi — arriving at the same result after repeating elections.

Contextual meaning: Subjective assessment, discontent about repeating the same pattern.

Example 4:

[До этого Люся шла по полям, потом по лесу] Лес кончился, и Люся **опять** вышла на поднимающиеся вверх поля.

[Before that, Lucy walked through the fields, then through the forest] The forest ended, and Lucy **again** went out to the fields rising up.

P — facing hills rising up throughout the journey;
pi — landscape having hills.

Contextual meaning: The repetition depends completely on the context, and so cannot be the object of assessment of the speaker.

Example 5:

“Верочка, вот где то недавно, была очень хорошая статья, как делала операцию доктор наук. Во время войны она ему делала операцию, спасла глаз, вы читали, нет? - Нет. - А потом вот теперь он потерял **опять** зрение, в связи с тем же самым ранением, конечно. Конечно. И она вновь делала ему операцию, и он видит.”

“Verochka, somewhere recently, there was a very good article on how a doctor of sciences performed a surgery. During the war, she performed a surgery on him, saved his eye, you have read it? No. And then he lost his sight **again**, due to the same injury, of course. She again performed a surgery on him, and now can see.”

P — losing the eyesight;
pi — losing the eyesight once again (**not P —** not being able to see anymore)

Contextual meaning: Repetition of the previous realization, only this time, with the underlying presence of **not P**. Here, **pi** is an unexpected outcome.

Lastly, we show examples of Facet C.

Example 6:

Марков открывал глаза и тянулся рукой за книгой. Но сон **опять** налетал на него, и, не дотянувшись до книги, Марков ложился и снова закрывал глаза.

Markov would open his eyes and reach out for a book. But sleep would **again** come over him, and, not having reached the book, Markov would lay down and close his eyes again.

P — the action of falling asleep;
pi — the action of falling asleep happening repetitively.

Contextual meaning: Regarded as impossibility of avoiding **P.**

Example 7:

“Куин!” Никто не отозвался. “Эй, Куин!” И **опять** никто не отозвался.

Прислушавшись, Румата различил сквозь комариный звон шорох кустов.

"Quinn!" Nobody answered. "Hey Quinn!" And **again** no one answered. After listening closely, Rumata heard the rustle of bushes over the buzzing of the mosquitoes.

P — calling out and not receiving any reply;
pi — calling out more (unsuccessful attempt to change the outcome)

Contextual meaning: pi is an unsuccessful attempt to change circumstance **P** that is undesirable for **Sx**.

2.1.2. Знову "*znovu*" (Ukr)

According to dictionaries, the Ukrainian DM *Знову* (*знов, ізнов, ізнову*) that corresponds to the Russian DM *Опять* has mainly two meanings of "again; one more time, from the beginning." The usage scheme of *Знову* is represented as follows.

Знову **pi** means that **pi** is not the first realization of circumstance **P** (not the first time that **P** happens), while at the same time, it is beyond the space/areas formed by the previous realizations of **P**.

The (new version of) **pi** means that the realization recreates one or several previous realizations of **P**, and the process can, at the same time, present or become an "object" of assessment (qualitative assessment unrelated to the order of discourse continuity), as well as an "event" introduced in the frame of the discourse continuity.

Facets are determined based on the prevalent status of **pi** (the object or the event).

- Facet A: the prevailing status of **pi** is as an object that is being assessed somewhat separately from the discourse continuity.
- Facet B: the prevailing status of **pi** is as an event in terms of the discourse continuity.
- Facet C: the realization of **pi** is simultaneously regarded as both an object and an event.

First, we examine examples of Facet A.

Example 8:

"Похитнувся," зрадів і руки його сповзли з грудей, але зразу ж **знову** судорожно зведеними пальцями вхопилися за серце: Тимофій з незвичною спритністю влетів у Буг, і не скоро його голова піднялась над водою, знову зникла і знову з'явилася.

"(It) moved," he rejoiced, and his hands slipped from his chest, but immediately grabbed his heart **again** with convulsively clenched fingers: Timofey flew into the field with unusual dexterity, and soon his head rose above the water, disappeared again and appeared again.

Example 9:

У хлопчика розхристане русяве волосся, сірі очі іскряться, в нього **знову** якась радість. боже, скільки радості у тих дітей.

The boy has messy blond hair, gray eyes are sparkling, he has some joy **again**. God, how much joy those children have.

Contextual meaning: *Знову* **pi** serves as an object that is being assessed somewhat separately from the discourse continuity.

