

Illocutive Parenthetical Verbs in Russian

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Abstract

The paper presents three Russian syntactic constructions in which can appear illocutive parenthetical verbal expressions [= IPVE], as in *The situation, **I believe**, is deteriorating*. The definitions of two relevant notions ('parenthetical' and 'illocutive') are proposed, the lexicographic presentation of verbs that take part in these constructions is discussed, and three semantic rules that ensure the production of correct Russian sentences with an IPVE are quoted.

Keywords

Russian syntax, parenthetical expressions, illocutive expressions, communicative structure of sentences, semantic rules, lexicographic description of some Russian parenthetical verbs.

1 Problem Stated

In this paper, we consider illocutive parenthetical verbal expressions [= IPVE] of the type in (1), where IPVEs are boldfaced:

- (1) a. *The situation, **I think**, is deteriorating.*
- b. *The situation, **the government hopes**, will improve.*
- c. *As **'The Times' reports**, the situation is deteriorating.*

Parenthetical expression E is called illocutive if, being part of the same sentence as clause P , E constitutes a comment by the Speaker semantically bearing on P : roughly, ' E -sem \rightarrow P'. In other words, ' P ' is an argument of ' E '—or, more precisely, of the main predicate of ' E '. E carries information about the clause P itself, i.e. its content or its form. In sharp contrast, a non-illocutive parenthetical expression carries additional information about the fact expressed by P rather than on P itself: for example, in the sentence *The situation—**such things already happened before**—will improve*, where E is boldfaced, ' P ' (= 'the situation will improve') is not a semantic argument of ' E ' (= 'such things happened before').

We limit ourselves to illocutive parenthetical E s built around a finite verb form; such E s are known as "reduced clauses." Doing this, we leave out:

— Parenthetical expressions that are not illocutive ('P' is not an argument of 'E'): (i) Phatic parentheticals, used not to comment on *P* but to attract the Addressee's attention (*you know; Listen, ...*) or to mark the Speaker's hesitation (*...—how could I put it?—...*).¹ (ii) Parenthetical clauses, as the boldfaced clause in (2), which present some additional secondary information about the state of affairs referred to by *P*:

(2) *The situation (floods hit several new regions) is deteriorating.*

— Expressions that are similar to parentheticals, without being parentheticals: (i) Direct Speech postposed introducers, as in '*Come here, whispered Helen*'. Such an expression is the syntactic governor of Direct Speech (= *P*), while a parenthetical is a syntactic dependent of *P*. (ii) Autonomous main clauses whose syntactic link with *P* is asyndetic (= without an overt conjunction). Such a clause, unlike an IPVE, can carry sentential stress (Padučeva 1996: 322); for instance:

(3) a. Asyndetic coordination

The situation is deteriorating, | I know.

b. Asyndetic subordination

I know: the situation is deteriorating.

Verbs in IPVEs have been called parenthetical [= $V_{(\text{parenth})}$], beginning with Urmson 1952. The topic of parenthetical verbs is rather popular in linguistics: from the classic Urmson 1952 to Zaliznjak and Padučeva [Z&P] 1987, Padučeva 1996, Schneider 2007, Blanche-Benveniste and Willems 2007 and Kahane and Pietrandrea [K&P] 2011. We deal here with parenthetical verbs in Russian; much of our data comes from Z&P 1987.

$V_{(\text{parenth})}$ S are specified by their semantic and syntactic properties.

The Semantic Properties of $V_{(\text{parenth})}$ S

1. A $V_{(\text{parenth})}$ belongs to a vast semantic class of verbs denoting information processing in the human psyche and forming several subclasses: mental state verbs (THINK, BELIEVE, BE AFRAID, HOPE), mental activity verbs (DEMONSTRATE, DISCOVER), communication verbs (DECLARE) and perception verbs (SEE, HEAR).

2. An IPVE is necessarily a semantically positive statement (Apresjan 1978; Z&P 1987: 93-94). This means that:

— Either the meaning of a $V_{(\text{parenth})}$ does not include an "internal" negation of the central component nor does $V_{(\text{parenth})}$ have an "external" (= lexical) negation.

— Or the $V_{(\text{parenth})}$ includes an internal negation but then it also has an external negation, which cancels the first one.

Thus, the Russian verbs SOMNEVAT'SJA 'doubt' ≈ 'not be certain' and SKRYVAT' 'hide' ≈ 'not communicate...' are not $V_{(\text{parenth})}$ S. However, they can be used in an IPVE if supplied with an external negation:

(4) a. *Položenie, ja ne somnevajus', uxudšaetsja* 'The situation, I don't doubt, is deteriorating'.

b. *Položenie, ja ne skroju, uxudšaetsja* 'The situation, I will not hide, is deteriorating'.

The Syntactic Property of $V_{(\text{parenth})}$ S

When used non-parenthetically, a $V_{(\text{parenth})}$ takes, as a syntactic actant, a completive clause *P*: $V\text{-synt}\rightarrow P$. But in a parenthetical use, for such a verb the syntactic dependency is inverted: $V\leftarrow\text{synt}-P$.

¹ On "parasitic words" in Russian ("xmykan'e", "mekan'e" and "bljakan'e"), see Levontina and Shmelev 2007.

- (5) a. *Ja sčitaju*, →*čto položenie uxudšaetsja* ‘I believe that the situation is deteriorating’.
 b. *Položenie, ja sčitaju*, ←*uxudšaetsja* ‘The situation, I believe, is deteriorating’.

