

Chapter 4

Particles *-TO*, *ŽE*, and *VED'* as K-Markers

4.0 Overview

In this chapter I will outline the kontrastive properties of particles *-to*, *že*, and *ved'*, which have been traditionally referred to as “vydelitel’nye” or “usilitel’nye” (“intensifying” or “emphatic”, also “contrastive,” “enunciative,” etc.). I group these particles together since each of these particles crucially depends on the existence of a membership set that the hearer is instructed to generate. Also, each of these particles encodes the speaker’s assumptions about the cognitive status of the marked information with respect to the hearer’s knowledge store and his/her attention state. What makes these k-markers different from one another are the details: exactly what type of set each of them refers to and exactly what cognitive status of information it marks.

The goal of this chapter is to provide a concise outline of the kontrastive properties of each of the three particles under consideration and to briefly compare them to each other. A more detailed analysis of each particle and a discussion of pragmatic effects each of them produces in discourse can be found in chapters 5-7, which deal with particles *-to*, *že*, and *ved'* individually.

The data in this chapter consist primarily of short discourses which I constructed myself in order to illustrate the similarities and differences between the three kontrastive

particles. Data from naturally occurring discourses are used only briefly in this chapter but will be the primary source in subsequent chapters for illustrating a diversity of functions and pragmatic effects that these particles produce.

The following questions will be briefly answered with respect to each particle; the first two questions address the essential properties that contribute to the meaning of each particle, while the last two questions can be viewed as consequences of the first two:

- What kind of set is marked by each particle? What does the set consist of?
- What is the cognitive status of referents marked by each particle?
- How is the meaning of each particle encoded on the clausal level?
- What role does each particle play at the discourse level?

The discussion of each particle in this chapter will also contain an outline of its major functions as proposed in the literature (these functions will be considered in detail in subsequent chapters). For each particle, a unified analysis will be proposed and the advantages of analyzing these particles as kontrastive markers will be briefly touched upon.

Another issue that will be considered here is the relationship of each of these particles to the phenomenon of colloquial Russian known as “double subjects” (Sirotnina 1974 *inter alia*) or “pronoun doubling” (McCoy 1998, 2000, *forthcoming*). Pronoun doubling has been found to be sensitive to the presence of a kontrastive element and, hence, can be used as an informal test for kontrast (with other relevant factors being controlled). Each of the three particles that are analyzed as k-markers in this dissertation passes the pronoun doubling test.

The chapter is organized in the following way: in section 4.1, I review literature on particles, concentrating on the literature on the group of particles that *-to*, *že*, and *ved'* belong to; the literature on each of these particles will be reviewed in detail in chapters 5 through 7. Sections 4.2, 4.3, and 4.4 contain analyses of kontrastive particles *-to*, *že*, and *ved'* respectively. In section 4.5, kontrastiveness of these particles is put to a test with the help of the pronoun doubling construction. A comparison between the kontrastive properties of these particles is given in the summary of this chapter, section 4.6.

4.1 Literature on Particles

The status of particles as a cross-linguistic grammatical category is still being debated (cf. a recent discussion, especially Ad Foolen's plenary talk, at the International Conference on Particles in Brussels, December 2000). Problems with analyzing and defining particles as a class have been pointed out for centuries (see Wierzbicka 1986 for a history and overview of the problems involved). It is not my goal here to provide a detailed overview of literature on particles. Instead, in the next two sections, I will briefly outline problems associated with analyzing particles (4.1.1) and review literature on the group of Russian particles that *-to*, *že*, and *ved'* belong to (4.1.2).

4.1.1 Literature on Particles in General

Wierzbicka (1976) was among the first to draw attention to particles as a separate linguistic class¹ and spark a renewal of interest in particles. She points out the difficulties and sets an example of approaching such a challenging task:

There are few aspects of any language which reflect the culture of the speech community in question better than its particles. Particles are very often highly idiosyncratic — ‘untranslatable’ in the sense that no exact equivalents can be found in other languages. They are ubiquitous — and their frequency in ordinary speech is high. Their meaning is crucial to the interaction mediated by speech; they express the speaker’s attitudes towards the addressee or towards the situation spoken about, his assumptions, his intentions, his emotions.

(Wierzbicka 1976: 327)

Wierzbicka states that ‘the meanings embodied in particles are often remarkably complex...[and] excruciatingly hard to state’ (ibid.; see also her 1986 introduction to a special issue of *Journal of Pragmatics* on particles, cf. Arndt 1960, Abraham 1991).

While the status of particles as a cross-linguistic category is under current debate, there has been little doubt for Russian grammarians about the importance of particles in Russian (see Peškovskij 1925, Vinogradov 1947, etc.), even if there is no consensus about the details.²

There are several book-length studies of Russian particles; see for example Vasilyeva (1972), Nikolaeva (1985), and Rathmayr (1985). It is not my goal to review these studies in detail. However, in the next subsection I will review literature that discusses particles *–to*, *že*, and *ved’* as a group.

¹ See especially pp. 327-329, 332-333.

² For attempts to apply Sperber and Wilson’s (1986, etc.) Relevance Theory to the treatment of Russian discourse particles see Zaitseva (1999), Feldman (forthcoming).

4.1.2 Literature on a Class of Particles Including –*TO*, *ŽE*, and *VED'*

Certain particles in Colloquial Russian, which I propose to analyze as kontrastive, have usually been treated as belonging to a group of particles labeled by Russian scholars as “vydelitel’nye” or “usilitel’nye” (“intensifying” or “emphatic”). Various authors have hinted that this set of particles possesses certain contrastive features. For example, Vinogradov (1947) quotes Peškovskij (1925) who pointed out what certain “emphatic” particles in Russian (such as *že*, *ved'*, *vot*, *ešče*, *da*, *daže*, *i*, *to*, *už*, and so on) have in common with conjunctions:

Their emphatic nature, as a matter of fact, puts them close to conjunctions: all kinds of emphasis are made visible only in the background of something non-emphasized, and this background is given (or assumed) in the preceding discourse. (Peškovskij 1925: 84, quoted from Vinogradov 1947: 666; translation is mine — S.M.)

There is an extensive literature on intensifying, or emphatic, particles in Russian. Notable among earlier studies are Bulatnikova (1973) and Borisova (1982). Thus, Bulatnikova (1973) tackles the particles *daže*, *že*, *to*, *taki* from the point of view of their semantic and distributional properties. Borisova (1982) provides a rather detailed semantic analysis of the “emphatic” particles *-to* and *i* by distinguishing *glavnaja tema/rema* (‘main theme/rheme’) from *častnaja tema/rema* (‘local’ or ‘specific theme/rheme’). She gives as many as ten different types of meaning for the particle *-to* (some types of meaning are broken down even further, into several subtypes).

The trend among the studies done in the 1970s and 1980s was to produce a complete enumeration of all possible meanings of the particles (Vasilyeva 1972,

Bulatnikova 1973, Borisova 1982, etc.). In more recent studies, however, the focus has shifted to unifying types of analyses (Bitextin 1994, Parrott 1997, Bonnot and Kodzasov 1998, Feldman forthcoming, etc.).

For example, Bitextin (1994)³ deals with particles *-to*, *že*, *ved'* and parenthetical constructions like *kak izvestno* ‘as [it is] known’ from the perspective of information structure. Specifically, the author treats these linguistic means as belonging to the same “functional and semantic field,” i.e., as indicators of the propositional content being already known to the hearer. In his analysis of the above-mentioned particles and constructions Bitextin uses a set of features⁴ to classify these particles; however, these features are not well defined and their assignment is not obligatory. Bitextin’s analysis constitutes a first attempt for a unifying analysis of these particles but it cannot be considered a satisfactory one.

There is also extensive literature on each of these particles that would be relevant for analyzing them as k-markers. I will review literature that deals with particles *-to*, *že*, and *ved'* in chapters 5, 6, and 7 respectively.

³ Unfortunately, I was unable to obtain the full text of Bitextin’s dissertation; my review of his ideas is based on a 25-page summary of the dissertation (the so-called *AKD: avtoreferat kandidatskoj dissertacii*).

⁴ The following features are used by Bitextin 1994: possibility vs. impossibility of occurrence in the initial utterance of the discourse (\pm INIT); adjacency vs. distant position of the anaphoric element with respect to its antecedent (\pm ADJAC); possibility vs. impossibility of being used in contrastive utterances (\pm CONTRAST).

4.1.3 Summary of Literature on Particles –*TO*, *ŽE*, and *VED'*

The findings discussed in the literature that will be relevant to the analysis of particles *-to*, *že*, and *ved'* as kontrastive markers are summarized in Table 4.1. The table compiles information from the literature on these three particles which have been discussed in this chapter and which will be discussed in the following three chapters.

In the remaining part of this chapter I will provide an outline of the set-evoking properties of each of these particles.

