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Russian word order: the pragmatics of unconventional verb-initial types

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Abstract

In Russian, the statistically dominant order of the subject and the verb in the clause is SVO. However, in a number of linguistic environments, the verb precedes the subject, either following a language convention or establishing an unconventional pattern. This research project provides an account of unconventional verb-initial patterns (VIPs) – namely, VSO, VOS and VS – considering both the syntactic and the pragmatic factors that influence their occurrence in written discourse. Building on previous research of early Russian texts, this study extends the scope of investigation and analyses texts from six different genres and/or time periods: 15th-century travel diary, 18th-19th-century travel diaries, 19th-century classic folk tales, 20th-century narratives, 21st-century modern tales, and 21st-century blog entries. It is argued that unconventional VIPs are best understood within a single analytical framework which addresses pattern variation, information structure and communicative effects of VSO, VOS and VS word order combinations.

Previous research accounted, to some extent, for the use of verb-initial word order variations in oral and written discourse, as grammatical, syntactic and, above all, stylistic means of information packaging. Specifically, the theory of functional sentence perspective has provided valuable insight into the information structure of Russian sentence elements, with individual studies outlining the pragmatic effects of using particular VIPs. However, there has been limited empirical investigation of unconventional VIPs across a range of genres and time periods, and little to no attention given to the significance of pattern variation within and across VIPs.

Overall, the results of this study show that the use of unconventional VIPs has not only declined over the modern Russian period, but that there is substantial variation across genres, both in terms of the VSO, VOS and VS groups of patterns and in terms of their correlation with information structure and communicative effects. Furthermore, the study reveals that across the six corpora: VOS patterns are infrequent, compared to VSO and VS combinations; VS modified by adjuncts is the most frequently occurring VIP; and VSO without adjuncts (i.e. pure VSO) with Split Rheme information structure is the strongest correlation of word order and information structure. Furthermore, VSO combinations also strongly correlate with discourse management effects in all corpora and with syntactic communicative effects in the 18th-19th-century travel diaries, while VS patterns produce both syntactic and stylistic communicative effects in the 15th-century travel diary. Moreover, the second most prominent group of

communicative effects is discourse management devices, particularly, in the 20th-century narratives and the 21st-century modern tales, which are produced by unconventional VIPs with Split Rheme information structure. Rhematised Verb information structure producing stylistic communicative effects was found to be a feature of the 19th-century classic folk tales, whereas Clause Focus producing stylistic effects were found to be a feature of 21st-century blog entries. Finally, this study shows that the 15th-century travel diary stands apart from the five modern Russian corpora in terms of pattern variation, information packaging and pragmatic use, signalling that more research of this early Russian period is warranted.

Declaration

This is to certify that

(i) the thesis comprises only my original work towards the PhD,

(ii) due acknowledgement has been made in the text to all other material used,

(iii) the thesis is less than 100,000 words in length, exclusive of tables, figures and bibliographies.

Acknowledgements

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1. Introduction

Word order has long remained one of the problematic areas of Russian syntax. Based on Greenberg's (1975) traditional syntactic division of a sentence into subject (S), verb (V) and object (O), six types of ordering of words in a sentence are possible in Russian[1]:

(1.1)	SVO	*Я*	*хочу*	*шляпу.*
		I	want	a hat.
	SOV	*Я*	*шляпу*	*хочу*.
		I	a hat	want
	VOS	*Хочу*	*шляпу*	*я*.
		want	a hat	a hat
	VSO	Хочу	*я*	*шляпу*.
		want	I	a hat
	OVS	*Шляпу*	*хочу*	*я*.
		a hat	want	I
	OSV	*Шляпу*	*я*	*хочу*.
		a hat	I	want

As shown in (1.1), the Russian language allows for more flexibility in word order than languages with fixed or preferred element structure. However, Russian is typically no longer referred to as having 'free' word order but is instead characterised as having a basic word order of SVO (Kallestinova[2], 2007; King, 1995; Kovtunova, 1969, 1976, among others).

Historically, word order variation in Russian was either neglected or little explored, as it was considered to be a literary device, accounted for by 'freedom of human thought' (Lomonosov, 1755, para. 84). It began to attract attention in the early 20th century, mainly as a result of the contribution of the Prague Linguistic Circle, with more intense research being completed over the last fifty years. Most importantly, the seemingly 'free' word order of Russian is considered to be constrained by Information Structure (IS) packaging (Dʹjakonova, 2009), as well as other linguistic and non-linguistic factors, with native speakers making good use of word order, to render the grammatical as well as the pragmatic meaning of a clause, showing their strong preference for producing some word orders over others. That is, the six types of ordering subject, verb and object in a clause are not equal in status in Russian.

[1] For simplicity of presentation, free translations are only provided where needed for clarity.
[2] In this thesis, Russian names and titles are transliterated according to the standard system used in Slavic linguistics (see *https://www.loc.gov/catdir/cpso/romanization/russian.pdf*).

SVO word order is clearly dominant, averaging about 80% (Bivon, 1971, p. 42) of declarative sentences of both written and spoken discourse and can be found in the texts of newspapers, fiction and Internet blogs alike. The second most common word order, OVS, embraces cases where the focal Subject is moved to the final position, and the object is placed clause-initially. As for SOV word order, there is no unanimous opinion about its commonality: it is considered frequent by some (Kallestinova, 2007, p. 51) and infrequent by others (Bivon, 1971, p. 42). Initial investigation in this study has shown that SOV is more characteristic of conversational discourse and less common in newspapers or fiction, whereas the opposite is true for OVS, which highlights the importance of considering the role of text type in researching Russian word order.

In contrast, VOS word order is extremely uncommon and occurs in perhaps only about 1% (Bivon, 1971, p. 42) of Russian clauses in 20th-century newspapers and fiction. Both OVS and VOS can be characterised as subject-focal structures; regarding the position of Verb and Object, they are interchangeable in context-free environments, which makes an uncommon VOS word order easily convertible into a quite common OVS pattern. Therefore, the actual motivations involved in this context-driven type of ordering of the main constituents in a clause require closer examination.

The remaining word order variations, VSO and OSV, are also rare. According to Bivon (1971, p. 42), VSO is as uncommon as VOS and accounts for only about 2% of all Russian clauses. Interestingly, apart from fairy tales, the 'pure' variant of VSO does not appear to be found elsewhere, or, if found, is viewed as a stylistic device (Restan, 1981). Finally, OSV word order appears relatively infrequently in modern Russian (Kallestinova, 2007, p. 51) and is, supposedly, an inverted variant of an SOV pattern.

Thus, language users regularly produce certain word orders (SVO, SOV and OVS), but rarely employ others (VOS, VSO and OSV) (Kallestinova, 2007), which raises the question of the function and pragmatics of the latter group: VOS, VSO and OSV. As OSV is purportedly an inverted variant of SOV, this study is confined to the rarely employed verb initial VSO and VOS, with an extension to include VS combinations[3]. Furthermore, within these three types of VIPs (VOS, VSO and VS), a distinction can be made between conventional VIPs, whose use is firmly fixed by convention and thus unmarked, and unconventional VIPS, which have not

[3] In addition to one-place clauses, the category of VS is also taken to include transitive clauses with an unexpressed O. However, such clauses were minimal in the data set analysed in this thesis.

been adequately accounted for in traditional analyses of Russian syntax. It is these unconventional VIPs which are the focus the current research project.

Moreover, current understanding of the correlation between contextual environment (e.g., stylistic genres and printed and aural/visual media resources, among other factors) and the dominance of particular word order types remains very broad. This thesis contributes to filling this gap by considering the unconventional uses of the three types of VIPs in five genres: travel diaries, classic folk tales, narratives, author's tales and blog entries. Not only is there a lack of clarity from a synchronic perspective, but there is also a lack of clarity on a diachronic level. Thus, much remains to be done in establishing the relationship between the stability and variation of particular unconventional word order patterns, on the one hand, and exploring the relationship between synchronic variability and change in word order patterns, on the other. This thesis also contributes to filling this gap by considering the use of unconventional VIPs in the texts of the 15th, 18th, 19th, 20th and 21st centuries.

Placed in the framework of contemporary research on diachronic syntax, the work in this thesis proceeds from the view expressed by Poppe (as cited in Sornicola et al., 2000) that "before sketching trends of change – syntactic phenomena should be studied synchronically and with reference to the complexities of their textual distribution." (p. xxii) In other words, the approach taken in this study is to integrate the investigation of cycles of movements of unconventional VOS, VSO and VS word order patterns with studies of the syntactic distribution and pragmatic effects of individual structures in synchronic discourse.

With regard to the notion of 'stability', different models coexist in post-second-world-war diachronic linguistics, from traditional linguistic interpretations to a meta-mathematical conception which is revealed in Lightfoot's view that "languages are consistently changing gradually and in piecemeal fashion, but meanwhile grammars remain in equilibrium, unchanged in their structural properties". (Sornicola et al., 2000, p. xiv)

Conceptions of both change, or variation which is claimed by some linguists to be change in progress, and the forces driving those changes are as diverse as those of stability. However, external factors that contribute to syntactic change appear to be most relevant for the purposes of this investigation inasmuch as "structure [WO pattern] is considered as the product of the impact of a given socio-cultural context on discourse and indirectly on language" (Sornicola et al., 2000, p. xvi). Here, in contrast to Coseriu's (as cited in Sornicola et al., 2000) statement that "linguistic change does not exist" (p. xix), I believe that language is a 'living body' reflecting economic, political and socio-cultural processes of a society and as such, is influenced by those factors. This view is supported, in particular, by Bakhtin (2010):

> After all, language enters life through concrete utterances (which manifest language) and life enters language through concrete utterances as well. (p. 63)
>
> In each epoch, in all areas of life and activity, there are particular traditions that are expressed and retained in verbal vestments: in written works, in utterances, in sayings, and so forth. There are always some verbally expressed leading ideas of the "masters of thought" of a given epoch, some basic tasks, slogans, and so forth. (pp. 88-89)

Therefore, the historical aspect of the analysis is a significant part of this research project.

1.1 Research Objectives

In order to investigate the synchronic and diachronic nature of unconventional VIP usage, this research project proposes to:

- examine unconventional VOS, VSO and VS word order pattern usage in terms of:
  - patterns and frequency of occurrence,
  - information structure, including the nature of the object and subject where appropriate,
  - communicative effects, and
  - genre and time frame,
- using a purpose-constructed corpus with sets of texts from six different genres and time frames:
  - 15th-century travel diary,
  - 18th-19th-century travel diaries,
  - 19th-century classic folk tales,
  - 20th-century narratives,
  - 21st-century modern tales, and
  - 21st-century blog entries.

Thus, the approach taken in this thesis is to investigate unconventional VIPs in a range of genres and time periods. Moreover, the analysis of word order patterns is restricted to written discourse and in order to identify their communicative effects, the VIPs are contrasted to other, unmarked, pattern variations. However, it is beyond the scope of this thesis to systematically contrast the VIPs with other word order patterns in a more general way. On the whole, the analysis takes an eclectic theoretical approach which reflects the way such terms as "theme" and "rheme", and "topic" and "focus", among others, have been used in previous research on Russian word order. Although these notions are far from clear cut, the role of this thesis is not to provide a theoretical exegesis, but to assess unconventional VIP usage in a substantial compilation of diachronic and synchronic data. Finally, the study takes both a quantitative and a qualitative approach to analysing the data; however, it is primarily a qualitative study in that it focuses on the pragmatic factors, or motivations, underlying the use of particular word order patterns in written discourse.

Overall, such a study will lead to a more nuanced understanding of both the use of unconventional VIP patterns in Russian and their relative stability with respect to the dominant SVO, OVS and SOV word order patterns.

1.2 Outline of the thesis

The remainder of the thesis is divided into ten chapters. Chapter 2 provides insight into the development of Russian word order studies and appraises the works that are of consequence for the current research project. Chapter 3 lays out the corpus that was compiled for this study and the methodology that was used to analyse the synchronic and diachronic nature of unconventional VOS, VSO and VS word order pattern usage. The results of this analysis are provided in Chapters 4 – 9, with each chapter focusing on one of the six different genres and time frames. In each chapter, the three unconventional VIP patterns are examined in terms of pattern variation and distribution, information structure and communicative effect. Chapter 10 draws together the analyses of the six sets of texts in order to provide a more holistic assessment of the synchronic and diachronic nature of unconventional VIP usage, and to situate this assessment within previous research on Russian word order. In conclusion, Chapter 11 presents a detailed summing-up of the results and outcomes of the research project, along with an assessment of their significance, and recommendations for future extension of the research.

2. Literature review

Chapter 2 presents an analysis of existing approaches to word order. It begins with a brief discussion of key conceptual fields in the study of word order, with a focus on some contentious issues in modern linguistics (Section 2.1.). In particular, the contribution of the Prague Linguistic Circle into the study of word order, reviews of some of the key terms and the development of the concept of 'information structure' are analysed in this section. Section 2.2. explores research achievements in the area of Russian word order, including research on early Russian in Section 2.2.1, as well as contemporary Russian in Section 2.2.2. Verb-initial word order variations are of prime interest for the current project, and the most notable achievements in this area are discussed in Section 2.2.3.

2.1. Theoretical foundation of a word order study

In the 20th century, researchers of different languages turned their attention to the research of word order variation (e.g., Chafe, 1976; Greenberg, 1963; Halliday, 1967; Jacennik & Dryer, 1992; Lambrecht, 1996; Mathesius, 1939; Payne, 1992). It was acknowledged that some languages are characterised by fixed element ordering, while others shuffle clause elements freely, thus resulting in a free word order. The researchers of both, but especially of the latter, have investigated the contexts and reasons for certain word order variations. The following sections present general achievements in the study of information structure and functional sentence perspective that are of specific relevance to the analysis of unconventional VIPs in Russian.

2.1.1. Information Structure and word order flexibility

The term 'information structure' (IS) was first introduced by Halliday (1967) and was later adopted and developed as a theoretical field by Lambrecht (1996). It conveys the idea that "certain formal properties of sentences cannot be fully understood without looking at the linguistic and extralinguistic contexts in which the sentences having these properties are embedded" (Lambrecht, 1996, p. 2). IS is closely connected with discourse, oral and written, which deals with "the use of sentences in communicative settings" (p. 2) and, therefore, involves the area of pragmatics, and in particular discourse pragmatics in that it describes structural implications of discourse-pragmatic analysis:

> INFORMATION STRUCTURE: That component of sentence grammar in which propositions as conceptual representations of states of affairs are paired with lexicogrammatical structures in accordance with the mental states of interlocutors who

use and interpret these structures as units of information in given discourse contexts. (Lambrecht, 1996, p. 5)

Furthermore, Lambrecht argues that the IS of a sentence is a formal manifestation of sentence meaning in a discourse, characterised by three major categories: presupposition and assertion; identifiability and activation; and topic and focus.

Additionally, the idea central to IS implies that semantically equivalent propositions can be formally and pragmatically divergent. In other words, IS involves comparison of sentence pairs, such as active vs. passive, subject-accented vs. predicate-accented, etc. Most importantly, "differences in the IS of sentences are always understood […] against the background of available but unused grammatical alternatives for expressing a given proposition." (p. 6)

Finally, according to Lambrecht, the communicative requirements of discourse do not determine the form and the content of utterances, therefore, IS cannot fully explain the structure of sentences; that is, "speakers do not create new structures to express new meanings. They make creative use of existing structures in accordance with their communicative intentions" (p. 26). At the same time, Lambrecht argues that it would be incorrect to assume that IS plays no role in the formal organisation of an utterance – rather, it has the role of "interpretative mechanism which checks fully formed syntactic structures for their appropriateness in given utterance contexts" (p. 27).

Lambrecht (1996) became a theoretical foundation for later studies of IS and word order variation. One such studies, Lambrecht and Polinsky (1997), examines typological variation in sentence-focus constructions. The researchers proceed from Lambrecht's (1996) view that discourse information structure is comprised of 'presupposed' and 'focal' portions. Among different types of 'presupposed' information, 'topicality presupposition' involves a topic of shared interest in the discourse. The presence or absence of such a presupposition enables differentiation between predicate-focus (PF) and sentence-focus (SF) structures. "In the SF category, both the predicate and the subject are in focus, i.e. the focus extends over the entire proposition" (p. 1). The SF structure lacks a division of sentence elements into focal and non-focal. The following definition of sentence-focus constructions is of particular significance for the current project: "SENTENCE FOCUS: Sentence construction formally marked as expressing a pragmatically structured proposition in which both the subject and the predicate are in focus. The focus domain is the sentence, minus any topical non-subject arguments" (p. 2).

Lambrecht and Polinsky examined PF and SF structures across different languages and, among other findings, proposed three principles of identifying sentence-focus constructions: the principle of paradigmatic contrast (with PF constructions), the principle of subject-object neutralisation in SF constructions and the principle of demotion. The latter principle implies restructuring of a clause, as a result of which the hierarchical status of a subject is lowered, which, in its turn, results in detopicalisation of the subject argument.

In the introduction to *Pragmatics of Word Order Flexibility* Payne (1992) argues that the analysis of languages with more than one type of word order involves a combination of three domains: syntactic, cognitive and pragmatic. She claims that pragmatic word order languages – ones with flexible word order – do not fall under the "Greenbergian" (Greenberg, 1963) typology of languages which is centred around a "basic" word order. In actual fact "syntactic categories, particular morphosyntactic constructions, hierarchical structures and head-dependent relations, and grammatical relations" (Payne, 1992, p. 2) – the first of the three domains – as well as the speaker's mental processes or constraints (the cognitive domain), accompanied by the speaker's interactions with the hearer (the pragmatic domain).

Furthermore, in "Nonidentifiable information and pragmatic order rules in 'O'odham", Payne (1992) points out the primacy of information type in determining word order in flexible pragmatic order languages. She distinguishes between two types, identifiable and nonidentifiable information, proceeding from the speaker-hearer relationship with regard to the knowledge presented:

> Information is identifiable if the speaker assumes that the hearer will be able to pick out and establish reference for it, based on information already available within the universe of discourse… Information is nonidentifiable if the speaker assumes that the hearer will not be able to pick out and establish reference, based on information already available within the universe of discourse. (p. 142)

Payne's "pragmatically marked information" is of particular importance for the current research project. According to the author, both given and new information can be pragmatically marked if/when the speaker assumes that their piece of information would contradict the hearer's expectations or presuppositions. By contrast, information is pragmatically unmarked, even if it is new, when the speaker assumes that what s/he is saying is in line with the hearer's expectations and/or presuppositions. In other words, pragmatic intentions of a speaker outweigh the information structure in deciding on element ordering of a clause.

Among recent typological studies, Frajzyngier and Shay (2016) employ a unified approach to language theory, description, and typology. Regarding element ordering of a clause, the authors view linear order as a coding means and observe that "linear precedence", unlike relative order, "does not result in a reversal of the function of elements involved" (p. 102). Frajzyngier and Shay provide examples from Polish and argue that 24 to 120 linear word orders are possible in a language with an obligatory case marking system. They add that "individual precedences are coding means for a variety of functions", most of which are yet to be discovered (p. 103). Moreover, the available concepts of topic and focus, theme and rheme, old and new information "do not provide a rich enough system of distinctions to account for the dozens of potential word orders available for the same constituents" (p. 103). It appears, therefore, that a complex approach in dealing with unconventional word order patterns is required.

Thus, analysing Russian as both a flexible and essentially an SVO word order language, Lambrecht's concept of information structure and Payne's combination of syntactic and cognitive-pragmatic ordering principles in determining word order types provide one aspect of the basis to the approach taken to analysing the function of unconventional VIPs in Russian in this study.

2.1.2. Prague Linguistic Circle and Functional Sentence Perspective

The analytical framework of this study also draws much from the work of the functionalists of the Prague Linguistic Circle (Mathesius, Jakobson and Trubeckoj, among others), who are known to be the founders of the 'formal' functionalist approach to language. In the beginning of the 20th century they recognised the necessity to describe and explain the collection of language phenomena as a structured whole rather than as a random set of language constituents.

The idea of Actual Division of a Sentence, later developed into Functional Sentence Perspective (FSP), was suggested and elaborated by Mathesius (1939), who proceeded from the distinction between the sentence as a grammatical (and semantic) structure and the actual use of this structure, its functioning, in a speech act in the form of an utterance. The combination of a speaker's intention and a certain communicative effect accounts for the organisation of the units in a clause, within which two components can be distinguished: the theme (the subject of the speaker's message) and the comment (later on called the rheme), that is, the message proper (what the speaker says about the theme). Unlike in a grammatical division where a subject, for example, comes before a verb, the central idea of Actual Division is that the sentence begins with a starting point and progresses towards the nucleus. This is the

so-called bi-partite division, also known as theme-rheme division. Mathesius' ideas have been developed considerably, by Daneš (1974), in particular (see Section 2.1.3).

Further, Firbas (1992) differentiates between context-dependent and context-independent elements and argues that "a context-dependent element cannot be non-thematic. A non-thematic element must be context-independent, but a context-independent element may be thematic." (p. 72) He adds that:

> A thematic element – if present – will constitute the starting point of this arrangement… This means that the theme, if present, always supplies the starting point of the interpretative argument… The starting point of the interpretative argument [however] need not be invariably thematic. In the absence of a theme, the starting point of the interpretative argument is constituted by transition proper. (p. 73)

Firbas' definition of a thematic element was later utilised in the analysis of Russian word order by Janko (2001), Kovtunova (1980) and Turner (2006), among others. (Their research on Russian word order is discussed in more detail in Section 2.2.)

Sgall et al. (1986) developed the concept of FSP within a "functional" generative approach and offered their interpretation of given and new information: "hearers can identify certain items that are supposed to be readily accessible in their memory (the topic, or, more precisely, contextually bound items), and can bring these into certain relations to other items (the focus, or contextually non-bound items)" (p. 308).

Adamec's (1966) monograph on Russian word order stimulated Russian studies by several Soviet scholars within the framework of Actual Division of a Sentence (*актуальное членение предложения*). The most prominent of these studies is Kovtunova (1976), which is analysed in Section 2.2.2.1. Moreover, the ideas of the Prague School around FSP phenomena were further developed by a number of other scholars (D'jakonova, 2009; Greenberg, 1975; Halliday, 1976; Kuno, 1972), under various names, such as topic (theme) – comment, focus (rheme) articulation and Thema-Rhema-Gliederung.

Thus, the functionalists of the Prague Linguistic Circle outlined the contours of further research in the pragmatic use of various word order patterns; yet they did not address the issue of word order types, nor did they conduct much research into context/environment in the study of word order variation. That said, FSP theory did provide a strong foundation for the research

of Russian word order variation. In particular, the notions of theme/topic and rheme/focus provided the starting point for research on marked and unmarked word order variations. Before proceeding with the review of research on Russian word order, a clarification of some major conceptual and terminological issues, relevant for the current research project, is required.

2.1.3. Defining the concepts of theme-rheme, given-new and topic-focus

One of the central ideas of FSP is that some information represented in the utterance content can be known to the listener[4] from the preceding context or is easily derived from it (or from the situation). Firbas (1992) identifies two types of known information that can be conveyed in the act of communication. Known information of the first type, although shared by the interlocutors, should be considered "unknown in regard to the immediately relevant communicative step to be taken"; such information is, therefore, irretrievable from the context. Known information of the second type is both shared by the interlocutors and is available, or retrievable, from the immediately preceding context (p. 22). According to Chafe (1976), "given (or old) information is that knowledge which the speaker assumes is in the consciousness of the addressee at the time of the utterance", whereas new information is "what the speaker assumes he is introducing into the hearer's consciousness" (p. 30).

Having considered the FSP theme-rheme distinction and the above-mentioned definitions of known, given and new information, it remains unclear how to differentiate between them. According to Daneš (1974, pp. 106-107), the distinction between 'known (or given)-new' information and 'theme-rheme' was first proposed by V. Mathesius. However, the two oppositions cannot be fully contrasted. The former opposition represents "the starting point of the utterance" vs "the core of the utterance"; whereas, the latter opposition, as defined by Mathesius, is "the foundation (or the theme) of the utterance" vs "the core". Thus, it appears that while the second members are identical in the above-mentioned dichotomy, the first members are not. In other words, 'rheme' and 'new' information are both defined as "the core of the utterance", however, 'known (or given)' information and the 'theme' of the utterance refer to different concepts. Furthermore, terminological inconsistency is observed in Halliday's (1967) treatment of 'given' information and the 'theme', on the one hand, and Mathesius' view of the 'theme', on the other. According to Halliday, 'given' information reflects the speaker's matter of previous concern or their interlocutor's current subject matter, while 'theme' renders

[4] In the original terminology it is "hearer", but I share Denzin's (1995) view that communication is an interaction of a speaker and a listener (not every hearer is a listener).

the speaker's matter of current concern. He also calls 'theme' "the point of departure", the term used by Mathesius in connection with 'known' information. [take out paragraph break between this paragraph and the following paragraph]

Regarding 'new' information, this term has two aspects, according to Daneš: it is 'new' "in the sense of not mentioned in the preceding context", or it is 'new' as "related as Rheme to a Theme to which it has not yet been related" (p. 111).

Moreover, closely connected to the terms of 'retrievable' and 'known' information are Chafe's (1994) definitions of 'accessible' and 'given' information, which Chafe views as both independent concepts and in contrast with 'new' information. Accessibility of information is defined by Chafe with regard to the "semiactive state of the activated referent", a referent that was "active at an earlier time in the discourse, is directly associated with an idea that is or was active in the discourse, or is associated with the nonlinguistic environment of the conversation and has for that reason been peripherally active but not directly focused on" (p. 86). Later in his study, the researcher admits that the notion of accessibility requires thorough investigation.

Another approach, which Lambrecht (1996) takes, is to place identification of the information-bearing parts of an utterance within the 'information structure' domain and engage the terms 'topic' and 'focus'. In general, these relate to the speaker's assessment of "the relative predictability or unpredictability of the relations between propositions and their elements in given discourse situations" (p. 6). Lambrecht provides some operational criteria for identifying topics and finds that a topic must be part of the presupposition (a portion of information that the speaker assumes an addressee already knows) in that it has to be 'under discussion', 'of current interest', or otherwise contextually available. With regard to focus, the researcher separates focus from (pragmatic) assertion, the proposition that the speaker assumes an addressee is expected to know as a result of hearing the sentence uttered, and dissociates the focus from 'new information', however, admitting that foci tend to evoke brand-new or inaccessible discourse referents (p. 262). According to Lambrecht, the focus of the sentence provides a felicitous response to a question that replaces the focus in question with a WH-word.

Many scholars comment on the difficulty in defining and using these concepts. For instance, Chafe (1976) mentions that the notion of topic "seems to differ from language to language" (p. 55). Prince provides three different ways for describing "givenness" (Prince, 1981, p. 225). Givón (1983) looks at theme and topic from a hierarchical point of view. For him, theme is a broader category at the macro-level of a paragraph, while topic belongs at the

micro-level of a sentence, where chain initial, chain medial and chain final topics can be distinguished (p. 9).

Finally, the study by Jacennik and Dryer (1992) employs a combination of two approaches to examining the factors that govern the order of subject and object in Polish VS and VSX clauses: a theme-rheme approach and Givón's (1988) approach. Their results show that VSX clauses differ from VS clauses in some respects, such as presence of adverbials, or class of verbs. For instance, "the medial position in a clause is usually reserved for short predictable constituents" (p. 234). However, their main finding relates to subjects of VSX and VS clauses and the applicability of the two approaches in defining the choice of word order. First, their data show that subjects of VSX clauses differ from subjects of VS clauses in a number of ways: "they are more often human; they are more often short; and when they have a previous reference in the preceding clause, they tend to be less topical in that clause" (p. 232). Second, their study reveals that neither the traditional theme-rheme view nor Givón's view can alone adequately account for the properties of postverbal subjects in Polish. In particular, according to the traditional approach, "post-verbal subjects are less predictable in the sense of having a higher mean referential distance than preverbal subjects" (p. 234), which Jacennik and Dryer found held for their VS clauses. However, Givón's approach provides the opposite view in that postverbal nominals are considered more predictable, which was verified by the researchers' analysis of VSX clauses. Although Jacennik and Dryer's findings cannot be fully applicable to the current analysis due to the different focus of their research, it is important to consider the fact that in Polish, "VS is about five times more common than VSX" (p. 235). Additionally, their study suggests that there tends to be an interplay of factors accounting for the use of postverbal subjects.

2.2. Russian word order research achievements

In the second half of the 20th century, inspired by the findings of the Prague Linguistic Circle, intensive research on Russian word order was carried out by Soviet and Western authors. This research paradigm attempted to understand and explain the driving force of various word order permutations, thus discouraging the established notion of free element ordering in Russian. It was revealed that a range of syntactic, semantic, pragmatic and stylistic factors underlie Russian's multiple word order permutations. The following sections provide a detailed analysis of the studies of Early and Contemporary Standard Russian that are most relevant for the current project.

2.2.1. Early Russian word order

Lomonosov (1755) was the first to consolidate all available knowledge on the Russian language in *Российская Грамматика* 'Russian Grammar'. With regard to word order in a Russian sentence, Lomonosov argues that "a thing" precedes its "action" (para. 81), however, "liberty of human thought" enables a "transition" in the ordering, as a result of which an action can precede a thing (para. 84). Thus, word order variation is accounted for by freedom of expression, which is characteristic of all humans. Lomonosov's findings were the basis for the long-held conclusion that Russian has free word order. However, as shown in the following sections, more recent research has rightfully questioned this view.

2.2.1.1. Kibrik

Among more recent research on early Russian word order patterns, Kibrik (2013) investigates the peculiarities and origins of the Russian referential system. In particular, he deals with referential devices in subject position. Despite the fact that in East Slavic languages and in Russian a free pronoun is often employed in this function, Kibrik found that "in about one third of instances a free pronoun is missing and subject reference is performed only by the inflection of the verb (categories of person, number and gender), functioning as bound pronouns" (p. 227). Thus, verb inflection is an independent referent in itself, while a pronoun is a variable referent.

Kibrik (2013) further illustrates the similarity of the Russian system to the German one in terms of subject reference, with three-quarters to two/thirds discourse occurrences following a pattern of "free pronoun – inflection", similar to the Germanic referential system. However, he also finds, that unlike German, one fourth to one third of all discourse occurrences in Russian are pronoun free and use inflection alone as a subject referential device, thus preserving the conservative Slavic and Indo-European pattern (p. 234). He concludes that: "Overall, this system can be characterised as the Germanic pattern with a strong imprint of old Indo-European". (p. 234)

Regarding Russian, Kibrik (2013) points to the subtlety of choice between the two patterns in discourse use and suggests that the clearest distinction between them is accounted for by discourse register/genre/style. In support of this analysis, he provides a comparison of two Russian translations (Russian Synodal and Russian Averincev) from Luke (19, 12-15) with ones in Old Church Slavonic (OCS) and English.

Russian Synodal is the first Russian translation, "created and approved by the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church in the 19th century" (Kirbik, 2013, p. 237). It follows the original in grammar, especially in syntax. For native speakers of Russian, the absence of pronouns in this text "has overtones of archaism", and as such, "marked [the text] as belonging to the religious register/genre/style" (p. 237). In contrast, the modern translation by "the renowned Russian philologist Sergey Averincev" is aimed at "making the Bible sound more contemporary and closer to lay readers" (p. 237). Moreover, Kibrik identifies that personal pronouns were added to refer to the subjects of sentences; however, in clause 2 of the provided example, the pronoun appears before the verb, and in clause 3, it follows the verb – these differences were unaccounted for by Kibrik. It appears that the OCS and Russian Synodal translations follow the Indo-European pattern, avoiding personal pronouns in the subject role and using verb inflections to refer to the subject; whereas the Russian Averincev and English translations have personal pronouns, either preceding (English) or following (Russian Averincev) the verb (p. 236).

Most interestingly, Kibrik analyses the Russian referential system as being "on the verge between syntax and sociolinguistics" (p. 237). As evidence, he refers to Dostoevsky's use of personal pronouns, or rather their absence and the use instead of an "inflection alone" pattern as being "too pretentious and too high-style for colloquial usage". (p. 237)

Another motivation for the use of the inflection alone pattern, according to Kibrik (2013), includes "series of same-subject sentences or clauses functioning as elaborations to mainline material" (p. 236). Finally, Kibrik suggests that the Russian system "is still in transition from the conservative Indo-European pattern to the Germanic-style pattern" (p. 238). Moreover, the process of an increased use of personal subject pronouns has happened over a number of centuries, beginning in the 17th century when "the usage of subject pronouns became the default pattern". (p. 239)

Thus, Kibrik's findings present a few points relevant for this project. Firstly, the use of inflection-only verbs, typical of Early Russian discourse, may explain why some 18th-century writers chose to place personal pronouns after the verb. Secondly, Kibrik provides a timeline for when subject pronouns were used by default in the language, which underlies the choice of the data set for the analysis in the current project. Finally, the author mentions the stylistic difference between an inflection-only pattern and one with a pronoun, bringing forward the notion of stylistics as a factor in the determination of word order variation.

2.2.1.2. Kovtunova

Kovtunova's (1969) study of word order from the 18th through to the first half of the 19th century is of particular importance for the current project. First, in her diachronic approach to analysing Russian element ordering of a clause she argues that since the last third of the 18th century, Russian word order began its movement towards stylistic neutrality (p. 137). This was the time of a pre-Karamzin style of writing, which was still under the influence of Latin-German and Old Slavonic conventions, including, in particular, the placement of verb complements before verbs. During this period, such constructions of "high" style began to fall out of use (instead being replaced by stylistically neutral variants) (p. 141).

Furthermore, in the 18th century, as there was yet no literary norm, the language, began to be modelled on one with an existing system of norms. Such a system for the 18th century Russian was found in the French language (Kovtunova, 1969):

> Реакция на сложные формы периодической речи с латинизированным порядком слов сопровождалась ориентацией на синтаксический строй французского языка. […] особенности французского синтаксиса соответствовали естественным тенденциям русского языка, стремившегося освободиться от иноязычных и иноструктурных напластований и выработать собственные литературные формы «синтаксического течения» речи. (p. 142)
>
> Reaction to complex forms of periodic speech, which followed Latin word order, was accompanied by orientation to the syntactic organisation of the French language. […] French syntactic features corresponded to natural tendencies in the Russian language which gravitated towards freeing oneself from foreign layering and creating its own literary forms of the "syntactic flow" of speech.

Russian writers, following the French model of word ordering, began to use simpler syntactic constructions, compared to Old Slavonic, with its "high" language. In linguistic environments which required a "high" style, the old system of complex syntax was used, thus differentiating between a neutral and a "high" style aimed at "aesthetic impact on the reader". (p. 147) Kovtunova clarifies here that the text itself does not have to belong to a "high" style, it can be a text of an "intermediate" style; but whenever a text needed "to exert an aesthetic influence", it employed "high" style language features such as rhythm, poeticity, and absence of stylistic imbalances (p. 149).

Proceeding with her analysis of Russian word order in the late 18th-early 19th century, Kovtunova (1969) mentions Fonvizin, a writer of this transition period, whose style of writing

followed for the most part the high style of the Russian scientist Lomonosov, but began to acquire features of the new conventions. For this reason, Fonvizin's diary excerpts are included in the data set of the current project (see Chapter 3). Furthermore, the author Karamzin's intermediate style of writing became very influential as it was employed not only in official and theoretical styles, but also in the belles-lettres style. Karamzin created an "exquisite prose" (*изящная проза*) and a "Russian tongue" (*русский слог*), thus being credited with introducing a contemporary literary language (p. 154). Such authors as Radishchev, Derzhavin, Leskov, Zhukovsky, Tolstoy and Chekhov, whose pieces of work are included in the travel diary corpus of this project, all wrote in this style.

With regard to word order variation, Kovtunova (1969) states that the role of context and FSP in ordering clause elements was introduced by Karamzin. More specifically, Karamzin began the tradition of placing foregrounded elements after non-foregrounded ones. For instance, complements now appeared after verbs. He followed French syntax, while Lomonosov, as a representative of the old conventions, favoured Latin and German element ordering.

In undivided clauses, the VS order was not yet fixed, and examples of both VS and SV patterns occurred, following the French syntax convention of SV ordering (Kovtunova, 1969). Kovtunova explains how "high" style features began to be perceived as inversion, or stylistic variations, of the norm and expressive means of the literary language at the end of the 19th century, when the new convention was firmly established:

> Утверждение нейтрального ритмико-интонационного фона с постпозицией актуализируемых членов в качестве нормы литературного синтаксиса явилось предпосылкой для экспрессивного варьирования порядка слов. Вынесение актуализируемых членов в начало предложения или речевого такта нарушает общий ритмико-интонационный принцип построения речи, придавая фразе экспрессивную интонацию и в то же время подчеркивая и обостряя восприятие этого фона как нейтрального. На этом и основывается механизм инверсии в современном русском литературном языке. Механизм этот, однако, вступил в действие позже, после того, как нейтральная норма прошла через некоторую

стадию равновесия и была окончательно санкционирована в прозе А. С. Пушкина. (pp. 181-182)

The establishment of a neutral rhythmic-intonational background with the post-positioning of the actualised elements, as the literary syntactic norm resulted in expressive variation of the word order. The placement of the actualised elements at the beginning of a sentence or a speech act disrupts the general rhythmic-intonational principle of discourse, making the phrase expressive and, at the same time, highlighting and emphasising the perception of the background as neutral. This is the foundation of inversion in contemporary Russian literary language. However, inversion began to be treated as such later, after the neutral convention had undergone some balancing and was ultimately authorised in Pushkin's prose. (pp. 181-182)

Thus, Kovtunova provides an in-depth analysis of the transition period in the Russian language, as a result of which a new system of writing was adopted; however, the old one did not disappear completely, but began to be treated as norm violation. The co-existence of the two systems is also discussed by Yokoyama (1986) (See Section 2.2.2.3) who considers that it is the interaction of the two systems that accounts for verb-initial word orders in contemporary Russian.

2.2.1.3. Turner

Turner's (2006) study "draws upon texts which are preserved in manuscripts written before the end of the fourteenth century", including a range of sources, from vernacular Early East Slavonic (EESl) to literary Church Slavonic (ChSl) (p. 86). Turner proceeds from FSP and analyses her data as belonging to one of three groups: thematic verb rhematic subject (V_TS_R), rhematic verb thematic subject (V_RS_T), or rheme-only clauses. Regarding the latter group of verb-initial clauses, the researcher provides extensive argument against treating such clauses as undivided, in accordance with FSP theory, and coins her own term – rheme-only clauses. According to Turner (2006), "the present work on pre-modern written sources must necessarily give primacy to contextual criteria for the identification of themes and rhemes as a matter of methodological principle" (p. 89). She adds that the rheme-only clause is much more

widespread and diverse than is generally acknowledged. Moreover, it is not necessarily VS that makes a clause undivided, SV can also appear in an undivided, contextually independent, clause.

Turner (2006) admits that "the concept of the undivided clause is not normally applied to clauses with more than two major constituents" (p. 89); however, her three groups of VIPs do not account for three-element variations, either. Turner chooses VIPs with two major constituents as the subject of her analysis, in order to avoid "fragmentation of the data [that] could obscure important generalities in a mass of detail" (p. 98). However, Kovtunova's (1980) concept of split rheme, used to account for cases of a thematic element appearing between two rhematic ones, seems to be more appropriate for a study aimed at researching both two- and three-element permutations.

In each of the three groups of patterns, V_TS_R, V_RS_T and rheme-only VS, Turner (2006) provides the statistical occurrence of the patterns in the analysed corpus and accounts for their pragmatics. With regard to the first group of patterns, the V_TS_R variations comprise a thematic verb and a rhematic subject, according to the text context or the writer's communicative intentions (p. 102). In the former case, the verb either appears in the preceding context or is strongly implied by it. In the latter case, the researcher admits that "in the sparse contexts offered by the birch-bark letters, it is often impossible to say for certain how VS orders correspond to a writer's communicative intentions" (p. 103).

The next group includes VIPs in rheme-only clauses. Turner (2006) draws a clear line between undivided clauses in CSR and rheme-only clauses in EESl:

> The crucial point of difference between contextually independent CSR undivided clauses and contextually independent EESl rheme-only clauses is the amount of information they contain. In CSR narratives, undivided clauses are used either to make a self-contained, but essentially secondary, scene-setting statement or to introduce a referent for subsequent elaboration. These functions can be combined in EESl VS clauses with transitive verbs. When used at the beginning of a chronicle entry, they serve to introduce into the discourse not just the subject but also the action performed, and the other parties involved in it. Sometimes the situation the chronicler presents forms the starting point for an extended narrative; often it does not. Even when no transitive verb

> is involved, the EESl rheme-only clauses differ from CSR undivided clauses in that they frequently include at least one additional constituent, either a complement of a verb of motion or an adverbial expression of time or place. (p. 104)

Finally, the third group of VIPs contains examples with a rhematic verb preceding a thematic subject (available or strongly implied in context) "with no obviously presentational, expressive or emphatic effect" (p.109). According to Turner (2006), "EESl Erzählung sources show a preference for verb-first clauses, even when this order contravenes the discourse principle of placing available information before unavailable information" (p. 112), and "in the event that his narrative is not clear [with V_RS_T ordering – comment mine], there is a good chance that its subsequent development will resolve uncertainties…" (p. 114). Furthermore, VS orders with a rhematic verb and a thematic subject, in Turner's view, "are likely to have been encouraged by the overall prevalence of VS rheme-only clauses in the chronicle. V_RS_T clauses are a matter of narrative convention, but not, in the first instance, of narrative style. They indicate that a text is narrative (Erzählung)…" (p. 114). The author mentions verb classes here; particularly, speech verbs that regularly appear in an V_RS_T arrangement in EESl. Apart from these verbs, whose position might be accounted by Biblical syntax, Turner analyses other rhematic verbs that appear clause-initially and offers a number of explanations, which include providing contrast, ensuring thematic continuity or textual cohesion, being a matter of style.

Overall, Turner (2006) provides a complex method of analysis, which covers statistical occurrence of the patterns, their syntactic composition and pragmatic use in the corpus. However, as she admits, a larger corpus is required to test her findings. Moreover, including three-element permutations, which she does not do, would provide a more detailed analysis of VIPs.

2.2.1.4. McAnallen

McAnallen (2009) sets out to investigate the functioning of SV(O) and VS(O) word order patterns in an Early East Slavic (EES) text, without postulating one basic word order for EES. The text under analysis is split into two major subdivisions: travel guide and narrative. Although of a localised nature, the study, does contribute to a broader understanding of conventional vs. unconventional word order functions. The broad conclusion McAnallen comes to in her study, which is of paramount significance for the current research, is that text genre influences word order distribution in the EES text. Overall, the SV(O) word order pattern

is associated with narrative, whereas VS(O), containing "factual, listed information" is dominant in the travel guide (McAnallen, 2009, p. 226).

Among other "motivating functions" underlying the use of either SV(O) or VS(O) are:

- Information structuring,
- Focus, and
- Point of view.

Analysing the role of information structuring, the researcher considers "Xoždenie" "from the perspective of major divisions that speakers use to view the world", those of individuation and existentialisation (p. 226). In this regard, SV(O) clauses are "individuated" as opposed to "existential, distant, universal" VS(O) clauses.

The Focus is narrow and specific in SV(O) clauses, but broad and abstract in VS(O) counterparts, which implies the greater importance of the fact of existence of a particular situation in the world, compared with the detailed information about the situation described in a VS(O) sentence. Moreover, in the cases of abundant use of VS clauses that state a fact in prepositional phrases (PPs) defining, for instance, location, the fact itself – expressed by the Subject of the sentence – is not central but rather complements properties of a locus, thus becoming "a relational entity".

With regard to point of view, McAnallen assumes that SV(O) word order occurs when the user's point of view is "first-hand, accessible, present and personal", whereas VS(O) word order occurs when it is "second-hand, reported, inaccessible, historical, atemporal and impersonal" (p. 226).

Finally, the researcher assumes that the enlisted functions work together in a clause, accounting for the use of SV(O) or VS(O) word order:

> The different word orders can be said to form a *gestalt* of different motivating functions, no one function is primary and, in most cases, only a handful of the functions are relevant to any given word order example. This collection of motivations… conditions the usage of the different word orders and can be motivated by the semantics of the subjects, verbs or other elements of the predicates; textual motivations; and/or context on both a local or global level. (p. 226)

Of specific interest for my investigation are groups of verbs included in McAnallen's (2009) analysis, as well as the role of context in word order preferences. Ten verb classes are clearly defined in the study:

1. Existential verbs (*есть* 'to be')
2. Verbs that behave as existentials (e.g. *жить, бывать* 'to live', 'to be'; *родиться* 'to be born')
3. Stance verbs (e.g. *лежать* 'to lie'; *стоять* 'to stand')
4. Intransitive, verbs of motion (e.g. *прийти* 'to come')
5. Transitive, verbs of motion (e.g. *принести* 'to bring')
6. Transitive, overt object
7. Transitive, no overt object
8. Copular (*есть* 'to be')
9. *Зватися* 'to be called'
10. Other (speech verbs)

Furthermore, McAnallen (2009) investigates the function of word order patterns, with regard to verb classes. In particular, she identifies a number of functions performed by transitive verbs in VSO patterns. Firstly, such patterns are aimed at emphasising a situation or a scene, rather than an "individuated actor". They include variations with a locus initiating a pattern, through which a "broader scene" is introduced, while the subject of the action is downgraded. In other words, the clause-initial adverbial modifier of place attracts the verb, and the focus of the sentence is shifted from the actor to the place: "The act that occurred turns into a property of the location, instead of being foregrounded or individuated as the subject" (p. 218). Besides transitive verbs, reflexives and verbs reporting direct speech also appear in VS orders. The former verbs in VS combinations "introduce a new subject or give additional background information" (p. 219). Among other functions identified by the researcher are "scene-setting" and "change in the narrative" functions. Finally, McAnallen (2009) observes that "sentence chains" – VS followed by SV, SV – typically occur among functionally existential verbs (p. 219).

As far as the role of context is concerned, McAnallen's (2009) study provides clear evidence of its crucial importance in word order preferences. She claims that in the travel guide, *есть* 'be' verbs, stance verbs and other pseudo-existential constructions are abundantly used and are favourites of the VS(O) pattern. In contrast, the narrative section of "Xoždenie" is

characterised by a larger variety of verb types, including transitives and verbs of motion, and favours the SV(O) word order variation.

Overall, McAnallen's (2009) findings, particularly her pragmatic functions, serve as a solid ground for the current research; however, it is expected that they will be extended and/or modified as indicated by the data analysed in this project. For instance, in this study, three-element word order permutations – VSO and VOS – are analysed alongside VS combinations, and instead of one text from one time period, a number of texts of various genres and author styles, written over a four-century time span are examined (see Chapter 3).

2.2.2. Word order in Contemporary Standard Russian

The following sections turn to modern Russian and present major findings on its word order, including verb-initial variations.

2.2.2.1. Grammatical and Contextual word orders

An important contribution to the research of contemporary Russian word order has been made by Isačenko (1976), a Russian linguist, who differentiates between grammatical and contextual word orders. He states that at the time of his study in 1976, Russian word order was understudied, yet regarded as fully free, with this belief partly stemming from a confusion between "grammatical" and "contextual" word orders. According to Isačenko, Russian is a free word order language in terms of the number of acceptable permutations; however, the order of words in a sentence is restricted by rules of linear sequencing of words. In his view, one such word sequence, which he terms "a grammatical word order", appears optimal in a language, being acontextual and easily reconstructed after syntactic transformations of sentence units.

Furthermore, Isačenko (1976) argues that context should be given due attention in the study of word order in Russian. To illustrate the difference between grammatical (Subject+Predicate) and contextual variations, he provides the following examples (p. 30):

(2.1)	Книга	нужна	мне.
	A book (Acc.)	need	me (Dat.).
	I need a book.		

(2.2)	Мне	нужна	книга.
	Me (Dat.)	need	a book (Acc.).
	I need a book.		

(2.3)	Книга	мне	нужна.
	A book (Acc.)	me (Dat.)	need.
	I need a book.		

In (2.1), the unmarked SPO word order pattern is grammatical, since the subject in the Nominative case agrees with the verb in gender and number and is placed before it, while the object appears after the verb in the Dative case. The word order patterns in (2.2) and (2.3) are labelled as contextual, accentuating the object and the verb, respectively.

Regarding contextual word order patterns, the researcher points at the semantic and syntactic interconnectedness of neighbouring sentences, an issue that was poorly investigated in Russian at that time.

All in all, Isačenko's (1976) main contribution to the subject of this research has been drawing a line between two kinds of word order, grammatical and contextual. However, not much detail is provided about the factors motivating contextual word order, which restricts the applicability of the researcher's findings and calls for further investigation.

2.2.2.2. Functional Sentence Perspective approach

The FSP approach to word order, developed by the Prague Linguistic Circle (see Section 2.1.), became and, for many years remained, the leading research method for studying variation in Russian word order. According to Keijsper (1985), between 1954 and 1980 there was a surge in publications on FSP in Russian word order in the Soviet Union, resulting in theoretical as well as statistical findings.

In particular, Kovtunova (1980), a prominent Soviet researcher of Russian word order, further developed the notion of Actual Sentence Division (*актуальное членение предложения*) (see Section 2.1.2). In line with this approach, the two constituents of a sentence include the starting point of a message (that is, what is known about the matter) and the message itself (that is, new information about the matter), whilst the organisation of the two constituents, with regard to the concrete communicative goal of the speaker, is called "actual sentence division" (p. 190). Kovtunova (1980) defines the theme as containing known information for the reader or listener, and the rheme – as containing new information. She further develops this approach and points to the possibility of several themes, context-dependent and context-independent, in a clause, as well as communicatively undivided sentences. This latter aspect of her research is of particular importance to the current project, as it deals with sentences which only have rhematic components. However, Kovtunova's

sentences of this kind consist of two elements, a verb and a subject, and do not include three-element permutations. Therefore, her notion of communicatively undivided sentences is extended in this research to include three-element permutations.

Moreover, Kovtunova (1980) admits that multiple correlations exist between word order and actual sentence division. In other words, not only can the same actual division be expressed by two possible word order variations, but the same word order can correspond to two possibilities of actual division. In the current research project, it is found that the existence of multiple correlations is particularly true for three-element combinations (see Chapters 4-9). Thus, while Kovtunova's work is an important step forward in understanding Russian word order variation, it also shows the functionalist approach to word order does not account for all possible word order variations in Russian and needs to be supplemented by other approaches.

Further to the discussion of the FSP approach, Keijsper (1985) argues that one of the corner stones of Soviet research became the opposition of word order in written and oral discourse. Considering the fact that Mathesius (1939) originally coined his theory of Actual Sentence Division (see Section 2.1.2) based on written discourse, some Soviet researchers of oral discourse (such as Lapteva, 1974) criticised it as inappropriate for spoken Russian where a division cannot be made between the "starting point" and the "nucleus", but rather should be made around the alternation of accented and unaccented syntagms (pp. 157-158). Additionally, Sirotinina (1974) argued against "subjective" word order being differentiated from its "objective" counterpart purely on stylistic grounds. Importantly, she, alongside other Russian researchers of oral discourse, came to the conclusion that less frequent and, therefore, less "normal" syntactic arrangements in written speech could be well grounded in spoken Russian, accompanied by relevant intonation and context. In other words, not every inverted order is less "normal" than "straight" word order. Keijsper (1985) adds to the differentiation between subjective and objective word orders by arguing that in sentences such as *Русские идут* 'The Russians are coming', where the subject precedes the verb (SV), the word order is subjective and expresses "suddenness and unexpectedness of the event"; whereas a VS ordering here would be objective and have a "quieter and a more existential flavour" (p. 313).

Despite such advancement in the research of Russian word order variation, there is no clear consensus regarding the status of "subjective" (also known as "marked", "inverted", "emphatic", "emotional") word order patterns. Some researchers claim that they are stylistic variants of "objective" patterns, especially when the ordering does not change the meaning of the clause (Kovtunova, 1976), or when they are recognised as a feature of style, as, for instance,

in epic narratives or folk tales (Restan, 1981). The former view is also reflected by Valgina (2003) who asserts that VS is a neutral word order in Rheme-only clauses comprised of Verb + Subject only, as well as in clauses where the verb and subject follow an adverbial modifier (which Valgina terms a "determiner"). All other cases of a verb preceding a subject she regards as cases of inversion, or stylistically marked word order patterns. Additionally, she argues that a thematic verb accounts for a VS word order pattern; however, the example she provides to illustrate this point seems ambiguous, as the thematic status of the verb is not obvious:

(2.4)	Есть	у Куприна	одна заветная мечта.
	V	S	O
	Is	by Kuprin	one secret dream.

Unfortunately, as Valgina (2003) does not provide the preceding context for this example, it is hard to tell how strongly the verb is implied from the text; and thus, it is hard to agree that the verb of existence is thematic.

To summarise, there appear to be at least two considerations regarding non-standard word order variations (that is, variations that flout FSP principles): on the one hand, they are a matter of style, and the meaning of the clause does not change if the element order is inverted; on the other hand, word order variations that violate the principles of FSP are context-dependent and meaningful. A third consideration, which is taken by researchers such as Yokoyama (1986), Kibrik (2013), and Kovtunova (1969) and is explored in various sections below, involves taking a diachronic approach to researching word order, according to which some word order permutations are shown to reflect the norms accepted at earlier stages of language development.

With regard to the current research project, as discussed in Chapter 3, the approach that is taken is that the VS patterns which follow FSP principles are "neutral", or unmarked, in a given semantic or grammatical context and are treated as conventional; whereas VS combinations which flout FSP principles are considered as marked, or unconventional. Moreover, the boundary between written and oral discourse is viewed as being a continuum rather than being discrete as some written genres, such as blogs and narratives, contain oral discourse features.

2.2.2.3. Bivon

Another prominent follower of a functional approach is Bivon (1971), who explores written literary Russian. Rejecting the "ill-defined terminology of traditional Soviet grammar

(Sirotinina)", and the grammatical analyses by Adamec (1966) and Schaller (1966), which he finds "restricted to a small number of isolated grammatical structures" (p. 5), Bivon carries out his analysis in accordance with the theoretical framework of Halliday (1961) and Ward (1965), adopting a "unit" as a category for processing stretches of speech. For Russian, there are five units: sentence, clause, group, word, and morpheme. Accordingly, he recognises various "elements of structure"; that is, groupings of words in a sentence, focusing his research on element order as opposed to word order which is restricted, in his view, to the order of individual words in a sentence. The four elements of clause structure (level preceding the sentence) offered by the author are subject (S), predicator (P), complement (C), and adjunct (A). The frequency of six basic word order variations in the genres of Soviet literature and newspapers, as well as examples and their translations by the researcher are provided in the table below:

Frequency of word order variations

SPC	79%	Отвращение к себе, к работе, к своей работе переполняет тебя… (Granin, Искатели)	Disgust with yourself, work, your own work fills you… (p. 42)
CPS	11%	Внимание его привлёк звук, послышавшийся сверху. (Polevoy, Повесть о настоящем человеке)	His attention was attracted by a sound coming from above. (p. 43)
CSP	4%	Это я понял гораздо позже. (Paustovsky, Сказочник)	I understood this much later. (p. 44)
PCS	2%	Создаёт её в конечном счёте большой коллектив одарённых людей. (Литературная газета, 28.6.67)	In the final result it is created by a large group of gifted men. (p. 45)
PSC	1%	С добрым светлым чувством провожают советские люди год 1966. (Правда, 31.12.66)	With a fine joyous feeling the Soviet people bid farewell to the year 1966. (p. 47)
SCP	1%	Комбинация из углерода и водорода бóльшего дать не может. (Химия и жизнь, 6.65)	A combination of carbon and hydrogen cannot give any more. (p. 46)

(Bivon, 1971, pp. 42-47)

Bivon (1971) mentions context as one of the three factors influencing word order in Russian, alongside grammar (rules determining word order) and style (what makes Russian word order truly free). Contextual information can be divided into *new* and *given*, with the former further subdivided into *essential new* and *non-essential new*. Their different combinations account for emphatic and non-emphatic orders in Russian.

To summarise, Bivon's (1971) analysis of written literary Russian serves as a good starting point for the analysis of contemporary Russian word order in this research project. In particular, the author's contextual analysis includes a detailed study of various combinations/modifications of clause elements combined with their estimated rates of frequency in the genres of Soviet literature and newspapers. However, the division of *new* into *essential* and *non-essential new,* as well as the terminology for basic parts of a clause (Subject, Predicator, and Compliment) does not seem appropriate for this study, as it is too theory specific and stands apart from the conventional terms of Subject, Verb and Object.

2.2.2.4. Yokoyama

Yokoyama (1986) explores the "gray area" between grammar and pragmatics, and for this purpose introduces the term "communicational competence" to describe the relationship between formal and functional approaches to language, and the term "discourse grammar", which, in the author's interpretation, is equal to "functionalism", to describe an integral part of communicational competence. The starting point of Yokoyama's (1986) research lies in one of the universal truths, namely, that transfer of knowledge constitutes the purpose of both verbal and informational discourses. The fundamentals of this transfer include the nature of knowledge, the setting in which knowledge is transferred, and consequences of the transfer.

Proceeding from here, Yokoyama (1986) describes the minimal unit of discourse as consisting of four components: two interlocutors (A and B) with their sets of knowledge, and the "matters of their current concern" (C_a and C_b) which are present in discourse no matter whether the interlocutors ever come into contact or not (p. 3). Furthermore, the researcher discusses seven kinds of knowledge that interlocutors possess and can communicate to each other.

Having outlined the framework of her discourse model, Yokoyama (1986) sets out to examine discourse-initial and non-discourse-initial utterances from the point of view of "phonetically realized communicational transactions, conveying both informational and metainformational knowledge" (p.73). In this respect, utterances in discourse differ from traditional approaches to sentences, based on syntactic criteria (declarative, imperative, interrogative, and exclamatory sentences), or from viewing sentences/utterances as illocutionary acts.

In the following chapters, Yokoyama (1986) examines various factors determining the word order of Russian utterances. The researcher's formula reflects a general pattern of ordering words in discourse-initial utterances:

$B\text{-}A \rightarrow C_a \cap C_b \rightarrow V \rightarrow C_a \cap (B\text{-}C_b) \rightarrow A \cap (C_a\text{-}B)$

According to this formula, the referential/specificational items of the addressee's knowledge set come first (B-A), followed by the referential items found in the addressee's set of current concern C_b that intersect with the speaker's matters of current concern ($C_a \cap C_b$); then comes the verb (V), followed by the referential items in the knowledge sets of both A and B but not in the set of the current concern ($C_a \cap (B\text{-}C_b)$), and finally the last slot in the formula is reserved for information items outside the addressee's knowledge set ($A \cap (C_a\text{-}B)$).

However, "grammaticalizations of certain semantic categories and attitudinal factors" add to and sometimes contradict the formula (p. 253). In terms of "grammaticalizations", or "grammatical relations", that influence the word order of discourse-initial utterances the author lists "deep semantic factors" such as the primacy of animates over inanimates, the precedence of scope over the subject of existence, and of objects before instruments. Since these factors are multiple, there can be no single formula that would fit in every case. However, it is worth highlighting here the role of speaker empathy, which results in a preposing of relevant referents, particularly verbs, to other elements of the utterance. The speaker may prefer to break a neutral word order pattern, because they may feel emotional concern, tenderness, or closeness towards the referent. Yokoyama (1986) adds that in certain contextual circumstances, speaker empathy outweighs grammatical relations in the arrangement of clause constituents.

It is important to digress slightly at this point and discuss Mitchell's (1997) findings regarding the role of Empathy in Russian word order. In analysing Russian discourse-initial utterances from the point of view of Empathy and grammatical relations as determiners of word order patterns, Mitchell comes to the conclusion that while empathy is "not stronger than grammatical relations in determining word order in Russian" (p. 97), and it is "marginally, if at all, influential in determining linear arrangements of discourse-initial utterances" (p.95), empathy "must […] be considered one of several tendencies that has the potential to influence word order in appropriate contextual circumstances" (p. 97).

Returning to Yokoyama's (1986) research on word order in Russian, the proposition of "deep semantic factors" impacting on discourse-initial utterances appears highly relevant for this research project as it helps, on the one hand, to account for grammatical acceptability of infrequent word order types, and, on the other hand, to separate word orders that are marked in terms of "grammatical relations" from those that contradict semantic norms.

Word order in non-discourse-initial statements is determined primarily by the preceding utterance, and follows the rule of knowledge items in the intersection of the interlocutors' current concerns ($C_a \cap C_b$) being placed at the beginning of an utterance and those in the knowledge set of the addressee but not in the set of the speaker's current concerns ($B \cap (C_b - A)$) being placed at the end. As for the relative word order within the intersection of the interlocutors' set of concerns ($C_a \cap C_b$) and outside the speaker's or the addressee's knowledge sets ($B \cap (C_b - A)$ or $A \cap (C_a - B)$), Yokoyama finds that it depends on a complex interplay of attitudinal factors, to a greater extent, and grammatical factors, to a lesser extent (Yokoyama, 1986).

Regarding verb-initial utterances, she sets out to determine if they belong to a different system or are features of an epic style; thus, she questions the status of the utterances which "have long been associated with folklore, poeticity, and stylization" (p. 284). She recognises that the majority of sentences in folklore and epic genres are verb-initial; however, she claims that such sentences are not limited to folklore and poetic texts: "such utterances are alive and well in contemporary spoken Russian and must be accounted for" (p. 285). Yokoyama points to the crucial role of "intonational contours" in verb-initial utterances. In particular, she argues that in some cases, post verbal elements constitute independent syntagms, whereas in other instances, they form one syntagm with the preceding verb. Differentiating between two systems, verb-initial and non-verb-initial, she arrives at several conclusions, regarding the treatment of grammatically prominent terms, the positioning of predicational knowledge and prepositional knowledge, and intonational contours within verb-initial utterances. For the current project, several findings are of particular importance. Yokoyama (1986) accepts the position of the verb before nominals as being a result of the predicational knowledge shared by the interlocutors and, therefore, appearing at the beginning of an utterance. Additionally, she supports the claim that the difference between verb-initial and non-verb-initial utterances may be stylistic. However, she argues that there "is a subtle systemic difference in the prominence given to different nominal categories", in which case "there is no conclusive evidence whether this [verb-initial] position is due to demotion or whether it is due to the partial use of the older, verb-initial system" (p. 288). Overall, Yokoyama finds that the interference between the two systems results in more than one "stylistic" account of verb-initial patterns.

All in all, the greater explanatory force of Yokoyama's (1986) discourse model in describing Russian word order results from its cross-sectional approach which involves data from linguistics, logic, philosophy, psychology, semiotics, mathematics, anthropology, and the study of literature. Transfer of knowledge, interlocutors' different sets of knowledge, and their matters of current concern, as well as differentiation between discourse-initial and non-discourse-initial utterances provide a discourse model that is relevant for the theoretical basis of this research. Moreover, the

author's observations of empathy and a range of "deep semantic factors" affecting word order are of particular importance for the current project. However, the analyses of this study's data presented in Chapters 4-9 indicate that a deeper research of verb-initial statements than Yokoyama's is required.

2.2.2.5. Bailyn

Another approach to Russian word order is offered by Bailyn (2003, 2012), whose research is centred around Russian having an underlying SVO word order. Bailyn (2003) rejects a generative grammar view of word order variation as being purely stylistic and "argues that the complexity of word order patterns in Russian is due to "two distinct kinds of reordering processes" (p. 156): a syntactic process of "Generalized Inversion" (GI), which is similar to English Locative and Quotative Inversion, and a discourse-driven process of "Focus". Furthermore, he adopts the generative approach in which A'-movement is "associated with particular requirements of the informational component of the grammar" and is a way of "representing Information Focus by surface word order" (p. 165). He also adopts an FSP approach, and, in particular, Kiss' (1998b) notion of "Information Focus", or Rheme, to argue against the idea that Information Focus involves no movement (as cited in Bailyn, 2003, p. 170). On the contrary, Bailyn (2003) provides evidence of a displaced, or "dislocated", constituent being Presupposed/Given information, with the remainder of the sentence being the Information Focus, or Rheme. In "The Russian Syntax", an overview of contemporary Russian syntax, Bailyn (2012) returns to his account of Russian word order variation through syntactic movements of clause elements. While focusing on the structure of Topic (a known or "evoked" entity) and Focus (what is "new in the discourse"), he acknowledges the complexities of the relationship between Information Structure and word order variation.

Interestingly, Bailyn (2012) bases his evidence on SVO, OVS and OSV word order alterations, leaving plenty of room for further research on SOV, VOS and VSO orders. Moreover, the examples he provides lack context, which makes some sentences appear unnatural, or marginally acceptable in contemporary Russian. Thus, more naturally occurring data, from a range of sources, are required to provide sufficient evidence to fully account for infrequent word order use in Russian clauses.

While the focus of the current project is investigating the motivations behind VIP use in discourse, Bailyn (2003, 2012) focuses on syntactic movements from a basic SVO word order; his rejection of the generativists' basis for word order variation as purely stylistic, as well as his statements about the complexities of the relationship between Information Structure and word order form a starting point of the current research. However, Bailyn's accounts of VIP pragmatics

are scarce. He mainly summarises other researchers', such as Restan's (1981) and Yokoyama's (1986), findings, stating that further research into how VIPs function in discourse is required.

2.2.2.6. Kallestinova

One of the recent works on Russian word order is Kallestinova's (2007) "Aspects of Word Order in Russian", which explores the differing acceptability of the six types of word order (SVO, SOV, VSO, VOS, OVS and OSV), that are commonly recognised in Russian. In accounting this variation in word order, the author differentiates between thetic and discourse-dependent sentences as having different topic/focus structures (the former are focus driven and the latter are driven by topic) and emotive and non-emotive sentences as differing in the position of focus (it is frontal or medial in the former and final in the later).

Kallestinova's (2007) research is focused on the principles of word order choice and the mechanism of generation of different word orders in Russian, particularly, in discourse-dependent sentences. For instance, a perception experiment that was conducted reveals that the following patterns are accepted by native Russian speakers, but are never prioritized in three Focus categories:

Mean values of word orders (out of 5) in the perception experiment

	SVO	VSO	OVS	VOS	SOV	OSV
Object Focus	5.0	3.2	1.7	1.4	1.5	1.3
Subject Focus	2.7	1.4	4.4	3.4	1.6	1.3
Verb Focus	3.3	1.9	1.4	1.5	4.3	3.1

(Kallestinova, 2007, p. 258)

The findings of this study show that in object focus sentences, speakers distinguish two acceptable word orders: one with a high acceptability rate (SVO), and the other with "somewhat degraded acceptability" (VSO). In subject and verb focus sentences, speakers distinguish three acceptable word orders: one with a high acceptability rate (OVS and SOV respectively), and the other two with "a degraded acceptability" (OVS and VOS, and SVO and OSV respectively) (Kallestinova, 2007, p. 258).

Based on experimental psycholinguistic evidence from elicitation, perception and grammaticality judgment studies, the researcher concludes that there is a strong preference among native Russian speakers for producing some word orders over others; that is SVO, OVS and SOV word orders are frequently used by speakers and are, thus, "felicitous", whereas VSO, VOS and OSV word orders appear to be infrequent (p. 258).

In sum, the research presents a well-grounded approach in accounting for word order permutations in Russian discourse, with the pragmatic model of subject/object/verb focus proposed by the author adding weight to the findings of the research. However, given that Kallestinova's (2007) data is experiment based (sentences with various word orders produced and/or evaluated by native Russian speakers), whereas the data in the current project is all drawn from written sources of different kinds, the data and hence the results are not directly comparable. More importantly, though, the current project focuses on an in-depth investigation of the motivations behind the use of infrequent verb-initial word order types, and as shown in Chapter 3, this requires a more detailed pragmatic analysis than that used in Kallestinova's study.

2.2.3. Verb-initial word orders in Russian

There have been several research projects looking at Russian as a VS(O) language. The most prominent of these is by King (1995), in which it is argued that VSO is a discourse neutral order of constituents, with examples provided from classic Russian fairy tales. The statistically dominant SVO as well as other word order patterns are analysed as being driven by discourse concerns. However, statistical data from other genres (cf. Bivon, 1971) and results of experiments with native Russian speakers (Kallestinova, 2007) cast doubt on King's analysis.

In a related study, Kompeer (1992) considers the relationship between word order, intonation and meaning in SV and VS orders in Russian, with a focus on vś and śv patterns. He concludes that verb-initial variations where an accent falls on the subject (vś) "tend to refer to an event or situation as defining a period of time" (p. 219) and are used to create "the idea of a narrative description or "histoire" (p. 218). The event or situation in this case is viewed in its entirety. In contrast, ́vs orders suggest that the subject is known to the reader, while the state of affairs, expressed by the verb, is new information. More importantly, in ́vs orders the verb and the subject no longer present information as a single unit, rather only part of it is emphasised (p. 218). Kompeer's (1992) research provides further insight into existential, or presentational sentences, researched previously (e.g., Kovtunova, 1976). Since the current project deals only with written discourse, the role of intonation is not considered; however, some of Kompeer's findings regarding meaning differences in VS and SV patterns appear relevant for this research.

Alongside these two studies and the works on Russian word order discussed above, there are a number of studies which focus on a particular aspect of Russian word order and/or a particular text/genre where it is manifested. Three such studies that are relevant for the present research project are discussed next.

2.2.3.1. Janko

Janko (2001) investigates the effects produced by various communicative structures in written and oral discourse. Communicative strategies can be a result of a speaker's own communicative scenario. Moreover, a speaker may prefer to use the strategies stored in a language as set patterns to create a particular effect, such as an 'imagined observation', in which a reader is made a witness of a past event (p. 14).

Adopting definitions available from previous research, in particular, from the works of the Prague Linguistic Circle, she regards theme and rheme as communicative components of speech acts. However, she argues that in a speech act, the rheme of a clause constitutes the main idea, rather than the new information; an argument made by other researchers as well. In her discussion of theme/rheme and topic/focus, Janko (2001) synthesises the definitions of focus offered by other researchers, noting that the focal components of a clause provide new information, form a climax and an information centre of a clause, point at information without a semantic antecedent, or establish a relationship between the focus proper and other available alternatives. Thus, her notion of focus, or rheme, is close to that of Mathesius' (1939), who regarded the rheme as the nucleus of the clause.

Furthermore, Janko (2001) points out that in different circumstances the line between theme and rheme may shift, and the same words can be both thematic and rhematic, depending on the linguistic situation. In other words, to decide which elements are theme and which are rheme of a clause, a researcher must rely on the context which, in its turn, reduces the number of variants. In discussing the communicative and the information structure of discourse, Janko (2001) finds that, on the one hand, both structures are independent in that activated elements are not always thematic and non-activated elements are not necessarily rhematic, and that rheme always carries an illocutive meaning, independent of discourse element ordering. On the other hand, activation and familiarity of information naturally follow the communicative structure of a clause; therefore, they cannot but affect the distribution of information units into theme and rheme. She concludes the discussion of the distinction between theme and rheme by arguing that in Russian discourse, unlike in Japanese, there is no clear marker of theme and rheme in a clause. However, communicative strategies, employed by the speaker, help identify the components in question as the semantic effect produced by a communicative structure of the text identifies the communicative elements of the latter.

According to Janko (2001), a communicative strategy is comprised of six constituents: the choice of an overall discourse intention (such as statement, question, command and others); the selection of semantic components of a clause as well as extralinguistic factors, which correspond to the modification of communicative meanings; the correlation between information and the

information structure of a clause; the correlation between information and the interlocutors' state of mind, including empathy; the decision about element ordering; and the tuning of a clause to a certain communicative tone (for instance, telling a narrative or a weather forecast), style (epic, conversational) and genre (poem, anecdote, slogan, or lecture). Moreover, she argues that communicative strategies cannot be fully accounted for by context, rather they are a result of the speaker's communicative intention. Some strategies are not produced spontaneously but are taken from a stored set of examples conventionalised in Russian discourse. For example, one such strategy is restoring the events of the past from one's memory or visualising coming events. Janko points to folk tales, anecdotes, and entertaining stories where such examples are found in abundance.

She describes her method as a transition from neutral communicative structures to semantically "rich" communicative structures and discusses four communicative strategies: two which are introductory and two which are realised in theme-free communicative structures. The first introductory strategy is a communicative structure with "rheme superpositioning", available in the case of two rhemes. It serves to intensify the meaning of a clause, when the first rhematic element at the front of the pattern introduces an object for discussion, while the second one at the end provides the discussion. The second introductory strategy deals with "object thematisation", in which the new object appears first, producing an impression of being a known entity (Janko, 2001, p. 139). Furthermore, the two communicative strategies in the clauses with no theme include the strategy of "non-inherent theme" and the strategy of "theme recession". In the former case, the theme is available in pre-text, and the analysed clause does not provide information but rather an explanation, warning, reminder, or advice (Janko, 2001, pp. 183-184). Additionally, such clauses are short and prosodically indivisible. In the latter case, it is a strategy of restoring past events in one's memory: the theme appears after the verb, thus, losing its thematic status, and the whole event is emphasised. Such an ordering produces an "imagined observation effect" and is typical of narrative texts, such as tales, stories and anecdotes (pp. 180-181).

Overall, Janko's (2001) development of the concepts of theme/rheme and topic/focus is the source of much of the terminology and methodological approach applied in this research project, while her argument regarding the necessity to view word order as functioning in combination with information structure and communicative strategy provides one of the foundations of the current research.

In the section devoted to communicative strategies, Janko analyses the strategies employed by Russian language users in verb-initial word order patterns. She provides several types of communicative structures, such as rheme dislocation (or split rheme, in Kovtunova's (1976) terminology), rheme fronting, theme recession and thematic verb, as part of the communicative

strategies relevant for patterns with the verb in the preposition to the subject. Additionally, she argues that verb-initial clauses with two or more actants can be undivided; however, it is more important that they do have a theme which is communicatively suppressed. This argument is in line with Turner's (2006) discussion of undivided clauses and her term of 'rheme-only' clauses. Having said that, Janko's (2001) analysis appears to be more accurate, since she considered three-element patterns, while Turner analysed two-element variations. Furthermore, both Janko's and Turner's (2006) considerations of undivided clauses are reflected in the term 'Clause Focus Information Structure', adopted in this research (See Chapter 3).

It is important to mention that in dealing with both oral and written discourse, Janko admits that the latter allows for a certain freedom in interpreting the author's communicative intentions. Thus, the reader of a written text becomes a co-author of that text to some extent. As the research analysis of the current project is based on written discourse, it proceeds, from the perspective that the author and reader co-create the communicative effect.

Janko's analysis of communicative structures is embedded in the discussion of the communicative strategies employed by the author of the clause. Of the four strategies, one is particularly related to verb-initial patterns; "… one of [the marked VIP] sentence types – sentences with theme recession – is available in special texts – folk tales, anecdotes, memoirs/reminiscences and dreams… In all other sentences, verb in preposition is a result of the contextual factor, …, or a special communicative strategy" (p. 220). The strategy "… is aimed at creating an image of a picture of the world; in other words, it makes an impression that the narrated events are unfolding in front of the addressee" (p. 208). To illustrate this strategy, a well-known beginning of a folk tale is provided: *Посадил дед репку* 'Planted old man turnip'.

Furthermore, the researcher discusses context as a factor in accounting for verb-initial ordering. One of the examples of VIP ordering that is analysed by Janko (2001) as context dependent is provided below:

(2.11) [Служил на Кавказе один барин.]
[Served in the Caucasus one nobleman.]
[preceding context]

Звали	его	Жилин.
[V]	S	[V]
Was called	he	Žilin.

(He was called Žilin.)

(p. 81)

The verb in (2.11) is thematic. From the point of view of information structure, it is the theme of the clause, and its attribute *Жилин* 'Žilin' is the rheme. However, Janko does not treat VIPs with

a thematic verb as realising a particular communicative strategy. Rather, she claims that the sentence in (2.11) provides additional information about the character introduced in the preceding context. The subject in (2.11) is a theme which provides a link to the preceding sentence. Thus, it appears that both the ordering in (2.11) above and (2.12) [variation mine] below are possible:

(2.12) [Служил на Кавказе один барин.]
[Served in the Caucasus one nobleman.]
[preceding context]

Его	звали	Жилин.
S	[V]	[V]
He	was called	Žilin.

Although there is no theme recession in this case, there must be a reason foregrounding the author's choice of (2.11) over (2.12).

What appears doubtful in Janko's analysis is her assigning thematic status to a verb in an example such as (2.11), as the information contained in the verb is not activated. In other words, it is not available from the preceding context and, hence, not known to the reader. Likewise, the second sentence may provide information about Žilin's appearance or his character, so the idea that after introducing a character the author will provide his name is expected but not guaranteed. Thus, the status of the verb in question does not appear so straightforward, and other factors are required to identify it. In contrast, Padučeva (1985) classifies sentences similar to (2.11) differently. She argues that they are instances of contrastive dislocation of a complex rheme (p. 120). Such cases are aimed at suppressing the beginning of the sentence, while emphasising the rheme. Her approach, thus, accounts for the fact that the verb and its complement are elements unknown to the reader from the previous context, which appears to be more accurate for the analysis of (2.11).

Janko (2001) also addresses the overlap of communicative strategies and lexical semantics with respect to the analysis of individual lexical units. In particular, she considers the communicative meaning of 'contrast' and states that the words in a clause which are indicating contrast should be differentiated from those that are the rheme, since the former can be both thematic and rhematic (p. 231). This point is significant for the current research in establishing contrast as a communicative effect of verb-initial combinations.

To conclude, Janko (2001) argues that placing a verb in preposition to a subject is a result of either context factors or a discourse technique aimed at supressing the theme by removing it from clause-initial position. This technique is used to create an impression that the event which took place in the past or will take place in the future is happening at the moment of speaking,

unfolding in front of the reader. She adds that this strategy is typical at the beginning of a narrated story; while other strategies are employed if a VIP occurs in the middle or at the end of the narration. Overall, Janko's work on communicative strategies underpins the further investigation of communicative techniques and strategies used in written discourse in this research project.

2.2.3.2. Turner

While Section 2.2.1.3. was devoted to Turner's (2006) analysis of Early Russian verb-initial clauses, in a subsequent study, Turner (2009a) researches the environment of VS word order patterns in contemporary Russian and accounts for their pragmatics by presenting "a more or less comprehensive overview of environments in which clauses containing post-verbal subjects are found in written Russian" (p. 525). The data on which the author builds her analysis include 883 VS clauses, excluding ones attributing direct speech, collected from three sources: Rasputin's (1967) novella containing language of characters of low social standing; the opening part of Ginzburg's autobiography (first published in 1967); and six academic articles published between 1963 and 1976. Thus, in terms of genre distribution, Turner's set of data is comprised of a piece of fiction, an autobiography and an anthology of academic writing, which were all written in the second half of the 20th century.

Although many factors exert an influence on constituent word order – lexical, stylistic, pragmatic, syntactic, semantic, and prosodic – the researcher chooses pragmatic and syntactic factors to ground her analysis, without prioritising one or the other. Moreover, in her approach Turner (2009a) combines generative and functional frameworks in establishing a model of Russian constituent order. In other words, she sets out not only to bring together a range of diverse factors which can influence clause organisation in Russian but also to propose a model to account for surface word order.

Most of Turner's findings are of direct interest for the current research project, as they outline a number of environments in which VS orders occur. Firstly, in declarative clauses, when Verb and Subject differ in pragmatic status, Subject appears after Verb if it is the Rheme of the clause, as shown in (2.5):

(2.5)	первой	пострадала	переселенка Маруся,
		V	S
	first (the first one to suffer)	suffered	Marusja,
	[над которой деревня подсмеивалась…]		
	[who the village laughed at…]		
	following context		

(Turner, 2009a, p. 529)

This is a basic example from this category, allowing for a certain variation with regard to the preceding context. However, it is less important here, as the clause follows the main concept of Subject being the "new" information as compared to the thematic Verb.

In addition to the influence of syntactic and pragmatic factors, some particles, according to Turner (2009), such as *и* 'and', *даже* 'even' and *только* 'only' – being lexical factors – contribute to the rhematic status of the following constituent, subject, verb or object. This idea is supported by Valgina (2003) and is adopted in this research project.

Secondly, in Rheme-only clauses, in which a verb and a subject have the same rhematic status, VS is the most common word order pattern. Most importantly, all researchers are unanimous in this view; therefore, such clauses are not included in the analysis of unconventional word order variations in the current research.

