

Chapter 8

Conclusion

8.0 Overview

The goal of this chapter is to summarize the findings of this dissertation with respect to particles *-to*, *že*, and *ved'* and to outline directions for future research.

Until recently, only descriptive analyses were available for this group of particles, which were labeled “emphatic,” “contrastive,” “intensifying,” “expressive,” “emotional,” “strengthening,” “enunciative,” etc. However, descriptive approaches to these particles have proven inadequate and a search for an underlying meaning of (some of) these particles has been started in the following works: Bitextin (1994), Parrott (1997), Bonnot and Kodzasov (1998), Feldman (forthcoming). However, these early studies in the “unifying” direction have their limitations: they are either based on a single framework and/or choose to deal with unifying a single aspect of the particle(s), such as its discourse role or cognitive status of information marked.

Here, these three particles have been given a unifying analysis which integrates the following current frameworks: the theory of “kontrast” (Vallduví and Vilkuna 1998); cognitive statuses of referents in discourse (Yokoyama 1986, Gundel, Hedberg, and Zacharski 1993); information packaging on the clausal level (Vallduví 1992); and hierarchical organization of discourse (Büring 2000).

Kontrast, or the ability of certain linguistic expressions to generate a set of alternatives, has been found to be the core semantic meaning of particles as *-to*, *že*, and *ved'*: they are analyzed as lexemes whose primary function is to signal, or unambiguously mark, kontrast and labeled “kontrastive markers,” or “k-markers.”

It has been shown that such properties of these particles as their position in the clause and their role in discourse are consequences of their two essential properties as k-markers:

- 1) the type of set it marks and the type of membership within this set;
- 2) the cognitive status of the referents marked by it.

In sections 8.1 through 8.3 below, I will briefly summarize the findings on each of these particles, bringing up key examples from chapters 4-7. The findings on individual particles are synthesized in section 8.4. Section 8.5 sketches directions for future research and section 8.6 discusses theoretical and methodological significance of this dissertation.

8.1 K-Marker –TO

The major difference between particle *-to* and the other two particles is that *-to* requires two elements marked [+kontrast].

8.1.1. What Kind of Set is Marked by *-TO*?

Particle *-to* marks a set of sets of related propositions (equivalently, a set of questions) which is generated by introducing alternatives to a kontrastive element within the link and a kontrastive element within the rheme.

Consider example (1), taken from CHILDES (the second séance):

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

U tebj**a-TO** sovok, a chto u medvedja v lape?
At you-**TO** scoop but what at bear in paw?

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

The information structure of the (English version of the) utterance containing *-to* is shown in (2). Below it, in (3), a generalized structure of the utterance with *-to* is given:

(2) [_{+K/-Rh} You] (-**TO**) have [_{+K/+Rh} a scoop]...

(3) [_{+K/-Rh} A]-**TO** [_{+K/+Rh} x]

The default case for (3) is when the kontrastive link *A* belongs to a set of entities:

$M_1 = \{A, B, C, \dots\}$ and the kontrastive rheme *x* belongs to a set of properties:

$M_2 = \{x, y, z, \dots\}$; however, a more marked (i.e., less frequent) scenario is also possible:

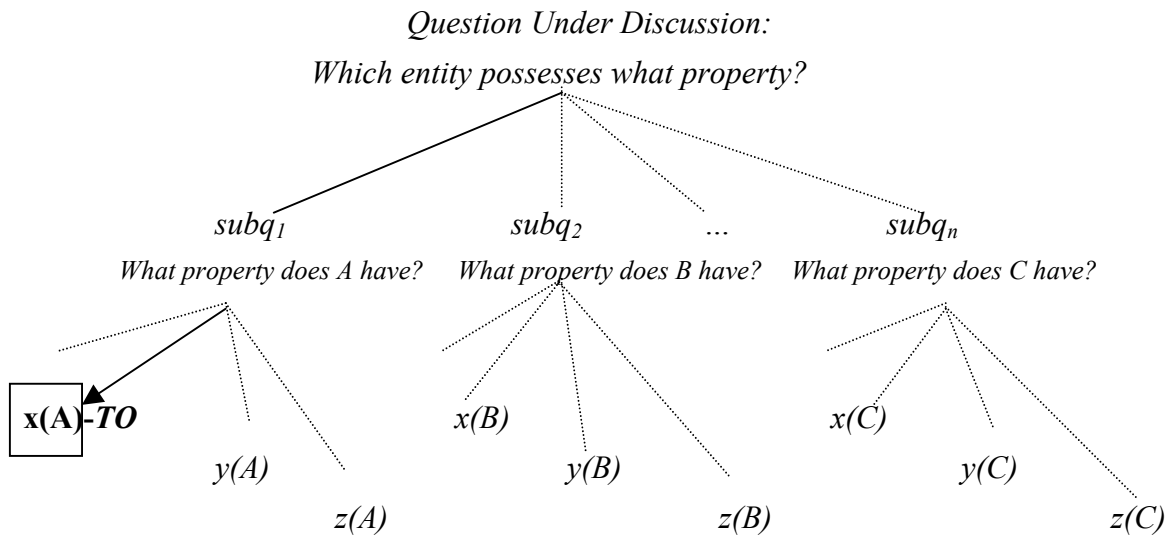
i.e., when the kontrast set for links is a set of properties, while the set of alternatives to the rheme consists of entities. Second, the scopes of kontrastively marked elements and the information-structural notions "link" and "rheme" may or may not be co-extensive.

With these assumptions, the proposition $x(\mathbf{A})$ marked with $-TO$ makes the hearer generate a set M_3 , shown in three alternative ways in (4/5/6). In (4), the set M_3 is represented as a set of sets of propositions, in (5) the same set is shown as a set of questions, and in (6) the set M_3 marked by $-to$ is shown graphically:

$$(4) \quad M_3 = \{ \{x(\mathbf{A}), y(A), z(A), \dots\}; \\ \{x(B), y(B), z(B), \dots\}; \\ \{x(C), y(C), z(C), \dots\}; \dots \}$$

$$(5) \quad M_3 = \{ \text{What is true of } A?; \text{What is true of } B?; \text{What is true of } C?; \dots \}$$

(6) **The set of sets of propositions (or, a set of questions) M_3 marked by $-TO$:**



So, the primary function of $-to$ is a marker of a set of sets of propositions which is generated by introducing alternatives to the kontrastive link and the kontrastive rheme.

While $-to$ asserts the truth value of the proposition it occurs in, it does not do it with respect to the alternative propositions: $-to$ only makes them salient.

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

Particle *-to* 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.¹

How can the speaker assume that the information is also known to the hearer? The speaker can safely assume that the hearer also knows the information if it is shared through: CODE (language, culture), encyclopedic knowledge, deixis, or common experience (Yokoyama 1986). The example in (7) illustrates a speech situation where the source of the speaker's assumption about the proposition marked by *-to* being located in the hearer's knowledge set is deixis, while in (8) it comes from common experience:

- (7) [A to B, after a long silence, on the top of a mountain before dawn]
 Tišina-**TO** kakaja! Vasilyeva (1972:68)
Quietness-TO what
 'How quiet it is!' or: 'As for the state of quietness(-**TO**), how quiet it is!'
 (Vasilyeva's translation is 'How wonderfully quiet!')

¹ Since all three particles are capable of marking information which is, in the speaker's estimation, currently activated in the hearer's mind or inferable from information located there, I am primarily concerned with cognitive statuses that are located further away from the information which is at the center of the speaker's and the hearer's attention at the moment immediately prior to the utterance.

(8) [Varja practices pulling laces through holes. After several other activities, Mother says:]

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

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

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

To summarize the essential properties of *-to* as a k-marker: with respect to the type of set marked, *-to* marks a set of sets of propositions which differ from each other in the values of the kontrastive link and the kontrastive rheme. With respect to cognitive status of information marked by *-to*, this information is assumed by the speaker to be known to the hearer but not activated in the hearer's mind at the time of the utterance. In the next two subsections I will summarize how these two essential properties of *-to* determine its position in the clause and its role in discourse.

