

Chapter 6

Particle *ŽE* as a K-Marker

6.0 Overview

In this chapter I will analyze kontrastive properties of particle *že* in detail. As mentioned briefly in chapter 4, *že* is analyzed in the literature as a multifunctional particle which occurs in various types of utterances: statements, directives, questions, exclamatives.

Example in (1) from CHILDES serves as an illustration of some of its functions. The discourse situation is the following: some object (left unspecified in discourse) broke. First, Varja wants to throw it away but the mother persuades her that it can be glued together. They find the right glue tube (see the example in (6)) and the mother starts gluing the object together. Varja, for whatever the reason is, asks:

(1) [While Mother is gluing a broken object together, Varja is questioning the fact that the object is broken]

*VAR: Zachem èto ty kleish'?
*VAR: Èto **zhe** ne slomalos'?
*VAR: Tak nuzhno kleit', chto li?
*MOT: Ja +...
*MOT: èto dolzhna pomazat' i skleit'.
*MOT: Kak **zhe** ne slomalos'?
*MOT: My **zhe** s toboj sami videli, chto slomalos'.
*MOT: A teper' my s toboj zakleim, i budet neslomannyj.
THE SEVENTH SEANCE - AUGUST THE 15, 1985

*VAR: What for are you gluing it together?
This (*že*) isn't really broken?
This way you have to glue it, really?

*MOT: I +...

have to spread [the glue] out and glue it together.
 Why in the world (*že*) isn't it broken?
 You and I (*že*) saw it ourselves that it got broken.
 And now we'll glue it together and it will be not broken.

Glosses:

*VAR: **Ěto zhe ne slomalos'?**
 This *že* NEG got-broken?

'This (*že*) didn't really get broken?'

*MOT: **Kak zhe ne slomalos'?**
 How/why *že* NEG got-broken?

'Why in the world (*že*) isn't it broken?'

*MOT: **My zhe s toboj sami videli, chto slomalos'.**
 We *že* with you ourselves saw that got-broken.

'You and I (*že*) saw it ourselves that it got broken.'

There are three occurrences of *že* in (1): one in Varja's speech and twice in her mother's speech. In all three cases, the utterance with *že* addresses some contradiction that the speaker believes the addressee holds on to and is aimed at solving this contradiction by "correcting" the addressee. The utterances with *že* are perceived as reproaching the addressee or even as "a verbal attack"¹ on the addressee. Their meaning can be paraphrased as "You are wrong! And more than that, you are capable of arriving at the correct conclusion yourself, but nevertheless you are sticking to the wrong conclusion."

¹ This term was coined by Parrott (1990, 1997).

In this chapter, I will discuss in detail how the implicatures that are brought into the discourse by this particle can be traced to the following essential properties of *že* as a k-marker (these properties have also been briefly touched upon in chapter 4):

- *že* marks a set of propositions,² which are differentiated by the value of at least one kontrastive element; the elements comprising the kontrast set are mutually exclusive;
- the kontrastive element explicitly marked by *že* is in a set relationship with another element, which is salient in discourse or discourse situation (i.e., the cognitive status of the latter in the hearer's mind is "activated").

I will support these claims with examples from naturally occurring data. Also, I will demonstrate that the placement of particle *že* on the clausal level and its role in discourse can be viewed as consequences of these essential properties. The position of *že* in the sentence and its discourse role have been briefly summarized in chapter 4 as the following:

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

The data in this chapter come mostly from the Russian collection of CHILDES (MacWhinney 2000: Protassova's files), supplemented with several other sources of colloquial Russian texts. The choice of CHILDES files is motivated by several reasons: first, particle *že* is very frequently used in (grand)parent – child interaction. Particle *že*

² A question of whether *že* marks a set of terms will be discussed in section 6.3.1.

has this “authoritative” nuance in its semantics and it is supposed to be adult’s “moral authority” to tell children what to do by imposing their opinion on the child. Second, this particle occurs in the mode of communication that was labeled by Yokoyama (1992) as *svoj* ‘familiar/close/informal’³ mode characteristic of communication between family members or close friends (as opposed to *čужoj* ‘unfamiliar/distant/formal’ mode which is used in communication with strangers). Protassova’s files of CHILDES are a rather representative example of the *svoj* mode. I will concentrate on the use of *že* in the speech of adults.

This chapter is structured in the following way: in section 6.1 the etymology of particle *že* is briefly discussed. Section 6.2 provided a review of its functions as proposed in the literature. In section 6.3 two essential properties of *že* as a kontrastive marker are considered in detail: sub-section 6.3.1 deals with the type of set marked by *že* and sub-section 6.3.2 discusses the cognitive status of the information marked by it. In the next section, 6.4, the following consequences of these essential kontrastive properties of *že* are considered: its position at the clausal level (sub-section 6.4.1) and its role in discourse (sub-section 6.4.2). Section 6.5 provides additional illustrations of how the kontrastive properties of *že* are utilized in its combination with wh-words in various types of utterances (sub-section 6.5.1) and a brief comment on how *že* is used in child speech (sub-section 6.5.2). The concluding section 6.6 provides a summary of the present analysis of *že* as a k-marker and points out how this analysis can be viewed as unifying with respect to the multitude of functions proposed for *že* in the literature.

³ *Svoj* is a reflexive pronoun, literally ‘one’s own’.

6.1 Etymology

Etymological dictionaries trace the origin of *že* back to Indo-European **ghe* (with other variations) and point out to its correspondence to related forms in other Slavic and non-Slavic⁴ Indo-European languages (for more detail see Šanskij et al. 1975: 143, Černyx 1994: 294, among others).

Ickler (1981) who analyzes the functions of *že* in Old Russian, states that:

Old Russian and Old Church Slavic *že* is described in the literature as a postpositive particle [= “sentence-second” - SM] particle or conjunction which signals coordination (of clauses and occasionally of nouns), contrast, intensification, insistence, connection with the preceding text, and identity. (Ickler 1981: 6)

Most of these functions are still part of the contemporary language, however in modern Russian *že* has acquired some other usages. In the next section I will outline major functions of this particle in contemporary colloquial Russian.

6.2 Functions

Before describing functions of particle *že*, it should be noted that, as in the case with the other two particles analyzed in this dissertation, there are no lexical equivalents to particle *že* in English. The meaning that particle *že* contributes to discourse can be rendered primarily through intonation. In this respect, it is appropriate to refer to

⁴ See for example, Slings (2000) for an analysis of Ancient Greek *GE*.

Yokoyama's (1986) statement where she points out difficulties associated with analyzing the particle *že* and hints of its correspondence in English:

Particle *že*... is one of those particles that is notorious for its near-untranslatability: in at least one its usages (e.g., *Deti že pošli guljat* 'As for the children, they went for a walk'), it is encliticized to knowledge items located in the periphery of $C_a \cap C_b$ [the set of matters of shared current concern of the interlocutors A and B] to signalize their promotion to the center, while in another usage (e.g. *Ja že ne pridumyvaju!* 'I'm not making it up' (with an argumentative rising pitch at the end in English)) its position is not attached to any particular other word, and appears to accompany certain items of propositional knowledge associated with the preceding utterance in the speaker's knowledge set. While these usages await more precise definitions, it is important to note that information pertaining in this way to discourse dynamics is conveyed by different linguistic means in different languages: what is encoded into the lexical item *že* in Russian, for example, may in English be encoded solely into a particular intonational configuration.

(Yokoyama 1986: 289)

It appears that meaning of statements containing *že* can be rendered into English with the help of the so-called "contradiction contour" (Lieberman and Sag 1974;⁵ also see Pierrehumbert and Hirschberg 1990), which in Pierrehumbert's (1980) notation "may be analyzed as beginning with a prenuclear L* + H followed by one or more prenuclear L* accents before the nuclear L*" (quoted from Ladd 1996: 296). However, Parrott (1997: 120) points out with respect to English translations of statements containing *že*, that they "should, in general, be read with an argumentative pitch, one that is high overall and that rises towards the end of the utterance."

⁵ Lieberman and Sag (1974: 420) discuss sentences as shown in (i) (their example (8)) which, if pronounced with the special intonation contour, are felicitous only as contradicting some "context proposition."

(i)

Elephantiasis isn't incurable!

In order to render the contradictory tone conveyed by utterances with *že* in writing, sometimes I add the contrastive marker *but* (usually in parentheses) to my English translations. In some cases, translating these utterances as tag questions is also appropriate.

As for rendering the meaning of wh-questions (and quasi-questions with wh-words) into English, one possible way is to have the wh-word followed by a phrase like *(who/what/...) in the world* or its synonyms in the ‘familiar’ mode of communication like *(who/what/...) the hell...* Another possibility is to render such utterances into English with the help of the so-called “verum focus” reading (i.e., when the sentential stress on the predicate corresponds to contrast on some semantic category associated with verbal inflection (polarity, aspect, tense, etc.) and not with the lexical meaning of the verb).

The analysis of *že* which is given below has a goal of providing more precise definitions of these and other usages of this hard to crack particle.

6.2.1 Literature Review on Functions of Particle *ŽE*

Dictionaries of the Russian language distinguish between the uses of *že* as a conjunction and as a particle (see, for example *Slovar’ Russkogo Jazyka* 1(1985): 474). In the linguistic literature, however, this distinction is often subsumed under different functions that are attributed to the particle *že*. In this chapter I will follow the linguistic convention: references to the particle *že* should be understood broadly, i.e., encompassing both grammatical functions of the conjunction and the particle. The following works will be reviewed here: Vasilyeva (1972), Ickler (1981), several articles in *Les Particules*

Enonciatives en Russe Contemporain 1-3 (such as Bonnot 1986b, Padučeva 1988, and Paillard 1987), Parrott (1990, 1997), Bitextin (1994), Bonnot and Kodzasov (1998), and Feldman (forthcoming).

Vasilyeva (1972) describes the principal meaning of particle *že*(*ž*) in colloquial Russian as “categoric and insistent emphasis of the indisputability of a fact” with the following variations which are the result of modification by intonation and word order:

- a) The particle *že* may be used for *emphasis* and it lends an utterance (or part of one) the tone of *an indisputable and irrefutable argument*. In such cases *že*, like *ved'*, stressed the relation of cause and effect, but it also implies a more or less obvious expression of insistence (while...*ved'* in such cases strikes a note of gentle persuasion);
- b) [it] stresses categorically the *indisputability* of a fact and insistently expresses *certainty*, lending vivid emotiveness to the narrative;
- c) [it] may have *an emphatic meaning* when expressing both *positive* (approval, admiration, joy) and *negative* (disapproval, indignation, remonstrations) *emotions*. In an utterance expressing discovery or revelation *že* stresses surprise, bewilderment or perplexity more than *ved'* does;
- d) In *a general question* the particle *že* is used to exert *active influence* on the hearer, stressing the impossibility or inadmissibility of an answer other than that prompted by the speaker;
- e) In *a special question* the particle *že* is used to *emphasize*⁶ *interrogation* and it adds new shades of meaning...;
- f) When used in an utterance in the nature of instructions, directions, an order, command, etc., the particle *že* stresses the *categorical, insistent, intolerant character of an objection, non-compliance or refusal*. Its use is called forth by the emotions of *irritation, annoyance and impatience*. In such cases *že* is

⁶ Also see Krylova and Khavronina (1988:144).

not correlative with *ved'*, which is practically never used in volitional constructions. (Vasilyeva 1972: 54-60)

Ickler (1981) is a study of the particle *že* in Old Russian; it tracks “a diachronic derivation of *že* in its various uses from an original sentence-second particle which signaled or highlighted boundaries and connections in the text” (Ickler 1981:330) and distinguishes between two major uses of the particle: organizational (“signaling a connection or division in the text”, *ibid.*, 332) and affective (drawing attention to an item which is vested with special emotion or other import”, *ibid.*). The author, however, provides a synopsis of the modern usage of the particle *že* in an appendix, mostly summarizing the findings of Vasilyeva (1972), Vinogradov (1947) and others, but also pointing out several uses of this particle that have not been described in the literature before, such as what she labels “repetition-marking *že*” and “*že* with endophoric deictics (deictics referring to something in the linguistic context)” (*ibid.*, 345). Ickler provides a chart on the distribution of *že* in Modern Russian, which is, with a few minor adjustments, is given below as Table 6.1:

Table 6.1: Ickler's (1981: 347) Distribution of *ŽE* in Modern Russian:

(* = uncommon usage; **L** = characteristic primarily of the literary language;
C = characteristic primarily of the conversational language)

FUNCTIONS POSITION	PRIMARILY ORGANIZATIONAL FUNCTIONS	PRIMARILY AFFECTIVE FUNCTIONS
FOLLOWING FIRST TONIC WORD IN SENTENCE	1. adversative <i>že</i> (<i>že</i> with contrastive topic) L 2. *connective <i>že</i> (<i>že</i> with topic which repeats or pronominalizes some part of preceding context) L 3. <i>že</i> with certain conjunctions L, C?	1. <i>že</i> with item, usually focus, preposed for emphasis (often felt to be contrastive) C? 2. <i>že</i> used to heighten effect of entire sentence C? a) to make statements, commands, and the implied assertion of rhetorical questions more categorical, questions more reflective of curiosity and more demanding of answer b) to convey that speaker is feeling strong emotion 3. <i>že</i> used to introduce known information which renders a connected statement, command or question more insistent C
FOLLOWING TONIC WORD IN ANY POSITION	1. repetition-marking <i>že</i> L <i>že</i> with shifters, sometimes with semantic modification L, C	1. *same as 2 above, but with <i>že</i> following predicate (or focus?) C 2. <i>že</i> with emphasized items C, L?

The distinction between the organizational and affective functions of *že* (cf., the difference between the grammatical functions of a conjunction and a particle which is recorded in dictionaries of Russian) as pointed out by Ickler (1981) has proved useful for researchers during the following two decades. Even though the labels used with respect to *že* vary from one researcher to another, this basic distinction is present in most analyses of particle *že*.

Thus, several articles on particle *že* in the three-volume set of *Les Particules Enonciatives en Russe Contemporain* (1986, 1987, 1988) can be grouped according to this distinction: the organizational, or “thematic” function of *že* is the focus of Bonnot’s (1986b) article, while Paillard (1987) deals mostly with its diverse affective, or modal, functions. Padučeva (1988) inventories the meanings of *že* and discussed its syntactic and prosodic characteristics.

