

Chapter 7

Particle *VED'* as a K-marker

7.0 Overview

In this chapter I will analyze kontrastive, or set-evoking, properties of particle *ved'* in detail. Some of these properties are shared by particle *ved'* with the other two particles, *-to* (discussed in detail in chapter 5) and *že* (discussed in chapter 6). However, each particle has a unique combination of these set-evoking properties. Thus, k-marker *ved'*, similarly to particle *-to*, marks information known to the hearer but not currently activated in the discourse (while *že* marks activated information). Also, similarly to *že*, k-marker *ved'* requires the presence of only one kontrastive element in the clause (while *-to* requires two [+k] elements); however, the distribution of *ved'* (unlike that of *-to* and *že*) is limited to propositions that have an illocutionary force of assertions. The similarity between *že* and *ved'* is in the inference pattern that both of these particles introduce in the discourse. However, while k-markers *-to* and *že* are both enclitics, *ved'* can be either proclitic or enclitic, which results in more freedom of its placement on the clausal level.

The data for this section also come primarily from the Russian texts of the CHILDES database (MacWhinney 2000; Protassova's files), however other sources of colloquial Russian will be used as well.

The section is organized in the following way: in section 7.1 etymology of particle *ved'* is briefly discussed. Section 7.2 reviews literature on its functions. Section 7.3

discusses in detail the following kontrastive properties of *ved'* (which were also briefly touched upon in chapter 4):

What kind of set is marked by ved'?

- A set of propositions which have an illocutionary force of assertions.

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

- Particle *ved'* marks information (estimated by the speaker to be) known to the hearer but not activated in the hearer's mind at the time of the utterance.

Next section, 7.4, discusses the following consequences of these essential properties of *ved'* as a k-marker:

How is this particle encoded on the clausal level?

- The position of *ved'* on the clausal level can be analyzed with respect to the scope of the element in the clause which is marked [+kontrast]; the scope of such kontrastive element can be either a term within the clause or the full clause; *ved'* can be either a proclitic or an enclitic to such element.

What role does ved' play at the discourse level?

- Propositions containing *ved'* introduce the following inference pattern in the discourse (cf. the pattern for *že*):

Speaker A: utters *X*, which might imply (*not*) *Y*

Speaker B: utters *X' VED'*, which implies *Y*

(*X* and *X'* are related in some way)

Section 7.5 will provide more illustrations of functions of *ved'* in discourse; the combination of particles *že* and *ved'* in one utterance will be discussed here. Also in this section, I will briefly comment on the child usage of *ved'* as observed from the CHILDES

database. Section 7.6 will summarize the kontrastive properties of *ved'* and will demonstrate the advantages of analyzing of *ved'* as a k-marker over other proposals in the literature.

7.1 Etymology

The relationship of particle *ved'* to the verb *vedat'* 'to know' (the verb itself is nowadays perceived as having somewhat historic usage, however the root is productive) is rather transparent: the two share the same root. In the period of Old Russian, the perfective form of the verb *to know* gave rise to a particle, which with minor phonological and graphic changes has survived as the colloquial Russian particle *ved'* (for more detail see Šanskij et al. 1975: 72).

7.2 Functions

While examining the structure of utterances in discourse and not focusing on discourse particles in particular, Yokoyama (1986: 290) offers the following brief observations with respect to particle *ved'*:

- a) *Ved'* is a high frequency particle;
- b) it is another "untranslatable" particle; "it is often best rendered in English through intonation;"¹

¹ I will render the meaning of *ved'* into English primarily through a parenthetical *you know*; also markers like *but* and *moreover* will be used here.

- c) its “position in a sentence does not seem to depend on any other word in a clearly definable way;”
- d) “at least one of its functions can perhaps be defined as the marking [of] associated propositional knowledge that the speaker had assumed the addressee to have had.”

These properties and functions of particle *ved'* have been analyzed in more detail by several researchers whose proposals are reviewed in the next section.

7.2.1 Literature Review on Particle *VED'*

The following works will be reviewed here: Vasilyeva (1972), Parrott (1990, 1997), Bitextin (1994), and Zaitseva (1999).²

Vasilyeva (1972) describes the particle *ved'* in the following way:

The particle *ved'* comes from the verb *vedat'* ‘to know’. Its principal function is to *emphasize* the *obviousness* of a fact or truth contained in an utterance. This emphasis is of a mild type: the speaker merely reminds, as it were, the hearer (or himself) of something he already knows. Depending on the context, word-order and intonation of the sentence, that meaning is made more specific and acquires various additional shades. Vasilyeva (1972: 46)

Among those “additional shades” of meaning listed by Vasilyeva are the following:

- a) The particle *ved'* lends the idea expressed the tone of *an argument requiring no proof*. In such cases, *ved'* has the meaning of cause and effect and is generally used to substantiate an idea, to explain or justify something;

² Also see Bonnot and Kodzasov 1998.

- b) [it] *may emphasize the significance* of a fact or *the importance* of an utterance. When fulfilling this function it is used mostly to juxtapose or contrast; in such cases the meaning of cause and effect is preserved, but becomes subordinated to the new meaning, thus acquiring a less direct character;
- c) As a rule, the particle *ved'* is used in general questions when the speaker tries to prompt his interlocutor *to give the answer he wants to hear*;
- d) [it] is used for *emphasis in expressing a prediction, warning or reproach*. However, even in such cases it lends a gentler note to the utterance;
- e) Sometimes the particle *ved'* *emphasises the unexpectedness* of finding out a fact, the *discovery* of a plain truth, the *detection* of a hidden contradiction, etc., or expresses a guess, and is usually accompanied by a connotation of surprise;
- f) [it] may occur in a construction containing an interrogative word which has no real interrogative meaning (rhetorical question) but is used merely to draw the interlocutor's attention to the thought which is to follow and to which the particle actually refers. (Vasilyeva 1972: 46-50)

Particle *ved'* is the first of those discussed by Vasilyeva; she makes numerous references to *ved'* when describing the meaning of other particles of colloquial Russian, especially particle *že*.

Paillard (1986) bases his analysis of *ved'* on Vasilyeva's observation that "*ved'* reminds and simultaneously asserts." These two semantic components, i.e., of a reminder and of an assertion, are treated as invariant meanings of particle *ved'* by Paillard.

As mentioned above, Parrott (1990, 1997) also defines the functional meaning of *ved'* as opposed to *že*. Particle *ved'*, according to Parrott, signals that the information

conveyed by the speaker is located at the periphery of the interlocutor's knowledge set, i.e., the interlocutor already possesses the information but is not currently concerned with it. Thus, the function of *ved'* is to move that information from the periphery of the interlocutor's knowledge set to the set of matters of current concern of the interlocutors (see more on these terms in section 3.4.1 where Yokoyama's (1986) model of Transactional Discourse is discussed in detail). Parrott also discusses differences between particles *že* and *ved'* in terms of implications. Quoting Paillard's (1987: 206) observation that "*ved'* is oriented towards the interlocutor, whereas *že* necessarily indicates a (re)centering on the speaker who constitutes the domain of reference" (Parrott's translation: Parrott 1990: 87), Parrott takes it further by noting that:

The use of *že* constitutes a sort of attack on the addressee: 'You know *X* but you are not making the logical conclusion *-Y*.' With *ved'*, on the other hand, the speaker is giving the addressee the benefit of the doubt and is assuming that the addressee has for the moment merely forgotten that *X* entails *-Y*.
(Parrott 1990: 97)

Zaitseva (1999), who also utilizes Yokoyama's (1986) model of discourse, analyzes particle *ved'* through a prism of a dynamic interaction between the speaker and the hearer. The interlocutors share the CODE and DEIXIS and they are supposed to act according to their "referential portraits," which are understood as bundles of propositions shared by interlocutors through CODE (for example, {good hostesses feed their guests} and {polite guests try to give their hosts as little trouble as possible}). In a situation where there are two conflicting referential portraits present for one interlocutor, the other

interlocutor may opt to use particle *ved'* as a linguistic indicator of a mismatch between the referential portrait that the addressee adheres to and his/her actual role/behavior/etc:

Ved' signals that the speaker's set of deictic referential portraits for {I, you} differs from the referential roles envisioned by the addressee, and the *ved'* utterance contains a proposition designed to change the addressee's referential label. The proposition accompanied by *ved'* is capable of producing such a change because of its status as shared knowledge, even though it is located in the center of the speaker's set of current concern and at the periphery of the addressee's knowledge set. (Zaitseva 1999: 13)

Generally speaking, it has been observed in the literature, starting with Vasilyeva (1972), that utterances with particle *ved'* are perceived as being more polite than those with particle *že*.

Bitextin (1994) analyzes particle *ved'* as the marker of the propositional content of the utterance being known to the hearer with an important restriction: *ved'* requires the semantic structure of the utterance should contain an "assertion" operator (not only truthfulness but also probability or possibility can be asserted). He points out that since assertion is invariantly present in the semantic structure of particle *ved'*, utterances containing this particle have a special "tone of an argument requiring no proof" (Bitextin 1994: 18).

To summarize the main points discussed in the literature which will be relevant for the present analysis of particle *ved'* as a kontrastive marker:

- 1) *ved'* refers to information which is already known to the hearer (according to the speaker's beliefs) but not activated at the moment of speech;
- 2) *ved'* marks propositions, and not single terms;

- 3) the use of *ved'* in an utterance signifies the relevance of this utterance to the immediately preceding utterance (s) in the context;
- 4) *ved'* can be interchangeable with *že* in certain contexts, however these particles bring into the utterance different nuances of meaning.

In the remainder of this chapter, I will demonstrate how these properties of particle *ved'* can be re-analyzed through the prism of its set-evoking properties (sections 7.3 and 7.4) and, more than that, viewed as consequences of its kontrastive nature (section 7.6.1 in the conclusion to the chapter).

