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Pragmatic Accommodation and Linguistic Salience
in U.S.-Russian Political Interviews

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Applied Linguistics

by

Lindy Burden Comstock

2018

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2018

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Pragmatic Accommodation and Linguistic Salience

in U.S.-Russian Political Interviews

by

Lindy Burden Comstock

Doctor of Philosophy in Applied Linguistics

University of California, Los Angeles, 2018

Professor John H. Schumann, Chair

Prosody and formulaic phrases are phenomena that bridge gradient and categorical classification. They carry systematic linguistic meaning, but may also act as a pragmatic resource. While linguistic meaning is invariant, pragmatic resources tolerate idiosyncratic use, through which speaker intent is revealed. My dissertation investigates how second language and heritage speakers bridge this distinction between gradient and categorical implementations of prosody and formulaic phrases, challenging studies that predict prosody is one of the most difficult skills for second language learners to acquire and problematizing the assumptions of speech accommodation within intercultural interactions.

Speech accommodation and sociolinguistic theory predict that when speakers affiliate, they will mirror socially salient features of their interlocutor's speech in their own production. Yet a speaker's ability to accurately reproduce phonological phenomena may be linked to the critical period of language acquisition. Native-like articulation of prosody has been associated with age of

acquisition, whereas the ability to learn lexical items continues to grow into adulthood. Thus, prosody and lexical items are theorized to differ in their degree of perceptual salience for late second language and heritage speakers. When attempting speech accommodation, the perceptual abilities of the two classes of speakers may render the former a preferred resource for heritage speakers, and the latter for late second language speakers.

Political interviews often center around polarizing issues that evoke a display of stance through pragmatic cues. Therefore, this genre serves as an ideal setting for the study of intercultural speech accommodation. Russian-American political discourse shows how ready and able political actors may be to engage in accommodation, yet without a sound knowledge of linguistic systematicity in their second or heritage language, attempts at reproducing the linguistic strategies of a foreign interlocutor will ultimately fail to convey a similar meaning, generating repercussions for the effectiveness of their communication.

This dissertation analyzes which linguistic phenomenon—prosody or formulaic phrases—are preferentially assimilated by Russian and American political actors when speaking their second or heritage language to a native audience. Case studies reveal a preference for prosodic accommodation among all subjects and support a disassociation between traditional measures of linguistic proficiency and the ability to reliably reproduce prosodic phenomena. Stressful interviews place greater cognitive demands on speakers and may differentially inhibit linguistic processing of prosodic and lexical phenomena.

Utilizing a novel method for detecting speech accommodation, findings document cross-cultural speech accommodation patterns and discuss the theoretical and pedagogical implications for second language and heritage intonational phonology, second language acquisition, linguistic processing, and intercultural pragmatics.

The dissertation of Lindy Burden Comstock is approved.

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2018

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“The heritage language learner in study abroad programs: Challenges to intercultural competence,” American Association of Applied Linguistics; March 2018.

“Suffix interference and evidence for the primacy of inflectional processing in Russian,” Linguistic Society of America Annual Meeting; January 2018.

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“Lexical and Prosodic Accommodation in Russian-American Political Discourse,” American Association of Applied Linguistics; March 2017.

“Gradient and Categorical Features of L2 Prosody: Acquisition and Pragmatics,” 3rd International Conference of the American Pragmatics Association; November 2016.

“Pragmatic Variation in L2 Acquisition of English Prosody by Learner Type,” American Association of Applied Linguistics; March 2016.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

This dissertation investigates the communicative strategies that arise within a second language environment. Often successful communication is envisioned as the simple transfer of informational content by means of a shared lexicon or grammar. Yet for real world interactions, it is necessary to comprehend how a speaker intends informational content to relate to ongoing discourse and the larger activity project set in motion (Linell 2009). This constitutes the *pragmatic force* or speaker intent accompanying an utterance.

Within intercultural communication, determining speaker intent is one of the primary communicative difficulties faced by second language learners (e.g., Thomas 1998, 1999). For advanced learners, propositional content in most contexts is quite transparent. However, an entirely different task lies in deciphering why an interlocutor produced particular propositional content at a particular moment, in response to a particular environmental or verbal cue, and what response is anticipated or desired. Even socially-competent, native-speaker members of a speech community may provide only approximate judgments when requested to provide an explanation of speaker intent. Generally recognized strategies are often multi-purpose and contextually-sensitive, and thus fail to unambiguously index a pragmatic goal (cf. Gumperz 1982).

Socialization can improve, but does not guarantee the acquisition of pragmatic strategies. Coworkers in a multinational company have shown incomplete assimilation of their colleagues' pragmatic strategies, even after three years of bi-weekly collaboration (Comstock 2015). The linguistic subtleties that differentiate pragmatic language use are rarely taught and often processed without conscious attention, leading second language speakers to rely upon implicit learning. This raises the question of *linguistic salience*. Interlocutors may fail to conform to the same linguistic norms due to differences in their perceptual abilities.

I will call this the conceptual versus perceptual salience of the phenomenon (Andersen 1978). Phenomena highly relevant for the conveyance of speaker intent may not correspond at all to the ease with which those phenomena can be ascertained, especially by second language learners. These findings lie in stark contrast to theories of intergroup or intercultural contact, in which *speech accommodation* (e.g., Giles 1973; Giles & Powesland 1975) is predicted.

Accommodation theory, an outgrowth of sociolinguistic theory, presupposes that individuals are able to converge or diverge in aspects of their speaking style when they affiliate or disaffiliate with their interlocutor. It can be assumed that our multinational coworkers share a desire to achieve collaborative work goals, yet they still failed to acquire the necessary pragmatic strategies for successful communication. It is more likely they lack a common set of interpretative tools, which may in turn engender disaffiliation. In the absence of a transparent explanation, miscommunication or a breakdown in the communicative process often results in the inaccurate assessment of a speaker's character or desire to cooperate (Lemak 2012).

To better understand how successful implicit acquisition of pragmatic strategies may be, and whether speech accommodation occurs felicitously as a part of this process, it is important to distinguish what sort of linguistic phenomena bear high perceptual and conceptual salience for non-native speakers. In the case of the multinational coworkers, the strategies they failed to acquire involved structures above and below the sentence level. Strategies they acquired at least partially tended to elicit a high degree of noticeability and to overlap unambiguously in function between the two linguistic systems in contact (cf. Silverstein 1981).

Pragmatic meaning arises from an associative process that accompanies implicatures (Grice 1975). Implicatures are generated by the violation of implicitly-learned, conventionalized rules. Pragmatic implicatures accompany any selection of one item from a set of possible variants; the choice of one near equivalent over another automatically generates associations about the foundations of that choice. This distinction maps onto the concepts of *sociopragmatics* and *pragmalinguistics* (cf. Leech 1983). The former correlates pragmatic phenomena with sociocultural norms, and is thus context-dependent. The latter references a pragmatic effect that persists across social encounters, rendering it context-invariant.

More importantly, this distinction illustrates why certain linguistic phenomena bridge gradient and categorical classification. Linguistic rules of a paradigmatic nature, if sufficiently complex, allow for the selection of one near-equivalent over another, or for a non-standard realization over a standard one. Thus, pragmatic implicatures arise from linguistically systematic elements of a language system just as readily as they do from non-systematic phenomena (e.g., paralinguistic cues). These implicatures are context-invariant; however, the associative nature of implicit learning and its preference for information chunks (Musen & Squire 1993; Perruchet & Pacton 2006) may have implications for the type of pragmatic strategies acquired by this means.

Phenomena bearing pragmatic meaning reside on many levels. A few examples include manipulation of discourse structure, sentential information structure, metaphorical reference, turn-taking, formulaic phrases, or prosodic contours. In this dissertation, I will show how two sets of phenomena—prosody and formulaic phrases—often considered diametrically opposed in function, ease of acquisition, and linguistic level, may be exploited by second and heritage language learners in their attempts at speech accommodation.

Prosody and formulaic phrases have been ascribed a modal expressive function (Arndt 1960; Pierrehumbert & Hirschberg 1990), and emotive language is invariably problematic for second language speakers. Negative affect may lead to a breakdown in linguistic performance as a manifestation of foreign language anxiety (Horowitz, Horowitz & Cope 1986); working memory is inhibited in anxious individuals (Beilock & Carr 2005). Alternatively, there is evidence that emotional discourse places greater demands upon cognitive resources. Second language speakers depend more heavily upon the conscious recall of information related to their second language, and proficient speakers are no exception.

Fluent language use relies upon automaticity in language processing through the access of procedural knowledge. This memory system governs the implementation of paradigmatic rules. When automatically-retrieved, procedural knowledge becomes inaccessible, conscious retrieval of these linguistic rules slows interaction and directs the attention of second language speakers to word meaning instead of global meaning. Depending on its degree, anxiety may also interfere with the semantic knowledge a speaker consciously retrieves from memory. It is highly likely that affiliative and antagonistic contexts will differentially affect the accessibility of pragmatic strategies for second language speakers.

Thus, second language speakers battle *processing constraints* in allocating mental resources (Anderson 1995; DeKeyser 1998, 2001, 2007). These constraints are amplified when emotional responses interfere with the allocation of mental resources, reducing the capacity of working memory. In emotive contexts, the inhibition of fluency (i.e., procedural knowledge) may lead to greater reliance on formulaic phrases and prosody to convey meaning, coupled with a lesser ability to perceive the appropriacy of routinized, idiomatic usage to the situation at hand.

The setting for this investigation takes place within the sphere of political communication: one of the most high-stakes arenas for intercultural communication. Policies must often be decided by individuals with limited knowledge of their interlocutors' culture and language, and information may be transferred indirectly through simultaneous translation. In political discourse, the manipulative function of linguistic interactions (Carter 1974; Bates *et al.* 1979) is heightened, and pragmatic analysis takes on particular importance. Conveyance of a stance or alignment may take precedence over conveyance of propositional content (e.g., Graham 2014; Jackson 2011).

Political interviews unfold in real-time, and thus the necessity of deciphering intent in the speech of a political opponent or ally is substantial due to the communicative nature of the event. Former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger alluded to the major role of speaker intent in guiding political policy during a 2014 television interview. In fact, he was specifically prompted by the interviewer to clarify Russian President Putin's "intent", to which he responded:

"One cannot overstate the question of Putin's intent. I have thought, and to some extent still think that what Putin wanted, above all, was an understanding with the U.S. that recognized the vulnerability of Russia's position: long frontiers with China and the Middle East, with some respect for its historical memories. That was not forthcoming on our side. He reacted after what he considered a period of deliberate humiliation during the Olympics in the handling of Ukraine by measures which I cannot testify to on the basis of the analysis which I have made. And a country does not have a right to annex a part of another country because its historical views have not been appropriately treated."

(Kissinger 2014)

While clearly criticizing Russia's foreign policy, Kissinger conjectures it may be motivated by retaliation for a perceived lack of "understanding" from Western politicians. Kissinger describes Putin's desired response as an epistemic stance and an emotional connection, rather than concrete actions. Similar comments on the perceived trustworthiness of their counterpart can be found in statements by Russian and American presidents. Political journalist Vladimir Posner has

commented that he believes the establishment of trust based on a clear conveyance of intent may be the first step towards avoiding belligerent foreign policy (Posner 2015).

With “intent” so prominent in the minds of politicians and political journalists, the pragmatic strategies they engage to convey their position and decipher this intent in others must be of great importance. Furthermore, pragmatic strategies may constitute an off-record (Brown & Levinson 1987) means of conveying what one does not wish to state outright. Social interaction more generally necessitates the implicit display of knowledge of situational norms of conduct, the associated roles claimed by each participant, and their rights and obligations to one another (Tomasello 2008; Heritage 2012).

Such a display lays claim to the fact that one is a competent and reliable member of a shared community, symbolically attested to by the correct matching of response to inquiry. The endeavor requires decipherment, differentiation, and reciprocal accommodation of the communicative message and linguistic code (Heritage 2012). Pragmatic competence in observance of politeness norms and culturally-specific expectations of how and when to display or regulate one’s emotions or respond to those of an interlocutor are the necessary linguistic vehicles of this social display.

Thus, intercultural political discourse offers fertile ground for the investigation of practical and theoretical problems related to the conveyance of speaker intent and the acquisition of pragmatic strategies. A relational arc can be traced through the key concepts of *pragmatic force*, *linguistic salience*, *speech accommodation*, *emotive modalities*, and *processing constraints* as component features of intercultural communication that ultimately determine the linguistic and interactional performance of first and second language speakers. To this mix, I add heritage language speakers, who share characteristics of the two.

1.1 TOPIC AND BACKGROUND

This dissertation will investigate the pragmatics of Russian-American political discourse through the lens of accommodation theory and second language acquisition. It poses several linguistic problems inherent in the acquisition of language pragmatics by second and heritage language speakers. The first of these concerns *the relative abilities of second and heritage language speakers to perceive linguistic systematicity; specifically, whether each class of speaker can reliably distinguish between the gradient and categorical use of linguistic phenomena?*

Second-language phonetics prove challenging for second language speakers to acquire, perhaps because the ability to produce native-like phonetics is limited by a critical period of neurological development (e.g., Hartshorne, Tenenbaum, & Pinker 2018). This competency is one that distinguishes heritage and second language speakers, as the former typically acquire both of their languages before or around the age of five. However, work in second language acquisition continues to problematize this theory, providing evidence that, to a considerable degree, achievements in second language acquisition correlate more closely with motivation and socialization than age-appropriate exposure (e.g., Dörnyei 2015; Schumann 1997).

Acquisition of phonological distinctions is often overshadowed by the discussion of second language phonetics. Sentence level prosody is proposed to be particularly difficult for non-native speakers to acquire (Jun & Oh 2000), yet few studies of second language prosody exist, and even fewer materials assess the developmental stages of a learner's prosodic interlanguage (for a review, see Hardison 2010). Intonation systematically marks information structure, at the same time as it contributes paralinguistic information about speaker state (Ladd 2008:34-39) and discourse interpretation (Pierrehumbert & Hirschberg 1990). This study asks whether the phonological constraints of both types are equally salient to second and heritage speakers.

Formulaic phrases, to the contrary, are almost synonymous with ease of second language acquisition in conventional wisdom and teaching lore. Mastery of formulaic “chunks” (cf. Lightbrown & Spada 2013:214) is thought to constitute an initial phase of acquisition through which all learners readily pass (e.g., Pienemann, Johnston, & Brindley 1988). Formulaic phrases are given a wide conception incorporating a range of structures from interjections to chunked clausal components. Yet formulaic phrases may be reproduced in a highly idiosyncratic fashion that reflects the speaker’s personal experience with the language rather than wider beliefs held by the speech community. Observed formulaic phrases may be emulated as a type of identity cue, becoming associated with a speaker or social situation, irrespective of its true pragmatic function.

Thus, prosody and formulaic phrases fit the criteria of phenomena that bridge categorical and gradient distinctions. Corpus studies show that spontaneous speech largely relies upon established routines of formulaic language (e.g., Biber *et al.* 1999; Sarangi & Coulthard 2014), and these routines may be invoked by a contextual association either conventionalized or idiosyncratic in nature (Elis, Simpson-Vlach & Maynard 2008). Similarly, prosody encodes basic information structure such as focus, yet is intertwined with a layer of pragmatic nuance, so that prosody approximates paralinguistic resources that index emotional state and social identity (cf. Ladd 2008:34-39).

Despite commonalities in their functional application, an important distinction between the two phenomena remains; namely, the linguistic level at which they function. Individual pitch accents within an intonational system, such as those that denote nuclear stress, operate below the sentence level. Formulaic phrases represent meaning at the sentence level. Therefore, a second question asks *whether second or heritage language speakers exhibit preferential acquisition and production of sentence level phenomena or those below the level of the sentence?*

Phonetics and grammatical fluency are competencies in which heritage speakers excel, implicating a superior ability to parse segmental and grammatical cues below the level of the sentence. Heritage speakers also enjoy greater language socialization, with access to abundant formulaic phrases embedded in communicative contexts. However, early bilinguals still show clear patterns of interference in both production and perception, which manifest more strongly in production (Watson 2002) and their language experience is circumscribed in scope, limiting their repertoire of pragmatic strategies (Dubinina 2011).

Much has been made of the advantages heritage speakers allegedly enjoy relative to second language speakers, either due to early exposure or socialization into their heritage language. A final question posed by the dissertation concerns the relative acquisition patterns and capabilities of second language versus heritage speakers: *do heritage language speakers show advantages in production skills or linguistic processing, and if so, how is this advantage expressed?*

Pragmatics may form an initial comprehension strategy for language learners (Ortega 2009; Schumann 1987), placing both classes of speakers on equal footing. Pragmatics may necessitate subsequent development of metalinguistic awareness (Lardiere 1998; Radford 1994), potentially placing second language learners at an advantage. Over time, many heritage speakers manifest incomplete acquisition or undergo attrition in ways that target the paradigmatic elements of the language they once excelled at (e.g., inflectional morphology, Polinsky 2011), and for learners of all types, idiosyncratic learning or performance errors come to define their mental representations (Slabakova 2008).

The findings of this dissertation suggest we may need to reconsider our assumptions about second and heritage language speakers' ultimate attainment of gradient and categorical phenomena.

1.1.1 PROBLEM STATEMENT AND OBJECTIVES

This dissertation investigates which linguistic phenomena are assimilated by Russian and American political actors in attempts at speech accommodation, when subjects speak their acquired or heritage language to a foreign audience. The aim is to assess the relative abilities of second and heritage language speakers: 1) to master two sets of phenomena—prosody and formulaic phrases—that are theorized to differ in their degree of perceptual salience, and 2) to apply them felicitously in emotive contexts that impose greater or lesser processing constraints upon the speakers. A second aim is to discuss these findings in light of their implications for second language acquisition theory. Methodologies to investigate these research problems will include AM metrical theory, as evidenced in the Tones and Breaks Indices (ToBI) notional system, discourse analysis, and statistical analysis. By extension, the dissertation touches upon how political figures on the international stage position themselves linguistically in affiliative and antagonistic communicative contexts.

Objectives include: 1) a preliminary description of first, second, and heritage Russian language intonational phonology in accordance with a modified ToBI notational system; 2) documentation of the pragmatic strategies employed for speech accommodation in intercultural political discourse; 3) a comparative account of the linguistic capabilities and limitations of second and heritage language speakers under the different processing constraints found in affiliative and antagonistic contexts; 4) a model of linguistic processing for second and heritage language speakers, taking into account the two linguistic subsystems investigated and subjects' production abilities in varying contexts; and 5) a theoretical analysis of the findings and their implications for individual differences in second and heritage language acquisition.

1.1.2 THESIS AND LIMITATIONS

The dissertation hypothesizes that accommodation and disaffiliation will be discernable in the speech of four political actors (two Russian, two American) when faced with an affiliative or antagonistic context. This process is measured in two categories of linguistic phenomena that convey linguistically systematic information in addition to pragmatic meaning: prosody and formulaic phrases. A precise description of specific phenomena and how accommodation is identified in the data will be specified in Chapter two (Phenomena for analysis) and Chapter three (Methodology), respectively.

Second language speakers are anticipated to preferentially employ formulaic phrases for accommodation purposes, and heritage language learners are predicted to favor prosodic phenomena. Whenever possible, both subject classes (second and heritage language) are anticipated to produce phenomena shared between language systems (“bivalent”, see Chapter two). Proficiency alone is predicted to explain the appearance of language errors (“transfer items”, see Chapter two), whereas speaker category alone may reflect abilities to accommodate felicitously.

One limitation of this study is the provisional nature of the coding system employed. Although care has been taken to draw no more conclusions from the data than can be reliably ascertained with an adapted form of ToBI notion, the analysis remains exploratory.

A second concern is the limited scope of the data. Four case studies cannot be considered definitive, but illustrative of what proficiencies and communicative strategies are accessible to each subject, and therefore must be accounted for theoretically.

Given the nature of the corpus, collected from publicly available sources without any contact with the subjects, very little is known about the subjects’ language attitudes and ideologies (cf. Kroskrity 2010), which would include their motivations for acquiring their second or heritage

language and the extent of their language socialization. Currently, only conjectures can be formed based on knowledge of the subjects' biography and professional background.

Furthermore, it is possible that the pragmatic strategies of Russian subjects may be skewed towards the accommodation of English language norms. As a global language widely used on the international stage, in entertainment, and in business, it is likely that Russian speakers possess greater knowledge of English language systems and more extensive English language socialization than their American counterparts can attest for the Russian communicative norms.

For example, the United Nations has been criticized for relying too heavily on the English language although a number of working languages officially exist in its working practice (Ricento & Hornberger 1996). Therefore, Russian speakers may feel more pressure to conform to English pragmatic norms, to the degree that they are perceptible.

An important question remains the relative value of discursive norms and speech accommodation on the international linguistic marketplace (Bourdieu 1977) and specifically within political discourse. The value of successfully conveying a message has huge import, yet other considerations such as national pride or decorum may counteract this tendency.

The second language speakers may also be disinclined to accommodate. Research has shown that individuals who speak a prestige language may resist accommodation. The reduced necessity to familiarize themselves with foreign linguistic norms can deaden awareness of how their first or dominant language system may interfere with performance in their second or heritage language (cf. Canagarajah 2007)

1.1.3 TERMS AND CONCEPTS DEFINED

The following key concepts are integral to the theoretical underpinnings of the dissertation.

1.1.3A SECOND LANGUAGE SPEAKERS

The acquisition of a second language can occur at any time over the course of an individual's lifetime, although the nature of this acquisition will differ substantially based on when and how the acquisition occurs. For this reason, researchers typically distinguish second language learners by age and the learning environment. This dissertation makes a critical distinction between second and heritage language speakers: second language speakers will be those who first attempt to acquire their target language after puberty, having already fully acquired their first language. Many of the same concepts in language acquisition are relevant to both categories of bilinguals, and some researchers even propose that a continuum exists between heritage and second language speakers (cf. Lipski 1993), where differences are largely explained by the different learning environments. However, this account underestimates the tremendous effect of age and manner of acquisition on the underlying mental representations and processing abilities of bilinguals.

1.1.3B HERITAGE LANGUAGE SPEAKERS

Heritage language speakers were raised in a household where their first language was spoken such that they acquired this language before a critical period of five years of age, yet began acquisition of a second language before full acquisition of the first (Polinsky & Kagan 2007). Heritage speakers have a degree of bilingual fluency in both the first (heritage) language and the second (dominant) language, but may show partial acquisition of the former, understood as a lack of age-appropriate proficiency compared to monolingual or fluent bilingual speakers of a comparable socio-economic profile (Montrul 2002, 2008). Heritage languages exhibit phonological neutralization, lexical restriction, simplification and over-regularization of complex morphological patterns, and restricted word order (Benmamoun *et al.* 2010).

Thus, many heritage speakers are not balanced bilinguals, with reduced functionality in their heritage language due to the contextual restrictions of its use, which is typically limited to the home. This often results in a reduced knowledge of stylistic, pragmatic, and even syntactic structures (Benmamoun *et al.* 2010; Dubinina 2011). The grammar of heritage speakers may subsequently undergo attrition and reanalysis after adopting the second language as their dominant means of communication (Polinsky 2007). Certain aspects of grammatical competence, most notably inflectional morphology and complex syntax, are highly vulnerable to attrition and/or incomplete acquisition within this population (Anderson 1999, Benmamoun *et al.* 2008, Bolonyai 2007, Håkansson 1995, Montrul, Foote & Perpiñán 2008, O’Grady *et al.* 2001, Polinsky 2008a,b, Bar-Shalom & Zaretsky 2008).

Possession of native-like phonetics and phonology is widely assumed to be one of the primary strengths of heritage speakers (e.g. Kagan 2012), although research has found low proficiency heritage speakers may still be judged to possess non-native accents (Au *et al.* 2002; Oh *et al.* 2003; Knightly *et al.* 2003). One direction of research regarding heritage bilinguals concerns whether they retain two separate phonemic systems for each language, or somehow integrate the two systems within one representation. Conflicting data exists, but data suggests heritage speakers avoid establishing phonetic categories that directly mirror those of monolinguals “if they do not need to do so, and if this allows them to retain greater similarity in the phonetic patterns of their languages” (Watson 2002:261). Additionally, heritage speakers tend to assimilate segments that are similar in both languages (e.g., belong to the same category, such as dentals vs. alveolars) (Flege 1987; Hrycyna *et al.* 2011). Heritage speaker intonational phonology has yet to be studied according to ToBI methodology, although pitch accents in declarative contours have been investigated by other methods (Local, Wells & Sebba 1985; Podesva 2011).

1.1.3C CRITICAL PERIOD OF LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

The concept of a critical period for language acquisition stems from studies of neuroplasticity and biological constraints on certain types of procedural learning. The outer limit of this period was set by its original proponents at age six or eight (Penfield 1953, 1964), or slightly later, at the onset of puberty (Lenneberg 1967). The rationale was that the network of long-distance pyramidal axon connections are consolidated by age six or eight, and the central nervous system was assumed to have largely reached maturation by puberty (cf. Walsh & Diller 1981:13-14). After childhood, neural networks at this structural level are substantially more difficult to establish. For example, adult learners may find it easier to approximate new sounds based on the networks formed in their native language. Research shows that bilinguals' phonetics do appear to converge: they will produce VOTs at an intermediary range native to neither of their two languages (cf. Watson 2002).

However, research into individual differences in language acquisition have challenged the notion that there is only one critical period for language learning. Instead they propose *developmental stages*, which involve critical periods for different competencies (cf. Spada & Lightbrown 2013; Walsh & Diller 1981). Local circuit neurons allow for a degree of neuroplasticity much later in life. These short axon cells appear to play a role in complex behaviors and human intelligence (Walsh & Diller 1981:16). More specifically, these two networks—pyramidal and local circuit neurons—appear to correlate with lower- and higher-order functioning.

Nonetheless, even if critical periods simply predict more effective or efficient learning rather than predetermine ultimate learning success, certain linguistic skills do appear to be affected significantly by the age of acquisition. Above all, this is seen in the pronunciation of adult second language learners (Oyama 1976), followed by their syntactic knowledge (Newport 1990). There appears to be no critical period effect for the acquisition of vocabulary (Singleton 1995).

1.1.3D INTERLANGUAGE

Non-native-like linguistic representations displayed by second language speakers have been termed “interlanguage” (Selinker 1972). These representations may continue to develop until the approximately converge with native-like standards, or they may fail to develop past a certain point and become “fossilized” (Selinker & Lakshmanan 1992). Interlanguage is thus related to transfer, but describes the underlying representations rather than the process of influence. An exception is research into ‘interlanguage pragmatics’ (Bardovi-Harlig 1999), which seeks to document how learners acquire pragmatic knowledge of their second language. Interlanguage representations have been studied in numerous linguistic domains, including phonetic/phonology (Antoniou *et al.*, 2011; Eckman 1991; Major 1998), semantics (Odlin 2005; Slabakova 2003), syntax (Housen 1994; Huebner 1985; Zughoul 2002), and morphology (Howard 2006; Lowie 1998; Plag 2008).

1.1.3E TRANSFER

Transfer, also referred to as interference, may occur in any language contact situation and may affect any level of linguistic representation: phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, or lexical items. Most often the term is invoked to refer to the perceived influence of the first language on a subsequently acquired language (Gass & Selinker 1992; Jarvis 1998; Odlin 1989; Schwartz & Sprouse 1996; White 1989), but second language transfer effects on a speaker’s first language is also a widely accepted phenomena (Cook 2003; Pavlenko & Jarvis, 2002; Seliger 1996). Transfer is commonly invoked to explain linguistic production that differs from native speaker norms, yet the concept has been unable to reliably account for all the errors that second language speakers produce; often it is quite difficult to determine the source of errors (cf. Spada & Lightbrown 2013). Furthermore, many errors are common to all second language learners regardless of their first

language and the language they are acquiring. Krashen (1982) has suggested there are certain developmental stages (“accuracy order”) common to all learners in which linguistic representations reflect a universal order of acquisition, much like first language acquisition.

Nonetheless, the concept remains a robust one, especially for the study of heritage speakers. The difficulty in pinpointing transfer effects in heritage speakers is compounded by the fact that most studies have been carried out in the U.S. where the heritage language is more morpho-syntactically complex than the dominant language, English. Outside of the classroom, exposure to non-standard variants of an acquired language may also complicate identifying what features may be attributed to transfer (Lipski 1993). Russian heritage speakers in the U.S. retain gender classification, which is absent in English, but simplify the classification from a 3- to 2-way distinction. This transformation is thought to be related to the “nature of input and the degree of exposure to the input” (Benmamoun *et al.* 2010:52).

1.1.3F BIVALENCY

Numerous scholars have proposed or illustrated through their research that when the first and second language systems share similar representations, perception and production is facilitated, if not necessarily the felicitous understanding of the phenomena’s linguistic meaning within each system. However, theorists diverge on this final, crucial detail: how categorical distinctions may be formed by second language speakers and how closely they may or may not resemble the categorical distinctions understood by a native speaker. Whether heritage speakers, with incomplete acquisition or attrition of their heritage language, maintain more native-like representations is a nuance yet to be broached in the literature.

Flege's (1991) speech learning model (SLM) accounts for the learnability of phonetic segments in terms of this similarity, stressing that perception places the upper bounds on production. This line of research remains staunchly opposed to critical period theories and asserts new phonological representations, and by extension categorical distinctions of all kinds, may be established throughout the lifespan. SLM predicts that a second language sound somewhat dissimilar from a sound the native language, but not entirely novel, will be easier to learn as a distinct phoneme than a sound that is similar. This is because similar sounds will be subsumed under a common phonological representation.

Best's (1995) perceptual assimilation model (PAM) also foregrounds perceptual similarity in the acquisition of non-native phonetic segments. PAM further clarifies that similar sounding phonemes may be subsumed under a native representation with various degrees of goodness of fit, but a sound dissimilar to native phonemes may be assigned to two phonological categories, or two foreign sounds may be assigned to one native representation. Mennen (2015) and So and Best (2010) have adapted segmental models to intonational phonology; in terms of the theoretical basis, we may assume the same principles apply to other linguistic domains.

In this dissertation, I choose to address overlapping representations through the concept of *bivalency*, that is, "a simultaneous membership of an element in more than one linguistic system" (Woolard 1999:6). This conceptualization does not presuppose second language learners necessarily form clear distinctions between categories and best conforms to Watson's (2002) observation that bilinguals avoid establishing phonetic categories "if they do not need to do so, and if this allows them to retain greater similarity in the phonetic patterns of their languages" (261). Bivalency approximates "good enough processing" (Ferreira & Bailey 2002), in which production details are discarded if they do not conform to higher-order expectations.

1.2 SIGNIFICANCE OF PROJECT

The dissertation yields findings of theoretical and practical merit. Contributions can be subdivided into several disciplinary domains: intonational phonology, discourse analysis, heritage language and second language acquisition, and intercultural pragmatics. For each domain, there are associated research objectives (enumerated in Section 1.1.1). Results in each of these domains will provide novel contributions to their field.

Not least among the enumerated objectives is documentation of the phenomena preferentially utilized by first, second, and heritage language speakers in intercultural accommodation. This linguistic description is anticipated to provide a basis for future study and experimental research on Russian language pragmatics, Russian communicative practices, and the acquisition of Russian as a second or heritage language.

The novel aspect of this approach lies in the description of these phenomena as an interactive resource to reveal the pragmatic intent of political figures as they are faced with a choice in alignment. The correlation of a practice and its pragmatic intent and perceived salience will contribute to an understanding of the interface of semiotics, semantics and pragmatics.

Studies of American usage of intonation and discourse particles are available but lack the same integration and contextual focus of this dissertation. Russian linguistic practices are understudied both in terms of pragmatics and within the genre of political discourse. This dissertation is the first study to investigate Russian language accommodation within the political interview genre.

Of particular note is the absence of a ToBI notational system for Russian. This dissertation will take steps towards the creation of a Russian ToBI annotation system for first, second, and heritage language speakers.

1.3 OVERVIEW OF CHAPTERS

A general introduction and the dissertation objectives are provided in Chapter one. Main themes and concepts are introduced, with discussion of the relation between concepts. Limitations to the scope of dissertation are addressed. An argument for the significance of the work is provided.

Chapter two introduces a literature review encompassing the theoretical background relevant to the phenomena for analysis. English and Russian intonational phonology are discussed in light of the major scholars and the autosegmental-metrical theory. The ToBI notational system is introduced and a rationale is provided for the selection of the prosodic phenomena analyzed in the dissertation. Chapter two defines a category of formulaic phrases based on the work of previous scholars. The classification procedure for bivalent and transfer items is explained for each of the two categories of linguistic phenomena. The chapters utilizes illustrative examples.

Chapter three describes the methodology of the dissertation data collection and analysis. The research design is described, as are specific research questions, and details pertaining to the corpus, data collection, and procedure for analysis.

Data analysis is presented in Chapters four and five. Second language speakers are the subject of analysis in Chapter four, and heritage speakers in Chapter five. Each chapter will follow a similar format: subject introductions are followed by interview transcripts, classification and analysis of the prosodic and lexical phenomena in each interview.

A general discussion and conclusion is given in Chapter six. Data analysis is related to theoretical questions raised in the literature review and larger questions of linguistic theory, second language acquisition, and accommodation theory. Considerations for future research will conclude the dissertation.

CHAPTER 2: PHENOMENA FOR ANALYSIS

This chapter introduces the phenomena that will be analyzed in the dissertation: English and Russian intonational phonology and formulaic phrases. A definition for each subset of phenomena utilized in the analysis will be provided with classification criteria. Numerous questions still surround the classification of Russian intonational phonology; these issues and a review of known literature will be provided, in conjunction with evidence for the importance and function of the phenomena selected for analysis.

2.1 ENGLISH INTONATIONAL PHONOLOGY

Analysis of English and Russian prosody will conform to autosegmental-metrical (AM) theory, as defined by Pierrehumbert (1980), Beckman & Pierrehumbert (1986), and Ladd (2008). The AM method is currently the most robust theory for description and representation of language-specific phonological systems and their surface realization. In particular, development of the Tone Break and Indices (ToBI) notational system has allowed for a common set of theoretical premises to be applied and adapted to describe numerous world languages within a unified analytical framework. Thus, ToBI is a useful tool for the investigation of linguistic universals, as well as language-specific elements of intonational prosody. A full description of the theoretical basis and historical development of AM theory can be found in Ladd (2008), and the principles of ToBI notational systems are presented in Pierrehumbert (1980) and Beckman & Pierrehumbert (1986). The most recent revision to the American English annotation system can be found in Beckman & Hirschberg's Mainstream American English ToBI (MAE_ToBI, Beckman & Hirschberg 1994; Beckman, Hirschberg & Shattuck-Hufnagel 2005).

According to Ladd, the minimum requirements of an AM framework involve four tenets that differentiate the theory from preceding analytical frameworks: *sequential tonal structure, distinction between pitch accent and stress, analysis of pitch accents in terms of level tones, and local sources for global trends* (2008:44). The first tenet provides a basis for the differentiation between tonal events and transitions between them: prosodic contours are conceptualized as a composite of individual tonal events. The second principle emphasizes the importance of considering metrical phonology in conjunction with tonal accents. This essentially refers to fitting the ‘tune’ to the ‘text’ (cf. Liberman 1975, Liberman & Prince 1977) by coordinating prominence relations generated by both stress and pitch accents on the lexical and post-lexical levels. According to the third principle, tonal accents are restricted to two pitch targets (L, H), although they may appear at a range of positions within the fundamental frequency (f_0) contour due to factors concerning their phonetic realization. In other words, pitch targets are phonological abstracts perceived as relatively low or relatively high in comparison with the other tones that precede or follow them. In this vein, the fourth principle recognizes that the phonetic realization of a tonal inventory is subject to scaling factors which may affect overall trends in the pitch contour. It is important to recognize that phenomena such as emphasis, declination (Cohen & ‘t Hart 1967:184), and downstep or upstep (Pierrehumbert 1980:sect. 4.5) are features of the surface realization rather than the underlying phonology in order not to obscure an accurate classification of pitch relations.

AM theory differs fundamentally from the Institute for Perception (IPO) framework and other earlier impressionistic models, which classified intonational units according to their contour type, rather than a sequence of pitch events. A second important distinction is that these frameworks exclude consideration of metrical phonology: they make neither the distinction

between pitch accent and stress nor the hierarchical distinction between lexical vs. phrase-level accent or stress. Instead, the IPO framework adopted Bolinger's (1986:24ff.) assumption that pitch accents are the realization of an abstract lexical potential for stress, based on the word's actual prominence in the utterance (Ladd 2008:75), and other means of signaling linguistically significant prominence distinctions were ignored. However, some overlap can also be seen between the assumptions of the IPO and AM theory. Ladd concedes that the IPO framework could be considered proto-phonological in that it recognized a sequence of tonal events, even though it classified events as strings. Furthermore, the IPO defined the objects of its study in phonetic rather than semantic terms, unlike earlier models of intonation. The IPO also recognized some global influences on surface realization, pioneering the concept of declination (2008:16-17). However, it may be important to bear in mind as we consider work in the IPO tradition that this line of research is based on perceptual studies, and does not set the goal of establishing an underlying phonological realization. In this regard, many of the necessary elements have not been described, and some translation of terms is required.

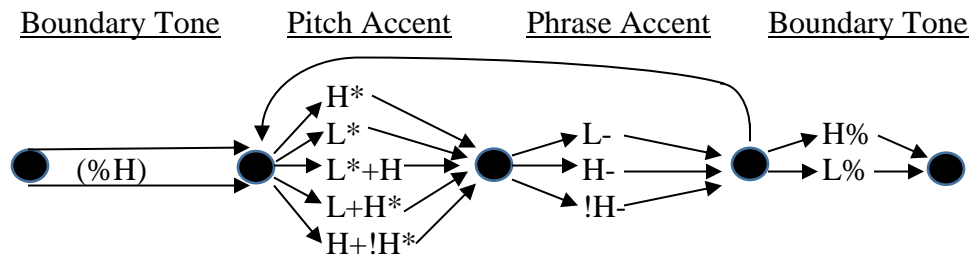
Two elements of AM theory are particularly relevant for clarifying ambiguities which may arise in an IPO description. Firstly this is the elaboration of a syntax of permissible tonal sequences; in particular, the differentiation of edge and boundary tones from pitch accents clarifies a limited set of legitimate pitch accents and accent sequences, as well as the relation of phonological patterns to syntactic constructions. Ladd (2008:45-46) discusses how an impressionistic description might label a sequence of three tones HLH as a discrete meaningful contour when realized over one syllable. Whereas in accordance with a grammar of tones, that affords tones different structural roles within an intonational or intermediate phrase, this same contour can be understood as containing a pitch accent, phrase accent and boundary tone. This

distinction clarifies why the same tone produced over a longer segmental stretch can be classified as containing the same contour, or set of tones, despite its extended length. The second classification simplifies the analysis of similar phrases and reduces the necessary range of the tonal inventory (i.e., there are no tritonal pitch accents in English). Secondly, the metrical grid is a key aspect of the AM representation system that is absent from perceptual frameworks such as the IPO. Metrical grids distinguish between lexical and phrasal level stress. Currently prominence relations in English are not fully predictable. In part, this is because prominence relations between syllables within a word and between words within a phrase (i.e., metrical phonology) are lexical phenomena that may affect surface realization of pitch accents (cf. Hayes 1995). Prominence relations are also known to be affected by semantic and pragmatic meaning (Bolinger 1972) as well as rhythmic constraints, lexical frequency and parts of speech (Calhoun 2006).

In accordance with AM principles, ToBI notational systems have been designed to present the simplest underlying phonological representation, from which phonetic surface forms may be understood. Thus, the system does not explicitly represent those elements of the surface realization which can be inferred from knowledge of the phonological system and a series of rule-based derivations. For English, the classification of contours is reduced to series of H, L or bitonal accents with reference to their structural function: boundary tones always conclude and may initiate an intonational phrase (IP), the largest unit of analysis, which roughly corresponds to a sentence; phrase accents signal the end of an intermediate phrases (ip), typically a syntactically coherent unit; and pitch accents signal prominence within the intonational or intermediate phrase. The ToBI notational system elaborates a grammar of tones that distinguishes which tone or tone combination may function as a boundary tone, phrase or pitch accent, and the permissible sequence of tones within intermediate or intonational phrases; a metrical grid representation of the

accompanying text; and a set of rules governing the association of tones with the metrical grid. There may be an unlimited number of intermediate phrases within an intonational phrase. This grammar is represented in Figure 2.1. Thus, the ToBI system utilizes two kinds of prominence-leading features, stress and tone, and their mutual coordination to represent the complex array of factors affecting the perception of intonational prominence.

FIGURE 2.1 THE MAE_TOBI GRAMMAR OF TONES



(Jun 2015, modified from Pierrehumbert 1980:29)

2.2 RUSSIAN INTONATIONAL PHONOLOGY

Currently no ToBI system exists for Russian. Important classifications include Odé's (1989) perceptual description of Russian within an IPO framework, which is partially compatible with AM theory, and Yokoyama's (1986) cognitive framework. Yokoyama's (2001) model may be considered a preliminary autosegmental classification in that it adopts some, but not all of the theoretical premises elaborated in Beckman & Pierrehumbert (1986). Most notably, both systems exclude consideration of metrical phonology and break indices. Other analyses have been reviewed and will be treated in more detail in the dissertation, in particular Bryzgunova's (1963, 1980) model, which was foundational for the study of Russian intonation among Soviet scholars.

Interestingly, the theoretical work of these authors supports perceptual studies (Bryzgunova 1963 1980; Odé 1989) of Russian that describe pitch specifically as contours of various configurations. However, further work is necessary to clarify how exactly this distinction is expressed structurally in Russian: in order for a short or long contour to be perceived, syllables must have a multi-moraic structure to allow pitch to be associated with a mora in non-initial position. Unlike Serbo-Croatian, Russian has no quantity distinction, and Bethin (1998) has proposed that North East Slavic developed a mono-moraic structure. In fact, some experimental evidence exists to support the segmental anchoring of Russian pitch contours (Igarashi 2004a), as well as significantly different onset positions (Igarashi 2005b) consistent with multi-moraic structure.

In this proposal, examples from Yokoyama (2001), the most extensive analysis of Russian prosody to date published in a Western language, will illustrate these analyses' compatibility with AM theory. Igarashi (2005b) has also published a description of Russian prosody, published exclusively in Japanese. Yokoyama's examples are coded according to an AM-compatible method of the author's choosing, but do not constitute a full ToBI notational system. In particular, at this point I make no conclusions about boundary tones or break indices in Russian, and some of the examples provided below are ambiguous in this regard without the audio files.

Thus far, Gođevac (2000b, 2005) has produced the only ToBI notational guide for a Slavic language. Gođevac locates the pitch target in relation to the mora structure; long contours are realized on syllables with two morae. For the purpose of this dissertation, a bitonal pitch accent inventory of HL, LH will also be assumed for Russian. The two prominent scholars of Russian prosody who have adopted an AM or AM-compatible framework also restrict Russian pitch accents to bitonals (Igarashi 2004a, 2005a, 2005b; Yokoyama 1992, 2001, 2003, 2013). The

distinction between whether there are only two variants of these bitonals or four (e.g. the addition of H+L* and L+H* to Godjevac's 2005 Serbo-Croatian inventory) will be determined over the course of the analysis¹. In the examples taken from other researchers below, no distinction will be made between the two for examples where the tapes are not available for an auditory analysis.

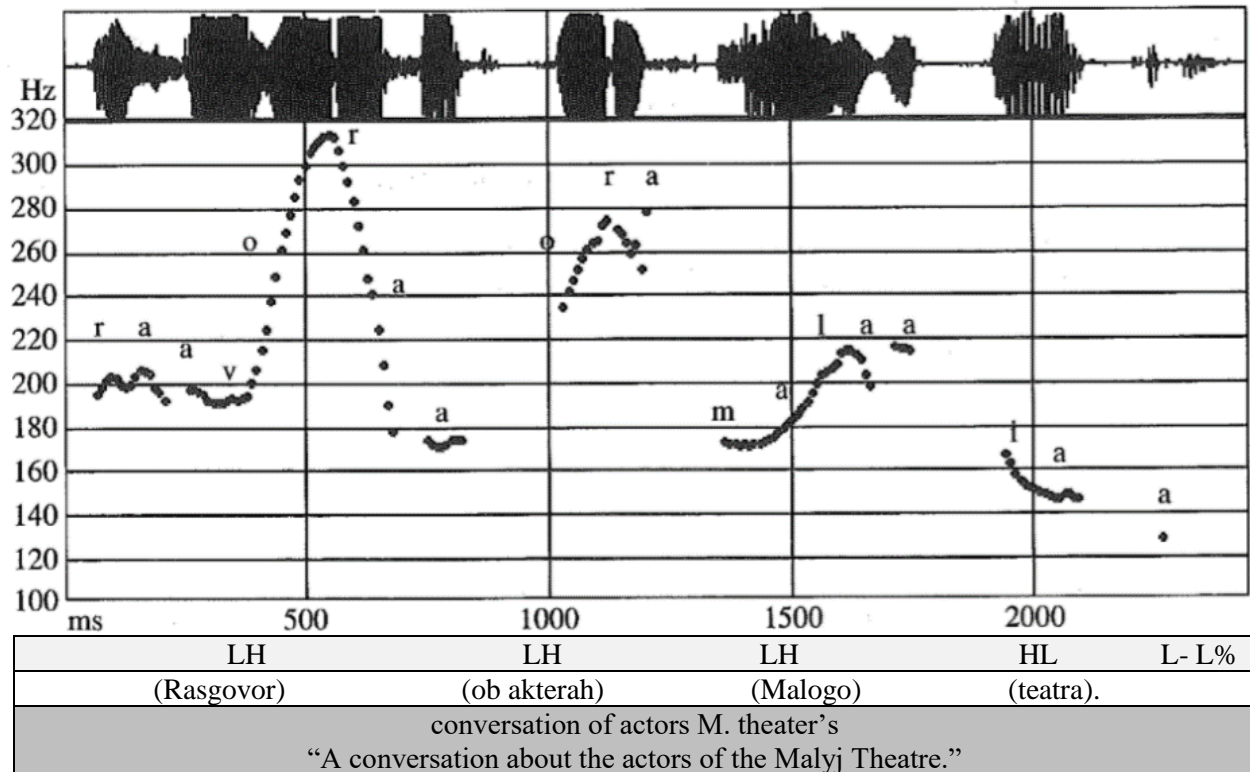
Russian scholars make a distinction between “neutral” and “non-neutral” intonational patterns; these have also been termed literary and colloquial, respectively. Yokoyama (2001) proposes a “core” sequence of LH HL followed by a boundary tone for neutral patterns (2001:8), in which sentential stress² is typically a sentence-final content word. Non-neutral patterns will exhibit a content word in focus, which is fronted. Yokoyama's primary distinction appears to be valid from the viewpoint of an AM analysis; however, Figure 2.2 is analyzed by Yokoyama (2001) as the sequence LH LH LH LH HL L- L%³, whereas I suggest the underlying tone structure can be reduced to one bitonal pitch accent per phrasal component, followed by a boundary tone upon completion of an intonational phrase.

¹ Igarashi (2005b) argues that the difference in alignment of pitch contours may correlate to perceptions of which tone in the contour is prominent (e.g. H*+L or H+L*).

² Yokoyama (2001) and the Russian grammar tradition refer to nuclear stress as sentential stress.

³ It should be noted that Yokoyama's (2001) annotation intermediate phrase boundaries sparingly. The coding presented is here without further analysis. However, boundary tones in Russia remain theoretically unresolved.