Table 4.1 Summary of Literature on Particles –*TO*, *ŽE*, and *VED*’

	<i>-TO</i>	<i>ŽE</i>	<i>VED</i> ’
Scope	Proposition (<i>Bitextin</i>)	Depends on the scope of the operator that <i>že</i> modifies (i.e., could be either terms or propositions) (<i>Bitextin</i>)	Proposition (<i>Bitextin</i>)
Nature of information marked by particle and its relation to the preceding discourse	marks information known to the hearer (<i>Bitextin</i>); relates this information to utterance(s) which is/are not necessarily adjacent to the utterance marked by <i>-to</i> (<i>Bitextin</i>)	marks information not necessarily known to the hearer (<i>Bitextin</i>); relates this new information to the information in the immediately preceding context (<i>Bitextin</i>)	marks information already known to the hearer or assumed to be part of general/cultural knowledge which is not activated at the moment of speech (<i>Bitextin</i>); relates this information to utterance(s) which is/are not necessarily adjacent to the utterance marked by <i>ved</i> ’ (<i>Bitextin</i>)
Phonological/prosodic properties	always unstressed; cliticizes to any phonological word within the theme of the utterance but not within the rheme (<i>Bitextin, Bonnot</i>)	always unstressed, the vowel can be reduced to \emptyset in certain contexts; cliticizes either to the first phonological word of the utterance (‘initial’ <i>že</i>) or to any phonological word within the utterance (‘free/neutral’ <i>že</i>) (<i>Bitextin, Padučeva, Parrott</i>)	always unstressed; placed at the beginning of the utterance or next to (immediately before or after) the word or phrase it ‘emphasizes’ (<i>Bitextin, Parrott</i>)
Major functions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> marker of contrast/emphasis (many authors) marker of theme/topic/ information known to the hearer (<i>Bitextin, Bonnot</i>) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> organizational/textual/thematic function (<i>Bitextin, Bonnot & Kodzasov, Ickler, Padučeva, Parrott</i>) affective/modal function (<i>ibid.</i>) <i>že</i> of ‘identity’ (usually with deictics) (<i>Ickler, Bitextin</i>) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> reminds the hearer of the information s/he already knows (<i>Padučeva, Parrott</i>); asserts truthfulness/ probability/ possibility of the statement (<i>Bitextin</i>)
Additional nuances of meaning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> implies ‘plurality’ (<i>Bonnot</i>) marks ‘unexpectedness’ of returning to a topic discussed a while ago (<i>Bitextin, Bonnot, Borisova</i>) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> adds the tone of an indisputable argument (<i>Padučeva, Parrott</i>); conveys emotions of irritation, annoyance, impatience, etc. (<i>ibid.</i>) speaker-oriented: speaker imposes his/her opinion on hearer (<i>Parrott</i>) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> more polite than <i>že</i> in similar contexts (<i>Parrott, Vasilyeva</i>) emphasizes unexpectedness of finding out a fact (<i>Padučeva, Vasilyeva</i>) hearer-oriented: speaker guides hearer in accepting utterance (<i>Parrott</i>)

4.2 Particle *-TO* as a *K*-Marker

In this section, I will briefly outline set-generating properties of particle *-to* (which will be discussed in detail in chapter 5). Thus, I will show that *k*-marker *-to*

- marks a set of sets of propositions, in which propositional elements are differentiated by the values of the kontrastive (element within the) link and the kontrastive (element within the) rheme;
- marks referents known to the hearer but not currently activated in the discourse.

As a consequence of these essential properties, particle *-to*

- is an enclitic to a kontrastive element, usually the link;
- generates⁵ a discourse tree, the branches of which are “sisters” dominated by the same question under discussion.

Before going into detail about how this particle works, let me provide an example of its occurrence in natural speech. Example in (1) illustrates a typical use of *-to* in a so-called “contrastive topic” construction:

- (1) [Varja is asking mother whether the mother wants vitamins when in fact she wants vitamins herself]

*VAR: Xochesh' vitamin, xochesh' vitamina?
 *MOT: Ėto ty u kogo sprashivaesh'?
 *MOT: A?
 *VAR: U mamy sprashivaju [% 1 times].
 *MOT: Ja ne ochen' xochu, a ty?

⁵ I am not committed to whether *-to* actually *generates* a discourse tree or only *constrains* the existing (evolving) discourse tree and will leave this issue for future research (for a relevant discussion on this issue see Buring 2001). The same disclaimer applies to the discourse properties of the other two particles.

*VAR: Xochesh', mama?
 *MOT: Ja-**TO** ne ochen', a ty xochesh'?
 *VAR: Xochu +...
 *MOT: Schas ja tebe dam.
 *VAR: Vitamin, vitamina.
 THE FOURTH SEANCE - AUGUST 15-16 1984

*VAR: Want vitamin, want some vitamin?
 *MOT: Who are you asking this?
 Ah?
 *VAR: Asking mama [% 1 time].
 *MOT: I don't want [it] much, and you?
 *VAR: Want, mama?
 *MOT: As for me(-**TO**), not much, but do YOU want [some]?
 *VAR: I do +...
 *MOT: I'll give you now.
 *VAR: Vitamin, some vitamin.

Gloss:

*MOT: Ja-**TO** ne ochen', a ty xochesh'?
 I-**TO** NEG much, and/but you want?

‘As for me(-**TO**), not much, but do YOU want [some]?’ or
 ‘I in particular don't much want [a vitamin], but do YOU?’

In (1), the function of *-to* is to contrast two propositions: one asserting the lack of desire to take vitamins on the speaker's part and the other one questioning the hearer's desire to take those. These propositions form a set because their links form a set of activated discourse referents (*I, you*) and their rhemes are also in a set relationship.

Let us unveil the meaning and function of *-to* in examples like (1).

4.2.1 Properties and Functions of Particle *-TO* in Brief

The following features of particle *-to* are important to mention here in order to discuss its kontrastive properties: particle *-to* has high frequency in colloquial speech; it is an

enclitic and thus it is always unstressed. It is etymologically related to the distal deictic/demonstrative pronoun *to(t)* ‘that’, as opposed to the proximal deictic *èto(t)* ‘this’.

Particle *–to* is not a *focus particle*; it would also be inaccurate to label it a *modal* particle or a *topic* particle per se, even though it has been referred to as such in the literature. The set-generating function of this particle is better captured by categorizing it in a more neutral way as a *discourse* particle.

As demonstrated by Bitextin (1994), the scope of particle *–to* is not a term but a proposition.⁶ He shows that even though *–to* usually cliticizes to an element within the theme, it does not tolerate indefinites either within the theme or the rheme;⁷ his proof will be addressed in detail in the next chapter, section 5.2.1. Here and in chapter 5, I will revise this claim in the following way: even though the size of the elements within the set (of sets) is proposition-length, these propositions differ from each other in the values of two kontrastive terms: one of which is located within the link and the other one within the rheme.

Particle *–to* is usually used in constructions with contrastive topics, but its use is not limited to such constructions (see chapter 5 for more detail).

Particle *–to* is multifunctional. In one of its meanings, it forms indefinite pronouns by cliticizing to wh-words: e.g., *gde-to* ‘somewhere’, *kto-to* ‘someone’, *počemu-to* ‘for some reason’, etc. It is also used in disjunctions: e.g., *to zdes’ to tam* ‘now here, now there’. However, I will be primarily concerned with the other, or non-indefinite/non-

⁶ With respect to having scope over a proposition and not a term, particle *–to* is comparable to the English *at least*, as in *Even though I didn’t win the lottery, at least it isn’t raining*.

⁷ The intolerance for indefinites in both the theme and the rheme of the utterance marked by *–to* can actually be viewed as a consequence of the cognitive status of information marked by *–to*: known to the hearer but not activated in the hearer’s mind immediately prior to the utterance.

disjunctive, meanings of *–to* that have been discussed in the literature under various labels. Examples of such non-indefinite/non-disjunctive functions of *–to* are given in (2-3); it is important to note that *–to* does not cliticize to the rheme but rather to the link:

- (2) PoLIna-**TO** pozvoNIlIa.
Polina-to called

'As for Polina, she CALLED.' Or 'Polina in particular, she CALLED.'
('As for Polina, of all the relevant people, she CALLED – versus wrote a letter/came/etc.')

- (3) Pozvonila-**TO** PoLIna.
Called-to Polina

'PoLIna called' / 'It was Polina who called'
('Talking about calling, it was Polina who did it – versus the others who were expected to call.')

Such functions of *–to*, illustrated by examples (1-3), have been described in the literature as the following:

- *marker of contrast* (Vasilyeva, Bonnot, Rathmayr, and Bitextin);
- *marker of emphasis* (Vasilyeva, Bonnot, Rathmayr, and Bitextin);
- *theme/topic marker, or marker of the information known to the hearer, in different terminologies* (Bonnot, Grenoble, Bitextin);
- *marker of unexpectedness in addressing a topic* (Bonnot, Bitextin);
- *implies plurality* (Bonnot);
- *evaluative-expressive meaning* (Vasilyeva); etc.

In the next section I will demonstrate that all these functions attributed to particle *–to* can be viewed as consequences of its kontrastive nature.

4.2.2 Kontrastive Properties of *-TO*

Particle *-to* is associated with information that is known to the hearer but not at the center of his/her attention at the moment. Thus, an opening utterance in discourse containing particle *-to* is infelicitous UNLESS this utterance is connected to some previous, more or less recent, situation as illustrated in (4):

(4) (as an opening utterance in discourse):

Polina-**TO** pozvonila.
Polina TO called

‘Polina called.’/ ‘As for Polina in particular, she called.’

The preceding discourse provides information on the nature of the set which particle *-TO* directs the hearer to evoke. Possible contexts are provided in (5-6):

- (5) Speaker A: a. Včera u babyški byl den’ roždenija.
 ‘Yesterday was grandma’s birthday.’
- b. Ona ždala pozdravenij ot svoix vnukov.
 ‘She was waiting for her grandchildren’s greetings.’
- c. Nataša prislala otkrytku. Oleg privez podarok.
 ‘Nataša sent a card. Oleg brought a present.’
- Speaker B: d. Nu a Polina kak?⁸
 ‘And what about Polina?’
- Speaker A: e. PoLIna-**TO** pozvoNila.
 ‘And as for Polina, she CALLED.’