7.3 Kontrastive Properties of VED' in Detail

The discussion of set-evoking properties of particle *ved'* in this section is organized as elaborated answers to the sequence of the same questions, which were raised in chapter 4 and answered in chapter 5 for k-marker *-to* and in chapter 6 for *že*:

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

7.3.1 What Kind of Set is Marked by *VED'*?

K-marker *ved'* has scope over propositions; only propositions that have the illocutionary force of assertions (including those asserting truthfulness, probability, and possibility) can be marked by *ved'* (also see Bitextin 1994, Parrott 1997).

This restriction on the type of propositions that can be marked by *ved'* is undoubtedly rooted in its verbal origin: the verb *vedat'*³ 'to know' that the particle is derived from is a so-called "factive" verb, which means that the truth of its complement is presupposed (cf. one of the functions proposed for *ved'* in the literature: a marker of "arguments requiring no proof"). In cases when *ved'* has scope over questions (more often over yes-no questions and very rarely over wh-questions) and directives, those questions and directives lack their primary illocutionary force (i.e., of a request for information and a request to perform some action, respectively) and serve the primary function to activate this information, or to usher this information into the intersection of the speaker's and the hearer's set of matters of current concern, or $C_a \cap C_b$. Such questions and directives containing *ved'* require no response from the hearer; they have been labeled as "metinformational" by Parrott (1997).⁴

An example of such "metinformational," or what has been traditionally viewed as "rhetorical," questions with *ved'* is given in (1). Grandmother's utterance containing *ved'* is in the form of a yes-no question (which is rendered in the English translation as a tag question). However, it does not constitute a request for information: the answer is known to the speaker in this case. Notice the way the preferred answer is coded in the question: it suggests that there is negation in the clause which is re-iterated in the next utterance

³ In modern Russian the verb *vedat'* 'to know' is perceived as archaic since it has been replaced by another lexical item, *znat'*. However, the root itself is productive, cf. *literaturoVEDenie* 'literary studies' (and the like: *obščestvoVEDenie* 'social sciences/studies'), *VEDomost'* 'roster', *VEDomstvo* 'branch of government', *zaVEDujuščij* 'manager', etc.

⁴ In her dissertation, Parrott (1997) provides a detailed treatment of such metinformational questions and directives containing *ved'*; see the source for more information.

(also by Grandmother) as a statement and again, in the following utterance as an affirmation synonym of the negated proposition:

- (1) [Varja and Grandmother are looking at a picture of a sparrow in a book:
the sparrow is lying in bed in the daytime since he injured himself]

*GPP: A vot _to kto, bednyj, bednyj vorobej, pochemu on lezhit v krovatke?
 %eng: And who is this, the poor, poor sparrow, why is he lying in a little bed?
 *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?
 THE THIRD SEANCE - JUNE THE 25, 26, 27 1984.

Gloss:

*GPP: **Ved'** sejchas ne noch'?'
 ved' now NEG night

‘(Ved’) It isn't night now, right?’

In this section the membership of the set marked by *ved'* has been discussed: k-marker *ved'* has scope over propositions which have the illocutionary force of assertions (including those asserting truthfulness, probability, and possibility). Questions and directives containing *ved'* lack their primary illocutionary forces and are perceived as “metinformational.”

7.3.2 What is the Cognitive Status of Referents Marked by *VED*'?

Particle *ved'* marks information known to the hearer but not activated in the hearer's mind at the time of the utterance. In Gundel et al.'s (1993) classification the corresponding status of information marked by *ved'* is "familiar" but not "activated." In Yokoyama's (1986) model the location of the knowledge marked by *ved'* is at the center of the speaker's set of current concern and, according to the speaker's assumption, in the hearer's knowledge set but not in his/her set of matters of current concern: $C_a \cap B$. In other words, the speaker assumes that the hearer knows this information but is not thinking about it at the moment (cf. Parrott 1990, 1997⁵ and Zaitseva 1999⁶).

The location of information marked by *ved'* in $C_a \cap B$ has direct consequences seen in at least these properties of *ved'* discussed in the literature:

- Marker of encyclopedic or culturally shared knowledge, or a marker of arguments requiring no proof;
- The use of *ved'* is not limited to the *svoj* 'familiar/close' mode (as in the case with *že*); *ved'* can also be used in the *čужoj* 'distant/unfamiliar' mode of communication (in Yokoyama's (1992) terminology).
- Marker of unexpectedness in addressing a particular topic (similarly to k-marker *-to*);

⁵ Parrott (1990, 1997) analyzes knowledge marked by *ved'* as located on the periphery of the hearer's set of matters of current concern, i.e., periphery of C_b . My analysis differs from hers in that *ved'* is capable of marking information located further away from the periphery of C_b , i.e., in the general knowledge store of the hearer, or B. In other words, while the activation status of the information marked by *ved'* would be analyzed as "semi-activated" by Parrott, in my analysis it is treated as "familiar" but not "activated." Compare, for example, such function of *ved'* as a marker of "unexpectedness in addressing a topic:" *ved'* has this function only because it is capable of marking information that is located further away from the hearer's set of matters of current concern.

⁶ Zaitseva (1999: 13) analyzes knowledge marked by *ved'* as located at the center of C_a and the periphery of B, similarly to the position defended here.

- *Ved'* as a polite reminder and as hearer-oriented (compared to *že* as a more aggressive “attack on the hearer” and as speaker-oriented).

Below I will illustrate how each of these properties of *ved'* can be thought of as a consequence of the exact location of the information marked by it with respect to the speaker's and the hearer's knowledge sets, i.e., at the intersection of the speaker's set of matters of current concern and the hearer's general knowledge store but not in his/her set of matters of current concern: $C_a \cap B$.

The function of *ved'* as a marker of encyclopedic or culturally shared knowledge directly follows from the location of information marked by it in $C_a \cap B$: remember that its assessment is based on the speaker's assumption about the hearer's state of knowledge. The speaker is more likely to assume that the hearer knows the information that both share through CODE (language, culture, etc.) and thus it would not be a very ungrounded (although cancelable by the hearer) assumption for the speaker to make that s/he possesses some encyclopedic or cultural knowledge (i.e., the knowledge which everybody is supposed to possess).

These functions of *ved'* as a marker of encyclopedic or culturally shared knowledge or, alternatively, a marker of arguments requiring no proof, are illustrated by the excerpt in (2) below. The mother is trying to persuade Varja not to eat money (apparently, banknotes and not coins) and she uses *ved'* in an utterance which Varja is supposed to know already: **Ved'** *den'gi ochen' grjaznaja veshch', ix nel'zja brat'* ‘(Ved’) money is a very dirty thing, it shouldn't be taken’:

(2) [Suddenly the mother notices that Varja is attempting to eat money — probably paper banknotes]

*MOT: Daj, pozhalujsta.

*VAR: Ja em, ja em.

*MOT: Daj mne, pozhalujsta.

*MOT: Nel'zja, èto grjaznoe, ty chto!

*MOT: Nel'zja est' den'gi, ty chto.

*VAR: Aaaaa.

*MOT: **Ved'** den'gi ochen' grjaznaja veshch', ix nel'zja brat'.

THE FOURTH SEANCE - AUGUST 15-16 1984

*MOT: Give [me] please.

*VAR: I am eating, I am eating.

*MOT: Give me, please.

Don't, it is dirty, what are you doing!

(The) money shouldn't be eaten, what's wrong with you.

*VAR: Aaaaah.

*MOT: (*Ved'*) money is a very dirty thing, it shouldn't be taken.

Consider the sequence of utterances in the mother's plea to Varja not to eat the money: first she uses a directive *Give me please* (which is repeated twice but has not been successful). Then she provides the reason: *It is dirty* – where the referent of the pronoun is the specific object in the speech situation. Her next utterance can be understood as referring either to the specific piece of money or to money in general, which I indicated in the English translation by the article in the parentheses: *(The) money shouldn't be eaten*. And, finally, the mother reverts to using *ved'* in a generic sentence **Ved'** *den'gi ochen' grjaznaja veshch'...* '(*Ved'*) money is a very dirty thing...' The proposition marked by *ved'* is treated as though it should belong to the hearer's knowledge set, i.e., as though Varja should already know that information. At the same time, the proposition *Money is a very dirty thing* has a connotation of belonging to encyclopedic knowledge (that everybody knows, and thus, Varja should know it, too) which requires no proof.

This encyclopedic or shared cultural knowledge that the speaker assumes the hearer to know can also take the form of a sentence with the universal quantifier or adverbs like *always*, as in (3):

(3) [Varja and Grandmother are looking at a picture of a furless cat]

*GPP: A èto kto?

%eng: And who is this?

*VAR: Koska main'kaja.

%eng: A small cat.

*GPP: Golen'kaja koshka, kak smeshno.

%eng: A naked cat, how funny.

*GPP: Bozhe moj, pravda, **ved'** koshka vsegda byvaet v shkurke, a zdes' ona narisovana golen'kaja, kak budto u nee net volosikov.

%eng: My goodness, really, a cat is always is little fell⁷, and here she is drawn naked, as if she hadn't got hair.

THE THIRD SEANCE - JUNE THE 25, 26, 27 1984.

Gloss:

Bozhe moj, pravda, **ved'** koshka vsegda byvaet v shkurke,

God my, true/thruth, **ved'** cat always is in fur,

a zdes' ona narisovana golen'kaja, kak budto u nee net volosikov.

and here she is-pictured naked, as if at her NEG hair.

'My goodness, it's true, (*ved'*/you know) the cats are always furry, and here she is drawn naked, as if she doesn't have any hair.'

In order to illustrate that *ved'* can be used not only in the *svoj* 'familiar/close' but also in *čužoj* 'distant/unfamiliar' mode of communication (in Yokoyama's (1992) terminology), I have to bring sources of data different from the CHILDES files (which are very representative of the *svoj* mode since they reflect the interaction of family members who know each other well). The fact that *ved'* is not limited to one mode of communication can also be explained by the location of the marked information in the hearer's set of general knowledge.

⁷ There is an obvious misprint in the English translation, which is probably meant to be 'a cat is always a little furry.'