The communication verbs OBSUŽDAT’ ‘discuss’ and PRIGLAŠAT’ ‘invite’ as well as the perception verb VOSPRINIMAT’ ‘perceive’ do not take a completive clause (**obsuždat’* ⟨**priglašat’*, **vosprinimat’*⟩, *čto P*) and thus are not $V_{(parenth)S}$.

However, several Russian verbs have the three properties above, but nonetheless cannot be used in an IPVE: for instance, the belief verb ODOBŖJAT’ ‘approve’; the communication verb OB”JAVLJAT’ ‘announce’ (while ZAJAVLJAT’ ‘declare’ is a $V_{(parenth)}$); all verbs denoting a particular way of uttering: ŠEPTAT’ ‘murmur’, BORMOTAT’ ‘mumble’, KRIČAT’ ‘shout’, etc.; the perception verb OŠČUŠČAT’ ‘[to] sense’ (but its quasi-synonym ČUVSTVOVAT’ ‘feel’ is a $V_{(parenth)}$).

Our task in this paper is to propose a description of Russian $V_{(parenth)S}$ and corresponding semantic rules that ensure the production of correct sentences with an IPVE.

Our research shows that $V_{(parenth)S}$ have to be specified in the dictionary—that is, they must be described by individual dictionary rules rather than by some general rules. Such treatment is justified all the more since $V_{(parenth)S}$ differ by the parenthetical constructions they can appear in. Thus, BOJAT’SJA_{1,2} ‘be afraid’² is used in an IPVE in the 1 sg of the present indicative, but not in the construction with the conjunction KAK ‘as’, while DOKAZAT’ ‘demonstrate’ manifests the inverse behavior; similarly, although BOJAT’SJA_{1,2} refuses the IPVE with KAK, its quasi-synonym OPASAT’SJA ‘fear’ allows it:

- (6) a. **Položenie, ja dokazyvaju, uxudšaetsja* ‘The situation, I demonstrate, is deteriorating’ . vs.
Položenie, kak ja dokazyvaju, uxudšaetsja ‘The situation, as I demonstrate, is deteriorating’.
 b. *Položenie, ja bojus’* ⟨*ja opasajus’*⟩, *uxudšaetsja*
 ‘The situation, I am afraid ⟨I fear⟩, is deteriorating’ . vs.
Položenie, kak ja opasajus’ ⟨**kak ja bojus’*⟩, *uxudšaetsja*
 ‘The situation, as I fear ⟨as I am afraid⟩, is deteriorating’.

2 The Communicative and Syntactic Roles of Illocutive Parenthetical Verbal Expressions

2.1 The Communicative Role of an IPVE

A common feature of all IPVEs at the semantic level is their communicative role: an IPVE is not part of the essential message expressed by the sentence in question, but indicates to the Addressee how he should interpret *P*. Urmson 1952: 496 compares an IPVE to a stage direction (“say it in a somber tone,” etc.).

Formally, two communicative oppositions are relevant for an IPVE: Thematicity and Locutionality (Mel’čuk 2001: 93ff).

Thematicity. An IPVE does not belong to the communicative core of the sentence—to neither Rheme, nor Theme; it is within the communicative area of Specifiers (Mel’čuk 2001: 96ff). Specifiers are meanings that the Speaker uses in order to add information either on the situation *P* (e.g., a detached circumstantial of time or location, specifying temporal and spatial

² Lexicographic numbers for the verb BOJAT’SJA come from Iordanskaja and Mel’čuk 1990.

coordinates of P), or on the clause P ; in this case, we speak of illocutive Specifiers. Since an IPVE constitutes a kind of a comment, by the Speaker, on the clause P (Bonami and Godard 2007: 259 and K&P 2011), it is an illocutive Specifier. The comment conveyed by an IPVE can bear on:

- The epistemological status of P , including the indication of the Speaker's source of the information « P » ('I believe', 'I swear it', 'declared the minister', 'as our calculations show').
- The subjective attitude of the Speaker or anybody else towards the content of P ('I am afraid', 'I regret', 'the government hopes').
- The linguistic form of P ('as say the Spaniards').

Locutionality. From the viewpoint of their locutionality, IPVEs are signalatives (Mel'čuk 2001: 245ff, 354ff)—more precisely, syntactic signalatives: their signalative character is expressed by a parenthetical syntactic construction. A signalative is a meaning 'σ' reflecting a psychological state of the Speaker or a rhetorical action by him such that he verbalizes it by signaling (rather than by communicating): a prototypical signalative expression does not allow for negation,³ interrogation or free modification; it never constitutes an assertion in logical sense. Thus, the IPVEs in sentences (1) present a rhetorical action by the Speaker—namely, the introduction of an incidental comment concerning P (in this case, the signaled meaning is 'my source of the information « P » is E ').

To make the notion of signalative clearer, here are examples of signalatives that are not IPVEs.

- First, there are lexical signalatives (= lexical units stored as such in the lexicon): interjections as *Wow!* or *Phew!*; parenthetical adverbials such as *unfortunately*, *to my sense* or *of course*; connector adverbials such as *in fact* or *for instance*; rhetorical conjunctions such as *although* or *since*; etc.
- Second, there are morphological signalatives, for instance, the imperative.
- Finally, there are syntactic signalatives, such as the Russian construction « $V_{\text{INF- PARTICLE-TO}} X V_{\text{FIN}}$ » (*Čitat'-to on čital, da...* lit. 'To.read-"to" he has.read, but...' ≈ 'Although he has read [it], but...'), which signals the skepticism of the Speaker with respect to X 's action V .