⁸ It is also possible to have particle *-to* in the question: *A Polina-TO (kak)? ‘And (what about) Polina..?’*

- (6) Speaker A: a. Včera u babyški byl den' roždenija.
'Yesterday was grandma's birthday.'
- b. Ona ždala pozdravenij ot svoix vnukov.
'She was waiting for her grandchildren's greetings.'
- c. PoLIna-**TO** pozvoNila.
'As for Polina, she CALLED.'
- Speaker B: d. Nu a ostal'nye?⁹
'And what about the rest?'
- Speaker A: e. Nataša prislala otkrytku. Oleg privez podarok...
'Nataša sent a card. Oleg brought a present...'

However, the context necessary for evoking the membership set could be reduced even further, as shown in (7); in this case the hearer is expected to fill in any missing links:

- (7) a. Včera u babyški byl den' roždenija.
'Yesterday was grandma's birthday.'
- b. Nataša prislala otkrytku. Oleg privez podarok. [...]
'Nataša sent a card. Oleg brought a present.' [...]
- c. I PoLIna-**TO** pozvoNila.
'And as for Polina, she CALLED.'

The hearer's task for processing (7) would involve a few additional steps, as compared with processing (5-6):

⁹As in the question in the previous example, it is possible to have particle –to in the question here: *Nu a ostal'nye? -TO (kak)? 'And what about the rest..?'*

- a) retrieve a schema from his/her general/cultural knowledge (see Givón 1992, Gundel et al. 1993, etc.): something like ‘grandchildren are supposed to send greetings to grandma on her birthday’;
- b) retrieve the [already known] set of the grandchildren {*Nataša, Oleg, Polina*, etc.}.

In the examples above, the function of particle *-to* is to direct the hearer’s attention that the proposition *Polina called* should be treated as a part of a membership set that would look like M in (8) for (5-7) [‘*Nataša sent a card. Oleg brought a present. And Polina(-TO) called*’]:

- (8) M (=grandchildren greeting grandma on her birthday) for (5-7):
 [‘*Nataša sent a card. Oleg brought a present. And Polina(-TO) called*.’]
 { {*Nataša sent a card*; *Nataša brought a present; Nataša called; ...*}; ...};
 {*Oleg sent a card;* *Oleg brought a present*; *Oleg called; ...*};
 {*Polina sent a card; Polina brought a present;* *Polina called*; ...}

All propositions in (8) are potential partial answers to the implicit “Question Under Discussion” (in Büring’s 2000 terminology) *Which grandchild did what birthday related activity on Grandma’s birthday?* For each subset, at least one answer is true. This true answer is underlined. *Italicized* propositions are the ones that can be either true or false: they serve as a background, or alternatives, for the propositions which are present in the discourse (i.e., the one marked by *-to* and the one(s) that is/are overtly contrasted with it in the discourse). However, it is important that the entire set (i.e., both underlined AND *italicized* propositions) be evoked.

The information structure of the clause marked by *-to* in (5-7) is shown in (9): *Polina* is the *link* (in Vallduví’s terminology; marked as [_{-Rh}]), or *topic* (in Büring’s and

others' terminology), i.e., it constitutes the element which the sentence is about or, in other words, it is like a file card that the rest of information is entered under; and *called* is the *rheme* or *focus* (in different terminologies; marked as [+Rh]), i.e., the new information that is entered on the opened file card:

(9) [-Rh Polina] (-**TO**) [+Rh called].

The contrast on the rheme value results in a set of propositions of the form *Polina did y (on her Grandma's birthday)* being evoked, where *y* is the rheme (see Rooth 1985). The contrast on the link value results in a set of sets of propositions of the form *X did y (on Grandma's b-day)* being evoked, where *X* belongs to a set of the grandchildren and is the link. Thus, particle *-to* can be analyzed as evoking **a set of sets of propositions**.¹⁰

Equivalently, particle *-to* can be viewed as marking **a set of questions** forming a strategy to answer *Which grandchild did what birthday related activity on Grandma's birthday?* A strategy to answer this question is to answer each of the subquestions, i.e., *For each X, what did X do?* (following Hamblin's 1958/1973 proposal, according to which the semantic value of a question is a set of its possible answers; cf. Karttunen 1977).

In other words, to employ a file card metaphor for knowledge about discourse entities: if the discourse situation of who did what on Grandma's birthday is viewed as a

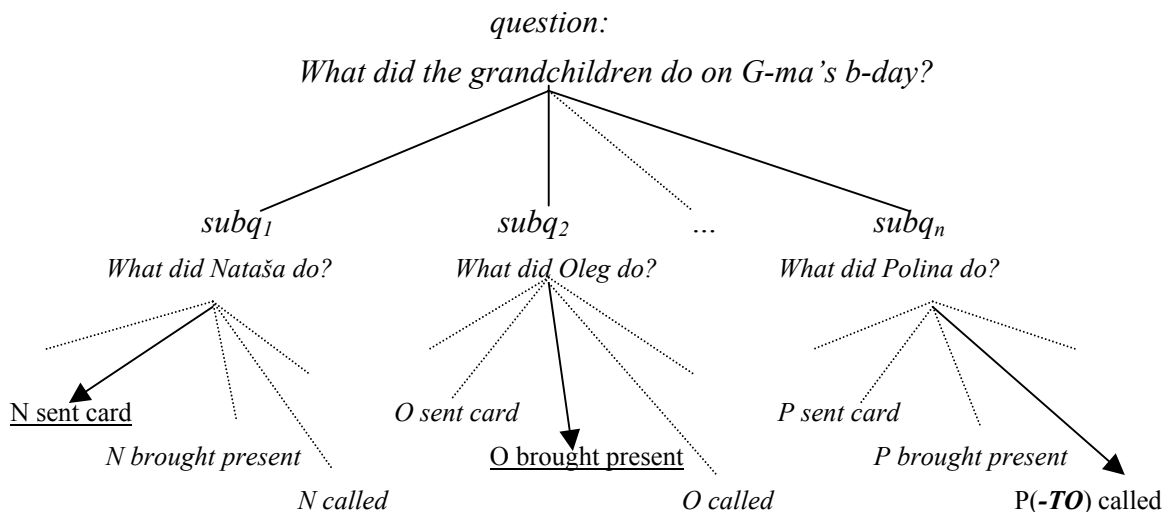
¹⁰ In (5/6) and in the great majority of other examples where *-to* cliticizes to the *link*, particle *-to* can be viewed as an overt lexical marker of the contrastive topic construction (or, in Büring's notation, the element marked by "[_T]"). However, I intentionally refrain from labeling *-to* as a marker of a contrastive topic construction because the primary function of *-to* is to mark contrast: it will be shown in chapter 5 that in some cases, when the condition of evoking a set of set of propositions is satisfied otherwise, *-to* can be an enclitic to an element other than *link*, i.e., to *rheme*.

box of file cards, where each file card corresponds to a member of the set of participants, then sorting/contrasting the file cards is a first/larger step than paying attention to what is entered on each file card. Nevertheless, the presence of particle *-to* indicates that what is actually entered on each file card has been chosen out of its set of alternatives. (The presence of these alternatives is what allows us to make inferences about the file cards that are not chosen.)

The membership set M for (5-8) is graphically represented in (10):

(10) **Diagram representing M for (5-8)**

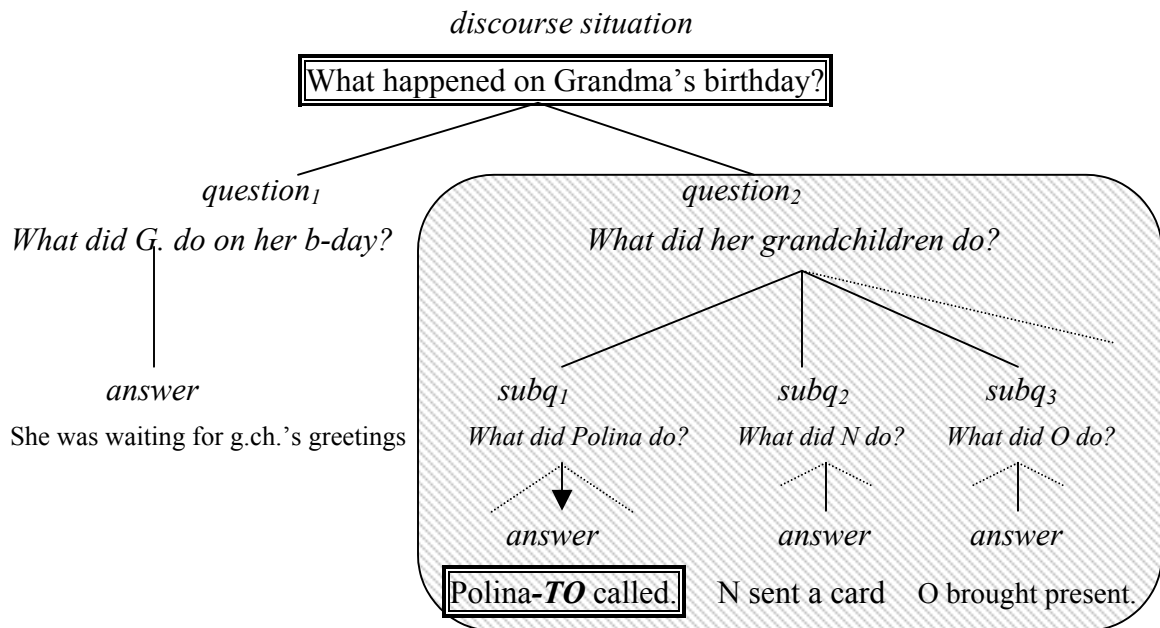
[Nataša sent a card. Oleg brought a present. And Polina(-*TO*) called].