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

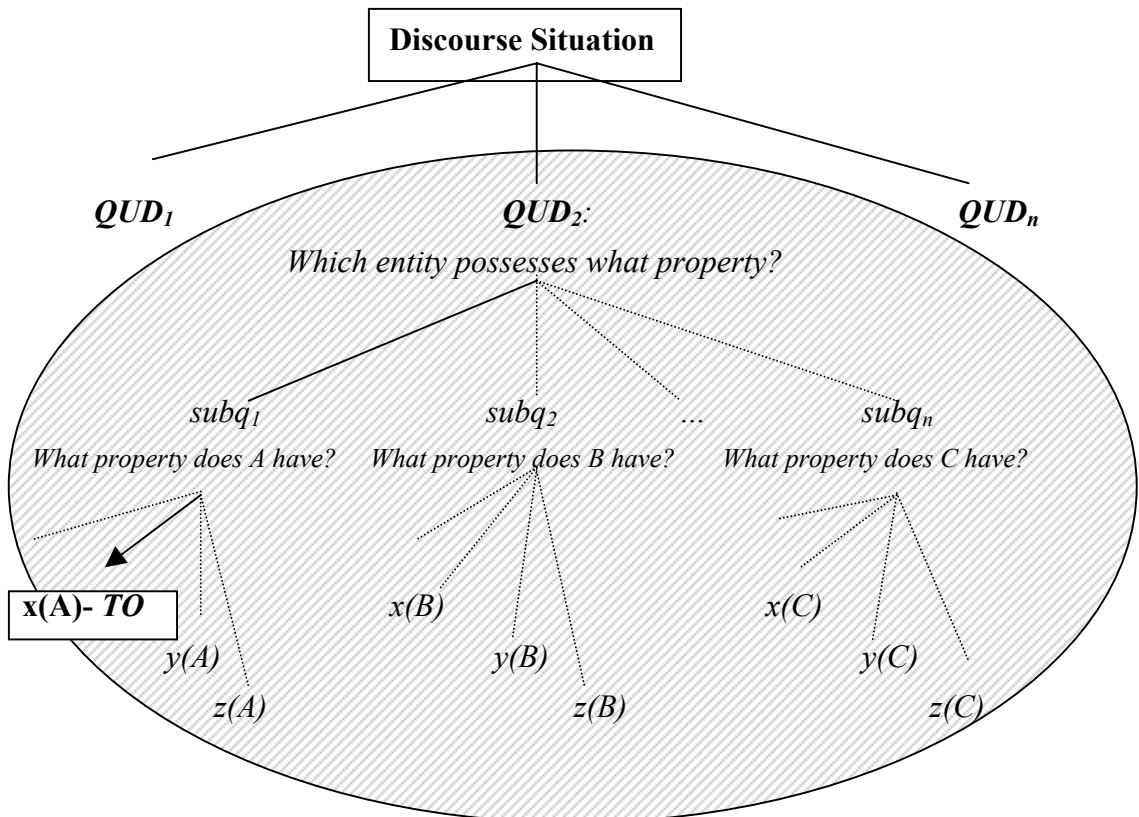
The position of *-to* in the clause is best analyzed with respect to the element marked [+kontrast] and has been to a large extent accounted for by the essential property of *-to* as a marker of a set of sets of propositions (which differ from each other in the values of a kontrastive element within the link and a kontrastive element within the rheme). Thus, *-to* is an enclitic to an element marked [+kontrast]. Usually *-to* cliticizes to (the kontrastive element within the) *link*, which can be explained by its kontrastive properties: first, the kontrast on the link value results in a set of sets of propositions (cf. similar treatment of

“contrastive topics” in Büring 2000, etc.); second, the cognitive status of information marked by *-to* — known to the hearer but not activated in the hearer’s mind — is more compatible with the function of the link than the rheme.

