

**WORD ORDER AND INFORMATION STRUCTURE
IN RUSSIAN SYNTAX**

by

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES	iii
LIST OF FIGURES	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
ABSTRACT	vi
ABBREVIATIONS AND SPECIAL CHARACTERS	vi
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER	
1. OVERVIEW OF SYNTACTIC THEORIES IN RELATION TO RUSSIAN WORD ORDER	2
2. INTRODUCTION TO ROLE AND REFERENCE GRAMMAR	6
3. FOCUS STRUCTURE IN RUSSIAN DECLARATIVE SENTENCES	11
3.1. Basic Lambrechtian Focus Paradigms	11
3.2. Word Order in Russian Intransitive Sentences	17
3.3. Word Order in Russian Transitive Sentences	25
3.4. Marked and Unmarked Narrow Focus	31
3.5. External Topics in Russian	40
3.6. Semantic Functions of Russian Word Order	43
3.6.1. Definiteness	43
3.6.2. Approximation	45
3.7. Further Issues of the Declarative Section	45
CONCLUSION	47
APPENDIX	49
REFERENCES	51

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Clausal Layers and Their Operators	7
2. Krylova and Khavronina's Typology of Intransitive Sentences Revised as Lambrechtian Focus Types	18
3. Word Orders in Russian Intransitive Sentences	25
4. Krylova and Khavronina's Typology of Transitive Sentences Revised as Lambrechtian Focus Types	26
5. Word Orders in Russian Transitive Sentences	31
6. Basic Word Orders for Russian Declarative Sentences	40
7. Basic Word Order Types in Russian	47

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. Abstract representation of the LSC in RRG	6
2. Projection of the LSC and the focus structure	9
3.1. Russian unmarked narrow focus structure.....	17
3.2. Russian marked narrow focus structure.....	17
4. Narrow focus construction in Russian.....	22
5. Sentence focus construction in Russian.....	23
6. Russian predicate focus construction with the O expressed as a full lexical NP	30
7. Russian predicate focus construction with the O expressed as a pronoun	30
8. Projection of the LSC with a narrow-focused constituent in the pre-core slot	38
9. Russian sentence focus construction	39
10. Projection of the LSC with a LDP position.....	41
11. Projection of the LSC with a RDP position.....	43

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ABSTRACT

This thesis attempts to explain variability of word order in Russian declarative sentences. I argued that Russian word order is not “free” but encodes different types of focus: predicate, sentence, and narrow. Chapter 1 of this thesis critiques several theories of grammar that attribute alternative word orders in Russian primarily to differences in style. Chapter 2 discusses the advantages of Lambrecht’s information structure theory and Role and Reference Grammar as a theoretical framework for my research. Chapter 3 presents the empirical core of the paper, a detailed revision of Krylova and Khavronina’s (1986) classification of Russian word order types into emotive and non-emotive, which overlooks an important relationship between the syntactic and informational structure of utterances. The data analyzed in this thesis were collected from eight native speakers of Russian through a questionnaire whose main goal was to evoke different types of focus, from Russian reference grammars, and Russian literature. I conclude that the seemingly “free” word order in Russian is tightly constrained by focus structure. In fact, alternative word orders do not merely result from ‘stylistic’ changes but are motivated by explicit and specific constraints on focus placement.

ABBREVIATIONS AND SPECIAL CHARACTERS

ACC	accusative	NOM	nominative case
ADJ	adjective	NP	noun phrase
ADV	adverb	NUC	nucleus
ARG	argument	PASS	passive
CMPL	complementizer	PAST	past tense
DAT	dative	PL	plural
DIM	diminutive	PoCS	post-core slot
DIST	distributive	POSS	possessive
F	feminine	PP	prepositional phrase
FOC	focus	PrCS	pre-core slot
FSP	Functional Sentence Perspective	PRED	predicate
FUT	future tense	PREP	prepositional case
GEN	genitive	PRES	present tense
IF	illocutionary force	PRF	perfective aspect
IMP	imperfective aspect	PRO _{REL}	relative pronoun
IMPR	imperative	Q	interrogative illocutionary force
INF	infinitive	RDP	right-detached position
INST	instrumental case	REFX	reflexive
LDP	left-detached position	RRG	Role and Reference Grammar
LSC	layered structure of the clause	sg	singular
M	masculine	V	verb
N	neuter	?	infelicitous
NEG	negation	*	ungrammatical

INTRODUCTION

Word order flexibility is an important topic for all theories of syntax. For Russian, much of the discussion has been devoted to the so-called “free” word order of sentence constituents, asking to what extent information structure rather than syntax affects word order. Most studies of Russian syntax excluded consideration of information structure.

The main hypothesis of this thesis is that there is indeed a correlation between word order and information structure of sentences and that pragmatic considerations are reflected in the syntactic composition of Russian utterances. This correlation between word order and information structure will be investigated using the Role and Reference Grammar (RRG) model, which is based on Lambrecht’s information structure theory (1994) and which presupposes that word order encodes different types of focus and topic. The specific purpose of this paper is to revise the classification of word order alterations presented by Krylova and Khavronina (1986) in order to incorporate information structure into their analysis, demonstrating its importance and, thus, contributing to a fuller understanding of Russian word order.

This thesis starts with an overview of syntactic theories contrived in relation to Russian word order, and their main presuppositions are evaluated. Chapter 2 discusses the premises of Lambrecht’s information structure theory and Role and Reference Grammar as a theoretical framework for my research. Chapter 3 presents the empirical core of the paper, a detailed revision of Krylova and Khavronina’s analysis (1986) of Russian word order. Krylova and Khavronina’s classification provides a solid foundation for research of this type due to its encyclopedic coverage of the data. I have chosen to focus on declarative sentences for this paper, leaving other illocutionary types for further research. Nevertheless, though preliminary, the results are important and show an area of Russian grammar that should be studied more thoroughly.

The data analyzed in this paper were collected from eight native speakers of Russian through a series of questions whose main goal was to evoke different types of focus (see Appendix). I also used examples from Russian reference grammars (used explicitly as they become relevant), Russian literature, as well as sentences from Krylova and Khavronina’s analysis. Despite the fact that I elicited and cited statements used in hypothetical rather than actual contexts, my main concern, while analyzing the information structure of Russian utterances, was to ascertain the conditions under which certain structures are felicitous, when they are infelicitous, and what these conditions reveal about the information structure of Russian sentences.

- (3) Лев Толстой – автор романа “Война и Мир.”
 Leo Tolstoy author of.novel “War and Peace”
 Lev Tolstoj avtor romana “Vojna i Mir”
theme rheme
 ‘Leo Tolstoy is the author of the novel “War and Peace.”’

In the first utterance, the communicative function is to name the author of the novel, while in the second to give additional information about the author. As a result, according to Krylova and Khavronina (1986:6), the word order differs. Here and elsewhere under FSP, in unmarked sentences the theme constitutes the beginning of an utterance and is followed by the rheme.

It is not mandatory, however, that all sentences must be ordered theme – rheme. Krylova and Khavronina (1986:137) also suggested that, while the FSP determined word order is “objective,” it can be inverted to produce stylistically “emotive” or “emphatic” utterances:

- (4) Охота была удачная.
 hunting be.PAST successful
 ohota bila удачная
theme rheme
 ‘The hunting was successful.’
- (5) Удачная была охота.
 successful be.PAST hunting
 удачная bila ohota
rheme theme
 ‘Successful was the hunting.’

According to Krylova and Khavronina, when two equivalent utterances differ only in their ordering of theme and rheme, as in (4) and (5), vocabulary and meaning remain the same (139). Thus, the inverted ordering of theme and rheme is treated by the authors as a mere stylistic phenomenon.

Another approach to markedness of word order which caters to textual distinctions was taken by Gasparov (1978), who claimed that Russian impromptu speech is characterized by the discontinuity of the NP constituents:

- (6) [Книжк-у] я вчера прочита-л-а [интересн-ую очень].
 kn'izhk-u ja včera pročita-l-a interesn-uju očen'
 book-ACC 1sg.NOM yesterday read-PAST-F interesting-ACC very
 ‘I read a very interesting book yesterday.’

The literary equivalent of this impromptu example is the syntactically basic SVO order with a continuous NP:

- (7) Я вчера прочита-л-а [очень интересн-ую книжк-у].
 ja včera pročita-l-a očen' interesn-uju knizhk-u
 1sg.NOM yesterday read-PAST-F very interesting-ACC book-ACC
 ‘I read a very interesting book yesterday.’

According to Comrie (1987), word order in Russian is governed by two main principles. “The first is that the topic of the sentence, i.e. what the sentence is about, comes initially. The second is that the focus of the sentence, i.e. the essential new information communicated by the sentence,

structure. This movement, which is also referred to as Scrambling, interacts directly with sentence focus and is motivated by principles relating to the “functional form” (FF) (1997:139). Even though Kondrashova mentions certain motivational principles, the theory of Scrambling focuses primarily on the movement of sentence constituents rather than on the question of motivation itself. It does, however, make valuable observations with regard to the Principle of Economy which “free word order” languages seem to violate.

I see the value of my research in contributing not just to the problem of “free word order” but also to the question of motivation in grammar. Unlike configurational approaches to grammar, e.g. Scrambling, which require the movement of constituents, the RRG-based approach will examine what motivation these alternative orderings might have.

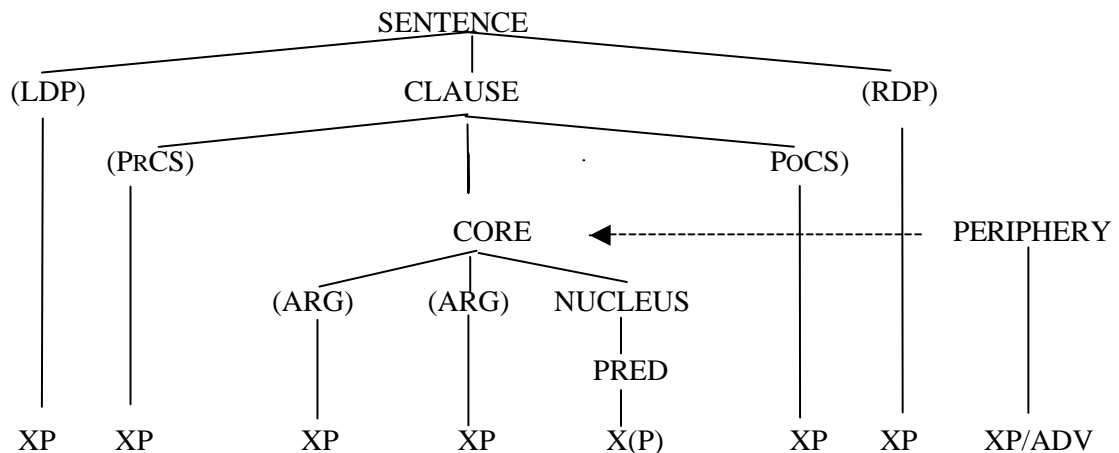
We now turn to introduce the theoretical framework adopted in this study.

CHAPTER 2

INTRODUCTION TO ROLE AND REFERENCE GRAMMAR

The syntactic theory which will be used in this paper to analyze word order in Russian is Role and Reference Grammar (RRG), specifically the version described in Van Valin and LaPolla's *Syntax: Structure, meaning and function* (1997). Van Valin characterizes RRG as a structural-functional theory that treats language as a system with grammar at its core. However, unlike other structural approaches, e.g. Generative Grammar, Van Valin does not consider syntax as autonomous but as motivated by semantic and pragmatic factors. The goal of RRG is to embrace language as a whole and to represent comparable structures in different languages in comparable ways (22).

In RRG sentences have a layered structure. The layers are at the level of the sentence, the clause, the core, the nucleus with its arguments, and the syntactic categories which realize these units, such as NP's and V's (see Figure 1). The sentence level contains one or more clauses. At the margin of a sentence is the left-detached position (LDP) or the right-detached position (RDP). These positions contain elements, such as ADV's and PP's, which are set off from the clause by a pause or intonation break. The clause level is made up of the core and the periphery. The core is comprised of the nucleus, i.e. the predicate which is often, but not always, a verb, and its arguments, as determined by semantics of the verb. The periphery contains elements which are not arguments of the predicate but adjuncts. The clausal layer can also contain a pre-core slot (PrCS) and/or a post-core slot (PoCS). These are positions within the clause but outside of the core. For example, in Russian and English WH-questions a WH-NP is an element occurring in a pre-core slot (PrCS): **Что** Елена вам дала?/**Čto** Jelena vam dala?/**What** did Elena give you? The LDP, RDP, PrCS and PoCS positions are considered non-universal aspects of the layered structure of the clause because they are not obligatory in a sentence. The following diagram is an abstract representation the layered structure of the clause (LSC) in RRG (see Figure 1).



**Figure 1. Abstract representation of the LSC in RRG
(based on Van Valin & LaPolla 1997:38, Figure 2.14)**

Each layer of the clause has operators specific to it. Operators are grammatical categories, such as aspect, tense, illocutionary force, which semantically modify the elements at a corresponding clausal layer (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997:40). Table 1 below is a partial

reproduction of Van Valin and LaPolla's table featuring the operator projection at a given layer in LSC (47, Table 2.2).

The basic principle of operator scope assignment is clausal \supset core \supset nuclear (' \supset ' means 'has scope over') (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997:46). On the basis of this operator typology, one can predict the relative order of morphemes marking the corresponding operators. Thus, morphemes which express modality are located closer to the verb root than the morphemes expressing tense. Aspect morphemes are the closest to the verb root.

Table 1. Clausal Layers and Their Operators.

Layer	Operator
NUCLEUS	aspect
	negation
	directionals

CORE	directionals
	modality
	negation

CLAUSE	status
	tense
	evidentials
	illocutionary force

SENTENCE	none

A specific component of clausal structure is its information structure, i.e. the distribution of information within a sentence. This aspect of RRG reflects the pragmatic motivation of syntax and is incorporated into the theory from Lambrecht (1994).

Lambrecht (1994) suggests that the formal structure of sentences is related to the communicative situations in which sentences are used. He states that "this relationship is governed by principles and rules of grammar, in a component called information structure" (334). The term *information structure* is used to refer to various ways in which information, including propositional information and real-world knowledge, is linguistically encoded. That is, information structure examines how information is encoded, or packaged, in language and why certain structures might be selected to convey a given piece of propositional knowledge. Word order differences, for instance, provide prime examples of information packaging in Russian.

According to Lambrecht, propositions undergo pragmatic structuring in accordance with the discourse situations and are then matched with appropriate lexicogrammatical structures. He divides a proposition into “pragmatic presupposition” and “pragmatic assertion.” The pragmatic presupposition is “the set of propositions lexicogrammatically evoked in an utterance which the speaker assumes the hearer already knows or believes or is ready to take for granted at the time the sentence is uttered” (52). The pragmatic assertion is “the proposition expressed by a sentence which the hearer is expected to know or take for granted as a result of hearing the sentence uttered” (52). The focus of the assertion is “the semantic component of a pragmatically structured proposition whereby the assertion differs from the presupposition” (213). Thus, the presence of focus makes the proposition into an assertion, i.e. a potential piece of information.