The propositions that are being related to each other (i.e., evoked in the hearer's mind) are of the same type: they are "sisters" in the discourse tree, or they are dominated by the same Question Under Discussion (see Büring (2000 and his other works). A discourse tree for the examples (5-7) is shown in (11), where the shaded area corresponds

to the membership set M (also see (8) and (10) above). The two utterances in boxes are the only ones that have to be given in the discourse: the discourse situation *What happened on Grandma's birthday?* has to be given (cf. the infelicity of (4)) and, obviously, the utterance containing particle *-to* has to be given. Everything else can be either explicitly articulated or implied:

(11) **Discourse tree for (5-7):**



So, by uttering *Polina-TO called*, the set M is evoked (corresponding to the shaded area within the rounded rectangle). In other words, proposition *Polina called* partially answers question₂ and makes salient other sub-questions (the answers to which can be implied or explicitly articulated). Thus, particle *-to* is kontrastive: it indicates that the element marked by it belongs to a set containing some other members.

To summarize the kontrastive properties of particle *-to* that have been discussed so far:

- It marks a set of sets of propositions (alternatively, a set of questions) that differ from each other in the values of the kontrastive *link* and the kontrastive *rheme*;
- It usually¹¹ cliticizes to a kontrastive *link*;
- It marks information known to the hearer but not activated in the hearer's mind.

The four questions that have been raised in the introduction with respect to the set-evoking properties of particle *-to* will be given detailed and formalized answers in chapter 5, while here I provide only brief and informal answers to these questions:

What kind of set is marked by -to?

- A set of sets of related propositions (equivalently, a set of questions) which is generated by introducing alternatives to the kontrastive (element within the) link and the kontrastive (element within the) rheme. In other words, *-to* requires the presence of two kontrastive elements within a clause: one in the link and the other one in the rheme;

What is the cognitive status of referents marked by -to?

- Particle *-to* marks information known to the hearer but not activated in the hearer's mind at the time of the utterance.

How is -to encoded on the clausal level?

- It is an enclitic to an element marked [+kontrast]; usually *-to* cliticizes to the kontrastive element within the link to comply with requirements on the cognitive status of information (see the answer to the previous question: links are usually known to the hearer, while rhemes are new information);

¹¹ Cases when *-to* cliticizes to elements other than links are discussed in detail in chapter 5. Bringing up illustrations and discussing them in detail would be against the purpose of this chapter to provide an outline of how the particles work.

What role does -to play at the discourse level?

- It generates a discourse tree, the branches of which are sub-questions dominated by the same question under discussion. In other words, the presence of *-to* indicates a strategy: the proposition containing *-to* answers the immediately dominating question and provides a partial answer to the super-question.

Also, the list of non-indefinite/non-disjunctive functions of *-to* proposed in the literature will be discussed in detail in chapter 5, where all these functions will be viewed as **consequences of the set-evoking/ kontrastive nature** of *-to*. Here I provide only a brief line of argument and refer to the examples given in this chapter:

- *marker of contrast:*
the function of *-to* as a contrast marker (i.e., marker of binary, or “one-to-one” opposition) is subsumed under the analysis of *-to* as a kontrast marker:
-to is always kontrastive, or set-generating, but not always the set marked by *-to* consists of two and only two elements
(see chapter 2, section 2.2 for discussion of the notions of *kontrast* and *contrast* with respect to the number of elements in the set);
- *marker of emphasis:*
emphasis is possible only with something non-emphasized in the background (see the italicized propositions in (8) and the dotted lines in diagrams in (10-11) which correspond to the background being evoked but not explicitly articulated in discourse); cf. also a quote from Peškovskij (1925: 84) in section 4.1.2 above that “all kinds of emphasis are made visible only in the background of something non-emphasized;”
- *theme/topic marker, or marker of the information known to the hearer:*
this proposed function can be treated as a consequence of the type of information marked by *-to* (known to the hearer but not activated) and the way it is encoded

on the clausal level (*-to* usually cliticizes to the *link*);

(see the top layer of branching lines in (10) and the corresponding part in (11) which refer to the so called “contrasted topics,” or “file cards” being contrasted with the help of particle *-to*);

- *marker of unexpectedness in addressing a topic*:
this is also a consequence of the type of information marked by *-to* (known to the hearer but not activated in the hearer’s mind), see chapter 5 for details;
- *implies plurality*:
the set evoked by *-to* contains other members in addition to the one marked by it (this is reflected in the diagrams in the following way: the proposition marked by *-to* cannot be a single, non-branching, line in the discourse tree);
- *has an evaluative-expressive meaning*:¹²
see the function of *marker of emphasis* above.

So, the set-evoking, or kontrastive, nature of particle *-to* can be thought of as being its core/invariant meaning, with other functions/meanings treated as consequences.

In this section it was briefly demonstrated how particle *-to* can be analyzed as a kontrastive marker: it marks a set of sets of propositions (alternatively, a set of questions) of a similar type and refers to information known to the hearer but not activated in the discourse at the moment. These kontrastive properties of particle *-to* and the pragmatic effects associated with them will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5. In the next section kontrastive properties of particle *že* will be discussed in brief.

¹² I interpret this label proposed for *-to* in Vasilieva (1972) as the consequence of its “emphatic” nature: whatever is emphasized, can potentially be attributed a certain emotional value. For more discussion, see chapter 5.

4.3 Particle *ŽE* as a K-Marker

An illustration of the use of particle *že* in natural speech (from the CHILDES database; MacWhinney 2000) is given in (12). The mother is arguing with Varja who wants to go to bed too early:

(12) [in the morning, Varja wants to go to bed, mother is persuading her against that]

VAR: Baaj-baj, Aja baj-baj xotit.

%eng: Ni-night, Varja wants ni-night.

*MOT: Varen'ka, nu Varen'ka, nu zachem **zhe** tebe baj-baj s utra.

%eng: Varen'ka, so, Varen'ka, so what for have you to have ni-night in the morning.

*VAR: Baju-baj, baju-baj.

*MOT: Ty **zhe** nichego segodnja ne sdelala razumnogo.

%eng: But you haven't yet done anything reasonable today.

THE FIRST SEANCE - APRIL 6 1984

Gloss:

*MOT: Varen'ka, nu Varen'ka, nu zachem **zhe** tebe baj-baj s utra.

Varen'ka, PART Varen'ka, PART what-for *že* to-you night-night from morning.

‘Well, Varen’ka, why in the world (*že*) do you need night-night in the morning?’¹³

*MOT: Ty **zhe** nichego segodnja ne sdelala razumnogo.

You *že* nothing today NEG did/have-done reasonable.

‘(But) you (*že*) haven’t really done anything reasonable today.’¹⁴ Or:

‘You have NOT really done anything reasonable today.’ Or:

‘You haven’t really done anything reasonable today, have you.’¹⁵

¹³ One possible way to render the meaning of wh-questions (and quasi-questions with wh-words) into English is to have the wh-word followed by a phrase like (*who/what/...*) *in the world* or its synonyms in the ‘familiar’ mode of communication like (*who/what/...*) *the hell...*

¹⁴ The meaning of statements containing *že* can be rendered into English with the help of the so-called “contradiction contour” (Lieberman and Sag 1974; also see Pierrehumbert and Hirschberg 1990), which in Pierrehumbert’s (1980) notation “may be analyzed as beginning with a prenuclear L* + H followed by one or more prenuclear L* accents before the nuclear L*” (quoted from Ladd 1996: 296).

However, Parrott (1997: 120) points out with respect to English translations of statements containing *že*, that they “should, in general, be read with an argumentative pitch, one that is high overall and that rises towards the end of the utterance.”

¹⁵ Thanks to Enric Vallduví for bringing my attention to the alternative translations of *že* into English as “verum focus” constructions or tag questions.

In (12), two of the mother's utterances contain particle *že*: both directly oppose and even attack Varja's request to go to bed early in the day. Particle *že* adds argumentative tone to the mother's utterances; the line of her argument can be described along the lines: *Even though you are capable of arriving at the right conclusion, nevertheless, you insist on the wrong conclusion.*

In the discussion below I will briefly demonstrate that the kontrastive properties of particle *že* which are responsible for these pragmatic effects illustrated in (12) are the following:

- *že* marks a set of propositions,¹⁶ which are differentiated by the value of at least one kontrastive element; the elements comprising the kontrast set are mutually exclusive;
- the kontrastive element explicitly marked by *že* is in a set relationship with another element, which is salient in discourse or discourse situation (i.e., the cognitive status of the latter in the hearer's mind is "activated").

In chapter 6, it will be demonstrated that the placement of particle *že* on the clausal level and its role in discourse can be viewed as consequences of these essential properties; they are briefly summarized here as the following:

- *že* is an enclitic to the element marked [+kontrast];¹⁷
- it refers back to a salient element or an unresolved question in the discourse (or discourse situation).

¹⁶ A question of whether *že* marks a set of terms will be elaborated on in chapter 6.

¹⁷ For details see chapter 6.

