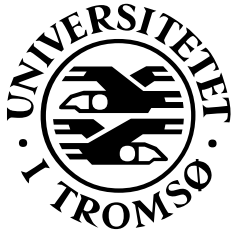
Margje Post

The Northern Russian pragmatic particle *dak* in the dialect of Varzuga (Kola Peninsula)

An information structuring device in informal spontaneous speech



Doctoral dissertation
Institutt for språkvitenskap
Det humanistiske fakultet, Universitetet i Tromsø
October, 2005

Cover: Uspenskaja cerkov' in Varzuga, built in 1674. Photo Margje Post

Cover design: Frank Waaldijk, Reinier Post and Margje Post

Photo page 17: Margje Post

Photo page 230: David Pineda

Figures 8.1 (p. 233), 8.2 (p. 235) and 8.3 (p. 239): David Pineda

Technical assistance: Holger Hagan and Jan Helge Bergheim

Main text typeset in Palatino, Palatino Same and Transcyrillic, 12pt

Printed in Norway

Foreword

The topic of this dissertation was originally planned to be the description of a dialect from the Archangel'sk *oblast'*. For several reasons, the plans were changed. One was my love for prosody and for particles, another was my interest for the Russian region close to Norway. In the second week after my arrival in Tromsø in 2001, I saw Merkur'ev's dictionary of the dialect of the Kola Peninsula prominently displayed in the shop-window of Tromsø's second hand bookshop. I had to buy the book, if only to show my gratitude to the shop-keeper, who had been prepared to give this "niche" book a prominent place and show it to the Tromsø public. This incident certainly played a role in my decision to switch my attention to the Murmansk region.

My supervisor Tamara Lönngren convinced me to study a subject that really interests me. I ended up studying a pragmatic particle,[1] information structure, with its "terminological minefield",[2] and prosody, which is another complicated and controversial field. I have studied all this in a dialect of a non-native language, and all of them simultaneously. This ambitious choice has cost me – and the people around me – much effort, but it has also provided me with much knowledge, and raised many questions that invite more research.

Readers might wonder why the description of a tiny, insignificant word could fill so many chapters and pages. The explanation is the underspecification, or underdetermination, of spontaneous dialectal speech (see section 7.1.1) and of the word *dak* in particular. The interpretation of *dak* and of the utterances it is used in requires a thorough analysis of the context from various points of view. The dissertation has become so large that it has required an unorthodox structure. The work has been written both for dialectologists and for linguists in general. Chapters 2 - 4 describe Varzuga and its dialect in general; the remaining chapters are dedicated to the particle *dak*. The main results of the study of *dak* are presented in chapter 8. The following chapters provide evidence for my findings and elaborate on the results.

I am indebted to many people. First of all I want to thank the University of Tromsø, which gave me the opportunity to do the research I wanted to do, and provided me with the necessary facilities. Without my supervisor Tamara Lönngren I would never have started this research. Apart from all her help during the project, I want to thank her for giving me the opportunity to get

[1] "One has to feel strongly about particles to want to persist in the study of this elusive, thorny, and mind-boggling field at all" (Wierzbicka 1986:521).
[2] Vallduví & Villkuna 1998:80.

acquainted with the beautiful Russian dialects and their interesting speakers. My colleagues at the Russian department Lennart Lönngren and Tore Nesset helped me especially in the final phase. Fellow linguists in Tromsø, Russia and elsewhere, too many to mention individually, have patiently answered one or more questions and this inspired me to continue my research. I would gladly have asked them much more. Needless to say, none of them should be held responsible for the contexts of this book. I am indebted to Maurits Nederberg, our excellent teacher in Amsterdam, who died far too young.

I greatly enjoyed my first field work experience in August, 2001, thanks to Tamara, Ol'ga Evgen'evna, Sevane, Tanja, Maria, Karin and David. Kaja Opsahl was willing to join me to the Russian outback in minus 25° C. Without her, I wouldn't have been able to travel to Varzuga in November 2001. I also thank Christian Sappok for our inspiring past and ongoing cooperation.

I thank the inhabitants of Varzuga, in particular Nina Nikitična Rogozina for her help in practical matters and Nikolaj Dmitrievič Kuškov for answering my questions about the dialect, and P'ëtr Prokop'evič Zaborščikov for his passionate dedication to the saving of the cultural history of Varzuga. Most of all I want to thank Elikonida Ioakimovna, Evstolija Vasil'evna and Ol'ga Efimovna, who were prepared to share their unique knowledge about the vanishing past with us even when they had little energy and had told the same story innumerable times before.

A number of people helped me to improve my English in parts of the dissertation, among them Frank Waaldijk, Peter Svenonius, Gillian Ramchand, my sister Brechtje and my brother Reinier.

I would like to use this opportunity to thank Terje Helland for finding and copying some sheer unaccessible articles for me (Федорова 1965 and Меркурьев 1963), and the Rossijskaja Nacional'naja Biblioteka in Saint-Petersburg for making their catalogue available through the internet.

The final word of thanks goes to my family and friends. Without the help and encouragements of Frank Waaldijk I would have used much more time to get finished. Reinier and Brechtje found time for me in their busy lives. I am grateful to my parents for always supporting me whatever choice I make. And last but not least, I thank David, who was willing to follow me to Northern Norway, endured my nerves and neglect and supported me in many valuable ways. To mention only a few, David has translated most of the examples and drawn the pictures in chapter 8.

Transcription conventions

This dissertation is primarily written for readers with a knowledge of Russian, but for those readers who do not, the most important Russian example utterances and all examples in chapter 1, 4 and 8 are provided with a free English translation, and with a morphemic glossing where this is relevant to understanding the argumentation.

Russian text is given in Cyrillic, apart from terminology, often cited words and names in the current English text. These are latinicised conform the transliteration system used in the journal *Scando-Slavica* (see e.g. Vol. 26, 1980)[3] for instance, *усилительно-заключительное значение* is given as *usilitel'no-zaključitel'noe značenie*; *ведь* as *ved'*; *хотя* as *chotja*. References to the Cyrillic bibliography are also written in Cyrillic, e.g. "Evtjuchin's article on the use of particles in text arrangement (Евтюхин 1979) was based on recordings gathered on the Ter Coast of the White Sea, including in Varzuga and Umba."

The transcription of the recordings from Varzuga follows the tradition in Russian dialectology and was done in a simplified transcription system, which is a compromise between readability and closeness to the actual pronunciation. This transcription system is described in appendix I.

In example utterances from existing publications, the original transcription is retained. This leads to varying transcription systems throughout the dissertation, but all authors use easily interpretable systems.

In the sections on vowels and consonants in the chapter with the dialect description (section 4.3.2 and 4.3.3), a narrower phonetic transcription is used. This system is described in the first note in section 4.3.2 (page 50). In section 4.6 on the dialect lexicon, the lexical items are given in Standard Russian orthography. In sections where intonation is discussed (chapter 12), relevant pitch movements are annotated with labels symbolising the relative pitch level, as explained in section 7.2.3.4.

Anonymous speakers are referred to as 'she' and the hearer or hearers as 'he'.

[3] With the exception of ь, which is transliterated with an apostrophe (') instead of an acute accent (´).

Grammatical abbreviations

1.sg.	first person singular
acc.	accusative case
adv.	adverb
C′VC	sequence of soft (palatalised) consonant - vowel - hard consonant
coll.num.	collective numeral
conj.	conjunction
d	dialectal word listed in appendix VII
dat.	dative case
dimin.adj.	diminutive adjective
F	feminine
fut.	future tense
gen.	genitive case
I	first declension, i.e. nouns on consonant (M) and <o> (N)
II	second declension, i.e. nouns on <a>
III	third declension, i.e. nouns on <C′> (F)
imper.	imperative
infin.	infinitive
instr.	instrumental case
ipf.	imperfective
irreal	irrealis particle *by*
loc.	locative case
M	masculine
N	neuter
nom.	nominative case
num.	numeral
past	past tense
past.pass.part.	past passive participle
pf.	perfective
pl.	plural
poss.	possessive adjective
pred.adj.	predicative adjective
pres.	present tense
pron.	pronoun
prt., *prt*	particle
reflex.	“reflexive” affix *-ся* (intransitive, reflexive or passive meaning)

Other abbreviations and symbols

**dak*	grammatically and/or pragmatically infelicitous
?dak; *??dak*	utterance is unlikely/very unlikely to be grammatically and pragmatically acceptable
A	larger intonation unit (prosodic syntagm or utterance) immediately preceding *dak* which represents x
Arch.	Archangel'sk oblast (*Archangel'skaja oblast'*)
B	larger intonation unit adjacent to A or to *dak* which represents y
Kar.	Karelia (Karelian Autonomous Republic)
Leš. Arch.	Lešukonskij region (*rajon*), Archangel'sk oblast
Murm.	Murmansk oblast
Perm.	Perm' oblast
Pin. Arch.	Pinega region, Archangel'sk oblast
Ples. Arch.	Plesetskij region, Archangel'sk oblast
Psk.	Pskov oblast
S	clause (e.g. in "S *dak* S")
S1 - S25	Varzuga dialect speakers (see Appendix I)
S12*	dialect speaker born in a different village along the Ter Coast (see Appendix 1)
S22#	speaker who supplied only secondary data
StR	Standard Russian
Sev.-Dvin.	area along the Severnaja Dvina
Sverdl.	Sverdlovsk oblast
underscore	prosodic attachment (e.g. A_*dak* means that *dak* is prosodically attached to the unit A)
Vladim.	Vladimir oblast
Volog.	Vologda oblast
Voron.	Voronež oblast
X	(in chapter 6) item on sub-clausal level, such as a nominal phrase, e.g. in "X *da*, X *da*"
x	one of the two information units connected by *dak*. x is an information unit in the mental world which is part of the knowledge on which y is based in the mind of the speaker, for instance a condition, cause, action etc.; cf. section 8.3.1
y	one of the two information units connected by *dak*. y is an information unit in the mental world – a thought, proposition, wish, etc. – which is based on x in the mind of the speaker, for instance a result, consequence, reaction etc.; cf. section 8.3.1
Šenk. Arch.	Šenkursk region, Archangel'sk oblast

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1 Introduction

1.1 Aims of the study

This dissertation consists of two parts. Part I contains a description of the dialect spoken by the oldest inhabitants of the village of Varzuga, a traditional Russian dialect spoken on the Kola Peninsula, which lacks a good description and is rapidly changing, losing most of its dialectal characteristics. The description describes to phenomena which are usually neglected, because they are specific for spontaneous speech, such as prosody above the word and discourse structure. Part II of this dissertation contains a description of a uniquely Northern Russian phenomenon – the pragmatic particle *dak*, which can be used in postposition. This word[1] is very frequent and has been studied by many linguists, but it is still not well understood. Although *dak* has a combination of functions and structural properties which is unique for the Northern Russian dialects, similar properties and functions can be found in other languages. One of the aims of the description of this particle is to get a better understanding of the meaning of pragmatic particles, especially their function in structuring information which is activated during the conversation, and the development of the methodology of particle research. The ultimate goal is to get a better understanding of how knowledge is communicated in spontaneous dialectal speech, which is characterised by a high degree of underdeterminacy (see section 7.1.1).

1.1.1 Why study a Russian dialect?

The Russian dialects are quickly losing most of their dialectal characteristics, so the urge to record their current state is large. It is well-known that in our globalising world the majority of the existing languages is on the eve of dying out. This is true not only for languages, but also for the majority of geographical dialects, including the dialects of standard languages, which are not in danger of extinction themselves. This holds true in particular for the traditional Russian dialects, with their low status and the depopulation of their "habitat" – the small Russian villages on the countryside. The Russian dialects are changing very quickly, losing more and more of their local features, and the dialect is not passed over to the youngest generations (see chapter 2 and 3).

[1] It will be argued that *dak* is a word, a pragmatic particle and phonologically a clitic. There is no agreement on the status of *dak* in the literature. Arguments against the claim that *dak* is a variant of *tak* in some contexts are given in section 14.3. Some linguists argue that clitics should be distinguished from words, since they are neither independent words nor affixes. My definition of a clitic is mainly based on phonology; see section 7.2.3.3. In any case, *dak* is closer to a word than to an affix. Extensive argumentation for the claim that *dak* is a pragmatic particle, different from, for instance, prototypical conjunctions and correlates (resumptive words) can be found in chapter 13.

In general, non-normative speech, and spontaneous speech, which the Russian dialects are an example of, is a part of language which is paid less attention than it deserves.

1.1.2 Why Varzuga?

The dialects of the Kola Peninsula have been hardly described. This hiatus should be filled as long as there still are some dialect speakers left in the area.

The Pomor dialects were not included in the large atlas of Russian dialects, the *DARJa*, nor in the *Common Slavic Atlas*, *OLA*. This hiatus is only very partially filled by the existing lexicographic projects in Karelia (*SRGKar*) and the Kola Peninsula (Merkur'ev's word list, Меркурьев 1979/1997a). These works focus on vocabulary, and are based on questionnaires, not on living oral speech. Sound recordings are almost non-existing. The number of speakers who still use a high amount of local features is rapidly decreasing. Many villages are being abandoned and the dialect is rarely passed on to younger generations (see chapter 2 and 3).

The main reasons for the poor interest seem to be of extra-linguistic nature: the area where the described dialect is spoken is both remote and scarcely populated. The dialects of the Kola Peninsula are not known for unique linguistic characteristics, but this does not mean that they lack linguistic interest. The Northern Russian dialects differ from central and southern dialects in many respects, especially the archaic dialects of the far north, for instance in prosody and in the use of discourse particles. The present research shows that the prosody of the Kola dialects deserves a separate description, because not all prosodic features previously attested in Northern Russian dialects are found in the dialect of Varzuga. Furthermore, the dialects of the White Sea Coast (Kola Peninsula and mainland) are important to Slavic studies because of the old, specific Pomor culture of their speakers, which is reflected in the rich vocabulary for fishery and reindeer herding (see chapter 2).

1.1.3 Why study a single dialect?

Every dialect constitutes a unique language system. The description of a language phenomenon in a group of dialects runs the risk of generalising characteristics which are not shared by all individual dialects. A scrutinous description of how a word functions in a language system requires a system-internal analysis, for instance by comparing the word with a similar word in the same dialect. The distribution of meanings and functions between two words can be different from one dialectal system to another. An example is the distribution of the forms *dak*, *dyk* and *tak* in Standard Russian, Belorussian and the Northern Russian dialects.

The description of particles in particular requires caution. Their range of possible contexts typically varies from one language variety to another.

Until now, only a few descriptions have been written of individual Russian dialects. Russian dialectology has focused on dialect geography (e.g. in the *DARJa*-project; see section 4.6) and lexicography, leading to a large number of dialect dictionary projects (e.g. *SRNG*; *AOS*; *POS*; Блинова et al. 1992–1995; Иванова et al. 1974–). During the last century a number of descriptions of single dialects have been written (e.g. Брокъ 1914; Кузнецов 1949; Князев et al. 1997; Хонселаар 2000).[2] They describe the dialectal features of the dialect, most of them only from a comparative viewpoint. An exception is Хонселаар 2000, which contains all the words used in the assembled recordings and gives a complete grammar of the described dialect in a structuralist tradition. However, these descriptions are as a rule confined to the structure and semantics of the sentence, but do not look at features which are specific for spontaneous speech. Prosody above the word is rarely paid any attention to (but see Брокь 1914 and Кузнецов 1949), let alone discourse phenomena like pragmatic particles.

1.1.4 Why study the oldest variant of a dialect?

The choice of speakers was guided by our goal to describe the local characteristics of the traditional Varzuga dialect, before they have disappeared. Therefore, we mainly recorded the speech of the villagers with the highest degree of dialectal characteristics, i.e. the oldest inhabitants, born in the 1910s and 1920s or early 1930s, who were born in Varzuga and had spent all or almost all of their lives in the village. The differences in speech between different generations are large. Younger speakers employ little or no dialectal features.

1.1.5 Why study prosody and a discourse phenomenon?

In Russian dialectology, almost all research focuses on lexicon, phonology or morphology and is based on questionnaires. Syntactic and prosodic phenomena are hardly ever studied, let alone discourse phenomena and other fields requiring longer stretches of spontaneous speech. In Russian linguistics in general, little attention has been given to the study of discourse phenomena.

1.1.6 Why study a pragmatic particle?

One of the goals of the study of *dak* was to further develop the methodology and theories on discourse and pragmatic particles. Pragmatic particles are usually

[2] Some other examples with typical titles are Дурного 1903, Описание говора деръвни Парфенокъ Рузскаго уѣзда, Московской губерніи, Варшава; Мораховская 1957, Говор деревни Уляхино Курловского района Владимирской области. *Труды Института языкознания АН СССР*, Москва, 157-213.

defined as being prosodically subordinate, which discourse particles need not be. Both are words which do not contribute to the propositional content of the utterance, but relate the utterance to its linguistic or extra-linguistic context (see section 7.2.1).[3] These particles are frequent in the languages which have them, but it is very difficult to describe their meanings and functions, although their use is clearly conditioned by rules, which means that they are not "empty", as is often claimed.

The study of discourse particles is an underdeveloped area of linguistics in general, and in Russian dialectology in particular. At the same time, Russian, and especially the Northern Russian dialects, are extremely rich in particles supporting the organisation of the discourse.

Also in the numerous studies of Common Russian standard and substandard spontaneous language (*russkaja razgovornaja reč'* and *prostorečie*), particle use has been mostly neglected. *Городское просторечие* (Земская & Шмелев 1984), a collection of articles on urban substandard Russian, contains only a few sentences on particles. As we shall see, even Lapteva devotes little space to particles in her extensive monograph on spoken language syntax (Лаптева 1976). The Standard Russian correlate and particle *tak*, which is used in partly the same contexts as *dak* in Northern Russian dialects, has not been studied much either. An exception is Чернышева 1986, but this work does not cover utterance-initial use.

1.1.7 What makes *dak* so interesting?

In Jouni Vaahtera's opinion (p.c.), Northern Russian *dak* should be introduced in Standard Russian, because it is such a useful word. It is not superfluous, but does in many cases give a contribution to a better understanding of an utterance. For instance, a speaker pronounced the following utterance when she was invited to look at some pictures:

(1) — Ój ап'а́т' б'ез ач'ко́в дак. (S18*) [App. VI text 14]

Oh again without glasses *dak*

'But I forgot to take my glasses again.'

[3] The term *context* will be used in a broad sense, covering everything that contributes to the interpretation of utterances. This includes the expressed neighbouring (first of all the preceding) "text", but also the extra-linguistic setting determining the communicative situation and the real and the supposed knowledge and expectations of the interlocutors in this situation.

By using the particle *dak*, the speaker makes clear why she made this remark: it strongly suggests a causal relation. She conveys in this very economical way that it will be difficult for her to see what is on the pictures.

In the Northern Russian dialects, discourse particles, these short words which relate the utterance to its linguistic or extra-linguistic context, are exceptionally frequent. Požarickaja gives a good illustration of a typical utterance in a Northern Russian dialect with an abundance of particles (Пожарицкая 1997:126):

(2) Моя сестра, *да* Пантелевна бы *ешчо*, *да* Петровна бы, *вот* мы бы все Каскоменьски-*ти*, *да вот* Овдотья бы Кузьмовна, *вот* с одной-*то* бы деревни, *дак* хорошо бы спевались. (Pin. Arch.)[4]

My sister *prt prt* Pantelevna *prt prt*, *prt* Petrovna *prt*, *prt* we *prt* all from-Kaskomen'-*prt*, *prt prt* Ovdot'ja *prt* Kuz'movna, *prt* from one-*prt prt* village, *prt* good *prt* would-sing

'My sister, and if Pantelevna would join her, and Petrovna, too, if all of us from Kaskomen' would do it, and Ovdot'ja Kuzmovna as well, you know, all from one village, then we would sing really well'

From this group of particles, the word *dak* has attracted by far the most attention from dialectologists. There are several reasons for this. First, the form is not used in Standard Russian. Second, it is very frequent in Northern Russian dialects. Third, its exact semantics, syntactic status and functions remain a mystery. But the most important reason for the interest of linguists in this little word is that in most Northern Russian dialects, *dak* can be used postpositively, a characteristic unknown for similar connective words in other varieties of Russian:

(3) Молодухима зовут, выйдут взамуж *дак*. (Perm.; Мерлин 1978)

Moloduxi.instr.pl called, will-marry.3pl *dak*

'They are called *moloduxi*, when they get married, that is'

This type of constructions with postpositive *dak* is attested in most of Northern Russia and in some Siberian dialects. The expression "Northern Russian *dak*" will be used as a synonym for *dak* in the dialects having postpositive *dak*, although this is of course a simplification.

Dak is clearly related to the correlate *tak* in other varieties of Russian, both semantically and functionally. Like Standard Russian *tak*, Northern Russian *dak*

[4] Even *бы* is a particle, but, contrary to the other particles in the utterance, it is not a discourse particle, but a grammatical particle, expressing irrealis mood.

can be used in interposition, for example between the two clauses of example 3 above:

(3a) Выйдут взамуж *дак* молодухима зовут. (Merlin's modification of ex. 1)
(3b) Выйдут замуж, *так* молодухами зовут. (translation to Standard Russian)
'When they get married, (then) they are called *moloduxi*.'

Both words can be used in utterance-initial position, for instance to introduce a certain non-cooperative replies:

(4) Почему ты не сказал об этом?
— *Так* я и говорил! (Шимчук & Щур 1999)
'Why didn't you tell me about this?'
'But I did tell you!'

(5) — *(...) А вы тоже туда поедете?*
— *Дак* н'е замож́у- гу, н'é! (S2)[5]
'(...) Do you also go there?'
'Well, I don't - I can't!'

However, unlike Northern Russian *dak*, a correlative word like *tak* in example 3 would never be used in clause-final or utterance-final position:

(3c) Молодухими зовут, выйдут замуж **так*.
(3d) Выйдут замуж **так*, молодухами зовут.

In Northern Russian, *dak* is not the only connective which has developed post-positive use. *Dak* shares this possibility with the coordinating conjunctions and particles *da*, *da i* (*daj*), *a* and *i*:

(6) У на́с ка́мни *да* мо́рё *да*. (Murm.; Меркурьев 1997a)
'We have stones and we have the sea'
(7) есть мышов *да и* кротов *да и*. (*DARJa* III 1987)
'There are mice and rats as well.'
(8) И упал *и* чуть не смял *и*. (*DARJa* III 1987)
'Then he fell down and almost squeezed it'

[5] S2 is dialect speaker number 2 from Varzuga; see Appendix II for background data about the speakers.

(9) Розговоры мы станем заводить *а*. (*AOS*)

'We will hold conversations (but...?)'

The structural status of these postpositive connective, conjunction-like words has been subject of much debate. These postpositive connectives are structurally different from any connectives in Standard Russian.[6] Even in the shared utterance-internal position, Northern Russian *dak* and Standard Russian *tak* are not equivalent.

Another puzzle for researchers is the huge amount of "meanings" of this word. In Northern Russian dialects, the word *dak* can be used in a wide range of contexts and in various syntactic positions in the utterance. The largest existing dialect dictionary, *Архангельский областной словарь* (*AOS*, vol. 10, 1999), distinguishes no less than 21 different "meanings" of *dak*, in addition to some frequent word-combinations, like *дак óй* and *дак кáк*. The word has been translated by such diverging words as the subordinating conjunctions *если* 'if', *потому что* 'because', *когда* 'then', *чтобы* 'in order to' and *что* 'that', with the coordinating conjunctions *да* 'and' and *но* 'but', with the resumptive words *так* 'so, then' and *то* 'then', with pronouns like *это* 'this (is)' and with adverbs like *значит* 'this means' and *следовательно* 'therefore, as a consequence' (all from *AOS*). In addition, many meanings are distinguished for which no translations to Standard Russian could be found, including use as a so-called emphatic or intensifying particle (see section 13.8 for a discussion of examples from *AOS*).

The enormous amount of syntactically and semantically diverse contexts makes one wonder about the reason for all these possibilities: why is it used, what do they have in common, how are they related, does *dak* really express all these meanings, or is it almost meaningless, and are there any restrictions on its use? Can it be used in almost any context, as a "filler"? Lapteva, who equates *dak* to *da*, suggests that *dak* can be used after each content word (*značimoe slovo*), similar to words like *gyt* '(s)he says' (Лаптева 1976:138; cf. section 6.5.10 and 13.5.4):

(10) — Я этой *говорю* старушке и *грю* он хочет пить.

I to-this *I-say* old-woman *prt I-say* he wants to-drink

'I say to this old woman, I say he wants something to drink.'

(11) — Он *грит* их *грит* в глину сунуть и они *грит* им *грит* ничего не будет.

---

[6] In fact, they have more in common with postpositive particles in neighbouring Finno-Ugric languages, like *da* in Komi-Zyryan and, for instance, the utterance-final particles *da*, *så* and *altså* in Norwegian than with any Standard Russian words. Like in Northern Russian dialects, which have postpositive particles, the particles in these languages can be used both utterance-finally and in interposition, and there are similarities in meaning and functions as well (cf. e.g. Leinonen 2002a; Fretheim 1980; for examples, see section 6.5.20 and Appendix IV).

He *he-says* them *he-says* in clay to-put and they *he-says* them *he-says* nothing neg. will-be
'He says put them in the clay he says and nothing he says will happen to them.'

This dissertation will show that the use of *dak* is far more restricted and gives a unique contribution to the utterance it is used in.

1.2 Questions to be answered

The main questions the general study of the dialect of Varzuga will try to answer are the following:

- Which are the main local characteristics of the dialect of Varzuga?
- How does this dialect fit in the Russian dialect landscape?

The study of the word *dak* was carried out with the following questions in mind, which will be addressed in this dissertation, among others in the sections mentioned below and in the conclusion:

1 *Dak* is used in many different contexts in different positions in the utterance. What do all of these uses have in common? Are they only historically related, or is it reasonable and useful to depart from a common function or core meaning of all uses of *dak*? (chapters 8, 9, 12, 13)
2 Can the word *dak* be used in virtually any context and position in the utterance, as suggested by Lapteva (see section 1.1.7)? If not, which are the conditions for its use – its syntactic, prosodic, semantic and pragmatic restrictions? (chapters 8-12)
3 What does it add to an utterance? If it can be used in so many different contexts, and its contribution to the utterance is unclear, couldn't this word just as well be omitted? (section 13.8)
4 How is the relation between the meaning of *dak* and the divisions made in theories on information structure? (chapter 10)
5 Is *dak* always a connector, and if it is, what does it connect? How does the hearer know what it is connecting? (chapters 8; 12)
6 What is the role of prosody in the contexts of *dak*? (chapters 7; 12)
7 What is the structural status of *dak* (its syntactic, phonological, semantic properties)? (chapter 13)
8 Is it always a pragmatic particle, or is it sometimes better classified as a conjunction or a resumptive, correlative word? (section 13.6)

9 What are the differences and similarities with similar words, with other linguistic means having similar functions, such as intonation and subordinating conjunctions, and with similar expressions which do not contain *dak*? Do characteristics for similar words apply for *dak* as well? (chapter 14)

1.3 Methodology and theoretical background

The current research is based on recordings of spontaneous speech of the pre-war generations living in Varzuga. The starting point of the investigation was heuristic: the accumulation of data, elicitation of examples and their systematisation, by assembling existing hypotheses and formulating new ones, which then could be checked with the corpus, trying to find supporting examples and counterexamples.

The description in chapter 4 of the dialectal characteristics in various fields of linguistics (prosody, phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon) has no pretence to be exhaustive. It contains only those features which are distinctly dialectal and which were attested in the transcribed parts of the corpus of spontaneous speech. In order to find the relation of the dialect of Varzuga to the other Russian dialects, the attested dialectal features were compared with existing literature on Russian dialects, including dialect dictionaries, the Russian dialect atlas (*DARJa*) and articles and monographs on various subjects in Russian dialectology.

The description of pragmatic particles like *dak* is notoriously difficult, and so is the choice of methodology for describing them (Foolen 2003; see section 7.2.1). Their meaning is not easily captured, and their contribution to discourse is difficult to abstract away from their context. It is not sufficient to know the truth-conditional content of the utterance it is used in. Furthermore, the interpretation of Russian dialectal utterances in general is not unproblematic either, due to the high degree of underdeterminacy of spontaneous speech (cf. Carston 2002). A large part of the communicated information is not expressed in a straightforward manner by lexico-grammatical means, but only implied by prosodic means and the linguistic and extra-linguistic context. This accounts in particular for Russian dialectal speech. As a consequence, the interpretation of both the particle *dak* itself and of the utterances it is used in requires a broad pragmatic analysis of their contexts. Traditional frameworks for the description of grammar, semantics and prosody, which are developed for the study of single sentences in written standard language, are hardly suitable for the description of dialectal utterances.

The description of the particle *dak* is based on the point of departure that this word has an invariant, core meaning. Consequently, the research focusses on similarities rather than differences between the various contexts of *dak*.

I conclude that a combination of approaches is required for a better understanding of the functioning of *dak*. Prosody cannot be ignored, and modern particle research provides useful insights and approaches which can be used for the study of this Russian dialect particle. Furthermore, insights from theories on information structure can be used, although they are only concerned with sentence-internal relations (see section 7.2.2). Finally, comparative studies were carried out in order to clarify the restrictions on the use of the word *dak*, both with particles in the same dialect, such as *ak* and *da*, and with words with similar functions in other languages and language varieties, such as Standard Russian *tak*. A first attempt was made to use a questionnaire in order to get acceptability judgements.

The proposed core meaning of *dak* was supported by a multi-level analysis of the contexts of *dak*. The hypothesis that *dak* always marks the same kind of relation was supported by showing the probability that the speaker intended to convey such a relation in each individual case, based on cues from semantics, information structure and related phenomena, from syntax and from prosody. The prosodic characteristics of the contexts of *dak* appear to be very stable, and give a cue to find the expression of at least one of the two units connected by *dak*.

Theory and methodology developed for other languages and for Standard Russian were used in the fields of particle research, information structure and prosodic studies, e.g. Odé 1989, Николаева 2000, McCoy 2001. No specific framework was chosen, but the analysis of *dak* was inspired by such diverging theories as Vallduvi's theory on *kontrast* (Vallduví & Vilkuna 1998), Keijsper's ideas about the meaning of accentuation and intonation and relevance theory (1983; 2003); see section 7.2.

1.4 Main findings about the particle *dak*

The present research has lead to an analysis of this word as having a core meaning, which can explain its use even in contexts which so far have not been given a satisfying explanation. The investigation has shown that *dak* is a pragmatic particle in the Varzuga dialect in most, if not all, of its uses. This means that *dak* is prosodically subordinated, that its use is optional from the point of view of sentential syntax and truth-conditional semantics and that it has a function at discourse level: like all pragmatic particles, *dak* connects an expression to its linguistic and/or non-linguistic context. Its core meaning is not

modal, like most pragmatic particles in, for instance, German, but informational: it does not give information about the speaker's attitude towards the utterances, but instructs the hearer how the expression it is attached to relates to other information, which is, or will be, activated during the conversation. In relevance theoretical terminology, *dak* is a procedural rather than a conceptual marker.

Varzuga *dak* can be described as having a single core meaning. The particle *dak* in the dialect of Varzuga appears always to signal an asymmetric relationship between two information units, independent of the context in which it is used: it connects a thought (called y) with information on which this thought is based (called x). From the opposite point of view, one can say that the speaker presents x as leading to y. *Dak* connects, for instance, a condition with a result, a cause with a consequence, an action with a reaction, a place with a distinguishing mark of this place, a dialect word with its explanation, or a person with a characteristic of this person, which can be contrasted with a different person with a different characteristic.

The theory about *dak* is applicable in all cases where the context is clear enough to allow interpretation. In many cases, these two information units x and y have no direct linguistic expression in the utterance. Either of the two information units can be left implicit, which is reflected in the varying positions of *dak* in the utterance. A particle like *dak* is typical for spontaneous speech, in which a large part of the communicated information is expressed only implicitly, especially in Russian dialectal speech. The word *dak* helps the hearer to find the intended relations between the various units of knowledge which are activated during the conversation.

Although *dak* can be used in three different positions in the utterance – utterance-initially, utterance-internally and utterance-finally, it always takes the same position in relation to the expressions of x and y. *Dak* is almost always used on a prosodic boundary, and it can be used both proclitically and enclitically. Proclitic *dak* is attached to the linguistic representation of y (called B) and enclitic *dak* is attached to the expression of x (called A).

The proposed analysis is mainly based on data from the dialect of the village of Varzuga, but, judging from the data in the literature on other Russian dialects, it can explain the use of *dak* in the other Northern Russan dialects with postpositive *dak* as well.

1.5 The relevance of the dissertation for and its place in Russian dialectology

The present dissertation shows the value of high-quality recordings of spontaneous dialectal speech, which are relatively rare in Russian dialectology.

Apart from providing data for all kinds of traditional dialectological research, they have an additional value. The spontaneous speech enables the study of discourse phenomena and provides unexpected phenomena. A high sound quality enables acoustic analysis and verification of the pronunciation of non-prominent parts of speech.

Chapter 4 provides a description of a dialect which had been poorly described. Unlike usual descriptions, attention has been paid to prosodic phenomena above the level of the word, which show large interdialectal variation between northern and southern dialects. Several prosodic phenomena are pointed out that are typical of Northern Russian dialects, and even of a more restricted area. The methodology of using spontaneous speech instead of the usual questionnaires revealed a varying frequency of dialectal features according to the degree of formality of the speech situation. Some of the phenomena attested by Merkur'ev in the dialects of the Murmansk oblast in his data from the 1950s and 1960s were not found in the new data. A short areal-linguistic comparative study shows that the dialect of Varzuga fits smoothly into the Russian dialect landscape.

Chapter 2 and 3 give the background of this dialect, and describe the sociolinguistic situation in a Russian village on the turn of the 21st century.

Extensive studies of non-contrastive dialectal phenomena are rare in Russian dialectology. Studies of discourse phenomena have been all but non-existent[7] and much research remains to be done in the field of utterance-level prosody, which plays a large role in dialectal discourse.[8] The Northern Russian particle *dak* has been described in numerous works before, but many questions about this particle remained unsolved. The present research provides a comprehensive description of this word, based on recent particle research developed for other languages and insights from modern pragmatic theories and from information structure theory, and up-to-date tools for prosodic research.

1.6 The relevance of the dissertation for linguistics in general

This dissertation is first of all a contribution to the study of discourse and pragmatic particles. Most existing descriptions of pragmatic particles describe modal particles, which are used to indicate the attitude of the speaker and/or hearer to an utterance. The particle *dak* is an example of an information-structuring device, as it instructs the hearer how the expression it is attached to

[7] Among the few exceptions are Шуйская 2002; Sappok 1999.
[8] Existing studies in on dialectal prosody are mentioned in section 7.2.3.2.

relates to other information, which is or will be activated during the conversation.

This study shows that it is useful to give a comprehensive description of a pragmatic particle, provided that measures are taken to prevent the formulation of the core meaning from becoming so general and vague that it has hardly any explanatory value and that it cannot be distinguished from those of other words. Therefore, attention must be paid to the restrictions on the use of a particle, for instance, by carrying out comparative studies or using carefully prepared questionnaires.

A combination of several linguistic approaches should be combined in the description of pragmatic particles. A pragmatic approach is indispensable, because one has to take into account both the directly conveyed information and the implicit information. To avoid blurring the distinctions between several different particles and between the function of the utterance as a whole and the contribution of the particle itself to it, a multi-level approach was chosen. For the present description, various aspects have been studied – semantics, information structure, syntax and prosody, and the particle is also studied from a comparative perspective. This study shows that prosodic studies can give a valuable contribution to the analysis of a word and the utterances it is used in, even when the intonation system of the dialect has not been given a phonological description.

The dissertation is of interest not only for particle studies. This study of Northern Russian *dak* exemplifies that connectives mark not only connections between linguistic expressions and the meaning these expressions represent, but also between concepts which lack a concrete linguistic form.

It shows the specifics of communication in spontaneous speech, where much information has no specific expression, especially in Russian non-standard dialectal speech. Far less information is communicated by lexico-grammatical means than in prepared, written standard language. The function of grammar and lexicon in written language is partly fulfilled in spontaneous speech by prosodic means and the use of particles. It shows that particles can be a useful means in helping the hearer to find the intended connections between the expressed and implied information.

Furthermore, the study shows that the traditional tools for describing syntax, semantics and prosody, developed for the study of single utterances in written standard languages or read speech, are defective tools for the description of spontaneous non-standard speech (see section 7.3.6). This also accounts for information structure theories, in particular the tradition of *actual sentence perspective*, which pay too little attention to intonation (as argued in Сиротинина

1974; Keijsper 1985; see sections 7.2 and 10.2), and exclusively describe relations between linguistic entities inside the boundaries of the sentence. This restricted focus is unsatisfactory for the study of expressed and implied connections in spontaneous speech.

Finally, the study exemplifies the value of high-quality recordings of spontaneous speech, which provide a rich source for various kinds of linguistic research.

1.7 Outline of the dissertation

Part I of the dissertation, consisting of chapter 2-4, gives a general description of the village of Varzuga and its dialect as it is spoken nowadays by its oldest inhabitants.

Chapter 2 describes the village of Varzuga, its settlement history and socio-linguistic situation.

Chapter 3 describes the sound corpus of the Varzuga dialect, which was made between 2001 and 2005. Apart from giving technical information, the chapter discusses the value of good quality sound recordings, the choice of language consultants, the character of the interviews, the inevitable variation found in the data and how the recordings were processed.

Chapter 4 gives a description of the peculiar dialectal characteristics which were found in the analysed parts of the recordings. Unlike in traditional descriptions a large section is devoted to prosodic phenomena. The final section shows the place of the dialect of Varzuga on the Russian dialect map.

Part II of the dissertation, covering chapter 5 to 14, is devoted to the particle *dak* in the dialect of Varzuga. Part II A gives an introduction to *dak*, describes previous descriptions of this word and how the research was carried out; part II B contains the analytical chapters.

Chapter 5 gives an introduction to this word. It mentions some controversies about its properties and hypotheses about its historical background. Furthermore, the chapter contains an overview of the main contexts of use of Northern Russian *dak* and it formulates research questions and main hypotheses about this word.

Chapter 6 gives an extensive discussion of the existing descriptions of Northern Russian *dak*.

Chapter 7 discusses some basic assumptions, the theoretical background and the methodology used for the present study of *dak*. It also presents the results of the first, preliminary analysis of the database of utterances containing *dak*

from the Varzuga corpus, which demontrate the inadequacy of the traditional grammatical and semantic theories for describing a pragmatic particle.

Chapter 8 gives an overview over the main findings of the present study about the properties and core meaning of *dak* in the dialect of Varzuga. The next chapters will give support for these findings from various fields of linguistics: semantic arguments (chapter 9), arguments from information structure and phenomena associated with it (chapter 10), arguments from syntax (chapter 11) and arguments based on prosodic characteristics of *dak* itself and of its linguistic context (chapter 12). Chapter 13 explains why *dak* fits very well into the definition of a pragmatic particle. The chapter describes the semantic, syntactic and prosodic characteristics of the word *dak* itself and discusses the exact contribution of *dak* to the utterance it is used in. Chapter 14 shows that particles like *dak* should be compared to similar particles in the same dialect and in other languages and language varieties. It shows that Varzuga *dak* shares features with other particles, but that its core meaning is different.

The conclusion (chapter 15) is followed by a summary in Russian and appendices containing data about the simplified transcription system, about the language consultants, a discussion of prominent realisations of *dak*, some text fragments from the corpus and a list of dialectal words cited in this dissertation. After the reference list the reader can find an index of terminology.

Part I. Varzuga and its dialect

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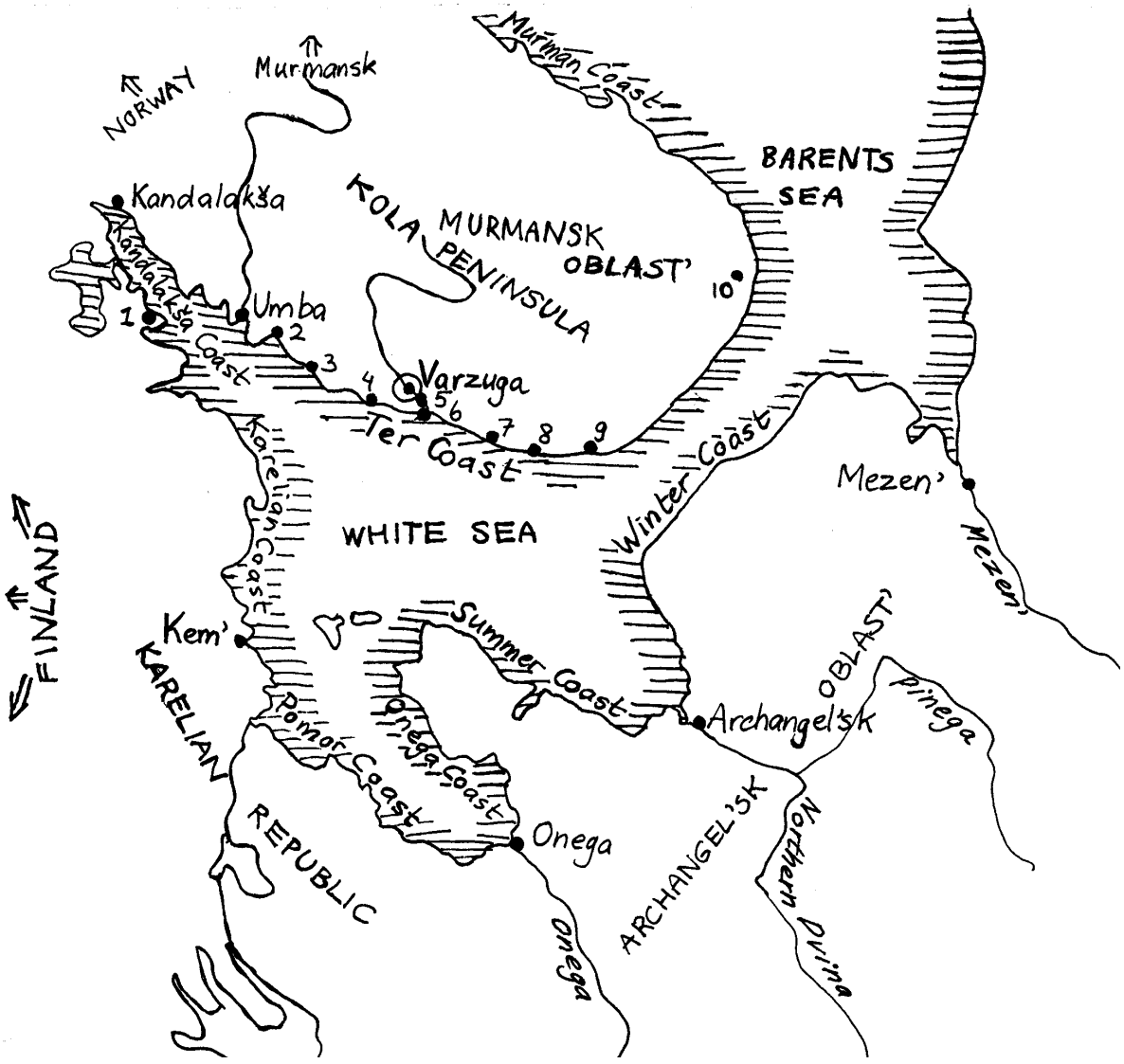


Varzuga, November 2001

2 Varzuga: Settlement history and sociolinguistic situation

2.1 Kola Peninsula

The village of Varzuga is an old Russian Pomor settlement on the Kola Peninsula, close to the White Sea. Administratively, Varzuga is part of the Ter *rajon* (region) of the Murmansk *oblast'* (henceforth: oblast). At present, the village has approximately 350 permanent inhabitants. The number increases to about 500 in summer. The village is situated on both sides of the river Varzuga, 22 kms upwards from where the river flows into the White Sea. The village is one of the main traditional Russian villages on the Ter Coast of the White Sea and is situated just south of the Polar Circle.



Picture 2.1. The White Sea area. 1 = Kóvda; 2 = Kuzreká; 3 = Olénica; 4 = Káškarancy; 5 = Kúzomen'; 6 = Ust'-Várzuga; 7 = Čávan'ga; 8 = Tétrino; 9 = Čápoma; 10 = Ponój.

The reasons for choosing for this village for the present research were given in section 1.1. The next sections contain background information on the settlement history of the village and of the sociolinguistic situation.

2.2 Settlement history

2.2.1 Old Pomor settlement

The inhabitants of the Ter Coast consider themselves to be *Pomors*. Pomors are the traditional Russian inhabitants of the White Sea Coast, which includes the coasts of the Karelian Autonomous Republic, the western part of Archangel'sk oblast and the southern coast of the Kola Peninsula. This area, originally inhabited by Finno-Ugric peoples, was regularly visited by Russians from the early Middle Ages. Permanent settlement by Russians started probably in the 13th century (Бернштам 1978:41). Most of the early settlers came from the Republic of Novgorod, which covered a large area in North-Western Russia.[1] They developed a characteristic culture, different from other Russians, due to isolation and their closeness to the sea. Their different way of life earned them the name of *Pomory*, 'those that live on the sea coast'. The Pomors consider themselves to be Russians, but not part of Russia: in the conception of the Varzužans[2], *Rossija* is "the land behind Karelia".

The first attested permanent Russian settlements on the Ter Coast were Umba and Varzuga. They were probably founded in the 15th century (Ушаков 1998a:17f).[3] At that time, the area had been inhabited by Sámi people for centuries, and more recently, by Karelians. In 1419, a Karelian settlement called Korelskij pogost, which was built on the banks of the river Varzuga, was destroyed by foreigners (Ушаков 1998b:37). In later centuries, Umljans and Varzužans contributed substantially to the settlement of more villages along the Ter Coast (Бернштам 1978:43). While the Russian Pomors inhabited the coastline, the local Sámi population was driven away to the inlands (Бернштам 1978:62). In the late 19th century, a group of Komi and Nenets reindeer herders settled in the

[1] Bernštam underlines the often neglected, but essential role of Russians from the area around Lake Ladoga in the settlement of *Pomor'e* (Бернштам 1978:25).

[2] The inhabitants of Varzuga are called *varzužane* in Standard Russian (in nom.pl.); the old dialectal form is *varzužana*. People from Umba have several names, amongst them *umljana* (Меркурьев 1997a) and *umbjane* (Standard Russian; in the newspaper *Терский берег*, Sept. 23, 2004).

[3] Some sources suppose that the Russians settled on the Ter Coast much earlier. No doubt, Russians had been regular visitors of the area long before the 15th century. Taxes had been collected from the Ter Sámi from at least the 13th century, and early graves have been found on the Ter Coast with Slavic characteristics. However, these sources do not prove that there was any permanent Russian settlement, as shown by the history of the Murman Coast in the north of the peninsula. The Russians started fishing along the Murman Coast already in the Middle Ages, but permanent settlement started only in the second half of the 19th century (cf. Бернштам 1978; Ушаков 1998a; 1998b).

central regions of the Kola Peninsula. A century ago, Varzuga was one of the largest settlements on the Kola Peninsula, having almost a thousand inhabitants. The industrialisation and the subsequent enormous influx of immigrants to the Murmansk oblast in the 20th century was restricted to the western part of the district and did not affect the Ter Coast. The population of the local villages declined, except in Umba, where a wood factory was built and a new settlement was founded, Umba *posëlok*.

2.2.2 Present situation

At present, Umba *posëlok* has about seven thousand inhabitants. Varzuga is by far the largest of the old villages along the Ter Coast. Some of them have almost disappeared. The old village of Umba, Umba *derevnja*, had only one permanent inhabitant left of the original population when we visited the village in 2001.

Varzuga is also suffering from a population decline, but the situation is less dramatic there than in the other old villages. Many villagers move to the cities or to the *rajonnyj centr* Umba, but the village also attracts working force from the cities of Murmansk oblast. The local *kolchoz* is doing well and Varzuga has a full school up to the tenth grade; a new school building has just been finished.

The inhabitants are proud of their traditions. Their high self-esteem earned them the nickname of *faraony*, 'pharaohs'. Since Varzuga is by far the most vital traditional village in the area, which can even be reached by bus, the village is often visited by researchers. Few of them however are linguists.

The villagers have no running water, but they do have electricity and since recent years Varzuga has a road connection to Umba and Kandalakša. The village of Varzuga is spread over both sides of the river, but there is no bridge. Small boats are used to cross the river in summer. In winter, if the ice is strong enough, you can walk, or even drive to the other side.

2.2.3 Who were the settlers of Varzuga?

The origin of the Russian settlers of Varzuga is not certain; the sources give contradictory information. Ušakov supposes that the first settlers came from the Kem' region further south along the White Sea (Ушаков 1998a:18). Bernštam mentions settlers from the Northern Dvina, east of the White Sea (Бернштам 1978:43). There is no doubt that the inhabitants had regular contact with the Dvinians. In later ages, Archangel'sk played an important role in the supply of goods which the inhabitants could not get otherwise. This contact was probably retained until the regular boat connection with Archangel'sk was closed down in the late 1990s. The Russian population of both the Kem' and the Dvina regions

were themselves mainly descendants of Novgorodians, although the Dvina region also attracted peasants from the Rostov-Suzdal' lands in Central Russia (Бернштам 1978:42; Комягина & Дерягин 1968). Antropological studies found a strong influence of the so-called Onega type among the inhabitants of the Ter Coast, which suggests a dominance of people from the areas south of the White Sea.[4] In their own perception, the people of Varzuga are of Novgorodian descent, and there is no doubt that the Novgorodian element is prevailing, if you take "Novgorodian" in a broad sense, as the people from the whole area which used to be under Novgorodian rule.

The degree of integration of the Russian immigrants with Sámi and Karelians is unclear, but probably restricted. Bernštam remarks that Karelians and Russians integrated well in parts of the present Karelian Republic, because their cultures were very similar. Many Karelians switched to the Russian language (Бернштам 1978:58ff). Contact with Sámi people was far more restricted, due to larger cultural differences, although many Sámi people russified (Бернштам 1978:61ff). As for the Kola Peninsula, Bernštam found evidence close contact with Sámi people only in Kandalakša, west of the Ter Coast, and in the far eastern part of the Ter Coast, but not in the intermediate region (ibid.). Karelians are not mentioned in my sources about the history of the Ter Coast after the 15th century (Бернштам 1978; 1981; Яковенко 1985; Ушаков 1998a and b; Гаврилина et al. 1999). Other views are possible, though: on a map in the Karelian museum at Joensuu, Finland, Umba and Varzuga are marked as being Karelian settlements. Anyhow, the role of the Karelians in later history seems to have been very limited.[5]

2.3 Sociolinguistic situation

2.3.1 The status of the rural dialects in Russia

The rural dialects of Russia are seriously threatened. An important reason for this threat is the high status of the standard language. The youngest generations generally use language which is close to Standard Russian, and the new immigrants to Varzuga will hardly be inclined to take over the local dialect.

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[4] The antropologist Vitov concluded that the so-called Il'men-White Sea antropological type (by Bernštam renamed as *Ladoga-White Sea type*) is found on the Southern and Western Coasts of the White Sea and in areas around Lake Ladoga. On the Ter Coast, however, a so-called Onega type dominates over the Il'men-White Sea type (Витов, М.В. 1964, 'Антропологические данные как источник по истории колонизации Русского Севера', *История СССР*, 1964 , as referred to in Бернштам 1978:25). We lack of course the means to estimate the value of this research.

[5] Most of the sources used are Russian. Unfortunately, most Finnish or Karelian historians write in their native language.

Another reason is the continuous migration from the villages to the cities and regional centres, due to long-continued neglect of the Russian villages, many of whom suffered the fate of having been declared "without perspective". A large part of the villages which were studied for the Dialect Atlas in the 1950s and 60s are now abandoned. In most other villages of the Ter Coast the population is decimated.

The Russian dialects have a very restricted domain of use: they are only used for private communication among locals in the villages. Consequently, many Russians never hear them. This leads to the situation that young Russians can believe that Russia does not have dialects, and that a young inhabitant of Murmansk can have great difficulty in understanding the Varzuga dialect, as we experienced, although the linguistic distance to Standard Russian is short. People who are not used to hear dialects are not prepared to cope with unknown deviations, and have therefore problems with understanding them. The sociolinguistic status of the Russian dialects is thus radically different from the status of the dialects in Norway, but it is the Norwegian situation which is admittedly uncommon.

However, the rural dialects of Russia are doing better than predicted. They were predicted a quick death already in the 1930s, but they are still not extinct (cf. Калнынь 1997). One of the reasons is that a generally low status of a language variety when compared to a standard language does not imply that it has a purely negative status in all situations (cf. Trudgill's discussion of covert prestige of low-status varieties in Trudgill 1983). They are perfectly useful in their own, private domain. Status in formal situations should not be confused with status in private conversation in one's own village.

2.3.2 Cultural influences in the history of the dialect of Varzuga

The dialect of Varzuga is mainly based on the medieval dialect of the settlers from the former republic of Novgorod. Due to the isolation from the Russian speaking world and the contact with non-Russian speaking peoples (Sámi, Karelians, Komi), the Pomor culture, folklore and dialect both retained archaic traits and developed in new ways. The archaisms found in the dialects (for instance old instrumental endings, pluperfect constructions) and their innovations (such as extended vocabulary on snow, reindeer husbandry and fishery; see chapter 4) set them apart, not only from Russian dialects in general, but also from the modern Novgorod dialect, that was highly influenced by settlers from regions further South. The possible influence of the Russian dialects in the region from neighbouring languages will be discussed in section 4.7.

2.3.3 The present linguistic situation in Varzuga: gradual dialect loss

The dialect is quickly changing. Our recordings from Varzuga, Umba and Kuzomen' show a high degree of variation, both at community level and at an individual level. The speech of the oldest inhabitants is very different from the speech of the youngest. People born after the war show few local or regional characteristics. The traditional dialect is not passed over to the new generations.

Interestingly, the dialect seems to change only gradually. The inhabitants of Varzuga did not suddenly switch to Standard Russian. Instead, the number of dialectal characteristics seems to decline constantly with every decade. Generally speaking, the oldest inhabitants, born in the 1910s, have most; those who were born 10 years later already have less, while those born in the 1930s show a major decline of local characteristics in their speech. People born after 1945 have few dialectal traits left. Comparisons with the descriptions of Merkur'ev of the Kola dialects 40 years ago – i.e. of those who were the oldest then – shows that many local dialectal traits already have disappeared: the oldest inhabitants of today already use less local traits than their parents and grandparents did. Some examples are mentioned in chapter 4 (for instance in section 4.2.2 and 4.6.1).

The gradual change of the language use is accompanied by a high degree of individual and interpersonal variation. This variation will be discussed in section 3.4.

One could argue that the use of the term "dialect loss" is too harsh for the present situation of the dialect of Varzuga, since not all dialectal characteristics are abandoned at once, and some dialectal, or at least regional, characteristics are retained even in the speech of the youngest generations, especially in the areas of phonetics and lexicon. However, the speech of the present village youth can hardly be characterised as being dialectal, at most as being Standard Russian or Common Russian with some regional characteristics.

3 The Varzuga sound corpus

3.1 Introduction

3.1.1 Aims of the data collection

The present dissertation is founded on a corpus of more than fifty hours of recent recordings from the village of Varzuga on the Kola Peninsula. The gathering of the recordings had two main goals. The first aim was to collect data about the dialect of Varzuga, a poorly described Russian dialect, which was the object of the research plans of the participants of the expedition. These recordings came to serve as the primary empirical data for the present dissertation and for a range of articles, and supply necessary empirical data for two Master's theses. A more general goal of the field work was to create a sound corpus of good quality recordings of spontaneous Russian dialectal speech, which could be used for various purposes, not only for the current research projects of the participants, but also for future scientific exploitation.

3.1.2 The value of recordings of spontaneous speech

Sound recordings of spontaneous speech are a valuable source for all dialectological research, and they are even indispensable for several areas of linguistic research which until now have attracted very little attention in Russian dialectology, such as prosody, syntax and discourse studies, as argued in chapter 7. They can also provide information to other areas of linguistics, and even to non-linguists: recordings of living speech of traditional inhabitants of the Russian countryside telling stories about their personal history and former way of living are interesting historical documents for a broader public.

Unfortunately, only a few high quality recordings exist of longer stretches of spontaneous speech of the Russian dialects, which are quickly losing most of their local characteristics. This hiatus should be filled as long as there still are dialect speakers left who use a high number of local characteristics. The few sound recordings that have been made of the Russian dialects of the Kola Peninsula are either lost, inaccessible or of insufficient quality. In Russian dialectology, the gathering, quality and storage of sound recordings has been given low priority. Despite the enormous amount of gathered data about Russian dialects, only part of it has been recorded acoustically, and of these recordings a large part has been lost or is impossible to find, due to poor quality and storage and general lack of interest in or resources for their preservation. Only recently, the task of gathering, storage and making available of high quality recordings of

stretches of spontaneous dialectal speech has been given some priority in Russian dialectology.[1]

In this dissertation the recordings from Varzuga play a central role. The aim was to gather new data from a single, poorly-described dialect, and then find what the data would reveal in terms of interesting patterns. So this dissertation is not written from the point of view of a certain theory which needs empirical evidence. The direction is rather the opposite: from the raw empirical data to theory construction. One of the facts emerging from the recorded data and deserved further study was the excessive and exclusively Northern Russian postpositive use of pragmatic particles like *dak*. A specific reason for the central position of the sound files for the dissertation is connected with this linguistic phenomenon I decided to concentrate on. Research on pragmatic particles can hardly be done without access to a large number of examples with much context from a sound corpus of spontaneous speech (for argumentation, see section 7.3.8 and Appendix III).

3.1.3 Previous sound recordings of the Kola dialects

The Kola dialects have been recorded on sound carriers before, but the few recordings that still exist were not available to me. They are difficult to get access to, their sound quality is probably poor and their contents are only partly of interest for my research.

Merkur'ev, who gathered much data about the Kola dialects in the 1950s and 60s (see section 4.2), recorded part of his interviews on sound carriers. Unfortunately, his tapes got lost, due to poor sound quality and neglect. In the same period, the scholar and writer Dmitrij Balašov also made sound recordings, but he was mainly interested in folklore. Some recordings of songs, fairy tales and stories he made on the Ter Coast are stored in Petrozavodsk.[2]

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[1] This is first of all due to the efforts of Christian Sappok and his colleagues at the Linguistic Laboratory of the Slavonic Institute (*Lilab*), Bochum, Germany, the main publishers of the series *Бюллетень фонетического фонда русского языка* (see Краузе & Саппок 2002 and http://www.ruhr-uni-bochum.de/lilab/) and the Moscow dialectologists under Leonid Kasatkin at the Russian Language Institute (see http://www.pobeda.ru/dialect/ for their anthology of Southern Russian dialects). The Saint Petersburg Sound Archive (*Fonogrammarchiv*) of the Russian Literature Institute *Puškinskij Dom* in Saint-Petersburg has digitalised and made accessible a large amount of old sound recordings of Russian dialects and other languages spoken in Russia, but most of it is folkloristic material; see http://www.speech.nw.ru/phonetics/homepage.html.

[2] Apart from written texts, Balašov recorded some folkloristic material from the Ter Coast. They are stored at the sound archive of the Institute of Language and Literature in Petrozavodsk (Valentina Kuznecova, e-mail; see http://phonogr.krc.karelia.ru). They consist mainly of musical folklore, some fairy tales and stories. Balašov written materials are also kept at this institute, where he worked in the 1960s. A film recording from Varzuga of marriage traditions is kept in Saint-Petersburg (S24#). Apart from a few songs, no recordings of the Russian Kola dialects are kept at the sound archive of Puškinskij Dom in Saint-Petersburg (Harold Matveev, e-mail). The women's

In the 1970s, Evtjuchin taped mainly younger inhabitants of the villages on the Ter Coast (p.c.; cf. Евтюхин 1979). These recordings are part of Aleksandr Gerd's sound archive at Saint-Petersburg University. They were stored at an inaccessible place when I visited the city.

We do have access to recordings of the dialect of Gridino, a village close to the Kola Peninsula on the Karelian part of the White Sea coast. This dialect is not very different from the dialect of Varzuga, but one immediately notices phonetic differences. Lea Siilin of the University of Joensuu was so kind to give us copies of the tape recordings she made with her colleague Anneli Sarhimaa in this village in 1991. Unfortunately, the sound quality of our copies is rather poor.

3.2 Technical data

3.2.1 Recording equipment

During three dialectological field work expeditions to Varzuga in August and November 2001 and in September-October 2004 we recorded more than 50 hours of speech in Varzuga. In addition, we recorded about 5,5 hours of speech from four elderly inhabitants of the old village of Umba and 3,5 hours of two speakers in Kuzomen'.[3] Over 40 hours of the recordings contain speech with a high number of local, dialectal characteristics. We used digital Sony Minidisc recorders with different types of microphones of a reasonable quality which was sufficient under the actual recording conditions (see below).[4]

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choir of Varzuga was recorded in Moscow by record company Melodia; this record has reached a university library in the USA.

[3] As explained in chapter 2, the old village of Umba, *Umba derevnja*, should not be confused with the new regional centre, *Umba posëlok*. Umba *derevnja* has only a few permanent residents left, while Umba *posëlok* has around 10.000 inhabitants. During our last field work expedition, Christian Sappok recorded another 3,5 hours of the speeach of two *kuzomljane*.

[4] The use of minidisc recorders for speech recordings is controversial. While most Russian dialectologists still use tape recorders, Western dialectologists almost always use digital DAT-recorders. The use of MD-recorders, which are cheaper and more practical than DAT-recorders, is usually not recommended. The reason is that a minidisc recorder uses a lossy data compression method, called Atrac, which means that part of the sound signal is filtered out when it is stored, to save disk space. Although this filtering is not perceivable to the human ear, it is not known exactly what effects the compression method has on acoustic measurements. The first comparative experiments of DAT-and MD-recordings show that the effects are minor. MD-recording seems not to affect the calculations of fundamental frequency, but some effect appears in the highest formants, which are mainly used for vowel quality measurements. This small deviation becomes problematic only when MD-recordings are de- and recompressed several times. In the process, the deviation will be multiplied (Van Son, forthcoming). However, one should bear in mind that other factors have a far greater effect on the sound quality than the use of MD equipment, such as the quality of the microphones and cables, and the recording conditions, such as noise disturbance, the distance of the speakers from the microphone and the acoustic qualities of the room. Dialectologists in the field never work under laboratory conditions. Good quality tape recorders and cassette recorders can give almost perfect results as well. If one has the possibility, one should use DAT-tapes and copy them to CDs, which are less vulnerable than DAT-tapes, so as to ensure that the recordings can be used for segmental phonetic research. For my purposes, and under our recording conditions, the quality of MD

3.2.2 Storage

Back in Tromsø, copies were made of the recordings, both for having a back-up and for transcription purposes. The recordings were copied onto traditional cassette tapes and on minidiscs. These copies had to be made analogously, which entails re-recording and decompressing, but this did not lead to any remarkable loss of quality, since I did not detect any perceptual differences.[5]

3.2.3 Recording conditions

The recordings were made at the informants' homes. The microphones were not attached to the speakers' clothes, but held in our hands or laid down at some distance from the speakers. This was done in order to minimise the embarrassment of the speakers, and to prevent them from touching the microphone.

Since the recordings were done at home, some background noise is almost inevitable. Noise was sometimes heard from the street – not from cars, but from dogs, motorboats, snow scooters, and from a helicopter – or caused in the house itself – by clocks (not all were stopped; there used to be at least two ticking clocks in each house), sometimes the radio (Most people had the radio turned on when we visited them. It even kept on playing when the electricity was cut off due to maintenance work), by the TV-set, the refrigerator, the telephone, or by other people doing things in the house etc. Even the MD-recorders themselves turned out to make noise from time to time.

In many cases, more than one local speaker took part in the conversation. Not all of them were close to the microphone, and sometimes they spoke simultaneously.

Despite the above mentioned disturbing factors, most recordings are of high quality, both technically and from a dialectological point of view. Only a minority of the material is of lesser interest, either due to background noise or because it has little dialectological relevance. This leads us to a discussion of the content of the interviews.

3.3 Characterisation of the conversations

3.3.1 Interviewers

Ten people took part in the August expedition. In two weeks time we visited both Varzuga and the old village of Umba. The Tromsø delegation consisted of staff, students and associates of the Russian Department of the Tromsø Universi-

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is more than sufficient. In the rapidly changing world of sound media and computer technology, DAT-recorders are not produced anymore; their role is taken over by, for instance, CD-recorders.

[5] A better means of storage is copying to CDs. Storage on CDs would also simplify distribution of the recordings to other researchers. This method is used at *LiLab* (see note 1), among others.

ty: Tamara Lönngren, David Pineda, María Huld Pétursdóttir, Karin Krogh and me. In Russia we were accompanied by Svetlana Antošina, a folklorist from Murmansk Pedagogical University, who did her own interviews, and by three Moscovian dialectologists: Ol'ga Karmakova of the Vinogradov Institute of the Russian Language of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Tat'jana Karmakova and Sevane Sarkis'jan. We recorded approximately 27 hours of speech of 25 different speakers. This resulted in valuable recordings of sixteen different speakers. The remaining speakers either contributed with only a few utterances, they used few dialectal traits or the sound quality of recordings was insufficient. We also recorded seven traditional songs, sung by the women's choir of Varzuga.

In November 2001 I travelled to Varzuga with a friend, Kaja Opsahl. Another 23 hours of speech were recorded, both of previously recorded speakers and of fifteen other villagers. Eight of them provided good material for the actual research project. One of the recorded speakers spoke a different Northern Russian dialect. She was born and raised in Karelia.

The August interviews were carried out in groups of four field workers. Most of the questions were posed by the experienced Russian dialectologists. In the November recordings, I was usually the only stranger present, but sometimes my travelling companion Kaja Opsahl took part in the conversation as well.

The September 2004 expedition was carried out by David Pineda, Christian Sappok from Bochum University, and me. About ten hours of new recordings were made, of which seven hours of distinctly dialectal speech, but my main goal for the last expedition was verification of results, both concerning the overall description and my hypotheses about the particle *dak*.

3.3.2 Choice of dialect speakers

The choice of speakers was guided by our goal to describe the local characteristics of the traditional Varzuga dialect. Therefore, we mainly recorded the speech of the villagers with the highest degree of dialectal characteristics, i.e. the oldest inhabitants, born in the 1910s and 1920s or early 1930s, who were born in Varzuga and had spent all or almost all of their lives in the village. Four of the speakers we recorded in Varzuga were born in another village. One was born in Karelia and spoke clearly different from the other villagers. Her speech was not studied for the current research, except for a contrastive analysis of an utterance with clearly different intonation (see note 26 in section 4.3.1). Two others were born in other villages along the Ter Coast, but had spent more than forty years in Varzuga after their marriage to a Varzužan (S6* and S14*). One of them was said to speak just like the locals, while the other was said to have retained elements of her own dialect. Although the differences between the language varieties of these

villages is minimal, the examples from these speakers were marked with a star (see Appendix II).[6]

The influence of sociolinguistic variables, such as geographical background, age, gender and social background, was hereby kept to a minimum. The social background, usually counted in years of education, is more or less the same for the older generations in Varzuga, most of them having spent a few years at primary school. We did not select our informants for gender, but we recorded only a few men. The most obvious reason is the low number of older men in the village, another that men of the older generations tend to speak closer to Standard Russian than women of their age.

The younger villagers also contributed to our research. The local school teachers, our bus driver, the initiator of a new local museum, the director of the regional museum in Umba and many others were eager to answer our countless questions about the local Pomor culture and the dialect.

On the evening of our arrival, we were honoured with a private concert by the famous local women's choir, which not only gave us an excellent introduction to the local culture, but also brought us an opportunity to meet some of our future informants.

3.3.3 Conversation topics

A small part of the conversations was aimed at extending our knowledge of the lexicon in a specific field, especially concerning words for wind and snow, since these were the topics of our students' master's theses. Some other parts concentrated on the lexicon for traditional items, specific for the region, such as the naming of different parts of the house, words used in reindeer herding, salmon fishery and boat building. Most conversations, however, had non-linguistic topics, since the main goal of our conversations was to collect samples of spontaneous speech.

The difficulties in obtaining unconstrained spontaneous speech and its consequences for the choice of topics will be discussed in the following section.

3.3.4 Background: the observer's paradox and the quest for spontaneity

The main task was thus to get our interview objects to speak in a natural way with as many dialectal characteristics as possible. This is of course an aim which

[6] Almost all examples where chosen from speakers born between 1912 and 1934. Some of the examples of *dak* are from younger speakers. If an example is cited from a person with a deviating sociolinguistic background, this is indicated. This concerns speakers who either were not born in Varzuga or spent large parts of their lives elsewhere, or were relatively young, i.e. born in the second half of the 1930s or later. The sociolinguistic variables will be discussed in sections 3.3.2 and 3.4.

can never be fully satisfied: it is unavoidable that the interviewer influences the language use of the interlocutors. The mere presence of strangers and of a microphone reduces spontaneity. The villagers adapt to the fact that you are a stranger, especially in Russia, where the interviewers always have higher education and usually live in a city and are speakers of the standard variety, which has a very high status in Russia. This is a well-known problem for fieldworkers, known as the observer's paradox: the interviewer would like to create an atmosphere as if (s)he were not present, but this cannot be obtained.

In a recording from the 1940s from the Ter Coast, Balašov had already observed that one of the informants switched all the time between local, dialectal forms and Standard Russian forms, and he observed a similar high level of variation in his sound recordings from the 1950s and 60s (Балашов 1970:4). The question is whether the speakers had shown the same level of inconsistency when speaking to other dialect speakers, or whether they adapted their speech to a great extent to the speech of the interviewer. The level of inconsistency might have been lower had he not been present.

The variation increases when all speakers have a certain command of Standard Russian, through education, contact with speakers of Standard Russian and through the mass media. Some speakers can switch easily between several styles with a varying degree of "dialectality" (see below). Consequently, absence of certain dialectal traits in our recordings does not necessarily mean that the features are not used under different circumstances, when strangers are absent. Honselaar gives a startling example of such a gap between the language spoken in his presence and when he has left the room in his dissertation on a Pskovian dialect (Хонселаар 2001:15; 178).

In our interviews, we used strategies to minimise the influence of our presence. For example, we did not work with traditional questionnaires, but asked the Varzužans to talk about subjects they would probably like to talk about themselves, such as local traditions, their family, their youth, their professional life, and special events in their lives, such as how they got married. The topic of language use was not put forward if it did not come naturally; this in order to avoid that the speakers would pay attention to their own language use.

The inevitable influence of the presence of the interviewers on the language is reflected in our material. When the dialect speakers got used to our presence, when our presence was more or less forgotten or when more than one dialect speaker was present and they spoke among themselves, the amount of non-standard features in their language increased. Unfortunately, most recordings were done during our first visits to the dialect speakers with four dialectologists present. In August, only two of the speakers were visited more

than once. During my second visit in November, the degree of spontaneity – and, consequently, the presence of dialectal characteristics – increased gradually from the first to the last day.

3.4 Individual and interpersonal variation

3.4.1 Variation is widespread

Our recordings of the eldest inhabitants of Varzuga show a high degree of variation, both at an individual and at an interpersonal level. Although variation has not been given special attention in this investigation, some comments on its nature are in place.

Variation on an interpersonal level means variation between different speakers. Each speaker uses a different amount of dialectal traits. Variation on an individual level can display itself in different ways: as differences from one speech situation to another (style shift), or as the use of different forms in one and the same conversation.

Variation is found at all levels of speech: phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon. Most variation is found between dialectal and non-dialectal forms, i.e. between the presence or absence of exclusively dialectal forms.[7] Some dialectal forms are more often avoided than others. An example in Varzuga speech is *cokan'e* (see section 4.4.3), while the use of the word *dak* seems to be little affected: this word is even used in the speech of post-war generations, sometimes even very frequently. One should keep in mind that lack of use of a certain trait in our recordings does not necessarily imply that the speaker in question never uses it. During our first visit, we heard no traces of *cokan'e* at all, while I heard more and more traces of it during my second stay. A possible explanation is that *cokan'e* is more stigmatised than for example *okan'e*: many locals might still use it in private, but try to avoid it when speaking to strangers, whereas they are less anxious to avoid *okan'e*.

3.4.2 Possible explanations

Part of the interpersonal variation can be explained by differences in sociolinguistic background. Although these differences – in age, gender, social status and place of birth and living – were kept on a minimum by our choice of speakers (see above), they were not completely equal for all of the recorded speakers.

[7] Dialectal forms are not necessarily replaced by forms of the standard language, but can also be replaced by non-standard regional forms. In some Norwegian areas, local dialects do not primarily move towards the standard language, but to a high status regional norm, for example the regional norm of Trondheim. This process also leads to loss of local traits and dialect levelling, but not necessarily to levelling with the standard language (Røyneland 2004). In Russia, however, the status of the standard language is much higher than in Norway.

The few male speakers in our data show a much lower number of dialectal characteristics. This is a common phenomenon in Russian dialect communities, and is usually explained by the greater degree of mobility of men, who have all at least spent some years in the army. Due to the low number of male speakers in our material, other possible gender-based differences could not be measured.

Age appears to be the most important variable in Varzuga, not only between the pre-war and the post-war generations, but even between the elderly speakers themselves. The differences between Varzužans born in the 1910s and those born in the 1930s are huge. The villagers born in the 1920s take an intermediate position.

The sociolinguistic variables often occur combined: age and level of education usually go hand in hand in our data, and so do gender and place of living, since the men all spent years in the army. The younger the speaker, the more years of education and chance of having lived elsewhere, and being a man used to increase the chances of a longer stay outside the village.

Some differences between the speakers could not be explained by the usual sociolinguistic variables, but were due to differences in speaking style: some speakers had learned to speak in a more formal, "bookish" style when speaking to strangers. This point will be explained in the next section.

The high degree of variation could not be prevented by the fairly constant levels of the sociolinguistic variables. Still, this high level of variation in our material is not surprising, given the speech situation in Varzuga. The dialect not only lacks a clear norm,[8] but in addition it is in a situation of gradual change, with every generation speaking differently, as noted in section 2.3.3 and 3.3.4.

3.4.3 More than one speaking style

Variation on an individual level can partly be explained by differences in speaking style, which depend on the degree of formality of the speech situation. In our recordings, the number of dialectal forms used to increase with time, when the speakers got more at ease and went over to a more unconstrained style.

[8] A high degree of variation is natural in a language variety lacking a clear norm, such as the dialects in most language communities. However, the nature of variation differs from case to case. In some language communities dialect speakers use well-defined language varieties they switch between. This situation can be called bi-dialectism, or dialectal bilingualism. In other cases, some inhabitants display very little variation, and speak either the dialect variant or a standard-near variant. In other cases, the language use has to be described as a continuum, with a varying degree of "dialectality", a variant frequency of dialectal characteristics. The speakers always use variety between the old dialect and the standard language, varying the degree according with the social circumstance. In this case, it is difficult to find a particular norm, even for individual speakers. Such a situation characterises many communities with a fairly quick language shift between varieties linguistically close, and this situation is typical for the speech of most of the speakers on our recordings from Varzuga. As a consequence, their speech shows a high degree of variation.

All speakers adapt their language to the situation to some degree. In the case of the speakers from Varzuga this meant a different level of "dialectality".

Some speakers adapt their speaking style more to the situation than others; apart from a traditional, oral style for everyday communication, they can switch to a more formal, bookish style. One villager (S3) had a very conscious approach to her language and could switch between different styles. Although she had had little education, she loved to read and to speak in public, and could use a more formal, "bookish" style when speaking to us than the others of her generation, using long, well-prepared, carefully constructed sentences with subordinate conjunctions and clear intonational distinctions. Still, she kept a large number of dialect characteristics in her speech, even when reading aloud from paper, for instance by using consequent *okan'e*. Once, she switched to a different, more dialectal style when speaking to other villagers, apologising to me afterwards for her "unintelligible" speech (see App. VI text 15). Other villagers spoke more "spontaneously", less prepared, more *ad hoc*, using less explicit utterances, more hesitations and restarts. An example is text 11 in Appendix VI.

As argued by Kal'nyn' (Калнынь 1997:118f), these switches of style or other attested forms of variation between dialectal and standard forms should not be called bi-dialectality or bilingualism between different registers of Russian. The variation we observed was not a switch between two well-defined norms. Both the social conditions and the closeness of the dialects to the standard language make the development of such bilingualism unlikely, although some higher educated locals are able to switch between standard and dialect. But the lack of a coexistence of a well-defined dialectal norm and a standard norm in the speech of one speaker does not imply that no switching takes place at all, which Kal'nyn' seems to suggest (Калнынь 1997:118; cf. Auer & Hinskens 1996).

3.4.4 Consequences for the dialect description

The attested variation played no significant role for my overall description of the dialect and for my analysis of the particle *dak*. The dialect description is not a complete grammar, but a list of local dialectal traits, that is, the traits with a geographically restricted distribution. Variation between different forms is only mentioned if it was remarkable for some reason, for instance, because a certain trait was exceptionally stable, rare, or used by a single speaker only. As noted in section 3.3.2 above, examples from speakers with a deviating sociolinguistic background are specifically marked.

As to the particle *dak*, its frequency differs considerably from one speech fragment to another, both on an interpersonal and on an individual level, but

the data do not give the impression that the functioning of *dak* shows much variation. The source speaker for the example utterances of *dak* is always marked.

3.5 Processing of the recordings

Part of the original MD-recordings were transferred to a Macintosh computer. The data were re-recorded via an analogous cable using the speech analysis software programme *Praat* (Boersma & Weenink 2002) as 16-bit mono channel sound files in the WAVE-format with a sampling rate of 22050 Hz, in fragments of approx. 2 minutes length. These fragments could be used for refined transcription purposes and for several kinds of acoustic analysis. A few example utterances have been analysed for pitch, intensity or vowel quality, with the aim of exploring the main tendencies, or to provide an answer in individual cases where the actual form used was in doubt.

About four hours of recordings were only transcribed. The transcription conventions can be found in Appendix I.

Samples for transcription or acoustic analysis were chosen from different dialect speakers, with a varying degree of dialectal characteristics, in order to minimise the effects of personal idiosyncrasies. Fragments with a high sound quality and clear speech, with interesting topics or a high frequency of *dak* are probably overrepresented, but since no statistical measurements were carried out, this bias can hardly have influenced my conclusions.

A separate database was made in Excel of all occurrences of the word *dak* in part of the transcriptions and Praat-files, resulting in a database with over 500 occurrences of *dak*. The transcribed texts were also used for comparative studies of *dak* with other particles and with similar expressions where *dak* was not used.

4 A description of the dialect of Varzuga

4.1 Overview

"Já гъвър'у своимá словáмы, ты́ как хóш тут."[1]

This chapter contains an overall description of the dialect of Varzuga. The main goal of this description is to give an overview over the peculiarities of this dialect and to give it a place in the Russian language landscape. No special efforts have been made to find non-recorded forms of the grammatical paradigms. The description only reflects what was found in the analysed parts of the corpus of spontaneous speech. Only some lexical items were clarified by specific questions.

The first section gives an overview of previous studies of the traditional Russian dialects of the Kola Peninsula (further: Kola dialects). The subsequent sections are dedicated to dialectal peculiarities in phonetics and phonology, including prosody (sections 4.3.1 – 4.3.3), morphology (section 4.4), syntax (section 4.5) and lexicon (section 4.6). The final section (section 4.7) briefly discusses the relation between the Varzuga dialect and the other Russian dialects.

Several transcription styles are used in this chapter. In the section on phonetics and phonology, a phonetic transcription is used (see note 26). In the part on lexicon, the lexical items are given in Standard Russian orthography. All other examples are written in the simplified transcription, which is described in Appendix I.

4.2 Introduction

4.2.1 The problem of variation: Which dialect of Varzuga?

It is difficult to write a description of *the* dialect of Varzuga, since there is extensive variation in language use among the inhabitants of Varzuga. As reported in chapter 2 and 3, variation is observed both at the community level and at individual level.[2] I chose to concentrate on divergences from other dialects and Standard Russian, that is, on the distinctive, dialectal traits, which are found mostly in the speech of the oldest inhabitants. Most dialectal features

[1] 'I speak in my own words, you talk as you like.' (S3)

[2] A recurrent problem with the description of dialects, especially of dialects undergoing rapid changes, is therefore the question of how to deal with this variation. An unsolved question in linguistics is whether one should assume that each individual speaker uses several variation-less grammars, or that the speaker possesses a single grammar, in which a certain degree of variation is built in. I will not argue for one position or the other, since the main goal in this chapter is not to write a complete grammatical system, but merely to present the attested dialectal forms of the dialect.

occur together with their Standard Russian equivalents. If necessary, remarks will be made about the frequency of certain features.

I will use the term *dialectal* in its narrow sense for phenomena which are not common for all varieties of Russian, but are geographically restricted.

4.2.2 Previous studies of the Kola dialects

Few researchers have studied the Kola Russian dialects. The Kola dialects are covered neither by the *Russian dialect atlas*, *DARJa* (*Диалектологический атлас русского языка*), which covers the main part of European Russia, up to 62 °N and west of 48° E), nor by the *All-Slavonic Linguistic Atlas*, *OLA* (*Общеславянский лингвистический атлас*), which covers a much larger area than *DARJa*, including the complete Archangel'sk oblast, but not the Murmansk oblast.

Best studied in the area is the lexicon. The Kola dialects were included in Podvysotskij's dictionary of the Archangel'sk dialects (Подвысотскій 1885). At that time, the Kola Peninsula was administratively part of the *Archangel'skaja gubernija*; now, the peninsula is part of Murmansk oblast. The peninsula is also covered by the dictionary of the Russian dialects of Karelia and its surrounding areas (*SRGKar*, 1994-; the last word published is *свúльнуть*; volume 5, 2002). Merkur'ev wrote a small dictionary of the Kola dialects, *Живая речь кольских поморов*. This dictionary of about 4000 dialectal words was first published in 1979 and reprinted with minor corrections in 1997 (Меркурьев 1997a). The words from the area mentioned in *SRNG* – the dictionary of Russian dialects – are usually from Подвысотскій 1885 and Меркурьев 1997a. The Kola lexicon is also represented in some smaller works.[3]

Merkur'ev is one of a few scholars who studied other linguistic fields of the Kola dialects besides the lexicon. He worked at the Murmansk Pedagogical Institute and between 1957 and 1967 he organised yearly expeditions with his students to all of the old Russian settlements along the coast of Murmansk oblast. In this period, he visited Varzuga no less than five times. Apart from the above mentioned dictionary, Merkur'ev published three small monographs and a range of short articles on various linguistic aspects of the Kola dialects (see next

[3] Among the minor works on the Kola lexicon is a word list based on old sources on the region in Ушаков 1997. This is a word list of mainly nouns compiled by the historian Ušakov from different non-linguistical written sources about the area. It contains only words which are not included in Merkur'ev's dictionary, or only with a different meaning. In Tromsø, two Master's theses were dedicated to Kola lexicon (Sæterdal 1999, on local proverbs, and Pétursdóttir 2003, on words connected with snow). Merkur'ev's successor at the Murmansk Pedagogical Institute (now University) Elena Demidova and her students only recently visited many villages along the coast of the peninsula, to gather data on some specific parts of the lexicon, including nature terminology (Elena Demidova, p.c.). An article on this matter will be published in the series *Севернорусские говоры*.

section). After his retirement, he also published a book on regional proverbs (1997b), a collection of fairy tales from the region (1997c) and a booklet on connectors (1998), all three on his own money. His publications contain transcribed text fragments from different Kola villages.[4] Evtjuchin's article on the use of particles in text arrangement (Евтюхин 1979), which will be discussed in section 6.5.12, was based on recordings he gathered on the Ter Coast of the White Sea, including in Varzuga and Umba.

The village of Varzuga is often visited by folklorists.[5] The inhabitants have clear memories of Balašov, who published a book of fairy tales from the Ter Coast (Балашов 1970), and filmed traditions (see section 3.1.3).

The 2001 expeditions by Tromsø and Moscow dialectologists have already resulted in several publications.[6]

4.2.3 Relation to Merkur'ev's descriptions

In his dictionary (1979/1997a), Merkur'ev gives a short overview over phonological, morphological and syntactic characteristics of the Kola dialects. Besides, he has written special works on the vocalism (Меркурьев 1960) and consonantism (1962). Other linguistic works by this author I had at my disposal are a short article about peculiarities in stress placement (1963) and the previously mentioned small book on function words in the Kola dialects (1998).

Merkur'ev's descriptions of the Kola dialects differs from the present description of the dialect of Varzuga in several respects.

First of all, Merkur'ev's descriptions cover the speech of all old Russian villages of the peninsula, while the present description only concerns the dialect of the village of Varzuga. Merkur'ev defends the view that the varieties form a single dialect, the Murmansk dialect (*murmanskij govor*). Indeed, the differences between the varieties spoken in the various villages seem to be small (see section 4.7). Still, the dialect of Varzuga cannot be equalled to a "Murmansk" or "Kola"

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[4] His works on phonology (Меркурьев 1960 and 1962) and the two editions of the dictionary (1979 and 1997a) contain in total approx. 19 pages of 25 text fragments and four songs from different villages. These 25 short texts range in length from 50 to over 600 words. 47 of the 57 fairy tales in Меркурьев 1997b were transcribed from sound recordings, but *cokan'e* (see next section), consonant assimilation and part of the nominal endings were left out, and a few words were replaced "that are unacceptable in publications" ("не принятые в печатных изданиях слова"; Меркурьев 1997b:3). The first 2002 volume of the journal *Наука и бизнес на Мурмане* was dedicated to the memory of Merkur'ev, one year after his death. This volume was not available to me.

[5] See e.g. http://terem.msk.ru/varz.html and http://nrk.no/programmer/radio/verdt_a_vite/-2302334.html.

[6] Most of them are articles in the journal of the Russian Department of our University, *Полярный вестник* (Лённгрен 2001; Pétursdóttir 2001; Пинеда 2001; 2002; 2004; Пост 2001; 2002; Post 2004). The others are Pétursdóttir's earlier mentioned Master's thesis (2003), Pineda 2003, Пинеда & Пост 2002 and Post 2003.

dialect.[7] This question will be further discussed at the end of section 4.7. To be on the safer side, I regard the varieties of the different villages as different dialects, and consequently, I refer to "the dialect of Varzuga". Most of the attested phenomena, however, are also used in the rest of the peninsula, and in an even larger area.

There are several other factors than a difference in geographical scope which lead to differences between Merkur'ev's descriptions and the present dialect description: the time the recordings were made, the collection methods, the descriptive theories and the linguistic background of the researchers. The main factor is time: Merkur'ev's data are forty years older than ours. There is no doubt that the dialect has undergone changes since then. Our material shows much more influence from Standard Russian or other non-regional forms of Russian. Many local dialectal features have either disappeared completely or become far less frequent. For example, phenomena like *cokan'e, ëkan'e*, the use of allomorphs of the enclitic particle *-to*, the use of pluperfect and a range of local words have almost disappeared (see next sections). Other dialectal features frequently co-occur with the Standard Russian equivalents, such as the ending <и> in F.dat. and loc.sg. of nouns besides the Standard Russian ending <'e>, and *polnoe okan'e* is less clearly expressed.

Another factor leading to divergences is a difference in data collection. Merkur'ev and his team made restricted use of sound recordings; most transcriptions were made directly, without recordings. Moreover, the quality of these recordings appears not to have been good.[8] Furthermore, unlike us, they mainly used questionnaires (Меркурьев 1960:4).

Merkur'ev's research differs from the present study in its focus on traditional parts of grammar, which are used as a basis for dialect geography, and in its focus on historical developments. Although Merkur'ev did write on less usual subjects as well, including prosody and connective words, his views on these topics are very different from mine.

Another factor which might affect a dialect description is that Merkur'ev and his team were native speakers of Russian, and some might even have hade an active or passive knowledge of a traditional Kola dialect. This circumstance affects perception: natives perceive features non-natives are not aware of and the other way round. For example, natives would pay more attention to uncommon

[7] Although Merkur'ev talks about the *Murmansk* dialect (*murmanskij govor*), I prefer to use the term *Kola* dialect (dialects), to avoid confusion with the city of Murmansk. The Kola Peninsula roughly coincides with the present Murmansk oblast, which covers only a slightly larger area.

[8] As mentioned in the previous chapter, Merkur'ev's sound recordings have been lost. At the Murmansk Pedagogical University I was told that they had been thrown away because of the poor quality of the sound.

use of lexemes or morphological endings, and have more ease in understanding the speech in general, while non-natives can benefit from their relatively unbiased ear, and not interpret what is said too quickly.

Finally, Merkur'ev's descriptions are not very extensive, so it is almost inevitable that we should find features he did not mention.

4.3 Phonetics and phonology

The section on phonetics and phonology begins with a description of dialectal prosodic phenomena (section 4.3.1), followed by sections on vocalism (4.3.2) and consonantism (4.3.3).

4.3.1 Some prosodic characteristics

The Northern Russian dialects are known for their prosodic peculiarities (e.g. Кузнецов 1949; Высотский 1973; Альмухамедова 1985; Пауфошима [Касаткина] 1983; Касаткина 1988). Therefore, it is not surprising that a preliminary study of the prosody of the dialect of Varzuga revealed a number of remarkable prosodic characteristics (Пост 2001; Post 2003).

4.3.1.1 Short vowels

Vowels are short relative to consonants. In Southern Russian dialects and in Standard Russian pronunciation, the vowels occupy much more time in the speech signal than in the dialect of Varzuga.[9] For example, the consonant cluster /skv/ in the phrase *v Moskvu* 'to Moscow' occupies a much larger part of the total duration of the expression in the Varzuga realisations than in two pronunciations in a Southern Russian dialect (table 4.2):[10]

		1st preton. vowel	**consonant cluster**	tonic vowel
	v M	/o/	**/skv/**	/ú/
Varzuga (S3)		0.11 (46%)	**0.35 (146%)**	0.24 (100%)
Southern Russian (1)		0.13 (50%)	**0.16 (62%)**	0.26 (100%)
Southern Russian (2)		0.16 (80%)	**0.16 (80%)**	0.20 (100%)

[9] Cf. Kasatkina's observation that syllables in Northern Russian dialects typically are perceived as ending in a consonant, while Southern Russian syllables end in a vowel (Пауфошима [Касаткина] 1977).

[10] Part of the relative shortness of the consonant cluster in the Southern Russian variant is due to the merger of the /v/ with the following /u/, but this does not explain all of the difference of 146% against 62% and 80%. The length of the first consonants is not given because the Southern Russian speaker used the vowel [u] or bilabial [w] to express the preposition 'in'.

Table 4.2. Example of relative consonant length. Vowel length and consonant length as absolute duration (sec.) and relative to the length of the stressed vowel in the phrase *v Moskvu* 'to Moscow' in pitch accented, syntagm-final position in the Varzuga dialect (speaker S3) and in a Southern Russian dialect (the dialect of Afanas'evka, Belgorod oblast, see Касаткина et al. 1999:112ff; sound file available at www.pobeda.ru/dialect). The phrase was pronounced as [v moskvú], [u maskwú] and [u maskú], respectively.[11]

In addition, the dialect of Varzuga has no two-degree reduction of unstressed vowels. This means that the first pretonic syllable is not systematically different in length or quality from other unstressed syllables, like in Standard Russian and dialects with *akan'e* (see next section). The Standard Russian word consists of a heavy nucleus and light marginal parts, where the nucleus consists of the first pretonic syllable and the stressed (= tonic) syllable.[12] The two-degree reduction of vowel quality, which characterises dialects with *akan'e*, seems to correspond to reduction of length (Высотский 1973). The absence of two-degree reduction in the Varzuga dialect is illustrated by the realisation of the word *sarafan* in table 4.2. In the realisation of the speaker of Standard Russian, the first pretonic vowel is shorter than the tonic (=stressed) vowel, but only 17% shorter. The second pretonic vowel is very much shorter than the other two. In the two realisations in the Varzuga dialect, the two pretonic vowels have about the same duration.

		2nd pretonic		**1st pretonic**		tonic		
phonemes	s	**a**	r	**a**	f	á	n	(ax)
Stand. Russian		**0.044 (29%)**		**0.119 (83%)**		0.144 (100%)		-
Varzuga 1 (S3)		**0.08 (100%)**		**0.07 (88%)**		0.08 (100%)		-[13]
Varzuga 2 (S3)		**0.06 (55%)**		**0.06 (55%)**		0.11 (100%)		0.12

Table 4.2. Example of presence (Standard Russian) and absence (Varzuga) of two-degree reduction. Vowel length (sec.) in the word forms *sarafan(ax)* 'gown' (nom.sg./loc.pl.), and relative to the length of the tonic (= stressed and accented) vowel in Standard Russian (example from Каленчук & Касаткина 1996:48) and in the dialect of Varzuga (speaker S3) in the utterance *"А...ко́сты́ч', ну во́т, сарафа́н ну́, фч'ера́ мы бы́л'и ф сарафа́нах."*

[11] The carrier utterances sounded as follows:
(1) А отс'у́да мы́ пойе́хал'и пото́м ... в Москву́, на д'е́н' ... [...] (S3)
(2) Ну и пэдэшло́ шо е́хэть в Масквý. Пришо́л: "Кум Бари́ск, фсёэ, е́хэть w Маскý". (Belgorod obl.; transcription from Касаткина et al. 1999:112)

[12] Formulation from Kodzasov 1999:866, after Потебня 1865, "О звуковых особеностях русской наречий". *Филол. записки* 1865 вып. 1; cf. e.g. Брокь 1914; Высотский 1973; Альмухамедова & Кульшарипова 1980; Альмухамедова 1985; Чекмонас 2001 on various dialects with similar or different relations between stressed and unstressed syllables in a word.

[13] This realisation of *sarafan* was not followed by a pause. This could explain why the final vowel is relatively short.

These two phenomena – the shortness of the vowels and the small differences in their duration – contribute to the perception of a 'staccato' rhythm (Высотский 1973). Nevertheless, the stressed syllable is usually longer than the non-stressed syllables, as the examples in table 4.2.[14]

No systematic studies have been carried out to verify these observations, but in the few samples of the dialect which were carefully analysed, the mentioned tendencies are strong.

4.3.1.2 Unclear lexical stress

The position of lexical stress roughly corresponds to Standard Russian stress placement. Movement of stress to the preposition in short prepositional phrases and to the negation particle *не* is more frequent (Меркурьев 1963:326), even when another word is used between the preposition and the noun with movable stress (cf. Касаткина 1997:84): *у́ мор'а* 'at sea'; *из водо́й-то на́ гору* 'from the water up onto the river bank'; *на́ оз'еро* 'to the lake'; *по́ дв'е* 'two each'; *говор'а́т д'е́вок-то н'е́ брал'и* 'they say they didn't take girls'; *ја ста́рше на́ тр'и го́да јиш'о́ јујо́* 'I am still three years older than she'; *по́ дв'е да по́ тр'и соба́к'и у фс'е́х дак* 'All have two or three dogs each'.

In many cases it is difficult to determine the location of lexical stress. The term lexical stress here refers to the syllable of a phonological word which potentially is the carrier of a pitch accent (see section 7.2.3.3 for an explanation of the terminology).

Меркурьев 1963 remarked that the difference between stressed and unstressed syllables can be very small in the Kola dialects, and that he often needed to listen to a word in various contexts to be able to find out the position of lexical stress (Меркурьев 1963:326). Apparently, this method was not sufficient. An inhabitant of Kuzomen' told us that Merkur'ev had included a text in his dictionary which was recorded from his father, P. P. Korechov, and that this transcription contained several incorrect stress marks. Similar problems with stress recognition have been observed for many other Russian dialects, both northern dialects (Кузнецов 1949) and others, e.g. western, Pskovian dialects (Степанова 1997:173; Касаткина 1997). Stepanova remarked the following about a dialect from the Gdov region, Pskov oblast: "Интересен пример возможной

[14] Vysotskij uses this characterisation of "staccato rhythm" for a number of Northern Russian dialects in which the unstressed vowels have approximately the same length. In addition, the vowels have a high initial intensity and the speakers talk at a high speed (Высотский 1973:36). In my opinion, the relative long duration of consonants might correlate with the impression on speakers that most syllables in many Northern Russian dialects are closed (Высотский 1973:21; Пауфошима 1977).

вариативности ударения в одном и том же слове у одного и того же диктора (...): *А я апять пафтаряю/* ***шахáй шахáй*** */ я гаарю* ***шáхай шáхай*** *(=шагай)*, причем, как видим, это практически без паузы, в одном предложении." (Степанова 1997:173).[15]

The Varzuga corpus shows similar cases of unclear stress placement, but almost all of them can be explained by a specific type of utterance prosody, which will be explained below. The different realisations of the word *kostyč* in the following fragment are a good illustration of the fact that the phonetic realisation of lexical stress is highly dependent on the context:

(3) — *А вот что такое кóстычек, вот что старухи носили, это что такое?*
— Косты́ч'[d]. (1)
— *Костыч, это что такое?*
— А...кóстыч' (2), ну вóт, сарафáн нý, фч'ерá мы бы́л'и ф сарафáнах.
— *Да, да.*
— А старýх'и, ан'и́ нас'и́л'и ... вот так'и л'áмк'и. А зд'éс' ə- ... нý как грýт'ка кáк зд'éланъ, и ч'óрны он'е. И тудá вот такój как мы рáн'ше фс'é нóс'ил'и, сóлнцекл'óш jупк'и бы́л'и у нáс так'и́. Вóт так'и́ этъ кóстыч'и́ (3), и́ ч'óрны. Ч'óрны, и ... из од'éжды ис такój, из мат'ер'иáлу ... нý, н'и́ хорóшего. [pause]. Косты́ч' (4). (S3)[16]

A *kostyč* is a simple, black traditional gown (*sarafan*). One of the dialectologists had heard this dialectal word, but was unsure about its meaning and its stress placement. She put the stress on the wrong syllable, after which the dialect speaker corrected her very clearly (1). Yet, in the very next utterance, she pronounced the same word with both syllables equally prominent (2). Finally, after finishing her explanation, the dialect speaker repeated the word a last time, again with a very clear prominence of the stressed syllable (4).

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[15] "Interesting is an example of possible variable stress placement in the same word in the speech of a single speaker (...): 'And I repeat again / go, go / I say go go', especially since this is pronounced, as we can see, practically without pauses, in a single utterance".

[16] Translation to English:
'What is a *kostyček*, that was worn by elderly women, what is that?
'A *kostýč*.'
'A *kostyč*, what is that?'
'Well ... a *kostyč*, well, you know, a *sarafan*, yesterday we were in sarafans.' [at the performance of the choir; MP]
'Yes.'
'But the aged women, they wore ... these traps. But these here (we are talking about now) ... well, they are made like a bodice, and they're black. And under it they had what we used to wear all of us, we had such clock-formed skirts. Well these are *kostyč-es*, and they were black. They were black, and ... they were made out of such clothes, of ... well, of bad quality material. A *kostyč*.'

There are several causes for the perception of prominence of the first syllable in *kostyč*$_2$: the pitch is higher than on the second syllable, the vowel is as long as the lexically stressed vowel and the intensity is similar (figure 4.1), all very different from the realisations in *kostyč*$_1$ (figure 4.2).

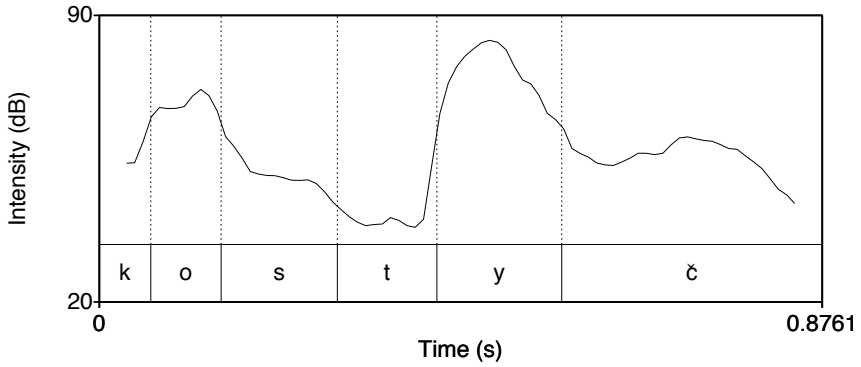


Figure 4.1. Intensity curve for kostyč$_1$*. The first vowel (85 ms.) is much shorter than the second vowel (145 ms.)*

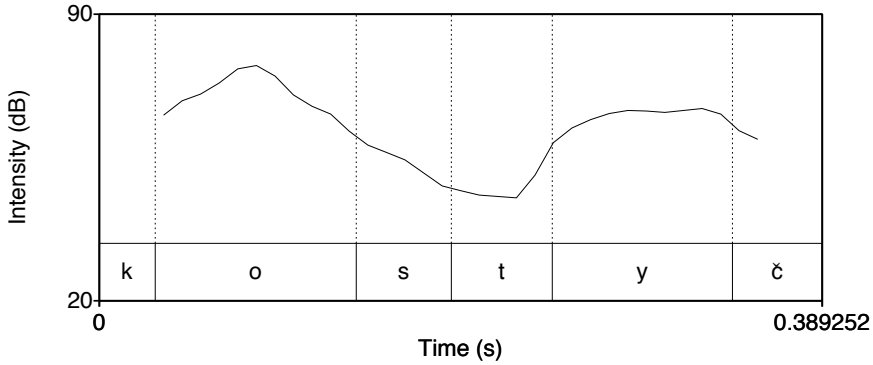


Figure 4.2. Intensity curve for kostyč$_2$*. The boundaries are the same as in figure 4.1, apart from the duration. Notice that the overall duration of kostyč*$_2$ *is much shorter than the duration of kostyč*$_1$*. The vowels in kostyč*$_2$ *are both 97 ms.*

Although the intensity curves and the vowel duration in the two occurrences of *kostyč* show large differences, the difference in pitch movement might play a larger role in the perception of prominence of the first syllable in *kostyč*$_2$, as I will argue below.

Obviously, the level of prominence of the stressed syllable varies considerably with the prosodic environment. In many cases, the lexically stressed syllable does not stand out clearly, either because none of the syllables in the word is prominent – which is not a purely dialectal phenomenon – or because more than one syllable is prominent, a dialectal phenomenon often called

secondary stress (Пауфошима [Касаткина] 1983:65). Standard Russian has secondary stress only in compound words, such as in *с*[*'э*]*льсове́т* (Каленчук & Касаткина 1996). In the case of *kostyč*$_2$, the first syllable was equally prominent – or non-prominent – as the lexically stressed second syllable. The impression of relative prominence of the first syllable was probably mostly due to the typical falling pitch movement in non-final words which is common in this dialect (see below), but uncommon for Standard Russian speech, where high pitch is usually associated with the stressed syllable.

4.3.1.3 Prosodic grouping

As to the prosodic grouping of words in the utterance, the dialect shows tendencies to mark words rather than larger units intonationally.[17] That is, in many utterances, an intonation pattern is attached to each phonological word, which forms a prosodic group of its own (cf. e.g. Пауфошима 1985; 1989; Касаткина 1988; 1991 on other Northern Russian dialects). Moreover, many utterances lack a clear main accent (cf. Пауфошима 1983:18ff; see section 7.2.3). In other words, the phonological word tends to be relatively prominent, at the expense of larger prosodic units, that is those with a scope over larger parts of the utterance or over the whole utterance.[18] Many Varzuga utterances show a repeating rising-falling intonation pattern on each phonological word.[19] This pattern consists of an early rise on the first syllable of the phonological word, that is, a rise to high pitch before or at the beginning of the first syllable, followed by an early fall to low pitch.[20] In words with stress on the first or second syllable, this fall starts early in

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[17] Intonation is here understood as the ensemble of pitch variations in the course of an utterance ('t Hart et al. 1990:10; Odé 2003b:280). *Prosody* is a broader term, covering other suprasegmental phonetic and phonological phenomena besides intonation, such as loudness, pausation and stress.

[18] Vihanta et al. 1990 remarked a similar difference in utterance level prosody between Swedish spoken in Sweden and Swedish spoken in Finland. Sweden-Swedish utterances usually have a dominant intonation centre, while in Finland-Swedish utterances, prominence is more equally distributed over several minor units, a system which is similar to Finnish prosody.

[19] Cf. Пауфошима [Касаткина] 1983:64ff; Касаткина 1988:178ff; 1991:42. According to Kasatkina's observations, the 'word-by-word' pitch contour ("пословное оформление мелодического контура") in Northern Russian utterances is expressed in at least two forms: either by a pitch rise on the stressed syllable in each phonological word, or by an accentual strengthening of the first syllable in polysyllabic words – whether this syllable is the carrier of lexical stress or not. This accentual strenghtening is obtained by a peak in pitch, intensity and duration (Касаткина 1988:178ff; 1991:42). The Varzuga dialect shows the second type as regards the pitch peak (see below), while S25*, who was brought up in Karelia and had Karelian as her native language, typically uses the first form:

(4) Já отку́да ро́д'иноj já из Кар'е́л'ии. (S25*)
H l H l H l H l H l
I from-where home-country.instr I from Karelia
'Where I am from, I was born Karelia'

Each phonological word has a pitch peak on the stressed syllable, which each time is surrounded by non-prominence lending low pitch levels.

the second syllable; but it starts on the third syllable if the word has stress on the third syllable. This pattern is combined with a relatively high intensity level and duration on the first syllable, as shown for *kostyč*$_2$ in figure 4.2. Together, these features lend the first syllable high prominence. An example utterance is given in figure 4.3.[21]

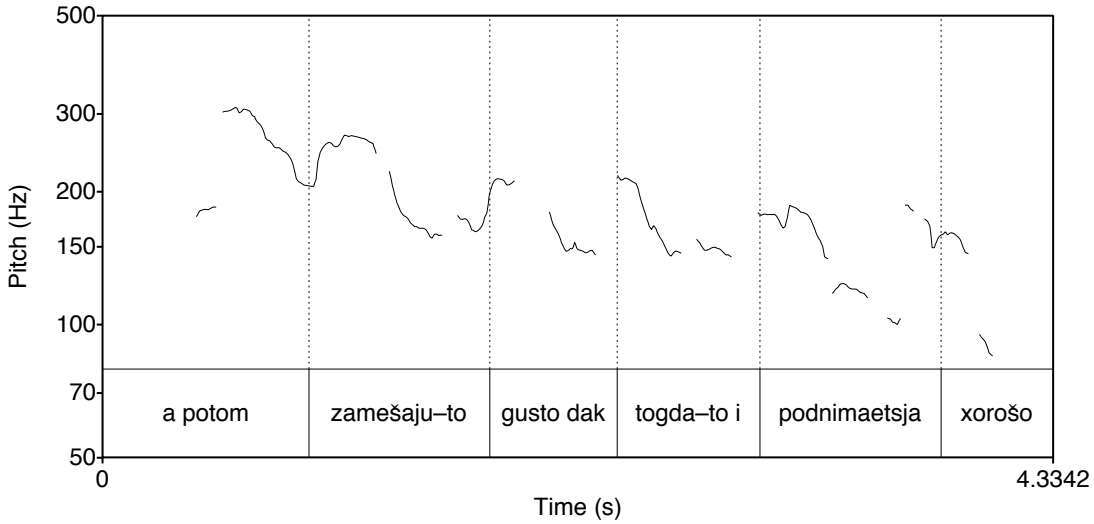


Figure 4.3. Fundamental frequency trace (F0) of an utterance with evenly distributed prominences, made in Praat. The vertical axe gives the F0 on a logarithmic scale; the horizontal axe gives the time in seconds. [22]

The intonation pattern in figure 4.3 could be represented as follows:

(5) А пòтóм зàм'ешáju-то гýсто дак тòгдá-то и пòдн'имáj(e?)це хòрошó
h L h L H l h L h L h L
and afterwards I-mix-*prt* thick *prt* then-*prt prt* raises[23] well
'And then I mix it, it's thick so then it raises well.' (about dough)

---

[20] Early timing means that the pitch change starts early, which means that the end frequency is reached near the vowel onset. In many cases, the end level is already reached before the vowel is produced (Odé 1989:12; 94).

[21] One could argue that this fragment consists of more than one utterance, since it might contain several different speech acts. In any case, the absence of pauses and the clear declination pattern over the whole fragment shows that this fragment is presented as a unit.

[22] An obvious error in the calculated F0 curve in the end (an octave jump) has been corrected, using the manipulation and resynthesis functions in *Praat*. The resynthesised version was auditorily checked, to ensure that the result remained perceptually unchanged; cf. note 9 in Appendix IV. The high pitch level at the end of the word *nòdn'imáj(e?)ce* was caused by a minimal response utterance of another speaker.

[23] The speaker possibly meant third person plural; in this utterance, no vowel is heard after the glide [j]. As noted in the next section, the traditional form of the third person singular would be *podnimáɥ:e*, while the <y> in the third person plural ending often is reduced to an [ɨ]-like sound. Semantically, both singular and plural are possible: the speaker could have meant the different pies she makes of the dough instead of the dough as a whole.

The letter H denotes a pitch peak and L a fall; capital letters denote stressed, tonic syllables. The pitch level remains on the same low level or continues to fall on the posttonic syllables. Acute accent denotes stress, and grave accent indicates perceived prominence of non-stressed vowels. After each falling movement, pitch does not rise again until the beginning of the next phonological word. Thus, the pattern could be described as hLl. The distribution of this prosodic pattern and its meaning – when it is used, and why – await further study. This pattern is not used in every utterance, as one can see, for example, in figure 4.4 below. Yet, in utterances lacking this particular prosodic pattern non-final pitch patterns are usually also falling. As a consequence, the most common Standard Russian pitch pattern on declarative utterances with multiple pitch accents, consisting of several pitch rises on the accented syllables before a final falling pitch accent (Yokoyama's type I intonation $[LH]_n$ HL; Yokoyama 1986:183; 1990:200)[24] is infrequent in this dialect.

Interestingly, the unclear stress placement in for example *kostyč*$_2$ seems to be closely related to the above mentioned repeated rising-falling pitch pattern. This pattern lends prominence to the first syllable, and can therefore obscure stress placement, especially when the lexical stress falls on the second syllable. Almost all cases of unclear stress placement in the Varzuga corpus were found to concern perceived first syllable prominence on words with second syllable lexical stress. It would be interesting to know if the dialect speakers perceive these first syllables as prominent as well.

4.3.1.4 Intonation

Finally, I would like to mention two dialectal features concerning final pitch patterns. In the Varzuga dialect, many non-question utterances end in a rising pitch movement, although frequency, slope and height of these utterance-final rises appear to be less extreme than in, for instance, some dialects of the Pinega region of the neighbouring Archangel'sk oblast, which also has frequent steep non-question rises (Пауфошима 1989; Касаткина 1988; 1991). Two pitch traces of such rises in an Archangel'sk dialect are given in Appendix IV.

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[24] $[LH]_n$ HL stands for a potentially iterative contour tone LH concluded by a falling contour tone HL. In her 2001 article, Yokoyama was more specific and added a boundary tone L% to this type and downstep on all the rising tomenes (2001:8). I used my terminology instead of Yokoyama's, which includes terms like sentential stress, syntagm, boundary tone, phrase accent and contour tone. According to Yokoyama, type I utterances lack sentential stress. A possible explanation of the difference between Standard Russian and the Varzuga dialect is that the traditional Varzuga dialect uses $[HL]_n$ HL for this type of utterances. Another possible explanation is that traditional dialectal speech lacks utterances without sentential stress. However, the concept of sentential stress is badly defined and I doubt its usefulness (Cf. Keijsper 1985).

One of the possible pitch patterns for questions, besides well-known Standard Russian movements known as IK-3 (Брызгунова 1977b; 1980) or Rl- (Odé 1989; Hl in my own system) and IK-6/Rh- (Hh in my system), also contains a steep high rise on the stressed syllable of the accented word. The difference with IK-6/Rh- is the existence of a final fall, and the difference with IK-3/Rl- is the position of the fall. Whereas in IK3/Rl- the fall starts immediately after the stressed syllable of the accented word (the first syllable of *пла́кала* in figure 4.4), it starts later in this movement, possibly only in the last syllable or syllables: a kind of Rhl (Hhl).[25] Figure 4.4 shows an example of this pitch pattern, with a rise on the centre – the first syllable of *пла́кала*, and a steep fall not before the very end of the utterance. The exact form and function of this pattern also await further investigation. The meaning of this utterance and its context will be discussed in section 11.5.3 and its prosodic phrasing in section 12.3.9.

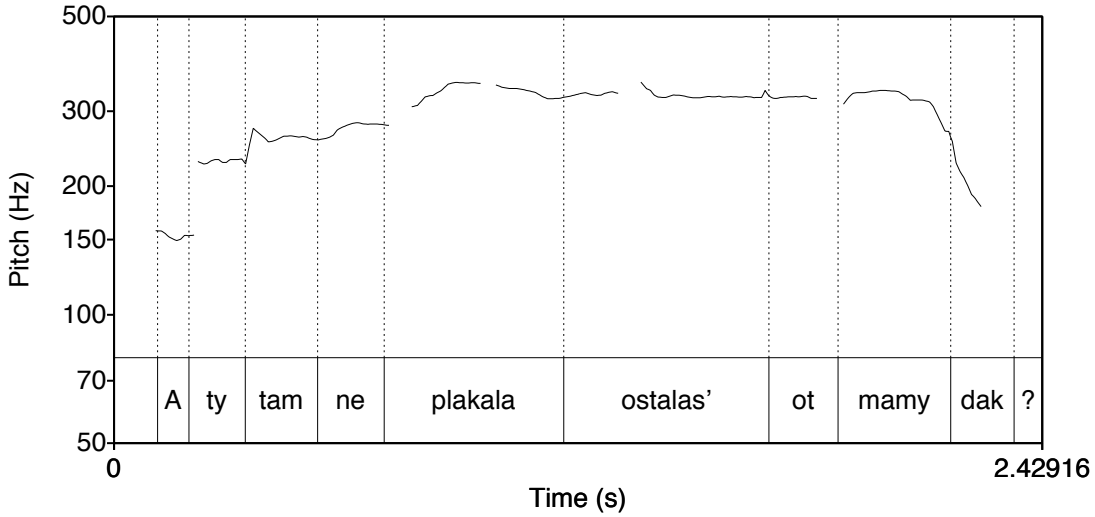


Figure 4.4. Pitch analysis of a yes/no-question (example 6).

[25] Cecilia Odé (p.c.). R stands for a rise on the accented syllable; h and l for high resp. low pitch after the accented syllable. The minus sign in Rl- indicates the early timing of the rise; + indicates late timing. Unfortunately, question intonation is hardly ever described. The melodic patterns of other questions give rise to the hypothesis that this pattern with a late fall is not uncommon in yes/no-questions, and not dependent on the presence of the particle *dak* (see section 12.2.6). The timing of the rise, which often seems to be late in the Varzuga data as well, has not been investigated yet; cf. a similar example in Щигель 1985:11 from an Archangel'sk dialect.

4.3.2 Vowels[26]

The dialect of Varzuga has five vowel phonemes: /i/, /u/, /e/, /o/ and /a/.[27] In most positions, all five vowel phonemes are distinguished. Loss of distinctive features is attested in some cases, due to vowel reduction or assimilation, but apart from in the position between two soft consonants, distinctive forms are observed in all positions. For example, the phonemes /o/ and /a/ do not merge in unstressed position after hard consonants, a phenomenon known as *okan'e* (see e.g. Касаткин et al. 1989:43ff):

[na karbasáx]	'on the boats' loc.pl.
[poká]	'while, as long as'
[poxoron'ít']	'bury' infin.
[skor'óxon'ko]	'quickly' dimin.adv.
[mál'enkoj]	'small' M.nom.sg.
[bábuška]; [d'éduško]; [u d'éduška]	'grandmother' F.nom.sg.; 'grandfather' M.nom.sg.; gen.sg.

The presence of *okan'e* clearly shows in morphemes with etymological *o or *a, where Standard Russian (StR) orthography has the letter *a*:

[rozgovór]	'conversation' M.nom.sg.; cf. StR *разговор*
[polstokánu]	'half a glass'; cf. StR *полстакана*
[torokánɨ]	'cockroaches' nom.pl.; cf. StR *тараканы*

In some dialects, /a/ and /o/ are regularly distinguished only in the first pretonic syllable, not in other unstressed syllables. The Varzuga dialect however has *full okan'e*. As remarked in the previous section, the Varzuga dialect has no regular, phonological qualitative or quantitative difference between the first pretonic syllable and the other unstressed syllables.

Etymological *e in the position after a soft and before a hard consonant (C'*eC) or at a final word boundary (C'V*e#)[28] can occur as the sound [o] both in stressed syllables – as in Standard Russian – and in unstressed syllables:

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[26] The phonetic transcription used in this section (4.3.2) and in section 4.3.3 is written in latin letters between square brackets ([]). The sounds written in IPA as [ts], [tʃ], [ʃ], [ʒ] are written as [c], [č], [š] and [ž]. Prominence (usually corresponding to lexical stress; see Appendix I on transcription) is indicated by an acute accent (') on the prominent vowel. The phonetic transcription is not detailed. For example, no distinction is made between close-mid and open-mid vowels, as this distinction is not contrastive in the dialect. So, instead of [e] vs. [ɛ] and [o] vs. [ɔ], only [e] and [o] are used.

[27] I follow the Moscow phonological school (see e.g. Аванесов 1974; Касаткин 2003).

[28] C = consonant; V = vowel; C' = palatalised (soft) consonant; # = word boundary.

[fʹsʹo̲]; [fʹsʹo̲gó]	N.nom.sg.; gen.sg. ‘everything’; cf. StR *вс̲ё* [fʹsʹo̲]; *вс̲е̲го* [fʹsʹɪ̲vó]

Here are some more examples of [o] from *e in unstressed position:

[napʹo̲klá]	‘baked’ pf.past.F.3.sg.
[mʹo̲tátʹ]^{d}	‘to cast’ ipf.infin.
[vɨjdʹo̲š]	‘you go out’ pf.fut.2.sg.
[búdʹo̲m]	‘we will’ ipf.fut.1.pl.
[iz_bábuzʹo̲ra]	‘from Babozero’ N.gen.sg.
[ús’jo̲]; [varʹénʹjo̲]	‘river mouth’ N.nom.sg; ‘jam’ N.nom.sg.

This phenomenon is known under the name *ëkanʹe*. [o] from *e in unstressed position is also found after affricates and postalveolar fricatives:

[mʹésʹacʹo̲f]	‘months’ M.gen.pl.
[kládbʹišʹ:o̲]	‘cemetery’ N.acc.sg.
[šo̲stój]; [šo̲stá]	‘sixth’ M.nom.sg.; F.nom.sg.
[dólžo̲n]	‘must’ predic.adj.M.sg.

These consonants were all soft in an earlier stage of the language, which means that a following *e could also be subject to this change into [o] if followed by a hard consonant or a word boundary. In unstressed position, *ëkanʹe* is not regular – [o] varies freely with [e]:

[búdʹo̲t] – [búdʹe̲t]	‘is’ ipf.fut.3.sg.
[vʹétʹe̲r] – [vʹétʹo̲r]	‘wind’ M.nom.sg; acc.sg.
[napʹo̲klá] – [pʹe̲kló]	‘(was) baked’ pf.past.F.sg. – ipf.past.N.sg.
[mórʹo̲] – [mórʹe̲]	‘sea’ N.acc.sg.

This free variation is common in most Russian dialects in the north-east and the extreme north of European Russia (cf. *DARJa* I and Касаткина et al. 1991). A single speaker can produce both variants of a word shortly after each other. This was the case with both *ветер* and *море* above. The sound produced can also be an intermediate sound between [e] and [o], or a glide from [e] to [o].

Under certain phonological conditions, merger of phonemes may occur, especially when soft consonants are involved. The weakest positions for vowel distinction are the position between soft consonants (C’VC’, stressed and unstressed) and an unstressed vowel after a soft and before a hard consonant (un-

stressed C'VC). From a synchronic point of view, the sound [e] can in these positions reflect three different phonemes in the modern dialect, /e/, /a/ and /o/:

/o/ (from *e)	[p'o̲klá]; [p'e̲k'l'í]	'baked' ipf.past.F.sg.; past.pl.
/e/ (from *ě)	[v'é̲trɨ]; [v'é̲t'er]	'wind' M.nom.pl.; nom.sg.
/a/ (from *a)	[já̲s']; [u je̲z'á]	'ide' (*Leuciscus idas*, fish of carp family) M.nom.sg.; M.nom.gen.

More distinctive than a synchronic point of view is a diachronic standpoint.[29] Parallel to modern /o/, /e/ and /a/, etymological *a, *e and *ě can all be realised as [e], as shown in the table below:

	strong position	weak positions		
	stressed C'VC	unstr. C'VC	stressed C'VC'	unstr. C'VC'
*ě	e	e	e	e (ɪ, i)
*e	o	o, e	e	e (ɪ, i)
*a	a	e, a	a, e	e (ɪ, i)

	stressed C'VC	unstr. C'VC	stressed C'VC'	unstr. C'VC'
*ě	[v'é̲trɨ][30]	[r'e̲ká]	[v'é̲t'er]	[r'e̲k'i] ([ops't'r'ɪ̲l'ájut])
*e	[p'ek'ó̲t]	[nap'o̲klá]; [p'e̲klá]	[p'éč'ka]	[p'e̲k'l'í] ([un'ɪ̲s'l'i])
*a	[v'á̲zɨvala]	[v'ezál'i] ([v'a̲zál'i])	[op'é̲t']; [op'á̲t']	[je̲z'á] ([p'i̲d'is'át])

Table 4.1 The realisations of *e, *ě *and* *a *after soft consonants*

[29] In the Moscow phonological school, the phonematic status of a vowel is determined by the quality of the vowel in strong position, that is, in a position where the vowel phonemes are distinctive. In the following three examples, the vowels concerned occurred both in strong and in weak position, enabling the determination of their phonematic status in today's dialect as either /e/, /o/ or /a/. However, this can be done only for a small part of today's vowels. Vowels in many other morphemes occur only in weak position, where the distinctions between the phonemes are neutralised, which means that no choice can be made between /o/, /e/ and /a/. For these cases, the Moscow school uses hyperphonemes, like {a/e}, similar to the Prague school archiphonemes (e.g. Кодзасов & Кривнова 2001:342). A historical point of view is better suited for the description of interdialectal differences.

[30] Translations and grammatical information about the examples in table 4.1:
[v'étrɨ] 'winds' nom.pl.; [r'eká] 'river' nom.sg.; [v'ét'er] 'wind' nom.sg.; [r'ek'í] 'river' F.gen./dat./loc.sg.; [ops't'r'ɪl'ájut] 'shoot at' pres.ipf.3.pl.;
[p'ek'ót] 'bakes' pres.3.sg.; [nap'oklá]; [p'eklá] 'baked' pf.; ipf.past.F.sg.; [p'éč'ka] 'stove' F.nom.sg.; [p'ek'l'í] 'baked' ipf.past.pl.; [un'ɪsl'í] 'carried away' pf.past.pl.;
[v'ázɨvala] 'spinned' ipf.past.F.sg. (iterative); [v'ezál'i] ([v'azál'i]) 'spinned' ipf.past.pl.; [op'ét']; [op'át'] 'again'; [jez'á] 'ide' M.gen.sg.; [p'id'is'át] 'fifty' nom.

I concentrated on the first pretonic syllable. In some positions, more than one realisation is possible. Vowels in parentheses are rare. The free variation between [e] and [o] in unstressed C′*eC was mentioned above. The variation between [e] and [a] for *a needs some comments. In stressed C′*aC′, both vowels occur. Here are some examples with [e]:

[t′é̲n′et]; [t′é̲n′oš]	‘keep(s)’ ipf.pres.3./2.sg.; cf. StR *мянет* [t′á̲n′ɪt]
[bojé̲l′is′]	‘they were afraid’; cf. StR *боялись* [bajá̲l′ɪs′]
[d′é̲jenka]^{d}	‘one’s uncle’s wife’; cf. [d′á̲jenka], added by the speaker’s daughter as an explanation
[p′r′e̲s′]	‘to spin’; cf. StR *прясть*
[op′é̲t′]	‘again’; besides [op′á̲t′]

The vowel can also be intermediate between [a] and [e]:

[p′ɛt′]	‘five’ nom.; in *n′ém′ шту́к!* ‘five pieces!’

The last form, with a vowel closer to [e] than to [a], was pronounced with a strong contrastive accent, which shows that the phenomenon has nothing to do with reduction caused by a non-prominent position. In Merkur’ev’s data, occurrences with [a] in stressed position were almost absent in the village of Varzuga, but nowadays, [a] is predominant; [e] in stressed position is found regularly in these words only in the speech of some of the oldest inhabitants. In unstressed position however, [e] is used almost all the time by all of the recorded dialect speakers:

[u je̲z′á]	‘ide’ M.gen.sg.
[p′e̲t′í]	‘five’ gen.
[nar′e̲d′ílas′]	‘she dressed herself up’ pf.past.F.sg.
[m′e̲k′ína]^{d}	*leaves of turnip or other root vegetables* F.nom.sg.

The pronunciation of etymological (Old Russian) *a as [e] is also frequent in unstressed position after a soft and before a hard consonant (C′*aC), besides [a]:

[p′e̲tnác:at′]	‘fifteen’ nom.
[v′e̲zál′i]	‘they spinned’ ipf.past.3.pl. (frequent, besides a single attestation of [v′a̲zál′i])
[ut′a̲núl′i]	‘they dragged away’ past.3.pl.

To my surprise, Merkur'ev noted the opposite distribution of [e] and [a] in this environment in the Varzuga speech of forty years ago: he found that in Varzuga [e] was predominant in stressed position (stressed C'*aC'), but [a] dominated in unstressed C'*aC and C'*aC'. Thus, Merkur'ev found almost exclusively forms like [op'ét']; [m'ak'ína] and [v'azál'i], where I found mostly [op'át'] and [m'ek'ína], and often [v'ezál'i] (Меркурьев 1960:5f; 1960:11).[31]

In some cases, [ɪ] or [i] is attested for former *e, *ě and *a, which entails that the difference between /e/, /o/ and /a/ with the phoneme /i/ is sometimes neutralised as well. This is however rare. Pronunciations as [ɪ] or [i] for phonemes other than /i/ occur mainly in unstressed position between soft consonants and in some very frequent words, such as *сейча́с*, *ведь* and *не*, which only rarely occur with unreduced vowels:[32]

[v d'ɪkab'r'é-to]	'in december'
[n'é s k'ɪm práznovat']	'there is noone to celebrate with'
[p'ɪd'ɪs'át]	'fifteen'; cf. StR *пятьдесят*
[un'ɪslá]	'took out' past.F.sg.; cf. StR *унесла*
[ɪt']	'you know'; besides [v'et']; [v'ɪt']; cf. StR *ведь*
[s'ič'ás]	'now'; besides a single attestation of [s'eč'ás]; cf. StR *сейчас*
[n'ɪ znáju]	'I don't know'
[t'ɪp'ér']	'now'; cf. StR *теперь*

Exceptions to the patterns of the table above are rare. The table showed that also etymological *ě is usually realised as [e]:

[f's'e]	'all' nom.pl.
[v'ét'er]	'wind' M.nom.sg.
[r'eká]	'river' F.nom.sg.
[r'ek'í]	'river' F.gen.sg.

I found only a single occurrence of [i] from stressed Old Russian *a and a handful from stressed *ě:

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[31] Merku'ev's examples are here given in my phonetic transcription. This is one of the few dialectal features mentioned by Merkur'ev for showing differences between the villages. Varzuga was the only village with this distribution of [e] and [a] for /a/; in other villages, [e] and [a] were more evenly distributed. [a] was common everywhere in first pretonic C'*aC (the [v'azál'i]-type).

[32] Nothing similar was noted by Merkur'ev. He observed no vowel reduction at all in the Murmansk oblast: "Редукция гласных в говоре отсутствует" (Меркурьев 1960:14).

[s′n′i̱l′i]	‘they took away’ (about church bells) pf.past.pl.; cf. StR *сняли*
[posmot′r′i̱l′i]	‘we have seen’ pf.past.pl.; cf. StR *посмотрели*
[v′i̱t′or]	‘wind’ M.nom.sg. (S6*)[33]; cf. StR *ветер*
[ji̱s′]	‘to eat’ ipf.infin.; cf. StR *есть*

The third example, the form [v′i̱t′or] for ‘wind’, was exceptional; besides this form I found an attestation of [v′ét′or]; all other occurrences of this word were pronounced as [v′ét′er].

The last mentioned example, [jis′], gives rise to the minimal pair [jis′] ‘to eat’ vs. [jes′] ‘is’ (pres.3.sg.): *jéc’ ч’евó júc’* ‘I do have something to eat (after all)’. The form [jis′] for ‘to eat’ is frequent, and the [i] in this word form might be lexicalised.[34] Attestations of *ĕ as [i] or [i] in the locative singular of nouns of the first declension can have a morphological explanation, since the traditional ending is -<’и>, e.g. [na stol′í] ‘on the table’ (see section 4.5.1).

The sound [e] has also been attested for etymological *e where Standard Russian has [o]. Most of these cases concern [e] in C′*eC′, which is in full accordance with the phonological rules:

[zam′e̱r′z′l′i]	‘they froze’ (S6*); cf. StR *первый*; but *замёрзли*

In this word, the /r/ used to be soft – and occasionally it still is. This gives the position C′VC′, where the rule *e -> [o] did not work. In most cases, the speakers use an [o] in this verb: [zam′órz′n′ot] ‘it will freeze’ pf.fut.3.sg.

[e] also occurs in second and third person singular in the present/simple future tense of verbs with stressed <o> if it is followed by the reflexive morpheme:

[is′p′ek′e̱c′:a]	‘will be baked’ pf.fut.3.sg.reflex.
[zov′e̱t′:ə]	‘is called’ ipf.pres.3.sg.reflex.
[b′er′e̱c:a]	‘he picks up’ (his pencil) ipf.pres.3.sg.reflex.

[33] The speaker who used this form was not born in Varzuga; see Appendix I.

[34] Cf. Меркурьев 1960, who remarks that forms with [i] are attested in all villages of the Kola Peninsula in infinitives with this stem: “йис’, сйис’, пойис’ — повсем.” (Меркурьев 1960:7). The reason that the *ĕ is pronounced as [i] in exactly this stem might be just that it is part of a minimal pair, which makes a distinction between *ĕ and *e functional. In other forms of these verbs, the vowel is usually pronounced as [e]. For instance, in the same recording as the preceding fragment with [jis′], the speaker said *ja jém* [ja je̱m] ‘I eat’.

This is in full accordance with the phonological rule, according to which *e became [o] only in the position before a hard consonant.

Less easily explainable are the following cases of [e] for *e in stressed C'*eC and in word-final position (C'*e#) after a soft consonant:

[oz'ér̲am]	besides [oz'órax] in the same utterance; 'lakes' dat./loc.pl.: *мно́го раз в'езд'е́ по оз'е́рам ход'и́ла, на мно́г'их оз'о́рах была́.* 'I went to the lakes many times, I have been (fishing) on many lakes.'
[iš:é̲]	'another; still' adv.; cf. StR *ещё*
[š:e̲]	'that' conj.; cf. StR *что*

Reduction of vowels between hard consonants is rare. An exception is the postpositive particle *-mo*, which is often reduced to [-tə], but assimilation of /o/ in the other direction – to [u] – is quite frequent as well (see section 4.4.1). Of course, a very frequent, unstressed word is very prone to reduction.

In the Varzuga recordings, the phoneme /o/ is sometimes pronounced as [a] in the first pretonic syllable, such as in [sapa̲g'í] *сапоги́* 'boots'. This so-called *akan'e*, as opposed to *okan'e*, is the merger of /o/ and /a/ in the first pretonic syllable. It is a characteristic of the Southern Russian and part of the Central Russian dialects and of Standard Russian (e.g. Касаткин et al. 1989:43ff). *Akan'e* is in our corpus from Varzuga almost exclusively found in the speech of the youngest speakers and the men, but they never produce it regularly. Interestingly, some random examples from the speech of one of the speakers suggest that *akan'e*, such as [a̲t'éc] *отец* 'father' (nom.sg.),[35] is preferred over the other common reduction of /o/ in Standard Russian, that is the reduction of /o/ to *schwa* in other non-stressed vowels (or to [ɪ] after soft consonants):

[a̲t'éc u nas úm'er óč'ɪn' ráno̲]	'Our father died very early'; cf. StR [ránə̲]
[a̲d'én'o̲š]	'you will put on' pf.fut.2.sg.; cf. StR [ad'én'ɪ̲š]

The phoneme /o/ is sometimes realised as [u], possibly due to assimilation to a neighbouring velar [k], [g] or [x][36] or labial:

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[35] In the same conversation, the same speaker produced the highly dialectal form *к оц:'ý* [k_oc':ú] 'to father' (dat.sg.), with both *okan'e* and the rarely attested *soft cokan'e* (see next section). This form he used somewhat later, when he addressed himself to some fellow villagers.

[36] Cf. *DARJa* I and Honselaar (Хонселаар 2001:31), who observed [u] for /o/ before the velars /k/ and /x/.

[u kugó]; [n'e za kugó]	'who' gen.sg.; 'not for anyone' acc.sg.
[na uxótu]	'to hunt' F.acc.sg.
[dojárkuj]	'as a milkmaid' F.instr.sg.
[kúsɨ]	'pigtails' nom./acc.pl.; besides [kósɨ]
[vus'mój]	'eighth' M.nom.sg.

Word-initial position is rare for [e] and [i]; these sounds are in this position often preceded by a prothetic [j]. The word *и* 'and' can be pronounced as [ji], besides [i] and [ɨ] (sometimes, after a hard consonant). I attested both [ɨkón] (*б'ез ыкóн* 'without icons' gen.pl.) and [jikónɨ] 'icons' (nom.pl.) in the same conversation (see example (105) in chapter 14), and caviar is called [jikrá]. Besides [étovo] 'this' (M./N.gen.sg.) we find [jétovo].

The opposite – loss of /j/ – was also attested: [k_ej] 'to her', besides more common [k'_ jej]. The sound [j] has also disappeared in intervocal position in certain forms of the adjectival, pronominal and verbal inflection (see section on morphology). The dialectal equivalents of Standard Russian *ещё* [jiš'ó] 'still; another' can be pronounced as [iš:é]; [iš:'ó], besides [jiš:é]; [jiš':ó]. The variation between hard and soft affricates will be discussed in the section on consonants.

4.3.3 Consonants

The dialect has the same consonant phoneme inventory as Standard Russian, including the geographically restricted plosive/g/ and the /f/ and their soft counterparts. The sound [f] is attested both as a separate phoneme and as an allophone of /v/. It is a phoneme in *фараóны* [faraónɨ] 'pharaohs' nom.pl. (nickname of the inhabitants of Varzuga), and it appears as an allophone of /v/ at the end of words and before unvoiced consonants, like in [slof] gen.pl. of *слóво* [slóvo] 'word' and [rybolófstva] 'fishery' (gen.sg.).

Soft /k'/ and /g'/ have a wider distribution than in Standard Russian, since they are also used before [o] in the verbs of the *печь*-type (see morphology):

[rozosk'óš]	'you will roll out (dough)' pf.fut.2.sg. (no equivalent in StR, but cf. StR *ткеш* [tk'óš] 'you weave' ipf.pres.2.sg.)
[p'ek'ót]	'bakes' ipf.pres.3.sg.; cf. StR *печёт* [p'ɪč'ót]
[zažg'óm]	'we will light (candles)' pf.fut.1.pl.; cf. SrR *зажжём* [zaž':óm]

Most dialectal features concerning consonants are found in the pronunciation of the affricates and postalveolar fricatives /c/ – /č′/ – /š/ – /ž/ – /š′:/ and /ž′:/,[37] in which traces of an older system are retained. The dialect used to have only one affricate, /c′/, instead of two, /c/ and /č′/. This affricate was usually realised as [c′], a phenomenon called *soft cokan'e* (cf. Меркурьев 1962; Гецова 1997). In our data, *cokan'e* is almost absent. However, the number of attestations of its traces increased during our stay.[38] Soft [c′] and even [t′] is observed both corresponding to Standard Russian *ч* /č′/ and to Standard Russian *ц* /c/:

- Examples of [c′] corresponding to StR /č′/:

[p′ek′c′í]; [is′p′ek′c′í]	'to bake' ipf.infin.; pf.infin.
[voloc′íl′i]	'they dragged' ipf.past.pl.
[na val′c′ak′í]^{d}	'on salmon' acc.pl.
[p′l′éc′a]	'shoulders' acc.pl.
[f p′éc′ku]	'in the oven' F.acc.sg.
[v′éc′no]	'eternal; all the time' adv.
[óc′en′]	'very' adv.

- Examples of [c′] corresponding to StR /c/:

[na úl′ic′i]	'on the street' F.loc.sg.
[kól′c′a]	'rings' nom.pl.
[c′ed′íl′i]	'filtered' past.pl.
[m′és′ec′of]	'months' gen.pl.

- Example of a pronunciation as [t′]:

[g′r′eb′ét′]	'rower' M.nom.sg.; cf. StR *гребец*

The sounds [c′] and [t′] can also be the result of a combination of /t/ + /s′/ (cf. section 4.4.2):

[nrávic′:e]	'pleases' ipf.pres.3.sg.reflex.; cf. StR *нравится*
[zov′ét′:ə]	'is called' ipf.pres.3.sg.reflex.; cf. StR *зовётся*

[37] The status of the sounds [š′:] and [ž′:] as separate phonemes in Standard Russian – and of their equivalents in the dialects – is controversial; see for some arguments e.g. Касаткин 2003. My main concern is not the phonological status of these fricatives, but their different realisations.

[38] When I asked one of the inhabitants whether *cokan'e* had disappeared in the dialect of Varzuga, he mentioned a single speaker who still had it (S10). Later, I observed traces of *cokan'e* in the speech of more villagers, who had not used it during our first meetings. *Cokan'e* seems thus to be one of the dialectal features the speakers try to avoid when speaking to strangers; see section 3.3.4.

Hypercorrect forms like [úl'ič'a] (SR *улиꙗ* 'street') were not attested, which shows that the speakers master the new system with two different phonemes. I wish to stress that the above mentioned traces of *cokan'e* are exceptional in our recordings.

The phoneme corresponding to Standard Russian long /š':/ (*щ*) has various realisations, including long hard [š:], long soft [š':] and affricative [š'č']:[39]

[iš:é]; [jiš:é]; [iš':ó]; [jiš':ó]	'still; another'
[vopšé]	'on the whole'; besides [vo:pš':é] somewhat earlier in the same fragment; cf. StR *вообще*
[bol'šúš:əj]	'very large'; cf. StR *большущий*
[gorod'íš:o]	*site of ancient settlement* N.nom.sg.
[š'č'úka]	'pike' (fish) F.nom.sg.; besides [š':úka]

The difference between palatalised [š'] and non-palatalised [š] appears to be smaller than in Standard Russian pronunciation. I suspect that the position of the middle of the tongue is relatively high – i.e. close to the palatum – for both the soft and the hard fricative.

The word corresponding to Standard Russian *что* [što] 'that; what' has many different realisations, including all of the attested variants of /š':/. In addition, the vowel switches between [o] and [e], like the final vowel in the equivalent of SR *еще* (see previous section):

[š:o]; [š:e]; [š':o]; [š':e]; [š'č'o]; [što]; [č'o]	'that' conj.; 'what' pron.

The equivalent of the Standard Russian adverb *лучше* 'better' is pronounced with a short [u] and a long [č':]: [lúč':e]. This can apparently be explained by the relative shortness of the vowels in relation to the consonants in this dialect (see section 4.3.1 on prosody).

The rarely used voiced counterpart of /š':/, long /ž':/, is observed with both hard and soft pronunciation:

[dróž:ɨ]	'yeast' nom. (pl.tantum)
[p'r'ijež:ál]	'he came' ipf.past.M.sg.

[39] The phonemes /š':/ and /ž':/ are written with a palatalisation sign, but they could also be written as /š:/ and /ž:/, since both hard and soft pronunciations are possible in the dialect of Varzuga, which do not appear to be phonologically distinctive. Merkur'ev gives a long evaluation of the different realisations of the unvoiced fricative in Меркурьев 1962. Apart from the variants mentioned above, he also attested occurrences of this phoneme as short [š].

[p′r′ijež′:ála] ‘she came’ ipf.past.F.sg.
[p′r′ijež′:ájɨt] ‘they came’ ipf.pres.3.pl.[40]

Finally, some consonant clusters attract attention. Several consonant clusters can be simplified:

- The cluster /vm′/ can be simplified to [m′:], as shown by the word [m′:és′t′e]; [m′:és′t′ɪ] cf. StR *вместе*, in several attestations:

(7) Там м’:éст’е пооб’éдам.
‘We will eat together there.’
(8) На́шы с Ва́рзуг’ь с Ку́зом’ен’ь м:’éст’ь уч’а́стк’и-то вот бы́л’и то́н’и-ть.
‘Our people from Varzuga and Kuzomen’ shared their fishing sites.’
(9) Говор’и́л’и ш:’о м:’éст’ь с’ид’е́л’и.
‘They said that they were sitting together.’
(10) П’е́л’и то́же с д’е́т’мы́ м’:éс’т’е.
‘We also sang together with the children.’

The form [v′z′r′ev′n′í] ‘have a doze’ pf.imper.sg. is a form of hypercorrection; cf. StR *вздремни*.

- The consonant cluster /st′/ is usually simplified to [s′] in word-final position: [č′es′] ‘honour’; [jes′] ‘is’; [jis′] ‘eats’; [šes′] ‘six’ [šers′] ‘wool’ F.nom.sg; [pus′] ‘let’ prt; [pas′] ‘to fall’ infin. In other positions, the [t] is usually retained: [i_š:érs′t′i]; [s óv′éč′i šérs′t′i] ‘from (sheep) wool’ F.gen.sg. The sequence /st′j/ can be simplified also in non-final position: [ús′je] ‘river-mouth’ [pólnos′ju] ‘completely’; [l′ís′ja] ‘leaves’ nom.pl.

- Also the cluster /st/ usually looses its /t/ word-finally, even at a low speaking rate: [xvos] ‘tail’; [pos]; besides [post] ‘fast’; [l′is] ‘plate’; [pójes] nom.sg., but [pojezdá] nom.pl. (a kind of sweeping-net); [k′r′es] ‘cross’, but [k′r′estóf]: *кр’éс, у jегó с’ер’éбр’ен:ыj кр’éс был* [k′r′éz_bɨl], *(...) а у нáс н’ь у когó н’é был(о) крестóф* ‘a cross, he had a silver cross, (...) but none of us had a cross’.

The /t/ can drop out also in non-final position if the consonant cluster consists of three consonants, like in /stn/: [pósnɨ d′n′i] ‘fast-days’ nom.pl.

[40] Not sg.! Cf. section 4.4.2.

- More words can loose their final consonant, for instance the word for 'life': [žɨs'] 'life' (in all occurrences); but [v žɨz'n'i] 'in (my) life', and the word for 'November': [nojáp' kon'č'ájɪc:a] 'November comes to its end' (S6*).[41]

The consonant cluster /gk/ (and /gk'/) is assimilated to long [k:] ([k':]), where many other dialects and Standard Russian pronunciation show dissimilation to [xk]:

[m'ák':i]	'soft' adj.nom.pl.
[n'el'ók:o]	'not simple' adv.
[l'ók:ɨj]	'simple' adj.M.nom.sg.; besides [l'óxkoj]

The velar stops are usually not spiranticised between vowels either, and in the first word below, the /g/ – which might have become a /k/ – has become voiceless:

[m'ákon'k'i]	'soft' dimin.adj.nom.pl.
[l'ógon'koj]	'soft' dimin.adj.M.nom.sg.

4.4 Morphology

The section on morphology starts with peculiarities in the inflection of nominals (section 4.4.1) and verbs (section 4.4.2). Section 4.4.3 gives some characteristics of word formation.

4.4.1 Nominal inflection

In the paradigm of the nouns of the second declension, i.e. the nouns on -<а> in nominative singular, the genitive, dative and locative singular all end in -<и>:

Gen.	*с у́мбы*	'from Umba'
	тр'и с'естры́	'three sisters'
	та́м вот э́тој Ва́рзуг'и-то р'ек'й о́коло	'there, close to the river Varzuga'
Dat.	*к Л'у́бы*	'to Ljuba'
	к војны́	'just before the war'

[41] Cf. [korap']; [korab'l'í] 'boat' in Балашов 1970 (adapted to phonetic transcription), which is remarked to be the usual form in Northern Russian dialects (Балашов 1970:437). I also attested [k'ilóm'et] 'kilometer', but the loss of the final /r/ in this word might be mainly due to assimilation to the first consonant of the nex word: [dal'ekó z'd'es', nae k'ilóm'et_tudá vot] 'It's a long way from here, it's probably a kilometer away' (nae = naverno 'probably').

	по р'ек'и́	'on the river'
	к ба́бушк'и	'to grandmother'
Loc.	*в у́мбы*	'in Umba'
	на то́j стороны́	'on the other side'
	в р'ек'и́	'in the river'
	в то́j ло́тк'и	'in that boat'

In the inflection of masculine and neuter nouns of the first declension (i.e. masculine nouns on a consonant and neuter nouns on -<o> in nom.sg.) use of genitive sg. forms in -<y> is frequent and productive. It is not restricted to a few set expressions and use in partitive meaning and after a negation, like in Standard Russian:

о́коло б'е́р'егу	'close to the banks/seashore'
полстока́ну	'half a glass'
ц'ем'е́нту н'е́ было	'there was no cement'
мно́го мат'ер'иа́лу-ту	'a lot of data'
из до́му н'ь выход'и́	'don't leave the house'
но́с-то ис сн'е́гу	'the nose is (made) of snow' (about snowmen)

Non-standard examples of locative singular endings in stressed -<ý> are *на руч'jý* 'on the rivulet'; *в хору́* 'in the choir'; *на В'ел'и́ком Острову́* 'on Velikij Ostrov' (= 'Big Island').

Another peculiarity in the declension of masculine and neuter nouns is the locative singular ending in -<'и>. This means that these words have the same suffix as the nouns of the third declension:

на стол'и́	'on the table' M.; cf. nom. *стол*
на конц'и́	'in the end' M.; cf. nom. *кон'е́ц*; *кон'е́ц'*
на дн'и́	'on the bottom' N.; cf. nom. *дно*
в Бар'е́нцовом мо́р'и	'in the Barents Sea' N.; cf. nom. *мо́р'о*; *мо́р'е*
в мавзъл'е́jи	'in the mausoleum'; cf. nom. *мавзол'е́j*
ф п'и́ц'и́; *ф п'еч'и́*	'in the oven' F. (third decl.); nom. *п'еч*; *п'ец'*

Masculine nouns with the morpheme -<ушк>- inflect according to the first declension, with the nominative singular ending -<o>:

"Д'е́душко хоро́шъj?"	'Is your grandfather (= M.nom.sg.) nice?'

у д'éдушка	'at grandfather's' M.gen.sg.
с одн'и́м д'éдушком	'with only grandfather' M.instr.sg.
бáт'ушко; *у бáт'ушка*	'priest' M.nom.sg.; gen.sg.

The word *домúшко* has a regular nominative plural ending for neuter nouns in -<a>:

дом'úшка-то	'the (small) houses' nom.pl. (S14*); cf. StR *домишки*

According to Merkur'ev, the segment -<ен>- in the oblique cases of the neuter nouns of the *vremja*-type is absent in the Kola dialect(s), and the words inflect as regular first declension neuter nouns, for instance *вр'éм'о* nom.sg.; *вр'éм'а* gen.sg.; *вр'éм'у* dat.sg. etc. (Меркурьев 1979). Also *дитя́* 'child' had gone over to first declension in these dialects. This innovative feature has disappeared: the usual forms are now the archaic ones of Standard Russian:

вр'éм'а	'time' nom./acc.sg.
вр'éм'ен'и	'time' gen.sg.

In our 2001 data, forms with the dialectal inflection are rare:

вр'éм'о	'time' N.nom.sg. (first decl.)
вр'éм'а	'time' N.gen.sg. (first decl.)
д'ит'ó	'child' N.nom.sg. (first decl.)
д'ит'ý	'child' N.dat.sg. (first decl.)

The last example was found in an utterance where the speaker added the standard equivalent immediately afterwards: "*скóл'ко взрóслому*, *скóл'ко м-... д'ит'ý*, *р'еб'óнку*"(S3) 'so and so much for an adult, so and so much for a child'.

The nominative plural ending for masculine nouns of the first declension in stressed -<á> is productive, and not restricted to professional jargon. Here are some examples (in M.nom.sg and nom.pl.):

*бот*d; *ботá*	*a type of boat*
н'éвот; *н'еводá*	*a type of net*
хор; *хорá*	'choirs'
трáктор; *тракторá*	'tractors'
прáзн'ик; *празн'икá*	'holidays'

ро́кан; роканá	*nickname for inhabitants of the Ter Coast*
ваган́; ваганá	*person from the Archangel'sk oblast*[42]

We also found some first and third declension nouns with stressed -<á> in the nominative plural:

обруч'já	'hoops' nom.pl. (first decl.)
лошад'já	'horses' M.nom.pl. (third decl.)
мат'ер'já	'mothers' F.nom.pl. (third decl.)
доч'ер'já	'daughters' F.nom.pl. (third decl.)

Masculine nouns ending in -<ан'ин> in nominative singular are attested with the suffix -<а> in the nominative plural form, where Standard Russian has <'е>:

кузомл'áна	'inhabitants of Kúzomen''
варзужáна	'inhabitants of Varzuga; Varzužans'

A complicated picture is presented by the forms of the instrumental plural. Besides the Standard Russian ending <ам'и>, our material contains a large number of examples of nouns with the endings <ама> and <ами> [amɨ]. These forms are not always mutually distinguishable, since unstressed <а> and <и> after hard consonants can coalesce in the dialect into *schwa*. In rare cases, [am] is heard:[43]

Nouns:

д'éфкама	'maidens'
с харáкт'ерама	'characters'
рукáма	'hands'
со студ'éнтамы	'students'
комун'ístамы	'communists'
ол'éн'амы	'reindeer'
опстр'éламы	'shootings'
с'ет'ám	'nets' (also instr.pl.)

Various forms were attested for the instrumental plural of the irregular word 'child':

[42] Меркурьев 1997a gives only the plural *ваганы*.
[43] The ending <ам> is also mentioned by Merkur'ev (Меркурьев 1979:8). This ending is common further south, but not in the Archangel'sk dialects, where the ending <ам'и> pervails (see section 4.7).

д'ет'м'и́; *д'ет'а́мы*; *д'ет'мы́* 'children'

Whereas nouns have several different instrumental endings in our material, adjectives, possessive and demonstrative pronouns and numerals seem to allow only the form -<има>, apart from the first and second person plural of the personal pronoun, for which we attested the forms *на́ма*; *ва́мы* and *ва́ма*. In part of the pronominal declension, the suffix -<има> has final stress:[44]

Adjectives:

молоды́ма	'young'
ста́рыма	'old'
ма́л'енк'има	'small'

Pronouns:

с има́; *за има́*	'with them'
с на́ма	'with us'
с ва́мы; *ва́ма*	'with you (pl.)'
т'ема́	'those'
с так'и́ма	'with such'
со фс'ема́	'with all'
м'е́жду йе́т'има; *э́т'има*	'(between) these'
свойи́ма; *свойима́*	'(with) one's own'

Collective numerals:

трои́ма; *тройи́ма*	'three'[45]
двои́ма	'two'

These latter examples have taken us to the declension of adjectives and pronouns. In adjective, numeral and pronominal inflection, the endings -<aja>, -<yjy>, -<ojo> and -<ијо> have lost their intervocalic [j] and the vowels have been contracted, a phenomenon known as *stjažénie* (cf. e.g. Касаткин et al. 1989:69; see also next section on verbal inflection):

пр'ивозны́ ва́л'енк'и	'imported boots' adj.nom.pl.
шеста́; *шоста́*	'sixth' adj.num.F.nom.sg.
другу́	'other' pron.F.acc.sg.
так'и́	'such' pron.nom.pl.

[44] Here are some examples of complete phrases in instrumental plural: *со фс'ема́ с моло́дыма* 'with all young men'; *с има́, с э́к'има* 'with them, with those'; *с мужыка́ма* 'with these men'; *м'е́жду йе́т'има д'ер'е́вн'амы* 'between these villages'; *го́лыма рука́ма* 'with (our) bare hands'; *Йа́ гъвър'у́ своима́ слова́мы ты́ как хо́ш тут.* 'I speak in my own words, you talk as you like'.

[45] Intervocalic glides can disappear; cf. the description of *stjažénie* above and in section 4.4.2.

на другó сýдно	‘to another boat’ pron.N.acc.sg.
двó	‘two’ coll.num.nom.

Here are two examples of adjectives in predicative use with final stress: *дорогó*; *дешевó* N.nom.sg.pred.adj. (see App. VI, text 3):

(11) Т’еп’é:р’ фс’ó дорогó. Т’ип’ép’ д’ешевó н’иц’егó н’ь воз’м’óш.
‘Nowadays everything is expensive. Now you cannot get anything cheap.’

The genitive and accusative singular of the personal pronouns *я* and *ты* and of the reflexive pronoun end in -<a>: *м’ен’á* (*м’ьн’á*; *мн’а*) ‘me’; *т’еб’á* (*т’ьб’á*; *т’а*) ‘you’; *с’еб’á* (*с’ьб’á*; *с’а*) ‘oneself’.

The adjectival and pronominal genitive singular ending -<ого> is pronounced in several different ways: with a plosive [g], with a [v] as in Standard Russian, or without any intermediate consonant. In the last case, both vowels are still distinguished, and pronounced as two different syllables:

у коó	‘with whom’
н’ич’еó	‘nothing’

More dialectal forms of pronouns are the nominative plural of *сам* ‘myself’ as *сáмы* ‘ourselves; yourselves; themselves’ (cf. Standard Russian *сами*) and the masculine locative singular of *свой* ‘one’s own’ with an [e] as *своjéм* (cf. StR *своём*): *оп своjéм оц’é* ‘about my own father’, *в своjéм сокý* ‘in its own juice’.

The masculine nominative singular of adjectives often ends in -<oj>, even if this ending is unstressed. This suffix -<oj> was also found after velars, where Standard Russian has -<’ий>:

рýс’:кoj в’ém’ep	‘Russian wind’ M.nom.sg.
он тáкój л’óгон’кoj	‘it is light’ (about snow)

Comparative forms of adjectives and adverbs were observed in -<’é>, -<’éj> and <’éje> or <’ée>:

т’епл’é	‘warmer’
позн’éj	‘later’
скор’ée	‘quicker’

In the previous section it was mentioned that the irregular form for the adverb 'better', *лу́ч':e*, is pronounced with a short [u] and a long [č':].

