

Towards a Modified Design of Communicative Organization for the Meaning-Text Theory (Applied to Russian)

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Abstract – Résumé

The purpose of this paper is to apply a modified set of Communicative Organization (CommO) notions, expanded by a notion “expressivity”, to a variety of Russian sentence patterns. For practical reasons, I prefer to show the notations in the linear structure. In comparison to (Mel’čuk, 2001), our CommO is on the one hand wider (with “Conspicuousness”, partially corresponding to the status of Articulatedness, and with non-emotional Emphasis), and on the other hand narrower (without Presupposedness, Locutionality and emotionally defined Emphasis). For the Sentence Perspective as the core of CommO the following notions are proposed: (a) Foreground vs. Background: with domains and subdomains; (b) Topic viewed as an initial, prosodically specific background unit; (c) Old vs. New (similar to Mel’čuk); (d) Focus as additional highlighting: with possible semanticization as the adversative; unique or multiple (similar to Mel’čuk).

Le but de cet article est d’appliquer un ensemble modifié de notions liées à l’Organisation Communicative (CommO), enrichie par une notion “expressivité”, à une variété de schémas de phrases en russe. Pour des raisons d’ordre pratique je préfère indiquer les notations dans la structure linéaire. À la différence de (Mel’čuk 2001), notre CommO est d’une part plus large (avec la notion de “saillance”, correspondant partiellement au concept d’articulation, et la notion d’emphase non émotionnelle) et d’autre part plus restreinte (sans présuppositionalité, locutionnalité et emphase émotionnelle). Les notions suivantes sont proposées pour la perspective de la phrase en tant que noyau de la CommO : (a) premier plan / arrière-plan: avec domaines et sous-domaines; (b) le thème perçu comme unité initiale de l’arrière-plan, spécifique du point de vue prosodique; (c) donné / nouveau (comme Mel’čuk); (d) focus comme soulignement supplémentaire: avec la sémantisation possible comme l’adversatif; unique ou multiple (comme Mel’čuk).