However, before going into detail, let me briefly summarize properties and functions of particle *že* as discussed in the literature (for a more detailed summary see chapter 6).

4.3.1 Properties and Functions of Particle *ŽE* in Brief

Particle *že*¹⁸ has been described in the literature as truly multifunctional: the diversity of its usage ranges from being a purely “modal/affective” particle to playing only the organizational role in discourse, from being a marker of focus to marking thematic elements, from having scope over a phrase-level category to having clausal scope, etc. Additionally, it can be used in utterances of various pragmatic types and it poses no restrictions on the host with respect to its syntactic category.

Most of the proposals in the literature have aimed at either a complete enumeration of the multitude of its functions (Vasilyeva 1972, Bulatnikova 1973, Padučeva 1988, etc.) or a precise description of a particular function or related functions (Bonnot 1986b, Paillard 1987, Parrott 1990, etc.). Recently, however, there have been several attempts to offer a unified analysis of *že* with respect to at least one aspect, such as its role in discourse or rules of its placement on the clausal level (Bitextin 1994, Parrott 1997, Bonnot and Kodzasov 1998, Feldman, forthcoming).

For example, with respect to its role in discourse, particle *že* has been analyzed as introducing a special inference pattern (Parrott 1997). Alternatively, particle *že* has been

¹⁸ The origin of particle *že* is traceable to Proto-Indo-European *ghe; for details, see chapter 6, section 6.1.

analyzed as referring back to a certain reference point in the activated “domain of reference” (Bonnot and Kodzasov 1998).

With respect to the cognitive status of the information marked by *že*, it is analyzed as marking information known to the hearer (Rathmayr 1985, Bitextin 1994), as instructing the addressee to process the information in a discourse segment vis-à-vis activated or re-activated information, which is expected to be “hearer-old” (Feldman, forthcoming), or as accompanying knowledge that the speaker assumes to be in the addressee’s knowledge set but from which the addressee, in the speaker’s estimation, has not made the appropriate inference (Parrott 1997).

With respect to its position, *že* has been treated as a second position clitic relative to its scope (Feldman, forthcoming). More complex rules of the placement of the so-called “sentential” *že* on the clausal level make reference to the position of *že* relative to the element bearing sentential stress: while *že* can be encliticized to a phonological word preceding the sententially stressed element, the sententially stressed element itself, and utterance-final phonological word, it cannot be encliticized to non-utterance-final material following the sententially stressed element (Parrott 1997).¹⁹

However, none of these proposals attempts to unify the full diversity of its functions, which are summarized below (see more on the functions of *že* in chapter 6; also note that some of these overlap with the functions ascribed to the particle *-to*):

¹⁹ Parrott 1997 is concerned primarily with the placement of the “sentential” *že*, which occurs with Type II intonation (i.e., in sentences with sentential stress) and offers only a brief discussion of the “thematic” *že* (which is limited to sentences with Type I intonation) and “phrasal” *že* (which can occur with either intonation type).

- *thematic/organizational/textual že* (Vasilyeva, Ickler, Bonnot, Padučeva, Bitextin);²⁰
- *affective/modal že* ((Vasilyeva, Ickler, Paillard, Bitextin)
- *marker of contrast/contrastive focus* (Vasilyeva, Bitextin, King);
- *marker of emphasis* (Vasilyeva, Ickler, Bitextin);
- *marker of (re-)activated information* (Bitextin, Parrott, Feldman);
- *marker of a reference point in the activated “domain of reference”* (Bonnot and Kodzasov); etc.

In the following section I will briefly demonstrate that analyzing particle *že* in kontrastive, or set-generating, terms offers certain advantages and constitutes a step towards a unified analysis of this particle (for a more comprehensive treatment of *že* see chapter 6).

4.3.2 Kontrastive Properties of *ŽE*

As it will be argued in chapter 6, particle *že* marks a set of mutually exclusive propositions that differ from each other in the value of at least one term. So, k-marker *že* poses the following restrictions on its kontrast set: a) the presence of at least one element marked [+kontrast]; b) the elements of the set are mutually exclude. These conditions make *že* a good candidate for marking kontrastive rhemes (chapter 6, section 6.3.3 contains a complete inventory of kontrastive rhemes that can be marked by *že*: “contrastive focus” (especially “verum focus”), wh-words, deictics, expressions like *such*, etc.)

²⁰ Since *že* in this function is not limited to colloquial Russian but is used primarily in Standard, or Literary, Russian, I will not discuss this function here; for more details see chapter 6.

As a consequence of the condition of mutual exclusivity posed by *že* on its set, the members are in binary opposition to each other and the membership is usually limited to two members. In other words, the members are charged with opposite values (cf. discussion of binary, or “one-to-one,” contrast in chapter 2, section 2.2).

Example (13) illustrates these points:

(13) [Situation: Grandma (G) complaining to Daughter (D) that everybody forgot her on her birthday:]

G: Menja nikto ne pozdravil v ètot raz.
‘Nobody wished me a happy birthday this time.’

D: Polina **ŽE** pozvonila!/ Polina pozvonila **ŽE** !
Polina ŽE (has)called/ Polina (has)called ŽE
‘(But) Polina CALLED!’

The discourse situation in (13) can be analyzed in the following way: G’s utterance *Nobody wished me a happy birthday this time* entails that none of the members of the set of the grandchildren {Nataša, Oleg, ..., Polina} has performed an action belonging to the set of actions qualified as birthday greetings {sent a card, brought a present, ..., called}. D’s utterance containing particle *že* challenges the truth condition of G’s utterance by asserting that *Polina called*, i.e., since one member of the set of the grandchildren (=Polina) did perform an action that belongs to the set of birthday greeting activities (=call), then the truth value of the whole proposition corresponding to G’s utterance should be changed to the opposite: *It is not true that none of the grandchildren has performed any birthday greeting activity since at least one grandchild did perform one of these activities.*

Note that in (13) *že* can be placed either after the subject or after the verb. This is possible because D's utterance differs from the immediately preceding G's utterance in the values of two terms: *Polina* versus the set of grandchildren and *calling* versus the set of birthday greeting activities. So, (at least) two different contrast sets are generated, but the one that is perceived as primary is being marked by *že*.²¹ Thus, G's response to D's utterance where *že* cliticizes to the noun *Polina* **ŽE** *pozvonila!* (if G chooses to be combative) would have to address the contradiction why Polina does not qualify to be a member of the set of grandchildren and it is more likely to go along the following lines: *Polina* **ŽE** *pravnučka, a ja pro vnukov govorju* 'But Polina (*že*) is a great-grandchild, and I am talking about the grandchildren.' However, G's reply to D's utterance with *že* cliticized to the verb *pozvonila* **ŽE** would have to address the contradiction with respect to why calling is not a member of the set of birthday greeting activities; G might reply something like: *Pozvonit' -TO ona pozvonila, a (vot) pozdravit' (-TO) zabyla!* 'Call she did – but she still forgot to mention my birthday!'

One factor that contributes to the perception of *že* as a “verbal attack on the addressee” is the cognitive status of the information marked by it. The information that the hearer is instructed to correct is located in his/her set of matters of current concern. Moreover, the information that is marked by *že* (i.e., the instructions for correcting) is treated by the speaker as either “hearer-old” (“familiar” in Gundel et al.'s 1993 terminology or “in the hearer's knowledge store” in Yokoyama's terminology) or as if it

²¹ Multiple occurrences of proposition-level *že* are also possible; however, they are considered substandard (for details see Parrott 1997: 166-168). An utterance with multiple *že* for the example in (13) would be the following: *Polina* **Ž** *pozvonila* **ŽE!**

is hearer-old, i.e., the hearer is considered by the speaker as being capable of making this inference him/herself but nevertheless s/he is not making this inference (cf. Parrott 1997, Feldman, forthcoming). So, the information that is marked by *že* is treated by the speaker as information which should be known to the hearer and which the hearer should be concerned with at the moment (i.e., it should be in the hearer's set of matters of current concern) — but the hearer nevertheless is concerned with information that has the opposite value. In the case of (13), D's utterance with *že* can be paraphrased as the following: *You know that Polina called and you should be concerned with this information at this moment, but nevertheless you insist that none of the grandchildren wished you a happy birthday.*

Another factor that contributes to the aggressiveness of *že* is that the utterance containing *že* is aimed at correcting or changing to the opposite some information in the hearer's knowledge store: nobody likes to be told that s/he is wrong!

So, k-marker *že* signals that the kontrastive element marked by it (X') is in a set relationship with another element (X) in the immediately preceding discourse or discourse situation, which is comparable to X' in semantic and pragmatic type and the semantic value of which is mutually exclusive with that of X' , i.e., ($X = \neg X'$), and instructs the hearer to change the value of X so that it matches the one of X' (i.e., to change to the value of X to the opposite). The set marked by *že* is shown in (14):

(14) **The contrast set marked by *že*:**

$M = \{ X, X' \}$, where $X = \neg X'$

Even from the short constructed example in (13) it is evident that the type of sets particle *že* operates on is fundamentally different from the set marked by particle *-to*: particle *že* is a kind of “identity seeking” particle — the membership of the sets constructed with the help of *že* is some kind of a negative-positive switch.