In this respect, consider an excerpt from Vasilij Šukšin's short story *Zabuksoval* 'Stuck' where the interlocutors do not know each other as close as family members. They are Roman, a mechanic, who suddenly stumbled on a very "radical" literary thought while listening to his son's doing the homework aloud, and the teacher of Roman's son. Even though Roman and the teacher know each other, they are not close enough to communicate in the *svoj* mode: their mode of communication is closer to the *čužoj* mode (the most noticeable feature is the polite form *vy* (not *ty*) for second person singular). Nevertheless, the teacher is still capable of using *ved'* in the utterance addressed to Roman:

(4) [After Roman shared his radical idea with the teacher, the teacher asks Roman:]

Teacher: A **ved'** sami nebos' učili?
And ved' yourself most-likely were-learning [it by heart]?

'And (*ved'*) you were most likely learning [it by heart] yourself, right?'

Roman: Učil! Pomnju prekrasno, kak zubril tože....
Was-learning! Remember well, how was-cramming also...

A čerez tridcat' let tol'ko došlo...
And in thirty years only [it] occurred [to me]...

'Sure I was! I remember well how I was also cramming it... And only in thirty years it occurred to me...'

Here *ved'* refers to the cultural knowledge that is — supposedly — shared by the speaker and the hearer: even though they might have gone to different schools, and might have studied during different time periods, the teacher has enough evidence to assume that learning the Rus'-trojka monologue from Gogol's novel was a part of Roman's

education as well. Note, however, that the teacher is using a colloquialism *nebos'*, which roughly means 'most likely', to assert the high degree of probability of the proposition marked by *ved'*.⁸ This high degree of the teacher's certitude in the fact that Roman was learning the monologue by heart himself when he was at school is based on the cultural knowledge (here, of the educational system in the Soviet Union), which was shared by all (or, at least, most) members of the society.

Consider another excerpt, where the metaphorical distance between the interlocutors is even greater than in (4): example (5) below is taken from television series *Rodina* — which is a series of interviews (in Russian, with English subtitles) on various aspects of Soviet society around the year of 1990. In this particular interview, the interviewer is talking to a woman who is a representative of the "Society of Mothers with Large Families." The discourse is centered on the hardships that mothers with many children had to live through. The immediate topic under discussion for the excerpt in (5) is the type of women who decided to have many children in order to receive such governmental subsidies as larger apartments, monthly stipends, etc:

- (5) [*Rodina*: A mother with many children is talking about other women who gave birth to many children in order to get government subsidies, which were worthless]

Nu u nas prosto takie uslovija ešče v strane dovol'no dlitel'nyj period byli,
Well at us simply such conditions still in country rather long period were,

čto oni raščityvali na l'goty, kotoryx praktičeski ix net **ved'** na samom dele,
that they counted on benefits, which practically them NEG ved' in reality,

⁸ This is also a good illustration of Bitextin's (1994) proposal that *ved'* marks propositions containing the assertion operator, where not only truth but also probability and possibility can be asserted.

a èto tol'ko deklarirovannye l'goty, to est' ix predostavljajut nominal'no,
and this only declared benefits, that is them-ACC [they]grant nominally,

no na samom dele èti **l'goty oni** | praktičeski ničego ne dajut...⁹
but in reality these benefits they|practically nothing NEG give...

‘Well, for a long time in our country there have been simply such conditions that they relied on benefits, which practically they don’t (*ved’*) really exist, and these are benefits only existing on paper, that is, they were given nominally, but in reality, as far as these benefits are concerned, they are practically worthless...’

The relationship between the interviewee in (5) and the reporter is very distant: they are more likely to be complete strangers who met each other for the first time for this interview. Nevertheless, the speaker is capable of using *ved’* in an utterance which she believes is shared by the hearer, or at least is treated as if it shared.¹⁰

Thus, the degree of familiarity between the interlocutors is not important for the information shared through the code, which means that *ved’* can be used in the *svoj* as well as *čužoj* modes of communication, providing that the speaker has enough evidence to assume that the information marked by it is located in the hearer’s general knowledge set.

The function of *ved’* as a marker of unexpectedness in addressing a particular topic can also be thought of as a consequence of the cognitive status of the information it marks: i.e., according to A, it is located in B’s general knowledge store but not in his/her set of matters of current concern, or C_b. And the fact that the information is located not in C_b, or in other words, is not activated in the hearer’s mind is of crucial importance here:

⁹ The bold face in this clause is used to visually set off the pronoun doubling which was briefly discussed in chapter 4. The sign “|” stands here for a slight pause.

¹⁰ The reporter is a young woman whose linguistic behavior suggests that her knowledge of the subject matter (i.e., the problems of women raising several children in the Soviet Union) is rather superficial.

the lack of activation is responsible for this effect of “unexpectedness.” Note that *ved’* shares this function with k-marker *–to* (which also marks familiar but not activated information) but not with *že* (which marks activated information): there is no surprise or unexpectedness in addressing a topic when it is activated.

For an illustration I am going to use Vasilyeva’s (1972: 49) own example illustrating this particular function of *ved’* (see section 7.2.1 above, the full description of this function is given under (e)):

(6) [from Vasilyeva (1972: 49)¹¹; translation is hers, the gloss is added]

Fedorka! — rasterjanno skazala ona. — **Ved’** èto osen’. Uže nastupila osen’.
Fedorka perplexedly said she. Ved’ this autumn. Already has-come autumn.

‘“Fedorka!” she said, as if taken aback. “It’s autumn, to be sure. Autumn’s come.”’

Even though this example is brought up by Vasilyeva without additional context, it can be construed that the unexpectedness effect is linked to the cognitive status of the proposition marked by *ved’*: *Ved’ èto osen’* which I would translate as ‘You know, this is autumn.’ According to the speaker’s belief, the speaker cannot be currently concerned with the proposition *This is autumn* but s/he is more likely than not to be aware of the fact that the autumn has come. Again, the location of this information, as assessed by the speaker, is in the hearer’s knowledge set but not in the set of matters of current concern: in B but — crucially — not in C_b, which is responsible for this “unexpectedness” effect.

Finally, the function of *ved’* as a polite reminder and as hearer-oriented (compared to *že* as a more aggressive “attack on the hearer” and as speaker-oriented) can also be

¹¹ Vasilyeva indicates the literary source of this example as V. Oseeva. *Dinka*. Moscow, 1965.

viewed as a consequence of the location of the marked information in B but not C_b . By using *ved'*, the speaker is simply relocating a piece of knowledge from one sub-set of the hearer's knowledge set to another: more specifically, the speaker is bringing to the hearer's attention some information, known to the hearer but not in the center of his/her attention at the moment, since the speaker considers this information important for a specific purpose in discourse.

Parrott (1997) views the difference between *ved'* and *že* mainly in terms of the difference in their inference patterns: if, according to the speaker's assessment, the hearer has the wrong inference in mind, the speaker uses an utterance with *že*, if the hearer does not possess such incorrect inference but needs additional reasoning in order to reach to the correct conclusion, the speaker is using an utterance with *ved'* (see Parrott 1997 for more detail, also see discussion in section 7.4.2 below). Even though Parrott's line of argument is convincing, I will try to show with an example below that the difference in the location of knowledge marked (on the periphery of C_b for *že*, while in B but not in C_b for *ved'*) is at least of equal importance for the perception of *ved'* as a polite reminder and as hearer-oriented, compared to the perception of *že* as a more aggressive "attack on the hearer" and as speaker-oriented.

Consider (7), taken from Zemskaja and Kapanadze (1978: 80-81): the interlocutors are a 73 years old author of popular books about language Lev Uspensky (A) and a 36 year old woman, a good friend of A (B). The main topic of their conversation is the late Professor Larin (C), who A knew very well. He (A) goes into detail about various personal and professional properties of C, one of them being how he managed to

persuade people, and then he gives an example of how C persuaded D to teach Turkish even though D was extremely busy at that time. This example is rather long and A eventually starts discussing personal properties of D. Then A finishes his detour about D with the first utterance given in the excerpt below *But he was such, you know*, where the 3d person pronoun refers to D. Speaker B, on the other hand, wishes to continue the main topic of the conversation (i.e., C) by reminding her interlocutor that C had another property: he was a specialist in India:

(7) [Uspenskij's (A) talks to a friend (B) about Larin (C) having just talked about (D); from Zemskaĵa and Kapanadze (1978: 80-81); glosses and translation added]

A: No on byl takoj / znaete //
'But he [=D] was such / you know'//

B: A krome togo on **ved'** INDOLOGOM byl // On ezdil v Indiju /
And besides he ved' INDOLOGIST was // He went to India //

'And besides, he [=C] (*ved'*/you know) was a SPECIALIST IN INDIA// He traveled to India/'

A: Larin?
'Larin?'

B: Da //
'Yes'//

A: Da-a / nu konečno // Kak **že** // Ešče by // Očen' širokie gorizonty u nego byli /
'Ye-es / well of course // Indeed // Definitely // Very wide interests he had'//

The way speaker B coded the referent of the clause containing *ved'* is by using the 3d person singular pronoun, which is probably not the most efficient way since there is a potential competition between the local-level discourse topic (D) and the main

discourse topic¹² (C): speaker A has to clarify the referent in his next utterance. However, this “not the most efficient” pronominal reference to C illustrates that an utterance with *ved’* is capable of reaching up a higher level in the hierarchy of discourse topics even through by-passing the activated local-level topic. The proposition *C was a specialist in India* is a part of A’s general knowledge store but it is definitely not in C_b. Speaker B (who probably knows much less than A about C being an Indologist) uses *ved’* to mark this propositional knowledge in order to relocate this proposition from the periphery of A’s knowledge set to the center of the interlocutors’ set of matters of current concern. Or, simply, B reminds A that there is some important information, known to A, which has not been considered so far.