The oblique cases of the feminine personal pronoun *она́* usually all have the form *jej*:

jéj на́до посад'и́т'	'they (= potatoes) must be planted' acc.sg.
соб'ира́ш jej	'you gather it' acc.sg.
к jej	'to her' dat.sg.
у jéj; на jéj	'with her' gen.sg.; 'on her' loc.sg.

The last example shows that 3rd person personal pronouns preceded by a preposition usually lack a prothetic [n]:

у jегó	'at his place; his' M.gen.sg.
к им [k'_im]	'to him' M.dat.sg.
с има́ [s'_imá]; *с ыма́* [s_ɨmá]	'with them' instr.pl.

The pronouns starting with an <и> can also be preceded by [j]:

у jи́х	'with them; their'

The form *jujó* of the feminine of the personal pronoun in the genitive and accusative case is less common and seems to be a recent loan from Standard Russian. Our data show intermediate forms between the old dialectal forms and Standard Russian: *y jujó*; *y н'éj* 'with her'.

The nominative plural form of the third person personal pronoun appears in our material as either *он'и́* or *он'е́*.[46] The numeral and indefinite pronoun *од'ин* 'one; a; only' can also end in -<'e> in nominative and inanimate accusative plural: *одн'е́*.

We found some dialectal forms of collective numerals, such as the earlier mentioned *дво*, besides *двóje* for 'two' in the nominative and *двои́ма* in the instrumental case. Another form is *об'éju пог'и́бл'и* for 'both died' (M.nom.; cf. StR *оба*).

The demonstrative pronoun corresponding to Standard Russian *этот* 'this' often appears with a prothetic [j] in the dialect: *jémom* M.nom.sg.; *jém'и*, nom.pl.; *jém'има* instr.pl.; cf. the remark on prothetic [j] in the previous section. Alternative demonstrative pronouns are *мóт там* 'that' M.nom.sg. and *э́коj* (*jéкоj*)

[46] The form *они́*, mentioned by Merkur'ev (1979:9), has not been attested.

'this' M.nom.sg.: *в м'éх там* loc.pl.; *по мój там* F.dat.sg.; *в мý там* F.acc.sg.; *jékoj* F.gen.sg.; *э́ка* F.nom.sg.; *э́ко* N.nom.sg.; *с' э́к'има* instr.pl.

'There' is not only expressed by *там*, but also by *тáмотк'и*. The Northern Russian form *э́т:а* 'here' has become rare; most used is *зд'ес'*. The word *тут* 'here, at the same place' has the alternative *тý тотки*. *кáжноj* 'every' occurs together with Standard Russian (Church-Slavonic) *кáждыj*: "*кáжну ... кáждуjу н'идéл'у*" 'every week' (F.acc.sg.).

The postpostive particle *-to* and its allomorphs can be attached to many different kinds of words and it is very frequent. When attached to a noun or an adjective, other forms than *-to* (pronounced as [-to] or [-tə]) can be used:

jáг'ел'-от	'reindeer moss' M.nom.sg.
с'úк-от	'white fish' (*a freshwater fish of the salmon family*) M.nom.sg.
сухája-та	'dry' adj.F.nom.
шаф'ерá-та	'best men' nom.pl.
нá з'иму-ту	'for the winter' F.acc.sg.
по рóтству-ту	'by kinship' N.dat.sg.
мнóго мат'ер'иáлу-ту	'much data' M.gen2.sg.
мы с Óл'оj-ту	'Olja and me' F.instr.sg.

However, these forms have become rare in the present speech in Varzuga. In today's dialect, the choice of forms other than *-to* seems to be determined mainly by phonetic similarity, not by morphology.

4.4.2 Verbal inflection

In the present and simple future tense, the forms of the third person singular and plural end in -<т>: *бýд'от* 'will be'; *жыв'óт* 'lives'; *знáч'ит* 'means'; *говор'úт* 'says' (all 3.sg.); *страхýjут* 'insure'; *здajýт* 'will give'; *говор'áт* 'say'; *налóв'ат* 'will catch' (all 3.pl.).

Infinitives can end in -<и́>: *прojт'и́* 'to pass by' (pf.); *пр'ив'ест'и́* 'to bring' (pf.); *н'ест'и́* 'to carry' (ipf.). Verbs with a stem on a velar (the *печь*-type) allow an infinitive in velar + -<ч'и́> (-<ц'и́>):

п'екц'и́; *п'екч'и́*; *исп'екц'и́*	'to bake' ipf.; pf.infin.
б'ер'екч'и́	'to take care of; keep, guard' ipf.infin.
запр'екч'и́	'to harness' (about reindeer); cf. StR *запрячь*

The dialectal equivalent of Standard Russian *засéчь* 'to dig out' was attested in the intermediate form *зас'éц':е* 'to lit' pf.infin.[47]

In the paradigm of the present tense of the same verbs (the *печь*-type), the velar alternates with its soft counterpart: *п'екý ~ п'ек'óш*; *зажгý ~ зажг'óш*:

п'ек'óш	'you bake' ipf.pres.2.sg.
т'ек'óт	'it flows' ipf.pres.3.sg.
пр'ивл'ек'óм	'we will attract' pf.fut.1.pl.
св'éч'к'и-то мы́ зажг'óм	'we will light the candles' pf.fut.1.pl.

In our presence, forms with Standard Russian morphology like *п'еч'óт* and *т'еч'óт* are more common.

Loss of intervocalic [j] and vowel contraction (*stjažénie*) occurs not only in nominal inflection (see above), but also in verbal conjugation. It is attested for the sequences <ajo> and <ejo> in the present tense:

б'éгат	'runs'
нач'инáт	'(s)he begins'
т'емн'éт	'it gets dark'
разрывáш	'you tear asunder'
мы откýда знам	'how should we know'
заготовл'áм	'we prepare, cook'

That this is primarily a morphological and not a phonological phenomenon shows its presence in the sequences <yjy> and <ojo> in nominal inflection, but its absence in the same sequences in verbal morphology:

другýй 'other' pron.F.acc.sg.; but *воры́jут* 'they rob' ipf.pres.3.pl.
другóе сýдно 'another ship' pron.N.acc.sg.; but *настрójено* 'built' N.past.pass.partic.

In the third person plural of the present tense I observed that the vowel <y> in the suffix after <j> is often strongly reduced to a very short sound close to [ɨ], e.g. [dogon'ájɨt] 'they catch up with (them)' ipf.pres.3.pl.; [propuskájɨt]; besides [propuskájut] 'they let it pass (the salmon)' ipf.pres.3.pl. This can lead to

[47] The fragment where this form was found is as follows:
(9) (...) нáдо jиш'ó в гóры́ ступ'éн'и зас'éц':е. *[— Вот последнее я не поняла.]* — Зас'éц'ь, зас'éч' знáч'ит. Скáжут нáдо в горы́-то ступ'éн'и зас'éц':е. Зас'éц':е. По-нáшему-то. Ну зас'éч' тáк-то прáв'ил'но зас'éц':е, у нáс-то гóвор такój, зас'éц':е. (S2)

confusion with the third person singular form in today's speech. No confusion is possible with the traditional singular form, because that form lacks a [j], due to *stjažénie* (see above); cf. [dúmat] 'thinks' ipf.pres.3.sg. vs. [dúmajɨt] 'think' ipf.pres.3.pl.

A salient feature of verbal morphology is stress on the final vowel in the ending of the second person plural in present and simple future tense, typically after an <и> (cf. Касаткин et al. 1989): *појд'ит'é* 'you (will) come'; *ход'ит'é* 'you go'; *с'јьд'ит'é* 'you will eat':

(12) воз'м'и́ С'ьр'о́шка до́ма с'јьд'ит'е́.
So take.imper2sg Ser'oška at-home eat.fut2pl
'Take it, Ser'oška, and eat it at home (you and your sister)'

(13) појд'ит'е́ на по́ч'ту?
'Are you going to the post office?'

The reflexive clitic <с'а> has many different manifestations. [s'e] is the most attested form, but variants are possible, like [s'a], [s'], [sa] and [se]. The most frequent forms in combination after <т> and <т'> are [c':e] and [c:e]:

мы бои́мс'е	'we are afraid' ipf.pres.1.pl.
набрало́с'а	'was gathered' pf.past.N.sg.
оказа́лас'	'turned out' pf.past.F.sg.
зат'ену́лса	'was drawn' pf.past.M.sg.
на́до подготовл'а́ц:е	'you have to prepare yourself' ipf.infin.
Вот пр'ишо́л он сва́тац':е.	'And so he came to court me' ipf.infin.

4.4.3 Word formation

The *с* in the adjectival suffix -<с'к>- has sometimes retained its softness:

ру́с':кој	'Russian' M.nom.sg.
Арха́нг'ел'с'к	'Archangel'sk' M.nom.sg.

In verb formation, double prefixation is widespread. Here are some examples of verb forms with double prefixes: *назаготовл'а́ш* 'you will prepare' 2.sg.; *позап'ева́ј* 'sing!' (sg.); *насоб'и́рано* 'gathered' (N.sg.); *насоб'ира́ш* 'you (will) gather' (2.sg.); *запомога́л'и* 'helped' (pl.); *поум'ира́ло* 'died' (N.sg.); *запоход'и́ла* 'she came' (F.sg.); *зап'ер'еход'и́л'и* 'went over to' (pl.); *позаросла́* 'she grew up' (F.sg.); *запр'ијéхал'и* 'arrived' (pl.). The first six of them contain an imperfectivisation affix. This

means that these verb forms are in fact perfectivisations of secondary imperfectivisations: *готовить* → *заготовить* → *заготовлять* → *назаготовлять* 'to prepare'.

The distribution and meaning of prefixes deserve further study, especially as to the highly frequent prefix *за-*. In a large part of the verbs this prefix indicates the beginning of an activity, such as in the following example:

(14) Она́ (name) гы-... (ф)с'о (во)т ска́жет, ч'о́-н'ибут' там зароска́зываш дак она́ ска́жет обож(д)и́, ја́ скажу́. [laughter] Ја́ скажу́ ска́жет.
'She, (name), sai- ... all the time she says, as soon as you start telling something, she says: 'Wait, I'll tell you.' (laughter) 'I'll tell you', she says.'

The dialect has many iterative verb forms, most often used with negation, but not exclusively, as shown by the last two examples:

важывать from *возить* 'to bring'	*Н'е ва́жывал'и дров дак, н'е во́з'ат* 'They haven't brought wood, they don't bring it.'
вязывать from *вязать* 'to knit'	*Ја н'и в'а́зывала зајáдно.* 'I wasn't a passionate knitter.'
лавливать from *ловить* 'to fish'	*Н'е́, са́м-тъ, н'и ла́вл'ивала ја.* 'No, me, I didn't go fishing.'
говаривать from *говорить* 'to talk'	*Фс'о́ уш гова́р'ивал.* 'I've told everything already.'
обедыбвать from *обедать* 'to have dinner'	*И н'е од'и́н рас об'е́дывала.* 'I had dinner more than once.'

That the second example does not have the meaning 'I did not have dinner there a single time', but 'I had dinner more than once' is shown by the context, where the speaker explains how she became acquainted with her future husband:

(15) Но́, мы тут б'е́гал'и да фс'о́ ды. Ја к и́м ход'и́ла. И н'е од'и́н ра́з об'е́дывала. Та́к. За сто́л-то сад'и́л'и. (S4)
'Well, we ran around and everything. I went to visit him. And I had dinner there several times. That's how it went. We sat down at the table.'

Merkur'ev found predicative use of gerunds with the affix -<ши> in his data on the Kola dialects. I only found two examples of verb forms with this morpheme. They were used predicatively as well, but both of them were long, inflectable

forms, and they should therefore be regarded as forms of the active past participle:

(16) В'и́ктор Гр'ьго́р'ев'ич тако́j Папо́ф был, но он ум'о́ршеj.
'We had a certain Viktor Grigor'evič, Popov, but he is dead.'

(17) Мат' ум'ерла́. Вот, с'естра́ адна́ у м'н'а зна́ч'ит ум'о́ршаja то́же.
'My mother died. And one of my sisters, you know, she died as well.'

4.5 Syntax

Although a representative overview over syntactic characteristics requires a more thorough study of a large corpus, some interesting syntactic phenomena were found in the Varzuga corpus. I will start with some remarks on the use of prepositions. The preposition *о* can be used with accusative case and have the meaning 'close to' or 'along':

о б'ép'ек	'along the coast'
об у́с'је заjеж':а́т'	'to go along the river mouth'
о́ Б'ело мо́р'е	'close to, along the White Sea'

The preposition *о* + accusative case can also be used in combination with temporal expressions (cf. Меркурьев 1997a):[48]

о пра́зн'ик'и	at the time of the holidays

This meaning was also attested by Merkur'ev.

The preposition *с* + gen. 'from' can be used in constructions where Standard Russian uses *из* (cf. section 4.7):

б'ибл'иат'е́кар' с У́мбы	'a librarian from Umba'
с Мо́сквы́	'from Moscow' F.gen.sg.
а с Норв'е́г'ии-т э́то то́же пр'ијежа́л'и	'there were also some from Norway'
вот с о́тпуска	'from our holidays'

The preposition *прям* is used in the meaning 'opposite to, facing':

[48] "Употребляется при обозначении времени, в которое совершается действие. *Вы́-то то́жэ о пра́зники бы́ли*. Варзуга." (Меркурьев 1997a). Merkur'ev also gives an example attested in the city of Kola.

(18) ал’е́на пр’ив’еза́л к огоро́ду тут с’иб’е́. О́н как за́:р’о́т, «Ма́ма, ал’е́н’-тъ м’ен’а́ с’jе́с!» Ак ə- ... сн’е́гу-то мно́го, о́н как ра́с пр’а́м окна́. (S8) [App. VI text 3]
‘He [= the speaker’s husband] tied the reindeer to the garden fence at home. Then he [= their son] bursts out like ‘Mama, the reindeer is going to eat me!’ Well, er ... there was a lot of snow, the reindeer was just opposite the window.’

The preposition *от* can be used in a construction to signal the absence of a person (cf. *SRNG*, with references, among others, to the Archangel’sk oblast and Karelia):

(19) А ты там н’е пла́кала оста́лас’ от^{d} ма́мы дак? (S1; see section 11.5.3)
But you there *neg* cried.F were-left.F from mummy *dak*?
‘And didn’t you cry when you were without your mummy?’

The data contain some cases of combinations of a form of the past tense of *быть* ‘to be’ with another verb in the past tense, which the context suggests to be instances of the pluperfect (cf. Меркурьев 1997a):

(20) была́ л’е́том пр’ижеж:а́ла
was summer-in arrived
‘she had come here in summer’
(21) дом был н’едостро́jен:ыj оста́лса
house.M.nom was.M.sg unfinished.M.sg(long) left.M.sg
‘the house was left unfinished’
(22) бы́ло называ́лос’ ‘was called’
(23) она́ пото́м уjе́хала на п’е́нс’иjу была́ уjе́хала в Му́рманск (S1)
‘Later she retired and [when?] she had moved to Murmansk’

Passive past participles are relatively frequent, as usual in Northern Russian dialects (Трубинский 1984b). Some of its uses are dialectal or colloquial. All our attestations show agreement of the participle with the subject. Passive past participles are often used in combination with a prepositional phrase with *у*. This phrase can denote not only the location and the possessor, like in Standard Russian, but also the agent of the action. In most cases, the *у*-phrase denotes a person who is both agent and possessor (example 24), but in some cases, it has a purely agentive meaning (example 28). Purely agentive meaning is only observed

in Northern and Western Russian dialects (cf. Трубинский 1984b and Trubinskij 1988):[49]

(24) У м'ьн'а фс'о сп'и́сано.
at-me everything written.N.sg
'I have everything written down', 'I wrote down everything'

(25) Фс'о́-то ста́ро-то jéс', оста́лос' дак,
Everything-prt old-prt is, was-left prt,
у jегó уш давнó на-...соб'и́ранъ-то фс'о.
with him prt long-ago gathered.N.sg-prt everything.N.sg
'All old things are there, of what is left, he gathered everything already a long time ago.'

(26) Дом тут у jегó постро́jен был дак о́н'е́ с оцо́м-то
houseM.sg there with him built.M.sg was prt they with father-prt
и жы́л'и.
prt lived
'He built a house, so they lived with their father.'

(27) у м'ьн'а́ м'е́сто к оц':у́ вы́брано
with me placeN.sg towards father chosen.N.sg
'I have chosen a place close to my father' (at the cemetary)

The context makes clear that *y jегó* in example (26) expresses the agent, that is, the builder of the house. The next example expresses the agent only:

(28) у На́ст'и пр'ив'ез'о́н бы́л.
with Nastja taken.M.sg was.M.sg
'Nastja had brought him.'

The context makes an interpretation of Nastja as the possessor improbable: the speaker is referring to her cat (*кот* M.), that had been given to her by her daughter

[49] The constructions with a general syncretic agent-possesive meaning are possible in colloquial Russian as well, including standard colloquial Russian, but use with a purely agentive meaning is restricted to Northern and Western Russian dialects (Trubinskij 1988:400). Trubinskij remarks that the prepositional phrase often gets a rhematical accent when it is used to express the agent (Трубинский 1984b:131). In our examples, this is the case only for the example (28) and possibly for (29), but only if you accept that a sentence can contain two rhematic accents; in my analysis, *р'естаѵр'и́руjецъ-то* has the same accent as *у П'етра́-то* and has a rhematical function as well. It is possible though that Trubinskij has a different understanding of the term *rheme*; cf. section 7.2.2.

Nastja, who lives in a city far away. The *y*-phrase can also have a purely agentive meaning in combination with a different verbal construction. In the next fragment, the verb indicates an ongoing process instead of the result of a finished action. Instead of a passive past participle, a passive construction in the present tense is used, with an imperfective verb in the present tense and the clitic *-ся*:[50]

(29) (...) и пошл'и́ с ма́мъ(j) он'и́ в магаз'и́н. А магаз'и́н был во́т гд'е́ ста́ра-то шко́ла
...р'еставр'и́рујецъ-то у П'етра́-тъ. На уго́р'ии^{d} бы́л магаз'и́н. (S3)
is-restored.pres3sg-prt with Petr-prt
'(...) and he and mama went to the shop. The shop was there where the old school (was) ... Petr is restoring it. On the high river bank there was a shop.' [App. VI text 12]

The extra-linguistic context excludes the interpretation of *y П'етра́-тъ* as indicating the location. The *y*-phrase denotes only the agent: Petr is the one who is restoring the old school building and he does not live close to it.

The data contain an example without an *y*-phrase, but the meaning of the utterance is similar to the just mentioned examples, as it is clear from the context that the speaker herself is both the agent of the action and the possessor of the result. The speaker says the following while showing her knitwork:

(30) т'ип'е́р' то́лста ше́рс' напр'е́д'ена (S6*)
now thick wool.F.nom.sg knitted.F.nom.sg
'Now I knitted with thick wool'

In the next utterance, we find a combination of *есть* (pronounced as *jec'*) with a past passive participle:

(31) У на́с дъ с'и́х по́р пода́р'ены[51] у́гол'ны самова́р
with us until now given.M.nom.sg(long) charcoal samovar.M.nom.sg
да в клу́б'е вот jéc' пр'ьв'ез'о́н
prt in-club prt is brought.M.sg(short)
'We still have a charcoal samovar we were given; it was brought to the club-house'

Not purely dialectal, but also non-standard is the use of long participle forms with a predicative meaning:

[50] To my knowledge, this possibility has not been mentioned in the literature before.
[51] The status of the participle *подарены* is uncertain. It could have been used both attributively and predicatively. The context makes not clear who has given the samovar to whom and whether the speaker means their own club building or the club in Umba.

(32) У м’ьн’а́ д’а́д’а та́м ръдно́j был жена́тыj. (S12) [App. VI text 6]

at me uncle there native was married

‘My own uncle got married there.’

(33) Ми́ша у́м’ер ... шес’на́цат’ л’ет дак. А о́н вз’а́тоj ... у м’ин’а́ в’ьт’ ... пора́н’ше.

Misha died sixteen years prt. But he taken ... at me prt ... earlier

‘Miša died ... sixteen years ago, and I had him ... earlier.’

The last example is the answer to a question about the age of the speaker’s cat. Miša was the name of her husband. Predicative use of long passive participles is common in substandard Russian (*prostorečie*; Морозова 1984:141). It reminds of the previously mentioned predicative use of long forms of the active participle with the morpheme <ши> (exmaples 16 and 17). In the last example, *у м’ин’а́* expresses both the possessor of the cat and the agent of the action ‘to take’. In the first example, *у м’ьн’а́* expresses only the ‘possessor’.

Forms of *быть* ‘to be’ can be used with the genitive case:

(34) Jéс’ кон’е́шнъ у на́с сло́ф так’и́х интер’е́сных.

‘Of course, we have such interesting words.’

(35) Мы то́же там выступа́л’и, ра́н’ше наро́ду-то бы́ло вот.

‘We performed there, too, there used to be a lot of people there in earlier times.’

(36) А бы́ло жен’их о́ф-то.

‘There was no lack of suitors.’

Nouns of the second declension (with nom. sg. on -<a>) show that the nominative case can be used instead of the accusative to denote objects:

(37) Дак воз’му́ газ’е́та́ ужé б’ес то́лку ужé програ́м:а прошла́ дак.

‘So I take the newspaper, but it’s no use anymore, the television programme is already over.’

(38) А то́же подава́ла над’е́жда́ што ... н’ь софс’е́м глу́па была́.

‘Besides, I gave the hope that I wasn’t quite stupid.’

4.6 Vocabulary[52]

The dialect of Varzuga has a rich vocabulary, which definitely deserves more

[48] The lexical items are given in Standard Russian orthography; example utterances are transcribed as elsewhere, according to the simplified transciption style.

study, as argued in Лённгрен 2001. This section will discuss some examples from the lexicon from our recent material. The term *dialectal word* is used in its narrow sense for words that are not common for all varieties of Russian, but geographically restricted in form and/or meaning.

Dialectal words can be described from different points of view. This section starts with a discussion of some obsolete dialectal words as opposed to frequent ones (section 4.6.1). It is followed by a list of dialectal words which have not been described previously, or only in a different meaning (section 4.6.2). In section 4.6.3 I will discuss loanwords from neighbouring languages. Finally, lexical items are given from several semantic fields with vocabulary specific for the region (section 4.6.4). The section ends with a description of some dialectal adverbs and particles. In the last section of this chapter, section 4.7, some more dialectal words will be discussed from a dialect-geographical point of view. Appendix VII contains the total of dialectal words mentioned in this dissertation.

The main sources for comparison were *Живая речь русских поморов* (Меркурьев 1997a), *Словарь русских народных говоров* (*SRNG*), *Словарь русских говоров Карелии и сопредельных областей* (*SRGKar*), *Словарь областного архангельскаго нарѣчія въ его бытовомъ и этнографическомъ примѣненіи* (Подвысотскій 1885) and *DARJa* III (1986 and 1997). I had very limited access to the 12 published volumes of *Архангельский областной словарь* (*AOS*). One has to take into account that most dictionaries have been published only until a certain letter (see bibliography), which means that words starting with a letter late in the alphabet are not included. Publication of *AOS* has only reached the letter D.

4.6.1 Obsolete vs. current words

Some dialectal words are lost earlier than others. Sometimes there is an extra-linguistic reason for the loss of a word, such as when the traditional culture that the word is connected to, has disappeared. This explains why words for outdated phenomena, such as reindeer keeping, disappear. More often, the concept denoted by the word is still in use, but the local word for it is replaced by a non-local one, such as *брусни́ка* (= StR) for *бру́ска* (red whortleberry, *vaccinium vitis idaea*; see text 13 in Appendix VII). In our recordings, the dialectal form *бру́ска* was only rarely used. This form is rare in Russian dialects (see next section), but also words with a wider geographical spreading get lost, such as typical Northern Russian words like *э́тта* 'here, at this place'. It was rarely used in our recordings, while the near synonym *здесь* was used all the time. Similarly, the word *нать* 'is needed, must' is usually "replaced" by *на́до*, while the traditional Northern Russian word for 'sauna', *ба́йна* (StR *ба́ня*), was recorded from only two of the

speakers; the others consistently used *ба́ня*. Other words have already disappeared from speech. Some words which were attested by Merkur'ev in the 1960s were no longer recognised, while others were only remembered after I had mentioned them, such as *баско́*; *баска́* 'pretty; beautiful' and *ка́танцы (ка́тан'ц'и)* 'felt boots', nowadays called *ва́ленки* (see Appendix VI, text 2). The word *пора́то* 'very', which is common in parts of Northern Russia (*DARJa* III 1987 and 2004, map nr. 99), was attested by Merkur'ev, but we never heard it used in Varzuga.

On the other hand, other local words are still frequently used, even by the younger inhabitants, who have few other local traits in their speech. An example is *се́йгот (сейгод)* 'this year; now', which was used several times by a man in his thirties from Umba, and the particle *дак*. The last word is commonly used over most of Northern Russia, and *се́йгот* has also been attested in large areas (see next section), but even a very local expression can survive. An example is the word *паку́ль* for 'snowball'. *Паку́ль* was reported to be used even among today's children, although it is only used in Varzuga in this meaning. An explanation for the survival of this word might be that the word for snowball is typically used only among locals, not in communication with non-locals.

4.6.2 Some previously unattested words and meanings

The following words are examples of words from our data which are not mentioned in other sources.

- *мани́к* is an old mark in the snow after the wind has blown away the loose snow.[53]
- A naughty, disobedient cat was called an *уме́ныш*:

(39a) Во́ ты ум'е́ныш ты во́т же!

'What a naughty cat you are!'

(39b) Да jего́ ум'е́ныша та́м на са́мом дн'и́ да ja jего згр'ебла́, да и пон'есла́ домо́j (...)

'So he, this scoundrel, was there on the bottom and I managed to catch him and I carried him home (...)'[54]

- A *мяки́нник* is a *шаньга́* – a round, open pie – filled with turnip loaf. The word is found in *SRNG*, but with other meanings. It is also used as a nickname for the inhabitants of Kaškarancy.[55] A *моро́шечник* is a *шаньга́* with cloudberry

[53] The word *мани́к* is not found in Меркурьев 1997a or *SRNG*; María Pétursdóttir was probably the first to describe it in her Master's thesis about words connected with snow from the Kola Peninsula.
[54] See Appendix VII, text 15 for the whole story.
[55] The word *мяки́нник* is attested in Pskovian, Smolensk and Tver' dialects as a word for a person who feeds on bread with *мякина*; it is also a nickname for Pskovians, attested in the Pskov and Tver' oblasts, a nickname of Belorussians (Dal'), and, among other things, a term for a miser (attested in the Pskov area). It would be interesting to know what the inventors had in mind when they gave the people of Kaškarancy the same nickname.

(*моро́шка*) filling. Tamara Lönngren had earlier attested the words *волну́шник* and *горо́ховник* in our material (see Лённгрен 2001). A *волну́шник* is a *шаньга́* filled with *волну́шки* (a kind of mushroom) and a *горо́ховник* a *шаньга́* filled with peas.

Some other words have been attested in other sources, but not in Merkur'ev's dictionary. Here are some examples:

- A *ко́нтус* is a male reindeer in its fifth year (Подвысотскій 1885; *SRGKar*);
- *образники́* (sg. *о́бразник*) are towels used during the wedding ceremony (only in *SRGKar*);
- *а́ндел* 'angel', or the plural form *а́нделu* is a very frequent exclamation (*SRNG*; *SRGKar*);
- *пла́тьё* means 'bed linen; laundry' (*SRNG*; attested in many places in Russia; see section 4.7);
- The word *жо́мко* 'cold' has earlier only been attested in the Pinega region, Archangel'sk oblast, and in the former Olonec *gubernija* (*SRNG*), cf. section 4.7;
- *ко́ксы* are wooden bolts used to fasten together beams (*SRNG*; attested earlier in the Cholmogory region south-west in the Archangel'sk district (in 1907) and with final stress in the Onega region (Karelia; in 1933);
- *ляпа́нда*[56] denotes heavy snowfall with wet, thick snowflakes: *Така́ л'апа́нда вал'и́т дак!* 'What a heavy snowfall!'
- The verb *наколе́ться* 'to freeze' has been attested in the Don and Kursk oblasts, but without the reflexive suffix (*SRNG*);
- *назо́баться* 'to eat a lot' was attested among other places in the Archangel'sk oblast (*SRNG*; we attested *назо́болся* 'he ate very much (of something)';[57] Меркурьев 1997a contains *позоба́ть* in its original meaning 'to peck';
- The word *не́погодь* for 'bad weather' is not attested neither in Меркурьев 1997a nor in *SRNG*, but the word is discussed in *DARJa* III 1987. *Не́погодь* is not reflected on a *DARJa* map, but the word was attested in 23 villages in different regions of the part of Russia which was studied for the atlas.

Some words have only been attested in other sources with a different meaning:

[56] The word *ляпа́нда* has previously been attested only in *SRGKar* ("Терск."); not in Меркурьев 1997a or *SRNG*. It is also described in María Pétursdóttir's non-published Master's thesis and mentioned in Мызников 2003a.
[57] *Та́к назо́болс'а дак!* 'How much he stuffed in!' (S22#)

- In Varzuga, *юра́* has the meaning 'hole in the landscape'. The word is also used in Karelia, but never with the same meaning; most common is the meaning 'shallow place in the water'.
- *сралькú* (or *стралькú* or *странькú*) are felt boots from which the top has been cut off. The word *страньки* was recorded over a century ago in Подвысотскій 1885, but for somewhat different footwear.

Sometimes the previous description does not completely correspond with our findings, such as *норве́г* in *SRNG* and *де́енка* and *меше́чник* in Меркурьев 1997a:

- We attested the word *норве́г* (nom.pl. *норве́ги*) in the meaning 'a Norwegian'. Меркурьев 1997a only contains *Норве́га* for 'Norway'; *SRNG* gives for *норве́г* the meanings 1. Norway (Pomor. 1885; Murman.), and 2. Norwegian coast (Pinega region, Arch. obl.); the meaning 'a Norwegian' is given only indirectly, viz. in the saying *Норве́г его знает* '*кто его знает*' ('goodness knows'; Pomor. 1885).
- For *де́енка* Меркурьев 1997a gives the meaning 'aunt',[58] but we were told that the meaning is more specific: it was used only for one's uncle's wife. The Russian dialects are rich in related forms, such as *дя́дина*; *дя́ина*; *дя́динка*, but apart from in form they usually also differ in meaning.[59]
- Меркурьев 1997a gives *меше́чник* as a nickname for a person from Varzuga, attested in Čávan'ga; in Varzuga we were told this word was a nickname for a person from Kúzomen'!

Other words in Меркурьев 1997a were not used over the whole of the Kola Peninsula:

- As reported earlier, only in Varzuga a snowball is called *паку́ль*.
- The word *не́блюй*, meaning a young reindeer of a few months old, was attested by Merkur'ev in Ponoj (Меркурьев 1997a) and possibly in other villages, but we were told that it was not used in Varzuga, where a reindeer was called *пыж* during the whole period from its birth until the first autumn.

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[58] "Тетя, тетка (Варзуга)" (Меркурьев 1997a).

[59] The first vowel [e] in *де́енка* corresponds to Standard Russian [a]; see section 4.3.2. When an old Varzugan lady used this word, her daughter immediately explained it to me as "дя́енка". This might explain that the word is not taken up with an *e* in e.g. Подвысотскій 1885. However, not only the form is different in Podvysotskij's dictionary; according to his sources, the word forms close to *де́енка* which he attested in the Archangel'sk *gubernija* were used for male relatives only, not for females: "**Дя́ина, Дя́инка, Дя́инушко** — дядя, дядюшка. Сверхъ того, словомъ дя́инка (также де́инка) обозначаютъ принятыхъ въ семью мужниныхъ и жениныхъ родныхъ мужескаго пола; женскаго же пола родные называются: тётки. Помор.". In the Archangel'sk dialects, the most common meaning for *де́енка* is 'your brother's wife' (*AOS*). The same meaning as in Varzuga – wife of one's uncle – I found for *дя́нка* from the Smolensk oblast (Иванова 1982).

4.6.3 Loanwords

Loanwords give insight in the history of the language and culture of its speakers. The overwhelming majority of the dialect vocabulary is of Slavonic origin. Still, the vocabulary contains a substantial group of loanwords from neighbouring Balto-Finnic languages, such as Karelian, Finnish and Vepsian, and from Sámi, another neighbouring Finno-Ugric language. Not surprisingly, most of the terminology connected with reindeer are loans, mostly from Sámi (Подвысотскій 1885; Vasmer 1953-58; Itkonen 1932; Пинеда 2004). Examples will be given below. Most loans from Sámi were probably borrowed by the former inhabitants of the Kola Peninsula.[60]

Another area with many loanwords is the topographic lexicon, such as *ку́йпога*, *ля́га*, *ня́ша* and *ла́мбина* (see below). These are often of Balto-Finnic origin. These loans are typically shared with dialects in Karelia and, less often, with dialects in the Archangel'sk oblast (Мызников 2003b; see section 4.7). They were probably borrowed not by the inhabitants of the Kola Peninsula themselves, but by Russians who lived further to the south (Vasmer 1953-58; Kalima 1915; Мызников 2003a and b).

4.6.4 Some semantic fields

I will discuss some examples from the following semantic fields: the house, food, fishery, reindeer terminology, places in nature, words for wind directions and finally some adverbs, conjunctions and particles.

4.6.4.1 The house

A peasant's home is usually called *дом*; the word *изба́* is mostly used not for the house itself, but for a room of the house, such as *зи́мня(я)* or *передня(я) изба́*, the living room for winter (with a large Russian oven, *печь*), and *ле́тня(я) изба́* the summer living room, with no *печь*, or only a small one. The *пере́дня изба́*, the front room, is the most elaborated part of the house. It is built on the side facing to the river. The domestic animals were kept in the *двор* (homestead) under the same roof. The private reindeer (see below) were kept indoors only in very harsh weather. More words connected with the Varzugan house can be found in Лённгрен 2001.

4.6.4.2 Food

Fish used to be an important part of the diet. At celebrations, guests first get *ры́ба*, which is white fish, i.e. fish other than salmon, and then salmon, *сёмга*. Salmon

[60] But not necessarily, since the Sámi people used to live in a much larger area.

is often served in a *кулеба́ка*, an open pie with a large piece of salmon or other fish. They were put on the table with the head of the fish pointing towards the river mouth. Smaller, round open pies are called *ша́ньги* (sg. *шаньга́*). They can have all kinds of fillings (see above). While *ша́ньги* are open pies made of dough with yeast, *кали́тки* are made without yeast. Pikes, *щу́ки* (= StR) are eaten in *кулеба́ки*, or slightly fermented (see text 9 in Appendix VII). The leaves of root vegetables are called *мекúна (мякúна*), and can be cooked. The potato, *карто́шка* (= StR), was introduced in the village only in the 1930s. The villagers put much effort in the gathering and preparing of mushrooms and berries. A local form for berries is the previously mentioned *бру́ска* for the red whortleberry, and cranberries are called *клюква́*, with final stress.

4.6.4.3 Drinking water and laundry

The rinsing of large pieces of the laundry, which was called *пла́тьё* (StR *бельё*), was done in the river; in winter, a hole had to be dug (*не́шать*) in the river, called *пролба́* (cf. StR *про́рубь*).[61] Two holes were hogged: one for drinking water (*водоно́сна пролба́* or *водоно́сна та́щ*) and one for the rinsing of clothes (*поло́скальна пролба́*; see text 4 in Appendix VII). Close to the village there are some natural springs. Only recently, wells were dug in the village; the Varzužans still do without tap water.

4.6.4.4 Fishery

Fishery was, and still is, the main source of income. Fish was caught in lakes, rivers and at sea, both in the White Sea and along the Murman coast (*на Мурмана́х*), in *Баре́нцево мо́ре* (note stress). Not only men went out fishing, but also women and children. One of our informants was taken from school after the first year to join her father in fishing on the lakes. Many of our female informants were sent to the Barents Sea to supply Murmansk with fish during the Second Word War. Children made fishing nets after school time. The vocabulary connected with fishery is huge. Examples are *по́езд* (*по́jес*), *поездова́ть* and *поездни́ца* (Кармакова; ms.). A *поезд* is a type of fishing net which was held between two boats. This way of fishing was called *поездова́ть*, and the used boats were called *поездни́цы*. These were narrow, long river boats with a flat bottom. There was an elaborate terminology connected to salmon, e.g. *валча́к* (*валця́к*) and *зале́дка*. A *валча́к* is a salmon which after spawning in autumn looses weight and returns from the river to the sea. *Зале́дка* is salmon that has spent the winter in the river, and is caught in spring (Кармакова; ms.).

[61] I also attested the variant *про́лубу п'éшат'*; see section 4.7 for the distribution of these forms.

4.6.4.5 Reindeer keeping

Reindeer were kept by the non-Russian population of the Kola Peninsula, the Sámi, Komi and Nenets, who lived mostly in the central and northern parts of the peninsula, but they were also kept by the Russians. Until the 1960s, every household in Varzuga used to have a few reindeer, mainly for transportation purposes, but the reindeer skin and meat were also used. In winter, they were kept around the house; in summer, they were released to the woods. A lot of reindeer moss (*я́гель*) had to be gathered (*копа́ть)* in order to feed them. The reindeer vocabulary consists mainly of loanwords, most of them from Sámi. Reindeer sledges were often used in a train, a *ра́йда*. The stick used to urge the reindeer dragging a sledge was called a *хоре́й*; a *хи́гна* is a reindeer bridle or rein. The reindeer had a wooden identification label, *ке́йкало* or *би́рка*, containing the name of the village on one side and the owner's family name on the other. The reindeer had several names according to age and gender:

пыж; *пы́жик*	*reindeer calf*
ло́панка	*female reindeer between three months and a year*
во́нделка	*female reindeer in its second year*
ура́к	*male reindeer in its second year*
волделва́женка	*female reindeer in its third year*
у́борс	*male reindeer in its third year*
ва́женка; *ва́женца*	*female reindeer of four years or older*
шалома́т; *шалома́т*	*male reindeer in its fourth year*
ко́нтус	*male reindeer in its fifth year*
бык	*male reindeer of five years or older*

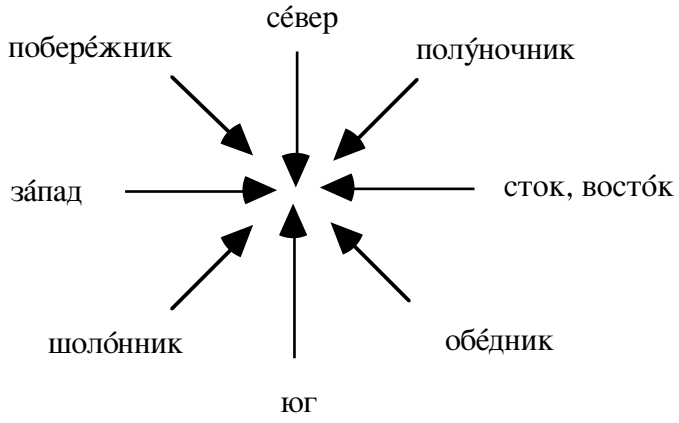
Yet another word for an adult male reindeer is *хи́рвас*, but, contrary to a *бык*, a *хи́рвас* is not castrated.

4.6.4.6 Topographic terminology

Topographic terms are often based on words from Karelian or other closely related Balto-Finnic languages. *Ля́га* is a word used for 'pool, puddle'. The word *ку́йпога* is used for the beach side or for the river bank close to the sea where the water has drawn back at low tide. The *ку́йпога* can be used to drive to the villages further to the east of the Ter Coast, which cannot be reached by road. Mud is called *ня́ша*. A *ла́мбина* is a deepening filled with snow.

4.6.4.7 Some words connected with snow and wind[62]

I have already mentioned some words connected with snow: *ляпа́нда*, *мани́к*, *паку́ль* and *ла́мбина*. The following figure gives an overview of the names of winds from different directions:



The word *шело́нник* for wind from the south-west is also used in a saying: *сходи́ть шоло́нечким ло́гом*. It means 'to arrive quickly' (see text 1 in Appendix VII). A *заси́верка* is a cold wind from the north.

4.6.4.8 Some adverbs, conjunctions and particles

Finally, some words will be mentioned with a primarily grammatical meaning: adverbs, conjunctions and particles. These are usually poorly described, for the obvious reason that their exact contribution to the discourse is not easily detected, and because they are usually regarded as superfluous. An example of an unsatisfying description is the one that Podvysotskij gives for *одна́ко*, which in most dialects has a different meaning than the Standard Russian meaning 'however':

> Слово это употребляется въ поморскихъ мѣстностяхъ не в смыслѣ возраженія, а только въ видѣ приставки, никакого значенія не имѣющей, какъ, напр.: то. *Наши въ лѣсъ нонь сбираются, поѣзжай и ты с ними, однако не хочу*. (Подвысотскій 1885; the emphasis is mine; MP)

Меркурьев 1997a translates *одна́ко* with *ведь*, which corresponds more or less to English 'you know', and seems to be much closer to a good description. However, the circumstance that *ведь* is a very frequent word as well suggests that *одна́ко* and *ведь* are not perfect synonyms in the dialect. *SRNG* gives many different

[62] The vocabulary connected with snow was the subject of María Huld Pétursdóttir's Master's thesis (see Pétursdóttir 2001 and 2003). Wind terminology was planned to be the subject for the Karin Krogh's Master's thesis, so this subject is also well presented in our data.

meanings for *однáко*. Our single attestation of the word in the transcriptions from Varzuga and the few example sentences in the dictionaries do not allow for a more precise description:

(40) — Он пришóл бы однáко! (S1) [App. VI; text 15]
'But he would come back, of course!'

(41) Посидúм: чай однáко есь! (Меркурьев 1997a; from Čapoma)
'So we sit down for a while – we have tea, you know!'

(42) Рáньшэ судни́шка однáко фсе пáрусны. (Меркурьев 1997a; from Zachrebetnoe)
'In earlier days all ships were sailers, you know.'

Of common Russian particles, the most frequent particles in Varzuga are *-то* (which, by the way, is not used all over Russia), *вот*, *ну* (or *но*) and *ведь* (*в'ет'*; *в'ит'*; *ит'*). The particle *уш* is also common, while *же* is rare.

The postpositive particle *-то* is used more often than in (spoken) Standard Russian, and sometimes one of its variants is used, such as *-от* or *-ту* (see section 4.4.1). The functions of this particle will be discussed in section 14.6.

It is difficult to discern *ну* from *но*. More studies are needed to decide whether *но* and *ну* are different lexemes with different meanings or not; cf. Касаткин & Касаткина 1997. *Но* can be used as an interjection, and it functions often as a positive answering particle; '*дá*' in this function is rare:[63]

(43) (...) бы́л'и так'и́ дóсóч'к'и, а гр'и́ф'ел'ом п'исáл'и. Вот.
— *Ага. Грифелем?*
— Нó. (S4)
'(...) we had such slates, and we wrote with a slate-pencil.
— *Ah. A slate-pencil?*
— Exactly.'

However, *но* (*ну*) does not seem to mean a straightforward 'yes', but rather something like 'indeed'. Many examples can be found in the fragments in Appendix VI.

[63] Cf. Подвысотскій 1885; Меркурьев 1997a; Касаткин & Касаткина 1997. Here is the entry of *ну* in Подвысотскій 1885: "**Ну** — да, такъ, хорошо, -— вообще выраженіе согласія или подтвержденія. *Пришелъ Иванъ с овина? Ну*, т. е. да, пришелъ. *На лѣсованье пойдемъ нешто? Ну*, т. е. хорошо, пойдемъ. Онеж., Пин., Мез." In *SRNG*, both *но* and *ну* are given as an affirmative particle, predominantly in northern dialects and in some Siberian areas. An example from *SRNG* is "*Мама дома? Но. — Вы в город? — Ну.*"

As mentioned in section 1.1.7, the connectives *и*, *да* and *дак* can be used post-positively. The literature (e.g. *DARJa*) also mentions *дай* and *да и*, but our transcriptions form Varzuga lack these forms in final position.

Clause-final *и* has most often a clear additive meaning:

(44) Про́жыл'и, посмотр'и́л'и на б'е́лом св'е́т'ь. Св'е́та б'е́лого, в Л'ен'ингра́дах и в'ьзд'е́ и. Про́жыл'и. Та́к. В'е́к свој. (S9)
'We have lived through it all and seen a lot on this world. Of this world, in Leningrad and everywhere. We lived through it. You know. Our time.'

(45) А иногда́ топоро́м и зас'ека́јут да́же. Ш'о́бы хорошо́ спуска́ц:е и вос:тава́т' и. А то́ та́к в'ет' (...) (S2)
'And sometimes they are even cut out with an axe (they = the steps in the stairs which are cut out in the snow on the steep banks of the river). So that you can easily descend and come up again.'

Merkur'ev's edition of fairy tales from the Murmansk oblast (Меркурьев 1997b) contains many examples of clause-final *и*.

The relation of *да* and *ак* to *дак* will be discussed in chapter 14; here I will only give some examples, indicating how difficult it is to describe these words.

Final *да* can also be used with an additive meaning, but far from always its contribution to the discourse is clear:

(46) Ша́нг'и^{d} п'екч'и́ надо, кул'иба́к'и^{d} на́до п'екч'и́ да. Э́то ры́бн'ик'и-то *да*. П'екч'и́, а н'и п'е́ч'. (S2)
'We have to bake *šangi*, we have to bake *kulebaki da*. [= 'as well'?] These are fish pies *da* [= denotes background information, cf. *dak*?]. (We say) *pekčí*, and not *peč'*.'

(47) Жы́л'и. Ф т'е́х м'еста́х *да*. Огоро́ды копа́л'и *да* фс'о́ *да*. Труда́ бы́ло мно́го. (S4)
'We lived there. In those places, that is(?). We dug in the kitchen-gardens and everything. There was a lot of work to do.'

The function of final *дак* is not easily detectable either, as I will show in the next chapters. Here are some examples:

(48) Да уш в п'и́ц'и́^{d}-то н'иц'е(г)о́ н'е в'и́жу, т'е́м'ен' стра́шнъ та́м *дак*. (S1)
prt prt in oven-*prt* nothing *neg* see.1sg, darkness terrible there *dak*
'Besides, I can't see anything in the oven, it's terribly dark in there.'

(49) На у́л'иц'и-то така́ л'апа́нда вал'и́т *дак*! (S2)
On street-*prt* such sticky-snow falls *dak*
'What a heavy snowfall outside!'

The list of postpositive connectives mentioned in the course books on dialectology should be extended with the word *ак*. Our corpus contains too few examples of this word to be able to draw many conclusions. This word seems sometimes to function as a normal subordinating conjunction, with the same meaning as *как* 'when; how' (see the examples in section 14.5), but not always. It some cases, *ак* might be no more than a pronunciation variant of the particle *дак*:[64]

(50) То́же ... тогда́ ишо́ бы́ло ... пр'е́же-то *ак* јико́ны бы́л'и. (S4)
'Also ... back then there were still ... in earlier days *ak* there were icons.'
(used to mark a contrastive theme, like *dak*?)

(51) А та́м Л'и́да Па́вловна. (...) Ста́рше м'ен'а́ она на дев'ено́стовъм д'ьс'а́тк'и уш, д'ев'ьно́стовој. Д'ев'ьно'сто ско́л'ко-то, тр'и́ л'и ш'о́ л'и јеј уш, го́да *ак*. (S5)
'She is older then me, she is over ninety, ninety ... ninety – how much is it, she is ninety three or something, years *ak*.' (marks background information, like *dak*?)

A discussion of these particles can be found in chapter 14.

4.7 The position of the Varzuga dialect in the Russian dialect landscape[65]

4.7.1 Results of a small dialect-geographical study

This section will discuss the position of the Varzuga dialect in the Russian dialect landscape. Comparisons between dialects tell us how a dialect relates to other dialects: how isolated it is, and which dialects it is most closely related to. Areal linguistic studies also give information about the historical ties of the dialect and its speakers to other regions and about their cultural background. The people of Varzuga and the other villages along the White Sea coasts lived relatively isolated from the rest of the Russian world, and their closeness to the sea, their contact with different cultures and the poor conditions for agriculture led to the development of a distinct coastal, Pomor culture (see chapter 2). As remarked in

[64] Cf. *AOS*, Никитина & Пожарицкая 1993, Меркурьев 1998. Rozalija Kasatkina (p.c.) reminded me of this particle; at first, I hadn't noticed its existence, since it is so much alike other unstressed connectives like *dak*, *da* and *kak*; cf. Appendix III.
[65] This section differs only in details from Пост 2004.

chapter 2, the Pomors consider themselves to be Russians, but isolated from the Russian mainland. In this section I will address the question whether these conditions led to the development of a distinct dialect.

In the first classification of the East Slavonic dialects (Дурново et al. 1915), the dialects of the Kola Peninsula were classified under the Pomor group of the Northern Great-Russian macrodialect (*severno-velikorusskoe narečie*). This dialect group was alternatively called the Northern or Archangel'sk group. As mentioned in section 4.2.2, later dialect-geographical classifications, the *DARJa* and the *OLA*, do not cover the Kola Peninsula. The *DARJa* only covers the core Russian area, which was settled by Russians before the 15th century, when the main Russian dialectal differences had emerged. Many regions which were settled in later centuries got a mixed population with different dialectal backgrounds, and this would result in chaotic dialect maps.

This section gives the results of a limited dialect-geographical study of dialectal characteristics which were attested on our recent recordings from Varzuga. I did not study the spread of the characteristics in Siberia. My main sources for the geographical spread of grammatical and phonological characteristics are the *DARJa*, Аванесов 1949, Касаткин et al. 1989, Пожарицкая 1997 and Гецова 1997. For the study of the distribution of some 50 dialectal words I mainly used Подвысотскій 1885, *SRNG*, *SRGKar*, Меркурьев 1997a, *DARJa* III and *AOS*.. In case I used other sources, this will be indicated.

My studies show that the dialect smoothly fits into the Russian language landscape: there is a clear positive correlation between geographical proximity to Varzuga and the chance that the characteristic is shared with the Varzuga dialect. Most characteristics are found in the neighbouring regions as well, and only in exceptional cases a phenomenon or word is exclusively attested in an area far away from Varzuga.

Below I will give examples of dialectal characteristics, ranging from those with a large distribution to a dialectal word which is only used in the village of Varzuga.

The dialect of Varzuga has typical Northern Russian characteristics, such as the distinction of the phonemes /o/ and /a/ after hard consonants in unstressed position (*polnoe okan'e*), plosive [g], personal pronouns in the genitive and accusative case in <a> in the first and second person singular and the reflexive form (*м'ен'á*; *т'еб'á*; *с'еб'á*), verb endings in the third person of the present tense in <т> and third person plural endings with an <a> (*л'ýб'ат* 'they love'), the loss of <j> and vowel assimilation in certain nominal and verbal endings, like *дрyгýю* 'other' F.acc.sg. (cf. StR *другую*) and *знам* 'we know' (cf. StR *знаем*), and words like

квашня́ for 'kneading trough' and *ухва́т* for 'oven fork'. These are all phenomena which are found all over Northern Russia.

The isoglosses of some characteristics are situated further to the north, crossing the Leningrad and Vologda oblasts, and sometimes the Novgorod oblast. Examples are final use of the connectives *да* and *дак* (cf. map nr. 8 in Кузьмина 1993:185) and words like *се́йгод* 'this year', *мох* in the meaning 'marshland' and the Balto-Finnic loanwords *ля́га* 'pool, puddle', *ня́ша* 'mud' and *ма́кса* 'fish liver'.

The word *ма́кса* is a good example of how the meaning of a word can develop in different directions in different languages and dialects. In the Balto-Finnic languages the word had the general meaning 'liver'; in most Russian dialects where this word is used, it has a more specific meaning: it means 'fish liver', or even the liver of a specific kind of fish. Because of the high fat percentage of fish liver, the word *ма́кса* was in some places used for the beestings, the first milk of a cow after giving birth (Мызников 2003a:175 and 2003b:66ff). In Varzuga, we recorded the form *ма́косок*, probably the genitive plural of the variant form *ма́коска*, in the meaning 'salmon liver', a variant form of *макса* earlier attested in Karelia by Myznikov (Мызников 2003b:66). We were told that *ма́кса* was also used (cf. Меркурьев 1997a). Myznikov attested the word *ма́кса* in the Ter region in the additional meaning 'clot of blood' (Мызников 2003b:66).

We have to get even further northwards to find the isoglosses of the differentiation of dative and instrumental plural endings,[66] of second person plural endings of the present tense (and simple future) in stressed <é> like *nojd'um'é* 'you (pl.) will come' and of *soft cokan'e*, like in the Varzugan examples *ко́л'ц'а* 'rings' and *в'éц'но* 'eternal'.

In an east-west perspective, Varzuga takes an intermediate position, having both western and eastern traits.

Eastern characteristics are the use of the word *лопоти́на* or *лопати́на* for 'clothing' and *зы́бка* for 'cradle'. Both words are used in about half of European Russia. *DARJa* III 1997, map nr. 22 shows that the word *зы́бка* 'cradle' is used in the northeastern half of European Russia; the isogloss is drawn just east of Moscow. The other, western half mainly uses *лю́лька*.

Restricted to the north-east are the use of variants of the particle *-mo*, stressed endings for infinitives with a stem in a velar (*n'екч'и́ – n'екц'и́*) and the absence of [a] in stressed position between soft consonants, like in *on'ém'* (cf. Standard Russian *опять* 'again').

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[66] Dative and instrumental plural have merged into a single ending (<ам> for nouns; <им> for other nominals) in the Northern Russian dialects further south and south-east (*DARJa* II, maps 41 and 51). The endings attested in Varzuga can be found in section 4.4.1.

A characteristic placing Varzuga in an intermediate zone between east and west is the relatively widespread use of the preposition *с* 'from' where eastern dialects use *из* (*с У́мбы* 'from Umba'). However, dialects further to the west do not use the preposition *из* at all (Кузьмина 1973).

Northwestern characteristics are, for instance, the word *пла́тьё* for 'bed linen; laundry'[67] and *мяки́на* (*меки́на*) for the leaves of root vegetables.[68] In the section on syntax (section 4.5) I mentioned the frequent predicative use in Varzuga of passive past participles and the use of *у*-phrases in these constructions to denote the agent of the action, such as in *у На́ст'и пр'ив'ез'о́н бы́л* 'Nastja had brought him (= the cat)'. This is also a characteristic of the northwestern area (Трубинский 1984b). Its use is most extended in the west, where it is also attested with intransitive verbs (like *у меня у́йдено* 'I have (had) left') and where there is usually no agreement between participle and grammatical subject. Consequent agreement of verb and subject and the absence of passive participles of intransitive verbs in our data from Varzuga show that the dialect is not situated far to the west.

Typical for the far north-west and north are words like *ро́стить* in the meaning 'to bring up children', *не́шать* for digging a hole through the ice on a river or lake, and *скать* in the meaning 'to roll out dough' or 'to bake pies'. The form *бру́ска* for 'red whortleberry' (see previous section and fragment 13 in Appendix VII) has – apart from on the Kola Peninsula – only been found in the Novgorod oblast and in the intermediate area, in Karelia and the former Olonec *gubernija*. It is a rare example of a word which has been attested at some distance from Varzuga, but not in the Archangel'sk dialects: the form *бру́ска* is not mentioned in *AOS*, although this is a very large dictionary.

Many traits and words are only shared with the areas around the White Sea, that is with the northern Archangel'sk dialects and the Russian dialects of northern Karelia. The Archangel'sk dialects have been studied extensively. Most of the characteristics found in our corpus are also common in the Archangel'sk dialects (Гецова 1997; Касаткина et al. 1991). Gecova mentions traits which differentiate the northern from the southern part of the Archangel'sk dialects. Interestingly, in all but one of the mentioned features attested in our material, the Varzuga dialect joins the northern Archangel'sk dialects (from Гецова 1997:156ff, with unaltered spelling):

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[67] The word *пла́тье*; *пла́тьё* in the meaning 'bed linen' (cf. Standard Russian *бельё*) is used in Northwestern and Western Russia and in many Siberian dialects.

[68] The word *мяки́на* has been attested as far south as the Pskov, Smolensk and Tver' oblasts, but not in the Vologda oblast in the north-east.

Feature	Northern Archangel'sk	Southern Archangel'sk
1 Comparatives	*белée*; *белéй*; *белé*	*белáе*; *беляй*; *белá*
2 Dat.sg. of II decl.	*к жены́*	*к жене́*
3 Loc.sg. of I decl.	*на столи́*; *на дни́*	*на столе́*; *на дне́*
4 Loc.sg. of III decl.	*в печи́*	*в пече́*
5 'Pie with fish'	*кулеба́ка* + *ры́бник*	*ры́бник*
6 Instr. pl.	<м'и> in nouns; <ма> only in other nominals: *с мои́ма бе́лыма*	<ма> in nouns only

As to the last characteristic, the dialect of Varzuga is different from all Archangel'sk dialects. In the dialect of Varzuga, Instrumental plural endings in <ма> are recorded for all nominals, and the alternative ending for nouns in hard <ами> [amʲ] links the dialect not to the east, but to the south: apart from on the Kola Peninsula, this form is typical for the Russian dialects of Karelia only.[69]

The pronunciation of former *ě as [e] and not [i] in most positions, even in unstressed syllables, is shared with only part of the Archangel'sk dialects, including the nearby Winter Coast (see map 2.1) and the far north of the area. Remarkably, the merger of *ě, *e and *a into [e] in the first pretonic syllable between soft consonants, which the dialect of Varzuga shares with northern Archangel'sk dialects (Пожарицкая 1997:41f), is not found in any dialect covered by *DARJa* (cf. *DARJa* I, map nr. 3).

Gecova also mentions some isoglosses that divide the eastern from the western Archangel'sk dialects. The Varzuga dialect follows the western Archangel'sk dialects in using the word *калитка* for open pies made without yeast and *шаньга* for pies with yeast; in the eastern part of the Archangel'sk dialects, the word *шаньга* is used for both types (Гецова 1997:165).

Words which have been attested only around the White Sea are for example *ка́рбас*, a type of boat which can be used on sea,[70] the word *норве́г* (see section 4.6.2), the wind names *обе́дник*, *побере́жник*, *полу́ночник* and *заси́верка*,[71]

[69] This accounts for Northern Russia; the ending <ами> has also been attested at a few places in Southern Russia; cf. Пожарицкая 2001; see also Пинеда 2002.
[70] The word *ка́рбас* has also been attested certain places in Siberia, and in the Vologda region, but apparently in a certain expression only.
[71] Section 4.6.4 gives the meanings of these words. The word for south-west wind, *шело́нник*, shows that the dialect has ties with Novgorod; the Šelónʹ (Шело́нь) is a river south-west of the town of Novgorod. Since *шело́нник* starts with a letter late in the alphabet, the geographical distribution of this word among the Russian dialects could not be checked.

пролбá for 'ice-hole'[72] and *кулебáка* in the meaning 'open pie filled with fish'. This last word deserves some comments. It is in this meaning – pie filled with fish – also used in Pečora, further to the north-east, also along the coast. In this case, only the form and meaning are restricted to a small area: *кулебáка*, or its variant *кулебя́ка*, occurs in many other dialects as well, but with different meanings, for instance, it can denote a pie with another filling than fish. Finally, *кáлги* are skis with a fur coating in the western part of the White Sea region; in the Archangel'sk oblast this word also denoted skis, but, surprisingly, they were specifically mentioned to have no coating.

The words *жóмко* and *косты́ч* are rare examples of words which have not been attested in a continuous area. *Жóмко* 'cold' has previously only been attested in the Pinega region and in the Olonec *gubernija*. A *косты́ч* is a simple kind of long gown, a sarafan. Apart from in villages around the White Sea and Karelia, the word has been attested in the Tula and Vladimir oblasts, in areas far away from the White Sea. However, over there the word denoted certain short clothes.

An even more restricted area of distribution is found for the different words for reindeer according to age and gender (see section 4.6.4). Most of them are loans from Sámi (cf. Пинеда 2004). In the data for the Karelian dictionary, most of them have only been attested in the Ter region of the Kola Peninsula; some, for instance *пыж* (a reindeer calf), are also attested in the neighbouring Kandalakša and Kem' regions. The word *валчáк*, one of the words used for salmon (see section 4.6.4) is, according to Vasmer, also a Sámi loanword (Vasmer 1953-1958), and it appears to have the same restricted distribution.

Our Varzuga corpus contains some words which have not been attested elsewhere (see section 4.6.1), and Merkur'evs dictionary contains a lot more of them. Myznikov has written an atlas of loanwords in the dialects of northwestern Russia, which contains data from the Ter region (Мызников 2003b). His maps show that the Ter region has links with areas in different directions, both to the south (Karelia) and to the east (Archangel'sk oblast). They also show that some of the words of Balto-Finnic or Sámi origin which he recorded on the Ter Coast have a very restricted distribution, confined to villages on the White Sea Coasts or even the Ter Coast only. Myznikov remarks specifically about the White Sea dialects that their lexicon is archaic (Мызников 2003b:72), which suggests a certain degree of isolation.

We accidentally learnt about a dialectal trait that is probably restricted to the village of Varzuga itself: the word *пакýль* for snowball. There might be more

[72] The only other area where the form *пролбá* it is attested besides on the Kola Peninsula is the Pinega region, north in the Archangel'sk oblast (*SRNG*). The form *пролуба*, which was also attested in Varzuga in the accusative singular (*прóлубу п'éшат'*), is found in a much larger area.

of such very local traits, but in order to identify them, (negative) data from other villages are needed. Merkur'ev's dictionary of the Kola dialects is of little help in this respect.[73]

As reported in section 4.2.3, Merkur'ev considers the dialect varieties spoken in the old Russian settlements on the Kola Peninsula to form a single dialect.[74] Can the dialect varieties of the Kola Peninsula really be said to form a single dialect or not? Merkur'ev's publications give limited basis for evaluating his position, and our data are almost exclusively restricted to recordings from Varzuga. In the perception of dialectologist Elena Demidova, the people on both sides of the White Sea speak the same dialect (p.c.). However, there are indications that there are minor differences between the speech varieties of the different villages, at least in pronunciation and lexicon.[75] A good criterion for deciding if we are dealing with a single norm or with several dialects is the judgement of the dialect speakers themselves: do they consider the inhabitants of the Ter Coast to speak the same dialect, or not? When asked, the speakers seemed to disagree.[76] Lack of sufficient data on the other villages does not qualify me to decide on the matter,[77] but the dialectal differences between the villages seem to be minor.

4.7.2 Links with cultural background

In the beginning of section 4.7 I asked whether the special conditions for the Russians living around the White Sea led to the development of a distinct dialect. My dialect-geographical study shows that this happened only to a limited

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[73] Merkur'ev does not give geographical information in his dictionary (Меркурьев 1997a), except for the source village of his example sentences. This information does not tell us anything about the distribution of the word elsewhere. In his works on phonology and morphology (Меркурьев 1960; 1962) he rarely identifies the villages where he attested the relevant characteristics (see below).

[74] "[Г]овор старинных русских поселений Мурманской области в основном однороден. При наличии некоторых своеобразий он относится к поморским говорам северновеликорусского наречия" (Меркурьев 1997a:8; cf. Меркурьев 1960:15f).

[75] Merkur'ev mentions a few examples of minor differences between the villages, e.g. the pronunciation of the correspondence of StR stressed /a/ between soft consonants (see footnote 31), and that of /e/ after a soft consonant in first pretonic position. This last phoneme can be pronounced as [a] in some villages, while only [e] and [o] are attested in others (Меркурьев 1960:15f). By coincidence, we learnt that the words *пакýль* and *нéблюй*, which are listed in Меркурьев 1997a, have a restricted distribution; see section 4.6.1 and 4.6.2.

[76] When I asked some inhabitants of Varzuga and Kuzomen' whether people spoke differently along the Ter Coast, they came with diverging answers. Some considered that they all spoke the same dialect, while others indicated that you could always hear differences, especially in pronunciation. One speaker told me that one could still hear that one of her neighbours was from a different village along the coast, even though she had lived in Varzuga for the last forty years. Our small number of recordings from Kúzomen' and the old village of Umba show some minor differences, but it is unclear whether they are purely due to geographical distance, or that our few informants from these two villages happened to show more standard language influence.

[77] It also depends, of course, on your definition of a dialect.

extent. Indeed, the Pomor dialects developed distinct characteristics, as they both retained archaisms, such as *cokan'e*, old instrumental endings and archaic words, and developed new vocabulary in certain areas, like fishery. However, the distribution of dialectal characteristics shows that the dialect of Varzuga smoothly fits into the Russian dialect landscape and that the influence of the neighbouring languages was limited.

As for the influence of the Balto-Finnic and Sámi languages, I do not deny that the Finno-Ugric languages spoken in the north of Russia might have had a large influence on the Russian language, affecting all areas of the language (Selišščev 1933; Veenker 1967; Kiparsky 1969). However, the Russian dialects around the White Sea do not appear to have been substantially more affected by Sámi and Balto-Finnic languages than other Northern Russian dialects. In the area of the lexicon, the Kola dialects do contain loanwords from neighbouring Finno-Ugric languages, such as Sámi, Karelian, Finnish and Vepsian, but their number is comparatively low and mainly restricted to a few semantic fields, such as reindeer keeping, fishery and natural phenomena such as landmarks.

The dialect of Varzuga is hardly different from the neighbouring dialects in Karelia and the Archangel'sk oblast. Some of the dialectal characteristics are indeed unique for the dialects around the White Sea, but most dialectal characteristics are shared with larger areas, sometimes with areas further south, sometimes in eastern direction. An archaism like soft *cokan'e* is not restricted to the coastal villages, but spread over a continuous area in Northern Russia. The increase in differences with dialects spoken at a larger distance is gradual. My limited amount of data suggests that if maps would be drawn of the discussed characteristics, they would show gradual transitions and large, continuous areas of dialectal phenomena, rather than small islands and randomly crossing isoglosses on chaotic maps, which would have been the case for many areas in Siberia.

These observations about the low degree of isolation of the dialect of Varzuga seem to be explainable from the information I found about the cultural background of the people of Varzuga and the surrounding White Sea area. Unlike most areas in Siberia, the settlement of the White Sea area started early. The Ter Coast of the Kola Peninsula got its first permanent Russian population in the 15th century, and in most other areas around the White Sea, Russian settlement had started even earlier. The district seems to have attracted people mostly from neighbouring regions, which in their turn had been settled mainly by people from the Novgorod lands in northwestern Russia. The people still consider themselves as descendants from the Novgorodians (see chapter 2). Therefore, no mixing of dialects took place on any substantial scale. One of the reasons that the area north of 62° N was not covered in *DARJa* is that the popu-

lation in the far north is scarce and not spread evenly over the area: the Russians there live only close to the sea and along the main rivers. Therefore, the principle used for the *DARJa* project of choosing a village every 18 to 20 kms, could not be maintained in this area (Захарова & Орлова 1970:32). A final reason for not including these dialects in the atlas was that no important dialectal characteristics had been found which were not found in any other areas. This removed the urge to classify these dialects in a separate group (Захарова & Орлова 1970:121f).

Although the Russian population in the area was scarce and not evenly spread over the area, it was not isolated from other Russian settlements either. The Russians on the Ter Coast seem to have been in closer contact with other Russians than with people with a different cultural and linguistic background, such as Sámi and Karelians (see chapter 2).

Furthermore, the Pomor culture and identity was not homogeneous: Bernštam showed that the *Terčane* were not considered to be real Pomors by the people on the other coasts of the White Sea (Бернштам 1978:76, map 3). One of the cultural differences was that the people from the Ter Coast kept reindeer. The inhabitants of the different coasts along the White Sea mostly married with people from the same coast (Бернштам 1983:119). For the Varzužans, Pomor identity was only one out of several different identities. The Varzužans are called *русские*, *поморы*, *роканá* (nickname for Ter Russians)[78] and *фараóны*, which is the nickname for the villagers of Varzuga.[79] This means that they have a Russian identity, a Pomor identity, a Ter Coast identity and a village identity. My finding that linguistic distance increases with geographical distance parallels these multiple identities.

[78] A *рóкан* is a waterproof garment used by fishermen (Подвысотскій 1885); *вагáн* originally means 'people from the river Vaga' (south in the Archangel'sk oblast), but was extended to mean either 'people from the Archangel'sk oblast' or visitors from other regions in general (Меркурьев 1997a; Лённгрен 2001).

[79] The people from each village have their own nicknames. For instance, people from Kuzomen' are called *песóчники*, because they live in the sand. Lönngren mentions some which had not been attested by Merkur'ev: people from Olenica were called *американцы* 'Americans'; Kuzreka was inhabited by *англичáна* 'Englishmen' and Čapoma by *собáки* 'dogs' (Лённгрен 2001:11). During our last expedition we learned some more. People from Kaškarancy were called *мякúнники* 'mjakina eaters' and the nickname *мешóчники* ('bag bearers') seems to have been used both for the *варзужáна* and *кузомлянá*; see section 4.6.2.

Part II. The particle *dak* in the dialect of Varzuga

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5 Introduction to Northern Russian *dak*

5.1 Overview

This chapter introduces *dak*, with the purpose to give an overview over the kind of contexts in which this word is used, to discuss what makes this word so interesting, and which are the questions this part of the dissertation will try to answer. The overview of contexts of *dak* given in this chapter will make it easier to understand the description of previous literature on *dak* in chapter 6. The overview is based both on previous descriptions of this word in several different Northern Russian dialects and on data from Varzuga. Like in the introduction, the expression "Northern Russian *dak*" will be used as a synonym for *dak* in the dialects which have utterance-final *dak*, although this does not correspond completely with the Northern Russian dialect area. The geographical distribution of utterance-final *dak* is described in section 6.2.

In the next section I will explain why *dak* deserves more study. The chapter continues with some previous characterisations of Northern Russian *dak* (section 5.3) and examples of controversies in the study of *dak* (section 5.4). Theories on the historical development of *dak* and its relation to the words *tak*, *da* and *ak* are pointed out in section 5.5. Section 5.6 lists the main context types of *dak*. In this section, the contexts are classified on the basis of the general picture which arises from the previous literature and the Varzuga database of *dak*-utterances. Section 5.7 lists the research questions and the main hypotheses about the core meaning of *dak* and other invariant properties of this word. Finally, section 5.8 gives an overview over the other chapters about *dak* in this dissertation.

5.2 Why read this study of *dak*?

In the introductory chapter I gave many reasons why the Northern Russian particle *dak* deserves more study. I will shortly repeat them here.

First of all, the word is very frequent in the Northern Russian dialects. Second, it has no exact equivalents in standard literary Russian or standard spontaneous speech, first of all because it can be used postpositively, a position which is impossible for similar connectives in other dialects and in Standard Russian. Third, the word *dak* is typical for spontaneous speech, an area of linguistics which is poorly described. Pragmatic particles are extremely frequent in spoken Russian, and deserve more attention than they have been given until now. Moreover, they have hardly been studied from modern linguistic perspectives. Fourth, *dak* can be used in an huge amount of different contexts.

This provokes the question what these contexts have in common, or if this particle can be used in any context. Although much has been written about *dak*, many questions about the properties of this word remain unanswered.

5.3 Some previous characterisations of *dak*

The Northern Russian particle *dak* has been characterised in many different ways. The highly diverging characterisations give the impression that *dak* can have many different meanings and functions. This is confusing for someone who would like to get an idea of the meaning of *dak*: how is it possible that a single word form can have so many different meanings and functions?

Most linguists assign several different functions or meanings to *dak*, varying with the type of context in which it is used. As mentioned in section 1.1.7 and 13.3, the word has been translated by many different words and been assigned to several different word classes. Varying with context and researcher, it is called a subordinating conjunction, a coordinating conjunction, a correlate (*korreljat* or *sootnositel'noe slovo*) and a particle, like an intensifying particle, a finishing-confirmative particle, similar to *da* (*časticy s zaključitel'no-zakrepitel'noj funkciej* (*DARJa* III, 1987:25), or a delimitative particle (Гольдин 1998), to mention only a few examples. Merlin believes that *dak* is a grammatical marker of the rheme of the sentence (Мерлин 1978), while some phoneticians suggest the word may play a role to make the speech more rhythmical, and suppose that the main function of *dak* and similar, semantically "empty" and "superfluous" (*izbytočnye*) words, such as *da*, *i*, *dak*, *a*, *vot* and *-to*, is to mark right-hand boundaries of utterances or syntagms, to compensate for the frequent lack of a clear prosodic marking of final boundaries in Northern Russian dialects (e.g. Никитина & Пожарицкая 1993). The different views on *dak* will be reviewed extensively in chapter 6.

5.4 Disagreement about the linguistic status of *dak*

The researchers of *dak* do not agree on the prosodic, syntactic and semantic properties of this word.

5.4.1 Prosody of *dak*

The word *dak* is usually non-prominent. Some support the view that the word is always unaccented, but many researchers claim that *dak* can be accented, or at least be prominent. They use the word *udarenie*, which can mean both phonetic prominence and phonological stress and (pitch) accent. It is not always clear

which of these meanings they have in mind (see section 7.2.3.3, 12.3.9.1 and Appendix IV).

Dak can be used in three different positions in the utterance: utterance-initially, utterance-internally and utterance-finally. This means that the word can be used both prepositively and postpositively. Kuz'mina and Nemčenko were the first to remark that utterance-final *dak* is prosodically cliticised to the preceding word or word group; it is never preceded by a pause (in Аванесов & Орлова 1965:197). Others observed that *dak* is often attached to the preceding unit even in interclausal position, such as in the following example (see section 12.2.3):

(1) Jéсл'и на рабóту на их н'е појéхал'и *дак*, фс'о равнó нáдо ... накорм'ит'. (S2)

In this utterance from the Varzuga corpus, *dak* is prosodically attached to the preceding clause, and it is followed by a silent period, in which the speaker takes breath. However, Šapiro states explicitly that interclausal *dak*, just like *tak*, is always preceded by a pause (Шапиро 1953:61ff) and Fedorova claims that postpositive *dak* can get an individual *udarenie* in the dialect she described ("Ветрá какие-то получаютса / иногда со снегом // идеж *дáк* / глаза нельзя открыть" (Perm.; Федорова 1965:85; see section 6.5.7).

5.4.2 Syntax and semantics of *dak*

The literature does not agree on the syntactic status of *dak*. The word has been assigned to various word classes, as we saw above. Researchers do not agree on the definition of the word classes, and therefore, even in the same context, *dak* has been classified under different categories (see section 6.4 for some examples). The label *particle* is mostly used as a waste-box category for cases where *dak* does not clearly connect two subsequent linguistic entities. Most researchers have struggled with the classification of *dak* into traditional word classes, and several conclude that in many contexts, or even in all contexts, *dak* does not fit into any of them.

There is no agreement either on the semantics of the word. Some claim that *dak* can be equivalent to many different function words and particles and have many different meanings, depending on the context, while others claim that the word *dak* contributes with little or no lexico-semantic meaning itself, as a typical particle. Some mention modal meanings of *dak*, like that utterance-final *dak* should give emphasis to the statement or underline its finality (see chapter 6 and section 13.3 and 13.7).

The different views on the properties of *dak* in the literature will be described extensively in the next chapter.

5.5 Theories about the historical development of *dak* and its relation to *tak*, *da* and *ak*

Preobraženskaja speculated upon the origins of *dak* (Преображенская 1985:70). It seems obvious that *dak* is etymologically and functionally related to *tak*. Part of the functions of Northern Russian *dak* correspond quite well with some of the functions of unstressed *tak* in Standard Russian and in many Southern and Central Russian dialects, both in utterance-initial and utterance-internal position. Some examples were given in section 1.1.7 (1.3a/b, 1.4, 1.5; here repeated as 2a/b, 3, 4):

(2a) Выйдут взамуж *дак* молодухима зовут. (Merlin's modification)
(2b) Выйдут замуж, *так* молодухами зовут. (translation to Standard Russian)

(3) Почему ты не сказал об этом?
— *Так* я и говорил! (Шимчук & Щур 1999; see section 14.4.2)

(4) — *(...) А вы тоже туда поедете?*
— *Дак* н'е замож́у- гу, н'é! (S2)[1]

More examples and context types are given in section 14.4. Northern Russian *dak* is therefore often claimed to be equivalent to Standard Russian *tak* in certain contexts, but unlike Standard Russian *tak*, Northern Russian *dak* has developed postpositive use. In the Northern Russian dialects themselves, the word *tak* is used as well, but in other functions, mainly as an adverb.

Dak shares contexts not only with *tak*, but also with *da* and *ak* (e.g. Попов 1957; Никитина & Пожарицкая 1993; *AOS*; see chapter 14) and researchers suggest a common ancestry also with these forms (Преображенская 1985; Никитина & Пожарицкая 1993; Rozalija Kasatkina, p.c.).

Other varieties of Russian lack postpositive connectives of this type. Its use in Northern Russian dialects asks for an explanation. Interesting parallels have been drawn with similar words in the neighbouring Finno-Ugric languages (Преображенская 1985; Лейнонен & Лудыкова 2001; Leinonen 2002; this possibility was already suggested by Шапиро (1953:21). Postpositive *dak* is used in the same area as where Finno-Ugric languages are spoken or have been spoken in the past, but who influenced whom is not clear. Most probably, these postpositive con-

[1] S2 is dialect speaker number 2 from Varzuga; see Appendix I for background data about the speakers. This example is discussed in section 9.3.2.

nective words, which are a relatively new development in all of these languages, are the result of mutual influence.

5.6 Main contexts of *dak* in Northern Russian dialects

We saw in the introduction and in the previous sections that in Northern Russian dialects, the particle *dak* can be used in a wide range of contexts and in various positions in the utterance, and connect parts between which many different semantic relations are expressed.

This section gives an overview over the most common contexts of Northern Russian *dak*. Questions about the properties of this word itself and of its contribution to an utterance will not be touched. The contexts vary along many different parameters, such as syntax, semantics and pragmatic properties. In this section, examples are given of variation in 1) the position of *dak* in the utterance; 2) the number of linguistic entities connected by *dak*; 3) the syntactic properties of these entities; 4) the semantics of the context; 5) sentence type and illocutionary force, and finally, I will mention prosodic variation of the context of *dak*.

Most examples in this section are from the Varzuga database, but some are cited from the literature about other Northern Russian dialects. The contexts given below seem to be shared by all dialects which have postpositive *dak*. What accounts for *dak* in the dialect of Varzuga seems to account as well for all other Northern Russian dialects which have postpositive *dak*, apart from perhaps some minor details (see section 6.5.9 and Appendix IV), which do not concern the overview given below.

5.6.1 Positional variation

Dak can be used in three different positions in the utterance: utterance-initially (5; 6), utterance-internally (7; 8; 9) and utterance-finally (10; 11):

(5) Во́т. *Дак* вот он ч'ево́-то про Jежо́ва-тъ сказа́л, за так'и́ слова́ jего́ ув'езл'и́ н... в Магада́н. (S3)

(6) — *Дак* вот та́к, но jиш'о́ што́ т'ьб'е на́до-то? (after a pause; S2)

(7) Jе́сл'и на рабо́ту на их н'е пойе́хал'и *дак*, фс'о равно́ на́до ... накорм'и́т'. (S1)

(8) [S1:] — Ты ф кото́рыj кла́с:-то, ф тр'е́т'иj? Во фторо́j?
[S20:] — Во фтороj.
[S1:] — А В'ита́л'ка *дак* ф како́м?
[S20:] — Ф шесто́м.
[S1:] — Ф шесто́м?

(9) — Так ты jеш'о́ ч'е(в)о спра́шываj *дак* jа отв'еч'а́т' бу́ду. (S2)

(10) Да уш ф п’и́ц’и́-то н’иц’е(г)о́ н’е в’и́жу, т’е́м’ен’ стра́шнъ та́м *дак*. (S1)
(11) На у́л’иц’и-то така́ л’апа́нда^{d} вал’и́т *дак*! (ляпа́нда = thick, sticky snow; S2)

These examples and their context will be discussed in the analytical chapters of this dissertation.

5.6.2 Number of connected expressions and their order

The following classification of the uses of *dak* is different from any classification in the previous literature. It has the great advantage that it covers all uses of the word.

It is useful to discern two types of *dak*: 1) use when *dak* connects two adjacent linguistic units, such as in the examples 3, 4, 5 and 6; and 2) other use, such as in 1, 2 and 7. The units which *dak* is connected to are almost always larger syntactic and prosodic units, such as clauses and prosodic syntagms,[2] as I will show in the following chapters. The first group can be further divided according to the order of the two connected units. If we call the two units A and B, then the possibilities are either:

1.1) “A *dak* B” (ex. 7, 8 and 9); or
1.2) “B A *dak*” (ex. 10).[3]

A and B are the adjacent units connected by *dak*, where A represents information on which the information represented in B is based in the mind of the speaker (see section 8.2.5 for explanation). If *dak* does not connect two adjacent units, then the possibilities are either:

2.1) “A *dak*” (ex. 11); or
2.2) “*Dak* B” (ex. 5 and 6).

There are very few contexts of *dak* which do not fit into this classification. The reason why A and B are discerned even in group 2 will be given in chapter 8, where a more detailed definition of A and B is given.

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[2] The term *prosodic syntagm* is explained in section 7.2.3.3.
[3] Whenever no underscore or punctuation mark is used between *dak* and A or B, like in “A *dak* B”, the degree of prosodic integration of the elements of the construction is unspecified. In later chapters we will see that *dak* is always prosodically attached to at least one of the units A and B, which will be marked by underscore, A_*dak* or *dak*_B.

5.6.3 Syntactic variation

Dak can connect several kinds of syntactic entities. If *dak* connects two adjacent linguistic units, A and B, then:

- A most often functions as a subordinate clause, although it is rarely marked as such by lexico-grammatical means, such as by a subordinating conjunction. The linguistic unit A can also be a main clause, a single sentence constituent[4] or an interjection;
- B usually functions as a main clause. Sometimes it is less than a full main clause, and it can also be an interjection.

Below are some examples of the various syntactic constructions in the groups 1.1 and 1.2, where *dak* connects two adjacent units. Explanation of the examples is given in the chapters where they will be discussed.

• 1.1) "A *dak* B":
1.1a) [subordinate clause] *dak* [main clause]:
Here are two relatively rare examples of a subordinate clauses which are marked with a subordinating conjunction:

(1) Jéсл'и на рабóту на их н'е појéхал'и *дак*, фс'о равнó нáдо ... накорм'и́т'. (S1; on reindeer)

(12) Пов'и́длы бы́л'и ... вот тут магаз'и́н был с'ич'ác јево н'éту гд'е Л'икон'и́да Н'ик'и́форовна-то *дак*, у н'ej сáт-то тут *дак* вот тáм, поп'ер'ед'и́d был дóм. Ту́т был магаз'и́н. (S3; earlier cited as 4.29)

The following example is a complex sentence with double use of the particle *бы*, which expresses irrealis mood:

(13) — *У меня мало практики. Я ...*
— Да, бóл'ше вот тáк бы ... с так'и́м'и, с ру́с:к'им'и-то э- ... э́тово, обш'áлас' *дак* бы скор'éе. Нáвык-то бы́л. (S2)

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4 By *sentence constituent* I mean a (single) *part of the sentence* (*člen predloženija*) in traditional terminology, such as an adverbial modifier, the subject or object of a sentence (usually of B). In rare cases, it is even a verbal phrase, such as an infinitive or finite verb form; see examples below. The subordinate clauses have the same function as sentence constituents.

1.1b) [main clause] *dak* [main clause]:

(14) Не пивала, *дък* не знаю (on goat milk; Volog.; Шапиро 1953)

1.1c) [sentence constituent] *dak* [(remainder of) main clause]:
The constituent preceding *dak* is most often an adverb or a prepositional phrase, functioning as an adverbial modifier, such as an adverbial expression of time or place.[5] In the next excerpt, the speaker answered my question if raspberries were found in the neighbourhood. In the last utterance, *dak* is preceded by an adverbial phrase which denotes a location – *на той стороны* 'on the other side of the river':

(15) У́ на́с ... рост'о́т, бл'и́ско зд'ес'. М'е́лка то́л'ко, но́ мно́го то́же раст'о́т. Ра́н'ше ка(к) бу́то н'е́ было jej и во́т ə- ... а ... т'еп'е́р'-то, в э́т'и-то го́ды *дак* jej ... рост'о́т мно́го. Бл'и́ско зд'ес'. *Дак* — хо́д'ит, наро́т-то. В го́ры^{d} тут рост'о́т. М'е́лко но а ... а та́к, jе́с' и кру́пнъ то́же-тъ. А ... на то́j стороны́ *дак* ə- ... та́м кру́пно раст'о́т. То́же на э́то в л'есу́. (S1)

The constituent can also represent the subject of the predication expressed in B, in a nominal phrase in nominative case:

(16) На(в)е́рно т'ьп'е́р' так'и́х сказа́т'ел'н'иц-то ска́зок н'е́ту. (...). На(в)е́рно в д'ьр'е́вн'и н'икто́ и н'е рас:ка́зыват н'е зна́jу.
— *А что вы рассказывали сыну?*
— [laughs] Сы́н *дак* он н'ь осо́бо то́же э́т'им инт'ер'есу́jец:е. А та́к ... вот у на́с д'е́т'и-то росл'и́ по инт'ерна́там. Зд'ес' же ч'еты́р'е кла́с:а то́л'ко. (S1)

(17) А лон'и́с'^{d} э́тъ про́шлыj гот, а оногды́с'^{d} э́тъ ... ну къгда́-тъ там. А оном'е́д'^{d} *дак* на то́j н'ид'е́л'ь. Jе́с' так'и́х слоф мно́го о́ч'ьн'. (S8)

(18) — Дл'а холо́дного в'е́тра ка́к назва́н'ие. Ну с'е́в'ер у на́с-то ска́жут, с'е́в'ер^{d}, холо́дныj в'е́т'ер *дак* с'е́в'ер. А ... т'о́плыj в'е́т'ер *дак* ə- ... jу́жныj ска́жут в'е́т'ер. (S19)

Though rare, objects are also possible, such as the following nominal phrases in accusative case (example 19; 20), or the prepositional phrases in example 21:

(19) Петуха *дак* Петей зовут (Perm.; Мерлин 1978)

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[5] Most of the previously mentioned subordinate clauses function as adverbial modifiers as well.

(20) — *А почему попа повезли?*
— Попа́ *дак*, э́то ... застр'ел'и́л, о́н, да́л jej, нага́н-то. (S5)

(21) Для да́чникоф *дак* э́то ле́то хорошо́, загора́ть да купа́ца, а вот для расте́ний-то *дак* о́чень су́хо (Arch.; Шуйская 2002)

The A-part can even consist of a verbal phrase, both an infinitive construction, which functions as an adjunct to the predicate, like in (22), and even a finite verb, which denotes the predicate of the sentence (23):

(22) Вот на́до бра́т' ... зап'ева́т'-то *дак* на́до бра́т' ш'обы тона́л'нос'-то ка́к ... нач'а́т'. *(— Да.)* Э́то то́же иногда́ тру́дно да и фс'е ... нач'ина́т' *дак*, мно́го в го́лову́-то д'ержа́т', п'е́сн'и-то дл'и́н:ы фс'о, купл'е́т за купл'е́том за купл'е́том. (S2)

(23) — *И когда туда дети уезжали, когда приезжали?*
— Ак уjежа́л'и, вот, в нач'а́ло ... ф Ку́зом'ен'-тъ, с'ънт'ебр'а́ *дак*, та́м нач'ина́л- ... то́же тогда́ нач'ина́л'и уч'и́т'. На́ а конч'а́л'и *дак* уш когда́ конч'а́jут. (S5)

In the last utterance, the B-part is definitely not a complete main clause; in fact, it consists of only particle and a subordinate clause. The sentence constituents in A can have a resumptive element in the "core" clause B (ex. 15 and 16), but need not (ex. 17 and 18):

(15) A ... на то́j стороны́ *дак* ə- ... та́м кру́пно раст'о́т. То́же на- э́то бл'и́ско там.
(16) Сы́н *дак* он н'ь осо́бо то́же э́т'им инт'ер'есу́jец:е.
(17) A оном'е́д' *дак* на то́j н'ид'е́л'ь.
(23) а конч'а́л'и *дак* уш когда́ конч'а́jут.

- 1.2) "B A *dak*":

If the order of A and B is reversed, *dak* can also be used, but only in final position. The semantic relations and syntactic possibilities of A and B are the same as in the first mentioned order. This is shown by the following examples, which were uttered immediately after each other (see explanation in section 9.2.3):

(24) Та́та^{d}-тъ гъвор'и́т: воз'м'и́-т(о) ма́т' говор'и́т в'ишн'о́ву-то ша́л', у т'а́ дв'е́ до́ч'ер'и *дак*, jа́, да ... два́цет' с'ед'мо́(г)о го́да ... Jьвла́мп'иjа, с'естра́. Во́т у т'а́ дв'е́ до́ч'ер'и гът *дак* в'ишн'о́ву-то ша́л' воз'м'и́! (S3) [App. VII text 12]

They contain the same propositional content. the only difference is the order of A and B:

[A][B] *dak*

(24) воз'м'и́-т(о) (...) в'ишн'о́ву-то ша́л', у т'а́ дв'е́ до́ч'ер'и *дак*

[B] *dak* [A]

Во́т у т'а́ дв'е́ до́ч'ер'и гът *дак* в'ишн'о́ву-то ша́л' воз'м'и́!

Just as in the case of the order "A *dak* B", in the construction "B, A *dak*" A can be either a subordinate clause, a main clause or a sentence constituent:

• 1.2) "B A *dak*":

1.2a) [main clause] *dak* [subordinate clause]:

(25) И ... вот а с'ич'а́с-то мы хо́д'им хърово́ды-то вот то́же. На сце́ны-то когда́ *дак*. (S2)

1.2b) [main clause] *dak* [main clause]:

(10) Да уш ф п'и́ц'и́-то н'иц'е(г)о́ н'е в'и́жу, т'е́м'ен' стра́шнъ та́м *дак*. (S1)

1.2c) [main clause] *dak* [sentence constituent]:

(26) — *А какую рыбу ловили?*
— Бы́л'и ... с'иг'и́ да, ш':у́ка да о́кун'и да. (pause) Таку́ ры́бу лов'ил'и. Оз'е́рску *дак*. (S4)

According to Šujskaja, the order "A B *dak*", though rare, is possible as well:

(27) Вы́ туда́ йешо́ сходи́те. У ни́х оте́ц был бригади́ром, они́ расска́жуд *дак*.

. (28) У на́с ребя́т в дере́вне мно́го бы́ло, де́вок мно́го бы́ло, о́й ко́ль ве́село бы́ло *дак*. (Arch.; Шуйская 2002:192)

In section 9.4.2.2 I will argue that these examples could be explained differently, and that *dak* is used to connect other elements to each other than the supposed preceding A and B.

It is important to keep in mind that in Russian dialects, many expressions are not marked specifically as a sentence constituent, a subordinate or a main clause, due to a high degree of ellipsis and a general tendency to use indeterminate speech (cf. section 7.1.1). Many utterances are therefore difficult, or even impossible to classify along these distinctions (see discussion in section 11.3).

- 2) "A *dak*" and "*Dak* B":

The word *dak* does far from always connect two adjacent linguistic entities. If "*Dak* B" and "A *dak*" are separate utterances, they usually have the form of a main clause. "A *dak*" can even be a complex sentence, including a subordinate clause:

(29) [MP:] — *Нет, спасибо, не курю.*
[S2:] — Ты ко(г)о́, пуга́ш д'е́фк(у)! Он тако́j шутн'и́к *дак*!
[all laugh]
[S2:] — *Дак* вот та́к, эт-
[S13:] — Ja в'ет' и забы́л (да?) што н'и кур'и́ш *дак*!

As mentioned above, *dak* can be combined with (accented) interjections and (unaccented) pragmatic particles, usually in more or less set expressions, such as "Ну́ *дак*", "*дак* вот" and "*Дак* вот та́к.":

(6) (...) *Дак* вот та́к. *Дак* ты́ мо́жет вы́кл'уч'иш н'имно́шко ды^{d}? Н'и мно́го т'иб'е́ э́тъвъ? (S2)

Dak is very often followed by the particle *vot*; in rare cases, an unstressed *vot* or *ved'* is even the last word of the utterance (see section 12.3.9.3).

Dak can precede or follow after expressive exclamations, such as *oj!* :

(30) Кака́ была тру́дна жы́с' *дак*, о́j-oj-oj. (S4)
(31) А фс'о́ вруч'ну́ *дак*, о́j да. (S4)

5.6.4 Semantic variation

If *dak* connects two adjacent expressions A and B, various semantic relations are possible between these two connected parts. The relationship between A and B is asymmetric (see section 8.2.4). Most often, A expresses an adverbial modifier to the proposition expressed in B, and the relation is of circumstantial nature, for example conditional, causal, temporal or spatial. Less often, the A-part expresses the subject or object of the clause expressed in B. In these cases, the proposition implied in B usually expresses a property of the person or object denoted in A. In a few cases, a comparative quantifier is used in the A-part, such as *так*, *такой* and *столько*. The relation between A and B is comparative, and the second clause usually expresses a consequence of the situation or action referred to in the A-

part, or a reaction to it. I will give some examples, first of circumstantial adverbial relations (*obstojatel'stvennye otnošenija*):

- a conditional relation:

(13) — *У меня мало практики. Я ...*
— Да, бо́л'ше вот та́к бы ... с так'и́м'и, с ру́с:к'им'и-то ə- ... э́тово, обш'а́лас' *дак* бы скор'е́е. На́вык-то бы́л. (S2)

- a temporal relation, or a relation which is both temporal and causal (32), or both temporal and conditional (25):

(32) [S3:] — У л'у́д'е́j ко́рм'иц:е.
[S1:] — Она́ у л'уд'е́j ко́рм'иц:е. Он'е́ да ... мно́го л'и та́нка [= там-ка?] ... до́ма-то нахо́д'иц:е, она́ н'икогда́ до́ма н'е́ту *дак* мно́го л'и ко́рм'иц:е. (unintell.)
[S3:] — *Дак* вот пока́ Мар'и́ша была́ жыва́ *дак* и д'оржа́ла jej. А Мар'и́шы н'и ста́ло она́ по фс'е́м. [App. VII text 15]

(25) И ... вот а с'ич'а́с-то мы хо́д'им хърово́ды-то вот то́же. На сце́ны-то когда *дак*. (S2)

- a causal relation:

(14) Не пивала, *дък* не знаю. (about goat milk; Шапиро 1953:61)

(10) Да уш ф п'и́ц'и́-то н'иц'е(г)о́ н'е в'и́жу, т'е́м'ен' стра́шнъ та́м *дак*. (S1)

- a spatial relation:

(12) Пов'и́длы бы́л'и ... вот тут магаз'и́н был с'ич'а́с jево н'е́ту гд'е Л'икон'и́да Н'ик'и́форовна-то *дак*, у н'ej са́т-то тут *дак* вот та́м, поп'ер'ед'и^{d} был до́м. Ту́т был магаз'и́н. (S3)

- an explanational, predicational or identificational relation, for instance, B expresses a property of the person or object expressed in A:

(33) У нас Вовка, *дак* у него тоже хороший характер (Perm.; Мерлин 1978)
— Сы́н *дак* он н'ь осо́бо то́же э́т'им инт'ер'есу́jец:е. (S2)

(17) А лон'и́с'^{d} э́тъ про́шлыj гот. А оногды́с'^{d} э́тъ ... ну́ къгда́-тъ там. А оном'е́д'^{d} *дак* на то́j н'ид'е́л'ь. Jе́с' так'и́х сло́ф мно́го о́ч'ьн' (S8)

(18) — Дл'а холо́дного в'е́тра ка́к назва́н'ие. Ну с'е́в'ер^{d} у на́с-то ска́жут, с'е́в'ер, холо́дныj в'е́т'ер *дак* с'е́в'ер. А ... т'о́плыj в'е́т'ер *дак* ə- ... jу́жныj ска́жут в'е́т'ер. (S19)

Петуха *дак* Петей зовут (Perm., Мерлин)

Dak is often used in contrasted A-B-pairs: "A_1 *dak* B_1, а A_2 *dak* B_2":

(21) Для да́чникоф *дак* э́то ле́то хорошо́, загора́ть да купа́ца, а вот для расте́ний-то *дак* о́чень су́хо (Arch.; Шуйская 2002)

Finally, *dak* is used in comparative constructions (only mentioned in Шапиро 1953; *AOS*; Шуйская 2002):

(34) Та́к пляса́л, *дак* лю́ди издиви́лись (*AOS*)
(35) сн'е́гу-ту сто́л'ко *дак* вгусту́^{d} пр'а́мо! (S2)
(36) ја говор'у: така́ сн'ежы́на на у́л'иц'и-то вал'и́т *дак* стра́шно! (S2)
(37) (...) И́х ма́зал'и. А пото́м уже́ до то́го мы их зама́зал'и *дак* уже́ порошо́к-то н'ь ста́ло заб'ира́т', *дак* мы́ пото́м са́жој нач'е́рн'и́л'и. (S3)

Some sources mention still other uses, but they are attested in a few sources only, and they were not found in the Varzuga corpus. These uses are either geographically restricted, marginal, or their interpretation might be questionable (see section 9.4 and 13.9). Examples are the use of *dak* in an adversative context or between the elements of an enumeration (e.g. in the dictionaries; see chapter 6 and section 7.4.3; 9.4.2.1) and the use of *dak* between a verb of speech and a citation, like in "Она сказала *дак* (...)" (Шуйская 2002; see section 6.5.21).

Only a few researchers have studied the constructions where *dak* does not connect two adjacent units – "A *dak*" and "*Dak* B", and *dak* is usually attributed an unclear "emphasising" or "intensifying" function. In the current chapter I will not comment any possible functions of *dak* in these cases, and only characterise some frequent context types of "B *dak*" and "*Dak* A".

Utterance-initial *dak* ("*Dak* B") is used in many different kinds of expressions. For example, in a narrative, initial *dak* can introduce a return to a previous discourse topic (cf. Шуйская 2002):

(38) (...) пошла́ к Л'икон'и́ды, ји́с' [= есть] э́т'их, п'еч'о́нок. *Дак* та́м пос'ид'е́ла да вот ско́л'ко вр'е́м'ен'и вот та́к ру́к'и тр'есу́ц':е! (S3) [App. VII text 15]

(5) Во́т. *Дак* вот о́н ч'ево́-то про Jежо́ва-то сказа́л, за так'и́ слова́ jего́ ув'езл'и́ н-.... в Магада́н. (S3)

Dak can both introduce and finish one-clause replies. Turn-initial *dak* often introduces (slightly) non-cooperative replies:

(39) [S1:] — Он пр'ишо́л бы одна́ко^{d}!
[S3:] — *Дак* ... н'е пр'ишо́л бы, jе́сл'и у ко́шк'и! [App. VII text 15]

Dak can finish indirect answers:

(40) — *А познакомились вы как?*
[S15:] — Ка́к? Кто́, мы́?
— *Да!*
[S15:] — (...) та́jна (... как познако́м'ил'ис'.)
[S16:] — Своjе́j д'ьр'е́вн'и *дак*! А своjе́j д'ьр'е́вн'и *дак* ка́к познако́м'ил'ис'!

Dak can also finish several kinds of expressive utterances, such as in the following utterance with an irrealis modality, which is expressed by means of the particle *бы*:

(41) (— *Можно выключить радио? Мешает.*) (...)
Одв'ерн'и́ ф ту́ там сто́рону к ыко́ны. Одв'ерн'и́. (...) Н'е, ф ту́ там сто́рону. Во-во́. А ты бы давно́ сказа́ла *дак*. (S2)

Dak can also finish imperatives, a possibility which has not been pointed out in previous literature, although examples have been given (e.g. the example *Где-ко пе́речь найди дак* from Федорова 1965 in section 6.5.7). The following fragment contains two examples of imperative clauses ending in *dak*:

(42) [S3:] — Пр'ивал'и́с' на паду́шку-ту *дак*. Ка́jа? На паду́шку-тъ пр'ивал'и́с'. Спа́т' на(в')е́рно хо́(ч'е)ш.
[KO; laughs:] — Холодно было на улице, сейчас стала — так устала!
[S3:] — Но́:. Т'е т'епло́ дак на́до трубу́ друг'и́м кр'уч'ко́м закры́т'.
[KO:] — (unintell.) минуточку (...)
[S3:] — Но́. Вздр'евн'и́ *дак*.

Above, *dak* was mentioned in constructions containing a comparative quantifier like *так*, *такой* and *столько* in the A-part, and a B-part which contains a consequence or reaction on the content of the first part. Similar utterances are frequently used without a B-part. The A-clause expresses surprise over the high degree of a certain quality, such as in (11) and (43):

(11) На у́л'иц'и-то така́ л'апа́нда^{d} вал'и́т *дак*! (ляпа́нда = heavy, thick snow; S2)
(43) а то́ скажут: jéсл'и густо́j да а́нд'ел, така́ сн'ежы́на вал'и́т *дак*! (S2)

In a few cases, *dak* is used between two silent periods. In these cases, the speaker is searching for the right reply, and seems to use *dak* to indicate that he or she has a continuation in mind. This use has not been mentioned in the literature either, although it must occur in other dialects as well (see discussion in section 7.4.2.3 on new contexts):

(45) Та́к-то л'о́т ... *дак* ... н'е бу́д'еш полоска́т' а ... jе́д'ьт ... л'о́т-то .. уб'ер'о́ш *дак* по́то́м там вода́-то *дак* ə-... та́м поло́шч'иш. (S1)

5.6.5 Variation in sentence type and illocutionary force

Most utterances containing *dak* are declaratives, conveying an assertion. But *dak* can also be used in several positions in other sentence types, for instance in interrogatives and imperatives. Here are a few examples of questions of several kinds, with *dak* taking varying positions:

(46) *Дак* в Норв'е́г'ии нав'е́рно мно́го ру́с:к'их-то jе́с' там? (S13)
(47) А ты там н'е пла́кала оста́лас' от^{d} ма́мы *дак*? (S1)
(8) А В'ита́л'ка *дак* ф каком? (S1)

Dak can also be combined with expressions containing imperatives, both in the A-part and in the B-part. Above we saw an example of imperative utterances ending in *dak*:

(42) — Пр'ивал'и́с' на паду́шку-ту *дак*. (S2)
— Но́. Вздр'евн'и́ *дак*. (S2)

Example (9) is an "A *dak* B"-construction, with an imperative form in A:

(9) Так ты jеш'о́ ч'е(в)о спра́шывај *дак* ja отв'еч'а́т' бу́ду. (S2)

Imperatives are also used in the B-part, such as in the following "A *dak* B"-construction:

(48) мн'е́ да́же т'е и Наста́с'а говор'и́ла гыт ... ə- ... эт' ... Н'и́на пр'и́д'ет *дак* узна́j ска́жет, ка́к там до́рого-то о́ч'ьн' за э́то, (?)-то, за машы́ну-то. (S1)

In the following fragments, A follows after the imperative B-clauses:

(49) Отдыха́jт'е пока́. В о́тпуск'ь *дак*. (S2)
«ко мн'е́ н'икого́ ... э́т'их ба́т'ушкоф ... н'е зов'и́т'е. Умру́ *дак*.» (S1)

The irrealis marker *бы* is attested both in "A *dak* B" constructions (ex. 13) and in an example of "A *dak*" (ex. 41):

(13) — *У меня мало практики. Я ...*
— Да, бо́л'ше вот та́к бы ... с так'и́м'и, с ру́с:к'им'и-то ə- ... э́тово, обш'а́лас' *дак* бы скор'е́е. На́вык-то бы́л. (S2)

(41) А ты бы давно́ сказа́ла *дак*. (S2)

The illocutionary force of the utterances containing *dak* – which speech act they represent, so how they function pragmatically – can vary. Most utterances are statements, but the data also contain various types of questions, requests and invitations and expressive utterances like exclamations. Also in these cases *dak* can be used at several positions in the utterance. For example, *dak* was attested in a rhetorical question, marked by the question particle *li*:

(32) [S3:] — У л'у́д'е́j ко́рм'иц:е.
[S1:] — Она́ у л'уд'е́j ко́рм'иц:е. Он'е́ да ... мно́го *л'и* та́нка [= там-ка?] ... до́ма-то нахо́д'иц:е, она́ н'икогда́ до́ма н'е́ту *дак* мно́го *л'и* ко́рм'иц:е. [App. VII text 15]

The constructions containing a comparative quantifier (see ex. 34 - 37) are usually expressive exclamations:

(50) А́:нд'елd как'и́ то́л'ко глу́пы ста́л'и *дак*, вот ра́с-то. (S1)

Although *dak* can be combined with many sentence types and speech act types, there seem to be some restrictions in this field. For example, constructions of the

type "A *dak*" seem never to be used as direct questions or direct answers; see section 11.5.3.

5.6.6 Prosodic characteristics

In this section about the contexts of *dak* no attention has been paid to prosody. Prosodic characteristics of the context of *dak* are rarely mentioned in the literature, or they are described in terms which are too general or too categorical (e.g. in Шапиро 1953; see chapter 6). Prosodic information plays an important role in determining the syntactic status of the units which *dak* connects, which is not always marked otherwise, due to the high level of syntactic underdetermination in Russian spontaneous speech (see section 7.1.3).

The prosody of the contexts of *dak* varies in many respects: in strength of the boundary (no break or short or longer pauses), in type of pitch accent, and in metalinguistic respects, such as accentual force and expressiveness. Some prosodic characteristics of the context are far more common than others. To give just one example, the pitch movement typical for IK-3 is very frequent in A, whereas IK-4 and IK-6 are almost non-existent in this part (see section 12.2.6, where a more precise description of the movements is given). The prosodic properties of the contexts of *dak* will be discussed in more detail in chapter 12.

5.6.7 Summary: enormous variation in possible contexts

The linguistic contexts of *dak* vary according to many different parameters – the number of linguistic entities connected by *dak*, the position of *dak* relative to these entities, the syntactic status of the entities, semantic relations, sentence type, illocutionary force and in prosodic encoding. If all of these parameters are combined, the result is an enormous amount of possible contexts, even if we account for the fact that far from all combinations are actually used. The range of possible contexts of *dak* is thus enormous.

5.7 *Dak*: Research questions and main hypotheses

5.7.1 Research questions

The above mentioned list of contexts suggests enormous possibilities for the use of *dak*. This apparent multi-functionality of the word *dak* provokes, among others, the questions formulated in section 1.2. What interests me in the first place is a possible core meaning of *dak*: the similarities rather than the differences between the possible uses of the word. An attempt will be made to find out what the use of *dak* generally contributes to the discourse. I will also try to explain why

dak is used in some contexts, but not in others. Previous descriptions of *dak* have not answered these questions, or only partially (see chapter 6).

5.7.2 Questions which will not be addressed

This investigation will not give a classification of the word in traditional word classes. It will not give a detailed description of the exact syntactic, semantic and pragmatic conditions for each type of context of *dak*. It has not been a goal to describe and explain the secondary pragmatic functions of *dak*. No conversation analysis has been performed, such as describing the rules for turn taking and the support from particles to these rules. The remainder of the dissertation will describe the use of *dak* only in the dialect of the older inhabitants of the village of Varzuga, but the literature suggests that most of the results will be valid for the speech of younger speakers as well, and for the other Russian dialects with postpositive *dak*. Little attention will be paid to the functions of *dak* in more or less fixed combinations of the particle with other particles like *nu*, *ved'* and *vot*. The contribution of a single word in a set expression is difficult to find, and requires a special study and a large amount of examples. This is outside the scope of this study of *dak*, which focusses on the general characteristics of *dak*, and not on the details in each use. The survey will not focus on diachronic developments or sociolinguistic or stylistic variation.

5.7.3 Main hypotheses about the properties of *dak* in the dialect of Varzuga

Although the diversity of possible contexts of *dak* is huge, they have common characteristics as well. The investigation of Varzuga *dak* started with the following main hypotheses about the properties of *dak* in the dialect of Varzuga:

1. *Dak* can be described as having the same core meaning in all of its contexts;

2. The information marked by *dak* is related to the distinctions used in theories on information structure, such as the division of sentences into *theme* and *rheme*;

3. *Dak* always connects two information units, which can, but need not both be expressed in the near context of *dak*;

4. The position of *dak* is not arbitrary; the word takes a fixed position relative to the representations of the units it connects;

5. *Dak* is always unstressed and unaccented, unlike the expressions it connects, which always seem to carry at least one pitch accent;

6. *Dak* is a pragmatic particle in most of its uses, and, possibly, even in all of them. This means, among others, that *dak* is always prosodically subordinated, that the use of *dak* is optional from the point of view of sentential syntax and truth-conditional semantics and that instead, it has a function at discourse level, giving information about how the utterance it is used in relates to its linguistic and/or non-linguistic context.

7. *Dak* is different from other particles. Although the word shares contexts and functions with other particles, it is not completely synonymous with any of them.

5.8 Outline of this study of *dak* (chapter 6-14)

In the next two chapters I will discuss the previous literature on *dak* (chapter 6) and chapter 6 reviews the previous descriptions of *dak*, and sums up the results and the shortcomings of the existing literature on this word. Chapter 7 explains the methodology and the theoretical background applied to describe this particle (chapter 7). In order to try to answer my research questions, unusual theories and methodology are necessary. I will first explain some of my basic assumptions. Then I will describe the methodology used and give a short characterisation of theories in particle research and information structure and discuss prosodic phenomena. Important terminology is explained. This chapter also gives the first results of the corpus studies, including the attempts to classify the uses of *dak* according to traditionally used parameters, which demonstrated their inadequacy.

Part II B of the dissertation is dedicated to the analyses of the uses of *dak* in Varzuga. The analysis focusses on similarities in the uses of *dak*, and will give common characteristics of the various contexts, including the common structural properties. Chapter 8 gives the main findings of the study about the core meaning of *dak* and the possible constructions in which it is expressed. It also contains a subclassification of the possible constructions which contain *dak*. The next chapters give supportive arguments for the proposed core meaning of *dak*, first from semantic relations (chapter 9), then from information structure and related phenomena (chapter 10), from syntax (11), from prosodic characteristics (12) and, finally, from contrastive studies (chapter 14). In chapter 13 I will argue why *dak* is a typical pragmatic particle in at least the overwhelming majority of uses (chapter 13), and discuss the exact contribution of *dak* to the utterance in which it is used.

6 Previous descriptions of *dak*: results and unsolved questions

6.1 Introduction

6.1.1 Overview

Northern Russian *dak* has attracted relatively much attention, because it is not only very frequent, but also syntactically different from similar connective words in Standard Russian and most dialects, and because the exact functions of this word are unclear. Like in the previous chapters, the expression "Northern Russian *dak*" will be used as a synonym for *dak* in the dialects with postpositive *dak*.

In this chapter I will describe the previous descriptions of *dak* in detail, and point out the advantages and shortcomings of the various perspectives used.[1] All works I have found where *dak* is mentioned are discussed. This includes both special studies of this word and brief discussions in books with a much broader subject. The number of descriptions of this word is impressive, but only a few are based on thorough studies.

The sections 6.1.2 – 6.1.4 give an overview over the kind of differences between the previous descriptions. The next section of this chapter (6.2) deals with the geographical distribution of utterance-final *dak*. The third section is a short overview over the descriptions of non-final *dak* in varieties of Russian lacking utterance-final *dak*. The remainder of the chapter discusses *dak* in dialects with final *dak*. The descriptions of Northern Russian *dak* will be reviewed in chronological order. Most comments on the previous descriptions of *dak* are given elsewhere in this dissertation; references will be given to where these parts can be found.

6.1.2 Diverging perspectives

Northern Russian *dak* has been described from at least six different points of view. The word has been described in traditional grammatical terms, but also with syntactic terminology developed for the description of the syntax of Russian spontaneous speech. Research has been done on its role in actual sentence division, in text arrangement and in discourse. It has also been described from a prosodic point of view, and, finally, the possibility has been investigated that final *dak* is a contact-induced phenomenon. Sometimes *dak* is regarded as a

[1] Previous descriptions of Northern Russian *dak* were earlier reviewed in Пост 2002. In this chapter, the existing descriptions of *dak* are described in more detail and some more sources are reviewed that I found in a later stage. These additional sources are Богоразъ 1901, Мансикка 1912, 1914a and 1914b, Кузнецов 1951, Попов 1957, Шведова 1960, Серебренников 1963, Федорова 1965, Балашов 1970, Лаптева 1976, Земская & Китайгородская 1984, Мишланов 1996, Колесов 1998, Вяткина 1999, Гольдин 1998, Leinonen 2002a and 2002b and Преображенская 2002.

variant of *tak* or of *da*; in other descriptions is it considered to be a separate word, or at least utterance-final *dak*.

6.1.3 Differences between the descriptions of *dak*

The descriptions of *dak* have similarities, for instance in methodology (see section 6.3.3). They also vary in many respects: 1) in the dialects described; 2) in their scope, i.e. which part of the uses of *dak* is described; 3) in the thoroughness of the description; and finally 4) in the linguistic framework and the goals of the description. I will comment these differences briefly:

1) As to the dialects described there is variation in region and number of dialects covered; see section 6.2 and 6.3.1. However, the interdialectal differences between the Northern Russian dialects seem to be so small that this factor does not affect the outcome of the research to any interesting degree (cf. section 6.2.4.2 below);
2) There is much variation as to which part of the uses has been described (section 6.3.2). Most studies only deal with the use of *dak* in complex constructions ("A *dak* B" and "B, A *dak*"). Many authors are only interested in its use in final position;
3) Some works have *dak* as their main object of study, while others only mention the word in a footnote. Some sources only use a few sentences on *dak*, referring only to other literature, other descriptions are based on thorough analyses of empirical data by the authors themselves;
4) As mentioned in section 6.1.2 above, the linguistic framework and goals of the study vary greatly, from a lexicographical point of view, which aims at giving an overview over all usage types, to, for instance, the relation of *dak* to the prosodic structure of Northern Russian dialects, or the description of *dak* as a result of language contact.

6.2 Geographical distribution of *dak*

6.2.1 The distribution of utterance-final *dak*

The word *dak* is not only used in Northern Russian dialects (see below), but only in Northern Russia *dak* is used in utterance-final position, in constructions like the following, corresponding to "B, A *dak*" and "A *dak*" in my classification:

(1) Она давно не роботат, больна *дак*. (Arch.; *AOS*)
(2) Подём попить *дак*. (Volog.; Шапиро 1949)

Utterance-final use of *dak* – and other postpositive use[2] – is highly frequent in the Varzuga dialect, but it is geographically restricted to the northern part of Northern Russia and some Siberian dialects (see below).

An utterance ending in *dak* is a non-contrastive dialectal construction (*neprotivopostavlennaja konstrukcija*; Преображенская 2002:122). This means that the dialects which do not have utterance-final *dak* do not have a corresponding construction either. The question whether a dialect had postpositive use of *da* and *da i* was optional on the questionnaire used for the large *DARJa*-project (Кузьмина 1993:193 and *DARJa* III, 1987:25).[3] On the basis of the answers to this question a map could be drawn, showing where utterance-final *da*, *da i* and *dak* are used on a regular basis. This map was published in Кузьмина 1993 and, recently, in the last volume of *DARJa* maps.[4] Since only *da* and *da i* were mentioned in the questionnaire, and not *dak*, the data given on *dak* on the map are incomplete, as remarked in *DARJa* III 1987:25. The map on final *da* and *dak* in Кузьмина 1993 shows that utterance-final *dak* is used in most of the Northern Russian dialects, approximately above the line Lake Ladoga – Valdaj – Vologda – the river Vetluga and further south-east (formulation after Leinonen 2002a). As to the areas not covered by *DARJa*, final *dak* has been recorded all over the remainder of Northern European Russia and in many Siberian dialects.[5]

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[2] For the time being, I ignore the fact that in Northern Russian dialects, *dak* is usually used postpositively in "A *dak* B"-constructions as well:

(12.1) Jéсл'и на рабóту на их н'е пojéхал'и *дак*, (pause) фс'о равнó нáдо ... накорм'и́т'.

(7.11) А вóт, тáм м'и́мо вы шл'и́ *дак*, óкна заб'и́ты, э́тот П'óтр Прокóп'jев'ич' бу́д'от р'емонт'и́-роват' да, говор'и́л эт-..., муз'éj бу́д'от тáм. (S1)

This circumstance has not been recognised by all researchers, and therefore its distribution cannot be described. The difference between postpositive and prepositive *dak* can not easily be determined on the basis of occurences of *dak* in interposition. However, in all dialects recognised to have utterance-final *dak*, this word seems to be grammaticalised as a postpositive element, and these dialects probably all have postpositive *dak* in "A *dak* B"-constructions as well. To be on the safer side, only utterance-final *dak* is discussed in this section.

[3] The optional question nr. 140 was the following: "Употребляется ли союз *да* (*да и*) повторно в конце предложения или после присоединенного однородного члена? *А они с женой живут да двое детей да; полно блюдо наклали малины да и высушили да и; кругом вода да луга да; ты бы села да поела да; посеяна жита да ничего нету да.*" (*DARJa* III, 1987:273).

[4] Кузьмина 1993:185, map nr. 8 and map nr. 11 in *DARJa* III, part 2 (2004).

[5] Final *dak* was attested at least in many places in the Archangel'sk oblast (cf. *AOS* and many other sources on the Archangel'sk dialects), the Murmansk oblast (Merkur'ev's works; Евтюхин 1979) and the Karelian Autonomous Republic (*SRGKar* and recordings mentioned by Šapiro (Шапиро 1949:89); transcriptions of Russian dialect in Karelia on http://www.geocities.com/Athens/-4280/obrazcy/eng_peredovaja.htm); in Perm' oblast (Федорова 1965; Мерлин 1978; Вяткина 1999; references in Шапиро 1949), Kirov oblast (Мошкина et al. 1999) and in part of the dialects of Siberia, which apparently have a Northern Russian base; among them a dialect in Tomsk oblast (Блинова et al. 1992-1995) and in Kolyma in northern Siberia (Богоразъ 1901). Šapiro refers to more descriptions of Siberian dialects (Шапиро 1949:88).

6.2.2 The distribution of non-final *dak*

Although the use of utterance-final *dak* is restricted to the north of Russia (and parts of Siberia), non-final *dak,* and similar forms like *dyk* and *dək*, are attested in many more areas, including Southern and Western Russian dialects, and in substandard speech (*prostorečie*). It seems that the word *dak* in utterance-internal or utterance-initial position is used in most, if not all, varieties of Russian, apart from in standard written and in standard spoken Russian, but with varying frequency and functions. But only final *dak* has been subject to geographical studies, so the amount of data available on non-final *dak* is limited.

6.2.3 Non-final *dak* in non-dialectal Russian

Dak is even used in colloquial common Russian (*obščerusskij jazyk*),[6] but with a restricted range of possibilities. It is mentioned only for substandard speech (*prostorečie*), not for standard colloquial Russian (*russkaja razgovornaja reč'*; Шведова 1960; Земская & Китайгородская 1984). Merlin however noted the use of *dak* "in urban substandard speech and *even in the substandard speech of the intelligentsia*, supplanting *tak*" (Мерлин 1978:92; italics are mine; MP).[7] As far as I understand, Merlin's expression *intelligentskoe prostorečie* is a contradiction in terms for most Russian linguists: the counterpart of *prostorečie*, *russkaja razgovornaja reč'* , standard colloquial Russian, is usually defined as the speech of highly educated people, i.e. the speech of the *intelligencia*. The question is whether there are geographical differences in the use and sociolinguistic status of the forms *dak* and *dək*; Merlin lived close to Siberia, and not in Moscow. However, I have heard the form *dak* used by highly educated Moscovites as well. *Dak* is not covered by Standard Russian dictionaries. In Belorussian however, *dyk* is regarded as being part of the standard language (Преображенская 1985; Крапиво 1962).

Dak is often considered to be a variant of *tak*. This concerns both descriptions of northern *dak* (e.g. Блинова et al. 1995, where *dak* can only be found under the entry *tak*, and many other sources for non-final uses of *dak*; see below) and of non-final *dak* in other varieties of Russian (e.g. Шведова 1960:121, fn. 32, on the combination *vot tak* / *vot dak* in substandard Russian; see section 6.2.4.2 below).

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[6] I use the term *common Russian* for Russian that is not geographically restricted (*obščerusskij jazyk*.). It covers both substandard *prostorečie* and normative, standard colloquial Russian (*russkaja razgovornaja reč´*) and standard written Russian (*kodificirovannyj) literaturnyj jazyk*).

[7] It is used "в городском и *даже интеллигентском просторечии*, где она вытесняет частицы *так*".

6.2.4 Geographical differences in function and frequency

There seem to be large differences in frequency of use of *dak* and in range of possible contexts, even among the dialects without final *dak*. This question has never been raised before and data on the use of *dak* outside the area with final *dak* are almost non-existent, but some remarks will be made below.

6.2.4.1 Frequency

First of all, there is variation in frequency of *dak* in the area without final *dak*. *Dak* seems to be frequent utterance-initially in western dialects, while it might be absent in other areas. This impression is given by *Хрестоматия южнорусских говоров* (Касаткина et al. 1999). In the 51 short text samples in this anthology of Southern Russian dialect texts, *dak* is used only in a few texts, and in those cases it is used more than once. One has to take into account that the use of particles can be very different from one person to another, especially as to their frequency, and furthermore, the texts of course are far too short to predict anything about the non-existence of a word. Still, this observation might give an indication. *Dyk* has been given an extensive entry in the Belorussian-Russian dictionary (Крапиво 1962), and so has *dak* ("variant: *dyk*") in the dictionary of the Pskovian dialects (*POS*), and it was used frequently in the short dialect samples of Pskovian dialects I have been listening to. *Большой толковый словарь донского казачества* (2003) also contains the word; see section 14.3.2.

As to the use of *dak* in the position between the two clauses ("A *dak* B"), Шапиро 1953 claims that *tak* and its variants (*tak*, *dak*, *tək* and *dək*) in this construction are mostly used in the Northern Great-Russian dialects, and that they are very rare in the Southern Great-Russian dialects (Шапиро 1953:61). However, Šapiro's conclusions about the Southern Russian dialects might have been based on restricted data; the main sources for his research were a dialect from the Archangel'sk oblast, a dialect from the Vologda oblast and a single Southern Russian dialect, from the neighbourhood of Rjazan'. This area is situated south-east of Moscow, that is, far from Belorus, Pskov and Smolensk.

Interestingly, as I checked Dal''s dictionary of the Russian language, which contains many dialectal words, I found to my surprise that *dak* is given as a separate entry, but only as a Southern Russian gloss for *tak*:

> ДАКЪ юж. такъ. (Даль 1955)

6.2.4.2 Functions

Apart from difference in frequency, there are differences in function. Many functions mentioned for non-final *dak* and *dyk* in the various descriptions seem

to be shared by all varieties, at least, they are used in similar contexts. Most of the contexts given in *POS* are shared by *dyk* in Belorussian (Крапиво 1962; Преображенская 1985), and by *tak* in Standard Russian, which is claimed to have *dak* as a variant in at least some contexts in substandard speech (see above).

Although overall frequency and number of possible contexts for *dak* is by far the highest in Northern Russian, the range of possibilities elsewhere is not always a subset of the Northern Russian uses. In fact, *dak* has at least one use in the south in a context I did not encounter in Northern Russian dialects. This is in fact the one use of the form *dak* mentioned by Švedova for non-regional substandard Russian:

(3) А ты погляди, как рыбу ташшат неводом. *Вот дак ремесло!* Лучше этова ремесла ничего нет (Шведова 1960:121)

The same type of construction is mentioned in *Большой толковый словарь донского казачества* (see section 14.3.1) and in *SRNG*. I suspect that it is no coincidence that the example in *SRNG* comes from a southern dialect:

(4) Вот *дак* молодец! (Voron.; *SRNG*)

The contexts given for *dak*, *dyk* and *tak* in other areas than Northern Russia will be discussed and compared to Northern Russian *dak* in chapter 14.

As for the area with utterance-final *dak*, no differences in function or frequency are mentioned explicitly. According to Kuz'mina, who bases her findings on the *DARJa*-sources, all dialectal constructions with *da* and *dak* are used in the area with final *dak* (Кузьмина 1993:194). It is not clear which functions she means. However, the overall similarity of uses does not exclude the possibility for minor differences in peripheral uses. Trubinskij is the only researcher who mentions interdialectal differences, but they were not fundamental: he noted that the combination *to – dak* was far more frequent in the Pinega dialects that in surrounding dialects, and that it has almost developed into the single grammatical means to express subordination, but apparently only in this area (Трубинский 1984:34). Of course, not all attested contexts and functions are given in all descriptions. Examples are the adversative and additive use of *dak*, which are almost exclusively mentioned in dictionaries, and use with verbs of saying, mentioned only in Шуйская 2002 (see section 6.5.21 below). An obvious reason is the limited scope of many descriptions of *dak*, and the varying descriptive models used. Similar contexts can have been interpreted differently. But the fact that additive or adversative use are mentioned in some sources, but

explicitly denied in some others might also point at differences in use among the dialects. A discussion of such coordinative contexts is given in section 7.4.3.1 and 9.4.2.1.

6.3 *Dak* in Northern Russian: aspects of the descriptions

Apart from differing perspectives from which Northern Russian *dak* is described, the descriptions differ in the geographical area covered and the uses taken into consideration. The researchers agree on the kind of data used – all use only transcriptions of dialectal speech.

6.3.1 Range of dialects considered

Since the existence of inter-dialectal differences in the use of *dak* cannot be excluded, it is of some interest to know which dialects were taken under consideration in the various descriptions of this word.

Some descriptions of the functions of northern *dak* are based on the dialect of a single village,[8] others on the speech of several villages in the same region[9] and some even on dialects from several dialect groups and provinces (oblasts).[10] Merkur'ev (all his publications) and Evtjuchin (1979) are the only sources with data from the Ter Coast of the White Sea, where Varzuga is situated, but both linguists studied *dak* only superficially.

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[8] Федорова 1965 and Мерлин 1978 (the dialect of the village Akčim, Perm' oblast); Никитина & Пожарицкая 1993 (the dialect of the village Njuchča, Pinega region, Arch. obl.); Шуйская 2002 (the dialect of the village Fedovo, Pleseckij *rajon*, Arch. obl.); Блинова et al. 1999 (the village Veršinino, Tomsk oblast). Finally, Gol'din (Гольдин 1998) gives examples from the dialect of Megra, Vytegorskij *rajon*, Vologda oblast.

[9] Some studied the speech of villages in the same municipality (*rajon* or *uezd*), others from the same province (oblast). Examples are Богоразъ 1966 (1901; Kolyma); Мансикка 1912 (Šenkurskij *uezd*, Archangel'sk *gubernija*), 1914a (Pudožskij *uezd*, Olonec *gubernija*, now on the border of Karelia and the Archangel'sk oblast) and 1914b (Nikol'skij *uezd*, Vologda *gubernija*); Попов 1957 (Lešukonskij *rajon*, Arch. obl.; on *da*); Трубинский 1970 (dialects from the Pinega *rajon*, Arch. obl., mostly from the village Šotova Gora), Князев et al. 1997 (some neighbouring villages in the Pinega and Verchnjaja Tojma *rajony*); Евтюхин 1979 (Ter *rajon*, Murm. obl.), Меркурьев (1979 & 1998, Murm. obl.); Вяткина 1999 (northern part of Perm' oblast). Mišlanov (Мишланов 1999) does not mention the sources of his dialect examples, but they are probably from the same data as Vjatkina's). The final examples of this group are the regional dialect dictionaries *AOS* (Archangel'sk oblast) and *SRGKar* (Karelia and Murm. obl.).

[10] Шапиро 1949 and 1953 (Nikolskij *rajon* in Vologda oblast and Priozernyj *rajon* in Archangel'sk oblast, but he cites from sources from other linguists as well); Преображенская 1985 (transcriptions of dialects from the Archangel'sk and the Vologda oblasts and references to other studies, such as many examples from Fedorova's Perm' material); Пауфошима 1983 (several Northern Russian dialects, mainly from Arch. and Volog. oblasts); Leinonen & Ludykova 2001 (various previous descriptions and an anthology of fairy tales from Karelia); the course books in dialectology; *SRNG*.

The dialects were recorded in different periods, ranging from around the year 1900 (by Bogoraz) to around 2000 (by Šujskaja). Apart from Evtjuchin, all researchers seem to have been interested in the local dialect in its most traditional form. Evtjuchin did not confine himself to the speech of older generations, but recorded even the less dialectal speech of younger people (Vjačeslav Evtjuchin, p.c.).

This overview shows some variation in time and space, but, as mentioned in the previous section, these differences did not lead to substantial differences in the description of the properties of *dak* in Northern Russia.

6.3.2 Which uses of *dak* are taken into consideration?

The descriptions of *dak* also differ in the scope of the use of *dak*, depending on the purpose of the study. Dictionaries naturally cover the whole spectrum of uses, where large dictionaries have room for both frequent and less frequent uses. Most other works cover only part of its uses. Some works address a specific syntactic feature ("final *dak*"), or semantic expression or syntactic construction ("causal constructions"). Most descriptions only review utterances in which both elements connected by *dak* are expressed. For instance, Trubinskij (Трубинский 1970; 1984a; 1998) concentrates on the use of *dak* in complex sentences in which *dak* is combined with the particle *to* (or one of its variants).

6.3.3 Reliance on transcriptions

The researchers agree on methodology: most descriptions of *dak* are based on dialect recordings and/or transcriptions, usually their own, often added with existing transcriptions and examples from previous descriptions. Not all had access to sound files. None of the researchers mentions being a native speaker. No use of introspection is mentioned, or that the findings were confirmed by local dialect speakers. Only two linguists (Merlin and Vjatkina) give a few self-constructed, modified example utterances in search for the properties of the particle. Comparative studies are used only to a very limited extent.

6.4 Dialect dictionaries

Before reviewing the descriptions of Northern Russian *dak* in chronological order, I will describe the dictionary entries.

The main advantage of dictionaries, especially of the larger ones, like *AOS*, *POS* and *SRNG*, is that they aim at describing all usage types of a word, which makes them give a wide spectre of highly diverging contexts, both of frequent and of infrequent uses. Lexicographers search for short and clear examples.

Dictionaries are a good source for getting an overview over the variety of possible uses of a word. The dialect dictionaries vary highly both in comprehensiveness and in quality. The most important dictionary is *AOS*, which is by far the largest. The 11 volumes published since 1980 cover no more than the letters A to part of the letter D. The word *dak* covers several pages and more than 20 different uses are given of this word. *POS*, the large dictionary of the Pskovian dialects, does not describe dialects with final *dak*, but contains a better description of non-final *dak* than usual.

The dictionaries have some serious drawbacks. Dictionaries are always taken as an example of how particles should *not* be described. However, as Foolen remarks (1993:50), they can only be partly blamed for this, because lexicographers and particle researchers usually have very different goals and possibilities. They are always written in a traditional grammatical framework, which is designed for the description of the sentence in standard written Russian. This is not a very suitable framework for pragmatic particles like *dak*. I will mention some problems.

Firstly, too much meaning is ascribed to the word *dak* itself, meaning which is mainly or only expressed or implied by the context. Traditional descriptions tend not to differentiate between *dak* and the context, and ascribe *dak* functions and meanings which are in fact not properties of *dak* itself, but expressed by (or implied by) something else in the context. The dictionaries incorrectly suggest that, depending on the context, *dak* can be synonymous to words like the subordinating conjunctions *если* 'if' and *что* 'that', the coordinating conjunction *но* 'but', the resumptive word *так* 'so, then', the pronoun *это* 'this (is)' and the adverb *следовательно* 'therefore, as a consequence' (all from *AOS*; for more examples, see sections 1.1.7 and 13.3). However, the more than twenty "meanings" of *dak* described in *AOS* should be regarded not as 20 different *meanings*, but as twenty different *contexts* of *dak*; see section 13.3.

Secondly, the bias on sentence-internal relationships leads to a neglect of connections on a discourse level: *dak* connects not only sentence parts. Utterances containing only A or only B ("A_*dak*" and "*Dak*_B") are usually put into the waste-box of "emphatic particles". Thirdly, the dictionaries do not give contextual information and they completely ignore prosody in their descriptions. This means that the interpretations of the example utterances given in the dictionaries cannot be verified. Finally, dictionaries are forced to classify all words into word class categories, but the word *dak* does not fit into traditional word classes. The dictionaries make diverging choices. An example is the utterance-final use of *dak* in a construction expressing a causal relation, such as *Столовая закрыта, поздно дак* (*SRGKar*) and *Она́ давно́ не робо́тат, больна́ дак* (*AOS*). This use

is called a particle (*častica*) in *SRGKar* and in most other dictionaries, but a conjunction (*sojuz*) in *AOS*. Apparently, *AOS* has no problems with assigning the label of *conjunction* to postpositive *dak*, whereas in other dictionaries, *dak* is only a conjunction in clause-initial position.

Examples from the dictionaries are discussed at several places in the dissertation, first of all in section 13.8.

6.5 Other descriptions

In this section, the other descriptions of Northern Russian *dak* are given in a close to chronological order. I will focus on the following questions: What is the main goal of the article or book, and of its description of *dak*? What is its most important contribution to the study of *dak*?

The overview covers some of the course books in Russian dialectology. These books reflect the current standings of research at the moment they were written, and the personal interests of the authors. Most of the course books are written by a team of authors, where each chapter is written by one or two specialists in the field. For instance, Nemčenko and Kuz'mina wrote the part on syntax in Аванесов & Орлова 1965,[11] and Trubinskij in Колесов 1998. Požarickaja is the only author of Пожарицкая 1997, but she has studied *dak* herself. The descriptions of *dak* in these books will only be reviewed if they contain something new.

6.5.1 Earliest descriptions

According to Šapiro (1949:88), the use of final *dak* has been noted in many sources at least from 1856, but without receiving the attention it deserves (see below). Most of the earliest mentionings are entries in dictionaries or remarks in short dialect descriptions. *Dak* is also an entry in Podvysotskij's *Словарь областного архангельскаго нарѣчія* (Подвысоткcій 1885), unlike *dyk*, *ak* and *da*, but again not its final use. This dictionary is of special interest, since it covers Kola Peninsula. Podvysotskij gives examples of utterance-initial use of this word and its use as a connector of two clauses:

> "**Дакъ** — такъ, то. *Дакъ што, пошли ево, а не пойде дакъ жонку пошли.* Онеж., Шенк." (Подвысоткcій 1885)

[11] I used the second edition from 1965. The first edition must have been published shortly before.

6.5.2 Bogoraz (1901)

Bogoraz has written a dictionary of the speech of the Russian and russified inhabitants of the district of Kolyma in the north of Siberia, and he provides this word list with several pages of comments (Богоразъ 1901). He states that *dak* or *da*, which he considers to be conjunctions, are used to mark that the subordinate clause is conditional, and that *dak* is placed in final position in postposed subordinate clauses:[12]

(5) Дай менѣ карбасъ, сулил *дакъ*!
(6) Поневолю послѣдняго отдамъ, станешь приставать *да*.

Bogoraz further remarks that *da* can also be used in the meaning of *že*; see section 14.4 on *da*: "*какъ да!* вмѣсто какъ же! *чево да!* вмѣсто что же!" (ibid.).

6.5.3 Mansikka (1912; 1914a; 1914b)

Mansikka describes Northern Russian *tak* in a way suggesting that he wrote about the form *dak* in most cases. Mansikka wrote several descriptions of Northern Russian dialects (Мансикка 1912, 1914a and 1914b) with interesting general observations about the expression in the dialects of what he called "complex thoughts". They are presented in a simple form. Most often, complex sentences are formed by mere juxtaposition of the two clauses, without any grammatical or lexical marking (1912:140; 1914a:168),[13] sometimes supported for the sake of clarity by an explanatory *-to* ("Для ясности иногда прибаляется объясняющее «то»"; Мансикка 1914a:168):

(7) простудиўся быў, лѣс возиў.
(8) я стритиў ево, ѣдет мимо. (both Arch.; Мансикка 1912:140)
(9) свёкор, умёр-то, знаткой был.
(10) у нас баба, помёрла нонь-то, знала эты слова (both Kar./Arch.; Мансикка 1914a:168)

[12] "Союз *дакъ* или *да* ставится для обозначенія условности придаточнаго предложенія. *Дакъ* ставится въ концѣ придаточнаго предложенія, которое слѣдуетъ за главнымъ." (Богоразъ 1901:14).
[13] "В построенииі предложеній наблюдается простота и краткость. Отрывистая рѣчь крестьянина обходится безъ придаточныхъ и вводныхъ предложеній." (Мансикка 1914a:168)

However, Mansikka has encountered constructions with subordinating conjunctions as well, sometimes combined with "*tak*"[14] in the beginning of the main clause. By the way, these subordinating conjunctions occupy only rarely the first position in the subordinate clause in his examples. Mansikka also found complex expressions with *tak* or *to* as the only lexical marker of the connection. Here are some of his examples of "*tak*" in the beginning of the main clause („так" в началѣ главнаго предложенія):

(11) скотина ежели не при́дет домой, *так* ищут, ищут
(12) есь вѣра, *дак* возьмёт дѣвку-ту
(13) хош што, *так* украду (all Arch.; Мансикка 1912:141)

Although Mansikka does not assign *tak* and *to* to word class – he just calls them "*tak*" and "*to*" – he seems to regard these words as conjunctions, because he opposes them to examples "without a conjunction": "ср. безъ союза: спро́сят, скажи; привезёш дро́ва, оштрафуют" (ibid.).

Mansikka also signals occurrences of what he calls final "*tak*", which was probably pronounced as *dak*.[15] He explains them as being instances of ellipsis: "Въ отрывистой рѣчи часто эллиптически прекрашаютъ предложеніе непосредственно после "так": *пойдемте, робята, хто готов, так ...; гдѣ найдёш, ушли, так*." (Мансикка 1912:141). The possible historical connection of *dak* with ellipsis is also discussed by Popov and Merlin; see sections 6.5.5 and 6.5.11.

6.5.4 Šapiro (1949; 1953)

Шапиро 1949 is possibly the first article dedicated to Russian discourse particles. Šapiro wanted to find out more about their meanings, functions and syntactic properties. He remarks that his own observations are only preliminary. Šapiro wrote this article to draw attention to the unusual sentence-final uses of "the particles *da* and *tak* and the conjunctions *da*, *da i* and, more rarely, *i* and *a*" (Шапиро 1949:88). In this article, he describes *dak* as a variant of *tak*. Шапиро 1953

[14] Apparently, he considers *dak* to be a mere pronunciation variant of *tak*, because he always calls the word *tak*, but writes *dak* in some of his examples; cf. chapter 14 on the relation of *dak* with similar words.
[15] I doubt that the pronunciation could have been [tak]. Several authors remark that they have never observed [tak] in utterance-final position. Likewise, the transcribed parts of the Varzuga recordings contain final *tak* only in adverbial function; see section 14.3.1.

is one of the few monographs on Russian dialectal syntax. This classical, extensive work is dedicated to the structure of the sentence in Russian dialects.[16]

As mentioned above, Šapiro has noticed that the atypical use of final conjunction-like elements has been recorded at least from 1856, in many areas all over Northern Russia and Siberia, but that it has not received the attention this strange construction deserves. These words are not even not explained, or only very poorly, they are also attested less than one could expect, which is exemplary for the lack of attention drawn to syntax in Russian dialectology (1953:21). The fact that a linguistic feature is not attested in transcriptions does not necessarily imply that it was not used (see section 7.4.5).

Dak is mentioned in three separate parts of Шапиро 1953: first, as a variant of *tak*, in the section on asyndetic complex and compound sentences ("A, *dak* B" without conjunctions), second, in syndetic complex sentences ("A, *dak* B" with a subordinating conjunction in A), again as a variant of *tak*, and finally, in the section on particles, which appears to cover use in "A *dak*", "*Dak* B", "B, A *dak*" and some utterance-internal use. In the chapter on particles the word is no longer supposed to be a variant of *tak*, but a separate "particle *dak*".

Šapiro classifies the first group – "A, *tak* (*dak*) B" without conjunctions – into five subgroups. In the first subgroup, the second clause expresses a result or a logical conclusion of what whas expressed in the first clause (Шапиро 1953:61),[17] like in (14) and (15):

(14) Не пивала, *дък* **не знаю** (on goat milk; Volog.; emphasis is Šapiro's)
(15) У нас ведь, видишь, **си́верной** край, *дак* у нас всё **сты́нё** (Arch.)

All examples under this group appear to be connections of two main clauses or their equivalents. Šapiro observes that in this group, the particle is always placed in the beginning of the second clause. The particle "*tak*" comtributes to the meaning of the utterance only in marking that the second clause is opposed to the first one, not in the sense that the second clause contains information contrary to the content of the first clause, but the particle only points at the fact that there is a transition from one clause to another, and where this transition takes

[16] Few other monographs on Russian dialect syntax have been published since, e.g. Трубинский 1984 and Кузьмина 1993. Both discuss only a few topics in syntax. Only Trubinskij briefly touches the use of *dak* (see below).

[17] "1. В тех случаях, когда в первом предложении на одном из слов (или словосочетаний) делается значительное повышение тона, а во втором предложении такое же примерно повышение делается на слове (или словосочетании), соответствующем по смыслу интонационно выделенному слову первого предложения, второе предложение, начинающееся частицей *так*, выражает *следствие*, *результат или логический вывод* из сказанного в первом предложении." (Шапиро 1953:61; emphasis is mine; MP)

place (Шапиро 1953:61). Šapiro adds that even other relations can be expressed, when the particle "*tak*" is combined with other means of expression (ibid.).

In the second subgroup of use in asyndetic complex constructions, a conditional-resultative relation (*uslovno-sledstvennoe otnošenie*) is expressed. It includes many different syntactic constructions expressing a hypotactic relation, such as sentences with an imperative (16), with the particle *by* (17), with an infinitive construction (18), and with future tense of a perfective verb in the first, subordinate, clause (19; 1953:62):

(16) Уж этот — десять целовек **приди**, *дак* **хватит** (about a large samovar; Arch.)
(17) Муж **бы был**, *дак* не **поехала бы** (Arch.)
(18) Вот короб **заплетать**, *так* тут **надо** по росцёту, аль кошель (Arch.)
(19) Не **привезешь**, *дак* и ко мне **не ходи** (Volog.)

Šapiro claims that the role of *dak* in these constructions is so insignificant that the semantic relation between the clauses is not affected by omitting the particle.

In the third subgroup, the second clause usually contains a specific exclamative word and is always pronounced with exclamative intonation. The content of the second clause is perceived as a qualitative or quantitative characterisation of the content of the first clause (1953:63):

(20) Навёз рыбы, *дак* ой! (Arch.)
(21) Такой был хозе́ин-от, *дак* сохрани господи! (Arch.)
(22) А семья-то была, *дак* я пришла уж девятым куском! (Arch.)

In the fourth group, the first clause presents something, which will be the topic of the second clause. The second clause is perceived as being more important (1953:64):

(23) А до́ц'ка-то была́, *дак* она коровку-то кормила да поила (Volog.)
(24) А он, батюшко, лежал, *дак* думали — умрё (Arch.)

The intonation on the first clause marks the intention of the speaker to continue. The first clause functions as a kind of introduction to the second clause and contains the material on the basis of which the second judgement is uttered (1953:65).

The fifth and last group is semantically and intonationally close to the preceding groups, but syntactically, it is a simple sentence, because the part of the utterance preceding *dak* is only a part of a clause, not a clause of its own.

According to Šapiro, the only function of *dak* in this construction, which has a specific prosody, is to mark that a person or object is presented to the listener, which something will be said about (ibid.):

(25) Я | *дък* не быва́ла (Volog.)
(26) Лони́ | *дак* было много това́рисцёв, а сёгоду нет (Arch.)

In such simple sentences, the relation can usually be described as "As for A, B". In (25), approximately the following is expressed: "As for me, I wasn't there" ("Что касается меня, то я не бывала"; 1953:65f).

In the part of his book on syndetic complex sentences, Šapiro remarks that *tak* – with *dak* as a possible variant in the north – can be used in combination with subordinating conjunctions (1953:86ff). Šapiro argues that the main function of *tak* (*dak*) in these sentences is to mark the boundary between the subordinate and the main clause. Thus, he claims a similar function for *tak* (*dak*) in both syndetic and asyndetic bi-clausal sentences, but he does not make the explicit connection.

Šapiro supports his claim that *dak* is a marker of the transition (*perechod*) from subordinate to main clause with the weak argument that *dak* – or any other particle with a similar function, such as *to*, or a pronominal adverb like *togda*, *tuda* – is never used to introduce the main clause when this clause precedes the subordinate clause (1953:86):

(27) У нас *как* ста́не холодать, *так* о́зёро ста́неӣи (Arch.)
(27a) **Так* о́зёро ста́неӣи у нас *как* ста́не холодать (my modification; MP)

The words *to* and *tak* (*dak*, *dək*) are used to draw a sharp demarcation of the clauses ("для резкого разграничения предложений"; 1953:96).

The third category of *dak*, where this form is not regarded as a subgroup of *tak*, but a separate lexical unit, contains many different uses of *dak* in several positions in the simple sentence (1953:249ff). It seems to be a waste-box of all remaining uses of *dak*. Šapiro discerns the following uses, according to the position of *dak* in the utterance: 1) utterance-initial use; 2) utterance-medial use and 3) utterance-final use of the particle *dak*:

1) Use of *dak* utterance-initially can give the nuance of a conclusion from something mentioned earlier. The particle is very often followed by *vot*:

(28) *Дак* вот так мы жили с Надеждой с Ивановной (Arch.)

Utterance-inital *dak* can give the utterance a shade of special persuasive power ("оттенок особой убедительности"), and mark that its content is a very important argument for an opinion the speaker had uttered earlier ("довод[ом] в пользу ранее сказанного говорящим мнения"; 1953:249):

(29) *Дак* адрес-то нет. (Arch.)

Such a function is usually ascribed to utterance-final *dak* only. Sometimes, *dak* introduces a reply "if its content is given special importance" (ibid.; see section 9.3.2 for an alternative explanation):

(30) *Дък* не бывало еш̄о письма (answer to the question: Было ли письмо?; Arch.)
Дък вот одна-то ето, а больше нет (answer to the question: Сколько детей?; Arch.)

If any of the above mentioned nuances is absent, *dak* is used when the speaker returns to a previous topic (cf. Шуйская 2002 below), or, after a short pause, to continue the utterance:

(31) ... *дак* правнуцек лета́т уж на еропланах (Arch.)
(32) ... *дак* пойду рыбу-то ловить (Arch.)
(33) ... *дак* у меня хорошой был хозе́ин-от: на што ни взгля́нё, все сде́лаё (Arch.)

2) When *dak* is used "in the middle" of a simple sentence, it is most often used in the function described above for use in simple sentences – to introduce a topic something will be said about. Other use of "medial" *dak* is rare. Šapiro gives two examples, which will be discussed in section 11.5.5.

3) Šapiro observed that sentence-final *dak* is widespread in part of the Northern Russian dialects and some Siberian dialects. Its main meaning is, according to Šapiro, an emphatic-conclusive meaning (*usilitel'no-zaključitel'noe značenie*). Final *dak* is claimed to give an utterance a categorical character (1953:250), for instance in the following examples:

(34) Подём попить *дак* (Volog.)
(35) Видал всёго *дак* (Arch.)

In relatively rare cases, Šapiro found that *dak* had a meaning close to *ved'*, by underlining that the marked sentence explains the basis (*osnovu*) for what had been said previously (1953:250f):

(36) У них все сгорело: на роботе вот были *дак* (Arch.)

Final *dak* can be used "with all of the above mentioned shades of meaning" at the end of complex sentences, relating to either the last clause or to the whole sentence. Šapiro follows up with some examples, but, unfortunately, he does not comment on this remark:

(37) Ковды́ не охота, ковды́ не можешь *дък* (Volog.)
(38) Умирать-то надо, да все смерти нет *дак* (Arch.)

Semantically, these examples are rather diverse. In Šapiro's perception, only a few of these "B, A *dak*"-constructions represent conditional relations, contrary to Bogoraz' claim (see above). In fact, Šapiro claims that in the majority of the cases *dak* does *not* express a conditional meaning, not even in all of the examples given by Bogoraz, such as (39) and (40) below:

(39) Дай менѣ карбасъ, сулил *дакъ*!
(40) А хозяин оннако знат, я смотру *дак*.

In Šapiro's own data, expressions which are clearly conditional are exceptional. He could not detect any conditionality in the following example (see section 10.3.11 for a discussion of this example):

(41) Почево-то на ярмонку плетется, безживотной *дак* (безживотной — не имеющий пушнины на продажу)

Apparently, Šapiro had a more restrictive understanding of conditionality than his predecessor, and than some later researchers, like Fedorova and Merlin, as we will see below. He remarks that in many cases a conditional interpretation is possible, but that other interpretations are possible as well (1953:251). Conditionality will be further discussed in section 10.3.11. Šapiro noticed that *dak* can be used twice in a single utterance:

(42) *Дак* уехал туды *дак* (Arch.)

Unlike Preobraženskaja (1985; see below), he does not try to give an explanation for the double use.

Šapiro remarks that in Northern Russian dialects, initial *tak* can be used with the same functions and meanings as initial *dak*. It is surprising that he explicitly mentions the Northern Russian dialects, because one would expect that *tak* is used in similar contexts first of all in other areas than in the north. The relation between *dak* and *tak* is discussed in section 14.4.

This overview shows that Šapiro mentions *dak* and *tak* in separate parts of his extensive monograph, and does not connect these uses to each other, with the infrequent clause-internal use of *dak* as the only exception. Šapiro is not interested in finding common characteristics of these different uses. He is not interested in the question of a possible common function of *tak* or *dak*. Therefore, he fails to recognise the similarity between constructions of the type "A *dak* B" and "B, A *dak*".

Šapiro has assembled a large amount of different contexts. He makes some insightful observations on the nature of particles, for example, that they do not express conditional relations themselves, and that they are never accented.[18] He has also observed that the exact relation between the parts connected by *dak* is often not even expressed, that it is not differentiated, so that the boundaries between, for instance, conditional, causal and temporal relations are not clear (1953:65). Further, Šapiro has noticed the resemblance between complex and some simple sentences, and between question-answer pairs and conditional constructions, both semantically and prosodically. He observes the relationship between conditional constructions and question-answer pairs: the first are derived from the latter. The resemblance is still detectable in intonation: in conditional sentences where the subordinate clause precedes the main clause (protasis – apodosis), the protasis has the intonation typical for a yes/no-question, with a high pitch rise (Шапиро 1953:63; the question mark stands for question intonation):

[18] Here are some examples: "Частицы, служащие для выражения отношений между предложениями, выполняют лишь вспомогательную роль: они усиливают, иногда уточняют то отношение между предложениями, которое в основном выражено другими средствами (ритмомелодией, порядком предложений, соотношением времен глаголов–сказуемых) или которое складывается на основании реального содержания связываемых в одно целое предложений, между тем как союзы служат о с н о в н ы м средством выражения отношений между предложениями" (Шапиро 1953:59f). Šapiro also claims that the particles are always unaccentable: "Они всегда неударяемы (проклитичны или энклитичны). *Десять целовек приди – дак хватит* (речь идет о большом самоваре; отсутсвие частицы *дак*, благодаря употреблению повелительного наклонения в первом предложении и паузе между предложениями, не сказалось бы на понимании отношений между предложениями; Арх.)" (1953:60) However, it is doubtful that Šapiro considered *dak* to be a particle of this kind in all of its uses.

(43) — Желаете (?), *дак* дам крынку ... (Arch.; Шапиро 1953:63)

This relation to question-answer pairs is discussed in section 10.3.11.

Šapiro recognises the importance of prosody (pausation and intonation) in the study of dialect material.[19] Sometimes, a change of prosody implies a very different meaning of an utterance. Šapiro stresses that the meaning of the utterances with final *dak* cannot be known with any certainty without knowledge of the intonation (1953:251). Šapiro tries to describe the appropriate prosody in each subgroup of the use of *dak* in complex sentences, but he was too rigid in his descriptions – they do not cover all the prosodic possibilities. It is surprising that Šapiro claims that in his data, there is always a pause before *dak*. As a consequence, he did not recognise the existence of "A *dak*, B"-constructions: he fails to see that *dak* is often attached to the right even in compound sentences.

Šapiro works in a traditional grammatical framework designed for the description of sentences in standard written language. More than once Šapiro encounters the limitations of existing syntactic and semantic theories. They are insufficient to account for the use of connective words in dialects and other spontaneous speech. For example, Šapiro struggles with word class classification.[20] Šapiro took very little account of the context. He hardly ever looks across the boundaries of the sentence and fails to recognise the connective quality of final *dak*.

6.5.5 Popov (1957): postpositive *da*

Попов 1957 is an article on the function of *da* in the dialect of some villages in the north-east of the Archangel'sk oblast,[21] with focus on the unusual syntactic properties of this word. Much of Popov's insightful remarks on *da* are valid for *dak* as well. Moreover, Popov describes even *dak*, since he appears to regard *da* and *dak* as variants of the same word. Amazingly, he does not even mention the existence of *dak*, while he gives the form *dak* as an example of *da* in some of his examples,, e.g. (49) below. This can only mean that he considers *dak* to be a variant of *da*. It cannot be denied that *da* and *dak* share many contexts, and most of the contexts described for *da* are also typical for *dak*. This does however not

[19] "Впрочем, трудно настаивать как на том, так и на другом истолковании без учета интонации и ритма, с какими эти предложения были произнесены" (Шапиро 1949:91).

[20] "Все это, конечно, лишний раз свидетельствует о том, что деление значительной группы служебных слов на союзы и частицы, которыми мы обычно оперируем, совершенно неудовлетворительно и требует коренного пересмотра"(Шапиро 1949:95).

[21] In 1949, Popov recorded the speech of villagers in Lešukonskij *rajon* along the river Mezen', in the northeastern corner of the Archangel'sk oblast.

necessarily imply that they have completely corresponding functions, not even in similar contexts; see sections 9.4 and 14.4.

Unfortunately, this article is little known. Only Трубинский 1984a and Кузьмина 1993 refer to it, but in these works *dak* is mentioned only briefly.[22]

Popov observes that in the dialect of the Mezen' area, *da* is almost only used postpositively: it is usually intonationally attached to the preceding word or clause (1957:65; 85). He is the first to observe this property of the postpositive particles. The only exception is when *da* is used a single time in the meaning 'and' in a simple sentence to connect two phrases of equal syntactic status, such as in *Та маленька да худа* (about a *banja*) and *Осенью бы развозили по избам да съели бы*.[23]

In bi-clausal constructions with *da*, Popov found two types of relations between the clauses: adversative-restrictive relations (*otnošenija protivopostavlenija-ograničenija*) and relations of logical dependence (*otnošenija logičeskoj zavisimosti*), such as a causal relation. An example of an adversative-restrictive relation ('but') is the following:

(44) Трава-то долга *да*, не знаю будет ли картошка-то.

