

Chapter 5

Particle *-TO* as a K-Marker

5.0 Overview

This chapter deals with particle *-to* as a kontrastive marker. To remind the reader of what meanings of this particle will be dealt with in this chapter, I include the following example from CHILDES (MacWhinney 2000):

- (1) [Varja does not want to reveal her “secret” to mother and gets excited – starts jumping]

*MOT: Chto ty derzhish' v sekrete?
*VAR: Vot èto slovo.
*MOT: Kakoe?
*VAR: Pro cvetochki, pro serdechki.
*MOT: Nu skazhi, kakoe slovo-*TO*¹ ty derzhish' v sekrete.
*VAR: Ja uzhe skazala.
*MOT: Nu ne ponjatno.
*VAR: Net.
*VAR: A mne ponjatno.
*VAR: A mne ponjatno.
*VAR: Ne rasskazhu, ne rasskazhu.
*MOT: A prygat'-*TO* chego, chego prygat'-*TO*.
*VAR: Kak prygat'.
*MOT: Ty chego-*to* prygaesh' u nas.
*VAR: Ja vot topaju nogami.
*VAR: Da, topat' ty gorazda.
THE SEVENTH SEANCE - AUGUST THE 15, 1985

*MOT: What do you keep as a secret?
*VAR: This word.
*MOT: Which one?
*VAR: About flowers, about hearts.
*MOT: Well, tell me, which word(-*TO*) in particular you keep as a secret.
*VAR: I already told you.
*MOT: Well, it's not clear.
*VAR: No.
But it's clear to me.
But it's clear to me.
I won't tell, won't tell.
*MOT: And as for jumping(-*TO*), any reason for it, any reason for jumping.

¹ In the original *slovo-ti*: *-ti* instead of *-to*, which is either a misprint or a slip of the tongue.

*VAR: How – jumping.

*MOT: You are **for some reason** jumping here.

*VAR: I am now stomping my feet.

*MOT: Yes, as for stomping, you do it well.

Glosses:

*MOT: Nu skazhi, kakoe slovo-**TO**² ty derzhish' v sekrete.

Well tell which word-TO you are-keeping in secret.

‘Well, tell me, which word(-TO) in particular you keep as a secret.’

*MOT: A prygat'-**TO** chego, chego prygat'-**TO**.

And to-jump-TO what-for what-for to-jump-TO

‘And as for jumping(-TO), any reason for it, any reason for jumping.’

*MOT: Ty chego-**to** prygaesh'u nas.

You what-for-to (=for some reason) are-jumping at us

‘You are **for some reason** jumping here.’

In this chapter I will concentrate on the so-called “non-indefinite” *-to*, which is graphically indicated in examples by italicized caps (*-TO*), and will ignore the so-called “indefinite” *-to*,³ which is an enclitic to wh-words and shown in italics (*-to*).⁴ The non-indefinite *-to* can cliticize to any syntactic category. In English, it will be rendered primarily either with the help of parentheticals like *in particular* or *especially* (see the first utterance in the glosses) or by the ‘*as for...*’ construction (see the second utterance in the glosses).

With respect to this non-indefinite meaning of *-to*, the following questions, which were briefly touched upon in Chapter 4, will be discussed in detail in this chapter:

What kind of set is marked by -to?

² See the previous footnote.

³ While the “non-indefinite” *-to* is used only in colloquial Russian, the “indefinite” *-to* is also used in other varieties of Russian.

⁴ These two rather different meanings of *-to* — “non-indefinite” and “indefinite” — are likely to be connected at some deep level, as the example in (1) suggests, where the last two utterances, one containing the non-indefinite *-to* (cliticized to the infinitive) and the other one containing indefinite *-to* (cliticized to a wh-word), largely overlap lexically. However, a detailed account of the relationship between these two meanings of *-to* will have to await future research.

- 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);

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.

While the first two questions (i.e., the type of set and the cognitive status of information marked by this particle) address essential properties of *-to* as a kontrastive marker, the last two questions (its position on the clausal level and its role in discourse) can be viewed as consequences of the first two.

The data used in this section are taken primarily from works of Russian literature where the authors, V. Šukšin and I. Grekova, have captured the colloquial nature of dialogs. Additional sources include excerpts from published texts of colloquial Russian

(Zemskaja and Kapanadze 1978), excerpts from Protassova's Russian files of CHILDES (MacWhinney 2000), and some constructed examples.

This chapter is structured the following way: section 5.1 provides information on the etymology of particle *-to*. Its functions are discussed in section 5.2: first, indefinite vs. non-indefinite meanings of *-to* are touched upon and the object of study is defined as limited to the non-indefinite *-to*; then the literature review on various non-indefinite meanings of *-to* is provided. Section 5.3 discusses the following kontrastive, or set-evoking properties of *-to* in detail: the type of a set evoked by *-to* (section 5.3.1), the cognitive status of referents marked by it (section 5.3.2). Consequences of these essential properties of *-to*, such as the placement of *-to* at the level of a clause according to the rules of information packaging and its role at the discourse level are discussed in sections 5.4.1 and 5.4.2 respectively. Next, section 5.5 provides illustrations of how *-to* functions as a kontrastive marker: in subsection 5.5.1 its role in the organization of Šukšin's short story *Zabuksoval* 'Stuck' is discussed. The remainder of section 5.5 deals with the use of k-marker *-to* in special constructions which have *-to* as a major component. Section 5.6 provides the summary of my analysis of *-to* as a k-marker and demonstrates how the various functions of *-to* discussed in the literature can be accounted for by its kontrastive nature.

5.1 Etymology

Particle *-to* is an enclitic whose origin can be traced to demonstrative pronoun *tot* ‘this’ in its neuter/singular form *to*. It is etymologically related to the Bulgarian definite article, which is also an enclitic.

5.2 Functions

Particle *-to* is multifunctional. As briefly mentioned in the previous chapter and the introduction to this chapter, 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. An illustration of *-to* in its “indefinite” meaning is given in (2):

- (2) Ja kuda-**to** položila ključi, ne mogu najti.
I somewhere put keys cannot find
 ‘I put my keys somewhere, can’t find them.’

To is also used in disjunctions: e.g., *to zdes’ to tam* ‘now here, now there’. It is also a major component special constructions of colloquial Russian, such as *to-to i ono* ‘that is it’ and some others (see illustrations in sections 5.5.3-5.5.5).

However, there is a different type of usage of particle *-to*: this usage has been referred to in the literature as “emphatic,” “contrastive,” etc. function(s) of *-to* and has been recently labeled to as the “non-indefinite” meaning of *-to* (which also implies “non-disjunctive,” etc.). In this chapter I will be primarily concerned with this “non-indefinite” meaning of *-to* (I will also briefly touch on its other meanings, where appropriate). An

example of such “non-indefinite” (or “emphatic,” “contrastive,” etc.) meaning of *-to* is given in (3):

- (3) Dunja-**TO** zaboLeLa.⁵
Dunja-TO got-sick
 ‘As for Dunja, she got sick.’⁶

In (3), Dunja’s having gotten sick is (explicitly or implicitly) contrasted with other relevant states or actions that she would be capable of if she were not sick (for example, being able to work or having a day off, etc.) At the discourse level, this proposition is also (explicitly or implicitly) contrasted with other propositions (for example, how the state of Dunja’s having gotten sick affected the other relevant people and their states or actions). Particle *-to* in these sentence forces the hearer to interpret the proposition [[Dunja got sick]] as being part of a complex set of alternatives that are present in the context either explicitly or in the form of implications.

Here I will ignore the indefinite meaning of this particle, as in (2). Instead I will concentrate on the “non-indefinite” *-to* and its other functions, which have been traditionally described as emphasis, contrast, etc., as briefly illustrated in (3) and will label this function of *-to* as set-evoking, or kontrastive.

⁵ Throughout the chapter, in examples, I will use bold face and italics for indefinite *-to* (**-to**) and bold face, italics, and caps for non-indefinite *-to* (**-TO**)

⁶ A possible context for the example in (3) could be the following: a wife tells her husband when she finds out that the house-helper Dunja’s has gotten sick:

- (i) Segodnja JA uberus’ doma. DUnja-**TO** zaboLELa.
 ‘Today *I* will clean the house. As for DUnja, she got SICK.’

Thanks to Anna Feldman for this example.

In the next subsection I will review literature on the “non-indefinite” functions of *-to*. I will return to the list of functions proposed to this “non-indefinite”-*to* at the end of the chapter (section 5.6.1) to claim that all of them could be viewed as consequences of the kontrastive, or set-evoking, nature of this particle.

5.2.1 Literature Review on Particle *-TO*

Particle *-to* has been studied from a variety of perspectives; here I will review only literature that deals with its functions other than indefiniteness⁷. The following works will be discussed below: Vasilyeva (1972), Apresjan (1986), Bonnot (1986a, 1987, 1990), Rathmayr (1989), Bitextin (1994), Heingartner (1996), and Grenoble (1998).

Vasilyeva (1972) describes the principal meaning of particle *-to* as “to emphasize or stress something” adding that “in a context that meaning becomes concrete and takes on new shades” (Vasilyeva 1972: 64). She distinguishes the following meanings of this “polysemantic particle:”

- a) The particle *-to* may express the speaker’s desire *to stress the importance of his statement as a whole or of some part of it...*;
- b) [it] is used *for emphatic purposes in contrasting something...*;
- c) [it] may have *an evaluative-expressive meaning*:⁸ this is often the case in constructions containing an interrogative-relative pronoun or pronominal adverb or in constructions containing a repetition...

⁷ For a recent comprehensive review of literature on *-to* see Heingartner (1996).

⁸ Examples of this meaning of *-to* provided by Vasilyeva are exclamatives of the type *Tišina-TO kakaja!* ‘How wonderfully quiet!’; these types of utterances containing *-to* will be discussed below, in section 5.3.1.

- d) [it] is used to emphasize that what is being said is *more or less familiar to both the interlocutors* and lends the statement or question a shade of conversational spontaneity or intimacy... (Vasilyeva 1972: 64-70; italics are in the original)

Vasilyeva provides multiple examples to illustrate the “polysemantic” nature of particle *-to* (however, the context for these examples is far from being adequate) and compares the meaning of *-to* in some of its uses to other particles, such as *že* and *ved’*. The outline of the major functions of *-to* provided by Vasilyeva has served as a starting point for many other researchers who studied the particle.

Apresjan (1986) discusses the meaning of particle *-to* with comparison to another particle, or semantic operator, *daže* ‘even’ using the notions of presupposition and assertion. Pointing out that even though all monolingual Russian dictionaries refer to these elements as *vydelitel’nye/usilitel’nye časticy* (‘intensifying/emphatic particles’), they are far from being synonymous but rather antonymous. He paraphrases the meaning of these particles in the following way:

- (3'a) *Daže X sdelal Y* 'even X did Y' = 'X did Y;
the speaker regarded it as probable that other people would do Y;
the speaker regarded it as probable that X would not do Y'⁹...
- (3'b) *X-to sdelal Y* 'X-to did Y' = 'X did Y;
the speaker regarded it as probable that X would do Y;
the speaker regarded it as fairly probable that other people would not do Y'

In (3'a) the speaker perceives the fact that X did Y as unexpected, but in (3'b) he perceives it as perfectly natural. Moreover, in (3'a) it is assumed that other people would do Y, whereas in (3'b) it is allowed that the others would not do Y.

(Apresjan 1986: 537)

Note that in his paraphrase of the sentence containing *-to*, Apresjan does not make any firm commitment as to whether other people would or would not do Y (compared to X who did). This will be an important point for the present analysis. It can be re-phrased with respect to the kontrastive properties of *-to* in the following way: while *-to* marks a set of alternatives to a given proposition, it only asserts the truth value of that given proposition and does not make any reference to the truth values of its alternatives.¹⁰

⁹ Here the single quotation mark ends the paraphrase of the sentence with *daže* 'even' starting 'X did Y; ...' and should not be understood as referring to some Y' (as opposed to Y). The same holds for the paraphrase of the sentence containing *-to* below.

¹⁰ Apresjan (1986:540-541) also briefly touches on the ungrammaticality of sentences containing both *daže* 'even' and *-to*, as in (i), explaining their ungrammaticality by the presence of logical contradiction. However, the (in)compatibility of these particles deserves further attention: as the sentence in (ii) demonstrates, *daže* and *-to* can co-occur in the same clause if they have scope over different elements:

- (i) ***Daže** Petja-**TO** prišel. (Apresjan 1986: 541)
even Pete-TO came
- (ii) Petja-**TO** *daže* PODAROK prines.
Pete-TO even present brought
'As for Pete, he even brought a PRESENT.'

It is possible that the incompatibility of these two particles, when attached to the same element (*link*) as in (i), lies in the fact that *daže* is a scalar operator, while *-to* is not scalar. However, in (ii) *-to* is a clitic to the *link* and *daže* has scope over a (kontrastive) element within the *rheme*. This situation does not result in ungrammaticality: it seems that *-to* does allow the second center of kontrast to be generated with the help

Bonnot devoted several studies to particle *-to* (1986a, 1987, 1990) and her findings are quite relevant to the present discussion. Bonnot (1986a) focuses on particle *-to* as a marker of contrastive identification, or opposition; however, she also claims that this particle is usually used in post-position to the theme and therefore functions as an identifier of the theme with relation to the rheme.