FIGURE 2.2 CANONICAL RUSSIAN PITCH CONTOUR IN NEUTRAL SPEECH

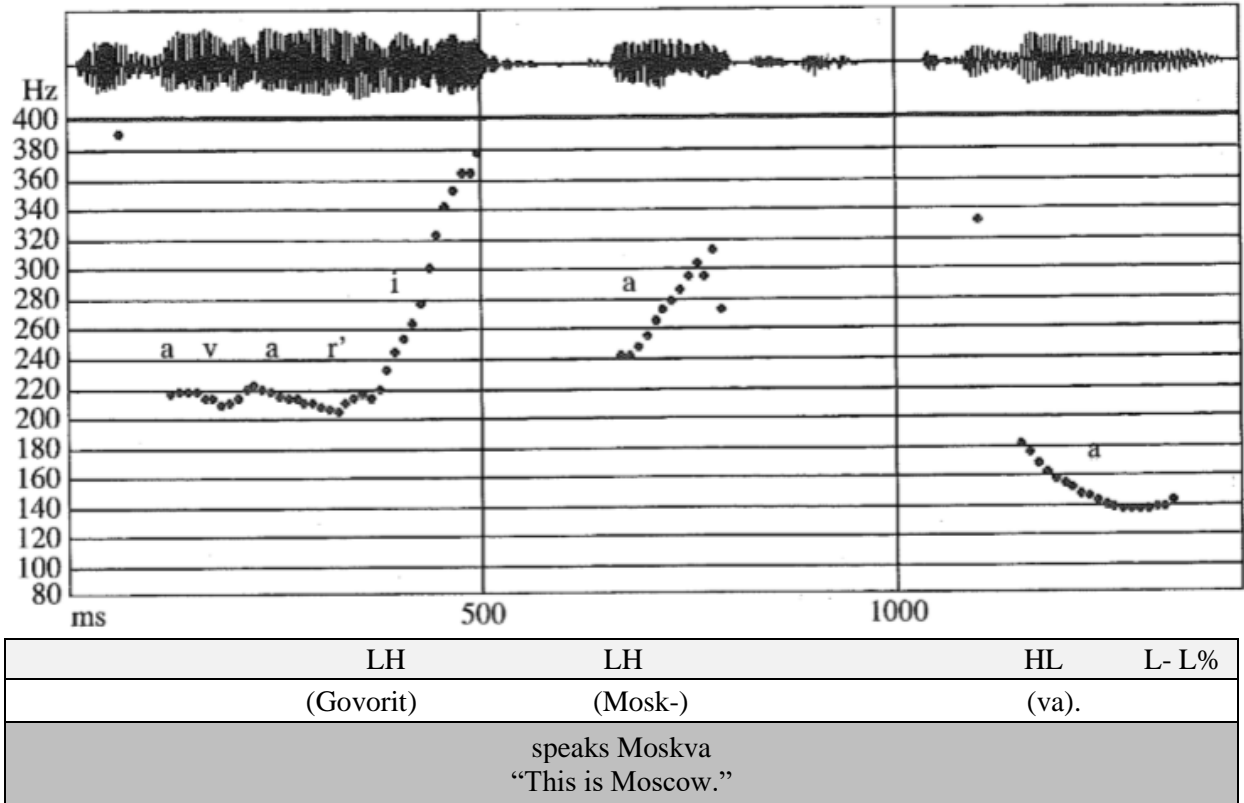


(adapted from Yokoyama 2001:9)

Figures 2.2 and 2.3 reveal why it is important to analyze recordings that do not only contain neutral citation forms. Although still of the neutral type, Figure 2.3 contains greater variation in range than typically found in equivalent English sentences. We can see why scholars of Russian intonation have analyzed Russian as possessing a large number of tones per phrase; this is one aspect of Ode's (2008) ToRI that she appears to have revised, perhaps erroneously: the examples available on her ToRI website⁴ are labeled with a sparsity of tones resembling English or Dutch analyses (cf. Gussenhoven 2005), whereas there is no reason to assume these two languages should have a similar intonational structure.

⁴ <http://www.fon.hum.uva.nl/tori/>

FIGURE 2.3 RUSSIAN PITCH CONTOUR IN SLOW SPEECH



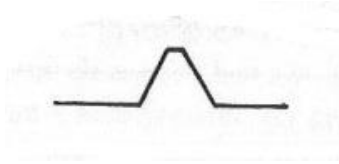
(adapted from Yokoyama, 2001:7)

Figure 2.3 indicates the shift of tone that may occur when words are spoken at a slower speed than is typically encountered in conversation.⁵ Note that the word “Moskva” is split into two syllable parts, the first receiving its own pitch accent. A similar phenomenon is apparent when sentences of any language are said in a slow-paced citation form: new divisions in the sentence may form and phrases may receive additional tones that would generally mark an intonational phrase (i.e. sentence), not phrasal boundary. If produced at regular speed, this figure would have indicated what Odé (1989:49) calls the “pointed” hat pattern: in contrast to English’s “square” hat, indicating a sustained high tone, instead the pointed hat configuration shows a quick transition to a falling pitch contour (Figure 2.4).

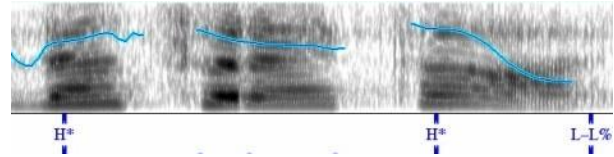
⁵ Yokoyama (2001: 8) cites Fougeron’s (1999) description of tones in one-word phrases, prepositions, and adjective noun phrases, in which he describes the shift of the rising component to the pre-tonic syllable in one word phrases,

FIGURE 2.4 RUSSIAN AND ENGLISH PITCH CONTOURS: MINIMAL SEQUENCE

RUSSIAN POINTED HAT



ENGLISH HAT PATTERN



(adapted from Odé, 1989:4 and ToBI⁶ 2006:7)

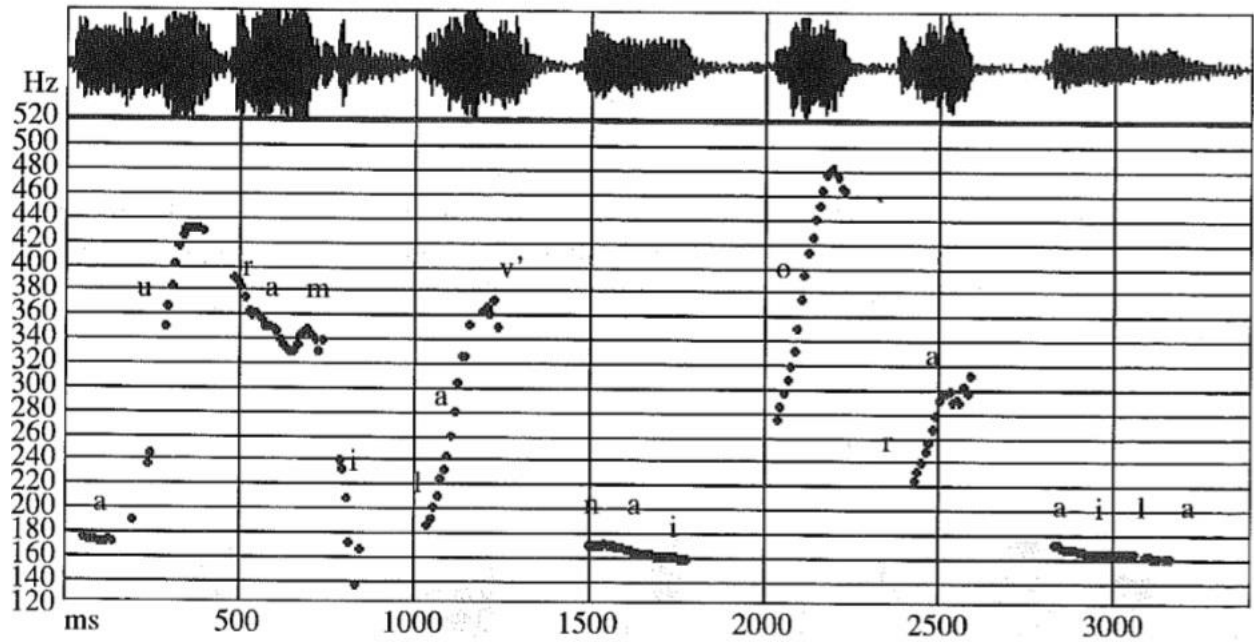
In figure 2.5, Yokoyama (2001:10) analyzes the two phrases as LH LH LH HL L- L% + LH LH LH LH HL L- L%. It is interesting to note that in both Figure 2.5 and Figure 2.6, great prominence is given the LH tone preceding sentential stress in the form of a large pitch excursion. Nonetheless, this does not lend greater prominence the final HL tone, which retains a very minimal pitch excursion. The final LH HL sequence and downstep are the differentiating characteristics for the neutral intonation type (2001:11-12). The presence of boundary tone after *vesna* (“spring”) would be expected and should be checked in the audio file.

The transition between phrases in Figure 2.6 is also questionable. Yokoyama (2001:11) labels the contour LH LH LH LH L- L% + LH LH LH L- L%, indicating she did not perceive a falling tone after the stressed accent on “energy”. Other examples presented in this chapter do not reveal such a large fall in F0, although it resembles the contours Yokoyama assigns relative clauses. This phenomenon should also be investigated to clarify possible variations for phrase boundaries in Russian.

prepositional phrases and adjective-noun phrases. Likely this analysis was conducted with citation forms, such as Figure 2.3.

⁶ MIT Open Courseware: <http://ocw.mit.edu/OcwWeb/Electrical-Engineering-and-Computer-Science/6-911January-IAP--2006/CourseHome/index.htm> (Accessed 10.29.2015).

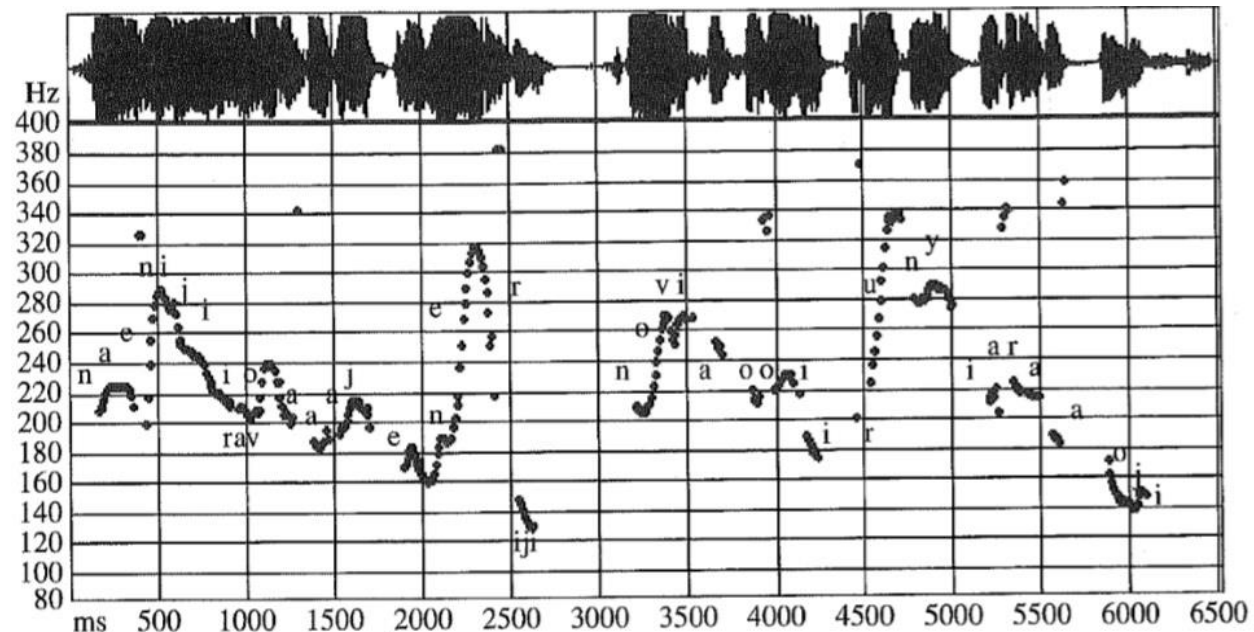
FIGURE 2.5 MULTI-PHRASE CONTOUR: PITCH EXCURSIONS



LH	LH	HL	LH	LH	HL	L- L%
(A utrom)	(prišla)	(vesna)	(i vse)	(ras-)	(taâlo).	
And morning came spring and all melted “And in the morning, spring came and everything melted.”						

(adapted from Yokoyama 2001:10)

FIGURE 2.6 MULTI-PHRASE CONTOUR: PHRASING



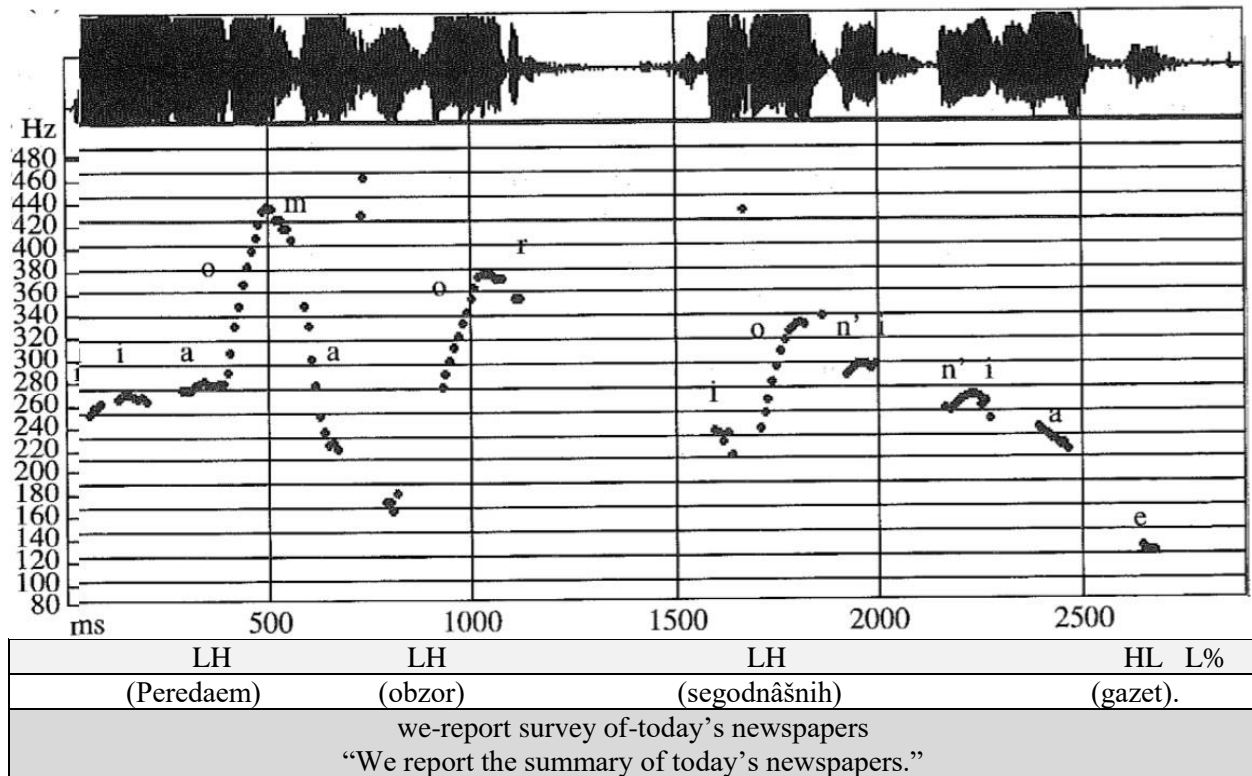
LH	LH	LH	LH	L- L%	LH	LH	LH	HL	L- L%
(Snabzhenie)	(mirovogo)	(hozâjstva)	(ênergiej)		(stanovitsâ)	(vse bolee)	(trudnym)	(i dorogostoâšim).	
Supplying world economy with-energy becomes all more hard and expensive “Supplying the word economy with energy has become more and more difficult and costly.”									

(adapted from Yokoyama 2001:11)

Yokoyama concedes other tonal sequences in addition to the LH HL core may be tolerated in particularly long phrasal segments to relieve monotony, but little specification of this statement is provided. In Figure 2.7 (2001:7) and Figure 2.8 (2001:12), quite long segments (“today’s”, “fourteen hours”) are subsumed under one intermediate phrase. In Figure 2.7, several intermediate phrases may be undocumented in this analysis. There is a particularly good chance an intermediate phrase boundary lies after “summary” in Fig. 2.7, and after “hours” in Figure 2.8. The phenomenon may be related to the greater time available for a pitch “reset” to lower down in the pitch range.

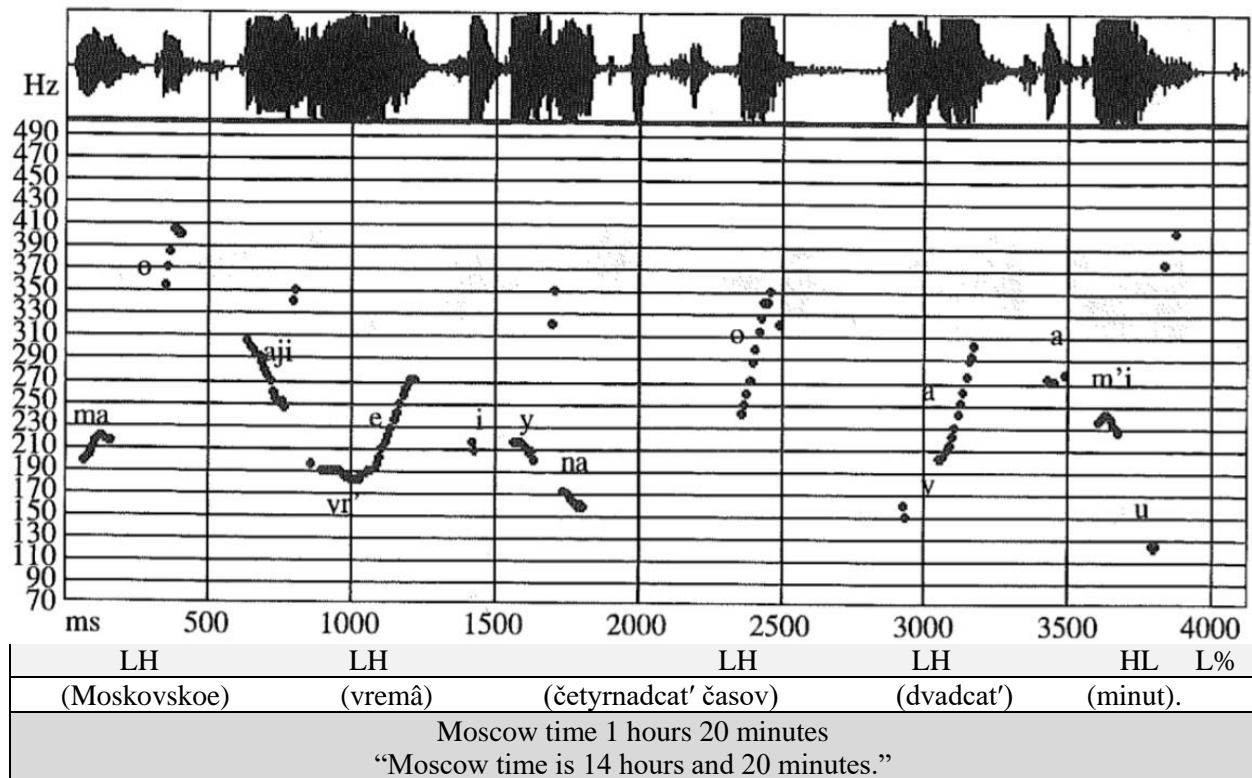
The last three examples concern what Yokoyama (2001) calls “non-neutral” intonation patterns. As stated previously, all non-neutral intonation types have sentential stress, and the subsequent pitch range is compressed, although a pitch reset is permissible if the range falls too low before the segmental material has been exhausted. Yokoyama notes that non-neutral prosody is striking for the lack of systematic rises and falls seen in more standard prosodic contours; instead, we see more even, unstressed passages and isolated jumps in pitch level (2001:14). In Figure 2.9 and Figure 2.10, two sets of the base contour LH HL appear with different configurations of pitch accents. Figure 2.9 shows the LH HL contour with two pitch accents inserted into a one-word phrase to maintain the core LH HL sequence. We also find a long portion of unaccented text between the LH and HL components in both examples; the long segment maintains a mid-level pitch range, increasing visibility of the final HL pitch accent. Narrow focus is realized through exaggeration of the pitch range on the word *list’â* (“leaves”) and *poželteli* (“yellowed”), respectively. A content word is in contrastive focus (Figure 2.11, “for desert”) is fronted, again marked by a bitonal pitch accent with an exaggerated pitch range. However, non-neutral word order and stress remains theoretically unresolved topic throughout the literature.

FIGURE 2.7 MULTI-PHRASE CONTOUR: INTERMEDIATE PHRASE LENGTH



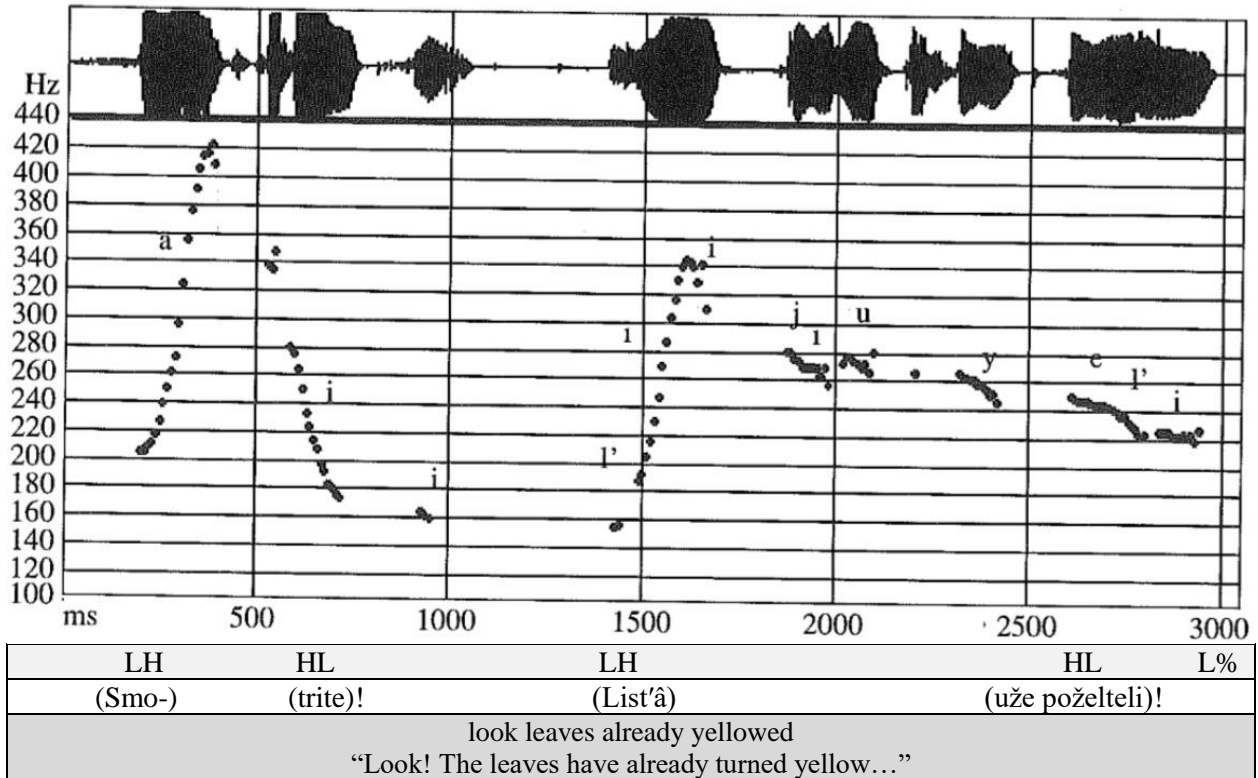
(adapted from Yokoyama 2001:7)

FIGURE 2.8 MULTI-PHRASE CONTOUR: PITCH RESET



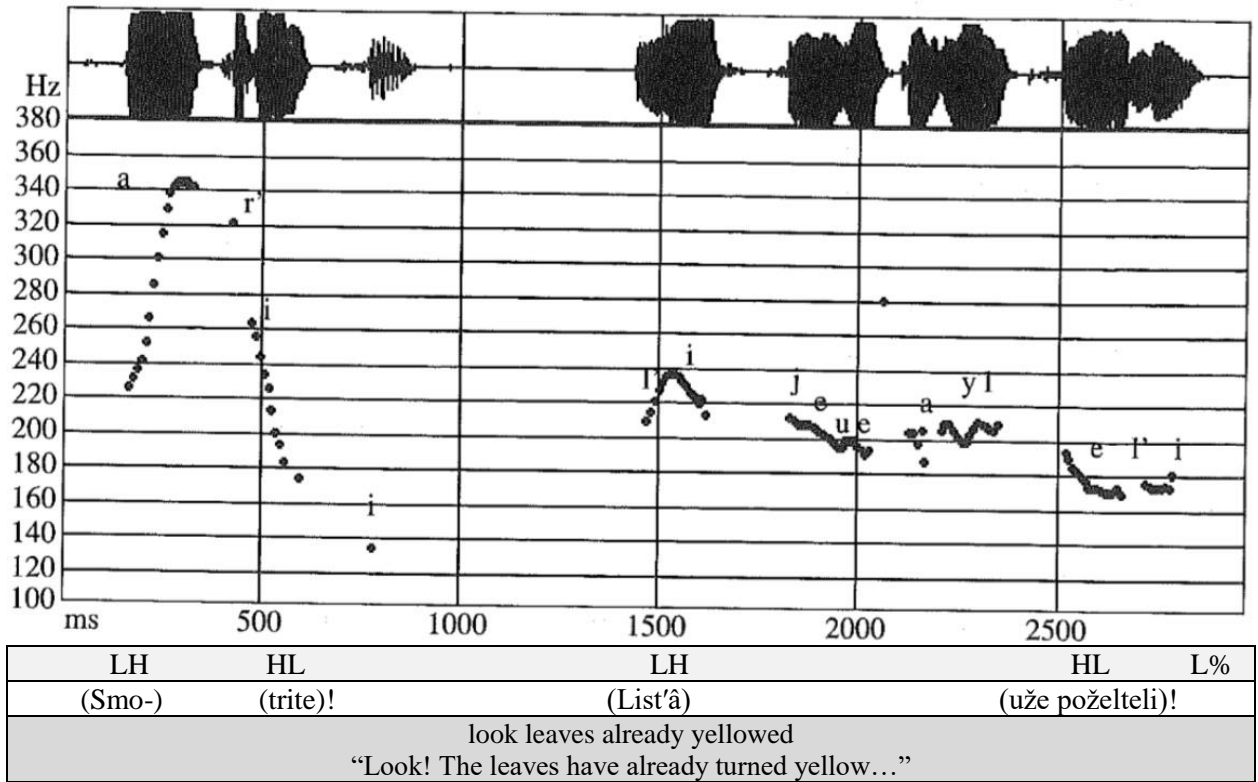
(adapted from Yokoyama 2001:12)

FIGURE 2.9 NON-CANONICAL STRUCTURE: INITIAL NARROW FOCUS



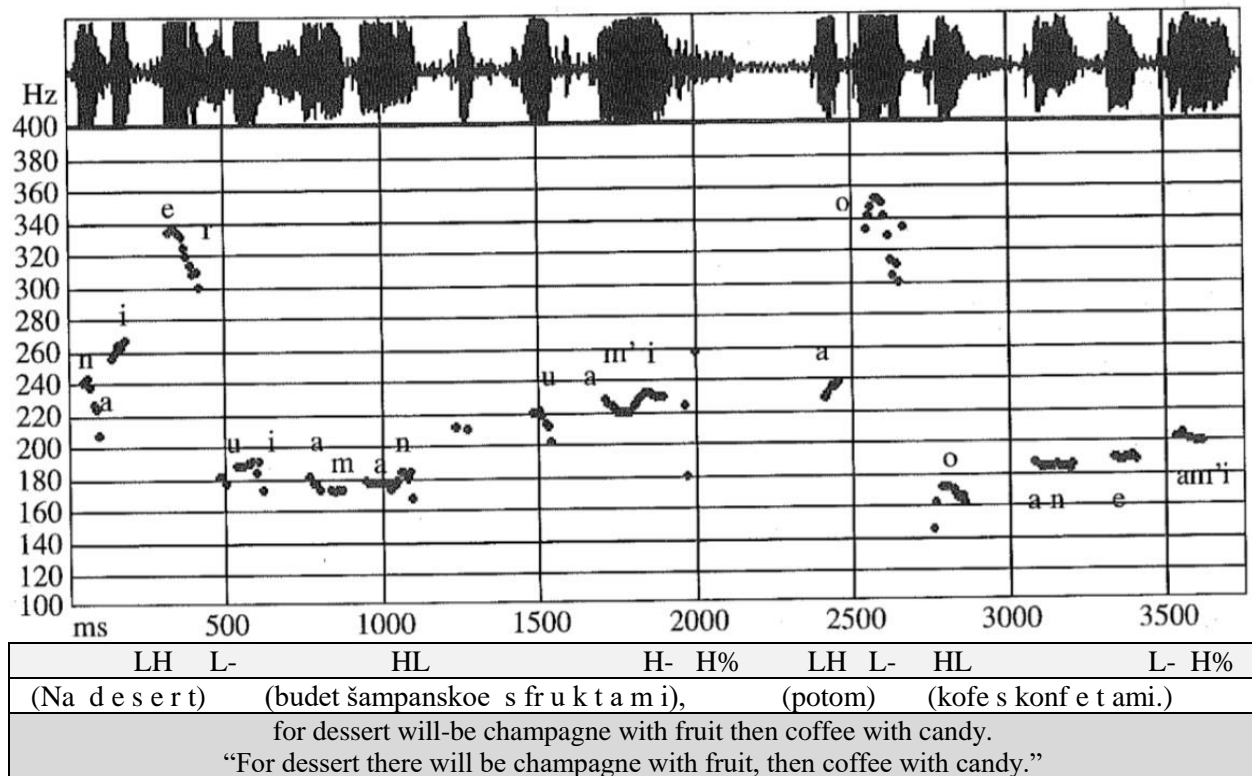
(adapted from Yokoyama 2001:14)

FIGURE 2.10 NON-CANONICAL STRUCTURE: SUBSEQUENT NARROW FOCUS



(adapted from Yokoyama 2001:14)

FIGURE 2.11 NON-CANONICAL STRUCTURE: CONSTITUENT FRONTING



(adapted from Yokoyama 2001:15)

An alternate interpretation to Figure 2.9 and 2.10 could be that we have in this example one content word that exhibits the HL LH core in the focused word *list'â* (“leaves”), and a second final HL component *poželteli* (“yellowed”).

Another question concerns the degree to which Russian may allow palatalized consonants, glides and nasals to bear tone. In Figure 2.11, a large reset in f0 is seen after each fronted item. In the first of these two elements, the fall appears to be realized during the liquid [r], and on the nasal [m] in the second.

Consistent with her description of non-neutral contours, Yokoyama (2001) specifies fewer tone targets for this sentence in her analyses: LH L- HL H- H% LH L- HL L- H%. This native speaker researcher perceives a HL tone towards the end of the phrase, indicating only a relatively small excursion is necessary for a salient falling tone. The extended rise to the boundary tone is substantially more prominent than the H+L* tone on *šampanskoe* (“champagne”). There is some chance that a short rising LH accent could be found on the stressed syllable of “champagne” and “coffee”, which would satisfy the conditions of a core LH HL sequence, but this is purely speculative without the audio recording.

Turning from prominence type to other features of prosodic typology, there is a question of whether Russian utilizes stress in word prosody, rather than tone or a lexical pitch accent. In Jun’s (2014) prosodic typology, languages are classified by prominence type, word prosody, and macro-rhythm. Table 2.1 illustrates two possible categorizations for Russian. Further analysis is necessary to determine which categorization is correct.

TABLE 2.1 JUN’S (2014) PROSODIC TYPOLOGY

PROMINENCE TYPE	WORD PROSODY	MACRO-RHYTHM		
		STRONG	MEDIUM	WEAK
Head	Stress	<i>Russian?</i>	Dutch, English, German	
	Tone/lexical pitch accent			
	Both			
Head/Edge	Stress	<i>Russian?</i>		
	Tone/lexical pitch accent	Japanese		
	Both	Serbo-Croatian		
	None	French		
Edge	None			

(adapted from Jun 2014:535)

Macro-rhythm, or the rhythm perceived by changes in fundamental frequency, is composed of the phonetic realization of stress and micro-rhythm (Jun 2014:524). Micro-rhythm refers to the sequence of alternating strong and weak syllables. Other levels of stress beyond primary (secondary, tertiary, etc.) have been posited for English, but not for Russian, indicating that a stronger micro-rhythm is perceived for English than for Russian. Both Russian and English have free stress, but the rhythmical quality appears more pronounced in English, which I suggest is due to a lesser degree of vocalic reduction (cf. Barnes 2002, 2006)⁷.

In phonological vowel reduction, the full vowel inventory may only be produced in positions of lexical stress, and in Russian there is a pronounced degree of reduction.⁸ In English, vocalic reduction is phonetic, based on the insufficient duration allotted to realization of the vowel, which is neutralized in unstressed syllables in positions that are lent greater duration (word-final or phrase-final). In fact, this is one of the main distinctions that typify English-accented pronunciation of Russian. While not analyzed in this dissertation, vocalic reduction would be a prime candidate for a phonetic study of accommodation.

However, the situation is reversed when we consider macro-rhythm, or the sequence of alternating H and L tones. Jun (2014) identifies three criteria for assessing the macro-rhythmicity of a language: 1) the number of possible phrase-medial pitch accents, 2) the type of most common pitch accent and/or AP/word boundary tone, and the frequency of pitch accents or AP/word boundary tones. English more commonly makes use of single pitch accents (H, L), whereas

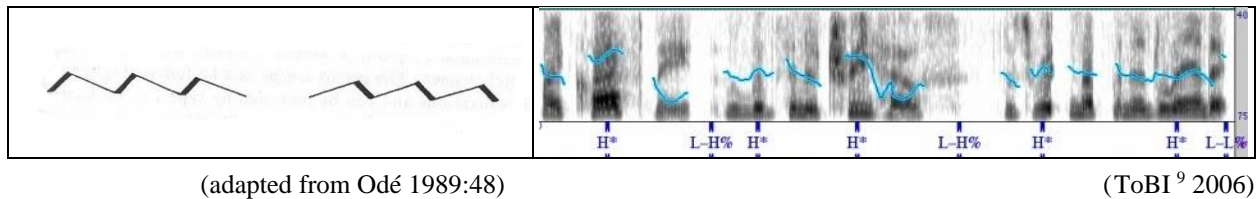
⁷ Russian vowel reduction has sometimes been theorized as maintaining two levels, one displaying more extreme reduction than the other, leading scholars to question if there is also phonetic vowel reduction. Barnes (submitted) argues there is no basis for this claim.

⁸ Jakobson (1988:416) also states that the Slavic languages which gained free stress tended to reduce the number of vocalic phonemes in unstressed positions; the vocalic phonemes have an opposition of rounded and unrounded.

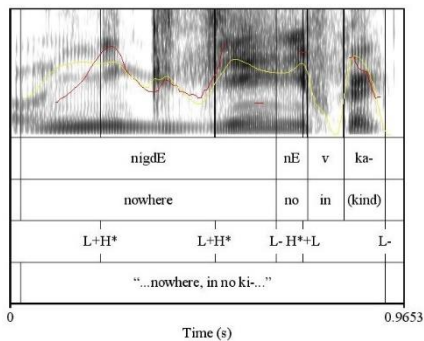
bitonals (LH, HL) are characteristic of Russian. English also has a wider range of pitch accents that are appropriate for phrase-medial use.

English is known for “high plateau” and “hat pattern” prosodic contours, which are unnatural for Russian. Instead of a “hat pattern”, Russians use a “peaked hat” realization and instead of a “high plateau”, Russians often use the “sawtooth pattern” (cf. Odé 1989). Both of these realizations produce a sharp rise and fall, rather than prolongation of one pitch level. Bitonal pitch accents do occur commonly in English, but only in marked, expressive context. They are the default pitch accent in Russian and do not maintain this expressive function in their use, except for particular sequences of their deployment. All of these facts lead to the conclusion that Russian will display a stronger macro-rhythm.

FIGURE 2.12 RUSSIAN AND ENGLISH PITCH CONTOURS: EXTENDED SEQUENCE

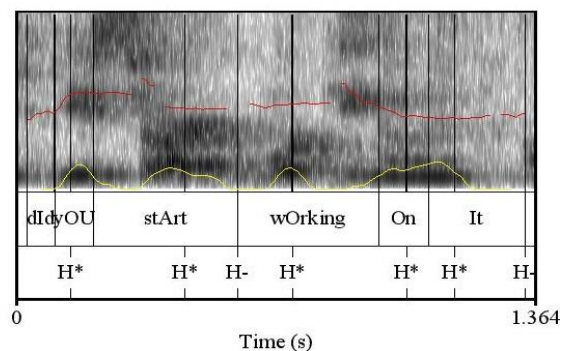


SAWTOOTH PATTERN



(f0 in red, Finam FM interview, Q5, 2011)

HIGH PLATEAU



(f0 in red, *The Washington Post* interview, Q11, 2013)

⁹ MIT Open Courseware: <http://ocw.mit.edu/OcwWeb/Electrical-Engineering-and-Computer-Science/6-911January-IAP--2006/CourseHome/index.htm> (Accessed 10.29.2015)

2.3 FORMULAIC PHRASES: A FUNCTIONAL CATEGORY

For the purposes of this dissertation, formulaic phrases will be considered to include any lexical item or group of lexical items that are used according to a set of criteria defined below. Criteria circumscribe a functional category based on the literature on language acquisition and Russian grammar. Formulaic phrases are given a wide conception incorporating a range of structures from interjections to chunked clausal components. A subset of these formulaic phrases carry a holistic pragmatic meaning that affects the appropriateness of implementation, which can be traced in their deployment in the context. Formulaic phrases are proposed as a second category in which second and heritage speakers may attempt to accommodate, particularly speakers of a lower proficiency.

2.3.1 CHUNKING IN LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

In first and second language acquisition, learners frequently pass through a phase of “chunking”. As a phenomenon, this has traditionally referred to how speech is perceived, and more recently to how it may be stored in memory and accessed. A group of words used functionally as a single unit will often be considered an unanalyzable whole that does not undergo segmentation or decomposition in its mental representation. This may happen in the case of words that often occur together, or what is traditionally considered formulaic phrases: “a sequence, continuous or discontinuous, of words or other elements, which is, or appears to be, prefabricated: that is, stored and retrieved whole from memory at the time of use, rather than being subject to generation or analysis by the language grammar” Wray (2002:9). Beyond the traditional definition of formulaic phrases, researchers have suggested a wide range of structures may be processed in this fashion: simple fillers, functions, collocations, idioms, proverbs, and lengthy standardized phrases, to name a few (Boers *et al.* 2006).

Boers *et al.* (2006) points out the idiosyncratic nature of the category of formulaic phrases, which each person may constitute differently; this is true of the concept of “holistic processing” in general. For this reason, Boers *et al.* (2006) argues to the contrary, some formulaic phrases are indeed compositional and analyzable, again highlighting the range of how these structures may be utilized individually. Holistic processing refers to the storage of formulaic expressions as single units in the mental lexicon, speeding their access. This is the most direct route for activation, requiring no syntactic or morphological analysis. Research has indeed show that both native and non-native speakers are able to respond more quickly to this type of language and with fewer errors (e.g., Jiang & Nekrasova 2007). A processing advantage has been found for formulaic phrases, both when used idiomatically and literally (Conklin & Schmitt 2008).

In terms of language learning, child acquisition of multi-unit words in their first language has a long history of documentation (e.g., Ellis 1984; Fillmore 1979). New grammatical structures are often first learned as chunks, with analysis following at a later stage (cf. Lightbrown & Spada 2013). A number of scholars have suggested that the salience of an expression is key to its acquisition (Anderson 1995; DeKeyser 1998; Schmidt 2001). More processing resources appear to be required for noticing grammatical morphemes than content words of an utterance, and in this regard, formulaic phrases may have a high degree of salience. Formulaic phrases may also be considered salient if the pervasiveness of a structure contributes to its perceived salience. Frequent words may have greater noticeability, and formulaic phrases are extremely common in all types of speech: figures between roughly one third and one half have been named for the percentage of spoken English discourse composed of various kinds of formulaic phrases (Howarth 1998a; Erman & Warren 2000; Foster 2001).

The acquisition literature has typically spoken of memory processes in terms of declarative and procedural knowledge, rather than as holistic or decomposable units, although the two sets of terminology may be roughly comparable: declarative knowledge has sometimes been linked to associative semantic memory, and contrasted to decomposition of structures, the automated nature of which is more similar to procedural memory. However, procedural knowledge is thought to become automated with practice, so they cannot be considered equivalent concepts. Both formulaic phrases and proceduralized knowledge have an advantage in processing speed, but for different reasons. Proceduralization of knowledge frees up cognitive resources for more complex processing tasks; however, stress may reduce the linguistic capacities of even proficient second language speakers, causing their production to resemble that of a less skilled language learner (Lightbrown & Spada 2013:56). To the contrary, because formulaic phrases are not stored in procedural memory, yet arguably enjoy faster lexical access than other items in semantic memory, use of formulaic phrases eases processing demands and may make language learners appear to be more proficient (Boers *et al.* 2006). For this reason, I hypothesize that formulaic phrases may be relied on more heavily by less proficient speakers in antagonistic contexts.

Furthermore, when internalizing new knowledge, learners do not memorize words by rote, but identify patterns and extend them to new contexts by analogy. Imitation and repetition is selective and learners form strong associations between language and its contexts of use (Lightbrown & Spada 2013:202). This means of acquisition paves the way for idiosyncratic learning, in which a formulaic phrase may become associated with a person or the speaker as a type of identity cue, or as a component part of a speech genre or linguistic routine. It is hypothesized that items learned associatively will be retrieved more easily during antagonistic encounters.

2.3.2 THE RUSSIAN GRAMMAR TRADITION

The literature has often thrown together unbound morphemes and words or short phrases that exhibit a modal or discourse particle function into the same category, with various rationales (e.g., Švedova *et al.* 2005; Finkel & Baženov 1954). Vinogradov's (1938) distinctions between discourse particle function are considered the most authoritative:

“The term ‘particle,’ like the majority of grammatical terms, was taken over by Russian grammar from the classical (grammarians)... It is used in two meanings, general and specific: ‘Particles of speech’ including conjunctions and prepositions, as against parts of speech, (the more general meaning). In this sense, the particle concept comprises all classes of so-called ‘auxiliary,’ ‘formal,’ or ‘particle-like’ words, i.e. words which commonly have no fully independent, ‘real’ or rather material meaning, but chiefly contribute subsidiary shades to the meanings of other words or word groups, or else serve to express various kinds of grammatical, logical, or expressive relationships.”

(Vinogradov 1938. Translation by Arndt 1960)

Functionally, these phenomena transition from one class to another, problematizing their classification. An important concern in determining which of these Russian phenomena should serve as equivalents of the particles understood as English formulaic phrases is whether they act as an independent phonetic word with an intonational component and a juncture distinction.

This dissertation will consider “particle-like” phenomena together, without reference to Vinogradov's extensive classification system (1938:544-624). My rationale for subsuming the phenomena of both languages under the umbrella term “formulaic phrases” is largely functional: at the levels that concern this analysis (*modal meaning, interactive and emotive function, structural simplicity, semantically bleached, environment of deployment, possibility of transposition, and second language use*) they pattern together and can therefore be considered as a functional class for the limited purposes of this analysis. In discussing particle-like phenomena, I will however, limit the category to those that have more than one syntactic position and which may be *transposed: imperatives, primary and secondary interjections, and parenthetical words.*

Isačenko ([1965] 2003) describes how certain structures—imperatives and interjections in particular—may take on modal functions through *transposition*. Imperatives may be formulated such that the interlocutor cannot fulfil the action, either because the imperative is a passive, or because the requested action cannot be performed on command (i.e. *Drop dead!*). The interlocutor is in effect “removed” from the equation, regardless of whether there is a grammatical subject, and the imperative is instead interpreted as expressing the wish of the speaker. In some situations, the speaker may also be “removed”. Similarly, the juxtaposition of a contextually-unfavourable present or past tense will prompt transposition. This effectively removes the grammatical categories expressed by verbs: person, number and tense ([1965] 2003:511), leaving the imperative a similar function as non-verbal interjections. Isačenko observes a path of development from imperative to an optative, then interjection, and finally modal expression ([1965] 2003:496). Interestingly, Bybee (1995) presents a similar argument for English imperatives, indicating how contextual constraints on the plausibility of the imperative force an alternate interpretation.

Interjections are likewise transposed to take on different functions and modalities. Interjections may be distinguished as *primary* and *secondary* (Švedova *et al.* 2005): an independent lexical item with no clear semantic content, or the grammaticalization of a literally-understood phrase into a functional unit. In this sense, English “chunked” material or parenthetical additions act similarly to Russian secondary interjections. In their default use, that of a discourse particle (cf. Fraser 2006), interjections are neither a grammatical part of speech, nor have a nominative or demonstrative function; they are words that function as their own sentences, serving the *emotional* and *vocative* sphere of language. (Isačenko [1965] 2003:24, translation my own).

In transposition, predicative interjections are used to index, rather than state, the predicate of a sentence. Interjections resemble imperatives when transposed, except they bring less context

with them: “the imperative presupposes a specific ‘addressee situation’ and the presence of an interlocutor” (Isačenko [1965] 2003:508). Imperatives are still fundamentally dialogic and vocative, whereas interjections may be monologic and purely expressive, or a part of what Piaget (1923) and Vygotsky (1934) call “egocentric speech”. Interjections may be considered “verbal gestures” that “echo” a response to an observed scene, much as a sports fan twitches in response to the plays, echoing a player’s movements (Isačenko [1965] 2003:508). Verbal gestures, as egocentric speech, and predicative interjections, as interactive speech, correspond to the categories Bybee *et al.* (1994) has postulated for English interjections: *agent-oriented* and *speaker-oriented*.

Thus, the concept of transposition as it applies to imperatives and interjections, whether agent-oriented or speaker-oriented, requires an associative search for pragmatic meaning. These distinctions in the functions ascribed to interjections may be useful in the analysis of accommodation, allowing for some insight into the speaker’s state: whether speaker attention is directed inwards egocentrically or outwards interactively towards the interlocutor.

On a final note, it is clear the classification of formulaic phrases is not unequivocal. Words or phrases categorized as formulaic phrases in one context may not carry pragmatic meaning in another, due to the manner in which they are deployed. In the dissertation data, one interviewer says: “...when we have day, it’s night **there** (*tam*).” The use of *tam* in this sentence is obligatory and not classified as a formulaic phrase. Elsewhere, the use of *tam* may be non-obligatory or the selection of a non-normative variant from a set of possible options. It is this additive element or the selection of one among options that creates a pragmatic meaning. In the following example, *tam* is classified as a formulaic phrase: “...he is speaking now **there** with your president...”

2.3.3 INTERLANGUAGE PHENOMENA

Transfer and bivalency have been discussed in this chapter as theoretical concepts in their relation to the interlanguage systems developed by language learners. Given this theoretical basis, a definition will be provided for phenomena understood in the dissertation as transfer or bivalent in their implementation by second and heritage language speakers. A definition will be provided for phenomena in two domains: intonational phonology and formulaic phrases. The distinction between transfer and bivalent categories is based on whether the phenomena in question are violations or permissible within the matrix language in which the subject is speaking at the time of their production.

2.3.3A TRANSFER

Transfer phenomena are defined as those that violate some aspect of systematic language use in Russian or English (Table 2.2).

TABLE 2.2 TRANSFER PHENOMENA AND THEIR LANGUAGE-SPECIFIC REALIZATION

PHENOMENON	RUSSIAN-TYPICAL	ENGLISH-TYPICAL
INTONATIONAL PHONOLOGY		
Single Tones (ST)	violation	permitted
High Plateau (HP)	violation	permitted
H+L* Nuclear Stress (NS)	mandatory	violation
Constituent Fronting (CF)	permitted	violation
FORMULAIC PHRASES		
Incorrect use	violation	permitted
	permitted	violation

The four prosodic phenomena selected are either permitted or a violation of one language's intonational phonology. Only bitonal pitch accents compose the Russian inventory of tones, whereas single tones are permissible in English. Therefore, the appearance of single tones or extended sequences of single tones, high plateaus, are transfer phenomena for Russian spoken by a second or heritage speaker. The H+L* pitch accent signals nuclear stress in Russia, but does not exist in the English inventory of tones. Fronting of predicate constituent items is a common occurrence in Russian, and typically impossible in English, and thus often these constituents are marked with the H+L* nuclear pitch accent. In Russian, the fronted material is often an object, whereas permissible fronting in English tends to concern adjuncts. Therefore, these two phenomena are permitted in Russian and violations of English intonational phonology.

When formulaic phrases used in literal, infelicitous translation from the subjects' first or dominant language, this will be considered examples of a transfer phenomenon.