Turner (2009a) identifies a subclass within the above-mentioned group of clauses, where the combination of Verb and Subject is rhematic despite the appearance of a thematic adjunct, called a "prepositional phrase" (PP) by other researchers (Bailyn, 2012; Kallestinova, 2007), which is most often of time and/or place. As this is a very common type of environment for a verb-initial word order combination, especially with intransitive verbs, I follow Turner and do not consider such cases as belonging to unconventional word order variations.

Additionally, in subordinate clauses, VS order dominates and is, therefore, unmarked or neutral, as in the following relative clause:

(2.6) [Он хотел обрадовать Марию, показал ей деньги,]
[He wanted to make Marija happy, so he showed her the money]

которые	дала	тётка Наталья.
O	V	S
that	had given (him)	aunt Natal'ja.

(Turner, 2009a, p. 536)

Therefore, subordinate clauses, being "clausal complements", are "inherently rhematic". (p. 538)

However, as the researcher argues, the situation when a pronominal subject follows the verb in a subordinate clause, as in (2.7) below, is an exception and needs to be investigated further, as existing approaches cannot account for such cases.

(2.7) [Через стекло было видно,]
[Through the pane one could see,]

как	опустился	он	за рояль,
	V	S	O
how	sat down	he	at the piano,

[сгорбился, и неспешно принялся играть какую-то сложную мелодию.]
[hunched over, and unhurriedly began to play some sort of complicated tune.]

(Turner, 2009a, p. 538)

Thirdly, Turner analyses the surface order of Verb and Subject in the Thematic domain of a theme-rheme clause and mentions the lack of attention to this use of a VS combination from other researchers. She argues that "it is rare for the verb to be explicitly available in the preceding context"; however, she provides a number of circumstances under which the verb is thematic (p. 529). In particular, "the post-verbal placement of the subject constituent … can also be used to assign a thematic status to a verb when the writer wishes to underscore the rhematic status of a constituent which would more typically form part of a complex rheme with it" (p. 539). Moreover, Turner supports Nilsson's (1982) finding of post-verbal subject pronoun making the preceding verb thematic, the verb hereby is either explicit or implied from the previous context. She provides four examples from different sources, all following a similar syntactic pattern. The first, given in (2.8) below, consists of: Preceding context + *а/но* 'and/but' + verb + pronominal subject + adverb/PP.

(2.8) [Деду Гордею было за семьдесят,]
[Grandpa Gordej was over seventy,]

но	старел	он	плохо.
	V	S	A
but	was ageing	he	badly.

(Turner, 2009a, p. 539)

As has been mentioned earlier, Turner (2009a) focuses on two factors underlying surface word order in Russian – syntactic and pragmatic – to build her model of VS pragmatics. However, she admits that "there are some environments in Russian when the post-verbal position of the subject is so firmly fixed by convention that discussion of how well, if at all, such clauses support the proposed model of constituent order is redundant" (p. 541). Among these are clauses reporting direct speech, or acknowledging a source of information, and complex asyndetic constructions. Moreover, the researcher includes in this group of "conventionals", stylistically determined VS orders identified as "a feature of a colloquial style" and/or "a stylistic device for signalling colloquial speech" (p. 544):

(2.9)

Врёт	она,	[врёт!]
V	S	
Is lying	she	[is lying!]

[- закричала опять Галька.]
[Galʹka shouted again.]

(Turner, 2009a, p. 545)

Moreover, the VS order "can be used to dissimilate a secondary, reported voice from the ordinary speaking voice" (p. 545), as in (2.10) below:

(2.10)	[думаю,]	н-не пойду	я,
		V	S
	[I'm thinking]	won't go	I
	[ни за что не пойду.]		
	[by no means I'll go.]		
	following context		

(Turner, 2009a, p. 545)

Finally, Turner (2009a) states that approximately 95% of all analysed VS orders fall into one of the subcategories described above. Furthermore, she acknowledges that the position of the complement (Object, in my terminology) in relation to the subject and the verb "has been left out of the discussion altogether", and this issue "stands in need of testing and refinement in future research" (p. 546).

To summarise, the significance of the VS function model offered by Turner, for the present project cannot be underestimated, both in terms of its empirical results and identified areas for future research. However, her proposal of VS word order as the basic (neutral, unmarked) model of ordering of syntactic constituents in a Russian sentence, cannot be supported in this research, since it disregards the obvious statistical dominance of SVO sentences in Russian and does not take into account the low acceptability status of VS patterns claimed by Russian native speakers in Kallestinova's (2007) experiments.

2.2.3.3. Blekher

'Word order and Discourse Management in Russian' by Blekher (1995) is the final analysis of the order of syntactic constituents in Russian to be considered here. The author researches marked (object or adverbial before subject, O/AS) and unmarked (SO/A) word order patterns in four genres: colloquial, fairy tale, neutral belles-lettres and scholarly writing – in order to test the hypothesis that Russian word order serves the discourse management function of placing given information before new. As a result, this study identifies two discourse management functions of Russian word order: "information packaging" and "signalling shifts in discourse", the former accounting for the placement of known information before new, and the latter signalling changes in the lines of narration (p. 9). It also reveals that marked and unmarked word order patterns are employed by Russian speakers to place known information before new, in which case the word order is unmarked, or at the beginning of a paragraph, in which case the order of the constituents is marked.

The results of this study cannot be fully implemented in the current investigation due to the difference in the constituents analysed; specifically, Blekher excludes the position of the verb from her analysis. Thus, word orders such as VSO, SOV and SVO are collapsed into one category and VOS, OSV, OVS into another, whereas the current project focuses solely on verb initial word orders. However, the author's finding of the information-packaging function manifesting itself stronger in more formal, structured genres (the texts of the belles-lettres genre and scholarly writing, included in Blekher's data set) accounts for the style of scholarly writing to be excluded from the analysis in current research. Moreover, Blekher (1995) argues that besides the two discourse management functions, such discourse-cognitive functions as "foregrounding/backgrounding, iconicity, and focus of attention, among others" can also account for word order variation in Russian (p. 11). The current project, therefore, proceeds from the view that other functions, or communicative effects, of arranging syntactic elements interact with information structure.

Overall, Blehker's work on discourse management functions and variation in Russian word order provide a basis for the current research project, which adds the verb as an obligatory element of unconventional word order permutations, as well as more functions, or communicative effects, as motivations for word order choice.

2.3. Summary

This chapter has given an overview of relevant research on pragmatic motivations for word order variation, with a focus on the principles of the FSP and the notions of theme-rheme and topic-focus. In the research specific to Russian, it has been shown that a range of studies have established that various non-standard word order variations (that is, variations that flout FSP principles) are not merely stylistic variants, but are meaningful, context-dependent and motivated by pragmatic factors such as information structure, point of view, communicative strategy, and discourse management function. In addition, some studies have taken a diachronic approach, arguing that some word order permutations reflect the norms accepted at earlier stages of the language, while other studies have explored the relative frequency of various word order permutations across a range of genres. In Chapter 3 it will be explicitly shown how this research underpins the methodological approach adopted in this research project: in order to analyse the use of unconventional VIPs, both information structure of a clause and the communicative effect produced by a certain word order pattern, along with genre and time period, are taken into consideration. Moreover, in Chapter 10, the findings derived in this study about the pragmatic motivations for the use of unconventional VIPs will be compared, to the degree possible, with those presented in this chapter.

3. Methodology

The aims of this chapter are twofold: to give an overview of the corpora that were selected to investigate the synchronic and diachronic nature of unconventional VOS, VSO and VS word order pattern usage in Russian (Section 3.1); and to lay out and operationalise the analytical approach that was used in the analysis of the corpora (Section 3.2).

3.1. The Corpora

As both synchronic and diachronic perspectives underlie the current research project, the corpora that were put together for analysis comprise six sets of texts drawn from five different genres and four different time periods:

Table 2.1 Summary of the corpora by genre and time period

Time Period	Genre
15th century	travel diary
18th-19th century	travel diaries
19th century	classic folk tales
20th century	narratives
21st century	modern tales
21st century	blog entries

The next section provides a rationale for the genres and time periods selected for research in this project, while the following sections give details of the texts included in each of the six corpora.

3.1.1. Rationale

In considering the motivation for the selection of the different genres, it is useful to recall that according to Bakhtin (1996), genres are relatively stable, thematic, compositional, and stylistic types of clauses, and there is an "organic, inseparable link between style and genre" (pp. 163-164). Moreover, not only is language characterised by a wide range of such genres, both in written and spoken discourse, but it is through these genres the individual clauses are analysed.

There are several reasons for the genre selection of travel diaries, classic folk tales, narratives, modern tales and blog entries for the corpora in this study. First, as reviewed in Chapter 2, Russian word order patterns in such genres as fiction, newspapers, scholarly writing and oral discourse have been researched by Bivon (1971), Blekher (1995), Kallestinova (2007) and Turner (2009a, 2009b), among others, with Blekher (1995) noting that "the information-packaging

function[5] manifests itself stronger in more formal, structured genres" (p. 7), such as scholarly writing. In other words, formal, structured genres do not normally feature unconventional word order variations, such as verb-initial ones. In contrast, the information structures of clauses in non-formal genres are often labelled as emphatic and/or stylistic variations of unmarked element orderings. Thus, to more effectively examine the pragmatics of unconventional VIPs, and to extend previous research findings, the current research project focuses on genres that are both informal and previously unanalysed.

Another argument in favour of selecting certain genres over others is motivated by the division of texts into *Erzählung* and *Besprechung* types, first mentioned by Weinrich (1971) and adopted by Turner (2006). Clauses of the former type 'narrate' about events, while the latter discourse type 'discusses' or 'comments' on these events. In particular, dialogues, sermons and prayers exemplify *Besprechung* type texts, while stories, folk tales and other narratives represent *Erzählung* sources. Although a single text can contain features of both *Besprechung* and *Erzählung* (Weinrich, 1971, pp. 19-20), in Early East Slavonic, according to Turner (2006), "*Erzählung* [as opposed to *Besprechung*] sources show a preference for verb-first clauses, even when this order contravenes the discourse principle of placing available information before unavailable information" (p. 112). This finding serves as a basis for including such *Erzählung* sources as travel diaries, modern tales, narratives, classic folk tales and blog entries in the corpora compiled for this research project as they are all relatively informal and narrative in nature. By contrast, the texts of official documents, newspaper and journal articles, texts of sermons, and well-researched classical prose are not included in the current analysis as they are more formal and planned in nature.

Finally, this research project is limited to written discourse types for two reasons. First, Kallestinova's (2007) experimental results demonstrated that VOS, VSO and VS word order patterns are produced infrequently in oral discourse and have a "degraded acceptability rate" (p. 258). Second, in order to better address the diachronic nature of unconventional VIP usage, the analysis of texts across all time periods is limited to written discourse types. Thus, while the texts in the genres that are represented in the corpora are all informal and narrative in nature, they nevertheless conform to the conventions of written discourse, exemplifying *Erzählung* sources.

Turning to the diachronic aspect of this study, the history of the Russian language can be divided into three broad periods: Old Russian – 12th to 15th centuries; Pre-modern Russian – 15th to 18th centuries; and Modern Russian – 18th century to the present ("History of Russian," 2018). It is the continuing convergence of Church Slavonic and the vernacular language in the 15th century to the middle of the 18th century that has traditionally been taken as the motivation for separating

[5] not strictly observed in clauses with verb-initial patterns, comment mine.

the history of Russian into these three time periods. However, Filkova (n.d.) argues that the formation of modern Russian began with Lomonosov's (1755) *Русская грамматика* 'Russian Grammar', in which Lomonosov analysed Russian as having three oral styles (high, medium, and low), and formalised a set of common literary norms ("History of Russian," 2018). Furthermore, Benoist (2000) admits Lomonosov's prominent role in laying the foundation for modern Russian and adds that modern Russian, a synthesis of Church Slavonic and old Russian, goes back to the second half of the 18th century for its birth.

In the current study, most texts are from the modern Russian period. However, as a transition from old Russian sources, which were well researched by Turner (2006) and McAnallen (2009), a 15th-century *хожение* 'travel diary' has been included in this study. It is of the same genre as the twelfth-century texts analysed by Turner and McAnallen, whose analyses of unconventional VS patterns, as discussed in Section 2.2.1.3. and 2.2.1.4., correspondingly, constitute significant historical findings on the functioning of a broad group of VS patterns. Hence, the analysis of unconventional VIP usage in the 15th-century travel diary provides a connection between Turner's and McAnallen's investigations and that of VIP usage in modern Russian texts, the focus of the present project. However, as only one 15th-century text is analysed in this study, the findings can only be taken as indicative of potential tendencies in VIP usage between the 12th and 18th centuries.

Having outlined the grounds for the selection of genre and time periods represented in the corpora, it is important to bear in mind that there are limitations on the selected corpora in terms of their comparability. First, although the 15th-century travel diary, the 18th-19th-century travel diaries and the 21st-century blog entries arguably share some stylistic features in that they are all first-person narratives giving descriptions of places and events[6], the three corpora also differ: for example, the descriptions in 21st-century blog entries are more complex and cover a wider variety of topics and events. Secondly, the authors of the 20th-century narratives, like those of the 15th- and 18th-19th-century travel diaries and 21st-century blogs describe events that they have experienced; however, the descriptions in the travel diaries and blogs are of recent events, whereas the 20th-century narratives are all childhood recollections of living through the post-war period of 1945-1953, 50 years previously. Thirdly, while the 19th-century folk tales and the 21st-century modern tales centre around telling an imaginary story that is aimed at teaching a lesson and is characterised by good always winning over evil, the texts in these two corpora differ substantially in their way of presenting the story: for example, the classic folk tales all involve an event that takes places three times with a change taking place in the third occurrence, whereas the modern

[6] See the discussion in Section 3.1.7 regarding the narrative nature of the blogs under analysis.

tales do not. However, even though the selected corpora are not fully comparable, they can still provide insight into probable trends in unconventional VIP usage.

Thus, the current research project compares VIP usage, though with some limitations, in the travel diaries from the 15th, 18th and 19th centuries, and the blog entries of the 21st century; the classic folk tales from the 19th century and the modern tales from the 21st century; and, to the degree possible, it compares these texts and the 20th-century narratives.

In the following sections, details are given of the texts that were selected and analysed in each of the six corpora.

3.1.2. 15th-century travel diary

The 15th-century text chosen for analysis in the current project is *Хождение за три моря Афанасия Никитина* 'Afanasy Nikitin's journey beyond the three seas'[7]. This *хожение* 'travel diary' describes the narrator's travels to and in India and contains 7, 240 words and 427 sentences[8]. However, in approaching the text for the purposes of this research project, portions that consist of prayers and /or text in the Turkish language were excluded. After these exclusions, a total of 6,952 words, making up 398 sentences, was included in the analysis of the text. Within this there were 17 sentences with VIPs making up 4.3% of the total number of sentences.

3.1.3. 18th- and 19th-century travel diaries

Seven travel diaries of 18th-19th-century classical writers who are well known to the general Russian public were chosen for analysis. A list of authors, the dates of their diaries, as well as the page numbers of the extracts chosen for analysis, are provided in Table 3.2[9]:

[7] Of the three available versions, the diary used in this project is the first, earliest, version, with a few amendments from the second version (Sofijskaja, L'vovskaja and Troickaja chronicles, XV-XVI centuries).
[8] In this study, analysis of unconventional VIP usage is at the clause level. However, in the initial presentation of the corpora, the number of sentences, rather than clauses is given. This is due to the fact that while it is important to have a sense of the relative density of clause/sentences across the texts, the identification of clause boundaries within particular types of sentences in Russian is not always straightforward (see Section 3.2).
[9] Although the diaries were written across 121 years, they are not listed in chronological order as the analysis in the current study is only of the texts as a set; a larger corpus would be required to meaningfully analyse unconventional VIP usage within this time period.

Table 2.2 The 18th & 19th-century travel diary corpus

	Author and date	**Extract**	**Description**
Diary 1	Fonvizin, 06/1786	pp. 563-567	4th trip abroad
Diary 2	Radishchev, 1790	pp. 139-142	one-week diary
Diary 3	Derzhavin, 12/1773 – 03/1774	pp. 57-64	written during Pugačëv revolt
Diary 4	Leskov, 09/1862	pp. 15-23	travel diary
Diary 5	Zhukovsky, 06/1821	pp. 169-173	travelling from Berlin to Dresden
Diary 6	Tolstoy, 05/1857	pp. 196-200	travel diary
Diary 7	Chekhov, 1889-1894	parts I and II	travel essays

Most texts have been sourced from e-libraries, such as the Russian virtual library,[10] with the exceptions being Diaries 3, 4 and 6, which are available in pdf or e-book versions. Most e-libraries provide their resources with page numbers; however, the one where Diary 7 is hosted – does not. As well, no exact date is provided for Dairy 7; only a period of time is mentioned at the beginning of the series of diary entries. Moreover, it appears that the original 19th-century draft has not survived and in the only available sources Chekhov presents his travel notes as travel essays, and, as such, the format is different from that of the other authors' travel diaries. The extract selected for analysis in this research project comprises the first two parts of 'From Siberia'. Additionally, Diary 3 is the only text available in the original version and, hence, the only text in its original spelling, which was common from the early 18th century until the Soviet reform in 1917-1918.

The excerpts selected for analysis average approximately 1500 words; the length varies, however, depending on where a natural break occurred in the diary entries. A summary of the word length and number of sentences in each of the travel diary extracts is given in Table 3.3:

Table 2.3 Word and Sentence Count – 18th & 19th-century travel diary corpus

	Author	**Number of words**	**Number of sentences**
Diary 1	Fonvizin	1,332	97
Diary 2	Radishchev	1,015	97
Diary 3	Derzhavin	1,661	46
Diary 4	Leskov	1,215	80
Diary 5	Zhukovskij	1,805	63
Diary 6	Tolstoy	1,605	71
Diary 7	Chekhov	1,736	121
Total		10,369	575

[10] https://rvb.ru/

3.1.4. 19th-century classic folk tales

The most well-known authors of anthologies of classic, or traditional, Russian folk tales are Vladimir Dal' (1801-1872) and Aleksandr Afanas'ev (1826-1871), who attached great significance to the conservation and spread of *сказка* 'fairy tale'. These folk tales originated as oral discourse since they were made up and transmitted across generations in an oral manner. However, in the 19th century, Dal' and Afanas'ev travelled around Russia and collected Russian folk's oral narratives which were published and now form part of written Russian literary discourse. Seven tales from Dal''s and Afanas'ev's collections are included in the current analysis. The choice of texts was driven by familiarity to native speakers, as determined by their inclusion in the literature curriculum of primary school students ("Primary school literature curriculum," 2018).

A list of the authors and folk tale titles, as well as the location in the literary source, are provided in Table 3.4 below.

Table 2.4 Classic folktale corpus

	Author and title	**Location in the literary source**
Folktale 1	Даль В.И. Медведь-половинщик	Dal', 1979, pp. 56-60
Folktale 2	Афанасьев А.Н. По щучьему веленью	Afanas'ev[11], 1984, Vol. I, pp. 328-330
Folktale 3	Афанасьев А.Н. Лиса и журавль	Afanas'ev, 1984, Vol. I, p. 44
Folktale 4	Афанасьев А.Н. Лиса, заяц и петух	Afanas'ev, 1984, Vol. I, p. 26-27
Folktale 5	Афанасьев А.Н. Петух и жерновки	Afanas'ev, 1984, Vol. II, pp. 30-31
Folktale 6	Даль В.И. Девочка Снегурочка	Dal', 1979, pp. 14-21
Folktale 7	Даль В.И. Лиса-Лапотница	Dal', 1979, pp. 43-52

The word length and number of sentences in each of the texts included in the classic folktale corpus is given below:

[11] In: Pomeranceva, Ė. V., & Chistov, K. V. (1984). *Народные русские сказки А. Н. Афанасьева*. Наука

Table 2.5 Word and sentence count – classic folktale corpus

	Author	Number of words	Number of sentences
Folktale 1	Dal'	644	57
Folktale 2	Afanas'ev	1,374	88
Folktale 3	Afanas'ev	199	22
Folktale 4	Afanas'ev	413	57
Folktale 5	Afanas'ev	441	49
Folktale 6	Dal'	852	58
Folktale 7	Dal'	1,552	129
Total		5,475	460

The texts differ considerably in length. However, the variation is not that great on a sentence level, except for Folktale 7 and Folktale 3, which are the longest and the shortest texts, respectively, both in terms of number of words and number of sentences.

3.1.5. 20th-century narratives

The 20th-century narrative corpus is taken from a single book, Ulickaja (2014), that presents a collection of letters and oral narratives of Russian citizens whose childhood fell into the period 1945-1953 – the post-war years in Russia. In an abstract to her book, the author states that the purpose of the collection is to remember the generation of post-war children and the country's 'small' history that occurred at an individual family level (Ulickaja, 2014, p. 3). To achieve her goal, Ulickaja collected personal letters and photographs, as well as letters written by the participants' relatives, containing personal stories that are recollections of their childhood. One of the stories comes from the pen of Ulickaja who belongs to the generation under consideration. Overall, nearly 100 authors tell their stories in the book, on the topics of Victory Day, food, drinks, leisure time, school, clothes, among others.

The eleven narratives that were randomly chosen to include in the corpus, are presented in the table below:

Table 2.6 The 20th-century narrative corpus

	Author and title	**Location in the literary source**
Narrative 1	Анна Сальникова. Девочка без карточек	Ulickaja, 2014, pp. 34-38
Narrative 2	Юрий Леонов. Лепёшки с лебедой	Ulickaja, 2014, pp. 51-60
Narrative 3	Леонид Добровольский. В баню в мужской компании	Ulickaja, 2014, pp. 104-107
Narrative 4	Наталья Гаврилова. Красное платье	Ulickaja, 2014, pp. 121-123
Narrative 5	Татьяна Кербут. "Беру и помню"	Ulickaja, 2014, pp. 153-155
Narrative 6	Антонина Кухтина. Взрыв	Ulickaja, 2014, pp. 171-172
Narrative 7	Людмила Улицкая. Коммуналка на Каляевской	Ulickaja, 2014, pp. 179-181
Narrative 8	Татьяна Жданова. Соседи	Ulickaja, 2014, pp. 187-196
Narrative 9	Марк Птичников. Тум-балалайка	Ulickaja, 2014, pp. 198-201
Narrative 10	Римма Сивак. Писали на обрывках газет…	Ulickaja, 2014, pp. 224-227
Narrative 11	Иосиф Рабинович. Девять – это много	Ulickaja, 2014, pp. 230-232

Table 3.7 provides a summary of the number of words and number of sentences in the eleven narratives:

Table 2.7 Word and sentence count – 20th-century narrative corpus

	Author	**Number of words**	**Number of sentences**
Narrative 1	Salʹnikova	1,134	84
Narrative 2	Leonov	1,373	118
Narrative 3	Dobrovolʹskij	750	44
Narrative 4	Gavrilova	532	34
Narrative 5	Kerbut	561	38
Narrative 6	Kuxtina	398	35
Narrative 7	Ulickaja	631	46
Narrative 8	Ždanova	1,756	114
Narrative 9	Ptičnikov	667	52
Narrative 10	Sivak	855	59
Narrative 11	Rabinovič	369	28
Total		9,026	652

3.1.6. 21st-century modern tales

To be able to trace unconventional VIP usage in tales over time, a set of seven modern tales has also been analysed. The texts, which were written by a mix of contemporary male and female writers, were taken from an online-library, *Хранители сказок* 'Fairy tale keepers' (2015), and a children's portal, *Солнышко* 'Sun' (2015), on a random basis.

The genre of modern, or author's, fairy tale originates from the older folk fairy tale genre and relates to the literary fairy tale. To draw a distinction between the three above mentioned genres, Suxorukov (2014) argues that the differentiation lies in the presentation form and in the content. Thus, folk fairy tales derive from an oral form of discourse, while literary and authors' fairy tales belong solely to written discourse. Moreover, both literary and authors' fairy tales have authors, whereas the creators of folk fairy tales are multiple and are unknown to the reader. Other differences include character types, stylistic patterns and plots, which are fixed in folk fairy tales and personalised in the modern ones.

In differentiating between literary and authors' fairy tales, Suxorukov argues that the former, though written by an author, use the ideas of folk fairy tales and modify them (slightly or a lot), depending on the writer's preferences. An author's fairy tale, by contrast, appears to be more personalised and driven solely by the writer's imagination and creativity. Having said that, the author's fairy tale is not completely independent: it employs certain character types (such as witches and wizards, princesses and heroes), stylistic characteristics and plot developments from its folk and literary counterparts (Suxorukov, 2014). Additionally, an author's fairy tale, similarly to the two other types, is aimed at teaching a lesson and is characterised by good always winning over evil. Unlike folk and literary fairy tales, an author's fairy tale is unique and distinct, as much as every author is unique in their own signature style reflecting their imagination and experience.

The authors and titles, as well as the URLs, of the texts in the corpus of 21st century modern tales are provided below:

Table 2.8 The 21st-century modern tale corpus

	Author and title	**Author, Year Posted, URL**
Modern Tale 1	Александр Гуярский. Сказка про Синюю Лошадь	Gujarskij, 2002 https://solnet.ee/skazki/471
Modern Tale 2	Антонина Лукьянова. Сказка о Змее Горыныче	Luk'janova, 2002 https://solnet.ee/skazki/431
Modern Tale 3	Евгений Крымов. Белая мечта	Krymov, 2010 https://www.proza.ru/2010/09/06/561
Modern Tale 4	Оксана Гурьева. Как Майский Жук женился	Gur'eva, 2010 http://hobbitaniya.ru/gureva/gureva4.php
Modern Tale 5	Владимир Косарев. Приключения Ника и Роны в Огневом Лабиринте	Kosarev, 2015[12] http://chudesnayastrana.ru/vladimir-kosarev-prikl-roni-i-nika.htm
Modern Tale 6	Елена Вадюхина. Сказка о красавице и трёх её сестрах	Vadjuxina, 2003 https://solnet.ee/skazki/581
Modern Tale 7	Василий Быстров. Тайны Города Семи Дорог	Bystrov, 2010 http://hobbitaniya.ru/bistrov/bistrov1.php

A summary of the number of words and the number of sentences for each of the seven tales is provided in the table below:

Table 2.9 Word and sentence count – 21st-century modern tale corpus

	Author	**Number of words**	**Number of sentences**
Modern Tale 1	Gujarskij	667	76
Modern Tale 2	Luk'janova	1,636	145
Modern Tale 3	Krymov	1,744	127
Modern Tale 4	Gur'eva	1,487	135
Modern Tale 5	Kosarev	1,131	112
Modern Tale 6	Vadjuxina	1,495	89
Modern Tale 7	Bystrov	1,789	140
Total		9,949	824

[12] The website does not provide the date when the tale was written. Therefore, 2015 is the year when the webpage was accessed for research purposes.

3.1.7. 21st-century blog entries

Blogging appeared as a consequence of the development of technology and people's need to express themselves, as well as to inform and/or influence others. Since this kind of writing only requires a basic level of literacy, people of different ages, backgrounds and education levels can access this opportunity. All bloggers share two properties: they have something that they want to say to the world, and they know how to do it using technology. However, there exist many points of difference. In particular, the purpose of writing determines the form of the discourse: whether it is to inform, to persuade, to express an opinion, to instruct or to express one's creativity. In this regard, a blog can have the features of an expository, persuasive, descriptive, instructive or narrative type of discourse. Moreover, the quality of writing depends on the author's expertise on the matter, their education and life experience. Thus, a blog that recommends a new model vacuum cleaner, for instance, could be written by a layperson or a professional engineer; while both would likely describe their experience of using the appliance, the emphasis laid on certain features might be different. The same applies to an account of events described by a professional journalist or a 15-year-old student. Obviously, the above-mentioned examples do not fully reflect the variety of expression, which makes it nearly impossible to categorise blog entries, apart from the five writing purposes reflected in the names of the discourse types that these entries belong to. As this research project focuses on informal written narratives (see Section 3.1), the corpus of 21st-century blogs is limited to blogs with a narrative discourse type.

With regard to the current corpus of blog entries, eight texts were randomly selected from web sources. The names/nicknames of the eight blog writers, as well as brief descriptions of the blog entries are given in Table 3.10 below. For convenience, the citation format (Author, [year]) and the authors' original spelling and punctuation will be used in the examples and analysis presented in this study.

Table 2.10 The 21st-century blog entry corpus

	Author, date posted, URL	**Blog Description**
Blog 1	alte_liebe, 09/2014 http://alte-liebe.livejournal.com/3777.html	Birthday party
Blog 2	Xaritonov, 16/04/2011 https://www.liveinternet.ru/users/3628693/post161672560/	Film review
Blog 3	dok_zlo, 15/10/2014 https://dok-zlo.livejournal.com/1585197.html	Post pregnancy striae gravidarum
Blog 4	Black-and-Red Phoenix, 11/05/2010 https://www.liveinternet.ru/users/black-and-red_phoenix/post126426178/	Daily routine of a schoolgirl
Blog 5	Tolstaja, 19/08/2015 https://tanyant.livejournal.com/121516.html	"Immortal"
Blog 6	Sokolov, 07/04/2015 http://blog.sokolovcz.ru/pasxalnye-tradicii-v-moravii/	"Easter traditions in Moravia"
Blog 7	Malikova, 21/06/2015 https://vk.com/puteshestvenitsya?w=wall-88906161_69	"A traveller's diary"
Blog 8	Oksana, 21/09/2010 https://travel.drom.ru/14902/	"Tortuga-Casabaga, or a trip from Čeljabinsk to Taman' through the hurricanes and despite the storms"

As Table 3.10 illustrates, the eight blogs describe a number of different events from a five-year span of 2010-2015. Some blogs provide titles, such as Blogs 5–8, while the others do not (Blogs 1–4). The texts represent three writing styles, or purposes of writing: persuasive, descriptive and narrative. No example of expository writing style is included in the data set, following the commonly held assumption that VIPs occur infrequently in this writing style (Blekher, 1995; Turner, 2009a).

In particular, the female author of Blog 1 uses a nickname, "alte_liebe", and describes her negative experience of attending her sister-in-law's birthday party. Blog 2 was written by Dmitrij Xaritonov, aged 45, a male academic at various tertiary institutions of Russia. His blog is aimed at initiating a discussion of a Russian film with his students. The teacher begins with his own review of the film; hence, the blog is written in the persuasive genre. Blog 3 is part of a blog entry written by a male doctor under the nickname "dok_zlo", in which he provides a critique of a book by another doctor. The text belongs to the persuasive genre and summarises the doctor's opinion of the effect of various creams on post pregnancy striae gravidarum. The author of Blog 4 is a 17-

year-old blog writer “Black-and-Red Phoenix”, whose number of subscribers exceeds 1,000. She describes her daily routines over four consecutive days, 11 – 14 May 2010. Tatʹjana Tolstaja, a famous contemporary writer, is the author of Blog 5. She begins her entry with a description of a clothes boutique shop in Princeton and moves on to her purchase of a cashmere sweater. The rest of the blog represents a narrative of the life of a sweater, in which the author provides a dialogue with her inner voice, a poetic description and other attributes of the narrative style of writing.

Blogs 6, 7 and 8 have one common feature – they all describe travelling experiences of the writers. However, the author of Blog 6, Dmitrij Sokolov is a professional tour guide who describes various trips in his own blog space at blog.sokolovcz.ru, while the authors of Blogs 7 and 8 are amateur travellers. Having said that, Blog 7’s author is a young woman, aged 19, who has created a page on one of the Russian social networks, called “A traveller’s diary”, in which she aims to report on her regular travels; this way, she claims to be a professional traveller. In contrast, Oksana, the author of Blog 8, does not call herself a professional traveller; yet, she mentions multiple holiday trips that their family has made. Oksana has two teenage daughters, 16 and 14, a husband and a dog, and she has posted a story about their 2010 trip on one of the professional websites for car travellers, travel.drom.ru. Unlike Blogs 6 and 7, Blog 8 represents a mix of genres – it is a description of one’s travelling, posed as a narrative in which a plot is engaged.

The overall number of words and sentences for each of the eight blog entries is given in Table 3.11:

Table 2.11 Word and sentence count – 21st-century blog entry corpus

	Author	**Number of words**	**Number of sentences**
Blog 1	alte_liebe	921	61
Blog 2	Xaritonov	595	42
Blog 3	dok_zlo	1,006	81
Blog 4	Black-and-Red Phoenix	1,026	42
Blog 5	Tolstaja	1,138	121
Blog 6	Sokolov	1,181	77
Blog 7	Malikova	576	45
Blog 8	Oksana	1,154	65
Total		7,597	534

3.1.8. Summary

As the previous sections illustrate, the corpora under analysis vary somewhat in terms of the number of texts selected, the number of words and the number of sentences, including, most

significantly, the percentage of sentences with unconventional VIPs. The table below summarises the six sets of texts used for the project, as well as information on the genre and time period of the texts.

Table 2.12 Word and sentence count – all corpora

Time Period	Genre	Number of Texts	Number of Words	Number of Sentences
15th c.	travel diary	1	6,952	398
18th-19th c.	travel diaries	7	10,369	575
19th c.	classic folk tales	7	5,475	460
20th c.	narratives	11	9,026	652
21st c.	modern tales	7	9,949	824
21st c.	blog entries	8	7,597	534
Total		41	49,368	3,443

According to the data in the table, 41 texts totalling almost 50,000 words are analysed in this research project. Although the 15th century is represented by one text, it is comparable in length to the set of classic folk tales and the set of 21st century blog entries. These corpora serve as a starting point for the main body of analysis, which is presented in Chapters 4-9. The framework for analysing the pragmatic use of unconventional verb-initial word order combinations in these six corpora is presented in Section 3.2.

3.2. Analytical Approach

It is important to note that this research project employs an eclectic theoretical approach to analysing unconventional VIP usage. In particular, as discussed in Chapter 2, not only do there exist several systems of coding 'information structure' and 'information flow', but some of these systems are competing, such as the notions of 'theme' and 'known'. Providing a unitary theoretical approach that draws together the explanatory insights of the extensive research in this area is an important goal. However, such a contribution remains for future research. Instead, the primary contribution of the present project is to assess the pragmatic motivations underlying unconventional VIP usage across a broad range of synchronic and diachronic data. By building on existing analytical approaches, the findings of this study can be readily contextualised within previous studies in order to extend our understanding of variation in Russian word order.

In the interests of providing both a transparent account of and the motivation for the analysis of the corpora that are presented in Chapters 4-9, an overview of the methodological approach that was used is given in Section 3.2.1. This is followed by more detailed discussion of how the

grammatical analysis of clauses was effected (Section 3.2.2), how conventional and unconventional VIPs were distinguished (Section 3.2.3), and how the information structures of VIPs (Section 3.2.4) and the communicative effects produced in discourse (Section 3.2.5) were determined.

3.2.1. Analytical Methodology

Each text in the six corpora was analysed according to the following procedure:

1. **Sentences and clauses**. A sentence is understood here in its traditional meaning of a unit of written text with the boundaries signalled by sentence-final punctuation marks. Regarding structure, sentences were analysed along standard syntactic lines, as consisting of one or more clauses, with word order analysis of unconventional VIP usage carried out at the clause level. Nevertheless, the identification of clause boundaries within particular types of sentences in Russian is not necessarily clear cut (or indeed even the same in different grammatical approaches). Thus, initial presentation of the corpora in Section 3.1 is in terms of number of sentences, as is the reporting in Chapters 4-10 of the overall number of sentences compared with the number of sentences containing unconventional VIP usage. All other findings in Chapters 4-10 are in terms of clause level.

2. **Word order patterns**. Each clause was analysed in terms of Subject (S), Object (O), Verb (V) and Adjunct (A)[13] (see Section 3.2.2 for a detailed account of how S, O, V and A were assigned). Word order was then assessed in terms of the occurrence of V, S and O, and all sentences containing a clause with a VIP identified[14].

3. **Unconventional VIPs.** All clauses with a VIP were then further assessed in terms of whether the VIP was conventional or unconventional (see Section 3.2.3 for details of how this was determined). Those with unconventional VIPs were then classified as belonging to a VSO, VOS or VS group of patterns.

4. **Patterns and Variations.** After examining the distribution of the three groups of unconventional VIPs in the texts in each corpus, the range and frequency of pattern variation within each of the three groups in each corpus was investigated.

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[13] Bivon (1971) substitutes "Predicate" (P) for "Verb" and "Complement" (C) for "Object". *Prima facie* this nomenclature appears more appropriate for this study, on the basis that the analysed sentences have predicates that consist of verb only, or verb + predicative, or only predicative. Moreover, Object is not just canonical Accusative Theme argument, but what is actually a complement to the verb, direct and indirect, in all six morphological cases. On this basis, they are Complements rather than Objects. Nonetheless, I do not intend to challenge prevailing practice, and will continue to adhere to traditional S-V-O coding for the purposes of both continuity and clarity.

[14] As it is well known that the SOV word order is particularly common when O is a pronoun, it may be that word order depends on the noun/pronoun distinction, not just on givenness. This remains a topic for future research.

5. **Information Structure**. The pragmatic analysis of clauses with unconventional VIPs was done in two stages. In the first, each clause was identified as having one of the following structures: Topical Verb, Rhematised Verb, Split Rheme or Clause Focus (see Section 3.2.4 for details of how this framework was determined).

6. **Communicative Effects**. In the second stage of the pragmatic analysis, the examples of unconventional VIPs within each of the above-mentioned information structures were examined regarding the communicative effect(s) that they produced (see Section 3.2.5 for details of how this framework was determined). These effects form three larger groups of discourse management devices, syntactic and stylistic effects and are summarised in Table 3.13:

Table 2.13 Framework of communicative effects

Label	Description
Discourse management devices	
Scene setup	establishes a new scene in the narrative
Change in the narrative	signals a change in the narrative to a new topic
Connection to preceding/ following context	signals a connection to the preceding and/or following context
Syntactic effects	
Contrast	signals a contrast to the provided information
Presentation	presents a phenomenon, existential or stance
Syntactic pattern[15]	establishes a syntactic pattern after an adjunct
Stylistic effects	
Broader reading	enables emphasis on the event as a whole, rather than an action of the subject
Broader reading after *стать* 'begin'	enables broader reading after 'begin'
Syntactic parallelism	establishes parallel syntactic constructions
Adding motion	adds motion to the previously established scene or entity
stylised direct speech	signals stylised direct speech, or a stylised reporting clause
Colloquial speech	signals colloquial speech
Emphatic reading	enables an emphatic reading of a clause
Genre syntactic convention	signals a syntactic convention of a particular genre
Split focus	signals a splitting of the focus of a clause

[15] Syntactic pattern is categorised as a syntactic effect in the 15th-century and 18th-19th-century travel diaries, but as a stylistic effect in the other corpora, as it appears to have become a stylistic device over time (see Section 3.2.5).

3.2.2. Grammatical Analysis

For the most part, the grammatical analysis of clauses in this study follows that of Bailyn (2012). However, there are some aspects of the assignment of S, V and O that require further comment, particularly where the approach taken here departs from Bailyn's.

3.2.2.1. Subject

Most subjects in the analysed clauses satisfy one or several of the first eight of Bailyn's (2012, p. 80) definitions of S:

a) being the "theme" or "topic" of the sentence,
b) carrying the highest-ranked thematic role,
c) being marked with Nominative case,
d) agreeing with the verb or primary predicate,
e) having the ability to antecede reflexives and reciprocals within the same clause,
f) having the ability to determine ("control") the interpretation of null subjects of infinitives and gerunds, and/or
g) being in pre-verbal / pre-Auxiliary position,
h) being located in SpecTP.

However, there were some cases that do not fit within these definitions. First, in analysing what is traditionally regarded as impersonal constructions with a dative experiencer, I share Bailyn's (2012) view that they are not actually impersonal. Consider the following example:

(3.10)	Мне	страшно.
	Me-$_{DAT}$	fearful-$_{ADV}$
	'I am scared'.	

As the dative-marked personal pronoun in (3.10) is an animate experiencer, the sentence can hardly be regarded as impersonal. Compare the following example, which is an indication of a weather condition:

(3.11)	На улице	холодно.
	On street-$_{PP}$	cold.-$_{ADV}$
	'It is cold outside.'	

As there is no animate experiencer, sentences of this type are truly impersonal. Returning to constructions such as in (3.10), in this research the animate experiencer is taken to be the subject when identifying unconventional VIP patterns.

Secondly, in discussing the nature of predicate arguments, Bailyn (2012) notes that, as in other languages, Russian verbal predicates require arguments with certain semantic roles, such as agent, experiencer, theme, location, and so on; however, "these roles do not always correspond to category selection" (p. 14). In other words, neither position in a sentence, nor the case of an argument is allocated to a particular thematic relation. The author provides the example of three "psychological" verbs – *волновать/волноваться* 'to worry', *любить* 'to love' and *нравиться* 'to like' – which can select their experiencers in the form of dative, accusative, or nominative arguments. One such example, sourced from one of the analysed corpora, is provided below:

(3.12)	Особенно	понравились	Змею Горынычу	ананасы.
	Especially	liked	Zmej Gorynyč$_{\text{-DAT}}$	pineapples$_{\text{-NOM}}$.

'Zmej Gorynyč especially liked the pineapples.'

(Luk'janova, 2002)

The grammatical object in (3.12), *Змею Горынычу* 'a proper name of a fairy tale dragon', is in the Dative case, while the grammatical subject, *ананасы* 'pineapples' is in the Nominative case. However, semantically, *Змею Горынычу* is the agent of the feelings expressed by the verb, and in this research is treated as the Actor (after Halliday).

Further to the above-mentioned argument, Bailyn (2012) observes that the "mismatch" between the Thematic Hierarchy syntactic constituents and their eventual surface word order is a significant problem that "has been little discussed with regard to Russian" (p. 16). The relationship between the Thematic Hierarchy and word ordering in a clause is taken into consideration in this project when identifying unconventional VIP patterns; in particular, I proceed from the view that the role of Experiencer in arguments accompanying verbs of emotion is borne by the subject of the sentence, since, on the one hand, it can be placed next to the role of agent for common type verbs and is, therefore hierarchically higher than that of theme or goal, and, on the other hand, experiencers, like agents, "are mapped onto selected NP arguments as a requirement of the predicate" (p. 16).

Finally, 'have' constructions are also treated as instances of Actors and logical objects when coding clause elements:

(3.13)	Был	у них с дядей Петей	сын Славка.
	Was$_{\text{-VERB}}$	by them with uncle Petja	son Slavka$_{\text{-NOM}}$.

'Uncle Petja and her had a son called Slavka.'

(Ždanova, 2014, p. 189)

As illustrated in the literal translation of (3.13), provided in the second line above, in Russian, 'have' is treated as an existential construction. In other words, the clauses 'There was a theatre in the city' and 'They had a son' would employ the same verb *был* 'was'. However, in the current project, they are treated as different constructions.

3.2.2.2. Verb

Following McAnallen (2009), in this research verbs are classified into nine classes:

1. Transitive
2. Intransitive
3. Transitive of motion (e.g. *везти* 'to carry')
4. Intransitive of motion (e.g. *ехать* 'to go')
5. Copular/auxiliary/semi-auxiliary (e.g. *быть/мочь/хотеть* 'to be/can/want')
6. Predicative (N/NP, LF/SF of adjectives)
7. Existential (e.g. *быть, жить, родиться* 'to be, to live, to be born')
8. *Иметь* 'to have' construction (e.g. *у меня есть* 'I have')
9. Other (e.g. reflexive)

Then, following Bailyn (2012), a verbal phrase is identified as "built up out of a predicate and its required (or optional) arguments, along with modifiers/structural adjuncts" (p. 33).

This view of the syntactic composition of Russian clauses is further expanded in this research project by adding the concept of verb complex, or complex verbal predicate, [V], which occurs when there is a combination of an auxiliary/semi-auxiliary/copular verb and a predicative represented by either an infinitive or an adjective that may be split by an S or O. An example is given in (3.14):

(3.14)	Не мог	я	обманывать	этих … людей.
	Couldn't-$_{VERB}$	I-$_{NOM}$	deceive-$_{VERB}$	these … people.
	'I couldn't deceive these … people.'			

(Rabinovič, 2014, p. 231)

Here the verb complex is coded as [V]S[V] since it consists of a modal verb in the past tense form and an infinitive, which are split by the S.

Although rare, a noun phrase can function as a predicate, in which case, it is called a "predicate nominal" and bears Nominative or Instrumental case marking. While Bailyn presents different approaches to tackling the issue of case marking, this discussion is set aside in this project as case marking does not determine word order alterations. Instead, I proceed from the view that in past and future tense clauses the predicate nominal and overt auxiliary verb form a complex

verbal predicate, while in present, null-copula clauses, the predicate nominal functions as a predicative (P).

Closely related to the discussion of predicate nominals is that of adjectival phrases in Russian. Following traditional grammar (Švedova et al., 1980), Bailyn (2012) differentiates between "long-form" (LF), or attributive, and "short-form" (SF), or predicate, adjectives. In this investigation, predicate adjectives are of particular interest when they occur as part of a verb complex or a predicative. Like predicate nominals, they function as the predicative of the clause, and are marked as P in the coding of word order, as shown in (3.15):

(3.15)	У него	живы	ещё	отец и мать.
	By him-$_{GEN}$	alive-$_{PRED}$	still	father and mother-$_{NOM}$.
	'He has father and mother who are still alive.'			

(Chekhov, part I)

Regarding the example in (3.15), it is interesting to discuss the initial element *у него* 'by him'. Grammatically, it resembles what is treated as the subject in (3.13) above, and the meaning of the clause, therefore, is 'he has a father and mother who are still alive'. However, this complex sentence ('he has a father and a mother' – main clause; 'who are still alive' – subordinate clause) is compressed in (3.15). In foregrounding that his parents are alive, the information that 'he has a father and a mother' is compressed into a noun phrase, 'his father and mother', with *живы* 'alive' appearing as a short-form adjective that functions as the predicative of the clause.

3.2.2.3. Object and Adjunct

In Russian, verbs may take five or more arguments, although the status of some are debatable as they may be analysed as functioning more as adjuncts than arguments. In particular, the internal structure of a Russian verb phrase, according to Bailyn (2012), cannot be presented as "a flat, triple-branching structure", but rather as proceeding from the Thematic Hierarchy of agent followed by theme followed by goal followed by oblique (manner, location, time, etc.) (pp. 8-9). Such a hierarchy is illustrated in (3.16)[16] from the analysed corpora:

(3.16)	Я	сделал	визиты	моим новым знакомым.
	I	made	visits	to my new acquaintances.
	S	V	O_1	O_2

(Leskov, 1862)

[16] For consistency, the examples in this section are glossed as in the rest of the thesis.

In (3.16), the accusative-case marked theme argument *визиты* 'visits' precedes the dative-case marked goal argument, *моим новым знакомым* 'to my new acquaintances'. For present purposes, I will not enter the discussion about the position of the accusative and the dative arguments held between Bailyn, who follows Larson's (1988) approach, and Junghanns and Zybatow (1997), who are followed by D'jakonova (2007, 2009). However, the concept of an accusative object (in my terminology) being listed higher than a dative object on the Thematic Hierarchy is of paramount importance for the current investigation, as it accounts for an accusative argument being coded as O_1 and a dative argument code as O_2, when two arguments appear in one clause. Similarly, when any two arguments appear in a clause, the one with more weight is marked as O_1 and the argument with less weight is marked as O_2.

With regard to the nature of Russian verbal structure, and in particular, of verbal selection, Bailyn (2012) underscores the significance of the (lexical) syntactic environment, alongside the verb's semantics – that is, its argument structure – in the construction of a verb phrase. This point enables me to take an individual approach in allocating object properties to adjuncts in this project rather than assuming that only certain classes of noun phrases can function in this role. Consider the following example from the narrative corpus:

(3.17)	[Глупенькая,]	пошутила	над тобой	тётя Паня.
	[Silly,]	played a joke	on you	aunt Panja.
	[preceding context]	V	O	S

(Sal'nikova, 2014, p. 37)

The verb *пошутить* 'to joke' is typically intransitive in Russian; however, infrequently it does occur as a transitive verb. In (3.17), the instrumental-marked pronoun complements the contextual meaning of the verb in that the speaker brings forward the idea of her daughter having had a joke played on her; therefore, *над тобой* 'on you' is treated as an object in this research.

A similar analysis holds, when certain verbs collocate with a particular type of subordinate clause, or a number of "categorical selectional options" (Bailyn, 2012, p. 13), as in (3.18):

(3.18)	И держалась	семья	на том, что давали куры…
	And survived	family	on what chickens gave…
	V	S	[O]

(Leonov, 2014, p. 56)

Here, the idea that the family was supported by 'what chickens gave' pragmatically complements the meaning of the verb, and, thus, the subordinate clause as marked as a complex object, [O].

Further to the approach taken in the current research, arguments and adjuncts complementing a verb/verb complex are marked as objects, or adjuncts depending on the degree of their adjacency to the former and their weight with regard to other arguments/adjuncts. Consider the following example:

(3.19)	заниматься	йогой	по утрам.
	to do	yoga	in the mornings.
	V	O	A

In (3.19), the complement closest to the verb would be marked as an object in this research since it shapes the meaning of the verb. Although a reflexive verb, like *заниматься* 'to do/practise', does not take a direct object, *йогой* ('yoga') is an object rather than an adjunct, as it affects the meaning of the verb ('to do/practise' and not 'to *study'*). In contrast, *по утрам* 'in the mornings' does not modify/colour the meaning of the verb, and is therefore, regarded as an adjunct.

Russian infinitival clauses are another type of object that need to be considered in this research project. On the one hand, they "do not allow overt subject, whether they are behaving as subjects, or as selected clauses" (Bailyn, 2012, p. 111), and function as verb arguments; and on the other hand, proceeding from control theory, a verb can take both a direct object and an infinitive clause, as its complements. Therefore, such object-control constructions are treated as object complexes in this research and are coded as [O], as illustrated in (3.20):

(3.20)	Приказал	царь	нянькам и мамкам	нести его по всем дворам.
	Ordered	tsar	to nannies	to carry him around all households.
	V	S	O_2	[O]

(Afanas'ev, 1984, p. 328)

In (3.20), the implied subject of the infinitive, *нянькам и мамкам* 'nannies', does not grammatically control the infinitive, but rather, its dative case marking is determined by the verb, *приказал* 'ordered'. The following infinitive with its complement is an argument of the verb *приказал* 'ordered', which makes it a complex object; whereas the dative case marking of *нянькам и мамкам* 'nannies' makes it a secondary object. With regard to secondary objects, Bailyn (2012) argues that instances as in (3.20) appear to "behave like English Accusative object control and not like true Dative structures" due to "promotion of the Dative object to structural Accusative position" (p. 113), in which case the secondary object should be treated as part of the complex object. However, he "leaves the exact analysis of such cases to further research" (p. 113). For the current research, cases such as (3.20) are analysed as being a VSO combination, since both the secondary object and the complex object follow the clause-initial V-S ordering.

Finally, it is important for this research to distinguish between verbs of motion taking adjuncts and verbs of motion taking objects. Compare the weight of the final phrase in (3.21) and (3.22) below:

(3.21)	В назначенный день	вышли	богатыри	на смертный бой,
	On appointed day	went out	bogatyrs	for a deadly fight,
	A	V	S	O

(Afanasʹev, 1984, p. 330)

(3.22)	Вылезли	они	на сухое место.
	Crawled out	they	to dry land.
	V	S	A

(Afanasʹev, 1984, p. 329)

In (3.21) the argument *на смертный бой* 'for a deadly fight' complements the meaning of the verb in that the 'motion' component of the latter is weakened by the purpose of this motion. In other words, the marked O in this pattern is not a proto-typical direct object but a locative complement of the verb of motion. However, as the meaning of the verb is incomplete without its complement, *на смертный бой* 'for a deadly fight' is treated as an object in this research, and the construction has been classed as containing a VSO word order pattern.

By contrast, in (3.22), the verb retains its basic meaning of 'crawling out' and can be used without an argument: *они вылезли* 'they crawled out' (after they spent some time in a barrel). The accusative-marked indirect object, thus, does not affect or complement the primary meaning of the verb and is, therefore, treated as an adjunct[17]. At this point, it should be mentioned that some verbs of motion, even in their primary meaning, cannot be used on their own, without a complement, as shown in (3.23):

(3.23)	забежали	они	в лес.
	ran	they	into forest.
	V	S	O

(Dalʹ, 1979, p. 51)

[17] See Section 3.2.3 below for further operationalisation of adjuncts in the current research.

If the final phrase, *в лес* 'into the forest', is omitted, the resulting clause, *они забежали* 'they ran into', does not make much sense. Thus, the word order pattern is analysed here as VSO.

3.2.3. Unconventional VIPs

As discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, in assigning "unconventional" status to VIPs in Russian, this study proceeds from the commonly held view that SVO is the basic word order pattern, and VSO and VOS patterns are unconventional in that they are derived from the basic word order (Bailyn, 2012)[18], they are statistically infrequent in texts (Bivon, 1971), and they are misreferred in experimental psycholinguistic tests (Kallestinova, 2007). Furthermore, in this study, the analysis of VIPs is extended to include two-element VS combinations as well as three-element VOS and VSO combinations.

Not all VIPs are unconventional, however. As Turner (2009a) comments: "there are some environments in Russian when the post-verbal position of the subject is so firmly fixed by convention that discussion… is redundant". (p. 541) In other words, VIPs whose use in Russian is formalised to the extent that their use is considered unmarked, are taken to be conventional, and thus not included in the current investigation. Examples of recognised categories of conventional VIPs are provided below.

First, VS variations that follow an FSP in structuring information are analysed as conventional. In other words, VIPs whose communicative dynamism increases from the beginning to the end of the clause are regarded as unmarked, as in (3.24) below:

(3.24)	Невдолге	заснули	и хозяева.
	Soon	fell asleep	hosts, too.
	A	V	S

(Dal', 1979, p. 47)

Secondly, rheme-only (A)VS clauses that are presentational, with the optional A being an adverbial modifier of place, are considered unmarked (Bailyn, 2012), and thus excluded from analysis:

(3.25)	Пришла	весна,
	Came	spring,
	V	S

(Dal', 1979, p. 57)

[18] Following Bailyn (2012, p. 248), the terms "neutral", "unmarked", "basic" are applied to word order patterns that are grammatically simplest and are akin to Chomsky's "core" sentences. "Marked" variations, by contrast, are derived from "neutral", or "unmarked".

(3.26)	Позади старухи	стоит	лиса.
	Behind old lady	stands	fox.
	A	V	S
			(Dal', 1979, p. 48)

Closely related to examples such as that in (3.26) are instances of AVS ordering in which the A is an adverbial modifier of manner:

(3.27)	Бурным потоком	хлынули	реки,
	In powerful torrents	poured	rivers,
	A	V	S
			(Krymov, 2010)

In both (3.26) and (3.27), the clause-initial adverbial modifier is so closely tied to the verb that the only neutral order appears to be AVS (cf. Janko, 2001, p. 220).

For similar reasons, subordinate clauses with rheme-only VS ordering, as in (3.28), are excluded from analysis:

(3.28)	в Отечестве,	где	создавались	такие шедевры, как «Броненосец «Потёмкин» и «Чапаев», …
	in Fatherland,	where	were created	such masterpieces, as “Battleship “Potëmkin” and “Čapaev”,…
		A	V	S
				(Xaritonov, 2011)

Here, the subordinate clause of place, which modifies an adverbial modifier of place (A) *в Отечестве* ‘in the fatherland’, exemplifies a VS order of constituents. As this word order is typical of such clauses, it is unmarked, and therefore considered conventional.

Third, the analysis in this project treats syntactic constructions with standardly prescribed VS orders in Russian grammar as conventional (Kovtunova, 1980); for example, subordinate clauses of the type in (3.29):

(3.29)	[а собака … стала … дожидаться,]	не выйдет	ли	лиса.
	[and the dog … began … to wait,]	comes out	if	fox.
	[preceding context]	V		S
				(Dal', 1979, p. 51)

Fourth, clichés and conventionalised phrases with a VS order, such as *жил-был* ‘once upon a time’ which initiates most fairy tales, are excluded from analysis.

Finally, a range of syntactic constructions that do not have a canonical verb-initial structure are excluded from analysis. For instance, grammatically impersonal sentences lacking an overt subject:

(3.30)	Надо	ещё чуть-чуть	потерпеть.
	Need	still a bit	to tolerate.
	[V]	A	[V]

As relative clauses always commence with the relative pronoun *который* 'which' that "clearly replaces a nominal element in the relative clause" (Bailyn, 2012, p. 106), they are not verb-initial:

(3.31)	[…располагавшиеся на нашей улице Достоевского,]	которая	прежде	называлась Ямской.
	[… situated at our Dostoevsky street,]	which	before	was called Jamskaya.
	[main clause]	S	A	[V]

(Dobrovolʹskij, 2014, p.104)

Similarly, exclamatory sentences that begin with *как* 'how', clauses reporting direct speech that appear after a clause-initial verb, and VS patterns in interrogative sentences and passive constructions are all excluded from analysis.

3.2.4. Information Structure

Turner (2009a) offers a "template for modelling constituent order in Russian [that] will combine syntactic and pragmatic factors at the same level of description" (p. 528). It is this template that is applied in the current analysis of unconventional VSO, VOS and VS word order patterns. Therefore, the analysis of VIP pragmatics in this project is comprised of two stages: in the first, the information structures of the unconventional VIPs in discourse is established, and in the second, the communicative effects that the VIPs produce in each of the established structures are examined.

Dealing solely with written discourse in the present study, I rely on context in identifying theme and rheme, following Turner's (2006) call for "contextual criteria for the identification of themes and rhemes (p. 89). In her argument, Turner proceeds from Kovtunova's (1980) viewpoint on theme and rheme: "Theme may contain given, i.e. known to the reader or listener, information […] rheme most often contains new, or unknown to the reader or listener, information". (p. 192) Having admitted the distinction between 'theme' and 'given' (see discussion in Section 2.1.3), Turner's approach to theme and rheme is taken in this research, since her method of analysing the pragmatics of verb-initial structures serves as a theoretical foundation in the current project. Thus, the constituents of VIP clauses are marked 'Th', for 'Theme', or 'Rh', for 'Rheme'.

The above-mentioned complexity of defining the notions of given and new, theme and rheme, topic and focus accounts for the proposed set of four information structures, including Topical Verb, Rhematised Verb, Split Rheme and Clause Focus, to be used in the analysis. Thus, two systems are engaged in this research: theme-rheme and topic-focus. The information structures

of Rhematised Verb and Split Rheme are well-established in the literature (see Janko, 2001; Kovtunova, 1980; Turner, 2006 and Valgina, 2003) and are based on the FSP principle of clause organisation, according to which a rheme forms "the core of the clause" (Mathesius, 1939) or part of the "interpretative arrangement" (Firbas, 1992, p. 72). Expanding the notion of Rhematised Verb structure, the clause-initial verb is established as rhematised in this research when it appears to be the nucleus of the clause and "all elements that are not communicatively relevant occupy the atonic position, that is the position past the nucleus" (Firbas, 1992, p. 77). Additionally, all verbs found in this structure undergo further analysis, unlike in Turner's (2006) research which does not include verbs with "obviously presentational, expressive or emphatic effect" (p. 109). The information structure of Split Rheme was first mentioned by Kovtunova (*рамочная акцентная структура* 'framework accent structure' in: Švedova et al., 1980, p. 203) and was later supported by Janko (2001). Since the object of the current investigation is the analysis of three-element permutations, the structure of Split Rheme, unavailable in Turner's analysis, is added to the set of information structures to cover instances of two or more items of contextually relevant information that are split by a thematic element.

Furthermore, to avoid ambiguity inherent in the notion of 'theme', the terms 'topic' and 'focus' are employed for the other two information structures. Following Yokoyama (1986), topic is understood as matter of shared concern, as defined by the speaker's knowledge of their addressee; while according to Gundel and Fretheim (2004), referents of topics "must be already familiar, in the sense that the addressee must have an existing representation in memory" (p. 5). Thus, the information structure of Topical Verb implies the appearance of a verb or its synonym in the preceding context, which is referred to by Turner (2006) as "present in the immediate context, or strongly predictable on the grounds of the preceding statements" (p. 102). Finally, Sgall et al. (1986) offer a similar interpretation of a topical verb: "hearers can identify certain items that are supposed to be readily accessible in their memory (the topic, or, more precisely, contextually bound items), and can bring these into certain relations to other items (the focus, or contextually non-bound items)" (p. 308).

With regard to Clause Focus, the fourth information structure carried out by unconventional VIPs, its underlying principle is formulated by Lambrecht (1996)[19] and by King (1995): "Not all sentences have topics; some sentences may be composed entirely of focused material, while others contain both a focus and discourse neutral items, but no topic" (p. 93). Moreover, Turner (2006) maintains that "the concept of the undivided clause is not normally applied to clauses with more than two major constituents" (p. 89), which implies that this traditional concept cannot be

[19] See Section 2.1.1 for Lambrecht's definition of Sentence Focus structures

implemented in the current research. Therefore, the term Clause Focus[20] is coined to refer to the information structure of three-element VIPs which feature no contextual topic, and all elements of which are of equal focal weight.

Thus, after identifying the unconventional VSO, VOS and VS patterns, the analysis proceeds with identifying the functions of the patterns of interest by focusing on the information structures of Topical Verb, Rhematised Verb, Split Rheme and Clause Focus.

3.2.5. Communicative Effect

The final stage of the analysis in the current project examines the communicative effects that the information structures of the unconventional VIPs produce on the reader. Such effects are multiple, and they represent various discourse scenarios and writers' communicative intentions. Considering previous research on the pragmatics of verb-initial combinations, unconventional VIPs are employed by the authors as discourse management devices (Blekher, 1995; Janko, 2001), syntactic (Janko, 2001; McAnallen, 2009) and stylistic effects (Restan, 1981; Valgina, 2003, among others). The second stage of the analysis, therefore, includes further investigation of discourse context and semantics. Most effects revealed by the analysis of unconventional VSO, VOS and VS combinations have been discussed in previous research (Blekher, 1995; Janko, 2001; McAnallen, 2009; Turner, 2006, 2009a, 2009b); however, some of them were discovered in the course of the analysis and, therefore, are first mentioned in the current project. The current approach to communicative effects was data driven in that it applied the analysis of communicative effects from previous research but also developed the categorisation of communicative effects, as needed, where existing units did not appropriately characterise examples from the analysed corpora.

Proceeding with the operationalisation of the set of communicative effects used in the analysis of the corpora, the most well described communicative effect produced by a VIP occurs when the reader becomes an 'observer' of a scene that is about to unfold in the following discourse (Janko, 2001, p. 208), or when the speaker aims to "control the floor" (Turner, 2009b, p. 132) in order to set up a scene. It appears that these two approaches are taken from two perspectives, that of the reader and of the speaker; therefore, to avoid ambiguity, a context-driven term 'establishing a new scene', similar to McAnallen's (2009) "scene-setting function" (p. 218), is introduced in this project.

Closely related to this effect is signalling "a change in the narrative", applied by McAnallen in her research of a twelfth century text (p. 218), and used in the current research to refer to VIPs that report a situation different to the immediately preceding context. The pragmatic function of making a shift in discourse is also discussed by Turner (2009a) and Blekher (1995).

[20] Lambrecht's term could not be applied, since the unit of analysis in this research is a clause.

With regard to differentiating between the effects of establishing a new scene and signalling a change in the narrative, the former is identified when a VIP clause "forms the starting point for an extended narrative" (Turner, 2006, p. 104); however, when it does not, the latter effect is recognised as occurring. Additionally, Turner provides further details about what is referred to as a 'change in the narrative' in this project: "transition-marking clauses… rather than mark transitions between different speakers, they can be used to mark transitions between different narrative perspectives, or to mark a passage of text as a story within a story" (2009a, pp. 543-544). Furthermore, "This subset of VS clauses often contains verbs that refer to typical states or stages of life, and they are used at points in the text when the writer switches from a discussion of that person's relevance to the main issue at hand into an excursus about his background" (Turner, 2009a, pp. 543-544). If such a VIP clause "forms the starting point for an extended narrative" (2006, p. 104), then the effect is considered as establishing a new scene. Otherwise, it is marked as a change in the narrative.

Moreover, contrastive focus, mentioned as a focus type by King (1995), is coded as the communicative effect of signalling 'contrast' in this research, to differentiate from the information structure of Clause Focus. In other words, Clause Focus structure implies equal emphasis on the main clause elements; in contrast, when a clause with a verb-initial ordering, possibly focal, provides contrast to the preceding context, the communicative effect of providing contrast is noted.

Closely related to this effect is signalling connection to the preceding and/or following context, a communicative effect that also involves the immediately preceding linguistic environment; however, unlike with 'contrast', in 'connection to the preceding/following context' a reason-consequence relationship is established between the action, expressed by the verb in the analysed clause, and the immediate discourse. This effect should not be confused with context-dependence – the notion underlying the distinction between 'given' and 'new' information, according to which context accounts for the perception of information, whether it is viewed as known or new.

The effect of presenting a phenomenon, identified by Turner (2006) and McAnallen (2009) in the analysis of medieval Russian discourse, is included in the list of communicative effects in this research as well.

The following three effects were employed by McAnallen in her analysis of the twelfth century text (2009) and were found to also account for the pragmatic use of unconventional VIPs in the current project. The first, 'broader reading', is applicable in unconventional VIPs that:

> make the situation or scene primary instead of the individuated actor. […] The broader scene is most often connected through a locus, […] the VSO order foregrounds the

> preceding prepositional phrase and the scene it references by downgrading the subject. The prepositional phrase in the beginning attracts the predicate, shifting the focus from the actor to the place. The act that occurred turns into a property of the location, instead of being foregrounded or individuated as the subject. (p. 218)

McAnallen (2009) provides a detailed account of VSO combinations used after the prepositional phrase. This project is not limited to these syntactic arrangements and applies the communicative effect of enabling a broader reading of an clause to VIP clauses in which the situation or scene, but not the actor, is primary and relevant for contextual purposes. A variation of this effect, enabling broader reading after *cmamь* 'begin', is analysed separately in this research, since it is important to differentiate between the two variants in the cross-analysis of the six corpora. Furthermore, this project differentiates between enabling broader reading of an clause and establishing a syntactic pattern after an adjunct. The latter effect is drawn from McAnallen's (2009) and Blekher's (1995) observation of an adjunct's 'ability' to attract a verb, in which case the two constituents become semantically bound and contextually dominant, in order to form a communicative relationship, intended by the author. Moreover, this effect belongs to both syntactic and stylistic groups of communicative effects. Following Kovtunova's (1969) observation of new syntactic norms introduced by Karamzin in late 18th – early 19th century, the effect of establishing a syntactic pattern is considered a syntactic device in the analysis of the 15th-century travel diary and the 18th-19th-century travel diaries; whereas in the remaining four corpora, it is marked as a stylistic device.

McAnallen's (2009) second effect, involving the phenomenon of "sentence chains", occurs when a VS order is followed by an SV order in the subsequent clauses of the sentence (VS, SV, SV) (p. 219). In the current project, a range of such syntactic patterns have been identified in the corpora, including V(O)S(O), VO, VO, among others. As such 'sentence chains' contribute a syntactic rhythm to the clause, the communicative effect is termed establishing syntactic parallelism.

Finally, in a number of medieval clauses from a travel guide section of the text analysed by McAnallen (2009), verbs of motion "serve to introduce new entities or add information to previously established scenes, but with the additional component of motion" (p. 216). Since verb class analysis is not the primary goal of this research, the function of introducing new entities is not singled out into a separate category for the verbs of motion; rather, in this case, the communicative effect of signalling a change in the narrative, or establishing a new scene, among

others, is identified. However, the effect of adding motion to the previously established scene is included in the current analysis.

Furthermore, according to Turner (2006), VIPs are used before direct speech in old Russian *Erzählung* discourse, potentially following the pattern of Biblical syntax. This argument is not challenged in this project, but is coded as a communicative effect, in order to account for similar instances in the analysed corpora. Regarding VS clauses reporting direct speech and used in post-position, Turner (2006) maintains that they "do not conflict the FSP principles" (p. 111). Therefore, in this research they are marked as conventional. However, in a number of instances, direct speech is used as a stylistic device, when no actual speech takes place. Such cases are coded as producing the effect of stylised direct speech. It is worth noting here that the cliché of verb-initial combinations being a stylistic device (Adamec, 1966; Restan, 1981; among others) is viewed as partially acceptable in this research, and communicative effects, such as 'stylised direct speech' contribute to the concept of VIPs being used for stylistic purposes.

Having the stylistic component of VIP pragmatics in mind, the effect of signalling colloquial speech, or 'colloquial speech', after Turner (2009a, p. 545), is employed in this project to account for cases when the verb, being the most relevant clause element, appears before communicatively less relevant elements, following the convention of oral speech.

Regarding communicative effects which have not been discussed previously by other researchers, they are included in the current project as they are motivated by the corpora under analysis. Such effects comprise emphatic reading (accounting for the use of emotive verbs), genre syntactic convention (different from conventional VS ordering in that the change of ordering, SV, is acceptable, but produces another effect) and splitting the focus (signals a splitting of the focus). While the last effect may appear as rather amorphous, it is limited to clauses in which the communicative effect produced by the pattern and information structure cannot be accounted for by any of the established communicative effects, as the effect is highly context-driven and idiosyncratic.

Finally, in categorising the communicative effects identified in the analysed corpora, the nature of the communicative effect(s) in question is taken into consideration. As outlined in Table 3.13 above, all effects are divided into three broader groups. Discourse management devices are context-driven, or identified through their function in discourse, such as setting up a scene or signalling a change in the narrative; syntactic communicative effects are accounted for by their syntactic composition and meaning; and stylistic effects are identified by means of comparing unconventional VIPs with their unmarked counterparts.

3.3. Summary

This chapter has given a rationale for the genres and time periods selected for the six corpora complied for the current research project, along with details of the sets of texts included in each corpus. It has also motivated and operationalised the approach to the analysis of word order, unconventional VIPs, information structure and communicative effect that was used in the interrogation of the six corpora. Chapters 4 – 9 each provide the results of the analysis of unconventional VIP usage in one of the six sets of texts, while Chapter 10 brings together synchronic and diachronic trends in VIP usage by authors across the different genres and time periods, focusing on the interaction of word order, information structure and communicative effects produced.

4. Results – 15th-century Travel Diary

The particular aims of this chapter are to examine VIP usage in the 15th century, as it is reflected in one text, *Хождение за три моря* 'A Journey beyond the Three Seas' by Afanasy Nikitin. The frequency of VIP occurrence is presented in Section 4.1, with detailed discussion of each of the three verb-initial patterns (VSO, VOS and VS), their variations, information structure and communicative effects presented in Sections 4.2 – 4.4 respectively. These results are then brought together in Section 4.5 to give an overall picture of VIP usage in this 15th-century text. In Chapter 10, the relevant findings are then compared with those of Turner (2006) and McAnallen (2009), in order to consider the changes, if any, in the occurrence of VS patterns over a time span of about 300 years.

4.1 Frequency of VIP Occurrence

As discussed in Section 3.1.2, a total of 6,952 words making up 398 sentences were included in the analysis of Nikitin's *хожение* 'travel diary'. Within this there were 17 sentences with VIPs making up 4.3% of the total number of sentences. Within the 17 sentences there are 22 occurrences of VIPs. It is these sentences, which are not accounted for in standard descriptions of word order usage in Russian, that are the focus of this chapter.

As illustrated below, these occurrences, however, are not evenly distributed across the three VIP combinations, but are instead predominantly VS:

Table 4.1 VIP combinations – 15th-century travel diary

	VSO	VOS	VS	Total
Nikitin	1	4	17	22

Details of each of the three sets of VIPs are presented in the following sections.

4.2 VSO word order

The VSO combination is found in only one clause, with a verb of motion, as in (4.1):[21]

[21] The language of the analysed text uses some archaic forms which have been replaced with their modern equivalents in the examples provided.

(4.1)	На багрям на бесерменской	выехал	султан	на теферич,
	A-Rh	V-Rh	S-Rh	O-Rh
	On Bairam,	went	sultan	to picnic,

(Хождение за три моря Афанасия Никитина, n.d.)

In (4.1), as each of the elements is rhematic, the whole clause is focal with clause focus information structure. (see Section 3.2.4) Regarding its communicative effect (see Section 3.2.5), it sets a new scene which unfolds in the following sentences. If the author had used an SVO ordering instead, as in (4.1a), it would have provided information about the sultan's actions at that point of time, adding to his other activities.

(4.1a)	На багрям на бесерменской	**султан**	**выехал**	на теферич,
	A	S	V	O
	On Bairam,	sultan	went	to picnic,

However, the effect of setting a new scene would have been lost. Thus, the communicative effect of the VSO pattern in (4.1) has been analysed as scene setup.

4.3 VOS word order

4.3.1. Patterns and Variations

The arrangement of the main elements in a VOS order is found in four clauses. Three out of four verbs in this combination are transitive; out of the three direct objects, one is nominal and two are pronominal. Two of the four VIPs are pure VOS combinations (that is, there are no additional adjuncts), as in (4.2):

(4.2)	а продают же	камни	дервиши.
	V	O	S
	and sell	stones	dervishes.

The two other patterns are AVOS (as in 4.3) and AVOSA (as in 4.4):

(4.3)	Тут	наехали	на нас	три татарины поганые
	A	V	O	S
	Here	attacked	us	three foul Tatars

(4.4)	а ежедень	поимает	его	море	по дважды в день.
	A	V	O	S	A
	every day	washes	it	sea	twice a day.

The three variations in VOS ordering are summarised in the table below:

Table 4.2 VOS combinations – 15th-century travel diary

	VOS	AVOS	AVOSA	Total
Nikitin	2	1	1	4

4.3.2. Information Structure and Communicative Effects

The three different VOS combinations appear to represent two different information structures, as shown in Table 4.3:

Table 4.3 Information Structure of VOS variations – 15th-century travel diary

	VOS	AVOS	AVOSA	Total
Rhematised Verb	1			1
Split Rheme	1	1	1	3

As the table indicates, three of the VIP variations identified in the previous section have a Split Rheme information structure, while one of the two pure VOS combinations realises a Rhematised Verb structure.

Furthermore, the analysis of communicative effects produced by the above-mentioned patterns is provided in Figure 4.1:

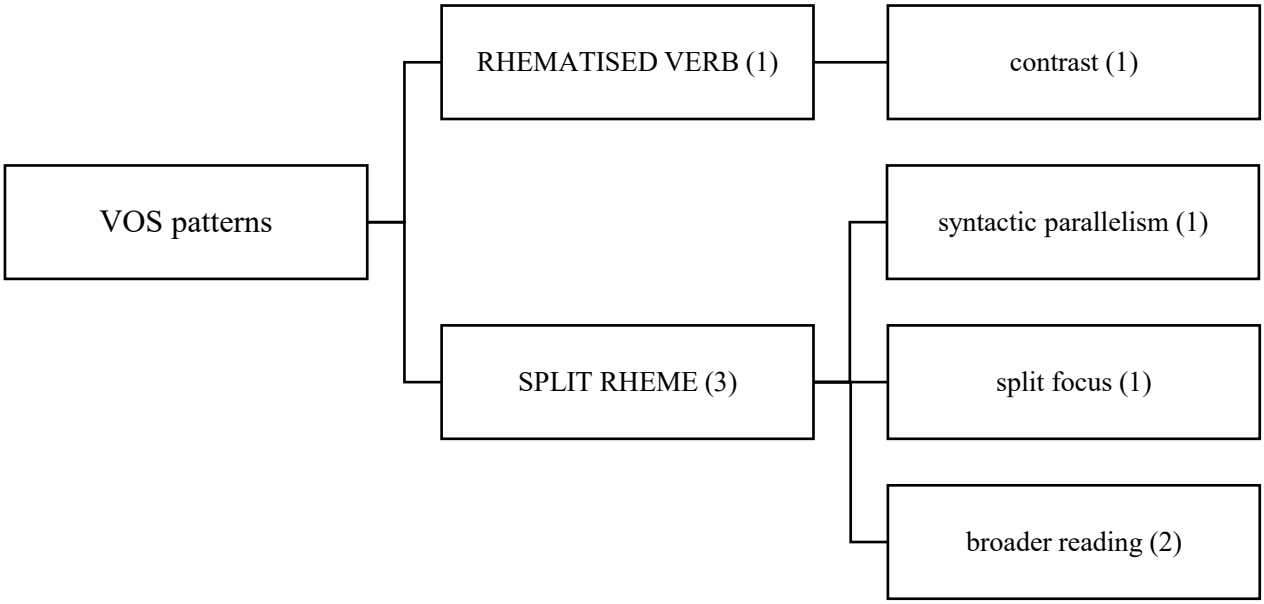

Figure 4.1: Communicative effects of VOS information structures – 15th-century travel diary

It appears that the four VOS examples identified in the text produce four different communicative effects. The following analysis examines the information structure and communicative effects of these patterns in more detail.

4.3.2.1. Rhematised Verb

The only example found with a Rhematised Verb structure is provided in (4.2) at the beginning of Section 4.3.1. Consider the broader context in which it appears:

(4.2a) [Да все в нем дервиши живут индийские, да родятся в нем камни драгоценные,]
[And in it, live Indian dervishes, and are found precious stones]
[preceding context]

а продают же	камни	дервиши.
V-Rh	O-Th	S-Th
and sell	stones	dervishes.

This is an example of a rather unconventional choice of element order by the author. Taking the preceding discourse into consideration, the paragraph gives information about the inhabitants of a place, dervishes of India, followed by the availability of precious stones, and finally, in the clause under analysis, information about the dervishes selling the stones. Both the subject and the object are thematic, and the verb is rhematic; thus, the neutral word order would be one of the following:

(4.2b)	**Дервиши**	**камни**	**продают.**
	S	O	V
	Dervishes	stones	sell.

(4.2c)	**Камни**	**дервиши**	**продают.**
	O	S	V
	Stones	dervishes	sell.

The clause-initial nouns in (4.2b) and (4.2c) provide the starting point, or topic of conversation, while the clause-final verb accounts for what the subject does to the stones, as in (4.2b), or for what happens to the stones, as in (4.2c).

In (4.2a), however, by placing the verb at the front of the pattern followed by the intensifier *же* 'indeed', extra emphasis is given to the fact that the stones are utilised in an unexpected way; that is, they are sold and not kept in a sort of a museum. By making both the rhematic verb and the thematic subject nuclei of the clause, the focus is on the unusual way in which the inhabitants are managing their valuable asset. Thus, the VIP provides contrast to the preceding context.

4.3.2.2. Split Rheme

The three examples of VOS patterns that are arranged as Split Rheme produce three different communicative effects and are each analysed below.

In (4.3a), which is an extended version of (4.3) from Section 4.3.1, the verb and the subject give new information about what happened in the city where the narrator had arrived.

(4.3a)	[И въехали в Бутан.]				
	[And entered Butan.]				
	[preceding context]				
	Тут	наехали	на нас	три татарины поганые	[и сказали нам лживые вести].
	A	V-Rh	O-Th	S-Rh	[following context]
	Here	attacked	us	three foul Tatars	[and provided false information].

Consider the alternate unmarked AOVS combination below:

(4.3b)	Тут	**на нас**	**наехали**	три татарины поганые	[и сказали нам лживые вести].
	A	O-Th	V-Tr	S-Rh	[following context]
	Here	us	attacked	three foul Tatars	[and provided false information].

Here the AOVS pattern is in accordance with FSP principles: the adjunct of place provides the location for the following action, and the communicative dynamism of the clause increases from the thematic object to the rhematic subject, with the verb providing the transition. The focus of the clause, thus, lies on the subject.

In contrast, in the original example in (4.3a), both the doer of the action and the action itself are emphasised through the AVOS word order combination. Moreover, considering the following context, a particular syntactic pattern, AVOS and VO, is established. This syntactic parallelism gives a smooth narration, as opposed to the matter-of-fact enumeration of actions in (4.3b) with its syntactic pattern of SOV and VO. Thus, Split Rheme information structure of the clause in (4.3a) is analysed as expressing two communicative effects: broader reading and syntactic parallelism.