So, I believe that the functions of *ved’* discussed in the literature as a polite reminder and as hearer-oriented can be analyzed as a consequence of the speaker’s attempt to re-locate of the information marked by *ved’* from the hearer’s general knowledge set to his/her set of matters of current concern. It is important to note that substituting *ved’* with *že* in the excerpt above would be impossible in case when the referent of the pronoun is C (or the main discourse topic). This hypothetical utterance with *že*: *A krome togo on že INDOLOGOM byl* ‘And besides, he (*že*) was a specialist in INDIA’ would inevitably be interpreted as referring to D, or the activated local topic (with its own connotations a more aggressive “attack on the hearer” and speaker-oriented — since the knowledge marked by *že* is either already activated or inferable from other activated knowledge; however, for whatever reason, the hearer is not considering it at the

¹² See Grenoble (1998) for alternative terminology.

moment). Thus, the difference in functions and connotations between *ved'* and *že* can— at least partially — be explained by the difference in the location of the information they mark.

In this section I addressed the cognitive status of referents marked by *ved'*: it has been found that k-marker *ved'* marks information known to the hearer but not activated in the hearer's mind at the time of the utterance. The following function attributed to *ved'* in the literature have been analyzed as consequences of this property: a “marker of encyclopedic or culturally shared knowledge,” or a “marker of arguments requiring no proof;” the use of *ved'* in both *svoj* ‘familiar/close’ and *čужoj* ‘distant/unfamiliar’ mode of communication; a “marker of unexpectedness in addressing a particular topic,” and *ved'* as “a polite reminder” and as “hearer-oriented.”

7.4 Consequences of Kontrastive Properties of VED'

In this section the following characteristics of particle *ved'* will be discussed as consequences of two essential properties as a kontrastive marker:

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

7.4.1 How is *VED'* Encoded on the Clausal Level?

The position of particle *ved'* on the clausal level can be adequately described with respect to the element marked [+kontrast]. Traditionally, its placement within the clause has been

described as rather flexible — definitely more flexible than the position of particles *–to* and *že*, for example. Thus, *ved'* can be used clause-initially, clause-internally, and more rarely, clause-finally. It has been analyzed as either an enclitic or proclitic to the element it “emphasizes” and this optionality has been attributed to its verbal origin. The assumption is that before developing into a particle, the Old Russian form *vědě* (from *věděti* ‘to know’) was used a parenthetical with a high degree of flexibility of where it could be inserted in the clause. Parrott (1997: 245) notes that *ved'* still retains this possibility, at least graphically, and illustrates it with an example from Bulgakov’s *Master i Margarita* (ch. 13):

- (8) Vpročem vy... vy menja opjat'-taki izvinite, ***ved'***, ja ne ošibajus', vy čelovek nevežestnennyj?¹³
 'However, you... forgive me again, after all, if I'm not mistaken, you are an ignorant person, (are you not)?'

It might appear that there is no difference with respect to where *ved'* is positioned within the clause, however, this is not the case. Parrott (1997) convincingly shows that the placement of *ved'* clause-initially versus clause-internally is motivated by functional reasons, however she leaves its clause-final position unaccountable:

...the placement of *ved'* depends upon the speaker's assessment of the contents of $C_a \cap C_b$. If the knowledge that the speaker wishes to convey expands upon a particular term in the center of $C_a \cap C_b$...then *ved'* follows that term and precedes

¹³ Parrott does not offer a detailed analysis of this example but only uses it to illustrate the fact that *ved'* retains some of its parenthetical nature. However, I believe that what this example actually shows is that *ved'* can be separated from the clause it marks by a parenthetical clause: i.e., not *ved'* itself is somewhat parenthetical but the clause *ja ne ošibajus'* ‘if I'm not mistaken’ is a parenthetical clause. *Ved'* in this case is a part of the clause *ved' vy čelovek nevežestnennyj* ‘you are an ignorant person, (are you not)?’.

the knowledge that the speaker wishes to move into the center of $C_a \cap C_b$. In contrast, if the knowledge that the speaker wishes to convey is not merely an expansion (i.e. complementary knowledge) of a particular term in $C_a \cap C_b$ but is an entire proposition that complements propositional knowledge in $C_a \cap C_b$, then *ved'* occurs S-initially... Thus, *ved'* precedes the knowledge that the speaker wishes to bring into focus. (Parrott 1997: 195-196).

Even though Parrott's intuitions about the functional reasons governing the positioning of *ved'* in the clause are basically true, she does not address the problem in its entirety. For example, she makes her conclusion (i.e., the one quoted above) on the basis of only two examples: the sentence-initial *ved'* and sentence internal *ved'* where it immediately follows the subject and precedes the predicate.¹⁴ Even though these two positions are no doubt the most common for *ved'*, it does occur in other positions within the clause and can be an enclitic as well as a proclitic (the latter being more common). Parrott is aware of these issues but nevertheless she leaves them for future research¹⁵:

Theoretically, in morphosyntactic terms, S-internal position could be analyzed as proclitic to the next phonological word, which would mean that *ved'* is a phrase initial clitic regardless of whether it occurs S-initially or S-internally. The problem with making with such a claim is that *ved'* can occur S-finally (e.g. ...*tak ved'*? '...isn't it (so)?'), which indicates that it can function as an enclitic, i.e., as a phrase final clitic — there is no evidence for claiming second-position —, and thus one would be faced with the rather *ad hoc* conclusion that *ved'* is a phrase initial clitic except where it occurs S-finally, where it must be a phrase final clitic. Examples of S-final *ved'* are, however, rare, and it may ultimately be possible to account for their position differently. Parrott (1997: 239 [footnote 5])

¹⁴ Parrott's examples are the following: *Ved' on pomnit, čto ego posadili po tebe...* 'After all, he remembers that he was put in jail because of you' for the sentence-initial *ved'* and *Ona ved' iz obščěžitija* 'She's from the dorm after all' for the sentence-internal *ved'* (both are from Petruševskaja's play *Uroki Muzyki* 'Music Lessons'; see the source for the context and details).

¹⁵ She also mentions such a secondary factor that plays a role in the placement of *ved'* as a tendency of colloquial speech to observe a rhythmic pattern, etc.

In order to offer a unified account of the position of *ved'* in the sentence, I would make the following assumptions:

- 1) *ved'* can be either a proclitic or an enclitic;
- 2) the position of *ved'* in the clause can be defined with respect to the position and scope of the element marked [+kontrast].

Thus, I propose that the placement of *ved'* at the clausal level can be accounted by the following rule:

(9) **Rule for placement of *ved'* at the clausal level**

Ved' is either an proclitic or an enclitic to the element marked [+kontrast].

Below I will illustrate how this rule works by discussing examples of possible positions of *ved'* in the clause, which will be classified with respect to these variables: for *ved'*: pro- or enclitic; for [+kontrastive] element: its scope and, to a lesser degree, its [+rheme] value. The following combinations of these variables will be discussed:

- a) *ved'*: proclitic; the scope of [+kontrastive] element: full clause;
- b) *ved'*: proclitic; the scope of [+kontrastive] element: phrase;
- c) *ved'*: enclitic; the scope of [+kontrastive] element: phrase;
- d) *ved'*: enclitic; the scope of [+kontrastive] element: full clause.

Consider the first combination: ***ved'* is a proclitic and the scope of [+kontrastive] element is a full clause.** This is the most common combination, corresponding to what

has been traditionally analyzed as *ved'* functioning as a conjunction. It also corresponds to what Parrott (1997) labels S-initial *ved'*. In this case *ved'* marks the left boundary of the proposition that is being kontrasted, i.e., the proposition marked by *ved'* is in a set relationship with another proposition which is either explicitly or implicitly present in the discourse, illustrated in (10):

(10) [from Šukšin: Roman is thinking to himself about his radical thought]

Ved' i tak tože možno podumat', kak ja.
Ved' PART this-way also possible to-think, like I

'(*Ved'*) Indeed it is also possible to think even this way, like I do.'

The full (complex) proposition 'It is also possible to think even this way, like I do' is matched against other propositions present in the discourse, for example the conventional, or traditional thinking that Rus'-Trojka symbolized Russia (for a fuller excerpt and the background in reasoning see chapter 5).

It is important to note that clause-initial *ved'* is placed after such discourse markers as *a*, *no*, and *zato* (corresponding to different meaning of the English *but*), as shown below in (11):

(11) [in the middle of an unrelated conversation between Varja, the mother, and the grandparent]¹⁶

*GPP: Nakapalo.
 *MOT: Dozhdik?
 *GPP: Da.
 *VAR: Kap-kap-kap-kap.
 *MOT: A **ved'** uzhe i solnce bylo.

¹⁶ Even though the English translation is available in the original file, I have found it inadequate and provided my own translation.

THE THIRD SEANCE - JUNE THE 25, 26, 27 1984.

*GPP: It's sprinkled.

*MOT: Raining a bit?

*GPP: Yes.

*VAR: [imitating the sound of raindrops]

*MOT: And (*ved'*) you know the sun even came out already.

Gloss:

*MOT: A **ved'** uzhe i solnce bylo.
And/but *ved'* already PART(≈even) sun was

'And (*ved'*) you know the sun even came out already.'

Ved' here marks the left boundary of the full proposition *The sun even came out already* which is contrasted to the other proposition(s) *It's sprinkled / it's raining a bit*.

However, *ved'* follows a discourse marker *a* in this case.¹⁷

The second combination is when ***ved'* is a proclitic and the scope of [+kontrastive] element is a phrase**. The most common case here is when *ved'* follows the pronominalized (i.e., activated) subject and procliticized to the kontrastive predicate. This is a typical scenario of what Parrott labels as S-internal, i.e., when the referent denoted by the subject is already in of $C_a \cap C_b$. This is illustrated by (12):

(12) [Varja is choosing her clothes for the day; the mother has stepped out for a second]

*VAR: Ja ne znaju, chego nadet'.

*VAR: Vot èti noski.

*VAR: No èto **ved'** malo!

*VAR: Èto **ved'** malo!

THE SEVENTH SEANCE - AUGUST THE 15, 1985

*VAR: I don't know what to put on.
These socks right here.