At this point, two important remarks seem to be appropriate.

1. Note that an illocutive Specifier is not necessarily Signaled—that is, in our case, it does not to be expressed as an IPVE. Thus, in ***I believe that the situation is deteriorating*** the bold-faced matrix clause can be, in a particular context (for instance, as an answer to the question *What is happening there?*), an illocutive Specifier without being Signaled: it is not an IPVE.

2. The communicative status «Specifier + Signaled» of a meaning results in its weak communicative value; many researchers (e.g., Z&P 1987: 84 and K&P 2011) consider this property as essential for IPVEs. A weak communicative value also characterizes Backgrounded expressions, such as the boldfaced clause in *My friends (who live in Canada) like skiing*. But this is another communicative opposition, irrelevant in the context of this talk,—Perspective (Mel'čuk 2001: 198ff); an IPVE can be Neutral, as in (7a), or Backgrounded, as in (7b):

³ More precisely, negation cannot bear on the **central** component of a signaled meaning. Thus, in the case of the imperative (which is a morphological signalative)—e.g., *Don't say this!*—the central component of an imperative meaning 'I want you to ...' is not negated.

- (7) a. *Položenie, kak sčitajut vse, uxudšaetsja*
 ‘The situation, as everybody believes, is deteriorating’.
 b. *Položenie (kak sčitajut vse) uxudšaetsja.*

Therefore, an IPVE cannot be defined simply as being communicatively Backgrounded.

The communicative role of an IPVE is manifested mainly by its prosody: an IPVE allows (or requires) pauses at its boundaries, carries—in a neutral context—a flat intonational contour and cannot have sentential stress (Z&P 1987: 81-82; Bonami and Godard 2007: 262 speak of “incidental prosody”). It is prosody that distinguishes a verbal IPVE in the initial position in the sentence (8a) from its non-parenthetical counterpart with the ellipsis of the conjunction ČTO ‘that’:

- (8) a. (i) *Napominaju, (l) Maša bol’nÁ* ‘[I] remind, Masha is ill’. ≡
 (ii) *Maša, | napominaju, | bol’nÁ* ‘Masha, [I] remind, is ill’. ≡
 b. (i) *NapominÁju, || Maša bol’nÁ* ‘[I] remind, Masha is ill’. ≡
 (ii) *NapominÁju, čto Maša bol’nÁ* ‘[I] remind that Masha is ill’.

In (8a), *napominaju* ‘[I] remind’ is an IPVE; in (8b), *napominaju* constitutes the matrix clause that governs its completive—asyndetically in (8b-i) and by means of ČTO (8b-ii).

2.2 The Syntactic Role of an IPVE

At the Deep-syntactic level, an IPVE depends on the head of the clause *P* by the deep-syntactic relation APPEND, which represents all kind of “extrastructural” constructions, manifesting weak subordination, such as sentence adverbs, parenthetical expressions, addresses, interjections, prolepses, etc. This type of subordination is opposed to strong subordination—that is, actants and modifiers/circumstantials.

3 Three Syntactic Constructions for IPVEs in Russian

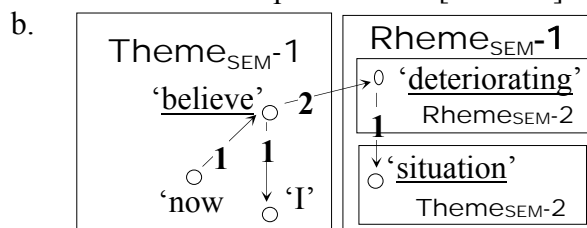
The constructions under analysis will be illustrated by the verb SČITAT’ ‘believe’.

3.1 Non-Parenthetical Use of SČITAT’

Consider first a non-parenthetical use of the verb SČITAT’:

- (9) a. *Ja sčitaju, čto položenie uxudšaetsja* ‘I believe that the situation is deteriorating’.

Here is its semantic representation [= SemR]:



In a communicative area, underlining indicates the communicatively dominant node, i.e., the semanteme that represents the minimal paraphrase of the area’s meaning. The semanteme ‘now’ is an abbreviation that encodes the present indicative of the verb.

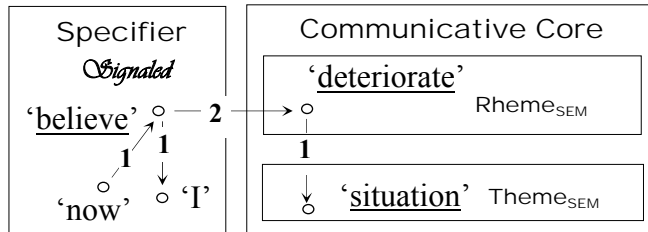
3.2 Parenthetical Uses of SČITAT'

Parenthetical-1 Construction

- (10) a. *Ja sčítaju, položenie uxudšaetsja* 'I believe, the situation is deteriorating'. ≡
Položenie, ja sčítaju, uxudšaetsja. ≡ *Položenie uxudšaetsja, ja sčítaju.*

The three sentences in (10a) have a common SemR, given in (10b):

b.