In this example, *трава* 'the grass' is contrasted to *картошка* 'potatoes'. According to Popov, *da* is equivalent to Standard Russian *no* 'but', except that the pause is made *after* the conjunction, and not before it.

A purely additive, coordinating function to mark copulative[24] relations of *da* is restricted to use in enumerations, with repeated use of *da* ("S *da*, S *da*"). In that case, *da* connects elements of the same syntactic rank. They are independent of each other and perceived as details in a single, more general picture (1957:74). As we saw above, *da* can also be copulative in simple sentences.

The relations of logical dependence found by Popov are similar to the relations described for utterances with *dak*. Most often, these utterances express a condition or reason and its result:

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[22] This is not surprising, given the place Попов 1957 was published – in a series of the Pedagogical Institute of Vinnica, Ukraine.

[23] This last example with two predicative units makes me wonder where Popov draws the border between a simple and a compound sentence. This question becomes relevant when Popov claims that he did not encounter a single example of *da* in a purely coordinative meaning (Попов 1957:74). He probably meant coordination of clauses only, and, obviously, he does not regard *Осенью бы развозили по избам да съели бы* as a complex sentence. Possibly, a difference in intonation plays a role. Popov did find coordinative use of *da*, but only when *da* was used repeatedly after each clause ("S *da*, S *da*"). In that case, each clause was found to carry a so-called logical accent and had about the same intonation (Попов 1957:74f).

[24] A *copulative* relation connects two separate and syntactically equivalent elements.

(45) Жарко *да*, бьется. (about a horse)
(46) Со своей деревни *да*, так, а с чужой деревни на лошадях, на паре, на двух.
(47) Одеяло-то *да*, тепло спать-то.
(48) Нынче ведь лето *да*, все на роботах, кто может дак.

According to Popov, *Жарко да, бьется* could be expressed in standard language as *Жарко, поэтому и бьется*, 'It is hot, so that is why it is kicking' or *Так как жарко, бьется* 'Since it is hot, it is kicking' (Попов 1957:70). This example is further discussed in section 14.4.

Often, conditional or causal dependency is combined with temporal sequence:

(49) А не задожжит *дак*, будут (сгребать сено), высохнет.

Popov was the first to remark that if the order of the clauses is the reverse, then the particle moves together with the clause it is postpositively attached to, just like a subordinating conjunctions would do:

(50) Поди, поди, зовет *да*.

The difference between *da* and subordinating conjunctions is that the latter have a specialised meaning. *Da* does not express a temporal relation in one case, a conditional relation in another and a causal one in a third case, but it expresses all three relations indistinctively at the same time. The speaker did not have the intention to be more specific:

> "союз «да» не выражает то временную, то условную, то причинную связь, а выражает то и другое и третье недифференцированно. Это, конечно, объясняется тем, что говорящий и не ставит своей задачей выделить одну какую-то связь." (Попов 1957:73)

In most cases, the exact nature of the relation is not expressed; it can only be guessed; cef. section 9.2.2.

Popov claims that there is not always a sharp distinction between these dependent, causal-conditional relations and the independent relations in an enumeration, where *da* is used in a purely coordinative meaning ("в собственно соединительном значении"). Take the following example:

(51) Боле пристанут ноги *да*, на лавку сяду *да*.

Is this simply an enumeration of events, or did the speaker mean that she sat down *after* she had become tired in her legs, or even *because* of her tired legs? Popov claims that the difference is expressed in the intonation: the sentences with a causal or conditional relation have only one logical accent, expressing inequal importance of the parts (*neravnoznačnost'*), while both clauses carry an accent and are marked as equally important when the relation is copulative and expresses independency of the parts, which was the case in the last example; details are given on 1957:69ff. This is not what I found in the Varzuga corpus, where both constructions connected by *dak* have a clear pitch accent and similar intonation even in the case of dependent, causal-conditional relations; see section 12.2.

Popov discusses word class categorisation, and concludes that *da* is a particle in some constructions and a conjunction in other, but usually the word has characteristics of both a particle and a conjunction at the same time. In contexts where *da* is categorised as a conjunction, the word combines characteristics of subordinating and coordinating conjunctions. For argumentation, see Попов 1957:73ff. *Da* can be combined with a subordinating conjunction, but Popov claims that it cannot be called a correlative particle (*sootnositel'naja častica*), for instance in the following examples (1957:74):

(52) *Дак* ведь когды тепло лето *дак*, пораньше. (answer to Popov's question when the grain will ripen)
(53) Придет, ежели надо *да*.

Popov seems to assume that *da* always connects two entities, even in cases where only one of them is expressed. This view is very uncommon among researchers of *dak*; it is possibly only shared by Šujskaja (see below), and it will be supported in the present research. *Da* is also often used in the end of a simple sentence ("A *da*"). According to Popov, *da* functions in these cases as a marker of the non-finality of the thought. The second part of a complex thought – in my notation, the B-part – is left out, either because it has already been expressed in the immediate, preceding context, or because the speaker cannot or does not want to give it a concrete expression. Examples will follow below. In the following example, the 'missing' part had already been expressed:

(54) Ты не пьешь и я не пью *да*.

Da serves as a marker (*pokazatel'*) showing that the sentence is not finished. For a correct and complete understanding of the thought expressed, the listener has to connect it to what has been said before. The topic of conversation was whether or not to put on the samovar. It was decided not to. After that, the cited expression was uttered, giving an explanation of the considerations which made them decide not to heat water.

In this case, the missing part of the complex thought is the one expressing the most important concept or phenomenon. What is absent is what could be called the main clause, and what is expressed is the subordinate clause. The dependency in such utterances is of a conditional or causal nature (1957:77). These utterances serve as answers to a question about the reason for something. This something need not be repeated, because it has just been uttered. Popov reminds us that such utterances consisting of only a "subordinate" clause are usual in standard speech as well ("в нашей собственной речи" 'in our own speech'; ibid.):

(55) — «Ты зачем окно открыла?» — «Жарко потому что.»

In the next example, the content of the first part, the main clause, was expressed by a different interlocutor, in this case, by Popov himself:

(56) Каково попарился? (Я отвечаю: хорошо). Тепло *да*, жар-то есть *дак*.

What the speaker really meant was something like "Конечно, можно неплохо попариться и в нашей бане, если только тепло в ней, если достаточно жару". But since there is no reason to repeat what has already been expressed, only the second part of this sentence has been given a linguistic form (ibid.).

For these constructions, Popov introduces the term *nepolnoe složnoe predloženie* 'incomplete complex sentence'. The absent clause is usually presupposed, because this thought had already been expressed by one of the interlocutors. This absent part is indispensable for the proper understanding of the idea expressed by the sentence.

Popov criticises Šapiro for calling *da* a particle in similar utterances. He argues that it is clear from the context and intonation that *da* makes a connection to something else. According to Popov, the unique intonation, with no large pitch jumps and the fact that the pitch level falls long before the last word *da*, signals incompleteness of the thought and a subordinate status of the expressed part (1957:79).

Popov also criticises Šapiro's characteristion of *da* in these cases as having a conclusive-strengthening shade of meaning (see above). Šapiro does not explain what it is that is finished and what it is that is strengthened. Popov agrees that *da* marks some kind of finality – the final boundary of a complex sentence, but a more important function of *da* is its connecting function (*soedinitel'naja funkcija*): *Da* becomes a marker of the fact that the sentence is not complete, and that for its correct interpretation, it should be connected to what has been said earlier in the previous utterance.

Popov argues that *da* can be regarded as a particle in other cases, but in those cases its function is not to mark finality, but rather the opposite. These cases are those were *da* is used as the last word in an utterance with the form of a simple clause, such as in the preceding group. In these cases, *da* points at the non-finality of a complex thought. This complex thought could also be expressed in several clauses, which could, but need not, be united in a single complex sentence:

(57) Одна дочь-то есть *да*. (На вопрос, есть ли у нее дочери).
(58) Немного лужанка-то есть *да*. (На вопрос, есть ли у них заливные луга).

The difference with the previous group of non-final complex sentence is that the relation between the clause and the non-expressed part is not causal or conditional, but contrastive-restrictive, like in a compound coordinative sentence.[25]

Da functions as an indicator of an unfinished thought (cf. section 9.3.1). There might be several reasons for the absence of the second part of the complex utterance: either the speaker was not finished thinking it out, or she does not know how to express this thought immediately, in a few words, or, finally, because she prefers to keep quiet about the following thought (1957:80f). Only after a while, in the course of the conversation, it becomes clear what he speaker had in mind.

[25] A comparison of these examples with Dutch and Norwegian suggests an alternative interpretation of *da* as not being related to the additive conjunction *da* 'and', but to the affirmative particle *da* 'yes' (cf. Fretheim 2000a). The reply to the question whether the speaker has any daughters seems to be equivalent to the following answers in these languages, which have a concessive relation to the question and the mentioned contrastive-restrictive relation to the implied alternative ('but not more'):
(59) 'Één dochter heb ik wel, ja.' (Dutch)
(60) 'Jeg har én datter, ja.' (Norwegian)
Although a comma is written, *ja* not preceded by a pause in these languages either; cf. Appendix IV for a discussion of similar use of a comma to denote syntactic boundaries that cannot be accompanied by a pause.

Popov also found some utterances where he could not reconstruct the content of the unexpressed part. He characterises *da* in these utterances as a particle pointing at the non-finality of the conversation. He gives examples like the following:

(61) Старина-то не учена была *да*.
(62) Мати померла *да*, а отец на войны пал *да*.

In these and similar examples, the function of *da* is not immediately clear. Popov supposes that even in these cases, *da* points at some second part of a complex thought. As a conversation analyst *avant la lettre*, Popov gives a reasonable explanation for the use of *da* in conversations. According to Popov, the use of *da* in such utterances is in many aspects incomprehensible, but what is certain is that whenever you hear such utterances, you get the feeling that the conversation does not end at this point, just as it did not start with it. By using the word *da* at the end of the sentence, the speaker gives as it were the possibility to continue the conversation – with questions, objections etc. This happens most often when two people are talking at leisure, at a slow speed, with interruptions and pauses. The interlocutors seem to be thinking out loud and throw out words only every now and then, like logs on a bonfire, with only the concern that the fire will not go out completely (1957:82).

A problem with Popov's claims is that many of his examples can have alternative explanations. As he explains himself, his classification into semantic groups is based on the interpretation of the utterances. The difference between kinds of relations is often not expressed formally, and it is not certain that the interpretations given by Popov are actually supported by *da*. In many cases, more relations could have been intended than the temporal, conditional and causal ones proposed by Popov. Some of his examples will be discussed in section 9.4.2.1, and be given alternative explanations.

6.5.6 Serebrennikov (1963)

Серебренников 1963 is a monograph on historical morphology of the Permic languages, including Komi-Zyryan. In the section on subordinating conjunctions, he compares the Komi postpositive 'conjunction' *da* to Russian dialectal *dak*:

> "Союз *да* 'так как'. Его генетическое отношение к соединительному союзу *да* неясно, ср. например: *Видзьас турунаӧсь, гожӧмыс бур вӧлі да* 'Луга обильны травой, так как лето было хорошее'. Интересно отметить, что все исконные под-

чинительные союзы в пермских языках занимают конечное положение в предложении. Эта особенность присуща также некоторым союзам в севернорусских говорах, например: *иди, пошел, дак*, т.е. ‘иди, если пошел’ (Нижняя Вычегда).” (Серебренников 1963:376)[26]

Komi *da* and its relations to Northern Russian *dak* will be further discussed in section 9.2.3. The interpretation of the Russian example utterance given by Serebrennikov proves difficult, as shown in section 9.2.2.

6.5.7 Fedorova (1965)

The article Федорова 1965 is dedicated to the role of utterance-final *dak* in the dialect of the village of Akčim, Perm’ oblast. This village is situated in Prikam’ja, in the northeastern corner of European Russia. This dialect has been studied by many dialectologists, including Merlin, and probably by Vjatkina and Mišlanov as well (see note nr. 9). Fedorova also uses some space on the description of non-final *dak*. Her main interest is the functional status of this word: its word class category, its difference from Standard Russian and its possible modal functions.

As to the relation between *dak* and similar words, Fedorova regards post-positive *dak* as a lexical unit different from *tak*, but the same as *ak* (and *dyk*, *dək*, *dɛk*, and *ɛk*; Федорова 1965:78, note 8). She claims that *tak* when used in inter-position between subordinate and main clause should be regarded as a recent loan from the Standard Russian.

Fedorova regards *dak* in final position as a unique type of postpositive conjunction (“своеобразный постпозитивный союз”; 1965:87). The syntactic properties of *dak* are discussed in chapter 11 and section 13.4 and 13.5. Fedorova gives a good classification of uses of *dak*, including prepositive *dak*:

1. initially in simple and compound sentences, for example in *Каг бы нам сварить картошку? — Дак я вам сварю; Это сестра туд жывёт // дак её дочь привезёно*;
2. in the middle of sentences (i.e. between a clause constituent and the rest of the clause, like in *Зимой дэк огонёк ис печьки не выходит*;
3. between the two clauses of a complex sentence, with or without subordinating conjunctions, with and without pauses between the clauses,

[26] “The conjucntion *da* ‘since’. Its genetic relation to the coordinationg conjunction *da* is not clear, cf., for instance:*Vidz’as (etc.)* ‘The meadows are full of grass, since the summer has been good.’ It is interesting to notice that all subordinating conjunctions from the native vocabulary in the Permic languages take the final position in the sentence. This particularity is share by some conjunctions in the Northern Russian dialects, e.g.: *idi, pošel dak* , i.e. ‘go, if he has come’ (Lower Vyčegda).”

before or after *dak*, like in *Снек идёд дáк / так и говорим: снек идёт / снежная погода*;

4. at the end of simple, independent sentences (*Где-ко пéречь найди дак*); and

5. at the end of complex sentences or complex constructions (*Зачем государство удобреньё повезёт / сами собой жывём дак*).

Fedorova considers the types 1, 2 and part of 3 to be equivalent to *tak* in the standard language, which she regards to have been properly described before (e.g in Шведова 1960). Therefore, she only discusses clause- and utterance-final *dak*.

As to the relations between the parts connected by *dak*, Fedorova found the well-known causal, temporal, causal-conditional and conditional relations. Judging from her examples (1965:81), she has a broader understanding of what should be regarded as conditional than Šapiro; see the discussion in section 10.3.11.

Kuz'mina and Nemčenko had noticed that particles taking a postpositive position in relation to the clause, like *dak*, *da* and *da i*, are not preceded by a pause, but form an intonational unit with the last word of the clause.[27] Fedorova was the first to remark – after Popov, but Popov's article has hardly been read – that *dak* can end a clause rather than begin the next one when it is used in interposition, between the two clauses of a compound sentence (1965:85f), such as in the following example:

(62) Ветрá какие-то получаются / иногда со снегом // идеж *дáк* / глаза нельзя открыть (Perm.)

Fedorova remarks that in these constructions *dak* usually gets an independent accent, while *dak* in the other cases cliticises to the preceding or following word.[28] She only found a few examples – but she had restricted access to sound recordings, and those were all utterances where a conditional relation was expressed. The (im)possibility of *dak* to carry an accent will be discussed in section 12.2, 12.3.1 and Appendix IV.

Fedorova was also the first who pointed out the resemblance between interpositive *dak – dak* between two clauses – and utterance-final *dak*, again disregarding Popov's almost unread article. Fedorova has found simple sentences ending in *dak*, which seem to represent not a simple sentence, but a complex

[27] "Рассматриваемые частицы интонационно сливаются с последним словом предложения — паузы перед частицей нет" (Аванесов & Орлова 1965:197).

[28] "*[Д]ак* обычно имеет самостоятельное ударение, в то время как во всех других случаях оно примыкает по ударению к предыдущему или к последующему слову." (Федорова 1965:85)

sentence, where the second clause is not expressed. In this complex sentence, *dak* would have introduced the second clause of the complex construction, but this clause was not spoken out, because its content was already obvious without words (1965:84). Here are some examples:

(63) чё втимится *дак*!
(64) А чё оне сырое сало? жареным бы *дак*.

The first expression is given in reaction to an often repeated request of a child to give him a screw-driver; *vtimit'sja* is a dialectal expression for 'to get stuck in the head'. Fedorova interprets the reply as being an incomplete expression of what the speaker thinks, which may be something like "чё втимится, *дак* не отвяжешься" 'What gets stuck in your head, you cannot get rid of' (ibid). In my perception, other interpretations are possible as well. The expression reminds of expressive utterances with a word of comparison, which are used when a speaker is surprised about the high degree of something; see section 5.6.4 and 9.3.1. In that case, a possible interpretation could be 'How this idea got stuck in your head!'

The next example has a more obvious interpretation: "А чё оне сырое сало будут есть? Жареным бы, *дак* стали" 'Do you really think they would eat uncooked lard? If it had been fried, then they would'.

Fedorova did not suppose a connective function in all cases where *dak* ends a simple sentence. Sometimes she found the particle was used in sentences having a "modal shade of categoriality", but unlike Šapiro, she found that such use was rare. She gives the following examples (Федорова 1965:80):

(64) Уйди Толя! попере́шный врак такой *дак*!
(65) Нерадивой ето ленивой *дак*
(66) Дай вычишшу *дак* (яйцо)
(67) Человек ревматизьменный *дак* // тепло надо / берекчи́ся надо

In only three cases, Fedorova found *dak* to function as an element formally ending the sentence ("*дак* в качестве формального завршающего предложение элемента"; 1965:80), in utterances like this:

(68) У меня вот тоже старик ушол по дрова[29] *дак*

[29] *по дрова* = StR *за дровами* 'to get firewood'; cf. *DARJa* III, 1997 and 2004, map nr. 9 I.

But according to Fedorova, these are exceptions; usually, *dak* is used in complex constructions. However, in my perception, it is easy to imagine that the speaker has a second part in mind even in the last mentioned cases; it could express the reason why the speaker made an earlier statement, which is a typical context for the use of utterance-final *dak*; see section 9.3.1. The speaker could, for instance, have said something like 'I am (also) home alone'.

Fedorova discusses the relationship between the grammatical function of *dak* and its assumed modal functions. Following Švedova (Шведова 1960:18f), Fedorova assumes that (modal) particles do not have any lexical meaning of their own, and that *dak* only serves as a means to convey the modality of the sentence or as a means for the structuring of sentences (1965:79; note 10). Usually, *dak* is ascribed only grammatical, connecting functions when used in bi-clausal constructions, and only modal functions when used in simple sentences ("A *dak*" and "*dak* B"; cf. Шапиро 1953). Fedorova wonders if the word *dak* could not in some cases have both functions at the same time. She supposes such a double role in typical additional remarks, like (63 and (64) above, where the utterances give a reason for a previously uttered statement. In Fedorova's perception, the speakers use *dak* both to underline the reason and mark that it is important, but *dak* serves simultaneously as a conjunction. This double function could also be present when *dak* is used after asyndetic bi-clausal constructions. In these cases, utterance-final *dak* has both a structuring and a modal function: it both contributes to the expression of causal, conditional and temporal relations between the parts in the complex construction and adds modality. If there is a subordinating conjunction, *dak* might have a modal function only: because of the presence of a subordinating conjunction, *dak* appears to play little role in expressing the relation between the clauses. In Fedorova's perception, the word seems to underline the modality of the subordinate clause, for instance in the examples (13.24) through (13.27), discussed in section 13.7. Could *dak* have primarily a modal function in these utterances, and what would change if you left out the particle? She gives the readers some examples of complex constructions with and without the particle *dak*, all containing the conjunction *raz* 'since', to judge the difference between use and non-use of *dak*; see the discussion in section 13.7. Unfortunately, this is about the only place in the literature on *dak* where utterances containing *dak* are compared directly to similar utterances without *dak*.

A final comment on this article concerns the amount examples in Fedorova's article of "B A *dak*"-constructions without a pause between B and A. This is very rare in other sources and in the Varzuga corpus. It would be

interesting to know if there was no other boundary marking either, such as a change of pitch accent. Prosodic boundaries will be discussed in section 8.3.2.

6.5.8 Balašov (1970)

Although Balašov was not a linguist, but a writer, who recorded folkloristic material (see section 3.2.1), he made a good observation on the word *dak*. Балашов 1970 is an anthology of fairy tales from the Ter Coast. Like Merkur'ev's anthology of fairy tales, parts of the transcriptions are based on sound recordings (see section 3.2.1). Balašov notes that he found a high degree of variation in the speech of the informants, and tries to explain it (see section 3.3.4). He dedicates no more than a few remarks to a description of the dialect and to the chosen transcription method. The description of the dialect consists only of some words on phonetics, and the remark that all peculiarities of the popular lexicon and syntax are left unchanged ("Все особенности народной лексики и синтаксиса нами сохраняются без изменений"; 1970:5). Nevertheless, Balašov chose to add a special remark on the word *dak*:

> "Особо надо сказать о частице «дак», которая является своеобразной «точкой», заключающей фразу или ее часть. Например: «Жону не любил дак, оставил ее в лесу»; здесь «дак» является заключением первой части фразы («Жону не любил»), а не началом второй, как могло бы показаться." (Балашов 1970:5)[30]

By the way, the transcriptions in his book show a low frequency of *dak*, much lower than the collection of fairy tales by Merkur'ev (Меркурьев 1997c). Although individual differences among the informants might play a role, the low frequency of *dak* probably also reflects a lesser awareness of the word in the minds of the authors, or a different approach to what should be reflected in the transcription; cf. Appendix I, section 6 and Appendix III. Many of the texts in Balašov's anthology of Ter Coast fairy tales were not recorded by Balašov himself.

[30] Translation to English: "The particle *dak* requires some comments here. It is a kind of "full stop", finishing a sentence or a part of it. An example is "Жону не любил дак, оставил ее в лесу" ('He did not love his wife *dak*, he left her in the woods'). *Dak* ends the first part of the sentence ('He did not love his wife'), and does not function as the beginning of the second part, as it might appear."

6.5.9 Trubinskij (1970; 1998; 1984)

Trubinskij's article from 1970 is dedicated to the functioning of the postpositive particle *to* and its variants (*ot*, *ta*, *tu*, *ti* and *te*)[31] in some dialects from the Pinega region of the Archangel'sk oblast. A large part of his article deals with expressions where *to* (or one of its variants) is combined with *dak*. He only deals with use of *dak* where both elements connected by *dak* are expressed in the same sentence, that is, the types "A *dak* B" and "B, A *dak*".

Trubinskij shows the similarity of the relations between the parts connected by *dak* in all utterances of the "A *to dak* B" and "B, A *to dak*" type, regardless of the semantic relations and the order of the two elements: whether it is "A *to dak* B" or "B A *to dak*", and whether A is a clause or only a sentence constituent, and that they have to do with a division in what he called the important and the subordinate part, and what I would call information structure. According to Trubinskij, the combination *to – dak* has always the same function: it functions as a connector of what could be called subordinate with superordinate information: *dak* introduces the main part of the utterance, and *to* refers to this in the other, subordinate part of the sentence.

Trubinskij thus combined insights about the use of *dak* from his predecessors Šapiro and Fedorova. Šapiro had paid attention to the similarities between complex and simple sentences, and he had found that *dak* was used in constructions expressing "as for X, Y", where X introduces the topic of the following utterance (see section 6.5.4 above). In her turn, Fedorova had observed the parallelism between "A *dak* B" and "B, A *dak*"-constructions. Trubinskij was the first to combine this and observe a similar information structuring function of *dak* in different syntactic and semantic environments.

In constructions where *to* and *dak* are combined, *to* underlines the starting point, the less important part, while *dak* introduces the "from a communicative point of view most important part" (Трубинский 1970:58). The postpositive elements strengthen the interrelation between the two units. Trubinskij suggests that by using *to* in the first part, the speaker signals that a more important part is going to follow.

This connecting model (*skrepljajuščaja model'*) *to – dak* is used with the same function in varying syntactic contexts. The most common context is an asyndetic subordinate complex sentence expressing any kind of circumstantial relation, mostly with the order subordinate – main clause:

(69) с Ле́нин *то* гра́да прие́дут у́тром ф Шо́тову Го́ру, *дак* ве́чером фсе́ зна́ют.

[31] Contrary to the tradition, Trubinskij writes the particle *-to* and its variants without a hyphen.

Secondly, the *to-dak*-construction is used in complex constructions with the opposite order of subordinate and main clause, with *dak* being final:

(70) ко́мнатка ма́ленька ека, мно́го нать дро́ф *то*, но́чь *то* больша́ *дак*.

Finally, the combination is used with the same function in simple sentences:

(71) через ры́п *то* заво́д *дак* до́лго итти́ нать.

To is usually only used in the part preceding *dak*. *To* can be used several times, sometimes even after almost every word in the clause, such as in the following example:

(72) у попа́ *то*, попо́фска *то* до́чка *то* о́ддана за просто́го, на Покшэ́ньги *то*, то́т *то* дом у реки́ *то*, у ще́льи *то*, о́ддана *то* была́, *дак* по́сле сва́дьбы попадья́ ско́ко рас приходи́ла к нам

In this example, every occurrence of *to* is connected with the last part, although the connections are possibly not equally strong (1970:57). In the same way, Trubinskij explains the seemingly hypertrophic use of *to* in another sentence, by the way without *dak*, where almost every word is followed by this particle, except for the last one, "логическое выделение которого является целью говорящего" ('the logical underlinement of which is the goal of the speaker'; 1970:64).

Trubinskij states that *dak* can function as "a watershed of the asyndetic complex sentence" (*vodorazdel bessojuznogo složnopodčinennogo predloženija*; 1970:57), since it marks the boundary between the subordinate and the main clause.

In a course book in dialectology, Trubinskij characterises the word *dak* in the Northern Russian dialects as an *aktualizator* (cf. Lapteva and Merlin below and chapter 10 on information structure):

> "[Ч]астица *дак* (*дък*) выступает в говорах Севера как один из наиболее выразительных актуализаторов высказывания. В севернорусской речи *дак* вводит обычно наиболее важную в коммуникативном отношении часть высказывания, его ядро" (Колесов 1998:166)[32]

[32] A translation of the citation is "The particle *dak* (*dyk*) is one of the most important "actualisers" in the the dialects of the North. In Northern Russian speech, *dak* usually introduces the communicatively most important part of the utterance, its core."

The *to-dak*-construction increases the division of the utterance (ibid.). Trubinskij only mentions use of *dak* in "A *dak* B" and "B, A *dak*"-constructions and only when it is combined with *to*. This gives the impression as if utterances which express the relations described always contain both elements *to* and *dak*, but this is of course not so. Similar expressions also occur without *dak*, as Trubinskij remarks himself, and also without *to*. In the Varzuga corpus, *to* is indeed frequent in these types of utterances, but this particle is used in less than half of the cases of the "A *dak* B" and "B, A *dak*"-constructions. It is remarkable that Trubinskij did not find use of *to* and *dak* in syndetic constructions, that is, in utterances with subordinating conjunctions. However, he found that subordinating conjunctions are exceptionally rare in the Pinega dialects he studied for his 1970 article, whereas they are more common in other areas, where the combined use of *to* and *dak* is less frequent (Трубинский 1984a:34). He concluded that the combinatory use of *to* and *dak* has developed into a syntactic stereotype in these Pinega dialects. He calls the construction a "*tipizirovannyj priem vyskazyvanija*", an almost standardised mode of expression. It has not developed into a regular structure at the level of complex sentence syntax, but it has almost reached that state in these Pinega dialects (1984a:36).

He regards *to* and *dak* in complex sentences as syntactic devices. He argues that *dak* has developed into an almost universal correlate. *To* and *dak* are used in expressions of "asyndetic correlative subordination", and have a hypotactic function. He even regards *to* as a conjunction (1970:65). His focus on syntax is also shown by his remark that *dak* correlates not with the other clause, but with *to* (1970:58; cf. Vjatkina below). He argues that the combination of *to* and *dak* is not accidental, since it is to be expected that the underlinement of one part needs something it can be opposed to (1970:65f).

I do not see why the opposed part could not be the clause as a whole and not only a tiny particle. The particle *to* supports the contrastivity of an element (see section 14.7), but in my view, this function is not directly related with the occurrence and function of *dak*. It only happens to be the case that *to* and *dak* can be used in similar contexts; *dak* is also almost exclusively used to mark contrastive elements, or elements which are at least marked to be part of a set of alternatives; see section 10.3.12.

Trubinskij spends hardly a word on the constructions of the type "B, A *dak*", apart from remarking that the relations between the elements are similar to the relations in "A *dak* B"-constructions, and giving a number of example utterances (1970:63). A reason for this lack of comments might be that Trubinskij hesitated to call *dak* a correlate in this position. He mentions the Standard

Russian correlate *tak* only once, in a remark between brackets: "*мак* (чаще *дак*)" (1970:65). This must mean that he regards *dak* as a variant of *tak*, and that he found that *tak* is used in this function as well, though less often.

Trubinskij claims that the function of *dak* can also be expressed by intonation. In that case, the construction has a "hidden" form: *to* is not combined with *dak*, but with main clause intonation (1970:64). Thus he suggests *dak* is synonymous to a certain type of intonation, and he seems to regard non-use of *dak* as a kind of incomplete expression. He seems to regard prosody as something which can support grammar, and not as a part of language in its own right, with its own functions. He did not pay much attention to prosody, as he did not notice that *dak* can be used enclitically in "A *dak*, B"-constructions. Still, Trubinskij recognises the importance of prosody: the correlation (*sootnositel'nost'*) between the two parts in a *to-dak*-construction, he states, could be confirmed by a special study of the intonation (1970:58).

Trubinskij found that *dak* is very frequent in the dialect he studied, and that it was used not only in this construction. Trubinskij thus showed the similarity of *dak* in various contexts, but he did not mean that this function was played by *dak* in every possible context. This is indirectly shown by his characterisation of *dak* in other contexts in the course book in dialectology. He gives some examples of final *dak* in simple sentences, like *Фсего-то повидала дак* (Kar.), which he claims to have an emphatic-conclusive meaning, following Šapiro (*usilitel'no-zaključitel'noe značenie*; in Колесов 1998:166). Trubinskij addresses the relation between modal functions and syntactic functions, but only concerning *to*. He discerned two main functions of *to*: an emphatic function and a hypotactic function, which can be used simultaneously (1970:65). However, he also claimed that *to* marks the "less important part" in a construction. How can this be combined with an emphatic function? He remarks that the term *emphatic* particle (*vydelitel'naja častica*) is not fully justified, because *to* only announces that the correlate will emphasise a more important word, phrase or sentence (1970:64).[33] In fact, emphasis of an element that is not part of the "most important part" of the utterance, that is the rheme, is not unusual, because the partitioning of an utterance into theme and rheme, or topic and comment, is not the same as focussing, emphasising or contrasting; see section 7.2.2.

[33] "[П]остпозитивный элемент (i.e. *to* or one of its variants; MP), почеркивая в этих случаях то или иное слово, лишь предваряет выделение коррелятом наиболее нужного слова или словосочетания (в простом предложении) или предложения (в сложном целом), подготовляет для этого почву в предшествующем контексте, как бы создавая в нем своеобразный противовес подлинному выделению — корреляту" (Трубинский 1970:64).

6.5.10 Lapteva (1976)

Лаптева 1976 is an extensive monograph on the syntax of Russian spoken language. The main focus is on spoken Standard Russian, but Lapteva has also studied dialect material from various regions, and the book contains short comparisons of several different construction types between standard colloquial Russian and the Russian dialects. She discusses the methodology of the description of dialect syntax, and observed substantial differences in the structure of utterances between Standard Russian speech and dialectal speech. These differences are addressed in section 11.2.

Lapteva does not say much about particles, and mentions dialectal *dak* and *da* only twice, apart from citing some examples of dialect utterances with *dak*. Her two remarks show that Lapteva has not studied these words thoroughly; she mainly refers to Трубинский 1970.

She gives an overall characteristic of the function of *da* and *dak*, which is more insightful than usual (see below), but her characterisation is too general: it covers many other words, and she suggests they can be used in contexts where they are in fact absent. She fails to see that *da* and *dak* are not synonymous, and she did not notice that their position in the utterance is not arbitrary.

Lapteva states the following about the "conjunction (particle) *dak* (*dyk*), *da*" in Northern Russian, referring to Трубинский 1970, who, by the way, does not mention *da* with a word: "[I]t has one specific function in the utterance, directed towards the partitioning of the utterance,towards its construction and presentation to the hearers in parts." (Лаптева 1976:93; see section 11.2.2 for a longer citation and the concluding chapter for a discussion of its content). Lapteva claims that Northern Russian *da* and *dak* are part of the category of *actualisers* (*aktualizatory*). She claims that actualisers lack a structural function and do not take part in a "образование моделей или модификации".[34] Examples of such actualisers in standard colloquial Russian are *говорит (гыт*, *говорю*, *грю*), *вот*, *сейчас*, *значит*, *там*, *это*. She suggests that *dak* can be used after each content word (*značimoe slovo*), similar to words like *gyt* '(s)he says': "(...) наподобие северно-русской частицы *да* (*дък*), они располагаются *после любого значимого слова* (...)" (italics are mine, MP; Лаптева 1976:138). She gives examples like the following:

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[34] "Актуализаторы в принципе могут появиться в любом месте высказывания, не меняя его синтактических своиств, в связи с чем они структурной функцией не обладают и не участвуют в образовании моделей или модификаций. Их функция проста и однообразна: наподобие севернорусской частицы *да* (*дък*), они располагаются *после любого значимого слова*
с целью отделить его от последующей части речевого потока. При этом одновременно *может* происходить *усиление коммуникативного веса* этого слова" (emphasis is mine; Лаптева 1976:138: under Part 2, chapter 1, section 3, called "Устно-речевая база конструкций с именительным темы. Членение высказывания актуализаторами-членителями". Lapteva refers to *RRR* 1973 for the discussion of other functions of actualisers than the function to divide sentences into theme and rheme.

(73) Я этой *говорю* старушке и *грю* он хочет пить.
(74) — Он *грит* их *грит* в глину сунуть и они *грит* им *грит* ничего не будет.
(75) — К парню-то ходили? Нет, не ходили. — Как вам не стыдно, *грю*. В больнице лежит *грю*, а вам *грю* все равно.

Lapteva thus suggests that *dak* is little more than an empty filler word. Unfortunately, Lapteva does not even try to support her statements with examples of *da* or *dak*, although the book contains several utterances with *dak* in other sections. However, it would be impossible to replace all the uses of *gyt* by *da* or *dak*. The fact that *da* and *dak* can be used both in the beginning, in the middle and at the end of utterances does not mean that their placement is free and arbitrary. The following chapters in this dissertation will show that different positions imply relations between different entities. Furthermore, *dak* (and *da*) cannot be used phrase-internally, like *gyt*, which was used between the demonstrative pronoun *этой* and the noun *старушке*. Lapteva's remarks are discussed in section 13.5.

6.5.11 Merlin (1978)

In his article "Частица *дак* как средство выражения актуального членения" ("The particle *dak* as a means of expressing actual division"; Мерлин 1978), Merlin discusses the role of *dak* in the division of sentences into theme and rheme. He bases his findings on data from the same dialect as Fedorova (see note nr. 9). He claims that *dak* always introduces the rheme. However, after reading his article it becomes clear that Merlin does not mean *dak* in all possible uses, but mainly in the constructions "A, *dak* B" and "B, A *dak*".

In earlier research of *dak* similarities had been noticed between various constructions containing *dak* and functions close to the division of the sentence into a theme and a rheme (e.g. Федорова 1965, Трубинский 1970 and some remarks on specific contexts of *dak* in Шапиро 1953). Merlin was the first to connect these observations to the theory of *aktual'noe členenie* or *actual sentence division*. This theory is more often called *actual sentence perspective* in English; see section 7.2.2.1.

Merlin follows the Czech and Russian tradition, where *theme* is opposed to *rheme*. The theme marks what the utterance is about and the rheme expresses what is said about this theme. In Merlin's understanding, *theme* corresponds to the *point of departure* (*ischodnyj punkt*) or *determiner* (*determinant*), and *rheme* to the *nucleus* or *core* (*jadro*) of the utterance (1978:89).

Merlin describes four construction types, corresponding more or less to Šapiro's first subgroups:[35]

1) *Dak* used in a complex sentence, where the first clause[36] determines the second clause and expresses a circumstance which reveals the background of time and place for the second clause ("первое предложение — тема — детерминирует второе предожение — рему, открывает «локальные и временные кулисы» второго предложения"; Мерлин 1978:93);

2) *Dak* used after a so-called *thematic nominative* (*imenitel'nyj temy*), that is, an identificational expression (*nazyvnoe predloženie*), which introduces the topic of the next main clause, which in Merlin's definition always has the form of a clause (1978:94). An example is the following utterance:

(76) Вот у нас кот, *дак* Васькой зовем.

In such constructions, «сперва выставляется напоказ изолированный предмет, и слушателям известно только, что сейчас про этот предмет будет что-то сказано и что пока этот предмет надо наблюдать; в следующий момент высказывается самая мысль» (cited by Merlin from Пешковский 1956:405).[37]

3) Clause-internal use of *dak*. In all but one of Merlin's examples, *dak* follows after the first clause constituent:

(77) Петуха *дак* Петей зовут.
(78) Мыться *дак* иди в баню-то.
(79) На пасху *дак* на качелях катались.
(80) Шура вот свою овечку *дак* Настей кличет.

According to Merlin, the clauses are equivalent to a construction *Čto kasaetsja ... to ...* 'As for ..., ...'. This type was earlier described by Šapiro (Шапиро 1953:65f;

[35] The main differences between the subdivisions of Šapiro and Merlin are that Merlin does not describe Šapiro's type where *dak* is followed by an exclamation, like in *Навёз рыбы, дак ой!* (from Шапиро 1953; see above), a type which would fit rather badly in Merlin's analysis, and that Merlin also included "B A *dak*"-constructions, a type Šapiro had not recognised.
[36] He calls the first clauses ending in *dak* all subordinate clauses, but for instance in the following example, the first predicative unit reminds more of a main clause: *Нынче-эть есть чё-то в карманах, дак можно принаряжаться-то.*
[37] English translation: "first, an isolated topic is presented, and the hearer only knows that something will be said about this topic and that in the meantime he should pay attention to this topic; the next moment, the thought itself is expressed."

see above). According to Merlin, this is the construction *par excellence* in Standard Russian expressing actual sentence division (1978:95).

4) Finally, *dak* in utterances with the reverse order of the clauses, the so-called "subjective" order:

(81) У нас уж молодухима зовут, выйдут взамуж *дак*.
(82) Сёдня уж надо денежки готовить, кино будет *дак*.

Trubinskij had described *dak* as marking "the most necessary part of the utterance" (Трубинский 1970:63). Merlin argues that this is in fact a function of actual sentence division. In all of the above mentioned constructions, *dak* marks the rheme. Merlin notes a similarity between actual sentence division and conditionality. He based this observation on utterances like "Туда — не ходи", where *dak* seems to correspond to a dash (1978:96), and on examples from his data with theme-rheme pairs that are contrasted to an expression containing an alternative theme, which entails the existence of an alternative rheme as well (1978:95):[38]

(83) Есть свичка, *дак* свичку засветишь, нет *дак* так.
Котору корову мало доишь, *дак* гуще, а больше, *дак* не тако густое.

The theme is an argument (independent variable) and the rheme a function (dependent variable). If the meaning of the argument is changed, then the function is changed as well. The logical structure is as follows: First, a certain premise (*posylka*) is uttered (*Котору корову мало доишь*), from which a deduction (*vyvod*) is made (*дак гуще*); then an opposing premise is given, from which a (different) deduction is made. Symbolically, this can be presented as follows (Мерлин 1978:95):

$$a \rightarrow b$$
$$\bar{a} \rightarrow \bar{b}$$

The theme is not presupposed or given a priori, but conditionally given (1978:95). An utterance like "Туда — не ходи" is also connected with conditionality. About this utterance Merlin remarks that the conditional meaning is not a property of *dak*, but of the actual sentence division itself ("значение обусловленности принадлежит не *дак*, а самому актуальному членению."; 1978:96).

[38] "[З]начение обусловленности принадлежит не *дак*, а самому актуальному членению." (1978:96), a remark he makes, because utterances without *dak*, like the cited "Туда — не ходи.", have an element of conditionality as well.

Even in construction type 4, with "subjective" order of the clauses, *dak* marks the rheme, but the order of theme and rheme is reversed: *dak* is used not before the rheme, but after the theme. According to Merlin, *dak* marks the rheme even here: the theme is followed by and entrains an empty place, which must be occupied by the first, rheme-expressing clause. These utterances should be regarded as transformations of sentences with "objective" word order (1978:97):

	T	R
	Выйдут взамуж, *дак* молодухима зовут.	
X		
	R	T
↓	Молодухима зовут, выйдут взамуж *дак*.	

Merlin supports his position that *dak* is followed by an empty place by giving examples of what he characterises as cases where the speaker has not finished the expression of her/his thoughts ("случаи простой недоговоренности"; Мерлин 1978:97):

(84) Ветерок подуёт — хорошо, а солнце приварит *дак*.
Как тебе хрясну *дак*!

It is clear, according to Merlin, that in these cases the utterances must be followed by an explanation, but the speaker has to guess its content herself. A similar explanation had been given by Popov and Fedorova (see above). In these cases of "subjective" order (= "B, A *dak*"), the theme expresses an additional, explanatory remark to the rheme. In case of an "objective" order (= "A *dak* B"), Merlin claims, the theme cannot be left out. It is an essential part of the utterance, because the purpose of the utterances is the establishment of a condition-consequence relation. In case the theme is an additional remark, it gives only supplementary information, often denoting a circumstance (Мерлин 1978:87f).

Merlin makes some more claims connected with his analysis of *dak*, which are not always convincing. For example, he claims that actual sentence division belongs to the so-called logical-grammatical level of language, that forms a separate layer of linguistic structure, different from syntax (1978:90). The particle *dak* functions on a linguistic level different from subordinating conjunctions. Merlin's argumentation is as follows. It has been claimed that actual sentence division does not have direct correlates in language since it should not have means of expression that are specialised in the expression of actual division (e.g. Лаптева 1976). In Russian, for instance, actual division is not always marked

linguistically, and it can be expressed by different means, such as intonation and word order, but these linguistic means fulfil other functions as well. Merlin rejects this claim, and argues that actual division is an inherent part of linguistics, because there are languages which do have obligatory, morphological or lexical markers used to mark actual division only, such as Japanese (see section 14.10). He claims that the Northern Russian dialect he studied is one of them, because *dak*, he argues, is an obligatory, morphological marker. This claim can easily be dismissed: *dak* can almost always be left out without making it ungrammatical, or even changing the (truth-conditional) meaning of the utterance, because, at least in many dialects, similar constuctions are frequently used without *dak*; see section 10.2.2.

Merlin regards the particle *dak* in the dialect he described to be the equivalent of Standard Russian *tak* (but see chapter 14). Merlin observed, however, that the form *tak* is in the dialect only used as an adverb and pronoun. The development of *dak* from *tak* can be explained, according to Merlin, as a move from the adverb and pronoun to an homonymous particle, due to its specialisation into a marker of actual division (1978:98).

Finally, Merlin compares a "minimal pair" of two utterances. The only difference is the presence or absence of *dak* (1978:93). This pair and Merlin's comments on it will be discussed in section 13.8.9.

Although we saw that some of the details of Merlin's claims evoke some critical comments, his main claim about *dak* playing a role in actual sentence division is attractive for a description of the core meaning of *dak*. The advantages and problems with Merlin's theory and the application of information structure theory to the description of *dak* are further discussed in chapter 10.

6.5.12 Evtjuchin (1979)

Evtjuchin wrote an article on the role of the abundant Northern Russian particles in text arrangement (Евтюхин 1979; earlier mentioned in section 3.2.1). The article is one of the few articles based on data from the Ter Coast of the White Sea, including data from Varzuga. As remarked in section 6.3.2 above, Evtjuchin is the only researcher who did not confine himself to the study of the speech of older generations, but recorded the far less dialectal speech of younger people as well. Evtjuchin does not focus on *dak* itself – in fact, he mentions *dak* only once – but discusses particles like *vot*, *nu*, *-to*, *da* and *dak* in general and tries to give an explanation for their high frequency in Northern Russian dialects. He claims that these particles are used as a convenient text arrangement device. He assumes that their diffuseness, versatility and multifunctionality makes them

convenient for the speaker. With the help of only a few particles the speaker can express a huge range of relations in the text, while the syntax can be kept simple. The abundantly used particles devide the speech chain in short units. This requires a minimum of effort for the speaker.

Evtjuchin mentions *dak* as being one of several particles playing a role in the communicative division of the sentence into theme and rheme, and gives a single example utterance (1979:202):[39]

(85) Брашку не пьют, не гонят..., не пьют. *Вот* раньше-*то дак* пили.

Braška.acc *neg* drink.pres3pl, *neg* brew.pres3pl ..., *neg* drink.pres3pl *prt* earlier-*prt prt* drank.past3pl

'People don't drink *braška*, they don't brew it ..., don't drink it. But in earlier days they did.' (*braška* = a low-alcoholic home-brewn drink)

This claim is not given an explanation, but in this utterance there is no doubt that *dak* is used between the theme – *раньше-то* 'in earlier times' and the rheme of the utterance – *пили* 'they drank (it)'.

6.5.13 Preobraženskaja (1985; 2002)

Preobraženskaja is again mainly interested in the syntactic role of *dak*. She is puzzled by the strange syntactic behaviour of utterance-final *dak*, and tries to find out the nature of this "syntactic formant". She classifies not only utterance-final *dak*, but also non-final uses of *dak* (Преображенская 1985). She based her research on written transcriptions only, which has some serious drawbacks. For example, she did not notice that *dak* can be used postpositively in "A *dak* B"-constructions.

In her 1985 article, Preobraženskaja explains that the function of the word *dak* depends on its position in the predicative unit – in the beginning, in the middle or at the end of it – and on the position of this predicative unit in a larger chain of predicative units, the polypredicative structure. By using the terms *predicative unit* (*predikativnaja edinica*) and *polypredicative utterance* (*polipredikativnoe vyskazyvanie*), Preobraženskaja applies terminology from the study of spoken language, which is better suited for the study of dialectal syntax than the traditional terms, like subordinate and main clause, compound and complex sentence and complex syntactic whole (*složnoe sintaktičeskoe celoe*). She looks at a wider context than most of her predecessors, and she appears to be the only researcher discussing restrictions on the use of *dak*. For example, she

[39] Evtjuchin refers to Трубинский 1970, but seems not to have known Merlin's article.

observed that *dak* is never used in constructions with the structure "[subordinating conjunction] (...), (...) *dak*." If a subordinating conjunction is used, such as *esli* 'if', the structure of the utterance is either "*esli* (...), *dak* (...)" or "(...), *esli* (...) *dak*." Preobraženskaja also observed that *dak* cannot be used in the absolute beginning of a text, since "the content of the predicative unit containing *dak* is always oriented to the semantic connection with the content of the preceding (left-hand) context" (1985:66). *Dak* triggers a backward direction of thought ("реверсивный ход мысли"), also when the word is used at the end of a polypredicative utterance ("PU, PU *dak*"; PU stands for *predicative unit*). In fact, she claims that the *dak*-containing unit always has a backward orientation, but this is not true. *Dak* is usually postpositive in "PU *dak* PU"-constructions, and then you cannot claim that there is any backward orientation, and in some cases of "A *dak*", the content of A does not refer to previously activated information either the discussion of Попов 1957 above (see also section 9.3.1). However, Preobraženskaja does not recognise these construction types, and regards all "PU *dak* PU"-constructions as representing the "A, *dak* B" type, with *dak* being part of the second clause.

Preobraženskaja compares *dak* with *tak* in the dialects themselves. Like Merlin, she observed that in the Northern Russian dialects, *tak* is also used, but only as an adverb, and *tak* is never encountered in final position (1985:68).[40]

In "B, A *dak*"-constructions, the B-part is autosemantic, and does not preclude A. The *dak*-clauses are typically information units which are added, and need not have been planned when B was uttered.

Preobraženskaja observed that *dak* can be used repeatedly in a polypredicative unit, for instance in constructions of the form "PU, PU *dak*, PU *dak*" or "PU, *dak* PU, *dak* PU". She compares these constructions with repetitive use of *da*. In her view, *dak* connects all of the elements with the same clause – the first predicative unit:

(86) Три года служил в Кронштате / *дак* полтора года / *дак* и и дома не бывал.

She concludes that dialectal *dak* is different from Standard Russian *tak*, because, she claims, only *dak* can be used repetitively and connect more than one predicative unit to the previous context (1985:69). An alternative explanation will be provided in section 9.4.1.

[40] As remarked earlier, *tak* can take the last position in an utterance as well, but only with a different, adverbial function.

Preobraženskaja opposes to the tendency to interprete a dialectal feature in the framework of the syntax of standard literary Russian (1985:65). As remarked above, she replaced traditional terminology by terminology which is better suited for spoken language, such as *predicative unit* instead of suvbordinate and main clause. However, she could not wholly free herself from a standard, written language perspective. For example, she completely ignores prosody. In her 2002 article, she supposes that utterance-final *da i* is stressed, which is very unlikely (Преображенская 2002:122). Furthermore, she does not recognise the existence of the "A *dak*, B" type, where *dak* is attached to the left-hand unit. This leads her to the false assumption that interpositive *dak* is always used initially in the second clause, and that interpositive *dak* is equivalent to the correlate *tak* in Standard Russian. She draws the conclusion that there is a fundamental difference between final *dak* in "B, A *dak*"-constructions and "initial" *dak* in "A *dak* B"-constructions, but this difference is far less fundamental than she supposes. An explanation of my point is given in section 14.3.2.

She also has a view on word order in spoken Russian which reflects a written language perspective. She paid attention to the fact that in standard colloquial Russian, subordinating conjunctions can also take a final position, such as in the following example from the Academy Grammar:

(87) ... надо приготовить, придут они если. (*AG* 1980 II:209)

In her view, use of subordinating conjunctions in final position in spoken Russian, such as in this example, offends standard rules prohibiting the use of function words in final position, and she assumes that this offence is exploited to emphasise the conjunctions. She suggests that *если* in this case is accented, but I cannot imagine that this is the normal reading.[41]

Preobraženskaja speculated upon the origins of *dak* (1985:70ff). It seems obvious that *dak* is etymologically related to *tak*, but she suggests that *dak* may also have developed from *da*, or from both *tak* and *da* at the same time. Preobraženskaja takes up Šapiro's suggestion that the development of final *dak* might be due to influence from neighbouring Finno-Ugric languages. These languages are of the suffixal type, and many of them have utterance-final conjunctions after an addition (*prisoedinjaemaja čast'*) in complex sentences. She

[41] Širjaev's explanation (in *RRR* 1973) of conjunctions in final position in colloquial Russian makes more sense. He remarks that final conjunctions have little informational value. In spoken language, relations are often expressed by mere juxtaposition, and if the conjunction had been left out, the same message would have been conveyed (1973:394). Padučeva claims that clauses with postpositive conjunctions like *poskol'ku*, *potomu čto* and *chotja* have main clause characteristics and represent separate speech acts (Падучева 1996:299).

refers to Majtinskaja (Майтинская 1982:88f; 155), who remarked that these languages might in their turn have taken over this construction from Turcic languages. A problem for this analysis is that in most of these languages only the form *da* is used, or another word, but not *dak* (see 6.5.20 below). Preobraženskaja suggests that the non-native speakers of Russian might not have heard the final *k*, due to the reduced pronunciation of the final part of utterances in Northern Russian, the end of utterances tends to be pronounced weakly, which as described by Kasatkina (Пауфошима 1983:18). More on language contact and the origins of *dak* can be found in section 6.5.20 below.

Преображенская 2002 is a short article on some problems in the description on Russian dialect syntax. In this article, Preobraženskaja briefly discusses *dak*, *da* and *da i* as a typical non-contrastive feature in syntax. One of the reasons for the limited amount of research on dialect syntax is that syntactic features can seldom be object of cartography, which has been the main object of Russian dialectology besides lexicography.

In her 2002 article, Preobraženskaja remarks that the exact functioning of *da*, *dak* and their related words have still not been subject to srcutinous studies, similar to many other non-contrastive features in dialectal syntax.

6.5.14 *DARJa* (III, 1987) and Kuz'mina (1993)

Kuz'mina writes about the data on final *da* and *dak* from the *DARJa*-project. Most of the contents of Кузьмина 1993 and *DARJa* III 1987 were given above, in sections 6.2.1 and 6.2.4.2. Two additional observations are worth mentioning.

Firstly, the data from *DARJa* give the impression that *dak* is often used repeatedly in short utterances:

(88) он съехал *дак* не пишет *дак* (*DARJa* III 1987:25)
(89) пойду *дак* погляжу *дак* (Volog.; Кузьмина 1985:193)

However, this is very rare in the Varzuga corpus, and it is also rarely mentioned in the literature; cf. section 9.4.2.

Secondly, Kuz'mina felt that the use of final particles is connected with text organisation, and therefore, the answers given through the *DARJa*-questionnaire have limited value. The example utterances collected are not interpretable without context (1993:193).

6.5.15 Nikitina & Požarickaja (1993)

Nikitina and Požarickaja describe *dak* as a non-phonological marker of sentence-boundaries (Никитина & Пожарицкая 1993). They combine a syntactic and a prosodic approach to the study of particles, following Nikolaeva and Kasatkina (e.g. Николаева 1985; Касаткина 1988). Nikolaeva claims there is a negative correlation between the frequency of particles in languages and the importance of utterance intonation (Николаева 1985). Following this hypothesis, the authors suppose there is a relation between the high frequency in Northern Russian dialects of semantically "empty" and "superfluous" words like *da*, *i*, *dak*, *a*, *vot* and *-to* even in clause-final position, and the lack of clear prosodic boundaries in these dialects, especially at the end of utterances. These particles could compensate for the frequent lack of clear phonetic marcations of clause and utterance boundaries in Northern Russian dialects and play a role as boundary markers, in particular of the right-hand boundaries of utterances (*frazy*; Никитина & Пожарицкая 1993:156ff; cf. Пауфошима 1983:18 and the discussions of Князев et al. 1997 and Пожарицкая 1997 below). More on the special prosodic organisation of the utterance in Northern Russian can be found in section 4.3.1 and Appendices IV and V. This claim is discussed in Appendix V.

Nikitina and Požarickaja distinguish utterances with clear and utterances with unclear final boundaries. Clear boundaries are found in utterances ending in a high rise and a continuously high intensity level. Unclear boundaries are those with falling pitch in the posttonic part and a gradual decline of the intensity towards the end of the utterance. Unlike in Standard Russian and Southern Russian dialects, the pitch curve moves continuously up and down in most utterances in the Northern Russian dialects they describe. Nikitina and Požarickaja suggest that the difference in prosodic type could explain the distribution of initial and final particles. They take *da* as an example, which is hardly a coincidence, because the hypothesis suits much better for *da* than for other particles, including *dak* (see section 14.4). They claim that if the boundary is clear, *da* is used in initial position, as in (90), whereas if the final boundary is unclear, *da* is used in final position (example 91; Никитина & Пожарицкая 1993:159):

(90) да да́ли ка́танци пе́рвой со́рт, да да́ли сапоги́ (Pin. Arch.)
(91) гармо́нь игра́т да, пою́т да, пля́шут да (Pin. Arch.)

In my view, such a claim is highly questionable, especially as concerns *dak*, which takes a fixed position in relation to the elements it connects (see chapter 8). Nikitina and Požarickaja's examples are insufficient to support their claim. Not

only are they low in number, but the utterances of the first type, ending in a high rise, lack a posttonic part, while the utterances of the second type, ending in a fall, do have a posttonic part. For example, they claim that *да да́ли ка́танци пе́рвой со́рт* in (90) represents the first type – it ends in high rise from 150 to 300 Hz – and the following example is of the second type, because they end in falling pitch, but even the three words preceding *da* in this utterance end in a high rise – they all carry a rise from 180 to 300 Hz, falling to 110 Hz only on *da*, that is, in the posttonic part. I do not see the difference in prosodic type if you take out the posttonic syllables, given the fact that Rusian pitch accents can be truncated (see section 12.2.2.6).

The authors claim that final particles like *dak* can carry secondary stress, "attracting" the stress to itself (cf. Князев et al. 1997 below and Appendix IV).

They also support the claim according to which the abundance of particles in Northern Russian dialects is connected with the assumed strong tendency in Northern Russian to make speech more rhythmical, by increasing or decreasing the number of adjacent unstressed syllables (cf. Пауфошима 1983:76; Пожарицкая 1997:19).[42] A discussion can be found in Appendix V.

Nikitina and Požarickaja argue that since *dak* is a universal correlate in "A *dak* B"-constructions, which means that the word has a very general meaning, the primary function of this word must be the prosodic, dividing function (*rasčlenjajuščaja funkcija*; 1993:162). For counter-arguments, see the same Appendix V.

In their syntactic description, Nikitina and Požarickaja use terminology that is well suited for the description of spoken language, such as *predicative unit* (cf. Преображенская 1985) and also *open* vs. *closed syntactic constructions*. This last mentioned distinction was, to my knowledge, introduced by Belošapkova (Белошапкова 1967:62ff), in order to capture the difference between biclausal complex constructions and constructions where the number of connected elements can be more than two. Whereas hypotactic constructions always consist of two elements, there is no restriction on the number of connected elements in case of coordination. Typical examples of open sets are enumerations, such as in Nikitina and Požarickaja's example (91) above: *гармо́нь игра́т да, пою́т да, пля́шут да.* The authors never found coordinative relations between two parts connected by *dak*. This might either mean that *dak* never plays the role of a coordinating conjunction, or that this is a marginal phenomenon (1993:164). The relations supported by *dak* are thus always subordinative – *dak* connects a dependent part

[42] This assumed strong tendency in Northern Russian to make speech rhythmical, shown in a "wave-like" rhythm, suggested, among others, by Bryzgunova and Kasatkina (Брызгунова 1977; Пауфошима 1983), has lately been questioned in Князев & Урбанович 2002. See also Appendix V.

(*zavisimaja čast'*) with the main part (*glavnaja čast'*) of the utterance. They noticed that *dak* takes a fixed position in relation to them in complex constructions: the order is either "Z *dak* G" or "G, Z *dak*" (cf. my "A *dak* B" and "B, A *dak*"). *Dak* takes an obligatory postpositive position (1993:164).

Just like Preobraženskaja and most other researchers, Nikitina and Požarickaja regard interclausal *dak* as a correlate, although they did observe that it is prosodically attached to the first clause; see comments in section 13.5.

They observed that in their data, the A-part in "B A *dak*"-constructions is always prosodically subordinated (1993:164); cf. Appendix V for a discussion.

Nikitina and Požarickaja notice similarities between *dak* and *ak*, suggesting that these forms have the same meaning/function in some contexts. This is discussed in section 14.5.

6.5.16 Požarickaja (1997)

Пожарицкая 1997 is a recent course book in Russian dialectology. Contrary to earlier course books, the Archangel'sk dialects are well represented. These dialects used to be almost neglected, because most of them fall outside the area covered by *DARJa*. A larger part than usual is dedicated to prosody and to the postpositive particles, which especially the Archangel'sk dialects are known for.

Požarickaja writes that *dak* is almost a universal connecting device for subordinative constructions, while coordinative constructions can be connected by *i*, *da* and *da i* (1997:127). Požarickaja thus observes a clear functional difference between *da* and *dak*; see section 9.4.1 and 13.5.

6.5.17 Knjazev, Levina & Požarickaja (1997)

Князев, Левина & Пожарицкая 1997 is a description of some remote dialects in the Pinega and Verchnjaja Tojma regions of Archangel'sk oblast, with focus on their phonetics and prosody. These dialects are well-known for their archaic features. The article has interest for the study of *dak* because *dak* is mentioned as an example of a final clitic that can receive *udarenie*, due to an unusual prosodic organisation in these dialects. As remarked in the discussion of Никитина & Пожарицкая 1993 above, the final part of the utterance can be prominent in some Northern Russian dialects. *Udarenie* is a multi-interpretable term (see section 7.2.3.3). The phonetically oriented authors of this article probably use the term in the meaning 'prominence', but they may intend other meanings as well. It remains unclear what the meaning of the possible prominence of utterance-final

dak could be: whether it is perceived as such by the dialect speakers themselves as well, and if so, if it has any connection with the meaning of the word itself, or if it is only an acoustical reflection of some effect on clause level. The question of the accentability of *dak* is discussed in section 12.3.1 and Appendix IV.

Князев et al. 1997 was published in a volume with several descriptions and transcribed texts of Archangel'sk dialects. In an article in the same volume, in the introduction to a transcription of an Archangel'sk dialect, the authors Knjazev and Požarickaja argue that the particles should be studied more, together with their prosody:

> "Особый интерес представляет изучение семантики и синтактических свойств обильно представленных в текстах частиц и союзов, таких, как *да*, *и*, *дак*, *ак*, *а*, *вот*, *от* (*то*, *та*, *ту*, *ти*, *те*), а также их просодической функции в таких, например, контекстах: *рабóту-ту т'ежóлу-ту н'е мóжот рóб'ит'-та, а с''ид'éт'-та мóжот, гл'ед'éт'-то, хоúт'-то кругóм-ту*." (Князев & Пожарицкая 1997:312)

6.5.18 Gol'din (1998)

Гольдин 1998 is a short article on the function of *vot* in spoken Russian, both in standard language and in the dialects. Gol'din focuses on the deictic and anaphoric invariant meaning of this word, and how this invariant meaning is exploited in several different directions, according to the context.

He mentions *dak* as an example of a so-called *delimitative* particle. Unfortunately, Gol'din hardly comments his use of this term. He explains it only for a specific use of *vot*, where this word is used to mark the end of a certain topic (92 below), or, in a more specialised use, to mark completedness (*zaveršennost'*) and delimitation of a topic (93 below), when the speaker continues her story (Гольдин 1998:43):

(92) Она через год поехала туда / они там расписались / и она там осела // Все // Вот //[43]

(93) И здесь он оставил эту Наденьку / свою любимую женщину / с которой у них был такой брак / н... неоформленный / (пауза) вот // Она очень быстро поняла / что надо быстро ехать / потому что Андрюша и жениться может /

[43] This fragment and the following one Gol'din found in Китайгородская & Розанова 1995, *Русский регевой портрет. Фонохрестоматия.*

In Russian dialects, *vot* is often used in its delimitative meaning, and the particle often occurs together with delimitative particles like *dak*, *da i*, *da nu* and *da*. Gol'din gives examples from a dialect from Vologda oblast:[44]

(94) а раньше / пекли вот ведь вишь / как / бело не... пекем / так / на дрожжах / вот / на молочки / ростворяем / и / называется это пышки да вот // и чим-ни (чем-чибудь) наливаем тамо // иногда ведь есть вот / толокно *дак* / по-старому-то *дак и* //

(95) присвоили разряд крановщика башенных и вот этых.. козловых кранов // там в Понизовье-то у нас есте на площадке-то *дак* вот // и на таком могу работать //

Gol'din also tries to explain the high frequency of particles in dialectal speech, and he discusses coordinative and subordinative relations in dialects. Gol'din explains that the use of such an originally deictic word like *vot* with all its secondary functions is very useful in spontaneous speech, which differs highly from written language because of the different setting. The frequency of *vot* is even higher in dialects. According to Gol'din, the exceptionally high frequency of *vot* in dialectal speech is not due to a different set of meanings between the standard language and the dialects, but to the specific needs to communication in dialect. He states that it is well-known that in dialectal speech, the expression of coordinative relations – adjunction (*prisoedinenie*), conjunction (*sočinenie*) and comparison (*sopostavlenie*) – greatly prevails over the expression of causal, conditional and other relations of a subordinate nature.[45] The use of the word *vot* and the above-mentioned delimitative particles is one of the most important means to construct these coordinative relations, which are needed most in dialectal speech (1998:46).

These remarks puzzle me. I do not understand why communication in dialects should have different needs than communication in other varieties of Russian. Why should one need more coordination? And is it really true that subordinative relations are so rare? Isn't *dak* used exactly to support subordination? It is beyond doubt that subordinating conjunctions are rare in traditional dialectal speech, as remarked by, for instance, Трубинский 1970, but that

[44] "Как во многих других говорах, в мегорском говоре распространены делимитативные частицы "дак", "да и", "да ну", "да" и др., и частица "вот" не только активно используется в делимитативной функции, но нередко выступает при этом в сочетаниях с другими делимитативными частицами" (Гольдин 1998:46).

[45] "[В]ыражение сочинительных отношений (присоединение, соединение, сопоставление), как известно, решительно преобладает в диалектной речи над выражением причинно-следственных, условных и других отношений подчинительного характера" (Гольдин 1998:46).

does not mean that the expressed relations are never subordinative in meaning (see, e.g., section 9.4.1).

His remarks suggest that Gol'din regards the relations expressed in his examples above, and the relations supported by *dak* in general, as being coordinative in nature. This is, apparently, in conflict with the claim by many researchers that *dak* always supports – or expresses – subordinative relations. However, Gol'din does not necessarily support a view that contradicts the view of the others. Subordination and coordination, and hypotaxis and parataxis, can be discerned on different levels – for example, on a purely sentence-internal syntactic level, or on a more abstract, semantic level, as the relations between thoughts which are represented in linguistic expressions. A relation which might be characterised as subordinative on a semantic level might be regarded as coordinative on a syntactic level.

Gol'din's examples do not include straightforward examples of complex sentences, which are in the centre of most linguists' concerns. Gol'din is not interested in syntax on the level of the sentence, like most other researchers.

6.5.19 Mišlanov (1999) and Vjatkina (1999)

Mišlanov and Vjatkina describe *dak* from the point of view of written language syntax (Мишланов 1999; Вяткина 1999). Mišlanov claims that the word *dak* has only one function, the function of an abstract marker of a syntactic relation in a binary structure.[46] Vjatkina characterises *dak* as a *skrepa* – a connector, a syntactic marker, an abstract function word and an asemantic means of connection, used in complex sentences with various semantic relations.

In his 1999 article Mišlanov is occupied with the intriguing phenomenon that constructions with a concessive meaning can be expressed both in paratactic compound sentences and in hypotactic complex sentences. Concessive constructions are semantically close to certain adversative sentences, and in Russian, the borders between subordinative and coordinative constructions are not clear-cut syntactically, cf. *Хотя мальчик часто болел, [но] он хорошо учился*. (Мишланов 1999:115). This utterance can be translated by both a paratactic and a hypotactic construction: "Indeed, the boy was often ill, but he did well at school"; "Although the boy was often ill, he did well at school".

In dialects, concessive constructions can contain *dak* or *tak*. Mišlanov claims, on grounds which remain unclear to me, that interpositive *tak* and *dak*

[46] "[Е]динственная функция *дак* может быть определена как функция абстрактного показателя синтактического отношения в бинарной структуре" (citation in Вяткина (1999:44) from a work by Mišlanov (Мишланов 1996:78) which was not available to me).

in dialects are primarily markers of hypotaxis, and that their presence therefore indicates that the construction is hypotactic as well. This also accounts for *ingressive* and *postpositive dak*. The last group covers the use of *dak* after the apodosis at the end of the utterance.

Even in utterances like *Я бы рада бежала / дак ноги не шагают // не могу //*, which are often considered to be coordinative (*složnosočinennoe predloženie*), *dak* is an organic part of a subordinate predication (*podčinennaja predikacija*; 1999:119). In similar constructions, "former adversative conjunctions" like *da* and *no* can be used (1999:115).

Mišlanov seems to discern hypotaxis and parataxis from subordination and coordination, but does not explain how. He considers some, but not all, of the constructions containing both a *k*-pronoun (*kakoj*, *čto* etc.) and *chot'* to be paratactic, even when they contain *dak* (1999:117):

(96) *Хоть какая* богатая невеста / *дак* все равно к жениху в дом идут //
(97) Краснокорёнку... ее *хоть куды* пойдешь *дак* найдешь //

This is surprising, especially when he claims somewhere else that *dak* is a marker of hypotaxis.

Dak descends, like *tak*, from a pronominal, demonstrative root. The word is fundamentally different from coordinative conjunctions as regards their correlative functions: while the correlative function is secondary for words like *da* and *no*, it appears to be the primary, original function of *dak* (1999:119). *Dak* and *tak* are typologically opposed to the subordinating conjunctions as well, such as the abstract markers of hypotaxis *čto* and *kak*. Mišlanov proposes that *dak* and *tak* can be qualified as the primary means of expressing hypotaxis when they are used without such *k*-pronouns. He claims that they reflect a fragment of an alternative system to express hypotaxis, which was not further developed in Russian (ibid.; cf. Vjatkina below).

The topic of Vjatkina's article are the various possible bi-clausal constructions in which causal relations can be expressed in the northern Perm' dialects. She takes causal constructions in a broad sense – she studied complex sentences expressing a relation of conditionality, and they include constructions expressing a cause and its consequence, a condition, a purpose or a concession. In the Perm' dialects, *dak* is often used in these constructions, both in interposition and in final position (Вяткина 1999:40).

She discerns 1) paratactic causal constructions without any lexical linear markers of the connection, 2) causal sentences with the "abstract function word"

(*abstraktnoe služebnoe slovo*) *dak*, and 3) causal sentences with differentiated semantic conjunctions (*differencirovannye semantičeskie sojuzy*), that is with subordinating conjunctions (1999:41). In addition, *dak* can be combined with a subordinating conjunction, but this type is far less frequent in Vjatkina's dialect material than the types 1) and 2). In her examples of this type, the subordinate clause is always the second clause (1999:44):

(98) Двадцать годов / если не больше *дак*

(99) так как нас работать заставляли *дак*

She gets the impression that the meaning of these sentences does not change if you leave out the word *dak*, and not even if you leave out the subordinating conjunction.

Like Mišlanov and many others, Vjatkina did not attest *dak* in sentences with coordination. Like Mišlanov, Vjatkina considers *dak* to be a marker of subordination (*složnopodčinennost'*). She tries to find out the syntactic status of the "syntactic marker" *dak* (*sintaktičeskij pokazatel'*), but runs into difficulties, because *dak* is neither a coordinative nor a subordinative conjunction. *Dak* is, she claims, traditionally called a correlate (*korreljat*), together with similar words like *to* and *tak*.[47] Apparently, she has no problems with using the term *correlate* for utterance-final *dak*. Vjatkina struggles with the boundary between subordinative and coordinative constructions, and finds a third category, those of the *complex deictic constructions*. This category was proposed for the same type of sentences with *t*-pronouns like *tak* (1999:46).[48]

Vjatkina cites Čižikova,[49] who had expressed her surprise over the use of correlates like *to* and *tak* in asyndetic sentences, because they do not correlate with a conjunction in these sentences (cf. a similar remark by Trubinskij above). In contrast, both Mišlanov and Vjatkina are troubled with the simultaneous use of *dak* and a subordinating conjunction, because these words appear to have the same – syntactic – function. Is it a contamination of two constructions? Vjatkina regards *dak* as a kind of conjunction. She claims that sentences with interpositive *dak* without a subordinating conjunction cannot be called asyndetic, since they contain an explicit marker of connection in *dak*.

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[47] An alternative term for words with the same function in interclausal position is *sootnositel'noe slovo*.

[48] This term, *složnodejktičeskie predloženija,* was introduced by Il'enko (1976). The exact content of this category is not relevant for the present research.

[49] Чижикова, К.Е., Сложноподчиненные предложения функциональных типов в ангаро-ленских говорах. Irkutsk, 1966:254, as cited in Вяткина 1999:43.

Vjatkina chose to analyse the word *dak* because she claims that this word played an important role in the development of the complex sentence of the causal type. I will explain this below.

Vjatkina views dialect syntax from the point of view of standard written language and regards both standard spoken language and even more so the dialects as underdeveloped languages on their way to conquering the system of subordination with a semantically specialised subordinating conjunction without a correlate. She regards the simultaneous use of a conjunction and *dak* as an intermediate, transitional stage. Her main argument appears to be that in Old Russian, asyndetic constructions with and without correlates were common as well. Otherwise I cannot explain her claim that the high frequency of causal constructions lacking a subordinating conjunction, but which do contain *dak*, shows that this is an older type of constructing subordinative constructions than the usual construction in standard written Russian with a semantic conjunction and without a correlate.

Her view on the dialects as reflecting a backward stage of development is reflected in several of her formulations. An example is "The process of liberation from several kinds of "correlatives" proceeds slowly in the dialects" (Вяткина 1999:42). Vjatkina has to admit though that *tak* is also frequently used in conjunctionless complex constructions in spoken literary Russian, and I wonder how she would explain the fact that in Standard Russian, *esli* 'if' is more often combined with the correlate *to* than not. Another example of her point of view is the following statement: "The constructions with *dak* found their way into the substandard speech of the cities" ("Конструкции с *дак* из говоров проникли в городское просторечие"; 1999:45). This formulation gives the impression that the speech in the cities used to be some kind of standard, non-regional language, which in the course of history was contaminated by a dialectal feature.

Vjatkina does not consider the possibility that correlates can have a function different from subordinating conjunctions and that spontaneous, spoken language reflects a different way of thinking and communicating compared to written, prepared language, which in addition is highly influenced by a norm. She considers the use of final *dak*, with "reversed" order of protasis and apodosis, as an earlier stage of the development of subordinate constructions, not considering the fact that the reversed order in speech has a slightly different meaning and usually reflects a reversed order of thinking as well, and that unprepared speech is naturally different from prepared speech.

6.5.20 Leinonen & Ludykova (2001); Leinonen (2002a; 2002b)

Several researchers who have described *dak* have suggested that the development of postpositive *da* and *dak* in the Russian dialects might be a contact-induced phenomenon, which came about in the Northern Russian dialects under the influence of neighbouring Finno-Ugric languages (Шапиро 1953; Преображенская 1985; Лейнонен & Лудыкова 2001, Leinonen 2002a and b).

Šapiro was the first to mention the possibility that the syntactically unusual final position of some connective words could be the result of syntactic influence from other languages, and he suggested that someone should do a comparative syntactic study, first of all with the neighbouring Finnic languages (Шапиро 1953:21). The first to take up this suggestion was Preobraženskaja, who compared her Russian data to existing descriptions of Finno-Ugric and Turcic languages (Преображенская 1985; see above). Leinonen and Ludykova gave addititional support to this analysis, with examples from a range of Finno-Ugric languages (Лейнонен & Лудыкова 2001, Leinonen 2002a and b).

Лейнонен & Лудыкова 2001 and Leinonen 2002a focus on the particle *da* in Komi-Zyryan. In many Komi-Zyryan dialects, postpositive *da* seems to correspond almost perfectly with a combination of postpositive *da* and *dak* in the Northern Russian dialects (cf. Popov's description above of *da* in some Russian dialects, which are found close to the area where Komi is spoken). These two articles compare this word with parallel constructions in other neighbouring Finno-Ugric languages and in Northern Russian dialects. Northern Russian has *da* and *dak*, *da* is also widespread in other languages, sometimes a different word is used with similar functions. Even Turcic languages use *da* with partly overlapping functions. These languages used to lack conjunctions, and they generally prefer postposition to preposition. Leinonen 2002b is an article on morphosyntactic parallels in Northern Russian dialects and Finno-Ugric languages. One of these parallels is the use of "the particle/conjunction *da*/*dak*" in various functions at the end of a clause (2002b:127). The other parallel constructions discussed in this article are possessive impersonal constructions (*u menja zajdeno sjudy; u ich zaregistrirovanos'*), the use of postpositive particles or articles (*dom-ot, sestra-ta*), the use of the genitive with the existential word *est'* (*est' korovy*.gen.sg 'There is (= I/We have) a cow'), and nominative case for objects in constructions with infinitives and modal predicates (*korova doit'* 'to milk a cow'; *igolka nado* 'we (I, you etc.) need a needle'; cf. section 4.5). As remarked in section 4.7.2, many linguists have suggested a large influence of Finno-Ugric languages on Russian in the north. The main argument is that many features which are found in Northern Russian dialects, but not further to

the south, such as the ones mentioned above, are also found in the neighbouring Finno-Ugric languages. This suggests areal influence.

The influence may have taken place in several directions. The surrounding languages may have borrowed the constructions from Russian, or the Finno-Ugric languages may have had constructions of their own, and were calqued into Russian. Alternatively, the Finno-Ugric phenomena may have had a "conserving" effect on a Slavonic feature not favoured elsewhere, or both the Russian and Finno-Ugric speech forms may have influenced each other, producing a convergent morphosyntactic model (Leinonen 2002b:127). In other words, the use of postpositive *da* and *dak* in Northern Russian could be a substrate phenomenon – that is, former speakers of Finno-Ugric languages who learnt to speak Russian have left some traces in the new language (Russian) – or an adstrate phenomenon – the construction is due to mutual influence of languages with longlasting close contacts (Leinonen 2002b:128), leading to *Sprachbund* phenomena (2002a:341). The postpositive use of *da* and/or *dak* in Northern Russian and Komi seems to be a fairly recent development in both languages. Therefore, the influence has probably not been unidirectional, but mutual. Leinonen 2002a discusses the various possibilities extensively. Leinonen claims that for both *da* and *dak* in Northern Russian, clause-final position can only be explained by the influence of another language, for instance the Permic languages, such as Komi. She refers to Preobraženskaja (Преображенская 1985:68), but this linguist was not as bold in her claims (see above). It is indeed very unlikely that the neighbouring languages should not have played a role in the development and spread of these postpositive particles. However, I do not agree that this is the only possible explanation, since other languages which have not been in close contact with Northern Russian, have similar postpositive particles, for instance Norwegian (cf. Fretheim 1995; 2000a and Appendix IV).

In Komi-Zyryan, the word *da* is used with both coordinating and subordinating functions. In Komi grammars and dialect descriptions, the clause-final particle *da* is interpreted and translated as having both a coordinating ('and') and a subordinating function ('because'; 'when'). The distribution is not random. The data provided by Leinonen show that enclitically, singly used *da* in utterances of the type "S *da*, S" or "S, S *da*" almost always supports a causal/temporal meaning, while prepositive *da* and repetitive postpositive *da* are copulative or adversative, that is, they more or less correspond to 'and' or 'but'. Prepositive *da* and repetitive postpositive *da* cover the use of this word in the constructions "S, *da* S" and "S *da*, S *da*" or "X *da*, X *da*", where S stands for clause and X for items of equal syntactic rank on the sub-clausal level. However,

copulative additive meaning ('and') does occur in constructions of the type S, S *da* as well, which means that in this construction, *da* can be of both of the coordinating and of the subordinating type (2002a:309).

Leinonen 2002a gives many examples of clause-final *da* in utterances of the types "S, S *da*" and "S *da*, S". In these constructions, Leinonen is usually cautious not to ascribe the connective word *da* any meaning which the word itself might not express. This is shown by formulations like "in many cases, the conjunction *is accompanied by* a causal/temporal meaning" (about "S *da*, S"; 2002a:302; emphasis is mine; MP). She points out that the interpretation of the type of cohesion depends on the given context (2002a:307).

Leinonen gives examples with the order "S *da*, S" to show that the function of *da* in these utterances in all contexts is to create cohesion, be it a relation of simultaneity, causality or temporal sequence (2002a:307).

About cases of sentence-final *da*, i.e. constructions of the form "S, S *da*", Leinonen remarks that "the connection is often that of a supporting argument for the preceding clause, or a basis for uttering the speech act; to generalise, it is backgrounded material in a narrative" (2002a:310). If the temporal forms alone are enough to distinguish the sequence of events, the particle seems to strengthen the background status of the second clause (2002a:305).

As remarked above, the cohesion created by *da* is most often temporal or causal, in the construction "S, S *da*", or *da* gives support for an argument presented. The example given by Serebrennikov (see section 6.5.6), repeated here, was also of this type:

(100) *Видзьас турунаӧсь, гожӧмыс бур вӧлі да.*
'Луга обильны травой, так как лето было хорошее.'
'The meadows are full of grass, since the summer has been good.'

In the following example, "S *da*" states a reason for asking:

(101) *Ki̯dz setčę̑dz kajan, omę̑l'a-ńin li̯ź́nad li̯ban-da?* (Komi-Zyryan)[50]
How there-to climb-pres2sg badly already ski-instr2poss glide-pres2sg prtc
'How will you go there, as the skis are not running well any more?' (2002a:307)

Leinonen gives an overall description of utterance-final *da* in Komi, which to a large extent is valid for Northern Russian *dak* as well:

[50] I retain Leinonen's transliteration of Komi.

> "It can only be concluded that the behaviour of *da* in the order *S, S da* shows a linkage of parenthesis or addition, as in conjoining noun phrases: the particle marks an end to an event structure, within which the semantic relationships are to be interpreted pragmatically in the given context. *Da* is a diffuse cohesive element, simply giving an instruction to the listener to connect the clause with the adjoining one. The context determines, which type of connection is the most relevant; whether the clauses represent events of parallel status, sequence or causality." (Leinonen 2002a:310)

I have problems with Leinonen's claim that the particle marks an end to an event structure, when *da* can also be used in the middle of a sequence of events in "S *da* S"-structures (cf. the comments on a similar claim by Preobraženskaja in section 6.5.13 above, and section 9.4.1), but the remainder of her characterisation final *da* in Komi is close to my analysis on *dak*, although the meaning of *dak* in Varzuga is more specific than the meaning of *da* in Komi, since *dak* is not used to establish copulative relations.

Leinonen addresses the semantic differences between coordination and subordination (2002a:309f). The difference is not as clearly expressed in a language like Komi as it is in, for instance, the Germanic languages other than English, where the difference is supported by word order. If a language lacks clear formal distinctions to distinguish syntactic subordination from syntactic coordination, utterances can be ambivalent in this respect. The following utterance is a good example. It is the title of a Komi story by V. Beznosikov:

(102) Strẹjtčam *da*, gẹtraśam!

This is translated to English as "We shall build and get married!", but, as Leinonen pointed out, this utterance with the coordinating conjunction *and* has a causal/temporal meaning as well, which is typical for subordinative constructions (2002a:301f). The distinction between coordination and subordination is discussed in section 9.4, where more examples from Leinonen's description of Komi *da* are given.

Leinonen and Ludykova not only compare Northern Russian *da* and *dak* with similar words in the Finno-Ugric languages (and Turcic), but they are in fact the first to compare the functions of Northern Russian *da* and *dak* to each other. Their analysis is based on a limited data material. They only studied written transcriptions in two fairy tale anthologies (see note 10), which tend to be unreliable as regards the transcription of "meaningless" particles, and relied on

descriptions of the particles by other authors, such as Шапиро 1953, Преображенская 1985 and the dialect dictionary *AOS*.

The restricted data lead to some misinterpretations and the authors take over some questionable interpretations of the functions of *da* and *dak* from *AOS*. An example of a claim by previous researchers that is taken over uncritically is the claim that "the particle *da*/*dak* is used in the north Russian dialects clause-finally as a confirming item in order to give greater validity and finality to a statement" (Leinonen 2002a:326; cf. Лейнонен & Лудыкова 2001). Another is the claim that *dak*, like *da*, can be used repeatedly after nominal phrases and other items of equal syntactic rank on the sub-clausal level (e.g. in *AOS*, taken over in Leinonen 2002a and b).

In addition, lack of sound material leads Leinonen and Ludykova to misinterpret the prosodic phrasing of exclamative utterances with final *dak*, as shown in Appendix IV. It also prevents them from being able to check the claims about *dak* and *da* connected with prosody in research on prosodic phenomena discussed above (Пауфошима 1983; Никитина & Пожарицкая 1993; Князев et al. 1997).

Leinonen's description of Northern Russian *da* relies almost entirely on *AOS*, since no other publications (other than Попов 1957) have ever described this particle in any detail; Šapiro's description covers only part of the uses (Шапиро 1953). *AOS* gives a range of possible contexts for *da*, but also some questionable analyses and too little information about the context to be able to know the exact function of the particle. With the lack of previous comparisons of Northern Russian *da* and *dak* and the limited data in *AOS*, Leinonen and Ludykova cannot but conclude that *da* and *dak* are almost synonymous in the Northern Russian dialects; cf. the presumed copulative function of *dak* in the dictionaries. Leinonen did conclude that there are two minor differences between *da* and *dak*, but I am not certain that these observations are correct; see the discussion in chapter 14, where *dak* is compared to *da*.

Leinonen is aware that her data have limitations, due to the lack of contextual information and native speaker judgements. About one example utterance she writes: "This example is not followed by an interpretation. Because of the absence of a native speaker of the said dialect, explication of the semantics would be sheer speculation." (2002a:327). None of the other, Russian researchers of *dak* even mentions the possibility to use native speaker judgements, nor do they claim to be a native speaker of a Northern Russian dialect themselves. Leinonen checked at least one of the interpretations given in a description (Serebrennikov's explanation of "иди, пошел, дак" as 'иди, если пошел') with native informants, who claimed that the interpretation given by Serebrennikov was

incorrect (2002b:129). However, according to the inhabitant of Varzuga who was asked to give his judgement, Serebrennikov's interpretation was correct and the other interpretation impossible (see discussion in section 9.2.2). These diverging judgements by native speakers might point at interdialectal differences, but more probably, they show that even judgements by natives need to be met with a critical mind, especially when the dialect speakers are asked to give judgements about utterances without context (see section 7.3.7).

6.5.21 Šujskaja (2002)

Šujskaja has studied the speech of a village from the Archangel'sk oblast (Шуйская 2002).[51] She studied *dak* from a discourse perpective. In her view, the main task of a discourse-oriented study of *dak* is to find the relations in the real world between the situations or objects in the two text chunks connected by *dak*. These text chunks can differ in length from a single word to several utterances.[52] She wants to find a general, common mechanism which is valid for all uses of *dak*. She thinks she can find this mechanism by starting to analyse the use of *dak* in concrete contexts, compare the uses to each other and deduce a general pattern, valid for all uses of *dak*. I will return to the flaws of her approach later.

From the formulation of her goal follows that Šujskaja departed from the assumptions that 1) *dak* is always used to connect two situations or objects existing in the real world; and 2) that *dak* connects two text chunks expressing these two objects. However, after reading her article, one must conclude that Šujskaja found out that both assumptions are false. She is aware of the fact that one of the parts may not have a linguistic expression, and be only implied, and she also found out that *dak* can connect the expression of a situation with a personal judgement of the speaker, which she does not regard as a situation existing in the real world. She is thus aware of the fact that in spontaneous dialectal speech, connections need not be "logical", but that they are often made by association. However, these observations did not make her reformulate her task, and some of her explanations also show that she kept to her original assumptions as long as possible. Šujskaja searches for logical connections between entities in the real world. If she cannot find them expressed in the utterance, she supposes that such a relation is implied after all, but that it was left implicit. This

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[51] Selo Fedovo, Plesenskij *rajon*, Arch.obl., from a fieldwork expedition 1999 the author of the article took part in. Šujskaja's data mainly consist of transcriptions of dialect recordings.

[52] "[З]адача исследования в дискурсном аспекте — выяснить, какие реальные отношения ситуаций и предметов стоят за двумя частями текста (размер которых может варьироваться от одного слова до сверхфразовых единств), скрепленными словом *дак*." (Шуйская 2002:190).

approach can lead to convincing explanations in some cases, but to doubtful ones in others. The connection triggering the use of *dak* can be associative, and have little to do with propositional logic. Examples are given in sections 9.2.1 and 9.4.1.

As remarked, Šujskaja was aware of the possibility that *dak* can connect not only sentence-internally. As a welcome consequence, Šujskaja does not confine herself to the most obvious uses of *dak*. She also tries to explain contexts in which the relations supported by *dak* are not popping up immediately, for example in contexts where *dak* does not connect two neighbouring clauses, but only one of the connected parts is expressed explicitly. Since Šujskaja searches for relations also across sentence boundaries, she gives more context than her predecessors, and studies more uses of *dak* than usual, including some infrequent, but interesting uses. However, although she claims to search for a common pattern in all uses of *dak*, she did not discuss all contexts of *dak*. As she remarks herself, she did not study *dak* when this word is used in combination with other particles, and she has only a single, accidental example of turn-initial *dak*. Her article also lacks examples of *dak* after an exclamation, like the example *"мака ляпанда валит дак!"* from section 5.6.1.

Šujskaja discerns/distinguishes several types of relations in the texts chunks where *dak* is used:

1. Mutual dependence of two situations which exist in the objective real world;
2. Identity or difference of two situations; and
3. *Dak* introducing the speaker's text, where *dak* introduces either the subjective opinion of the speaker or a return to a previous topic.

The first type, which is the most frequent, covers all kinds of dependent relations, such as the well-known circumstantial relations (*obstojatel'stvennye otnošenija*), and lesser frequent types, such as spatial relations, and they can reflect dependency of degree or dependency of content (see below). In these relations, the two connected situations or objects are dependent on each other: if X wouldn't have existed, then Y would not have existed either. Šujskaja mentions a large variety of semantic relations under this type, and subdivides them according to the order of the elements. It will not surprise the reader that she found the types "X *dak* Y" and "Y X *dak*", similar to my "A *dak* B" and "B A *dak*". But she also mentions examples of "X Y *dak*" and "Z *dak* Y X *dak*", though both are rare. The order "X Y *dak*" ("A B *dak*") goes counter to my analysis of *dak* (see chapter 8), but Šujskaja's two examples are not convincing; see the discussion in section 9.4.2.2. The construction "Z *dak* Y X *dak*" expresses two causes (X, Z) and their result (Y).

The result is surrounded by the expression of two causes, because, Šujskaja argues, it is regarded to be important. Here is an example, with Šujskaja's own comments (Шуйская 2002:192):

[Z] *dak* [Y][X] *dak*

(103) На свойо́м афто́бусе *дак* не на́до де́нек, он робо́тат ту́д *дак* (важно то, что не надо денег, то есть есть возможность ездить бесплатно, потому что он, во-первых, работает тут (очевидно, в автопарке) и, во-вторых, поедем на своем автобусе).

Apart from the well-known circumstantial relations (causal, conditional, temporal), she discerns spatial relations (X *dak* Y, "*gde X, tam Y*"; 2002:194) and some other groups, which occur less frequently in her data: dependency of degree (*zavisimost' so značeniem stepeni*) and dependency of content (*soderžatel'naja zavisimost'*; ibid.). The first group contains comparative adverbs denoting quantity of quality, like the examples with a comparative quantifier mentioned in chapter 5. Šujskaja explains them as "*tak X, čto* Y"; see the discussion in section 13.5.1. The last subgroup was not attested in the – restricted – Varzuga database. It contains utterances with explicative sentences (*iz"jasnitel'nye predloženija*), where *dak*, in Šujskaja's view, seems to take over the role of the conjunction *čto* 'that', but alternative explanations of *dak* are possible; see section 13.5.1 for the exampes and a discussion.

The last subgroup in the category of interdependent relations concerns expressions where only one of the two parts is expressed. The speaker thinks the content of the second part is obvious to the hearer (2002:195). Most of her examples concern utterance-final *dak* of the type "A *dak.*" in my classification. She does not give examples of utterance-initial *dak* in this group ("*Dak* B"), but her examples include utterance-internal use of the type "S *dak* S", where the first clause is not the expression of X – the part on which a second part depends – but X is a proposition which is left unexpressed between the two clauses. An example is (104) (2002:196):

(104) Та́к-то в боково́й пожы́ть мо́жно бы, *дак* мне́ неве́село ка́жеца.
'So I could have lived in the sideroom, but I think that's unpleasant.'

Šujskaja interprets the utterance as follows:

(104a) (X) *dak* Y ("в боковой жить можно –> я могла бы в ней жить, но не живу –> по причине того, что мне там кажется невесело")

'It is possible to live in the sideroom -> I could do that, but I don't -> for the reason that the sideroom seems unpleasant to me'

This interpretation of the content of the underlying propositions is problematic in this particular example (see discussion in section 9.4.1), but Šujskaja's way of thinking is fruitful. The possibility that there is an unexpressed, presupposed proposition between the two clauses connected by *dak* can explain examples which otherwise would remain unexplained; see section 9.4.1.

As the second group Šujskaja recognises relations expressing either identity or difference between two situations or objects. The group with a relation of identity or similarity mainly consists of identificational sentences containing "definitional identity" (*definicionnoe toždestvo*), such as an identification of an object through its properties (2002:197). They often contain a so-called thematic nominative (*imenitel'nyj temy*), a type previously mentioned by Šapiro and Merlin, or the explanation of a dialect word, like the Varzuga example(105):

(105) А лон'и́с'^{d} э́тъ про́шлыj гот, а оногдыс'^{d} э́тъ ... ну къгда́-тъ там. А оном'е́т'^{d} *дак* на то́j н'ид'е́л'ь. Jе́с' так'и́х слоф мно́го о́ч'ьн'. (S8)

Šujskaja remarks that not all utterances of this category contain a definition, for instance the following utterance:

(106) Йа ви́жу идёт како́й-то сича́с здорово́й здорове́нный мушы́на к ых до́му, *дак* ва́т наверно.

The group expressing difference concern contrastive relations. It is a heterogeneous group, and it includes utterances where the contrastive relation is not supported by *dak* (see below). Šujskaja made a good observation about the nature of the contrasts. They can be both exhaustive and non-exhaustive, and need not be binary. An object can also be pointed out on the background of a set ("выделение одного предмета на фоне некоторого ряда"; 2002:200). It is common to relate contrast with set membership in modern theories in formal semantics and information structure theory (see sections 10.3.10 and 10.3.12), but Šujskaja does not refer to other literature.

The third and final group concerns relations which by Šujskaja are regarded as not departing from reality, but from the consciousness of the speaker (2002:201ff). In this case, the relations between the two connected elements (objects or situations) are not obvious relations between objective facts, but relations existing in the consciousness of the speaker. Šujskaja discerns two

subgroups. The first subgroup consists of connections of a situation to a subjective, personal view of the speaker on this situation, such as in the next example:

(107) Ой во́лны *дак* с ума́ сойти!

Similar uses were mentioned by Šapiro, but with a different explanation (the third subgroup of use of *tak*/*dak* in asyndetic sentences; see above). The second subgroup are contexts where the speaker connects an element to a temporarily abandoned discourse topic (cf. Шапиро 1953:249; see above). *Dak* signals something like "Stop! We return to our basic position".[53] Šujskaja observed that *dak* can be used to signal a return to a topic that has been abandoned some time. It can also function as the last word of a syntagm expressing a side remark, after which the main topic is continued; cf. section 9.3.2. Šujskaja classified this context under the relations depending on the consciousness of the speaker for the following reason: she argues that the relations are not immediately obvious in the real world and to the hearer. The connection is made by the speaker, who structures the text. The hearer needs the help of the speaker to see this connection. In such cases, use of *dak* can be indispensable for a proper understanding of the text (2002:204).

Шуйская 2002 contains many important contributions to the study of *dak*, but some critical remarks are in place.

Šujskaja concentrates on finding relations "in the real world". Her focus on the semantics of expressed and implied propositions has several drawbacks.

I do not see why the difference in relations existing in the "real world" and subjective relations should be relevant for the explanation of the functioning of *dak*. Šujskaja does not seem to be aware that connecting words like *dak* can not only connect on a content level, but also on a speech act level or a metatextual level. Such words do not only signal connections between the propositional content of two expressions.

Šujskaja gives insightful explanations and observations about connections in discourse, where she draws in larger chunks of text and implicit propositions and connections. But often – as she notices herself – the context allows for other interpretations as well. She gets drawn too far away from the linguistic material, from what is expressed explicitly. She tries to infer messages which might be implied, but it is impossible to check her interpretations.

[53] " '[С]топ! возвращаемся к исходной позиции.'" (Шуйская 2002:202).

She paid hardly any attention to the role of the word *dak* in supporting these connections. She noticed relations in typical contexts for *dak*, but the relations she observed were not necessarily supported by the word *dak* itself. This problem is not unique for Šujskaja's interpretations; cf. the discussion of Попов 1957. In fact, one can never be sure that a certain interpretation is the one intended by the speaker. However, some properties of *dak*, such as its fixed position in relation to the elements it connects, do at least exclude some possible interpretations; cf. e.g. section 9.5. Šujskaja almost ignored the contribution of *dak* itself to the communication. The consequences are rather severe. For example, she pays no attention to restrictions on its use or differences with other particles. As she admits herself, her descriptions of the use of *dak* can apply to other words as well. In one case she writes that similar uses possibly can be attributed to all conjunctions and even to all function words (2002:191).

Šujskaja does not notice structural characteristics of *dak* such as its fixed position in relation to the connected elements and the structural difference between the connectors *a* and *dak* (see below). Consequently, she was not critical to her assumed examples of the structure X, Y *dak* (see section 9.4.2.2).

The shortcomings of this approach are also felt in Šujskaja's description of contrastive relations. She discerns relations of identity and of contrast, both of the structure "A *dak* B", which she describes as follows:

X *dak* Y - X = Y
X *dak* Y - X ≠ Y

The problem is that the structure of her examples with an identity relation are completely different from the cases with a contrastive meaning. The identity is expressed in the same utterance, connected by *dak*, but the contrast is not. In all of her examples of contrastive relations, the contrast is not a contrast between X and Y, but between X and an alternative to X – between X_1 and X_2 (and between Y_1 and Y_2), or, as McCoy would say (2001; see section 10.3.12), between two X-Y-pairs. A more appropriate description of these constructions would be the following:

X_1 *dak* Y_1 (a) X_2 *dak* Y_2

The contrast is not introduced by *dak*, but by *a*. One could say that *dak* suggests the existence of contrast as well (see section 10.3.12), but it does not connect two contrasted elements directly. Whereas *a* introduces a theme and signals that there is a second, alternative theme, *dak* follows after one of the themes or both of them, thereby also suggesting the existence of alternatives. This kind of

construction, with two pairs of contrasted themes and rhemes, is exemplary of the function of *dak* not only as a marker of contrast, but also as a theme-rheme-structure marker. The author seems to be unaware of the article on this subject by Merlin (1979; see above); see also chapter 10.

In one of Šujskaja's examples of *dak* in a context with a contrastive relation, *dak* does not take part in the expression of the contrast, as the particle is used in initial position, before the contrastive construction:

(108) Дак ра́ньше-то мно́го бы́ло, веть лови́ли се́тками и фся́ко, а тепе́рь-то ма́ло. ('раньше ‹—› теперь') (2002:200)

This utterance has the form "*dak* X_1-*to* Y_1, (...), a X_2-*to* Y_2". According to the analysis of *dak* proposed in this dissertation, *dak* in initial position can only make a connection with some already accessible entity; it can not support the contrastive relations between the elements expressed in the following utterance. *Dak* can only introduce B; the other element must have been activated at the time *dak* is expressed (see section 9.3.2).

6.6 Conclusion

Northern Russian *dak* has attracted attention from many dialectologists, because of its possibility to be used postpositively, a characteristic which is not shared by connectives in other varieties of Russian. This word is discussed in more than twenty publications, ranging from a few sentences about a specific use of the word in a work on a different subject to special studies of this word in various context types.

The descriptions of Northern Russian *dak* differ in many respects, e.g. in 1) range of uses described – from one special use to a description of all uses; in 2) the geographical region described; and in 3) linguistic point of view.

Some descriptions of *dak*, such as the larger dialect dictionaries, cover all context types, but usually only part of its uses is described, first of all its most obvious use in constructions where *dak* connects two adjacent parts, "A *dak* B" and "B A *dak*". Few have drawn more than superficial attention to constructions of the types "*Dak* B" and "A *dak*".

The geographical area described seems to have little or no effect on the outcome of the investigation. Different regions are covered, but no interdialectal differences in the use of *dak* are mentioned for the region where *dak* can be used postpositively, apart from some possible minor ones, which do not affect the

general characteristics of the word, such as differences in frequency of the *to-dak*-construction, mentioned by Trubinskij (Трубинский 1984; see section 6.5.9).

The area where *dak* is used postpositively covers most of the Northern Russian dialects in the *DARJa*-classification. It has also been attested in the areas further to the north and north-east of European Russia, which are not covered by *DARJa*, and in a range of dialects in Siberia, which must at least in part be based on Northern Russian dialects.

Northern Russian *dak* has been described from at least six different points of view. There are descriptions in traditional grammatical terms, in syntactic terminology developed for the description of the syntax of Russian spontaneous speech, research has been done on its role in actual sentence division, its role in text arrangement and discourse, it has been described from a prosodic point of view and finally, some linguists have investigated the possibility that final *dak* is a contact-induced phenomenon.

These studies have led to some overall results and a list of hypotheses about the meanings, properties and functions of *dak*. Many researchers have struggled to try to fit this word into traditional word classes. At the same time, similarities have been remarked between different uses. Interesting parallels have been drawn between seemingly unrelated words and uses of *dak*, such as the frequent combination of *dak* with the particle *-to*, similarities between complex sentences with *dak* and question-answer pairs, and the property of *dak* to mark the rhematic part of an utterance in various contexts. Many researchers have noticed the relationship between interclausal use of *dak* ("A *dak* B") and its use after a complex construction ("B A *dak*"). Some researchers remarked that *dak* can refer to information which is not expressed, or has only been expressed in the previous context (e.g. Popov on *da* and Šujskaja). It has been remarked that *dak* is mainly used at larger prosodic boundaries, and similarities have been found between *dak* and certain intonation contours. *Dak* has much in common with certain particles in neighbouring Finno-Ugric languages, which suggests mutual influence between these languages and the Northern Russian dialects.

However, most of these observations are not meant to cover all uses of *dak*, and if they do, the description of the general meaning of *dak* is so broad that it applies for other particles as well (Лаптева 1976; Евтюхин 1979; Шуйская 2002). Šujskaja is aware of this problem herself. Merlin claims he has found the basic function of *dak* – he argues it marks the rheme of the utterance, but it appears that he describes only the use of *dak* in complex constructions – "A *dak* B" and "B A *dak*".

Most studies of *dak* remain superficial. Consequently, most hypotheses on the properties and functions of *dak* lack a solid foundation. Many hypotheses are

not agreed upon, such as the question of word class categorisation, the (un)-accentability of *dak*, its semantic contribution to the utterance, the question of whether it has a fixed position or not, whether it can have a coordinative function and whether it is the same lexical unit as *ak*, *tak*, or *da* or not, to mention only a few controversies.

As a consequence, most hypotheses evoke new questions rather than solve old problems. Therefore, despite the large number of studies on *dak*, many questions on this word remain unanswered, in particular the main question in this dissertation about the contribution of this word to an utterance. Therefore, Leinonen has to remark in a recent article that "[i]n North Russian, the particles *da* and *dak* are used widely for various functions which remain rather obscure" (Leinonen 2002b:129). Preobraženskaja also pointed out in her 2002 article that the Northern Russian postpositive particles remain a mystery up to these days. The syntactic nature of the postpositive particles is still incomprehensible from the point of view of Russian grammar, and the data on *dak* are still insufficiently investigated (Преображенская 2002:121; 123).

There are many reasons why the previous descriptions of *dak* are unsatisfactory. First of all, the study of the exact contribution of such a pragmatic particle to a text requires a thorough study, something which has not yet been done satisfactorily. Second, most previous researchers of *dak* take a homonymous or polysemous point of view. Unlike me, they are not interested in common characteristics, but in a description of the use of this word in certain contexts. This often results in a focus on only the most obvious contexts, which in fact make out only a small part of the possible contexts of *dak*. It also often results in a poor discrimination of *dak* from its context. In general, the context, especially the non-linguistic context, is poorly studied. Many researchers unconsciously take standard written Russian as their reference point, where most information is expressed in a more predictable, well-ordered manner. They do not pay sufficient attention to the fact that in spontaneous spoken dialectal discourse, much of the communicated information has no straightforward linguistic expression. Apart from the first attempts by Šujskaja to use a discourse perspective, no modern theoretical frameworks have been applied which take into account the linguistic and non-linguistic context, such as modern theories in pragmatics and discourse analysis. The important communicative role of prosody in spontaneous speech has been given insufficient attention.

The researchers agree on methodology, as all descriptions of *dak* are based on dialect recordings and/or transcriptions. None refer to introspective viewpoints – not a single researcher mentions if they use the word themselves – or the use of questionnaires in search for the properties of this word. Comparative

studies are used only to a very limited extent. *Dak* has not been compared to *da*, except by Leinonen and Ludykova, but their data on *da* are restricted to a dictionary entry.

In short, the previous descriptions of *dak* contain a range of valuable observations and interesting hypotheses, but none of the previous descriptions gives a well-supported answer to my question about the specific contribution of *dak* to an utterance, which is not so vague as to be valid for other particles and devices as well.

7 Theoretical background, methodology and preliminary results

7.1 Some basic assumptions

7.1.1 The indeterminacy of spontaneous dialectal speech

Spontaneoudent, and this certainly applies to spontaneous dialectal speech. There is a large gap between what is expressed linguistically and the information that is exchanged during a conversation. A substantial part of the communicated information has no direct linguistic expression, but is implied by the context. *Context* is interpreted very broadly here, as everything that plays a role in the interpretation of a linguistic expression, such as the linguistic co-text, extra-linguistic factors such as speaker, hearer, time, place and object referred to, and the real and supposed shared knowledge of the interlocutors (cf. Grønn 1999:17; Mehlhorn 2002:19). For instance, the content of anaphora has to be recovered from the context, many utterances are "elliptical", since arguments and other parts of the intended proposition are non expressed, and their correct interpretation depends on the activation of presuppositions and implicatures.

Only a low percentage of the utterances in Russian spontaneous speech consists of full sentences. Širjaev gives a typical example of a fragment of spontaneous colloquial Russian, where only 6 out of every 15 self-contained utterances satisfy the grammatical definition of a sentence (*RRR* 1973:220f; *RRR* 1987:135; cf. Yokoyama 1996:25, note nr. 2). The number is probably even higher for spontaneous dialectal speech. Even in prepared written texts only part of the intended message is encoded directly in linguistic form. Of course, it is an essential quality of language that a single expression can be used in different settings.

Works in relevance theory refer in this respect to the thesis of semantic underdeterminacy, pointing to the fact that the linguistic meaning of linguistic items typically underdetermines the meaning which the speaker intends to convey. Especially in the case of function words, a large part of the intended and communicated meaning can only be recovered by pragmatic enrichment (Sperber & Wilson 1995; Fretheim 2001; Carston 2002; Blakemore 2002). The term *under-determinacy* has the drawback that the prefix *under-* has a negative connotation, as it suggests that something is lacking which should have been there. However, speakers do not always have a very specific meaning in mind, as remarked by Popov in his discussion of interclausal relations (Попов 1957; see section 6.5.5). A linguistic expression should be distinguished both from the context and from the intended message. What is meant is not accessible to the hearer or the researcher. A researcher should be aware of the danger that through interpretation – or, in

relevance theoretical terms, by pragmatic enrichment – an expression is attributed a meaning that was in fact not encoded and possibly not even intended.

There is more lack of specificity in expressing oneself in colloquial speech than in written language. Unprepared, spontaneous speech is characterised by ellipsis, anaphora and ad hoc constructions and connections. It does not need to be as specific as formal, prepared, written language. Speaker and hearer communicate directly in the same setting, so the speaker can assume much more information to be accessible to the hearer, and the speaker can always supply additional information in case it appears that she was not explicit enough.

Dialectal speech is usually very informal, and it is even more different from written language than Standard Colloquial Russian (*russkaja razgovornaja reč'*). The speakers of the dialects have often little formal education, and this can be reflected in their speech. At school pupils are taught they should express themselves explicitly and make clear and logical connections. Connections between statements expressed or intended in dialectal speech are based on association and have often little to do with propositional logic (cf. the discussion of Šujskaja's explanation of some examples of *dak* in section 6.5.21, and on the differences in speaking style among the dialect speakers from Varzuga in section 3.4.3).

The lack of specified meaning and the multi-interpretability accounts also for the word *dak* itself. Contrary to subordinating conjunctions, such as *esli* 'if', which have a specialised function and meaning, and indicate a specific type of relation, *dak* has a much more general meaning, and can mark a much broader range of connections. Thus, the expression of the relation indicated by the connector is less specific in an utterance containing *dak* than in one containing a subordinating conjunction (cf. Попов 1957:73 and discussion in section 6.5.5).

Unspecified speech gives room for different readings. The study of the encoded and the intended meaning of utterances thus requires a good knowledge of the context.

An additional problem in the study of connective discourse particles like *dak* is that they are typically used in speech with an extra high degree of indeterminacy. Their frequency seems to be highest in parts where the speaker does not express herself clearly. An unspecified connector like *dak* is needed most in exactly such unclear cases, helping the hearer to find the correct connections and relations between the parts of discourse which are not expressed explicitly. Furthermore, a rather general way of expressing herself can suffice for the speaker. By using a particle, the speaker hints at a certain type of connection without needing to bother herself about the exact formulation of this connection (cf. Евтюхин 1979).

Connectives, such as *no*, *ved'*, *značit* and *dak*, are not only used to connect linguistic expressions, but also – or perhaps even primarily – to connect elements in the relevant activated knowledge set (cf. Nørgård-Sørensen 1992:187 on coherence relations). That is, they can mark links between linguistic material and non-linguistic, implied information.

Due to the low level of determinacy and the multi-interpretability of both the word *dak* itself and of dialectal speech in general it is almost impossible to explain all occurrences of *dak* in a text. The use of *dak* is more often difficult to interpret than one should expect when reading the literature on this word. Descriptions of *dak* almost always focus on clear examples of use, and they often cover only a specific type of context of *dak*. This means that unclear uses of *dak* are filtered out. In the following excerpt *dak* is used many times, but it is not evident in each case what elements *dak* connects, and which semantic connection is meant :

(1) Фс'е́х похорон'и́ла вот одна́ жыву́. До́м постро́ил'и та́к пошы́т был н'идостро́јен:ыј оста́лс'ь и ... одна́ жыву́. Ну до́ч'ка-та је́с' *дак* до́ч'ка-та пр'ијежа́јет он'и́ жыву́т в Запол'а́рном *дак*. Ч'о́, пр'ије́дут на м'е́с'ец да н'и на це́лыј м'е́с'ец *дак* мно́го в'ет' у т'ьб'а́ помо́гут. Да н'и ка́ждыј гот иш'о́ л'е́том отпу́ст'ат да з'имо́ј ч'его́ ты зд'е́лаш? (S3)

This excerpt is further discussed and given a translation in section 13.8.8. Utterances containing *dak* can often have many different readings, which do not have to be the ones intended.

All kinds of meaning are often attributed to *dak*, which are not part of the meaning of *dak* itself, but of the context. However, *dak* is not void of meaning, although the meaning is very general. The small amount of meaning of *dak* does not mean that pragmatic analysis should not be necessary for the study of the core meaning of this word. Without a pragmatic interpretation, many utterances remain incomprehensible or ambiguous, and thereby even the reason for the use of *dak* and what elements are connected by *dak* remain a mystery. A hypothesis about the meaning of a word cannot be supported by an example with an unknown meaning.

Another problem with multi-functional words like *dak* is that it is difficult to support or reject a hypothesis about such a diffuse word in a diffuse, multi-interpretable context, which allows for many interpretations. An interpretation which supports a particular theory about this word does not provide watertight evidence, since there is always the possibility that *dak* is used to support a

connection other than the one it was supposed to support.

In order to arrive at an explanation of why the word *dak* is used in a certain context, and whether the example supports or rejects the supposed core meaning of *dak*, one has to understand the intended message of the utterance. The interpretation of such highly underdetermined speech already requires a combination of syntactic, informational, prosodic and pragmatic investigations. The information about the correct interpretation is partly expressed by other linguistic means (prosody, syntax, word order, lexical items), and an overall pragmatic analysis is needed.

On the other hand, a reconstruction of what the speaker intended to say does not in itself pinpoint the contribution of *dak* to the expression of this meaning. It is one thing to reconstruct what the speaker intended to say, but is that really what is expressed? And, if so, does *dak* play a part in its expression?

7.1.2 The importance of prosody

Prosody is often neglected in the study of spontaneous speech, although much information which is relevant for the understanding of the intended meaning of an utterance is encoded prosodically – by intonation, accentuation or prosodic grouping. Transcriptions of dialectal speech are often difficult to interpret, even though part of the prosodic information is reflected by the indication of pauses or the use of punctuation marks.

One of the reasons why prosody plays a bigger role in spontaneous speech than in written or scripted spoken language is that a large part of the informational hierarchy between central information and subordinate material is expressed by prosodic means. Text is not only linear, but also hierarchical: it is made up of more and less important information (cf. Noordman et al. 1999). Informational hierarchy is found in the presentation of new vs. given information, foreground vs. background and subordinate vs. coordinate relations. Prosodic characteristics, such as pause and intonation, are markers of coherence and structure in text, together with for instance anaphora, conjunctions and discourse particles (Noordman et al. 1999). In scripted speech, the informational hierarchy is mostly expressed by the grammar, for instance by subordinating conjunctions, and by word order, since the rheme of the utterance – which expresses the most relevant new information – is in Russian written language usually placed towards the end of the utterance. In Russian spontaneous speech, however, the informational hierarchy is often expressed differently. New information (or rather: the information update; see section 7.2.2 on information structure) need not be expressed at the end of the utterance, and

the use of subordinating conjunctions is very restricted in the dialects, but this does not mean that a difference in informational hierarchy is not indicated. Part of the hierarchy is expressed by means of prosody, for instance by pauses, the type of pitch accent, its position and by the relative prominence of pitch accents (see section 7.2.3.6 below).

7.1.3 Moderate monosemy approach

Discourse particles like *dak* are devoid or almost devoid of lexico-semantic meaning, but they still make a contribution to discourse. The fact that they can be used inappropriately shows that they do contribute at least some meaning.

In the present study of *dak* a moderate monosemy position was taken. The hypothesis to be verified was that *dak* has an invariant, core meaning. A core meaning is independent from the context and is, in principle, part of the meaning of the word in each occurrence. The following chapters will show that *dak* indeed can be described as having a single core meaning at least in the vast majority of uses.

As argued in the previous section, most of the meaning which is often attributed to *dak* in certain contexts is expressed or implied by the context, and not by the particle *dak*. All meanings, or usage types, of *dak* seem to be closely related, even the meanings and functions of utterance-initial, utterance-internal and utterance-final uses of *dak*, as I will show in the following chapters. In a polysemy approach, the similarities between different usage types can remain unremarked. A monosemy position underlines the similarities, and it can give a better understanding of the contribution of the discourse particle itself to the discourse.

The starting point of this research is the one form – one meaning hypothesis, which should be adhered to as long as this position is tenable. This means that I believe that there are few exceptions to the rule that a single form has a single meaning, and different forms have different meanings. Thus, I expect *dak* and, for instance, *ved'* , to have a different core meaning, although they might share a range of features, and have about the same function in certain contexts, where differences might be neutralised. I do not regard them as being synonymous even in those contexts. Usually, there is still a small difference of meaning. The fact that words can be used in the same utterance with globally the same meaning does not mean that the contribution of both words to the expression is the same.

However, as argued by, for instance, Fortuin (2000), a radical monosemy approach should not be taken, for various reasons.

One of the problems with a monosemy approach is that discourse particles

like *dak* are used in so many different contexts that a possible core meaning necessarily has to be very abstract: there cannot be much that all uses have in common. Consequently, the descriptions of invariant meanings arrived at have a tendency to be underspecified. They are so general that they are also valid for other words. A very general description is hence of little use.

Second, a core meaning cannot predict under which conditions a word can be used. To give just one example, the form *dak* is also used in substandard colloquial Russian in the Moscow area, but not in utterance-final position, like in the Varzuga dialect. This restriction cannot be predicted from a simple core meaning.

Third, a core meaning can not predict the correct use of a word in specific contexts. Usage types are often conventially based uses that have to be learnt by the language user (Fortuin 2000:37). Some features of a shared meaning are exploited in certain contexts. Therefore, the formulation of a core meaning has to be supplemented with a description of the different uses of *dak*. Due to meaning extension, different usage types are developed. They might develop into different directions in different varieties of the same language. As a result of such a different development, the word *tak* in the dialect of Varzuga is not completely synonymous with the same lexeme in standard spoken Russian. The possibility of meaning extension can also lead to minor differences in meaning and usage types between different Northern Russian dialects.

Fourth, not all usage types of a word necessarily have the same invariant meaning, or only a general meaning which is too vague and general to be of any use, since this general description would also be valid for very different words. Some usage types have a stronger internal similarity than others. Some features are shared by the word in all usage types, but not all. This is a natural result of usage and meaning extension. In some cases, certain features have been exploited at the expense of others. This leads to a larger difference from other usage types and from the core meaning. However, each usage type has a common core with at least one of the other uses.

Fifth, an invariant meaning which is defined as the sum of shared features can be very far from linguistic reality. A set of shared features can in principle be formulated for any pair of related words or meanings. Even different words like the particles *ved'* and *dak* share many features. Invariant meanings can be too abstract, and might have little to do with the concepts present in the mind of the language users (Fortuin 2000:38). Words are associated with the most usual contexts they are used in; it is not necessarily the case that a speaker who uses *dak* in two very different contexts has the same concept in mind.

Some researchers make a distinction between an *invariant* meaning and a

core meaning, or between a *Gesamtbedeutung* vs. *Grundbedeutung* (Jakobson 1971). The invariant meaning and Gesamtbedeutung are a definition of the meaning of the word as the sum of the shared features. The core meaning and the *Grundbedeutung*, where the element *Grund* refers to etymology, are meant to be a core concept that might be closer to psychological reality than the sum of shared features.

How is *dak* represented in the mind: as dak_1, dak_2 etc., or as a single concept? The answer is probably something in between; see section 13.3. *Dak* is strongly associated with certain contexts, but at the same time, certain invariant semantic elements might be associated with it. In "B, A *dak*"-constructions with a prominent pitch accent on both units there is probably a strong association in the mind of the dialect users with a causal meaning, but, apparently, not so strong that it blocks a different interpretation, like one of a straightforward temporal-conditional reading (see section 9.2.3).

Following Lew Zybatow, I regard pragmatic functions of particles, such as the indication of modality or of a topic shift, as secondary to their syntactic function and their basic semantics. The pragmatic function is derived from the basic meaning, which is always there (Zybatow 1990:28f).

A monosemic approach is the most common approach in particle research, although most researchers do not take a radical position; see Foolen (2003) and section 7.2.1.3 below. This is also customary in relevance theory, where a division is made between a univocal meaning and context-dependent uses (e.g. Fretheim 2001). The semantic differences between context-dependent uses are explained as being due to pragmatic enrichment. Fretheim argues that polysemy should be used only for linguistically determined variants of meaning, and not for variants which can get a viable explanation as pra gmatic enrichment (2001:80).

The reason to search for a core meaning is that it gives insight in the functioning of the word and the common characteristics of *dak* used in different contexts. The core meaning might also explain the use of *dak* in contexts where its meaning and function are not as obvious as in others.

Extensive comparisons of the monosemy vs. polysemy approaches can be found, for intance, in 1990; Foolen 1993; Fortuin 2000; Pethö 2001.

7.2 Theoretical background

No single theoretical framework is available for the description of discourse particles, and most researchers use a combination of theories and methods. The study of *dak* presented here draws on numerous sources of inspiration.

In this section, three fields of linguistics will be discussed which are the

most central to the research presented here: particle research, theories about information structure and prosodic studies. Explanations of the terminology used in other fields of linguistics, such as syntax, can be found by means of the Index of terminology.

7.2.1 Particle studies

7.2.1.1 The characteristics of pragmatic particles

Russian is rich in discourse particles, that is, in small words that are devoid or almost devoid of grammatical and truth-conditional meaning, and which help to guide the hearer in linking the utterances to the linguistic and extra-linguistic context. Among the varieties of Russian, these particles are most frequent in the Northern Russian dialects.

Northern Russian *dak* fits well with the definitions of pragmatic particles given in Foolen (2003) and Lind (1994; 1996) and with most definitions of discourse particles (e.g. Mosegaard Hansen 1998; Grenoble 1998; Parrott 1998), two terms which are often used for the same type of particles (see section 7.2.1.2 below).

Pragmatic particles are typically uninflectable, monosyllabic, unaccentable, prosodically subordinated forms. From a morphological point of view, particles are intermediate between full words and affixes. Pragmatic particles do not contribute to the propositional content of an utterance, so they do not influence the truth conditions of the proposition, and they are usually syntactically omissible. For this reason they are difficult to classify in traditional word classes. They fall outside of the basic grammar and are therefore poorly studied. Their syntactic and truth-conditional omissibility means that they do not represent an argument in the clause, that they cannot be the focus of a question word or a negation (König 1991:174) and they cannot function independently as a sentence fragment.

According to some definitions, pragmatic particles are always clitics. The characterisation of these particles as clitics stresses their inability to function independently. However, the notion *clitic* is usually used for words with different functions, close to an affix, and which attach to single words or phrases, while many of the described particles have a host bigger than that (e.g. Kroon 1995; see discussion in Parrott 1997:7ff). The use of the term *clitic* in this dissertation is explained in section 7.2.3.3 below.

Some other formal characteristics given in the literature do not account for all of the particles in question in all languages, but only for a large subsection of them. Follingstad (2001) mentions their syntactically idiosyncratic nature, being more free in word order than conjunctions, but less so than adverbs. German modal particles – probably the best studied pragmatic particles in the world – are

only used in the syntactic middle field. This does not account for all pragmatic particles mentioned in, for instance, Dutch (Foolen 1996), Norwegian (Lind 1996) and Russian (e.g. Grønn 1999), where some pragmatic particles can be used in utterance-initial and in utterance-final position.

Pragmatic particles are functionally close to, but different from focus particles like *tol'ko* 'only, just' and *ešče* 'some more, yet' (cf. König 1991), from sentence adverbs, from conjunctions and from interjections; see Foolen 1996 for a description of the differences. According to many definitions, modal particles are a subset of pragmatic particles (e.g. in Foolen 1996) The definition of modal particles in e.g. the Academy Grammar (*AG* 1980) is broader and covers for instance focus particles and accentable particles; see below.

As the previous characterisations show, the particles are often defined by their negative properties. Positive definitions mention their functions.

A common characteristic of (discourse) particles is that they are used to connect the utterance to the linguistic and extra-linguistic context (Николаева 1985b; 2000). In Foolen's words, in general, pragmatic particles help to structure the communication process and to embed utterances into their communicative context (1996). Fillmore (1984:132f) states that "their role (…) is more to 'fit' the context than to communicate new information (…). Pragmatic particles (…) reflect choices among the numerous ways in which individual utterances can be situated in their discourse context." Mosegaard Hansen (1998:73ff) works with the relevance theoretical distinction between conceptual and procedural markers (see section 13.3). She defines what she calls discourse particles as non-propositional connective items of variable scope, whose meaning is entirely procedural, and which function as instructions from speaker to hearer on how to integrate their host unit into a coherent mental representation of the discourse.

One of the more specific roles played by pragmatic particles is that they can signal the background or foreground status of a stretch of discourse (Foolen 2003).

According to Lind (1996:177), pragmatic particles have two main functions: apart from structuring the text, they can regulate the interaction between the interlocutors. Most pragmatic particles are modal particles: they convey the attitude of the speaker towards the exchanged information, or the assumed attitude of the hearer towards it; see below. Many particles can influence the illocutionary force of the utterance.

Foolen points out the deictic character of pragmatic particles: "They do not *describe* an aspect of the context, they only *indicate* that a contextual aspect of a certain type should be taken into consideration by the hearer in the interpretation process" (2003, section 1.1). Hentschel calls this property of pragmatic particles

"metakommunikative Deixis" (Hentschel 1986,[1] as referred to in Foolen 2003). Follingstad (2001) classifies the Classical Hebrew particle *kî* as a *deictic particle*, since it has a demonstrative, deictic origin and is used to indicate a switch in cognitive viewpoint to the utterance marked by the particle. Different from "normal" deictic elements, deictic particles do not point directly to portions of texts or entities, but they refer to the appropriateness and truth value of utterances, or, in other words, speech acts (Follingstad 2001:143).

Most of the functions of pragmatic particles mentioned above are not specific for pragmatic particles; they can be fulfilled by other means as well. Pragmatic embedding and organisation can also be signalled by other types of expressions, like polysyllabic words *(moreover*), phrases (*you know*), tags (*isn't it*) and enclitic forms (*han / hän* in Finnish), and even by suprasegmental, paralinguistic and nonverbal expressive means (Foolen 2003). For instance, the pragmatic particles can interact with intonation (cf. Foolen 2003; Kirsner, Van Heuven & Caspers 1998; Fretheim 1988; 2000b). The function of intonation is partly the same as that of pragmatic particles, namely embedding the utterance in its conversational context (Foolen 2003; e.g. Боннот & Кодзасов 1998). One could add the use of special grammatical constructions, such as topicalisation, or word order. These other means with the same functions are not only used in languages lacking pragmatic particles, such as English, but also in languages that do have them, like Russian.

This partial sharing of functions means that descriptions of the functions of such other means and how these means interact can be fruitful in the exploration of particles.

However, each linguistic means, and even each individual particle, serves these functions in a specific, unique way. If they did not, all particles would have the same functions and would be mutually exchangeable, which is not the case. The following utterances from Lind (1996:27) illustrate this. They have the same truth-conditional content, but the particles add different information about how this content is related to its context:

(2) Lillehammer skal *jo* arrangere OL i 1994.

Lillehammer will *prt* arrange Olympics in 1994

'Lillehammer will arrange the Olympics in 1994, you know .'

(2a) Lillehammer skal *altså* arrangere OL i 1994.

'So Lillehammer will arrange the Olympics in 1994.'

[1] *Funktion und Geschichte deutscher Partikeln: ja, doch, halt und eben*. Tübingen 1986.

The meaning of *jo* is close to Russian *ved'* 'you know', *altså* has a meaning close to *značit* 'so' (cf. chapter 14).

7.2.1.2 Pragmatic particles, discourse particles and discourse markers

A comparison of most definitions of discourse particles vs. pragmatic particles shows that they mostly coincide, except that discourse particles can also include accentable particles (e.g. Kroon 1995; Mosegaard Hansen 1998; Grenoble 1998 on *discourse particles*; Kuosmanen & Multisilta 1999 on accented vs. non-accented Russian *vot* and *nu*). The term *pragmatic particle*, at least in the usage described above, is thus a somewhat more specific term, which is suitable for the description of *dak*. The term *discourse particle* will be used when referring to a larger group of particles, including particles like *vot* and *nu*, which have similar functions, but can be accented (see e.g. Grønn 1999 on *vot*). *Discourse markers* even include interjections with discourse functions, which can consist of more than one word, like English *well* and *you know*.

7.2.1.3 Theoretical frameworks and methodology

The pragmatic particles are not part of any well-defined functional, grammatical or semantic category. The description of such particles is notoriously difficult, and so is the choice of methodology for describing them (see Foolen 2003). There is no consensus about the most suitable framework and methodology for describing these words, which for various reasons, Zybatow argues, could be called "Undinge" (1990:9ff).

For the interpretation of a pragmatic particle, it is not enough to know the truth-conditional content of the utterance it is used in. The functional and distributional properties of pragmatic particles seem to be hardly accessible to native speakers' intuitions, because the reasons for their use are mostly unconscious, so one cannot simply rely on the intuitions of users. It is difficult to see the contribution of such a word distinct from the context, because it is so tightly connected with the specific contexts it is used in, not only with the linguistic co-text, but also with extra-linguistic context.

Still, their use is not random: it can be infelicitous, so it is restricted by rules, which proves that they are not void of any kind of meaning and entirely superfluous.

Most particle research is based on empirical studies of large corpora of spontaneous speech or written dialogues. Takeuchi warns that a mere accumulation of examples in the hope that generalisations will emerge, is usually not sufficient, because it is not necessarily the case that inductive observation of a great number of examples will point in the right direction

(Takeuchi 1997:9; cf. Foolen 2003). She calls for an adequate semantics for particles and a study of the interaction of these meanings with pragmatic factors to yield the range of possible interpretations. To this end, Takeuchi herself used a relevance theoretical framework in the study of some Japanese connectors.

A few linguists use their own intuitions (cf. Blakemore (1992) on English connectors like *but*). Use of questionnaires would be desirable, but is very uncommon, due to the problems attached to their use for the study of particles; see section 7.3.7 on methodology.

Wierzbicka 1986 describes eleven different theoretical approaches to the description of particles, remarking that her list is in no way complete, and Foolen (2003) mentions many others. In general, pragmatic approaches which focus, for instance, on rules for turn-taking, are widespread in Western linguistics, but uncommon in Russian studies; see next section. Some use relevance theory (e.g. Blakemore 1992; Fretheim 2000a; 2001). Most modern researchers take a moderate monosemy approach, as explained in section 7.1.2 above.

7.2.1.4 Previous descriptions of Russian particles

Russian pragmatic particles differ from their German relatives in that they can occur in utterance-initial position. Secondly, German particles are typically modal particles, signalling speaker attitudes towards the utterances, or the assumed attitudes of the hearer. Not all Russian particles are modal, or their modal meaning is far less central than their function in the structuring of information units. Furthermore, in the description of Russian particles, there is no tradition to make a sharp distinction between accentable and non-accentable particles.

Some of the most influential works on Russian discourse particles are Шведова 1960, Vasilyeva 1972, Николаева 1985b and Rathmayr 1985. Extensive descriptions of the history of Russian particle research can be found in Nikolaeva 1985b and 2000; Rathmayr 1985, Zybatow 1990, Parrott 1997; Grønn 1999. This section will only mention some of the most important information.

On terminology

In the Russian literature, particles with functions close to *dak* are usually called just particles (*časticy*), but this term is commonly used as a waste-box for all kinds of little words which do not fit into the ordinary word classes. The term also covers words with a grammatical function, such as *by* or *bylo*, and focus particles like *ešče* and *tol'ko*. Contrary to pragmatic particles, focus particles add propositional content to the activated knowledge. The term covers both accentable and unaccentable particles; Nikolaeva could therefore make a subcategorisation of particles according to the absence or presence of the

properties to accentuate a word or unit and to be accented themselves or not (Николаева 1985b; 2000).

Such a heterogeneous group of particles calls for a subclassification. However, the most commonly used subclassifications are unsatisfactory for the description of *dak*. Russian particles resembling *dak* most, such as *-to*, *že*, *ved'*, *ešče*, *da*, *už*, *vot*, *daže*, *i*, are traditionally classified as *vydelitel'nye* or *usilitel'nye* ('intensifying' or 'emphatic' (after Vinogradov and Peškovskij; see McCoy 2001:69). However, labels like *emphatic* are unclear. It is not clear what exactly these particle should emphasise, and whether this modality, which is clearly present in the utterances concerned, should be attributed to the particles alone. Furthermore, labels of this kind cannot explain why the particles are not mutually exchangeable (cf. Follingstad 2001; Николаева 1985b:77f; Grønn 1999).

More recently, similar particles have been classified as modal particles, for instance in the Academy Grammar. *AG* 1980 discerns six groups of particles: grammatical particles, negating particles, question particles, temporal particles (and similar), answering particles and modal particles. This last group includes more than 50 words, including *-to*, *ved'* and *vot*, and is the only group under which *dak* could be classified. However, the group is still very heterogeneous and many of them are not typically modal (e.g. McCoy 2001), which accounts for *dak* as well (see section 13.7). Particle researchers in the USA often use the term *discourse particle* (Grenoble 1998; Parrott 1997; McCoy 2001). The French participants of a French-Russian cooperation project for the description of pragmatic particles and other 'discourse words' (*diskursivnye slova*, a term covering even words which do have propositional content, such as sentence adverbs), use the term *particules énonciatives* (e.g. in the series *Les particules énonciatives en russe contemporain*, I – III), a term which is translated as *discursive particles* by Fernandez-Vest (1990). Rathmayr studies their pragmatic functions and calls them *Pragmalexeme* (1985). Zybatow uses the term *modal particle*, while Grønn makes a distinction between *logical* vs. *subjective–modal particles*, but *dak* does not fit well into either of these groups (1999:20ff; cf. section 13.7).

More specialised terms are used for subgroups of these discourse particles, for instance *deictic particle* (Падучева 1996; Grenoble 1998; Follingstad 2001 on a Biblical Hebrew particle), *metatextual particle* (*metatekstovaja častica*; e.g. on uses of *tak*; Шимчук & Щур 1999), *dialogue particle* (*dialogičeskaja častica*, Падучева 1996; on e.g. *ved'*), *delimitative particle* (*delimitativnaja častica* (Гольдин 1998 on *vot*)) and *kontrastive particle* (McCoy 2001; on *-to*, *že* and *ved'*).

Frameworks in the description of Russian discourse particles

Most Russian particle researchers take a polysemy approach. Švedova argues that it is impossible to describe a particle in isolation. Rather, the particle expresses a meaning together with the context. She objects to the widely used practice to ascribe, for instance, an emphasising meaning to a particle. This meaning is not expressed by the particle alone, but by the construction containing the particle as a whole (Шведова 1960:18f).

This standpoint is shared by many Russian particle researchers, e.g. by Fedorova (1965; see section 6.5.7). Kiseleva and Paillard speak of an *amalgamation* (*amal'gamirovanie*) of the semantics of the discourse words and the semantics of the context in this respect (Киселева & Пайар 1998:9), and they make the following remark about the difficulties in drawing the boundary between the context and these *diskursivnye slova* (*DS*): "Многие ДС, в особенности частицы, могут полностью «сливаться» с контекстом, дублируя семантику его отдельных фрагментов" (ibid.; see section 13.3).[2]

There is a strong structuralist tradition in Russian particle studies which focusses on the inherent meanings of the particles rather than their pragmatic functions, and on their syntactic distribution and conjunctional properties. The researchers in the French-Russian particle project (see above) aimed at giving formal semantic descriptions of Russian discourse particles. Rathmayr (1987) takes a pragmatic approach, using Grice's theory on conversational maxims. Zybatow (1990) is an exponent of a monosemy approach, where each particle is described in a formal, logical formula, and the usage types are distinguished according to the illocutionary type of utterances they can be used in. Bitechtin (Битехтин 1993) describes the particles *-to*, *ved'*, *že* and some parenthetical expressions as markers of information structure, specifically, as indicators that the propositional content is already known to the hearer (see chapter 14). Parrott (1997) uses Yokoyama's model of knowledge transfer (Yokoyama 1986) in her description of *že* and some other particles. Grønn (1999) combines several approaches, and describes the expressive, conjunctional and pragmatic functions of *vot*. McCoy (2001) describes the particles *-to*, *že* and *ved'* as *kontrastive* particles, that is, as particles which, each in their own way, mark set membership of the units they are attached to (see section 10.3.12).

Studies of discourse particles in the Russian dialects

Russian dialectal particles have hardly been studied. Russian dialectology

[2] "Many discursive words, in particular particles, can merge completely with their context and duplicate the semantics of parts of this context."

focusses on lexicography and interdialectal differences, but discourse particles are difficult to classify and they are often non-contrastive, similar to the majority of dialectal syntactic phenomena (Преображенская 2003).

Шапиро 1953 describes a range of dialectal discourse particles. The Northern Russian particle *dak* is the most studied Russian dialectal discourse particle, besides *-to* and its variants (e.g. Кузьмина & Немченко 1962; Panzer 1984; Honselaar 1994; Уздинская 1996; Leinonen 1998). Other particles have hardly been studied. A few articles are dedicated to the conjunction and particle *a* (Мишланов 1993; Трёстерова 1993). As mentioned in section 4.6.4.8, *no*, *nu* and *a* are discussed in Касаткин & Касаткина 1997; Голубева 1991 describes *vot*, *nu* and *da* in the position between utterances. As noted previously, Евтюхин 1979 is not concerned with a single particle, but with the text organising function of dialect particles in general (see section 6.5.12). Finally, I found a short article by Safonova (Сафонова 1979). It based on data from a Siberian dialect and also deals with particle use in general.

7.2.2 Information structure

7.2.2.1 Sentence-internal information structure

The term *information structure* is used for sentence-internal divisions into categories like theme vs. rheme, topic vs. comment and background vs. focus, which are expressed in a sentence or utterance. Languages offer speakers a variety of options to express the same basic informational content. Information structure shows how informational content is presented and related to other information in the linguistic and non-linguistic context. The distinctions mentioned affect the marking of phenomena like aboutness, point of departure, relational givenness as contrasted to information update, focus or relative importance and contrast. This informational division is known under different names. Nowadays it is mostly called *information structure* in publications in English (e.g. Halliday 1967, Lambrecht 1994, Kruijff-Korbayová & Steedman 2003; Gundel and Fretheim in *Handbook of Pragmatics* (2003). Other terms for the same phenomenon are *information packaging* (e.g. Chafe 1976; Vallduví & Engdahl 1996; Molnár 1993; 2002) and *functional sentence perspective*, or its Russian equivalent *aktual'noe členenie* (actual sentence division; Prague school, after the Czech linguist Vilém Mathesius; e.g. in Адамец 1966; *AG* 1980).

Information structure can be expressed by different means in different languages, such as word order, accentuation, syntactic constructions and by morphological or lexical means. Languages with extensive inflection, such as Russian and Czech, with so-called "free" word order, use word order to a large extent to express information structure, especially in standard written language

(see below). Languages with a less flexible word order, where word order is to a large extent determined by the grammar, such as English, make little use of word order to express information structure, but exploit other means, like intonation. Languages like French and Spanish, with a less flexible intonation, but no "free" word order either, use syntactic constructions, such as left- and right-detachment. Languages like Japanese and Korean have a specific topic marker. Most languages use combinations of means.

The following chapters will show that the relationship marked by *dak* has much in common with the fundamental relationships mentioned in theories of sentence-internal information structure, such as theme vs. rheme, topic vs. comment, presupposition vs. focus, given vs. new and restrictor vs. nucleus. Northern Russian *dak* indicates, in a way similar to sentence-internal information structuring devices, how the information conveyed in the linguistic expression it is connected to should be anchored in the linguistic or non-linguistic context. Since *dak* helps to mark similar pieces of information, the term *information structure* seems very suitable to describe the functioning of this word.

However, the term *information structure* and its equivalents are normally only used for sentence- or utterance-internal informational divisions, whereas the particle *dak* in most cases does not connect sentence-internally, but over larger distances. In addition, it does not only signal a connection between two linguistic units, but also between a linguistic unit and information which lacks a direct linguistic expression. For the structure of information over larger units than the sentence or utterance the term *discourse structure* could be used, but this notion usually covers many other phenomena as well, such as anaphoric relations, discourse topics and subtopics and thematic progression (Kruijff-Korbayová & Steedman 2003), and is easily associated with different phenomena, like rules for turn-taking. Although *dak* can play a role in marking discourse topics and discourse subtopics, this seems to be a context-dependent, secondary function and a side-effect of the core meaning of *dak*.

7.2.2.2 First problem: A terminological minefield

A wide variety of terms and different understandings of the same terms are used in the literature. Kruijff-Korbayová and Steedman (2003:254) give an overview of the literature on information structure in various languages in a large scheme, which covers Czech, but not Russian literature. The definitions of terms like *theme*, *topic* and *focus* are highly inconsistent in the literature (McNally 1998:163), especially the content of the notion *focus*, which can denote both the information update and the very different phenomenon of emphasis or contrast, or a combination of both, such as when *focus* is used as a name for emphatic new

information. As Vallduví and Vilkuna express it, "terms like *contrast*, *focus*, *topic* and *theme* inhabit a terminological minefield that has hindered research in pragmatics and discourse for decades" (Vallduví & Vilkuna 1998:80).

A major difference between the definitions is whether they refer to linguistic expressions (with particular attendant interpretations) or to non-linguistic notions, such as 'the entity the sentence is about' or 'what the speaker has in mind' (McNally 1998:163). The drawback of non-linguistic definitions is that they are difficult to identify and their content is usually vague, while formal constructions have the drawback that they only cover a specific construction, such as sentence-initial contrastive topics (see below). In most cases, the researchers use a combination of formal and functional criteria. The notions are mostly used for linguistic entities (Kruijff-Korbayová & Steedman 2003:250), but these entities can have different forms.

A clear example of a formal definition is the definition of *thème* by Bonnot and Fougeron (e.g. 1989:397f). They wanted to avoid unclear, psychological definitions of theme and rheme, since they lead to numerous confusions. Therefore, they used purely formal characteristics in their definition of a theme: 1) a theme is always used in initial position; 2) it can, but need not, be separated from the rest of the utterance by a pause; and 3) it has a particular intoneme, depending on the modality of the utterance (assertive, interrogative, exclamative etc.). For example, assertives always have a pitch rise on the tonic or post-tonic part of the theme. The placement of the rise corresponds to different meanings, such as contrast to possible other theme-rheme-pairs. If a pause after the theme is not possible, then the whole utterance is rhematic (1984:254; 1989:397f). Bonnot & Fougeron's approach has an obvious drawback: their themes cover only a small set of linguistic entities. It describes a typical context for *dak*, but *dak* can be used in many other contexts as well. Another drawback is that such definitions, and possibly categories, are language-specific. Of course, these expressions have a certain meaning, and the same kind of meaning can also have a specific, but different linguistic expression in other languages, or even in the same language.

A purely semantic definition (e.g. in Reinhart 1981) has the drawback that the exact content of the theme (or 'topic') can remain vague. Take the second utterance in the following example:

(3) *So, did anything happen while I was gone?*
The PRESIDENT called.[3]

[3] The example is from Vallduví & Engdahl (1996:471). Capital letters indicate "the lexical item

Many would claim that the second utterance does not contain a theme or topic, but in a semantic approach à la Reinhart, there would be a theme, be it unexpressed ('What happened was that ...'). The differences between the approaches lead to different interpretations of a single utterance, depending on the framework used, for instance in the analysis of the following example of a newspaper heading:

(4) "Jetliner Crash Kills 131 in Philippines." (from *The Herald Tribune*, April 20, 2000; cited in Hetland 2002:175)

Some would characterise 'Jetliner Crash' as the theme or topic, because it is the point of departure for the rest of the sentence, its restrictor and the entity which the rest of the sentence asserts something about. Others would claim that the sentence has no topic or theme, because all elements in the utterance are new. More controversies in information structure theory are discussed in, for instance, Hajičová, Partee & Sgall 1998 and Hedberg 2002.

In sum, some definitions of notions like theme and rheme are well-defined, but restricted to certain constructions; others are too vaguely defined, or encompass far too many different elements. No single definition seems to be appropriate to characterise the connection made by the particle *dak*: most definitions cover either too little or too much. Often, a tendency is seen to define the terms in information structure theories in such a way that they support the data from a specific language best, but the resulting definition is not very useful for the description of other languages. Many researchers depart from a certain construction and try to determine its information status. None of the proposed descriptions completely covers the distinction marked by *dak*. According to Keijsper, theme and rheme are not linguistic primitives, and therefore, they cannot be defined by simple linguistic rules. However, they are often treated as being just that (Keijsper 1985; 1994; cf. Мерлин 1978 on Northern Russian *dak*). Not all sentences have a theme (at least not in a linguistic expression), but according to the Russian literature, all have a rheme, which is often defined as carrying the main sentence accent, and the marker of the illocutionary force (Янко 2001). Some researchers claim – for various reasons – that not even all utterances have a rheme, for instance, because not all of them would lead to an information update (McNally 1998:172; Steedman 2000).

In the Russian literature, the most commonly used terms are *theme* and *rheme*. Merlin claims that the Northern Russian particle *dak* marks the rheme

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with sentential nuclear stress within the focus" (1996:462).

(Мерлин 1978). Merlin follows the Russian tradition, where the *rheme* is opposed to the *theme*. The theme marks what the utterance is about and the rheme expresses what is said about this theme. In Merlin's understanding, *theme* corresponds to the *point of departure* (*ischodnyj punkt*) or *determiner* (*determinant*), and *rheme* to the *nucleus* or *core* (*jadro*) of the utterance.

7.2.2.3 Subdivisions

Many theories on information structure work with a binary division of the sentence, but others use more fine-grained distinctions, for example a tripartite distinction (e.g. into *link*, *tail* and *focus*/*rheme*; Vallduví & Engdahl 1996; Vallduví & Vilkuna 1998; McCoy 2001), or according to multiple distinctions in two or even three different dimensions, such as a distinction between given and new in addition to a division between topic and comment on another level, and between background and focus on third (Molnár 1993; more examples can be found on the above mentioned scheme in Kruijff-Korbayová & Steedman 2003). In Slavic studies, there is a tradition of distinguishing degrees of communicative dynamism, first proposed by Firbas (e.g. Firbas 1974; Sgall, Hajičová & Panevová 1986; Hajičová, Partee & Sgall 1998), such as distinctions of a *theme proper*, a *rheme proper* and a *transition*, or primary and secondary themes (Адамец 1966; Ковтунова 1976; cf. Paduceva's *načalo*, *2-e načalo, 3-e načalo*; Падучева 1985:112f).

7.2.2.4 Second problem: Information structure theory is not used for spontaneous speech and not across sentence boundaries

The role of word order in expressing information structure is overestimated in the literature on Czech and Russian. Keijsper (1985; 1994; 2003) has convincingly shown that word order and intonation are two separate linguistic means which tend to be confused in Slavic literature on functional sentence perspective. The main reason is the focus on written standard language, where the main, rhematic accent tends to fall on the last constituent in a sentence. This does not apply to spoken language, however. This important shortcoming had been pointed out by students of spontaneous spoken language much earlier, e.g. by Sirotinina (Сиротинина 1974) and Lapteva (Лаптева 1976), but this remained virtually unnoticed: the supporters of the theory kept studying written language, and the researchers of spoken language did not adopt the theory, or only some of its ideas (cf. the references in *RRR* to *aktualizatory*, discussed in section 10.2.1).

In spontaneous speech, many utterances do not have a clear distinction into thematic and rhematic parts. For instance, a single utterance can contain several equally accented "final" accents. They could possibly be interpreted as containing several different rhemes, corresponding to more than one assertion

or speech act. Especially in Northern Russian dialects there is not always a clearly expressed hierarchy of relative importance, neither prosodically nor grammatically.

7.2.2.5 Use of the terms *topic*, *theme*, *rheme* and *tail* in this dissertation

The terms *topic*, *theme*, *rheme* and *tail* will not be used in controversial, ambiguous cases, and only applied them when there is no doubt about their identification.

Rheme is used for elements in the utterance which are marked by a pitch accent and represent an information update. The term *topic* is used for discourse topics – both for subtopics and main topics, and *theme* for sentence-internal linguistic units in clause-initial position. The term *tail* refers to thematic, accessible information, which is not accented and used at the end of an utterance or in other non-initial position. The information expressed in tails is activated or accessible and not contrasted, and hence informationally subordinate to some other information.

7.2.2.6 Contrast and *kontrast*

McCoy found that linguistic theory has so far been unable to provide an adequate unifying account of a set of phenomena described as "emphatic", "contrastive", "intensifying," etc. She analyses the particles *-to*, *že* and *ved'* in Russian colloquial language as being lexemes that evoke sets of alternatives, or, in Vallduví's terminology, which mark *kontrast*. To be *kontrastive* means to have the ability to generate a set:

> "The basic idea behind the notion of kontrast is the following: if an expression a is kontrastive, a membership set M={...,a,...} is generated and becomes available to semantic computation as some sort of quantificational domain." (Vallduví &Vilkuna 1998:83; McCoy 2001:18f)

According to McCoy, *–to* generates a set of sets: a set of kontrastive elements within the link and a similar set within the rheme. In other words, *-to* is claimed to mark one set of "themes" and one set of "rhemes", that is, a set of propositions consisting of parallel theme-rheme pairs. *Dak* is often used in such contexts. This approach is discussed in section 10.3.12.

7.2.3 Prosody

7.2.3.1 Introduction

Prosodic phenomena like lexical stress, accentuation, rhythm and prosodic grouping are reflected in the perceptual characteristics of speech, like changes in pitch, length, loudness and vowel quality, and in their acoustic correlates fundamental frequency, duration, intensity and spectral composition.

The acoustic and perceptual forms of an utterance are not easy to interpret, especially for non-natives, because they are the sum of many different phenomena, which all affect its form. Intonation, for instance, can be understood as consisting of several different layers (Бондарко et al. 2000:116; cf. Ladd 1996). Some phenomena are phonologically relevant, such as pitch accents and prosodic grouping (that is, which words belong together), while others are not, for example the intrinsic qualities of the different sounds (for instance, open vowels are louder than closed vowels), declination towards the end of utterances and the relative prominence of the beginning of utterances (Ladd 1996; Николаева 2000).

Prosodic information thus serves several distinct functions. Some pauses are syntactically obligatory, such as the pause between the subject and the predicate in verbless utterances like *Пушкин — великий поэт* 'Pushkin is a great poet', while others are not, such as pauses of hesitation. Schallert argues that a certain pitch pattern can be used for very different reasons, belonging to different levels of language. For example, the intonational construction IK-3 can be used at a syntactic, functional level after the first clause of a biclausal construction to indicate incompleteness of the utterance, while it is used at a pragmatic level when it ends an utterance for rhetorical purposes to indicate functional incompleteness (Schallert 1990:61ff).

7.2.3.2 Existing literature

The complexity of prosodic phenomena and the fact that they are part of spoken, and not of written language, have hindered prosodic research. The matter can be dealt with from many different viewpoints, leading to much confusion in the literature. Although there is an extensive literature on subjects like Russian intonation (e.g. Брызгунова 1980; Светозарова 1982; Odé 1989), the prosodic organisation of the utterance (e.g. Николаева et al. 1996; Fougeron 1989; Николаева 2000), on the acoustics and perception of stress (e.g. Бондарко et al. 1973) and on the meaning of accentuation (Николаева 1982; 1993; Keijsper 1985; Бондарко 1998), most of it is restricted to read speech in Standard Russian.

Nevertheless, the prosody of spontaneous speech has also received quite a lot of attention, for instance in the series *Русская разговорная речь* (*RRR* 1973; 1981; 1983; 1987), Лаптева et al. 1985, Светозарова et al. 1988 and in the series *Бюллетень*

фонетического фонда русского языка (1988 –).

However, much research remains to be done. For example, no suitable framework is available for the transcription of intonation in Russian;[4] see section 7.2.3.4 below. The description of the correlates of word stress are usually also based on the pronunciation of accented words in utterance-final position (Николаева 2000).

The prosody of Northern Russian dialects has received relatively much attention. The main contributions are the numerous works by Kasatkina, including two monographs (Пауфошима 1983; Касаткина 1988). The prosody of these dialects is different from other Russian dialects and Standard Russian. Some examples have been mentioned in section 4.2.1, such as a different distribution of prosodic prominences across the utterance, which is shown by phenomena like frequent secondary stress and a tendency to mark each phonological word with an equally prominent pitch accent (e.g. Пауфошима 1983; Касаткина 1991), absence of two-degree reduction of unstressed vowels and relative lenght of consonants (Высотский 1973; Альмухамедова & Кульшарипова 1980; Альмухамедова 1985), a different marking in some dialects of final prosodic boundaries (Кузнецов 1949; Пауфошима 1989; Касаткина 1988; Князев et al. 1997; Люблинская & Саппок 2000), differences in pitch movements,[5] such as frequency of final rises and absence of IK-4 (= fall + rise) in questions (Щигель 1985; Касаткина 1988; Любинская & Саппок 2000). A tendency to "rhythmicalisation" has also been observed (e.g. Брызгунова 1977a; Пауфошима 1983; see note 42 in chapter 6). Little research has been done to find out the meaning of these phenomena (Krause et al. 2003), and the claims about their meaning usually lack sufficient evidence to support them. For example, some linguists have remarked that *dak* can be prominent, but few try to find out the causes and consequences of this attested prominence. Furthermore, they have not checked whether these prominences were perceived as prominent by the speakers of the dialects as well. Often, no distinction is made between phonetic and phonological phenomena. This means that the perceptual or acoustic prominence is not distinguished from word level stress and utterance level accentuation, although this distinction is of crucial importance for the interpretation of these prominences.

[4] Odé is currently developing a transcription system for Russian, based on ToBI and TODI, two transcriptions systems for English and Dutch.

[5] *Pitch movement* is theory-neutral term for a perceivable change in the fundamental frequency. Pitch movements may or may not lend prominence to a syllable, as apposed to a *pitch accent*. A *Pitch contour* is a sequence of pitch movements; cf. Odé 2003:281.

7.2.3.3 Prosodic terminology

This section gives explanations of some central prosodic terms used in this dissertation: *prominence*, *stress*, *accent*, *prosodic syntagm* and *utterance*, *prosodic attachment*, *subordination* and *integration*, and finally a term related to prosody – *clitic* (see Index of terminology for other terms).

Prominence*, *stress* and *accent

In this dissertation a difference is made between *prominence*, *stress* and *accent*. In the Russian literature, all three phenomena are usually covered by the term *udarenie*. However, a distinction according to function is essential in the analysis of perceived prominences.[6]

Prominence is a phonetic phenomenon, while stress and accent are phonological notions, each with a different domain: stress is a property of words, and is independent from utterance prosody produced in connected speech, while accentuation functions at the level of the utterance; cf. the difference between Level 1 and Level 2 accents in Fox (2000).

Prominence of a syllable is salience on the background of other syllables.[7] Prominence is reflected in acoustic correlates, like changes in duration, intensity, pitch and/or vowel quality. But acoustic differences do not always correspond with perceived differences. Perceived prominence is not independent from phonology, because the degree of perceived prominence is highly influenced by the hearer's knowledge of the phonetics and phonology of the language and the expectations of the hearer based on the interpretation of the expression. The hearer can perceive differences which are not produced, and measurable differences can remain unnoticed (Bolinger 1986; Cruttenden 1997). Therefore, judgements about prominence and, even more, of phonological phenomena like lexical stress and accentuation should preferably be made by native speakers of the language variety concerned.

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[6] In most literature on Russian utterance prosody, a difference is made between *frazovoe udarenie* and *logičeskoe udarenie*. These terms are defined in different ways, but none of them I found suitable. 'Phrasal accent' is usually described as the last accent in an utterance, which marks its end and signals the sentence type and is carried by the rheme of the sentence, while *logical stress (accent)* or *sentential stress* (Yokoyama) is often used for emphatic accents on rhemes in "non-neutral" utterances, which includes all utterances with "non-neutral" or "subjective" word order (see e.g. Yokoyama 1990 and 2001 and section 4.3.1). Nikolaeva uses the term *akcentnoe vydelenie* 'accentual emphasis' for both 'logical stress' as described above and for other emphatic accents, e.g. contrastive accents (Николаева 1982). One of my points of criticism is that "last" accents on non-final word groups are not always emphatic or even "non-neutral"; cf. Keijsper 1985.

[7] This is the most common understanding of the (bare) term *udarenie* in the Russian literature ("выделение на фоне других"; Бондарко 1998:218). Apparently, Rozanova uses the same purely phonetic definition of *udarenie* in *RRR* 1983. As a consequence of her definition, each word before a pause is by definition "stressed", even particles: "перед паузой, как уже было отмечено, любые слова, в том числе и частицы, ударны" (*RRR* 1983:36).