In the next example of Split Rheme, it appears that the clause-initial adjunct attracts the verb as one focal point and the clause-final adjunct functions as a second focal point:

(4.4a) [А Гурмыз есть на острове,]
[And Gurmyz is located on an island,]
[preceding context]

а ежедень	поимает	его	море	по дважды в день.
A-Rh	V-Rh	O-Th	S-Rh	A-Rh
and every day	floods	it	sea	twice a day.

The result is that the action, flooding the town/island, and its frequency, every day, twice a day, are emphasised. The communicative effect of the AVOSA pattern is thus to split the focus between the verb and the adjuncts.

The final VOS pattern having Split Rheme information structure is a pure combination and, like the initial example considered in this section, it enables a broader reading of the clause:

(4.5) [И брат султанов, а тот сидит на кровати на золотой, *да* над ним терем бархатный, *да* маковка золотая с яхонтами,]

[And the sultan's brother, he is sitting on a golden bed, and over him is a velvety tower, and the cupola is golden with rubies,]

[preceding context]

да несут	его	20 человек.
V-Rh	O-Th	S-Rh
and carry	him	20 people.

In (4.5), the focus is split between the verb and the subject, with the thematic pronominal object separating the two rhematic elements. The clause-initial *да* 'and' provides connection to the preceding context where it has already been used two times to introduce new elements in the character's presentation. Through VOS ordering, the clause under analysis continues the listing of new information about the sultan's brother. However, unlike in (4.3a), there is no corresponding syntactic patterning across these clauses.

To conclude, VOS patterns occur in the text under analysis in order to enable a broader reading of the clause, to establish syntactic parallelism, and to split the focus between the verb and its modifier.

4.4. VS word order

4.4.1. Patterns and Variations

The third group of verb-initial patterns comprises the combinations which consist of a verb and a subject. No pure VS pattern occurred in the text. One of the variations is a predicative followed by a subject, as in (4.6):

(4.6)	нет	ничего,
	P	S
	no	anything,

The verb complex elements can also be split by the subject, as in (4.7):

(4.7)	А съезжаются	все	наги
	[V]	S	[V]
	arrive	all	naked

Alternately, an adjunct can occur clause-finally:

(4.8)	А поднялась	буря	на море
	V	S	A
	began	storm	on sea

Moreover, an adjunct can both open and close the pattern:

(4.9)	К бутхану же	съезжается	вся страна Индийская	на чюдо бутово.
	A	V	S	A
	To cathedral	arrives	all country of India	for Butes' celebration.

Finally, an adjunct can occur in the middle of the pattern:

(4.10)	Есть	в том Алянде	птица гукук,
	V	A	S
	Is	in that Alyand	bird gukuk,

The range of variations and the number of their occurrences in the text are summarised in the table below:

Table 4.4 VS combinations – 15th-century travel diary

	PS	**[V]S[V]**	**VSA**	**AVSA**	**VAS**	**Total**
Nikitin	1	2	3	3	7	16

According to the table, the most frequently occurring combination is VAS, with seven tokens, whereas each of the other variations appears only one – three times.

4.4.2. Information Structure and Communicative Effects

Regarding the information packaging functions that the 16 VS patterns perform (see Section 3.2.4.), all four types of information structure are represented, as is shown in Table 4.5:

Table 4.5 Information structure of VS variations – 15th-century travel diary

	PS	**[V]S[V]**	**VSA**	**AVSA**	**VAS**	**Total**
Topical Verb	1	1			2	4
Rhematised Verb			1			1
Split Rheme		1	1		5	7
Clause focus			1	3		4
Total	1	2	3	3	7	16

As the table illustrates, each VS word order variation performs only one or two types of information structure, except for the VSA pattern which performs Rhematised Verb, Split Rheme and Clause Focus. Moreover, apart from Rhematised Verb, each type of information structure is realised by three different word order patterns. While most of the word order patterns perform each type of information structure only once in the text, there are significant correlations of

information structure with the AVSA and VAS word order patterns: Split Rheme is the most frequent information structure with seven tokens, five of which are realised by a VAS word order pattern; Clause Focus is the next most frequent information structure, with three of the five tokens realised by a AVSA pattern; and Topical Verb is as frequent as Clause Focus with two of the four tokens realised by a VAS pattern.

The communicative effects (see Section 3.2.5.) produced by the various information structures with VS word order combinations are provided in Figure 4.2:

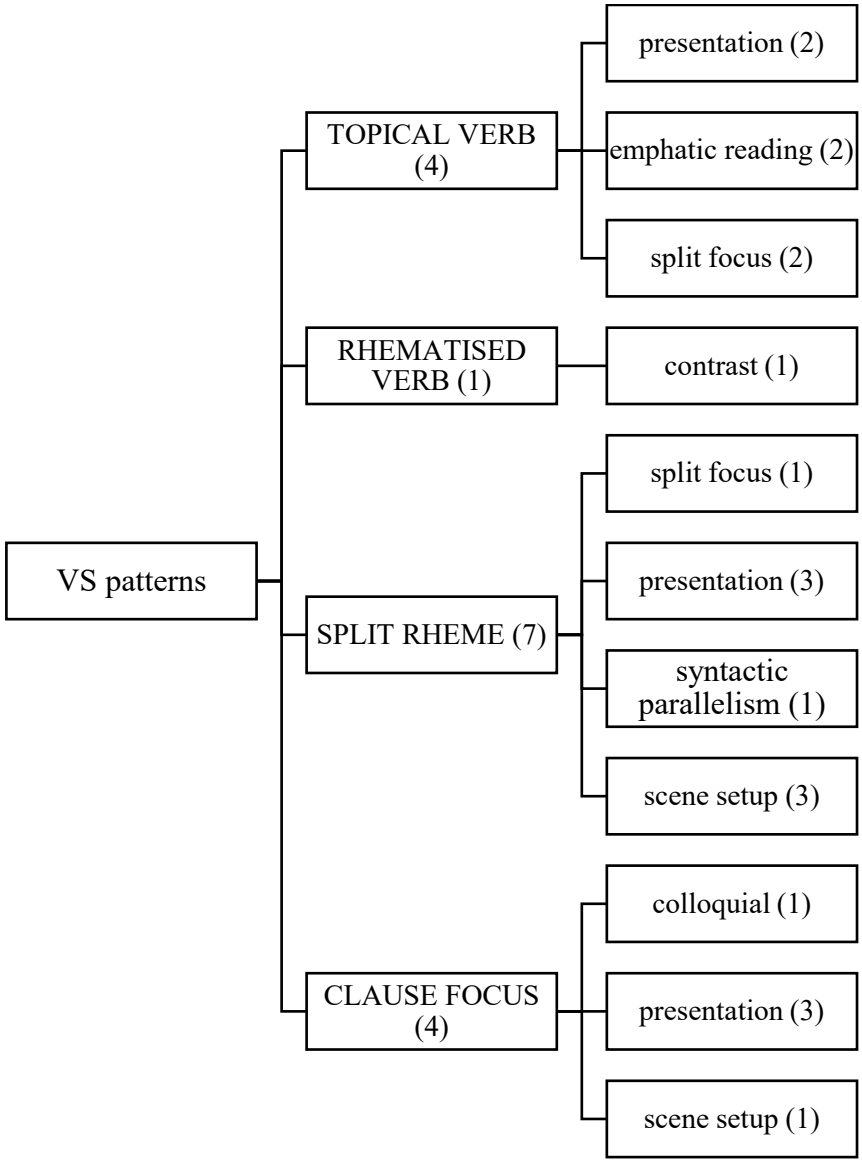

Figure 4.2: Communicative effects of VS information structures – 15th-century travel diary

Several interesting observations emerge from the analysis of information structures and communicative effects in this travel diary. First, the majority of communicative effects occur only once or twice per information structure, with the exception of presentation, syntactic parallelism and scene setup in Split Rheme. Second, there is some overlap of communicative effects across the various information structures with Topical Verb, Split Rheme and Clause Focus all having a

communicative effect of presentation and Rhematised Verb and Split Rheme both having a communicative effect of split focus, whereas the communicative effect of contrast is only typical of Rhematised Verb.

Examples of the communicative effects produced by the various information structures are given in the following sections.

4.4.2.1. Topical Verb

The information structure of Topical Verb, in other words, featuring the verb known from previous context, is represented by two communicative effects, each produced twice in the text. Consider (4.7) from the beginning of the section, placed below in a broader context:

(4.7a) [В Парват, к своему буту, *ездят* на Великий пост...]
[To Parvat, to their Butes, (they) *go* on Lent…]
[preceding context]

А съезжаются	все	наги
[V]-Th	S-Th	[V]-Rh
and arrive	all	naked

In the clause under consideration, the clause-initial verb of motion is topical as it references the preceding context. In terms of communicative effect, the topical verb renders the idea of movement as known to the reader with the clause-final element adding information about that movement. Therefore, the communicative effect is one of split focus as both the action and its attribute, split by the subject, are the focus of the reader's attention.

The communicative effect of presenting a phenomenon is illustrated in (4.6a):

(4.6a) [А иные бути *наги*,]
[and some Butes are naked,]
[preceding context]

нет	ничего.
V-Th	S-Th
no	nothing.

Although VS is considered an unmarked ordering for presentational clauses, the example in (4.6a) is included in the VIPs analysed in this research project due to the semantics of its elements. Here both the verb and the subject are topical, since they are strongly implied by the preceding context. In fact, *нет ничего* 'there's not anything', is another way of saying that someone is naked as it is a repeat of information contained in the preceding clause. Double negation, contained in the meaning of both elements, accompanied by a VS order, gives an emphatic sense to the clause. Compare the alternate SV ordering below:

(4.6b) [А иные бути наги,]
[and some Butes are naked,]
[preceding context]

ничего	**нет**.
S	V
nothing	is (not).

In (4.6b), the SV pattern provides equal emphasis on both elements and the topic of the clause precedes what is said about it; thus, such ordering is unmarked. However, in the original clause in (4.6a) the VS ordering, being presentational due to the existential nature of *нет* 'there is not' and providing no new information, can be analysed as adding weight to the verb and giving an emphatic reading to the clause. Furthermore, this particular VS combination, *нет ничего* 'there's not anything', is used in VS, VSA and AVS patterns in the analysed text.

In summary, the VS patterns in the Topical Verb arrangement in the analysed text appear to be used for the communicative effect of splitting the focus between the verb and its attribute or of presenting a phenomenon, with an emphatic reading of the clause.

4.4.2.2. Rhematised Verb

The only example of Rhematised Verb found in the analysed text, is provided below:

(4.11) [а сказывали всего много нашего товара,]
[(they) said there were a lot of our goods,]
[preceding context]

ано нет	ничего	на нашу землю.
P-Rh	S-Th	A-Th
is not	nothing	for our land.

Both the preceding clause and the clause under analysis do not feature an overt verb, and in the current project, their word order patterns are treated as SP, *всего много* 'of everything is a lot' and PS, *нет ничего* 'is not nothing', respectively. Therefore, not only semantically, but syntactically as well, the clause of interest provides contrast to the preceding context.

4.4.2.3. Split Rheme

The seven examples of VS patterns in the Split Rheme arrangement produce three different communicative effects. One of them is establishing a new scene, as in the example below:

(4.10a) [В Гундустанской земле той торг лучший, всякий товар продают и купят на память лиха Аладина, а по-русски на Покров святой Богородицы.]

[In Hindustan trade is the best, one can buy and sell anything on Protection of the Holy Virgin.]

[preceding context]

Есть	в том Алянде	птица гукук,
V-Rh	A-Th	S-Rh
Is	in that Aljand	bird gukuk,

[летает ночью, а кличет: «кук-кук», а на чьём доме сядет, то тут человек умрёт...]

[flies at night and says 'kuk-kuk', and on whose house she sits down, there a man dies…]

[following context]

As is seen from the immediately preceding context, the location of the described phenomenon is topical. Therefore, a neutral word order for a presentational clause would be AVS:

(4.10b)	**В том Алянде**	**есть**	птица гукук,
	A-Th	V-Tr	S-Rh
	In that Aljand	is	bird gukuk,

Such an order intensifies the presentational function of the clause. However, the inversion of elements in the actually occurring VAS word order in (4.10a) sets the scene rather than has a presentational effect.

Another VAS combination that occurs in the same split rheme environment is given below:

(4.12) [А товар в нем все делают алачи, да посреди, да киндяки, да делают краску синюю,]

[and the goods they make include different fabrics, and (they) make blue paint,]

[preceding context]

да родится	в нем	лак
V-Rh	A-Th	S-Rh
and is born	in it	lacquer

[да сердолик да соль.]

[and carnelian and salt.]

[following context]

The preceding context in (4.12) presents information about the city. The subject is incorporated in the verb form *делают* '(they) make' which is followed by an object. In the analysed clause, the verb is intransitive, unlike in the preceding clauses, and it is followed by a thematic adjunct of place, while the rhematic subject is placed last in the clause. Such an ordering appears to present more information about the place, at the same time following the rhythm of the preceding clauses with clause-initial verbs. Overall, the sentence in (4.12) is quite dense in terms of information, and

the word order pattern in the clause under consideration allows for a rhythmic presentation of the information, ensured by syntactic parallelism.

The following example contains the same verb in a Split Rheme structure but produces a different communicative effect:

(4.13) [А у которые жены от гостя зачнется дитя, и мужи дают алафу;]
[If a woman conceives a child from a guest, the husbands give money;]
[preceding context]

а родится	дитя	бело,
[V]-Rh	S-Th	[V]-Rh
is born	child	white,

[ино гостю пошлины 300 тенекъ,]
[the guest receives 300 tenkas (silver coin),]

The analysed clause in (4.13) continues the discourse about the attitude to foreigners. In the immediately preceding context, the emphasis lies on the action of conceiving a child from a foreigner – *зачнется дитя* 'a child is conceived'. As the clause under analysis provides new information – about giving birth to a white child, – both the verb and the predicative are therefore rhematic. In order to draw the reader's attention to both elements of the verb complex, the author places these elements at either end of the clause, thus splitting the focus for more emphasis.

To summarise, the VS patterns are employed in the Split Rheme information structure in order to establish a new scene, to present a phenomenon as well as create syntactic parallelism, and to split the focus between two rhematic elements.

4.4.2.4. Clause Focus

The information structure with the most numerous different communicative effects is Clause Focus, in which two or more elements are rhematic and the thematic elements are included in the focal group. One of the communicative effects produced by a VIP with Clause Focus information structure is that of establishing a new scene (an example of this communicative effect with a Split Rheme information structure was given above). A second type of communicative effect produced by a Clause Focus information structure is that of presenting an event, as in (4.8a):

(4.8a) [И пошли в Дербент, заплакав, двумя судами: в одном судне посол Хасан-бек, ...; в другом судне 6 москвичей... да корм наш.]

[and (we) went to Derbent, crying, in two vessels: in one vessel there was ambassador Xasan-bek, …; in the other vessel there were 6 Moscovites… and our food.]

[preceding context]

А поднялась	буря	на море
V-Rh	S-Rh	A-Th
Rose	storm	in sea

[да судно меншое разбило о берег.]

[and the smaller vessel crashed at the shore.]

[following context]

The rhematic VS combination placed in front of the thematic locative, on the one hand, provides contrast with the peaceful descriptive scene in the previous sentence, and on the other hand, reports the most relevant information, that there was a storm, before the known information, the place where it happened. The VSA pattern in (4.8a) resembles the clausal organisation of colloquial speech, where the most relevant or important information appears before known information.

Another example of the whole clause being focal is the AVSA pattern below:

(4.14)	Зимой же у них	ходит	люди	фота на гузне,
	A-Rh	V-Rh	S-Rh	V-Rh
	In winter there	go	people	with cloth around hips

[а другая по плечем, а третья на голове]

[and another one around shoulders, and the third one on head]

[following context]

This example initiates the paragraph and opens the description of what people wear in winter. Here the verb of motion does not add any sense of motion to the established entity (McAnallen, 2009).

Alternately, let us consider an ASVO pattern:

(4.14a)	Зимой же у них	**люди**	**ходит**	фота на гузне,
	A	S	V	S
	In winter there	people	go	with cloth around hips

In this case, where the subject is in topical position, the reader might reasonably assume that the preceding context had already given information about what people wear in summer, or another season, and now, using the adjunct with contrasting *же* ‘but, indeed’, the text is about another season. However, in the actual text, this is not the case. Instead, the original pattern in (4.14) resembles that of an existential clause which is used to present a phenomenon. The effect of establishing a new scene might be considered a secondary communicative effect in this instance.

To summarise, in the analysed text, VS combinations realise Clause Focus information structure in order to establish a new scene and to present a phenomenon, either with a touch of colloquial reading or without it.

4.5. Summary

In drawing together the major findings regarding VIP variations in Nikitin's 15th-century text *Хождение за три моря* 'A Journey beyond the Three Seas', I consider first the range of word order variation. As summarised in Table 4.6, the VS group of patterns features a number of variants with an adjunct, whilst the VSO and VOS groups are not characterised by much variation.

Table 4.6 VIP combinations – 15th-century travel diary

	VIP variations				
	Pure pattern	**Adjunct at**			**Verb complex**
		front	**end**	**middle**	
VSO (1)		AVSO (1)			
VOS (4)	VOS (2)	AVOS (1) AVOSA (1)			
VS (16)	PS (1)	VSA (3) AVSA (3)		VAS (7)	[V]S[V] (2)
Total (21)	3	9		7	2

As evidenced in Table 4.6, an adjunct can be found at the front of a VSO, VOS or VS pattern, and indeed, this is the only pattern for the VSO group. With a VOS pattern, an adjunct appears either at the front or at the front and at the end of the pattern. Furthermore, the VS group is characterised by all possible variations, including the appearance of an adjunct between the verb and the subject, as well as the verb being a split verb complex.

With regard to information packaging, the results are provided in the following table:

Table 4.7 Information Structure of VIP groups – 15th-century travel diary

Information Structure	VSO	VOS	VS	Total
Topical Verb			4	4
Rhematised Verb		1	1	2
Split Rheme		3	7	10
Clause Focus	1		4	5
Total	1	4	16	21

As Table 4.7 illustrates, nearly half of all VIP tokens realise a Split Rheme information structure, whilst the least common information structure is Rhematised Verb. In terms of word order patterns, only VS combinations perform all four types of information structure, whereas VSO and VOS patterns have been found to perform one and two types of information structures respectively. Most importantly, there appears to be a correlation of Split Rheme with VOS and VS word order as well as Topical Verb and Clause Focus with VS word order.

The final area to summarise is that of communicative effects and their correlations, on the one hand, with specific types of information structure (see Table 4.8) and, on the other hand, with VIP word order patterns (see Table 4.9).

Table 4.8 Communicative effects of VIP information structures – 15th-century travel diary

Communicative effect	Topical Verb	Rhematised Verb	Split Rheme	Clause Focus	Total
Scene setup			3	2	5
Contrast		2			2
Presentation	2		3	3	8
Broader reading			2		2
Syntactic parallelism			2		2
Colloquial speech				1	1
Emphatic reading	2				2
Split focus	2		2		4
Total	6	2	12	6	26

As Table 4.8 shows, Split Rheme is used for the widest range of communicative effects and Rhematised Verb for the least. Focusing on cells with two or more tokens, some correlations between information structure and communicative effect start to emerge: scene setup is produced with Split Rheme and Clause Focus information structures; split focus with Topical Verb and Split Rheme; contrast with Rhematised Verb; broader reading with Split Rheme; presentation with Clause Focus; syntactic parallelism with Split Rheme; and emphatic reading with Topical Verb.

Similarly, Table 4.9 reveals that in the analysed text there are correlations between the VIP word orders patterns that realise the various types of information structures and the different communicative effects.

Table 4.9 Communicative effects of VIP word order patterns – 15th-century travel diary

Communicative effect	**VSO**	**VOS**	**VS**	**Total**
Scene setup	1		4	5
Contrast		1	1	2
Presentation			8	8
Broader reading		2		2
Syntactic parallelism		1	1	2
Colloquial speech			1	1
Emphatic reading			2	2
Split focus		1	3	4
Total	1	5	20	26

Table 4.9, VS word order, which has the greatest number of tokens and is used to realise all four information structures (see Table 4.7), expresses the full range of communicative effects that were found to occur. In contrast and with lower frequency, VOS word order is used to realise the communicative effects of broader reading, split focus, syntactic parallelism and contrast, whilst the only VSO pattern found in the text occurs to establish a new scene. Again, focusing on cells with two or more, the most significant correlations are the communicative effects of broader reading being expressed with VOS word order and scene setup, split focus, presentation and emphatic reading being expressed with VS word order.

5. Results – 18th- and 19th-century Travel Diaries

This chapter investigates VIP usage in the travel diaries of seven well known 18th-19th-century classical Russian writers: Fonvizin (1786), Radishchev (1791), Derzhavin (1773-1774), Leskov (1862), Zhukovsky (1821), Tolstoy (1857) and Chekhov (1889-1894). (see Section 3.1.3. for further details) Section 5.1 gives the frequency of VIP occurrence in the extracts from the travel diaries, followed in Sections 5.2 – 5.4 by the analysis of the three verb-initial patterns (VSO, VOS and VS), their variations, information structure and communicative effects respectively. Section 5.5 draws together VIP usage across the selected 18th-19th-century travel diaries.

5.1 Frequency of VIP Occurrence

The distribution of words, sentences and sentences with unconventional VIPs across the seven travel diary extracts is given in Table 5.1. As the number of words selected for analysis from each diary differs, in the final column the count of sentences with unconventional VIPs has been normalised as a percentage of the total number of sentences in the diary excerpt.

Table 5.1 Frequency of occurrence – 18th & 19th-century travel diary corpus

	Number of words	**Number of sentences**	**Number of sentences with VIPs**	**% of sentences with VIPs**
1. Fonvizin	1,332	97	26	26.8%
2. Radishchev	1,015	97	8	8.2%
3. Derzhavin	1,661	46	9	19.6%
4. Leskov	1,215	80	1	1.25%
5. Zhukovsky	1,805	63	12	19.1%
6. Tolstoy	1,605	71	6	8.4%
7. Chekhov	1,736	121	19	15.7%
Total	10,369	575	81	14.1%

While overall 81 (14.1%) of sentences in the corpus contain unconventional VIPs, the distribution of sentences with VIPs varies across the diaries from 1 (1.25%) to over 25 (26.8%). This indicates that the writers are disparate as far as their word order preferences are concerned. Moreover, their writing styles differ, too: some chose to narrate the events while others added descriptions of nature or philosophical contemplations to their narratives. Therefore, it is interesting to analyse the

pragmatics of unconventional word order combinations and to trace the connection, if any, between the VIPs and the communicative situations in which they occur.

The three main groups of word order combinations of unconventional VIPs and the number of tokens included in the analysis of each diary excerpt are summarised in Table 5.2. Note that the figures in this and subsequent tables are determined at the clause level; thus, a multi-clausal sentence may contain more than one VSO, VOS and/or VS token:

Table 5.2 VIP combinations – 18th & 19th-century travel diary corpus

	VSO	**VOS**	**VS**	**Total**
1. Fonvizin	20	5	4	29
2. Radishchev	3		6	9
3. Derzhavin	8	1	1	10
4. Leskov		1		1
5. Zhukovsky	9	2	3	14
6. Tolstoy	2		4	6
7. Chekhov	6	2	13	21
Total	48	11	31	90

The overall number of VSO tokens is the highest followed by VS, with six out of seven excerpts containing patterns of each of these groups. The overall number of VOS tokens is significantly lower, although there are occurrences in five out of the seven diary extracts. On an individual level, only three of the seven authors show a preference for VSO word order (Diaries 1, 3, and 5), while three authors show a preference for VS (Diaries 2, 6 and 7) and one author uses a single VIP, which is VOS (Diary 4). Interestingly, where authors show a preference for VSO or VS patterns that preference is quite strong. For example, in Diary 1, which has the highest occurrence of VSO patterns, there are 4 and 5 times more VSO than VS and VOS patterns respectively and in Diary 7, which has the highest occurrence of VS patterns, there are 6 and 2 times more VS than VOS and VSO patterns respectively.

In the following sections, the three major VIP word order combinations, VSO, VOS and VS, are discussed in turn.

5.2. VSO word order

5.2.1. Patterns and Variations

In VSO combinations a verb initiates the pattern and is invariably followed by a subject and an object as in (5.1) or a complement as in (5.2):

(5.1)	Помнится	мне	мужик лет сорока с русой бородой;
	V	S	O
	Remember	I	a man of about 40 with a light-brown beard;

(Chekhov, part I)[22]

(5.2)	отправился	он г.Бибиков	из Петербурга,
	V	S	O
	set off	he Mr. Bibikov	from Petersburg,

(Derzhavin, 61)

The following examples represent the variety within the VSO group of VIPs: the word order combinations are differentiated from (5.2) by the presence of an adjunct (A) (as in 5.3), and/or its clausal variation ([A]) (as in 5.4), as well as by the nature of the verb – whether it is a single verb (as in 5.5), or a verb complex [V] (as in 5.6).

(5.3)	В Виттенберге	видел	я	обе старинные церкви
	A	V	S	O
	In Vittenberg,	saw	I	both ancient churches

(Zhukovsky, 169)

(5.4)	Дождавшися же прибытия его прев-ва г-на генерал-майора Мансурова,		
	[A]		
	Having waited until Major General Mansurov arrived,		
	отправился	он	в Казань,
	V	S	O
	set out	he	to Kazan',

(Derzhavin, 60)

[22] The reference after each example includes the writer's name and the page from a bibliographical source, where the example can be found. Diary 7, authored by Chekhov, is an exception: since the sources do not provide page numbers, just part I or part II is referenced.

(5.5) А научились они этому у арестантов.
V S O O
And learnt they that from the prisoners.
(Chekhov, part II)

(5.6) Хотелось бы мне сказать,
[V] S [V]
Would like I to say

что лучшее средство вырваться есть любовь к другим,
[O]
that the best way to break free is love for other people,
(Tolstoy, 200)

In the 18th-19th-century travel diary corpus, six variations of the VSO word order pattern were identified:

Table 5.3 VSO combinations – 18th & 19th-century travel diary corpus

	VSO	**AVSO**	**[A](A)VSO(A)**	**[A]/AVS(A)[O]**	**(A)([A])VSAO**	**(A)[V]S[V]O/[O]**	**Total**
1. Fonvizin		9	3	3	4	1	20
2. Radishchev		1		1		1	3
3. Derzhavin	2	1	2	1	2		8
4. Leskov							0
5. Zhukovsky		5	2			2	9
6. Tolstoy		1				1	2
7. Chekhov	3	2			1		6
Total	5	19	7	5	7	5	48

As Table 5.3 shows, the pattern variation within the group is rather sophisticated, with up to six constituents in a pattern. Four of the variations invariably contain an adjunct (AVSO, [A](A)VSO(A), [A]/AVS[O] and (A)([A])VSAO), two of them have a complex object

([A]/AVS[O]and (A)[V]S[V][O]) and one of them features a verb complex ((A)[V]S[V]O/[O]). In terms of the numbers of tokens, by far the most numerous group is AVSO, featuring nearly half of all occurrences with 19 out of 48 tokens; for the other VSO combinations, the number of tokens varies from five to seven.

With regard to VSO occurrences in the diaries, the AVSO combination occurs in all texts, while other permutations are found in two to four diaries each. Moreover, the highest number of pattern appearance in a text is nine and belongs to the AVSO pattern. The combinations with the second highest number of occurrences per text, four and five, respectively, are (A)([A])VSAO and AVSO. Other variations are found in only one, two or three instances. It is interesting that the pure VSO combination (that is, without any additional adjuncts), with one VSOA modification in Diary 7, is the least frequent VIP in this group. Furthermore, the authors of Diaries 1 and 3 chose to employ five out of the six VSO variations in their texts, while three, that is half, of the range of variations have been found in Diaries 2, 5 and 7, and Diary 6, with the least number of tokens, features only two of the VSO variations.

5.2.2. Information Structure and Communicative Effects

The following section deals with the four information structures (see Section 3.2.4.) performed by VSO variations in the diaries. An overview of the information structures of the patterns under analysis is presented in the table below:

Table 5.4 Information Structures of VSO variations – 18th & 19th-century travel diary corpus

	VSO	**AVSO**	**[A](A)VSO(A)**	**[A]/AVS(A)[O]**	**(A)([A])VSAO**	**(A)[V]S[V]O/[O]**	**Total**
Topical Verb		1	1			1	3
Rhematised Verb							0
Split Rheme	5	17	6	5	7	4	44
Clause Focus		1					1
Total	5	19	7	5	7	5	48

According to Table 5.4, the patterns under consideration perform three out of four of the information structures, excluding the Rhematised Verb. The majority of VIPs, 44 out of 48, are

arranged as Split Rheme; whereas the Topical Verb and the Clause Focus arrangements are represented by only three and one VSO permutations respectively.

Furthermore, it is interesting to examine how the authors of the diaries prefer to arrange clause elements in terms of the three occurring information structures:

Table 5.5 VSO Information Structure per text – 18th & 19th-century travel diary corpus

	Topical Verb	**Split Rheme**	**Clause Focus**	**Total**
1. Fonvizin	1	18	1	20
2. Radishchev		3		3
3. Derzhavin		8		8
4. Leskov				0
5. Zhukovsky	1	8		9
6. Tolstoy	1	1		2
7. Chekhov		6		6
Total	3	44	1	48

As Table 5.5 illustrates, only Diary 1 features all three information structures. Two structures, of Topical Verb and Split Rheme, have been found in Diaries 5 and 6; whereas the authors of Diaries 2, 3 and 7 choose to arrange their VSO combinations as Split Rheme. Finally, the token distribution among the information structures (where there is more than one) is rather uneven, except in the case of Diary 6.

While Tables 5.4 and 5.5 summarise the information structures identified in the VSO patterns in the seven texts, Figure 5.1 correlates these information structures with the communicative effects (see Section 3.2.5.) they produce.

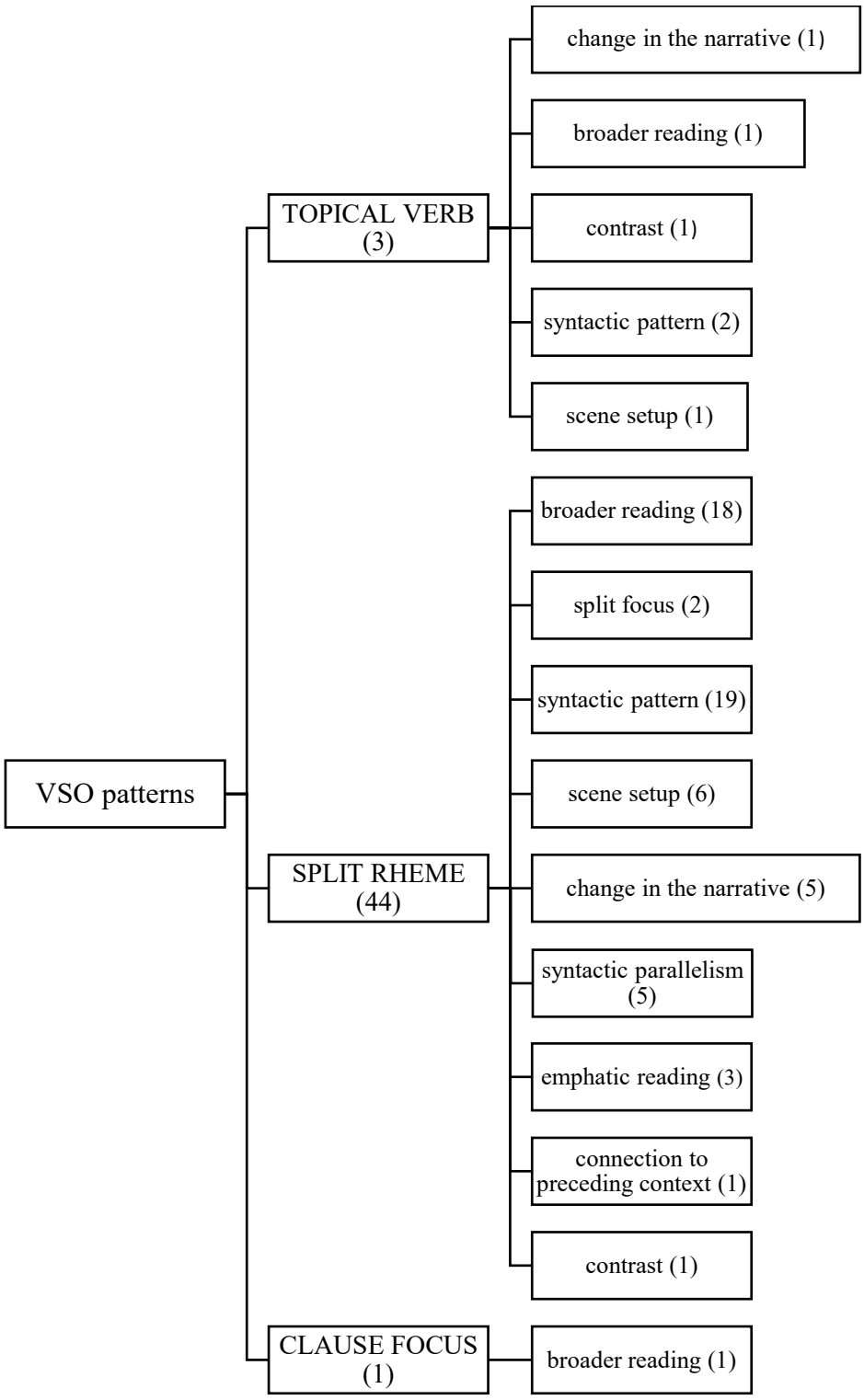

Figure 5.1: Communicative effects of VSO information structures – 18th & 19th-century travel diary corpus

According to the schema in Figure 5.1, the communicative effects corresponding to the three information structures are diverse. Moreover, as an information structure may produce more than one communicative effect in a particular token, there are a higher number of communicative effects produced than instances of information structures for all except Clause Focus. As Split Rheme is by far the most frequently utilised information structure, it is not surprising that a wide range of

effects are produced, including the establishment of a syntactic parallelism, ensuring emphatic reading of a clause and signalling connection to preceding context, among others. The communicative effects of the Topical Verb information structure are rather diverse, taking into account its low number of tokens, and include a broader reading of a clause, signalling a change in the narrative and contrast, establishing a syntactic pattern after an adjunct and a new scene setup. By contrast, the only communicative effect of the pattern identified with Clause Focus information structure is enabling a broader reading of the clause.

The following sections detail each of the three occurring information structures and the communicative effects they perform, providing evidence to support the analysis given here.

5.2.2.1. Topical Verb

The first group comprises examples where a topical verb occurs before a thematic/rhematic subject followed by a thematic/rhematic object. In some cases, an adjunct initiates the pattern.

To illustrate, consider:

(5.7) [Совет венского моего медика Штоля и мучительная электризация, которою меня бесполезно терзали, *решили меня поспешить отъездом в чужие край* и избавиться *Москвы*, которая стала мне ненавистна. Сия ненависть так глубоко в сердце моем вкоренилась, что, думаю, по смерть не истребится.]

[My Austrian doctor Stohl's advice and agonizing electrification that I was uselessly tortured with accounted for my *decision to hurry up with my departure overseas* and get rid of *Moscow* which I hate now. This hatred is so deep inside me now that I think it will always stay there.]

[preceding context]

Словом, будучи в тяжкой болезни и с растерзанным горестию сердцем,

[A]-gerundial complex

Thus, being seriously ill and with grief-torn heart,

выехал	я	из Москвы
V-Th	S-Th	O-Th
left	I	Moscow

в субботу после обеда, в половине осьмого часа.

A-Rh

on Saturday after lunch, at half past seven.

(Fonvizin, 563)

All three elements under consideration (subject, verb and its complement) are thematic, occurring in a VSO arrangement. From a Functional Sentence Perspective (FSP) (see Section 2.1.2.), such an arrangement cannot be explained, and theoretically, the elements can be reordered in an SVO pattern:

(5.7a) Словом, будучи в тяжкой болезни и с растерзанным горестию сердцем,
[A]-gerundial complex
Thus, being seriously ill and with grief-torn heart,

я	**выехал**	из Москвы
S-Th	V-Th	O-Th
I	left	Moscow

в субботу после обеда, в половине осьмого часа.
A-Rh
on Saturday after lunch, at half past seven.

In (5.7a), the day and time of departure are still the focus of the clause, however, the thematic elements are of equal weight in such an ordering. By placing the verb before the subject as in (5.7), the author, on the one hand, creates an impression of finality of the event that had first been mentioned in the preceding context, and on the other hand, signals a change in the narrative, moving from a philosophical contemplation in the preceding sentence to an action in the clause under consideration. Thus, the verb and its complement, an adverbial modifier of place, receive equal focus in the reader's attention, while the post-verbal pronominal subject is left out of that focus.

A similar use of VSO ordering, with a topical verb, is observed in the example below:

(5.8) [Пассажиры передвинулись к корме, *замахали платками*, и наши друзья очутились уж совсем далеко от нас и в чужой незнакомой среде людей, которые их окружали.]
[The passengers moved towards the stern, started waving their handkerchiefs, and our friends turned out to be quite far from us and with a bunch of unknown people who surrounded them.]
[preceding context]

Там тоже	махали	другие	платками
A-Th	V-Th	S-Tr	O-Th
There also	waved	others	with handkerchiefs

и совсем не нам, а краснощекой швейцарке,
O-Rh
and not to us but to a red cheeked Swiss woman,

(Tolstoy, 198)

To keep the connection with the preceding context, a thematic adjunct and the topical verb it modifies are placed at the beginning of the pattern, followed by a transitional subject, another thematic element and the rheme proper. Besides structural requirements (adverb *тоже* 'too'

attracting a verb (Blekher, 1995), the AVSO arrangement (the last, rhematic, object is excluded) ensures a broader reading of the scene rather than an individuated action of the subject (McAnallen, 2009). Compare this to the following variations in the ordering:

(5.8a)	Там	**другие**	тоже	**махали**	платками
	A	S	A	V	O
	There	**others**	also	**waved**	with their handkerchiefs
	[и совсем не нам, а краснощёкой швейцарке,]				
	[and not to us but to a red cheeked Swiss woman,]				

In (5.8a), the adjunct *тоже* 'also' is placed before the verb, keeping the focus on the verb. However, placement of the subject before the verb creates a different impression to the example in (5.8): now it is more about the action of 'others' (5.8a) than a general description of the scene (5.8).

As a final example, a combination of two communicative effects has been produced by a VSO combination in the Topical Verb information structure:

(5.9) [Я не буду описывать всего, что со мною было в Дрездене; буду *говорить* о главном.]

[I won't describe everything that happened to me in Dresden; will speak about the main thing.]

[preceding context]

Но для вас, друзья мои,	должен	я	сказать	несколько слов	о прелестном вечере…
A-Rh	[V]-Rh	S-Th	[V]-Th	O-Rh	O-Rh
But for you, my friends,	must	I	say	a few words	about a wonderful party…

[Сначала мое расположение было довольно дурное, можно сказать худшее, потому что оно было холодное, и в голове и в сердце было пусто…]

[At first my disposition was rather bad, I'd say the worst, because it was cold, and my head and heart were empty…]

[following context]

(Zhukovsky, 173)

Despite the fact that the infinitival part of the verb complex is thematic and the modal part of it is supposed to only add a shade of meaning to the infinitive (as would be the case in an SV ordering), the appearance of the modal verb before the subject adds weight to the former and ensures its rhematic reading, providing contrast to the preceding context and establishing a new scene that is developed in the following context.

Thus, the authors of 18th-19th travel diaries choose to arrange clause elements in a Topical Verb information structure in a VSO pattern in order to signal a change in the narrative, to establish a syntactic pattern, to enable a broader reading of a clause, to provide a contrast or to establish a new scene.

5.2.2.2. Split Rheme

A good illustration of a split rheme arrangement is found in example (5.6), which was given at the beginning of section 5.2.1 and is repeated below with a broader context:

(5.6a)	Хотелось бы	мне	сказать,	что лучшее средство вырваться есть любовь к другим,
	[V]-Rh	S-Th	[V]-Rh	[O]-Rh
	Would like	I	to say	that the best way to break free is love for other people,
	[но, к несчастью, это было бы несправедливо.]			
	[but unfortunately, it would be unjust.]			
	[following context]			

(Tolstoy, 200)

Here the following context, which appears quite far away from the initial verb, helps the reader understand the author's pragmatic intentions. Comparing the VSO pattern in (5.6a) with an SVO alternant in (5.6b), it appears that the focus in both clauses is different. In the S[V][O] ordering of the clause, the second element of the verb complex is part of the focus of the clause, which is constituted by the infinitive and the object clause:

(5.6b)	**Мне**	**хотелось бы сказать**,	что лучшее средство вырваться есть любовь к другим,
	S	[V]	[O]
	I	would like to say	that the best way to break free is love for other people,

However, the placement of the 'volition' element at the front in (5.6a) changes the focus of the clause. Enhanced by the second part of the sentence, *но это было бы несправедливо* 'but that would be unjust', the narrator's volition becomes the pure focus, contrasted by the following clause (*ХОТЕЛОСЬ бы мне сказать ..., но это было бы несправедливо* 'I'd LIKE to say…, but that would be unjust'), and the focal weight of the complex object is degraded, in comparison with the S[V][O] counterpart in (5.6b).

Furthermore, a large group of VSO patterns in the Split Rheme information structure are aimed at enabling a broader reading of a clause. It should be noted here that with regard to VSO

syntactic composition, they are never pure VSO combinations, with a couple of exceptions. In particular, a clause quite frequently begins with a gerundial complex, as in (5.10):

(5.10) [К ночи приехали мы в Пахру, где в карете ночевали.]

[By night, we had arrived in Paxra, where we spent the night in the carriage.]

[preceding context]

Выехав из Пахры рано,

[A]-gerundial complex

Having left Pakhra early,

остановились	мы	поутру	пить кофе	в деревне Мощь;
V-Rh	S-Th	A-Rh	[O]-Rh	A-Rh
stopped	we	in the morning	to have a coffee	in the village of Moshch;

[из кареты не выходили; обедали в деревне Чернишной; ночевали в деревне Башмаковке.]

[didn't leave the carriage; had lunch in the village of Černishnaja; spent the night in Bashmakovka village.]

[following context]

(Fonvizin, 563)

The clause under analysis opens a new paragraph, however, it does not establish a new scene because what follows is not a development of one scene but rather an enumeration of events that followed the one under analysis – *остановились* 'stopped'. Therefore, by starting a paragraph with a VIP the author introduces a change in the setting and uses partial inversion (Kovtunova, 1980) to enable a broader reading of the clause, keeping the focus on the actions. Compare the VSO combination to the unmarked ordering in (5.10a):

(5.10a) Выехав из Пахры рано,

[A]-gerundial complex

Having left Paxra early,

мы	**остановились**	поутру	пить кофе	в деревне Мощь;
S-Th	V-Tr	A-Rh	[O]-Rh	A-Rh
we	stopped	in the morning	to have a coffee	in the village of Moshch;

[из кареты не выходили; обедали в деревне Чернишной; ночевали в деревне Башмаковке.]

[didn't leave the carriage; had lunch in the village of Chernishnaja; spent the night in Bashmakovka village.]

[following context]

In (5.10a), the SV ordering ensures the focus is on the complement of the verb – why the subject stopped at Moshch – rather than on the action expressed by the verb, which serves here as a

transitional element in this clause. In contrast, the ordering in (5.10) appears to give equal weight to the verb and its complement, thus enabling a broader reading of the clause that provides an account of what happened next, rather than giving particulars of the event, as in (5.10a).

Another example of a gerundial complex [A] opening a clause and attracting a verb, is provided in (5.4) at the beginning of this section and, in a broader context, below:

(5.4a) [По возвращении из сего похода в Самару, исследовал он тамошних жителей и, в силу вышеупомянутого ордера, самых винных послал в Секретную Комиссию, а которые не столько виноваты были, тех до резолюции оставил в сем городе.]

[Upon return to Samara from this trip, he examined the local inhabitants and, following the above mentioned order, sent those who were most guilty to the Secret Committee and left those who were not as guilty in town until there came a resolution]

[preceding context]

Дождавшися же прибытия его прев-ва г-на генерал-майора Мансурова,

[A]-gerundial complex

Having waited until Major General Mansurov arrived,

отправился	он	в Казань,
V-Rheme	S-Theme	O-Rheme
set out	he	to Kazan,

(Derzhavin, 60)

The VSO ordering in (5.4a) follows the gerundial complex which provides the time frame for the action unfolding in the following clause. The focus in the clause under analysis is, therefore, on an action of going to a certain destination rather than on the destination only, thus enabling a broader reading of the clause.

Similar to (5.10), examples (5.1) and (5.3) at the beginning of this section also open new paragraphs; however, this use of a VIP is secondary, since more contextually relevant communicative effects are produced. Consider the example in (5.1), placed in a broader context:

(5.1a) [Переселенцев я видел еще, когда плыл на пароходе по Каме.]

[Migrants I saw back when I was sailing in a steamboat down the Kama.]

[preceding context]

Помнится	мне	мужик лет сорока с русой бородой;
V-Rh	S-Th	O-Rh
Remember	I	a man of about 40 with a light-brown beard;

[он сидит на скамье на пароходе; у ног его мешки с домашним скарбом, на мешках лежат дети в лапотках и жмутся от холодного, резкого ветра, дующего с пустынного берега Камы.]

[he's sitting on a bench of a steam ship; near his legs are sacks with his belongings; on the sacks are his children in bast shoes, who are shivering from a sharp, cold wind, blowing from the Kama's deserted bank.]

[following context]

(Chekhov, part I)

The VSO combination in (5.1a) sets a new scene; to be more particular, it introduces a new character who the author is talking about in the following context. Both the preceding and following clauses have subjects followed by verbs; by contrast, the clause under consideration is verb-initial, and such element organisation breaks the monotony of narration and at the same time creates a feeling for a change in the scene setting/narration. In contrast, the SVO variant of the same clause, ***Мне помнится*** *мужик лет сорока с русой бородой* '**I remember** a man of about 40 with a light-brown beard' accentuates the subject of the clause and moves the focus away from the verb. The focus is, thus, on the actor (S) and the object of the action it performs (O), which is meaningful, considering the preceding context, but is not the purpose intended by the author.

Moreover, an author might choose to employ a VSO combination at the beginning of a new paragraph or diary entry in order to ensure a broader reading of a clause:

(5.3a)	В Виттенберге,	[который пленяет воображение своею древностию,]	видел	я	обе старинные церкви	[и заглянул в келью Лютера:]
	A-Th		V-Rh	S-Th	O-Rh	following context
	In Vittenberg	[the ancientness of which is impressive]	saw	I	both ancient churches	[and looked in Luther's cell:]

(Zhukovsky, 169)

The AVSO pattern in (5.3a) opens a chapter of Zhukovsky's travel diary, called 'Travelling from Berlin to Dresden'. In a short note before the passage under analysis, the author briefly sketches his route and what and who he visited on this trip. Therefore, the adjunct of place, initiating the pattern, creates the feeling of awareness of the place, because Vittenberg, mentioned for the first time in the text, is known to the reader from the notes to the route. What appears after the adjunct becomes the focus of the reader's attention: the object of the clause under consideration, *обе*

старинные церкви ‘both ancient churches’, and the verb, *видел* ‘saw’ form the rheme of the clause and provide a broader reading by giving an account of what happened in Vittenberg. Furthermore, the following context tells about another action in the town, causing the verbs, *видел* ‘saw’ and *заглянул* ‘looked in’, to be the author’s primary focus, and the syntactic parallelism of Theme-Rheme-Theme-Rheme ensures a smooth reading of the complex sentence.

A similar communicative effect of establishing syntactic parallelism is identified in a number of other VSO occurrences in the travel diaries, one of which is provided below:

(5.11) [Оное после представлено было им г.Бибикову, а от него Её Величеству, за которое в собственноручном письме Её Величества к генералу изъявлена была высочайшая апробация.]

[This was provided by him to Mr. Bibikov, and from the latter – to Her Majesty, for which the general was highly appraised in the letter from Her Majesty.]

[preceding context]

По возвращении из сего похода в Самару,	исследовал	он	тамошних жителей
A-Rh	V-Rh	S-Th	O-Rh
Upon returning from the trip to Samara,	studied	he	local inhabitants

[и, в силу вышеупомянутого ордера, самых винных *послал* в Секретную Комиссию, а которые не столько виноваты были, тех до резолюции оставил в сем городе.]

[and, following the above-mentioned order, sent those who were most guilty to the Secret Committee and left those who were not as guilty in town until there came a resolution]

(Derzhavin, 59-60)

In (5.11), the verb follows an adjunct of time and, as such, enables a broader reading of what happened after the subject’s return to Samara.

VSO combinations that establish syntactic parallelism with preceding adjuncts are employed by the authors to form a pattern with the following context, as well. Consider the following example:

(5.12) [Надоедают скоро и вода, и звёзды, которыми усыпано небо, и эта тяжёлая, гробовая тишина.]

[Soon, one becomes bored with water, and with the stars that are scattered in the sky, and with this heavy deadly silence.]

[preceding context]

От скуки	разговариваю	я	с дедом
A-Th	V-Rh	S-Th	O-Rh
Out of boredom	speak	I	with the old man

[и узнаю от него]

[and learn from him]

following context

(Chekhov, part I)

It is worth noting that besides the focus on the change in the narrative, observed on a contextual level, the VSO pattern in (5.12) creates a syntactic rhythm on a sentence level, when the clause-initial adjunct attracts the verb and thus includes the action in the focal group, while the following clause tells of another action resulting from the one introduced by the verb in the analysed clause. This syntactic parallelism is similar to that of (5.4a) above.

Furthermore, the authors might choose to arrange the clause elements as VSO, to split the focus between the initial and the final elements of the pattern. The example in (5.5a) illustrates this point clearly:

(5.5a) [Так умеют браниться только сибирские ямщики и перевозчики,]

[Only Siberian coachmen and ferrymen can swear like this,]

[preceding context]

А научились	они	этому,	[говорят,]	у арестантов.
V-Rh	S-Th	O-Th		O-Rh
And learnt	they	that,	[they say,]	from the prisoners.

(Chekhov, part II)

The immediately preceding clause in (5.5a) provides an unmarked ordering of the clause constituents, which ensures a growing communicative dynamism towards the end of the sentence. In the clause under analysis, the focal elements are the verb and the object, which inform the reader about how the coachmen and ferrymen acquired their skills and who they acquired them from. Thus, the author places one of the focal elements, the verb, in front of the thematic subject, while the focal object occupies the common clause-final position.

Finally, a VSO can be employed by an author for other than contextual purposes. Consider the following example from Diary 2:

(5.13)

едва в целой день	мог	я	совершить	столько пути,
A-Rh	[V]-Rh	S-Th	[V]-Rh	O-Rh
hardly in a day	could	I	cover	as much distance,

[сколько в другое время совершаю один час, – возвратимся, – я лежу в постеле, – бьет полночь.]

[as in other times (I) cover in an hour, - let's return, - I'm in bed, - (the clock) strikes midnight.]

[following context]

(Radishchev, 141-142)

In (5.13), the narrator inverts the position of the subject and the auxiliary verb to highlight how difficult it was for him to walk after his friends left him. The A[V]S[V]O pattern, thus, enables an emphatic reading of the clause.

Overall, Split Rheme information structure, which contains the most VSO examples, appears to be used for a variety of communicative effects. Moreover, in many examples, more than one communicative effect is produced, adding to the pragmatic significance of the use of Split Rheme. In particular, the authors look as if they have employed VSO word order with this information structure in order to enable a broader reading of a clause, to establish a new scene, to signal a change in the narrative or connection to preceding context, to establish syntactic parallelism, to form a syntactic pattern after an adjunct, to split the focus or to enable an emphatic reading of a clause.

5.2.2.3. Clause Focus

Turning to the final information structure under consideration, one VSO combination is arranged in such a way that all the elements are rhematic and in the focus of the reader's attention, as in the example below:

(5.14) [Ввечеру посетил меня старый мой знакомец, Иван Григорьевич Туманский.]

[In the evening, my old acquaintance, Ivan Grigor'evich Tumanskij, paid me a visit.]

[preceding context]

Поутру	ездили	жена	к обедне в Печорский монастырь;
A-Rh	V-Rh	S-Rh	O-Rh
In the morning	went	wife	for a sermon to Pechorskij convent;

[после обеда был у нас Туманский,]

[after lunch we had Tumanskij,]

[following context]

(Fonvizin, 567)

Here, the clause under analysis begins a new paragraph, as well as providing an account of events of a new day. This case resembles the contextually independent VS examples, researched by many authors (Bailyn, 2012; Bivon, 1971; Kovtunova, 1980; Krylova & Xavronina, 1988), in that it presents an undivided clause in which all elements are rhematic. Having said that, it is important to draw a distinction between the VS and the VSO cases. In the former, the object is lacking because the verb is normally intransitive, the clause usually presents a phenomenon, and the VS ordering is unmarked. In the latter, the verb requires a complement and informs of an action, but resembles the effect of presentation, and the VSO ordering is marked.

With regard to the nature of subjects found in VSO combinations, they become the only point of difference between the structures of Split Rheme and Clause Focus: in Split Rheme the subject is pronominal, while in Clause Focus it is nominal. Due to the specifics of the genre, since there are not so many actors in travel diaries, pronominal subjects prevail. Their pragmatic use, in the majority of cases, lies in splitting the rhematic verb and its complement, thus including the verb in a focus group of Split Rheme arrangement. It can also be concluded that the nature of the subject plays a significant role in differentiating between the Split Rheme and the Clause Focus arrangement: a nominal subject rather occurs in the latter than in the former, resembling the communicative effect of presenting a phenomenon, typical of VS constructions.

Further to the role of the subject in the discourse under analysis, it has been noted that apart from the thematic pronominal subjects all other elements in the clause are in most cases rhematic in the VSO group of patterns. This is probably one of the reasons why Turner (2006), who did not distinguish between VSO, VOS and VS groups but referred to them all as VS, placed similar examples into rheme-only clauses group. However, I contend that subjects, even when they are pronominal, do change the reading of a clause. This position, especially regarding the status of the subject, requires more evidence based on the analysis of VOS and VS word order patterns; however, at this stage it is appropriate to consider the factor of presence-absence of a subject as impacting the meaning of a word order pattern.

To begin with, the differentiation between SVO and VO patterns is clearly demonstrated in (5.15) and (5.16) below. (For the sake of consistency, note that all examples in the remainder of this section are taken from the diary of one author – Fonvizin.)

(5.15) Поутру приехали в город Севск
A-Rh V-Rh O-Rh
In the morning arrived in the town of Sevsk
[и стали у Петра Васильевича Волкова. Теодора изготовила нам изрядный обед.]
[and stayed at Pëtr Vasilʹevich Volkov's. Teodora cooked a generous lunch for us.]
[following context]

(Fonvizin, 565)

(5.16) Поутру жена ездила с хозяйкой в дальние пещеры,
A-Rh S-Rh V-Rh O-Rh
In the morning wife went with the landlady to the farther caves
[а потом со мною в ближние.]
[and then with me to the nearer ones.]
[following context]

(Fonvizin, 567)

The VO and SVO patterns in both (5.15) and (5.16) open a paragraph; however, the VO pattern in (5.15) enables a more casual reading of an insignificant event: arrival in another town, which is not worth being discussed in detail, while the SVO pattern in (5.16) provides more information about the subject: at first, the narrator's wife went to the farther caves with the landlady and then to the nearer caves with the narrator.

Similarly, the SVO combination in (5.16), can be compared with the VO in (5.14) above. Unlike in (5.16), where the clause focuses on the wife's actions, the VIP in (5.14) does not inform about the individual actions of the subject; rather, it presents a phenomenon as a whole. Further evidence for this analysis of communicative effect is provided in the following context which presents another event of the day.

Thus, it can be accepted at this stage that the presence-absence of the subject in VSO-VO permutations impacts the meaning of the clause: the VO patterns are more casual and matter-of-fact, while the VSO variations introduce discourse significant events.

Finally, there is another observation worth noting in this section: An author may use the same finite verb, *принужден* 'had' in either an SV arrangement, as in (5.17) and (5.18), or a VSO arrangement, as in (5.19):

(5.17) [Взятая со мною кибитка совсем развалилась;]

[The carriage that I'd hired broke completely;]

[preceding context]

я	принужден был купить	вместо ее маленькую фуру.
S-Th	V-Tr	O-Rh
I	had to buy	instead of it a small van.

(Fonvizin, 567)

(5.18) [Они накормили нас яичницею,]

[They fed us with the scrambled eggs,]

[preceding context]

которую	я	принужден был есть,	невзирая на запрещение доктора Гениша.
O-relative pronoun	S-Th	V-Tr+Rh	A-Rh
that	I	had to eat	despite the prohibition from doctor Genish.

(Fonvizin, 563)

(5.19) [Хозяева дали нам обед преизрядный.]

[The landlords gave us a generous lunch.]

[preceding context]

Целый день	принуждены	мы	были остаться	в Глухове за мытьем белья.
A-Rh	V-Rh	S-Th	V-Rh	O-Rh
All day	had	we	to stay	in Gluxov washing our clothes.

(Fonvizin, 565)

The VS order in (5.19), emphasised by the initial adjunct, is aimed at rendering the frustration of the narrator – the impression which the SV variants in (5.17) and (5.18) do not produce. In the former instances, the patterns are aimed at communicating a fact than an emotion.

5.3. VOS word order

5.3.1. Patterns and Variations

The next category of verb-initial patterns to be analysed involves patterns where the verb and the subject are separated by the object.

(5.20)

ловить	их	некому и нечем.
V	O	S
to catch	them	no one and nothing.

(There is no one and nothing to catch them with)

(Chekhov, part I)

Here, other elements, such as adjuncts and verb complexes, can occur as part of the VOS combination. Some typical examples are provided below:

(5.21)	Из большого села Абатского (375 верст от Тюмени), в ночь под 6-е мая,	везет	меня	старик лет 60;
	A	V	O	S
	From big village Arbatskoe (375 versts from Tjumenʹ), at night of May 6,	is carrying	me	old man of about 60
				(Chekhov, part II)

(5.22)	Наконец	пустил	нас	к себе	грек Антон Архитекторов,
	A	V	O	A	S
	At last,	let	us	to his place	a Greek, Anton Arxitektorov,
					(Fonvizin, 566)

(5.23)	на которое	нет	средств	у их матери.
	A	P	O	S
	for which	has no	money	their mother.
				(Leskov, 10)

(5.24)	Поутру	был	у меня	с визитом	киевский почтмейстер Андриян Павлович Волховской.
	A	[V]	O	[V]	S
	In the morning	paid	me	visit	postmaster Andrijan Pavlovich Volxovskoj from Kiev.
					(Fonvizin, 567)

(5.25)	именовала	себя	Ея Величество	казанскою помещицею.
	[V]	O	S	[V]
	named	herself	Her Majesty	a Kazan landlady
				(Derzhavin, 61)

As can be seen in (5.20) – (5.25) above, in the 18th-19th-century travel diary portion of the corpus, VOS word order has five variations, including the 'pure' VOS pattern. The variation is built around the presence or absence of an adjunct and the nature of the verb: an adjunct appears at the beginning of the pattern or just before the subject (in the absolute majority of instances and in all of the examples above except for (5.20) and (5.25), while variation in the verb includes patterns with a verb complex, as in (5.24) and (5.25), and one instance of the function of the verb carried out by a predicative, marked P in the pattern, as in (5.23), which is categorised as an AVOS variation.

The distribution of VOS combinations across the five patterns of variation is illustrated below:

Table 5.6 VOS combinations – 18th & 19th-century travel diary corpus

	VOS	AVO(A)S	[A]VOS(A)	[V]OS[V]	A[V]O[V]S	Total
1. Fonvizin		2	1		2	5
2. Radishchev						0
3. Derzhavin				1		1
4. Leskov		1				1
5. Zhukovsky	1	1				2
6. Tolstoy						0
7. Chekhov	1	1				2
Total	2	5	1	1	2	11

As the table shows, VOS is a relatively infrequent word order, with no instances found in the diary excerpts of two authors: namely, Radishchev (Diary 2) and Tolstoy (Diary 6). Across the instances that were found, the only variation with any significant number of occurrences is AVO(A)S.

Having identified the frequency of occurrence and variation within the VOS group of patterns, it is now important to examine the authors' motivation for employing these VIPs. In order to do that, a broader context is required.

5.3.2. Information Structure and Communicative Effects

Of the four information structures, VOS variations have been found to perform only one – that of Split Rheme:

Table 5.7 Information Structure of VOS variations – 18th & 19th-century travel diary corpus

	VOS	AVO(A)S	[A]VOS	[V]OS[V]	A[V]O[V]S	Total
Topical Verb						0
Rhematised Verb						0
Split Rheme	2	5	1	1	2	11
Clause Focus						0
Total	2	5	1	1	2	11

According to the table, all five VOS permutations are arranged in the Split Rheme information structure. Moreover, they appear in five out of seven diaries:

Table 5.8 VOS Information Structure per text – 18th & 19th-century travel diary corpus

	Split Rheme
1.Fonvizin	5
2. Radishchev	0
3. Derzhavin	1
4. Leskov	1
5. Zhukovsky	2
6. Tolstoy	0
7. Chekhov	2
Total	11

According to Table 5.8, Fonvizin's diary features almost half of all VOS tokens, the other half occurs in the remainingfour diaries, represented by one or two VOS combinations.

In contrast to displaying a single information structure, the communicative effects produced by VOS combinations appear to be rather extensive, which is shown in the schema below:

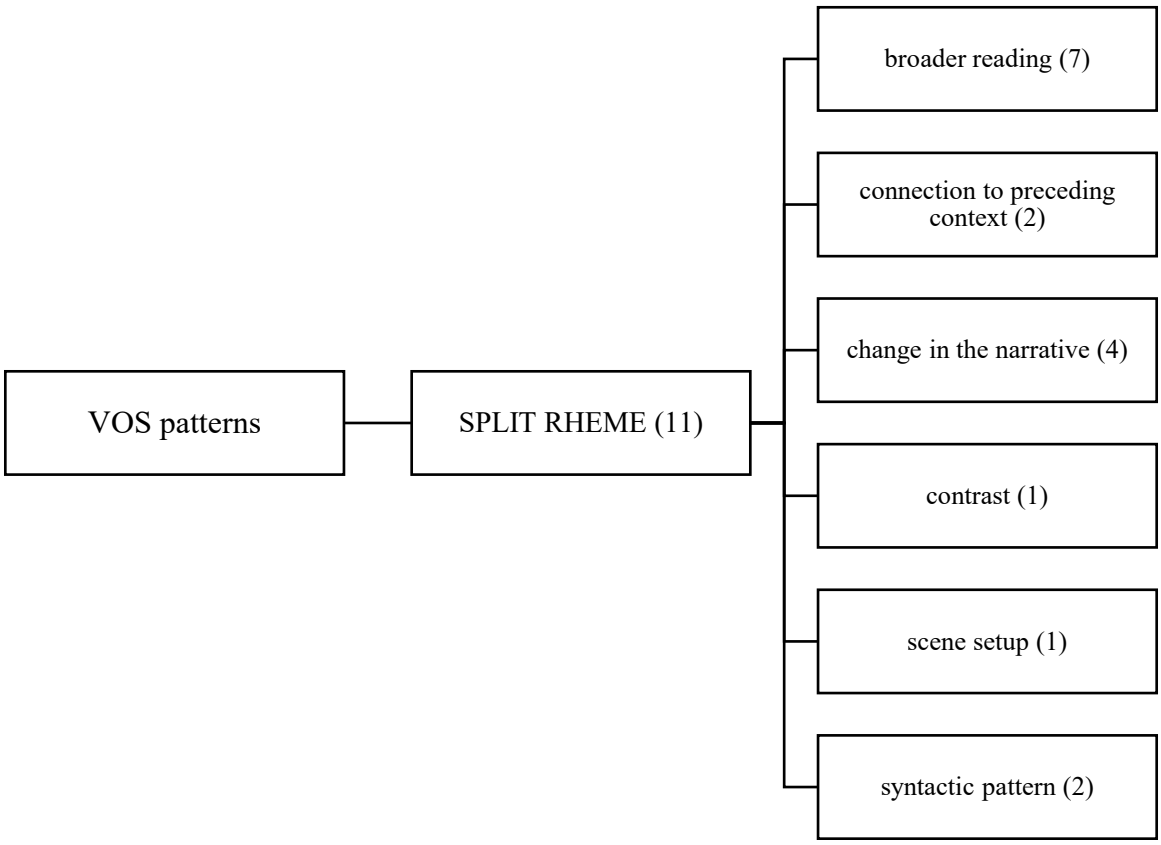

Figure 5.2: Communicative effects of VOS information structures – 18th & 19th-century travel diary corpus

According to Figure 5.2, the 11 VOS patterns appear to be utilised by authors to produce six communicative effects, with over half of all tokens enabling a broader reading of the clause. Similar to VSO patterns, some VOS permutations seem to have more than one communicative effect.

To illustrate the range of occurring communicative effects, one of the pragmatic purposes of choosing a VOS ordering seems to be that of establishing a new scene:

(5.21a)	Из большого села Абатского (375 верст от Тюмени), в ночь под 6-е мая,	везет	меня	старик лет 60;
	A-Rh	V-Rh	O-Th	S-Rh
	From big village Arbatskoe (375 versts from Tjumen'), at night of May 6,	is carrying	me	old man of about 60;

[незадолго перед тем, как запрягать, он парился в бане и ставил себе кровососные банки.]

[shortly before harnessing, he steamed in banya and used cupping glasses.]

[following context]

(Chekhov, part II)

In (5.21a), the clause initiates the second part of Chekhov's diary and as such provides a background for the following actions. Moreover, this effect of setting the scene is intensified by the present tense form of the verb, which creates an impression that the action is unfolding before the reader's eyes, what Janko (2001) calls " an imagined observation" (p. 213).

Furthermore, a VOS pattern appears to be chosen in order to signal a change in the narrative:

(5.22a) [В рассуждении сего русские города не имеют никакого еще устройства: ибо весьма в редких находятся трактиры, и то негодные.]

[Thinking about it, Russian towns have no infrastructure: because very few of them have inns which are useless.]

[preceding context]

Наконец	пустил	нас	к себе	грек Антон Архитекторов,
A-signalling transition	V-Rh	O-Th	A-Th	S-Rh
At last,	let	us	to his place	a Greek, Anton Arxitektorov,

[у которого мы и ночевали.]

[at whose place we spent the night.]

[following context]

(Fonvizin, 566)

In the preceding context of (5.22a) the author ponders over Russian towns and their infrastructure. To return the reader to the thread of the narration, the writer uses a marked ordering of clause elements which ensures that both the action and the doer of the action are emphasised.

The next set of examples illustrates the most numerous of the produced communicative effects, that of enabling a broader reading of a clause.

(5.23a) [и редакция …, вероятно, найдет *средства* как-нибудь устроить сирот талантливейшего из своих сотрудников, пока литовское общество … не почтит своим вниманием сирот певца скорби и любви, нуждающихся в воспитании,]

[And the editorial team …, probably, will find *money* to provide somehow for the orphans of the most talented of their staff member, until the Lithuanian society pays attention to the orphans of a singer of grief and love, who need to be raised up,]

[preceding context]

на которое	нет	средств	у их матери.
A-Th	P-Rh	O-Th	S-Rh
for which	(has) no	money	their mother.

(Leskov, 10)

Focusing on the syntactic composition of the clause in (5.23a), the object *средств* 'money' appears between the predicate *нет* 'has no' and the subject *у их матери* 'their mother'. More

importantly, it is thematic, according to the preceding context; whereas the predicate and the subject are rhematic.

Consider the change of element ordering into AOPS, in (5.23b), or ASPO, in (5.23c):

(5.23b)	на которое	**средств**	**нет**	у их матери.
	A	O	P	S
	for which	money	has no	their mother.

The semantically strong *нет* 'has no' can take the focus off the subject, thus making this pattern marked and emphasising the verb more than other constituents; or the subject can be the only focal element, following the FSP reading of the clause. In both cases, however, the thematic object is not part of the focus. Furthermore, reordering the constituents into an ASPO combination produces a matter-of-fact information type of reading, making the pattern neutral, or unmarked:

(5.23c)	на которое	у их матери	**нет**	**средств**.
	A	S	P	O
	for which	their mother	has no	money.

Regarding the original example in (5.23a), by arranging the elements in a POS ordering, the author placesequal emphasis on all elements of the clause, enabling a broader reading of the clause, and thus evoking the feeling of despair that the mother experiences after her husband's death. Ultimately, having no money to publish something or to provide for one's living cannot be compared to having no money to raise one's children; hence, the inverted word order effectively highlights the distinction between the two. With regard to syntactic arrangement, APOS appears to be the marked version of the SPO variant, unlike the examples above, which employed VOS as an inverted OVS combination.

A communicative effect of broader reading of the clause also occurs with the VOS ordering in the following example:

(5.24a) [Весь день были дома.]

[All day were at home.]

[preceding context]

Поутру	был	у меня	с визитом	киевский почтмейстер Андриян Павлович Волховской.
A-Rh	[V]-Rh	O-Th	[V]-Rh	S-Rh
In the morning	paid	me	visit	postmaster Andrijan Pavlovich Volxovskoj from Kiev.

[После обеда, наняв карету и лошадей, ездил я суженою в Печорский монастырь.]

[After lunch, having hired a carriage and the horses went I with the spouse to Pechorskij convent.]

[following context]

(Fonvizin, 567)

The clause in (5.24a) opens a new paragraph and an account of a new day. The clause-initial adverb of time enables a broader reading of the following [V]O[V]S combination which provides information of what happened in the morning instead of an individual action of the subject.

In the VOS tokens in the 18th-19th century travel diary portion of the corpus, broader reading of a clause was often found to co-occur with other communicative effects. To illustrate, in (5.25a) it co-occurs with connection to the preceding context:

(5.25a) [*Февраль*. Перваго числа сего месяца получен от Ея Величества генералом Бибиковым собственноручной рескрипт, в котором изъявлено было Высочайшее благоволение за желание составить сказанное ополчение:]

[February. On the 1st day of this month was received from Her Majesty by general Bibikov her own rescript in which was displayed the Supreme benevolence for his desire to call out the volunteer army:]

[preceding context]

именовала	себя	Ея Величество	казанскою помещицею.
[V]-Rh	O-Th	S-Th	[V]-Rh
named	herself	Her Majesty	a Kazan landlady

[для ознаменования благодарности дворянства Государыне за высочайшую Ея милость, что объявила себя их гражданкою, Державинъ написал речь,]

[to commemorate the nobility's gratitude to the Monarchess for her benevolence of announcing herself as belonging to the same land, Derzhavin wrote a speech,]

[following context]

(Derzhavin, 61)

In (5.25a), the 'benevolence' from the preceding context is revealed in the clause under analysis – Her Majesty announces herself a Kazan landlady. The action of acquiring a new title is, thus, emphasised in the analysed clause. Moreover, as a result of the VOS permutation, the whole action, rather than the title alone, becomes the focus of a reader's attention.

Finally, a different communicative effect, that of signalling contrast to the preceding context looks to be produced by the VOS ordering in the example below:

(5.20a) [Узнаю от него, что в этой темной, суровой реке водятся стерляди, нельмы, налимы, щуки, но что]

[Learn from him that in this dark stern river live sterlets, nelmas, burbots, but that]

[preceding context]

ловить	их	некому и нечем.
V-Rh	O-Th	S-Rh
to catch	them	no one and nothing*.

**There is no one and nothing to catch them with.*

(Chekhov, part I)

In the immediately preceding clause of (5.20a), the unmarked AVS ordering presents information regarding the fish that live in the river. By contrast, the clause under analysis emphasises the absurd situation of not making use of the abundance of fish. Thus, the inverted VIP combination ensures contrast with the preceding factual presentation by emphasising the action and the doer of the action.

Overall, in the 18th-19th-century travel diaries, the clause elements appear to be arranged in a VOS order in order to establish a new scene, to signal a change in the narrative, to provide connection to the preceding context, to establish a syntactic pattern after an adjunct, to enable a broader reading of a clause or to signal contrast to the preceding context.

Finally, with regard to the nature of the subject, similar to the VSO group of patterns (see Section 5.2.2.3.), the object in the VOS group is predominantly pronominal. In the one exception, a noun, rather than a pronoun, is employed so that is can be included as an object in the focus group.

5.4. VS word order

5.4.1. Patterns and Variations

The third major group of VIPs is comprised of five VS permutations. As discussed in Section 3.2.3., when adjuncts are present in a VS pattern, their placement after a verb makes the pattern an unconventional VIP, and therefore, it is included in this group. Here are a few examples of the range of VS combinations from the 18th and 19th century diary extracts. A pure VS combination is provided in (5.26):

(5.26)	Уехали	они,
	V	S
	Left	they,

(Radishchev, 139)

Moreover, a few combinations with a verb complex, modified by a clause-final adjunct, as in (5.27), or by two adjuncts, as in (5.28), were found in the corpus.

(5.27)	Станет	он	зябнуть	от сибирского холода,
	[V]	S	[V]	A
	will begin	he	to shiver	from Siberian cold,

(Chekhov, part I)

(5.28)	Весь день	пробыли	мы	у них	в превеликой скуке.
	A	[V]	S	A	[V]
	All day	spent	we	at their place	in utmost boredom

(Fonvizin, 565)

Besides patterns with verb complexes, adjuncts can modify VS combinations, appearing at the end of the pattern, as in (5.29), or in the middle, as in (5.30) and (5.31):

(5.29)	женился	он	16 лет,
	V	S	A
	got married	he	at 16,

(Chekhov, part I)

(5.30)	укладывали	за нас	трудолюбивые муравьи Кетереры.
	V	A	S
	packed	for us	the industrious ants Keterers

(Tolstoy, 196)

When the verb function is performed by a predicative, as in (5.31) below, the latter is marked ‘P’ and is counted as a verb.

(5.31)	Нет (никакого)	в том	достоинства.
	P	A	S
	Is not (any)	in that	dignity.

(Radishchev, 141)

The distribution of the five VS variations is presented below.

Table 5.9 VS combinations – 18th & 19th-century travel diary corpus

	VS	(A)[V]S[V](A)	(A)[V]SA[V]	(A)VSA	(A)VAS(A)	Total
1. Fonvizin			2		2	4
2. Radishchev	1	1		2	2	6
3. Derzhavin		1				1
4. Leskov						0
5. Zhukovsky		1		1	1	3
6. Tolstoy				1	3	4
7. Chekhov		2		6	5	13
Total	1	5	2	10	13	31

As reflected in Table 5.9, VS variations were found in six out of seven of the diaries, with the exception being Diary 4. Curiously, though, there is only one instance of a simple VS clause in the 18th-19th-century travel diary corpus, while the (A)VSA and (A)VAS patterns, resembling (A)VSO and (A)VOS patterns, respectively, are the most frequently occurring. Additionally, none of the diary extracts employs all of the variations, and, typically each variation only occurs once or twice in each diary excerpt. The exception is Diary 7, which contains five and six occurrences of (A)VAS(A) and (A)VSA respectively and overall accounts for nearly half of all the VS tokens.

5.4.2. Information Structure and Communicative Effects

Proceeding with the analysis of the VS group of patterns in the diary excerpts, it appears that all four information structures occur:

Table 5.10 Information structures of VS variations – 18th & 19th-century travel diary corpus

	VS	(A)[V]S[V](A)	(A)[V]SA[V]	(A)VSA	(A)VAS(A)	Total
Topical Verb		1		6		7
Rhematised Verb	1	1				2
Split Rheme		3	2	4	10	19
Clause Focus					3	3
Total	1	5	2	10	13	31

Despite the presence of all four information structures, however, the distribution is rather uneven: Split Rheme is by far most common, accounting for almost two-thirds of all occurrences, followed by Topical Verb, with only just over a fifth of the occurrences, and Rhematised Verb and Clause Focus, with minimal occurrences. Nevertheless, there are some strong correlations between information structure and VS pattern; namely, Split Rheme and (A)VAS(A) (10 out of the 19 Split Rheme and 13 (A)VAS(A) tokens), Topical Verb and (A)VSA (six out of the seven Topical Verb and 10 (A)VSA tokens), and Clause Focus and (A)VAS(A) (all three Clause Focus tokens are (A)VAS(A)).

Furthermore, Table 5.11considers the appearance of information structures in the corpus under analysis:

Table 5.11 VS Information Structure per text – 18th & 19th-century travel diary corpus

	Topical Verb	**Rhematised Verb**	**Split Rheme**	**Clause Focus**	**Total**
1. Fonvizin			4		4
2. Radishchev	2	2	2		6
3. Derzhavin			1		1
4. Leskov					0
5. Zhukovsky	1		2		3
6. Tolstoy			3	1	4
7. Chekhov	4		7	2	13
Total	7	2	19	3	31

Perhaps unsurprisingly given its prevalence, Split Rheme tokens are found in all six diaries where VS combinations occur, with over one third of the total number occurring in Diary 7. Furthermore, Topical Verb tokens are found in almost half of the diaries, with over half of the tokens again occurring in Diary 7. However, Clause Focus tokens only occur in two diaries (two in Diary 7 and 1 in Dairy 6) and Rhematised Verb, the least frequently occurring information structure with two tokens, is represented in only one diary, Diary 2.

As has been noted in the sections on VSO and VOS combinations, each information structure produces a number of communicative effects. The VS group is no exception. Consider the schema of the information structures and the corresponding communicative effects, presented in Figure 5.3:

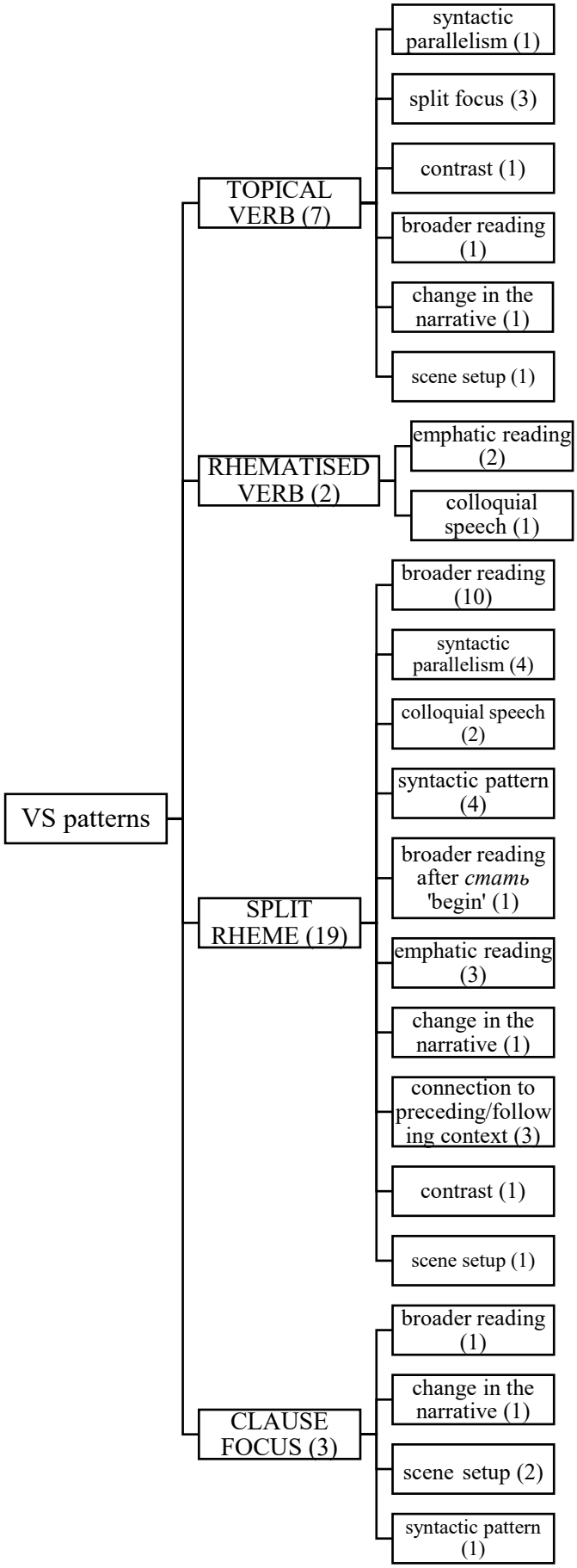

Figure 5.3: Communicative effects of VS information structures – 18th & 19th-century travel diary corpus

According to Figure 5.3, the number of information structure tokens corresponds to that of communicative effect: Split Rheme and Topical Verb feature far more communicative effects than Rhematised Verb and Clause Focus. More importantly, though, some of the communicative effects are produced by VS combinations with different information structures. For instance, signalling a change in the narrative, setting up a new scene and enabling a broader reading of a clause occur with three out of four of the information structures, whereas following the colloquial style convention, providing contrast, establishing syntactic parallelism or a syntactic pattern after an adjunct and enabling an emphatic reading of a clause occur with two out of four. Examples underlying the analysis presented in Figure 5.3 are presented in detail in the following sections, whilst the significance of the cross-occurrence of communicative effects is discussed in Section 5.5.