The communicative status of the signaled meaning 'I believe', realized by an IPVE, manifests itself in (10b) by the two properties introduced above:

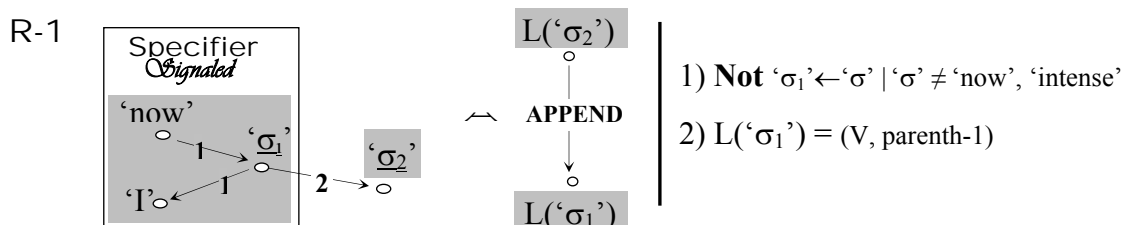
- The meaning 'I believe' is a Specifier. Unlike the SemR in (9b), where this meaning belongs to the Theme, in (10b), it is not part of the communicative core.
- The meaning 'I believe' is Signaled: the Speaker signals (rather than communicates) his epistemological attitude with respect to the clause *P*.

Properties of Parenthetical-1

- 1) Verb semantic class: mental state verbs (*ja sčítaju* 'I believe', *ja bojus'* 'I am afraid'), communication verbs (in a performative use: *ja nastaijavaju* 'I insist', *ja garantiruju* 'I guarantee'), perception verbs (*ja slyšu* 'I hear'), but not mental activity verbs, such as *ja dokazyvaju* 'I demonstrate' or *ja zaključaju* 'I conclude'.
 A performative verb used in Parenthetical-1 construction signals the corresponding speech act rather than communicates it.
- 2) Syntactic subject: only JA 'I'; cf. **Položenie, pravitel'stvo sčítaet, uxudšaetsja* 'The situation, the government believes, is deteriorating'.
 The sentence *Položenie, on sčítaet, uxudšaetsja* manifests Parenthetical-2 construction.
- 3) Verb inflectional categories: the verb is in the active of the present indicative; cf. **Položenie, ja sčítal, uxudšaetsja* lit. 'The situation, I believed, was deteriorating'.
 This sentence is possible, but then it represents Parenthetical-2.
- 4) Modification of the verb: no free modifiers; cf. **Položenie, ja s nedavnix por sčítaju, uxudšaetsja* 'The situation, I believe since recently, is deteriorating', except for a collocational intensifier: *Položenie, ja tvërdo sčítaju* ⟨*ja točno znaju*⟩, *uxudšaetsja* 'The situation, I strongly believe (I know for a fact), is deteriorating'.
- 5) Subordinability: no (**Ivan govorit, čto položenie, ja sčítaju, uxudšaetsja* 'Ivan says that ...').
 Subordinability of an IPVE means the possibility of subordinating the whole sentence that contains this IPVE to a higher verb.
- 6) Omission of the subject: no (**Položenie, sčítaju, uxudšaetsja*).
- 7) Position of the subject: precedes the verb; cf. **Položenie, sčítaju ja, uxudšaetsja*.
 This sentence is possible, but then it represents Parenthetical-2.
- 8) Position of the IPVE: all three arrangements—before, inside and after *P*—are possible.
- 9) Prosody: two weak optional pauses on both sides (the second is a bit longer); low and flat contour; no sentential stress, no emphasis; low intensity.

Here and below, prosody is characterized quite approximately.

The transition between the SemR in (10b) and the DSyntS of (10a) is effected by semantic rule R-1. This rule is in fact a definition of the Parenthetical-1 construction. (Similarly, rules R-2 and R-3 define Parenthetical-2 and Parenthetical-3.)

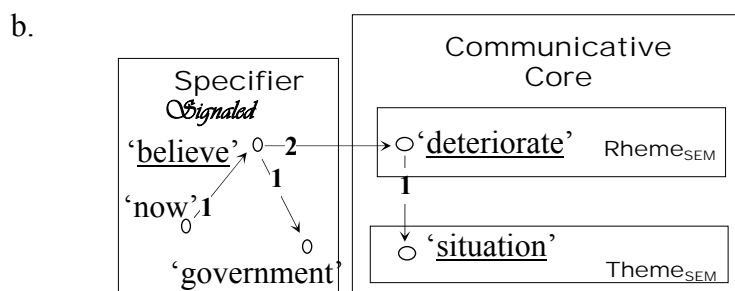


A shaded zone represents the context of the rule—that is, the elements that are not affected by the rule, but which control its application; the semantemes ‘now’ and ‘I’ are part of this context and are taken care of by corresponding rules. “|” indicates the conditions of the rule; L(‘σ’) is the lexical expression of the meaning ‘σ’. Condition 1 reflects the semantic constraints on the cooccurrence of the meaning ‘σ₁’.

Figure 1. Semantic Rule for Parenthetical-1 Construction

Parenthetical-2 Construction

- (11) a. *Položenie, sčitaet pravitel'stvo, uxudšaetsja* ‘The situation, believes the government, is deteriorating’. ≡ *Položenie uxudšaetsja, sčitaet pravitel'stvo*. ~ **Sčitaet pravitel'stvo, položenie uxudšaetsja*.