Bonnot (1987) further develops this idea of *-to* functioning as a “particle of thematization.” Specifically, she claims that *-to* introduces into a speech situation an expression that is familiar to all interlocutors and relates this expression to the current speech situation. In this article, Bonnot re-examines her previous hypothesis of the major function of *-to* as a marker of contrast stated in the (1986) paper and proposes to distinguish four additional functions of the particle:

- a) the assertion of an unexpected event;
- b) the presentation of new information which returns to a question about a known situation;
- c) the abrupt return to a question which importunes one and to which one must respond; and
- d) the ability to comprehend the incomplete information given about the theme (this provides a different explanation from that which the interlocutor gave).¹¹

Bonnot (1990) broadens her previous hypothesis of particle *-to* being a contrastive marker to include the fact that this particle presupposes plurality, i.e., it provides a choice of at least two options (cf. the idea defended in this chapter that *-to* evokes a set). This

of a scalar operator *daže*. I will leave further discussion for future research. Thanks to Catherine V. Chvany for bringing the problem to my attention.

¹¹ This list of major functions of *-to* proposed in Bonnot (1987) is taken from Heingartner (1996:26).

“presupposed plurality” of *-to* is rooted in its etymology: *-to* is related to a demonstrative pronoun *tot* (‘that’), which is contrasted with *ètot* ‘this’. Bonnot finds that *-to* can cliticize either to an expression “newly introduced”¹² or to the one that is already present in the discourse. In case of her so-called “newly introduced” expression, *-to* makes this expression part of the theme, and not the rheme (while as a default, new discourse referents are introduced in the rheme).

Bonnot’s understanding of what is “new” in the discourse comprises two possibilities: 1) some previous situation known to the speakers that included that expression, or 2) some implicit/implied situation. In case of *-to* being cliticized to an expression already present in the discourse, it “re-qualifies” this expression. Bonnot further elaborates that this “re-qualification” occurs on two levels: referential and expressive/enunciative. On the referential level, *-to* signifies that this expression already present in the discourse is chosen among other possible expressions with relation to the theme, thus often resulting in various contrastive meanings. On the expressive/enunciative level, this “re-qualification” manifests itself in the existence of the “other” point of view on the theme (which can be also explained etymologically, as Bonnot points out: the demonstrative pronoun *tot* ‘that’ refers to the sphere of the “other”, compared to *ètot* ‘this’, which is a proximal deictic.)

Even though Bonnot provides good and plentiful examples which are set in a sufficient context, her notion of what is “new” is not well defined: she does not distinguish between the hearer-new and discourse-new statuses (see Prince 1992 for the

¹² Bonnot’s understanding of a “newly introduced” expression is close to what Prince (1981) labels “inferrables” (see discussion in Chapter 3). This point will be elaborated on below.

discussion of these terms). There are different mental mechanisms involved in bringing referents into the discourse with respect to whether they are new to the discourse or the hearer or both, and, consequently, there are different linguistic means of marking them (also see Lambrecht 1994).

Rathmayr (1989) refers to the particle *-to* as “an evaluative/modal particle” and proposes to distinguish the following function (other than the marker of indefiniteness):

- a) intensification of the emotional evaluation of a phrase;
- b) emphasis of the theme, or an unexpected return to a theme;
- c) reiteration of the element preceding the enclitic, where *-to* serves to limit or devalue a concept; and
- d) softening of the directness of a question, which is a product of familiarity.¹³

Some of these functions seem to overlap with those proposed by other researchers (see Vasilyeva 1972, Bonnot 1986a, 1987, etc.)

As pointed out in the previous section, Bitextin (1994) analyzes particle *-to* as an anaphoric element of the article type which refers to the information already known to the hearer but not activated yet in his/her consciousness. Contrary to the findings of other researchers, Bitextin claims that while *-to* is usually located in the theme portion of the utterance, its function is not limited to the theme but includes the whole clause.

Consequently, as argued by Bitextin, *-to* marks not single entities but propositions.

Bitextin’s (1994: 6) argument that *-to* has scope over propositions is based on the fact that *-to* poses restrictions on the use of indefinites not only in the theme but also in the rheme. He provides the following examples, given here as (4a-b) and (5a-b), (glosses

¹³ This list of functions of *-to* proposed in Rathmayr (1989) is taken from Heingartner (1996:34).

and translations are mine - SM), where the themes precede the rhemes, with the indefinite phrase being underlined:

- (4) a. Odnogo moego druga nedavno povstrečal Petja.
(One my friend)-ACC recently met Pete-NOM
 ‘A friend of mine was recently met by Pete.’
- b. *Odnogo moego druga-TO nedavno povstrečal Petja.
(One my friend)-ACC-PART recently met Pete-NOM
 ‘A friend of mine was recently met by Pete.’
- (5) a. Petja nedavno povstrečal odnogo moego druga
Pete-NOM recently met (one my friend)-ACC
 ‘Pete recently met a friend of mine.’
- b. ?Petja-TO nedavno povstrečal odnogo moego druga
Pete-NOM-PART recently met (one my friend)-ACC
 ‘Pete recently met a friend of mine.’

According to Bitextin, a sentence like the one given in (5b) is acceptable if a previous context contains a reference to a group of some friends. He provides the context as given below (sentence in (6) is the my translation into English of his (2c)):

- (6) A: Sergej misses his old friends a lot. He wants to see any one of them – but where can they be found now?!
- <at the next meeting of A and B:>*
- B: You know, Sergej(-**TO**) met one of his friends yesterday. Such a strange fellow...

Bitextin’s argument about *-to* having propositional scope appears a little weak given that (5b), which has an indefinite noun phrase in the rheme, has a rather mild level

of deviance, compared to completely unacceptable (4b), where an indefinite is placed in the theme. Moreover, Bitextin himself shows that the restriction of *-to* on having indefinites in both the theme and the rheme can be defeated in certain contexts (as shown in (6)).

Additionally, the intolerance of *-to* with respect to indefinites can also be explained by the restrictions on the cognitive status of referents in the scope of *-to*: it marks information known to the hearer but not activated in the discourse (this issue will be considered in detail in section 5.3.2).

Bitextin's argument that the scope of *-to* is a full proposition, or, syntactically, a full clause can be viewed as a step forward with respect to the previous proposals, according to which *-to* has scope over a single term (phrase) within the theme. However, his proposal will be modified here in order to provide a comprehensive account of the relationship among the propositions that comprised the set marked by *-to*. In section 5.3.1 I will demonstrate that the propositions belonging to the set marked by *-to* differ from each other in the value not only of a single term but of two kontrastive terms: one within the link and the other one within the rheme.

With respect to semantic and pragmatic types of utterances, Bitextin (1994) convincingly demonstrates that *-to* does not have restrictions on the type of propositions that it marks (unlike particle *ved'* which is restricted to a certain type of propositions). Thus, particle *-to* can occur in practically all types of statements, directives, and questions.

Bitextin points out that the colloquial Russian particle *-to* can be considered a semantic equivalent to parenthetical constructions of literary Russian *kak izvestno/kak uže govorilos' vyše* 'as (well) known/ as pointed out (discussed/...) above'.

Particle *-to* has also been the subject of discourse studies focusing on the structure of text. For example, Grenoble (1998) analyzes *-to* as a kind of topic marker:

The particle *-to* can be used to track changes in the sentential-level topic when it is still related to the more global discourse topic... The particle *-to* establishes a topic frame, signaling the selection of one of a number of potential topics as the local-level topic. (Grenoble 1998: 199)

Heingartner (1996) focuses on the social factors involved in the distribution of particle *-to* in modern colloquial Russian: specifically, she examines the differences in the use of this particle by younger and older women in Moscow. As pointed out above, this dissertation provides a thorough review of literature covering non-indefinite uses of particle *-to*; to quote Heingartner's concluding remarks to her literature review section:

Existing literature is in agreement in an almost universal acknowledgment of the function of *-to* as an emphatic, expressive, emotional or strengthening particle. Recent literature makes attempts to further classify the functions and usages of *-to*, but still no complete listing exists. In fact, because the function of *NI-to* [non-indefinite *-to*] is very context-dependent, it is doubtful whether a truly exhaustive listing of functions could be made. (Heingartner 1996:35)

Summarizing the main ideas in the literature on particle *-to* that will be relevant in my analysis of *-to* as a kontrastive marker:

- 1) *-to* is used as a marker of a theme, or a topic marker, or marker of the information known to the hearer, in different terminologies (as discussed by Bonnot, Grenoble, Bitextin);

- 2) *-to* can be used as a marker of contrast or emphasis (according to Vasilyeva, Bonnot, Rathmayr, and Bitextin);
- 3) *-to* can imply plurality (as hinted by Bonnot);
- 4) *-to* can mark unexpectedness in addressing a topic (Vasilyeva, Bitextin);
etc.

My goal in this chapter, with respect to particle *-to*, is not to provide a more detailed list of its functions but to search for the underlying principle that this particle operates on and to demonstrate that most (if not all) various functions of colloquial Russian particle *-to* described in the literature can be derived from its kontrastive nature.

5.3 Kontrastive Properties of -TO in Detail

The discussion of kontrastive properties of particle *-to* in this section will be presented as detailed answers to the following questions that were raised in chapter 4:

- What kind of set is marked by *-to*? What does the set consist of?
- What is the cognitive status of referents marked by *-to*?

These two questions addressing essential properties of *-to* as a k-marker will be discussed in sub-sections 5.3.1 and 5.3.2 respectively. In the following section, 5.4, the consequences of these essential kontrastive properties of *-to* will be addressed:

- How is *-to* encoded on the clausal level?
- What role does *-to* play at the discourse level?

5.3.1 What Kind of Set is Marked by *-TO*?

K-marker *-to* marks a **set of sets of propositions**, which differ from each other in the values of two contrastive elements: one within the link and the other one within the rheme. This means the following: if there is a proposition of the form *A-TO has property x* (or property *x* is true of *A*: $\mathbf{x(A)}$), where *A* is the link and *x* is the rheme, and there is a set of relevant entities that *A* belongs to, such as $M_1 = \{A, B, C, \dots\}$, and there is another set of properties that *x* belongs to, such as $M_2 = \{x, y, z, \dots\}$, marking the proposition $\mathbf{x(A)}$ with particle *-to* makes the hearer generate a set of sets, such as M_3 , shown in (7):

$$(7) \quad M_3 = \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \{\mathbf{x(A)}, y(A), z(A), \dots\}; \\ \{x(B), y(B), z(B), \dots\}; \\ \{x(C), y(C), z(C), \dots\}; \dots \end{array} \right\}$$

where the semantic value of the proposition $\mathbf{x(A)}$, which is marked by *-to*, is evaluated against the semantic values of the alternatives (the other members of this set of sets) that are either explicitly or implicitly present in the discourse. It is important that the semantic value of $\mathbf{x(A)}$ is evaluated not only against the other members of its own set (i.e., it is being compared, or contrasted, with $y(A), z(A)$) but it is also evaluated against the members of the other sets that comprise M_3 (i.e., it is being compared, or contrasted, with $\{x(B), y(B), z(B), \dots\}$ and $\{x(C), y(C), z(C), \dots\}$).

Equivalently, the set of sets of propositions M_3 marked by *-to* can be viewed as a **set of questions** (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), which is shown in (8):

(8) $M_3 = \{\text{What is true of } A?; \text{What is true of } B?; \text{What is true of } C?; \dots\}$

It is important that while *-to* marks a set of sets of alternative propositions, it asserts only the proposition containing *-to*, i.e. [*A-TO* *x*], to be true, as opposed to other properties which might be true of *A* and it also brings to mind the questions “What is true of *B*?” and/or “What is true of *C*?” However, *-to* does not make any predictions with respect to the semantic value of the other propositions in the set of sets: their truth value has to be determined in some other ways (stated explicitly in the discourse or left in the form of implications).

The set of sets of propositions (equivalently, the set of questions) M_3 marked by *-to* can be graphically represented as in (9):¹⁴

¹⁴ Actually, the super-question marked by *-to* — *Which entity possesses what property?*— can be unfolded either into a set of questions *For each X, what is true of X?* (as shown in (7-9)) or into a set of questions *For each property Y, what is Y true of?* (Thanks to Enric Vallduví for bringing this to my attention). While the former option is the most common (default) case, the latter is a less frequent (marked) case; see examples of *-to* cliticized to verbs (properties) in section 5.4.1.1 below. However, in either case the contrast set marked by *-to* is organized around the value of the link (and not the rheme), independently of whether the link is an entity/individual (default case) or a property/action (marked case). A more precise way of representing the membership set M_3 marked by *-to* would be as in (i):

(i) $M_3 = \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \{\text{link}_1 \text{ rheme}_1; \text{link}_1 \text{ rheme}_2; \text{link}_1 \text{ rheme}_3; \text{etc.}\}; \\ \{\text{link}_2 \text{ rheme}_1; \text{link}_2 \text{ rheme}_2; \text{link}_2 \text{ rheme}_3; \text{etc.}\}; \\ \{\text{link}_3 \text{ rheme}_1; \text{link}_3 \text{ rheme}_2; \text{link}_3 \text{ rheme}_3; \text{etc.}\}; \dots \end{array} \right\}$

- (10) [looking at a picture of a dog who put her paw on a bear, Varja and her mother first discuss the dog, then start talking about the bear. Varja gets distracted by taking a scoop into her hand]

*MOT: Ona chto delaet, vot lapku ona kuda polozhila?
 %eng: What is she doing, where has she put her little paw?
 *VAR: Kuda paazyja?
 %eng: Where has she put?
 *MOT: Ona medvedju na lapu svoju lapku polozhila.
 %eng: She has put her little paw on the bear's paw.
 *MOT: Vidish'?
 %eng: Do you see?
 *VAR: Midet'.
 %eng: Bear.
 *MOT: Da.
 %eng: Yes.
 *VAR: Midet'.
 %eng: Bear.
 *VAR: Midet', midet'.
 %eng: This is a scoop.
 *VAR: Èta saok, saok [% 5 times].
 *MOT: U tebjja-**TO** sovok, a chto u medvedja v lape?
 %eng: You have got a scoop, but what has the bear got in his paw?
 THE SECOND SEANCE - MAY THE 14, 15, 16 1984

Gloss:

[+K/-Rh U tebjja]-**TO** [+K/+Rh sovok], a [+K/+Rh chto] [+K/-Rh u medvedja] v lape?
 At you-**TO** scoop but what at bear in paw?