An important aspect of Lambrecht’s theory is the concept of focus structure that conventionally associates sentence form with focus construal (336). “The syntactic domain in a sentence which expresses the focus component of a pragmatically structured proposition” is the focus domain (241). This concept of focus structure is further developed into the concepts of potential and actual focus domain by Van Valin (1993). In RRG, the potential focus domain refers to the syntactic domain where focus can possibly occur. The actual focus domain is where the focus is occurring in a given structure (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997:212).

This framework provides an alternative to FSP when considering the issue of word order alterations. As in FSP, it incorporates the discourse status of referents into syntactic structure. Pragmatic presupposition is similar to the FSP concept of theme; both rheme and focus are associated with the sentence-final position in unmarked utterances. As with rhematic information, focus is not always restricted to the final position in a sentence and can occur anywhere. Van Valin and LaPolla point out that a given language may have a specific position, called the unmarked narrow focus position; this is where focal material of the length of a single constituent is usually placed (1997: 209). When such focal material occurs in other positions, the marked narrow focus structure is evoked. In fact, focus construal is determined by how information is distributed within a sentence. A crucial difference between Lambrechtian and traditional FSP approaches, however, is that the former treats information as a separate level of linguistic representation. Lambrecht’s theory as adopted by Van Valin no longer segments propositional information into ‘old’ and ‘new’ parts which are mapped onto syntax. Rather, information is seen as a property of denotata, not of lexical items and/or syntactic constituents. This method allows RRG to take the problem of “free word order” beyond syntactic linearization of sentence constituents in FSP and rather to explore the relationship between form and function in order to determine how different word orders are motivated in grammar.

Van Valin is specifically interested in the types of focus and the focus structure, i.e. the association between the pragmatic and syntactic domains in focus construal. Using Lambrechtian paradigms, he determines three focus types: predicate, sentence, and narrow focus; each of these will be discussed in Chapter 3 with particular application to Russian. In order to mark focus structure, languages employ different morphosyntactic and prosodic means. In Russian, for examples, it primarily involves prosody and word order:

- (12) я по-дари-л-а ей ЦВЕТ-Ы. (**focal stress**)
 ja po-dar’i-l-a jej tsvet-i
 1sg.NOM PRF-give-PAST-F 3Fsg.DAT flower-pl.ACC
 ‘I gave (as a gift) her flowers.’

- (13) ЦВЕТ-Ы я ей по-дари-л-а. (word order)
 tsvet-i ja jej po-dar'i-l-a
 flower-pl.ACC 1sg.NOM 3Fsg.DAT PRF-give-PAST-F
 'I gave (as a gift) her flowers.'

The pragmatic presupposition is *I gave her x*, and the focus $x = \textit{flowers}$. In the first example, it is focal stress alone that marks the focus constituent. In the second example, there is an additional syntactic change in word order that is crucial for narrow-focus marking.

As mentioned above, the syntactic constituent in which the focus occurs in a sentence is called the **focus domain** (205). The **potential focus domain** is the entire syntactic domain where focus may occur in a given language (212). The **actual focus domain** is the part of the sentence that is de facto in focus for a given utterance (212). Actual and potential focus domains can, but do not necessarily, coincide (see Figure 2), although the actual focus domain is always a part of the potential focus domain. The sentence used as an example in Figure 2 below, representing the actual and potential focus domains, is further discussed in Chapter 3, as in (18).

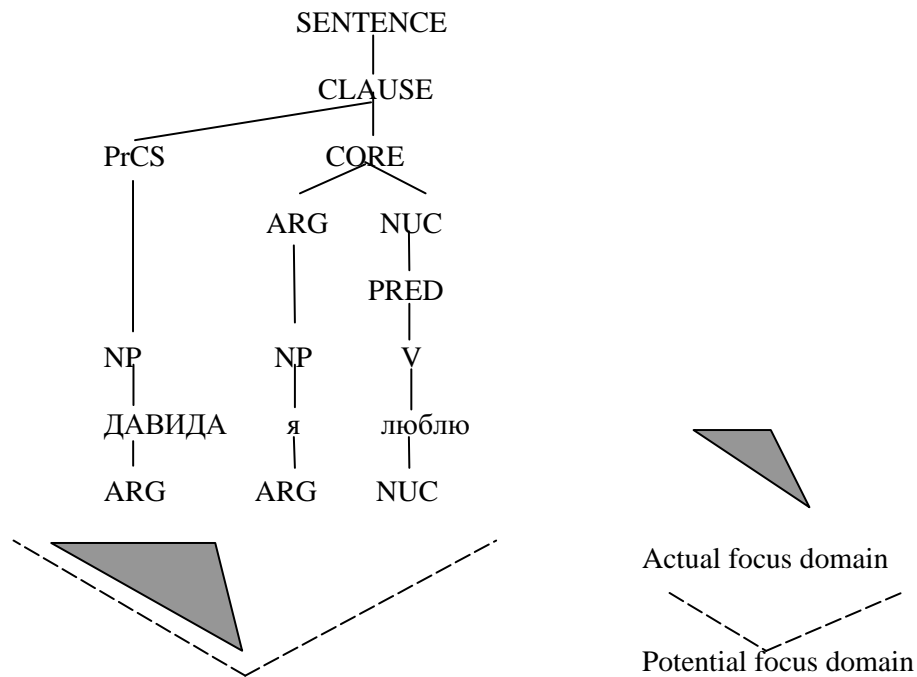


Figure 2. Projection of the LSC and the focus structure.

Languages differ in terms of distribution of their potential focus domain. For example, in English the whole clause constitutes the potential focus domain; thus, any clause constituent in English can be accentuated. Other languages have a more rigid focus structure, and these languages tend to have freer word order. On the basis of this observation, Van Valin and LaPolla make an interesting typological hypothesis – word order and focus structure adapt to each other (213). If this is true, the phenomenon of word order flexibility in Russian may be adequately explained in terms of focus placement constraints. This question will be addressed in the following chapters.

To summarize, in RRG syntactic knowledge is stored in the form of constructional templates. These templates render the morphosyntactic, semantic, and pragmatic properties specific to each

type of construction. It is particularly important for this thesis that these templates provide a linking mechanism between syntactic constructions and their pragmatic effects, which is reflected in language by means of specific focus structure.

The framework offered by RRG that incorporates syntax with focus structure will be used in this thesis to examine constructions with various word orders in Russian. The analysis will attempt to elucidate these types of syntactic constructions and to define their pragmatic functions.

CHAPTER 3

FOCUS STRUCTURE IN RUSSIAN DECLARATIVE SENTENCES

We shall begin the discussion of focus structure in Russian declarative sentences by introducing the basic focus paradigms: predicate, sentence, and narrow.

3.1 Basic Lambrechtian Focus Paradigms

Lambrecht (1994) presents a taxonomy of the different focus types and discusses their morphosyntactic coding in different languages. He distinguishes between narrow focus and broad focus. **Narrow** focus is the focusing of a single constituent, such as an NP. **Broad** focus encompasses more than one constituent. There is a further subdivision of broad focus into predicate focus and sentence focus. As Van Valin and LaPolla point out, “These focus types correlate with three different communicative functions, i.e. identifying a referent [narrow focus], commenting on a topic [predicate focus] and reporting an event or presenting a new discourse referent [sentence focus]....” (1997:206). Lambrecht illustrates these focus types in English, Italian, French, and Japanese (1994:223). His examples are restated here in order to provide useful contrast with Russian.

Predicate focus is the universally unmarked type of focus structure. The pragmatic presupposition in this type includes knowledge of a certain topic, and the assertion expresses a comment about the topic. Predicate focus, in other words, is a topic-comment structure where the comment, or predicate, is in focus. For example, someone may know that something has happened to someone else’s car. When he or she asks the other person about the car, in the response the second person will consider the car as presupposed and what has happened to it as new information, i.e. focus. Lambrecht (1994:223) provides the following examples of predicate focus:

- What happened to your car?
- | | |
|------------------------------------|----------|
| a. My car/It broke DOWN. | English |
| b. (La mia macchina) si è ROTTA. | Italian |
| c. (Ma voiture) elle est en PANNE. | French |
| d. (Kuruma wa) KOSHOO-shi-ta. | Japanese |

The question concerns the addressee’s car, which forms the presupposition for the answer: ‘speaker’s car is a topic for comment x.’ The assertion is that ‘x = broke down.’ Hence, the assertion establishes a relationship between the topic referent and the particular state of affairs referred to by the predicate ‘broke down,’ which is the focus. The focus domain in this type of focus structure is the core verbal constituent and, when the verb is transitive, also includes the direct object.

In Lambrecht’s examples, the predicate focus structure in all four languages is marked prosodically, indicating the predicate as the focus domain. However, languages also use morphosyntactic means to distinguish the topic from the focal V constituent. In the Italian example, the topic is the subject of the sentence in the pre-verbal position. In French, the topic is a left-dislocated NP. In Japanese, it is a *wa*-marked NP. In English, there is no additional morphosyntactic marking; the subject-topic is just unaccented. These examples provide an interesting comparison to marking of the predicate focus in the Russian language:

- (14) Q: Что случилось с вашей машиной?
 čto slučilos' s vašej mašinoj
 'What happened to your car?'
- A: a. Моя машин-а С-ЛОМА-Л-АСЬ.
 moja mašin-a s-loma-l-as'
 1FsgPOSS car-NOM PRF-break-PAST-3Fsg
 'My car broke down.'
- b. Она С-ЛОМА-Л-АСЬ.
 ona s-loma-l-as'
 3Fsg.NOM PRF-break-PAST-3Fsg
 'It (she) broke down.'
- c. С-ЛОМА-Л-АСЬ.
 s-loma-l-as'
 PRF-break-PAST-3Fsg
 'Broke down.'
- d. С-ЛОМА-Л-АСЬ моя машина.
 s-loma-l-as' moja mašina
 PRF-break-PAST-3Fsg 1FsgPOSS car-NOM
 'My car broke down.'

In Russian predicate focus structure, as in Lambrecht's examples, the focus (predicate) receives prosodic prominence. The topic, which is the subject of the sentence, can be expressed as a full lexical NP (14a) or as a pronoun (14b). As in many other languages, pronominalization is explained by the fact that since the referent/topic is already presupposed it does not have to be expressed as a full NP. The topical subject in Russian can even be left unexpressed, as in (14c), the topic (subject) being adequately represented by person, gender, and number agreement on the verb. Example (14d) is novel compared to Lambrecht's examples. The placement of the subject 'my car' after the verb puts the presupposed topic in the sentence final position; the focused predicate is initial. My language consultants agreed with me that if there were any difference in meaning between (14a) and (14d), it was too subtle to distinguish. Moreover, only one consultant used this particular word order; the other seven preferred (14a-c). As in Lambrecht's examples, however, prosodic prominence must fall on the focal V constituent.

The second type of focus structure is **sentence** focus. In order to elicit sentence focus, a question is asked in which the reply has no presupposition. When asked what happened, for example, by someone who has no prior knowledge of the event, a speaker cannot assume any particular topic in his or her reply. Thus, no pragmatic presupposition is evoked, and the reply is largely new information and, therefore, in focus. Lambrecht (1994:223) elicited the following responses in the four languages examined by him:

What happened?

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|----------|
| a. My CAR broke down. | English |
| b. Mi si è rotta (ROTTA) la MACCHINA. | Italian |
| c. J'ai ma VOITURE qui est en PANNE. | French |
| d. KURUMA ga KOSHOO-shi-ta. | Japanese |

In this situation, when the question is asked, there is no pragmatic presupposition in relation to what happened to the car. In this sense, the information given in the reply is entirely new. The possessive pronoun ‘my’ can, perhaps, be considered topical as it refers to the speaker. However, the whole lexical NP ‘my car,’ which is the subject of the sentence, is not the topic in the speech act because it does not establish an informational relationship between the referent and the assertion being made. Since the assertion extends over the entire proposition, the assertion and the focus coincide. Consequently, in these structures the focus domain is the entire clause. Van Valin and LaPolla emphasize the fact that the sentence focus construction is “semantically non-binary, having neither a... topic-comment... nor a focus-presupposition bipartition” (1997:208).

Sentence focus is a marked focus type. A distinctive feature of sentence focus, as evidenced by the above examples, is the marking of the subject as non-topic. This feature is shared by all four languages, even though it is expressed in different ways. In English, the sentence focus utterance is syntactically identical to the predicate focus utterance. The only difference is in prosody: it is the subject, not the predicate that receives prosodic prominence in the case of sentence focus. Thus, English relies primarily on stress in order to differentiate pragmatically between the focus categories. Unlike the English sentence, Italian allows and French requires a placement of secondary stress on the predicate. Lambrecht observes that the primary device for marking the sentence focus in French and Italian is morphosyntax: both use a different word order for this type of pragmatic structure. In Italian the subject is placed sentence-finally; in French it is a combination of a different word order and the *avoir*-cleft construction. Japanese uses a different morphological marking *ga*, as well as stresses the predicate constituent *koshoo*. To summarize, in sentence focus structure the subject is part of focus and receives a different marking through prosody, word order, and/or morphology.

Russian also demonstrates changes in sentences where the entire utterance is assertion and focus. (15) gives an example of such a case with the felicitous and infelicitous responses:

- (15) Q: Что случилось?
 čto slučilos’
 ‘What happened?’
- A: a. МАШИИ-А С-ЛОМА-Л-АСЬ.
 mašin-a s-loma-l-as’
 car-NOM PRF-break-PAST-3Fsg
 ‘(My) car broke down.’
- b. Моя МАШИИ-А С-ЛОМА-Л-АСЬ.
 moja mašin-a s-loma-l-as’
 1FsgPOSS car-NOM PRF-break-PAST-3Fsg
 ‘My car broke down.’
- c. ? С-ЛОМА-Л-АСЬ моя МАШИИ-А.
 s-loma-l-as’ moja mašin-a
 PRF-break-PAST-3Fsg 1FsgPOSS car-NOM
 ‘My car broke down.’

Russian shares the aforementioned distinctive feature of sentence focus structures: when a sentence is entirely asserted, the subject, which is indicated by nominative case, is marked as non-topic by means of prosodic prominence. The predicate receives secondary stress. This property

differentiates Russian sentence focus structures (15) from predicate focus structures (14) where the subject was not stressed and even preferably omitted.

The examples in (15) demonstrate that the word order is more rigid in Russian sentence focus constructions. In almost all responses the subject occurred pre-verbally, as in (15a) or (15b). When asked about (15c), one of my consultants said that it was infelicitous as a reply to the question “what happened?” because it pointed to the fact of breaking rather than to the whole event. It is probable that example (15c), with the initial V constituent receiving secondary stress, approximates the predicate focus construction in (14d) and might, therefore, sound odd in an open context situation. My consultant added, however, that (15c) would be acceptable in presentational situations:

- (16) ОДНАЖДЫ С-ЛОМА-Л-АСЬ моя МАШИН-А.
 Odnazhdi s-loma-l-as' moja mašin-a
 once PRF-break-PAST-3Fsg 1FsgPOSS car-NOM
 ‘Once upon a time my car broke down.’