However, Padučeva (1988), in her inventory of meanings of *že*, utilizes another criterion found in Ickler’s (1981) analysis: specifically, the position of this particle in the utterance. The position of *že* that Ickler refers to as “following the first tonic word in the sentence” is re-labeled by Padučeva as the “initial” *že*, while the position that in Ickler’s terminology is called “following tonic word in any position” is re-phrased as “free/neutral” *že*. According to Padučeva, the main meanings of the “initial” *že* are adversative, argumentative, and consequential, while “free/neutral” *že* is classified as *že* of identity or *že* of promptitude. Padučeva remarks that the precise meaning of this particle is determined by the context and that the overlap among all these contextual meanings of *že* can be described as the following:

...[particle *že*] presupposes the presence of two situations which are linked to each other in some particular way. These links are not arbitrary but, nevertheless, they resist any attempt at generalization, since they frequently appear to be in contradiction to one another: their relationship type can be of contradiction or of analogy, of weak argumentation or of weak consequence.

(Padučeva 1988: 43; translation is mine: SM.)

One of the goals of this chapter will be to provide a more formal generalization of the nature of the relationship among the elements linked by *že* than as suggested by Padučeva (1988).

Similar to other researchers, Bitextin (1994) differentiates between “textual” and “modal” functions of the particle *že*. He points out that “textual” *že* is used when the conditions of contrast, identity or disjunction in the text are not optimized: for example, when the elements are separated by large blocks of text, or when they occur in different types of syntactic structures. “Textual” *že* re-establishes the relationship between those elements. One of the meanings of the “textual” *že* is to signal the relationship of identity between two elements.

“Modal” *že*, according to Bitextin, is used when pragmatic conditions of a successful speech act are not present: i.e., when the hearer is not cooperative enough for the hearer to complete the intended speech act. He points out that “modal” *že* is usually associated with some kind of repetition: the speaker uses *že* when the first attempt to reach an intended effect has failed.

Bitextin points out that particle *že* modifies a “modal” or “logical” operator in the semantic structure of the utterance, thus its scope is identical to the scope of the operator. Practically, this generalization by Bitextin can be interpreted to mean that *že* can have either terms or full propositions in its scope.

Parrott (1997) (also see her earlier 1990 analysis) is a comprehensive treatment of discourse functions of *že* and its position in the utterance as dependent on the speaker’s assessment of the discourse situation and especially on the speaker’s assessment of the

hearer's knowledge set. Parrott, like other researchers, also distinguishes between the "thematic" and "modal" functions of *že*: in its thematic function, the particle *že* is compared to the particle/conjunction *a* (both synchronically and diachronically), while the modal function of *že* is comparable to the usage of particle *ved'*. Parrott uses Yokoyama's (1986) Transactional Discourse Model (see chapter 3, section 3.4.1 for detail) to account for differences in the usage of these particles. She also proposes rules for placement of sentential *že*, which will be reviewed below.

Parrott convincingly demonstrates how certain implicatures associated with the "modal" (or, "sentential," in her terminology) *že* (such as its "aggressiveness," or the perception of utterances containing *že* as "verbal attacks on the addressee"), and also its restriction to the *svoj* 'informal/familiar' mode of communication can be traced to the location of the information in the hearer's knowledge set, as subjectively estimated by the speaker:

... with *že* only the base propositional knowledge (X) is contained in the addressee's knowledge set; the 'correct' inference (Y), in contrast, is located entirely outside the addressee's knowledge set. Since the correct complex propositional knowledge consists of both X and Y , i.e. $X \implies Y$ ("Given X , then Y " or " X entails Y "), then the correct complex propositional knowledge as a whole is not contained in the addressee's general knowledge set. More importantly, at the moment of discourse the addressee is concerned with the opposite of the correct inference ($\neg Y$) — i.e. $\neg Y$ is located in the addressee's set of current concern. What accounts for the aggressiveness of *že* is the fact that, in the speaker's estimation, the addressee possesses the knowledge (the base propositional knowledge X) that would force the correct conclusion (the correct inference Y) but the addressee is nevertheless making an 'incorrect' inference ($\neg Y$, the negation of the correct inference). This may be paraphrased thus: 'Logically, X entails Y ; although you know X , you are nevertheless making the illogical conclusion $\neg Y$.' [...] the addressee's incorrect inference $\neg Y$ generally comes about because s/he is focusing on knowledge that is to some extent contrary to the base propositional knowledge X ; that is, although X is present in his/her general knowledge set, at the moment of

discourse, s/he is currently concerned with $-X'$, which leads him/her to the conclusion $-Y$, i.e.: $-X' \implies -Y$. (Parrott 1997: 185-6)

Parrott examines the difference between *že* and *ved'* and comes to the conclusion that the difference in function between the two particles and the choice among them in the utterance is explained away by the difference in the location of the relevant knowledge in the hearer's knowledge store (more details of Parrott's analysis of *ved'* will be given in chapter 7).

The present analysis of *že*⁷ as a kontrastive marker owes a lot to Parrott's (1997) treatment of this particle. For one thing, both here and in Parrott's analysis, the cognitive status of information marked by *že* is accounted within the framework of Yokoyama's (1986) Transactional Discourse Model. However, while Parrott (1997) bases her analysis of *že* (and *ved'*) solely on Yokoyama's model, in the present analysis this framework is integrated with other frameworks proposed in the literature (such as V&V's theory of contrast, Vallduví's (1992, etc.) theory of information packaging within the clause, Gundel et al.'s (1993) theory of cognitive statuses of referents in discourse, and Buring's (2000, etc.) theory of discourse structure; see more on these frameworks in chapters 2 and 3).

Another important difference between Parrott's account and the present one is the following: by concentrating on the cognitive status of information marked by *že*, her account is capable of explaining aspects of the meaning of *že* that are linked to this cognitive dimension. In the present analysis, however, another dimension of the invariant

⁷ The information in this paragraph and the following ones equally applies to the analyses of particle *ved'*.

meaning of *že* is addressed, i.e., the type of sets it marks. By combining two essential properties — the types of set and the cognitive status of information marked by this particle, — the present analysis is capable of accounting for a greater range of meanings of *že* described in the literature. The combination of these two core factors will be viewed as forming the invariant part of the lexical meaning of *že*, and such consequences of these factors as the position of *že* at the level of the clause and its role in the discourse will be formalized with a greater precision than it is done within Parrott's (1997) account.

However, since the goals and methodology of Parrott's (1997) treatment of *že* partially overlap with those of the present analysis and also since I view hers as a model to follow and build on, I will make numerous references to the details of her proposal throughout this chapter (as well as throughout the next chapter which deal with particle *ved'*).

The two dissertation-length studies that have been reviewed above — Bitextin (1994) and Parrott (1997) — can be seen as a shift in the linguistic literature from the (unachievable) goal of a complete enumeration of multiple functions of this particle to a search for the underlying invariant principles governing its use. Particle *že*, even more so than *-to* and *ved'*, is notorious for covering a multitude of functions, some of which can be viewed as completely opposite.⁸ Both Bitextin (1994) and Parrott (1997), however, stop short of a truly unifying analysis that would account for a full range of its contextual

⁸ Compare, for example, its usage mentioned by King (1993: 75) with respect to “Morphological Association with Focus,” which is in direct opposition to the “thematic” function of *že*: “... the particle *že* interacts with focused items, making them more emphatic; this particle is one way of indicating contrastive focus in written Russian where sentence stress is not available as a marker of contrastive focus.”

meanings (for example, either of these analyses treats “textual”/”thematic” and “modal”/”sentential” functions of *že* as separate meanings).

Recently, there have been two rather different attempts to propose a unifying analysis of *že*: Bonnot and Kodzasov (1998) and Feldman (forthcoming). Bonnot and Kodzasov (1998) propose that the invariant/basic meaning of particle *že* is to mark a reference point in the activated “domain of reference:” in case of a deviation from this domain of reference, *že* helps to re-route the conversation or to track it back to that reference point. Alternatively, in Feldman (forthcoming), particle *že* is analyzed within the framework of Relevance Theory (Sperber and Wilson 1988) as instructing the addressee to process the information in a discourse segment vis-à-vis activated or re-activated information, which is expected to be “hearer-old.” With respect to its placement, Feldman proposes to analyze particle *že* as a second position clitic with respect to its scope (phrase or clause).⁹

However, none of these proposals attempts to unify the full diversity of functions of *že*, which are summarized below (note that some of these functions overlap with those ascribed to particle *-to*):

- *thematic/organizational/textual že* (Vasilyeva, Ickler, Bonnot, Padučeva, Bitextin);
- *affective/modal že* ((Vasilyeva, Ickler, Paillard, Bitextin)
- *marker of contrast/contrastive focus* (Vasilyeva, Bitextin, King);

⁹ Unfortunately, Feldman (forthcoming) does not provide a literature review, so it is unclear which proposals she is arguing against and which proposals serve as a basis for hers. None of the major analyses of *že* that I review in this section are mentioned in her paper. I will treat her proposal as a separately standing one, even though some of the ideas proposed by Felman can be traced to other proposals in the literature.

- *marker of emphasis* (Vasilyeva, Ickler, Bitextin);
- *marker of (re-)activated information* (Bitextin, Parrott, Feldman);
- *marker of a reference point in the activated 'domain of reference'* (Bonnot and Kodzasov); etc.

The analysis of *že* as a kontrastive marker, which is given below, can be viewed as another attempt to propose a unifying analysis of various functions of particle *že*. My analysis of *že* will incorporate (some) observations offered in the literature and re-frame them through the theory of kontrast proposed in V&V. I will argue that analyzing *že* as a kontrastive marker possesses certain advantages over previous proposals.

In the following section I will discuss two essential properties of particle *že* as a kontrastive marker: the type of sets and the cognitive status of information marked by *že*.

6.3 *Kontrastive Properties of ŽE in Detail*

This section will provide a detailed discussion of the kontrastive properties of particle *že* with respect to the questions introduced and briefly discussed in chapter 4, which are proposed to be essential for classification of k-markers:

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

6.3.1 What Kind of Set is Marked by ŽE?

K-marker *že* marks a set of propositions (and, possibly, a set of terms; see the discussion below), which are differentiated by the value of at least one kontrastive term (usually within the rheme). The set-generating properties of particle *že* are the following: by using *že* in the utterance, the speaker instructs the hearer to treat the proposition marked by *že*, as a part of the kontrast set which this proposition forms with another proposition that is salient in the discourse or discourse situation. An important property of *že* is that the relationship of the elements in its kontrast set is of mutual exclusivity, i.e. only one proposition in the set is true, while the other(s) is/are false.

As a consequence, the set consists of usually¹⁰ two members, which are assigned opposite values. Thus, the membership set that is marked by *že* is similar to the one that is utilized for binary (or, one-to-one) contrast (see chapter 2, section 2.3): the

¹⁰ A special case when the membership is limited to a single member will be discussed separately; for now, it suffices to mention that even this special case can be viewed as a type of a mutually exclusive set: here *že* signals the equivalence of its member to itself (the identity issue of this element has been raised in the discourse).

membership is restricted to two elements, which share the majority of features and differ in one or a few features.

In the discussion below I will first discuss the type of elements in the *kontrast* set marked by *že* (sub-section 6.3.1.1) and then examine the relationship among the members of the set (sub-section 6.3.1.2).

6.3.1.1 Elements in the Set

First, let us take a look at an example of what has been traditionally analyzed as the “phrasal” *že*, and more specifically, the case when a question of establishing identity is raised in the discourse. Grandparent¹¹ (GPP) and Varja are looking at a picture book and going through pictures of various animals and birds. They come to a picture of a sparrow who is lying in bed. The discussion in this excerpt is centered on why the sparrow is lying in bed in the daytime (it turns out later that he played with a knife and cut his hand: the Grandparent is obviously trying to teach Varja a lesson that it is not good to play with knives). The child answers the “why” question with a puzzling answer “Cat” and later points to a picture (presumably, a picture within the picture) of what she thinks is a cat. The Grandparent says that she is wrong and that picture is of the very same sparrow — *ètot že samyj vorobej* ‘this *že* same sparrow’ (underline on main discourse referents is added to the original and the gloss of the utterance containing *že* is given below):

¹¹ In the introductory note to the file, it is stated that it is unclear whether GPP stands for the Grandmother or the Grandfather. Judging from the verbal exchange, it is more or less obvious that this is the Grandmother (at least in this excerpt) and not the Grandfather.

(2) [Varja and Grandparent discuss why the sparrow is lying in bed in the daytime]

*GPP: A vot èto kto, bednyj, bednyj vorobej, pochemu on lezhit v krovatke?
 %eng: And who is this, the poor, poor sparrow, why is he lying in a littlebed?
 *GPP: Pochemu?
 %eng: Why?
 *VAR: Kavatki.
 %eng: little bed.
 *GPP: Da, pochemu on lezhit v krovatke?
 %eng: Yes, why is he lying in a little bed?
 *GPP: ved' sejchas ne noch'?.
 %eng: It isn't night now, is it?
 *GPP: Ne noch'.
 %eng: Not night.
 *GPP: Den'.
 %eng: Day.
 *GPP: Svetlo, vse guljajut.
 %eng: It is daylight, everybody is outing.
 *GPP: A on lezhit v krovatke.
 %eng: And he is lying in the little bed.
 *GPP: Pochemu?
 %eng: Why?
 *VAR: Koska, koska.
 %eng: Cat, cat.
 *GPP: Chto?
 %eng: What?
 *VAR: Koska, koska, koska.
 *GPP: Gde ty vidish' koshku?
 %eng: Where do you see a cat?
 *VAR: èta.
 %eng: This.
 *GPP: Chto ty.
 %eng: But you are wrong. You're wrong.
 *GPP: Èto na stene visit kartinka, gde on narisovan, ètot zhe samyj vorobej.
 %eng: There is a picture hanging on the wall, where he is painted, the same sparrow.
 *GPP: Kartinka.
 %eng: A picture.
 *VAR: I èta.
 %eng: And this.
 *GPP: Znaesh', pochemu on lezhit, posmotri-ka, chto u nego tut, rjadom s krovatkoj?
 %eng: Do you know, why is he lying, just look, what is there near him, near his little bed? [...]
 THE THIRD SÉANCE

Gloss:

Chto ty. Èto na stene visit kartinka, gde on narisovan,
 What you. This on wall is-hanging picture, where he is-painted,

[+K ètot zhe samyj vorobej]. Kartinka.
 this *že* same sparrow. Picture.

‘What’s wrong with you. This is a PICTURE hanging on the wall, where HE is painted, the (*že*) VERY SAME SPARROW. A PICTURE!’

