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The quote and beyond: defining boundaries of reported speech in conversational Russian

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Abstract

This article investigates ways in which direct reported speech is set apart from the current speaker's own talk. Drawing on a corpus of conversational Russian materials, the article examines ways in which the onset and the offset of reported speech are marked in ordinary talk. The analysis shows that in most cases quotations are separated from other talk at their beginnings and ends through a variety of devices including grammatical framing, re-anchoring devices, and prosodic shifts for their onset and several repositioning devices and sequence organization practices for their offset. There are, however, ambiguous cases when a particular stretch of talk occurring after a quote is neither clearly separated from the quote nor clearly marked as being part of it. Such cases, referred to in this study as 'fading out,' appear to have specific interactional functions allowing the speaker to deal with several potential problems. The findings of this study demonstrate the importance of studying linguistic phenomena on the basis of real conversational data and suggest that the different ways in which reported speech boundaries are demarcated (or not) provide participants with a set of tools they can employ for a variety of interactional purposes.

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1. Introduction

This article investigates ways in which speech attributed to another person and/or to another context (i.e., *reported speech* and especially *direct reported speech*) is set apart from the current speaker's own talk. In other words, the paper will examine how the onset and the offset of reported speech are marked in ordinary talk. While both of these boundaries are analytically interesting, the focus here will largely be on marking the ending of reported speech or the *unquote*. For various reasons (discussed below), the

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issue of how the unquote is indicated has received little attention in the vast literature on reported speech,¹ yet the offset of reported speech is of, at least, as much importance as its onset. If, for a variety of interactional purposes, conversationalists strive to distinguish their own current words from the reported words of others, not only the onset but also the offset of reported speech needs to be marked somehow. Exactly *how* it can be done in one particular language, Russian, is one of the issues this article addresses.²

There are, however, complications. While conversationalists may, on many occasions, wish to clearly delimit their own words from the words of another (or from their own words in an earlier context), they do not always do so.³ An analysis of actual conversations indicates that on some occasions the boundaries of reported speech (and especially, the unquote) are not clearly marked, making the status of talk following a quote ambiguous. What interactional ends this practice may achieve is another issue addressed in this article.

Why have these issues been largely unnoticed in the literature on reported speech? Several likely explanations are presented here mainly to underscore the differences between this project and much previous work on reported speech. First, the unquote is overtly grammaticalized in very few languages (see, e.g., Ebert, 1986; Hewitt and Crisp, 1986) and, thus, does not present itself as a point of interest to a large number of studies that focus exclusively on overt grammatical markings of reported speech. Here, I will discuss a range of practices (including, e.g., prosody) that can be employed to delimitate reported speech. Second, the unquote is unproblematic in written language—which has been the basis of most studies—as it is often marked with punctuation. This article analyzes reported speech in spoken language where no punctuation signs are used (aside from those formal contexts where a speaker may actually say “unquote” at the end of the quotation). Third, the majority of researchers have used invented examples in their work on reported speech. In materials of this sort, the marking of the unquote is again uninteresting since most quotations are short (we will see why it is important later), and their endings are obvious to the researcher who authored the examples. In recent years, a number of researchers have realized the limitations of relying exclusively on written and invented data and have increasingly used spoken materials in their work on reported speech.⁴ This study continues this tradition by using recordings of naturally occurring talk to investigate the practices for demarcating quoted speech. The analysis of conversational data highlights the fact that

¹ Reviews of reported speech literature can be found in Buttny (1997), Coulmas (1986), and Lucy (1993), among many others.

² Two caveats need to be included. First, this paper’s particular concern is with the boundaries of quoted speech (also known as direct reported speech) as opposed to indirect (or paraphrased) speech, but the argument developed here could potentially apply to both types of reported speech. Second, while the article focuses on spoken Russian, some findings could probably be extended to other languages (likely exceptions include those languages where the unquote is grammaticalized).

³ This phenomenon, reminiscent of Voloshinov’s (1986: 137) “speech interference,” has been studied in literary texts. Here, the infiltration of the author’s point of view into reported speech will not be discussed, only the ambiguous boundaries.

⁴ The studies on reported speech that rely (wholly or in part) on spoken data include, among others, Blyth et al. (1990), Buttny (1997, 1998), Buttny and Williams (2000), Clayman (1992), Dickinson (1999), Golato (2000), Goodwin (1990), Grenoble (1998), Hickmann (1993), Hayashi (1997), Holt (1996, 2000), Johnstone (1987), Kitaigorodskaja (1993), Leinonen (1998), Mathis (1991), Mathis and Yule (1994), Mayes (1990), Myers (1999), Schourup (1982), Tannen (1986, 1989), and Vlatten (1997).

where the quotation begins and ends is not just an issue that may be of interest to an analyst, but is of import to the participants themselves.

2. Data

The data for this paper come from two sources: audio-recorded telephone conversations and video-recorded workplace conversations. The participants are native speakers of Russian who are either recent immigrants from different regions of the former Soviet Union or, in several phone conversations, Russians currently living in Moscow.⁵ The telephone corpus consists of approximately forty hours of conversations recorded from homes in different parts of the United States.⁶ All participants are either friends or relatives. The workplace corpus consists of about three hours of Russian language interactions between Russian speaking employees of a small research-development company located in California. A major part of the data used in this paper is informal “chat” about issues unrelated to work.

3. Reported speech format

The term *reporting frame* refers to a combination of devices used to set reported speech apart from current speech. Framing may be done by using a *framing clause* (Hickmann, 1993: 64) or a *quotative*⁷ (e.g., Blyth et al., 1990; Golato, 2000) of the form “speaker + a reporting verb,” which establishes an onset boundary between reporting and reported speech.⁸ Additionally or alternatively, a shift from reporting to reported speech can be marked prosodically by means of a shift in voice quality, pitch, volume, speed, and other prosodic clues that may extend throughout the quoted material.⁹ After the reporting frame comes quoted material, minimally consisting of one unit of talk (such as a word, a phrase, a clause, or a sentence—see the discussion below). After one or possibly more such units, the speaker exits the quoting frame, by producing an unquote. What can serve as an unquote is subject to empirical investigation and is discussed in Section 7. The reported speech format is graphically represented in Fig. 1.

After the first unit of talk marked as a quote is produced, in principle three possibilities exist. First, the next unit may be understood as part of the quote unless otherwise marked.

⁵ Thus, the study mostly relies on the language spoken by Russian immigrants, which is in some respects different from the language spoken in Russia. Further investigation would be required to examine these potential differences with regards to the phenomena discussed in this paper.

⁶ Out of the forty-hour telephone corpus, approximately three hours were primarily used for this article. Additional recordings were consulted when needed to collaborate the findings.

⁷ Other terms used in literature to refer to the reporting frame include the following: *laminator* (Goffman, 1974), *dialogue introducer* (Ferrara and Bell, 1995), *report verb* (Bamgbose, 1986), and *quotation formula* (Longacre, 1994).

⁸ In Russian, the quotative (e.g. “he says”) may occur in the middle of the quote (usually with zero anaphora), but this case is not shown in Fig. 1. See Section 5 for the relevant discussion.

⁹ It also needs to be recognized that the shift to reported speech can be marked through body language, but this resource will not be explored in the article.

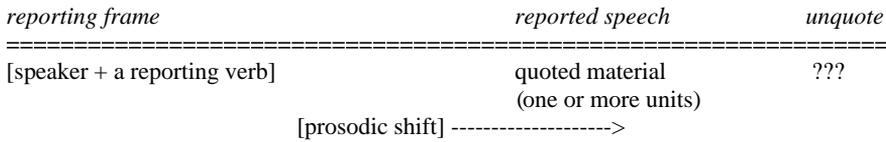


Fig. 1. Simplified diagram of the reported speech format.

In this case, the reporting frame could be extended over several units of talk. Second, the next unit of talk is understood to be part of the current speaker's current talk unless it is marked as a quote. In other words, the reporting frame would only extend for one unit. In the third case, no default understanding of the subsequent talk exists as it would need to be either marked as part of the quote (i.e., re-framed) or as a return to the speaker's current words (or unquoted). If the unit is unmarked, it is designedly ambiguous. Evidence presented in this paper points to the third alternative. Indeed, after the first unit marked as a quote, speakers have been found to (a) mark the next unit as part of the reported speech (i.e., extend the reporting frame); (b) mark the next unit as part of the speaker's current talk (i.e., unquote); or (c) not indicate the status of the next unit of talk, allowing reported speech to fade into the person's current talk ('fading out'). The realization of these three options is discussed in Sections 6–8.

4. On 'units of talk'

What sorts of units are the 'units of talk' in reported speech? The point of this section is to show that the units of talk in reported speech are the same as the units of talk that come into play in conversational turn taking. Since no research has yet been done on turn taking in Russian, I will start by briefly examining what these turn-taking units are and then illustrate their use in reported speech.