Prominence can, but need not coincide with stress and accent; some stressed syllables are not prominent, and some prominent syllables are neither stressed nor accented, like in one of the realisations of the word *kostyč*, as described in section 4.2.1. In these cases, prominence of syllables can be due to their position in the prosodic unit, cf. the observed frequent first syllable prominence in the dialect of Varzuga (section 4.2.1) and prominence of final syllables in some other Northern Russian dialects by lengthening, loudness and/or high pitch.

The term *stress* will be used for lexical stress only, which is here defined as an abstract, phonological phenomenon. A stressed syllable is the most prominent syllable of a word *when pronounced in isolation*, and the potential carrier of the centre of a pitch accent (Bolinger 1958:113; 1986:15; Николаева 2000:271). Obviously, the level of prominence of the stressed syllable varies considerably with the prosodic environment; see section 4.2.1. When pronounced in utterances, word stress is not always perceivable, and some stresses are perceived without having acoustic correlates (e.g. Bolinger 1986). Kasatkina observed that most stressed syllables in the Northern Russian dialects are realised with a pitch movement (Касаткина 1991).

I use the term *accent* for pitch accent only. Lexical stress can coincide with pitch accent; the centre of a pitch accent is always a stressed syllable. Pitch accents are pitch movements, or configurations of these, lending perceptual prominence to a syllable (Bolinger 1986:24ff; Odé 2003:381), which play a role in the structuring of utterances. At this point, the inventory of contrasting pitch accents has not been determined for any Russian dialect. For Standard Russian, a pitch accent has been described as consisting of a tonic syllable[8] and a posttonic part (Odé 1989). Bryzgunova also includes the pretonic part in her *intonational constructions* (IK's; Брызгунова 1977b; 1980). The posttonic parts can be truncated; cf. the description of IK-3 by Bryzgunova, which is the typical pitch accent for yes/no-questions (Брызгунова 1980:107).

In the transcription used in this dissertation, prominent vowels are marked with an acute accent. Most of them are lexically stressed. In chapter 12, the tonic vowels of relevant pitch accents are marked with a capital letter H, L or M; see section 7.2.3.4 below.

The intonation units *prosodic syntagm* and *utterance*

In this dissertation, the term *intonation unit* (IU) is used for *prosodic syntagms* and *utterances*. The term *prosodic syntagm* is used approximately as the term

[8] A tonic syllable is lexically stressed syllable which is the centre of a pitch accent. In the transcriptions in chapter 12, the relevant tonic syllables are marked with capital letters; see table 7.1 below.

fonetičeskaja sintagma in the Russian tradition after Ščerba, to denote a unit with a larger scope than the phonological word, but smaller than the utterance (e.g. Лекант et al. 1995:73 on the nearly synonymous term *rečevoj takt*). A *syntagm* has a semantic and syntactic wholeness, and it is usually both a grammatical unit and a prosodic unit. A *syntagm* can contain several pitch accents, but it can also be unaccented and surrounded by pauses, as many afterthoughts are. It often corresponds with a clause or syntactic phrase (clause constituent), and is often sorrounded by a short pauses. This unit is defined both syntactically and prosodically, which inevitably leads to borderline cases, because prosody does not always correspond to syntax. Yet, this definition is sufficient for the description of the particle *dak*. For a discussion of the history of this term in Russian linguistics, see Златоустова et al. 1997:303ff. The term *larger intonation unit* is used for prosodic syntagms and utterances.

An *utterance* is a self-contained language unit with intonational as well as communicational completeness (Yokoyama 1996:17). It corresponds more or less to Ščerba's *fraza*, except that *fraza* is the prosodic equivalent of the sentence (Лекант et al. 1995:72f), while an utterance need not have the form of a sentence, like in Yokoyama's examples "Mrs. Johnson!", "Please, mom!" and "Yeah." (in response to a question; Yokoyama 1996:17). A *fraza* is also syntactically final and has intonation typically associated with completeness.

The units A and B, the linguistic units that express the units connected by *dak* (see section 8.2.5), are either syntagms or utterances (together with *dak*, if *dak* is attached to them; ibid.).

Prosodic attachment, subordination* and *integration

The term *prosodic attachment* is used for units that are not separated by a silent period, and *prosodic subordination* when an element does not carry a pitch accent. *Prosodic integration* means that in addition, there is no pitch change due to a change from one pitch accent to another or a reset in the beginning of a new syntagm. *Dak* will be argued to be prosodically subordinated to its left-hand and/or right-hand linguistic context, even in the few cases where it is surrounded by silences.

Related to prosody: *clitic*

A *clitic* is prosodically attached and subordinated to either the preceding or to the following word or word group, or to both sides. In phonetically oriented definitions (see Zwicky 1985; Nevis 1990) and in most Russian definitions, *clitic* is usually defined phonetically, irrespective of the potential of the element to be

stressed or accented or not in other contexts – a single word can be stressed in one pronunciation and be a clitic in another. For example, a conjunction like *no* 'but', which has the potential to be accented and has an unreduced vowel in Standard Russian, is also called a clitic if it is unaccented and attached to the following linguistic expression. Since the vowel of *no* is always unreduced, the word is called a relative clitic (*otnositel'naja klitika*), unlike absolute clitics (*absoljutnye klitiki*), like *li* and *-to*. Even content words are described as being cliticised to a grammatical word in cases like *на́ берег* 'at the seashore' and *не́ было* 'there wasn't', where the usually unstressed preposition *na* and the negation particle *ne* are the carriers of the phonological word stress; cf. Лекант et al. 1995; Касаткин 2002; Кодзасов & Кривнова 2001:306.

In other definitions, the word *clitic* is only used for words which are inherently unstressed and prosodically subordinated (Crystal 2003) and are neither inflectional affixes nor independent words (Zwicky 1985). They usually have a single word as their host. Crystal defines a clitic as "a form which resembles a word, but which cannot stand on its own as a normal utterance, being phonologically dependent upon a neighbouring word (its host) in a construction" (Crystal 2003). Zwicky gives a long list of criteria which can be used to decide the status of a form as a clitic or not. Zwicky (1985) and Nevis (1990) argue that not all inherently unstressed elements should be classified as clitics, and use the term *(prosodic) leaner* for certain unstressed independent words.

In this dissertation, the term is used in a meaning narrower than in the Russian usage, but broader than in Crystal's definition. It is used for a word which cannot stand on its own as a normal utterance and does not function as a phonological word, but is prosodically attached and subordinated to another word or word group. It cannot be stressed or accented. An enclitic word is phonologically attached to the preceding word or word group; a proclitic form is linked to the following unit. The grammatical status is not clearly defined, but in my understanding, a clitic is not an affix, but lacks most properties of independent words. It will be argued that *dak* is a clitic in this definition, see section 12.3.3 for argumentation.

7.2.3.4 Explanation of the prosodic annotation used

In chapter 12 the relative pitch levels of the word *dak* and of its linguistic environment are described. None of the existing annotation systems for intonation was found to be suitable. Bryzgunova's *intonational constructions* (*intonacionnye konstrukcii*, abbreviated to IK; Брызгунова 1977b; 1980) are not defined clearly enough (Odé 1992; Keijsper 1992; Yokoyama 1990). They can be interpreted in different ways, and therefore, Bryzgunova's IK-symbols have a

different content from one author to another. Odé's classification (1989) is much more detailed. It describes the phonologically relevant distinctions of Standard Russian intonation. At this stage, it is impossible to say whether the differences between, for example, Rl-, Rm- and rm- pitch accents are also relevant in the dialects of Northern Russia. The systems used by Janko, which is a revised IK-system (Янко 2001), and Yokoyama (1986; 1990; 2001), or a ToBI-based-system (Odé 2003; Jun et al. 2004) also require too much interpretation of the significance of pitch movements, as they depend on an analysis of the phonological system with a fixed set of distinctive pitch accents. On the contrary, the INTSINT-system (Hirst & Di Cristo 1998:15) is too phonetic: it only indicates pitch movements by means of arrows, but does not distinguish between prominence lending and non-prominence lending pitch movements, or between tonic and pre- or posttonic parts.

In this dissertation, only those pitch movements in the cited fragments are described that are relevant for the discussion. No set of well-defined, distinctive pitch accents has been established, so the symbols do not represent a specific phonological category, but reflect the phonetic reality of prominence lending and non-prominence lending pitch movements. However, phonological interpretation is involved, since the position of the tonic syllable of pitch accents is indicated.

The relevant pitch levels are marked by letters after the vowel: *∂a*^{l}*к* (see table 7.1 below). The letter *h* indicates high pitch; *l* indicates low pitch. In a few cases, the label *m* is used (for *mid*), where the level was significantly different from the highest or lowest level. Tonic syllables, i.e. the carriers of the centre of a pitch accent, are marked with capital letters – H, L or M: *má*^{H}*м*. The letters indicate the target level in the tonic syllable. Pitch levels in non-accented syllables are marked in the first syllable with this level; it has no relation with lexical stress. Non-marked syllables following after it have about the same fundamental frequency as the last marked syllable. The combination M + l in one context, H + l in another and H + m in a third context might well represent the same pitch accent; this is a question left for future research.

H	high target level on the tonic syllable
L	low target level on the tonic syllable
M	target level is neither high nor low
h, m, l	pitch levels on non-accented syllables (both lexically stressed and unstressed)

Table 7.1. Symbols used in the prosodic annotation

7.2.3.5 Functions of intonation

This section will discuss some of the functions of intonation, i.e. the ensemble of pitch variations in the course of an utterance ('t Hart et al. 1990:10; Odé 2003:280). I assume that intonation helps to encode many different phenomena which are relevant for the correct interpretation of an utterance, including the following (cf. Ladd 1996; Бондарко 1998:230; Odé 2003b:281):

1. prosodic grouping, i.e. signalling which words belong together;
2. sentence type, such as question or statement;
3. newness and contrast;
4. the kind of relations between units, such subordinate material or not, and finality or non-finality of the utterance;
5. paralinguistic functions, such as the expression of emotions.

Point 3 and 4 deserve an explanation. Newness and contrast are expressed by means of pitch accents. Pitch accents are used either as pointers to new information or as signals of a contrast relation between the accented item and a limited set of alternatives (Krahmer & Swerts 2001:3). There is no consensus in the literature whether a separately identifiable contrastive accent exists, different from newness accents (ibid.; Gussenhoven 1983; Keijsper 1985). As remarked by Haiman (1978), contrast has much in common with marking of newness. According to Keijsper, accent marks 'not not-x' (Keijsper 1985; 1994).

Not all words can be accented – pragmatic particles are usually defined as words which cannot. This means that they do not represent new or contrasted information.

The fourth function of intonation mentioned above is its role in expressing the degree of subordination (or independence) of a linguistic unit. In section 7.1.2 above it was claimed that part of the informational hierarchy between the units expressed in spontaneous speech is expressed by prosodic means, including 1) accentuation and pauses; 2) the type of pitch accent; 3) the position of pitch accents; and 4) their prominence. Here, I will argue why this is the case.

Keijsper argues that paratactic and hypotactic relationships can be expressed in two different ways, grammatically or prosodically. Dependent clauses can be intonationally independent, and so can even smaller units:

(5) Они часто читали. Одну и ту же книгу. (from Богданов 1993:32f;[9] cited in

[9] Bogdanov, V.V. 1993. Les niveaux de prédication en russe. Sériot, P. (ed.), *Relations inter- et*

Keijsper 2003:145)

'They were often reading. The same book.'

According to Bogdanov, the second part has no predicativity, yet, Keijsper argues that this part is intonationally independent and expresses a separate intonational predication. Intonationally expressed paratactic and hypotactic relationships need not coincide with segmentally expressed paratactic and hypotactic relationships. Therefore, two types of parataxis/hypotaxis must be recognised, based on the way they are expressed, segmentally or intonationally (ibid.).[10]

The type of pitch accent helps to signal whether the accented information is final or non-final in the utterance, and whether it is expressed as an assertion with a separate truth value or not. Different pitch accents can express a similar distinction between hypotaxis and parataxis in a complex polypredicative construction without a conjunction as the grammatical difference between a grammatically complex sentence (subordinate + main clause) and a compound sentence (main + main clause; Keijsper 2003:150; cf. Бондарко et al. 2000:107f)):

(6) Растение не поливать (Fnl) — оно скоро иссохнет ('because')

Plant *neg* water.inf – it soon will-dry-out

'Don't water the plant, it will soon be dried out (anyway).'

(6a) Растение не поливать (R) — оно скоро иссохнет ('if-then')

'If this plant will not be given water, it will soon dry out.'

Keijsper claims that Rl- (a rising-falling accent Hl with early timing, like IK-3, which is frequent before *dak* in Varzuga) expresses that the speaker does not specify a separate truth-value for the unit it is used on, unlike Fl and Fnl (a falling accent like IK-1; Ll) and Fh- (IK-4; Lh, a falling-rising accent), which she claims is a resumed Fl-accent. In case the Rl- accent is the last pitch accent in an utterance, the hearer should provide the missing truth value himself (Keijsper 2003:150; cf. Bonnot & Fougeron 1986:66f).

The position of the pitch accents indicates which words or word groups are new or contrastive, reflecting information structure. In the next pair of examples, the difference in position of the pitch accent implies the same difference in meaning as that between a temporal and a causal conjunction. In both examples a

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intraprédicatives: Linguistique slave et linguistique générale. Lausanne.

[10] Širjaev is aware of this distinction. He defines *predicative construction* as a purely syntactic unit, containing a finite verb or another means to express the predicative category of time and mood. The unit is is abstracted away from the prosodic form and the communicative role of the concrete utterance it is expressed in (*RRR* 1973:218; 1981:227f; see section 11.2.3.

similar complex structure without conjunctions is used, with the same finite verb form *был* 'was' and a similar rising-falling pitch accent. The main difference is the position of the accent. It falls on the adverbial expression, 'at our home', in the first example, but on the verb *был* in the second:[11]

(7) — Вот она́ про М'еркý'ева-то хот'е́ла кн'и́гу-то зап'иса́т', воспом'ина́н'је.
— *Да, потому что (...)*
— Нона́. Она́ вот ... м'ьн'а́ да и э́т... с М'еркý'е(вы)м-то ... он на кварт'и́^{M}ры^{l} у нас был *дак*, мно́^{H}го^{l} ја и мат'ер'ија́лу јеј дала́. Дак вот она́ ... сн'има́ла (...) (S2)
"She wanted to write a book about Merkur'ev, with memories."
"Yes, because (...)"
"There you are. She ... (asked) me and ... with Merkur'ev ... he stayed at our home, so I gave her a lot of material. So she ... took pictures (...)"

(8) то́л'ко (в)от сы́н ма́лен'кој-то у м'ьн'а́ бы́^{H}л *да*^{l}*к*, мн'е Ал'екса́ндра Гр'иго́р'јевна ката́ла, (...) (S2)
only *prt* son little-*prt* at-me was *dak*, for-me A.G. made
"Only when I had a little son, Aleksandra Grigor'evna made them for me, (...)"

In the first example, the most relevant new information is the fact that Merkur'ev stayed at their home, and not the time when it happened. If the verb *был* had been accented, the time of his visit had been focussed instead, which would be better translated with 'When Merkur'ev was staying at our home'.[12] However, the time when it happened is not relevant, only the fact that it happened. In the second example, what is presented as the most relevant new information is not the fact that the speaker had a son who was young, but the period that she had a young son. What is contrasted is that she had a young son then, which meant that she needed felt boots for children, which is contrasted with nowadays, when she does not have a young son at home needing felt boots. This use of the contrastive possibilities of absence or presence of pitch accents is not very common in the dialect of Varzuga. In most utterances, several words

[11] To be more precise, the utterance discussed in the second example (nr. 8) carries more than one pitch accent. The word *сын* carries a pitch accent as well, because its content is new to the discourse, but it is not the last one, and the accent on the verb after it is much more prominent and relevant for the interpretation of the next clause. Cf. e.g. Keijsper 1985 on the difference between one and two pitch accents in an utterance.

[12] An accent on *был* could also be meant to signal contrast, if the speaker had wanted to underline the fact that he *was* (at their home), contrary to expectation. This is clearly not the correct interpretation. The temporal interpretation proposed above can also be explained as being contrastive in some way: the time that Merkur'ev stayed at their home would then have been contrasted to the time when he was *not* there.

carry equally prominent pitch accents, like traditional Northern Russian dialects (Касаткина 1988; 1991); see section 4.2.1.

The presence or absence of a pitch accent and even the range of the pitch span in the accent signal the relative importance and independence of the information. Informationally less important parts can be marked as background by having non-prominent prosody. An example is afterthoughts, which are accentless (Gussenhoven 2004:125) or have a flattened intonation. The absence of a pitch accent implies that the information is subordinate, and also reduced pitch accents, with a small span in the pitch register mark informationally subordinate material. Keijsper claims that the difference between full pitch movements – with a wide span in the register – and reduced ones – which do not leave the mid register – is the following: Full pitch movements express intonational predications, whereas the reduced ones mark the segmental units they occur on as subordinated material that is not separately intonationally predicated (Keijsper 2003:142):

(9) Очки^{f} мои вы их не ви$^{Rl-}$дели?
Glasses mine you them not saw
'Haven't you seen my glasses?'

(10) Это она$^{Rl-}$ да? звонила^{f} (ibid.)
this she yes? rang
'It was her who rang, wasn't it?'

7.2.3.6 The relevance of prosodic information for the description of *dak*

As implied above, prosodic information is essential in this study of the particle *dak*. Firstly, prosodic information helps generally to identify the intended meaning of an utterance. Since dialectal speech is underdetermined, especially when *dak* is used, prosodic information is needed such as prosodic grouping and the location and type of pitch accents, which signal coherence and the structure of the text.

Secondly, prosody is essential in finding the elements that are connected by *dak*. Pause and intonation almost invariably indicate at least one of these elements, as I will show in chapter 12. That is, *dak* is almost always attached to a prosodic syntagm (or utterance), and this syntagm is almost always the expression of one of the two units connected by *dak*. Which of the two units this is depends on whether *dak* is enclitic or proclitic to it. The finality or non-finality of this unit is indicated partly by the intonation. The finality or non-finality of a unit guides the listener towards where he might find the second unit.

Finally, the prosodic structure of the utterances containing *dak* can answer the

question if *dak* is accentable or not. Research shows that the word *dak* can be prominent, at least in the perception of the dialectologists, but this does not necessarily imply that the word can carry stress or accent. If *dak* is never the carrier of a pitch accent, then the word does not represent information which can be new or contrasted.

7.3 Methodology

7.3.1 Main goals of the study and approaches

The choice of methodology is guided by the goals of the researcher. Naturally, a lexicographer, a translator, a foreign language teacher and a theoretical linguist all have different goals. Linguists can also have very different goals and starting points: some aim primarily at giving support to a certain theory (for instance, relevance theory); others primarily want to describe a certain word or construction (such as contrastive topic-focus-constructions), or a certain type of expression (such as conditionals).

As explained in sections 1.2 and 5.7.1, the main goals of the present study of the particle *dak* were to find out the contribution of the word *dak* to an utterance and what the different usage types of *dak* have in common. As mentioned in section 7.1.2, I take a monosemy approach, and search for an core meaning. The structural properties of *dak* are studied, because they determine in part the restrictions on its use. These restrictions are necessary to find in order to determine the unique combination of properties of a word.

7.3.2 Corpus analysis

Like most research on discourse particles, the present study is based on a corpus of spontaneous speech. Wierzbicka refers to Leibniz, who already in 1704 made valuable remarks about the nature of particles and stressed the importance of empirical verification of proposed semantic formulae which are meant to capture the meaning of the particle (Wierzbicka 1986:532). All hypotheses about the characteristics of the word *dak* could be tried out on the corpus, both hypotheses put forward in previous literature and new hypotheses which arose in the course of the analysis.

The starting point of the investigation was heuristic. I accumulated examples, assembled previous hypotheses and formulated new ones, which then were tried out on the corpus, attempting to find supporting examples and counter-examples in the database of *dak*-occurrences.

Unlike most earlier linguists studying the particle *dak*, I aimed at describing all attestations of *dak*, not only a single context type, and not only the most obvious examples.

The present study is based on the data from the dialect of a single village, but relevant descriptions in other literature and good examples from other dialects were also referred to in case the same type had also been attested in Varzuga.

7.3.3 Database description

As described in chapter 3, the data on the particle *dak* have been elicited from recordings of the speech of elderly people from the village of Varzuga (see chapter 3). The Varzuga corpus consists of more than fifty hours of speech. Excerpts of these recordings have been transcribed. A separate database was made of all occurrences of the word *dak* in parts of the transcriptions, together with the most relevant context, leading to a total amount of more than 500 occurrences of *dak*.

The database contains the carrier phrases of *dak* together with the most relevant part of the context and marking of where the excerpt could be found, both its transcription and the sound file. This last information proved to be vital. During the course of my analysis, I often needed to read more of the context or listen more carefully to the recordings. In addition to the occurrences of *dak*, utterances were elicited which did not contain *dak*. These were either utterances with similar words, such as *da* and *tak*, or contexts where *dak* could have been expected to be used, but was not. These data were used for comparative research (see below).

One should keep in mind that non-occurrence of a certain construction in the database does not imply that it is not used in the dialect of Varzuga. The database of 500 occurrences represents only a small part of the recorded utterances containing *dak*. However, I have heard thousands of other occurrences of *dak*, and especially during the third field work expedition I listened carefully to the conditions for its use, and did not detect occurrences in obvious conflict with the proposed analysis of *dak*.

7.3.4 Several points of view: pragmatic, semantic, syntactic and prosodic

As shown in section 7.2.1.3, the meanings and exact functions of discourse particles are very difficult to capture, especially if you want to single out the exact contribution of such a tiny, "meaningless" word in each case. No single framework is available for their description.

The contexts of *dak* were studied from several points of view: their semantic characteristics were studied, the information structure and their prosody, and, when possible, also the restrictions on the use of *dak* in all of these fields. This research from different angles was needed for several reasons. First, the interpretation of Russian dialectal speech requires pragmatic analysis, since so

much of the communicated information has no direct expression (see section 7.1.1). This information is encoded in several linguistic and extra-linguistic means, so a multi-level analysis of text and context is needed in order to find the intended meaning of the utterances containing *dak*.

Second, the invariant meaning of *dak* was found to be definable at an abstract, mental level only, which means that it is reflected in the corpus data in several different ways. Thirdly, arguments from different aspects of the language – semantics, syntax, information structure and prosody – were all used to support (or give negative evidence) for the preliminary hypotheses about the core meaning of *dak* and the restrictions on its use.

7.3.5 Contrastive studies

Several kinds of contrastive studies can be useful. Comparisons with other words with partially overlapping functions can show their similarities and differences, and help to find the limits of their possible use. Comparisons with utterances without *dak* can clarify the contribution of this little word to an utterance. Fedorova suggests this method (see section 6.5.7), but she mentions only a few utterances.

The particle *dak* can be contrasted to constructions in several different language systems. First, it can be compared within the language system, in this case within the dialect of Varzuga. This system-internal study clarifies its distribution and delimitation from other words. A corpus can be used to find "minimal pairs", and compare the uses of *dak* with similar utterances which do not contain a particle and with utterances with resembling particles, like *da* or *tak*. Second, comparisons between several varieties of the same language, such as with the standard language, can be done of the use of a single form, which could reveal differences in distribution. Third, cross-linguistic studies can give you new ideas about possible properties of the word and ways of studying the particle.

All of these kinds of comparative studies were carried out to a limited extent; see e.g. chapter 14.

7.3.6 The inadequacy of classifications along traditional parameters

When the occurrences in some transcribed parts of the Varzuga corpus were put into a database, attempts were made to classify them along the different parameters used in the literature. These were parameters like syntactic type of the connected parts, semantic relations between the parts and position in the sentence. Here, three problems will be discussed in some detail that occurred in connection with the classification along the traditional parameters sentence type and semantic relations. Firstly, this classification proved very difficult, because in

spontaneous dialectal speech there are no clear borders between the different categories, and many utterances can receive multiple interpretations. Secondly, none of these classifications was of great help in uncovering the general characteristics of *dak*. Thirdly, a classification according to syntactic type blurs important similarities between syntactically different types. These arguments will be illustrated below.

The classification according to syntactic type and semantic relations, which are based on theories on written language, proved extremely difficult. The amount of ambivalent, underdetermined cases is enormous, partly because the language is underspecified and thus ambiguous (see section 7.1.1), partly because the categories are difficult to define in Russian. It is one thing to find out many different categories of contexts in which *dak* is used; it is something completely different to put every occurrence into one of these boxes. In order to achieve this, one needs to know not only how the different categories are defined, but also how to recognise them: what is the difference between a main and a subordinate clause, between an elliptic clause and a clause constituent, between final and non-final intonation, and between a conditional and a temporal relationship?

As mentioned in section 7.1.1 above, less than 50% of Russian spontaneous utterances consist of full clauses. Most utterances are elliptic, and a large part consists of interjections, like *Ну*, *вот*, *ой* and so forth. Furthermore, spontaneous dialectal speech is typically non-specific (see section 7.1.1): many utterances and syntagms are ambivalent as regards parameters like semantic type of connection and syntactic type. For instance, they cannot always be identified as a main clause or a subordinate clause, as a clause constituent or an elliptical clause; cf. *RRR* 1981:227ff.

However, most classifications of the usage types of *dak* are made from the point of view of standard written language, which is far more specific than spontaneous dialectal speech, although even in standard written Russian, distinctions between categories like main clause and subordinate clause or between a causal or a temporal relationship are not clear-cut.

In the Varzuga corpus, the syntactic function of the units as a single clause constituent, a subordinate clause or a main clause is only rarely expressed by lexico-grammatical means. In Russian, this information is often underspecified: the syntactic difference between subordinate and main clauses need not be expressed grammatically, unlike in, for instance, German and Dutch, where this is always expressed by a difference in word order. Furthermore, Russian allows for a high degree of what is often called *pro-drop*: most clause constituents can be elided without resulting in an ungrammatical utterance. In spontaneous, colloquial speech, much presupposed and activated information can therefore be

left out, and this is practiced to a great extent. The information about the function of a chunk of speech as main or subordinate is partly expressed by other means, not in the least by prosodic means, but not unequivocally: a certain intonation pattern or boundary marking is not used exclusively for one syntactic type. As a result, many cases remain ambiguous. The semantic relationship is often unspecified as well (cf. *RRR* 1981:234f). Below are some examples from the database which are not suited for a classification along syntactic type or semantic relation. The expressions referred to are underlined. Take the following fragment:

(11) А во́т, та́м ... м'и́мо вы шл'и́ *дак*, о́кна заб'и́ты, э́тот П'о́тр Прокóп'јев'ич' бу́д'от р'емонт'и́роват' да, говор'и́л эт-..., муз'е́j бу́д'от та́м. (S1)

prt prt, there ... by you.pl went *dak*, windows boarded, that.Msg Petr Prokop'evič will restore *prt*, said *prt* ... museum will-be there

'Well, so there ... you went by *dak*, (where) the windows are boarded, this is the building Petr Prokop'evič is going to restore, he said there's going to be a museum there.'

Is the underlined part a subordinate clause or a main clause? And, if it functions like a main clause, then what kind of relation is meant between the subordinate clause and the main clause? Different translations are possible to English, such as the following:

(11a) Well, over there, where you went by, ... (a spatial relation)
(11b) Well, over there, when you went by, ... (a temporal relation)
(11c) Well, over there, you went by that place, ... (an assertion)

The prosody does not help to choose between the possible interpretations. The last word of this predicative unit, the finite verb form *шл'и*, has a high pitch level, which is followed by a non-low level pitch on the following word, *dak*. This type of intonation is most typically used to signal non-finality (cf. Odé 1989 on Standard Russian and chapter 12), but which does not differentiate between subordinate or main clauses. The next syntagm is not more specific:

(12) А во́т, та́м м'и́мо вы шл'и́ *дак*, о́кна заб'и́ты, э́тот П'о́тр Прокóп'јев'ич' бу́д'от р'емонт'и́роват' да, говор'и́л эт-..., муз'е́j бу́д'от та́м. (S1)

This unit only says 'windows (are) boarded', which could imply either 'where the windows are boarded', which is an indication of the location, but also 'the windows are boarded', which is an assertion. Which of the two interpretations is

meant, must be derived from the linguistic and non-linguistc context. It is not expressed in the utterance itself, and a more specific meaning might not even have been intended.

In example 13, the speaker might mean 'Outside it is cold [the temperature was below minus 20° C at the moment of the interview], so my cat goes out rarely', but she might also have intended 'When it is cold, my cat goes out rarely':

(13) На пе́ч'к'и-то жа́рко *дак* о́н ... бр'а́кн'ет на́ пол. *(— Ага.)* Охлад'и́ц:е. [pause] А на у́л'ице хо́лодно *дак* р'е́тко хо́(д')ит на у́л'иць-тъ. Ojо́. Та́к. (S1)

On oven-*prt* hot *dak* he ... jumps-down-with-smash on floor (Ah.) Cools-down [pause] But on street cold *dak* rarely goes out-on street

This difference between reference to a present fact or to a more general habit of the cat is not expressed. The particle *dak* does not help to choose between the two interpretations either; it only indicates that there is a certain implicational relation between the two events (see chapter 8), but the details – which are not important for the communication – are left unspecified.

Even the difference between a circumstantial expression, functioning as an adverbial, and an expression indicating the subject of the next proposition (or the previous one) is not always expressed:

(14) Да́. Фс'о́-то ста́ро-то jéc', оста́лос' *дак*, у jего́ уш давно́ на-...соб'и́ранъ-то фс'о. (S1)

Yes. Everything-*prt* old-*prt* is, is-left *dak*, with him *prt* since-long gathered-*prt* everything

More or less literally, these utterances convey the meaning 'Yes. There are (=We have) all kinds of old stuff, being left-over, it's a long time since he has gathered all of these things.' The question is what is meant by 'being left-over'. This expression could be interpreted in several ways. Firstly, it could have been meant as a specification of the previous expression ('everything there is'), meaning something like 'what is left, that is'. Its 'equivalent' in Standard Russian would be *то, что осталось*. Secondly, *оста́лос' дак* could be giving the reason for the preceding assertion, something like 'after all, much has been left'. Thirdly, the parenthetical could have a restricting function: 'what has been left, that is (and not what has been thrown away)'. Fourth, *dak* could refer to not only *оста́лос'*, but also to the preceding unit, *Фс'о́-то ста́ро-то jéc'*, and connect this either with the previously activated information that Pëtr Prokop'evič will set up a museum 'after all, we have a lot of old things left' (so it's no problem to fill a museum), or with the following expression: 'as to all the old things we have, which were left,

he collected it all a long time ago'. The next utterance is of the well-known type "B, A *dak*":

(16) «ко мн'е́ н'икого́ ... э́т'их ба́т'ушкоф ... н'е зов'и́т'е. Умру́ *дак*.» (S1)
To me nobody.acc ... these.gen/acc priests.gen/acc ... *neg* call.imper. Will-die.1sg *dak*
'Don't call any of these priests to me. When I have died.'

The A-part consists of only a finite verb form, which literally means 'I'll die'. In English, the status of the expression as a subordinate clause, functioning as a clause constituent, or as a main clause, must be expressed; in Russian colloquial speech, this is not necessary. Therefore, different translations to English are possible, like 'When I'll die' (or 'If I'll die', 'In case I'll die'), or 'I'll die, you know.' The last interpretation is the most frequent for such postposed predicative units in "B, A *dak*"-constructions, but in this case, the first interpretation is the most appropriate, but you need to know the context in order to find out the intended meaning.

In other cases, it is the difference between an elliptical clause and a single clause constituent which is not expressed. In the next utterance, both A and B consist of only a nominal phrase (see section 8.4.1 for more context and explanation):

(17) Холо́дный в'е́т'ер *дак* с'е́в'ер. (S8)
cold wind *dak sever*
'If it is a cold wind then it is *sever*.' / 'A cold wind is called *sever*.'

This is possible because in Russian, in normal cases, no form is used to express the present tense of 'to be'. The examples mentioned will be discussed in more detail in later chapters.

A second reason why the traditional classification system is not suitable for this study is that the differences in syntactic status or semantic context of the linguistic contexts of *dak* are irrelevant to my main question about the general characteristics of *dak*. *Dak* can be combined with many different syntactic and semantic contexts; it does not differentiate them. Although certain contexts are highly improbable for *dak*, a corpus is not a very suitable tool to find these, certainly not a restricted corpus like the *dak*-database from the Varzuga corpus. It is best at giving positive evidence for a certain feature, not for giving negative evidence.

A third argument against the traditional classification system concerns the classification of utterances according to syntactic construction, which blurs

important similarities between syntactically different utterances. The database soon revealed the similarity of use of *dak* in simple and complex sentences, which had not been remarked before. It concerns contexts with a comparative quantifier and use in imperative utterances.

Use of *dak* in a complex sentence containing a comparative quantifier is listed as context number 17 in *AOS*. The examples given in chapter 5 are repeated here:

(18) Так плясал, *дак* люди издивились. (*AOS*)
(19) (...) И́х ма́зал'и. А пото́м уже́ до то́го мы их зама́зал'и *дак* уже́ порошо́к-то н'ь ста́ло заб'ира́т', *дак* мы́ пото́м са́жој нач'е́рн'и́л'и. (S3)

The literature mentions only quantifiers in "A *dak* B"-constructions, but the corpus revealed similar use in "A *dak*"-constructions. *AOS* contains several examples as well, but they are explained differently, like (20) (from section 9.3.1). The following examples are so much alike that they suggest great similarity in meaning:

(20) На у́л'иц'и-тъ така́ л'апа́нда^{d} вал'и́т *дак*! (S2)
(21) Ја говор'у́-то а́нд'ел, така́ сн'ежы́на^{d} на у́л'иц'и-то вал'и́т *дак* стра́шно. (S2)

In fact, the study of the database revealed that the use of *dak* after exclamatory or other expressive utterings was in our corpus almost always combined with just such a comparative word, which suggests that these expressive constructions originate from the parallel "A *dak* B"-construction, with the only difference that there is no B. It is however not sure that the so-called B-part in, for instance, (21) really is part of the expression containing *dak*: it might not be in the scope of *dak*; cf. sections 9.2.1 and 12.3.9.4.

Just like in the case of constructions with quantifiers, examples with an imperative form were found both in "A *dak* B" and in "A *dak*"-constructions. There is very little difference between (22) and (23):

(22) — Но ково́, спра́шывај јиш'о́ ч'ево́ на́дъ *дак*. (S2)
(23) — Так ты јеш'о́ ч'е(в)о спра́шывај *дак* ја отв'еч'а́т' бу́ду. (S2)

The only invariant characteristic of the contexts of *dak* I could find was the presence of a certain relation on a mental level (see section 8.2). Some prosodic characteristics were also almost constant, such as the prosodic characteristics of *dak* itself (prosodically subordinated) and the presence of at least one pitch accent

in both A and B (see chapter 12). Due to the inadequacy of the classification on these parameters which are based on written language, the classification used in the present study is mainly based on prosodic characteristics of the constructions in which *dak* is used; see section 8.3.

7.3.7 The questionable validity of native speaker judgements elicited in questionnaires

On the basis of corpus studies alone it is impossible to give evidence for the *absense* of a construction. A corpus rarely contains all possible context types of a word or another feature. In order to establish what the possibilities and restrictions on the use of a word are, some linguists use their own intuitions (see section 7.2.1.3 above), but this is an unreliable method when the linguist is not a native speaker of the language or dialect her/himself. The intuitions of native speakers can be studied through the use of questionnaires with felicitous and infelicitous utterances, preferably given in the form of an interview. They help to find positive and negative evidence, and thus the limits of the use of the feature in question.

Use of questionnaires in order to obtain acceptability judgements would thus be desirable, but it is very uncommon in particle research, due to the large problems attached to their use for the study of such unconscious and multi-functional words as particles.

One of the problems is that *dak* has so many different "functions" that people can use it in a context the researcher is not aware of. They can give an acceptability judgement on different grounds than the linguist supposes.

Discourse particles are usually part of substandard, unprepared speech, and speakers tend to filter them out if they use language more consciously and when they adapt their speech – consciously or unconsciously – towards a more prestigious norm. This might have a negative influence on the acceptability rate.

Furthermore, the use of *dak* is interrelated with prosody, such as boundary marking and intonation, and this part of the language is difficult to take into consideration in a qeustionnaire.

Finally, the particle is used most by people with little formal education, who are not used to questionnaires. They might not understand what they are expected to do. Younger informants, who would be more comfortable with this kind of research, might use the particle differently, but they are even more influenced by normative speech.

In section 6.5.20 an utterance was discussed which was given a number of different interpretations by different dialect speakers. The diverging answers illustrate the difficulties of relying on native speaker judgements, and

demonstrate, for instance, the need to provide contextual and prosodic information.

Despite the problems connected with the use of a questionnaire, a pilot study was carried out. Unfortunately, in the short period available, only a single respondent could be found, who was born in a different village, had attended higher education and was much younger than the speakers we recorded. Moreover, the questions could not be asked in an interview, but had to be answered in written form. In addition, a few native speakers were asked to give their acceptability judgements about certain interrogative utterances which ended in *dak*, but they did not understand the questions. The questionnaire consists of existing utterances together with a variant with a minimal change. For instance, *dak* was added at the end of a question, the position of *dak* in the utterance was changed, or the particle *-to* or *da* was replaced by *dak*. This resulted in a list of minimal pairs. The respondent was asked to answer whether the utterances were acceptable or not, and which of the variants was the most felicitous. The respondent also wrote some comments to his answers (see sections 8.3.3; 11X; 13.8.3; 14.4.4; 14.6). The responses from a single respondent are of limited value, but they suggested a number of avenues for research. Some of the responses will be referred to in later chapters, but their limited value must be emphasised.

7.3.8 The importance of careful listening and good quality sound recordings

The first research on the sound corpus revealed the importance of careful listening and good quality recordings in the study of such a non-prominent particle. In chapter 12 I will argue why prosodic infomation about the context of *dak* is vital for the description of this word. This word cannot be described satisfactorily without access to sound recordings. But there is another reason why the sound quality should be good. In a number of cases, the word *dak* is pronounced so unclearly that little or no difference is heard with similar words like *da*, *tak* and *ak*; see Appendix III. The fact that this language system has words that can be hadrly distinguishable shows that their distinction is not very relevant for successful communication. The differences between these words might even be absent in some contexts, and they would anyhow be very subtle; cf. chapter 14.

7.4 Conclusion

The main points of departure on which the present description of the particle *dak* is based are the indeterminate nature of spontaneous speech in general and of Russian dialectal speech in particular, a monosemy approach to the description of

pragmatic particles and the assumption that prosody makes a crucial contribution to the communication in spontaneous speech. As usual in particle research, a combination of methods was applied. Particle research, theories about information structure and prosodic studies are discussed, the most central fields of linguistics for the research presented here. Section 7.3 described which methodology was used, and why. The description of *dak* is based on a corpus of high-quality recordings of a single dialect. In the course of the investigation, several hypotheses could be tried out on the database which was made of around 500 occurrences of *dak*.The contexts of *dak* were studied from several points of view: their semantic characteristics were studied, the information structure and their prosody, and, if possible, also the restrictions on the use of *dak* in all of these fields. Contrastive studies were carried out in order to find similarities and differences with similar particles and with similar utterances without the particle. The use of native speaker judgements elicited from questionnaires was discussed. This method is desirable, but problematic and requires careful preparation.

The first analyses of the Varzuga corpus led to several important findings. The studies show the importance of careful listening and good quality recordings, since non-prominent words like *dak* can easily be misunderstood, or be mistaken for a similar word, such as *da*, *ak* or *tak*.

The first analyses of the database of *dak*-utterances also show the inadequacy of a classification of the uses of *dak* according to traditionally used parameters like syntactic status of the connected parts and their semantic interrelation. Most existing classifications are made from the point of view of standard written language, in which much more information is expressed unambiguously. The classification along these parameters is not only difficult, it is also of little help to find the common characteristics of the uses of *dak*, since they proved not distinctive. Finally, it blurs important similarities between syntactically different contexts.

This study of *dak* suggests that the constant characteristic of the contexts of *dak* is the existence of a certain type of relation on a mental level, which can be partly unexpressed. This will be explained in the next chapters. The next chapter presents the main findings about the core meaning of *dak*, the structural properties of this particle and its various contexts. It also presents a subclassification of the possible construction types in which it is used. The remaining chapters will provide support for these findings.

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«А магаз'ин был вот гд'е стара-то школа, р'еставр'ируеца–тъ у П'етра–тъ» (ex. 4.29, p. 75 and Text 12), «А вот, там м'имо вы шл'и дак, окна заб'иты (...)» (ex. 7.11/8.22, pp. 222/250). The former merchant's house, shop and school building from 1904, which now is turned into a museum. Pjotr Prokop'evič (to the right) shows the progress on his restauration project to Christian Sappok in September 2004, three years after the interviews. The sagging building has been jacked up and the shop windows have been boarded up. Photo: David Pineda.

8 The core meaning of *dak*: main findings

8.1 Overview

This chapter gives an overview over the main findings of the present study of the properties and core meaning of *dak* in the dialect of Varzuga. The next chapters will give support for these findings from different fields of linguistics: with semantic arguments (chapter 9), arguments from information structure (chapter 10), arguments from syntax (chapter 11) and arguments based on prosodic characteristics of *dak* itself and of its linguistic context (chapter 12). Chapter 13 explains why *dak* usually fits very well into the definition of a pragmatic particle. There I will discuss the semantic, syntactic and prosodic characteristics of the word *dak* itself. Chapter 14 shows that *dak* shares features with other particles, but that its core meaning is different.

The main findings are the result of a search for the invariant characteristics of the various uses of *dak*. The results are thus meant to be valid for at least the overwhelming majority of uses of *dak* in the dialect of Varzuga. They appear also to be valid for the other Russian dialects with postpositive *dak*.

Section 8.2 gives the main findings about the structural properties of *dak* in Varzuga and about the core meaning of this word. Section 8.2.5 shows how this core meaning is encoded linguistically. Section 8.3 gives a subclassification of the constructions in which *dak* is used, which is mainly based on the prosodic characteristics of the context of *dak*. Section 8.4 gives some clear examples and an illustrative example text with a high frequency of *dak*. Finally, section 8.5 explains how these results will be supported in the following chapters.

8.2 Main findings

8.2.1 Pragmatic particle

Dak is a pragmatic particle in most, if not all, of its uses. This means that:

- *Dak* is prosodically subordinated;
- The use of *dak* is optional from the point of view of sentential syntax and truth-conditional semantics. It is not part of the core grammar of the sentence and it does not give a contribution to the truth-conditional content of utterances;
- *Dak* has a function at discourse level: like all pragmatic particles, *dak* connects an expression to its linguistic and/or non-linguistic context. Its core meaning is not modal, like most pragmatic particles in, for instance, German, but informational. It does not give information about the speaker's attitude towards the utterances, but instructs the hearer how the expression it is

attached to relates to other information units, which are, or will be, activated during the conversation. In relevance theoretical terminology, *dak* is a procedural rather than a conceptual marker.

This claim will be discussed in detail in chapter 13.

8.2.2 Unique prosody and syntax

Furthermore, postpositive *dak* is syntactically and prosodically different from any word in Standard Russian (and in other than Northern Russian dialects; see chapter 11 and 13).

8.2.3 *Dak* is used on boundaries

Dak is almost always used on a prosodic boundary, and it can be used both proclitically and enclitically. The units it is attached to seem always to be larger prosodic, syntactic and communicative entities (see chapter 11 on syntax and 12 on prosody).

8.2.4 The core meaning of *dak*

The present research suggests that *dak* has a core meaning, which is shared by at least the overwhelming majority of uses. Popov (Попов 1957) and Šujskaja (Шуйская 2002; see chapter 6) have pointed out that *dak* (and *da*) can connect two units even in utterances where only one of them is expressed. According to my analysis, this is the case not only in some, but of in all uses of *dak*.

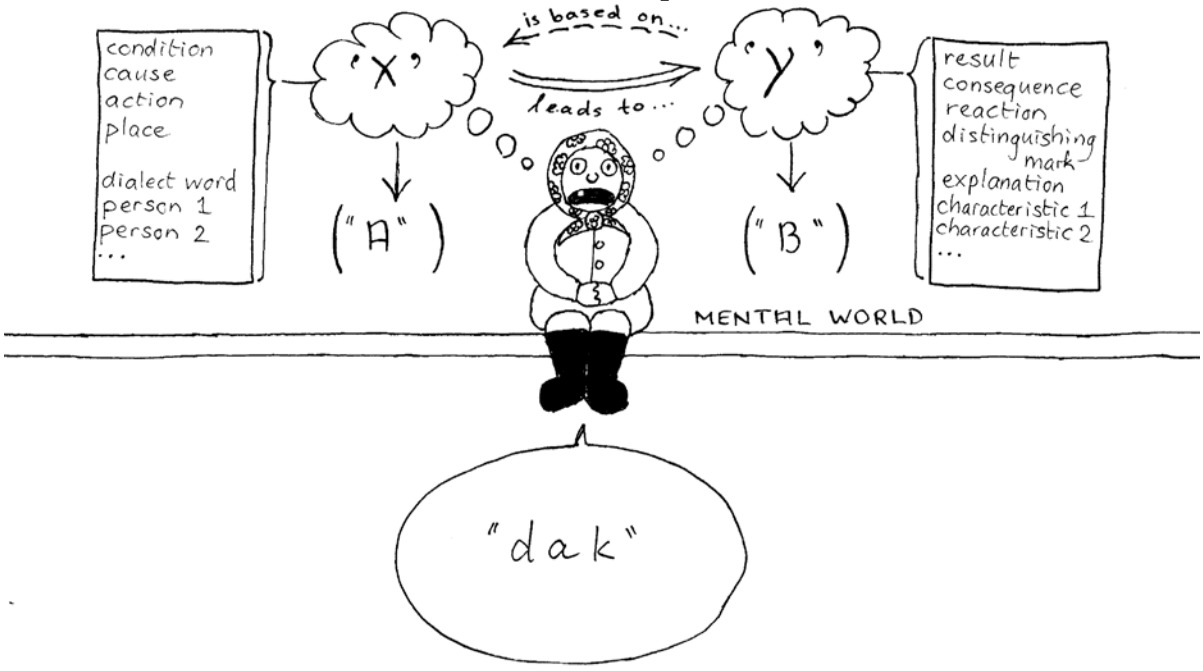
I. y is based on x

The particle *dak* seems always to signal an asymmetric relationship between two information units, independent of the context in which it is used: it connects a thought with information on which this thought is based. The thought will be called y; the information on which it is based, will be called x. From the opposite point of view, one can say that x leads to y in the mind of the speaker.

The thought y can be a proposition with a truth value, but also a wish or an emotion. The thought can be expressed as a speech act, such as a statement, a question or a request, but it need not have a linguistic expression. The information x, on which this thought y is based can, for instance, be a relevant circumstance, a condition or a cause which led to this thought, or a person or object the thought accounts for. x and y are units on a mental level: in many cases, only one of them has a linguistic representation.

Dak connects, for instance, a condition with a result, a cause with a consequence, an action with a reaction, a place with a distinguishing mark of this place,

a dialect word with its explanation, or a person with a characteristic of this person, which can be contrasted with a different person with a different characteristic.



Picture 8.1. Dak connects two mental units

II. x is prior to y

The thought y is presented as being based on x, so x is prior to y in a logical, argumentational or cognitive sense. x does not have to be expressed before y, or precede y in time if it is the expression of an event.

III. Set membership

The two information units are very often directly or indirectly contrasted to alternatives, implying that the choice of an alternative to x would, or at least could, have lead to a different "outcome" y. In other words, x and y are typically members of a set of alternatives.

Explanation and examples will be given in section 8.4 below, in chapter 9 and in the next chapters, where I will argue that this description of the core meaning of *dak* accounts for all occurrences of this particle, or at least for the overwhelming majority of them.

8.2.5 Linguistic encoding of the units connected by *dak*

As mentioned, x and y are units on a mental level: in many cases, only one of them has a direct or indirect linguistic representation. For one reason or another, the speaker did not feel the need to express both units at the moment when she signalled the relation between them by using the word *dak*. The other part is

either already activated, and need not be repeated, or its content is obvious, or the speaker does not want to specify its content, and wishes only to indicate the existence of this type of relation.

If *dak* connects units on a mental level, then how does a hearer know which information unit is connected by *dak* to which other information? How does the speaker indicate what is connected with what, and how does the hearer find x and y?

I. Fixed position of *dak*

In almost all cases, at least one of the elements x and y is represented in a linguistic expression which *dak* is prosodically attached to, and *dak* takes a fixed position in relation to the elements it connects. This will be explained below.

II. Enclitic and proclitic *dak*: attached to representation of x, y or both

As previously mentioned, *dak* is always prosodically subordinated, and it is attached either to the left-hand linguistic context (enclitic *dak*) or to the context to the right (proclitic *dak*), or it is attached to both sides. The possibilities are thus as follows (underscore symbolises prosodic attachment; IU = intonation unit; see section 7.2.3.3 for an explanation of the prosodic terminology and section 12.2 for a discussion):

IU_*dak*
or *dak*_IU

Dak can also be attached to both sides: IU_*dak*_IU.

III. A and B

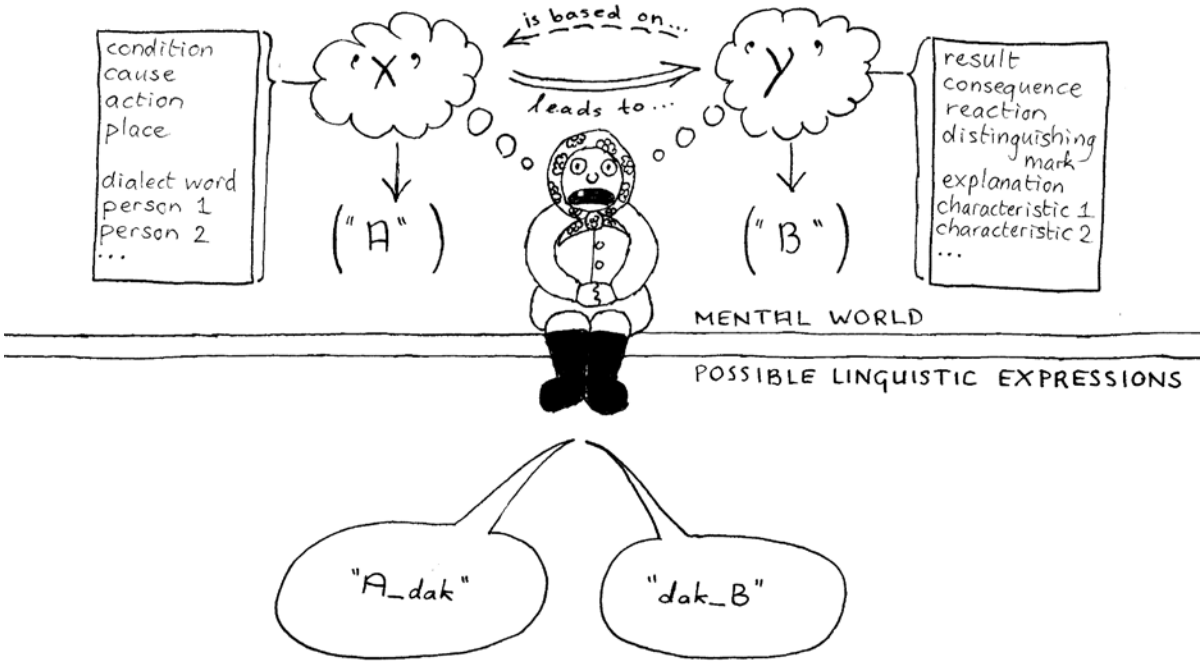
The preceding unit which enclitic *dak* is attached to almost always corresponds to the expression of x. This unit will be called A. The unit following after proclitic *dak* almost invariably expresses y. This unit will be called B.[1] This gives the following possibilities:[2]

1) enclitic *dak*: "A_*dak*"
2) proclitic *dak*: "*dak*_B"

[1] I use the symbols x and y and A and B to avoid associations with existing theories. For instance, p and q remind too much of propositional logic, with for instance necessary conditionality, like "iff p, then q". The symbols x and y and A and B are more theory-neutral.

[2] In a few cases, *dak* is not prosodically attached, but preceded and followed by silences. In those cases, the silence following *dak* is a hesitation, signalling that the speaker intends to express y, so this could be regarded as a variant of prepositive *dak*; see section 8.3.1, group 12 below.

If *dak* is attached to both sides, the construction is "A_*dak*_B".



Picture 8.2. Dak is attached to A and/or to B, i.e. to the linguistic representation of at least one of the units x and y which it connects

Summarising, enclitic *dak* signals that the preceding linguistic expression, A, contains information, x, on which a certain thought is based, y, which might or might not be expressed explicitly (in B, or elsewhere). Proclitic *dak* signals that the following information – y, expressed in B – does not come "out of the blue", but that it builds on some prior knowledge x, which can have been expressed in the preceding syntagm or utterance A.

IV. Finding the other part of the dyad

Apart from in the case of "A_*dak*_B", the other part of the dyad x – y has to be recovered by pragmatic analysis, that is, through interpretation of the linguistic and extra-linguistic information in the context. The second part can lack a linguistic expression – it can be no more than presupposed or implied. This is the case in utterances of the form "A_*dak*" and "*Dak*_B". Even those units which do have a linguistic expression are often represented only partially, due to the tendency to underdeterminacy in Russian spontaneous speech. But in many cases, the second unit is also expressed in the near linguistic context of *dak*, either before the expression of the other unit, or after it. These units will also be called A or B. A is thus defined as a larger intonation unit (*prosodic syntagm* or

utterance[3]) immediately preceding *dak* which represents x; B is a larger intonation unit adjacent to A or to *dak* which represents y. This gives room for constructions like "A_*dak* | B", "B | A_*dak*", etc., in which the sign | represents a prosodic boundary, consisting of a change of pitch accent, combined with a filled or unfilled pause and/or a change in speed. A subdivision, which is mainly based on the degree of prosodic attachment of *dak* to the elements it connects leads to 12 different groups; see below.

V. Larger units

As mentioned above, A and B are almost always larger intonation units, which carry one or more pitch accents, that is, A and B have the form of prosodic syntagms or utterances. This means that *dak* is almost exclusively found on the boundaries of such larger intonation units, which represent larger syntactic, semantic and communicative units. A possible explanation is that A and B represent two different thoughts and thus two separate cognitive tasks, which are presented as such (see section 10.3.3 and 12.3.6).

8.3 Subclassification

8.3.1 Twelve construction types

The uses of *dak* can be classified along many different parameters (see chapter 5 and 6). The subclassification given below is based on a combination of prosodic and semantic characteristics of the expressions which are connected by *dak*.

Not all of the constructions in which this subclassification resulted are commonly used; only the constructions written in **bold face** in table 8.1 (and in larger balloons in picture 8.3 below) are regularly attested. Some of the groups are theoretically possible, but rare in practice, for various reasons (see below).

The uses of *dak* are first of all classified according to prosodic attachment of *dak*: in groups 1 through 7, *dak* is enclitic, while *dak* is proclitic in the groups 7 through 11. In 12, *dak* is neither enclitic nor proclitic (column 1). Enclitic and proclitic *dak* can be further subclassified according to the existence or non-existence of the expressions of x and y in adjacent intonation units – i.e. of both A and B or only one of them, and according to the order of A and B (column 2). The third column shows a further classification according to the relative strength of the boundary between A and B. These factors combined result in a classification of the uses of *dak* into 12 different constructions (column 4):

[3] See section 7.2.3.3 for an explanation of the terminology. *Dak* is often part of the same prosodic syntagm and utterance as the expression of x or y, which are defined as surrounded by major prosodic boundaries (see section 7.2.3.3 and section 12.2.5), so, strictly speaking, A and B are in those cases prosodic syntagms minus the syllable *dak*.

	prosodic attach-ment[1]	*order of A and B*	*boundary between A and B*[2]	*sum*[3]
1	A_dak	only A	-	**A_dak**
2	A_dak	[B – A]	strong	**B. A_dak**
3	A_dak	[B – A]	medium	**B, A_dak**
4	A_dak	[B – A]	no boundary	B_A_dak
5	A_dak	[A – B]	strong	A_dak. B
6	A_dak	[A – B]	medium	**A_dak, B**
7	A_dak + dak_B	[A – B]	weak	**A_dak_B**
8	dak_B	[A – B]	medium	A, dak_B
9	dak_B	[A – B]	strong	A. Dak_B
10	dak_B	[B – A]	strong	Dak_B. A
11	dak_B	only B	-	**Dak_B**
12	-	(A – B)	-	... dak ...; Dak ...

Figure 8.1. Subclassification of the constructions in which dak *is used*

1) A = larger intonation unit (prosodic syntagm or utterance) immediately preceding *dak* which represents x

B = larger intonation unit adjacent to A or to *dak* which represents y

underscore: prosodic attachment, i.e. no period of silence. In addition, *dak* is prosodically subordinated to either A or B, or to both, because it lacks stress and accent.

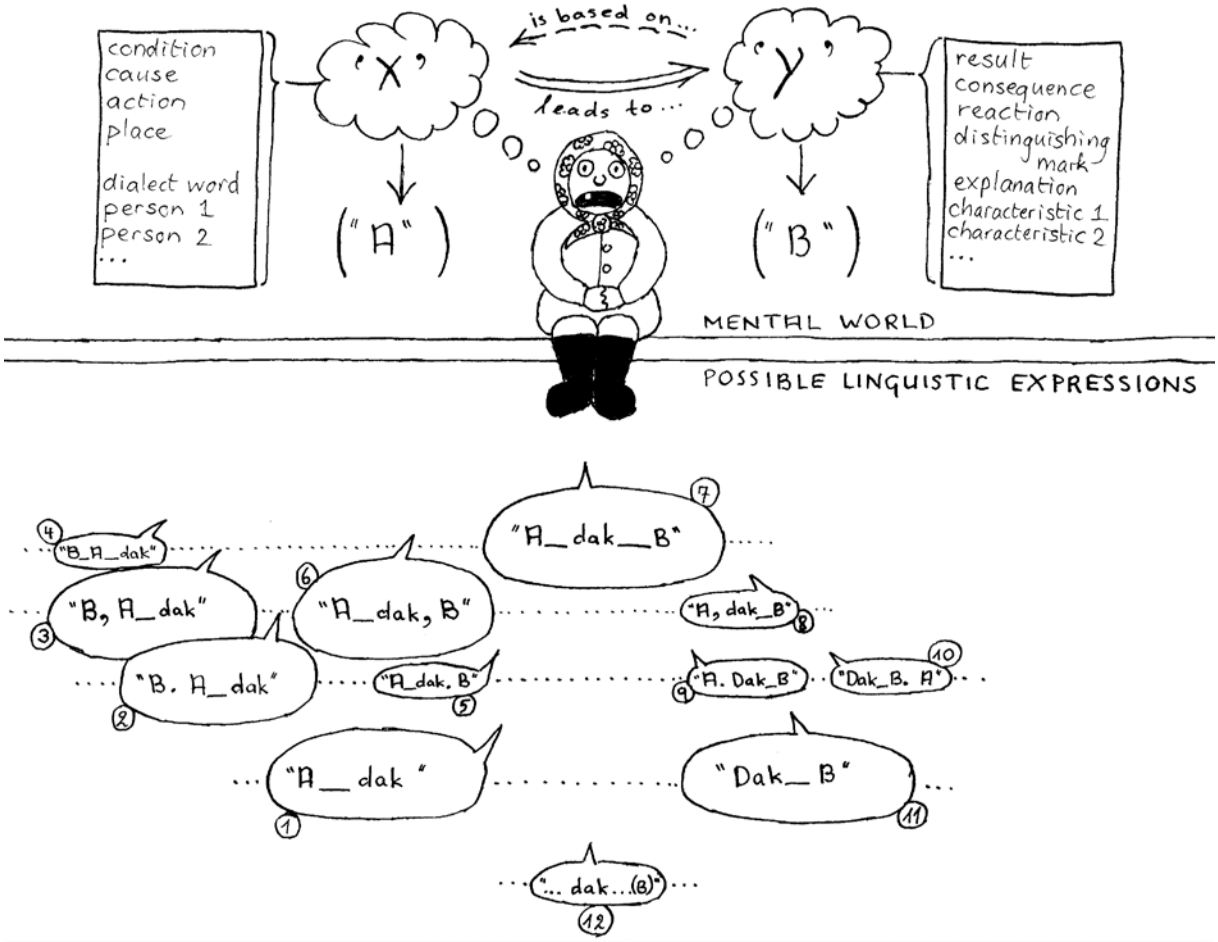
2) boundary between A and B: weak = no pause, but usually turning point or other boundary between two pitch accents; medium = short pause; non-final; strong = pause; final. No boundary means absence of any markings of a boundary, i.e. no pause or transition between pitch accents.

3) bold face = regularly attested (remaining groups are rare)

full stop or comma: prosodic boundary which is not due to hesitation, i.e. a perceived boundary on a syntactic boundary, consisting of a (perceived) pause and possibly combined with a turning point between pitch accent carrying units, reset and/or final lengthening. The choice between full stop and comma is guided by syntax and semantics (finality vs. non-finality)

Three dots (...): hesitation. *Dak* between silences (group 12) is in practice "*Dak* ... B", i.e. cases where the preceding silence is not due to hesitation, or "A ... *dak* ... B", unless the speaker does not finish what she intends to say. The order of A and B is in these cases of hesitation always [A – B], if both are expressed.

The lower part of the picture 8.3 gives the possible constructions in which *dak* is used, that is, the realisations of the relation between x and y which is signalled by *dak*.



Picture 8.3. The connections marked by dak and their possible linguistic expressions

MENTAL WORLD

x and y: mental units connected by *dak*

x = an information unit in the mental world which is part of the knowledge on which y is based in the mind of the speaker, for instance a condition, cause, action etc.

y = an information unit in the mental world – a thought, proposition, wish, etc. – which is based on x in the mind of the speaker, for instance a result, consequence, reaction etc.

POSSIBLE LINGUISTIC EXPRESSIONS

large balloon = frequent construction

small balloon = rare construction

A and B: linguistic representations of x and y

A = larger intonation unit immediately preceding *dak* which represents x

B = larger intonation unit adjacent to A or to *dak* which represents y

underscore: prosodic attachment (i.e. no silence and no stress or accent on *dak*)

full stop; comma; three dots: see explanations under point 3) in table 8.1 above

vertical axe: Each level downwards represents a decreased degree of connection between *dak*, A and B, i.e. between the representations of x and y.

8.3.2 About the boundary strength between A and B

A and B are (almost) always separate prosodic syntagms, with different pitch accents, so there is an intonational boundary between them. The strength of this boundary may vary:

- There may be only an intonational boundary between two different prosodic syntagms, that is, a change from one pitch accent to another, which can be marked by a non-prominence lending turning point;
- In addition, there can be a reset and/or a short pause (usually after non-final constructions) or longer pause (usually after final expressions);
- The type of pitch accent may vary between a type mostly used for finality or one which is typical for non-finality.

The central construction containing *dak*, which gives the most clearly expressed case of connection by *dak*, is construction number 7, "A_*dak*_B", where *dak* is attached to both A and B. Going downwards in the lower part of picture 8.3, the strength of the connection between the parts gradually decreases, the extremes being 1. "A_*dak*" and 11. "*Dak*_B", where only one of the parts is expressed (at least in the neighbourhood of *dak*). In 4, 7, 3, 6 and 8, A and B are expressed in a single utterance, so they are presented as a single intonational and informational unit. The groups 6 and 8 are only slightly different from 7, since both have a non-final A as well. The only difference is the existence of a pause either before or after *dak*. The difference between 6 and 8 is that in 6, the topical, subordinate status of A as expressing a condition of some proposition is immediately signalled when A is pronounced, whereas in 8 this is signalled only after a pause, in the beginning of the pronunciation of the expression of the "consequence" of A.

The remaining groups 2, 5, 9 and 10 are intermediate groups. In these constructions, A and B are expressed immediately after each other, but not as a single unit. This means that the fact that they are both in the scope of *dak* is not signalled by prosody.

8.3.3 Examples of the 12 groups

All examples in this chapter have been provided with translations and glosses.

1. "A_*dak*" (no B)

In the groups 1 and 11 one of the parts is not expressed, or only at some distance:

(1) — Но ковó, спрáшывај јиш'ó ч'евó нáдъ *дак*. (S2)

But whom, ask.imper in-addition what.gen necessary *dak*.

'Jusk ask me anything more you need to know.'

2. "B. A_*dak*"

The difference between 2 ("B. A_*dak*") and 3 ("B, A_*dak*") is gradual. In both cases the B-part is autosemantic, since it does not express a necessary argument of the preceding clause in A:

(2) С'ич'а́с на мото́рках је́зд'ат. У мно́г'их мото́рк'и *дак*. (S5)

Now on motor-boats go.3pl With many.gen.pl motor-boats *dak*.

'Nowadays they travel on motor boats. Many of them have motor boats.'

3. "B, A_*dak*"

In the constructions 3 and 4, A and B are expressed in the same utterance. Construction 3 is frequent:

(3) Да уш ф п'и́ц'и-то н'иц'е(г)о́ н'е в'и́жу, т'е́м'ен' стра́шнъ та́м *дак*. (ф пици = в печи) (S1)

prt prt in oven-*prt* nothing *neg* see.1sg, darkness terrible there *dak*

'I can't see anything in the oven, it's terribly dark in there.'

4. "B_A_*dak*"

Construction 4 is a special case, the only case when there is no prosodically expressed boundary between A and B. The Varzuga *dak*-database contains only a handful of occurrences:

(4) А ты там н'е пла́кала оста́лас' от ма́мы *дак*? (S1)

But you there *neg* cried.F were-left.F from mummy *dak*

'Didn't you cry when you were without your mummy?'

5. "A_*dak*. B"

The database does not contain clear examples of construction 5, "A_*dak*. B" and only a few of 9, "A. *Dak*_B". Two variants of this example in my questionnaire met with disapproval from the respondent, who proposed alernatives:

(5a) Не пивала *дак*. Не знаю. (constr. 5, better: Не знаю. Не пивала *дак*.)

(5b) Не пивала. *Дак* не знаю. (constr. 9; better: *Дак* не знаю. Не пивала.)

Neg drank.F *dak neg* know.1sg

'I've never drunk it. So I don't know.'

The unlikeliness of the constructions 5 and 9 appears to have a cognitive explanation. If "A_*dak*." has an intonation which suggests finality. This means

that y is presented as being recoverable for the hearer. Then it is unlikely that it is expressed afterwards. See also the comments to constructions 9 and 10 below. More variants of this example are discussed in section 13.8.3.

6. "A_*dak*, B"

6. "A_*dak*, B", with a non-final A, but a pause between "A_*dak*" and B is a very frequent group:

(6) Jéсл'и на рабóту на их н'е појéхал'и *дак*, фс'о равнó нáдо ... накорм'и́т'. (S1)
if to work on them *neg* go.3pl *dak*, nevertheless necessary feed
'Even if they didn't go to work with them [reindeer], they had to feed them anyway.'

7. "A_*dak*_B"

This group is equally frequent:

(7) — Так ты јеш'ó ч'е(в)о спрáшывај *дак* јá отв'еч'áт' бýду. (S2)
prt you in-addition something ask.imper. *dak* I answer will
'Just ask something more, and I will answer.'

(8) Холóдныј в'ét'ер *дак* с'éв'ер.
cold wind *dak seve*
'If it is a cold wind then it is *sever*.'

8. "A, *dak*_B"

Type 8, "A, *dak*_B" is rare (see section 12.3.4 and 13.5):

(9) И́х мáзал'и. А потóм ужé до тóгó мы их замáзал'и дак ужé порошóк-то н'ь стáло заб'ирáт', *дак* мы потóм сáжој нач'éрн'ил'и. (S3)
Them smeared.pl. And afterwards already to this we them smeared *dak* already powder-*prt* *neg* became.N, *dak* we afterwards soot.instr blackened
'We smeared them. But later on we (had) smeared them so much that we couldn't get hand on this (tooth) powder anymore, so then we blackened them with soot.'

9. "A. *Dak*_B"

Example (9) is a possible example of type 9:

(10) (...), пошлá к Л'икон'и́ды, ји́с' [= есть] э́т'их, п'еч'óнок. *Дак* тáм пос'ид'éла да вот скóл'ко вр'éм'ен'и вот тáк рýк'и тр'есýц':е! (S3)
Went.F to Likonida, eat.inf these, livers.gen *dak* there sat.F and *prt* how-much time *prt* so hands shake

'I went to Likonida, to eat these livers. Well, so I sat there, and for all that time my hands have been shaking like this!'

It is not clear whether this example should be regarded as construction 9, "A. *Dak*_B." or as 11, "*Dak*_B", i.e. as an expression of proclitic *dak* where A is not expressed in the preceding utterance by the same speaker. One can never be certain that the preceding utterance is really the expression of the condition x, or whether x was implied by something else in the linguistic or extra-linguistic context; cf. the discussion of this example in section 9.3.2.

10. "*Dak*_B. A."

Type 10 is a theoretical possibility, of which no examples were attested. There is no reason to exclude the possibility of the construction 10. "*Dak*_B. A", but this is, like type 5 and 9, less likely to occur. The data suggest that proclitic *dak* is used to signal that the following assertion is based on knowledge which is presented to be accessible to the hearer. If this analysis is correct, then this construction would only be used if x was presupposed, but nevertheless repeated again by the speaker.

11. "*Dak*_B" (no A)

Only B is expressed in the context of *dak*. This group includes turn-initial *dak*:

(11) — *Дак* вот та́к, но йиш'о́ што́ т'ьб'е на́до-то? (after a pause; S2)
prt prt so, but in-addition something you.dat. necessary?
'Well, do you need anything more?'

Another subgroup is use after a pause, introducing a conclusion of the present topic of the conversation, or a return to a temporarily abandoned topic (see section 9.3.2):

(12) Во́т. *Дак* вот о́н ч'ево́-то про Jежо́ва-то сказа́л, за так'и́ слова́ jего́ ув'езл'и́ н-... в Магада́н. (S3)
prt dak prt he something about Ježov-*prt* said, for such words him took-away.pl. to Magadan
'Well, so he said something about Ježov, for these words he was sent to Magadan.'

12. "... *dak* ...." and "*Dak* ..." (12)

Construction 12 is rare. *Dak* cannot serve as an independent speech act, so use of *dak* between periods of silence is interpreted as non-final. It is in practice "*Dak* ...

B" or "(A) ... *dak* ... B", unless the speaker does not finish what she intends to say. The order of A and B is, if both are expressed, always A – B:

(13) та́к-то л'о́т ... *дак* ... н'е бу́д'еш полоска́т' а ... је́д'ьт ... л'о́т-то ... уб'ер'о́ш дак по́то́м там вода́-то дак ə-... та́м поло́шч'иш. (S1)

So-*prt* ice ... *dak* ... *neg* will.2sg rinse and ... goes.2sg ... ice-*prt* ... take-away.2sg *dak* afterwards there water-*prt dak* eh ... there rinse.2sg

'So, when there is ice, then you can't rinse, but when it is moving, the ice, you take it away, so then you have water, so eh then you can rinse over there.'

(14) — *А это и олень и оленуха, лопанка?*
— *Дак* ... ма́л'ен'к'и(j), да́:. (S8)

Dak ... small, yes.

'Yes, the small one, yes.'

8.3.4 The relevance of the parameters used in the subclassification

8.3.4.1 Prosody gives a better cue to identify x and y than syntax or semantics

The present classification of the uses of *dak* is mainly based on prosodic characteristics, because prosody gives strong indications about where to find at least one of the two elements which are connected by *dak*. The most stable characteristic of the *linguistic expressions* in which *dak* is used is connected with prosody: there is a strong correlation between prosodic attachment and the expression of x and y. As mentioned before, in the overwhelming majority of cases, enclitic *dak* follows after A, i.e. the expression of the x, and proclitic *dak* introduces B, i.e. the expression of y. Usually, these expressions correspond to larger intonation units (IUs). So, in most cases, IU_*dak* corresponds to "A_*dak*", *dak*_IU to "*dak*_B", and IU_*dak*_IU to "A_*dak*_B".

Prosodic attachment of *dak* is more basic than the question if *dak* connects two adjacent linguistic expressions or not. Enclitic *dak* only marks that the preceding unit functions as a reference point to some thought or proposition, not that it connects the preceding unit to the preceding or following syntagm. Enclitic *dak* does not indicate what proposition this is, not if it is expressed, and if so, where it could be found; see the explanation of (9.90) in section 9.4.3.

8.3.4.2 The role of prosody in the classification is restricted

The classification is mainly based on prosodic characteristics, but not purely; a certain degree of interpretation of the meaning of the prosodic units is involved. A classification purely based on prosody would be different:

- The intonation units would have been called prosodic syntagm or utterance, and not A and B. The division into A and B reflects a difference in content of what is expressed between the two units, and the fixed position of *dak* in relation to them. Sometimes, however, *dak* is attached to a unit which does not represent A or B (see section 12.3.9);
- A prosodic classification would not use punctuation marks, but labels which denote relative pause length, presence or absence of a reset and types of pitch accents, or, even more phonetically, notations of pitch levels. Punctuation marks reflect an interpretation on the basis of other information besides prosody (see section 3.6);
- The classification covers not only units which *dak* is attached to, but also other units in the direct context of *dak* which are in the scope of *dak*. A's and B's which are not directly attached cannot be identified on the basis of prosody only; they can only be found by pragmatic interpretation. This accounts as well for some of the boundaries of the units (other than the boundaries with *dak*). In rare cases, *dak* is attached to units which are not in the scope of *dak*, but for some reason or another, there was no pause between *dak* and this unit. These cases have been left out, because they would not be classified as A or B, which express x and y by definition.
- Finally, the choice between weak, medium and strong boundary strength – grossly corresponding to finality/non-finality – is only partly expressed by prosodic means: there are no pitch accents which always imply finality or non-finality, and the length of pauses does not always correspond to the informational depth of the boundary. My classification thus requires a certain degree of pragmatic interpretation.

8.3.4.3 What is the relevance of the distinction between enclitic and proclitic *dak*?

Enclitic and proclitic *dak* have essentially the same meaning, as they provoke the same type of connection. In many cases of the sequence "A *dak* B", *dak* is prosodically attached to both sides, and thus both enclitic and proclitic (in my phonetic definition of clitics; see section 7.2.3.3 and 12.3.3).

The difference can be relevant for the interpretation of the utterance as a whole: "A, *dak* B" is not equivalent to "A *dak*, B". Even if both variants contain the same propositional content, they do not convey exactly the same message. In the case of "A *dak*, B", A is immediately presented as representing information on which a certain thought is based. This is not the case in "A, *dak* B"; see explanation in section 12.3.4.

If *dak* is used between two intonation units, *dak* can be used to mark a connection between these two units, but not necessarily, in case *dak* is attached to only one side. In a sequence of the type "IU, IU_*dak* IU", with enclitic *dak*, the position of the part B – if it is expressed at all – can be both before or after A. In the case of proclitic *dak* – "IU, IU, *dak*_IU" – the possibilities are different:

IU, IU_*dak*, IU	IU, IU, *dak*_IU
⇓	⇓
IU, A *dak*, B	IU, A, *dak* B
B, A *dak*	
IU, A *dak*, IU	IU, IU, *dak* B

This difference in the position of pauses and the use of enclitic vs. proclitic *dak* is not expressed by *dak* itself, but by prosody. Hence the difference is not important for the description of the core meaning of *dak*, but for the correct interpretation of the utterances in which *dak* is used.

8.3.4.4 What is the relevance of the boundary strength?

The boundary strength between A and B does not change the propositional content of an utterance, but it reflects differences in information structure. Absence of a change in prosodic syntagm or even pitch accent marks prosodic and informational subordination, for example that the unit is given. A pause reflects informational separation. Finality marks that the unit is autosemantic. In some rare cases, enclitic *dak* itself signals non-finality, for instance in the previously discussed example (14), where enclitic *dak* has non-low pitch, thus signalling that the speaker intends to say more (see sections 12.3.3 and 12.3.4).

8.3.4.5 About the difference between a final and a non-final boundary between A and B

The difference is such that if the boundary is final, no continuation is announced (prosodically and/or semantically or syntactically); a non-final boundary suggests the utterance is not complete. This distinction cannot be expressed by prosody alone, since exclusively final and exclusively non-final intonation do not exist: the same pitch movement can be used both to express final and non-final expressions, depending on the context. So the distinction between final or non-final intonation is based on a combination of phonetic cues and the interpretation of

the content of the expressions. Sometimes it is difficult to decide between finality or non-finality, such as in the following example:

(15) — *Сколько вам было лет когда вы танцевали и пели?*
— Но́:, дак, а эт-... ə- ...
— *В каком возрасте?*
— Во́зраст'и дак, вот и войну́:, и ... мы́-то .... Тогда́ ише гармон'и́сты-то бы́л'и *дак*. Танцева́л'и. (S2)
Yes, *dak*, but *prt* eh ...
Age.loc *dak*, *prt prt* war.acc, and ... we-*prt* ... Then still harmonica-players-*prt* were *dak*. Danced.pl
'What age were you when you danced and sang?'
'Yes, well, and eh ...'
'What age?'
'My age, well, it was during the war, and we eh ... At that time they still had harmonica players. We danced.'

There is a rise on *бы́л'и*, which could indicate both non-finality and a contrastive, expressive accent. The construction "A^{Hl} *dak* B^{Hh}" is quite common in complex sentences (see section 12.2.6), but the second expression could also be informationally independent from the first one. *Dak* is followed by a pause, which weakens the ties with the following expression, but does not exclude the possibility that the semantic relation intended is tight.

8.4 Some examples and an illustrative example text

Before going over to a systematic explanation of supportive arguments from syntax, semantics, prosody and comparisons with other particles, I will illustrate my analysis of the core meaning of *dak* and the used methodology to analyse its use with some examples and a typical fragment, which contains several occurrences of *dak*. These examples will illustrate how the relation which is indicated by *dak* can be found, based on an analysis of prosody, semantics and knowledge of the linguistic and extra-linguistic context.

8.4.1 Some examples

I will give some examples of the kind of possible relations:

(7) — Так ты јеш'о́ ч'е(в)о спра́шывај *дак* ја́ отв'еч'а́т' бу́ду. (S2)

'I will answer them' in the second part of the utterance is based on the condition that the hearer will ask more questions, which the hearer is encouraged to do in the first clause.

(16) (...) мн'е́ да́же и Наста́с'а говор'и́ла гыт ... ə- ... эт' ... Н'и́на пр'и́д'ет *дак* узна́j ска́жет, ка́к там до́рого-то о́ч'ьн' за э́то, (?)-то, за машы́ну-то. (S1)

Me.dat even *prt* Nastas'a said.F says ... eh ... *prt* ... Nina comes *dak* find-out.imper says.3sg how expensive-*prt* very for that, -*prt*, for car-*prt*

'Nastasja even told me, she said ... eh, like Nina is coming, you find out, she said, how expensive it is, for that, for the car [= to travel with someone to Umba].'

This utterance can be translated as 'If Nina comes, then ask her how expensive it is, (to pay) for a car.' The second part of the utterance, which follows after *dak*, is dependent on what is expressed in the first part: 'When Nina will arrive.'

As mentioned under point 8.2.4.3, the two information units are very often directly or indirectly contrasted to alternatives, for instance, in the following example:

(17) — Дл'а холо́дного в'е́тра ка́к назва́н'ие. Ну с'е́в'ер у на́с-то ска́жут, с'е́в'ер. Холо́дныj в'е́т'ер *дак* с'е́в'ер. А т'о́плыj в'е́т'ер *дак* ə ... jу́жныj ска́жут в'е́т'ер. (S19)

For cold wind how name- *prt sever* with us-*prt* say.3pl, *sever*, cold wind *dak sever.* And ... warm wind *dak* eh ... *juzhnyj* say.3pl wind

'What name we have for cold wind? Well, they call it *sever* down here, *sever*, if it is a cold wind then it is *sever*. And if it is a warm wind, well eh, then they call the wind *južnyj*.'

In this case, the dialectologists asked for the names of winds from different directions. The part of the first utterance with *dak* which follows after the particle, *c'éв'ep* 'north (wind)', is based on the content of the first part of the utterance, the point of departure 'cold wind'. In the following utterance, the point of departure is different: 'warm wind', and this leads to a different second part as well: 'southern wind'.

In the first utterance which contains *dak* in the following fragment, once again the predicative unit (clause) in the part after *dak*, 'Does it eat much?' is based on previous information: 'Since the dog is never at home, how much do you think she eats there':

(18) [S3:] — У л'у́д'е́j ко́рм'иц:е.

[S1:] — Она́ у л’уд’е́j ко́рм’иц:е. Он’е́ да ... мно́го л’и та́нка [= там-ка?] ... до́ма-то нахо́д’иц:е, она́ н’икогда́ до́ма н’е́ту *дак*$_1$ мно́го л’и ко́рм’иц:е. (unintell.)

[S3:] — *Дак*$_2$ вот пока́ Мар’и́ша была́ жыва́ *дак*$_3$ и д’оржа́ла jej. А Мар’и́шы н’и ста́ло она́ по фс’е́м.

With people feeds-itself

She with people feeds-itself. They *prt* much *prt* there-*prt* at-home-*prt* is-present, she never at-home is-not *dak* much *prt* feeds-itself

dak prt while Mariša was alive *dak prt* kept.F her. But Mariša.gen *neg* became.Nsg she to everyone

‘It eats at people’s places.’

‘It eats at people’s places. They ...well, I wonder whether there is much there, if she is at home. She is never at home, so I wonder she gets fed much.

Well, while Mariša was still alive she kept her. But when Mariša passed away she started to go to everyone.’

In the last turn of this fragment, the information ‘she looked after the dog’ is based on the point of departure ‘When Mariša was alive’. This is contrasted to a different situation, with a different point of departure: When Mariša was no longer around, then the dog went to everyone. The second occurrence of *dak* in this fragment will be discussed in 9.2.2.

In the next examples, the order of the elements connected by *dak* is the opposite, but the relation is of the same type.

The following excerpt – example (5.24) – contains two messages with the same propositional content. The same information units are connected by *dak* two times, but in a different order:

(19) — На уго́р’ии^{d} бы́л магаз’и́н. И та́м так’и́ платк’и́ крас’и́вы бы́л’и и ша́л’и так’и́ бы́л’и ... И в’ишн’о́вы ша́л’и бы́л’и ... [a dog is barking outside] (Вот соба́ка про́с’ит ку́шат’. Хо́д’ит-то, б’ездо́мна то́же.) Ји вот э́тъвъ. Та́та-тъ гъвор’и́т: воз’м’и́-т(о) ма́т’ говор’и́т в’ишн’о́ву-то ша́л’, у т’а́ дв’е́ до́ч’ер’и *дак*, já, да ... два́цет’ с’ед’мо́(г)о го́да ... Јьвла́мп’ија, с’естра́. Во́т у т’а́ дв’е́ до́ч’ер’и гът *дак* в’ишн’о́ву-то ша́л’ воз’м’и́! (S3)

On hill was shop. And there such kerchiefs beautiful were and shawls such were ... And cherry-red shawls were ... *prt* dog asks eat.inf. Goes-*prt*, homeless also. And *prt prt* Father-*prt* says take.imper-*prt* mother says cherry-red.acc shawl, with you two daughters *dak*, I, and ... twenty seventh year.gen ... Jevlampia, sister. *prt* with you two daughters says *dak* cherry-red.acc shawl take.imper

'There was a shop on the hill. And they had such beautiful kerchiefs and these shawls. They had these cherry-red shawls ... That's a dog asking for food. It wanders around, it is homeless, too. Well then. Father said: "take it, mother" he says, "the cherry-red shawl, you have two daughters, haven't you", me, and, born in 1927, my sister Jevlampia. "Well, you've got two daughters", he says, "so take the cherry-red shawl!"'

The context will be explained in section 9.2.3. Mark that *dak* still takes the position after the expression of the information on which the other information is based:

(20) И ... вот а с'ич'ác-то мы хóд'им хъровóды-то вот тóже. На сцéны-то когдá *дак*. (S2)

And ... *prt* and now-*prt* we go roundelays-*prt prt* as-well. On stage-*prt* when *dak*

'Well, and nowadays we also perform the roundelays. When we are on stage, that is.'

In this example, the information in the second utterance, 'when we are on stage', is information on which the proposition is based which is expressed in the first utterance: The statement that they still dance round dances is made on the background that they do it on stage; this is indirectly contrasted to the situation in earlier days, about which the speaker had told earlier in the conversation, when they also used to dance these dances at home. The background information 'when we are on stage' is thus relevant for the correct interpretation of the first utterance.

In the next example, the question of the speaker to the hearer whether she had to cry is meant to account for the situation when the hearer, a little girl, was left without her mother (see explanation in section 9.2.3):

(4) — А ты там н'е плáкала остáлас' от мáмы *дак*? (S1)

In the next example, the second predicative unit gives background information for the fact that the speaker could not see anything, in this case a cause: that it is very dark there:

(3) Да уш ф п'и́ц'и́-то н'иц'е(г)о́ н'е в'и́жу, т'ém'ен' стрáшнъ тáм *дак*. (S1)

In many cases, only one of the two connected elements has a linguistic expression. The example below is almost exactly the same as the previous example, apart from the fact that the second part is not expressed, and I was told it has the same implied meaning:

(7) — Так ты јеш’о́ ч’е(в)о спра́шывај *дак* ја́ отв’еч’а́т’ бу́ду. (S2)

(1) — Но ково́, спра́шывај јиш’о́ ч’ево́ на́дъ *дак*. (S2)

Dak is often used after a pause. It usually clearly refers back to previous context, and introduces information which is based on this information, for instance a consequence or conclusion:

(11) — *Дак* вот та́к, но јиш’о́ што́ т’ьб’е на́до-то? (after a pause; S2)

In the next example, the speaker seems to suggest a deduction which follows from the utterance which ends in *dak*, ‘You should have told me’, suggesting something like ‘In that case, the radio wouldn’t have spoilt the beginning of your interview either’:

(21) (— *Можно выключить радио? Мешает.*) (...)
Одв’ерн’и́ ф ту́ там сто́рону к ыко́ны. Одв’ерн’и́. (...) Н’е, ф ту́ там сто́рону. Во-во́. А ты бы давно́ сказа́ла *дак*. (S2)
Turn in that there direction to icon. Turn. No, in that there direction. *Prt prt* But you *irreal* for-a-long-time said.F *dak*
‘Can I turn off the radio? It is disturbing.’
‘Turn it in that direction towards the icon. Turn it. No, in that direction. That’s right. You should have told me earlier.’

8.4.2 Short text fragment

The given fragment shows that *dak* can be used frequently. In this short excerpt, the particle is used five times, both enclitically and proclitically: two times “A_*dak*”, once “*Dak*_B”, once “A_*dak*_B” and once “*Dak* ...”. In addition, the fragment contains an occurrence of the adverb *tak* and two occurrences of the particle *da*, two words similar to *dak*, which I will comment upon in chapter 14.

(22) *[KO:] — А вы сами ходили в школу здесь?*
— Ход’и́:ла. Ка́к н’и ход’и́ла. Там ста́ра шко́ла была́ *дак*$_1$. Та́м (ф)с’е́ уч’и́л’ис’, н’ь в э́т’и уш.[4] А вот, та́м м’и́мо вы ... шл’и́ *дак*$_2$, о́кна заб’и́ты, је́тот П’о́т(р) Прокоп’јев’ич’ бу́д’от ... р’емонт’и́роват’ да, говор’и́л эт-..., муз’е́ј буд’от та́м.
[MP:] — Да, он нам сказал, да.

[4] At the time of the interview in 2001, two other school buildings were in use in Varzuga.

— Угу. *Дак*$_3$ вот ə- ... та́м, ф то́j шко́л’и мы фс’е́ уч’и́л’ис’. Та́ шко́ла-тъ давно́: jет-... Во́т, у мн’а бра́т бы́л, с двацáтъвъ го́да *дак*$_4$ вот он’е́ уч’и́л’ис’ фс’о́ ф то́j шко́л’и иш’(е́). Во́т фс’о́ стои́т иш’е́ э́та шко́ла. А т’ьп’е́р’-то хот’е́л’и софс’е́м jе́то убра́т’ а П’о́тр Прокóп’jев’ич’ дъб’и́лс’а ш’о(б) муз’е́j зд’е́л’ат’.
[MP:] — Да.
— *Дак*$_5$ ... р’емонт’и́роват’ бу́д’от. Л’е́с пр’ив’о́з да.
[MP:] — Угу.
— Та́к. (S1)[5]

The first occurrence, in the utterance *Там ста́ра шко́ла была́ дак*$_1$, is of the type “A_*dak*”: *dak* is used enclitically, and the falling intonation on *была* suggests that the expression is meant to be complete. The context combined with the suggestion of completeness suggests that the proposition expressed in A, ‘The old school was over there’, should be interpreted as giving a reason for some other proposition, which is already activated. If there had not been a major prosodic boundary between *dak* and the following utterance, it might have represented a cause or premise for the following unit: ‘the old school was there, so that’s where all went to school’. But the major break – the speaker takes breath in between – and falling intonation makes it more probable that it is a premise for already activated information: the old school was there, implying: ‘we had our own school already then, so of course we went to school’, or ‘since we had a school, it is not surprising we went to school’. Without *dak*, the predicative unit could have been interpreted as being far more independent, as just an announcement of some interesting fact about the school. By using *dak*, the speaker indicates that the information is subordinate to some other information.

The second occurrence of *dak*, in *та́м м’и́мо вы шл’и́ дак*, is also of the enclitic type, but the prosody, syntax and semantics suggest non-finality in this case. The last content word (*шл’и* ‘(you) went’) carries a high pitched accent, which is

[5] Translation to English:
‘Did you go to school here yourself?’
‘I did, of course I did. The old school was there, so ... Everybody went there, not to these ones. Well, where you went by, the windows are boarded, Pjotr Prokop’evič will be restoring it, he said there will be a museum there.’
‘Yes, he told us so, yes.’
‘Uh-huh. Well, so eh, there, that is the school we all went to. That school has long since ... Well, I had a brother, born in 1920, well, they still went just to that school. That school is still standing. But now they wanted to tear it down alltogether, but Pëtr Prokop’evič managed to have it turned into a museum.’
‘Yes.’
‘So he will restore it. He delivered the timber.’
‘Uh-huh.’
‘Well.’

followed by a fall on *dak*. This accent type is very frequent in non-final syntagms. *Dak* signals that this syntagm gives background information for some other proposition, and the intonation suggests that this proposition will be expressed immediately afterwards. The expression *та́м м'и́мо вы шл'и́ дак* serves as an indication of a location which the speaker is going to predicate something about. However, before coming with the main proposition, the speaker adds another phrase which describes the object further and which will help its identification. What she is going to say about it, is that Petr Prokop'evič wants to turn the former school building into a museum: *jе́тот П'о́т(р) Прокóп'јев'ич' бу́д'от ... р'емонт'и́ровать да, говор'и́л эт-..., муз'е́j бу́д'от та́м*.

The third occurrence of *dak* in the excerpt is proclitic: *Угу. Дак вот э-, та́м, ф то́j шко́л'ь мы фс'е уч'и́л'ис'*. In this and in the next occurrence, *dak* is combined with the particle *vot*. *Dak vot* is often used to signal that the coming information is based on previously activated information, and more specifically, that the coming proposition is a continuation of not the last activated information, but some earlier information (see section 9.3.2): in this case to mark a continuation of the current discourse topic, which is the answer to the question she was asked about where she went to school. The remarks about the present purpose of the former school building represent a distraction from the main story line. *Dak* signals that the coming utterance does not come out of the blue, but is based on some previously activated information. The expression *Dak vot* is not the only possible means in Russian to mark such a return to a temporarily abandoned discourse topic, but it is an effective tool to do so. Another means is the use of utterance-initial *i* 'and' (e.g. Mendoza 1996; Post 1997; 1999:34). However, this example shows that these means are not interchangeable: in my perception, *dak* could not have been replaced by *i*, unless the accentuation was changed as well. A possible explanation could be that with the current pitch accents on *tam* and *toj*, the expression cannot be interpreted as an addition of a new member to a set, which is the function of *i*. Instead of an addition, it represents a conclusion.

The fourth occurrence of *dak* is of the "A *dak* B"-type: *dak* is neither preceded or followed by a pause. *Во́т, у мн'а бра́т бы́л, с двацáтъвъ го́да дак вот он'е́ уч'и́л'ис' фс'о ф то́j шко́л'и иш'(е́)*. Perhaps this use of *dak* (and *vot*) should be interpreted just like the preceding use: as a means to return to the main story line after a short distraction. At the same time, from a different point of view, the preceding two syntagms are used to introduce a new subject, about which something will be predicated. So, *dak* is here used in a categorical proposition, which consists of the cognitive act of identifying an entity and the act of predicating something about this entity (see section 10.3.3).

The expression *с двацáтъвъ гóда* could also be interpreted as expressing a *kontrastive* premise, a reason for the fact that the speaker's brother had a different schooling career from her own. *Dak* can be used after parentheticals, when they give relevant background information for the proposition expressed in the main, core clause, for instance a condition. The introduction into the discourse of the speaker's brother, who was seven years older, and the switch from "we" to "they" suggests that the proposition which follows accounts only for him and his peers, but not for the speaker herself. She seems to imply that she herself did not go only to this school, while her brother and his peers got all of their education in the school building in Varzuga. I guess she means that she went to the same school for some years, but that she finished her schooling career at the boarding school in Kuzomen' after the first years of education. This boarding school might not have been opened at the time her brother had the appropriate age, or her brother was not supposed to spend so many years at school.

The final occurrence of *dak* in this fragment is a use between pauses:

(24a) (...) а П'о́т(р) Прокóп'јев'ич' дъб'и́лс'а ш'о(б) муз'е́j зд'е́л'ат'.
— *Да.*
— *Дак*$_5$ ... р'емонт'и́роват' бу́д'от. Л'е́с пр'ив'о́з да.

This utterance-initial *dak* signals that the speaker wants to add some more information which is based on what has been activated previously. A consequence of Petr Prokop'evič' wish to make a museum out of the old school building is that he will renovate the house. He has already brought timber, which is a sign that he has already begun the restoration process.

8.5 Explanation and support in chapter 9-14

The results of this study of *dak* evoke a range of questions, like the following:

- The problem with an abstract function on a mental level is that it is difficult to prove. How can my claims about the core meaning of *dak* be supported?
- Does the proposed analysis of *dak* solve the difficult cases and the controversies, such as the alleged examples of coordinative *dak* (see section 9.4)?

The way to support my claims is by showing the existence of such an asymmetric relation based on other cues (semantic, prosodic, syntactic, information structure, comparison with similar words). If such cues are not immediately clear from the linguistic context, I will show that such a marking is probable. In addition, comparative studies are required to show the contribution of *dak* itself to an utterance and its difference from closely related words and means.

I will start with giving support for my claims about the core meaning of *dak*, first from semantics (chapter 9), then from information structure in a broad sense (chapter 10), then, in chapter 11, from syntax. In chapter 12 I will give support for the results from prosody, both for the main function of *dak* and for its prosodic properties, and argue why prosodic characteristics of *dak* and its linguistic context are important for the interpretation of the properties of *dak* and of the utterances in which *dak* is used. In chapter 13 I will give further support for the findings about the properties of *dak* itself – its syntactic and semantic properties, and argue why *dak* has typical properties of pragmatic particles. In chapter 14, *dak* will be compared to similar words in the dialect itself and in other language systems, first of all with words in Standard Russian. This comparison will show similarities and differences, and help to refine the description of the properties of *dak*. In each chapter, I will not only point out the properties of *dak* and its possible contexts, but also the restrictions on its use.

9 Support from semantic relations

9.1 Overview: *Dak* always marks the same type of connection

In this chapter and in chapter 10, 11 and 12, the proposed analysis of the core meaning of *dak* will be given support from cues in the context other than the use of *dak*. In other words, the contexts of *dak* will be argued to support the proposed interpretation of the meaning of *dak*. The question of the additional value of this word to an utterance with its abstract, general meaning will be discussed in chapter 13.

In this chapter, the proposed core meaning of *dak* will be supported from the specific semantic relations which are expressed or implied in the utterances containing *dak*, like relations between condition and result, between cause and consequence, between two subsequent events and between a subject and a predication about this subject. The core meaning of *dak* in Varzuga was formulated as follows (section 8.2.4):

The particle dak *appears always to signal an asymmetric relationship between two information units, independent of the context in which it is used: it connects a thought (y) with information on which this thought is based (x). One can say that x leads to y in the mind of the speaker.*

Very often this relation is contrasted to an alternative pair of an alternative point of departure and its alternative "outcome". The order of the expressions of the two information units need not correspond to the temporal or logical order in the real world, and either of the two units can be left implicit, which is reflected in the varying positions of *dak* in the utterance.

How does this explanation of *dak* account for the, apparently, large semantic and functional variation in its use, which was illustrated in chapter 5? We saw that this word has been translated by many different kinds of words with divering meanings and functions (see section 1.1.7 and 13.2). The contexts given in *AOS* will be discussed in sections 13.3 and 13.9.

This chapter will show that the common element in all uses of *dak* is the proposed core meaning of *dak* described above.

Second, it will be argued that *dak* does not have more meaning than the core meaning. *Dak* can have secondary functions in certain contexts, such as to support the transition to a new subtopic in a narrative, but they are the result of the core meaning in combination with elements in the linguistic and extra-linguistic context. In section 7.3.6, a traditional subclassification based on

semantic relations and syntax was found to be very difficult. This chapter will give further evidence that the semantics expressed by words like *значит* and *когда* are not expressed by *dak*, but by other means, or that they are only implied. Furthermore, such a subclassification does not help to find the contribution of *dak* to the utterance, since the word *dak* does not play a role in differentiating between different types of semantic relations. The question of the additional value of this word to an utterance with its abstract, general meaning will be discussed in chapter 13.

The last section of this chapter will show that *dak* is not used in just any position and in any context, but that the existence of the core meaning precludes some semantic relations from being expressed. The proposed analysis of *dak* has predictive value:

If the proposed analysis is correct, dak *can be used in any kind of semantic context, as long as this context expresses (or implies) a relation between a thought (or proposition, or emotional reaction; = y) and information on which this thought is based (= x), and if* dak *takes a fixed position with respect to these information units, that is, if* dak *either follows the expression of the argumentationally prior information (= A), or it precedes the expression of information which is based on this recoverable information (= B).*

This claim will be supported by examples of the use of *dak* in several different constructions, from the easiest cases, where *dak* connects two adjacent units inside a single utterance, to the least obvious contexts, where *dak* at first sight seems to have only an expressive, emphatic function. The theory on *dak* is applicable in all cases where the context is clear enough to allow interpretation. Although many utterances can be explained otherwise, none are clear counterexamples to the proposed core meaning. All potential counterexamples can be given an explanation that fits with the theory (section 9.4).

The discussion of supportive examples starts with the most obvious cases – use of *dak* in utterances where both x and y are expressed in the iconic order "A *dak* B" (section 9.2.1), followed by examples of the opposite order (section 9.2.2), constructions with only A (section 9.3.1), constructions with only B (section 9.3.2) and use of *dak* between two silences (9.3.3). The notions x, y, A and B were explained in section 8.2.4 and 8.2.5.

9.2 When *dak* connects two subsequent expressions

9.2.1 "A *dak* B" in a single utterance (subgroups 6, 7 and 8)

We will first take a look at the least problematical cases – the cases where *dak* connects two successive expressions, starting with the most obvious construction, the constructions of the type "A *dak* B" in a single utterance. In this chapter, the the different kinds of prosodic or syntactic boundaries between the units are not paid attention to. So "A *dak* B" covers expressions of the forms "A_*dak*, B", "A_*dak*_B" and "A, *dak*_B", that is, the groups 6, 7 and 8 in the subclassification given in section 8.3.[1]

Chapter 8 contains four examples of "A *dak* B"-constructions with different semantic interrelations between A and B. Two of them had temporal-conditional relations, where the event referred to in B is conditioned by the event referred to in A ((8.7) *спра́ш'ивай (...) дак отв'еч'а́т' бу́ду* and (5.48) *Н'и́на пр'и́д'ет дак узна́j (...)*). I also gave an example of an explanational, identificational relation between a feature – 'north wind' – and the dialect word for this feature – *север*, and the final example expressed another circumstantial relation, which was opposed to an alternative pair of circumstance and consequence ((8.18) *Пока́ Мар'и́ша (...)*).

In chapter 5, some more possible semantic relations between A and B were mentioned. Most often, the relation is circumstantial (*obstojatel'stvennoe otnošenie*). A expresses the time, a condition or the place for the proposition expressed in B, or simply expresses (or implies) an event which preceded the event expressed in B. A can also indicate a cause for the proposition expressed in B. These are all clear cases of information expressed in B which is based on and dependent on the information expressed in A. Here are some more examples of causal relations between A and B:

(1) (...) Ма́ма бол'е́ла грибо́м (...) о́б'е забол'е́л'и (...) Та́та л'ежы́т тр'и го́да, а ма́ма ... ма́ма гр'ибо́м *дак*, попра́в'ице. (S11; гр'ибо́м = гриппом)

The speaker's mother had only the flu, so she would get better, contrary to her father, who was ill for a period of three years. In the next example, the speaker tells that Zoja's house burnt down, which had the consequence that she now lives with Nadja:

(2) У Зо́ji-то до́м-то згор'е́л *дак* т'ип'е́р' она ту́т, у На́д'и жыв'о́т. (S11)

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[1] Strictly speaking, the groups 5 and 9 are also of the type "A *dak* B", but with A and B expressed in different utterances: "A_*dak*. B" (5) and A. *Dak*_B" (9). Since these types are rare, no examples of them are given here.

The word *dak* can also connect consecutive events. The relation between the two events is often a combination of temporal succession and a conditional or causal relation, like in the next example, where the speaker is telling a story about what she and the other girls used to do to polish their shoes:

(3) И́х ма́зал'и. А пото́м уже́ до то́го́ мы их зама́зал'и *дак* уже́ порошо́к-то н'ь ста́ло заб'ира́т', *дак* мы пото́м са́жој нач'е́рн'и́л'и. (S3)

Them smeared.pl. And afterwards already to this we them smeared *dak* already powder-*prt neg* became.N, *dak* we afterwards soot.instr blackened

'We smeared them. But later on we (had) smeared them so much that we couldn't get hand on this (tooth) powder anymore, so then we blackened them with soot.'

In the last utterance, *dak* is used twice, and in both cases, it connects two successive events, which are not only in temporal succession, but also causally related. The first situation led to the second, and the second led to the third. At first, the girls polished their shoes with tooth powder, but they used so much tooth powder that they could not get hold on more. This caused them to search for something else, and they ended up smearing them black with soot. The use of *dak* underlines the temporal, argumentational and logical dependencies, for each new event depends on the preceding situation.

Similar use of *dak* in a sequence of events or actions which have to follow after each other in order to achieve something has been attested in several sources, for instance in *AOS*, although this use of *dak* was qualified as enumerative (see section 9.4.1 below):

(4) Бо́цьку найдёж *дак*, солодя́гу вы́льйеж *дак*, розболта́ж *дак* — во́т и ква́з бу́дет. (*AOS*)

The A-part can also express a person or object about whom or which something will be predicated in B, such as in the example about north wind above and in (5), (6) and (7) from chapter 5 and 8:

(5) У нас Вовка, *дак* у него тоже хороший характер (Perm.; Мерлин 1978)

(6) — Сы́н *дак* он н'ь осо́бо то́же э́т'им инт'ер'есу́јец:е. (S2)

(7) А лон'и́с'^{d} э́тъ про́шлыј гот. А оногды́с'^{d} э́тъ ... ну́ къгда́-тъ там. А оном'е́д'^{d} *дак* на то́ј н'ид'е́л'ь. Јéс' так'и́х сло́ф мно́го о́ч'ьн'. (S8)

In most examples where A expresses a person or object, B expresses a property of this person or object. But in the next example, the B-part of the second utterance containing *dak* does not express a property of the item marked in A, but an activity: *гр'ебу́т* 'they rake'. This activity is contrasted with *кос'а́т* 'they cut', expressed somewhat earlier, an activity performed by other people. The expressions of the people are underlined with a dashed line, the assertions about them with a solid line:

(8) — *А тогда вся деревна участвовала в сенокос(е)?*
[S3:] — Фс'е́.[2] Н'и ф- ... кто мо́к.
[S1:] — Фс'е́. Кто мо́г дак$_1$, фс'е́.
[S3:] — Кто́ кос'и́л, кто́ гр'о́п. Побојев'е́, кото́ры помоло́же кос'а́т. Сто́јкам'и кос'и́л'и-тъ. Но́, а ... поста́рше да д'е́т'и *дак*$_2$ ə- гр'ебу́т. Згр'еба́јут с'е́но. А оп'а́т' кто побојев'е́ *дак*$_3$ ку́ч'и но́с'ат тако́ к стога́м. В'ида́ла тут в огоро́дах стога́ стоја́т?
— *Гм.*
[S3:] — Ну во́т. Вот та́к вот. [App. VI text 15]

Just like in the earlier mentioned examples, the choice of the unit expressed in A as a point of departure has consequences for the content of B, also if it is a person or object. In these cases, *dak* signals again that the information expressed in B, y, is based on the information expressed in A, x, and that y is dependent on x. Consequently, similar to the expressions with adverbial phrases and clauses above, the point of departure is often contrasted in the sense that it is chosen from a set of alternatives. The speaker implies that the choice of a different point of departure would have led to a different "outcome" expressed in B, or, at least, that it could have; see section 10.3.12.

These point of departures of a person or object with implications can also be described as conditions: 'if we take x, then y, whereas if we take x' (= an alternative to x), then y''. The word *ономедь* in (7) is contrasted with *лонись* and *оногдысь*, other members of the set of dialectal expressions the speaker had mentioned just before. Each member of this set is paired with the explanation of its meaning. The meaning of the expression containing *dak* in this excerpt can be described as 'if we take the word *ономедь*, then the answer to the question about its meaning is *на то́j н'ед'е́ле* 'last week' or 'as for *ономедь*, or 'under the condition

[2] Actually, the speaker pronounced this word with a diphthong, as "*фс'еа*", so she might have meant both *фс'а* 'the whole village' and *фс'е* 'everyone', which both fit with the context.

that we depart from the word *ономедь'*. The relation between set membership and conditionality is further discussed in section 10.3.12.

Examples (9) and (10) (both from chapter 5) show that even objects and expressions of an activity in the form of an infinitive can express a point of departure in A which influences the following proposition expressed in B:

(9) — *А почему попа повезли?*
— Попа́ *дак*, э́то ... застр'ел'и́л, о́н, да́л jej, нага́н-то. (S5)

(10) Вот на́до бра́т' ... зап'ева́т'-то *дак* на́до бра́т' ш'обы тона́л'нос'-то ка́к ... нач'а́т'. *(— Да.)* Э́то то́же иногда́ тру́дно да и фс'е ... нач'ина́т' *дак*, мно́го в го́лову́-то д'ержа́т', п'е́сн'и-то дл'и́н:ы фс'о, купл'е́т за купл'е́том за купл'е́том. (S2)

In these cases, the A-parts once again establish a reference point for a later assertion. In the first example, the speaker confirms what will be her point of departure, the priest. He is contrasted to the other person in the story, a woman who had been involved in a shooting accident together with the priest. She had been very imprudent with a gun that she had found in the priest's house. The result was that she got shot, but, according to the story teller, it was the priest who fired the gun.

In the second example, the speaker explains how difficult it is to be the lead singer of the Varzuga choir. In all the songs they sing, the lead singer sings the first line of each verse alone, before the others join in. This circumstance implies firstly that the lead singer has to find the right tonality, and secondly, that she has to know the texts of all of these, usually long songs by heart. The infinitive *зап'ева́т'-то* can be translated as 'for being the lead singer' or 'if you want to be the lead singer'. The second infinitive, *нач'ина́т'* 'to start', is also followed by *dak*. It could be translated as 'if you start' or 'when you start'. The circumstance that you have to start has the implication that there is much you should remember.

In the next chapter, the relation between the use of *dak* and concepts like point of departure, givenness, pragmatic priority, conditionality, restriction and contrast will be discussed in detail.

As a final type of semantic relations between A and B, chapter 5 gave expressions with A containing a comparative quantifier like *такой* 'such' or *столько* 'so many; so much'. These constructions are close to the expressions with circumstantial relations, like temporal, spatial and conditional relations, because the second predicative unit (in B) usually expresses a consequence of the situation or action referred to in the A-part (*AOS*, nr. 17; Шапиро 1953; Шуйская 2002):

(11) (...) И́х ма́зал'и. А пото́м уже́ до то́го мы их зама́зал'и *дак* уже́ порошо́к-то н'ь ста́ло заб'ира́т', *дак* мы́ пото́м са́жој нач'е́рн'и́л'и. (S3)

(12) Сн'е́гу-ту сто́л'ко *дак* вгусту́d пр'а́мо. (S2)

(13) Ја говор'у́-то а́нд'ел, така́ сн'ежы́наd на у́л'иц'и-то вал'и́т *дак* стра́шно. (S2)

(14) Оз'о́ра та́к'и́ бол'шы́ *дак* а́ндел'иd бо́ш. (S11)

Like in the cases of circumstantial relations, the A-part gives relevant information for the assertion expressed in B. It is information on which B is based, and the choice or existence of x (= the content of A) has a certain consequence. Part of the eight example utterances given in *AOS* of complex sentences with comparative quantifiers are clear examples of a cause and its consequence, such as in the following utterance:

(15) Та́к плясна́л, *дак* лю́ди издиви́лись. (*AOS*)

(16) Ой во́лны *дак* с ума́ сойти! (Шуйская 2002:202)

In other example utterances in *AOS* and in some of Šujskaja's examples, the B-part expresses not an event, but a reaction of the speaker to the event or situation, for instance exclamations like *сохрани́ бох* and *беда́*, or another comment of the speaker:

(17) Та́к но́ги зебу́т, *дак* пря́мо не зна́йу. (*AOS*)

The comments all appear to be reactions to what is expressed in the A-part, and are therefore consequences as well. The exclamation is an expression caused by the unusually high degree of the quality or quantity of the object or event expressed in the first clause (in A) and the events or situations referred to in A are the causes of the reactions expressed in the B-part. *AOS* compares *dak* in this context with *что* 'that', when used in a cause-consequence relation in a complex sentence with a main and a subordinate clause.[3] However, the construction might be different, with the parts having more autonomy than the parts in the parallel construction containing the conjunction *что*; see section 13.5.

Under a different heading, *AOS* mentions combinations with expressive, exclamatory interjections like "*О!*" and "*Ой!*", with examples like *Йей не́как расти́*, *фсё су́хо*, *кака́*, *де́ва*, *су́ш*, *дак о́й!*, *До того́ э́тих пи́сем я допишу́*, *дак о́й!* and *По́л как све́тит*, *дак о-йо́-йо́*, *я накра́сила бес пути́*. Even these expressions indicate an

[3] "17. Союз. Для соединения частей сложного предл. с качественно или количественно характеризующими значениями. Обычно с соотносительными словами **так**, **такой**, **столь**, **столько**, **до тово** в главном предл. **Что**" (*AOS*).

unexpected degree of some quality or quantity and an emotional reaction it provoked.[4] They are usually also combined with a comparative quantifier. Here is an example from Varzuga of the combination of *dak* and *oj*, but they are usually divided by a pause, which means that they do not necessarily represent A and B (see discussion in chapter 12):

(18) Кака́ была́ тру́дна́ жы́з' *дак*, о́j-oj-oj. (S4)

Not in each case, a comparative word is used, but the intended meaning is always a comparison in quantity or quality, like in the next example, from a context where the speakers were boasting over the quality and quantity of the vegetables they used to grow in Varzuga in the old days:

(19) Иш'о́ капу́ста уж была́ *дак*, о́, капу́ста была́, во́ кака́ хъро́-... (S14*; the speaker was interrupted)
'We also had this cabbage *dak*, oh, such cabbage it was, really, how good ...'

Šapiro gives similar examples. In Šapiro's third subgroup of asyndetic "A *dak* B"-constructions, the second clause usually contains a specific exclamative word and is always pronounced with exclamatory intonation. The content of the second clause is perceived as a qualitative or quantitative characterisation of the content of the first clause (Шапиро 1953:63; see chapter 6):

(20) Навёз рыбы, *дак* ой! (Arch.)
(21) Такой был хозе́ин-от, *дак* сохрани господи! (Arch.)
(22) А семья-то была, *дак* я пришла уж девятым куском! (Arch.)

Although the first and the last of these examples given by Šapiro do not contain a comparative quantifier, the semantics are the same. Apparently, in the first example the speaker wants to express her amazement about the large quantity of fish, and in the third she wants to emphasise the large number of children in the family.

Summarising, in all "A *dak* B"-constructions A establishes a reference point for an assertion expressed in B, which in some way or other depends on this point of departure. That the dependency is not always a necessary condition will be shown in section 10.3.10. The details of the semantic relations between A

[4] "Для выражения эмоций по поводу признаков, качеств, действий, имеющих высшую степень проявления" (*AOS*).

and B, such as that they are temporal or causal, are not expressed or implied by *dak*. Further evidence for this last claim will be given in chapter 13.

9.2.2 Details about the relation between A and B need not be expressed explicitly

The specific semantics of the relation between the two parts connected by *dak* is not always expressed explicitly, as remarked by Popov on utterances containing *da* (Попов 1957:73; see section 6.5.5). In many cases the intended relation has to be recovered from the linguistic and/or extra-linguistic context. In clear cases a subordinating conjunction is used, but this is rare. An example with a subordinating conjunction was "*Пока Мариша была жыва дак, (...)*" (8.18; see chapter 8); another is the clear expression of a hypothetical condition in the next example, which is supported by the double use of the particle *by*:

(23) — *У меня мало практики. Я ...*
— Да, бóл'ше вот тáк бы ... с так'и́м'и, с ру́с:к'им'и-то ə- ... э́тово, обш'а́лас' *дак* бы скор'е́е. На́вык-то бы́л. (S2)

More common is a less explicit expression, like in the diffuse example (24) from section 7.3.6, where its different possible interpretations were discussed:

(24) А во́т, та́м м'и́мо вы шл'и́ *дак*, о́кна заб'и́ты, э́тот П'о́тр Прокóп'јев'ич' бу́д'от р'емонт'и́роват' да, говор'и́л эт-..., муз'е́j бу́д'от та́м. (S1)

In the following example, the speaker asked the hearers – my friend Kaja and me – to send her regards to our hostess, who is an old friend of hers, when we would see her on our way back:

(25) Ув'и́д'ит'е, појд'ит'е́ *дак*, домо́j-то *дак*, бол'шо́j пр'ив'е́т от м'ин'а́ скажы́т'е. (S11)
you-will-see.pl (her), you-will-arrive.pl *dak*, home *dak*, big regards from me tell.imper.pl

How should the syntagm *појд'ит'е́ дак* be interpreted? Does the speaker mean a purely temporal relation, 'When you see her, when you will arrive (at her place), send her my kindest regards', or does she intend conditionality, 'if you arrive'? It is even possible that she intends a causal meaning, like 'since you will go there anyway', or 'you will go to her place, won't you'. Such minor differences are not expressed, because they are not essential for the correct understanding of the intention of the speaker.

SRNG gives an example of the use of *dak* between two identical word forms:

(26) Идти, *дак* идти. (Sev.-Dvin.; *SRNG*)

According to *SRNG*, in these cases a conditional relation is expressed between the word.[5] The database contains one such example, with the slight difference that *dak* was followed by the particle *i*:

(27) — (В)о́т т'еб'е на. Мо́жет сл'епы́је да. Ну́ ла́дно. Сл'епы́ *дак* и сл'епы́. (S1)

The reply is given after the speaker and some other people present have been taken a picture of, and she was surprised by the blindening flash of the camera. If we look at what is linguistically expressed, then both A and B consist of only a nominal (*сл'епы́* 'blind' (pl.)), in B combined with the focus particle *и* (*и сл'епы́*). The utterance could have been meant to express 'blind is blind', but also something like 'if we turn out blind, then we'll turn out blind', suggesting that we cannot do anything about it, so we'll have to accept it. The other contexts of *dak* and the preceding utterance "*Ну ла́дно*" support the last interpretation. "*Ну ла́дно*" indicates that the speaker accepts the possible consequences.

Many utterances with *dak* are almost impossible to interpret without knowledge of the context and prosody. An example is Serebrennikov's example utterance from a Russian dialect, which was discussed in chapter 6:

(28) "*иди, пошел, дак*, т.е. 'иди, если пошел' (Нижняя Вычегда)" (Серебренников 1963:376)

'Go, went *dak*', i.e. 'Go, if you're on your way already / if you are in such a hurry'

Leinonen checked this interpretation with native informants, who claimed it was not quite correct (2002b:129). According to them, the correct interpretation is *Иди, если на то пошло* 'Go, if that is what is needed'. I took up this example in my questionnaire as well. However, according to my respondent, Serebrennikov's interpretation was correct and the other interpretation impossible. These contradictory judgements by native speakers might be due to interdialectal differences, but it is more probable that the respondents had different contexts in mind, and that both interpretations are possible. In any case, these contradictory

[5] "Употребляется между двумя одинаковыми словами при выражении условной связи предложений" (*SRNG*).

answers show that even judgements by natives need to be met with a critical mind, especially when the dialect speakers are asked to give judgements about utterances without information about context and prosody.

As mentioned, *dak* is often used in contrasted x-y-pairs (see above and section 8.2.4, point III). This contrastivity can be clearly or less clearly expressed. In the next example from *AOS*, earlier cited in chapter 5, all contrasted elements are expressed in the construction "A_1 *dak* B_1, *a* A_2 *dak*$_2$ B":

[A_1] *dak* [B_1]
(29) Для да́чникоф *дак* э́то ле́то хорошо́, загора́ть да купа́ца,
[A_2] *dak* [B_2]
а вот для расте́ний-то *дак* о́чень су́хо (Arch.; Шуйская 2002)

The next example is already less clearly contrastive:

(30) — А ты ф кото́рыj кла́с:-то, ф тр'е́т'иj? Во фторо́j?
(— Во фторој.)
— А В'ита́л'ка *дак* ф како́м?
(— Ф шесто́м.)
— Ф шесто́м? (S1 and S20)
'In which grade are you, in third grade? In second?'
'In second.'
'And Vital'ka, in which grade is he?'
'In sixth.'
'In sixth?'

In this utterance *dak* again signals a connection between a point of departure that is chosen from a set of alternatives and a predication that is based on it. In this case, the point of departure is the subject of the predication expressed in B. It is used in a construction where several subjects are compared to each other:

x_1 *dak* y_1
you — *dak* — are in second grade
(but) x_2 *dak* y_2 ---> 'what is y_2?'
Vital'ka — *dak* — is in other grade---> 'in which grade?'

The subject is first introduced and then marked by *dak* as being a topic. The choice of the addressee's brother Vital'ka as the point of departure for the predication leads to a different content of B than the choice of the addressee in

the previous question. In that sense, the A-part is also a condition for the outcome expressed in B. The intended meaning of the utterance could be described as 'If we take Vital'ka (instead of yourself), how about him?', or 'And Vital'ka, as to him, in which grade is he?'. Terms like *topic*, *point of departure* and the relevance of set membership in the constructions containing *dak* will be further discussed in chapter 10.

The next example, (8.18), now (31), contains two contrasted pairs of two circumstances with two different implications. Like in the previous example only one of the pairs is marked by *dak*. The topic of the conversation is L'us'ka, the dog of an old lady who passed away recently. Since the death of its previous owner, the dog wanders from home to home begging for food:

(31) [S3:] — У л'у́д'éj ко́рм'иц:е.
[S1:] — Она́ у л'уд'éj ко́рм'иц:е. Он'é да ... мно́го л'и та́нка [= там-ка?] ... до́ма-то нахо́д'иц:е, она́ н'икогда́ до́ма н'éту *дак*$_1$ мно́го л'и ко́рм'иц:е. (unintell.)
[S3:] — Дак$_2$ вот пока́ Мар'и́ша была́ жыва́ *дак*$_3$ и д'оржа́ла jej. *А* Мар'и́шы н'и ста́ло она́ по фс'е́м.

The situation before the death of the owner is compared to the actual situation. Whereas the dog was fed at home when the owner, Mariša, was alive, the dog started going to everyone when the circumstances had changed. The absence of *dak* in the second pair of condition and consequence (*А Мар'и́шы н'и ста́ло она́ по фс'е́м.*) shows that the use of *dak* in such comparative constructions is optional.

In the earlier cited example with the hypothetical condition, the condition is only implicitly compared to an alternative situation, which would have led to a different result:

(32) *[MP:] — У меня мало практики. Я ...*
— Да, бо́л'ше вот та́к бы ... с так'и́м'и, с ру́сск'им'и-то э- ... э́тово, обш'а́лас' *дак* бы скор'éе. На́вык-то бы́л. (S2)

In this example, the non-real situation is indirectly compared to the real situation, when I complained about having difficulties with talking Russian because of lack of practice. The implication is that under different circumstances, under the condition that I would have more contact with Russians, then the result would have been different, because I would have obtained some routine.

In the next example, the chosen point of departure is also contrasted to an alternative, but this is expressed only indirectly:

(33) На(в)е́рно т’ьп’е́р’ так’и́х сказа́т’ел’н’иц-то ска́зок н’е́ту (...) На(в)е́рно в д’ьр’е́вн’и н’икто́ и н’е расска́зыват н’е зна́ju.
— *А что вы рассказывали сыну?*
— [laughs] Сы́н *дак* он н’ь осо́бо то́же э́т’им инт’ер’есу́jец:е. А та́к ... вот у на́с д’е́т’и-то росл’и́ по инт’ерна́там. Зд’ес’ же ч’еты́р’е кла́с:а то́л’ко. (S2)

Dak implies something like ‘If you take my son as a point of departure, as for him, he is not much interested in fairly tales’. Indirectly, the use of *dak* (and the high rise on *сы́н*; see chapter 12) evokes the existence of an exclusive relation, and the probable existence of an alternative. The following utterance, *“А та́к ... (...)”* apparently refers to other children; her own son is opposed to other children. Whereas her own son was not very interested, others might have liked to listen to fairy tales, but they were sent to Kuzomen’ at a young age, implying that there were few possibilities to tell them fairy tales. However, the speaker might not have had a comparative relation in mind at the moment she expressed A. She might have singled out this point of departure because she was surprised that I posed this question about her son. An item can be underlined as being the point of departure for other reasons than being contrasted to alternatives; see section 10.3.12.

9.2.3 “B A_*dak*” (subgroups 2, 3 and 4)

Chapter 8 showed that utterance-internal *dak* can be used in the same semantic contexts as utterance-final *dak*, the only difference being the order of the connected items. If the order is B – A, *dak* is used not between B and A, but in final position: “B A_*dak*”. This means that both in cases of the order A – B and of B – A, *dak* is used in the position after A. Several examples were given, which will be discussed in more detail below.

Example (33a) and (b) from chapters 5 and 8 has both orders “A *dak* B” and “B, A *dak*” in two messages with the same propositional content. The structure of the utterances with *dak* is as follows:

[A][B] *dak*
(33a) воз’м’и́-т(о) (...) в’ишн’о́ву-то ша́л’, у т’а́ дв’е́ до́ч’ер’и *дак*

[B] *dak* [A]
(33b) Во́т у т’а́ дв’е́ до́ч’ер’и гът *дак* в’ишн’о́ву-то ша́л’ воз’м’и́!

This is the context it was used in:[6]

(33) — На уго́р'ии^{d} бы́л магаз'и́н. И та́м так'и́ платк'и́ крас'и́вы бы́л'и и ша́л'и так'и́ бы́л'и ... И в'ишн'о́вы ша́л'и бы́л'и ... [a dog is barking outside] (Вот соба́ка про́с'ит ку́шат'. Хо́д'ит-то, б'езд'о́мна то́же.)[7] Ји вот э́тъвъ. Та́та^{d}-тъ гъвор'и́т: воз'м'и́-т(о) ма́т' говор'и́т в'ишн'о́ву-то ша́л', у т'а́ дв'е́ до́ч'ер'и *дак*, ја́, да ... два́цет' с'ед'мо́(г)о го́да ... Јьвла́мп'ија, с'естра́. Во́т у т'а́ дв'е́ до́ч'ер'и гът *дак* в'ишн'о́ву-то ша́л' воз'м'и́! (S3)

In the first utterance containing *dak*, the particle is attached to the preceding unit, *y m'á dv'é dóč'er'i*. This unit represents A. The most obvious candidate for y is what is expressed in the beginning of the same utterance: *voz'm'í-m(o) (...) v'ishn'óvu-to shá'* 'take the red, cherry-coloured shawl'. This interpretation fits semantically: 'having two daughters, you should take the shawl with the bright colour.' Later on, we get to know the alternative choice, a black scarf. The speaker's father (*máma*) probably meant that a black scarf would not be suitable for young girls. Another possible interpretation is that the first *dak* does not connect the A-part with previous information, but with the following one, which expresses an explanation: *já, da ... dvácet' s'ed'mó(g)o góda ... Jevlámp'ija, s'estrá*. This expression can be translated as 'I and my sister Evlampija, who was born in 1927'. The repetition of the utterance however leaves no doubt that the speaker intended to convey the cause-consequence relation 'Since you have two daughters, you should buy the cherry-red shawl'.

Chapter 5 and 8 also contain an example of "B A_*dak*" where *dak* is attached to a condition for the question posed in the first part:

[B][A] *dak*

(34) — A ты там н'е пла́кала оста́лас' от^{d} ма́мы *дак*? (S1)

This question was posed to a three-year old girl. Some weeks earlier, this girl had got a new brother, and her mother had been away to the hospital at Umba to give birth to her son. This situation implied that the girl had been separated from her mother for several days, which might have been a new experience for her. The speaker asks her if she did not have to cry as a result of her mother being away. The main accent of the utterance falls on the word *пла́кала* 'cried' (see section 4.2.1). The first part, *ты там н'е пла́кала* 'didn't you cry there', expresses what the

[6] Gloss and translation of this fragment can be found in chapter 8, example (8.19).

[7] The two utterances between brackets were pronounced in a much softer voice, signalling that it is a digression from the main story line.

speaker wants to know, whereas *оста́лас' от ма́мы* 'you were left without your mother' gives a frame of reference for this question, namely the circumstance under which the question is valid. This circumstance is relevant, because it expresses a good reason for crying, and thus for posing the question. It can be interpreted as a purely temporal expression, meaning 'when you were left alone without you mother', but it is also possible that the speaker had a causal connection in mind, i.e. 'since you were left without your mother'. The exact relation is not expressed. A more or less literal translation to English would be 'having been left without your mother'. The participle construction 'having been left' expresses both subordination to a predication and neutrality as regards details like the temporal relation to the moment of speaking, modality and semantic details about the kind of connection between the state expressed in the participle construction and the event expressed in the predication it is subordinated to. The similarities between participle constructions and the meaning of *dak* will be further discussed in section 10.3.5.

In "B A_*dak*"-constructions, A often expresses a reason or some other explanation for the statement made in B, for instance in (35) from chapters 5 and 8:

[B] [A] *dak*

(35) Да уш ф п'и́ц'и́-то н'иц'е(г)о́ н'е в'и́жу, т'е́м'ен' стра́шнъ та́м *дак*.

prt prt in oven-*prt* nothing *neg* see.1sg, darkness terrible there *dak*

'I can't see anything in the oven, it's terribly dark in there.'

The darkness in the oven implies that the speaker does not see anything in it. The context and the intonation, with a clear, independent accent on the A-part support a causal relation and make a temporal or conditional interpretation unlikely; cf. Appendix V.

In the next example, the relation between the two expressions connected by *dak* is again complex: it is both temporal and conditional, restricting the validity and truth conditions of the statement expressed in the first part:

[B] [A] *dak*

(36) И ... вот а с'ич'а́с-то мы хо́д'им хъръво́ды-то вот то́же. На сце́ны-то когда́ *дак*.

Dak is attached to the preceding unit, *на сце́ны-то когда́* 'when we are on stage'. This A-part expresses a restriction for the proposition expressed in the preceding utterance, 'now we still dance round dances'. The addition 'when we are on stage' is a premise for this statement. It is added to supply the addressee with additional information, and to correct possible false assumptions. The added condition

clearly functions as a restriction. The statement is valid for when they are on stage, and the preceding context seems to imply that it is valid only under that condition. Earlier, the speaker had told that they used to sing often at home in the old days, and not only in the choir. The addition of *На сцéны-то когдá дак* suggests that nowadays they do not sing round dances except for in the choir on stage, contrary to how it used to be.

The last utterance in the following fragment, *Давнó н'éту дак*, is another clear example of an expression giving a reason – 'They haven't been here for a long time' for the preceding statement – 'Now I started to forget all of these different (reindeer) names':

(37) — *А контус, это какóго возраста олень?*
— А вóт н'и знáju. Тáм ... ja н'и знáju как'ие, назвáн'ij их там мнóго *дак*. За вóзраста, за быкá-тъ, за бъл'шóвъ-тъ дак [= да?]. Jéc' там фс'áк'их. Урáкd, сазýраd, потóм ... нав'éрнъ пътóм кóнтусd. Пътóм ... oj jиш'ó кáк, какój-то иш'ó да и, т'ип'éр' уш стáла и забывáт' их фс'ех. Давнó н'éту *дак*.
— *А когда (...)* (S8)

The circumstance that there had been no reindeer in the village for a long time has the consequence that the speaker started to forget their specific names.

About cases of sentence-final *da*, i.e. constructions of the form "S, S *da*" in Komi, Leinonen remarks that "the connection is often that of a supporting argument for the preceding clause, or a basis for uttering the speech act; to generalise, it is backgrounded material in a narrative" (2002a:310; see section 6.5.20). This also accounts for the majority of "B A_*dak*"-constructions. It may seem that *dak* in these constructions always corresponds to *ved'*, a particle signalling an inferential if-then relationship ('if you know x, then you can infer y'; see section 14.7). However, utterance-final *dak* does not only mark supportive arguments for the preceding statement (see below), and even in case the relation between x and y is causal, *dak* is not equivalent to *ved'*. The word *dak* does not express inference, only priority of A in the speaker's argumentation. Besides, *ved'* can only connect two propositions, with their own truth value, unlike *dak*. The A in a *dak*-construction does not have to represent a statement with a truth value. It can also express an object, a circumstance or a condition. A final difference is that *ved'* signals that the hearer knows – or is presented as knowing – the assertion made in the utterance it is used in, which is not necessarily the case for the prior information x signalled by *dak*.

The next example shows that the relation between x and y in a "B, A_*dak*"-construction is not always causal. In this example the relation appears to be

temporal. The speaker tells what a non-religious 93 year old villager had answered when she was asked which ceremonies she wished to be performed after her death. It is customary in Varzuga to call if not the priest, then in any case the local mourner Likonida to the house of the deceased to read poems and prayers during the first days after the villager has died. But this old lady was a hard-line communist, who was so much opposed to religion that she did not even want Likonida to be called after her death:

(38) «ко мн'е́ н'икого́ ... э́т'их ба́т'ушкоф ... н'е́ зов'и́т'е. Умру́ *дак*.» Говор'и́т ји́ «Да́же Л'икон'и́ды н'е зов'и́т'е.» (S1)

To me nobody.gen ... these.gen priests.gen... *neg* call.imper. Will-die.1sg *dak*. Says also "even Likonida not call.imper"

' "Don't call any of these priests to me. When I have died." She even says "Don't even call Likonida" '

The A-part – *Умру́* – does not express more than 'I will be dead', and the addition of *dak* marks it as subordinate information, expressing a point of departure for other implied or earlier expressed information. The context excludes a narrow conditional reading ('only if I'm dead') or a causal, inferential interpretation ('since I am going to die'). The addition 'me going to die' simply gives some relevant background information. The speaker, who is cited by speaker S1, adds information about the proper context the request which was uttered in the previous utterance accounts for. The most probable interpretation is a temporal one, 'when I have died'. The 93-year old lady might have thought that this context was not accessible, i.e. that the request not to call any priests accounts for the time when she will have passed away. The use of *ved'* would have meant something like 'I am going to die, you know', an interpretation which does not fit in this context. The relation between *dak* and *ved'* is further discussed in chapter 14. There might be a correlation between intonation and type of relation between x and y in "B A_*dak*"-construction. Unlike the A-part in (35) about the darkness in the oven, which had a causal relation to the context, the A-part *Умру́ дак*, which has a temporal relation to the predication expressed in B, has low prominence; see Appendix V. It is interesting to notice that *dak* can be used in reported speech. This shows that utterance-final *dak* does not only have a repair function, which would only used when the speaker has not planned her speech properly, for speech errors would normally not be cited.

Like in the constructions "A *dak* B", the A-part in "B A_*dak*" constructions can consist of only a nominal phrase, like in the next fragment, where the

speaker explained how much sugar is needed to preserve red whortleberries, depending on the amount of berries and the preserving method:

(39) То и пр'и́шло т'ьп'ёр' и ... взара́с^{d}-то са́хару-то мно́го ... покупа́т', у кого ја́гот ... мно́го *дак*. А запа́р'ат брусн'и́ку-то *дак* и м'ён'ше. Н'и взара́з да.

The addition *у кого ја́гот мно́го дак* 'who has a lot of berries' expresses a specification of the correct point of departure, just like in the examples above, and corrects possible false assumptions. This example can also be interpreted as giving a condition: 'in case you have a lot of berries, you need a lot of sugar at once'.

9.3 When *dak* does not connect two subsequent expressions

Until now, *dak* has only been discussed in contexts where the particle connects two adjacent linguistic entities (groups 2 to 9 in the classification given in section 8.3), but these constructions make up only just over half of the occurrences of *dak* in the Varzuga database. In the cases where *dak* does not connect two adjacent units, the reasons for the use of *dak* are not easy to find. Only a few researchers have studied them. Usually, *dak* is in these cases attributed an emphasising or intensifying function (*vydelitel'naja* or *usilitel'naja funkcija*). However, even here, *dak* appears to connect two information units, and signal the same kind of connection, the only difference being that only one of them has a linguistic expression in the near context of *dak*. A few researchers have suggested this possibility for at least some contexts (e.g. Popov, Fedorova and Šujskaja; see chapter 6), but the present research suggests that it could account for all uses of *dak*.

9.3.1 "A_*dak*" (subgroup 1)

This section discusses examples of "A_*dak*", where this expression is a separate utterance, and where *dak* does not mark a connection between A and an adjacent expression.

As in the above mentioned cases of "B A_*dak*", these expressions of the form "A_*dak*" are often used to give a reason, or other background information to some activated knowledge. Here, y is not expressed, or at least not in an adjacent utterance, for the reason that y is supposed to be easily recoverable for the addressee, because it has already been activated in the previous context. In other cases, "A_*dak*" is close to an "A_*dak* B"-construction. Here, the y-part has not been activated before "A_*dak*" is expressed, but that is not felt to need an expression in these cases either, either because its content is easily recoverable

(though not previously implied), or because its exact content is not thought to be relevant (cf. Popov on *da* in section 6.5.5). In still other cases, the existence of a y-part is implied as well, but less clearly.

Some constructions with final "A *dak*" have previously been explained as elliptical "A *dak* B"-constructions (see section 6.5.3 and 6.5.11). "A_*dak*" can only be regarded as elliptical in some abstract sense. However, the absence of a concrete expression of y has a reason, and a meaning. As remarked by Popov (about *da*; Попов 1957), no concrete expression can usually be found to have been elided (cf. Fretheim 1980 and 2000 on the Norwegian postpositive particle *så*). It is not improbable that enclitic *dak* could have developed from elliptical expressions (but see Leinonen 2002a:289; 315 for an alternative explanation), but in today's Northern Russian dialects, no concrete expressions can be reconstructed that could have been elided. Furthermore, the common finality indicating prosody of utterances ending in *dak* (low pitch on *dak* and no lowering of speaking rate or hesitation before or after it) show that the speakers did not have the intention to add something to the utterance; see section 12.3.3.

In the next fragment, the last utterance, which ends in *dak*, gives background information not to a previous utterance, but to an action:

(40) [S13 offers MP a cigarette]
[MP:] — *Нет, спасибо, не курю.*
[S2:] — Ты ко(г)о́, пуга́ш д'е́фк(у)! Он тако́j шутн'и́к дак!
[all laugh]
[S2:] — Дак вот та́к, эт-
[S13:] — Ja в'ет' и забы́л (да?) што н'и кур'и́ш *дак*!

Unfortunately, I have forgotten what speaker S13 did. Judging from my reaction in the first turn – 'No, thank you, I don't smoke' – he must have offered me one of his strong Russian cigarettes, and he did something else which made everybody laugh. The last utterance is clearly meant to give background information for what the speaker had done earlier. In this case, it gives the reason for his behaviour. *Dak* does not express that the previous expression gives a reason; it merely expresses the fact that he forgot that the addressee does not smoke serves as background information for some other, activated information. The only difference with the "B A_*dak*" constructions is that there is no B, because it is not necessary to give the implication a linguistic form.

In other cases, "A_*dak*" does not refer to previously communicated information, but to new information, which, however, is not expressed in words, and thus has to be inferred by the speaker. In other words, in these cases the

expression "A_*dak*" has no backward scope, but forward scope, for "A_*dak*" is more related to "A *dak* B" than to "B, A_*dak*". The reasons for not being expressed are the same: usually, y has not been expressed because its content is obvious for the addressee, or assumed to be so. An additional reason for not being expressed might be that the speaker does not want to be explicit about the exact content of this proposition. This seems to be the case in the next fragment. In chapter 5 it was shown that *dak* can finish indirect answers:

(41) — *А познакомились вы как?*
[S15:] — Ка́к? Кто́, мы́?
— *Да!*
[S15:] — (...) та́jна (... как познако́м'ил'ис'.)
[S16:] — Свojе́j д'ьр'е́вн'и *дак*$_1$! А свojе́j д'ьр'е́вн'и *дак*$_2$ ка́к познако́м'ил'ис'!
[S15:] — (unintell.) ф то́м до́м'ь *дак*$_3$.
[S16:] — Уход'и́л'и да.
[S15:] — Р'а́дом *дак*$_4$.
[S16:] — Уход'и́л'и да и познако́м'ил'ис'. Д'ер'е́вн'а своjа́ *дак*$_5$.

The particle *dak* is used no less than five times in these turns, all of them enclitically. The speakers, a married couple, are asked how they met. Instead of giving a direct reply to this question, they give background information, consisting of relevant conditions followed by *dak*, from which the desired answer can be inferred. Apparently, the speakers do not to want to give a direct answer, either because they are hesitating about telling exactly how they met, or because they cannot give a concrete answer, simply because they do not remember, having known each other from childhood. Instead of giving a direct answer to the question, they imply the content of this answer by giving premises for this answer, from which the answer can more or less be derived. By using final *dak* the speakers explicitly express that this information should be regarded as background knowledge for an easily inferrable following proposition. *Ф свojе́j д'ьр'е́вн'и дак!* should probably be interpreted as denoting the meaning 'considering the fact that it happened in our own village, ...', with *dak* suggesting an implication. The speaker repeats this expression in the next utterance, but this time it is followed by a predication. This predication is not a statement, but a rhetorical question, 'how do you think we met'. This expression is still not an answer to the question posed by the dialectologist, but it expresses that knowing the condition – that the couple is from the same village – it is easy to guess the answer. The third use of *dak*, in the utterance ending in *ф том до́м'ь дак*, can not be given a reliable interpretation, since the first part of this utterance was

unintelligible. The utterance "*Р'а́дом дак*" also gives a condition which is meant to explain how they met, and so does the last utterance, "*Д'ер'е́вн'а своя́ дак*." If *dak* would have been left out, the function of these utterances would be less clear. *Dak* marks them as containing not just some information, but also that this is information which other information is based on.

In the next fragment *dak* is used in an utterance containing the particle *бы* which expresses a hypothetical situation. In this utterance *dak* does not refer to past communication either, but it also implies a consequence, which the addressee (= me; MP) has to infer herself. The context was as follows: after I had recorded the conversation with speaker S2 for some time, I realised that the radio was somewhat disturbing, so I asked my interlocutor if I could turn off the radio. She replied by explaining how this should be done, and then added the remark that I should have asked about this earlier:

(42) — Одв'ерн'и́ ф ту́ там сто́рону к ыко́ны. Одв'ерн'и́. (...) Н'е́, ф ту́ там сто́рону. Во-во́. А ты бы давно́ сказа́ла *дак*. (S2)

The word *dak* after the predication 'you should have told me sooner' suggests an implication, which in this context would be something like 'in that case your recordings would have been better from a much earlier stage'. This implication is in no way expressed linguistically.

The implication y is easily recoverable in the next example as well, although y is neither expressed nor activated. In this fragment, an old lady explains her deplorable situation: she lives alone and has been blind for many years, and the man who used to get by and help her, Nikolaj, died recently. She tells me that since the last time I visited her, her health has deteriorated:[8]

(43) У мн'а голова́ така́ т'ежо́ла. Ја така́ худа́, тот ра́з была́ дак$_1$ лу́ч:'е была́, т'ьп'е́р' ја та́к бол'е́ла оп'е́т' дак$_2$, ə-... н'ишч'о́ н'и к ч'о́му. Да н'и ... (...) Нич'о́ н'е в'и́жу-ть [=так?]. Ув'и́д'ела бы *дак*$_3$,

— *Да, трудно.*

— а н'ич'ево́ н'ь в'и́жу, так ... (unintell.). Н'икола́ј т'еп'ер' по́м'ер дак$_4$, р'е́в'ела р'ев'ела р'ев'ела да. Та́к, ч'о́-то фс'о́ жа́лко фс'о жа́лко фс'о жа́лко да. Да о́н бы́л дак$_5$, о́н заход'ил, о́н пл'ем'а́н'ик. Ната́л'ји с'естры́ сы́н. (S11)

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[8] Gloss of the discussed utterance containing *dak*:
Ув'и́д'ела бы *дак*$_3$, а н'ич'ево́ н'ь в'и́жу, (...)
Saw *irreal dak*, but nothing *neg* see.1sg, prt
'If only I could see, but I don't see anything, (...)'

The logical continuation of the hypothetical expression *Ув'и́д'ела бы дак*$_3$ 'if only I could see *dak*' is that in that hypothetical case, her situation would have been much easier. This is contrasted with the real situation, which is expressed immediately after, *а н'ич'ево́ н'ь в'и́жу* 'but I don't see anything'. The implication is so obvious that the speaker does not need to express it.

The next fragment also exemplifies an implicit y that has not been activated before, at least not in the preceding utterance. The last occurrence of *dak* links the preceding A-part to something which the hearer has to infer himself:

(44) Хо́лодно-то дак, на п'е́ч'ках-то л'ежа́т. Т'опло́ там высоко́ дак у на́с высоко́ у мн'а ... п'е́ч'ка ... Сам хоз'а́йин-то ... ло́жыла. То и пр'и́шло бы́л'и моло́ды дак, и ду́маш-къ н'е́ ду́мал'и ш'о бу́д'ом ста́рые. Вот т'ып'е́р' и на п'е́ч'ку т'ежело́ ... зал'еза́т'. О́jо́. Н'и́же на́до бы́ло зд'е́лат' *дак*. (S1)

The A-part, *Н'и́же на́до бы́ло зд'е́лат'*, means 'we should have made it lower'. *Dak* signals that this information serves as a point of departure for something else. There is no following utterance, so it could have been expressed in the previous utterance. However, it is difficult to imagine that the acknowledgement that the speaker and her husband should have made the oven lower should cause an expressive utterance like "*Ójó*". The "logical" continuation of thinking is 'in that case we would have avoided the problem that we cannot climb on it anymore'. This continuation is so obvious that the speaker probably did not feel the necessity to speak it out. So, we could express the meaning of x, of *dak* and of y in this utterance as follows:

x = We should have built the oven lower
dak = given this circumstance (= the oven having been lower), what follows is ...
y = it would have been easier to climb up onto the oven

So if this interpretation is correct, the continuation implied by *dak* is expressed neither in the preceding nor in the following segment in this context either.

The similarity between "A_*dak*, B" and "A_*dak*" can be shown by the existence of similar expressions in both forms, such as in the use after an imperative, expressing an invitation, an example discussed in section 8.3:

(45) — Но ково́, спра́шывај jиш'о́ ч'ево́ на́дъ *дак*. (S2)
But whom, ask.imper in-addition what.gen necessary *dak*.
'Jusk ask me anything more you need to know.'

I had come to this speaker with a list of questions before, and this time I had brought a new list about words connected with snow. This utterance could possibly be regarded as an elliptic form of a compound sentence. As remarked in section 8.3, the same informant uses almost the same utterance in a compound construction as well:

(46) Та́к jьш'о́ ч'е(в)о спра́шывај *дак* ја отвеч'а́т' бу́ду. (S2)
prt you in-addition something ask.imper. *dak* I answer will
'Just ask something more, and I will answer.'

The intended meaning of the last utterance is probably 'ask me some more, if you do that, I'll answer that', or 'if you ask me more questions, I'll answer them'. In Russian, forms of the imperative are not only used to express imperative clauses conveying a request or an invitation, but they can also constitute the protasis of conditional sentences. Which of the two is meant here is not expressed. This example shows that these two constructions are closely related semantically. The shorter utterance of (45) could have the same implication 'ask me more about what you still need to know', with the implication that she will answer. This interpretation was confirmed by respondent to the questionnaire. The addition of *dak* makes the invitation more convincive.

Dak implies a consequence also in the examples of "A_*dak*" after an invitation from chapter 5:

(47) [S3:] — Пр'ивал'и́с'^{d} на паду́шку-ту *дак*. Ка́ја? На паду́шку-тъ пр'ивал'и́с'. Спа́т' на(в')е́рно хо́(ч'е)ш.
[Kaja, laughing, to MP:] — Jeg ble så trøtt![9] [to all:] Холодно было на улице, сейчас стала — так устала!
[S3:] — Но́:. Т'е т'епло́ дак на́до трубу́ друг'и́м кр'уч'ко́м закры́т'.
[Kaja:] — (unintell.) минуточку (...)
[S3:] — Но́. Вздр'евн'и́ *дак*.

The context of the conversation is as follows. My travelling companion Kaja got suddenly very sleepy from the large difference in temperature. Outside it was about minus 25 °C, while inside the house the temperature was at least 40 degrees higher. Noticing that Kaja was sleepy, the speaker invited Kaja first to lay down on bed and then to take a nap. Such an invitation is not easily accepted by a person who is visiting someone for the first time, because lying down on bed is

[9] The Norwegian utterance *Jeg ble så trøtt!* means "I got so tired!".

not expected behaviour of an unknown guest. Consequently, the guest needs to be persuaded. Apparently, *dak* was used to add to the persuasiveness by implying a positive result, like 'in that case you'll feel much better'. The respondent to the questionnaire confirmed this interpretation.[10]

These examples show that utterance-final *dak* does not always have backward scope, as claimed by Preobraženskaja (see section 6.5.13). Others, like Fedorova,[11] recognised the possibility of forward scope, but only for part of the cases of "A_*dak*" (see chapter 6). Section 13.9 shows that also cases of "A_*dak*" in other dialects discussed in the literature can be explained as activating a y-part, even in cases where *dak* is claimed to have a modal function only.

As explained in section 6.5.7, Fedorova is the first who points out the resemblance between "A *dak* B" and "A_*dak*" (disregarding Popov's not easily accessible article on *da*; see section 6.5.5). She notices that simple sentences ending in *dak* gave the impression to represent not a simple sentence, but a complex sentence, where the second clause is not expressed. Section 6.5.7 discusses two of her examples. However, Fedorova does not suppose such a connective function in all cases where *dak* is the last word of a simple sentence. She interprets the following examples as having a "modal shade of categoriality" (Федорова 1965:80):

(48) Уйди Толя! попере́шный врак такой *дак*!
(49) Нерадивой ето ленивой *дак*.
(50) Дай вычишшу *дак* (яйцо).
(51) Человек ревматизьменный *дак* // тепло надо / берекчи́ся надо //

In three cases, Fedorova found *dak* to function as an element which formally ends the sentence ("*дак* в качестве формального завершающего предложение элемента"; 1965:80), in utterances like the following:

(52) У меня вот тоже старик ушол по дрова[12] *дак*.

However, it is easy to imagine that the speaker had a second proposition in mind even in these cases, although lack of context makes it impossible to prove this. For instance, the example *Дай вычишшу дак (яйцо)* 'Give the egg to me, then I'll clean it (= take off the egg-shell) *dak*' is an offer, similar to (45) - (47) above, like *спра́шывај јши'о́ ч'ево́ на́дъ дак*. Apparently, by using *dak*, the speaker implies

[10] Here are question and answer about this interpretation in the questionnaire: "Может быть употребление слова *дак* здесь указывает на то, что тогда ей будет лучше?? — Правильно."
[11] The same was claimed by Popov on *da* (Попов 1957; see section 6.5.5).
[12] *по дрова* = StR *за дровами* 'to get firewood'; cf. *DARJa* III, 1997 and 2004, map nr. 9 I.

something like 'then you won't have to bother with it', which makes the invitation more convincing. The last mentioned example, *У меня вот тоже старик ушол по дрова дак* 'My old man also went off to fetch firewood *dak*' could well have been an argument for something like 'so he knows all about it', or 'so I know what you are talking about'. The relation between *dak* and modality will be discussed in section 13.7.

Dak can finish several kinds of expressive utterances. The function of *dak* in these utterances is almost always characterised as being "expressive", "emphasising", or "confirming the finality of the utterance" (see chapter 6). Although the particle *dak* in expressive utterances might contribute to the implication of modal meanings, *dak* appears to have the same core meaning here as in the other uses of *dak*.

Section 9.2.1 mentioned *dak* in constructions containing a comparative quantifier like *так*, *такой* and *столько* in the A-part, and a B-part containing a consequence. Frequently there is no B-part, and in the A-part surprise is expressed over the high degree of a certain quality, such as in the earlier mentioned examples (5.11) and (5.43), repeated here as (53) and (54):

(53) На у́л'иц'и-то така́ л'апа́нда^{d} вал'и́т *дак*! (S2)
On street-*prt* such sticky-snow falls *dak*
'It's snowing so hard outside!'

(54) А то́ скажут «jе́сл'и густо́j да а́нд'ел^{d}, така́ сн'ежы́на^{d} вал'и́т *дак*!» (S2)

It is far from self-evident that the A-part should be considered to be a point of departure for some proposition or thought in such expressive utterances. In most cases of the exclamatory, expressive "A_*dak*"-type the speaker does not seem to have a specific proposition in mind, but the A-part might represent background information which led to an emotional reaction of the speaker, parallel to at least some of the "A *dak* B"-constructions described above, such as the following example from *AOS*, *Такой был хозе́ин-от, дак сохрани господи!*

It is remarkable that enclitic *dak* in expressive exclamations is almost only used after constructions containing a comparative quantifier. This restriction to its use suggests that the construction is still closely connected with the similar construction which does contain a B-part, expressing a cause-consequence relation. Their close ties are also implied by the last mentioned two examples of "A_*dak*". Both are used in a context where the same construction is also used in a complex sentence – "A_*dak*_B". The dialectologist asks whether the villager

knows the expression *вгусту́*:

(55) — *«Вгусту́*d*». Если очень много снега.*
— Ага.
— *Так говорят?*
— Говор'а́т. Тако́j густо́j сн'ек ид'о́т *дак*. Вгусту́ ды. Л'и́бо сн'е́га то́же вгусту́ ска́жут.
— *Угу.*
— Сн'е́гу-ту сто́л'ко *дак* вгусту́ пр'а́мо.
— *Пока падает?*
— Ага. (S2)

A few utterance later, the speaker uses both constructions once again:

(56) А то́ ска́жут, jе́сл'и густо́j да а́нд'ел, така́: сн'ежы́на*d* вал'и́т *дак*! Ja говор'у́-то а́нд'ел, така́ сн'ежы́на на у́л'иц'и-то вал'и́т *дак* стра́шно. (S2)

This combined use shows the similarity of the construction with and without a B-part. The data suggest that not only the "A_*dak*_B"-constructions with a comparative quantifier (see section 9.2.1 above), but also the similar "A_*dak*"-constructions are meant to express a cause-consequence relation. However, the similarity might also imply that both constructions are expressions of "A_*dak*", and not of "A_*dak* B". The parts which have been called B might in fact not be in the scope of *dak* after all. The prosody of the Varzuga example (56) could support this alternative interpretation. "A_*dak*" and the emotional expression are often divided by a short pause, which means that the second expression is not necessarily in the scope of *dak*, and is not part of the *dak*-construction.

AOS contains several examples of the variant without a B-part as well, for instance *Опе́ть та́к в го́рле болю́д дак.* However, these examples have been given a very different explanation. The cited example is one of a range of very diverging examples classified under the second context of *dak* in *AOS* "in the end of a narrative sentence to strengthen the semantic finality" ("В конце повествовательного предложения для усиления смысловой завершенности").

Lambrecht remarks that in English, words or constructions expressing that the proposition is presupposed can be exploited for special communicative purposes (Lambrecht 1994:72). The fact of being presupposed implies that its truth value is not liable to questioning. This implication can be exploited, and a marking of the expression as being presupposed can therefore be conventiona

lised and develop into a mere intensifier. Lambrecht gives the following examples from English with the emphatic *do*-construction (with Lambrecht's original numbering; capital letters indicate an emphatic accent):

(2.22) I DID pay you back.
(2.24) I do hope that doggie's for sale.

The first example builds on the presupposition that the truth of the proposition expressed has been questioned – that the speaker did not pay back the addressee. But in the second case, taken from a popular song, no such presupposition is activated, since there is no previous suggestion that the speaker did *not* have that hope. The only function of the word *do* seems to be the function of an intensifier, so that *I do hope* is equivalent to *I really hope* (ibid.). The same function may have developed for the use of *dak* in the constructions with comparative quantifiers without a B-part. The use of *dak* implies that the content of A, x, is either given, or relationally given, since it must be given at the moment y is valid (see next chapter). Therefore, the validity of x is presented as not being open to questioning, similar to the English expressions described by Lambrecht. The use of *dak* in expressive, exclamatory utterances expressing (or suggesting) a high degree of something might cause an expansion of its secondary function as an emphasising, enhancing particle in these constructions, at the expense of its primary function as a connector of two information units; cf. the possibility of meaning extension, as discussed in section 7.1.3.

