

## SPEECH REPORT CONSTRUCTIONS IN RUSSIAN\*

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### Abstract

This study is concerned with the strategies for reporting speech in contemporary Russian. It analyses the salient features of direct and indirect speech report constructions and examines the shifts that accompany the transformation of a direct speech report construction into its corresponding indirect construction. It demonstrates that while most speech report constructions in Russian are multiclausal, monoclausal constructions using evidentials are also possible and that a speech report continuum exists where some constructions display features of both direct and indirect speech reports.

### 1. Typological profile

Russian is an Indo-European language that belongs to the Eastern branch of Slavic (along with Belorussian and Ukrainian). All three languages use the Cyrillic alphabet with variations for each language. Much of the abstract vocabulary of Russian and some grammatical forms are derived from Church Slavonic, a South Slavic language that was first codified in the ninth century. Russian has a highly developed system of inflectional morphology. There are six cases in the nominal morphology, with vestiges of a seventh (the vocative), and two aspects (imperfective and perfective) and three tenses in the verbal morphology. There are no definite or indefinite determiners. Word-formation makes use of a complex array of affixes, especially suffixes. In terms of the typology of the Slavic languages Russian may be considered to be peripheral, like Bulgarian and Czech, showing significant features not shared by any other Slavic language (for example, absence of a high-frequency lexeme corresponding to ‘to have’ in English). Syntactic constructions in Russian generally show dependency marking. It has AVO/SV constituent order, though in direct speech

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report constructions, where the complement comes before the reporting verb, partially or fully, the order in the clause containing the reporting verb is VS. (See (5) and (6) below.) Order is relatively free in comparison to English. Compare the following sentences:<sup>1</sup>

- (1) (a) Анна любит Бориса.  
 Ann-a<sub>A</sub> ljub-it<sub>PRED.TRANS</sub> Boris-a<sub>O</sub>  
 Anna-nom love-3sg.pres Boris-acc  
 'Anna loves Boris.'
- (b) Бориса любит Анна.  
 Boris-a<sub>O</sub> ljub-it<sub>PRED.TRANS</sub> Ann-a<sub>A</sub>  
 Boris-acc love-3sg.pres Anna-nom  
 'It's Boris Anna loves.'

Russian has complement clauses of different types: some contain a complementiser and finite verb form, others just an infinitive as predicate. In some cases both types are possible. See (13a–b) below. By comparison with English, Russian has a diverse set of complementisers. In Russian different complementisers can serve to draw semantic distinctions that in English are conveyed by using different verbs or different constructions. Compare the two following sentences: only the complementisers are distinct (*kak* versus *čto*).

- (2) (a) Мать не заметила как сын ушел. (Švedova 1970, 704)  
 mat'<sub>A</sub> ne<sub>NEG</sub> zameti-la<sub>PRED.TRANS</sub> kak syn<sub>S</sub>  
 mother-sg.nom.fem not notice-sg.fem.past how son-sg.nom.masc  
 uše-l<sub>PRED.INTR</sub>  
 leave-sg.masc.past  
 'The mother didn't notice her son leave.'
- (b) Мать не заметила, что сын ушел.  
 mat'<sub>A</sub> ne<sub>NEG</sub> zameti-la<sub>PRED.TRANS</sub> čto syn<sub>S</sub>  
 mother-sg.nom.fem not notice-sg.fem.past that son-sg.nom.masc  
 uše-l<sub>PRED.INTR</sub>  
 leave-sg.masc.past  
 'The mother didn't notice that her son had left.'

<sup>1</sup> Abbreviations: A: transitive subject; acc: accusative; ADV: adverb; CC: copula complement; comp: comparative; COP: copula; CS: copula subject; dat: dative; fem: feminine; fut: future; gen: genitive; imp: imperative; inf: infinitive; instr: instrumental; INTR: intransitive; loc: locative; masc: masculine; NEG: negative; neut: neuter; nom: nominative; O: transitive object; OBJ: object; PARENTH: parenthetic; PERI: peripheral; PRED: predicate; pres: present; S: intransitive subject; subj: subjunctive; TRANS: transitive; v: verb.