Research in the tradition of conversation analysis based on English data has demonstrated that in ordinary conversation each party is guaranteed one unit of talk at a time. This unit of talk, called a *turn constructional unit* or a TCU, consists of a word, a phrase, a clause, or a sentence depending on the immediately preceding context and is syntactically, prosodically, and pragmatically complete in that particular context (Sacks et al., 1974). Thus, in English, lexical, phrasal, clausal, and sentential TCUs are distinguished. The key element of a turn constructional unit is that upon its completion transition to another speaker is relevant. The transition may occur immediately (i.e., with no gap or overlap), since the completion of the TCU is projectable. The following excerpts (Excerpt 1 through Excerpt 6) drawn from my corpus of Russian data show that transitions to the next speaker in Russian take place after similar units that serve as TCUs in English—lexical, phrasal, and sentential TCUs.¹⁰ This finding suggests that turn taking in Russian is organized by

¹⁰ While in English clausal TCUs are quite common, they appear to be either very rare or non-existent in Russian, as I have so far been unable to find any instances in my data. Examination of a larger corpus would be necessary to clarify their status in Russian.

reference to lexical, phrasal, and sentential units—the same units that will be shown to operate as building blocks of quoted speech.¹¹

(a) Lexical TCUs

The following two excerpts come from phone conversation openings. The arrowed lines show examples of lexical TCUs. Note that the next speaker starts talking immediately upon their completion without any pause. (All names are pseudonyms. Transcription conventions are described in the [Appendix](#). Audio files are available at www.russianca.org.)

Excerpt 1 (RP 1)

- 1 ((1 ring))
- 2 → **TINA: Alë?/**
 Hello
- 3 → **VOVA: Tina,/**
 NAME
 Tina
- 4 → **TINA: Da: ?/**
 Yes
- 5 **VOVA: Privet/**
 Hi

Excerpt 2 (RP 2)

(0:50)

- 1 **VOVA: kh ((clears throat))**
 £Kak dela: £/
 how things
 How are things
- 2 → **OLEG: £Nichevo: :£/**
 nothing
 Fine
- 3 **VOVA: eTy pis' mo maë paluchi: ,l/**
 You letter my got
 Did you get my letter

(b) Phrasal TCU

In the following two excerpts, Vova and Gosha discuss rental arrangements. The arrowed lines show phrasal TCUs.

¹¹ A full investigation of this issue lies beyond the framework of this paper.

- 2 → VOVA: **Kak dela:** /
 how things
How are things
- 3 TINA: **Nichevo/ Kak u va, s/**
 nothing how with you
Fine/How about you

Excerpt 6 (RP 2)

(0:55)

- 1 → VOVA: **Ty pis' mo maë paluchi:, l/**
 you letter my got
Did you get my letter,
- 2 OLEG: **Da: :/**
 Yes

So far we have seen that Russian has lexical, phrasal, and sentential TCUs. An examination of reported speech suggests that same units of talk operate within the quote. The following excerpts (Excerpt 7 through Excerpt 9) illustrate the use of lexical, phrasal, and sentential TCUs in quoted material.¹²

(a) Lexical and sentential TCUs

In this first segment taken from a phone call between two friends, Oleg and Vova, Oleg is telling a story about a guy named Valera. Valera is a mutual friend and Vova's former and Oleg's current co-worker.

Excerpt 7 (RP 2)

(9:55)

- 1 OLEG: **Etat samy: j Valerka priezhaet/ ch[asta/**
 that very NAME comes often
What's his name Valera comes frequently
- 2 VOVA: **[#hh# A: /panja: tna/=**
 oh understood
Oh I see
- 3 OLEG: **=Vot/= Takoj zhe baltun kak byl tak I est' /**
 PRT the-same chatter-box as was as and is
He is still as talkative as ever
- 4 VOVA: **N (h) u heh [ne- .hh**
- 5 OLEG: **[(Nu) gavarit tam ↑ "Kak s praektom dela/ <<VALERA**
 PRT says there how with project things
He says "How is the project

¹² Notably, I have been unable to find a quote consisting of a clause.

- 6 <Ja xachu priexat' pasmatret'!"
I want come look
I want to come take a look"
- 7 <↓Ja garu "Kada" <<OLEG
I say when
I say "When"
- 8 ↑"Sevodnja" <<VALERA
today
"Today"
- 9 <↓Ja garu ↑"Davaj!" <<OLEG
I say come-on
I say "Sure!"
- 10 (0.2)
- 11 VOVA: [A-ha
- 12 OLEG: [\\Nu i netu evo/
PRT and no him
And he doesn't show

In lines 5 through 9, Oleg is reporting his conversation with Valera. Note that the quoted material comes in different syntactic shapes. In line 5, Oleg is quoting a question Valera asks. The question is a complete sentence, and thus represents an example of a sentential turn constructional unit. Line 6 is also a sentential TCU, in this case an unframed quote. In line 7, Oleg is reporting his own question ("when"). This time, the quoted material is only one word long, yet it appears to be complete in the given context. The quote in line 7 is thus an example of a lexical TCU. Similar observations can be made about lines 8 and 9, which present further examples of lexical turn constructional units.

(b) phrasal TCU

The following excerpt contains an example of a reported phrasal TCU. In Excerpt 8, recorded at a workplace, Serge is talking to his son on the phone. The son went to the hospital to see his grandfather (who had been admitted there recently), but he couldn't find the grandfather because he didn't know the grandfather's room number.

Excerpt 8 (WB 4)¹³

(18:00)

- 1 SERGE: V tak[^]om sl^ˇuchae idu:t (.) tuda (.) vni^z (.) v gospital,1' /
in such case go there downstairs in hospital
In such a case one goes down to the hospital

¹³ Only one side of the phone conversation was recorded.

- 2 (.)
- 3 SERGE: ta,k/
PRT
right
- 4 (0.2)
- 5 SERGE: I sprashivajut "Mne nuzhen pacient nu na tako-
and ask me need patient PRT on such
and asks "I need such and such patient
- 6 s takojta familiej/=°imenem°"/.h
with such last-name first-name
with such and such first and last name"
- 7 I tebe gavarjat "Vshesot (.) takajata (.) komnata"/
and you tell in600 something room
And they tell you "Room six hundred and something"
- 8 (.)
- 9 SERGE: Po?njal/
understood
You understand

Here, Serge's hypothetical report of the conversation his son should have had at the hospital includes a phrasal turn constructional unit ("room number six hundred and something" in line 7).

Additional evidence that quoted material is organized in turn constructional units comes from those cases in which the quote is shorter than one TCU. As seen in the following excerpt, such cases are characterized by a break in the fluent production of talk located precisely where the quote is prematurely ended.

Excerpt 9 (RP 4)

In this segment Anna is talking about her daughter's job interview.

(4:30)

- 1 ANNA: .hh A: - >padazhi< (.) A eschë ana xadila vs-
wait PRT also she went ye-
Wait she also went ye-
- 2 (1.8) poza fchera pad`zhi shota tam vabsche
before yesterday wait something there generally
the day before yesterday wait there was something
- 3 (1.0) A:/(0.2) Prishla gavarit tak- (.)
oh came says PRT
Oh/ She says she came but

- 4 tkl **ne byla** (.) **etava me:nedzhe:ra,**/
 not was that manager
 the manager wasn't there
- 5 RAYA: Hm- [mm, /
- 6 → ANNA: **[katoryj]** (0.3) **#e-#** (.) **A/ Sevodnja vot ana xadila/**
 which oh today PRT she went
 [the manager] who ... Oh/she went today
- 7 RAYA: °M°
 (.)
- 8 ANN: 'aschem katoryj dolzhen byl s nej razgav^ari'at' **etava ne: byla/**
 generally which must was with her talk that not was
 anyway the one who was supposed to talk to her wasn't there
- 9 RAYA: Hm-mm, /

The highlighted quote (see the frame “she says” in line 3) is interrupted before it reaches a point of possible completion (line 6). The interruption is indicated through a pause and sound perturbations (“#e-#”), followed by another brief pause and a misplacement marker “oh” that introduces a repair on prior talk (cf. [Schiffrin, 1987](#)).

To summarize, we have seen that the building blocks of reported speech in Russian are turn constructional units of three types: sentential, phrasal, and lexical. The following sections will show that the reporting frame in Russian operates on one such unit at a time and that subsequent units need to be marked as either part of the quote ([Section 6](#)) or as being separate from it ([Section 7](#)).

5. Reported speech format in Russian

In this section, I will discuss framing devices that have been identified in prior literature on reported speech for both literary and colloquial Russian and briefly discuss their use and applicability to my corpus of conversational materials. These devices are employed to frame the first turn constructional unit of the quote, though some may be repeated to frame subsequent units as well (see [Section 6](#)).

It has been found that quoted speech in Russian is most commonly introduced by a clause that contains, in the predicate position, a verb of saying (e.g., *govorit'/to say; otvechat'/to answer; vosklicat'/to exclaim*) or a verb characterizing a speech act (*upreknut'/to reproach; reshit'/to decide; soglasit'sja/to agree*). Additionally, in literary texts, quoted speech can be introduced by a verb that refers not to the speaking itself but to an accompanying action (e.g., *zasmejat'sja/to laugh; ogorchit'sja/to become sad; ulybnut'sja/to smile*) ([Vinogradov and Istrina, 1954](#)). It has, however, been noted that a more limited variety of framing devices is normally employed in spoken Russian. For example, fewer framing verbs are found in spoken Russian, the most common being *govorit'/to say,*

skazat'/to tell, *sprosit'*/to ask, *otvechat'*/to answer, and *dumat'*/to think¹⁴ (Kitaigorodskaja, 1993).