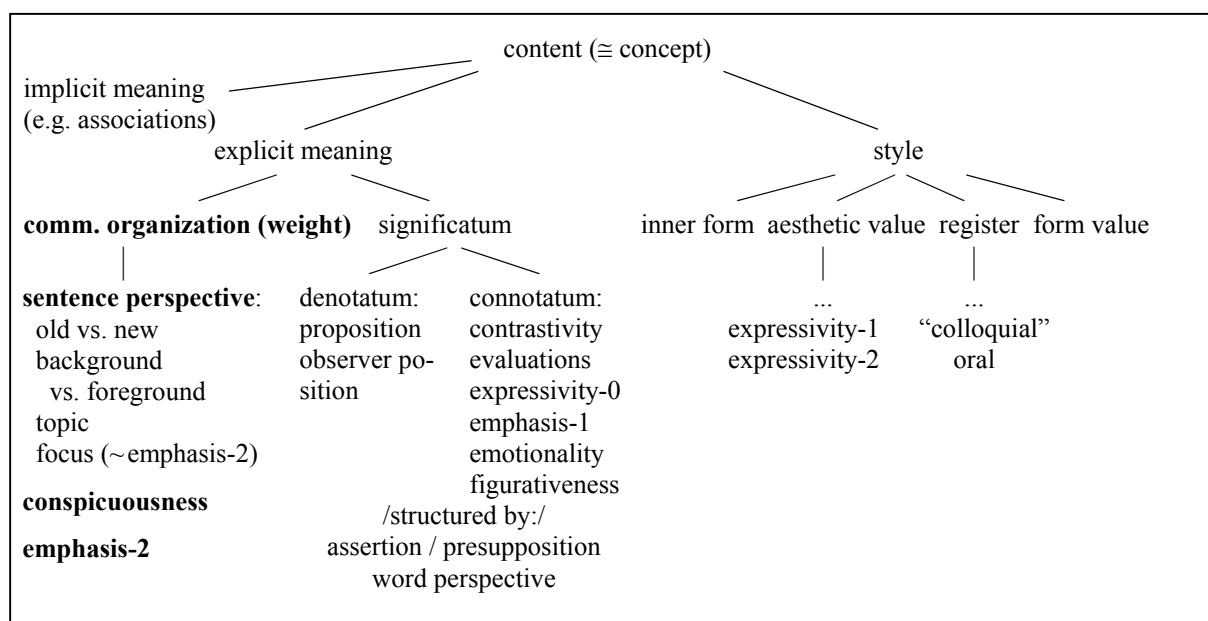
Keywords – Mots Clés

Communicative organization / information structure, expressivity, Russian language.
Organisation communicative / structure informationnelle, expressivité, langue russe.

1 The Underlying Model: “(Content $\Leftrightarrow$) Meaning $\Leftrightarrow$ Text”

From the perspective of speech production, the multi-level linguistic model “Smysl $\Leftrightarrow$ Tekst”, mostly translated as “Meaning $\Leftrightarrow$ Text”, offers two ways of describing the process of constructing a sentence or a piece of text. **First**, the content (= ‘what is to be expressed’ = meaning & style $\cong$ concept) in a speaker’s mind can be considered as fully specified in all details and nuances and will be – considering the essential vagueness of human language – transformed comfortably throughout several level steps directly (i.e. disregarding the nearest alternatives) to the one and only adequate expression. One should bear in mind that such an underlying content can only be imagined – relying on good will of abstracting away from concrete sentences. **Second**, some underlying content will be for various reasons changed to some degree in the very process of constructing, within the exhaustive universal network of possible paraphrases: more habitual, more realistic, and very important for the task of translation.

All types of transmitted content elements are presented in the following scheme (cf. (Wirth, 1996, 2003)):



Compare the following notions, which are outside of Communicative Organization, but relevant for the description of examples below (cf. (Wirth, 2003)):

Expressive(-1)¹ = “emotionally discharging oneself”; = stylistic, (in a broad sense) aesthetic value with the function of “Kundgabe”; esp. by means of position and prosody (rhythm); cf. “vivid”. See examples in section 3.

¹ The widespread (not only in word-formation theory) and rather unprecise term “expressive” – as a mixture of complex meaning and style (“**expressive-0**”) – should be replaced by notions of (specific) emotionality and specific evaluation. The possible term “**expressive-2**” $\cong$ “fresh (vs. worn-out)” is a stylistic, aesthetic value, characterizing above all some lexical expressions; the value “fashionable” would be a subnotation of it.

Emphatic-1 = ‘positively very emotional & urgent’ (i.e. expressible by a paraphrase); = connotate with Bühler’s functions “Kundgabe” (≈“expression”) & appeal (i.e. functioning as a symptom & signal); established term in prosodics: emphatic accent, emphatic lengthening. For the notion Emphatic-2 see section 2.1.

2 A Modification of Communicative Organization (CommO)

2.1 CommO: Sentence Perspective, Conspicuousness, Emphasis-2

Communicative Organization (CommO) as a product and a process – or maybe in other terms Communicative Weight/Weighing² – is considered to be a fundamental part of linguistic meaning, which comes into play from the very beginning of building the significate of a sentence or phrase. CommO is a fundamental system of ordering and attention guiding, often more on account of the speaker’s free choice than of the compelling action logic. In comparison to (Mel’čuk, 2001), besides the modified Sentence Perspective phenomena (see 2.3), the CommO includes a notion “Conspicuousness” and a non-emotional notion “Emphasis”. The phenomena of Presupposedness and Locutionality (cf. symptom *Ouch!* vs. representing *It hurts*) should be treated outside CommO; the locutional status is, so to say, a matter of communicative organization but not of weighing.