There are two competing referents for the image in the picture (within the picture): in Varja’s view it is the cat and in Grandparent’s view it is the sparrow. Moreover, Grandparent believes that the two sparrows in the book (let’s call them sparrow₁ for the primary image and sparrow₂ for the one in the picture within the picture) have the same referent, or sparrow₁=sparrow₂. So, the child’s set of main referents in the discourse consists of the following members: {cat, sparrow}. First, the Grandparent discards the option of the cat being the reason of the sparrow being sick in bed, i.e. instructs the child to take the cat out of the set of referents: {~~cat~~, sparrow}. However, there are two competing images of the sparrow in the picture: sparrow₁ and sparrow₂, so potentially the set of referents that Varja might have in mind looks like {sparrow₁, sparrow₂}. The Grandparent’s utterance with *že* equates the two images of the sparrow as having the same referent: {sparrow₁=sparrow₂}.

So in (2), *že* serves some kind of “identity-seeking” function: the hearer, in the speaker’s estimation, is thinking that there are two different sparrows, while there is only one referent, i.e., this is the same sparrow that was introduced as a discourse topic before: *bednyj, bednyj vorobej* ‘the poor, poor sparrow’). The presence of particle *že* instructs the hearer to look for an element in discourse which semantically matches the element marked by *že*: *this same sparrow is the poor, poor sparrow* that was mentioned before.¹²

¹² It is important to note that the referent status of *sparrow* in GPP’s utterance with *že* is activated in Gundel et al.’s (1993) classification and in the shared set of matters of current concern in Yokoyama’s

Another issue that is important here is that the presence of *že* is not optional here: without *že*, the phrase *ětot samyj vorobej* ‘this same sparrow’ would require a restrictive relative clause which would uniquely identify the referent of the noun, as in *ětot samyj vorobej kotoryj ležit v krovatke* ‘this same sparrow which is lying in his little bed’.

One (traditional) way to analyze the elements comprising the set marked by *že* in utterances like in (2) is to view them as terms (or, syntactically, phrases) and not propositions, cf. the label for this function of *že* proposed in the literature — “phrasal *že*.” However, another way is to look at the elements in the *že* set as propositions which differ in the value of (at least) one term. After all, this “identity-seeking” function of *že* requires an evaluation of truth conditions of a proposition of the form $[[This\ is\ (not)\ X]]$, where X belongs to the set of discourse referents $\{cat, sparrow_1, sparrow_2\}$. So, it would be more plausible to analyze the elements within the *kontrast* set for (2) as full propositions and not single terms (even though they differ from each other in the value of at least one term). So, the *kontrast* set for (2) probably contains the following proposition-length members: $\{This\ is\ a\ cat; This\ is\ not\ a\ cat; This\ is\ a\ sparrow_1; This\ is\ a\ sparrow_2\}$.¹³

The claim that the elements in the *kontrast* set marked by *že* are always propositions and not single terms needs to be tested on other instantiations of this particle, including

(1986) model, since it is a discourse topic in this segment and even though the last reference to the sparrow is eight clauses before (it is being referred to in the form of a personal pronoun immediately preceding the phrase containing *že*). For more discussion on cognitive status of referents marked by *že* see section 6.3.2 below.

¹³ If a discourse tree is viewed as an evolving structure, there should be only two elements in the *kontrast* set generated by *že* at a single time, i.e., there might be actually two different *kontrast* sets generated in (2): $\{This\ is\ a\ cat; This\ is\ not\ a\ cat\}$ and $\{This\ is\ a\ sparrow_1; This\ is\ a\ sparrow_2\}$. I will leave this issue for future research.

other varieties of Russian besides its colloquial variety. Below I will discuss less disputable cases of *že* having scope over propositions (syntactically, clauses).

A more clear-cut illustration of *že* marking a set of propositions which differ from each in the value of a kontrastive term is given below in (3). The situation is the following: mother is trying to change Varja's clothes and Varja is uncooperative and acting rather unpleasantly. In order to distract her, or change the topic, or change an unpleasant situation into a more pleasant one, or for some other reason, mother says:

(3) [Varja is misbehaving; mother is changing the conversation to a more pleasant topic]

*MOT: Varja, a poslushaj, a sejchas papa pridet.
 %eng: Varja, and listen, and now daddy will come.
 *MOT: Papa poshel kupit' morozhenoe, pridet.
 %eng: Daddy has gone to buy ice-cream, he'll come back.
 *MOT: Predstavljaesh' sebe: papa pridet i prineset morozhenoe.
 %eng: Can you imagine: daddy will be back and will bring ice-cream.
 *MOT: Èto **zhe** prekrasno!
 %eng: But this is beautiful!
 *VAR: Èta zy¹⁴ pikana!
 %eng: But this is beautiful!
 *MOT: Èto prekrasno!
 %eng: This is beautiful!
 *MOT: Ja schitaju, chto èto zamechatel'no.
 %eng: I think, that it is wonderful.
 *MOT: A ty kak schitaesh'?
 %eng: And what do you think about it?
 *VAR: A ty tak sitais?
 %eng: And do you think so?
 *VAR: Net!
 %eng: No!
 *MOT: Net!
 %eng: No!
 THE SECOND SEANCE - MAY THE 14, 15, 16 1984

Gloss:

¹⁴ Note that the child usage of *že* (pronounced as [zy]) here (age 1;7.13) is a word-by-word repetition of the mother's utterance. At later stages of language acquisition, the child starts using *že* on her own (see especially the last two files of Varja, recorded at ages 2;3.13 and 2;9.13). This issue will be discussed in more detail below, in section 6.5.2.

*MOT: Predstavljajesh' sebe: papa pridet i prineset morozhenoe.
 Imagine to-yourself daddy will-come and will-bring ice-cream.

‘Can you imagine: daddy will come and bring ice cream.’

[+K Èto zhe prekrasno]!
 This že beautiful!

‘This (že) is GREAT!’

The scope of *že* in this example is the proposition *This is GREAT*, where the pronominal *èto* ‘this’ anaphorically refers to the proposition in the previous clause: *Daddy will come and bring ice cream*. The use of *že* in this example is motivated by the mother’s strategy¹⁵ who is trying to change the situation from unpleasant to pleasant. Here *že* works in the following way: it marks a kontrast set that the proposition *This is GREAT* forms with another, contextually present, proposition *This is not great*, in which *this* refers to Varja’s behavior: {Daddy’s bringing ice cream is great, Varja’s behavior is not great}.

The size of the elements in the kontrast set marked by *že* in (3) is proposition-length and not term-length since the members differ from each other in more than one respect: *Daddy’s bringing ice cream* is opposed to *Varja’s behavior* and *great* is in binary opposition with *not great*.

Another example of proposition-level *že*, taken from the child’s speech, is given in (4) below: there are three semantically related propositions that are marked by *že* there.

¹⁵ It is a different matter whether the mother’s strategy is successful. Varja’s *net!* ‘no!’ can be viewed either as a negative response to the immediately preceding mother’s question *Do you think so?* or to mother’s action of undressing the child (or both?). However, it is obvious from several utterances following this excerpt that the mother’s strategy did work: she is asking Varja to put everything (=clothes) on the bed and to turn around to check if Varja’s dress looks ok. And Varja herself is asking to put on another dress, on top of the one she is already wearing.

Apparently, in Varja's opinion, giving three (related) reasons for not finishing her crackers would be more convincing to her mother than giving just one:

(4) [Varja provides reasons for not finishing her crackers]

*VAR: Ja ne xochu doedat' pechen'e, ja budu teper' lechit' kisjavku, on zhe bol'noj.

*VAR: Teper' ja budu lechit' malen'kogo kisjavichusa, emu zhe bol'no, on zhe plachet.

*MOT: A kak ty ego budesh' lechit'?

THE SIXTH SÉANCE - FEBRUARY THE 15, 1985

*VAR: I do not want to finish the crackers, I will now treat my kitty-cat, he (že) is sick.
Now I will treat my little kitty-cat, he (že) is hurting, he (že) is crying.

*MOT: And how are you going to treat him?

Gloss:

Ja ne xochu doedat' pechen'e, ja budu teper' lechit' kisjavku,
I NEG want finish-to-eat cracker, I will now treat kitty-cat,

[+K on zhe bol'noj].
he že sick.

'I do not want to finish the crackers, I will now treat my kitty-cat, he (že) is sick.'

Teper' ja budu lechit' malen'kogo kisjavichusa,
Now I will treat little kitty-cat,

[+K emu zhe bol'no], [+K on zhe plachet].
to-him že hurting, he že is-crying.

'Now I will treat my little kitty-cat, he (že) is hurting, he (že) is crying.'

The three propositions marked by *že* in Varja's speech in (4) are synonymous as far as reasons not to finish the crackers but instead to treat the sick cat are concerned. Her reasoning goes approximately like this: "You believe that I have time to finish these crackers but you are wrong: I don't want to finish my crackers [because] I need to treat my kitty-cat [since] he (*že*) is sick/ he (*že*) is hurting/ he (*že*) is crying." The propositions

marked by *že* (*The cat is sick/ is hurting/ is crying*) are subjectively viewed by the speaker to form a *kontrast* set with propositions in the hearer's knowledge set (who probably possesses sufficient reasons to believe that) *It is NOT the case that the cat is sick/ is hurting/ is crying* (and that is why there is no need to treat him and there is time to finish the crackers).

An example given below in (5) illustrates that *že* can be alternatively viewed as having scope not over a single proposition (or a single clause, in syntactic terms) but rather over an utterance which can be composed of several propositions (clauses) (also see the discussion on multiple *že* below and in Parrott 1997). The discourse situation for the excerpt below: Varja and her Grandparent are looking through a picture book, at a picture of a man writing in a notebook with a pencil. Varja asks what he is doing, Grandparent answers that he is writing and then adds a two-clause utterance, with *že* used in each clause: *Ty zhe vidish', u nego zhe karandashik, i tetradochka* 'Can't you see, he has a little pencil, and a little notebook.'

(5) [Varja and Grandparent are looking at a picture of a man writing in a notebook with a pencil]

*VAR: A èta to deait djadja?
 %eng: And what is the uncle doing here?
 *GPP: On pishet.
 %eng: He is writing.
 *GPP: Ty zhe vidish', u nego zhe karandashik, i tetradochka.
 %eng: But you see, he has got a little pencil, and a little copy-book.
 *GPP: On pishet.
 %eng: He is writing.
 *GPP: Vidish', on pishet.
 %eng: Can't you see, that he is writing.
 THE THIRD SEANCE

Glosses:

Ty **zhe** VIDish', u nego **zhe** karanDASHik, i tetRADochka.
 You *že* SEE, at him *že* Pencil-DIM and NOTEbook-DIM

'Can't you SEE, he has a little Pencil and a little NOTEbook.' Or
 'You can see he has a little Pencil, and a little NOTEbook, can't you?' Or
 'You (*že*) can see [yourself]...'

By using *že* in (5), the speaker emphasizes the obviousness of the fact that the man is writing (cf. Vasilyeva 1972): the hearer is considered by the speaker as capable of seeing for herself that the man has a pencil and a notebook and also as capable of making the conclusion that the man is writing (in this situation: the girl is considered by the grandmother to be old enough to know the meaning of the verb *write* well enough to make the correct conclusion herself). But, nevertheless, for some reason the hearer was not able to arrive at the correct conclusion herself (the girl asked a question about what the man was doing), thus the utterance with *že* is perceived as a kind of reproach in reasoning abilities of the hearer (cf. Parrott 1997). Multiple occurrence of *že* in this excerpt can be viewed as *že* having scope over the complex utterance consisting of two propositions and being inserted twice in the appropriate positions in each clause. It is important to note, however, that multiple particles are optional here: the utterance would preserve the same semantic and pragmatic meaning if only one *že* were present.

In sum, I propose that the elements within the contrast set marked by *že* are propositions which differ from each other in the value of at least one term. The cases of *že* having scope over a single term (syntactically, a phrase) or a sequence of propositions (utterances) can be possibly re-analyzed as cases of proposition-level *že*. However, more research is needed to confirm this claim.

6.3.1.2 Relationship among Set Members

The set that is marked by *že* is rather different than the set that, for example, is marked by *-to*. As shown in chapters 4 and 5, *-to* marks a set of sets of propositions, which can be viewed as an open-ended set (usually, it is not possible to list all alternatives that are being considered). However, k-marker *že* operates on a rather different set: the main property of the kontrast set for *že* is that the members within the set are mutually exclusive. This results in a restricted, limited, exhaustive set which contains only a few members: usually the membership is limited to two members but can also contain several members if those can be explicitly enumerated. Sometimes, the set generated by *že* contains only a single member: in this case, a question of the identity of some member to itself is at issue.

Since the set membership in the case with *že* is limited/restricted only to a few members (usually two), the contrast/opposition/polarity between the members is more visible and is perceived as a sharp contrast. Thus, the members of the set are usually perceived as being in the relationship of binary opposition to each other.

The example in (6) illustrates that the membership of the kontrast set for *že* is not limited to two and only two members but can consist of several members (more than two) when the members can be potentially enumerated. The discourse situation for (6), which immediately precedes the situation described for (1), is the following: some unspecified object broke. The mother and the daughter decide to glue that object together. After some practice with pronouncing *klej* ‘glue’ Varja apparently picks up an unopened glue tube.

Mother tells her that she shouldn't use this one and starts looking for the one that has already been opened:

(6) [Mother and Varja are looking for the unopened glue tube]

*MOT: Davaj prikleim.
 *MOT: Gde u nas tut klej.
 *VAR: Klej, kej, kej, kej.
 *MOT: Klej.
 *VAR: A ne kej, da?
 *VAR: Klej a ne kej, klej kej kej, ka ka ka ka ka ka.
 *MOT: Èto zapechatennyj tjubik, zapechatannyj.
 *VAR: Kakoj chubik?
 *MOT: Tjubik s kleem.
 *VAR: Tjubik s kleem?
 *MOT: On eshche ne otkryt, im nel'zja kleit'.
 *MOT: Schas my posmotrim, kakoj zhe u nas otkrytyj uzhe.
 *MOT: Mozhet byt', ètot?
 *MOT: Da, vot ètot otkryt, vot ètim my i prikleim.
 THE SEVENTH SEANCE - AUGUST THE 15, 1985

MOT: Let's glue [it together].

MOT:
 here.

Where do we have glue

VAR: Glue, gue, gue, gue.

MOT: Glue.

VAR: And not gue, right?

VAR: Glue and not gue, glue gue, gue, ga ga ga ga ga ga.

MOT: This is a sealed tube, sealed.

VAR: What tube?

MOT: Glue tube.

VAR: Glue tube?

MOT: It is not opened yet, it shouldn't be used for gluing.

MOT: Now let us see, which one (že) we have already opened.

MOT: Maybe this one?