Several instances of a reporting frame in the form “the speaker + reporting verb” can be seen in the following excerpt (previously shown as Excerpt 7). Here Oleg is reporting his conversation with a mutual friend Valera:

Excerpt 10 (RP 2)

(9:55)

- 1 OLEG: **Etat samy: j Valerka priezhaet/ ch[asta/**
that very NAME comes often
What's his name Valera comes frequently
- 2 VOVA: **[#hh# A:/ panja: tna/=**
oh understood
Oh I see
- 3 OLEG: **=Vot/=Tako j zhe baltun kak byl tak i est'/**
PRT the-same chatter-box as was as and is
He is still as talkative as ever
- 4 VOVA: **N(h) u heh [ne- .hh**
- 5 OLEG: **[(Nu) gavarit tam ↑ "Kak s praektom dela/ <<VALERA**
PRT says there how with project things
He says "How is the project
- 6 **<Ja xachu priexat' pasmatret' _"**
I want come look
I want to come take a look"
- 7 **<[Ja garu "Kada" <<OLEG**
I say when
I say "When"
- 8 **↑ "Sevodnja" <<VALERA**
today
"Today"
- 9 **<[Ja garu ↑ "Davaj!" <<OLEG**
I say come-on
I say "Sure!"
- 10 (0.2)

¹⁴ Thoughts can be reported in ways that are similar to reporting somebody else's or one's own speech; thus, it appears reasonable to include the verb “to think” into the list of reporting verbs.

11 VOVA: [A-ha

12 OLEG: [\Nu i netu evo/
 PRT and no him
And he doesn't show

The highlighted phrases in lines 5, 7, and 9 are all examples of the reporting frame “speaker + reporting verb.” The speech verb used in all cases is *govorit* ‘to say’—the most common reporting verb in spoken Russian. In line 5, it occurs in its full form *govorit* and in lines 7 and 9, in a reduced form *garu*.

In the following example, a different reporting verb (*skazat* ‘to tell’) is used. Mike is telling Serge about the difficulties he had while living in Russia.

Excerpt 11 (WB 9)

(14:20)

- 1 MIKE: U menja byl dopusk/
 with me was clearance
I had security clearance
- 2 (2.5)
- 3 MIKE: $\text{\textcircled{N}}(h) -ne\ mog\ mechtat' >dazhe/=Von\ Katja < (0.2)$
 not could dream even PRT NAME
I couldn't even dream (about it)/ Katja
- 4 zaxatela paexat' v tur putefku v I:ndiju/=
 wanted to-go on tourist trip in India
wanted to go on a vacation trip to India/
- 5 eë ne pustili. / $\text{\textcircled{N}}$
 her not allowed
they didn't let her/
- 6 (1.0)
- 7 MIKE: Nu ne skazali pachemu/=A pato:m znachit (0.2)
 PRT not said why and then PRT
But they didn't say why/ But then
- 8 cheres kakieta tam svjazi vsë
 from some PRT connections all
through some connections
- 9 ej skazali $\text{\textcircled{N}}\text{\textcircled{h}}Mu:sh:/ (0.2) Iza muzha^\circ/$
 her told husband because husband
she was told "Husband/Because of the husband"

- 10 (0.5)
- 11 SER: Muzh evrej/=°da,°/
 husband jew right
The husband is Jewish right
- 12 MIKE: Net/(.) £S [dopuskam.£
 no with clearance
No with security clearance.
- 13 SER: [hah-hah-hah-hah-hah

In my data, there are also instances of reporting frames that contain a verb describing an accompanying action and not a verb of speech. Here is one example:

Excerpt 12 (RP 2)

In this segment, Oleg is talking about his conversation with a co-worker (named Ostapov).

(10:15)

- 1 OLEG: Nu Kljushkinu tut ja krupna pamaga:l dva raza/=patom-
 PRT LAST_NAME here I greatly helped two times then
I helped Klushkin big time twice recently then
- 2 VOVA: A-[ga
- 3 OLEG: [Astapov pazvanil ↑"Balshoe tebe spasi:,ba/"
 LAST_NAME called big you thanks
Ostapov called me "Thank you very much"
- 4 <Ja gru ↓"Da ladna/=Idi ty znaesh kuda/" =
 I say yes well go you know where
I say "Just forget about it/Go you know where"
- 5 VOVA: =A-hah-heh-

The reporting verb in line 3 ("to call") describes the accompanying action and is not a verb of speech (i.e., we have a non-literary, colloquial example of a practice that has been previously observed in literary texts).

Not all quoted speech in colloquial Russian is introduced by the full frame "speaker + reporting verb." Leinonen (1998) describes several additional ways in which direct reported speech can be introduced in speech, including the following:

- the speaker (no reporting verb);
- *kak/how* + the speaker + reporting verb (post- and pre-positioned); and
- *etol/that* (no reference to the speaker and no reporting verb).

- 6 =pradalzhae[t lista:, t' £/
 continues to-page
continues to page (through the album)
- 7 SERGE: [hah-hah-hah-hah-heh-heh
- 8 MIKE: * heh-heh*.htoka "hU:h kakie fatagrafii"
 only ah what photographs
Only ' 'Ah beautiful pictures"
- (** = silent laughter)
- 9 <[£Vot pjat' >minut on pasmatrel i on davolen ja davolen
 PRT five minutes he looked and he glad I glad
Five minutes and he's done and he's happy and I'm happy
- 10 i vse< davoln(h) £/
 and all glad
and everybody is happy

It has also been noted that quoted speech may not be marked by any syntactic framing devices, but through pauses, a change in voice quality and/or pitch,¹⁷ as well as changes in facial expressions and kinesic gestures (Grenoble, 1998). In the following excerpt, quoted speech occurs after a pause and is marked by a change in voice quality.

Excerpt 15 (WB 9)

Mike talks to his co-worker, Serge, about his experience of being a Jew in the former Soviet Union. In the excerpt below, Mike refers to non-Jewish (Russian) people. (13:30)

- 1 MIKE: Nikto PAL'cem ni zh pash:evelil/=
 nobody finger not PRT moved
Nobody moved a finger
- 2 kagda nada byla chemta pamoch/
 when need was somehow help
where some help was needed
- 3 =Nikto/nikagda/
 nobody never
Nobody ever
- 4 → (5.5)

¹⁷ For studies that address the use of prosody to demarcate reported speech in other languages, see, for example, Couper-Kuhlen (1998), Günthner (1999), and Klewitz and Couper-Kuhlen (1999).

5 → MIKE: "°(N') d: a my panimaem/=d: a nu-nu shto zh delat' ta°/"
 yes we understand yes well what PRT to_do
 "Yes we understand, yes but what can we do"

6 (0.2)

The quoted material in line 5 is not introduced by a syntactic frame. Rather, after a long pause (line 4), there is a hearable shift in the voice quality (lower volume and somewhat raised pitch) signaling that a quotation of somebody else's talk is under way.

In addition to the variation in the kinds of framing devices used to introduce a quote, there is also a variation in the location of the reporting frame vis-à-vis the quoted material. In both spoken and written Russian, reporting frames can occur before, after, or in the middle of quoted speech (Kitaigorodskaja, 1993; Leinonen, 1998; Vinogradov and Istrina, 1954). Grenoble (1998) and Leinonen (1998) note that a stand-alone, often truncated form of the reporting verb *govorit'*/to say—*grit* (3rd person singular, present tense, reduced from *govorit*)—is commonly embedded in the quoted material, typically occurring, according to Grenoble (1998: 143), in a clitic position after the first stressed word. The following excerpt illustrates variations in the use of *govorit* in reported speech.

Excerpt 16 (WB 9)

Mike is reporting words of an old man at a trial.
 (12:10)

- 1 MIKE: Tak etat muzhik vs: tal gav`rit
 so this guy stood says
 So this guy got up and says
- 2 Ja gav`rit vs: ju =vajnu =prashel garit
 I says all war went says
 He says I went through the entire war he says
- 3 (0.8)
- 4 MIKE: i- i- i-
 and- and- and-
- 5 i eta dlja tavo shtoby vot sevodnja vot takoe (.)
 and this for that that PRT today PRT such
 and all this so that today
- 6 at vas vyslu: ,shat' /
 from you hear
 I could hear this from you

In line 1, a reduced form of the verb *govorit'*/to say occurs prior to the quote and is part of a typical reporting frame. In line 2, both instances of the verb "says" are mid-positioned, the first one being in a typical clitic position after the first stressed word in

the quote. The second *garit* occurs at the end of the first TCU of the quoted speech, possibly suggesting that the quote will be extended beyond the first TCU.

Occasionally, reported speech is accompanied by a variety of optional quotative particles, most commonly *mol* and *deskat'*, which may, among other things, indicate a misalignment or a dissassociation between the current speaker and the position expressed in the quoted material (Grenoble, 1998: 139). The use of the quotative particle *mol* is illustrated in the following excerpt.

Excerpt 17 (RP 4)

Anna's mother went to see a doctor for her cold. Anna is reporting what the doctor told her mother about using Tylenol Cold medicine.