¹⁷ It is possible to analyze discourse markers like *a*, *no*, *zato* (corresponding to 'but') as kontrastive markers which have scope over discourse segments and for this reason they precede the rest of the material in the sentence; see more in chapter 8.

But this (*ved'*) is not enough, for sure!

This (*ved'*) is not enough, for sure!

Gloss:

No *èto ved'* MALO! *Èto ved'* MALO!

But this *ved'* LITTLE! This *ved'* LITTLE!

'But this (*ved'*) [is] NOT ENOUGH, for sure! This (*ved'*) [is] NOT ENOUGH, for sure!'

The pronominal *èto* 'this' in Varja's utterances containing *ved'* *Èto malo* 'This is not enough' refers to the fact she was able to find only socks and nothing else for her to wear today. Here *ved'* procliticizes to the kontrastively marked predicate *malo* 'little/not enough'.

While a prototypical case is when *ved'* is a proclitic to the full VP, which is kontrastive (and usually rhematic), there can be found examples of *ved'* being a proclitic to the element marked [+kontrast, +rheme], which constitutes a subpart of VP. Consider an example in (13):

(13) [see example (7) above for more context]

B: A krome togo on **ved'** INDOLOGOM byl //
 And besides he *ved'* INDOLOGIST was //

'And besides, he [=C] (*ved'*/you know) was a SPECIALIST IN INDIA//'

Since the main topic of the conversation is C, i.e., what kind of person he was and what he did, the proposition of the type *C was x (or x type of a person)* is already in $C_a \cap C_b$: the part of the VP that is [+kontrast] (which probably can be also considered as [+rheme]) is the noun in the instrumental case *INDOLOGOM* 'a SPECIALIST IN INDIA'. K-marker *ved'* can be analyzed as procliticized to this [+kontrast] element.

The exact scope of the [+kontrast] element that *ved'* procliticizes to can be ambiguous in some cases. Consider (14) where Varja is “feeding” her teddy bear but she is confused as to exactly what her bear and bears in general eat:

(14) [Varja is “feeding” her teddy bear but she is confused as to exactly what her bear and bears in general eat]

*MOT: Nu mishki chto edjat?
 *MOT: Ne pommish'?
 *VAR: Mishka to est?
 *VAR: Mishka to est?
 *MOT: Nu kak ty dumaesh', rasskazhi.
 *VAR: Mishka to est?
 *MOT: Nu chem ty ego budesh' kormit'?
 *MOT: Èto **ved'** tvoj mishka, ty ego chem kormish'?
 *VAR: Obedom segodnja, kartoshkam, morkovku, luchok, luk.
 THE FOURTH SEANCE - AUGUST 15-16 1984

*MOT: Well, what do bears eat?
 You don't remember?
 *VAR: Bear what eats?
 Bear what eats?
 *MOT: Well, what do you think, tell [me].
 *VAR: Bear what eats?
 *MOT: Well, what are you going to feed him?
 This is (*ved'*/you know) your bear, you feed him what?
 *VAR: [I'll feed him] lunch today, potatoes, carrots, little onion, onion.

Gloss:

Èto **ved'** tvoj mishka, ty ego chem kormish'?
 This *ved'* your bear, you him with-what feed?

'This is (*ved'*) YOUR bear, you feed him what?' or 'This is (*ved'*) YOUR BEAR...' or 'This (*ved'*) IS YOUR BEAR... [substitute “*you know*” for *ved'* in all these alternatives].

It is difficult to determine the exact scope of the host for *ved'* in this case because of the null copula in the present tense in Russian and because no prosodic information is available for this CHILDES file.

Now consider the third combination: ***ved'* is now an enclitic and the scope of [+kontrastive] element is still a phrase**. In (15) the [+kontrastive] (and also [+rhematic] element is the negative, which *ved'* follows:

(15) [Rodina: Society of mothers with many children; see (6) for context]

...oni rasčityvali na l'goty, kotoryx praktičeski ix NET ***ved'*** na samom dele...
 ... *they counted on benefits, which practically them NEG ved' in reality ...*

'... they relied on benefits, which practically they do NOT (*ved'*/you know) exist in reality...'

Example in (15) illustrates the use of *ved'* with verum focus constructions. In the clause containing *ved'* the sentential stress is on the negative (genetive of negation construction); the negative is marked [+kontrast, +rheme]. It is kontrastive since the sentential stress on *NET* brings out an opposition with various versions of the proposition 'There ARE such benefits.' K-marker *ved'* in (15) is not a proclitic but an enclitic to the negative.

Consider also (16), where *ved'* encliticizes to the kontrastive verb, which presumably bears the sentential stress in the original:

(16) [Varja put her toys on the floor and not on the bed where they are supposed to be]

*MOT: Varja, a pochemu oni vse lezhat na polu, a ne na krovatke?

*VAR: Oni +...

*VAR: oni +...

*VAR: oni bolejut ***ved'*** u nas.

*MOT: Nu Var', a ty, kogda boleesh', razve na polu lezhish'?

*VAR: Da.

*MOT: Po-moemu, ty lezhish' na krovatke.

THE FIFTH SEANCE - OCTOBER 2-3, 1984

*MOT: Varja, and why are they all lying on the floor, and not on the bed?

*VAR: They + ...

they + ...

they are sick (*ved'*) here, you know.

*MOT: Well, Varja, and you, when you are sick, do you really lie on the floor?

*VAR: Yes.

*MOT: I believe, you lie on the bed.

Gloss:

*VAR: oni bolejut **ved'** u nas.

they are-sick *ved'* at us

‘...they are sick (*ved'*) here, you know.’

Finally, the fourth combination is **when *ved'* is an enclitic and the scope of [+kontrastive] element is a full clause**. Even though this sentence-final position of *ved'* is the most infrequent one (cf. Parrott’s (1997) observation quoted above), those few cases that have come to my attention can be analyzed in the following way: the sentence final *ved'* occurs only when the element marked [+kontrast] (i.e., the element bearing the sentential stress) is the final element in the clause. Illustrations are given in (17-18):

(17) [from Paillard 1986: 97: quoting Rybakov. *Letom v Sosnjakax. Novyj Mir*, 1964 (12):72; gloss and the English translation are added]

Ty smotrel na èkran i ničego ne čuvstvoval. Ne čuvstvoval **ved'**?
you looked-at on screen and nothing NEG felt. NEG felt ved'?

‘You looked at the screen and didn’t feel anything. [You] didn’t, right?’

(18) [from Vasilyeva 1972: 52; gloss and translation are added to the original]

Ne sidi na takoj tonkoj vetke: upaděš’ **ved'**.
NEG sit on such thin branch: [you]will-fall ved'

‘Don’t sit on such a thin branch, you’ll fall (*ved'*) for sure.’

In both of these cases *ved'* encliticizes to the last element (and in (18), the single overtly present element) of the clause; in both cases this element is the verb bearing the sentential stress and marked [+kontrast].

- (19) [at the summer house, outside: Varja and mother are “bathing” — playing as if they are bathing; the mother remarks that Varja should take a real shower, outside, under the sun]

*MOT: A ty u nas kakaja-to takaja +...
 *MOT: kakaja-to grjaznovataja stala.
 *VAR: Net, ja mojus'.
 *MOT: No ty moesh'sja kak budto, a uzhe pora po-nastojashchemu.
 *VAR: ne nado.
 *MOT: Nu davaj my s toboj pod dushikom pod solnechnym.
 *VAR: Ne xochu!
 *MOT: Pod solnechnym xorosho **ved'**!
 *VAR: Ne xochu, ne xochu.

THE SEVENTH SEANCE - AUGUST THE 15, 1985

*MOT: Look, you've got somewhat ... such +
 somewhat dirty a bit.
 *VAR: No, I'm washing myself.
 *MOT: But you are doing it as though you are washing, and it's already time to do it for real.
 *VAR: No need to.
 *MOT: Well, let's both of us take a shower, under the sun.
 *VAR: I don't want to!
 *MOT: Under the sunny one it's great, (*ved'*) you know!
 *VAR: I don't want to, don't want to.

Gloss:

*MOT: Pod solnechnym xorosho **ved'**!
Under sunny good ved'

‘Under the sunny one it’s great, (*ved'*) you know!’

In the CHILDES files there are also clause-final cases of *ved'* that occur in Varja’s speech: see example (20) below (for another, similar, example see (30) in section 7.5.2).

Even then, these cases cannot be undoubtedly considered clause-final: there is other

material following *ved'* which is separated from the clause by a slight pause (reflected by a comma in writing):¹⁸

(20) [in the middle of sorting rolled oats from chaff and talking about this activity,
Varja says:]

*VAR: Èto vypili moloko, da?

*VAR: A?

*VAR: Ja schas p'ju moloko *ved'*, schas.

*MOT: Pochemu-to ty odnovenno p'esh' moloko i kashu perebiraesh', vot neponjatno, kak zhe možno tak mnogo del srazu delat'.

THE SEVENTH SEANCE - AUGUST THE 15, 1985

*VAR: This milk is gone, yes?

Ah?

I am now drinking milk (*ved'*) you know, now.

*MOT: For some reason you are simultaneously drinking milk and sorting the grain, it is not clear, how (*že*) it is possible to do so many things at once.

Gloss:

Ja schas p'ju moloko *ved'*, schas.

I now am-drinking milk *ved'*, now.

'I am now drinking milk (*ved'*) you know, now.'

More examples of clause-final *ved'* are needed to arrive at a comprehensive conclusion.

In this section I have considered the rules of placement of *ved'* on the clausal level and proposed that *ved'* can be either a proclitic or an enclitic to the element marked [+kontrast]; the scope of such a kontrastive element may be either the full clause or a phrase within the clause. This approach accounts for the full range of possible positions of *ved'* within the clause by linking its set-evoking property to the scope of the

¹⁸ Also, the use of clause-final *ved'* in child's speech cannot be considered an argument for its position in the clause in the speech of adults. However, see examples (17-19) above that are taken from adult's speech.

kontrastive element (i.e., the element marked by *ved'*) without reverting to any *ad hoc* solutions.¹⁹

In the next section I will discuss what role k-marker *ved'* plays at the discourse level.