2.3.3B BIVALENCY

Bivalent phenomena are defined as those that may occur in both systems, but exhibit a greater frequency in one system in relation to the other (Table 2.3).

TABLE 2.3 BIVALENT PHENOMENA AND THEIR LANGUAGE-SPECIFIC REALIZATION

PHENOMENON	RUSSIAN-TYPICAL	ENGLISH-TYPICAL
INTONATIONAL PHONOLOGY		
Phrase Length (PL)	1 word	> 1 word
Phrase-Initial Bitonal L+H (IB)	pronounced	absent/ambiguous
Bitonal Combination L+H H+L (BC)	frequent	very infrequent
Bitonal Frequency (BF)	frequent (every word)	infrequent (< every word)
FORMULAIC PHRASES		
Idiosyncratic use	typical	non-typical
	non-typical	typical

Phrase length refers to either an intermediate phrase (ip) or intonational phrase (IP) boundary, which may occur after only one word in colloquial Russian, but occurs much less frequently in English, unless for interactional reasons. Intermediate phrase-initial L+H bitonal pitch accents are the norm for Russian sentences with canonical word order, whereas a phrase initial rise in English is typically ambiguous or weakly expressed. Of the four phenomena, the first two are the ones more frequently observed in English intonational phonology.

Bitonal pitch accents in English represent an emotive realization, less commonly produced than single pitch accents. In particular, L+H H+L combinations are notably absent from English sequences, although there are no prohibitions in the system against this structure. Russian contains exclusively bitonal pitch accents in its inventory, so a high percentage of bitonal pitch accents is more common to Russian intonational phonology, as is the L+H H+L combination. All exemplars of the structure will be considered, regardless of which tone in the bitonal is stressed.

Formulaic phrases appropriate for use in both languages, but more frequent in the subjects' first or dominant language will be considered bivalent, as will idiosyncratic uses of the formulaic phrase that are not clear violations but diverge from common practice.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

An analytical framework was adopted to document and interpret each phenomena investigated in the dissertation. Prosody was assessed by means of AM theory and a modified MAE_ToBI notational system. The MAE_ToBI system was adapted for the analysis of Russian intonational phenomena, based on insights from Yokoyama (1992, 2001, 2003, 2013) and Igarashi (2004a, 2005a, 2005b) . Because tone breaks have thus far not been studied in Russian intonational phonology, this aspect of the notational system was excluded from analysis in both languages.

Formulaic phrases were assessed by means of discourse and corpus analyses. All tokens of formulaic phrases with and without a holistic pragmatic meaning (cf. Boers *et al.* 2006) were identified. Their meaning in context was assessed for in/felicitous use in order to identify transfer items and idiosyncratic bivalent usage. A corpus search identified the mean lemma frequency (MLF) for each formulaic phrase in order to determine non-idiosyncratic bivalent items.

Data analysis comprised three stages: 1) selection of corpora, followed by the coding, classification and analysis of 2) intonational phenomena, and 3) formulaic phrases.

3.2 DATA ANALYSIS

Interview data was reviewed in the first stage in order to construct two corpora for each speaker: one containing affiliative data and the other antagonistic data. Interviews were assessed for whether interview questions were polarizing or conciliatory in nature and for the frequency of *interactional trouble* (Sacks *et al.* 1974; Schegloff *et al.* 1977), such as disfluencies or breakdowns in communication. Based on this review, questions were selected from those available within the

interview to compose a corpus of approximately 250 words per corpus. The rationale for this selection process was to limit the data for analysis to sites likely to prompt accommodation or disaffiliation. Coding and statistical tests of the data for each phenomenon type—intonational phonology and formulaic phrases—was completed after an initial characterization of the data by context.

A final assessment of the datasets was conducted to determine if the results of the analyses comparing subject and interviewer data could be considered accommodation or disaffiliation relative the interviewer corpus, and whether the results obtained within subjects showed evidence of processing constraints during linguistic production. A bivalent or transfer use of phenomena evidenced difficulty in linguistic processing. Table 3.1 repeats the evaluative process to determine when intonational and lexical phenomena are implemented as bivalent or transfer items.

3.2.1 INTONATIONAL PHONOLOGY

Labeling in accordance with the modified English and Russian ToBI notational systems comprised the second stage of analysis. Each IP in the corpus was labeled according to eight prosodic phenomena of interest: single-word ips, the ip-initial L+H bitonal pitch accent, the L+H H+L bitonal combination, bitonal pitch accent frequency (all speakers); single tones and high plateaus (English native speakers); and the H+L* nuclear pitch accent and constituent fronting (Russian native speakers). Additionally, boundary tones were established during this labeling process, although breaks were excluded from analysis.

Phenomena were counted and tabulated for each corpus. Shading within the tables indicates where phenomena appear unexpectedly or fail to appear in accordance with the norms of intonational phonology for the matrix language.

TABLE 3.1 SUMMARY OF METHODOLOGY

STAGE	PROCESS
1	PRE-ANALYSIS DATA SELECTION
	Interviews of an appropriate length, topic, and tone are identified for all four subjects. Data is collected for interviewers and interviewees.
2	DATA LABELING
	A. Prosody: Data is coded according to modified ToBI conventions; numbers of phenomena are counted and tabulated. B. Formulaic phrases: All tokens of formulaic phrases are identified; numbers are counted and tabulated.
3	CORPUS & DISCOURSE ANALYSES
	B. Formulaic phrases: A corpus search of formulaic phrases identifies the mean lemma frequency. Contexts of use are assessed for idiosyncratic usages.
4	STATISTICAL TESTS
	A. Chi-square tests are performed within subjects per interview to identify correlations between documented phenomena. B. T-tests are performed within subjects across interviews, and across subjects to determine if the frequency with which phenomena appear differs significantly across speakers or contexts.
5	POST-ANALYSIS
	A. Accommodation or disaffiliation is assessed across contexts, with reference to interviewer corpora. B. Transfer and bivalent phenomena use are assessed for situational, proficiency-related, or processing constraints.

3.2.2 FORMULAIC PHRASES

Analysis of formulaic phrases took place in the third stage. Lexical items classified as formulaic phrases were identified according to criteria specified by Wray (2002) and Boers *et al.* (2006), as discussed in section 2.3. Formulaic phrases were then divided into those with and those without a holistic pragmatic meaning that could render a particular context of use as appropriate or inappropriate. Instances were recorded and further assessed for their plausibility within the context of use.

A search within the Russian National Corpus and the Corpus of Contemporary American English for each formulaic phrase and its most plausible translation within the given context determined its mean lemma frequency for each language. When more than one translation was plausible, both interpretations were assigned a mean lemma frequency and considered in the analysis. Formulaic phrases more frequent in the speaker's first or dominant language than in the language of the interview were classified as bivalent, unless the context indicated an idiosyncratic use, rendering this classification invalid. All exceptions in which formulaic phrases were determined to be bivalent are discussed in the analysis chapters.

Transfer items were determined based on an assessment of the felicitous use of the formulaic phrase within its given context. Assessments were compared with those of a native-speaker researcher familiar with Russian second and heritage language acquisition, idiomatic language, and appropriate lexical items for formal and informal registers.

Phenomena were counted and tabulated for each corpus. Shading within the tables indicates where phenomena appear unexpectedly or fail to appear in accordance with the norms of intonational phonology for the matrix language.

3.2.3 STATISTICAL TESTS

Statistical analyses were conducted to assess the distributional variance of phenomena within each corpus and between relevant corpora. Chi-square tests were performed to assess whether correlations could be found for intonational phenomena within subjects. Two-tailed t-tests compared subject data between contexts and between subject and interviewer.

Thus, phenomena from each subject interview was analyzed 1) individually, or relative to 2) data from the interviewer in the corresponding context (affiliative or antagonistic), 3) the other speaker of the same category (second language or heritage), and 4) the speaker's own performance in the opposite context (affiliative or antagonistic).

The aim of these analyses was to determine if the observed data could be reliably distinguished in each comparison as belonging to similar or different distributions. If the latter, this result was interpreted as indicating the corpora belonged to different intonational systems: a common Russian or English system, or one reflecting the interlanguage of the subject.

3.3 DATA COLLECTION

Data was collected in the form of publicly available, video-recorded interviews. Interviews with each subject were assessed for evidence of a mutually affiliative or antagonistic orientation between the interlocutors. To determine this orientation, question content was evaluated, as well as the content of interviewee responses and their body language and general tone of both interlocutors. Selection criteria include that politically-oriented questions be present and posed in a traditional question and response format (cf. Heritage & Greatbatch 1991). Videos were not evaluated prior to their selection for the presence or absence of the linguistic phenomena of interest in order to preclude bias in the selection process.

The final selection of antagonistic interviews incorporated those in which conflictual content was featured unambiguously. Interviewers produced critical statements that questioned the veracity of the interviewee, contradicted the known political position of the interviewee, or concerned controversies involving the interviewee personally or through national or professional affiliation. Videos were assessed for evidence of an emotional response elicited from the interviewee, evidenced by lexical choice, body language, interactional trouble, or tone.

The final selection of affiliative interviews incorporated those that clearly possessed complementary content and showed evidence of effort to facilitate friendly interaction. Interviewers praised the opinions or actions of the interviewee, supported the known political opinion of the interviewee, or posed flattering questions to the interviewee that mitigated potential conflicts between the two interlocutors. Videos were assessed for evidence of an emotional response elicited from the interviewee, evidenced by lexical choice, body language, or tone.

3.4 PARTICIPANTS

Participants include members of two professions involved in the production of political discourse: civil servants and political journalists (Table 3.2). One Russian and one American English native-speaker represent each of the speaker categories (second language, heritage). The question of who can be considered a heritage speaker is related to beliefs about the critical period of acquisition. Polinsky and Kagan (2007) define a heritage language as an individual's first language, acquired through exposure before the age of five; alternatively, a heritage language may be jointly acquired with another language. Russian and American citizens are indicated in red and blue, respectively. Subjects' second or non-dominant language is the language of interest for this study.

TABLE 3.2 PARTICIPANT CHARACTERISTICS

SUBJECT	PROFESSION	ACQUISITION TYPE	SPOKEN FLUENCY	LANGUAGE OF INTEREST	INTERVIEWS CONDUCTED
SERGEI LAVROV	civil servant	second language	near-native	English	10+
MICHAEL McFAUL	civil servant	second language	fluent	Russian	10+
VLADIMIR POSNER	journalist	heritage	near-native	English	10+
JULIA IOFFE	journalist	heritage	fluent	Russian	5

To minimize variables between subjects, the same profession was selected for each speaker category, such that civil servants represent second language speakers, and journalists represent heritage speakers. Additionally, the Russian participant in each speaker category possesses a higher degree of proficiency in their second or heritage language than the American participant.

3.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The overarching questions this study attempts to elucidate concern the general processes of accommodation in intercultural communication, their specific realization, and what ultimate effect they may contribute to the interaction.

Analyses investigate whether accommodation or disaffiliation can be observed in the speech of second language and heritage speakers, specifically in their use of prosody and formulaic phrases. Of particular interest is whether the two classes of phenomena will be assimilated in an idiosyncratic fashion, reflecting the relative salience of a phenomenon for the second or heritage speaker, or if subjects will reveal knowledge of linguistic systematicity in their accommodation practices.

Research questions include:

- What does intercultural accommodation look like for each speaker type (second, heritage)?
- When attempting to accommodate, will subjects in fact become more “native-like”, or will they show an idiosyncratic pattern of production that reflects partial knowledge, subjective experience, or perceptual rather than conceptual salience?
- Do subjects show a preference for one type of phenomenon (prosody, lexical items) based on speaker type (second, heritage)?
- Do divergent abilities to accommodate with one type of phenomenon (prosody, lexical items) correlate with speaker type (second, heritage)?
- Is a particular type of phenomenon (prosody, lexical items) preferred regardless of speaker type (second, heritage) based on context (affiliative, antagonistic)?
- Does the context of language use (affiliative, antagonistic) differentially affect the accommodation practices of speaker types (second, heritage)?

3.2.1 HYPOTHESES

The acquisition literature for second language and heritage speakers predicts the following results:

- Speaker types will differ in their capability to perceive and produce prosodic phenomena. No such difference is predicted for the acquisition of formulaic phrases.
- Speakers who have gained substantial socialization experience in the country of their second or heritage language may show more felicitous use of pragmatic phenomena.
- Less proficient second or heritage speakers will rely upon the invocation of formulaic phrases, often in an idiosyncratic association assessed to be bivalent. In antagonistic contexts, a greater number of these formulaic phrases will be produced as transfer items.

CHAPTER 4: SECOND LANGUAGE SPEAKERS

This chapter will describe the linguistic behavior of late second language speakers in affiliative and antagonistic communicative contexts. At the time of the interviews, both subjects serve as high-ranking civil servants tasked with publicly promoting the policies of their country. When speaking with foreign journalists, they often perform this duty in their second language. Although both subjects first acquired their second language during university study, they differ in their language skill level and in their experience interacting with the media.

4.1 SERGEI LAVROV

Sergei Lavrov is the current Foreign Minister of the Russian Federation and has served in this capacity for over fourteen years. Lavrov assumed the position in March 2004 after a series of high-level civil servant appointments, including ten years as the Russian representative to the UN from 1994 to 2004. Over the course of his career, Lavrov has conducted countless interviews in both English and Russian and can be considered an exceptionally experienced interview subject.

Lavrov began to learn English during his university studies. While clearly fluent in English on a professional level¹⁰, Lavrov exhibits accented speech that at times can appear halting. Other non-native-like features of Lavrov's English language competence include occasional difficulty hearing questions posed to him and inexact word choice. In addition to English, Lavrov speaks Sinhalese, Dhivehi, and French.

Given the contentious state of international relations between Russia and many Western countries, English-language interviews conducted with the Russian Foreign Minister are often

¹⁰ An approximate proficiency level of ACTFL Superior in speaking proficiency can be assumed based on Lavrov's oral performance in interviews.

confrontational. For this reason, both interviews analyzed in this chapter include questions that refer to controversial topics and no question entirely avoids sensitive content. However, controversial topics may be posed in such a way as to heighten or mitigate conflict. This distinction allows the interviews to be categorized as affiliative or antagonistic.

The affiliative interview, conducted by a BBC interviewer, frames questions in a conciliatory manner that foregrounds Lavrov's point of view. *The Washington Post* interviewer poses questions with skepticism and often expresses surprise at Lavrov's responses. In return, Lavrov reveals annoyance at this treatment, at times openly chiding the interviewer for her exclamations or criticizing the formulation of her question.

4.1.1 AFFILIATIVE INTERVIEW

An affiliative interview with Sergei Lavrov was conducted by the BBC on February 10, 2011. The interview consists of seven question and response pairs. Five of these were coded with the aim to limit response data to a corpus of approximately 250 words per subject. The selection criteria for response data consisted of sampling questions that were framed to reflect a positive orientation to the interviewee. Questions were consistently shorter in duration, and thus coded in full, whereas responses were coded until the first logical phrase break upon topic completion.

Selected questions reference the status of Russian-British relations (Q1), how difficulties between the two countries can be overcome (Q2), whether the expulsion of a British journalist will interfere with rebuilding relations (Q3), what preparation is necessary to meet with the British Prime Minister (Q4), and whether Lavrov feels European partners are receptive to promotion of a pan-European missile defense system (Q6). All questions promoted reconciliation and resolution of the controversies between their countries. The interviewer took care to avoid a critical stance.

Excluded questions ask whether cooperation on the Litvinenko poisoning case might resume (Q5) and how best to deal with the Egyptian crisis (Q7). The first question references a high-profile murder case that resulted in substantial diplomatic tension between the countries, rendering the topic extremely sensitive. The second has little direct influence on Russian-British relations. Of the seven, these questions were the least probable environment for accommodation.

The transcript of the BBC interview (Fig. 4.1) provides an overview of how and where shifts between intonational systems may occur. Phenomena unique to Russian prosody are highlighted in red, those unique to English prosody are in blue, and bivalent phenomena are in purple. Sentence length is given in brackets, and formulaic phrases are in bold font. Interjections are written in italics (i.e., *uh*, *um*, *ah*) and excluded from the analysis: interjections are realized almost exclusively in single tones, lacking the prosodic constraints of words with semantic content.

Unsurprisingly, given his proficiency level, Lavrov largely conforms to the norms of English intonational phonology. Throughout most of the interview, pitch accents that can be considered bivalent, or at the intersection of both systems, are less frequent than single tones. These bitonal pitch accents cluster at the beginning and ending of phrasal units (IPs and ips). However, bivalent phenomena are encountered, and even a few instances of transfer. These transfer items may appear anywhere within an intermediate phrase (ip) and do not seem to necessitate a preceding bivalent phenomenon to “transition” between systems. Overall, the data indicates that even highly proficient bilinguals may have difficulty initiating and indefinitely sustaining the intonational phonology of their second language.

The Russian pitch accent that violates English norms (H+L*) appear to surface most frequently in instances when Lavrov stresses elements of a sentence. This may indicate that acquisition of typical prosody and contrastive prosody may be two separate systems.

FIGURE 4.1 TRANSCRIPT OF BBC'S INTERVIEW WITH LAVROV

Q1: Sergei Viktorovich, thank you very much for *uh* giving us some of your time. *Uh*. You're visiting London. Where do you see the status of British-Russian relations now. [14; 3; 11]

A1: [Well I think both][*uh*][Moscow and London][want][to promote][these relations].[They have][*uh*][history][going][back to many][centuries].[*Uh*][there were][ups and downs][*ah*][from time to time][but][in most cases][when][*ah* it was][*ah*][critical][for][the][Europeans][and for the world][affairs][*ah*][Britain][and][our country][*ah*][stick together]. ... [12; 8; 31]

Q2: I mean there are real difficulties though. There were some difficult-almost difficult personal relationships *uh* with the previous British government. And still there are problems over concerns about the Alexan-Alexander Litvenenko affair and how that **panned out**. Do you think there is a way of overcoming those difficulties or do they just have to be set aside while other relations continue. [7; 11; 18; 24]

A2: [Well first][I want to say][that][*uh*][I wouldn't say that there were difficult][personal relations][with the previous government].[*Ah*][[Prime Minster Brown][*uh*][I think had][quite][good][*uh*][attitude][with President Medvedev].[*Uh*][they met couple of times].[I][enjoyed][working together with David Miliband]. ... [20; 12; 5; 7]

Q3: You talked about *uh* visas and- and also the Federal Security agency. *Uh* there's been problems again this week. I know William Hague has **been in touch** *uh* a-about this issue with Luke Harding. *Uh* do you think. In Britain that plays very badly that a journalist is refused entry. Do you think that's **gonna** be another hiccup on the road to rebuilding relations? [10; 6; 14; 3; 12; 15]

A3: [Well][I][don't][think so].[*Um*][I looked into the][*uh*][case of][Luke Harding][when][*uh*][William Hague][called me].[*Uh*][indeed he had some][*uh*][problems][*uh*][with][his stay in Russia][in the past]. ... [5; 13; 13]

Q4: In terms of building up to the Prime Minister's visit. Are there any issues that need to be resolved before that happens or is it just a question of fixing the diary and finding the right... [10; 26]

A4: [Well I think-I think][*uh*][*uh*][it's just about][fixing a date][*uh*][which would be convenient][for the Prime Minister][and for the President].[*Ah*][we are][*ah*][expecting][our British colleagues][to indicate their preferences].[*Ah*][because on][the substance][there is always][*ah*][a lot][*ah*][you know][to-to discuss]. ... [23; 10; 14]

Q6: On the missile defense issue which you've spoken a lot about in the last few months. *Um* you're constantly repeating that the best answer in missile defense is for there to be a cooperation right across Europe, including Russia. A joint missile defense system. Do you feel that anyone is listening to you, when you say that? [16; 19; 5; 14]

A6: [Well I'm sure][they are listening].[I th-I think everyone][is listening].[*Uh*][I-][I am sure][that][most][of those who listen][*uh*][they also][understand][what we have in mind].[And what we mean][by][*uh*][saying][that][*uh*][the alternative][to the][joint venture][on missile defense][*uh*][would][be][*uh*][very unfortunate].[And][*uh*][we don't want even][you know][to][*uh*][to think about it].[We][w-wa-want to concentrate][on the][*uh*][chance we have][*uh*][to develop][a joint][system][*uh*][which][would][be][a real][equal][*uh*][partnership][*uh*][between us]. [12; 18; 20; 12; 24]

4.1.1.A BBC INTERVIEWER

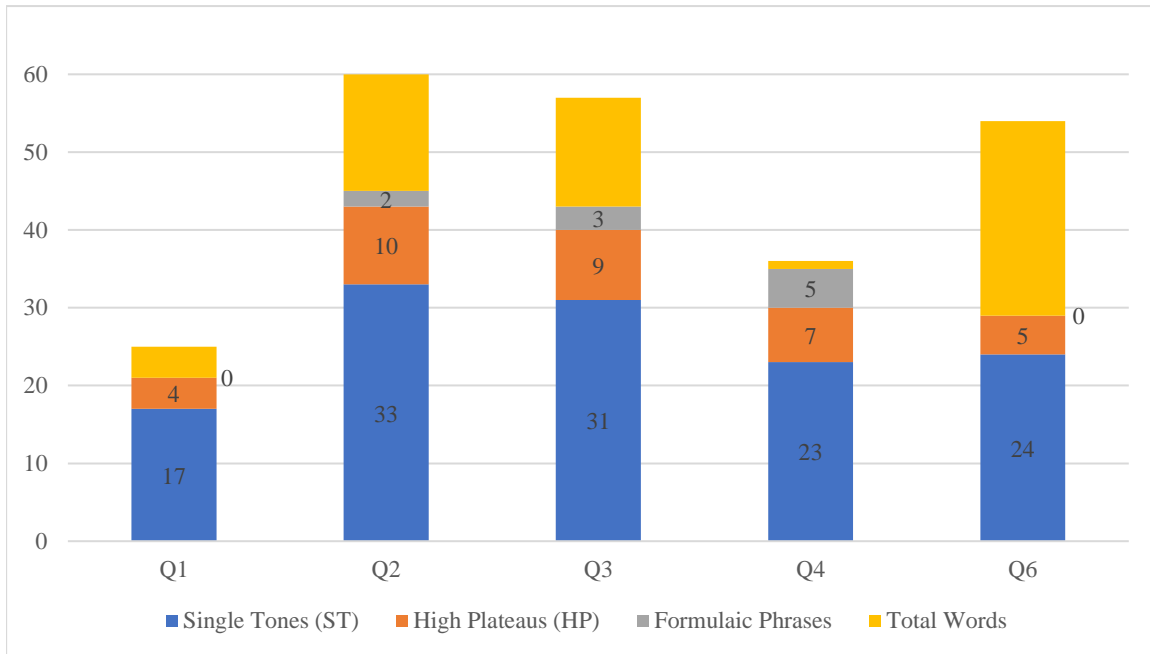
The BBC interviewer is a speaker of Standard Southern British (SBB) English (cf. Cruttenden 1994; Ladd, 1996; Fletcher et al. 2006). British dialects may use bitonal pitch accents for the nuclear pitch accent (Grabe & Post 2002; Gabe et al. 2000), which is not a typical feature of American Mainstream English (MAE) (Beckman & Hirschberg 1994). This could potentially produce a confound in the analysis; however, the interviewer limits his use of bitonal pitch accents such that a significant difference with Lavrov is present. Furthermore, the primary bitonal pitch accent of interest, H+L*, is also a violation of SBB intonational phonology.

Expectations for an interviewer speaking his native English differ from those of a second language speaker in several aspects. Only English language phenomena are expected to appear with consistency, and all uses of formulaic phrases should be felicitous. English phenomena are summarized in Graph 4.1, and bivalent phenomena in Graph 4.2. The height of each column reflects the total number of words per question, and the colored bands within each column indicate the number of phenomena that appear within this total word count. Instances where the number of phenomena exceed the total word count are indicated in footnotes. For the purpose of these summary graphs, bitonal frequency is presented as the aggregate number of bitonal pitch accents.

English language phenomena—in particular, single tones and high plateaus—occur with consistency in all responses. Single tones are assigned to more than half of all words, and high plateaus form roughly 15% of each question. The final question is a slight exception: single tones comprising slightly less than half of all words and high plateaus falling to 11% of the question.

Bivalent phenomena show greater variability. Of these, bitonal pitch accents appear with the greatest frequency, assigned to between 19% and 39% of the words in each question.

GRAPH 4.1 BBC, ENGLISH PHENOMENA BY QUESTION



GRAPH 4.2 BBC, BIVALENT PHENOMENA BY QUESTION

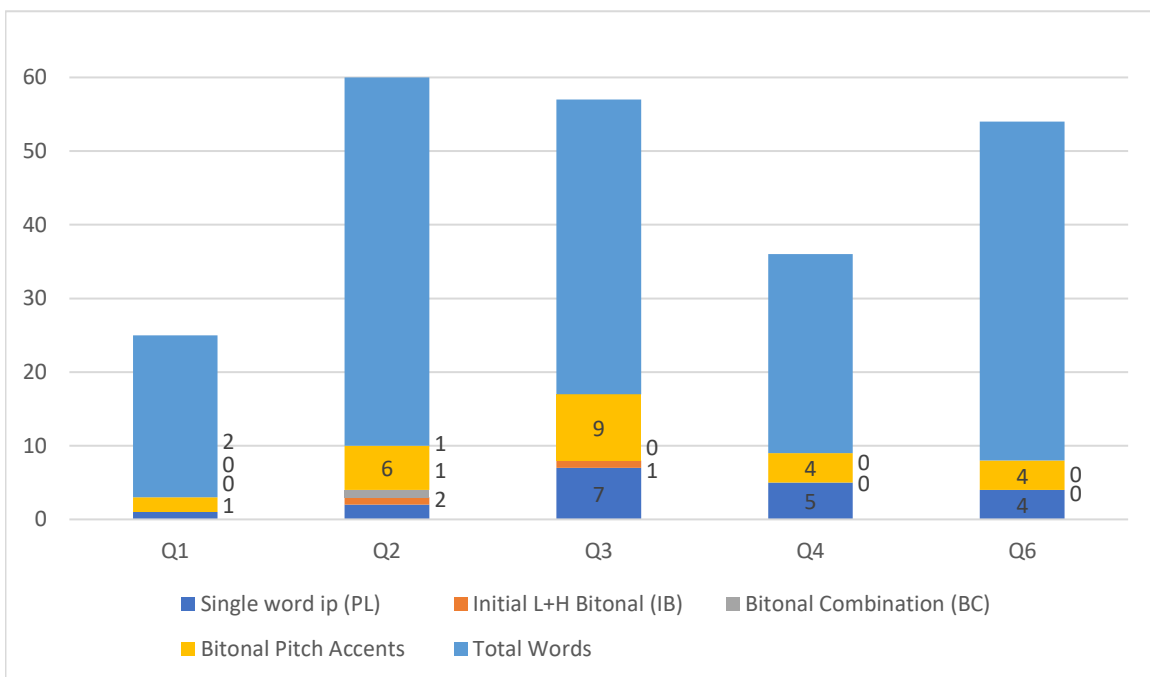


TABLE 4.1 AFFILIATIVE INTERVIEW, BBC

Q#	SEQUENCE OF IPS	WORDS	INTONATIONAL PHONOLOGY								FORMULAIC PHRASES		
			BIVALENCY				TRANSFER				#	BIVALENCY	TRANSFER
			PL	IB	BC	BF	ST	HP	NS	CF			
1	1	14	0	0	0	0%	7	2	0	0	0	0	0
	2	3	0	0	0	0%	4	1	0	0	0	0	0
	3	11	1	0	0	25%	6	1	0	0	0	0	0
2	4	7	0	1	1	50%	4	0	0	0	1	0	0
	5	11	2	0	0	0%	7	2	0	0	0	0	0
	6	18	0	0	0	17%	10	3	0	0	2	0	0
	7	24	0	0	0	0%	12	5	0	0	1	0	0
3	8	8	5	0	0	13%	7	1	0	0	0	0	0
	9	9	0	0	0	60%	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
	10	10	0	0	0	11%	8	4	0	0	1	0	0
	11	3	0	0	0	0%	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
	12	12	0	1	0	50%	4	1	0	0	0	0	0
	13	15	2	0	0	0%	9	3	0	0	2	0	0
4	13	10	2	0	0	22%	7	1	0	0	2	0	0
	14	26	3	0	0	11%	16	6	0	0	1	0	0
6	15	16	2	0	0	25%	6	1	0	0	0	0	0
	16	19	2	0	0	17%	10	2	0	0	0	0	0
	17	5	0	0	0	0%	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
	18	14	0	0	0	0%	6	2	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL:		235	19	2	1	N/A	128	35	0	0	10	0	0
AVERAGE:		12	1.1	.1	.1	17%	6.7	1.8	0	0	.5	0	0

A breakdown of phenomena per IP is given in Table 4.1. English language phenomena remain the primary components of IPs. Single tones occur in each IP with an average of 6.7 per IP, or slightly greater than one single tone for every two words. High plateaus average nearly two per IP, and fail to appear in only four quite short IPs. Two of these four instances contain bitonal pitch accents interspersed between H* pitch accents, one is a three-word fragment of a sentence with only one pitch accent, and in the final example, a low ip boundary segments what would otherwise be considered a high plateau.

FIGURE 4.2 BITONAL COMBINATION, BBC

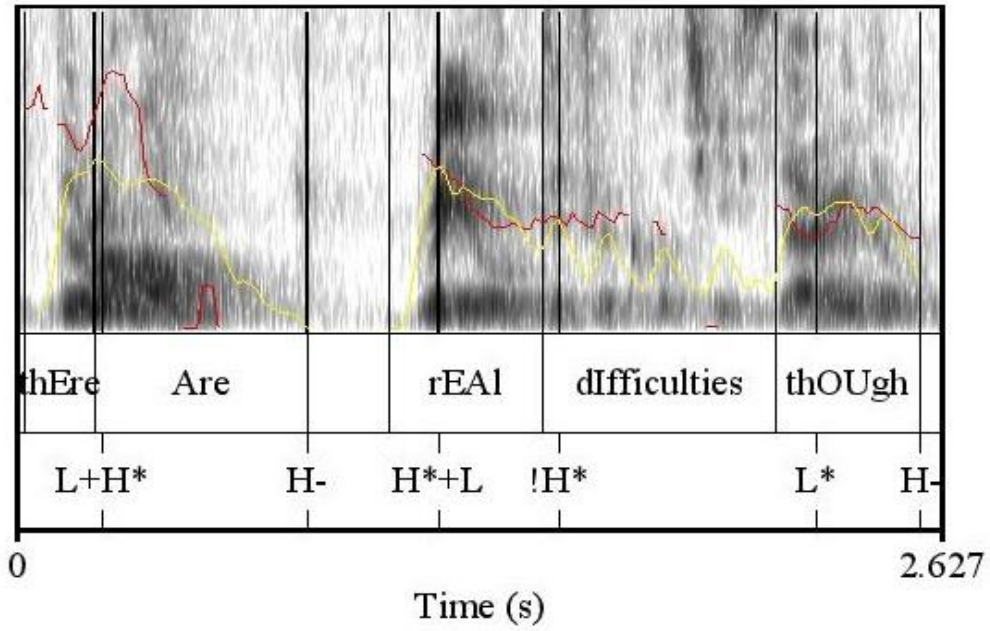
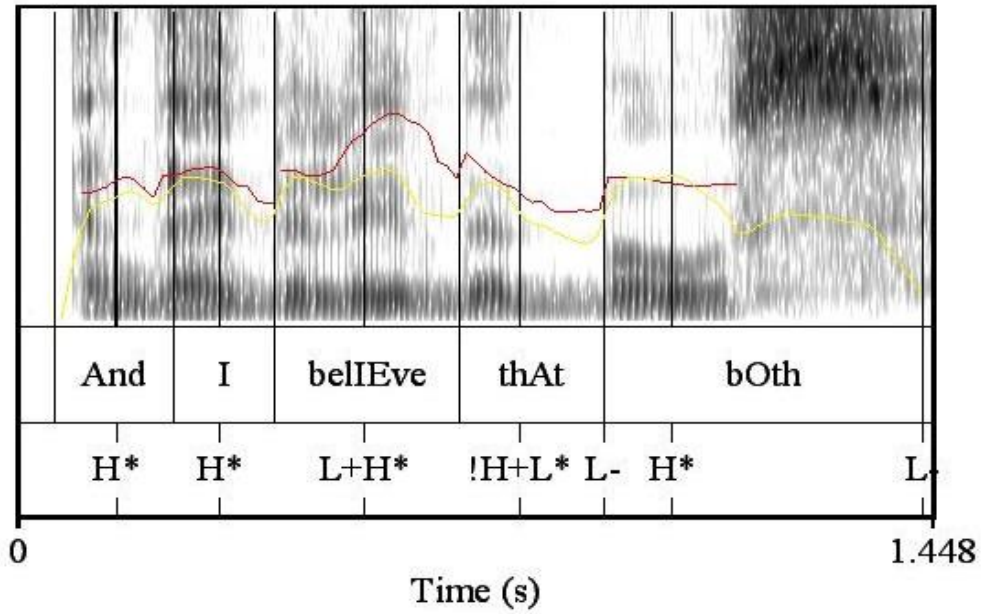


FIGURE 4.3 BITONAL COMBINATION, LAVROV



Bitonal pitch accents constitute no more than 13% of the total pitch accents per IP and in 44% of IPs, they make up 0% of pitch accents per IP. Single-word ips occur in 61% of IPs with a frequency of only slightly more than one instance per IP. One additional consideration that may explain this frequent use of bitonal pitch accents is the cautious nature of this interview. The interview is classified as affiliative due to the interviewer's tact in mitigating potentially sensitive content. This may be reflected in the use of bitonal pitch accents, which typically occur in marked contexts in English: emotive speech (cf. Warren 2016) or focus constructions.

The other two categories of bivalent phenomena are also composed of bitonal pitch accents, yet bitonal constructions typical for Russian rarely appear in the corpus: the ip-initial L+H pitch accent, appears in only two IPs. Similarly, the L+H H+L bitonal combination, which is especially unusual for English, appears only once in the corpus. Phenomena that appear superficially similar to Russian prosody may also reflect a different motivation for their realization.

The one instance of the bitonal L+H H+L combination in the BBC corpus is a focus construction (Fig. 4.2). Differences in the psychoperceptual classification of pitch contours in English and Russian may be related to a combination of fundamental frequency (f_0) and intensity. Therefore, all figures are presented with f_0 indicated in red, and the intensity represented in yellow. When this L+H H+L combination appears in neutral speech, it constitutes transfer from Russian, as in Fig. 4.3 from Lavrov's speech. The second pitch accent falls on a relative pronoun, whereas typically only content words are with marked pitch accents in canonical English speech.

Single-word ips in the BBC interview display hesitancy on the part of the interviewer; disfluencies may appear when the speaker produces a request for information that is dispreferred (cf. Pomerantz 1984; Schegloff 2007). Such disfluencies are often clustered around the onset of problematic content, at function words, or the beginning of a sentence.

FIGURE 4.4 SINGLE-WORD IPS, BBC

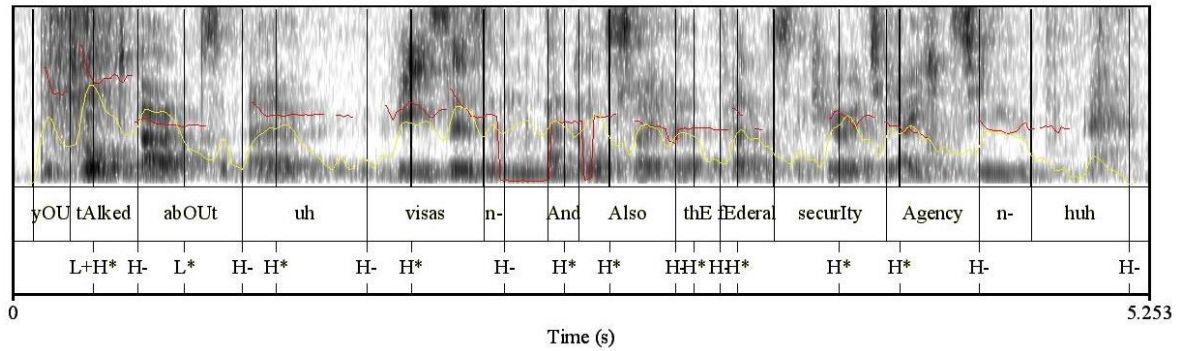
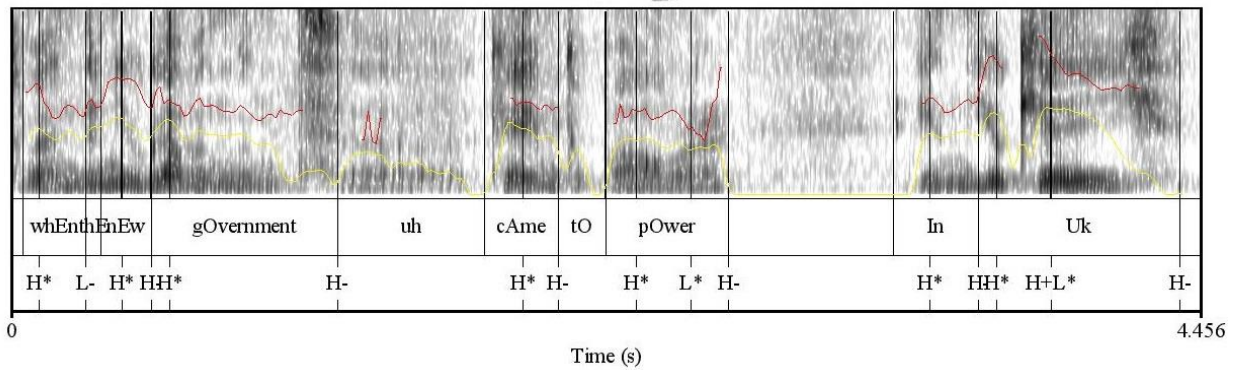


FIGURE 4.5 SINGLE-WORD IPS, LAVROV

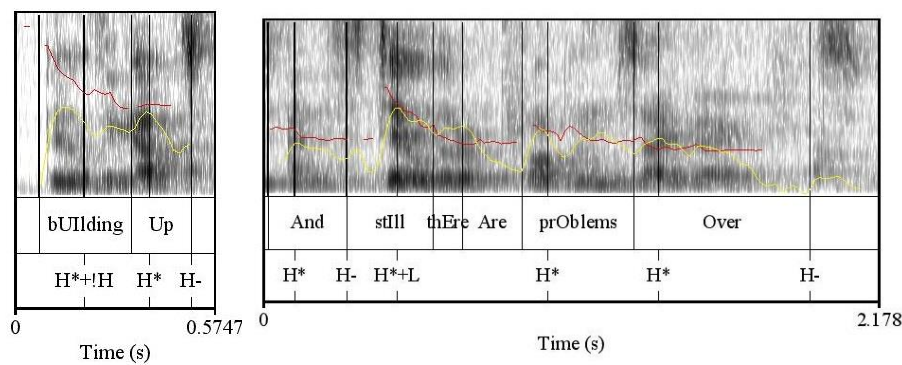


This is apparent in Figure 4.4 where disfluencies cluster at the onset of the second clause: “and”, “also”, “the”. In Russian, single-word ips are regularly produced at constituent boundaries or represent a null copula. While assessing instances of transfer in these usage patterns cannot be done with total certainty, many of the single-word ips produced by Lavrov occur at constituent boundaries and before words that are neither clause-initial nor problematic in content. In Fig. 4.5, we might expect disfluencies might be expected before “the” and “to”. Their realization instead at “new” and “came” reveal a parsing strategy that more closely approximates Russian constituent structure.

The transfer phenomena of the Russian H+L* nuclear pitch accent and constituent fronting are unexpected in the BBC interviewer’s speech, as both violate norms of typical English speech. In accordance with this expectation, neither of these categories appear in the BBC corpus.

Finally, the BBC interviewer makes moderate use of formulaic language, as defined in Section 2.3: 39% of IPs in the sample can be said to contain at least one formulaic phrase. Of the ten occurrences, all but two can be classified as having a holistic pragmatic meaning, in which the whole is greater than the literal compositional meaning of the sum of its parts (cf. Wray, 2002b:116). These include the phrases: “I mean”, “still”, “panned out”, “set aside” (Q2); “be in touch”, “gonna”, “on the road” (Q3); and “in terms of”, “building up to”, “a question of” (Q4). The two formulaic phrases without a holistic pragmatic meaning are: “in terms of” and “a question of” (Q4). All instances are produced felicitously, conveying a conventional rather than idiosyncratic meaning. With the exception of two instances, all formulaic phrases are realized in single high tones. These two formulaic phrases are realized with a H*+L pitch accent (Figure 4.6).

FIGURE 4.6 BITONAL PITCH ACCENTS ON FORMULAIC PHRASES, BBC



Thus, when we analyze Lavrov’s responses within the BBC interview, we may expect a greater likelihood of formulaic phrases produced with single tones, as a reflection of the norms of the interlocutor. Alternatively, the two realizations of formulaic phrases approximate the H+L* nuclear pitch accent, which could result in this pattern achieving greater salience for Lavrov.

Chi-squared tests of independence indicate that in this corpus, almost all of the phenomena of interest appear independently of one another (Table 4.2). To minimize empty cells, the analysis was performed on the aggregate phenomena present per question, for all categories with the exception of single tones and high plateaus, which occurred in nearly every IP. Only categories which exhibited at least one instance per question were included in the analysis. This excluded the categories of the L+H H+L bitonal combination, the H+L* Russian nuclear pitch accent, and constituent fronting. A significant correlation was revealed only between the English language phenomena of single tones and high plateaus ($\chi^2(54)=88.40$, $p=0.0022$). This correlation is expected, given the former necessarily composes the latter, despite the prevalence of strategic pauses in the interview, which may intersect high plateaus.

Most importantly, no Russian bivalent features show significant correlation with each other in native English speech. Formulaic phrases also do not show a significant correlation with any of the other phenomena, despite their frequent realization with single tones.

TABLE 4.2 CORRELATIONS BETWEEN PHENOMENA, BBC

	Initial L+H	Bitonal Frequency	Single Tones	High Plateau	Formulaic Phrase
Single-word ip	.29	.24	.22	.22	.27
Initial L+H		.17	.29	.29	.23
Bitonal Frequency			.24	.0022**	.28
Single Tones				.22	.27
High Plateau					.27

4.1.1.B SERGEI LAVROV

In the analysis of Sergei Lavrov's speech during the BBC interview, phenomena may be expected to appear in any of the categories. However, proficient second language English is anticipated to contain a relatively low number of bivalent features in affiliative contexts and no instances of transfer phenomena, such as the H+L* nuclear pitch accent and L+H H+L bitonal combination. English phenomena are summarized in Graph 4.3, bivalent phenomena in Graph 4.4, and Russian phenomena in Graph 4.5. The height of each column reflects the total number of words per question, and the colored bands within each column indicate the number of phenomena that appear within this total word count. Bitonal frequency is calculated as the aggregate number of bitonal pitch accents per question.

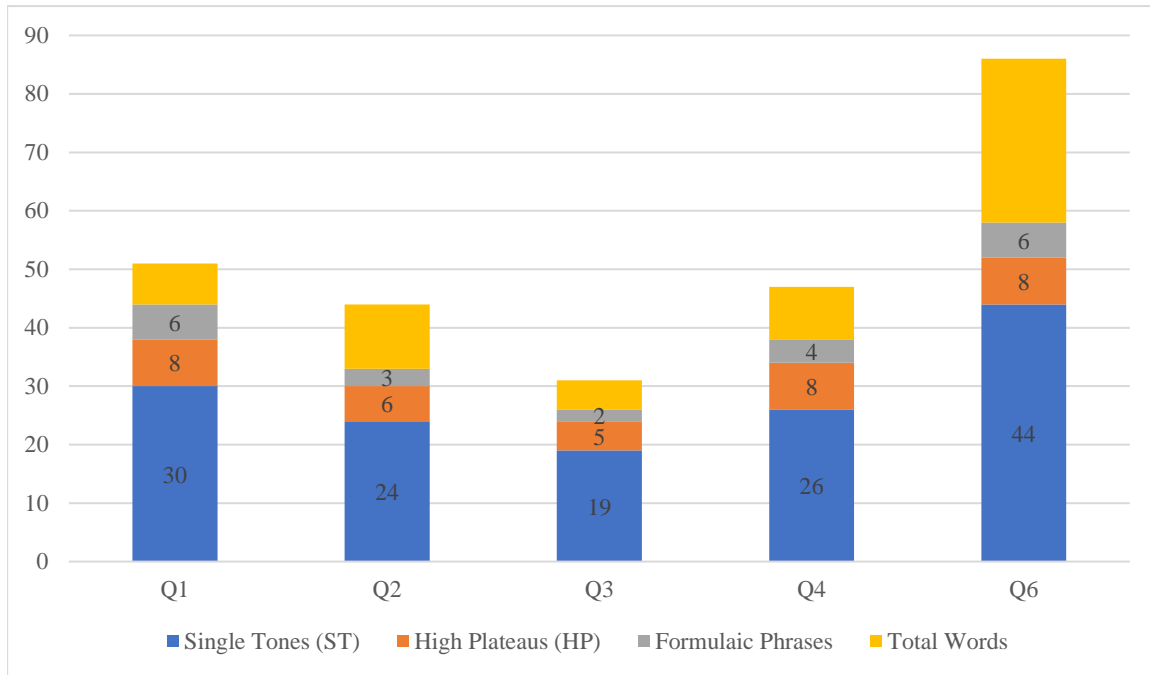
English language phenomena comprise a large proportion of all interview questions. Single tones fall on between 51-61% of words in each question response, and high plateaus form roughly 9-17% of each response. Lavrov appropriately utilized formulaic phrases in all of his answers. Consistency in the percentage of English phenomena remains high as the interview progresses.

Bivalent intonational phenomena also feature prominently in Lavrov's speech, most notably in the form of bitonal pitch accents, followed by single-word ips. The percentage of bitonal pitch accents remains the most consistent across question responses, fluctuating between 18% and 29% of total pitch accents¹¹. The distribution of other bivalent phenomena varies considerably, indicating these aspects of Lavrov's prosody may be affected by contextual factors.

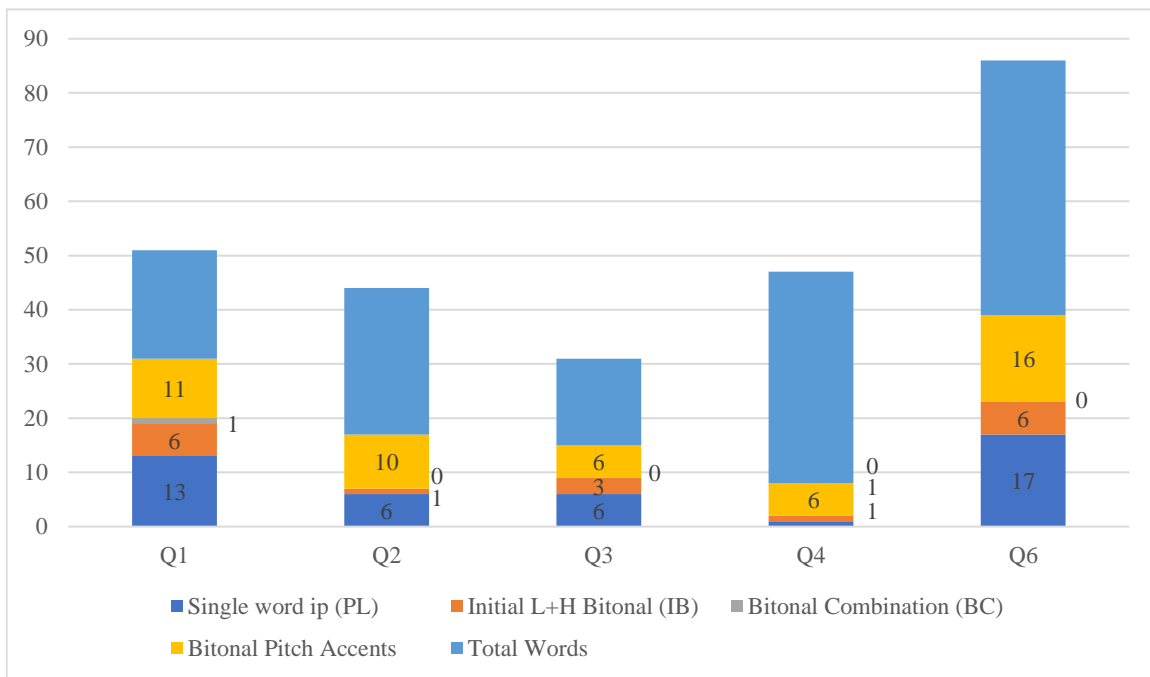
The H+L* nuclear pitch accent is the only phenomenon transferred from Russian. Although instances of this pitch accent remain infrequent, Lavrov does not succeed in producing one entire question response turn in which the phenomenon is absent.