(5:55)

- 1 ANNA: .hh Vot/ #I# t_a ej skazala shto ne Talinol Kold ne nado pi:, t' /
PRT and that-one her said that not Tylenol Cold not need drink
And she [the doctor] told her not to take Tylenol Cold
- 2 patamush 'o on- (0.2) mol ne lechit a tol'ka:
because it QT not heal but only
because it doesn't heal but only
- 3 t[emper[atu, ru sbivaet/
temperature lowers
lowers the teperature,
- 4 RAYA: [M- [M
- 5 ANNA: Xatja ja ne schitaju tak/=Ja schitaju shto on i l[echit [tozhe/
though I not believe that I believe that it and heals also
though I don't believe that/I believe that it heals as well/
- 6 RAYA: [m [Hm-mm/
- 7 ANNA: kh-Vot/
PRT

The quotative particle *mol* in line 2 is mid-positioned, preceding the part of the doctor's words with which Anna disagrees (as evident from what she says later at line 5).¹⁸

In conclusion, prior research on reported speech in colloquial Russian has described several ways in which its onset is commonly marked. However, to my knowledge, no studies have systematically investigated how quotations get extended beyond the first unit of talk or how an unquote after the first (or subsequent) unit may be indicated. These issues are taken up in the following sections.

¹⁸ Even though, in this example, the quotative *mol* marks indirect reported speech, the particle functions similarly in quoted speech.

6. Extending the quote beyond one TCU

As we have seen, the first unit of reported speech is marked as being part of the quote through a combination of grammatical and prosodic devices (such as framing and intonation shift). After the first marked unit of talk comes to a close (i.e., at the possible completion point of the first TCU), the status of the next unit of talk is in question. In order to extend reported speech beyond the first turn constructional unit, the next unit of talk needs to be marked as being part of the same quote. This section will analyze the devices used to extend the quote beyond the first TCU, focusing on re-framing, re-anchoring, and intonation maintenance.

6.1. Re-framing

Re-framing refers to repeated use of framing devices that mark the current turn constructional unit as being a continuation of the quoted material. Most commonly, a reduced form of a reporting verb *govorit'/say* (such as *grit*, often with an omitted subject¹⁹) is used. Re-framing of this sort allows the speaker to re-introduce the reporting frame, thus re-establishing the identity of the author of the reported words. For this reason, repeated framing can be especially useful in situations where a dialogue between two speakers is reported and speaker identifications are required.

As noted in the previous section, a reduced form of the reporting verb *govorit'/to say* may precede, occur within, or follow the unit of talk marked as a quote. The use of the reduced form of the verb *govorit'* to mark a continuation of the reported speech is similar to the use of “s/he says” in colloquial English. In her study of direct reported speech in conversational English, Holt (1996) notes that this reporting frame may be repeated in extended quotations. However, the positioning of this frame appears to be less flexible in English than it is in Russian. Similarly to Russian, the English frame may precede and follow the quotation. However, in the medial position, the frame most commonly occurs either at TCU boundaries or after turn initial discourse markers like “oh,” “well,” and “you know” (*ibid.*: 224–225), and vocatives such as terms of address.²⁰ In contrast, in Russian the frame often appears several times within the same TCU in different positions (including the clitic position after the first stressed word, as discussed in Section 5 above).

The following two excerpts (Excerpt 18 and Excerpt 19) show how the reporting frame *govorit'* (in combination with other devices) can be used repeatedly to mark each successive TCU as being part of the quotation.

¹⁹ Verbs in Russian are marked for person and number in the present tense and for number and gender in the past tense, so the speaker can be identified even without the overt subject.

²⁰ In English, other medial positions for the reporting frame (such as after the subject of the reported sentence) are grammatically possible, but highly infrequent in conversation. For example, Holt (1996) reports no instances of such positioning.

Excerpt 18 (RP 2)

Vova is talking to his friend and former colleague Oleg in Russia. Oleg is telling a story about their common friend (Kodzha—unnamed in the segment below), who was injured in a car accident. Oleg is relating what their other friend (Puxovnyj) told him about Kodzha's condition and state of mind.

(5:55)

- 1 OLEG: Nu a on panima_a,esh/ on zhe v principe zdarovyj muzhi,k/
PRT PRT he understand he PRT in principle healthy man
You see he is a healthy man in principle
- 2 =eta Puxovnyj gavarit/
PRT LAST-NAME says
Puxovnyj says this
- 3 VOVA: A-ha, /
- 4 OLEG: [Panimaesh on garit zdarovyj muzhi:,k/
you-understand he says healthy man
See he (Puxovnyj) says he (Kodzha) is a healthy man
- 5 (0.5)
- 6 VOVA: N[u da-
PRT yes
- 7 → OLEG: [On garit ne predstavljaj nikagda shto takoe bal'et' ./
he says not imagined never what such be-sick
He (Puxovnyj) says he (Kodzha) never imagined what it would be like to be sick
- 8 VOVA: Nuh::[:
PRT
- 9 → OLEG: [Paetamu evo garit palazhili v Sklifasofskava \znachi,t/
so him says put in HOSPITAL_NAME PRT
So he (Puxovnyj) says they put him (Kodzha) in the Sklifasovsky hospital
- 10 ustroili emu adel'nuju pala:,tu/ tam i tak dalee,/
arranged him separate room there and so forth
arranged a separate room for him and so forth

In line 4, Oleg quotes Puxovnyj's words.²¹ The quote is marked by a shift in intonation (higher pitch) and a framing verb *garit* ("he says"). The framing verb is in a reduced form,

²¹ Line 1 is also a report of Puxovnyj's words; however, it is not initially marked as a quotation (there is no initial frame or intonation shift). The addition of the frame at the end of the TCU (line 2) re-casts Oleg's words as not being his own. Line 4 appears to redo line 1, now clearly indicating its status as a direct report of Puxovnyj's words. Further research is necessary to investigate how pre- or early-positioned quoted frames differ from post-positioned ones.

- 9 RAYA: Hm-mm/
- 10 (0.2)
- 11 → ANNA: N^u vobschem ne znaju **grit** eh skazal sho: mol (.)
 PRT generally not know says said that QT
Anyway I don't know she says he said that
- 12 → eschë poz-<Nu kada tot bu:det vr[ode (by) / (kak) /=
 still call PRT when that-one will perhaps PRT
they'll ca- When that other guy will be there seems like
- 13 RAYA: [Hm-mm/
- 14 ANNA: =Nu ne znayu/ tozhe/
 PRT not know also
But I don't know either

In lines 3–4, the indirect reported speech is marked through the use of the framing verb *gavarit* (placed in a mid position twice within the TCU²⁴). In the next TCU (line 5), the reporting frame is re-established through the full frame “she says that” which introduces another part of the indirect report (lines 5–6). After that TCU comes to a possible completion (end of line 6), Anna re-establishes the reporting frame by using the reduced form of the verb “says” TCU initially (in line 8). This time this is a quotation (clearly marked by the first person pronoun “I” in line 8). In line 11, after a brief aside by Anna (“Anyway I don’t know”), the reporting frame is again re-established in the new TCU with the verb “says” (in a reduced, subject-less form). So we see that Anna re-frames each new turn constructional unit in her story as part of the reported speech by using a variant of the reporting verb “say” at or near each TCU boundary.

6.2. Re-anchoring

One of the distinguishing features of direct reported speech is that indexical expressions within the quotation (such as pronominal, temporal, and locational references) are anchored in the context of the reported situation—and not in the context of the current reporting situation. This feature of the quoted speech can be used to clearly mark a turn constructional unit occurring after a quote as part of the quote even without a repeated grammatical frame. Thus, it may be clear that a particular utterance is an extension of the quote because of the pronominal choices and other contextualizing devices anchoring the talk within the reported frame. The re-anchoring devices used to achieve this are diverse and context-bound, making it difficult to provide a complete list. The following excerpts are meant to illustrate some of the possibilities.

²⁴ The second *gavarit* is placed in an unusual place—TCU medially—and apparently doesn’t serve a strictly framing function. Further research is needed to investigate the interactional usages of similarly positioned framing verbs.

Excerpt 20 (WB 9; previously seen in part as Excerpt 15)

Mike talks to his co-worker, Serge, about his experience of being a Jew in the former Soviet Union. In the excerpt below, Mike refers to non-Jewish (Russian) people.

(13:30)

- 1 **MIKE:** **Nikto** **PAL'** **cem ni zh pash:evelil/=**
 nobody finger not PRT moved
 Nobody moved a finger
- 2 **=kagda nada byla chemta pamoch/=**
 when need was somehow help
 where some help was needed
- 3 **=Nikto/nikagda/**
 nobody never
 Nobody ever
- 4 (5.5)
- 5 → **MIKE:** °(N`)d:a my panimaem/=d:a nu-nu shto zh delat'ta°/"
 yes we understand yes well what PRT do PRT
 "Yes we understand, yes but what can we do."
- 6 (0.2)
- 7 → **MIKE:** tck! "**Balezn' u tebjta takaja/=Evrej./**"
 disease with you such jew
 .mtch "*You have a disease, to be a Jew.*"
- 8 (0.5)
- 9 **SERG:** **Balezn' /huh-V(h)ot (h) tak bal (h) ezn' /**
 disease PRT such disease
 Disease. huh-Th(h)ere's a dis(h)ease!
- 10 .hh h[h
- 11 **MIKE:** [**fNeizlchim(h) aja/f**
 [Incur (h) able.
- 12 **M/S:** *hh-.hh-hh-.hh-hh-.hh (* **silent laughter**)

Here the first TCU in the quotation (line 5) is marked as such through a combination of the following devices:

- a shift in intonation (from unmarked to a slightly higher pitch and lower volume);
- initial response token *da/yes* which marks the quotation as being responsive to some prior turn in a conversation (e.g., request for help); and
- the pronoun “we” that indicates that the words belong to somebody other than Mike (here, a generic Russian).