'YOU(-**TO**) have a SCOOP, but what does the BEAR have in his paw?'

The property of *-to* as a marker of a set of sets of propositions makes it an appropriate candidate for being used in constructions labeled in the literature as “contrastive topics” (see chapter 2, section 2.1.2; also cf. Büring 2000 and his other works). The mother’s last utterance in (10) contains a proposition which is marked by *-to* [[You have a scoop]], where the scoop is chosen out of a set of alternative rheme values, for example {scoop; book; apple; ...}. The proposition [[You have a scoop]] is then explicitly contrasted with a question *What does the bear have...?* (and it might also be implicitly contrasted with some other questions, such as *What does the dog have...?*,

marked by *-to* (*a niz-TO my ne vzjali?* ‘but as for the bottom (*-TO*), we didn’t take it, did we?’) is in the form of a (yes-no) question and it follows the other member of the set:

(12) [Mother is teaching Varja how to put matrjoška dolls together]

*MOT: *Vot, my sjuda postavim, no èto ne oy¹⁶ nee verx, vidish', ona bolttaetsja?*
 *MOT: *Nado, chtob ne boltalsja.*
 *MOT: *Vot on, ee verx.*
 *MOT: *Vot my tak sdelaem, chtoby vot zdes' vot polosochka sovpala.*
 *MOT: *Tak?*
 *MOT: *Vot.*
 *MOT: *Tak.*
 *VAR: *Axxx.*
 *MOT: *A teper' uzhe v ètot verx, a niz-TO my ne vzjali?*
 *MOT: *Vot niz u nas.*
 *MOT: *Vot niz, chtoby polosochki sovpali.*
 *MOT: *Da, vot my tak vrashchaem, smotri, snachala vniz stavim, vot on niz, tak.*
 *MOT: *Vot matreshka sobralas'.*
 THE FIFTH SEANCE - OCTOBER 2-3, 1984

*MOT: Now, we’ll put here, but this is not her top, you see, it is loose, right?
 It should not be loose.
 Here it is, her top.
 Now we’ll do it so that this stripe here matches.
 This way?
 Here.
 This way.
 *VAR: Ahhh.
 MOT: And now already in this top, but as for the bottom (-to*), we didn’t take it, did we?
 Here’s the bottom for us.
 Here’s the bottom so that the stripes match.
 Yes, we rotate it this way, look, first we put it on the bottom, here’s the bottom, here.
 Now the matrjoška is put together.

Gloss:

A teper' uzhe v ètot [+K verx], a [+K/Rh niz]-TO my [+K/Rh ne vzjali]?
And now already in this top but bottom-TO we NEG took?

‘And now already in this top, but as for the bottom (*-TO*), we didn’t take it, did we?’

¹⁶ A misprint in the original: probably it is meant to be *ot nee* ‘from her.’

In the examples that have been given so far, the proposition marked with *-to* is contrasted with some other proposition(s) explicitly present in the discourse. However, particle *-to* can also be used when the other propositions forming a set of sets with the one marked by *-to* are only implicitly present. Compare, for example, sentences in (13-15) which Vasilyeva (1972:68) uses as illustrations of the “evaluative-expressive” meaning of *-to*:

- (13) *Tišina-TO kakaja!*
Quietness-TO what!

‘How quiet it is!’ or: ‘As for the state of quietness(-*TO*), how quiet it is!’
(Vasilyeva’s translation is ‘How wonderfully quiet!’)

- (14) *Poët-TO kak!*
is-singing-TO how!

‘As for his/her singing(-*TO*), it is so [great]!’
(Vasilyeva’s translation is ‘How wonderfully he’s singing!’)

- (15) *Skol’ko narodu-TO!*
How-much of-people-TO

‘As for the amount of people(-*TO*), it is so [huge]!’
(Vasilyeva’s translation is ‘What huge crowds!’)

Let me demonstrate that even though propositions marked by *-to* in (13-15) have no other propositions explicitly contrasted with them in the discourse, particle *-to* can still be analyzed as marking a set of sets of propositions. All the sentences in (13-15) are exclamatives: specifically, wh-exclamatives. Let me discuss the semantics of such sentences in more detail.

As pointed out by Grimshaw (1979), exclamative clauses are factive, i.e., they presuppose their propositional content. In case of (13), this means that some particular state of quietness is presupposed. Moreover, as pointed out by Zanuttini and Portner (1999) and Portner and Zanuttini (2000), “exclamatives convey a conventional scalar implicature indicating that the fact that they express is surprising or noteworthy in some way” (Zanuttini and Portner 1999: 4). In case of (13), the scalar implicature it conveys is that the particular state of quietness is remarkable in some way (cf. Vasilyeva’s translation of (13) as ‘How wonderfully quiet!’). But what is the scale, or the set of alternatives, that the exclamative proposition is measured against?

Zanuttini and Portner (1999: 6) further demonstrate that the essential property of an exclamative, or what they label as the “exclamative force,” is in the expansion, or widening of their domain from S_1 (the set of propositions presupposed to be true for an exclamative) to some S_2 , which includes additional propositions that are also true. They provide the following example: for an exclamative *How he behaves well!*,¹⁷ which is said about a toddler, the domain is expanded from the set including other toddlers, to the set of all young children, and possibly to the set of adults as well. Thus, this exclamative may be taken as conveying that some particular toddler behaves well even when compared to adults. Zanuttini and Portner propose that for wh-exclamatives the set of alternative propositions is the same as for the corresponding wh-question, however these alternatives are used not to draw an answer from but rather to expand the domain of the propositions that are true.

¹⁷ An alternative to this example from Zanuttini and Portner (1999: 6) would be *How well he behaves!*

So, applying the findings of Zanuttini and Portner (1999) and Portner and Zanuttini (2000) to the Russian examples like in (13-15), the wh-exclamative as in (13), for example, can be viewed as ranking the particular state of quietness at the moment of the speech event with some other states of quietness in other deictic dimensions (for example, in a desert at dawn or in a soundproof chamber with no sound turned on, etc.) on the scale of “quietness-loudness” and finding that this particular state of quietness at the moment of speech is remarkable with respect to other possible values.

However, this would be also true of wh-exclamatives which do not contain particle *-to*, as in *Tišina kakaja!* ‘How quiet!’: such exclamatives also evoke a set of propositions which is generated by the contrast on the wh-phrase. The presence of particle *-to* in (13-15) suggests that the set of alternatives brought by the scalar implicature is a part of a set of sets, i.e., that particular scale is compared to other relevant scales. For example, if propositions in (13-15) are considered in a context,¹⁸ it is likely that other aspects of the particular situation will be considered next: thus, for (13), the hearer might add something like *And how beautiful it is!*; for (14), the possible continuation would be *But the chorus is not THAT great!* or *And what a nice costume s/he has on!*, etc. Or, in other words, the utterance with *-to* would represent a strategy in discourse (in Büring’s terms) and relevant propositions (“sisters” in the discourse tree, dominated by the same question under discussion) will be considered or at least have the potential to be considered. Thus,

¹⁸ Vasilyeva’s examples given in (13-15) do not include any context. Discussing discourse particles without any minimal discourse may be the main reason why this particular property of *-to* (i.e., evoking a set of sets) was not noticed earlier.

the membership set marked by *-to* in (13-15) would be exactly the same as the set of sets of propositions (or the set of questions) M_3 discussed above.

In this section I have discussed properties of the set marked by *-to*: it has been found that the k-marker *-to* marks a set of sets of propositions (or, equivalently, a set of questions) which differ from each other in the values of two kontrastive elements: one within the link and the other one within the rheme. In the next section I will discuss the cognitive status of referents marked by *-to*.

5.3.2 What is the Cognitive Status of Referents Marked by *-TO*?

In the discussion of cognitive statuses of information marked by kontrastive particles in general, and particle *-to* in particular, I am more concerned with how far from the “set of matters of current concern” (in Yokoyama’s (1986) terms, or simply from what is currently being talked about) each particle can reach. All three particles are capable of marking information which is at the periphery of the set of matters of current concern, $C_a \cap C_b$ (inferable from activated referents or accessible through deixis) but only *-to* and *ved’* (and not *že*) are capable of marking referents which are further away from activated information.¹⁹

Thus, particle *-to* marks information known to the hearer but not activated in the hearer’s mind at the time of the utterance. In Yokoyama’s (1986) terminology the

¹⁹ For example, the cognitive status of ‘you’ in (10) above can be analyzed as being on the periphery (but not in the center) of $C_a \cap C_b$ (in Gundel et al.’s (1993) terminology, the corresponding status would be “activated” but not “in focus”). For details on treating first and second person pronouns within Yokoyama’s framework see Moon (1995), Zaitseva (1999), etc.

location of knowledge marked by *-to* is at the intersection of the speaker's set of matters of current concern and the hearer's general knowledge store: $C_a \cap B$. In Gundel et al.'s (1993) classification, the corresponding status of what *-to* is capable of marking is "familiar" but not "activated" (in the hearer's mind).

With respect to the cognitive status of the information marked by *-to*, consider an excerpt in (16): Varja and her mother are at their *dača*, or a summer home, playing on a grassy lawn a game of "bathing:" as if they are bathing among the "fishes" (which are made of grass). Then mother remarks that Varja is a bit too dirty and that she needs a real shower and that it would be nice to wash together under the shower outside ("the sunny shower"). Varja repeatedly says "I don't want to" to all of this. Then, apparently after noticing that Varja's teeth are also in need of being cleaned, mother remarks *Oj, oj, zuby-TO, zuby!* 'Oh, oh, as for the teeth(-*TO*), teeth!':

(16) [at the summer home, outside: Varja and mother are "bathing" – playing as if they are bathing; the mother remarks that Varja should take a real shower, outside, under the sun; Varja refuses]

*MOT: A ty u nas kakaja-to takaja +...
 *MOT: kakaja-to grjaznovataja stala.
 *VAR: Net, ja mojus'.
 *MOT: No ty moesh'sja kak budto, a uzhe pora po-nastojashchemu.
 *VAR: ne nado.
 *MOT: Nu davaj my s toboj pod dushikom pod solnechnym.
 *VAR: Ne xochu!
 *MOT: Pod solnechnym xorosho ved'!
 *VAR: Ne xochu, ne xochu.
 *MOT: Oj, oj, zuby-TO, zuby!
 *VAR: Ne xochu.
 *MOT: Prjamo kak u kita.
 THE SEVENTH SEANCE - AUGUST THE 15, 1985

*MOT: And you have somewhat, such +
 somewhat a little dirty become.
 *VAR: No, I'm bathing.
 *MOT: But you are as if bathing, and it's already time [to do it] for real.

- *VAR: No need to.
 *MOT: Well, let's you and I [wash] under the shower, under the sunny [shower].
 *VAR: I don't want to!
 *MOT: Under the sunny one it's nice, you know (*ved'*)!
 *VAR: I don't want, don't want to.
 *MOT: Oh, oh, as for the teeth(-**TO**), teeth!
 *VAR: Don't want.
 *MOT: Exactly like [those of a/the] whale.

Gloss:

*MOT: *oj, oj, [+K/-Rh zuby-TO, zuby]! [...][+K/+Rh Prjamo kak u kita].*
 Oh, oh, teeth-**TO**, teeth! [...] Exactly like at whale

‘Oh, oh, as for the teeth(-**TO**), teeth! [...]
 [They are] exactly like [those of a/the] whale.’

The status of the referent marked by *-to* in (16), prior to this utterance, is definitely “not activated” for the hearer (or, not in the set of matters of current concern for the hearer, i.e., not in C_b): it is rather unlikely that the child, while in the state of denial to being washed under shower, would be concerned with brushing her teeth. The discourse status of ‘teeth’ is “discourse-new:” it is introduced in the discourse for the first time with particle *-to* on page 12 of a 35-page transcript. As for the familiarity of the referent marked with *-to* to the hearer, the referent (‘teeth’) is definitely known to the child and even more than that, Varja might also know that her teeth are in such a state that they require cleaning.²⁰ So, the cognitive status of the information marked by *-to* prior to being uttered in the discourse is (estimated by the speaker to be) known to the hearer but not activated in his/her mind (or, in B’s knowledge set but not in his/her set of matters of current concern, or not in C_b).