¹¹ Due to the high percentage of component phenomena, Q3 in Graph 4.4 shows a word count of 38 rather than 31.

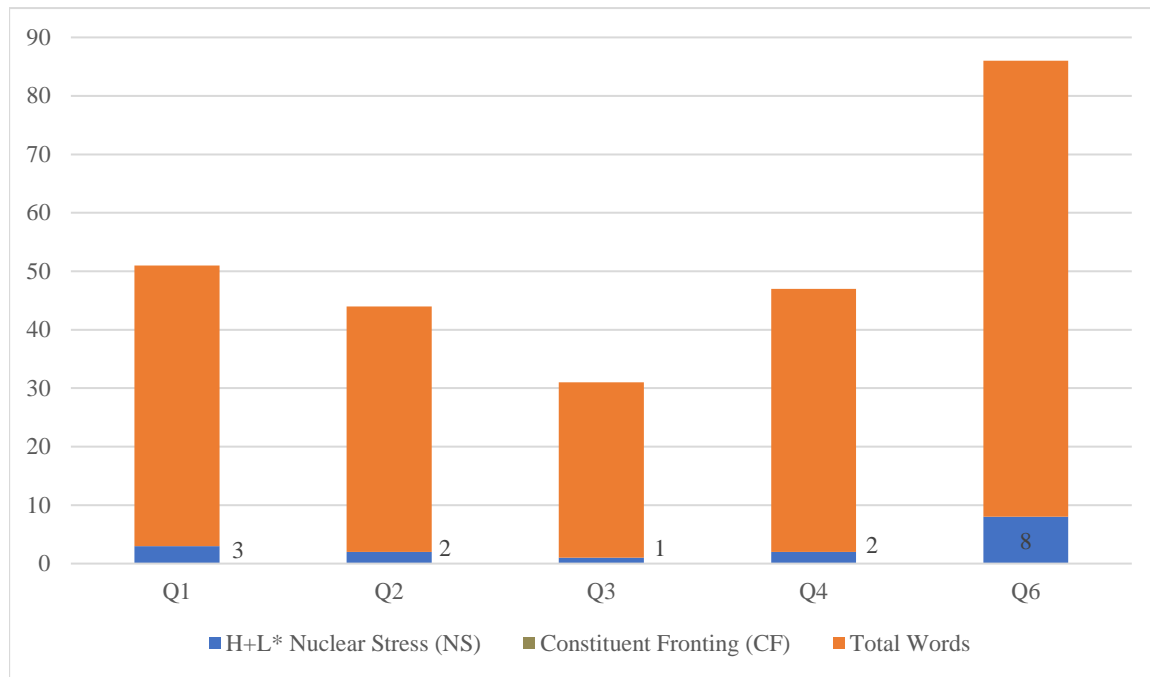
GRAPH 4.3 LAVROV, ENGLISH PHENOMENA BY QUESTION



GRAPH 4.4 LAVROV, BIVALENT PHENOMENA BY QUESTION



GRAPH 4.5 LAVROV, RUSSIAN PHENOMENA BY QUESTION



A detailed analysis of phenomena per IP is given in Table 4.3. Although single tones predominate in the corpus, bivalent intonational phenomena feature prominently in Lavrov’s speech, and bivalent or transfer phenomena appear in all but one IP (#5). An exception is the L+H H+L bitonal combination, which appears only once in the corpus. This is particularly notable, given that a direct violation of English intonational phonology, the H+L* nuclear pitch accent, is realized much more frequently—65% of all IPs—than a theoretically permissible construction. In only one instance (#2) does Lavrov’s use of bitonal pitch accents fall below 13% of the total number of pitch accents within an IP, and 71% of IPs contain greater than the average percentage of bitonal pitch accents found in the BBC interviewer’s speech (17%). Single-word ips predominate in Lavrov’s speech: 77% of all IPs containing at least one single-word ip. However, to some degree this prevalence of single-word ips can be attributed to Lavrov’s slower speaking pace and his frequent use of “back-channel responses” such as “ah” to interrupt larger phrases.

TABLE 4.3 AFFILIATIVE INTERVIEW, LAVROV

Q#	SEQUENCE OF IPs	WORDS	INTONATIONAL PHONOLOGY								FORMULAIC PHRASES		
			BIVALENCY				TRANSFER				#	BIVALENCY	TRANSFER
			PL	IB	BC	BF	ST	HP	NS	CF			
1	1	12	1	1	0	57%	3	0	1	0	2	0	0
	2	8	3	0	0	0%	8	3	0	0	0	0	0
	3	31	9	5	1	27%	19	5	2	0	4	2	0
2	3	20	1	1	0	29%	10	2	0	0	1	0	0
	4	12	3	0	0	40%	6	2	1	0	1	0	0
	5	5	0	0	0	25%	3	1	0	0	1	1	0
	6	7	2	0	0	17%	5	1	1	0	0	0	0
3	7	5	3	2	0	50%	2	0	0	0	1	0	0
	8	13	1	0	0	17%	10	2	1	0	0	0	0
	9	13	2	1	0	22%	7	3	0	0	1	1	0
4	10	23	0	0	0	13%	13	5	1	0	3	0	0
	11	10	1	1	0	14%	7	2	0	0	0	0	0
	12	14	0	0	0	33%	6	1	1	0	1	0	0
6	13	12	0	1	0	38%	5	2	1	0	3	1	0
	14	18	3	1	0	21%	11	3	1	0	2	1	0
	15	20	5	3	0	38%	10	1	3	0	0	0	0
	16	12	2	0	0	17%	5	1	1	0	1	0	0
	17	24	7	1	0	19%	13	1	2	0	0	0	0
TOTAL:		259	43	17	1	N/A	143	35	16	0	21	6	0
AVERAGE:		14	2.4	.9	.1	27%	8	1.9	.9	0	1.2	.35	0

To some extent Lavrov’s strategy in assigning bitonal pitch accent appears inconsistent. Three different uses of bitonal pitch accents can be seen in Fig. 4.7-4.9. In typical Russian usage, the L+H pitch accent appears ip-initial, and therefore also IP-initial. In Lavrov’s English speech, this pitch accent is more commonly embedded within the IP in a manner that resembles the partial realization of a Russian structure. For example, Fig. 4.7 illustrates a phrase that resembles a degradation of the Russian L+H H+L bitonal combination; here we see the structure separated by a high plateau. The use of a pronounced L+H bitonal pitch accent on the verb is uncharacteristic for English outside of focus constructions, and emphasis of this particular verb would appear unnatural given the content of the question and response.

FIGURE 4.7 SINGLE INSTANCES OF BITONAL PITCH ACCENTS, LAVROV

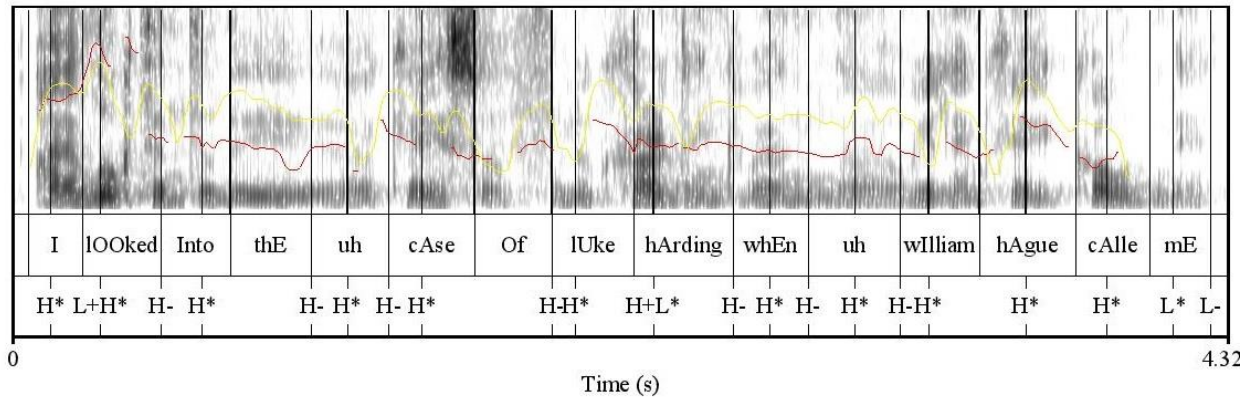


FIGURE 4.8 THE H+L* NUCLEAR PITCH ACCENT, LAVROV

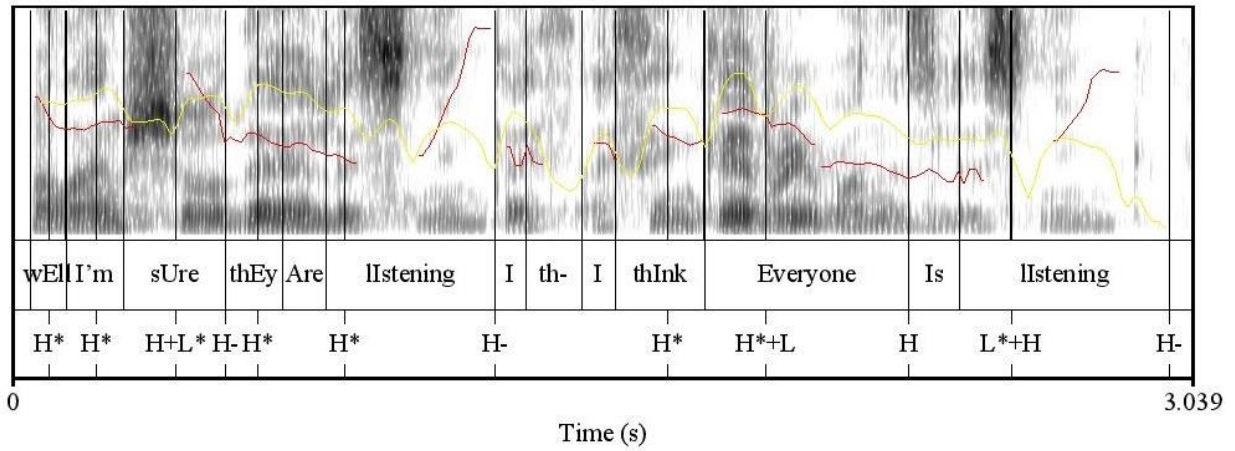
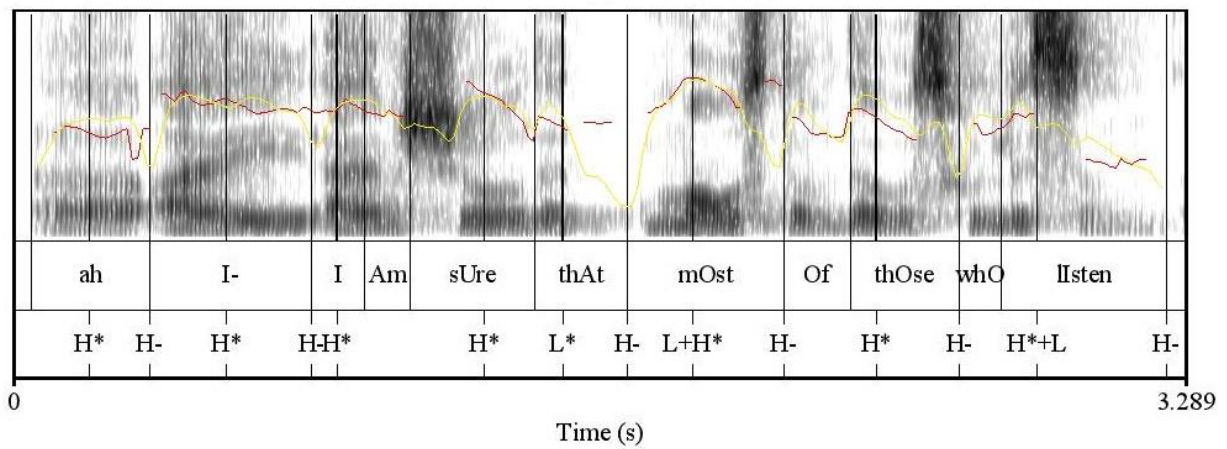


FIGURE 4.9 DIFFERENT FORMS OF EMPHASIS, LAVROV



In Russian, as predicates of the sentence, verbs are commonly assigned a nuclear pitch accent, although L+H may be acceptable in clause constructions (cf. Yokoyama 2001). There is some evidence that Russian pitch accents play a functional role to convey information structure (cf. Yokoyama 1984). The nuclear H+L* bitonal pitch accent is placed on the predicate of the sentence, predicate phrases, and adjunct phrases in Russian. The H+L* accent does not occur on the subject of the sentence. Lavrov's use of the H+L* bitonal pitch accent in English speech largely conforms to this requirement as well. For example, in Fig. 4.8, a Russian-like use of the H+L* can be seen on the word "sure". The H*+L bitonal pitch accents also appears in this excerpt. This example illustrates the difference between emphasis of the word "everyone" with the H*+L pitch accent and the assignment of the H+L* nuclear pitch accent to the predicate of the prior sentence.

However, Lavrov's strategies for realizing emphasis vary. In Fig. 4.9, the L+H bitonal pitch accent, is used for emphasis ("most"). Lavrov typically produces bitonal pitch accents for this purpose, but the choice of pitch accent varies in different environments. Fig. 4.9 also illustrates Lavrov's relatively uncharacteristic use of a stressed single pitch accent for emphasis ("sure"), demonstrating a third method of producing emphasis. Further analysis is necessary to fully characterize the assignment of bitonal pitch accents in Lavrov's English, but it is apparent that Lavrov neither fully conforms to Russian- or English-language norms. Simple transfer may not fully explain the use of bitonal pitch accents for emphasis in Lavrov's English production.

Formulaic phrases may be classified as correctly implemented, bivalent, or an occurrence of transfer for second language speakers. Lavrov makes considerable use of formulaic phrases, which appear in 59% of IPs in the corpus, illustrating his facility with informal language and his understanding of the pragmatic language use. It is notable that Lavrov produces 6 instances of bivalent and no transfer phenomena in regards to lexical items. All but two of these formulaic

phrases can be considered to have a holistic pragmatic meaning that may affect the appropriateness of its implementation. Formulaic phrases categorized as containing pragmatic content include: “well”, “I think”, “ups and downs”, “time to time”, “stick together” (Q1), “indeed” (Q3), “you know” (Q4/Q6), and “I’m sure”, “have in mind” (Q6). The two formulaic phrases categorized as lacking pragmatic content are: “in most cases” (Q1) and “couple of times” (Q2).

Formulaic phrases also do not seem to show a pattern in terms of their assignment to one or the other prosodic system, but instead appear to reflect the expected assignment of pitch accents based on their position in the ip. For example, Fig. 4.10-4.12 illustrate the pitch accent assignment of three formulaic phrases that follow one another, each with a different pitch accent assignment. The two formulaic phrases used multiple times—“well”, “I think”, “you know”—are not consistently assigned single or bitonal pitch accents. Of the remaining formulaic phrases, only one is assigned single tones than bitonal pitch accents. Those realized with single tones include: “ups and downs”, “time to time”, “couple of times”, and “have in mind”. The remaining three formulaic phrases are produced with bitonal pitch accents: “stick together”, “indeed”, “I’m sure”. No pattern distinguishing formulaic phrases with pragmatic meaning or by frequency can be isolated. Therefore, in affiliative contexts, Lavrov’s assignment of pitch accents either reflects contextual concerns or personal experience that cannot be accounted for in the analysis.

Whether or not a formulaic phrase can be considered bivalent pertains to the frequency of that expression’s use in each of the languages. Table 4.4 presents the mean lemma frequency (MLF) for each formulaic phrase. Those that have a greater or nearly equivalent frequency of use in Russian and English are classified as bivalent. This is 35% of the total number of formulaic phrases. None of the instances are categorized as a transfer item from English, because they all occur felicitously within their context of use.

TABLE 4.4 FORMULAIC PHRASES, MLF, & PROSODY

Q#	PHRASE	MLF ¹²	TRANSLATION(S)	MLF ¹³	PROSODY		
1,2,4	well	1216.8	nu čto ž	907.4 111.4	- (1x)	L+H (1x)*	H*+L (1x)
1,2,4,6	I think	630.6	dumaû ščitaû	186.5 42.6	H*+L (1x)	H* (2x)	H*H* (1x)
1	ups and downs	2.7	vzlety i padeniâ prevratnosti sud'by	0.2 0.2	H* H*		
1	time to time	7.8	vremâ ot vremeni	26.8	H* H*	L+H*	
1	in most cases	5.5	v bol'sinstve slučaev	9.3	L* H* H*		
1	stick together	1.0	deržat'sâ vmeste	0.2	L+H*		
2	couple of times	4.1	paru raz	4.9	H* H*		
3	indeed	105.3	dejstvitel'no	126.7 49.5	L+H*		
4,6	you know	711.6	vy znaete znaeš'	36.4 141.8	H* H*	H+L*	
6	I'm sure	32.9	uveren	56.8	H*	H+L*	
6	(have) in mind	28.3	imet' v vidu	56.0	H* L*		

Chi-squared tests of independence indicate that most of these phenomena appear independently of one another (Table 4.5).¹⁴ Notably, the correlation between single tones and high plateaus found in the BBC interviewer's speech is absent from Lavrov's production. Instead, a significant correlation is found between the H+L* nuclear pitch accent and single-word ips ($\chi^2(18)=37.92$, $p=0.0054$). This is a correlation between the Russian transfer and bivalent phenomena, which makes it of particular interest. No other significant correlations are found between either Russian or English phenomena, although two correlations across prosodic systems approach significance: single tones and bitonal frequency ($\chi^2(126)=148$, $p=0.088$) and single-word ips and formulaic phrases ($\chi^2(24)=33.46$, $p=0.095$).

¹² Corpus of Contemporary American English. 570,353,748 words. <https://corpus.byu.edu/COCA/>. MLF per million words.

¹³ Russian National Corpus. 283,431,966 words. <http://www.ruscorpora.ru/>. MLF per million words.

¹⁴ Counts of phenomena were collapsed across question turns for categories with numerous empty cells (IB). Categories with no or only infrequent instances of occurrence were excluded from the analysis (BC, CF).

TABLE 4.5 CORRELATIONS BETWEEN PHENOMENA, LAVROV

	Initial L+H	Bitonal Frequency	Single Tones	High Plateau	Nuclear H+L* Accent	Formulaic Phrase
Single-word ip	.40	.31	.24	.23	.0054**	.095~
Initial L+H		.40	.27	.16	.13	.26
Bitonal Frequency			.088~	.21	.39	.13
Single Tones				.19	.29	.17
High Plateau					.73	.19
Nuclear H+L* Accent						.18

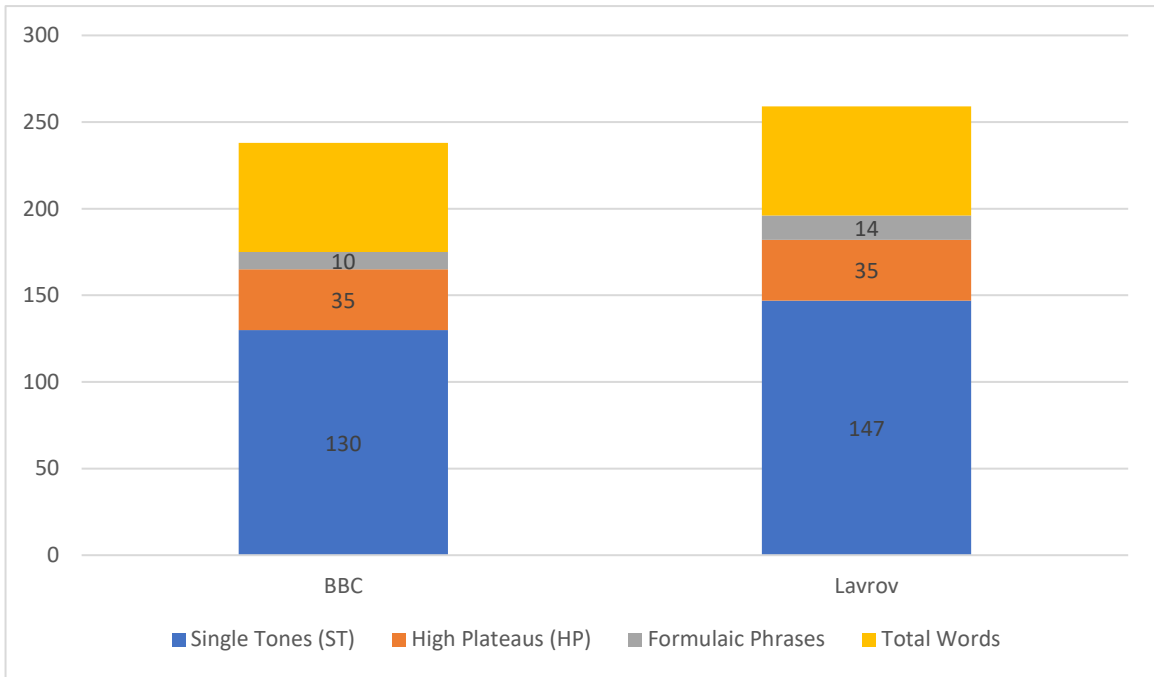
4.1.1.C ACCOMMODATION IN THE BBC INTERVIEW

In the affiliative interview, Lavrov’s speech is similar in many regards to that of the BBC interviewer. Given the lack of a neutral baseline, it is difficult to say with certainty if Lavrov has adapted elements of his speech to accommodate to the BBC interviewer. However, subsequent comparison of the distribution of phenomena in the affiliative and antagonistic contexts can indicate if the results pattern differently in the two contexts.

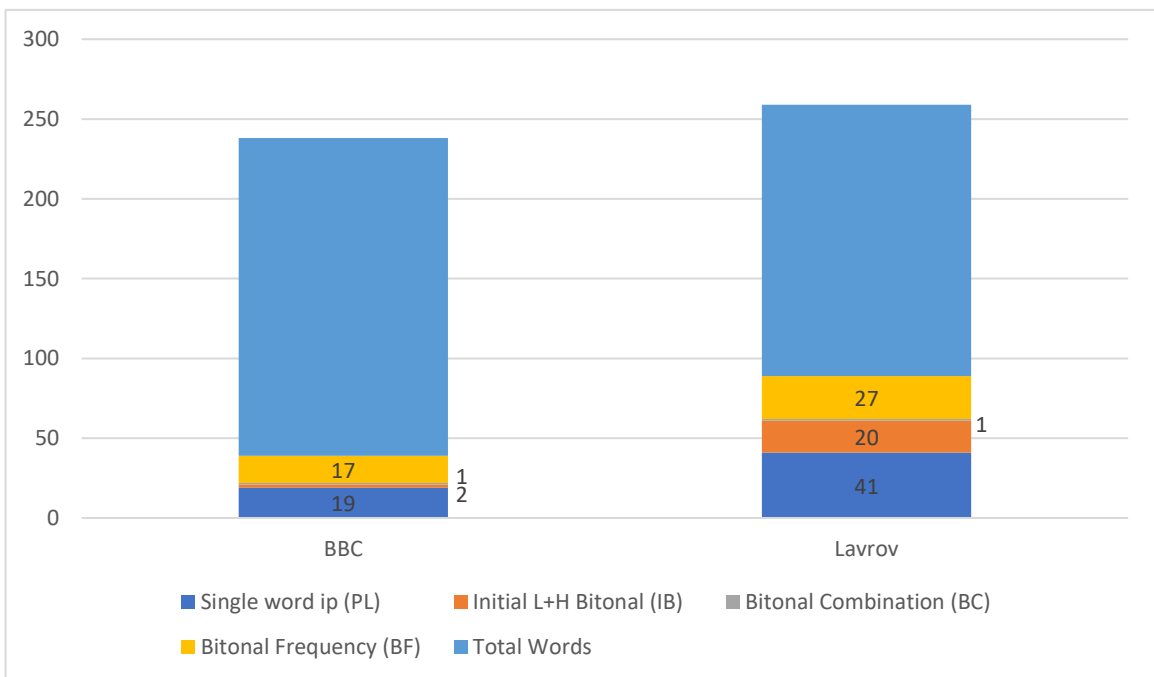
A second difficulty involves identifying whether trends in Lavrov’s the speech are directly triggered by the occurrence of a specific phenomenon perceived in the interviewer’s speech, and whether these patterns develop over time. No hypothesis is presented as to the relative time needed to adopt prosodic phenomena present in the speech of an interlocutor. For the present study, data in the corpus will be treated as a whole without speculation about emerging patterns in the data over the course of the interview.

An overview of the frequency of occurrence of English and bivalent phenomena are presented in Graph 4.6 and Graph 4.7. While the interlocutors illustrate remarkably similar numbers of English phenomena, Lavrov utilizes considerably more bivalent phenomena.

GRAPH 4.6 BBC vs. LAVROV, TOTAL ENGLISH PHENOMENA



GRAPH 4.7 BBC vs. LAVROV, TOTAL BIVALENT PHENOMENA



T-tests were conducted to investigate whether variance in the subject means between the two interviews (Table 4.6). The interlocutors differed significantly in their production of two bivalent categories: the ip-initial L+H bitonal pitch accent ($p=0.054$) and bitonal frequency ($p=0.053$). Variation in the interlocutors' use of the H+L* bitonal pitch accent only neared significance, although in the case of the BBC interviewer, the phenomenon was entirely absent from the corpus.

TABLE 4.6 T-TESTS BETWEEN SUBJECT MEANS: LAVROV & BBC

TYPE	PHENOMENON	P-VALUE
Bivalent	Single-word ips	0.17
	Initial L+H bitonal pitch accent	0.054*
	Bitonal frequency	0.053*
Transfer	Single tones	0.58
	High plateaus	1.00
	Nuclear stress	0.061~
Other	Formulaic phrases	0.19

Therefore, we can assert that despite any possible attempt to accommodate, Lavrov retained difficulty producing native-like speech in two bivalent categories and one transfer category. This difficulty was slightly more substantial in the bivalent categories.

TABLE 4.7 ACCOMMODATION IN A BBC INTERVIEW

	WORDS	INTONATIONAL PHONOLOGY								FORMULAIC PHRASES		
		BIVALENCY				TRANSFER				#	BIVALENCY	TRANSFER
		PL	IB	BC	BF	ST	HP	NS	CF			
BBC												
TOTAL:	235	19	2	1	N/A	128	35	0	0	10	0	0
AVERAGE:	12	1.1	.1	.1	17%	6.7	1.8	0	0	.5	0	0
LAVROV												
TOTAL:	259	43	17	1	N/A	143	35	16	0	21	6	0
AVERAGE:	14	2.4	.9	.1	27%	8	1.9	.9	0	1.2	.4	0

These findings may indicate that proficient second language learners experience a persistent difficulty in suppressing their native assignment of pitch accents, especially those that are linguistically meaningful. The ability of Lavrov to almost entirely avoid the L+H H+L bitonal pitch accent combination speaks to its different status among the selected phenomena. However, to determine whether accommodation can be said to have occurred, differences between Lavrov's production in the affiliative and antagonistic context will need to be identified.

4.1.2 ANTAGONISTIC INTERVIEW

The Washington Post conducted an antagonistic interview with Sergei Lavrov on September 25, 2013. The interview consisted of forty-four question and answer pairs. Eleven of these pairs were coded to observe the 250-word limit. In this interview, the length of questions varied considerably, as the interviewer engaged in an interactive dialogue with Lavrov. Some questions contained substantial background information, and other questions were posed as a very brief clarification question posed after Lavrov's response. Therefore, short questions were coded in full, but longer questions were coded until the first logical phrase break upon topic completion. In effort to balance the content coded for the question-answer pairs, in some cases coding was extended to the second logical phrase break upon topic completion.

The selection criteria differ slightly from that of the affiliative interview due to the larger number of questions from which to select. Priority was given to questions that were framed in an abrasive manner with a minimum of mitigation on the part of the interviewer. This included follow-up questions, which probe for more specific details and constrain how Lavrov may respond. This type of question may be interpreted as an aggressive stance or a lack of deference on the part of the interviewer (cf. Clayman et al. 2007). Lavrov's response to the interviewer's questions

contributes to categorizing the interview as antagonistic. *The Washington Post* interviewer's continued use of the backchannel response "interesting" prompts a negative comment from Lavrov at one point, and the Russian Foreign Minister clearly displays his annoyance with the interviewer through direct criticism, reframing of questions, frequent sighing, and an aggravated tone of voice.

Selected questions include a follow-up question specifying a referent (Q3), a reformulation of Lavrov's response (Q4), a follow-up question clarifying the US Secretary of State's position in relation to Lavrov's (Q5), a follow-up question clarifying President Obama's position relative to Lavrov's (Q7), a follow-up question asking for a specific time frame (Q11), a follow-up question asking for the US Secretary of State's intentions (Q12), two follow-up questions probing for greater detail on Russia's interactions with the Syrian president (Q15/Q16), a clarification question on the verification of Syrian data (Q17), a request for an evaluation of the Iranian president (Q29), and query as to whether Russia would accept a different Syrian leader.

Excluded questions also provided critical content and addressed controversial topics, however, the selected questions elicited an obviously negative response from Lavrov, and thus were determined to be the most likely environment for disaffiliation to be expressed.

The transcript of *The Washington Post* interview (Fig. 4.10) provides an overview of the location and frequency of possible shifts between intonational systems. Phenomena unique to Russian prosody are highlighted in red, those unique to English prosody are in blue, and bivalent phenomena are in purple. Sentence length is given in brackets, and formulaic phrases are in bold font. Interjections are written in italics (i.e., *uh*, *um*, *ah*) and excluded from the analysis, as interjections are almost exclusively realized in single tones and are not clearly limited by the same constraints of intonational phonology as linguistic items with semantic content.

FIG. 4.10 TRANSCRIPT OF THE WASHINGTON POST'S INTERVIEW WITH LAVROV

Q3: You're speaking of Assad? You're saying- who-who is...? [4; 5]

A3: [Are we-][are we][uh][running][or not]?[Yeah].[So I said President Assad]. [7; 1; 5]

Q4: You said he expressed his willingness to accede. [8]

A4: [No-no][He-][he asked][formally][to accede][to the convention][and now][he's][under][legal obligation][ah][derived][from this][from this][convention]. [23]

Q5: Now correct me if I'm wrong but I-I thought that after your meeting-after your-your deal with *ah* Secretary Kerry that Kerry said no-no our understanding was that *am* an enforcement mechanism like *um* chapter seven or article seven *um* would be built in to the resolution. And Russia-you said no that's not our understanding. Is that-is that correct? [46; 9; 5]

A5: [Well][the][the Geneva framework][is available][uh][and][anyone][can read][what's in it].[ah][And] [we agreed today with John Kerry][that we would follow that understanding][uh][in drafting][the Security Council resolution]. [14; 19]

Q7: So I mean even in President Obama's speech today I thought I saw *um* him talking about enforcement of *ah* any possible violations. [21]

Q7: [Well I cannot speak about][the individual position of][any][one member].[I can only][speak][about] [a-arrangements][to which][Russia is a party].[And][we are][a party of the Geneva understanding][Geneva framework][of-][of the fourteenth of September]. [12; 12; 17]

Q11: But after the September fifth meeting you start working on-on a framework of an agreement? [16]

A11: [Well][as I said][we agreed with John Kerry after his statement][in London and my support][for that statement].[We agreed][to meet][and we met][in Geneva].[And the results][ah][are][imported in the framework][which I][referred to couple of times already]. [20; 9; 16]

Q12: Again when 'cause I- in other words so if John Kerry- did John Kerry throw out the statement on purpose or was it just an accident? [26]

A12: [Ask him].[We][took it][ah][as a statement][which][uh][reflected][the need of the day]. [2; 13]

Q15: So you-you-you conveyed to them that Syria's chemical weapons problem had to be solved. [16]

A15: [I][just answered][this question]. [5]

Q16: Very interesting. He certainly came up-certainly came up very quickly. [2; 9]

A16: [For me too]. [3]

Q17: Now people here are saying how will the U.S. know if *um* according to agreement Syria's supposed to declare how much it has- how many chemical weapons it has. How will *um* the U.S. know how will we be able to verify if they're telling the truth. [29; 17]

L+H* H*+L L+H* H*+L H* L+H* H+L* H+L* H+L* H+L* H*
A17: [I dunno].[I dunno][but][*uh*][I know that the][American ambassador][to the chemical weapons]
 L+H* L+H* H+L* H+L* L+H* H+L* H+L* !H* H+L*
 [organization][looked into the][declaration][submitted][by the Syrians].[And found it][quite good].
 [2; 22; 5]

Q29: But **just-just** because you have so little time can you go back to Iran? And how do you see the prospects of a breakthrough? [15; 10]

L+H* H* L+H* H*H* L+H* L+H* L+H* H+L*
A29: [You said][go][back][to Iran],[we never visited Iran yet]. [11]

Q44: Is Russia *ah* is Assad-is Russia wedded to President Assad or could there be another leader of Syria that could help resolve this-this crisis. [25]

H* H+L* H* L+H* H* H+L* H* H* L+H* L+H* L+H* H+L*
A44: [I'm sure][your readers][know][very well][that we][repeatedly stated][that we are not wedded][to
 H+L* H+L* H* H+L* L+H* H* H+L* H+L* H+L*
 anyone in Syria].[That][we are][concerned][not about][any personality]. [20; 8]

Even a cursory assessment of the transcript reveals differences that appear in Lavrov's prosody when moving from the affiliative to the antagonistic contexts. In *The Washington Post* interview, we see what appears to be substantially greater use of bivalent phenomena. Violations of English intonational phonology occur throughout the interview, but here they cluster in large passages and increase slightly towards the end of the transcript. Single tones appear sporadically throughout question responses, appearing successively at the end and occasionally the beginning of a question response. In this interview, like the first, we see that a transition between systems need not pass through a bivalent stage, and occasionally shifts occur even within an ip. If in the affiliative interview Lavrov showed difficulty maintaining English intonational phonology over the course of an IP, the antagonistic interview provides the impression that Lavrov inserts English prosody only occasionally into his discourse.

The Russian H+L* nuclear pitch accent features prominently and is frequently realized in a position that accurately corresponds to the felicitous assignment of nuclear stress.

4.1.2.A WASHINGTON POST INTERVIEWER

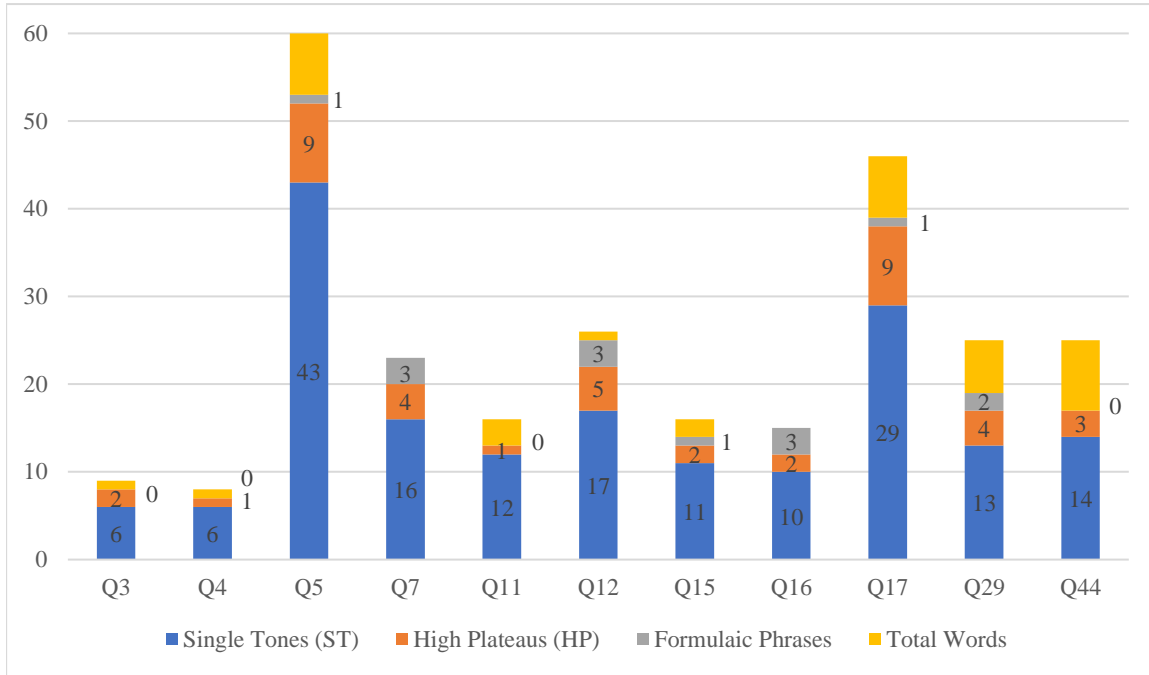
The Washington Post interviewer is a speaker of mainstream American English (MAE). As detailed in Chapter two, this dialect of English is most likely to show distinctions between Russian and English intonational phonology. A summary of the phenomena present in *The Washington Post* interviewer's speech is provided in Graph 4.8 and Graph 4.9. The height of each column reflects the total number of words per question, and the colored bands within each column indicate the number of phenomena that appear within this total word count.¹⁵ For the purpose of these summary graphs, bitonal frequency is presented as the aggregate number of bitonal pitch accents.

As anticipated, *The Washington Post* interviewer's speech reveals no transfer phenomena and extremely few bivalent ones. Single tones are assigned to between 52% and 75% of all words, and high plateaus form roughly 15% of each question. These percentages reveal a greater number of single tones produced by this interviewer than by the BBC interviewer, although the number of high plateaus remains approximately the same.

Bivalent phenomena appear rarely in the corpus, with only three occurrences of the ip-initial L+H pitch accent and no instances of the L+H H+L bitonal combination. Whereas the previous interviewer frequently utilized bitonal pitch accents, the most frequent bivalent phenomenon found in *The Washington Post* interviewer's speech is single-word ips, which are also utilized as an interactional resource in English. Bitonal pitch accents constitute only between 0% and 8% of all pitch accent assignments in each question. In contrast, single-word ips make up between 4% and 44% of questions, and average 19% of each question turn.

¹⁵ The cumulative total of phenomena in responses to questions 7 and 16 equal the total number of words in the response, and thus no additional information is included graphically in the "total words" category.

GRAPH 4.8 WASHINGTON POST, ENGLISH PHENOMENA BY QUESTION



GRAPH 4.9 WASHINGTON POST, BIVALENT PHENOMENA BY QUESTION

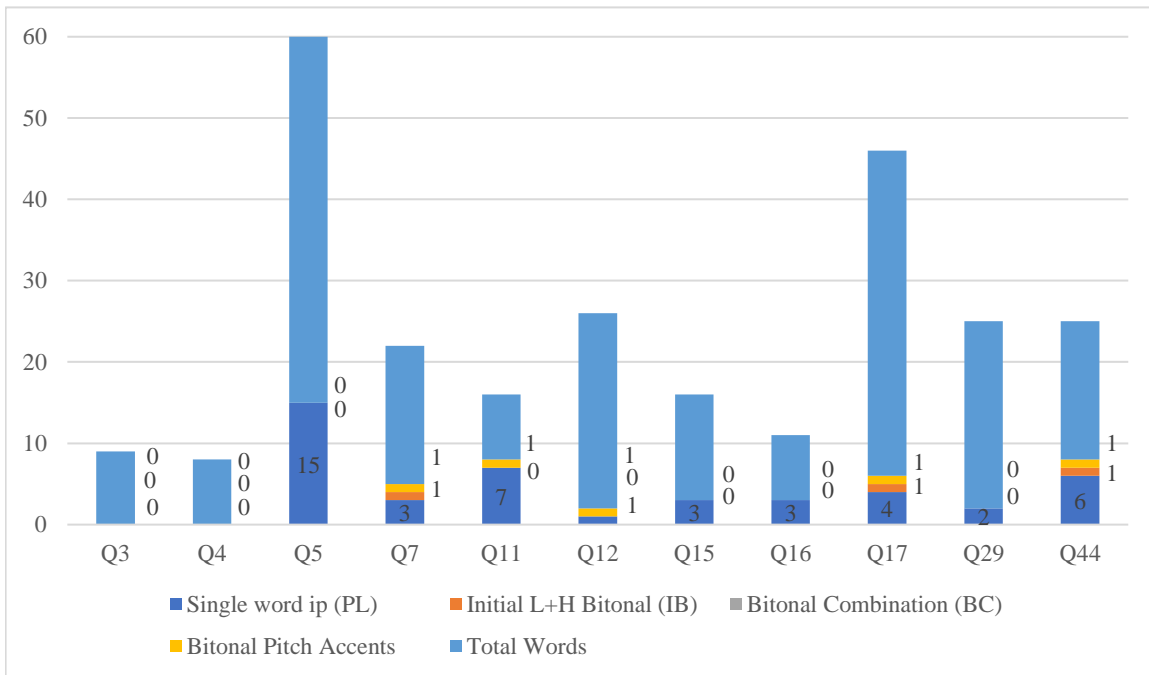


TABLE 4.8 ANTAGONISTIC INTERVIEW, WASHINGTON POST

Q#	SEQUENCE OF IPS	WORDS	INTONATIONAL PHONOLOGY								FORMULAIC PHRASES		
			BIVALENCY				TRANSFER				#	BIVALENCY	TRANSFER
			PL	IB	BC	BF	ST	HP	NS	CF			
3	1	4	0	0	0	0%	3	1	0	0	0	0	0
	2	5	0	0	0	0%	3	1	0	0	0	0	0
4	3	8	0	0	0	0%	6	1	0	0	0	0	0
5	4	46	10	0	0	0%	34	7	0	0	1	0	0
	5	9	5	0	0	0%	8	1	0	0	0	0	0
	6	5	0	0	0	0%	2	1	0	0	0	0	0
7	7	21	3	1	0	6%	16	4	0	0	3	0	0
11	8	16	7	0	0	8%	12	1	0	0	0	0	0
12	9	26	1	0	0	6%	17	5	0	0	3	0	0
15	10	16	3	0	0	0%	11	2	0	0	1	0	0
16	11	2	0	0	0	0%	2	1	0	0	1	0	0
	12	9	3	0	0	0%	8	1	0	0	2	0	0
17	13	29	4	1	0	5%	20	5	0	0	1	0	0
	14	17	0	0	0	0%	9	4	0	0	0	0	0
29	15	15	1	0	0	0%	8	3	0	0	2	0	0
	16	10	1	0	0	0%	5	1	0	0	0	0	0
44	17	25	6	1	0	7%	14	3	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL:		263	44	3	6	N/A	177	41	0	0	14	0	0
AVERAGE:		16	2.6	.2	.4	2%	10.4	2.4	0	0	.8	0	0

The frequency of each phenomenon per IP is presented Table 4.8. As predicted for a native speaker of English, no instances of Russian transfer items (NS, CF) appear. Every IP contains single tones and only one IP fails to contain high plateaus, an English-typical phenomenon. Nonetheless, some differences in the production of the two native speaker interviewers can be observed. The average IP length increases in *The Washington Post* interview from the BBC interview by 33%, from 12 to 16 words per IP. The number of high plateaus increases accordingly by 33%, however, single tones increase by 5% to an average of 10.4 tones per IP, or one every 1.5 words.

The bivalent phenomenon of single-word ips (PL) appears in 65% of the IPS in the corpus, whereas the ip-initial L+H bitonal pitch accent is produced in just 3 IPs. Both of these phenomena feature more frequently in *The Washington Post* interview, but only to a negligible degree (61% and 2 instances, respectively). The greatest difference lies in the average percentage of bitonal pitch accents. This constitutes 2% in *The Washington Post* interview, with 71% of IPs containing no bitonal pitch accents at all. The greatest percentage of bitonal pitch accents can be found in Q11: 8%. This is less than half of the average bitonal pitch accent frequency found in the BBC interviewer's corpus.

The Washington Post interviewer consistently realizes English-like prosodic features, examples of which are given in Figures 4.11-4.13. In high plateaus produced by *The Washington Post* interviewer (Fig. 4.11), the interviewer's f₀ contour remains consistently flatter than in excerpts from Lavrov or the BBC interviewer. This example also shows native-like realization of single tones: not every word in the sentence receives a pitch accent. This distinction also differentiates the assignment of single tones by native and Russian second language speakers; the latter are more likely to assign tones to a greater percentage of words in the sentence.

The single tones in Fig. 4.12 are realized with multiple ip boundaries. In this case, the difference between the f₀ contour in a high plateau segmented by ip boundaries and bitonal pitch accents can be observed. Although superficially similar, the English realization shows that once pitch targets are produced, the intensity of production subsides, and the segment is not sustained, leading to a falling away of the f₀ contour ("your meeting"). In Russian bitonal pitch accents and their transfer to English by second language speakers, the intensity is sustained throughout the fall, producing a very different acoustic effect and often a different f₀ contour can be observed.

FIGURE 4.11 HIGH PLATEAU, WASHINGTON POST

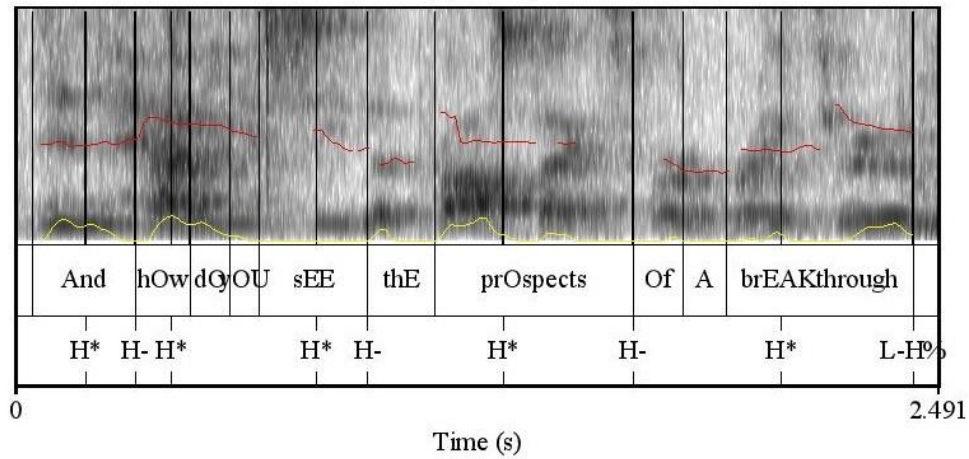


FIGURE 4.12 SINGLE HIGH TONES, WASHINGTON POST

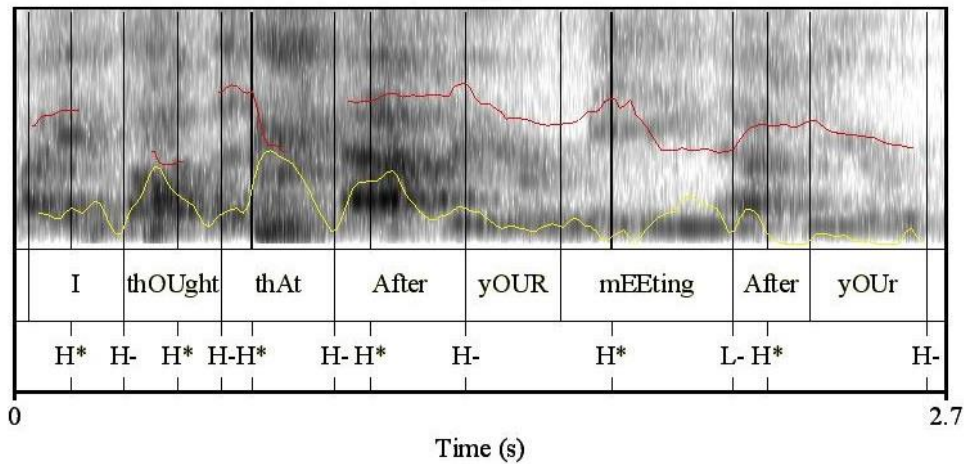
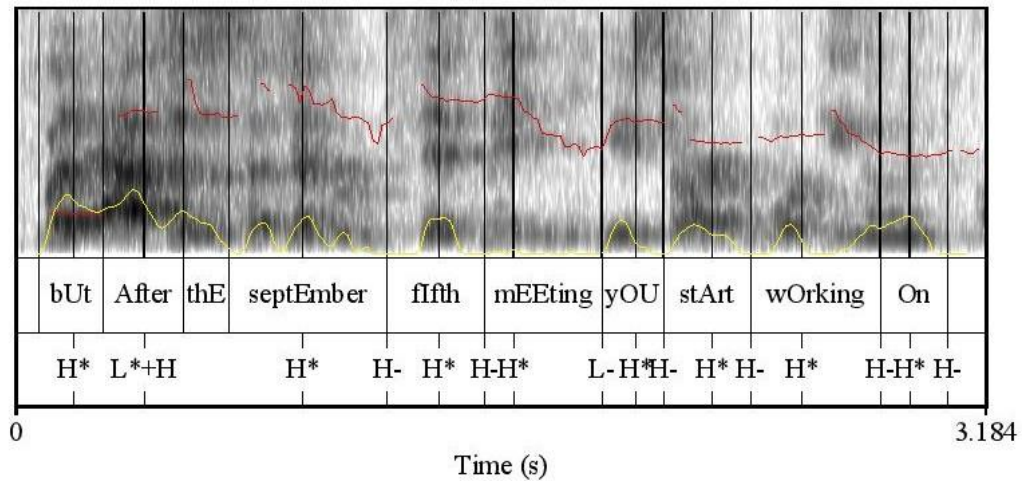


FIGURE 4.13 NARROW FOCUS, WASHINGTON POST



Bitonal pitch accents are used almost exclusively in the speech of *The Washington Post* interviewer to express narrow focus. Once such realization can be seen in Fig. 4.13. Two of the three instances of ip-initial bitonal pitch accents in the corpus (Q7, Q44) occur as a focus construction and all three occur within the IP, rather than appearing both ip- and IP-initial, as frequently occurs in Russian speech.