## 2. Speech report constructions

### 2.1. Introduction

Like English and many other languages, Russian draws a formal distinction between direct and indirect speech reports. Direct speech is termed *prjamaja reč'* indirect speech *kosvennaja reč'*. (The adjective *prjamoj* also translates as 'straight', 'right': *prjamoj ugol* 'right angle', *prjamaja liniya* 'straight line'; *kosvennyj* translates as 'oblique': *kosvennyj padež* 'oblique case'.) The typical indirect speech report construction that corresponds to a simple declarative sentence in the direct speech complement is multiclausal consisting of a reporting verb and a complement clause introduced by the complementiser *čto* ('that'). Unlike English, Russian makes use of other complementisers to express supposition and doubt. At the same time Russian provides evidence of a speech report continuum with some speech report constructions showing features of both direct and indirect speech. Note that in a direct speech report construction in Russian the direct speech complement is usually indicated in the written language by an initial dash, not by quotation marks. (Quotation marks indicate a direct speech report within direct speech.)

### 2.2. Direct speech report constructions

The typical direct speech report construction in Russian attempts a verbatim report and consists of a direct speech complement and reporting verb. The position of the complement in relation to the reporting verb can vary with implications for constituent order. Consider the following two typical examples of a direct speech report construction.

- (3) Иногда она спрашивала меня: — Что вы читаете?  
(Gor'kij, Pul'kina et al. 1968, 592)

inogda on-a<sub>A</sub> sprašiva-l<sub>PRED.TRANS</sub> menja<sub>O</sub> čto<sub>O</sub> vy<sub>A</sub>  
sometimes 3sg.nom.fem ask-sg.fem.past 1sg.acc what-acc 2pl.nom  
čita-ete<sub>PRED.TRANS</sub>  
read-2pl.pres  
'Sometimes she would ask me, "What are you reading?"'

- (4) Студент сказал: — Завтра будет экзамен.  
student<sub>A</sub> skaza-l<sub>PRED.TRANS</sub> zavtra bud-et<sub>PRED.INTR</sub> èkzamens<sub>S</sub>  
student-sg.nom.masc say-sg.masc.past tomorrow be-3sg.fut exam-sg.nom.masc  
'The student said: "There'll be an exam tomorrow."'

In both these examples the direct speech complement follows the reporting verb. If the complement precedes the reporting verb, either in full or in part, then the reporting verb must come before the subject, as in the following examples. This constituent order is characteristic of direct speech reports introduced by the complement.

- (5) —Завтра будет экзамен,—сказал студент.  
 zavtra bud-et<sub>PRED.INTR</sub> èkzamens skaza-l<sub>PRED.TRANS</sub>  
 tomorrow be-3sg.fut exam-sg.nom.masc say-sg.nom.masc  
 student<sub>A</sub>  
 student-sg.nom.masc  
 ‘‘There’ll be an exam tomorrow,’’ said the student.’ or  
 ‘‘There’ll be an exam tomorrow,’’ the student said.’
- (6) —Хочу я спросить тебя,—тихонько сказала она,—что ты всё читаешь?  
 (Gor’kij, Pul’kina et al. 1968, 591)  
 xoč-u<sub>MODAL</sub> ja<sub>A</sub> sprosit’<sub>INF</sub> tebj<sub>AO</sub>, tixon’ko skaza-la<sub>PRED.TRANS</sub>  
 want-1sg.pres 1sg.nom ask-inf 2sg.acc soft-adv say-sg.fem.past  
 on-a<sub>A</sub>, čto<sub>O</sub> ty<sub>A</sub> vse čita-eš’<sub>PRED.TRANS</sub>  
 3sg.fem.nom what-acc 2sg.nom all read-2sg.pres  
 ‘‘I want to ask you,’’ she said softly, ‘‘what are you reading all the time?’’

Note that in example (6) an adverb (*tixon’ko*) is interposed between the direct speech report and the reporting verb (not possible in English).

In the direct speech report construction the complement can often be discontinuous, as in (6). In this case the clause containing the reporting verb functions syntactically as a parenthesis. Note that in the direct speech report construction the constituent order in the clause with the reporting verb varies according to its position in relation to the complement. Only if the reporting verb comes before the complement can the reporting verb follow its subject. This contrasts with English. Compare (4) and (5).

A direct speech complement can sometimes be introduced by a non-reporting verb, as in the following example. (Such a sentence cannot be transformed into an indirect speech report construction according to the normal transformation. Another verb must be added.)

- (7) Он покачал головой: —Будет еще хуже. (Šestakov 2002, 96)  
 on<sub>S</sub> pokača-l<sub>PRED.INTR</sub> golov-o<sub>OBJ</sub> bud-et<sub>COP.PRED</sub>  
 3sg.masc.nom shake-sg.masc.past head-sg.fem.instr be-3sg.fut  
 ešče<sub>ADV</sub> xuže<sub>CC</sub>  
 even bad.comp  
 ‘He shook his head: ‘‘It will be even worse.’’