Most speakers also omitted the pronoun ‘my,’ as in (15a), which is the most felicitous response, because in this type of situation it would be obvious to the listener that the speaker was referring to his or her own car. As a distinctive feature of sentence focus, however, in all cases the focal subject is stressed in Russian.

The third type of focus structure is **narrow** focus. Lambrecht also refers to it as argument focus (1994). In narrow focus structure, the focus domain is limited to a single constituent (subject, object, nucleus, or oblique). For example, a reply to the question “What broke down?” will be an instance of narrow focus. Lambrecht creates a more specific situation in which someone utters a statement which is correct except one false constituent: “I heard your motorcycle broke down?” The addressee then wants to inform the person that it was not the motorcycle but the car that broke down. As a result, in his or her reply the speaker corrects the wrong constituent, thus placing focus on the single constituent ‘car,’ which states the correct information.

I heard your motorcycle broke down?

- | | |
|--|---|
| a. My CAR broke down. | English |
| b. Si è rotta la mia MACCHINA./
E la mia MACCHINA che si è rotta. | Italian (lit. ‘broke down
my car’/‘It’s my car which
broke down’) |
| c. C’est ma VOITURE qui est en panne. | French (lit. ‘It is my car which
broke down’) |
| d. KURUMA ga kosho-shi-ta. | Japanese |

In the above examples, the presupposition evoked in the reply is that something belonging to the speaker broke down. The assertion is that this something is the speaker’s CAR. The prosodic stress marks ‘car’ as the focus of the proposition. Thus, the focus is ‘car’ and the focus domain is the single NP constituent. As in previous cases, the focus domain contains a non-focal possessive pronoun ‘my’ which refers to the speaker as an entity under discussion. Van Valin and LaPolla emphasize that in narrow focus constructions “the ‘new’ information in the focus is not the constituent itself, but the establishment of a relationship between the referent and the presupposed proposition ‘something of the speaker’s broke down’...” (1997:209). The relationship between

‘car’ and ‘broke down’ is asserted, but the assertion is not a mere identification of x with the speaker’s car but also the correction of a mistaken belief.

The narrow focus constituent in all four languages is given prosodic prominence; all other constituents are not accentuated. Grammatically, the narrow focus structure is again expressed in different ways. In English, it is accentuation alone that marks narrow focus. Italian uses either an inverted structure or a cleft construction. French also uses a cleft construction, while in Japanese along with focus accentuation there is a *ga*-marking on the subject noun phrase. The various focus-marking devices found in these languages share one formal feature: the constituent under narrow focus is the only one prosodically stressed in a sentence.

A similar example in Russian is given below:

- (17) Q: Я слышала, ваш мотоцикл сломался?
 ja slišala vaš mototsikl slomals’a
 ‘I heard your motorcycle broke down?’
- A: a. МАШИН-А моя/у меня с-лома-л-ась.
 mašin-a moja/u m’en’a s-loma-l-as’
 car-NOM 1FsgPOSS/of me PRF-break-PAST-3Fsg
 ‘My car broke down.’
- b. МАШИН-А с-лома-л-ась.
 mašin-a s-loma-l-as’
 car-NOM PRF-break-PAST-3Fsg
 ‘(My) car broke down.’
- c. МАШИН-А с-лома-л-ась, а не МОТОЦИКЛ.
 mašin-a s-loma-l-as’ a n’e mototsikl
 car-NOM PRF-break-PAST-3Fsg but not motorcycle.NOM
 ‘The car broke down, but not the motorcycle.’
- d. С-лома-л-ся не МОТОЦИКЛ, а
 s-loma-l-s’a n’e mototsikl a
 PRF-break-PAST-3Msg not motorcycle.NOM but
 с-лома-л-ась МАШИН-А.
 s-loma-l-as’ mašin-a
 PRF-break-PAST-3Fsg car-NOM
 ‘Not the motorcycle broke, but the car broke.’

In Russian narrow focus constructions, the focus constituent is also given prosodic prominence. Morphosyntax, however, also plays an important role. In (17a) the N **машина**/car.NOM occurs to the left of the possessive pronoun **моя**/1FsgPOSS, thereby deviating from the usual order of NP constituents, i.e. ‘car my.’¹ The NP_{POSS}, however, may be omitted altogether, as in (17b), for the speaker’s ownership of the car is already presupposed. Furthermore, in (17c) and (17d) the mistaken constituent ‘motorcycle’ is repeated in the reply to provide explicit contrast. It is also notable that, when contrast is given, the focal NP can

¹ The dislocation of NP_{POSS} to the right may be crucial in Russian narrow focus constructions. Further research is needed to investigate this feature.

occur either pre-verbally (17c) or post-verbally (17d).² Since Russian has SVO as its unmarked word order, any deviations from it may be instances of marked focus.

Lambrecht (1994) indeed makes a distinction between **unmarked** and **marked** narrow focus. The difference between the two lies in the syntactic position of the narrow-focused constituent. Example (18) provides a useful contrast:

- (18) Q: Ты любишь Матвея?
 ti l'ubiš Matveja
 'Do you love Matthew?'
- A: a. я любл-ю ДАВИД-А.
 ja l'ubl'-u David-a
 1sg.NOM love-1sg.PRES David-ACC
 'I love David.'
- b. ДАВИД-А я любл-ю.
 David-a ja l'ubl'-u
 David-ACC 1sg.NOM love-1sg.PRES
 'I love David.'

In both examples, 'David' is a narrow-focused constituent. In (18a), the canonical SVO order is preserved with prosodic stress falling on 'David' which, as a direct object of the verb, remains in its canonical post-verbal position. This is an instance of unmarked narrow focus. Figure 3.1 represents the RRG structure of (18a).

In (18a), however, the focus interpretation is ambiguous between a predicate-focus reading, in which 'love David' is the actual focus domain, and a narrow-focus reading. To avoid the ambiguity of focus interpretation, in (18b) the narrow-focused constituent is moved to the pre-core slot, i.e., in addition to stress, it is also syntactically marked as narrow-focus (Figure 3.2).³

In (18b), there is no ambiguity in the focus interpretation as, according to Van Valin and LaPolla "The default interpretation of elements in the precore slot is focal..." (1997:228). Thus, the speaker corrects the erroneous argument by placing the NP 'David' clause-initially, which reinforces its focal interpretation. Example (18b) points to the fact that in the Russian language the pre-core position distinctly marks narrow focus. This hypothesis will be tested in Section 3.4 of this thesis.

To summarize what has been found up to this point, variable word order in Russian is not "free" but has specific functions in marking the information structure of the clause. Predicate focus involves a stressed predicate and an optional pre-verbal or post-verbal subject, i.e. the examples yielded both canonical SVO and non-canonical word orders. Sentence focus places stress on the subject and tends to have an SVO order of constituents, except in presentational situations. Narrow focus involves putting prosodic stress on the focal constituent, which may occur in canonical and non-canonical positions. The non-canonical pre-core position will be

² Here and elsewhere, the terms "pre-verbal" and "post-verbal" refer to the positioning of NP constituents within the core.

³ Van Valin and LaPolla also refer to non-WH NPs in the clause initial position as "contrastive topics" (210). In (18b) 'David' is a contrastive topic because it occupies the clause initial position associated with the topic but has marked narrow focus.

examined further as a correlate of marked narrow focus. In all instances, however, prosodic prominence is always associated with focus placement in Russian, as it was for the languages cited by Lambrecht.

The following sections will present additional evidence in order to define the exact role of these alternative word orders in the information structure of the Russian clause.

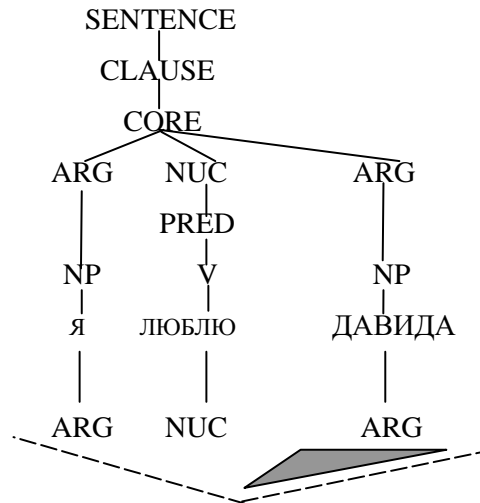


Figure 3.1. Russian unmarked narrow focus structure.

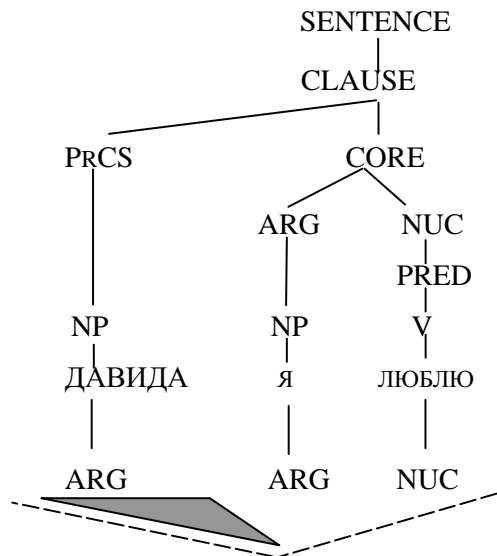


Figure 3.2. Russian marked narrow focus constructions.

3.2 Word Order in Russian Intransitive Sentences

In the previous section, flexibility of word ordering has been found with each focus type. It should be noted, however, that examples (14), (15), and (17) elicited basic SV/VS type sentences, which contain only the subject and the predicate. In this section, we will explore the information structure of lengthier intransitive utterances containing different adverbial modifiers in order to evaluate whether there are any further restrictions on the ordering of constituents in Russian.

At this point, we will begin to refine Krylova and Khavronina's analysis of Russian word order types (1986) to take into account the three focus types as presented in RRG. It was mentioned in Chapter I that Krylova and Khavronina's subdivision of main sentence parts into theme and rheme is based solely on stylistic considerations. They subdivide utterances into emotive⁴ and non-emotive, but their generalizations overlook the important relationship that exists between the syntactic and informational structure of utterances. This presents a serious limitation to their classification as they fail to address an important aspect of Russian grammar.

Krylova and Khavronina's analysis consists of two main parts: patterns involving subjects and their predicates, i.e. intransitive sentences (main), and patterns involving direct objects, i.e. transitive sentences (object). The former word orders are summarized in Table 2 below and also re-classified as Lambrechtian focus types in the last column. The latter are considered in the following section.

Table 2. Krylova and Khavronina's Typology of Intransitive Sentences Revised as Lambrechtian Focus Types.

Main	Theme	Rheme	Focus Type
I	S	V	PREDICATE
II	V	S	NARROW (marked)
III	ADV	VS	SENTENCE
IV	ADV S	V	PREDICATE
V	SV	ADV	NARROW (unmarked)

Recognizing RRG three focus types is empirically superior to Krylova and Khavronina's account because it embraces not only syntactic but also semantic and communicative aspects of grammar: different word orders encode different types of propositional information conveyed by utterances. RRG also motivates an analysis, which uses focus as a more broadly applicable, cross-linguistic notion, and thus anchors my account in the universality of focus structure. The following is a summary of Krylova and Khavronina's main word order types with my re-interpretation given to the right. Examples of each pattern are adopted from Krylova and Khavronina (1986) and also obtained from my language consultants.

⁴ Krylova and Khavronina's emphatic, or emotive, utterances are not considered separately in this section as such focus types, if defined in Lambrechtian terms, are primarily marked by prosodic stress and most commonly occur in the pre-core slot or immediately pre-verbally in Russian, e.g.:

Я к АНН-Е ид-у.
ja k Ann'-e id-u
1sg. NOM to Anna-DAT go-1sg.PRES
'I am going to ANNA.'

This focus placement, according to Lambrecht, is associated with marked narrow focus and will be treated as such in this research.

(19) Main I: activity of the referent – Predicate Focus

Q: Что делают дети?
 čto d'elajut d'et'i
 'What are children doing?'

A: Дети/они ИГРА-ЮТ.
 d'et'i/on'i igra-jut
 children/3pl.NOM play-3pl.PRES
 'The children/they are playing.'

(20) Main II: identity of the actor – Narrow Focus

Q: Кто играет?
 kto igrajet
 'Who is playing?'

A₁: Игра-ют ДЕТИ.
 igra-jut d'et'i
 play-3pl.PRES children
 'The children are playing.'

A₂: ДЕТИ игра-ют.
 d'et'i igra-jut
 children play-3pl.PRES
 'The children are playing.'

(21) Main III: introduction of the occurrence – Sentence Focus

a. Q: Что пишут в газетах?
 čto p'išut v gaz'etah
 'What do they write in newspapers?'

A: В городе ИД-ЕТ ПРЕДВЫБОРН-АЯ КАМПАНИЯ.
 v gorod'e id'-ot pr'edviborn-aja kampan'ija
 in town-PREP go-3sg.PRES pre-election-Fsg campaign.NOM
 'A pre-election campaign is taking place (goes) in town.'

b. Q: Что случилось?
 čto slučilos'
 'What happened?'

A: За час до концерт-а ПО-ЗВОНИ-Л ПАВЕЛ.
 za čas do kontserta po-zvon'i-l Pav'el
 prior hour before concert-GEN PRF-ring-PAST Paul
 'One hour before the concert Paul called.'

(22) Main IV: activity of the referent at a certain point in time – Predicate Focus

a. Q: Что сделал Павел за час до концерта?
 čto sd'elal Pav'el za čas do kontserta
 'What did Paul do one hour before the concert?'

- A: За час до концерт-а Павел/он ПО-ЗВОНИ-Л.
 za čas do kontsert-a Pav'el/on po-zvoni-l
 prior hour before concert-GEN Paul/3Msg.NOM PRF-ring-PAST
 'One hour before the concert Paul/he called.'
- b. Q: Что вы сегодня делали?
 čto vi s'egodn'a d'elali
 'What did you do today?'
- A: Мы сегодня ХОДИ-ЛИ-И в ЦЕНТР
 mi s'egodn'a hod'i-l-i v tsentr
 1pl.MON today go-PAST-pl in/to centre.ACC
 ЗАНЯТОСТ-И.
 zan'atost'-i
 participation-GEN
 'We went to the Job Centre today.'

(23) Main V: identification of the time, location, manner of action – Narrow Focus

- a. Q: Когда растает снег?
 kogda rastajet sn'eg
 'When will the snow melt?'
- A: (Снег рас-та-ет) в АПРЕЛ-Е.
 sn'eg ras-ta-jet v apr'el-e
 snow PRF-melt-3sg.PRES in April-PREP
 'The snow will melt in April.'
- b. Q: Где находится магазин?
 gd'e nahod'itsa magaz'in
 'Where is the shop located?'
- A: Магазин/он (наход-ит-ся) за УГЛ-ОМ.
 magaz'in/on nahod'-it-sa za ugl-om
 shop.sg/3sg.NOM locate-3sg.PRES-REFX behind corner-INST
 'The shop/it (is) around the corner.'
- c. Q: Как вы спали?
 kak vi spal'i
 'How did you sleep?'
- A₁: (Я спа-л-а) ХОРОШО.
 ja spa-l-a horošo
 1sg.NOM sleep-PAST-Fsg well
 'I slept well.'
- A₂: НЕВАЖНЕЦКИ (я спа-л-а).
 nevažnetski ja spa-l-a
 so-so 1sg.NOM sleep-PAST-Fsg
 'I slept so-so.'