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

This property of *-to* is also a consequence of being a marker of a set of questions (equivalently, a set of sets of propositions). K-marker *-to* generates a discourse tree, the branches of which are sub-questions dominated by the same question under discussion, which is graphically shown below in (9) (cf. the diagram in (6)):

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



Another consequence of the kontrastive nature of *-to* is its multiple functions/meanings/implicatures proposed in the literature. Since *-to* is a marker of a set of sets of propositions, it also marks contrast and emphasis, functions as a theme/topic marker or a marker of contrastive topics, implies plurality, etc. The following functions/implicatures are consequences of its second essential property, i.e., a marker of information (assumed by speaker to be) known to hearer but not activated in discourse yet: a marker of unexpectedness in addressing a topic; it adds a tone of familiarity, conversational spontaneity, intimacy, etc.

To summarize, the notion of kontrast is the core semantic meaning of particle *-to*. By analyzing it as a marker of a set of sets of propositions (equivalently, a set of questions) and as marking referents known to the hearer but not currently activated, its position in the clause and its role in discourse (as well as multiple functions/implicatures ascribed to it in the literature) are accounted for.

8.2. *K-Marker ŽE*

K-marker *že* differs from *-to* in both the type of set and cognitive status of information marked, and accordingly, its other important properties (position in the clause, role in discourse, and also implicatures) are also different from those exhibited by *-to*. However, as with *-to*, kontrastiveness is the core semantic meaning of this particle as well and can be viewed as determining its distribution.

8.2.1 What Kind of Set is Marked by *ŽE*?

Particle *že* marks a set of propositions which differ from each other in the value of (at least) one term. The *kontrast* set for *že* contains members which are mutually exclusive: if one proposition is true, the other one(s) is/are false. Thus, the relationship among the members of the *že* set often involves (binary) opposition, contradiction, or negation. The *kontrast* set marked by *že* is generalized in (10) and illustrated with a sample of naturally occurring data in (11):

(10) **The *kontrast* set marked by *ŽE*:**

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

(X is true if and only if X' is false)

(11) [Varja notices a fly on the window-sill and asks her mother to kill it]

*VAR: Ona muxa, muxa.

*MOT: Muxa, muxa, da.

*VAR: Ubit', ubit' ee!

*MOT: Ona zhe uzhe ubita.

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*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 zhe [_{+K} uzhe ubita].

she *že* already killed(participle)

‘(But) it (*že*) is already killed.’

In (11), the mother's utterance with *že* corrects the presupposition of Varja's previous utterance *Kill it!*, i.e., *The fly is alive*. The members of the kontrast set marked by *že* are mutually exclusive: it is impossible for the fly to be alive (presupposition of Varja's utterance) and to be already killed (mother's utterance containing *že*) at the same time.

An interesting (and frequent) case is the use of *že* with wh-words. This case is somewhat cumbersome for the present analysis: how in the world can the kontrast set be mutually exclusive with wh-words? It seems that there is a way out of this paradox: *že* with wh-words is used to indicate that from the speaker's point of view, the set of possible answers is empty of reasonable alternatives (and is now open to unreasonable alternatives). While the set of possible answers is empty of reasonable alternatives for the speaker, it might not be so for the hearer: the speaker expects the hearer to provide an answer (which is probably not so unreasonable from the hearer's point of view). An example, recorded in a home setting, is provided in (12):

- (12) [Father puts away his son's library books and tells him that mother took them back to the library (which she did not do). The boy asks mother if she indeed took them back. She says 'no'. He then says (in the presence of both parents):]

U kogo *že* mne togda sprosit'?
 'Who (*že*) (in the world/the hell...) should I ask then?'

In (12), from the speaker's point of view, the set of reasonable answers (individuals who can provide an answer) is exhausted or empty; the child now throws the ball to the parents who might be able to provide an alternative explanation, which at this point in

discourse is viewed by the child as an unexpected/non-predictable/unreasonable alternative. However, the answer to the child's question is indeed known to the parent(s) who opted not to reveal it to him. It seems that an explanation along these line would bring us as close to the mutually exclusive set as we could possibly get with wh-words.