5.4.2.1. Topical Verb

In a number of VS patterns, the verb is topical, or thematic. In other words, it appears in the previous context, as illustrated below:

(5.32) [Уехали они,]
[Left they,]
[preceding context]

уехали	друзья души моей	в одиннадцать часов поутру...
V-Th	S-Rh	A-Rh
left	friends of my soul	at eleven in the morning…

[Я в след за отдаляющеюся каретою устремлял падающие против воли моей к земле взоры.]
[I tried to follow the leaving carriage with a gaze that, against my will, gravitated towards the earth.]
[following context]

(Radishchev, 139)

Here, the preceding context consists of a verb-initial clause containing the verb *уехали* ‘left’. The clause under analysis employs the same verb-initial pattern and verb, which, together with the inverted order in the nominal phrase of the subject, contribute to the syntactic rhythm of the whole clause. Compare this unconventional word ordering with the unmarked variant in (5.32a), which focuses on the fact that someone left:

(5.32a)	**в одиннадцать часов поутру**	уехали	друзья души моей...
	A-Rh	V-Th	S-Rh
	at eleven in the morning…	left	friends of my soul

In contrast, the verb-initial ordering in (5.32) is aimed at rendering the disappointment/frustration/sadness of the narrator, which is given prominence over the actual content of the clause. Note that the unmarked and factual variant in (5.32a) is also somewhat awkward due to the poetic ordering in the nominal phrase of the subject; thus, it looks as if the author has employed multiple means, including an unconventional VIP, to produce a particular communicative effect.

Another example of a topical verb is found in the diary of a different writer:

(5.33) [Наше удовольствие было половинное;]
[Our pleasure was half;]

зато в Плауене	было	оно	полное.
A-Rh	[V]-Th	S-Th	[V]-Rh
but in Plauen	was	it	full.

(Zhukovsky, 140)

Here, Zhukovsky contrasts the information of the clause under analysis with the information in the previous clause. Consider the following variation to the original pattern:

(5.33a)	зато в Плауене	**оно**	**было** полное.
	A-Rh	S-Th	[V]-Rh
	But in Plauen	it	was full.

In (5.33a), the use of the contrasting conjunction *зато* ‘but’ together with the rhematic adjunct provides contrast to the previous information; however, the character of the clause is different: (5.33a) is more matter-of-fact than (5.33). Moreover, in the original clause in (5.33), both elements of the verb complex, split by the subject, are equally emphasised, which adds to the contrast provided by the conjunction.

Another example of two focussed elements split by a contextually less relevant element is provided below:

(5.34) [жаркой день, утомив меня до чрезвычайности, произвел во мне крепкой *сон*.]

[the hot day made me extremely tired, and I fell into a deep sleep.]

[preceding context]

Спал	я	очень долго,
V-Th	S-Th	A-Rh
Slept	I	very long,

[здоровье мое почти расстроилось. Насилу мог встать с постели, – лег опять, – заснул, спал почти до половины дня, – пробудился.]

[my health almost declined. I could hardly get up from bed, - lay down again, - fell asleep, slept almost until afternoon, - woke up.]

[following context]

(Radishchev, 141)

In (5.34), the verb *спал* 'slept' is thematised due to its noun derivative *сон* 'dream' used in the immediately preceding context. However, it is interesting that choosing between the two thematic elements, the verb and the pronominal subject, the author prefers to place the verb at the front. Let us consider the SVA version of this word order combination:

(5.34a)	**я**	**спал**	очень долго.
	S-Th	V-Tr	A-Rh
	I	slept	very long.

In (5.34a), the classic FSP interpretation accounts for the WO pattern: the thematic subject begins the discussion (the doer of the action) and the verb provides transition to the communicatively most relevant element – the adverb of manner. However, in the original clause in (5.34), the inversion of two topical elements produces another effect: it emphasises the verb and the adjunct equally to set up a new scene, or, to be more precise, to begin the conversation about why the narrator slept for a long time, which is provided in the following context.

Other motivations for authors to use topical verbs in verb-initial patterns seem to be enabling a broader reading of a clause and signalling a change in the narrative. Both are illustrated in the examples below, taken from the same diary:

(5.35) [*Возок* прыгает, грохочет и визжит на разные голоса. Холодно! Ни жилья, ни встречных... Ничто не шевелится в темном воздухе, не издает ни звука, и только слышно,]

[The sledge coach is bouncing, rattling and screeching. It's cold! No housing, no people… Nothing stirs in the dark air, nor produces a sound, and one can only hear,]

[preceding context]

как стучит	возок	о мёрзлую землю.
V-Th	S-Th	A-Th
how is rattling	the sledge coach	against the frozen ground.

(Chekhov, part I)

(5.36) [Начинаем *реветь*. Река широкая, в потемках не видно того берега... От речной сырости стынут ноги, потом всё тело...]

[We start roaring. The river is wide, in the darkness one cannot see the other bank… From dampness of the river, first the feet and then the whole body are freezing…]

[preceding context]

Ревём	мы	полчаса, час,
V-Th	S-Th	A-Rh
Roar	we	half an hour, an hour,

[а парома всё нет.]

[and the ferry is still not there.]

[following context]

(Chekhov, part I)

In (5.35), the subject of the clause was mentioned in the preceding context; therefore, the use of an SVO ordering would be quite appropriate, as in:

(5.35a)	[и только слышно,] как	**возок**	**стучит**	о мёрзлую землю.
	preceding context	S-Th	V-Tr/Rh	A-Rh
	[and one can only hear,] how	the sledge coach	is rattling	against the frozen ground.

In this case, the clause is about an 'individuated action' (McAnallen, 2009) of the *возок* 'sledge coach'; in contrast, the subject-verb inversion in the original clause gives a broader sense of a presentation of a phenomenon. In other words, comparing (5.35) and (5.35a), the clauses answer different questions. In (5.35a), the SVA ordering is an answer to the question 'What sound of the sledge coach can be heard?' – the reading of the clause is more specific. In (5.35), 'What can be heard?', the reply is the rattling of the cart against the ground, where the reading is more general.

In (5.36), the verb is not provided in the immediately preceding context, but it is easily retrievable from a few sentences earlier. In this extract there is digression from the main thread of narration after the first use of the verb *реветь* 'roar', and the author, placing the thematic verb

before the thematic subject in the clause under analysis, makes a change in the narration, or rather, returns the reader from the description of cold weather to the thread of the narration, adding a complement to the already known verb.

Overall, the VS patterns with a Topical Verb information structure were analysed as having the communicative effects of splitting the focus, creating a syntactic parallelism, providing a broader contrast to the preceding context, setting up a new scene, enabling a broader reading of a clause, and signalling a change in the narrative.

5.4.2.2. Rhematised Verb

Two patterns were identified in the corpus with an information structure of Rhematised Verb. In other words, a verb or a verb complex presents new information to the reader and is placed before the subject. In the case of a verb complex, it is important to differentiate between the structures of Split Rheme and Rhematised Verb. When two rhematic constituents of a verb complex are split by the subject, the pattern is arranged as a Split Rheme; the information structure of the Rhematised Verb, thus, suggests only one part of a verb complex is rhematic.

One of the examples in this category renders the narrator's emotions, to be more precise his disappointment:

(5.26a)	Уехали	они,	[уехали друзья души моей в одиннадцать часов поутру...]
	V-Rh	S-Th	Following context
	Left	they	[left the friends of my soul at 11 in the morning…]

(Radishchev, 139)

In (5.26a), the clause opens the diary entry, and the use of a pronominal subject is unexpected because the reader can hardly guess who 'they' are. For this purpose, the second clause employs the already known verb and the nominal phrase representing the subject which gives more information about the subject in the immediately preceding clause. Such an unusual opening has the effect of both conveying spontaneity, following the conventions of colloquial style, and introducing a sense of disappointment, the theme of the diary entry, which is devoted to the narrator's sorrow about his friends' departure.

The second example in this category was penned by the same author and here the VS ordering serves the same purpose of intensifying the meaning of a clause by emphasising the auxiliary verb of the verb complex:

(5.37) [Везде пусто – усладительная тишина! вожделенное *уединение*!..]
[Everywhere is empty – delightful silence! coveted *solitude*!..]
[preceding context]

Не мог	я	быть один,
[V]-Rh	S-Th	[V]-Th
Couldn't	I	be alone,

[побежал стремглав из дома…]
[ran rapidly out of the house…]
[following context]

(Radishchev, 139)

The preceding context suggests the thematic status of the infinitival part of the verb complex that is placed after the subject; whereas the new piece of information – the narrator's inability to be alone – is emphasised by the auxiliary verb placed at the beginning of the pattern. It presents a contrast to what has been said before about *усладительная тишина* 'delightful silence' and *вожделенное уединение* 'coveted solitude'.

To conclude, VS patterns with a Rhematised Verb information structure add an emotional touch to the meaning of the verb, or intensify its meaning following the colloquial speech style.

5.4.2.3. Split Rheme

Another information structure occurring with VS patterns in the data set under analysis is that of Split Rheme, where two or three rhematic/new elements are separated by a topical/given one. This information structure features the highest number of tokens (see Tables 5.9 and 5.10) and the most diverse set of communicative effects (see Figure 5.3).

One such effect is establishing a new scene, as shown in (5.29a):

(5.29a) [От скуки разговариваю я с дедом и узнаю от него, что]
[Out of boredom I speak with the old man and learn from him that]
[preceding context]

женился	он	16 лет
V-Rh	S-Th	A-Rh
got married	he	at 16

[что у него было 18 детей, из которых умерло только трое,]-
[that he had 18 children, of which only three died,]-
[following context]

(Chekhov, part I)

In (5.29a), the thematic subject separates two elements containing new information, ensuring a broader reading of the clause. Moreover, the author uses this statement to begin the story of the

old man's life. As usual in Russia, a new life begins with marriage; therefore, the semantic load of the clause, heightened by the inverted word order, creates the atmosphere of a long story about to unravel in front of the reader. The elements of the following clause, arranged in an unmarked SVO ordering, convey factual information, in contrast to the scene setting/presentational effect of the analysed clause.

Another communicative effect is observed in the example below:

(5.30a) [и, несмотря на то, что мы все хвастались друг перед другом своей практичностью,]

[and despite the fact that we all boasted of our own usefulness,]

[preceding context]

укладывали	за нас	трудолюбивые муравьи Кетереры.
V-Rh	A-Th	S-Rh
packed	for us	the industrious ants Keterers.

(Tolstoy, 196)

In this example, the preceding context provides information about the lodgers' behaviour when packing; more precisely, of their boasting to each other. The following clause, with the VIP, contains contrasting information about who actually did the job.

Consider the unmarked variant of (5.30a):

(5.30b)	**за нас**	**укладывали**	трудолюбивые муравьи Кетереры.
	O-Th	V-Tr	S-Rh
	for us	packed	the industrious ants Keterers.

Here, the FSP requires the pronominal object to occupy clause-initial position and the verb to provide transition to the communicatively most dynamic subject. However, in (5.30a), the original clause, the author prefers to split the focus between the rhematic subject and its action expressed by the verb. The analysed clause, thus, provides connection and a stronger contrast to the previous clause that already contains a contrasting preposition at the beginning, by extending the focus group.

The next example is taken from Diary 2, which is described as a 'psychological essay' (Lebedeva, n.d.) and abounds in lexical and syntactic means to enhance the emotional colouring of the diary. One of them is the narrator's inner speech from the preceding context, as in (5.31a):

(5.31a) [Я им принесу в жертву... почто ты лжёшь сам себе?]

[I'll sacrifice to them…why are you lying to yourself?]

[preceding context]

Нет (никакого)	в том	достоинства.
P-Rh	A-Th	S-Rh
There is not (any)	in that	dignity.

(Radishchev, 141)

Moreover, both the predicative and the subject are semantically strong due to the double negation: *нет никакого достоинства* 'not no dignity'. Therefore, arranged in an unmarked AVS order, the pattern is quite emotional, as in:

(5.31b)	В том	**нет**	**никакого достоинства**.
	A-Th	P-Rh	S-Rh
	In that	there is not	any dignity.

However, it must be noted that being emphatic, double negation is common in the language. Therefore, the author appears to prefer to attach more importance to the verb by placing it at the beginning of the pattern, following the colloquial speech convention, and to split the subject noun phrase of the clause by the thematic adjunct. The effect produced by such an ordering is intensified self-chastising expressed by the narrator, following his inner speech in the previous sentence.

To illustrate yet another of the communicative effects, in (5.38), the author of Diary 7 seems to employ a VIP in order to follow a syntactic pattern from the previous context:

(5.38) [От речной сырости стынут ноги, потом всё тело... Ревем мы полчаса, час, а парома всё нет.]

[From dampness of the river, first the feet and then the whole body are freezing…We've been roaring for half an hour, an hour, and there's still no ferry.]

[preceding context]

Надоедают	скоро	и вода, и звезды, которыми усыпано небо, и эта тяжелая, гробовая тишина.
V-Rh	A-Tr	S-Rh
Annoy	soon	the water, the stars, that are sprinkled over in the sky, and this heavy, deathly silence.

(Chekhov, part I)

VS ordering is not uncommon in such a context; what makes this particular pattern part of the unconventional VS group is that an adjunct occurs between the verb and the subject. Repetition of syntactic constructions of verb-initial word order patterns and multiple constituents of the subject attach a particular rhythm to the clause, contributing to the monotony of what is happening.

A similar effect of establishing a syntactic parallelism is illustrated in the example below. However, this time, the pattern is established on a sentence level:

(5.39) [Непутевый, не степенный, хворый, чувствительный к холоду, неравнодушный к водочке, робкий,]

[Good-for-nothing, not dignified, sickly, sensitive to cold, not indifferent to vodka, shy]

[preceding context]

всю свою жизнь	прожил	он	лишним, ненужным человеком	сначала у отца, потом у брата.
A-Rh	[V]-Rh	S-Th	[V]-Rh	A-Rh
all his life	has lived	he	as an odd, unnecessary man	first with his father and then with his brother.

(Chekhov, part I)

The rhematic adjunct of time attracts the verb which is followed by the thematic subject, and the pattern is closed off with the second rhematic element of the verb complex. In other words, the use of the verb before the subject is primarily accounted for by the rhematic adjunct attracting the verb.

Moreover, verb complexes, such as in (5.39), occurring in the Split Rheme arrangement, appear to produce different communicative effects. The establishment of a syntactic parallelism has been illustrated above, whilst the following example illustrates the communicative effect of broader reading:

(5.27a) [А когда придет на место,]

[And when he arrives at the place,]

[preceding context]

станет	он	зябнуть	от сибирского холода,
[V]-Rh	S-Th	[V]-Rh	A-Rh
will begin	he	to shiver	from Siberian cold,

[зачахнет и умрет тихо, молча, так что никто не заметит,]

[will pine and die quietly, silently, so that no one will notice,]

[following context]

(Chekhov, part I)

In (5.27a), the clause of interest provides information about what will happen after the subject arrives in Siberia, thus including the verb in the focal group. Therefore, the VIP ensures a broader reading of the clause, emphasising both the beginning of the action, expressed by the auxiliary verb, and the action and its complement, expressed by the infinitive and the clause-final adjunct. Additionally, it is important to note that in (5.27a) the author is continuing the narrative about a character whose life – from the preceding context - is miserable and desperate. The use of the verb, *станет* ‘will begin’, in front of the subject slightly varies the meaning of the verb: from

auxiliary in the S[V]A ordering, adding to the meaning of the infinitive, to that of a standalone verb, intensifying the meaning of beginning new life. Thus, the author adds a poetic flavour to the clause when the reader is lulled by the flow of the words. Moreover, the [V]S[V]A ordering adds to the general impression of inevitability and insignificance of the life of a "little man" (a central idea of Chekhov's literary work) (Matevosjan, 2018), which is produced by the whole passage.

Additionally, verb complexes in the Split Rheme information structure can also have an emphatic communicative effect, as in the following example:

(5.28a) [Накормили нас изрядно, да и во всей Малороссии едят хорошо.]
[We were fed generously, overall, in all of Little Russia they eat well.]
[preceding context]

Весь день	пробыли	мы	у них	в превеликой скуке.
A-Rh	[V]-Rh	S-Th	A-Th	[V]-Rh
All day	spent	we	at their place	in utmost boredom

(Fonvizin, 565)

By placing both thematic elements inside the verb complex, the author splits the focus of the clause between the verb, following the rhematic adjunct, and the predicative, and at the same time establishes a syntactic pattern after an adjunct of time. However, it is interesting to compare the clause under analysis with another clause by the same author, that begins with the same adverbial phrase:

(5.40)

Весь день	я	страдал	более душевно, нежели телесно.
A-Rh	S-Th	V-Tr	A-Rh
All day	I	suffered	more morally than physically.

(Fonvizin, 563)

By using an unmarked SV ordering in (5.40), Fonvizin breaks the pattern and thus ensures a single nucleus of the clause, apart from the clause-initial adjunct, an adverb of manner. The same cannot be said about the original example in (5.28a), where the subject-verb inversion results in a broader reading of the clause and reveals the overall monotony of the trip: the narrator and his co-travellers feel bored, having nothing to do between their meals. The inverted word order in (5.28a), thus, intensifies the meaning of the initial adjunct and the auxiliary verb, when the notion of 'being' (bored) has the same weight in the clause as its complement, 'bored'.

Another of the communicative effects of a Split Rheme information structure appears to be that of providing a connection to the previous context. This can be enabled by emphasising the verb of the following clause, thus establishing a 'reason-consequence' connection between the two clauses, as in (5.41):

(5.41) [а как кроме кареты деваться было некуда,]
[since we had nowhere to go, except our carriage,]
[preceding context]

то и решились	мы	всю ночь	ехать,
[V]-Rh	S-Th	A-Rh	[V]-Rh
thus decided	we	all night	to go,

(Fonvizin, 564)

In (5.41), the immediately preceding context is of utmost importance in determining the verb-initial word order of the clause under analysis. Consider the following example from the corpus but belonging to the pen of a different author:

(5.42) [так как погода, которая до сего времени была весьма непостоянна, показалась мне установившеюся,]
[since weather, that until now had been quite unsteady, seemed settled for me,]
[preceding context]

то мы	решились	вместе на другой день	идти	в Плауен, а оттуда в Тарант.
S-Th	[V]-Tr	A-Rh	[V]-Rh	O-Rh
we	decided	together the next day	to go	to Plauen, and from there to Tarant.

(Zhukovsky, 171)

In both (5.41) and (5.42), the verb complex in the main clause is *решились идти* 'decided to go'; however, the reasons for this decision, outlined in the preceding subordinate clause, differ: in (5.42), it is favourable (a positive change in weather), while in (5.41), it is unfavourable (the lack of accommodation). Consequently, the focus in (5.42) is the destination of the trip; whereas, in the clause under analysis it is a decision – influenced by the circumstances – to spend all night on the move. In (5.41), the verb complex is rhematised, ensuring connection to the preceding context, by the finite verb *решились* 'decided' being placed at the front of the pattern, followed by the subject and the adjunct, and the infinitive occupying the other focal spot, the end of the pattern.

To conclude, in the 18th-19th-century travel diaries, the clause elements would seem to be arranged in an unconventional VS pattern to create a variety of communicative effects: to establish a new scene or a syntactic parallelism, to signal a change in the narrative, to provide contrast, to enable an emphatic reading or a broader reading of aa clause, and/or to emphasise connection to the preceding context.

5.4.2.4. Clause Focus

The two tokens of VS combinations with a Clause Focus information structure produce different communicative effects: broader reading, change in the narrative and scene set up. As the first two of these are widely discussed in the sections on VS patterns with Topical Verb and Split Rheme information structures, only scene set up is illustrated below:

(5.43) [Затем, немного погодя, мы обгоняем этап.]

[Then, after a while, we overtake a group of persons under arrest.]

[preceding context]

Звеня кандалами,	идут	по дороге	30-40 арестантов,
[A]-gerundial complex	V-Rh	A-Rh	S-Rh
Clanking their chains,	are going	along the road	30-40 prisoners,

[по сторонам их солдаты с ружьями, а позади — две подводы. Один арестант похож на армянского священника, другого, высокого, с орлиным носом и с большим лбом, я как будто видел где-то в аптеке за прилавком,]

[on their sides are armed soldiers, and behind them, there are two carts. One prisoner looks like an Armenian clergyman, another one, tall, with an aquiline nose and big forehead, seems familiar, as if I saw him somewhere selling in a drugstore,]

[following context]

(Chekhov, part I)

According to the FSP, all elements of the clause under analysis are new to the reader. As in the case with other VAS patterns, the adjunct in the middle of the pattern makes it unconventional. Compare (5.43) with the AVS combination below:

(5.43a)	Звеня кандалами,	**по дороге**	**идут**	30-40 арестантов,
	[A]-gerundial complex	A-Rh	V-Rh	S-Rh
	Clanking their chains,	along the road	are going	30-40 prisoners,

In (5.43a), the clause is aimed at the presentation of a phenomenon, intensified by the use of the present tense for an action in the past, for which verb-subject ordering, with the verb of motion being part of the pattern, being quite common in discourse. However, in (5.43), the change in the order of the adjunct and the verb entails a different reading of the clause: now a new scene is set, and the reader is prepared for further details that are then provided in the following context. The main aim of the original clause, thus, is not to present a phenomenon but to set a background for a new scene.

5.5. Summary

The following section summarises the results of the analysis conducted in Sections 5.2-5.4. In particular, it compares the VIP variations in VSO, VOS and VS word order groups of patterns;

discusses the occurrence of VSO, VOS and VS patterns with respect to the information structures of Topical Verb, Rhematised Verb, Split Rheme and Clause Focus, and the range of communicative effects that are produced.

To begin, word order permutations that were found typical of VSO, VOS and VS groups of patterns, are given in Table 5.12:

Table 5.12 VIP combinations – 18th & 19th-century travel diary corpus

	VIP variations					
	Pure pattern	**Adjunct at**			**Verb complex**	**Complex object**
		front	**end**	**middle**		
VSO (48)	VSO (5)	AVSO (19) [A](A)VSO(A) (7)		(A)([A])VSAO (7)	(A)[V]S[V]O/[O] (5)	[A]/(A)VS(A)[O] (5)
VOS (11)	VOS (2)	[A]VOS (1) AVO(A)S (5)			[V]OS[V] (1) A[V]O[V]S (2)	
VS (31)	VS (1)		(A)VSA (10)	(A)VAS(A) (13)	(A)[V]S[V](A) (5) (A)[V]SA[V] (2)	
Total (90)	8	32	10	20	20	

While the variety of patterns is rather extensive, there do seem to be some correlations between word order and adjunct position: an adjunct may be required in pattern-initial position with VSO and VOS patterns, between the subject and object with VSO, and either before or after the subject with VS; but notably, it was not found to occur, even optionally, at the end of a VOS pattern. What is more verb complexes most commonly occurred in VSO and VS combinations, whilst complex objects only occurred in VSO.

With regard to the information structures of Topical Verb, Rhematised Verb, Split Rheme and Clause Focus, the VIPs, in the groups of VSO, VOS and VS combinations, are distributed quite unevenly, which is shown in the table below.

Table 5.13 Information structure of VIP groups – 18th & 19th-century travel diary corpus

Information structure	**VSO**	**VOS**	**VS**	**Total**
Topical Verb	3		7	10
Rhematised Verb			2	2
Split Rheme	44	11	19	74
Clause Focus	1		3	4
Total	48	11	31	90

This distribution strongly suggests that in the 18th- and 19th-century travel diary extracts all three VIP word order groups were predominantly used to express Split Rheme information structure (44 VSO, 11 VOS and 19 VS tokens), with VS word order also being used for Topical Verb (7 tokens). Furthermore, in VSO combinations, the nature of the subject was found to play a significant role: in Split Rheme the subject tends to be pronominal, splitting the rhematic verb and its complement, and thus including the verb in a focus group of Split Rheme arrangement. The large number of instances can be attributed to the specifics of travel diaries, where pronominal subjects prevail as there are not so many actors in this genre.

Finally, the correlations between communicative effect and information structure are given in Table 5.14, whilst those between communicative effect and VIP word order are given in Table 5.15. (Note that the communicative effect of broader reading after *стать* 'begin' has been kept separate from that of broader reading, in order to allow for more detailed discussion and comparison across genres and time periods in Chapter 10.)

Table 5.14 Communicative effects of VIP information structure – 18th & 19th-century travel diary corpus

Communicative effect	**Topical Verb**	**Rhematised Verb**	**Split Rheme**	**Clause Focus**	**Total**
Scene setup	2		8	2	12
Change in the narrative	2		10	1	13
Contrast	2		3		5
Connection to preceding/following context			6		6
Broader reading	2		35	2	39
Broader reading after *стать* 'begin'			1		1
Syntactic pattern	2		25	1	28
Syntactic parallelism	1		9		10
Colloquial speech		1	2		3
Emphatic reading		2	6		8
Split focus	3		2		5
Total	14	3	107	6	130

Given the strong correlation between Split Rheme information structure and VIP word order discussed above, it is hardly surprising that in Table 5.14 all of the communicative effects with more than three tokens have a Split Rheme information structure. Of these the most significant correlations are between Split Rheme and the communicative effects of enabling a broader reading (35 tokens), forming a syntactic pattern (25 tokens), signalling a change in the narrative (10 tokens), creating syntactic parallelism (9 tokens) and establishing a new scene (8 tokens).

Having analysed the communicative effects produced by the four information structures, I now consider how they correlate with VSO, VOS and VS word order.

Table 5.15 Communicative effects of VIP groups of patterns – 18th & 19th-century travel diary corpus

Communicative effect	**VSO**	**VOS**	**VS**	**Total**
Scene setup	7	1	4	12
Change in the narrative	6	4	3	13
Contrast	2	1	2	5
Connection to preceding/following context	1	2	3	6
Broader reading	20	7	12	39
Broader reading after *стать* 'begin'			1	1
Syntactic pattern	21	2	5	28
Syntactic parallelism	5		5	10
Colloquial speech			3	3
Emphatic reading	3		5	8
Split focus	2		3	5
Total	67	17	46	130

As Table 5.15 clearly illustrates, in the 18th-19th-century travel diary corpus all three VIP word orders appear to be used to enable a broader reading of aa clause (20 VSO, 7 VOS and 12 VS tokens), with VSO word order also significantly being used to form a syntactic pattern (21 tokens). To a much lesser extent, VSO word order also seems to have been used for scene set up (7 tokens), syntactic parallelism (5 tokens), and change in the narrative (6 tokens); VOS word order for change in the narrative (4 tokens); and VS word order for syntactic parallelism, emphatic reading and establishing a syntactic pattern (5 tokens each) and scene setup (4 tokens).

In Chapter 10, these results are compared with those of the travel diary of the 15th century, as well as blog entries of the 21st century, and to the degree possible, with the results from the analysis of the 19th-century classic folk tales, 20th-century narratives and 21st-century modern tales.

6. Results – 19th-century Classic Folktales

This chapter investigates the pragmatic use of VIPs in classic folktales collected in the 19th century. The analysis begins with an overview of the folktales that constitute the corpus, some statistical data on unconventional VIP occurrence in the data set, as well as the presence of VSO, VOS and VS patterns in the folktales. Then the analysis of each of the three VIP groups is presented and exemplified in terms of variation in the group, information structure and communicative effects of the VIPs.

6.1. Frequency of VIP Occurrence

As discussed in Section 3.1.4., the corpus of classic folktales consists of seven tales from Vladimir Dal'ʼs (1979) and Alexander Afanasʿev's (1984) collections of Russian folktales. For convenience, the citation format (Dalʿ, [page number], or Afanasʿev, Vol. I/II, [page number]) is used in the analysis.

Following the approach of the previous chapter, some statistical data on the length of the texts and the share of VIP sentences in the corpus and in individual folktales are presented below:

Table 6.1 Frequency of occurrence – 19th-century classic folktale corpus

	Number of words	**Number of sentences**	**Number of sentences with VIPs**	**% of sentences with VIPs**
1. Dalʿ	644	57	10	17.5%
2. Afanasʿev	1,374	88	33	37.5%
3. Afanasʿev	199	22	3	13.6%
4. Afanasʿev	413	57	7	12.3%
5. Afanasʿev	441	49	6	12.2%
6. Dalʿ	852	58	19	32.8%
7. Dalʿ	1,552	129	30	23.3%
Total	5,475	460	108	23.5%

Notably, the percentage of VIPs in the folktales does not correspond to the number of words. In other words, the length of a text is not indicative of how many sentences with unconventional VIPs an author may employ. For instance, Folktales 2 and 7 are approximately the same length, but the share of sentences with VIPs in the latter (23.3%) is considerably less than in the former (37.5%).

In contrast, Folktales 1 and 3 are rather far apart in terms of number of words, while the percentage of VIPs in them is 17.5% and 13.6%, respectively. The only exception is Texts 4 and 5, which are by the same author, are of approximately the same length and have a similar share of verb-initial combinations. Overall, nearly a quarter of all folktale sentences contain verb-initial patterns.

Regarding pattern distribution within clauses, combinations of all three VIP groups are represented in the folktales, which is illustrated in Table 6.2:

Table 6.2 VIP combinations – 19th-century classic folktale corpus

	VSO	**VOS**	**VS**	**Total**
1. Dal'	5		5	10
2. Afanas'ev	11	7	18	36
3. Afanas'ev	2		1	3
4. Afanas'ev	8		3	11
5. Afanas'ev	4		3	7
6. Dal'	7	8	9	24
7. Dal'	13	3	19	35
Total	50	18	58	126

According to the table, VSO and VS combinations occur in all texts, while VOS patterns have been found in only three out of the seven folktales. It is interesting that the VSO and VS tokens account for 40% and 46% of the VIP tokens respectively, whilst the VOS tokens only account for 14%.

Having presented some statistical data on VIP clauses and patterns in the corpus under study, it is now time to analyse each VIP group.

6.2. VSO word order

6.2.1. Patterns and Variations

The group of VSO word order patterns is comprised of a number of variations within the group, including different positions of an object, the presence of an adjunct, the verb represented by a verb complex and an object appearing as a complex object. The base pattern is provided in (6.1):

(6.1)	Была	у меня	избёнка лубяная,
	V	S	O
	Had	I	a hut made of bast
			(Afanasʹev, Vol. I, 26)

An adjunct can appear at the beginning of the pattern, as in (6.2):

(6.2)	на другой день	обвенчался	он	с королевною,
	A	V	S	O
	the next day	got married	he	to the princess,
			(Afanasʹev, Vol. I, 330)	

When the verb is represented by a verb complex, its two elements can be split by a subject and an object:

(6.3)	стала	лиса	ночлег	промышлять;
	[V]	S	O	[V]
	began	fox	nights' lodging	to search;
				(Dalʹ, 48)

In some cases, the verb complex is split by the subject only, and the object closes the pattern:

(6.4)	и захотелось	ей	спеть	песенку про себя и про лапоток.
	[V]	S	[V]	O
	and wanted	she	to sing	song about herself and a bast shoe.
				(Dalʹ, 51)

A variation of (6.4) contains a complex object, as in (6.5):

(6.5)	Тяжело	ей	стало	гуся в мешке нести:
	[V]	S	[V]	[O]
	Heavy	for her	became	gander in the sack to carry:
				(Dalʹ, 48)

Finally, a complex object can appear in a three-element combination, as in (6.6):

(6.6)	Слышит	убогий,	что вода под ними не колышется,
	V	S	[O]
	Hears	poor man	that water under them is not moving,
			(Afanasʹev, Vol. I, 329)

It is important to note that variations, such as in (6.1) – (6.6) above, do not occur with the same frequency, as is illustrated in the table below:

Table 6.3 VSO combinations – 19th-century classic folktale corpus

	VSO	(A)VS(A)O	[V]SO[V]	(A)VS(A)[O]	(A)[V](A)S[V]O/[O]	Total
1. Dal'	3		2			5
2. Afanas'ev	4	3	2	2		11
3. Afanas'ev	2					2
4. Afanas'ev	8					8
5. Afanas'ev	3			1		4
6. Dal'	2		2	2	1	7
7. Dal'	7	2	1		3	13
Total	29	5	7	5	4	50

As is illustrated in Table 6.3, the pure VSO combination is the most frequently occurring in the corpus, accounting for more than half of all tokens. The remaining combinations all occur with much less frequency: an [V]SO[V] pattern is found in seven instances; (A)VS(A)O and (A)VS(A)[O] patterns appear in five instances each; while the (A)[V](A)S[V]O/[O] pattern features the least number of tokens – four. Furthermore, only pure VSO has been found in all seven folktales, with the other variations appearing in just two to four of the seven texts. Additionally, the authors of Folktales 2, 6 and 7 employed a variety of VSO patterns in their texts – in fact, all but one, whereas Folktales 3 and 4 feature only a single VIP pattern – pure VSO. Most interestingly, Folktale 4 also features the highest number of tokens per pattern, eight. Finally, with the exception of these eight pure VSO tokens in Folktale 4 and the seven in Folktale 7, when VSO variations appear in the classic folktale corpus, they feature only one to four tokens each.

6.2.2. Information Structure and Communicative Effects

VSO combinations occur in all four information structures in the classic folktales; namely, Topical Verb, Rhematised Verb, Split Rheme and Clause Focus (see Section 3.2.4.):

Table 6.4 Information Structure of VSO variations – 19th-century classic folktale corpus

	VSO	**(A)VS(A)O**	**[V]SO[V]**	**(A)VS(A)[O]**	**(A)[V](*A*)S[V]O/[O]**	**Total**
Topical Verb	1				1	2
Rhematised Verb	11	1		1		13
Split Rheme	15	3	7	4	3	32
Clause Focus	2	1				3
Total	29	5	7	5	4	50

According to Table 6.4, the pure VSO pattern, which is the most frequently occurring in the folktales, is found to perform all four information structures, with 11 and 15 occurrences of the 29 VSO tokens in Rhematised Verb and Split Rheme structures, respectively. The other word order patterns are considerably lower in quantity, and they occur in one to three structures. Focusing on information structure, Split Rheme has the highest overall frequency with 32 tokens, 64% of all instances, and is the most frequent information structure across all five VSO variations. It is followed by Rhematised Verb with 13 tokens, whilst Clause Focus and Topical Verb are significantly less frequent with three and two tokens, respectively.

Having identified the distribution of VSO variations across the four information structures, it is now interesting to see the distribution of the latter in the corpus.

Table 6.5 VSO Information Structure per text – 19th-century classic folktale corpus

	Topical Verb	Rhematised Verb	Split Rheme	Clause Focus	Total
1. Dal'			4	1	5
2. Afanas'ev	1	2	6	2	11
3. Afanas'ev			2		2
4. Afanas'ev		4	4		8
5. Afanas'ev		2	2		4
6. Dal'		2	5		7
7.Dal'	1	3	9		13
Total	2	13	32	3	50

As Table 6.5 illustrates, Split Rheme, the most frequently occurring information structure, is found in all the folktales, while Rhematised Verb, the next most frequent information structure, is found in five out of seven of the folktales. Clause Focus and Topical Verb, with the least number of tokens, each appear in only two folktales. Moreover, the corpus is rather disparate in terms of number of different information structure tokens per text, with a range from one to nine. Finally, the author of Folktale 2 employs all four information structures, whilst Folktale 3 features only Split Rheme, and the remaining folktales, two to three different information structures each.

Tables 6.4 and 6.5 provide data on the information structures of VSO permutations and on their appearance in the data set under analysis. However, the information structures do not fully account for the use of the unconventional patterns; therefore, the communicative effects (see Section 3.2.5.) that the patterns produce need to be investigated in more depth. To begin with, consider the schema of the information structures and the communicative effects, presented in Figure 6.1:

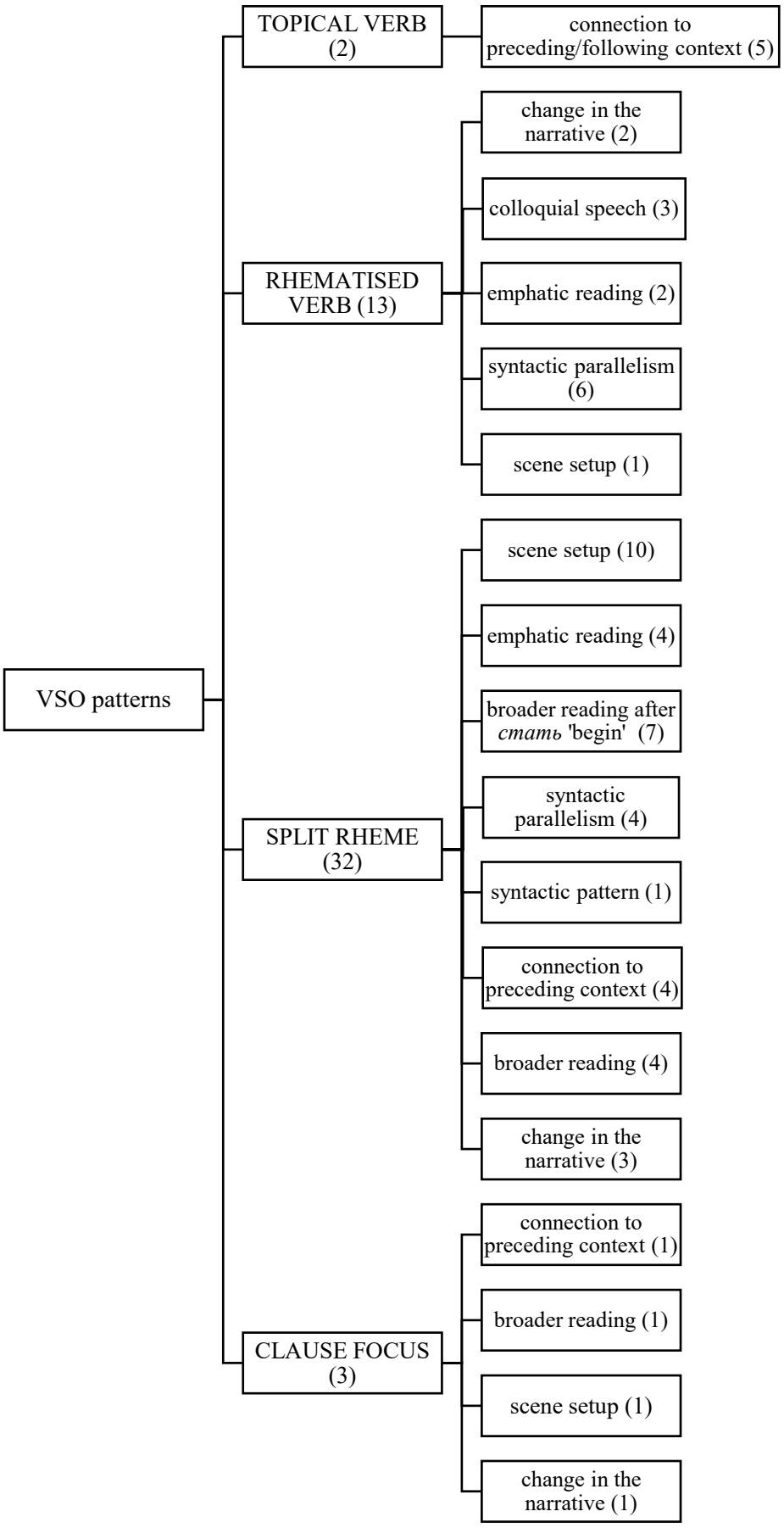

Figure 6.1: Communicative effects of VSO information structures – 19th-century classic folktale corpus

As captured in Figure 6.1, the number of communicative effects produced by the VSO combinations exceeds the total number of information structure tokens since some structures are best analysed as producing a combination of effects such as enabling an emphatic and broader reading of aa clause, or establishing syntactic parallelism and enabling connection to the preceding context. Overall, the patterns arranged as Split Rheme, Rhematised Verb and Clause Focus produce more effects than those in the Topical Verb structures. The effects that consistently appear across the information structures are enabling connection to the preceding/following context, signalling a change in the narrative, setting up a scene or ensuring a broader reading of aa clause. Moreover, some effects are idiosyncratic, or characteristic of one information structure, such as ensuring a broader reading of a pattern with a 'beginning' verb – *стал*, or *начал* 'began' – in the Split Rheme arrangement.

To more fully discuss the pragmatic use of VSO patterns, let us consider the VIP communicative effects produced by each information structure.

6.2.2.1. Topical Verb

The example in (6.5), provided as an illustration of the [V]S[V][O] pattern at the beginning of Section 6.2.1, is one of two examples found to belong to this category. Let us consider it in a broader context:

(6.5a) [Шла лиса да *приумаялась*.]
[Walked the Fox and *got tired*.]
[preceding context]

Тяжело	ей	стало	гуся в мешке нести:
[V]-Th	S-Th	[V]-Th	[O] - Rh
Heavy	for her	became	gander in sack to carry:
			(Dal', 48)

In (6.5a), the pronominal Experiencer of the action expressed by the verb complex *стало тяжело* 'became heavy' is viewed as the clause subject and is placed after the predicative of the verb complex. In fact, *тяжело* 'heavy' explains why the Fox was tired (mentioned in the immediately preceding context); the unusual position at the front of the pattern and, most importantly, before the verbal part of the complex intensifies the idea conveyed in the immediately preceding context, by laying additional emphasis on the clause-initial predicative.

In other words, the example in (6.5a) provides connection to the preceding context: the fox became tired because the sack was heavy. The fact that the gander was heavy to carry is intensified by the word order arrangement. Thus, the element found in a topical position becomes the focus

of the clause as soon as this position violates the unmarked ordering of clause constituents, as it does in (6.5a), with the ordering of elements in a verb complex.

6.2.2.2. Rhematised Verb

A number of instances of a clause-initial rhematic verb were found in the data set under analysis, such as in (6.2) at the beginning of Section 6.2.1. Placed in a broader context, it reveals the communicative effect produced by a marked ordering:

(6.2a) [сын царевны осилил своего супротивника — снёс его буйную голову. Подбежали тут *королевские* бояре, взяли доброго молодца под руки и повели во дворец;]

[the tsarina's son won – beheaded his rival. The *king's* boyare ran up to him, took him under his arms and led to the palace]

[preceding context]

на другой день	обвенчался	он	с королевною,
A-Rh	V-Rh	S-Th	O-Th
the next day	married	he	princess,

[а как отпировали свадьбу, стал звать всех царей и царевичей, королей и королевичей в гости к своему отцу, к матери.]

[and as soon as they had the wedding, (he) began to call on all kings and princes to visit his father, his mother.]

(Afanasʹev, Vol. I, 330)

In (6.2a), not only is the fact of marrying the princess the rheme of the clause (unlike the subject and the object, which are both known to the reader), but, more importantly, it is also an outcome of the battle, which is anticipated/expected/desired by the reader, and the reason for the subsequent actions taking place in the following context. The verb preceding the subject, therefore, triumphantly announces the "happy end" and at the same time connects to other actions of the subject, expressed in the following context. This effect might also be referred to as "stylized epic ring" (Yokoyama, 1986, p. 284), prescribed to the use of verb-initial patterns by some researchers. The unmarked SVO order, which is illustrated in (6.3b) below, does not produce the desired effect:

(6.2b)	на другой день	**он**	**обвенчался**	с королевною,
	A-Rh	S-Th	V-Rh	O-Th
	the next day	he	married	princess,

Instead, the SVO ordering results in a factual reading of the clause – it reports the tsarina's son's actions: he got married and then called for other tsars and their sons to visit his father and mother. Placing the rhematic verb in the communicatively most dynamic position, does not enable an emphatic reading either, as illustrated in (6.2c) below:

(6.2c)	на другой день	**он**	с королевною	**обвенчался,**
	A-Rh	S-Th	O-Th	V-Rh
	the next day	he	princess	married

Another use of the VSO combination in the information structure of Rhematised Verb is following the syntactic pattern established in the preceding context, thus enabling syntactic parallelism, and, at the same time, following the colloquial speech convention which prescribes for the most relevant information to appear first in the clause. Consider the example in (6.7) below:

(6.7) [Была у меня избёнка лубяная, а у лисы ледяная,]
[Had I a hut made of bast, and the Fox (had the one) of ice],
[preceding context]

попросилась	она	ко мне,
V-Rh	S-Th	O-Th
asked	she	me to let her in,

[да меня и выгнала.]
[and kicked me out.]
[following context]

(Afanasʹev, Vol. I, 26)

The word order pattern in the immediately preceding context is also verb-initial, serving to establish a new scene. In (6.7), the narrator "hurries" to give the most important information – the fox's action – first, thus following the VIP from the preceding context and the oral speech convention.

The VSO combination is chosen by folktale authors for another, secondary, communicative effect, in addition to following the colloquial speech convention, as illustrated in (6.8):

(6.8) [Он позавидовал чужому добру и *украл у ней жерновцы*.]
[He envied them and stole the mill.]
[preceding context]

Как <u>уве́дали</u>	старик со старухою,	что украдены жерновцы,
V-Rh	S-Th	[O]-Th
As soon as found out	old man and old woman,	that was stolen mill stone,

[<u>стали горевать</u>].
[began to grieve].
[following context]

(Afanasʹev, Vol. II, 30)

In (6.8), the underlined verb is the focus of the clause under consideration and is the main characters' reaction to the mean act described in the previous sentence. By placing new

information before old, the author enables colloquial style narration. Moreover, the conjunction *как* 'as' is a contracted version of *как только* 'as soon as' and is often used in oral discourse, thus emphasising resemblance to oral discourse. Additionally, the verb, emphasised by its position in the clause, ensures connection to the following context, so that the subject's actions, in the analysed clause and in the following context, attract the reader's attention.

Furthermore, a similar focus on the subject's actions is observed in the following example:

(6.9)	Сжалилась	баба	над лисой	[и говорит:…]
	V-Rh	S-Th	O-Th	following context
	Pitied	woman	fox	[and says:…]
				(Dal', 46)

In (6.9), the following context results from the action of the subject, expressed by the verb *сжалилась* 'pitied', which makes the latter the focus of the clause. Moreover, the two verbs, emphasised by their initial and final positions, respectively, form a rhythmic pattern, or syntactic parallelism, which accounts for an overall poeticity of the sentence. To compare with subject-initial patterns, consider the SOV and SVO ordering below:

(6.9a)	Баба	над лисой	**сжалилась**	[и говорит:…]
	S	O	V	following context
	Woman	fox	**pitied**	[and says:…]

The SOV ordering does provide focus on the subject's actions; however, the cause-effect relationship between the two verbs is missing, since they are too close to each other.

(6.9b)	Баба	**сжалилась**	над лисой	[и говорит:…]
				following context
	Woman	**pitied**	fox	[and says:…]

The SVO combination also provides an emphasis on the verb and even maintains syntactic parallelism; however, it does not create the impression of relief, and hence intensifying the lexical meaning of the verb, that the VSO word order does.

Finally, Folktale 6 features a use of VSO ordering to establish a new scene, as in (6.10):

(6.10) [Жучка подбежала, её лобызала, всё личико облизала и повела *домой*. Стоит медведь за пнём, волк на прогалине, лиса по кустам шныряет…]

[Žuchka ran up to her, kissed and licked her face, and led her *home*. The bear is behind a stump, the wolf is on a glade, the fox is hunting in the bushes…]

[preceding context]

Пришли	они	домой;
V-Rh	S-Th	O-Th
came	they	home;

[старики с радости заплакали.]

[old man and woman cried in happiness.]

[following context]

(Dal', 21)

The VIP in the clause under analysis provides a change in the narrative, from describing the animals' positions, as well as establishing a new scene of the Snow Maiden coming home and how she was received there by her parents.

Overall, in classic folktales, the rhematic verb of a VSO permutation initiates the pattern in order to enable an emphatic reading of aa clause, to follow the colloquial speech convention of placing the most relevant information first in the clause, to enable connection to the following context, to signal a change in the narrative, to establish syntactic parallelism and to establish a new scene.

6.2.2.3. Split Rheme

Split Rheme appears to be employed by authors of classic folktales to not only set up a scene, ensure an emphatic reading of aa clause and connect to the preceding/following context, like Topical Verb and Rhematised Verb information structures, but also, as captured in Figure 6.1 and exemplified below, for several other communicative effects as well.

To commence the discussion, let us consider several examples from the beginning of Section 6.2.1, in a broader context:

(6.1a) [Как мне не плакать?]
[How shall I not cry?]
[preceding context]

Была	у меня	избёнка лубяная,
V-Rh	S-Th	O-Rh
Had	I	a hut of bast,

[а у лисы ледяная].
[and the fox (had the one) of ice].
[following context]

(Afanasʹev, Vol. I, 26)

The clause in (6.1a) is taken from a folktale that portrays a kind and smart hare, who built his hut of wood, and a sly and impudent fox, who built her hut of ice and who occupied the hare's hut after hers had melted away and the hare had kindly offered for her to stay in his hut. The hare complains to different animals, passing by, of his fate and begins by outlining his living conditions and those of the fox, for which the author uses an VSO ordering of elements.

The communicative effect of setting up a scene, as in (6.1a), requires the verb to belong to the category of existential or 'volition', verbs, with the scene for the events to follow set by a VIP word order pattern, thus preparing the "stage" for the main action. In contrast, a conventional SVO ordering of elements, including the clause following the one under analysis, lays emphasis on other elements of a clause. In particular, in the case of (6.1b), it stresses the difference in the material of which both huts were built, as in (1), or puts the owners of the huts in contrast to each other, as in (2), illustrated below:

(6.1b)					
	1) У меня	была	избёнка <u>лубяная</u>,	а у лисы	<u>ледяная</u>.
	2) У <u>меня</u>	была	избёнка <u>лубяная</u>,	а у <u>лисы</u>	<u>ледяная</u>.
	S	V	O		
	I	had	a hut of bast,	and the fox	of ice.
	I	had	a hut of bast,	and the fox	of ice.

The underlined elements here correspond to the units emphasised when pronounced in oral discourse from which the folktales originated. The focus is slightly different. However, neither of the variants produces the desired effect of setting up a scene. In order to do so, the author of the original clause arranges the elements in a VSO order.

Moreover, in certain instances, a VSO ordering serves to ensure connection to the preceding context. The example below serves as illustration:

(6.4a)	[Шла она, шла,]			
	[Went she, went],			
	[preceding context]			
	и захотелось	ей	спеть	песенку про себя и про лапоток.
	[V]-Rh	S-Th	[V]-Rh	O-Rh
	and felt like	she	to sing	song about herself and bast shoe.
				(Dal', 51)

The syntactic arrangement in the immediately preceding clause, when the verb is repeated and appears sentence-initially, emphasises the long way that the fox had to go before she decided to sing a song. Moreover, the initial rhematic *и* 'and' in the clause under analysis places emphasis on the consequence of this long way – namely, the fox's action, expressed by the verb of desire/volition *захотелось* 'felt like'. Such an arrangement and the intended effect of the clause are ensured by the verb placed in front of the subject, as a result of which the rhematic predicate appears split in the clause. Consider the effect of the S[V]O arrangement in (6.4b):

(6.4b)	и **ей**	**захотелось**	спеть	песенку про себя и про лапоток.
	S	[V]	[V]	O
	and she	wanted	to sing	song about herself and bast shoe.

As (6.4b) illustrates, the connection between two clauses is lost in the S[V]O ordering. Moreover, with such an ordering, the subject receives unnecessary focus, while the verb complex becomes a transitional element, instead of being focal, as in the original clause. Therefore, in (6.4a), the [V]S[V]O combination, by following the syntactic VIP from the previous clause, ensures coherence on the semantic level.

Another verbal complex, comprised of "beginning of an action" verb *стать* 'to begin' and the infinitive, appears quite frequently in the corpus under study and is aimed at a different communicative effect:

(6.3a)	[Пришла ночь,]			
	[Came night],			
	[preceding context]			
	и стала	лиса	ночлег	промышлять;
	[V]-Rh	S-Th	O-Rh	[V]-Rh
	began	fox	overnight lodging	to look for.
				(Dal', 48)

The sentence opens a new "chapter" of the fox's adventures, and the ordering of the elements in the analysed clause, as well as in the preceding context, prepares the reader for them. Regarding the preceding context, the conventional VS order presents the case of undivided rheme aimed at

presenting a phenomenon. The [V]SO[V] combination in (6.3a) follows the pattern and enables a broader reading of the clause, which entails the verb *стала* 'began' to be part of the clause focus. Neither an S[V]O combination, as in (6.3b), nor an S[V]O[V] combination, as in (6.3c), produce the same effect:

(6.3b)	Лиса	**стала промышлять**	ночлег;
	S	[V]	O
	Fox	**began to look for**	overnight lodging;

The verb complex and the object are rhematic in an S[V]O ordering, thus making the subject's action the focus of the clause.

(6.3c)	Лиса	**стала**	ночлег	**промышлять;**
	S	[V]	O	[V]
	Fox	**began**	overnight lodging	**to look for;**

Despite the appearance of the object before the infinitival part of the verb complex in an S[V]O[V] ordering (not in the traditional rhematic position), *ночлег* 'overnight lodging' is focal, and no emphasis is put on the beginning of this action. However, in the original clause in (6.3a), the verb-initial pattern complemented by the object preceding the infinitive, results in emphasis on the most relevant units – the beginning of a new action and the object of that action – thus enabling a broader reading of the clause.

Besides setting up a scene, connecting to the preceding context and enabling a broader reading of a clause, VSO patterns in the information structure of Split Rheme are employed by authors to form a syntactic parallelism aimed at intensifying the actions expressed by verbs and at "breaking monotony" (Restan, 1981, p. 150) of several actions following one another. A good illustration of this is provided below:

(6.6a) [понесли её буйные ветры и прибили к далёкому берегу.]
[it was carried by wild winds and soon was washed ashore/thrown at the faraway shore.]
[preceding context]

Слышит	убогий,	что вода под ними не колышется,	[и говорит такое слово:]
V-Rh	S-Th	[O]-Rh	following context
Hears	poor man	that water under them doesn't roll	[and says such a word]:

(Afanasʹev, Vol. I, 329)

Here the two actions, separated by the subject and the complex object, intensify the clause-initial verb. Additionally, a certain rhythmic pattern is observed, typical of a poetic narrative. Thus, the communicative effect of creating syntactic parallelism is performed by the VSO combination when

a sentence features one subject and two actions performed by the subject. (Another example of this occurs in (6.9) above.)

Moreover, example (6.6a) belongs to the description of travelling in a barrel, which followed the tsar's unfair decision. The clause under consideration concludes the scene with a happy ending and creates an atmosphere of presence at the scene for the reader who can easily picture the events, once the actions are brought to the forefront. Additionally, it has a similar effect as the example in (6.8) in the Rhematised Verb section, that of giving a reason for the actions to follow – in this case, the man's words. Thus, the VSO word order in the original clause (6.6a) adds rhythm as well as highlighting the verb as having a certain emotional impact and significance for the following context.

Examples of VSO patterns attaching rhythm and highlighting the action of the clause-initial verb are numerous in the data set under analysis. This fact argues for making a generalisation that in the genre of classic folktales, an unconventional VSO pattern is often preferred to a conventional SVO one, in order to ensure a broader reading of the sentences with more than one action performed by the subject, as well as to establish a cause-effect relationship between several actions.

To conclude, VSO patterns with a Split Rheme information structure appear to be employed in classic folktales in order to produce an array of communicative effects, often appearing in combinations. These effects include establishing a new scene, signalling a change in the narrative, initiating a syntactic pattern, enabling a broader reading after *стать* 'begin', providing connection to the preceding context, enabling a broader and/or an emphatic reading of aa clause and creating syntactic parallelism.

6.2.2.4. Clause Focus

The fourth, and last, information structure in which VSO combinations are found in classic folktales is Clause Focus, where all three elements, organised in an unconventional ordering, are syntactically rhematic. In the data set under analysis, this information structure produces communicative effects of forming syntactic parallelism, enabling a broader reading of a clause, setting up a scene and signalling a change in the narrative, which are also typical of Rhematised Verb and Split Rheme information structures. Only one instance of each of these communicative effects of Clause Focus was found in the classic folktale corpus, with the example below illustrating the communicative effect of enabling a broader reading of a clause:

(6.11) [и года не прошло, как собрались со всех окрестных земель цари и царевичи, короли и королевичи; приехал и тот царь, что свою родную дочь в бочку засмолил да в море пустил.]

[in less than a year, princes from all neighbouring lands got together; the tsar, who put his own daughter in a barrel and let go in the sea, also arrived.]

[preceding context]

В назначенный день	вышли	богатыри	на смертный бой;
A-Rh	V-Rh	S-Rh	O-Rh
On appointed day out	went out	bogatyri	for mortal fight;

[бились, бились, от их ударов земля стонала, леса приклонялись, реки волновались;]

[(they) fought and fought, from their strikes the land moaned, the forests bent, the rivers ran high;]

[following context]

(Afanasʹev, Vol. I, 330)

In (6.11), the action expressed by the verb-initial clause appears after a time expression *в назначенный день* 'on the appointed day'. Regarding the communicative use of the VSO ordering, it appears to emphasise the scene as a whole and in doing so, resembles the ordering of conventional existential constructions with AVS word order, aimed at presenting a phenomenon. This argument is in line with McAnallen's (2009) "abstracting mechanism" (p. 226) in that it means that a broader reader of a clause is enabled by a verb-initial word order combination.

Before concluding the discussion of VSO patterns, it is important to discuss their use after the particle *вот* 'here', which is typical of both Split Rheme and Clause Focus Information Structures. First, however, a few general comments about subject-initial patterns should be provided. On the syntactic level, *вот* 'here' usually initiates a pattern, while on the pragmatic level it produces a number of communicative effects as it is typically used to emphasise the meaning of the following word or to point at something happening at the moment of speaking. This meaning is well illustrated by the example with SAV ordering given below, where *вот* 'here' emphasises that it is my neighbour who has been idle all of his life:

(6.12) [Все дни за хозяйством убиваюсь, а того и смотри — придётся с голоду помирать;]

[All days (I) am looking after my household, and see – might die of hunger;]

[preceding context]

а **вот**	**сосед** мой	всю свою жизнь	на боку лежит,
however	**neighbour** my	all his life	on his side lies, (=is idle)
A-particle	S-Rh	A-Th	[V]-Rh

[и что же? — хозяйство большое, барыши сами в карман плывут.]

[and what? – his household is big, money flows in.]

[following context]

(Afanasʹev, Vol. I, 328)

Broadly stated, clause-initial use of *вот* 'here' is a stylistic device typical of narratives, with the help of which "a narrator points at what, according to their story, is happening" (Dalʹ, 2006, p. 316), to make what they are talking about sound more vivid to the listener. This is clearly demonstrated by contrasting the use of *вот* 'here' in (6.12) above with its use in (6.13) below:

(6.13) [Хлеба-то у них не было;]

[Bread they had none;]

[preceding context]

вот	**они**	поехали	в лес,
	S-Th	V-Tr	O-Rh
here	**they**	went	to forest,

[набрали желудей, привезли домой и начали есть.]

[gathered acorns, brought (them) home and began to eat.]

[following context]

(Afanasʹev, Vol. II, 30)

Unlike in (6.12) above, in (6.13) the particle does not emphasise the following subject, but instead the clause under consideration is viewed as a consequence of not having bread. Since it is the particular actions of the characters that are the focus of the clause, or rather the enumeration of these actions, an SVO ordering is employed, and the function of *вот* 'here' matches Dalʹ's (2006) description of it as a narrative device.

However, it is interesting to examine the functioning of this particle when it initiates a VSO combination. One such example is found in the instances of Split Rheme information structure:

(6.14) [Идёт и песенку попевает: … *words of a song*].
[(she) goes and song sings: …].
[preceding context]

Вот	подходит	она	вечером	к другой деревне.
A-particle	V-Rh	S-Th	A-Rh	O-Rh
Here	comes	she	in the evening	to another village.

[Стук, тук, тук, - стучит лиса в избу.]
[Knock, knock, knock, - knocks the fox at the door.]
[following context]

(Dalʹ, 45)

In (6.14), the use of *вот* 'here' does not change the communicative effect dramatically: when used without the particle, the verb-initial word order of the clause still sets up a scene unfolding in the following context. However, with *вот* 'here', the clause appears more realistic to the reader – the same effect produced by the SVO ordering in (6.13).

In summary, the use of particle *вот* 'here' is a literary device commonly used in folktales. It is employed to intensify the communicative effect of the VSO pattern, to make it more vivid.

6.3. VOS word order

6.3.1. Patterns and Variations

The second group of verb-initial patterns occurring in the classic folktale corpus is VOS, where the object appears between the clause-initial verb and the clause-final subject. An example of a pure, three-element, combination is provided in (6.15):

(6.15)

Понесли	её	буйные ветры.
V	O	S
Carried	it	rough winds.
		(Afanasʹev, Vol. I, 329)

The pure pattern can be modified by an adjunct that appears between an object and a subject, as in (6.16):

(6.16)

Попадается	ему	навстречу	старая старуха:
V	O	A	S
Appears	to him	in his direction	old lady:
			(Afanasʹev, Vol. I, 329)

Moreover, an adjunct can close the pattern:

(6.17)	Говорит	ему	щука	человечьим голосом:
	V	O	S	A
	Tells	him	pike	in human voice:
				(Afanasʿev, Vol. I, 328)

Or it can appear both at the beginning and in the middle of the pattern, as in (6.18):

(6.18)	вдруг	попалась	ему	в ведёрко	большущая щука.
	A	V	O	A	S
	Suddenly	got	to him	in bucket	huge pike.
					(Afanasʿev, Vol. I, 328)

A pattern with a direct and an indirect object constitutes another variation:

(6.19)	выпросили	меня	подружки	у дедушки, у бабушки	в лес по ягоды,
	V	O-direct	S	O-indirect	A
	wheedled	me	friends	out of granddad, out of grandma	to (go to) forest for berries,
					(Dalʿ, 16)

Finally, one pattern with a verb complex is presented in (6.20):

(6.20)	Хотел	меня	медведь	унести,
	[V]	O	S	[V]
	Wanted	me	bear	to carry away,
				(Dalʿ, 19)

The group of VOS word order patterns features 18 tokens distributed among a large number of pattern variations, which is summarised in Table 6.6:

Table 6.6 VOS combinations – 19th-century classic folktale corpus

	VOS	(A)VO(A)S(A)			[V]OS[V]	VOSOA	Total
		VOSA	VOAS	AVOAS			
1. Dalʹ							0
2.Afanasʹev	3	1	1	1	1		7
3.Afanasʹev							0
4.Afanasʹev							0
5.Afanasʹev							0
6.Dalʹ	3				1	4	8
7.Dalʹ	3						3
Total	9	3			2	4	18
		1	1	1			

In this table, one of the VOS variations, (A)VO(A)S(A), is subdivided further into three combinations: VOSA, VOAS and AVOAS, which all appear in Folktale 2. As each of these individual patterns is characterised by only one token, the three subdivisions are combined into one complex variation (A)VO(A)S(A) in subsequent discussions. There is only one pattern featuring a verb complex and one pattern with two objects, VOSOA. The latter is analysed in the current project because the direct object appears between the clause-initial verb and the clause-final subject and the clause-final object adds to the meaning of the verb. Overall, VOS combinations only occur in Folktales 2, 6 and 7, with the majority of tokens found in Folktales 2 and 6. The most frequently occurring pattern is pure VOS, with three occurrences each in Folktales 2, 6 and 7, for a total of nine tokens. The other frequently occurring pattern is VOSOA with four tokens found in Folktale 6.

6.3.2. Information Structure and Communicative Effects

Having discussed the variety of patterns within the group and their representation in the corpus, it is now important to analyse the information structures of VOS combinations. To begin, consider the distribution of four VOS variations in the set of information structures provided in Table 6.7:

Table 6.7 Information Structure of VOS variations – 19th-century classic folktale corpus

	VOS	(A)VO(A)S(A)	[V]OS[V]	VOSOA	Total
Topical Verb					0
Rhematised Verb	3				3
Split Rheme	6	3	2	4	15
Clause Focus					0
Total	9	3	2	4	18

According to the table, all four variations have Split Rheme information structure, accounting for 15 out of the 18 tokens, while a pure VOS pattern with Rhematised Verb structure accounts for the remaining three tokens. Conspicuously, there are no instances of VOS word order and Topical Verb or Clause Focus information structure.

Furthermore, the distribution of the Rhematised Verb and the Split Rheme tokens appears to be rather uneven in the data set under analysis, which is illustrated in the table below:

Table 6.8 VOS Information Structure per text – 19th-century classic folktale corpus

	Rhematised Verb	Split Rheme	Total
1. Dal'			0
2. Afanas'ev	2	5	7
3. Afanas'ev			0
4. Afanas'ev			0
5. Afanas'ev			0
6. Dal'	1	7	8
7. Dal'		3	3
Total	3	15	18

As Table 6.8 shows, Rhematised Verb information structure is characterised by one or two tokens per folktale, while Split Rheme has been found in three to seven instances per text. Moreover, the writer of Folktale 7 chooses to use VOS combinations with only one information structure: namely, Split Rheme.

Tables 6.7 and 6.8 have provided the data on the information structures of VOS patterns in classic folktales. However, they do not account for the pragmatic use of the patterns of interest.

To capture the correlation between information structure and communicative effects of VOS patterns, a schema is presented in Figure 6.2:

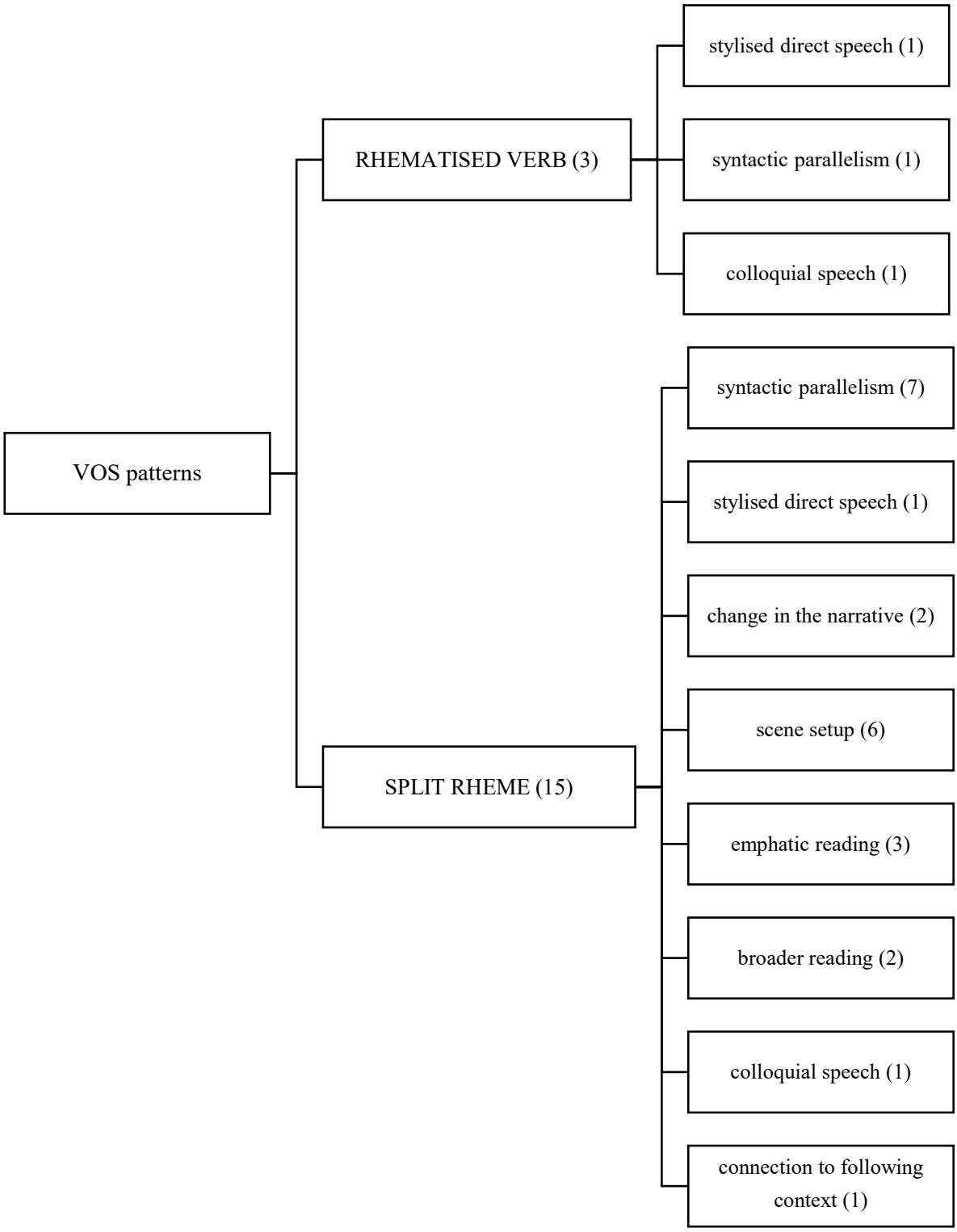

Figure 6.2: Communicative effects of VOS information structures – 19th-century classic folktale corpus

In Figure 6.2, despite the low number of tokens, VOS patterns have been found to produce a rather large number of communicative effects. In particular, the three Rhematised Verb VIPs produce

three communicative effects, while the 15 tokens of Split Rheme information structure produce eight different communicative effects. Interestingly, the two structures share the effects of initiating direct speech, signalling colloquial speech and creating syntactic parallelism – all communicative effects produced by Rhematised Verb VIPs. Moreover, the VOS combinations in the arrangement of Split Rheme are also employed to establish a new scene, to signal connection to the following context and to ensure a broader or emphatic reading of a clause.

In order to research the use of VOS patterns on the syntactic and the pragmatic levels, a detailed contextual analysis of the patterns of interest is provided in the following two sections.

6.3.2.1. Rhematised verb

According to the data set, four examples of a rhematic verb followed by a thematic object and a subject occur in the information structure of Rhematised Verb, three of which are pure VOS combinations and one of which is AVOS. Consider a VOS example from Folktale 2:

(6.21) [«Наш-де *хозяин* просит вас назад воротиться, хочет с вами тайный совет держать». Цари и царевичи, короли и королевичи воротились назад;]

["Our master asks you to come back, (he) wants with you a secret advisory meeting to have". Tsars and princes, kings and princes came back;]

выступил	к ним	хозяин	[и стал говорить:]
V-Rh	O-Th	S-Th	following context
went out	to them	host	[and began to speak:]
			(Afanasʿev, Vol. I, 330)

In (6.21), the pronominal object and the subject mentioned in the previous clause are topical, while the action of the subject is new information and is placed clause-initially. Similar to a few cases in the VSO group, the clause under analysis presents part of a syntactic complex, including the following clause, aimed at creating syntactic parallelism, for a smoother flow of narration. Compare the alternate OVS and SOV orderings in (6.21a) and (6.21b), respectively:

(6.21a)	**к ним**	**выступил**	хозяин	[и стал говорить.]
	O-Th	V-Tr	S-Rh	following context
	to them	went out	host	[and began to speak.]

Here, the word order pattern relates to a conventional AVS pattern aimed at presenting a phenomenon: the subject of the clause occupies the focal position and becomes the nucleus of the clause. Therefore, its status changes from thematic (in 6.21) to rhematic (in 6.21a), which makes little sense, since the subject was mentioned in the immediately preceding context.

(6.21b)	**Хозяин**	**к ним**	**выступил**	[и стал говорить.]
	S-Th	O-Th	V-Rh	
	Host	to them	went out	[and began to speak.]

In (6.21b), the focus on the verb is preserved, however, due to the following context, the rhythmic flow of (6.21) becomes instead an enumeration of the subject's actions in (6.21b). Thus, by reversing the order of old and new information as well as adding another action of the subject, the author of the clause in (6.21) emphasises the host's behaviour, meanwhile creating an atmosphere of stronger descriptive power than in a subject-initial clause.

Additionally, a VOS ordering is employed following the oral discourse convention, according to which the most relevant information appears first in the clause, as in (6.22):

(6.22) [Стали девочки обещать, что Снегурочки они из рук не выпустят, да и Снегурочка сама просится ягодок побрать да на лес посмотреть.]

[Began the girls to promise that the Snow Maiden out of hand (they) will not let go, and the Snow Maiden, too, asks berries to gather and the forest to see.]

[preceding context]

Отпустили	её	старики,
V-Rh	O-Th	S-Th
Let go	her	old people,
		(Dalʹ, 16)

The object's middle position in the pattern is ensured by its pronominal nature, while the verb provides an outcome of long negotiating between the friends and the parents. The clause-initial position of the verb enables emphasis on the action, and therefore, the outcome is perceived as either triumphant or relieving.

Finally, VOS ordering (with a pronominal object) is conventional for the reporting clause after direct speech. Only one instance of VOS ordering with direct speech has been found in the corpus under analysis; however, the VOS ordering occurs before, rather than after, the direct speech. The unusual position of VOS, for which a SOV ordering would be considered conventional, accounts for the clause being assigned the status of unconventional VIP ordering.

Overall, VOS and AVOS variations appear in the Rhematised Verb information structure in order to establish syntactic parallelism, to provide a change in the narrative, to follow the colloquial speech convention and in stylised direct speech.

6.3.2.2. Split Rheme

The second information structure in which the VOS group of combinations have been found in the folktales is Split Rheme. Unlike in the case of the previous structure, both a verb and a subject are

rhematic, and the thematic object, supposedly pronominal, is placed between them. VOS patterns produce a number of communicative effects which include establishing syntactic parallelism, signalling a change in the narrative, following colloquial speech convention, change in narrative, scene setup, emphatic reading, broader reading and connection to the following context. As the first three effects have been discussed in detail in the previous section on Rhematised Verb, they are not exemplified in detail here. One of other motivations for using Split Rheme information structure is presented in the following example:

(6.16a) [Он оседлал богатырского коня, сел и поехал в путь-дорогу.]
[He saddled up a Herculean horse, sat down and set off.]
[preceding context]

Попадается	ему	навстречу	старая старуха:
V-Rh	O-Th	A-Th	S-Rh
Appears	to him	in his direction	old lady:

[«Здравствуй, русский царевич!...]
[“Hello, Russian prince!..]
[following context]

(Afanasʿev, Vol. I, 329)

Here the focal verb and subject are placed at either end of the clause, and the clause under analysis establishes a new scene. The effect is enhanced by the present tense form of the verb, which creates an impression of witnessing the narrated events (Janko, 2001, p. 208).

Another instance of Split Rheme being used to establish a new scene is illustrated by VOSOA ordering, which features four tokens in the corpus. In actual fact, however, there is only one sentence that is repeated four times in the text. This sentence is provided in (6.19a):

(6.19a) [Ау-ау! Я девочка Снегурочка, из вешнего снегу скатана, вешним солнышком подрумянена,]
[Halloo-halloo! I am a girl Snow Maiden, made of spring snow and browned by the spring sun,]
[preceding context]

выпросили	меня	подружки	у дедушки, у бабушки	в лес по ягоды,
V-Rh	O-Th	S-Rh	O-Rh	A-Rh
wheedled	me	friends	out of granddad, out of grandma	to (go to) forest for berries,

[а в лес завели да и покинули!]
[but (they) led me into the woods and left me there!]
[following context]

(Dalʹ, 16)

In the preceding context, the girl is calling for help (*Ay-ay!* 'Halloo-halloo!'), then introduces herself by giving her name and how she "was born". In the clause under analysis, the narrator switches to outlining the circumstances of her getting lost. To do so, the writer employs a VOSOA pattern, where the direct object following the verb is the only thematic component, and all other elements are rhematic. Moreover, the following context contains information about the friends' other actions: *а в лес <u>завели</u> да и <u>покинули</u>!* 'but (they) led me into the woods and left me there!'. Thus, the VOSOA ordering in (6.19a) not only establishes a new scene (in which the Snow Maiden outlines the circumstances of her getting lost) but also arranges several verbs, expressing the actions of one subject, into syntactic parallelism, according to which the first verb is placed clause-initially, while others are provided in the immediately following clause. This way, the author avoids a 'matter-of-fact' enumeration of events.

Another case of syntactic parallelism has been identified as a communicative effect of Split Rheme and is provided in the example below:

(6.15a) [Царь разгневался, обвенчал убогого на царевне, а после венца приказал посадить их вместе с ребёнком в большую бочку, засмолить смолою и пустить в открытое море. Вот поплыла бочка по морю,]

[Tsar got angry, married the poor man to the princess, and after the wedding (he) ordered to put them with the baby into a big barrel, tar it with tar and let go in the open sea. Here drifted the barrel in the sea,]

[preceding context]

понесли	её	буйные ветры.
V-Rh	O-Th	S-Rh
carried	it	rough winds.
		(Afanasʹev, Vol. I, 329)

In (6.15a), the second clause of a sentence, the verb-initial word order follows the pattern established in the first clause, and establishes, on the one hand, syntactic parallelism, but on the other hand and most importantly, provides a broader reading of the scene focusing on 'what happened' rather than on 'what the barrel did' and 'what the winds did' – individuated actions of the subjects of both clauses.

In the following example, the clause under analysis continues the line of narration commenced in (6.19a):

(6.20a) [выпросили меня подружки у дедушки, у бабушки в лес по ягоды, а в лес завели да и покинули!]

[wheedled me friends out of granddad, out of grandma to the forest for berries, but (they) led me into the woods and left me there!]

[preceding context]

Хотел	меня	медведь	унести,
[V]-Rh	O-Th	S-Rh	[V]-Rh
Wanted	me	bear	to carry away,

[я не пошла с ним;]

[I didn't go with him;]

[following context]

(Dalʹ, 19)

The VOS pattern in the preceding sentence emphasises the friends' actions that resulted in the girls getting lost in the forest: the girls wheedled the Snow Maiden out of her grandparents, brought her to the forest and left her there. The VOS ordering of the following clause, the clause under analysis in (6.20a), provides an account of what happened after that, thus changing a scene. However, it is most important that the volition of the subject in (6.20a) is underlined by the VIP, since the bear's intention becomes the most relevant element of the clause, considering the following context: the bear only wanted to carry the girl away, but she would not go. The unconventional [V]OS[V] ordering, thus, provides a change in the narrative and emphasises the meaning of the verb *хотел* 'wanted'.

Another variation of a verb complex occurring in a VOS combination with Split Rheme information structure includes a 'beginning' verb initiating the clause. Similar to the verb of volition in (6.20a), the 'beginning' verb in (6.23) below changes its status from a transition element in an S[V]O order to part of the focus in a [V]OS[V] one:

(6.23) [По тому слову царевна в ту ж минуту забрюхатела и через девять месяцев родила сына.]

[On that word, the princess got pregnant and in nine months, gave birth to a son.]

[preceding context]

Начал	её	царь	допрашивать.
[V]-Rh	O-Th	S-Th	[V]-Rh
Began	her	tsar	to interrogate:

(Afanasʹev, Vol. I, 328)

Before proceeding with the analysis of the unconventional VIP in (6.23), it is interesting to note that the same text features an S[V]O[V] combination in a similar linguistic environment, which is

illustrated in (6.24). Let us compare the effect produced by the VOS pattern in (6.23) with the following clause from the same folktale:

(6.24) [Доложили про то *государю*, привели во дворец убогого;]
[(They) reported about it to the tsar, brought to the palace the poor man;]

царь	стал	его	допрашивать:
S-Th	[V]-Tr	O-Th	[V]-Rh
tsar	began	him	to interrogate:
		(Afanasʹev, Vol. I, 328)	

In (6.24), the word order pattern is S[V]O[V], and the clause tells about the tsar's actions. The object is moved from clause-final position, due to its pronominal nature; however, otherwise, the clause provides an example of unmarked ordering ensuring that the communicative dynamism of the clause increases towards its end. In contrast, it appears that in (6.23) the tsar's action of interrogating is less important than informing the reader of the onset of that action, as well as of what happened next. The [V]OS[V] combination, therefore, establishes a new scene unfolding in the following context.