MOT: Yes, this one is opened, so we will glue with this one.

Gloss:

*MOT: Schas my posmotrim, kakoj zhe u nas otkrytyj uzhe.
 Now we will-see, what že at us open(adj.) already.

‘Now let's see, which one (že) of these we have opened already.’

Even though the exact number of glue tubes under consideration is not specified in the context, it is situationally specific and is presumably limited to several items — three

or four, perhaps, but definitely more than two. The latter can be inferred from the pronominal form that *že* is cliticized to: *kakoj* ‘what’ and not *kotoryj* ‘which’. Even though the set has more than two members, *že* still possesses this identity-seeking function: it is known to the speaker that one of these glue tubes is opened and the goal is to find which one (out of the set of glue tubes in the immediate situation) has already been opened. In a way, there is still this opposition present, which is so characteristic of *že* — in this case, however, the one tube that is opened is opposed to the others that are still sealed.

Another example: Varja is learning about sizes by playing with stackable *matrjoška*-dolls, i.e., a set of wooden figures varying in size a little bit enough to stack them inside one another. The set is definitely finite and exhaustive and the dolls can be counted. The function of *že* in the mother’s utterance below is to identify one and only one doll out of this set of *matrjoškas*:

(7) [Varja and mother are putting *matrjoška* dolls together]

*MOT: A gde nasha samaja malen'kaja matreshechka?

*MOT: Vot ona.

*MOT: Samaja malen'kaja u nas v samuju bol'shuju sjadet?

*VAR: Net.

*MOT: Net, a v kakuju zhe?

*MOT: Vot v ètu, da?

THE FIFTH SEANCE - OCTOBER 2-3, 1984

*MOT: And where is our smallest little doll?

Here it is.

Are we putting the smallest one in the biggest one?

*VAR: No.

*MOT: No, but in which one (*že*)?

Right in this one, yes?

Gloss:

*MOT: Net, a v kakuju zhe?

No, but in what *že*

‘No, but in which one (*že*)?’

In both (6) and (7), *že* is cliticized to a wh-word; the semantics of such combinations is to be addressed below (especially see section 6.5).

As pointed out above, the main property of the set marked by particle *že* is the relationship of mutual exclusivity among its members; a practical consequence of this property is that the set for *že* is usually limited to two members which are assigned opposite values. This is illustrated by the excerpt in (6): Varja points out to a bottle and states that it is a big, huge bottle. The Mother corrects Varja by making a statement to the contrary which contains particle *že*: *Nu kakaja zhe èto ogromnaja butylochka, èto maaalen'kaja butylochka, a ty govorish' ogromnaja* ‘Well, WHAT (*že*) huge bottle is this?! — this is a SMALL bottle and you are saying “huge”!’:

(8) [Varja thinks the bottle is big, mother corrects her]

*VAR: I, Butyjka stait.
 %eng: I, a bottle is standing.
 *VAR: Vot, basaja, vot.
 %eng: Here, a big, here.
 *VAR: Von ana.
 %eng: There she is.
 *VAR: Otin' basaja, agomaja.
 %eng: Very big, huge.
 *MOT: Nu kakaja zhe èto ogromnaja butylochka, èto maaalen'kaja butylochka, a ty govorish' ogromnaja.
 %eng: How, this is a huge little bottle, this is a smaaaal little bottle, and you say "huge".
 *MOT: Èto maaalen'kaja butylochka.
 %eng: It is a smaaaal little bottle.
 *VAR: Main'kaja.
 %eng: A small.
 THE SECOND SEANCE - MAY THE 14, 15, 16 1984

Gloss:

*MOT: Nu kaKaja zhe èto ogromnaja butylochka, èto MAAAlen'kaja
 well WHAT že this huge bottle-DIM, this SMAAALL

butylochka, a ty govorish' ogromnaja.
 bottle-DIM, and you say huge

'Well, WHAT (*že*) huge bottle is this?! — this is a SMALL bottle and you are saying “huge!”

In this example *že* cliticizes to the wh-word *kakaja* ‘what’ and has scope over the DP *kakaja ogromnaja butyločka* ‘what huge bottle’. However, this utterance is not a regular wh-question seeking for information, as it would be otherwise, without particle *že* encliticized to *kakaja* ‘what’. Instead, the presence of *že* suggests that the speaker has the exact opposite of ‘huge’ in mind, i.e., ‘small’, which is explicitly given in the following clause, with the vowel elongation added for emphasis (or, rather, *kontrast*). So, in the case of (6), *že* generates an exhaustive membership set composed of only two members, which are mutually exclusive: {This is a huge bottle; This is a small bottle}.

To summarize, the following answer to the question *What kind of set is marked by že?* has been given in this section: with respect to the type (or size) of elements, *že* definitely marks a set of propositions which differ from each other in the value of at least one term; other cases (“phrasal” and utterance-level *že*) can be possibly re-analyzed as cases of proposition-level *že*. With respect to the relationship among the members in its set, the main property of the *kontrast* set for *že* is mutual exclusivity.

6.3.2 What is the Cognitive Status of Referents Marked by *ŽE*?

Particle *že* marks the membership set, one of the members of which is activated in the hearer’s mind at the time of the utterance, while the other member (i.e., the one explicitly

marked by it) is viewed by the speaker as known (or should have been known) to the hearer who has failed to activate it. In Gundel et al.'s (1993) terminology, the corresponding cognitive statuses are the following: the member that is not explicitly marked by *že* is *in focus* or *activated*; the member that is explicitly marked by *že* is (treated by the speaker as) *familiar* and *activated* for the hearer. In Yokoyama's (1986) terminology, this is the information in the set of matters of current concern — $C_a \cap C_b$, or more precisely, in the center of the speaker's set of matters of current concern and on the periphery of the hearer's set of matters of current concern (cf. Parrott 1997).

Consider the following interaction taken from I. Grekova's novel *Vdovij Paroxod* 'Widows' Steamboat' (for a longer excerpt see chapter 5). The speakers are older women who share a communal flat. Even though they share the living space and — seemingly — know each other very well, they come from different walks of life and do not share certain beliefs. Speaker A, Kapa, is a simple woman with limited education who believes in God and has many superstitions. Speaker B, Ol'ga Ivanovna, is an educated woman, a music teacher who does not believe in God and does not share any of Kapa's superstitions; actually, it is possible that she does not even know what *spadčaja* (i.e., some supernatural force that makes things fall on their own, without any human intervention) means:

(9) (from I. Grekova)

- A: A po-tvoemu, boga net?
 'And you think there is no God?'
 B: Dumaju, net.
 'No, I think not.'

- A: A kakaja **že** spadčaja?
And what že the-falling-force?
 ‘But what is this falling force then?’
- B: Kakaja spadčaja?
 ‘What falling force?’
- A: A lampa. Slušaj, čto so mnoj bylo. [...]
 ‘This lamp, of course. Listen what happened to me.’ [...]

Speaker A uses *že* in her utterance which introduces *spadčaja*, or this supernatural force, for the first time in discourse. She apparently believes that the hearer would be able to infer this “referent” from the concept of God, which is evoked in the discourse, under the assumption that the hearer shares the code (i.e., what this word means). Thus, according to A’s assumption, *spadčaja* should be either already at the periphery of B’s set of matters of current concern or at least inferable from an item that is being discussed. B’s question *Kakaja spadčaja?* ‘What falling force?’ proves that A’s assumption about the hearer’s state of knowledge and her set of matters of current concern was wrong. Thus, the use of *že* in A’s utterance has not reached its potential goal (i.e., to prove that there is God because of this supernatural force that can not be explained otherwise) and she has to provide a detailed explanation what has happened to her.

Information that *že* marks can be activated in discourse by being either linguistically evoked or situationally evoked (cf. Feldman, forthcoming). For an illustration of *že* marking activated and linguistically evoked information see example (4) above: the toy cat is not sick in reality but this idea that he is sick is linguistically introduced by Varja in the utterance immediately preceding her first utterance with *že*.

Example (5) above illustrates that information marked by *že* can also be activated in the discourse by being situationally evoked: the fact that the man in the picture is writing can be inferred from the fact that he has a pencil and a notebook in his hands. Thus, *že* is not sensitive to whether the information that is marked by it is activated in the discourse by being linguistically or situationally evoked.

Here is a couple of more illustrations that *že* is capable of marking situationally evoked information. Example (10): in the middle of a conversation about Varja's pacifier ("dummy"), the mother utters *Varen'ka, ty že znaesh', chto nel'zja èto brat', nel'zja.* 'Varen'ka, but you know, that you mustn't take this, you mustn't' where *èto* 'this' refers not to the pacifier, which is both the discourse topic at the moment (single underline), but an item which is evoked situationally: specifically, to some medicine, "solutan," that Varja apparently takes even though she is not allowed to (double underline):

(10) [Varja grabs some medicine; mother tells her "no"]

*VAR: A èta main'kaja, xi, a èta basaja, o, kakaja, basaja, vidis?
 %eng: And this is small, hm, and this is big, oh, how, big, do you see?
 *VAR: Vot.
 %eng: This.
 *VAR: A èta sasin'ka main'kaja, vot.
 %eng: And this is little dummy/ small, so.
 *MOT: Varen'ka, ty že znaesh', chto nel'zja èto brat', nel'zja.
 %eng: Varen'ka, but you know, that you mustn't take this, you mustn't.
 *VAR: Votam, votam.
 %com: a medicamentation
 %eng: There, there.
 *VAR: Èta sautan, èta sautan.
 %eng: This is solutan.
 *MOT: Nel'zja, nel'zja.
 %eng: You mustn't.
 *VAR: Sautan, sautan, sautan'tik.
 *MOT: Zachem tebe solutan, takoj-sjakoju, pojdem luchshe, kolgotki nadenem.
 %eng: What for do you need solutan, that bad, let's go better to put on tights.
 THE SECOND SEANCE - MAY THE 14, 15, 16 1984

Another good example of a situationally evoked proposition which is activated in the speech situation is given in (11): amidst the discourse centered on a trolleybus ticket the mother exclaims:

(11) [Varja hits herself, mother is surprised]

*MOT: **Ах, ЧТО **zhe** èto ty sebja STUKnula.**
Oh, what *že* this you yourself hit

‘Oh, WHY would you HIT yourself?!’ Or:
‘Oh, why in the world did you hit yourself?!’

It has been proposed by Feldman (forthcoming) that *že* marks information vis-à-vis “hearer-old” information:

Že is only felicitous in a context where the speaker assumes that this [i.e., marked by *že* – SM] information is already known or should be known to the hearer. In this case the information may be retrieved from long-term memory, from the situational context or the linguistic context. (Feldman forthcoming : section 2.1.2, or p. 8 in the manuscript; emphasis added - SM)

If *že*, as proposed by Feldman, marks “hearer-old” information that is “retrieved from long-term memory,” it would be contradictory to analyze it as marking activated (or reactivated) information, which Feldman also proposes half a page later.¹⁶ Her proposal can be summarized as treating information marked by *že* as “hearer-old” and (re)activated (even though she does not address these two properties simultaneously). While I agree

¹⁶ Feldman (forthcoming) does not say anything about the other dimension in Prince’s (1992) classification, i.e., the ‘discourse-old/new’ dimension.

with her (among others) about the saliency status of the information marked by *že*, I strongly disagree that *že* marks “hearer-old” information.

Moreover, Prince’s (1992) classification (and others that are based on hers¹⁷) do not seem to be sophisticated enough to accurately describe the location of information marked by *že*. I believe that Yokoyama’s model of knowledge transfer offers the tools needed for such a description (see Parrott 1990, 1997 for the application of Yokoyama’s model to *že* and *ved’*, also see Zaitseva 1995, 1999, Moon 1995 for other applications of her model). Below I will illustrate that *že* does not mark “hearer-old” information but, instead, it should be treated as located on the periphery of the hearer’s set of matters of current concern or inferable from information located there, according to the speaker’s assumptions. So, in the case when *že* marks information that the hearer could have inferred from knowledge located on the periphery of his/her set of matters of current concern, it is exactly the opposite of “hearer-old” information — i.e., “hearer-new” information.

Consider the excerpt from Šukšin given below in (12) (for a longer excerpt chapter 5). The conversation is between Roman (speaker A) and the teacher (speaker B). After talking to the teacher about his own idea, Roman finally turns his attention to the teacher who was looking for a tripod (which supports a camera) when Roman came to see him and asks him what he needed the tripod for:

(12) (from Šukšin)

¹⁷ See, for example, Kehler and Ward (2000) who add a salience parameter to Prince’s (1992) classification.

- A: Zakaty teper' divnye. [skazal Roman.]
 'The sunsets now are miraculous. [said Roman.]'
- A dlja čego štativ-**TO**?
 'And as for the tripod (-to), what is it for?'
- B: A vyderžku-**TO** nužno bol'suju davat'.
 'Because of the exposure (-to), it should be a long one.'
- Na rukax **že** ja ne smogu.
On hands že I NEG will-be-able-to.
 'In my hands (že) I won't be able to [hold the camera].'
- A: A-a, da. [...]
 'Oh, yes.' [...]

In (12) the status of the information marked by *že*, i.e., the proposition *In my hands (že) I won't be able to [hold the camera]*, is definitely not “hearer-old”, otherwise speaker A would not ask his question (or he would phrase the question in a different way). Instead, this proposition is completely “hearer-new:” *že* here marks information that is completely outside A's knowledge set but which should be treated as if the hearer is capable of making the inference from the other, activated in the discourse, information himself. For (12), this activated (both linguistically or situationally) information, sufficient for A to make an inference from, would look like the following: *The sunsets are beautiful now. I want to capture them on photographs. But I need to have a long exposure. It is hard to get a long exposure by holding the camera in my hands. Therefore, I need the tripod.*

Similarly, example (13) illustrates that it would be inadequate to analyze *že* as marking “hearer-old” information. In this excerpt *že* would be more adequately described as marking “hearer-new” information which is inferable from the situation. Varja notices a fly on the window-sill and ask her mother to kill it; the mother uses the utterance with *že* to convey information that the fly is already dead. Apparently, there are enough visual cues to conclude that the fly is already dead, as viewed by the mother. However, this is definitely new information to Varja who thinks that it should be killed. By using *že*, the speaker indicates that the hearer is treated as capable of making this inference from sufficient contextual information herself, however, she failed to do it:

(13) [Varja want mother to kill the fly; mother says that the fly is already dead]

*MOT: Postav' poka butylku vot sjuda, na podokonnik.
 *VAR: Tak?
 *VAR: Oj, tam muxa, muxa.
 *MOT: Oj, ne trogaj, ona grjaznaja.
 *VAR: Muxa, muxa.
 *MOT: Idi ko mne.
 *MOT: Idi sjuda.
 *MOT: Tak.
 *MOT: Idi sjuda, davaj ruchku.
 *VAR: Ona muxa, muxa.
 *MOT: Muxa, muxa, da.
 *VAR: Ubit', ubit' ee!
 *MOT: Ona **zhe** uzhe ubita.
 THE FOURTH SEANCE - AUGUST 15-16 1984

*MOT: Leave the bottle for now right here, on the window-sill.
 *VAR: Like this?
 Oh, there is a fly, a fly.
 *MOT: Oh, don't touch, it is dirty.
 *VAR: A fly, a fly.
 *MOT: Come to me.
 Come here.
 This way.
 Come here, give me your hand.
 *VAR: It's a fly, a fly.
 *MOT: A fly, a fly, yes.
 *VAR: Kill, kill it!