Another important characteristic of *že*, which is also a consequence of the type of information marked by it (activated but not in the center of hearer’s attention) is that particle *že* is used only with the so-called *svoj* (‘familiar’) mode of communication, as opposed to a more formal (or *čužoj* ‘other’s’) mode used with strangers (see Yokoyama 1992 for description of the modes of communication and Parrott 1997 for associating particle *že* with the *svoj* mode). A “verbal attack,” which an utterance with *že* is usually perceived as, is more likely to be used among interlocutors who know each other well than among strangers (otherwise, the speaker will be considered impolite). Also, interlocutors who know each other well are more likely to be able to assess the status of information and deduce the intended inference pattern than people who do not know each other well.

In this section I have attempted to provide brief answers to the questions that were raised in the introduction with respect to the kontrastive properties of particle *že*. In chapter 6 data from naturally occurring discourses will be considered and more detailed answers will be provided. However, for the sake of comparing the kontrastive properties of *že* with those of the other two particles, the following brief answers would be sufficient:

What kind of set is marked by že?

- A set of propositions, which differ from each other in the value of at least one term. The members are mutually exclusive, i.e., no two members of the set can be simultaneously true.

What is the cognitive status of information marked by že?

- Particle *že* marks the membership set, one of the members of which is activated in the hearer's mind at the time of the utterance, while the other member is viewed by the speaker as known (or should have been known) to the hearer who has failed to activate it.

How is že encoded on the clausal level?

- The placement of particle *že* is defined with respect to the element marked [+kontrast]; *že* is usually a marker of rhematic contrasts (for more specific rules, see chapter 6).

What role does že play at the discourse level?

- K-marker *že* refers to a salient element or an unresolved question in the discourse or discourse situation (for details, see chapter 6).

Let us return to the list of functions proposed in the literature for particle *že* and examine the advantages of an analysis in kontrastive terms (these points will be elaborated on in chapter 6):

- *affective/modal že*:
the nature of the set (containing mutually exclusive members) and the cognitive status of the information marked by *že* have repercussions in the domain of feelings (see the discussion above and in chapter 6 with respect to the label of *že* as a “verbal attack on the hearer”);

- *marker of contrast/contrastive focus:*
že marks elements whose status is [+kontrast; +rheme] (“contrastive foci” or “kontrastive rhemes”);
- *marker of emphasis:*
 same as for particle *–to*;
- *marker of (re-)activated information:*
 in my analysis, this constitutes a separate criterion for the classification of particles; i.e., one of the major characteristics differentiating *že* from the other two particles; see the more precise definition above;
- *marker of a reference point in the activated “domain of reference:”*
 this function is only touched upon in this chapter; it will be addressed in chapter 6.

In the following section, I will discuss kontrastive properties of particle *ved’*, which is considered nearly synonymous with the modal *že*; nevertheless, these particles differ in important respects.

4.4 Particle VED’ as a K-Marker

While utterances with particle *že* (in its “modal/affective” usage) are perceived as a verbal attack on the addressee, the perception of those containing particle *ved’* is more of a “gentle reminder.” Consider example (15), which is adapted (with changes in punctuation, etc.) from Zemskaja and Kapanadze (1978: 52-53). The discourse situation is centered on two old friends, former ballet dancers, talking about the period of their youth when both worked at a music hall:

(15) [Zemskaja and Kapanadze (1978: 52-53): memoirs of the theater]

A: Kogda my s toboj govorili o mjuzik-holle, my govorili: ax kakie byli aktery!
 ‘When you and I talked about the music hall, we were saying “Oh what actors were there!”’

My s toboj **VED’** ne skazali, čto tam byl Čirkov, tam byl Čerkasov!...
We with you VED’ NEG said that there was Čirkov, there was Čerkasov
 ‘You know, we did not say that there was Čirkov there, there was Čerkasov there!..’

B: [overlapping with the end of the preceding utterance]
 Da gospodi! Čerka-a-sov, Čirko-o-v...
 ‘Oh my god! Čerka-a-sov, Čirko-o-v...’

The function of particle *ved’* in (15) is to remind the hearer about an important fact, which is known to both the speaker and the hearer, but which is not activated in the discourse at the moment: talking about what great actors were in the theater at the time when both of the interlocutors worked there, they had forgotten to mention two most famous actors.

In the discussion below I will briefly demonstrate that the pragmatic effects illustrated in (15) for particle *ved’* can be viewed as consequences of the following kontrastive properties:

- *ved’* marks a set of propositions which differ from each other by the value of at least one term; the proposition containing *ved’* has the illocutionary force of an assertion;
- the cognitive status of the information marked by *ved’* is known to the hearer but not necessarily activated in the discourse at the moment.

In chapter 7, these essential properties will be tied to the rules of placement of *ved'* on the clausal level and its role in the organization of discourse, which can be briefly summarized here as the following:

- *ved'* is either a proclitic or an enclitic to the element marked [+kontrast];
- at the discourse level, *ved'* generates a set by building a super-question above the members of the set.

4.4.1 Properties and Functions of Particle *VED'* in Brief

Particle *ved'* is historically related to the verb *vedat'* 'to know'. It was probably used as a parenthetical before it was fully grammaticalized into a particle. Its word order properties, more flexible than those of *že* or *-to*, have been attributed to its verbal origin.

Another property of *ved'* that has been traced to its etymology is that *ved'* is rather restricted with respect to modality: it is possible only with affirmative statements (including statements of possibilities or probabilities); questions containing this particle lack the illocutionary force of questions and are usually perceived as rhetorical questions (Bitextin 1994). The use of this particle not only activates the background knowledge that the speaker assumes the interlocutor shares, but also implies the indisputability of this knowledge (Vasilyeva 1972, Grenoble 1998).

Utterances with particle *ved'* are perceived as a polite reminder, not as a verbal attack, as in the case with *že* (Parrott 1997). This difference in positive/negative connotations is grounded in the status of information marked by the two particles: while

ved' refers to information known to the hearer but not necessarily activated in the discourse yet and, therefore, reminds the hearer to retrieve an important piece of information and perform the necessary reasoning, particle *že* refers to information which is or should already have been activated in discourse and which the hearer — according to the speaker's assessment — ignores and thus fails in reaching the conclusion preferred by the speaker.

The interpretative meaning of particle *ved'* can be paraphrased as *I know that you know about this though you are not thinking about this now, nevertheless this information is really relevant now.*

In brief, the following functions of particle *ved'* have been discussed in the literature:

- *marker of emphasis* (Vasilyeva, Bitextin);
- *marker of the information known to the hearer* (Bitextin, Parrott);
- *ved' as a (polite) reminder* (Vasilyeva, Nikolaeva, Paillard, Parrott);
- *ved' as an assertion marker* (Vasilyeva, Nikolaeva, Paillard, Bitextin, Parrott);
- *marker of contrast* (Bitextin);
- *marker of unexpectedness in addressing a topic* (Bonnot, Bitextin), etc.

It has been briefly shown above how analyzing particles *–to* and *že* as kontrastive markers can offer certain advantages and can be viewed as a step towards a unifying analysis of these two particles. In the following section, I will briefly demonstrate that the same holds for the analysis of *ved'* as a k-marker.

4.4.2 Kontrastive Properties of *VED'*

K-marker *ved'* shares with *-to* the property of marking information that is known both to the speaker and the hearer but not necessarily activated in the discourse. In Gundel et al.'s (1993) classification the corresponding status would be *familiar* but not *activated*; in Yokoyama's (1986) model the information marked by *ved'* is located at the intersection of the speaker's set of matters of current concern (C_a) with the hearer's knowledge set (B) but not the hearer's set of matters of current concern (C_b), i.e., $C_a \cap (B - C_b)$.

Let me illustrate kontrastive properties of particle *ved'* with an example based on a discourse situation similar to the ones that illustrate the uses of *-to* and *že*, i.e.,

Grandma's birthday:

(16) [Situation: Grandma (G) complaining to Daughter (D) that everybody forgot her on her birthday:]

G: Ko mne nikto v ètot raz ne priexal.
'Nobody came to see me this time.'

D: Polina **VED'** pozvonila, èto priedet.
Polina VED' called that will-come
'(But) you know, Polina called that she would come.'

Similarly to *že*, particle *ved'* marks a kontrast set that consists of propositions, which differ from each other in the value of at least one term. However, with *ved'*, the relationship of the members to each other within the set does not necessarily involve mutual exclusivity, which is characteristic of *že*. Thus, the kontrasted utterances in (16), as in the case with *že* in (13), differ from each other in the value of two terms. However,

while *že* marks a set built around the idea of negation (“true” – “not true”), the relationship of the members in the set marked by *ved’* is of a more complex nature: in (16), speaker D does not directly challenge the truth value of G’s utterance *Nobody came* but rather brings additional information to the hearer’s attention (which the hearer is assumed to know, but for some reason s/he has overlooked it at the moment), or offers a promissory note in the form of a reminder: *Polina called that she would come* that might be valuable for the hearer to re-consider her position. G’s possible response to D’s utterance in (16) would something like: *Oj, da, ja sovsem zabyla* ‘Oh, yes, I completely forgot about it’ (accepting this promissory reminder) or *Pozvonit’-TO ona pozvonila, a vot priedet li — èto ešče ne izvestno* ‘Sure she called, but will she come though?’ (questioning the promissory part of it), etc.

I propose that the connotations of these particles, such as a “polite reminder” for *ved’* and a “verbal attack” for *že*, are accounted for by the difference in the type of information they mark (activated in the discourse for *že* versus not necessarily activated but known to the hearer for *ved’*) and in the type of membership sets involved (binary or mutually exclusive for *že*, not necessarily binary for *ved’*) (cf. Parrott 1997).

To briefly answer the questions that have been raised in the introduction with respect to the set-evoking properties of particle *ved’* (for a more comprehensive treatment see chapter 7):

What kind of set is marked by ved'?