Formulaic phrases appear in slightly less than half of the IPs in the corpus (47%) and only when the interview is well under way. Formulaic phrases that were determined to have a holistic pragmatic meaning include: “now” (Q5, Q17), “so” (Q7, Q12, Q15), “I mean” (Q7), “even” (Q7), “throw out” (Q12), “very interesting” (Q16), “came up” (Q16), and “just” (29). Formulaic phrases lacking a holistic pragmatic meaning constitute just one exemplar: “in other words” (Q12). With the exception of just one instance, all formulaic phrases are produced with single tones. The exception is “even” (Q7), which is used as an instance of narrow focus.

Chi-squared tests of independence can only be performed for a reduced number of categories, given the low occurrence of bivalent phenomena. These tests indicate that most of the phenomena appear independently of one another (Table 4.9).¹⁶ None of these correlations reach significance, although the relation between single tones and high plateaus nears significance ($\chi^2(60)=78.07, p=0.059$).

TABLE 4.9 CORRELATIONS BETWEEN PHENOMENA, WASHINGTON POST

	Single Tones	High Plateau	Formulaic Phrases
Single-word ip	.11~	.14	.14
Single Tones		.059~	.20
High Plateau			.22

¹⁶ Counts of phenomena were collapsed across question turns for categories with numerous empty cells (IB). Categories with no or only infrequent instances of occurrence were excluded from the analysis (IB, BC, BF, NS, CF).

4.1.2.B SERGEI LAVROV

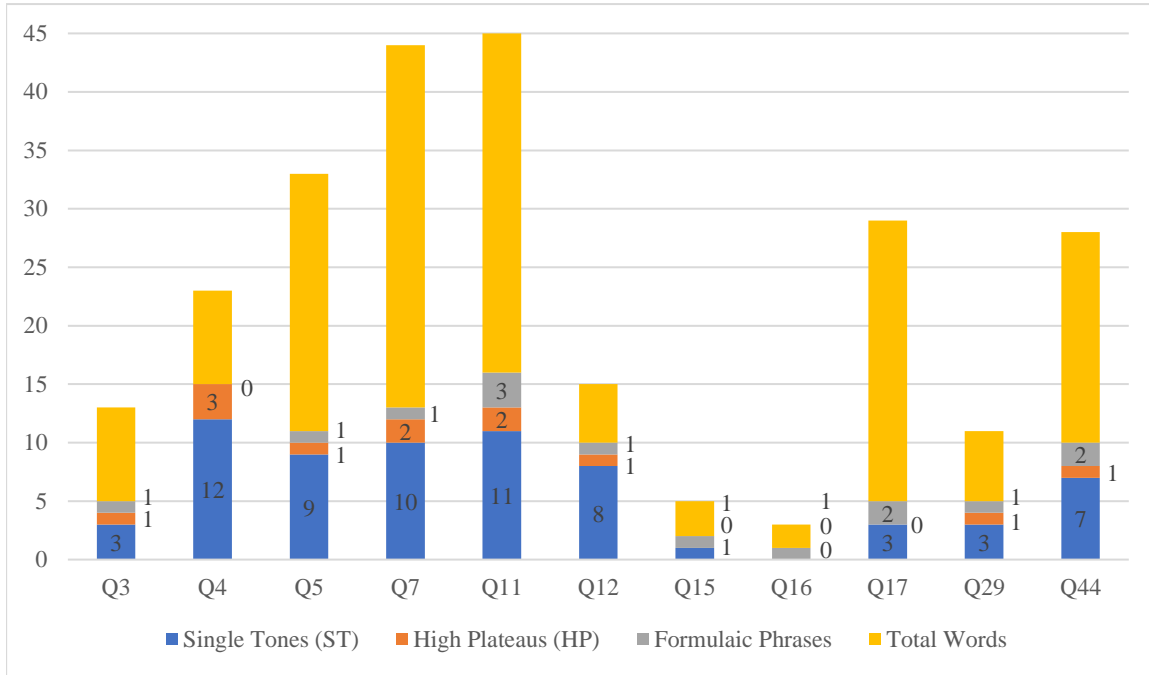
An overview of the Sergei Lavrov's speech in the antagonistic interview is presented in Graph 4.10, Graph 4.11¹⁷, and Graph 4.12. Single tones remain frequent, but with an average of only 36% of pitch accents, they no longer dominate Lavrov's prosody. High plateaus appear in all but three of the question responses (Q15, Q16, Q17), but average only 5% of the response, as opposed to the 14% of responses found in the BBC interview.

A comparison of the graphs reveals that bivalent phenomena are now the most frequently categories. Bitonal pitch accent frequency averages 64% and ranges from 33% to 100% of pitch accent assignments per question response. Single-word ips remain frequent, but actually decrease in their occurrence, from an average of 28% to 14% per question response, or 2.4 to 1.7 instances per IP. Although unexpected from the theoretical hypotheses utilized in selection of bivalent categories, this discrepancy may in fact have to do with the interactional nature of single-word ips. ip-initial L+H pitch accents, double in their frequency from the previous interview, rising from 11% to 22%. Finally, the bitonal combination, which was virtually absent from Lavrov's BBC interview, now averages 9% of question response and can appear as frequently as 33% (Q16).

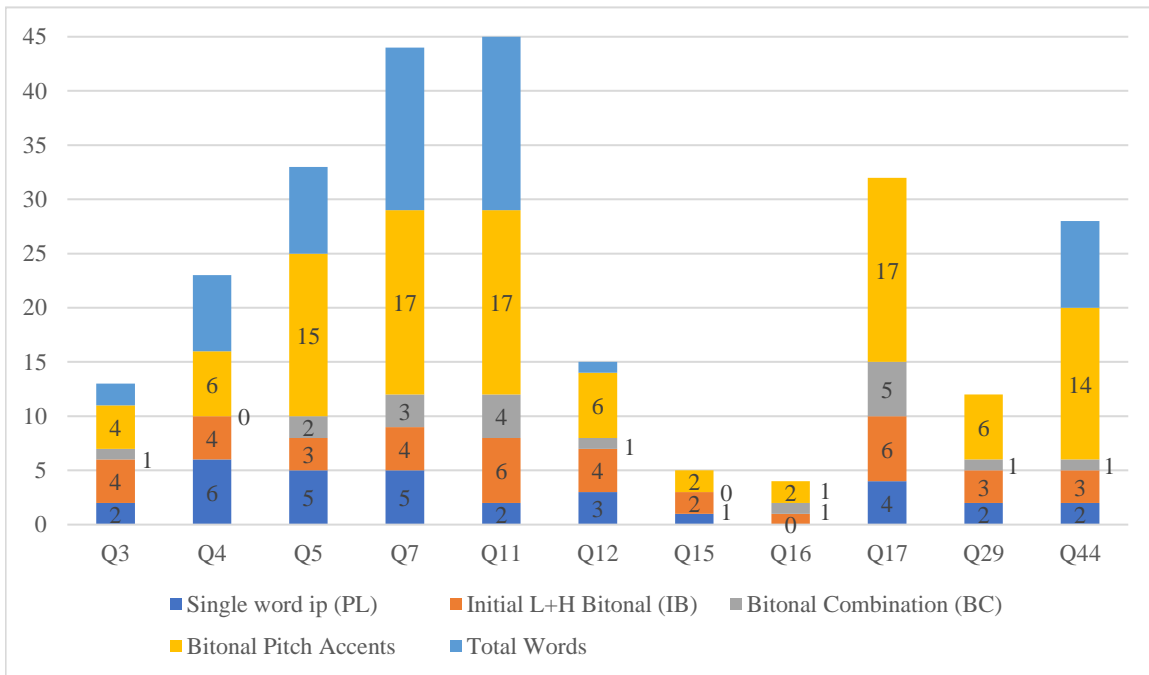
Although Russian phenomena remain low overall in their frequency count, their occurrence rises in comparison with the BBC interview. The H+L* nuclear stress pitch accent constitutes from 0% to 32% of each question response. At the same time, there are no instances of constituent fronting. It is interesting that a direct violation of English intonational phonology persists and increases in the antagonistic context, while a transfer element that is also associated with lexical items and syntactic structure remains entirely absent from the corpus.

¹⁷ Due to the high percentage of component phenomena, Q15, Q16, Q17 and Q29 in Graph 4.11 show an accurate count of phenomena, but an elevated total word count.

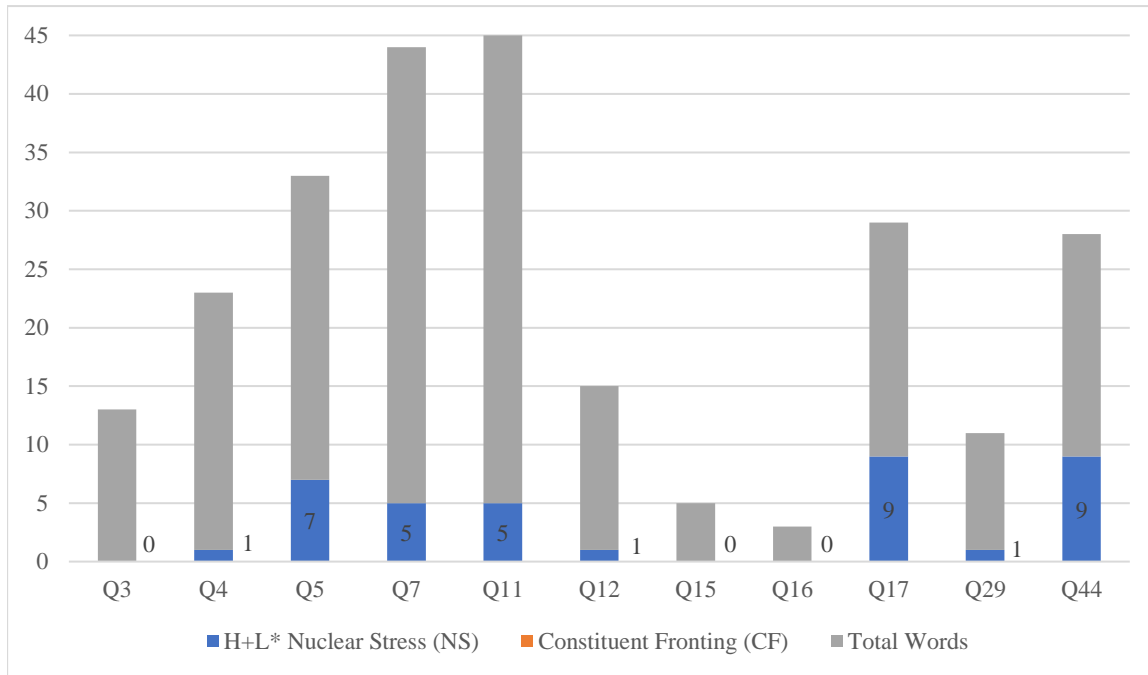
GRAPH 4.10 LAVROV, ENGLISH PHENOMENA BY QUESTION



GRAPH 4.11 LAVROV, BIVALENT PHENOMENA BY QUESTION



GRAPH 4.12 LAVROV, RUSSIAN PHENOMENA BY QUESTION



An analysis of the occurrence of phenomena per IP is presented in Table 4.10. Within the category of bivalent features, bitonal pitch accents and the ip-initial L+H pitch accent are nearly ubiquitous, occurring in 91% of IPs. Furthermore, in 23% of IPs, 100% of pitch accents are realized as bitonal pitch accents. Single-word ips appear in 73% of IPs, and even the bitonal combination appears in greater than half of IPs: 64%. The transfer phenomenon of H+L* nuclear pitch accent also appears in 64% of all IPs. This is slightly less as a percentage of IPs, but constitutes nearly a twofold increase from 16 to 38 instances and .9 to 1.7 instances per IP. The H+L* nuclear bitonal pitch accent occurs over half as often as single tones and three times more frequently than high plateaus. The ratio may reflect the frequency of the L+H L+H H+L* structure in the corpus.

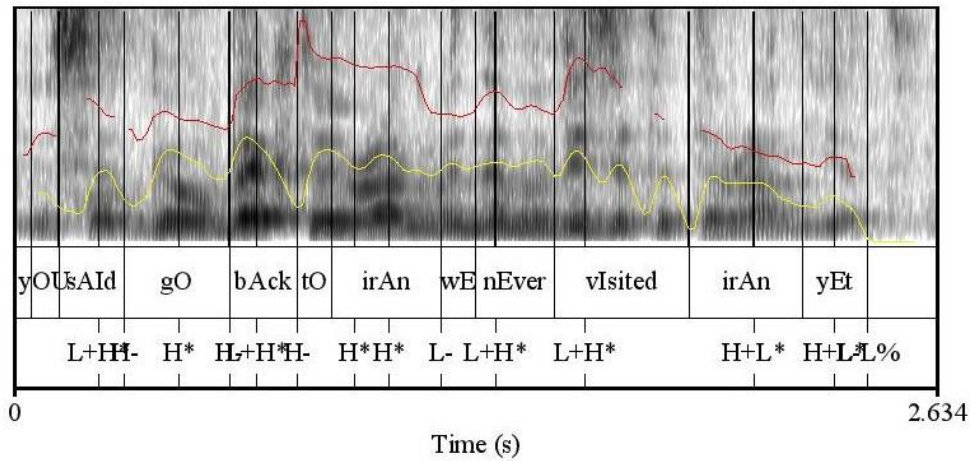
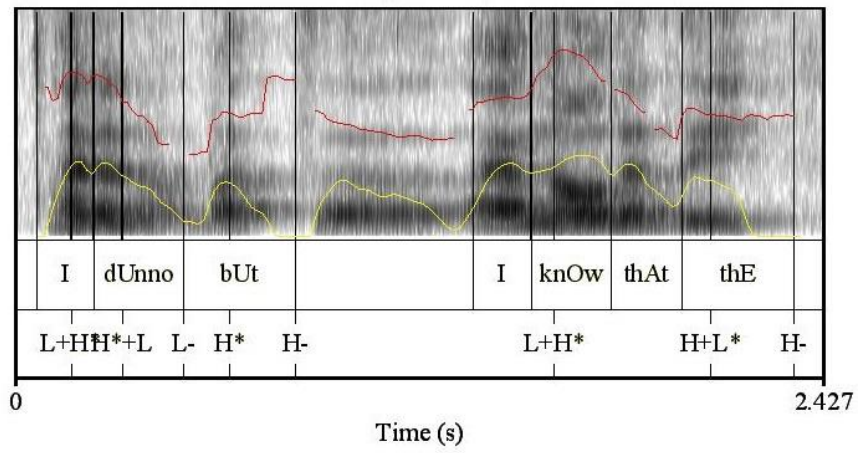
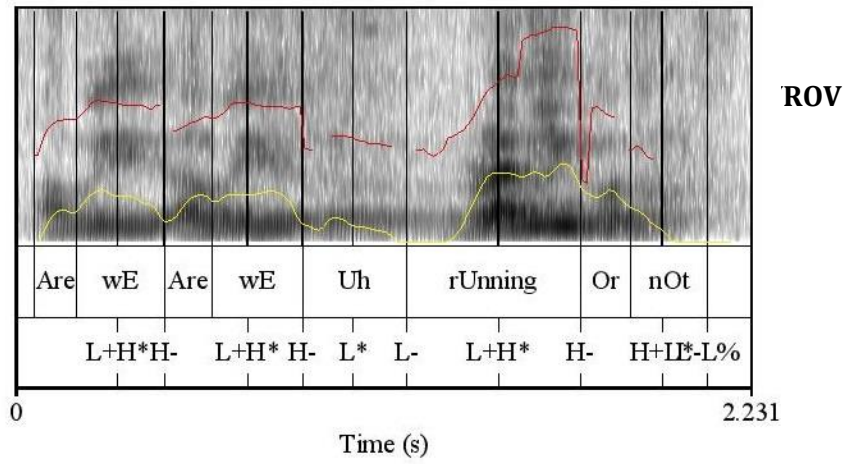
TABLE 4.10 ANTAGONISTIC INTERVIEW, LAVROV

Q#	SEQUENCE OF IPS	WORDS	INTONATIONAL PHONOLOGY								FORMULAIC PHRASES		
			BIVALENCY				TRANSFER				#	BIVALENCY	TRANSFER
			PL	IB	BC	BF	ST	HP	NS	CF			
3	1	7	1	3	1	100%	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	2	1	1	1	0	0%	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
	3	5	0	0	0	0%	2	1	0	0	1	0	0
4	4	23	6	4	0	33%	12	3	1	0	0	0	0
5	5	14	4	2	1	70%	3	0	4	0	1	0	0
	6	19	1	1	1	57%	6	1	3	0	0	0	0
7	7	12	1	1	1	100%	0	0	2	0	1	0	0
	8	12	2	1	0	33%	6	2	0	0	0	0	0
	9	17	1	2	2	64%	4	0	3	0	0	0	0
11	10	20	1	2	1	50%	5	0	2	0	1	0	0
	11	9	0	1	2	71%	2	1	2	0	0	0	0
	12	16	1	3	1	64%	4	1	1	0	2	2	0
12	13	2	0	1	1	100%	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
	14	13	3	3	0	33%	8	1	0	0	1	0	0
15	15	5	1	2	0	67%	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
16	16	3	0	1	1	100%	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
17	17	2	0	1	1	100%	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
	18	22	4	5	4	87%	2	0	7	0	1	0	0
	19	5	0	0	0	67%	1	0	2	0	0	0	0
29	20	11	2	3	1	67%	3	1	1	0	1	1	0
44	21	20	1	2	1	64%	5	1	5	0	2	2	0
	22	8	1	1	0	71%	2	0	4	0	0	0	0
TOTAL:		246	31	40	19	N/A	67	12	38	0	14	6	0
AVERAGE:		12	1.4	1.8	.9	64%	3	.6	1.7	0	.6	.27	0

Figs. 4.14 and 4.15 illustrate how two bivalent phenomena appear in conjunction. Here, the ip-initial L+H pitch accent precedes the L+H H+L bitonal combination, creating a structure characteristic of Russian speech, if we disregard the filler (“uh”) inserted into the phrase. However, in this example, the assignment of bitonal pitch accents does not correspond to Russian information structure. In Fig. 4.15, the L+H H+L bitonal pitch accent combination is positioned according to

Russian norms, although the H+L* nuclear pitch accent is shifted to function words, perhaps due to truncation of th

FIG1



Russian-like information structure assignment of bitonal pitch accent is also retained in Fig. 4.16; in Russian translation, “yet” would likely be fronted before the verb to create the structure: L+H L+H L+H H+L*. This example also illustrates how Lavrov parses his sentences into frequent single-word ips that do not always reflect English constituent structure.

Formulaic phrases occur in nearly the same number of IPs as in the affiliative interview—55% versus 59%, respectively—however, total instances in the antagonistic interview fall, from 14 to 21, or 1.2 to .6 instances per IP. This difference does not appear motivated by accommodation or disaffiliation, as Lavrov’s production falls between that of the two interviewers: BBC interviewer (10 instances, .5/IP) and the Washington Post interviewer (15 instances, .8/IP).

TABLE 4.11 FORMULAIC PHRASES, MLF, & PROSODY

Q#	PHRASE	MLF ¹⁸	TRANSLATION(S)	MLF ¹⁹	PROSODY		
5,7,11	well	1216.8	nu čto ž	907.4 111.4	H+L*	H*+L	H*
11	as I said	7.77	kak â skazal kak â govoril kak bylo skazano	1.90 1.05 0.88	L*		H+L*
11	couple of times	4.1	paru raz	4.9	L+H* H*+L		
11	already	290.16	uže	2003.77	H+L*		
12	the need of the day	3	neobhodimost' dnâ	0	L+H* H*H*H*H*		
16	me too	3.81	mne tože â tože	9.06 44.74	L+H*H*+L		
17	I dunno (2x)* (I don't know)	0.026 132.38	ne znaû	215.22	L+H*H*+L (2x)		
29	yet	333.48	poka do sih por	461.11 128.32	H+L*		
44	I'm sure	32.9	uveren	56.8	H*	H+L*	
44	very well	28.25	očen' horošo	40.94	H+L*		

¹⁸ Corpus of Contemporary American English. 570,353,748 words. <https://corpus.byu.edu/COCA/>. MLF per million words.

¹⁹ Russian National Corpus. 283,431,966 words. <http://www.ruscorpora.ru/>. MLF per million words.

All but three of these formulaic phrases can be considered to have a holistic pragmatic meaning that may affect the appropriateness of its implementation. Formulaic phrases categorized as containing pragmatic content include: “well” H+L*/none/H* (Q5, Q7, Q11), “as I said” L* L+H* (Q7), “already” H+L* (Q11), “me too” L+H* H*+L (Q16), “I dunno” L+H H*+L (Q17), “I’m sure” H*+ H+L* (Q44), and “very well” H+L* (Q44). The three formulaic phrases categorized as lacking pragmatic content are: “couple of times” L+H* H*+L (Q11), “the need of the day” L+H* H* H* H* H* (Q12), and “yet” H+L* (Q44).

Whether or not a formulaic phrase can be considered bivalent pertains to the frequency of that expression’s use in each of the languages. Table 4.11 presents the mean lemma frequency (MLF) for each formulaic phrase. Those that have a greater or nearly equivalent frequency of use in Russian and English are classified as bivalent. This is 46% of the total number of formulaic phrases, slightly more than the 35% of bivalent formulaic phrases in the BBC interview. None of the instances are categorized as a transfer item from English, because they all occur felicitously within their context of use. Although the overall number of formulaic phrases is higher in the BBC interview (12 vs. 17), roughly the same number of IPs contain bivalent formulaic phrases (4 vs. 5). In the Washington Post interview, these bivalent formulaic phrases come in the second half of the interview.

Formulaic phrases also do not seem to show a pattern in terms of their assignment to one or the other prosodic system, but instead appear to reflect the expected assignment of pitch accents based on their position in the ip. No pattern distinguishing formulaic phrases with pragmatic meaning or by frequency can be isolated. Three of the four non-bivalent formulaic phrases are realized with English prosody or a combination of English and Russian phenomena. However, the

fourth non-bivalent formulaic phrase (“I dunno”) is realized in both instances with a Russian-like bitonal combination. Nearly all of the formulaic phrases are produced with a Russian bivalent or transfer phenomenon, although this may reflect the larger number of these phenomena in the corpus or the placement of the formulaic phrases towards the beginning or end of IPs, which predisposes them to Russian-like structures. Therefore, it seems in antagonistic contexts, Lavrov’s assignment of pitch accents may also either reflects contextual concerns or personal experience that cannot be accounted for in the analysis.

Chi-squared tests of independence indicate that most of the phenomena appear independently of one another (Table 4.12).²⁰ Only two correlations were significant: high plateau and single tones ($\chi^2(24)=41.34$, $p=0.015$), and the H+L* nuclear pitch accent and bitonal frequency ($\chi^2(20)=36.67$, $p=0.013$). The results indicate that in the antagonistic interview, some relations which would be expected in each of the two intonational systems appear to be significant simultaneously.

TABLE 4.12 CORRELATIONS BETWEEN PHENOMENA, LAVROV

	Initial L+H	Bitonal Combination	Bitonal Frequency	Single Tones	High Plateau	Nuclear H+L* Accent	Formulaic Phrase
Single-word ip	.16	.28	.18	.18	.18	.58	.39
Initial L+H		.42	.36	.29	.31	.56	.56
Bitonal Combination			.52	.23	.14	.13	.14
Bitonal Frequency				.26	.26	.013*	.64
Single Tones					.015*	.31	.25
High Plateau						.14	.31
Nuclear H+L* Accent							.11

²⁰ Counts of phenomena were collapsed across question turns for categories with numerous empty cells (IB). Categories with no or only infrequent instances of occurrence were excluded from the analysis (IB, BC, BF, NS, CF).

4.1.2.c DISAFFILIATION IN THE WASHINGTON POST INTERVIEW

An overview of the frequency of occurrence of English and bivalent phenomena are presented in Graph 4.6 and Graph 4.7. While the interlocutors illustrate divergent patterns of occurrence in both categories of English and bivalent phenomena.

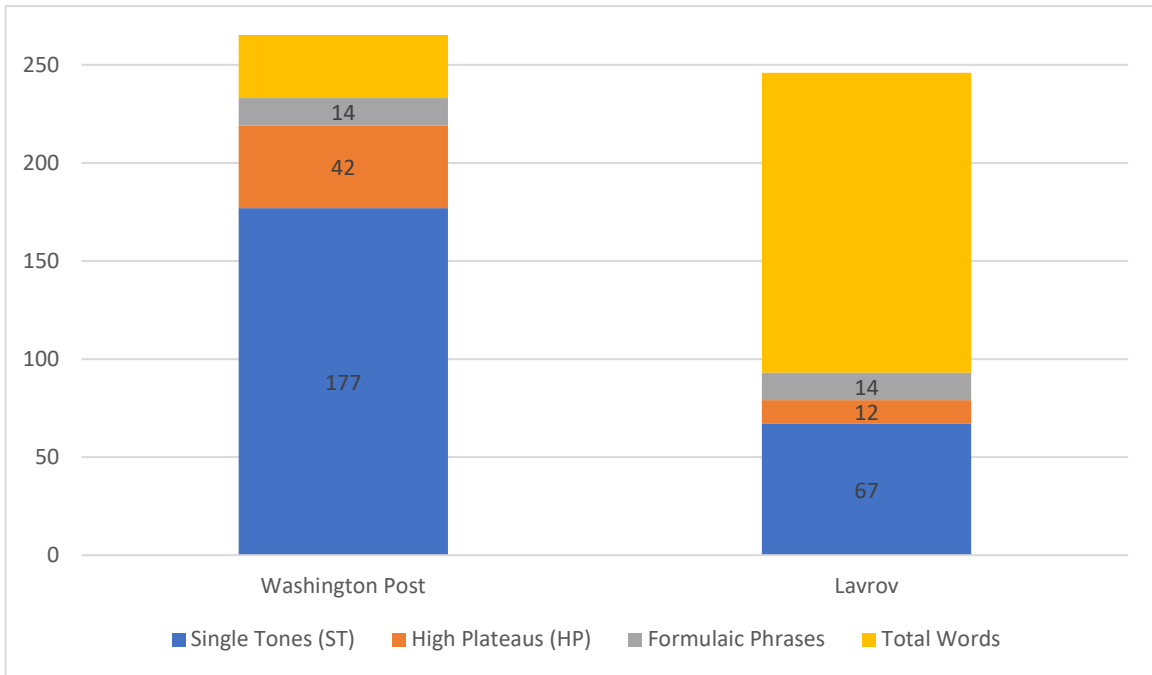
Concerning English language phenomena, the Washington Post interviewer produces more than twice the English language phenomena as Lavrov: more than 2.5 times the number of high plateaus and over half as many single tones. Formulaic phrases, however, are an exception as both interlocutors produce 14 instances.

The discrepancies in production of bivalent phenomena is even more extreme. Lavrov produces nearly 18 times as many bitonal pitch accents as the Washington Post interviewer, and 13 times as many ip-initial L+H bitonal pitch accents. Additionally, Lavrov produces 19 bitonal combinations, and the Washington Post interviewer produces none. One exception is single-word ips. The Washington Post interviewer produces 29% more of these phenomena than Lavrov.

However, the most extreme difference between the two categories of phenomena still remains in the speech of the Washington Post interviewer, as might be expected. This interviewer produces only 17% of total phenomena as bivalent, and 83% as English typical features. Lavrov, to the contrary, produces 33% of his total intonational phenomena as English typical features, and 67% as bivalent ones.

In comparison with the affiliative interview, these percentages are almost identical, but in the opposite distribution. Lavrov produces only 33% of his total intonational phenomena as bivalent features, and 69% as English typical ones. Whereas the BBC interviewer, similar to the Washington Post interviewer, produces 82% of his total intonational phenomena as English typical features, and only 18% as bivalent ones.

GRAPH 4.13 WASHINGTON POST VS. LAVROV, TOTAL ENGLISH PHENOMENA



GRAPH 4.14 WASHINGTON POST VS. LAVROV, TOTAL BIVALENT PHENOMENA

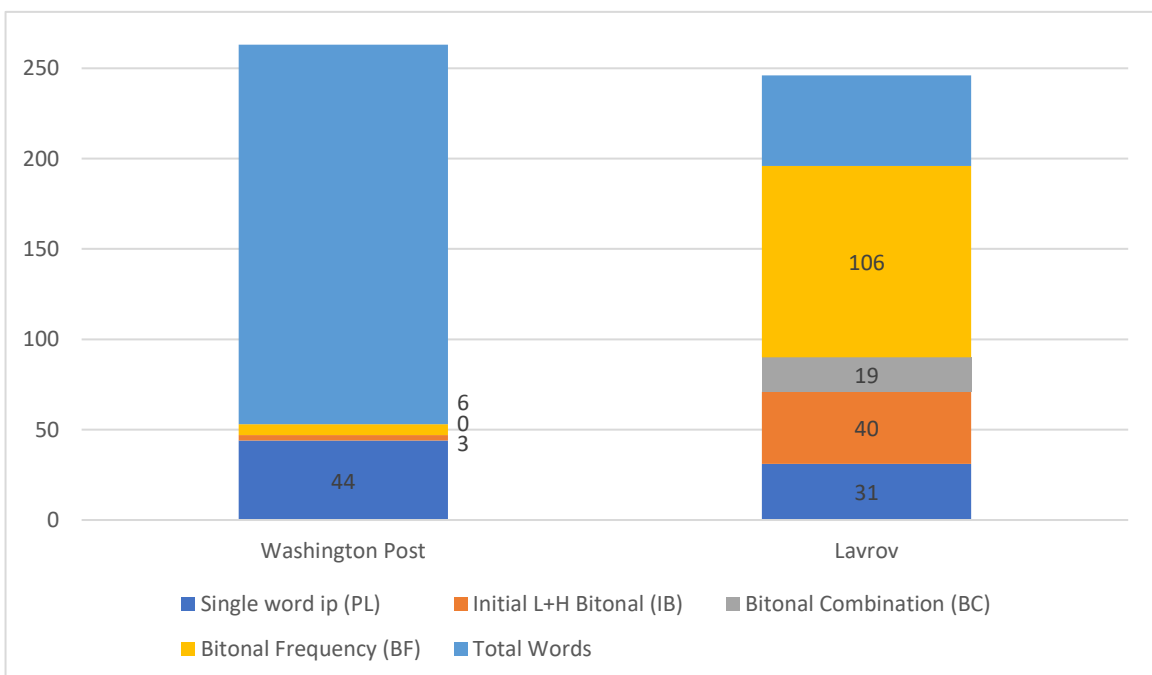


TABLE 4.13 T-TESTS BETWEEN SUBJECT MEANS: LAVROV & WASHINGTON POST

TYPE	PHENOMENON	P-VALUE
Bivalent	Single-word ips	0.45
	Initial L+H bitonal pitch accent	<0.0001***
	Bitonal combination	0.0054**
	Bitonal frequency	<0.0001***
Transfer	Single tones	0.014*
	High plateaus	0.0094**
	Nuclear stress	0.10~
Other	Formulaic phrases	1.00

T-tests were conducted to investigate whether the phenomena's variance in the subject means between the two interviews was significant (Table 4.13). The interlocutors differed significantly in their production of all but two categories: the interlocutors' use of single-word ips and formulaic phrases failed to reach significance. Surprisingly, the difference between the interlocutors' use of the H+L* nuclear pitch accent only approached significance, despite the fact that the Washington Post interviewer produced no instances of this phenomena.

The remaining four categories were found to be moderately to extremely significant in their variance between subject means. Presented in order of the degree of this finding, these are the bitonal combination, high plateaus, the ip-initial L+H bitonal pitch accent, and bitonal frequency.

TABLE 4.14 DISAFFILIATION IN A WASHINGTON POST INTERVIEW

	WORDS	INTONATIONAL PHONOLOGY								FORMULAIC PHRASES		
		BIVALENCY				TRANSFER				#	BIVALENCY	TRANSFER
		PL	IB	BC	BF	ST	HP	NS	CF			
WASHINGTON POST												
TOTAL:	263	44	3	6	N/A	177	41	0	0	14	0	0
AVERAGE:	16	2.6	.2	.4	2%	10.4	2.4	0	0	.8	0	0
LAVROV												
TOTAL:	246	31	40	19	N/A	67	12	38	0	14	6	0
AVERAGE:	12	1.4	1.8	.9	64%	3	.6	1.7	0	.6	.27	0

Whether there is a baseline from which Lavrov may be accommodating or disaffiliating is unclear from this data, but a clear process of differentiation between contexts has been shown. Furthermore, the sheer differences in scope in terms of absolute numbers of phenomena realized and in terms of the categories affected suggest that the antagonistic interview displays difficulties with production that are far more serious than simply maintaining one intonational system for extended periods. Lavrov has transitioned to primarily utilizing a hybrid system with bivalent phenomena, in addition to one linguistically salient phenomenon: the Russian H+L* nuclear pitch accent.

4.1.3 PERFORMANCE ACROSS CONTEXTS

An important consideration in evaluating the results of these comparisons lies in the degree to which the selected phenomena may remain consistent across contexts for the interviewers, just as the production of phenomena is expected to vary between contexts in second language speech. To these ends, the speech of both interviewers may be evaluated relative to one another.

The two corpora do not appear to vary considerably across prosodic categories; however, a comparison reveals two surprising findings. The greatest variance in subject means can be found in the category of transfer prosodic phenomena (Table 4.15). The Washington Post interviewer produces significantly more single tones and high plateaus, whereas the BBC interviewer produces nearly nine times as many bitonal pitch accents. This distinction may be the hypothesized confound between British and American norms of intonational phonology. Their use of formulaic phrases by interviewers remains roughly similar, and all other variance between subject means does not reach significance.

TABLE 4.15 T-TEST BETWEEN SUBJECT MEANS: ENGLISH INTERVIEWERS

TYPE	PHENOMENON	P-VALUE
Bivalent	Single-word ips	0.91
	Initial L+H bitonal pitch accent	0.67
	Bitonal frequency	0.019*
Transfer	Single tones	0.050*
	High plateaus	0.050*
Other	Formulaic phrases	0.46

TABLE 4.16 NATIVE ENGLISH INTERVIEWERS

	WORDS	INTONATIONAL PHONOLOGY								FORMULAIC PHRASES		
		BIVALENCY				TRANSFER				#	BIVALENCY	TRANSFER
		PL	IB	BC	BF	ST	HP	NS	CF			
BBC												
TOTAL:	235	19	2	1	N/A	128	35	0	0	10	0	0
AVERAGE:	12	1.1	.1	.1	17%	6.7	1.8	0	0	.5	0	0
WASHINGTON POST												
TOTAL:	263	44	3	6	N/A	177	41	0	0	14	0	0
AVERAGE:	16	2.6	.2	.4	2%	10.4	2.4	0	0	.8	0	0

If we consider Lavrov’s performance across contexts, bivalent and transfer phenomena remain pervasive. The increase in bivalent and transfer phenomena concerns a greater preponderance of those previously present in Lavrov’s speech, as well as new categories of phenomena that previously were absent: the L+H H+L bitonal combination is only almost exclusively in the antagonistic interview and the H+L* nuclear pitch accent doubles in frequency. The new prominence afforded the bitonal combination—almost one instance per IP—cannot be attributed simply to phrase breaks that might interrupt the construction, as the number of single-word ips remain relatively substantial between the two interviews and bitonal pitch accents overall increase tremendously.

TABLE 4.17 T-TEST BETWEEN SUBJECT MEANS: LAVROV ACROSS INTERVIEWS

TYPE	PHENOMENON	P-VALUE
Bivalent	Single-word ips	0.12~
	Initial L+H bitonal pitch accent	0.85
	Bitonal combination	0.013*
	Bitonal frequency	0.79
Transfer	Single tones	0.0044**
	High plateaus	<0.0001***
	Nuclear stress	0.88
Other	Formulaic phrases	0.049*

The ip-initial L+H pitch accents and the frequency of bitonal pitch accents more than double their occurrence. Their realization has also changed, reflecting Russian structures rather than the repurposing of bitonal pitch accents for focus constructions seen in Lavrov's affiliative interview. Only the occurrence of single-word ips remains decreases moderately in comparison with the affiliative interview. This finding lends support for the hypothesis that the phenomenon is related to interactional concerns in English speech of proficient second language speakers.

In an opposing trend, English native-like phenomena decrease. The frequency of single tones more than halves, and the occurrence of high plateaus is one third that of the instances found in the affiliative interview.

These findings suggest that processing difficulties may interfere with the suppression of prosodic phenomena, particularly in the antagonistic interview, where Lavrov becomes substantially less successful at producing English phenomena.

It is also notable that the categories which differ between Lavrov's speech in affiliative and antagonistic contexts closely resemble those that differ between Lavrov's and the interviewer's speech in the antagonistic interview. This would seem to support the idea that Lavrov's speech in

the affiliative interview is native-like, given the same distinction appear between this corpus and that of the BBC interviewer. The only difference lies in their use of the H+L* nuclear pitch accent.

Surprisingly, the H+L* nuclear pitch accent, a Russian transfer phenomenon, is not revealed to be significantly different between the two interviews, although its occurrence more than doubles. This may be related to the fact that even though the total occurrences of the nuclear pitch accent increase, its appearance in IPs falls from 71% of IPs in the affiliative interview to 59% of IPs in the antagonistic interview. This finding may also reflect additional differences in the consistency or configuration of how the H+L* nuclear pitch accent is used in the two interviews.

Overall, the findings suggest that a highly proficient second language speaker such as Lavrov has surprising difficulty retaining control over the linguistic distinctions that differentiate the two language systems, especially in a more taxing interactional environment.

4.2 MICHAEL McFAUL

The two interviews analyzed in this section took place between 2012 and 2014, at which time Michael McFaul served as the American ambassador to the Russian Federation. One of very few American officials to speak in Russian publicly, McFaul participated in dozens of interviews with Russian reporters and TV hosts. However, McFaul cannot claim the same public speaking experience as Sergei Lavrov. This is partially evident in his personal style of interaction, which remains informal regardless of context.

McFaul began to study Russian at university and exhibits sufficient Russian language skills to respond adequately to a wide range of question topics.²¹ However, McFaul's lack of native-like discourse strategies is apparent when the situation requires sophisticated language skills. McFaul is able to compensate for imperfect knowledge of more complicated structures and a lack of grammatical and lexical accuracy through the use of communicative strategies. At times, these strategies may be applied in an idiosyncratic manner with a reliance on formulaic phrases.

This compensatory strategy is especially apparent in the antagonistic interview with NTV, where McFaul is accosted on the street by a crew of TV journalists. The interview can be categorized as antagonistic due to the uncooperative nature of both interlocutors. The interviewer persists in attempting to gain a statement from McFaul, who repeatedly chastises the interviewer for neglecting the appropriate protocol in scheduling a formal interview.

The affiliative interview is taken from McFaul's TV appearance on the popular late-night talk show *Večernij Urgant* ("Evening Urgant"). The questions in this interview address McFaul's personal life and remain unambiguously non-confrontational. The interlocutors joke throughout

²¹ An approximate proficiency level of ACTFL Advanced-Plus in speaking proficiency can be assumed based on McFaul's oral performance in interviews.

the interview, clearly indicating their intention to promote a friendly and mutually respectful dialogue.

Although accommodation is predicted in the second interview, McFaul's lesser proficiency in his second language and his lack of experience as an interview subject may produce a more complicated pattern of results.

4.2.1 AFFILIATIVE INTERVIEW

An affiliative interview with Michael McFaul was conducted by the nighttime talk show host Ivan Urgant on November 7, 2012. The interview lasted for nearly twenty minutes and the format consisted of sixty question-response pairs. The length of the interview is due to the informal nature of the discussion, which resembled a conversation with multiple interjections, rather than adhering to a strict question-answer format. All questions were deemed equally affiliative, so the first twelve question and answer pairs were coded sequentially. In this informal interview, the length of the question or response varies greatly, depending on the nature of the question. Some exchanges are largely phatic in nature and quite brief. Therefore, for both the interviewer and interviewee, short exchanges were coded in full and longer questions were coded until the first logical phrase break upon sentence completion. A 250-word corpus was collected for each interlocutor from the twelve questions sampled.

Selected questions include a discussion of McFaul's wish to be in Chicago that night (Q1), how McFaul spent election night (Q2), when he learned of the U.S. election results (Q3), an interjection that he need not reveal details (Q4), a confirmation request that McFaul had been in the country since January (Q5), a query whether McFaul had prepared for the eventuality that Obama might lose (Q6), whether McFaul was friends with Obama (Q7), a request to describe a

photo with Obama (Q8), a joke whether he was sent to Russia as punishment (Q9), an inquiry on how McFaul felt upon being offered the ambassadorship (Q10), a joke about the Russian white house (Q11), and a request to describe a childhood picture (Q12).

The transcript of the *Večernij Urgant* interview (Fig. 4.17) provides an overview of the location and frequency of proposed shifts between intonational systems. Phenomena unique to Russian prosody are highlighted in red, those unique to English prosody are in blue, and bivalent phenomena are in purple. Sentence length is given in brackets, and formulaic phrases are in bold font. Interjections are written in italics (i.e., *uh*, *um*, *ah*) and excluded from the analysis, as interjections are almost exclusively realized in single tones and are not limited by the same constraints of intonational phonology as linguistic items with semantic content. Russian prepositions form a single phonetic word with their object, and stress falls only on the content word (Avanesov 1964). Prepositions do not receive pitch accents, and thus are not counted as words in the Russian language corpora. Minimal exceptions occur where McFaul produces prepositions as detached words, perhaps as an instance of transfer from his L1 system.

Given the greater prevalence of intermediate phrases in Russian, instances of transfer frequently occur in their own ips. However, in McFaul's speech as well, transfer elements tend to cluster at the beginning or middle of long phrases, as if he has difficulty initiating or sustaining the second language intonational system. In longer passages, bivalent pitch accents become more prevalent; that is, the characteristic H+L* nuclear pitch accent appears less often in these longer passages. Unlike Lavrov, transfer phenomena do not seem to appear in instances where McFaul stresses elements of the sentence.

FIGURE 4.17 TRANSCRIPT OF VEČERNIJ URGANT'S INTERVIEW WITH McFAUL

Q1: Da, â tak ponimaû, što u Va-. Vy hoteli by- ne-ne- hoteli by segodnâ hodit. [6; 9]

Yes, so I understand that yo-. You wanted- di-didn't want to come today.

L+H*H+L* H* L+H*H+L* H+L* H+L* H+L* H+L* L+H H+L* H*H+L*
 A1: [Â hoteli][byť][v drugoj meste][segodnâ večerom]. [čestnoe slovo]. [Čikago]. [â by][hoteli][da]. [No]
I wanted to be in another place this evening, to be honest. Chicago, I wanted to be, right. But
 L+H* L+H* L+H* H+L*
 [ne][polučilos'] [poètomu][â s Vami]. [9; 5; 6]
it didn't work out, so I'm with you.

Q2: My pozdravlâem prezidenta Obamu. Rasskažite kak prošla vot èto važnâ ah ka eh noč' i den', da
We congratulate President Obama. Tell us how passed this here important ah ka eh night and day, yes
 ved' kogda u nas den' tam noč'. Uh kodga Vy načali prazdnovat'? [4; 16; 4]
after all, when we have day it's night there. Uh when did you begin to celebrate?

L+H* H* H* H+L*
 A2: [Kogda][my][znali][rezultaty]. [4]
When we knew the results.

Q3: A ko- a kogda Vy znali rezul'tat? [7]
And wh- and when did you know the result?

H* L+H* L+H* H+L* L+H*L+H* H* H*
 A3: [Èto bylo][gde-to][vosem' časov][utra][â][byl][s-]... [9]
This was around eight o'clock in the morning, I was with-

Q4: Možno ne rasskazyvat'. [3]
No need to say.

L+H* H* L+H* H+L*L+H*L+H*L+H* H+L*L+H*H* L* L+H* H* H* L+H* L+H H+L* L+H*
 A4: [Ne][â][mogu][skazat']. [â][â][hoču rasskazat']. [â byl s]. [Ah][Ženoj]. [I][moâ][syna][u menâ est'] [dva]
No, I can say, I I want to tell (you), I was with. Ah (my) wife. And my sons, u have two
 H+L* L* H* H* H*L*L+H* H*L+H*H*+LL+H* L+H*L+H*H*+L L*L+H* L+H* L+H*L+H*
 [syna]. [je-][četyrnadcat'] [let][i][desât'] [let]. [Oni] [očen'] [žaleû]. [Oni] [ah][lûbât][Obama]. [My-][â]
Sons. Je-fourteen years and ten years. They regret very much. They ah love Obama. We- I
 H+L H* H+L H* H+L H+L* L+H* L+H* L+H* H+L* L+H* H*+LH*+L
 [rabotal][tri][goda][vo][Belom][Dome]. [Poètomu][oni][vstrečalos'] [s nim][poètomu][èto bylo]
worked three years in the White House. Therefore they met with him, therefore it was a
 H+L* H* H+L H+L* H+L*
 [semejnyj][takoj prazdnik i][očen'] [priâtno]. [10; 1; 7; 5; 3; 3; 8; 13]
family kind of holiday, very pleasant.

Q5: I Vy otmečali prâmo vmeste. Deti s Vami i vsû vovse sem'â priehal s Vami iz- Ah Vy-Vy priehali v
And you celebrated right there together. You with the children and the entire family came with you
 ânvarë. I vse èto vremâ Vy vse zdes'. Nu, rasskažite pri èto, Vy byli- O da. O da. [5; 8; 3; 7; 6; 2; 2]
from- Ah you-you arrived in January. And all this time You are all here. Well, tell (me) about this, you
 were- Oh, yes. Oh, yes.

H+L* H* H+L* H*H+L* L+H* H+L H+L* H*L+H* H* H+L*L+H*
 A5: [Da][my'] [vse zdes']. [I eše][dal'se][v svâzi][s ètim][rezul'tatom]. [Da], [esli][on][ne pobedil][â][ah]
Yes, we are all here. And still longer in connection with this result. Yes, if he didn't win, I
 L+H* H* H+L*
 [mne][prihoditsâ domoj]. [4; 6; 9]
I'd have to go home.