7.4.2 What Role does *VED'* Play at the Discourse Level?

Propositions containing *ved'* introduce into the discourse an inference pattern, which is similar to the pattern introduced by *že* in some respects but differs from it in others.

Parrott (1997) offers the following observation:

...what *ved'* does is signal the fact that an inference can be made from knowledge that both the speaker and the addressee possess. Both the base propositional knowledge and the correct inference is assessed by the speaker as being contained in the addressee's general knowledge set. Unlike in examples with *že*, no disagreement is evident here between the speaker's view and the addressee's view. With *ved'*, the speaker is merely extending the line of reasoning, based on shared information, with the assumption that the addressee essentially agrees with him/her... The difference in function between the two particles may be summarized as follows: the use of *ved'* constitutes an extension in logic, whereas the use of *že* constitutes a confrontation in logic. (Parrott 1997: 180-181).

If Parrott's insights are expressed in kontrastive terms, the difference in discourse roles between *že* and *ved'* can be rendered in the following way: *že* instructs the hearer to construct a set out of propositions activated in the discourse (X and $X' \check{Z}E$) and their inferences (Y and *not* Y) and the two pairs are mutually exclusive: if one is true, the other

¹⁹ I am aware that more research is needed to explain preference for procliticization (compared to encliticization) that this particle exhibits, which is not unrelated to its function as a conjunction. Parrott (1997) hints that *ved'* as an enclitic might signal that the material marked by *ved'* has been placed in the shared set of matters of current concern, while *ved'* as a proclitic serves to introduce the material into this set. In order to test this prediction, a detailed analysis of what the speaker believes should be in the hearer's knowledge set is to be done — which is a rather complex task to accomplish for now.

one is false. This set of binary opposed members constructed by *že* looks like:

$\{X \Rightarrow Y; X' \check{Z}E \Rightarrow \text{not } Y\}$.

The set of propositions marked by *ved'* is of a rather different nature: even though the propositions in its kontrast set are also related to each other through inferences or implications, *ved'* is capable of forming a set out of propositions with either the same inference/implication or opposing inferences/implications. This is possible since the speaker believes that the hearer is capable of making the correct inference once s/he is reminded of the most relevant information, even though at the moment the hearer might be concerned with less relevant information, which would lead him/her to the wrong inference/implication. So, the set of propositions evoked by *ved'* looks like one of the following: $\{X \Rightarrow Y; X' VED' \Rightarrow Y\}$ or $\{X \Rightarrow \text{not } Y; X' VED' \Rightarrow Y\}$.²⁰ In a way, *ved'* can be thought of as having an additive²¹ effect on the set: the members of the set are not mutually exclusive but supplementary.

The inference/implication pattern introduced into the discourse by *ved'* can be summarized as in (21) below:

(21) Inference/implication pattern introduced into the discourse by *ved'*:

Speaker A: utters *X*, which might imply (*not*) *Y*

Speaker B: utters *X' VED'*, which implies *Y*

(*X* and *X'* are related in some way)

²⁰ In the latter case, when the speaker's and the hearer's implications/inferences differ from each other, the speaker believes that the hearer would be able to accept the correct inference once important information is brought to the hearer's attention.

²¹ Recently, this adjective has acquired a terminological meaning referring to properties of such expressions like *also* (see for example Krifka 1999). I will leave it for future research to determine whether *ved'* is qualified to be called "additive" in this sense (it does co-occur with expressions like 'also', 'besides', etc.). For now, my usage of "additive" will be more descriptive than terminological.

The difference between *že* and *ved'* can be nicely illustrated by two excerpts from CHILDES, given below in (22) and (23). The discourse situation for (22) is the following: Varja and her grandmother are looking through a picture book, Varja points to a picture of birds who are standing on the ground and says that they fell down. In the course of her argument (or rather an attempt to convince Varja), the grandmother uses particle *že* twice. It is *že* and not *ved'* that is used here since Varja is currently concerned with the wrong inference: *The birds fell down (since they are on the ground)*. The grandmother's reasoning goes roughly like this: *Even though the birds are on the ground, they are standing and not lying, that's why it is not true that they fell down*. Particle *že* is constructing a set of complex propositions of opposite values:

(22) [Varja and Grandmother are looking at a picture of birds standing on the ground]

*VAR: Èta pit'ki.
 %eng: These are birds.
 *VAR: Upai.
 %eng: Fell down.
 *GPP: Oni ne upali.
 %eng: They did not fall down.
 *GPP: Pochemu **zhe** ty думаеш', chto oni upali.
 %eng: Why do you think, that they fell down.
 *GPP: Odna stoit na penechke, drugaja stoit na zemle, a tret'ja stoit na zemle szadi penechka.
 %eng: One is standing on a little stump, the second is standing on the ground, and the third is standing on the ground behind the stump.
 *GPP: Vot tak, szadi penechka.
 %eng: That way, behind the stump.
 *GPP: A pochemu ty думаеш', chto oni upali, oni **zh** ne lezhat, oni stojat.
 %eng: And why do you think, that they fell down, they are not lying, but standing.
 *GPP: Kogda kto-nibud' upadet, on lezhit.
 %eng: When somebody falls, he lies down.
 *GPP: Na zemle.
 %eng: On the floor.
 *GPP: A oni ne upali.
 %eng: And they didn't fall down.
 THE THIRD SEANCE - JUNE THE 25, 26, 27 1984.

It seems that the grandmother's argument did not convince Varja after all, and later that day the two bring their argument to a mediator, Varja's mother (Katja, or Katen'ka). The grandmother takes the floor and presents the gist of the argument to Katja; this time, however, she uses *ved'* and not *že* since she is not expecting any opposition from an adult who is more likely to make the same inference. And she is correct in her assumption - Katja agrees with her:

(23) [Varja and the grandmother bring their argument about the “fallen” birds to the mother]

*GPP: Vot ona govorit, chto èti ptichki upali, a ja schitaju, chto oni ne upali, oni stojat **ved'** na nozhkax.
 %eng: So she says, that these little birds fell down, and I think, that they did not fall down, they are standing on their feet.
 *GPP: Kogda upal, to lezhit, a oni stojat.
 %eng: When somebody is fallen, he is lying, and they are standing.
 *GPP: Kak ty думаеш', Katen'ka?
 %eng: What do you think about it, Katen'ka?
 *MOT: Ja dumaju, chto oni stojat na nozhkax, Varja.
 %eng: I think, that they are standing on their feet, Varja.
 *GPP: Da.
 %eng: Yes.
 *GPP: Oni ne upali.
 %eng: They didn't fall down.
 THE THIRD SEANCE - JUNE THE 25, 26, 27 1984.

Below I will provide illustrations of the discourse function of *ved'* which Parrott so succinctly labels as “extension in logic” and which can be alternatively viewed as generating a supplementary set. In (11), repeated here for convenience as (24), the speaker uses an utterance with *ved'* in order to provide additional information in support of the same inference/implication that the other interlocutors might have in mind at that time. Or in other words, the utterance containing *ved'* does not in any way contradict the previous utterances but complements them:

(24/11)[in the middle of an unrelated conversation between Varja, the mother, and the grandparent]²²

*GPP: Nakapalo.

*MOT: Dozhdik?

*GPP: Da.

*VAR: Kap-kap-kap-kap.

*MOT: A **ved'** uzhe i solnce bylo.

THE THIRD SEANCE - JUNE THE 25, 26, 27 1984.

*GPP: It's sprinkled.

*MOT: Raining a bit?

*GPP: Yes.

*VAR: [imitating the sound of raindrops]

*MOT: And (*ved'*) you know the sun even came out already.

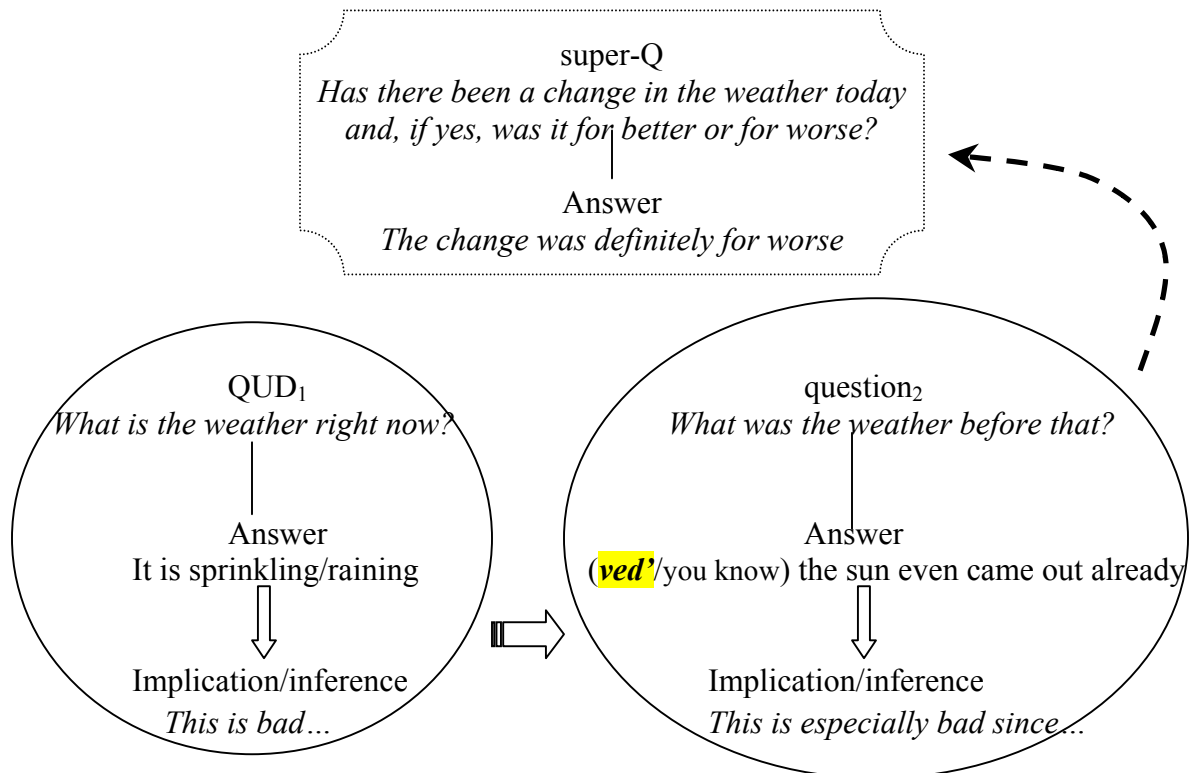
In this short dialog between the mother, grandmother, and Varja about the change in weather, the proposition *It started sprinkling* probably has a similar implication for each of the participants: it might be something like *This is too bad since we can't go for a walk now*. The mother's utterance containing *ved'* does not in any way challenge this implication; on the contrary, it adds an additional reason to be upset about the change in the weather: *Since the sun was out already, this is especially bad that we can't go for a walk now*.