8.2.2 What is the Cognitive Status of Information Marked by *ŽE*?

Particle *že* marks the membership set, one member of which is activated in the hearer's mind at the time of the utterance, while the other (incompatible) member is viewed by the speaker as though it is (or should have been) known to the hearer and should have been activated at this time.

For example, in (11), the activated member of the set is *The fly is alive* (presupposition of *Kill, kill it!*). The other member of the set (is treated by the speaker as though it) should be known to the hearer and, therefore, should be activated; i.e., in the speaker's estimation, there are enough visual cues for the hearer to make the correct conclusion (*The fly is already dead*).

Now let us consider some consequences of the essential properties of *že* as a k-marker.

8.2.3 How is *ŽE* Encoded on the Clausal Level?

The placement of particle *že* can be defined with respect to the kontrastive element, which is a propositional term usually within the rheme. The condition of mutual

exclusiveness (or binary opposition) on the set marked by *že* makes this particle a good candidate for marking rhematic kontrasts, especially cases of *verum foci*. It is possible to translate utterances containing *že* as cases of rhematic polarity of *verum focus*; for example, alternative translations for the utterance with *že* in (11) are *It (the fly) IS already killed* or *It is ALREADY killed*; for (12), another way of rendering its meaning into English, is *Who SHOULD I ask then?*

8.2.4 What Role does ŽE Play at the Discourse Level?

As a consequence of its kontrastive properties, *že* refers back to a salient element or some unresolved (from the speaker's viewpoint) question in the discourse or discourse situation.

Multiple functions and implicatures associated with *že* at the discourse level can also be viewed as following from the two essential properties of *že* as a k-marker. Since *že* is a marker of a restricted set, containing mutually exclusive propositions, it is subsequently a marker of contrast, a marker of emphasis, a marker of contrastive focus, it adds tone of indisputable argument, and is perceived as a verbal attack on hearer, etc. From being a marker of activated information which is to a large extent known to the hearer, it follows that *že* can also be analyzed as a marker of "a reference point in the activated domain of reference," as being perceived to be "a verbal attack on hearer," as adding a tone of an indisputable and irrefutable argument and conveying emotions of irritation, annoyance and impatience, etc.

To summarize, by analyzing particle *že* as a marker of a set of mutually exclusive propositions and a marker of information which is related through the set relationship to information that is activated in discourse, its distributional properties at the clausal and discourse levels are largely accounted for.

8.3 *K-Marker VED'*

Etymologically, particle *ved'* is a form of the verb *vedat'* 'to know', from which it has inherited its factivity.

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

Similarly to *že*, particle *ved'* marks a set of propositions which differ from each other in the value of at least one term. However, there are important differences between them: for *ved'* the set membership is restricted to propositions which have illocutionary force of assertions (while *že* does not have this restriction). Also, the relationship among the members is not mutually exclusive (as in the case of *že*) but rather supplementary, additive; when *ved'* does express contradiction, it is more of the "yes, but..." type.

The examples in (13-14) illustrate that the difference between *že* and *ved'* comes (partially) from the difference between a mutually exclusive set (*že*) and supplementary set (*ved'*):

- (13) [Varja and Grandmother are looking at a picture of birds standing on the ground; Varja believes that the birds have fallen down; Grandmother corrects Varja: since they are standing and not lying down, they have not fallen down:]

*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.
 THE THIRD SEANCE

*GPP: Pochemu **zhe** ty думаеш', chto oni upali.
 'Why (*že*) in the world do you think that they fell down.'
 *GPP: A pochemu ty думаеш', chto oni upali, oni **zh** ne lezhat, oni stojat.
 'And why do you think that they fell down, they (*ž*) are not lying down, they are standing.'

In (13), *že* marks a set containing mutually exclusive members, thus it conveys emotions of contradiction, correction, and is perceived as a “verbal attack on the hearer:” Varja believes that *The birds fell down* (since they are standing on the ground and not flying), while the Grandmother refutes that by saying that *The birds did not fall down* (since they are standing and not lying down).