Next, we show examples of Facet B.

Example 10:

Однак краю плавням не було. Комиші, озерця, єрики.. І **знов** комиші, і **знов** вода, і **знов** той самий згук розміреного, однотонного прибою морської хвилі (Коцюб., I, 1955, 364).

However, there was no end to it. Reeds, lakes... And **again** reeds, and **again** water, and **again** the same sound of the measured, monotonous surf of the sea waves.

Example 11:

Кілька разів він розгортав таємничу записку, перечитував її і ховав за пазуху, потім **знову** напружено думав; здавалося, забувши про все на світі.

Several times he unfolded the mysterious note, reread it and hid it in his bosom, then he thought hard **again**; he seemed to have forgotten everything in the world.

Contextual meaning: *Знову* **pi** is regarded in terms of the discourse continuity.

Lastly, we show examples of Facet C.

Example 12:

Та горять, немов юнацькі очі, на знаменах золотом слова. Я дивлюсь на Леніна і хочу **знов** почати, жить і працювать (Сос., I, 1957, 342).

And they burn, like youngster's eyes, the words written in gold on banners. I look at Lenin and want to start **again**, live and work.

Example 13:

І як вийшла з села, то якось мені так стало легко та весело, так неначе я **знову** на світ народилася… (Мирний, I, 1954, 72).

And as soon as I left the village, somehow it became so easy and fun, as if I was born **again** into the world⋯

Contextual meaning: *Знову* **pi** serves as a repetition, a new and different realization of P in the discourse, but at the same time serves as the object of assessment (is perceived as a good event). The nuance is similar to the meaning of the DM Zanovo ("from the beginning").

2.1.3. Summary

The Ukrainian data correspond to the Russian data in terms of all three facets A, B, and C.

2.2. Rus: Заново "*zanovo*"; Ukr: Заново "*zanovo*" (one more time; again; from the beginning)

2.2.1. Заново "*zanovo*" (Rus)

According to the functional-semantic classification proposed earlier, the DM *Заново* belongs to the category of repetition. In Russian, *Заново* has the following meanings:

- again, one more time;
- in a new way (not in the same way as before), starting from the very beginning.

These two meanings are formed by the combination of the two morphemes of *-нов-*, meaning "new," and *за-*, which forms a point of view "from the outside, beyond" the word it adjoins.

The usage scheme is as follows: *Заново* **pi** means there are two ways of perceiving a certain circumstance and its outcome:

- the outcome **pi** is perceived as an "affirmative" (new) realization of the circumstance;
- the outcome **pi** is perceived as a "negative" (not the previous one, not the same as before) realization of the circumstance, in contrast to the certain circumstance **pk**.

The facets of this DM are determined based on the prevailing interpretation of whether **pi** is perceived as a "new" circumstance (facet A) or is understood as a "not old" circumstance (facet B). In facet C, both interpretations have approximately equal importance.

In general, when *Заново* is used as a preposition (*Заново* **pi**), it corresponds to facet A, introducing **pi** as new information. Conversely, when *Заново* in the post position (**pi** *Заново*), it presents **pi** as related to a previous known circumstance.

First, we examine examples of Facet A.

Example 14:

"Американская мечта": это продукт нашего столетия. Когда нация пыталась **заново осознать** себя, свои ценности.

The "American Dream" is a product of our century. When the nation tried to **reconsider** itself, its values.

Contextual meaning: *Заново* **pi** means that the goal of **pi** is to achieve a completely new circumstance, while at the same time defining the previous circumstances as unsatisfactory.

Next, we examine examples of Facet B.

Example 15:

Раньше на скатерти после стирки оставались пятна. Приходилось стирать **заново**.

Previously, stains remained on the tablecloth after washing. One had to wash it **again**.

Contextual meaning: The term *Заново* **pi** refers to a "not old" realization **pi** that replaces the "old" realization **pk**. **Pi** is perceived in relation to the "old" realization as a different entity, while simultaneously replacing the "old" realization.

In this case, the circumstance **pk** does not correspond to the desired outcome, having a "negative" evaluation. Thus, the "new" action **pi** is perceived as different in terms of quality compared with **pk**, because the "positive"/desired outcome is expected.

Lastly, we show examples of Facet C.

Example 16:

Неожиданная слава волновала его и поражала каждый день **заново**. Он стал весёлым, открытым, счастливым человеком.

Unexpected fame excited him and amazed him every day **anew**. He became a cheerful, open, happy person.