*MOT: It (*že*) is already killed.

Gloss:

Ona **že** uzhe ubita.

she *že* already killed(participle)

‘(But) it (*že*) is already killed.’

Even when *že* definitely marks hearer-old information, analyzing it in only those terms does not seem to sufficient enough. Instead, it would be more precise to view it as marking information on the periphery of the hearer’s set of matters of current concern, or, in simpler terms, this is information that the hearer knows and should be currently concerned with (since it is inferable from the other information under discussion) but for some reason is not concerned with.

Consider example (14) below: the information marked here by *že* is indeed hearer-old, at least in the first two occurrences. Apparently, Varja has heard before that 1) she is a good girl and 2) that she is agreeable. But if the function of *že* would be to mark only “hearer-old” information, the first two utterances with *že* in the excerpt below would be completely vacuous, conveying no new information for the hearer. The situation is the following: Varja grabs some bag (probably a paper bag) and starts playing with it, wrinkling it at the same time. The mother does not like this and first she appeals to Varja’s self-esteem (the first two utterances with *že*), which does not seem to work, then she uses *že* the third time — now in a threat to take the bag away:

(14) [Varja starts wrinkling a bag, the mother is persuading her to let go of it]

*MOT: Varechka, pozhalujsta, ne mni paketik, nam eshche nado budet.

*MOT: A ty ego pommesh', i s nim budet neprijatno uzhe imet' delo.

*MOT: On budet takoj ves' neprijatnyj, takoj ves' mjatyj.
 *VAR: A ja xochu.
 *MOT: Var', ty zhe xoroshaja devochka, pravda?
 *MOT: S toboj zhe mozžno dogovorit'sja?
 *MOT: Pravda?
 *VAR: Pravda?
 *VAR: Da.
 *MOT: Var'!
 *MOT: Nu ja zhe budu vynuzhdena u tebjja ego otobrat'.
 *MOT: Posmotri, kak ty ego izmjala.
 *MOT: Sovershenno _to ne nuzhno delat'.
 *VAR: A tak ja ego pomnu i vstavlju v dyrochku.
 THE FIFTH SEANCE - OCTOBER 2-3, 1984

*MOT: Varečka, please, do not wrinkle the bag, we will still need to use it.
 And if you wrinkle it, it will be already unpleasant to deal with.
 It will be such unpleasant all over, such wrinkled all over.
 *VAR: But I want.
 *MOT: Var', you (že) are a good girl, right?
 It is possible to agree with you (že)?
 Right?
 *VAR: Yes.
 *MOT: Var'!
 Well, I (že) will have to take it away from you.
 Look how you've wrinkled it.
 It was completely unnecessary to do it.
 *VAR: But this way I will wrinkle it and stick it into a/the hole.

Gloss:

*MOT: Var', ty zhe xoroshaja devochka, pravda?
 Var', you že good girl, right?
 'Var', you (že) are a good girl, right?'
 S toboj zhe mozžno dogovorit'sja? Pravda?
 With you že possible to-agree right
 'It is possible to agree with you (že)? Right?'
 Nu ja zhe budu vynuzhdena u tebjja ego otobrat'.
 Well I že will have-to from you it take-away.
 'Well, I (že) will have to take it away from you.'

So, I believe that putting a label on *že* as a marker of “hearer-old” information is not the most precise way of describing what *že* does. A more precise way of describing the function of *že* would be to say that *že* brings into the center of $C_a \cap C_b$ information which

the speaker believes should be at the periphery of C_b or at least should be inferable from other knowledge that is there. So, in a way the function of $že$ is foregrounding, showing that some piece of information is relevant to consider at this particular moment.¹⁸

6.4 Consequences of Kontrastive Properties of ŽE

In this section I will discuss the following characteristics of $že$, which can be viewed as consequences of its kontrastive properties:

- How is $že$ encoded on the clausal level?
- What role does it play at the discourse level?

6.4.1 How is ŽE Encoded on the Clausal Level?

The placement of particle $že$ can be defined with respect to the element marked [+kontrast]. Since $že$ requires only one kontrastive element present in the clause, this element usually occurs in the rheme. As a result, $že$ is usually a marker of rhematic contrasts,¹⁹ i.e. it is associated with an element marked [+kontrast; +rheme] (see discussion of V&V's terminology in chapter 2).

Below I will discuss combinations of $že$ with kontrastive elements found in the rheme; they include various types of contrastive foci, wh-words, and other expressions

¹⁸ However, it might be sufficient to describe the cognitive status of information marked by $že$ by using such labels as “hearer-new/old” if more precision is given to exactly what is being labeled so: the information marked by $že$ has a “feel” of being known to the hearer because the terms comprising the proposition are known to him/her but not the full proposition (a good example of such cases is the verum focus construction). Thanks to Enric Vallduví for pointing this out to me.

¹⁹ Historically, $že$ was a marker of contrastive themes (kontrastive links), however, in contemporary colloquial Russian this usage of $že$ is perceived as stylistically marked (bookish, archaic, etc.) and it is being replaced by another marker – *a* (for details see Ickler 1981, Parrott 1997).

that depend on the existence of a set, such as deictics and expressions like *takoj* ‘such’. (The Russian equivalents of kontrast-sensitive operators like *even* and *also* — *daže* ‘even’, *tože/takže* ‘also’, *i...že* ‘too’, etc. — are historically derived from a combination of *že* with another element.)

One type of element marked [+kontrast; +rheme] that *že* is associated with is a type of contrastive focus called “verum focus,” the function of which is to bring kontrast not on the lexical meaning of the predicate but rather on some polarity item within the verbal inflection (negation, tense, aspects, etc.). Since the kontrast set marked by *že* consists of mutually exclusive (or binary opposed) elements, this k-marker is naturally associated with rhematic polarity of verum focus.²⁰ An example is given in (15), which is an abbreviated version of (5):

(15) **Ty zhe vidish', u nego zhe karanDashik, i tetRadochka.**
 You *že* SEE, at him *že* PENCil-DIM and NOTEbook-DIM

‘You do see that, don’t you?...After all, he does have a pencil and a notebook.’

Some other examples given above are amenable to an analysis as cases of rhematic polarity of verum focus: e.g., the “sparrow” example in (2) can be rendered in English as ‘This a picture on the wall where he is painted. That IS the very same sparrow. It’s a portrait!’; the “glue tube” example in (6) can be translated as ‘Let’s see... Which one IS open already?’; the “huge bottle” example in (8) can also be translated as ‘What kind of huge bottle IS this? This is not huge, it’s a small bottle!’, etc.²¹

²⁰ A detailed analysis of the association between *že* and verum focus constructions will have to make reference to the syntactic structure of the clause; I will leave this for future research.

²¹ Thanks to Enric Vallduví for suggestions.

Another example of a kontrastive rheme is given in (16): mother has finished putting boots on Varja and asks her to stand up. Varja notices another pair of boots nearby, which are dirty, and asks her mother to put these “tall” boots on her. The mother replies with a *že* utterance:

(16) [Varja has a pair of boots on and wants to put another pair on]

*MOT: Vse, Varjush, gotovo?
 *MOT: Vstavaj.
 *VAR: Tam, tam oni stojat.
 *VAR: Vot tam oni stojat.
 *VAR: Vot tam oni stojat.
 *VAR: Tam oni stojat, tam.
 *MOT: Vse, Varjushechka, nu vstavaj.
 *VAR: Mama kuda nadenet?
 *MOT: Ostorozhno, oni grjaznye!
 *VAR: Nadet', nadet', nadet'!
 *MOT: Ostorozhno, ostorozhno.
 *VAR: Nadet' vot _ti botinki, vysokie, budesh' vysokie?
 %com: a standard name for a certain pair of boots
 *MOT: No ty **zhe** v chisten'kix xoroshix botinkax, vse v porjadke.
 *VAR: V porjadke.
 *MOT: V porjadke.
 *VAR: Vot tut.
 *VAR: A tam grjaznye.
 THE FOURTH SEANCE - AUGUST 15-16 1984

*MOT: Ok, Varja, it is ready?
 Stand up.
 *VAR: There, there they are standing.
 Over there they are standing.
 Over there they are standing.
 There they are standing, there.
 *MOT: Ok, Varja, well, stand up.
 *VAR: Where will mama will put on?
 *MOT: Careful, they are dirty!
 *VAR: Put on, put on, put on!
 *MOT: Careful, careful.
 *VAR: Put on these boots, tall ones, will you, tall ones?
 %com: a standard name for a certain pair of boots
 *MOT: But you (*že*) HAVE nice clean boots on, everything is fine.
 *VAR: Fine.
 *MOT: Fine.
 *VAR: Right here.
 And there are the dirty ones.

Gloss:

*MOT: No ty **zhe** v CHIsten'kix xoROshix boTINKax, vse v porjadke.
 But you *že* in CLEAN NICE BOOTS, everything in order.

‘But you (*že*) HAVE nice clean boots on, everything is fine.’

The rheme here is *v CHIsten'kix xoROshix boTINKax* ‘[are] in CLEAN NICE BOOTS’ (or in the English translation, *HAVE nice clean boots on*) also it is a kontrastive rheme: it is to be treated as a part of the set {the nice clean boots which are on Varja; the dirty “tall” boots standing nearby}.

The most frequent element marked [+kontrast; +rheme] which *že* combines with is wh-words (see examples (6-9, 11) above and in section 6.5, which provides illustrations of various types of wh-word+*že* combinations). Information structure of such questions is, however, very different from the information structure of wh-questions without *že*: while in “regular” wh-questions the scope of rheme is usually the whole clause and the scope of kontrast is the wh-word of per se, in wh-questions with *že* the scope of both rheme and kontrast is the wh-word itself. While “regular” wh-questions serve the function of a request for information per se and can be viewed as evoking a set of their possible answers (Hamblin 1958/1973, etc.) with only contextual limitations on the size of this set, wh-questions with *že* are anything but a request for information (they can have an illocutionary force of directives, or serve as a confirmation, etc.) and they do not evoke an open-ended set but only a limited, closed, restricted set. Various types of pragmatic functions, which a combination of a wh-word with *že* serves, are illustrated in detail in section 6.5.

Deictics are another linguistic element that is marked with feature [+kontrast] and can occur within the rheme: they inheritantly possess dual (sometimes triple) opposition, which is very appropriate for *že* that operates on a mutually exclusive set (composed of usually only two members). Examples of combinations of *že* with deictics can be found above in (1-2). A few more examples of *že* with deictic expressions:

(17) [looking through a picture book, at a picture of a mouse]

*VAR: Da, a zdes' kto est?
 *VAR: Krysa.
 *MOT: A?
 *VAR: Krysa.
 *MOT: Krysa?
 *MOT: Èto ta zhe samaja myshka, tot zhe myshonok, kotoryj byl do ètogo.
 *VAR: krysa, krysa.
 THE FIFTH SEANCE - OCTOBER 2-3, 1984

*VAR: Yes, and who is here?

A rat.

*MOT: Ah?

*VAR: A rat.

*MOT: A rat?

This is that (*že*) very same mouse, that (*že*) baby mouse, which was here before.

*VAR: A rat, a rat.

Gloss:

Èto ta zhe samaja myshka, tot zhe myshonok, kotoryj byl do ètogo.
 This that(fem.) *že* same mouse, that(masc.) *že* baby mouse, which was before this.

‘This is that (*že*) very same mouse, that (*že*) baby mouse, which was here before.’

(18) [preparing Varja for a bath and meanwhile playing a pretend game as if she is already bathing]

*MOT: Ja pomoju, objazatel'no.
 *VAR: Kak?
 *MOT: Vodoj s mylom pod kranom.
 *VAR: Pod nastojashchim?
 *MOT: Da.
 *MOT: Nu, tut zhe est' kran.
 *MOT: Vot zhe tut est' more s vodoj.
 THE SEVENTH SEANCE - AUGUST THE 15, 1985

*MOT: I will wash, for sure.
 *VAR: How?
 *MOT: With soap and water from a faucet.
 *VAR: Real faucet?
 *MOT: Yes.
 Well, here (*že*) there is a faucet.
 Right (*že*) here there is a sea full of water.

Gloss:

Nu, tut *že* est' kran.
 Well, here *že* is faucet.

'Well, here (*že*) there is a faucet.'

Vot *že* tut est' more s vodoj.
 PART *že* here is sea with water.

'Right (*že*) here there is a sea full of water.'

(19) [Varja wants to listen to a record about the crawfish]

*VAR: Poslushat' plastinku mne nado, plastinochku.
 *VAR: Poslushat'.
 *MOT: Kakuju?
 *MOT: Pro chto?
 *MOT: Pro chto plastinku, skazhi tol'ko.
 *MOT: A?
 *MOT: Ne znaesh', a tuda *že*.
 *VAR: Pro raka ja xochu, raka.
 *VAR: Mne nuzhno pro raka poslushat'.
 THE SIXTH SEANCE - FEBRUARY THE 15, 1985

*VAR: I need to listen to the record, the record.
 Listen to.
 *MOT: Which one?
 What about?
 The record about what, only tell me.
 Ah?
 You don't know, but behave like you do. [...but there (*že*)]
 *VAR: I want about the crawfish, the crawfish.
 About the crawfish I need to listen to.

Gloss:

Ne znaesh', a tuda *že*.
 NEG know, but to-there *že*.

'You don't know, but behave like you do.' [...but there (*že*)]

In (17) and (18) *že* combines with deictics *tot/ta* ‘that’ and *tut* ‘here’; in (19) it is a part of a somewhat phraseological expression with a deictic element *a tuda že*.