Q6: A vot skažite požalujsta. A vot skažite požalujsta. A kak nu Vy kak-to go-gotovilis' vot tam, a vdrug, nu byli že šansy da tam pereves vse-taki byl. Ne takoj bol'šoj šansy byli. Ah u vas (inaudible) suddenly, well there really were chances, yes there the advantage after all was. There were not so very kakoj-to pohodnyj nabor. Možet byt' kakie-to Vy pakovali li Vy čemondany. Ah otvenčivali li Vy kartiny. great chances. Ah you (inaudible) some kind of camping set? Maybe you packed, did you pack some kind of suitcases? Ah did you unscrew the paintings? [4; 4; 19; 5; 5; 8; 4]

L+H* H+L*L+H* H+L* H* L+H* L*L+H*L+H* L+H* L+H*L+H* L+H* L+H* H*
A6: [Net][net my uznali][čto on][pobedit].[Ah][no][â][zametaj][čto moj][syn][inogda smotrel][kakaâ]
No, no we knew that he will win. Ah but I noticed that my son sometimes watched what kind of
 L+H* L+H* H* L+H* L+H* L+H* L+H* L+H* L+H* L+H* H*+LH+L* L*L+H*
[pogoda][my][iz][Kalifornii][i on][inogda][smotrel][kakaâ][pogoda][tam][na vsâkij slučae].[Ah][no]
weather-we are from California-and he sometimes watched what kind of weather was there just in case.
 H*H+L*L+H*H+L* L+H* L+H*H+L* H+L*L+H* L+H*L+H*H+L* L+H* H+L* H* L+H*
[vse-taki][my budem][žit'][zdes'] [i] [i] [dal'se][no][zavisit][ot prezidenta][konečno].[Èto][zavisit]
Ah but nonetheless we will live here still longer but (it) depends on the president, of course. It depends
 H*+L L+H*H+L*L* H* L+H* H+L* H+L*L+H* H* H* L+H*
[èto-].[â zdes'] [ah][poskol'ko][on menâ][poprosil].[I esli][on][hočet][inače]. [7; 23; 14; 9; 5]
It- I'm here ah insofar as he requested (me to). And if he wants otherwise.

Q7: Nu, Vy že s nim Vy že s nim ne prosto, nu kak skazat', u Vas ne prosto formal'nye otnošeníâ svâzen. Well, you after all with him, you after all (are) not simply, well how to put it, you don't share Vy možno nazvat' Prezidenta Obamu Vašim drugom. [18; 7] purely formal relations. Can you call President Obama your friend?

L+H* L+H* H+L* L+H* H+L* H+L*H+L* H+L*
A7: [Nado emu][sprašivat'.(Tako)] [složnyj][â] [â][s nim]... [3; 5]
You should ask him. Such a complicated, with him I...

Q8: Vot smotrite. Vot daže vot takaâ fotografiâ, kotoraâ u nas est', ona govorit o Vašej družbe. Ponâtno, Look here. Here even this here photograph that we have, it speaks of your friendship. (We) kto v Vašej družbe kakby pervyj, no- no- vse- no- no- vse-taki. [2; 12; 12] understand who is kind of first in your friendship, but non- but- but- nonetheless.

L+H* H+L* H+L* L+H*L+H*H+L* H* H* H*H+L* L+H* H+L* H+L*
A8: [Èto horošââ][fotografiâ][no][Vy znaete][èto byl moj][samoj][užasnyj][den'] [na rabote].
It's a good photograph, but you know, this was my very worst day at work.
 L+H* H* L+H* L+H* L+H* H+L* H* H* H* L+H* L+H*H+L*
[Imenno][ètot].[Potomu čto][on][govorit][sejčas][tam][s Vašim][prezidentom].[togda-to][Medvedev].
Precisely this. Because he is speaking now there with your president. Medvedev at that time.
 L+H* H* H* L+H*
[I byl][očen'] [žestkij][spor]. [13; 2; 10; 5]
And (there) was a very severe dispute.

Q9: Skažite, no vot to čto Vy poehali v Rossiû poslom, èto sledstviâ vot ètogo dnâ? [14]

L+H* H+L* L+H* H*+L L+H*H+L*L+H*H* H+L* H* H* H+L* H*+LH+L*
A9: [V konce][koncov][da].[no][kogda-to-][â][ne][ožidal].[čto â][stal][poslom].[posle][èto]. [14]
In the end, yes, but at that time, I didn't expect that I'd become ambassador after that.

Q10: A čto ah prizošlo ah kogda, čto Vy počustvovali kogda Vam skazal, â ne znaû kto èto govorit, čto vot Majkl, my predlagaem Vam byt' poslom v Rossii. Čto v ètom momente Vy ispytali. [25; 5]

L+H* H* L+H* H+L* H* H* H*L+H*L+H* H+L* L+H* H* H*
A10: [No].[ah][na samom][dele][â][ne][diplomat].[da].[â][professor].[â][ah][prepodaû]
But, ah actually I'm not a diplomat, right. I'm a professor. I teach

H* L+H*
[v Stanfordskom][universitete]. [7; 2; 4]
at Stanford University.

Q11: I skazal o tom čto est' strany v kotorih **tože** est' belyj dom. [11]

L+H* H+L* L+H* H+L* H+L* L+H* H+L* H* H*H* L+H*H* H+L* L* H*
A11: [No â][rabotaû râdom][s Belym][dom][no][ne tam.][Da][â][â][mogu][èto][uvidet'],[da].[So storony].
But I work next to the White House, but not there. Yes, I I can see it, right. From the side,
H*
[da]. [9; 7; 3]
right.

Q12: Rasskažite požalujsta mne pro vot èto fotografiû. Zdes' Vam skol'ko let? [6; 4]

Tell me please about this here photograph. How old are you here?
L+H* H+L* L+H* H+L* L+H* H+L* H* L+H* H+L* L+H* L+H* H+L*
A12: [Èše][fotografiá].[Bože][moj].[Otkuda][èto]? [Èto][svoâ][rabota],[da]?[Ah][dvenadcat'] [let].
Another photograph? My god. Where did you get that? That's your job, right? Twelve years.
[2; 2; 2; 4; 2]

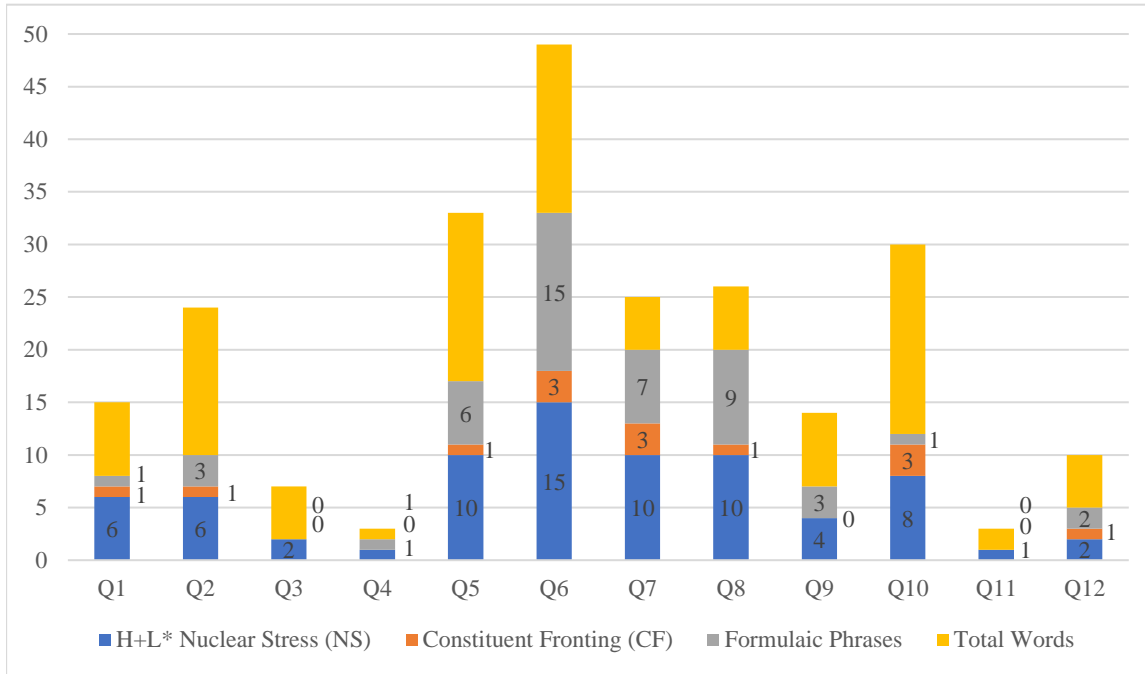
4.2.1A VEČERNIJ URGANT INTERVIEWER

The interviewer is a speaker of standard Russian with no trace of dialectal influence. Russian prosodic phenomena are produced with the consistency expected of a native speaker. Bivalent phenomena in keeping with Russian intonational phenomena appear frequently, and transfer phenomena are entirely absent from the corpus.

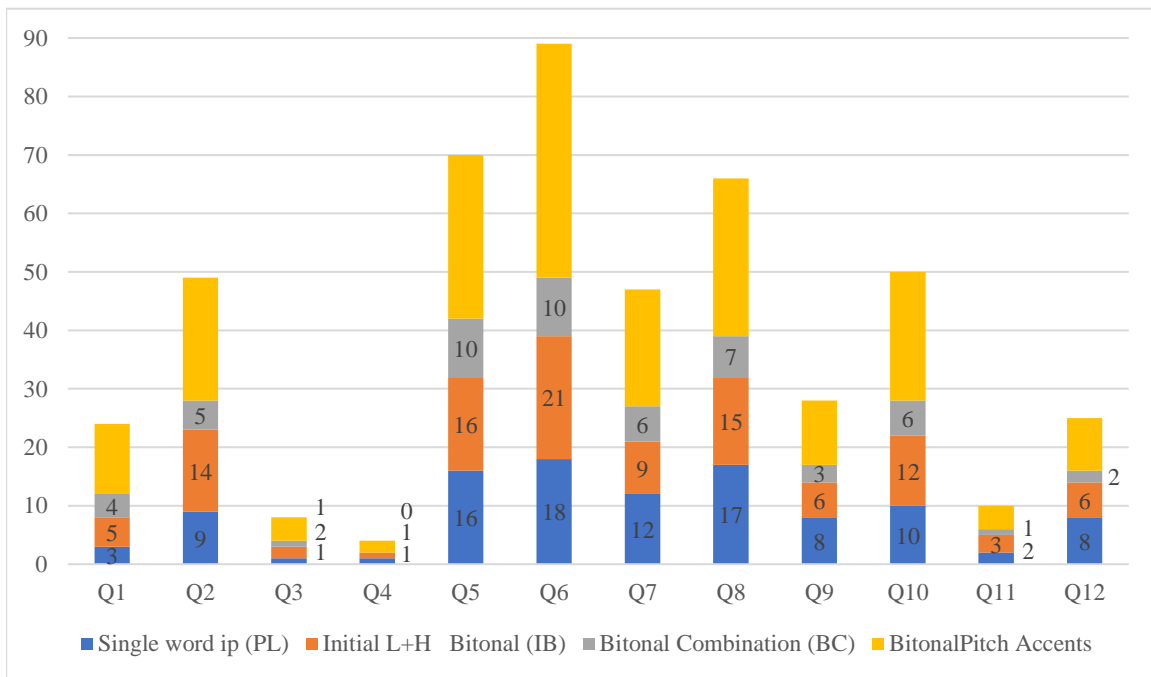
Russian phenomena are summarized in Graph 4.15, and bivalent phenomena in Graph 4.16. The height of each column reflects the total number of words per question, and the colored bands within each column indicate the number of phenomena that appear within this total word count. Instances where the number of phenomena exceed the total word count are indicated in footnotes. Bitonal frequency is presented as the aggregate number of bitonal pitch accents.

Russian language phenomena occur with consistency in all of the interview questions. The H+L* nuclear pitch accent appears at least once in 100% of question turns and IPs. Its frequency appears related to the number of IPs per question. Constituent fronting, an informal element of Russian syntactic structure that may affect the position of nuclear stress, occurs in 67% of questions. In this corpus, the phenomenon tends to occur in longer questions that also contain formulaic phrases.

GRAPH 4.15 VEČERNIJ URGANT, RUSSIAN PHENOMENA BY QUESTION



GRAPH 4.16 VEČERNIJ URGANT, BIVALENT PHENOMENA BY QUESTION



A breakdown of these phenomena per IP is given in Table 4.18. IPs with a greater number of words are shaded progressively darker in the table. Unexpected or non-neutral occurrences appear in color for visibility. Russian phenomena remain the sole components of IPs, and only four IPs fail to contain all bivalent features: one instance each without single-word ips, or the ip-initial L+H bitonal pitch accent, and two instances lacking the L+H H+L bitonal combinations.

The H+L* nuclear pitch accent appears at least once in every IP. This is roughly the same average rate of occurrence (2.5 per IP) as bivalent prosodic phenomena: the ip-initial L+H pitch accent (3.4 per IP) and the L+H H+L bitonal pitch accent combination (1.8 per IP). With only four pitch accents in the Russian inventory, the H+L* pitch accent has a higher likelihood of occurrence than in languages like English, in which single tones are preferred. Yet even its frequency of occurrence in this corpus is nearly twice what would be expected if it were only used as the second half of a L+H H+L bitonal combination.

Constituent fronting, an informal element of Russian syntactic structure that may affect nuclear stress position, appears in 67% of question turns and 43.8% of IPs. Constituent fronting occurs in longer question turns also containing formulaic phrases, which might suggest formulaic phrases are used colloquially in this interviewer's speech. Only 21% of fronting occurs when not paired with a formulaic phrase, and 23% of formulaic phrases co-occur with fronting.

The relation between argument structure and prosody is a complex one that has not been fully elucidated for Russian (cf. Yokoyama 1984). However, the assignment of the H+L* pitch accent to multiple items per IP can generally be related to its scope over an entire predicate or preposition phrase, as well as to differential use of prosodic structure in subordinate clauses (Yokoyama 2001). Figures 4.16-4.18 exhibit various configurations including the H+L* nuclear pitch accent.

TABLE 4.18 AFFILIATIVE INTERVIEW, VEČERNIJ URGANT

Q#	SEQUENCE OF IPS	WORDS	INTONATIONAL PHONOLOGY								FORMULAIC PHRASES		
			BIVALENCY				TRANSFER				#	BIVALENCY	TRANSFER
			PL	IB	BC	BF	ST	HP	NS	CF			
1	1	6	3	2	1	100%	0	0	3	0	1	0	0
	2	9	0	3	3	100%	0	0	3	1	0	0	0
2	3	4	2	3	1	100%	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
	4	16	6	10	3	100%	0	0	3	1	3	0	0
	5	4	1	1	1	100%	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
3	6	7	1	2	1	100%	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
4	7	3	1	1	0	100%	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
5	8	5	2	2	2	100%	0	0	2	0	1	0	0
	9	8	4	4	3	100%	0	0	2	0	1	0	0
	10	3	2	3	1	100%	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
	11	7	1	3	1	100%	0	0	1	1	1	0	0
	12	6	4	3	2	100%	0	0	2	0	1	0	0
	13	2	2	0	0	100%	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
	14	2	1	1	1	100%	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
6	15	4	2	2	1	100%	0	0	2	0	2	0	0
	16	4	2	2	1	100%	0	0	1	0	2	0	0
	17	19	4	8	4	100%	0	0	4	2	8	0	0
	18	5	2	2	1	100%	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
	19	5	4	3	1	100%	0	0	2	0	1	0	0
	20	8	3	3	1	100%	0	0	4	1	1	0	0
	21	4	1	1	1	100%	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
7	22	18	7	7	5	100%	0	0	5	3	6	0	0
	23	7	5	2	1	100%	0	0	5	0	1	0	0
8	24	2	2	2	1	100%	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
	25	12	8	7	3	100%	0	0	4	0	4	0	0
	26	12	7	6	3	100%	0	0	5	1	4	0	0
9	27	14	8	6	3	100%	0	0	4	0	3	0	0
10	28	25	9	10	4	100%	0	0	5	2	1	0	0
	29	5	1	2	2	100%	0	0	3	1	0	0	0
11	30	11	5	2	2	100%	0	0	6	0	1	0	0
12	31	6	4	5	1	100%	0	0	1	0	2	0	0
	32	4	4	1	1	100%	0	0	1	1	0	0	0
TOTAL:		247	108	109	56	N/A	0	0	80	14	49	0	0
AVERAGE:		8	3.4	3.4	1.8	100%	0	0	2.5	.4	1.5	0	0

Fig. 4.18 represents a common structure for questions and statements alike. The H+L* pitch accent is assigned to all elements of the predicate, whereas the L+H pitch accent corresponds to non-predicate material. However, in Fig. 4.19 the H+L* pitch accent is reserved for only the final object in the predicate of the IP. Even the repetition of the same question structure within this IP (“Did you x? Did y?”) does not guarantee the same realization of pitch accents.

Fig. 4.20 illustrates a third structure for question formulations, in which a different assignment of pitch accent appears to reverse the characteristic L+H H+L bitonal combination. In this case, a L+H* pitch accent is utilized on the last element of each phrase, perhaps in analogous fashion to a rising boundary tone in English, or a restrictive relative clause (Yokoyama 2001:13). This example shows only the initial fragment of the question, which will continue in a subordinate phrase. An alternative ordering of the constituents would place the item with the H+L* nuclear pitch accent (*vam*, “you”) in the clause-final position. Thus, we see the preservation of a prosodic marking of information structure, even when word order is manipulated.

These considerations illustrate why L+H H+L bitonal pitch accent combinations are not the only structures predicted to occur in Russian, although they remain quite common. Despite permutations in word order, the L+H H+L bitonal combination appears at least once in 94% of IPs, and up to as many as 4 to 6 times in 28% of IPs.

Phenomena in the bivalent category also appear consistently, with occasional absences in very short IPs (IP #7 and IP #13), in which the L+H H+L bitonal combination does not appear, or in fast-paced sentences (IP #2), which may lack single-word ips. All three categories of phenomena appear with roughly the same frequency: the L+H H+L bitonal combinations require two pitch accents rather than one, and thus 56 instances represents 112 pitch accents, approximately the same number of instances (109) as the ip-initial L+H pitch accent.

FIGURE 4.18 L+H H+L BITONAL COMBINATION, VEČERNIJ URGANT

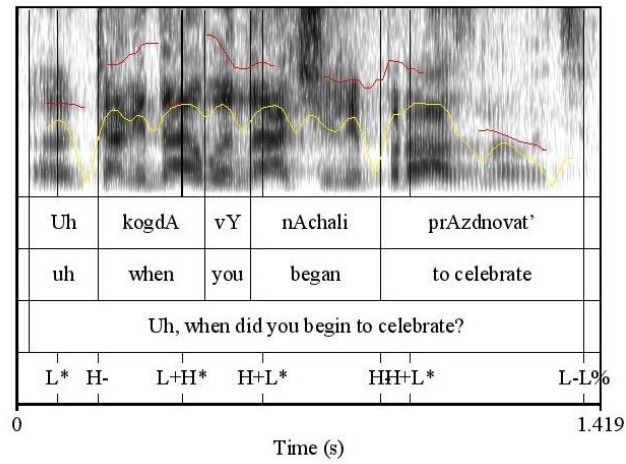


FIGURE 4.19 SUBORDINATE CLAUSE, VEČERNIJ URGANT

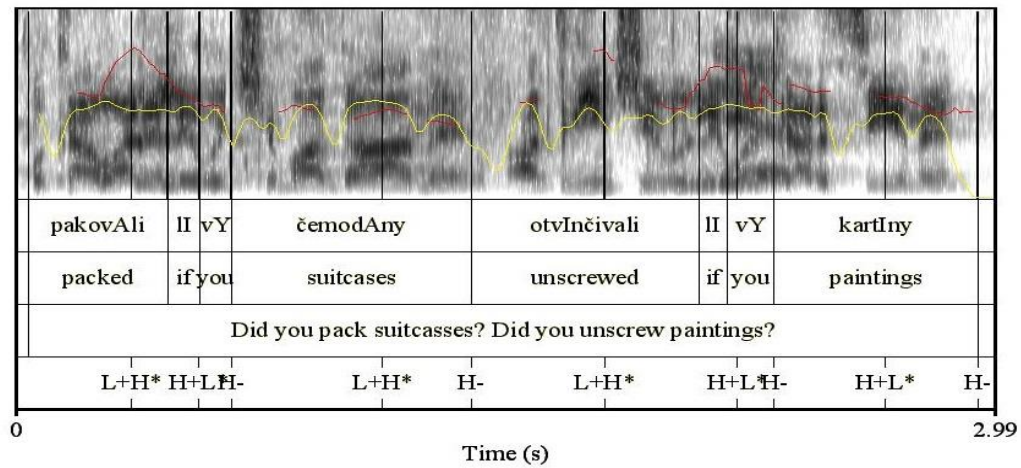
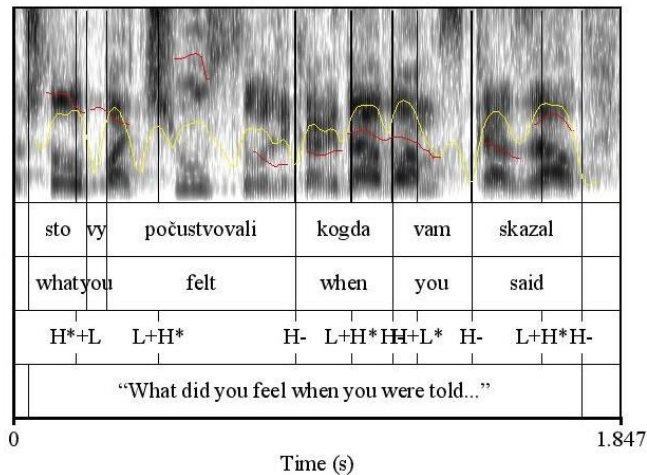


FIGURE 4.20 NARROW FOCUS, VEČERNIJ URGANT



One striking aspect of the corpus is the prevalence of formulaic phrases in the interviewer's speech. At least one formulaic phrase is present in 75% of all IPs, and 28% of IPs have two or more. The pervasiveness of formulaic phrases is likely related to the informal setting or the affiliative nature of the interview. However, additional examples of the environments in which formulaic phrases appear and data from other speakers are necessary to confirm this hypothesis.

Chi-squared tests of independence indicate numerous phenomena in the corpus show significant correlations (Table 4.19). To minimize empty cells, the analysis of comparisons with formulaic phrases was performed on the aggregate phenomena per question. Other categories were analyzed per IP, and constituent fronting was excluded entirely as insufficiently frequent. Very significant correlations between categories were found for single-word ips and bitonal frequency ($\chi^2(99)=152.02$, $p<0.001$) and the H+L* nuclear pitch accent ($\chi^2(45)=86.10$, $p<0.001$); the ip-initial L+H pitch accent and the bitonal combination ($\chi^2(45)=81.49$, $p<0.001$) and bitonal frequency ($\chi^2(99)=159.49$, $p<0.001$); and the bitonal combination and bitonal frequency ($\chi^2(55)=105.71$, $p<0.001$). Bitonal frequency and the H+L* nuclear pitch accent showed a strongly significant correlation ($\chi^2(55)=91.60$, $p=0.0014$), and correlations between single-word ips and the bitonal combination ($\chi^2(45)=62.04$, $p=0.047$) and the bitonal combination and the H+L* nuclear pitch accent ($\chi^2(25)=38.07$, $p=0.046$) were moderately significant.

TABLE 4.19 CORRELATIONS BETWEEN PHENOMENA, VEČERNIJ URGANT

	Initial L+H	Bitonal Combination	Bitonal Frequency	H+L* Nuclear Stress	Formulaic Phrase
Single-word ip	.071~	.047*	<.001***	<.001***	.16
Initial L+H		<.001***	<.001***	.63	.16
Bitonal Combination			<.001***	.046*	.26
Bitonal Frequency				.0014**	.24
H+L* Nuclear Stress					.26

4.2.1B MICHAEL McFAUL

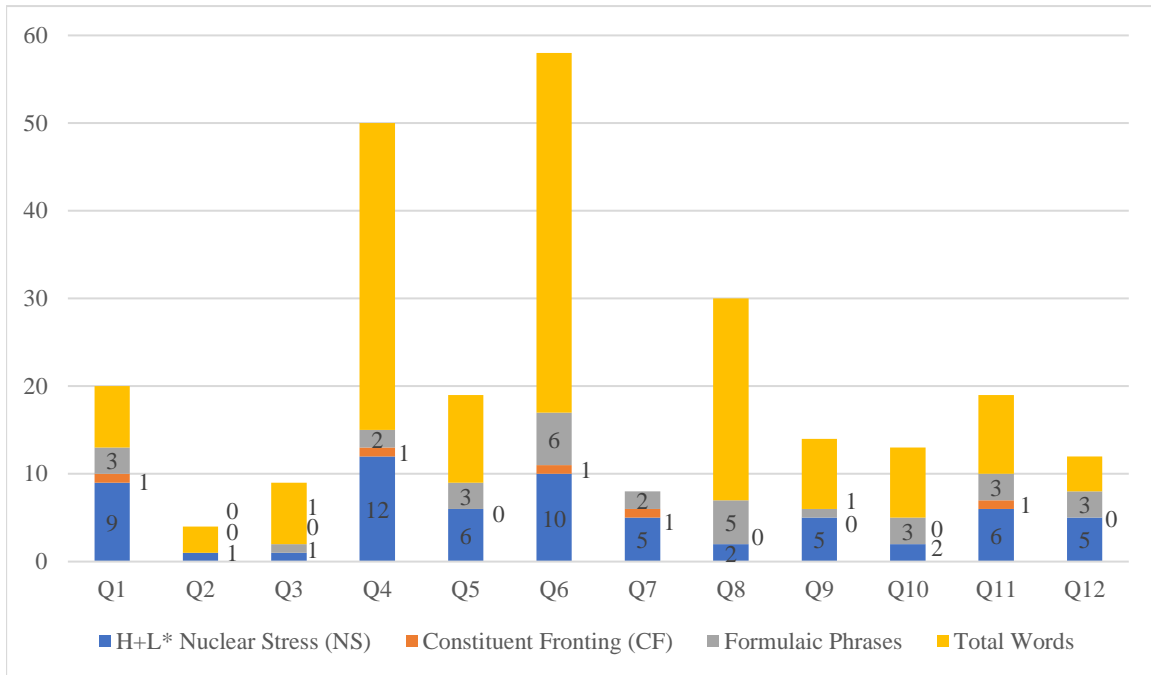
In the analysis of Michael McFaul's speech during the Večernij Urgant interview, the absence of phenomena from some Russian and bivalent categories is expected, as is the occasional appearance of English language transfer phenomena. Russian language phenomena are summarized in Graph 4.17, bivalent phenomena in Graph 4.18, and English language phenomena in Graph 4.19. The height of each column reflects the total number of words per question, and the colored bands within each column indicate the number of phenomena that appear within this total word count. Instances where the number of phenomena exceed the total word count are indicated in footnotes. For the purpose of these summary graphs, bitonal frequency is presented as the aggregate number of bitonal pitch accents.

Russian language phenomena occur consistently in all question turns, although in a preliminary assessment of their distribution, the frequency of their production appears less proportional to question length than in L1 speech. This is particularly apparent in question responses seven and eight. Constituent fronting is less commonly employed by McFaul, appearing in only 42% of question turns, whereas formulaic phrases are produced in 92%.

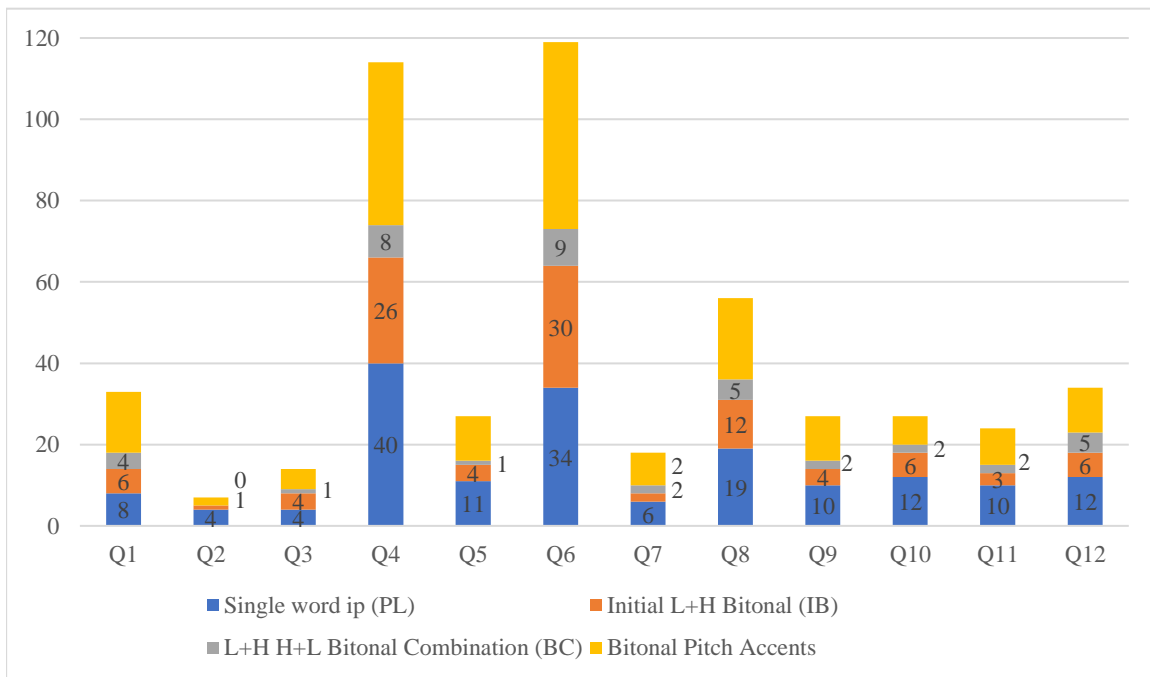
Bivalent intonational phenomena also feature prominently in McFaul's speech, but their distribution per IP does appear to reflect the number of words per question turn. In L1 speech, the percentage of single-word ips and ip-initial L+H bitonal pitch accents were roughly equivalent, whereas in McFaul's speech, the former predominate. The L+H H+L bitonal combination occurs consistently, but with less frequency than in L1 speech.

English language phenomena that violate rules of Russian intonational phonology also occur consistently throughout the corpus, although in small numbers. Single tones appear in 92% of question turns, and high plateaus in 17%.

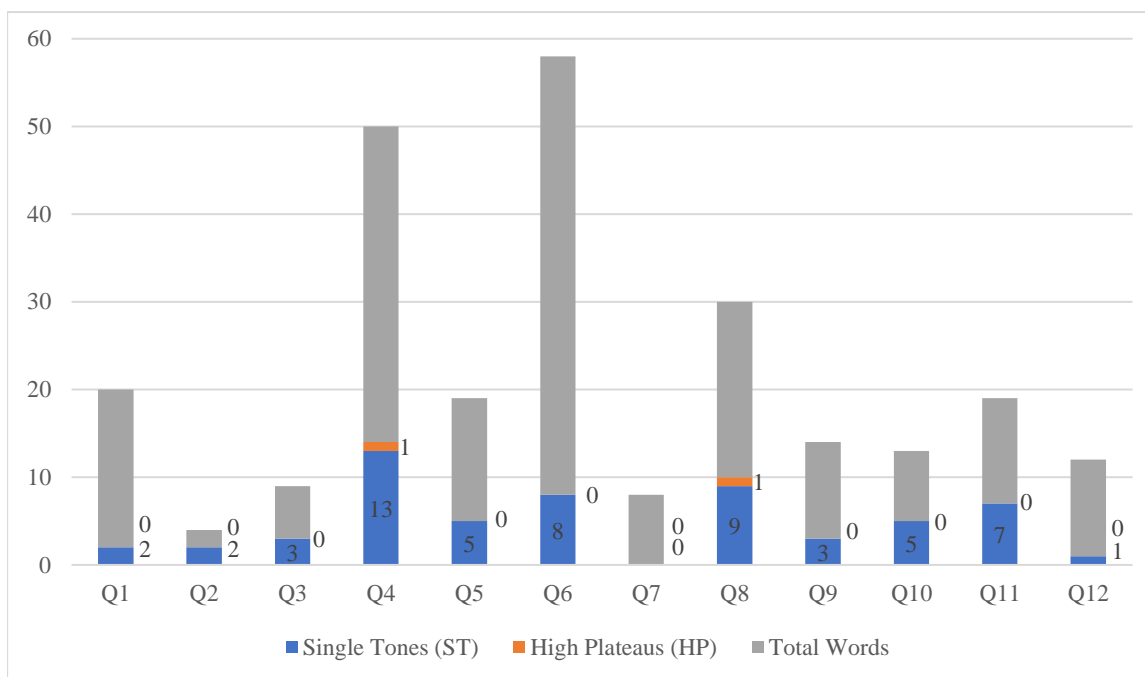
GRAPH 4.17 McFAUL, RUSSIAN PHENOMENA BY QUESTION



GRAPH 4.18 McFAUL, BIVALENT PHENOMENA BY QUESTION



GRAPH 3.19 McFAUL, ENGLISH PHENOMENA BY QUESTION



A breakdown of these phenomena per IP is given in Table 4.20. Although McFaul produces prosodic elements in all three categories of Russian, bivalent, and English phenomena, transfer items remain concentrated in only one of the four possible category types: single tones. An increase in single tones necessarily means a decrease in the bivalent features of bitonal pitch frequency. The Russian inventory of pitch accents allows only bitonal pitch accents, yet 69% of the sentences produced by McFaul include single tones.

While this trend is consistent, it is important to note the number of bitonal pitch accents per IP remains high: only 8% of IPs contain less than 50% bitonal pitch accents per IP. McFaul's ability to produce bivalent features was anticipated, but his ability to recreate the arguably less salient H+L* nuclear pitch accent is surprising. This fact attests to McFaul's ability to produce speech that in many cases closely corresponds to native Russians speaker norms.

TABLE 4.20 AFFILIATIVE INTERVIEW, McFAUL

Q#	SEQUENCE OF IPS	WORDS	INTONATIONAL PHONOLOGY								FORMULAIC PHRASES		
			BIVALENCY				TRANSFER				#	BIVALENCY	TRANSFER
			PL	IB	BC	BF	ST	HP	NS	CF			
1	1	9	1	2	2	88%	1	0	5	0	1	0	1
	2	5	3	1	1	75%	1	0	2	1	1	1	0
	3	6	4	3	1	100%	0	0	2	0	1	0	0
2	4	4	4	1	0	50%	2	0	1	0	0	0	0
3	5	9	4	4	1	63%	3	0	1	0	1	0	0
4	6	10	6	6	2	80%	2	0	2	0	0	0	0
	7	1	1	1	0	100%	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	8	7	5	3	2	71%	2	0	2	0	0	0	0
	9	5	5	1	0	14%	6	1	0	0	0	0	0
	10	3	3	3	1	100%	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
	11	3	3	3	1	100%	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
	12	8	8	8	2	0	75%	2	0	1	0	0	0
5	13	13	9	7	2	92%	1	0	5	1	2	1	0
	14	4	2	0	0	67%	1	0	2	0	0	0	0
	15	6	4	1	1	80%	1	0	2	0	2	1	0
6	16	9	5	3	0	63%	3	0	2	0	1	1	0
	17	7	2	2	2	83%	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
	18	23	14	15	1	90%	2	0	1	0	2	1	0
	19	14	10	8	4	93%	1	0	6	0	2	1	0
	20	9	5	3	2	78%	2	0	3	1	1	1	0
7	21	5	3	2	0	50%	2	0	0	0	1	0	0
	22	3	1	1	1	100%	0	0	1	1	1	0	0
	23	5	5	1	1	100%	0	0	4	0	1	0	0
8	24	13	6	4	3	77%	3	1	0	0	1	1	0
	25	2	2	1	0	50%	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
	26	10	8	5	2	70%	3	0	2	0	3	1	1
	27	5	3	2	0	50%	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
9	28	14	10	4	2	79%	3	0	5	0	2	1	0
10	29	7	6	3	1	50%	3	0	1	0	3	2	0
	30	2	2	1	1	100%	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
	31	4	4	2	0	50%	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
11	32	9	3	2	2	100%	0	0	4	0	1	0	0
	33	7	6	1	0	29%	5	0	1	1	1	1	0
	34	3	1	0	0	0%	2	0	1	0	1	1	0
12	35	2	2	1	1	100%	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
	36	2	2	1	1	100%	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
	37	2	2	1	1	100%	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
	38	4	4	2	1	75%	1	0	1	0	1	1	0
	39	2	2	1	1	100%	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
TOTAL:		251	170	104	41	N/A	58	2	64	5	33	15	2
AVERAGE:		6.4	4.4	2.7	1.1	75%	1.5	.1	1.6	.1	.9	.41	.05

Fig. 4.21 illustrates the L+H L+H H+L* structure characteristic of Russian. Not only is the H+L* nuclear pitch accent used widely, it is also correctly assigned to the last item in the predicate. Single tones appear only infrequently, interspersed between bitonal pitch accents. Instances of this type represent many of the IPs that fail to maintain the exclusive use of bitonal pitch accents.

This realization pattern is indirectly reflected in the relative absence of non-native like use of other bivalent bitonal phenomena. The L+H H+L bitonal combination appears consistently throughout the corpus in 69% of the total IPs. All but two of the twelve IPs in which no bitonal combination occurs contains fewer words than the corpus average of 6.4 words per IP. Similarly, the ip-initial L+H bitonal pitch accent is absent from only two IPs. These findings suggest that sustaining bitonal pitch accents in all environments remains difficult for proficient late second language speakers, and their difficulty stems from processing constraints rather than a lack of knowledge of Russian prosody.

The occurrence of fewer bitonal pitch accents corresponds to the number of single tones produced by McFaul. Single tones violate our assumptions about Russian intonational phonology, yet only 31% of IPs contain no single tones. Nonetheless, only two high plateaus appear in the corpus, perhaps due to the prevalence of single-word ips (4.4 per IP), which may interrupt high tones and prevent high plateaus. As with bivalent phenomena, the larger Russian structures (bitonal combination) remain intact, just as larger English ones (high plateaus) are absent.

This is the case in Fig. 4.22, where Russian-like phenomena initiate and conclude the IP, at the same time as the middle section of the IP is realized with high single tones, interspersed with ip boundaries. One of the high plateaus in the corpus is presented in Fig. 4.23. More commonly, the sentence will begin or end with a bitonal pitch accent, and the second half of a potential bitonal combination will be replaced by a single tone, as in the second phrase (“ten years”).

FIGURE 4.21 NATIVE-LIKE PROSODY, McFAUL

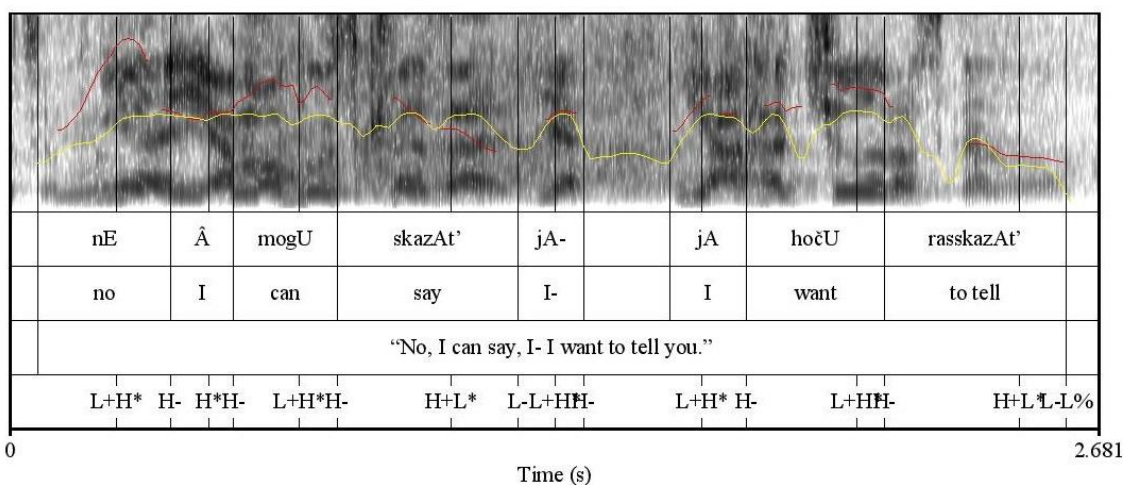


FIGURE 4.22 SINGLE TONES, McFAUL

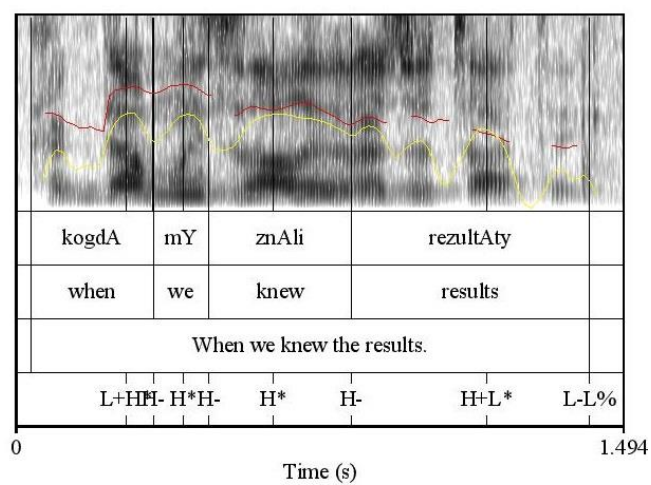
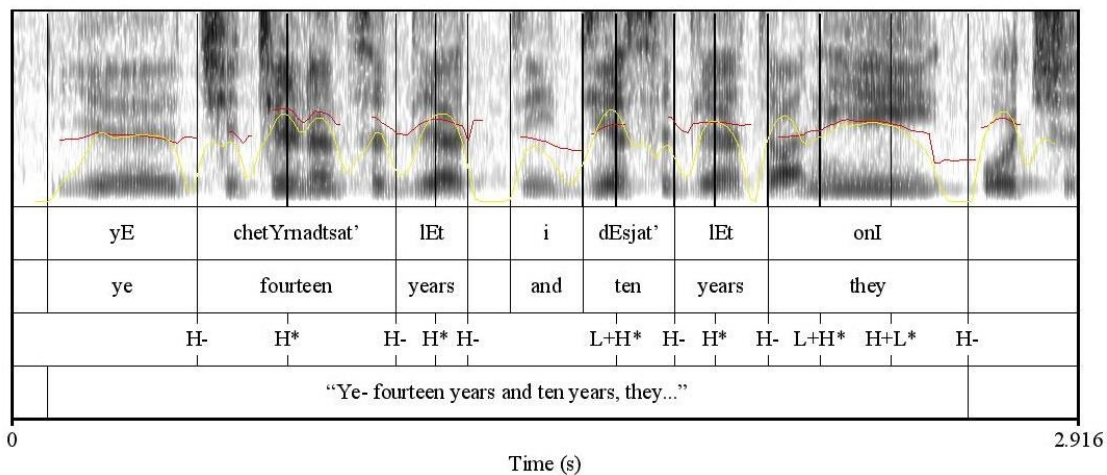


FIGURE 4.23 HIGH PLATEAU, McFAUL



However, the corpus reveals two additional means by which English intonational phonology may affect McFaul's second language speech, beyond the categories that have been identified. Firstly, in Fig. 4.24 three of the four H+L bitonal pitch accents have their stress aligned with the H tone (H*+L). The range of acceptability of the H*+L bitonal pitch accent is currently undefined, but several instances where McFaul places this pitch accent have equivalent structures in the native Russian corpus where similar structures instead receive the H+L* pitch accent.

Another characteristic of English intonational phonology is the deaccentation of a phrase after the nuclear pitch accent (Beckman & Pierrehumbert 1986:294). Although hypothesized for Russian (cf. Yokoyama 2001), this tendency has not been observed in the Russian corpora in this study and, if truly a feature of Russian, it may only occur in specific environments. Nonetheless, in Fig. 4.25 McFaul can be observed to deaccent phrases after a H+L* nuclear pitch accent is placed on the head of a phrase concluding the predicated ("I with you").

In Fig. 4.26, the head of the final phrase in the predicate, an adjunct phrase ("this evening"), is also realized with a H+L* nuclear pitch accent. However, each word of the final IP ("to be honest") is given its own H+L* pitch accent. Therefore, this tendency to deaccent lexical items following a nuclear pitch accent does not display a consistent realization. The pitch range of both phrases is also clearly compressed, another salient feature of English intonational phonology.

Formulaic phrases may be classified as correctly implemented, bivalent, or an occurrence of transfer for second language speakers. McFaul's use of formulaic phrases is consistent throughout the interview: 62% of IPs contain formulaic phrases, and their average occurrence is 0.9 per IP. The formulaic phrases identified in this sample of the corpus are classified in Table 4.20.

FIGURE 4.24 H*+L PITCH ACCENT, McFAUL

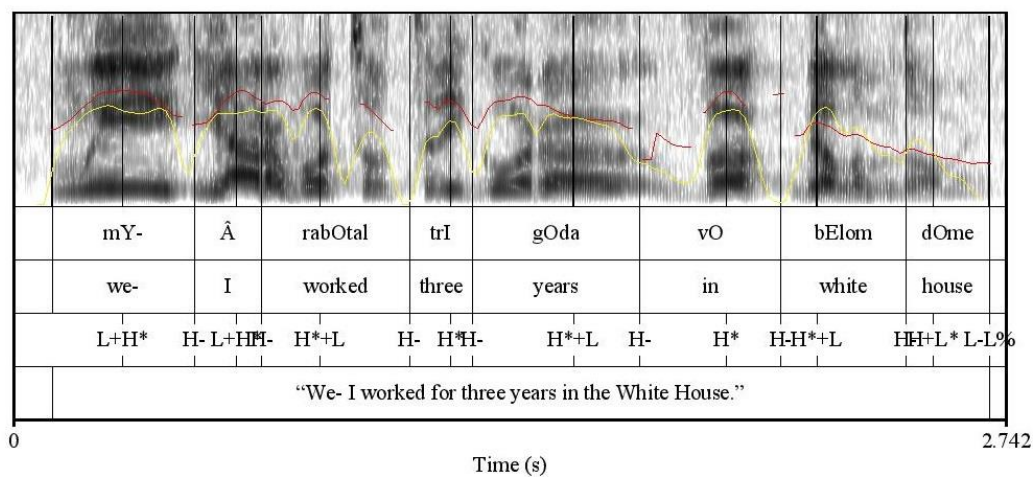


FIGURE 4.25 DEACCENTATION, McFAUL

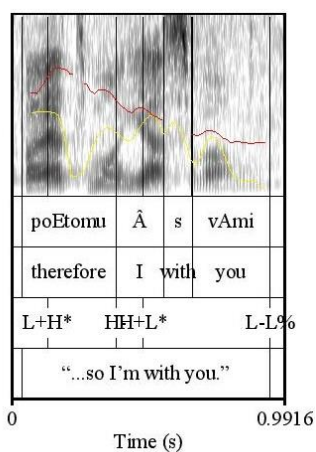
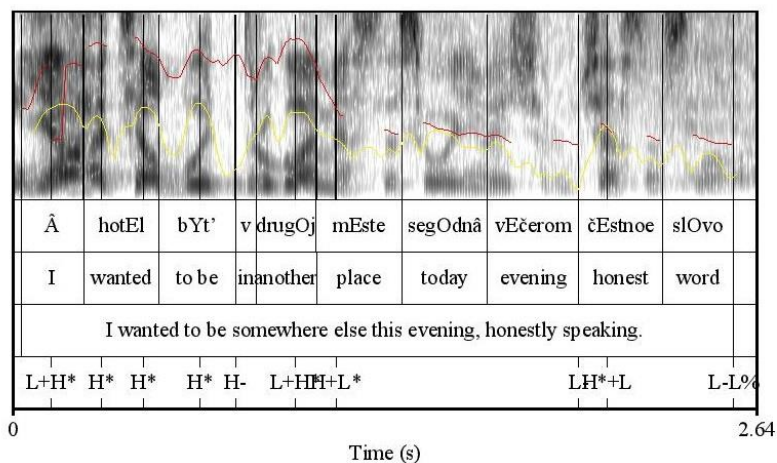


FIGURE 4.26 PARTIAL DEACCENTATION, McFAUL



McFaul's considerable use of formulaic phrases would seem to indicate his facility with informal language and a strong understanding of pragmatic language use. However, McFaul produces a number of lexical items as bivalent or transfer phenomena; that is, the idiosyncratic or incorrect use of a formulaic phrase. All but three of the formulaic phrases have a holistic pragmatic meaning that affects the appropriateness of its implementation. Formulaic phrases categorized as containing pragmatic content include: "honestly" (Q1); "didn't work out" (Q1); "right" (Q1/Q10/Q11/Q12); "someplace" (Q3); "kind of" (Q4/Q7); "still"/"another" (Q5/Q12); "(go) home" (Q5); "over there" (Q6/Q8); "just in case", "nonetheless", "of course" (Q6); "should" (Q7); "you know", "precisely", "now", "at that time" (Q8); "in the end" (Q9); "but" (Q10/Q11); "actually" (Q10); and "my god" (Q12). The three formulaic phrases categorized as lacking pragmatic content are: "in connection with" (Q5), "insofar as" (Q6), and "otherwise" (Q6).