9.3.2 "*Dak*_B" (subgroup 11)

Utterance-initial *dak* ("*Dak*_B") is used in many different kinds of expressions. Just like other non-postpositive use of *dak*, such as "A, *dak*_B" and parts of "A_*dak*_B",[13] utterance-initial *dak* is not exclusive for Northern Russian dialects. It is used in many other regions of Russia, and shares many functions with the utterance-initial use of unstressed *tak* in Standard-Russian and *dyk* in Belorussian (see section 6.2.3.2 and 14.3.2). Since this study focusses on the specific Northern Russian postpositive use of *dak*, the cases of utterance-initial *dak* were not studied in depth. Utterance-initial *dak* often has many (secondary) pragmatic functions, so a satisfying account of this use of the word requires discourse

[13] A pause between A and the correlate *tak* in Standard Russian is usual, but not obligatory. This means that Standard Russian prepositive *tak* can also be prosodically attached to both sides ("A_*tak*_B"), when prosodic attachment is phonetically defined, like in the present research; see section 7.2.3.3.

analysis of a large corpus, which includes conversation analysis and text linguistics. Still, even my preliminary study of utterance-initial *dak* suggests that utterance-initial *dak* is consistent with the proposed core meaning of *dak* as well. In all cases, *dak* signals that the subsequent expression is based on prior information (see section 10.3.6 for a discussion of the term *prior*). Utterance-initial *dak* functions first of all as a continuation marker. It always links the coming utterance to accessible knowledge, but this knowledge is only rarely expressed in the immediately preceding utterance. Usually, utterance-initial *dak* signals a connection with a previous, temporarily abandoned topic, or with the meaning of a complex of preceding utterances. In monologues, *dak* most often introduces a conclusion or a continuation of a story line, usually after an interruption. *Dak* can also introduce turns. In that case its meaning is less obvious, but could also be explained as being the core meaning, as explained below.

I will first give contexts with cause-consequence relations. In the following two examples, *dak* introduces a continuation of the story which is causally related to the previously activated information. In both fragments the topic is Kud'a, the speaker's cat, who has been lying on top of the warm oven. My friend Kaja asked if the cat was old. The answer was positive, and the speaker started deducing exactly how old the cat must have been. The speaker's husband, Miša, died sixteen years ago, and she got the cat earlier, even much earlier. *Dak* introduces the logical deduction that the cat must have become old:

(57) Ми́ша у́мер ... шесна́цат' л'е́т дак, а о́н вз'а́тој ... у м'ин'а́ в'ьт' ... пора́н'ше. Ра́н'ше в'ит' мно́го. *Дак* вот о́н фс'о и ... ста́рыј то́же стал. (S1)

In the second fragment, the speaker explains why her cat keeps moving from one place to another all the time. She has moved the chair from its usual place, because she would receive guests. The chair was the favourite place of the cat to lie down. *Dak* introduces the logical conclusion. It is because the chair has been moved and is occupied frequently that the cat does not know where to lie down:

(58) У м'ьн'а́ фс'о стоја́ло кр'есло́ тут *дак* он ... фс'о спа́л на э́том кр'есл'е́ а ја́ т'еп'ер' јего́ вы́н'есла ду́мају ... лофч'е́ј ... у стола́-тъ с'ид'е́т' на сту́л'е-то дак. *Дак* вот о́н ... и хо́д'ит н'и зна́т куда́ јему́ ... л'е́ч'. (S1)

In the next fragment, *dak* introduces an utterance with a summarising, final remark about what she has just been talking about: 'So these were the thirties'. It is a fragment from a long story about the most important events in the village

and in the speaker's own life in every decade. In this excerpt, the speaker had just finished her story about the 1930s. She marked the end of this subtopic with the utterance *Вот та́к вот,* which was pronounced in a very soft voice (marked with brackets):

(59) (...) а о́н-то говор'и́л — ну́ Л'икон'и́тка — ја то́же подава́ла над'е́жда што ... н'ь софс'е́м глу́па была́. Во́т. (Во) гыт ја т'иб'а́ вы́уч'у на до́ктора. На ф'ершал'и́ц'у он та́к до́ктор зва́л'и, ф'ершал'и́ца. (Вот та́к вот.) *Дак* вот э́тъ бы́л'и тр'ица́ты го́ды, кол'ект'ив'иза́ц'ија кон'е́шно бы́лъ о́ч'ен' тру́дные го́ды. (S3)

In a narrative, initial *dak* can introduce a continuation of the story line. In most cases this is a return to a previous discourse topic (cf. Шуйская 2002:202f), which has been temporarily abandoned, such as in (5.5) from chapter 5 – this time with context:

(60) — *А в тридцатых годах, в тридцать седьмом году, много ... увезли?*
— Ф тр'и́ц:ет' с'ед'мо́м году́ у на́с ув'езл'и́ двоји́х, вот, Ул'ја́ны-тъ Ст'епа́новны оц:а́, ... о́н заступ'и́лс'а за це́ркв'и. «Зач'е́м их разруша́т'-тъ» ка-бут:ъ. Ји́ молодо́го па́рн'а. Кста́т'и своји́м ста́ршым бра́том он ə-... это ... с одно́(г)о го́да, с п'етна́цатово го́да. Он'и́ бы́л'и на проп'и́ск'и, вот ə- .. ф с'ер'ед'и́ны тр'иц:а́тых-то годо́ф та́мотк'и^{d}. На пр'ип'и́ск'и в У́мбы. Ну́ да та́м вы́п'ил'и он'и́ фс'е́, а тогда́ э́тът Јежо́ф, Јежо́ф-то бы́л ... ə- ... в Рос:'и́и-то ... Сугон'и́т'ел' то́же тако́ј бы́л, јежо́фшч'ина-то была́.
(— Гм.)
— Во́т. *Дак* вот о́н ч'ево́-то про Јежо́ва-тъ сказа́л, за так'и́ слова́ јего́ ув'езл'и́ н... в Магада́н.
— *Ага. И вернулся?*
— О́н в'ерну́лса.
— *Ага!*
— О́н сра́зу с'уда́ пр'ијéх(ал) мно́го годо́ф прошло́, уже по́сле војны́, пр'ијéхал с'уда́ вро́д'е как на разв'е́тку. Ка́к јего пр'и́мут, но́: а сво́ј па́р'ен'-то, золото́ј бы́л дак. Во́т. Пото́м он софс'е́м пр'ијéхал, гыт (...) (S3)

Dak vot follows after a digression from the story line about what happened during the thirties. The digression contains the identification of the two men who were taken away in 1937 and an explanation of the reason for their deportation – it happened during the worst period of repression under Ježov. The speaker marks with an accented *vot* that she has finished this subtopic. *Dak*

vot leads the conversation back to the main story line. Without a marker, such as *dak vot*, the change would be too abrupt (cf. section 14.3.1).

Example (61) from *SRGKar* is, presumably, used with the same function:

(61) *Дак* мы построили дом. (*SRGKar*)

This example was given a very different explanation. It was classified, following earlier characterisations of *dak* (e.g. in Шапиро 1953; Мерлин 1979) under the vague category of an intensifying particle, used to underline and emphasise the word it relates to.[14] However, the content of the utterance suggests that it is part of a chain of events, or a conclusion, "so we built a/the house". Besides, in this example it is not even clear which word it would emphasise. It is unlikely that the word *мы* 'we' would be emphasised in this utterance. Unfortunately, lack of contextual information deprives us from the possibility to find the intended relation.

In many cases, *dak* introduces an utterance expressing both a temporal continuation and a logical consequence from the previously activated information. In the next example, it is not clear if *dak* first of all introduces a return to a previous topic, or if it merely introduces the subsequent event:

(62) (...) пошла́ к Л'икон'и́ды, ји́с' [= есть] э́т'их, п'еч'о́нок. *Дак* та́м пос'ид'е́ла да вот ско́л'ко вр'е́м'ен'и вот та́к ру́к'и тр'есу́ц':е! (S3) [App. XVItext 15]

Dak is used after a short digression between the report of two events, namely her arrival at Likonida's house and the shivering of her hands which started after her arrival. Between the report of these two events, the speaker explains the reason for her coming: she came to eat the kidneys. She used some time on this digression, because she could not find the word for the food at once.[15] *Dak* leads the conversation back to the sequence of events. However, 'so I was sitting there' is ambivalent. It could not only imply 'let's get back to the main story line', but also 'from this information you can conclude yourself that I was sitting there.' In the first reading, *dak* introduces the information that the speaker was sitting there as a successive event, but in the second reading, it is meant to be a conclusion which the hearers themselves can deduce from the preceding information.

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[14] "*част. усилит.* Подчеркивает, выделяет то слово, к которому относится" (*SRGKar*).

[15] The speaker had earlier described this food with the dialectal word *ма́косок*, which means 'fish liver' (probably the genitive plural of *ма́коска*; see section 4.5.4). A reason for her hesitation might be that she was reluctant to use this word in the presence of a foreigner.

The first two examples mentioned in this section, (57) and (58), which introduced a conclusion, can also be regarded as introducing a return to the main topic after a short digression. In the first example, the digression (*Ми́ша у́мер ... шесна́ц̣ат' л'е́т дак, а о́н вз'а́тој ... у м'ин'а́ в'ьт' ... пора́н'ше. Ра́н'ше в'ит' мно́го*) was an elaboration of when the speaker got the cat. In the second, the digression is the explanation of the reason why the speaker moved the chair: *ду́мају ... ло́фч'е́j ... у стола́-тъ с'ид'е́т' на сту́л'е-то дак* 'I thought that it would be more comfortable to sit on the chair when it is close to the table'.

In almost all examples mentioned so far in this section, *dak* was combined with the particle *vot*. As remarked in section 8.4.2, *dak* is possibly combined with *vot* because *dak* alone has too little meaning to be able to imply the transition to a new subtopic on its own; see also section 14.3.1. *Dak* signals that the coming utterance does not come "out of the blue", but that is based on some previously activated information.

In the following examples, *dak* introduces a clear topic shift. In (63), the speaker finishes a discourse topic with *Дак вот ма́к* 'that's how it is'. It is the ideal moment to continue with something else, introduced by *dak*:

(63) *Дак* вот та́к. *Дак* ты́ мо́жет вы́кл'уч'иш н'имно́шко ды? Н'и мно́го т'иб'е́ э́тъвъ? (S2)

At the same time, the question introduced by *dak* is a natural continuation of the chain of thoughts, provoked by the previous utterance. As the speaker had finished with the topic, and we had been talking for a long time, the speaker thought I could just as well stop recording.

In the next fragment, *dak* introduces a topic, which possibly had been mentioned before, but in that case that happened at least five minutes earlier, before I started recording:

(64) — Н'и о́ч'ьн' моло́дыj-то, но н'е́ ста́рыj. У На́ст'и пр'ив'ез'о́н бы́л. Вот у́ ло́пск'их была́ ко́шеч'ка Л'у́-... Л'у́с'ка, о́н'ь бра́т с с'естроj. Вот та́к вот. *Дак* вот по́шла́ ... изв'ин'а́ца п'е́р'ед ва́мы ш'о ... того́ ... Јефсто́л'ија э́то позвон'и́ла мн'е́ ны́н'еч'е гыт хот'е́л'и гъвър'ит п'е́с'енък сп'е́т'. Двои́ма-то фс'о́-так'и. (S3) [App. VI text 15]

The speaker is talking about her cat. She has arrived at least five minutes earlier, as it turned out later, to excuse herself for not having been able to come and sing, because she had been occupied searching for her cat. During these five minutes she told the long story about how she finally had found and caught her cat, after

many days of searching. When she had finished her story, my host asked if her cat was old. After the last remarks about her cat, she marks that she has finished the topic by saying *Вот мáк вот.* Now she can finally, after many digressions, return to her "main story", that is, to tell the purpose of her visit. This transition is marked by *Dak vot*. Once again, the topic shift is marked by more words than *dak*.

Summarising, utterance-initial *dak* probably signals continuation in all of these cases of use in narratives and other monologues. Further study is needed to find its exact role in such utterances.

Turn-initial *dak* is more problematic to reconcile with the proposed core meaning of *dak*. The examples from the Varzuga database give the impression that *dak* signals even here that the utterance is based on given information. The particle often appears to signal something like 'given these circumstances, what follows is y'.

As remarked in chapter 5, turn-initial *dak* frequently introduces slightly non-cooperative replies, for instance, in (65) and (66):

(65) — *Интересно. А вы тоже туда поедете?*
— *Дак* н'е замож*у́*- гу, н'*е́*! (S2)
'(...) Do you also go there?'
'Well, I don't - I can't!'

(66) [S1:] — Он пр'ишо́л бы одна́ко!
[S3:] — *Дак* н'е пр'ишо́л бы, j*é*сл'и у ко́шк'и!

The examples (67) and (68) of turn-initial *dak* from Шапиро 1953, according to the author used "if its content is given special importance" (see section 6.5.4), introduce slightly non-cooperative replies as well:

(67) *Дък* не бывало еш̄о письма (answer to the question: Было ли письмо?; Arch.)
(68) *Дък* вот одна-то ето, а больше нет (answer to the question: Сколько детей?; Arch.)

Like in other uses, *dak* appears to signal that the speaker's utterance is based on previous information. It suggests that the answer does not come "out of the blue", as the addressee might think from the non-cooperative answer, but it is related to the previous context. The reply in the first example may imply 'Given the circumstances, I cannot go, no.' The addition of *dak* seems thus to have a secondary pragmatic function of a softener or down-toner, and signal that the

reply does not violate Grice's conversational maxim of relevance. If *dak* had been left out, the replies would have been rude, especially in the second example, since it contains a complete contradiction of what the other interlocutor has stated. *Dak* may change the utterance in the last example from 'he wouldn't have come!' to 'given the circumstances, if you know what I know, he wouldn't have come!' Other interpretations can, of course, not be ruled out.

Turn-initial *dak* does not only introduce non-cooperative replies. The next examples do not contradict the statements of the other speaker at all:

(69) [S3:] — У л'у́д'е́j ко́рм'иц:е.
[S1:] — Она́ у л'уд'е́j ко́рм'иц:е. Он'е́ да ... мно́го л'и та́нка [= там-ка?] ... до́ма-то нахо́д'иц:е, она́ н'икогда́ до́ма н'е́ту *дак*$_1$ мно́го л'и ко́рм'иц:е. (unintell.)
[S3:] — *Дак*$_2$ вот пока́ Мар'и́ша была́ жыва́ *дак*$_3$ и д'оржа́ла jej. А Мар'и́шы н'и ста́ло она́ по фс'е́м.

Dak$_2$ in this fragment is a new example of the combination *dak vot*. It may have been used to indicate a conclusive summary of the preceding context.

In the last turn of the next fragment, *dak* introduces an utterance expressing neither a successive event nor a deduction from the preceding utterances, but still the utterance is based on previously activated information:

(70) *[MP:] — У меня мало практики.*
[S2:] — Да, бо́л'ше вот так бы ... с так'и́м'и, с ру́с:к'им'и-то ə- ... э́тово, обш'а́лас' дак бы скор'е́е ... на́вык-то бы́л.
[S13:] — *Дак* в Норв'е́г'ии нав'е́рно мно́го ру́с:к'их-то jе́с' там?

The conclusion from the preceding utterance is that the interviewer (= me; MP) needs to talk more with Russians. A "logical" successive thought would be 'where could she get that practice?' Next, speaker S13 realises that there must be Russians in Norway as well. Therefore, his question does follow from previously activated information – my need for more practice. However, some of the intermediate argumentational steps between the last utterance and the utterance introduced by *dak* have not been expressed.

Šujskaja gives more convincing examples of contexts of *dak* where an intermediate step in a sequence of thoughts with implications is not expressed; see the discussion in section 9.4.1 below. Similarly, utterance-initial *dak* usually refers not to a concrete expression, but to some implication of what has been said earlier.

I will finish this discussion with more examples of turn-initial *dak*, which show that it can be used in many different contexts. In the next example, it is used before the coordinating conjunction *a*:

(71) [S6*:] — А с'его́дн'е пло́хо п'екло́.
[S1:] — Пло́хо ...
[S6*:] — Но́ц'ју св'е́т гас'и́л'ис' ...
[S1:] — У м'ен'а пло́хо п'ек'о́т фс'огда́. Мо́жет быт' от э́тој ... у м'ен'а́-то быва́т плоха́ја ...
[S6*:] — *Дак* а у м'ен'а́-то то́же стар'и́н:ы *дак*.
[S1:] — То́же ста́ры так [=там?]. Така́ же как у теб'а́ *дак*.

The one but last reply, which is introduced by *dak*, gives the impression to be slightly non-cooperative. The speaker S6* objects that her oven is old as well. Later on she will explain that normally she has no problems with baking. *Dak* may have been used to signal the speaker's recognition of the given situation that her friend (S1) has a bad oven, which is compared to the speaker's own situation. The speaker has a concessive relation in mind: although her neighbour S1 has a bad oven, she herself has a bad oven as well. *Dak* can be combined with markers of concessive relations like *хоть* 'although' (e.g. Вяткина 1999).[16]

Dak can also introduce a reply where the speaker is uncertain about the answer:

(72) — *А давали ... потому, что вы были вдовами?*
— *Дак* [= Дык] мо́жет т...го́ л'и ... *дак* нав'е́рно. (S5)

A possible interpretation is 'given the information I have, that is possible.' *Dak* might also refer directly to the previous utterance, to indicate that what follows is really meant to be an answer to the question: 'as for that reason, it is possible.' Similar reasoning can explain use of *dak* before a hesitation, as explained in the next section.

The speaker appears to be unsure about the correct continuation also in the next fragment:

[16] One of the rare examples with a concessive relation from Varzuga is the following, used after the speaker has told that the snowballs were used to build both snowmen and houses:

(...) бол'шы́ паку́л'и^{d} наката́јут. И ма́л'ен'к'и, ска́(ж)ут паку́л'и э́т'и ма́л'ен'к'и кото́ры к'ина́јуц:е-то. Т'а́пајут так. А э́тот-то то́же ката́јут-то ... этово ... до́м-то хот' *дак* ... бол'шо́ј паку́л' пакул'а́мы над'е́лајут. (S2)

(73) Óч'ьн' давнó jéтъ бы́ло, ój. *Дак* ja jиш'é н'е за́мужем былá дак. (S5)

Dak introduces the next step in reasoning. The speaker tries to remember how long ago it was that the event took place. It reminds of the use of *dak* we saw above where *dak* returns to a previous topic. It signals a continuation, not necessarily from the previous linguistic unit, but from other thoughts: 'as far as I recall, it must have been before my marriage.' This utterance is also finished by *dak*. This last use of *dak* marks that this information has a certain implication. The content of this implication is obvious: the fact that the event must have taken place before the interlocutor got married implies that it happened long ago. This need not be expressed, because this information is already activated.

9.3.3 *Dak* between silences (subgroup 12)

In a few cases, *dak* is used between two periods of silence, such as the first occurrence of *dak* in (5.45): *ма́к-то л'о́т ... дак ... н'е бу́д'еш полоскá т' (...)*. This possible context has not been mentioned in the literature, perhaps because of rarity, or because the presence of pauses, being prosodic information, is not thought to be relevant. Silences are not always reflected in transcriptions, in particular hesitations. The only attestation I found of use between silences is not of *dak*, but of *dyk* in substandard spoken Russian (Земская & Шмелев 1984:187), in a fragment of a conversation with a lady from Moscow, who was 86 years old at the time of the interview in 1959. She is explaining how weddings were celebrated in families of merchants:

(74) На шестерне/ это... карета была на шестерне/ шесть лошадей было запряжёно/ Две лошади/ две/ и опять две// Шесть лошадей// *Дык*... мы въезжали в наш переулок/ где мамашин дом был/ *дык* э... не могли повернуть даже// Птаму шо не пово... не повернешь карету// Это была... такая... шестерней// К... кругом пришлось объезжать// (...)

In the contexts between silences, *dak* signals that the speaker intends to say more, namely a predication based on activated knowledge. The silence following after *dak* appears to be always due to hesitation. The speaker probably uses *dak* to indicate that she has a continuation in mind, but she is still searching for the words. As remarked in chapter 8, *dak* between pauses is in practice "*Dak* ... B" or "A ... *dak* ... B", unless the speaker does not finish what she intends to say. If both x and y are expressed, the order of their expressions A and B is always "A – B".

Chapter 8 contains an example of "... *dak* ..." in a story-line (8.12), where *dak* indicates that the speaker intends to express a subsequent event or other logical continuation. The other example in section 8.3 exemplifies turn-initial use. *Dak* is often used between a question and its answer, where the question expresses the point of departure and the answer the implication of this point of departure. In the next fragment, the construction *x dak y* can be described as *ло́панка дак ма́леньки* 'a *lopanka* is a small reindeer':[17]

(75) — *А ведь когда разного возраста олени, по-меньше, по-больше, они как-то специально назывались?*
— Но ка́к же, называ́л'ис'.
— *А расскажите как.*
— Нач'ина́ja с ло́панк'и^{d}. Пы́жык^{d} сразу, пото́м ло́панка.
— *А лопанка, это ...?*
— Этъ фтаро́j го́т уже́. Пы́жык сра́зу ро́д'ица дак пы́жык. Но пото́м бо́л'ше уже́ ло́панка.
— *А это и олень и оленуха, лопанка?*
— *Дак* ... ма́л'ен'к'и, да́:.
— *И самка и самец, лопанка, или только самка лопанка?*
— Ло́панка са́мка. (S8) [App. VI text 3]

Turn-initial "*Dak* ..." typically introduces answers to a question where the speaker is uncertain about the correct reply. The use of *dak* signals that the speaker needs some thinking before she will give the answer, or, similar to utterance-initial "*dak*_B", discussed in the previous section, that the seemingly non-cooperative reply is a relevant answer after all. In the example given here, the speaker was clearly unsure about the answer, since her answers are contradictory. At first, she answers positively to the question whether the word *lopanka* was used both for male and female young reindeer, but in the next reply, she asserts that a *lopanka* is always female. The relation between *dak* and question-answer pairs will be further discussed in section 10.3.11.

In the next example, turn-initial *dak* probably refers directly to the preceding utterance. Together, question, *dak* and answer would form a normal pair of point of departure and the statement about it, apart from the fact that the respondent does not know the content of the requested information: *Когда церковь не работала дак ja .... н'ь зна́jу*:

[17] The word *ма́л'ен'к'и* could both represent a M. singular and a plural form; cf. StR M sg. *маленький*; pl. *ма́л'енькие*. The traditional M sg. form in the dialect is *ма́л'ен'коj*, but this comparably young speaker is likely to use the Standard Russian ending with an <и> when speaking to us.

(76) — *А раньше какой был похоронный обряд здесь?*
— Как ... отп'ева́л'и ф це́р'ку.
— *А когда церкви не было? Когда церковь не работала?*
— *Дак* ja .... н'ь зна́ju, тогда́ уш то́л'ко нав'е́рно на кла́дб'иш'о пр'ьч'ита́jут то́л'ко дак. По́ кн'и́шк'и, н'и попа́ .., поп сн'а́тъj был. (S5)
'What kind of buriel ceremony used to be here?'
'How ... they sang funeral songs in church.'
'But when there was no church? When the church was not in function anymore?
'*Dak* ... I don't know, then probably only sermons were recited at the cemetary *dak*. Learnt from a book, there was no priest, the priest had been arrested.'

By using this construction with *dak*, the speaker may want to signal that she intends to give the answer to this question. This fragment is a typical example of a comparison between two different situations. In the preceding context, their was discussion of the burial rites from the times when the church was still in service. This is compared to the situation when the churches had been closed. The answer 'I don't know' departs from the preceding information: 'as for the time when the church was not in use, I don't know'. This lack of knowledge is contrasted to the time when it still was in use, as regards to which she did know the answer. Apparently, the use of *dak* signals that what the speaker is going to say really is an answer to the question, which is put into contrast with a parallel question-answer pair.

The following example marks a non-cooperative reply. We were talking about a certain building, and I wanted to know where it was situated. I falsely inferred that the building we were talking about was one of the former church buildings. This assumption had to be corrected:

(77) — *Это раньше была церковь?*
[S4:] — *Дак* ... вот говор'у́ э́того ...
[S17:] — Н'е́, вот т'ип'е́р'-тъ, гд'е Мар'и́ja-тъ ... Мар'и́ja-тъ гд'е́ таргу́jет. Р'а́дом-то у на́с гд'е́ вот э́тот-то гд'е́ (...)

Dak before a hesitation is reminiscent of accented *та́к*, which can be used in similar contexts before a hesitation to signal that the speaker needs some thinking before he or she will give the answer. Unlike unaccented *dak*, accented *tak* has a separate identifying function (cf. Lambrecht 1994:139; see section 14.3).

9.4 Explanation of apparent counterexamples

The literature gives a number of examples which may appear to be counter-examples to the proposed analysis of *dak*, such as claimed copulative additive and contrastive use of *dak*. However, even in these contexts, *dak* can be explained as being in accordance with the proposed core meaning of *dak.*

9.4.1 Assumed additive and contrastive use of *dak*

The Varzuga database of occurrences of *dak* does not contain examples of copulative additive use ('and') or contrastive use of *dak* ('but'). Other researchers did not find such use of *dak* either. For example, Nikitina and Požarickaja (Никитина & Пожарицкая 1993) remark that in their data (from a dialect in the Pinega region, Arch. obl.) *dak* is only used in closed, not in open syntactic constructions (see section 6.5.15). In other words, according to their observations, *dak* is not used as a coordinative element, for example to construct enumerations. This indicates that *dak* does not play the role of a coordinative conjunction, or at least that this role would be highly peripheral (1993:162). Požarickaja claims that *dak* is an almost universal connecting device for subordinative constructions, while among the words expressing coordinative relations she mentions *i*, *da* and *da i*, but not *dak* (Пожарицкая 1997:127). Others, however, claim to have found additive, copulative use of *dak*, which is difficult to reconcile with the function of *dak* to signal asymmetric relations. Several of the dialect dictionaries mention use of *dak* as a coordinating conjunction (e.g. *AOS*, *SRNG*, Меркурьев 1997a). *Dak* is claimed to be used between two main clauses in a compound sentence with an additive, comparative, or adversative interrelation in the following examples:

(78) Говорили тебе, *дак* не послушала. (*SRGKar*; "союз сопоставит.-противит.")
Не так, *дак* эдак; не мытьем, *дак* катаньем. (Sverdl.; *SRNG*)

(79) Мы́ пойо́м, *дак* они́ вза́ди пою́т. (Arch.; *AOS*, "10. Союз соединит. *Для выражения сопоставляемых предложений или членов предложения*.")

Repetitive use of *dak*: *Dak* still marks asymmetric, binary relations

Another typical context for coordinating connectives is repeated use in an enumeration, which the following utterances are claimed to be examples of:[18]

(80) Пья́ной *дак*, дика́рь *дак*. (*AOS*)

[18] This context is classified as meaning (context) number 3 in *AOS*, "*при перечислении после каждого из однородных членов предложения или однородных предложений*".

Бо́цьку найдёж *дак*, солодя́гу вы́льйеж *дак*, розболта́ж *дак* — во́т и ква́з бу́дет. (*AOS*)

(81) пойду *дак* погляжу *дак* (Volog.; Кузьмина 1993)

Dak can even be repeated after each syntactically similar member in an enumeration, similar to *da*.

There are several possible explanations for the diverging observations in the literature. One is that they are due to dialectal differences, but it is unlikely that the properties of *dak* would be so fundamentally different from one dialect to another. Another, more probable explanation for the conflicting observations is the multi-interpretability of the constructions containing *dak*, which gives room for different interpretations of the same contexts. Contexts that by some might be interpreted as coordinative, might be interpreted differently by others. Most examples given in the literature can easily be given a non-coordinative interpretation. A good example is the following sentence form *AOS*:
the following one:

(80) Пья́ной *дак*, дика́рь *дак*. (*AOS*)
'(is) drunk *dak*, a wild man *dak*'

AOS compares *dak* in this case with *da*. However, *da* gives different associations:

(80a) Пья́ной *да*, дика́рь *да*. (my modification; MP)

The "default" interpretation would be additive: 'he was drunk, and he was a wild man, too'. However, if the proposed core meaning of *dak* is correct, this is not what is implied by *dak*. The first probable context coming to my mind is the relation assumed by Preobraženskaja for her own examples – that both units followed by *dak* refer back to the same previous expression, for which they give an explanation, in this case, a reason. The meaning may have been something like 'He behaved awfully. Given he was drunk, given he is a wild man'. In more natural English this would result in a translation like 'He behaved awfully. After all, he was drunk, and he is a wild man'. In this example, the two elements marked by *dak* are not added to each other.

The following two examples, however, show a complex construction where the interrelation between the two connected elements semantically is both copulative, symmetric and hypotactic, asymmetric at the same time. *Dak* is here used to mark an opposition in conditional, i.e. asymmetric sentences ("Употребляется для выражения противопоставления в условных предложениях"; *SRNG*).

Besides the opposition of two equal members of a set (of possible ways), a conditional relation is expressed: 'if not x, then y'. The example utterances can be translated both with a conditional and with an adversative conjunction:

(82) Не так, *дак* эдак

'Not like this, but like that' / 'If not like this, then like that'

(83) не мытьем, *дак* катаньем

(if) not by-washing, then by-mangling

'by hook or by crook' (Wheeler 1984)

'niet goedschiks, *dan* kwaadschiks' (Van den Baar 1979)

(if) not willingly, then unwillingly

The second utterance is a saying in Standard Russian with *tak* in place of *dak*. The Russian-English dictionary (Wheeler 1984) gives an equivalent with a coordinative construction, containing the coordinating conjunction *or*, whereas the Dutch equivalent saying given in a Russian-Dutch dictionary (Van den Baar 1979) contains the conditionality marker *dan* 'then'.

Example (4) expresses a sequence of events or actions, where an action starts only after the previous one is finished. *Dak* can thus have been used in its usual, asymmetric function, to connect subsequent events that are causally or conditionally dependent on each other. Example (79) (*Мы́ пойо́м, дак они́ взáди поюо́т*) can also be interpreted as a sequence of events, which could be translated with a subordinative construction like "While we are singing, they sing from behind". This also accounts for (78) (*Говорили тебе, дак не послушала*), although the implied relation of contrast is more obvious: "they were talking to you, and while they were talking, you did not listen." These examples could be explained as cases where an intermediate thought in a chain of thoughts in an argumentation has not been expressed, in this case the point of departure; see the discussion of (87) from Шуйская 2002 below.

Unfortunately, the lack of context and prosodic information about the examples in the literature, such as *пойду дак погляжу дак* from Кузьмина 1993, makes it impossible to be certain about the correct interpretation, a fact remarked by Kuz'mina herself; see section 6.5.14.

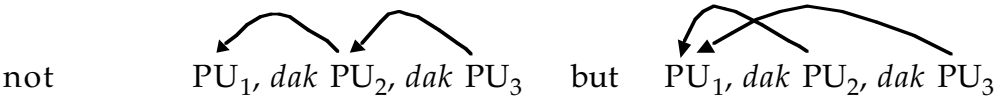
The Varzuga database contains a single attestation of *dak* in what could be interpreted as an enumeration, but the context of this example is ambiguous:

(84) Како́-о .. штро́п подаю́т *дак*, м'ешк'и́ подаю́т *дак*. (S4) [App. VI text 10]

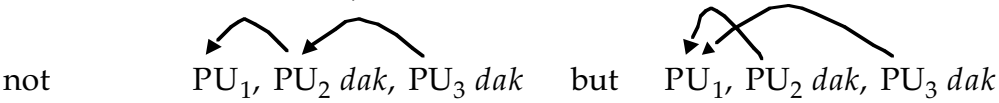
The intonation of the two similar syntactic constructions is very much alike and seems to fit well for an enumeration (see 12.2.6). However, the same expression is partly repeated some utterances later, but now it does not have the form of an enumeration, and the intonation is different as well: *бра́мы погру́з'иш оп'а́м' штро́н подайу́т дак*. The intonation is quite similar, apart from the end, where *dak* has much lower pitch than in the earlier expressions *штро́н подайу́т дак* and *м'ешк'и́ подайу́т дак*.

There are several possible interpretations, and *dak* having an "enumerative" function is only one of them. The fact that a word is used between two syntactically similar constructions which could be meant as an enumeration does not necessarily imply that this word has an enumerative function. An alternative interpretation, which would not conflict with the proposed core meaning of *dak*, is that the speaker implies consecutive events in this case as well: 'first they hand you the rope, then they hand you the sacks ...', with *dak* implying some following events or consequences, like more exhausting activities, the resulting fatigue or a conclusion like "so you can imagine how tough this work was'.

Preobraženskaja also observed that *dak* can be used repeatedly in a polypredicative unit, for instance in constructions of the form "PU, PU *dak*, PU *dak*" or "PU, *dak* PU, *dak* PU" (PU = predicative unit; Преображенская 1985:69f; see section 6.5.13). She compares these constructions with repetitive use of *da*. According to Preobraženskaja's analysis, *dak* does not connect two adjacent PUs to each other, but it connects all of the parts with the same clause – the first predicative unit. Hence, in the first construction, the second *dak* does not connect PU_2 to PU_3, but PU_3 to PU_1:



Similarly, in the second construction, both the first and the second *dak* connect the unit it is attached to, to the first unit:



Although Preobraženskaja compares *dak* to coordinative *da*, she does not claim directly that *dak* is used as a coordinating element. Her explanation is in accordance with the proposed meaning of *dak*. However, Preobraženskaja could have given better examples. *Dak* can certainly signal a connection between several different units to the same previously expressed unit, but in most of the examples given by Preobraženskaja *dak* simply connects the two adjacent units to

each other, and not to the first predicative unit. Even though *dak* connects the successive, syntactically equal units to each other, *dak* does not have a purely additive meaning, but signals a cause-consequence relation or a relation of temporal succession. This accidentally occurs twice in the same utterance. The relation marked by *dak* has no connection with enumeration.

I will illustrate this with two examples. The following example was cited in chapter 6:

(85) Три года служил в Кронштате / *дак* полтора года / *дак* и и дома не бывал.

In the last mentioned example, *дак полтора года* can hardly be interpreted as a separate predicative unit on a par with the following unit, *дак и и дома не бывал*. It does not contain a predicate and it is unlikely that it represents an intonational predication with a separate truth value (see section 7.2.3.5 and 11.2.3). The utterance becomes odd if you take away the last part: *Три года служил в Кронштате / дак полтора года* /??. In another example where *dak* is used more than once, the particle also connects the adjacent units to each other. Each time *dak* is used in this case it introduces a new link in a chain of events, so it connects each event to the previous one, and not each time to the same predicative unit.

As an example of the second type, with repeated clause-final *dak*, Preobraženskaja gives the following fragment:

(86) ... я внизу жила / эта вот сын-от был в армии *дак* / топить та две комнаты-то большы *дък*.

Preobraženskaja's predicative units ending in *dak* (*dək*) are semantically connected to the first predicative unit. They explain from different points of view why the mother lived downstairs: while her son was in the army, it made no sense to heat both rooms. However, the two reasons are just as much connected to each other, which is also shown by the construction of Preobraženskaja's own explanation, where the first subordinate clause is presented as a circumstance for the second, main clause: "когда сын был в армии не было смысла отапливать весь дом" (1985:69). In fact, even a third interpretation is possible. The last *dak* (*dyk*) could have scope over only the preceding word – *большы*. Then the utterance would mean something like 'to heat two rooms, being big', 'given that they are big', or 'after all, they are big'.

Preobraženskaja's explanation, however, suits well for some of the examples given in the dictionaries, such as in (80) *Пья́ной дак, дика́рь дак.* from *AOS*.

These examples show that although *dak* may be used several times in a single utterance, *dak* is not a repetitive particle in the same way as repetitive *da*, which is used to connect semantically and syntactically equal units to each other (see section 14.4). Just like *tak*, *dak* forms binary structures only.

x is only implied

Šujskaja gives an unorthodox interpretation of an example which by the dictionaries would have been interpreted as adversative use of *dak*, approximately as in the translation to English given below (from chapter 6):

(87) Та́к-то в боково́й пожы́ть мо́жно бы, *дак* мне́ неве́село ка́жеца.
So-*prt* in sideroom live possible *irreal*, *dak* to-me unpleasant it-seems
'So I could have lived in the sideroom, but I think that's unpleasant.'

Indeed, there is a clear contrastive semantic relation between the first and the second clause in this complex sentence. The speaker could live in the sideroom, but she thinks that would be unpleasant. However, *dak* may be marking not the contrast here, but some other relation. Šujskaja claims this is an example of expressions she characterises as (X) *dak* Y, in which X is not expressed explicitly, only implied (Шуйская 2002:195f; her X and Y are less specific than mine; see section 6.5.21). Šujskaja interprets the utterance as follows:

(X) *dak* Y ('в боковой жить можно —> я могла бы в ней жить, но не живу —> по причине того, что мне там кажется невесело')
'It is possible to live in the sideroom -> I could do that, but I don't -> for the reason that the sideroom seems unpleasant to me'

This interpretation would not be consistent with my analysis, according to which *dak* can mark a reason, but only when used in postposition to the expression of this reason. If B expresses a reason for A, *dak* would have been used after B, not before it, like in Šujskaja's interpretation. An alternative explanation is possible, which is not in conflict with the proposed analysis of *dak*: the particle may have been used to indicate that the second clause is based on certain circumstances, in particular, the circumstances implied by the preceding syntagm, namely, the case that the speaker would have lived there:

‘в боковой жыть можно —> там жить —> мне кажется невесело’

‘It would be possible to live in the sideroom -> as to living there -> I think that’s unpleasant’

Dak would then imply ‘under these circumstances’. In this alternative reading, an intermediate step is not expressed, just like in Šujskaja’s interpretation. What *dak* marks as being the given point of departure is not what is expressed in the first part of the sentence – the existence of the possibility to sleep – but a logical consequence of that possibility, namely, the case in which the speaker would sleep there.

In this utterance, *dak* is used between two propositions which are in contrast. We have seen such cases before, where *dak* appears not to signal this contrastiveness, but a cause-consequence relation. However, the cause is not expressed in the first part of the utterance, but only implied. This could also be the case when *dak* introduces a non-cooperative, contrastive, reply. *Dak* signals something like ‘given the circumstances’, and not the contrast itself, at least not directly, although it can not be excluded that the usage of *dak* in contrastive context is developing in some dialects into the direction of a contrastivity marker. However, as remarked by Nikitina and Požarickaja (see section 6.5.15), the low frequency of *dak* in coordinative contexts means that it is at best a marginal feature.

Leinonen and Ludykova’s analysis of Komi-Zyryan suggests that the copulative function of *da* and the subordinating function of *dak* are combined in a single word in Komi-Zyryan, and Popov claims the same for *da* in a dialect in the far north-east of the Archangel’sk oblast. Consequently, the core meaning of *da* is more general in Komi than the meaning of *da* and *dak* in the Northern Russian dialects (with the possible exception of the dialect described by Popov; see section 6.5.5 for comments on his analysis). Leinonen’s characterisation of utterance-final Komi *da* as “a diffuse cohesive element, simply giving an instruction to the listener to connect the clause with the adjoining one” (Leinonen 2002a:310a, see section 6.5.20 for a longer citation) is therefore too broad a description for Varzuga *dak*.

9.4.2 Not all semantic relations are supported by *dak*

The multi-interpretability of the linguistic contexts of *dak* gives room for many different explanations, where the intended meaning cannot be established.

However, the invariant properties of *dak* suggest that interpretations which are in accordance with the core meaning are more probable than others.

It is important to discern the semantic relations between two contiguous expressions in a context where *dak* is used from the contribution of *dak* to the utterance, since *dak* can have a different function than giving support to the most obvious relation. The literature contains many examples where the interpretations of the utterances involved might be correct, but where *dak* appears to support a different relation. Below are some examples.

9.4.2.1 Both symmetric and asymmetric relations are implied

In section 9.4.1, assumed symmetric, coordinative relations were discussed. We saw that in many examples, both additive and contrastive, i.e. symmetric relations, and causal, temporal or conditional, i.e. asymmetric relations, are implied between A and B. It is probable that *dak* is used to support asymmetric relations only.

In section 14.4, more examples are given of constructions where both symmetric and asymmetric relations are implied, but this time not with *dak*, but with *da* (from Попов 1957).

9.4.2.2 Fixed position of *dak*: presumed examples of "B *dak* A" and "A, B *dak*" can be dismissed

According to the present research, *dak* has a fixed position with respect to the elements it connects. This implies that constructions like "B *dak* A" or "A, B *dak*" (= y *dak* x, or x, y *dak*) never occur. The literature gives several examples where *dak* is presumably used in a position which is not allowed according to the proposed thesis about its fixed position. Šujskaja (Шуйская 2002) claims to have attested some examples, but remarks they are rare. She gives two examples of what she describes as examples of a construction "[consequence] *dak* [cause]", or, "X Y *dak*", with X representing a cause and Y its consequence. In my terminology this would be examples of a construction "A B *dak*":

(88) Вы́ туда́ йешо́ сходи́те. У ни́х оте́ц был бригади́ром, они́ расска́жуд *дак*.
У на́с ребя́т в дере́вне мно́го бы́ло, де́вок мно́го бы́ло, о́й ко́ль ве́село бы́ло *дак*. (Arch.; Шуйская 2002:192)

Šujskaja gives no further comments to these examples. The first expression can be interpreted as 'since their father was a *brigadir* (leader of a working brigade), they will be able to tell you about it'. However, a very different interpretation is possible as well. 'They will tell you' can also serve as a premise for the first

utterance: 'they will tell you, so you should visit them'. Unfortunately, we have no context to establish the correct interpretation.

In Šujskaja's second example, *dak* could again have a different function than she suggests, and connect different pieces of information. There seems to be a cause-consequence relation between the two first predicative units – *У на́с ребя́т в дере́вне мно́го бы́ло, де́вок мно́го бы́ло* – and the last one – (*о́й*) *ко́ль ве́село бы́ло дак* 'there were many young men in our village, and a lot of girls, so we had much fun'. However, *dak* is used not between these expressions, but after the last one. It follows after the exclamatory expression "*Oj*" and a clause containing a comparative word, 'How much fun it was'. We saw above that this kind of expressive utterances often end in *dak*, without being connected to any preceding or following utterance. Šujskaja's assumption that *dak* marks that the existence of a lot of boys and girls in the village is the cause of the happiness is therefore not plausible. This does not deny the possibility of such a relation being implied, but it is probably not the relation marked by *dak*.

Šujskaja did not pay attention to possible relevance of the position of *dak* either in the explanation of contrastive contexts of *dak*. In one of her examples, which was cited in section 6.5.21, the particle does not take part in the expression of the contrast, since the particle is used in initial position, before the contrastive construction:

(89) Дак ра́ньше-то мно́го бы́ло, веть лови́ли се́тками и фся́ко, а тепе́рь-то ма́ло. ('раньше ‹—› теперь') (2002:200)

This utterance has the form "*dak* X_1-*to* Y_1, (...), a X_2-*to* Y_2". If the proposed description of the core meaning of *dak* is correct, utterance-initial *dak* can only make a connection with already accessible information; it cannot support the contrastive relations between the elements which are expressed in the following utterance. *Dak* can only introduce B, the expression of y. The other element x must have been activated at the time *dak* is expressed. More presumed counterexamples to the fixed position will be explained to be in accordance with the analysis in section 11.5.5.

9.4.3 Not all adjacent expressions are in the scope of *dak*

It is important to realise that *dak* can be adjacent to expressions in the same utterance which fall outside the scope of *dak* (cf. section 8.3.4.1). In an utterance

with the construction "IU_1, IU_2 *dak* IU_3", IU_3 could represent B and be in the scope of *dak*, but need not, for B could just as well be represented in IU_1:

"IU_1, IU_2_*dak*, IU_3" --->
$IU_{1\ (unrelated)}$, A_*dak*, B
or B, A_*dak*, $IU_{3\ (unrelated)}$

Dak connects two units to each other, but not necessarily two linguistic units. One of the parts can be rather abstract. In the next underlined example of enclitic *dak*, it is not self-evident what the B-part is:

(90) Пов'и́длы бы́л'и ... Вот тут магаз'и́н был с'ич'а́с јево н'е́ту гд'е Л'икон'и́да Н'ик'и́форовна-то *да́к*, у н'ej са́т-то тут дак вот та́м, поп'ер'ед'и́ был до́м. Ту́т был магаз'и́н.

In this case, *dak* is used in a sequence of prosodic syntagms (here indicated by IU for intonation unit):

IU ... IU_*dak*, IU *dak* IU, IU. IU.

Since *dak* is prosodically attached to the previous intonation unit, and x is usually expressed in an IU, this unit most probably expresses x: "A_*dak*". (In fact, if you look at the semantics and syntax, x is probably expressed only in the last predicative unit – *гд'е Л'икон'и́да Н'ик'и́форовна-то* – and not in the whole intonation unit starting in *Вот*.) But where is y expressed, if it is expressed at all? Is it in the following one, which would result in "A_*dak*, B"? Or in the previous one – "B A_*dak*"? This is not expressed by *dak*; enclitic *dak* only marks that the preceding unit functions as a reference point to some thought or proposition, but not what proposition this is, not if it is expressed, and if so, where it could be found. In the example above it is not relevant either. It might be one of the expressed predicative units, but it might also be a proposition that is not expressed directly. The speaker might not have had a specific proposition in mind. The most important information is that the unit marked by *dak*, 'where Likonida Nikiforovna lives', is information which the speaker wants to assert something about.

A sequence "IU *dak* IU" does not entail that both IUs are in the scope of *dak*, not even when they are prosodically attached to *dak* (cf. examples like *Нó дак*, discussed in section 9.4.3).

Not even all of the expressions *dak* is prosodically attached to appear to be in the scope of *dak*. Prosodic attachment was defined as absence of an intermediate silence (see section 7.2.3.3). Absence of a silence does not always coincide with syntactic and semantic connection, for not all major syntactic and semantic boundaries are accompanied by a pause. A special case of attached units which apparently are not in the scope of *dak* is the use of "*dak*_B" after turn-initial discourse markers like *No*, *Ne* and *Nu*. The function of *dak* after these words is similar to the function of turn-initial *dak*, which signals a connection with recoverable, prior information. The discourse markers like *No* appear to fall outside the scope of *dak* and do not represent the point of departure for the expression following after *dak*. The combination of a discourse marker and *dak* can introduce both an affirmative and a negative reply. An example of a positive reply is the following:

(91) — *«Йóаким»*.
— Нó *дак* Иоак'и́м.
— *Через j, Йóаким*.
— Á:. (S3)

The dialectologist (= me; MP) was asked to give a Scandinavian variant of the Russian names Ekim, Akim and Ioakim, which is Joakim. The reaction is confirmative: 'Right, so it is (also) Ioakim'. *Dak* introduces the deduction that the Scandinavians use the same name. The expression expresses a proposition like 'if they say Joakim, then it is like our Ioakim.' The discourse marker functions as an answering particle, and does not seem to be part of the elements connected by *dak*. *No dak* introduces an affirmative reaction also in the next fragment:

(92) [S14*:] — Хва́т'ит говор'и́т'-т(о) мы т'иб'е́.
[S9:] — (...) н'и о ч'о́м. Говор'и́м-то.
[S14*:] — Нó *дак* н'ь о ч'о́м *дак*.

It is not immediately obvious which are the elements connected by the first *dak*, and I will not speculate about it, but this reaction is similar to the reaction in the previous example. The last use of *dak* signals that the utterance has obvious implications. From the fact that the speakers do not talk about anything interesting follows the implication that they can just as well stop talking. This assertion was already activated by the speaker's previous utterance, *Хва́т'ит говор'и́т'-т(о) мы т'иб'е́*.

No dak is even used as a complete utterance. In that case there seems to be neither an A nor a B. The *dak*-database from Varzuga contains to few examples to be able to put this explanation to a test.

Dak can also be used after a negative answering particle. In the next fragment, the speaker was asked about a list of words connected with snow. After she had recognised most of them, she was asked if she did not use the word *вы́падка* as well:

(93) — Гм ... на(верно) вы́патка^{d}-то ... н'е зна́ju. Мо́жет и ра́н'ше употр'еб'и́лос'. Вы́патка ...
— *Ага. Сейчас уже нет?*
— Н'е́т *дак* с'ич'а́с то́же, вы́патка сн'е́гу. (S2)

This is a reply to a question if a certain dialectal word was not used anymore. It appears that the same reply without the answering particle, *Дак с'ич'ас то́же*, would have approximately the same intended meaning, similar to the non-cooperative replies discussed in section 9.3.2 above.

9.5 *Dak* does have meaning: restrictions to the semantic contexts

In section 9.4.1 it was argued that *dak* is never used in a purely additive or contrastive meaning, at least not in the dialect of Varzuga, nor in most other Northern Russian dialects. This restriction on the use of *dak* fits perfectly with the proposed core emaning of *dak*, which claims that *dak* always signals an asymmetric relation between a thought or proposition with information this proposition is based on.

We saw that the particle is often used after an adverbial modifier. However, *dak* cannot be used after any kind of adverbial expression. It is not used after expressions like *часто* 'often', *медленно* 'slowly', *к сожалению* 'unfortunately', *с испугом* 'fearfully', etc., although it would in principle be possible if they express a condition or some other contrasted restriction to a certain outcome. Expressions with a meaning like 'slowly' also relate to a circumstance, but not a circumstance which is the point of departure for a certain proposition. They are not, directly or indirectly, opposed to an alternative point of departure, and there is no cause-consequence relation of the type 'since the circumstance was x, what happened was y', or 'so the outcome is y'.

More possible restrictions will be given in the next chapters. We saw that *dak* always takes a fixed position with respect to the expressions of x and y. Some more potential counterexamples to the fixed position will be addressed in the

chapter on syntax. The chapter about prosody contains a discussion of restrictions concerning prosody and possible counterexamples to my hypotheses about the prosody of *dak* itself and of its linguistic context. However, we will see that all of them can be reconciled with the proposed core meaning of *dak*.

9.6 Conclusion

This chapter has shown that *dak* always marks the same type of connection, but *dak* does not express semantic details – it does not express all of the different meanings listed in the dictionaries. They are expressed by other means, or only implied, and no more than supported by *dak*. In fact, there are many semantically multi-interpretable cases, where the exact relation is left unspecific. Whether the relation is, for example, primarily temporal or rather causal is often not ostensively communicated, and certainly not by *dak*. As argued in section 7.3.6, a subclassification of the uses of *dak* based on differences in specific semantic relations is difficult, because there are no clear boundaries between different semantic types and the expressions are typically underdetermined as regards the exact semantics. In addition, *dak* plays no role in differentiating between different types of semantic relations, so such a classification does not help to find the contribution of *dak* to the utterance.

In the discussion of semantic relations it is important to discern the semantic relations between two contiguous expressions in a context where *dak* is used from what *dak* actually expresses. *Dak* can have a different function than giving support to the most obvious relation (section 9.4.2).

The proposed analysis of *dak* is applicable in all cases where the context is clear enough to allow interpretation, irrespective of the form of the utterance containing *dak*: it explains all 12 construction types of the subclassification given in chapter 8. Although many utterances can be explained otherwise, none are clear counterexamples to the proposed core meaning. All potential counterexamples can be given an explanation that fits with the analysis (section 9.4). In the constructions of the types "A_*dak*" and "*Dak*_B", one of the parts is not expressed, but only implied. In some contexts, *dak* is triggered by an intermediate step in a sequence of thoughts with implications which is not expressed (section 9.4.1). Similarly, utterance-initial *dak* usually refers not to a concrete expression, but it always links the coming utterance to accessible knowledge. Usually it signals a connection with a previous, temporarily abandoned topic, or with the meaning of a complex of preceding utterances. Turn-initial *dak* frequently introduces slightly non-cooperative replies and answers to questions when the

speaker is uncertain about the correct reply. In both cases, *dak* appears to signal to the hearer that the seemingly non-cooperative reply and the non-satisfactory answer to the question are not taken "out of the blue", but that they are relevant reactions after all.

The proposed core meaning of *dak* is not necessarily the most important property of *dak*. The use of *dak* in expressive utterances conveying a high degree of something might cause an expansion of a secondary function of *dak* as an emphasising, enhancing particle in these constructions, at the expense of its primary function as a connector of two information units.

The proposed theory on *dak* has predictive value. It can explain contexts which otherwise could have remained uninterpretable. Furthermore, the core meaning precludes some semantic relations from being expressed. The last section of this chapter showed that *dak* is not used in just any position and in any context, but only in those which allow the expression of the core meaning.

In this chapter, concepts were mentioned like point of departure, conditionality, contrast and set membership. In the next chapter, their relation to the meaning of *dak* will be discussed in detail.

10 *Dak* and information structure

10.1 Overview

The preceding chapter showed that *dak* in the Varzuga dialect always marks the same kind of relation. In this chapter, the relation will be discussed between the connection marked by *dak* and the concepts and divisions which are made in information structure theories. Most of these concepts, like point of departure, conditionality and set membership, were already mentioned in the previous chapter, and will be discussed in more detail in the present chapter. This chapter will show that *dak* is not simply a marker of the division of utterances into theme and rheme, as claimed by Merlin, but that the semantic content of these concepts is useful in the description of *dak*, although none of them corresponds completely with the meanings and functions of *dak*.

The functioning of *dak* has been related to information structure earlier. Claims in this direction have been expressed by several researchers, with Merlin as the most consistent proponent of relating *dak* to information structure. The usefulness of these earlier claims for a general description of the meaning of *dak* is discussed in section 10.2. Section 10.3 discusses the relation between *dak* and some semantic characteristics which are often connected to information structure, including aboutness, point of departure, givenness, presupposition, restriction and nucleus and the less common notion of pragmatic priority. Finally, the question will be addressed whether *dak* can be characterised as a kontrastive, set-evoking particle (section 10.4). The chapter ends with a summarising conclusion (10.5).

10.2 "*Dak* marks the rheme" (Мерлин 1978)

10.2.1 Merlin's claim and related observations

Several researchers of *dak* have related this word to information structure, either by directly referring to the theory of actual sentence perspective or by using its terminology, or by describing information structuring functions of *dak* without connecting it to a theory. The theories on information structure were discussed in section 7.2.2.

Šapiro remarked a context where *dak* appears to express 'as for X, Y', where *dak* follows after an expression which is used to introduce the topic of the following utterance (Шапиро 1953:65f; see chapter 6). According to Merlin, this is the construction *par excellence* in Standard Russian which expresses actual sentence division (1978:95).

Fedorova observed the semantic similarity of "A *dak* B" and "B, A *dak*"-constructions (Федорова 1965). Trubinskij also remarked that *dak* had a similar function in these constructions (without referring to Fedorova, or Popov, who had remarked the same for *da* (and *dak*); see chapter 6), as a connector of what could be called subordinate with superordinate information (Трубинский 1970). Later, Trubinskij connected this property of *dak* with the theory of actual sentence division, and characterised the word *dak* in the Northern Russian dialects as an *aktualizator* 'actualiser', which introduces the nucleus of the utterance, the part which is most important for the communication (in Колесов 1998:166;[1] see section 6.5.9 for citations). The *to-dak*-construction, which he had described in 1970, increases the division of the utterance (ibid.). This description is similar to the remark that *dak* separates a dependent part from the main part of the utterance (*zavisimaja* vs. *glavnaja čast'*; Никитина & Пожарицкая 1993:164). Lapteva and Nikitina and Požarickaja also characterise *dak* in at least part of its usages as an actualiser, which has the role to mark the theme or the rheme of the utterance, or the boundary between them (Лаптева 1976:138; Никитина & Пожарицкая 1993:165; see chapter 6). Nikitina and Požarickaja claim that *dak* is a universal correlate in "A *dak* B"-constructions. They explain the function of correlates not as a grammatical role, but as an actualising role. Earlier, Evtjuchin had claimed that *dak* was one of the particles which take part in the communicative division of the sentence (*fraza*) into theme and rheme (Евтюхин 1979:202).

Merlin (Мерлин 1978) goes one step further and claims that *dak* is an obligatory marker of the rheme of a sentence, irrespective of the order of the elements, and he gives examples of different types of "A *dak* B" and "B, A *dak*"-constructions. Trubinskij's claim that *dak* marks "the most necessary part of the utterance" (Трубинский 1970:63) is, Merlin argues, in fact a function of actual sentence division (1978:96f). He describes *theme* and *rheme* as follows: the *theme* marks what the utterance is about and the *rheme* expresses what is said about this theme. *Theme* corresponds to the *point of departure* (*ischodnyj punkt*) or *determiner* (*determinant*), and *rheme* to the *nucleus* or *core* (*jadro*) of the utterance (1978:89). The theme is an argument (independent variable) and the rheme a function (dependent variable), and if the argument is changed, then the function changes as well (1978:95f). Merlin also connects the division into theme

[1] The first edition of this book is much older, but I could not find out when it was published for the first time. The chapter on syntax in this course book in dialectology was written by Trubinskij. Trubinskij's remark that *dak* usually introduces the *nucleus* of the sentence (*jadro*) suggests that he may have known Merlin's article (1978) by that time, although Merlin uses the term *rema* more often than *jadro* (see section 6.5.11).

and rheme with conditionality and the choice from alternatives. He points out that the division into theme and rheme need not correspond to a division into given and new, since the theme is not necessarily presupposed, but only conditionally given (1978:96). A more extensive discussion of Merlin's observations and claims is given in section 6.5.11.

Merlin's claim that *dak* plays a role in marking such a division is convincing, at least at a semantic level. In section 10.3 it will be shown that the meaning of *dak* is related to the semantic notions mentioned by Merlin like conditional givenness, point of departure and conditionality. However, Merlin's characterisation of the function of *dak* is insufficient, as shown in the next section (10.2.2). Furthermore, many of Merlin's minor claims connected with the information structuring role of *dak* are more doubtful, or even clearly false. For instance, *dak* marks the theme rather than the rheme (point 5), and only specific kinds of themes, and *dak* is far from obligatory, as Merlin claims (point 4). A discussion of Merlin's less central claims can be found in section 6.5.11. Below follows a discussion of the problems connected to Merlin's main claim that *dak* marks the rheme.

10.2.2 Problems

The claim that *dak* marks a division into theme and rheme provokes some questions and involves problems, including the following:

1) Merlin and Trubinskij studied only part of the usage types of *dak*. Does the claim hold for the other contexts as well?
2) Terms like *theme*, *rheme*, *topic* and *focus* are notoriously ill-defined and used for very diverging concepts;
3) The theories on information structure are usually not used for relations across sentence boundaries or even clause boundaries, but *dak* is hardly ever used to mark clause-internal connections;
4) *Dak* is not obligatory and it cannot connect just any theme with a rheme; its use is more restricted. Most themes and rhemes are not marked by *dak*;
5) *Dak* marks themes rather than rhemes.

These five points deserve more discussion.

1) Not applied in all contexts

Merlin does not discuss all possible contexts of *dak*, but mainly the types "A *dak* B" and "B, A *dak*", and not even all of them. For instance, he does not discuss use of *dak* in other than declarative sentences, such as exclamations, and no

constructions of the type "*Dak* B" and "A *dak*", apart from in two side-remarks.[2] Therefore, it is highly doubtful that Merlin meant his claim to be valid for all usage types of *dak*. The main difference between the divisions made in the information structure theories and the properties of *dak* is that these divisions are usually only applied to linguistic units uttered in a single sentence, whereas the units in my analysis of the core meaning of *dak* are first of all mental entities, which rarely have a linguistic expression in the same sentence. *Dak* connects not only linguistic expressions, but also other activated or otherwise accessible knowledge, which is activated in conversation, but lacks concrete linguistic expressions. Merlin's limited interest in connections across the boundaries of the sentence is in total accordance with the practice of the researchers of information structure. Still, Merlin's perspective is broader than usual in works on actual sentence perspective. This is shown by his remarks about certain "A *dak*" and "*Dak* B"-constructions (see note 2), and his inclusion of postposed additional remarks in "B A *dak*"-constructions, which not by all would be regarded as being part of the same sentence, as they are typical examples of complex syntactic wholes (*složnoe sintaktičeskoe celoe*), with an autosemantic first clause; cf. section 11.5.4. Still, the semantic aspect of Merlin's claims is useful even for the description for other constructions with *dak*, where only A or only B is expressed, as argued in section 10.3.

2) The well-known terminological minefield

The terms used in theories on information structure inhabit a terminological minefield – they are usually insufficiently defined and confusing (see section 7.2.2.2). Merlin's and Trubinskij's characterisation of the parts which *dak* connects are too broad: "most important part" and Merlin's definition of what is marked by *dak* as "what the sentence is about" or "point of departure" and "what is said about that" is far too unspecific to be able to predict what can be marked by *dak* and what not. "Point of departure" and "what the utterance is about" might be correct characterisations of the units marked by *dak*, but the opposite is not true. These notions cover much more than what can be marked or activated by *dak*. Only a certain kind of "points of departure" or "most important parts" are marked by *dak*; see point 4 below. The fact that Merlin connects actual sentence division with determination, restriction and conditionality shows that he means something more specific than "what the sentence is about" and "what is said

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2 The first of these side-remarks is that *dak* can introduce a sentence where it refers to presuppositions in the previous contexts; the second concerns so-called elliptical sentences, which Merlin describes as clear instances of *nedogovorennost'*, i.e. where B is left out, because the speaker did not finish the sentence; see section 6.5.11.

about it" (1978:96; see note 38 in chapter 6), but Merlin does not make clear whether he considers the characterisations he gives are valid for all contexts of *dak*, or only for a restricted part of them.

3) Information structure theory is not applied to spontaneous speech and not across sentence boundaries

The theories on information structure, in particular the Czech and Russian theories of actual sentence perspective, are hardly ever applied to the description of information structure in spontaneous speech, because they are not well suited for this purpose (see section 7.2.2.3). In written language, the main, rhematic accent tends to be carried by the last constituent of a sentence, but this is far less often the case in spontaneous speech, and much information is left unexpressed. In Northern Russian dialects, there is often not a single clear rhematic accent in the utterance.

As mentioned above, *dak* signals almost only connections across clause boundaries, whereas information packaging terminology is used only for information structuring at clausal (rarely, sentence or utterance) level, mostly for simple sentences (see section 7.2.2.3). It is problematic to use terms like theme and rheme across sentence boundaries, and even for "B, A *dak*"-constructions, without getting into trouble with theme-rheme divisions at several levels. For instance, does the following utterance contain one or two rhemes? In most cases of "B A *dak*", where Merlin's "theme" follows after the "rheme", the "theme" is pronounced after a break and has a pitch accent, such as in the next example:

(1) Да уш ф п'и́ц'и́-то н'иц'е(г)о́ н'е в'и́жу, т'е́м'ен' стра́шнъ та́м *дак*. (S1)

According to most information structure theories,[3] the part *т'е́м'ен' стра́шнъ та́м дак* cannot be a theme, and must be a rheme, because this syntagm carries a pitch accent and it is the last pitch accent in the sentence. In most theories the last accent is always part of the rheme. Consequently, this construction contains two different rhemes (and possibly themes), which would correspond to two different speech acts.[3] By the way, the first part of the utterance is already a problematic and 'non-neutral' case; in most interpretations, the whole sequence *ф п'и́ц'и́-то н'иц'е(г)о́ н'е в'и́жу* would be regarded to be rhematic, since the first lexical word *ф п'и́ц'и́-то* carries the main accent.[4]

[3] Breuer (2002:146f) complains justly that the question whether an utterance contains one or more speech acts has hardly ever been addressed in linguistics.

[4] As usual in the Northern Russian dialects, the other lexical words carry minor pitch movements as well; see section 4.2.1 and 12.2.6.

Similarly, most utterances containing *dak* have more than one theme, but on different layers. If we apply Merlin's analysis of *dak* to (2), *на сцены-то когда* 'when we are on stage' would be the theme and the first clause the rheme of a theme-rheme construction:[5]

(2) И ... вот а с'ич'ác-то мы хóд'им хъръвóды-то вот тóже. На сцéны-то когдá *дак*.

However, the first clause has a different theme already, on a different level, which includes at least *с'ич'ác-то*, and possibly even *мы хóд'им хъръвóды-то*, depending on your definition of a theme, since all of this was given information. However, Merlin is right when claiming that the kind of relations between the parts are the same, even if the order is non-iconical.

4) Only a specific kind of theme

Dak cannot connect just any theme with a rheme and it is not obligatory; its use is more restricted. In the Varzuga corpus, most themes and rhemes are not marked by *dak*, if you take theme to mean "what the sentence is about". The data suggest that in numerous cases the use of *dak* would not even have been possible, or at least not without changing the information structure, and with it the (non-truth-conditional) meaning of the utterance.

Even in cases where *dak* could have been used, it is often absent. Merlin claims that actual division is an inherent part of linguistics, because there are languages which do have obligatory morphological or lexical markers which are used exclusively to mark actual division. He claims that the particle *dak* in the Northern Russian dialect he studied is one of them, because *dak*, he argues, is an obligatory, morphological marker of the theme-rheme division. This claim can easily be dismissed, because *dak* can almost always be left out without making the construction ungrammatical or changing its (truth-conditional) meaning. Similar constructions are frequently used without *dak*, like for instance in the last utterance with a contrasted theme-rheme pair in (3) (see chapter 9 for more context):

[T_1] *dak* [R_1]

(3) Дак$_2$ вот поκá Мар'и́ша былá жывá *дак*$_3$ и д'оржáла jej.

a [T_2] – [R_2]

A Мар'и́шы н'и стáло онá по фс'ém.

[5] I analysed this example as consisting of two utterances, due to the strong prosodic boundary between A and B. Merlin describes utterance-internal constructions only. However, Merlin's data must have contained similar examples, and this example could also be regarded as a single utterance and classify it under "B, A *dak*".

A more restrictive definition of themes is needed to cover the meaning of *dak*. Many researchers in actual sentence perspective give subdivisions (see section 7.2.2.3) and discern categories like contrastive themes, theme proper, rheme proper and transition, but none of the divisions fits with the function of *dak*. For instance, Firbas (1974:23f) defines the *theme proper* as the element carrying the lowest degree of communicative dynamism within a sentence. In the following utterance, the theme consists of *an unknown man* and *him*, with *him* being the theme proper:

(4) An unknown man has asked him the way to the railway station.

In a Russian translation *dak* could not have been used to mark any of these thematic parts, irrespective of their position in the utterance, apart from in a specific context, where the element preceding *dak* would be singled out as being chosen from a set of alternatives, or having specific implications for the content of the rest of the utterance:

(4Ra) Незнакомый мужчина (?*дак*) спросил его дорогу на вокзал.
(4Rb) Его (?*дак*) незнакомый мужчина спросил дорогу на вокзал.

In usual contexts, nothing similar would be marked. Use of *dak* after both thematic expressions would be impossible in any context (see section 11.5.4):

(4Rc) Незнакомый мужчина его **дак* спросил дорогу на вокзал.

The A-parts marked by enclitic *dak* are difficult to call themes, because they do not only express what the rheme is about, but they have additional properties. They are usually the first constituent of the sentence, they carry a pitch accent, they are relationally given and often contrasted to alternatives (see section 10.3 below). Only in rare cases enclitic *dak* marks clause-internal themes. In fact, the particle *dak* is mostly used after information units with a high degree of independence. Typical constructions followed by enclitic *dak* are topicalisations and topic-identifying clauses (e.g. *imenitel'nye temy*), subordinate clauses, main clauses, parentheticals and afterthoughts, which carry a pitch accent and which are syntactically, semantically and prosodically relatively independent from the rest of the utterance, if they do not constitute an utterance of their own ("A *dak*.").

5) *Dak* marks themes rather than rhemes

Merlin claims that *dak*, like the dash in utterances like *Туда — не ходи*, is not a "delimiter" between theme and rheme, that is, a marker of the division between them, but that these two means – *dak* and the dash – specifically mark the rheme. Merlin supports his view by referring to the use of *dak* and the dash (sic!) in the beginning of utterances, where they refer back to presuppositions in the preceding text, and by claiming that *dak* is always used before the most informative word in the case of cause-consequence relations. The word order is *Корову дак Н а с т е й кличут*; you cannot say *Корову дак кличут Н а с т е й* (1978:96).[6] However, the data from Varzuga show that *dak* marks the theme rather than the rheme. *Dak* is just as often used in "A *dak*"-utterances as in "*Dak* B"-utterances, and there are numerous contexts where *dak* does not precede the most informative word (the most informative, pitch accented words in the B-parts are underlined):

(5) У Зо́ји-то до́м-то згор'е́л *дак* т'ип'е́р' она ту́т, у На́д'и жыв'о́т. (S11)

(6) И́х ма́зал'и. А пото́м уже́ до то́го́ мы их зама́зал'и *дак* уже́ порошо́к-то н'ь ста́ло заб'ира́т', *дак* мы́ пото́м са́жој нач'е́рн'и́л'и. (S3)

Furthermore, *dak* is more often enclitic than proclitic, even in "A *dak* B"-constructions (see section 12.3.4), and thus more closely connected to the theme than to the rheme, a characteristic of *dak* which had not been observed by Merlin. Another argument is that *dak* is always used after the first, thematic, clause constituent (and argument) of the sentence (unless it is used before or after a parenthetical; see section 11.5.4), so the word order *Корову кличут дак Н а с т е й*, with *dak* in third position, is even less probable. The reason is that *dak* only marks a special kind of thematic expressions, which take the first position in the utterance (see section 10.3.13 below and 11.5.4). The remainder of the sentence is expressed after *dak*, including the rheme and parts which are often characterised as being thematic; see section 10.3.1 and 10.3.2 below. More critical remarks on details of Merlin's analysis can be found in section 6.5.11.

10.3 Semantic phenomena associated with information structure

Dak marks the same kind of semantic phenomena as the phenomena associated with information structure theories, such as aboutness, new information vs. its

[6] It is interesting that Merlin gives this utterance of use of *dak* after a nominal as an example of a cause-consequence relation; cf. section 10.3.11 on conditionality below.

frame of reference or point of departure, relationally given vs. new information, dependency, restriction, conditionality and set membership or explicit contrast to alternatives. Like many themes (topics), the unit preceding *dak*, A, usually takes the first position in the clause. Furthermore, the particle is typically used in categorical, and not in thetic propositions (see below), and x is always presented as being logically or argumentationally prior to y. These phenomena are related to each other, as they often occur simultaneously.

The particle *dak* marks similar relations and pieces of information, but not only sentence-internally. In this section, it will be discussed if these phenomena account for a subset of the contexts, or if they are valid for all possible contexts of *dak*, including constructions like "A *dak*" and "*Dak* B".

We will see that most of the information structural phenomena are valid for the vast majority of cases, but in some types of contexts a phenomenon like givenness or aboutness is at best hard to find or it is present only on an abstract level, for instance because one of the involved elements of the relation has no linguistic expression. The opposite is not true: many expressions of given information, conditions, points of departure etc. cannot be marked by *dak*.

10.3.1 *Dak* and aboutness

Themes and *topics* are often described as "what the sentence is about". The particle *dak* also signals aboutness: the x-part is typically what the y-part is about. This even accounts for most cases of utterance-initial *dak*. As argued in section 9.3.2, the most probable reason that *dak* is used to introduce seemingly non-cooperative or irrelevant replies is to mark that the reply is relevant after all, since it really is an assertion about the requested topic.

However, in some contexts it is far-fetched to talk about an aboutness relationship between x and y, for instance, when a postposed A in a "B, A_*dak*"-construction expresses a reason for the expression or the content of the preceding unit B (such as *Давно нету дак* 'They haven't been here for a long time *dak*' in (7) below. Aboutness is even less suitable a description for expressive utterances like (9.53) *Така́ л'ана́нда вал'и́т дак*!.

Furthermore, the label *aboutness* is far from precise enough to cover the meaning of the relations implied by *dak*. It covers many expressions which would not be marked by this particle. *Dak* does not mark all elements which are the topic of a proposition, and cannot even do that, as explained in section 10.3.8 below.

10.3.2 *Dak* and point of departure and frame of reference

The A-parts marked by *dak* typically express *points of departure* and *frames of reference* about which B expresses something. *Dak* typically connects a temporal expression, a condition, an object, a cause, or background information, which are the points of departure for an expressed or implied assertion. This does not only account for cases of "A *dak* B", but also for contexts with the reversed order " B A *dak*", like in example (7) of a backward causal relationship:

(7) Т'ип'ép' уш ста́ла и забыва́т' их фс'ех. Давно́ н'éту *дак*.
Now already started.F *prt* forget.inf them all. Long-time is-not *dak*
'I have already started to forget them. We haven't had them for a long time, you know.'

'They haven't been here for a long time' is the frame of reference for the preceding statement, being one of the reasons for the speaker to make this assertion. One could also explain a reason as a point of departure, but this is not the type of point of departure meant in theories on information structure.

In constructions of the form "B A_*dak*", the point of departure and frame of reference is often added to correct possible false assumptions by the hearer. The speaker realises that the hearer might have the wrong frame of reference in mind. In the next example, the speaker specifies what she is talking about – the fish type *gorbuša* 'hunchback salmon'. This had been mentioned before, but the speaker may have doubted that the hearers had the correct kind of fish in mind:

(8) — *Эта икра похожа на ...?*
— Но́, на с'о́мужjо она́ похо́жа да. Така́ же ... кру́пнаja, jикра́-тъ. А jej мно́го, с'éjгот^{d} ... оп'а́т' икры jéтъj бы́ло ... горбу́шы-то *дак*, мно́го оч'ьн'.
Yes, to salmon.adj. she similar.F *prt*. Such.F *prt* ... big.F, caviar-*prt* And her.gen much, this-year ... again caviar.gen that.gen was.N ... hunchback-salmon.gen-*prt dak*, much very
'Is this caviar similar to ...?'
'Yes, it is similar to salmon caviar. The grains are the same size, the caviar, that is. This year we had a lot of it ..., again we had a lot of that caviar, of the hunchback salmon that is.'

In the next example, the A-part is expressed immediately after the B-part, so the speaker had planned to utter this expression already before she had finished the B-part. 'I worked as a group leader (in the agricultural brigade)' is background information, an explanation of the situation explained before:

(9) Потóм соглас'ил'ис'ь (кудá д'éц:а). Тр'и́ с полов'и́нъj гектáра картóшк'и однój, нáдо бы́ло насад'и́т' и ... на зел'енó, шéс' зв'éн'joф бы́ло, já зв'ен'jевój рабóтала *дак*. (Дак [=Так?]) ... тр'и́ с полов'и́нъj гектáра картóшк'и нáдъ — посад'и́м. Р'éпы, капýсты, ... (ój) ..., кормовój капýсты, ... сад'и́л'и иш'é дл'е къróф. Ó:jojó. (S5)

Afterwards agreed.pl (whereto go.inf). Three with half acre potato.gen one.gen, necessary was.N plant.inf and ... on green.N, six brigades was.N, I brigade-leader.instr worked.F *dak*. ... (*Dak/Tak*) ... three with half acre potato.gen necessary - plant.1pl. Turnip.gen, cabbage.gen ... feeding cabbage.gen, ... planted.pl still for cows. Oh oh oh.

'Then we agreed (where to go). We had to plant three and a half acres just of potatoes, and ... greenery (for the cattle?), there were six brigades, I worked as a brigade leader, you see ... Three and a half acres of potatoes we had to ... plant. Turnips, cabbage, ... we planted feeding cabbage as well for the cows. Oh my goodness.'

Point of departure is related to *priority*. In section 10.3.6 it will be argued that x is always presented as being prior to the judgement y either logically, argumentationally or cognitively. The information x precedes y in time, in argumentation, by being a cause for y, or for the act of expressing y (in B). Like the concept *aboutness*, the concept *point of departure* is a poor description of what postposed expressions of reasons or causes express, but just like points of departure, reasons are logically or argumentationally prior to the what it is a reason for.

The x-part is not necessarily presented as a point of departure at the moment it is expressed. Such examples are found among the constructions "A, *dak*_B" and "*Dak*_B"; see section 10.3.4 below.

10.3.3 Categorical propositions

In a large subset of its uses, *dak* helps to mark a categorical judgement, similar to Japanese *wa* (according to Kuroda (1972); see also Lambrecht 1994:139f). A categorical judgement consists of two separate cognitive acts: one, the act of identifying an entity and two the act of predicating something about this entity, i.e. of affirming or denying something about it.

The term *categorical judgement* was introduced by Franz Brentano and elaborated by Anton Marty (see Kuroda 1972:154f; Lambrecht 1994:138ff). A sentence expressing a categorical judgement or proposition is opposed to a sentence expressing a thetic judgement, which consists only of an assertion. In a categorical judgement, first, the information is presented which the speaker wants to say something about, and which will serve as his/her point of

departure, before an assertion is made or implied about this unit. A thetic judgement consists only of the act of affirming or denying what is expressed by the predicate about the 'subject'; the subject is not independently recognised. A thetic judgement is a simple judgement; a categorical one is a double judgement (*einfaches Urteil* vs. *Doppelurteil*).

A prototypical example of a sentence expressing a categorical judgement is a *dak*-construction where *dak* is used after a so-called *thematic nominative* (*imenitel'nyj temy*), that is, an identificational expression (*nazyvnoe predloženie*), which introduces the topic of the next main clause, which in Merlin's definition always has the form of a clause (Мерлин 1978:94). One of Merlin's examples is the following utterance:

(10) Вот у нас кот, *дак* Васькой зовем.

In such constructions, «сперва выставляется напоказ изолированный предмет, и слушателям известно только, что сейчас про этот предмет будет что-то сказано и что пока этот предмет надо наблюдать; в следующий момент высказывается самая мысль» (cited by Merlin from Пешковский 1956:405).[7] A good example from Varzuga is (18) in section 10.3.5 below.

The A-part does not have to take the form of a clause, but always has a pitch accent, like in (9.7) *А оном'е́д' дак на то́j н'ид'е́л'ь*.

Even adverbial phrases can have a presentational or identificational function, like the expression *гд'е Л'икон'и́да Н'ик'и́форовна-то дак* in (5.12). The opposite order is also possible, as the correct point of departure and topic can also be presented in a separate prosodic syntagm, representing a separate cognitive act, after the assertion about it is expressed, like in (8) above (... *горбу́шы-то дак*,) and in the following one, where the search for her cat was the reason for the speaker to go out on the street:

(11) — *Но скажите пожалуйста, вы хотели печь ...*
— Н'ь закры́лъ п'е́ч'ку трубу́. *(— Ага)*
— Пътъму́ што у мн'а давно́ истъп'и́лъс'-тъ дак ы ... *(— Ага)* Пока́ ... сама́ заушла́ да ... кота́-тъ иска́лъ *дак*. *(— Ага)* О́:j, (го́спод'и.) П'ер'ежыва́ju за кота́-тъ пр'а́мъ. (S3)

[7] "First, an isolated object is presented, and the hearer knows only that something is going to be said about it and that in the meanwhile, this object should be observed; the next moment, the thought itself is expressed."

The expression of two separate acts is supported by the fact that A and B almost invariably carry one or more pitch accents in two separate prosodic syntagms. Pitch accents have the function to identify units (as being new or contrasted); see sections 7.2.3.5 and 12.3. This means that each of the units A and B represents a separate cognitive act.

10.3.4 *Dak* and given vs. new information

The contribution of *dak* to the utterances can usually be paraphrased as 'given x, (then) y': 'given I have not drunk goat milk, I don't know what it tastes like' (example 5.14), 'in view of the fact that the two rooms are big, it is little use to warm them up when the son has left for the army' (example 9.85), etc. In this section it will be argued that the unit x is always given *in relation to* y, although it is not always presented as given information at the moment it is expressed.

Information structure is often associated with a division into given and new information. This given information is not necessarily referentially given, but it is always relationally given (Gundel & Fretheim 2001). The utterance is often seen as giving an update of the (supposed) information state of the hearer, but a sentence can, apart from new information, contain information which helps the hearer to find what it is that is updated. Gundel and Fretheim write the following about relational givenness in sentence-internal information structure:

> "Relational givenness/newness involves a partition of the semantic-conceptual representation of a sentence into two complementary parts, X and Y, where X is what the sentence is about and Y is what is predicated about X. X is given in relation to Y in the sense that it is independent and outside the scope of what is predicated in Y. Y is new in relation to X in the sense that it is new information that is asserted, questioned, etc. about X." (Gundel & Fretheim 2003)

This does not imply that the information given in relation to Y is referentially given, and it can even be unknown to the hearer. Referential givenness expresses the cognitive status of referents, by devices like anaphora and articles. Like most themes, topics and links, the information contained in A (= x) in *dak*-constructions is usually referentially given and activated, but there are exceptions. For example, the information X can be no more than conditionally given, such as in the following example, where the irrealis marker *by* even indicates that the situation expressed in A is only hypothetical:

(12) — *У меня мало практики.*

— Да, бóл'ше вот так бы ... с так'и́м'и, с ру́с:к'им'и-то ə- ... э́тово, обш'а́лас' *дак* бы скор'ée. На́вык-то бы́л.

Following the definition given by Gundel and Fretheim, even elements which are brand new to the discourse can be (presented as) relationally given, such as in the newspaper heading cited by Hetland (13; from section 7.2.2.2):

(13) "Jetliner Crash Kills 131 in Philippines."

By presenting the jetliner crash in a typical topic position – as the first element in the sentence (which furthermore does not carry the last pitch accent of the sentence when the headline is read aloud) – the writer presents it as if it were accessible to the readers, Hetland argues. Hetland distinguishes referential accessibility from the kind of *assumed* accessibility signalised by topics:

> "Under the precondition that the speaker is almighty with regard to his treatment of *all* aspects of information structuring, one might argue that simply in choosing one particular constituent at the expense of others as point of departure for the predication, he somehow treats the topicalised constituent *as if it were* accessible to the addressee." (Hetland 2002:176; emphasis is hers)

A difference between Hetland's topics and the A-parts marked by postpositive *dak* is that by using *dak*, the speaker does not even pretend that its content had been accessible to the hearer; she only instructs the hearer that from now on he should take x as relationally given.

Gundel and Fretheim discuss only sentence-internal information structure, where the two connected elements are both expressed, corresponding to the *dak*-constructions "A *dak* B". But the relational givenness of x accounts for all constructions containing *dak*. The x-element is presented as relationally given as soon as the word *dak* is expressed, although the x-element expressed in A can be brand new in the discourse.

Below are some examples of various *dak*-constructions which had been discussed earlier, where x is both new in the discourse and unknown to the hearer:[8]

(14) У нас Вовка, *дак* у него тоже хороший характер (Perm.; Мерлин 1978)

[8] Since Merlin and Šapiro (see next example) do not give any information about the context, we cannot be sure that the elements *Vovka* and 'I haven't drunk it' are new to the discourse, but this is the most probable interpretation.

(15) Не пивала, *дък* не знаю. (about goat milk; Шапиро 1953:61)

The information expressed in imperatives is typically new to the discourse, but as soon as *dak* is used, the hearer is instructed to take the event or situation which it urges to as given in relation to its implication, like in (16) (see explanation in section 9.3.1):

(16) — Но ковó, спрáшывај јиш'ó ч'евó нáдъ *дак*.
— Вздр'евн'и́ *дак*.

Postposed reasons are often unknown to the hearers:

(17) — *Но пироги-то вы умеете, шаньги вы умеете печь?*
— Ум'éју, тáк-то науч'и́лас' мал'éнко *дак*. (S8)

In this context, it is very improbable that the speaker supposed that the hearers-dialectologists knew that she had learnt something about how to bake pies. *Dak* does not present this information to be known by the hearer, which the particle *ved'* would have done (see section 14.7). The particle only marks that it is the point of departure for her affirmative reply that she does know how to bake pies. This point of departure is relationally given: given the circumstance that she learnt this, she is now able to bake pies. In fact, this circumstance is given in the real world, but new to the hearers and in the discourse. However, the cognitive status of x – the question whether or not this circumstance is a given fact in the real world, whether it is referentially given or newly introduced or known to the hearer or not – is not relevant for the use of *dak*.

More examples of newly introduced x-parts will be given below and in chapter 14, where *dak* will be contrasted to the particle *ved'*, which does mark that the first part is known to the hearer (or at least, it is presented as such; see section 14.7).

Before arguing that *dak* actually instructs the hearer to take x as relationally given, the relation of *dak* with presupposition and assertion will be discussed.

10.3.5 *Dak* and presupposition vs. assertion

Topics and related concepts (like *themes*) are often claimed to represent presupposed information, which is opposed to the *focus* or to information which is being asserted (as being true, possible, or relevant). Examples are Chomsky's

(1971) and Jackendoff's (1972) division into *presupposition* and *focus* and Lambrecht's (1994) distinction between *pragmatic presupposition* and *pragmatic assertion*. Lambrecht defines *pragmatic presupposition* as the set of propositions lexico-grammatically evoked in a sentence which the speaker assumes the hearer already knows or is *ready* to take for granted at the time the *sentence* is uttered (Lambrecht 1994:52; emphasis is mine, MP).

A *pragmatic assertion* is "[t]he proposition expressed by a sentence which the hearer is expected to know or take for granted as a result of hearing the sentence uttered" (Lambrecht 1994:52). A pragmatic assertion is not necessarily a statement, not a kind of speech act, as expressed in declarative as opposed to interrogative, imperative or exclamative sentences. Even non-declarative sentences expressing questions, orders and requests convey new information, they also have pragmatic presuppositions and are being used to make assertions (Lambrecht 1994:54f).[9]

The x-elements signalised by *dak* share properties with Lambrecht's pragmatic presuppositions, but unlike those, the x-parts are pieces of information that the hearer is *instructed* to take for granted at the moment *dak* is uttered. *Dak* simply marks that x is given in relation to y. The information x is not necessarily presupposed, i.e. in the case of *dak*, the speaker does not assume that the hearer knows it or is ready to take it for granted; by using *dak* she simply instructs the hearer to take it as non-questionable and given.

The y-elements are typically judgements about x, and they are pragmatic assertions in case they have an expression (in B).

Sometimes, a new, unknown element is introduced in a separate identificational clause (or clause equivalent), and even such expressions can be marked by enclitic *dak*. Although the information itself might be new to the discourse, and even unknown to the hearer, *dak* marks it as being relationally given. By using *dak*, the speaker instructs the hearer to take x for granted in relation to a judgement based on x, y. Below follows an example from Varzuga. In this fragment, the speaker tries to recall the courtship rituals. The matchmaker who came to the house of the girl pronounced a certain fixed phrase, and when candles were lit, this was a sign that the proposal was accepted. This was how it went with the speaker's aunt:

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[9] A *focus* is in Lambrecht's definition "[t]he semantic component of a pragmatically structured proposition whereby the assertion differs from the presupposition" (1994:213). This definition is not unlike descriptions by other researchers of the *rheme* as the part of a sentence which represents the informational update (e.g. Vallduví & Vilkuna 1998 and similar descriptions in the Russian literature).

(18) (...) н’ел’з’а́ ... л’и куп’и́т’ у ва́с ... това́р. Ну и та́м друг’и́ нач’ина́л’ис’. У на́с напр’им’е́р, т’о́тка *дак*, ə- ... т’о́тку ква́тал’и дак ат’е́ц п’а́ныj был дак н’е мо́к св’е́ч’к’и зажга́т’. Дак — ква́т, А:! го(вор)ыт св’е́ч’ку-то мы́ зажг’о́м. А jе́сл’и св’е́ч’ку зажгл’и́ зна́ч’ит фс’о́ уже́ должны́ ру́ку дава́т’. Во́т. (S8)

Impossible ... *prt* buy with you ... merchandise. *Prt* and there others started.pl With us, for-example, aunt.nom. *dak* eh ... aunt.acc matched.pl *dak* father drunken.M was.M *dak neg* could candles light.inf *Dak* - matchmaker, ah! says candle.acc-*prt* we will-light.1pl And if candle.acc lit.pl means all.N already obliged.pl hand.acc give.inf. *Prt*.

‘Can’t I buy some merchandise off you. Well, and then the others started. For example, we have this aunt, well eh, when this aunt was betrothed, father was drunk so he couldn’t light the candles. Well, so the matchmaker said: ‘Ah, then we will light the candle.’ And if they did light the candle, that meant that was it, they already had to give each other their hand. Like that.’

This fragment is taken from the first conversation between the speaker and a group of dialectologists. In this case, the hearers had never heard about any aunt before, so *m’otka* does not represent given, but new information. Still, all the A-parts marked by *dak* are marked as being relationally given at the moment *dak* is expressed: ‘suppose x, then y’. If the entity is not already given, then the use of *dak* “makes” it given. Although the aunt represents an unknown person, *dak* marks this information as being the point of departure for some assertion and instructs the hearers to take it as given.

This also accounts for expressions in which A expresses a reason or condition for a previously given statement. This reason is often known to the hearer, but not always. In any case, *dak* signals that this reason is relationally given. It is “logically” (epistemically) and argumentationally prior to the statement which is based on it. The validity and appropriateness of B is dependent on the content of A:

(19) И ... вот а с’ич’а́с-то мы хо́д’им хъръво́ды-то вот то́же. На сце́ны-то когда́ *дак*.

Givenness is thus also related to being logically or argumentationally prior. In section 8.2.4 it was claimed that the information x is always prior to the information y, because y is based on x. This will be explained in the next section.

Givenness is also related to (in)dependency. The unit x is presented as given and non-questionable, whereas y is presented as being dependent on the content of x or the expression of A.

In section 9.2.3, it was explained that the "A_*dak*"-expressions often can be translated with adverbial participle constructions, like 'having been left without your mother', or 'given this circumstance'. Just like participle constructions, the A-part is presented as being subordinate, and not – or no longer – as an assertion with a truth value or appropriateness which is not presupposed, but presented as being open to questioning.

10.3.6 *Dak* and priority

This section discusses the claim made in section 8.2.4 that the thought y is presented as being based on x, so x is prior to y in a logical, argumentational or cognitive sense. x does not have to be expressed before y, or precede y in time if it is the expression of an event.

Nørgård-Sørensen (1992), considering certain pairs of clauses in Russian, claims that the proposition expressed in the second clause (p) is prior to the proposition expressed in the first clause (q). More precisely, he claims that p is part of the knowledge set of the speaker activated by the previous communicative act at the moment prior to the communication of q. In other words, although p is expressed after q, the speaker had already p in mind before he expressed q.[10] One of Nørgård-Sørensen's examples is the following (which he slightly adapted from Bonnot & Fougeron 1982:319f; Nørgård-Sørensen 1992:164; capital letters mark an "intonation centre"):[11]

(20) Где-то около часа он проснулся. (B)
a) ТЕЛЕФОН зазвонил. (A)
b) Зазвонил ТЕЛЕФОН. (C)

The clauses (a) and (b) represent two alternative continuations to (B). In the most probable interpretations, the events do not coincide. The word order in (a) presents the proposition it expresses as being prior to the previously expressed (B), whereas (C) is normally interpreted as following after (B) in time. In case of continuation (a), the telephone rang before the person woke up, and the message

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[10] "p is an element of C^S at the moment prior to the communication of q", in which C^S is the knowledge set of the speaker activated by the previous communicative act (Nørgård-Sørensen 1992:167).

[11] Such constructions show that these two variants in word order in Russian are not only different in style, which has often been claimed in literature on actual sentence perspective (see explanations in Bonnot & Fougeron 1982; Keijsper 1985; Nørgård-Sørensen 1992), but that they also have different semantics. By the way, the word order is not the only difference between the two possible continuations (a) *Телефон зазвонил* and (b) *Зазвонил телефон*. There is a difference in accentuation as well, since (a) has one accent, whereas (b) normally has two, as *зазвонил* is accented as well; cf. Keijsper 1985.

that the telephone rang is suggested to be the reason for the action referred to in the preceding expression. In case of continuation (b), the telephone probably rang after the person woke up.

In (21), the fact that there are many churches is in (a) presented as a basis for the assertion that Denmark is a beautiful country; in (b), two facts are reported, but possible implications are left to the imagination of the hearer (Nørgård-Sørensen 1992:168):

(21) Дания — красивая страна.
a) ЦЕРКВЕЙ там много.
b) Там много ЦЕРКВЕЙ.

As remarked by Nørgård-Sørensen, backward causal relations can be expressed by other means than word order, for instance by the particle *ved'*. However, the particle *ved'* expresses explicitly that there is a causal relationship, whereas causality is not a compulsory feature of the meaning of the word order, but only a frequent implicature (1992:166). The same can be said about *dak*. The particle is in this sense closer to the use of the specific word order than to *ved'*, since *dak* is less explicit. *Dak* expresses that x is prior to y, but the relation between the two elements is not necessarily causal. According to Nørgård-Sørensen, the word order presents *p* (≈ x) as a piece of information that should have been presented earlier (ibid.).

Like the word order explained above, *dak* always presents x as being prior to y. In case the relation between x and y is causal or temporal, this relation is usually necessary and the order irreversible: x must necessarily lead to y. However, the relation need not be logical in this truth-conditional sense. The x-part is also presented as prior to y in constructions when *dak* follows after a typical theme, for instance, in the case of an explanation of a dialect word. The order [dialect word] –> [concept (which the dialect word represents)] is not more logical than the opposite order [concept] –> [dialect word]. The position of *dak* in relation to the expressions of x and y reflects the argumentational order which the speaker had in mind. In the examples of explanations of dialect words from chapter 5, both orders are used:

(22) А лон'и́с' э́тъ про́шлыj гот, а оногды́с' э́тъ ... ну къгда́-тъ там. А оном'е́д' *дак* на то́j н'ид'е́л'ь. Jе́с' так'и́х слоф мно́го о́ч'ьн'. (S8)

(23) — Дл'а холо́дного в'е́тра ка́к назва́н'ие. Ну с'е́в'ер у на́с-то ска́жут, с'е́в'ер, холо́дныj в'е́т'ер *дак* с'е́в'ер. А ... т'о́плыj в'е́т'ер *дак* ə- ... jу́жныj ска́жут в'е́т'ер. (S19)

The first mentioned element is presented as the point of departure. The meaning of the expression containing *dak* in this excerpt can be described as 'if we take the word *ономедь*, then the answer to the question about its meaning is 'last week', or 'as for *ономедь*, or 'under the condition that we depart from the word *ономедь*, the rheme is *на тој неделе*.' So, although the relation is not asymmetric in the real world, it is presented in a specific, asymmetric way (see also section 10.3.11 below on the relation between *dak* and conditionality).

Nørgård-Sørensen claims that p (x) is part of the knowledge set of the speaker activated before y is expressed. However, x is not necessarily activated at the moment y is expressed, as explained in the next section.

10.3.7 X is prior to y and relationally given, but not necessarily activated in the mind of the speaker

Analyses of occurrences of *dak* show that the information expressed in x in constructions containing *dak* need not be activated and highly accessible in the mind of the speaker either, although it is part of the knowledge of the speaker on which y is based. This probably accounts for a part of the "B. A_*dak*"-constructions in which A gives a reason for the content or for the uttering of B, such as in (24):

(24) Пътóм ... oj jиш'ó ка́к, какój-то иш'ó да и, т'ип'е́р' уш ста́ла и забыва́т' их фс'ех. Давно́ н'е́ту *дак*. (S8)

This can be the case in uses where *dak* is used after an additional remark about the reason for an earlier statement. One of several possible reasons that this vital information, which influences the outcome of the statement, is added only after the statement about it, is that the speaker did not have this information on a high consciousness level.

To summarise, *dak* expresses that there is a topical element, i.e. a point of departure, relationally given information, about which something will be predicated. The cognitive status of this element x is irrelevant – the information need not be given at the moment it is expressed, and not be presented as topic at

that moment, but it is presented as being relationally given and unquestionable at the moment *dak* is expressed.

10.3.8 *Dak* cannot mark all aboutness relations, points of departure etc.

In section 10.3.1 above it was stated that the concept *aboutness* is far from precise enough to cover the meaning of the relations implied by *dak*. Not only does *dak* mark something more specific than aboutness, but the concept also covers many expressions which would not be marked by this particle. *Dak* does not mark all elements which are the topic of a proposition, and cannot even do that. Examples are Firbas' English example sentences in section 10.2.2 above (*an unknown man* and *him* in *An unknown man has asked him the way to the railway station*), and part of the elements that in the dialect can be marked by the particle *-to*, a particle that is often characterised as a marker of themes. An example is *про Ежóва-то* 'about Ježov' in the next example (see section 9.3.2 for more context):

(25) Вóт. Дак вот óн ч'евó-то про Ежóва-*то* сказáл, за так'и́ словá егó ув'езл'и́ н... в Магадáн.

There is an aboutness relation between 'about Ježov' and the rest of the sentence, but it is no coincidence that the element is not followed by *dak*. Ježov is not opposed to a set of alternatives which are connected to a set of different "outcomes".[12] Another example is *в д'ьр'éвн'и-то* in the next fragment:

(26) — *Вы сказали, что вы пели на именинах.*
— Нó.
— *Это здесь большой праздник считается?*
— Нó д'éн'-то рожд'éн'ja рáн'ше соб'ирá- ... Родн'и́-то бы́ло же мнóго в д'ьр'éвн'и-то, по рóтству-ту. (S2)

Yes
Yes day-*prt* birth.gen before gathere-... Relatives.gen-*prt* was.N *prt* much in village-*prt*, according-to family-*prt*.
'You said you sang at name-day celebrations.'
'That's right.'
'Is that considered an important festive occasion here?'
'Yes, before, a birthday gather-... there were a lot of relatives in the village, you know, related people.

12 Since McCoy claims that *-to*, at least in Standard Colloquial Russian, always marks set-membership, she would probably have a different opinion, and claim that *-to* marks that Ježov is marked as being part of a set of alternative persons; cf. section 10.3.12 about set membership below.

Of course, it is impossible to give evidence for the non-existence of a phenomenon on the basis of a restricted corpus, but such non-accented, non-contrastive elements at the end of a clause that are not preceded by a pause, seem never to be marked by post-positive *dak*. The location 'in the village' is not singled out as being the theme of the assertion, the choice of which has a certain implication for the outcome: it is not contrasted to alternative locations and its choice is expected, so it need not be singled out as being essential for the correct interpretation of the proposition that there were many relatives. *Dak* will be compared with *-to* in more detail in section 14.6.

Point of departure is also a vague expression, and it is not marked linguistically in any regular way, unless it is defined as being restricted to the first element in the sentence which does not carry the last pitch accent. But non-initial parts of a sentence can semantically be a point of departure as well. The particle *dak* almost always marks the first constituent of the sentence (see section 11.5.3). If not, it marks an element which is not part of the core sentence (matrix clause), such as a parenthetical or an afterthought. These parentheticals and afterthoughts could also be explained as points of departure, though not on a clausal level, but on a larger semantic or pragmatic level, since they express background information on which the main message is based, for instance *горбу́шы дак* in (8) and *На сце́ны-то когда́ дак* in (2).

Points of departure and other thematic elements which are not in first position are not marked by *dak*, probably because they are not set up to alternatives (see below) or connected to a specific rheme for a set of alternative rhemes. Example are *жытелej-то* and *народу-то* in the next fragment (see also chapter 14 about *dak* and *-to*):

(27) — *Умба деревня, да. А там осталось очень ма́ло ...*
— Там ма́ло жы́т'ел'ej-*то* оста́лос' софс'е́м.
— *Да, очень мало.*
— Мы то́же там выступа́л'и, ра́н'ше наро́ду-*то* бы́ло вот.

The alternatives where the particle *-to* was substituted by *dak* were dismissed by the single dialect speaker who answered my questionnaire:

(27) там ма́ло жы́т'ел'ej-*то* оста́лос' софс'е́м. (...) Ра́н'ше наро́ду-*то* бы́ло вот.
(27a) там ма́ло жы́т'ел'ej-*то* **дак* оста́лос' софс'е́м. Ра́н'ше наро́ду **дак* бы́ло вот. (modifications in questionnaire)

In the next example, the element *сын-от* 'my (her, his, their) son' is by Ovčinnikova defined as the theme of the utterance, and it could also be described as a point of departure, since it represents the topic of the conversation; the utterance suggests that the interlocutors were discussing the son's life:

R *T* *R*

(28) В Ушаткине / сын-от / жывёт. (Овчинникова 1976:115)

The slashes do not mark pauses, but boundaries between what Ovčinnikova considers to be the thematic (T) and the rhematic (R) parts of the utterance. In her definition, the rheme represents the informationally new part of the utterance. In the most probable interpretation, this utterance was expressed with the last, rhematic accent on the first clause constituent, *В Ушаткине* 'In Ušatkino'. The part *сын-от* is not the kind of point of departure marked by *dak*. The use of *dak* would have been impossible, unless the part *сын-от* had the prosodic form and the function of a parenthetical, and it was set up to an alternative point of departure, used to correct possible false assumptions. The reason why the expression 'about Ježov' in (25) above was not marked by *dak* is the same. This element need not either be marked as being a member of a set of alternatives with a specific implication.

10.3.9 Not always in same clause or utterance, and not always directly marked as given or a point of departure

When the A-part contains a subordinating conjunction, x is clearly marked as being informationally subordinate in the sense that it does not express an assertion. However, A is not always marked as having this subordinate function at the moment this segment is expressed. Only after the use of the word *dak*, which is sometimes used after a pause, the A-part – or rather x – is marked as serving as a point of departure for some other information. It can contain new information and even function as a separate, independent speech act. The A-part of the second use of *dak* in the earlier discussed example (29) appears to be the first half of the utterance, *А потóм ужé до тóгó мы их замáзал'и дак*$_1$ *ужé порошóк-то н'ь стáло заб'ирáт'* 'But later on we (had) polished them so much we ran out of this powder':

(29) Ѝх мáзал'и. А потóм ужé до тóгó мы их замáзал'и *дак*$_1$ ужé порошóк-то н'ь стáло заб'ирáт', *дак*$_2$ мы потóм сáжој нач'ёрн'ѝл'и. (S3)

This information is new to the addressee (= me, MP), and only after the use of *dak*, it is marked as serving as a point of departure, in this case, as the circumstance which caused the girls to start using soot to polish their shoes instead of tooth powder. Whether A was presented as a separate assertion in this case depends on the intonation it was expressed with; see section 7.2.3.5 and 12.3.3. The last word in A, *заб'ирáм'*, ends in a rising intonation, which suggests the expression is non-final. Whereas the intonation marks that the unit is incomplete, *dak* marks that it has an implication.

10.3.10 *Dak* and restriction of the nucleus

In some formal semantic approaches, sentences are not divided into a theme and a rheme or a topic and a focus, but into a restrictor and a nucleus (and an operator, such as a negation marker or an adverbial like 'always'; cf. Hajičová, Partee & Sgall 1998; Vallduví & Zacharsky 1994 and references therein). An example of this approach is a short article by Kawamura on Japanese *wa*. She claims that if the topic marker *wa* connects x and y, then the interpretation of y is dependent on the meaning of x, which serves to restrict the interpretation of y (Kawamura 2002).[13] *Dak* signals the same in the sense that the choice or givenness of x restricts the possible outcomes in y. For instance, the B expressed after utterance-initial *dak* can be said to be restricted, since the use of *dak* signals that B is not an independent utterance, but that it is based on some accessible information. The unit y is based on x, and dependent on it in some way, for instance, because it was x who made the speaker think y. The presence of x thus influences and restricts the "outcome" y, but, even when x and y are propositions, x does not necessarily entail y, since the knowledge of the point of departure x is usually not sufficient to be able to derive the outcome y.

10.3.11 *Dak* and conditionality

The discussion of previous literature on *dak* (see chapter 6) shows that the researchers disagreed about the relation between *dak* and conditionality. Merlin had a broad understanding of conditionality, stating that *Коровy дак Н а с т е й кличут* expresses conditionality (Мерлин 1978:96). On the other extreme, Šapiro appears to have interpreted conditionality in a restricted logical, truth-conditional sense, as involving material implication, but this is only a very poor

[13] This is the syntagmatic aspect of *wa*-marking; Kawamura 2002:2 after Jackendoff (1972) and Krifka (Krifka 1991, A compositional semantics for multiple focus constructions, *Proceedings from Semantics and Linguistic Theory* 1: 127–158). Marking by *wa* has also a paradigmatic aspect in that it involves an alternative to x relevant in the context, which would involve an alternative y as well (ibid.; after Jackendoff 1972 and Büring 1999; Kawamura's symbols were shifted out with x and y). This activation of alternatives is discussed is section 10.3.12 below.

approximation to the meaning of conditionals in ordinary language (Haiman 1978:564). In logic, if p is a necessary condition of q, then q cannot be true unless p is true and if p is a sufficient condition of q, then given that p is true, q is so as well. In this strict sense, only a small percentage of the relations marked by *dak* is conditional. But in a broad, non-truth-conditional understanding of the term, the relations can all be called conditional in some sense. Let's take a fresh look at Bogoraz' example (30):

(30) Дай менѣ карбасъ, сулил *дакъ*!
Give me *karbas*, promised *dak (karbas = a kind of boat)*

Bogoraz had claimed that in "B, A *dak*"-constructions, the relation between A and B is typically conditional, but Šapiro did not agree. A pure conditional relationship would have been 'give me the boat (only) if you have promised me that', but this is clearly not the intended meaning of Bogoraz' example utterance. The expression 'you promised *dak*' is not a condition for the truth or felicity of the preceding assertion 'give me the boat', but one could say that it is a condition for the speaker to utter the request, or even a non-truth-conditional sufficient condition for the preceding assertion to be relevant and appropriate. The truth of the first is not dependent on the truth of the promise, but the promise is sufficient to make the request relevant; it supports the relevance and appropriateness of the request. The relation marked by *dak* should not be translated with the conditionality marker 'if', but with the causal conjunction 'since', or it should not be translated at all, leaving the task of the interpretation of the relation, which is rather obvious, to the hearer. This example shows that the relations marked by *dak* are conditional only in a broad sense. A similar relation is found in the following example from Шапиро 1953:

(31) Почево-то на ярмонку плетется, безживотной *дак* (безживотной = не имеющий пушнины на продажу)
why-*prt* on accordion drags-reflex., without-pelts.adj.M.sg *dak*
'Why does he fiddle around on the accordion all the time, when he doesn't have pelts'

It is not the accordion playing that is conditioned by the player not having fur, but the fact that the remark about the accordion playing was uttered. The addition 'not having fur *dak*' serves to show that it was appropriate for the speaker to utter the previous assertion. Once again, *dak* does not connect on a content level, but on a pragmatic, speech act level. The A-part shows that the uttering of B was appropriate. The speaker intends to convey something like 'Why does he fiddle

around on the accordion? I wonder about this (or 'I have a good reason to wonder about this'), because he doesn't even have pelts'.[14]

Haiman (1978) claimed that conditionals are topics. Like topics, they are given, or conditionally given, they constitute the frame of reference of the main clause and they are contrastive, like contrastive topics: "Conditionals, like topics, are givens which constitute the frame of reference with respect to which the main clause is either true (if a proposition), or felicitous (if not)" (Haiman 1978:564). Furthermore, "[l]ike contrastive topics, [conditional clauses] are contrastive because they are selected (...) from a list of possible conditions. Once selected, they are not subject, any more than contrastive topics, to interrogation or denial" (1978:572). So in Haiman's view, conditionals have typically all of the above listed characteristics: aboutness, point of departure, givenness and set-evoking properties. They also have a clearly restrictive function. If conditionals are defined widely, not all of them answer to all of these properties, but in general, they account for most conditional expressions. The relation between conditionality and set membership will be discussed in the next section. Haiman also remarked the similarity between newness and contrast. He observed parallels between conditionals and interrogatives, left-dislocated elements and contrastive and resumptive "topics".[15] In many languages, all or some of these constructions are marked in the same way. Resumptive topics are topics which identify a previous, temporarily abandoned topic (1978:584). Jespersen (1940; as referred to in Haiman 1978) claimed that conditionals are (yes/no-)questions with implied positive answers:

(32) Is he coming? (Yes.) Well then, I will stay.

Šapiro has also noticed the resemblance between conditional constructions and question-answer pairs, both semantically and prosodically. He remarks that the conditional constructions are derived from question-answer pairs. The

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[14] Apart from a distinction between semantic (content) and pragmatic (speech act) connection (e.g. Van Dijk 1977; 1981), more levels can be distinguished on which connections are established, e.g. Sweetser's distinction of connections in three domains – the content, epistemic and speech act domain, where the epistemic domain denotes our world of reasoning (Sweetser 1990). Iordanskaja also discusses pragmatic use of conjunctions, which she calls illocutionary use (*illokutivnoe upotreblenie*). It is the most common use of the conjunction *raz* 'since; once', such as in the imperative utterance *Не говори, раз не знаешь!* 'Don't say it, if [or: since] you don't know' and in the question *Раз занавес закрылся, почему публика не расходится?* 'Now that the curtains are closed, why doesn't the audience stand up and leave?' (Иорданская 1988:242). An analysis and classification of the uses of *dak* according to the domain of connection, though interesting, has not been part of the present research.

[15] For a discussion of the functions of left-dislocation and topicalisation, see e.g. Lambrecht 1981; Barnes 1985 and Prince 1998.

resemblance is still audible in intonation, for, according to Šapiro's observations, in conditional sentences in which the subordinate clause precedes the main clause (protasis – apodosis), the protasis has the intonation typical for a yes/no-question, with a high pitch rise (Шапиро 1953:63; the question mark stands for "question intonation"):

(33) — Желаете (?), *дак* дам крынку ... (Arch.; Шапиро 1953:63)

Example (34) could be a corresponding example from Varzuga. The pronunciation of the speaker is too unclear and the sound quality of this fragment too poor to decide whether the speaker intended to say *dak* or *tak*, but both seem to have been appropriate (although I have some doubts about the possibilities to use *dak*; see section 14.4.2):

(34) — Н'éту карма́на? *Дак* [= Так?] и с'jéш ты ды! (S1)

This utterance was used in the following context, when the speaker offers S20 and his younger sister to take and eat at home the chocolate they had just declined, probably out of shyness:

(34) [S1:] — Та́к, воз'м'и́ С'ьр'о́шка до́ма с'jьд'ит'е́. С (unintell.)-тъ.
[S20:] — Куда́ ja jево ложы́т'-тъ буду?
[S1:] — Н'е́куда поло́жыт'? У jej н'éту карма́на у Р'и́ты-тъ?
[S20:] — Н'éту.
[S1:] — Н'éту карма́на? *Дак* [= Так?] и с'jéш ты ды!
[S20:] — Да н'и хъч'у́.
[S1:] — Н'е хо́чъш?
[S20:] — Н'е́.

In this respect it is interesting to notice that *dak* never ends a question. *Dak* marks the x-part – the conditional – as being given. Consequently, it can no longer be subject to questioning. Haiman claims that this accounts for conditions in general. The conditions expressed in conditionals are givens, and not subject to interrogation or denial, any more than other givens (1978:572). This appears to be true for the x-elements in *dak*-constructions as well. In the Varzuga database of *dak*-utterances *dak* never ends a question, nor a direct answer to a question,

which conveys new information, probably because x is presupposed at the moment *dak* is uttered:[16]

(34) — Н'е́ту карма́на? *Дак* [= Так?] и с'је́ш ты ды!
(34a) — Н'е́ту карма́на ??*дак*?

(35) — А ты́ ф кото́рыj кла́с:-*то*, ф тр'е́т'иj? Во фторо́j? (orig.)
(35a) — А ты́ ф кото́рыj кла́с:-*то* ??*дак*? (modif.)

(36) — *Так что вы ездили в Кузомень. А дорога была туда?*[17]
— В Ку́зом'ен'-*то*? (S1)
(36a)— В Ку́зом'ен' ??*дак*? (questionnaire)

(37) — А В'ита́л'ка *дак* ф како́м? (orig.)
(37a) — А В'ита́л'ка ??*дак*? (modif.)

Example (38), though ending in *dak*, is not an exception:

(38) А ты там н'е пла́кала оста́лас' от ма́мы *дак*?

In this utterance, the A-part is not the part which is questioned, but only the last, relationally given, part, 'having been left without your mother'. If the second part is taken out, the construction is no longer acceptable:

(38a) А ты там н'е пла́кала ??*дак*? (modif.)

It is possible that *dak* is often used to end expressive exclamatory utterances just because *dak* marks its content as given and unquestionable. This property is in that case exploited to make the utterance more convincing (cf. section 9.3.1). According to Merlin, conditionality is an inherent property of the division into theme and rheme ("значение обусловленности принадлежит не *дак*, а самому актуальному членению"; Мерлин 1978:96; on the utterance *Туда — не ходи*.). All of the mentioned characteristics of conditionals seem to be shared by the relations marked by *dak*. The question is whether we even can say that this particle *always*

16 The questionnaire contained several types of questions from the Varzuga corpus, which were modified such that they ended in *dak*. The respondent to my questionnaire rejected them all. By the way, the informant was not happy with the last, original utterance either (*А В'ита́л'ка дак ф како́м?*).
17 This question is a shorter paraphrase of the original question.

signals conditionality. The answer is positive, but only in a very abstract sense. Doubtful cases include constructions with a postposed expression of a cause, initial *dak* connecting two events and exclamatory utterances of the type "A_*dak*!" They have characteristics of conditions, such as relational givenness, as argued earlier in this chapter. Even the utterances where A expresses an object or person and B a property of this object or person appear to be presented as conditional in some sense; see the next section. *Dak* does not mark that y is only true or appropriate if x is given, or that y can be derived from x, but it does mark that under the condition of x, y is true or appropriate.

10.3.12 Is *dak* a set-evoking particle?

10.3.12.1 Sets of theme-rheme pairs

In chapter 8 it was suggested that *dak* perhaps could be added to the list of the so-called *kontrastive* particles (a term introduced by Enric Vallduví; see section 7.2.2). In most cases, *dak* clearly helps to activate a set of alternatives, and even a set of sets of alternative theme-rheme pairs, just like what McCoy claims for the particle *-to* in colloquial Russian (see section 14.6).

We saw that several researchers give clear examples of contrastive sets of sets, for instance Шуйская 2002, who gives (39), which can be symbolised as T_1 *dak* R_1, *a* T_2 *dak* R_2 if T = theme and R = rheme:

(39) Для да́чникоф *дак* э́то ле́то хорошо́, загора́ть да купа́ца, *а* вот для расте́ний-то *дак* о́чень су́хо (Arch.; Шуйская 2002)

The Varzuga corpus also contains numerous examples where *dak* connects a theme with a rheme, which is contrasted to an alternative theme-rheme set, either explicitly or implicitly, like (9.8), (9.29) and (9.30). Below are some more examples. In the first fragment the interlocutors are discussing the drinking habits before and now (see App. VI, text nr. 25):

(40) — Ја нав'е́рно ва́м вч'ера́ расска́зывала гър'у у на́с как нач'н'о́ц:а с'енако́с,
— *Гм.*
— М'е́с'ец — сухо́j зако́н. Говор'и́ла фс'о́ дак.
— *Да, да.*
— Ну во́т. Ко́нч'ът с'енако́с, фс'о́, за стогу́, ис с'ена́, фс'о́. Тогда́ ... ну́ и кто́, кто п'j о́т *дак* вы́п'ит а ... кто н'и п'j о́т *дак* тот во:пш'е́ н'и зап'j о́т. (S3)

I probably you.dat yesterday told.F say.1sg with us how begins hay-making
Month - dry law. Told.F all.N *dak*

Prt prt. Ends hay-making, all.N, they-make-stacks-of hay, all.N. Then ... *prt prt* who, who drinks *dak* gets-drunk, and ... who *neg* drinks *dak* not-at-all *neg* begins-to-drink

'I probably told you yesterday how the hay-making started.'

'Uh.'

'There was prohibition for one month. Well I told you everything.'

'Yes, yes.'

'Okay, so the hay-making ends, and that is it,stacks are made of the hay, it's finished. Then ... well, those who drink they become drunk, those who don't drink, they will never start drinking at all.'

As shown in section 9.2.1, contrast or *kontrast* is usually not expressed as directly. For instance, *ис ч'о́рны* and *он'е́ нар'а́дн'е на ног'е́-то* in the next fragment are contrasted only indirectly:

(41) — *А вы знаете, как катали?*

— Н'и зна́j-... А́? Н'и зна́ju. Н'и в'ида́ла. То́л'ко вот сы́н ма́лен'коj-то у м'ьн'а́ бы́л *дак*, мн'е Ал'екса́ндра Гр'иго́р'jевна ката́ла, а шч'ита́лос', ис ш'о́рноj ше́рст'и иш'о́, ч'о́рны о́фцы-то бора́ны-то бы́л'и *дак*. Ис ч'о́рны *дак* он'е́ нар'а́дн'е на ног'е́-то, ска́жут, как пра́зн'иц'н'и.

— *Черные — праздничные?*

— Ага.

(— Ага.)

— Пра́зн'иц'н'и. Ва́л'енк'и-то ....Во́т говор'а́т ə- ... jе́сл'и ... нога́ уже крас'и́во од'е́та *дак* ə- ... и са́мо. Пла́т'jо хот' похо́же а нога́ шч':обы была́ фс'ьгда́ од'е́та ... хорошо́ *дак*, и нар'а́дн'ej. *(— Гм.)* (S2)

Neg know.1sg. *Prt*? *Neg* know.1sg *Neg* saw.F Only *prt* son small-*prt* with me was.M *dak*, me.dat Aleksandra Grigor'jevna mad, and was-considered.N, from black wool still, black sheep-*prt* rams-*prt* were.pl *dak*. From black *dak* they smarter on leg-*prt*, say.3pl, as festive.pl

Uh-huh

Festive.pl Felt-boots-*prt* ... *Prt* say.3pl eh ... if ... leg already beautifully dressed.F *dak* eh ... also self. Dress though worse but foot so-that were.F always dressed.F ... well *dak*, and smarter

'Do you know how they were made'

'I don't kno-... What? I don't know. I haven't seen it. Only when my son was little Aleksandra Grigor'jevna made them for me, and that was considered ... and from black wool, it was from black sheep – black rams, you know. When they are from black wool they look smarter on your feet, they say, as if they were festive.'

'So black ones are festive?'

'Uh-huh.'

'Uh-huh.'

'They are festive, these felt boots ... they say that eh ... if the leg is already beautifully clad, then eh ... well. Even if the dress is worse, the leg should always be well clad, and smarter as well.'

Felt boots are usually grey. Black boots were considered to be stylish and festive.

The contrast with alternatives need not be exhaustive, and in fact, the alternative theme can even lead to the same rheme:

(42) У нас Вовка, *дак* у него тоже хороший характер (Perm.; Мерлин 1978)

The first syntagm introduces a new person, and the clause after *dak* contains a predication about this person. The use of *тоже* 'as well' suggest that this person is also compared to other persons in a set, but the contrast is not exhaustive. *Dak* does not mark that a different point of departure would have led to a different implication; it only marks that it could. This specific x leads to this specific y, but what an alternative to x would have lead to is not implied by the use of *dak*. *Dak* shares this property with Japanese *wa*. Kuroda claims that the basic function of *wa* in Japanese is that it makes an assertion about an object or event with the implication that the speaker is not committing herself (himself) to the validity of similar assertions concerning some other objects or events (Kuroda 1972:184).

10.3.12.2 Set membership and conditionality

Set membership is related to conditionality. The choice of the unit x as a point of departure has consequences for the unit y, also if x is a person or object. In section 9.2.1, this was illustrated with (9.7), where the word *ономедь* is contrasted with *лонись* and *оногдысь*, two other members of a set of dialectal expressions.

The addition *у кого ја́гот мно́го дак* 'who has a lot of berries' in the next fragment (see section 9.2.3 for the context) expresses a specification of the correct point of departure, just like in the examples above, and corrects possible false assumptions:

(43) То и пр'и́шло т'ьп'ёр' и ... взара́с-то са́хару-то мно́го ... покупа́т', у кого ја́гот ... мно́го *дак*. А запа́р'ат брусн'и́ку-то *дак* и м'ён'ше. Н'и взара́с да.

This example can also be interpreted as giving a condition: 'in case you have a lot of berries, you need a lot of sugar'. The situation suggests that the condition is added to correct possible alternative assumptions. It accounts only for the

situation that you have many berries; implying that if you have few, you won't need that much.

These point of departures of a person or object with implications can also be described as conditions: 'if we take x, then y, whereas if we take x', then y''. A group characterised as topics often marked by *dak* are contrasted topics or contrastive themes. Just like A-parts marked by postpositive *dak*, contrastive themes are typically used sentence-initially. The relation between *dak* and contrastive themes will be discussed in the following section.

10.3.12.3 Always kontrastive?

Does *dak* always evoke alternative themes (points of departure) and rhemes (outcomes)? In many cases it is difficult to imagine that *dak* should signal about the existence of sets of alternative to x and y. In some context types, a description of the relation in terms of a generating of alternatives seems far-fetched and has little or no explanational value. This accounts for most causal relations (*Не пивала, дък не знаю*), for most cases of utterance-initial *dak* and for the emotional "A_*dak*!"-type. The set-evoking properties seem rather to be an inherent characteristic of pitch accents and of conditionals than of the particle *dak*, as argued below.

In the case of utterance-initial *dak*, the particle usually implies 'the proposition expressed in B accounts for this particular case', and this often implies 'it does not account for alternative cases', or 'I do not claim anything about alternative cases' (see previous section). However, this implication of a contrast with alternatives does not appear to be obligatory. Expressions of reasons or causes do not necessarily activate an alternative reason; cf. *Давнó н'éту дак* in (7) and (24), now (45), and *Ја в'ет' и забы́л (да?) што н'и кур'и́ш дак!* in (46):

(45) Пътóм ... оj јиш'ó кáк, какój-то иш'ó да и, т'ип'ép' уш ста́ла и забыва́т' их фс'ех. Давнó н'éту *дак*.

(46) [MA offers MP a cigarette]
[MP:] — *Нет, спасибо, не курю.*
(...)
[MA:] — Ја в'ет' и забы́л (да?) што н'и кур'и́ш *дак*!

I do not see that sets of alternatives are activated in sequences of events or actions either, like in (5.45) (*ма́к-то л'о́т ... дак ... н'е бу́д'еш полоска́т' а ... jéд'ьт ... л'о́т-то .. уб'ер'о́ш дак по́то́м там вода́-то дак ə- ... ма́м поло́ш'иш.*), and for instance in the following fragment, which was taken from the story about the thirties (9.59 in

chapter 9), where the speaker had explained that two people had been arrested during the time of the worst repression. She had explained that her father probably also would have been arrested, because he had defended the church, but he died before the time of the mass arrests:

(47) (...) (Вот та́к вот. *Дак*) вот э́тъ бы́л'и тр'ица́ты го́ды, кол'ект'ив'иза́ц'ија кон'е́шно бы́лъ о́ч'ен' тру́дные го́ды. (S3)

The next example is taken from the same story:

(48) (...) и во́т э́тъвъ, ја́ говор'у́ вот с'ич'а́с вът — је́сл'и бы та́та^{d} н'ь у́м'ер ф тр'и́цет' тре́т'јем гъду́ так јего́ ф тр'ицет' с'ед'мо́м бы ув'езл'и́. Вот у Ул'ја́ны Ст'епа́новны вот ə ... У Арс'е́н'ија Дм'и́тр'ич'а была́?
— *Была, да.*
— Но́ во́т. У н'е́j оца́ ув'езл'и́ вот о́н заступ'и́лса за це́ркв'и. И гд'е́-то растр'е́л'ен на(в')ер(но) на Б'еломо́рско кана́л'е, Б'еломо́рско-Балт'и́јском кана́л'е.
— *Отец Арсения?*
— Н'и Арс'е́н'јеф, а Ул'ја́н'ин. Јьво́ жены́.
— Ага.
— Во́т. *Дак* ја́ гъвър'у хорошо́ у на́с от'е́ц во́ вр'ем'а у́м'ер. За н'ево́ уже́ ... ш'у́пал'и јево́ уш. (S3)

The particle *vot* in the second line of this excerpt introduces a subtopic – the story of a person who was deported during the hardest period of repression in the 1930s. Since the hearer (= me; MP) did not understand at once whom she meant, some utterances follow to identify this person. This subtopic is marked as finished by another *vot* in the last turn of this fragment, before the continuation of a previous story line – the story of the speaker's own father – is introduced by *dak*. Although the particle marks that the following assertion is based on specific background information, the x and y involved are not set up against alternatives.

To summarise, marking by *dak* signals the existence of a specific, possibly a uniquely identifying relation, which might be interpreted as being different from an alternative. But this property of the relations marked by *dak* is very far from clear contrastivity. At some abstract level, every choice for an item – even if it is not accented – implies that alternatives were not chosen. McCoy would probably characterise *dak* as being kontrastive even in the last mentioned cases, since she uses the term not only for colloquial Russian *-to*, which is not unproblematic for

some of the uses of this particle (see section 14.6), but even for *ved'*. The particle *ved'* does not connect themes, but propositions with the illocutionary force of assertions (McCoy 2001:292; see section 14.7), similarly to the last mentioned examples above. I doubt it is useful to use this term for such indirect cases. When the choice from a set of alternatives is understood so broadly, it loses its explanatory value.

Just like contrastive elements, A and B almost always carry one or more pitch accents. In all cases, the A or B marked by *dak* is specifically marked for a certain reason, for instance, for being contrastive or for being new to the discourse. As remarked by Haiman, contrast has much in common with marking of newness. This is often thought to be the function of pitch accents: they mark either newness or contrast (see section 7.2.3.5). According to Keijsper, accent marks 'not not-x' (Keijsper 1985; 1994). This can easily be explained as a marking of kontrast, since 'not not-x' is very close to 'not an alternative to x'. Marking of kontrast could well be a property of pitch accents.

We also saw that set-evoking properties are typical for conditional relations. They might be a side-effect of expressing conditionality.

10.3.13 Topicality, contrast and first position combined: *dak* and contrastive topics

It has often been claimed that there is a universal principle, or at least a strong cross-linguistic tendency, for thematic expressions to take the first position in the sentence (the so-called *topic-first principle*; Lambrecht 1994:131).[18] However, this does not account for all thematic and topical elements that represents given information and functioning as the point of departure. It only accounts for accented themes. Thematic expressions with an accent have a topic-announcing function, and cannot be expressed simultaneous with or after what is expressed about them (Lambrecht 1994:202). While contrastive themes are always accented, they do not have to be sentence-*initial*, as shown by Vallduví and Engdahl (1996), at least not in English. In this language, contrastive themes can take second position, as shown by their example sentence nr. 39b (now 49 and 50; 1996:473):

(49) Where can I find the cutlery?
  a) *The forks* are in the CUPBOARD ...
  b) but *the knives* I left in the DRAWER.

(59) Where can I find the cutlery?
  a) *The forks* are in the CUPBOARD ...

[18] Lambrecht explains a topic expression as a constituent that has a referent the proposition of the sentence is about (1994:131).

b) but I left *the knives* in the DRAWER.

Here, italics denote the themes, capital letters the rhemes (or *links* and *foci* in Vallduví and Engdahl's terminology). In any case, the contrastive theme takes a position before the rheme, which means that it is still conform to the principle that the contrastive theme, as point of departure, must precede what is said about it (Lambrecht 1994; Vallduví and Engdahl 1996). However, in Russian, contrastive themes can, apparently, only occur in first position, as the following translation shows:

(49R) Где мне найти прибор?
a) *Вилки* лежат в ШКАФУ ...
b) а/но *ножи* я положил(а) в ЯЩИК.
b*) ??а/но я положил(а) *ножи* в ЯЩИК.

A similar rule could explain why A in *dak*-constructions is always used in the first position, and never the second position in the sentence. Further investigation is required to find the reasons for this restriction.

10.4 Conclusion

According to the analysis of the particle *dak* in the dialect of Varzuga proposed in this dissertation, *dak* always signals an asymmetric relationship between two information units, independent of the context in which it is used: it connects a thought with information on which this thought is based. This relationship between a thought and a piece of information on which it is based has much in common with the fundamental distinctions mentioned in theories of sentence-internal information structure, such as theme vs. rheme, topic vs. comment, presupposition vs. focus, given vs. new and restrictor vs. nucleus, or tripartite divisions like link, focus and tail, which were discussed in section 7.2.2. The main difference is that these dichotomies and the more fine-grained distinctions made in these theories are usually only applied to linguistic units uttered in a single sentence, whereas the units in the current description of *dak* are mental entities, which only in a minority of the cases have a linguistic expression in the same sentence. *Dak* signals a connection not only between linguistic expressions, but also between an expression and other knowledge that is activated during the conversation. Even if the dichotomies like theme vs. rheme are used on a mental level only, the distinctions are not sufficient for the description of the core meaning of *dak*. In some cases an explanation of x as *theme* or *topic* is very

far-fetched, for instance when the unit A is an independent utterance, and when A expresses a cause or reason which is given as an explanation for B. However, the meaning of *dak* is related to phenomena like aboutness, point of departure, relational givenness, presupposition, priority in argumentation, restriction of the nucleus, conditionality and set-membership:

- The unit x is always a kind of point of departure and is what the thought y is about, but not all aboutness relations and not all points of departure can be marked by *dak*.
- The information x is not always presented as given information at the moment it is expressed, but it is always given in relation to y.
- The information unit x is prior to y in a logical, argumentational or cognitive sense, since y is presented as depending on x. x does not have to be expressed before y, or precede y in time if it is the expression of an event, but y is based on x, and dependent on it in some way, for instance, because it was x who made the speaker think y. The presence of x thus influences and restricts the "outcome" y, but x does not necessarily entail y (see section 10.3.6).
- In a large subset of the uses of *dak*, this particle helps to mark a categorical judgement, just like Japanese *wa*. A categorical judgement consists of two separate cognitive acts: one, the act of identifying an entity; and two the act of predicating something about this entity, i.e. of affirming or denying something about it (after the explanation in Kuroda and Lambrecht; see section 10.3.3).
- The relation marked by *dak* is always conditional at some level, but only if conditionality is understood broadly.
- *Dak* could perhaps be added to the list of set-evoking particles, the so-called *kontrastive particles* (McCoy 2001; after Vallduví, who introduced the term *kontrastive* spelled with a *k*). In most cases, *dak* clearly helps to activate a set of alternatives. In some contexts, however, a description in terms of set membership does not seem to make sense, or has no explanational value. The set-evoking properties that McCoy ascribes to some particles might rather be an inherent characteristic of conditionals and of pitch accents than of the pragmatic particles themselves (see section 10.4).

11 Support from syntactic relations

11.1 Overview

As noted in section 5.6.3, *dak* can be used in many different syntactic contexts. It can be used both pre-positively and post-positively and the word is used in three different positions in the utterance – utterance-initially, utterance-internally and utterance-finally. It can connect several types of syntactic entities in several kinds of sentence types with varying modality and illocutionary force.

This chapter will show that the high syntactic variation is not in conflict with the core meaning of *dak*. It can explain all of the attested contexts. Somewhat simplified,[1] one can say that

The particle dak *can be used in any kind of syntactic context, as long as it is accordance with the core meaning of* dak*, that is, as long as it is attached either to the right of an entity which can be interpreted as a point of departure (or other argumentationally prior element) for a certain thought, judgement or proposition, or to the left of an expression of information which is based on some recoverable information.*

Dak does not play a role in differentiating the syntactic constructions. An elaborate description of each syntactic possibility does not serve the main purpose of this dissertation, which is to show the core meaning of the particle *dak*. However, the conditions for the use of *dak* implicates, firstly, that some syntactic constructions are very likely to appear with *dak*, and secondly, that there are many constructions and positions where *dak* is very unlikely to appear.

Just as it is essential to discern the semantics of the context from the contribution of *dak* to the utterance (see chapter 9), it is important to distinguish the syntactic relation between the parts *dak* seems to connect from the function of the particle, because *dak* can signal a different relation between the parts than the most obvious relation, or connect different units with each other.

In the next section, some more words will be devoted to the specific requirements to the study of dialectal syntax (section 11.2). Section 11.3 repeats and further exemplifies what was already shown in section 7.3.6, namely, that a subclassification of the contexts of *dak* based on traditional syntactic distinctions is both impossible and irrelevant for the description of the core meaning of this

[1] This is a simplification, because there are some more specific semantic and structural restrictions on the use of *dak*. For instance, A always takes the first position in the sentence (see section 10.3.13) and A and B are part of different prosodic syntagms (see section 12.2.5).

particle. Section 11.4 gives more examples of the fixed position of *dak* relative to x and y. Section 11.5 gives examples of various syntactic contexts of *dak* and argues why some contexts are more likely to occur than others as a consequence of the core meaning of *dak*. In section 11.5.4 a number of syntactic contexts is discussed to show that the units *dak* is attached to are relatively independent. The last subsection, 11.5.5, gives some potential counterexamples to the rule that A takes either the first or the last position in the utterance, but none of them necessarily goes counter to the proposed core meaning of *dak*. The syntactic properties of the word *dak* itself will be discussed in chapter 13.

11.2 Some more words about the methodology of the study of dialectal syntax

This section discusses the specifics of the description of dialectal syntax, as an elaboration of the introductory remarks about the specifics of dialectal speech made in section 7.1.1. Syntax is a hardly investigated area in Russian dialectology (section 11.2.1), and it is not described on its own premises (section 11.2.2). Subsection 11.2.3 discusses syntactic terminology used in the existing literature and in the present research.

11.2.1 Relatively unexplored area in dialectology

Syntax is one of the least investigated linguistic fields in dialectology, and the study of the syntax of the Russian dialects is no exception in this respect. One of the reasons that Russian dialectal syntax is a relatively unexplored area is that syntactic differences in the Russian dialects are few in number, and they are often not very conspicuous. Furthermore, they are often non-contrasted, lending them reduced value for language-geographical studies (Преображенская 2002). The utterance-final particle *dak* is an example of such a non-contrasted syntactic feature, which has no equivalent in most Russian dialects. Another problem is that the study of syntactic peculiarities requires large corpora. For one, the phenomena are often infrequent, and secondly, a study of their exact functioning often requires much contextual information. The use of questionnaires about such partly subconscious features is also highly problematical, since the speakers' intuitions often do not coincide with their actual language use, and the dialect speakers tend to mix the local dialect with the normative standard (Leonie Cornips, p.c.). Finally, the underdeterminacy of dialectal speech with frequent syntactic ambiguity (see section 7.1.1) makes it difficult to analyse the syntax, especially if your goal is to categorise syntactic constructions according to syntactic models based on written norms. Examples will be given below.

11.2.2 Not studied on its own premises

The methodology for the description of dialect syntax is discussed by Lapteva (Лаптева 1976). Usually, dialect syntax is compared to the syntax of standard written language, but it would be more appropriate to compare it to the syntax of common Russian spoken language. A comparison to standard written language and a bias in Russian dialectology on the language-geographical distribution of syntactic features has the consequence that one only pays attention to a small number of specific constructions and does not look at the organisation of the spoken utterance in the dialects. A comparison with spoken language would be more appropriate (Лаптева 1976:92). Such an approach would shed a different light on many well-known features. Interestingly, the one example feature given by Lapteva is the description of the particles *dak* and *da*:

> "Так, например, не пришлось бы устанавливать множественность значений союза (частицы) *дак* (*дък*), *да* в северных говорах, поскольку у нее есть одно специфическое назначение во фразе, направленное на расчленение высказывания, на формирование и донесение его до слушателя по частям." (Лаптева 1976:93, with a reference to Трубинский 1970)[2]

The content of this claim about the function of *dak* and *da* is not relevant here; comments on it can be found in the concluding chapter.

Lapteva makes some interesting claims about differences in the structure of dialectal utterances from standard spoken Russian. She claims that standard spoken Russian is characterised by a tendency to separate the important parts of the utterance by sharp changes in intonation and by putting other words in between these parts (1976:183ff). The most important part of an utterance tends to be put in first position and unimportant parts at the end of the utterance, both in declarative utterances and in questions. Examples are *Уника́льный был салат* (1976:185)[3] and *Это ты нарочно ↑, да? ↑ /сырое бревно притащил* (1976:93)[4]. Lapteva also observed an alternation of accented parts and unaccented parts, like in *О́чень идут напряже́нные сейчас дни́* (1976:219).[5] Questions often have an extra phrasal boundary, such as in *Карточка там↑/моя?* (1976:279)[6] and *Ты ее положила, да?*

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[2] "In that case, it would, for instance, not be necessary to determine the many different meanings of the conjunction (particle) *dak* (*dək*), *da* in the northern dialects, because it has one specific function in the utterance, directed towards the partitioning of the utterance, towards its construction and presentation to the hearers in parts."
[3] "The salad was unique."
[4] "You dragged this wet log here on purpose, didn't you?"
[5] "These are very stressful days indeed."
[6] "Is that my card over there?"

шапочку (1976:280;[7] cf. Keijsper's example of a question with the interjection *da* in section 7.2.3.5, *Это она*Rl- *да? звонила*f).

According to Lapteva's observations, this tendency to make sharp divisions is much weaker in dialectal speech. Insertion of words like *da?* is nearly absent and the word order is closer to the order in standard written language. In the dialects, the pitch contour rarely shows abrupt, radical changes. Lapteva supposes that intonation plays a far less central role in the division of the utterance in important and less important parts. Lapteva suspects this could be related to the frequent use of other means to express this partitioning, such as the use of particles and postpositive parts. A typical dialectal interrogative utterance is *А дорогие ли дома-те?* (Arch.), with a postpositive part (cf. Lambrecht's antitopics in section 11.5.4 below) and without a large intonation shift. The standard colloquial Russian equivalent would be *А дома* ↓ / *дорогие?*↑ (1976:258f).

However, Lapteva claims at another place in her monograph that dialectal speech is characterised by a presentation of the elements in separate parts. The constructions with a thematic nominative in the Russian dialects "appear in the speech on the background of a partitioned presentation of the elements, which characterises dialectal speech in general."[8] Unfortunately, Lapteva does not comment this statement. She might mean that the Russian dialectal utterance is usually not clearly divided into two parts, theme and rheme, but that all parts of the sentence (clause constituents) are separated by for instance intonation (each forming its own prosodic syntagm; cf. section 4.2.1 on the prosody of Northern Russian dialects) and by particles like *da* and *dak* (see her remark cited above).

11.2.3 Terminology

The traditional sentence grammar terminology is unpractical for the description of spoken, spontaneous language. Distinctions between subordinate and main clause, between syndetic and asyndetic conjunction and even between (elliptical) clause and clause constituent are often not expressed segmentally (see below).

As remarked by Širjaev, even the unit *predloženie* (*clause* or *sentence*) is an unpractical unit for the description of spoken Russian syntax, since only a low percentage of the utterances in standard spoken Russian has the form of a sentence (Širjaev in *RRR* 1973:220f; see also section 7.1.1). More useful terms for syntactic units in spoken language instead of subordinate and main clause and complex and compound sentence are *predicative construction* (*RRR* 1973; 1981) or *predicative unit* (Преображенская 1985; Никитина & Пожарицкая 1993),

[7] "You've laid it down, my hat, didn't you?"

[8] "[Они] выступают в речи на фоне вообще свойственного диалектной речи расчлененного представления ее элементов" (Лаптева 1976:176).

polypredicative utterance (*RRR* 1973; 1981; Преображенская 1985), and *open* vs. *closed syntactic constructions* (Никитина & Пожарицкая 1993; see section 6.5.15). However, Širjaev's *predicative construction* is a purely syntactic unit, containing a finite verb or another means to express the predicative category of time and mood. The unit is abstracted away from the prosodic form and the communicative role of the concrete utterance it is expressed in (*RRR* 1973:218; 1981:227f). Therefore, it is a unit on an abstract level and need not correspond to a prosodic and communicative unit. For instance, the utterance *Я послал им заказное письмо* consists of a single predicative construction, whereas the variant *Я послал им // письмо // заказное //* consists of three utterances, but still only one predicative construction (*RRR* 1973:218f).[9]

Syntax plays a less important role in spontaneous speech than in written language. For instance, the difference between paratactic and hypotactic relationships is in spontaneous dialectal speech mainly expressed by intonation and the use of particles like *dak* (cf. Keijsper 2003:145 and the discussion in section 7.2.3.5). A more concrete, tangible unit is needed than abstract clauses or predicative units. As argued in section 7.2.3.5, the three utterances in the last example do not all contain a segmentally expressed predication, but each of them does express a separate intonational predication, since they all carry full pitch movements (in the most probable pronunciation). Possible alternatives to the concept *predicative unit* are *prosodic syntagm* and *utterance*. These terms are used for larger prosodic units, which also represent communicative and syntactic units (see section 7.2.3.3).

In this dissertation, terms like *predicative unit*, *clause* and *sentence* are only used in descriptions of other literature or when focus is needed on the segmental structure of the expression of assertions, consisting of predicates, arguments, adjuncts and function words.

11.3 The difficulty and irrelevance of a subclassification based on written language syntax

As shown in chapter 7, a strictly syntactic classification of the contexts of *dak* is difficult to make because of the high degree of syntactic indeterminacy in Russian spontaneous speech, with its frequent ellipsis and abundant use of asyndetic connections.[10] In the Russian dialects, the function of an element as a single

[9] "I sent (it to) him // the (a) letter // recommended //". The slashes stand for falling intonation, which Širjaev equals to finality and an utterance boundary.

[10] Cf. the remark in Лаптева 1976 that Russian dialectal speech, like standard spoken Russian, is characterised by " weakly formed constructions" (*слабооформленные построения*; 1976:177). Lapteva

clause constituent, a subordinate clause or a main clause is hardy ever expressed by lexico-grammatical means.

In section 7.3.6 it was argued that a classification of uses of *dak* based on written language syntax is also irrelevant, both for the description of *dak* and for the description of the structure of the dialect. *Dak* does not play a role to differentiate between them. The presence of *dak* does not help to decide between the members in such dichotomies as subordination – coordination, simple sentence – compound sentence, etc. The particle *dak* only marks the existence of a certain type of conditional relation, independently of the syntax. Furthermore, the functional distinctions expressed by these syntactic differences are either not essential for the communication, or they are expressed by other means, for instance by intonation and by the use of particles like *dak*. Although *dak* does not mark whether the unit it is attached to is a subordinate or a main clause, the particle marks a relation similar to hypotaxis, and it also marks boundaries between larger communicative units, such as the "equivalents" of clauses.

Section 7.3.6 contains some examples of the impossibility to discern main and subordinate clause and section 7.2.3.5 has examples of the role of prosody in expressing subordination and independence. Example 1 (5.9 from chapter 5) is another illustration of the irrelevance of the syntactic function of the parts connected by *dak*:

(1) — Так ты јеш'о́ ч'е(в)о спра́шывај *ɔак* ја отв'еч'а́т' бу́ду. (S2)

This utterance contains an imperative form in the first predicative unit. In Russian, forms of the imperative can be used not only to form a separate speech act with an exhortative function, like the expression of a request, demand, invitation etc., but they can also be used to form the protasis in a conditional construction. In the last case, it is not used to make an assertion and lacks the value of a speech act. The segmental structure of example 1 is ambiguous in this respect. *Dak* is prosodically attached to both sides. This usually means that the unit preceding *dak* expresses a condition, a premise or another point of departure for the predication expressed after *dak*: 'so ask some more' should be understood as a premise for 'I will answer you'. This relation is straightforward, as the premise for answering is that there are questions to be answered. The question is whether this premise is expressed as a separate request or only as a condition. In

discusses the frequent weak grammatical connection between the parts of a dialectal utterance, due to the fact that they are presented in pieces: "В диалектной речи, как в устно-литературной, широко распространены разного рода самоперебивы, вклинивания, пояснения, присоединения, явления гипотаксиса, ассоциативного нанизывания представлений, повтора, смыслового согласования, создающие синтактическую слабооформленность высказывания" (1976:177).

other words, should the utterance be translated with a subordinate clause and a main clause, that is, as (a) 'if you ask me some more, I will answer you', or with two main clauses, that is, as (b) 'ask me some more, then I will answer you'? The translations have the same propositional content. The difference is that this content is presented in a single speech act in the first construction, but as two assertions and two speech acts in the second one. This difference – that is, whether the A-part – the first predicative unit – is meant as an imperative or only as a conditional without a separate speech act value – is not expressed segmentally, as it is not expressed by a subordinating conjunction, and not by *dak* either. *Dak* only expresses the interrelation between two concepts, and not the status of their expressions as separate speech acts or not. This status is, however, expressed by intonation. In section 7.2.3.5 it was argued that intonation plays an important role in expressing the degree of subordination (independence) of a linguistic unit. The intonation on the first predicative unit A, Rm[11] on the verb, suggests non-finality and, if Keijsper's analysis is correct and the Varzuga dialect is not different in this respect from Standard Russian, it marks a non-committal intonational predication (Keijsper 2003:150; cf. section 7.2.3.5 and the next chapter). This means that the speaker does not present this predicative unit as a separate speech act. The presence of *dak* signals in addition that the relation is hypotactic, as *dak* instructs the speaker to take the first part as a given point of departure for the following proposition. The closest translation to English of this utterance is therefore neither variant a) nor b), but probably c) 'ask me some more and I will give you an answer', with rising intonation on *more*.

11.4 Varying position in the utterance, but fixed position in relation to A and B

Dak can be used in three different positions in the utterance – utterance-initially, utterance-internally and utterance-finally (see chapter 5 and 9), but *dak* has a fixed position relative to the elements it connects: it is attached either to the right of A (the expression of the prior information) or to the left of B (the expression of the thought that is based on this information), as argued in, for instance, section 9.4.2.2. Examples of the fixed position in questions are given in section 11.5.3. Other good examples to show the fixed position of *dak* are utterances where *dak* is used more than once. In these cases, *dak* is not used with an enumerative function. Each occurrence of *dak* has scope over different domains. An example was explained in section 9.3.3 (*Дак ја јиш'е́ н'е за́мужем была́ дак*) and examples

[11] Rm = a high rise on the accented syllable, followed by a fall to mid level (cf. Odé 1989). In the system used in this dissertation the notation would be H + m.

from Preobraženskaja (1985) were discussed in section 9.4.1. In the following example the first *dak* in the third utterance has a function very different from the second occurrence. The first occurrence of *dak* introduces a return to a previous topic, whereas the second *dak* connects two successive events in her main story. It connects 'they bring them' with the successive event 'they started to grow them', which logically must follow after the arrival of the potatoes:

(2) Дак вот (в) два́цът' п'а́тых года́х ста́л'и сад'и́т' карто́шку, с Архáнг'ел'с'ка. Но вот та́м ... пр'ив'езу́т, на шн'ука́х то́же на как'и́х-то ход'и́л'и. *Дак*$_1$ пр'ив'езу́т *дак*$_2$ вот на́ч'ал'и развод'и́т' да ръзвод'и́т' да вот ја по́мн'у она́ жо́лта карто́шка была́ ја та́к јеј л'уб'и́ла. Но она́ расла́ н'и кру́пна. (S3)

In chapter 13 it will be argued that *dak* is not part of the expressions of x and y, but only attached to them. These expressions can have many different syntactic forms, but some forms are more likely to occur than others. The fixed position of *dak* in relation to them entails a restriction on the possible contexts, as shown below. Besides, it appears that *dak* always connects marked elements that both carry a pitch accent, and the units A and B cannot be part of the same sentence-internal theme or rheme. *Dak* is used on the boundaries of larger syntactic units, which are relatively independent, such as expressions functioning as a topical constituent, a clause or a parenthetical, as shown in section 11.5.

11.5 Syntactic possibilities: Likely vs. unlikely constructions

11.5.1 Introduction: Large syntactic variety, but some constructions are more likely than others

The introductory chapter to *dak* showed that *dak* can connect several kinds of syntactic entities. The Varzuga database of *dak*-utterances shows many clear cases of most of the syntactic constructions mentioned in the literature. Examples were given in chapter 5. The constructions show variety along several syntactic parameters: 1) variety in position in the utterance; 2) variety in the type of syntactic units *dak* connects – words, phrases, clauses, elliptical clauses, sentences or parts of them and discourse markers; 3) variety in clause type in traditional terms (main or subordinate); 4) variety in mood (realis, irrealis or imperative) and finally, 5) variety in sentence type and illocutionary force of the utterance (statement, question, request, exclamation etc.).

The shared syntactic features of the contexts are the fixed position of *dak* relative to the elements in its scope and the fact that A and B are relatively independent. In chapter 8 it was claimed that *dak* appears always to be used on

the boundaries of major syntactic entities – either before or after a clause, before or after a parenthetical, after the first clause constituent in a sentence (part of the sentence), or after an afterthought, or their equivalents. This is in accordance with the described core meaning of *dak*. This core meaning implies that the units *dak* is attached to, A and/or B, have the following properties:

- B expresses a pragmatic assertion with a deniable truth-value, unless the speaker does not finish the syntactic construction as she started it, or adds a other information before an assertion is finally expressed. B usually contains the final part of the utterance with falling intonation;
- A, which expresses the point of departure for some assertion, need not be a separate pragmatic assertion with a deniable truth-value. It often carries a rising-falling pitch movement and expresses an intonational predication without a separately specified truth-value (cf. the description of the full pitch movements Rl- and Rm in Keijsper 2003).

The function of A and B explained above implies that A most often has the function of a subordinate clause or a single clause constituent (adverbial modifier, subject, object, predicate), while B usually has the function of a main clause. The next sections will discuss some of these likely and less likely syntactic constructions.

11.5.2 Different syntactic entities

The most usual construction containing *dak* is, in traditional syntactic terms, a complex sentence consisting of a subordinate and a main clause, or an adverbial modifier and the rest of the clause. The previous chapters showed that expressions starting in a nominal phrase and even in a finite verb also can express conditional and implicational relationships, with the nominal presented as being a restrictive, argumentationally prior element with implications for the following assertion. We saw that the order of the two units can be reversed, with *dak* still taking the position after the point of departure, and that it is also possible that only one of the elements has a linguistic expression ("A_*dak*" and "*Dak*_B").

The linguistic unit B, the expression of y, has the same function as a main clause, since it expresses a pragmatic assertion, a rheme, or another expression with illocutionary force, such as an accented interjection (unless the speaker did not finish her utterance as she started it). From a different point of view, B always expresses an intonational predication (see section 7.2.3.5). B has often the form of a declarative utterance, but this is not a requirement. It can also express a

question or an imperative, since *dak* can connect clauses and other units not only on a content level, but also on a pragmatic level (see next section).

However, this expression of y need not have clear formal characteristics of a main clause. The elliptical nature of Russian speech can lead to the absence of any verb form or any other lexico-grammatical expression of predicativity. The syntactic function of an expression can in dialectal speech only rarely be derived from lexico-grammatical information only. Contextual and prosodic information are necessary as well. Contextual information is needed to find the information which is not expressed, but only implied; prosodic information is needed to know which expressions are accented, and how, and where their boundaries are. Besides, B can consist of no more than a discourse marker, such as *vot*, but in that case it has speech act characteristics as well, carrying an accent and expressing an intonational predication.[12]

Of course, *dak* can be followed by more than one assertion. The expression of y can be complex, such as in ex. 3, where dak_2 is followed not by a single implied event, but by a chain of events:

(3) та́к-то л'о́т ... дак ... н'е бу́д'еш полоска́т' а ... j'е́д'ът ... л'о́т-то .. уб'ер'о́ш $дак_2$ по́то́м там вода́-то дак ə-... та́м поло́шч'иш.

In contrast to B, an A-part usually has the characteristics of a subordinate unit, expressing an argument in a proposition. However, A can also have the function of a main clause, like in the following example, where *dak* connects two juxtaposed predicative units, reminding of coordinative conjunction:

(4) Не пивала, *дък* не знаю (on goat milk; Volog.; Шапиро 1953:61)

The status of A as asserting new information – like a final main clause – or not – like a subordinate clause – depends again on the pitch movement used on the unit, which is unknown for this utterance.

Here, as elsewhere, *dak* is only used in case the parts express the needed asymmetric relation. This implies that *dak* is not used to form enumerations and other open constructions (in Belošapkova's use of these terms; cf. section 6.5.15). Even though it can take the same position as copulative, coordinating elements, it always expresses an asymmetric relation (see section 9.4.1).

[12] According to Janko, the only function of a rheme is the expression of illocutionary meaning (Янко 2001:86).

Even the A-part can be a complex sentence consisting of a subordinate and a main clause, such as in example 5 (more context is given in section 9.3.1):

(5) — Ja в'ет' и забы́л (да) што н'и кур'и́ш *дак*! (S13)

The subordinate clause *што н'и кур'и́ш* 'that you don't smoke' represents the object of the sentence, which as a whole expresses the point of departure for the assertion signalled by *dak*.

The data from Varzuga and other places in Northern Russia show a high number of syntactic possibilities, but *dak* is not used in any syntactic context. Unlikely contexts are, apart from the just mentioned enumerations, constructions like "[main clause] *dak* [subordinate clause]", "[subordinate clause] [main clause] *dak*" and "*dak* [subordinate clause]". These are unlikely because the B-part expresses a pragmatic assertion to which a truth value is assigned, unlike subordinate clauses. But how about the next construction:

(6) — *И когда туда дети уезжали, когда приезжали?*
— Ак уjежа́л'и, вот, в нач'а́ло ... в Ку́зом'ен'-тъ, с'ънт'ебр'а́ *дак*, та́м нач'ина́л- ... то́же тогда́ нач'ина́л'и уч'и́т'. На́ а конч'а́л'и *дак* уш когда́ конч'а́jут. (S5)

In the last sentence, the B-part is definitely not a complete main clause. In fact, it consists of only a subordinate clause, which apparently represents an adverbial clause constituent in the sentence of which the A-part expresses the predicate. Still, not the temporal expression, but the predicate is presented as a restrictive point of departure. The new information in the utterance is not the event denoted by the finite verb, but the temporal expression expressed after *dak*, which is based on the givenness of the other part. A more or less literal translation to English is 'as to when school ended, that was when they (usually) end'. Like in most other uses of *dak*, both conditionality and *kontrast* are involved in the relation between x and y. The finite verb form *конч'а́л'и* 'they finished' is preceded by the conjunction *а*, implying that a comparison of topics will follow. This is indeed the case: the time the children used to start at school – in September – is compared with the time they finished. The speaker is not sure about the right answer to the question she was posed, for 'when they use to finish' is not very informative. By using *dak* the speaker underlines that she has the intention to give the appropriate answer for the question about the alternative point of departure.

The Varzuga database of some 500 *dak*-utterances does not contain examples of the construction "[subordinate clause] + [main clause] *dak*", but appropriate contexts could be imagined for this construction, for instance, a complex construction that as a whole represents the point of departure of an implied proposition.

The main function of *dak* also implies that it is unlikely to find *dak* in the middle of a clause constituent, unless only part of the constituent represents a "condition" x or "outcome" y.[13] With regard to this characteristic, *dak* is different from the particle *-to*, which is similar to *dak* in many other respects, as explained in section 14.6. Take the following fragment from (9.33):

(8) Та́та-тъ гъвор'и́т: воз'м'и́-т(о) ма́т' гово́р'ит в'ишн'о́ву-то ша́л' (...)

Unlike *-to*, *dak* would never have been used inside of the object phrase, between the adjective and the noun:

(8a) вишн'о́ву-*то* шал'
(8b) вишн'о́ву ??*дак* шал'
(8c) вишн'о́ву-*то*??*дак* шал'
cherry-coloured-(*prt*) (*prt*) shawl

Further explanation is given in section 14.6.