### 2.3. Indirect speech report constructions

The typical indirect speech report construction is multiclausal. A simple declarative statement in a direct speech report corresponds to a complement clause using the complementiser *čto* in the indirect speech report. (The complementiser cannot be omitted except possibly in colloquial Russian.) There is a shift in person deixis, but no shift in tense (in contrast to English). Note that Russian has only three tenses, but the verbal system has a well-defined set of aspects. Compare the following direct and indirect speech report constructions.

- (8) Он сказал: — Я скоро уезжаю.  
 он<sub>A</sub> skaza-l<sub>PRED.TRANS</sub> ja<sub>S</sub> skoro uezža-ju<sub>PRED.INTR</sub>  
 3sg.nom.masc say-sg.masc.past 1sg.nom soon leave-1sg.pres  
 'He said: "I'm leaving soon."'
- (9) Он сказал, что он скоро уезжает.  
 он<sub>A</sub> skaza-l<sub>PRED.TRANS</sub> čto он<sub>S</sub> skoro uezža-et<sub>PRED.INTR</sub>  
 3sg.nom.masc say-sg.masc.past that 3sg.nom.masc soon leave-3sg.pres  
 'He said that he was leaving soon.'

In both (8) and (9) the verb in the complement clause is in the present tense.

- (10) Девушка сказала: — Мы придем в шесть часов.  
 devuška-a<sub>A</sub> skaza-la<sub>PRED.TRANS</sub> my<sub>S</sub> prid-emp<sub>PRED.INTR</sub>  
 girl-sg.nom.fem say-sg.fem.past 1pl.nom arrive-1pl.fut  
 [v šest' čas-ov]<sub>PERI</sub>  
 at six hour-pl.gen  
 'The girl said: "We'll arrive at six."'
- (11) Девушка сказала, что они придут в шесть часов.  
 devuška-a<sub>A</sub> skaza-la<sub>PRED.TRANS</sub> čto on-is prid-ut<sub>PRED.INTR</sub>  
 girl-sg.nom.fem say-sg.fem.past that 3pl.nom arrive-3pl.fut  
 [v šest' čas-ov]<sub>PERI</sub>  
 at six hour-pl.gen  
 'The girl said they'd arrive at six.'

There may be a change in modality. An imperative can occur only in a direct speech report construction: in the corresponding indirect speech report construction the complementiser *čtoby* is used or simply an infinitive. Compare the following examples.

- (12) Он попросил меня: — Помоги мне решить задачу. (Švedova 1980, 486)  
 он<sub>A</sub> poprosi-l<sub>PRED.TRANS</sub> menja<sub>O</sub> pomog-i<sub>IMP</sub> mne<sub>OBJ</sub> rešit'<sub>INF</sub>  
 3sg.masc.nom ask-sg.masc.past 1sg.acc help-sg.imp 1sg.dat solve-inf  
 zadač-u<sub>O</sub>  
 problem-sg.acc.fem  
 'He asked me: "Help me solve the problem."'
- (13) (a) Он попросил меня, чтобы я помог ему решить задачу. (Idem.)  
 он<sub>A</sub> poprosi-l<sub>PRED.TRANS</sub> menja<sub>O</sub> čtoby ja<sub>S</sub>  
 3sg.masc.nom ask-sg.masc.past 1sg.acc so that 1sg.nom  
 pomog<sub>PRED.INTR</sub> emu<sub>OBJ</sub> rešit'<sub>INF</sub> zadač-u<sub>O</sub>  
 help-sg.masc.past 3sg.dat solve-inf problem-sg.acc.fem  
 'He asked me to help him solve the problem.'  
 (Literally: 'He asked me that I should help him solve the problem.')

An indirect speech report construction that is an alternative to (13a), without *čtoby* but using an infinitive, would be as follows.

- (13) (b) Он попросил меня помочь ему решить задачу.  
 он<sub>A</sub> poprosi-l<sub>PRED.TRANS</sub> menja<sub>O</sub> pomoč'<sub>INF</sub> emu<sub>OBJ</sub>  
 3sg.masc.nom ask-sg.masc.past 1sg.acc help-inf 3sg.dat  
 rešit'<sub>INF</sub> zadač-u<sub>O</sub>  
 solve-inf problem-sg.acc.fem  
 'He asked me to help him solve the problem.'

When the direct speech report expresses advice, the corresponding indirect speech report uses the same complementiser *čtoby*, as in the following examples.