Conspicuousness

An expression can be preferred because of its higher degree of conspicuousness (vs. semantic density), trivially caused (a) by its material expansion or (b) by the semantic emptiness or redundancy of its parts. Compare German examples: *ebenfalls* ‘also’ (more syllables/letters than *auch*); *sich dessen bewußt, daß* ‘aware of’ (with an empty cataphor); *sich zurückhaltend verhalten* ‘to behave reservedly’ (with redundancy, compared to *sich zurückhalten*). If other (stylistic, semantic, combinatorial) differences can be neglected, this feature may be decisive for lexical choice. (Note that Mel’čuk’s description by means of “articulatedness” (vs. unitariness) would relate only to periphrastic expressions.)

Emphasis-2

= highlighting; in principle realizable without additional emotion. The types of examples require a further differentiation, not only as to the degree of the feature:

- a) degree lexemes with non-degree bases: e.g. [in this respect he is] *ohne jede {richtige Einstellung}* ‘without any adequate attitude’; *ganz ohne {Einstellung}* ‘at-all – without – attitude’; *ganz ohne jede {Einstellung}* ‘without any attitude at all’;
- b) redundant epithets: e.g. *innere Einstellung* ‘inner attitude’ (lexical function “emph”);
- c) repetition by means of the same or a (quasi)synonymous expression: e.g. *Die Einstellung, (die) Haltung fehlt.* ‘The position, the stand is lacking’; <with urgent insertion> *Die Einstellung – ich wiederhole – die Einstellung ...* ‘The position – I repeat – the position ...’;
- d) by means of a periphrase: e.g. *Ich betone: die Einstellung ...* ‘I stress: the position ...’;
- e) cleft sentences: e.g. *{Die Einstellung} ist es, die {fehlt}*; ‘It is the position that is lacking’; cf. Russian deictic adverb *ëto* ‘there’;

² One argument against the widespread term “information structure” may be the undercurrent intellectualization of language phenomena (see (Wirth, 2002:275)).

- f) prosodically esp. by vocal lengthening: e.g. *o-o-ohne {richtige Einstellung}*;
 g) typographically: underlining, bold print, flickering letters, etc.

2.2 A synopsis: Mel'čuk 2001, the modification and the "Leipzig model"

Consider that Mel'čuk's book focuses on Semantic Structure and that the "Leipzig model" with Russian language orientation is built into a Chomskyan "minimalistic syntax".

<i>Within MTT</i>		<i>"Leipzig model" of Information Structure for Russian (e.g. (G.Zybatow, 1999))</i>
<i>Mel'čuk 2001</i>	<i>Proposed modification</i>	
1. Given vs. New vs. ÷ (obligatory)	Old vs. New (with subnotions); with linguistic consequences	Theme vs. Rheme (like V.Molnar): a psychological phenomenon
2. Theme vs. (obligatory) Rheme : Rhematic Focus; recurrent; Specifiers (Circumstan- tials, Characterizers) • Prolepsis • Cf. in lexical meaning	Background (B) vs. (obligatory) Foreground (F): Focus exponent = main nuclear (sentence) accent; domains and subdomains; Topic (T) as initial, prosodi- cally specific background unit; • External Topic • /see below/ • the same: word perspective	Background vs. (obligatory) Focus [without substructuring]; Focus = 'what is (the most) important'; one focus domain: minimal, intermediate or maximal [with inclusion of "nonimportant" elements]; scenery ----- Topic vs. Comment; Topic = 'what the sentence (proposition) is about'; only topic, if referential, also without "topic prosody"; • External Topic (mostly in nominative) • Contrast(ed) Topic • no deep decomposition
3. Focalized vs. Non-Focalized	Focus = special highlighting (~ Emphasis-2); mostly with minimal domain; also multiple; possible Adversative Focus (if distinct prosody); also: such focused Topic	Special Focus : a) Contrast Focus: defined conceptually (if closed set of alternatives), with vague prosody; only with minimal domain; b) Verum Focus = Contrast Focus with regard to verificative semantics of verb; c) ?Emphatic Focus = emotionally evaluating
4. Emphasized vs. Non-Emphasized (independent of focalizing)	Realized emphatically-1, i.e. with emotional prosody	/see under Special Focus/
5. (Perspective:) Back- vs. Foregrounding	/see above/ ≅ substructured background or foreground	(in the intended sense) irrelevant