Example 17:

Перечитывая эти стихи теперь, на старости лет, я как будто **заново** открываю их для себя, и от этого они становятся ещё загадочнее и поэтичнее.

Rereading these poems now, in my old age, I seem to **re**discover them for myself, and this makes them even more mysterious and poetic.

Contextual meaning: In contrast to a specific circumstance **p**, the term *Заново* **pi** is a "new" circumstance, which simultaneously re- establishes the "old" realization of **pk**. In this case, the "new" is perceived as a repetition of the "old," but in a way that negates the "old."

2.2.2. Заново "*zanovo*" (Ukr)

The corresponding DM in Ukrainian encompasses the three facets A, B and C, along with some unique uses. Consider the following examples.

First, we examine examples of Facet A.

Example 18:

Що було, те за водою сплило. Почнемо ми з Миколою жити й учитись **заново**.

What happened, happened. Mykola and I will start living and studying **anew/again**.

The goal of **pi** is to achieve a "new" circumstance, while simultaneously characterizing the prior state as inadequate. The whole process of studying has to be repeated anew from the beginning.

Next, we examine examples of Facet B.

Example 19:

Уся компанія вернулася ще до млина і **заново** сіла за столи.

The whole gang returned to the mill and sat down at the tables **again**.

Example 20:

Руки в нього тремтіли, ніяк не міг зав'язати галстук, то з серцем чортихнувся, рвонув його і почав зав'язувати **заново**.

His hands were shaking, he could not tie his tie, then he swore, jerked the tie and started tying it **anew**.

The act of sitting at the table has occurred multiple times, yet the anticipated result has not yet been achieved. Therefore, the "new" action, denoted as **pi,** is initiated with the expectation of a "positive" outcome. The explanation for this example is the same as that given for Example 15.

Now, we examine an example of Facet C.

Example 21:

Здавалось, Липтак **заново** народився у цьому селі: воно стало йому рідніше, ніж було колись.

It seemed as if Liptak was born **again/re-**born in this village: it became closer to him than it once was.

The contextual meaning for this example is the same as that described in Example 17.

Additionally, in Ukrainian, the DM *Заново* can also convey the meaning of "recently" or "just a moment ago," where the action is portrayed as a novel event, experienced for the first time, that occurred in the recent past. The contextual meaning in Example 22 provides an example of such usage.

Therefore, this study proposes that the Ukrainian DM *Заново* encompasses a fourth dimension, **facet D**, because it exhibits a wider range of potential meanings This is not only because of the dual possibilities of perceiving a specific situation and its result as "new" or "not old," but also the perception of a particular action as "new" within the event timeline.

Example 22:

З понівеченим здоров'ям вернувся він до Петербурга в 1858 році, де йому були такі раді і його давні товариші і **заново** набуті знайомі.

He returned with damaged health to St. Petersburg in 1858, where his old comrades and **recently (literally, "newly")** acquired acquaintances were happy to see him.

In Russian, the same meaning nuance is absent. Consider Example 23. Here, to construct a grammatically correct sentence, it is necessary to use a word other than *Заново*.

Example 23:

С истерзанным здоровьем вернулся он в Петербург в 1858 году, где ему были так рады и его давние товарищи и
*заново/**ново** приобретенные знакомые.

He returned with damaged health to St. Petersburg in 1858, where his old comrades and **recently (literally, "newly")** acquired acquaintances were happy to see him.

2.2.3. Summary

Both DMs, the Russian *Заново* and the Ukrainian *Заново,* account for three facets A, B, and C. In addition, the Ukrainian *Заново* can be used as an additional meaning of "recently" or "just a moment ago." To account for the existence of this additional meaning, we propose that number of possible facets be extended to include Facet D, which has to do with a timeline of events, rather than the quality of the new circumstance or repeated action.

Conclusion and Remaining Problems

In this study, we analyzed two repetition DM pairs. Our findings show that Ukrainian and Russian DMs differ in several ways. Specifically, the number of facets in the Russian DM *Заново* does not match those distinguishable in Ukrainian. In fact, the Ukrainian DM encompasses a broader range of meanings within the previously proposed facet classification. To accommodate this wider range of semantic interpretations, we suggest expanding the number of facets for the Ukrainian DM *Заново* by adding Facet D.

As there is not much data available on DMs in Ukrainian, and number of DMs in each category is rather broad, in order to give a conclusive summary regarding repetition markers in Ukrainian, more DMs need to be analyzed. This question remains for the future studies.

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