As mentioned earlier, the presupposed information will frequently be pronominalized in the answer to a question, e.g. (19) and (22a), or even omitted, (23a, b, c).⁵ It should also be emphasized that my consultants used word orders different from what Krylova and Khavronina predicted to find in non-emotive utterances, which points to an inadequacy in their conclusions. In (20) the focal subject can occur not only after the verb, as Krylova and Khavronina predict, but also in the canonical position before the verb. In (23cA₂) the adverbial narrow-focused constituent can similarly be placed either after the verb or in the pre-core position. The reply in (23cA₂) is not contrary to our previous findings concerning narrow focus. While Krylova and Khavronina would classify this utterance as an emotive sentence, we will examine it as a special pre-core position characteristic of marked narrow focus (see Section 3.4). The rest of (23) are examples of unmarked narrow focus.

In the fifth word order type, Krylova and Khavronina posit the order VS (theme) – ADV (rheme) as an alternative to SV (theme) – ADV (rheme), i.e. they state that the alternative order of subject and predicate does not affect the meaning:

(24) Я жи-л тогда в ДЕРЕВН-Е.
 ja ži-l togda v d'er'evn'-e
 1sg.NOM live-sg.PAST then in village-PREP
 'I then lived in a village.'

(25) Жи-л я тогда в ДЕРЕВН-Е.
 ži-l ja togda v d'er'evn'-e
 live-sg.PAST 1sg.NOM then in village-PREP
 'I then lived in a village.'

However, as confirmed by my consultants, unlike (24), utterance (25) is unnatural as a reply to the question “Где ты жил тогда?/Gd'e ti žil togda?/Where did you live then?” although it is natural as an opening statement in narrative discourse. King (1995:86)⁶ observes that these two subtypes, i.e. VS (theme) – ADV (rheme) vs. SV (theme) – ADV (rheme), have to do with dividing the theme into topicalized and discourse-neutral material. Applying King's terminology, in (24) the subject is the topic of the sentence, while in (25) it is discourse-neutral. In RRG, this subdivision corresponds to the distinction between identifiable/presupposed and non-identifiable/new/focal material. Thus, in my analysis, the subject of the first sentence is presupposed as a topic, while in the second it is new information and is, therefore, non-identifiable as a referent of discourse. In fact, example (25) is not equivalent in meaning to (24) because it conveys entirely new information: it is a sentence focus construction. Consequently, the distribution of this type of information within the sentence is reflected in syntax through word order modifications. As a sentence focus construction, (25) is re-written as the structure (25')

(25') ЖИ-Л Я ТОГДА В ДЕРЕВН-Е.
 ži-l ja togda v d'er'evn'-e
 live-sg.PAST 1sg.NOM then in village-PREP
 'I then lived in a village.'

⁵ For expository purposes, I have provided the full answers. These are perfectly acceptable and natural Russian sentences which just occur less frequently than replies with pronominalization. I will use these examples in my thesis since the fuller forms do not affect my conclusions and are easier to follow.

⁶ T. H. King works in the framework of Lexical-Functional Grammar (LFG).

I have also provided the LSC representations for (24) and (25') in Figure 4 and Figure 5 respectively to show that they represent different focus constructions.

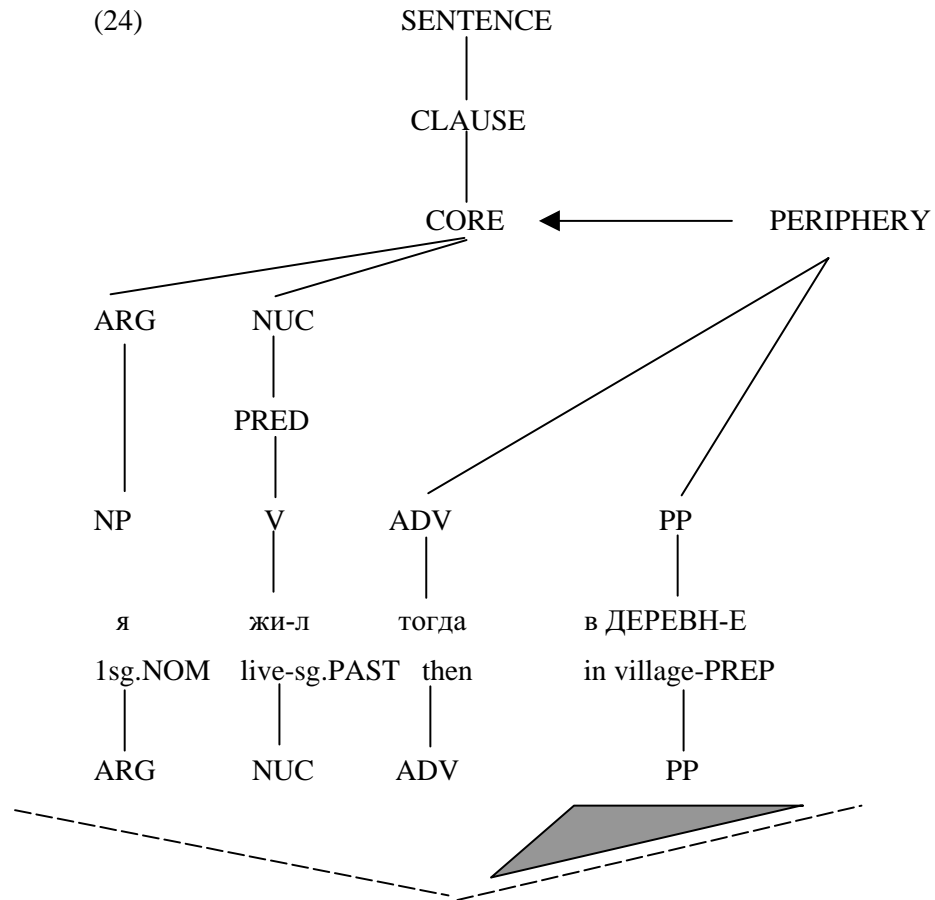


Figure 4. Narrow focus construction in Russian (24).

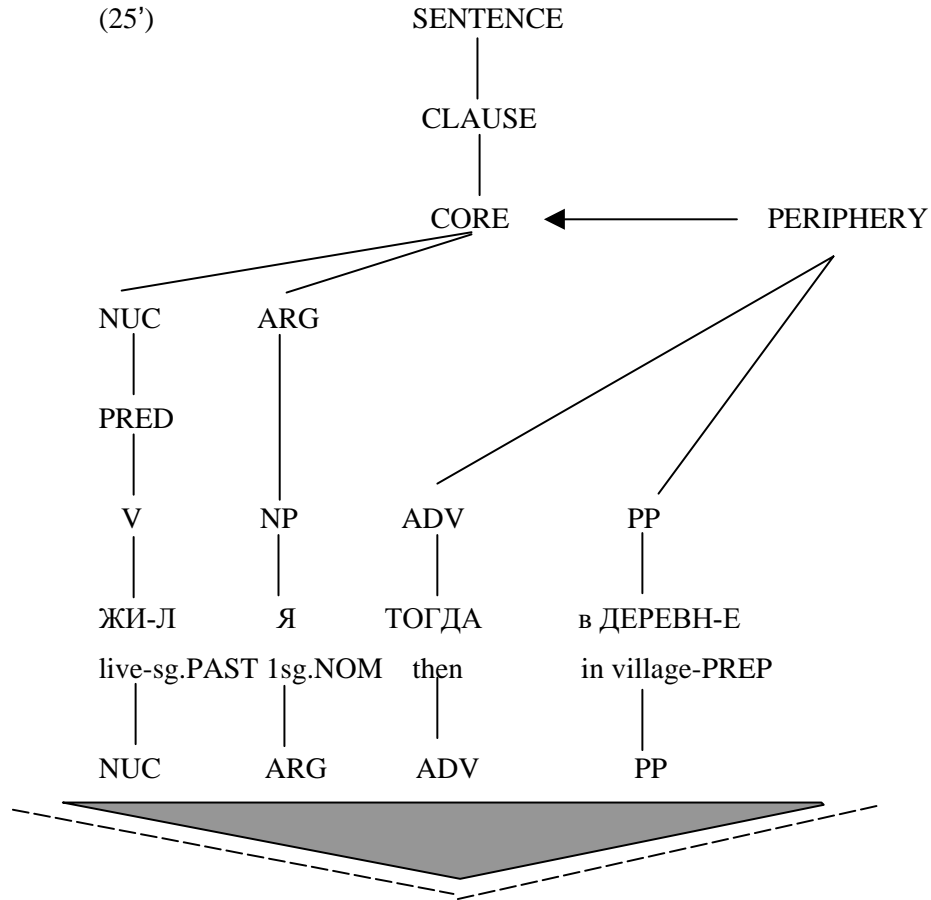


Figure 5. Sentence focus construction in Russian (25').

The above example (25') is analogous to (16): they both present a new situation/entity and initiate narrative. Placing the predicate before the subject in sentence focus constructions (both transitive and intransitive) introduces a general scene for unfolding of further events, the place where the action of the narrative is supposed to occur. It is commonly used in descriptions, radio and television announcements, at the beginning of folk and fairy tales. The following is a sample of such presentational situations as found in Russian literature, written and oral narratives, public announcements, favorite anecdotes related to me by my consultants:

- (26) a. С ЗАПАД-А Ш-Л-А ТУЧ-А.
 s zapad-a š-l-a tuč-a
 from west-GEN go-PAST-Fsg cloud-NOM
 'A cloud was approaching from the west.'

- b. ПО-ДУ-Л СТУДЕН-ЫЙ ВЕТЕР,
 po-du-l stud'on-ij v'et'er
 PFF-blow-sg.PAST very.cold-Msg wind.NOM
- О-ЧИСТИ-Л НЕБ-О.
 o-čist'i-l n'eb-o
 PRF-clean-sg.PAST sky-ACC
- 'A very cold wind blew and cleared the sky.' (A. Tolstoy "Sisters" ch. XXXV)
- c. ВЫ-ПА-Л ТОНК-ИЙ СНЕ-ЖОК.
 vi-pa-l tonk'-ij sn'e-žok
 PRF-fall-sg.PAST thin-Msg snow-DIM
 'Light snow fell (on the ground).' (Paustovsky "A Telegram")
- d. ПО-САДИ-Л ДЕД РЕП-К-У.
 po-sad'i-l d'ed r'ep-k-u
 PRF-plant-3Msg.PAST grandfather turnip-DIM-ACC
 'A grandfather planted a turnip.' (Fairy tale "Turnip")
- e. В некотор-ом царств-е, в некотор-ом
 v n'ekotor-om tsarstv'-e v n'ekotor-om
 in some-Nsg.PREP kingdom-PREP in some-Nsg.PREP
- государств-е ЖИ-Л-БЫ-Л ИВАН-ЦАРЕВИЧ.
 gosudarstv'-e ži-l-bi-l Ivan-tsar'ev'ič
 state-PREP live-sg.PAST-be-sg.PAST Ivan.NOM-tsarevich
 'In a certain kingdom, in a certain country there lived Ivan Tsarevich.'
 (Fairy tale "Ivan Tsarevich")
- f. ВНИМАНИ-Е! ГОВОР-ИТ МОСКВ-А!
 vn'iman'i-je govor'-it Moskv-a
 attention-NOM speak-3sg.PRES Moscow-NOM
 'Attention! Moscow is broadcasting!'
- g. ВСТРЕТИ-Л-И-СЬ ДВ-А РЫБАК-А.
 vstr'et'i-l'-i-s' dv-a ribak-a
 meet-PAST-pl-REFX two-pl.NOM fisher-pl.NOM
 'Two fishermen met.' (anecdote)
- h. ЗВОН-ИТ ОДН-А ПИЯВК-А ДРУГ-ОЙ.
 zvon'-it odn-a p'ijavk-a drug-oj
 ring-3sg.PRES one-Fsg.NOM leech-NOM another-Fsg.DAT
 'One leech is calling another.' (anecdote)

The VS pattern has been found to be more prevalent in sentence focus presentational constructions, even though exceptions can be encountered with SV order.

To reiterate the findings of the first two sections, Table 3 provides a summary of possible word orders observed with various focus types in Russian. The focused material is marked by the bold italics.

Table 3. Word Orders in Russian Intransitive Sentences

Focus Types	Word Orders
Predicate	(ADV) <i>SV</i> or S (ADV) <i>V</i> <i>VS</i> ?
Sentence	<i>SV</i> (ADV) <i>VS</i>
Narrow: unmarked	<i>SV</i> <i>SV ADV</i>
marked	<i>VS</i> <i>ADV SV</i>

The addition of adverbial information clause-initially apparently places some restrictions on the word order in Russian. While in predicate focus constructions in all instances the subject precedes the predicate, e.g. (22a), in sentence focus constructions it is the predicate that appears first, as in (21b). The adverbial information that occurs clause-initially in (21b) and (22a) is more than one constituent in length. It is possible, however, for a single adverbial modifiers to occur after the subject in predicate (22b) and sentence (25') focus constructions. If a sentence contains several adverbial modifiers, they occur sequentially, first temporal and then locative, although not necessarily adjacent, e.g. (24) and (25'). Furthermore, adverbial information can be placed under narrow focus, e.g. (23). When this happens, adverbs occur either in their canonical post-verbal position or in the pre-core slot as marked narrow focus.

3.3 Word Order in Russian Transitive Sentences

Transitive sentences contain direct objects, which in the RRG layered structure of the clause are represented as arguments of the verb. These arguments of the verb in Russian can be placed either preceding or following the verb. Several linguists, e.g. Comrie (1989), pointed out that since grammatical relations in Russian are primarily determined by case marking word order alterations are permissible. Nevertheless, in some situations certain word orders are infelicitous. The RRG model allows us to predict the felicity of word order by examining the information structure of Russian utterances.

As above, we will revise Krylova and Khavronina's classification (1986) of the five object patterns in order to incorporate information structure into their analysis. The five object patterns are a subset of the main patterns represented in Table 2, which explains why there is an overlap in the patterns. The five word orders again reduce in my account to three focus types: predicate, sentence, and narrow, as shown in the last column. Examples of each pattern are provided after Table 4.

Table 4. Krylova and Khavronina's Typology of Transitive Sentences Revised as Lambrechtian Focus Types.

Object	Theme	Rheme	Focus Type
I	S	VO	PREDICATE
II	OV or VO (?)	S	NARROW (marked)
III	O	VS	SENTENCE
IV	OS	V	PREDICATE
V	SV	O	NARROW (unmarked)

(27) Object I: activity of the referent – Predicate Focus

- Q: Что сделал фермер?
čto sd'elal f'erm'er
'What did the farmer do?'
- A: Дв-е недел-и назад фермер/он
dv'-e n'ed'el'-i nazad f'erm'er/on
two-sg.GEN week-pl.GEN ago farmer.NOM/3Msg.NOM
- ЗА-КОНЧИ-Л УБОРК-У УРОЖА-Я.
za-konči-l ubork-u uroža-ja
PRF-finish-Msg.PAST harvest-ACC crop-GEN
'Two weeks ago the farmer/he finished the crop harvest.'