Notational conventions:

F	Foreground	\\ etc. (doubled)	sentence accent
B	Background	\\\ (tripled)	supra sentence accent
T	Topic		
[]	Foreground domain	Bold	special loudness
[]	Topic domain	a-a-a	emotional vocal lengthening
\	falling accent	a-b-c	syllable segmentation
/	a) rising (progressive) accent; b) topic accent		
^	focusing (= highlighting) accent	→	Deep Syntactic relation
^	adversative accent	⇒	Surface Syntactic relation
∨	focusing topic accent	xyz	focused
∨	adversative topic accent	xyz	expressive

2.3 The proposed tools of Russian Sentence Perspective

2.3.1 The obligatory structuring by Foreground vs. Background

The proposed notion Foreground (F) is comparable with the term Rheme in (Mel'čuk, 2001) and closely corresponds to the widespread term of (normal = neutral = natural = presentational) Focus (e.g. (G. Zybatow, 1999)). It is considered to be obligatory in any kind of sentence: everyone who speaks sets such a mark. The Foreground cannot be lexically paraphrased: it “just exists”.³ Every sentence, if not equally stressed word by word, contains such a – perceivable for a competent native speaker – “center of gravity”, owing to the sentence accent (the main nuclear accent) as the foreground exponent. This accent, a pitch accent, is by default falling (\\). A coordinated or subordinated complex of sentences or phrases may besides have one superimposed main accent. Further two questions have to be resolved:

a) How wide is the sphere of influence of the F exponent? Taking into account prosodic hints (above all, pause insertion resp. lack of sound assimilation) and positional changes in comparison to the basic order, the F domain may be narrow, intermediate or maximal, i.e. without a background. As a possible example for the latter case see the following (non-thetic!)⁴ sentence, imagined as an answer to the question: “Anything new?” and optionally spoken in one intonational phrase (without an open-rising tone on *Igor'*):

(1) *Predstav' sebe:* [^F *Igor' priedet v \\Kottbus*]. ,imagine – yourself : Igor' – will-come – to – Cottbus'

b) Is there a need of establishing subdomains? Such substructuring (trying to unite recurrent Thematicity and Perspective's Foreground/Background in (Mel'čuk, 2001))⁵ appears in different constellations, which are notationally differentiated by the type of additional indicating. In example (2), the intermediate domain F' has a (narrow) subdomain F:

(2) *Zabudem, budto* [^{F'} *ne govorili* [^F \\vovse]]. ,let-us-forget – as-if – not – spoke – at-all'
⇐ base: [^F vovse ne \\govorili]

Surely, in Semantic Structure there will be one starting “peg” for building predications. Possibly, the pair of notions “theme vs. rheme” could be reserved for this basic logic of sentence construction.

2.3.2 The necessity of a notion Topic

The evidence of a notion Topic within Background (resp. initial Theme) undoubtedly arises in semanticized cases of contrasting or quantification, as in well-known examples (*All apples*

³ Explanations like “what is most important” are inadequate (cf. (Wirth, 2002:277)). A definition like “what is stated” (Mel'čuk, 2001:102) seems to be near to simple “what is said (with regard to)”.

⁴ (Russian) thetic sentences are characterized by maximal foreground and the sentence accent on the subject.

⁵ Such structuring can take place also within a phrase, e.g. within topic: *Knig ètix ja kupil vo množestve*. ,Books[gen.] – these – I – bought – in – quantity' vs. unmarked *Ètix knig ...* (“phrase perspective”).

are not poisoned. [At least one is.]). There may also be grammatical arguments (anaphoric restrictions) for the special status of such a unit.