The assignment of pitch accents to formulaic phrases increasingly reflects Russian prosody as the interview progresses: 83% of tokens in second half (Q7-12) utilize Russian or permissible bivalent pitch accents, and only 67% in the first (Q1-6). However, the assignment of pitch accents also tends to reflect their position in the ip. Eight tokens (21% of IPS) are realized with single tones and one instance (5% of IPs) is produced with a combination of single and bitonal pitch accents. The H+L* pitch accent is assigned 19 times to 12 formulaic phrases, but often in combination with other pitch accents. Thus, McFaul's use of formulaic phrases does not obviously coincide with non-native prosody. If the phenomenon were to co-occur with violations of Russian prosody, this might suggest they appear when processing becomes difficult for second language speakers. Alternatively, lexical and prosodic phenomena may reflect different processing streams.

The classification of a formulaic phrase pertains to its frequency of use in each language. It may also concern the appropriateness of the register or pragmatic content. Table 4.21 presents

the mean lemma frequency (MLF) for each formulaic phrase in Russian and its English translation. However, McFaul’s idiosyncratic use of formulaic phrases precludes classifying those that have a greater or nearly equivalent frequency of use in English as bivalent. These exceptions are described below with an explanation of which formulaic phrases were deemed bivalent or transfer items.²²

TABLE 4.21 FORMULAIC PHRASES, MLF, & PROSODY

Q#	PHRASE	MLF ²³	TRANSLATION(S)	MLF ²⁴	PROSODY
1	čestnoe slovo	12.1	I swear	5.2	H+L* H+L*
1,10 11 (2x),12	da	1790.3	right	881.9	H* (2x) L+H* (2x) L* (1x)
1	ne polučilos’	0.9	didn’t work out	17.2	L+H* L+H*
3	gde-to	109.7	someplace	6.3	L+H*
4,7	takoj	541.2	kind of	237.5	H* (1x) L+H* (1x)
4	očen’ priâtno	8.6	very nice	8.3	H+L* H+L*
5,12	eše	2380.1	still another	774.5 621.3	H* (1x) L+H* (1x)
5	v svâzi s	0	in connection with	5.1	L+H*
5	domoj	177.2	(go) home	18.2	H+L*
6,8	tam	1013.1	over there	19.9	L+H* (1x) H* (1x)
6	na vsâkij slučae	19.7	just in case	166.4	H*+L H+L*
6	vse-taki	248.6	nonetheless	253.6	H* H+L*
6	konečno	578.7	of course	234.2	H+L*
6	poskol’ko	0.2	insofar as	3.8	H*
6	inače	170.6	otherwise	59.4	L+H*
7	nado	839.7	should	764.3	L+H*
8	vy znaete	36.4	you know	711.6	L+H* H+L*
8	imenno	468.2	precisely	29.1	L+H*
8	sejčas	681.9	now	1533.5	H+L*
8	togda-to	7.7	at that time	18.2	L+H*
9	v konce koncov	67.2	in the end	28.4	L+H* H+L*
9	kogda-to	93.7	sometime	13.6	L+H* H+L*
10,11	no	5437.6	but	4542	L+H*
10	na samom dele	70.3	actually in fact	162.7 283.1	L+H* H+L*
12	bože moj	32.4	my god	18.1	L+H* H+L*

²² Judgements of pragmatic appropriateness were confirmed in discussion with a native speaker and long-time UCLA professor of Russian language instruction.

²³ Corpus of Contemporary American English. 570,353,748 words. <https://corpus.byu.edu/COCA/>. MLF per million words.

²⁴ Russian National Corpus. 283,431,966 words. <http://www.ruscorpora.ru/>. MLF per million words.

Bivalent uses of formulaic phrases are pragmatically inappropriate, revealing some aspect of innovation in the use of the formulaic phrase as a discourse particle. Instances of transfer are infelicitous and invoke an idiosyncratic scenario related to the second language speaker's personal experience with the expression. The classification of a formulaic phrase as bivalent or an example of transfer is related to each individual use of a particular formulaic phrase in a specific IP; therefore, formulaic phrases may be classified differently depending on the context.

Two thirds of formulaic phrases (tokens) in the corpus have a greater frequency in Russian than English. These were classified as bivalent, with the exception of *ne polučilos'* ("didn't work out"). This is an idiomatic reflexive expression with no literal English translation. Formulaic phrases more common to Russian were classified as bivalent or transfer items when possessing a very specific range of use, for example: *očen' priâtno* ("very nice"). This phrase is largely limited as a response to introductions, whereas McFaul uses the phrase to describe a pleasant family event.

Other expressions amongst those common to Russian, but deemed bivalent include: *domoj* ("go home"), *togda-to* ("at that time"), *kogda-to* ("sometime"), and *da* ("right"), when used sentence-final. Many of the formulaic phrases used by McFaul are arguably too colloquial for a television interview, despite its informal nature. This seems the case for *domoj* ("go home"). Words with the particle *-to* can be a neutral variant to signal "some" rather than "any" (i.e., "sometime": *kogda-to*, instead of "anytime": *kogda-nibud'*). However, in McFaul's usage, *kogda-to* and *togda-to* appear to be an overzealous use of the colloquial particle *-to*, which more closely approximates a possible English one-word translation ("sometime" and "then"), than the expected, neutral prepositional phrase: *v to vremâ* ("at that time"). *Da* ("right") is widely used in a variety of pragmatic meanings, but primarily sentence-initial or sentence-medial, as a conjunction. In these instances, it produces sentence-final, approximating the English language use of "right".

Togda-to (“then”) in this formulation is ungrammatical, and therefore is classified as a transfer phenomenon that resembles what the English formulation for this sentence would be. The other formulaic phrases categorized as a transfer phenomenon is *čestnoe slovo* (“honest word”). The expression assures someone that what has been said is true, when there is skepticism. In this situation, it appears to be a mistranslation of “I swear” or “honestly speaking” (*čestno govorâ*). Thus, we see that McFaul actively utilizes formulaic phrases, but some of these instances reflect native Russian conventions or his own idiosyncratic style.

Chi-squared tests of independence indicate almost all of the phenomena appear independently of one another (Table 4.22). To minimize empty cells, the analysis was performed on the aggregate phenomena present per question, and categories with empty cells were excluded from the analysis. No categories reached significance, but categories with a greater relevance to Russian intonational phonology may show correlations that near significance: the H+L* nuclear pitch accent and single-word ip (p=0.084) and the L+H H+L bitonal combination (p=0.087); the ip-initial L+H pitch accent and bitonal frequency (p=0.088). However, the ip-initial L+H pitch accent showed a correlation with formulaic phrases ($\chi^2(35)=47.73$, p=0.074) and single tones (p=0.074) that nears significance.

TABLE 4.22 CORRELATIONS BETWEEN PHENOMENA, McFAUL

	Initial L+H	Bitonal Combination	Bitonal Frequency	Single Tones	Nuclear H+L* Stress	Formulaic Phrase
Single-word ip	.13	.14	.24	.23	.084~	.28
Initial L+H		.14	.088~	.074~	.29	.074~
Bitonal Combination			.21	.36	.087~	.12
Bitonal Frequency				.24	.14	.13
Single Tones					.32	.28
Nuclear H+L* Stress						.19

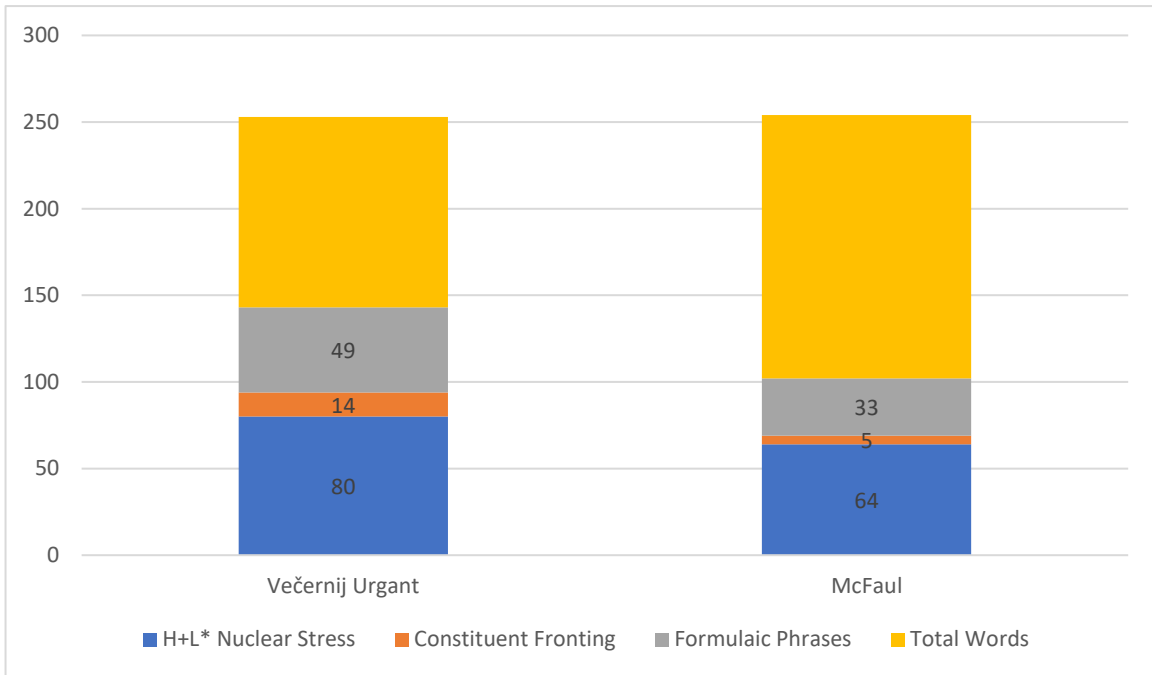
4.2.1C ACCOMMODATION IN THE VEČERNIJ URGANT INTERVIEW

In the Večernij Urgant interview, the interviewer and interviewee may initially appear to differ substantially in their production of prosodic phenomena. However, this difference is concentrated in two interrelated categories: single tones and bitonal pitch accent frequency. Russian intonational phonology allows less variation in pitch accent inventory, resulting in violations even upon the occasional omission of bitonal pitch accents. Ultimately, McFaul's production of bitonal pitch accents relative to single tones clearly diverges from English language standards. McFaul averages only one and a half single tones per IP (1.5 per IP). Given the lack of a neutral baseline, it is difficult to say with certainty whether or not McFaul has adapted elements of his speech to accommodate to Urgant. Subsequent comparison of the distribution of phenomena in the affiliative and antagonistic contexts can indicate if the results pattern differently in the two contexts.

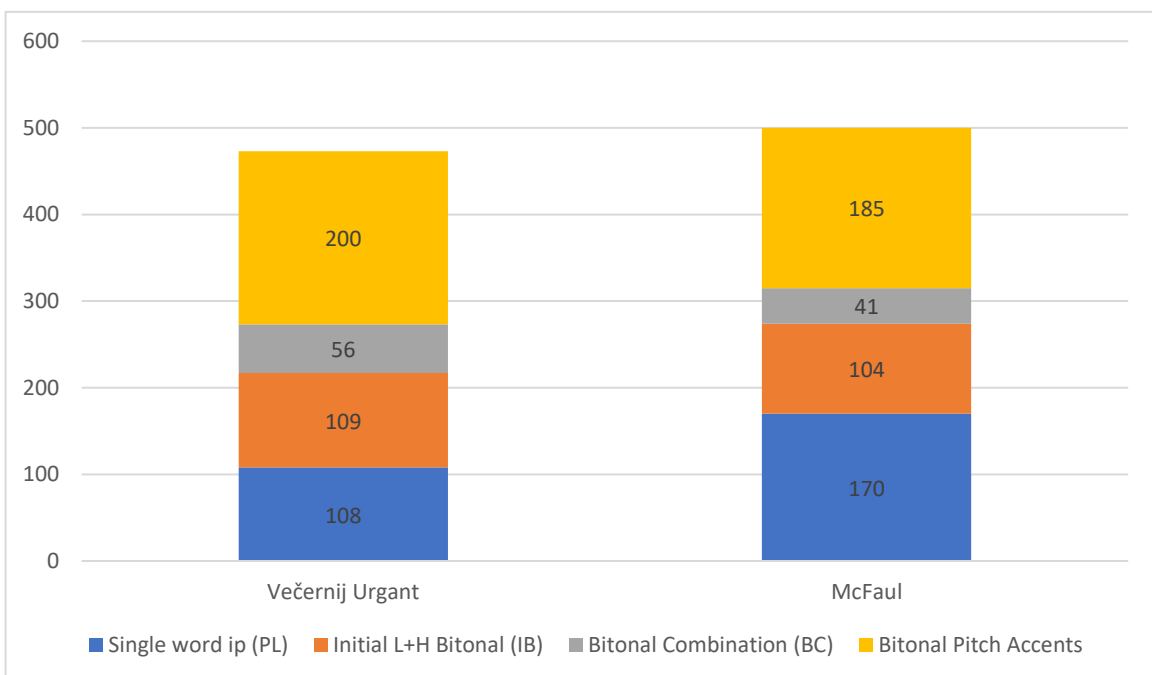
An overview of the frequency of occurrence of Russian and bivalent phenomena are presented in Graph 4.20 and Graph 4.21. The interlocutors illustrate remarkably similar numbers of both Russian and bivalent phenomena. McFaul produces slightly shorter sentences (6.4 words v. 8 words) and a substantially larger number of single-word IPs (157%). This may relate to McFaul's proficiency level.

Urgant produces on average one more H+L* pitch accent per IP (2.5 vs. 1.6 per IP, respectively) and nearly four times the number of average constituents fronted per IP. Urgant also produces formulaic phrases roughly 33% more often than McFaul (49 vs. 33 instances, respectively). Urgant exhibits more variety in two of the four bivalent categories: only slightly more IP-initial L+H pitch accents, but nearly twice as many L+H H+L bitonal pitch accent combinations.

GRAPH 4.20 VEČERNIJ URGANT VS. McFAUL TOTAL RUSSIAN PHENOMENA



GRAPH 4.21 VEČERNIJ URGANT VS. McFAUL, TOTAL BIVALENT PHENOMENA



T-tests were conducted to investigate whether the phenomena's variance of occurrence between the two interviews was significant (Table 4.2). The interlocutors differed significantly in their production of two bivalent categories and three of the transfer categories: bitonal pitch accents ($p < 0.0001$), bitonal combination ($p = 0.01$), single tones ($p < 0.0001$), nuclear stress ($p = 0.025$), and constituent fronting ($p = 0.039$). Variation in the interlocutors' use of formulaic phrases neared significance ($p = 0.069$). Despite the similarity in numbers for these categories (Table 4.24, colored by degree of significance), the finding of a significant difference between several categories is unsurprising given the fewer options available within Russian intonational phonology. It remains to be seen if these differences will increase in the antagonistic interview.

TABLE 4.23 T-TESTS BETWEEN SUBJECT MEANS: McFAUL & URGANT

TYPE	PHENOMENON	P-VALUE
Bivalent	Single-word ip	0.12
	Initial L+H bitonal pitch accent	0.25
	Bitonal Combination	0.010*
	Bitonal pitch accents	<0.0001***
Transfer	Single tones	<0.0001***
	High plateaus	0.16
	Nuclear stress	0.025*
	Constituent fronting	0.039*
Other	Formulaic phrases	0.069~

TABLE 4.24 ACCOMMODATION IN A VEČERNIJ URGANT INTERVIEW

	WORDS	INTONATIONAL PHONOLOGY								FORMULAIC PHRASES		
		BIVALENCY				TRANSFER				#	BIVALENCY	TRANSFER
		PL	IB	BC	BF	ST	HP	NS	CF			
VEČERNIJ URGANT												
TOTAL:	247	108	109	56	N/A	0	0	80	14	49	0	0
AVERAGE:	8	3.4	3.4	1.8	100%	0	0	2.5	.4	1.5	0	0
McFAUL												
TOTAL:	251	170	104	41	N/A	58	2	64	5	33	15	2
AVERAGE:	6.4	4.4	2.7	1.1	75%	1.5	.1	1.6	.1	.9	.4	.05

4.2.2 ANTAGONISTIC INTERVIEW

NTV conducted an antagonistic interview with Michael McFaul on March 29, 2012. The interview consisted of eight question and answer pairs. Six of these pairs were coded to observe the 250-word limit. McFaul's responses considerably exceeded the length of interviewer questions, resulting in an imbalance in the corpora. Interviewer questions are coded in full, and responses are coded until the first logical phrase break upon topic completion.

In this interaction, NTV reporters attempted an impromptu interview with McFaul on the street. The interview lasts less than five minutes and is clearly antagonistic: McFaul chastises the interviewers for not following the proper protocol to schedule an interview. The exchange was well-publicized at the time as an extremely contentious interaction, and it was widely reported that the U.S. Ambassador lost his temper. Therefore, disaffiliation can be expected in this environment.

All questions were assessed to be antagonistic, given the circumstances of the interview. This assumption is supported by the responses of McFaul, in which he explicitly chides the interviewers several times for their questions. Numerous subsequent newspaper articles describe McFaul as criticizing the behavior of the NTV reporters. Therefore, selection criteria were not applied and questions were coded sequentially until the 250-word limit was reached.

Selected questions include: what McFaul plans to discuss in his meeting and what questions interest him (Q1, Q2, Q3), which opposition politicians he supports (Q4), whether the NTV crew can schedule an official interview with McFaul (Q5), and what McFaul spoke about with opposition leader Boris Nemtsov on the previous week (Q6). Excluded questions asked a second time what questions would be discussed (Q7) and whether the NTV reporters could attend the meeting (Q8). The final portion of the exchange digressed into a discussion of how the NTV crew came to know about McFaul's private meeting schedule.

The transcript of the NTV interview (Fig. 4.27) provides an overview of the location and frequency of possible shifts between intonational systems. Phenomena unique to Russian prosody are highlighted in red, those unique to English prosody are in blue, and bivalent phenomena are in purple. Sentence length is given in brackets, and formulaic phrases are in bold font. Interjections are written in italics (i.e., *uh, um, ah*) and excluded from the analysis.

FIGURE 4.27 TRANSCRIPT OF NTV'S INTERVIEW WITH McFAUL

- Q1:** Neskol'ko slov, **skazhite požalujsta**, o čem pojdet reč'? Telekompaniâ NTV. O čem pojdet reč' s *Say please a few words about what you will speak? Television company NTV. What will you talk* gospodinom Ponomarevym? Dlá čego Vy priehali? [7; 2; 5; 4] *about with Mr. Ponomarev? Why did you come?*
- L+H*L+H* H+L*
- A1:** [My][často][vstrečaemsâ]. [3] *We meet often.*
- Q2:** Kakie voprosy planirujete obsudit'? [4] *What questions do you plan to discuss?*
- L* L+H* H+L* L+H* H+L* L+H* H+L*
- A2:** [*Ah.*][Vsâkie][voprosy]. [Kak obyčno]. [Očerednââ vstreča]. [2; 2; 2] *Ah. All kinds of questions. As usual. A typical visit.*
- Q3:** Kakie voprosy Vas sčas osobenno interesuât? [6] *What questions especially interest you right now?*
- L* L* L+H* L+H* H* H* H* H* H* H* L* L+H* H+L*
- A3:** [*Ah.*][Nu dopustim u nas][est'] [*ah*][Džakson Vanik][sejčas][v Ameriku][poètomu][mne interesno] *Ah. Well for example we have ah Jackson-Vanik now in America so I'm interested in*
H* H* H* L*+H H* H+L* L+H*H+L* H+L* L+H* H+L* H* H* H* L+H*
ego točka zreniâ na ètot. [Èto][moj][drug]. [Â ego][znal][dvadcat'] [pât' let tomu nazad]. [My budem] *his opinion on that. It's my friend. I knew him twenty-five years ago. We will*
H+L* L+H* H+L*L+H* L+H*L+H* H* !H* !H* H* L+H*H+L* H+L* L+H* L+H* H+L*
[vstrečat'sâ]. [My budem][obsudit']. [Â][včera][Â][tol'ko čto byl][v][MIDE][U Vas][da]? [Â vstrečalsâ] *meet. We will discuss. I yesterday- I was just in your Foreign Ministry, right? I met*
H* H* H+L* L* H+L* L+H* H*H* H* H* H+L* L+H* L+H*
[s Vašami][kak skazat'] [*ah*][činovnikami][da]? [Èto][normal'no]. [Požalujsta]. [Gotovit'sâ][k ètomu] *with your, how do you say, ah, civil servants, right? It's normal. Please. To prepare for this*
L*+H H+L* L+H* L+H* H+L* L+H* H+L* L+H* H+L* H* L+H* H*+LL+H* H*+L
[èto][normal'no]. [Vstretit'sâ][Vaš][posol]. [Vaš][posol][v našem][strani][vse vremâ][hodit][bez][ètogo]. *is normal. Your ambassador meets. Your ambassador in our country goes around all the time without this.*
H* H+L* L+H* H+L* L+H* H* H* H+L* H+L* H* L*L+H* H+L* L+H* L*+H
[ne][mešaj][ego][rabota]. [Â vy][vse vremâ byvaet][u menâ][doma]. [Èto][interesno]. [È-èto][ne stydno] *Don't bother his work. And you all the time hang around at my house. It's interesting. It's not shameful*
H+L* H* H* L+H* H+L* H+L* L+H* H* H* H+L* L+H*H* H+L*
Vam][èto][delat']? [È-èto][oskorblenie][Vašu stranu][kogda][Vy èto delaete]. [Vy èto][ponimaete]? *to you to do it? It's an insult to your country when you do it. Do you understand this?*
L+H* H+L*
- [Vy **ponimaete**? [15; 3; 8; 3; 3; 9; 7; 2; 1; 4; 3; 9; 4; 7; 2; 6; 8; 3; 2] *Do you understand?*

Q4: My èto ponimaem, **skazhite požalujsta**. Kogo iz politikov oppozicii Vy podderzhivaete? Vy vstrečaeťes' *We understand that, tell us please. Whom of the opposition politicians do you support? Have you* **davno** s Borisom Nemcovym i Ūriem Ašinyim *been meeting with Boris Nemtsov and Yuri Yashin for a long time?* [5; 5; 8]

L+H* L+H* H+L* L+H* H*+L L+H* H* H* L* L+H*H+L* H*
A4: [Ā ne][Ā ne][podderživaŭ]. [Ā][poslevčera][vstrečalsâ][s Vašim prezidentom]. [Ā ego][podderživaŭ]
I don't-I don't support (him). The day before yesterday I met with your president. Do I support him
H* H*+L+H* H* H* H* H* H* H* L* H* L+H* H*
[tože]? [Tože samoe logika][da][esli â vstrečaŭs'][èto značit][čto èto][kakoj-to][podderžka]? [Èto]
too? The same logic, right? If I meet (with someone) it means that its some kind of support? It
H* H* H* H* H* H+L* L+H* H+L* L*+H L+H* H+L*
[normal'no][èto načinaetsâ][èto][nazyvaetsâ][diplomaticeskââ][rabota]. [Èto][vezde][normal'no].
is normal, it begins- it is called diplomatic work. Everywhere it's normal.
H+L* L+H* H* H* H*+L+H* L+H* L+H* H* H+L* L+H*+H*+L+H*
[Požalujsta][zvonite][moj press sekretar']. [My sâdem][spokojno]. [Govorim][o][vezde]. [Obsudit][Ā][bez]
Go ahead, call my press secretary. (We)'ll sit quietly. (We)'ll speak about everything. I discuss without-
L+H*H* H* H+L* !H* !H*+H+L* L*+H H*
[Ā bez kurtki]. [Èto][prosto ne vežlivyj]. [èto][ne]. [5; 5; 4; 13; 8; 3; 5; 3; 2; 6; 6]
I without my coat. It's just not polite, it's not.

Q5: V bližajšee vremâ my možem ob oficial'nom interv'û dogovorit'sâ. V bližajšee vremâ. [7; 2]
In the near future can we arrange an official interview. In the near future.

H+L* H+L* L* H+L* H* L+H* H* H+L* L+H* H+L*
A5: [Po-požalujsta]. [Davajte][byt']. [Požalujsta]. [Prosto][byt'] [bolee bežljivo]. [bolee][profesional'nyj].
By all means. Let's be. By all means. Just be more polite, more professional,
L+H*
[ladno]? [1; 2; 1; 7]
alright?

Q6: Oficial'nyj vopros možno zdes'? Možete o čem Vy govorili s Borisom Nemcovym na prošloj nedele?
Can we ask an official question here? Can (you speak) about what you talked with Boris Nemtsov last week? [4; 8]

H*+L+H* H+L* H* H* L+H* H+L* L+H* H* H+L* H* H* L*
A6: [My uže][ob ètom][govorili]. [O Vašej][politike]. [o Vašej p-]. [o][Magnickogo]. [o][Džakson][Ba-]
We've already spoken of this. About your politics, about your p-, about Magnitsky, about Jackson Ba-
H* H* H* H* H+L* H+L* L+H*H+L* H+L* H*
[Ā][na][Ttwitter][pisał ob ètom]. [Požalujsta]. [čitajte]. [Moskovskij][komsomolec]. [Vy polučaete]?
I wrote about it on Twitter. Please, read it. Moscovsky Komsomolets. Do you get (it)?
H* H* !H* H* H* L* L*+L+H*+H*H* H* H*+L+H* H* H* H*
[Čitaete]. [Ā vse][napisal]. [Čitaete]![I]. [i]. [Ā, Ā, Ā] [Ā s udovol'stvie] [budem][sidet'] [s Vami].
Read (it). I wrote everything. Read (it)! And, and, I, I, I, I with pleasure will sit with you.
L+H* !H* H* L* L* L+H* L+H* H+L* H* H* L+H* L* H* H* H*
[Ī sidit'] [spokojno][i delat'] [interv'û]. [A][vdrug][každyj][raz][kogda][Ā][hožu][zdes']. [kak][budto by]
And sit quietly and do an interview. But out of the blue each time I go here, as if it is
H* H* L*+H H+L* H* H* H*+L+H* H* H*H* L+H* L+H* H+L* L+H*
[èto]... [Èto][dikaâ][strana][ga-][a-][okal-zalos']. [Da]. [čto èto]. [Èto][ne][normal'no]. [Net].
this... This is a wild country ga-it turns out. Really, what is that. It's not normal. No,
L*+HL+H* H+L*
[èto ne normal'no]. [4; 5; 5; 2; 2; 1; 3; 1; 10; 6; 12; 4; 3; 3; 4]
it's not normal.

4.2.2A NTV INTERVIEWER

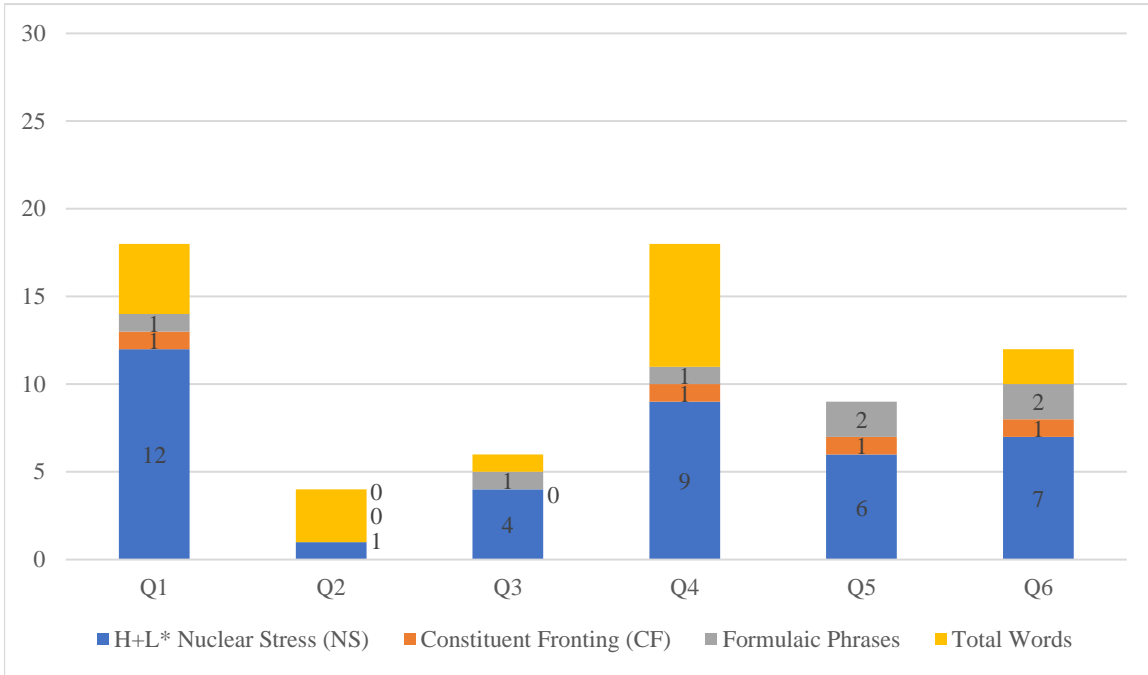
The interviewer is a speaker of standard Russian with no trace of dialectal influence. Russian prosodic phenomena are produced with the consistency expected of a native speaker. Bivalent phenomena in keeping with Russian intonational phenomena appear frequently, and transfer phenomena are entirely absent from the corpus.

Russian phenomena are summarized in Graph 4.22, and bivalent phenomena in Graph 4.23. The height of each column reflects the total number of words per question, and the colored bands within each column indicate the number of phenomena that appear within this total word count. Instances where the number of phenomena exceed the total word count are indicated in footnotes. For the purpose of these summary graphs, bitonal frequency is presented as the aggregate number of bitonal pitch accents.

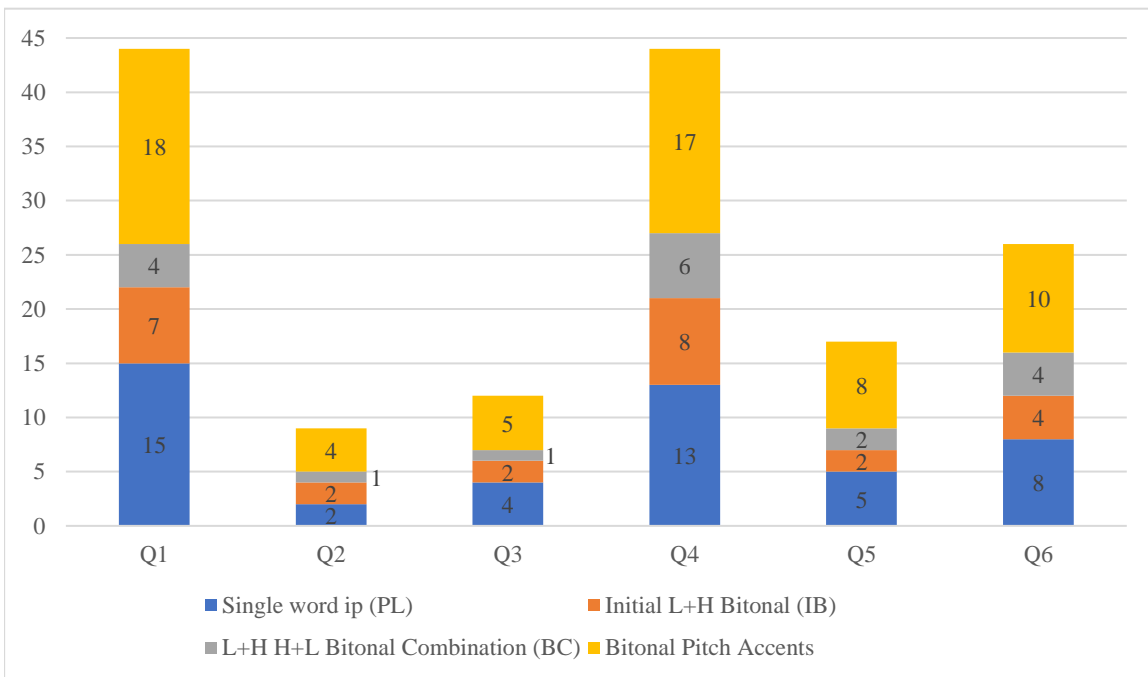
Russian language phenomena occur with consistency in all of the interview questions. The H+L* nuclear pitch accent appears at least once in 100% of question turns and IPs. Its frequency appears related to the number of IPs per question. Constituent fronting, an informal element of Russian syntactic structure that may affect the position of nuclear stress, occurs in 67% of questions. This phenomena tend to occur in longer questions that also contain formulaic phrases. All of these characteristics closely resemble those found in the affiliative interview.

Bivalent phenomena also appear consistently in all question turns and in proportion to the length of the question turn. The ip-initial L+H pitch accent occurs approximately 50% as often as single-word ips. This is a slight departure from the previous Russian interviewer, who utilized almost a balance between the two. The proportion of L+H H+L bitonal combinations is slightly less than 50% of single-word ips, a distribution more similar to the affiliative interview. Thus, we may assume structures remain similar even upon shorter sentences in the antagonistic context.

GRAPH 4.22 NTV, RUSSIAN PHENOMENA BY QUESTION



GRAPH 4.23 NTV, BIVALENT PHENOMENA BY QUESTION



A breakdown of these phenomena per IP is given in Table 4.25. IPs with a greater number of words are shaded progressively darker in the table. Unexpected or non-neutral occurrences appear in color for visibility. Russian phenomena remain the sole components of IPs, and only one IP fails to contain all bivalent features: one instance of the ip-initial L+H bitonal pitch accent and one instance lacking the L+H H+L bitonal combination. The sentences in this corpus are uniformly quite short (5 words), and this exception stems from a sentence fragment consisting of two H+L* nuclear pitch accents.

TABLE 4.25 ANTAGONISTIC INTERVIEW, NTV

Q#	SEQUENCE OF IPs	WORDS	INTONATIONAL PHONOLOGY								FORMULAIC PHRASES		
			BIVALENCY				TRANSFER				#	BIVALENCY	TRANSFER
			PL	IB	BC	BF	ST	HP	NS	CF			
1	1	7	7	3	1	100%	0	0	4	1	1	0	0
	2	2	1	1	1	100%	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
	3	5	5	2	1	100%	0	0	4	0	0	0	0
	4	4	2	1	1	100%	0	0	3	0	0	0	0
2	5	4	2	2	1	100%	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
3	6	6	4	2	1	100%	0	0	4	0	1	0	0
4	7	5	2	2	2	100%	0	0	2	1	1	0	0
	8	5	5	3	2	100%	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
	9	8	6	3	2	100%	0	0	5	0	1	0	0
5	10	7	3	2	2	100%	0	0	4	1	1	0	0
	11	2	2	0	0	100%	0	0	2	0	1	0	0
6	12	4	4	1	1	100%	0	0	3	1	1	0	0
	13	8	4	3	3	100%	0	0	4	0	1	0	0
TOTAL:		67	47	25	18	N/A	0	0	39	4	8	0	0
AVERAGE:		5	3.6	1.9	1.4	100%	0	0	3	.3	.6	0	0

The H+L* nuclear pitch accent occurs on average three times per IP, whereas constituent fronting averages only 0.3 times per IP and occurs in slightly less than one third of IPs (31%). Bivalent phenomena diverge in the frequency of their occurrence. Single-word ips (3.6 per IP) are on par with previous counts for Russian language interviews, however, the ip-initial L+H bitonal pitch accent occurs relatively rarely (1.9 per IP), and the frequency of the and the L+H H+L bitonal

combination is slightly reduced (1.4 per IP). This is likely due to inversion of the SVO word order, resulting in the fronting of predicate material accompanied by the H+L* nuclear pitch accent. Singular occurrence of the H+L* nuclear pitch accent are also found in very short sentences.

However, overall constituent fronting is reduced in this corpus. All instances of constituent fronting (31% of IPs) co-occur with formulaic phrases, although 50% of formulaic phrases appear without constituent fronting. The occurrence of formulaic phrases (0.6 per IP) is reduced in comparison with the usage of these lexical items by both interlocutors in the affiliative interview.

Fig. 4.28 illustrates the characteristic L+H L+H L+H H+L* structure, whereas Figs. 4.29 and 4.30 illustrate how information structure is preserved in Russian sentences when constituents are fronted. In Fig. 4.29, constituent fronting occurs in the first half of the sentence (“say a few words please”), and as part of the subordinate clause (“about what you will talk”). If the first two words *neskol’ko slov* (“a few words”) are placed behind *skazite požalujsta* (“say please”), the expected L+H H+L structure emerges. Likewise, for the subordinate clause: *o čem* (“about what”) constitutes the predicate, whereas reordering the final two words results in a standard SV structure assigned L+H pitch accents: *reč’ idet* (“speech will go”).

A different formulation following the same principles can be seen in Fig. 4.30. In this IP, three L+H H+L bitonal combinations would result from a reordering of constituents to reflect SVO structure. The first element, *kakie voprosy* (“what questions”), exhibits no fronting. The verb, *interesuât* (“interests”), which currently concludes the IP, would occupy the second position after the first phrase, followed by *vas* (“you”). Reconstructing results in a second L+H H+L structure. The adverbs, *sčas osobenno* (“now especially”), are additional predicate material assigned no pitch accent or the H+L* pitch accent.

FIGURE 4.28 BITONAL COMBINATION, NTV

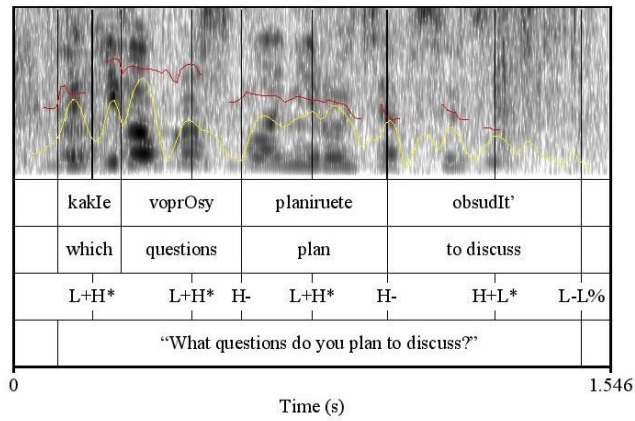


FIGURE 4.29 INVERSION, NTV

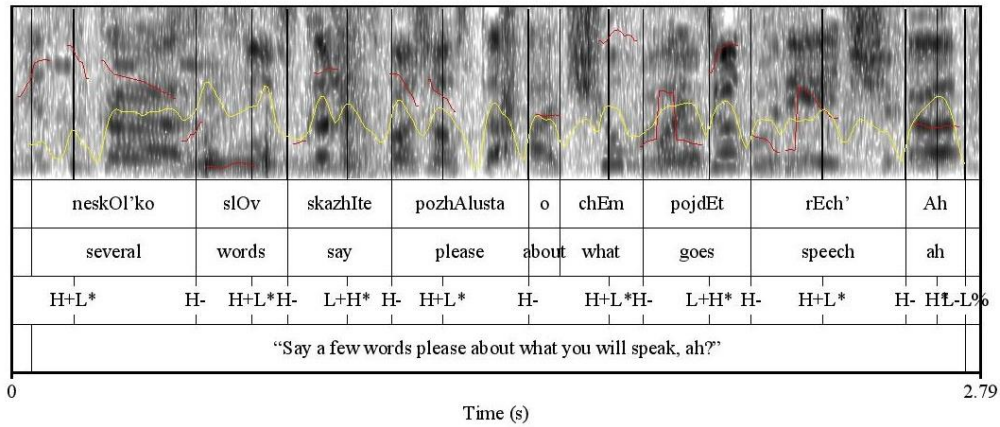
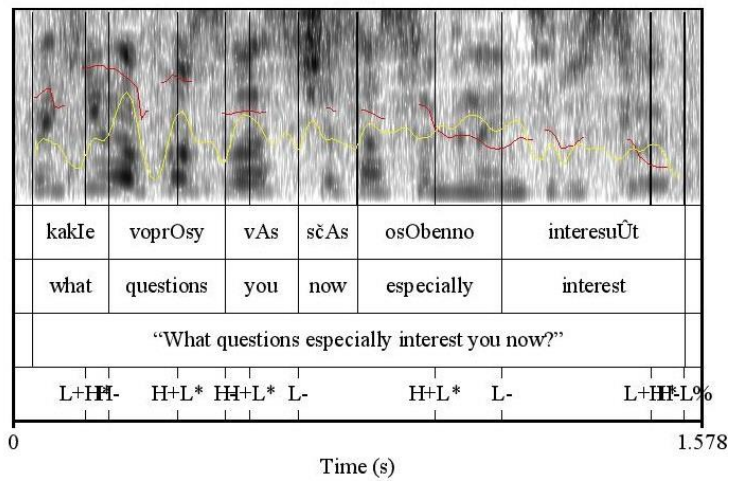


FIGURE 4.30 PHRASING, NTV



Eight instances of formulaic phrases appear in the corpus, yet formulaic phrase use in this corpus is largely repetitive in nature. Of eight instances, we can effectively distinguish five tokens: *skazite пожалуйста*, “tell me please” (Q1/Q4); *sčas* “right now” (Q3); *davno* “for a long time” (Q4); *v blizajsee vremâ* “in the near future” (Q5, 2x); *mozno/mozete* “can” (Q6).

Chi-squared tests of independence indicate almost all of the phenomena of interest appear independently of one another (Table 4.26). To minimize empty cells, the analysis of comparisons with formulaic phrases was performed on the aggregate phenomena per question. Other categories were analyzed per IP, and constituent fronting was excluded entirely as insufficiently frequent. Significant correlations between categories were found for the ip-initial L+H pitch accent and the L+H H+L bitonal combination ($\chi^2(9)=18.45$, $p=0.03$) and for single-word ips and bitonal frequency ($\chi^2(30)=48.30$, $p=0.019$). These are a subset of the significant correlations found for the interviewer in the affiliative interview. Once again, the lack of significant correlations is likely due to truncation of typical structures due to the short sentence and/or incomplete sentences that populate the corpus.

TABLE 4.26 CORRELATIONS BETWEEN PHENOMENA, NTV

	Initial L+H	Bitonal Combination	Bitonal Frequency	H+L* Nuclear Stress	Formulaic Phrase
Single-word ip	.75	.82	.019*	.24	.29
Initial L+H		.03*	.35	.19	.59
Bitonal Combination			.37	.37	.54
Bitonal Frequency				.13	.29
H+L* Nuclear Stress					.29

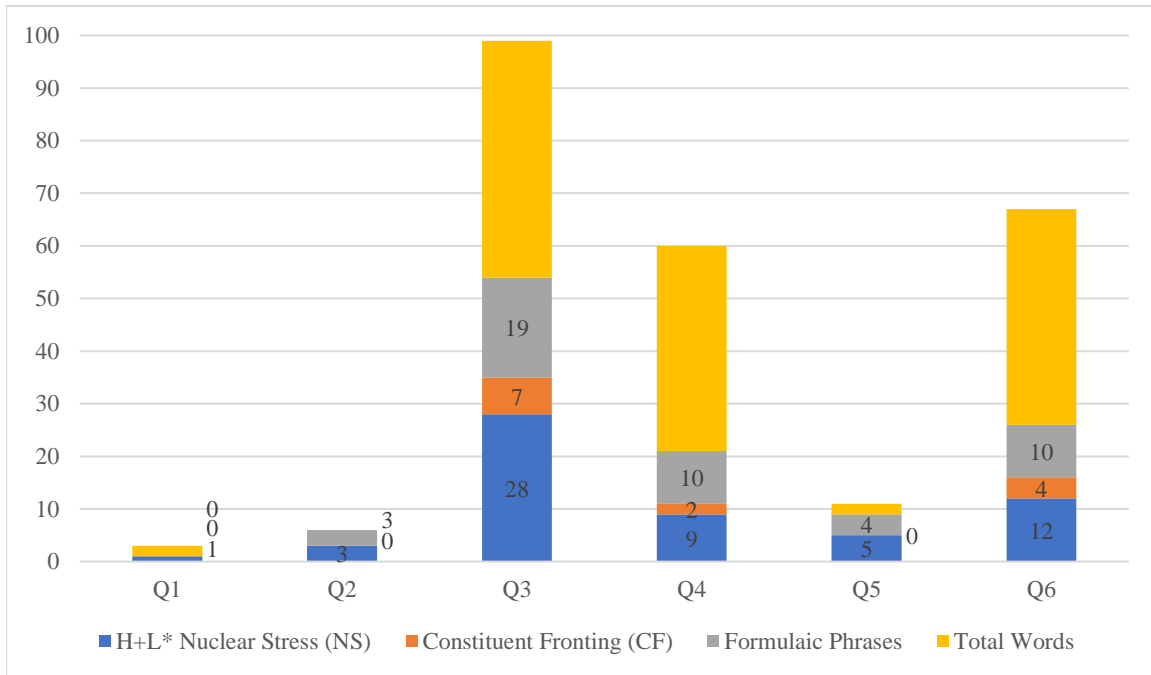
4.2.2B MICHAEL McFAUL

In the antagonistic interview, McFaul produces non-nativelike features in three categories: bivalent prosodic phenomena, transfer prosodic phenomena, and lexical items. These non-native-like features are again concentrated in the related categories of bitonal frequency and single tones, yet violations appear multiple times for every type of phenomena. Russian language phenomena are summarized in Graph 4.24, bivalent phenomena in Graph 4.25, and English language phenomena in Graph 4.26. The height of each column reflects the total number of words per question, and the colored bands within each column indicate the number of phenomena that appear within this total word count. Instances where the number of phenomena exceed the total word count are indicated in footnotes. For the purpose of these summary graphs, bitonal frequency is presented as the aggregate number of bitonal pitch accents.

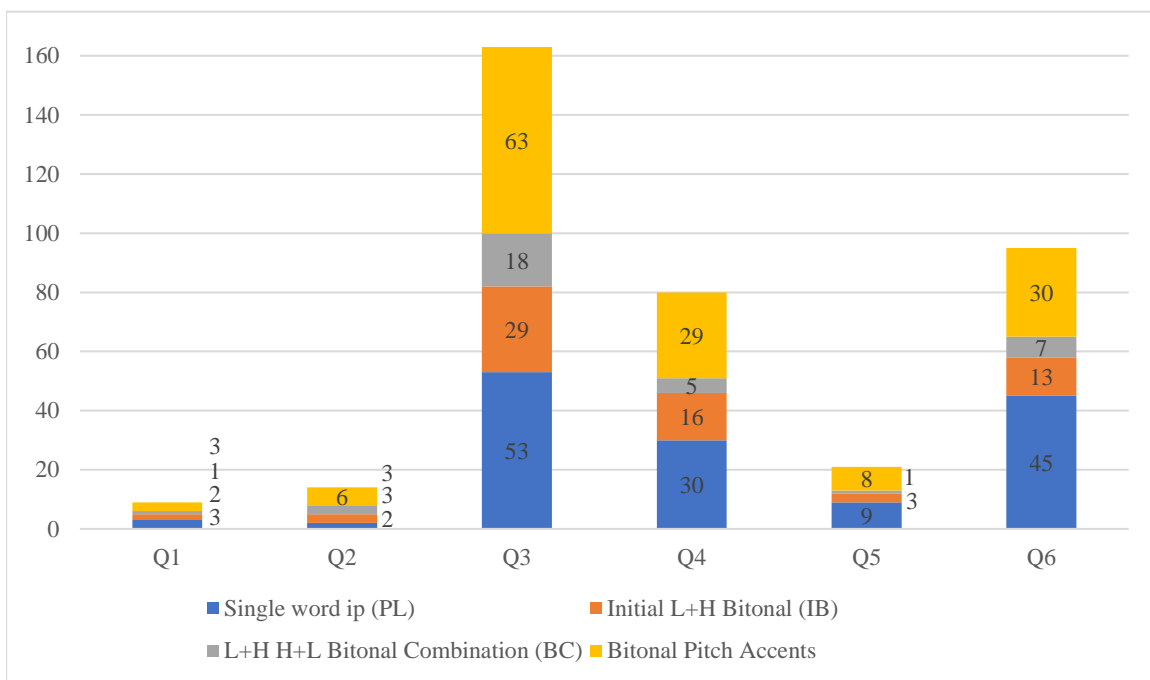
Russian phenomena appear consistently in all question turns, regardless of their length, and this distribution appears to be roughly proportional to the number of IPs in the sentence. The H+L* nuclear pitch accent appears in each question turn. Constituent fronting is less commonly employed by McFaul, appearing in only 50% of question turns, whereas formulaic phrases are produced in 83%, or all but one.

