A-4

Discourse Markers in Ukrainian

- Contrastive analysis with Russian -

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Abstract

The aim of this study is to define and classify discourse markers (henceforth DMs) in Ukrainian. In addition, 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 differ. In this study we concentrate on Epistemic DM category¹, and explore semantic characteristics (analyzing usage schemes in the context and possible meaning gradation accounting facets A,B,C) of the following DMs pairs: R: *Haверное* – U: *Мабуть* 'maybe'; R: *Наверняка* – U: *Напевно* 'or sure'; R: *Конечно* – U: *Звісно* 'certainly'. According to the results of the study we observe that Ukrainian and Russian DMs differ in the following aspects. 1. The number of facets presented in Russian (Pillard, 1998) does not coincide with the facets that could be distinguished in Ukrainian, and vice versa. 2. Depending on DM, Ukrainian has wider spectrum of possible meanings inside and outside of the facet classification presented in previous research, leading to the proposal that number of possible facets can be expanded.

1. Previous research

- Blakemore (1987) theoretical perspective within the Relevance Theory
- Fraser (1999) pragmatic approach
- Schiffrin (2006) discourse viewpoint
- Halliday and Hasan (2006) semantic perspective on cohesion
- Chen (2019)

1.2 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)

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

2. Comparative Analysis – Epistemic DMs

2.1. Rus: Наверное 'navernoie' – Ukr: Мабуть 'mabut' (maybe)

Наверное 'navernoye' (Rus)

According to Paillard, in Russian, discourse marker *Hasephoe* (*maybe*) is usually used when a certain state of affairs or description of the circumstance is being proposed, while pointing out that there is a certain "obstacle" that serves as a reason to doubt the uttered information.

The usage scheme of μ as follows. μ means that in the context where factors, that serve as the reason to doubt the proposed contents of the utterance, are present, the speaker bares only the amount of responsibility for $\bf p$ which is allowed by these factors.

The facets of *наверное* are classified according to the correlation between the proposed condition of **p** and the factors that serve as "obstacles" and create uncertainty. Thus, the following three meanings of *наверное* are distinguished.

- a. Наверное, introducing an assumption
- b. Наверное, introducing facts
- с. Наверное, expressing confidence in the utterance

Facet A. Assumption.

Наверное mostly serves as an introductory word in cases where there is contradiction between the possibility of $\bf p$ and **not** $\bf p$. The presence of *наверное* indicates some extent of uncertainty, and thus the speaker does not bear the responsibility for $\bf p$. In (1), *наверное* $\bf p$ is presented in correlation to already known facts.

- (1) Зачем он все продолжал с ней идти? *Наверное*, отчасти им двигала ещё инерция привычного обхождения с молоденькой женщиной.
- 'Why did he keep walking with her? *Probably*, he was partly motivated by the inertia/momentum of the habitual treatment of a young woman.'

Facet B. Knowledge.

In this facet *наверное* introduces knowledge of the speaker. The uncertainty is derived through the opposition with the interlocutor whose opinion differs from that of the speaker. However, the confidence in 'truthfulness' of **p** uttered by the speaker is not influenced by the difference in opinion of the interlocutor who either ignores **p** or does not know about it. In (2), the speaker already knows the facts regarding how the situation will unfold.

- (2) Директор [...] как-то отрешённо произнёс:
 - Наверное, мы не сможем сейчас взять вас на работу.
 - 'The director [...] said somewhat detachedly:
 - We **probably** will not be able to hire you now.

Facet C. Affirmation.

In the case of facet С *наверное* serves as an affirmative particle in a dialog context. It can be often combined with the particle *yж* '*uzh*' (well; indeed) located in a preceding position, and can be replaced with *наверняк*а '*navernyaka*' (for sure).

- (3) А Петя-то придёт?
 - (Уж) наверное.
 - '- Will Peter come?
 - For sure.

Мабуть 'mabut' (Ukr)

Ukrainian DM мабуть (maybe) is mainly used to express uncertainty, and in some cases can be used in the meaning of neвнo 'pevno' (likely).

Although, the facets of *μαδγmь* are not as straightforward as that of *μαβερμοε*, they can still be divided in the following:

Facet A

The presence of $ma \delta y mb$ indicates uncertainty, as there is contradiction between the possibility of **p** and **not p**. Contextual meaning in example (4) corresponds to (1).

- (4) Спала й виглядала козаченька молодого, що торік покинув. Обіщався вернутися, та, **мабуть**, і згинув! (Шевч., І, 1951, 3);
- 'She was sleeping and waiting for (lit. looking for) the young Cossack, who left last year. (He) Promised to return, yet, **probably**, died!'

Facet B

Мабуть also introduces knowledge and the confidence in 'truthfulness' of **p** uttered by the speaker. It is not influenced by the difference in opinion of the interlocutor. It can be replaced with *певно* (likely).

(5) Це ви, мабуть, йдете на службу? – спитав Кміта.