But the notion Topic has to be established on a more general ground. Not giving up the topic concept of “about” (or “with regard to”), the following provisory definition is proposed: Topic is such background unit (phrase) that will be located in the (very) beginning of a sentence and prosodically “exposed” to the rest of the sentence. The (eventually slightly expressed) basic topic prosody can be described by the sequence LH* (low tone - high tone - target tone) or by Bryzgunova’s intonational contour IK-4. A Topic is free from signification semantics, i.e. is not paraphrasable; phrases like *As for {X}, {it} ...* are specifications (see 2.3.3).

Initial elements without the mentioned specific rising tone are no topics. The differentiation of initial Background in Circumstantials ($\cong$ scenery) and Characterizers (Mel’čuk 2001:96-100) may be, rather, a subject of lexical semantics and discourse analysis.

See also other cases of initial pure Background, as in example (4a), where verb-object positioning excludes the realization of a neutral topic. For special topics see 2.3.4.

- (3) <e.g. the (imagined) question “Who’ll bring the map?”>
 (a) *Prinesët kartu* [^F \laborant]. ,will-bring – map[acc] – lab assistant’ (Krylova/Xavronina, 1977:65)
 (b) ? *Kartu prinesët* [^F \laborant]. <if *kartu* without rising tone>
 (c) [^T *Kartu* /prinesët] [^F \laborant].
 (d) [^T /*Kartu*] prinesët [^F \laborant].

2.3.3 The impact of the notions Old vs. New

The notion Old=Given (vs. New), which allows a differentiation (“mentioned, repeated, inferable” and the like) often accompanies Background. But compare the example in (Mel’čuk, 1974:65), where only the last two elements are Old (anaphoric; inferable).⁶

- (4) <Na gorizonte sverkali snežnye veršiny gornogo xrebt. ,On the horizon sparkled the snowy peaks of a mountain-ridge.>
 [^F *Nebol’šoj* \gorodok raskinulsja u samogo *ego* \podnožija.] small – town-little – had-stretched – by – direct – its – foot’<with additional nuclear accent>⁷
 cf. conventional order: *U samogo ego* \podnožija raskinulsja *nebol’šoj* \gorodok.

Such notions have an impact on certain constructions, which are related to CommO:
 So-called topic phrases like *as for* or *čto kasaetsja X-a, (to) {on}* ,what concerns X, {it}’ bear the specific load of Givenness and cannot denote a New Topic.

Givenness seems also a prerequisite for the S-V position variant of athetic sentence. If the subject is not referentially introduced (Old), the result seems doubtful. The following headline is possible, if the nickname is already known and is not a newly created one: [^F „*Angel* \bed-nyx” umer.] ,Angel – of-Poors – died’; cf. also example (11).

⁶ Compare on the other hand a possible situation where the topic expresses really new information, whereas the stated things are very familiar ones (cf. (Bogusławski, 1977:159), (Wirth, 2002:278))

⁷ The pronunciation of a Topic is not excluded: [^T *Nebol’šoj* /gorodok] [^F raskinulsja u samogo *ego* \podnožija.]

2.3.4 Focus as an additional device of highlighting

Similar to ordinary language meaning, the term Focus as “always something special” is used as an additional device that highlights, “spotlights”, mostly in a narrow domain, elements of a sentence by special means of prosody. This focusing accent may constitute the sentence accent and is positionally free. The prosody is above all characterized by a combination of a strong rise and a beginning striking fall of the pitch contour on the syllable: H(igh)*+L(ow) (cf. Grit Mehlhorn).