The second TCU in line 5 is designed as a part of the same quote by continuing the same intonation after the first TCU; repeating the response token *da*; and by using an infinitival verb form (*delat'/to do*) without a tense marker (which is a way of indicating the present tense). In line 7, the quotation is resumed. Here again no grammatical frame is used. Instead, the quotation format is maintained through the use of the pronoun “you” (to refer to Mike). Thus, the next TCU in the quote is re-anchored by a pronominal indexical expression.

In this example, we have good data-internal evidence that the last TCU in line 7 was (a) intended as a continuation of the quote and (b) understood as such by the interlocutor. Serge’s response to Mike’s story (in lines 9) reveals his understanding that the word “disease” was a direct (even if hypothetical) report of somebody else’s words. Moreover, Mike’s alignment with Serge’s reaction (in line 11) indicates Serge’s understanding was indeed correct and line 7 was meant to be a continuation of the prior quote.

Excerpt 21 (WB 9)

In this segment Mike is relating what a character in his story (an older man, a Second World War veteran) said at a Russian court hearing.

(12:20)

- 1 **Mike:** Patom **garit** idite vy ka vsem chertja,m/
 then says go you to all devils
 Then he says go you all to hell
- 2 → **ja vabsche** u:uezha:ju,/ atsju:da,/
 I altogether leave from-here
 I am leaving ((the country))
- 3 → **Padaju vot sechas nemedlena zajavlenie/=i vsë./**
 submit PRT now immediately application and all
 submitting an application right now and that's it
- 4 → **I ja vas vi:det ne xachu bol' she/**
 and I you see not want more
 And I don't want to see you any more
- 5 **Vsë ja (.) gavarit na etu stranu zhizn' palazhi,1/**
 all I says on this country life put
 That's it he says I gave this country my life
- 6 (0.8)
- 7 **Tak vot/ °Vsë garit/(.) Okej ({come on})°**
 PRT PRT all says okay
 Like that/that's it he says/okay (come on)
- 8 (2.6)
- 9 **Mike:** HH huh .hhh

Here we can see a combination of devices used to anchor each successive utterance within the reporting frame. In line 1, the quote is framed through the use of the verb *garit* (says). The framing extends till the end of that TCU (“go you all to hell” in line 1). Subsequent TCUs are not framed grammatically as part of the quote (lines 2–4), yet it is clear that the same quotation continues. The indexical devices used to re-anchor each subsequent TCU within the reporting frame in lines 2–4 include:

- *pronominal references* consistent with the reporting frame: In lines 2 and 4, the first person pronoun “I” is used to refer to the character in the story and “you” (line 4) to refer to the court audience;
- *verb tenses* consistent with the story: The present tense is used to refer to the actions that occur at the time of (or soon after) the reported events (lines 2, 3, and 4);
- *temporal references* consistent with the story: The temporal adverb *sejchas/now* in line 3 refers to the time (or soon after the time) of the reported events;
- *locational references* consistent with the reporting frame: The phrase *otsjuda/from here* is used to mean “from the Soviet Union” in line 2 (translated as “leaving ((the country))”).

Then, in line 5, the quote is again re-framed with the reporting verb *gavrit/says*.

Thus, the examples show that even in the absence of grammatical re-framing, the quote may be extended beyond the first TCU by using a variety of indexical expressions including pronominal, temporal, and locational references.

6.3. Maintenance of marked prosody

As noted earlier, prosodic shifts (e.g., a marked intonation, a shift in pitch, increased or decreased volume, and/or a change in the rate of talk) often mark the onset of reported speech. The markedly different prosody may be maintained throughout the quoted TCU or it may gradually degrade in the course of its production—a phenomenon commonly known as “downdrift” or “declination” (see, e.g., Becker, 1979; Cohen and ‘t Hart, 1967; Couper-Kuhlen, 1993, 1996; Ladd, 1996; Yokoyama, 1986). One way to continue the quote beyond the first prosodically-marked TCU is to extend the marked prosodic features into another TCU or, if the declination occurred, to resume the markedly different prosody that was characteristic of the first unit. The following excerpt illustrates the use of prosody for extending the quote beyond the first turn constructional unit. (Please refer to the appropriate audio file at www.russianca.org.)

Excerpt 22 (RP 2; immediately preceding Excerpt 18)

Oleg tells a story about a common friend (named Kodzha), who was injured in a car accident.

(5:50)

1 → OLEG: Nu: ja g- g-gavarju Kadzhe |Nu shto (zde-)
 PRT I say LAST-NAME PRT what do-
 I tell Kodzha Well what now

- 2 → **Nabir^ajsja terpenija/**
 collect patience
Get patient
- 3 → **A shto teper' zděla[esh ta.**
 PRT what now do PRT
What can you do now
- 4 **VOVA: [N-da:/da/**
 yes yes
- 5 → **OLEG: \Kak gavarica sxapal ŭuzhe eta dela/ teper' sidee:t' nada/**
 as they-say grabbed already this thing now to-sit needed
As they say once you've gotten this/you need to deal with it
- 6 → **[Kuda denshs[ja (ta)/**
 where escape
What can you do
- 7 **VOVA: [N- [N-da:**
 yes
- 8 **OLEG: \Nu a on panima_esh/ on zhe v principe zdarovyj muzhi,k/**
 PRT PRT he understand he PRT in principle healthy man
You see he is a healthy man in principle,
- 9 **=eta Puxovnyj gavarit/**
 PRT LAST-NAME says
Puxovnyj says this

In this segment, Oleg uses a lower pitch to mark the onset of the quote (see the down arrow ↓ in line 1). The pitch slightly rises at line 2 (marked by the circumflex ^), returning to a more unmarked level, but is then lowered again in line 3 (at the háček `). Thus, a marked pitch level helps distinguish the quotation of what Oleg had said to Kodzha from the current conversation. After Vova provided a response (line 4), the pitch briefly returns to an unmarked level (at the beginning of line 5) and is then lowered again and maintained through several TCUs at lines 5–6.²⁵ Without this return to the markedly lower pitch level at line 5, Oleg's words at lines 5–6 could be easily understood as being said in the current conversation rather than reported from a prior interaction since they have no other overt markings that would unambiguously tie them to the past.²⁶

To summarize, we have examined several practices that serve to extend the quotation beyond the first turn constructional unit. These practices, often used in combination,

²⁵ Klewitz and Couper-Kuhlen (1999) found that in English prosodic changes do not always coincide with the boundaries of the quoted speech, but occur nearby. This fact, if true for Russian, may account for the lack of precise matching between TCU boundaries and prosodic shifts evident in this example.

²⁶ In lines 5–6, the address term “you” (only marked on the verb in Russian) can be understood as a generic “you.”

include (a) re-framing via repeated quotation frame, (b) grammatical re-anchoring through the use of appropriate temporal, personal and locational indexical expressions, and (c) maintenance of markedly different prosody. The next section will examine ways in which the turn constructional unit following a quote can be marked as a return to the current speaker's current talk.

7. Unquote

The unquote refers to a set of practices for indicating the end of the quoted talk and the switch from reported to normal speech (Golato, 2000: 31). A number of languages (e.g., the Caucasian languages Kartvelian and Abkhaz, and two languages of Nepal, Nepali and Chamling) have been documented to have enclitics—or particles added to the last word of the quote—that signal the end of the quote (Ebert, 1986; Hewitt and Crisp, 1986). No Indo-European languages, Russian included, appear to have such grammaticalized ways of marking the end of the quotation; yet, apparently the end of the quotation is somehow signaled. Golato (2000), working on German conversational materials, found that in German the unquote is always clearly indicated (except when overlapped) through the use of the following devices: switching back into the speaker's native language or dialect; switching back into the speaker's normal voice; laughter; or employing a turn exit device (German *ne*, translated as *right?*).

The examination of Russian data has shown that while there is no specific 'unquote' particle in Russian, several practices are used to mark the end of the current quote. These practices are discussed under the rubrics of dialogue reporting and repositioning devices. The section concludes with an examination of the role of prosody in the unquote.

7.1. Dialogue reporting

If a dialogue is reported, the report of the other person's words can indicate the end of the current quote. In this case, the 'unquote' coincides with the onset of the next quotation. The onset of the next quote can be marked through a combination of the framing devices discussed earlier (such as grammatical framing and marked prosody) as well as through sequence organizational resources. Sequence organization refers to the organization of actions accomplished through a sequence of turns that often take the form of adjacency pairs (e.g., question–answer, request–granting/denial, invitation–acceptance/refusal) (Heritage, 1984b; Sacks, 1995; Schegloff, *in press*; Schegloff and Sacks, 1973). As the following examples will show, when a conversation between two or more people is reported, it often consists of a frequent exchange of turns organized in such fashion.