'So, you are going to work, (I am assuming)? – Kmit asked.'

Facet C

The contextual meaning of affirmation present in facet C of Russian *наверное* is not found in Ukrainian *мабуть*. One of the additional evidences can be the fact that in Russian data *наверное* can be replaced with *наверняк*а (for sure) without influencing the meaning of the utterance, however *напевно* in the meaning of *for sure*, which is Ukrainian equivalent of *наверняка*, has a different meaning nuance, and thus is not interchangeable with *мабуть*. Consider (6) which is translation of (3).

(6) - Чи прийде Петро?

(Та) мабуть.

- '- Will Peter come?
- Maybe.
- *For sure.'

Summary

- Ukrainian data corresponds to Russian data only in terms of Facet A fully, and Facet B partially
- Facet C bearing the meaning of affirmation is not distinguished in Ukrainian *μαδγπь* at all

2.2. Rus: Наверняка 'navernyaka' – Ukr: Напевно 'napevno' (for sure)

Наверняка 'navernyaka' (Rus)

In Russian DM *Наверняка* (for sure) is used to introduce opinions and reasoning, in truthfulness of which the speaker has full confidence, while still not knowing for certain if it is actually the truth.

Наверняка **p** means that there can be no other possibility than **p.** In Paillard's analysis *Наверняка* has no facets and is classified in terms of the part of the sentence it is related to (sentence as a whole, or a certain part of it). However, in this study I analyse both possibilities as **Facet A**.

- In (7) **p** is decided by the verb it is related to:
 - (7) Злые языки начали звонить, однако наверняка никто ничего не знал.
 - 'Evil tongues began to gossip, but no one knew anything for sure.'

Напевно 'napevno' (Ukr)

In comparison to Russian, Ukrainian DM *Haneвно* has a wider spectrum of possible meanings. Below, I propose analysis of *Haneвно* with the following tree facets.

The facets are classified according to the correlation between the proposed condition of \mathbf{p} and the factors that serve as "obstacles" and create uncertainty.

Facet A. Exactly, no doubt.

- (8) Павлина, хоч і **напевно** знала, що отримає свої вісім злотих, вийшла дуже незадоволена з дому Річинських (Вільде, Сестри.., 1958, 344);
- 'Pavlina, although she knew **for sure** that she would receive her eight zlotys, left the Richynski family very dissatisfied.'
- In (8), the confidence in certain actions happening certain way (payment being received in the future) is based on the certain facts or inner knowledge.

Facet B. Probability.

- (9) Йому, **напевно**, важко, цьому худорлявому кельнерові, але він все ж говорить (Кол., На фронті.., 1959,8).
- 'It must be difficult for him, this thin waiter, but he still speaks.'

In (9), the probability is supported with the observations made in the moment of the utterance. However, there is still a possibility of the judgement being wrong, thus lower confidence regarding the contents of the utterance.

Facet C. Confidence to a certain degree.

- (10) Вона сміливо робить новий ривок. Якщо кіт біля комори, значить, немає поблизу людей і діяти можна напевно (Цюпа. Назустріч.., 1958, 193).
- 'She boldly makes a new leap. If the cat is near the barn, then there are no people nearby and one can act for sure.'
- In (10), confidence is based on the past experience and the observations on the moment of speaking, still leaving the possibility of sudden change happening.

Summary

- Ukrainian DM *Haneвно* has broader usage in the discourse and more possible meanings
- Russian DM Наверняка distinguishes one facet A
- The original classification in terms of three facets ABC was proposed for *Haneвно*

2.3. Rus: Конечно 'konechno' – Ukr: Звичайно 'zvichaino' (of course, certainly)

Конечно 'konechno' (Rus)

In Russian, DM *Конечно* is usually defined as a part of the word group that includes *разумеется* 'of course, certainly', and *естественно* 'of course, naturally', and serves as the prominent, most commonly used word of the group. All of them correspond to *звичайно* in Ukrainian.

According to Paillard, usage scheme of this DM is as follows. *Конечно* \mathbf{p} means that in terms of the discourse coherency where \mathbf{p} exists, \mathbf{S}_0 is a guarantor of \mathbf{p} , while at the same time \mathbf{p} is independently defined as the one having a guarantor. Facets of *Конечно* are defined based on the prevailing circumstance of $\mathbf{p} - \mathbf{p}$ as having an 'outside' guarantor or \mathbf{p} as having an 'inside' guarantor.

Facet A

- (11) Я вас очень прошу ни в какие магазины не ездить, тем более что все они, **конечно**, закрыты. Да позвольте, неужели вы не знаете, что у вас в Городе происходит?
 - 'I beg you not to go to any stores, especially since all of them, **of course**, are closed. Excuse me, don't you know what's going on in your city?'

Contextual meaning: *Конечно* \mathbf{p} , in the context where \mathbf{p} is not clearly defined for \mathbf{S}_1 , means that \mathbf{p} has a guarantor, and it is \mathbf{S}_0 that serves as the guarantor for \mathbf{p} . In (11), \mathbf{S}_1 does not have any specific convictions related to \mathbf{p} , that is why there is no doubt about \mathbf{S}_0 being the guarantor of \mathbf{p} .