In (27), the object is placed in its canonical immediately post-verbal position.

(28) Object II: identity of the actor – Narrow Focus

- Q: Кто сшил это платье?
kto sšil eto plat'je
'Who made this dress?'
- A₁: ИНН-А с-ши-л-а это платье-е.
Inn-a s-šil-a eto plat'-je
Inna-NOM PRF-sew-PAST-F this dress-ACC
'Inna made this dress.'
- A₂: Это платье-е с-ши-л-а ИНН-А.
eto plat'-je s-ši-l-a Inn-a
this dress-ACC PRF-sew-PAST-F Inna-NOM
'Inna made this dress.'
- A₃: Его с-ши-л-а ИНН-А.
jego s-ši-l-a Inn-a
3Msg.ACC PRF-sew-PAST-F Inna-NOM
'Inna made it.'

A₄: ? С-ши-л-а это платье-е ИНН-А.
 s-ši-l-a eto plat'-je Inn-a
 PRF-sew-PAST-F this dress-ACC Inna-NOM
 ‘Inna made this dress.’

Example (28A₁) is not given by Krylova and Khavronina as a possible reply to the question “Who made this dress?” However, my language consultants, when asked to judge the felicity of (28A₁), agreed that it was an acceptable reply. Thus, Russian allows SVO ordering of constituents with the subject marked as narrow focus only by phonological stress. This is the unmarked type of narrow focus (see Table 5).

Similarly to the pair (24-25), (28A₂) and (28A₄) in Krylova and Khavronina’s classification are treated as subtypes. In this case, however, they acknowledge that “the object position... is not unimportant for the meaning of the utterance” (1986:94). Their explanations are elaborated upon by King (1995:86) who, as mentioned in Section 3.2, stresses that the pre-verbal (28A₂) position posits the object as the topic of the sentence or, as we have defined earlier using RRG terms, constitutes presupposed information in this particular speech act. Where the object is immediately post-verbal (28A₄), the whole predicate is considered as “discourse-neutral” (King 1986:86) or as constituting new information, in terms of information structure theory. This supports what was claimed above, that the different word orders distinguish identifiable and non-identifiable material or, in RRG terms, describes which part of the proposition is already presupposed by the recipient and which part is asserted. Since all the constituents in (28A₄) render new information, this is a sentence focus construction that expresses a different meaning from (A₁), (A₂) and (A₃). Indeed, when asked about the felicity of (A₄) as a reply to the question in (28), my consultants remarked that (A₄) sounded odd and unnatural. Two consultants further expressed the view that (A₄) would be appropriate in a narrative rather than dialogue. This observation supports our previous findings regarding word order and sentence focus: Russian speakers tend to use the V(O)S ordering of constituents in sentence focus presentational situations.

Object III: introduction of a situation whose object is known – Sentence Focus

- a. Q: Что случилось с картинами?
 čto slučilos’ s kart’inam’i
 What happened to the paintings?
- A: Одн-у из картин ПРИОБРЕ-Л
 odn-u iz kart’in pr’iobr’e-l
 one-ACC from picture.pl.GEN acquire-sg.PAST
 МЕСТН-ЫЙ МУЗЕ-Й.
 m’estn-ij muz’e-j
 local-Msg museum-NOM
 ‘The local museum acquired one of the paintings.’
- b. Q: Как дела?
 kak d’ela
 ‘How are things?’

A: Я ПО-ЧИНИ-Л МАШИН-У.
 ja po-čín'i-l mašin-u
 1sg.NOM PRF-repair-PAST car-ACC
 'I repaired the car.'

Example (29b) was overlooked by Krylova and Khavronina but was given by one of my language consultants in reply to one of my questionnaire inquiries. Therefore, both OVS and SVO word orders are acceptable in sentence focus constructions in Russian. It should be added that the object in the (29b) reply is accessible but not activated, i.e. "... it is textually, situationally, or inferentially available by means of its existence in the physical context... but is not yet the current focus of consciousness..." (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997:200), as indicated by the small caps.

Object IV: activity of the referent with a known object – Predicate Focus

a. Q: Что вы сделали со старой лодкой?
 čto vi sd'elal'i so staroj lodkoj
 'What did you do with the old boat?'

A₁: Стар-ую лодк-у мы ПРОДА-Л-И.
 star-uju lodk-u mi proda-l-i
 old-ACC boat-ACC 1pl.NOM sell-PAST-pl
 'We sold the old boat.'

A₂: Мы её ПРОДА-Л-И.
 mi jejo proda-l-i
 1pl.NOM 3Fsg.ACC sell-PAST-pl
 'We sold it.'

b. Q: Вы знаете Сергея?
 vi znajet'e S'erg'eja
 'Do you know Sergey?'

A₁: Серге-я я ЗНА-Ю.
 S'erg'e-ja ja zna-ju
 Sergey-ACC 1sg.NOM know-1sg.PRES
 'I know Sergey.'

A₂: Я его ЗНА-Ю.
 ja jegο zna-ju
 1sg.NOM 3Msg.ACC know-1sg.PRES
 'I know him.'

In (30a-b), the presupposed object occurs either immediately pre-verbally or pre-verbally within the core. I consider this to occur within the core and not in the pre-core slot because the object in predicate focus constructions is already activated and can, therefore, be considered a legitimate argument of the verb.⁷ Furthermore, example (41e) provides additional evidence to support the existence of the pre-core position in Russian (see Section 3.4). Figures 6 and 7 represent the layered structure of predicate focus constructions in Russian.

⁷ The same applies to the presupposed object in (28A₂ and A₄).

(31) Object V: identification of the object – Narrow Focus

- a. Q: Что ты купила?
 čto ti kup'ila
 'What did you buy?'
- A: Я купи-л-а ШАРФ и ПЕРЧАТК-И.
 ja kup'i-l-a šarf i p'erčatk'-i
 1sg.NOM buy-PAST-Fsg muffler.ACC and glove-pl.ACC
 'I bought a muffler and gloves.'
- b. Q: Что я вам сегодня дала?
 čto ja vam s'egodn'a dala
 'What did I give you today?'
- A₁: КУКЛ-У вы мне да-л-и сегодня.
 kukl-u vi mn'e da-l'-i s'egodn'a
 doll-ACC 2pl.NOM 1sg.DAT give-PAST-pl today
 'You gave me a doll today.'
- A₂: Вы мне сегодня да-л-и КНИГ-У.
 vi mn'e s'egodn'a da-l'-i kn'ig-u
 2pl.NOM 1sg.DAT today give-PAST-pl book-ACC
 'You gave me a book today.'
- A₃: Вы мне сегодня РУЧК-У да-л-и.
 vi mn'e s'egodn'a ručk-u da-l'-i
 2pl.NOM 1sg.DAT today pen-ACC give-PAST-pl
 'You gave me a pen today.'

The syntactic position of the narrow-focused object in Russian is either post-verbal when unmarked, or immediately pre-verbal or pre-core when marked (see Section 3.4 for further discussion).

In all instances (27-31) focal material is stressed. The following summarizes the possible word orders characteristic of Russian transitive sentences (Table 5). The placement of adverbial information is not shown but follows the pattern given in Table 4; it extends to other syntactic structures. Besides, in the LSC, the adverbial material, or adjuncts, constitutes the periphery. The designated place for peripheral material is not determined by the transitivity of the core. It suffices to say that, as evident from example (31b), single-constituent adverbial phrases may occur both clause-medially and clause-finally, i.e. the scope of this type of information is the entire clause. The focused material in Table 5 is given in bold italic.

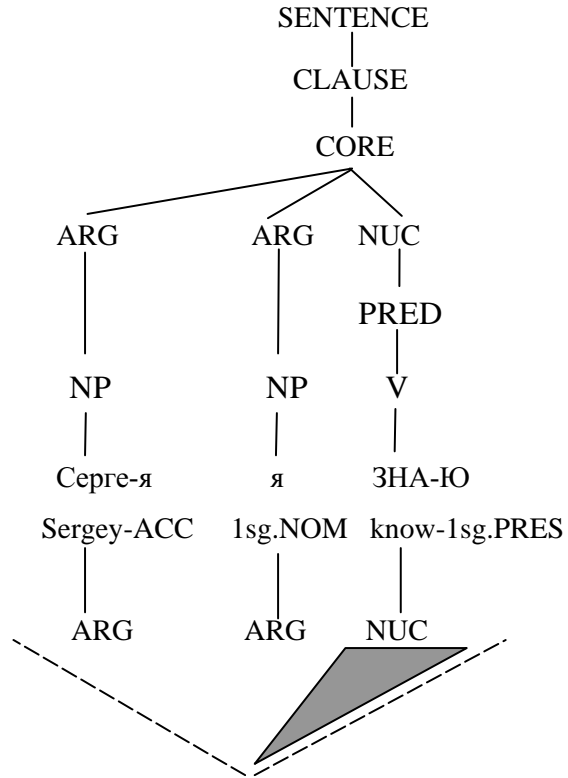


Figure 6. Russian predicate focus construction with the O expressed as a full lexical NP.

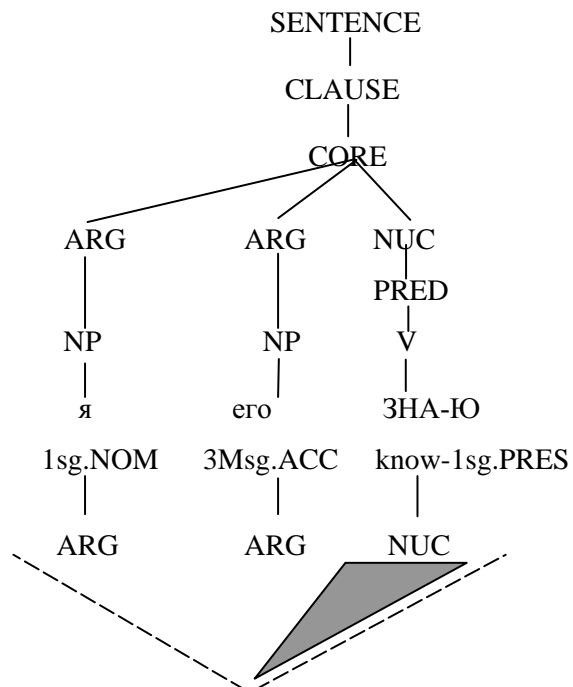


Figure 7. Russian predicate focus construction with the O expressed as a pronoun.

Table 5. Word Orders in Russian Transitive Sentences

<i>Focus Types</i>	<i>Word Orders Within the Core</i>
<i>Predicate</i>	<i>S VO</i> <i>OS V</i> (<i>O is a full lexical NP</i>) <i>SO V</i> (<i>O is a pronoun</i>)
<i>Sentence</i>	<i>SVO</i> <i>VOS</i> 28A ₄ revised <i>O VS</i>
<i>Narrow:</i> <i>unmarked</i>	<i>S VO</i> <i>SV O</i>
<i>marked</i>	<i>OVS</i> <i>O SV</i> <i>pre-core slot</i> <i>SOV</i>

The main word order patterns in Tables 3 and 5 are analogous. Hence, we conclude that transitivity per se does not govern word order in Russian. The word ordering is rather determined by the information structure of utterances. With regard to the object position, some patterns emerge which show that objects of various types occupy special positions in a sentence depending on their propositional content and lexical coding. In predicate focus constructions, for example, if the object is asserted along with the verb in the actual focus domain, it appears in its canonical post-verbal position, e.g. (27). Where the object is presupposed, it is always pre-verbal but occurs in different positions in relation to the verb: when pronominalized it is immediately pre-verbal (30a&bA₂); when expressed as a full lexical NP it occurs pre-verbally within the core (30a&bA₁). In sentence focus constructions, the object is also pre-verbal when presupposed but appears post-verbally when asserted. As with other sentence constituents, direct objects can be placed under narrow focus. In such instances, they occur either in their unmarked position immediately after the verb (31a, 31bA₂), or in the pre-core slot as marked narrow focus (31bA₁). Example (31bA₃) demonstrates another possibility, showing a narrow focused object immediately before the verb. I regard this immediately pre-verbal position as an alternative to the pre-core marked narrow focus position. Its functions will be examined in the next section.

3.4 Marked and Unmarked Narrow Focus

With regard to narrow focus placement, we have determined (Tables 3 and 5) that the subject and adverb can occur either pre-verbally and post-verbally. The narrow-focused object is grammatical in three positions: immediately post-verbal, immediately pre-verbal, and in the pre-core slot. In Russian this rule applies to both direct and indirect⁸ objects. The examples hitherto considered with narrow focus either point toward a conclusion that narrow focus placement is free or lead to

⁸ An example is given in footnote 4.

the analysis that the canonical post-verbal position is unmarked, while the non-canonical pre-verbal and pre-core positions are marked. Since the former conclusion fails to give an account of alternative word orders, we will evaluate the latter view proposed by Lambrecht (1994, section 5.6), namely that unmarkedness is associated with the canonical position of sentence constituents, while markedness with their non-canonical positions. Lambrecht suggests that markedness is utilized by language in order to avoid ambiguity of focus interpretation. In the case of narrow focus, when constituents under narrow focus occur in their canonical positions, they may be interpreted in more than one way: predicate focus for objects and sentence focus for subjects. Syntactically marked positions, as a result, help to resolve this ambiguity. Regardless of whether the constituent in focus occurs in its canonical or non-canonical position, it always receives phonological stress.

In information structure theory, the question of motivation is very important. Any theory of grammar must consider how various syntactic constructions emerge. Narrow focus constructions, for example, often arise as answers to wh-questions. Lambrecht (1994:283) observes that the presupposition, assertion, and focus of such constructions are similar to replies to statements with an erroneous constituent. Wh-questions evoke a set of possible fillers of the empty argument position in the presupposed open proposition (Lambrecht 1994:283), i.e. wh-words call for a replacement in the answer. Speakers of wh-questions typically presuppose that there is an answer that fulfills the question. Lambrecht notes that one does not generally ask a question to which one does not expect an answer. Error correction statements contain a similar presupposition, except that an erroneous argument is negated in the reply. The erroneous argument, however, likewise provides a filler, and its replacement is focal just as the replacement of the wh-word is focal. In both cases, the replacement is unpredictable from the question or corresponding erroneous reply. The following are narrow focus paradigms employing wh-questions and error correction in Russian:

- (32) Q: Пётр по-обеда-л.
 P'otr po-ob'eda-l
 Peter.NOM PRF-have.dinner-PAST
 'Peter ate dinner.'
- A: Нет, по-обеда-л Сергей.
 n'et po-ob'eda-l S'erg'-ej
 NEG PRF-have.dinner-PAST Sergey-NOM
 'No, Sergey ate dinner.'