In sum, it appears that the [V]SO[V] patterns of both types ensure a broader reading of a clause compared to an S[V]O[V] combination. Moreover, the initial rhematic verb, of volition or beginning, shares the focus with the other element of the verb complex, as a result of which both parts of a verb complex and the subject (in 6.22a) receive equal emphasis.

The remaining use of VOS word order with Split Rheme information structure to discuss is its use in stylised direct speech. It has been noted above that it is not uncommon for a reporting clause to feature a VIP when appearing after direct speech (Turner, 2009a). Moreover, it is more conventional for an SV order, with a rhematic verb, to introduce direct speech. An unconventional use of VOS before direct speech has been identified in the corpus, as in (6.17a):

(6.17a) [вдруг попалась ему в ведёрко большущая *щука*…]
[suddenly got he in the bucket a huge pike…]
[preceding context]

Говорит	ему	щука	человечьим голосом:
V	O	S	A
Tells	him	pike	in human voice:

[«Отпусти меня, добрый человек, на волю;]
[“Let me go, kind man;]
[following context]

(Afanasʹev, Vol. I, 328)

No clear explanation can be offered for the examples of this kind apart from the one provided by Turner (2006) who argues that "in pre-modern language, no communicative explanation for the VS orders can be found, for there clauses containing verbs of speech and an explicit subject normally appear before the speech quoted" (p. 111). She also hypothesises that the use of a reporting clause in such cases may be influenced by Biblical syntax. In the current research project, the instances of a VIP introducing direct or reported speech are marked as "stylised reporting clauses". A possible communicative effect of the VOSA ordering in (6.20a) lies in an emphatic reading of a clause or elements of a clause, such as the verb and the adjunct. As shown further in this thesis (Section 6.4.2.1.), the same effect is produced by VS combinations in declarative sentences, aimed at the stylistic colouring of a clause.

To conclude, the VOS variations appear to produce a number of communicative effects, often used in combination with other effects, in the Split Rheme information structure. The effects include following a colloquial speech convention, establishing a new scene, establishing syntactic parallelism, enabling a broader or an emphatic reading of a clause, signalling a change in the narrative, signalling connection to following context and in stylised direct speech.

6.4. VS word order

6.4.1. Patterns and Variations

The third group of patterns identified in the set of classic folktales is constituted by word order combinations in which a verb occurs before a subject, as in (6.25):

(6.25)	Снарядились	наши товарищи,
	V	S
	Got ready	our friends,
		(Dal', 57)

The pure VS pattern is complemented by a number of variations identified in the corpus under analysis. For instance, the clause-initial position of the verb can be filled by a predicative, as illustrated below:

(6.26)	льстивы	твои слова,
	P	S
	flattering	(are) your words,
		(Dal', 19)

Moreover, an adjunct can appear at the beginning of the pattern:

(6.27)	Вот	села	она,
	A	V	S
	Here	sat down	she,
			(Dal', 51)

Alternatively, it can occur in clause-final position:

(6.28)	Стоит	медведь	за пнём,
	V	S	A
	Stands	bear	behind stump,
			(Dal', 21)

Or between a verb and a subject, as in (6.29):

(6.29)	появились	на столе	всякие кушанья и напитки;
	V	A	S
	appeared	on table	various food and drinks
			(Afanas'ev, Vol. I, 328)

Finally, two parts of a verb complex can be split by a subject:

(6.30)	и легли	оба	соснуть.
	[V]	S	[V]
	and lay down	both	to have a nap.
			(Dal', 59)

The variety and distribution of VS word order patterns identified in the corpus under analysis are summarised below:

Table 6.9 VS combinations – 19th-century classic folktale corpus

	V/PS	VSA	AVS(A)	VAS	AVAS	[V]S[V]	(A)[V]SA[V]	Total
1. Dal'	2	1				2		5
2. Afanas'ev	3	3	3	6			3	18
3. Afanas'ev		1						1
4. Afanas'ev				3				3
5. Afanas'ev	1	1		1				3
6. Dal'	2	3		1		3		9
7. Dal'	11	3	4		1			19
Total	19	12	7	11	1	5	3	58

According to Table 6.9, classic folktales are characterised by a broad variety of VS word order combinations, including a pure VS pattern and its PS variant, as well as patterns with verb complexes and adjuncts. It is important to note here that some variations, combined into broader combinations in other VIP groups, are kept as separate variants in the VS group, to illustrate the difference in the number of tokens. Such variations include: VSA and AVS(A), [V]S[V] and (A)[V]SA[V], as well as VAS and AVAS. Thus, the patterns of the first pair (VSA and AVS(A)) are characterised by 14 and 4 tokens, respectively; the second ([V]S[V] and (A)[V]SA[V]) by five and three tokens, respectively; and the last (VAS and AVAS) by 11 and one tokens, respectively. Overall, the patterns with a clause-initial adjunct do not appear as frequently as the ones without one. Furthermore, the most frequently occurring patterns are pure verb-initial V/PS, VSA and VAS patterns, with 20, 14, and 11 tokens, respectively. In terms of distribution of VS combinations across the individual folktales, Table 6.9 shows that Folktales 2 and 7 contain the vast majority of instances with 18 and 19 tokens, respectively; followed by Folktales 6 and 1, with 9 and 5 tokens respectively; and lastly, Folktales 3 – 5, with one to three tokens each.

6.4.2. Information Structure and Communicative Effects

Having illustrated the variety of VS patterns and their appearance in classic folktales, it is now crucial to discuss their use in discourse on the information structure level. (see Section 3.2.4.) The analysed patterns feature all four information structures, as shown in the table below:

Table 6.10 Information Structure of VS variations – 19th-century classic folktale corpus

	V/PS	VSA	AVS(A)	VAS	AVAS	[V]S[V]	(A)[V]SA[V]	Total
Topical Verb		4	1	2		2		9
Rhematised Verb	17	6	2	3		1		29
Split Rheme		0	3	3	1	1	2	10
Clause Focus	2	2	1	3		1	1	10
Total	19	12	7	11	1	5	3	58

With regard to the total number of tokens, 29 (50%) belong to the Rhematised Verb arrangement. The other half is almost evenly distributed between Topical Verb (9 tokens, 16%), Split Rheme (10 tokens, 17%) and Clause Focus (10 tokens, 17%). However, despite the fact that all four information structures are represented in the VS subset of VIPs, none of them features all seven VS permutations. Rather, the number of variations per information structure varies from four, in Topical Verb, to six, in Clause Focus and Split Rheme. Finally, the distribution of most VS variations among the information structures is rather low, with each permutation occurring only one to three times per structure. Significantly, though, the V/PS combination in the Rhematised Verb arrangement has 18 tokens, while the VSA combination in the Rhematised Verb and Topical Verb arrangements has six and four tokens, respectively.

Proceeding to information structure representation in the individual texts, Table 6.11 below shows that the distribution is rather uneven:

Table 6.11 VS Information Structure per text – 19th-century classic folktale corpus

	Topical Verb	Rhematised Verb	Split Rheme	Clause Focus	Total
1. Dalʹ		4	1		5
2.Afanasʹev	4	4	6	4	18
3.Afanasʹev		1			1
4.Afanasʹev		3			3
5.Afanasʹev	1	1		1	3
6.Dalʹ	2	4		3	9
7.Dalʹ	2	12	3	2	19
Total	9	29	10	10	58

While Folktales 7 and 2 account for nearly one third of all tokens each, Folktale 6 is characterised by half as many tokens, 9, and the number of tokens for the remaining folktales ranges from one to five per text. The folktales in the corpus also show wide variation in the number of different types of information structures employed by the authors: all four information structures occur in Folktales 2 and 7, all but Split Rheme occur in Folktales 5 and 6, Split Rheme and Rhematised Verb occur in Folktale 1, and only Rhematised Verb occurs in Folktales 3 and 4. Thus, most significantly, the authors of all folktales arrange VS patterns as Rhematised Verb, with this being the preferred information structure in all texts, except Folktale 2. Here, the author's preferred structure is Split Rheme.

Tables 6.10 and 6.11 provide an overview of the information structures of VS combinations and their distribution in the corpus under analysis. Following the procedure from the previous sections, the information structure level alone does not fully represent VS functioning in the discourse. Therefore, a schema of correlation between information structure and the communicative effects produced by VS patterns in the corpus is provided below:

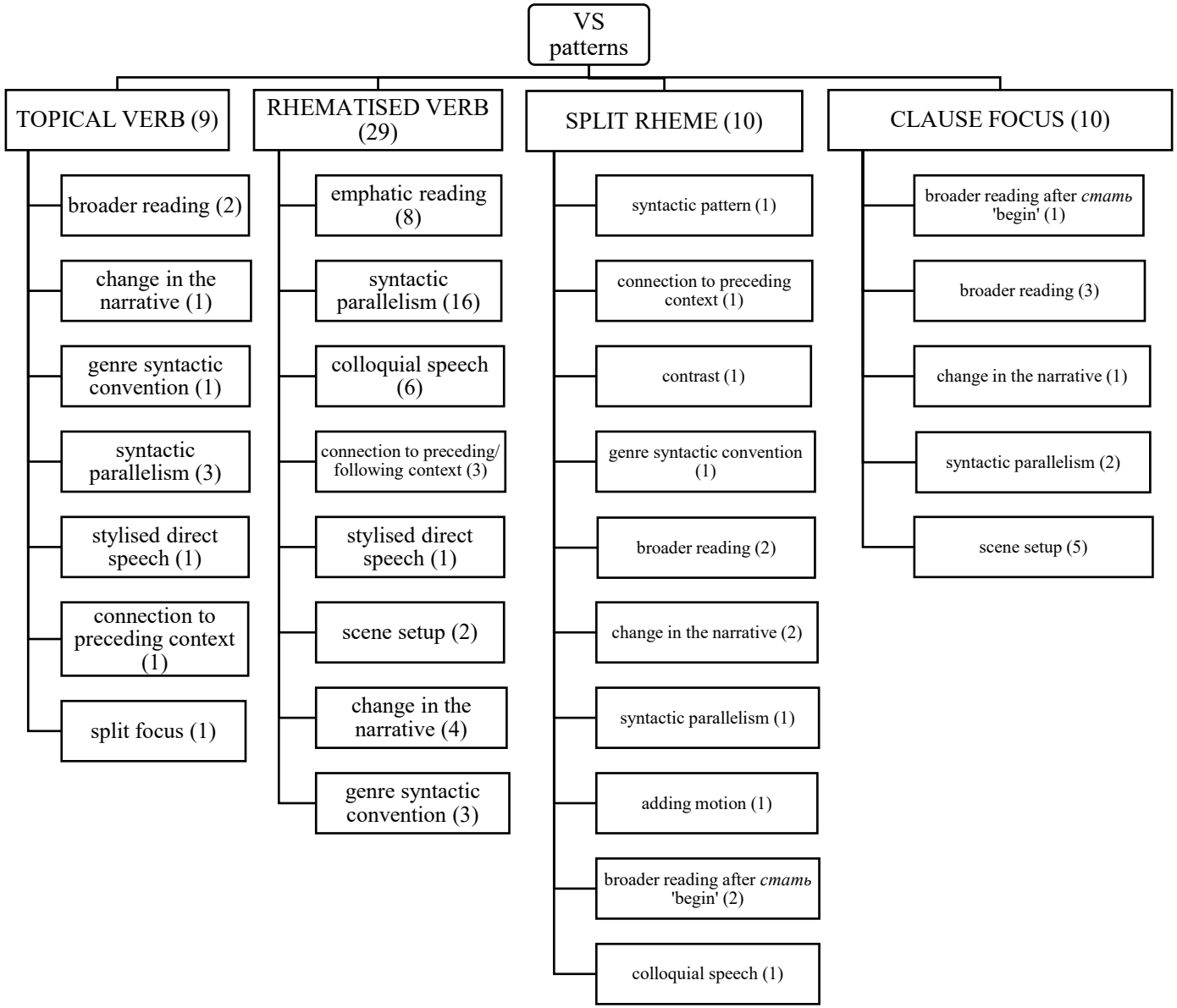

Figure 6.3: Communicative effects of VS information structures – 19th-century classic folktale corpus

According to the analysis summarised in this Figure, 10 tokens of both Split Rheme and Clause Focus structures produce 10 and five communicative effects, respectively. Moreover, nearly as many communicative effects, eight, are produced by VS patterns in the Rhematised Verb arrangement, as are produced in Split Rheme, although the former information structure features nearly three times as many tokens as the latter. The fourth information structure, Topical Verb, produces seven communicative effects.

Furthermore, the effects of establishing syntactic parallelism and signalling a change in the narrative are produced in all four structures. Several effects, such as enabling a broader reading of the clause, following a genre's syntactic convention and establishing a connection to the preceding/following context, are produced in three information structures. By contrast, other effects are typical of only one arrangement of information. Such effects include adding motion to the previously established scene, stylised reporting clause, signalling split focus, establishing a syntactic pattern and providing contrast to the preceding context.

To support the summary in Figure 6.3 of the functioning of VS VIPs on both the information structure and pragmatic levels, let us proceed to the contextual analysis of individual cases, moving from structure to structure.

6.4.2.1. Topical Verb

As discussed above, theme-rheme arrangement, with the verb in topical position, is found in fewer instances than other information structures. Despite the low number of occurrences, these instances appear to be aimed at producing a rather wide range of communicative effects. First, the occurrence of an adjunct in front of a verb can result in a broader reading of the clause, as in (6.29a):

(6.29a) [пришел в избу, сел за *стол* и говорит: «По щучьему веленью, по божьему благословенью будь стол накрыт и *обед готов*!» Вдруг откуда что *взялось*] —

[came into the hut, sat down at the *table* and said: "At the pike's wish, at God's mercy, be table laid and *lunch ready*!" Suddenly goodness knows how (it all *appeared*)] —

появились	на столе	всякие кушанья и напитки;
V-Th	A-Th	S-Th
appeared	on table	various food and drinks;
		(Afanasʹev, Vol. I, 328)

In (6.29a), all clause elements are topical since they were first mentioned in the preceding context: the verb *появились* 'appeared' is synonymous with the rhematic verb from the immediately preceding clause – *взялось* 'appeared'; the adjunct is mentioned twice in the

sentence before – *будь стол накрыт* ‘be table laid’; the subject of the clause, *всякие кушанья и напитки* ‘various food and drinks’, although placed clause-finally, is also thematic as the man asked for lunch in the immediately preceding sentence – *обед готов* ‘lunch ready’. Such an arrangement accounts for the extended focus, or in other words, broader reading of the clause, due to which both the verb and the subject attract the reader’s attention.

Secondly, a thematic verb can be used to establish syntactic parallelism typical of a folktale text, as illustrated below:

(6.31) [Лисонька не догадалась, взяла мешок, простилась с хозяином и *пошла*.]
[The fox did not realise that, took the sack, said goodbye to the host and *went*.]
[preceding context]

Шла	она,	[шла,]
V-Th	S-Th	[following context]
Went	she,	[went,]

[и захотелось ей спеть песенку про себя и про лапоток.]
[and she felt like singing a song about herself and the bast shoe.]
(Dal', 51)

The verb *шла* ‘went’, repeated in the following context, suggests that the fox walked for a long time. However, the same meaning can be conveyed by an SV ordering, as in (6.31a):

(6.31a)

Она	**шла**,	[шла.]
S	V	V
She	went,	went.

The verb in (6.31a), rhematised by its clause-final position and repeated immediately after its first mention, suggests a long action that was also tedious or monotonous. This slant of meaning is not the desired effect in (6.31) – the only idea that the VIP ordering conveys in (6.31) is the length of the fox’s walk, which resulted in her desire to sing a song, provided in the following context. Therefore, by inverting the SV ordering, the author keeps the emphasis on the time taken to perform the action but avoids the monotony of narration. A few examples of this kind have been found in the corpus, and it appears that such an ordering represents a stylistic convention characteristic of the folktale genre.

Besides enabling a broader reading and following a convention of the genre, VS ordering is employed by folktale writers to establish syntactic parallelism and provide connection to the preceding context. As these effects have been described in detail in other sections, they are not

discussed further here. However, it is important that VS ordering in the Topical Verb arrangement is also employed in a stylised reporting clause, as illustrated below:

(6.32) [*Стук*, тук, тук, -]
[*Knock*, knock, knock, -]
[preceding context]

стучит	лиса	в избу.
V-Th	S-Th	A-Th
knocks	fox	on hut.

(Dal', 45)

Since all elements of the clause in (6.32) are thematic, its analysis is similar to that in (6.29a) above. However, the preceding context of (6.32) suggests that in order to present the scene lively and vividly, the writer organises the sentence as "direct speech" – the sound of knocking on the door – with a reporting clause, following. Moreover, the present tense form of the verb in the analysed clause enhances the effect of observing the scene (Janko, 2001, p. 213).

Finally, the effect of signalling a change in the narrative is found, as in (6.33):

(6.33) [Царь разгневался, обвенчал убогого на царевне, а после венца приказал посадить их вместе с ребёнком в большую *бочку*, засмолить смолою и *пустить в открытое море*.]
[The tsar got angry, married the poor man to the tsarevna, and after their marriage (he) ordered to put them and the baby in a big *barrel*, tar it with tar and *let it go in the open sea*.]
[preceding context]

Вот	поплыла	бочка	по морю,
A-particle	V-Th	S-Th	A-Th
So	drifted	barrel	in sea,

[понесли её буйные ветры,]
[carried it wild winds]
[following context]

(Afanas'ev, Vol. I, 329)

Again, similar to the examples in (6.29a) and (6.31), all clause elements are thematic as they are first mentioned in the preceding context. Therefore, the AVSA ordering enables a broader reading of the clause. However, it is not the primary effect in this case. Taking into consideration the preceding context, it appears that signalling a change in the narrative, from the tsar's order to what happened to the barrel and its "inhabitants", is the primary motivation for arranging the clause elements in an unconventional pattern.

To conclude, the VS patterns with a topical verb are employed by the folktale writers in order to enable a broader reading of a clause, to follow the genre's convention, to establish syntactic parallelism, to provide connection to the preceding context, to report a stylised direct speech and to signal a change in the narrative.

6.4.2.2. Rhematised Verb

The second information structure, with a rhematised verb preceding a thematic subject, is the most frequently occurring in the corpus of classic folktales, and it produces a wide range of communicative effects. Most of them have already been discussed in the analysis of the VSO and VOS groups of patterns, as well as in the Topical Verb arrangement of the VS group, such as following a genre's convention, providing a change in the narrative or in stylised direct speech. However, several effects are found to be specific to the Rhematised Verb arrangement of a VS variation. To begin with, a writer can employ a VS pattern to establish a new scene, as shown below:

(6.27a) [и захотелось ей спеть песенку про себя и про лапоток.]
[and she felt like singing a song about herself and the bast shoe.]
[preceding context]

Вот	села	она,
A-particle	V-Rh	S-Th
Here	sat down	she,

[положила мешок на землю и только было принялася петь,…]
[put the sack onto the ground and was about to start singing,…]
[following context

(Dal', 51)

In (6.27a), the pattern under analysis begins with *вот* 'here'. Similar to VSO and VOS patterns, the particle, being a literary device typical of narratives, adds a poetic flavour to aclause. Moreover, it enhances the primary communicative effect produced by the VS pattern – that of setting up a new scene. Compare (6.27a) to the following example without *вот* 'here':

(6.27b) [и захотелось ей спеть песенку про себя и про лапоток.]
[and she felt like singing a song about herself and the bast shoe.]
[preceding context]

Села	она,
V	S
Sat down	she,

[положила мешок на землю и только было принялася петь, …]
[put the sack onto the ground and was about to start singing, …]
[following context]

The VS pattern in (6.27b) still establishes a new scene, due to the VIP and the following context, however, the flow of narration is not as smooth as in (6.27a).

Furthermore, VS patterns with a rhematised verb appear to follow an oral speech convention of placing communicatively relevant information before what is already known. The example in (6.26a) clearly illustrates this communicative effect:

(6.26a) [Нет, лиса,]
[No, fox,]
[preceding context]

льстивы	твои слова,
P-Rh	S-Th
flattering (are)	your words,

[я боюся тебя]
[I'm afraid of you]
[following context]

(Dal', 19)

The predicative *льстивы* 'flattering' occurs before the subject it modifies. This way, the Snow Maiden who pronounces the words in (6.26a) "hurries" to tell the fox that she does not believe it, by referring to the fox's speech as 'flattering'. In the following context, the girl informs the fox of her feelings, using an unmarked word order pattern.

Additionally, VS patterns following this colloquial speech convention are also used to establish a connection to the following context, which is illustrated in (6.34):

(6.34) [сел на ворота и кричит: …]
[sat down onto the gate and shouts: …]
[preceding context]

Как	услыхал	боярин,
conjunction	V-Rh	S-Th
As	heard	boyarin,

[сейчас приказывает:]
[immediately orders:]

(Afanasʹev, Vol. II, 30)

Since the subject of the analysed clause represents one of two characters in the scene, it is thematic in (6.34). The clause points at the time when the action in the following clause was performed – as soon as *боярин* 'boyarin' heard the rooster. *Как* 'as' is a contracted version of the conjunction *как только* 'as soon as', which is typical of oral discourse, and the verb *услыхал* 'heard' is a vernacular variant of the literary *услышал* 'heard'. Therefore, the clause under analysis is identified as belonging to colloquial style with the most relevant and/or interesting information coming first in the clause. Taking into consideration the following clause, which is the consequence of what boyarin heard, the rhematised verb appears in preposition to the thematic subject, and the VS combination ensures connection to the following clause.

The communicative effect of ensuring the smoothness of narration by employing genre specific syntactic constructions and syntactic parallelism construed by various combinations of their constituents is illustrated in (6.25a) and (6.35) below:

(6.25a)

Снарядились	наши товарищи,
V-Rh	S-Th
Got ready	our friends,

[пришли на поле, повытаскали, повыбрали репу: видимо-невидимо ее.]
[came to the field, pulled out the turnips: there were heaps of it.]
[following context]

(Dalʹ, 57)

The clause-initial verb is one of four verbs in the sentence. In fact, a mini scene is contained in (6.25a) and the following context. In order to avoid a matter-of-fact enumeration of actions, the writer chooses to use unconventional ordering in the beginning of the mini scene.

In order to avoid a matter-of-fact presentation of events in (6.35), the two actions, which are the focus of the clause and connected by *и* 'and', are separated by a thematic subject.

(6.35) Впрягся медведь
V-Rh S-Th
Harnessed himself bear
[и пошёл таскать соху по пашне!]
[and went dragging the plough in the field!]
(Dal', 59)

Finally, it has been found that rhematic verbs of certain lexical meaning regularly initiate a clause. These verbs include *заплакала* 'began to cry', *измучился* 'got exhausted', *сжалился/сжалилась* 'took pity', *обидел* 'offended', among others. A contextual example is provided in (6.36):

(6.36) [Стала Снегурочка голос подавать - никто ей не откликается.]
[The Snow Maiden started calling for help – nobody replied.]
[preceding context]
Заплакала бедняжка,
V-Rh S-Th
Began to cry poor thing,
[пошла дорогу искать,]
[went to look for a path,]
[following context]
(Dal', 16)

Although the pattern might seem similar to (6.25a), since several actions of the same subject occur in one sentence, the primary motivation for a VIP combination in (6.36) differs from that in (6.25a). Considering the broader context and the lexical meaning of the verb, it appears that a VS ordering is used to intensify the verb with an already emotionally strong meaning. In other words, verbs expressing empathy, or aimed at feeling empathy for a subject, such as in the analysed clause, evoke stronger emotions when they appear before the subject. (See Section 2.2.2.4.) It should be pointed out here that these verbs are never preceded by adjuncts, thus always appearing clause-initially.

Overall, VS patterns with a rhematic verb preceding a thematic subject appear in classic folktales in order to follow the genre's syntactic convention, to introduce direct speech and signal a change in the narrative. Moreover, they can be aimed at establishing a new scene, following a colloquial speech convention, providing connection to the following context, establishing syntactic parallelism for smoother narration and enabling an emphatic reading of the clause.

6.4.2.3. Split Rheme

The information structure of Split Rheme suggests that the rhematic elements of a clause are split by one or more elements, which means that no pure VS combinations were found in this arrangement. The eleven cases of Split Rheme include VSA and VAS patterns, as well as AVSA, AVAS, [V]S[V] and (A)[V]SA[V].

With regard to the pragmatic use of these VIPs in classic folktales, the communicative effects produced by the patterns are rather diverse, considering the low number of tokens identified in this information structure. Some of the effects have been discussed in detail when analysing the information structures of Topical Verb and Rhematised Verb. They include providing a change in the narrative, enabling a broader reading of the clause, following the genre's syntactic convention and establishing a syntactic pattern for smoothness of the narration. Besides these motivations, the VS combinations with Split Rheme information structure appear to be employed in the classic folktale corpus to produce a number of other effects. In particular, a [V]S[V] permutation can ensure connection to the preceding context, as in (6.30a):

(6.30a) [Мужичок сам поел, медведя накормил,]
[The man ate, fed the bear,]
[preceding context]

и легли	оба	соснуть.
[V]	S	[V]
and lay down	both	to have a nap.
		(Dal', 59)

Since the two actors in this Folktale are both mentioned in the preceding context, the verb form is plural, the subject of the analysed clause is thematic, and both parts of the predicate constitute the rheme. The placement of the verb before the subject enables the focus to be split between the finite verb and the infinitive. Moreover, the initial *u* 'and' serves as a link between the action in the preceding clause and the one in the clause under analysis. In other words, the verb in the clause-initial position is required both contextually, with *u* 'and' connecting two actions, and pragmatically as the author seems to want to emphasise both parts of the rhematic verb complex.

When verbs of motion are encountered in the information structure of Split Rheme, they produce one of two communicative effects: they set up a scene, the pragmatic effect known from the discussion of other VIPs, or add motion to the established entity, which is known to

be a motivation for VS ordering in the 12th century (McAnallen, 2009, p. 216). An example of the latter effect is produced by the following VAS combination:

(6.37) [Только вымолвил — явился богатый *дворец*;]
[as soon as he said – appeared a rich palace;]
[preceding context]

выбегают	из дворца	слуги верные,
V-Rh	A-Th	S-Rh
run out	from palace	loyal servants,
		(Afanasʹev, Vol. I, 329)

The noun *дворец* ‘palace’ is a rhematic element of the immediately preceding clause, in which a palace appears after the main character makes a wish. In the clause under consideration, an action expressed by the verb of motion appears before the now topical *дворец* ‘palace’. The VS ordering in (6.37) provides information about the previously established *дворец* ‘palace’; in particular, what happened there and who performed the action. Therefore, the two rhematic elements open and close the pattern. The same effect cannot be achieved with an unmarked AVS ordering:

(6.37a)	**из дворца**	**выбегают**	слуги верные,
	A-Th	V-Tr	S-Rh
	from palace	run out	loyal servants,

The clause in (6.37a) is characterised by only one focal element – the clause-final rhematic subject. Moreover, with AVS ordering, the clause presents a phenomenon rather than adding to the already established unit, as in (6.37).

To finish with the information structure of Split Rheme, the communicative effect of contrast, mentioned by Turner as a possible motivation for VS ordering (2009a, p. 546), is a primary effect of the following clause:

(6.38) [Вот села она, положила *мешок* на землю и только было принялася петь,]
[Here she sat down, put her *sack* on the ground and was about to start singing,]
[preceding context]

как вдруг	выскочила	из мешка	хозяйская собака
A	V-Rh	A-Th	S-Rh
when suddenly	jumped	out of sack	host’s dog
			(Dalʹ, 51)

It looks as if the VAS pattern in (6.38) is similar to that in (6.37), in that both adjuncts *мешок* 'the sack' and *дворец* 'palace' occur in the preceding context, and the clause-initial verb of motion and adjunct form the same pattern: *выбегают из дворца* 'run out of the palace' and *выскочила из мешка* 'jumped out of the sack'. However, on the one hand, the sack is not an established entity in the same way that the palace is, as it is only first mentioned in the previous clause; on the other hand, contextually, the example in (6.38) seems to be aimed at providing a contrast between the peaceful scene of sitting down and preparing to sing, with the abrupt movement of the host's dog jumping out of the bag.

To conclude, the VS patterns arranged as Split Rheme appear to produce a number of communicative effects which include: signalling a change in the narrative, establishing syntactic parallelism, enabling a broader reading of the clause and following a colloquial speech or the genre's syntactic convention. Additionally, they can be aimed at providing connection to the preceding context, adding motion to the established unit and emphasising contrast to the preceding context, or as direct speech stylisation.

6.4.2.4. Clause Focus

The information structure of Clause Focus features the same number of tokens as that of Split Rheme; however, half as many communicative effects are produced. Establishing syntactic parallelism for a smoother narration is one such effect, found in two instances. By contrast, nearly half of all VS permutations with Clause Focus appear to be used in order to establish a new scene, as in (6.28a):

(6.28a) [Жучка подбежала, её лобызала, всё личико облизала и повела домой.]
[Žuchka ran up to her, kissed her, licked her face and led her home.]
[preceding context]

Стоит	медведь	за пнём,
V-Rh	S-Rh	A-Rh
Stands	bear	behind stump,

[волк на прогалине, лиса по кустам шныряет…]
[the wolf is on a glade, the fox is hunting in the bushes…]
[following context]

(Dal', 21)

Here all clause elements are rhematic. Let us compare the VAS ordering in the original clause with other possible word order arrangements.

(6.28b)	**За пнём**	**стоит**	**медведь,**
	A-Th	V-Tr	S-Rh
	Behind stump	stands	bear,

In (6.28b), the unmarked AVS pattern provides a classic example of a VS ordering for presentational purposes: the adjunct of place initiates the pattern, it is followed by a stance verb, and the pattern is closed by a rhematic subject.

(6.28c)	**Медведь**	**стоит**	за пнём,
	S-Th	V-Tr/Rh	A-Rh
	Bear	stands	behind stump,
	[волк на прогалине, лиса по кустам шныряет…]		
	[the wolf (is) on a glade, the fox (is) hunting in the bushes…]		
	[following context]		

The clause in (6.28c) reports the bear's action (the verb is rhematic) and its location (the adjunct is rhematic). Taking into consideration the following context, it appears that the example in (6.28c) could fit the context of the folktale, if its primary motivation were the animals' positions. Thus, the unconventional VAS in (6.28a) sets a scene, and the reader is made an observer, due to the present tense form of the verb (Janko, 2001, p. 213).

Classic folktale writers also appear to arrange clause elements as VS with Clause Focus information structure in order to describe a broader scene, as in (6.39):

(6.39)	[«Всем бы здесь хорошо, — говорит царевна, — только жаль,]			
	[It's all good here, - says tsarina, - only it's a pity,]			
	[preceding context]			
	что	нет	никакой птицы	на наших прудах».
		P-Rh	S-Rh	A-Rh
	that	no	any bird	on our ponds".
				(Afanasʹev, Vol. I, 329)

The clause in (6.39) is a clausal complement of *жаль* 'it's a pity' from the preceding context and, as such, closely connected to the preceding main clause: the princess regrets the fact that there are no birds on the ponds. In order to ensure a broader reading with equal weight on all constituents, the author arranges the elements of the clause under consideration in a PSA order. This explanation aligns with Turner's (2009a) "assumption that clausal complements of this type are inherently rhematic" (p. 538). Moreover, it builds on McAnallen's (2009) function of VS depicting a broader scene (p. 218), according to which information provided by individual

constituents, such as subject or adjunct, in unmarked SVA or AVS orders is not as important as the general fact of not having birds, which tsarina feels sad about in the analysed clause.

Finally, a VS order can be employed to signal a change in the narrative, as illustrated in the example below:

(6.40) [И накормила старика.]
[And fed the old man.]
[preceding context]

Ехал	мимо	какой-то барин
V-Rh	A-Rh	S-Rh
went	past	a landlord

[и заехал к старику со старушкой в хату.]
[and dropped by the old man and the old woman]
[following context]

(Afanasʹev, Vol. II, 30)

Here the preceding clause finishes the scene with the old lady feeding her husband pancakes. The analysed clause begins a new scene, with another character being introduced.

Overall, VS patterns with Clause Focus information structure are employed in classic folktales in the corpus in order to establish syntactic parallelism, to establish a new scene, to enable a broader reading of the clause and to signal a change in the narrative.

6.5. Summary

This section brings together the major findings of the analysis of classic folktales corpus. To begin, pattern variation is substantial in all three groups of VIPs as is presented in the table below:

Table 6.12 VIP combinations – 19th-century classic folk tale corpus

	VIP variations				
	Pure pattern	**Adjunct at**			**Verb complex**
		front	**middle**	**end**	
VSO (50)	VSO (29) VS[O] (2)	AVSO (3) AVS[O] (1)	VSAO (2) VSA[O] (1) AVSA[O] (1)		[V]SO[V] (7) [V]S[V]O (2) [V]S[V][O] (2)
VOS (18)	VOS (9)		AVOAS (1) VOAS (1)	VOSA (1) VOSOA (4)	[V]OS[V] (2)
VS (58)	V/PS (19)	*AVSA (5)* AVS (2)	AVAS (1) VAS (11)	VSA (12) AVSA (5)	[V]S[V] (5) (A)[V]SA[V] (3)
Total (126)	59	*24*		22	21

As summarised in the table, besides pure VSO, VOS and VS word order combinations, a variety of patterns has been identified in the data set under analysis, due to the presence of adjuncts, verb complexes and complex objects, which are all modifications characteristic of VIPs. In particular, adjuncts seem to appear quite freely at the front, in the middle and/or at the end of a pattern; the notable exception being the non-occurrence of an adjunct at the end of a VSO pattern. However, VSO, VOS and V/PS pure patterns were exceedingly more frequent

than the variants with adjuncts; of the latter, VSA (12 tokens) and VAS (11 tokens) outnumber other patterns with adjuncts considerably. As well verb complexes occurred in all three-word order combinations, whilst complex objects only occurred in VSO.

Proceeding with information structure, there appears to be significant variation in representation in the VIP groups:

Table 6.13 Information Structure of VIP groups – 19th-century classic folk tale corpus

Information Structure	**VSO**	**VOS**	**VS**	**Total**
Topical Verb	2		9	11
Rhematised Verb	13	3	29	45
Split Rheme	32	15	10	57
Clause Focus	3		10	13
Total	50	18	58	126

The summarised results in Table 6.13 suggest that in the 19th century classic folktale corpus VSO and VOS word orders were predominantly used to express Split Rheme information structure (32 and 15 tokens, respectively), whilst VS word order was predominantly used to express Rhematised Verb (29 tokens). Secondarily, VSO word order was also used to express Rhematised Verb (13 tokens) and VS to express Topical Verb, Split Rheme and Clause Focus information structures (9, 10 and 10 tokens, respectively).

Next, the correlations between communicative effect and information structure are given in Table 6.14. (Note that, as in Chapter 5, the communicative effect of broader reading after *стать* 'begin' has been kept separate from that of broader reading in the following tables, in order to allow for more detailed discussion and comparison across genres and time periods in Chapter 10)

Table 6.14 Communicative effects of VIP Information Structure – 19th-century classic folk tales

Communicative effect	**Topical Verb**	**Rhematised Verb**	**Split Rheme**	**Clause Focus**	**Total**
Scene setup		3	16	6	25
Change in the narrative	1	6	7	2	16
Contrast			1		1
Connection to preceding/following context	3	6	6	1	16
Broader reading	2		8	4	14
Broader reading after *стать* 'begin'			9	1	10
Syntactic pattern			2		2
Syntactic parallelism	3	23	12	2	40
Adding motion			1		1
Stylised direct speech	1	2	1		4
Colloquial speech		10	2		12
Emphatic reading		10	7		17
Genre syntactic convention	1	3	1		5
Split focus	1				1
Total	12	63	73	16	164

Focusing on correlations of communicative effect and information structure with more than three tokens, the primary correlations in the classic folktales corpus are between Rhematised Verb and the communicative effects of syntactic parallelism (23 tokens), emphatic reading (10 tokens), colloquial speech (10 tokens), connection to preceding/following context and change in the narrative (6 tokens each); Split Rheme and the effects of scene setup (16 tokens), syntactic parallelism (12 tokens), broader reading after *стать* 'begin' (9 tokens), broader reading (8 tokens), emphatic reading and change in the narrative (7 tokens each) and connection to the preceding/following context (6 tokens); and Clause Focus and the effects of scene setup (6 tokens) and broader reading (4 tokens).

Lastly, the correlations between communicative effect and VIP word order are given in

Table 6.15 Communicative effects of VIP groups of patterns – 19th-century classic folktale corpus

Communicative effect	**VSO**	**VOS**	**VS**	**Total**
Scene setup	12	6	7	25
Change in the narrative	6	2	8	16
Contrast			1	1
Connection to preceding/following context	10	1	5	16
Broader reading	5	2	7	14
Broader reading after *стать* 'begin'	7		3	10
Syntactic pattern	1		1	2
Syntactic parallelism	10	8	22	40
Adding motion			1	1
Stylised direct speech		2	2	4
Colloquial speech	3	2	7	12
Emphatic reading	6	3	8	17
Genre syntactic convention			5	5
Split focus			1	1
Total	60	26	78	164

Again, focusing on correlations with more than three tokens, all three VIP word orders appear to be used to establish syntactic parallelism (10 VSO, 8 VOS and 22 VS tokens) and a new scene (12 VSO, 6 VOS and 7 VS tokens). Such a high presence of these two communicative effects suggests a formulaic nature of VIPs in classic folktales. In other words, the authors would seem to prefer to employ certain clichés in their writing for stylistic purposes. Regarding other communicative effects, VSO and VS word orders are also significantly being used to establish a connection to the preceding/following context (10 VSO, 1 VOS and 5 VS tokens), signal a change in the narrative (6 VSO, 2 VOS and 8 VS tokens), ensure an emphatic reading (6 VSO, 3 VOS and 8 VS tokens) and enable a broader reading of a clause (5 VSO, 2 VOS and 7 VS tokens). It is important to note that in each of these cases where there is a correlation of a particular communicative effect being produced with two VIPs, it is VSO and VS, rather than VOS and VS, or VSO and VOS. What this suggests is that it is the proximity of the verb and

subject that is important in producing these communicative effects, not the presence of an object. Finally, VSO order is used relatively frequently to establish a broader reading after *стать* 'begin' (7 tokens), and VS to signal colloquial speech (7 tokens) and follow a genre syntactic convention (5 tokens).

In Chapter 10, these results are compared with those of the 20th-century narratives and 21st-century modern tales, and to the degree possible, with the results from the analysis of the travel diary of the 15th century and the blog entries of the 21st century.

7. Results – 20th-century narratives

This chapter analyses the unconventional VIPs that occur in the corpus of the 20th-century narratives. In particular, the chapter focuses on the information structures and communicative effects of three main groups of word order variations: VSO, VOS and VS. Additionally, variation within each of the three groups regarding the occurrence of adjuncts and their placement in the patterns is taken into consideration. Moreover, the nature of the subject – nominal or pronominal – in VSO and VS groups of patterns, and the nature of the object in VOS combinations is considered as potentially affecting the element ordering in a pattern.

This chapter begins by presenting the data under analysis: the texts used in the corpus, some statistical data and word order combinations. Next, the three groups of word order permutations, VSO, VOS and VS, are analysed separately with regard to information structure and the communicative effects they produce. Within this analysis, the role of subject/object in ordering the elements of a word order pattern is discussed where appropriate.

7.1. Frequency of VIP Occurrence

The corpus of eleven narratives (see Section 3.1.5.) is discussed in terms of the following categories: overall number of words, overall number of sentences, number of sentences with the VIPs and the proportion of the latter in the overall number of sentences.

Table 7.1 Frequency of occurrence – 20th-century narrative corpus

	Number of words	Number of sentences	Number of sentences with VIPs	% of sentences with VIPs
1. Salʹnikova	1,134	84	9	10.7%
2. Leonov	1,373	118	24	20.3%
3. Dobrovolʹskij	750	44	3	6.8%
4. Gavrilova	532	34	4	11.8%
5. Kerbut	561	38	5	13.2%
6. Kuxtina	398	35	1	2.9%
7. Ulickaja	631	46	3	6.5%
8. Ždanova	1,756	114	7	6.1%
9. Ptičnikov	667	52	3	5.8%
10. Sivak	855	59	4	6.8%
11. Rabinovič	369	28	4	14.3%
Total	9,026	652	67	10.3%

As shown in Table 7.1, the 20th-century narrative corpus is characterised by an uneven distribution of unconventional VIPs across the 11 texts. Thus, Narrative 2 features 20.3% of sentences with unconventional VIPS, and Narratives 11, 5 and 4 feature 14.3%, 13.2% and 11.8% respectively, which are all higher than the average of 10.3%; whereas Narrative 1 demonstrates a result close to the average, in the remaining narratives, the unconventional VIP sentences constitute 5.7% to 6.8% of all sentences. The lowest representation of unconventional VIP sentences, 2.9%, is in Narrative 6. Interestingly, the number of words and the percentage of unconventional VIPs do not correlate: in Narrative 11, the shortest of all narratives (with 369 words and 28 sentences), 4 sentences (14.3%) are verb-initial; while the longest text, Narrative 8 (1,756 words and 114 sentences), demonstrates one of the lowest proportions of unconventional VIP sentences – 6.1%.

Having identified the statistical occurrence of unconventional verb-initial sentences, all VIPs, in each narrative, are distributed into three major groups: VSO, VOS and VS.

Table 7.2 VIP combinations – 20th-century narrative corpus

	VSO	VOS	VS	Total
1. Salʹnikova	5	2	4	11
2. Leonov	11	6	8	25
3. Dobrovolʹskij	2		1	3
4. Gavrilova	3		1	4
5. Kerbut	5			5
6. Kuxtina			1	1
7. Ulickaja	1		2	3
8. Ždanova	1		6	7
9. Ptičnikov	1		2	3
10. Sivak	2	1	1	4
11. Rabinovič	1	1	2	4
Total	32	10	28	70

As the table illustrates, VSO is characterised by the highest number of tokens, 32, and is closely followed by 28 tokens of the VS group; while the VOS group only has 10 tokens. With regard to individual texts, it is interesting that the VIPs of the VSO group are found in all but one narrative, whereas only four out of 10 narratives feature VIPs from the VOS group. Furthermore, Narratives 1 and 2 feature the highest number of tokens for all three groups of VIPs and mirror the overall tendency for the VIPs occurring in the narrative discourse, which is reflected in the totals in the last line of the table: VS patterns appear nearly as often as VSO ones, and the latter are found more than twice as often as the VOS counterparts. Moreover, most narratives have more VSO tokens than VS ones, except Narratives 7 and 8, where more VS than VSO combinations were found, and Narrative 6, where the same number of VSO and VS tokens occurred. Finally, the VIPs are quite evenly distributed among the three groups in Narratives 10 and 11.

7.2. VSO word order

7.2.1. Patterns and Variations

VSO, the most numerous group of VIPs, is represented by word order combinations in which a verb initiates the pattern and is invariably followed by a subject and an object or a complement, as in the example below:

(7.1)	… было	у нас	застолье.
	V	S	O
	… had	we	a party.

(Ptičnikov, 199)

Besides a basic VSO combination, a variety of word order patterns have been identified. In particular, an adjunct appears at the beginning, end (as in (7.2)), or middle (as in (7.3)) of a pattern, which accounts for most of the variation in this group.

(7.2)	Лупил	он	свою Вальку	смертным боем,
	V	S	O	A
	Beat	he	his Val'ka	severely,

(Ulickaja, 180)

(7.3)	Когда	поставила	тётка	на стол	артельную сковороду с томлёнными в молоке рыбёшками,
		V	S	A	O
	When	put	auntie	onto table	artel's frying pan with little fishes stewed in milk,

(Leonov, 58)

Furthermore, the verb can be split by the subject or the combination of the subject and object, as in (7.4) and 7.5), respectively.

(7.4)	не мог	я	обманывать	этих счастливых и любимых мною людей.
	[V]	S	[V]	O
	couldn’t	I	deceive	those happy and loved by me people.

(Rabinovič, 231)

(7.5)	… решили	мы	эту Тамару	проучить.
	[V]	S	O	[V]
	… decided	we	that Tamara	to teach a lesson.

(Sivak, 225)

Finally, in several instances the object is complex, as in (7.6):

(7.6)	Нравилось	мне	бывать в этой семье:
	V	S	[O]
	Liked	I	to visit that family:

(Salʹnikova, 36)

Having presented a prototypical example of six of the variations, it is now important to discuss the variety of patterns as they appear in the narratives:

Table 7.3 VSO combinations – 20th-century narrative corpus

	VSO	AVSO	VSOA	AVSOA	VSAO	AVSAO	[V]SO[V]	VS[O]	(A)[V]S[V](A)O	Total
1. Salʹnikova	2				1			2		5
2. Leonov	4		2	1	2	1		1		11
3. Dobrovolʹskij	1		1							2
4. Gavrilova	1			1					1	3
5. Kerbut	2	1						1	1	5
6. Kuxtina										0
7. Ulickaja			1							1
8. Ždanova	1									1
9. Ptičnikov	1									1
10. Sivak	1						1			2
11. Rabinovič									1	1
Total	13	1	4	2	3	1	1	4	3	32

As Table 7.3 illustrates, four out of the six patterns, AVSO, AVSOA, AVSAO and A[V]S[V](A)O, feature adjuncts as part of the pattern. Additionally, variations with a complex object (VS[O]) and a verb complex ([V]SO[V]) are present in the current corpus; however, their representation is not high. By far the most frequently occurring pattern, with 13 tokens, is pure VSO, which is found in eight out of the 11 texts; whereas the most infrequent patterns (AVSO, AVSAO and [V]SO[V]) each occur only once in the corpus. It is interesting to note that no pattern occurs more than one or two times in any narrative, except the pure VSO combination in Narrative 2, with four tokens. Moreover, eight of the 11 narratives feature one or more pure VSO combinations per text.

7.2.2. Information Structure and Communicative Effects

As outlined in Section 3.2.4., the VSO variations have been analysed with respect to the information structures of Topical Verb, Rhematised Verb, Split Rheme and Clause Focus.

Table 7.4 Information Structure of VSO variations – 20th-century narrative corpus

	VSO	AVSO	VSOA	AVSOA	VSAO	AVSAO	[V]SO[V]	VS[O]	(A)[V]S[V](A)O	Total
Topical Verb	1		3	1						5
Rhematised Verb	3							1	2	6
Split Rheme	7	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	17
Clause Focus	2							2		4
Total	13	1	4	2	3	1	1	4	3	32

According to Table 7.4, Split Rheme is the most frequent information structure, occurring in over half of all tokens and across all nine variants of VSO ordering. Regarding the other three information structures, the tokens are distributed rather evenly, with one – three instances in total per word order variation. Moreover, the pure VSO pattern is used for all four information structures, while other patterns are found in only one – two structures. Regarding the distribution of information structures across the narratives, it is quite uneven, which is illustrated in the table below:

Table 7.5 VSO Information Structure per text – 20th-century narrative corpus

	Topical Verb	Rhematised Verb	Split Rheme	Clause Focus	Total
1. Salʹnikova	1	1	2	1	5
2. Leonov	2	2	4	3	11
3. Dobrovolʹskij	1		1		2
4. Gavrilova	1	1	1		3
5. Kerbut		1	4		5
6. Kuxtina					-
7. Ulickaja			1		1
8. Ždanova			1		1
9. Ptičnikov			1		1
10. Sivak			2		2
11. Rabinovič		1			1
Total	5	6	17	4	32

According to Table 7.5, the information structure of Split Rheme was found to be performed by the VSO VIPs in all narratives except Narratives 6 and 11, while Rhematised Verb was found in five narratives, Topical Verb arrangement in four, and Clause Focus in only two of the 11 narratives. Moreover, Split Rheme was the only information structure performed by VSO VIPs in Narratives 7–10, whereas in Narratives 1 and 2, VSO combinations were used to express all four information structures. Finally, in total the established information structures occurred two or less times per narrative with the exception of Narratives 1 and 5, with five occurrences each, and Narrative 2 with 11 occurrences.

As in the previous chapters, it is important to consider the communicative effects of the information structures in order to better understand their use. Therefore, the communicative effects of the patterns, as outlined in Section 3.2.5., were analysed, and the results are presented in Figure 7.1 below:

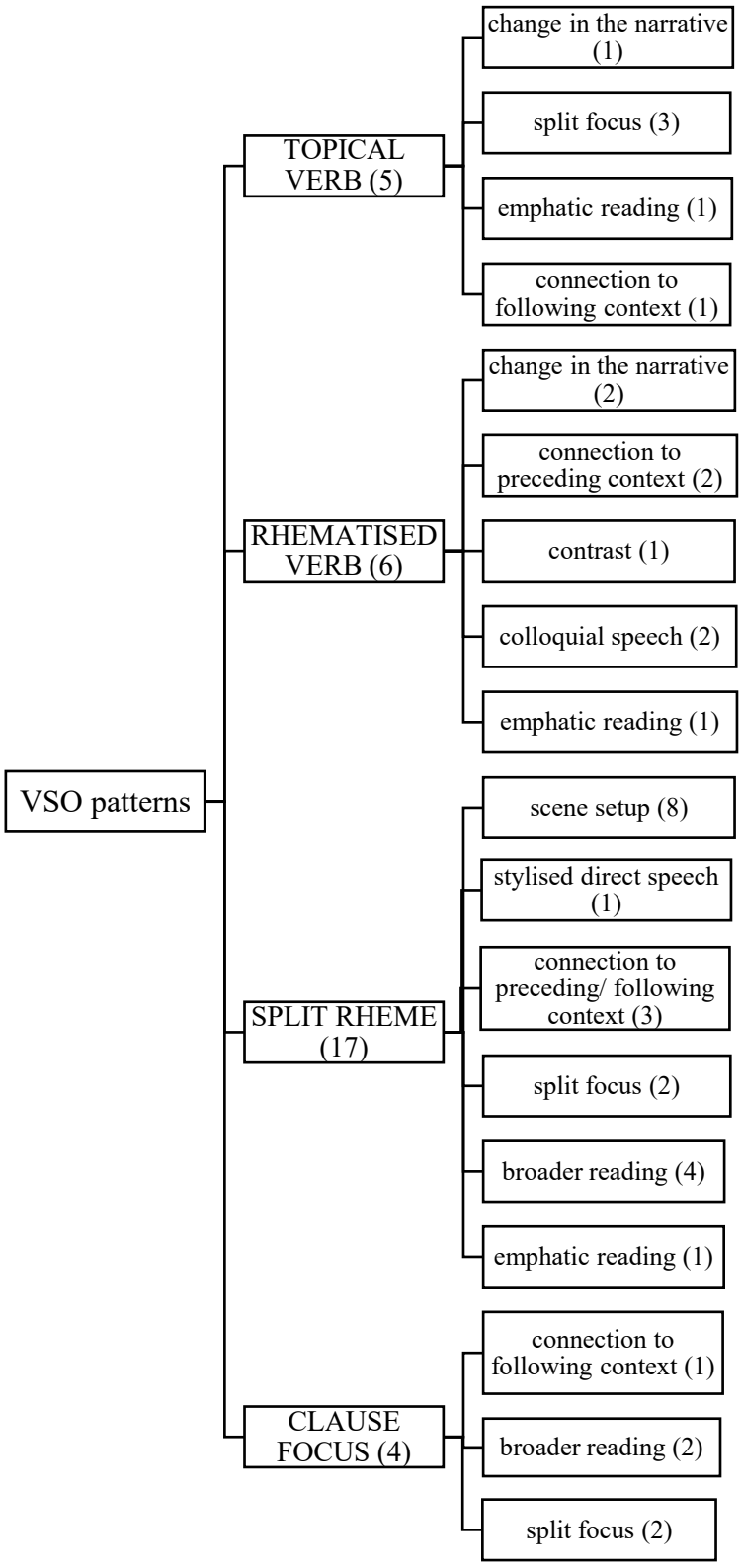

Figure 7.1: Communicative effects of VSO information structures – 20th-century narrative corpus

According to the schema in Figure 7.1, the disparity in the tokens of Split Rheme and other information structures is reflected in the number of communicative effects they produce: there

are seven different communicative effects in the Split Rheme information structure compared with three to five per each of Topical Verb, Rhematised Verb and Clause Focus.

Having presented the information structures and communicative effects as performed by different patterns in different narratives, it is now time to discuss examples from the narratives, to demonstrate how the above-mentioned structures and effects interact in the discourse under analysis.

7.2.2.1. Topical Verb

(7.7) [А я, гостинцы передав, сказал, что *пойду навещу* дядю Фёдора … Дядя Фёдор в свои далеко за шестьдесят годков ещё плотничал по окрестным деревням, и в доме его всегда водился достаток.]

[And I, having passed the gifts, said that I *would go visit* uncle Fëdor … Uncle Fëdor, in his late sixties, still worked as a carpenter in the neighbouring villages and was comfortably off.]

[preceding context]

Так что	завернул	я	к нему	не без тайного умысла.
	V-Th	S-Th	O-Th	A-Rh
So	dropped in	I	to him	not without a secret motive.

(Leonov, 52)

The example in (7.7) provides an account of the narrator's visit to his relative. In particular, the narrator summarises his intention to see Uncle Fëdor: the latter worked and had money, which meant the narrator could be fed at his place. In linguistic terms, the verb adjunct is the only rhematic element and appears clause finally (the subject and the object are pronominal, and therefore thematic; while the verb is thematic since it is semantically connected to the italicised verb complex from the preceding context). The thematic verb, theoretically, could appear after the two other rhematic constituents, in which case the focus of the clause would be solely on the purpose of the narrator's action. In contrast, the writer prefers to focalise both the verb and its complement. Therefore, he splits the focal elements by the subject and the pronominal object in order to emphasise the action. Moreover, the splitting of the focus might result from the author's desire to return the reader to the thread of narration, interrupted by the description of the uncle's lifestyle. For this reason, the verb expressing the action that was mentioned before the digression appears first in the clause and its attribute, introducing new information that occupies clause-final position.

(7.8) [Еще помню, что *писать* чернилами разрешили мне *одной из последних в классе*,]

[Also, I remember that I was *one of the last* in class to be allowed to *write* with ink,]

[preceding context]

дольше многих	писала	я	палочки и кружочки	карандашом.
A-Th	V-Th	S-Th	O-Rh	A-Th
longer than many (students)	wrote	I	lines and circles	with pencil.

(Gavrilova, 122)

Here, the clause under consideration, in fact, repeats the idea from the immediately preceding context – that of being one of the last students to be allowed to write with a pen. The unconventional ordering of the clause elements follows the semantically strong adjunct. Though thematic, the adjunct is perceived as emphasising the fact of writing with a pencil for a long time (at least longer than other students). In other words, the relatively neutral *одной из последних в классе* 'one of the last in class' from the preceding context is replaced by a more emphatic *дольше многих* 'longer than many (students)' in the analysed clause. The emphatic effect is heightened by inversion due to which the verb occurs in front of the subject.

(7.9) [Надо себе представить трёх восьмилетних мальчишек с огромными эмалированными тазами, в которых лежат свёртки с чистым бельём, полотенцами, мочалками и мылом, *идущих* в Ямские бани, располагавшиеся на нашей улице Достоевского, которая прежде называлась Ямской. Сначала надо было отстоять очередь за билетами, а затем уже встать в очередь в банный класс согласно купленному билету. Были классы с парной за сорок копеек и так называемый "общий класс" без парной – за тридцать.]

[Imagine three eight-year-old boys with huge enamelled pans filled with clean underwear, towels, bath puffs and soap, who *went* to Jamskie baths located in our Dostoevskogo street known before as Jamskaja. First, one should have queued to get the tickets and then queued to get into a banya class according to the ticket. There were classes with a steam room for forty kopecks and the so-called "general admission classes" without a steam room – for thirty kopecks.]

[preceding context]

Ходили	мы	в баню	обычно по пятницам,
V-Th	S-Th	O-Th	At-Rh
Went	we	to banya	usually on Fridays,

[очереди были невероятно длинные - часа на полтора-два.]

[the queues were unbelievably long – about 1.5–2 hours long.]

[following context]

(Dobrovolʹskij, 104)

Finally, the example in (7.9) begins with a topical verb, referred to in the preceding context and followed by the thematic subject and verb complement, and ends with a rhematic adjunct. In fact, the verb and the time reference form a semantically relevant frame, and less relevant elements are placed inside. This structure resembles that in (7.7), aimed at splitting the focus between the verb and its complement. However, on closer consideration, it appears that the prominence of the two verbs in (7.7) and in (7.9) cannot be compared: the verb and its adjunct are stylistically more marked in the former than in the latter. Therefore, it can be argued that the idea of splitting the focus is not the writer's primary motivation in (7.9). In contrast, the pattern presents a change in the narrative, from discussing general aspects of going to a banya class, such as location, queueing and cost, to the narrator's personal experience.

Thus, in most cases, the communicative effect of a VSO pattern with an information structure of Topical Verb is that of splitting the focus between the verb and its complement, while in others, the effect is that of signalling a change in the narrative or ensuring an emphatic reading of the clause.

7.2.2.2. Rhematised Verb

The communicative effect of providing a change in the narrative is also produced by the verb in the Rhematised Verb information structure, as in the example from the beginning of the section, (7.6), placed in a broader context below:

(7.6a) [А у меня всегда аппетит был «звериный», съедала бы всё, чем угощали, но понимала, что надо быть «вежливой и тактичной», и сдерживалась.]

[And I always had a ravenous appetite, I would have eaten everything on offer but realised that I had to be "polite and tactful" and controlled myself/held back.]

[preceding context]

Нравилось	мне	бывать в этой семье:
V-Rh	S-Th	[O]-Th
Liked	I	to visit that family:

[и дом казался большим, и кукла была настоящая, и мух почти не было, а в летнее время – червей.]

[the house seemed big, the doll was real, and there were practically no flies, and in summer – no worms.]

[following context]

(Salʹnikova, 36)

In the discourse preceding the clause under analysis, the narrator recalls her childhood and, in particular, her friendship with a girl from a rich family. She compares the lifestyle of her friend and that of other neighbours, including her own. The clause of interest here connects the preceding and the following contexts, and at the same time signals a shift to another scene in her narrative.

Another use of a VSO combination with a Rhematised Verb in (7.4a) presents the development of the scene established in the preceding context.

(7.4a) [Они так гордились мной, ведь я уже читал и умел считать. Я глядел на улыбающихся маму с папой, и тут бабушкины уроки нравственности возымели действие –]

[They were so proud of me because I could already read and count. I was looking at my smiling mum and dad, and here my grandma's lessons on morals had their effect –]

[preceding context]

не мог	я	обманывать	этих счастливых и любимых мною людей.
[V]-Rheme	S-Theme	[V]-Rheme	O-Theme
couldn't	I	deceive	those happy and loved by me people.

(Rabinovič, 231)

As the scene is being developed, no change in the narrative is observed. However, the writer's narrating manner is different in the clause under consideration from that in the preceding context. In the latter, the SVO ordering of the main constituents has a reassuring effect on the reader: the parents are proud of their capable child, the child is looking at his smiling parents, painting a picture close to idyllic. Then suddenly comes a 'revelation': the child could not deceive his parents. In order to emphasise the effect of 'revealing the truth', the writer inverts the order of the subject and the auxiliary verb, thus laying emphasis on the latter and contrasting the narrative manner of the analysed clause with that of the preceding context.

Before discussing the pragmatics of the VIP in (7.10), it must be noted that the information structure performed by the verb is ambiguous here, due to the immediately preceding context.

(7.10) [Пригубила с нами рюмочку и хозяйка, сразу зардевшись маковым цветом.]
[The hostess also took a sip of nastoika with us and blushed immediately.]
[preceding context]

Стеснялась	она	меня
V-Rh	S-Th	O-Th
Felt shy	she	before me

[и, едва присев за стол, упорхнула.]
[and whirred off straight away.]
[following context]

(Leonov, 53)

On the one hand, the verb *стеснялась* 'felt shy' is synonymous with the idea expressed by the gerundial complex *зардевшись маковым цветом* 'blushing', in that one blushes when s/he is shy. On the other hand, shyness is not the only reason why a person might blush; in particular, it might instead be one's reaction to consuming alcohol. Thus, the verb can be treated as thematic or rhematic. Since the full context is unavailable (it is not clear whether both reasons for blushing were known by the author), it is assumed that the verb is rhematic, for its explicit equivalent is not provided in the preceding clause.

Regarding its pragmatics, the VSO combination with a rhematised verb and thematic subject and object ensures strong emphasis on the verb. Considering the preceding context, there appears to be a strong connection between the gerundial complex and the verb, as the latter clarifies the meaning of the former. The author might have 'hurried' to place the verb first in the clause, so that the reader does not mistake the hostess' reaction and assume something other than her shyness; alternatively, there might be other reasons for mentioning the action early in the clause.

To conclude, the communicative effect such as in (7.10) occurs more often than the other two, when the clause-initial verb provides connection to the preceding context, and the narrator feels the need to establish it early in the clause. A VSO combination with a Rhematised Verb is also employed to signal a change in the line of narration and to contrast two narrative styles for a contextual purpose.

7.2.2.3. Split Rheme

In the information structure of Split Rheme, introduced by Kovtunova (1980) (see Section 3.2.4.), two rhematic elements of a VSO pattern are split by one or two thematic ones. Similar to the communicative effect of a change in the narrative, which has been noted in the previous

two information structures, a number of effects characteristic of the Topical Verb and the Rhematised Verb arrangements also occur in the information structure of Split Rheme. Consider the following examples:

(7.2a) [Молодой, очень красивый, худой, даже измождённый, он был в последней стадии болезни, знал это и пылал яркой ненавистью ко всем, кто останется жить после его смерти, а в особенности к жене.]

[Young, very handsome, lean, even prostrated, he was in the final stage of his disease, knew that and felt hatred to everybody who would live after him, especially to his wife.]

[preceding context]

Лупил	он	свою Вальку	смертным боем,
V-Rh	S-Th	O-Th	A-Rh
Beat	he	his Valʹka	severely,

[харкал на пол, приговаривая: «Да чтоб вы все сдохли!»]

[spat onto the floor, saying: “I wish you were all dead!”]

[following context]

(Ulickaja, 180)

In the preceding context, the writer mentions the character’s general hatred for everyone. In the analysed clause, the author provides details regarding his behaviour towards his wife; in particular, beating her to death. Thus, the action in the analysed clause, which is expressed by a verb and its complement, is rhematic, developing the previously established idea. To signal connection to the preceding context and to ensure the equal weight of the focal elements, the writer splits the rheme with the thematic subject and object.

In (7.11), a subordinate clause, the writer chooses to focus on both the verb and its complement in order to provide connection to the information of the following main clause.

(7.11) [И держалась семья на том, что давали куры, коровёнка да огород, который грозились отрезать за недоимки по продналогам.]

[And lived the family on what was given by the chickens, the cow and the garden which they threatened they would cut due to food tax deficiencies.]

[preceding context]

Хоть	привёз	я	из города	и хлеб, и кое-что из продуктов,
	V-Rh	S-Th	A-Rh	O-Rh
Although	brought	I	from town	bread and some groceries,

[а всё равно чувствовал себя стеснительно. Велико ли подспорье – грибы да ягоды, что приносил из леса?..]

[nevertheless, I felt awkward. Was it great food – mushrooms and berries that I had brought from the forest…]

[following context]

(Leonov, 56)

Thus, the sentence reads that the narrator felt embarrassed (main clause), even though he brought something (i.e., he did not come empty-handed) and that something was food (i.e., he contributed his food to the lunch shared by everyone) (subordinate clause).

The structure in (7.12) is very similar to that in (7.8): a semantically strong adjunct initiates the pattern and is immediately followed by the rhematic verb and object, split by the thematic subject.

(7.12) [Да и порядки эти остались в ту пору лишь у редких зажиточных хозяев. А той же тётке Анне, к которой я приехал на несколько деньков, такие порядки и не снились.]

[Unfortunately, this tradition only remained in rich households which were rare at that time. And Auntie Anna, who I came to visit for a few days, had never even dreamed of this tradition.]

[preceding context]

С рассвета до заката	отрабатывала	она	в поле	свои трудодни,
At-Rh	V-Rh	S-Th	A-Rh	O-Rh
From dusk till dawn	worked	she	in field	her workdays,

[чтобы осенью получить на каждый по килограмму ржи.]

[in order to get a kilo of rye per each (workday).]

[following context]

(Leonov, 56)

The word order patterns in the two preceding clauses reflect the information structure formed in accordance with FSP principles. (see Section 2.1.2.) By contrast, the element structuring of the analysed clause breaks the theme-rheme organisation. With such an ordering, the clause

acquires a broader reading, where every word is ‘imprinted’ in the reader’s mind, emphasising the idea of hard labour.

Another set of examples, provided below, illustrates the communicative effects typical of a Split Rheme arrangement and not found in a Topical Verb or Rhematised Verb information structure.

(7.13)

Во!	- торжествующе	приподнял	братан	свою добычу	над головой. –
	A-Rh	V-Rh	S-Th	O-Rh	A-Rh
Here!	- in triumph	raised	mate	his catch	over head. -

[А ты говоришь … Если повезёт, может, и на пескаря наткнёмся.]

[And you’re saying … If we’re lucky, we might catch a gudgeon.]

[following context]

(Leonov, 58)

The clause under consideration is part of a ‘dialogue’ within the author’s narrative. In comparison to a structured account of what happened, which is typical of some authors’ style of narrative, such a presentation of events makes the narrative livelier. The clause under consideration, therefore, follows the exclamatory *Bo!* 'Here!’ and provides an explanation of what the mate did as he pronounced it. Such clause organisation resembles that of a reporting clause in direct speech.

The examples in (7.1a) and (7.4a) have one feature in common: they establish a background, as in (7.1a), or provide a starting point, as in (7.4a), for the following actions to unfold.

(7.1a) [Работали, умели радоваться простым радостям. Не помню уже, по какому поводу, но]

[Worked, could be happy with simple things, I don’t remember the occasion but]

[preceding context]

было	у нас	застолье.
V-Rh	S-Th	O-Rh
had	we	a party.

[Собрались соседи по двору. Сидели за одним столом русские, украинцы, евреи, даже один поляк.]

[The neighbours gathered together. At one table there were sitting the Russians, the Ukrainians, the Jews and even one Pole.]

[following context]

(Ptičnikov, 199)

(7.4a) [Терпению моему пришел конец – казалось, будто она просто мучает нашу любимую учительницу … В общем,]

[My patience was over – it seemed she just tortured our favourite teacher … In short,]

[preceding context]

решили	мы	эту Тамару	проучить.
[V]-Rh	S-Th	O-Th	[V]-Rh
decided	we	that Tamara	to teach a lesson.

[Я подговорила девчонок, и в один прекрасный день мы забросали ее снежками: такой вот «воспитательный метод», не сказать чтоб совершенный … А наутро меня вызвали к директору школы (замечательная женщина, но помню только фамилию – Оганова) …]

[I stirred up the girls, and one day we attacked her with snowballs: such a "disciplinary method", not that I can say it is perfect … And in the morning, I was called down to the principal's office (a wonderful woman, but I only remember her surname – Oganova) …]

[following context]

(Sivak, 225)

As these examples illustrate, the inverted word order, occurring after a neutral one, signals a switch in the scenes and, more particularly, the establishment of a new scene in the narration.

Finally, the examples in (7.3a) and (7.14) illustrate the effect of broader reading, produced by VSO ordering in subordinate clauses:

(7.3a)	Когда	поставила	тётка	на стол	артельную сковороду с томлёнными в молоке рыбёшками,
		V-Rh	S-Th	A-Th	O-Rh
	When	put	auntie	onto table	artel's frying pan with little fishes stewed in milk,

[то, извинившись, подала к ним и лепёшки цвета макухи,]

[then, apologising, provided sunflower cakes to complement them,]

[following context]

(Leonov, 58)

(7.14) [но зато живо помню, как мне становилось не по себе, когда]
[but (I) remember vividly how I felt uneasy when]
[preceding context]

слышала	я	её произношение: «свекла́ и моркошка».
V-Rh	S-Th	O-Rh
heard	I	her pronunciation: “beetroót and carroten”.

(Gavrilova, 122)

VSO combinations, as in (7.3a) and (7.14), are particularly common in subordinate clauses: the whole clause, including the rhematic verb and its complement, is perceived as an entire unit by the reader. In other words, in (7.3a) the action of ‘putting a frying pan on the table’ preceded the subject’s providing sunflower cakes, the cakes being the only nucleus, in the following clause. In (7.14), the author’s message is that the narrator felt uneasy when she ‘heard her pronunciation’; not that the teacher’s pronunciation caused that feeling but it was the fact of the narrator’s hearing that pronunciation.

Another interesting observation needs discussion regarding the example in (7.14) – the use of the subject in the analysed clause. In the main clause, as well as in other clauses before that, the narrator omits the subject and relies on the verb endings that suggest who the speaker is; by contrast, the subject is employed by the narrator in the subordinate clause immediately preceding the clause of interest because it is the Experiencer in this case, in the Dative case form, different from the Nominative case form of the Actor in the previous clauses. However, the subject appears again in the clause under analysis, to introduce the same Actor as in the previous clauses. An example such as this one needs further investigation but at this stage of research it seems sufficient to say that a VSO ordering enables a broader reading of the clause, in contrast to the effect of an SVO word order combination.

In summary, VSO patterns appear to be arranged as Split Rheme in the corpus under analysis in order to provide connection to the preceding context, to enable a broader reading of a clause, to follow the syntactic convention of word order in a reporting clause after direct speech and to establish a new scene.

7.2.2.4. Clause Focus

Similar to the Split Rheme arrangement, the effect of broader reading is observed in the information structure of Clause Focus. Moreover, it has also been found in two subordinate clauses. In contrast to the Split Rheme structure, all elements in the Clause Focus arrangement

are of equal weight, implying that all main constituents of a clause are communicatively relevant to the reader. One of the two instances is provided below:

(7.15)	Когда	дошёл	черёд	до тех самых наваристых щей,
	conjunction	V-Rh	S-Rh	O-Th/Rh
	When	came	time	for those rich ščі,
	[места для них в желудке уже не осталось.]			
	[there was no space for them in the stomach.]			
	[following context]			

(Leonov, 53)

In (7.15), all elements are focal, even though the status of the object is ambiguous. On the one hand, the demonstrative pronoun *mex* 'those' refers the reader to the known information, and indeed, the soup (*щи* 'ščі') was mentioned earlier in the text. On the other hand, it occurs too far in the 'retrievability span' (Firbas, 1995) and occupies a rhematic position in the analysed clause. The second argument accounts for placing this example in the Clause Focus group. With regard to its pragmatic use, the VSO combination in (7.15) emphasises the action as a whole rather than an individual element – the object.

Another effect is produced by the clause below:

(7.16)	Видела	тётя Паня, Ларисина мама,	что мне всегда нравилось быть у них в доме.
	V-Rh	S-Rh	[O]-Rh
	Saw	aunt Panja, Larisa's mum,	that I liked being in their house.
	[и вот однажды решила пошутить:]		
	[and one day (she) decided to make a joke:]		
	[following context]		

(Salʹnikova, 37)

Despite the fact that all elements are new to the reader, they feel the focus on the verb and complex object, which is accounted for by the following context. In other words, the author splits the focal elements, placing them at the beginning and at the end of the clause, to ensure that they attract the reader's attention, because what follows (the character's joke) comes as a result of noticing the narrator's attitude to the household. Thus, the VS[O] pattern in (7.16) signals the connection of the analysed clause to the following one.

Finally, similar to the Topical Verb arrangement, an author may choose to organise the clause elements as VSO in order to split the focus between the verb and its complement, for contextual reasons.

In summary, the VSO combinations with Clause Focus information structure appear to enable a broader reading of a subordinate clause, to ensure connection between different parts of the text and to split the focus between communicatively relevant elements of a clause.

7.3. VOS word order

7.3.1. Patterns and Variations

Unlike the previous group, VOS patterns are the least represented in the 20th-century narrative corpus. In these word order combinations a verb appears before the object and the subject, as in the example below:

(7.17)	Обняла	меня	мать,
	V	O	S
	Hugged	me	mother,

(Salʹnikova, 37)

Besides this basic pattern, a number of variations have been identified in this group, including the presence of an adjunct at the beginning of a pattern, as in (7.18), in the middle, as in (7.19), at the end, as in (7.20), or both at the beginning and in the middle, as in (7.21).

(7.18)	Дома	уже	ждали	нас	родители.
	A		V	O	S
	At home	already	waited	us	parents

(Rabinovič, 231)

(7.19)	Пригубила	с нами	рюмочку	и хозяйка,
	Had	with us	liquor glass	and hostess,
	V	A	O	S

(Leonov, 53)

(7.20)	продал	его	ветврач	– в рассрочку,
	V	O	S	A
	Sold	it	vet	- by installment,

(Sivak, 226)

(7.21)	Правда,	однажды,	ухватил	меня	за палец	клешнёю	рак.
		At	V	O	A	A	S
	However,	one day,	bit	me	by finger	with claw	crayfish.

(Leonov, 58)

Additionally, a pattern with a direct and an indirect object (7.22) and a pattern with a verb complex (7.23) occur in the narratives.

(7.22)	а тебе	в ответ	пощекочет	пальцы	неведомо кто.
	O_2	A	V	O	S
	and to you	in response	will tickle	fingers	God knows who.

(Leonov, 58)

(7.23)	попробовал развеять	мои сомнения	Колян.
	[V]	O	S
	tried to clear	my doubts	Koljan.

(Leonov, 57)

Having identified the variety of patterns, it is interesting to see how they are distributed in the corpus:

Table 7.6 VOS combinations – 20th-century narrative corpus

	VOS	AVOS	VOSA	VAOS	AVOAS	[V]OS	O_2AVOS	Total
1. Salʹnikova	1		1					2
2. Leonov	1	1		1	1	1	1	6
3. Dobrovolʹskij								0
4. Gavrilova								0
5. Kerbut								0
6. Kuxtina								0
7. Ulickaja								0
8. Ždanova								0
9. Ptičnikov								0
10. Sivak			1					1
11. Rabinovič		1						1
Total	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	10

As Table 7.6 illustrates, VOS patterns are only found in four of the 11 narratives, and where they do occur, no variation occurs more than once per text.

7.3.2. Information Structure and Communicative Effects

The VOS variations have further been analysed as performing four information structures. (see Section 3.2.4.)

Table 7.7 Information Structure of VOS variations – 20th-century narrative corpus

	VOS	AVOS	VOSA	VAOS	AVOAS	[V]OS	O_2AVOS	Total
Topical Verb				1				1
Rhematised Verb	2							2
Split Rheme		1	2		1		1	5
Clause Focus		1				1		2
Total	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	10

According to Table 7.7, the information structures of Topical Verb, Rhematised Verb and Clause Focus are represented by only one or two VOS combinations. The most numerous group, in which half of all variations appear, is that of Split Rheme, with five tokens.

Furthermore, the distribution of information structure tokens in the data set under analysis is illustrated in the table below:

Table 7.8 VOS Information Structure per text – 20th-century narrative corpus

	Topical Verb	**Rhematised Verb**	**Split Rheme**	**Clause Focus**	**Total**
1. Sal'nikova		1	1		2
2. Leonov	1	1	2	2	6
3. Dobrovol'skij					0
4. Gavrilova					0
5. Kerbut					0
6. Kuxtina					0
7. Ulickaja					0
8. Ždanova					0
9. Ptičnikov					0
10. Sivak			1		1
11. Rabinovič			1		1
Total	1	2	5	2	10

Each of the four information structures occur only once or twice per narrative, with 60% of all occurrences in Narrative 2. Finally, Split Rheme is the only information structure that occurs in all four narratives with VOS patterns.

The tables above present statistical data on the variety of VOS patterns and their information structures. In the discussion that follows it is shown that each of the information structures has the communicative effects captured in the schema in Figure 7.2:

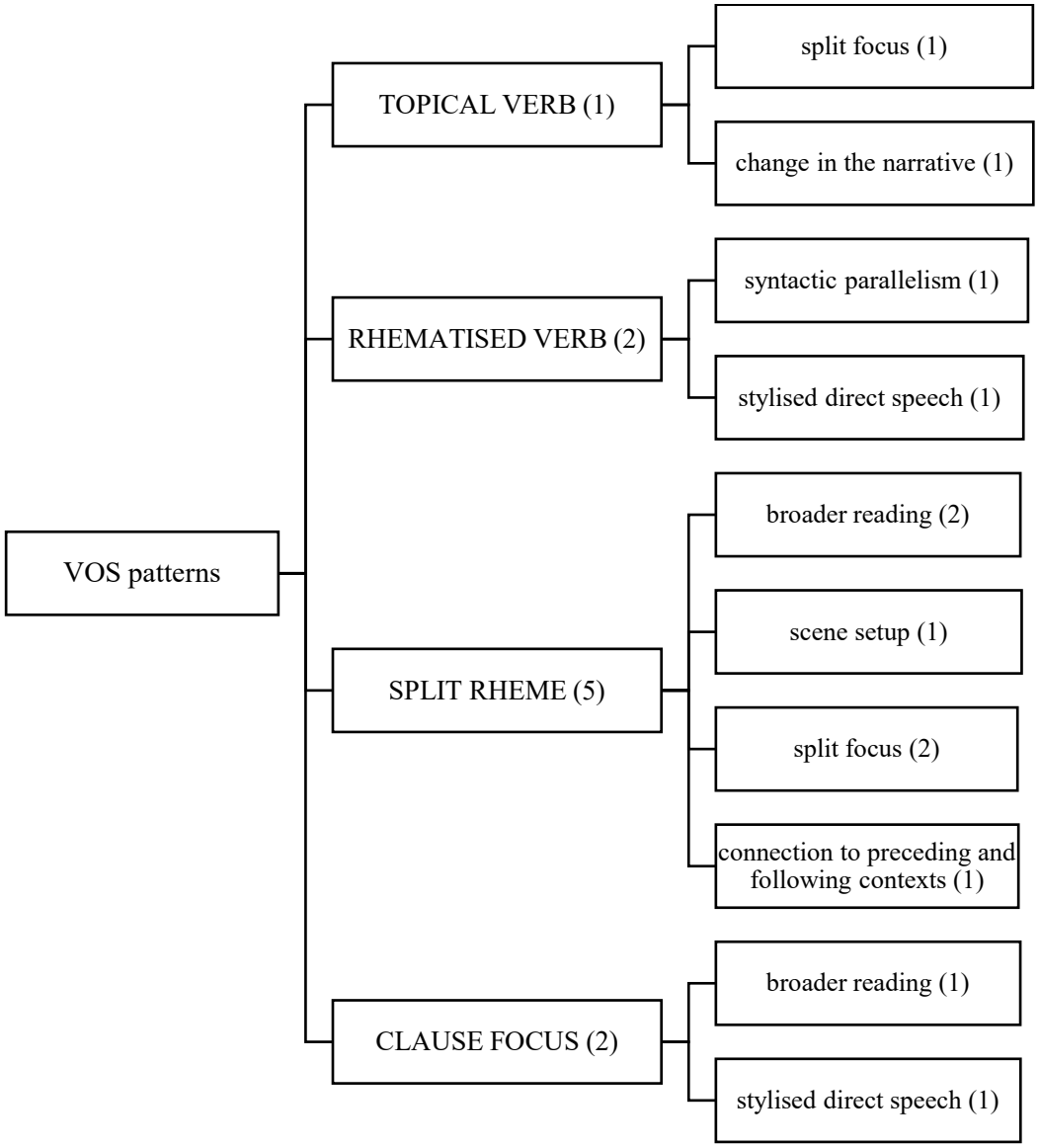

Figure 7.2: Communicative effects of VOS information structures – 20th-century narrative corpus

As represented in the schema, Split Rheme information structure is characterised by six communicative effects. The only example of the Topical Verb arrangement produces two communicative effects. Moreover, such effects as direct speech stylisation, split focus and broader reading of a clause belong to more than one information structure.

The tables and the schema above present some statistical data on the variety of VOS patterns, their information structures and communicative effects. Despite the low number of tokens, the variation is quite substantial. It is now interesting to analyse the pragmatics of this group of patterns placed in a narrative's broader context.

7.3.2.1. Topical Verb

Only one example is found in the information structure of Topical Verb:

(7.20a) [Мне оставалось лишь кивнуть, хоть прежде доводилось *пить* только любимую мамину "сливянку".]