In terms of the discourse hierarchy in the sense of Büring (2000, etc.), the proposition marked by *ved'* seems to go beyond the immediate Question Under Discussion (QUD), which for the utterances preceding the one with *ved'* can be expressed as *What is the weather right now?* The mother's utterance with *ved'* seems to address a related, nevertheless, independent question *What was the weather before that?* By

²² Even though the English translation is available in the original file, I have found it inadequate and provided my own translation.

addressing the related question, the mother's utterance brings out a super-question that incorporates the two immediate questions. This super-question may be expressed as something like *Has there been a change in the weather today, and if yes, was it for the better or for worse?* It is important that the super-question was not in the discourse before the utterance with *ved'* but, in a way, it was created by *ved'* since the utterance with *ved'* addresses a broader topic. This is schematically represented in (25):

(25) Discourse Tree for (24/11)



In (25/24/11) this “going beyond the immediate QUD” function of *ved'* results in constructing a set out of two implicit questions (with their answers and implications/inferences), which have similar status: the state of weather right now is

being compared to the one before that. However, *ved'* is capable of creating a set out of members of a different kind, for example comparing a particular instantiation of something to its type. Consider the example in (3), repeated here for convenience as (26): the process of generating a set goes from the picture of a particular furless cat (which is considered funny or abnormal) to the generalization about the cat as a type of animal — matching a particular instance with a prototype (to support the inference that a furless cat is abnormal):

(26/3) [Varja and Grandmother are looking at a picture of a furless cat]

*GPP: A èto kto?

%eng: And who is this?

*VAR: Koska main'kaja.

%eng: A small cat.

*GPP: Golen'kaja koska, kak smeshno.

%eng: A naked cat, how funny.

*GPP: Bozhe moj, pravda, *ved'* koska vsegda byvaet v shkurke, a zdes' ona narisovana golen'kaja, kak budto u nee net volosikov.

%eng: My goodness, really, a cat is always is little fell²³, and here she is drawn naked, as if she hadn't got hair.

THE THIRD SEANCE - JUNE THE 25, 26, 27 1984.

However, in (27), previously discussed as (14), *ved'* is also employed in building a bridge in the opposite direction — from the generic to the particular: Varja cannot answer a question of what bears in general eat. The mother re-routes the conversation to the question of eating habits of a particular teddy bear that belongs to Varja: if she does not know what bears in general eat, she should know what HER OWN bear eats (since (*ved'*) it is HER bear and she feeds him, she should know):

²³ There is an obvious misprint in the English translation, which is probably meant to be 'a cat is always a little furry'.

(27/14)[Varja is “feeding” her teddy bear but she is confused as to exactly what her bear and bears in general eat]

*MOT: Nu mishki chto edjat?

*MOT: Ne pomnish'?

*VAR: Mishka to est?

*VAR: Mishka to est?

*MOT: Nu kak ty думаеш', rasskazhi.

*VAR: Mishka to est?

*MOT: Nu chem ty ego budesh' kormit'?

*MOT: Èto **ved'** tvoj mishka, ty ego chem kormish'?

*VAR: Obedom segodnja, kartoshkam, morkovku, luchok, luk.

THE FOURTH SEANCE - AUGUST 15-16 1984

*MOT: Well, what do bears eat?

You don't remember?

*VAR: Bear what eats?

Bear what eats?

*MOT: Well, what do you think, tell [me].

*VAR: Bear what eats?

*MOT: Well, what are you going to feed him?

This is (*ved'*/you know) your bear, you feed him what?

*VAR: [I'll feed him] lunch today, potatoes, carrots, little onion, onion.

In this section I have discussed the role of *ved'* at the discourse level and compared it to the discourse role of *že*. The two k-markers are similar with respect to marking a set of propositions, which are related by inference or implication. However, the types of sets marked by these particles are rather different. For *že*, the pairs of complex propositions are opposed to each other, since the inferences/implications are of opposite values. For *ved'*, the members of the set are supplementary and not opposing each other since the value of the inference/implication is not a central issue. Also, the utterance with *ved'* seems to address a question which supplements an immediate question under discussion addressed by the previous utterance and is also able to construct a super-question which relates the two sub-questions.

7.5 Illustrations

This section provides additional illustration of the functions of k-marker *ved'*. First I will discuss simultaneous occurrences of particles *že* and *ved'* in one utterance. Then I will briefly comment on the usage of *ved'* in child language.

7.5.1 Combination *ŽE+VED'*

Particles *že* and *ved'* may occur together in the same clause. As pointed out by Parrott (1997: 228), such an utterance is perceived as more aggressive than the corresponding utterance without *že* but it is felt to be softer in tone than the one without *ved'*. Parrott (1997:187-188) analyzes the insertion of these particles into the utterance as a result of two related but independent processes, which leaves a possibility of both particles occurring in the same utterance simultaneously: *že* is inserted as the result of the speaker's belief that the hearer is currently concerned with some knowledge and the incorrect inference made from knowledge; *ved'* is inserted as a result of the speaker's belief that the hearer possesses the correct propositional knowledge and possibly the correct inference. Parrott analyzes the insertion of *že* as primary and the insertion of *ved'* as secondary since the *ved'* can never intervene between *že* and its host:

The impossibility of separating *že* from its host by *ved'* indicates that the encliticization of *že* to its host is primary and that the insertion of *ved'* is secondary. From a functional perspective, this reflects the fact that *že* is motivated by the speaker's assessment of the contents of the addressee's set of current concern, which is more immediate, whereas *ved'* is motivated by the speaker's assessment of the contents of the addressee's general knowledge set, which is further removed from the issue at hand. (Parrott 1997: 235)

Parrott also points out that what is generally at stake with utterances containing both *že* and *ved'* is a conflict between the addressee's actions and his/her deeper beliefs: when one knows what one should do but nevertheless does not do it, which is captured by the English expression *You know better*, which is used to reproach a child.

The analysis of particles *že* and *ved'* as kontrastive markers proposed here is not incompatible with Parrot's insights about their simultaneous usage in one utterance. I will illustrate this with an example in (28). The setting is the following: Varja gives her mother some honey to taste, then they talk about where the honey came from, then mother decides to ask Varja a "tricky" question — 'What does mother have in her mouth?' — hoping to "catch" Varja if she does not give the correct answer, which is supposed to be "the tongue." Varja's answer is "honey" — not the one that the mother has sought, that's why she corrects Varja first but then admits that Varja's answer is also correct since she does have honey in her mouth:

(28) [Varja's is giving her mother some honey to taste]

*VAR: Mam, xochesh' med?
 *MOT: Vkusnyj med!
 *MOT: Var', kto tebe dal med?
 *VAR: Varja.
 *MOT: Kto delal med?
 *VAR: Pchela.
 *MOT: I ona tebe i dala?
 *VAR: Da.
 *VAR: Tam to, mama?
 *MOT: A chto u mamy vo rtu?
 *VAR: Med!
 *MOT: Jazyk.
 *MOT: A, med, da, pravil'no.
 *MOT: **Ved'** ty **zhe** menja ugostila medom!
 THE FOURTH SEANCE

*VAR: Mom, want honey?
 *MOT: Delicious honey!
 Varja, who gave you the honey?
 *VAR: Varja.

*MOT: Who made honey?

*VAR: A bee.

*MOT: And it gave it to you itself?

*VAR: Yes.

What's that, mama?

*MOT: And what is in mama's mouth?

*VAR: Honey!

*MOT: Tongue.

Oh, yes, honey, right.

(*Ved'*) Indeed you (*že*) have treated me with honey!

Gloss:

*MOT: **ved'** ty **že** menja ugostila medom!

Ved' you *že* me treated with-honey!

'(*Ved'*) Indeed you (*že*) have treated me with honey!'

Let us examine why both *ved'* and *že* are used in the mother's last utterance, and, even more than that, why both are necessary there. Without *ved'* the utterance in the given context is rather awkward: *Ty že menja ugostila medom!* 'But you (*že*) have treated me with honey!' The source of this awkwardness is in the sense of contradiction that *že* brings; however, the contradiction that previously arose in the discourse (whether it is a tongue or honey that is in the mother's mouth) has been already solved by the mother herself: she agrees that she does have honey in her mouth in the utterance immediately preceding the last one. If *že* is taken out: ***Ved'*** *ty menja ugostila medom!* 'Indeed you have treated me with honey!', the sense of the immediate relevance of the utterance to the preceding situation of Varja's giving mother the honey is lost (the implication is that the mother has forgotten something that happened long ago, not just now). So, both *že* and *ved'* are necessary in this utterance.

But it might seem impossible to combine into one utterance two particles which are radically different from each other in some respects: *že* creates a set out of elements with

opposing, mutually exclusive members, while *ved'* generates a set with members complementing each other; also *že* marks activated information, while *ved'* refers to information known to the hearer but not activated in the hearer's mind. Let us unveil how these contradictions co-exist in the utterance in (28).