Also, expressions like *takoj* ‘such’, which depend on the existence of a set, can be combined with *že*. However, *že* with such an expression, like in the case with a combination of wh-word and *že*, has a limiting effect: it restricts the set of possibilities (to usually one possible option) and signal the relationship of identity between two referents under consideration. An illustration is provided in (20):

(20) [after reading a book about a hedgehog, however not immediately after that]

*GRM: A u tebjā sejchas **takie zhe** shtanishki, kak u ezhika v knizhke.
 %eng: Now you've got the same kind of pants as the hedgehog in the book.
 *GRM: Stixami zagovorila.
 %eng: I am saying rhymes.
 *MOT: Sinie byli shtany u ezhika?
 %eng: Has the hedgehog got blue pants?
 *GRM: Net, oni takoe vot, kombinezonestoe.
 %eng: No, they are something like overall.
 *GRM: **Takie zhe** +...
 %eng: The same ones +...
 *GRM: Oj, prosti, prosti.
 %eng: Oh, pardon, pardon +...
 *GRM: **Takie zhe** shtanishki, kak u ezhika v knizhke.
 %eng: The same kind of pants, as the hadgehog in the book has got.
 THE THIRD SEANCE

Gloss:

A u tebjā sejchas **takie zhe** shtanishki, kak u ezhika v knizhke.
 And at you now such *že* pants like at hedgehog in book.

‘And now you have the same kind of pants on as the hedgehog in the book.’ [such (*že*) pants]

In this subsection I have discussed the types of elements marked [+kontrast; +rheme] that particle *že* combines with, such as contrastive foci, wh-words, deictics, expressions like *takoj* ‘such’. Now I will discuss the position of *že* in the utterance.

6.4.1.1 Scope and Cliticization

In the previous subsection it has been shown that the presence of *že* in the utterance depends on the existence of an element marked [+kontrast; +rtheme]. In this subsection I will show that the placement rules of *že* can also be defined with respect to this kontrastive element that *že* modifies. “Phrasal” *že* can be adequately described as a second position clitic: it encliticizes to the kontrastively marked element. The placement of the proposition-level *že* is also better defined with respect to the position of a kontrastive element: usually, *že* cliticizes to such an element, marked with the sentential stress. Those less frequent cases when *že* cliticizes to another prosodically prominent element (other than the one marked with sentential stress), which is located either at the beginning or at the end of an utterance, can be argued for exhibiting an additional center of kontrast (i.e., two or more sets are being generated).²²

Here I will review two proposals for the placement of *že*: Feldman (forthcoming) and Parrott (1997) and will propose rules of *že* placement that take into consideration its kontrastive nature. In brief, *že* usually encliticizes to the k-marked element (on either phrasal or clausal level, with certain options for the placement of the clausal/propositional *že*).

Feldman (forthcoming) analyzes *že* as a 2nd position clitic relative to its scope. However, she does not define scope in any precise terms, either syntactic or semantic,

²² As mentioned above, a detailed analysis of the association of *že* with verum focus might shed light into exactly what syntactic position this k-marker occupies in the clause.

does not offer any mechanism of cliticization and also does not account for optionality of sentential *že* placement shown earlier in Parrott (1997).

Parrott (1997) offers more complex rules of *že* placement on the clausal level; however, she addresses only statements and only clausal, or in her terminology, “sentential” *že*. An advantage of her proposal is that she makes reference to the position of *že* relative to the element bearing sentential stress: while *že* can be encliticized to a phonological word preceding the sententially stressed element, the sententially stressed element itself, and utterance-final phonological word, it cannot be encliticized to non-utterance-final material following the sententially stressed element, shown in (21):

(21) **Parrott’s (1997: 132) rule for placement of sentential *že* with respect to the sententially-stressed material**

(SS= sententially-stressed material; each box stands for a phonological word; the pound key (#) indicates a boundary (utterance-initial and utterance-final); starred (*) positions are unacceptable):

**že* | | *že* | SS | *že* | | **že* | | *že* #
 (a) (b) (c) (d) (e)

pre-SS material SS material post-SS material

- (a) *procliticized to initial material
- (b) encliticized to pre-SS material
- (c) encliticized to the SS material
- (d) *encliticized to non-utterance-final post-SS material
- (e) encliticized to utterance-final post-SS material

I will take Parrott’s proposal a step further: if the SS material is viewed as marking [+kontrast], *že* can be re-analyzed as gravitating towards the center of kontrast, or

encliticizing to it. Cases where alternative placement of *že* is possible, as was observed by Parrott, are not completely equivalent: they occur in different discourses, i.e., the center of kontrast would shift. *Že* with scope over propositions also allows for the option of multiple sets being contrasted but the idea is that only one of these sets is perceived as primary and that one will be marked by *že*.

So, Parrott's rule for the placement of propositional *že* can be restated with respect to the position of a kontrastively marked element as in (22):

(22) **Rule for placement of proposition-level *že*:**

Propositional *že* encliticizes either to the clause boundaries (the initial or the final phonological word) or to the kontrastively marked element within the clause.

A nice illustration to the placement rule in (22) can be found in the following excerpt: Varja pick up a little shovel and demonstrates how she digs (it is unclear from the context whether this interaction takes place inside or outside of the house, i.e., whether digging is actually taking place or represents an imitation; this is however not crucial for our illustration). The mother is trying to elicit the correct answer(s) to the question *What do you dig with the shovel?* Varja produces a list {*sand, stones*} but not the one that the mother has sought, i.e., *ground*: she even gives a negative answer to the question *Do you dig ground?* and insists that she digs sand (and not ground). Mother's last resort is to use *že* with the proposition *You dig GROUND*:

(23) [Varja refuses to acknowledge that she digs dirt (ground)]

*VAR: Èta savotik.
%eng: This is a little shovel.

*MOT: Kak ty kopaesh' sovochkom?
 %eng: How do you dig with the little shovel? ²³
 %com: Varja demonstrates.
 *MOT: A chto ty kopaesh' sovochkom?
 %eng: And what do you dig with the little shovel?
 *VAR: Pisotik.
 %eng: little sand.
 *MOT: A eshche chto?
 %eng: And what else?
 *VAR: Kamusik.
 %eng: little stone.
 *MOT: A eshche chto?
 *VAR: A isjo to?
 %eng: And what else?
 *MOT: Zemlju kopaesh'?'
 %eng: Do you dig ground?
 *VAR: Net.
 %eng: No.
 *VAR: Ja pisotik kapaju.
 %eng: A dig little sand.
 *MOT: A kogda ty cvetochki sazhaesh', ty chto zhe, ty zhe kopaesh' kak raz zemlju!
 %eng: And when you are planting little flowers, then how it is, you are just digging the ground!
 THE THIRD SÉANCE

Gloss:

A kogda ty cvetochki sazhaesh', ty CHTO zhe,
 And/but when you little-flowers plant, you WHAT že,
 ty zhe kopaesh' kak raz ZEMlju!
 you že dig exactly GROUND!

‘But when you plant little flowers, WHAT (že) is that you [dig], it is exactly the GROUND that you dig!

Notice that *že* is used twice in the last utterance (which consists of three clauses). In the second clause, where the verb undergoes ellipsis, *že* is cliticized to the kontrastively stressed wh-word. In the third clause, however, *že* cliticizes to its left boundary, even though it has scope over the whole proposition (or possibly the whole three-clause utterance).

²³ The order of the following utterances has been changed: there is an obvious switch in the order in the original.

Consider another excerpt which was cited above as (18), repeated here for convenience as (24):

(24) [preparing Varja for a bath and meanwhile playing a pretend game as if she is already bathing]

*MOT: Ja pomoju, objazatel'no.
 *VAR: Kak?
 *MOT: Vodoj s mylom pod kranom.
 *VAR: Pod nastojashchim?
 *MOT: Da.
 *MOT: Nu, tut zhe est' kran.
 *MOT: Vot zhe tut est' more s vodoj.
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*MOT: I will wash, for sure.
 *VAR: How?
 *MOT: With soap and water from a faucet.
 *VAR: Real faucet?
 *MOT: Yes.
 Well, here (*že*) there is a faucet.
 Right (*že*) here there is a sea full of water.

Gloss:

Nu, tut zhe est' kran.
 Well, here *že* is faucet.

‘Well, here (*že*) there is a faucet.’

Vot zhe tut est' more s vodoj.
 PART *že* here is sea with water.

‘Right (*že*) here there is a sea full of water.’

The first occurrence of *že* in (18/24) can be analyzed as an enclitic to the kontrastively marked element *tut* ‘here’ which refers to a proximal location in reality and is contrasted with the distal location in the “pretend world.” In its second occurrence here, *že* encliticizes to the first phonological word at the left periphery of the clause.

mother is directing Varja's attention to a pleasant bed-time ritual: listening to records and asks Varja what record she wants to listen to:

(26) [Varja and her mother are going to listen to a record about a crawfish before going to bed]

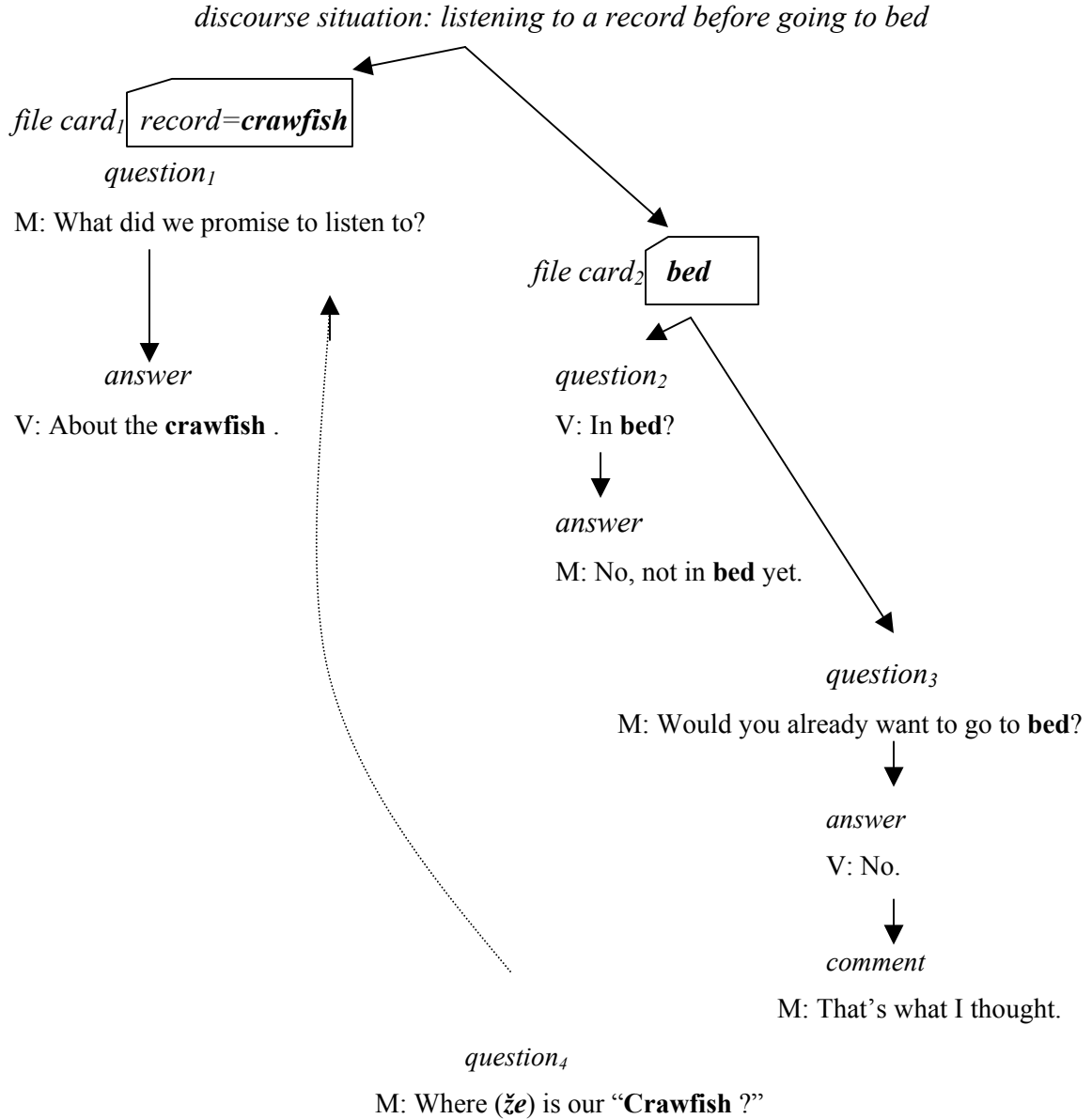
*MOT: A my schas s toboj chto obeshchali poslushat'?
 *VAR: Pro raka.
 *VAR: V krovatke?
 *MOT: Net, eshche ne v krovatke.
 *MOT: Ty uzhe by xotela v krovatku?
 *VAR: Net.
 *MOT: **To-to i** ono.
 *MOT: Gde **zhe** nash "Rak"?
 *MOT: On zdes', ne pommish'?
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*MOT: And what did we promise to listen to now?
 *VAR: About the crawfish .
 In bed?
 *MOT: No, not in bed yet.
 Would you already want to go to bed?
 *VAR: No.
 *MOT: That's what I thought.
 Where (*že*) is our "Crawfish ?"
 It is here, don't you remember?