[I could only nod in agreement, though before, I only *drank* my favourite “slivjanka” made by mum.]

[preceding context]

Пригубила	с нами	рюмочку	и хозяйка,
V-Th	A-Th	O-Th	S-Rh
Had	with us	liquor glass	and hostess,

[сразу зардевшись маковым цветом. Стеснялась она меня и, едва присев за стол, упорхнула.]

[and blushed immediately. She felt shy with me and only stayed for a little while at the table.]

[following context]

(Leonov, 53)

According to the preceding context, the narrator describes his first experience of tasting strong alcohol, and thus, the topic of drinking is not new in the clause of interest. Here, the pronominal indirect object, marked as adjunct in this analysis, as well as the nominal object are also topical; therefore, the only rhematic element in the clause is the subject, which occurs last in the clause.

Let us compare the original VAOS ordering in (7.20a) with an AVOS pattern in (7.20b) and an OAVS pattern in (7.20c):

(7.20b)	**с нами**	**пригубила**	рюмочку	и хозяйка,
	A	V	O	S
	with us	had	liquor glass	and hostess,

(7.20c)	**рюмочку**	**с нами**	**пригубила**	и хозяйка,
	O	A	V	S
	liquor glass	with us	had	and hostess,

In (7.20b), the clause-final subject, due to its position and preceding *и* ‘and’, is still rhematic; *с нами* ‘with us’, placed first, becomes the second focal point thus continuing the topic of who was at the table drinking. Likewise, in (7.20c), the clause-final subject, due to its position and preceding *и* ‘and’, is still rhematic; however, the object *рюмочку* ‘liquor glass’, placed first, emphasises the fact that a little amount of alcohol was drunk by the hostess. In contrast to the described communicative effects in (7.20b) and (7.20c), the clause-initial verb in (7.20a) signals the common topic of drinking rather than focusing on the participants or the amount of

drinking; moreover, the verb-initial pattern ensures a change in the narrative, with the introduction of a new character – the hostess.

7.3.2.2. Rhematised Verb

The information structure of Rhematised Verb occurred in the two examples below:

(7.17a) Обняла меня мать,

V-Rh O-Th S-Th
Hugged me mother,
[погладила по головке и сказала, горько улыбнувшись:]
[stroke my head and said, smiling sadly:]
[following context]

(Salʹnikova, 37)

(7.24) [- Сходи, родимый, сходи,]
[-Go, my dear, go,]
[preceding context; direct speech]

- благословила	меня	бабушка,
V-Rh	O-Th	S-Th
blessed	me	grandma,

[осенив крестом, словно провожала меня в дальнюю дорогу, а не в соседнюю избу.]
[crossing me, as if I was going to a faraway land and not to the hut nearby.]
[following context]

(Leonov, 52)

In (7.17a), the word order pattern resembles the one typical of classic folk tales, where the rhematic verb precedes two thematic elements (since the object is pronominal, it cannot appear clause-finally, therefore, it is placed before the subject), and this clause is followed by a few VO/A clauses which present the actions of the same subject, as the following context suggests. Such a sequence forms a syntactic parallelism that gives an account of the subject's actions and at the same time avoids boredom of enumeration when the actions follow one another.

In (7.24), the VOS pattern follows the stylised direct speech used by the narrator. Since the subject is nominal and the object is pronominal, the latter cannot appear after the former. Moreover, this word order combination does not provide an account of what happened ('My grandmother blessed me') but rather follows the grandmother's "words", in which case the

VOS variation follows the unmarked ordering pattern typical of an author's remark used after a character's speech.

Thus, the examples of the information structure of Rhematised Verb are employed to create syntactic parallelism emphasising the subject's actions and to follow the convention in a stylised direct speech setting.

7.3.2.3. Split Rheme

Of the five examples of a VOS pattern occurring in the information structure of Split Rheme, the first involves an ambiguous interpretation regarding the element labelling:

(7.25) [Не принято было сажать что-то во дворах, так как полива не было, а носить воду из колонки за два-три квартала было слишком тяжело.]

[People did not grow anything in their backyards, because there was no water in the house (to water the plants), and it was too hard to bring water from as far as two-three blocks.]

[preceding context]

Вот и	приспосабливали	дворы	кто подо что,
A	V-Rh	O-Th	S-Rh
Therefore	used	backyards	who for whatever use

(Salʹnikova, 38)

The pattern begins with the modal particle *вот и* 'therefore' which is followed by the verb with a passive meaning, which, in its turn, is followed by a direct object and a set expression comprised of an indefinite pronoun *кто* 'who', the preposition dictated by the verb government (*приспосабливали* 'use for') and the second indefinite pronoun *что* 'what'. The status of the "subject" as it is labelled in this analysis constitutes the ambiguity of case; however, it does not affect the discussion of the communicative effect produced by the clause-initial verb. In this regard, it is interesting to compare the clause of interest with ones featuring a reversed order:

(7.25a)	Вот	**и дворы**	**приспосабливали**	кто подо что.
	A	O	V	S
	therefore	backyards as well	used	who for whatever use

(7.25b)	Вот	**дворы**	**и приспосабливали**	кто подо что.
	A	O	V	S
	Therefore	yards	used	who for whatever use

The sentence in (7.25a) implies that there was information in the previous context about using something, for instance, in the house or around the house, and that the clause of interest adds *дворы* 'yards' to the list of things being used. The sentence in (7.25b) carries another meaning: the reader knows about *дворы* 'yards' from the previous context, and in the clause under analysis the rhematic *и* 'and' introduces the focal verb. Having said that, the latter sentence, (7.25b) is closer related to the original (7.25) in that it also conveys a cause-effect meaning: there was something in the previous context that led to the yards being used for whatever one wanted.

Regarding the example in (7.25), *вот и* 'therefore' does imply the result of the account in the immediately preceding sentence, and the verb appearing before the topical object enables the split focus between the initial and the final elements of the clause, in contrast to more weight attached to the verb than to the other elements, as in (7.25b), where rhematic *и* 'and' singles out the verb. Thus, following *вот и* 'therefore', VOS ordering enables split focus in the clause.

In the second example with an information structure of Split Rheme, the narrator prefers to place the thematic object between the rhematic verb and the subject.

(7.18a) [Уроки кончились – я вышел к бабушке и не решился признаться в позоре.]
[The lessons were over – I went out of school where my grandma was waiting for me and didn't have courage to tell her of my disgrace.]
[preceding context]

Дома	уже	ждали	нас	родители.
A-Th		V-Rh	O-Th	S-Rh
At home	already	waited	us	parents

(Rabinovič, 231)

In (7.18a), while the position of the subject leaves no doubt regarding its position in the sentence, the rhematic verb preceding the thematic object makes the pattern unconventional. Compare this to the AOAVS combination below:

(7.18b)

Дома	**нас**	**уже**	**ждали**	родители.
A	O	A	V	S
At home	us	already	waited	parents.

In the neutral AOAVS ordering in (7.18b), the subject is the only rhematic element, and the verb serves as a transition between the thematic and the rhematic elements. The focus here is on who was at home (and waited for us). The communicative effect of the original clause is different in that all three elements receive equal weight. Therefore, the clause has a broader

reading, focusing on a more general idea of what happened at home rather than on an individual element, as in (7.18b).

The next example of a VOS pattern, occurring in the Split Rheme information structure, requires closer analysis of the preceding and the following contexts than the previous two examples.

(7.19a) [Так я занималась, а через год отец привёз… старинное фортепиано с подсвечниками:]

[That's how I studied, and a year later my father brought… an antique piano with candle holders:]

[preceding context]

продал	его	ветврач	– в рассрочку,
V-Rh	O-Th	S-Rh	A-Rh
Sold	it	vet	- by instalment,

[родители много лет долг отдавали.]

[for many years my parents paid off the debt.]

[following context]

(Sivak, 226)

In the immediately preceding context, the narrator provides an account of how she studied the piano without actually playing it and how one day her father brought a real piano into the house. The punctuation mark at the end of the sentence suggests that the following context will deal with the matter in more detail. Therefore, the first element in the clause of interest, the verb, informs the reader of how the father came into possession of the musical instrument – it was sold. The verb is followed by the thematic object which serves as a transition to the second rhematic element, the subject, the vet who sold the piano. Furthermore, the narrator provides the particulars of the deal, stating that it was a purchase by instalment, and follows this with information about the terms of the payments. Thus, the clause of interest in (7.19a) establishes a connection between the preceding and the following contexts, by extending the information of the former and preparing the reader for the latter.

Finally, the example in (7.21a) illustrates the communicative effect found in other VIP groups and other genres (see, for example, Section 6.3.2.2.).

(7.21a) [И так хочется поймать того самого, усатого, чтоб все в деревне только ахнули.]

[And you want so much to catch IT, the one with barbs, so that everyone in the village said “Wow!”]

[preceding context]

Правда,	однажды,	ухватил	меня	за палец	клешнёю	рак.
	A	V-Rh	O-Th	A-Rh	A-Rh	S-Rh
However,	one day,	bit	me	by finger	with claw	crayfish.

[Не столько больно было, сколько напугал он меня. Никак не ожидал такого конфуза.]

[Not that it was painful, but it scared me. I didn’t expect such an embarrassment.]

[following context]

(Leonov, 58)

The clause under analysis begins with an adjunct of time *однажды* ‘one day’. Semantically, it already implies that what is about to follow is either a one-time action or the background for a scene to unfold. The following verb appearing before other elements of the clause enables a broader reading of a clause but, more importantly, in combination with the adjunct establishes a new scene which is described in more detail in the following context. Furthermore, the clause is comprised of six elements, three of which are adjuncts, and two of those occur one after another in the pattern. If the verb is placed between the two adjuncts or after the object and two adjuncts, it loses its focus for the reader; therefore, to maintain the rhythm of a scene setup as well as to keep the focus on the verb and the subject, the author splits these two focal elements with the object and two adjuncts.

Thus, the VOS patterns appear in the information structure of Split Rheme in order to signal connection between the preceding context, the clause of interest and the following context*;* to enable a broader reading of the clause; to split the focus of the clause; and to establish a new scene.

7.3.2.4. Clause Focus

The example below illustrates one of the two communicative effects which is produced by a VOS pattern with the information structure of Clause Focus.

(7.23a) [- А в Ластанке и рыба,]

[And in Lastanka there's fish,]

[preceding context; direct speech]

- попробовал развеять	мои сомнения	Колян.
[V]-Rh	O-Rh	S-Th
tried to clear	my doubts	Koljan.

[Правда, одни гольяны, да ведь всё равно - рыба.]

[To tell the truth, only minnows, but still they're fish.]

[following context; direct speech]

(Leonov, 57)

The example in (7.23a) is similar to the example in (7.24) above in that the analysed clause presents the author's words in a stylised direct speech account. The subject, being thematic, according to the FSP (see Section 2.1.2.), belongs to the focal group comprised by the verb complex and the object, due to its final position and the communicative effect of the clause. The narrative style, as in (7.23a), combines the features of a 'proper' narrative with fiction. By including direct speech in his story, the narrator makes his account of events livelier. Thus, the complex verb precedes the subject in accordance with the conventions of fiction style.

In the other example in this category, the VOS pattern ensures a broader, more generalised, reading of the clause.

(7.26) [Когда дошёл черёд до тех самых наваристых щей, места для них в желудке уже не осталось.]

[When it was time for those thick šchi, there was no room for them in the stomach.]

[preceding context]

А впереди,	как выяснилось,	ждала	гостя	и картошка,
A		V-Rh	O-Th	S-Rh
And in store	as it turned out	awaited	guest	potatoes

[тушённая наверняка с какой-то вкуснятиной.]

[most definitely stewed with something tasty.]

[following context]

(Leonov, 53)

In (7.26), the AVOS combination is initiated by the adjunct *впереди* 'in store'. The information structure of the object is ambiguous: on the one hand, the narrator is the only one who was treated with food; therefore, the object is thematic; on the other hand, the narrator refers to himself as a third person, which can be viewed as a new piece of information. The latter argument accounts for the placement of (7.26) in the Clause Focus group. Regarding the

communicative effect, let us compare AVOS and AOVS ordering. In a conventional AOVS variation, in (7.26a) below, from which the unconventional VOS is derived, the focus of the clause is entirely on the subject rhematised by both its clause-final position and the particle *u* 'and':

(7.26a)	А впереди,	**гостя**	**ждала**	и картошка,
	A	O-Th	V-Tr	S-Rh
	in store	guest	awaited	potatoes

In (7.26a), the object and the verb are perceived as known by the reader, or, otherwise, the verb serves a transition between the known object and the unknown subject. In any case, the coming dish is the only focus of the AOVS ordering. However, in the clause of interest, the narrator prefers to focus on what was in store with regard to food servings – the guest was to be served stewed potatoes.

Overall, the VOS patterns appear in the Clause Focus information structure to report an author's words in stylised direct speech, as well as to enable a broader reading of a clause.

7.4. VS word order

7.4.1. Patterns and Variations

The second most numerous group of VIPs, with nearly the same number of tokens as the VSO group, is the VS group of word order combinations. The patterns with or without adjuncts are included in this group but they do not feature verb complements, which makes this group different from the VSO and VOS counterparts. A basic VS pattern representing this category is provided below:

(7.27)	приговаривает	Колюня
	V	S
	says	Koljunja

(Leonov, 57)

Other VS combinations feature adjuncts and/or verb complexes as part of a VS combination. An example of each variation is provided below. In (7.28), variation lies in the verb complex split by the subject:

(7.28)	звали	её	Тамара Дмитриевна.
	[V]	[S]	[V]
	was called	she	Tamara Dmitrievna.

(Rabinovič, 230)

In (7.29), the verb-subject sequence is followed by two adjuncts, both referring to the verb: the neighbour's occupation and where he worked:

(7.29)	Работал	сосед	шофёром	в автороте,
	V	S	A	A
	Worked	neighbour	as a driver	in mechanical transport company,

(Kuxtina, 171)

In (7.30), the adjunct splits the clause-initial verb and the clause-final subject:

(7.30)	но были	среди них	какие-то семьи,
	V	A	S
	but were	among them	some families,

(Ždanova, 187)

The example in (7.31) illustrates the case of adjuncts beginning and finishing the pattern:

(7.31)	по вечерам	сидят	родители да старики	на крылечках,
	A	V	S	A
	In evenings	sit	parents and old people	on porches,

(Salʹnikova, 36)

Having identified the pattern variations, it is interesting to see how they are distributed in the corpus:

Table 7.9 VS combinations – 20th-century narrative corpus

	V/[V]S	AV/[V]S	VSA	AVSA	[V]S[V]	A[V]S[V]	V/[V]AS	AV/[V]AS	Total
1. Salʹnikova		1		1	1		1		4
2. Leonov	3		1		1	1	1	1	8
3. Dobrovolʹskij			1						1
4. Gavrilova					1				1
5. Kerbut									0
6. Kuxtina			1						1
7. Ulickaja				1			1		2
8. Ždanova			1		3		2		6
9. Ptičnikov					1		1		2
10. Sivak			1						1
11. Rabinovič			1		1				2
Total	3	1	6	2	8	1	6	1	28

According to the table, no VS patterns occur in Narrative 5, whilst Narratives 1, 2 and 8 feature four, eight and six VS combinations, respectively, and the other narratives employ one to two patterns each. Furthermore, nearly a third of all patterns are comprised of a verb complex, (A)[V]S[V] (9 tokens). These are closely followed by (A)VSA and (A)V/[V]AS patterns, with 8 and 7 tokens, respectively. Finally, it is interesting that, unlike its VSO and VOS counterparts, the basic pattern, (A)V/[V]S, with 4 tokens, is the least frequently occurring pattern.

7.4.2. Information Structure and Communicative Effects

The two tables below summarise the distribution of the VS patterns across the information structures of Topical Verb, Rhematised Verb, Split Rheme and Clause Focus.

Table 7.10 Information Structure of VS variations – 20th-century narrative corpus

	V/[V]S	AV/[V]S	VSA	AVSA	[V]S[V]	A[V]S[V]	V/[V]AS	AV/[V]AS	Total
Topical Verb	1		1		1		1		4
Rhematised Verb	2	1	1				1		5
Split Rheme			3	1	7		3	1	15
Clause Focus			1	1		1	1		4
Total	3	1	6	2	8	1	6	1	28

As Table 7.10 illustrates, the most numerous arrangement, with over half of all tokens, is Split Rheme, while the other three structures are modestly represented in the current data set, with four or five tokens each. Moreover, none of the information structures feature all eight variations; however, four or five variations consistently appear in each of the information structures.

The distribution of the four information structures in the corpus of 11 narratives is presented below:

Table 7.11 VS Information Structure per text – 20th-century narrative corpus

	Topical Verb	Rhematised Verb	Split Rheme	Clause Focus	Total
1. Salʹnikova	1	2		1	4
2. Leonov	1	3	2	2	8
3. Dobrovolʹskij			1		1
4. Gavrilova			1		1
5. Kerbut					0
6. Kuxtina				1	1
7. Ulickaja			2		2
8. Ždanova	1		5		6
9. Ptičnikov			2		2
10. Sivak			1		1
11. Rabinovič	1		1		2
Total	4	5	15	4	28

According to Table 7.11, each of the information structures mostly occur one to three times per narrative, with the exception of Split Rheme which occurs five times in Narrative 8. Additionally, no information structure occurs in every narrative: the least represented is Rhematised Verb, which was only found in Narratives 1 and 2, and the Topical Verb arrangement which appears once in each of Narratives 1, 2, 8 and 11.

These tables present statistical data on the variety of VS patterns and their information structures. In the discussion that follows it is shown that each of the information structures has the communicative effects captured in the schema in Figure 7.3:

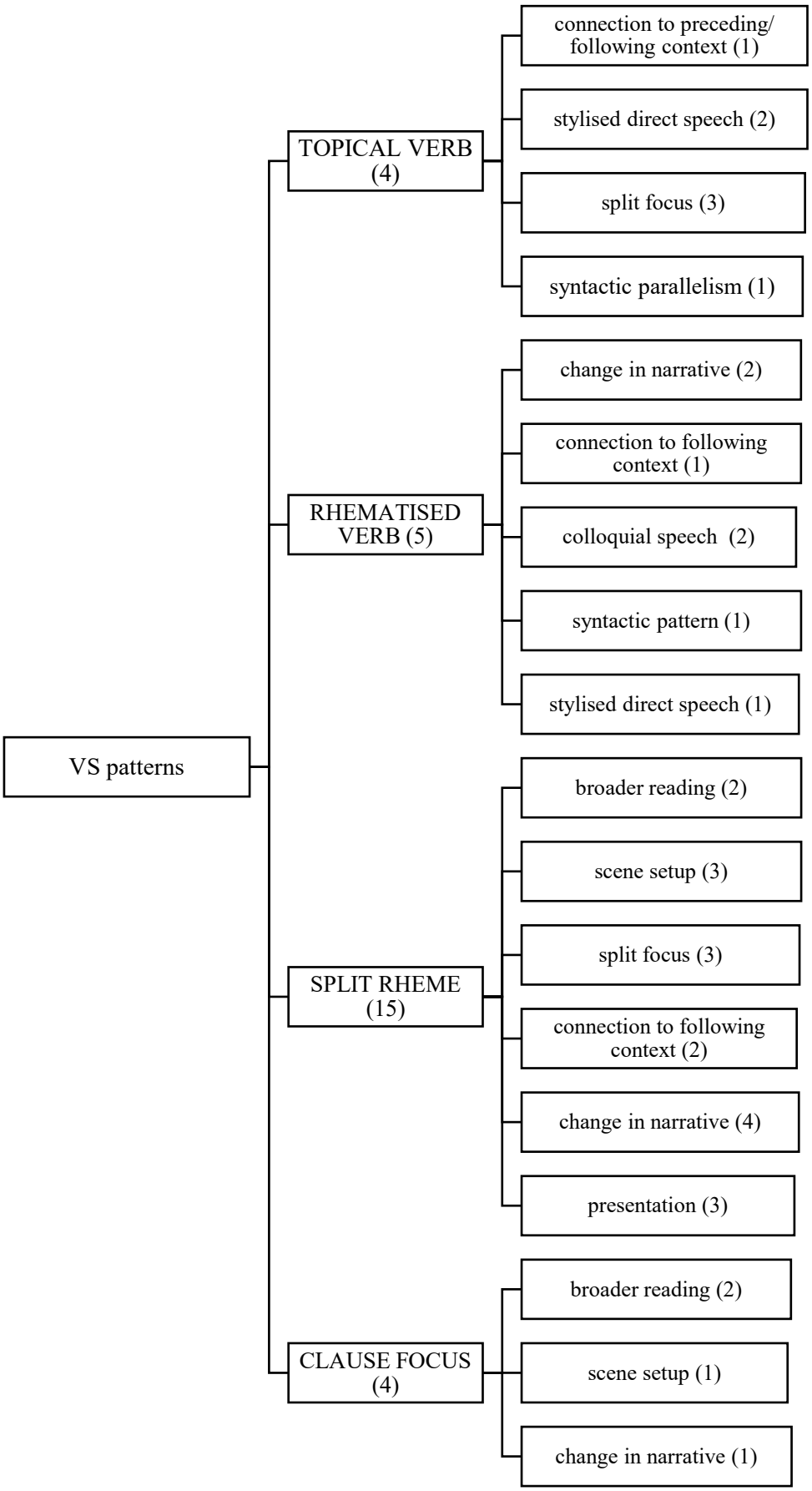

Figure 7.3: Communicative effects of VS information structures – 20th-century narrative corpus

According to Figure 7.3, the total number of communicative effects within each information structure is not necessarily equal to the number of tokens in each information structure. For instance, the arrangements of Clause Focus and Topical Verb, with four tokens each, are represented by four and seven communicative effects, respectively. Thus, a particular instance of an information structure may have more than one communicative effect. Similar to other VIP groups, the same effects in the VS group appear across different information structures. Thus, the communicative effects of change in the narrative and connection to preceding/following context occur in three out of four information structures; however, the effects of colloquial style and presentation are each only represented in one information structure.

The discussion that follows presents evidence for the analysis of the pragmatic use of VS patterns in the 11 narratives that is summarised in Figure 7.3.

7.4.2.1. Topical Verb

The first example in the Topical Verb arrangement is taken from the beginning of the section on VS patterns and is placed in a broader context:

(7.30a) [На первый взгляд, народ вокруг *был* все больше рабоче-крестьянский,]
[At first glance, the people around *were* mostly working class,]
[preceding context]

но были	среди них	какие-то семьи,
V-Th	A-Th	S-Rh
but were	among them	some families,

[которые выделялись на общем фоне.]
[which stood out from the crowd.]
[following context]

(Ždanova, 187)

The extended context of the example in (7.30a) suggests that the clause of interest continues the description of the narrator's neighbours. Therefore, the verb *были* 'were' is not new to the reader. Furthermore, the use of *но* 'but' at the beginning of the pattern implies contrast to the preceding context, and in (7.30a), the fact of existence of peculiar families is contrasted with the overall working-class people, from the preceding context. This effect would be missed in an unmarked AVS ordering:

(7.30b)	но **среди них**	**были**	какие-то семьи,
	A-Th	V-Tr	S-Rh
	but among them	were	some families,
	[которые выделялись на общем фоне.]		
	[which stood out from the crowd.]		

Here, *но* ‘but’ refers to the adjunct, thus, contrasting the whole clause and not an individual verb, as in the original clause. Moreover, the verb in the AVS ordering serves as a transition from the thematic adjunct to the rhematic subject. By changing the ordering to VAS, as in (7.30a), the author, however, chooses to emphasise the contrast between the two clauses and thus splits the focus of the clause between the verb and the subject.

The second example in this information structure illustrates another communicative effect:

(7.32) [Но отец быстро успокоился и внятно *объяснил* мне, что не все дети умеют считать и им сначала надо рассказать, что такое один и что такое много.]

[But father calmed down quickly and *explained* clearly to me that not all kids could count, and it should be explained to them first what one is and what many is.]

[preceding context]

Объяснял	папа	всегда доходчиво
V-Th	S-Th	A-Rh
Explained	dad	always clearly

[– он уже тогда был доцентом Бауманского. Поэтому я охотно поверил ему, что двойки у меня, наверное, никакой нет, и не надо лезть вперед]

[- at that time, he was already an Associate Professor at Baumanskij Institute. That’s why I believed him eagerly that I might not get a D and I should not push to the front]

[following context]

(Rabinovič, 231)

The example in (7.32), placed in a broader context, demonstrates intertextual cohesion between three items: in the sentence immediately preceding the one under analysis, the narrator mentions, for the first time, his father’s action of explaining something to him. In the clause under study, he proceeds with the details about his father’s ability to always explain clearly and finishes with his reasoning that it was because his father was an Associate Professor of a prestigious university. This reasoning also serves as a cause for the subsequent action provided in the following context; namely, that the narrator believed what his father had told him. Thus, the VSA ordering, and, in particular, the thematic verb and the rhematic adjunct, ensure a cohesive connection between the preceding and the following contexts.

The third communicative effect is produced by the basic VS pattern and is illustrated in the example below:

(7.27a) [- А вот мы её сейчас…]

[- And here we are (hitting) it now…]

[preceding context; direct speech]

приговаривает	Колюня
V-Th	S-Th
says	Koljunja

[и, опустив корзину с мшистого бережка, лихо бьёт по нему босой пяткой.]

[and, lowering the basket from the mossy river bank, hits it (the bank) recklessly with his bare heel.]

[following context]

(Leonov, 57)

The example in (7.27a), as with some other examples in the VSO and VOS groups of VIPs, provides an example of direct speech employed in the narrative to add vitality and liveliness to an account of events. The speech verb, used in its poetic form *приговаривает* 'says', contributes to the produced effect. Furthermore, the VS ordering of the reporting clause follows the conventions of this genre. As soon as the subject's other actions are provided in the following context, returning the reader to the narrative flow, the VS combination creates syntactic parallelism in the passage, similar to folk tales where such patterns are found in abundance.

Overall, VS patterns with Topical Verb information structure serve to split the focus; to enable connection between the preceding and the following contexts; as well as to both follow stylised direct speech conventions and create a syntactic rhythm through syntactic parallelism, which is typical of narrative discourse.

7.4.2.2. Rhematised Verb

The VS patterns in the Rhematised Verb arrangement were found to produce four communicative effects, namely: signalling a change in the narrative, forming a syntactic pattern after an adjunct, as well as following colloquial style and stylised direct speech conventions. The latter effect is also produced by VS combinations in the Topical Verb structure. Consider the following example which illustrates the most frequently occurring communicative effect, that of signalling a change in the narrative:

(7.33) [Пригубила с нами рюмочку и хозяйка, сразу зардевшись маковым цветом. Стеснялась она меня и, едва присев за стол, упорхнула.]

[The hostess also had nastoyka with us and blushed immediately. She felt shy in my presence and only stayed for a little while at the table.]

[preceding context]

Горька была	настойка,
[V]-Rh	S-Th
Bitter was	nastojka,

[еле в горло пролезла.]

[hardly went down the throat.]

[following context]

(Leonov, 53)

The immediately preceding context deals with the description of the hostess, and in particular, her shyness in front of the narrator, while the clause of interest returns the reader to the party interrupted by the appearance of the hostess. The following context provides information that contrasts with what is reported in the analysed clause. It appears, therefore, that, on the one hand, the narrator places the rhematised verb complex before the subject in order to contrast the bitter taste of nastojka with the pleasure with which he ate mushrooms and larder – information contained in the following clause. On the other hand, the inverted order also signals a change in the narrative: from the description of the hostess' feelings to the interrupted narration of events. Since it is hard to predict whether the author had thought of the following context before he employed the VIP in the clause in interest, the use of [V]S with the view of making a change in the narrative is considered primary and emphasising the contrast between two clauses – secondary.

The example in (7.34) presents an inversion of theme and rheme:

(7.34) [Вот и приспосабливали дворы кто подо что,]

[Therefore, the backyards were used for whatever one wanted,]

[preceding context]

а чаще	просто	пустовала	земля.
A-Rh	A-Rh	V-Rh	S-Th
and more often	just	was empty	land.

[У Рукавицыных весь двор зарос паслёном.]

[Rukavicyny had Solanum all over their backyard.]

(Salʹnikova, 38)

Despite inversion being considered emphatic in most cases (Valgina, 2003, p. 143), the AVS ordering in (7.34) does not enable an emphatic reading of the clause. Instead, the author may have intended to add a feeling of frustration about the backyards not being used properly; however, there is no clear indication of that feeling in the text (considering the following context). It is more likely that the VIP is employed following the convention of colloquial speech in which new information is provided before old (Turner, 2009a, p. 543), as well as forming a pattern, in which an adverb *просто* 'just' attracts the verb *пустовала* 'was empty'.

Thus, the VS combination is preferred to the unmarked SV ordering in the information structure of Rhematised Verb in order to signal a change in the narrative and possibly contrast with the following context; to form a syntactic pattern and to follow colloquial speech convention or in the reporting clause of a stylised direct speech setting.

7.4.2.3. Split Rheme

The 15 examples found in the information structure of Split Rheme are employed by the authors for various pragmatic reasons, among which are signalling a change in the narrative and splitting the focus for contrast with the preceding context, which are typical effects of Topical Verb and Rhematised Verb information structures. Moreover, a number of other pragmatic uses have been identified; their analysis is provided below.

The first of these involves a broader reading of a clause, as in (7.35):

(7.35) [Не помню уже, по какому поводу, но было у нас застолье. Собрались соседи по двору.]

[I don't remember the occasion, but we had a party. The neighbours got together.]

[preceding context]

Сидели	за одним столом	русские, украинцы, евреи, даже один поляк.
V-Rh	A-Th	S-Rh
Were sitting	at one table	Russians, Ukrainians, Jews, even one Pole.

(Ptičnikov, 199)

In the preceding context of the example in (7.35), the narrator sets up a scene, both sentences of which contain VS combinations. The clause of interest appears to continue the setting, however, the word order pattern is VAS, an unconventional variant of unmarked AVS. Let us consider the unmarked combination first:

(7.35a)	**за одним столом**	**сидели**	русские, украинцы, евреи, даже один поляк.
	A-Th	V-Tr	S-Rh
	at one table	were sitting	Russians, Ukrainians, Jews, even one Pole.

Here the clause-initial adjunct is thematic, since in the first sentence of the scene *застолье* 'party' was already mentioned. The AVS ordering, thus, ensures that the communicative dynamism of the clause gradually develops from the thematic adjunct through the verb to the rhematic subject. Additionally, the pattern may read as a split focus between the adjunct and the subject, to emphasise the meaning of different nationalities having a party.

However, the narrator prefers to invert the order of the verb and the adjunct, thus, equally distributing the communicative weight among the constituents of the clause, and the clause receives a broader reading, where all elements matter.

Another example of a VAS pattern in the Split Rheme structure is provided in (7.36):

(7.36) [На первый взгляд, народ вокруг был все больше рабоче-крестьянский, но были среди них какие-то семьи, которые выделялись на общем фоне.]

[At first glance, the people around were mostly working class, but among them were families that stood out from the crowd.]

[preceding context]

Жила	в нашем доме	странная семья.
V-Rh	A-Th	S-Rh
Lived	in our house	strange family.

[Муж был маленьким мужчиной, совсем незаметным, и если бы у него не было колоритной супруги, никто никогда не обратил бы на него внимания.]

[The husband was a small man, completely ordinary, and if he didn't have a flamboyant spouse, nobody would ever pay attention to him.]

[following context]

(Ždanova, 187)

The contextual framework of the clause suggests that the latter is indirectly connected to the preceding context which mentions the existence of the families that stood out of the crowd. At this point, it is important to explain the labelling of the elements in the clause, since it may contradict the classic interpretation (cf. Turner, 2006 and Valgina, 2003). To begin with, the verb *выделяться* 'stand out from the crowd', from the preceding context, means both are extraordinary, original and peculiar or strange. Therefore, the subject of the analysed clause could be either and is therefore considered rhematic. The situation is more complicated with the verb status because *быть* 'be' and *жить* 'live' are closely related existential verbs;

however, here applies the general rule (see Section 3.2.4.) that a word other than an actual word from the preceding context (if not its synonym) is considered rhematic, especially when two verbs (*были* 'were' and *жила* 'lived') refer to different subjects and are separated by a subordinate clause.

Proceeding to the pragmatic use of the clause in (7.36): although it is indirectly connected to the preceding context, it is closely tied to the following one, by providing a background for the description that follows the clause of interest.

The example in (7.37) presents a case of an unconventional VIP connecting two clauses.

(7.37) [Даже стишок написала, наивный, конечно:]

[I even wrote a poem, which was naïve, of course:]

[preceding context]

начинался	он	со слов
V-Rh	S-Th	A-Rh
began	it	with words

[«Давным-давно хотелось мне учиться, на пианино так хотелось мне играть…», ну а заканчивался вполне в духе времени:]

["I've wanted to study for a long time, I wanted to play the piano…", and it finished as the time dictated:]

[following context]

(Sivak, 227)

The sentence under consideration is comprised of three clauses: the first one (preceding context) is self-contained, although it ends with a colon, suggesting further details about the poem. These details are the beginning and the end of the poem; and the verbs (of beginning and ending) are placed clause-initially, in the VSA clause and in the following context, in order to attract the reader's attention as the focal elements of the clause. The VSA ordering, thus, establishes a syntactic and semantic connection between two clauses.

Finally, a writer employs a VS order, splitting the rhematic elements, in order to ensure a broader reading of a clause or, more precisely, to present a character:

(7.28a)	[Я и сейчас помню, что]		
	[I still remember that]		
	[preceding context]		
	звали	её	Тамара Дмитриевна.
	[V]-Rheme	S-Theme	[V]-Rheme
	was called	she	Tamara Dmitrievna.
			(Rabinovič, 230)

Two other examples have been found in the corpus of an author introducing a character's name using a [V]S[V] pattern. In this pattern both parts of the verb complex are emphasised; in particular, in (7.28a) the narrator remembers the fact that "her name was Tamara Dmitrievna", rather than just the teacher's name, as in (7.28b):

(7.28b)	**её**	**звали Тамара Дмитриевна.**
	S-Th	[V]-Rh
	she	was called Tamara Dmitrievna.

The unmarked ordering in (7.28b) enables a smooth transition from the known element, the subject, to its property, the verb complex. However, in the original clause, the author chooses to split the rheme and thus ensure a broader reading of the clause in its variation; that is, the presentation of a new character.

Thus, the VS patterns are employed in the information structure of Split Rheme in order to signal a change in the narrative, to split the focus for contrast with the preceding context, to enable a broader reading of a clause, to establish a scene for the following context, to provide connection between several clauses or to present a character.

7.4.2.4. Clause Focus

The information structure of Clause Focus, with all the main elements being focal, is represented by four examples across the 11 narratives. Each has its own communicative effect, such as signalling connection to the following context, which is the effect typical of the information structures of Topical Verb and Split Rheme.

Besides this use, the VS patterns are employed by the authors in the following circumstances:

(7.29a) [К счастью, десятилетний рубеж он всё-таки пережил и выжил, и вырос, женился, сейчас у него уже двое давно взрослых дочерей.]

[Fortunately, he survived and lived past the ten-year-old mark, grew up, got married and now has two adult daughters.]

[preceding context]

Работал	сосед	шофёром	в автороте,
V-Rh	S-Rh	A-Rh	A-Rh
Worked	neighbour	as a driver	in mechanical transport company,

[каждый день что-то привозил и, довольно посмеиваясь, нёс или перемещал домой.]

[every day he brought something and, smiling happily, carried or moved it home.]

[following context]

(Kuxtina, 171)

In (7.29a), which is an example from the beginning of the section placed in a broader context, the VSA pattern presents a change in the narrative; after describing the couple's son, the narrator's goes back to the description of her neighbours, and in particular, the father of the family. Since the clause under analysis informs the reader about the subject's profession and place of work and is followed by the subject's actions at work, the clause does not establish a new scene, or a background for a new scene. Rather, it describes another character of the story, and with an inverted word order signals a shift from one character to another.

The next example in the Clause Focus information structure is a subordinate clause preceding the main clause of the sentence:

(7.38)				
	Когда	приедет	в гости	отец,
		V-Rh	A-Rh	S-Rh
	When	comes	to visit	father,

[она достанет эту бутылку, и до чего же вкусны и ароматны окажутся те скользкие рыжики, сдобренные сметаной.]

[she will get the bottle, and those eely saffron milk-caps with sour cream will be so tasty and full-flavoured.]

[following context]

(Leonov, 56-57)

An example such as in (7.38) is typical of other genres and other groups of VIPs and is differentiated from its AVS and SVA counterparts in that the subordinate clause is an answer to the question asked in the main clause. Thus, in (7.38) the initial subordinate clause answers the question of when the grandmother will open the bottle. In other words, what matters is not

when the father (and not the mother, for example) comes, nor that the father comes as a guest, but that the father's arrival is the point in time when the grandmother will open her bottle of mushrooms.

Proceeding with the analysis, consider the alternate AVS, as in (7.38a), and the SVA, as in (7.38b), orderings below:

(7.38a)	Когда	**в гости**	**приедет**	отец,
		A	V	S
	When	to visit	comes	father,

[она достанет эту бутылку, и до чего же вкусны и ароматны окажутся те скользкие рыжики, сдобренные сметаной.]

[she will get the bottle, and those eely saffron milk-caps with sour cream will be so tasty and full-flavoured.]

[following context]

(7.38b)	Когда	**отец**	**приедет**	**в гости,**
		S	V	A
	When	father	comes	to visit,

[она достанет эту бутылку, и до чего же вкусны и ароматны окажутся те скользкие рыжики, сдобренные сметаной.]

[she will get the bottle, and those eely saffron milk-caps with sour cream will be so tasty and full-flavoured.]

[following context]

In both cases the communicative dynamism of the clause increases with the final element being its nucleus. (see Section 2.1.2.) In other words, in (7.38a), the grandmother will open the bottle when the father, and not anybody else, comes to visit her. The SVA ordering in (7.38b) underlines the fact that the father will pay a visit (and not for business matters, for example) and the grandmother will open her bottle then.

It appears, therefore, that the author of (7.38) chooses to arrange the clause constituents in the VAS ordering to ensure a broader reading of the clause, rather than to emphasise single elements, such as the subject or adjunct.

A different communicative effect is achieved by AVSA ordering in (7.31a) below:

(7.31a) [Во что играли? Ещё любили прятки, лапту, штандер, казаков-разбойников. Бывало,]

[What else did we play? We liked hide-and-seek, lapta bat, spud, cops-and-robbers. Used to,]

по вечерам	сидят	родители да старики	на крылечках,
A-Rh	V-Rh	S-Rh	A-Rh
in evenings	sit	parents and old people	on porches,

[щелкают семечки, говорят о чём-то о своём, а детвора со всего квартала собирается и играет, не мешая родителям отдыхать от тяжелого трудового дня.]

[shell sunflower seeds, talk about something that is interesting for them, and the kids from the whole block get together and play without disturbing the parents after their hard working day.]

[following context]

(Salʹnikova, 36)

Here the AVSA ordering introduces a new scene in the narrative, as the preceding and the following contexts suggest. Moreover, similar cases are described and discussed by other researchers, particularly, in relation to oral discourse. For example, Janko (2001) highlights that verbs reporting past events but used in the present tense form create the impression of a scene unfolding in front of the reader, and the reader, thus, becomes an observer of the situation (p. 14).

Overall, the VS patterns occur in the information structure of Clause Focus in order to signal connection to the following context, to provide a change in the narrative, to ensure a broader reading of a clause and to establish a new scene.

7.5. Summary

To summarise, a number of pattern variations have been identified in the VSO, VOS and VS word order combinations, performing four information structures in order to produce certain communicative effects. Regarding the word order patterns, the variety of permutations per group of patterns is illustrated in the table below:

Table 7.12 VIP combinations – 20th-century narrative corpus

	VIP variations					
	Pure pattern	**Adjunct at**			**Verb complex**	**Complex object**
		front	**middle**	**end**		
VSO (32)	VSO (13)	AVSO (1)	VSAO (3)	VSOA (4)	[V]SO[V] (1)	VS[O] (4)
		AVSAO (1)			(A)[V]S[V](A)O (3)	
		AVSOA (2)				
VOS (10)	VOS (2)	AVOS (2) OAVOS (1)	VAOS (1)	VOSA (2)	[V]OS (1)	
		AVOAS (1)				
VS (28)	V/[V]S (3)	AV/[V]S (1)	V/[V]AS (6)	VSA (6)	[V]S[V] (8)	
		AV/[V]AS (1)			A[V]S[V] (1)	
		AVSA (2)				
Total (70)	18	34			14	4

According to Table 7.12, the variety is constituted by the presence of adjuncts and verb complexes in all groups, as well as a complex object in the VSO group. Adjuncts are present in all three groups of patterns, and clause-initial adjuncts are more typical of the VSO and the VS groups than of the VOS group. Furthermore, pure VSO combinations exceedingly outnumber their counterparts with adjuncts, while the opposite holds true for some of VS group patterns ([V]S[V], V/[V]AS and VSA occurred twice as frequently as V/[V]S), and the

distribution of patterns with and without adjuncts is even in the VOS group. Complex object only occurred in VSO (VS[O] 4 tokens).

Regarding the information structures that the above-mentioned word order combinations perform, the findings are the following:

Table 7.13 Information Structure of VIP groups – 20th-century narrative corpus

Information structure	**VSO**	**VOS**	**VS**	**Total**
Topical Verb	5	1	4	10
Rhematised Verb	6	2	5	13
Split Rheme	17	5	15	37
Clause Focus	4	2	4	10
Total	32	10	28	70

As Table 7.13 illustrates, all three groups of patterns perform all four information structures. The least common are the Topical Verb and the Clause Focus structures, closely followed by the Rhematised Verb structure. By contrast, the number of Split Rheme tokens constitutes half of the total number and is approximately three times as high as the numbers for the other three information structures. Moreover, it is predominantly featured by VSO (17 tokens) and VS (15 tokens) combinations, while for VOS (5 tokens), it is the most frequently employed structure which constitutes half of all instances for this pattern.

The final group of findings deals with the communicative effects that the three groups of patterns produce in each of the four information structures. Table 7.14 below shows the variety of communicative effects per structure:

Table 7.14 Communicative effects of VIP Information Structures – 20th-century narrative corpus

Communicative effect	Topical Verb	Rhematised Verb	Split Rheme	Clause Focus	Total
Scene setup			12	1	13
Change in the narrative	2	4	4	1	11
Contrast		1			1
Connection to preceding/following context	2	3	6	1	12
Presentation			3		3
Broader reading			8	5	13
Syntactic pattern		1			1
Syntactic parallelism	1	1			2
Stylised direct speech	2	2	1	1	6
Colloquial speech		4			4
Emphatic reading	1	1	1		3
Split focus	7		7	2	16
Total	15	17	42	11	85

As Table 7.14 illustrates, the communicative effects of signalling a change in the narrative, providing connection to preceding/following context and following the convention in a stylised direct speech setting occur in all four information structures. Moreover, despite the prevalence of the Split Rheme arrangement and rather even representation of other structures in the corpus, the number of communicative effects with which the information structures correlate is six to eight per structure. Given the strong correlation between Split Rheme information structure and VIP word order discussed above, it is hardly surprising that in Table 7.14 the majority of the communicative effects with more than three tokens have a Split Rheme information structure. Of these the most significant correlations are between Split Rheme and the communicative effects of establishing a new scene (12 tokens), enabling broader reading (8 tokens), splitting the focus (7 tokens) and signalling connection to preceding/following context (6 tokens). The communicative effect of splitting the focus is the most frequently produced in

the Topical Verb structure (7 tokens), while the Clause Focus structure correlates most with the effect of enabling broader reading (5 tokens).

Finally, the communicative effects produced by VIP word order groups are summarised in the table below:

Table 7.15 Communicative effects of VIP groups of patterns – 20th-century narrative corpus

Communicative effect	**VSO**	**VOS**	**VS**	**Total**
Scene setup	8	1	4	13
Change in the narrative	3	1	7	11
Contrast	1			1
Connection to preceding/following context	7	1	4	12
Presentation			3	3
Broader reading	6	3	4	13
Syntactic pattern			1	1
Syntactic parallelism		1	1	2
Stylised direct speech	1	2	3	6
Colloquial speech	2		2	4
Emphatic reading	3			3
Split focus	7	3	6	16
Total	67	17	47	85

According to Table 7.15, in addition to commonly produced effects of change in the narrative, connection to preceding/following context and following the convention in a stylised direct speech setting – typical of all information structures and all VIP groups, – the communicative effects of setting up a scene, splitting the focus and enabling a broader reading of a clause also occur consistently in the VSO, VOS and VS groups of patterns. However, their distribution is rather uneven in the VIP groups, the only exception being the split focus effect, which is quite highly represented in VSO and VS patterns (7 tokens and 6 tokens) and is half as low in VOS combinations (3 tokens). Other significant correlations, with three or more tokens, include the effect of enabling broader reading produced by all three VIP groups; the effect of setting up a

scene, signalling a change in the narrative and establishing connection to preceding/following context being expressed with VSO and VS patterns; and the effects of presenting a phenomenon and following the convention in a stylised direct speech setting being expressed with VS patterns.

In Chapter 10, these results are compared with those of the 19th-century classic folk tales and 21st-century modern tales, and to the degree possible, with the results from the analysis of the travel diaries of the 15th and 18th –19th centuries, as well as the blog entries of the 21st century.

8. Results – 21st-century Modern Tales

This chapter analyses the unconventional VIPs that occur in 21st-century modern tales. In particular, the chapter focuses on the information structures and communicative effects of three main groups of word order variations: VSO, VOS and VS. Additionally, variation within each of three groups is taken into consideration, that is, the occurrence of adjuncts and their placement in the patterns. Moreover, the nature of the subject – nominal or pronominal – in VSO and VS groups of patterns, and the nature of the object in VOS combinations are considered as potentially affecting the element ordering in a pattern.

The chapter, therefore, begins with presenting the data under analysis: the texts used in the corpus, some statistical data and word order combinations. Next, the three groups of word order permutations, VSO, VOS and VS, are analysed separately, with regard to information structures and the communicative effects they produce. Finally, in each of the groups, the role of subject/object in ordering the elements of a word order pattern is discussed where appropriate.

8.1. Frequency of VIP Occurrence

This section analyses the unconventional VIPs occurring in the genre of modern tales written by Russian authors of the 21st century. In particular, it deals with three groups of word order combinations, VSO, VOS and VS, each of which are analysed separately, with regard to the pattern composition, information structures and communicative effects that they produce. Moreover, the nature of subject in the VSO and VS combinations and the nature of object in the VOS combinations are discussed as potentially affecting the element ordering of a pattern.

The section, therefore, is comprised of four parts. In the first part, the corpus of texts, some statistical data and word order variation are presented. The other three parts analyse the composition and pragmatics of VSO, VOS and VS word order groups, as well as the role of subject/object in element ordering of these groups.

Each of the seven tales were analysed statistically in terms of the following categories: overall number of words; overall number of sentences; number of sentences with VIPs and their proportion in the total number of sentences. The results are provided in the table below:

Table 8.1 Frequency of occurrence – 21st-century modern tale corpus

	Number of words	**Number of sentences**	**Number of sentences with VIPs**	**% of sentences with VIPs**
1. Gujarskij	667	76	2	2.6%
2. Lukʹjanova	1,636	145	7	4.8%
3. Krymov	1,744	127	3	2.4%
4. Gurʹeva	1,487	135	12	8.9%
5. Kosarev	1,131	112	2	1.8%
6. Vadjuxina	1,495	89	14	15.7%
7. Bystrov	1,789	140	5	3.6%
Total	9,949	824	45	5.5%

According to Table 8.1, the overall proportion of verb-initial sentences is 5.5%. The word length of the texts does not vary significantly, except Modern Tale 1 which is less than 1,000 words long. However, the word length and the overall number of sentences are not indicative of the number of verb-initial sentences. In other words, the longest, Modern Tale 7 and Modern Tale 3 feature a low (five and three, respectively) number of verb-initial sentences; whereas Modern Tale 6, which is of average word length and has the second lowest number of sentences, is characterised by the highest number and percentage of verb-initial sentences.

The VSO, VOS and VS patterns are also distributed unevenly, both among the groups of VIPs and across the modern tales, as is shown in the table below:

Table 8.2 VIP combinations – 21st-century modern tale corpus

	VSO	VOS	VS	Total
1. Gujarskij	1		1	2
2. Luk'janova	3		4	7
3. Krymov		1	2	
4. Gur'eva	4		8	12
5. Kosarev			2	2
6. Vadjuxina	11	2	4	17
7. Bystrov		1	5	6
Total	19	4	26	49

Table 8.2 reveals that VS combinations occur approximately one third more often than VSO combinations, while the VOS variation was only found in four instances. Furthermore, every modern tale features at least one and a maximum of eight VS patterns; whereas the VSO and the VOS combinations appear in only four and three tales, respectively. In this regard, it is interesting that the VSO patterns occurred nearly five times as frequently as the VOS ones, yet the number of modern tales in which they are found is about the same. Finally, 11 of 19 VSO variations appear in Modern Tale 6, which also has the highest number of VIP patterns found in one text, and, moreover, is the only text that features examples from all three VIP groups.

Having presented some general features of the corpus under analysis, including the genre characteristics and the VIP groups identified in the corpus, it is now important to analyse each of three VIP groups: their pattern variations, information structures and communicative effects.

8.2. VSO word order

The first group is VSO, with 19 tokens in the corpus under study. The discussion of pattern composition, as well as the information structures (see Section 3.2.4.) and communicative effects (see Section 3.2.5.) of this group are provided in the sections that follow.

8.2.1. Patterns and Variations

The VSO group of permutations are comprised of a verb followed by a subject and a clause-final object:

(8.1)	пошла	она	в лес
	V	S	O
	went	she	to forest

(Vadjuxina, 2003)

This basic combination can be preceded by an adjunct:

(8.2)	так и	нашла	она	маленькую девочку.
	A	V	S	O
	thus	found	she	little girl.

(Vadjuxina, 2003)

An adjunct can also appear at the end of the clause:

(8.3)	Отвела	она	её	домой
	V	S	O	A
	Brought	she	her	home

(Vadjuxina, 2003)

Alternatively, it can be found in the middle of the pattern, between the subject and the object:

(8.4)	Нашла	она	на тропинке	носовой платочек,
	V	S	A	O
	Found	she	on path	handkerchief,

(Vadjuxina, 2003)

A few clauses feature a complex object:

(8.5)	И подумалось	ему,	что с женитьбой слишком уж поторопился.
	V	S	[O]
	And thought	he,	that with marriage (he) hurried.

(Gurʹeva, 2010)

A verb complex, split by a subject, can also initiate the pattern:

(8.6)	И вздумалось	Жуку	сделать	жене сюрприз.
	[V]	S	[V]	O
	And decided	Beetle	make	wife surprise.

(Gurʹeva, 2010)

The distribution of the five common variations among the seven modern tales is provided below:

Table 8.3 VSO combinations – 21st-century modern tale corpus

	VSO	AVSO	VSOA	VSAO	VS[O]	(A)[V]S([A])[V]O(A)	Total
1. Gujarskij	1						1
2. Lukʹjanova		3					3
3. Krymov							0
4. Gurʹeva	1				1	2	4
5. Kosarev							0
6. Vadjuxina	4	1	2	1	1	2	11
7. Bystrov							0
Total	6	4	2	1	2	4	19

As Table 8.3 illustrates, no VSO patterns have been found in Modern Tales 3, 5 and 7, these tales are excluded from the discussion of information structures and their pragmatic use that follows. In the remaining four texts, a pure VSO combination is found in three of them, while the other patterns appear in one or two modern tales each. Moreover, the number of tokens varies from one to two in the majority of patterns, except the VSO and the AVSO combinations which were used four and three times in Modern Tales 6 and 2, respectively.

8.2.2. Information Structure and Communicative Effects

Having identified the variety of VSO combinations as well as their distribution in the corpus, it is interesting to investigate the pragmatic use of these variations in the discourse under analysis. Following the established methodology, consider the distribution of the VSO patterns among the four information structures:

Table 8.4 Information structures of VSO variations – 21st-century modern tale corpus

	VSO	AVSO	VSOA	VSAO	VS[O]	(A)[V]S[V]O(A)	Total
Topical Verb		1					1
Rhematised Verb							0
Split Rheme	6	3	2	1	2	2	16
Clause Focus						2	2
Total	6	4	2	1	2	4	19

Table 8.4 shows that 16 out of 19 cases belong to the Split Rheme arrangement, the remaining three examples occur in the information structures of Topical Verb and Clause Focus, and no patterns were found in the Rhematised Verb arrangement. Furthermore, over half of all patterns in the Split Rheme arrangement are VSO and AVSO, while other patterns appear once or twice in this information structure.

The distribution of the three information structures across the texts is illustrated in the table below:

Table 8.5 VSO Information Structure per text – 21st-century modern tale corpus

	Topical Verb	Split Rheme	Clause Focus	Total
1. Gujarskij		1		1
2. Lukʹjanova		3		3
3. Krymov				0
4. Gurʹeva		2	2	4
5. Kosarev				0
6. Vadjuxina	1	10		11
7. Bystrov				0
Total	1	16	2	19

According to Table 8.5, two thirds of all Split Rheme tokens are found in Modern Tale 6, with the remaining VSO information structure in this text being Topical Verb. The other text that features VIPs in two information structures is Modern Tale 4. Modern Tales 1 and 2 are characterised by one and three tokens, respectively, found in the Split Rheme structure.

The tables illustrate the correlation of information structures and VSO patterns as well as the distribution of the patterns in the corpus. The schema of communicative effects that the VSO patterns produce in the three information structures is provided in the figure below:

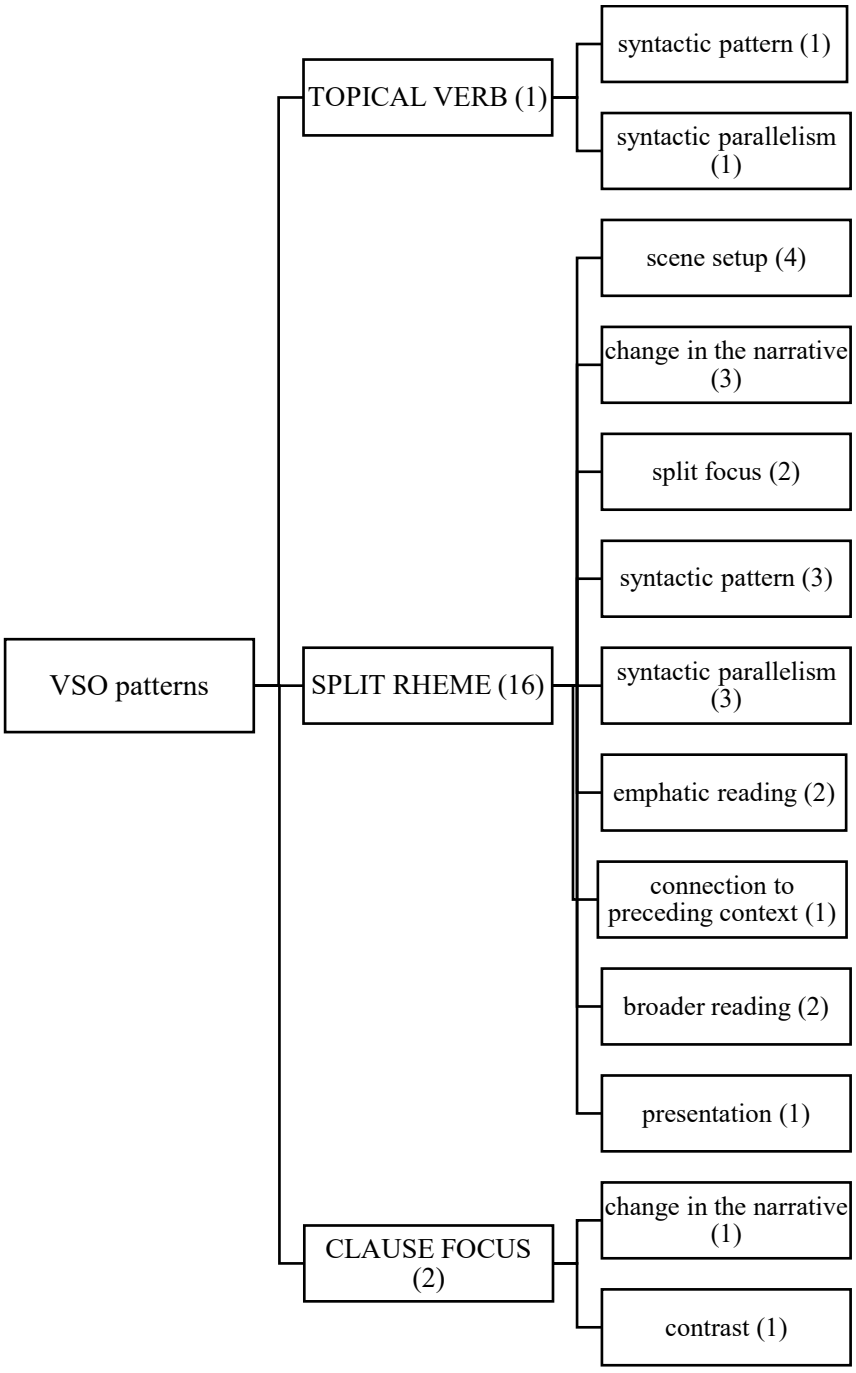

Figure 8.1: Communicative effects of VSO information structures – 21st-century modern tale corpus

According to Figure 8.1, the variety of communicative effects is quite low, with different information structures having some of the same effects. Thus, the VSO patterns are used for change in the narrative in the Split Rheme and Clause Focus arrangement. The secondary communicative effect of creating a syntactic pattern after an adjunct is typical of the Split

Rheme and Topical Verb structures. At the same time, the effects of broader reading, presentation, scene setup and connection to preceding context are unique for the Split Rheme information structure.

Having presented the major findings regarding the pragmatic use of the patterns of interest, it is now time to discuss the latter in the context of the discourse under analysis.

8.2.2.1. Topical Verb

One example has been found in this arrangement, and it is provided below:

(8.2a) [Нашла она на тропинке носовой платочек, дальше идет - сумочку, еще дальше - носочек,]

[On a path, she found a small handkerchief, then a small bag, and then – a small sock,]

[preceding context]

так и	нашла	она	маленькую девочку.
A	V-Th	S-Th	O-Rh
thus	found	she	little girl.

(Vadjuxina, 2003)

The context preceding the clause under discussion provides an account of a lady wandering in the forest ~~and~~ finding different things, such as a handkerchief, a bag and a sock. Therefore, the verb in (8.2a) is thematic and refers to the lady's new finding. The clause-initial adjunct ensures connection of the clause of interest to the preceding context by establishing a cause-effect relationship: as she moved forward, the lady found many things belonging to the girl, and, by doing so, she found the girl. By placing the subject between the verb and the object the author splits the focus of the clause. To proceed with the role of the VIP in (8.2a) let us consider the ASVO variation of the same pattern:

(8.2b)	так	**она**	**<u>и</u> нашла**	**маленькую девочку.**
	A	S-Th	V-Th	O-Rh
	thus	she	found	little girl.

The placement of *и* 'and' plays a crucial role in the meaning of a clause. Thus, if placed before the subject, *и* 'and' would imply that 'she' as well as somebody else found the little girl. However, for our purposes, this pattern variation is of little significance, and *и* 'and' is moved in front of the verb, as in (8.2b). In this case, the verb is rhematised and is the only focal element of the clause. In the original clause, it appears that the author chooses to organise the elements in an AVSO ordering in order to split the focus between two elements and to form a syntactic

parallelism in which the adjunct provides a semantic connection between the preceding and the following contexts, while the verb-initial ordering ensures a smooth reading of the clause.

8.2.2.2. Split Rheme

The most numerous information structure of Split Rheme contains examples of various communicative effects produced by VIPs. The first example in this category is taken from the beginning of this section and is provided below in a wider context:

(8.3a) [*Бродила* в ту пору по лесу *добрая старая женщина* - грибы собирала. *Нашла она* на тропинке носовой платочек, дальше идет - сумочку, еще дальше - носочек, так и *нашла она* маленькую девочку.]

[A good old lady was wandering in the forest at that time – she was gathering mushrooms. On a path, she found a small handkerchief, then a small bag, and then – a small sock, thus she found a little girl.]

[preceding context]

Отвела	она	ее	домой.
V-Rh	S-Th	O-Th	A-Rh
Brought	she	her	home.

(Vadjuxina, 2003)

In (8.3a), the pronominal and therefore thematic subject and object are placed between the rhematic verb and its adjunct, *отвела домой* 'brought home'. Such an ordering ensures a broader reading of the clause – what happened next? – rather than an account of the subject's individuated action, as in (8.3b):

(8.3b)				
	Она	отвела	ее	домой.
	S-Th	V-Rh	O-Th	A-Rh
	She	brought	her	home.

Moreover, since the object of the previous context, 'little girl' is feminine, the pronominal subject in (8.3b) may be confused with reference to the girl and not to the lady. Therefore, the author might prefer to place the verb before the subject in order to avoid confusion by using the same pattern that was established in the preceding context (*бродила добрая старая женщина* 'wandered good old lady', *нашла она носовой платочек* 'found she a handkerchief, *нашла она маленькую девочку* 'found she little girl'), which the reader would associate with the lady's actions.

The next example also discusses the old lady and her actions and is provided as preceding context in examples (8.2a) and (8.3a).

(8.4a) [Бродила в ту пору по лесу добрая старая женщина - грибы собирала.]

[A good old lady was wandering in the forest at that time – she was gathering mushrooms.]

[preceding context]

Нашла	она	на тропинке	носовой платочек,
V-Rh	S-Th	A-Th	O-Rh
Found	she	on path	handkerchief,

[дальше идет - сумочку, еще дальше - носочек, так и *нашла она* маленькую девочку.]

[then a small bag, and then – a small sock, thus she found a little girl.]

[following context]

(Vadjuxina, 2003)

The preceding context of the clause in (8.4a) introduces a new character into the narrative. The clause of interest also features a VIP and proceeds with how the lady found the little princess: the clause-initial rhematic verb forms a split rheme frame with its clause-final complement, which attracts the reader's attention and enables a broader reading of the clause. Moreover, the author chooses to focus on the VO combination so that it prepares the reader for the most important information of the clause, contained in the last clause of the sentence: that of the lady finding the princess. By repeating the VSO pattern, the author, thus, ensures connection between the two patterns.

The next example in the Split Rheme structure is another case of multiple communicative effects:

(8.7) [Бедная, я бедная, несчастная Говорящая Собака! Никто меня, Говорящую Собаку, не любит!]

[Poor, poor me, unhappy Talking Dog! No one loves me Talking Dog!)

Нет	у меня	ни хозяина, ни хозяйки!
V-Rh	S-Th	O-Rh
Not have	I	neither host, nor hostess!

(Gujarskij, 2002)

In (8.7), the rhematic verb and its complement are split by the thematic subject; the focus of the clause is, therefore, split between the initial and the final elements. Moreover, *ни ... ни* 'neither … nor' lays additional emphasis on the object. In other words, the clause final position and the use of an emphatic particle ensure the focal reading of the object. Therefore, the use of split rheme for emphatic purpose, on the one hand, is redundant and, on the other hand, makes the emphasis more expressive. To clarify this ambiguity, *нет* 'don't have' belongs to the class

of existential verbs, such as *быть* ‘be’, *звать* ‘be called’, which aim to present a phenomenon or a person. In the clause of interest, the VSO combination presents the idea of the dog not having a master, therefore, the author might primarily employ the VSO ordering for presentation purposes and, additionally, emphasise the rhematic object with the intensifier.

Another pragmatic use of a VSO ordering in the Split Rheme arrangement is exemplified below:

(8.5a) [– запричитала она и снова залилась слезами. А у Майского Жука опять заболела голова.]

[– she started ranting and crying again. And the Beetle again had a headache.]

[preceding context]

И подумалось	ему,	что с женитьбой слишком уж поторопился.
V-Rh	S-Th	[O]-Rh
And thought	he,	that with marriage (he) hurried.

(Gurʹeva, 2010)

The preceding context of the clause in (8.5a) reveals another scandal that the Beetle was involved in due to his wife. The adverbs *снова* ‘again’ and *опять* ‘again’ suggest that scandals are habitual in the family; moreover, together with the unmarked word order patterns in both clauses they enable the reading of the passage as ordinary. By contrast, the Beetle’s thought, introduced in the clause under analysis, provides an outcome of the wife’s behaviour, and the verb-initial combination ensures that this thought is perceived as revolutionary, or contrastive to what seemed to be ordinary before. Additionally, the clause-initial *и* ‘and’ suggests connection of the clause of interest and the preceding context, in that the Beetle’s thought is the result of the wife’s actions.

Although the effect of connecting several clauses is secondary in (8.5a), it is primary in (8.8) below:

(8.8) [Матери надоело покупать ей наряды, все равно она их порвет или потеряет,]

[The mother had enough/was sick and tired of buying her clothes, she would tear or lose them, anyway,]

[preceding context]

так и приходилось	растеряшке	донашивать	платья и чулки	за своими сестрами.
[V]-Rh	S-Th	[V]-Rh	O-Rh	A-Rh
thus had	daydreamer	to wear	dresses and stockings	after her sisters.

(Vadjuxina, 2003)

The clause under analysis provides a consequence of the action described in the immediately preceding context: the princess had to wear her older sisters' clothes because she did not look after her new clothes, and the mother was sick and tired of it. Therefore, in (8.8), the focus on the verb, enabled by the VIP, emphasises connection to the previous clause. Additionally, this connection is enhanced through the presence of a clause-initial adverb *так и* 'therefore' which requires a verb in the preposition to a subject, in order to signal the cause-effect relationship between three clauses.

Another example deals with the little princess again; it illustrates the communicative effect of setting up a new scene in the narrative:

(8.1a) [Однажды она сама потерялась. Было ей семь лет,]

[One day, she got lost. She was seven,]

[preceding context]

пошла	она	в лес
V-Rh	S-Th	O-Rh
went	she	to forest

[бабочек смотреть, и заблудилась.]

[to look at butterflies, and got lost.]

[following context]

(Vadjuxina, 2003)

The example in (8.1a) is closely connected to the immediately preceding context which informs the reader that, firstly, one day the princess got lost and, secondly, that at that time she was seven years old. By changing the word order pattern to verb-initial in the second clause, the author already establishes a background for a new scene: the fact of getting lost is followed by the chronologically preceding information, namely – the age of the princess. Furthermore, in the clause of interest, the author proceeds with what happened before the princess was lost and

provides the place where it occurred. Finally, the following clause finishes the scene setting by returning to the point in time when the princess lost her way.

To conclude with the communicative effects produced by VSO combinations in the Split Rheme structure, another example from the life of the little princess is provided below:

(8.9) [Когда родилась самая младшая дочка, герцогиня была уже не так молода, приходилось думать о своем здоровье, да и с дочками она уже достаточно намучилась: то у них жар, то кашель, то животы болят, то их осы покусают, в общем, забот и волнений с детьми даже у гецогинь предостаточно.]

[When the youngest daughter was born, the duchess was not so young, she had to think about health, and she'd had enough problems with the other daughters: they'd had fevers, coughs, stomach aches, they'd been stung by bees, in other words, even duchesses have more than enough problems with children.]

[preceding context]

Так вот,	решила	она,	что самое главное в жизни - это здоровье.
	V-Rh	S-Th	[O]-Rh
So,	decided	she,	that most important in life is health.

(Vadjuxina, 2003)

The beginning of the tale under analysis outlines the qualities which were gifted by a fairy to the first three princesses. The preceding context in (8.9) provides an account of why the next princess received the gift of health. However, connection to the preceding context is not signalled explicitly enough to conclude that it is a primary motivation for using a VSO ordering here: it is stated that duchesses, overall, also have problems and troubles. Therefore, the duchess might want a trouble-free life for her daughter. By contrast, a change in the narrative, introduced by the VIP, is provided quite explicitly: the author moves from describing the duchess' problems with other children to the little princess receiving her gift, through her mother's decision about the importance of health.

Overall, a number of communicative effects are produced by the VSO patterns in the Split Rheme information structure, with a few combinations of effects occurring in one instance. Thus, VSO ordering is employed to ensure a broader reading of a clause and at the same to follow an established syntactic parallelism; to present a phenomenon; to signal connection to preceding context; to split the focus; to establish a new scene and to provide a change in the narrative.

8.2.2.3. Clause Focus

The information structure of Clause Focus features two communicative effects exemplified in (8.6a) and (8.10) below:

(8.6a) [По пути ему послышался знакомый звон и стук – это кузнец Кузнечик стучит своими молоточками по железной наковальне.]

[On the way, he heard familiar clank and hammering – it was blacksmith Grasshopper hammering with his hammers on the anvil.]

[preceding context]

И вздумалось	Жуку	сделать	жене	сюрприз
[V]-Rh	S-Rh	[V]-Rh	O-Rh	O-Rh
Decided	Beetle	make	wife	surprise

(Gurʹeva, 2010)

In (8.6a), the subject is known to the reader from the preceding context – the Beetle. However, the author chooses a nominal form and places it between two parts of the verb complex. By doing so, the writer ensures the focus on all elements of the clause. Moreover, the marked ordering in (8.6a) contrasts with the unmarked element ordering of the previous clauses and is aimed at drawing attention to the Beetle's sudden idea. The emphatic effect is intensified by the clause-initial *и* 'and'.

(8.10) [И никак супруга не унималась всю ночь.]

[and the spouse kept ranting all night.]

[preceding context]

Пришлось	Жуку,	едва рассвело,	отправляться	на поиски пропажи,
[V]-Rh	S-Rh		[V]-Rh	[O]-Rh
Had	Beetle,	at dusk,	go	search for the loss,

[иначе его брак был под угрозой. Он летел очень низко над землёй, тщательно приглядывался и заприметил розовую туфельку на середине озера.]

[otherwise, his marriage was at risk. He was flying very low above the ground, was looking closely and noticed a pink shoe in the middle of the lake.]

[following context]

(Gurʹeva, 2010)

The clause in (8.10), on the one hand, is semantically connected to the preceding context, as its consequence. However, this connection is implicit: since the spouse was hysterical all night, the Beetle had no other choice but to go find her shoe. On the other hand, and more explicitly, the VSO ordering in the clause of interest signals a change in the narrative: from the eccentric wife to a noble deed of the loving husband.

Thus, Clause Focus structure is represented in the corpus by two combinations of communicative effects: providing contrast and signalling a change in the narrative and consequence of the preceding context.

8.3. VOS word order

The second group under analysis is VOS, with four tokens in the corpus under study. The discussion of pattern composition, as well as the information structures and communicative effects of this group are provided in the sections that follow.

8.3.1. Patterns and Variations

This group of VIPs is constituted by combinations with a clause-initial verb followed by an object and clause-final subject. The four instances of VOS ordering represent four variations of the pattern. The basic one, with three main elements, is illustrated below:

(8.11)	шепчет	их	юная герцогиня,
	V	O	S
	murmurs	them	young duchess,

(Vadjuxina, 2003)

Additionally, an adjunct appearing at the beginning or in the middle of the pattern accounts for its variation. An example of the adjunct used after the verb is provided in (8.12):

(8.12)	Бродила	в ту пору	по лесу	добрая старая женщина
	V	A	O	S
	Wandered	at that time	in forest	good old lady

(Vadjuxina, 2003)

Regarding the clause-initial adjuncts, two such instances were found in the corpus, one of which, at the same time, provides another variation - that of two objects. Consider (8.13) and (8.14) below:

(8.13)	Снова и снова	терпел	неудачи	горе вор,
	A	V	O	S
	Again and again	suffered	losses	poor excuse for a thief

(Bystrov, 2010)

In (8.13), the clause-initial adverb precedes the VOS ordering of elements.

(8.14)	И вдруг	им	преградила	путь	плотина из высохшего ила,
	A	O_2	V	O	S
	And suddenly	them	blocked	way	stanch of dry mud,

(Krymov, 2010)

In (8.14), two verb complements are split by the verb, and the pattern is initiated by an adjunct.

Having identified the occurring variations of the VOS pattern it is now interesting to see how these permutations are spread in the data set under analysis:

Table 8.6 VOS combinations – 21st-century modern tale corpus

	VOS	**VAOS**	**AVOS**	**AO$_2$VOS**	**Total**
1. Gujarskij					0
2. Luk'janova					0
3. Krymov				1	1
4. Gur'eva					0
5. Kosarev					0
6. Vadjuxina	1	1			2
7. Bystrov			1		1
Total	1	1	1	1	4

As Table 8.6 illustrates, two out of four patterns occur in one Modern Tale – number six, while the two remaining variations are found once in Modern Tales 3 and 7. Thus, the four VOS variations are spread across three texts.

8.3.2. Information Structure and Communicative Effects

The VOS variations have further been analysed as performing three information structures, despite the low number of tokens.

Table 8.7 Information Structure of VOS variations – 21st-century modern tale corpus

	VOS	**VAOS**	**AVOS**	**AO$_2$VOS**	**Total**
Topical Verb					0
Rhematised Verb	1				1
Split Rheme		1			1
Clause Focus			1	1	2
Total	1	1	1	1	4

According to Table 8.7, the information structure of Clause Focus is performed by two VOS variations – both of them modified by an adjunct. The remaining VOS and VAOS permutations were found in the Rhematised Verb and Split Rheme structures. Let us consider the occurrence of the three information structures in the corpus under analysis:

Table 8.8 VOS Information Structure per text – 21st-century modern tale corpus

	Rhematised Verb	**Split Rheme**	**Clause Focus**	**Total**
1. Gujarskij				0
2. Luk'janova				0
3. Krymov			1	1
4. Gur'eva				0
5. Kosarev				0
6. Vadjuxina	1	1		2
7. Bystrov			1	1
Total	1	1	2	4

Table 8.8 shows that for the two examples of VOS patterns in Vadjuxina's tale, one has a Rhematised Verb structure and the other a Split Rheme structure. The other two instances, which occur in Krymov's and Bystrov's texts, have Clause Focus information structure.

Tables 8.7 and 8.8 above present data on the information structures that the VOS variations perform in modern tales. It is interesting, at this point, to discuss the authors' motivations for arranging the elements in the Split Rheme, Rhematised Verb and Clause Focus information structures. Before proceeding to the discussion, consider the communicative effects that the VOS combinations have been analysed as producing:

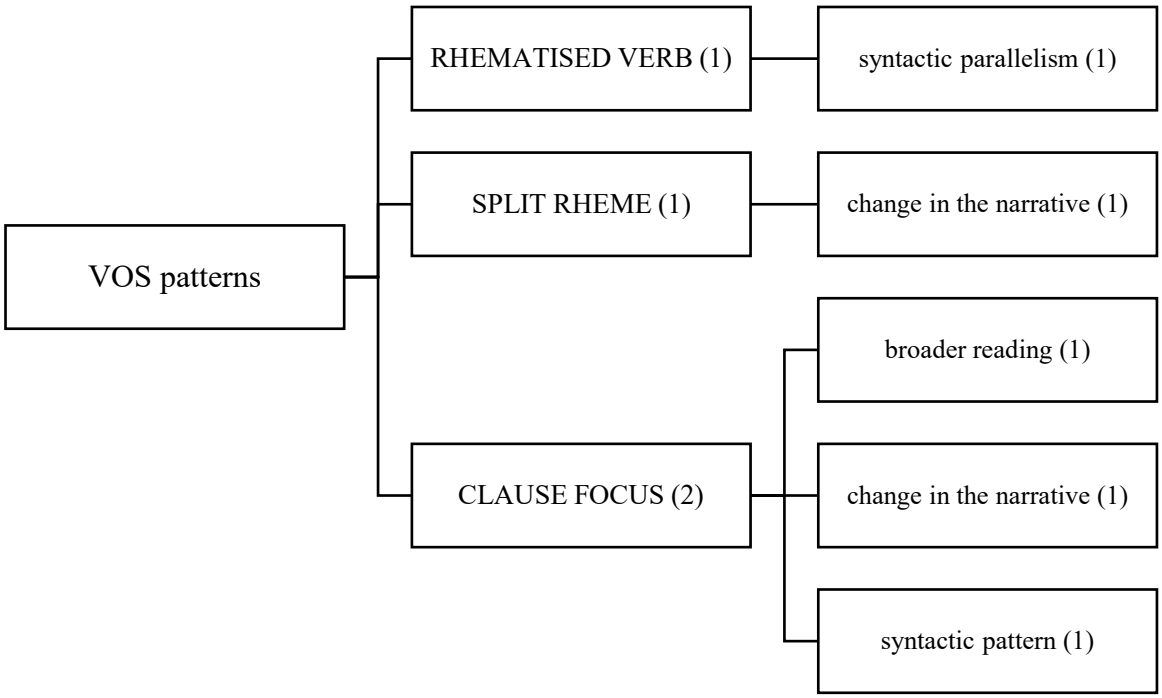

Figure 8.2: Communicative effects of VOS information structures – 21st-century modern tale corpus

Figure 8.2 shows that the authors appear to have chosen an unconventional VOS ordering in order to form a syntactic pattern after an adjunct, to ensure a broader reading of a clause, to establish syntactic parallelism or to signal a change in the narrative. The latter effect is produced by the patterns with either Split Rheme or Clause Focus information structure. Let us now exemplify this analysis of the pragmatics of the VOS patterns in the modern tales.

8.3.2.1. Rhematised Verb

The only example of a rhematic verb followed by a thematic object and subject is presented below:

(8.11a) [Пойдет она на речку, стихи в голове сами собой рождаются,]

[She would go to the river, poems were born in her head,]

[preceding context]

шепчет	их	юная герцогиня,
V-Rh	O-Th	S-Th
murmurs	them	young duchess,

[бредет меж высоких трав и не замечает, как бантик упал или платочек за колючку зацепился.]

[wanders in tall grass and doesn't notice how a ribbon fell off or a handkerchief got caught by a thorn.]

[following context]

(Vadjuxina, 2003)

The example in (8.11a), placed in a broader linguistic context, illustrates that the subject's actions are emphasised. Thus, at the beginning of the sentence, the author sets up a scene of the princess going for a walk to the river bank; the clause under analysis initiates the set of the subject's actions as she walked: she murmured the poems, wandered in the grass and did not notice that she lost something. It is important to mention that these verbs are used in present tense form, which makes the reader an observer of the princess' actions (Janko, 2001). Moreover, this effect is emphasised by the syntactic pattern, formed by several verbs, all of them initiating clauses and referring to the same subject.

8.3.2.2. Split Rheme

The information structure of Split Rheme is represented by one example:

(8.12a) [Розочка залезла на дерево, кругом видит только лес.]

[Rosie climbed onto a tree and saw nothing but forest around her.]

[preceding context]

Бродила	в ту пору	по лесу	добрая старая женщина
V-Rh	A-Th	O-Th	S-Rh
Wandered	at that time	in forest	good old lady

(Vadjuxina, 2003)

The preceding context contains information about the little princess: her personality and how she was lost in a forest. The introduction of a new character, the old lady, is performed in (8.12a) with the help of inverted word order. Thus, the author ensures a broader reading of the clause and, more importantly, signals a change in the narrative through the introduction of a new character.

8.3.2.3. Clause Focus

Similar to the example in (8.12a) above, in (8.14a) the author appears to employ a VOS word order in order to signal a change in the narrative; however, this time all elements are in the focus of the reader's attention:

(8.14a) [Суховеи заметались над рекой, бросая на людей горячее дыхание, но лодка несла их всё быстрее и быстрее….]

[Dry hot winds began to rush about the river, blowing hot breath onto the people, but their boat went faster and faster…]

[preceding context]

И вдруг	им	преградила	путь	плотина из высохшего ила,
A	O_2-Th	V-Rh	O-Rh	S-Rh
And suddenly	them	blocked	way	stanch of dry mud,

(Krymov, 2010)

In (8.14a), the direct object of the verb appears between the verb and the subject, while the indirect object, or the addressee of the action expressed by the verb, is placed before the object. Consider the unmarked ordering in (8.14b):

(8.14b)	И вдруг	**путь**	**им**	**преградила**	плотина из высохшего ила,
	A	O-Th	O_2-Th	V-Tr	S-Rh
	And suddenly	way	them	blocked	stanch of dry mud,

The OVS ordering follows the FSP organisation of clause elements and presents a new phenomenon. However, in (8.14a), the author chooses to place the thematic object after the adjunct and then organise three rhematic elements in a VSO ordering. Such a pattern ensures equal weight of all elements in the clause and provides a more emphatic change in the narrative.