²⁰ The exclamative *Zuby-TO, zuby!* ‘As for the teeth(-to), teeth!’ can be viewed as containing ellipsis on pronominal *kakie* ‘what’: *Zuby-TO, zuby [kakie]!* ‘As for the teeth(-**TO**), teeth [what state they are in]!’ The repeated noun can also be omitted: it is possible to say *Zuby-TO!* Vasilyeva (1972:68) considers such elliptical utterance on a par with those containing *kak(oj)* ‘what/how’: *Tišina-TO kakaja!* ‘How wonderfully quiet!’ (see (13) above) is followed there by *Tišina-TO!* ‘How quiet is it!’, etc.

While in (17) the status of information marked by *-to* is “discourse-new” but (at least treated as) “hearer-old,” the discourse status of that in (18) is different. The discourse situation for (18) is the following: Varja has been learning how to pull laces through holes in a piece of cardboard, which was specifically made for this practice. By the time of the interaction in (18), she has already managed to pull a few laces through. Then she turns to some other activities (going to potty, talking about her dog’s ears, etc.) After that, the mother remarks:

(18) [after Varja’s practicing pulling laces through holes in a cardboard, followed by several other activities]

*MOT: Oj, slushaj, a my s toboj chernen'kij-**TO** shnurochek tak ni razu eshche i ne prodevali, da?

*MOT: Sejchas nado budet prodet'.

*MOT: Schas poprobuem.

THE FIFTH SEANCE - OCTOBER 2-3, 1984

*MOT: Oh, listen, but as for the black(-**TO**) lace, you and I haven’t even pulled it through yet, right?

Now we should pull [it] through.

Now we’ll try.

Gloss:

*MOT: Oj, slushaj, a my s toboj [+K/Rh chernen'kij]-**TO** shnurochek
Oh listen but we with you black-**TO** lace-DIM

[+K/+Rh tak ni razu eshche i ne prodevali], da?
so not once yet even NEG pulled-through, yes?

’Oh, listen, as for the black lace (-**TO**), you and I haven’t even pulled it through yet, right?’

Since the activity of pulling laces through holes was in the center of the speech situation, before being interrupted by other activities, it is unlikely that the hearer has completely forgotten about it by the time of the utterance in (18). So, its hearer status in

terms of activation would something like “semi-activated.” However, this activity has not been applied to the BLACK lace, the main referent marked by *-to*, but presumably it had been applied to laces of other colors. The existence of the black lace is nevertheless known to the hearer, even though this referent has not been mentioned in the discourse prior to utterance with *-to*. So, the cognitive status of information marked by *-to* here is the following: the status of ‘the black lace’ is hearer-old and discourse-new, while the status of ‘the activity of pulling laces through holes’ is hearer-old and discourse-old. Overall, the cognitive status of the whole proposition marked by *-to* can still be defined as known to the hearer but not activated in the hearer’s mind at the time of the utterance.

The status of information marked by *-to* in (13-15) (*Tišina-TO kakaja!* ‘How quiet it is!’ and the like) is the same as for (17): it is discourse-new and known to the hearer but not activated in the hearer’s mind. This type of utterance is possible only in the context when the speaker and the hearer share the time and the place of the speech situation, i.e., the deictic dimensions are the same for the speaker and the hearer. Thus, the hearer is treated by the speaker as having the proposition marked by *-to* in his/her knowledge set even though the hearer might not have had this proposition in his/her knowledge set, but nevertheless, the speaker presents it as “hearer-old” since the hearer is capable of accommodating it (or, the speaker believes that the hearer is capable of arriving at this knowledge by inference). For example, prior to the speaker’s utterance given in (13) (*Tišina-TO kakaja!* ‘How quiet it is!’), the hearer might not have been aware of this particular state of quietness but was aware of (and possibly currently thinking of) some other aspect of the current situation shared by the speaker and the hearer, such as “How

beautiful it is around!” However, the knowledge marked by *-to* is still treated by the speaker as “hearer-old” since the speaker believes that the hearer is capable of accommodating this knowledge as “hearer-old” since the deixis is shared by the speaker and the hearer. Changing one parameter of deixis (either time or space) to “not being shared by the speaker and the hearer” would result in inappropriateness of *-to* in a corresponding utterance.

So, it appears that the discourse status of information marked by *-to* is not a crucial parameter; what is important for *-to* is that it marks information known to the hearer but not activated at the time of the utterance. Several functions of *-to* discussed in the literature can be treated as direct consequences of this property of *-to*, as for example the *evaluative-expressive* function of *-to* pointed out by Vasilyeva which was discussed with respect to examples (13-15) above.

Another function described by Vasilyeva (1972:69), i.e., that *-to* “is used to emphasize that what is being said is *more or less familiar to both the interlocutors* and lends the statement or question a shade of conversational spontaneity or intimacy,” is also a consequence of the property of *-to* as a marker of the hearer-known but not activated information. Thus, the speaker can use *-to* when s/he believes the hearer knows this information, that is the information is located at the intersection of the speaker’s and the hearer’s knowledge sets, $A \cap B$ (or, more precisely, at the intersection of the speaker’s set of matters of current concern with the hearer’s knowledge set: $C_a \cap B$).

How exactly does the speaker know that the information is also in the hearer’s knowledge store? The speaker can safely assume that the hearer knows the information

(marked by *-to*) if this information is shared through: 1) code (language, culture); 2) encyclopedic knowledge; 3) deixis. These sources will be the same with respect to *-to* being used in two modes of communication: the *svoj* ('familiar/close' – i.e., the one among people who know each other well) and the *čужoj* ('distant/others' mode – i.e., among strangers).

There is another source, however, for the speaker to assume that the information is in the hearer's knowledge store: 4) through common, shared experience.²¹ Obviously, people who know each other well share more common experience than strangers. In other words, more information can be marked by *-to* in the *svoj* mode than in the *čужoj* mode. To re-phrase again, even though *-to* is used in both modes of communication (the speaker's assumption are based on the first three sources), it is used to a larger extent in the *svoj* mode: there is more information that can be marked by *-to* since, in addition to the first three sources, it is also shared through the fourth source — common experience.

So, this implicature of *-to* — “adds a tone of familiarity, intimacy, spontaneity, etc.” — is directly related to the cognitive status of information marked by it: known to the hearer (the paraphrase of which — *I know that you know...* — might be more convincing.)

So the more familiar the speaker and the hearer are with each other, the more information would be located at this intersection and, as a consequence, would have a potential to be marked by *-to*. In all the examples that Vasilyeva provides to illustrate this

²¹ For more details on the sources of the speaker's assumptions and modes of communication see Yokoyama (1986, 1992).

function, *-to* can be clearly seen as marking information located at $C_a \cap B$, even though no further context is given. I will include some of Vasilyeva's (1972: 69) examples below:

- (19) Istoriju s kukloj-**TO** ja vam ne doskazal. Slušajte.
Story with doll-TO I to-you NEG finished-telling Listen

'As for that story about the doll(-**TO**), I didn't finish it then. Listen.

(Vasilyeva's translation:

'That story about the doll though – I didn't finish it. You just listen.')

- (20) Čto u tebjja s tvoim artistom-**TO**?
What at you with your actor-TO

'As for you and that actor friend of yours(-**TO**), what's going on between you?'

(Vasilyeva's translation:

'Now, how are things between you and that there actor friend of yours?')

In both (19) and (20), as well as in the rest of Vasilyeva's examples, the status of referents marked by *-to* is hearer-old but (most likely) not activated in the hearer's mind at the time of the utterance. Also, the source of the speaker's assumptions is the common, shared experience. Thus, the nuances of meaning, such as "familiarity," "conversational spontaneity," "intimacy," and the like, which have been ascribed by Vasilyeva and others to particle *-to*, are consequences of the cognitive status of information that *-to* marks.

Similarly, the function of *-to* as marker of "unexpectedness in addressing a topic," discussed in the works by Bonnot and Bitextin, can be viewed as a consequence of the cognitive status of information marked by *-to*. Examples (17) [the mother persuading Varja to take a shower outside and suddenly switching to Varja's teeth that also need to be cleaned] and (18) [the black lace that has not been pulled through yet] can serve as illustrations (see the discussion above). In both of these examples, an interjection *Oj* 'Oh'

precedes the utterance marked with *-to*, which can be viewed as an indication that the proposition marked by *-to* has entered the speaker's set of matters of current concern (C_a) via being prompted by a discourse situation cue and not as something related to the material placed in C_a immediately prior to the moment of uttering that proposition. Nevertheless, the cognitive status of the information marked by *-to* with respect to the hearer is still "familiar" but not "activated." This function of "unexpectedness in addressing a topic" will also be discussed below, in section 5.5.1 in the context of Šukšin's short story *Zabuksoval* 'Stuck'.

In this section I have discussed the cognitive status of information marked by *-to*. Even though k-marker *-to* is capable of marking information that can be characterized by a variety of cognitive statuses (such as "discourse-old" and "discourse-new", "semi-activated"), the most important property of *-to* is that it marks information known to the hearer but not activated in the hearer's mind immediately prior to the utterance containing this k-marker. A number of functions proposed in the literature for *-to* can be viewed as consequences of this essential property.

5.4 Consequences of Kontrastive Properties of -TO

In this section I will show how the placement of *-to* at the clausal level and its role at the discourse level can be comprehensively accounted for if these are considered consequences of the following essential properties of *-to* as a kontrastive marker that have been discussed in the previous section: 1) *-to* marks a set of sets of propositions (i.e., it requires two kontrastive elements in the clause: one within the link and the other

one within the rheme); 2) *-to* marks information known to the hearer but not activated in the hearer's mind.

5.4.1 How is *-TO* Encoded on the Clausal Level?

In the literature, the position of *-to* at the clausal level has been so far analyzed as depending on a combination of prosodic factors and factors having to do with information structure of the clause. Thus, particle *-to* has been analyzed as an enclitic to a prosodically prominent word within the theme of the utterance (Bitextin 1994, *inter alia*).

Such accounts, however, cannot be considered comprehensive for the following reasons: 1) it has not been adequately explained why a certain element is prosodically marked: as shown by V&V, prosody can be used in marking both the quantificational phenomenon of *kontrast* and the informational phenomena like *rheme* and *link*; 2) the previous accounts do not take into consideration the fact that under limited circumstances *-to* does occur in the rheme of the utterance (see the discussion below, in section 5.4.1.3). In this section, I will offer an account of the placement of *-to* at the clausal level which makes reference to the quantificational feature [+*kontrast*]. Specifically, *-to* will be analyzed as an enclitic to an element marked [+*kontrast*].

In the discussion of cliticization properties of *-to*, I will first touch upon its syntactic properties, then discuss the prosodic restrictions, and finally tackle the pragmatic restrictions.

5.4.1.1 Cliticization: Syntactic Properties

As mentioned above, particle *-to* in its non-indefinite meaning can cliticize to practically any notional part of speech or phrasal category: NP, AP, PP, VP, AdvP.²² The most frequent host for this enclitic is nominals; for illustrations of *-to* cliticizing to nouns see examples (1), (3), (12), (13), (15), and (17) above; an example of *-to* cliticizing to an adjective is given in (18); an example of a personal pronoun hosting *-to*²³ is shown in (10) above. Here I will include some examples of less frequent cases when *-to* is an enclitic to such syntactic categories as verb phrases, various types of adverbials, and prepositional phrases.

An example of *-to* cliticizing to a finite verb is given in (21). For an example of a non-finite verb hosting *-to* see (1), which is repeated here for convenience as (22):

(21) [Varja can't stop running]

*MOT: Var'ka begaet, Var'ka begaet' Var'ka begaet.
 %eng: Varja is running.
 *VAR: Xi. [% laughs]
 *MOT: Nu kto begaet-**TO**?
 %eng: Now, who is really running?
 *MOT: Varja?
 %eng: Is it Varja?
 *VAR: U, Vajka begait, Vajka begait, Vajka begait.
 %eng: U, Varja is running.
 THE SECOND SEANCE - MAY THE 14, 15, 16 1984

Gloss:

*MOT: Nu [+K/+Rh kto] [+K/-Rh begaet] **-TO**?
 Well who is-running-**TO**

‘As for somebody running(**-TO**), who is doing this?’

²² I will leave it for future research to determine the exact nature of the clitic host for *-to* in syntactic terms: whether it is an X⁰, X', or X". This issue is not relevant to the present discussion of *-to* as a k-marker.

²³ In (10) the pronoun hosting *-to* is a part of a larger PP (prepositional phrase); in fact, it would be more precise to say that *-to* is attached to the whole PP.

(22) [Varja does not want to reveal her “secret” to mother, gets excited, and starts jumping or stomping her feet]

*VAR: Ne rasskazhu, ne rasskazhu.
 *MOT: A prygat' **-TO** chego, chego prygat' **-TO**.
 *VAR: Kak prygat'.
 *MOT: Ty chego-to²⁴ prygaesh' u nas.
 *VAR: Ja vot topaju nogami.
 THE SEVENTH SEANCE - AUGUST THE 15, 1985

*VAR: I won't tell, won't tell.
 *MOT: And as for jumping(-TO), any reason for it, any reason for jumping(-TO).
 *VAR: What jumping.
 *MOT: You are jumping here for some reason.
 *VAR: I'm stomping my feet now.