- (14) Мать посоветовала сыну: — Ты бы отдохнул. (Idem.)  
 mat'<sub>S</sub> posovetova-la<sub>PRED.INTR</sub> syn-u<sub>OBJ</sub> tys  
 mother-sg.nom.fem advise-sg.fem.past son-sg.dat.masc 2sg.nom  
 by<sub>PARTICLE</sub> otdoxnu-l<sub>PRED.INTR</sub>  
 subj rest-sg.masc.past  
 'The mother advised her son: "You should have a rest."'
- (15) Мать посоветовала сыну, чтобы он отдохнул. (Idem.)  
 mat'<sub>S</sub> posovetova-la<sub>PRED.INTR</sub> syn-u<sub>OBJ</sub> čtoby  
 mother-sg.nom.fem advise-sg.fem.past son-sg.dat.masc so that  
 on<sub>S</sub> otdoxnu-l<sub>PRED.INTR</sub>  
 3sg.masc.nom rest-sg.masc.past  
 'The mother advised her son that he should have a rest.'

When the direct speech report expresses a possibility or wish (using the subjunctive/conditional particle *by*), there is no shift in modality and the complementiser *čto* is used in the indirect speech report construction. Note the syntactic similarity between the direct speech report in (14) and (16). Both make use of the particle *by*.

- (16) Он сказал: — Я бы помог тебе. (Švedova 1980, 486)  
 он<sub>A</sub> skaza-l<sub>PRED.TRANS</sub> ja<sub>S</sub> by<sub>PARTICLE</sub> pomog<sub>PRED.INTR</sub> tebe<sub>OBJ</sub>  
 3sg.masc.nom say-sg.masc.past 1sg.nom subj help-sg.masc.past 2sg.dat  
 ‘He said: “I could help you.”’

- (17) Он сказал, что помог бы мне. (Idem.)  
 он<sub>A</sub> skaza-l<sub>PRED.TRANS</sub> čto pomog<sub>PRED.INTR</sub> by<sub>PARTICLE</sub> mne<sub>OBJ</sub>  
 3sg.masc.nom say-sg.masc.past that help-sg.masc.past subj 1sg.dat  
 ‘He said that he could help me.’

- (18) Больной сказал: — Я бы выпил чаю. (Idem.)  
 bol’n-o<sub>JA</sub> skaza-l<sub>PRED.TRANS</sub> ja<sub>A</sub> by<sub>PARTICLE</sub>  
 patient-sg.nom.masc say-sg.masc.past 1sg.nom subj  
 vypi-l<sub>PRED.TRANS</sub> ča-ju<sub>O</sub>  
 drink-sg.masc.past tea-sg.gen.masc  
 ‘The patient said: “I’d like to drink some tea.”’

- (19) Больной сказал, что выпил бы чаю. (Idem.)  
 bol’n-o<sub>JA</sub> skaza-l<sub>PRED.TRANS</sub> čto vypi-l<sub>PRED.TRANS</sub>  
 patient-sg.nom.masc say-sg.masc.past that drink-sg.masc.past  
 by<sub>PARTICLE</sub> ča-ju<sub>O</sub>  
 subj tea-sg.gen.masc  
 ‘The patient said that he’d like to drink some tea.’

From the examples of indirect speech report constructions given above it will be observed that Russian, unlike English, can use various complementisers in the indirect speech report. As well as *čto* and *čtoby*, the complementiser *budto* may be used to express doubt or absence of full confidence in the trustworthiness of the reported statement. In English such doubt is expressed by a particular reporting verb, in Russian by a complementiser. Compare the following sentences.

- (20) Она утверждает, что слышала этот шум. (Švedova 1980, 485)  
 on-a<sub>A</sub> utveržda-et<sub>PRED.TRANS</sub> čto slyša-la<sub>PRED.TRANS</sub>  
 3sg.fem.nom insist-3sg.pres that hear-sg.fem.past  
 [ët-ot šum]<sub>O</sub>  
 this-sg.acc.masc noise-sg.acc.masc  
 ‘She insists that she heard this noise.’
- (21) Она утверждает, будто слышала этот шум. (*Idem.*)  
 on-a<sub>A</sub> utveržda-et<sub>PRED.TRANS</sub> budto slyša-la<sub>PRED.TRANS</sub>  
 3sg.fem.nom affirm-3sg.pres as if hear-sg.fem.past  
 [ët-ot šum]<sub>O</sub>  
 this-sg.acc.masc noise-sg.acc.masc  
 ‘She claims that she heard this noise.’
- (22) Приезжал с фронта фотокорреспондент Ромов, он уверял, будто видел в  
 апреле Васю. (Erenburg, Evgen’eva 1981–1984, I: 121)  
 priezža-l<sub>PRED.INTR</sub> [s front-a]<sub>PERI</sub> [fotokorrespondent  
 arrive-sg.masc.past from front-sg.GEN.masc photojournalist-sg.nom.masc  
 Romov]<sub>S</sub> on-a uverja-l<sub>PRED.TRANS</sub> budto  
 Romov-sg.nom.masc 3sg.masc.nom assure-sg.masc.past as if  
 videl<sub>PRED.TRANS</sub> [v april-e]<sub>PERI</sub> Vas-ju<sub>O</sub>  
 see-sg.masc.past in April-sg.loc.masc Vasja-sg.acc.masc  
 ‘The photojournalist Romov arrived from the front. He gave an assurance that  
 he had apparently seen Vasja in April.’