First, the issue of the mutually exclusive (*že*) versus supplementary (*ved'*) set: however contradictory the set values can be, the last utterance in (28) possesses a bit of both values. The sense of the exclusiveness and opposition, brought up by *že*, comes from the fact that the answer that the mother was looking for (“tongue”) was not the one that Varja gave her (“honey”). The sense of the addition to the set, which is brought up by *ved'*, comes from the mother's own admission that Varja's answer is also a correct one (it is not logically impossible to have both the tongue and honey in the mouth!).

Now let us examine how the contradiction in the activation status between these two particles is accommodated in (28). K-marker *že* is capable of referring only to activated information: the proposition *You have treated me with honey* is definitely activated (the mother still has honey in her mouth!) even though it is not in the center of the speaker's (and possibly the hearer's) set of matters of current concern (the mother is currently concerned with catching Varja on a tricky question; cf. the framing of a new question under discussion with the discourse marker *a: A chto u mamy vo rtu?* ‘And what is in mama's mouth?’). But the same location of this proposition, i.e., being outside of the set of matters of current concern and outside the immediate QUD, makes it possible to mark it with *ved'* (which brings the sense of “Oh, I've forgotten” which is a part of pragmatic meaning here).

So, these seemingly contradictory properties of *že* and *ved'* seems to co-exist in utterances containing both of these particles.

In (28), both *že* and *ved'* have scope over the full clause and both exhibit their normal cliticization pattern: *ved'* is a proclitic to the right boundary of the clause and *že* is an enclitic to the first phonological word (which possibly bears the sentential stress as well). However, in some cases *že* and *ved'* differ from each other in scope, even though on the surface the combination may look exactly like the one in (28) that has just been discussed. In this respect, consider (29), where the scope of the kontrastive element that *že* encliticizes to is the subject *ty* 'you-singular' (definitely opposed to at least another referent, "*Nadja*," and possibly to the speaker herself):

(29) [Varja notices that the mother started fixing her fan that was torn]

*VAR: A èto chto ty sdelala?
 *VAR: Èto chto ty sdelala?
 *VAR: Kleish'?
 *VAR: Ty kleish' veer moj?
 *VAR: Da, *ved'* ty *zhe* ego porvala.
 *VAR: A dal'she Nadja porvala, dal'she.
 *MOT: Naoborot.
 *MOT: Ja nachala, a ona +...
 *MOT: ona srazu èto vse zarvala.
 *MOT: Da, pravil'no, vot tak taper' pravil'no.
 *MOT: Ty govoriš'.
 *MOT: Snachala Nadja nachala rvat', a potom ty prodolzhlila, i razorvala tak, chto im nel'zja pol'zovat'sja.
 *MOT: Ja bojus', chto mne ne udastsja ego xorosho pochinit'.
 THE SIXTH SEANCE

*VAR: And what have you done?
 What have you done?
 [Are you] gluing?
 You are gluing MY fan?
 Yes, (*ved'*) indeed YOU (*že*) tore it apart.
 And then Nadja tore, later.
 *MOT: The other way.
 I started, and she +...
 she tore all this apart at once.
 Yes, right, now this way is right.

You are saying.

First Nadja starting tearing it, and then you continued, and tore it so that it can't be used.
I'm afraid that I won't be able to fix it well.

Gloss:

*VAR: Da, **ved'** TY **zhe** ego porvala.
Yes *ved'* YOU *že* it tore(perfective)

'Yes, (*ved'*) indeed YOU (*že*) tore it apart.'

The identity of the person who tore the fan apart is definitely at issue here, that is why the scope of *že* is most likely to be the pronominal subject (which is, again, more likely to bear the sentential stress). The scope of *ved'* here is the full clause.

Ultimately, it might be that the difference in scope between *že* and *ved'*, when they co-occur in the same clause, is the primary reason for the ordering of these particles, and not the primacy of *že* (which addresses the issue at hand) over *ved'* (which does not), as hinted by Parrott (1997).²⁴ However, prosodic factors would be crucial to consider in this respect, and since my sources do not provide unambiguous data prosodically, this issue has to be left to future research.

7.5.2 Child Use of *VED'*

In this section I will make a few remarks about the peculiarities of the child usage of *ved'* as can be observed from the CHILDES database. Particle *ved'* appears approximately at

²⁴ For example, the illustration of *že* immediately followed by *ved'* that is given in Parrott (1997:235):

- (i) Ty **že ved'** znal èto...
You **že ved'** knew this...
'But you knew it...'

can be re-analyzed in the following ways: a) *že* as encliticized to kontrastive subject and *ved'* as a proclitic to kontrastive VP or b) *že* as encliticized to the first phonological word of the clause (i.e., having scope over the full clause) and *ved'* as procliticized to the kontrastive VP. More context and prosodic information need to be available to determine between the two options.

the same time as *že*: its first occurrence in Varja's speech is recorded at age 2;0.1 (where Varja uses *ved'* four times). Again, as was pointed out with respect to the acquisition process of *že*, more detailed information on the discourse situation and prosody is needed to determine the congruence of child and adult usages. One fact is evident, however - even with insufficient information on context: the child knows that *ved'* is used for reasoning. But child reasoning is definitely different from adult's reasoning as an example in (30) humorously demonstrates:

(30) [Varja puts a dirty shoe lace into her mouth, the mother tells her not to do it]

*MOT: Varja, ne beri grjaznyj shnurok v rot, vyn', vyn', vyn', vyn' izo rta, èto grjaz'.

*MOT: Nel'zja èto delat', nel'zja v rot brat'.

*VAR: Nu dam **ved'**, poprobovat'!

*VAR: Xa-xa-xa.

*MOT: Tixo!

*VAR: Nu dam **ved'** poprobovat' tebe!

THE FIFTH SEANCE - OCTOBER 2-3, 1984

*MOT: Varja, do not put the dirty lace in your mouth, take out, out, out, take [it] out of your mouth, this is dirt.

You shouldn't do it, you shouldn't put [it] into your mouth.

*VAR: But I will give [it to you] (*ved'*), to taste!

[laughs]

*MOT: Quiet!

*VAR: But I'll give (*ved'*) you to taste for sure!

Gloss:

Nu DAM **ved'**, poprobovat'!

Well [I-will]GIVE *ved'*, to-taste!

'But I'll GIVE [it to you] (*ved'*) for sure, to taste!'

How much does Varja know about the meanings and functions of *ved'*? Does she use it effectively in (30)? Does she really believe that the proposition *I'll give the dirty lace to taste* is somewhere in her mother's knowledge store and only needs to be

activated to count as a reason to continue chewing on it herself? (Probably not — since she laughs!). Well, unveiling the labyrinths of child logic has to be left for the future.

7.6 Summary: VED' as a Kontrastive Marker

In this chapter I have discussed kontrastive, or set-evoking, properties of particle *ved'*. With respect to the membership of the set marked by *ved'*, it is limited to propositions which have the illocutionary force of assertions. With respect to the cognitive status of referents, *ved'* is capable of marking information that is, according to the speaker's beliefs, located in the hearer's general knowledge store but not currently activated in the hearer's mind. The position of particle *ved'* on the clausal level can be adequately described with respect to the element marked [+kontrast], the scope of such kontrastive element can be either a full clause or a phrase within that clause; *ved'* can be either a proclitic or enclitic to such kontrastive element. As for the role of *ved'* at the discourse level, it is similar to *že* with respect to instructing the hearer to generate a set of propositions, which are related by inference or implication. But since for *ved'*, unlike *že*, the value of the inference/implication is not at issue, the members of the set created by *ved'* are supplementary and not mutually exclusive. Also, the utterance with *ved'* can be viewed as addressing a question which supplements an immediate question under discussion for the previous utterance and can also be viewed as being able to construct a super-question which relates the two sub-questions.

7.6.1 K-Marker *VED'*: A Unifying Analysis

The analysis of *ved'* as a kontrastive marker, as discussed in this chapter and outlined above, allows for a possibility of viewing various functions proposed in the literature for *ved'* as consequences of its kontrastive nature. Since some of these functions have been discussed in detail in this chapter while others were addressed with respect to the other two particles analyzed in this dissertation (i.e., k-markers *-to* and *že*), here I will briefly summarize how the properties of *ved'* described by other researchers can be derived from its set-evoking nature:

- *ved'* as a marker of emphasis (Vasilyeva, Bitextin):
same as for particle *-to*; emphasis implies highlighting some element on the background of non-highlighted elements. This is an essential property of a kontrastive marker: one element is picked out of a set, with others left in the background;
- marker of the information known to the hearer (Bitextin, Parrott):
in my analysis of *ved'*, this function is subsumed under the type of information that *ved'* marks, i.e., known to the hearer (according to the speaker's beliefs) but not activated in the discourse at the moment;
- *ved'* as a (polite) reminder (Vasilyeva, Nikolaeva, Paillard, Parrott):
this function can be viewed as a consequence of the type of information marked by *ved'*, i.e., (assumed by the speaker to be) known to the hearer but not activated at the moment. Particle *ved'* instructs the hearer to pull some propositional knowledge from the hearer's knowledge store and consider it as relevant at the moment — and this operation is perceived as a (polite) reminder;
- *ved'* as an assertion marker (Vasilyeva, Nikolaeva, Paillard, Bitextin, Parrott):
this function is considered a consequence of the types of sets k-marker *ved'*

instructs the hearer to evoke, i.e., the membership of sets marked by *ved'* is limited to propositions with the assertion operator;

- *marker of contrast* (Bitextin):
same as for *-to*, i.e., *ved'* is contrastive since it is kontrastive;
- *marker of unexpectedness in addressing a topic* (Bonnot, Bitextin):
similarly to particle *-to*, *ved'* is capable of this function since it marks information not currently activated at the moment.

In chapter 8 I will summarize the findings discussed in chapters 4 through 7 with respect to k-markers *-to*, *že*, and *ved'* and will outline directions for future research.