Facet B

- (12) О том, женаты вы или нет, я не спрашиваю: но есть ли у вас женщина, к которой расположено ваше сердце, та, что сопровождает вас в жизни?
 - Конечно, есть.

- `- About whether you are married or not, I do not ask: but is there a woman to whom belongs your heart, the one who accompanies you in life?
- Of course there is.'

Contextual meaning: Конечно \mathbf{p} means that in the existing context the question made by \mathbf{S}_1 regarding \mathbf{p} (and as any question, allows the possibility of an answer that differs from $\mathbf{p} - \mathbf{p}$), \mathbf{p} is regarded as having a guarantor \mathbf{S}_0 .

In this facet, based on the fact that p' explicitly exists in the context of the dialog (the utterance by S_1 that assumes the possibility of a reply that differs from p) the opposition between p and p' is a prevailing trait.

Facet C

- (13) Рождаясь, он думает, что он единственный в своем роде, а оказывается, что он опять один из двухсот миллионов. Что за чепуха! сказал я. На земле людей не двести миллионов, а четыре миллиарда. Да? Лео остановился и посмотрел на меня с недоумением. Но тут же нашел возражение. На земле конечно. Но речь то идёт не о всей земле, а только о нашей стране...
 - '- Being born, he thinks that he is one of a kind, but it turns out that he is again one of two hundred million.
 - What nonsense! I said. There are not two hundred million people on earth, but four billion. Yes? Leo stopped and looked at me in bewilderment. But then he found an objection. On the earth, of course. But this is not about the whole earth, but only about our country ...`

Contextual meaning: Koheuho \mathbf{p} , in the context where \mathbf{p} is introduced by \mathbf{S}_1 as the objective truth, means that even though \mathbf{S}_0 agrees that \mathbf{p} has a guarantor, it does not exclude the possibility of \mathbf{p} at the same time. For this type of context, it is typical for \mathbf{S}_0 to have a element Ho 'but' present in the utterance. Thus, presence of Koheuho means that while agreeing with \mathbf{S}_1 , \mathbf{S}_0 also reconsiders \mathbf{p} through introducing \mathbf{p} 'with the means of Ho 'but'.

Звичайно 'zvichaino' (Ukr)

While functioning as a DM that corresponds to Russian *Конечно* and having three corresponding facets A, B, C (examples 14, 15, 16), *Звичайно* in Ukrainian has a wider spectrum of possible usages and meanings.

Facet A

(14) Так, звичайно, крім таланту, потрібне ще і вміння! (Моє життя в мист., 1955, 69);

'Yes, of course, in addition to talent, you also need the skill!'

Facet B

- (15) Ви, Оресте Михайловичу, умієте через вогонь стрибати?
 - **Звичайно**, вмію (Л. Укр., II, 1951, 46);
 - '- Do you, Orestes Mykhailovych, know how to jump through fire?
 - Of course I do.'

Facet C

- (16) Сергій Петрович виховання, **звичайно**, не отримав, по французьку не говорить але він, воля ваша, приємна людина. (І. Тургенєв, Дворянське гніздо)
 - 'Serhii Petrovych, **of course**, did not receive an education, he does not speak French but he is, you know, a nice person.'

In addition, let us consider the following examples, where meaning of the DM has to do with (17) – something being usual, normal; (18) - something happening according to the custom; (19) - something happening according to the rules/generally accepted agreement. It is proposed in this study that Ukrainian DM Звичайно has a fourth **facet D**, as it has a broader spectrum of possible meanings, being accounted for not only by the presence of a guarantor, but also the generally accepted norms and customs exceeding perception of the speaker.

- (17) Іванов прощається з дружиною **звичайно**, як і більшість з простих людей, що йдуть на війну (Довж., І, 1958, 116);
 - 'Ivanov says goodbye to his wife in the usual way, like most ordinary people who go to war.'
- (18) Качковський не йшов, як звичайно, у хату сідати перед виїздом, «щоб усе добре сідало».
 - 'Kachkovsky did not, **as the custom has it (as usual)**, go to the house to sit down before leaving, "so that everything would go well" (from Π. Укр., III, 1952, 662);
- (19) Одяглась [Олена] таки любенько, як **звичайно** панночці та ще й хорунжівні (Кв.-Осн., II, 1956, 155).
 - '[Olena] dressed so nicely, as young ladies (usually) should, especially being the daughter of the general.'

3. Conclusion

The claim of this study is as follows: 1. The number of facets presented in Russian (Pillard, 1998) does not coincide with the facets that could be distinguished in Ukrainian, and vice versa. 2. Depending on DM, Ukrainian has wider spectrum of possible meanings inside and outside of the facet classification presented in previous research, leading to the proposal that number of possible facets can be expanded.

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