Later, this argument is brought to a mediator, Varja’s mother (Katja). In presenting the gist of the argument to Katja, the Grandmother uses *ved’* and not *že* (since no opposition is expected from an adult who knows the lexical meaning of *upali* ‘fell down’):

(14) [Grandmother re-tells the argument about the “fallen” birds to the mother]

THE THIRD SEANCE

Vot ona govorit, chto èti ptichki upali, a ja schitaju,
PART she says, that these birds-DIM fell-down, and I think

chto oni [+K ne upali], oni [+K stojat ved' na nozhkax].
that they NEG fell-down, they are-standing **ved'** on feet-DIM

‘So she says, that these little birds fell down, and I think, that they did not fall down, they are standing, (*ved'*) you know, on their feet.

So, in (14) *ved'* marks a supplementary set, the members of which are synonyms rather than antonyms (thus, it constitutes an “extension in logic” and not “a verbal attack”): {*The birds did not fall down; The birds are standing on their feet*}.

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

Similarly to *-to*, particle *ved'* marks information known to the hearer but not activated in the hearer’s mind at the time of the utterance. The difference between *že* and *ved'* comes (partially) from the difference in the cognitive status of information marked. Consider an example in (15):

(15) [Two retired ballet dancers had previously talked about what great actors they used to work with in their youth. Later, one of them realizes that they forgot to mention two of the most famous actors Čirkov and Čerkasov and reminds the hearer about that] Zemskaia and Kapanadze (1978: 52-53):

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

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

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

In (14), *ved’* marks information known to both the speaker and the hearer which is not activated in the hearer’s mind at the moment (talking about what great actors were in the theater at the time when both of the interlocutors worked there, they forgot to mention two most famous actors), which bring up such implicatures as a “gentle reminder,” “unexpectedness in addressing a topic,” etc.

8.3.3 How is *VED’* Encoded on the Clausal Level?

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

8.3.4 What Role does *VED’* Play at the Discourse Level?

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

As in the case of the other two particles, multiple functions/meanings/implicatures of *ved’* can be treated as consequences of its kontrastiveness: since *ved’* is a marker of a (supplementary) set of propositions (assertions), it is a marker of contrast, a marker of

emphasis, an assertion marker, etc. Since *ved'* (like *-to*), is a marker of information that is assumed by speaker to be known to hearer but not activated yet, it is a marker of unexpectedness in addressing a topic, a marker of encyclopedic knowledge, is perceived as a (polite) reminder, etc.

To summarize: *ved'* has been observed to share certain properties with *že* and other properties with *-to*. By addressing the questions of what type of set and cognitive status of information each of these particles marks, their differences and similarities are explained.

8.4 Summary of Findings

The notion of *kontrast* has been found to be the core semantic meaning of such lexical items as particles *-to*, *že*, and *ved'*: these lexemes are analyzed as unambiguous markers of *kontrast*. The core semantic meaning of each of these particles has been found to encompass two issues: the type of set and the cognitive status of referents marked by each of these particles. Among important properties of these particles, which are nevertheless treated as consequences of their essential *kontrastive* properties, are the placement of the particles at the clausal level and their role in the organization of discourse. Their distribution properties, implicatures they give rise to, and the choice of particles in a particular context are also motivated by their *kontrastive* nature.

The example of these three particles suggests that the notion of *kontrast* has applications beyond the level of the clause to serve as a construct which connects the levels of clausal and discourse structure.

8.5 Directions for Future Research

In this section I will discuss some related issues that have to await future research, such as combinations of particles in one clause and applicability of the methodology to certain linguistic expressions which are sensitive to set relationship.

8.5.1 Combinations of K-Markers in Colloquial Russian

An area which has only been briefly touched upon in this dissertation and which will have to await future research is the combination of kontrastive particles *–to*, *že*, and *ved'* in one clause. For an earlier account of combinatorial properties of many particles in colloquial Russian see Vasilyeva (1972): the book provides an inventory of free and set particle combinations, some with multiple examples (even though the majority of her examples are given without any context). However, her goal is to describe possible combination, not to explain why some are possible and others are not.