Presupposition: someone ate dinner

Assertion: someone = Sergey

Focus: 'Sergey'

- (33) Q: Кто по-обеда-л?
 kto po-ob'eda-l
 who PRF-have.dinner-PAST
 'Who ate dinner?'

A: По-обеда-л Серг-ей.
 po-ob'eda-l S'erg'-ej
 PRF-have.dinner-PAST Sergey-NOM
 'Sergey ate dinner.'

Presupposition: someone ate dinner

Assertion: someone = Sergey

Focus: 'Sergey'

The answer in (32) presupposes that someone ate dinner just as the answer in (33) does. Both assert that the person was Sergey. The only difference between them is that in (32) an erroneous argument is corrected, while in (33) the argument is filled in the place of the wh-word. Hence, the results of these two situations are comparable and could produce similar results with regard to narrow focus structure.

Dryer (1996) further develops this idea and proposes that, despite comparable presuppositions, the results often have certain syntactic consequences. This view is consistent with the findings of RRG theory, namely that syntactic differences in word order are related to the informational content of utterances. Before we turn to Russian, let us explicate the above point with the help of three examples from English (34-36). In English, clefted constructions are felicitous responses to questions only when the speaker presupposes that a filler for an argument exists. Example (34) is adapted from Dryer (1996:486).

- (34) Q: Who saw Jim?
 A: a. NATALIE saw Jim.
 b. It was NATALIE who saw Jim.

Both the simple sentence (34a) and the clefted sentence (34b) are appropriate replies to the wh-question where the speaker presupposes that someone in fact saw Jim. Nevertheless, this does not mean that the sentences are strictly equivalent. The cleft is no longer applicable as a response when there is no presupposition of a filler (Dryer 1996:510), i.e. when the speaker does not assume that someone saw Jim.

- (35) Q: Did anyone see Jim?
 A: a. NATALIE saw Jim.
 b. *It was NATALIE who saw Jim.

Contrary to (34), only the simple sentence can serve as an answer to the question when the speaker does not assume that someone saw Jim. As evident from (34) and (35), the simple sentence is a felicitous response not only when the speaker presupposes that a filler for the wh-word exists (34a), but also when there is no such a presupposition (35a). The cleft construction arises only when the filler is presupposed (34b). It is ungrammatical when the speaker lacks this presupposition (35b).

As mentioned at the beginning of this section with regard to narrow focused constructions, viz. (32) and (33), the felicitous responses in the error correction paradigm mirror those in the wh-question paradigm. This follows from the fact that the speaker replying either to a wh-question or correcting a mistake presupposes the existence of a filler for the focal argument. This prediction is indeed correct as cleft constructions in English can also arise in error correction responses (36).

- (36) Q: Judy saw Jim.
 A: a. No, it was NATALIE who saw Jim.
 b. No, NATALIE saw Jim.

In an error correction response, as in a wh-question response, either the cleft sentence or the non-cleft simple sentence is acceptable. (The cleft construction might imply a greater degree of contrastiveness than the non-cleft simple sentence, but that is irrelevant to our argument.) However, the cleft is only felicitous in situations where the speaker presupposes the existence of a filler, as in (34b) and (36a). It is infelicitous where the speaker does not make such a presupposition, as in (35b).

Similarly, Russian wh-question responses and error correction responses presuppose the existence a filler. General questions, on the other hand, do not entail such a presupposition. What remains to explore is whether the presuppositions with and without a filler or, in RRG terms, utterances with a different propositional/informational content, require different syntactic constructions in the Russian language. The following data, which synthesize the judgements of my consultants, provide examples of a general enquiry that does not lead the speaker to presuppose that a filler exists (37).

- (37) a. Q: Кто-нибудь пел?
 kto-n'ibud' p'el
 'Did anyone sing?'
- A₁: ВАН-Я пе-л.
 Van'-a p'e-l
 Ivan-NOM sing-PAST
 'Ivan sang.'
- A₂: ? Пе-л ВАН-Я.
 p'e-l Van'-a
 sing-PAST Ivan-NOM
 'Ivan sang.'
- b. Q: Кто-нибудь видел Петю?
 kto-n'ibud' v'id'el P'et'u
 'Did anybody see Peter?'
- A₁: МАРИ-Я виде-л-а Пет-ю.
 Mar'i-ja v'id'e-l-a P'et'-u
 Mary-NOM see-PAST-Fsg Peter-ACC
 'Mary saw Peter.'
- A₂: ? Пет-ю виде-л-а МАРИ-Я.
 P'et'-u v'id'e-l-a Mar'i-ja
 Peter-ACC see-PAST-Fsg Mary-NOM
 'Mary saw Peter.'

The answers (37aA₁) and (37bA₁), which are general inquiries not presupposing a filler to the focal argument, use the canonical word order with the focal subject occurring pre-verbally. My consultants considered replies with the focal subject in the post-verbal position infelicitous, (37bA₁) and (37bA₂).

On the other hand, specific wh-questions presupposing the existence of a filler to the wh-constituent permit the subject to occur pre-verbally and post-verbally (38).

- (38) a. Q: Кто пел?
kto p'el
'Who sang?'
- A₁: ВАН-Я пе-л.
Van'-a p'e-l
Ivan-NOM sing-PAST
'Ivan sang.'
- A₂: Пе-л ВАН-Я.
p'e-l Van'-a
sing-PAST Ivan-NOM
'Ivan sang.'
- b. Q: Кто видел Петю?
kto v'id'el P'et'u
'Who saw Peter?'
- A₁: МАРИ-Я виде-л-а Пет-ю.
Mar'i-ja v'id'e-l-a P'et'-u
Mary-NOM see-PAST-Fsg Peter-ACC
'Mary saw Peter.'
- A₂: Пет-ю виде-л-а МАРИ-Я.
P'et'-u v'id'e-l-a Mar'i-ja
Peter-ACC see-PAST-Fsg Mary-NOM
'Mary saw Peter.'

The examples in (38) illustrate that the post-verbal, or inverted, position for focal subjects proves felicitous only in response to a questioner's presupposition. In such instances, focal subjects can be placed either pre-verbally or post-verbally. We shall refer to the non-canonical post-verbal position of a focal subject in Russian as marked position.

To summarize, subject initial sentences arise in utterances with or without the presupposition of a filler, while subject final constructions are specific to answers where the speaker does in fact presuppose the existence of a filler.

As already stated, the post-verbal placement of a focal subject in Russian is an instance of marked narrow focus. This non-canonical position of a focal subject is explained by the fact that, in addition to stress, Russian employs a different word order as a means to emphasize that the subject is under narrow focus. As we mentioned at the beginning of this section, in RRG theory this is an instance of syntactic markedness that allows the listener to arrive at the correct focus interpretation. This is particularly important in written discourse where the reader does not have access to prosodic stress and has to rely exclusively on word order as an indicator of focus placement. For instance, in written text the utterances in (38a&bA₁) are ambiguous because they can be interpreted by the reader as either of the three focus constructions: predicate, sentence, or narrow. However, in (38a&bA₂) the final position of the subject distinctly marks it as narrow focus.

The significance of different pragmatic presuppositions is also manifested in the placement of objects in Russian. Examples (39) and (40) illustrate two possible interpretations of narrow focus positions for Russian objects: with and without a filler presupposition.

- (39) Q: Яков что-нибудь принёс?
Jakov čto-n'ibud' pr'in'os
'Did Jacob bring anything?'
- A: a. Яков/он принёс ПОСЫЛК-У.
Jakov/on pr'in'os posilk-u
Jacob.NOM/3Msg.NOM bring.PAST.Msg parcel-ACC
'Jacob brought a parcel.'
- b. ? ПОСЫЛК-У Яков/он принёс.
posilk-u Jakov/on pr'in'os
parcel-ACC Jacob.NOM/3Msg.NOM bring.PAST.Msg
'Jacob brought a parcel.'
- c. ? Яков/он ПОСЫЛК-У принёс.
Jakov/on posilk-u pr'in'os
Jacob.NOM/3Msg.NOM parcel-ACC bring.PAST.Msg
'Jacob brought a parcel.'
- (40) Q: Что принёс Яков?
čto pr'in'os Jakov
'What did Jacob bring?'
- A: a. Яков/он принёс ПОСЫЛК-У.
Jakov/on pr'in'os posilk-u
Jacob.NOM/3Msg.NOM bring.PAST.Msg parcel-ACC
'Jacob brought a parcel.'
- b. ПОСЫЛК-У Яков/он принёс.
posilk-u Jakov/on pr'in'os
parcel-ACC Jacob.NOM/3Msg.NOM bring.PAST.Msg
'Jacob brought a parcel.'
- c. Яков/он ПОСЫЛК-У принёс.
Jakov/on posilk-u pr'in'os
Jacob.NOM/3Msg.NOM parcel-ACC bring.PAST.Msg
'Jacob brought a parcel.'

When the speaker does not presuppose the existence of a filler, as in (39), an object under narrow focus is placed post-verbally. Both pre-core and pre-verbal positions in this case were considered infelicitous by my language consultants. When, on the other hand, the question presupposes a filler, the focal object may occur in three different positions: post-verbally (40a), in the pre-core slot (40b), or pre-verbally (40c). Referring to Table 5, we can posit the "canonical" post-verbal position for objects under narrow focus as unmarked, while the "non-canonical" pre-core and pre-verbal positions as marked. As with subjects, the marked pre-core and pre-verbal positions of Russian objects can only be understood as narrow focus.

It should be noted that, in the majority of examples considered above, the marked narrow focus placement was most commonly used in error correction statements perhaps because it implies a greater degree of contrastiveness (41).

- (41) a. (Я не ТЕБЯ), я ПАВЛ-А ищ-у.
 ja n'e t'eb'a ja Pavl-a išč-u
 1sg.NOM NEG 2sg.ACC 1sg.NOM Paul-ACC search-1sg.PRES
 'I am looking for Paul [not for you].'
- b. Я к АНН-Е ид-у, (не к ИНН-Е).
 ja k Ann-e id-u n'e k Inn-e
 1sg.NOM to Anna-DAT go-1sg.PRES NEG to Inna.DAT
 'I am going to Anna, [not Inna].'
- c. Не ЧА-Й он там пь-ёт.
 n'e ča-j on tam p'j-ot
 NEG tea-ACC 3Msg.NOM there drink-3sg.PRES
 'It is not tea that he is drinking there.'
- d. СВЕТ-У люб-ит Пет-я, (не ПОЛИН-У).
 Sv'et-u l'ub'-it P'et'-a n'e Pol'in-u
 Sveta-ACC love-3sg.PRES Peter-NOM NEG Pauline-ACC
 'Peter loves Sveta, [not Pauline].'
- e. НЕМЕЦК-ИЙ принес-и мне словарь,
 n'em'etsk-ij pr'in'es-i mn'e slovar'
 German-ACC bring-IMPR 1sg.DAT dictionary.ACC
 (не ИСПАНСК-ИЙ).
 n'e ispansk-ij
 NEG Spanish-ACC

'Bring me a German dictionary, [not a Spanish one].'

The last example suggests that the pre-core position in the Russian language is strongly correlated with marked narrow focus. The negated narrow-focused element in this case is an adjective that has been moved out of the noun phrase to the beginning of the clause. It should be clarified that adjectives in Russian are used canonically left-adjacent to their head-noun; however, in this example the adjective 'German' is removed from its head-noun 'dictionary' and placed in the pre-core slot. In support of my argument that this is indeed a pre-core position is the fact that (41e) cannot occur with a WH-question word, which in Russian must occupy the PrCS position. This example demonstrates that, despite breaking up the NP structure, Russian allows this alternative order to ensure the correct interpretation of this utterance as containing a narrow-focused constituent (Figure 8).

When kept in its usual immediately pre-nominal position, my consultants interpreted this sentence as a general command to bring a German dictionary, which then is considered an instance of sentence focus (Figure 9). The LSC projections in Figures 8 and 9 demonstrate that through the RRG theory of grammar it is possible to achieve a more specific analysis of word order modifications in Russian and to explain more precisely what motivates them.

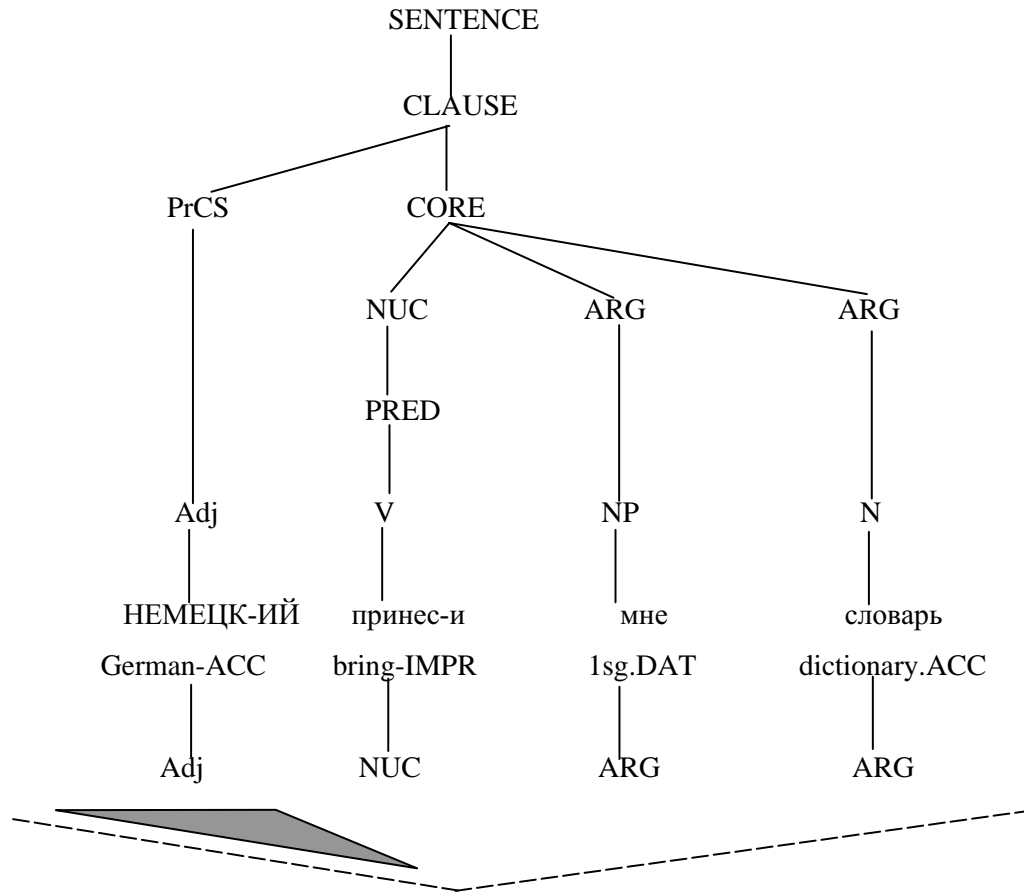


Figure 8. Projection of the LSC with a narrow-focused constituent in the pre-core slot.