Focus in this sense has to be distinguished from additional emphatization $\cong$ emotionalization and (within vague semantics) also emotional evaluation by prosodic means, especially: (a) special loudness [bold], (b) special lengthening [a-a-a], (c) secondary word accent or (d) syllable segmentation [a-b-c] (cf. Kodzasov). See the following examples:

- (5) *Oni obrečeny na v\ymir\anie* ,they are doomed to extinction’
 (6) *My o-o-očen’ \sporili* ,we – very – argued’
 (7) *Prixodi ne-m\ed-len-no* ,Come immediately’

Focus, as above described, is mostly referred to with the established term of Contrast Focus. If this term was used in a wide (i.e. not explicitly or implicitly correcting) sense, the matter could be one of terminological taste. The notion proposed here (near to Mel’čuk’s Focalization) is just Focus. The only relevant issue here is the definition of its meaning, treatable within CommO. This could be a minimal significatum with the function of appealing to hearer’s attention, paraphrasable as ‘pay special attention to’.

A more semanticized focus, transpassing the core area of CommO (cf. (Mel’čuk, 2001:80)), seems not impossible (Wirth, 2001:147-8). If there exists a sufficiently distinct specific prosody – comparable in its distinctness to the Russian non-wh question prosody –, it could explicitly express an adversative contrast: ‘not (the mentioned or imagined) X, but’ and constitute an Adversative Focus (to avoid terminological mess we use this term instead of: (Adversative) Contrast Focus!). Note that contrast of any kind can be expressed implicitly – by the Focus accent and sometimes even by normal Foreground accent.

Focusing can also be added to Topic. The following example with “bridge accent” constellation (cf. (Mehlhorn, 2002)) seems to allow prosodic variants of different degree of explicit correction: with $\vee$ Focused Topic, $\vee$ Adversative Topic, $\wedge$ Focus (Focused Foreground).

- (8) <reaction to a text with reversed first names: ... prezident Boris Putin soobščil o namerenii provodit’ ... politiku reform, načatuju ego predšestvennikom Vladimirom El’cinym. ,president Boris Putin informed about the intention to carry out the reform politics, begun by his predecessor Vladimir Yeltsin.’>
- | | | | | | | |
|-----|--|------------------------------------|----------|-------|----------|----|
| (a) | $\vee$ Putina zovut $\wedge$ Vladimir, | a $\vee$ El’cina – $\wedge$ Boris. | T1advers | F1foc | T2advers | F2 |
| (b) | $\vee$ Putina zovut // Vladimir, | a $\vee$ El’cina – $\wedge$ Boris. | T1advers | F1 | T2advers | F2 |
| (c) | $\vee$ Putina zovut $\wedge$ Vladimir, | a $\vee$ El’cina – $\wedge$ Boris. | T1foc | F1foc | T2advers | F2 |
| (d) | $\vee$ Putina zovut $\wedge$ Vladimir, | a $\vee$ El’cina – $\wedge$ Boris. | T1foc | F1foc | T2foc | F2 |
| (e) | $\vee$ Putina zovut // Vladimir, | a $\vee$ El’cina – $\wedge$ Boris. | T1foc | F1 | T2foc | F2 |
| (f) | / Putina zovut $\wedge$ Vladimir, | a / El’cina – $\wedge$ Boris. | T1 | F1foc | T2 | F2 |

For double focusing outside the realm of topic see the following example:

- (9) *Gorbačëv ožidal $\wedge$ otvetnogo šaga ot $\wedge$ Zapada* ,G. – waited – analogue – step – from – West’

3 Application to Russian Simple Sentences

The concluding section presents an application of the discussed notions to a broad variety of Russian simple (narrative) sentences. Owing to its morphology, Russian word order is grammatically free.⁸ Besides standard examples with rightperipheral and prosodically neutral (falling or, in the progressive function, rising) sentence accents see the following types:

3.1 With non-rightperipheral, neutral (falling) sentence accent

A: NON-EXPRESSIVE, partly trivial cases of non-rightperipheral, neutral sentence accent, due to Givenness (so to say “logically”):

(10) *Éto* [^F *očen' \složnyj*] *vopros.* ‘This is a very difficult question.’