11.5.3 Sentence types, mood and illocutionary force

In chapter 5 I remarked that *dak* is mostly used in declarative sentences, but that it can also be used in several positions in other sentence types, such as interrogatives and imperatives. Here are the examples from chapter 5 of use in questions, both in yes/no-questions and in question word questions:

(9) *Дак* в Норв'е́г'ии нав'е́рно мно́го ру́с:к'их-то йе́с' там? ("*Dak*_B")
dak in Norway probably many Russians-*prt* is there?
'There are probably many Russians in Norway?'

(10) А ты там н'е пла́кала оста́лас' от ма́мы *дак*? ("B_A_*dak*")

[13] A constructed example of a split constituent, where the use of *dak* could have been possible after only part of the constituent, is the following:
(7) Книг (дак) он написал три (а статей — семь).
Books.gen.pl (*dak*) he wrote three (but articles.gen.pl – seven)
'He wrote three books (but seven articles).' (with emphatic accents on *three* and *books*)

But you there *neg* cried.F were-left.F from mummy *dak*?
'And didn't you cry when you were without your mummy?'

(11) А В'ита́л'ка *дак* ф каком? ("A_*dak*_B")
But Vitalka *dak* in which?
'And Vitalka, in which grade is he?'

This occurrence of *dak* in three different positions could give the impression that the position of *dak* in questions is arbitrary, but even here *dak* takes a fixed position relative to the expressions of x and y. The first example is of the type "*dak*_B". The whole question represents B, in this case a question based on some recoverable background information. The second example represents a "B_A_*dak*"-construction, where *оста́лас' от ма́мы* gives a condition for the correct interpretation of the assertion expressed in the first part, 'didn't you have to cry'. This assertion expresses an implication of the circumstance expressed in A. The third question represents an "A_*dak*_B"-construction, with 'Vital'ka' representing the correct point of departure for the question posed in the B-part, *ф како́м*.

In the Varzuga corpus, *dak* never ends questions. As argued in section 10.3.11, this is probably a consequence of *dak* marking the preceding element as a relationally given a point of departure. Information which is marked as given cannot be questioned:

(12) А ты там н'е пла́кала ??*дак*?

For the same reason, use of *dak* is also improbable after direct answers to questions. A direct answer is an answer that conveys the new information that was asked for. If an answer ends in *dak*, its content must be taken as (relationally) given. An answer ending in *dak* is therefore either an indirect answer, which conveys something else than the new information the interlocutor had asked for, or *dak* implies even more information, such as in example 13, earlier discussed in section 9.3.1:

(13) — *А познакомились вы как?*
(...)
[S16:] — Свойе́j д'ьр'е́вн'и *дак*!

In this case, the answer is indirect, since it contains background information from which the direct answer should be inferred; see section 9.3.1.

Chapter 5 also showed the use of *dak* in different positions in expressions containing a form of the imperative (here underlined), like in "A_*dak*"-constructions:

(14) Пр'ивал'и́с' на паду́шку-ту *дак*.
(15) Вздр'евн'и́ *дак*.

Example nr. 16 below is an "A *dak* B"-construction with an imperative in A:

(16) Так ты јеш'о́ ч'е(в)о спра́шывај *дак* ја отв'еч'а́т' бу́ду.

These examples were discussed extensively in section 9.3.1. Imperatives are also used in B-parts, such as in the following "A *dak* B"-construction:

(17) мн'е́ да́же и Наста́с'а говор'и́ла гыт ... ə- ... эт' ... Н'и́на пр'и́д'ет *дак* узна́ј ска́жет, ка́к там до́рого-то о́ч'ьн' за э́то, (?)-то, за машы́ну-то. (S1)

In the next two fragments, A follows after the imperative B-clauses ("B. A_*dak*"):

(18) Отдыха́јт'е пока́. В о́тпуск'ь *дак*. (S2)
(19) «ко мн'е́ н'ико́го ... э́т'их ба́т'ушкоф ... н'е зов'и́т'е. Умру́ *дак*.» (S1)

The postposed A-parts represent conditions for the validity and appropriateness of the invitation and the request expressed in the preceding utterance.

Dak can connect different speech act types with each other. For example, *dak* was attested in a rhetorical question, marked by the question particle *ли*:

(20) [S3:] — У л'у́д'е́ј ко́рм'иц:е.
[S1:] — Она́ у л'уд'е́ј ко́рм'иц:е. Он'е́ да ... мно́го л'и та́нка [= там-ка?] ... до́ма-то нахо́д'иц:е, она́ н'икогда́ до́ма н'е́ту *дак* мно́го л'и ко́рм'иц:е. [App. VI text 15]

The ability of *dak* to connect several kinds of sentence types with different mood with each other, such as "[indicative predicative unit] *dak* [imperative]" and "[indicative predicative unit] *dak* [question]" shows that *dak* is not only used to connect truth-conditional content on a propositional level, but also speech acts on a pragmatic level (cf. section 10.3.11).

11.5.4 Relative independence of A and B

This section will show that *dak* connects syntactic entities with a relative independence. The A-part is usually expressed at the boundaries of the utterance, either as the first or as the last element. Even in case A and B are expressed in a single utterance, A is either:

- the first, "topicalised" constituent, which is often also represented by a resumptive word in B (1);
- or it takes another position in the utterance, but then it is not part of the same syntactic structure as B and does not influence its truth-conditional content, because it is either
  - an afterthought (3);
  - another postposed, autosemantic expression of, for instance, a reason (3);
  - or a parenthetical (4).

Examples will be given below. The relative independence of A and B could reflect that *dak* is usually used in the expression of a categorical proposition (see section 10.3.3), or of a similar complex construction representing at least two separate cognitive acts (2).

1) First position: *Dak* with and without resumptive words

Chapter 5 contains some examples of utterances both with and without a resumptive element in B representing the concept expressed in A. Here are some more, starting with two examples without resumptive words:

(21) — Дл'а холо́дного в'е́тра ка́к назва́н'ие. Ну с'е́в'ер^{d} у на́с-то ска́жут, с'е́в'ер, холо́дныj в'е́т'ер *дак* с'е́в'ер. А ... т'о́плыj в'е́т'ер *дак* ə- ... jу́жныj ска́жут в'е́т'ер. (S19)

(22) Петуха *дак* Петей зовут. (Perm' obl.; Мерлин 1978)

(23) *[...] есть грампластинка отсюда [...]*
[...] Но вот э́тот Балашо́ф-то фс'о jе́зд'ил, фс'о зап'и́сывал ... на э́т-... маг-... н'е́ зна́j(у), тогда́ магн'итъфо́ны то́же нав'е́рно л'и шч'о́ л'и бы́ло, во́пш'ем ... фс'о́ зап'и́сывал'и, фс'е стар'ин:ы ст'их'и́. Jиш'о́ у́ на́с д'е́душко э́тот, М'и́шын от'е́ц-то *дак* о́н ... п'е́л э́т'и ст'их'и́ фс'е на э́тот ... на магн'итъфо́н-тъ нъ ... та́к же так'и́ ... ст'их'и́-тъ. (S1)

(24) — *А потом, на смену этому попу какой-нибудь поп был?*
— А н'е́ было на(в')е́рно ја́ н'е́ зна́ју та́к — п'е́л'и, и́х в Ку́зом'ен'и бы́л по́п *дак* то́т ... когда́ је́сл'и о^{d} пра́зн'ик'и на(в')е́рно пр'ијеж:а́л. (unintell.) А та́к-то н'е́ было попа́-то. (S5)

(25) И бы́л'и так'и́је маст'ер'и́цы, маст'ера́ э́того, кото́ры ката́л од:е́л'но л'и дво́ л'и там. Одна́ вот ... же́нш'ина ката́ла тут ва́л'енк'и. Д'е́т'ам-то *дак* т'е́ м'а́кч'е вал'ено́чк'и ... ч'ем э́т'и ку́пл'ены-тъ. *(— Ага.)* А вот так'и́ својед'е́л'ны-то *дак*, ската́јът он'е́ м'а́конк'и. (S2)
And were.pl such masters.F, masters.M that.gen, who made separately or two or there. One.F *prt* ... woman rolled here felt-boots. Children.dat-*prt dak* these softer felt-boots.dim ... than these bought.pl *prt*. And *prt* such home-made-*prt dak*, roll.3pl they soft.dim.pl
'And there were these professional women, men, who made a single pair or two on separate order. One woman, she made felt boots here. If they are for children, then they have to be softer felt boots ... than those you can buy. And these are such home-made ones, they roll them to be soft.'

In the next fragment, the dialect speaker has just mentioned some words for female reindeer. When she goes over to the names of male reindeer, she refers to that topic as *y m'éx-mo* 'those' and *mám* 'there':

(26) — *Ага. А дальше?*
— Да пъто́м — во́нд'елва́женка^{d} да ва́женка^{d}. А у т'е́х-то *дак* та́м как'и́х-то назва́н'ij н'ь зна́ју. Как'и́х-тъ ... сра́зу ... э́тът пы́жык, пъто́м — ура́к^{d}, пъто́м ... та́м у и́х ... п'а́т' л'и ше́с' л'и назва́н'ij. (S8)

This brings us to the syntactic status of the word *dak* itself. *Dak* is often considered to be a resumptive element itself, a *sootnositel'noe slovo* or correlate (*korreljat*), like Standard Russian *to* and *tak* after adverbial phrases and clauses and personal pronouns like *on* and *ona* after a nominal phrase in the nominative (*imenitel'nyj temy* in broad sense, encompassing both clauses and single nominal phrases; e.g. Никитина & Пожарицкая 1993). However, since *dak* is often combined with resumptive words like personal pronouns or an adverb like *tam* 'there', especially when A is not a predicative unit, *dak* must have a different function than these words; see section 13.5. The reasons for the use of the resumptive words will not be discussed here.

2) First position: Two cognitive acts

In rare cases, the point of departure marked by enclitic *dak* can even be a form in an oblique case:

(27) Петуха *дак* Петей зовут. (Perm' obl., Мерлин 1978)

Even in this syntactically integrated construction, where the A-part seems to be a primary part of the sentence, A and B are both accented and represent two distinct cognitive acts.[14] This construction is very similar to a question-answer pair, a parallel remarked by Šapiro and by Haiman on topical conditionals in other languages (see section 10.3.11):

(27a) Петуха? *Дак* Петей зовут.
(27b) (А) петуха (как зовут)? *Дак* Петей зовут.

It is also a typical theme-rheme-pair: (A) T_1 *dak* R_1. The pair was probably contrasted to alternative pairs, such as the name of another animal in the household.

3) Last position

"B A *dak*"-constructions, with the possible exception of the rare cases of "B_A_*dak*", are typical examples of complex syntactic wholes (*složnoe sintaktičeskoe celoe*; see section 10.2.2). Preobraženskaja characterises the B-parts in "B A *dak*"-constructions as autosemantic (Преображенская 1985:69). The A-parts in these constructions are not part of the core structure of the preceding clause B.

The data suggest that *dak* is never used after so-called antitopic constructions (Lambrecht 1981; 1994, also called right-dislocations or topics in extraposition) or other unaccented material at the end of the utterance (that is part of the *tail* in Vallduví's terminology; Vallduví & Engdahl 1996; Vallduví & Vilkuna 1998; McCoy 2001). An example of an antitopic in French is *ces romains* in the following utterance:

(28) Ils sont fous, ces Romains. (Lambrecht 1981:1)

[14] This accounts for the most obvious interpretation of this utterance, with a full pitch movement on the first word; of course, we cannot be certain about the correct interpretation of this utterance, since Merlin did not give any contextual or prosodic information.

Prosodic information is essential to distinguish antitopics from parenthetic expressions, like afterthoughts. Unlike afterthoughts, antitopics are not separated from the rest of the utterance by a pause and they are always unaccented. This means that they cannot be contrasted or indicate a topic shift (Lambrecht 1994:204). Unaccented units will be further discussed in the next chapter on prosody.

4) Parenthetic expressions

If the A-part takes a position not on the edge of the utterance, but somewhere inside, it seems always to be a parenthetic expression. A parenthetical is not part of the core sentence structurally and does not contribute to its truth-conditional content.[15] *Dak* is used after a parenthetical in the following fragment from the preceding section:

(29) Јиш'о́ у́ на́с д'е́душко э́тот, М'и́шын от'е́ц-то *дак* о́н ... п'е́л э́т'и ст'их'и́ фс'е на э́тот ... на магн'итъфо́н-тъ нъ ... та́к же так'и́ ... ст'их'и́-тъ. (S1)

The particle is also used after a parenthetical in the following fragment:

(30) А пото́м брако-... э́т'и оказа́л'ис', рыбнадзо́ры-то *дак*, ə ... фс'о́ то́же ... на́ч'ал'и ... ка́к л'е ... ну́, н'е розр'еша́т' то́же. (S1) [App. VI text 11]

Both parentheticals contain a specification of the content of a just mentioned argument, 'this grandfather' and 'these' respectively. The information they contain appears to be presented as a non-essential addition and as clearly subordinated to the main thread of the narrative. The question is whether *dak* marks these parenthetical remarks as being the information on which a proposition or assertion is based, or if *dak* refers back to the beginning of the utterances as well. In practice, this difference would have little effect on the intended meaning of the utterance, since the semantics imply that both are background information for more central assertions anyway. An extensive analysis of the form and meaning of the intonation contours in the Varzuga dialect could get us closer to the answer, but it is possible that the difference is not expressed.

A rare exception to the above-mentioned basic rules is the following occurrence of the rarely attested, utterance-internal non-enclitic *dak*:

(31) Иш'о́ так'и́ бы парт'и́цы бы́л'и как ја́, фс'е́, *дак* ы бы́ло бы о́ч'ьн' хорошо́. (S2)

[15] But see the remarks on (31) in note 16 below.

Even here, *dak* is used after a parenthetical, *фс'é* 'all'. The difference with the preceding examples is that *dak* is proclitic and not enclitic, which means that it does not mark the preceding context as containing the point of departure of some assertion, but it marks that the following context is based on some recoverable information. The semantics of the utterance suggest that the intended point of departure is the combination of the content of the two preceding syntagms, that is, 'if all party members had been so loyal to the party principles as me'.[16]

The expression *(j)úc' э́m'ux, n'eч'óнок* 'to eat those, the livers' in the fragment below can be regarded as a parenthetical as well, though not the level of the utterance, but at text or discourse level:

(32) — С котóм былá. Дак т'éп'ép' дóма. Пр'ин'еслá да, самá скор'éje, jéтого, дв'ép'и ... на р'ешóточ'ку, фт'úснула штóбы н'е вы́шел, пошлá к Л'икон'úды, júc'^{d} [= есть] э́т'их, п'еч'óнок. Дак тáм пос'ид'éла да вот скóл'ко вр'éм'ен'и вот тáк рýк'и тр'есýц':е! Тáк он м'ен'á э́то дак ja ужé тáк ы ... (S3) [App. VI text 15]

Section 9.3.2 showed many similar examples of use of *dak* before a return to a previous topic after a digression. Many parentheticals can be regarded as mini-digressions.

11.5.5 Counterexamples?

Above it was argued that *dak* is always used after the first constituent of the sentence or after a parenthetical. This rule must be related to the topic-first principle mentioned in the previous chapter in the discussion of contrastive topics (section 10.3.13). In Russian, contrastive topics always take the first position in the sentence, and this appears also to account for the A-parts marked by enclitic *dak*, even for those which are not contrastive, but also represent information that is 'new' or otherwise need to be singled out as being the point of departure.

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[16] It is not obvious what could be the expression of x is this case of proclitic *dak*. Since *dak* is not enclitic, no element is marked as expressing x, so a possible expression of x must be derived by pragmatic interpretation. The context suggests that x is expressed in the combination of both preceding syntagms. This means that there is no single syntagm A which expresses x in this utterance, which would be an exceptional case. As remarked in section 8.3, utterance-internal non-enclitic *dak* is rare in the Varzuga corpus. Arguably, the occurrence in this example could be classified as utterance-initial *dak*, since the parenthetical *фс'е* has falling intonation. The reason I did not classify this utterance as consisting of two utterances is the form of the first syntagm, which is clearly marked by intonation and syntax as non-final. One could also argue that *фс'е* is not a real parenthetical, because this word "all" seems to contribute to the propositional content of the utterance as a whole, but in my view, this interpretation is based on pragmatic interpretation only, and not expressed as such.

The Varzuga corpus and the examples cited in the literature about *dak* do contain examples of use of *dak* after the second constituent, but they are rare. There were only a handful of examples in over 700 attestations of *dak*. Part of them could be expressions of parentheticals, but in some cases an interpretation as a parenthetical is unlikely. Still, they are not necessarily counterexamples to the conditions for the use of *dak*, as argued below.

It is difficult to decide on the status of the part *брусн'и́ку jе́сл'и мно́го*, which precedes *dak* in the next utterance:

(33) А та́к ə-, ит', брусн'и́ку jе́сл'и мно́го *дак* в'ьт' и са́хару-то мно́го на́до а ... а вот за́па́р'ит'-то *дак* она́ и стои́т пото́м. Ско́л'ко н'и од'и́н гот ə- ... jej н'ич'ео́ н'и д'е́ла(j)ьц:е. (S1)

Both *брусн'и́ку* and *мно́го* carry a pitch accent, but this does not exclude the possibility that they together represent a subordinate clause. The accusative form of the first word suggests that the speaker changed her mind halfway through the formulation of the utterance and ended it differently from what she first intended. An accusative does not fit into the following construction. This suggests that *jе́сл'и мно́го* is the start of a new clause, and that *dak* is used after the first argument in the clause after all.

In the following fragment, *dak* is used twice after the same expression, *ра́н'ше-то та́м*, which contains both a temporal and a spatial expression:

(34) — *Рыбаки сами продавали, или ...*
— Н'е́т ... Ра́н'ше ч'о́-тъ и н'е́ было тако́го ш'оп продава́т'-тъ. Т'ьп'е́р' в э́т'и-то ... го́ды дак ы ... продава́л'и. Колхо́с ло́в'ит дак ə... и покупа́л'и вот уш фс'о́. Кто́ jе́с' л'и [=jе́сл'и?] дак. Ра́н'ше-то та́м *дак* ы ч'о́-то и ... н'е́ было ... прода́жы, лов'и́л'и вот у ... у ка́ждого, эт- ... колхо́с дак рыбак'и́. Ф ка́ждом до́м'е мо́жно сказа́т' ш'ч'о ... рыба́к дак о́н'е́ ... та́м ц'еб'е́ [= *себе*] ско́л'ко ... пр'ив'езу́т jéс' л'и дак. Фс'о́-так'и д'е́л'ат (в'ьт'?). А пото́м брако-... э́т'и оказа́л'ис', рыбнадзо́ры-то дак, ə ... фс'о́ то́же ... на́ч'ал'и ... ка́к л'е ... ну́, н'е розр'еша́т' то́же. Дл'а с'еб'а́-то да́же ... ш'о́бы ... с'еб'е́-то, jéсл'и, зар'е́зат' там рыб'и́ну дак уш, и то́ н'ел'з'а́ бы́ло. А ту́т ... ра́н'ше-то та́м *дак* вот, н'и́, шч'о́-то н'икогда́ и ... ш'о́бы пojе́хат' ... там по р'ек'и́ да ... лов'и́т' jьт' ... н'ькогда́ н'е́ было ч'о э́то тако́го. А пото́м как оказа́л'ис' рыбнадзо́ры и (ф)с'о́. Пojе́д'ош вот мы́ хот' ... jéд'ом по́жны^{d} там вы́брат', уч'а́с(тк)'и ... с'е́но-то кос'а́т дак. И то́же по р'ек'и́ дава́j ... на́до пoúд'ит' на уху́. [laughs] А т'ьп'е́р'-то дак и фс'о́. Кто мо́жет дак ... укра́дут. Вот дajу́т продajу́т хо́д'ат. А вот мы́ н'ь мо́жем н'икуда́ дак и ... и н'е jед'и́м. (S1) [App. VI text 11]

Although *ра́н'ше-то* 'in earlier days' and *та́м* 'there' are two different adverbial modifiers, they can be interpreted semantically as representing a single condition. A similar interpretation is less probable in the next example, where two neighbours are discussing the problems they experience with pie baking in their old ovens:

(35) [S1:] — У м'н'а́ то́же ... н'имно́шко ја́ и говор'у́: т'еп'е́р' ша́нг'и^{d} *дак* ја́ и ... и н'ь хоч'у́ п'ект'и́ [= печь] ду́мају ји́тот, колоц'к'и́^{d} скъта́ју^{d}-то дак, т'е́ ка́к-то ... быстр'е́j, м'е́н'ше жа́ру на́дъ.
[S6*:] — Да́.
[S1:] — А э́т'и је́сл'и ша́нг'и ... состр'а́паш дак, на́дъ ... жа́ру дак о́јују. А жа́ру жа́лко ды. [all laugh] (S1)

However, even here the speaker may intend *m'en'ep' шанг'и* 'now *šangi*' to represent a single concept, and a single point of departure, something like 'as for the baking of *šangi* nowadays'.

Notice that all three examples are from a single speaker. It cannot be excluded that this uncommon use is an idiosyncrasy of this particular speaker, or that only some speakers would use *dak* in this position.

The literature also contains some rare examples of the use of *dak* in the "middle" of the sentence which do not fit into my classification, because the part to the left of *dak* is different from typical B's (in ex. 37) or the part to the right is different from a typical A (ex. 36):

(36) Шура вот свою овечку *дак* Настей кличет. (from Мерлин 1978)

Lack of context and prosodic information makes it impossible to decide whether this really is a counterexample to the first-or-last-position rule.

Afterthoughts and antitopics appear never to occur between the expression of x and enclitic *dak*. The literature does contain a few examples of what could be constructions with antitopics following after enclitic *dak*. Theses include the two examples given by Šapiro of a rare type of sentence-internal use of *dak*:

(37) Ой, да што ты, девка, на ноги *дак* на мои! (девочка наступила на ноги старухе; Arch.; Шапиро 1953:250)

(38) О риц'ку на крёжику[17] *дак* стали строить (Arch.; ibid.)

Šapiro claims that *dak* in these sentences serves to underline a word or word group. They are different from "A_*dak*_B"-constructions. The problem with the first example is that *на мои* 'on mine' hardly can be an outcome dependent on the condition *на ноги* 'on (my) feet' that can be contrasted to an alternative outcome. The problem with the second example is not only that the part before *dak* probably contains two sentence constituents, but also that the part of the sentence after *dak* hardly can be meant to be marked as being dependent on this specific condition. The most probable interpretations of these utterances suggest that in both of these cases the "B-parts" do not contain the consequence implied by *dak*, but that they also are afterthoughts or antitopics, and therefore part of the presupposed information of the statement made in the first part or in an earlier statement. More discussion of non-accented units attached to *dak* can be found in section 12.3.9.

11.6 Conclusion

The data on Varzuga *dak* show a high number of syntactic possibilities for the contexts of *dak*, but the attested constructions all allow an interpretation in accordance with the proposed analysis of *dak*. The core meaning of *dak* implies that some syntactic contexts are more likely to occur than others. Some constructions are used only in special contexts or in a specific prosodic form. Very uncommon constructions are the dialectal functional equivalents of for example "[main clause] *dak* [subordinate clause]", "[subordinate clause] – [main clause] *dak*", or "*dak* [subordinate clause]".

Parallel to a subclassification of the contexts of *dak* according to the exact semantic relations expressed, a subclassification of the contexts of *dak* based on traditional syntactic distinctions is both impossible and irrelevant for the description of the core meaning of this particle. The syntax of dialectal speech should not be described with theories developed for written standard language, but rather be compared with other spontaneous speech, like standard colloquial Russian.

Just as it is essential to discern the semantics of the context from the contribution of *dak* to the utterance (see chapter 9), it is important to distinguish the syntactic relation between the parts *dak* seems to connect from the function of

[17] A *крёжик* (dial.) is a slope on a hillock, mound or other low height (*SRNG*). The preposition *о* (+ acc.; also attested in Varzuga) means 'along'.

the particle, because *dak* can signal a different relation between the parts than the most obvious relation, or connect different units with each other.

Dak appears always to be used on the boundaries of major syntactic entities: either before or after a clause, before or after a parenthetical, after the first clause constituent in a sentence (part of the sentence), or after an afterthought. The units *dak* is attached to are relatively independent. *Dak* can also be used before or after discourse markers with a similar prosody and the same relatively independent function as the above mentioned clauses and clause constituents. Syntactically, *dak* does not represent a clause constituent itself and it does not seem to be part of the expressions it connects.

The syntactic properties of the word *dak* itself and its syntactic status will be discussed in chapter 13. Before that, chapter 12 will discuss the prosodic properties of *dak* and of its context.

12 Support from prosody

12.1 Overview

In chapter 7 it was argued that prosodic information is important for the description of Russian spontaneous speech (section 7.2.1 and 7.2.3.5), and section 7.2.3.6 described the specific relevance of prosodic information to the description of the word *dak* in a Northern Russian dialect. Prosodic information, such as boundary marking, accentuation and intonation, is essential in establishing what *dak* connects with what.

This chapter will show that the prosodic characteristics of *dak* and of the adjacent parts are an important cue to what it is *dak* connects and what is their informational status. Prosody gives strong indications about where to find at least one of the two elements which are connected by *dak*. I will defend the claim made in section 8.3.4.1 that the most stable characteristic of the *linguistic expressions* in which *dak* is used is connected with prosody: there is a strong correlation between prosodic attachment and the expression of x and y. In the overwhelming majority of cases, enclitic *dak* follows after A, i.e. the expression of the x, and proclitic *dak* introduces B, i.e. the expression of y. Usually, these expressions correspond to larger intonation units (IUs). This means that in most cases, IU_*dak* corresponds to "A_*dak*", *dak*_IU to "*dak*_B", and IU_*dak*_IU to "A_*dak*_B". This is the reason why the classification presented in table 8.1 of the uses of *dak* is mainly based on prosodic characteristics.

This chapter starts with a description of the prosodic characteristics of both *dak* and its linguistic context (section 12.2): *dak* is never accented, it is typically used at the boundaries of prosodic syntagms, and it is attached to either A or B, if not to both units. A and B are almost always separate prosodic syntagms which each carry a pitch accent, and A often has a rising-falling accent.

In section 12.3 I will show how these prosodic characteristics support the proposed core meaning of *dak*. In section 12.3.9, apparent counterexamples to the usual prosodic contexts of *dak* are explained as not being at variance with the described core meaning of *dak*, but some of these deviating cases show that the semantic function of *dak* of signalising a specific kind of relationship is a more fundamental property of the uses of *dak* than the prosodic characteristics of the produced utterances.

An explanation of the prosodic terminology used in this chapter can be found in section 7.2.3.3. In relevant sections, the relative pitch levels of the tonic syllables of the pitch accents and the unaccented syllables surrounding them are indicated, but only for the particle *dak* itself and its immediate context. The

capital letters indicate the centre of a pitch accent, but I want to remind the reader that they should not be interpreted as the symbol of a certain well-defined pitch accent; they only indicate the relative pitch level of this particular pitch movement. This means that, for instance, the combinations H + m and M + l in *Пы́жык сра́зу ро́*^{H}*д'и*^{m}*ца дак пы́*^{M}*жы*^{l}*к*. (example 13 below) might reflect two phonologically different pitch accents, but they may also represent the same pitch accent, the difference in pitch level being due to declination. This question cannot be answered before the intonation system of the dialect of Varzuga has been analysed in more detail.

12.2 Prosodic characteristics of *dak* and its linguistic context

The topic of this section is the phonetics of *dak* and its context, and the phonological status of *dak*. To my knowledge, the prosodic properties of unaccented parts of the utterance in Russian have hardly been studied, let alone the function of these properties. In chapter 8, the following claims were made about the prosodic characteristics of *dak* and its linguistic context:

- *Dak* is always prosodically subordinated;
- *Dak* is almost always used at a prosodic boundary, and it can be used both proclitically and enclitically;
- The units it is attached to seem always to be larger prosodic, syntactic and communicative entities.

Furthermore, the data from Varzuga show that the A-part often ends in a pitch accent that contains the pitch movement Hl-, like Bryzgunova's IK-3 and Odé's Rl-, typical for utterance-initial *themes*, while accents ending in high pitch or a rise are absent or very rare. B has an accent which can be interpreted as utterance-final. I will first explain these claims (sections 12.2.1 and 12.2.2) and then provide evidence (in 12.2.3), before the explanation in 12.3 as supporting the proposed analysis of the core meaning of *dak*. Section 12.2.4 is a little excursion on the question whether *dak* is part of the pitch accent it is attached to. Section 12.2.5 describes the last mentioned prosodic characteristic – the fact *dak* is attached to units carrying a pitch accent.

12.2.1 *Dak* is unstressed and unaccented

Dak is always short, unstressed and unaccented. *Dak* is never the carrier of word stress or a prominence-lending pitch accent. Instead, it behaves like a clitic: *dak* always seems to be prosodically subordinated to another word or word group. *Dak* shares this characteristic with particles like *-to* and *uš*, and, apparently, with the conjunction and particle *a*,[1] and with pragmatic particles in other languages, like in German, Dutch and the Scandinavian languages.

Some researchers have claimed that *dak* can be accented, or at least be prominent. As mentioned before (section 7.2.3.3), the term they use, *udarenie*, is ambiguous in this respect. Although *dak* might be perceived as prominent under certain conditions in certain dialects, it is unlikely that *dak* could ever be the carrier of a prominence-lending accent which would express contrast or newness. Arguments will be given in section 12.3.9 below.

The vowel in *dak* is always short. By comparison, the vowel in the adverb *tak* is in general remarkably longer. The vowel in *dak* usually has the quality of an [a], but it can be more closed: *дък* [dək] or *дык* [dɨk]. In the Varzuga dialect, the particle almost always has an [a].

The pitch level on *dak* is usually low. In Varzuga, the fundamental frequency is usually the same or lower on *dak* than on the syllable it is attached to, and it is never high. A low pitch level is no proof of the non-prominence of *dak*, because a low pitch level is not automatically associated with low prominence in Russian, as pitch accents can have a low target tone on the tonic syllable, such as Odé's falling accents and the intonational constructions IK-1, IK-2 and IK-4 in Standard Russian and similar accents in the dialects. Besides, the fundamental frequency on *dak* is occasionally high in the register in some other Northern Russian dialects (see Appendix IV). Prominence is usually associated with a change in fundamental frequency. In Varzuga, the pitch level on *dak* can be different from the pitch level on the syllable it is attached to, but this change in pitch between *dak* and the attached syllable does not give the impression to be prominence-lending, in the sense that it never signals accentuation of *dak*; it never serves to make the word *dak* stand out. The change in pitch can be

[1] The unaccentability of the Russian conjunction and particle *a* 'and; but' is controversial. Nikolaeva claims that *a* can receive *udarenie* and accentual prominence (*akcentnoe vydelenie*; p.c.; see also Николаева 1985a:300; 302; 2000:81f). By *accentual prominence* she means a prosodic prominence of a word that is so strong that it is perceived as emphasis, which, by some means and for some reason, is marked in relation to its environment (1985a:293). I doubt that the prominence she observed on the connector *a* is triggered by the word itself, and that *a* can carry any contrastive or newness accent, unlike the conjunction *no* 'but' and the conjunction and particle *i* 'and; also', which both can be pitch-accented. In any case, prominent occurrences of *a* are uncommon, and if it is true that *a* can be accented or stressed, this is an extremely rare phenomenon. Section 14.9 shows that the particle *dak* shares many characteristics with the coordinative conjunction *a*.

explained, for instance, as being a part of the pretonic or posttonic part of the pitch accent it is attached to, or as a final or initial boundary tone, if you use such a concept in the description of Russian intonation.[2] In either case, the change in pitch is not prominence-lending. The same appears to account for the occurrences of high pitched *dak* in other dialects which are known to me; see Appendix IV and section 12.3.9 below.

12.2.2 Enclitic and proclitic *dak*

Dak is used at the boundary of a pitch accent carrying intonation unit. It is almost exclusively used at major prosodic boundaries: *dak* is either the first word or the last word of an utterance, or, if it is used utterance-internally, it appears at the boundary between two pitch accent carrying units, which represent prosodic syntagms. The exceptions are rare and can be accounted for; see section 12.3.9 below.

Dak is prosodically subordinated to this larger intonation unit (IU), either to the preceding or to the following one, or to both. These units are thus either prosodic syntagms or utterances (minus *dak*).[3] The possibilities are therefore as follows (underscore symbolises prosodic attachment):

IU_*dak*
or *dak*_IU
or IU_*dak*_IU

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[2] In descriptions of Russian intonation, the term *boundary tone* is seldom used. An exception is Yokoyama, who also uses the concept *phrase accent* (e.g. in Yokoyama 1987; cf. section 4.3.1). Odé is planning to introduce boundary tones in her new description of Russian intonation, in order to adapt the description to the leading framework in intonology, but she has her doubts about their usefulness (Odé 2003:284f). In Norwegian, the utterance-final unstressed particles *så*, *altså* and *da*, which are prosodically and functionally quite similar to Northern Russian *dak*, are considered not to be part of the preceding pitch accent. Like *dak*, they are prosodically subordinated and integrated in the preceding intonation unit (the *intonational phrase*): they are never preceded by a pause and they are unstressed – in the sense that they never constitute phonological words (or *feet*). But at the same time, they are *foot-external*, and carry the final boundary tone (Fretheim & Nilsen 1989:168; see also App. IV). Syntactically, they are extra-clausal, for they are right-detached (or, in another framework, in extraposition). Unlike *dak* in the Varzuga dialect, the Norwegian particles can carry both a low and a high (boundary) tone (Fretheim 1988; 1995; Fretheim & Nilsen 1989).

[3] Prosodic syntagms (*fonetičeskie sintagmy*) and utterances (*frazy*) are defined as being surrounded by major prosodic boundaries (see section 7.2.3.3). This means that *dak* is part of the same syntagm as A and B, i.e. as the IUs it is attached to. Strictly speaking, A and B are not complete syntagms or utterances, but syntagms or utterances minus *dak*. However, as shown in section 12.2.4 below, in the construction "A_*dak*_B", *dak* is used on the boundary itself, and is as much – and as little – part of the preceding as of the following unit. Fretheim and Nilsen (1989) avoid this problem in their description of Norwegian intonation by using the term *intonational phrase*, which can have unaccented units like particles attached to them.

In a few cases, *dak* is surrounded by periods of silence (group 12 in the classification given in section 8.3).

Although the use of the term *clitic* is not ideal (see section 12.3.3 below), I will call *dak* in "A_*dak*" *enclitic*, in "*dak*_B" *proclitic*, while *dak* is both enclitic and proclitic in "A_*dak*_B"-constructions. A *clitic* lacks prominence and is prosodically attached and subordinated to either the preceding or to the following word or word group (see section 7.2.3.3). This prosodic attachment first of all means absence of a pause. In addition, there is no pitch change implying that *dak* must be part of a different pitch accent than the adjacent syllable (as in (7) below). The use of the term *clitic* will be further discussed in section 12.3.3 below. Examples will be given in the next section.

12.2.3 More enclitic than proclitic *dak*

In the Varzuga database, enclitic *dak* is more frequent than proclitic *dak*. In "A *dak* B"-constructions, *dak* is far more often enclitic to A than proclitic to B. Apart from cases of "A_*dak*_B" (group 7 in the subclassification), the construction "A *dak*, B" is frequent (group 6), whereas "A, *dak* B" (group 8) is rare; see section 8.3.3. In this respect, *dak* is different from unstressed *tak* (and its variants *dak, tyk, dyk*) in varieties of Russian that lack enclitic *dak* as a grammaticalised form (but see section 12.3.3 below about the possibility of prosodic similarity in individual cases):

(1) Jéсл'и на рабóту на их н'е пojéхал'и *дaк*, [short pause; speaker takes breath] фс'о равнó нáдо ... накорм'и́т'. (S1)
If to work on them *neg* go.3pl *dak*, nevertheless necessary feed
'Even if they didn't go to work with them [= the reindeer], they had to feed them anyway.'

(2) Если это правда, *мак* тебе не поздороветься. (Шимчук & Щур 1999)

(2a) Если это правда **мак*, тебе не поздороветься. (modification)

The data from Varzuga show different types of prosodic attachment of *dak*. Below follows a discussion of the prosodic attachment of utterance-final *dak* (1), utterance-initial *dak* (2), utterance-internal *dak* (3) and *dak* between silences (4).

1) Utterance-final *dak* is never preceded by a pause. The pitch level is low:

(3) Бы́л'и ... с'иг'и́ да, ш:у́ка да о́кун'и да. [pause] Таку́^{H} ры́^{L}бу^{l} лов'и́л'и. Оз'е́^{H}рску^{l} *дa*^{l}*к*.

2) Utterance-initial *dak* is not followed by a pause, but attached to the following word or word group. The fundamental frequency on utterance-initial *dak* is low level or somewhat higher, like most unstressed first syllables of an utterance, but never higher than the following syllable.[4]

Dak can be more or less prominent due to variation in loudness. The pronunciation can be quite loud, which might in part be due to the intrinsic properties of the vowel *a* (open vowels are louder than closed vowels), and to its position early in the utterance. However, its loudness is influenced by other factors as well, which will not be discussed here. Example (45) on p. 402 shows that final *dak* also can be loud (see Appendix VI), and in (4), utterance-initial *dak* (underlined) is pronounced very softly on a very low level pitch, while the words following after *dak* are pronounced much louder and on a higher pitch level:

(4) О́ч'ьн' давно́ је́тъ бы́ло.О́j... *Дак* ја́ јише н'ь за́мужем была́ дак.[5]

(...) *Dak* I even *neg* married was *dak*

'That was long time ago. Goodness, I wasn't even married then.'

3) Utterance-internal *dak* is almost always attached to the preceding unit ("IU_*dak* IU"), and often also to the following one ("IU_*dak*_IU"). As mentioned, utterance-internal *dak* is hardly ever only proclitic, so it is preceded by a period of silence only in a few cases ("IU, *dak* _IU" or "IU ... *dak*_IU"). The fundamental frequency is usually low on *dak*, and in any case at the same level or lower than the syllable it is attached to. In the next example the underlined occurrence of *dak* is prosodically subordinated to both sides, and it has the same low pitch level as the surrounding unstressed syllables, which are underlined as well:

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[4] Contexts can be imagined where utterance-initial *dak* is immediately followed by the tonic syllable of a pitch accent with a low target tone (L), but the Varzuga database of about 500 examples does not contain such cases.

[5] Here is a larger excerpt:

— *А почему попа повезли?*
— Попа́ *дак*, (и так) ... застр'ел'и́л, о́н, да́л је́j, нага́н-то. Да был зар'а́жен:ыj, дак ... на́жал о́н. Она́ сказа́ла ш'е ... та́м-то шч'о ... нат'ану́лъс' погл'ед'е́т', ду́ло-то в'е́т'ер. О́н, на́жал по́п-тъ. Да је́j куда́-тъ под го́рло уш(?) куда́ л'и. И гото́во д'е́ло. О́ч'ьн' давно́ је́тъ бы́ло.О́j... *Дак* ја́ јише н'ь за́мужем была́ дак.
— *До войны это было?*
— До војны́ бы́ло. (S10)
'But why did they take the priest?'
'The priest, well, it was he who shot, he gave it to her, the gun. It was loaded, you see, and ... he shot it. She said that ... there was something over there, she stretched herself out to look at it, the wind was blowing. It was him, it was the priest who shot the fire. Then he hit her somewhere under her throat or something. Then it was done. That was long time ago. Goodness, I wasn't even married then.'
'That happened before the war?'
'Yes, before the war.'

(5) И́х ма́зал’и. А пото́м уже́ до то́го́ мы их зама́^{H}за^{l}л’и *дак* уже́ порошо́к-то н’ь ста́ло заб’ира́т’, дак мы пото́м са́жој нач’е́рн’и́л’и. (S3)

In the example below *dak* is also surrounded by unstressed syllables with low level pitch, but the pitch on *dak* is even lower:

(6) Jе́сл’и вот та́к ə-... н’е с к’е́м н’е обш’а́^{H}je^{l}ц:а *дак* она уже ... м’е́ста н’е мо́жет наход’и́т’, jej на́до вот ... см’е́н:оj кто́-то ... како́j-то ч’елов’е́к ш’обы с и́м вот ... поговор’и́т’. (S1)

By having the lowest pitch without being prominent, *dak* functions as a non-prominence-lending turning point, and marks a boundary between two different pitch accents, and even between two prosodic syntagms.

Utterance-internal *dak* is always prosodically subordinated to at least one IU on either side (even when it is surrounded by silences, which is due to hesitation; see point 4 below), but it is not always well integrated into both, and this is not only due to the presence of a silence, as shown by the following example. In this case, *dak* cannot be part of the preceding pitch accent, because it occurs on a reset. The pitch level on *dak* is higher than on the falling posttonic pitch movement of the preceding pitch accent:

(7) — *Это тоже были валенки?*
— Да́:.
— *Но потом ...*
— А пъто́^{M}м он’е ухý^{H}дъ^{m} дак э́тово ... обр’е́^{H}за^{l}т’, ə-.... до́ма-то вот ход’и́т’ з’имо́j та́к, ва́л’енк’и-то на́дъ нат’ега́т’, в ы^{h}зб’е́^{L}-то^{l}, *да*^{m} *к* э́тово, с го^{h}л’а́^{L}шка^{l}м’и^{m}, а э́т’и-то куда́ ... э́т’и ... на́до из и́збы́-то ин’огда́ вы́^{H}jт:’и^{l}, э́тово, (...) (S2)

The higher pitch on *dak* seems to signal that it marks the following unit rather than the preceding one. However, in this case, *dak* is not clearly prosodically integrated into the following word either, since *dak* is pronounced long and *э́того* is preceded by a glottal stop, which is often absent when *dak* is followed by a vowel; see (35) below.

A change from one prosodic syntagm to another can thus be marked by a change in pitch direction and by a pause, but it can also be marked by a change in rate or loudness, as in the next example:

(8) Она́ Л’икон’и́да гы-... (ф)с’о (во)т ска́жет — ч’о́-н’ибут’ там зароска́^{H}зы^{l}ваш *дак* она́ ска́жет обожы́, ја́ скажу́. [all laugh] Ја́ скажу ска́жет. (S1)

In this utterance, *dak* is relatively long and pronounced quite softly, while the following part is pronounced much louder and faster. This indicates that *dak* might be attached to the preceding unit more than to the following one; the relatively long duration of *dak* could be due to pre-boundary lengthening, and reduced loudness is also more common at the end of utterances than at the beginning. Since there are no pauses, *dak* can still be considered as being prosodically subordinated to both IUs.

4) In a few cases, *dak* is both preceded and followed by a silence. It seems that at least the period of silence following after *dak* always is a hesitation. Although *dak* is not prosodically attached to either side according to the definition used here, it has the prosody of an attached *dak*, and can therefore be said to be prosodically subordinated as well. This is shown by the following fragment, where *dak* is used three times:

(9) та́к-то л’о́^{H}т ... да^{l}к ... н’е бу́^{H}д’е^{l}ш полоска́т’ а ... је́^{M}д’ьт ... л’о́^{M}т-то^{l} ... уб’ер’о́^{H}ш да^{l}к по́^{h}то́^{M}м та^{M}м вода́^{H}-то^{l} *дак* э-... та́^{L}м по^{l}ло́шч’иш. (S1)

Each time, the particle has the same low level pitch, and follows after a pitch accent with a high target (H) with low posttonic syllables, if there are any (Hl), but the attachment of the words – i.e. the presence and position of silences – is different in each case: the first time, *dak* is not phonetically attached to another expression (12. “*... dak ...*”), the second time, the word is attached to both sides (7. “A_*dak*_B”) and the third time it is only attached to the preceding context (6. “A_*dak*, B”). The pitch accents on the A- and B-parts will be further discussed below, in section 12.2.6. The third occurrence of *dak* has the same pitch level as the surrounding unstressed words.

The last examples (7), (8) and (9) show that non-prominence and absence of silence are not sufficient to make *dak* prosodically a part of the adjacent unit, let alone that *dak* must syntactically be a part of the unit it is attached to. The syntactic status of *dak* is further discussed in the following section and in sections 13.4 and 13.5. However, it seems beyond doubt that *dak* is always prosodically subordinated to an intonation unit at least on one side.

12.2.4 Is *dak* prosodically part of the pitch accent it is attached to?

The question arises why the fundamental frequency on *dak* usually is low or lower than that on the surrounding syllables. There are several possible explanations: 1) *dak* is part of the preceding pitch accent, which ends in low pitch; 2) *dak* is part of the following pitch accent, which starts in low pitch; or 3) *dak* is part of neither, and the low F0 on *dak* has yet another origin. Could enclitic *dak* have a low pitch independently of the preceding pitch accent, or is it always in accordance with the posttonic part of the preceding pitch accent? In other words, does *dak* behave like an unstressed syllable of the adjacent phonological word it is attached to, or does it have a more independent status?

Another question arising is whether *dak* is enclitic or proclitic in contexts of the type "A_*dak*_B", where it is attached to both sides. Which part is it structurally (syntactically and prosodically) a part of, or is it part of neither?

More systematic prosodic studies are needed to be able to answer these questions more comprehensively, but I will sketch a possible account on the basis of my observations here.

Which pitch accent or larger intonation unit is *dak* part of, the preceding or the following unit? This is often impossible to decide. As it can often be part of both or neither, this is an extremely difficult question to answer.

In the next example, *dak* could belong to either of the adjacent pitch accents. *Dak* follows the downward movement of the posttonic part of the preceding pitch accent, but it could also represent the pretonic part of the following phonological word:

(10) У м'ьн'а́ фс'о стоя́ло кр'есло́^{H} ту^{l}т *дак* о^{m}н ... фс'о спа́л на э́том кр'есл'е́ а я́ т'еп'ёр' jего́ вы́^{H}н'е^{l}сла ду́маjу ... ло^{h6}фч'е́^{L}j ... у^{l} стола́-тъ с'ид'е́т' на сту́л'е-то дак. Дак вот о́н ... и хо́д'ит н'и зна́т куда́ jему́ ... л'е́ч'. (S1)

The word following *dak*, *он*, is pronounced at a higher pitch level,[7] which indicates that it belongs to a different phonological word than the word preceding *dak*, since this word ends in a fall, but *dak* itself could represent the pretonic part of the phonological word. The only fact we can be certain of is that *dak* is used at a

[6] This high pitch on the last syllable before a falling accent can be explained as *zanos* (Кузнецова 1960; Odé 1989; Kasatkina, ms.) or *leading tone* (Gussenhoven 2004:126). A question for future research is whether this pitch movement has an emphatic function.

[7] It is no certain how this pitch level on the pronoun *он* should be explained. It could be the expression of a reset: a mid-level pitch, which is a typical start for utterances. It could also represent a pitch accent, i.e. an individual marking of the word *он*. Since the word is not very prominent, I chose not to use an accent marking. In any case, the background for this pitch level is not relevant for the description of the functioning of *dak*, for which the only fact that matters is that the F0 on *он* is higher than on the preceding words.

boundary between two different phonological words. Since *dak* always seems to be used at prosodic boundaries, it thereby helps to mark it as a boundary.

In most cases, *dak* has a fundamental frequency which is in accordance with the posttonic and/or pretonic part of the pitch accent carrying unit it is attached to. In constructions of the type "A_*dak*_B", *dak* can often be interpreted to be part of both adjacent phonological words. At a syntactic level, *dak* can of course not be part of both.

Fragment (9) shows that it is not unlikely that *dak* is best analysed as not being part of either of the adjacent phonological words, or even of the pitch contours that are associated with the accented syllables in its vicinity. It is prosodically subordinated, but not part of the adjacent phonological words, and syntactically not part of one of the sides; cf. section 13.4.

The following example suggests that *dak* does not behave like other non-prominent syllables. In the next utterance, there is a difference in pitch level between both occurrences of *это* and the occurrence of *dak*, although they are used in the same position with an apparently a similar function of connecting a theme with a rheme in a verbless expression:

(11) А лон'и́^{H}с' э^{m}*мъ* про́^{L}шлыj^{m} гот, а оногды́^{H}с' э^{m}*мъ* ... ну́^{M} къгда́^{L}-тъ^{l} там.
А оном'е́^{H}д' *да*^{l}*к* на то́^{H}j н'и^{l}д'е́^{M}л'ьm. Jе́^{H}с' та^{l}к'и́х сло́^{M}ф мно́^{H}го^{l} о́^{M}ч'ь^{l}н'.

It may not be a coincidence that pitch remains relatively high on *это* in the first and second predicative unit (*а оногдыс' это ... ну когда-то там*), while pitch is low on *dak* in the following one. Possibly, *это* has higher pitch because it represents a clause constituent, and should it be analysed as carrying a pitch accent with reduced excursion, *Dak*, on the other hand, first of all marks a connection at a prosodic boundary.

Proclitic *dak* is often not part of the following pitch accent carrying phonological word. We saw an example in (9):

(9) (...) уб'ер'о́^{H}ш да^{l}к по́^{h}то́^{M}м (...)

However, this does not exclude the possibility that it is part of a larger unit instead – the prosodic syntagm, or the utterance.

Enclitic *dak*, however, has almost always a fundamental frequency which is in accordance with the posttonic part of the preceding pitch accent.

An obvious context that would show the prosodic independence of utterance-final *dak* from the preceding pitch accent would be the use of low-

pitched *dak* after an accent with high or rising posttonic syllables: (accented unit)^{Hh} *da*$_{\text{l}}$*k*. However, the Varzuga database does not contain utterances where *dak* is used after a pitch accent which indisputably ends in a rising or level high tone in the posttonic part, such as Hh or Lh (cf. Bryzgunova's IK-4 or IK-6 and Odé's Fh- and Rh-), although they do exist in the dialect (see below, section 12.2.6); it seems that the preceding accents always end in a fall, and probably would have done so if there had been a posttonic part; see section 12.2.6 below.

There is a handful of doubtful cases where *dak* follows after a very late and weak fall, which has the form H + h + m, for example in the interrogative utterance described in section 4.3.1. However, even those cases end in a fall, and this fall need not be triggered by the use of *dak*. For example, a comparison with some other question utterances in the dialect suggests that the final fall might be a necessary part of the pitch movement on the question, and that there would also have been a fall had another unstressed syllable instead of *dak* been used.

The rising pitch levels of *dak* in other dialects show that *dak* can follow rising or high pitch, but this does not necessarily indicate that *dak* is prosodically part of the preceding phonological *word*. High pitch has been observed to be common at the end of utterances in these dialects (see section 4.3.1), and should perhaps be interpreted as the final boundary tone of the utterance as a whole, and not as the posttonic part of the last pitch accent.

These questions could be answered by further research, for example with the help of a questionnaire, or more controlled production and reception experiments.

For the time being, the question about the degree of prosodic independence of *dak* must remain open. We can safely conclude, however, that *dak* is always used at the edge of pitch accent carrying units, at major prosodic boundaries. The data show that the particle is primarily used between units rather than being part of them.

12.2.5 A and B are different intonation units

Usually, A and B are larger intonation units, which carry one or more pitch accents, that is, A and B have the form of prosodic syntagms or utterances. This means that *dak* is almost exclusively found at the boundaries of such units, which represent larger syntactic, semantic, and communicative, informational units. *Dak* connects the two different thoughts and separate cognitive tasks, represented by A and B.

The connective function of *dak* entails that even when the prosody of a transcribed utterance is unknown (apart from the pausing), one can infer that proclitic *dak* introduces a unit which must carry an accent. Thus, in the next

example, at least one of the words preceding *dak* must be accented, and *tak* as well:

(12) / а ран'ше-то н'е было п'ерч'аток р'ез'иновых *дак* так // -->
а ра́^{H}н'ше^{l}-то н'е́^{H} бы^{l}ло п'ерч'а́ток р'ез'и́новых *дак* та́^{H}к.

In the following fragment, the relative pitch levels are indicated of the pitch accent carrying words surrounding *dak* and of the words in the following utterance which express a parallel, alternative theme-rheme pair:

(13) — *А, ведь, когда разного возраста олени, по-меньше, по-больше, они как-то специально назывались?*
— Но ка́к же, называ́л'ис'.
— *А расскажите как.*
— Нач'ина́ja с ло́панк'и. Пы́жык сра́зу пъто́м ло́панка^{d}.
— *А лопанка, это ...?*
— Этъ фтаро́j го́т уже́. Пы^{m}жык сра́зу ро́^{H}д'и^{m}ца *дак* пы́^{H}жы^{l}к. Но^{m} пъто́м бо́^{H}л'ше^{l} уже́^{H} ло́^{M}па^{m}нка. (S8)

How many different pitch accents these four pitch movements represent and how the form of these accents should be described has not yet been established,[8] but this does not play a role in the present argument. What matters here is the fact that the units on either side of *dak* each carry a pitch accent, and thus represent relatively independent prosodic and informational units. The elements following *dak* are also accented in the following fragments:

(14) — *Вы уже слишком стары?*
— Но́. С'е́м'д'ес'ет ч'етв'о́ртыj пojд'о́т вот, два́цьт' фторо́во нojабр'а́. Но^{m} та́^{H}к-то^{m} *дак* н'и^{h} зна́^{H}jу^{m} ja гото́^{H}в'и^{l}ла э́тово ... ко^{h}то́^{M}ра шо́бы .... зап'е^{h}ва́^{L}ла^{l}, на́до же jej ... руковод'и́т' и зап'ева́т' то́же. П'е́сн'и-то зна́т', фп'ер'ео́т-то в'ест'и́ же. Дл'и́н:ы п'е́сн'и-то стар'и́н:ы. (S2)

(15) [S3:] — Цара́пajец:е да доцара́пajец:е а ... Го́![9] Ла́jет-то. Ш'об вы́ нос'и́т'е.
[S1:] — Да́. Ла́jот, пр'и́д'от, ла́jот.

[8] The pitch levels indicated here are only relative. For instance, the fundamental frequency on the accented syllable of *пы^{H}жы^{l}к* was than the F0 on the *о* of *ро́^{H}д'и^{m}ца,* which might be linguistically relevant.
[9] This exclamation was pronounced [hɔ].

[S3:] — Нó. Когдá у м'ьн'á Вáс'а н'едоj^{H}éст ч'е^{m}вó^{l} дак, л'и сý^{H}п о^{m}стáн'ь^{l}ц:е jьш'ó л'и вы́^{H}н'ь^{l}су *дак* стр'é^{H}ска^{l}т. [App. VI text 15]

However short, the parts preceding and following *dak* are both accented:

(16) Жы^{m}в'ó^{M}м *да*^{l}*к* уш нрá^{M}в'и^{l}ц:'е.
'We live (here), so we like it.'

The whole of this utterance is non-prominent, but relative to the other syllables, the first and the last word are singled out and carry a pitch accent (marked by a small pitch excursion).

"Given" information which is in the scope of *dak* is accented as well. An example is the following, highly accessible A-part, *своjéj д'ьр'éвн'и* 'from our own village'. Even though it is a repetition from the previous utterance, it carries an accent with even more prominence:

(17) — Своjé^{M}j д'ьр'é^{M}вн'и^{l} *дак*! А своjé^{H}j д'ьр'é^{H}вн'и^{m} *да*^{l}*к* ká^{H}к по^{m}знакó^{L}м'ил'ис'! (S16)
'In our own village *dak*! In our own village so how (do you think) we got known to each other!'

In the following two fragments, *dak* is used not after the first constituent of the sentence, but after the second or third one, which is contrary to the expectation (see section 10.3.13 and 11.5.4). In such cases, *dak* typically marks a parenthetical expression or another construction which forms a distinct prosodic syntagm and which is not part of the sentential structure that surrounds it:

(18) — *Она сюда приезжает?*
— Она пр'ижежá́ла дóм-тъ бы́л *дак* пр'ижежá́ла. А т'ьп'ер' дóму н'éту у Н'и́ноц'к'и жывý дак. У Н'и́ноц'к'и жывý да, у ... ч'éтыр'е внýка. (S10)
'Does she come here (and visit you)?'
'She, did, when I still had the house *dak*, she came. But now the house is gone, I live at Nina's. I live at Nina's, at ... (I have) four grandchildren.'

The semantics of this utterance and the knowledge of the meaning of *dak* makes one suppose that *дóм-то бы́л* represents A, and that B is to be found in the second occurrence of *пр'ижежá́ла*. When I read this utterance over again in a transcription where the accentuation was not yet marked, I guessed that this interpretation

would be supported by prosody. This was indeed the case: this utterance consists of three predicative units which all carry pitch accents:

(18) Она пр'ижéжа^{H}ла^{l} дó^{M}м-ть^{l} бы́^{H}л *да*^{l}*к* пр'ижéжа^{H}ла^{l}.

The context is as follows: the topic is an elderly woman who had lost her house in a fire, and now lived with her daughter-in-law. The speaker had just explained that this woman had a daughter who lived in town. She was then asked if this daughter came to visit her mother. In the cited utterance, the speaker answered that she used to come while her mother still had her own house. Both occurrences of *пр'ижéжала* have a high rise on the accented syllable, followed by a steep and deep fall; the unit *дóм-то бы́л* begins with an accent with little excursion on *дом*. The word *был* has a high F0 as well, but it is not as high as the other two, signalling that it is subordinated to them. This unit does not convey new information, since the situation that this woman had lost her house had been given before. The most important information is the confirmation of the question – the fact that the daughter did visit her mother. The unit marked by enclitic *dak* gives the circumstances under which this answer is correct – she came while the house was still there. This addition of the background in combination with the rising-falling movement suggest that this is in contrast to the situation after the mother lost her house. By giving the verb *пр'ижéжала* 'she came' a more prominent accent than the description of the condition (*дóм-то бы́л* 'when the house was still there'), the speaker signals that the fact that the daughter did come is more important than the restriction that this accounts under certain restrictions only.

In the following fragment, several accentuations would have been possible if *dak* had not been used:

(19) — *А рождество конечно ... был неофициальный праздник?*
— Да тáк-то. Пр'и́д'ош друг к дрýгу jéсл'и. *Дак* ... ч'еó. Тóже фс'é ... п'ирог'и́ *дак* исп'екýт фс'é. (S1)

Not the least probable accentuation is a rhematic, final accent on *пироги* 'pies': *п'ирог'и́ исп'екýт фс'é* 'Everyone bakes PIES'. The presence of *dak*, however, suggests that both the previous and the following unit are accented, and the

chance is high that the previous unit has a pitch accent with a high target (see next section). This is indeed the case:[10]

(19) — *А рождество конечно ... был неофициальный праздник?*
— Да та́к-то. Пр'и́д'ош друг к дру́гу йе́сл'и. Дак ... ч'ео́. То́же фс'е́ ... п'ирог'и́^{H} *да*^{l}*к* исп'еку́^{H}т фс'е́^{H}.

This accentuation implies a different information structure. The utterance now conveys something like 'PIES, you know, as for them, they ARE baked, by EVERYONE', where *dak* suggests that theme and rheme are contrasted to alternatives, probably to 'I won't say anything about other ways of celebrating of the holiday', as a contrast to 'but at least I can say that pies are made, even by everyone.'

12.2.6 A often has rising-falling intonation

Not unexpectedly, *dak* can be combined with a number of different pitch accents and pitch accent combinations. However, some are more common than others. Which are the most usual pitch movements used on A and B, and which ones are improbable?

Although several authors have given descriptions of frequent pitch movements in Northern Russian dialects (e.g. Касаткина 1988; 1989; Щигель 1985), the inventory of pitch accents of Northern Russian dialects has never been described in detail, and the intonation system of the dialect of Varzuga has not yet been established either. This section only describes some tendencies in "A *dak* B"-constructions ("A, *dak*_B", "A_*dak*, B" and "A_*dak*_B"). These four tendencies are illustrated with examples.

1) In these constructions, *dak* is remarkably often preceded by a prototypical IK-3 (Rl-), i.e. by a steep, early timed and very high rise onto the accented syllable of the accented word, followed in the posttonic part (if there is one) by a steep and deep fall. I will illustrate this with four examples.

   All occurrences of *dak* in (9) are preceded by Hl or H without posttonic syllables (= possibly truncated Hl):

(9) та́к-то л'о́^{H}т ... да^{l}к ... н'е бу́^{H}д'е^{l}ш полоска́т' а ... йе́д'ьт ... л'о́т-то ... уб'ер'о́^{H}ш да^{l}к по́^{H}то́^{m}м там вода́^{H}-то^{l} *дак* ə-... та́^{L}м по^{l}ло́шч'иш.

[10] The F0 reaches a lower level on the last two pitch accents than on the word *n'iroг'и́*. The absence of posttonic syllables in all of the accents prevents us from knowing whether they represent one or more different pitch accents.

Both A-parts carry a Hl-movement in (20) as well:

(20) Пов'и́^{H}длы^{h} бы́л'и ... Вот тут магаз'и́н был с'ич'а́с jево н'е́ту гд'е Л'икон'и́да Н'ик'и́^{H}фо^{l}ровна-то *дак*, у н'ej са́т^{H}-то^{l} тут *дак* вот та́^{L}м, поп'ер'ед'и́^{H} бы́^{M}л до́^{L}м. Ту́^{H}т бы^{m}л магаз'и́^{L}н.

The first accent is particularly prominent due to the sustained level tone of the preceding context, as shown in figure 12.1.

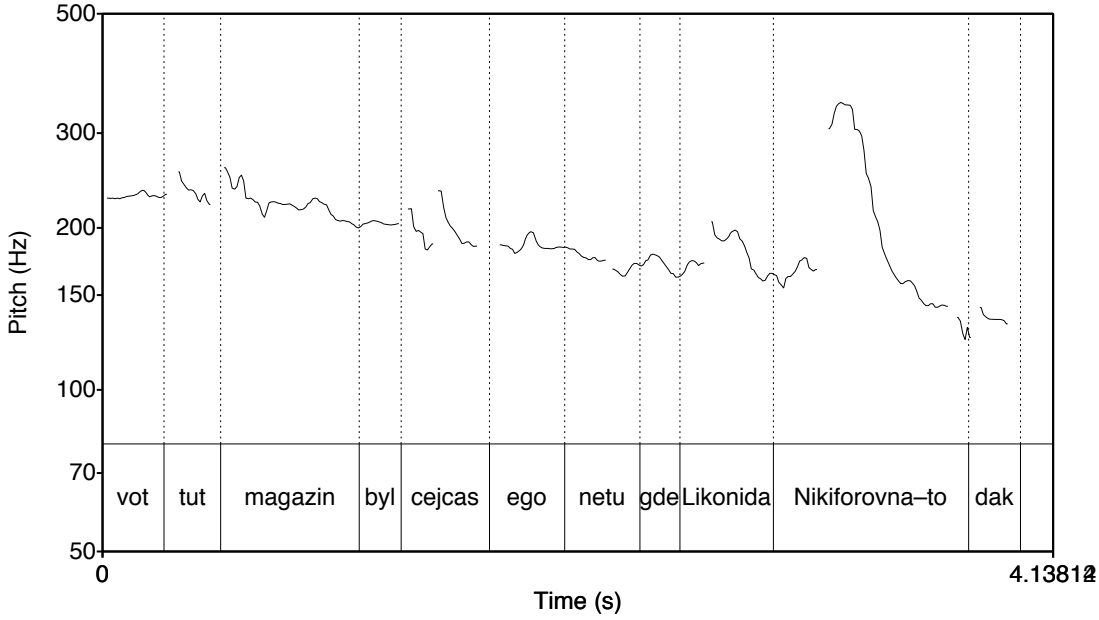


Figure 12.1. F0 curve in Hertz of the segment "Вот тут магаз'и́н был с'ич'а́с jево н'е́ту гд'е Л'икон'и́да Н'ик'и́^{H}фо^{l}ровна-то дак" from example (20) with an almost level tone all the way to the highly prominent accent with Hl- on the last word before dak.

Example (12) has Hl-movements early in the syntagm. B has a rising accent as well:

(12) а ра́^{H}н'ше^{l}-то н'е́^{H} бы^{l}ло п'ерч'а́ток р'ез'и́новых *дак* та́^{H}к.

The last H on the last word of the preceding utterance has no posttonic part, and has the same function as either Hl-accent or a Hh-accent.[11] The last is the most probable one, if you compare this utterance with the others with similar meaning.

[11] Or even a Hm or Hhm-accent, if those exist (cf. Rm in Odé's inventory of pitch accents in Standard Russian).

In the next fragment, *dak* is both preceded and followed by a rising-falling pitch movement. The reason that the underlined B-part has a rising-falling accent as well (but lower in register than the preceding one) might be that its content is contrasted to a following alternative theme-rheme pair: a newborn reindeer (T_1) is called *pyžik* (R_1), whereas a somewhat older reindeer (T_2) is called *lopanka* (R_2):

(13) — *А, ведь, когда разного возраста олени, по-меньше, по-больше, они как-то специально назывались?*
— Но ка́к же, называ́л'ис'.
— *А расскажите как.*
— Нач'ина́ja с ло́панк'и. Пы́жык сра́зу, пото́м ло́панка.
— *А лопанка, это ...?*
— Этъ фтаро́j го́т уже́. Пы́жык сра́зу ро́^{H}д'и^{m}ца *дак* пы́^{M}жы^{l}к. Но пото́м бо́^{H}л'ше^{m} уже́^{H} ло́^{M}па^{m}нка. (S8)

2) *Dak* can also be preceded by other accents ending in a fall, for instance by the same movement, but with a smaller excursion, or a fall to a non-low level (like in (13) *Пы́жык сра́зу ро́^{H}д'и^{m}ца дак пы́^{M}жы^{l}к*),[12] or by falling movements with low posttonic parts (Ll) with late or early timing, like Bryzgunova's IK-1 and IK-2 and Odé's Fl+ and Fl-.

Enclitic *dak* can also be preceded by a falling pitch accent, as in the following utterance, where it is used after a statement (only the pitch accents in the immediate context of *dak* are annotated):

(21) А т'ип'е́р'-то вот та́к-то на д'ива́н-то и ... л'а́жет а ... а та́к фс'о ф кр'е́^{h}сло́^{L} ло́^{l}жылс'а-тъ *дак* вот о́^{M}н т'ьп'ер' и смо́^{H}тр'и^{l}т, ш'о ... кр'есла́ н'е́ту и вот с'ид'е́л тут (...) (S1)

Dak is here surrounded by unaccented syllables with an equally low pitch (*тъ дак вот*), but pitch is higher again on *он*.

In example (22), *dak* was both preceded and followed by a falling accent with late timing (like IK-2 and Fl+), but the first one is used at a higher register:

[12] By large excursion I mean a wide span, i.e. a large distance between the lowest and the highest pitch level of the movement.

(22) — (В)о́т т’еб’е на. Мо́жет сл’епы́је да. Ну́ ла́дно. Сл’е^{h}пы́^{M} *да*^{l}*к* и сл’е^{h}пы́^{L}. (S1)

3) It is remarkable that the Varzuga database lacks indisputable cases of *dak* following after a pitch accent ending in a non-falling or high register on the posttonic part, like Bryzgunova’s IK-4 and IK-6 and Rh, Rø and Fh in Odé’s system. The cause cannot be the absence of such pitch accents in the dialect, since pitch accents with a final rise or other non-falling tone are often attested in B-parts. They are frequent in, for instance, short answers (see example below) and in enumerations, which is one of the contexts where *dak* was not attested in the Varzuga database. In section 12.3.8 I will show that this might not be a coincidence. The following example contains such an enumeration with repeated use of a pitch accent with a rising tonic part and high posttonic syllables, like IK-6 and Rh- in Standard Russian:

(23) *[KK:] — Как например вы называете северныj ветер?*
— С’е́^{L}в’е^{m}р.
[KK:] — Север?
— С’е́^{H}в’е^{h}р, та́^{M}к. А та́^{H}к в’е́^{m}[13]тры^{l} — аб’е́^{M}дн’и^{h}к, л’е́^{M}тн’ьj^{h}, шоло́^{M}н’и^{h}к, пъб’ер’е́^{M}жн’и^{h}к[14], палу́^{M}но^{h}ч’н’ик.
[SS:] — А полуночник, это что такое?
— С’е́^{l}в’еро-въсто́^{M}ч’ныj^{m}. Пъ^{l}лу́^{M}но^{m}ч’н’ик.
[TK:] — А шелонник?
— А^{l} шоло́^{H}н’и^{m}к — jу́^{l}го-за́^{M}па^{m}дныj. (S8)

The next fragment is an example of rising movements and high posttonic parts on the B-part. All members of the enumeration – thirty first, thirtieth and twenty eighth – have a rising accent with high posttonic syllables, although the first movement ends in a fall (like in (4.6, figure 4.4, which also had the movement Hhm):[15]

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[13] I suspect that the low tone on *в’е́тры* ‘winds’ does not constitute an independent pitch accent, but the posttonic part of the pitch accent on the preceding word. Therefore, I wrote l and not L, although the syllable is the locus of the lexical stress of *в’е́тры*. Cf. the l-mark on *Кому́*^{H} *м-... му*^{l}*жык’и́ бол’ши́* in (24) below, where the l-level is marked on the first syllable of a sequence of low-pitched syllables, and not on the lexically stressed one.

[14] The fundamental frequency in the tonic syllable, labeled M, rises to the high level of the posttonic vowel, written h. It could therefore also be labeled H+, that is, as an accent with late timing. At this moment it cannot be determined whether the accent on this word is phonologically the same as the ones on the preceding and the following words.

[15] However, in this other example, the movement Hhm did occur on the unit preceding *dak*. Prosodic analysis is required to find out the phonological status and meaning of this movement.

(24) Кому́^{H} м-... му^{l}жык’и́ бол’шы́ *дак* тр’и́^{H}ц:ът’ п’е́рвыj^{m}, тр’иц:а́^{H}то^{h}j, два́^{m}ц:ат’ вос’мо́^{H}j. Фс’е́^{H} ра^{l}зм’е́ры бы́л’и. И д’е́тск’и-то ма́л’ен’к’и бы́л’и, и фс’а́к’и. (S2)

4) *Dak* does occur after a high or non-falling pitch level, but only when there are no posttonic syllables:

(9) (...) ... л’о́т-то ... уб’ер’о́^{H}ш *да*^{l}*к* (...)

If *dak* is part of the pitch accent in this example, the accent is of the frequent Hl-type. If *dak* is not part of the accent, the H might still represent the same Hl pitch accent, but a truncated one; cf. IK-3 in Standard Russian, which has no fall when there are no posttonic syllables (Брызгунова 1980:107; cf. Ladd 1996:132 and Cruttenden 1997:163 on languages with truncated accents vs. languages which compress their accents, like English).

In the next section I will argue why the frequency of Hl-pitch movements on A fits well with the core meaning of *dak*.

We can conclude that the A-part of *dak*-constructions often ends in a pitch accent containing the pitch movement Hl-, like Bryzgunova’s IK-3 and Odé’s Rl-, typical for utterance-initial *themes*, while accents ending in high pitch or a rise are absent or very rare. B has an accent which can be interpreted as utterance-final.

12.3 The relation between prosodic form and linguistic meaning. Support from prosody for the proposed core meaning of *dak*

In the previous section the main prosodic characteristics of *dak* and of its linguistic context were described. The set of possible prosodic contexts is limited, and some contexts are very rare. The most common contexts are the following: *dak* is a clitic at the boundary of a prosodic syntagm and the expressions of x and y, A and B, are accented prosodic syntagms or utterances. A often has a rising-falling pitch accent. Rare or unattested contexts are accented *dak*, a pitch accent on A that does not end in a fall, a high pitch on A, unaccented A’s and B’s and even more uncommon, A and B in a single syntagm. I will argue below why all of these prosodic characteristics support the formulation of the core meaning of *dak*.

12.3.1 The meaning of *dak* not being accented

Unlike the conjunctions *i* and *no*, the word *dak* cannot carry a pitch accent. This means that *dak* has no content that can be presented as being new or contrastive: it can never be marked as 'not not-x' (Keijsper 1985; see section 7.3.2.5). By being unaccented, *dak* behaves like pragmatic particles in Germanic languages, which do not add propositional content either, but imply connections or propositional attitude (see chapter 13).

12.3.2 *Dak* at boundaries: an important cue to find x and y

The most stable characteristic of the *linguistic expressions* containing *dak* is connected with prosody: there is a strong correlation between prosodic attachment and the expression of x (the point or departure) and/or y (the implication or other information based on x). The data have shown that prosodic attachment of *dak* is an almost infallible cue to finding the expressions of x (A) or y (B), since in almost all cases, enclitic *dak* follows after the expression of the point of departure, and proclitic *dak* introduces the expression of the "implication":

IU_*dak* = A_*dak*
*dak*_IU = *dak*_B
and IU_*dak*_IU = A_*dak*_B

The few attested exceptions will be given an explanation in section 12.3.9 below.

12.3.3 The meaning of prosodic attachment: relation to syntax, semantics and pragmatics

Prosodic subordination and non-prominence in a number of occurrences do not necessarily imply that a word is inherently a clitic or a grammatically pre- or postpositive element (see the definitions of clitics in different linguistic traditions in section 7.2.3.3). Absence of accentuation and silence does not mean that the word is prosodically, let alone syntactically, a part of its host, nor that it could not have been accented in a different context.

In fact, the use of conjunctions and other connective words which are prosodically attached to the previous linguistic context, but not to the following context, is not restricted to elements which are grammatically postpositive. For example, also in other languages, connectives like conjunctions can be non-prominent and prosodically attached to the preceding clause and followed by a period of silence. It is a useful strategy to indicate to the hearer that you want to say more, while it gives you time to take a short break. Simon and Grobet (2002) discuss such uses of *mais* in French, and here are some examples from spoken

Dutch of similar use of the coordinate conjunctions *en* 'and' and *want* 'for; because'. Two speedskaters used the same strategy when they were interviewed by Dutch radio:

(25) *Ik had nu ook voor het eerst weer in m'n hoofd hoe ik wil rijden en ... ik denk dat het nu gewoon een kwestie van tijd is vóór – ... dat ik sterker moet worden.* (Gold medallist Jochem Uytdehaage interviewed after the European Longtrack Speedskating Championships; *NOS Langs de lijn*, Jan. 9, 2005, from www.nos.nl/sport/schaatsen/)
'For the first time again I had in my mind how I want to skate and ... I think that by now it's only a matter of time before ... I must be getting stronger.'

(26) *(...) en die vorm zeg maar die je nodig hebt die heb ik op dit moment níét en ... nou ik ben daarbij -mee heel blij dat ik me wèl plaats voor de WK want ... d'r wordt gewoon in de breedte heel hard gereeën.* (Bronze medallist Carl Verheijen in the same programme)
'(...) and that shape, you know, that you need, I don't have it right now and ... well, I am very glad that I still qualified for the World Championships 'cause ... in general, everyone is skating very fast.'

In all three cases, the conjunction was used immediately after a pitch accented word and followed by a considerable pause. It was non-prominent and had low pitch. The pitch level was so low that it could have served not only as the first syllable in a new prosodic syntagm, but also as the last syllable of the utterance.[16]

Although these connectives are used pragmatically, on a discourse level, I would not claim that they are inherent clitics or postpositive particles for that reason (cf. the definition of clitics in section 7.2.3.3).

In Norwegian spontaneous speech, it is not unusual to end clauses and subclausal members of a set in an enumeration – which typically have the form of prosodic syntagms – in non-prominent and prosodically attached *og* 'and'. The word *og* has its usual copulative function and additive meaning – the speakers clearly imply that they intend to, or could, add another member of the set of elements which the previous expression belongs to, but this addition is often not pronounced. In many cases I doubt that the speakers really intend to express an addition, so *og* might in this use be on its way to develop into a pragmatic particle, similar to Northern Russian *da* (see section 14.4). This question deserves further research.

[16] A high level of background noise during these interviews may have stimulated the choice of this specific means to signal that the speakers wanted to say more. However, both speakers used this strategy also in other interviews, with much less background noise (www.nos.nl/sport/schaatsen/, Feb. 4 and Feb 20, 2005).

Even the Standard Russian correlate *tak* 'then, so' can be used enclitically, if you use the phonetic definition of clitics: a preceding pause is common, but not obligatory,[17] and *tak* can even be followed by a period of silence, though only if it is caused by hesitation (Yevguenia Romanova, p.c.). The Standard Russian word *tak* could have been pronounced exactly like the Northern Russian particle *dak*:

(1) Jéсл'и на рабóту на их н'е пojéхал'и *дак*, [pause] фс'о равнó нáдо ... накорм'и́т'. (S1)

(1a) Если на работу на них не поехали *так* ... все равно надо накормить. (translation to common colloquial Russian; ... = hesitation)

However, this pronunciation would be very unusual, unlike the pronunciation of Northern Russian *dak* in these "A *dak* B"-contexts. In Common Russian, a pause would normally be found before the connective word:

(1b) Если на работу на них не поехали, [pause] *так* все равно надо накормить.

Unlike Northern Russian *dak*, Standard Russian "enclitic" *tak* has not been grammaticalised as a postpositive element. Enclitic *dak* can signal utterance-finality, which *tak* cannot in the varieties of Russian lacking enclitic *dak* (or *tak*). Prosodic research could reveal if the prosodic boundary is marked differently in "A *dak* B" and "A *tak* B"-constructions. For instance, one could test whether *tak*, and not *dak*, often has a pitch level above the lowest level, like resets, signalling non-finality. The differences between Varzuga *dak* and Standard Russian *tak* will be discussed in section 14.3.2.

Yet, there are several conditions – not only prosodic – which show that *dak* is probably inherently a prosodically subordinate word, and usually an enclitic, postpositive element:

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[17] According to Fougeron and her informants, a pause is always perceived after a marked initial theme, even if there is no acoustically measurable pause, such as in the marked part of the following example (// marks an obligatory pause; Fougeron 1989:239ff):

(27) — Ты все кончил? Отделался?
— *Уроки* // *гото́вы*, а музыкой не занимался. (Fougeron 1989:238)

Fougeron's informants claim that the prominence of the marked theme is obtained by the following pause, which is used to attract the attention of the interlocutor to the first word (1989:239f). The utterance with *tak* seems to have the same prosodic structure as these utterances with marked initial themes. Unfortunately, Fougeron has not studied syntactically complex structures, but she claims that these utterances have a complex syntactic structure, and they fall outside the domain of the simple sentence (*prostoe predloženie*; 1989:239). The organisation of information and the ways to express it in these are shared with complex sentences, which Fougeron has not studied. Yevguenia Romanova agreed with me that a pause would be natural, but not obligatory.

- Accentuation of *dak* seems impossible (see App. IV);
- The pragmatic uses of *mais*, *en* and *want* are variants of accentable conjunctions, but *dak* is not the unaccented variant of *tak*, since *tak* has a different meaning from *dak* in the dialect of Varzuga, which has its own unaccented variant (cf. section 14.3.1);
- The periods of silence after enclitic *dak* can hardly be explained as hesitations;
- Enclitic *dak* can often serve as the final word in the utterance, unlike the conjunctions in the other languages just mentioned. The conjunctions mentioned above have this low pitch only in part of the cases. The same speakers used the words in the same position with higher pitch, which signals non-finality. The somewhat higher pitch is typical for the beginning of a prosodic syntagm (like a reset), but too high to serve as an utterance-final tone. Even *dak* can have this somewhat higher pitch level (28 and 30 below), but this is exceptional, whereas it is common for the conjunctions;
- Enclitic *dak* does not mark whether the y-part has been activated or not. Unlike the coordinative conjunctions in Dutch above, it does not signal that the speaker has not finished yet; it only signals that the preceding expression is background information for some other information. Enclitic *dak* can also be used after prosodic syntagms that are clearly meant to be final.

  Unlike Standard Russian *tak* or the coordinative conjunctions in other languages, *dak* can finish an expression that is meant to be final, like in the next fragment, where the speaker tells about the choir taking a break:

(28) Дак вот та́к л'и. Пожыва́м н'ич'ево́. Та́к вот с'ич'а́с же́нш'ина нам сказа́ла отдыха́йт'е пока́. В о́тпуск'е *дак*, а .. во́т уже́ с январ'а́-то на́до подготовл'а́ц:а.
'That's how it is. We are doing alright. So now this woman told us to take a rest for the time being. You have a holiday *dak*, but ... already from January we had to start preparing [for a festival in June].'

The expression *В отпуске дак* 'You have a holiday *dak*' functions as a separate predication, with its falling intonation, which is typically associated with finality. It has the same prosody, with falling, "final" intonation, as the preceding expression *отдыха́йт'е пока* 'take a rest for the time being'. The prosody of the following expressions is very different: pitch is higher on the conjunction *а* and the pronunciation is much louder. The expression *В о́тпуск'е дак* certainly does not signal a continuation, which coordinating conjunctions always do. The same accounts for (29):

(29) Да уш ф п’и́ц’и́-то н’иц’е(г)о́ н’е в’и́жу, т’е́м’ен’ стра́шнъ та́м *дак*.

One should however keep in mind that the “finality” meaning (= ‘I do not intend to continue this assertion’) is not signalled by prosody alone, since low level pitch per se is not a marker of finality, but used for other purposes as well.

As mentioned, in exceptional cases, even enclitic *dak* has a pitch level above low, signalling that the speaker plans to add more. Example (30) from chapter 6 contains such a rare case of non-low enclitic *dak*:

(30) — *Очень трудно через реку переправляться в такой ветер.*
— С’ич’а́с на мото́рках jе́зд’ат. У мно́г’их мото́рк’и *дак*. А ра́н’ше вот — п’ер’евоз’и́л’и-то вру́ч’ну́H *да*m*к*, о́Hj, како́j в’е́т’ер в’е- о́с’ен’jу вот jа́ п’ер’евоз’и́ла э́т:аd на ко́рбуd, о́j-oj-oj-oj-oj, да в’е́т’ер стра́шныj. (S5)

In this case, the non-low, mid-level pitch marks non-finality, but, contrary to the conjunctions in other languages mentioned above, this use of *dak* is the exception, while it is the rule in the other languages.

The absence or presence of pauses before or after *dak* in “A *dak* B”-constructions is not essential for the meaning of *dak* – it is only relevant for finding out what it is *dak* connects with what, and its prosodic attachment gives information about the information structure of the utterance; see next section.

Example (9), about rinsing in the ice-covered river, shows that *dak* is first of all used at boundaries – the difference between enclitic and proclitic *dak* is not crucial for the description of their core meaning. Although the prosodic attachment of *dak* is different each time, the prosody of *dak* itself is the same, and so is its meaning. This example also shows that – at least in this fragment – *dak* can hardly be claimed to be part of the predicative units or clauses it connects, syntactically – it is first of all a connector of the two adjacent units, used between the units, not being part of them, just like coordinative conjunctions like *and* and *but*. The terms enclitic and proclitic are not ideal, because they can suggest that the clitics are syntactically part of the units they are attached to. Can *dak* be cliticised to both sides, in other words, can it be both enclitic and proclitic at the same time? Strictly speaking, to be cliticised to both sides is a contradiction in terms if being a clitic implies not being part of a different pitch accent, unless you describe *dak* as the carrier of a boundary tone which is not part of either of the two pitch accents, or you defend the position that a single syllable can be part of

two different pitch accents simultaneously. In cases of "A_*dak*_B", *dak* is rather "mesoclitic" or "interclitic". One could defend the position that *dak* is syntactically not part of, but subordinated to both of these units, which represent larger units than clause constituents. It is possible that in cases of "A_*dak*_B", *dak* is structurally more part of one side than of the other. Most probably, *dak* is in most cases primarily connected to the first part, since this is most common in case there is a pause, and since *dak* itself hardly ever carries a "reset". But since a possible difference in attachment is usually not shown prosodically, and proclitic and enclitic *dak* have basically the same function, the description of *dak* in such cases as being subordinated to both sides is sufficient.

12.3.4 Enclitic vs. proclitic: conclusion

The difference between enclitic and proclitic *dak* is not important for the description of the core meaning of *dak*, as enclitic and proclitic *dak* mark the same kind of relations. However, it is important for the interpretation of the utterances in which *dak* is used. The higher frequency of enclitic *dak* than proclitic *dak* shows that *dak* is used to mark something as an A-part, that is, as expressing a point of departure on which an assertion is based, rather than as a B-part, that is, an assertion as being based on something. In other words, *dak* is rather a theme-marker than a rheme-marker, as argued in section 10.2.2. Enclitic *dak* and proclitic *dak* present the content of the utterance in a different way. It was mentioned earlier that the construction "A, *dak* B" with a pause between A and *dak* is rare in the Varzuga corpus. Proclitic *dak* after a major boundary (full stop, or pause after non-finality signalling intonation) in complex sentences is only used in special cases, when the speaker assumes that the hearer might not have had the required topic in mind. Proclitic *dak* after a pause seems to be used to remind the hearer of that the coming assertion is based on some activated information. It is possible that the speaker did not have the connection with B in mind at the moment A was pronounced; at least, this was not expressed. This is not the case in "A *dak*, B"-constructions, where A is immediately presented as such. This difference between "A *dak*, B" and "A, *dak* B" can be explained with the following example:

(31) У нас Вовка, *дак* у него тоже хороший характер (Перм.; Мерлин 1978)

Let's suppose that the comma written by Merlin indeed indicates a pause. In this utterance, the first prosodic syntagm, *У нас Вовка*, probably introduced a new topic, a person not activated in the discourse and possibly even unknown to the

hearer(s). The second syntagm expresses a property of this person.[18] The prosody of this utterance could have been different:

(31a) У нас Вовка *дак*, у него тоже хороший характер.

Although the propositional content is the same, the information structure is different. In the first variant, the first unit functions as an identificational expression. In the second variant, it is in addition immediately marked as serving as information on which an assertion is based. This accounts also for example (10.18) from Varzuga (earlier commented in section 10.3.5; see also 12.3.9.5), where an aunt is introduced and she is immediately marked as the point of departure of some statement.

12.3.5 The meaning of A and B being accented

Unlike *dak* itself, the units that are in the scope of *dak* – A and B – are almost always accented. This seems to imply that they express information that is new or contrasted (see section 7.2.3.5), in any case, they are marked to contain important and relevant information.

Indeed, the elements expressed in A and B are very often contrastive (see section 10.3.12). The information expressed in B is typically new to the discourse. The information in A is usually not referentially new, but it is new in its role as being a 'point of departure' for some proposition.

The claim that B expresses an argumentationally posterior implication of certain information entails that B is always an assertion, expressing a rheme (or *focus*), which carries a rhematic accent, usually the last one in the utterance. The data show that the unit following after proclitic *dak* is indeed accented. In the few cases it is not, it does not seem to be in the scope of *dak* (see section 12.3.9).

The presence of a pitch accent on units like A is less obvious than one might think. Predicative units with the function of subordinate clauses which are not marked by a conjunction nor by *dak* need not be marked by intonation either:

(32) Нач'а́л'н'икъм ръбо́тат. Но ја́ пото́м заръбо́тала (unintell.) у́ мор'а от с'ид'е́л'и с'е́м' го́да дак [= ак?] ф колхо́з'е тут зараб о́тала за́мужем была́. (S10)

In this example, the underlined part is prosodically integrated into the preceding context, and thus not contrasted or presented as being new.

[18] This makes it a prototypical example of a categorical proposition (see section 10.3.3).

The core meaning of *dak* of connecting argumentationally prior information with an implication does not exclude the possibility of *dak* having scope over an unaccented element. In fact, such cases do occur, but they are extremely rare. These exceptional cases are described in section 12.3.9.

12.3.6 The meaning of separation of A and B

Both A and B usually carry a pitch accent with large excursion. This means that, in the terminology of Keijsper, the units are almost always separately intonationally predicated (Keijsper 2003).

In "B, A *dak*"-constructions, B and A are almost always separated by a pause and carry their own pitch accent, which indicates a relative independence of the two units.

The presentation of the two information units connected by *dak* in separate units fits well with the findings that these units are often contrastive, or *kontrastive* (section 10.3.12), and that often a categorical proposition is expressed, which represents two different cognitive acts (section 10.3.3).

12.3.7 Is A always a prosodic syntagm?

Both A and B were claimed to consist of a prosodic syntagm or an even larger unit. Prosodic syntagms, which represent structurally and communicationally larger units than phonological words, are usually described as not only carrying one or more pitch accents, but also as being surrounded by periods of silence. This is what makes them different from accented phonological words. However, pauses are not obligatory. As mentioned in section 7.2.3.3, the concept *prosodic syntagm*, a translation of the term *fonetičeskaja sintagma* in the Russian tradition after Ščerba, is not defined on prosodic criteria only.

It is a fact that A and B are not always separated by a silence: the group "A_*dak*_B" is frequent. This means that the claim that A and B always represent prosodic and communicative units larger than a single phonological word cannot be based on prosodic information only.[19] It is the function of the A-parts in general that suggests that both A and B represent communicative units on a hierarchical level above the single word, and that this is probably the case in all uses of *dak*. In fact, *dak* functions as a boundary marker itself, and its presence makes the use of yet another boundary marker, like a pause, unnecessary.

[19] However, the claimed larger prosodic boundary might often be marked by the low pitch, which is frequent on *dak*. Such low tones do not seem to be common on the boundary between two phonological words belonging to the same prosodic syntagm. This impression should be verified by studies of the intonation.

12.3.8 The meaning of rising-falling accents on A

In the literature, the rising-falling pitch accent IK-3, which is the most common pitch movement on A in"A *dak* B"-constructions, is described as being typical for non-final prosodic syntagms (e.g. Брызгунова 1980) and in particular for the intonation on themes (Schallert 1990; Bonnot & Fougeron 1989). We saw that A often expresses marked sentence-initial themes (cf. section 10.3.13).

Such a rising-falling movement is not only attested in "A *dak* B"-constructions, but is frequent for A in other constructions as well. According to Bryzgunova, IK-3 provokes an expectation of a continuation ("ожидание продолжения"; Брызгунова 1993:65;[20] cf. Кодзасов 1999:203f). Keijsper claims that Rl- (IK-3) expresses that the speaker does not specify a separate truth-value to the unit it is used on, unlike Fl (IK-1) and Fh (IK-4). In case Rl- is the last pitch accent in an utterance, the hearer should provide the missing truth value himself (Keijsper 2003:150). There is a strong universal tendency that rising intonations signal non-assertion and continuation, by Cruttenden characterised as *openness*, as opposed to *closed* as a cover term for the meanings associated with falling tones (Cruttenden 1997:163). This association with continuation suits well with the general meaning of the A-parts marked by *dak* as expressing information on which a proposition is based.

Such a "thematic" intonation is however not a prerequisite: The A-part can also express statements with a truth value assigned to them (section 11.5.2). In that case, its semantic non-finality, which is indicated by the use of *dak*, is not expressed by means of intonation.

How can we explain that *dak* was not attested after pitch movements ending in a rise, although they are common in the dialect in other contexts? Many linguists claim for Standard Russian that the pitch accents used for non-final syntagms IK-3, IK-4 and IK-6[21] are synonymous except for stylistics (e.g. Брызгунова 1980). Several authors have shown that this is not true (Bonnot & Fougeron 1989; Keijsper 1985; 2003; Schallert 1990). One of the differences is that IK-4 and IK-6 are rarely used on the expressions of themes, unlike IK-3 (Schallert 1990; Bonnot & Fougeron 1989). According to Bonnot and Fougeron (1989), IK-4 and IK-6 are only used in contrastive theme-constructions in special contexts involving enumerations.

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[20] "тот или иной тип ИК (...) содержит что-то общего, своего рода сигнал, своего рода "архисему". (Брызгунова 1993:65); "ИК-3 сигнализирует "ожидание продолжения" в вопросе — это ожидание ответа, в повествовательном высказывании — это ожидание продолжения мысли говорящего, в просьбах ИК-3 выражает заинтересованность говорящего в выполнении действия слушающим, что включает неуверенность, ожидание реакции слушающего. Один и тот же тип ИК может иметь больше одной "архисемы", степень обобщенности может быть разной." (ibid.)

[21] The canonical, neutral realisations of IK-3, IK-4 and IK-6 have the movements H(l), Lh and Hh, and correspond to Rl-, Rø-, Fh- and Rh- (Брызгунова 1980; Odé 1989).

12.3.9 Explanation of potential counterexamples to the prosodic regularities

In the data, there are a few problematic cases, in which the prosody does not seem to have the above mentioned characteristics. These potential counterexamples to the prosodic 'rules' and to the core meaning of *dak* can be divided into five groups:

1) *Dak* is claimed to be accented, or at least prominent;
2) *Dak* is not prosodically attached, but surrounded by silences;
3) One of the expressions connected by *dak* (A or B) has no pitch accent;
4) *Dak* is prosodically attached to an element that is not in its scope;
5) The utterance containing *dak* consists of more material than A and B, or A or B consists of more than one prosodic syntagm.

I will argue below that these potential counterexamples can all be explained in accordance with the proposed analysis of *dak*. In these cases, either the prosody is not diverging after all, or one of the units attached to *dak* seems not to represent A or B, which shows that prosodic information alone is not sufficient to find the expressions of x and y. Finally, there are some exceptional cases where A or B is not accented, but this can also be reconciled with the core meaning of *dak*.

1) *Dak* can be prominent

Many researchers claim that Northern Russian *dak* can be accented, or at least prominent. They use the word *udarenie*, which is a term which usually covers all of the phenomena prominence, word stress and pitch accent (see section 7.2.3.3). Unfortunately, it is usually not clear which of the three meanings is intended. One of them is Fedorova, who gives the following example:

(33) Ветра́ какие-то получаются / иногда со снегом // идеж да́к / глаза нельзя открыть (Perm., Федорова 1965:85)

It makes one wonder what kind of prominence she means – which acoustic parameters are involved – and about the origins and the meaning of this prominence – is it a consequence of the meaning of the word *dak* or not? Most researchers do not address these questions.

It seems to be beyond doubt that *dak* can stand out acoustically in Northern Russian dialects, and even in the Varzuga dialect, *dak* can be more prominent than the surrounding syllables. A discussion of prominent realisations of *dak* can be found in Appendix IV.

However, acoustic prominence is not always perceived as such, let alone as reflecting stress or accent. The acoustic parameters responsible for prominence are always relative, as stressed by Nikolaeva: F0 and intensity are usually higher in the beginning of words and of larger prosodic units, while the duration generally increases towards the end (cf. e.g. Николаева 1993:18f on words pronounced in isolation). Therefore, a loud *dak* at the beginning or a long *dak* at the end of an utterance do not have to signal distinctive, meaningful prominence, as long as their loudness and duration are not above the expected values.

The question is whether the prominent realisations of *dak* are perceived as such by the dialect speakers, and if they are, whether it has any relation to the meaning of *dak*. Only the dialect speakers themselves can give a definite answer to this question. Acoustic analysis and intensive listening to the sound files from Varzuga and other places in Northern Russia suggest that, although *dak* is sometimes acoustically prominent in some way, the word never gives the impression of carrying a prominence-lending stress or accent.

Change of pitch seems to be the most important cue for prominence of single words in Russian, marking them as being relevant (new, contrastive, rhematic). According to Kasatkina, pitch is even more important to signal *udarenie* in the Northern Russian dialects than elsewhere (Касаткина 1991). The data available suggest that the only possible pitch prominence of *dak* is due to non-prominence lending turning points or resets. Increased loudness and duration can often be explained on the basis of the segmental characteristics of the [a] and from the initial or final position in the IU. Another reason why I did not perceive *dak* as prominent, even if it is relatively loud, is that its vowel is always reduced in the Varzuga dialect (see the discussion of (46) as example (9) in Appendix IV).

In my perception, in neither of these cases the word *dak* is made prominent for its content. It is unlikely that native speaker judgements would give a different outcome. The examples of prominent *dak* thus are not at variance with the hypothesis that *dak* cannot be the carrier of word stress or accent, and contribute as such to the propositional content of an utterance.

2) *Dak* is not a clitic when used between silences

Dak can in fact be used without being attached to another word (or word group, or clause), when surrounded by silences (...*dak* ...), like the first occurrence in (9) and the turn-initial use in example (9.76) in section 9.3.3, now (34):

(9) (...) та́к-то л’о́^{H}т ... *да*^{l}*к* ... н’е бу́^{H}д’е^{l}ш полоска́т’ а (...)

(34) — *Это раньше была цѐрковь?*
[S4:] — *Дак* ... вот говор'у́ э́того ...

It is problematic to call *dak* a clitic in such cases. Some define *udarenie* phonetically, as a relational difference in prominence (e.g. Бондарко 1998:218, where *ударение* is described as salience on the background of other syllables ("выделение на фоне других"). In that case, *dak* between silences is by definition prominent: there are always relational differences in prominence. However, this definition has no connection with meaning, and has therefore little relevance.

However, when *dak* is used between silences, it has the same non-prominent prosody as elsewhere, except for the existence of periods of silence, and still does not carry a pitch accent or stress, similar to hesitation markers, like the filler which in English often is written 'er...'.

In fragment (9), about the rinsing of clothes in the river, *dak* was used three times in a similar function and with similar prosody. In one case, *dak* was surrounded by silences, but its prosody was just as non-prominent as in the other cases.

In the following example, *dak* is non-prominent in several respects: the perceived loudness is very low, the pitch level is the same as on the surrounding syllables, but the following syllable – *ja* 'I' – is much louder. Also, the vowel is highly reduced (to a short *schwa*), and the final consonant lacks an audible release, which shows that it is assimilated to the following word *ja*, and not meant to be the final word of the utterance:

(35) Св'ътла́на-тъ та́ ход'и́ла. Ја вы́с'ид'ела, вы́ждала jej, а пото́м она́ пр'ишла́ ко К'а́л'и-тъ, [pause] *дак* ... ја́ гъвър'у́ ја́ вот два́ ч'аса́ вы́с'ид'ела т'а вы́ждала, а ... оказа́лас'-то вы́шла́ туда́. (S2)

The only difference with "ordinary" uses of *dak* is that in this case, *dak* was surrounded by pauses; the speaker even took breath before the particle was pronounced. According to my observations, periods of silence following after non-enclitic *dak* are always hesitations; see also section 8.3.

Also utterance-initially, *dak* is non-prominent when followed by a silence, always having a short vowel.

The similar prosody in fragment (9) of "enclitic" *dak*, "proclitic" *dak* and the use of "non-clitic" *dak* between periods of silence shows that prosodic attachment, when defined as absence or presence of pauses, is no primary cue to show the function of *dak*. Being prosodically attached is no inherent property of *dak*

either, although exceptions are rare. Prosodic subordination does seem to be an inherent property, in the sense that even *dak* surrounded by silences is non-prominent and prosodically subordinate to a unit which the speaker plans to express.

3) "A" or "B" does not carry a pitch accent

The word *dak* is sometimes attached to a unit which does not carry a pitch accent. These units belong to different categories:

I) A and B are not always clearly pitch-accented;
II) Afterthoughts ending in *dak* can lack a pitch accent;
III) A can be unaccented in "B_A_*dak*"-constructions;
IV) The unaccented unit is not in the scope of *dak*, like a *tail* (= unaccented part of the given information), or
V) It is an unaccented pragmatic particle.

I) A and B are not always clearly pitch-accented

The Varzuga corpus contains some examples where it is not certain that the parts attached to *dak* carry a pitch accent. Some of such cases can be explained as interrupted speech, but not all. These cases require a larger database of examples and a better description of the intonation system of the dialect, but unclear cases are inevitable in corpora of spontaneous speech.

The core meaning of *dak* as signalling a connection between a proposition (or thought, or reaction) and information which this proposition, or the utterance of it, depends on does not entail that both of these elements, if expressed, must be accented. Therefore, it does not exclude the possibility of *dak* having scope over an unaccented element.

II) Unaccented afterthoughts

Unaccented A's and B's do in fact occur in the Varzuga data, although they are rare. Some of them are unaccented parentheticals or afterthoughts. Here are two examples:

(10) У м'ьн'а́ фс'о стоя́ло кр'есло́ тут дак он ... фс'о спа́л на э́том кр'есл'е́ а ја т'еп'ер' јего́ вы́н'есла ду́мају ... ло́фч'ејј ... у столя́-тъ с'ид'е́т' на сту́л'е-то *дак*. Дак вот о́н ... и хо́д'ит н'и зна́т куда́ јему́ ... л'е́ч'. (S1)

(36) — (...) Раи́с'а сама́. Фтърój ра́с вы́шла. За т'е́м была́ то́т та́м пъг'и́п. А ... Ја́ же ту́т то́же вы́шла он то́же был на војны́-то да, оста́лс'а жывój *дак*. Пр'ијéхал дак

вот. А н'и жена́т тут был дак вот ... жен'и́лс'а, на двojуро́дн'и́ковoj жены́. (...) (S5)

By definition, afterthoughts follow a pause (contrary to right-detached elements or *antitopics*; Lambrecht 1981:75ff; 1994:202) and are not part of the preceding syntactic structure. Though being independent communicative acts in some sense, being *after*thoughts, used only after a pause, they are often informationally and prosodically subordinated, like many parentheticals (cf. section 11.5.4). They can carry a highly prominent pitch accent, like (3), but they can also lack a pitch accent, when the information they contain is not new to the discourse, but the speaker wants to remind the hearer of its relevance for the correct understanding of the previous context.

Fedorova might have found counterexamples, since she gives many examples of "B A *dak*"-constructions where no pause or syntactic boundary between A and B is marked, such as (37) and (38):

(37) Становись в очереть *рас* езь *дак*

(38) Я хорошо жыла с мужыком... а вот сыновья дураки / много пьют // я не виновата // што тут зделаш *рас* оне дураки

This is very rare in other sources, although differences in transcription conventions can explain that other transcribers use a marking even when there is no pause, to mark that there is a syntactic boundary (see Appendix I). It would be interesting to know if there was no other boundary marking either, such as a change of pitch accent.

III) Unaccented A's in "B_A_*dak*"-constructions

In very exceptional cases there is no prosodic boundary between A and B. The Varzuga database of over 500 occurrences of *dak* contains only a handful examples. One is the earlier described occurrence of "B_A_*dak*" (see sections 4.3.1, 8.3 and 9.2.3), where there is no boundary marking at all, and the A-part appears to be unaccented:

(39) — А ты там н'е пла́кала оста́лас' от ма́мы *дак*? (S1)
But you *neg* cried left.F from mother *dak*?

The pitch movement on this utterance was described in section 4.3.1 and the fundamental frequency drawn in figure 4.4. It is remarkable that the pitch level is

exactly the same on the part between the accented syllable and the two last syllables —*кала оста́лас' от ма́м*—, it is on both sides of a syntactic boundary dividing the main clause *ты там не плакала* from the subordinate clause *осталась от мамы*. It is possible that the specifics of question intonation play a role, where all intonation except the main accent tends to be "flattened", but it can hardly explain the complete absence of any prosodic marking of the boundary. The prosodic status of the subordinate clause is unclear: is it prosodically subordinated or not? Does it carry a pitch accent or not? The pitch level is only minimally lower than the high level on the pitch accented syllable in *пла́кала*. Our knowledge of the intonation system of the Varzuga dialect is insufficient to determine whether the high tone marks a separate pitch accent or the posttonic part of the pitch accent on *пла́кала*.

In some other cases, it is not certain if we are really dealing with "B_A_*dak*", or if it is an ordinary case of accented "A_*dak*". The reason is that the range of the backward scope of enclitic *dak* is not certain in these cases:

(40) — *Но живут там месяц, или два месяца, или ...?*
— Н'е́, м'е́н'ше кон'е́шно. М'е́н'шъ. Зам'о́рзн'от, то́лстој-то ... л'от бу́^{H}д'о^{l}т *дак* она́ н'е́как и пръјт'и́^{H} *дак* она́ ји... , бо́л'ше н'и поjд'о́^{H}т ры́^{l}ба-то *дак*, и ... кон'ч'а́јыт лов'и́т'-тъ. В д'ькабр'е́-то вот уже́ и ко́н'ч'ът. (S1)

The part *бо́л'ше н'и поjд'о́^{H}т ры́^{l}ба-то дак* might represent a common Hl-accent. This example reminds of right-detachment constructions in languages where pro-drop of subjects is not common, such as French (see Lambrecht 1981). But what is the scope of *dak*, the whole preceding syntagm *бо́л'ше н'и поjд'о́^{H}т ры́^{l}ба-то*, or only *ры́^{l}ба-то*? The absence of an accent on the last part and of any pause with the preceding unit, which is used before afterthoughts, suggest that the whole preceding syntagm is in the scope of *dak*, but from a semantic point of view, also 'the fish' could be a point of departure.

In the next example, the semantics of the utterance and its context also suggest that both *росп'е́шајет ба́н'у мо́н'ит* 'he cuts a hole (in the ice) when he fires up his bath-house' and *ба́н'у мо́н'ит* 'when he fires up his bath-house' could serve as points of departure:

(41) Про́луп' на р'и́ш'ки фс'о д'е́лајут. Та́к *(МП: Гм)* ... бы́л фс'ево́ э́тот ло́пск'иj ... мужы́к дак о́н ... росп'е́^{H}ша^{l}јет ба́^{M}н'у^{l} то́^{H}п'и^{l}т *дак*, про́^{M}лбу^{l} росп'е́^{H}ша^{l}јет дак, и та́^{M}м по^{l}ло́шч'им. (S1)

The fragment *бáн'у мóн'ит* is much less prominent than the preceding word, but small pitch accents can still be distinguished. What is not reflected in the annotation is that the accent on *мóн'ит* is pronounced in a much lower register than the accent on *росп'éшајет* two words earlier. This lesser prominence suggests that lesser importance is given to it by the speaker, but it gives no final answer to the question of the scope of *dak*.

Some researchers claim that non-prominent occurrences of A are common in "B A_*dak*"-constructions; see Appendix V for a discussion.

IV) Unaccented *tails* after *dak*

In other cases, not the preceding context, but the context following after *dak* is unaccented. Lack of accent on the expression following after *dak* suggests that this unit does not represent B. An example is the expression *им'ен'ины когда* in the next fragment:

(42) — *Потому что в разных странах отмечают именины, а в других день рождения. И есть там, где отмечают и день рождения и именины.*
— На ... у на-... напр'им'ép, вóт рáн'ше ... им'ен'и́ны по св'áцам же давáл'и дак.
(— Гм.)
— Тó п'ер'ед'и́ это ... дајýт ... и́м'а ид'óт *дак* ə- ... э́тъвъ, мóгут ... за н'- ишé ... за н'éскол'ко ... дн'é^{H}j дá^{m}т' э́^{l}тово, и́^{H}м'а^{l}, ктó, (в)п'ер'óт. А ... знáч'ит по св'á^{H}ца^{m}м *да^{m}к* им'ен'и́^{m}ны ... когдá^{l}, а по рожд'é^{H}н'ij^{l} *дак* — т'ьп'éр' на рожд'éн'ије фс'е зап'ер'еход'и́л'и. Рáн'ше за им'ен'и́ны бóл'ше соб'ирáл'и. (S2)

There is a little pitch movement on *им'ен'ины*, but the pitch gets only slightly higher than on *dak*, which has a mid level pitch after a pitch accent with a high tonic syllable on *св'áцам*. The last word *когда* has no prominence and low pitch.

This seems to be an example similar to the examples (11.37) from Šapiro and (11.38) from *AOS*, where the unaccented unit following after *dak* expresses a *tail*. As explained in section 7.2.2.6, a tail contains "thematic", activated information which is not accented and used at the end of an utterance or other non-initial position. The information expressed in tails is activated and not contrasted, and hence informationally subordinate to some other information. In the cited example, *им'ен'ины когда* seems to form a clause constituent together with the words preceding *dak*, *по св'áцам*, referring back to an earlier expressed statement, *вóт рáн'ше им'ен'и́ны по св'áцам же давáл'и дак* 'in earlier days, namedays [=names?] were given according to the calender of saints'. This interpretation entails that the unaccented part does not represent B, i.e. the expression of the assertion based on x. It also means that in this example, *dak* is

used in the middle of the expression of x, and that it is a rare counterexample to the rule that *dak* is always used after A. It is, however, still used after the contrastive element of x, and one could argue that *им'ен'ины когда* is only a repetition of the content of x.

Example (43) from an Archangel'sk dialect is a similar example:

(43) а та девушка помалкиват // он той не зовёт *дак* вот эту / (Pin. Arch.; Касаткина et al. 1991:57, text 9)
but that.F girl keeps-silent // he her *neg* calls *dak* prt this.F.acc /

The F0 curve of the second utterance is given in figure 2 in Appendix IV. The fragment is taken from an explanation of courtship rituals. The unit *он той не зовет* expresses x, in this case background information for the preceding context, and the particle *ved'* could have been used instead: 'he does not call her' gives the reason for the content of the preceding assertion, the fact that this other girl does not talk, as opposed to the one the young man had asked for marriage:

(44) — *Значит, девушки, которые... Девушка выбирает себе парня, который ей нравится?*
— да да // и парень тожо которая девушка ндравитца / он выбират / (...) а уш он идёт уш фсё с ней большэ говорит и ближэ к ней / (...) замуж зовёт / да фсё / а та девушка помалкиват // он той не зовёт *дак* вот эту / (...)

The unit *вот эту* functions as a tail. It is a real antitopic, or right-detached element, repeating a constituent that is already represented in the core sentence with the pronoun *той* (see section 11.5.4).

V) "B" consists of unaccented particles

Other rare cases of non-accented units after *dak* are a few instances of unaccented *ved'* and *vot* after *dak* as the last word of the syntagm or utterance. Sometimes the occurrence after *dak* of not more than unaccented particles before the next period of silence can be explained by hesitation:

(45) (...) Так'и́е ро́зов'ен'к'и т'ел'но́(г)о цв'е́та и ту́ф'ел'к'и фс'а́ко, мы ... б'е́лы ту́ф'ел'к'и-то *дак* в'ет' и ... за р'еку́ је́зд'ил'и-то ф клу́п-то в го́ру-то ста-... става́ш *дак*, зама́жош јих, *дак* мы́ ... зу́бны́м порошко́м. *(— Ага!)* — И́х ма́зал'и. (S3)

This does however not explain all cases. The following fragment contains an utterance ending in unaccented *дак вот*:

(46) — *Ага. Мы были несколько дней в Умбе, и там был маленький ресторан, ресторанчик.*
— Да:.
— *И там мы всегда ели горбушу. Было дешево, и вкусно.*
— Гм. А jej мно́го бы́ло-то *дак* вот. А пото́м, jетот, ja н'е зна́ju как'и-, ка́к оп'а́т' то и пр'и́шло самце́j-то у э́т'их зову́т, у горбу́шы-то дак а́нд'ел, како́j-то гр'е́б'ен' у jи́х на ə-, на сп'и́ны дак ə- тако́j в'ет', то́лстыj. (S1)

The next example contains unaccented final *дак уш*:

(47) От'е́ц-то — но н'е па́пы мы н'е зов'о́м *дак* уш. От'е́ц-то ... пошл'и́ вот на́ оз'еро. На Ба́боз'еро. Та́м лов'и́л'и рыба́ч'ил'и то́же. (S4)

These unaccented particles do not represent B – the implication or other assertion based on A.

"Utterance-initial" *dak* can even be preceded by an unaccented particle. I attested a single example, where *dak* is preceded by *a*:

(48) А з'имо́j гъвър'а́т и н'ич'ево́ н'и ад'е́н'ош пан'е́нач'ит[22]. А *дак* што́-то пъд:'е́лыват' пъд ва́л'енок л'и што́ л'и тако́je пан'има́ш а в бат'и́нк'и н'и захо́д'иш, а жы́с' фп'ер'ед'и́. Гъвър'а́т т'иб'е́ н'и паху́же бу́д'ет на прат'е́з'е. Уже́ н'и бу́д'ош ф'из'и́ч'еск'и бъjко́j.

Of course, the word *a* does not represent any x-part. *A* is used on a discourse level, introducing a contrastive new theme ('but still you want to put on some foot-wear'), whereas *dak* signals that the assertion expressed in this utterance is a pragmatic implication of the earlier explained circumstances. The opposite order, *dak a*, is more common. In these cases, *dak* clearly plays a role not at sentence level, but at a higher order discourse level, to connect larger parts of the discourse to each other. An example is given in chapter 14 (14.20).

[22] This is one of the pronunciations of a filler which this speaker uses in almost every second utterance. It might be a reduced variant of *понимаш значит* 'you understand, that is'.

4) *Dak* is prosodically attached to an accented element which is not in its scope
In section 9.4.3, examples were given of accented units attached to *dak* which were not in the scope of the particle. Prosodic attachment was defined phonetically, as absence of an intermediate pause and no change to a new pitch accent (see section 7.2.3.3), but not all major syntactic and semantic boundaries are accompanied by a pause. Thus, absence of a pause does not imply syntactic and semantic connection. For instance, utterance-initial discourse markers like *Ho*, *He* and *Hy* can be immediately followed by *dak*, like in (49) below, but they do not represent the point of departure for the expression following after *dak*:

(49) — *«Йóаким»*.
— Нó *дак* Иоак'и́м.
— *Через j, Йóаким*.
— А́:. (S3)

5) A and B need not be two single prosodic syntagms in a bi-syntagmatic utterance
Of course, *dak* is not only used in utterances consisting of one or two prosodic syntagms representing A and B. The utterance can not only be shorter, and consist of only A or B, but also longer, containing more than two syntagms, and parts that are neither A nor B. In (50), the underlined unit represents not more than a part of B, and it is non-final, for y is expressed in more than a single clause:

(50) (...) н'ел'з'а́ ... л'и куп'и́т' у ва́с ... това́р. Ну и та́м друг'и́ нач'ина́л'ис'. У на́с напр'им'е́р, т'о́тка *дак*, э- ... т'о́тку сва́тал'и дак ат'е́ц п'а́ныj(?) был дак н'е мо́к св'е́чк'и зажга́т'. Дак — сва́^{H}т — А:! го-ыт св'е́ч'ку-то мы́ зажг'о́м. А jе́сл'и св'е́ч'ку зажгл'и́ зна́ч'ит фс'о́, уже́ должны́ ру́ку дава́т'. Во́т (...) (S8)

In some cases, the prosodic syntagm adjacent to *dak* consists of more than the expression of x or y. In the following fragment x is expressed only in the last, underlined part of the prosodic syntagm, which covers the whole sequence *Вот .... дак*, as the fragment lacks pauses and the stress on *Н'ик'и́форовна* is the only prominent one (see figure 12.1):

(20) Пов'и́длы бы́л'и ... Вот тут магаз'и́н был с'ич'а́с jево н'е́ту гд'е Л'икон'и́да Н'ик'и́форовна-то *дак*, (...)

After all, *dak* is not primarily used to demarcate prosodic units, but to mark expressions of information units and relate them to other information.

Although these information units are often expressed in a single syntagm, this is, of course, not always the case.

A consequence of the fact that the expression of x and y does not always correspond to a prosodic syntagm is that the other boundary of A or B than the one *dak* is attached to is not always easy to find. An example is (11.30) about the fishery inspectors in section 11.5.4; another is the following "B, A *dak*"-construction:

(51) — *(...) Это только женский хор?*
— Да, п'е́л'и ... же́нш'ины. Вот то́л'ко орган'иза́^{H}то^{l}ром-то бы́л тогда́ ja раска́^{H}зы^{l}вала *дак*, Коворн'и́н а п'е́рвыj-то орган'изова́л мушч'и́на вот. (S2)

The semantics of the contexts suggest that x is expressed in *ja раска́зывала*, but no boundary is marked between this expression and the preceding context, since the section *–бы́л тогда́ ja–* on both sides of what appears to be a semantic and structural boundary is expressed on about the same pitch level without any pauses. "I told you" functions as background information for the surrounding statement that only the organiser of the choir was a man, called Kovornin.

12.4 Conclusion: Prosody gives strong indications for finding x and y

In section 12.3 it was argued how the prosodic characteristics of *dak* and its contexts described in section 12.2 support the proposed core meaning of *dak*. The prosodic characteristics of *dak* and of the adjacent parts are an important cue to what it is *dak* connects and what is their informational status:

- In almost all cases, at least one of the elements x and y is expressed in a linguistic expression *dak* is prosodically attached to, and *dak* has a fixed position in relation to the elements it connects.

- Enclitic *dak* signals that the preceding linguistic expression, A, contains information, x, on which a certain thought is based, y, which might or might not be expressed explicitly (in B, or elsewhere). Proclitic *dak* signals that the following information – y, expressed in B – does not come "out of the blue", but that it builds on some information x, which can be expressed in the preceding syntagm or utterance A.

In some cases, the prosodic characteristics of *dak* and its linguistic context are somewhat different from the main prosodic contexts I found, but these infrequent deviations are no counterevidence for the proposed core meaning of

dak. However, the existence of these deviations does show that the semantic function of *dak* of signalling a specific kind of relationship is a more fundamental property of the uses of *dak* than the prosodic characteristics of the produced utterances. The prosodic characteristics are no more than reflections of the core meaning.

Knowledge of the prosodic structure of the involved utterances (boundaries, intonation) is of great help to find the units connected by *dak*, because the fact that *dak* connects not only explicit expressions, but also implicit information increases the need of a researcher for expressed and non-expressed contextual information, including information encoded in prosody.

It was argued that *dak* is inherently a prosodically subordinated element, unlike the Standard Russian correlate *tak* and some subordinating conjunctions in other languages, which in some contexts can have the same prosodic characteristics as *dak*. The difference between enclitic and proclitic *dak* is not important for the description of the core meaning of *dak*, but they present the information differently. The division of A and B in separate, accented prosodic syntagms is in accordance with its frequent use to express categorical propositions and contrastive theme-rheme sets. The frequent rising-falling pitch accent on A is typical for marked themes and of non-final syntagms in Standard Russian. We saw earlier (in sections 10.2.2 and 10.3.12) that the A-parts have many characteristics of marked themes.

13 *Dak* as a pragmatic particle

13.1 Overview

The previous chapters have focussed on the properties of the contexts of *dak*. In this chapter, the properties of *dak* itself are in focus. In chapter 8 it was claimed that *dak* is a typical pragmatic particle, both syntacticaly, prosodically and functionally (section 8.2.1). *Dak* qualifies perfectly under the definition of a pragmatic (or discourse) particle, such as these words were described in section 7.2.1. Like pragmatic particles, *dak* is uninflectable, monosyllabic, prosodically subordinated and difficult to classify in traditional word classes. The word does not contribute to the propositional content of an utterance and it is usually syntactically omissible. Like pragmatic particles, *dak* connects the linguistic expression it is attached to to the linguistic and extra-linguistic context: it has a procedural function and helps to structure the communication process by embedding expressions into their communicative contexts (cf. Foolen 2003; see section 7.2.1). Unlike many pragmatic particles in the Germanic languages, it is not a modal particle, that is, it is not used to convey the attitude of the speaker towards the exchanged information, or the assumed attitude of the hearer towards it (section 13.7). Instead, it signals how the unit it is attached to should be related to other parts of the discourse; it is used as a means of expressing its relative informational status.

In this chapter, the arguments have been gathered. The particle *dak* has no more meaning than the core meaning. That is, according to the proposed analysis of *dak*, enclitic *dak* marks that the preceding linguistic expression, A, contains information, x, on which a certain thought is based, y, which may or may not be expressed explicitly (in B, or elsewhere). Proclitic *dak* marks that the following information – y, expressed in B – does not come "out of the blue", but that it builds on some information x, which can have been expressed in the preceding syntagm or utterance. *Dak* is often ascribed meanings like expressing causality, but specific semantic relations are not encoded by the word *dak* itself (section 13.3). However, *dak* does not express less than this either. Pragmatic particles are not "empty filler words". In section 13.8 the question will be addressed of what is the exact contribution of this particle to an utterance.

In the preceding chapters, the prosodic properties of *dak* were described, and I discussed what these properties mean for the functioning of this word. In chapter 11 and 12 it was argued that *dak* always cliticises to a larger syntactic unit. In this chapter I will illustrate the lack of truth-conditional and conceptual meaning of this word (section 13.3) and its syntactic properties (section 13.4 and

13.5). I will illustrate the differences between *dak* and other words it has been claimed to be equivalent to in certain contexts in section 13.5. Section 13.6 discusses whether *dak* is a pragmatic particle in all of its uses, and section 13.7 will explain why it is not a typical modal particle (section 13.7). In section 13.9 I will show that the core meaning can also explain contexts which have received a very different explanation in the large dialect dictionary of the Archangel'sk dialects, *AOS*.

13.2 Prosodic properties: *dak* is inherently prosodically subordinated

The previous chapter provided arguments that *dak* is an inherently unstressed and unaccented word in the dialect of Varzuga, and this probably accounts for the other dialects with postpositive use of *dak* as well (sections 12.2.1 and 12.3.3 and Appendix IV about prominent occurrences of *dak*). It is almost always used on a prosodic boundary and it is prosodically subordinated to an expression to its left or to its right, or even to both. Lack of accent means that *dak* has no content that can be presented as being new or contrastive. By being unaccented, *dak* behaves like pragmatic particles in Germanic languages, which do not add propositional content to an utterance either, and cannot function as independent utterances, but instead give the utterance a place in its context (by implying connections or propositional attitude; see section 7.2.1). However, lack of accent or stress is no prerequisite for having procedural functions; similar functions can be fulfilled by accentable words, for instance English discourse markers like *well*'and *you know* and the Russian accentable particle *vot*.

13.3 Semantic properties: lack of propositional content vs. translations in *AOS*

As mentioned in section 1.1.7, the word *dak* has been translated by such diverging words as the subordinating conjunctions *если* 'if', *потому что* 'because', *когда* 'then', *чтобы* 'in order to' and *что* 'that', with the coordinating conjunctions *да* 'and' and *но* 'but', with the resumptive words *так* 'so, then' and *то* 'then', with pronouns like *это* 'this (is)' and with adverbs like *значит* 'this means' and *следовательно* 'therefore, as a consequence' (all from *AOS*). In addition, many meanings are distinguished for which no translations to Standard Russian were found, including uses as a so-called emphatic or intensifying particle.

The large variety of contexts of *dak* suggests a poverty of semantic meaning of this word and a lack of the specific semantic meanings of the translations. The data suggest that the particle lacks truth-conditional content and does not serve as a conceptual marker, but as a procedural marker (see section 13.8 below). The

claim that *dak* does not influence the truth-conditional content of the utterance it is used in will be supported in section 13.8 by examples showing that the proposition(s) expressed in the utterance do(es) not change according to whether *dak* is used or not. What *dak* does add is meaning of a different kind: it adds a signal about how the linguistic expression it is attached to, and the propositional content expressed in it, should be related to some other information, which is accessible or will be activated in due course.

What is problematical with all "translations" in *AOS* and in other sources is that part of the meanings expressed by some means in the context is assigned to *dak*. The specific meanings between the two connected parts reflected in the translations are not expressed by *dak*, but expressed by other means or only implied. As we saw before, standard written Russian is much more explicit than spontaneous dialectal Russian. Section 7.3.6 showed that these specific meanings are expressed or implied by other means. For instance, a subclassification of the uses of *dak* after an adverbial modifier into categories like "temporal", "conditional" and "causal" use is often impossible, because many utterances are not that specific, and a more specific meaning cannot always be pragmatically inferred. Many utterances remain unspecified in this respect. These translations should therefore not be regarded as rendering the same meaning as dialectal *dak*, but as the words which most probably would have been used in case the speaker had wanted to express the same message in standard written Russian. A good example was provided by fragment (9.38) in section 9.2.2, now (1):

(1) «ко мн'е́ н'икого́ ... э́т'их ба́т'ушкоф ... н'е зов'и́т'е. Умру́ *дак*.»

In chapter 9 it was explained that the A-part in example – *Умру́* – does not express more than 'I am going to die', and the addition of *dak* marks it as subordinate information, expressing a point of departure about which something is (or will be) said, from which something follows: 'given I am going to die'. The context excludes a narrow conditional ('only if') or a causal interpretation ('since I am going to die'). The addition 'me going to die' simply gives some background information. The speaker adds information about the proper situation for which the request accounts, which she might think may not have been activated by the hearers: that the request not to call any priests accounts for the time when she'll be dead.

Follingstad (2001) remarks a similar tendency to ascribe contextual meanings to a particle in the description of the Biblical Hebrew particle *kî*. Like *dak*, this particle is frequent and used in large variety of contexts, showing apparently puzzling syntactic behaviour. It has been given many meanings and

assigned to various word classes, and claimed to be a causal conjunction, an adverb, a relative pronoun, a relative conjunction or relative particle and a demonstrative pronoun. Follingstad claims that this particle is typically used before a description of a thought of someone else than the narrator. He analyses this particle as a discourse deictic particle, whose core meaning is a metarepresentational function. It indicates a switch of cognitive viewpoint on a particular proposition (2001:6). If the core meaning of the particle is not clearly recognised, then the nuanced translation may often reflect a translator's "reading in" of the context into the function of the particle (2001:4).

There are contrasting views on the semantics of *dak* in the literature, although these views are not mutually exclusive. Many researchers of *dak* assume that *dak* has many different meanings, whereas others draw the conclusion that the large variety of contexts implies that *dak* has a very general meaning, and lacks specific semantic meanings. For instance, Vjatkina calls *dak* in complex sentences "asemantic" and Mišlanov calls it an abstract marker of a syntactic relation in a binary structure (see section 6.5.19). However, most researchers describe only use in complex sentences or other constructions where both A and B are expressed (e.g. Trubinskij, Merlin, Mišlanov and Vjatkina; see chapter 6). They have, or appear to have, the view that *dak* has a different function and different meanings in other contexts (Šapiro; Trubinskij). For instance, Trubinskij ascribes *dak* a very different function in other contexts than binary constructions: final *dak* in simple sentences has an emphatic-conclusive meaning, whereas the word is only a syntactic marker in "A *dak* B"-constructions (see section 6.5.9).

An example of the polysemy view is Šujskaja's approach. She claims that *dak* can acquire a specific semantic content, and become, for instance, a conditional connector in a certain context. In her description of conditional relations in which *dak* is used, she remarks that *dak* expresses the conditional relations on its own in asyndetic constructions, and that it underlines this meaning when the conditional conjunction *esli* is used.[1] Here are two of her examples (Шуйская 2002:193):

(2) А без ы́згороди *дак* што́, они́ сра́зу забегу́т фсё испо́ртят. (Arch.)
(3) Йе́сли э́ту вы́сватайут учи́тельницу, *дак* йа́ оста́нусь. (Arch.)

[1] "*Дак* может не только самостоятельно выражать условные отношения, но и подчеркивать их в предложениях со словом *если* в первои части: *Йе́сли э́ту вы́сватайут учи́тельницу, дак йа́ оста́нусь.*" (Шуйская 2002:193).

This standpoint reminds of the view expressed by Kiseleva and Paillard, who claim, following Švedova, that the semantics of the discourse words and the semantics of the context can merge, and that discourse words can duplicate the semantics of parts of this context (Киселева & Пайар 1998:9; see section 7.2.1.4).

Specific meanings like the conditionality expressed by *esli* need not be attributed to the particle *dak*. They are either expressed by something else in the context, or found through pragmatic enrichment. On the other hand, it is unlikely that speakers use a particle like *dak* with an abstract, core meaning in mind. They use a word in a certain construction it is usually used in, and which has strong associations with certain meanings. Words are associated with their most usual contexts. In contexts where an interpretation of conditionality is plausible, *dak* will support this reading. A speaker who uses *dak* in two very different contexts has not necessarily the same concept in mind in both cases; see section 7.1.3. In the same section the question was raised how *dak* is represented in the mind: as dak_1, dak_2 etc., or as a single concept. The answer is probably something in between. *Dak* is strongly associated with certain contexts, but at the same time, speakers may have a notion of certain invariant semantic elements of this word. In "B, A *dak*"-constructions with a prominent pitch accent on both units there is probably a strong association in the mind of the dialect users with a causal meaning, but, apparently, not so strong as to block a different interpretation, such as a temporal-conditional reading (see section 9.2.3).

According to my analysis, the meaning of conditionality in Šujskaja's above mentioned example utterances with a conditional meaning with and without a specific conjunction is in none of the cases expressed by *dak*. *Dak* only expresses the core meaning. The conditionality is in one case overtly expressed, in the other only implied. This core meaning fits very well with conditionality, but it is less specific. In the example without a specific conjunction, the meaning of conditionality should be attributed to pragmatic enrichment, and not to *dak*, which supports such a relation, but does not express it.

Another argument in favour of this view that *dak* cannot acquire specific propositional meaning from the context is that *dak* is never accented. It does not seem to have an anaphoric, referential function, substituting an expression used earlier in the conversation (see section 13.5). In the last section, use of *dak* in many different contexts given in *AOS* will be explained as expressing the same core meaning.

Dak does not influence the truth-conditional content of the utterance. Instead of adding conceptual meaning, *dak* contributes with procedural meaning, expressing how the information communicated in the expression it is attached to relates to the linguistic or extra-linguistic context. The idea of procedural vs.

conceptual encoding, initiated by Blakemore (1987), will be explained in more detail in section 13.8.

13.4 Syntactic properties: *dak* is a clitic that is not part of the syntactic units it is attached to

The use of *dak* is optional not only from the point of view of truth-conditional semantics, but also from the point of view of sentential syntax. Like pragmatic particles in general, *dak* is almost always syntactically omissible, as it does not contribute to the core syntactic structure of the sentence. With a few exceptions (see the last two examples in section 13.5), the utterance remains grammatical if *dak* is left out. Examples are provided in section 13.8 below.

Its syntactic omissibility does not mean that there are no restrictions on the use of this word. It is only used at the boundaries of larger syntactic units and takes a fixed position with respect to the expressions of x and y.

In section 12.3.3 I argued that *dak* is not just prosodically subordinated, but inherently a clitic, which is used in pre- or postposition to a syntactic unit.

Dak does not represent a clause constituent itself and the data suggest that the word is not part of the syntactic units it is attached to. It is typically used on the boundaries of units, and not, for instance, in the middle of clause constituents (see section 11.5.2). In section 11.5.4 I argued that these syntactic units are relatively independent.

In the next section, arguments will be provided that *dak* has not only a unique meaning, but that it is also structurally different from any kind of word in Standard Russian and from most words in the Northern Russian dialects as well.

13.5 *Dak* is always different from the words it has been claimed to be equivalent to

As remarked by a range of previous researchers (see chapter 6), *dak* is very difficult to categorise into traditional word classes (parts of speech). Požarickaja remarks that the boundaries between conjunctions, adverbs and pronouns, which are difficult to agree on even in Standard Russian, are even less fixed in the Russian dialects, where both conjunctions and particles can be used to connect units into a polypredicative unit.[2] A definition of these parts of speech is

[2] "В грамматическом смысле границы, отделяющие частицы от союзов, наречий и местоимений, не всегда четко усланавливаемые и в литературном языке, в диалектах еще менее определены; значения этих слов отличаются диффузностью; они полисемантичны и полифункциональны. Не только союзы, но и частицы осуществляют коннексию, связь отдельных фрагментов текста в полипредикативном единстве, связанном единством темы" (Пожарицкая 1997:126).

not relevant for the present research. What is relevant is that *dak* is structurally different from any word in Standard Russian and most words in the dialect. Not only the meaning of *dak* is different, but also its position in the utterance and its prosodic properties can deviate. The combination of properties of *dak* make the word different from subordinating conjunctions like *esli* and *eto*, from the copulative elements like *da* and from resumptive words (pro-adverbs or pronouns), like *tak*, *on*, *ona* and *eto*, in the contexts where *dak* has all been claimed to be equivalent to them. It is also structurally different from enclitic particles like *že* and *-to* and from other pragmatic particles like *vot* and *ved´*.

1) *Dak* can be combined with these words

First of all, *dak* can be combined with the words it has been claimed to be equivalent to, which suggests that *dak* has a different function. Examples are the subordinating conjunctions *esli* 'if' and *kogda* 'when', like in (4)

(4) И ... вот а с'ич'ác-то мы хóд'им хъровóды-то вот тóже. На сцéны-то *когдá дак*.

Dak can also be combined with pronouns functioning as resumptive elements, like *on*, *ona* and *eto* 'this', like in this example from chapter 5:

(5) Сы́н *дак* он н'ь осóбо тóже э́т'им инт'ер'есу́јец:е.

Dak can be adjacent to *ved'* and *vot*. In that case, the order is always *dak ved'* and *dak vot*. Differences with *ved'* are discussed in section 14.7. Below, some of the differences with these words will be mentioned.

2) Fixed position

Firstly, *dak* has a fixed position in relation to the elements it connects. This does not account for subordinating conjunctions like *kogda*, *esli* and *potomu čto*, both in standard (colloquial) Russian and in the Northern Russian dialects, as shown in (6) and (6a):

(6) Холодно *потому что* ветер.
(6a) Холодно ветер *потому что*. (*RRR* 1973:394)

This free position does not account for the conjunction *čto* in the meaning 'that', which is only used in initial position, but *dak* is different from this word in a different aspect; see below.

Discourse particles like *ved'*, *vot*, *značit* and a "filler" like *gyt* '(s)he says' also have a more flexible position than *dak*, in the sense that a change of position would have less influence on the meaning of the utterance (cf. sections 14.7 and 14.8). Lapteva's claim is incorrect that *dak* – which she assumes to be equivalent to *da* – can be used after each content word (*značimoe slovo*), similar to words like *gyt* '(s)he said' (Лаптева 1976:138; cf. section 6.5.10):

(7) — Я этой *говорю* старушке и *грю* он хочет пить.
— Он *грит* их *грит* в глину сунуть и они *грит* им *грит* ничего не будет.

3) At boundaries

Like the coordinating conjunctions *a*, *no*, *ili* and *da* and the conjunction *čto* in the meaning 'that', *dak* is used at the boundaries of units, instead of being part of them. However, in other varieties of Russian than the northern dialects, the conjunctions *a*, *no*, *ili* and *da* are always prepositive or interpositive, whereas *li* 'or; whether' is always postpositive (e.g. *сегодня ли*, *завтра ли* 'today or tomorrow').

These restrictions do not account for all coordinating conjunctions in the Northern Russian dialects, for even *li* can be used in pre-, inter- and postposition. Unlike in Standard Russian, where *li* is inherently enclitic, *li* can be used in preposition as well in the Varzuga dialect, besides *ili*:

(8) Когда́ у м'ьн'а́ Ва́с'а н'едоје́ст ч'ево́ дак, *л'и* су́п оста́н'ьц:е јьш'о́ л'и вы́н'ьсу дак стр'е́скатd. (S3) [App. IV text 15]

(9) Но́г'и зам'о́рзнут дак на́до, ду́маш, согр'е́т'-тъ. Дак вот н'е зна́ју, то *л'и* ва́л'енк'и бы́л'и, *л'и* ... бах'и́лыd ... Тогда́ сапого́ф н'е́ было, фс'о бах'и́лы шыл'и дак. И ... (...) (S1)

4) *Dak* connects asymmetric relations: it cannot connect syntactically equivalent subclausal elements to each other

In section 9.4.1 it was argued that *dak* has a meaning different from the copulative and adversative coordinating conjunctions *da*, *i*, *a* and *no*. Unlike *dak*, Northern Russian *da*, *da i*, *a*, *i* and *li* can connect syntactically equivalent subclausal elements to each other and they can be used repetitively (see sections 9.4.1 and 14.4). In the next fragment, *dak* is used in the position after *li*, which means that its scope is broader than the scope of *li*:

(10) Н’и то́л’ко ... а то́гда́ фс’о ја и говор’у́ ... в’е́ч’еръм ... к тр’и́-то ч’еса́ ујд’о́ш с об’е́да дак, до с’е́м’и́ ч’есо́ф в’е́ч’ера когда́ је́сл’и вы́копка карто́шк’и *л’и* ш’о́ *л’и дак*, н’ь ушл’и́ бы с пол’е́ј ... т’омно́ а фс’о́ на пол’а́х ... хо́д’ат.

5) First position rule

The discourse particles *vot* and *-to* are not necessarily attached to the first word or constituent in the sentence:

(11) На(в)е́рно т’ьп’е́р’ так’и́х сказа́т’ел’н’иц-то ска́зок н’е́ту.

McCoy (2001) claims for colloquial Russian that the kontrastive particle *že* is cliticises to the (first phonological word within the) *kontrastive* element it marks, but this is not always true for the Varzuga dialect. In the next example, *že* does not follow after the first accented word, which has another enclitic particle attached to it:

(12) Но та́к-то дак н’и зна́ју ја гото́в’ила э́тово, кото́ра шо́бы .... зап’ева́ла, на́до *же* и ... руковод’и́т’ и зап’ева́т’ то́же. П’е́сн’и-то зна́т’. (В)п’ер’о́т-*то* в’ес’ти́ *же* — дл’и́н:ы п’е́сн’и-*то* стар’и́н:ы. Вот ш’о́бы сохран’и́т’ сва́:д’ебны л’екру́цк’и, фс’е́ *же* у на́с э́т’и п’е́сн’и-*то*. (S2)

6) *Dak* can connect units with a main clause properties

Is *dak* equivalent to *čto* ‘that’ in the utterances of the type “A *dak* B” where A contains a quantificational comparative word and B a result (discussed in section 9.3.1)? This conjunction has a fixed position as well and is also semantically empty[3] (*RRR* 1973:395):

(13) Та́к но́ги зебу́т, *дак* пря́мо не зна́йу. (*AOS*)

so legs shiver *dak* right-away not I-know

‘My legs are shivering so much, I really don’t know (why / what to do)’

Šujskaja explains them as “*tak* X, *čto* Y” and *AOS* translates *dak* with *čto* as well. An argument against their equivalence is that *čto* is not obligatory in these constructions. In spontaneous speech, similar expressions are often used without *čto*. The meaning is different; in that case, both clauses have main clause properties and represent separate speech acts (cf. Падучева 1996:322); cf. the difference between the English translations:

[3] *Semantically empty* means here that it has no propositional content.

(13Ea) ‘My legs are shivering so much, I really don’t know (why / what to do).’
(13Eb) ‘My legs are shivering so much that I really don’t know (why / what to do).’

This means that *dak* does not necessarily replace *čto*, and that it may have an other function than *čto*.

In Šujskaja’s view, *dak* seems to take over the role of the conjunction *čto* also in utterances with explicative sentences expressing ‘dependency of content’, like the following (see section 6.5.21):

(14) А быва́ло *дак*, побежы́т што едва́ и найдёшь-то.
(15) Йа́ в детстве по́мню *дак*, пое́дем мы в лес с отцо́м.
(16) Йа́ говорю́, *дак* у меня́ вот нога́ больна́йа, што, она всё вре́мя отека́йет бес конца́, она́ говори́т, *дак* это друго́йе де́ло.

However, in these examples, *čto* is not obligatory either, just as little as *dak*, and it is not difficult to find alternative explanations for the use of *dak*. The particle could have been triggered by some other information, which had been activated in the previous discourse, but which is not accessible to us, without context. For example, in the last example, the first occurrence of *dak* could be part of the cited reply: “*Дак у меня (...)*”. Absence of context and lack of similar examples in the Varzuga database make it impossible to draw any conclusions.

7) *Dak* is enclitic to larger units

These particles are inherently enclitic, and they attach to smaller units than *dak*, usually to a single, stressed (= accented or accentable) word. *Dak* is enclitic to larger units (see section 14.6.3). For instance, enclitic *dak* can be used after other enclitic particles, which shows that *dak* cliticises to larger units than words or phrases:

(17) У м’ьн’а́ фс’о стоя́ло кр’есло́ тут *дак* он ... фс’о спа́л на э́том кр’есл’е́ а ja т’еп’ер’ jего́ вы́н’есла ду́мају ... лофч’е́j ... у столá-тъ с’ид’е́т’ на сту́л’е-то *дак*. *Дак* вот о́н ... и хо́д’ит н’и зна́т куда́ jему́ ... л’е́ч’.

On the other hand, they can be used in the middle of a clause constituent, as we saw in the fragments (11) and (12) with *-to*, and this accounts for *že* as well:

(18) А та́к-то, в'ьт' ... вы́сушыш дак по́то́м ... она ... , ит', о́ч'ен' *же* пол'е́зно она, сухája-та.

8) *Dak* is not resumptive

Is Varzuga *dak* in some contexts equivalent to correlates, i.e. to resumptive pro-forms, like the pro-adverb *tak*, or pronouns like *on* 'he', *ona* 'she' and *eto* 'this', as suggested by e.g. Nikitina & Požarickaja (Никитина & Пожарицкая 1993:164)?

It was already remarked that *dak* can be combined with pronouns like *on*, *ona* and *eto*, which makes equivalence to them unlikely. The pronouns have an anaphoric function. They represent conceptual content, and are accentable.

There is a prosodic difference between *dak* and the resumptive word *eto* in (19) (see (12.11) in section 12.2.4):

(19) А лон'и́^{H}с' э́^{m}тъ про́^{L}шлыj^{m} гот, а оногды́^{H}с' э́^{m}тъ ... ну́^{M} къгда́$^{L+}$-тъ^{l} там. А оном'е́^{H}д' да^{l}к на то́^{H}j н'и^{l}д'е́^{M}л'ь^{m}. Jе́^{H}с' та^{l}к'и́х сло́^{M}ф мно́^{H}го^{l} о́^{M}ч'ь^{l}н'.

The fundamental frequency did not reach the same low level on *eto* in the first and second predicative unit (*а оногдыс' это ... ну когда-то там*) as on *dak* in the third predicative unit (*А оном'ém' дак на mój н'ид'él'ь*). The explanation may be that *eto* represents a clause constituent with conceptual content, whereas *dak* does not have an anaphoric function.

A better candidate for equivalence with *dak* is the Standard Russian correlative *tak*. This is claimed by many researchers for the position "A *dak* B" (see chapter 6). However, *dak* seems often to be postpositive in this position, suggesting that it is not resumptive. This will be explained below.

A difference with resumptive pronouns and pro-adverbs is that *dak* is often used postpositively, as in (1.3), now (20):

(20) Молодухима зовут, выйдут взамуж *дак*. (Perm.; Мерлин 1978)

Moloduxi.instr.pl called, will-marry *dak*

'They are called *moloduxi*, when they get married'

This position suggests that *dak* has no resumptive, anaphoric function. A correlative word like *tak* in (20) would never be used in clause-final or utterance-final position:

(20c) Молодухами зовут, выйдут замуж **так*.
(20d) Выйдут замуж **так*, молодухами зовут.

Fretheim remarks that the utterance-final tag particles *så* and *da* in Norwegian lost their anaphoric function when they developed from adverbs and resumptive pro-forms to utterance-final elements (Fretheim 2000a:117f and 2000b:57). However, Fretheim claims that *da* and *så* are anaphoric pro-forms in interclausal position, but this is hardly often the case for interclausal *dak*. *Dak* seems to be a postpositive, non-anaphoric element in many "A *dak* B"-constructions as well, as argued in section 12.3.3. There is hardly any difference in function between utterance-internal and utterance-final *dak* in "A *dak* B" and "B A *dak*"-constructions:

(20) Молодухима зовут, выйдут взамуж *дак*. (Perm.; Мерлин 1978)
(20b) Выйдут взамуж *дак* молодухима зовут. (Merlin's modification)

[A] [B] *dak*
(21) воз'м'и́-т(о) (...) в'ишн'о́ву-то ша́л', у т'а́ дв'е́ до́ч'ер'и *дак*

[B] *dak* [A]
Во́т у т'а́ дв'е́ до́ч'ер'и гът *дак* в'ишн'о́ву-то ша́л' воз'м'и́!

Even utterance-initial *dak* may lack an anaphoric function, as argued in section 14.6. It seems that *dak* cannot on its own imply that the following utterance contains a deduction or consequence or continuation of an abandoned topic: *dak* needs support from the context to be able to be used in such contexts. Such supporting contexts can be complex utterances, where there is no disturbance between the expressions of the connected elements. If there is a pause or another distraction, *dak* seems to need support from other connecting words, such as *tak* or *vot*, in combinations like *ták dak* or *dak vot*. Examples are provided in section 14.3.

In section 14.3.1, it will be claimed that Varzuga *tak* has truth-conditional, conceptual content, and has a deictic function, whereas Varzuga *dak* is only a procedural marker with no truth-conditional content.

There are, however, exceptions. In the next utterance, omission of *dak* would result in an incomprehensible utterance:

(22) А ра́н'ше-то н'е́ было п'ерч'а́ток р'ез'и́новых *дак* та́к. (S1)
(22a) ??А ра́н'ше-то н'е́ было п'ерч'а́ток р'ез'и́новых, та́к. (S1)

In the next fragment, *dak* must be lexically stressed and represent conceptual information, although it is just as non-prominent as usual. The reason is that it must be the host for the particle *by*. This particle is always enclitic, but it must be part of the second clause in the next complex utterance. In this case, *by* can only be enclitic to *dak*, which strongly suggests that *dak* does represent conceptual content, and that it is equivalent to the Standard Russian correlate *tak* in this case:

(23) — *У меня мало практики. Я ...*
— Да, бóл'ше вот тáк бы ... с так'и́м'и, с ру́сск'им'и-то э- ... э́тово, обш'а́лас' *дак бы* скор'ée. На́вык-то бы́л. (S2)

This exception shows that *dak* can represent a clause constituent and be syntactically obligatory; if *dak* would be left out, *by* would lack a host. This means that *dak* is equivalent to Standard Russian *tak* in a few exceptional cases, but in far fewer cases than commonly assumed. In section 14.3, the relation between Varzuga *dak* and *tak* in the dialect itself and in Standard Russian will be further discussed.

13.6 Conclusion: Is *dak* always a pragmatic particle?

The preceding sections have shown that in the dialect of Varzuga, *dak* has all the typical characteristics of pragmatic particles. However, this does not apply for *all* uses of *dak*, as shown by the last two examples. It appears that *dak* still has some less grammaticalised variants, which do have a grammatical function or truth-conditional content, if they should not be explained as loans from Standard Russian or accidental cases of a reduced pronunciation of *tak* (see section 14.3).

These few exceptions do not block the possibility of *dak* being a real pragmatic particle in other uses. Besides, the existence of some exceptions does not weaken the claim about the core meaning of *dak*. Conjunctions, correlates and adverbs can have the same functions as pragmatic particles.

13.7 Is *dak* a modal particle?

Most pragmatic particles described in the literature are modal particles: they convey the attitude of the speaker towards the exchanged information, or the assumed attitude of the hearer towards it (see section 7.2.1.1). Many Russian particles, like *vot*, *ved'* and *-to*, are usually classified as *modal* particles as well, for

instance in *AG* 1980, where more than 50 Russian modal particles are discerned. However, the definition of modal particles in e.g. *AG* 1980 is broad and covers, among others, focus particles, like *tol'ko* and *ešče*, and accentable particles. They would not be classified as pragmatic particles according to the definition used in this dissertation, because they have truth-conditional content.[4] Besides, many of these Russian so-called modal particles are not typically modal. Their modal function is often far less central than their function to structure information units.

The term *modal particle* does not suit very well for the particle *dak* either, since *dak* primarily connects parts of the communicated knowledge to each other. Its main function is not modal, like most pragmatic particles in for instance German, but informational. It does not give information about the speaker's attitude towards the utterances, but instructs the hearer how the expression it is attached to relates to other information units, which are, or will be, activated during the conversation.

Dak does not express what the speaker thinks about, for instance, the truthfulness of the utterance it is used in. It only marks that x should be taken as relationally given information – but not necessarily that it is true – and it signals the speaker's attitude towards the *interrelation between* two different information units, which is (presented as) unquestionable. This could be called a modal function, but it is not a central function of the word. *Dak* can play a role in expressing modality, but the modal functions of *dak* are secondary, as they appear to be effects of the interaction between the core meaning of *dak* with pragmatic factors (cf. Takeuchi 1997:9 and Zybatow 1990:28f on secondary functions; see also sections 7.1.3 and 7.2.1.3).

A context where the modal function is prominent is the use of *dak* in the constructions with comparative quantifiers without a B-part (see section 9.3.1). The use of *dak* in these modal expressions in which a high degree of something is expressed or suggested, could be explained as an exploitation of the property of *dak* to mark that the preceding A-part is not open to questioning, at the expense of its primary function as a connector of two information units. Possibly, *dak* does not trigger any connection with a second information unit anymore and is used as a mere intensifier. However, its use is still restricted to constructions that contain a comparative quantifier.

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[4] "Like the modal (and other pragmatic) particles, the focus particles have an embedding or integrating function, but what they integrate is part of the propositional content into the referential domain. Pragmatic particles, on the other hand, integrate the utterance into the communicative process" (Foolen 2003).

Fedorova is the only researcher discussing the possible modal meanings of *dak* (Федорова 1965; see section 6.5.7). In Fedorova's perception, *dak* seems to underline the modality of the subordinate clause, for instance in (24) – (27) below. She wonders whether *dak* could primarily have a modal function in these utterances, and what would change if the particle were left out. She gives the readers some examples of complex constructions with the conjunction *raz* 'since', to judge the difference between examples with and without the particle *dak*:

(24) Мы уми́ем ткать / здися *раз* родилизь *дак*
(25) Становись в очереть *рас* езь *дак*
(26) Я хорошо жыла с мужыком... а вот сыновья дураки / много пьют // я не виновата // што тут зделаш *рас* оне дураки
(27) Каку машыну подгонят? *рас* отсюда оне не ходят

Fedorova gets the impression that the utterances without *dak* sound less "convincing". She remarks that this may be her personal, subjective interpretation only, and that in these cases, *dak* may be no more than a formal marker of the end of the sentence. It is obvious that *dak* is no marker of the end of sentences, as *dak* is often used in sentence-internal position. *Dak* is in these examples used in its usual position and meaning, at the end of the expression of a circumstance for the assertion made in the first part of the utterance. However, this does not exclude the possibility that *dak* supports and even highlights the modality of the utterance. This question about the possible contribution of *dak* to the modality of utterances can only be answered by use of questionnaires and experiments, with utterances where the only difference is the use or non-use of *dak*, but everything else the same, including the prosody.

Summarising, *dak* fits poorly into the category of modal particles. The modal properties of the utterances in which the particle is used are not primarily expressed by *dak*, but at most supported by this particle. The contribution of *dak* to this modality seem to be secondary, with perhaps the "A *dak*!"-constructions with comparative quantifiers as a single exception, where the modal properties of *dak* of signalising that the preceding expression is given and thus unquestionable, can have become the main ground for the use of this particle, although it is still only used after exclamative utterances with the form and meaning of a typical A-part; see section 9.3.1.

13.8 What is the contribution of *dak* to an utterance?

13.8.1 The optionality of *dak*: Is *dak* superfluous?

Another argument for the pragmatic particle nature of *dak*, and specifically for its optionality, is the fact that the frequency of use of *dak* is highly dependent on the individual speaker, and that the use of *dak* often appears in clusters: the word can be very frequent in some parts of a conversation, but only a few minutes later it can be almost absent from the speech of the very same informant.

Mansikka had already observed that "complex thoughts" are usually presented in dialectal speech by mere juxtaposition of the two clauses, without any grammatical or lexical marking, like in *простудиўся быў, лѣс возиў*; *я стритиў ево, ѣдет мимо* (both Arch.; Мансикка 1912:140; see section 6.5.3). This is also common in standard colloquial Russian (*RRR* 1973; 1981). The Varzuga database also contains asyndetic complex constructions, where *dak* could have been used, but was absent, such as in the second pair of condition and consequence (*А Мар'и́шы н'и ста́ло она́ по фс'е́м*) in the comparative construction of (28), earlier discussed in sections 8.4.1, 9.2.2 and 10.2.2:

(28) [S3:] — Дак вот пока́ Мар'и́ша была́ жыва́ *дак* и д'оржа́ла jej. А Мар'и́шы н'и ста́ло она́ по фс'е́м.

A similar example was given in section 12.3.5, where the predicative unit functioning as an adverbial subordinate clause was not marked by a conjunction, not by *dak*, and not even by intonation:

(29) Нач'а́л'н'икъм ръбо́тат. Но já пото́м заръбо́тала (unintell.) у́ мор'а отс'ид'е́л'и с'е́м' го́да дак [= ак?] ф колхо́з'е тут зарабо́тала за́мужем была́. (S10)

In (30), from section 10.3.11, the second predicative unit is not marked by intonation either: it was not produced with any prominent pitch movement and there was no pause between the units:

(30) — Та́к, воз'м'и́ С'ьр'о́шка до́ма с'jьд'ит'е́. (S1)

So take.imper2sg Ser'oška at-home will-eat2pl

'Take it, Ser'oška, and eat it at home (you and your sister)'

There is no boundary either between the predicative units in the next utterance, where, apart from *То́л'ик* in the beginning of the utterance, the phonological words carry only minor pitch movements:

(31) (...) Давнó н'éту дак.

— *А когда ...*

— Н'éт, ол'éн'и бы́л'и јиш'ó в въс'м'ид'ьс'á том гъдý. У м'ьн'а Тóл'ик ..., мáл'ен'к'ий бы́л јиш'о ал'éн'и бы́л'и. (S8)

These examples show that the speakers can do without connectives like *dak*. Then what is the contribution of *dak*?

13.8.2 Same, procedural meaning, which is useful to a varying degree

Although pragmatic particles like *dak* are void or almost void of lexico-semantical meaning, they still make a contribution to discourse. The fact that they can be used inappropriately shows that they do add some meaning (see section 7.1.3). This is not meaning that adds content to a proposition, but it signals how the propositional content should be interpreted and related to other information.

We saw that Mosegaard Hansen (1998:73ff; see section 7.2.1.1) defines what she calls discourse particles as non-propositional connective items of variable scope, whose meaning is entirely procedural, and which function as instructions from speaker to hearer on how to integrate their host unit into a coherent mental representation of the discourse. Follingstad described the Biblical Hebrew particle *kî* as having a core meaning of invoking a procedural interpretation of a proposition marked by it (2001:25). The particle *dak* has a procedural function as well.

In relevance theory, procedural meaning is opposed to conceptual meaning (after Blakemore 1987; 2002; Wilson & Sperber 1993; Sperber & Wilson 1995; Fretheim 2000c). Pragmatic particles are typically encoders of procedural meaning. Fretheim describes e.g. interclausal *da* and *så* as lexical encoders of procedural information (Fretheim 2000b; 2000c).

Not all lexical expressions encode concepts, some encode a procedure for the hearer to stick to in his inferential processing of the utterances expressed. Linguistic items that encode a procedure are said to make a semantic contribution not by providing conceptual material needed to construct a propositional form but by facilitating the hearer's inferential computation of implicitly as well as explicitly communicated propositions and propositional attitudes (Fretheim 2000c:84; cf. Sperber & Wilson 1995; Blakemore 2002, who explain that procedural meaning does not always coincide with non-truth-conditional meaning). Fretheim gives the following explanation of the specific contribution of a procedural marker to an utterance:

> "These procedural indicators in a language serve to narrow down, or constrain the hearer's search for a relevant interpretation of the utterances. They encode information about the context which the hearer must bring to bear in order to arrive at an interpretation that makes the utterance relevant to him, i.e. information which would otherwise have to be retrieved with the help of contextual premises governed solely by the (communicative) principle of relevance rather than by the principle of relevance in conjunction with an encoded instruction as to how to draw inferences in order to derive intended cognitive effects of the utterance. A procedural indicator can cause a reduction of the hearer's overall processing costs, thereby increasing the relevance of the utterance" (Fretheim 2000a:127).