Related to *budto* both in form and meaning are the compound complementisers *budto by*, *čto budto by*, *kak budto*, as in the following example.

- (23) Нам сказали, как будто все уехали. (Švedova 1970, 703)  
 nam<sub>OBJ</sub> skaza-l<sub>PRED.TRANS</sub> kak budto vse<sub>S</sub> uexa-l<sub>PRED.INTR</sub>  
 1pl.dat tell-pl.past as if all-pl.nom leave-pl.past  
 ‘We were told that everyone had apparently left.’

The complementiser *jakoby* functions in a similar way to *budto* to express absence of certainty, as in the following sentence. Note the semantic change in the reporting verb.

- (24) Говорят, якобы он уехал. (Ožegov 1970, 899)  
 govori-jat<sub>PRED.TRANS</sub> jakoby on<sub>S</sub> uexa-l<sub>PRED.INTR</sub>  
 say-3pl.pres as if 3sg.masc.nom leave-sg.masc.past  
 ‘They claim he has left.’



If the direct speech report contains a question without an interrogative, then the corresponding indirect speech report will use the interrogative particle *li* after the verb (which stands in initial position in the complement clause). Compare English *whether*, *if*. The rules governing shifts remain the same.

- (25) Ученик спросил: —Завтра будет экзамен?  
 učenik<sub>A</sub> sprosi-l<sub>PRED.TRANS</sub> zavtra bud-et<sub>PRED.INTR</sub>  
 pupil-sg.nom.masc ask-sg.masc.past tomorrow be-3sg.fut  
 èkzamen<sub>S</sub>  
 exam-sg.nom.masc  
 'The pupil asked: "Will there be an exam tomorrow?"'
- (26) Ученик спросил, будет ли завтра экзамен.  
 učenik<sub>A</sub> sprosi-l<sub>PRED.TRANS</sub> bud-et<sub>PRED.INTR</sub> li zavtra  
 pupil-sg.nom.masc ask-sg.masc.past be-3sg.fut whether tomorrow  
 èkzamen<sub>S</sub>  
 exam-sg.nom.masc  
 'The pupil asked whether there would be an exam tomorrow.'

In contrast to English, in Russian the indirect speech report construction must contain a complementiser. On the other hand, the complement clause may omit the subject, if it coincides with the subject of the reporting verb. This cannot occur in English. Consider the following sentences.

- (27) Она сказала, что она поговорит с профессором.  
 on-a<sub>A</sub> skaza-la<sub>PRED.TRANS</sub> čto on-a<sub>S</sub> pogovor-it<sub>PRED.INTR</sub>  
 3sg.fem.nom say-sg.fem.past that 3sg.fem.nom speak-3sg.fut  
 [s professor-om]<sub>PERI</sub>  
 with professor-sg.instr.masc  
 'She said she'd have a chat with the professor.'
- (28) Отец обещал детям, что подарит им эту книгу. (Švedova 1980, 486)  
 otec<sub>A</sub> obešč-a-l<sub>PRED.TRANS</sub> det-jam<sub>OBJ</sub> čto  
 father-sg.nom.masc promise-sg.masc.past children-pl.dat that  
 podar-it<sub>PRED.TRANS</sub> im<sub>OBJ</sub> [et-u knig-u]<sub>O</sub>  
 give-3sg.fut 3pl.dat this-sg.acc.fem book-sg.acc.fem  
 'The father promised his children that he'd give them this book.'

In (28) the subject of the complement clause is omitted. See also (21) and (22).

In the indirect speech report construction the complement clause functions similarly to other complement clauses.