B: [^F \ ...] Variant of athetic sentence with initial subject → slightly EXPRESSIVE

(11) <Anything new?> [^F \ *Igor' zvonil.*] ‘Igor’ – called.’ ⇐ derived from standard thetic [^F *Zvonil \Igor'.*]

C: Phrase internal inversion with retained accent → medium EXPRESSIVE:

C1: [^F ... \ ...] Within maximal foreground (rather seldom)

(12) <reason for gathering crowd:> [^F *Mašina \proxožego sbila.*] ‘car – pedestrian [acc] – ran-over.’
⇐ [^F *Mašina sbila \proxožego.*] (Janko, 1999:39)

C2: ... [^F \ ...] In intermediate foreground

(13) *Pet'ka* [^F *vozle \mašiny stoit.*] ‘Petja – beside – car – stands’ ⇐ *Pet'ka* [^F *stoit vozle \mašiny.*]⁹

D: In minimal foregrounds with de-accented background (with or without rearrangement):

D1: [^F \] In initial minimal foreground
→ strongly EXPRESSIVE (esp. with accented verb); in answers: slightly EXPRESSIVE

(14) [^F \ *Prostilis'*] *my s Ravilem.* ‘Said-goodbye – we(=I) – with – Ravil’ ⇐ *My s Ravilem* [^F \ *prostilis'*].

⁸ There are rare exceptions like the constellation *Den' smenjaet \noč'* ‘day[nom=acc] – follows – night[nom=acc]’, which isolatedly can be interpreted only as S(ubject)-V(erb)-O(bject).

⁹ Some of the examples are taken from Ljudmila Ulickaja’s novel “Medeja i eë deti” (Moskva 1996). Situation: In the Crimea. Medea tells in a letter that she did not let into her house two policemen (one acquainted with her), turning up at night in search of her Tatar guest. The policemen stayed waiting in their car on the street. New paragraph:

[1] *Dostala ja eščë odnu butylku vina, i spat' my uže ne ložilis', besedovali.* [2] *Potom pili kofe, a kogda rassvelo, on umylsja, ja emu ispekla lepěšku, konservy dala moskovskie, s leta eščë ostavšiesja, no ne vzjal: vsě ravno, govorit, otberut.* [3] *Provodila ego do kalitki, do samogo verxa.* [4] *Dožd' končilsja, tak xorošo.* [5] *Pet'ka vozle mašiny stoit, i vtoroj s nim rjadom.* [6] *Prostilis' my s Ravilem, a u nix uže i dverka raspaxnuta.* [7] *Vot, Elenočka, kakaja istorija priključilas'.* [8] *Da, šapku on svoju zabył.* [9] *Nu, ja dumaju, i xorošo.* [10] *Možet, povernětsja eščë vspjat', vernutsja tatary i otdam ja emu šapku-to?* [11] *Pravo, èto bylo by po spravedlivosti.* [12] *Nu, kak Bog rassudit.* [13] *A pišu ja tebe tak spešno vot po kakoj pričine: xotja ja nikogda v žizni ni v kakie političeskie istorii ne popadala, Samonja byl po ètoj časti specialist, no, predstav' sebe, vdrug v konce žizni, vo vremena poslablenij, k staruxe priderutsja?* [14] *Čtob ty znala, gde menja iskat'.*

D2: $\boxed{\dots [^F \backslash \dots]}$ In middle minimal foreground

→ medium EXPRESSIVE; with following (esp. pronominal) object: slightly EXPRESSIVE

(15) *A vdrug* [^F//*priderutsja*] *k staruxe?* ,And – sudden – will-find-fault-with – [prep] – old-woman(=me)?‘

3.2 With highlighting sentence accent

In almost all examples above the neutral prosody could be turned into a special one (and maybe further emphasized). Other examples compel focusing: e.g. <about future> *Lučše* [^F//*vrjad li*] *budet.* ,Better – hardly – will-be. In order to transmit an adversative meaning like in (16), this special, but rather vague prosody is used more frequently than the possible specific adversative prosody (^F^). Compare the positional variants:

(16) <Situation: “^Maša uexala v Jaltu?” ,Drove-away – Maša – to Jalta?’> ,^Saša went to Jalta.‘

(a) *V Jaltu uexala* [^F//*Saša*]. → neutral; background retardable (even with possible topic)

(b) [^F//*Saša*] *uexala v Jaltu.* → medium-expressive; accelerating information

(c) [^F//*Saša*] *v Jaltu uexala.* the same [but rather with regard to “^Maša v Jaltu uexala ?”]