Gloss:

A [+K/-Rh prygat'] **-TO** [+K/+Rh chego], [+K/+Rh chego] [+K/-Rh prygat'] **-TO**.
 And/but to-jump-TO what-for, what-for to-jump-TO

‘And as for jumping(-TO), any reason for it, any reason for jumping(-TO).’

In (23-26) examples of *-to* cliticizing to various types of adverbials are given. In (23), *-to* is an enclitic to the pronominalized adverb of manner *tak* ‘thus/so/this way/in such a way’; in (24) its host is the proximal deictic time adverb *teper* ‘now’; in (25) it cliticizes to the adverbial *voobščē* ‘generally’; and in (26) – to the degree adverb *očen* ‘very(much)’:

(23) [Varja complains about flies biting her dirty hand (or arm)]

*VAR: U menja uzhe muxi s''edajut!
 *MOT: Chto?
 *VAR: Ruku.
 *MOT: Vot vidish'!
 *MOT: Znachit, nado ee pojti pomyt', ved' tak **-TO** ee nel'zja ostavljat'.
 *VAR: V ètix protivnyx lapax.

²⁴ As pointed out in the introduction to this chapter, this is an interesting example with indefinite *-to* following two occurrences of non-indefinite *-to*. The context suggests that these two separate meanings of *-to* are not unrelated. However, at this point I am not able to pinpoint the exact nature of their relationship and will leave the issue for future research.

*MOT: Da.

*VAR: Nado smyt' vsju ètu grjaz'.

THE SEVENTH SEANCE - AUGUST THE 15, 1985

*VAR: I already have flies eating.

*MOT: What?

*VAR: [My] hand [/my arm].

*MOT: You see!

It means it has to be washed, you know (*ved'*) as for like this(-*TO*), it can't be left so.

*VAR: In these nasty paws.

*MOT: Yes.

*VAR: We need to wash all this dirt off.

Gloss:

Znachit, nado ee pojti pomyt',

Means, need it to-go to-wash

ved' [+K/-Rh tak]-TO ee [+K/+Rh nel'zja ostavljat'].

ved' so/this-way-*TO* it shouldn't to-leave

'It means that it has to be washed, you know (*ved'*) as for like this(-*TO*), it can't be left so.'

(24) [Mother is asking Varja to put her toys away]

*MOT: Pochemu u tebjja vse tak raskidano, razbrosano?

*VAR: Net, èto ja ej obed sdelala.

*MOT: Nu xorosho, èto ty poka ostav', a vot mozaika tebe ne nuzhna, ty ee slozhi.

*VAR: A net, ja ee vtèkavala, vidish'?

*MOT: Ja videla, chto ty ee vtykala, no teper'-*TO* ty uzhe ne vtykaesh'!

*MOT: Naverno, pora ee slozhit'?

*VAR: Net, èto ja potom slozhu.

THE SIXTH SEANCE - FEBRUARY THE 15, 1985

*MOT: Why do you have everything scattered around so much, scattered everywhere?

*VAR: No, this I made dinner for her.

*MOT: Well, ok, THIS you can leave for now, but here, the PUZZLE you don't need, you put it away.

*VAR: But no, I been inserting it, see?

*MOT: I saw that you were inserting it, but as for now(-*TO*), you have stopped inserting!

Probably, it's time to put it away?

*VAR: No, this I will put away later.

Gloss:

Ja videla, chto ty ee vtykala,

I saw that you it were-inserting,

no [+K/-Rh teper'] **-TO** ty [+K/+Rh uzhe ne vtykaesh']!
 but now-**TO** you already NEG are-inserting

‘I saw that you were inserting it, but as for now(-**TO**), you have stopped inserting!’

(25) [Varja is putting a sugar bowl on the table]

*VAR: vot èto, vot èto saxarnica, vot èto. [...]

*VAR: Ona na tarelochke.

*VAR: Saxarnica.

*VAR: A saxarnica, voobshche **-TO**, ne dolzhna stojat' na tarelochke, ona
 dolzhna stojat' prosto na stole.

THE SIXTH SEANCE - FEBRUARY THE 15, 1985

*VAR: This is, this is a sugar bowl, this is. [...]

It is on a plate.

The sugar bowl.

But a/the sugar bowl, generally(-**TO**), shouldn't be on a/the plate, it should be straight on
 the table.

Gloss:

A saxarnica, [+K/-Rh voobshche] **-TO**, [+K/+Rh ne dolzhna stojat' na
 But sugar-bowl, generally-**TO**, NEG must to-stand on

tarelochke], ona dolzhna stojat' prosto na stole.

little-plate, it must to-stand simply on table

‘But a/the sugar bowl, as for the general state of affairs(-**TO**), shouldn't be on a/the plate,
 it should be straight on the table.’

(26) [Varja is arranging her dog's ears so as to make the dog “beautiful”]

*VAR: Vot tak?

*MOT: Da sobachkam, voobshche govorja, vse èto ne ochen' **-TO** nuzhno.

THE FIFTH SEANCE - OCTOBER 2-3, 1984

*VAR: Like this?

*MOT: Well, dogs, generally speaking, don't need all this very much(-**TO**).

Gloss:

Da sobachkam, voobshche govorja, vse èto ne ochen' **-TO** nuzhno.²⁵
 PART dogs-DAT, generally speaking, all this NEG very-much-**TO** is-needed

²⁵ The scope of the kontrastive elements and their information status will be discussed in detail below, in section 5.4.1.3 (example (33)). In anticipation of the forthcoming discussion, I can briefly mention here that it is not possible to analyze *-to* as an enclitic to a thematic element.

‘Well, dogs, generally speaking, don’t need all this VERY MUCH(-*TO*).’²⁶

Examples (27-28) serve as illustrations of *-to* encliticizing to prepositional phrases (for more examples of *-to* as an enclitic to PP, see (10), (19-20) above):

(27) [Grandmother is persuading Varja to have her boots put on]

*GRM: A chego **zh** ty govorish': Ne xochu botinki?
 %eng: And what are you saying: I don't want the shoes?
 *GRM: Ty **zhe** ponimaesh', kak glupo, bez botinok-**TO** kak pojdesh'.
 %eng: But you understand how silly it is, how can you walk without shoes.
 THE THIRD SEANCE - JUNE THE 25, 26, 27 1984.

Gloss:

Ty **zhe** ponimaesh', kak glupo, [+K/-Rh bez botinok]-**TO** [+K/+Rh kak pojdesh'].
 You *že* understand, how silly, without boots-**TO** how will-start-walking

‘But you (*že*) understand, how silly it is, without boots(-*TO*) in particular, how you would start walking.’

(28) [Varja and Grandma are looking at a picture of a calf inside a fenced area]

*GPP: Na kogo on krichit?
 %eng: Whom is he shouting at?
 *GPP: Xlop-xlop, vylesu, xlop-xlop, vyskochu!
 %eng: Clap-clap, I'll come out, clap-clap, I'll jump out!
 *GPP: Na zabor!
 %eng: On the fence.
 *GPP: A na zabore-**TO** kto sidit, ty tol'ko posmotri!
 %eng: And who is sitting on the fence, just look!
 *VAR: Pit'ka.
 %eng: A little bird.
 THE THIRD SEANCE - JUNE THE 25, 26, 27 1984.

Gloss:

A [+K/-Rh na zabore]-**TO** [+K/+Rh kto] sidit, ty tol'ko posmotri!
 And on fence-**TO** who is-sitting, you only/just take-a-look

‘And as for the top of the fence(-*TO*), who is sitting there, you just take a look!’²⁷ or:

²⁶ My attempts to translate this sentence with the ‘as for...’ construction having scope over ‘very much’ result in rather awkward options like: ‘Well, dogs, generally speaking, as for the degree they need all this, they don’t need it very much.’ This might be taken as an indication of differences between the English ‘as for’ construction and the Russian *-to* with respect to having scope of degree adverbials. Similarly, using the parentheticals *in particular* or *specifically* does not provide better results.

‘And on the fence in particular, who is sitting there, you just take a look!’

It seems that there are no syntactic restrictions on cliticization of *-to*: its host can be any type of a syntactic phrase (NP, AP, VP, PP, AdvP).²⁸ As examples (26) and (28) indicate, *-to* combines with a wider range of syntactic elements than its English equivalent, the topicalization construction ‘as for...’. Parentheticals like *in particular* or *specifically* capture some of occurrences of *-to* which are not possible to render in English with the help of the ‘as for...’ construction (like (28)) but they are still not a perfect equivalent of *-to* in English (cf. (26)).

In the next section I will discuss prosodic restrictions on cliticization of *-to*.

5.4.1.2 Cliticization: Prosodic Properties

The tendency of *-to* to occur more frequently at the beginning of the clause might give a false impression that it can be analyzed as a “second position” clitic (see Halpern 1994 for terminology). However, this is not supported with naturally occurring data on *-to*: for the examples of *-to* cliticizing to non-initial elements in the clause see (18-21), (25-26) above.

Since *-to* is a clitic, its host can be only a phonological word. Consider examples (29-30) below: short prepositions, like *v* ‘in’ in (29a), cannot host this clitic, while phonetically longer ones, like *vnutri* ‘inside’ in (30a), can host *-to*. Examples (29b) and

²⁷ Note that in the Russian original, *-to* is an enclitic to PP ‘on (the) fence’, not ‘on top of the fence’. The latter, however, combines much better with the ‘as for...’ construction.

²⁸ Presumably, each of these syntactic phrases can be *links* in the domain of information packaging; NPs are prototypical cases of linkhood, while the other syntactic categories are marked, or less frequent cases of links.

(30b) demonstrate that the encliticization of *-to* to the final element within the prepositional phrase (i.e., the noun) is grammatical in either case:

- (29) a. ***V-TO** korobke ty najdeš ključ.²⁹
In-TO box you will-find key

‘In the box you will find a key.’

- b. **V** korobke-**TO** ty najdeš ključ.
In box-TO you will-find key

‘In the box you will find a key.’

- (30) a. **Vnutri-TO** korobki ty najdeš ključ.
Inside-TO box you will-find key

‘Inside the box you will find a key.’

- b. **Vnutri** korobki-**TO** ty najdeš ključ.
Inside box-TO you will-find key

‘Inside the box you will find a key.’

The difference in grammaticality between (29a) and (30a) suggests that *-to* is sensitive to the phonological content of its host: it can cliticize only to full phonological words. However, the prosodic prominence of the element hosting *-to* can be viewed as a consequence of its special status with respect to the semantic feature [+kontrast]: prosody is one of the structural resources that are used in languages to mark kontrast (cf. the

²⁹ While particle *-to* does not cliticize to short prepositions, as shown in this example, the demonstrative pronoun, or distal deictic, *tot/ta/to* ‘that’ does occur in prepositional phrases; actually, the default position of the demonstrative (on the surface level) is following the preposition and preceding the noun: *v to zdanie* ‘in that building’ (see example (56) in the conclusion to this chapter).

discussion of V&V in chapter 2, section 2.2.5). In (29a) the vowelless preposition does not have enough phonological content that would allow it to carry the quantificational feature [+kontrast]. In (30a), on the contrast, the preposition is a phonological word that can be assigned prosodic prominence which corresponds to the prosodic marking of the feature [+kontrast].

Thus, even though the prosodic factor does play a role in the placement of *-to* at the clausal level, it cannot be considered an explanation by itself since the prosodic marking can serve more than one purpose: it can be a marker of the semantic category of kontrast, but it can also indicate a particular informational status of an element (rheme or link).

In the next subsection, I will consider pragmatic restrictions on the placement of *-to* at the clausal level.

5.4.1.3 Cliticization: Pragmatic Properties

It has been claimed in the literature that *-to* usually cliticizes to a thematic (or “old/given” information, in other terms) element of the clause (Bonnot 1987, Bitextin 1994, among others). If the pragmatic restrictions on the cliticization of *-to* are re-analyzed using Vallduví’s (1992 and subsequent works) framework of information structure of a clause, these restrictions can be re-phrased in the following way:

- Particle *-to* usually cliticizes to the (kontrastive) *link*.
- It can also cliticize to the (kontrastive) *rheme* if the link is unambiguously marked as kontrastive in some other way and the essential property of k-marker *-to* as a marker of a set of sets of propositions (or a set of questions) is satisfied.

In other words, the placement of *-to* at the clausal level is a direct consequence of its essential kontrastive property as a marker of a set of sets of propositions (or a set of questions). In order to satisfy this essential property, the default position of *-to* at the clausal level is encliticized to the (kontrastive) link: the kontrast on the link value results in the set of alternatives, which is a set of sets of propositions. (By comparing links to each other, the hearer has to consider the rheme value for each of these links; so the kontrast on the link produces, or forces, kontrast on the rheme.³⁰) Thus, the usual position of *-to* is an enclitic to the (kontrastive) link.

However, the essential property of *-to* as a marker of a set of sets of propositions will also be satisfied when the link is marked as kontrastive by some other linguistic means (prosody, other lexical expressions that mark kontrast, etc.) and *-to* encliticizes to the (kontrastive) rheme. In this case, which is not the default option, the set of sets of propositions is still marked by *-to* (however, with additional help of some other linguistic expression marking the kontrastive status of the link).