The view that the pre-core position in Russian is primarily associated with marked narrow focus is also supported by the fact that, in many examples in Russian literature, narrow-focused elements often occur at the beginning of a sentence. When asked to read these sentences aloud, all of my consultants stressed the first element, thus interpreting this position as under narrow focus (42a-c).

- (42) а. РЕДК-ИЕ в пепельн-ом рассветн-ом неб-е
 r'edk'-ije v p'ep'el'n-om rassv'etn-om n'eb'-e
 rare-NOM in ash-PREP auroral-PREP sky-PREP
 зыби-л-ись звезд-ы.
 zib'i-l-is' zv'ozd-i
 glisten-PAST-pl star-pl.NOM
 'Rare stars were glistening in the morning ash-grey sky.' (N. Sholohov "The Quiet Don" I-1, ch. II)

- b. КРАСН-ЫЕ, ГОЛУБ-ЫЕ, ЖЕЛТ-ЫЕ поднима-ются
 krasn-ije golub-ije žolt-ije podn'ima-jutsa
 red-NOM blue-NOM yellow-NOM rise-3pl.PRES
 к неб-у скалист-ые вершин-ы.
 k n'eb-u skal'ist-ije v'eršin-i
 to sky-DAT rocky-NOM top-pl.NOM
 'Red, blue, and yellow mountain tops rise up to the sky.' (Копт. "Ivan Ivanovich"
 2, 73)
- c. СКУЧН-ЫЙ ты ста-л.
 skučn-ijti sta-l
 boring-NOM 2sg.NOM become-sg.PAST
 'You became boring.' (A. Chekhov "Seagull" IV)

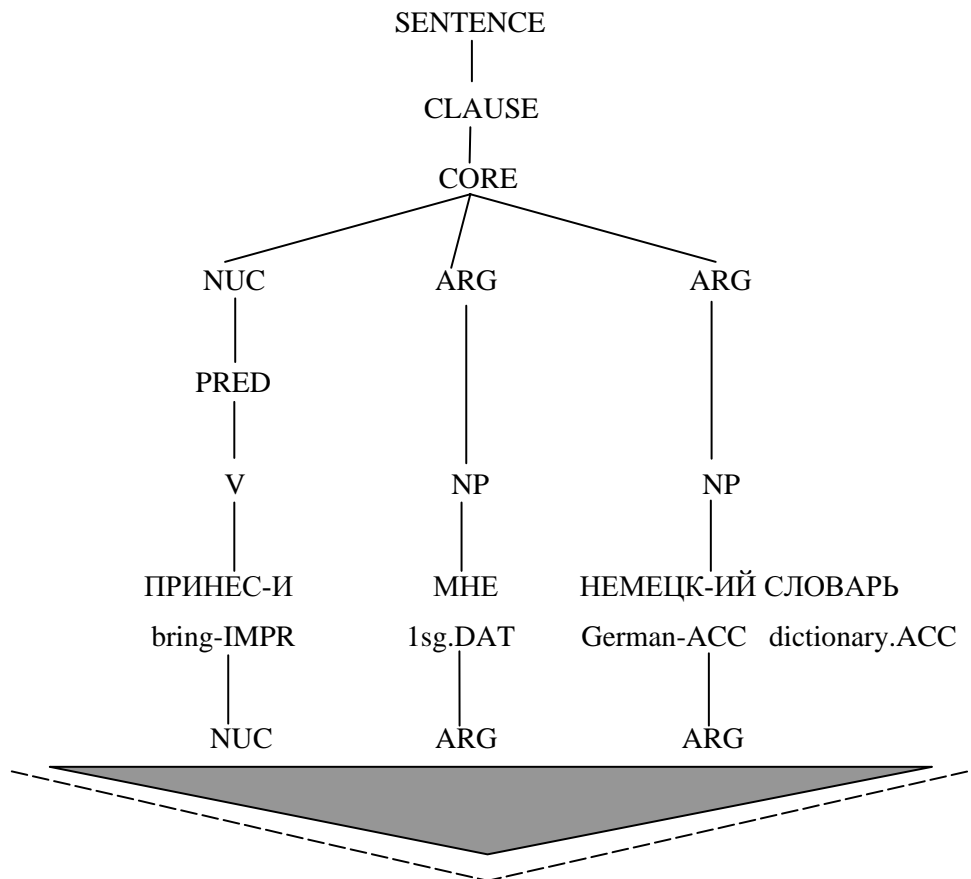


Figure 9. Russian sentence focus constructions.

This particular word order in written discourse does what would be evident by prosody alone in speech and prompts the reader to arrive at the narrow-focused interpretation of the sentence initial elements.⁹

⁹ At this point we shall recall example (14d). It may be posited that the focused predicate is put in the pre-core slot and, thus, can also be considered an instance of marked focus placement. The consultant may have been focusing solely on the fact of breaking, which in Russian is expressed by a single constituent

To conclude, variability of word order in narrow focus constructions was found to be related to presupposition and markedness. When the speaker presupposes a filler, focal subjects may be placed post-verbally and focal objects in the pre-core slot or immediately pre-verbally. Utterances which do not presuppose a filler yield the canonical ordering of sentence constituents: pre-verbal for narrow-focused subjects and post-verbal for narrow-focused objects. These findings point to the three marked positions of narrow focus in Russian: post-verbal for subjects, and pre-core or pre-verbal for objects, which are the opposite placements of these arguments in unmarked sentences. The pre-core position correlates very strongly with marked focus for arguments other than the subject. Table 6 summarizes the basic word orders in Russian declarative sentences.

**Table 6. Basic Word Orders
for Russian Declarative Sentences**

<i>Focus types</i>	<i>Word Orders</i>
<i>Predicate</i>	SV
<i>Sentence</i>	SV, VS
<i>Narrow</i>	
<i>with/without presupposed filler (unmarked):</i>	
<i>a. subject</i>	SV
<i>b. object</i>	S)VO
<i>with presupposed filler (marked):</i>	
<i>a. subject</i>	VS
<i>b. object</i>	OSV, SOV

The question of word order alternations in Russian declarative sentences also raise the question of how presupposed information is encoded in a sentence. In the examples considered above, presupposed information was distributed within the main clause. However, in the process of gathering information for this research, I discovered that presupposed information can also occur at the margin of a clause. Following King (1995:79), I will refer to such a syntactical arrangement of presupposed information as “external topics.”

3.5 External Topics in Russian

External topics in Russian are either a left-dislocated or right-dislocated structure that is set off from the rest of the sentence as a distinct intonation group. RRG theory permits us to incorporate external topics into the universal layered structure of the clause in the left-detached position (LDP) or in the right-detached position (RDP) (Figure 1). The characteristic feature of this type of presupposed information is that clause-external topics are expressed as lexical topic NPs in the

СЛОМАЛСЯ/broke. The suggested analysis for this example is that the focus is on the predicate, but its initial position is marked for narrow focus. It should be further acknowledged that, since the rest of my consultants used the canonical SV word order type, we shall consider the VS ordering of constituents in predicate focus constructions as rather exceptional.

LDP or RDP positions but are, at the same time, also co-referential with the pronominal core-internal topic NPs. This feature distinctly distinguishes external topics from items occurring clause-initially. Depending of the type of presupposed information, external topics are placed in a different position in relation to the main clause. Examples (45a) and (45b) contain presupposed information in the LDP. The first example (45a) was recorded in the process of collecting data for this research, and its LSC is drawn in Figure 10. The second example (45b) is cited below as additional evidence to support my conclusions with regard to the function that such LDP topics perform.

- (45a) Иван, я его НЕ ЗНА-Ю.
 Ivan ja jegо n'e zna-ju
 Ivan.NOM 1sg.NOM 3Msg.GEN NEG know-1sg.PRES
 '(As for) Ivan, I don't know him.'
- (45b) Телевизор-ы, в эт-ом магазине их МНОГО.
 t'el'ev'izor-i v et-om magaz'in'e ih mnogo
 television-pl.NOM in this-sg.PREP shop-sg.PREP 3pl.GEN many
 '(As for) televisions, in this shop (there are) lots of them.' (Comrie 1980:103)

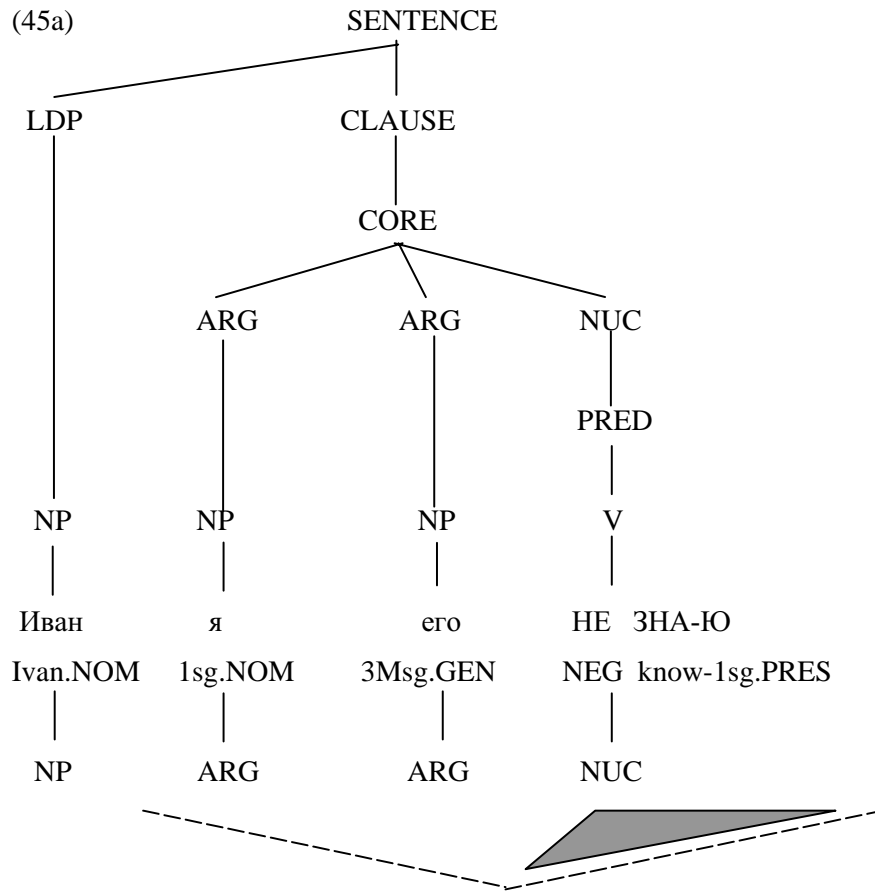


Figure 10. Projection of the LSC with a LDP position.

LDP external topics in Russian are stressed lexical NPs. Even though they are co-referential with the corresponding core-internal topical pronouns **его**/3Msg.GEN in (45a) and **их**/3pl.GEN in (45b), they are not arguments of the verb. This observation is supported by the fact that both left-detached external topics in (45a) and (45b) appear in the nominative case, while their co-referential pronominal core-internal topics occur in the genitive case, as dictated by grammar. As evident in Figure 10, the LDP is outside of the potential focus domain. The utterance in (45a) was used by my consultant in a situation where a new topic was introduced. Comrie’s example (45b) was elicited in a similar situation. Thus, the presupposed information in the left-detached position serves a topic-announcing function for a previously inactive or inaccessible referent. This is an effective topic-marking strategy that allows the speaker to introduce a new topic or make a shift from one topic to another.

Topics in the right-detached sentence position are also expressed as full NPs. Similarly to left-detached topics, they are co-referential to a corresponding core-internal topical pronoun. However, what makes this construction different and exceptional is the fact that by the time the referent of this structure is named in its full lexical form, it has already been mentioned within the clause as an unaccented pronoun. Examples (46a) and (46b), cited from my questionnaire findings and from Comrie respectively, illustrate the use of the right-dislocated external topics in Russian. Figure 11 presents a projection of the LSC of (46a).

(46a) Он ХОРОШ-ИЙ ПАРЕНЬ, твой брат.
 on horoš-ij par'en' tvoj brat
 3Msg.NOM good-Msg.NOM guy.NOM 2Msg.POSS brother.NOM
 ‘He is a good guy, your brother.’

(46b) В эт-ом магазин-е их МНОГО, телевизор-ов.
 v et-om magaz'in'-e ih mnogo t'el'ev'izor-ov
 In this-sg.PREP shop-sg.PREP 3pl.GEN many television-pl.GEN
 ‘In this shop (there are) lots of them, televisions.’ (Comrie 1980:103)

Unlike left-detached external topics, right-detached topics are not stressed. In both (46a) and (46b), the core-internal pronouns **он**/3Msg.NOM and **их**/3pl.GEN precede the external lexical topics **твой брат**/your brother and **телевизоров**/televisions respectively. Similar to the LDP, the RDP is excluded from the potential focus domain in Russian (Figure 11). Lambrecht remarks that the RDP structure has been referred to as “de-focused NP,” “afterthought NP,” “tail” (1994:202-203); he calls it the antitopic construction. Lambrecht emphasizes that “the presuppositional structure of the antitopic construction involves a signal that the not-yet-active topic referent is going to be named at the end of the sentence” (1994:203). This means that the propositional information is put on hold temporarily until the referent is fully named. In RRG terms, the referent in the RDP is accessible although not yet an established topic. According to Lambrecht (1994:204), high pragmatic salience of the referent is a general cross-linguistic condition for the right-detached topic occurrence. My findings are in agreement with Lambrecht’s observation: (46a) was indeed used in a situation where the referent **твой брат**/your brother was already active for my consultant. Thus, propositional information is placed in the RDP in Russian when used in discourse contexts in which the topic referent is highly accessible.

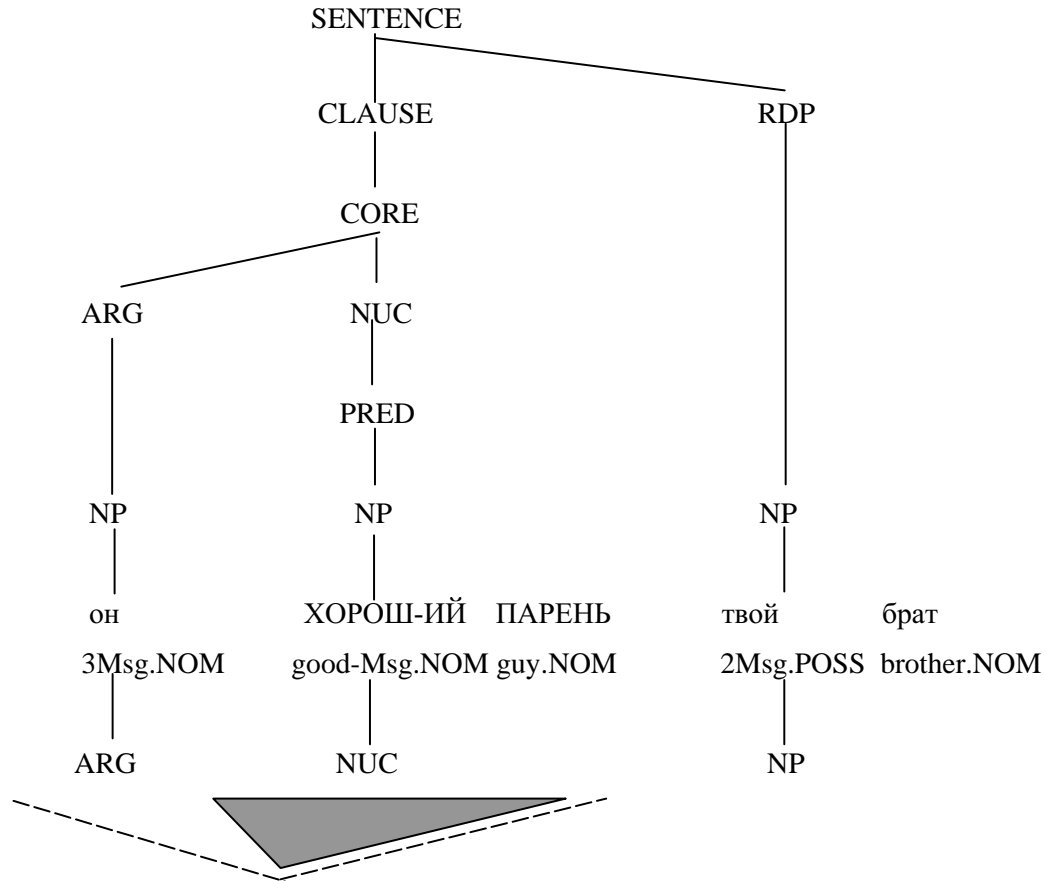


Figure 11. Projection of the LSC with a RDP position.