Excerpt 23 (RP 2)

Oleg (who lives in Russia) is talking about a mutual friend whom he had invited over to see Vova's pictures.

(4:20)

1 OLEG: Ja emu ghavarju, /

I him say

I tell him.

- 2 VOVA: E- [pan-
under (stood)
I s (ee)
- 3 OLEG: [shto tak I ta:,k/ ↓davaj priezha, j/budesh
that so and so come_on come will
that such and such come on over-
- 4 → uhv Ja tebe fatagrafiju tut pakazhu/= "Da: :!"
I you picture here will-show yes
I will show you the pictures/ "Yes!"
- 5 (0.2)

Oleg introduces the quote ("come on over" in line 3) by framing it grammatically ("I tell him that such and such" in lines 1 and 3). The second TCU of the quote ("I will show you the pictures" in line 4) is connected to the first TCU through the use of re-anchoring devices discussed in the prior section (e.g., the first and second person pronouns, and the future tense marking on the verb). The next installment in Oleg's turn ("Yes" in line 4) is the interlocutor's response to the invitation. It is offset from the previous quotation through prosody (slightly raised pitch and excited articulation). Additionally, sequence organization resources come into play in separating "Yes" from the previous quotation. Given that the first quotation was an invitation, "Yes" is readily analyzable as a response (more specifically, acceptance) that should be attributed to the person who was the target of the invitation. Thus, the 'unquote' is done here through an introduction of a new quote. Similar resources are used to mark the unquote in the next excerpt.

Excerpt 24 (WB 9)

Mike relates a conversation he had with a prosecutor in Russia about a lawsuit concerning Mike's apartment (through which the state attempted to confiscate the apartment).

(9:25)

- 1 MIKE: >° (On mne gavarit) °<
he me says
(He says to me)
- 2 MIKE: [MY U VAS ATBER ĖM (0.3) kvartiru/ <<PROSECUTOR
we from you take apartment
We will take away your apartment from you
- 3 (0.3)
- 4→ |> (Pa `mu) < Na kakom asnav^a?nii/ <<MIKE
why say on what basis
(Why) On what basis
- 5 (0.2)

- 2 **ona zhe pasylaet etim samym age :ntam/=**
 she PRT sends these very agents
 she sends (the resume) to her agents
- 3 **=a agenty oni zhe vseгда obychna-**
 PRT agents they PRT always usually
 and the agents they always usually-
- 4 **["Nu kak ej agent ne ispra :vil/**
 PRT how her agent not corrected
 "Well how could her agent not have corrected it (the resume)
- 5 **RAYA: [Hm-mm, /**
- 6 → **ANN: <On dolzhen b[yl >isprav`t' " /<.hNu agent slushaj=**
 he must was correct PRT agent listen
 He should've corrected it"/Well the agent listen
- 7 **RAYA: [Hm-mm-m**
- 8 **ANN: =agenty eti ja smatrju tozhe .h**
 agents these I look also
 these agents I see also
- 9 **atpravil eë vish eh: en: n: ne:-**
 sent her you_see
 he sent her you see
- 10 **n:- dazhe ne skazal ej shto tam Vizhual Bejsika net/=**
 even not said her that there visual basic no
 he didn't even tell her that there is no Visual Basic there
- 11 **=>savsem drugoe</=atpravil eë na drugoj jazy:k/=ponima ,esh/**
 completelydifferent sent hertoother language you-understand
 He sent her to a completely different language you see

In line 6, Anna switches from the quote ("He should've corrected it") to her own current talk. The switch is marked by a break in sound production. The end of the quote is rushed (inward arrows >...< signal this). Then there is a rapid in-breath (marked as ".h"), after which Anna continues in a normal tone of voice with normal speed. In addition to these sound signals, the unquote seems to be indicated by the following devices: the particle *nu* (commonly translated as "well") (see line 6), often involved in marking some sort of shift or disaffiliation; the vocative *slushaj* ("listen") which addresses the current recipient of the talk and is also typically used to mark a shift (such as a shift in topic); and the reference to the current speaker's stance ("I see" in line 8) which marks the current talk as the current speaker's own talk rather than a quote of somebody else's talk.

Similar observations can be made about the next segment, in which the unquote is indicated by marking the next unit of talk as disjointed from the quote.

mark the end of the quote. Indeed, in the examples presented in this section, we have seen that return to an unmarked prosody coincides with other unquote devices. Yet, it appears that prosody alone does not mark the unquote. In other words, while a return to unmarked prosody accompanies other unquote practices, the prosodic shift alone does not indicate the end of the quotation. The apparent discrepancy between this observation and Golato's finding can be explained if we take into account the fact that Golato (2000) focused exclusively on the quotations introduced by the German equivalent of "and I'm/he's like" which (similar to English) appears to precede short quotations consisting of one TCU (for English language studies of this format, see Blyth et al., 1990; Ferrara and Bell, 1995; Mayes, 1990; Meehan, 1991; Romaine and Lange, 1991; Schourup, 1983; Streeck, 2002). There is, however, no (at least grammaticalized) equivalent of this quotation format in Russian. In fact, Russian quotation formats do not seem to indicate the length of the upcoming quote in any way. When a possibility of a longer quote exists, the return to unmarked intonation would appear insufficient because of the natural "downdrift" or degradation of the marked prosody over the course of an utterance. In fact, there are instances when return to unmarked intonation does not indicate the end of the quote, as we can see from the following illustrations.

Excerpt 30 (WB 9; previously seen as Excerpt 20)

(13:30)

- 1 **MIKE:** **Nikto** **PAL'** **cem ni zh pash:evelil/=**
 nobody finger not PRT moved
 Nobody moved a finger
- 2 **kagda nada byla chemta pamoch/**
 when need was somehow help
 where some help was needed.
- 3 **=Nikto/ nikagda/**
 nobody never
 <Nobody ever.
- 4 **(5.5)**
- 5 **MIKE:** **""(N')d:a my panimaem/=d:a nu-nu shto zh delat' ta°/"**
 yes we understand yes well what PRT to_do
 "Yes we understand, yes but what can we do."
- 6 **(0.2)**
- 7 → **MIKE:** **tck! "Balezn' u tebjā takaja/=Evrej./"**
 disease with you such jew
 .mtch "You have a disease, to be a Jew."
- 8 **(0.5)**

- 9 SERG: **Balezn' / huh-V(h)ot (h) tak bal (h) ezn' /**
 disease PRT such disease
Disease. huh-Th(h)ere's a dis(h)ease!
- 10 .hh h[h
- 11 MIKE: [fNeizlchim(h) aja/f
 [Incur (h) able.
- 12 M/S: *hh-.hh-hh-.hh-.hh* (* * silent laughter)

In line 7, the markedly different intonation (from line 5), characterized by lower volume and slightly higher pitch, is no longer present, yet the quotation continues. Thus, it appears that the return to unmarked prosody alone may not be a sufficient indication of the unquote. Here is another example of the same phenomenon.

Excerpt 31 (RP 2; part of Excerpt 18)

Oleg is reporting the words of a common friend about a man injured in a car accident.
 (5:55)

- 4 → OLEG: †Panimaesh on garit zdarovyj muzhi:,k/
 you-understand he says healthy man
See he (Puxovnyj) says he (Kodzha) is a healthy man
- 5 (0.5)
- 6 VOVA: N[u da-
 PRT yes
- 7 → OLEG: [On garit ne prestavljal nikagda shto takoe bal'et' ./
 he says not imagined never what such be-sick
He (Puxovnyj) says he (Kodzha) never imagined what it would be like to be sick
- 8 → VOVA: Nuh::[:
 PRT
- 9 → OLEG: [Paetamu evo garit palazhili v Sklifas_olfskava \znachi,t/
 so him says put in HOSPITAL_NAME PRT
So he (Puxovnyj) says they put him (Kodzha) in the Sklifasovsky hospital,
- 10 → ustroili emu adel'nuju pala:,tu/tam i tak dalee,/
 arranged him separate room there and so forth
arranged a separate room for him and so forth,
- 11 VOVA: V-nu panjatna/
 PRT understood
I see

The start of the quotation is marked in line 4 by a raised pitch (in addition to other framing devices discussed earlier). The higher pitch continues till the end of line 9 where it shifts to a normal level on the word *znachit* (an untranslatable discourse marker), which may or may not belong to the quote. However, the quote is clearly resumed in line 10 (built as a continuation of the list started in line 9) even though the unmarked intonation is maintained.

To summarize, we have seen that the return to unmarked prosody alone does not indicate the end of the quoted material. Other, grammaticalized, unquote practices (such as repositioning devices) need to be employed to mark the TCU following a quote as belonging to the speaker's current talk. In the next section, we turn to cases where the TCU following a quote is left unmarked and, thus may be interpreted as either being part of the quote or belonging to the speaker's current talk.