Dak can also be described as a procedural marker. *Dak* has not the function to provide conceptual content, but it instructs the hearer how the expression it is attached to should be processed and related to other information, which is accessible (utterances ending in "A_*dak*") or will be activated in due course (utterances ending in "*dak* B").

If *dak* is left out, the intended meaning of the utterance would often still be communicated by other linguistic means or through pragmatic inference, but *dak* helps the hearer in this process. The degree to which this help is needed – i.e. the degree to which the information expressed by *dak* is accessible by other means – varies from one context to another. Although the usefulness of *dak* varies, this particle always contributes to the utterance with the same basic information, namely, the same core meaning, which is to be found on the level of information structure (see section 8.2). In (32), *dak* marks each time that the preceding context is the given information on which the following assertion is based:

(32) та́к-то л'о́т ... *дак* ... н'е бу́д'еш полоска́т' а ... је́д'ьт ... л'о́т-то .. уб'ер'о́ш *дак* по́то́м там вода́-то *дак* ə-... та́м поло́шч'иш.

This fragment seems to express about the following: 'So, when there is ice ... given that the river is covered by ice, you won't rinse (there), but when the ice is moving, you take out the ice and given you have taken out the ice, water will appear, and given the water has appeared, you will rinse there.' Since this fragment lacks other connective markers, apart from the intonation (see discussion in section 12.2.3), *dak* certainly helps to convey the inferential relations between the described actions and situations.

In utterances of the type "A_*dak*" and "*Dak*_B", *dak* often plays a useful function. Its points at an inference that otherwise might not have been communicated. Its contribution in "A *dak* B" and "B A *dak*" is often less needed,

because the relation signalled by *dak* is more often expressed or implied by other means.

The contribution of *dak* in each of the possible different construction types will be illustrated below.

13.8.3 "A *dak* B"

In "A *dak* B"-constructions, its use is not often a clear contribution of new (procedural) information, but sometimes, its use is even obligatory, as in (22) and (23), the two examples of section 13.5.

In many other cases, removal of *dak* would not make the utterance infelicitous or incomprehensible, but the use of *dak* certainly makes the interpretation easier for the hearer by signalling that A has the implication B:

(33) У Зо́ји-то до́м-то згор'е́л *дак* т'ип'е́р' она ту́т, у На́д'и жыв'о́т. (S11)
(33a) У Зо́ји-то до́м-то згор'е́л, т'ип'е́р' она ту́т, у На́д'и жыв'о́т.

(34) (...) Ма́ма бол'е́ла грибо́м (...) о́б'е забол'е́л'и (...) Та́таd л'ежы́т тр'и го́да, а ма́ма ... ма́ма гр'ибо́м *дак*, попра́в'ице. (S11; гр'ибо́м = гриппом)
(34a) (...) ма́ма гр'ибо́м, попра́в'ице.

(35) Не пивала, *дък* не знаю. (about goat milk; Шапиро 1953:61)
(35a) Не пивала; не знаю.

Šapiro's comment that the topic was goat milk suggests that this utterance was an answer to a question like 'This goat milk you were talking about, how does it taste?' The respondent could not give the required information, since she had not drunk it. She explains this in two different clauses. In fact, the same message would be conveyed if parts of this construction had been left out. The poser of the question would probably have understood the intended answer even if the dialect speaker had uttered only the first part:

(35b) Не пивала *дак*.

This would in turn be more clear than only

(35c) Не пивала.

In the last case, the hearer has to make the link with the implication of this information himself, while in the preceding variant, this link is already indicated by the particle *dak*. The speaker could also have uttered the following variants:

(35d) Не знаю. Не пивала *дак*.
(35e) *Дак* не знаю.

The use of *dak* indicates that the answer has a context. The answer is relevant in this context, it is based on a certain condition. The same answer without *dak* ("*Не знаю*.") could have been interpreted as rude.[5]

Dak may seem to be completely superfluous when combined with a subordinating conjunction, because the meaning of *dak* seems to be covered by the meaning of the conjunction:

(36) Jéсл'и на рабóту на их н'е пojéхал'и *дак*, фс'о равнó нáдо ... накорм'и́т'.
(36a) Jéсл'и на рабóту на их н'е пojéхал'и, фс'о равнó нáдо ... накорм'и́т'.

However, *dak* implies that y follows specifically on x. It usually activates the implication that x and y are members of a set of alternative theme-rheme pairs.[6]

13.8.4 "B A *dak*"

Use of *dak* after A signals that this segment is not just an expression of some new information, but that it is background information for a certain assertion, in this case, for the assertion which has just been expressed. Usually, it also activates a relation to alternatives to x, which would have lead to a different y:

(37) И ... вот а с'ич'áс-то мы хóд'им хъръвóды-то вот тóже. На сцéны-то когдá *дак*.
(37a) И ... вот а с'ич'áс-то мы хóд'им хъръвóды-то вот тóже. На сцéны-то когдá.

13.8.5 "A_*dak*"

Earlier chapters contain several examples of utterances where the use of *dak* is far from superfluous. An illustrative example was its use in (9.41) in section 9.3.1,

[5] According to the respondent to my questionnaire, all three variants a), b) and c) are possible. But he was reluctant to accept the following variants: "Не пивала дак. Не знаю." and "Не пивала. Дак не знаю."; see the description of group 5 in section 8.3.3.This has a cognitive explanation; see the explanation to the groups 5 and 9 in section 8.3.3.

[6] The relation between use and non-use of a correlate in the apodosis of conditionals is discussed in Podlesskaja 1997 (about Russian *esli – to*), Dancygier & Sweetser 1997 (about English *if – then*) and Fretheim 2000c (about Norwegian *hvis – da* and *hvis – så*). Fretheim shows that English *then* and the two Norwegian correlates restrict the interpretation of the protasis in slightly different ways.

where *dak* in the utterance "Своjéj д'ьр'éвн'и *дак*!" and "Р'а́дом *дак*" explicitly expresses that the information should be regarded as background knowledge for an easily inferrable following proposition. If *dak* had been left out, the function of these utterances would be less clear. *Dak* marks them as containing not just some information, but also that this is information on which other information is based.

In the examples of use after an imperative (9.45) and (9.46) ("спра́шывај jиш'о́ ч'ево́ на́дъ *дак*" in section 9.3.1), *dak* marks that the speaker suggests a pragmatic implication. *Dak* seems to have been used to add to the persuasiveness by implying a positive result, like 'in that case you'll feel much better'.

How about the modal utterances with a comparative quantifier, like *такой* 'such' or *столько* 'so many; so much'? It appears to be very common that they end in *dak*, although its use is not obligatory.[7] Whatever the exact contribution of *dak* to these expressions, the particle certainly supports the subjective modality of these utterances, but it does not express the subjective modality on its own.

13.8.6 "*Dak*_B"

Removal of utterance-initial *dak* often leads to less felicitous utterances. In utterances where *dak* marks a topic shift, the change would be too abrupt without a marker (from 9.3.2):

(38) Вал'ен'éс'но^{d}. (..), «вал'ан'éс'н'е». *Дак* фс'о́-то т'е н'е запо́мн'ит' то́же? (S2)
(39a) Вал'ен'éс'но. (..), «вал'ан'éс'н'е». Фс'о́-то т'е н'е запо́мн'ит' то́же?

As remarked in chapter 5, turn-initial *dak* frequently introduces slightly non-cooperative replies, such as in (40) and (41) from the same section:

(40) — *Интересно. А вы тоже туда поедете?*
— *Дак* н'е замож́у- гу, н'е́! (S2)
(40a) — Н'е замож́у- гу, н'е́! (S2)

(41) [S1:] — Он пр'ишо́л бы одна́ко!

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[7] An example is provided in the answer of speaker S2 to the question whether the Varzužans use the adjective "рохлыj" for snow:

> — Говор'а́(т). Сн'ек ры́хлоj, и ро́хлоj. Оно́ кто́ ка́к назов'о́ц':е. Сн'е́к-то тако́j ид'о́т ры́хлоj, л'и́бо сн'е́к-то напа́л тако́j ры́хлоj, зна́ч'ит он тако́j сухо́j, и н'ь о́ч'ен' да, н'ь пр'ивата́ тако́j как возду́шноj. Дак вот ры́хлоj. И ро́хлоj. (S2)

Fragment 15 in Appendix VI contains several examples as well: *Оп'а́т' н'ет, ч'етв'о́рта но́ч', а холода́-та так'и́; т'ем'ин'и́ш'а така́; Дак в'ет' во́т така́ сво́лоч'-ка та́к зат'ену́лса сво́лоч' туда́; вот ja и говор'у́ шо́лоч'-то така́ зат'ану́лс'а вот туда́* (all S3).

[S3:] — *Дак* н'е пр'ишóл бы, jéсл'и у кóшк'и!
(41a) [S3:] — Н'е пр'ишóл бы, jéсл'и у кóшк'и!

Although the exact function of *dak* in these utterances needs further study, it seems obvious that the utterances would be less felicitous without the particle. If *dak* had been left out, the second reply would have been rude. *Dak* does not change the propositional content of the utterances, but it certainly has impact on their interpretation on them by supplying information on how the expressed information should be interpreted.

13.8.7 "... *dak* ..."

The use of *dak* between pauses is a useful means for the speaker to signal that she plans to continue her turn with assertions which are based on the activated information, as shown by the explication earlier in this section of the example about the rinsing of the laundry in the river.

13.8.8 The contribution of *dak* in the underdetermined fragment from section 7.1.1

In section 7.1.1, a fragment was given where *dak* is used many times. In this excerpt it is not evident in each case what it is that *dak* connects with what, and which semantic connection is meant. However, although the use of *dak* does not add much information, its absence would make the utterances less easily interpretable:

(42) Фс'éх похорон'и́ла вот одна́ жыву́. Дóм пострóил'и та́к пошы́т был н'идострójен:ыj остáлс'ь и ... одна́ жыву́. Ну дóч'ка-та jéс' *дак* дóч'ка-та пр'ижа́jет он'и жыву́т в Запол'а́рном *дак*. Ч'ó, пр'ижéдут на м'éс'ец да н'и на цéлыj м'éс'ец *дак* мнóго в'ет' у т'ьб'á помóгут. Да н'и ка́ждыj гот иш'ó л'éтом отпу́ст'ат да з'имój ч'егó ты зд'éлаш? (S3)

The elderly speaker tells that she has been living all alone, since her husband, her last remaining brother and her mother died a long time ago. She has a daughter, who comes to visit her with her family, but not often and not for long. In its first use, *dak* helps to signal that the second predication is based on the first one. The most probable interpretation is a causal relationship:

(43) Ну дóч'ка-та jéс' *дак* дóч'ка-та пр'ижа́jет (...).
(43a) Ну дóч'ка-та jéс', дóч'ка-та пр'ижа́jет (...).

The second use of *dak* marks that their living in Zapoljarnyj is not just a fact the speaker wants to inform us about, which is a possible interpretation if *dak* is left out, but that this fact has an implication. The most probable implication is that since her daughter and her family live so far away, they do not come to visit her that often:

(44) Ну до́ч'ка-та је́с' *дак* до́ч'ка-та пр'ијежа́јет он'и жыву́т в Запол'а́рном *дак*.
(44a) Ну до́ч'ка-та је́с', до́ч'ка-та пр'ијежа́јет он'и жыву́т в Запол'а́рном.

In its third use, *dak* again supports an inferential relation between the preceding and the following predication, which is best interpreted as causal: 'since they come for a month, or even for less than a month, they cannot help you much':

(45) пр'ије́дут на м'е́с'ец да н'и на це́лыј м'е́с'ец *дак* мно́го в'ет' у т'ьб'а́ помо́гут.
(45a) пр'ије́дут на м'е́с'ец да н'и на це́лыј м'е́с'ец, мно́го в'ет' у т'ьб'а́ помо́гут.

Absence of *dak* would hardly lead to a different interpretation, but *dak* facilitates the processing of this utterance, or, in Fretheim's words (see section 13.8.2), it causes a reduction of the hearer's overall processing costs.

13.8.9 Merlin's minimal pair and the relevance of the position of *dak*

Finally, I want to discuss Merlin's single "minimal pair" of the same utterance with and without *dak*, which was mentioned in section 6.5.11. Merlin compares the following variants (1978:93):

(46) Лес рубили; строили себе избушки.
'They have felled wood; they were building a cabin for themselves.'
(46a) Лес рубили, *дак* строили себе избушки.
'They have felled wood, (so) they were building a cabin for themselves.'

Merlin claims that *dak* changes a combination of two utterances into a single utterance. In the second variant, he argues, the clause *Лес рубили* is not important as a separate statement about a fact, but as a circumstance, which ensures that the situation described in the second clause is possible (Мерлин 1978:93f). Merlin claims that *dak* marks that the clause is not independent, and this is correct in a sense, but it is not necessarily caused by *dak*. *Лес рубили; строили себе избушки* can also be presented as a single utterance – this depends on the intonation; see sections 7.2.3.5 and 12.2.2. In my analysis of this example, *dak* does not change the

expression into a single utterance, but it certainly marks that the expression it is attached to is not independent, at least on a semantic level. However, even in the variant containing *dak*, the expression *Лес рубили* can still be presented as a separate statement at the moment it is uttered – depending on its intonation. It is only at the moment *dak* is pronounced that a relation of dependency is necessarily expressed.

What is more interesting about this example is that *dak* expresses not only the existence of a dependency relation between the first and the second predicative unit. The use of *dak* in interposition signals that the second unit is based on the first one, and not the other way around, which had also been possible:

(46b) Лес рубили; строили себе избушки *дак*.
'They have felled wood; after all, they were building a cabin for themselves.'

The propositional content of this sequence is the same, but the relation between the two propositions is different. Blakemore explains a similar asyndetic clause combination in English (2002:78f):[8]

(47) Tom can open Ben's safe. He knows the combination.

This sequence can be interpreted in two ways, depending on whether the second segment is understood as evidence for the proposition expressed by the first segment or as a conclusion derived from it. The words *so* and *after all* would take away this ambiguity:

(47a) Tom can open Ben's safe. So he knows the combination.
(47b) Tom can open Ben's safe. After all, he knows the combination.

Blakemore gives these words as examples of linguistic expressions that can encode information about which of these inferential procedures yields the intended information. Interestingly, Northern Russian *dak* can signal both of these interpretations. Which of the two is meant depends on its position – before or after the second segment.

[8] It is an example adapted from J. Hobbs, "Why is discourse coherent", in F. Neubauer (ed.), *Coherence in natural language texts*, Hamburg 1978.

13.9 The core meaning can account for contexts given in *AOS*

The proposed core meaning can account for all uses of *dak*, regardless of their context, unless their implied meaning is unclear. *Dak* always adds the same information. Although the present research is based on data from a single village in Northern Russia, the core meaning seems to be valid for all varieties of Russian which have postpositive *dak*. The core meaning can also explain contexts which have received a very different explanation in the large dialect dictionary of the Archangel'sk dialects, *AOS*, the source with the largest range of contexts of *dak*.[9]

Interpreting single utterances from a dictionary has the disadvantage of lacking context and prosodic information, even though lexicographers try to find clear examples, which do not need more context, and indeed, most example utterances are self-evident. However, lexicographers choose examples that exemplify their own descriptions, such as "emphatic particle", or "temporal subordinating conjunction". An explanation according to the proposed monosemy analysis may need more context than they supposed to be necessary for the given example.

AOS gives many clear examples of the typical contexts of *dak*, such as conditional, causal and temporal complex utterances of the form "A *dak* B" and "B A *dak*", identificational sentences, utterances with comparative quantifiers and many more. Some utterances get questionable explanations. In section 9.4.1, alternative explanations were suggested for contexts where *dak* is presumed to be a coordinating conjunction. Some very different context types are discussed below.

Under the heading "conjunction, used for the connection of a temporal subordinate clause", *AOS* gives the following example:

(48) Большево́дьйе — *дак* (когда) вода́ скро́йецца, *дак* (то) вода́ бу́дет. (Leš.; *AOS*)
High-water – *dak* (when) water is-locked-in, *dak* (then) water will-be

The lexicographers added the subordinating conjunction *когда* 'when' as corresponding to the first occurrence of *dak* and the correlate *to* 'then' as corresponding to the second use. This explanation gives the illusion that *dak* is used in two different meanings and functions in this utterance. Whereas the comparison of the second *dak* with *to* is obvious, the comparison of the first occurrence with *когда* is strange. Although *dak* is often used in expressions of temporal succession, where Standard Russian would have *когда*, the particle *dak*

[9] The lexicographer responsible for the entry *dak* in *AOS* (vol. 10) is Elena Nefedova.

would in that case take the position after the temporal expression, and not before it (except in very special contexts), as implied in *AOS*. In this utterance, the first *dak* does not connect *водá скрóйецца* with *водá бýдет*, but *водá скрóйецца* with *Большевóдьйе*, between which an explanational, identificational relation is implied. Without context, this utterance is difficult to interpret, but the intended meaning of the utterance seems to be something like '*Большевóдьйе*, that is when the water is locked in, then there will be water'. Although I used the same word *when* in the translation, its use is not a translation of the first use of *dak*, but it is provoked by the second use, in combination with the context.

The core meaning of *dak* can also explain the examples in *AOS* with an assumed very different meaning or function, unless the probable intended meaning of the example utterances is unclear. These other examples include those in which *AOS* did not give any "translations" to Standard Russian, such as in the so-called "expressive", "emphatic" or "intensifying" uses.

The first meaning (or context) given in *AOS* is use as a particle "to intensify the content of the sentence", which covers utterance-initial, utterance-internal and utterance-final use. An example of utterance-final use under this sub-entry is *В дерéвне мнóго трудня́е жыть, да привы́кли дак.* This utterance will be discussed in section 14.4, where the use of *dak* will be compared to the use of *da* in the same utterance. Another example is the following:

(49) На́до пóряду говори́ть, а я́ не пóряду *дак*.

This seems to be an example of the type "PU, A_*dak* (y)", similar to (9.44) in section 9.3.1, *Н'й́же на́до бы́ло зд'éлат' дак*. In both cases, the second part of the construction does not give a condition or reason for the first part of the utterance, but it implies a third proposition, which the speaker supposes the hearer can infer himself. The utterance (49) above could be described as expressing 'You should talk when it's your turn, but I didn't, so ...'. The A-part gives background information, in this case an explanation, for some accessible knowledge. Unfortunately, the context is unknown. This knowledge could be the circumstance that the speaker had interrupted other speakers: 'I didn't wait for my turn, so that's why I interrupted you'. This implication need not to be expressed ostensively, because it is known to the hearer(s).

In all examples from various regions of utterance-internal use classified under the same "emphatic" meaning in *AOS*, *dak* follows after the first word or the first sentence constituent, usually a nominal phrase: *Мы́ даг бéдно жы́ли (УСТЬ)*; *У меня́-то в дровенике́ дак сухи́ дрова́ (ЛЕШ)*; *У на́з дак на Се́вере до́лго поспива́т (ШЕНК.)*; *Дава́й дак разу́й глаза́-то! (ПИН.)*; *Нары́то дак земли́-то. (ВИН.)*.

The A-parts in the beginning of the utterance are most probably compared to alternative points of departure for the expressed proposition. In the utterance *У на́з дак на Се́вере до́лго поспива́т*, *dak* could be interpreted as being used in the middle of a constitiuent denoting a location, but *у на́с* can serve as an independent point of departure, with *на Се́вере* 'in the North' functioning as a clarifying repeting apposition, especially if both *у на́с* and the other spatial expression, *на Се́вере*, got their own accent, which we cannot know. The frequent use of *dak* in contrastive contexts suggests that 'at our place in the North' was contrasted to other places in Russia further to the south, where the crops ripen more quickly. The expression *Дава́й* in the next example is difficult to interpret as a typical A-part. It does not seem to represent x; is possible that *dak* referred to other activated information. In that case it would be an example similar to the examples of turns starting in *Nu dak*, *Ne dak*, etc. (see section 9.4.3 and 12.3.9). The example *Нары́то дак земли́-то* seems to be an uncommon case where the unit used after *dak*, *земли́-то*, probably did not function as a rheme (focus) of the sentence starting in *нары́то*, but as an afterthought or a tail in the sense of Vallduví (see sections 7.2.3.3 and 11.5.4, points 2 and 3) or an antitopic in the sense of Lambrecht (1981; 1994; see same section, point 3). Thus, the part following after *dak* does not represent y, but a part of the information on which y is based. The utterance as a whole seems to give background information for some previously communicated information.

The second sub-entry of *dak* in *AOS* contains presumed examples of *dak* as a particle "used in the end of a sentence to strengthen the semantic finality" ("Част. В конце предложения для усиления смысловой завершенности"; *AOS*). It contains a group of various constructions with very diverse content, including the following utterances:

(50) Опе́ть та́к в го́рле боли́д *дак*. ВИЛ.
(51) Петно́ wот тако́йо, цёрнойо петно́ *дак*. ВИЛ.
(52) Коры́ты дерева́нны бы́ли, стира́лись *дак*. МЕЗ.

In the next example in line, *dak* is combined with the particles *už* and *ved'*:

(53) Я́ веть уж вы́пила полторы́ кру́шки *дак*. В-Т.

All are easily explainable as expressing some other meaning than just "emphasising" the "semantic finality". Popov has already shown that utterance-final *da* (and *dak*) does not always support completeness of a thought, but that it can in fact do the opposite – imply the existence of a new thought, following

from the thought just expressed (see section 6.5.5 and 9.3.1). The first example has been discussed before as an example of an utterance with a comparative quantifier (see section 9.3.1). In the second example, the last part, *цёрнойо петнó* is an identificational, characterising expression giving background information which helps to explain what the speaker means: 'the stain was black, so that's why', activating an implication which the hearer was assumed to be able to find himself. In the third expression, the second part of the utterance seems to give information about the previous statement: it explains that the wooden tubs were used for the laundry. In the last example, where *dak* is combined with *ved'*, the whole utterance probably gives the reason for a previous statement or act, probably for declining the offer of another mug of what the speaker was drinking. Another possible context is that she was not sober anymore, and that this utterance explains her behaviour.

13.10 Conclusion

This chapter has gathered the arguments why *dak* qualifies perfectly under the definition of a pragmatic (or discourse) particle, as claimed in section 8.2.1:

- *Dak* is inherently prosodically subordinated (13.2);
- The use of *dak* is optional from the point of view of sentential syntax and truth-conditional semantics: it gives no contribution to the truth-conditional content of utterances (section 13.3), nor is it part of the core grammar of the sentence. *Dak* does not fit into traditional word classes and utterance-final *dak* and other postpositive use is structurally different from any word in Standard Russian (sections 13.4 and 13.5);
- *Dak* has a function at discourse level. Like all pragmatic particles, *dak* connects an expression to its linguistic and/or non-linguistic context. Its core meaning is not modal, i.e. it does not does not give information about the speaker's attitude towards the utterances or the assumed attitude of the hearer (section 13.7). Instead, it instructs the hearer how the expression it is attached to relates to other information units, which are, or will be, activated during the conversation. In relevance theoretical terminology, *dak* is a procedural rather than a conceptual marker (section 13.8).

Possibly, *dak* is not a pragmatic particle in 100% of its uses, for sometimes, it is not syntactically omissible, or it gives the impression to represent truth-conditional content. However, this does not conflict with the proposed core meaning of *dak*, because even words with truth-conditional content and words

which are syntactically obligatory can have a procedural function (see section 13.6).

In section 13.8 the question was addressed of what is the contribution of this particle to an utterance. Although pragmatic particles like *dak* are void or almost void of lexico-semantical meaning, they still make a contribution to discourse, but on a different level. The fact that they can be used inappropriately shows that they do contribute with some meaning (see section 7.1.3). Usually, *dak* is omissible, but the word certainly helps the communication. *Dak* always contributes with the same core meaning, but its usefulness for the communication process varies, and so does its frequency, both between speakers and between one section of a conversation and another. Sometimes it does not seem to have much additional value, but in other cases, it clearly contributes with information, making it much easier for the hearer to interpret the utterance it is used in.

In section 13.9 I showed that the core meaning can also explain contexts which have received a very different explanation in the large dialect dictionary of the Archangel'sk dialects, *AOS*, the source which covers the largest range of different contexts of *dak*. The shared element of all uses, regardless of the context, is the proposed core meaning of *dak* and its fixed position in relation to the expressions of the elements it connects. The core meaning can account for all contexts of *dak*. Although the present research is based on data from a single village in Northern Russia, the core meaning seems to be valid for all varieties of Russian with postpositive *dak*.

Švedova argues that it is impossible to describe a particle in isolation from the context in which it is used, since the particle expresses a meaning together with the context (Шведова 1960; see section 7.2.1.4). As she remarks, the use and the interpretation of particles is tightly connected with its context. Therefore, it is very unlikely that the core meaning reflects what goes on in the mind of a language user when she uses a particle. Still, this dissertation shows that it is useful to try to filter out the specific properties and contribution of a particle to an utterance, not only because it gives a better understanding of the meaning, functions and conditions of use for a particle, but also because it can explain use in contexts which would otherwise remain unexplained.

14 Contrastive studies: *Dak* compared with other particles

14.1 Overview

Dak has a meaning which is slightly different from the meaning of other particles used in the dialect, such as *-to* (and its variants), *tak*, *da*, *ak* and *ved'*. *Dak* has been considered a variant of phonetically similar forms in the dialects, namely *tak*, *da*, *ak*, *dyk* and *dək*, and even *dɛk* and *ɛk*. Furthermore, the meaning and function of *dak* are in some contexts close to those of particles like *-to*, *ved'* and *značit*. *Dak* has been claimed to be synonymous with these words and word forms in some or in all of its context types. In this chapter the question will be discussed whether the similar forms are phonetic variants of the same word as *dak* in all or in part of the cases, and the first results are presented of a comparative study between *dak* and *-to*, *ved'* and *značit*. The conclusion is that although these particles all share some contexts with *dak* and also share part of *dak*'s functions, and in a few cases possibly might be regarded as synonymous, they should be regarded as different lexical units with a different meaning.

Comparative research is useful to refine the description of a word. The comparison clarifies the possibilities and restrictions on the use of a word. In previous research, *dak* has been compared to a range of other words and word forms, both to words in the same dialects and to words in the standard language. However, *dak* has not been compared to other highly frequent connective particles in Northern Russian, which can also be used in postposition: *da*, *da i* (*daj*), *a* and *i*. The only exception is the work by Leinonen and Ludykova, who compared postpositive *dak* to *da*, but their data were limited (see section 6.5.20). This lack of study is explainable for the particles *a*, *i* and *da i* (*daj*), because they are infrequent in postposition, which makes it difficult to find their exact function (cf. Leinonen 2002a:302). Furthermore, in a large part of the cases where these words are used in postposition, their meaning and function are not conspicuous, since they seem to be very close to the ordinary adversative meaning (*a* 'but') and additive meaning (*da* and *da i*/*daj* 'and, too') of their prepositive conjunctional counterparts.

More surprising is the little interest for postpositive *da*. Apart from the dictionaries, only Popov has studied its meanings (Попов 1957). Utterance-final *da* is much more frequent than *i*, *da i* and *daj* and it has a wide range of possible contexts, apparently even more than *dak*. This is shown by the impressive list of different contexts given in the most elaborate Russian dialect dictionary, *AOS* (Vol. 10; 1999). The list includes most contexts for *dak* – which makes some researchers conclude that *da* and *dak* are synonymous – and a number of others.

The uncertainty about the role of *da* in these contexts – which is admitted in the dictionary – shows that more study is needed of this word.[1] The word will be briefly discussed in section 14.4.

It is important to distinguish system-internal comparisons of particles in the same dialect from comparisons between different languages or language varieties. For instance, a comparison of Varzuga *dak* with Varzuga *tak* gives different results from a comparison with Standard Russian *tak*, because Varzuga *tak* and Standard Russian *tak* have a different distribution, as illustrated in section 14.3.1 and 14.3.2.

Sharing of contexts does not necessarily imply an equivalence of meaning or function. In *AOS*, *dak* has been translated by many different words (see section 1.1.7), and in Земская & Китайгородская 1984, *dak* in substandard urban Russian (*gorodskoe prostorečie*) is explained as being synonymous with the words *ved'* and *vot* in the literary language (1984:89). Although the overall meaning and function of these utterances is very much alike in the contexts it concerns, regardless of whether you use *dak* or the so-called synonym, this similarity is due more to the context than to the meaning of *dak* and its "synonym". Their differences can be neutralised or not come forward in certain contexts, but in other contexts, their different properties will show up.

This chapter shows only preliminary results of the comparative studies. For a deeper study more data is needed and, preferably, also the judgements of native speakers. The comparative studies have made clear some important differences between *dak* and similar words, some of which have been mentioned earlier. Without these comparative studies, the description of *dak* would have been far less precise. Perhaps the most important contribution of this chapter to the research is not the results of the comparative studies, but that it shows the value of thorough contrastive studies for the description and understanding of pragmatic particles.

14.2 *Dyk* and *dək*: phonetic variants

The forms *dyk* and *dək* are mentioned in the literature as pronunciation variants of *dak* or *tak*. They are attested in Varzuga as well, though not frequently. Fedorova also found the forms *dɛk* and *ɛk* in her data from the Perm' oblast, but these forms seem to be peculiarities of this particular dialect. There is no reason to assume that the forms *dyk* and *dək* should have a meaning or function different from *dak*; they seem to be mere pronunciation variants of *dak* in the

[1] The lack of study of *da* might be due to the fact that the function of this word is even more difficult to find than the function of *dak*. Besides, it does not appear to give an important contribution to the communication, less so than *dak*; cf. section 14.4.

northern dialects. *SRNG* and Merkur'ev's dictionary (Меркурьев 1979/ 1997a) have *dyk* as a separate entry, but even these sources do not give functions which have not been described for *dak*.[2] In the Belorussian dictionaries, *dyk* is a large entry, but even here there is no opposition between *dak* and *dyk* – the form *dak* is not mentioned, and Belorussian *dyk* seems to correspond completely to *dak* in, for example, Pskovian dialects (cf. *POS*, where *dyk* is given as a pronunciation variant of *dak*; see section 14.3.1 and 14.3.2 below).

14.3 *Dak* vs. *tak*

Dak has often been considered to be a variant *tak* in one or more contexts, especially in contexts where Standard Russian could use *tak*. However, most researchers did not look at the dialects and Standard Russian as different language systems. A dialect-internal comparison shows that in the Varzuga dialect, *dak* and *tak* have different meanings. They are used in different contexts, and when they share the same context, they give a different contribution to the utterance. A comparison of Varzuga *dak* with Standard Russian *tak* shows that these words do share contexts and functions, but that this does not automatically mean that Varzuga *dak* and Standard Russian *tak* have exactly the same characteristics (meanings, functions) in these contexts.

The following section deals with a system-internal comparison of Varzuga *dak* and Varzuga *tak*; in the subsequent section, Varzuga *dak* will be compared with *tak* in other varieties of Russian, first of all with Standard Russian.

14.3.1 *Dak* vs. *tak* in the dialect of Varzuga

In the dialect of Varzuga, and probably in all Northern Russian dialects, *dak* and *tak* appear to have a different meaning in all of their uses. *Tak* is only used as an adverb, meaning something similar to 'so', 'thus', 'like this'or 'in such a way', or as a discourse marker or accentable correlate, like in (3) below from Меркурьев 1998, with the same referential meaning 'so, thus, that's how it is':

(1) (...) б'ез гол'áшек отр'éзано вот *мáк* как у т'а на ногáх. (S2)

(2) Ч'еты́р'е клáс:а фс'о вы́уч'ил. Тáк *дак* ə-.... рабóтат' стáл рáно. (S7)

(3) *Ак* родилáсь на éтом месте, *мак* и жылá. (Murm.; Меркурьев 1998:17)

[2] Merkur'ev (Меркурьев 1997a) gives four different meanings for *dyk*, but they are hardly different from his description of *dak*, and *SRNG* has *dyk* only as a utterance-initial particle, with an example from a southern dialect: "**дык**. частица. *Дык что ж. дык что жек.* Ворон."

Unlike *dak*, accented *tak* has a referential function. It represents an information unit, whereas *dak* only seems to serve as a connecting device.

Tak is prosodically different from *dak*: it is much more prominent than *dak*, and it often carries a pitch accent. It can even form a separate syntagm. Then it has a separate identifying function of a certain information unit:

(4) На п'е́чк'и-то жа́рко дак о́н ... бр'а́кн'ет на́ пол. Охлад'и́ц:е. [pause] А на у́л'ице хо́лодно дак р'е́тко хо́(д)'ит на у́л'иць-тъ. Ojо́. *Та́к*. (S1)

The difference between the two words is most evident in contexts where both are used:

(5) Вот *ма́к*. *Дак* ... *ма́к*-то вот и já и ... нъч'ела́ говор'и́т'-то. (S1)

This example and the following also show that *tak* can be host for a clitic – *tak-to*, *tak li*:

(6) Вы́патка ... (— *Сейчас уже нет?)* Н'е́т дак, с'ич'а́с то́же. Вы́патка сн'е́гу. Мо́жет и называ́л'и, *ма́к* л'и? *Та́к*, ил'и ска́жут сн'е́к ... ə-... сн'ежы́на-то вал'и́т.

The two words differ not only in the initial consonant – *d* or *t*, but the vowel is different as well. The vowel of *dak* is always short and the vowel of *tak* seems to be relatively much longer. Even in whispering or creaky voice, it is easy to hear the difference, because even non-prominent occurrences of *tak* have a relatively long vowel. An example is the following:

(7) — Так ты jеш'о́ ч'е(в)о спра́шывај *дак* ја отв'еч'а́т' бу́ду. (S2)

The first word, *tak*, is pronounced with a prosody very different from the remainder of the utterance: the voice is very soft and the pitch is low, and lower than on the following non-prominent word *ты* 'you'. *Tak* does not stand out from its linguistic context in this example. Still, the vowel in *tak* is relatively long, different from *dak*.

Dak is not simply a reduced variant of *tak*, because *dak* is never found in an adverbial function, and *tak* does not occur in utterance-final position, unless as an adverb. Even in a context where the word is unaccented, but has an adverbial function, *dak* is not used, but *tak*, with a [t] and a relatively long vowel:

(8) он'и́ над н'е́j посм'еjа́л'ис' ш'о она́ така́ бога́та а ... хо́д'ит *мак* ... скро́мно. (S3)

The context shows that *tak* is meant in the meaning 'so': *так скромно* 'so modestly' is contrasted with *така богата* 'so rich'. The circumstance that this woman lived poorly while she was rich had been mentioned before.

Tak and *dak* share several contexts in the Varzuga dialect: both are used in utterance-initial, utterance-internal and utterance-final position. The functional differences between the two words will be discussed in more detail below.

As mentioned, *tak* can only occur in utterance-final position in the Northern Russian dialects when it has an adverbial function. In some examples from Varzuga, utterance-final *tak* could be interpreted both as an adverb and as a pragmatic particle, but since *tak* is prominent and has a long vowel in both cases, it appears to have a referential, adverbial function:

(9) Вы́уч'ил'и п'е́сн'и на́до же м'ело́д'ии-то фс'о́ в'ьт', а ... хо́ру н'икогда́ н'ь дава́л'и ... хо́р-то п'е́л б'ес сопровож**е́**н'ija му́зык'и. Фс'о дак. На́ш фол'кл'о́р'ен'-то хо́р н'и сопровожда́л'и му́зыкoj, *та́к*. Вот на́до бра́т' ... зап'ева́т'-то дак на́до бра́т' шобы тона́л'нос'-то ка́к ... нач'а́т'. (S2)

(10) — Но д'е́н'-то рожд'е́н'ja ра́н'ше соб'ира́- ... родн'и́-то бы́ло же мно́го в д'ьр'е́вн'и-то. *(— Гм.)* По ро́тству-ту. Дак já вот ы говор'у́ — тр'и́ стола́ *та́к*, фс'ех гост'е́j-то зва́л'и д'е́н'-то рожд'е́н'ija. Мы́ тогда́ н'и д'е́н' называ́л'и, а про́сто им'ен'и́ны. (S1)

Besides, the speaker had mentioned the three chairs before, in the combinations *стола́ тр'и́ та́к вот* and *та́к тр'и́ стола́*. Given the differences in meaning between unaccented *dak* and accented *tak* in other contexts, these cases of accented *tak* must have the adverbial meaning 'in that way'.

As early as in 1901, Bogoraz remarks that the form of postpositional connectives in the dialect of Kolyma is *dak* or *da*, and the fact that Podvysotskij has a separate entry for *dak* in his dictionary in the 1880s (Подвысотскій 1885; see section 6.5.1) could mean that he regards *tak* and *dak* as separate lexical units. After them, several dialectologists mention explicitly that they have not attested *tak* in final position (Федорова 1965:78; Мерлин 1978:98; Преображенская 1985:70; see chapter 6).

Some researchers claim that they attested the word *tak* in the connective function in final position as well, but it is doubtful that they had heard the word correctly. One of them is Mansikka, who did not mention the form *dak* except in a single example; he must have regarded forms with a [d] as reduced forms of *tak*. This is in accordance with his view that utterances ending in "*tak*" are no different from complex sentences, except that they are elliptical (Мансикка

1912:141; see sections 6.5.3). Even Šapiro claims that *tak* can be used utterance-finally besides *dak*, but only in his short 1949 article (Шапиро 1949). He had changed his opinion by the time he wrote his monograph, when he must have found out that only *dak* was used in utterance-final position (Шапиро 1953).

One should keep in mind that occurrences of *tak* in contexts where one would expect *dak* cannot be ruled out, due to standard language influence. Such attestations of standard forms in the dialect do not imply that they are part of the traditional dialect, and not even that they are used by the same speakers when no strangers are present. However, *tak* was never attested in a *dak*-like connective function in utterance-final position.

Another important fact is that we are dealing with phonetically close forms of non-prominent words. As discussed in section 7.3.8 and Appendix III, these non-prominent particles are paid little attention to, and it is easy not to hear them at all, or to interpret them according to what you expect to hear. Therefore, the expectations of the hearers – including the dialectologists! – have a large impact on their interpretation of the stream of speech they hear. The transcriptions found in the literature need not all be correct. For example, a dialectologist interested in the word *ak* hears this word more often than someone who expects to hear *dak* or *da.* Popov, who did not pay attention to the form *dak*, might have heard *da* where the speakers said *dak*, while others might have done the opposite. Similarly, the dialectologists believing that *dak* was a mere phonetic variant of *tak* expect to hear many occurrences of *tak*, and so on.

In interclausal position, occurrence of unstressed, correlative *tak* is more likely, because it corresponds to one of the uses of *tak* in Standard Russian. Indeed, in a few cases, *tak* is observed as a correlate in interclausal position:

(11) П’и́л’ис’. Jéсл’и то́лстые, а н’е то́лстые *так* топоро́м. (S8)

However, this use is very rare in Varzuga, and that seems to be the case for other Northern Russian dialects as well. According to Fedorova, *tak* is in this function a recent loan from Standard Russian (Федорова 1965:78; note 8). One of the reasons is that occurrences are rare, and absent for utterance-final position. This is supported by the data from Varzuga. The examples of *tak* for *dak* occur in a more formal style and by inhabitants using speech with a relatively high degree of standardisation.

As mentioned above, some of the earlier descriptions of *dak* claim that *tak* was attested in final position as well, but the authors of these articles pay little attention to sound in general and believe that *dak* is only a pronunciation

variant of *tak* in this position. Those who believe that *dak* is a word different from *tak*, have not attested *tak* either, or only rarely (e.g. Fedorova).

In the cited example above, there are several factors triggering the use of *tak* in this particular context. First, the speaker is relatively young (b. 1938). Speakers of her age usually speak a dialect with many Standard Russian characteristics when talking to us – if they don't speak almost perfect Standard Russian. Second, the utterance was produced during the first minutes of the interview. Usually people start talking more freely only after some time. This speaker is a good example of this tendency herself, with the frequency of *dak* increasing as time passes by and she talks more freely. Until then she had used *dak* only twice. Another sign of standard influence is her use of the long adjectival form *толстыје* 'thick' (nom. pl.) instead of the traditional form *толсты*. Third, both the preceding and the following word start with a *t* (*толстые так топором*). Finally, the word is not easily left out in this context: it carries more meaning than *dak* usually does. Here is another example of *tak* as a correlate:

(12) (...) ја говор'и́ла с'ич'а́с вот, је́сл'и бы та́та н'ь у́м'ер ф тр'и́цет' тр'е́т'јем гъду́, *так* јего́ ф тр'ицет' с'ед'мо́м бы ув'езл'и́. (S3)

This example is also different from the usual examples of *dak*, since *tak* is used after a clear pause, which is rare for *dak* in complex sentences (see section 8.3). In addition, *tak* is combined with a subordinating conjunction, which is not very frequent either. This example was uttered by the informant who could switch between very informal and more formal, bookish styles (see section 3.4.3). In the cited fragment, she used a narrative, "high" style, as if she was talking to a larger audience or reading from a book. She used clear intonational distinctions, long sentences and long pauses and subordinating conjunctions, like *если* in this example. It may not be a coincidence that *tak* follows after a clear pause in this case as well.

In utterance-initial position, *dak* is used with clear pragmatic functions, such as to introduce non-cooperative replies (see section 9.3.2). Varzuga *tak* is an adverb or resumptive word, similar to *tak* in Belorussian, where *dyk* is used with functions similar to utterance-initial *dak* in Varzuga (see next section).

Both utterance-initial *dak* and *tak* can be used to support continuation, for example at the moment when the speaker wants to change the discourse topic or subtopic, or when the storyline is continued with a subsequent event or another logical continuation. *Tak* is usually very prominent, *dak* never is. In section 9.3.2, some examples were discussed were *dak* introduces a continuation of the story line in the combination *Dak vot* (ex. (9.60) *Во́т. Дак вот о́н ч'ево́-то про Јежо́ва-то*

сказа́л (...) and and utterance in fragment (8.27), *Угу. Дакз вот э- ... та́м, ф то́й шко́л'и мы фс'е́ уч'и́л'ис'*. An example with *tak* in this function is the following:

(13) *Та́к* јьш'о́ ч'е(в)о спра́шывај дак ја отвеч'а́т' бу́ду. (S2, after a pause)

Here are some examples from the Varzuga corpus of the use of *tak* or *dak* to return to a discourse topic that was temporarily abandoned:

(14) (...) мн'е́ да́же т'е и Наста́с'а говор'и́ла гыт ... ə- ... эт' ... Н'и́на пр'и́д'ет дак узна́ј ска́жет, ка́к там до́рого-то о́ч'ьн' за э́то, ка́к-то, за машы́ну-то. Ја говор'и́ла до то́(г)о это говор'и́ла, за б'енз'и́н фс'о говор'у а ш'о до́рого о́ч'ен'. Бенз'и́н. *(— Гм) Дак* он... она́ гыт — Н'и́на пр'и́дет-то [or: так] гыт ты́ вот ... спрос'и́ла л'и? (S1)

In the following fragment, the first *tak* marks the end of a subtopic and the second *tak* – together with the conjunction *ч'о* 'that' – a logical deduction from the previous context:

(15) — Н'и́на-то Н'ик'и́т'ич'на н'е ује́д'ет иш'е́?
— *Уедет?*
— Ује́д'от уш ... она́ ... говор'и́ла говор'ит поје́ду ... в У́мбу, л'и, (ф Ка-...)
— *Ага. Нет, не успела, потому что не было машины.*
— А́:. [pause] Она́ зав'е́дујушч'ај-то дак [=да?].
— *Гм.*
[pause]
— *Та́к. Та́к* ч'о ва́м рабо́та бу́д'от зд'ес'? Бу́д'ет'е рабо́тат'?
— *(...)* (S1)

My thesis is that the difference between Varzuga *dak* and *tak* in these cases is as follows: whereas *tak* explicitly refers to previously mentioned knowledge – by either representing it (in the meaning 'like this') or pointing at a deduction ('so') – *dak* only gives an instruction to the hearer that what is coming is based on some previously activated knowledge. Whereas *tak* can represent truth-conditional, conceptual content, *dak* is only a procedural marker with no truth-conditional content.

Accented *tak* has a separate identifying function ("not not-x"; cf. section 10.3.12), and represents a separate cognitive task (cf. Lambrecht 1994 and section 10.3.3). *Dak* is not accented, which means that the information is not presented anew (cf. section 12.3.1).

In the following excerpt, *tak* is used three times:

(16) — *А кем он работает?*
— О́н? Про́сто в мо́р'е хо́д'ит ы ... э́т'има ... мотор'и́стом.
— *Ага.*
— Гм. То́же н'е́ зако́нч'ил уч'и́лсъ в э́тъ, в вы́шемор'ехо́тк'и. *Та́к*$_1$ потом бро́с'ил ды и ... [laughs; pause] *Та́к*$_2$ уч'и́лсъ о́ч'ьн' хорошо́ он но ... Вот *ма́к*$_3$-то, н'ич'ево́ жыву́т тут дак. (S2)

If the proposed analysis is correct, the form *tak* is adverbial-like in all three cases and marks explicitly that the speaker is at a transition point in her story, by using a word that could be translated as 'like this' or 'so'. Use of *dak* would also have been possible in the first two contexts, but this word would have a purely pragmatic function. In the first context *dak* would indicate that the speaker continues the discourse topic after a very short digression – her explanation of the type of school he went to. In the second case, the use of *dak* would also have indicated topic continuation after a digression (laughter and pause), while *tak* refers directly to the previous context. In the third context, *tak* could be translated as 'that's how it is', which is also its meaning in (17) from chapter 8:

(17) (...) Во́т фс'о́ стои́т иш'е́ э́та шко́ла. А т'ьп'е́р'-то хот'е́л'и софс'е́м је́то убра́т' а П'о́тр Прокоп'јев'ич' дъб'и́лс'а ш'о(б) муз'е́j зд'е́л'ат'.
[MP:] — Да.
— *Дак*$_5$ ... р'емонт'и́роват' бу́д'от. Л'е́с пр'ив'о́з да.
[MP:] — Угу.
— Та́к. (S1)

In this case, it is used to fill a pause in the conversation, which was the first the guests had with this speaker. It signals completeness of the topic, and gives the possibility to continue the conversation with a new topic.

In the next example, *tak* refers to a concept in a separate accentual unit, and it marks the transition explicitly. *Dak* is only a connecting device. In a sense, *dak* is one step further in the thinking process. This is most clearly shown in examples where *tak* and *dak* are combined:

(18) Ч'еты́р'е кла́с:а фс'о вы́уч'ил. *Та́к дак* ə-.... рабо́тат' ста́л ра́но. (S7)
'I finished only four classes. So ... I started to work early.'

(19) (...) а о́н-то говор'и́л — ну́ Л'икон'и́тка — ја то́же подава́ла над'е́жда што ... н'ь софс'е́м глу́па была́. Во́т. (Во) гыт ја т'иб'а́ вы́уч'у на до́ктора. На ф'ершал'и́ц'у он та́к до́ктор зва́л'и, ф'ершал'и́ца. (Вот та́к вот.) *Дак* вот э́тъ бы́л'и тр'ица́ты го́ды, кол'ект'ив'иза́ц'ија кон'е́шно бы́лъ о́ч'ен' тру́дные го́ды. (S3)

In the following case, probably, both *tak* and *dak* could have been used:

(20) *Она приехала вместе с нами.*
— С'уда́?
— *Сюда, да, в августе. Осталась дольше.*
— Нононо до́л'ше ... *Дак* а с'ич'а́с-то хот'е́ла она́ је́хат' то́же, н'е́т? (S3)

The dialect speaker and the dialectologist – me – are talking about a researcher from Murmansk who had joined us during our previous expedition. The speaker had been told that someone had wanted to join me on this expedition to Varzuga as well, and she wondered if it was the same person. Whereas *dak* indicates topic continuation after a short digression – with some details about this woman – a pitch accented *та́к* would have marked the previous context directly, by representing and summarising it:

(21) — Нононо до́л'ше ... *Та́к,* а с'ич'а́с-то хот'е́ла она́ је́хат' то́же, н'е́т?

In the few cases where *tak* does not carry a pitch accent, the word probably still represents conceptual information and has a referential function, although it does not represent a separate cognitive task. An example of non-prominent *tak* is found in the following fragment:

(22) Она́ на изв'ин'и́, пото́м с'уда́ пр'иход'и́ла, *так* зап'и́сывала вот фс'о́ выспра́шывал(а), спра́шывала, задава́ла вопро́сы то́же дак. Но как'и́ јиш'о́ у т'а́ слова́ је́с'? (S2)

Tak is pronounced with a long vowel, as usual, but the following word is pronounced much quicker and louder. In this example, *dak* could have been used as well. The tiny difference consists in *tak* marking the transition in the story directly.

Dak seems not to be used alone to mark a transition if the change is large and the need for a marker is large as well. It then needs support from other words, such as *vot* or *tak* (see next section).

Finally, it should be remarked that the Varzuga corpus contains some multi-interpretable cases, which could get an explanation going counter to the assumed difference between *dak* and *tak* in the Varzuga dialect. In the last utterance of the next example, the speaker could have meant both *dak*, *tak* or *-to*. First, the speaker uses an utterance with *dak*, and somewhat later, she repeats the utterance almost word by word, but this time she uses a word starting in *t*:

(23) (...) мн'е́ да́же т'е и Наста́с'а говор'и́ла гыт ... ə- ... эт' ... Н'и́на пр'и́д'ет *дак* узна́j ска́жет, ка́к там до́рого-то о́ч'ьн' за э́то, ка́к-то, за машы́ну-то. Ja говор'и́ла до то́(г)о это говор'и́ла, за б'енз'и́н фс'о говор'у а ш'о до́рого о́ч'ен'. Бенз'и́н. *(— Гм)* Дак он... она́ гыт — Н'и́на пр'и́дет-*то* [or: *так*] гыт ты́ вот ... спрос'и́ла л'и? (S1)

In the first use of the utterance, the consonant between *np'úð'em* and *dak* is clearly voiced, but it seems to be voiceless the second time, implying that the second word started with a *t*. Since the next word started in a *g*, the preceding word might have ended in a *g* or *k*, but it could just as well have ended with the vowel. The quality of the vowel, which is very short, is between [o] and [a], which does not show whether it represents a morphological *a* or *o*: The vowel of the particle *-to* is often reduced.

The semantics and pragmatics allow the use of all three words *dak*, *tak* and *-to.* This shows that the functions of these words can be very close in certain contexts. If *dak* and *tak* have different meanings in the traditional dialect of Varzuga, *tak* should not be possible in this context, but an accidental use of *tak* instead of interclausal *dak* can be explained as an example of accomodation towards the normative language, due to the presence of a speaker of Standard Russian.

Apart from these few doubtful cases, *tak* and *dak* are clearly differentiated in the dialect of the elderly speakers in Varzuga. This clear functional distinction between *dak* and *tak* is surprising, since variation is expected to be high in such a highly unstable dialect, due to the expansion of Standard Russian and other influential, supra-regional varieties of Russian.

There seems to be a similar distribution between *tak* and *dyk* in Standard Belorussian and between *tak* and *dak* in some Russian dialects further to the south, except that *dyk* and *dak* in these language varieties cannot be used in postposition. *Tak* and *dyk* can be combined in Belorussian as well. In a Belorussian dictionary, *tak* was in two cases translated by a combination of *dyk* and *tak*:

(24) Не знаете, *так* и скажите (Russ.) -> Не ведаеце, *дык так* і скажыце (Beloruss.; Колас et al. 1953)

(25) вот *так так*! -> вось *дык так*! (ibid.)

The similarities between the Varzuga dialect and non-northern Eastern Slavonic varieties will be further explained in the next section.

14.3.2 *Dak* vs. unstressed *tak* in Standard Russian, *dyk* in Belorussian and *dak*, *dyk* and *dək* in other varieties of Russian

Dak shares a range of contexts with Standard Russian *tak*. Standard Russian *tak* has a wider distribution than Varzuga *tak*. *Dak* can never be an adverb, so possible correspondences between Standard Russian *tak* and Varzuga *dak* are restricted to non-adverbial uses of Standard Russian *tak* as a correlate of an utterance-initial discourse marker. Does this sharing of contexts also mean that Northern Russian *dak* has the same meaning as Standard Russian (unstressed) *tak* in these contexts?

According to many previous researchers, the particle *tak* is in Standard Russian stylistically marked as being colloquial (Чернышева 2001:287; Шимчук & Щур 1999, but not in Ушаков 1940). In substandard speech, besides *tak*, the forms *dak*, *dyk* and *dək* can be used, at least in many cases. Švedova's claim that *tak* can sound like *dək* in substandard speech ("В просторечии *так* может звучить как *дък*"; Шведова 1960:121) is true for only part of the uses of this word. The distribution of *dyk* and *dak* in the Pskovian dialects and in Belorussian suggests that not every occurrence of *tak* can be replaced by a form starting in *d*, but only unstressed ones where the word has a connective instead of an adverbial function. This distribution is not unlike the functional division between *tak* and *dak* in the Varzuga dialect.

Unstressed Standard Russian *tak* and Varzuga *dak* share a range of contexts. In fact, Standard Russian *tak* is used in all the contexts for utterance-internal and utterance-initial "A *dak* B"-constructions mentioned in section 5.6: in the position between two clauses and between a sentence constituent and a clause (or their equivalents) in all contexts, that is between two main clauses, between a subordinate and a main clause, a constituent and a main clause, with and without subordinating conjunctions, and it can be used with different semantic relations, including after an identifying clause (e.g. Чернышева 1986; Шимчук & Щур 1999). Examples were given in section 5.6.

All of these contexts are also mentioned for Belorussian *dyk* and Pskovian *dak*/*dyk*, including the use after a single constituent (Крапиво 1962):

(26) *я дык і глядзе́ць у той бок не хачу́* я и смотреть-то в ту сторону не хочу
(27) *яна́ дык зусі́м не змяні́лася* она так совсем не изменилась

The dictionaries of these varieties even mention use of *dyk* / *dak* between a comparative quantifier and an expressive interjection:

(28) Му́х завело́сь, *дак* бо́же мо́й *ско́лько*.
(29) *така́* куса́ста, *дак* бо́же мой.
(30) Та́м *така́я* ду́ра *дык* о́й. (all Psk.; *POS*)

The particle is claimed to be used before an interjection to lend additional expressivity to the preceding statement or to the characteristics of something or someone.[3]

Tak is in Standard Russian also used turn-initially at the beginning of a non-cooperative reply:

(31) Почему ты не сказал об этом? — *Так* я и говорил!
'Why didn't you tell me about this?' 'But I did tell you!'
(32) Сходи купи хлеба! — *Так* уже купил. (both Шимчук & Щур 1999)
'Go and buy some bread.' 'I *have* bought.'

We saw that similar expressions are in the Varzuga dialect only found with *dak*, not with *tak*; see examples (see section 9.3.1).

In Standard Russian, unstressed utterance-initial *tak* can be used to indicate a conclusion, completion or development on the basis of previous knowledge (Ушаков 1940, under nr. 8 and 9):

(33) Ну, не знаете ли? *Так* так и скажите. (Пушкин)

Section 10.3.11 contained similar question-answer pairs with *dak*:

(34) — Желаете, *дак* дам крынку ... (Arch.; Шапиро 1953:63)
(35) — Н'е́ту карма́на? *Дак* [= *Так*?] и с'је́ш ты ды! (S1)

[3] "4) частица усилит. Употр. перед междометием для придания особой выразительности предшествующему сообщению или характеристике чего-, кого-н." (*POS* on *dak*).

A difference with the example from Ушаков 1940 is that the first part is not meant to be a real question. This means that the connection between the two parts is tighter. The sound quality of the recording of the last mentioned example was not good enough to hear whether the speaker said *tak* or *dak*. The reason why *tak* might have been used and not *dak* is that there is a considerable pause between the question and the invitation. It is possible that *dak* has not enough semantic content to be able to imply the cause-consequence relationship between the two speech acts. Perhaps, the contexts asks for a word with a meaning closer to *в таком случае* 'in that case'.

The previous knowledge to which *tak* marks a connection, need not have to be the content of the speaker's previous utterance; it can also have been expressed before a digression, or some utterance expressed by another interlocutor. It can be a topic continuation after a pause, such as in meaning number 2а from Шимчук & Щур 1999, where *tak* is described as an unaccented metatextual particle, "introducing an answering question or imperative utterance, unstressed and attached to the following word, in which a conclusion is drawn from the preceding context/utterance":

(36) Так ты женат?

Meaning 2б covers *tak* as a metatextual particle, "introducing a turn, in which a return to a previously discussed, but temporarily abandoned topic is expressed, equally unstressed and attached to the following word":

(37) (...) Так о чем мы с вами говорили? (...)

In meaning 2в, metatextual *tak* introduces "a question in which a reminder is expressed, equally unstressed and attached to the following word":

(38) Так едем завтра на дачу?
(39) Так с кем я буду дежурить?

In the Russian-Belorussian dictionary, similar examples are translated with Belorussian *dyk*: "*Так ты мне не веришь?*" and "*Так согласен?*" were both translated with *dyk*.

Dak would probably not be possible in the same contexts with the same meaning as Standard Russian *tak*. The database of *dak*-utterances from the Varzuga corpus and the literature do not contain in examples that could not

have a different explanation. The examples give the impression that *dak* cannot on its own imply that the following utterance contains a deduction, conclusion, consequence or continuation of an abandoned topic: *dak* needs support from the context to be able to be used in such contexts. Such supporting contexts can be complex utterances, where there is no disturbance between the expressions of the connected elements. It appears that if there is a pause or another distraction, *dak* needs support from other connecting words, such as *tak* or *vot*, in combinations like *ták dak* or *dak vot*, like in the next examples.

In the next examples, a combination of *tak* and *dak* is used to introduce a return to an abandoned topic. *Tak* concludes a subtopic, while *dak* connects the following expression with the previous context, here represented by *ták*. The subtopic is a digression about the visit of a researcher who had recorded the answers to her questions. With *Tak dak*, the speaker returns to the main topic of the conversation, which was the explanation of a list of dialect words. I had asked about a word she had not understood:

(40) (...) Но она зап'и́сывала јьш'о́ дак.
— *Да.*
— А́:. *Та́к дак* ч'ево́ спра́шывала, назва́н'и-... ?

The use of *tak* in the next example supports the causal relationship between the following statement – 'I started working at an early age' – and the previous context – that the family was poor and that he had finished only four grades at school:

(41) Ч'еты́р'е кла́с:а фс'о вы́уч'ил. *Та́к дак* ə-.... рабо́тат' ста́л ра́но. (Вот ...) Ат'е́ц у на́с у́м'ер о́ч'ен' ра́но дак ы ....
— *Ага. Понятно.*
— Жы́л'и н'ива́жно. [pause] (S7)

The fact that both *tak* and *dak* are used shows that they cannot have exactly the same function in these contexts in the Varzuga dialect. Perhaps *dak* might have been used in the above mentioned examples without *tak*,, but it is unlikely that *dak* would imply a cause-consequence relationship on its own. *Dak* might as well have the purely pragmatic function of changing a sub-topic. In such contexts, *dak* is usually not used alone, apparently, because its meaning is not specific enough. *Dak* can be used to mark so many other relations, on different levels that it needs help from other means to signal that what follows is a deduction or consequence following from the preceding context. More research is needed to find the exact

functions of utterance-initial *tak* and *dak*, both through the analysis of a larger amount of examples and by using questionnaires.

A similar need for a semantically more contentful word might also explain the possible use of *tak* in (35).

The always unstressed *dak* shares some contexts not only with unstressed *tak*, but also with uses of accented *tak* in a separate intonational unit. This difference in accentuation excludes exact correspondence of function, although the descriptions of stressed Standard Russian *tak* in some contexts corresponds both to unstressed Varzuga *dak* and to stressed Varzuga *tak*.

Just like unaccented *tak* and Varzuga *dak*, accented *tak* can introduce a deduction from the previous context ("вывод из предыдущего"; Ушаков 1940):

(42) Так, решено: (...)
(43) Так! Отрезвился я сполна, (...)

cf. (37) (...) Так о чем мы с вами говорили? (...)

Which of the two, Varzuga *tak*, or Varzuga *dak*, is equivalent to Standard Russian *tak* in the last mentioned example? Probably, both words could have been used, and even combined:

(37a) *Та́к*, о чем мы с вами говорили?
(37b) *Та́к дак* о чем мы с вами говорили?
(37c) *Дак* о чем мы с вами говорили?

The following differences between Varzuga *dak* and Standard Russian *tak* are obvious:

- *Tak* is not used as an utterance-final connector;

- *Dak* has not been attested in Varzuga in the following contexts mentioned for unstressed Standard Russian *tak*: in expressions like *лет так десять тому назад* and use as an adversative conjunction ('but'; mentioned in the dictionaries, Чернышева 1986 and Шимчук & Щур 1999). Adversative *tak* is explained as follows in Honselaar 2002:

(44) я ему говорил об этом, *так* он меня и слушать не стал
ik heb het hem gezegd, maar hij luistert niet naar me
'I told him, but he wouldn't listen to me'.

(45) *мак* нет же! [ik dacht, dat het wel afgelopen zou zijn,] maar nee hoor!
'[I thought it (he/she) would have stopped], but no way!'

This use was not attested in Varzuga, but the sources on other Northern Russian dialects are contradictory in this respect: some mention use similar to 'but' (e.g. *AOS*), while others claim that *dak* is only used for hypotactic connections (e.g. Никитина & Пожарицкая 1993). In utterance-initial position, however, *dak* is attested in non-cooperative replies ("*Дак не пришел бы!*"; example (170) below), which could be explained as expressing similar adversative relations.

Northern Russian non-final *dak* corresponds roughly to *dak*, *dyk* and *dək* in other varieties of Russian and Belorussian, but there appears to be at least one different context:

(46) А ты погляди, как рыбу ташшат неводом. *Вот дак ремесло!* Лучше этова ремесла ничего нет (colloquial Russian; Шведова 1960:121)

(47) Вот *дак* молодец! (Voron.; *SRNG*)

(48) Вось *дык* бядá! (Belorussian; translated as "Вот беда-то!"; Belorus.; Крапиво 1962)

(49) Адин пашол купацца, нырнул и фсё. Вот *дык* испугался! *(Большой толковый словарь донского казачества* (2003))

Interestingly, this use is mentioned for *dak*, *dək* and *dyk*, but not for unstressed *tak* (cf. e.g. Шимчук & Щур 1999).

Last but not least, there is an important difference between Northern Russian *dak* and Standard Russian *tak* which is hardly ever mentioned in the literature. Even in the same context, *dak* usually differs prosodically from unstressed standard Russian *tak*, in that it usually is prosodically attached to the first part of the connection. This should imply some difference in function as well. The prosodic attachment to the first clause implies that *dak* probably does not function as a real, resumptive, correlate (see the last point in section 13.5). So, even though Varzuga *dak* shares some contexts with Standard Russian *tak*, these words are not complete equivalents in at least a large part of these "A *dak*/*tak* B"-constructions.

In compound sentences containing a protasis and an apodosis, a subordinative and a main clause, the correlate *tak* is always prosodically attached to the

second clause, while *dak* can be attached not only to the second, but also to the first clause (see section 12.3.3):

(50b) Если на работу на них не поехали, [pause] *мак* все равно надо накормить. (standard)

(50) Јесл'и на рабо́ту на их не појехал'и *дак*, [pause] фс'о равно́ надо ... накорм'и́т'.

Only in rare cases *dak* is preceded by a pause. In common Russian, the situation is the opposite. A pause before *tak* is very common, but a pause after *tak* is only possible if it is caused by hesitation. Actually, prosodic attachment of Varzuga *dak* only to the second clause is exceptional in such constructions of the form [subordinate clause]-*dak*-[main clause] even in the Varzuga dialect. Among the approx. 150 occurrences of "A *dak* B"-constructions in the *dak*-database only a handful examples has the form "A, *dak* B"; all others were prosodically attachm to both sides ("A_*dak*_B"), or to A only ("A_*dak*, B"). Here is one of the exceptions:

(51) Когда́ сыро́j сн'ек-то појд'о́т, *дак* она́ и к'и́с'ел' иногда́ ... зна́јеш што, здајо́т моро́с-то дак, она́ з'емл'о́j-то така́ к'и́с'ел' ш'о ... н'ь појд'о́ш в бот'и́нках, на́до појт'и́ ф сапога́х. Така́ к'и́с'ел' на у́л'иц'ь-то ска́жут да. (S2)

The differences in distribution between the forms *dak* or *dyk* and *tak* in the different varieties of Eastern Slavonic can be roughly symbolised in the following figure:

	adverb	unaccented connector	
		prepositive	postpositive
Standard Russian	*tak*		–
Standard Belorussian	*tak*	*dyk*	–
Varzuga (NR dialects)	*tak*	*dak*	

Figure 14.1. The distribution of tak, dak *and* dyk *in three Eastern Slavonic language varieties*

Of course, this figure gives a simplification of the situation. It does not take into account the details of the distribution. The contexts where these words can be used do not correspond exactly; besides, there are large differences in frequency. For the Varzuga dialect, *dak* is here given as corresponding to the prepositive connectors in the other language systems, but in fact, it does not really correspond to them: prepositive *dak* appears to be infrequent; *dak* is usually used

postpositively also in interposition (i.e. in "A *dak* B"-constructions). This also implies small differences in meaning and function.

The distribution in other varieties of Russian, such as substandard common Russian and other than Northern dialects has not been studied in detail. Part of them probably correspond to the Belorussian system, but it is also possible that *tak* can be used as unaccented connectors besides forms with a *d*.

14.4 *Dak* vs. *da* in the dialect

14.4.1 The multifunctionality of Northern Russian *da*

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, the Northern Russian particle *da* has received very little attention in the literature, apart from the different positions it can take in the utterance. The meanings and functions of this particle in the Northern Russian dialects, however, have hardly been studied. This section will hardly improve the situation, since a detailed study of this particle is outside the scope of the present research. However, even a comparison *da* with *dak* of a small amount of data is sufficient to show that *da* is different from *dak* in at least the majority of contexts. In this comparison of *da* and *dak* I will only address some clear differences and similarities between *da* and *dak* and point out some problems, not so much with the aim to point out the main differences and similarities between these two particles in the Northern Russian dialects, but first of all to show the relevance of contrastive studies.

Judging from *AOS* and Попов 1957, the only larger descriptions of Northern Russian *da*,[4] this element can be used in about the same contexts and meanings as *dak*, plus in some more. Therefore, it is not surprising that some researchers regard *da* and *dak* as synonyms (Lapteva and Popov, who does not even mention the existence of the form *dak*, although he gives some examples of *dak* in his example utterances as examples of "*da*"). Leinonen and Ludykova are the only researchers who have compared *da* and *dak* directly, but they had to rely almost entirely on *AOS* for the description of *da*. They concluded that the words were almost synonymous, but they suspected some differences (see below).

Just like *dak*, *da* can be both enclitic and proclitic, and it can occupy even more positions in the utterance (see below). *Da* has not only a purely additive meaning to mark coordination, as one would expect. It can be used in many more contexts, where the meaning must be different from 'and'. In most of these contexts, *dak* could have been used as well, but not in all.

[4] The lexicographer responsible for the entry *da* in *AOS* (vol. 10) is Oksana Gecova; responsible for the entry *dak* is Elena Nefedova.

One of the reasons that *dak* has been thought to be synonymous with *da* is that it has been claimed that *dak* can be used with an copulative additive or adversative meaning. As argued in section 9.4.1, this is unlikely, or, at most, very uncommon. More evidence is given below. As copulative additive use is the most frequent use of *da*, it is clear that *da* has a meaning different from *dak* in at least most occurrences. *AOS* also contains contexts where *da* is neither straight-forward copulative nor similar to *dak*. Here are some examples from various sub-entries in *AOS* from various regions where use of *dak* seems excluded:

(52) Прошло́ *да* ле́то кра́сно, пришла́ *да* о́сень бога́та, наста́нет зима́ холо́дна. ЛЕШ. (in ritual wailings)
(53) Кто́-нибудь *да* йе́сь у на́с. УСТЬ.
(54) Не́ту *да* у Анюхи то́лку. НЯНД.
(55) Я кабы хорошо́ *да* слы́шала даг дивья́. КАРГ.
(56) Ра́ньшэ боровля́на *да* ходи́ли к на́м на Ка́шыно болото́ за черни́цей. КАРГ.

These uses seem however to be marginal.The range of possible contexts for *da* is thus even wider than for *dak*, so a detailed description of this word requires even more effort. It is questionable if a monosemic description of *da* would be fruitful. Besides the form *da*, the form *dy* is used:

(57) — *«Вгусту́». Если очень много снега.*
— Ага.
— *Так говорят?*
— Говор'а́т. Тако́j густо́j сн'ек ид'о́т *дак*. Вгусту́ *ды*. Л'и́бо сн'е́га то́же вгусту́d ска́жут. (S2)

This rare form is probably a pronunciation variant of *da*, like *dyk* vs. *dak*. Merkur'ev has a separate entry for *dy* (Меркурьев 1997a), as he had for *dyk*, but he does not give any unique uses for this word form.

The following sections 14.4.2 and 14.4.3 discuss copulative additive and adversative use of *da* and the improbability of *dak* having the same functions. Section 14.4.3 discusses shared contexts of *da* and *dak*, where it is not possible to derive the exact meaning of *da*. Finally, section 14.4.4 gives some examples of utterances where the difference between *da* and *dak* is obvious.

14.4.2 Copulative and adversative *da*

In the dialect of Varzuga, *da* usually has the expected coordinative function. In more than half of the cases, *da* has an additive or adjunctive meaning 'and' or 'also'. Here is an example of proclitic *da* in the meaning 'and':

(58) у мн'а ба́бушка на рука́х, *да* до́ч' на рука́х. (S4)

Very common is postpositive, repeated copulative *da* ('and', 'as well'):

(59) *(А какую рыбу ловили?)* Бы́л'и ... с'иг'и́ *да*, ш':у́ка *да* о́кун'и *да*. [pause]

The next example shows single occurrences of additive postpositive *da*:

(60) — *А вы знаете какие названия ветра (...)? (...)*
— Дак ... (...) И та́м поб'ьр'е́жн'иком^{d} называ́ют *да*, за́пат вот тут. С'ич'а́с-то ја н'и зна́ју како́j т'е́н'еца. (...) С'е́в'ер^{d}, та́м восто́к^{d} *да*. (S5)

Proclitic and enclitic *da* can even be combined, such as in the next fragment. The speaker explains who was left behind in the village during the war, when so many men left to join the army:

(61) — Фс'а́к'их оста́в'ил'и, стар'ико́ф дак, кото́рые ... на вojну́ уш н'и ... н'и б'еру́т их. Стар'ик'и́ оста́в'ил'и *да* вот же́нш'ины *да*, *да* д'е́т'и. Дв'ена́цат'и-та л'е́тн'и и хъд'и́л'и на огоро́д'и. Карто́шк'и-то ма́ло сад'и́л'и тут карто́шк'и-то *да* о́j, ско́л'ко бы́ло убо́рк'и. Капу́ста *да* карто́шк'и *да* и р'е́пу сад'и́л'и морко́в' *да* (ф)с'о́ ... (S5)

AOS gives a remarkable example of postpositive, copulative *da* before a finite verb, which is probably unaccented, so the members of an enumeration are separated by a different sentence constituent ("*Однородные члены с повторяющимся* да *могут быть разделены другими членами предл.*"):

(62) Молоко́ *да* везли́, хле́б *да*, за се́ном йе́зьдила на острово́к.

In the following context from the Varzuga corpus, *da* has apparently the same adjunctive meaning ('also') in the same unexpected internal position:[5]

[5] Although *dak* is used twice after elements of the same syntactic rank, *dak* is used both times in the usual function to mark causes; see the context in fragment 6 in Appendix IV.

(63) Ну́ шку́ры т'о́плы дак. П'имы́ да т'о́плы дак. [App. VI text 2]

The following use of *da* is also intriguing, because it is used after another post-positive particle. It is not clear whether the meaning of *da* is additive:

(64) То́жо веть как ви́диш, и не зажывёш ы *да* (о семейной жизни).

Da can also be used in an adversative relation, similar to *no* 'but':[6]

(65) Фсё хорошо, *да* комаров много. (Murm.; Меркурьев 1998:16)

14.4.3 No copulative additive and adversative *dak*?

Some researchers claim that *dak* can be used with the same coordinative function and additive meaning as *da*. Others claim that *dak* is never used in a coordinative function (e.g. Vjatkina), and no such examples have been attested in Varzuga either (see section 9.4.1). Most of the examples given under this heading can easily be explained otherwise. For example, *AOS* and Merkur'ev mention *dak* as being an adversative conjunction, but part of their examples are not convincing, since the word following after the connector starts with a [k], which might mean that the speaker meant to say *da*:

(66) Меня звала́, *дак* кому ста́ры го́сьи нужны́? (Murm.; Меркурьев 1998:16)

In other cases, the examples display not only a contrast, but also a cause-consequence relation, which may have triggered the use of *dak*.

In the next example, *dak* is used twice after nominal phrases, so it has the typical syntax of an enumeration. However, the semantics do not fit with such a relation:

(67) Сорок ночей, сорок дней свадьба была велась. Ну, у царя *дак*, царской сын *дык*! (from Меркурьев 1998)

'Forty nights, forty days the wedding was celebrated. Well, at the king's *dak*, the king's son *dyk*!'

[6] *Da* is not synonymous to *no* 'but', because *but* always denotes an adversative relation, contrary to *da*. Pragmatic enrichment is needed to interpret the relation marked by *da* as being adversative; cf. Post 1997 and 1999 on Norwegian *og* 'and' and Russsian *i* 'and'.

In this utterance, *dak* has no additive meaning or coordinating function. It cannot have the function of adding a new member to a set, because *у царя* and *царской сын* are represent the same background information. As remarked by Lapteva, repetitions are very frequent in Russian spontaneous speech (Лаптева 1976). Merkur'ev gives this example as an instance of causal-conclusive meaning of *dak* and *dyk* (1998:26f).

We can conclude that there is at least one obvious difference between *da* and *dak*: *da* is frequently used in a coordinating, copulative or adversative function. Some researchers claim that *dak* can have the same function. The data on the use of *dak* in Varzuga and the published data on other Northern Russian dialects do not exclude this possibility. But if it occurs, it is a rare, peripheral phenomenon (cf. Никитина & Пожарицкая 1993 and the data from Varzuga). It is central for *da*, but atypical for *dak*.

14.4.4 Shared contexts: Asymmetric relations

More problematic to interpret is the meaning of *da* in contexts with asymmetric relations, such as a theme-rheme relation or a causal relation. In Komi-Zyryan, a single lexical unit *da* covers both the asymmetric meaning of Northern Russian *dak* and the symmetric, additive meaning of Northern Russian *da* (Leinonen 2002a). Can Northern Russian *da* also support both symmetric and asymmetric relations? *Da* is used in the same syntactic contexts as *dak*: "S *da* S", "X *da* S", "S, S *da*", "S, X *da*", "S *da*" and "*da* S", where X stands for a subclausal constituent and S for a clause, and *da* does not have the function to add a new, equal member to a set. *Da* is often used after a reason or cause for the proposition expressed or implied in the previous section, and it can even be used after the expression of an earlier event. Can *da* help to infer cause-consequence or theme-rheme relations in "B, A *da*"-constructions, or does it have a different function? In other words, is it synonymous with *dak* in these contexts, or does it have a different meaning? This question cannot be answered with a restricted amount of attestations, because most contexts allow more than one interpretation. Below are some examples.

- *Da* cannot have an additive meaning in the second occurrence in (68) from section 4.5.4.8. It might have a similar function as *dak* to denote background information:

(68) Ша́нг'и^{d} п'екч'и́ надо, кул'иба́к'и^{d} на́до п'екч'и́ да$_1$. Э́то ры́бн'ик'и-то *да*$_2$. П'екч'и́, а н'и п'е́ч'. (S2)

'We have to bake *šangi*, we have to bake *kulebaki da*. [= 'as well'?] These are fish pies *da* [= denotes background information, cf. *dak*?]. (We say) *pekčí*, and not *peč'*.'

- *Da* can also be used in a "PU, PU *da*"-construction, where the second expression gives a condition or a reason for the proposition expressed in the first one:

(69) Поневолю послѣдняго отдамъ, станешь приставать *да*. (Kolyma; Богоразъ 1901:14)[7]

(70) [S1:] — (...) А па́па до́ма?
[S21:] — Да.
[S1:] — С'его́дн'а выходно́j *да*.

- *Da* is, like *dak* and *-to* (see section 14.6 below) used after a postposed nominal, which provides information about the topic of the preceding statement:

(71) А́нна Ива́новна йе́сь — Немко́ва-то *да*. (*AOS*)
'There is Anna Ivanovna – namely Nemkova.'

In the dictionary, *da* is called an additive, exemplifing particle in this context. Here is an example from the Varzuga corpus, where all three particles are used after postposed nominals:

(72) — А лаг'ер'е́j-то в'езде́-тъ. Та́м и ... нав'е́рно ...на р'ек'и́ ... бо́л'но ско́л'ко их настро́jено, фс'о́ до́м'ик'и та́м-тъ. Пр'ијежа́ит когда́ ... откро́иц'е ... р'ека́-*тъ дак*. Ло́в'ат ры́бу-то.
— Значит только летом?
— Гм. Т'еп'е́р'-то фс'о закры́то. Но ... ры́бу-то ло́в'ат гд'е́-то ф Колон'и́х'и-то, колхо́с-то там ло́в'ит, н'е́вот jе́с'. Н'е зна́jу продаjу́т вро́д'е ... ры́бу *да*. Да бракон'е́ры-то тут то́же продаjу́т ... ры́бу-*то*.
— И сейчас ловят?
— Гм. (S1)

The fact that all three particles are used makes it improbable that they have exactly the same function.

[7] "Союз *дакъ* или *да* ставится для обозначенія условности придаточнаго предложенія. *Дакъ* ставится въ концѣ придаточнаго предложенія, которое слѣдуетъ за главнымъ" (ibid.).

- *Da* is also used in asymmetric constructions of the type "A *da* B", with an unknown function:

(73) Пока не измолотили *да*, свадьбу-то не делали. (*AOS*)

AOS gives the comment "particle of finality?". The question mark indicates that the lexicographers were uncertain about the function of *da* in this particular context.

- Both *da* and *dak* are attested in constructions before a final emotional interjection, expressing a comment on the preceding statement:

(74) а то́ ска́жут, jéсл'и густо́j *да* а́нд'елd, така́: сн'ежы́наd вал'и́т дак! Ja говор'у́-то а́нд'ел, така́ сн'ежы́на на у́л'иц'и-то вал'и́т *дак* стра́шно. (S2)

(75) Вот деточек-то нету, *да* ой-ой-ой-ой! Да так жыли тожо, *дак*, о! (Kuzreka; Меркурьев 1998:37)

Unlike *dak*, *da* was attested not only before the interjection *oj*, but also after it (for more context see text 10 in Appendix VI):

(76) А фс'о́ вруч'ну́ дак, о́j *да*. (S4)

Bogoraz also mentions use in the end of expressive utterances ("use in the meaning of *že*"): "*какъ да!* вмѣсто какъ же! *чево да!* вмѣсто что же!" (Богоразъ 1966 (1901).

The previous examples have shown that *da* can be used in very different contexts: apart from implying pure addition, it can also mark 'prior' information, where the exact role of *da* is not clear. In a range of cases, the context is ambiguous and allows interpretions of *da* both as supporting a symmetric, copulative relation and as supporting an asymmetric implicational relation. An example was given in section 9.4.2.1, where the utterance *Ты не пьешь и я не пью да* expresses the underlying reason for something earlier discussed, but where it is not certain that this relation is supported by *da*. Below are more examples of ambiguous contexts.

The multifunctionality of *da* implies that the following utterances can have very different interpretations:

(77) Пријихал домой, заболел *да*.

(78) И я думала сходить, поглядить *да*. (both Arch.; Кузнецов 1951)

Did the speaker come home because he was ill (asymmetric "B A"-relation), or did he come home, and then fell ill (symmetric, additive "A B"-relation)? Does the second speaker mean that she wanted to go because she wanted to look around, or does she mean she wanted to go and then look around there after her arrival? Kuznecov himself does not touch upon this problem and claims that both *da* and *dak* in these constructions help to complete and confirm the expressed thought (1951:89).

In the next fragment, the use of *da* is ambiguous as well. It could have exactly the same function as *dak* in the preceding utterance (see explanation in section 12.2.5), of which it is an exact copy, but it could also have an additive function, adding the four grandchildren to Ninočka, her daughter in law and mother of these children: 'I live at Ninočka's and my four grandchildren':

(79) — Она пр'ијежа́ла до́м-тъ бы́л дак пр'ијежа́ла. А т'ьп'ер' до́му н'е́ту у Н'и́ноц'к'и жывý *дак*. У Н'и́ноц'к'и жывý *да*, у ... ч'е́тыр'е вну́ка. (S10)

The context is also ambiguous in the following example:

(80) — *А хорошая погода (...)? (...)*
— Хоро́ша пого́да-тъ. Ја́сно *да*. Је́с' кон'е́шно у на́с сло́ф так'и́х инт'ер'е́сных. (...) (S8)

The dialect speaker is asked how good weather is called in the dialect. The respondent replies that it is simply called *хоро́ша пого́да* 'good weather'. The addition *Ја́сно да* 'clear *da*' could have an additive meaning, 'when the weather is good and clear', but it could also serve as a restrictive condition: 'it is called "good" when the weather is clear'.

The same ambiguity is found in ex. 81 from chapter 8:

(81) (...) Во́т фс'о́ стои́т иш'е́ э́та шко́ла. А т'ьп'е́р'-то хот'е́л'и софс'е́м је́то убра́т' а П'о́тр Прокóп'јев'ич' дъб'и́лс'а ш'о(б) муз'е́j зд'е́л'ат'.
— *Да*.
— Дак ... р'емонт'и́роват' бу́д'от. Л'е́с пр'ив'о́з *да*. (S1)

The addition *Л'éс пр'ив'óз дa* 'He has brought timber *da*' could be meant to give background information to the preceding statement that P'otr P. wants to renovate the old school building and turn it into a museum. It could also be background information for an unpronounced implication: since he has brought timber already, you can see that he is serious about his plans and has already started to realise them. But *da* could also have an additive meaning, similar to 'as well' or 'even', implying something like 'he does not only have those plans, he has also brought timber, so he has started to realise them.'

An example from Popov (Попов 1957:74) of the particle *da* can also be explained both as expressing a symmetric addition and an asymmetric implication (see section 6.5.5):

(82) Ты не пьешь и я не пью *да*.
You *neg* drink.2sg and I *neg* drink.1sg *da*

Popov explains convincingly that the utterance was meant to express the underlying reason for something discussed earlier, but it is not certain that *da* plays a role in expressing this causality. *Da* could also have purely adjunctive meaning ('and' or 'too', or, in this case '(not) either'), like in constructions of the type "S *da*, S *da*".

Many of the example utterances with *da* given in Попов 1957 are multi-interpretable. As explained in section 6.5.6, Popov does not mention the existence of the form *dak*. This implies that he either did not hear the final [k] in part of his examples, or that *da* plays the role of both *da* and *dak* in the dialect he describes. He interprets *da* as supporting temporal, conditional and causal relations, but, although Popov's interpretations might be compatible with the thoughts and intentions of the speaker, this does not mean that this is what was supported by *da*. *Da* may have had a different function. For example, in many cases of "S *da*, S", the particle *da* could perhaps be replaced by *že*, as suggested by Bogoraz for utterances like "*какъ да!*" and "*чево да!*" (Богоразъ 1901; see section 6.5.2). In (83) and (84), *da* may not only connect the preceding unit to the following one, but it may also refer back to the previous context:

(83) Жарко *да*, бьется.
(84) Трава-то долга *да*, не знаю будет ли картошка-то.

Of course, this possibility cannot be verified without knowledge of the context.

Here is a final example of an ambiguous context from Попов 1957. A speaker added the following utterance as an explanation for something she had talked about before:

(85) Стары *да* не учены были *да*.

Popov gives a long explanation of the context, the exact content of which is not relevant for the current argumentation. There is no reason to doubt the correctness of Popov's interpretation that the cited utterance is meant as an explanation for the speaker's previous statements, but is this really the relation expressed, or supported, by *da*? This particle could just as well have an additive meaning and function to mark copulative relations both in the first and the second case.

These multi-interpretable examples show that it is not surprising that some researchers claim that *da* and *dak* are either variants of the same word or have same meaning.

There is no agreement in the literature about the question whether *da* can imply causal and temporal asymmetric relationships in "A *da* B"-constructions. On the basis of *AOS*, Leinonen concluded that *da* cannot be used as a correlate (2002a:326) and that only *dak*, and not *da*, can be used in the function of indicating causality in inter-clausal position (2002b:138). Popov would not have agreed. He found that *da* is often used in interposition in complex constructions with a relation of logical dependence. Most often, they express a condition or reason and its result:

(86) Жарко *да*, бьется. (about a horse)
(87) Нынче ведь лето *да*, все на роботах, кто может дак.
(88) Со своей деревни *да*, так, а с чужой деревни на лошадях, на паре, на двух.
(89) Одеяло-то *да*, тепло спать-то. (all Leš. Arch.; Попов 1957)

According to Popov, *Жарко да, бьется* could be expressed in standard language as *Жарко, поэтому и бьется*, 'It is hot, so that's why it is kicking' or *Так как жарко, бьется* 'Since it is hot, it is kicking'. However, as argued in 6.5.6 and 9.4.2., it is not certain that this is what *da* supports. *Da* might have connected the first clause not to the second clause, but to an already activated proposition. Furthermore, Popov did not recognise the existence of a separate word *dak*, which might mean that he misinterpreted some cases of *dak* for *da*. Still, *da* is used in this position as well.

How about the function as a correlate? *AOS* gives examples of compound sentences like *Poka (...), dak (...)* 'While (...) *dak* (...)' as examples of *dak* in the function of a correlate. Leinonen herself quotes a similar utterance with *da* ((73) above from *AOS*):

(73) Пока не измолотили *да*, свадьбу-то не делали.

However, the position of the comma is different, and this is a good reason not to interpret *da* as a resumptive correlate (see section 13.5). On the other hand, we saw that even *dak* is hardly ever used after a pause, so *dak* might not function as a correlate either. This case shows once more that the type of utterance alone is not enough to derive the exact function of the particle it contains.

The placement of the comma – or rather the possible positions of a pause, before or after *da* – might be the crucial difference between symmetric copulative *da* and asymmetric implicational *da* in "A *da* B"-constructions: perhaps *da* is always copulative in "A, *da* B"-constructions. The intonation should also be studied, because enumerations often have a specific intonation (cf. Попов 1957; Bonnot & Fougeron 1984; 1989 on Standard Russian).

Leinonen concluded from the description in *AOS* that *da* can also be used to mark a theme (2002a:323), but none of the examples in *AOS* are convincing. This is yet another question that cannot be answered with a small amount of data.

An example of an asymmetric context where only *dak* can be used, and not *da*, is the use of the imperative in example 90 (see section 9.3.1):

(90) — Пр'ивал'и́с' на паду́шку-ту *дак*. Ка́ja? На паду́шку-тъ пр'ивал'и́с'. Спа́т' на(в')е́рно хо́(ч'е)ш.

The respondent to my questionnaire rejected the use of *da* in this utterance:

(91) — Пр'ивал'и́с' на паду́шку-ту **да*.

He explained this utterance in the way I had interpreted it: *dak* signals that the speaker implies a consequence of the action she wants the hearer to accomplish (see section 9.3.1). This means that *dak* implies a proposition which can be inferred from the action expressed in the imperative. The fact that *da* is unfelicitous might be evidence that *da* is not used in the Varzuga dialect to support circumstantial relations in "A B"-constructions.

14.4.5 Clear examples of the differences between *da* and *dak*

The unclear cases of *da* concern only a minority of the cases. The differences between *da* and *dak* are clearest in fragments where both words are used shortly after each other. The fact that the speaker used two different forms shortly after each other suggests that they are not synonymous. *AOS* gives such an example under the first meaning (or context) of *dak*:

(92) В дере́вне мно́го трудня́е жыть, *да* привы́кли *дак*.

Da connects the expressions of two contrastive situations with each other. According to *AOS*, *dak* is here used as a particle "to strengthen the content of the sentence". *Dak* seems rather to imply a proposition following from the circumstance that they were used to living in the village: since they were used to it, they did it. In fact, the adversative meaning implied is not present between the two propositions expressed in the two clauses. There is no contrast between 'it is much tougher to live in the village' and 'we were used to it'. The contrast is found between the proposition expressed in the first clause ('it is much tougher to live in a village') and the implied proposition, which follows from the clause ending in *dak* (*but*'we lived there after all'). This is a good example of the large role of pragmatic enrichment in spontaneous speech.

In the next fragment, the order of *da* and *dak* in the marked utterance is not accidental:

(93) – *А тогда вся деревня участвовала в сенокосе?*
[S3:] – Фс'е́а. Н'и ф- ... кто мо́к.
[S1:] – Фс'е́. Кто мо́г дак, фс'е́.
[S3:] – Кто́ кос'и́л, кто́ гр'о́п. Побojев'е́, кото́ры помоло́же кос'а́т. Сто́jкам'и кос'и́л'и-ть. Но́, а ... пост<u>а́рше *да* д'е́т'и *дак* э- гр'ебу́т</u>. Зг'реба́jут с'е́но. А оп'а́т' кто побojев'е́ *дак* ку́ч'и но́с'ат тако́ к стога́м. В'ида́ла тут в огоро́дах стога́ стоjа́т?
[S1:] – Гм.
[S3:] – Ну во́т. Вот та́к вот.

In this section about haymaking, *da* is used in its common additive function, connecting two syntactically identical nominal phrases with each other. *Dak* is in this utterance used in its typical use of connecting a theme to a rheme, which are contrasted to an alternative theme-rheme-pair: the older people and the children (*постарше да дети*) rake the hay (*гребут*), while the younger people with more strength (*кото́ры помоло́же, кто побojеве́*) carry the heaps to the stacks (*ку́ч'и но́с'ат*

тако́ к стога́м). This fragment also contains a typical use of *tak* as an adverb in the last utterance.

AOS cites another clear example utterance where we find both *dak* and *da*, fulfilling different functions:[8]

(94) Кры́са *дак* вот таки́ў ды́роф напройеда́ла, во клете́, *да* я́ ка́к две́ри-то откро́ю, *дак* она́ ка́к туда́ цебура́хнеця! (Karg.; *AOS*; *клеть* F. 'storeroom, shed')

The first case of *dak* appears to be used to mark a theme; the second *dak* is a non-controversial example of use in a complex construction, after a subordinate clause containing the subordinating conjunction *kak*, which is here used in a temporal meaning ('when', or 'as soon as'). *Da* simply means 'and' and introduces an additional event.

14.5 *Dak* vs. *ak* in the dialect

The word form *ak* is frequent in some Archangel'sk dialects (Никитина & Пожарицкая 1993), but it has been attested in other regions as well, including the Kola Peninsula (Меркурьев 1998). The word is so short and improminent and phonetically so similar to *kak*, *dak* and *da* that I did not notice it at first in the recordings from Varzuga. Only after I had become aware of its possible use, I heard some occurrences of *ak*.[9]

Its low frequency in the material, combined with its use in very diverging contexts does not allow to draw many conclusions about the properties of this word. In most utterances, the function of *ak* is unclear. What is certain is that *ak* can be used in utterance-initial, utterance-internal and utterance-final position, like *dak* and *da*, and that it both shares contexts with *dak* and appears in contexts where use of *dak* is excluded.

Here are some examples of various contexts of *ak*, where its function is not obvious:

(95) — *И когда туда дети уезжали, когда приезжали?*
— *Ак* уjежа́л'и во́т, в нач'а́ло ... ф Ку́зом'ен'-тъ, с'ънт'ебр'а́ дак, та́м нач'ина́л- ... то́же тогда́ нач'ина́л'и уч'и́т'. На́ а конч'а́л'и дак уш когда́ конч'а́jут, на(в')е́рнъ ф- ..., jа уш и позабы́ла, когда́ та́м Тама́ра-тъ уч'и́лас' ф Ку́зом'ен'и, д'е́с'ет'

[8] This utterance is given as an example of *da* under the heading "additional conjunction in a simple or complex/compound sentence" ("союз присоединительный в простом или сложном предл."), translated as *а* 'and', *при этом* 'besides', *причем* 'moreover; and; while', *еще и* 'besides'.
[9] See Appendix V for more examples of linguistic expressions which are not noticed when the hearer is not aware of their possible existence.

кла́с:оф конч'а́ла. *Ак* ста́рша-тъ та́ н'ь уч'и́лас', ту́ ... йе́зд'ила уш на вы́груску за паръхо́т ы ... на Ус'је туда́ йе́зд'ила уш, позаросла́ дак, Тама́ра-то фторо́й го́т шо́л, война́-то нач'ала́с', а то́й там (unintell.) А та́ ста́рша дак [pause] Та́к вот, так'и́ д'ел'и́шк'и. (S5)

The first *ak* in this fragment ("*ak* S") could mean the same as *kak*, which can mean 'when', but it could also have the function of a pragmatic particle to introduce a reply, similar to *a*, *nu* or *dak*. The second occurrence could have several different functions, which I will not speculate about. The function of postpositive *ak* in the following example ("S *ak*, S") is also unclear:

(96) — *А вам сколько?*
— А мн'е́ во́с'ьмд'ьс'ат с'е́м'. А вот ум'ерла́ н'еда́вно то́же была́ д'ев'ено́стъ. Два́ л'и од'и́н л'и был, ум'ерла́ то́же, же́нш'ина, то́же на то́м б'ер'егу́. А у на́с-то э́т:а^{d} то́же поум'ира́л'и *ак*, ум'ерла́ позапро́шлыj гот, же́нш'ина на́ гот м'ьн'а́ моло́же бы́ла. Да ту́т јиш'о́ Раи́с'а ум'ерла́ та́ иш'е́ мало́же. Та́к. Та́к вот так'и́ д'ел'и́шк'и. (S5)

Merkur'ev concluded that one of the functions of *ak* is that of a confirmative modal particle (*utverditel'naja modal'naja častica*; Меркурьев 1998:30): the particle *ak* is used, according to Merkur'ev, when the speaker confirms the content of the utterance without persistence (ibid.). Here are some of his examples, as an illustration some of the possibilities of this particle:

(97) Биш *ак*, наверно, Ондреем Ивановичем его и звали.
(98) *Ак* у тя́ гости-то не наежжают?
(99) Ище́ есь [сын]. *Ак* вина пьёт много то́жо.
(100) Вот видиш, ны́ньце память *ак*, фсё забы́дёш.
(101) Лыжники, *ак* лыжники веть сео́ндя ещё́ не при́дут однако.
(102) Дак вот теперь-то справился, *ак* он вроде как прихрамыват. (Меркурьев 1998:30)

On the basis of the few assembled occurrences of *ak* from Varzuga and the descriptions of *ak* in *AOS*, Никитина & Пожарицкая 1993 and Меркурьев 1998, a few conclusions can be drawn. First, *ak* can be equivalent to the conjunction *kak*, second, it shares a number of contexts with *dak*, and could have the same function in these contexts, and third, it is used in contexts where neither *kak* nor *dak* could have been used. Some examples will be given of all three groups.

In the first fragment, *ak* is possibly equivalent to the subordinating conjunction *kak* 'how; when'. The most probable interpretation of *ak* in this example from *AOS* is as corresponding to *kak* 'how':

(103) Хо́лодно *ак* сео́дне, как про́холоть кака́йя.

In this particular case, *ak* could also be equivalent to *tak* 'so'. A *dak*-like function as connecting theme and rheme is excluded, since 'cold' and 'today' can hardly represent a theme and its rheme.

In other cases, *ak* seems no different from *dak*. In the next example of utterance-initial *ak* it cannot have the meaning 'when'. It is used when the speaker continues a discourse topic, where she explains what she does with raspberries. *Ak* introduces a new, consecutive action in a chain of actions. The presence of the adverb *potom* 'then, afterwards' and the falling intonation on the verb exclude an interpretation of *ak* as similar to the subordinative conjunction *kak*:

(104) — К ча́ју-то вот, ну́ (хот'?). И́л'и на хл'е́п, л'и ка́к л'и та́м. Кто́ ка́к. Жела́јет.
(— Гм.)
— *Ак* пото́м са́хар-то и поло́жъш. Воз'м'о́ш ə- ... она́ ... (ит',) ... н'ь вар'о́н:о та́-Ну́, мал'е́нко-то вар'о́н:о фс'о но она́ м'а́к:а. До́лжна́-тъ быт'. (S1)

In the next fragment (105; from section 4.5.4.8), the speaker tells that she had a modern wedding when she got married in the thirties. She explains the differences with a traditional wedding:

(105) То́же ... тогда́ ишо́ бы́ло ... пр'е́же-то *ак* јико́ны бы́л'и. (S4)

In this case, *ak* is used after a contrastive topic (theme): *пр'еже* 'before' is contrasted to the time when she got married herself. In fact, two theme-rheme pairs are contrasted to each other: in earlier times they used icons, whereas when the speaker was wed, icons where not used anymore. This is an almost canonical context for the use of *dak*.

In Varzuga *ak* can also be used in utterance-final position (106; from section 4.5.4.8):

(106) — Л'и́да Па́вловна жыв'о́т у э́тој ... у Тама́ры Ал'ексáндровны. Јеј н'ь зна́јет'ь, (...) Март'ем'ја́н Ф'едо́тов'ич' был, от'е́ц' ие́тому, сы́ну. Ал'ексáндру-то. Март'ем'ја́нов'ич', Ал'ексáндр Март'ем'ја́нович', му́ш-то у је́ј дак. А та́м Л'и́да

Па́вловна. (...) Ста́рше м'ен'а́ она на дев'ено́стовъм д'ьс'а́тк'и уш, д'ев'ьно́стовој. Д'ев'ьно́'сто ско́л'ко-то, тр'и́ л'и ш'о́ л'и јеј уш, го́да *ак*.

— *А вам сколько?*

— А мн'е́ во́с'ьмд'ьс'ат с'е́м'. (S5)

In this case, *ak* seems also to be equivalent to *dak*, since the word ends a remark with additional, more precise information about the theme of the previous statement.

In the following, last example of *ak*, it must have a function different from both *kak* and *dak*:

(107) — *Вам было трудно, наверно.*

— Тру́дно о́ч'ен' је́то ...

— *Неприятно.*

— Н'епр'ија́тно, ш'о́ ты то́ ... колоко́л'н'у рон'и́л'и дак тут ... тако́ бы́ло пло́хо а́:нд'... наро́т-то како́ј то бы́лъ тъгда́. Но по́сл'е уш фс'о ста́ло ... на розру́ху на розру́ху по́сл'е ста́ло фс'о уже́ н'и тако́ј изм'ен'е́н'ијь ста́л'и. И́ в жы́зн'и. А тогда́ тако́ да мы јиш'о́ ма́л'ен'к'и-тъ бы́л'и *ак* тогда́. В бо́га то бо́л'ше в'е́ровал'и ка́к-то там. Фс'о боје́л'ис' је́сл'и ... воскр'ьс'е́н'је дак и кто́ и [и то и? н'икто́ и?], п'е́р'ет воскр'ес'е́н'јом н'икто́ н'икуда́ н'е ходи́л'ь. Ма́л'ен'к'и был'и н'е бол'шы́-тъ. (S4)

In the preceding fragment, *ak* can hardly be a variant of *dak*. *Dak* is not to be expected in this position because the word following after it is not prominent, and cannot be interpreted as expressing a predication about a theme. A meaning of *kak* 'when' is improbable due to the presence of *togda* 'then'.

Ak could have derived from two different sources: from *jako* or *ako*, a variant of *kak*, and from *dak* (Мишланов 1996; Никитина & Пожарицкая 1993; Rozalija Kasatkina (p.c.); cf. sections 6.5.15 and 6.5.19). This could explain why *ak* is used in such different functions.

14.6 *Dak* vs. Standard Russian and dialectal *-to*

This section starts with a short characterisation of the particle *-to* and its variants in Standard Russian and the dialects. After that, the similarities between *-to* and *dak* will be given, and finally, the syntactic, semantic and functional differences are addressed between *-to* and *dak*.

14.6.1 Short characterisation of *-to*

The particle *-to* and its dialectal variants have a demonstrative-emphasising function (Leinonen 1998:75). Standard Russian-*to* is usually claimed to emphasise the element it is enclitically attached to (e.g. Vasilyeva 1972; Bonnot 1987; Rathmayr 1985; Битехтин 1993 on Standard Russian and e.g. Трубинский 1970 on dialectal *-to*). This is often a contrastive theme (topic), or another thematic element in the sentence (e.g. Bonnot 1987; 1990; Grenoble 1998; Битехтин 1994; McCoy (2001) calls it a part of the *link*). Bitechtin claims that *-to* does not mark a thematic element, but a complete proposition. The word marked by *-to* is something the speaker predicates something about. McCoy (2001) claims something similar. In her view, *-to* is a *kontrastive* particle in that it marks the element it is enclitically attached to as being part of a set of alternatives (see sections 7.2.2.5 and 10.3.12). It marks that this element is part of a set of sets of propositions, which differ from each other in the values of two kontrastive elements, one within the link and the other one within the rheme.[10] In other words, *-to* marks that the element is part of a theme-rheme pair that is set up against alternative theme-rheme pairs, such as in the following fragment:

(108) У на́с ... рост'о́т, бл'и́ско зд'ес'. М'е́лка то́л'ко, но́ мно́го то́же раст'о́т. Ра́н'ще как бу́т:о н'е́ было jej и во́т ə- ... А ... т'еп'е́р'-*то*, в э́т'и-*то* го́ды *дак* jej ... рост'о́т мно́го.

T1 = earlier
R1 = there were no raspberries
T2 = now, during the last years
R2 = there are plenty

Since *link* and *rheme* are terms used for linguistic expressions and not for concepts (see section 7.2.2.2), McCoy's claim is of course only true if both theme and rheme are expressed in the same sentence. This is far from always the case, but McCoy could be right that it marks elements of a set of sets on a mental level.

The particle *-to* is usually claimed to mark information known to the hearer but not currently activated in the discourse: it is accessible to the hearer, but needs reactivation (e.g. Уздинская 1996:5; McCoy 2001:291).[11]

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[10] The marking of set memberhip might be a property of pitch accents rather than of the particle *-to*, which is almost exclusively used after word carrying a pitch accent; see section 10.3.12 and 14.6 below.

[11] Udzinskaja and McCoy do not mention that *-to* can even mark elements which have just been activated in the preceding utterance:
(109) — *А дети уже были тогда?*

The use of *-to* and its variants in the dialects differs from the use of *-to* in Standard Russian, but the differences are not fundamental. Uzdinskaja found no fundamental differences in meaning and functions between the Northern Russian dialects and the standard language, apart from differences in frequency and the spread of secondary meanings, which should be qualified as contextually determined modifications of the invariant meaning of reference to known information (Уздинская 1996:15). One of the differences is that in standard language, *-to* is stylistically marked, a factor which lowers its frequency in general, except in the speech of dialectologists when speaking to dialect speakers, who may use *-to* more often than their informants. They use it abundantly as a strategy to "lower" their speaking style (1996:19). In the Northern Russian dialects, *-to* is much more frequent, and therefore, it is less prominent and its meaning is weaker (cf. Leinonen 1998:74f).[12] It has been claimed that in Northern Russian dialects, the postpositive particles are close to definite articles, but this could easily be dismissed, since they are far from obligatory – Leinonen remarked that some speakers do not use them at all – and they can mark not only nouns, but all kinds of content words.

Uzdinskaja found that in the dialects, the particle *-to* is more often used in its basic, referring, deictical meaning than in Standard Russian. This can be explained by the different style of dialectal speech, where direct reference is more usual. Leinonen remarks that with increasing use, the demonstrative meaning of demonstrative pronouns weakens.

14.6.2 Shared contexts of *dak* and *-to*

-to and *dak* share many contexts and functions. Both *-to* and enclitic *dak* are used to mark the following elements:

- contrastive topics:

(111) Для да́чникоф *дак* э́то ле́то хорошо́, загора́ть да купа́ца, а вот для расте́ний-*то* *дак* о́чень су́хо (Арх., Шуйская)

— Д'е́т'и-*то* бы́л'и. А ба́бушка была дак та́м д'е́т'и подросл'и́ да. (S10)

Apparently, the element marked by *dak* needs to be singled out for some other reason, for example because there are alternatives to this object which are activated as well, like in the following example:

(110) Мужик да жёнка жили. Мужик-*от* и помёр. Жонка-*та* жале мужика-*та* и плацё, и плацё всё: (...) (Меркурьев 1997c:78)

These examples were attested Northern Russian dialects, where *-to* is more frequent than in Standard Russian, but similar examples could be found in the standard language.

[12] *DARJa* gives the distribution of *-to* and its variants in the Russian dialects (*DARJa* III, map 12), and shows that the particle is not used in the South-Western dialects.

(112) — Хорошо́. В’ез’(д’)е́ въз’и́л’и, то Л’икон’и́да-*то* она́ по́мн’ит а мы́-*то* ... у на́с уже́ та́ко́ н’е́ту сказа́т’ел’ново так. (S9)

- other sentence-initial topical elements, which are part of a set, but not clearly contrasted:

(113) — *А вы вяжете крючком?*
— Кр’уч’ко́м-*тъ* ра́н’ше-то в’еза́л’и. Кружева́-*то* в’еза́л’и ра́н’ше то́же кр’уч’ко́м-то. В’еза́л’и, а т’ьп’е́р’ вр’ад(?) н’ь в’а́жем. (S10)

(114) — *А почему попа повезли?*
— Попа́ *дак*, э́то ... застр’ел’и́л, о́н, да́л jе́j, нъга́н-то. Да бы́л зар’а́жен:ыj, да́. На́жал о́н. (S5)

-to is, like enclitic *dak*, used to mark that the element it is attached to is thematic, in the sense that this object is an entity about which something will be, or has been said or implied. Both *-to* and *dak* separate theme from rheme, and thus help to express the information division of the sentence (Овчинникова 1976 on dialectal *-to*; Мерлин 1978 on *dak*):

(115) Свёкар-*ат* кудрявый был. (Vladim.; Овчинникова 1976:122)

- Both *-to* and *dak* usually mark prominent elements carrying a pitch accent;

- Both particles mark afterthoughts and parentheticals:

(116) а мальцик быw небоlшой / года цетыре ли пять / не знаю // мальцик-*то* / у доцери-*то* (Leinonen 1998:79, from Касаткина et al. 1991:113)

Leinonen explains this use in afterthoughts as a strategy decision, used when the speaker is not sure that the hearer can access the referent (1998:79f). Leinonen gives another example where the referent is first pronominalised and then lexicalised due to retrieval problems:

(117) потом одевают уш / сатиновы ли / какие ле там вот / эти как уже называются-та // беси-ти // беси // (Leinonen 1998:79, from Касаткина et al. 1991:49)

This use is very close to the Varzuga examples 118 and 119, where both *-to* and *dak* are used, except that in the latter cases, the speaker continues her story immediately after she has found the word she had been searching for:

(118) А потом брако- э́ти оказались, рыбнадзо́ры-*то дак*, ə-, фс'о тоже ... на́ч'ал'и (...)

(119) — *Эта икра похожа на ...?*
— Но́, на с'о́мужjо она похо́же да. Така́ же ... кру́пнаja, jикра́-тъ. А jej мно́го, с'е́jгот ... оп'а́т' икр- э́тоj бы́ло ... горбу́шы-тъ *дак*, мно́го оч'ьн'. (S1)

- *-to* marks an element as being something the speaker is talking about, just like enclitic *dak*. Thus both *dak* and *-to* mark subordinate, thematic information, where thematic should be seen on a suprasentential level: just like *dak*, *-to* marks information the speaker will say or has said or implied something about. Several researchers have found that *-to* is typically used in subordinate clauses. Trubinskij found the typical combination of *-to* with *dak* in complex sentences with hypotaxis (Трубинский 1971; see section 6.5.9), and Uzdinskaja found the same in the dialect of Megra in the Vologda oblast; Уздинская 1996:16).*-to* is used here for syntactic cohesion by marking subordinate information (Уздинская 1996:16; Leinonen 1998:80, citing an example from Трубинский 1970):

(120) У нас-*то* тогда-*то* экспедыцыя-*то* мужыки-*то дак* три месяца жыли. (Pin. Arch.)

In the next utterance, both *-to* and *dak* mark elements something will be predicated about somewhat later:

(121) Пов'и́длы бы́л'и ... Вот тут магаз'и́н был с'ич'а́с jево н'е́ту гд'е Л'икон'и́да Н'ик'и́форовна-*то дак*, у н'ej са́т-*то* тут *дак* вот та́м, поп'ер'ед'и́ был до́м. Ту́т был магаз'и́н.

Uzdinskaja found secondary functions of dialectal *-to* which appear to be close to the functions of *dak*. For Standard Russian speech, she found a function where *-to* is used analoguous to a subordinating conjunction with a causal meaning (Уздинская 1996:18); cf. Mansikka, who remarked that an explanatory-*to* can be added in asyndetic complex sentences for the sake of clarity (Мансикка 1914a:168):

(122) свёкор, умёр-*то*, знаткой был.

(123) у нас баба, помёрла нонь-*то*, знала эты слова. (both Kar./Arch.)

- Leinonen claims that *-to* also can be used to mark syntactic or speech act boundaries, since it can mark the end of subordinate clauses, and it is also often used at the end of exclamations and questions (1998:78; 83):

(124) Как ты красавица-*та*! У тебя, — говорит, — глаза колё ! Куды ты пошла-*то*?

(125) Ну а ты, мама, седешь ли ись-*то*? (both Kar.; from a collection of fairy tales)

We saw that *dak* is often used at syntactic boundaries as well, especially after subordinate clauses, and at the end of exclamations, though not at the end of questions. This characteristic of *-to* and *dak* is at most a secondary function of these particles. Their use can have different explanations. In corresponding exclamatory utterances in Standard Russian, *-to* can be used as well, but usually, *-to* and the word it marks do not take final position. Lapteva found that in Russian dialects the structure of utterances is different from spoken Standard Russian. For example, questions are less often divided prosodically (see section 11.2.2). Words like *kakoj* and *takoj* are usually not separated from the words they modify, while this is very common in standard spoken Russian:

(126) Тишина-*то* какая!

The most common Northern Russian counterpart is probably *"Кака тишина-то!"* Similarly, the common Russian equivalent of *Така ляпанда валит дак!* is probably *Такая валит ляпанда!*, without *dak* and a different word order. A good explanation for the use of *-to* in such utterances can be found in McCoy 2001:141f.

14.6.3 Differences between *dak* and *-to*

Then, what is the difference between *-to* and *dak*? Several of the examples mentioned above contain both of these particles, which suggests that they are not completely synonymous. I start with some syntactic differences.

- *-to* is enclitic to a single word; *dak* is enclitic to larger units:

(127) А с'ич'ác-*то* мы хóд'им хъровóды-*то* вот тóже. На сцéны-*то* когдá *дак*.
(127a)А с'ич'ác-*то* мы хóд'им хъровóды-*то* вот тóже. На сцéны-*то* когдá-**то*.

- *-to* can be used inside a sentence constituent; *dak* is only used on the boundaries of sentence constituents and larger syntactic units:

(128) Возьми-*то*, мать, говорит, вишневу-*то* шаль. (Varzuga corpus)
(128a) Возьми-*то*, мать, говорит, вишневу-*то* **дак* шаль. (questionnaire)
(128b) Возьми-*то*, мать, говорит, вишневу **дак* шаль. (questionnaire)

- *Dak* is almost exclusively used after the first sentence constituent – or after the first syntagm, which functions as a constituent of another sentence. If not, *dak* is attached to a parenthetical, which is not part of the basic structure of the sentence. In contrast, *-to* can also be used after other constituents in the sentence:

(129) — *Умба деревня, да. А там осталось очень ма́ло. ...*
— Там ма́ло жы́т'ел'ej-*то* оста́лос' софс'е́м.
— *Да, очень мало.*
— Мы то́же там выступа́л'и, ра́н'ше наро́ду-*то* бы́ло вот. Там то́же клуб был, ис церкв'и зд'е́лан. Когда́ вот ц'е́ркв'и-*то* бы́л'и нару́шены *дак*, клуп то́же был там. (S2)

As expected, the respondent to the questionnaire dismissed the following modified utterances:

(130) там ма́ло жы́т'ел'ej-*то* оста́лос' софс'е́м.
(130a) там ма́ло жы́т'ел'ej-*то* **дак* оста́лос' софс'е́м. (questionnaire)

(131) Ра́н'ше наро́ду-*то* бы́ло вот.
(131a) Ра́н'ше наро́ду **дак* бы́ло вот. (questionnaire)

- *-to* can also be used after several consecutive words, such as in the above cited example from Трубинский 1970:

(132) У нас-*то* тогда-*то* экспедыцыя-*то* мужыки-*то дак* три месяца жыли.

In only one out of five hundred attestations in the Varzuga database *dak* was used after two consecutive words.[13]

[13] This example was found in a fragment with abundant use of *dak*:

- *-to* is claimed to be a marker of emphasis, and indeed, jut like the elements marked by *dak*, the words marked by *-to* are usually prominent, both prosodically and informationally. However, *-to* does not only mark sentence-initial themes; it can even mark non-prominent elements in the so-called *tail* (see section 7.2.2.6) at the end of the sentence, such as so-called right-dislocated elements, unlike *dak* (see section 11. 5.4):[14]

(134) Пропа́ли денежки-*то*. (from Zybatow 1990)

In this utterance, *dak* can be used as well, but it changes the meaning:

(134a) Пропа́ли денежки *дак*. (questionnaire)

The scope of *dak* is not the last word, but the whole utterance. According to the respondent, the utterance has a meaning of pity when *dak* is used. With *-to*, it is just a statement of a fact. The use of *dak* implies that it is too late, the money is gone and nothing can be done about it. In other words, unlike *-to*, *dak* provokes a thought about a consequence of the situation expressed in the utterance.

The element *syn-ot* 'my (her, his, their) son' in the next example also appears to represent a tail:

(135) В Ушаткине / сын-*от* / жывёт. (example from Овчинникова 1976:115)

Remember that the slashes in Ovčinnikova's transcription do not mark pauses, but boundaries between thematic and rhematic parts of the utterance. The use of *dak* would have been impossible: it is improbable that the speaker

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(133) (...) до́лго о́ч'ен' э́то и л'ежы́т *дак* она́ ... т'еп'ёр' вот она́ *дак* зам'о́рзн'ет *дак* э- ... н'ич'ео́ и н'е д'е́лајеце а когда́ т'епло́ *дак* она́ ... с ду́шко́м ока́жец'а *дак*, э́то уш о́ч'ен' фку́сно ише́ ка-, фкусн'е́j ка́жет.

The complete fragment, which is about fermented pike, is given in Appendix VI.

[14] McCoy claims that tails can never be kontrastive, following Vallduví and Vilkuna 1998 (1998:107, fn. 4; McCoy 2003:320). A typical tail is a right-detached element, and they are never contrasted (Lambrecht 1981; 1994, who is right in distinguishing right-detached elements from afterthoughts, which follow after a pause, and can be accented and contrastive; cf. section 11.5.4), and apparently, not kontrastive either, since they are unaccented. At the same time, McCoy claims that *-to* is always enclitic to a kontrastive element. This implies that *-to* cannot mark tails, but in my understanding of the term tail, it does, and not only in the dialects, such as in (134) *Пропа́ли денежки-то*. McCoy writes that *-to* almost only marks contrastive topics. Contrastive topics are always accented. Therefore, it might be the accent which marks the element as kontrastive ('not not-x'), more than the particle *-to*, which is used first of all to mark something as being accessible to the hearer (or presents it as such) and as being the topic of some predication (thought, etc.). In most cases, these elements appear to be kontrastive.

intended to say that living in Ušatkino is put up against doing something else in another place, or that there is any kind of causality between the two connected parts.

Little contrastivity or set membership can be found in all of the mentioned examples, where *-to* marks non-initial sentence constituents, and not in the following one from section 10.3.8 (and 9.3.2) either:

(136) Во́т. Дак вот о́н ч'ево́-то про Jежо́ва-*то* сказа́л, за так'и́ слова́ jего́ ув'езл'и́ н... в Магада́н.

Ježov had been mentioned before (see context in section 9.3.2), but 'about Ježov' is not marked as being a member of a set of alternatives. Contrastive elements always take the first position in Russian (cf. section 10.3.13). Perhaps *dak* is more kontrastive than *-to*, although *dak* does not always mark set membership in any obvious way either; see section 10.3.12.

- *Dak* cannot be used at the end of a question, unlike *-to* (see also section 10.3.11 and 11.5.3):

(137) — А ты́ ф кото́рыj кла́с:-*то*, ф тр'ёт'иj?
(137a) — А ты́ ф кото́рыj кла́с:-*то* **дак*?

(138) — *Так что вы ездили в Кузомень. А дорога была туда?*
— В Ку́зом'ен'-*то*? (S1)
(138a) — В Ку́зом'ен' **дак*? (questionnaire)

(139) — *Нет. Мой муж.*
— То́т-*то*? Му́ш своj? (S10)

- Interpositional *dak* stands between an accented theme and an accented rheme. The particle *-to* can also be used at other positions:

(140) Не хочется уходить, да ребятишки-*то* устали. (from Zybatow 1990)
(140a) Не хочется уходить, да ребятишки-*то* **дак* устали. (questionnaire)

(141) В дом не войдешь — двери-*то* заперты. (from Zybatow 1990)
(141a) В дом не войдешь — двери **дак* заперты. (questionnaire)

- *-to* marks an element which is accessible to the hearer, or at least it is presented as such. *Dak* does not have that property. This is however difficult to prove, because most of the elements marked by *dak* are accessible to the hearer(s), or could be presented as such.[15] Chapter 10 contains some examples with enclitic *dak* where the information is definitely not known to the hearer(s). In example (10.18), an aunt was introduced, which was certainly not known to the hearers (see section 10.3.5). In example (10.17) from section 10.3.4, now (142), it is very improbable that the speaker supposed that the hearers-dialectologists knew that she had learnt something about how to bake pies:

(142) — *Но пироги-то вы умеете, шаньги вы умеете печь?*
— Ум'éjу, та́к-то науч'и́лас' мал'е́нко *дак*. (S8)

The same fragment, which can be found in Appendix VI, contains another example somewhat later. It is hardly to be expected that the dialectologists present knew that the dialect speaker was talking about a Russian oven at a fishing place:

(142a) Ум'éjу, та́к-то науч'и́лас' мал'е́нко дак. Ра́н'ше ч'о́ вон на то́н'и^{d} жыв'о́ш дак су́н'ош ... ф п'е́ч'. Ла́тку с ры́бой. И фс'о́. (unintell.) Ф свойо́м суку́. (unintell.)-но́ш, ш'об н'ь пр'игор'е́ла фсу́н'еш, у ру́с:кой п'е́чк'и на то́н'и́ *дак*.

In the next fragment, the speaker could not expect the dialectologist (= me; MP) to know anything about the life of her son, whom we are talking about:

(143) — *А кем он работает?*
— О́н? Про́сто в мо́р'е хо́д'ит ы ... э́т'има ... мотор'и́стом.
— *Ага.*
— Гм. То́же н'е́ зако́нч'ил уч'и́лсъ в э́тъ, в вы́шемор'ехо́тк'и. Та́к потом бро́с'ил ды и ... [laughs; pause] Та́к уч'и́лсъ о́ч'ьн' хорошо́ он но ... Вот та́к-то, н'ич'ево́ жыву́т тут *дак*. (S2)

- As mentioned earlier, both *-to* and enclitic *dak* mark topical elements, that is, they mark an element as being object of a predication (statement, thought). *Dak* seems in addition to provoke an inference: the choice of *x* implies a

[15] Cf. Sappok 1999 and Гольдин 1998 on the frequency of presenting topics or objects as known among dialect speakers and Lind (1994; 1996) on argumentation strategies in Norwegian, which includes the presentation of unknown information as if it were known to the hearer.

certain outcome. *Dak* marks that *x* has a consequence and that y is a consequence.

In (144) and (145) the use of *-to* would only imply 'it is lake fish I am talking about', whereas *dak* implies in addition that this topic has a consequence: 'so that means the species A, B, C, etc.':

(144) — *А какую рыбу ловили?*
— Бы́л'и ... с'иг'и́ да, ш:у́ка да о́кун'и да. [pause] Таку́ ры́бу лов'ил'и. Оз'е́рску *дак*.

(145) Таку́ ры́бу лов'ил'и. Оз'е́рску *дак*. -> 'lake fish (is what I am talking about), so that means the species A,B,C, ...'

(145a) Таку́ ры́бу лов'ил'и. Оз'е́рску-*то*. -> 'lake fish, you know (is what I am talking about)'

This difference of activating an implication (*dak*) or not (*-to*) might also explain the impossibility of enclitic *dak* to mark questions (see section 10.3.11 and 11.5.2), while *-to* can:

(138) — В Ку́зом'ен'-*то*?
'Do you mean to Kuzomen'?'

(138a)— В Ку́зом'ен' **дак*?

Apparently, *dak* marks not only the topic, but it also refers to a consequence of the choice of this particular topic. *Dak* marks the preceding element as being prior to a certain thought or proposition (see sections 10.3.4; 10.3.6). Apparently, this proposition is so strongly present that the topic of this proposition can no longer be questioned. Thus, *dak* is more explicit about the nature of the implied complex proposition than *-to*.

14.7 *Dak* vs. Standard Russian *ved'*

14.7.1 Short characterisation of *ved'*

Dak has often been compared to *ved'*, a word often translated as 'you know'. To my knowledge, the particle *ved'* has never been described for the dialects, although it is a very frequent particle, at least in Varzuga. The reason is probably that it does not give the impression to be different from Standard Russian *ved'*. All the characterisations from the literature given below are based on *ved'* in the standard language.

Ved' signals the fact that an inference can be made from knowledge that both the speaker and the hearer possess (Parrott 1997:180). Nørgård-Sørensen characterises *ved'* as a knowledge and coherence marking if-then adverbial. If the proposition which is expressed in the clause containing *ved'* is called *p*, then *p* constitutes a premise for drawing the conclusion that something previously claimed (*q*) is true.*Ved'* marks that "*p* is an element of N and there is a *q* that is an element of C_c such that *p* implies *q*" (Nørgård-Sørensen 1992:60). In this formula, N symbolises the hearer's non-activated knowledge, C the knowledge obtained from the immediately preceding communication act (1992:44) and C_c subset of C consisting of all propositions of C that are not macropropositions, which means that *ved'* connects two propositions on the same hierarchical level, and not, for instance, the expression of an action with a higher level discourse topic.[16] These two propositions connected by *ved'* are statements or facts (Paillard 1986; Битехтин 1993; Parrott 1997; McCoy 2001). Therefore, neither *p* nor *q* can be the content of a single sentence constituent, which does not have a truth value, and *ved'* cannot be used in imperative utterances or in questions, because they do not represent facts, unless the question represents a metinformational question, such as the following:

(146) Та́к *ведь*? (from Parrot 1997:239)
'Like this, right / isn't it (so)?'

The speaker does not ask if it was 'like this', but whether her assumption of a positive answer to this question is correct or not. For a good explanation of the incompatibility of *ved'* with informational directives and questions, see Parrott 1997:196ff and 209ff.

14.7.2 Shared contexts of *dak* and *ved'*

In many utterances, *dak* and *ved'* seem to be synonymous. It accounts for examples of utterance-final *dak* where a causal relation is expressed or implied:

(147) Да уш ф п'и́ц'и́-то н'иц'е(г)о́ н'е в'и́жу, т'е́м'ен' стра́шнъ та́м *дак*. (S1)

(148) — (...) Ста́ры.

[16] A macroproposition is a proposition which is kept in active storage at several successive points in a discourse process due to its topical status (Nørgård-Sørensen 1992:56, after Van Dijk & Kintsch 1983, *Strategies of discourse comprehension*). C_c is a subset of C consisting of all propositions of C that are not macropropositions., i.e., C_c is a set of propositions on the same level in the hierarchy of topics and subtopics.

— *У меня тоже был кот. Он умер когда ему было 15 лет.*
— Гм. Ну дак вот о́ны ... то́же ... ста́ры бу́дут *дак*. (S1)

(149) Отдыха́йт'е пока́. В о́тпуск'ь *дак*. (S2)

14.7.3 Differences between *dak* and *ved'*

The fact that *dak* can be combined with *ved'* already suggests that these words have a different function:

(149) *Я́ веть* уж вы́пила полторы́ кру́шки *дак*. (*AOS*)

One of the differences is that *ved'* marks that the proposition expressed is known to the hearer (see below).

- The position of *ved'* in the clause is more flexible than that of *-to* or *dak*. It can be used both before and after the element it "emphasises"[17] with apparently only minor differences in meaning;[18]

- *Dak* is only similar to *ved'* in constructions where y (the implication) is activated before x is expressed, that is in part of the "A_*dak*" and "B A_*dak*"-constructions. Utterances containing *ved'* have backward scope. Preobražen-skaja claimed that this accounts for utterances containing *dak* as well, but section 9.3.1 showed that this not always the case. *Ved'* is not used when the order is A – B:

(150) Не пивала, *дък* не знаю. (about goat milk)
(150a) ??Не пивала *ведь*, не знаю.

Ved' is similar to *dak* especially in "B, A"-constructions where A gives a reason for the proposition expressed in B, such as in (147), with an addition of a cause for the fact expressed in A: the speaker does not see anything in the oven, because it is very dark inside:

(147) Да уш ф п'и́ц'и́-то н'иц'е(г)о́ н'е в'и́жу, т'е́м'ен' стра́шнъ та́м *дак*.

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[17] McCoy claims that *ved'* is always used either to the left or to the right of a kontrastive element (2001:292).
[18] According to Parrott, the position of *ved'* in the clause depends on how much of the conveyed proposition in which *ved'* is used is assessed by the speaker to be activated by the hearer: the proposition as a whole or only part of it (Parrott 1997:195f).

The darkness in the oven implies that the speaker cannot see anything in it.

Dak cannot always be translated with *ved'*:

- *Ved'* signals an inferential if-then relationship: if you know x, then you can infer y. The word *dak* does not express inference in a strictly logical sense, but only informational, pragmatic priority of A. The relation is not always causal either, as we saw in (151), discussed in section 9.2.2 and 13.3:

(151) «ко мн'е́ н'икого́ ... э́т'их ба́т'ушкоф ... н'е́ зов'и́т'е. Умру́ *дак*.» Говор'и́т ји́: «да́же Л'икон'и́ды н'е зов'и́т'е.» (S1)
'"Don't call any of those priests to me. When I'll die." She also said: "Don't even call Likonida."'

The replacement of *dak* by *ved'* results in an acceptable utterance, but it definitely changes the meaning:

(151a) «ко мн'е́ н'икого́ ... э́т'их ба́т'ушкоф ... н'е зов'и́т'е. Умру́ *в'ет*'.»
'Don't call any of those priests to me. After all, I'll die.'

- *Ved'* can only connect two propositions with their own truth values. The A-part in a *dak*-construction does not have to be a statement with a truth value; it can also express an object or a condition:

(152) Обра́тная сторона́, ле́ва *дак* (изнанка; *AOS*)
'The other side, the reverse *dak*'
(152a) Обра́тная сторона́, ле́ва **ведь* (**ведь* лева)
(153) стала бы косить / могла бы *дак* (Arch.; Преображенская 1985)
(153a) стала бы косить / могла бы ??*ведь*.

- Unlike *dak*, *ved'* cannot be used in imperatives (unless they are metinformational; Parrott 1997:209ff; McCoy 2001:299):

(154) — Но ково́, спра́шывај јиш'о́ ч'ево́ на́дъ *дак* / **в'ет*'.
— Вздр'евн'и́ *дак* / **в'ет*'.

Apparently, *dak* does not mark the information in the preceding imperative clause to be asserted (asserted as being true, probable or possible; cf. Битехтин 1993), which is a condition for the use of *ved'*.

- We saw that *ved'* can be used in metinformational questions, but *dak* can probably not, because the content of A cannot be questionned (see section 10.3.11):

(146) Та́к *ведь*?
'Like this, right / isn't it?'

(138a) — *Так что вы ездили в Кузомень. А дорога была туда?*
— В Ку́зом'ен' **дак*? (questionnaire)
'Do you mean to Kuzomen'?'

- *Ved'* signals that the hearer knows – or is presented as knowing – the statement made in the utterance it is used in. In this sense it is similar to *-to*, apart from the fact that *-to* marks single terms, and *ved'* marks statements. Section 10.3.4 and 10.3.5 and the section on *-to* in the present chapter contained examples where *dak* marks an x-part not known to the hearer. Below are some more examples. In the following fragment, the hearer – which was me – indeed knew the information:

(155) — Ja нав'е́рно ва́м вч'ера́ расска́зывала гър'у у на́с ка́к нач'н'о́ц:а с'енако́с,
— *Гм.*
— М'е́с'ец — сухо́j зако́н. Говор'и́ла фс'о́ *дак.*
— *Да, да.*
— Ну во́т. (...) (S3)

The use of *ved'* instead of *dak* would not change the intended meaning of the utterance. However, the element of the hearer knowing the assertion appears not to be signalled by *dak*. The basic meaning of *dak* is evoking an implication: 'I told you everything, so ...'. This non-expressed information could be: 'so you know', or 'so I don't have to say everything once more.' The circumstance that the hearer knows the content of this statement A is not signalled by *dak*, but by other cues in the context. You can see that from other utterances containing *dak*, where the information is not necessarily known by the hearer.

In the next fragment it is very unlikely that the speaker presumed us to know how these towels were called, or wanted to present it as if we knew it. In fact, when I later asked other villagers how these towels were called, there was only one respondent who knew the answer:

(156) То́же ... тогда́ ишо́ бы́ло ... пр'е́же-то ак јико́ны бы́л'и. С ыко́намы как бу́т:о(-ка). Дак полот'е́нц'а бы́л'и. А мы́-то б'е́с ыко́н шл'и. Мы́-то уже́ и — тогда́ ка́к, јико́ны-то — н'е́ было, и ... Полот'е́нц'а-то бы́:л'и. Полот'е́нц'а называ́л'ис' образн'ик'и́d *дак*. То́же бы́л'и. У́ м'ен'а́ му́жн'ијоф је́с' и́ свои́ э́т'и ш. (S4)

In the next context, the speaker does not expect us to know that her son has an alright living, and certainly not that this is a proposition from which we can deduce some of the facts she has mentioned earlier, which the use of *ved'* would have signalled:

(157) — *А кем он работает?*
— О́н? Про́сто в мо́р'е хо́д'ит ы ... э́т'има ... мотор'и́стом.
— *Ага.*
— Гм. То́же н'е́ зако́нч'ил уч'и́лсъ в э́тъ, в вы́шемор'ехо́тк'и. Та́к потом бро́с'ил ды и ... [laughs; pause] Та́к уч'и́лсъ о́ч'ьн' хорошо́ он но ... Вот та́к-то, н'ич'ево́ жыву́т тут *дак*. (S2)

Instead, *dak* implies a proposition that is based on the information given in the clause ending in *dak*. Together with other information, the implied proposition seems to be something like 'so it does not really matter that he didn't finish his higher education'.

14.8 *Dak* vs. colloquial Russian *značit*

14.8.1 Shared contexts of *dak* and *značit*

Dak shares a range of contexts with *značit*, where these words seem to be synonymous. *Dak* can be replaced by *značit* in many contexts without any remarkable change of meaning. Apparently, these words fulfil a similar function in the following contexts, where *dak* is replaced by *značit*:

- in a connection of two statements with a causal interrelation:

(150a) Не пивала, *значит* не знаю (on goat milk, Вол., Шапиро 1953)

- between the parts in a chain of events:

(158a) Та́к-то л'о́т ... *знач'ит* ... н'е бу́д'еш полоска́т' а ... је́д'ьт ... л'о́т-то .. уб'ер'о́ш *знач'ит* по́то́м там вода́-то *знач'ит* ə-... та́м поло́шч'иш.

- in a narrative context in a return to a temporarily abandoned topic:

(159a) (...) пошла́ к Л'икон'и́ды, ји́с' [= есть] э́т'их, п'еч'о́нок. *Знач'ит* та́м пос'ид'е́ла да вот ско́л'ко вр'е́м'ен'и вот та́к ру́к'и тр'есу́ц':е!

(160a) Во́т. *Знач'ит* (?вот) о́н ч'ево́-то про Јежо́ва-то сказа́л, за так'и́ слова́ јего́ ув'езл'и́ н... в Магада́н.

- in some afterthoughts:

(161a) И ... вот а с'ич'а́с-то мы хо́д'им хъровы́ды-то вот то́же. На сце́ны-то когда́ *знач'ит*. (S2)

14.8.2 Short characterisation of *značit* in colloquial Russian

The word *značit* can be very frequent in the speech of certain speakers, because it carries little meaning and it can be used as a filler. It is typical for spontaneous speech. For these reasons, the word has received very little attention from linguists. Interestingly, unlike *dak*, *značit* is not typical for dialectal speech – it is very infrequent in the Varzuga corpus.

Nørgård-Sørensen (1992) describes the meaning of the connective *značit* as follows. He distinguishes use of *značit* as an if-then adverbial ('so, apparently'), $značit_1$, from use as a performative adverbial, $značit_2$. In a clause containing $značit_1$ and the expression of a proposition *p*, *značit* indicates that "there is a *q* that is an element of C such that *q* implies *p*" (1992:46), in which *p* and *q* are propositions and C is the knowledge obtained from the immediately preceding communication act. $Značit_2$ is a performative if-then adverbial, which indicates that "there is a *q* that is an element of C – C_c such that *q* implies the performing of *p*" (1992:86). C – C_c (C minus C_c) means that the proposition *q* is a macro-proposition, that is, it represents a discourse topic and not simply the propositional content of the previous utterance.[19] In other words, $značit_2$ indicates that a certain macroproposition *q* implies that the speaker will perform *p*, or, even more simplified, that *q* makes the speaker say *p*. $Značit_2$ is distinctly colloquial. Here is an example of $značit_2$ from colloquial Russian:[20]

(162) I u nee [= sobaki] ščenki byli // bylo šest' ščenkov // I vot ona *značit* nikomu ne davala podxodit' k étim ščenkam //
'And she [= the dog] had puppies. There were six of them. And now ... she didn't let anybody approach the puppies.'

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[19] C – C_c is a set of macropropositions, i.e. discourse topics; see the previous section on *ved'* and footnote 16 for en explanation of the term macroproposition and the symbols C and C_c.

[20] This is an example from Земская & Капанадзе 1978, *Русская разговорная речь. Тексты*, as cited in Nørgård-Sørensen (1992:85, his example 85), complete with his English translation.

According to Nørgård-Sørensen, *značit*$_1$ presents *p* as implied by some activated proposition. In the cited example it is impossible to establish any such inference on a propositional level: *p* is not presented as the consequence of any *q*. Nørgård-Sørensen explains that a topic about a dog and her puppies had been established prior to the utterance containing *značit*$_2$. This topic, which must be seen as represented by a macroproposition, is presented not as a premise for inferring *p* (i.e., there is no '*q* implies *p*' inference involved) but as a premise for performing *p*, in other words for developing the current topic (i.e. '*q* implies the performing of *p*'). "What is communicated by the adverbial is consequently something like 'I shall now continue in the same line'. This explains why it is indeed very often possible to fill in a *značit*$_2$ although it may as well be omitted without disturbing the coherence. As the background for performing *p* the speaker using a *značit*$_2$ points at a macroproposition, i.e., a *q* that is an element of the knowledge subset C – C$_c$." (1992:86)

Similar explanations seem to fit well for the use of *dak* in constructions where *dak* introduces a return to an abandoned topic. Like *značit*, *dak* can be used to connect both propositional content (*značit*$_1$) and speech acts (*značit*$_2$).

14.8.3 Differences between *dak* and *značit*

- *Dak* and *značit*$_1$ share only a limited amount of context types;

- *Značit*$_2$ can be used as a frequent filler and can occupy several positions in the utterance without influencing the intended meaning to any substantial degree (examples provided by Katia Rachilina, p.c.):

(163) Если на небе много облаков, *значит* завтра будет дождь.
(163a) Если на небе много облаков, завтра *значит* будет дождь.
(163b) Если на небе много облаков, завтра будет дождь *значит*.

(164) Если он сказал, *значит* он придет.
(165) Если он сказал, он *значит* придет.

This does not mean that the position of *značit* is free. In the next utterance, the particle cannot be used in the position between A and B:

(166) Так ты јеш'о́ ч'е(в)о спра́шывај *дак* ја отвеч'а́т' бу́ду.
(166a) Так ты јеш'о́ ч'е(в)о спра́шывај **знач'ит* ја́ *знач'ит* отвеч'а́т' *значит* бу́ду.
(166b) Так ты јеш'о́ ч'е(в)о спра́шывај ја́ *знач'ит* отвеч'а́т' бу́ду.

(166c) Так ты јеш'о́ ч'е(в)о спра́шывај ја́ отвеч'а́т' *знач'ит* бу́ду.

- Contrary to *ved'*, which is used in the A-part of a (B)-A-construction, *značit* fits best in the B-part:

(167) Пътóм ... оj јиш'о́ ка́к, какój-то иш'о́ да и, т'ип'е́р' уш ста́ла и забыва́т' их фс'ех. Давнó н'е́ту *дак*.
(167a) *B'em'* давнó н'е́ту.
(167b) Давнó н'е́ту ??*знач'ит*.

(168) воз'м'и́-т(о) (...) в'ишн'о́ву-то ша́л', у т'а́ ??*знач'ит* дв'е́ до́ч'ер'и ??*знач'ит*.
(169) Во́т у т'а́ дв'е́ до́ч'ер'и гът *знач'ит* в'ишн'о́ву-то ша́л' воз'м'и́!

- The word *značit* has – when used as an if-then adverbial – an element of necessity: the knowledge of *p* appears to be enough to deduce *q*, or to the performance of *q*. *Dak* does not indicate such relations;

- It appears that *p* must be an assertion, just like the *p* marked by the particle *ved'*. *Značit* can also be used after the first, thematic sentence constituent (*já znač'ит otveč'ám' bú́du*), but this theme is not the equivalent of A in *dak*-constructions;

- *Značit* cannot be used to introduce non-cooperative replies, where B does not express a deduction from the preceding context:

(170) [S1:] — Он пр'ишо́л бы одна́ко!
[S3:] — **Значит* ... н'е пр'ишо́л бы, jе́сл'и у ко́шк'и!

These examples call for a deeper study of the restrictions on the use of *značit*.

14.9 *Dak* vs. *a*

Dak has never been compared to the conjunction and particle *a*, although these words share a number of characteristics:

- Both *dak* and *a* are prosodically subordinated to another word or word group. They are both clitics that cannot be accented or followed by a pause (apart from a pause of hesitation, but see note 1 in chapter 12). In this respect, *a* is different from the other coordinative conjunctions *no* and *i*;
- Their position in relation to the elements they connect is fixed;

- The word *a* is almost always attached to a kontrastive unit. This accounts for most cases of *dak* as well;
- Both enclitic *dak* and *a* mark a theme or topic, which can be everything from a single word to a complete clause, and forms a phonetic unit, usually a prosodic syntagm. *A* introduces a member of a set (which is different from the old member(s)) and evokes a rheme, which is – or could be – different from the rheme of the other member(s) (cf. Yokoyama 1986:315f about the set-generating properties of *a*; McCoy 2001 on *-to*). *Dak* marks similar set relations. The difference is that *a* is proclitic to the theme/topic, whereas *dak* is enclitic to it;

Some differences between enclitic *dak* and *a* are the following:

- Unlike *a*, *dak* cannot be used in a question where the speaker asks for the rheme of a parallel theme-rheme set by giving the alternative theme:

  (171a) — *A* В'ита́л'ка?

  (171b) — *A* В'ита́л'ка **дак*?

  Dak can only be used in such expressions if the rheme is expressed:

  (171) — *A* В'ита́л'ка *дак* ф каком?
- Whereas *a* is frequent and almost obligatory to introduce alternative themes, the use of *dak* after a nominal theme is relatively rare, and far from grammaticalised, unlike topic markers like the Japanese topic-marker *wa* (see below).

14.10 Conclusion

This chapter has described the first attempts at a close comparison of *dak* with similar forms and words with similar functions, both with forms in the dialect itself and with Standard Russian words. This research has shown that comparative studies can help to refine the description of individual pragmatic particles. For instance, the comparison with *ved'* makes clear that *dak* does not always connect two propositions with a separate truth value and in contrast to *-to*, enclitic *dak* can not be used inside a clause constituent and it does not mark that the element in its scope is known to the hearer.

In the sections 14.4 through 14.7, *dak* was compared to similar word forms in the dialects: to *tak*, to *da*, to *ak*, to *dyk* and to *dək*. The research led to the following results:

- The forms *dyk* are *dək*, which are attested in Varzuga as well, though not frequently, seem to be mere pronunciation variants of *dak* in the northern dialects. There is no reason to believe that the forms *dyk* and *dək* should have a meaning or function different from *dak*.

- The forms *dak* and *tak* in the dialect are not phonetic variants of the same word, but different lexical units: they have separate meanings and functions in the dialect of Varzuga.

- A comparison of Varzuga *dak* with Standard Russian unaccented *tak* shows that these words have very similar functions in many contexts, but that *dak* is different from *tak* in that it is usually used postpositively, and appears to have less semantic content. Most functions of Standard Belorussian *dyk* are shared by Varzuga *dak*, but Belorussian *dyk* is not used in postposition. The differences in distribution between the forms *tak* and *dak* or *dyk* in the different varieties of Eastern Slavonic can be roughly symbolised in the following figure:

	adverb	unaccented connector	
		prepositive	postpositive
Standard Russian	*tak*		-
Standard Belorussian	*tak*	*dyk*	-
Varzuga (NR dialects)	*tak*	*dak*	

Figure 14.1. The distribution of tak, dak *and* dyk *in three Eastern Slavonic language varieties*

- A first look at the differences and similarities between *dak* and *da* in the dialect of Varzuga shows that these words share a lot of functions, but that there are clearly different functions as well. The meaning and functions of *da* have not yet been described in any detail. For instance, only *da* can have a coordinating, copulative function. More research is needed to show if these words can be full synonyms in some contexts.

- *Dak* also shares functions with the word *ak*, and they could be phonetic variants in some cases. However, in other contexts, they clearly represent different lexical units, such as when *ak* has the same meaning as *kak* 'how'.

In certain contexts, *dak* seems to be synonymous with *-to*, *ved'* and *značit*, but the differences with these words in other contexts show that *dak* only shares certain properties with these words (see sections 14.6 to 14.8):

- *Dak* signals that *y* is based on some other information, or that *x* is a basis for some other information. This accounts for the particle *-to* (and its variants) as well, but *-to* and *dak* cannot be used in the same contexts: *-to* can be used in-

side a sentence constituent (*вишн'óвy-mo шал'*) and after second or third sentence constituent in the utterance, and after non-accented ones. *Dak* activates an inference, implication: the choice of *x* implies a certain outcome. *Dak* signals that *x* has a consequence and that y is a consequence. *Dak* does not mark whether this consequence is necessary. A final difference between *dak* and *-to* is that the particle *-to* refers to information which is accessible to the hearer; *dak* can also mark information which is new to the hearer.

- Enclitic *dak* has often been compared to the particle *ved'*, which is often translated with 'you know', especially in constructions of the type "B A_*dak*". However, *ved'* signals an inferential if-then relationship: if you know x, then you can infer y. The word *dak* does not express inference, only informational, pragmatic priority of A. Utterances containing *ved'* have backward scope, unlike utterances with enclitic *dak*. *Ved'* is not used when the order is A – B. *Ved'* can only connect two propositions, both with their own truth value, so A cannot be a single term. The A in a *dak*-construction does not have to be a statement with a truth value; it can also express an object or a condition. A final difference is that *ved'* signals that the hearer knows – or is presented as knowing – the assertion made in the utterance it is used in. In this sense, *ved'* is similar to *-to*, apart from the fact that *-to* marks single terms, and *ved'* marks assertions.

- *Dak* can be replaced by *značit* in a considerable number of contexts without any apparent change of meaning. However, the range of shared contexts is restricted, and *značit* can be used as a frequent filler, and it can probably occupy far more positions than *dak* without changing its scope dramatically. Furthermore, the word *značit* has – when used as an if-then adverbial – an element of necessity: the knowledge of *p* appears to be enough to deduce *q*, or to the performance of *q*. *Dak* does not indicate such necessary relations.

Much language-internal comparative research remains to be done, even in Standard Russian, for instance, the differences between turn-initial *da* and *tak* in Standard Russian have not yet been described. Šimčuk and Ščur (Шимчук & Щур 1999) give examples of both forms, with very similar descriptions of their context and functions, but in most cases they are not interchangeable, which indicates that they are not completely synonymous:[21]

[21] My intuitions were confirmed by Tamara Lönngren.

(172) — Сходи купи хлеба! — *Так* уже купил! (= *Да*?)
– Go buy some bread! – But I already did!

(173) — Напиши об этом! — *Да* не хочу. (**Так*)
– Write about it! – (But) I don't want to.

(174) — Куда идти? — *Да* прямо. (**Так*)
– Where should I go? – Just straight on.

The word *dak* could also be compared with words with similar properties in other languages. *Dak* has many features in common with unstressed pragmatic particles in comparably well described languages like Classical Greek (e.g. *dê* 'in fact', 'of course'), German (*ja*, *denn*), Dutch (*dus*) and Norwegian (*altså*, *så*, *da*, which all have a meaning related to 'so'; Fretheim 1980; 1988; 2000a/b/c; Lind 1994), especially with the postpositive use of these Norwegian particles. Similar postpositive particles are also used in the neighbouring Finno-Ugric languages (Майтинская 1982; Леинонен & Лудыкова 2001; Leinonen 2002a; Fernandez 1987 on Sámi). Other good candidates for comparative research are topic markers like Japanese *wa*, and Korean *nun* (Lee 1996). *Dak* is not synonymous with any of these words. For example, Japanese *wa* is an obligatory topic marker, e.g in contrastive constructions with two contrastive pairs, *wa* cannot be left out, while *dak* is optional in such constructions in Northern Russian dialects (T_1 *wa* R_1, but T_2 *wa* R_2, vs. T_1 (*dak*) R_1, but T_2 (*dak*) R_2) and it can mark more than one argument/sentence constituent in a sentence ('At school *wa* John *wa* does well, but Ken *wa* struggles'; Kaori Takamine, p.c.). Another example is the Norwegian utterance-final particles. The mere fact that Norwegian has three of them with similar functions shows that their meaning cannot be completely identical (cf. Fretheim 2000a; 2000b). The literature on these particles can shed new light on characteristics of *dak*, or, on the contrary, on restrictions of the meaning of *dak* and the possibilities of its use. A particle like *dak* can also be compared with functions of elements in a well-described language like English, which lacks unstressed pragmatic particles, but does have discourse markers like *so* and *well* and uses intonation to fulfil similar functions (cf. e.g. Blakemore 2002).

15 Conclusion

15.1 General conclusions

Part I of this dissertation gives a general description of the village of Varzuga and its dialect. First, in chapter 2 this traditional Russian village on the White Sea coast is shown to be a traditional Pomor settlement, its inhabitants living mainly on fishery. It used to be one of the few Russian villages where reindeer were kept. Sociolinguistically, Varzuga is undergoing the same fate as Russian villages in general, with decreasing use of dialectal features, although the village is relatively vital, attracting even work force from elsewhere.

Chapter 3 describes the Varzuga sound corpus. It is important to gather high-quality sound recordings of longer stretches of speech of the traditional Russian dialects before they lose most of their local characteristics. The methodology of using spontaneous speech instead of the usual questionnaires revealed a varying frequency of dialectal features according to the degree of formality of the speech situation. Recordings of spontaneous speech provide data for the study of discourse phenomena and a high sound quality enables acoustic analysis and verification of the pronunciation of non-prominent parts of speech.

Chapter 4 provides a description of a dialect that had thus far been poorly described. Unlike usual descriptions, prosodic phenomena above the level of the word have been studied for this thesis, revealing large interdialectal variation between northern and southern dialects. Several prosodic phenomena are pointed out as being typical for Northern Russian dialects or for an even more restricted area, such as the short duration of vowels relative to consonants and a frequent tendency to mark each individual phonological word with a prominent falling pitch pattern (see section 4.3.1). Some of the phenomena attested by Merkur'ev in the dialects of the Murmansk oblast in data from the 1950s and 1960s were not found in the new data. A short area-linguistic comparative study shows that the dialect of Varzuga fits smoothly into the Russian dialect landscape.

The second part of the dissertation describes a uniquely Northern Russian phenomenon – the pragmatic particle *dak*, which can be used in postposition.

This study of Northern Russian *dak* exemplifies that connectives may mark not only connections between linguistic expressions and their meaning, but also between concepts lacking a concrete linguistic form.

A particle like *dak* shows the specifics of communication in spontaneous speech, in which a large part of the communicated information has no specific

expression and is expressed only implicitly, especially in Russian non-standard dialectal speech. Far less information is exchanged by lexico-grammatical means than in prepared, written standard language. The function played by grammar and lexicon in written language is in spontaneous speech partly fulfilled by prosodic means (see section 7.1.1) and the use of particles. Particles help the hearer to find the intended relations between the various units of knowledge that are activated during the conversation (both explicit and implied).

Various aspects of the constructions containing *dak* are described: semantics, syntax and prosodic properties. The properties of the word *dak* itself are discussed in chapter 13. Finally, *dak* is compared to particles and word forms with similar forms and meanings. As explained in section 7.1.2, a moderate monosemy approach is taken. In order to find the unique properties of a discourse particle, one must study the structural properties of this word and its contexts. Therefore, various prosodic and syntactic possibilities of *dak* were taken into account, as well as restrictions on its use in various contexts. Pragmatic analysis is not used to describe the pragmatic functions of *dak* in each context, but, firstly, in order to find the intended meaning of the utterances containing *dak*, secondly, in order to find the common characteristics of all uses of *dak*, and thirdly, in order to find support (or give negative evidence) for the various hypotheses about *dak* that were formulated during the analysis.

Švedova argues that it is impossible to describe a particle in isolation from the context in which it is used, since the particle expresses a meaning together with the context (Шведова 1960; see section 7.2.1.4). As she remarks, the use and the interpretation of particles is tightly connected with its context. Therefore, it is very unlikely that the core meaning reflects what goes on in the mind of a language user when she uses a particle. Still, this dissertation shows that it is useful to try to filter out the specific properties and contribution of a particle to an utterance, not only because it gives a better understanding of the meaning, functions and conditions of use for a particle, but also because it can account for use in contexts which would otherwise remain unexplained.

15.2 Conclusions regarding the research questions about *dak*

The main questions about Varzuga *dak*, formulated in section 1.2, have received the following answers.

> QUESTION 1: *Dak* is used in many different contexts in different positions in the utterance. What do all of these uses have in common? Are they only

historically related, or is it reasonable and useful to depart from a common function or core meaning of all uses of *dak*?

ANSWER: *Dak* can be described as having a core meaning, which can account for its use in all contexts. This analysis of *dak* has predictive value, as it can explain contexts which otherwise may remain uninterpretable.

Although the present research is based on data from a single village in Northern Russia, the core meaning seems to be valid for all varieties of Russian with postpositive *dak*.

The particle *dak* in the dialect of Varzuga signals an asymmetric relationship between two information units, independent of the context in which it is used. *Dak* always marks the same type of connection, and takes a fixed position relative to the expressions of the elements it connects. In the Varzuga database, the element *dak* is always prosodically subordinated to the prosodic syntagm to its left or to its right, or to both sides. Enclitic *dak* marks that the preceding linguistic expression, say A, represents information, say x, on which a certain thought is based, say y, where x may or may not have been expressed explicitly (in the preceding or following expression B, or elsewhere). Proclitic *dak* marks that the information y in the following expression B does not come "out of the blue", but that it is based on some information x, which may or may not have been explicitly expressed in the preceding syntagm or utterance A. The expressions of x and y, A and B, almost invariantly carry a pitch accent, and A is the first or the last constituent in the utterance. This means that x and y are presented as relatively independent elements and that they are singled out, in most cases for being different from alternatives. A visual representation of the meaning of *dak* and examples of the kind of elements it connects can be found in the pictures 8.1, 8.2 and 8.3.

Dak does not express more than this. The word is often ascribed a function as expressing causality, but specific semantic relations are not encoded by the word *dak* itself. All of the different "meanings" listed in the dictionaries are expressed by other means, if they are expressed at all, and not just implied. In fact, there are many semantically multi-interpretable cases where the exact relation is left unspecific. Whether the relation is, for example, primarily temporal or rather causal is often not ostensively communicated, and certainly not by *dak*. An explicit relation is possibly often not even intended.

This core meaning can give an explanation to some contexts of *dak* which differs greatly from the explanations found in the existing literature. This holds in particular for the numerous cases where only one of the two information units x and y has a direct linguistic expression in the utterance. Either of the two

information units can be left implicit, which is reflected in the varying positions of *dak* in the utterance.

It is important to discern the semantic and syntactic relations between two contiguous expressions in a context where *dak* is used, from the contribution of *dak* to the utterance. *Dak* can have a function different from giving support to the most obvious relation.

Historically, the form *dak* could possibly descend from several different lexical units (see section 14.2). The historical development of *dak* has not been studied for the present monograph. In any case, all the present day usage types, or "meanings", of *dak* are related in meaning and function.

The particle *dak* can have secondary functions. For instance, *dak* marks prosodic boundaries, it helps to divide the speech into smaller parts, it can introduce a return to a temporarily abandoned discourse topic, it can mark a reply as being relevant and it can support the expression of subjective modality in certain expressive, exclamative utterances. These functions are secondary, because they only occur in specific contexts and in positions that are in accordance with the core meaning and fixed position of *dak*. The secondary function seems to have become more important than the core meaning in the exclamatives ending in *dak*, such as *Такáˊ лʼанáнда валʼúˊт дак!*, where *dak* may be on its way to losing its connective function and be used first of all as an intensifier (see sections 9.3.1 and 13.7). However, the particle can play this role only in utterances containing a comparative quantifier or having the same meaning, which shows that these constructions are still related to the "A *dak* B"-constructions with comparative quantifiers, where B expresses a consequence of A.

> QUESTION 2: Can the word *dak* be used in virtually any context and position in the utterance, as suggested by Lapteva (see section 1.1.7)? If not, which are the conditions for its use – its syntactic, prosodic, semantic and pragmatic restrictions?)

ANSWER: Lapteva claims that *dak* and *da* in the Northern Russian dialects can be used after any content word in the utterance (Лаптева 1976:138), and that it has one specific function in the utterance, namely the partitioning of the utterance, towards its construction and presentation to the hearers in parts (Лаптева 1976:93; see section 11.2.2). However, the function of *dak* is more specific. As explained above, *dak* has a very general meaning, and does not express more than this, but

it is not as general as Lapteva suggests, as *dak* is used to signal a specific kind of relation, and takes a fixed position relative to the expressions of x and y.