These just given information-processing implications have certain syntactic consequences for the structure of external topics. First, in order to ensure the accurate referent-tracking interpretation by the listener, the right-detached constituent must immediately follow the clause containing the anaphoric pronoun. Additionally, in Russian the “antitopic” NP must agree in case with the pronominal core-internal topic, as in (46b) where both external and internal topics occur in the genitive case. Such agreement is, however, not required for sentence-initial topics, e.g. (45b).

3.6 Semantic Functions of Russian Word Order

Having discussed the word order in Russian declarative sentences, I would like to point out other issues that affect Russian word order. These issues are related to the expression of such semantic notions as definiteness and approximation.

3.6.1 Definiteness

Lambrecht (2000:17) observes that in addition to the SV/VS focus distinctions Russian word order displays a semantic phenomenon of definiteness, which has also been noted in reference grammars, e.g. Bidwell (1969:119). Since Russian lacks a morphological category of definiteness, which in English and German, for instance, is expressed by means of definite and indefinite articles, it uses syntactic means to achieve a ‘definiteness’ or ‘indefiniteness’ effect. One way of marking an NP as indefinite is subject-verb inversion (43a). In (43b), the speaker had

in mind a definite object. The utterances in (43a) and (43b) were obtained from my consultants; their English and German counterparts were elicited from native speakers of these two languages.

(43a) Q: Что (лежит) на столе?

Čto l'ežit na stol'e

'What is (lying) on the table?'

A: На стол-е (леж-ит) НОЖ.
 Na stol'-e l'ež-it nož
 on table-PREP lie-3sg.PRES knife.NOM.

'There is *a* knife on the table.'

English

'Da liegt *ein* Messer auf dem Tisch.'

German

(43b) Q: Где (лежит) нож?

Gd'e l'ežit nož

'Where is the knife (lying)?'

A: Нож (леж-ит) на СТОЛ-Е.
 Nož l'ež-it na stol'-e
 knife.NOM lie-3sg.PRES on table-PREP

'*The* knife is on the table.'

English

'*Das* Messer ist auf dem Tisch.'

German

The findings of information structure theory are consistent with the achievement of this 'definiteness' or 'indefiniteness' effect. The morphological category of definiteness is an information structure category for expressing "identifiability presuppositions" (Lambrecht 2000:17). The (43b) utterance is a narrow focus construction whose subject is presupposed in the question and is, consequently, identifiable for the addressee. In other words, the sentence expresses a definite referent. (43a) is also a narrow focus construction, but in this case the subject constitutes new information and is therefore an indefinite referent. The non-identifiability, or indefiniteness, of the subject is syntactically marked by the inverted VS word order in (43a). Sentence focus constructions, which convey entirely new information and express unidentifiable, or indefinite, referents, similarly often employ subject-verb inversion. Thus, it can be concluded that the VS word order type in Russian is used in presentational environment as a way of marking the subject NP as indefinite or, to express it more precisely, as a way of marking the referent of the subject NP as unidentifiable for the addressee. These examples have already been discussed in (25'), (28A₄).

I have also observed that, even though both English and German make use of articles to express definiteness or indefiniteness, certain syntactic constructions in these languages are associated with the attainment of the 'definiteness' or 'indefiniteness' effect. These constructions are comparable to the Russian VS inversion. For instance, in English the existential *there*-construction serves to express the pragmatic indefiniteness, or non-identifiability, constraint:

There is *a* knife on the table.

In German, it is the structure *es gibt* that expresses the subject as indefinite:

Es gibt *ein* Messer auf dem Tisch.

3.6.2 Approximation

Another semantic notion that pertains to word order alternations in Russian is approximation. It can be expressed in two ways: lexically, using such words as **приблизительно**/ approximately, **около**/around, or syntactically by means of word order. The syntactic change consists in locating the quantifier of an NP or PP to the right of the head-noun or head-preposition. This word order serves to convey an approximate quantity, number, time. Example (44b), as well as similar replies in relation to time, was elicited through my questionnaire. (44a) and (44c) were included among utterances whose acceptability I asked my language consultants to evaluate.

- (44) a. Зал вмеща-ет восемьсот человек. **exact**
 Zal vm'ešča-jet vos'em'sot čelov'ek **?approximate**
 Hall.NOM hold-3sg.PRES eight.hundred people.ACC
 'The hall has a seating capacity of eight hundred people.'
- Зал вмеща-ет человек восемьсот. **approximate**
 Zal vm'ešča-jet čelov'ek vos'em'sot **?exact**
 Hall.NOM hold-3sg.PRES people.ACC eight.hundred
 'The hall has a seating capacity of approximately eight hundred people.'
- b. Я при-д-у в шесть час-ов. **exact**
 Ja pr'i-d-u v šest' čas-ov **?approximate**
 1sg.NOM PRF-go-1sg.PRES in six hour-GEN
 'I will come at six o'clock.'
- Я при-д-у час-ов в шесть. **approximate**
 Ja pr'i-d-u čas-ov v šest' **?exact**
 1sg.NOM PRF-go-1sg.PRES hour-GEN in six
 'I will come at around six o'clock.'
- c. Я за-плати-л триста рубл-ей. **exact**
 Ja za-plat'i-l tr'ista rubl'-ej **?approximate**
 1sg.NOM PRF-pay-M.PAST three.hundred rouble-pl.ACC
 'I paid three hundred roubles.'
- Я за-плати-л рубл-ей триста. **approximate**
 Ja za-plat'i-l rubl'-ej tr'ista **?exact**
 1sg.NOM PRF-pay-M.PAST rouble-pl.ACC three.hundred
 'I paid around three hundred roubles.'

3.7 Further Issues of the Declarative Section

In this chapter, special syntactic positions have been identified for focus placement in the Russian language (Table 6). Besides focus and non-focus, several other factors have been determined to influence Russian word order, such as presupposition, definiteness, expression of exact or approximate number, and the accessibility of the referent. The accessibility of the referent has also been found to determine whether external topics occur in left detachment or right detachment from the clause. In all examples, stress, or pitch prominence, consistently marks focus. The integral combination of all these factors must be examined before one can fully comprehend what motivates and underlies variable word ordering in Russian and how word order alterations correlate with focus.

Areas for further research in this area include second argument focus in a ditransitive clause, different verb types, discontinuity of constituents in an NP containing a focal element. These issues need to be explored further to improve understanding of Russian word order.

CONCLUSION

The preceding study attempts to explain variability of word order in Russian declarative sentences via the effect of information structure on the LSC. I argued that word order encodes different types of focus: predicate, sentence, and narrow. Predicate focus involves prosodic stress on the verb and frequent omission or pronominalization of the subject. In this, the least-marked, type of focus the canonical and least-marked word order, SVO, prevails. Sentence focus requires stress on the subject, which may occur pre-verbally or post-verbally. The inverted VS word order type is primarily used to present new material in discourse narrative. Variability of word order in narrow focus constructions relates to presupposition and markedness. When the speaker presupposes that there is an answer, or filler, to the *wh*-word, focal subjects occur post-verbally, while focal objects are placed in the pre-core slot or immediately pre-verbally (Section 3.4). Utterances, which do not have such a presupposition, yield canonical ordering of sentence constituents: pre-verbal for subjects and post-verbal for objects (Section 3.4). The pre-core position correlates very strongly with marked narrow focus, where markedness is a syntactic feature involving departure from the canonical word order to emphasize the constituent in narrow focus and to avoid ambiguity of interpretation.

Using the RRG account of these three focus types, I identified the following word order alterations in Russian, correlated with the following information structure function (Table 7):

Table 7. Basic Word Order Types in Russian

<i>Focus types</i>	<i>Word Orders</i>
<i>Predicate</i>	<i>SV</i>
<i>Sentence</i>	<i>SV, VS</i>
<i>Narrow</i>	
<i>with/without presupposed filler (unmarked):</i>	
<i>c. subject</i>	<i>SV</i>
<i>d. object</i>	<i>(S)VO</i>
<i>with presupposed filler (marked):</i>	
<i>c. subject</i>	<i>VS</i>
<i>d. object</i>	<i>OSV, SOV</i>

I conclude, therefore, that the seemingly “free” word order in Russian is, in fact, tightly constrained by focus structure. In other words, alternative word orders do not merely result from ‘stylistic’ changes but are motivated by explicit and specific constraints on focus placement. Thus, word order in Russian is not random, or “free.”

I also showed that several other information-theoretic factors influence Russian word order in addition to focus structure. These include definiteness (Section 3.6.1), expression of exact or approximate number (Section 3.6.2), and the accessibility of the referent (Section 3.5). Thus, sentences with an indefinite referent most commonly yield the VS order, while sentences with a definite referent prefer the SV order. We saw, too, that word order also serves to express an exact

or approximate number. When the quantifier of an NP or PP occurs to the right of the head-noun or head-preposition, the given number is exact. When the quantifier occurs in its usual place before the head-noun or head-preposition, the given number is approximate. Finally, we saw that the accessibility of the referent determines whether external topics occur in the left-detached position or right-detached position in the sentence. When the referent is new information, external topics are in the LDP; when the referent is highly accessible, external topics are placed in the RDP.

This thesis also offers impetus for further research into the question of Russian word order. Many issues remain unresolved. For example, further study is needed of ditransitive clauses, the effects of different verb types by Aktionsart, discontinuity of noun phrase constituents, as well as a closer examination of other types of sentences, such as interrogative, coordinative and subordinate. Ultimately, it would be important to conduct a comparative study in other Slavic languages to discover if there are universal or language-specific constraints on the word order in this family group.

APPENDIX

RUSSIAN QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire was devised to elicit different types of focus in spoken Russian and to obtain samples of written speech. Very specific questions had to be re-phrased in order to accommodate my consultants' varied backgrounds and circumstances.

1. Что на столе?/Čto na stole/What is on the table?
Книга на столе?/Kniga na stole/Is the book on the table?
2. Что сегодня с Вами случилось?/Čto segodn'a s vami slučilos'/What happened to you today?
3. Во сколько Вы придёте?/Vo skol'ko vi pr'd'et'e/When will you come? (consultants were asked to give the exact and approximate time)
4. Что сейчас в газетах пишут?/Čto sejčas v gaz'etah p'išut/What is in newspapers nowadays? (What do they write in newspapers now?)
5. Как Вы вчера спали?/Kak vi včera spal'i/How did you sleep last night?
6. Когда растает снег?/Kogda rastajet sn'eg/When will the snow melt?
7. На улице погода ужасная или прекрасная?/Na ulitse pogoda uzhasnaja ili pr'ekrasnaja/Is the weather outside awful or beautiful?
8. Расскажите мне Ваш любимый анекдот./Rasskazhit'e mn'e vaš l'ubimij anekdot./Tell me your favorite joke.
9. Что Вы будете делать сегодня вечером? А завтра утром?/Čto vi bud'et'e d'elat' s'egodn'a večerom. A zavtra utrom/What will you be doing tonight? What about tomorrow morning?
10. Как дела?/ Как d'ela/ How are things?
11. Кто пел?/Kto p'el/Who sang?
12. Кто-нибудь пел?/Kton'ibud' p'el/ Did anyone sing?
13. Представьте, что сломалась Ваша машина./Pr'edstav't'e čto slomalas' vaša mašina./ Imagine that your car broke down.
 - 1) Что случилось с Вашей машиной?/Čto slučilos' s vašej mašinoj/What happened to your car?
 - 2) Что случилось?/Čto slučilos'/What happened?
 - 3) Я слышала, что Ваш мотоцикл сломался./Ja slišala čto vaš mototsikl slomals'a./I heard your motorcycle broke down.
14. (Upon giving my informant a book) Я Вам сегодня дала книгу./Ja vam s'egodn'a dala kn'igu./I gave you a book today.
 - 1) Что я Вам сегодня дала?/Čto ja vam s'egodn'a dala/What did I give you today?
 - 2) Я сегодня Вам дала цветы, не правда ли?/Ja segodn'a vam dala tsv'eti n'e pravda li/I gave you flowers today, didn't I?
 - 3) Когда я Вам дала книгу?/Kogda ja vam dala kn'igu/When did I give you the book?

- 4) Кому я дала книгу?/Komu ja dala kn'igu/To whom did I give the book?
- 5) Я дала книгу Сергею?/Ja dala kn'igu Serg'eju/Did I give the book to Sergey?
15. Вы и я дома ждём с нетерпением, когда за нами приедет машина. Вы смотрите в окно. Наконец-то, машина приехала. Как Вы мне об этом сообщите?/Vi i ja doma žd'om s n'et'erp'enijem kogda za nam'i pr'ijed'et mašina. Vi smotr'it'e v okno. Nakon'etsto mašina pr'ejehala. Kak vi mn'e ob etom soobščit'e/You and I are at home, waiting impatiently to be picked up. You are watching out for the car by the window. At last, it comes. How would you tell me?
16. Вы и я просто сидим дома. От нечего делать, Вы смотрите в окно и видите, что к дому подъехала какая-то машина. Вы хотите мне об этом сообщить./Vi i ja prosto s'id'im doma. Ot n'ečevo d'elat' vi smotr'it'e v okno i v'id'it'e čto k domu podjehala kakajato mašina. Vi hot'it'e mn'e ob etom soobščit'./You and I are at home. Because there is nothing much to do, you are looking out of the window and see a car stop by our place. You would like to tell me about it.
17. Где находится магазин?/Gd'e nahod'its'a magaz'in/ Where is the shop located?
18. Напишите начало сказки, которую Вы любите рассказывать./Nap'išit'e načalo skazki kotoruju vi l'ub'it'e rasskazivat'./Write down the beginning of a fairy-tale that you like to tell.

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