8. Fading out

The notion of 'fading out' refers to the idea that sometimes the current speaker may attempt to achieve a degree of ambiguity about the identity of the 'author' of her current talk. 'Fading out' occurs in the unit of talk following a quote if the current speaker fails to mark it as either being part of the quote (by employing some quote extending practices) or separate from it (by using the unquote practices). As a result, the boundary between the report and the current speaker's own words becomes equivocal. Characteristically, the 'faded-out' units are grammatically and prosodically unmarked and contain no overt indication of who the speaker or the addressee of the current talk is. Typically, the quote preceding the 'fade out' is prosodically unmarked as well, or the initial distinct prosody has gradually degraded. Eventually, after several ambiguous turn constructional units, it becomes clear that the speaker is now talking in his/her own voice.

The phenomenon of 'fading out' has been noted in at least one other language. In a study of reported speech in conversational German, Vlatten (1997) writes, "The boundary between reported speech and other talk following the quote is a fuzzy one" (147). Specifically, she notes that in certain uses of reported speech (such as in self quotations of past decisions), the quoted material takes on the characteristics of the regular talk gradually, over several turn constructional units: "The transition from quote to regular talk is fluid and stretches over one or more TCUs" (153). Vlatten, however, does not elaborate on what this interactional practice may be used to achieve.

In my data, I have observed the use of fading out in several interactional contexts that are quite different from the one discussed in Vlatten (1997). Fading out may, for example, be employed when the speaker reports information that cannot be unambiguously attributed to either the current speaker or the quoted speaker (if they are different). The report may, then, include information to which both the current speaker and the reported speaker have (or can conceivably have) some access. Additionally, when reporting her own or somebody else's words on a prior occasion, the current speaker may use fading out when stating a generalization, a commonly known truth, a lesson, or an upshot of the story.

As we will see from the following discussion, fading out can serve several interactional ends. First, this practice may help solve issues of *alignment* by allowing the current speaker to side with the expressed position or to generalize from the narrated occasion to the current situation—and to do so implicitly without stating her alignment 'on record.'

Second, fading out may be used to resolve issues of *evidentiality* by allowing the current speaker to imply access to information when she may have no legitimate access to it. The analysis of the following segments will illustrate the use of fading out for these two interactional purposes.

8.1. Alignment: presenting the upshot/moral of a story

The following two segments illustrate a situation in which fading out occurs in the aftermath of a story telling episode.

Excerpt 32 (phone call 2)

In this segment, Oleg is narrating his conversation with a co-worker (named Ostapov) after he had helped another co-worker (named Klushkin). (It is unclear what the relationship between Ostapov and Klushkin is.)

(10:15)

- 1 OLEG: Nu Klju:shkinu tut ja krupna pamaga:l dva raza/=patom-
PRT LAST_NAME here I greatly helped two times then
Well I helped Klushkin big time twice recently then
- 2 VOVA: A- [gha, /
- 3 OLEG: [Astapov pazvanil ↑ "Bal' sho:e tebe spasi :ba/"
LAST_NAME called big you thanks
Ostapov called me "Thank you very much"
- 4 <Ja gru ↓ "Da ladna idi ty znaesh kuda." /=
I say yes well go you know where
I say "Just forget about it, go you know where"
- 5 VOVA: =A-hah-heh-hah
- 6 → OLEG: \£Tozhe mne (h) de (h) jatel' (h) £/
also me agent ((slang))
See this guy
- 7 VOVA: Nu pa [nja-
PRT under-
I se-
- 8 → OLEG: [Rabotaem sto let vme, ste/
we-work hundred years together
We've been working together for a hundred years.
- 9 → Che `o kakoe tut mozh et byt' sp^asiba/=
what such here can be thanks
What is to thank about

- 2 **ja vabsche** **u:uezha:ju, / atsju:da, /**
 I altogether leave from-here
I am leaving ((the country))
- 3 **Padaju vot sechas nemedlena zajavlenie/=i vsë./**
 submit PRT now immediately application and all
submitting an application right now and that's it
- 4 **I ja vas vi:det' ne xachu bol'she/**
 and I you see not want more
And I don't want to see you any more
- 5 **Vsë ja (.) gavrit na etu stranu zhizn' palazhi, l/**
 all I says on this country life put
That's it he says I gave this country my life
- 6 (0.8)
- 7 **Tak vot/ °Vsë garit/(.) Okej ({come on})°**
 PRT PRT all says okay
Like that/that's it he says/okay (come on)
- 8 (2.6)
- 9 **Mike: HH huh .hhh**
- 10 **↑°Nu v(h)ot°**
 PRT PRT
Like that
- 11 {1.0}/{hh .hh}
- 12 → **MIKE: £Saveckij Sa(h) jus .£ huh-huh**
 soviet union
The Soviet Union huh huh
- 13 → **huh-huh (1.0)**
- 14 → **£Ja ix vse x v gra(h)bu vi(h)del/£**
 I them all in grave saw
I'll see them all dead
- 15 (4.5)
- 16 **SERG: M:da: /**
 yes
Myes
- 17 [Hhhh.]

- 18 **MIKE:** [\ (E)ta zh ne tol'ka e:ta/
 this PRT not just this
 [*This is not the only thing*
- 19 <Da tut na k^hzhdam fshagu ja tebe magu istoriju rasskizat' /ε
 RPT here on every step I you can story tell
 Every step of the way I can tell you a story
- 20 (0.5)
- 21 **SERG:** tk1 N' kan^esh
 PRT sure
 Of course
- 22 (2.0)

Line 10 marks a departure from the quotation in lines 1–7 and a move to close that part of the story. Lines 12–14, however, may be heard as either resuming the quotation of the old man's words or continuing talking in Mike's "own voice." The first person pronoun "I" in line 14 could refer to either the old man or Mike. The third person pronoun "them" (referring to Russians in general, the Russian bureaucracy, or the court specifically) is also interpretable in both readings: either within the quoted situation (e.g., as the old man's side comment for the overhearing courtroom audience) or within the current speech situation (as Mike's comment to Serge). Additionally, there is no specific marking that would distinguish lines 12–14 from Mike's own current words: no grammatical framing or marked prosodic features (such as raised or lowered pitch) aside from the laughter. Thus, lines 12–14 appear to exemplify the phenomenon of fading out.

Fading out in this context allows the storyteller to imply his alignment with the expressed position while avoiding stating it explicitly. Thus, on the one hand, by not directly attributing the words to the old man, Mike can align himself with the presented point of view. The story ends up illustrating the appalling discrimination Jews face in Russia, and this is definitely the view Mike agrees with (see lines 18–19, which are followed by several more stories of discrimination). On the other hand, by not directly presenting the words as his own, Mike can distance himself from such an extreme position (see line 14). Additionally, Mike inserts laugh tokens and uses "smile voice" in an attempt to minimize the seriousness of the statement. All of these practices can be seen as means to assure the recipient's alignment with the moral of the story while, at the same time, not committing himself to the extreme position. Similarly to the previous example, it appears that the speaker's caution was founded as the story receives only a very delayed and weak agreement from the recipient (lines 15–16). Thus, we can see that fading out can be used to manage potential problems in securing the addressee's alignment.

8.2. Evidentiality: presenting the state of mind of a third party

The following excerpt illustrates the use of fading out to deal with another layer of concerns—those related to evidentiality and claims of knowledge—in addition to the issues of alignment.

Excerpt 34 (RP 2; continued from Excerpt 18)

In this segment, Oleg is talking about a common friend (Kodzha), who was injured in a car accident. Oleg is relating what their other friend (Puxovnyj) told him about Kodzha's condition and state of mind.

(5:55)

- 1 OLEG: Nu a on panima_aesh/ on zhe v principe zdarovyj muzhi,k/
PRT PRT he understand he PRT in principle healthy man
You see he is a healthy man in principle
- 2 =eta Puxovnyj gavarit/
PRT LAST-NAME says
Puxovnyj says this
- 3 VOVA: A-ha, /
- 4 OLEG: [Panima_aesh on garit zdarovyj muzhi_i,k/
you-understand he says healthy man
See he (Puxovnyj) says he (Kodzha) is a healthy man
- 5 (0.5)
- 6 VOVA: N[u da-
PRT yes
- 7 OLEG: [On garit ne predstavljaj nikagda shto takoe bal'et' ./
he says not imagined never what such be-sick
He (Puxovnyj) says he (Kodzha) never imagined what it would be like to be sick
- 8 VOVA: Nuh::[:
PRT
- 9 OLEG: [Paetamu evogarit palazhili v Sklifasovskava \znachi,t/
so him says put in HOSPITAL_NAME PRT
So he (Puxovnyj) says they put him (Kodzha) in the Sklifasovsky hospital
- 10 ustroili emu adel'nuju pala:,tu/ tam i tak dalee,/
arranged him separate room there and so forth
arranged a separate room for him and so forth
- 11 VOVA: V-nu panjatn[a/
PRT understood
I see
- 12 → OLEG: [A emu v't to: shna znachit/ < Tam Va:lja s nim zhila, /
PRT him PRT till PRT there NAME with him lived
He is going crazy/Valja lived with him there

13 (0.2)

14 VOVA: A::

15 OLEG: Vo:t/
PRT

16 (0.4)

17 → OLEG: I: on kaneshno eta: ne vasprinimaet/ Nikak on ne mozhet
and he of-course that not understand no-way he not can
And of course he doesn't see this/He can not get used to

18 → s etim svy:, knuca/ shto [chelavek mozhet balet' /=
with this get-used that man can be-ill
the fact that a man may be ill

19 VOVA: [H

20 → OLEG: =i shto on mozhet lezhat' v bal'ni:, ce/
and that he can lie in hospital
and that he may stay in a hospital

21 VOVA: A:./=

22 → OLEG: =Eta n::ne padushe emu./
that not to-sole him
That is not to his liking

23 VOVA: Nu da/
well yes

24 OLEG: N^u shto sdelaesh/ Vobschem vot v takom vot duxe/
PRT what you-do in-general PRT in suč PRT spirit
What can you do/So this is what things are like

Oleg's talk in lines 12–22 reports on the state of mind of a third party, his friend Kodzha. These words could be attributed to Puxovnyj, who is quoted in lines 2–10 and who, evidently, has access to information about Kodzha's situation. However, lines 12–22 are prosodically unmarked and have no direct reference to Puxovnyj and, thus, appear to be an example of fading out. The fade out renders the source of the information about Kodzha reported in lines 12–22 ambiguous, not indicating whether Oleg has received the information directly from Kodzha or via Puxovnyj.