## 2.4. Monoclausal speech report constructions

While the typical speech report construction in Russian is multiclausal, Russian also has monoclausal speech report constructions using the evidentials *-de*, *deskat'*, *mol*. The items *-de* and *mol* are usually described as particles (*časticy*), *deskat'* as a parenthetical word (*vvodnoe slovo*). They cannot be easily identified, except in terms of etymology, with any other word class (the verb, for example). (Compare English 'they say'.) They have no function except as evidentials. *-de* and *mol* carry no stress, while *deskat'* is often unstressed. They are confined to the vernacular register. These particles emphasize that the statement is reported. (Compare Czech, Estonian, Latvian, Ukrainian. In Czech the evidential is the uninflected form *prý*, while in Ukrainian there are four evidentials, all cognate with Russian *mol*: *mov*, *movby*, *movbyto*, *movl'jav*. Of these *mov*, *movby*, *movbyto* can also serve as complementisers, similar to *budto* in Russian.)

- (29) Тарас Петрович Середа часто притворялся, что его не волнует мнение старших начальников: он, дескать, солдат и воюет не ради похвал.

(Kazakevič, Evgen'eva 1970–1971, I: 281)

[Taras Petrovič Sereda]<sub>s</sub> často  
 Taras-nom.masc Petrovič-nom.masc Sereda-nom.masc often  
 pritvorja-l-sja<sub>PRED.INTR</sub> čto ego<sub>O</sub> ne<sub>NEG</sub> volnu-et<sub>PRED.TR</sub>  
 pretend-sg.masc.past that 3sg.masc.acc not worry-3sg.pres  
 [mneni-e starš-ix načal'nik-ov]<sub>A</sub>  
 opinion-sg.nom.neut senior-pl.gen.masc chief-pl.gen.masc  
 on<sub>C</sub> deskat' ∅<sub>COP.PRED</sub> soldat<sub>CC</sub> i  
 3sg.masc.nom reportedly be-pres soldier-sg.nom.masc and  
 voju-et<sub>PRED.INTR</sub> ne<sub>NEG</sub> [radi poxval]<sub>PERI</sub>  
 fight-3sg.pres not sake praise-pl.gen.fem  
 'Taras Petrovič Sereda often pretended that he was not worried by the opinion of his superiors: he was a soldier, he said, and did not fight for the sake of praise.'

These evidentials can also be used within multiclausal indirect speech report constructions as a way of stressing the reported statement.

- (30) Раз — под самый под Троицын день — к ней пришли и сказали, что князь, мол, убит на дуэли. (Aluxtin, Evgen'eva 1981–1984, II: 289)

[raz pod sam-yj pod Troicyn den']<sub>PERI</sub>  
 once towards very-sg.acc.masc towards Trinity-sg.acc.masc day-sg.acc.masc  
 [k nej]<sub>PERI</sub> prišl-i<sub>PRED.INTR</sub> i skazali<sub>PRED.TR</sub> čto knjaz'<sub>CS</sub>  
 to 3sg.fem.dat come-3pl.past and say-3pl.past that prince-sg.nom.masc

mol<sub>PARTICLE</sub>, Ø<sub>COP.PRED</sub> ubit<sub>CC</sub> [na duel-i]<sub>PERI</sub>  
 reportedly be-pres killed-sg.masc in duel-sg.loc.fem  
 ‘One day—on the eve, the very eve of Trinity—they came to her and said that  
 the prince had been killed, it was said, in a duel.’

Evidentials may be used to indicate a direct speech report, as in the following passage. Note the use of different evidentials in successive sentences.

- (31) — Позвонил по телефону из бюро пропусков. Так, мол, и так, с вами  
 говорит Кротов. Мне, дескать, необходимо с вами срочно поговорить об  
 Елизавете Ивановне. (Lin'kov, Evgen'eva 1970–1971, I: 281)  
 pozvoni-l<sub>PRED.INTR</sub> [po telefon-u]<sub>PERI</sub> [iz bjuro  
 call-sg.masc.past by phone-sg.dat.masc from office-sg.gen.neut  
 propusk-ov]<sub>PERI</sub> tak<sub>ADV</sub> mol<sub>PARTICLE</sub> i tak<sub>ADV</sub> [s vami]<sub>PERI</sub>  
 permit-pl.gen.gen so reportedly and so with 2pl.instr  
 govor-it<sub>PRED.INTR</sub> Krotov<sub>S</sub> mne<sub>OBJ</sub> deskat'<sub>PARTICLE</sub> Ø<sub>COP.PRED</sub>  
 speak-3sg.pres Krotov-nom.masc 1sg.dat reportedly be-pres  
 neobxodimo<sub>CC</sub> [s vami]<sub>PERI</sub> sročno<sub>ADV</sub> pogovorit'<sub>INF</sub>  
 necessary-sg.neut with 2pl.instr urgently speak-inf  
 [ob Elizavet-e Ivanovn-e]<sub>PERI</sub>  
 about Elizaveta-sg.loc.fem Ivanovna-sg.loc.fem  
 ‘He called on the phone from the office of permits. Like this, he says, it's like this,  
 it's Krotov speaking to you. I need, he says, to have an urgent chat with you  
 about Elizaveta Ivanovna.’