Unlike Parenthetical-1, where the Experiencer of the signaled attitude towards P is necessarily the Speaker (= ‘I’), Parenthetical-2 expresses an indication, by the Speaker, of the attitude of any person, including himself; as a result, the syntactic subject of the parenthetical verb in this construction can be of any grammatical person.

Properties of Parenthetical-2

- 1) Verb semantic class: mental state verbs (*sčitaet Ivan* ‘believes Ivan’, *nadeetsja Ivan* ‘hopes Ivan’), mental activity verbs (*dokazyvaet Ivan* ‘demonstrates Ivan’, *uznaëm my* ‘we learn’), communication verbs (*nastaivaet Ivan* ‘insists Ivan’) or perception verbs (*vidit Ivan* ‘sees Ivan’).
- 2) Syntactic subject: any nominal or pronominal expression; cf. *Položenie, sčitaet pravitel'stvo, uxudšaetsja* ‘The situation, believes the government, is deteriorating’. This includes the 1sg: *Položenie, sčitaju ja na osnove ètoj informacii, uxudšaetsja* ‘The situation, I believe based on this information, is deteriorating’.
- 3) Verb inflectional categories: voice, mood and tense are not constrained (except, of course, for the imperative); cf. *Položenie, sčitalo_{PAST} pravitel'stvo, uxudšalos'* lit. ‘The situation, believed the government, was deteriorating’. ~ *Položenie, budet sčitat'_{FUTURE} pravitel'stvo, uxudšitsja*.
- 4) Modification of the verb: not constrained; cf. *Položenie, sčitaet s nedavnix por pravitel'stvo, uxudšaetsja* lit. ‘The situation, believes since recently the government, is deteriorating’.

- 5) Subordinability: no (**Ivan govorit, čto položenie, sčitaet pravitel'stvo, uxudšaetsja* 'Ivan says that ...').
- 6) Omission of the subject: no (**Položenie, sčitaet, uxudšaetsja*).
- 7) Position of the subject: a nominal subject follows the verb, cf. *Položenie, sčitaet pravitel'stvo, uxudšaetsja*; a pronominal subject can follow or precede it, cf. *Položenie, ja sčital togda* ⟨*sčital ja togda*⟩, *uxudšalos'*.
- 8) Position of the parenthetical: the initial position is impossible, cf. **Sčitaet pravitel'stvo, položenie uxudšaetsja*.
- 9) Prosody: two obligatory short pauses on both sides, the second being longer; a low and flat contour; no sentence accent; low intensity.

The transition between the SemR in (11b) and the DSyntS of (11a) is carried out by the semantic rule R-2:

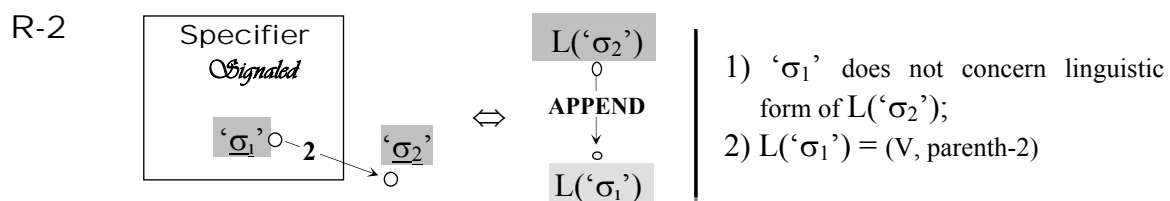


Figure 2. Semantic Rule for Parenthetical-2 Construction

Rule R-1 constitutes in fact a particular case of rule R-2; nevertheless, the introduction of two different parenthetical constructions is justified by at least the following two considerations:

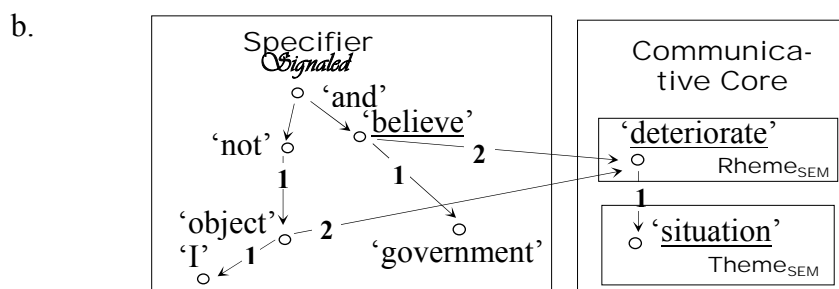
— Certain verbs are used only in Parenthetical-1: e.g., *BOJAT'SJAI.2* 'be afraid' and *NE SOMNE-VAT'SJA* 'not doubt' (see Section 5).

— Parenthetical-1 is more constrained than Parenthetical-2—according to properties 2-4, even if Parenthetical-2 has a 1sg subject:

- (12) a. *Položenie, ja sčitaju* (**s nedavnix por*), *uxudšaetsja*
 'The situation, I believe (since recently) is deteriorating'. vs.
- b. *Položenie, sčital ja v to vremja, uxudšalos'*
 'The situation, I believed then, was deteriorating'.

Parenthetical-3 Construction

- (13) a. *Kak sčitaet pravitel'stvo, položenie uxudšaetsja*
 'As believes the government, the situation is deteriorating'. ≡
Položenie, kak sčitaet pravitel'stvo, uxudšaetsja. ≡
Položenie uxudšaetsja, kak sčitaet pravitel'stvo.