There is another way of explaining why, out of two options available — [+k] in the link and [+k] in the rheme, — particle *-to* usually cliticizes to the one in the link. This explanation also makes reference to the second essential property of *-to*, i.e., the cognitive status of information marked by it. The story is the following: since *-to* is a marker of information which is (assumed by the speaker to be) known to the hearer, it

³⁰ It seems that at least with *-to*, it is not possible to have only one [+k] element within the link without having another [+k] element within the rheme. This observation should be tested on other instantiations of “kontrastive topics” crosslinguistically.

usually cliticizes to the kontrastive element in the link and not in the rheme since links usually represent information known to the hearer, while rhemes are new information.

Let me discuss a typical example of *-to* cliticizing to a kontrastive link, which was previously discussed as (8/9) and is given here in an abbreviated form as (31):

(31/10)[looking at a picture of a dog who put her paw on a bear, Varja and her mother first discuss the dog, then start talking about the bear. Varja gets distracted by taking a scoop into her hand]

[+K/-Rh U tebjaj] **-TO** [+K/+Rh sovok], a [+K/+Rh chto] [+K/-Rh u medvedja] v lape?
 At you-TO scoop but what at bear in paw?

'YOU(-TO) have a SCOOP, but what does the BEAR have in his paw?'

In (31/10), *-to* cliticizes to the second person pronoun, the information status of which is a (kontrastive) *link*: metaphorically, it can be thought of as a file card, with some information listed on it. The name of the file card is "YOU" and what is entered under this file card is "have a SCOOP." The information status of "SCOOP" is a (kontrastive) *rheme*: the definition of it as rhematic means that it is newsworthy and defining it as kontrastive means that a set of alternatives is at least implicitly present for this rheme value.

However, the link "YOU" is also kontrastive: the file card "YOU" is explicitly contrasted with (at least) another file card – "BEAR" (which also has a kontrastive rheme value, exemplified in a wh-word WHAT, which is marked [+kontrast], according to V&V). So, here *-to* cliticizes to the first link, which generates two kontrasts: the kontrast on the level of the file cards (comparing one file card to (at least) another one) and on the

level of rhemes (comparing new information entered on the file to alternatives). In other words, *-to* marks a set of sets of propositions: on the rheme level, the kontrast set is generated by the prosodic prominence on *sovok* ‘scoop’ and by the presence of the wh-word *čto* ‘what’ (substituting the rheme value in a clause results in a set of propositions that have the same link value) and on the link level, it marks a set of sets propositions (kontrast on the link brings up a set of set of propositions). Even though *-to* encliticizes to the link, it marks the set of sets of propositions.

So, this is a typical scenario when *-to* cliticizes to the link. However, there are cases in naturally occurring data when it is not that easy to define the information status of the host for *-to*. Consider (23) above, which is repeated here for convenience in an abbreviated version as (32):

(32/23)[Varja complains about flies biting her dirty hand (or arm)]

*VAR: U menja uzhe muxi s''edajut!
 *MOT: Chto?
 *VAR: Ruku.
 *MOT: Vot vidish'!
 *MOT: Znachit, nado ee pojti pomyt', ved' tak-TO ee nel'zja ostavljat'.
 THE SEVENTH SEANCE - AUGUST THE 15, 1985

*VAR: I already have flies eating.

*MOT: What?

*VAR: [My] hand [/my arm].

*MOT: You see!

It means it has to be washed, you know (*ved'*) as for like this(-TO), it can't be left so.

Gloss:

Znachit, nado ee pojti pomyt',

Means, need it to-go to-wash

ved' [+K tak]-TO ee [+K/+Rh nel'zja ostavljat'].
ved' so/this-way-TO it shouldn't to-leave

‘It means that it has to be washed, you know (*ved*) as for like this(-*TO*), it can’t be left so.’ Or

‘It means that it has to be washed, you know (*ved*) this particular way(-*TO*), it can’t be left in.

In (32/23), *-to* is an enclitic to the pronominal adverb *tak* ‘so/thus/this way/etc.’

While *tak* is definitely kontrastive (‘*this way*’ as opposed to ‘that way’ or ‘some other way’), its information status is less clear. Can it be definitely defined as the link? There is at least a potential of analyzing the personal pronoun (referring to the dirty hand/arm) as the link in this sentence. However, it is also possible to treat *tak* as referring to a particular state of dirtiness of Varja’s hand/arm, and then its information status can be defined as the link. The English translation with the topicalization construction ‘as for...’ would be something like: ‘...you know, as for this particular state of dirtiness of your hand/arm, it shouldn’t be left in such a state.’ So, if *tak* is treated as the link, this means that the file card “this particular state of dirtiness” is implicitly kontrasted with some other file cards, or states on the “clean-dirty” scale. Also, that the rheme value “shouldn’t be left such” is kontrastive.

There is also a possibility that in (32/23), information is simultaneously added to two file cards: one is the “HAND/ARM” and the other is “THIS PARTICULAR STATE OF DIRTINESS OF THE HAND/ARM.” More research in information packaging and natural language processing is needed to decide either way.

Now consider (33), which is the same as (26) above but with additional context. In this example, *-to* cliticizes to a kontrastive element, the informational status of which is not link but rheme. Examples similar to (33/26) demonstrate that *-to* is sensitive not to

the information packaging on the clausal level but is rather to the presence of the elements marked [+kontrast]:

(33/26)[Varja is arranging her dog's ears so as to make the dog "beautiful"]

*MOT: Xochesh' ushi kak u Pljuti?
 *VAR: Tak, tak.
 *MOT: A?
 *MOT: Net, èto nekrasivo.
 *MOT: U devochek kogda takie ushki, èto nakrasivo, èto tol'ko u sobachek krasivo.
 *VAR: Sobaka?
 *VAR: A tak sdelat', vot tak vot?
 *VAR: Torchashchie.
 *VAR: A tak sdelat', vot tak?
 *VAR: Vot tak, vot tak, vot tak.
 *VAR: Vot tak vot sdelat', sdelat'.
 *VAR: Krasivo?
 *VAR: Krasivo?
 *VAR: A tak krasivo, vot tak?
 *VAR: Tak?
 *VAR: Vot tak?
 *MOT: Da sobachkam, voobshche govorja, vse èto ne ochen' **-TO** nuzhno.
 THE FIFTH SEANCE - OCTOBER 2-3, 1984

*MOT: Do you want your ears like Pljuti's [toy dog's]?
 *VAR: This way, this way.
 *MOT: Ah?
 No, it's not pretty.
 When girls have such ears, it's not pretty, it's only dogs' ears that are pretty.
 *VAR: Dog?
 And to do it this way, like this, this?
 Sticking out.
 And to do it this way, like this?
 Like this, like this, like this.
 Like this, like this do, do.
 Pretty?
 Pretty?
 And [is it] pretty this way, like this?
 This?
 Like this?
 *MOT: Well, dogs, generally speaking, don't need all this very much(-**TO**).

Gloss:

Da [+K/-Rh sobachkam], voobshche govorja,
 PART dogs-DAT, generally speaking,

vse èto [+K/+Rh ne ochen' **-TO** nuzhno].
 all this NEG very-much-**TO** is-needed

‘Well, dogs, generally speaking, don’t need all this VERY MUCH(-**TO**).’

The host of *-to* here is adverbial *očen’* ‘(very) much’ which is definitely kontrastive: it evokes a scale (of degrees/intensity). As for its information status, I treat it as belonging to the (kontrastive) rheme *ne očēn’-TO nužno* ‘not needed very much’ and the link in this case is *sobačkam* ‘to dogs’. Note, however, that in this case, even though *-to* occurs inside a rheme, it is still able to evoke a set of sets of propositions since the link “DOGS” is already contrasted with another link “GIRLS” (see the preceding utterance by the mother: ‘When girls have such ears, it’s not pretty, it’s only dogs’ ears that are pretty.’³¹

The kontrastiveness of the link “DOGS” is supported by the fact that it is possible to place *-to* as an enclitic to this element as well, without any change in the acceptability status: *Da sobachkam-TO, voobshche govorja, vse èto ne ochen' nuzhno*. Moreover, both kontrastive elements, the link and the rheme, can be marked by *-to* in a rather long sentence like this one: *Da sobachkam-TO, voobshche govorja, vse èto ne ochen'-TO nuzhno.*³²

So, it appears that the essential property of *-to* as evoking a set of sets of propositions is most easily satisfied in the typical case when *-to* cliticizes to a kontrastive link and there is also a kontrastive rheme present in the clause. However, if the condition

³¹ Cases of *-to* encliticizing to the kontrastive rheme, like in (33/26), also involve the presence of negation, which appears to have a significant impact on the meaning of this type of sentences. At this stage, I am not able to analyze the role negation here in detail and have to leave this issue for future research.

³² Here I am relying on my own native speaker’s intuition and my judgment should be checked with other native speakers.

of evoking a set of sets of propositions is satisfied in some other way (like in (33/26) above), then *-to* can cliticize to a rhematic element marked [+kontrast].

To conclude this section dealing with pragmatic restrictions on cliticization of *-to*: in all the cases of the naturally occurring data that were available to me, the element that hosts *-to* is marked [+kontrast]. However, as a consequence of being a marker of a set of sets of propositions, *-to* requires the presence of two kontrastive elements — one in the link and the other in the rheme. In the great majority of cases *-to* cliticizes to the kontrastive element in the link; however, it is possible that *-to* is capable of cliticizing to the kontrastive element within the rheme when conditions for evoking a set of sets of propositions are satisfied in some other way. Another way of explaining why *-to* is found in the theme is to consider its second essential property, i.e., the cognitive status of information marked by it: since *-to* is a marker of information known to the hearer, it naturally gravitates towards the [+k] element within the informational category that is cognitively compatible with it — the link.

No syntactic restrictions on cliticization of *-to* have been found. As for prosodic restrictions, it has been found that only full phonological words can host *-to*. This prosodic condition can also be treated as supporting the evidence that the presence of an element marked [+kontrast] is the primary condition for placement rules of *-to*: only full phonological words can be marked [+kontrast].

In the next section I will consider the role of *-to* at the level of discourse, which can also be seen as a consequence of the basic kontrastive properties of *-to* as a marker of a

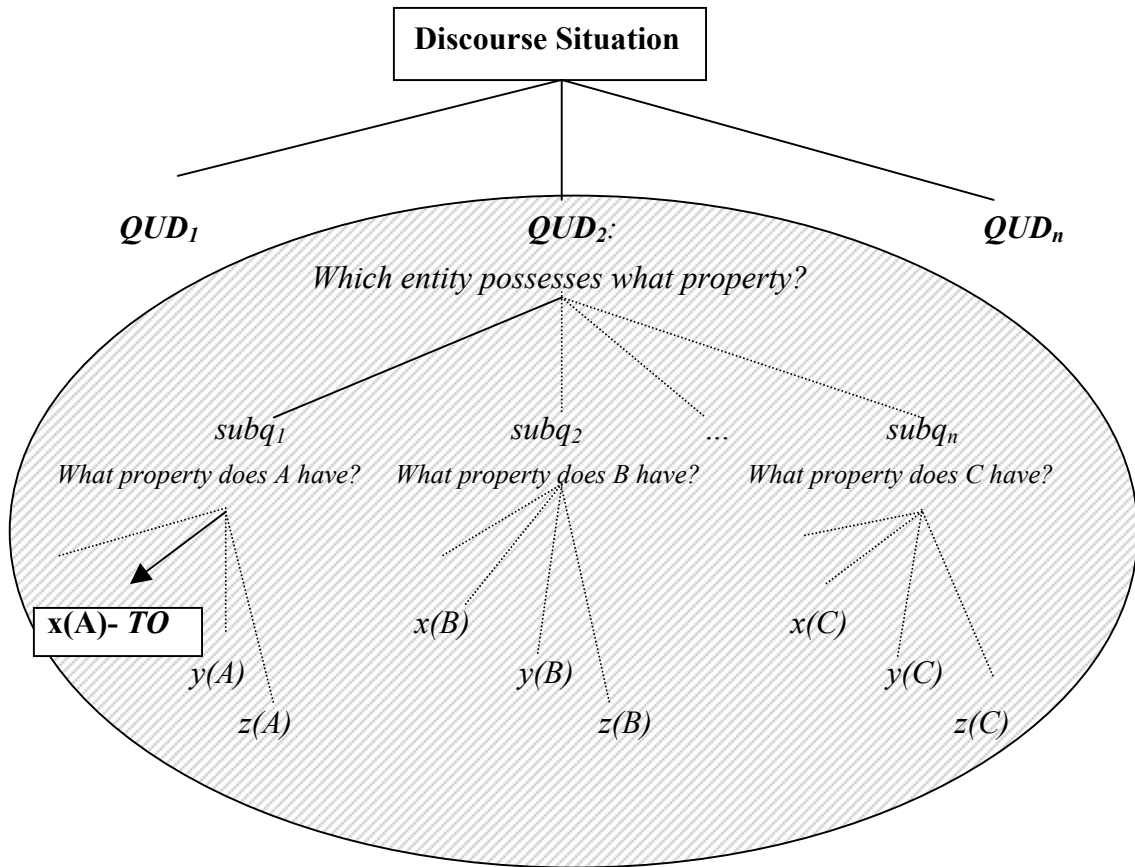
set of sets of proposition and a marker of information known to the hearer but not necessarily activated in the hearer's mind.