The particle *-de* functions as an enclitic (and is usually marked in the written language with a hyphen). It is often attached to the first constituent of the main clause in the speech report. It can be repeated several times in the one speech report, if the report consists of several clauses.

- (32) [Ногтев] продолжал говорить: если бы ему дали все необходимое, он-де  
 наладил бы питание. (Ažarov, Evgen'eva 1981–1984, II: 374)  
 [Nogtev]<sub>A</sub> prodolža-l<sub>PRED.TRANS</sub> govorit'<sub>INF</sub> esli by<sub>PARTICLE</sub>  
 Nogtev-nom.masc continue-sg.masc.past speak-inf if subj  
 emu<sub>OBJ</sub> dal-i<sub>PRED.TRANS</sub> [vs-e neobxodim-oe]<sub>O</sub>  
 3sg.masc.dat give-pl.past all-sg.acc.net necessary-sg.acc.neut  
 он<sub>A</sub>- de<sub>PARTICLE</sub> naladi-l<sub>PRED.TRANS</sub> by<sub>PARTICLE</sub> pitani-e<sub>O</sub>  
 3sg.masc.nom reportedly arrange-sg.masc.past subj food-sg.acc.neut  
 ‘[Nogtev] continued speaking: if he were given everything necessary, he said, he  
 would arrange the food.’

### 3. Reporting verbs and framers

In Russian the set of reporting verbs that can be used with a direct speech complement is extensive and largely coincides with the set that can be used with an indirect speech complement. Reporting verbs of communication taking the complementiser *čto* include *govorit'* 'say', *dokladyvat'* 'report', *zajavljat'* 'announce, declare', *izveščat'* 'inform, notify', *informirovat'* 'inform', *molvit'* 'say', *opoveščat'* 'notify, inform', *osvedomljat'* 'inform', *ob'javljat'* 'declare, announce, proclaim', *pisat'* 'write', *rasskazyvat'* 'tell, narrate, recount', *soobščat'* 'communicate, report, inform, announce', *skazat'* 'say, tell'. But the set of reporting verbs in Russian shows significant semantic differences from the set of reporting verbs in English. For example, *skazat'* corresponds to both 'say' and 'tell', *govorit'* to both 'say' and 'speak', while *sprašivat' sebja*, literally 'ask oneself', translates 'wonder'. At the same time in Russian there are some non-reporting verbs that can frame a direct speech complement that do not readily combine with an indirect speech complement. Consider the following sentences taken from a Russian crime novel of the Soviet period. Each sentence is multiclausal and shows the characteristic inversion of subject and verb after a direct speech complement.

- (33) — Вы, значит, пешком решились? — улыбалась Тихомирова, довольная что встретила-таки его. (Šestakov 2002, 64)
- vys značit<sub>PARENTH</sub> peškom<sub>ADV</sub> rešil-is'<sub>PRED.INTR</sub> ulybalas'<sub>PRED.INTR</sub>  
 2pl.nom so on foot decide-pl.past smile-sg.fem.past  
 Tixomirova<sub>S</sub> dovol'n-aja<sub>PERI</sub> čto vstretil-a<sub>PRED.TR</sub> taki<sub>PARTICLE</sub>  
 Tixomirova-sg.nom.fem pleased-sg.nom.fem that meet-sg.fem.past nevertheless  
 ego<sub>O</sub>  
 3sg.acc.masc  
 "So you decided to walk?" Tixomirova smiled, pleased that she had met him after all.'

This may be described as ellipsis: it occurs in Russian where English retains the reporting verb, as in the following example.

- (34) — Это школа наша, — махнула Ирина прутиком на красное здание. (Šestakov *op.cit.*, 65)
- ët-o<sub>CS</sub> Ø<sub>COP.PRED</sub> [škol-a naš-a]<sub>CC</sub> maxnu-la<sub>PRED.INTR</sub>  
 this-sg.neut.nom be-pres school-sg.fem.nom our-sg.fem.nom wave-sg.fem.past  
 Irin-a<sub>S</sub> prutik-om<sub>OBJ</sub> [na krasn-oe zdani-e]<sub>PERI</sub>  
 Irina-sg.fem.nom switch-sg.masc.instr at red-sg.neut.acc building-sg.neut.acc  
 "This is our school," said Irina, waving a small switch at a red building.'

As well as reporting verbs, verbs of cognition and thinking can also introduce a complement clause with *čto*. The same shifts (or absence of shift, in the case of tense) apply.