Like Parenthetical-2, Parenthetical-3 expresses the attitude that, according to the Speaker, any person—including himself—has with respect to *P*. But Parenthetical-3 carries also an additional meaning: ‘the Speaker does not have a contrary belief about [= does not object that] *P*’ (Z&P 1987: 85-87); cf.:

- (14) a. *Položenie, sčítaet pravitel'stvo, uxudšaetsja, no ja s ètim ne soglasen*
 ‘The situation, believes the government, is deteriorating but I don’t agree with this’. vs.
 b. *Položenie, kak sčítaet pravitel'stvo, uxudšaetsja, #no ja s ètim ne soglasen*
 ‘The situation, as believes the government, is deteriorating, but I don’t agree with this’.
- This additional meaning is a weak meaning: it is easily suppressed by a contradictory belief that the Speaker has stated before the appearance of the IPVE or after it, but then in a separate sentence:
- (15) a. *Ja ne soglasen s tem, čto položenie, kak sčítaet pravitel'stvo, uxudšaetsja*
 ‘I don’t agree that the situation, as believes the government, is deteriorating’.
 b. *Položenie ne uxudšaetsja, kak sčítaet pravitel'stvo, a naoborot, ulučšaetsja.*
 ‘The situation is not deteriorating, as believes the government, but, on the contrary, is improving’.
 c. *Položenie, kak sčítaet pravitel'stvo, uxudšaetsja. Po-moemu, odnako, ono ulučšaetsja*
 ‘The situation, as believes the government, is deteriorating. In my opinion, however, it is improving’.

Unlike Parentheticals-1/2, Parenthetical-3 does not accept perception verbs:

- (16) a. *Na kuxne, (ja) slyšu, kto-to xodit. ~ Na kuxne, slyšit Ivan, kto-to xodit*
 ‘In the kitchen, I hear/hears Ivan, somebody is walking around’. vs.
 b. **Na kuxne, kak ja slyšu, kto-to xodit. ~ *Na kuxne, kak slyšit Ivan, kto-to xodit.*
 In the sentence *Ty, kak ja slyšal, polučil xorošee mesto* ‘You, as I have heard, have landed a good position’ we find a non-perceptual sense of the verb SLYŠAT’ (= ‘learn by the way of speech’).

Unlike Parenthetical-2, Parenthetical-3 can express a comment by the Speaker concerning the linguistic form of *P*:

- (17) a. *Èto, kak govornjat v Odesse (kak vyražajutsja odessity), dve bol'sie raznicy*
 ‘This, as they say in Odessa (as express themselves the Odessites), are two big differences’.
 b. **Èto, govornjat v Odesse (vyražajutsja odessity), dve bol'sie raznicy.*

Properties of Parenthetical-3

- 1) Verb semantic class: mental state verbs (*kak sčítaet Ivan* ‘as believes Ivan’, *kak nadeetsja Ivan* ‘as hopes Ivan’), mental activity verbs (*kak dokazyvaet Ivan* ‘as demonstrates Ivan’) and communication verbs (*kak zjavljaet Ivan* ‘as declares Ivan’). A perception verb is possible only if its subject denotes a whole class of people (not specific individuals): *Ivan, kak vse videli* (<**kak otec videl*), *byl p'jan* ‘Ivan, as everybody (<Father> saw, was drunk’.
- 2) Syntactic subject: can be any nominal or pronominal expression, cf. *Položenie, kak sčítaet pravitel'stvo, uxudšaetsja.*
- 3) Verb inflectional categories: voice, mood (except the imperative) and tense are not constrained; cf. *Položenie, kak sčitalo/kak budet sčitat'/kak sčitalo by pravitel'stvo, uxudšalos*’.
- 4) Modification: is not constrained; cf. *Položenie, kak sčítaet s nedavnix por pravitel'stvo, uxudšaetsja* lit. ‘The situation, as believes since recently the government, is deteriorating’.
- 5) Subordinability: yes; cf. *Ivan govornit, čto položenie, kak sčítaet pravitel'stvo, uxudšaetsja* ‘Ivan says that ...’

- 6) Omission of the subject: no (**Položenie, kak sčitaet, uxudšaetsja*).
- 7) Position of the subject: not fixed (*Položenie, kak pravitel'stvo sčitaet, uxudšaetsja*).
- 8) Position of the parenthetical: all three arrangements are possible.
- 9) Prosody: two obligatory pauses on both sides, the second being longer; regular contour; no primary sentence stress, although secondary stress is possible (Z&P 1987: 87).

The transition “SemR (13b) \Leftrightarrow DSyntS of (13a)” is carried out by semantic rule R-3:

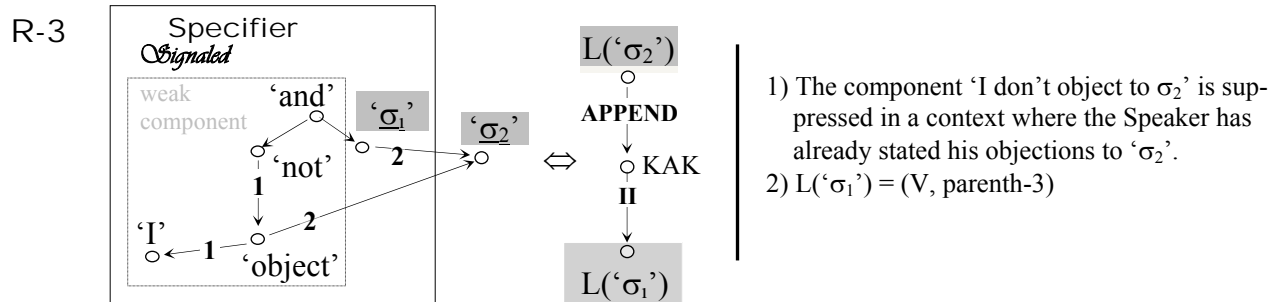


Figure 3. Semantic Rule for Parenthetical-3 Construction

4 Comparison of the Three Parenthetical Constructions

The three constructions share two defining features: each 1) expresses a Signaled Specifier and 2) syntactically depends on the head of the matrix clause P by the DSynt-relation APPEND.