5.4.2 What Role does *-TO* Play at the Discourse Level?

The role that *-to* plays at the discourse level can be viewed as a consequence of its two essential kontrastive properties as a marker of: 1) a set of sets of propositions (equivalently, a set of questions) and 2) information (estimated by the speaker to be) known to the hearer but not necessarily activated at the time of the utterance.

Consider the first kontrastive property of *-to*: the type of set marked by it. At the discourse level, the set of sets of propositions (or, equivalently, the set of questions) that is marked by *-to* is hierarchically organized in the following way: this set is dominated by the same Question Under Discussion (QUD) and the sets of propositions (equivalently, questions) that comprise this set are "sisters" in the discourse tree. Graphically, the discourse tree that is evoked by particle *-to* can be represented as in (34) (cf. (9)):

(34) Diagram representing a set of sets (or, a set of questions) marked by *-to*:



So, particle *-to* marks the part of the discourse tree which is shown in (34) within the circled and shaded area, which is a set of questions, or, equivalently, a set of sets of propositions. This means that the rheme value of the proposition marked by *-to* is matched against its alternatives (the lower portion of the tree, under $subq_1$) AND also the proposition marked by *-to* is also evaluated within the set of related propositions (or the other sub-questions which can be either explicitly present in the discourse or implied). The sub-questions are related to each other since they are dominated by the

same Question Under Discussion (in Büring’s terminology; see the discussion in chapter 3, section 3.3.1).

In order to generate, or evoke such a set of sets of propositions (or a set of questions), the hearer should be able to perform these two operations described above: to match the rheme value against the alternatives (i.e., evoke lower level branches with respect to A) and evaluate the full proposition within its set of related propositions (i.e., evoke the upper level branches, or the sister nodes). On the part of the hearer, this requirement means that the hearer needs to know (or to be able to (re)construct) the QUD and the set of sets that *–to* refers the hearer to go to.

Below I will demonstrate that the second essential property of *–to* as a marker of information (assumed by the speaker to be) known to the hearer but not (necessarily) activated in the hearer’s mind at the time of the utterance also plays an important role in the discourse function of *–to*. Consider a situation where the utterance containing *–to* is given as an opening utterance in the discourse:

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

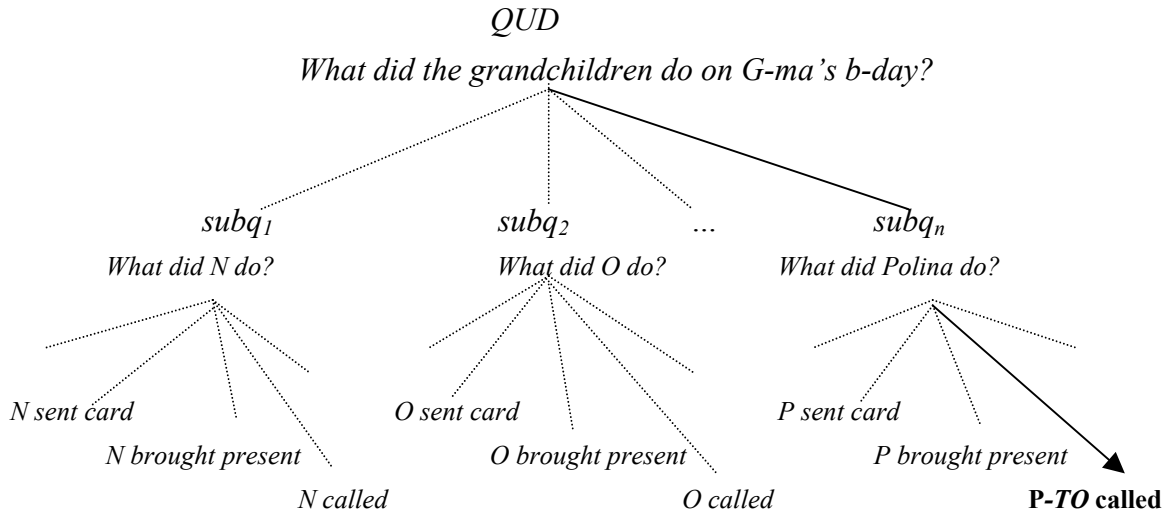
[_{+K/-Rh} Polina]-**TO** [_{+K/+Rh} pozvonila].
Polina-TO *called.*

‘As for Polina, she CALLED.’ Or ‘Polina in particular, she CALLED.’

Imagine a hearer who knows who Polina is and who also knows the lexical meaning of the verb but who does not know (and cannot guess) what the question under discussion is. So, this hearer would only be able to understand that the proposition “Polina called” is

true but would not be able to construct the set of sets that *-to* refers to. A likely response from this hearer would be something like *Nu i čto?* ‘So what?’

Now imagine another hearer who knows a bit more than the first one; specifically, this hearer knows that yesterday was Grandma’s birthday and she was waiting for greetings from her grandchildren, that everybody did something to greet Grandma, except for Polina, and that Grandma was eagerly waiting for Polina to come or call or do something else (send an e-mail greeting??). Imagine that the second hearer had to leave before the situation was resolved one way or another. So, next day, upon hearing (35) as a discourse initial utterance, this hearer is capable of (re)constructing the discourse tree that *-to* instructs him/her to do. A graph in (36) shows a sample discourse tree that is evoked by *-to* in the mind of the hearer who knows what the question under the discussion is and who is capable of evoking the set of sets of propositions referred to by *-to*:

(36) **D-tree (re)constructed by hearer upon hearing (35):**

Thus, the utterance containing *-to* (as in (35)) is infelicitous as a discourse initial utterance UNLESS the hearer is capable of (re)constructing a discourse tree that *-to* instructs the hearer to evoke (as in (36)).

Now let me illustrate the discourse role of *-to* on a sample of naturally occurring data. The excerpt, provided in (37) is taken from I. Grekova's novella *Vdovij Paroxod* 'The Ship of Widows'. The set-up for this excerpt is the following: the main characters, Kapa and Ol'ga Ivanovna, communal flat neighbors (or rather room-mates), are talking to each other in Ol'ga Ivanovna's room. Earlier that night they took another roommate, Anfisa, to the hospital after she had a stroke. Kapa believes that Anfisa is dying or is already dead and blames herself for that. The conversation revolves around Anfisa; then Kapa switches to talking about her own life: in the excerpt given below in (37) she starts talking about the period of her life when she worked as a night guard and how she started

thinking about God then (the first occurrence of *-to* here). Then, after a long pause (indicated in punctuation by "..."), she returns to talking about Anfisa, one of the main discourse topics (the second and the third occurrence of *-to*):

(37) [from Grekova 1986: 384-5]

[a]...Odnako ustroilas' v nočnye storoža.

[b] Komnatu dali, ètu samuju, gde teper' živu.

[c] Storožem xorošaja rabota, mnogo vremeni dlja duši ostaetsja.

[d] Storoži sebe, tol'ko ne spi.

[e] Sižu, tulup glubokij, teplyj, i zvezdočki na nebe sčitaju.

[f] Stala ja po nočam-**TO** o boge dumat', po nočam spodručnee dumat',
Started I during nights-TO about God to-think, during nights more-convenient to-think
 čem dnem.
then in-the-day.

[g] Navernoje, dumaju, za grexi moi bog ot menja otstupilsja.

[h] An vreš', gorjat-migajut zvezdočki, - **bog, on** laskovyj, vsemu otec.³³
No [you] lie, shine-twinkle stars, - God, he kind, to-everything father.

[i] Prišla ja k batjuške posovetovat'sja.

³³ The bold face here is meant to draw the reader's attention to the phenomenon of pronoun doubling that was briefly discussed in chapter 4.

[j] On grit: “Bog vse proščает, ljubye grexi, tol’ko molis’.”[...] ³⁴ ...

[k] Ja ob Anfise-**TO** molit’sja budu, mnogo ja s nej nagrešila.
I about Anfisa-TO pray will, a lot I with her sinned.

[l] Gospod’ vse proščает, tol’ko molis’.

[m] Ja za Anfisu-**TO** svečku postavlju v pjat’desjat kopeek, ne nožaleju. ...
I for Anfisa-TO candle will-light for fifty kopeks, won’t begrudge.

“[a] Nevertheless, [I] became a night guard.

[b] [They] gave me a room, the one where I live now.

[c] It’s a nice job to be a night guard, a lot of time is left for the soul.

[d] Just sit there, only do not sleep.

[e] [I] sit [there], the sheepskin coat is warm and cozy, and [I] count the stars in the sky.

[f] During [these] nights(-**TO**) in particular, I started thinking about God, at night it is more convenient to think [about God] than in the daytime.

[g] Probably, [I] think, because of my sins God stepped away from me.

[h] No, not true: the stars are shining and twinkling, - as for **God, he** is kind, [he is] the father to everything.

[i] [I] came to the priest for advice.

[j] He says: “God forgives everything, any sins, only [you should] pray.”[...] ³⁵ ...

[k] For Anfisa(-**TO**) in particular I shall pray, I sinned with [respect to] her a lot.

[l] God forgives everything, [you should] only pray.

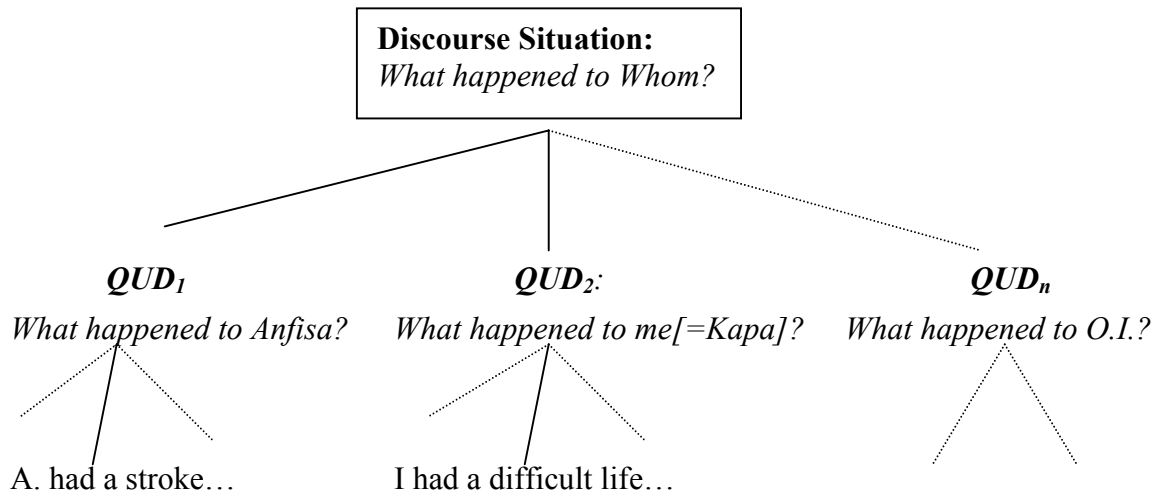
[m] For Anfisa(-**TO**) in particular I will light a candle costing fifty kopecks, [I] won’t begrudge [her that]...”

The discourse situation for the excerpt in (37) is shown in (38):

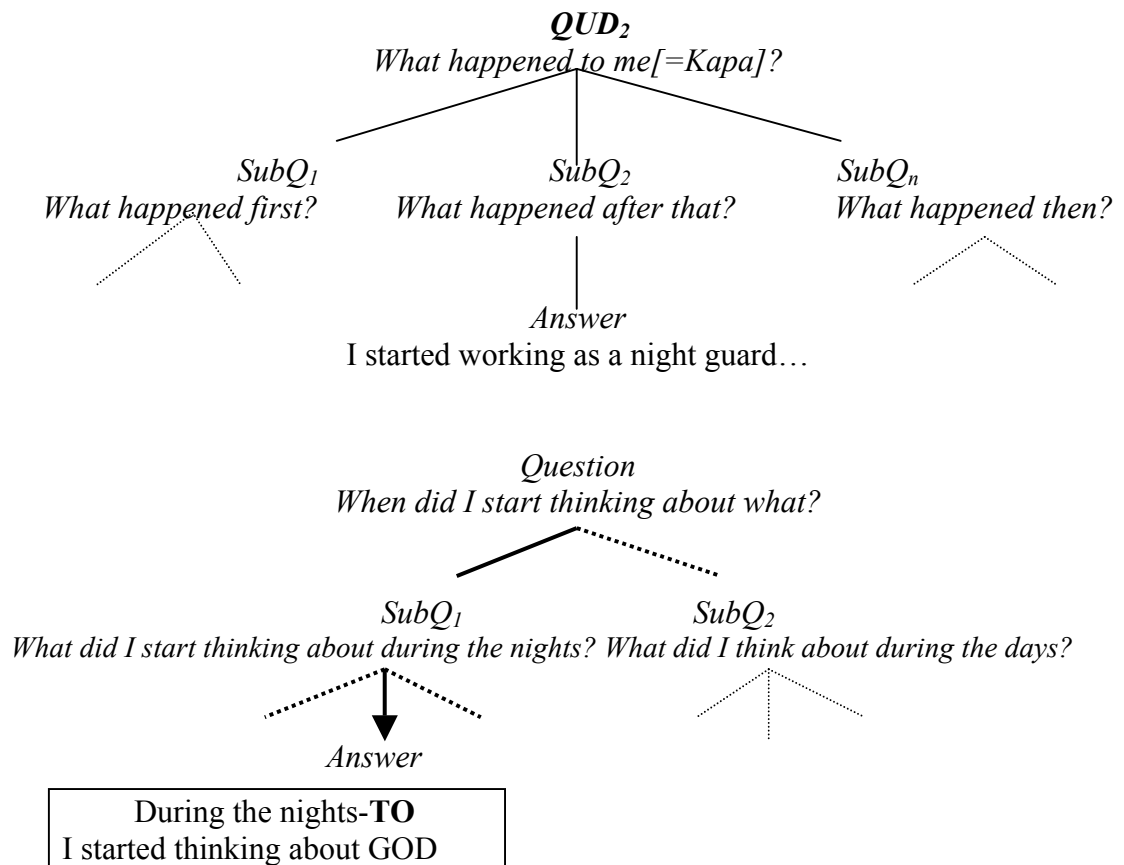
³⁴ Here I omitted seven sentences. Kapa’s monologue goes along these lines: “I started praying, going to the church. Now I am retired and can go to every church service. Thanks to the Soviet state that gave me a pension. I don’t have anything against the Soviet state, they take care of small people. Only I think: why did they close the churches? In our village, we had a temple, now it’s a storage. A lot of joy gives the church to people, a lot of beauty...” Right after this, the sentence in line “k” starts, preceded by ‘...’ in the original.