Below I will bring a few examples from CHILDES illustrating how k-markers *–to*, *že*, and *ved'* combine in natural language discourse:

(16) [planning activities for the forthcoming trip to the summer home – “dača”]

*MOT: Nu chto, Varjuxa, poedem na dachu?

*VAR: Poedem, schas.

*MOT: A chto my tam budem delat'?

*VAR: Tam zelenyj gorox, kukly - ne ubrany, vse - razbrosano.

*VAR: I nuzhno eshche tuda poexat'.

*MOT: Chto **zhe** my tam budem delat' **–TO?**

*VAR: Vot èto vse, da.

*MOT: Chto - vot èto vse?

*VAR: Vot èto vse, est', est' gorox, gorox poest', i tam budem my
igrat', vse tam budem.

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*MOT: Well, Varjuxa, are we going to the dača?

*VAR: Let's go, now.

*MOT: And what are going to do there?

*VAR: There [there is] green peas, dolls – not [nicely] arranged, everything – scattered around.
And we also need to go there.

*MOT: But what (že) are we going to DO(-TO) there, in particular?

*VAR: All this, yes.

*MOT: What “all this?”

*VAR: Well, all this, to eat, to eat peas, eating peas, and there we will play, [we] will [do]
everything there.

Gloss:

*MOT: Chto **zhe** my tam budem DELAT' **-TO?**
What že we there will to-DO-TO

‘But in particular, what (že) are we going to DO(-TO) there?’

(17) [at the dača, Varja complains about flies biting her dirty hand (or arm)]

*VAR: U menja uzhe muxi s''edajut!

*MOT: Chto?

*VAR: Ruku.

*MOT: Vot vidish'!

*MOT: Znachit, nado ee pojti pomyt', **ved'** tak-TO ee nel'zja ostavljat'.

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*VAR: Flies are already eating my...!

*MOT: What?

*VAR: Hand [Arm].

*MOT: You see!

It means we need to wash it, you know as for this way, it can't be left like that.

Gloss:

Znachit, nado ee pojti pomyt', **ved'** tak-TO ee nel'zja ostavljat'.

Means should it to-go to-wash, **ved'** like-this-TO it shouldn't to-leave.

‘It means we need to wash it, you know (**ved'**) like this in particular (-TO), it can't be left so.’

(18) [Varja is upset that auntie Sima cannot come today because she got sick; mother is trying to calm Varja down]

*MOT: Varen'ka, no ona pridet, ty ne bespokojsja, vot ona nemnozhechko popravitsja i pridet.

*MOT: **A to ved'** ona zbolela, cho **zhe** nam delat'?

*MOT: Ona budet lachit'sja i pridet.

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*MOT: Varen'ka, but she'll come, do not worry, she will get better a bit and come.
Because you know she got sick, but what (*že*) can we do?
She will recover and come.

Gloss:

A TO ved' ona zbolela, cho **zhe** nam delat'?

PART **TO ved'** she got-sick, what *že* to-us to-do?

'Because you know she got sick, but what (*že*) can we do?'

Since these k-markers co-occur in the same clause or utterance, as shown above, they are combinable, or compatible in some respects. However, more research is needed to define the exact mechanisms that make these combinations possible. For now it is not quite clear to me exactly how their differences (in type of generated sets, scope, activation status, etc.) can be accommodated.

It can be speculated that with respect to scope, the particles mark distinct kontrastive elements which generate distinct sets:² for example, a set of propositions (or, possibly, terms) for *že* and a set of sets of propositions for *-to* (examples like in (16)); or a set of propositions for *ved'* and a set of sets of propositions for *-to* (examples like in (17)). With respect to cognitive status of information marked by each particle, it is possible for these k-markers to co-occur since each of them is capable of marking a range of statuses. In this dissertation I was primarily concerned with the outer border (i.e., the

most distant one from the center of the set of matters of shared current concern, or $C_a \cap C_b$) but there is a lot of overlap in cognitive statuses of the information that can be potentially marked by each of these particles: one such area of the cognitive field is at the periphery of $C_a \cap C_b$. Also, the relation of k-markers to such specific cognitive status of referents as “inferrables” (Prince 1981, 1992, inter alia) has been only briefly touched upon here and a separate study is needed to compare the three particles with respect to marking of inferrables.