The discourse situation for (26) can be described as "Listening to a record before going to bed." There are two topics under discussion: the first one is the record itself, or "The Crawfish," and the second one is the bed. These topics can be thought of as two file cards: first, information exchange is centered on "The Crawfish" and then it switches to "Bed." After the information exchange centered on the file card "The Bed" is exhausted, the conversation switches back into the direction of the first file card, or "The Crawfish" — and this switch is marked with *že*. This conversation flow can be graphically

represented as in (27), where ze is shown as reaching upwards in the tree, to the previously discussed topic, or file card:

(27) Discourse Tree for the “Crawfish ” excerpt:



The “identity” function of particle *že* can also be viewed through its major discourse role, i.e., tracking the activated center of discourse. Consider (28): Varja finds some plastic hat of a grayish color and the hat becomes the center discourse topic. First, its

ownership is discussed: Varja says that it is uncle Dima's hat but Grandma says that she herself made this hat and that the hat is hers. Then Grandma tries to elicit from Varja another aspect of the hat's "identity:" its color. First, Grandma asks Varja to compare her hat to the red hat of the Little Red Riding Hood (the name of this fairy tale character in Russian is literally "Red Little Hat") and Varja repeatedly states that the two hats are alike, i.e., both are red. Grandma realizes that this strategy does not work and gives Varja the right answer: the hat is gray. She reinforces this by comparing the gray color of the hat to the color of a hare; and that is where *že* is used — as a marker of the complete identity between Grandma's hat and the hare with respect to color: *Zajac seren'kij, po lesu begal, i on vot takogo zhe cveta byl, kak èta shapochka* 'A little gray hare, it was running in the woods, and it was the same colour as this little hat' [such (*že*) color... as...]:

(28) [the color of Grandma's plastic hat:

not red like the Little Red Riding Hood's but grey like a hare]

*GRM: Vot, smotri.
 %eng: Look here.
 *GRM: Poxozha ja na Krasnuju Shapochku?
 %eng: Am I like the Little Red Riding Hoot?
 *GRM: Poxozha?
 %eng: Am I alike?
 *GRM: U nee takaja byla shapochka?
 %eng: Has she got a hat like that?
 *VAR: Tykaja.
 %eng: Like that.
 *GRM: Krasnaja?
 %eng: A red one?
 *VAR: Kasasa.
 %eng: Red.
 *GRM: Krasnaja?
 %eng: A red one?
 *VAR: Sapka.
 %eng: Hat.
 *GRM: Posmotri, kakaja èto shapochka.
 %eng: Look, what colour is this little hat.
 *GRM: Krasnaja?
 %eng: Is it red?
 *VAR: Kasnaja.
 %eng: Red.
 *GRM: Yxy.
 %eng: Ye.
 *GRM: Net, ona seren'kaja.
 %eng: No, it is little.grey.
 *GRM: Kak zajchik.
 %eng: Like a hare.
 *GRM: Zajac seren'kij, po lesu begal, i on vot takogo..zhe..cveta byl, kak èta shapochka.
 %eng: A little grey hare was running in the wood and he was the same colour as this little hat.
 *GRM: Ona ne ponimaet, chto takoe cvet, soysem eshche.
 %com: to the mother
 %eng: She doesn't understand, what a "colour" means, absolutely yet.
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In this excerpt there is a set of at least three competing file cards:

{Grandmother's hat; Red Riding Hood's hat; a hare} that are matched against a restricted set of colors {red, gray}. Particle *že*, in combination with *takoj* 'such', instructs the hearer to construct a set of two members out of a set of three activated discourse referents based on their identity with respect to color: {Grandmother's hat is grey; A hare is gray }.

Example (29) serves as an illustration of the inference pattern that *že* introduces in the discourse (cf. Parrott 1990, 1997):

(29) [Varja wants to put a particular dress on. Mother objects: this dress is too hot]

%eng: And what do you want to put on?
 *VAR: Patiti.
 %eng: A little dress.
 *MOT: Kakoe?
 %eng: Which one?
 *VAR: Pat'i xotit.
 %eng: Wants a dress.
 *MOT: Kakoe - vot èto?
 %eng: Which one - this?
 *VAR: Ni xotit, no xotit.
 %eng: Not want, but want.²⁴
 *MOT: A kakoe ty xochesh'?
 %eng: And which one do you want?
 *VAR: A èta.
 %eng: This.
 *MOT: Vot èto?
 %eng: This one?
 *MOT: No èto **zhe** zharko.
 %eng: But it's hot.
 *MOT: TEbe budet zharko v nem.
 %eng: You'll be hot in it.
 THE SECOND SEANCE

Gloss:

No ÈTO **zhe** ZHARKo.

But THIS *že* HOT.

'But THIS one (*že*) is HOT.'

The inference pattern that *že* introduces in discourse (shown in (25)) can be spelled out for the excerpt in (29), as the following:

²⁴ This and the next two lines of English translation are added to the original: they are missing there completely.

(30) Varja utters: *I want THIS dress* (X),
 which implies: *This is a good dress for me to wear now* (Y)

Mother utters: *This one (že) is hot* (X' že)
 which implies: *This dress is not good for you to wear now* (not Y)

Without the *Y/not Y* part, which can be either implicitly or explicitly present in the discourse, it would be harder to describe the relationship between the *X* and *X' že* utterances. The *Y/not Y* sentences make the set relationship between the interlocutor's utterances more obvious: they can be thought of forming a set of either complex proposition $\{X \Rightarrow Y, X' že \Rightarrow \text{not } Y\}$ or, alternatively, two separate sets of reasons $\{X; X' že\}$ and their implications/inferences/conclusions $\{Y; \text{not } Y\}$.

The role of both proposition-level and phrase level *že* in discourse is to instruct the hearer to construct a set out of activated elements: the proposition-level *že* does it via the particular inference pattern (shown in (25), see illustration in (29-30) above), while the phrase-level *že* is capable of doing it directly, without the inference pattern, by tracking the status of activated topics (file cards) and referring back to the central topic (example (26-27)) or by simply instructing the hearer to construct a set out of activated file cards (example (28)).

A more detailed analysis of discourse properties of *že* will benefit from an explicit discourse model which takes into account two types of discourse constituency — text structure and topic structure. I will leave this issue for future research.

6.5 Illustrations

In this section first I will provide illustrations of some combinations of *že* with wh-words and briefly comment on the pragmatic effects of such combinations. Then I will briefly touch on the peculiarities of the child usage of *že* in the CHILDES database. This section represents my attempt to compile a set of interesting data and offers some ideas on how to approach such data; it does not, however, offer a comprehensive analysis.

6.5.1 Wh-Words + *ŽE*

The combination of particle *že* with wh-words is probably the most frequent case of its usage in colloquial Russian. However, this is also the most problematic case for the present analysis (as well as for other analyses of *že* that I am aware of). The problem is the following: the semantic restriction on the kontrast set marked by *že*, if predicted correctly, is of mutual exclusivity among the members of the set; but this is rather incompatible with the semantics of wh-words, which in most cases evoke an open-ended, unrestricted set.

There are several types of wh-questions with *že* and also some other questions containing *že*:

- a) “information” questions
- b) “why not/ how come” type
- c) exclamations/emphatic statements/rhetorical questions
- d) wh-questions with illocutionary force of directives/etc.

e) yes-no questions: tag questions

Below I will illustrate each of the subtypes with a short example and then speculate on how this paradoxical combination can be accounted for.

6.5.1.1 “Information” Questions

Adding particle *že* to a regular information question turns it into something different: such a question with *že* is not simply a request for information, the semantic value of which is a set of its possible answers, but rather a request for a particular answer, which is in most cases known to the speaker (or at least expected). Consider (31): Varja is digging something with a little shovel and the mother asks the wh-question with *že* (addressing Varja in 3d person, mirroring Varja’s self-address): *A čto zhe ona kopaet?* ‘And what (*že*) is she digging?’ The answer that is sought by the mother is pretty much “given” — it is either known to mother via the speech situation or (in the case of the pretend play) it could be guessed. While the semantic value of the same question without *že* is a set of (possibly) all diggable materials,²⁵ the set of answers is pretty much limited to a single element (*sand*, for example):

(31) [Varja is digging, the mother is watching]

***VAR:** Ain'ka kapait.
%eng: Varen'ka is digging.
***MOT:** Varen'ka kopaet?
%eng: Varen'ka is digging?

²⁵ This wh-question would be infelicitous without *že* in a situation where the mother does not know (or can guess at) the correct answer: imagine, for example, a situation where the mother is talking over the phone to the grown-up Varja who is an archeologist; while the mother knows that Varja is digging through something, she does not know or cannot predict the correct answer when there is an open set of possible answers to choose from, like {dirt, soil, mud, sand, limestone, gravel, clay, lava, peat, coal, ...}

*MOT: A chto **zhe** ona kopaet?
 %eng: And what is she digging?
 (episode 1)

A similar effect is observed in (32), where Varja and her mother are looking through a picture book and the mother is trying to elicit (unsuccessfully, it turns out) the correct answer, which is known to the mother: she again uses a wh-question with *že*:

(32) [looking at a picture of a wolf in a book]

*MOT: A èto kto?
 %eng: And who is this?
 *VAR: Èta vok, vok, èta vok.
 %eng: This is a wolf, wolf, this is a wolf.
 *VAR: Vok [% 2 times].
 %eng: Wolf.
 *MOT: Volk.
 %eng: Wolf.
 *MOT: A chto **zhe** volk delaet?
 %eng: And what is then the wolf doing?
 *VAR: Vok.
 %eng: Wolf.
 (Childes: episode 2)

6.5.1.2 “*Kak ŽE (net)*” Type (Corresponding to ‘Why not’ or ‘How come’)

This specific combination of wh-word *kak* ‘how’ with *že* (roughly corresponding to the English *why not?* or *how come?* type) produces the effect of negating the previous utterance, for example, in cases when the opposite answer or response was expected, as in (33):

(33) [talking about activities at the summer house (“*dača*”) before going there]

*VAR: [...] i tam budem my igrat', vse tam budem.
 *MOT: A v vannochke kupat'sja?
 *VAR: Net.
 *MOT: Kak **zhe** net?
 *MOT: Togda ne poedem, Var'.
 *MOT: Kupat'sja-to nado, zhara kakaja stoit.

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*VAR: [...] and there we'll play, we'll [do] everything there.

*MOT: And what about bathing in the little tub?²⁶

*VAR: No.

*MOT: Why not? [How (*že*) not?]

Then we won't go, Varja.

As for bathing, we need to do it, it is so hot.

Even without explicit negation, the combination *kak že* still has the illocutionary force of negating the previous utterance, even though its English translation would be substantially different from the above, as shown in (34):

(34) [Grandma is persuading Varja to wash her face]

*VAR: Ja uzhe pomyla!

*GPP: Nu kak **zhe** pomyla, ty tol'ko pomazala vodoj.

*GPP: Davaj, moj, ne bojsja, èto ochen' priyatno.

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*VAR: I already washed [it]!

*GPP: Well, really? [Well, how (*že*) you washed], you only brushed it a bit with water.

Come on, wash it, don't be afraid, this is very pleasant.

In cases containing negation of a negative statement, the effect produced by such a combination is asserting an affirmative statement, as in (35):

(35) [sorting through rolled oats that contain some outer layers of the grain, i.e., "yellow skins"]

*MOT: Vot, vidish'?

*MOT: Ty vnimatel'no smotri.

*MOT: Vot est' zdes' zheltje shkurki?

*VAR: Net.

*MOT: Nu kak **zhe** net - a vot, vot oni.

*MOT: A ty dumala, chto net, da?

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*MOT: Here, see?

You look carefully.

²⁶ Probably, a tub placed outside, not inside.

Here, are there any yellow skins here?

*VAR: No.

*MOT: Well, really? [Well how (*že*) not?] – and here, here they are.

And you thought that there are none, right?

6.5.1.3 Exclamatives/ Emphatic Statements/ Rhetorical Questions

A combination of a *wh*-word with *že* can result in questions requiring no answers, such as exclamations, emphatic statements, rhetorical questions; the most frequent combination is (*Nu*) *čto že èto (takoe)* ‘(Well) what is this/ what’s going on/ what’s the matter’ [literally: ‘(well) what *že* this is (such)’] and *Čto ž(e) teper’ (delat’)* ‘What (*že*) can be done now’. Some illustration are given in (36-37):

(36) [Varja insists that the mother should open the cupboard, the mother refuses]

*VAR: Akit', nuna akit'.

%eng: To open, you must open.

*VAR: Nu daaj akyt'.

%eng: So let you open.

*VAR: Kaf akyt' [% 3 times].

%eng: Open the cupboard.

*MOT: Shkaf otkryt', nu čto **zhe** èto takoe.

%eng: To open the cupboard, but what is this.

(Childes: episode 2)

(37) [a telephone conversation of old colleagues talking about their mutual friend who just passed away, after his funeral (from Zemskaja and Kapanadze 1978: 147)]

A: Bol'no Kol'ku / Kol'ku-**TO** žalko //
‘It hurts for Kol’ka / [I feel] pity for Kol’ka-**TO** //

B: Nu čto **ž** teper' ...
well what ž now
‘Well what (*že*) [can be done] now...’

A: Staren'kij stal //
‘[He] became old’//

- B: Čto **že** teper' //
what že now
 'What (že) is [to do] now //
 [...]
- A: Znaeš' prosto / ja na nee smotrel prjamo / u-u // Žalko prjamo staruxu ej-bogu //
 [o žene umeršego]
 'You know / I was looking straight at her / oo-oo // I feel such a pity for the old woman,
 honestly' // [about the wife of the passed away]
- B: Nu čto **ž** teper' sdelaeš' //
well what ž now to-do
 'Well what (že) can be done now' //
- A: A? Sdelat' čto **ž** / konečno ničego ne sdelaeš' //
ah? To-do what ž/for-sure nothing NEG to-have-done
 'Ah? What (že) can be done / no, you can't do anything, for sure'//

6.5.1.4 Wh-Questions with Illocutionary Force of Directives/Statements

Utterances containing the combination of a wh-word with *že* can have the illocutionary force of directives, as in (38) where the mother's question *Nu čto **zhe** ty nastupaesh' na ezhika?* 'Well, what (že) are you stepping on the hedgehog for?' is perceived as a directive not to step on the toy:

(38) [while getting ready to go for a walk, Varja steps on a toy hedgehog]

*VAR: Ain'ka gujat' pajdjot, u Ain'ki.
 %eng: Varen'ka will go for a walk, Ain'ka has.
 *VAR: A kem, Ain'ki.
 %eng: And whom, Ain'ka has.
 *MOT: Nu čto **zhe** ty nastupaesh' na ezhika?
 %eng: So, what for are you putting your feet upon the hedgehog?
 (Childes: episode 1)

6.5.1.5 Yes-No Questions: Tag Questions

Particle *že* can also be used in another type of question that has a very restricted set of answers, i.e. tag questions. Such questions are requests for confirmation and not information, which means that the answer which is being sought by the speaker is not only known to him/her but also is predetermined by the speaker and is encoded in the question itself. This is a “natural” setting for *že* which operates on a restricted set.

Consider (39-40):

(39) [Varja is trying to press a button on the tape recorder]

*MOT: Nu zachem ty sjuda nazhimaesh'.
 %com: Varja tries to press a button on the recorder.
 %eng: So, what for are you pressing here.
 *MOT: Èto zhe ne dlja tebja igrushka, pravda?
 %eng: It is not your toy, isn't it?
 *VAR: A mami.
 %eng: For mummy.
 (episode 1)

(40) [Varja is wrinkling a bag, the mother is persuading her to stop; see (14) for a longer excerpt]

*MOT: Var', ty zhe xoroshaja devochka, pravda?
 *MOT: S toboj zhe možno dogovorit'sja?
 *MOT: Pravda?
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*MOT: Var', you (*že*) are a good girl, right?
 It is possible to agree with you (*že*)?
 Right?