³⁵ See the previous footnote.

- (38) **Discourse Situation for (37): Kapa is talking about Life after Anfisa had a stroke**



The excerpt in (37) starts as an elaboration of *QUD₂*: *What happened to me [=Kapa]?* Specifically, Kapa starts talking about a period of her life when she worked as a night guard: it is then, during those long nights, when she had to be awake and had nothing else to do than look at the stars, that she came to think about something important that she never thought before — God. This is when Kapa uses particle *-to* in her utterance *Stala ja po nočam-TO o boge dumat* ... ‘During [these] nights(-TO) in particular, I started thinking about God...’ The part of the discourse tree, which is dominated by *QUD₂* and which includes this utterance with *-to*, is shown in (39):

(39) Elaboration on *QUD*₂ from (38):

As the diagram in (39) shows, the first occurrence of *-to* takes place within the *QUD*₂ [*What happened to Kapa*], several layers down (a few layers of question-answer pairs were omitted for the sake of simplicity). The presence of *-to* indicates that this utterance is to be considered as belonging to a set of sets of propositions (or a set of questions). The immediate question under discussion that dominates this set of questions evoked by *-to* is [*After I started working as a night guard*] *When did I start thinking about what?* There are at least two sub-questions to this question, i.e., *What did I start*

thinking about during the nights? and *What did I start thinking about during the days?*

The fact that the second sub-question is implicitly present in the discourse is proved by the presence of the second clause in the *-to* utterance: *...po nočam spodručnee dumat', čem dnem* '...at night it is more convenient to think [about God] than in the daytime,' where *nights* are explicitly contrasted with *days*. The presence of dotted lines under each of these sub-questions is to indicate that there are implicit alternatives to the answer for the subquestion₁ (i.e., that the rheme value for the proposition marked by *-to* is in a set relationship with other comparable propositions). This set of sets of propositions marked by *-to* here can be represented as in (40), where the underlined proposition is explicitly given in the discourse, while the italicized ones are implicitly present:

(40) **A set of sets of propositions marked by *-to* for**

Stala ja po nočam-TO o boge dumat'...

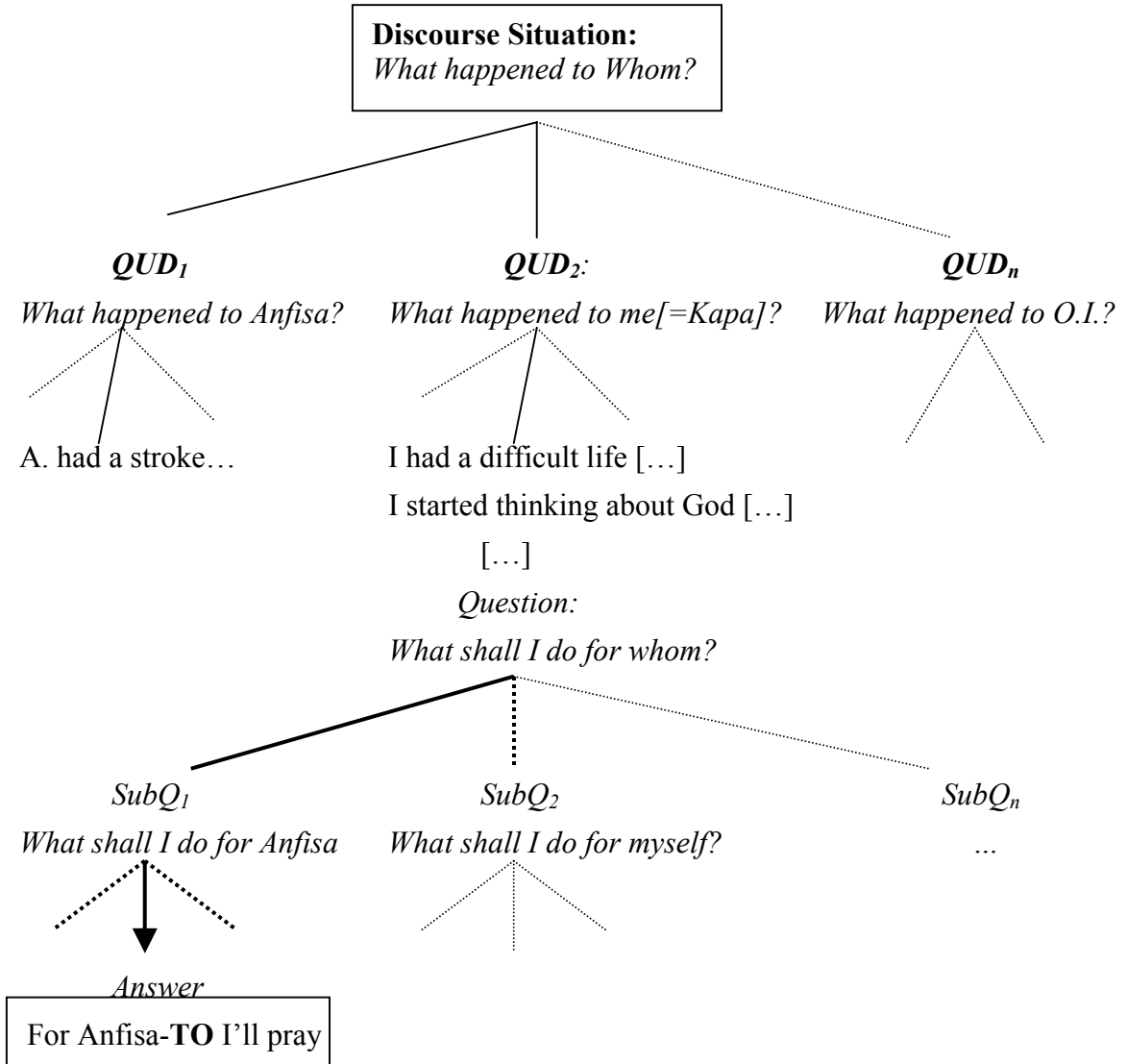
'During [these] nights(-TO) in particular, I started then thinking about God':

$$M = \left\{ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{During the nights I started thinking about God;}} \\ \textit{During the nights I started thinking about my life;} \\ \textit{During the nights I started thinking about Anfisa;...} \end{array} \right\}; \dots \right\}$$

The second occurrence of *-to* in the excerpt in (37) is in line (k); after a long pause, Kapa says: *Ja ob Anfise-TO molit'sja budu...* 'For Anfisa(-TO) in particular, I shall pray...' Remember that the conversation between Kapa and Ol'ga Ivanovna takes place during the night after Anfisa had a stroke and they took her to the hospital. Also important is that Kapa thinks that Anfisa is dead and blames herself for that. The immediate question under discussion for this utterance with *-to* is something like *What*

shall I do for whom? However, the subquestions are about the main discourse topics: Anfisa and (possibly) Kapa herself and may be others. This means that the *-to* utterance activated the top layer of discourse, which is shown in (38), i.e., that the discussion is no longer within *QUD*₂ but also takes the other main question(s) into consideration. This is schematically shown in (41):

- (41) **Discourse Situation for *Ja ob Anfise-TO molit'sja budu...***
 'For Anfisa(-TO) in particular I shall pray...'



Next occurrence of *-to* is separated from the second sentence with *-to* by only one sentence (see (37m)): *Ja za Anfisu-TO svečku postavljju v pjat'desjat kopek* 'For Anfisa-TO in particular, I will light a candle costing fifty kopecks...' Structurally the clause resembles the one just discussed (SUBJ - INDIRECT OBJECT-TO - [...] VERB

[...]). The proposition *For Anfisa I will light a candle costing fifty kopecks* can be thought of being contrasted to the one already present in the discourse, *For Anfisa I will pray*: evidently, the main character Kapa believes that lighting a candle is somehow worth more than just praying for the same person. So, this last occurrence of *-to* in the excerpt from Grekova can be viewed as an alternative to the rheme value of the second occurrence of *-to*, which was made explicit later in the discourse. Thus, the set of sets of propositions that is evoked by the second and the third utterances with *-to* in (37) can be represented as in (42):

(42) **A set of sets of propositions marked by *-to* for**

Ja ob Anfise-TO molit'sja budu...

‘For Anfisa(-TO) in particular, I shall pray...’

and

Ja za Anfisu-TO svečku postavlju v pjat'desjat kopeek

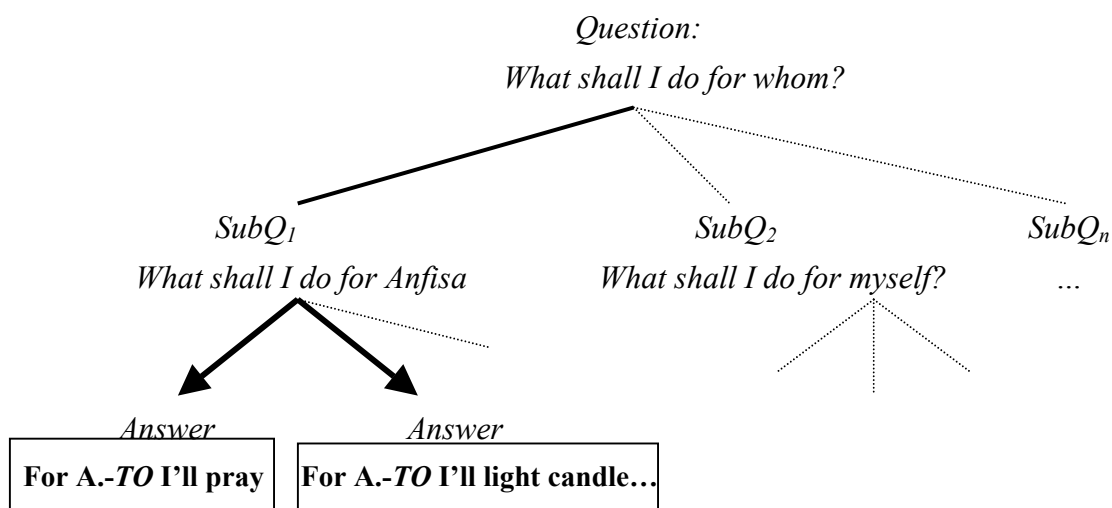
‘For Anfisa(-TO) in particular, I will light a candle costing fifty kopecks...’:

$$M = \left\{ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{For Anfisa I will pray;} \\ \text{For Anfisa I will light a candle costing fifty kopecks;} \\ \text{For Anfisa I will ask the priest to say a sermon;...}; \end{array} \right\}; \dots \right\}$$

These two examples are important in supporting the claim made in section 5.3.1 that while *-to* marks a set of alternatives (which are sets of propositions), it asserts only the truth value of the proposition that is marked by it and makes no predictions with respect to the truth value of its alternatives (in other words, the alternatives can be either false or also true). While these two propositions (*Ja ob Anfise-TO molit'sja budu...* ‘For Anfisa(-TO) in particular, I shall pray...’ and *Ja za Anfisu-TO svečku postavlju v*

pjat'desjat kopeek 'For Anfisa(-TO) in particular, I will light a candle costing fifty kopecks...') belong to the same set of propositions (within a set of sets M, shown in (42)), or in other words, they differ from each other only in the value of the rheme, both are true. This is graphically represented in (43):

(43) **Set of sets of propositions M for (42):**



In this section I considered the role of k-marker *-to* on the discourse level: the set of sets of propositions marked by *-to* can be represented on the discourse tree as “sisters” dominated by the same Question Under Discussion. Equivalently, the set marked by *-to* can be viewed as a set of sub-questions dominated by the same Question Under Discussion. The discourse properties of *-to* have been illustrated with an excerpt from naturally occurring data. More illustrations of the kontrastive properties of *-to* that were discussed in section 5.3 will be given next, in section, 5.5.