The use of fading out in this interactional environment seems to address the issues of evidentiality as it relates to the difficulties of reporting the state of mind of another person. Since speakers have no direct access to another person's feelings, their reports about such matters come from several possible sources: from the person in question, from their

personal observations, or from somebody else (i.e., via hearsay). The last case seems to be the weakest in terms of validity of the report and, thus, the least believable. In this segment of the story, Oleg appears to deal with the issue of the believability of the presented report. As lines 2–10 indicate, at least some of the information about Kodzha's state of mind comes via a third party (Puxovnyj). Continuing to frame the report as coming from a third party would weaken the believability of Oleg's words. At the same time, the story suggests that Puxovnyj is likely to be the source of all information on the matter. By not mentioning Puxovnyj in subsequent lines (12–22) and not otherwise marking them as being either a report or his own words, Oleg appears to upgrade the reliability of his words and, thus, deal with the problem of evidentiality. Additionally, the use of fading out here may be related to matters of alignment. It is possible that continuously framing his words as being originally told by a third party would indicate Oleg's misalignment with the report ("that's what he says") while Oleg obviously attempts to align himself with the expressed position.

To summarize, the analysis of several cases of fading out indicates that speakers may take advantage of the 'shadow' provided by reported speech. If, for some reason—be it alignment, evidentiality, or, possibly, another set of concerns—the speaker does not want her own words to stand as said on "this" occasion, for "this" recipient, she may choose to produce them immediately following clearly demarcated reported speech. Conversely, the speaker may use the same strategy in order to implicitly appropriate somebody else's words.

9. Conclusion

It is generally believed that quotations are clearly distinguished from other talk. Presenting their theory of quotations as demonstrations, Clark and Gerrig (1990) write, "Demonstrations [and, thus, quotations] must be distinguished from the serious actions they are parts of. Their boundaries—their beginnings and ends—must be clear" (766). The present analysis of quoted speech in conversational Russian has in fact shown that in most cases quotations are separated from other talk at their beginnings and ends through a variety of devices that include grammatical framing, re-anchoring devices, and prosodic shifts for their onset and several repositioning devices and sequence organization practices for their offset. There are, however, ambiguous cases when a particular stretch of talk occurring after a quote is neither clearly separated from the quote nor clearly marked as being part of it. Such cases, referred to in this study as 'fading out,' appear to have specific interactional functions allowing the speaker to deal with potential problems of alignment and evidentiality. More work, however, needs to be done to characterize these cases and their interactional uses more systematically.

More generally, the findings of this study demonstrate the importance of studying linguistic phenomena on the basis of real conversational data. Questions that may initially appear unproblematic and analytically uninteresting (such as how the unquote is indicated) become more complex and important when examined on the basis of real data. Without looking at actual talk, many resources used to mark boundaries of reported speech would be

left unnoticed. Additionally, the analysis of conversational data allows one to examine the link between grammatical resources and their functioning in interaction. The study suggests that the different ways in which reported speech boundaries are demarcated (or not) provide participants with a set of tools they can employ for a variety of interactional purposes.

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Appendix: Transcription Conventions

The transcripts are based on standard conversation analytic transcription conventions developed by Gail Jefferson (see, e.g., Ochs et al., 1996: 461–465). The following frequently used symbols not included in the above reference have also been employed:

£ word £	“smile” voice
# word #	creaky voice
{word}	code switch into English

Instead of the standard ways in which unit boundary intonation is transcribed in English, the following modifications to the conventions are made to account for the particulars of Russian intonation:

, ? !	are placed after the syllable carrying the distinct intonation contour (comma intonation, question, or exclamatory intonation) that will be actualized at the unit boundary
/	marks unit boundary. If no intonation symbol (such as, ? !) is placed in the preceding unit, it marks default, somewhat falling pitch contour
./	marks final pitch drop that is larger than the default, unmarked pitch drop

Additional intonation symbols:

w^ord	marks a distinct pitch peak on the following syllable or vowel (higher than underline and shorter than ↑ upward arrow)
w_ord	marks a dip in pitch on the following stressed vowel (as opposed to the common rise on the stressed vowel)
\	marks return to unmarked prosody after quoted speech

Transcription/transliteration of Russian speech:

The materials are transcribed following the conversation analytic conventions designed for transcribing naturally occurring conversational data. Due to the particular demands imposed by this methodology, no standard transliteration system for Slavic languages (such as Library of Congress, International Standardization Organization ISO 9, or International Scholarly System ISS) is used for transcribing. The main reason is that these conventions are designed to represent written language while conversation analysis focuses on representing how people actually talk and *not* how they should talk or how their speech should be represented in standard orthography. On the other hand, a standard phonetic transcription (such as the International Phonetic Alphabet) is also unfeasible, as it is designed for transcribing very short segments of talk (usually isolated words or phrases) for a linguistic analysis. Using a standard phonetic transcription for representing hours of data is prohibitive in terms of the demands it would place both on the transcriber and the reader, who would have to be at least familiar with the complex, often non-intuitive system used in this field of study (see Sacks et al., 1974: 734 for a discussion of this issue for English materials). Additionally, a standard phonetic transcription system forces on the transcriber (and on the reader) a set of theoretical orientations that a conversation analyst may not want to subscribe to, which, in turn, affects not only the product of the transcribing (the transcript) but the analysis as well (cf. Kelly and Local, 1989; Ochs, 1979). For these reasons (and in accordance with the conversation analytic tradition), the transcripts are represented in a system that relies on the basic rules of reading the Roman alphabet and is sensitive to the sound system of the Russian language. In order to accommodate understanding without losing track of the details of talk, the words are represented the way “they sound” to an experienced transcriber, but not necessarily a professional phonetician. In other words, not every single detail of sound production that might be seen on a spectrogram is represented—but only those that appear salient, and especially those that previous conversation analytic research has found to be of consequence (such as timing, pitch, volume, aspiration, etc.).²⁸ This, of course, is a matter of judgment as additional details of talk may appear more salient and turn out to be consequential for the analysis at hand. Every transcript should thus be considered a work in progress, and subject to change on any subsequent rehearing.

The Russian-speaking reader is advised to read the transcript out loud if any understanding problems are encountered. Additionally, to facilitate access to the data, audio recordings of the segments included in this paper are made available at www.russianca.org/publications.html. Table 1 shows correspondences between the Russian Cyrillic alphabet, relevant Library of Congress transliteration symbols (without diacritics), standard IPA symbols, and the symbols used in the transcripts.

The first line of the transcript represents Russian data using the conventions shown in Table 1. The second line is a word for word translation into English (“PRT” stands for “particle”). The third line (in italics) is an idiomatic translation (without information on sound production).

²⁸ See Zemskaia and Kapanadze (1978) for a discussion of several issues involved in transcribing colloquial Russian.

Table 1

Correspondences between Russian Cyrillic alphabet, Library of Congress (LoC) Cyrillic transliteration conventions, IPA, and symbols used in the transcript

Cyrillic	LoC	IPA	Transcript	Cyrillic	LoC	IPA	Transcript
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See the end of the article for the correct version of Table 1

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Cyrillic	LoC	IPA	Transcript	Cyrillic	LoC	IPA	Transcript
а	a	a	a	с	s	s	s
б	b	b	b	т	t	t	t
в	v	v	v	у	u	u	u
г	g	g	g	ф	f	f	f
д	d	d	d	х	kh	x	x
е	e	jɛ/ɛ	e	ц	ts	ts	ts
ё	e	jɔ/ɔ	ë	ч	ch	tʃʲ	ch
ж	zh	ʒ	zh	ш	sh	ʃ	sh
з	z	z	z	щ	shch	ʃʲ	sch
и	i	i	i	ъ			"
й	i	j	j	ы	y	i	y
к	k	k	k	ь	'	j	'
л	l	l	l	э	e	ɛ	e
м	m	m	m	ю	iu	jʊ	ju
н	n	n	n	я	ia	ja	ja
о	o	ɔ	o	а/о (unstressed)		ə	a
п	p	p	p	г (dialectal)		ɣ	gh
р	r	r	r	non-standard reduced deleted vowel(s)			`

Table 1: Correspondences between Russian Cyrillic alphabet, Library of Congress (LoC) Cyrillic transliteration conventions, IPA, and symbols used in the transcript