These sections provided illustrations of some pragmatic effects reached in utterances containing a combination of a wh-word with particle *že* and some other occurrences of *že* in questions. All these pragmatic effects can be thought of as

consequences of the type of set *že* operates on: it is a rather restricted set composed of elements activated in discourse.

However, the question of how the mutually exclusive set marked by *že* can be reconciled with the semantics of wh-words still remains to be answered. A couple of thoughts on this issue: one possible way to look at this is to analyze the wh-set marked by *že* as (estimated by the speaker) to be empty of predictable, or reasonable, answers. So, by using *že* with a wh-word, the speaker indicates that the set of possible answers is empty of reasonable answers and opens it to some unpredicted, unreasonable, unexpected answers. However, whatever is viewed by the speaker as an unpredicted, unreasonable, unexpected answer might not be so for the hearer.²⁷

Semantic and pragmatic aspects of the combination of wh-words with *že* (as well as with other k-markers) deserve further consideration.

6.5.2 Other: Child Usage of *ŽE*

So far in this chapter I have concentrated on analyzing occurrences of *že* in the speech of adults. But since the data for this section come primarily from the CHILDES database, it would be impossible not to say a few words about the child's usage of this particle. This section, however, should be treated as a secondary observation and not as a theoretical claim.

It is interesting to observe the change in the child's usage of *že* from file to file. At the earlier stages, Varja simply repeats the adult's utterance copying *že* where the adult

²⁷ Thanks to Catherine V. Chvany for this suggestion.

uses it (pronouncing it as [zy]). In later files, however, her usage of *že* comes closer to the adults' usage. Still, even at the later stages, there are noticeable differences between Varja's use of *že* and *že* in adult's speech, the most striking one being repetitive use of *že* in utterances addressed to somebody else: *že* is much more frequent in Varja's utterances talking to adults than it is in the speech of adults talking to each other. While talking to herself, Varja also uses a lot of *že*, which can be interpreted as a sign of the shifting discourse center in her speech (possibly co-relative to the child's attention span at this age).²⁸

Some examples of Varja's early usage of *že* (*žy*), which is a repetition of the adult's previous utterance containing *že*, are given in (41-42):

(41) [Varja has poured water on herself]

*MOT: Zachem **zhe** ty oblilas'?
 %eng: What for have you poured on yourself?
 *VAR: Zatem **zy**, Ain'ka, otataok, apijas', apijas', apaja, abaja, apijas'?
 %eng: What for, Varen'ka, that way, have poured on yourself?
 *VAR: I nada.
 %eng: Don't.
 (Childes: episode 1)

(42) [mother is distracting Varja by drawing her attention to a pleasant event of the father coming and bringing ice cream; see (2) for a longer excerpt]

*MOT: Predstavljaesh' sebe: papa pridet i prineset morozhenoe.
 %eng: Can you imagine: daddy will be back and will bring ice-cream.
 *MOT: Èto **zhe** prekrasno!
 %eng: But this is beautiful!

²⁸ Another way of interpreting frequent uses of *že* in Varja's monologues is to treat them either as a part of dialogues, where her addressees are toys, dogs, etc. whose responses (for obvious reasons) are not explicitly present in the discourse, or as actual dialogs where the roles of the two (or more) interlocutors are performed by Varja.

*VAR: Èta **zy** pikana!
 %eng: But this is beautiful!
 (Childes: episode 2)

One of the first non-prompted occurrences of *že* in Varja's speech takes place when she is two years and one day old (2;0.1); she is talking (mostly to herself) about her toy dog Pljuti who is "sick" and whose paw she is "rubbing with some medication:"

(43) [Varja is rubbing her toy dog Pljuti with "medication"]

*VAR: mama, ty nikogda ne plakaesh', chto ja tebja pomazala?
 *VAR: A Pljuti ja mazhu, a lapy ja ne pomazala, nu chto **zh** èto takoe.
 *VAR: On moj družhok, malen'kij, xoroshij.
 *VAR: Vidish', kakoj belyj kran tam rabotaet, on.
 *VAR: Otrjaxnis'.
 *VAR: Pomazhem na xvost, pomazhem lapy zdes'.
 *MOT: Varja, a zachem ty ego mazhesh', Pljuti?
 *VAR: Chtob on ne bolel, Pljuti.
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VAR: mama, you never cry that I rubbed you?
 And PLJUTI I am rubbing now, and his PAW I haven't rubbed, what (*že*) is the matter.
 He is my little friend, small, nice.
 See, what white crane is working there, it.
 Shake it off.
 We'll rub it on the tail, rub the paw here.
 MOT: Varja, and why are you rubbing him, Pljuti?
 VAR: So that he is not sick, Pljuti.

Gloss:

*VAR: A Pljuti ja mazhu, a lapy ja ne pomazala, nu chto **zh** èto takoe.
 And P. I rub, and paw I NEG rubbed, well what *ž* this such.

'And PLJUTI I am rubbing now, and his PAW I haven't rubbed, what (*že*) is the matter.'

It would be hard to discuss the appropriateness of this utterance with *že*, without knowing the exact details of the situations and making guesses of what Varja might be thinking at the moment. Another point is that this utterance with *že* *Nu chto ž èto takoe*

‘What’s the matter?/ What’s going on?/ What is this?’ can also be considered a frequently used combination, or a phrasal expression.

Some examples of non-repeated child *že* are given in (44-45). Example (44) is an illustration of Varja’s use of *že* in her speech addressed to herself (or, possibly, to her toys):

(44) [Varja is playing with her toys and talking to herself]

*VAR: Ètu krysheckku ja sdelala vot tak.
 *VAR: Xoroshu.
 *VAR: Mnogo?
 *VAR: Vsex mnogo vydvad, èx.
 *VAR: A gde u tebjja **zhe** takoj arasenok?
 *VAR: Ja ne vizhu bol'she.
 *VAR: A.
 *VAR: Vot ona, èta bol'shaja.
 *VAR: A gde **zhe**?
 *VAR: A, ona pod kuxnej.
 *VAR: Nox!
 *VAR: Gde **zhe** eshche?
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*VAR: This little lid I made this way.
 Good.
 A lot?
 A lot of all [???].
 And where is your (*že*) such piglet?
 I don't see any more.
 Ah.
 And where (*že*) [is it]?
 Ah, she under the kitchen.
 [???]
 Where (*že*) else?

Example (45) shows Varja’s repetitive use of *že* in her speech addressed to the mother. The mother asks Varja who scattered all the things around — and Varja claims that it was not she but the mother. The mother counter-attacks Varja with an utterance containing *že*: *Da èto **zhe** TY vse raskidala!* ‘But this (*že*) is YOU who scattered

everything around!' Varja responds with her own arguments employing particle *že* three times:

(45) [Varja and the mother argue: who scattered everything around]

*MOT: Èto kto vse raskidal?
 *VAR: Net, èto vse ty, tebe, raskidat' i vot èto raskidat'.
 *MOT: Chto raskidat'?
 *VAR: Èto.
 *VAR: I gajku.
 *VAR: Èto vse raskidat'.
 *VAR: Tebe.
 *MOT: Mne raskidat'?
 *MOT: Da èto zhe ty vse raskidala!
 *VAR: No èto zhe krovat'!
 *VAR: Èto zhe nikomu ne razreshaetsja mne brat'!
 *VAR: Tak.
 *VAR: Nu, tak, nu polagaetsja ètu ostavljat'.
 *VAR: Èto zhe poljanaka, chorte.
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*MOT: Who scattered all this around?
 *VAR: No, this all is you, for you, to scatter around and this here to scatter around.
 *MOT: What to scatter around?
 *VAR: This.
 And the screw.
 This all is to scatter around.
 For you.
 *MOT: For me to scatter?
 But this (*že*) is YOU who scattered everything around!
 *VAR: But this (*že*) is the bed!
 This (*že*) is not allowed to anybody to me to take.²⁹
 This way.
 Well, this way, well it is not allowed to leave this.
 This (*že*) is a little meadow, [???].

Gloss:

*MOT: Da èto zhe TY vse raskidala!
 PART this *že* YOU everything scattered-around

'But this (*že*) is YOU who scattered everything around!'

²⁹ In this utterance Varja has two indirect objects in Dative, which is ungrammatical in adult's speech. See the gloss below.

*VAR: No èto **zhe** krovat'!
But this *že* bed

‘But this (*že*) is the bed!’

*VAR: Èto **zhe** nikomu ne razreshaetsja mne brat'!
This *že* nobody-DAT NEG allowed me-DAT to-take

‘This (*že*) is not allowed to anybody to me to take.’

*VAR: Èto **zhe** poljanaka, chorte.
This *že* little-meadow[?] [??]³⁰

‘This (*že*) is a little meadow, [??].’

Example (46) illustrates redundancy of *že* usage in Varja’s speech addressed primarily to herself which can be an indicator of the constantly shifting center of discourse in child speech: *že* is used here by Varja six times in eight of her consecutive utterances:

(46) [Varja is preparing “dinner” for her toys]

*VAR: Ona budet vsem gotovit' obed, ja, ja, ja.

*VAR: A gde **zhe** drugaja?

*VAR: Nu èto xvatit, xvatit.

*VAR: Skol'ko **zhe** mne kryshek?

*VAR: A?

*MOT: A skol'ko tebe nuzhno - poschitaj.

*VAR: Vot èto, èto, a èto tri, kak **zhe** ona tuda?

*VAR: Tam **zhe** net, a vot zdes'?

*VAR: Èto, a gde **zhe** eshche?

*VAR: Nu chto **zhe** ja zalomala lozhku takuju.

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*VAR: She will prepare dinner to everybody, I, I, I.

And where (*že*) is the other one?

Well, this is enough, enough.

How many (*že*) lids for me?

Ah?

*MOT: And how many do you need – count.

*VAR: This one, this one, and this is three, how (*že*) she got in there?

There (*že*) there isn’t any, and right here?

³⁰ I am not completely sure about the exact meaning of Varja’s utterance: the closest word to her *poljanaka* is *poljanka* ‘a little meadow’; also the next word is left un glossed/untranslated.

This, and where (*že*) else?
Well, what (*že*) I broke such a spoon for.

This section contains a brief account of my observations on the differences between the adult and the child usage of particle *že* in the Russian texts of the CHILDES database (McWhinney 2000; Russian, Protassova's files). However, in order to analyze the process of particle acquisition, more detailed data sources would be needed: Varja's files do not provide enough contextual information to do that; also, there is a considerable lapse of time between the last two files (i.e., those where Varja's usage of *že* goes up considerably) — exactly six months (from 2;4.14 to 2;10.14). In order to make any theoretically relevant conclusions on the acquisition of particle *že*, this period of child language development should be studied more thoroughly.

6.6 Summary: *ŽE* as a Kontrastive Marker

In this chapter particle *že* has been analyzed as a kontrastive marker with the following essential properties that contribute to its lexical meaning (the first two bullets) and the following consequences of these essential properties (the last two bullets):

- *že* marks a set of propositions which are differentiated by the value of at least one kontrastive term (cases of the so-called “phrasal” *že* — i.e., *že* modifying a single term and not a full proposition — can be possibly re-analyzed as cases of proposition-level *že*);
- the members within the contrast set marked by this particle are mutually exclusive (the membership is usually limited to two members which are assigned opposite values);

- *že* marks information partially activated in the discourse which can be evoked either situationally or linguistically; more precisely, the set member which is explicitly marked by *že* is in binary opposition with another element, which is activated in the hearer's mind, and this explicitly marked set member is treated by the speaker as known to the hearer and as though it should be activated in the hearer's mind;
in Gundel et al.'s (1993) classification the corresponding status of referents marked by *že* is "activated" (for the member opposed to the one explicitly marked) and at least "familiar" (for the explicitly marked member of the kontrast set);
in Yokoyama's (1986) model, knowledge marked by *že* is assumed by the speaker to be located on the periphery of the hearer's set of matters of current concern (periphery of C_b) or to be inferable from the information located there.

As a consequence the type of set and cognitive status of information marked:

- *že* is associated with elements bearing features [+kontrast; +theme], such as various types of contrastive foci (verum foci, etc.), wh-words, deictics, etc.
The position of *že* depends on the kontrastively marked element:
in case of the phrasal level *že*, it is always a second position clitic within the kontrastively marked phrase;
in case when *že* has scope over a clause/proposition, it can either encliticize to the kontrastively marked element within the clause or encliticize to a phonological word on either the left (usually) or the right periphery of the clause;
- at the discourse level, *že* introduces a special pattern of inference and facilitates referring to a specific referent which is perceived as the center of discourse.

6.6.1 K-Marker *ŽE*: A Unifying Analysis

An analysis of *že* as a k-marker, with the properties as discussed in detail in this chapter and outlined in chapter 4, offers certain advantages over other proposals and can be viewed as an attempt for a more detailed unified analysis (cf. such attempts for a unified analysis of *že* as Bonnot and Kodzasov (1998) and Feldman (forthcoming)). Thus, the following major functions of *že* that have been discussed in the literature can be derived from its essential properties as a kontrastive marker:

- *affective/modal že* (Vasilyeva, Ickler, Paillard, Bitextin)
the nature of the set (containing binary opposed members) and the cognitive status of the information marked by *že* have repercussions in the domain of feelings (see the discussion above with respect to the label of *že* as a “verbal attack on the hearer”³¹);
- *marker of contrast/contrastive focus* (Vasilyeva, Bitextin, King):
že marks elements whose status is [+kontrast; +rheme] (“contrastive foci” or “kontrastive rhemes”);
- *marker of emphasis* (Vasilyeva, Ickler, Bitextin):
same as for particle *–to*;
- *marker of (re-)activated information* (Bitextin, Parrott, Feldman):
in my analysis, this constitutes a separate criterion for the classification of particles; i.e., one of the major characteristics differentiating *že* from the other two particles; see the more precise definition above;
- *marker of a reference point in the activated “domain of reference”* (Bonnot and Kodzasov):

³¹ Parrott (1997) convincingly demonstrates how such properties of *že* as its restricted use to the *svoj* ‘familiar’ mode of communication and the perception of utterances containing it as a “verbal attack on the addressee” can be derived from the cognitive status of the information marked by it; see the source for details.

že refers to what the speaker perceives as the central topic in discourse in cases of potential interference from other discourse topics; this function of *že* is also a consequence of the type of information it marks: *že* is capable of tracing the status of only activated file cards;

- *marker of identity/equivalence of an element to itself* (Bulatnikova, Bitextin): this is a consequence of a rather restricted membership of the set: usually it is only two elements that are being contrasted.

In the next chapter kontrastive properties of particle *ved'* will be addressed in detail.