#### 4. Speech report continuum

While standard Russian formally distinguishes direct and indirect speech report constructions and characterizes each with certain distinctive features, it is also possible to find speech report constructions that show features of both direct and indirect speech reports. This suggests a speech report continuum. Consider the following sentence (difficult to translate into English without distortion). It has a reporting verb and the complementiser *čto* typical of an indirect speech report, but lacks the usual shifts characteristic of such a report: the complement clause contains imperatives (*postupaj*, *uezžaj*) and a 2nd person pronominal (*tvoja*) that correlates with a 3rd person pronominal (*emu*) referring to the person addressed by the subject of the reporting verb.

- (35) Когда он пришел домой, я ему сказала, что или поступай, или уезжай из дому, а что всякая твоя ночь мне стоит год жизни, ...  
(S. Tolstaja, Švedova 1980, II: 487)

kogda	ons	priše-l	PRED.INTR	domoj	ADV	ja	A	emu	OBJ
when	3sg.masc.nom	come-sg.masc.past		home	1sg.nom	3sg.masc.dat			
skaza-l	a	PRED.TR	čto	ili	postupaj	IMP	ili	uezžaj	IMP
say-sg.fem.past	that	or	act-sg.imp	or	leave-sg.imp	from	home-sg.gen.masc	and	
čto	[vsjak-a	ja	tvo-ja	noč']	A	mne	OBJ		
that	each-sg.nom.fem	your-sg.nom.fem	night-sg.nom.fem	1sg.dat					
sto-it	a	PRED.TR	[god	žizn-i]	O				
cost-3sg.pres	year-sg.acc.masc	life-sg.gen.fem							

‘When he came home, I said to him that either do something, or leave home, and that each night of yours costs me a year of my life, ...’

#### 5. Indirect speech reports in colloquial Russian

In colloquial Russian (*razgovornaja reč'*) one can observe particular features of indirect speech reports not found in the standard literary language. Colloquial Russian shows a higher degree of freedom of constituent order than the standard language and permits discontinuous

indirect speech reports. Take the following sentences, where the subject of the indirect speech complement is placed before the subject of the reporting verb. Note the presence of the complementiser *čto* after the reporting verb.

- (36) Конфеты он сказал что вкусные. (Zemskaja 1973, 398)  
 konfet-y<sub>CS</sub>    on<sub>A</sub>                skaza-l<sub>PRED.TRANS</sub> čto    ∅<sub>COP.PRED</sub> vkusn-ye<sub>CC</sub>  
 sweet-pl.nom 3sg.masc.nom say-sg.masc.past that be-pres    tasty-pl.nom  
 'He said that the sweets were tasty.'  
 (Standard Russian: Он сказал, что конфеты вкусные.)
- (37) Его сестра говорят что приехала. (Idem.)  
 [ego                sestr-a]<sub>S</sub>                govor-jat<sub>PRED.TRANS</sub> čto    priexa-la<sub>PRED.INTR</sub>  
 3sg.masc.gen sister-sg.nom.fem say-3pl.pres                that arrive-sg.fem.past  
 'They say that his sister's arrived.'  
 (Compare: 'His sister they say that she's arrived.'  
 (Standard Russian: Говорят, что приехала его сестра.)

## 6. Speech report constructions and style

In works of literature direct and indirect speech report constructions often reflect significant stylistic differences and allow for contrasting modes of expression. Generally speaking, direct speech reports, being a more faithful representation of what has been said (though not necessarily an exact representation), can contain lexical elements (slang, expletives, colloquialisms, non-standard grammatical forms) not usually found in the stylistically more neutral indirect speech reports. For this reason some Russian writers (Babel', for example) have deliberately cultivated direct speech in their writing as an immediate way of confronting the reader with the reality of what is being portrayed. (Here one may compare the photograph to the drawing or painting, though all can involve a degree of artifice.) If we consider the short story by Babel', entitled *The Death of Dolgušov*, we discover that of the 140 lines of text, 77 lines (or 55%) represent direct speech reports.

## 7. Conclusion

In conclusion it should be noted that Russian distinguishes both direct and indirect speech report constructions which are typically multiclausal.

Russian also has monoclausal speech report constructions that employ a vernacular evidential (*mol*, *deskat'* or *-de*.) At the same time it is possible to demonstrate the existence of a speech report continuum in Russian, where some constructions display features of both direct and indirect speech reports, such as the complementiser *čto* and imperative verb forms. While Russian makes use of a large set of reporting verbs in speech report constructions, it can also deploy non-reporting verbs as framers of direct speech complements.

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