8.5.2 Applicability of Methodology

The methodology developed in this dissertation can be applied to the analysis of other linguistic elements which are sensitive to the set relationship, such as certain semantic operators like *even*, *only*, and *also*³ and contrastive discourse markers like *but*.⁴

Thus, semantic operators like *daže* ‘even’, *tože/takže* ‘also’ and *tol’ko* ‘only’ can be analyzed in kontrastive terms. Russian equivalents of these comprise an especially interesting group to analyze since some of these particles are historically derived from the encliticization of particle *že* to another element. Also, these forms cannot be considered completely frozen: free combinations of *že* with elements like *to* ‘that’ and *tak* ‘such/that way’ (like in *to že samoe zdanie* ‘that (*že*) same building’) exist; however the forms

² For a treatment of similar issues see Krifka (1991-92).

³ This group of particles is known as “grading particles;” within this group, particles like *also* have been labeled “additive” particles, particles like *even* have been labeled “scalar” particles, and those like *only* have been labeled “exclusive” (see Krifka 1999 and references therein).

⁴ See Fraser 1990, 1998, inter alia.

function as a single unit; cf. possible combinations of *tože* with *že/ž* (*Ja tože ž xoču!* ‘(But) I *also* (ž) want [it]!’)

Another interesting aspect is that the Russian grading particles overtly demonstrate their sensitivity to the information packaging within the clause: e.g., in Russian there are two counterparts to the English *also*: *tože* and *takže*. For previous analyses see Gundel (1975), Lubensky (1982), Sussex (1982), etc. However, these particles can be re-analyzed through the Vallduví’s (1992, etc.) theory of information packaging: *tože* would be viewed as the information transfer between two links (i.e., copying the same information from one file card to another one) and *takže* as updating the same link (adding more information to the file card that is under discussion/in focus). The existence of two lexical items for *also* in Russian and their difference in terms of the information packaging instructions they encode stresses the importance of this parameter in a comprehensive analysis of set-generating elements.

Also, contrastive discourse markers like *but* present another group of lexemes that can be potentially re-analyzed as kontrastive markers. And Russian is again of interest as a language since it has three lexical items corresponding to different meanings of the English *but*: non-concessive *no*, concessive *a*, and a marker of preference relation *zato* (see Levin’s (1970/1975), Abraham (1979), etc.). This group can be viewed as a kontrastive markers operating on the discourse level (i.e., that the membership of the sets they generate is limited to discourse segments, or a sequence of propositions) and the differences between these markers can be explained by various restrictions they pose on the set.

8.6 Significance of the Dissertation

The significance of the dissertation lies in the integration of semantic and pragmatic aspects in the analysis of set-evoking expressions and constructions in colloquial Russian. On the descriptive level, the dissertation has provided more insight into the structure of the colloquial register in general, and colloquial Russian in particular.

On the theoretical level, the dissertation can be viewed as a contribution to linguistic theory since it broadens our understanding of the notion of *kontrast*, it introduces and justifies a term *k-marker*, and provides an analysis of a group of k-markers in one language. This dissertation can also be considered a contribution to studies on information structure. It demonstrated that the use of the notion of *kontrast* can be extended from a clause-level notion to the one where it is treated as proving a connection between the clause-level structure and the structure of discourse. Even though this set-generating power is encoded on the clausal level, it is one of the linguistic means that holds the discourse together and reflects the speaker's assumptions about the hearer's state of knowledge and attention.

This dissertation also contributes to our understanding how the mysterious group of words —*particles* — works, which has importance for various disciplines: theoretical and applied linguistics, computational linguistics, language teaching, etc. Looking at how particles work provides a “peek” into how language and human cognition in general work.