Because of the core meaning of *dak,* some syntactic contexts are more likely to occur than others. *Dak* precludes some semantic relations from being expressed. For instance, *dak* has not been attested after expressions of circumstances with meanings like 'slowly' or 'often'. These meanings express a circumstance, but not a circumstance which is the point of departure for a certain proposition. They are not, directly or indirectly, opposed to an alternative point of departure, and there is no cause-consequence relation of the type 'since the circumstance was x, what happened was y', or 'so the outcome is y' (see section 9.5).

Dak is almost always used at a prosodic boundary. It is prosodically subordinated to its left-hand context (enclitic *dak*) and/or to its right-hand linguistic context (proclitic *dak*). Usually, the expressions of x and y, A and B, are larger intonation units, which carry one or more pitch accents, that is, A and B have the form of prosodic syntagms or utterances. This means that *dak* is almost exclusively found on the boundaries of such larger intonation units, which represent larger syntactic, semantic, and communicative, informational units. The units *dak* is attached to are relatively independent. The reason is that A and B represent two separate cognitive tasks. A is the first or the last constituent in the utterance, unless it is a parenthetical.

> QUESTION 3: What does it add to an utterance? If it can be used in so many different contexts, and its contribution to the utterance is unclear, couldn't this word just as well be omitted?

ANSWER: Although pragmatic particles like *dak* are void or almost void of lexico-semantical meaning, they still make a contribution to discourse, but on a different level. The fact that they can be used inappropriately implies that they do contribute with some meaning (see section 7.1.3). The particle *dak* always adds the same core meaning to an utterance. Its frequency varies, both between speakers and even between different parts of one conversation, and likewise does its additional value for the communication process. In some contexts, its meaning is also expressed or implied by other means, and the omission of *dak* would have little effect. However, in other contexts, where this meaning is not expressed or implied otherwise, *dak* makes it much easier for the hearer to interpret the utterance it is used in (see section 13.8).

QUESTION 4: How is the relation between the meaning of *dak* and the divisions made in theories on information structure?

ANSWER: The relationship signalled by *dak* between a thought and a piece of information on which the thought is based, has much in common with the fundamental distinctions mentioned in theories of sentence-internal information structure, such as theme vs. rheme, topic vs. comment, presupposition vs. focus, given vs. new and restrictor vs. nucleus, or tripartite divisions like link, focus and tail, which were discussed in section 7.2.2. The main difference is that these dichotomies and the more fine-grained distinctions made in these theories are usually only applied to linguistic units uttered in a single sentence, whereas the units in the current description of *dak* are mental entities, which only in a minority of the cases have a linguistic expression in the same sentence. The meaning of *dak* is related to phenomena often associated with information structure, such as aboutness, point of departure, relational givenness, presupposition, priority in argumentation, restriction of the nucleus, conditionality and set-membership. But even if the dichotomies like theme vs. rheme are used on a mental level only, the distinctions are not sufficient for the description of the core meaning of *dak*.

The unit x is always a kind of point of departure and what the thought y is about, but not all aboutness relations and not all points of departure can be marked by *dak*.

The information unit x is prior to y in a logical, argumentational or cognitive sense, since y is presented as depending on x. The position of *dak* in relation to the expressions of x and y reflects the argumentational order which the speaker had in mind (see section 10.3.6).

The information x need not be referentially given, but it is always given in relation to y. For instance, the information expressed in imperatives is typically new to the discourse, but they can end in *dak*. As soon as *dak* is used, the hearer is instructed to take the event or situation which it urges to as given in relation to its implication (see section 10.3.4).

Dak could perhaps be added to the list of set-evoking particles, the so-called *kontrastive* particles (see section 10.4). In most cases, *dak* clearly helps to activate a set of alternatives. In some contexts, however, a description in terms of set membership does not seem to make sense, or has no explanational value. The set-evoking properties, which McCoy ascribes to some particles, may rather be an inherent characteristic of conditionals and of pitch accents than of the pragmatic particles themselves.

QUESTION 5: Is *dak* always a connector, and if it is, what does it connect? How does the hearer know what it is connecting?

ANSWER: According to the proposed analysis, *dak* always connects two units, but these units are mental units, which need not both have a linguistic expression and not even a specified content. A possible exception is the use of *dak* in certain exclamations (see point 1 above).

Prosodic information gives a good cue as to where to find the elements connected by *dak*. In almost all cases, at least one of the elements x and y is represented in a linguistic expression to which *dak* is prosodically attached, and *dak* takes a fixed position in relation to the elements it connects. More specific, enclitic *dak* follows after A, i.e. the expression of the x, and proclitic *dak* introduces B, i.e. the expression of y. Usually, these expressions correspond to larger intonation units (IUs). So, in most cases, IU_*dak* corresponds to "A_*dak*", *dak*_IU to "*dak*_B", and IU_*dak*_IU to "A_*dak*_B". The A-part very often ends in a pitch accent containing the pitch movement Hl, like Bryzgunova's IK-3 and Odé's Rl-, typical for utterance-initial *themes*, while accents ending in high pitch or a rise are absent or very rare. Except in the case of "A_*dak*_B", the other part of the dyad x – y has to be recovered by pragmatic analysis, that is, through interpretation of the linguistic and extra-linguistic information in the context (see section 8.2.5). A subclassification into 12 groups can be made of the constructions containing *dak,* according to the degree of prosodic integration of the elements of the construction (see table 8.1). Only part of the 12 theoretically possible construction types are frequently attested.

QUESTION 6: What is the role of prosody in the contexts of *dak*?

ANSWER: Knowledge of the prosodic structure of the involved utterances (boundaries, intonation, position of the accents) is of great help to find out which units are connected by *dak*. The fact that *dak* connects not only explicit expressions, but also implicit information increases a researcher's need for expressed and non-expressed contextual information, including information encoded in prosody. Prosody plays a large role in communicating the structure of the expressed speech, such as phrasing, emphasis, information structure, subordinacy (of, for instance, parentheticals) and (in)completeness of a unit.

Prosodic attachment is a more basic cue to find the units connected by *dak* than the syntactic properties of the utterance containing *dak*, and than the question whether *dak* connects two adjacent linguistic expressions or not. The most stable characteristic of the *linguistic expressions* containing *dak* is connected with prosody, as there is a strong correlation between prosodic attachment and the expression of x and y (see previous point).

In a few cases, the prosodic characteristics of *dak* and its linguistic context are somewhat different from the main prosodic contexts described above, but these infrequent deviations do not go counter to the described core meaning of *dak*. However, the existence of these deviations does show that the semantic function of *dak* of signalling a specific kind of relationship is a more fundamental property of the uses of *dak* than the prosodic characteristics of the produced utterances. The prosodic characteristics are no more than reflections of the core meaning.

QUESTION 7: What is the structural status of *dak* (syntactic, phonological, semantic properties)?

ANSWER: *Dak* qualifies perfectly under the definition of a pragmatic particle, as given in section 7.2.1. It is uninflectable, monosyllabic, prosodically subordinated and difficult to classify in traditional word classes. The word does not contribute to the propositional content of an utterance (see section 13.3) and it is syntactically omissible. Like pragmatic particles, *dak* connects the linguistic expression it is attached to to the linguistic and extra-linguistic context.

Dak is always unstressed and unaccented. Even in the few cases where *dak* is not attached to another word, but pronounced separately, it has the same, non-prominent prosody (cf. hesitation markers like 'er ...'). Lack of accent means that *dak* has no content that can be contrasted or presented as being new. By being unaccented, *dak* behaves like pragmatic particles in other languages, which do not add propositional content to an utterance either, and cannot function as independent utterances, but instead give the utterance a place in its context by implying connections or propositional attitude.

In section 12.3.3 it is argued that *dak* is not just prosodically subordinated, but inherently an unstressed word, used in pre- or postposition to a syntactic unit. Syntactically, *dak* does not represent a clause constituent itself and the data suggest that it is not part of the syntactic units it connects (see section 11.5). The syntactic omissibility does not mean that there are no restrictions on the use of

this word. It is only used at the boundaries of larger syntactic units and takes a fixed position with respect to the expressions of x and y.

Utterance-final *dak* and other postpositive usages are structurally different from any word in Standard Russian (and in other than Northern Russian dialects).

QUESTION 8: Is it always a pragmatic particle, or is it sometimes better classified as a conjunction or a resumptive, correlative word?

ANSWER: *Dak* is a pragmatic particle almost 100% of its uses. It is not syntactically omissible and it gives the impression to represent truth-conditional content only in a few, exceptional cases. However, even in these cases the word has the same function as pragmatic particles of giving the expression in its scope a place in its context. They are not in conflict with the proposed core meaning of *dak*, because even words with truth-conditional content and words that are syntactically obligatory can have a procedural function (see section 13.6).

QUESTION 9: What are the differences and similarities with similar words, with other linguistic means having similar functions, such as intonation and subordinating conjunctions, and with similar expressions which do not use *dak*? Do characteristics for similar words apply for *dak* as well?

ANSWER: Like subordination conjunctions and certain pitch movements, *dak* signals a hypotactic relationship, but on a mental level, not on a syntactic one. The pitch movements H + m and H + l on non-final units suggest incompleteness, and they probably always imply that the speaker does not present this predicative unit as a separate speech act with an assertion (Keijsper 2003; see section 11.3). On the contrary, *dak* only expresses the asymmetry of the interrelation between two concepts, and not the status of their expressions as separate speech acts or not.

Dak has a meaning close to, but slightly different from the meaning of other particles used in the dialect, such as *-to* (and its variants), *tak*, *da*, *ak* and *ved'*.

Dak has been equated to phonetically similar forms in the dialects: to *tak*, to *da*, to *ak*, to *dyk* and to *dək*, and even to *dɛk* and *ɛk* (see sections 14.3 to 14.6). In the Varzuga dialect, *dyk* and *dək*, two infrequent forms, are phonetic variants of *dak*. In the Varzuga dialect, *dak* appears to be in complementary distribution

with *tak*. *Dak* shares many contexts with Standard Russian unstressed connective *tak*, but is not a perfect synonym, not only because *dak* is usually postpositive, which Standard Russian *tak* never is. *Dak* shares contexts with *da* and *ak*, but more research is needed before the question can be answered whether *dak* and *da* and *dak* and *ak* can have exactly the same meaning in certain contexts, or whether there is always a difference. In most cases, *da* has clearly a different meaning, and both *da* and *ak* can be used in contexts where use of *dak* is excluded.

In certain contexts, *dak* seems to be synonymous with *-to*, *ved'* and *značit*, but the differences with these words in other contexts show that *dak* only shares certain properties with these words (see sections 14.7 to 14.9). The differences with all of the mentioned particles are listed in the concluding section of chapter 14.

15.3 Possible directions for future research

The dialect description is based on a limited part of the recordings. The assembled recordings contain much linguistic information about the dialect, which has not yet been analysed. Many questions about the dialect and about the properties of *dak* have not yet been answered, but could be by using carefully prepared questionnaires together with production and reception experiments. Examples of such unanswered questions are the possible contribution of *dak* to the subjective modality of utterances and other secondary functions of *dak* (see section 13.7), the relation between pitch accent, conditionality and the use of so-called *kontrastive* particles (see section 10.3.12) and various questions connected to the prosodic system of the dialect (see section 4.3.1 and chapter 12). Another question deserving attention is why A – the expression of x – always takes the first or the last position in the utterance, unless it is a parenthetical which is not part of the same core syntactic structure as B (see section 11.5.4). Possibly, the first element in the utterance marked by enclitic *dak* (i.e. A) should not be regarded as being part of the same syntactic sentence as the rest of the utterance (i.e. B) either.

More extensive comparative research with other described and undescribed particles could shed new light on the properties of *dak* and make clear the restrictions of the meaning of *dak* and the possibilities of its use. The other postpositive particles in the Northern Russian dialects, *da*, *da i* (*daj*), *i* and *a* remain virtually undescribed. Much language-internal comparative research remains to be done, even in Standard Russian, where, for instance, the differences between turn-initial *da* and *tak* have not yet been analysed (see chapter 14).

The particle *dak* could also be compared with words having similar properties in other languages, both related and unrelated. In fact, *dak* has more in common with postpositive particles in neighbouring Finno-Ugric languages, like *da* in Komi-Zyryan and, for instance, the utterance-final particles *da*, *så* and *altså* in Norwegian than with any Standard Russian words (cf. e.g. Leinonen 2002a; Fretheim 1980; 2000a; see sections 6.5.20, 14.4.4 and Appendix IV). *Dak* has many features in common with unstressed pragmatic particles in such diverse languages as Biblical Hebrew (*kî*; Follingstad 2001), Sámi (several particles; Fernandez 1987) and Dutch (*dus*, a conjunction, adverb and pragmatic particle, of which, to my knowledge, the particle usage has not been described). A particle like *dak* can also be compared with topic-marking particles like Japanese *wa*, and with functions of elements in a well-described language like English, which has no unstressed pragmatic particles, but which does have discourse markers like *so* and *well* and uses intonation to fulfil similar functions (cf. e.g. Blakemore 2002). A comparison with these words and with their descriptions could reveal interesting parallels between these words and methods to describe them, but also differences, which would help finding the limitations to the functions and use of *dak*.

Some of these linguistic strategies in other languages to which *dak* could be compared are comparatively well described, but most are not. This is the typical situation in informal oral communication, an area of language use with its own specific properties, which has not yet received the attention it deserves. This dissertation hopefully fills part of the hiatus by providing insight in the way connections are expressed in Northern Russian dialects and by giving a contribution to the study of pragmatic particles in general.

Русское резюме

Диссертация посвящена описанию русского говора д. Варзуги, расположенной на Терском берегу Белого моря (см. карту 2.1). Монография состоит из четырнадцати глав, заключения и приложения. По содежанию работа разделяется на две части: в первой части (гл. 2–4) дано общее описание говора старшего поколения деревни Варзуги, во второй части (гл. 5–14) представлены результаты исследования северно-русской частицы *дак*.

В первой главе изложены основные положения исследования. Во второй главе описывается деревня Варзуга. Варзуга — старая поморская деревня. Основное занятие населения — рыболовство. Вплоть до начала шестидесятых годов почти каждая семья держала несколько оленей, которые, в первую очередь, использовались как транспортное средство. Как все русские диалекты, говор д. Варзуги быстро меняется, утрачивая при этом собственно диалектные черты.

В третьей главе представлено описание корпуса звуковых записей, собранных автором и коллегами-диалектологами в 2001 – 2004 гг. Высокое техническое качество записей дает возможность проверять произношение невыделенных слов, как, например, частиц *дак* и *да*. Одной из задач сбора материала была запись неподготовленной речи в больших объемах, т.е. надежного материала для изучения дискурсных явлений. Кроме того, как показывают наблюдения, именно в неподготовленной речи наиболее отчетливо проявляются диалектные черты. Собранный материал дает наглядное представление о высокой стенени вариативности в речи на разных уровнях.

Тема четвертой главы — изучение собственно диалектных черт говора Варзуги. Кольский полуостров не входит ни в *ДАРЯ*, ни в *ОЛА*. Проведенное лингвогеографическое наблюдение показало, что варзугский говор хорошо вписывается в русский диалектный ландшафт. Самые близкие к варгзугскому говору — соседние говоры севера Архангельской области и русские говоры Северной Карелии.
Описание говора д. Варзуги построено на диалектных чертах, выявленных в ходе анализа части магнитофонных записей бесед на разные темы. В отличие от большинства имеющихся описаний русских говоров, здесь уделяется внимание особенностям просодии и употреблению дискурсных слов. Говор Варзуги имеет типично северно-русские просодические черты: краткость гласных по отношению к согласным, частичность неясного выражения лексического ударения и тенденцию к пословной просодической организации высказывания.

Некоторые ярко диалектные черты, например, *цоканье*, были обнаружены в речи лишь к концу второй экспедиции, когда информанты стали говорить менее формально. Отсутствие некоторых диалектных черт в записях не означает, что информант не ползуется этой чертой, а лишь то, что информант владеет общерусской формой, которой он(а) ползуется в присутствии диалектологов.

Во второй части монографии описывается частица *дак* в говоре д. Варзуги. В первых трех главах второй части (главы 5, 6 и 7) дано введение в исследование слова *дак*. В пятой главе представлен обзор имеющихся описаний слова *дак* и спорных вопросов о характеристиках этого слова. В шестой главе обсуждаются все известные описания слова *дак*. Хотя *дак* было описано многими диалектологами, остается много открытых вопросов. В седьмой главе изложены теоретические подходы к представляемому анализу и примененным методикам описания частицы *дак*.

В главах 8–14 представлены результаты анализа этой частицы. В главе 8 перечисляются основные результаты анализа частицы *дак*, формулируется общее, основное ее значение.

Анализ поддерживается в следующих главах на основе семантических связей, выраженных или имплицированных в контексте (гл. 9) и явлений, связанных с актуальным членением и информационной структурой в более широком смысле (тема, рема, исходный пункт, пресуппозиция, ядро и ограничение, условность, контрастивность и сопоставление с альтернативными вариантами, гл. 10).

В следующих двух главах (11–12) изложена теория о едином значении и признаках слова *дак* на основе синтаксических характеристик и просодических черт тех конструкций, в которые входит частица *дак*, и просодики самого этого слова.

В тринадцатой главе речь идет о статусе слова *дак* как прагматической частицы и обсуждается вопрос о полезности этого слова в каждом его употреблении: что привносит добавление к высказыванию слова *дак*?

В четырнадцатой главе форма *дак* сравнивается с другими словами и формами в одном и том же говоре и со словами общерусского языка, близкими по форме или значению *так*, *ак*, *да, -то*, *ведь, значит*. Сопоставительный анализ показывает общее и разное в названных словоформах и этим определяет ограничения в значении и употреблении изучаемой частицы.

Описание частицы *дак* дает наглядное представление о том, что коннективные слова связывают не только лингвистические выражения, но и невысказанные, ментальные элементы.

Спонтанная диалектная речь строится по другим принципам, чем речь литературная. Отношения между частями обмениваемой информации редко выражаются при помощи подчинительных союзов и других лексико-синтактических способов. Бóльшую роль, чем в литературной речи, играют просодика (интонация, разделение звукового потока в части) и недифференцированные частицы. Большая часть информации не выражается лингвистически, а лишь предполагается или имплицируется. Отношения выражаются не конкретно, а лишь в общих чертах.

Частица *дак* сигнализирует о существовании ассиметричного отношения между двумя информационными единицами, x и y. *Дак* всегда просодически подчиняется соседнему лингвистическому контексту, либо левому контексту (энклитическое *дак*), либо правому (проклитическое *дак*), либо обеим сторонам. Энклитическое *дак* сигнализирует, что предыдущая синтагма, A, выражает основу x некоторой мысли или пропозиции y, которая может, но не должна быть выражена. Проклитика *дак* выражает, что следующая синтагма или высказывание B представляет ассерцию y, которая основывается на некоторой доступной говорящему информации x. Например, *дак* маркирует отношения между условием и результатом, причиной и следствием, действием и реакцией, указанием места и отличающим признаком этого места, между диалектным словом и его объяснением, или между человеком и одной его отличающей чертой и другим человеком и отличающей его чертой (см. рисунок 8.1). Очень часто элементы x и y представляются как элементы множества альтернатив. Так же, как и контрастные темы, элемент A занимает первое место в высказывании, если он не является вводным выражением, не участвующим в синтаксической структуре предложения. Единицы A и B почти всегда имеют мелодический акцент. *Дак* употребляется на границе фонетических синтагм и фраз.

Хота *дак* употребляется и в начале, и в середине, и в конце высказывания, это слово всегда занимает ту же самую позицию по отношению к выражениям x и y. Лишь одна из этих двух единиц должна быть выражена. Этим объясняется вариативность в

позиции частицы *дак* в высказывании. В таблице 8.1 перечислены 12 теоретически возможных конструкций со словом *дак*. Они разделяются по степени просодической связности элементами A, *дак* и B. Картина 8.3 дает наглядное представление обо всех возможных лингвистических реализациях.

Дак является типичной прагматической частицей. Как все прагматические частицы, частица *дак* является просодически зависимой, она не влияет на пропозиционное содержание высказывания и синтактически она не обязательна. *Дак* не ведет себя ни как одно слово в общерусском языке. Прагматические частицы облегчают коммуникацию, указывая на то, как маркированное выражение относится к контексту в широком смысле или на отношение говорящего или слушателя на его содержание. *Дак* обладает первой из этих двух функций.

В имеющихся описаниях, в том числе в диалектных словарях, слову *дак* приписывается целый ряд разных значений. Все эти значении не выражаются не словом *дак*, а другими лингвистическими способами, или не выражаются вообще, а только имплицируются. В зависимости от контекста *дак* может иметь вторичные функции. Например, *дак* может указывать на просодические границы, маркировать возвращение к предыдущей теме в нарративе и играть некую роль в выражении экспрессивности в восклицаниях, выражающих эмоциональную реакцию на количество или качество некоторого явления.

Предлагаемая теория о неизменяемом значении слова *дак* может объяснить употребление этого слова и в контекстах, которые остались бы труднопонимаемыми без употребления этой частицы. Частица *дак* всегда выражает одно и то же — основное значение. Значимость частицы *дак* в коммуникации зависит от контекста: от того, сколько из этого значения уже выражается или имплицируется другими способами в контексте.

Предлагаемая теория о частице *дак* основывается исключительно на записях говора д. Варзуги, но при обращении записям других говоров создает впечатление, что предложенная теория применима и к другим севернорусским и к сибирским говорам, имеющим постпозитивное употребление слова *дак*.

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Appendix I. Transcription conventions of the simplified transcription system

For the transcription of the recordings from Varzuga, I followed the tradition in Russian dialectology and used a so-called simplified transcription system, which is a compromise between readability and closeness to the actual pronunciation. Almost every author uses a slightly different system, but they are always easy to understand. The system used in this book is also slightly different from the existing ones. In example utterances cited from other sources, the original transcription is retained. These are always variants of a simplified transcription system.

For the sake of readability, as few non-standard orthographic signs were used as possible. In borderline cases, the choice was led by supposed morphology and phonology, which is usually closest to Standard Russian orthography. For instance, if I was uncertain whether the vowel in the particle *-to* in a certain pronunciation was produced closest to [o] or to a *schwa*, I chose to write an *o*, corresponding both to the underlying phoneme and to standard orthography.

1 Consonants

- Soft consonants are marked with an apostrophe (’): *с’ич’ас*. Palatalisation resulting from assimilation in clusters of consonants is not marked, so *снег* is written *сн’ек* (not *с’н’ек*);
- Voice-voiceless assimilation inside the boundaries of the word and final devoicing of consonants are marked: *сло́фъ*; *зд’е́лал*; *бл’и́ско*.

2 Vowels

- The following letters are used for vowels: *а*, *е*, *э*, *и*, *ы*, *о*, *у*, *ь*, *ъ*.
- *и* and *ь* are only used after soft consonants or in inlaut; *ы*, *ъ* only after hard or in inlaut; *а*, *о*, *е*, *у* are used after both soft and hard consonants;
- *ь* and *ъ* are only used for unaccented vowels. For reasons of readability, they are only used with restriction, that is, only when the vowel was exactly in a middle position between two vowels, especially when the context made not clear which phoneme the vowel represented. Examples:
  - *ь* unstressed vowel exactly between [i] and [e], e.g. *н’ь*, *д’ьр’е́вн’а*
  - *ъ* unstressed central vowel between [a], [o] and [ɨ], e.g. *гъловá*, *б’е́лъj* (morpho-phonological *о* or *ы*);
- If the perceived vowel was a sound exactly in between [e] and [o] or between [e] and [a], a forced choice was made: *бу́д’от*, *бу́д’ет*, *пр’ес’*, *пр’ас’*; cf. standard Russian *прясть* ‘to spin’. In the first case, the sound actually produced was very often a glide from [e] towards [o]: *бу́д’еот*;
- The letter *э* is only used in word-initial position, to avoid confusion with pronunciations starting with [j]:
  э́то (to mark the absence of [j] in word-initial position), but
  jémo (*е* in all other cases).

3 Other conventions

т:; т’:; а:; á:	long sounds
у коó	two different syllables

(ска́жеш)	unclear or hardly audible
ска́(жеш?)	uncertain transcription
у ко(г)о́, ска́(же)ш	not clearly heard, but was probably said or intended (added in the transcription for the sake of understandability)
ска́жеш(?)	previous word is uncertain
(unintell.)	unintelligible fragment
да [= дак?]	possible alternative interpretation
(...)	non-transcribed part
(S1)	indication of the speaker at the end of the given fragment
[MP:]	indication of the speaker before a new turn (only given when there is more than one dialect speaker or dialectologist in the cited fragment; information about the individual speakers is given in Appendix I)
А почему?	turns by dialectologists are written in Standard Russian orthography and in *italics*
гм	minimal response with closed mouth
ага	minimal response with opened mouth
э-	hesitation marker (cf. English "er ....")
нев-	cut-off word
нев- ...	cut-off word followed by hesitation
[laughs]	remarks are written between square brackets

4 Prominence

Prominent syllables are marked with an acute accent on the vowel:

> Пов'и́длы бы́л'и ... Вот тут магаз'ин был с'ич'а́с jево н'е́ту гд'е Л'икон'и́да Н'ик'и́форовна-то дак, у н'ej са́т-то тут дак вот та́м, поп'ер'ед'и́ бы́л до́м. Ту́т был магаз'и́н. (S3)

The use of the terms *prominence*, *accent* and *stress* is explained in section 7.2.3.3. The prominences usually reflect a prominence lending pitch movement, but they can also be caused by other means, such as length or loudness. As a rule, they are caused by a combination of properties. Most of the prominences marked in the transcriptions correspond to the lexically stressed syllables, that is, you can usually find one acute accent on every multi-syllable word: *Пов'и́длы бы́л'и*. But there are exceptions:

1) One-syllable words can be marked as prominent as well; cf. *та́м* and the last example of *ту́т* in the example fragment above;
2) When none of the syllables is prominent, no syllable is marked: *jево*, *вот*, *тут*;
3) Sometimes, more than one syllable is marked in a word, because more than one syllable is prominent: *ко́сты́ч'*.

5 Prosodic and syntactic boundaries

Punctuation marks are used instead of the more common single or double slashes (/ and //). They give the following information:

. end of an utterance which signals "finality" and is not an exclamation or question; usually after a falling accent and combined with a pause;

, end of a prosodic syntagm which is non-final; only at syntactic boundaries where a comma could be used, so not before hesitations; usually after a rising or rising-falling accent, and combined with a short pause;
— prosodic + syntactic pause according to Russian orthography (only if needed to clarify the intended meaning);
... other pause or hesitation;
/ silence with other or unknown function (used as little as possible);
! clear exclamation;
? question;
« » speaker citing other speaker.

Periods and commas are only used when they are syntactically appropriate and there is a perceived period of silence. For example, in the cited fragment above, the first part contains no commas, although it consists of three different predicative units: *вот тут магаз'ѝн был, с'ич'а́с јево н'е́ту* and *гд'е Л'икон'ѝда Н'ик'ѝфоровна-то дак*:

> Вот тут магаз'ѝн был с'ич'а́с јево н'е́ту гд'е Л'икон'ѝда Н'ик'ѝфоровна-то дак, (...)

The reason for the absence of markings is that the syntactic boundaries are not marked prosodically: until the word *Н'ик'ѝфоровна-то* the sequence is pronounced on an almost level tone without any periods of silence. In contrast, *Н'ик'ѝфоровна-то* is pronounced with a high rising-falling accent (IK-3/Rl-; see sections 4.3.1 and 12.2.6), and the following particle *дак* is followed by a pause. The fundamental frequency curve of this segment can be found in section 12.2.6, figure 12.1.

This fragment also contains two occurrences of the particle *дак*. The first one is followed by a comma, but the second is not. This means that only the first one is followed by a pause:

> Пов'ѝдлы бы́л'и ... Вот тут магаз'ѝн был с'ич'а́с јево н'е́ту гд'е Л'икон'ѝда Н'ик'ѝфоровна-то дак, у н'ej са́т-то тут дак вот та́м, поп'ер'ед'ѝ был до́м. Ту́т был магаз'ѝн.

In exceptional cases, punctuation marks are used where there was no silence. In the next example, there is a change of pitch accent between the noun *Јьвла́мп'ија* and its apposition, *с'естра́*, but no period of silence. Still, a comma is used, for reasons of understandability:[1]

> (...), ја́, да ... два́цет' с'ед'мо́(г)о го́да ... Јьвла́мп'ија, с'естра́. (S3) [App. IV; text 12]

[1] A change of pitch accent alone does not necessarily imply a major syntactic and prosodic boundary – it can also mark a boundary between phonological words, which is usually not marked by a punctuation mark. For a discussion of the possible lack of correspondence between syntactic and prosodic boundaries in dialectal speech, see Касаткин & Касаткина 2000.

6 About the choice for punctuation marks

In Russian dialectology, the use of punctuation marks instead of slashes is unusual. It is clear that the use of punctuation marks has unwanted effects, but so has the use of slashes as so-called pausation marks. The latter are usually used inconsequently: they are claimed to mark pauses corresponding to periods of silence, but in reality they often mark syntactic boundaries, also if there was no silence at all, while part of the real periods of silence – those caused by hesitations – are usually not marked at all. If the slashes had really been used to mark periods of silence only, the texts would have been difficult to understand.[2] For the present research, the presence or absence of pauses before or after *dak* is relevant, and the presence of silences due to hesitation can sometimes explain the use of certain expressions, such as restarts and afterthoughts. The use of punctuation marks instead of pausation marks requires a certain level of interpretation, and this may lead to erroneous decisions about the meaning of an expression. Ideally, a transcription of spontaneous speech should contain information about the used intonation, but no useful system for the annotation of intonation is available for the description of Russian dialects.[3] The use of commas and dots partly compensates for the lack of information on the intonation, because they indirectly reflect part of the intonation: the interpretation of finality or non-finality is partly expressed by means of certain pitch patterns (see sections 7.2.3.5 and 12.2.6).

[2] Exceptions are Князев & Пожарицкая 1997 and Петрова 1997. The authors use both punctuation marks and slashes in their detailed phonetic transcriptions, in order to differentiate between pauses and changes in intonation. They use separate symbols for syntactic boundaries which are not marked by a period of silence.

[3] Some researchers have applied Bryzgunova's IK-system (e.g. Брызгунова 1980) to annotate dialect transcriptions, for instance in some texts in Касаткина et al. 1991, but the IK's are insufficiently defined and therefore multi-interpretable; see section 7.2.3.4.

Appendix II. Data about the speakers

The table below contains information about the speakers of the dialect Varzuga who provided examples which are cited in this dissertation, and about other informants who contributed with relevant information about the dialect. The example utterances are provided with a lable identifying the source speaker. The sources of single words and expressions are only given if the word or phenomenon was found or suspected not be used by all speakers. This list does not contain all recorded speakers. The recordings contain interviews with others, including elderly speakers of the dialect using many dialectal traits and frequent use of particles, who happen not to be cited in the dissertation.

Most of the speakers were born in Varzuga and spent all or most of their life in the village and have not more than a few years of education (see chapter 2 and 3). The list gives year of birth (column 1), place of birth (column 2), gender (column 3) and other relevant information (4). The main informants are placed on top of the list. Speakers marked with a star were born in a different village. Two of them speak almost like native Varzužans; see the individual remarks in column 4 and note 76 in section 4.7.2). Speakers marked with the sign # supplied only secondary data. They explained the meaning of dialectal words or answered questions about the local dialect.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
S1	1927	Varzuga	f	
S2	1928	Varzuga	f	lead singer of the choir 1973-2002
S3	1922	Varzuga	f	loves to read; likes to speak in public
S4	1914	Varzuga	f	
S5	1914	Varzuga	f	
S6*	1926	Čavan'ga	f	moved to V. after marriage; speaks almost like Varzužans
S7	1920	Varzuga	m	
S8	1937	Varzuga	f	
S9	1926	Varzuga	f	
S10	1919	Varzuga	f	
S11	1919	Varzuga	f	
S12	1934	Varzuga	f	
S13	1932	Varzuga	m	
S14*	1931	Tetrino	f	moved to Varzuga after marriage; still possible to hear that she is not from Varzuga
S15	1934	Varzuga	m	
S16	1934	Varzuga	f	
S17	1940	Varzuga	f	worked and lived elsewhere until recently
S18*	1927	Kandalakša	f	moved to Varzuga as an adult
S19	?	Varzuga	f	speaker S5's daughter
S20	1994	Varzuga	m	
S21	1998	Varzuga	f	
S22#	1958	Varzuga	f	
S23#	1935	Varzuga	m	long education; has lived elsewhere; public figure; very interested in local traditions
S24#	1953	Tetrino	m	teacher
S25*	1928	Karelia	f	moved to Varzuga after marriage; native speaker of Karelian

The other speakers, whose speech is written in italics, are dialectologists and my travelling companion Kaja Opsahl. These are the used abbreviations (see section 3.3.1 for all of the dialectologists who took part in the field work):

DP = David Pineda
KK = Karin Krogh
KO = Kaja Opsahl
MP = Margje Post
SS = Sevane Sarkis'jan
TK = Tat'jana Karmakova

A turn is only preceded by an indication of the identity of the speaker when more than one dialect speaker or more than one dialectologist took part in the conversation. Here are some examples:

> У Зо́ји-то до́м-то згор'е́л *дак* т'ип'е́р' она ту́т, у На́д'и жыв'о́т. (S11)

> — *А почему попа повезли?*
> — Попа́ *дак*, э́то ... застр'ел'и́л, о́н, да́л jej, нага́н-то. (S5)

> — *А познакомились вы как?*
> [S15:] — Ка́к? Кто́, мы́?
> — *Да!*
> [S16:] — (...) та́jна (... как познако́м'ил'ис'.)
> [S15:] — В свойе́j д'ьр'е́вн'и *дак*! А ф свойе́j д'ьр'е́вн'и *дак* ка́к познако́м'ил'ис'!

Appendix III. The importance of careful listening and good quality sound recordings for the description of non-prominent particles

In section 7.3.8 I claimed that prosodic infomation about the context of *dak* is vital for the description of this word, which was supported in chapter 12. I argued that there is another reason why the sound quality should be good: In many cases, the word *dak* is pronounced so unclearly that little or no difference is heard with similar words like *da*, *tak* and *ak*. This appendix will illustrate my point.

Perception studies show that perception is not equal to production. The expectations of the hearer of what he expects to hear play a huge role in perception. As a consequence, it would not be surprising if the perception of *dak* is highly influenced by the expectations of the listener. If the listener does not pay attention to this word, he will not even notice it. Leonie Cornips told the audience of her course in syntactic variation[1] a shocking experience she had with the transcription of dialect material: She studied the use of a certain small word in a Dutch dialect. She had some students of linguistics to do the transcription. To her astonishment, the students – who were students in linguistics – did not attest a single occurrence of this word, although it was used rather often. The reason must be that the students were not aware of the phenomenon, that they actually had no idea that it could occur. They were speakers of standard Dutch who lived in a different region of the Netherlands, to whom the construction is unknown. Since they were not aware that this word could be used, they didn't even perceive it: it was filtered out in their perception, just like most of other irrelevant information. This is a well-known fact from linguistic perception studies.

Therefore, the existing transcriptions of texts containing *dak* and similar words – including the present dissertation! – should be regarded with a certain reservation, even though they are usually made by linguists who paid specific attention to these words. The overwhelming majority of occurrences will have been transcribed correctly, but some of the occurrences will have remaned unnoticed or been misinterpreted. Many of the examples in the literature are not even based on sound recordings, but transcribed directly from the ear.[2] These possible differences in perception, even by specialised linguists, could explain the

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[1] Leonie Cornips, on the LOT course *Syntactic variation and change*, Amsterdam, January 2004.

[2] The examples cited in the literature are made by researchers who are interested in these words. An interesting parallel is found in the two different editions of fairy tales from the region. Merkur'ev's collection contains a large number of occurrences of *dak*, but the edition by Balašov has only a few (Меркурьев 1997b; Балашов 1970). It is highly unlikely that none of the story tellers in Balašov's collection would have used it. In fact, Balašov particularly remarked in his foreword that the word *dak* was used frequently. But the fact that a linguistic feature is not attested in transciptions does not imply that it was not used: in most cases transcribers or editors "correct" the speech while converting it to written text. "Superfluous" words, which are regarded as mere fillers, are usually filtered out, just like hesitations and hesitation markers ("er..."); see section 7.4.6. This was probably also done in the case of Balašov's publication, which contains many transcriptions made by other people. Fernandez observed a clear tendency for particles to disappear in transcriptions of spoken Sámi, Finnish and Norwegian (Fernandez 1987; 1994). As we saw, it is also possible that the transcriber did not even notice the word.

diverging observations about the properties of *dak* and the relation of this word to *tak*, *da* and *ak*: a biased ear can easily change the perception of the observer.[3]

This circumstance shows the importance of using high quality recordings. On several occasions I had to check my recordings to find out whether my first interpretation of what I had heard was right. As a matter of fact, this even got me rid of some problematical cases, which appeared to be counterexamples to my analysis of *dak*. A second check of the sound file revealed that a different word than *dak* was used in these cases.

However, even good quality sound files can be insufficient to find out which word was meant by the speaker: the pronunciation is not always clear enough. Even with a non-biased ear – taking all possibilities into account – it was not always possible to find out which word form was used: was it *da* or *dak*, *tak* or *dak*, or perhaps *ak*? The context does not always help, because there are several contexts where both words could be used. An example is the following fragment from the database, where both *dak* and *tak* could have been meant (cf. section 10.3.11 and 14.4.2):

(1) — Н’éту карма́на? *Дак* [= *Так*?] и с’jéш ты ды! (S1)

In fact, even the first, accented, occurrence of *tak* in this fragment has no clear [t]. This I found out only after careful listening; at first, I didn’t even doubt about the correctness of my perception of the word as *tak*.[4] But the fact that I have no other occurrences of accented *dak*, makes an interpretation as *tak* more probable.

At first, I was not aware of the existence of the form *ak* in the dialect: I either didn’t hear the form at all or interpreted them as occasions of *dak*. I thought that this form was only used in other dialects. Only when I started listening very carefully, I found more and more examples.

One has also to take into account that there are phonetical contexts where the difference between reduced *da* and reduced *dak* usually cannot be perceived, i.e. if the word is immediately followed by the consonant [k]. In reduced forms, there is no difference in length of the vowel [a], and the length of the consonant is not distinctive either:

(2) (...) А говор’и́т с’ич’а́с Jел’икон’и́да Ф’о́доровна звон’и́ла у jéj ко́т-то! *Да* [=*Дак*?] ко́шка-тъ загу́л’ират! Дак о́н ч’у́jет. (S3) [App. VI text 15]

Consequently, no difference is heard between *да коне́шно* and *дак коне́шно*:

(3) Но а jéсл’и в д’ьр’éвн’и jéс’ <u>*да* [= *дак*?] кон’éшно</u>. (S3)

(4) — *А пост еще существует?*

[3] Cf. the discussion of these differing standpoints in chapter 6. To give an example, the remarkable neglect of the word *dak* in the description by Popov of an Archangel’sk dialect (Попов 1957, where the existence of this word is not mentioned a single time; the author seems to regard it as a variant of *dak*, since he gives two example sentences of “*da*” where he cites the form *dak*; see section 6.5.5) could also be a reflexion of the linguist not being aware of a possible difference between *da* and *dak*. It is not unlikely that part of the utterances where he heard *da* were in fact examples of *dak*.

[4] It should be noted that the sound quality of this fragment is not ideal. The speaker was sitting at some distance from the microphone and spoke in another direction.

— А?
— *(...)*
— Посты́-то, да́. Вспом'ина́ют, кото́ры хо́д'ат ф це́ркоф'-то *да* [=*дак*?] кон'е́шно, зна́ют, говор'а́т јим. (S1)

Such examples should therefore not be given as examples of one particle or the other, although this is usually done. For instance, in *AOS*, several of the controversial examples of "coordinative" *dak* – where it is supposed to have the same additive function as *da* – are examples where *dak* is used before a [k], so these examples could just as well be occurrences of *da*:

(4) Фсё просто́ро, игра́й даг гуля́й. (*AOS*)

In the next fragment, all three word can have been used: *da*, *dak* and *ak*. The fact that the following word begins with a [k] makes that the presence of a final [k] uncertain:

(5) Мы́ напр'им'ер дак ч'о́. Мы дрова́ ход'и́л'и руб'и́л'и в л'е́с. Нач'ина́ја — вот ја́ напр'им'ер пошла́ в п'ид'ис'а́т-тр'е́т'ем гаду́ на рабо́ту, нач'ина́(ја) с п'ид'ис'а́т-тре́т'јего го́да *ак* [= *дак*? *да*?] ка́ждыј го́д в л'есу́. Дро́ва руб'и́ш с мужыка́м'и ход'и́ш. (S8)

These unclear cases, however, represent only a small minority of the occurrences of *dak*. The existence of such unclear cases and the fact that this language system has words which are very much alike in pronunciation, also shows that their distinction is not very relevant for successful communication. The differences between these words might even be absent in some contexts, and they would anyhow be very subtle; cf. chapter 14.

Appendix IV. Prominent realisations of *dak*

In section 12.2.1 and 12.3.9, point 1, the possibility of prominent realisations of *dak* was mentioned. This appendix discusses the kind of prominence and its possible causes in more detail.

1 Claims

As mentioned in section 12.3.9, many researchers claim that Northern Russian *dak* can be accented, or at least be prominent. They use the word *udarenie*, which is a term which usually covers all ot the three phenomena prominence, word stress and pitch accent (see section 7.2.3.3 for an explanation). Unfortunately, it is usually not clear which meaning of the three is intended. A typical example is Fedorova, who perceived "udarenie" on *dak* in some of its realisations (see (12.33) *Ветра́ какие-то получаютса / иногда со снегом // идеж да́к / глаза нельзя открыть*), but she does not explain the nature of the perceived prominence – which acoustic parameters are involved and whether it is caused by the meaning of the word *dak* or not.

Leinonen and Ludykova found the following transcriptions in an edition of Russian fairy tales from Karelia, where utterance-final *dak* was written after a comma and before a question mark:[1]

(1) Магазин не рядом, *дак*!
Shop *neg* close-by *dak*
'The shop is not close by.'

(2) И в пролубу высыпал соль, пошел дальше. Шел, шел — река вся растрескалась. Тут весна уж приходит, *дак*! Он и говорит: (...)
'And into the hole in the ice he poured salt, he went on. He went, went further – the whole river [= ice] had cracked. 'Spring is already coming, *dak*!' And he says: ...'

The comma separates *dak* from the preceding context – in Leinonen's words, from the preceding utterance (2002a:315). Leinonen concludes that *dak* must be prominent in these utterances and form an independent *syntagma* (prosodic syntagm). She has problems with reconciling this finding with the descriptions of Pinega dialects, where phrase-final particles and conjunctions are used to signal the right-most boundary of the phrase (Никитина & Пожарицкая 1993:158f; see below), since a prominent separate syntagm can hardly be interpreted as a weak position in the phrase. She found examples with exclamation marks in Merkur'ev's material as well, and concludes that this usage must be typical of Pomorian dialects:

(3) Моицце ис комароф: комары наели *дак*!
'Is washing because of the mosquitoes: the mosquitoes bit *dak*!' (Меркурьев 1998:27; cited and translated in Leinonen 2002a:315)

[1] Лейнонен & Лудыкова 2001 and Leinonen 2002a:315, cited from *Русские народные сказки Карельского Поморья* (1974).

However, commas need not express pauses; they can be used to express syntactic boundaries, which need not be accompanied by a pause. In Norwegian, the utterance-final particles *da*, *altså* and *så* are usually written after a comma, because they are considered not to be a constituent in the preceding phrase or clause:

(3) *Og måltidene blir veldig ofte ferdigmat og halvfabrikata. Hvis jeg ikke spiser på McDonald's, da.* (from the Norwegian (*bokmål*) tagged text corpus of *Tekstlaboratoriet*; http://www.hf.uio.no/tekstlab/)
'And the meals are often instant meals or semi-prepared meals. If I don't just eat at McDonalds.'

(4) *Apene var totalt forvirra. Sjimpansene, altså.* (Fretheim 1995)
'The apes were totally confused. The chimps, that is.'

(5) *Det er gratis adgang her. For oss, så.*
'There's free entrance here. For us (there is).' (Fretheim 2000a:123)

The comma indicates that the particles are in extraposition, and therefore syntactically separated from the preceding unit, but they are prosodically integrated in this utterance, just like utterance-final *dak* in the Northern Russian dialects – a pause is not even possible before the particle (Fretheim 1995; see also note 2 in chapter 12). I have not heard the fairy tales from Karelia, but it is unlikely that the prosodic characteristics of final *dak* should be radically different from those in Varzuga. The editors of the fairy tales must have had a similar, syntactic reason for writing a comma between the core sentence and the final particle, which is a far from unreasonable decision, considering the syntactic status of the particle (cf. section 13.4). Furthermore, the exclamation mark after the word *dak* does not indicate that it is the word *dak* which is prominent. It can also mark that the utterance is an exclamation.

This example shows that prosodic characteristics cannot be derived from transcriptions, and that an analysis of the sound is required before conclusions can be drawn about prominence and accentability. Some researchers have supported their claims about the prominence of *dak* by acoustic studies. Their results will be discussed below.

2 *Dak* can stand out acoustically

2.1 Utterance-final acoustic prominence in intensity, duration and F0

In Князев et al. 1997, *dak* is mentioned as an example of a final clitic which can "attract" *udarenie*, due to an unusual prosodic organisation in these dialects (1997:201). First, in many Northern Russian dialects, final parts, including clitics, can be prominent in loudness and due to final lengthening. Second, in the dialects they studied – some dialects in the Pinega and Verchnjaja Tojma regions, Archangel'sk oblast – utterances often end in a final pitch rise and a very short fall at the end of the final syllable, even in posttonic parts. Both tendencies are claimed to lend perceptual prominence to the last syllable of the utterance. However, they published too few to give convincing support for their claims.

One of their figures shows the sequence *ðajym ðaк* 'they give *dak*' at the end of an utterance. The duration of the vowels shows little variation. The intensity is lowest on the first [a], somewhat higher on the [u] and highest on the [a] of *dak*. The fundamental frequency curve shows an almost constant high pitch, which is

somewhat lower on the [u], and lowers a little only on the last part of the final syllable. The first small difference might be due to inherent segmental differences between the sounds [u] and [a]. As to the final fall on *dak*, it would be interesting to know whether it is caused by the word *dak*, or whether such falls also occur in utterances which do not end in a particle. Unfortunately, the authors show no comparisons with similar sentences which do not end in a particle. This would have shown if the semantics of the final syllable have any influence on its prosody. It seems that they have not; in dialects from this region, also other utterances often end in a final rise and a very short fall in the end of the posttonic parts; cf. Кузнецов 1949:13f; 1951:91; Колесов 1970:5; Пауфошима 1989:58f; Князев et al. 1997:200f and the description based on acoustic measurements with illustrations on the dialect of Russkoe Ust'e (Eastern Siberia) in Саппок & Люблинская 2000. Some recordings from the neighbouring Verchnjaja Tojma region appeared to show the same phenomena:

(6) — А зову́^{H}т мн'а^{l} Кла́^{l}вд'и́^{M}ja^{h}.[2]
— *Алекса*^{L}*ндро*^{l}*вна?*
— А^{l}л'ексá^{M}ндро^{h}вна^{hm}. Двáц:ат' тр'ét'jего гóду рожд'é^{H}н':а^{h}. (Arch.)[3]

All three utterances of the dialect speaker end in high posttonic parts; the confirming answer *Ал'ексáндровна* also has a short fall in the end of the last posttonic syllable. Such final pitch movements are not common in the dialect of Varzuga. In fact, in the 1980s they were no longer observed even in the areas along the Pinega river, where they had been common in the 1960s (Rozalija Kasatkina, p.c.). In my perception, this high pitch level does not lend prominence.

2.2 Intensity and duration

The next example shows prominence which is not due to a change in pitch, but to increasing loudness and lengthening. Recently, Odé studied the accentuation in a recording of a Northern Russian dialect,[4] in which she also attested prominence of a final clitic (Odé 2003a:234):

(6) тесто ми**сúш** да вод зами**сúш** тож з быэ з быцью голо**вý те́ст**а-**та** (460)
(6a) **те**сто месиш. (1030) Да вот за**ме**сишь тоже с **бы**чью **го**лову **те**ста-то.[5]
'you mix the dough, you start mixing it, it has the size of a bull's head, this dough'

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[2] It is possible that the first and not the second syllable of this word is the lexically stressed syllable and carries the pitch accent. However, this alternative interpretation does not affect the argumentation, namely that the pitch curve is rising, even in the posttonic syllable. The poor sound quality of the available copy of the recording did not allow the extraction of a reliable fundamental frequency trace.

[3] This fragment is taken from a recording made by Ljubov´ Savëlova, who wrote a thesis (*kandidatskaja dissertacija*) about dialects from the Archangel'sk oblast. During a stay at the University of Tromsø she provided us with copies of her recordings. This fragment was recorded in her native Verchnjaja Tojma region, which is close to the areas studied by Kuznecov and by Knjazev, Levina and Požarickaja.

[4] It is one of the speech files accompanying Касаткина et al. 1991, in which it was transcribed. The recording was made in Lešukonskij rajon, Arch. obl.

[5] I follow the transcription used by Odé. An acute accent marks word stress (*udarenie*), bold face marks prominence of a syllable in a prominent word. The numbers between brackets indicate the duration of the pauses in milliseconds ("ударный слог в выделенном слоге"; Odé 2003a:232).

The second variant is a translation to Standard Russian, which was made on the basis of a transcription of the dialect text. Odé asked three Russian phoneticians to mark the prominent syllables in this recording and in a recording of its standard Russian translation. Interestingly, the Russian phoneticians all marked the particle *-ta* as being prominent, but I did not perceive it like that.[6] What is more relevant in the study of prominence than the judgement of linguists is whether the speakers of the dialect themselves perceive a syllable as prominent, and whether this prominence, if perceived, is attributed any meaning.

Odé checked the acoustic correlates of the perceived prominence of the final syllable of *mecma-ma* in the cited example. In this case, the prominence was not caused by a high F0,[7] but by other properties of the sound. Odé's picture 7 (2003a:247) does not show large changes in pitch level, but both the first and the last syllable in *mecma-ma* are prominent both in intensity and duration.

In the dialect of Varzuga, such prominence of final syllables at the end of utterances or prosodic syntagms by means of lengthening, loudness or higher pitch is uncommon. However, in the following example, *dak*1 has a higher intensity than the vowels in the surrounding syllables, even than the pitch accented [i] in the preceding word *Н'ик'ифоровна*:

(7) Пов'и^{H}длы^{h} бы́л'и ... Вот тут магаз'ин был с'ич'ас јево н'ету гд'е Л'икон'ида Н'ик'и^{H}фо^{l}ровна-то *дак*, у н'ej са́т^{H}-то^{l} тут *дак* вот та́^{L}м, поп'ер'ед'и^{H} бы́^{M}л до́^{L}м. Ту́^{H}т бы^{m}л магаз'и^{L}н. (S3)

Still, this does not make me perceive the word *dak*1 as being prominent. The fundamental frequency on *dak*1 is just as low as on the preceding unstressed syllable *-to*, and it is higher on the next syllable *u*. The higher intensity might be due to intrinsic properties of the open vowel [a].

2.3 Uncommon: unreduced vowel quality in Zaonež'e

The particle *dak* can also be prominent in a dialect from Zaonež'e, the sound file of which can be downloaded from internet (see note). In some cases, *dak* is not reduced, not in length nor in vowel quality:

(8) А у нас как брусники много этта ... росло *дак*, чаны таки были. *Дак* наберут как семь уж шесь ... ушатьев, (...)[8]

2.4 Louder, but not prominence-lending

In the Varzuga dialect, the vowel of *dak* seems always to be reduced, but even in Varzuga, the word is sometimes more prominent than adjacent syllables, even if they also contain an [a], like in the following example:

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[6] Brechtje Post, a Dutch linguist specialised in French and English intonation who does not know Russian, did not perceive the final particle as prominent either (p.c.). The differences in perceived prominence might be due to different expectations of a Dutch ear as compared to a Russian listener.

[7] Odé does not comment the F0 curve. I perceived the pitch curve of the sound recording as somewhat falling on an already rather low pitch level after a higher pitch on the pitch accented previous word *головý*. I did not perceive this minor pitch change as prominence-lending.

[8] The recording was made in Zaonež´e (Karelia) by staff and students from the universities of Petrozavodsk and Joensuu. It is available at http://www.geocities.com/Athens/4280/obrazcy/-koi_peredovaja.htm.

(9) (...) Так’и́е ро́зов’ен’к’и т’ел’но́(г)о цв’е́та и ту́ф’ел’к’и фс’а́ко, мы ... б’е́лы ту́ф’ел’к’и-то *дак* в’ет’ и ... за р’еку́ је́зд’ил’и-то ф клу́п-то в го́ру-то ста-... ставá<u>ш *дак*</u>, замá<u></u>жош јих, *дак* мы́ ... зу́бны́м порошко́м. *(— Ага!)* — И́х ма́зал’и. (S3)

The vowel in *dak* is louder than in the two preceding syllables, but does not seem to affect the interpretation of which of the vowels carries the pitch accent. The tonic vowel in *ставáш* is much longer, the quality of the [a] in *dak* is reduced, closer to *schwa*, and finally, its lower fundamental frequency is also a cue that it is not the carrier of a pitch accent or word stress.

The intensity is also different on the three vowels in the sequence *-to tut dak* in (7):

(7) Пов’и́длы бы́л’и ... Вот тут магаз’и́н был с’ич’а́с јево н’е́ту гд’е Л’икон’и́да Н’ик’и́форовна-то дак, у н’ej са́т-<u>то тут *дак*</u> вот та́м, поп’ер’ед’и́ был до́м. Ту́т был магаз’и́н. (S3)

The syllables *-to* and *dak* have a higher intensity – and perceived loudness – than the word in between, but they sound equally non-prominent in my ears, probably because the fundamental frequency has the same low level. This difference in intensity must be due to intrinsic differences between the closed vowel [u] and the more open vowels [o] and [*dak*].

2.5 High pitch level on *dak* in other dialects

As mentioned in section 12.2.1, in some Northern Russian dialects the pitch level can be high on *dak* in utterance-final position. In a recording of an Archangel’sk dialect from Касаткина et al. 1991:57 (text nr. 9), in which courtship rituals are explained, pitch is high or above the mid level on the word *dak* in the following two excerpts, and in the second case it is even the higher than on any other word (see section 12.3.9 for more context):

(9) а та девушка помалкиват // он той не зовёт *дак* вот эту /
but that.F girl keeps-silent // he her *neg* calls *dak* prt this.F.acc /
‘But the other girl doesn’t say a word. He doesn’t call her, the other one.’

(10) а веть тут нарот / фсё *дак* принародно не́как говорить // (Pin. Arch.)
but *prt* there people / all *dak* under-people no-way talk.inf //
‘There are people there all the time, of course, so there is no way they could talk with all these people around.’

An analysis of the F0 curves using *Praat* resulted in figures IV_1 and IV_2.[9]

[9] The sound quality of the copy I used was not very high, and this might have been the cause of a few erroneous F0 measurements. The most obvious errors in the F0 curve (e.g. octave jumps) have been corrected, using the manipulation and resynthesis functions in *Praat*, and the resynthesised version was auditorily checked, to ensure that the result remained perceptually unchanged.

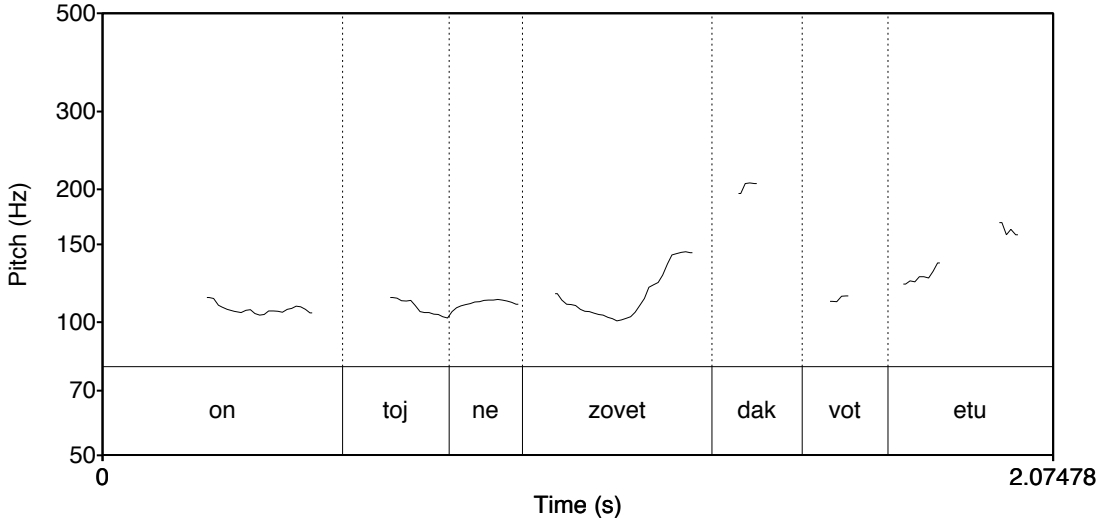


Figure IV$_1$*. F0 curve of the utterance Он той не зовёт дак вот эту in (9)*

In the first example, the pitch on *dak* is higher than on both the previous and the following unit. The interpretation of this example is discussed in section 12.3.9, point 3. The last two words, *вот эту*, seem to represent a tail, and *dak* could have high pitch because it is the final syllable of the preceding unit, like many other final syllables in utterances from this area.

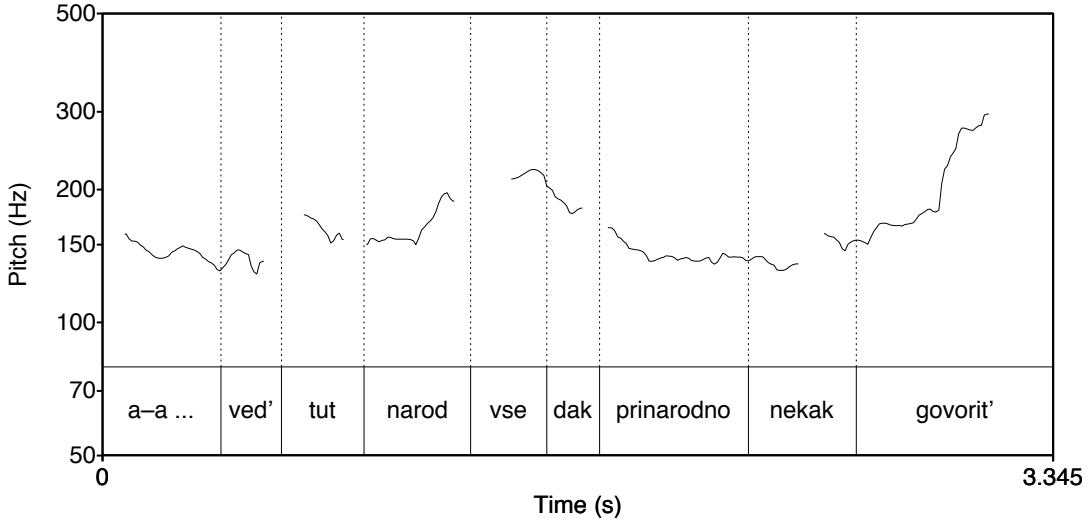


Figure IV$_2$*. F0 curve of the fragment фсё дак принародно нéкак говорить in (10)*

The pitch level on *фсё* in the second example is very high, it is lower on *dak* but still above mid level, while *принародно* carries a low pitch accent. The pitch starts rising again from *некак* to the end. In the transcription cited above, a "pause" was marked between the words *нарот* and *фсё*, but I did not perceive any pause, and even repeated careful listening did not reveal one. The apparent silent period, part of the non-voiced part of the F0 track shown in figure IV$_2$, is part of the closure period of the stop [t].[10] According to my interpretation of the utterance,

[10] The presence or absence of a pause cannot be detected on the F0 trace, because the surrounding sounds are voiceless.

there is no syntactic boundary in this position either. The topic of the text is how a boy and the other girl chose each other during a festive event (see section 12.3.9; point 3, IV). The word *фсё* might be part of the expression of A, and the meaning of the fragment seems to be something like 'There were people around all the time, so among the people they could not talk'.

3 Not prominence-lending

Still, I do not perceive these examples of *dak*, or the examples from Verchnjaja Tojma or Zaonež'e with an unreduced [a], as carrying a pitch accent or even word stress. A reason might be that change of pitch is arguably the most important cue for accentuation of single words in Russian (Касаткина 1991; cf. section 12.3.9; point 1), but that the pitch level on *dak* is in accordance with the posttonic part of a pitch accent, and is therefore not perceived as prominence-lending. In these dialects, final intonation is often high, like in Standard Russian iconical IK-4 and IK-6, which have a rise or continuing high level on posttonic syllables. In this example, the word preceding *dak*, *зовёт*, has a rising pitch movement, which is frequently attested at the end of prosodic syntagms in dialects from this region, as remarked above. Therefore, I interpret the pitch change on *dak* as a non-prominence lending turning point between two pitch accents, not as a centre of a pitch accent.

Appendix V. Discussion of the hypotheses related to prosody from previous research

Below I will discuss several hypotheses from previous research on Northern Russian *dak*, which are related to prosody.

1. "*Dak* is a prosodic boundary marker"
The observation that *dak* is always used at a major prosodic boundary has led some phonologically oriented researchers to conclude that *dak* is a prosodic boundary marker (Пауфошима [Касаткина] 1983; Никитина & Пожарицкая 1993; Князев et al. 1997; Пожарицкая 1997; see also section 6.5.15). It was shown above that this observation is correct, but it is rather a side-effect of the meaning of *dak* than a primary function of the word. Nikitina and Požarickaja even claim for the particle *da* that if the final utterance boundary is clear, *da* is used in initial position, whereas if the boundary is unclear, *da* is used in final position. It cannot be excluded that this is true for some contexts of *da*, but it cannot be correct for *dak*, since a change of position of *dak* triggers a change of meaning of the utterance. *Dak* only marks the final boundary of a unit expressing a "point of departure" or the initial boundary of a unit expressing an assertion following from some accessible information. It cannot be used at any other prosodic boundaries.

2. "*Dak* is used to make speech more rhythmical"
Northern Russian utterances are claimed to be very rhythmical (e.g. Брызгунова 1977; Пауфошима [Касаткина] 1983, but see Князев & Урбанович 2002 for criticism). Several phonetically oriented researchers claim that the small "semantically empty" particles, which are exceptionally frequent in the Northern Russian dialects, can contribute to make the speech more rhythmical, both inside syntagms (Пауфошима 1983) and on textual boundaries (*švy* 'junctions'; Евтюхин 1979). Inside a prosodic syntagm they can increase or decrease the number of adjacent unstressed syllables, and, if needed, take stress (*udarenie*; Пауфошима 1983:76). Paufošima (Kasatkina) mentions only *da* in her examples, and this might not be a coincidence. *Da* can be used in far more contexts than *dak* (see section 14.4), and her observation does not seem to be valid for *dak*. A preliminary perusal of a number of utterances containing *dak* showed that this particle was not over-represented in the position between unstressed syllables, and *dak* is usually less prominent than the syllables in its immediate context, or equally non-prominent. Evtjuchin does a similar suggestion for part of the final uses of the particles, although he is not primarily interested in prosody. He observes that the particles can mark junctions (*švy*) in text, not only at places where they are already predetermined by semantic factors, but also in positions where they are conditioned by factors like the need for an additional "rhythmical" pause in the text.[1]

[1] "При помощи частиц швы текста могут означаться и там, где они предопределены семантическими факторами, и там, где они обусловлены, например, необходимостью вспомогательной, "ритмической" паузации текста" (Евтюхин 1979:205f).

Some phoneticians seem to suggest that these phonetic functions as boundary markers and rhythm enhancing devices can be the only function of these words (Пауфошима 1983:76, Никитина & Пожарицкая 1993:158f), but both sources give only examples of certain uses of final *da*. In her course book in Russian dialectology, Požarickaja is more cautious, at least as regards the particle *dak*. She appears to be aware of the limitations concerning *dak* and suggests that *dak* can play several roles at different levels at the same time. Its frequency is determined by the need for boundary markers, the tendency to rhythmical speech and by its function as an "undifferentiated" connector, i.e. a connector with an unspecified meaning.[2] She is also cautions not to make too strong statements about the particle's role in rhytmicalisation:

> "Тенденция к ритмизации речи в северных говорах настолько сильна, что, возможно, именно она обусловливает в ряде случаев присутствие в тексте "семантически пустых" частиц, которыми насыщена севернорусская речь (*-от*, *-то*, *-та*, *-ту*, *-те*, *вот*, *да*, *дак* и др.)" (Пожарицкая 1997:19).[3]

However, in spite of her precautious formulations, her approach is too one-sided and does not pay attention to the basic meaning of these words, which limit the possible contexts in which they can be used. However, as the number of possible contexts is large, and these words are not obligatory, factors like rhythmicalisation may play a role, but only in semantic contexts which allow their use. The inclination to make speech rhythmical or mark boundaries may be a secondary motivation for the use of *dak*. In contexts where this optional particle can be used, the speaker has the choice to use it or not. In those cases, the type of intonation may indeed play a role, for sometimes I felt I could predict halfway in a prosodic syntagm that the speaker would use *dak* in the end. It is possible that the prosody of the utterance is an important factor in triggering this expectation. This observation could be tested with a questionnaire or production and reception experiments.

3. "Postposed A is always prosodically subordinated"

Nikitina and Požarickaja observed that in their data, the unit containing *dak* in "B A_*dak*"-constructions was always prosodically subordinated (Никитина & Пожарицкая 1993:164). This accounts for only part of the examples of this construction from Varzuga. If the A-part expresses a cause, the unit usually carries a prominent pitch accent, for instance, *Давно́ н'е́му дак* in (9.37). The examples with "subordinated" prosody in the Varzuga corpus are typically cases where the A-part expresses an adverbial expression of, for instance, the time when the mentioned event took place. This accounts for the following two examples where the A-parts are prosodically subordinated, since they lack a pitch accent with a large excursion (cf. Keijsper 2003:142). The first has earlier been

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[2] "Частота встречаемости *дак* в диалектной речи обусловлена еще и тем, что этот союз употребляется в конце синтагмы как показатель ее границы, выполняя одновременно и ритмизирующую роль, и функцию коннектора с неопределенной семантикой" (Пожарицкая 1997:128).

[3] "The tendency to make speech more rhythmical is so strong in the northern dialects that it is possibly this tendency which in a number of cases provokes the use of "semantically empty" particles, which are abundant in northern Russian speech (*-ot*, *-to*, *-ta*, *-tu*, *-te*, *vot*, *da*, *dak* and others)."

discussed in section 9.2.3, where the relation marked by *dak* was shown not to be causal, but temporal-conditional:

(1) «ко мн'е́ н'икого́ ... э́т'их ба́т'ушкоф ... н'е́ зов'и́т'е. Умру́ *дак*.» Говор'и́т ји́: «да́же Л'икон'и́ды н'е зов'и́т'е.» (S1)

In the following example, the last prominent word is *то́же*. The remainder of the utterance is pronounced on an almost level tone, which declines very slowly. The last syntagm, *пр'ишо́л с вајны́ дак* 'came from the war *dak*', is pronounced after the speaker has taken breath, but just as softly and on the same, non-prominent pitch level:

(2) — (...) инвал'и́днъс' така́ бъл'ша́ пан'има́... Рас сп'е́рва на ... устро́илса знач'ит' б'ибл'иат'е́кар'ом, та́м, бра́т то́же ра́н'еныј то́^{H}же^{m} инвал'и́д бы́л в Ал'е́н'ице пр'ец'еда́т'ел'ем с'ел'сав'е́та рабо́таеца, пр'ишо́л с вајны́ *дак*. Ч'е́р'ез јево́ б'ибл'иат'е́кар'ем а пато́м зна́ч'ит' ə- ... паш'ита́л'и и н'е ако́н'ч'ены н'икак'и́е, э́т'и ... Н'икак'и́е за-... с'ем'ина́р'ij. Н'и д'ипло́моф н'ич'ево́ н'и им'е́јеш дак пан'ина́нач'ит ə-... (S7)

Earlier we saw examples where the A-part was completely integrated into the preceding part B, apparently lacking any separate pitch accent or initial prosodic boundary ((39) and (40) in section 12.3.9). These were also temporal expressions, or activated subjects or objects. Apparently, the speaker did not feel the need to mark these elements as being new or contrasted.

However, the majority of A's in "B, A_*dak*"-constructions does have a clear pitch accent. Some utterance-final expressions of "A_*dak*" even have a pitch accent with a large excursion, such as in the earlier cited example (3). The word *Оз'ёрску* carries an Hl-accent with a high pitch peak and a deep fall:

(3) — *А какую рыбу ловили?*
Бы́л'и ... с'иг'и́ да, ш:у́ка да о́кун'и да. [pause] Таку́^{H} ры́^{L}бу^{l} лов'и́л'и. Оз'ё^{H}рску^{l} *да*^{l}*к*. Та́ оз'ёрска (вот таку-ту). Ја и рыба́ч'ила и ... ш'о́мгу лов'и́л'и то́же вот зд'ёс' по р'ек'и́-то по Ва́рзуг'и. В'ез(д)'е́ лов'и́ла. На оз'о́ра туда ход'и́ла дал'еко́. На ше-... тогда́ в'ет' н'е́ было јиш'о́ э́тых ... шч'о́бы и мото́р-то вкл'уч'и́т' да и ... пој'е́хал. А тогды́ на ше́ст'иках вот. (S4)

The semantics of this construction and its information structure are different from the previous, subordinated, ones. The prominent pitch accent indicates that the content needed to be contrasted or that the cause is remarkable or important in the argumentation (see section 10.3.11 and 10.3.12 about contrast and conditionality). Pitch accents are also used to mark newness, but content of *оз'ёрску* can hardly be considered to be new or unexpected in the context. The A-part can only consist of *оз'ёрску* 'lake (fish)', so x must be something like 'considering that it was lake fish we fished'. I think that in this case, *dak* marks a cause for an implication which the hearer has to infer himself. I get the

impression that the intended meaning of the utterance *Оз'ёрску дак* must be something like 'since it was lake fish, it is obvious what kind of fish it was'.[4]

The subordinated intonation in part of the "B, A_*dak*"-constructions is not a necessary corollary of the use of *dak*, but it is triggered by the intended information structure. In most cases where the A-part is prosodically subordinated, the information contained in the A-part in "B A_*dak*"-constructions is not new or contrastive information, but information that needs to be reactivated for its relevance in this context. It is not directly contrasted to alternatives or marked as being a relevant cause.

[4] This use of *dak* could also be interpreted as a case of "B. A_*dak*". The utterance ending in *dak*, *Озерску дак*, is clearly provoked by the previous assertions (*Бы́л'и ... с'иг'и́ да, ш'ш'у́ка да о́кун'и да. [pause] Таку́ ры́бу лов'ил'и*), but it does not necessarily encode a condition for the previous utterances; it could also express a condition for a proposition which lack a linguistic expression. The effect is about the same, for in both interpretations, "A_*dak*" gives support to the previous utterances.

Appendix VI. Text fragments

Fragment 1. An expression with *шолóнник*

Speakers: S8 (1937); TK; August 18, 2001

— А нам сказали какое-то очень интересное сочетание слов со словом шолонник, когда человек не знает дороги ...
— Н’ét, н’и тó што н’и знáет, а гýвур’ит ... дак дó-... дал’óко л’и сход’ит’-тъ вó, шолóн’еч’к’имd лóгом сход’и́ дак. Шолóн’еч’к’им лóгом-тъ бл’и́ско, скóро схóд’иш. Скóро схóд’иш да под’и́ шолóн’еч’к’им лóгом дак. Схóд’иш.

Fragment 2. *Кáтанцы*: an almost forgotten word

Speakers: S10 (1919); S12 (1934); MP; November 20, 2001

The speakers discuss the price of felt boots in Kandalakša:

[S10:] Тыíс’ач’а?
[S12:] Тр’и́ста с л’и́шнъм гъвър’ý.
[S10:] А já выход’ит’ ... Á: нó а т’ип’ép’ фс’ó дорогó дак.
[S12:] Дорогó, дá.
[S10:] Т’еп’é:р’ фс’ó дорогó. Т’ип’ép’ д’ешевó н’иц’егó н’ь воз’м’óш. Со старýх-то нáдо бы д’ишéв’л’е брáт’-тъ. [all laugh] Óл’а[1] ... Óл’и фс’о равнó хот’ старýх’и хот’ и м’ил’ион’éры фс’ó б’ерýт так.
[S12:] Ад’инáкова цена́ бáбушка! (unintell.)
[S10:] А зд’ирáјут. Зд’ирáјут съ старýх.
— А как раньше называли валенки?
[S10:] А вáл’енк’и называл’и вáл’енк’и.
— Не катанки или катанцы?
[S10:] А јéжел’и ... вáл’енк’и
[S12:] Кáтан’ц’иd! Кáтан’ц’и! [laugh] (...) кáтан’ц’и называ́л’и, ч’áсто вáл’енк’и а тадá кáтан’ц’и.
[S10:] Кáтан’ц’и. Фаравóнd по-фаравóнск’и!
[S12:] Кáтан’цы кáтан’цы.
— Вы их сами делали, или купили?
[S10:] А къта́л’и н’éкоторы сáмы ис шéрст’и. Старýх’и къта́л’и.
[S12:] Старýх’и да и мужык’и́, стар’ич’к’и́, катáл’и, ан’и́ м’áх’ън’к’и (...)
[S10:] С óв’еч’и шéрст’и, јеј т’éп’л’é ýжé м’áкон’к’и.
— А вы знаете как ...
[S10:] А já мы откýда знам н’е катáл’и.

[1] A local shop-keeper.

Fragment 3. Words for reindeer, which do not eat people

Speakers: S8 (1937); TK; SS; August 18, 2001

[TK:] А вы помните, когда оленей держали?
— Дак [=Да?] къ́н’ёшнъ!
[TK:] Ой, а расскажите про оленей.
— Дак — ја сама́ је́зд’ила на ал’ён’ах. Вот на́ оз’орах језд’ила. З’имо́ј, на л’ёс, л’ёс руб’и́л’и, је́зд’ила то́же сама́ на ал’ён’ах.
[TK:] А, ведь, когда разного возраста олени, поменьше, побольше, они как-то специально назывались?
— Но ка́к же, называ́л’ис’.
[TK:] А расскажите как.
— Нач’ина́ја с ло́панк’и[d]. Пы́жык сразу, пъто́м ло́панка.
[TK:] А лопанка, это ...?
— Этъ фтаро́ј го́т уже́. Пы́жык сра́зу ро́д’ице дак пы́жык. Но пъто́м бо́л’ше уже́ ло́панка.
[TK:] А это и олень и оленуха, лопанка?
— Дак ... ма́л’ен’к’и[2], да́:.
[TK:] И самка и самец, лопанка, или только самка лопанка?
— Ло́панка са́мка.
[TK:] Ага. А дальше?
— Да пъто́м - во́нд’елва́женка[d] да ва́женка[d]. А у т’е́х-то дак та́м как’и́х-то назва́н’ий н’ь зна́ју. Как’и́х-тъ ... сра́зу ... э́тът пы́жык, пъто́м ... ура́к[d], пъто́м ... та́м у и́х ... п’а́т’ л’и ше́с’ л’и назва́н’ий. Э́то — ко́нтус[d].
[SS:] А контус, это како́го возраста олень?
— А во́т н’и зна́ју. Та́м ... ја н’и зна́ју как’ие, назва́н’ий их там мно́го дак. За во́зраста, за быка́-тъ, за бъл’шо́въ-тъ дак [=да?]. Је́с’ там фс’а́к’их. Ура́к, сазу́ра[d], пото́м ... нав’е́рнъ пъто́м ко́нтус. Пъто́м ... ој јиш’о́ ка́к, како́ј-то иш’о́ да и, т’ип’е́р’ уш ста́ла и забыва́т’ их фс’ех. Давно́ н’е́ту дак.
[SS:] А когда ...
— Н’е́т, ол’ён’и бы́л’и јиш’о́ в въс’м’ид’ьс’а́том гъду́. У м’ьн’а То́л’ик ... ма́л’ен’к’ий бы́л иш’о́ ал’ён’и бы́л’и. Пр’ив’о́с тут с’е́но сос’е́д нам. На ал’ён’а пр’ив’еза́л к огоро́ду тут с’иб’е́. О́н как за́:р’от «Ма́ма, ал’ён’-тъ м’ен’а́ с’је́с!» Ак [=как?], ə-, сн’е́гу-то мно́го, о́н как ра́с пр’а́м[d] окна́. Хо́д’ит тут. «Ма́ма, ал’ён’ м’ен’а́ с’је́с!» Ја́ ска- ал’ён’и л’уд’е́ј н’и јед’а́т! Во́т, в вос’м’ид’ьс’а́тых года́х јиш’о́ ал’ён’и бы́л’и.

[2] The word *ма́л’ен’к’и* could both represent a M. singular and a plural form; cf. StR M sg. *маленький*; pl. *ма́л’енкие*. The traditional M sg. form in the dialect is *ма́л’ен’кој*, but this comparably young speaker is likely to use the Standard Russian ending with an <и> when speaking to us.

Fragment 4. Laundry rinsing in the river

Speakers: S2 (1928); MA (1932); MP; November 17, 2001

Во́ду из р'ек'и́.
— *Из реки?*
— Ага.
— *Ага. Но тогда ...*
— И́с про́руб'и, ага́, про́руп' п'е́шаютd, прол- ... т'ьп'е́р'-то называ́ют про́руп', а ра́н'ше — пролба́d.
[S13:] Пролба́.[3]
— *Пролба?*
— Но́:d [laughs] Ска́:т на́дъ јиш'о́ про́лбу п'е́шат', поло́скальнуd, ды и на́до водоно́снуd. Э́то зна́ч'ит дв'е про́лбы́. В одно́ј б'ьл'јо́ поло́ш'ут,
— *Ага.*
— А фтора́ во́ду но́с'ат на п'ит'јо́. Водоно́сна та́ш'd э́то называ́лас', а та́ поло́скал'на. Вот ка́жно в'и́ш како́ назва́н'и(је). На́до ... ска́жут пролба́-то зам'о́рзла дак на́т'd росп'е́шат' э́тово, про́лбу-ту. Пойд'о́м пла́т'јоd полоска́т' дак. Н'и б'ьл'јо́ а пла́т'јо ра́н'е-то зва́л'и. Во́пшем н'и то́л'ко [abrupted]
— *Платье, это было все?*
— Фс'о́, фс'о́. Им'е́лос' в в'иду́. Б'ел'(ь́).

Fragment 5. An alternative dialectal word for a hole cut in the ice

Speaker: S1 (1927); November 22, 2001

А полоска́т', фс'о́ на р'е́ч'ку ход'и́л'и. А т'ьп'е́р' фс'е́ ста́ры ста́л'и дак, ə-, про́лубуd п'е́шат' ... н'е́кому да. С'и́л н'е́ту ... ход'и́т' под го́ру да.

Fragment 6. About Komi tradesmen and wood transport on reindeer sleighs

Speakers: S10 (1919); S12 (1934); MP; November 20, 2001

— *А раньше сюда приезжали ижемцы, или ...?*
[S12:] И́жемцы, да́, с Краснъшч'е́л'и, и́жемцы. Је́з'д'ил'и то́же на ал'е́н'ах. З д'ет'мы́. Д'е́лал'и так'и́е-тъ ... как на сан'а́х, как до́м'ик'и так'и́е, ш'о́ ис шку́ры э́та абаш'ју́т, ал'е́н'ји-то, и там т'ипло́. Закро́јут там и с д'ет'м'и́ јьзд'ил'и с'уда́.
[S10:] Ну́ шку́ры т'о́плы дак. П'имы́ да т'о́плы дак.
[S12:] Ну́ дак э́тъ шку́ра ал'е́н'ја, ана́ же т'о́плаја. (... вопше́,) о́ч'ен' т'о́пла.
— *Гм.*

[3] Speaker S13 did not really take part in the conversation and was doing something else, but he made some comments every now and then. He mentioned this uncommon dialectal word simultaneously with speaker S3.

[S10:] Дак вот с д’ет’мы́ езд’ил’и, пр’ижежа́л’и ч’а́стъ с’уда́. Ры́бу пр’ивоз’и́л’и. К на́м з’д’ес’, продава́л’и.
[S10:] М’а́са да.
[S12:] М’а́са да, да ры́бу. [laughs]
[S10:] (unintell.) нав’е́рно т’ьп’е́р’ (unintell.) ръзб’ира́л’и дак.
[S12:] Но́ дак нав’е́рнъ.
— *Они по-русски говорили?*
[S10:] Пъ-ру́ск’и.
[S12:] У м’н’а д’а́д’а бы́л родно́j, дак он’и́ гд’е́, н’е́, по-ру́ск’и ан’и́ н’ь гъвър’и́л’и, кто ... н’и зна́ju н’и фс’е́ гъвър’и́л’и, ан’и́ та́м по-сво́jему гъвър’и́л’и то́же, мы́ н’и пън’има́л’и.
[S10 laughs]
[S12:] У м’ьн’а́ д’а́д’а там ръдно́j был жена́тыj, вот та́м бы́л дак ы ... д’е́т’и-тъ пъ-ру́ск’и фс’е́ у их п’а́т’еръ д’ит’е́j нав’ернъ бы́ло дак, фс’е́, ъдна́ тут в Манч’его́рск’ь врач’о́м рабо́тат. Н’е́ знаju сш’ас пъраз’jе́хал’ис’ фс’е, сама́-тъ уже ба́бушка ум’ерла́. Он на дву́х же был жена́т и ъб’е́ji у́м’ерл’и. Жы́л с двума́ жо́намы, а(д)на́ ста́р’ьнка была́ а фтара́ помало́же бы́ла дак во́т э́тъвъ. Ту́т то́же н’ь браса́л’и, жену́-та.
[S10:] Но́d.
[S12:] Д’ержа́л’и да. Да см’е́рт’ь. И ш’а́с-тъ и jево́ н’ет о́н то́же у́м’ер.
— *А вы на оленях ездили, тоже?*
[S12:] А з’д’е́с’ на ол’е́н’ах, у на́с ол’е́н’и то́же бы́л’и, но́ э́то ... воз’и́л’и там драва́ дъмо́j.
[S10:] Дро́ва воз’и́л’и.
[S12:] Дро́ва въз’и́л’и ф кълхо́с там с’ена́ваз’и́л’и вот та́к ра́jдыd — по с’е́м’ ол’е́н’ьj, по с’е́м’ ол’е́н’ьj та́к, за с’е́но, и од’и́н за од’и́н та́к иду́т ы ... (unintell.) та́ш’ут на свои́х сан’а́х, ну как говор’и́ца у нас са́н’и.
— *Гм.*
[S12:] На сан’а́х, но ту́т тако́ волоч’у́гуd бол’шу́ волъч’у́га э́тъ называ́еца.
[laughs]
[S10:] Мы на с’е́б’е́ волоц’и́л’и волоц’у́гу захад’о́шd волоц’у́гу дак.
[S12:] Валач’у́га. На с’иб’е́ валац’и́л’и пато́м, п’е́(?) н’е бы́лъ ал’е́н’ьj дак на с’еб’е́ таска́л’и.
[S10:] Н’е дожыда́л’и н’икак’и́х ол’е́н’ej. Ол’е́н’и у фс’е́х н’и у фс’е́х бы́л’и дак.
[S12:] Ну нав’е́рнъ н’и у фс’е́х но (...)
[S10:] (unintell.) т’е́н’еш ды.
[S12:] (unintell.) в мо́лодост’и (unintell.)
[S10:] (unintell.) т’ену́л’и (unintell.) вojно́j.
[S12:] Но ja волоч’и́ла да́же по́мн’у.
[S10:] От:у́да оста́лс’а када́ т’ену́л’и да.
[S12:] А там в го...
[S10:] Ф колхо́с уже́ т’ену́л’и-то ф колхо́с.
[S12:] Тут пото́м пъ б’ер’е́жje он’и ка́к-тъ волоч’и́л’ис’ а ка́к ... та́м э́тъ в го́ры-то, этъ ф Сълъв’е́цкъ-тъ, о́j как т’ежело́ т’ену́т’, така́ гора́ высо́ка.
[S10:] А ко́гды п’е́шкоd-тъ да хорошо́:! [laughs]
[S12:] П’е́шкаd-тъ хорошо́ но в го́ры-ту т’ежело́.
[S10:] В го́ры-то т’ежело́-тъ.

Fragment 7. Boat types

Speakers: S9 (1924); S14* (1931, born in Tetrino; November 18, 2001

[S9:] (...) на́ Му́рман то́же моло́ды је́зд'ил'и, а мы́-то, ја́-то зд'е́с' лов'и́ла, в мо́р'ь зд'е́с' лов'и́ла, в р'екы́. А та́к э́то, ја́ н'и быва́ла та́м на Му́рман'ь дал'еко́.
[S14*:] Э́тъ в Му́рманск пр'ијежа́јем,
[S9:] Но́d.
[S14*:] И та́м вот тут Т'ер'и́:б'ерка-та вот э́т'и ... Порт-Влад'и́:м'ир вот ... вот та́м э́тъ ...
[S9:] Ја там н'и быва́ла там ...
[S14*:] Ја́ там лов'и́л(а), по́то́м та́м вы́ход'и́л'и в мо́р'е, там вот э́тъ ... П'е́:ч'енга, Н'и́к'ел' та́м туда́ фс'о́ ...
— *Ага.*
[S14*:] И ... во́т ... мы там пла́вал'и, в мо́р'ь.
— *А на каких кораблях?*
[S14*:] Мы сра́зу тут пла́вал'и на тако́ј ... на ма-... ма́л'ен'к'и суд'о́ношк'и бы́л'и м'ет'е́:л'd вот така́ да ...
— *На ёлах*d*?*
[S14*:] Н'е́т, уш н'и на јо́ла(х), э́тъ бота́ уже́ называ́јут.
[S9:] Јола́d уже́ ра́н'ше ... ра́н'ше бы́л'и.
[S14*:] Јо́ла м'е́н'ше была́.
— *Ага.*
[S9:] Нo^{d} но^{d} јола́ ра́н'ше бы́л'и.
— *Это с мотором?*
[S14*:] А та́м уже́ у нас ... н'и зна́ју кака́ там јо́ла была́ но ја уже́ на бота́х.
[S9:] Бота́ называ́л'и.
[S14*:] Ку́бр'ик там и ... кап'ита́нскъ фс'о а пото́м уже́ с'е́јн'ер.
[S9:] С'е́јн'ер.
[S14*:] С'е́јн'ера́, с'ејн'ера́ уже́ бо́л'ше.
[S9:] Т'ып'е́р' нав'е́рнъ на с'ејн'ера́х је́зд'ат вот.
[S14*:] Как'и́ т'ып'е́р' с'ејн'ера́ у т'ьб'а́? Тра́у ... тра́ул'еры ...
[S9:] Но вот бол'шы́ вот, је́д'ьт С'ерг'е́j тут на бол'шы́х ...
[S14*:] Ну кон'е́шнъ н'и на э́то, на тра́л'ш'икъх, на хоро́шых.
— *А сколько людей работали на одной?*
[S14*:] М: ... зъбы́ла ја уш вот н'ь по́мн'у. Бы́ло там комсоста́ф называ́лса. Это м'еха́н'ик'и, кап'ита́н и там ... этъ рад'и́ст. Но тут нас къл хо́зн'икоф то́же бы́ло .... пор'а́тку, на(в)е́рн(о) ... уш н'и́ по́мн'у, н'и́ зна́ју ско́л'ко. П'ид'ис'а́т л'ет прошло́ дак о [interrupted]
[S9:] (unintell.)
[S9:] П'ид'ис'а́т л'ет прошло́ дак о го́спод'и. Ја и забы́ла л'уд'е́j-то фс'ех, н'и то́ ш'ево ...
— *А где вы ночевали?*
[S14*:] (А) мы на су́дн'ь жы́л'и.
— *Ага.*
[S14*:] Та́к уж жы́л'и на су́дн'и. Отрабо́там ...ва́хту јь ... ку́бр'ик. Свој ... ф ку́бр'ич'ок.
— *Вы далеко от берега плавали?*

[S14*:] (В) мор’е дак! В мо́р’е дак къ́н’ешнъ! Та́м пр’и́д’ош на како́й-н’ит’ пр’ьста́л’ише а... ф ко... како́й-н’и... там ... ну́, гд’е ры́бу здаю́т да гд’е́ .... во́ду б’еру́т да гд’е́ ... сол’ б’еру́т ф како́м стано́в’ише дак. Постоя́т да ... да ... к пр’ич’а́лу оп’а́т’ ход’и́т’е в мо́р’о. В мо́р’ь стъйи́м дру́гой рас а э́то йесл’и ... и ... шторма́-то дак ə- ...
[S9:] Йа-то н’е быва́ла, н’ь в’ида́ла.
[S14*:] Штурма́.
— *Опасно было наверно?*
[S14*:] А́?
— *Опасно?*
[S14*:] Ну́ так ... хто́ знат. Мо́ло́ды бы́л’и дак ы ...
— *Об этом не думали?*
[S9:] В опа́сност’и н’и сч’ита́л’и тогда́. Н’е́ ду́мал’и. Н’е́ думал’и н’ику́ды ш’о опа́сно н’ь опа́сно рас по́сланыj, йе́жз’и, лов’и́. Вот во́т от мо́р’ь ф къ́рбаса́х выв’ид’о́ш, (...)
[S14*:] Вот нало́в’ат ə-.... тра́л вы́т’анут с ры́бъj и на па́лубу вы́сыпл’от вот стойи́м, шк’е́р’им^{d}. Засо́л’ш’ик сол’и́т там.
[S9:] Опа́сност’и в’езд’е́ быва́т и ... в мор’а́х и у фс’е́х. Вот йа́ ... Да?
[S14*:] (unintell.)
[S9:] А в мо́р’и вот тут лов’и́л’и на Медв’е́жыj да. Пойе́хал’и да. Кв’е́рх^{d} коло́ды^{d}. П’ьр’ьв’ерну́лъ да. Мушч’и́нъ утону́л а [=да?], а мы́ моло́ды бы́л’и, спасл’и́с’.

Fragment 8. Food during holidays

Speakers: S8 (1937); TK; August 18, 2001

— *А на праздники, что готовили?*
— Ч’о гото́в’ил’и? Кул’ьба́к’и^{d} да ша́н’г’и^{d}. Ч’о́ йишо́ гото́в’ил’и.
— *А расскажите как.*
— Э́т’и́х-тъ н’е́ было. Дак, э́т’их, ка́к, сала́тоф-то ра́зных. Ра́ньше н’и зна́л’и, мы воопш’е́ н’е им’е́йем пан’а́- йа́ напр’им’ер гото́в’ит’ воопш’е́ н’и ум’е́йу н’ич(’ео). Потому́ што и с д’е́тства н’и п’и́во и н’ич’ео́ (как-то са́ма́ ... гото́в’ит’.)
— *Но пироги-то вы умеете, шаньги вы умеете печь?*
— Ум’е́йу, та́к-то науч’и́лас’ мал’е́нко дак. Ра́н’ше ч’о́ вон на то́н’и жыв’о́ш дак су́н’ош ... ф п’е́ч’. Ла́тку^{d} с ры́боj. И фс’о́. (unintell.) Ф свойо́м суку́ [= соку́]. (unintell.)-но́ш, ш’об н’ь пр’игор’е́ла фсу́н’еш, у ру́с:коj п’е́чк’и на то́н’и́ *дак*. А вопш’е́ н’ич’о́ подава́j, э́то да э́то да йе́то. Э́т’их н’и ум’е́йу вопше́. На Му́рман’ь была́ дак йа за матро́са рабо́тала на па́луб’и. Йа́ гър’у йа́ гото́в’ит’ вам н’ь бу́ду прос(то) йа н’ь ум’е́йу н’ич’о́. Ф к-(unintell) там л’ет’и́, фс’а́к’е́йь, падл’и́вы да ва́м фс’о́ это гото́в’ит’ йа́ н’ь им’е́йу пон’а́т’ийа ч’о́ эт(о) тако́й(е). Нъ в’е́ку́ н’ь в’и́д’ела отку́да йа зна́йу.
[pause]
— *А шаньги-то, кулебаки, они с чем?*
— Ну ша́н’г’и с ш’е́м хот’ карто́шка хот’ и ... та́м крупа́-тъ кака́йа-тъ. А кул’еба́к’и-тъ ры́ба гд’е ш:’у́ка гд’е ... э́тот ... с’о́мга гд’е ч’ево́. Кака́ ры́ба йе́с’, так’и́ кул’еба́к’и и д’е́лаш.
— *А как их на стол ставили, резали, или?*
— Н’е́т, по́лност’ju. Исп’ек’о́ш, на л’и́с поло́жеш, исп’ек’о́ш, и на сто́л.

Fragment 9. About pies with fermented pike

Speakers: S1 (1927); MP; KO; November 21, 2001

Кул’еба́ч’к’и-то вот хорошо́ о́ч’ен’. Он’е́ фку́сны. Кул’еба́к’и ис ш:’у́к’и. Осо́б’ен:о когда пр’ик’и́сн’ет^{d} да. О́ч’ен’ фку́сны.
[MP:] А прикислены, как вы это делаете? Добавить что-то кислое?
— Н’и́ дак о́н’е́ ... вот, т’опло́ л’е́том да, л’е́том л’и, т’епло́ дак она́ ... сама́.
[MP:] Через ...
— ... пр’итск’и́сн’ет по-, је́то, ...
[MP:] ... несколько дней, или?
— Но́^{d}, до́лго о́ч’ен’ э́то и л’ежы́т дак она́ ... т’еп’ёр’ вот она́ дак зам’о́рзн’ет дак ə- ... н’ич’ео́ и н’е д’е́лајеце а когда́ т’епло́ дак она́ ... с ду́шко́м ока́жец’а дак, э́то уш о́ч’ен’ фку́сно ише́ ка-, фкусн’е́j ка́жет.
[MP & KO:] Гм.
— Та́к и ж пр’ивы́кл’и мы ... фс’е́ зд’ес’ та́к. Жыв’о́м дак уш нра́в’иц:’(е).

Fragment 10. Heavy labour

Speakers: S4 (1914); TK; August 18, 2001

На С’ем’е́жном, ту́то на С’ем’е́жном была́ уш. Дак вот та́к. В’ез(д)е́ п’ер’елов’и́ла. Но́ пото́м шч’о́ ш. Жы́л’и жы́л’и. Па́ла^{d} војна́ да и. За́муш то́л’ко вы́шла, выјна́. Полтора́ го́да с му́жем прожыла́ да, па́ла војна́. На бра́мах^{d} заје́зд’ил’и, и та́к-то је́зд’ил’и фс’о вр’е́м’а, с мо́р’а му́ку́ вывоз’и́л’и — ды то́же вот ... так’и́, э́т’и - в ло́тках, так’и́х бол’шы́х то́л’ко. А то́же ... (в)руч’ну́ фс’о. Н’е́ было н’икако́: ... н’ич’о́ тако́ — А фс’о́ вруч’ну́ дак, о́j да. А с м’ешка́мы. Је́к’и то́же, м’еш о́к зава́л’ат, на пл’е́ц’а ид’о́ш, в го́рах т’е́н’ет’е. О́j-oj-oj. Вон н’е подм’ет’о́н у мн’а н’иц’ео́ в’ет’. Ну ла́дно. И вот та́к. И про́жыл’и. Фс’о вр’е́м’а на бра́мах је́зд’ила. С мо́р’а-то одн’е́ же́нш’ины, ба-. Војна́ па́ла, мужы́к- муш’:и́н отпра́в’ил’и, фс’ех, провод’и́л’и на војну́ а во́т - одн’е́ же́нш’и(ны), и пој е́хал’и к парахо́д(у). Кто́. Одн’е́ же́нш:’ины дак. Како́: .. штро́п^{d} подају́т дак, м’ешк’и́ подају́т дак. О́j-oj то́л’ко ... пор’ив’о́ш^{d} и фс’о́ бо́л’ше н’иц’ево́. Ја говор’у́-то в’ет’ э́то ... пло́хо.
— Очень хорошо говорите. Нам очень интересно.
— (...) но и мы роскружа́л’и это и в- ... ту́т ə- ... в бра́мы погру́з’иш оп’а́т’ штро́п подају́т’ дак. И ... По́лны бра́мы нагруз’и́ш и пој е́д’ем оп’е́т’. А на́т’ је́хат’-то то́же с мо́р’а да об у́с’је заје жа́т’ ка́к је ше заје́хат’. Тут ... м’и́лко м’е́сто мо́кр’и́т’е^{d} называ́лас’. Ина́ч’е вот туда поб’ер’е́ж’је пон’емно́шко. Об у́с’је-то пој е жа́т’ нат’^{d}, в’и́д’иш, зна́т’ как. А вот та́к хорошо́ фс’о э́то. Выгружа́л’и выгружа́л’и мы фс’о́ вр’е́м’а ход’и́л’и.

Fragment 11. Abundant use of *dak*

Speakers: S1 (1927); MP; KO; November 15, 2001

The speaker has been telling about the sources of income of the local *kolchoz* in Varzuga, "Всходы коммунизма". Much effort is put into the development of a tourist camp just outside the village. The *kolchoz* still has a farm, but its activity level is much lower than it used to be, though it still produces milk and fresh cheese (*tvorog*):

— Молоко́, сл'и́фк'и је́с'. Тво́рог д'е́лајут. Во́т. А лаг'ер'е́j-то в'езд'е́-тъ. Та́м и ... нав'е́рно ...на р'ек'и́ ... бо́л'но^{d} ско́л'ко их настро́јено, фс'о́ до́м'ик'и та́м-тъ. Пр'ијежа́ит когда́ ... откро́иц'е ... р'ека́-тъ дак. Ло́в'ат ры́бу-то.
— *Значит только летом?*
— Гм. Т'еп'е́р'-то фс'о закры́то. Но ... ры́бу-то ло́в'ат гд'е́-то ф Колон'и́х'и-то, колхо́с-то там ло́в'ит, н'е́вот је́с'. Н'е зна́ју продају́т вро́д'е ... ры́бу да. Да бракон'е́ры-то тут то́же продају́т ... ры́бу-то.
— *И сейчас ловят?*
— Гм.
— *В реке?*
— Ло́в'ат. Ло́в'ат. [pause] Ло́в'ат. В мо́р'е ло́в'ат. В р'ек'и́ ло́в'ат. А то́л'ко мы́
— н'е в'и́д'им. Мы н'е в'и́д'им ры́бы.
[KO] Нет?
— Н'е́т. Вот ја ... н'е једа́ла јиш'е́.
(...)
— *А как было раньше?*
— Ра́н'ше-тъ?
— *Да. Рыбаки сами продавали, или ...*
— Н'е́т ... Ра́н'ше ч'о́-тъ и н'е́ было тако́го ш'оп продава́т'-тъ. Т'ьп'е́р' в э́т'и-то ... го́ды дак ы ... продава́л'и. Колхо́с ло́в'ит дак ə... и покупа́л'и вот уш фс'о́. Кто́ је́с' л'и [=је́сл'и?] дак. Ра́н'ше-то та́м дак ы ч'о́-то и ... н'е́ было ... прода́жы, лов'и́л'и вот у ... у ка́ждого, эт- ... колхо́с дак рыбак'и́. Ф ка́ждом до́м'е мо́жно сказа́т' шч'о ... рыба́к дак о́н'е́ ... та́м ц'еб'е́ [= *себе*] ско́л'ко ... пр'ив'езу́т је́с' л'и дак. Фс'о́-так'и д'е́л'ат (в'ьт'?). А пото́м брако-... э́т'и оказа́л'ис', рыбнадзо́ры-то дак, ə ... фс'о́ то́же ... на́ч'ал'и ... ка́к л'е ... ну́, н'е розр'еша́т' то́же. Дл'а с'еб'а́-то да́же ... ш'о́бы ... с'еб'е́-то, је́сл'и, зар'е́зат' там рыб'и́ну дак уш, и то́ н'ел'з'а́ бы́ло. А ту́т ... ра́н'ше-то та́м дак вот, н'и́, шч'о́-то н'икогда́ и ... ш'о́бы поје́хат' ... там по р'ек'и́ да ... лов'и́т' јьт' ... н'ькогда́ н'е́ было ч'о э́то тако́го. А пото́м как оказа́л'ис' рыбнадзо́ры и (ф)с'о́. Поје́д'ош вот мы́ хот' ... је́д'ом ə- по́жн'и^{d} там вы́брат', уч'а́с(т)к'и ... с'е́но-то кос'а́т там. И то́же по р'ек'и́ дава́j ... на́до поу́д'ит' на ухý. [laughs] А т'ьп'е́р'-то дак и фс'о́. Кто мо́жет дак ... укра́дут. Вот дају́т продају́т хо́д'ат. А вот мы́ н'ь мо́жем н'икуда́ дак и ... и н'е јед'и́м.
— *А кому разрешают, только иностранцам, и ...*
— Лов'и́т'-тъ?
— *Да.*
— Дак вот ло́в'ат-то ... вопш'е́-тъ от колхо́за-тъ ... је́с' бр'ига́да-тъ, ло́в'и́т.
— *Ага.*

Fragment 12. About life in Varzuga in the 1920s

Speakers: S3 (1922); MP; November 25, 2001

— (...) ји ... НЕ́П, бы́л, в Рос:'и́и-тъ.
— *Да, знаю.*
— Фс'о́ бы́ло, и о́ч'ен' д'о́шево бы́ло в магаз'и́нах, ја́ по́мн'у. Вот та́таd ... зараб о́тал'и та́мотк'иd д'е́н'ок-то ско́л'ко налов'и́л'и и пошл'и́ с ма́мъ(j) он'и́ в магаз'и́н. А магаз'и́н был во́т гд'е́ ста́ра-то шко́ла, р'еставр'и́рујецъ-то у П'етра́тъ.
— *Гм.*
— На уго́р'иd бы́л магаз'и́н. И та́м так'и́ платк'и́ крас'и́вы бы́л'и и ша́л'и так'и́ бы́л'и ... И в'ишн'о́вы ша́л'и бы́л'и ... [a dog is barking outside] (Вот соба́ка про́с'ит ку́шат'. Хо́д'ит-то, б'ездо́мна то́же.)[4] Ји вот э́тъвъ. Та́таd-тъ гъвор'и́т: воз'м'и́-т(о) ма́т' говор'и́т в'ишн'о́ву-то ша́л', у т'а́ дв'е́ до́ч'ер'и *дак*, ја́, да ... два́цет' с'ед'мо́(г)о го́да ... Јьвла́мп'ија, с'естра́. Во́т у т'а́ дв'е́ до́ч'ер'и гът *дак* в'ишн'о́ву-то ша́л' воз'м'и́!
А је́ј захот'е́лос' (в)з'а́т' ч'о́рњј плато́к. Он у м'ьн'а́ је́с' т'еп'е́р', шърст'ано́ј, ч'и́сты(j) шърст'ано́ј, бол'шо́ј плато́к, с к'ист'а́мы. Ну во́т ма́ма вз'ела́ ч'о́рњј плато́к. Вот она́ овдов'е́ла скор'о́х'он'ко. А ја́ од'и́н ра́с нос'и́лаd, то́же на ... гд'е́, на по́хорон(ы) на так'и́ свој и́-то и та́к он ы л'ежы́т. А в'ишн'о́ву-то ша́л' мы бы и давно́ вы́нос'ил'иd бы с с'естро́ј. Во́т э́то бы́л'и кон'е́ц дваца́ты(х) годо́ф.

Fragment 13. Fishing as a young girl. Pancakes and berries

Speakers: S4 (1914); S17 (1939); MP; November 18, 2001

— *А что родители думали об этом, что вы вместе с мужчинами ...*
[S4:] С мушч'и́нам дак во́т тогда́ ... он'е́ н'ич'его́, он'е́ ... про́сто ду́мал'и ш'о фс'о́ хорошо́.
— *Гм.*
[S4:] Тогда́ ... тогда́ мушч'и́ны-то н'и так'и́ бы́л'и как т'ип'е́р' вот в'и́д'иш. Тогда́ он'е́ споко́јны ја вот со фс'ема́ с моло́дыма ход'и́ла, н'е ска́жем у м'ен'а како́го. Фс'е́ споко́јны да́же. Под одн'и́м од'еје́л'ч'ем и сп'им да. [laughs] А т'еп'е́р' под'и́ говор'и́ с има́, с э́к'имаd. Тогда́ то́же и род'и́т'ел'и ... кто ка́к, то́же быва́л'и слу́ч'аи-то то́же, фс'а́к'и в'ет' э́того. А н'е́т, ја н'е скажу́, ја ... ја в'езд'е́ выход'и́ла с ... с мужыка́ма. А уш н'е́:т, та́к уш, в'езд'е́ в'езд'е́. По фс'е́м, по оз'о́рам п'ер'еход'и́ла. А н'ич'ево́ там, про́жыла фс'о́.
— *Как долго вы были там, как долго ... была поездка?*
[S4:] Но́:d, по м'е́с'ец'у и бо́л'е навы́ждыd ише́. А навы́ждаd ... ры́ба хо́д'ит дак и ... н'и та́к до́лго та́мотк'и жы́л'и уш, а ры́ба пло́хо хо́д'ит дак и жыв'о́ш на оз'о́рах там.
— *А что вы делали с рыбой?*
[S4:] Мы ры́бу ... ры́бу ч'и́(с)т'ил'и, поро́л'иd, мы́л'и, здава́л'и, на ... на с... ту́тотк'иd, на факто́р'ии. Та́м на оз'о́рах ... то́же бы́л'и э́т'и вот склады́ так'и́

[4] The two utterances between brackets were pronounced much softer, signalling that it is a digression from the main story line.

зд’е́ланы и та́м ры́бу здава́л’и. Вот на то́ на да́л’-... на да́л’н’ем о́з’ер’е та́м ... ры́бу здава́л’и. Ко́рш’ькd н’е́вот т’е́н’е, ко́рш’ьк т’е́н’ет н’е́вот, хл’е́ц’ пока́ jьш’о́ т’е́н’ет дак ты́ ... т’е э́того, ры́бу иш’о́ ф то вр’е́м’а мо́jеш. Ф каро... в ло́тк’и-то та́мотк’и. Он ч’е́тку [= сетку], хл’е́с’ вы́т’ен’от, да с’е́тку вы́т’ен’от, а остал’но́ гр’е́б’е́ц’ т’е́н’от в’е́с’ н’е́вот. Вот та́к во о́н а... ры́ба-то и пото́м ... та́к вот и жы́л’и. Дак н’е́вот ут’ану́т’ дак, на́до то́же и ... и в’е́рс’н’у да и н’и́жн’у ... э́того, кла́с’(т’) шч’о́бы ... од’:е́л’нъ. Ш’оп пото́м м’ота́т’d ... н’е́вод дак. Вот вы́ къ н’е́шно нав’е́рно н’ь пон’има́jьт’ь.

— Немношко понимаю. Да, не совсем, потому что сама не рыбачила, но ... Невод — я слышала что это такое. Мне сказали.

[S4:] Н’е́вот ... н’е́вот-то э́того, во́т ы ... т’е́н’ош н’е́вот. А ры́ба-то в ма́т’иц’ьd-т’и а́:нд’ел’иd. С’иго́ф на(...) зава́л’ит. В ма́т’иц’ь там. А то́рбаиц’еd. Да н’и́жн’о пот’е́н’ош да о́j-oj-o, ско́л’ко. Ну дава́j фс’о́ прошло́ дак в’и́ш (unintell.). Ja н’ич’е(г)о́ т’ьб’е́ н’и́ зна́jу по́ ч’о роска́зыватьd.

— Ну. Пока вы очень много сказали. (...) До поста была масленница?

[S4:] Ма́сл’ен’иц’а была́.

— Ага. Расскажите об этом.

[S4:] Тогда́ бы́л’и го́рк’и, на го́рку-то пojд’о́ш, да, на э́того. П’е́:сн’и п’е́л’и, jи́гры игра́л’и ту́тотк’иd на го́ркы-тъ. Дак ... вот та́мотк’иd, к н’и́жн’ом ко́н’ц’и ту́тотк’и, на Кургач’о́фк’и, ту́:т, а́:нд’ел, со зър’е́ц’кoj стороны́ пр’и́ду́т молод’о́жы. Ту́т молод’о́жы, фс’а́к’и зака́т’иш т’п’е́р’ ка́к-то за вjуно́м ja хожу́ да, пojо́ш, фс’а́к’и п’е́с’ен’к’и так’и́е-тъ. Ръсп’ева́ш. Да ... ише́ са́н’и у куго́ ... это укра́д’ош са́н’и да, пока́т’иц’е, с горы́ ката́ис’е ... Кто́ пр’илома́jьтd. [laughs] Тогда́ в’ет’ ... оно́ в д’е́тсв’е ш’о́ э́то бы́ло фс’о́ дъ. А го́ркы тогда́ бы́л’и го́рк’и то(г)ды́ э́то, бы́ло за́гов’ен’jе-то бы́ло тогда́, (unintell.) ход’и́л’и ды ...(Ф)с’о́ бы́ло. А т’еп’е́р’ ...

— А что вы ели во время масленницы?

[S4:] То́же вот моло́шнъ (ф)с’о́ дак, jе́л’и. То́же моло́шн’его вот. То(г)да́ ... А ф по́сне-ко по́снъ. Зава́рнуd д’е́лал’и. Солод’а́шкуd-то солод’и́л’и да. По́то́м зава́рну д’е́лал’и да.

— Заварну?

[S4:] Но́d.

— Это что?

[S4:] А во́т — сп’е́рва — сулуд’а́гуd зд’е́лajут. С э́того, мукó, ф п’е́ч’ ръзобjу́т ч’угу́н’ик’и, в (unintell.) во́доч’к’и, мук’и́, jи ... поста́в’ат в п’е́ц’. Рос:олод’а́т jej, а пото́м зава́рну зд’е́лаш (вот). Из э́тъj. Та́:ко́ дак, пр’а́мо ... л’у́бо, та́к бы похл’оба́л ны́нч’е. [laughs] И во́, э́то э́то на по́с(т), а на за́гъв’ен’у, молоко́ бы́ло дак тогда́ (j)иш’о́ тво́рога, твороk да, фс’о́ бы́ло, нако́п’иш. И ... с’о́ бы́ло.

[S17:] Бы́л’и кърóвы да (...)

[S4:] Jе́ды́-то бы́ло то́же. А та́к — да ры́ба была́ ... тогда́ в’ет’ по оз’о́рам ход’и́л’и фс’о́, наро́т-то дак ры́бы-то бы́лъ с’а́кoj. Ры́бу нажа́р’иш да, да молоко́, а ф по́с(т)-то вот рыб... ры́бу ф по́с(т) то́же jе́л’и. Ф по́сн’и дн’и́ дак како́j по́сно, ф по́с jиш’о́ ры́бы н’ь jьд’а́т д’е́н’ да, а ны́нч’е jа́ уш и забы́ла. А ны́н’ч’ь фс’а́ко j’ьд’а́т дак.

— А блины вы пекли?

[S4:] Во́, бл’ины́ ка́к же. Сороков’ик’и́d бы́л’и дак во́т. То́же бл’и́ны́ п’еку́т (unintell.). Вот в’ел’и́кoj пос(т) ту́тотк’и. Сороков’ик’и́. Бл’ино́:ф нап’еку́т, а́:н’.... с ка́шej бл’ины́ jе́л’и да, ска́нц’ьd, тогда́ ска́нц’ь ... ска́л’иd ... так’и́, зд’е́лаш

вотру́шоч’ку [rubs her hands]. Да розоск’о́:шd, вал’ко́мd. Он то́:н’ен’кој. А́:, ску́н’иц’к’и ка́шу, ма́ма ка́шу навар’и́т дак, скан’и-, э́то, со сканц’а́мы ка́шы наје́ш и ды ... вот ска́н’ц’и-то э́то, так’и́ (...)
— *Сканцы?*
[S17:] Т’и́па бл’ина́, вот ска́н’ец тако́j, тут, раска́тывајут та́м.
[S4:] Сп’е́рво вотру́шеч’ку зд’е́лаш, а пото́м ... розомн’о́ш јеј та́к, ва- ... вал’ко́мd, розоск’о́ш (unintell.), о́н во фс’а́къј сто́роны в’е́рт’и́ц’е, ум’е́ш кото́ры ... ска́т’ дак. Ну́, так’и́ то́н’ен’к’и на́шы. Вот та́к и жы́л’и. С’о́ бы́ло. А т’еп’е́р’ ... т’еп’е́р’ н’ь та́к уш.
[S17:] (unintell.)
[S4:] Т’еп’е́р’ ... жы́л’и-то а т’еп’е́р’ — в’и́ш како́, с’ого́ је́с’.
— *А ягоды вы собирали?*
[S4:] Ш’о, ка́:к же.
— *Какие?*
[S4:] Ч’о́рны — вот бы́л’и ... ч’о́рны ја́годыd јес’(т) дак, тогда́ ч’о́рных ја́год насоб’ира́ш, ја́годн’ик’иd ... настр’а́паеш, насабл’уд’и́ш ја́год напа́р’иш, ја́годн’ик’и настр’а́паш. Да ја́годы и кл’ква́ ды, брусн’и́ка да, с’о́ бы́ло то́же, мал’и́на ... то́же соб’ира́л’и с’о.
— *И вороника?*
[S4:] Но́d.
[S17:] Мъро́шка-тъ. Ну ч’о́рна ја́года, она́ и говор’и́т, ворон’и́ка-тъ этъ. Ч’о́рны ја́годы-тъ.
[S4:] Ды и гоноб’е́л’d-то вот э́то, с’и́н’а-то э́то, гоноб’е́л’ у на́с называ́ец’ь. Ту́ соб’ира́л’и то́же и ... фс’о́ је́л’и.
— *А говорили «брусника» или «брусница»?*
[S4:] Ка- ... А́?
— *И «вороница» или «вороника»?*
[S17:] А н’икто́ н’е ... ч’о́рны ја́доды дак.
[S4:] А ворон’и́ка ак ч’о́рны ја́годы в’ьт’?
[S17:] Но́:d.
[S4:] А э́то брусн’и́ка дак она́ бру́сн’и́кој та́к мы и зва́л’и.
— *Ага.*
[S4:] Брусн’и́ка. Ну а (j)иш’о́ э́ка, б’е́ла ...
[S17:] Бру́скаd. А зва́л’и во́т бру́ска ан’и́ зва́л’и.
— *Бруска?*
[S4:] Но́d бру́ска, мы н’и бру́сн’ика́, бру́ска.
[S17:] н’и брусн’ика́, бру́ска ан’и́ зва́л’и.
— *Бруска.*
[S4:] Бру́ска. Мы тогда́ ... ра́н’ше дак та́м бру́ској скам, бру́ск’и назыв..., бру́ск’и дак а́нд’d ја ... ко́ропd-то соб’ира́ла бру́ск’и-тъ. (unintell.) а́:нд’ ... Моро́шку соб’ира́л’и вот, ра́н’ше бы́ло моро́шк’и мно́го дак, насоб’ира́ш моро́шк’и. Ны́н’ч’е н’и та́к зоросла́ моро́шкој фс’его́ тут в’и́д’иш, бры́н’аd н’е́т тако́го уш.
— *Что вы делали из морошки?*
[S4:] А то́же из моро́шк’(и) ак? Моро́шечн’ик’иd стр’а́пал’и. Да та́к је́л’и.
— *Это тоже пироги?*
[S4:] Ага́. Моро́шъчн’ик’и. Ша́н’г’и так’и́.
— *Ага.*
[S17:] Ша́н’г’и с мъро́шкој дак о́н’ь моро́шеч’н’ик’и называ́л’ис’.

[S4:] Т’е так’е́ ... м’и́л’ен’к’и, ша́н’г’и дак, наклад’о́ш,
[S17:] Пока́ он’и́ сп’е́лы соб’ира́л’ис’ дак ə- ... ушатамы ...
[S4:] Тогда́ моро́шк’и-тъ бы́ло мно́го о́ч’ен’, п’ер’ев’а́замыd нос’и́л’и, н’ис’о́ш, два́ ко́роба ... п’ер’ев’ас, издал’ока́. Дак моро́шка нано́с’иш ы, выд’е́рка стоя́т да ушатъ ды, тогда́ да и́ ... с ш’а́јем та́к вот ы ... п’и́л’и. То́же. Моро́ш ... с моро́шкој ч’а́j, а во́т ка́к, сад’и́с’е, сад’и́с’-хо э́того, сус’е́тка п’е́j ч’ајку́, с моро́шкој. То́ ... ра́н’ше и та́к э́тъ бы́ло. Эту моро́шку к ч’а́ју зап’е́ч’.
[S17:] Зам’о́рзн’ет наковыр’а́јут да во́н ф п’е́ч’ку поло́жат а пъто́м ... с п’еско́м разв’еду́т да похл’еба́јут хот’ бы што́ (...)
[S4:] Но́d. А ч’о́рных и ја́гот-то ... намну́-то пр’ин’есу́т да расто́ја́јут, намну́ намну́-то ... ф ч’а́шк’и. Вот э́тој, м’а́лкојd. Да накладу́т в п’е́ц’ку да хл’е́ба накроша́т, и́: нахл’оба́јс’ь и ... [laughs] Та́к вот то́же бы́ло э́то. Ра́н’ше. Ја́гот вот ту́т соб’ира́л’и, је́л’и. С п’есо́ц’ком. Тогда́ бы́ло ... мно́го моро́шк’и-то росло́ дак рос... мно́го, моро́шъчн’иков-ту настр’а́паш а́н’д’, моро́шку та́к, с ш’:а́јем је́л’и дак, хорошо́ то́же фс’о́. Ојо́, фс’о́ вот прошло́.
— А грибы? Какие грибы вы собирали?
[S4:] Гр’ибы́ то́же, ка́к же ту́т, вар’и́л’и.
[S17:] Вар’и́л’и дак.
[S4:] Ф п’ец’и́ вар’и́л’и да.
— А как они называются?
[S4:] А гр’ибы́ ак, гр’ибы́ вот ска́жут.
— А есть же разные? Вы помните?
[S4:] Но је́с’ ра́зны, је́с’ ра́зны, је́с’ и б’е́лы да је́с’ ... э́то, мух’ов’иц’к’и́d ды он’е ра́зны јес’. Боров’ич’к’и́ да а мы́-тъ фс’о́ бо́л’ше э́то ... боров’ик’и́ соб’ира́л’и.
[S17:] Краснъгъло́в’ик’иd-то.
[S4:] Волну́х’иd во́т волну́шк’и. Насоб’ира́ш волну́х насо́л’и́ш. На́ з’иму-ту фс’о́ а назаотовл’а́ш је́того фс’ого́, оп’а́т’ з’и́му-то и, и жыв’о́ш. А волну́шк’и та́к когда́ захо́ц’ь дак, и та́к вълну́шку ... с’је́ш. А вот фс’о́ та́к и жы́л’и. Фс’ого́ про́жыл’и. Фс’а́ко про́жыто и та́к-тъ, плохо́го н’ич’ео́. Ка́к-то жы́с’ шла и ... фс’о́ бы́ло хъръшо́.

Fragment 14. Umba – Varzuga by foot; pictures

Speakers: S1 (1927); S18* (1927, from Kandalakša); MP; DP; September 30, 2004

People used to travel to Umba to barter fish for flour or potatoes. Poor people went all the way by foot:

[S1:] (...) А ... б’е́дны иду́т. С У́мбы в’ит’ п’ьшко́м дак фсо́-так’и дал’еко́.
[DP:] Сколько часов это?
[S1:] А́?
[DP:] И ско́лько дней?
[S1:] Иду́т-то дак хто́ знат н’ь зна́ју, ско́л’ко дн’ej-то ...
[S18*:] Дн’а́-то два́ на(в)е́рно иду́т, н’и бо́л’ше. Пръјду́т-тъ (unintell.)
[S1:] Да бо́л’ше! Напр’им’е́р с У́мбы пойду́т дак вот э: ... ф Ку́зр’ек’и ноч’ева́јыт, пъто́м э јетъј ... в Ол’е́н’ице, пото́м Кашкара́нцы ишо́
[S18*:] А́: ...

[S1:] а потом ыше́ Ва́рзуга. Ише́ та́м Ку́зом’ен’ ише́. По́ мор’о дак ф Ку́зом’ен’ [interrupted]
[S18*:] (unintell.) като́ры пас’ил’н’е́је дак и быстр’е́је, а кото́ры тако̯ сла́бы̯ дак.
[S1:] Да́:. А другó̯ рас — та́м доро́га фс’огда́ была́ то́же је́зд’ил’и. На лошад’а́х.
[S18*:] На лашад’а́х.
[S1:] На ол’е́н’ах.
[S18*:] На ал’е́н’ах.
[S1:] На ол’е́н’ах тогда́, на ол’е́н’ах фс’о је́зд’ил’и. (...)
[S18*:] У ка́(ж)до пач’т’и до́м’ь бы́л’и ал’е́шк’и^{d}.
[S1:] Бы́л’и ол’е́н’и да.
[S18*:] Каро́ва, ал’е́- сша́с фс’о́. Н’ич’ео́. Да́же у на́с ов’е́ц-тъ н’и ста́ло.
[S1:] Соба́к’и одн’е́.
[DP:] Не стало?
[S18*:] Дак ма́:ло, ма́ло, ма́ло.
[S1:] Соба́к’и одн’е́ то́л’ко ста́л’и.
[S18*:] Да́, а саба́к-тъ пълно́:, саба́к-то хвата́јет.
[laughter]
[MP:] Да! А вы сказали «пе́ша» или «в пе́шах» или ...?
[S18*:] П’е́ша^{d}. Хад’и́л’и п’е- ... п’ешко́м знач’ит.
[S1:] П’ешко́м.
[S18*:] А́:, съкрашо́н:ъ. П’е́ша. [laughs]
[MP:] Пеша?
[S1:] П’е́ша, да́. П’е́ша-то ход’и́л’и.
[S18*:] Д’ьр’ьв’е́нск’и јъзы́к.
[MP:] Гм.
[S18*:] По-сво́јск’и, ужé пън’има́л’и!
[DP:] Покороче, чтобы было легче ...!
[S18*:] Ага.
[S1:] Мо́жет посмо́тр’иш Ку́д’у-то! [points at picture of her cat Kud’a, which we had brought]
[S18*:] О́j ап’а́т’ б’ез ач’ко́в дак.
[S1:] Ку́д’у-то.
[S1:] А́, Ку́с’ку, это Ку́з’а. Гд’е́-то о́н?
[S1:] А је́тъ кто́?
[S18*:] Нар’ед’и́л’ис’ ка́к. Дак во́т, э́то ты́ пъ-мо́јему.
[S1:] На ва́, Р’и́м:а!
[S18*:] Р’и́м:а? А ја́ б’ез ач’ко́в дак, н’е в’и́жу. Фс’о́ ... фс’о́ пр’иду́ б’ез ач’ко́в дак.
[S1:] Гу́р’јевы-то.
[S18*:] У́х ты јо́лк’и-па́лк’и. На фотогра́ф’ии-то дак.
[S1:] Да́. О́т как’и крас’и́вы.
[S18*:] Ма́ја то́же вы́р’ад’илас’.
[S1:] Но́^{d} дак, тако́, в рабо́ч’ьм дак.

Fragment 15. How the cat Vas'a finally was caught

Speakers: S3 (1922); S1 (1927); MP; November 17, 2001

[S3:] (...) Н'е́:, моја́ ко́шка н'и гул'а́т! Н'икако́го кота́ н'е́ту. Ну, и ... н'е́ту дак э ... и на́? н'е́т, туда́ н'ет. Ду́маju, гд'е́-то (j)ише́ jес(т)'. Но и ... и с'ь(в)о́дн'ь н'е пр'ишо́л. Оп'а́т' н'ет, ч'етв'о́рта но́ч', а холода́-та так'и́. Пошла́ иска́т' ду́маju соба́к'и, с На́ст'ьj говор'и́ла да́(в'е)ч'е по т'ел'ефо́ну, с до́ч'ер'ju. Фс'о́ ф суб:о́ту разгова́р'ивам. Да гът н'ь б'еспоко́jс'а, пр'и́д'ет нав'е́рно гул'а́т. Jа́ говор'у а како́ гул'а́т? Фч'ера́ у Jел'икон'и́ды была́, у jej ко́шка jе́с'. Говор'и́т ко́шка н'и гул'а́т, а ... Ва́с'и н'е́ту. Говор'у́ нав'е́рно сто́л'ко соба́к говор'у́ у Jефсто́л'ии Вас'и́л'евны взр'ехну́л'и^{d} къта́, соба́к'и. Ну во́т и jа́ ... пошла́ иска́т'. Ду́маju соба́к'и затр'ахну́л'и^{d} да хот' тру́п подобра́т' да а то́ jего́ ворона́ да, и со́ба́к'и загр'езу́т. Похорон'и́т'. И туда́ вот ра́с в'и́д'ела ката́, фс'у́ д'ьр'е́вн'у обошла́ туда́ и та́к ы — н'ьгд'е́ н'е́ту. Пр'ишла́, [laughs] иду́, пр'ив'ернула^{d} дак [=ак?] к Л'икон'и́ды гр'у н'егд'е́ н'е могла́ najт'и́ кота́. Jе́сл'и бы ... мо́жет с'jе́л'и мо́жет ут'ану́л'и куда́-н'ибу́т'. Бы(в)а́т на боло́ту ут'ану́л'и дак. Съба́к'и-тъ. А говор'и́т с'ич'а́с Jел'икон'и́да Ф'о́доровна звон'и́ла у jе́j ко́т-то! Да [=Дак?] ко́шка-тъ загу́л'ират! Дак о́н ч'у́jет.

[S1:] Дак о́н'е́ с'ид'а́т сторожа́т.

[S3:] О́н сторожы́т. А́нд'ел'и^{d}, ко́j^{d} н'и т(?) с'ексува́л'ноj jа́ гр'у ты сво́лоч' ты во́ да. Но́ ла́дно. И jа от Jел'икон'и́ды тогда́, Jел'икон'и́да-тъ говор'и́т у м'н'а́ свар'о́н:ы гът ма́косок^{d} пр'ин'есла́ ... В'е́р'а фч'ера́. Полст'ъкла́ноч'к'и, э́то́j, пол:'и́тро(во)j ст'екл'а́ноч'к'и^{d}. Гъвър'у́ н'е́:, н'е дъ jеды́. Поб'ежу́ — за кото́м, а та́ б'е́гат на ч'ердаку́, с батого́м jего́ та́мотк'и^{d} го́н'а́т! Тво́j ко́т-то гът она́ зна́т. Л'е́том ко́шка-та гул'а́ла, а дак ы ... там ън'и́ ... наход'и́л'ис' коты́-тъ фс'е́ а. У м'н'а́-тъ та́ко́j т'игро́въj.

— Гм.

[S3:] Т'игро́воj да, и ... то́лст'ен'коj тако́j то́лсто́j.

— Гм.

[S3:] Ну ла́дно у на́с с ч'ердъка́-тъ згон'и́ла^{d}, а т'им'ин'и́ш'а^{d} там у н'их э́то, в э́тъм ... (...) т'ем'ин'и́ш'а така́. (И) jа б'ежу́ он ... по э́т'им, по л'е́с'енкъм-тъ. Да jа́ jего́ згр'ебла́, гър'у́ Jел'икон'и́да, и он рв'о́ц:а вот та́к от м'ен'а́ рв'о́ц:а стра́шно гът «Ва́с'а, Ва́с'а, голубо́ч'ек ты!» Но́, а до того́ уже́, ч'еты́р'е-то дн'а́ накол'е́лс'а^{d} да наголода́лсъ дак. И вот э́того и ... хол'а́т'и^{d}-то бои́ц':е. Да та́ с батого́м-то jего́ наты́кала та́мотк'и. Т'о́ска. Гръ т «Да́j м'ешо́к!» да в м'ешо́к спу́ст'им, [pause] дак в м'е́шку́ ун'есу́, та́к-то мн'е н'ека́к мн'е н'е́ на ч'ем jего́ ун'ест'и́. Ну ла́дно. Она́ м'ешо́к-то дала́ откры́ла у́с'jо-то хот'е́ла jего́ зап'и́хнут' а он ... в':е́рх.

[S1:] Да́, уб'ежа́л да.

[S3:] И ... св'и́снул. И оп'а́т' пошл'и́ иска́т'. Во дво́р, а во двор'и́-то у н'и́х ра́н'ше тоал'е́т бы́л, пр'а́мо ф то́j там и́збы-тъ с'ш'а́с-тъ у н'и́х на у́л'у^{d} вы́в'ед'он, с'уда́, к э́тоj и́збы, а ра́н'ше ту туда́ был и jе́j накла́д'ен по́лныj ... дро́ф.

[S1:] Да́:.

[S3:] Дак в'ет' во́т така́ сво́лоч'-ка та́к зат'ену́лса сво́лоч' туда́. «М'а́у м'а́у!» «Ва́с'а Ва́с'а!» Н'е выхо́д'ит н'ика́к. Мы и та́к jего́ батого́м и с друго́j стороны́ батого́м — он гд'е́-то там на н'изу́ оказа́лса.

[S1:] Га́га!

[S3:] ... Дак а у jéj тут фс’о́ дрова́м’и закла́д’ено. Сам тоал’ét и дрова́м’и-то закла́д’ен вот ja и говор’у́ шо́лоч’-то така́ зат’ану́лс’а^{d} вот туда, да и ту́т-то от дворá^{d}-то фс’о́ закла́д’ено во тако́j кост’ержо́к^{d}. Да фс’о́ розры́л’и^{d}. Дрова́-то фс’е ръзры́л’и. Да jего́ ум’éныша^{d} та́м на са́мом дн’и́ да ja jего́ згр’ебла́, да и пон’есла́ домо́j гыт’ (в) м’ешо́к-то н’е клад’о́ оп’ét’ гыт уро́н’иш. Дак ч’у́т’ пр’ин’есла́ да он рв’о́ца дак стра́шно пр’а́мо дак já пр’и́шла́ у м’н’а́ вот та́к ру́к’и тр’есу́ц’:е. Во́т сво́лоч’ кака́. А Jефсто́л’ija запозвон’и́ла гыт мы хот’él’и п’éс’енок вам поп’ét’.
— Гм.
[S3:] Гыт ja т’еб’é позвон’и́ла (а) т’еб’а́ до́ма н’éту já гъвър’у́ у мн’а́ така́ бата́л’ja.
— Гм.
[S3:] С кото́м была́. Дак т’éп’ер’ до́ма. Пр’ин’есла́ да, сама́ скор’éje, jétого, дв’ér’и ... на р’еше́точ’ку, фт’и́снула што́бы н’е вы́шел, пошла́ к Л’икон’и́ды, jи́с’^{d} [= есть] э́т’их, п’еч’о́нок. Дак та́м пос’ид’éла да вот ско́л’ко вр’ém’ен’и вот та́к ру́к’и тр’есу́ц’:е! Та́к он м’ен’а́ э́то дак ja ужé та́к ы ...
[S1:] Он пр’ишо́л бы одна́ко!
[S3:] Дак н’е пр’ишо́л бы, jéсл’и у ко́шк’и-то дак о́н ... он пр’и́д’ет-то да хот’ напои́т’ да накорм’и́т’, ч’еты́р’е дн’а н’é был!
[S1:] Гм.
[S3:] А она́ в’ът’ jего́ н’е пои́т н’ь ко́рм’ит.
[S1:] Но́ дак кон’éшно, дак о́н ...с го́лоду-то пото́м бы пр’иб’ежа́л.
[S3:] Шы́ш пр’иб’ежа́л бы он! С’ексува́л’нъj так-...!
[S1:] Моло́дъj да́же.
[S3:] Н’и о́ч’ьн’ моло́дыj-то, но н’é ста́рыj. У На́ст’и пр’ив’ез’о́н бы́л. Вот у́ ло́пск’их была́ ко́шеч’ка Л’у́-... Л’у́с’ка, о́н’ь бра́т с с’естроj. Вот та́к вот. Дак вот по́шл’а́ ... изв’ин’а́ца п’ér’ед ва́мы ш’о ... того́ ... Jефсто́л’ija э́то позвон’и́ла мн’é ны́н’еч’е гыт хот’él’и гъвър’ит п’éс’енък сп’ét’. Двои́ма-то фс’о́-так’и.
— Угу.
[S3:] Но já гъвър’у мо́жет быт’ за́фтра соб’ер’о́мс’а а у н’éj ... д’ев’етна́цат’ гыт д’ев’етна́цатово сы́н им’ен’и́ны, два́цат’ п’ér’вого М’ихаи́л два́цат’ фторо́ сама́.
— Да, да сказала, да. Что ... она очень занята сейчас.
[S3:] Она́ гыт за́фтра ja н’е смогу́.
[S1:] А за́фтра уш вос’емна́цатъ?
[S3:] Да. С’ео́дн’ь с’éмн’а́цатъ. А фч’ера́ у их А́н:ы Вас’и́л’евнъ бы́ло ужé д’ев’етна́цат’ л’ét.
[S1:] Но́:^{d}.
[S3:] Как ... пог’и́бла. Машы́на раздав’и́ла, у Jефсто́л’ии с’естру́. Поста́рше jьjо́. А она́ шесна́т-... с’éмна́цатово го́да. Голос’éjна была́: ...
— Гм.
[S3:] О́ч’ьн’ хъръшо́.
[S1:] Ojо́!
[S3:] Дак вот та́к вот jej т’ьп’ér’ л’ежа́л’и с Ва́с’ej-то на п’еч’и́ он на пала́т’ах já на п’еч’и́.
[S1:] Да. Нагр’él’ис’.
[S3:] Нагр’él’ис’. Да́ ... до то́го ... то ja с’и́лно волнова́лас’-то то дак с’ér’це забарахл’и́ло да́вьч’ь-то та́ дак [=да?] корвало́лу пр’ин’ела́ т’ьп’ér’ пошла́ с то́же иш’о́ корвало́лу пр’ин’ела́.
[S1:] Ojо́.

[S3:] Во́(j) ты ум’е́ныш^{d} ты во́т же. Н’икуда́ н’ь ход’и́л вот с л’е́та н’икуда́ н’ь ход’и́л, На́ст’а ... пр’ивоз’и́л’и дв’е ко́шк’и. А о́н’и́ ...в в’етл’еч’е́бн’ицу их нос’и́л’и им та́м пр’ив’и́фк’и как’и́-то зд’е́лал’и, н’ь гул’а́л’и. И о́н н’е гул’а́л.
[S1:] Гм.
[S3:] И це́лу о́с’ен’ н’икуда́ н’е хо́д’у́т, хо́д’ит там поп’и́сат’ да, дак ... [takes breath] ја́ је́сл’и вы́шла куда́ дак, и́ да о́н ыш, то́л’ко ш’о ја́ па м’ежу́тку^{d}-то иду́, а он́ уже у крыл’ц’а́, зна́т ш(т)о иду́ дак уже́ ... го́лос под:ајо́т. Ту́т ч’еты́р’е дн’а́ н’ет. Да́в’еч’е ч’у́т’ н’е р’еву́ с На́ст’ej-то розгова́р’ивају ч’у́т’ н’е р’еву́. Дак пр’и́д’от Ва́с’ка у т’а пр’и(д’о)т дак ја́ гр’у пр’и́д’ет? По́ тр’и да ... по́ дв’е да по́ тр’и соба́к’и у фс’е́х дак.
[S1:] Да.
[S3:] А голодн’о́хон’к’и дак.
[S1:] То́л’ко ... гр’а́нул’и је́сл’и ... дв’ер’а́мы фс’о́ уже́ б’ежа́т.
[S3:] Да́. (pause) Э́тъ ... ја́ гр’у Ју́сту-то, ... но куда́ он э́тот Ва- ə-... Волю́д’а д’о́ржът Ју́сту.
[S1:] Но́^{d}. (unintell.)
[S3:] Мар’и́шыну-то. В’е́с’ кон’е́ц хо́д’ит. Дак она́ та́к ...
[S1:] (unintell.) цара́пајьц:е ... кока́пајет^{d} дв’е́- ... (unintell.)
[S3:] Цара́пајец:е да доцара́пајец:е а ... Го́![5] Ла́јет-то. Ш’об вы́ нос’и́т’е.
[S1:] Да́. Ла́јот, пр’и́д’от, ла́јот.
[S3:] (Но́.) Когда́ у м’ьн’а́ Ва́с’а н’едоје́ст ч’ево́ дак, л’и су́п оста́н’ьц:е јьш’о́ л’и вы́н’ьсу дак стр’е́скат.
[S1:] Ја то́же фс’о ... вы́н’есу туда́ под го́ру-ту ду́мају (unintell.)
[S3:] (Но́.) А у Ма́ји дак ... у Ма́ји в’е́дом^{d} за (unintell.) спала́.
[S1:] Да. Но́ дак ...
[S3:] Дожыда́т.
[S1:] (unintell.) једы́ бы́ло дак вот.
[S3:] И куда́ — а та́м сво́j ... сво́j э́тот ише́ ко́б’ел’ је́с’.... иш’е́ э́ту д’о́ржът э́ту л’у́д’и та́к вот д’о́ржат.
[S1:] Дак а д’о́ржац:е он’е ...
[S3:] — У л’у́д’ej ко́рм’иц:е.
[S1:] — Она́ у л’уд’е́j ко́рм’иц:е. Он’е́ да ... мно́го л’и та́нка [= там-ка?] ... до́ма-то нахо́д’иц:е, она́ н’икогда́ до́ма н’е́ту дак мно́го л’и ко́рм’иц:е. (unintell.)
[S3:] — Дак вот пока́ Мар’и́ша была́ жыва́ дак и д’оржа́ла jej. А Мар’и́шы н’и ста́ло она́ по фс’е́м.
[S1:] Кон’е́шно.
[S3:] По фс’ему ко́н’ц’ь хо́д’ит. (pause) На́шу р’е́ч’-то пон’има́ет’е?
— Да, да. Не все, но почти все.
(...)
[S1:] Ја ско́л’ко воскр’е́сн’икоф-то зд’е́лал’и. (...)
[S3:] Да, а воскр’е́сн’икоф-то. Во́т ба́бушка кака́ ста́р’ен’ка дак дро́ф пр’ив’езу́т jej роско́л’ут и дро́ф, (...) Про́сто б’есп- ... б’еспла́тно та́к ход’и́л’и, ə- комсомо́л’цы и ... и п’ион’е́ры ише́ ... кото́ры ... побојев’е́ дак. Дрова́ п’ил’и́л’и да коло́л’и да. Што́бы о́н н’ь ру́бл’ н’и коп’е́jку с’еб’е́ вз’а́л’и. А т’ьп’е́р’ н’и́кто́. Б’ес рубл’а́, б’ес коп’е́jк’и б’ез д’е́н’ек ...

[5] This exclamation was pronounced [hɔ].

[S1:] Б’ез буты́лк’и.
[S3:] Н’и з- ... б’ез бутылк’и н’ич’ео́ н’ь зд’е́лал’и. Вот жы́с’ каку́ зд’е́лал’и. (...) Ја нав’е́рно ва́м вч’ера́ рас:ка́зывала гър’у у на́с как нач’н’о́ц:а с’енако́с,
— *Гм.*
[S3:] М’е́с’ец - сухо́j зако́н. Говор’и́ла фс’о́ дак.
— *Да, да.*
[S3:] Ну во́т. Ко́нч’ьт с’енако́с, фс’о́, за стогу́, ис с’ена́, фс’о́. Тогда́ ... ну́ и кто́, кто п’jо́т дак вы́п’ит а ... кто н’и п’jо́т дак тот во:пш’е́ н’и зап’jо́т.
— *А тогда вся деревна участвовала в сенокос(е)?*
[S3:] — Фс’е́.[6] Н’и ф- ... кто мо́к.
[S1:] — Фс’е́. Кто мо́г дак, фс’е́.
[S3:] — Кто́ кос’и́л, кто́ гр’о́п. Побојев’е́, кото́ры помоло́же кос’а́т. Сто́jкам’и кос’и́л’и-тъ. Но́, а ... поста́рше да д’е́т’и дак ə- гр’ебу́т. Згр’еба́jут с’е́но. А оп’а́т’ кто побојев’е́ дак ку́ч’и но́с’ат тако́ к стога́м. В’ида́ла тут в огоро́дах стога́ стоjа́т?
— *Гм.*
[S3:] — Ну во́т. Вот та́к вот.

Fragment 16. From school to museum: see section 8.4.2

[6] Actually, the speaker pronounced this word with a diphtong, as “*ɸc’ea*”, so she might have meant both *ɸc’a* ‘the whole village’ and *ɸc’e* ‘everyone’, which both fit with the context.

Appendix VII. List of dialectal words

This list contains all dialectal words from the dialect of Varzuga mentioned in this dissertation, i.e. the words and word meanings that are regionally restricted. The words are given in Standard Russian orthography.

ак how; well; *often untranslatable* (cf. section 14.5)
америка́нцы (pl.) nickname for people from the village Olenica
англича́на (pl.) nickname for people from the village Kuzreka
а́ндел; pl. а́нделu angels (frequently used exclamation, expressing surprise) *А́:нд'ел как'и́ то́л'ко глу́пы ста́л'и дак, вот ра́с-то.*
ба́йна bath-house, sauna (cf. StR ба́ня)
баско́; **баска́** pretty, beautiful
бахи́лы (pl.) long fishermen's boots, made of leather
бо́льно *бо́л'но ско́л'ко их настро́jено* 'they built an awful lot of them'
бра́ма barge used for transport of goods on the river
бру́ска red whortleberry *vaccinium vitis idaea*
брынь the fruit of the cloudberry (cf. *AOS* бронь cluster, bunch) *ны́н'ч'е н'и та́к зоросла́ моро́шкоj фс'его́ тут в'и́д'иш, бры́н'а н'е́т тако́го уш.*
бык male reindeer of five years or older
вага́н; pl. вагана́ person from the Archangel'sk oblast
ва́женка; ва́женца female reindeer of four years or older
валёк rolling pin
валене́чный adjective to валенок (felt boot) *Вал'ен'е́с'но. (..), «вал'ан'е́с'н'е»*
валча́к a salmon which after spawning in autumn has lost weight and returns from the river to the sea
вгусту́ dense, plentiful *сн'е́гу-ту сто́л'ко дак вгусту́ пр'амо!*
ве́дом probably; apparently(?) *А у Ма́jи дак ... у Ма́jи в'е́дом за (unintell.) спала́.* (about a dog)
взара́з at once *т'ьп'е́р' и ... взара́с-то са́хару-то мно́го ... покупа́т', у кого jа́гот ... мно́го дак. А запа́р'ат брусн'и́ку-то дак и м'е́н'ше. Н'и взара́з да.*
взрехну́ть to tear to pieces
вонделва́женка female reindeer in its third year
во́нделка female reindeer in its second year
волну́хи variant of волну́шки (a type of mushroom)
волну́шник *šan'ga* filled with волну́шки (a type of mushroom)
волочу́га sledge drawn by reindeer used to transport hay
восто́к east wind
вы́носить to wear out *А в'ишн'о́ву-то ша́л' мы бы и давно́ вы́нос'ил'и бы с с'естро́j.*
вы́падка вы́патка сн'е́гу snow fall
гонобе́ль great bilberry *vaccinium uliginosum*; cf. StR голубика
гора́ high sea shore; land, dry place в горы́ on the slope of a hillock *В го́ры́ тут рост'о́т*; *на́до jиш'о́ в го́ры́ ступ'е́н'и зас'е́ц:'е.*
горо́ховник *šan'ga* filled with peas
да *(in final position)* and; as well; *often untranslatable* (cf. section 14.4)
дак then; so; *often untranslatable*

двор homestead (under a single roof)
де́енка wife of one's uncle
дом peasant's cottage
дък see дак
ды see да *Дак ты́ мо́жет вы́кл'уч'иш н'имно́шко ды? Н'и мно́го т'иб'е́ э́тъвъ?*
ёл; pl. ёла́ kind of boat, used on sea, possibly the same as ёла
ёла small sailing-boat for three (wo)men used for fishing on the Barents Sea
жо́мко cold *вот с'ьча́с ја трубу́ закры́лъ дак вот нъгр'ьва́цъ. А фч'ьра́-та бы́лъ с в'е́чьръ два́цът', та́к бы́ло кр'е́пко жо́мко.*
зава́рна flour porridge
зале́дка salmon that has spent the winter in the river, and is caught in spring
за́пад west wind
наси́верка cold wind from the north
затряхну́ть to tear to pieces, to kill
затяну́ться to hide
заходи́ть (?) *Мы на с'е́б'е́ волоц'и́л'и волоц'у́гу захад'о́ш волоц'у́гу дак.* (App. IV, fragment 6)
зы́бка cradle (hung to the ceiling with a long rope)
и *(in final position)* as well; *often untranslatable* (cf. section 4.5.4.8)
изба́ room in a peasant's cottage; e.g. зи́мня(я) изба́ — ле́тня(я) изба́ living room for winter (with large stove) resp. summer
йи́сь to eat (cf. StR есть)
ка́жной every
ка́лги (pl.) skis with a fur coating
кали́тка round, open pie made of dough without yeast
ка́танцы (pl.) home-made *valenki* (felt boots) *Ка́таниц'и!*
кверх above *кв'е́рх коло́ды*
ке́йкало wooden identification label for reindeer, with the name of the village on one side and the owner's family name on the other
кой which; how (cf. StR какой)
кока́пать to knock(?) *цара́пајьц:е ... кока́пајет дв'е́-* (about a dog begging for food at people's doors)
ко́ксы (pl.) wooden bolts used to fasten together beams
коло́да keel of a boat
ко́нтус male reindeer in its fifth year
ко́рба place in river which can be dry at low water level, island in river which is overflown at high water level *ја́ п'ер'евоз'и́ла э́т:а на ко́рбу*
колочки́ (pl.) kind of pies *т'еп'е́р' ша́нг'и дак ја́ и ... и н'ь хоч'у́ п'ект'и́ ду́мају ју́тот, колоц'к'и́ скъта́ју-то дак, т'е́ ка́к-то ... быстр'е́ј, м'е́н'ше жа́ру на́дъ.*
ко́роб basket used for berries
ко́рщик skipper on small fishing boats
костержо́к pile of wood
костыч pl. костычи́, var. костычки black, everyday sarafan which was used by elderly women
красноголо́вик kind of mushroom *Боров'ич'к'и́ да а мы́-тъ фс'о́ бо́л'ше э́то ... боров'ик'и́ соб'ира́л'и. — Краснъгъло́в'ик'и-то.*

кре́пко very *вот с'ьча́с ја трубу́ закры́лъ дак вот нъгр'ьва́цъ. А фч'ьра́-та бы́лъ с в'е́чьръ два́цът', та́к бы́ло кр'е́пко жо́мко.*
ку́йпога beach, or river bank close to the sea, at low tide
кулеба́ка large open pie filled with salmon or other fish
ла́мбина 1. pool; gully; 2. deepening filled with snow
лопати́на; **лопоти́на** clothing
ло́панка female reindeer between three months and a year
лони́сь last year
ля́га pool, puddle
ляпа́нда thick, wet snowflakes, dense snowfall *така́ л'апа́нда вал'и́т дак!*
ма́кса; **ма́коска** salmon liver
ма́тица 1. cone-shaped part of a fishing-net; 2. main beam in a boat; 3. bearing beam in the roof of a house
мани́к old marks in the snow (after a snowstorm)
межу́ток path between houses on the same side of the street
мекина́ (**мякина́**) leaves of turnip or other root vegetables
мета́ть; мёта́ть не́вод to cast a net *ш'оп пото́м м'ота́т' ... н'е́вод дак*
мете́ль kind of boat
мешо́чники nickname for people from Kuzomen' (in Varzuga); nickname for people from Varzuga (in Kuzomen', Čavan'ga)
мокрить (?) shallow place *м'и́лко м'е́сто мо́кр'и́т'е называ́лас'.*
моро́шечник *šan'ga* with cloudberry filling
мох marshland
моховички́ (муховички́? pl.) kind of mushroom (StR подберезовики) *је́с' и б'е́лы да је́с' ... э́то, мух'ов'иц'к'и́ ды он'е ра́зны је́с'.*
мякинник *šan'ga* filled with turnip loaf; nickname for inhabitant of Kaškarancy
мя́лка pestle
навы́жда sometimes
назо́баться to eat a lot *Та́к назо́болс'а дак!*
наколе́ться to freeze
нать it is necessary, needed, one must *да дом тут згор'е́л в одно вр'е́м'а дак и на́т' п'ер'еры́ва*
не́погодь bad weather — *У вас есть название для плохої погоды? (...) — Н'е́пъгот'.*
но yes
норве́г; pl. норве́ги a Norwegian *Та́м Медв'е́жы п'ер'еда́л'и пъ-мо́јему (...) Норв'е́гам. (...) Норв'е́г'и про́с'ат у нас убра́тно.*
носи́ть to wear
ня́ша mud
о + *acc.* along; close to *о б'е́р'ек* along the coast; *об у́с'је заје́ж':а́т'* to go along the river mouth; *о́ Б'ело мо́р'е* close to, along the White Sea
обе́дник south-east wind
о́бразник; pl. образники́ towels used during wedding ceremony
одна́ко you know *Он пришо́л бы одна́ко!*
оле́шки dim. of *олени* 'reindeer' (pl.)
оногды́сь some time
ономе́дь last week
от *in expression* остаться от мамы to be left without one's mother

паку́ль snowball *бол'шо́j паку́л'*
пасть *Па́ла војна́* the war broke out
перевя́з twin harvesting basket
песо́чник nickname for a person from Kuzomen'
пе́ша; **пе́шка**; **пе́шко** on foot
пе́шать to dig (a hole in the ice) *Ска́:т на́дъ јиш'о́ про́л'бу п'е́шат'*
пла́тьё laundry; bed linen
побере́жник north-west wind
по́езд small fishing net which was held between two boats
поезднѝца long, narrow river boat
поездова́ть to fish from two boats with a *poezd*
по́жня meadow
полу́ночник north-east wind
попереди́ in front of
поревѐть to weep
поро́ть to clean fish
пре́же before, in earlier days
привали́ться to lay down
привернýть к to (re?)turn to
прики́снуть to get sour
приложа́ть to smash, spoil? (cf. App. IV, fragment 13)
пролба́; **пролуба** hole in the ice on the river; поло́скальна пролба́ hole used for rinsing *т'ьп'е́р'-то называ́јут про́руп'*, *а ра́н'ше пролба́. Ска́:т на́дъ јиш'о́ про́лбу п'е́шат'*, *поло́скальну, ды и на́до водоно́сну* (S2); *про́лубу п'е́шат'* (S1)
прям opposite to, facing *пр'а́м окна́*
пыж reindeer calf; also пы́жик
ра́йда train of reindeer sledges
розоска́ть see **скать**
розры́ть to drag apart *Да фс'о́ розры́л'и. Дрова́-то фс'е ръзры́л'и.*
ро́кан; pl. рокана́ nickname for Russians from the Ter Coast of the White Sea
росска́зывать по to tell about *н'и́ зна́ју по́ ч'о роска́зыват'*
роспе́шать to dig (a hole in the ice)
ро́стить 1. to grow (about crops); 2. to raise (about children) *Дак ма́т'-то ро́ст'ила нас.*
ры́ба 1. fish; 2. white fish; fish other than salmon
сазу́ра word for male reindeer of a certain age (unconfirmed) *назва́н'ај их там мно́го дак. За во́зраста, за быка́-тъ, за бъл'шо́въ-тъ да(к). Јéс' там фс'а́к'их. Ура́к, сазу́ра, пото́м ... нав'е́рнъ пъто́м ко́нтус.*
сгони́ть to chase away; shoo
се́вер north wind
се́йгод this year; the same year *С'е́јгот ја с та́тој лов'и́ла. А пото́м (...)*
ска́нец pl. ска́нцы kind of pancake
скать to roll out (about dough)
снежи́на snow, fine snow *сн'ежы́на шла*
соба́ки (pl.) nickname for people from Čapoma
солоди́ть to sweeten dough
солодя́га, солодя́шка sirup used to sweeten dough

сорокови́к kind of pancake eaten at Shrove-tide (carnival)
сралькú (pl.) felt boots from which the top has been cut off
стекля́ночка (a) glass (for food)
сток east wind
та́мотки there
та́та father, dad
тащ hole in the river used for drinking water (водоно́сна —) or rinsing (поло́скальна —)
темени́ща (теменище?) darkness
тоня́ 1. fishing ground; 2. cabin near the fishing ground where the fishermen could sleep *фсу́н'еш, у ру́с:кој п'е́чк'и на то́н'и*
то́рбаться 1. to flop around, flounder in the water; 2. *passive of* то́рбать to drive into a net with an oar or pole
ту́тотки here; at the same place *Мы ры́бу ... ры́бу ч'и́(с)т'ил'и, поро́л'и, мы́л'и, здава́л'и, на ... на с... ту́тотк'и, на факто́р'ии.*
у́борс male reindeer in its third year
уго́рье 1. steep river bank; 2. height
у́ля street
уме́ныш naughty little thing (here about a cat) *Во́(j) ты ум'е́ныш ты во́т же*; *Да jего́ ум'е́ныша та́м на са́мом дн'и́ да ja jего́ згр'ебла, (...)*
ура́к male reindeer in its second year
фара(в)о́н nickname for a person from Varzuga
хи́рвас adult male, non-castrated reindeer
хи́гна reindeer bridle; rein on reindeer sledge (cf. (х)игна in Меркурьев 1997a; гигна in Подвысотскій 1885; Finnish *hihna* in Пинеда 2004)
холя́ть filth *холя́т'и-то боиц':е* (*or verb? cf.* холя́виться to befoul oneself, to get dirty in Подвысотскій 1885)
хоре́й stick to urge the reindeer dragging the sledge
шалома́т; **шаломо́т** male reindeer in its fourth year
ша́ньга́; pl. ша́ньги round, open pie with filling other than fish, like berries, peas, mushrooms
шело́нник; **шоло́нник** southwest wind
шке́рить (prof.) to clean fish
шоло́ночкий in expression сходи́ть шоло́ночким ло́гом to arrive quickly and easily
штроп = StR строп sling (rope)
э́кой that *с има́, с э́к'има*
э́тта here
юг south wind
юра́ hole in the landscape
я́годы, чёрные (pl.) black crowberries
я́годник pie with berry filling

Index of main terminology

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