Finally, the tale by Krymov features an instance of Clause Focus information structure, which produces another communicative effect:

(8.13a) [Хоть собаки тут не были злее, но охраняли скудный скарб не хуже.]
[Even though the dogs weren't more aggressive here, they were no worse guards.]
[preceding context]

Снова и снова	терпел	неудачи	горе вор,
A-Rh	V-Rh	O-Rh	S-Rh
Again and again	suffered	failures	poor excuse for a thief

[а разбудив пол квартала рисковал быть изловленным и битым.]
[and having awakened half the block, he risked being caught and beaten.]
[following context]

(Bystrov, 2010)

In (8.13a), the VOS ordering follows an emphatic adverb, the emphasis of which is enabled through repetition of *снова* 'again'. Furthermore, the three elements of the VOS pattern 'are hammered down' onto the reader, intensifying the frustration from the subject's failures. Compare the example above to an AOVS word order, as in (8.13b), and ASVO, as in (8.13c):

(8.13b)

Снова и снова	**неудачи**	**терпел**	горе вор,
A-Rh	O-Th	V-Tr	S-Rh
Again and again	failures	suffered	poor excuse for a thief

(8.13c)

Снова и снова	**горе вор**	**терпел**	**неудачи,**
A-Rh	S-Th	V-Tr/Rh	O-Rh
Again and again	poor excuse for a thief	suffered	failures,

In (8.13b), the semantic weight of the elements is uneven: the emphatic adverb and the clause-final subject receive more emphasis, while the object in the position of a theme and a transitional verb are perceived as carrying less semantic weight. In (8.13c), the ASVO ordering ensures a factual reading of the clause. In other words, the subject's action, or what the thief did, is central in comprehending the meaning of the clause. By contrast, the whole of the clause in (8.13a) is meaningful, and the AVOS combination ensures emphatic and broader reading of the clause.

Overall, while the authors of modern tales infrequently employ VOS combinations, when they do, these patterns appear to be used to establish syntactic parallelism with emphasis on a string of actions, to signal a change in the narrative, to form a syntactic pattern after an adjunct or to ensure a broader reading of a clause.

8.4. VS word order

The most numerous group of patterns with 26 tokens is constituted by a verb and a subject. The discussion of pattern composition, as well as the information structures and communicative effects of this group are provided in the sections that follow.

8.4.1. Patterns and Variations

The VS pattern in its basic form is infrequent in the corpus under analysis. An example of a pure VS combination is provided below:

(8.15)	прибывал	народ
	V	S
	arrived	people

(Bystrov, 2010)

More frequently the VS pattern is modified by an adjunct which can appear at the end of the pattern, as in:

(8.16)	И полетите	вы	по проложенному тобой маршруту!
	V	S	A
	and will fly	you	along your route!

(Krymov, 2010)

Alternatively, an adjunct can occur in the middle of the pattern:

(8.17)	Рос	в поле	старый клён.
	V	A	S
	Grew	in field	old maple tree.

(Gurʹeva, 2010)

Moreover, in several instances, an adjunct appears both at the beginning and at the end of a pattern, as in (8.18), or both in the middle and at the end of the pattern, as in (8.19):

(8.18)	С тех самых пор	зажили	Майский Жук и Сороконожка	очень счастливо.
	A	V	S	A
	Since that time	lived	Beetle and Centipede	very happily.

(Gurʹeva, 2010)

(8.19)	а впереди	горел	злым жёлтым огнём	единственный глаз.
	A	V	A	S
	and at the front	was glowing	(with) angry yellow light	the only eye.

(Lukʹjanova, 2002)

Furthermore, quite a number of VS patterns feature verb complexes, as shown in (8.20):

(8.20)	Было	ей	семь лет,
	[V]	S	[V]
	Was	she	seven years old,

(Vadjuxina, 2003)

Such verb complexes can be split by the subject, as in (8.20) above, or they can appear in the text non-split and modified by an adjunct:

(8.21)	Так	радостно было	Жуку	от этих мыслей.
	A	[V]	S	A
	So	glad was	Beetle	from these thoughts.

(Gurʹeva, 2010)

Having identified the variety of patterns, it is interesting to see their distribution in the data set under analysis.

Table 8.9 VS combinations – 21st-century modern tale corpus

	VS	**VSA**	**AV/[V]SA/[A]**	**VAS**	**AVAS/VASA**	**[V]S(A)[V](A)**	**Total**
1. Gujarskij		1					1
2. Lukʹjanova	1	1	1		1		4
3. Krymov		1	1				2
4. Gurʹeva		2	4	1	1		8
5. Kosarev		2					2
6. Vadjuxina				1		3	4
7. Bystrov	1	1		1		2	5
Total	2	8	6	3	2	5	26

According to Table 8.9, VSA, the most common VS pattern, with eight tokens, has an adjunct at the end, and was found in all but one modern tale. Interestingly, the AV/[V]SA/[A] combination features the second highest number of tokens, six, but was found in less than half of the texts – three out of seven. The same is true for the [V]S(A)[V](A) variation: five instances of this pattern occur in two tales. Another interesting observation is that most VS variations appear once per text; by contrast, in Modern Tale 4 the AV/[V]SA/[A] combination is used four times – more than any other variation. Regarding the authors' choice of unconventional VS VIPs, Modern Tales 2, 3, 6 and 7 employ a variety of patterns, although each only one to three times per text. The authors of Tales 1 and 5 only used a VSA pattern in their texts, once and twice, respectively. In Tale 4, the highest number of VS tokens were found, eight out of 26, in four combinations: VSA, AV/[V]SA/[A], VAS and AVAS/VASA.

8.4.2. Information Structure and Communicative Effects

The number of information structures that the VS combinations perform in the discourse corresponds to the variety of patterns and the high number of tokens. The correlation between the VS variations and the four information structures is illustrated in the table below:

Table 8.10 Information Structure of VS variations – 21st-century modern tale corpus

	VS	VSA	AV/[V]SA/[A]	VAS	AVAS/VASA	[V]S(A)[V](A)	Total
Topical Verb		3					3
Rhematised Verb	2	1	1				4
Split Rheme		4	4	2		4	14
Clause Focus			1	1	2	1	5
Total	2	8	6	3	2	5	26

According to Table 8.10, by far the most numerous information structure, with just over half of all tokens is that of Split Rheme. The other three structures are much less frequently represented in the corpus, with three, four and six instances in Topical Verb, Rhematised Verb and Clause Focus, respectively. Interestingly, all three tokens of Topical Verb structure belong to the VSA pattern. Overall, the number of VS instances per information structure varies from one to four.

The distribution of the four information structures in the corpus of seven modern tales is presented below:

Table 8.11 VS Information Structure per text – 21st-century modern tale corpus

	Topical Verb	**Rhematised Verb**	**Split Rheme**	**Clause Focus**	**Total**
1. Gujarskij			1		1
2. Lukʹjanova	1	1		2	4
3. Krymov	1		1		2
4. Gurʹeva		2	4	2	8
5. Kosarev	1		1		2
6. Vadjuxina			4		4
7. Bystrov		1	3	1	5
Total	3	4	14	5	26

As it is shown in Table 8.11, all authors except that of Tale 2 employ VS patterns in the Split Rheme information structure, and the number of instances varies from one to four per text. It is worth noting here that the author of Tale 6 only chooses a VS word order in the Split Rheme structure. In contrast, the structures of Topical Verb, Rhematised Verb and Clause Focus were found in three tales each, with one to two tokens per text.

These tables present statistical data on the variety of VS patterns and their information structures. In the discussion that follows it is shown that each of the information structures has the communicative effects captured in the schema in Figure 8.3:

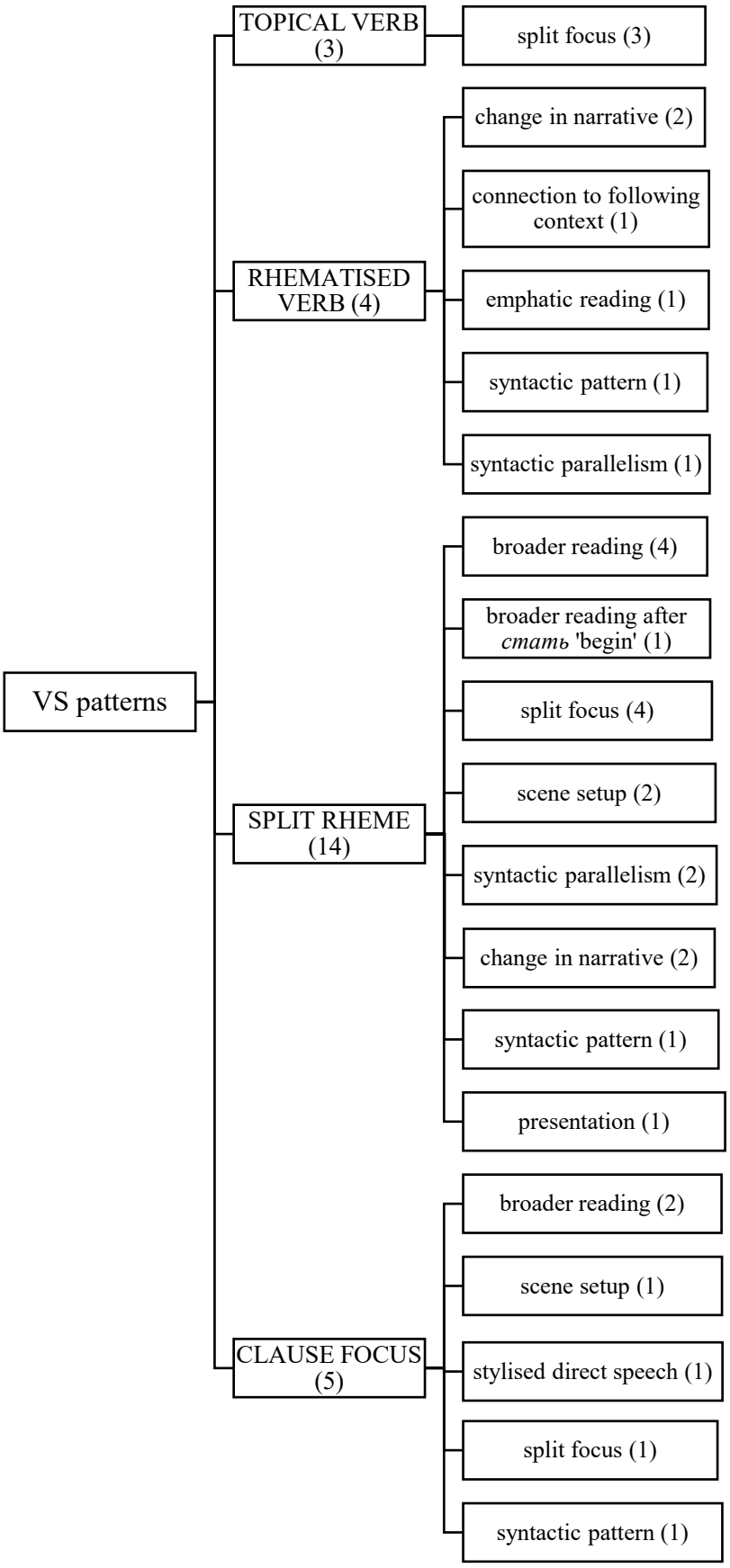

Figure 8.3: Communicative effects of VS information structures – 21st-century modern tale corpus

According to Figure 8.3, the information structure of Topical Verb has been found to produce one communicative effect, that of split focus. By contrast, Clause Focus and Rhematised Verb each produce five effects and the Split Rheme structure is characterised by eight effects. With regard to the communicative effects, some of them occur across the different information structures, such as forming a syntactic pattern and splitting the focus; whereas others are typical of only one or two of the structures. For instance, the communicative effect of direct speech stylisation has only been found in the Clause Focus arrangement, and the effect of emphatic reading occurs in Rhematised Verb. Furthermore, scene setup appears in Clause Focus and Split Rheme, while syntactic parallelism and change in the narrative occur in Split Rheme and Rhematised Verb structures.

The tables and the schema have so far presented a summary of the information structures and communicative effects, characteristic of the VS group of VIPs. Let us discuss the pragmatics of VS combinations that underpin the analysis.

8.4.2.1. Topical Verb

One of the instances of a Topical Verb arrangement is (8.16), given at the beginning of the section, and repeated below in a broader context:

(8.16a) [Смотри, сюда надвигается твоя знакомая туча, давай попросим её, и она доставит тебя туда, куда захочешь.]

[Look, here comes the cloud, your acquaintance, let's ask it, and it will bring you wherever you'll wish.]

[preceding context]

И полетите	вы	по проложенному тобой маршруту!
V-Th	S-Th	A-Th
and will fly	you	along your route!

(Krymov, 2010)

This example is interesting in that all its elements are thematic. In other words, the clause under analysis repeats the idea conveyed by the immediately preceding context. Additionally, the exclamatory mark at the end of the clause suggests an emphatic reading of the clause. Finally, the subject-verb order is inverted in order to split the focus between the action and its attribute. Thus, by repeating the same idea and by arranging the elements in an unconventional word order, the author ensures that the verb and its complement are emphasised.

The other two instances of Topical Verb information in the data set produce the same effect of split focus, for additional emphasis on the verb and adjunct.

8.4.2.2. Rhematised Verb

The information structure of Rhematised Verb appears to be used for five communicative effects. In two instances, a VS combination is employed for multiple pragmatic reasons. Consider the following example:

(8.22) [Как обычно, майские жуки сладко спали: кто - то посапывал, кто- то похрапывал.]

[As usual, the beetles were sleeping blissfully: some were wheezing, others were snoring.]

[preceding context]

Вздохнул	Жук	тяжело
V-Rh	S-Th	A-Tr
Sighed	Beetle	heavily

[и сильно заскучал по своей Сороконожке. Вспомнил её чудесную улыбку и звонкий смех.]

[and started longing for his Centipede. (He) remembered her wonderful smile and ringing laughter.]

[following context)

(Gurʹeva, 2010)

In (8.22), the preceding context finishes the scene of the beetle visiting his family and relatives, while the clause under analysis returns the reader to the beetle and his spouse. The VSA word order signals this change in the narrative as well as intensifying the semantic meaning of the verb, the effect that is ensured by syntactic parallelism formed by the clause of interest and the immediately following clause, *и сильно заскучал по своей Сороконожке* 'and started longing for his Centipede.' A similar emphatic reading is enabled by the A[V]SA variation in the example below:

(8.21a) [Он был в предвкушении того, как сильно обрадуется его красавица Сороконожка и расцелует в благодарность.]

[He was excited expecting his beautiful Centipede to be happy and to kiss him in gratitude.]

Так	радостно было	Жуку	от этих мыслей.
A	[V]-Rh	S-Th	A-Th
So	glad was	Beetle	from these thoughts.

(Gurʹeva, 2010)

Content-wise, the clause in (8.21a) provides no new information to the reader. In fact, from the preceding context the reader knows that the beetle was looking forward to seeing his wife's reaction to his present. Therefore, by organising the elements in a verb-initial ordering in (8.21a), the author puts emphasis on the beetle's positive feelings caused by his other feelings

– longing to see centipede's happiness. Thus, the emphatic reading of the clause is ensured by the VIP, while the clause-initial adjunct attracts the verb, thus forming a syntactic pattern.

The VIP in the clause below provides an example of a poetic reading of a clause, enabled by a VS word order and a stylistic device, employed by the author.

(8.15a) [а количества жителей не счесть ни одному умудрённому математику,]
[and no experienced and wise mathematician would count its inhabitants,]
[preceding context]

потому как	прибывал	народ
	V-Rh	S-Th
since	arrived	people

[и убывал, словно морская вода во время приливов и отливов.]
[and departed, like sea waters during tides.]
[following context]

(Bystrov, 2010)

To begin with, in the preceding context of (8.15a), a stylistically marked verb *счесть* 'count' (compare to unmarked *сосчитать* 'count') and the overall presentation of the number of the inhabitants suggest a stylistically colourful interpretation of 'there lived a lot of people', which would provide a neutral reading of the clause. Furthermore, the following clause under analysis begins with another marked element: the conjunction *потому как* 'because' (compare to *потому что* 'because'). The author appears to choose to arrange the main elements of the clause in an inverted order to keep the poetic flow of the clause, which continues in the following context as well. Here, the author compares the city inhabitants to ocean waters, using the stylistic device of simile.

Overall, in the corpus a clause-initial rhematic verb occurs before the other elements of a clause in order to enable an emphatic reading of the clause, combined with other communicative effects, such as forming a syntactic pattern and syntactic parallelism, as well as signalling change in the narrative and connection to the following context.

8.4.2.3. Split Rheme

The communicative effects of signalling a change in the narrative and splitting the focus, discussed in the previous sections, are also produced by VS patterns in the Split Rheme information structure. In other words, an author might choose to split the focus by placing the verb clause-initially in order to signal a shift from one scene to another or to establish ties between different parts of the discourse. In this case, whether the clause-final element is

rhematic, as in the Split Rheme structure, or thematic, as in the Rhematised Verb arrangement, does not affect the pragmatic use of a pattern.

Additionally, the VS combinations, arranged as a split rheme, produce more communicative effects which are discussed in the examples provided below.

(8.23) [И вроде хорошо Жук проводил время,]
[Beetle seemed to be having a good time,]

да только	грустно стало	ему	от того, что у всех есть семья, а он совсем один.
A	[V]-Rh	S-Th	[V]-Rh
but only	sad became	he	that everybody had a family, and he was alone.

(Gurʹeva, 2010)

The clause in (8.23) has some similar features with the example in (8.21a) of the Rhematised Verb structure. In particular, both clauses belong to the pen of the same author, they inform the reader of the beetle's feelings which present a reaction to the preceding context. However, in (8.23), the clause-final complex adjunct is rhematic, and the verb complex, though connected to the preceding context, enables contrastive reading to the preceding clause.

Furthermore, an author chooses to arrange the clause elements in a VS order to present a character, as in the example below:

(8.24)

мужчина	он	был	вполне	статный,
[V]-Rh	S-Th	[V]-Tr	A-Rh	[V]-Rh
man	he	was	quite	well-built,

(Bystrov, 2010)

It is interesting that in (8.24), the nominal part of the verb complex, rather than a verb, initiates the clause. Moreover, the verb *был* 'was' and the attribute of the noun, *статный* 'well-built', are also split by the adverb. It appears, thus, that all three elements of the predicate are separated by the subject and the adverb. However, the splitting of the verb and the attribute is beyond the scope of analysis in this research project; therefore, the word order in (8.24) is marked as [V]S[V].

Furthermore, VS variations have been found to produce two more communicative effects:

(8.20a) [Однажды она сама потерялась.]
[One day she got lost.]
[preceding context]

Было	ей	семь лет,
[V]-Rh	S-Th	[V]-Rh
Was	she	seven years old,

[пошла она в лес]
[she went to the forest]
[following context]

(Vadjuxina, 2003)

The example in (8.20a) was partly discussed in the VSO section, as establishing a background for the clause in the following context. However, the clause under analysis, with its verb-initial word order, produces several communicative effects. On the one hand, it presents a character, in particular, her age when the incident, described by the preceding clause, happened; on the other hand, and most importantly, the VS ordering ensures setting up of a new scene, when the author switches from the SV order in the preceding context to the VS one in the clause of interest.

Finally, a VS pattern in the Split Rheme structure can ensure a broader reading of the clause.

(8.18a)

С тех самых пор	зажили	Майский Жук и Сороконожка	очень счастливо.
A-Th	V-Rh	S-Th	A-Rh
Since that time	lived	Beetle and Centipede	very happily.

[Жена больше никогда не закатывала Жуку истерик.]
[The wife was never hysterical again.]
[following context]

(Gurʹeva, 2010)

In (8.18a), the clause with the AVSA word order concludes the tale and resembles the style of a classic fairy tale finale. In other words, the verb-subject inversion gives an “epic ring” to the clause (Restan, 1981) and enables a broader, triumphant reading of the clause. Additionally, the following clause “clarifies” the meaning of living happily, and does it through an unmarked word order, thus reducing the exultation from the previous clause.

To sum it up, an author prefers a VS combination to an SV one, in order to signal a change in the narrative and split focus; to establish syntactic parallelism, to present a character

to the reader, to establish a new scene in the narrative and to ensure a broader reading of a clause.

8.4.2.4. Clause Focus

Five examples of VS combinations occurring with a Clause Focus information structure are employed by the authors for various pragmatic reasons. For instance, similar to other genres, a VS pattern appears in a stylised direct speech setting: it follows the direct speech. Moreover, if elements of a clause are arranged in a VIP order, the latter enables a broader reading of the clause, as has been illustrated in the section on Split Rheme. Likewise, a VS pattern in the information structure under analysis produces the same effect. Three other pragmatic uses of a VS variation in the modern tale are discussed below.

The example in (8.17a) occurs at the very beginning of the text:

(8.17a)	Рос	в поле	старый клён.
	V-Rh	A-Rh	S-Rh
	Grew	in field	old maple tree.

(Gurˈeva, 2010)

The text-initial placement of the VAS ordering suggests establishment of a background or presentation of a phenomenon. However, the latter structure is reserved by an AVS ordering, as in (8.17b).

(8.17b)	**В поле**	**рос**	старый клён.
	A-Th/Rh	V-Tr	S-Rh
	In field	grew	old maple tree.

In (8.17b), the word order is conventional and straightforward in its presentational function. In contrast, the clause in (8.17a) features an unconventional pattern, the pragmatic use of which is two-fold. On the one hand, the writer might want to follow the classic fairy tale convention according to which most fairy tale opening clauses are verb initial. On the other hand, due to a VIP, the subject seems animated, and its action, expressed by the verb, acquires more pragmatic weight than its counterpart in (8.17b), since it becomes an action of the maple tree. Therefore, the VAS pattern in (8.17a) helps set the scene for the tale in which a maple tree and its action are presented as part of the actors.

A similar effect is produced by the VAS ordering in (8.19a).

(8.19a) [Он и не предполагал, что на свете бывают такие огромные змеи. Этот был очень длинным и тёмно-зелёным. Бока его светились,]

[He didn't know that there could be such huge serpents in the world. This one was very long and dark green. His sides were lit,]

[preceding context]

а впереди	горел	злым жёлтым огнём	единственный глаз.
A-Rh	V-Rh	A-Rh	S-Rh
and at the front	was glowing	(with) angry yellow light	the only eye.

(Lukʹjanova, 2002)

The discussion of the pragmatic use of this VIP would resemble that of the previous example in (8.17a), in that the AVAS pattern may be treated as the marked variation of the AAVS combination, and the placement of the verb before an adjunct provides more weight to the verb. However, the appearance of pragmatically important information at the very end of the clause is not typical of colloquial speech; therefore, the clause in (8.19a) does present a phenomenon, a train in this case, but does it in a way suitable for the genre – ensuring the early appearance of focal elements in a clause.

Finally, the example in (8.25) is taken from the same text as the example above, and presents a case when with all elements being rhematic, some receive more weight than others due to the choice of word ordering:

(8.25) [Девочка ему объяснила, как смогла, что фотоаппарат делает картинки,]

[The girl explained to him as clearly as she could that a camera made pictures,]

[preceding context]

на которых	получается	всё	точь-в-точь как в жизни.
A-Th	V-Rh	S-Rh	[A]-Rh
on which	appears	everything	exactly like in real life.

(Lukʹjanova, 2002)

Before discussing the example in detail, consider the unmarked ordering in (8.25a):

(8.25a)	на которых	**всё**	**получается**	точь-в-точь как в жизни.
	A-Th	S-Rh	V-Tr	[A]-Rh
	on which	everything	appears	exactly like in real life.

In (8.25a), the SVA word order enables a neutral reading of the clause. In other words, it informs the reader of the use of a camera. All elements of the clause are in equal focus for the

reader's attention. In contrast, the reader of the original clause feels the excitement with which the little girl was telling the dragon about her camera, thanks to the inverted word order that shifts the focus, or rather, places it on the pragmatically relevant elements.

Overall, the writers of modern tales choose to arrange all rhematic elements in a VS word order as direct speech stylisation or enabling a broader reading of a clause; as well as to set a scene, to form a syntactic pattern and to split the focus.

8.5. Summary

This summarising section of the modern tale analysis includes major findings with regard to the VIP variations occurring in the discourse, their information structures and communicative effects. To begin with, the variety of word order combinations found in the VSO, VOS and VS groups of patterns is quite high and is illustrated in the table below:

Table 8.12 VIP combinations – 21st-century modern tale corpus

	VIP variations					
	Pure patterns	**Adjunct at**			**Verb complex**	**Complex object**
		front	**end**	**middle**		
VSO (19)	VSO (6)	AVSO (4)	VSOA (2)	VSAO (1)	(A)[V]S[V]O(A) (3)	VS(A)[O] (3)
VOS (4)	VOS (1)	AVOS (1)		VAOS (1)		AO_2VOS (1)
VS (26)	VS (2)		VSA (8)	(A)VAS (4)	A[V]SA/[A] (3)	
				VASA (1)	[V]S(A)[V](A) (5)	
		AVSA/[A] (3)				
Total (49)	9	25			11	4

According to Table 8.12, the analysed modern tales feature pure VSO, VOS and VS combinations, as well as patterns with adjuncts, most frequently occurring at the end, complex objects and verb complexes. VSO and VS groups feature more variation in pattern than their VOS counterpart. Finally, pure VSO combinations outnumber the combinations with adjuncts, while the opposite holds true for most of VS group patterns (except VASA), the latter occurring up to four times as frequently as VS; and the distribution of patterns with and without adjuncts is even in the VOS group.

The distribution of the three groups of word order patterns across the four information structures is shown in the following table:

Table 8.13 Information Structure of VIP groups – 21st-century modern tale corpus

Information structure	**VSO**	**VOS**	**VS**	**Total**
Topical Verb	1		3	4
Rhematised Verb		1	4	5
Split Rheme	16	1	14	31
Clause Focus	2	2	5	9
Total	19	4	26	49

As Table 8.13 illustrates, the information structure of Split Rheme consistently dominates other structures in the VSO and VS groups (16 and 14 tokens) but is infrequent in VOS. The other information structure which is realised in all three VIP groups is Clause Focus. The structures of Topical Verb and Rhematised Verb are not represented in the VOS and VSO groups, respectively, which results in VS being the only VIP group featuring all four information structures. Moreover, the Topical Verb information structure is the least occurring in both VSO and VS patterns. In total, the share of Split Rheme arrangement is over half of all tokens, whereas the Topical Verb and the Rhematised Verb structures are least represented in the corpus under study.

Finally, the most interesting findings lie in the pragmatic use of VSO, VOS and VS patterns in the four information structures. The table below shows the correlation between information structures and communicative effects:

Table 8.14 Communicative effects of VIP information structures – 21st-century modern tale corpus

Communicative effect	Topical Verb	Rhematised Verb	Split Rheme	Clause Focus	Total
Scene setup			6		6
Change in the narrative		2	6	3	11
Contrast				1	1
Connection to preceding/following context		1	1		2
Presentation			2		2
Broader reading			6	3	9
Broader reading after *стать* 'begin'			1		1
Syntactic pattern	1	1	4	2	8
Syntactic parallelism	1	2	5		8
Stylised direct speech				1	1
Emphatic reading		1	2		3
Split focus	3		6	1	10
Total	5	7	39	11	62

According to Table 8.14, the most frequently produced effect is signalling a change in the narrative, closely followed by the effect of splitting the focus. However, the Topical Verb structure does not feature the former, and the Rhematised Verb does not realise the latter effect. The only communicative effect produced in all four information structures is that of forming a syntactic pattern. Regarding the correlations between information structures and communicative effects, half of all effects only occur in one structure, and most effects occur one to three times per information structure. The Split Rheme arrangement is an exception with four to six tokens for most of its communicative effects. Additionally, the effect of setting up a scene is only featured by Split Rheme (6 tokens), while splitting the focus is the only effect with three or more tokens for the Topical Verb arrangement, and enabling broader reading and signalling a change in the narrative are for Clause Focus. Topical Verb correlates with the least number of communicative effects.

To conclude, the aforementioned communicative effects are presented as produced per group of patterns (VSO, VOS or VS):

Table 8.15 Communicative effects of VIP groups of patterns – 21st-century modern tale corpus

Communicative effect	**VSO**	**VOS**	**VS**	**Total**
Scene setup	4		2	6
Change in the narrative	4	2	5	11
Contrast	1			1
Connection to preceding/following context	1		1	2
Presentation	1		1	2
Broader reading	2	1	6	9
Broader reading after *стамь* 'begin'			1	1
Syntactic pattern	4	1	3	8
Syntactic parallelism	4	1	3	8
Stylised direct speech			1	1
Emphatic reading	2		1	3
Split focus	2		8	10
Total	25	5	32	62

As Table 8.15 illustrates, most effects are found in the VSO and VS groups of patterns. Furthermore, with all three groups of word order variations, the authors appear to signal a change in the narrative, to enable a broader reading of a clause, to form a syntactic pattern or to establish syntactic parallelism. It is interesting that the aforementioned four effects feature higher number of tokens per group than other communicative effects which have been found in one or two VIP groups, except the split focus effect, eight tokens of which were realised in the VS group.

In Chapter 10, these results are compared with those of the 19th-century classic folk tales and 20th-century narratives, and to the degree possible, with the results from the analysis of the travel diaries of the 15th and 18th–19th century, as well as the blog entries of the 21st century.

9. Results – 21st-century blog entries

This chapter deals with a relatively new genre, blog writing, which is quite complex in nature. Therefore, it should be mentioned that the results of current research on the use of VIPs cannot be considered universal for the entire genre, but rather as indicative of VIP trends within some sub-genres of blogs, from travel diaries through film description to routine matters, such as birthday celebrations.

The chapter is comprised of four parts. In the first part, the corpus under analysis, some statistical data of VIP appearance in the genre and word order variation are presented. The second, third and fourth parts investigate the composition and pragmatic use of VIP permutations within the three groups of patterns – VSO, VOS and VS.

9.1. Frequency of VIP Occurrence

As discussed in Section 3.1.7., the Blog corpus consists of eight blog entries all authored by different blog writers. For convenience, the citation format (Name/Nickname, [year of blog entry]) is used in the analysis.

Following the method of analysis established in the previous chapters, some statistical data on the length of the texts and the share of unconventional VIP sentences in the corpus and in individual blogs are presented below.

Table 9.1 Frequency of occurrence – 21st-century blog entry corpus

	Number of words	**Number of sentences, overall**	**Number of sentences, verb-initial**	**% of verb-initial sentences**
1. alte_liebe, 2014	921	61	2	3.3%
2. Kharitonov, 2011	595	42	7	16.7%
3. dok_zlo, 2014	1,006	81	2	2.5%
4. Black-and-Red Phoenix, 2010	1,026	42	1	2.4%
5. Tolstaja, 2015	1,138	121	3	2.5%
6. Sokolov, 2015	1,181	77	5	6.5%
7. Malikova, 2015	576	45	1	2.2%
8. Oksana, 2010	1,154	65	10	15.4%
Total	7,597	534	31	5.8%

As Table 9.1 illustrates, in the analysed blogs neither the length of a text nor the number of sentences correlates with the number of unconventional VIPs in the text. For instance, Blog 2 and Blog 8 feature the most frequent appearance of unconventional VIPs, 16.7% and 15.4%, respectively; however, the former text is half the length of the latter. Blogs 3, 4 and 5 are slightly over 1,000 words long, with 42 to 121 sentences each, and VIPs are documented in about 2.5% of all sentences in each text. However, a similar percentage of VIPs, 2.2%, has been found in Blog 7, which is about half the length of Blog 3, 4 or 5. These results suggest that the choice of word order pattern is very different across blog writers.

The three groups of verb-initial word order permutations, VSO, VOS and VS, are distributed in the blog entries in the following way:

Table 9.2 VIP combinations – 21st-century blog entry corpus

	VSO	VOS	VS	Total
1. alte_liebe 2014	1		1	2
2. Xaritonov 2011	3	3	1	7
3. dok_zlo 2014	2			2
4. Black-and-Red Phoenix 2010	1			1
5. Tolstaja 2015	3			3
6. Sokolov 2015	1	1	4	6
7. Malikova 2015	1			1
8. Oksana 2010	4	3	7	14
Total	16	7	13	36

As Table 9.2 shows, the patterns of all three groups occur in modern blogs, however, with varying frequency. Thus, VSO patterns are the most frequent and appear in every blog entry; whereas VS combinations, which are only slightly less frequent, occur in just half of all texts. Moreover, the authors of the blog entries under analysis employ VSO word order one to four times in their texts; by contrast, half of all VS tokens, seven out of 13, appear in one text, a third of all tokens are found in another text and the remaining two blogs feature one VS pattern each. Regarding VIPs in VOS permutations, they occur in almost as many texts as VS VIPs; however, the frequency of occurrence of VOS VIPs is half that of VS VIPs. Finally, three out of eight texts (Blogs 2, 6 and 8) feature VIPs in all three pattern variations: VSO, VOS and VS.

Having identified the frequency of occurrence of VIPs in the three-word order patterns, the following discussion aims to investigate the pattern variation, information structures and communicative effects of each word order pattern, considering examples from the texts.

9.2. VSO word order

The first group under analysis is represented by 16 tokens. Pattern composition, information structures and communicative effects are discussed in the sections that follow.

9.2.1. Patterns and Variations

Some typical examples of the VSO group of word order variations are provided below:

(9.1)	Прихожу	я	к ячейке
	come	I	to the locker
	V	S	O

(Malikova, 2015)

The base pattern, as in (9.1), is comprised of a clause-initial verb, followed by a subject, and a clause-final object. However, a number of variations to this base pattern have been found in modern blog entries. Thus, a VSO pattern can be preceded by an adjunct:

(9.2)	Году этак в 1993-м	зашла	я	в один неприметный магазинчик в городе Принстоне, штат Нью-Джерси, США.
	In about 1993	dropped	I	into an ordinary little shop in the city of Princeton, New Jersy, USA.
	A	V	S	O

(Tolstaja, 2015)

Moreover, an adjunct can appear both at the beginning and in the middle of a pattern, as illustrated below:

(9.3)	Благодаря случаю	попали	мы	в далеком 2003 году	в Тамань
	Accidentally	got	we	in faraway 2003	to Taman'
	A	V	S	A	O

(Oksana, 2010)

Besides adjuncts, base pattern modification can result from splitting of a verb complex:

(9.4)	но приезжать	мы	должны	к ее родителям.
	but to arrive	we	need	to her parents.
	[V]	S	[V]	O

(alte_liebe, 2014)

Finally, the base pattern can be modified by the presence of a complex object:

(9.5)	Начала	она	с того, как меня зовут (фамилию расслышала с третьего раза),
	Began	she	with what my name was (I had to repeat my surname three times)
	V	S	[O]

(Black-and-Red Phoenix, 2010)

The distribution of these five common variations among the eight blog entries is provided below:

Table 9.3 VSO combinations – 21st-century blog entry corpus

	VSO	AVSO	(A)VSAO	[V]S[V]O	VS[O]	Total
1. alte_liebe 2014				1		1
2. Xaritonov 2011	3					3
3. dok_zlo 2014	2					2
4. Black-and-Red Phoenix 2010					1	1
5. Tolstaja 2015	1	1	1			3
6. Sokolov 2015	1					1
7. Malikova 2015	1					1
8. Oksana 2010	1	1	1	1		4
Total	9	2	2	2	1	16

According to the information in Table 9.3, none of the eight texts features all five patterns; however, the closest are Blogs 8 and 5. The most frequently occurring pattern, the base VSO, accounts for nine out of 16 tokens, although it does not appear in Blogs 1 and 4. At the same time, it is the only VSO combination in Blogs 2 and 3, represented by three and two tokens, respectively. Furthermore, three variations of the base pattern, AVSO, (A)VSAO and [V]S[V]O are characterised by two representations each, while the VS[O] combination is employed once by one author. Overall, the VSO variations, most commonly, appear once per text, except the above-mentioned pure VSO pattern in Blogs 2 and 3.

9.2.2. Information Structure and Communicative Effects

Having identified the pattern variation within the group, it is now interesting to discuss their functioning in the corpus under study. It appears that the only information structure performed in modern blogs by the VSO group of patterns is Split Rheme, which is shown in Table 9.4 below:

Table 9.4 Information structure of VSO variations – 21st-century blog entry corpus

	VSO	**AVSO**	**(A)VSAO**	**[V]S[V]O**	**VS[O]**	**Total**
Topical Verb						
Rhematised Verb						
Split Rheme	9	2	2	2	1	16
Clause Focus						
Total	9	2	2	2	1	16

It is interesting that the basic pattern accounts for over half of all tokens, whereas the remaining four variations occur once and twice in this information structure.

Table 9.5 below illustrates VSO permutations in the Split Rheme information structure, as they appear in the eight blogs:

Table 9.5 VSO Information Structure per text – 21st-century blog entry corpus

	Split Rheme
1. alte_liebe 2014	1
2. Xaritonov 2011	3
3. dok_zlo 2014	2
4. Black-and-Red Phoenix 2010	1
5. Tolstaja 2015	3
6. Sokolov 2015	1
7. Malikova 2015	1
8. Oksana 2010	4
Total	16

Overall, the Split Rheme information structure appears one to four times per text.

The schema provided in Figure 9.1 below summarises the communicative effects, as outlined in Section 3.2.5., produced by the 16 instances of Split Rheme structure:

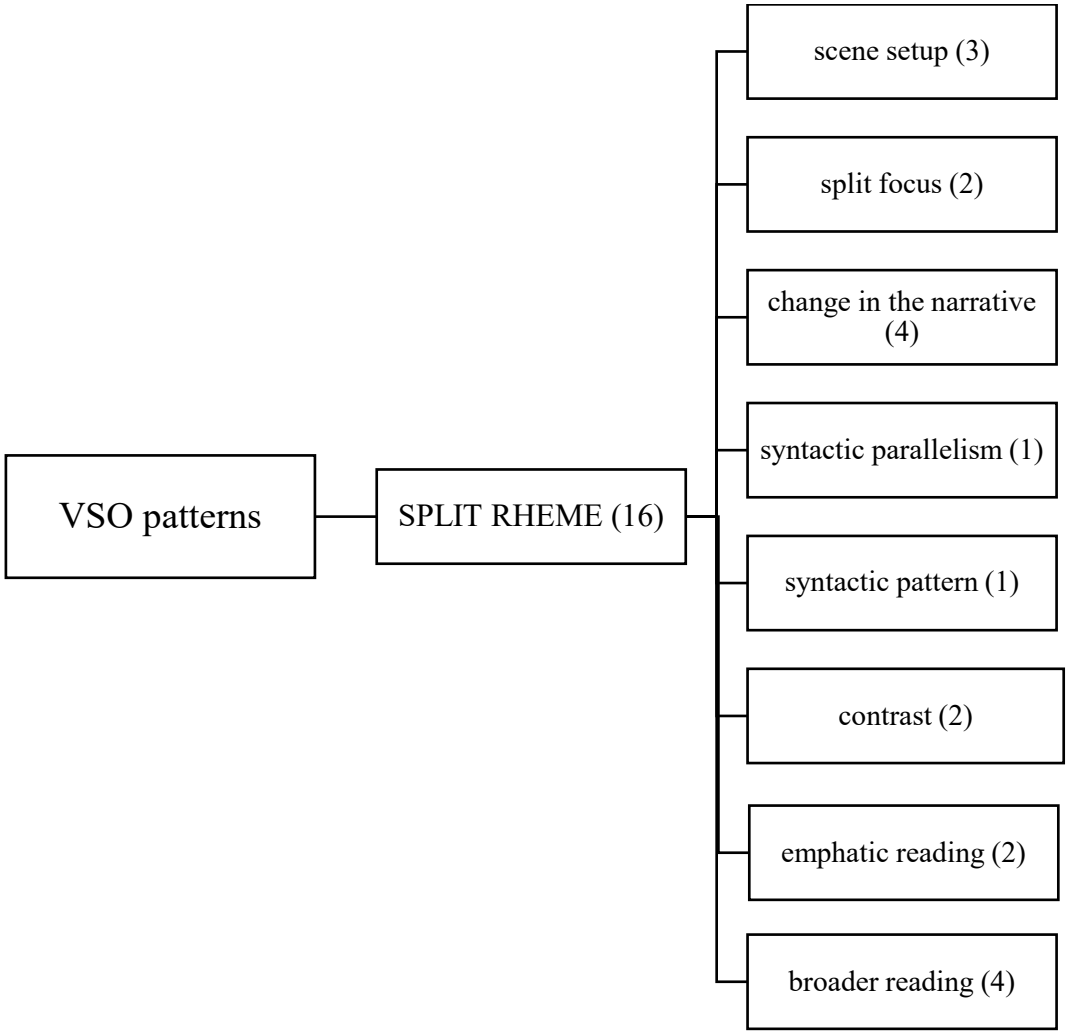

Figure 9.1: Communicative effects of VSO information structures – 21st-century blog entry corpus

As Figure 9.1 illustrates, quite a variety of communicative effects are observed despite the single information structure of Split Rheme. In the following section, each of these communicative effects is discussed, utilising examples from the corpus.

9.2.2.1. Split Rheme

Consider, first, the example from the beginning of this section, placed in a broader context:

(9.1a) [и тут какие то русские девочки забрали меня к себе под зонт и довели до автовокзала Kaampii.]

[and here some Russian girls took me under their umbrella and accompanied me to the bus station Kaampii.]

[preceding context]

Прихожу	я	к ячейке
come	I	to the locker
V-Rh	S-Th	O-Rh

[- а она не открывается!!!))))]

[- and it wouldn't open!!!))))]

[following context]

(Malikova, 2015)

Here the author signals the beginning of another scene in the narrative with an inverted word order. Moreover, the use of an action of motion, combined with an unconventional order, might suggest an unusual development of events, which is proved by the immediately following context: *а она не открывается* 'the locker wouldn't open'. With such an establishment, the reader is intrigued and more interested in the plot.

A similar case is observed in (9.2a) below:

(9.2a)	Году этак в 1993-м	зашла	я	в один неприметный магазинчик в городе Принстоне, штат Нью-Джерси, США.
	In about 1993	dropped	I	into an ordinary little shop in the city of Princeton, New Jersy, USA.
	A	V-Rh	S-Th	O-Rh

[Магазинчик этот оказался бутиком.]

[This shop turned out to be a boutique.]

[following context]

(Tolstaja, 2015)

As in (9.1a) above, in (9.2a), the author opens a scene, or rather, her blog entry, with an action of motion and orders the clause elements in a VSO combination, to signal setting up of a new scene rather than noting the mere fact of visiting the shop, as would be the case with an SVO ordering.

Another communicative effect, closely connected to the previous one, is signalling a change in the narrative. Consider the example in (9.5a), placed in a broader context:

(9.5a) [Мы по очереди опозорились, кто на чём; Степанова словно услышала о том, как я пожаловалась девчонкам на то, что знаю всё, кроме дат.]

[We all, in turn, failed different aspects of the subject; it seemed like Stepanova heard how I'd complained to the girls that I knew everything except the dates.]

[preceding context]

Начала	она	с того, как меня зовут (фамилию расслышала с третьего раза),
Began	she	with what my name was (I had to repeat my surname three times)
V-Rh	S-Th	[O]-Rh

(Black-and-Red Phoenix, 2010)

The preceding context provides information about some students' failures in the exam. In particular, the narrator hints at her drawback which might be a failure, as well, and thus hooks in the reader. Furthermore, in (9.5a), she returns to the beginning of her exam and chooses to arrange the elements in an inverted word order, to indicate a prolonged story that is about to unfold. Since, the clause deals with the same scene of exam taking, the VSO pattern does not establish a new scene but rather provides a change in the narrative, aimed at signposting for the reader.

Another example of VSO signalling a change in the narrative, used by a different author, is provided below:

(9.6) [- Да это бесперспективно! Я не буду счастлива!

- Будешь любить – будешь счастлива, - говорит голос.

И так именно и случается.]

[- There's no prospect there! I won't be happy!

- You will love – and you'll be happy, - says the voice.

And it works out exactly like that.]

[preceding context]

купила	я	свитерок
bought	I	the sweater
V-Rh	S-Th	O-Rh

[и дома рассмотрела.]

[and had a closer look at home.]

[following context]

(Tolstaja, 2015)

In (9.6), the introductory *так вот* 'so' returns the reader from the modern philosophical digression to the thread of the narration. Moreover, Tolstaja emphases the act of eventually

buying the sweater – after many doubts – by placing the rhematic verb at the beginning of the clause. Additionally, the emphasis on the action is intensified by the following context in which the writer provides another action of hers. Arranging the two actions in such a syntactic pattern signals a change in the narrative, preparing the reader for the scene development.

A few authors of modern blogs prefer to arrange the clause elements in an VSO ordering to emphasise a contrast with the preceding context. An example of this pragmatic use is provided below:

(9.4a) [Золовка отмечает 41 день рождения. Живет отдельно,]

[My sister-in-law is celebrating her 41st birthday. (She) lives by herself/separate from the parents,]

[preceding context]

но приезжать	мы	должны	к ее родителям.
but to arrive	we	need	to her parents.
[V]-Rh	S-Th	[V]-Tr	O-Rh

(alte_liebe, 2014)

The neutral SVO ordering of the preceding context provides factual information about the narrator's sister-in-law. The clause in (9.4a) begins with contrastive *но* 'but', however, the VSO choice of element ordering ensures emphasis on the verb rather than on other elements of the clause, as in the case with a SVO pattern:

(9.4b)	**но мы**	**должны**	**приезжать**	к ее родителям.
	but we	need	to arrive	to her parents.
	S-Th	[V]-Tr	[V]-Tr	O-Rh

As has been mentioned above, either the subject, *мы* 'we', and the object, *к ее родителям* 'to her parents', or only the object become the focus of the clause depending on the reader's choice of emphasis. In contrast, the original VSO ordering explicitly signals the focal points of the clause – the verb and its complement.

The example in (9.4a) cannot but entail emphatic reading of the clause – the author thus displays her disagreement with having to go to the parents' and not to the birthday girl's house for a party. A similar emphatic reading is involved in (9.7) below:

(9.7) [Цунами! Это — цунами! На берегу нас только четверо,]
[Tsunami! It is tsunami! There are only four of us on the shore/coast,]
[preceding context]

не успеть	нам	взобраться	на отвесный глиняный склон!
won't manage	we	to climb	onto a steep clay slope!
[V]-Rh	S-Th	[V]-Rh	O-Rh

(Oksana, 2010)

Following the colloquial style convention mentioned by Turner (2009a), the narrator prefers to place the most important element first in the clause, thus expressing her frustration at the possible failure. The exclamatory mark at the end of the clause intensifies the produced effect.

Finally, it appears that a VSO ordering could be chosen by a blog writer to enable a broader reading of a clause, as illustrated in (9.3a):

(9.3a)

Благодаря случаю	попали	мы	в далеком 2003 году	в Тамань
Accidentally	got	we	in faraway 2003	to Taman'
A	V-Rh	S-Th	A	O-Rh

[и прониклись особым духом, пропитавшим весь полуостров.]
[and felt imbued with a unique spirit of the peninsula.]
[following context]

(Oksana, 2010)

Here the placement of the verb in pre-position to the subject entails the inclusion of the verb into the focal group. In other words, now the chief point of the clause appears to be not only the destination, as in an SVO ordering, but the whole action of getting into the place. Moreover, the following context provides another action of the subject's, and the syntactic pattern, formed by such an ordering, ensures a cause-effect reading of the clause: since they got to Taman' by accident, they soaked in a unique atmosphere of the peninsula.

Overall, it seems that modern blog writers choose to order clause elements in a VSO pattern in order to produce a number of communicative effects: to establish a new scene, to split the focus, to create a syntactic pattern after an adjunct, to establish syntactic parallelism, to signal a change in the narrative, to emphasise the contrast with the preceding context and to enable an emphatic or broader reading of a clause.

9.3. VOS word order

The second group of verb-initial patterns includes combinations in which a verb initiates a clause, an object follows it, and a subject appears at the end of the clause. A number of variations have been identified in the corpus under study.

9.3.1. Patterns and Variations

A base VOS pattern is exemplified below:

(9.8)	Манят	меня	здешние холмы и сухие степи,	
	Lure	me	local hills and dry steppes,	
	V	O	S	

(Oksana, 2010)

Here, the transitive verb is placed in front of its complement, and the subject appears last in the pattern.

This base pattern can be modified by an adjunct (of manner), as in (6.9):

(6.9)	Не испортил	действие	своим звучанием	и саунд-трек.
	Didn't spoil	action	with its sound	soundtrack.
	V	O	A	S

(Kharitonov, 2011)

Moreover, an adjunct (of time) can appear at the beginning of the pattern, and an indirect object, marked as O_2, is placed between a verb and its complement:

(9.10)	Сразу и навсегда	распахнула	нам	свое сердце	древняя Гермонаса-Таматарха-Тьмутаракань,
	Once and forever	flang open	to us	its heart	Ancient Germonasa-Tamatarxa-T'mutarakan',
	A	V	O_2	O	S

(Oksana, 2010)

Finally, a complex adjunct (of place) can appear in front of a VOS combination, as in (9.11):

(9.11)	… в Отечестве,…	собирать	полные залы	могут	только американские боевики.
	…in Fatherland,…	to gather	full house	can	only American blockbusters.
	A	[V]	O	[V]	S

(Kharitonov, 2011)

Unlike the previous group, VOS combinations do not occur in every text. In fact, three out of eight authors choose to use such patterns in their blogs. Consider the distribution of four VOS variations in these texts:

Table 9.6 VOS combinations – 21st-century blog entry corpus

	VOS	**VOAS**	**AVO$_2$OS**	**A[V]O[V]S**	**Total**
1.alte_liebe 2014					
2.Xaritonov 2011	1	1		1	3
3.dok_zlo 2014					
4.Black-and-Red Phoenix 2010					
5.Tolstaja 2015					
6.Sokolov 2015	1				1
7.Malikova 2015					
8.Oksana 2010	2		1		3
Total	4	1	1	1	7

As Table 9.6 illustrates, the base VOS pattern accounts for over half of all the VOS tokens and occurs once or twice in three texts. Regarding the other three variations, they were found in the texts once each. Finally, the most representative of VOS variations is Blog 2, since three out of four patterns appear there. Blogs 8 and 6 feature two and one VOS variations, respectively.

Having identified pattern variation, it is now interesting to analyse the information structures which these patterns perform.

9.3.2. Information Structure and Communicative Effects

It appears that VOS combinations perform two out of four possible information structures, as illustrated in Table 9.7 below:

Table 9.7 Information Structure of VOS variations – 21st-century blog entry corpus

	VOS	VOAS	AVO$_2$OS	A[V]O[V]S	Total
Topical Verb					
Rhematised Verb					
Split Rheme	3				3
Clause Focus	1	1	1	1	4
Total	4	1	1	1	7

According to Table 9.7, three pure VOS patterns are arranged as a Split Rheme structure, whereas the other three patterns and one instance of VOS have a Clause Focus information structure. Thus, the total number of tokens is rather evenly distributed between the two structures; however, regarding pattern representation, the distribution is uneven.

Furthermore, consider the use of the two information structures in the data set:

Table 9.8 VOS Information Structure per text – 21st-century blog entry corpus

	Split Rheme	Clause Focus	Total
1.alte_liebe 2014			
2.Xaritonov 2011		3	3
3.dok_zlo 2014			
4.Black-and-Red Phoenix 2010			
5.Tolstaja 2015			
6.Sokolov 2015	1		1
7.Malikova 2015			
8.Oksana 2010	2	1	3
Total	3	4	7

As Table 9.8 illustrates, VOS variations are found in both structures only in Blog 8. Blogs 2 and 6 feature one structure each. Additionally, VOS patterns are arranged as Split Rheme or Clause Focus one to three times per text.

Tables 9.7 and 9.8 provide an overview of VOS combinations, information structures and blog entries, in which they appear. It is now important to discuss the pragmatic use of this

group of patterns in the discourse. The schema of communicative effects produced by VOS variations in the two information structures is presented in Figure 9.2 below:

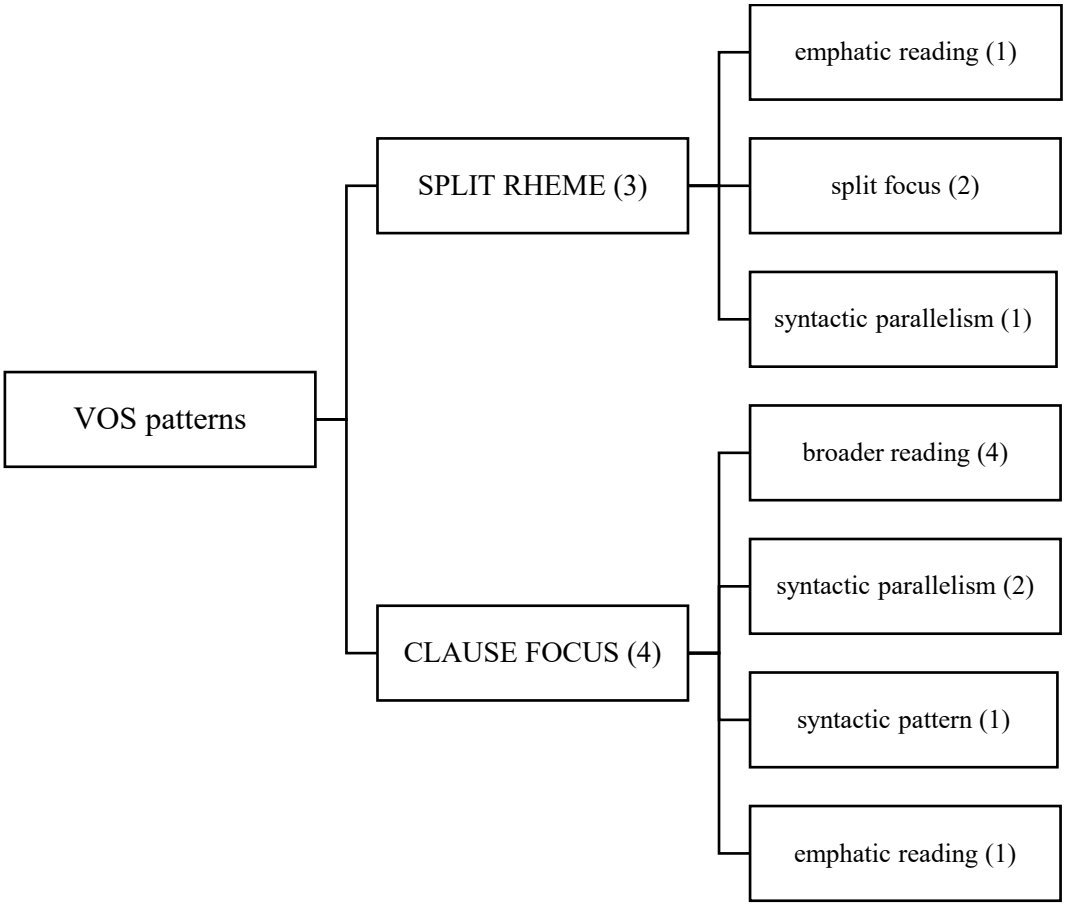

Figure 9.2: Communicative effects of VOS information structures – 21st-century blog entry corpus

The analysis summarised in Figure 9.2 reveals Clause Focus appears to be used for four communicative effects and Split Rheme for three. Moreover, the leading purpose of VOS use in the Clause Focus information structure is to enable a broader reading of a clause, however, the latter is complemented by the effect of establishing syntactic parallelism in half of the examples. The communicative effects of establishing syntactic parallelism and ensuring emphatic reading have also been observed in the Split Rheme information structure. Let us consider the combination of information structures and communicative effects of VOS patterns with examples from the corpus.

9.3.2.1. Split Rheme

In a VOS pattern with Split Rheme information structure, the first and the last elements are rhematic, while the middle element, usually the object, is thematic. Consider the pragmatic use of (9.8) from the beginning of the section, placed in a broader context:

(9.8a) [Мы с тобой одной крови земля Таманская.]
[We're one blood, Taman'.]
[preceding context]

Манят	меня	здешние холмы и сухие степи,
Lure	me	local hills and dry steppes,
V-Rh	O-Th	S-Rh

(Oksana, 2010)

In (9.8a), the author continues to speak favourably of the place mentioned in the previous context. In particular, she emphasises the lure of the local hills and steppes. By placing the verb at the front of the pattern, Oksana highlights the effect of local nature on her, and the communicative effect of VOS, therefore, is to ensure an emphatic reading of the clause.

Another effect, or rather, two communicative effects are produced by the VOS ordering in the example below:

(9.12) [Правда, просуществовало оно менее столетия,]
[To tell the truth, it existed for less than a century,]
[preceding context]

погубили	его	вторгшиеся в Европу полчища диких мадьяр, сегодняшних венгров,
destroyed	it	wild magyars, contemporary Hungarians, who had invaded Europe,
V-Rh	O-Th	S-Rh

(Sokolov, 2015)

The clause under analysis follows from the preceding context in that it informs the reader how the dukedom was destroyed. Moreover, the clause in (9.12) produces the same effect of splitting the focus between the clause-initial and clause-final elements, observed in the previous discourse. Additionally, the verb-initial clause structure also follows from the immediately preceding clause, thus establishing syntactic parallelism of the two structures. In contrast, the unmarked OVS ordering enables the subject to be the only nucleus of the clause, as in (9.12a) below:

(9.12a)	**его**	**погубили**	вторгшиеся в Европу полчища диких мадьяр, сегодняшних венгров,
	it	destroyed	wild magyars, contemporary Hungarians, who had invaded Europe,
	O-Th	V-Tr	S-Rh

With regard to pattern composition, both (9.8a) and (9.12) feature a transitive verb, a direct pronominal object and a noun phrase as a subject.

Overall, modern blog authors choose to arrange the clause elements as a split rheme in order to ensure an emphatic reading of a clause, to split the focus and to establish syntactic parallelism.

9.3.2.2. Clause Focus

In the Clause Focus information structure, all elements of a clause are labelled as 'new information' and, as analysed in Figure 9.2, they ensure a broader reading of a clause. To see this, consider (9.11a) below:

(9.11a) [В большом зале Киномакса-Урал на сеанс в 17-00 пришло всего человек 20 зрителей. Похоже, что по-настоящему]

[In a big Kinomax-Ural cinema hall, only about 20 people came for a 17-00 film. It seems, that really]

[preceding context]

в Отечестве, (где создавались такие шедевры, как "Броненосец "Потемкин" и "Чапаев",)	собирать	полные залы	могут	только американские боевики.
In Fatherland (where such masterpieces as "Bronenosec "Potëmkin" and "Čapaev" were created,)	to gather	full house	can	only American blockbusters.
A	[V]-Rh	O-Rh	[V]-Tr	S-Rh

(Kharitonov, 2011)

The VOS pattern in (9.11a) is initiated by an adjunct of place, modified by a dependent clause. The rhematic status of the clause-final subject is enabled by its position as well as by the intensifier *только* 'only'. However, the verb appearing before the object results in a tripartite division of a clause: the infinitive and the object become a first focal point, followed by a

transitional auxiliary verb, and the second focal point, the rhematised subject, which is placed last. Such an ordering enables a broader reading of the clause, with focus on several clause elements, including the verb-complement combination.

Besides this single effect of broader reading, produced by a VOS ordering, secondary effects can also come into play/action, as is illustrated in the two examples below:

(9.10)	Сразу и навсегда	распахнула	нам	свое сердце	древняя Гермонаса-Таматарха-Тьмутаракань,
	Once and forever	flang open	to us	its heart	ancient Germonasa-Tamatarxa-T'mutarakan',
	A	V-Rh	O_2-Th	O-Rh	S-Rh

(Oksana, 2010)

In (9.10), the effect of broader reading is complemented by emphatic reading of the clause, enabled by the semantic component of the verb and the initial adjunct. Thus, the verb *распахнуть* 'to fling open' is a stylised variant of the verb *открыть* 'to open', which, in combination with the object *свое сердце* 'its heart', personifies the location which is the subject of (9.10). Additionally, the adjunct *сразу и навсегда* 'once and forever', also emphatic in its lexical meaning, attracts the verb thus creating a syntactic pattern. Moreover, the use of the full, or ancient, name of the place, *Гермонаса-Таматарха-Тьмутаракань*, instead of its common name *Тамань* contributes to the emphasis laid by other elements. Overall, four out of five clause elements ensure a triumphant, exalted reading of the clause.

The VOS combination in (9.9a) is aimed at producing a slightly different effect:

(9.9a)	[наконец, попал в образ гуру-хиппаря Шнур.]			
	[finally, Šnur was real in the image of a hippy guru.]			
	[preceding context]			
	Не испортил	действие	своим звучанием	и саунд-трек.
	Didn't spoil	action	with its sound	soundtrack.
	V-Rh	O-Rh	A-Rh	S-Rh

(Kharitonov, 2011)

In the preceding context, the author of Blog 2 describes the film he has recently seen. The unmarked verb-initial pattern is repeated in the clause under consideration (9.9a), being marked and thus creating syntactic parallelism between the preceding and the following context. Therefore, Kharitonov chooses to arrange the clause elements in a VIP ordering (in a number

of instances) to ensure broader reading of his clauses, following his presentational style of describing the film.

To summarise, the authors appear to choose a VOS ordering of clause elements with Clause Focus information structure in order to ensure a broader reading of a clause, which might be complemented by the effects of creating a syntactic pattern after an adjunct, ensuring emphatic reading and establishing syntactic parallelism.

9.4. VS word order

The third group of VIPs includes VS patterns; that is, patterns which are minimally comprised of a verb appearing before a subject and no object.

9.4.1. Patterns and Variations

One of the variations of this element arrangement is a basic VS pattern, as in (9.13):

(9.13)	Побеждает	техника,
	Wins	appliance,
	V	S

(alte_liebe, 2014)

Moreover, two parts of the verb complex can be split by the subject, as in the example below:

(9.14)	пошло	всё	наоборот
	went	everything	the other way round
	[V]	S	[V]

(Sokolov, 2015)

Besides verb complexes, the VS variations, in most of the 13 representatives of this group, include adjuncts before and/or after the VS combination, as in (9.15) below:

(9.15)	про которых	и писал	Виктор Олегович	в своей книге.
	about whom	wrote	Viktor Olegovich	in his book.
	A	V	S	A

(Kharitonov, 2011)

Furthermore, an adjunct can split a verb and a subject, creating a VAS pattern, as shown in two examples below:

(9.16)	не было	еще	совершенных орудий штурма,
	were not	yet	perfect assault weapons,
	V	A	S

(Sokolov, 2015)

(9.17)	не бывает	в Тамани	ни ураганов, ни смерчей, ни тем более уж цунами!
	can't be	in Taman'	either hurricanes, or dust storms, or, least likely, tsunami!
	V	A	S

(Oksana, 2010)

Finally, there can appear multiple adjuncts: at the beginning, in the middle and/or at the end of a pattern. An example of one such variation is provided below:

(9.18)	тысячи и тысячи лет подряд	жили	здесь,	сменяя друг друга	30 поколений моих предков.
	for thousands and thousands of years in a row	lived	here,	replacing one another	30 generations of my ancestors.
	A	V	A	A	S

(Oksana, 2010)

Having identified the extent of VS pattern variation, it is important to trace the distribution of these variations among the eight blog entries.

Table 9.9 VS combinations – 21st-century blog entry corpus

	V/[V]S	**[V]S[V]**	**(A)VS(A)**	**(A)VAS(A)**	**Total**
1. alte_liebe 2014	1				1
2. Kharitonov 2011			1		1
3. dok_zlo 2014					
4. Black-and-Red Phoenix 2010					
5. Tolstaja 2015					
6. Sokolov 2015	1	1	1	1	4
7. Malikova 2015					
8. Oksana 2010			1	6	7
Total	2	1	3	7	13

As Table 9.9 reveals, only half of the authors have chosen to order clause elements in a VS pattern. Interestingly, in the four blogs with VS variations, seven out of 13 occur in one blog, Blog 8, and all variations only appear once per text, with the exception of (A)VAS(A), six tokens of which have been identified in one text – Blog 8. Clearly, the data presented here suggest that the use of VS VIPs is highly author dependent.

9.4.2. Information Structure and Communicative Effects

The four VS variations of the VIP group under analysis perform three information structures, excluding the Topical Verb structure. Moreover, token distribution between the structures appears to be rather even, which is illustrated in Table 9.10 below:

Table 9.10 Information Structure of VS variations – 21st-century blog entry corpus

	V/[V]S	**[V]S[V]**	**(A)VS(A)**	**(A)VAS(A)**	**Total**
Topical Verb					0
Rhematised Verb	2		2		4
Split Rheme				5	5
Clause Focus		1	1	2	4
Total	2	1	3	7	13

As Table 9.10 shows, each of three information structures is represented by four to five VS patterns. Interestingly, the five tokens of Split Rheme structure belong to one variation – (A)VAS(A); whereas the other two information structures only have one or two tokens per VS variation.

Furthermore, using the data of Table 9.9 and 9.10, the functioning of VS patterns in the modern blogs is presented in Table 9.11 below:

Table 9.11 VS Information Structure per text – 21st-century blog entry corpus

	Rhematised Verb	Split Rheme	Clause Focus	Total
1. alte_liebe 2014	1			1
2. Kharitonov 2011	1			1
3. dok_zlo 2014				
4. Black-and-Red Phoenix 2010				
5. Tolstaja 2015				
6. Sokolov 2015	2	1	1	4
7. Malikova 2015				
8. Oksana 2010		4	3	7
Total	4	5	4	13

According to the data, single representatives of VS combinations in Blogs 1 and 2 perform the same structure of Rhematised Verb. Additionally, four VS patterns employed by the author of Blog 6 perform all three information structures; whereas, the VS patterns of Blog 8, with the highest number of tokens, have been found to perform the Split Rheme and the Clause Focus information structures. Thus, the authors appear to have differing motivations in terms of information structure for choosing to use a VS pattern.

To further explore why blog writers choose VS patterns with particular information structures in their texts, Figure 9.3 gives the analysis of the communicative effects (see Section 3.2.5.) produced.

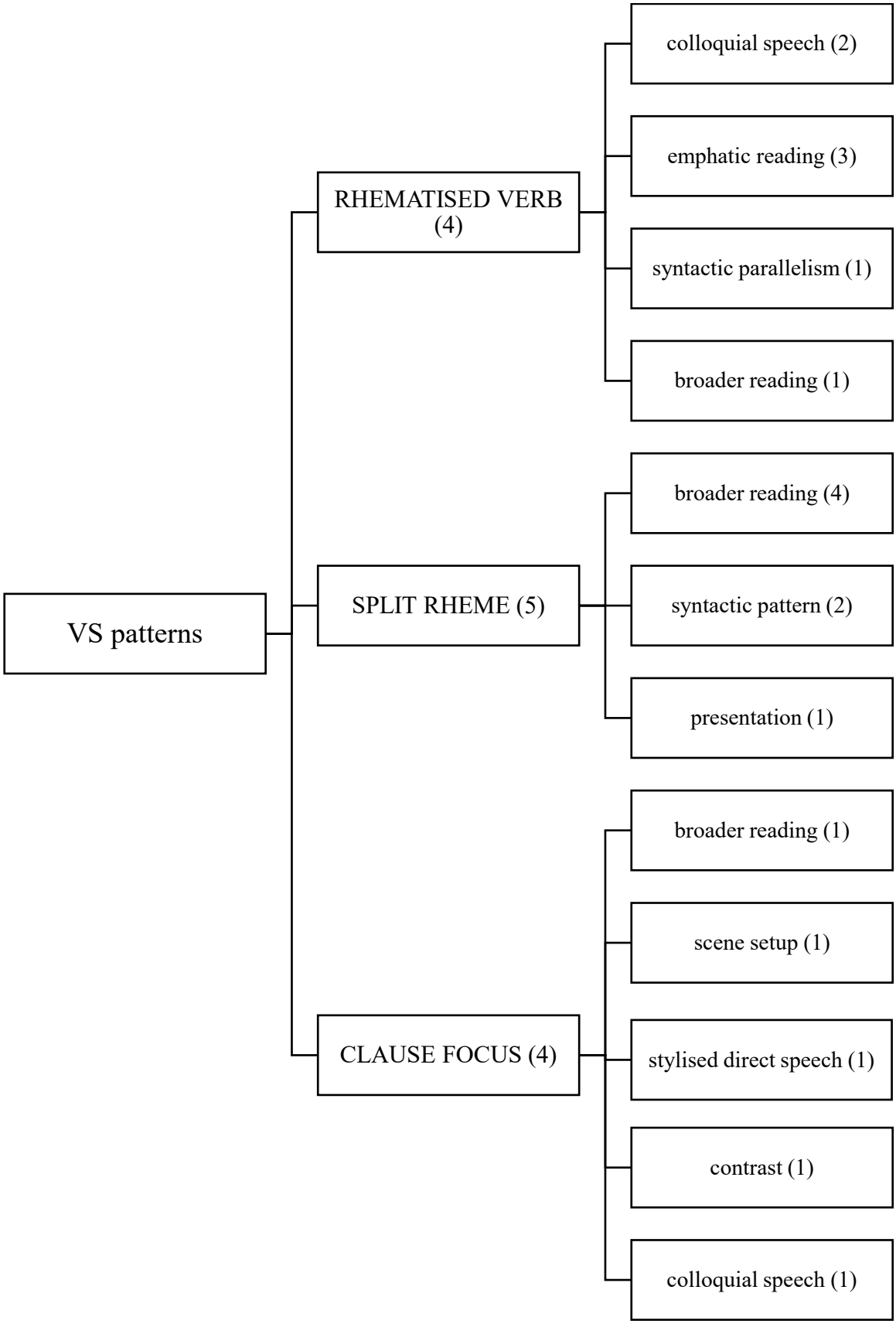

Figure 9.3: Communicative effects of VS information structures – 21st-century blog entry corpus

Figure 9.3 shows that each information structure produces four to five communicative effects; with the communicative effect of enabling a broader reading of the clause characteristic of all three information structures, the effect of imitating a colloquial style observed in two out of three structures, and the remaining seven effects, the majority, each occurring in only one information structure.

Let us consider this pragmatic analysis of VS patterns in the corpus under study in further detail.

9.4.2.1. Rhematised Verb

One of four communicative effects identified in the Rhematised Verb structure is aimed at following a colloquial speech convention, according to which the most communicatively relevant information is placed first in a clause. This is illustrated in (9.15a):

(9.15a) [за 20 лет строительства капиталистического общества народонаселение "нашей Раши" в полной мере превратилось в оранусов,]
[it took 20 years of building a capitalist society for “our Russia’s” inhabitants to turn into oranusy,]
[preceding context]

про которых	и писал	Виктор Олегович	в своей книге.
about whom	wrote	Viktor Olegovich	in his book.
A-Th	V-Rh	S-Th	A-Th

(Kharitonov, 2011)

Here the verb is rhematised by *u* ‘and’ and is, therefore, the nucleus of the clause. Compare the example in (9.15a) with its ASVA counterpart:

(9.15b)	про которых	**Виктор Олегович**	**и писал**	в своей книге.
	about whom	Viktor Olegovich	wrote	in his book.
	A-Th	S -Th	V-Rh	A-Th

The example in (9.15b) clearly illustrates that *u* ‘and’ in front of the verb makes the latter the sole focus of the clause, independent of the word order arrangement. However, the author of the original clause chooses to ‘hurry’ with the most relevant information, i.e. the action expressed by the verb, and to emphasise the action by presenting it before other information blocks, such as the subject and the second adjunct.

Another example in this information structure follows a presentational VS ordering, which produces a different communicative effect:

(9.13a) [Мультиварка не хочет. Или 20 минут или никак. Следующие полчаса уходят на уговоры мультиварки.]

[The multicooker doesn't want. 20 minutes or nothing. The next half an hour is spent on talking the multicooker into cooking.]

[preceding context]

Побеждает	техника,
Wins	appliance,
V-Rh	S-Th

(alte_liebe, 2014)

Instead of placing the focal information last, the author chooses to organise the example in (9.13a) as a VS pattern, thus placing equal focus on both elements, which enables a broader reading of the clause.

In addition to following a colloquial speech convention for presenting information and providing a broader reading of a clause, other instances of VS patterns in a Rhematised Verb structure have been analysed as having the communicative effect of providing an emphatic reading of a clause and establishing syntactic parallelism.

9.4.2.2. Split Rheme

The five VS patterns arranged as Split Rheme produce three communicative effects. Let us consider them in more detail.

(9.18) [Тысячи веков охраняет Верблюд таманские берега, много повидал он на своем веку: …]

[For thousands of years the Camel has been guarding Taman' shores, it has seen a lot: …]

[preceding context]

бушевало	здесь	пламя сражений	осенью 43 года…
loomed large	here	a battle	in the autumn of 1943…
V-Rh	A-Th	S-Rh	A-Rh

(Oksana, 2010)

The clause in (9.18) continues the description of Taman' region, informing the reader of some historic events. However, to avoid the mundaneness of factual presentation in an unmarked AVS arrangement, the author prefers to invert the positions of the first two elements, which results in a broader reading of the clause as well as maintaining the poetic flow of the very beginning of the sentence, in which an AVSO pattern is used.

The author of Blog 8 continues on with describing her favourite holiday spot in a poetic way:

(9.19)	тысячи и тысячи лет подряд	жили	здесь,	сменяя друг друга	30 поколений моих предков.
	for thousands and thousands of years in a row	lived	here,	replacing one another	30 generations of my ancestors.
	A-Rh	V-Rh	A-Th	A-Rh	S-Rh

(Oksana, 2010)

The word order organisation in (9.19) resembles that of (9.18): the same thematic adjunct *здесь* 'here' is placed between the verb and the subject. Unlike the example in (9.18), the clause under analysis begins with an adjunct of time, which attracts the verb and forms a syntactic pattern with it.

Since the majority of VS combinations occur in Blog 8, the next example belongs to the pen of the same writer and continues to describe the narrator's holiday destination:

(9.20) [Спит за моим окном промороженный город, спят и все домашние. «Цунами на Таманском полуострове» — мягко шлепают клавиши клавиатуры. Перебираю выпавшие ссылки, удивительно, но оказывается,]

[The frozen city is sleeping under my window, the household are sleeping, too. "Tsunami at Taman' peninsula", - softly type the keys of my keyboard. (I'm) flicking through the links, it's astonishing, but it appears that,]

[preceding context]

один раз в 70 лет	бывают	здесь	страшные трагические нагонные волны, схожие с цунами.
once in 70 years	can be	here	horrifying tragic waves, similar to tsunami.
A-Rh	V-Rh	A-Th	S-Rh

(Oksana, 2010)

In (9.20), the preceding context creates an atmosphere of tranquillity in the middle of the night, when suddenly the narrator finds information that surprises her. In order to signal that surprise to the reader, the writer inverts the AVS ordering in the clause under discussion. Moreover, in an AVAS pattern, the verb receives more emphasis and, as such, contrasts the existence of the natural phenomenon with its non-existence, which was assumed by the narrator in the preceding context (see (9.17) from Section 9.4.1).

Finally, it is interesting to observe the functioning of a similar VAS pattern with the same 'be' verb, in another blog entry:

(9.16a) [13 век не строил могучих крепостей,]
[The 13th century didn't build powerful fortresses,]
[preceding context]

не было	еще	совершенных орудий штурма,
were not	yet	perfect assault weapons,
V-Rh	A-Tr	S-Rh

(Sokolov, 2015)

The example in (9.16a) provides further information about the 13th century. In particular, in the preceding context, the 13th century becomes an Actor that performs an action; furthermore, in the clause under study, the emphasis on the verb is ensured by its clause-initial position. Thus, the communicative effect of presentation, produced by the VAS ordering, is complemented by connection to the preceding context, when the clause-initial verb ensures semantic coherence between the two clauses, and the second clause is perceived as a development of the first.

To summarise, the VS patterns in the Split Rheme structure aim to enable a broader reading with a poetic flow. Moreover, the authors might choose a VS pattern to present information, or to form a syntactic pattern after an adjunct.

9.4.2.3. Clause Focus

One of the communicative effects produced by VS patterns in a Clause Focus information structure is establishing a scene for further development. This effect has been discussed at length in the previous sections, therefore, here, it is sufficient to mention that the clause, containing the relevant pattern, is provided at the beginning of the preceding context of (9.20).

Furthermore, the communicative effect of broader reading, produced by the patterns in the Split Rheme and Rhematised Verb structures, also occurs in the Clause Focus arrangement. Consider the example in (9.14a):

(9.14a) [да и запарковался я далековато от центра Монпелье и не с парадной стороны. Когда-то мне мой учитель-работодатель, директор компании “Старый город” Елена Попова, говорила: “Димка, в город надо въезжать с парадной сторны!” – и это правильно, но тут не получилось, т.е.]

[moreover, I parked quite far from Monpelier’s downtown, not at the façade side of the city. Long ago my teacher-employer, director of ‘Old Town’ Elena Popova told me: “Dimka, you should always enter a city from its façade side!” – and this is right, but didn’t happen then, i.e.]

[preceding context]

пошло	всё	наоборот,
went	everything	the other way round,
[V]-Rh	S-Rh	[V]-Rh

[сначало страшненькое, а потом красивенькое.]

[first the ugly, then the beautiful.]

[following context]

(Sokolov, 2015)

In (9.14a), the [V]S[V] ordering provides an overview of the situation which the author develops in the following context. The splitting of two verb elements by the subject enables equal focus on all elements of the clause, in order to present the situation.

Another effect, known from the discussion of Chapters 6-8, is called in this project ‘direct speech stylisation’ and is illustrated in the example below:

(9.21) [«Цунами на Таманском полуострове» —]

[“Tsunami at Taman' peninsula”, —]

[preceding context]

мягко	шлепают	клавиши клавиатуры.
softly	type	the keys of my keyboard.
A-Rh	V-Rh	S-Rh

(Oksana, 2010)

Even though the writer does not speak to the computer, and the latter does not speak to her, Oksana prefers to use a direct speech style in the setting of a scene that develops in (9.20) above. Thus, her keyboard talks to her, and the clause in (9.21) appears after the “direct speech” and, as such, follows the VS convention of such a setting.

Finally, the communicative effect of providing an emphatic contrast to the preceding context is illustrated in the example below:

(9.17a) [Дурацкий сон не дает мне покоя. Да ну, ерунда какая,]

[The stupid dream leaves me restless. No, it's nonsense,]

[preceding context]

не бывает	в Тамани	ни ураганов, ни смерчей, ни тем более уж цунами!
can't be	in Taman'	either hurricanes, or dust storms, or, least likely, tsunami!
V-Rh	A-Rh	S-Rh

[Но настырный характер заставляет меня снова и снова прокручивать сон, продумывая пути спасения.]

[But my persistent nature makes me run through my dream over and over again, thinking through the ways to be rescued.]

[following context]

(Oksana, 2010)

Both the preceding and the following context feature an unmarked SV word order pattern. However, the inverted order in (9.17a) enables a contrastive and emphatic reading of the clause, intensified by the exclamatory mark at the end.

Overall, the modern blog writers choose to employ a VS ordering in Clause Focus information structure to establish a scene, to enable a broader reading of a clause, to follow a stylised direct speech setting convention and a colloquial speech convention, as well as to emphasise information by providing contrast to the preceding and the following context.

9.5. Summary

This section brings together the findings of the analysis conducted on modern blog entries. The discussion includes pattern variation in the three VIP groups: VSO, VOS and VS, followed by the data on these VIP groups performing the information structures of Topical Verb, Rhematised Verb, Split Rheme and Clause Focus. Finally, the findings on the pragmatic use of VSO, VOS and VS will be presented.