- A set of propositions, which differ from each other in the value of at least one term.

What is the cognitive status of referents marked by ved'?

- Particle *ved'* marks information known to the hearer but not activated in the hearer's mind at the time of the utterance.

In chapter 7 it will also be shown that these essential properties of *ved'* affect the rules of its placement on the clausal level and determine its role in the organization of discourse in the following way:

How is ved' encoded on the clausal level?

- It can be either a proclitic or an enclitic to the kontrastive element or mark either the left or the right clause periphery.

What role does ved' play at the discourse level?

- It relates members of the set to each other by building a super-question above them.

With respect to the functions proposed in the literature for *ved'*, the outline of re-analyzing them as consequences of the kontrastive properties of *ved'*, which will be given in chapter 7, is the following (note the overlap with the functions ascribed to either particles *-to* or *že*):

- *marker of emphasis:*
same as for particle *-to*;
- *marker of the information known to the hearer:*
same as for *-to*;

- *ved'* as a (polite) reminder:
this function can be viewed as a consequence of the type of information marked by *ved'*, i.e., (assumed by the speaker to be) known to the hearer but not activated at the moment. Particle *ved'* instructs the hearer to pull some propositional knowledge from the hearer's knowledge store and consider it as relevant at the moment — and this operation is perceived as a (polite) reminder;
- *ved'* as an assertion marker:
this function is considered a consequence of the types of sets k-marker *ved'* instructs the hearer to evoke, i.e. the membership of sets evoked by *ved'* is limited to propositions with the assertion operator;
- *marker of contrast*:
same as for *-to*;
- *marker of unexpectedness in addressing a topic*:
since *ved'*, like *-to*, marks information not currently activated, it is capable of this function.

The reader might have noticed that the three particles under consideration, i.e., particles *-to*, *že*, and *ved'*, are similar in some respects and different in others. In the final section of this chapter the kontrastive properties of these particles are compared to each other. In the next section, their essential property of marking a membership set is put to a test.

4.5 Pronoun Doubling as a Test for Kontrast

Colloquial Russian has a construction known as “double subjects” where a subject is followed by a pronoun without an intervening pause. My recent research on this

phenomenon, which I prefer to call “pronoun doubling”²² since it is not limited to subjects, shows that it is generated only in sentences which contain a kontrastive element, or else have a complex event structure with some kind of event multiplicity (McCoy 2000(b), forthcoming(a), forthcoming(b)). A simple sentence containing the so-called “stage-level predicate” (see Chierchia 1995, Diesing 1992, Kratzer 1989/1995 for the terminology), as shown in (17), is not grammatical with pronoun doubling since it does not contain a kontrastive element and the event structure of a sentence with a “bare” stage-level predicate is simple, not complex:

- (17) *Polina **ona** včera pozvonila. (“bare” stage-level predicate:
Polina she yesterday called *if without a pause)
 ‘As for Polina, she called yesterday.’

The following factors, which create various types of complex event structures, have been found to facilitate pronoun doubling: sentences with individual-level predicates, sentences with stage-level predicates which also contain frequency adverbs, sentences containing universal or strong quantification; examples of such are provided in (18-20) below.²³

- (18) Polina **ona** ljubiti zvonit’. (individual-level predicate)
Polina she loves to-call
 ‘As for Polina, she loves to call.’

²² This phenomenon has certain common properties with “clitic left dislocation” described by Cinque (1990) for Italian; also see Aoun and Benmamoun (1998) for Arabic. For treatment of similar phenomena in other languages see Leafgren (1992) for Bulgarian, Auger (1994) for Quebec Colloquial French, Degraff (1992) for Haitian, Carnie (1995) and Doherty (1992) for Irish, etc.

²³ Sentences in (18-20) are to be pronounced with Type I “flat” intonation (thanks to Catherine V. Chvany for drawing my attention to this fact).

- (19) Polina **ona** *obyčno* zvonila (poka ne pereexala.) (stage-level predicate+
Polina she usually called (until moved) frequency adverb)
 ‘As for Polina, she *usually* called (until she moved).’
- (20) Polina **ona** včera ves’ den’/vsem zvonila. (universal quantifier)
Polina she yesterday all day/to all called
 ‘As for Polina, yesterday she called *all day/everybody*.’

Importantly, kontrastive elements, such as contrastive foci, wh-questions, and certain scalar expressions (like superlatives, etc.) have been found to be a factor facilitating pronoun doubling as well:²⁴ the kontrastive element in such sentences generates a set of alternatives and this evoked set contributes is sufficient to allow for pronoun doubling; some examples are shown in (21-23):²⁵

- (21) Polina **ona** včera POZVONILA. (kontrast: rheme)
Polina she yesterday CALLED
 ‘As for Polina, yesterday she CALLED.’
- (22) Polina **ona** KOGDA pozvonila? (kontrast: wh-word)
Polina she WHEN called
 ‘As for Polina, WHEN did she call?’
- (23) Polina **ona** včera SAMAJA PERVAJA pozvonila. (kontrast:
Polina she yesterday THE-MOST FIRST called) end of scale operator)
 ‘As for Polina, she was the VERY FIRST one to call yesterday.’

²⁴There is a question of whether “contrastive topics” should be treated on a par with other kontrastive elements as facilitators of pronoun doubling or whether the doubled argument itself is always a part of the this construction (i.e., the kontrastive link). A comment from an anonymous reviewer for the Journal of Slavic Linguistics has recently made me change my analysis from the former to the latter. The details, however, are yet to be worked out.

²⁵ Sentences with pronoun doubling as in (21-23) are pronounced with Type II intonation, with the sentential stress on the kontrastive elements (indicated by caps).

Pronoun doubling has also been found possible in sentences containing such set-generating or set-dependent semantic operators as *even* and *only*; this is illustrated by the example in (24):

- (24) Polina **ona** *daže/tol'ko* včera pozvonila. (kontrast+*even/only*)
Polina she even/only yesterday called
 'As for Polina, she called even/only yesterday.'

Even though some questions require further research, it is clear that kontrast definitely facilitates pronoun doubling. Here I would like to take a look at the phenomena of kontrast and pronoun doubling from a different perspective: I will use pronoun doubling as an informal test for kontrast (while controlling for other quantificational phenomena that have been found to be facilitators of pronoun doubling) in order to provide additional linguistic evidence that the particles *-to*, *že*, and *ved'*, which have been analyzed in the previous chapters as k-markers, are indeed kontrastive (or crucially dependent on the existence of the membership set, as are semantic operators like *only*). Below I will discuss each of these k-markers with respect to pronoun doubling.

4.5.1 K-Marker *-TO* and Pronoun Doubling

As expected, adding the k-marker *-to* to the otherwise ungrammatical sentence with pronoun doubling like (17) turns such a sentence into a fully acceptable, as shown in (25):

- (25) Polina-**TO** **ona** včera pozvonila.
Polina-TO she yesterday called
 ‘As for Polina in particular, she called yesterday.’

This confirms the analysis of particle *-to* as a kontrastive marker: the availability of alternatives to the proposition *Polina called yesterday* that needed for the pronoun doubling construction to be grammatical in the case of a sentence containing particle *-to*, like in (25), comes from the set of sets of propositions that is referred to by *-to*. Actually, the fact that *-to* and pronoun doubling do co-occur in the same clause can be easily proved by examples taken from naturally occurring discourses of colloquial Russian, as shown in (26-27):

- (26) [from Zemskaja & Kapanadze (1987: 147): a telephone conversation between two friends and colleagues about their mutual friend who has just died; the conversation revolves around the theme that “nothing could be done;” however, one of the speakers comments that another friend of theirs, Vit’ka, is different]

Vit’ka-**TO** **on** vse vremja tam.
Vit’ka-TO he all time there
 ‘As for Vit’ka in particular, he is there all the time.’
 [compared to others, who are not].

- (27) [from I. Grekova (1985: 385): Kapa is telling a story to prove her point that there is God: she was too stingy to spare a ruble for a candle at the church and, as a result, her lamp (at home) fell and broke]

A abažur-**TO**, **on** ne rubl’ — on celyx dva pjat’desjat stoit.
And lampshade-TO it not ruble it whole two fifty costs
 ‘And as for the lampshade in particular, it does not cost a ruble — it costs the whole two fifty.’

Some comments are in order. First, though the orthography separates the pronoun from the noun with *-to*, this comma does not necessarily correspond to a pause.²⁶ The second issue is that in examples of pronoun doubling taken from naturally occurring speech, a number of factors contributing to the grammaticality of this construction are usually combined. Thus, in (26), there are at least two factors present, either of which would suffice to make the pronoun doubling grammatical: the k-marker *-to* and the universally quantified phrase *vse vremena* ‘all the time’. Similarly, in (27), in addition to the presence of *-to*, there are several factors that might contribute to the grammaticality of pronoun doubling: one is a contrastive (possibly “kontrastive”²⁷) discourse marker *a* ‘and/but’; another one is the quantificational adjective *celyj* ‘whole’ which can also be analyzed as *kontrastive*, etc.

Thus, it is important to supplement examples from naturally occurring discourses (like those in (26-27)) with constructed examples like in (25) in order to prove that the presence of *-to* is an independent factor affecting the grammaticality of pronoun doubling.