At the same time, these constructions differ by several other features (see the corresponding lists above). In fact, Parenthetical-2 is freer (= has fewer constraints) than Parenthetical-1, and Parenthetical-3 is freer than Parenthetical-2. These differences correlate with the degree of the Speaker’s involvement and with that of assertivity. On the one hand, the insubordinability of Parentheticals-1/2 is due to the fact that they can only express the comment by the Speaker himself; Parenthetical-3 is subordinable since it allows for the commentator to be a “substitute” of the Speaker—that is, the Observer or the Character in the narrative (Padučeva 2011). On the other hand, Parenthetical-1 does not constitute an assertion, Parenthetical-2 is closer to an assertion, and Parenthetical-3 is a quasi-assertion; Parenthetical-2/3 can be refuted by the Interlocutor, cf.:

- (18) A: *Položenie, (kak) zajavilo včera pravitel'stvo, uxudšaetsja*
 ‘The situation, (as) the government declared yesterday, is deteriorating’.
- B: *Da net, ničego podobnogo pravitel'stvo ne zajavljalo*
 ‘But no, the government did not declare anything like that’.

The “more assertive” character of Parentheticals-2/3 rules out their use in an interrogative sentence, which is possible for Parenthetical-1. This is explained by the fact that an assertion cannot follow an interrogation within the same sentence (Iordanskaja 1993: 173):

- (19) *Položenie uxudšaetsja, ja bojus'?* ~ **Položenie uxudšaetsja, boitsja pravitel'stvo?* ~
**Položenie uxudšaetsja, kak boitsja pravitel'stvo?*

5 Parenthetical Verbs in the Dictionary

A Russian verb that has the semantic and syntactic properties licensing its participation in an IVPE is not necessarily usable in one: see the end of Section 1. Moreover, those verbs that do participate in IVPEs differ in the type of construction they can be used in—each $V_{(\text{parenth})}$ is characterized by the constructions it accepts. Therefore:

|| The dictionary article of a $V_{(\text{parenth})}$ must indicate the type of construction this V can be used in: «parenth-1», «parenth-2», «parenth-3», or a combination thereof.

The question arises: Is such a method necessary and sufficient?

Necessity has been demonstrated above; let us add a few more examples.

— One verb may be a $V_{(\text{parenth})}$ while a semantically and syntactically similar one is not: PO-LAGAT' 'suppose' is a $V_{(\text{parenth})}$, but PRINIMAT' 'accept' is not; the same is true about UBEŽDAT' 'convince' (in construction with PYTAT'SJA 'try') vs. UGOVARIVAT' 'persuade' (even with PY-TAT'SJA); contrary to the English $V_{(\text{parenth})}$ REGRET, its Russian equivalent SOŽALET' 'regret' is not a $V_{(\text{parenth})}$, although the corresponding meaning can be expressed in Russian (by the adverbial K SOŽALENIJU 'regrettably').

— Both verbs are $V_{(\text{parenth})S}$, but do not accept the same constructions: the verb VERIT' 'believe = have faith' and the verbal expressions BYT' UVEREN 'be sure' and BYT' SOGLASEN 'agree' cannot be used in Parentheticals-2/3, but SČITAT' 'believe' can. The verbs DOKAZYVAT' 'prove' and POKAZYVAT' 'demonstrate' are excluded from Parenthetical-1, but are usable in Parentheticals-2/3; and UTVERŽDAT' 'affirm' participates in all three constructions.

Sufficiency. The proposed marking of parenthetical verbs is not sufficient: it has to be supplemented by finer individual features.

Thus:

— The $V_{(\text{parenth-1})}$ SKRYVAT' 'hide' can be used, unlike typical $V_{(\text{parenth-1})S}$, in the future and allows for the omission of the subject:

(20) *Položenie, (ja) ne skroju* ⟨= *ne stanu skryvat*⟩, *uxudšaetsja*
'The situation, I won't hide, is deteriorating'.

— The $V_{(\text{parenth-1})}$ BOJAT'SJAL1b ≈ 'be afraid' can be used in Parenthetical-3, but only in the past and with the emphatic particle I (Z&P 1987: 95):

(21) a. *Položenie, kak ja* ⟨on⟩ *i bojalsja, uxudšilos* 'The situation, as I (he) feared, deteriorated'.
b. **Položenie, kak ja* ⟨on⟩ *bojalsja, uxudšilos* 'The situation, as I (he) feared, deteriorated'.

— The $V_{(\text{parenth-1})}$ BOJAT'SJAL2 'be afraid', but not SČITAT' 'believe', allows for the omission of the subject:

(22) *Položenie, bojus* ⟨*sčitaju⟩, *uxudšaetsja*
lit. 'The situation, am afraid ⟨*believe⟩, is deteriorating'.