Regarding pattern variation, some consistency has been identified in verb-initial combinations, which is illustrated in the table below:

Table 9.12 VIP combinations – 21st-century blog entry corpus

	VIP variations					
	Pure patterns	**Adjunct at**			**Verb complex**	**Complex object**
		front	**end**	**middle**		
VSO (16)	VSO (9)	AVSO (2) *AVSAO (1)*		VSAO (1) *AVSAO (1)*	[V]S[V]O (2)	VS[O] (1)
VOS (7)	VOS (4)	AVOS (1)		VOAS (1)	A[V]O[V]S (1)	
VS (13)	VS (1)	AVS (1) *AVAS (2)* AVSA (1)	VSA (1)	VAS (4) *AVAS (2)* VASA (1)	[V]S (1) [V]S[V] (1)	
Total (36)	14	16			5	1

As Table 9.12 reveals, the VS group features twice as many variations as VSO and VOS groups. It is interesting that 13 VS tokens correspond to a wider range of patterns, compared to 16 VSO tokens, and nearly triple the number of VOS variations. However, pure patterns in VSO and VOS groups occur more frequently than their counterparts with adjuncts, whereas the opposite is true for the VS group, in which the pure pattern was only used once. Overall, all patterns appear to be well structured and with a minimum modification of the pure pattern. In other words, when the base patterns are modified, they frequently feature one modification

per pattern, such as an adjunct or a verb complex. Regarding the frequency of VIP occurrence, most variations appear once or twice in the corpus, except VAS (4 tokens) and pure VSO and VOS (9 and 4 tokens).

Proceeding with the findings on the information structures of VSO, VOS and VS patterns, the distribution of the structures among the patterns is illustrated below:

Table 9.13 Information Structure of VIP groups – 21st-century blog entry corpus

Information structure	**VSO**	**VOS**	**VS**	**Total**
Topical Verb				0
Rhematised Verb			4	4
Split Rheme	16	3	5	24
Clause Focus		4	4	8
Total	16	7	13	36

According to Table 9.13, no Topical Verb has been found in the VIPs of modern blogs, whereas the Split Rheme structure is realised by all VIPs. The Rhematised Verb arrangement has only been found in the VS group of patterns, while the Clause Focus, with the same number of tokens per VIP group (4), is the information structure of VOS and VS groups. It is interesting that the Split Rheme is the only structure in VSO (16 tokens) and constitutes almost a half of the total number of tokens. Except this instance, in other groups the information structures are rather evenly distributed in the VIPs, featuring three to five tokens.

With regard to the pragmatic use of the VIPs in the corpus under analysis, some correlation has been found between the information structures and the communicative effects, and between the communicative effects and VSO, VOS and VS combinations. Consider the results in Table 9.14 below:

Table 9.14 Communicative effects of VIP information structures – 21st- century blog entry corpus

Communicative effect	Topical Verb	Rhematised Verb	Split Rheme	Clause Focus	Total
Scene setup			3	1	4
Change in the narrative			4		4
Contrast			2	1	3
Presentation			1		1
Broader reading		1	6	7	14
Syntactic pattern			1	3	4
Syntactic parallelism		1	2	2	5
Stylised direct speech				1	1
Colloquial speech		2	2	1	5
Emphatic reading		3	3	1	7
Split focus			4		4
Total	0	7	28	17	52

According to Table 9.14, four out of 11 communicative effects are shared by the three structures of this data set, featuring the highest number of tokens in total per effect. Moreover, the effect of enabling broader reading is realised most frequently in the corpus, in Split Rheme and Clause Focus information structures (6 and 7 tokens). Other effects that are produced three or more times in the data set include splitting the focus and providing a change in the narrative in Split Rheme (4 tokens), enabling emphatic reading in Split Rheme and Rhematised Verb, forming a syntactic pattern in Clause Focus and establishing a new scene in Split Rheme (3 tokens each).

Having discussed the correlation between the information structures and the communicative effects, I now present the findings on the communicative effects of VSO, VOS and VS combinations, shown in Table 9.15:

Table 9.15 Communicative effects of VIP groups of patterns – 21st-century blog entry corpus

Communicative effect	VSO	VOS	VS	Total
Scene setup	3		1	4
Change in the narrative	4			4
Contrast	2		1	3
Presentation			1	1
Broader reading	4	4	6	14
Syntactic pattern	1	1	2	4
Syntactic parallelism	1	3	1	5
Stylised direct speech			1	1
Colloquial speech	1	1	3	5
Emphatic reading	2	2	3	7
Split focus	2	2		4
Total	20	13	19	52

As Table 9.15 illustrates, VSO, VOS and VS patterns have been used in the discourse to produce the communicative effects of enabling emphatic or broader reading of a clause, following the colloquial speech convention, establishing syntactic parallelism and forming a syntactic pattern. Of these effects, enabling broader reading is most frequently realised in VSO, VOS and VS groups, similarly to the frequency established in the information structures (See Table 9.14 above). The effect of signalling a change in the narrative with 4 tokens is realised in the VSO group. To a slightly lesser extent, VSO was used for establishing a new scene; VOS for establishing syntactic parallelism; and VS for following the colloquial speech convention and enabling emphatic reading (each 3 tokens).

In Chapter 10, these results are compared with those of the travel diaries of the 15th and 18th-19th centuries, and to the degree possible, with the results from the analysis of the 19th-century classic folk tales, 20th-century narratives and 21st-century modern tales.

10. Comparing unconventional VIP pragmatics across the genres and time periods

10.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the results of unconventional VIP functioning in the various corpora obtained in Chapters 4-9. Following the established analytical framework, the discussion is organised on four levels. The first section deals with pattern variation in the VSO, VOS and VS groups. Pure patterns and patterns with complex objects, as well as patterns modified by adjuncts and verb complexes are discussed as they appear in the various corpora. The second section looks across the corpora at the information structures of Topical Verb, Rhematised Verb, Split Rheme and Split Focus in the three groups of VIPs. The third section begins by exploring the communicative effects produced by the unconventional VSO, VOS and VS patterns across the corpora and then discusses their interaction with information structure. The final section draws together the discussion of pattern variation, information structure and communicative effects for each corpus and across the corpora.

According to the set objectives (see Chapter 1), the discussion of unconventional VIP pragmatics involves both synchronic and diachronic perspectives, which implies comparing the use of VIPs in the travel diaries from the 15th, 18th and 19th centuries, and the blog entries of the 21st century; the classic folk tales from the 19th century and the modern tales from the 21st century; and, to the degree possible, these texts and the 20th-century narratives. As discussed in Chapter 3.1.1., such comparisons across time and genre involve a number of limitations, accounted for in the current research. In particular, one text of the 15th century is compared with a number of texts in each of the other corpora; additionally, the genres of travel diaries and blog entries share certain characteristics, however, they are not fully comparable; and the same holds true for the genre of narratives which is not fully comparable to the genre of travel diaries. Although the selected corpora are not fully comparable, they can still provide insight into probable trends in unconventional VIP usage.

10.2. Unconventional VIP variation

One of the research objectives of this project was to examine the pragmatics of unconventional VIPs, differentiating between three groups of patterns. Previous research in the area was not aimed at identifying the difference between VSO, VOS and VS patterns (Blekher, 1995; McAnallen, 2009; Restan, 1981; Turner, 2006, 2009a, 2009b), but rather focused on the general

principles of VS usage. However, tracing not only the functional use of unconventional VIPs, but also the composition and variation of the VIPs produces interesting results. Therefore, the composition of VSO, VOS and VS groups of patterns, as well as variation within the groups have been analysed.

10.2.1. Frequency of occurrence

Before proceeding with the discussion, it is important to review the analysed corpora and their main characteristics regarding word, sentence and unconventional VIP composition. Consider the table below:

Table 10.1 VIP frequency, overall

Time Period	Genre	Number of Texts	Number of Words	Number of Sentences	Number of sentences with VIPs	% of sentences with VIPs
15th c.	travel diary	1	6,952	398	16	4%
18th-19th c.	travel diaries	7	10,369	575	81	14.1%
19th c.	classic folk tales	7	5,475	460	108	23.5%
20th c.	narratives	11	9,026	652	67	10.3%
21st c.	modern tales	7	9,949	824	45	5.5%
21st c.	blog entries	8	7,597	534	31	5.8%
Total		41	49,368	3,443	349	10.1%

As summarised in this table, 41 texts totalling almost 50,000 words were analysed clause-by-clause in this research project. Although the 15th century is represented by a single text, it is comparable in length to the set of classic folk tales and the set of 21st-century blog entries. Regarding the occurrence of VIPs, they are most frequent in the classic folk tales (23.5%). In comparison, the travel diaries of the same time period feature just over half as many unconventional VIPs (14.1%). Thus, the argument of a number of researchers (Kovtunova, 1980; Restan, 1981; Yokoyama, 1986) about VIPs being a feature of folk tales appears to be justified. However, this genre-specific attribution does not appear to carry over to the genre of modern tales of the 21st century, as this corpus is characterised by only 5.5% of sentences containing unconventional VIPs. Instead, broader comparison of the 18th-19th-century travel

diaries, the 19th-century folk tales and the 20th-century narratives with the 21st-century modern tales and blog entries indicates a significant decline in the use of unconventional VIPs.

Finally, the 18th-19th-century travel diaries and the 20th-century narratives are characterised by similar percentages of VIPs, which are higher than the 15th-century travel diary. This suggests two possible developments: there was a surge in verb-initial variations in the 18th-20th centuries, or the VIPs, which were a syntactic norm in the 15th century but became unconventional in later time periods, due to language reform, as Kovtunova (1969) advocates. Clearly, 15th-century discourse requires further investigation regarding unconventional VIP pragmatics.

10.2.2. Pattern variation

In order to discuss the performance of VSO, VOS and VS groups of unconventional VIPs across the genres and in different time periods, consider the results in Figure 10.1 and Table 10.2[23]. Note that here, and in subsequent tables in this chapter, cells with substantial normalised frequencies for each corpus have been highlighted, with higher, that is, more dominant, normalised frequencies marked in a darker shade.

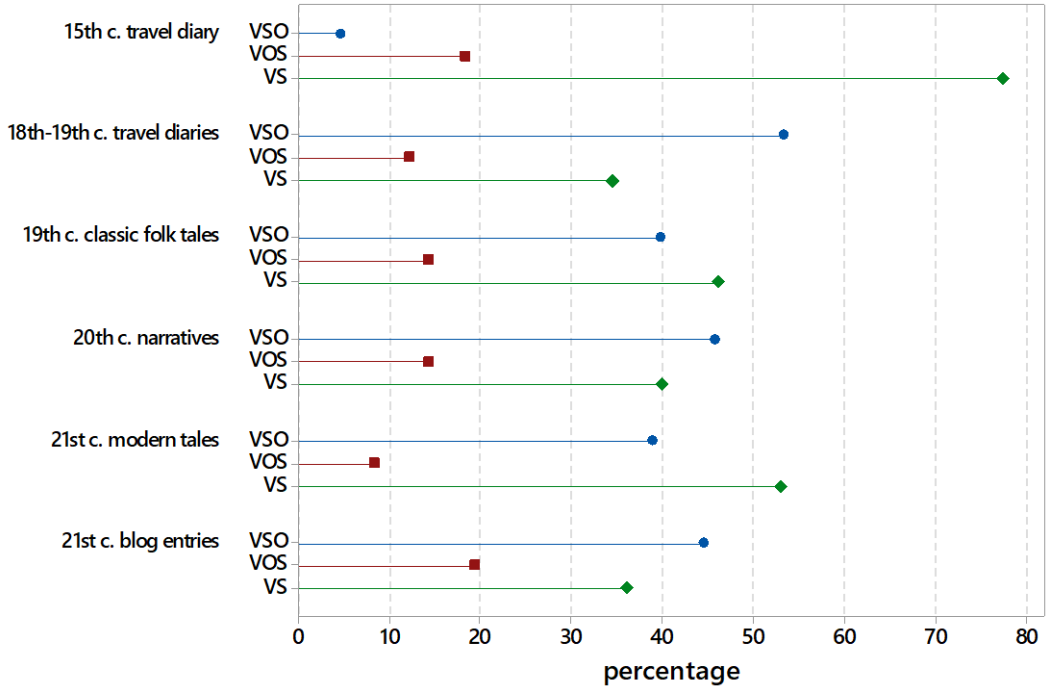

Figure 10.1: VIP frequency by word order group

[23] In this chapter, some data are presented in both a Figure and a Table, in order to present information with statistical accuracy as well as for better visualisation.

Table 10.2 VIP frequency by word order group

Time period	Genre	VSO	VOS	VS	Total
15th c.	travel diary	1 (4.8%)	4 (19%)	16 (76.2%)	21 (100%)
18th-19th c.	travel diaries	48 (53.3%)	11 (12.2%)	31 (34.5%)	90 (100%)
19th c.	classic folk tales	50 (39.7%)	18 (14.3%)	58 (46%)	126 (100%)
20th c.	narratives	32 (45.7%)	10 (14.3%)	28 (40%)	70 (100%)
21st c.	author's tales	19 (38.8%)	4 (8.2%)	26 (53%)	49 (100%)
21st c.	blog entries	16 (44.5%)	7 (19.4%)	13 (36.1%)	36 (100%)
Total		166 (42.3%)	54 (13.8%)	172 (43.9%)	392 (100%)

As can be seen from the bar chart and the table, in the five modern Russian corpora, there is significant occurrence of VSO and VS groups of VIPs, whereas in the 15th-century text, VS patterns dominate. This latter finding is in line with Turner's (2006) and McAnallen's (2009) research of medieval Russian word order, although they do not differentiate between VSO and VOS word orders. In other words, the combined research indicates that the authors of Early Russian discourse, as well as Nikitin in his 15th-century text, chose verb-initial word order patterns containing no object considerably more frequently than VSO and VOS combinations. The fact that a medieval travel diary presented and described unknown phenomena or provided an account of events (McAnallen, 2009) might account for the prevalent use of VS patterns, modified by adjuncts, especially in phenomenon presentation. In this case, the pattern most likely begins with an adjunct denoting a place, which serves as a topic of a clause and which attracts a verb expressing the property of this place; a subject, or new information about the place, appears last in the sentence. Such ordering has since become a conventional arrangement of elements in presentational and existential constructions (McAnallen, 2009).

In the five modern Russian corpora, VOS appears to be considerably less frequent than its VSO counterpart. This ordering preference can be explained by the grammatical nature of an object and a subject: the object is, for the most part, pronominal in VOS and nominal in VSO; whilst the subject is nominal in VOS and mostly pronominal in VSO. Moreover, pragmatically, VSO prevalence over VOS may indicate that authors of the analysed corpora

prefer to put emphasis on a verb and its complement rather than on a verb and a subject, when an object is present.

Additionally, it is interesting to note that the presence of VSO variations increases dramatically in the 18th century, which might be accounted for by a consistent use of personal pronouns in contemporary Russian, compared to medieval Russian. In this regard, it is important to briefly discuss frequently occurring VO patterns, used randomly by some authors of the 18th-19th-century travel diaries. Although these variations are not a subject of current research, a few observations might be useful for further research of VIPs. Kibrik (2013) argues that the choice between two available patterns ("free pronoun + verb inflection" or "inflection alone") is accounted for by style and provides an example of several translations of a Biblical text. He concludes that the absence of a pronoun, that is a VO pattern where the inflection bears the grammatical properties, "has overtones of archaism" and is marked as belonging to a religious style (Kibrik, 2013, p. 237). This finding holds true when comparing the 18th-19th and the 20th-century data; however, the analysis of blog entries suggests that omission of a subject may no longer be seen as an archaism in the 21st century; on the contrary, it may be an emerging feature of this genre. This observation requires further research, as VO orders were not a primary research object of this project.

Furthermore, what Kibrik (2013) calls a "pretentious and too high-style for colloquial usage" of an "inflection alone" pattern appears to be the opposite in contemporary Russian. In particular, it is common in blogging to omit a personal pronoun. By contrast, Kibrik's (2013) suggested use of the inflection alone pattern in the "series of same-subject sentences or clauses functioning as elaborations to mainline material" (p. 236) has proved to be validated by a large number of data, in particular, from the 18th-19th-century travel diaries and from the classic folk tales.

Besides pattern variation between VSO, VOS and VS combinations, further research of pattern variation within the three groups in different genres and time periods was carried out. Overall, five groups of variations for VSO, VOS and VS permutations were identified, including: basic (pure) patterns; patterns with adjuncts (A) at the beginning, in the middle and/or at the end of the combination; patterns with a complex object ([O]) (except in VS combinations); and two types of patterns with a split verb complex ([V]). To facilitate the discussion of trends in pattern variation in the following sections, some patterns are combined with others to form broader groups. The groups under discussion are as follows:

- Pure patterns (including patterns with [O])
- Patterns with adjuncts (at the beginning, middle and/or end, including patterns with [O])
- Patterns with verb complexes (patterns containing a verb complex, including patterns with [O]).

Figure 10.2 and Table 10.3 give the ratio of each VIP (VSO, VOS or VS) variation against the total of all VIPs in each corpus. In this, and subsequent tables, unless otherwise specified, highlighted cells with substantial results generally have five or more tokens and a normalised frequency ≥ 10%, and cells with higher, more dominant, results and darker highlighting generally have a normalised frequency ≥ 20%.

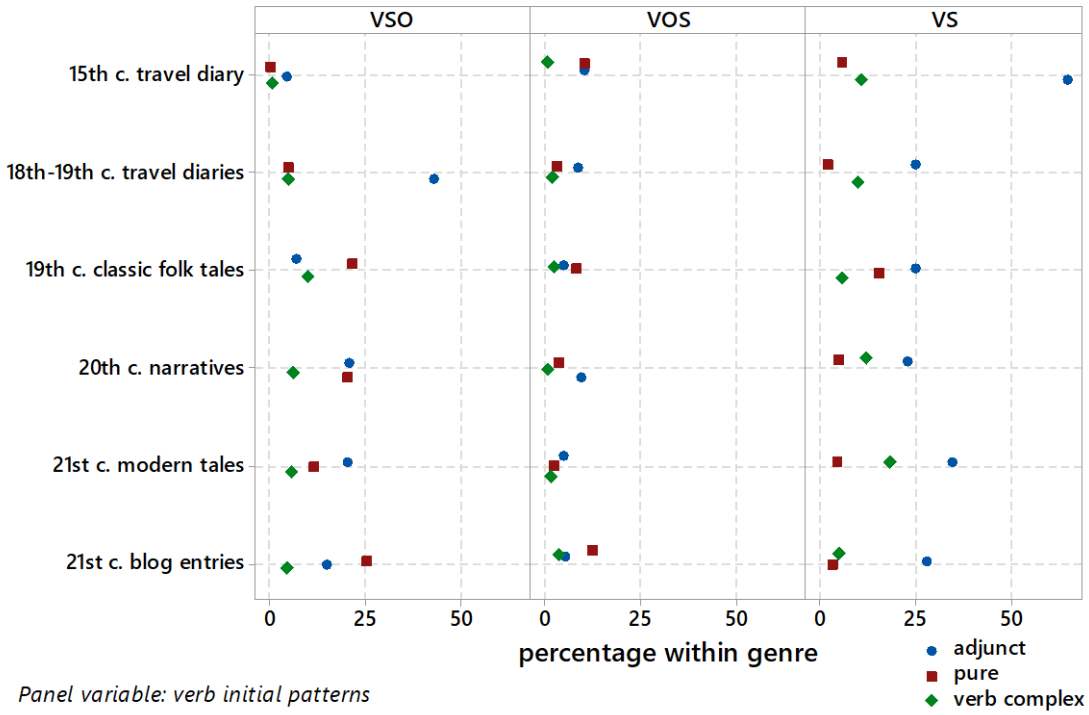

Figure 10.2: VIP variation by word order group, overall

Table 10.3 VIP variation by word order group, overall

Time period	Genre	VSO			VOS			VS			Total
		Pure pattern	Pattern with Adjunct	Pattern with Verb Complex	Pure pattern	Pattern with Adjunct	Pattern with Verb Complex	Pure pattern	Pattern with Adjunct	Pattern with Verb Complex	
15th c.	travel diary	0	1 (4.8%)	0	2 (9.5%)	2 (9.5%)	0	1 (4.8%)	13 (61.9%)	2 (9.5%)	21 (100%)
18th-19th c.	travel diaries	5 (5.55%)	38 (42.2%)	5 (5.55%)	2 (2.2%)	6 (6.7%)	3 (3.3%)	1 (1.1%)	23 (25.55)	7 (7.8%)	90 (100%)
19th c.	classic folk tales	29 (23%)	10 (7.9%)	11 (8.7%)	9 (7.1%)	7 (5.5%)	2 (1.6%)	19 (15.1%)	31 (24.6%)	8 (6.4%)	126 (100%)
20th c.	narratives	13 (18.6%)	15 (21.4%)	4 (5.7%)	2 (2.9%)	7 (10%)	1 (1.4%)	3 (4.3%)	16 (22.9%)	9 (12.9%)	70 (100%)
21st c.	author's tales	6 (12.2%)	10 (20.4%)	3 (6.1%)	1 (2%)	3 (6.1%)	0	2 (4.1%)	16 (32.7%)	8 (16.3%)	49 (100%)
21st c.	blog entries	9 (25%)	5 (13.9%)	2 (5.55%)	4 (11.1%)	2 (5.55%)	1 (2.8%)	1 (2.8%)	10 (27.8%)	2 (5.55%)	36 (100%)
Total		62 (15.8%)	79 (20.1%)	25 (6.4%)	20 (5.1%)	27 (6.9%)	7 (1.8%)	27 (6.9%)	109 (27.8%)	36 (9.2%)	392 (100%)

Limiting consideration to results with 10% of occurrence and above, in the VS group, the predominant variation across all genres and time periods is a pattern with one or more adjuncts, whereas in the VSO group, both pure and adjunct patterns are prominent variations. In particular, VSO pure patterns dominate in the classic folk tales and blog entries and are nearly equally as frequent as patterns with adjuncts in the narratives. By contrast, the only genre in which VS pure patterns are represented in over 10% of clauses is classic folk tales. Regarding patterns with verb complexes, their ratio is insignificant in the VSO group of patterns, whereas in the VS group, their share is more representative in the narratives and modern tales. VOS variations appear in less than 10% of all clauses in most genres and time periods, except for patterns with adjuncts in the 20th-century narratives (10%) and pure patterns in the 21st-century blog entries (11.1%).

Overall, the obvious dominance of patterns with adjuncts in the 15th-century travel diary (VS group) and 18th-19th-century travel diaries (VS and VSO groups) suggests a formulaic nature of word order in the genre and in that time period. Kovtunova (1969) accounts for such ordering in 18th-century literary discourse as influenced by Latin-German and Old Slavonic conventions. The analysed corpora, thus, validate Kovtunova's findings and further suggest that VSO and VS patterns with one or more adjuncts continue to be dominant patterns in the 19th to 21st century.

In order to discuss VOS pattern variation in greater detail, consider the results in Figure 10.3 and Table 10.4 which represent the ratio of each variation against the total performance in the word order group. In the table the highlighting for VSO and VS word order groups is carried over from Table 10.3, while the highlighting for VOS reflects the normalised frequency within this word order group.

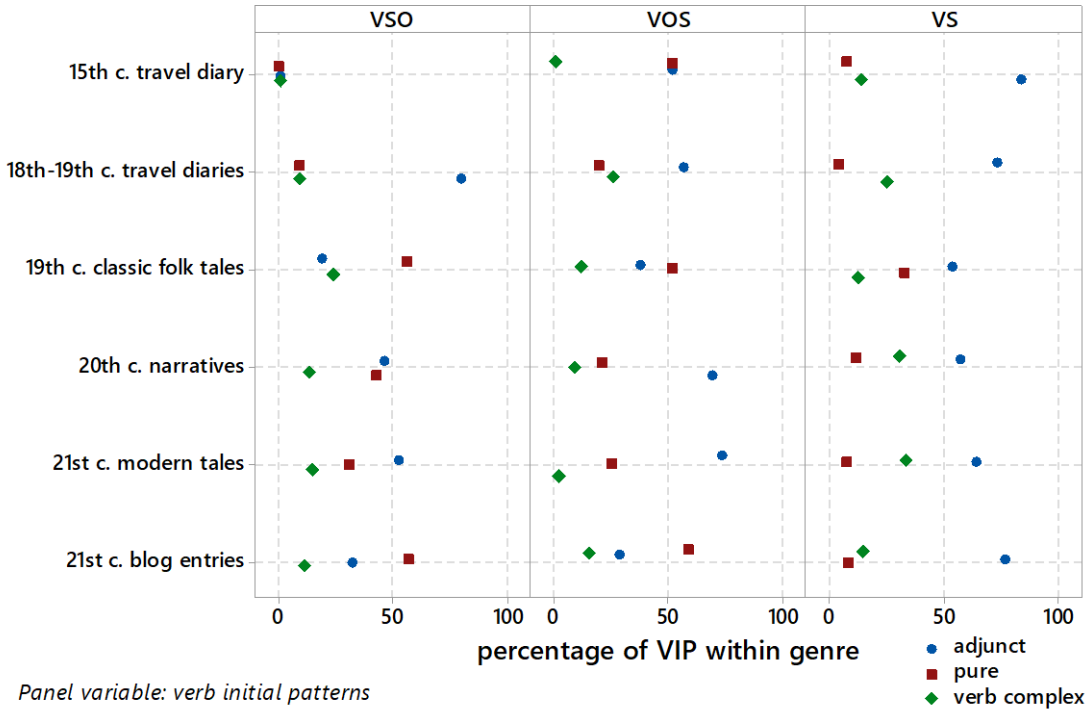

Figure 10.3: VIP variation by word order group, per group

Table 10.4 VIP variation by word order group, per group

Time period	Genre	VSO			Total	VOS			Total	VS			Total
		Pure pattern	Pattern with Adjunct	Pattern with Verb Complex		Pure pattern	Pattern with Adjunct	Pattern with Verb Complex		Pure pattern	Pattern with Adjunct	Pattern with Verb Complex	
15th c.	travel diary	0	1 (1%)	0	1 (100%)	2 (50%)	2 (50%)	0	4 (100%)	1 (6.25%)	13 (81.25%)	2 (12.5%)	16 (100%)
18th-19th c.	travel diaries	5 (10.4%)	38 (79.2%)	5 (10.4%)	48 (100%)	2 (18.2%)	6 (54.5%)	3 (27.3%)	11 (100%)	1 (3.2%)	23 (74.2%)	7 (22.6%)	31 (100%)
19th c.	classic folk tales	29 (58%)	10 (20%)	11 (22%)	50 (100%)	9 (50%)	7 (38.9%)	2 (11.1%)	18 (100%)	19 (32.8%)	31 (53.4%)	8 (13.8%)	58 (100%)
20th c.	narratives	13 (40.6%)	15 (46.9%)	4 (12.5%)	32 (100%)	2 (20%)	7 (70%)	1 (10%)	10 (100%)	3 (10.7%)	16 (57.15%)	9 (32.15%)	28 (100%)
21st c.	author's tales	6 (31.6%)	10 (52.6%)	3 (15.8%)	19 (100%)	1 (25%)	3 (75%)	0	4 (100%)	2 (7.7%)	16 (61.5%)	8 (30.8%)	26 (100%)
21st c.	blog entries	9 (56.25%)	5 (31.25%)	2 (12.5%)	16 (100%)	4 (57.1%)	2 (28.6%)	1 (14.3%)	7 (100%)	1 (7.7%)	10 (76.9%)	2 (15.4%)	13 (100%)
Total		62 (37.3%)	79 (47.6%)	25 (15.1%)	166 (100%)	20 (37%)	27 (50%)	7 (13%)	54 (100%)	27 (15.7%)	109 (63.4%)	36 (20.9%)	172 (100%)

Although the number of occurrences is small, this more detailed analysis of VOS patterns suggests that VOS occupies an intermediate position between the VS and VSO groups in terms of distribution of pattern variation. For instance, focusing on corpora with five or more tokens of at least one VOS pattern, Figure 10.3 and Table 10.4 show that like VS and VSO, VOS patterns with adjuncts dominate in 18th-19th-century travel diaries and 20th-century narratives, whereas like VSO, pure VOS patterns dominate in the classic folk tales.

To summarise the findings of Figure 10.2/Table 10.3 and Figure 10.3/Table 10.4, the conducted analysis of VSO, VOS and VS word order variation suggests that patterns with adjuncts are prominent, and that these patterns particularly dominate in the 18th-19th-century travel diaries; whereas pure patterns are prevalent in the classic folk tales, particularly in the VSO and VOS groups. This might be accounted for by genre difference: the travel diary genre involves much description of places and times, which requires adjuncts, whereas classic folk tales are broader narratives. Bearing in mind the limitations of comparison among the corpora outlined in Chapter 3.1.1., it appears further that neither the 20th-century narratives nor the 21st-century blog entries strictly align with the expected pattern variations of travel diaries, and that 21st-century modern tales also do not align well with the classic folk tales. While the pattern variations of blog entries, at least, may be due to the variety of topics in the selected texts, this suggests that there is also a diachronic aspect to pattern variation. That is, these findings indicate that possible genre differences are limited to travel diaries and classic folk tales of the 19th century.

10.3. VIP information structures

As discussed in Chapters 2.2.1.3 and 3.2.4, the methodological approach taken in this project builds on that suggested by Turner (2006, 2009a) in that the role of information structure is explored in considering the pragmatic effects of the unconventional VIP word order patterns. Figure 10.4 and Table 10.5 summarise the occurrence of the syntactic arrangements of Topical Verb, Rhematised Verb, Split Rheme and Clause Focus in the texts analysed in this research.

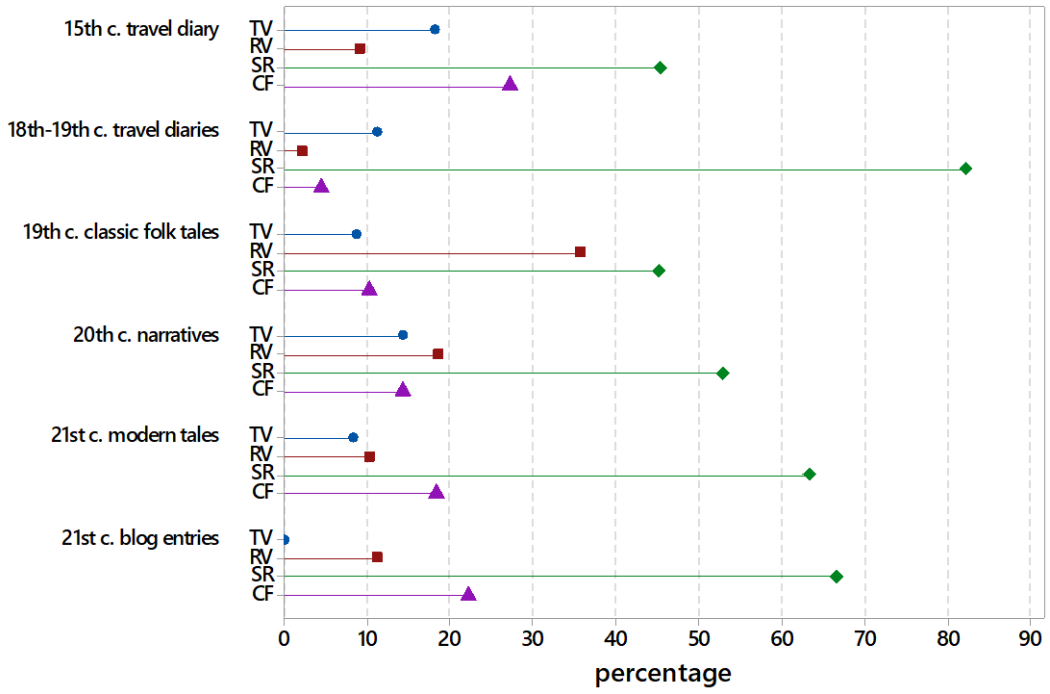

Figure 10.4: VIP information structures, overall

Table 10.5 VIP information structures, overall

Time period	Genre	Topical Verb	Rhematised Verb	Split Rheme	Clause Focus	Total
15th c.	travel diary	4 (19.1%)	2 (9.5%)	10 (47.6%)	5 (23.8%)	21 (100%)
18th-19th c.	travel diaries	10 (11.1%)	2 (2.2%)	74 (82.2%)	4 (4.4%)	90 (100%)
19th c.	classic folk tales	11 (8.7%)	45 (35.7%)	57 (45.2%)	13 (10.3%)	126 (100%)
20th c.	narratives	10 (14.3%)	13 (18.6%)	37 (52.8%)	10 (14.3%)	70 (100%)
21st c.	author's tales	4 (8.2%)	5 (10.2%)	31 (63.3%)	9 (18.4%)	49 (100%)
21st c.	blog entries	-	4 (11.1%)	24 (66.6%)	8 (22.2%)	36 (100%)
Total		39 (9.95%)	71 (18.1%)	233 (59.45%)	49 (12.5%)	392 (100%)

As this bar chart and table show, Split Rheme information structure is the most frequently employed syntactic arrangement across all the corpora, with Rhematised Verb also significantly frequently employed in the classic folk tales corpus. Furthermore, Rhematised Verb also has a reasonable frequency of occurrence in the 20th-century corpus of narratives, while its occurrence in the remaining corpora is relatively minimal. Finally, the results show that Clause Focus is employed to a substantial degree in the 15th-century travel diary, the 20th-century narratives and the 21st-century modern tales and blog entries, and to a lesser, but still substantial degree, in the 19th-century classic folk tales and the 20th-century narratives. Topical Verb is employed to a similar limited degree in the 15th-century travel diary, the 18th-19th-century travel diaries and the 20th-century narratives. The 20th-century narratives corpus is the only one which shows a reasonable percentage of occurrences across all four information structures.

Regarding the distribution of information structure across the three VIP word orders, the overall results are as follows:

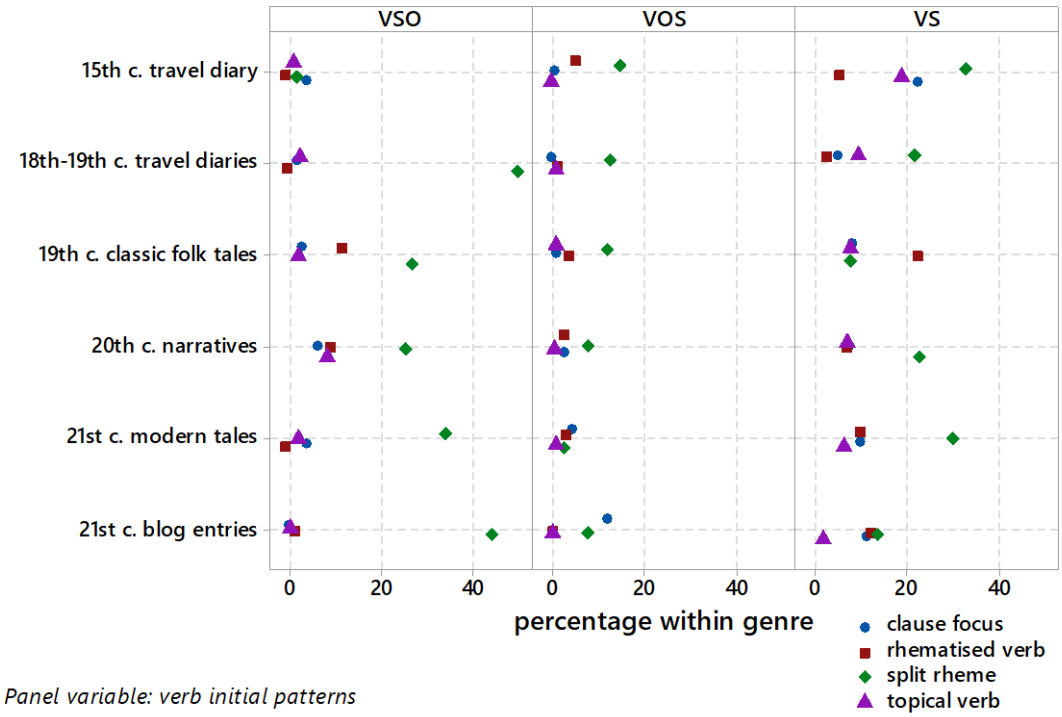

Figure 10.5: VIP information structures by word order group, overall

Table 10.6 VIP information structures by word order group, overall

Time period	Genre	VSO				VOS				VS				Total
		TV	RV	SR	CF	TV	RV	SR	CF	TV	RV	SR	CF	
15th c.	travel diary				1 (4.8%)		1 (4.8%)	3 (14.3%)		4 (19%)	1 (4.8%)	7 (33.3%)	4 (19%)	21 (100%)
18th-19th c.	travel diaries	3 (3.3%)		44 (48.9%)	1 (1.1%)			11 (12.2%)		7 (7.8%)	2 (2.2%)	19 (21.1%)	3 (3.3%)	90 (100%)
19th c.	classic folk tales	2 (1.6%)	13 (10.3%)	32 (25.4%)	3 (2.4%)		3 (2.4%)	15 (11.9%)		9 (7.1%)	29 (23%)	10 (7.9%)	10 (7.9%)	126 (100%)
20th c.	narratives	5 (7.1%)	6 (8.6%)	17 (24.3%)	4 (5.7%)	1 (1.4%)	2 (2.8%)	5 (7.1%)	2 (2.8%)	4 (5.7%)	5 (7.1%)	15 (21.4%)	4 (5.7%)	70 (100%)
21st c.	author's tales	1 (2%)		16 (32.65%)	2 (4.1%)		1 (2%)	1 (2%)	2 (4.1%)	3 (6.1%)	4 (8.2%)	14 (28.6%)	5 (10.2%)	49 (100%)
21st c.	blog entries			16 (44.4%)				3 (8.3%)	4 (11.1%)		4 (11.1%)	5 (13.9%)	4 (11.1%)	36 (100%)
Total		11 (2.8%)	19 (4.8%)	125 (31.9)	11 (2.8%)	1 (0.3%)	7 (1.8%)	38 (9.7%)	8 (2%)	27 (6.9%)	45 (11.5%)	70 (17.8%)	30 (7.6%)	392 (100%)

A comparison of Figures 10.4 and 10.5 as well as Tables 10.5 and 10.6 show that Split Rheme, the dominant information structure across all the corpora, strongly correlates with unconventional VSO word order patterns in all except the 15th-century travel diary, and with VS patterns in the 15th-century travel diary, the 20th-century narratives and the 21st-century modern tales. It correlates to a lesser degree with VS and VOS word order patterns in the 18th-19th-century travel diaries. Rhematised Verb, which occurred significantly frequently in the classic folk tales corpus in Figure 10.4/Table 10.5, can be seen in Figure 10.5/Table 10.6 to strongly correlate with VS word order patterns in this corpus. This suggests that VS word order with Rhematised Verb information structure is a feature of this genre. Interestingly, the blog entries, which are, arguably, the set of texts that are the most informal, 'semi-oral' and narrative in nature of the six sets analysed, have only one, rather than two significant correlations of information structure and word order as do the narratives and modern tales; instead, in the blog entries VS and VOS word orders are used for a range of information structures. Finally, it should be noted that lack of correlation of Split Rheme and VSO word order in the results in Figure 10.5/Table 10.6 again set the 15th-century travel diary apart from the later modern Russian texts; clearly further research of texts from this time period is warranted.

In order to discuss information structure correlations with VOS word order in greater detail, the results in Figure 10.6 and Table 10.7 give the ratio of each information structure against the total performance in the word order group. In the table, the highlighting for VSO and VS word order groups is carried over from Table 10.6, while the highlighting for VOS reflects the normalised frequency within this word order group.

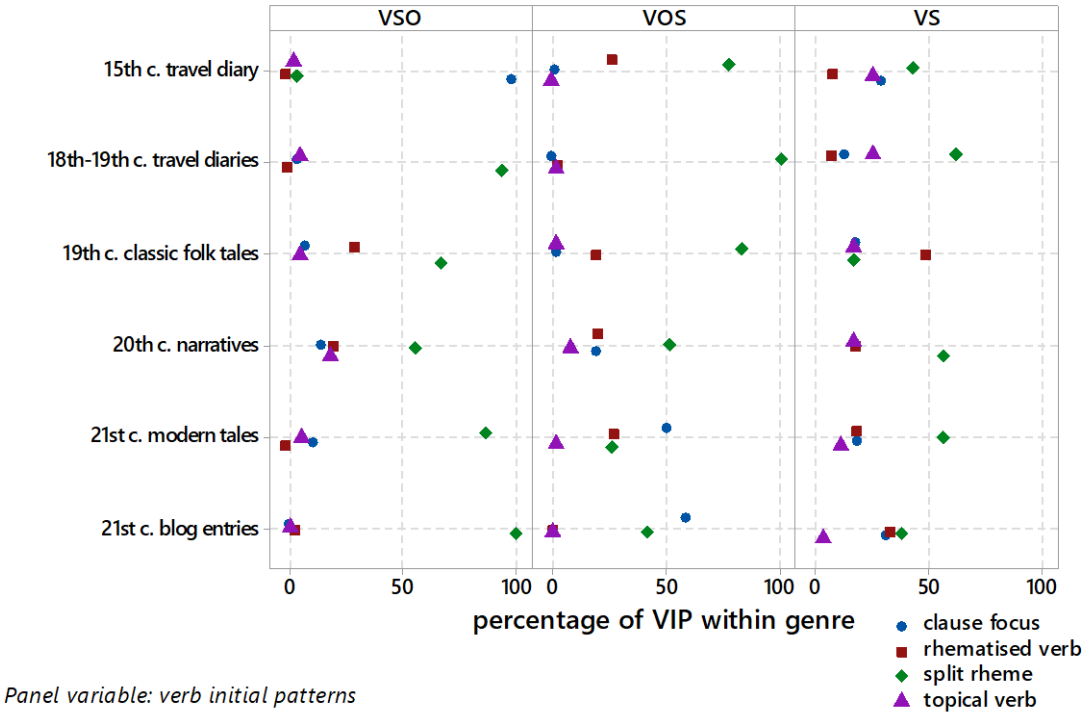

Figure 10.6: VIP information structures by word order group, per group

Table 10.7 VIP information structures by word order group, per group

Time period	Genre	VSO				Total	VOS				Total	VS				Total
		TV	RV	SR	CF		TV	RV	SR	CF		TV	RV	SR	CF	
15th c.	travel diary				1 (100%)	1 (100%)		1 (25%)	3 (75%)		4 (100%)	4 (25%)	1 (6.25%)	7 (43.75%)	4 (25%)	16 (100%)
18th-19th c.	travel diaries	3 (6.25%)		44 (91.7%)	1 (2.1%)	48 (100%)			11 (100%)		11 (100%)	7 (22.6%)	2 (6.4%)	19 (61.3%)	3 (9.7%)	31 (100%)
19th c.	classic folk tales	2 (4%)	13 (26%)	32 (64%)	3 (6%)	50 (100%)		3 (16.7%)	15 (83.3%)		18 (100%)	9 (15.5%)	29 (50%)	10 (17.2%)	10 (17.2%)	58 (100%)
20th c.	narratives	5 (15.6%)	6 (18.75%)	17 (53.1%)	4 (12.5%)	32 (100%)	1 (10%)	2 (20%)	5 (50%)	2 (20%)	10 (100%)	4 (14.3%)	5 (17.8%)	15 (53.6%)	4 (14.3%)	28 (100%)
21st c.	author's tales	1 (5.3%)		16 (84.2%)	2 (10.5%)	19 (100%)		1 (25%)	1 (25%)	2 (50%)	4 (100%)	3 (11.5%)	4 (15.4%)	14 (53.9%)	5 (19.2%)	26 (100%)
21st c.	blog entries			16 (100%)		16 (100%)			3 (42.9%)	4 (57.1%)	7 (100%)		4 (30.75%)	5 (38.5%)	4 (30.75%)	13 (100%)
Total		11 (6.6%)	19 (11.45%)	125 (75.3%)	11 (6.6%)	166 (100%)	1 (1.8%)	7 (13%)	38 (70.4%)	8 (14.8%)	54 (100%)	27 (15.7%)	45 (26.2%)	70 (40.7%)	30 (17.4%)	172 (100%)

Although the number of occurrences is quite small, some relevant observations about information structure in the VOS group can be drawn from the results of Figure 10.6 and Table 10.7. In particular, in the 18th – 20th-century corpora, similar to the VSO and VS groups, the dominant information structure is Split Rheme. Although the number of VOS tokens in the 15th- and 21st-century corpora are too low to allow anything more than speculation; they suggest that Split Rheme may also dominate in the 15th-century travel diary, while in the 21st century Clause Focus may also play a role.

10.4. VIP communicative effects

To account for VIP functioning in the selected texts on a deeper level, another criterion – communicative effect of a VIP – was examined. The relevance of the analysis of communicative effects arises from Kovtunova's (1980) observation of multiple correlations that exist between different word orders and actual sentence division, as well as from Turner (2006), Janko (2001) and Blekher (1995) (see Chapter 2).

As outlined in Chapter 3.2.6., the fifteen different communicative effects that unconventional VIPs displayed in the six corpora can be divided into discourse management devices (Blekher, 1995), syntactic effects and stylistic effects (Janko, 2001; Restan, 1981; Valgina, 2003). This differentiation is noted in Table 10.8 below, which summarises the findings in Chapters 4-9 regarding the occurrence of the identified communicative effects in the analysed corpora. It should be noted that, as discussed in Chapter 3.2.5., syntactic pattern is listed as a syntactic effect for the 15th-century- and 18th-19th- century travel diaries, and as a stylistic effect for the remaining corpora, since new syntactic norms were introduced by Karamzin in late 18th – early 19th century and a new system of writing was adopted (Kovtunova, 1969). Note that in Table 10.8 cells with substantial normalised frequencies for each corpus have been highlighted, with higher, that is, more dominant, normalised frequencies marked in a darker shade.

Table 10.8 VIP communicative effects, overall

Time period	Genre	Discourse management			Syntactic			Stylistic										
		Scene setup	Change in the narrative	Connection to preceding/ following context	Contrast	Presentation	Syntactic pattern	Syntactic pattern	Broader reading	Broader reading after ' begin'	Syntactic parallelism	Adding motion	Stylised direct speech	Colloquial speech	Emphatic reading	Genre syntactic convention	Split focus	Total
15th c.	travel diary	5 (19.2%)			2 (7.7%)	8 (30.8%)		n/a	2 (7.7%)		2 (7.7%)			1 (3.8%)	2 (7.7%)		4 (15.4%)	26 (100%)
18th – 19th c.	travel diaries	12 (9.2%)	13 (10%)	6 (4.6%)	5 (3.8%)		28 (21.5%)	n/a	39 (30%)	1 (0.8%)	10 (7.7%)			3 (2.3%)	8 (6.2%)		5 (3.8%)	130 (100%)
19th c.	classic folk tales	25 (15.2%)	16 (9.8%)	16 (9.8%)	1 (0.6%)		n/a	2 (1.2%)	14 (8.5%)	10 (6.1%)	40 (24.4%)	1 (0.6%)	4 (2.4%)	12 (7.3%)	17 (10.4%)	5 (3.05%)	1 (0.6%)	164 (100%)
20th c.	narratives	13 (15.3%)	11 (12.9%)	12 (14.1%)	1 (1.2%)	3 (3.5%)	n/a	1 (1.2%)	13 (15.3%)		2 (2.4%)		6 (7.1%)	4 (4.7%)	3 (3.5%)		16 (18.8%)	85 (100%)
21st c.	modern tales	6 (9.7%)	11 (17.7%)	2 (3.2%)	1 (1.6%)	2 (3.2%)	n/a	8 (12.9%)	9 (14.5%)	1 (1.6%)	8 (12.9%)		1 (1.6%)		3 (4.8%)		10 (16.1%)	62 (100%)
21st c.	blog entries	4 (7.7%)	4 (7.7%)		3 (5.8%)	1 (1.9%)	n/a	4 (7.7%)	14 (26.9%)		5 (9.6%)		1 (1.9%)	5 (9.6%)	7 (13.5%)		4 (7.7%)	52 (100%)
Total		65 (12.5%)	55 (10.6%)	36 (6.9%)	13 (2.5%)	14 (2.7%)	28 (5.4%)	15 (2.9%)	91 (17.5%)	12 (2.3%)	67 (12.9%)	1 (0.2%)	12 (2.3%)	25 (4.8%)	40 (7.7%)	5 (1.0%)	40 (7.7%)	519 (100%)

As can be seen from the table, the representation of communicative effects across the corpora is rather uneven. In particular, the classic folk tales dominate the other corpora in the variety of communicative effects, followed by the narratives and modern tales, then the 18th-19th-century travel diaries, the blog entries and finally the 15th-century travel diary. While it is perhaps not surprising that the 15th-century travel diary again stands apart as it is from the pre-modern rather than the modern Russian period, it is notable that the 21st-century blog entries also show a limited range of communicative effects, particularly in comparison to the 21st-century modern tales.

Focusing on communicative effects, the results in Table 10.8 demonstrate that the most frequently appearing effects across the corpora are: the stylistic effects of enabling a broader reading of a clause (17.5%) and syntactic parallelism (12.9%), and the discourse management effects of scene setup (12.5%) and change in the narrative (10.6%). Other communicative effects with a moderate frequency of occurrence include the stylistic effects of emphatic reading (7.7%) and split focus (7.7%), and the discourse management effect of connection to preceding/following context (6.9%). Interestingly, the only notable syntactic communicative effects are presentation (2.7%) and syntactic pattern (5.4%); however, substantial occurrence is limited to the 15th-century- and 18th-19th-century travel diaries, respectively. While it has been argued that the communicative effect of syntactic pattern has become a stylistic device over time (see Chapter 3.2.5), the unconventional use of a VIP for presenting a phenomenon in the pre-modern 15th-century travel diary appears to have become conventional by the modern Russian period (Krylova & Xavronina, 1988; Valgina, 2003).

Given the small number of occurrences across many of the categories in Table 10.8, for the remainder of the discussion in this section about the interplay with word order and information structure, the relevant findings from Chapters 4-9 are aggregated into the three broader groups of discourse management, syntactic and stylistic as in Figure 10.7 and Table 10.9, where cells with substantial normalised frequencies for each corpus have been highlighted, with more dominant normalised frequencies marked in a darker shade.

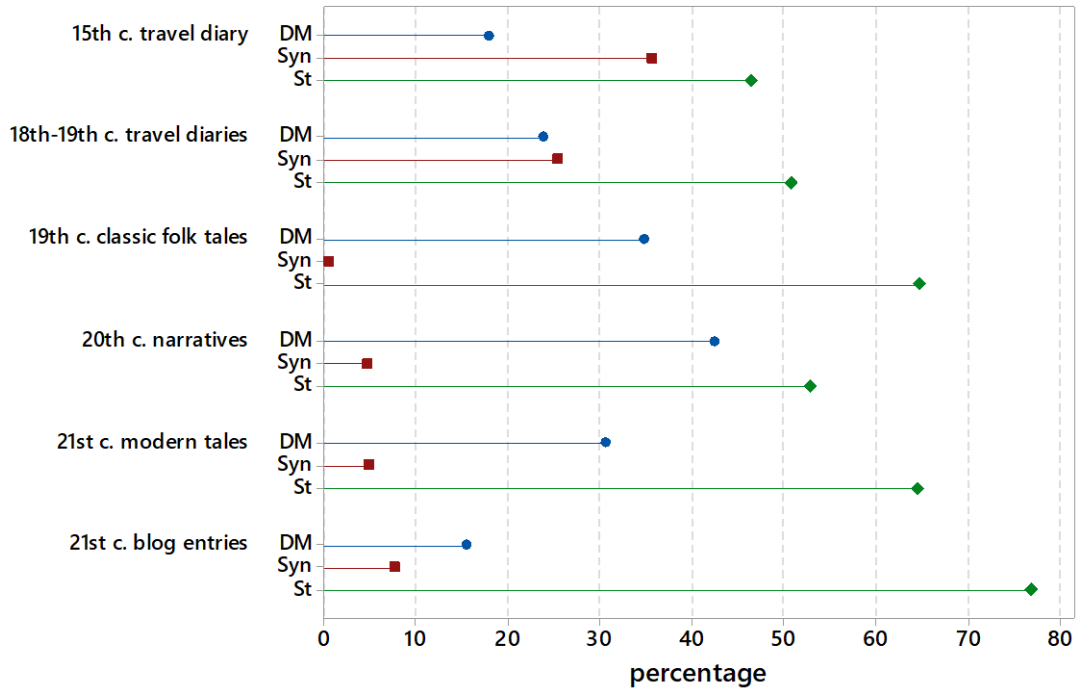

Figure 10.7: VIP communicative effects, by group

Table 10.9 VIP communicative effects, by group

Time Period	Genre	Discourse Management	Syntactic	Stylistic	Total
15th c.	travel diary	5 (19.2%)	10 (38.5%)	11 (42.3%)	26 (100%)
18th – 19th c.	travel diaries	31 (23.8%)	33 (25.4%)	66 (50.8%)	130 (100%)
19th c.	classic folk tales	57 (34.8%)	1 (0.6%)	106 (64.6%)	164 (100%)
20th c.	narratives	36 (42.4%)	4 (4.7%)	45 (52.9%)	85 (100%)
21st c.	author's tales	19 (30.6%)	3 (4.8%)	40 (64.5%)	62 (100%)
21st c.	blog entries	8 (15.4%)	4 (7.7%)	40 (76.9%)	52 (100%)
Total		156 (30.05%)	55 (10.6%)	308 (59.35%)	519 (100%)

The overall picture that the findings in Figure 10.7 and Table 10.9 suggest is that unconventional VIPs have been used predominantly across all the corpora for stylistic effects, which confirms Kovtunova's (1967), Restan's (1981) and Valgina's (2003) claims. Unconventional VIPs have also been used to a lesser extent for discourse management, ranging

from about 80% as much in the 20th-century narratives to only about a fifth of the extent in the 21st-century blog entries. In addition, there appears to be a diachronic aspect to the VIP communicative effects, for as discussed above in relation to Table 10.8, unconventional VIPs have also been used to a significant degree for producing various syntactic effects in the 15th- and 18th-19th-century travel diaries.

The distribution of VIP words orders across these three broader groups of communicative effects is given in Figure 10.8 and Table 10.10:

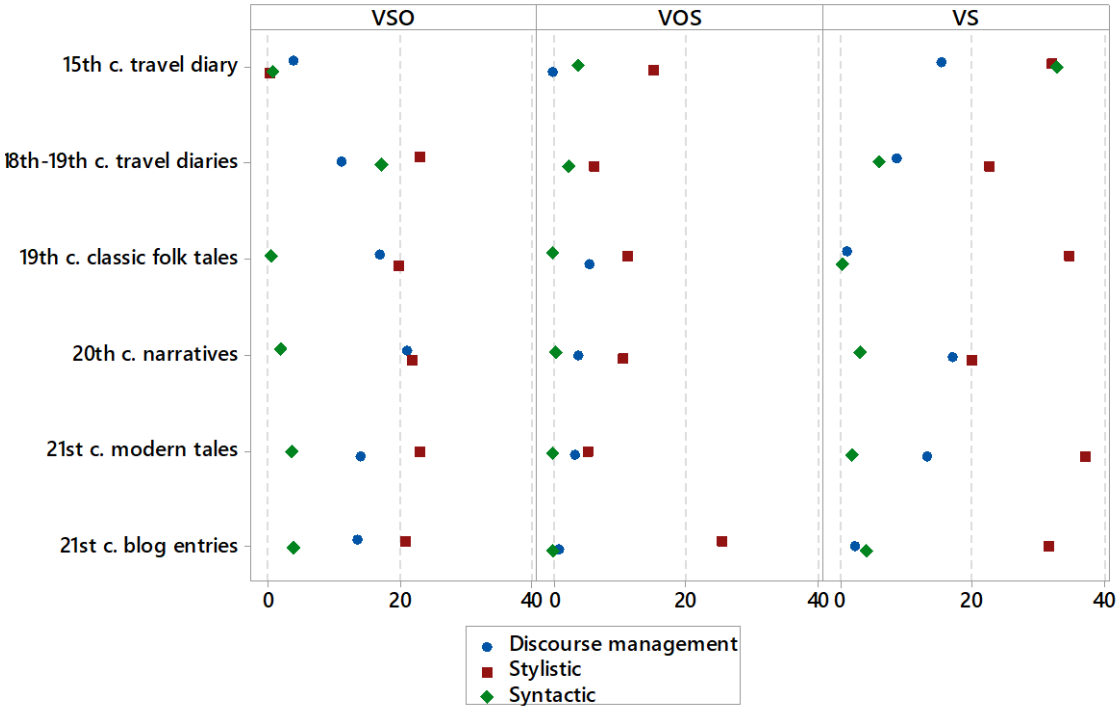

Figure 10.8: VIP communicative effects by word order group, overall

Table 10.10 VIP communicative effects by word order group, overall

Time period	Genre	VSO			VOS			VS			Total
		Discourse management	Syntactic	Stylistic	Discourse management	Syntactic	Stylistic	Discourse management	Syntactic	Stylistic	
15th c.	travel diary	1 (3.8%)	-	-	-	1 (3.8%)	4 (15.5%)	4 (15.4%)	9 (34.6%)	7 (26.9%)	26 (100%)
18th – 19th c.	travel diaries	14 (10.8%)	23 (17.7%)	30 (23.1%)	7 (5.4%)	3 (2.3%)	7 (5.4%)	10 (7.7%)	7 (5.4%)	29 (22.3%)	130 (100%)
19th c.	classic folk tales	28 (17.1%)	-	32 (19.5%)	9 (5.5%)	-	17 (10.4%)	20 (1.2%)	1 (0.6%)	57 (34.8%)	164 (100%)
20th c.	narratives	18 (21.2%)	1 (1.2%)	19 (22.3%)	3 (3.5%)	-	9 (10.6%)	15 (17.6%)	3 (3.5%)	17 (20%)	85 (100%)
21st c.	author's tales	9 (14.5%)	2 (3.2%)	14 (22.6%)	2 (3.2%)	-	3 (4.8%)	8 (12.9%)	1 (1.6%)	23 (37.1%)	62 (100%)
21st c.	blog entries	7 (13.5%)	2 (3.8%)	11 (21.1%)	-	-	13 (25%)	1 (1.9%)	2 (3.8%)	16 (30.8%)	52 (100%)
Total		77 (14.8%)	28 (5.4%)	106 (20.4%)	21 (4%)	4 (0.8%)	53 (10.2%)	58 (11.2%)	23 (4.4%)	149 (28.7%)	519 (100%)

The results in Figure 10.8 and Table 10.10 indicate that in the five corpora of modern Russian texts, VS and VSO word orders strongly correlate with stylistic effects, and to a lesser degree VSO word order correlates with discourse management devices. One exception is the 20th-century corpus of narratives, where there is a relatively equally strong correlation of VS and VSO word orders with stylistic and discourse management devices, suggesting a potential genre difference. As well, in the 18th-19th-century travel diaries, there is a correlation of VSO with syntactic effects as discussed for the previous tables, and in the 19th-century classic folk tales, the 20th-century narratives and the 21st-century blog entries, there is an additional correlation of VOS word order with stylistic effects, which may be diachronic and/or genre-related. Finally, while the 15th-century travel diary also shows a strong correlation of VS word order with stylistic effects, it contrasts with the modern Russian texts in showing an equally strong correlation of VS word order and syntactic effects.

Figure 10.9 and Table 10.11 summarise the distribution of the four information structures across the three groups of communicative effects:

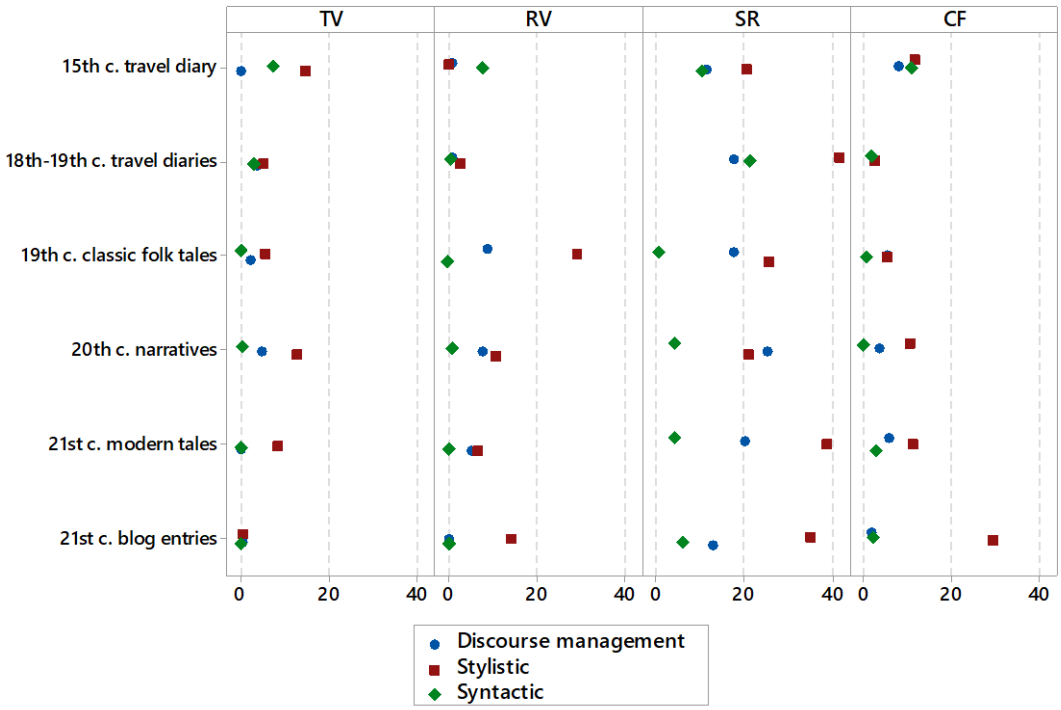

Figure 10.9: VIP communicative effects by information structure, overall

Table 10.11 VIP communicative effects by information structure, overall

Time period	Genre	Topical Verb			Rhematised Verb			Split Rheme			Clause Focus			Total
		Discourse management	Syntactic	Stylistic	Discourse management	Syntactic	Stylistic	Discourse management	Syntactic	Stylistic	Discourse management	Syntactic	Stylistic	
15th c.	travel diary	-	2 (7.7%)	4 (15.4%)	-	2 (7.7%)	-	3 (11.5%)	3 (11.5%)	6 (23.1%)	2 (7.7%)	3 (11.5%)	1 (3.8%)	26 (100%)
18th – 19th c.	travel diaries	4 (3.1%)	4 (3.1%)	6 (4.6%)	-	-	3 (2.3%)	24 (18.5%)	28 (21.5%)	55 (42.3%)	3 (2.3%)	1 (0.8%)	2 (1.5%)	130 (100%)
19th c.	classic folk tales	4 (2.4%)	-	8 (4.9%)	15 (9.1%)	-	48 (29.3%)	29 (17.7%)	1 (0.6%)	43 (26.2%)	9 (5.5%)	-	7 (4.3%)	164 (100%)
20th c.	narratives	4 (4.7%)	-	11 (12.9%)	7 (8.2%)	1 (1.2%)	9 (10.6%)	22 (25.9%)	3 (3.5%)	17 (20%)	3 (3.5%)	-	8 (9.4%)	85 (100%)
21st c.	author's tales	-	-	5 (8.1%)	3 (4.8%)	-	4 (6.5%)	13 (21%)	2 (3.2%)	24 (38.7%)	3 (4.8%)	1 (1.6%)	7 (11.3%)	62 (100%)
21st c.	blog entries	-	-	-	-	-	7 (13.5%)	7 (13.5%)	3 (5.8%)	18 (34.6%)	1 (1.9%)	1 (1.9%)	15 (28.8%)	52 (100%)
Total		12 (2.3%)	6 (1.2%)	34 (6.5%)	25 (4.8%)	3 (0.6%)	71 (13.7%)	98 (18.9%)	40 (7.7%)	163 (31.4%)	21 (4%)	6 (1.2%)	40 (7.7%)	519 (100%)

The results in Section 10.3 demonstrated that Split Rheme was the most dominant information structure across the corpora, and as the results in Figure 10.9 and Table 10.11 clearly show, Split Rheme strongly correlates with stylistic communicative effects, with the other three information structures also showing some correlations of varying degrees with stylistic effects: namely, Topical Verb, in the 20th-century narratives; Rhematised Verb, in the 19th-century classic folk tales, 20th-century narratives and the 21st-century blog entries; and Clause Focus in the 21st-century blog entries. In particular, the dominant correlation of Rhematised Verb with stylistic effects in the 19th-century classic folk tales is likely a feature of this genre, as Clause Focus and stylistic effects may be in the 21st-century blog entries.

The other substantial correlation across all the corpora is Split Rheme and discourse management, particularly in the 20th-century narratives and the 21st-century modern tales where it is a dominant correlation. As discussed above in relation to Tables 10.8 – 10.10 and Figures 10.7 – 10.8, there also appears to be a diachronic aspect to the use of unconventional VIPs for producing various syntactic effects in the 15th- and 18th-19th-century travel diaries. By adding in the findings from Figure 10.9/Table 10.11, the correlation for the 15th-century travel diary appears to be VS word order, Split Rheme and Clause Focus information structures, and presentation communicative effects; while for the 18th-19th-century travel diaries, it appears to be VSO word order, Split Rheme, and syntactic pattern.

Finally, the adopted view is that rhematic verbs are part of emphatic inversion (Valgina, 2003, p. 143). The combined results from Table 10.8 and Table 10.11 indicate not only that Rhematised Verb correlates with stylistic effects in the 19th-century classic folk tales, the 20th-century narratives and the 21st-century blog entries, but that the stylistic effect of emphatic reading has its highest normalised frequency of occurrence in the classic folk tales (10.4%) and the blog entries (13.5%). Thus, the findings of this study would seem to support the view that rhematic verbs are part of emphatic inversion.

10.5. The interplay of word order, information structure and communicative effects

This concluding section draws together the discussion of the prominent findings presented in the previous three sections. First, Table 10.12 summarises the distribution of pattern variation, information structure and communicative effects across the corpora. In this table, the results given represent findings with 5 or more tokens and a normalised frequency of occurrence ≥ 10%, with those < 20%, given in parentheses.

Table 10.12 Distribution of word order, information structure and communicative effects, overall

Time Period	Genre	VIP Frequency	VIP Groups							Information Structures				Communicative Effects		
			VSO		VOS		VS									
			adjunct	pure	adjunct	pure	adjunct	pure	verb complex	Topical Verb	Rhematised Verb	Split Rheme	Clause Focus	Discourse Management	Syntactic	Stylistic
15th c.	travel diary	4.3%					X			(X)		X	(X)	(X)	X	X
18th-19th c.	travel diaries	14.1%	X				X			(X)		X		(X)	(X)	X
19th c.	classic folk tales	23.5%		X			X	(X)			X	X	(X)	(X)		X
20th c.	narratives	10.3%	X	X	(X)		X		(X)	(X)	(X)	X	(X)	(X)		X
21st c.	modern tales	5.5%	X	(X)			X		(X)			X	(X)	(X)		X
21st c.	blog entries	5.8%	(X)	X		(X)	X					X	(X)	(X)		X

Most strikingly, VS word order with one or more adjuncts, Split Rheme information structure, and stylistic communicate effects feature dominantly across all the corpora. Similarly, discourse management devices feature as a prominent communicative effect across all the corpora, but with a somewhat less frequent rate of occurrence.

Turning to the division in corpora between the pre-modern Russian period, represented by the 15th-century travel diary, and the modern Russian period, represented by the 18th- to 21st-century corpora, Table 10.12 shows that there are several aspects of unconventional VIP use that set the two periods apart; namely, the pre-modern travel diary shows a low frequency of VIP use, prominence of only VS word order, and then only with one or more adjuncts, and a high occurrence of VIPs producing a syntactic communicative effect. However, the 15th-century and the 18th-19th-century travel diaries do share the distinction of being the only corpora with substantial syntactic communicative effects, which may be either diachronic or genre-related, and, furthermore, like some of the modern Russian corpora, the 15th-century travel diary shows a frequent rate of occurrence of Topical Verb and Clause Focus information structures. Thus, the current findings of the 15th-century text relate to previous research on the twelfth-century travel diaries and serve as a 'bridge' between previous research and the other corpora in this study, as outlined in Chapter 3.1.1. Clearly, 15th-century discourse warrants further investigation regarding unconventional VIP pragmatics.

Focusing on the five modern Russian corpora, VIP usage can be characterised overall by the predominance of VSO and VS word order over VOS (with patterns with adjuncts and pure patterns being the most prominent), with diachronic comparison indicating a marked decline in the frequency of unconventional VIP usage in the 21st century. In terms of genre, the findings of this research project clearly support the argument of a number of researchers (Restan, 1981; Yokoyama, 1986) that high unconventional VIP usage is a specific feature of classic folk tales. The findings of the current study also indicate that Rhematised Verb information structure is a genre-specific feature of classic folk tales. Moreover, there may be genre-related aspects of VIP pattern variation, particularly in VSO, with pure patterns prevalent in the classic folk tales, and patterns with adjuncts prevalent in the travel diaries. In Section 10.1 it was suggested that this may be due to the travel diary genre involving much description of places and times, which requires adjuncts, whereas classic folk tales are broader narratives.

It is interesting, though, that the genre-related findings of the two 18th-19th-century corpora do not straightforwardly carry over to the three genre-related 20th-21st-century corpora. First, the genre-specific attribution of high frequency of use does not appear to carry over from

the classic folk tales to the genre of modern tales, for example, even though both genres centre around telling a similar type of imaginary story. Secondly, in terms of VIP pattern variation, the three 20th-21st-century corpora feature both pure and adjunct VSO patterns, rather than the individual, genre-related patterns of the 18th-19th-century corpora. Furthermore, while none of these three corpora exhibits a prominent pattern of pure VS, overall, they exhibit a wider range of major patterns than the earlier corpora, with substantial occurrences of pure and adjunct VOS and verb complex VS patterns. Thirdly, regarding Rhematised Verb, a feature of classic folk tales, the only 20th-21st-century corpus that displays a prominent occurrence of this information structure is the corpus of narratives. These mixed correlations suggest that there is a diachronic aspect to the genre-related findings, with clear genre differences limited to travel diaries and classic folk tales of the 18th-19th century.

The overall interplay of word order, information structure and communicative effects in the analysed corpora is captured in Table 10.13. This table was constructed by combining the two-way correlations of word order and information structure (Table 10.6), word order and communicative effects (Table 10.10), and information structure and communicative effects (Table 10.11) from Sections 10.2-10.4. To ensure an adequate level of robustness for the resulting three-way correlations in Table 10.13, only correlations were included in which each of the combined two-way correlations had five or more tokens and a normalised frequency of occurrence of at least 15%.

Table 10.13 Correlations of VIP word order, information structure and communicative effects

Time Period	Genre	VSO ↕			VS ↕			Total
		Split Rheme ↕			Split Rheme ↕		Rhematised Verb ↕	
		Discourse Management	Syntactic	Stylistic	Discourse Management	Stylistic	Stylistic	
15th c.	travel diary					X		1
18th-19th c.	travel diaries		X	X		X		3
19th c.	classic folk tales	X		X			X	3
20th c.	narratives	X		X	X	X		4
21st c.	modern tales	X		X		X		3
21st c.	blog entries			X				1

Table 10.13 establishes that there are six correlations of word order, information structure and communicative effects in the analysed corpora, and that they centre around VSO and VS word orders and Split Rheme information structure, with the one exception being VS word order and Rhematised Verb. This table also suggests that there may be diachronic and genre-related aspects to the occurrence of the correlations.

First, the five modern Russian corpora from the 18th to 21st centuries all feature the correlation of VSO ↔ Split Rheme ↔ Stylistic, whereas the pre-modern 15th-century travel diary does not, suggesting a diachronic side to the distribution of this correlation. This may also be the case for the other four correlations which only occur in the modern Russian corpora. In contrast, the correlation of VS ↔ Split Rheme ↔ Stylistic, that is characteristic of the 15th-century travel diary, is also a feature of the 18th-19th-century travel diaries, and as well the 20th-century narratives and the 21st-century modern tales. Further research would be required to determine if there are diachronic and/or genre-related factors in the distribution of this later correlation.

Secondly, focusing on the five modern Russian corpora, the correlation of VSO ↔ Split Rheme ↔ Syntactic appears to be a genre-specific feature of travel diaries, while the correlation of VS ↔ Rhematised Verb ↔ Stylistic appears to be a genre-specific feature of classic folk tales, and the correlation of VS ↔ Split Rheme ↔ Discourse Management appears to be a genre-specific feature of narratives. Thirdly, the correlation of VSO ↔ Split Rheme ↔ Discourse Management may be a genre-related feature of classic folk tales that has gained wider use over time, or it may simply be a correlation with a wider basis of occurrence. Again, further research would be required to gain a more precise understanding of the nature of the distribution of this correlation.

Lastly, the corpus of 20th-century narratives exhibits the highest number (4) of correlations of word order, information structure and communicative effects, while the 15th-century travel diary and the corpus of 21st-century blog entries exhibit the least (1). Although, the frequency of VIP usage is low for both the 15th-century travel diary and the 21st-century blog entries, it is also low for the 21st-century modern tales. Instead, the low number of correlations relates to distribution of correlations: for the 15th-century travel diary, VS and Split Rheme are the only word orders and information structures respectively with a substantial number of occurrences; while for the blog entries, VSO word order only correlates with stylistic communicative effects with a sufficient number of occurrences and VS word order correlates with a range of information structures, leaving none with a substantial number of occurrences. A better understanding of the reasons behind the range in the number of correlations remains a matter for further research.

In conclusion, the current project, as discussed in Chapter 3, has extended the analytical approach of Turner (2006) and McAnallen (2009) by differentiating three groups of unconventional VIPs: namely, VSO, VOS and VS. The findings presented in this chapter clearly demonstrate the merits of this approach, as the finer differentiation of VIPs has enabled a much more nuanced understanding of the pragmatic functions of unconventional VIPs.

11. Conclusion

This thesis aims to provide an account of unconventional VSO, VOS and VS word order patterns, incorporating both the use of unconventional VIPs in the language and their relative stability with respect to the dominant SVO, OVS and SOV word order variations. Previous research accounted, to some extent, for the use of verb-initial word order variations in oral and written discourse, as grammatical, syntactic and, above all, stylistic means of information packaging.

In order to provide a more nuanced understanding of the pragmatic use of the patterns in Contemporary Standard Russian, texts from different genres and time periods have been selected for analysis. They include a 15th-century travel diary (as a transition from the early Russian period), 18th-19th-century travel diaries by Russian classic writers, 19th-century classic folk tales, 20th-century narratives, 21st-century modern tales and 21st-century blog entries. It has been found that unconventional VIPs are a feature of classic folk tales; their frequency of occurrence is similar in the 18th-19th-century travel diaries and 20th-century narratives, but is significantly lower in the 15th-century travel diary.

In each of the six corpora, unconventional verb-initial combinations have been researched in terms of pattern variation in VSO, VOS and VS groups, information structure composition and communicative effects produced by unconventional VIPs in the information structures of Topical Verb, Rhematised Verb, Split Rheme and Clause Focus. Furthermore, the results have been compared across the genres and time periods.

The analysis of pattern variation in contemporary discourse involved objects and adjuncts as word order elements, which has resulted in a more refined study of VIPs, initiated by Turner (2006) and McAnallen (2009). Thus, it has revealed the overall infrequency of VOS patterns, compared to VSO and VS combinations; they also take an intermediate position between the two frequently occurring permutations in terms of pattern variation. Moreover, in the selected corpora, VS occurred slightly more frequently than VSO, and the 18th-19th-century travel diaries and classic folk tales, as well as 20th-century narratives, have displayed greater pattern variation than 21st-century modern tales and blog entries. The total number of VIPs has also decreased in the latter two genres, compared to the travel diaries, classic folk tales and narratives. Additionally, unconventional VIPs in travel diaries are predominantly modified by adjuncts, whereas in classic folk tales, they are mostly pure VSO, VOS or VS combinations. This important observation supports the formulaic nature of early Russian word order, recorded

in earlier research; meanwhile, no word order formulae have been observed in the 21st-century discourse. Patterns with verb complexes are more representative in VS than in other VIP groups.

It has also been observed that VSO occurrence increased dramatically in the 18th century, which might be the result of a consistent use of personal pronouns, compared to medieval Russian. Moreover, VO variations were regarded archaic in the 18th and 19th centuries, while they are no longer an archaism, rather a new tendency, in the 21st-century blog entries. Finally, the discrepancy in VSO and VOS occurrence might be accounted for by the grammatical nature of subject and object.

The information packaging of unconventional VIPs has provided a background for researching pattern pragmatics in the language. The traditional functional approach has been extended to include the notion of focus and, thus, to analyse VIP functioning with regard to different types of information structure on a clause level. It has been found that most frequently authors choose unconventional VIPs in a Split Rheme arrangement which correlates with VSO patterns in almost all genres and with VS in most genres. The Clause Focus information structure, occurring infrequently overall, was employed considerably more often in the 21st century discourse than in earlier corpora. The opposite is true for Topical Verb and Rhematised Verb structures. Regarding genre specifics, Topical Verb was frequently employed in the travel diaries and was most represented in the narratives, where it enabled connection between the preceding and the following context, yet this arrangement was not recorded in blog entries at all; whilst Rhematised Verb strongly correlates with VS variations and is predominantly used in classic folk tales, which suggests the connection of this information structure to emotiveness and, hence, supports the adopted view of rhematic verbs being part of emphatic inversion. The collection of 20th-century narratives is the only genre that features all four information structures in VSO, VOS and VS word order variations.

For the next level of analysis, communicative effects produced by unconventional VIPs were considered. Some of them were previously discussed in the studies on verb-initial variations, while others arose out of the data as additional effects were required to capture the pragmatics of unconventional VIPs in the corpora under analysis. Thus, a set of fifteen communicative effects was used, including three discourse management effects, three syntactic effects and ten stylistic effects, whereby the effect of establishing a syntactic pattern after an adjunct appears in both syntactic and stylistic groups of effects, following from the change in the syntactic norm, which took place in the 19th century. With over a half of the effects being

stylistic, this research has validated previous research findings, according to which VIPs were considered a stylistic effect in discourse. The second most prominent group of effects is discourse management devices, such as establishing a new scene or signalling a change in the narrative. 19th-century classic folk tales feature a variety of communicative effects, followed by 20th-century narratives and 21st-century modern tales. Regarding modern genres, fewer effects were observed in blog entries than in modern tales.

Considering broader correlations of VIP variations, their information structures and communicative effects in different genres and time periods, a few important observations have been made. First, the 15th-century travel diary stands apart from other corpora in terms of pattern variation, information packaging and pragmatic use, which signals more research of this time period and genre, possibly, is required. Secondly, the most frequent, or strongest, correlations across the corpora are VS modified by adjuncts and pure VSO combinations which feature Split Rheme information structure and produce various stylistic communicative effects. VSO combinations also strongly correlate with discourse management effects in all corpora and with the syntactic effects in the 18th-19th-century travel diaries, while VS patterns produce both syntactic and stylistic effects in the 15th-century travel diary. Moreover, the second most prominent group of communicative effects is discourse management devices, particularly, in the 20th-century narratives and the 21st-century modern tales, which are produced by unconventional VIPs with Split Rheme information structure. Finally, Rhematised Verb information structure producing stylistic effects were found to be a feature of the 19th-century classic folk tales, whereas Clause Focus producing stylistic effects were found to be a feature of 21st-century blog entries.

Overall, current research has provided further evidence of verb-initial variations being part of older VO and VSO systems that coexist with the newer SVO system. In particular, in the 18th-century discourse, VIP combinations forming a syntactic pattern or enabling a broader reading cannot be regarded as a stylistic device, since they are used to account for daily routine or travels. Contemporary discourse, by contrast, frequently employs VIPs as discourse management or stylistic devices. Meanwhile, the use of unconventional VIPs has reduced in the course of time and is not uniform among the genres; while there is also a substantial variation among VSO, VOS and VS groups of patterns and their correlation with information structures and communicative effects.

The analysis of unconventional VIP variations would also benefit from research of VO variations, which were a linguistic norm in early Russian, an archaic form in the 18th century,

and are back in the language as a new norm, with possible new functions. Future research of the role nominal and pronominal subjects play in VIP functioning could provide deeper understanding of unconventional VIP pragmatics.

Extending the analysis of the present research to include new combinations would further our understanding of unconventional word order patterns. In particular, the comparison of verb-final variations, SOV and OSV, frequent and infrequent, respectively, would add to unconventional pattern pragmatics. The research provides a starting point for studies exploring different genres, individual styles and time periods.

More than stylistic variation of neutral word order, unconventional verb-initial word order patterns appear to be chosen by authors to communicate effectively with the reader. They provide a more nuanced meaning in discourse, which has also changed with time, as the language has developed and acquired new features.

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