Even though the discourse properties of the pronoun doubling construction have not been studied so far, preliminary observations indicate that this construction has a lot in common with the meaning of the k-marker *-to*: both occur with thematic elements (links). In my attempt to adequately render the meaning of the examples in (25-27) into

²⁶ A computerized analysis of prosodic properties, including the presence/absence of a pause before the pronoun is needed; it has been suggested in some sources (Alter and Junghanns 1997, Zibatow and Junghanns 1998) that in the pronoun doubling construction (without particle *-to*) there is a slight pause separating the pronoun from the noun; however, the duration of the pause is significantly less than in constructions with the so-called “clause-external topics” (King 1993).

²⁷ See more on the possibility of applying the methodology developed here for particles to (contrastive) discourse markers and other expressions in chapter 8.

English, I have included both the “as for” construction (closer to the meaning of the pronoun doubling but also applicable to the meaning brought in by *-to*) and the phrase “in particular/especially” (which better renders the meaning of *-to* but is also adequate for translating the pronoun doubling construction). However, there are important differences between the two, which can be pointed out even at this stage: pronoun doubling occurs only with nouns, while *-to* can cliticize to nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, pronouns, numerals, etc. A possible explanation of this difference is that while pronoun doubling evokes a set of nominal referents, for *-to* the evoked set consists of a set of propositions. However, more research is needed to confirm this prediction and to explain other properties of such a combination, for example, the order of the elements within it.

4.5.2 K-Marker *ŽE* and Pronoun Doubling

Even though I have not come across any cases of *že* or *ved'* occurring naturally with pronoun doubling, this combination is not impossible, since the constructed examples (see below) are acceptable to native speakers.

Thus, with respect to *že* and pronoun doubling co-occurring in the same clause, the preferred position for *že* is an enclitic to a kontrastive element other than the one that hosts the pronoun. In other words, since the pronoun cliticizes to a kontrastive link, the preferred position of the k-marker *že* is a clitic to a kontrastive element within the rheme. Examples of the preferred position of *že* in sentences with pronoun doubling are given in (28-29):

- (28) Polina **ona** VČERA *že* pozvonila.
Polina she yesterday že called
 ‘But as for Polina, she called YESTERDAY.’
- (29) Polina **ona** včera POZVONILA *že*.
Polina she yesterday called že
 ‘But as for Polina, yesterday she CALLED.’

Sentences, such as (30-31), where *že* cliticizes to the same element that hosts the pronoun are less felicitous, with the one where *že* precedes the pronoun (as in (30)) being slightly less acceptable than the one where *že* follows the pronoun (as in (31)):

- (30) ??Polina *že* **ona** včera pozvonila.
Polina že she yesterday called
 ‘But as for Polina, she called yesterday.’
- (31) ?/??Polina **ona že** včera pozvonila.

The combinatorial properties of k-marker *že* and pronoun doubling have to be studied in more detail. For our purposes it suffices that, as examples (28-29) demonstrate, particle *že*, being a marker of contrast, facilitates pronoun doubling.

4.5.3 K-Marker *VED'* and Pronoun Doubling

Similarly to the other two k-markers, sentences containing particle *ved'* allow for pronoun doubling, as demonstrated by examples in (33-36). Note that the sentence with pronoun doubling and *ved'* is not acceptable without a pause when *ved'* intervenes between the noun and the pronoun, compared to *že*, which is marginally acceptable (cf. examples (32) for *ved'* and (30) for *že*). The acceptability of sentences with pronoun

doubling containing *ved'* gradually increases with *ved'* being placed closer to the end of the clause (see examples (33-36)); note the availability of more options for the placement of *ved'* as compared to *že* or *-to*, since *ved'* can be either a proclitic or enclitic)

- (32) *Polina **ved' ona** včera pozvonila [*without a pause, fine with a pause]
Polina ved' she yesterday called
 'You know, as for Polina, she called yesterday.'
- (33) ??**Ved'** Polina **ona** včera pozvonila [scope: full clause; proclitic]
- (34) ?Polina **ona ved'** včera pozvonila [scope: VP; proclitic]
- (35) ?Polina **ona** včera **ved'** pozvonila [scope: V; proclitic OR scope: ADV; enclitic]
- (36) Polina **ona** včera pozvonila **ved'** [scope: V/VP/clause; enclitic]

A more detailed study is needed in order to comprehensively describe the properties of combinations of pronoun doubling with particles *-to*, *že*, and *ved'* and to identify all the factors contributing to the degree of (un)acceptability for each particular combination.

To conclude this section: since the phenomenon of pronoun doubling has been found sensitive to the availability of alternatives and *kontrast* has been identified as being one of the factors facilitating this phenomenon, I have used pronoun doubling as an informal test for *kontrastiveness* to bring additional linguistic evidence in support of the claim defended in this dissertation, i.e., that particles *-to*, *že*, and *ved'* are indeed markers of *kontrast*. It has been shown that even though their mechanisms of generating a set of alternatives differ from each other, each of these k-markers can be combined with pronoun doubling.

However, it seems that the prosodic marking of *kontrast* (indicated by caps on the full word in some of the examples above) is primary and the insertion of *kontrastive* particles is secondary since these sentences would be acceptable without the particle but with the sentential stress on [+*kontrast*] elements (see examples of pronoun doubling in sentences containing *kontrastive* elements which are marked prosodically in (21-23)). Thus, at least with respect to pronoun doubling, particles *-to*, *že*, and *ved'* seem to be crucially dependent on the existence of a membership set (similarly to operators like *only*) but it remains to be answered whether these particles are capable of generating the membership set themselves, without relying on other linguistic resources, such as prosody and word order. For now, particles *-to*, *že*, and *ved'* can be safely labeled as lexemes that mark *kontrast*.

The observations contained in this section are preliminary; the phenomenon of pronoun doubling, its discourse properties, and its relation to *kontrast* have to be studied in more detail. An especially interesting avenue would be to do a crosslinguistic study of languages allowing pronoun doubling in colloquial speech (colloquial French, Haitian, Irish, Romanian, Catalan, etc.)²⁸ and analyze this phenomenon with respect to linguistic resources of marking *kontrast* available in these languages.

4.6 Summary of Chapter 4

Kontrast appears to be a productive notion for analyzing particles *-to*, *že*, and *ved'* that have been traditionally described as “emphatic,” “contrastive,” etc. I have proposed to

²⁸ For references see footnote 22 at the beginning of section 4.5.

label such expressions as particles *–to*, *že*, and *ved'* ***kontrastive markers***, or ***k-markers*** for short. I have also proposed that these k-markers can be distinguished with respect to (at least) the following essential properties:

- Types of sets that they mark: a set of propositions or a set of sets of propositions, etc.;
- Cognitive statuses of the information marked: *in-focus/activated/familiar/* etc. (Gundel et al. 1993) or located in different subsets of the hearer's knowledge set (Yokoyama 1986);

These two essential properties of k-markers determine:

- Placement of k-markers on the clausal level according to the theory of information packaging;
- Their role on the discourse level: patterns of implicatures and inferences they give rise to.

The properties of kontrastive particles *–to*, *že*, and *ved'* are summarized in Table 4.2. The three k-markers are compared to each other with respect to their scope, position in the clause, the cognitive status of referents marked by these particles or, alternatively, the location of the information marked by them in the knowledge store, the implication or inference pattern they bring into the discourse, and the mode of communication within colloquial Russian. The kontrastive properties of these particles and the criteria used for their classification will be elaborated on in chapters 5-7 which are devoted to a detailed analysis of each of these particles.

Table 4.2 Comparing Kontrastive Markers –*TO*, *ŽE*, and *VED'*

	<i>-TO</i>	<i>ŽE</i>	<i>VED'</i>
Type of set marked	A set of sets of propositions (or a set of questions); requires two [+k] elements: one within link and the other within rheme; no restrictions on the proposition type	A set of propositions which differ in the value of at least one [+k] element; set contains mutually exclusive members	A set of propositions which differ in the value of at least one [+k] element; only propositions with illocutionary force of assertions
Cognitive status of referents (Gundel et al. 1993)	<i>Familiar</i> to the hearer but <i>not activated</i> in his/her mind	One member: <i>in focus</i> or <i>activated</i> ; the other member: (treated as) <i>familiar</i> and <i>activated</i>	Same as for <i>-to</i>
Location in the knowledge store (Yokoyama 1986)	in $C_a \cap (B - C_b)$, or in the intersection of the speaker's set of matters of current concern and the hearer's general knowledge store but not in his/her set of matters of current concern	(partially) in $C_a \cap C_b$, or in the intersection of the speaker's set of matters of current concern and the hearer's (periphery of the) set of matters of current concern	Same as for <i>-to</i>
Position in a clause (Vallduví 1992)	Enclitic to [+k] element, usually <i>link</i> ; can cliticize to <i>rheme</i> when the conditions of evoking a set of sets of propositions is satisfied otherwise	Enclitic to [+k] element; phrasal <i>ŽE</i> : a 2nd position clitic within [+k] phrase; clausal <i>ŽE</i> : enclitic to [+k/+rh] or left/right clause periphery	Proclitic or enclitic to [+k] element: kontrastive <i>rheme</i> or left/right clause periphery
Role in Discourse (Büiring 2000)	Generates a set of sub-questions: sisters dominated by the same QUD; partially answers QUD and makes salient the other sub-questions.	Refers back to salient element or some unresolved question in the previous discourse	Generates a set by building a super-question above the members of the set
Communication mode (Yokoyama92)	No restriction; but more used in <i>svoj</i> 'close/familiar' mode	Only <i>svoj</i> 'close/familiar' mode	No restriction