(d) *V Jaltu* [^F//*Saša*] *uexala.* → strongly expressive, colloquial

Compare the following variants of reading. Notice for MTT processing that the outputs *xorošo \tak* or *xorošo ^tak* must be rejected by specific phrase accenting rules.¹⁰

(17) *Dožd’ končilsja*, [^F//*tak xorošo*]. vs. *Dožd’ končilsja*, [^F*tak \xorošo*]. ,rain – stopped , so – fine‘

→ ∅(bylo) → $\boxed{xorošo \rightarrow tak}$ ^F → ∅(bylo) → $\boxed{xorošo \rightarrow tak}$ ^F

3.3 With multiple nuclear accents

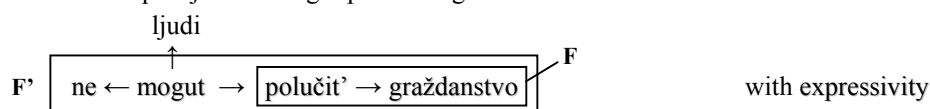
Neutral accents can be put additionally left or right as prominent phrase or nuclear accents, not caused by some physiological need of articulating. See among others the following types:

(18) <Putin on a press conference with G.W.Bush in Slovenia, about Russians in Latvia>

Do six por [^F*ne \mogut ljudi* [^F//*graždanstvo polučit’*]]. <medium expressive> ¹¹

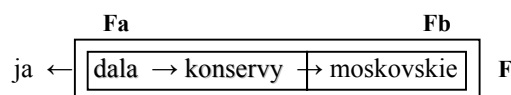
,up to now – not – can – people – citizenship – get‘

⇐ *Do six por ljudi ne mogut polučit’ \graždanstvo.*



(19) *Ja* [^F[^{Fa}//*konservy dala*] [^{Fb}//*moskovskie*]]. ,I – tinned-food[pl] – gave – Moscovite‘ <medium express.>

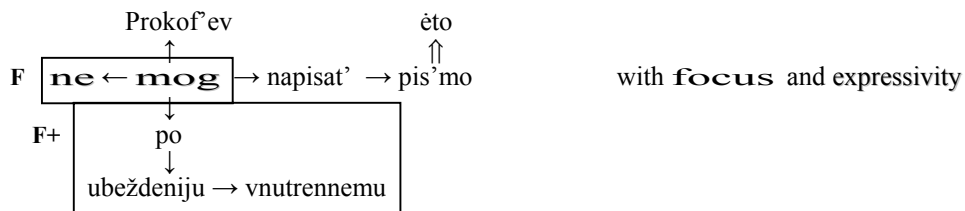
⇐ *Ja dala moskovskie \konservy.* (Cf. also: *Ja dala \konservy \moskovskie.*)



¹⁰ Probably, such alternatives like *v mesjace \mae* and *v mae \mesjace* are only a rare case.

¹¹ On the level of (Deep) Syntactic Structure, *ljudi* must not be drawn into the F-domain. On the other hand Morphological Structure does not contain CommO markings any more.

- (20) [^F Ne /\mog] Prokof'ev napisat' èto pis'mo [^{F+} po vnutrennemu ubeždeniju]. <expressive>
 ,not - could - Prokof'ev - write - this - letter - by - inner - conviction'
 ⇐ Prokof'ev ne /\mog napisat' èto pis'mo po vnutrennemu ubeždeniju.



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