— NADEJAT'SJA 'hope' allows the 1pl of the imperative, but OPASAT'SJA 'fear' does not:

(23) *Položenie, budem nadejat'sja, ulučšitsja* 'The situation, let's hope, will improve'. vs.
**Položenie, budem opasat'sja, uxudšitsja* 'The situation, let's fear, will deteriorate'.

— ZNAT' 'know' can appear in Parentheticals-2/3, but only if its subject denotes a whole class of people (rather than an individual):

(24) a. *Položenie, (kak) znaet každyj durak, uxudšaetsja*
'The situation, as any fool knows, is deteriorating'. vs.
b. **Položenie, (kak) znaet Ivan, uxudšaetsja*.

In Parenthetical-3, the subject of ZNAT' can also be the Addressee:

c. *Položenie, kak vy znaete, uxudšaetsja* 'The situation, as you know, is deteriorating'.

To sum up: any $V_{(\text{parenth})}$ has to be specified in the dictionary by means of syntactic features «parenth-1», «parenth-2» and «parenth-3», supplemented with additional individual features and conditions under which such a use is possible. For instance:

ŠČITAT'	: (parenth-1, parenth-2, parenth-3)	BYT' UVEREN	: (parenth-1, parenth-2)
BOJAT'SJAL.1b	: (parenth-2; parenth-3 particle I, in the past)	VIDET'	: (parenth-1, parenth-2)
BOJAT'SJAL.2	: (parenth-1, the subject is omissible)	UKAZYVAT'	: (parenth-2, parenth-3)
SOMNEVAT'SJA	: (parenth-1 avec NE 'not')	DOKAZYVAT'	: (parenth-3)
NADEJAT'SJA3	: (parenth-1, the subject is omissible, +1 pl imperative)	ZNAT'	: (parenth-1; parenth-2/3 subject denotes a class of people)

6 Conclusion

To close our discussion of Russian parenthetical verbs, we would like to make the following five remarks.

1. Our study allows us to formulate a definition of parenthetical expression that covers all verbal parentheticals (quoted at the beginning of this paper) and adverbials such as *unfortunately*, *according to John*, *frankly*, *as they say*, etc.

Definition 1: Parenthetical Expression

An expression E linked to the clause P within a sentence is called parenthetical, if and only if:

- 1) in the semantic-communicative structure of the sentence, 'E' is a Signaled Specifier;
- 2) in the deep-syntactic structure, E depends, by the syntactic relation **APPEND**, on the head of P .

Let us emphasize that 'being parenthetical' is a **syntactic** property of an expression that reflects its semantic-communicative particularities. From the **semantic** viewpoint, parenthetical expressions are subdivided into illocutive ones (which take the rest of the sentence as a semantic argument) and non-illocutive (where this is not the case). The definition of illocutive parenthetical expressions is now straightforward.

Definition 2: Illocutive Parenthetical Expression

A parenthetical expression E is called illocutive, if and only if, E semantically bears on the clause P : ' E -sem \rightarrow P'.

We propose a broader sense of the term *illocutive*, as compared to its definition in Iordanskaja 1993: there, an expression E is called illocutive only if it semantically bears on the **fact of uttering** of P ; here, to be illocutive, E has to bear on P , covering both **its uttering** and **its content/form**. We by no means insist on this terminological solution; perhaps a better way would be to think of a different term.

2. IVPEs represent a case of syntactic signalatives, which exist along the well-known lexical signalatives (interjections, textual connectors, etc.) and morphological (e.g., the imperative) signalatives.

3. Russian $V_{(\text{parenth})S}$ have to be specified (in the dictionary) by syntactic features « parenth-1/2/3 » and some additional features; it seems impossible to give a reliable semantic characterization of the class of verbs participating in the same parenthetical construction.

4. However, some local (= partial) generalizations are possible; for instance:

— No parenthetical construction allows a speech verb whose meaning includes the manner of speaking: **Položenie, (kak) bormočet on, uxudšaetsja* 'The situation, (as) he mumbles, is deteriorating'.

— Parenthetical-1 does not allow verbs of mental activity: **Položenie, ja obnaruživaju <dokazyvaju, vyjasnjaju>, uxudšaetsja* 'The situation, I discover <demonstrate, establish>, is deteriorating'.

— Parenthetical-3 allows neither a verb of perception (except the case of a "general-indefinite" subject), nor a verb of belief whose meaning includes the manner of believing (Z&P

1987: 87; **Vkuxne, kak on slyšal, kto-to xodil* ‘In the kitchen, as he heard, somebody was walking around’, **Položenie, kak on ne somnevaetsja* ⟨*uveren, gotov pokljast’sja*⟩, *uxudšaetsja* ‘The situation, as he does not doubt (is sure, is ready to swear), is deteriorating’.

5. Russian has a further type of IVPE, which we did not discuss here: with monoargumental verbs and verbal expressions, of the type KAZAT’SJA ‘seem’ or STAT’ IZVESTNYM ‘become known’:

(25) *Položenie, mne kažetsja* ⟨*kak Ivanu stalo izvestno včera*⟩, *uxudšaetsja*

‘The situation, it seems to me (as it became known to Ivan yesterday), is deteriorating’.

Here, ‘P’ is the semantic actant 1 of ‘E’ (rather than 2, as in our case). Therefore, additional semantic rules are required, which, however, do not pose any theoretical difficulty.

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