Bivalent intonational phenomena also feature prominently, with at least one instance of each category in every question turn. Here, unlike in L1 speech or in McFaul's previous interview, their distribution per IP shows greater fluctuation for single-word IPs and the L+H H+L bitonal combination. This probably reflects a less systematic assignment of bitonal pitch accents according to the expected Russian prosodic structure. The initial L+H pitch accent remains roughly half as frequent as single-word IPs. Similar to his previous interview, but not L1 speech, the percentage of the L+H pitch accent does not remain consistent relative to the bitonal combination.

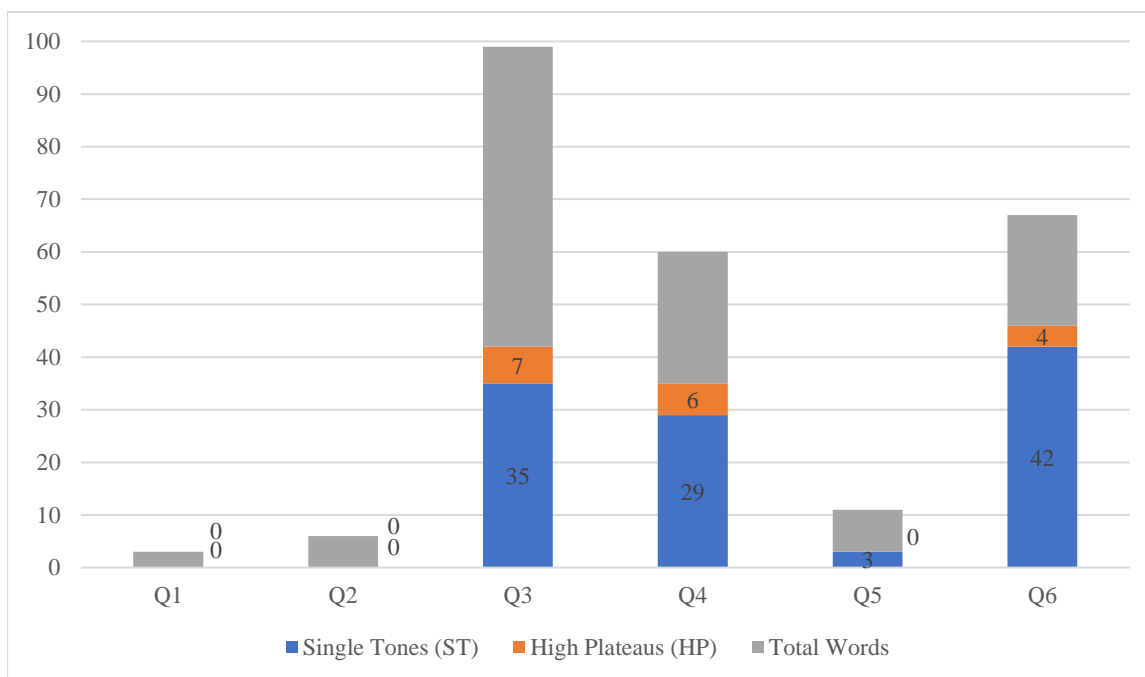
GRAPH 4.24 McFAUL, RUSSIAN PHENOMENA BY QUESTION



GRAPH 4.25 McFAUL, BIVALENT PHENOMENA BY QUESTION



GRAPH 4.26 McFAUL, ENGLISH PHENOMENA BY QUESTION



English language phenomena also occur consistently throughout the corpus, although in the two shortest IPs, McFaul is able to avoid them. This shows one strategy by which an antagonistic interview may actually reduce non-native-like production: if sentences are short, English phenomena are less prevalent. This may be due to the McFaul's ability to concentrate more effort and attention on shorter sentences, or perhaps the emotionality of the situation facilitates his production of bitonal pitch accents. In the longer question turns (Q3/Q4/Q6), we see a greater proportion of single tones and high plateaus than in the affiliative interview, suggesting that sustaining Russian intonational patterns becomes more difficult.

A breakdown of these phenomena per IP is given in Table 4.27. McFaul produces prosodic elements in all three categories of Russian, bivalent, and English phenomena. Although these still remain concentrated in the related categories of single tones and bitonal pitch accent frequency, the scope of violations, including among lexical items, increases in the antagonistic interview.

TABLE 4.27 ANTAGONISTIC INTERVIEW, McFAUL

Q#	SEQUENCE OF IPs	WORDS	INTONATIONAL PHONOLOGY								FORMULAIC PHRASES		
			BIVALENCY				TRANSFER				#	BIVALENCY	TRANSFER
			PL	IB	BC	BF	ST	HP	NS	CF			
1	1	3	3	2	1	100%	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
2	2	2	2	1	1	100%	0	0	1	0	1	1	0
	3	2	0	1	1	100%	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
	4	2	0	1	1	100%	0	0	1	0	1	1	0
3	5	15	4	1	1	29%	10	2	1	1	4	2	0
	6	3	3	1	0	67%	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
	7	8	2	2	2	71%	2	1	3	1	0	0	0
	8	3	1	0	1	67%	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
	9	3	1	1	1	100%	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
	10	9	7	5	1	64%	4	1	2	0	2	0	2
	11	7	3	2	1	71%	2	0	3	0	2	1	1
	12	2	2	0	0	0%	4	2	0	0	1	0	0
	13	1	1	0	0	100%	0	0	1	0	1	1	0
	14	4	4	3	1	100%	0	0	1	1	1	0	0
	15	3	3	2	1	100%	0	0	1	1	0	0	0
	16	9	7	3	4	89%	1	0	2	1	1	1	0
	17	4	4	1	1	75%	1	0	2	0	0	0	0
	18	7	2	1	0	43%	4	1	2	0	3	3	0
	19	2	2	1	1	100%	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
20	6	3	2	1	60%	2	0	1	0	1	1	0	
21	8	3	2	1	71%	2	0	3	1	0	0	0	
22	3	1	1	0	67%	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	
23	2	0	1	1	100%	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	
4	24	5	1	2	1	100%	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
	25	5	3	1	1	50%	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
	26	4	2	1	1	50%	2	0	1	1	1	0	0
	27	13	3	1	0	18%	9	1	0	0	3	2	1
	28	8	6	1	1	33%	6	2	2	0	2	1	0
	29	3	3	2	1	100%	0	0	1	0	1	1	0
	30	5	2	1	0	50%	2	1	1	0	1	0	0
	31	3	1	1	0	67%	1	0	0	0	1	1	0
	32	2	3	1	0	67%	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
	33	6	3	4	0	67%	2	1	0	1	0	0	0
	34	6	3	1	0	50%	3	1	2	0	1	1	0
	5	35	1	1	0	0	100%	0	0	1	0	1	1
36		2	2	0	0	50%	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
37		1	1	0	0	100%	0	0	1	0	1	1	0
38		7	5	3	1	71%	2	0	2	0	2	1	0
6	39	4	2	0	1	40%	3	1	1	1	1	0	0
	40	5	7	2	1	50%	4	0	2	0	0	0	0
	41	5	3	0	0	100%	4	0	0	1	0	0	0

TABLE 4.27 ANTAGONISTIC INTERVIEW, McFAUL (CON'T)

Q#	SEQUENCE OF IPs	WORDS	INTONATIONAL PHONOLOGY								FORMULAIC PHRASES		
			BIVALENCY				TRANSFER				#	BIVALENCY	TRANSFER
			PL	IB	BC	BF	ST	HP	NS	CF			
6	42	2	2	0	0	100%	0	0	2	0	1	1	0
	43	2	2	1	1	100%	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
	44	2	0	0	0	0%	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
	45	1	1	0	0	0%	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
	46	3	1	0	0	0%	3	1	0	1	0	0	0
	47	1	1	0	0	0%	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
	48	10	5	1	0	27%	8	0	0	0	1	0	0
	49	6	2	1	0	25%	3	0	0	0	1	1	0
	50	12	10	3	1	33%	8	1	1	0	3	1	0
	51	4	4	1	1	57%	3	0	2	1	0	0	0
	52	3	1	0	0	0%	3	1	0	0	1	0	0
	53	3	3	2	1	100%	0	0	1	0	1	1	0
	54	4	1	2	1	100%	0	0	1	0	1	1	0
TOTAL:		246	142	66	35	N/A	109	17	58	13	46	27	4
AVERAGE:		5	2.6	1.2	.7	64%	2	.3	1.1	.2	.9	.5	.1

The category that appears least affected is single-word ips, which is absent from only four IPs, two more than in the affiliative interview. Three of the four remaining prosodic categories show influence in roughly one quarter of the corpus: 24% of IPs lack the ip-initial L+H pitch accent, 24% lack H+L* nuclear pitch accent, and 26% have a high plateau. The final category, the L+H H+L bitonal combination, is missing in 43% of IPs.

The antagonistic interview exhibits considerable unique features in terms of the use of lexical items. Constituent fronting involves a prosodic category in the assignment of pitch accents, as well as the re-ordering of lexical items. Constituent fronting in the antagonistic interview occurs nearly three times as often, although still slightly less often than the interviewer's corpus. The appearance of formulaic phrases is nearly ubiquitous (0.9 per IP). Of these formulaic phrases, 59% are used in a bivalent manner. Transfer use of the formulaic phrases occurs in 9% of instances.

There is some evidence that the frequency of some phenomena may increase as the interview proceeds. Calculating by question turn, the number of single-word IPs increase by 45% (12% by IP), from the first to second half of the corpus. Single tones and high plateaus also increase by 111% (23% by IP) and 43% (13% by IP). The other bivalent and Russian phenomena appear to decrease: the L+H H+L bitonal pitch accent falls by 41% (60% per IP), and the H+L* nuclear pitch accent falls 19% (29% by IP). These numbers may indicate a trend in the corpus towards non-native-like intonation as the antagonistic interview progresses.

McFaul retains many of the other idiosyncracies seen previously in the affiliative interview. In Fig. 4.31, McFaul leaves the final phrase of the sentence, *tomu nazad* (“ago”), deaccented, after the H+L* pitch accent on *pât' let* (“five years”). The locations that single tones appear in the phrase also reflect the same tendencies seen in his first interview. Fig. 4.32 illustrates a single tone inserted into the middle of the sentence, between two bitonal pitch accents, and Fig. 4.33 shows a single tone at the onset of the IP, followed by the characteristic bitonal pitch accent combination.

The emergence of more single tones in this corpus appear in positions similar to those illustrated in Fig. 4.32 and Fig. 4.33, both of which occur in question response six. In slow speech, Russian words may take on greater than one pitch accent. This tendency is exploited in Fig. 4.32 with the assignment of single tones, creating two high plateaus with a two-word phrase. In Fig. 4.33, the H+L* nuclear pitch accent is split into single tones. After single tones and bitonal pitch accents, the category that appears most affected is the L+H H+L bitonal combination, which is absent from 56% of IPs. This cannot be attributed simply to interactional features: even though the NTV interview produces a greater number of single-word IPs (4.6 per IP), bitonal combinations by the interviewer remain high (1.4 per IP), whereas McFaul only manages to produce 0.7 bitonal combinations per IP.

FIGURE 4.31 DEACCENTATION, McFAUL

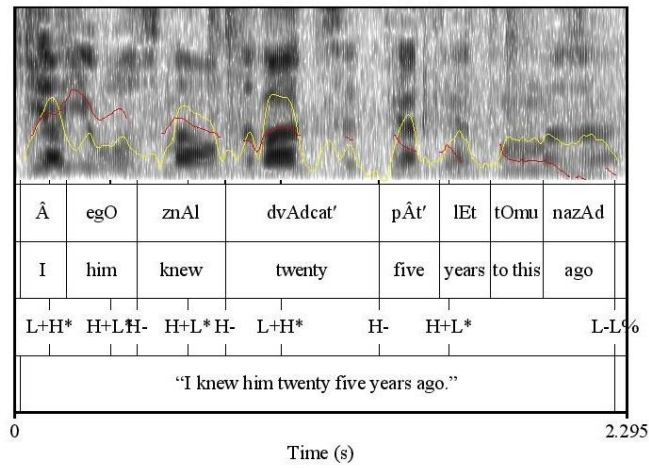


FIGURE 4.32 PHRASE MEDIAL SINGLE TONES, McFAUL

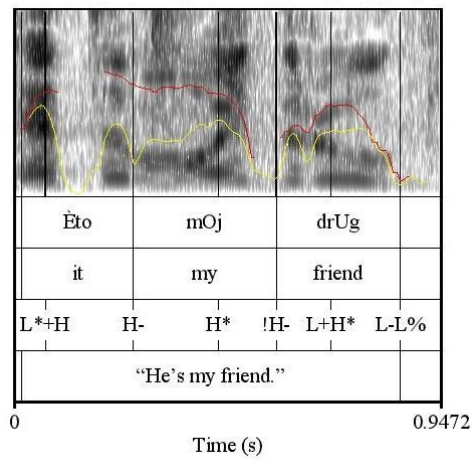


FIGURE 4.33 PHRASE INITIAL SINGLE TONES, McFAUL

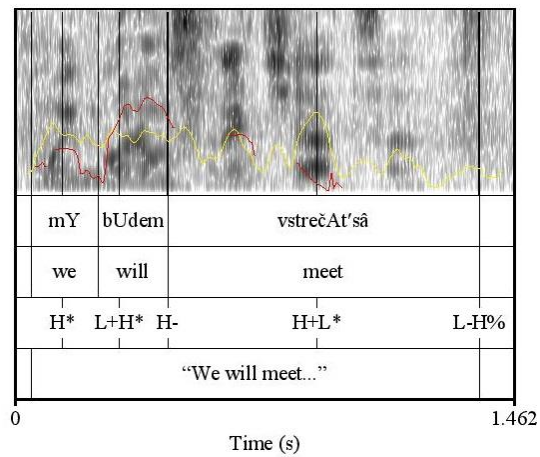


FIGURE 4.34 HIGH PLATEAU, McFAUL

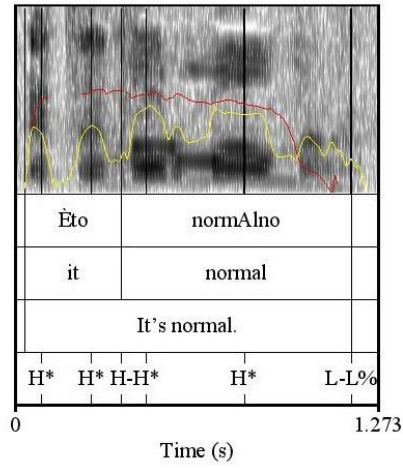


FIGURE 4.35 SINGLE TONES, McFAUL

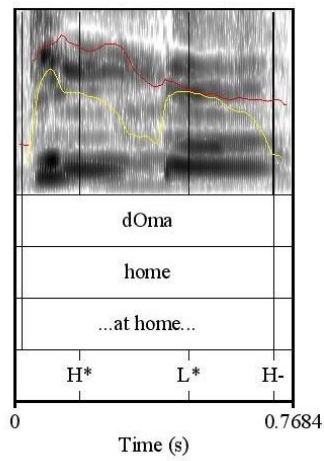
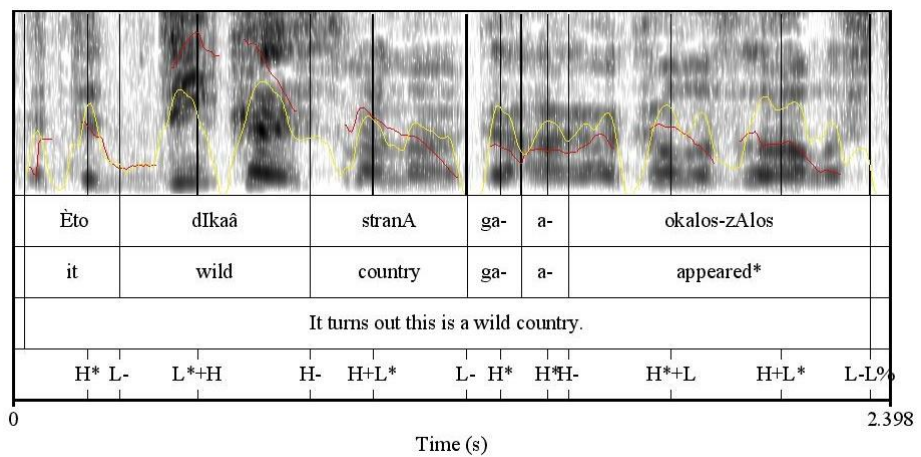


FIGURE 4.36 PHRASE INITIAL TONES, McFAUL



The final example, Fig. 4.34, illustrates a sentence McFaul produced upon losing his temper in the interview, which received widespread media attention in Russia: “This turned out to be a wild country”. A combination of non-native-like strategies occur: the IP begins with a single tone, and two more single tones appear as McFaul struggles to find the correct verb. The less common L*+H bitonal pitch accent is used as the initial half of the L+H H+L bitonal combination, in an attempt to emphasize the word *dikaâ* (“wild”). The final verb, *okazalos'* (“turned out”), is incorrectly pronounced and produced with two bitonal pitch accents. While the first of these, H*+L, is not disallowed in Russian, it is less commonly used and may show the influence of an English language preference to produce high tones.

Bivalent uses of formulaic phrases are pragmatically inappropriate, revealing some aspect of innovation in the use of the formulaic phrase as a discourse particle, its modal interpretation, or syntactic position. Instances of transfer are infelicitous and invoke an idiosyncratic scenario related to the second language speaker’s personal experience with the expression. The classification of a formulaic phrase as bivalent or an example of transfer is related to each individual use of a particular formulaic phrase in a specific IP; therefore, formulaic phrases may be classified differently depending on the context.²⁵ Table 4.28 presents the mean lemma frequency (MLF) for each formulaic phrase in Russian and its possible English translation.

McFaul’s considerable use of formulaic phrases would seem to indicate his facility with informal language and a strong understanding of pragmatic language use. However, McFaul produces a number of these lexical items as bivalent or transfer phenomena; that is, the idiosyncratic or incorrect use of the formulaic phrase, respectively.

²⁵ Judgements of pragmatic appropriateness were confirmed in discussion with a native speaker and long-time UCLA professor of Russian language instruction.

TABLE 4.28 FORMULAIC PHRASES, MLF, & PROSODY

Q#	PHRASE	MLF ²⁶	TRANSLATION(S)	MLF ²⁷	PROSODY
2	vsâkie	41.5	all sorts	10.8	L+H*
2	obyčno	118.2	usually	124.9	H+L*
2	očerednaâ (vstreča)	0.1	routine (meeting)	0.02	L+H*
3	nu	907.4	well	1216.7	L*
3	dopustim	18.4	let's say	8.1	L+H*
3 (2x)	(mne) interesno	84.7	(I'm) interested (its) interesting	71.8 99.0	(L+H*) H+L*
3	točka zreniâ	6.9	point of view	17.5	H*
3	tol'ko čto	141.3	just now	4.7	H* !H*
3 (2x) 4,6	da	1790.3	right yes	881.9 423.6	L+H* (2x) H* (2x)
3	kak skazat'	3.8	how do you say	1.0	H* H+L*
3 (2x), 4 (2x), 6 (2x)	normal'no	25.1	normal	77.4	H* H* (2x) H+L* (4x)
3,4,6 5 (2x)	požalujsta	89.8	please	98.4	H+L*
3 (2x)	vse vremâ	98.9	all the time	40.0	H*L+H* (1x) H*H* (1x)
3	byvaet	142.8	happens	82.1	H+L*
3	doma	371.5	at home	71.1	H* L*
3	stydno	46.0	ashamed	9.5	L*+H
3 (2x)	ponimaete	42.8	(you) understand	10.5	(L+H*) H+L*
4	tože	692.5	also	1187.6	H*
4	tože samoe	1.3	the same	495.4	H* L+H*
4	kakoj-to	202.0	some kind of	26.6	H*
4	nazyvaetsâ	68.2	is called	18.3	H+L*
4,6	spokojno	112.9	calmly	6.7	L+H* (1x) H* (1x)
4,5	prosto	531.3	simply	157.2	H*
5	ladno	84.6	alright	4.3	L+H*
6	uže	2003.8	already	290.2	L+H*
6	s udovol'stvem	33.8	with pleasure	1.6	H* L+H*
6	vdrug	523.5	suddenly	98.2	L+H*
6	každyj raz	34.1	every time	31.9	L+H* H+L*
6	budto by	52.0	as if	166.4	H* H*

²⁶ Corpus of Contemporary American English. 570,353,748 words. <https://corpus.byu.edu/COCA/>. MLF per million words.

²⁷ Russian National Corpus. 283,431,966 words. <http://www.ruscorpora.ru/>. MLF per million words.

In this corpus, all of the formulaic phrases can be considered to have a holistic pragmatic meaning that affects the appropriateness of its implementation: “all sorts” (Q2), “usually” (Q2), “routine” (Q2), “well” (Q3), “let’s say” (Q3), “interested”/“interesting” (Q3), “point of view” (Q3), “just now” (Q3), “right” (Q3/Q4/Q6), “how do you say” (Q3), “normal” (Q3/Q4/Q6), “please” (Q3/Q4/Q5/Q6), “all the time” (Q3), “happens” (Q3), “at home” (Q3), “ashamed” (Q3), “(you) understand” (Q3), “also” (Q4), “the same” (Q4), “some kind of” (Q4), “is called” (Q4), “calmly” (Q4/Q6), “simply” (Q4/Q5), “alright” (Q5), “already” (Q6), “with pleasure” (Q6), “suddenly” (Q6), “every time” (Q6), “as if” (Q6).

All of the formulaic phrases that are more common in English than Russian (18 tokens) were classified as bivalent. An additional seven tokens were also classified as bivalent, primarily because of their questionable suitability for the interview situation: *kakoj-to* (“some kind of”), *spokojno* (“calmly”), *požalujsta* (“please”), *ladno* (“alright”), *vdrug* (“suddenly”). Three items were classified as transfer phenomena: *tol’ko čto* (“just now”), and *da* (“right”), when used as a tag question. Tag questions of this nature are rare in Russian, but quite common in English. The first item *tol’ko čto* (“just now”) is an inappropriate translation from Russian: the expression must be used when the individual has literally just completed an action, whereas McFaul exaggerates how recently his visit occurred.

The pitch accents assigned to each formulaic phrase are presented in Table 4.28. Although largely reflecting Russian norms, this preference is apparent to a lesser degree than in the affiliative interview. Twenty-nine instances (63% of tokens) are realized with Russian language prosody, and 17 (37% of tokens) are produced with English language prosody or a mix of the two. The H+L* pitch accent is assigned 16 times to 7 formulaic phrases, whereas single tones accompany 14 tokens of 12 formulaic phrases. In comparison, 76% of tokens in the affiliative interview were

produced with Russian language or permissible bivalent prosody, and just 21% were assigned English language pitch accents.

Chi-squared tests of independence indicate that in this corpus, all of the phenomena of interest appear independently of one another (Table 4.29). To minimize empty cells, the analysis was performed on the aggregate phenomena present per question for all categories. Single tones, high plateaus, and constituent fronting were excluded from the analysis due to insufficient frequency. These results clearly indicate a change from the affiliative interview, where several correlations that reached or neared significance were found.

TABLE 4.29 CORRELATIONS BETWEEN PHENOMENA, McFAUL

	Initial L+H	Bitonal Combination	Bitonal Frequency	Nuclear H+L* Stress	Formulaic Phrase
Single-word ip	.24	.24	.22	.22	.24
Initial L+H		.24	.24	.24	.32
Bitonal Combination			.24	.24	.32
Bitonal Frequency				.22	.24
Nuclear H+L* Stress					.24

4.2.2C DISAFFILIATION IN THE NTV INTERVIEW

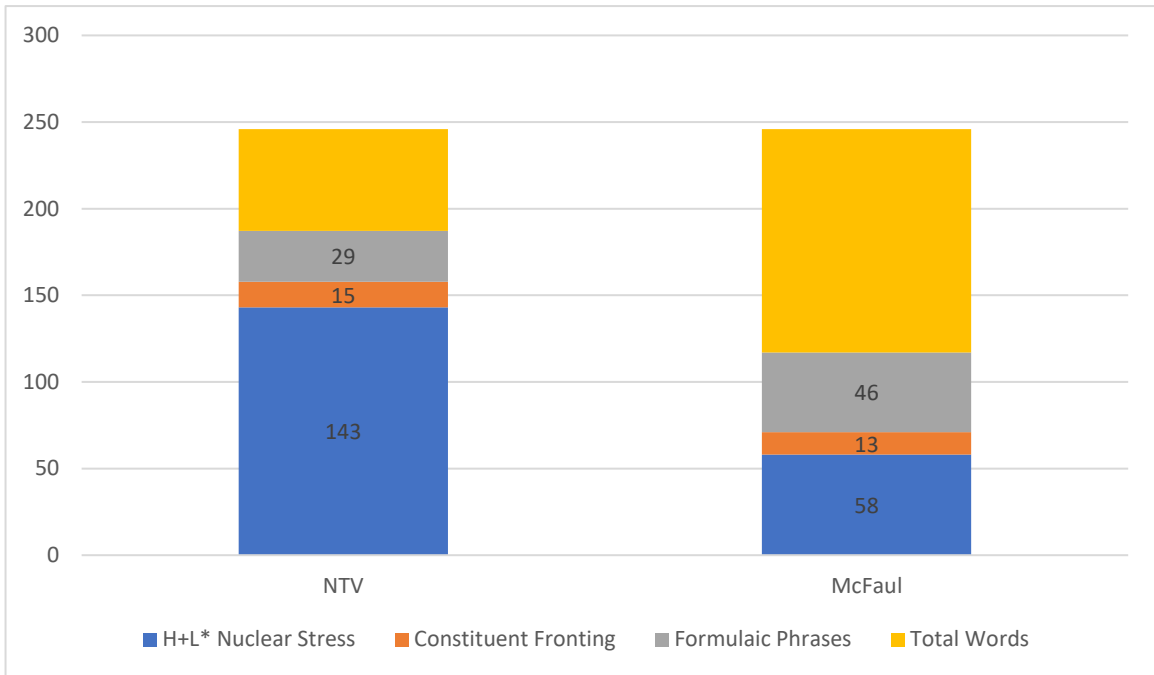
McFaul and the NTV interviewer appear to differ substantially in their use of all categories of lexical and prosodic phenomena. This is most apparent in the category of prosodic transfer phenomena. McFaul produces single tones (2 per IP) and high plateaus (0.3 per IP), whereas these phenomena does not occur in the NTV interviewer’s native Russian speech. However, substantial differences are seen in all bivalent categories. An overview of the frequency of occurrence of Russian and bivalent phenomena are presented in Graph 4.27 and Graph 4.28.

The number of phenomena produced by NTV has been adjusted to correct for the imbalance in corpora size. In this estimation, McFaul produces 59% more formulaic phrases (0.9 versus 0.6 per IP) and 59% less H+L* nuclear pitch accents (1.1 versus 3 per IP) than the NTV interviewer. This finding may indicate that McFaul relies more on lexical than prosodic phenomena in antagonistic contexts, or that prosodic phenomena are more susceptible to processing constraints. The proportion of constituent fronting between interlocutors is similar.

Bitonal pitch accents are produced by McFaul only 64% of the time, averaging 2 single tones per IP; native Russian speakers only produce bitonal pitch accents. Although the magnitude of the difference less, each category of bivalent phenomena is utilized to a greater degree by the interviewer. One exception is single-word ips, although these may reflect interactional concerns. The L+H H+L bitonal combination occurs on average 39% more often in the NTV corpus (0.7 versus 1.4 instances per IP, respectively). Single-word ips appear in McFaul's speech on average only 70% as often as in the interviewer's speech (25. Vs. 3.6 instances per IP, respectively), and the ip-initial L+H pitch accent appears 57% as often (1.1 vs. 1.9 instances per IP, respectively). The ip-initial L+H bitonal pitch accent is produced 39% more often by the interviewer.

In this antagonistic interview, the NTV interviewer and McFaul show a significant difference in their use of several phenomena (see Table 4.30). Bitonal pitch accents showed a highly significant difference between subject means ($p < 0.001$), as did the prevalence of single tones ($p < 0.0001$) and the H+L* nuclear pitch accent ($p < 0.001$). Other significant differences in means included bivalent phenomena: the L+H H+L bitonal combination ($p = 0.0057$) and the ip-initial L+H bitonal pitch accent ($p = 0.032$). The antagonistic shows increased differences in bivalent phenomena, accompanied by a decrease in transfer categories. However, the degree of the differences in means for the H+L* nuclear pitch accent is much more pronounced.

GRAPH 4.27 NTV vs. McFAUL, TOTAL RUSSIAN PHENOMENA



GRAPH 4.28 NTV vs. McFAUL, TOTAL BIVALENT PHENOMENA

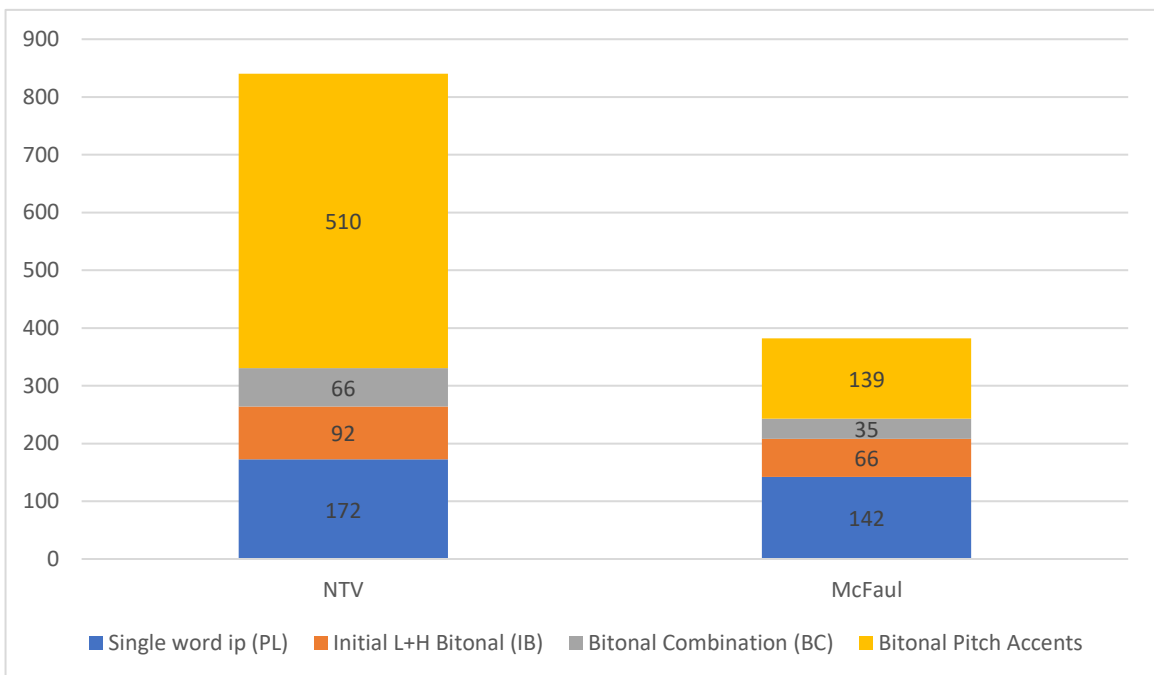


TABLE 4.30 T-TESTS BETWEEN SUBJECT MEANS: McFAUL & NTV

TYPE	PHENOMENON	P-VALUE
Bivalent	Single-word ip	0.099~
	Initial L+H bitonal pitch accent	0.032*
	Bitonal combination	0.0057**
	Bitonal pitch accents	0.00067***
Transfer	Single tones	<0.0001***
	High plateaus	0.00019***
	Nuclear stress	0.00014***
	Constituent Fronting	0.65
Other	Formulaic phrases	0.22

TABLE 4.31 DISAFFILIATION IN AN NTV INTERVIEW

	WORDS	INTONATIONAL PHONOLOGY								FORMULAIC PHRASES		
		BIVALENCY				TRANSFER				#	BIVALENCY	TRANSFER
		PL	IB	BC	BF	ST	HP	NS	CF			
NTV												
TOTAL:	67	47	25	18	N/A	0	0	39	4	8	0	0
AVERAGE:	5	3.6	1.9	1.4	100%	0	0	3	.3	.6	0	0
McFAUL												
TOTAL:	246	142	66	35	N/A	109	17	58	13	46	27	4
AVERAGE:	5	2.6	1.2	.7	64%	2	.3	1.1	.2	.9	.5	.1

The equivalent numbers are given in Table 4.30 (colored by degree of significance). Given that the interviewer necessarily produces no single tones, these categories are significant for McFaul. It is more surprising that constituent fronting remains native-like, and the relatively large difference in McFaul's use of single-word ips and formulaic phrases does not reach significance. We can conclude that in the antagonistic interview, prosodic phenomena show less production accuracy than lexical items. In fact, McFaul illustrates a greater attention to lexical items, both in terms of formulaic phrases, and constituent fronting.

4.2.3 PERFORMANCE ACROSS CONTEXTS

The speech of the Russian interviewers from Večernij Urgant and NTV appear remarkably similar across categories (Table 4.32), as might be expected of two native speakers of the same dialect. Only one prosodic phenomenon, the ip-initial L+H pitch accent, and the lexical phenomenon of formulaic phrases show differences in their implementation. Urgant utilizes greater than twice as many ip-initial L+H bitonal pitch accents as the NTV reporter. This finding may be related to the tendency of the NTV interviewer to produce partial sentences with only predicate material marked by the H+L* nuclear pitch accent.

TABLE 4.32 T-TESTS BETWEEN SUBJECT MEANS: VEČERNIJ URGANT & NTV

TYPE	PHENOMENON	P-VALUE
Bivalent	Single-word ip	0.72
	Initial L+H bitonal pitch accent	0.0079**
	Bitonal Combination	0.24
	Bitonal pitch accents	1.00
Transfer	Nuclear stress	0.28
	Constituent fronting	0.50
Other	Formulaic phrases	0.015*

TABLE 4.33 NATIVE RUSSIAN INTERVIEWERS

	WORDS	INTONATIONAL PHONOLOGY								FORMULAIC PHRASES		
		BIVALENCY				TRANSFER				#	BIVALENCY	TRANSFER
		PL	IB	BC	BF	ST	HP	NS	CF			
VEČERNIJ URGANT												
TOTAL:	247	108	109	56	N/A	0	0	80	14	49	0	0
AVERAGE:	8	3.4	3.4	1.8	100%	0	0	2.5	.4	1.5	0	0
NTV												
TOTAL:	67	47	25	18	N/A	0	0	39	4	8	0	0
AVERAGE:	5	3.6	1.9	1.4	100%	0	0	3	.3	.6	0	0

A difference in the use of lexical items is found in the quantity of formulaic phrases (Table 4.33). Despite the difference in corpus size, on average Urgant produces twice as many formulaic phrases as the NTV interviewer (1.5 versus 0.6 per IP, respectively). A greater number of formulaic phrases in an affiliative context is consistent with the assumption that formulaic phrases may be characteristic of informal contexts when produced by native speakers.

A comparison of McFaul’s performance across the two context reveals a large number of significant differences between the two: single-word ips ($p=0.002$), the ip-initial L+H pitch accent ($p=0.0028$), the bitonal combination ($p=0.028$), bitonal pitch accents ($p=0.0079$), high plateaus ($p=0.0031$), and the H+L& nuclear pitch accent ($p=0.046$).

TABLE 4.34 T-TESTS BETWEEN SUBJECT MEANS: MCF Faul IN TWO CONTEXTS

TYPE	PHENOMENON	P-VALUE
Bivalent	Single-word ip	0.0020**
	Initial L+H bitonal pitch accent	0.0028**
	Bitonal combination	0.028*
	Bitonal pitch accents	0.0079**
Transfer	Single tones	0.19
	High plateaus	0.0031**
	Nuclear stress	0.046*
	Constituent fronting	0.16
Other	Formulaic phrases	0.98

TABLE 4.35 LATE SECOND LANGUAGE RUSSIAN

	WORDS	INTONATIONAL PHONOLOGY								FORMULAIC PHRASES		
		BIVALENCY				TRANSFER				#	BIVALENCY	TRANSFER
		PL	IB	BC	BF	ST	HP	NS	CF			
AFFILIATIVE												
TOTAL:	251	170	104	41	N/A	58	2	64	5	33	15	2
AVERAGE:	6.4	4.4	2.7	1.1	75%	1.5	.1	1.6	.1	.9	.4	.05
ANTAGONISTIC												
TOTAL:	246	142	66	35	N/A	109	17	58	13	46	27	4
AVERAGE:	5	2.6	1.2	.7	64%	2	.3	1.1	.2	.9	.5	.1

In contrast to the Russian native speaker interviewers. McFaul's speech across contexts reveals differences between the affiliative and antagonistic contexts in every category, with the exception of constituent fronting (0.1 vs. 0.2 per IP, respectively) and formulaic phrases (0.9 per IP for both interlocuters). The number of bivalent and transfer formulaic phrases also remains relatively consistent between the interviews.

Bivalent prosodic phenomena of every category appear more frequently in the affiliative interview context, reflecting a greater prevalence of Russian prosodic norms. The greatest difference is seen in the production of single-word ips, which decrease by 59% (4.4 versus 2.6 per IP, respectively). This result may be affected by the shorter sentences lengths in the antagonistic interview. In some instances, McFaul is able to produce more accurate Russian prosody by reducing his sentence length.

The same trend holds for the transfer phenomenon associated with Russian prosody. The H+L* nuclear pitch accent is produced 45% more often in the affiliative interview as the antagonistic one (1.6 versus 1.1 per IP, respectively). The opposite is true of the phenomena associated with English prosody: the average number of single tones per IP increase 88% from the affiliative interview to the antagonistic one (1. versus 2 per IP, respectively), and high plateaus, which appeared just twice in the affiliative interview, number 17 in the antagonistic context.

However, it is also notable that the number of categories that differ significantly in their realization across contexts is smaller than those found to be significantly different from the NTV interviewer in the antagonistic context. This specifically pertains to crucial Russian prosodic phenomena such as the L+H H+L bitonal combination and the H+L* nuclear pitch accent, as well as single tones, a violation of Russian prosody.

These findings suggest that McFaul can maintain a degree of consistency across linguistically systematic phenomena and lexical phenomena, whereas his use of bivalent phenomena shows greater fluctuation, as does his use of prosodic phenomena overall.

4.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter has shown second language speakers adapt their linguistic performance across affiliative and antagonistic contexts. The second language speakers exhibited significant differences in their production of bivalent and transfer prosodic phenomena in each context. Evidence suggests that there is a deterioration of performance in antagonistic contexts.

Greater skill in the felicitous use of prosodic phenomena does not seem to correlate with greater overall proficiency level. Both subjects were able in varying degrees to accurately utilize the linguistically meaningful, yet poorly salient H+L* nuclear pitch accent in all contexts. Bivalent phenomena varied more widely in second language Russian speech, whereas transfer phenomena varied more widely in second language English speech. Further study is necessary to determine if this is language-dependent finding: bivalent phenomena as selected in this study are more compatible with Russian than English intonational phonology.

Lexical items reveal a less consistent pattern of realization across speakers and contexts. However, accurate selection of formulaic phrases and assignment of native-like pitch accents to formulaic phrases does not appear to increase with overall greater language facility and interview experience. Lexical items appear to be a preferred resource for less proficient speakers in antagonistic contexts, yet at the same time, a higher skill level may be necessary for second language speakers to use the formulaic phrases they select felicitously.

CHAPTER 5: HERITAGE LANGUAGE SPEAKERS

This chapter analyzes the linguistic behavior of heritage language speakers in affiliative and antagonistic communicative contexts. The term “heritage language speaker” has been used to describe a disparate group of individuals whose linguistic competencies and cultural backgrounds may vary considerably. The definition proposed by Benmamoun et al. (2013) will be used for this study, according to which heritage speakers are “asymmetrical bilinguals who learned language X—the ‘heritage language’—as [a first language] in childhood, but who, as adults, are dominant in a different language” (260). An important distinction between heritage and second language learners lies in the age at which they acquired their second language. Heritage learners will have been exposed to their dominant and heritage languages before the age of five (Benmamoun et al. 2010). Early acquisition of a language is widely thought to confer advantages in the perception and production of the second language (e.g., Archila-Suerte et al. 2012; Knightly et al. 2003; but see also, Birdsong 2014). This second criteria will be key in defining our participants, who share an age of acquisition, but differ in proficiency level.

Both heritage subjects are journalists who make television appearances in Russian and English language contexts. However, their skill level differs substantially. One subject, Vladimir Posner, received formal secondary education in both languages and has conducted interviews and hosted television shows in English and Russian for decades. The other journalist, Julia Ioffe, participates in Russian-language interviews only occasionally and exhibits some difficulty with formal speech. Therefore, in the sphere of professional language, one performs as a balanced bilingual, whereas the second is clearly more proficient in her second language.

5.1 VLADIMIR POSNER

Vladimir Posner currently hosts a popular television show in an interview format for prominent political figures. However, Posner's bilingual journalistic career dates from 1961, with positions as English language editor, chief commentator for a Russian English-language news network, and frequent guest commentator on American talk shows. Similar to Sergei Lavrov, featured in the previous chapter, Posner can be considered an exceptionally experienced interview subject, whose linguistic skills in both languages exhibit a very high degree of proficiency.

Posner was born in Paris to a Russian father and French mother, moving at the age of three months to New York City. For the next four years, Posner's parents remained separated, such that Posner's early language input was primarily French and English until his parents reunited, shortly before Posner's fifth birthday. Although Posner considers his first language to be French, his elementary schooling and part of his high school education took place in English, indicating Posner had clearly acquired English to a high degree of proficiency in informal and formal registers before his return to Russia. Posner completed his high school education in a Russian language high school in Germany and obtained his university degree from Moscow State University.

Posner's linguistic production in Russian cannot easily be differentiated from native speaker monolinguals who grew up living exclusively in Russia. However, the degree to which Posner's English language skills approximate those of a native speaker appears to fluctuate over the course of his journalistic career. When most active as a U.S. correspondent—the 1980s and 1990s—Posner's English is virtually indistinguishable from the native monolingual population in traditional measures of proficiency such as phonetics and grammar. However, later in his career, Posner spends less time in the U.S. in a journalistic function. Some hints of accented speech appear in these later interviews.

During his time as U.S. correspondent, Posner was alleged to be an apologist of the Russian regime. For this reason, an element of controversy remains even in his affiliative interviews, rendering them, just as with Lavrov, not entirely positive in tone. However, favorable questions or those in which the interviewer makes notable attempts to mitigate controversial content predominate. The interview selected for analysis differs substantially in this regard from interviews that can be characterized as outright antagonistic.

5.1.1 AFFILIATIVE INTERVIEW

An affiliative interview with Vladimir Posner was conducted as part of the program *The Open Mind* on December 2, 1987. The interview consists of twenty question and response pairs. Eight of these were coded with the aim to limit response data to a corpus of approximately 250 words per subject. The initial eight questions were deemed the most positive in their framing of content. Questions were consistently shorter in duration, and thus coded in full, whereas responses were coded until the first logical phrase break upon topic completion.

The selected questions ask the reasons for Posner's appearance on the show (Q1); why he seeks to address an American audience (Q2); whether he should be considered a representative of the Soviet government or a private citizen (Q3); a series of follow-up questions probing when he first returned to the U.S., clarifying if this was before glasnost (Q4), in what exact year (Q5), and his previous absence from American television (Q6); whether he understood American concerns over his appearance on American television (Q7); and whether current Soviet attitudes to news reporting have changed since the 1960s (Q8). All questions frame their content in a speculative and objective manner, and many introduce topics that are potentially controversial by first complimenting the interviewee or acknowledging an opposing point of view.

Excluded questions dispute whether Soviet television of the time reflects popular interest (Q9), whether the Soviet Union believes in “cultural democracy” (Q10), and how to understand “glasnost” (Q11); whether individual choice is a concern for the Soviets (Q12); whether Soviet citizens are more informed (Q13); if the Soviets consider only one picture of the world (Q14), and whether America promotes multiple viewpoints (Q15); whether Posner had read an article critical of his U.S. public appearances (Q16); whether America can claim greater freedom (Q17), with a follow-up question (Q18); James Baldwin’s decision to live in France (Q19); and an invitation to participate in a second show the following week (Q20). As the interview progresses, questions become more insistent. Nonetheless, the interview remains cordial and respectful in tone.

The transcript of *The Open Mind* interview (Fig. 5.1) provides an overview of how phenomena transferred from the Russian prosodic system interact with the subject’s English language prosodic system. Phenomena unique to Russian prosody are highlighted in red, those unique to English prosody are highlighted in blue, and bivalent phenomena are indicated in purple. Sentence length is given in brackets, and formulaic phrases are in bold font. Interjections such as *uh*, *um*, *ah* are excluded from the analysis.

As expected for a highly proficient bilingual with decades of interview experience, Posner primarily constructs his responses in accordance with the norms of English intonational phonology. Posner produces only a moderate amount of bivalent pitch accents, that is, bitonal pitch accents acceptable to both systems, in six of the eight questions coded. Initially, bitonal pitch accents are used for emphasis. They begin to appear in ip-initial positions as the interview progresses. Unlike Lavrov, the pitch accent in violation of English norms (H+L*) does not tend to appear when Posner stresses elements of the sentence. Instead, they are assigned to expressions between or prior to phrases that are important thematically, or after a filler word like “uh”.

More so than Lavrov, Posner is able to initiate his phrases with high pitch accents, lapsing into ip-initial L+H pitch accents only occasionally. Initiation of the second language system also proved difficult for McFaul; however, for this heritage speaker, it is sustaining the intonational phonology of his less dominant language that remains a challenge. Phenomena belonging to the dominant language appear when Posner's attentional resources may be less concentrated, as described above. Bitonal pitch accents in Russian-like positions appear with greater frequency in question responses bearing emotional, personal value for Posner (Q4, Q5, Q6).

For pitch assignment to formulaic phrases, position within the IP appears more meaningful than the nature of the word, and formulaic phrases are produced in accordance to the intonational phonology of each system at different times.

FIGURE 5.1 TRANSCRIPT OF THE OPEN MIND'S INTERVIEW WITH POSNER

Q1: To what then does **at least**, *The Open Mind* owe the pleasure of your company? [15]

A1: [It owes][it **first of all**][to the fact][that you invited me to come.][And][uh][I was in Washington,] [D.C.,][and I **came**][to be on this program][because it is][**after all**][as far as I know the oldest][talk][show] [on American television.]... [15; 32]

Q2: Why? [1]

A2: [Because I feel it's very important][to do so.][Because I feel][that][ah][I,][because of my] [background][and][uh][because of my **education**][and][most of all][perhaps][because of my][**desire**,] [am someone who can][communicate][with an Am-][an American audience.] [9; 34]

Q3: **Well**, if we are realistically, as you suggest, to see each other, do we see you as a representative of the Soviet government, do we see you as an official Soviet person, or do we see you as we might a New York Times reporter who will sit here and say things that *uh* might make the hackles on Ronald Regan's neck stand up? [63]

A3: [I think][that][there's][a touch][of all of][that][in how you should see me.][Ah][recently][I had the] [pleasure][of being on a tour of][some American][universities.]... [16; 14]

Q4: Is this before "glasnost" or since? [6]

A4: [**Well**,][I have to tell you][that my][**first**][visit][to the United States][was in March][nineteen eighty-] [six.][Thirty-eight years][after I had left.][I'd never been back after that.] [20; 7; 6]

Q5: Not eighty-six? [3]

A5: [Eighty-][six.][I had not][been to the United States][since][the end][of nineteen forty-eight]
[beginning of nineteen][forty-nine.][Yes.][I'd been in Canada,][I'd been in Great Britain]... [2; 20; 10]

Q6: But not on American television? [5]

A6: [But not on American][television][because][I first][appeared on American][television][at the very
end][of nineteen seventy-nine.][in fact][I was the first Soviet][I think][to appear on American
television,][in that][capacity at least.] [39]

Q7: Well now, ah, John Corry's concerns, as I stated them probably are informed to a considerable extent and you would appreciate this ah as probably the most Americanized Russian ah we know. You would appreciate that the concept of fairness and balance informs what American journalists think and what they say. Ah can you sympathize therefore to any extent with his ah concerns about you on our air, you in on our home screens? [29; 19; 21]

A7: [I don't][have][a great][deal][of sympathy for John Corry,][but that's][on a personal thing.][I've
read][much of what he writes][and I feel][that uh][probably we have very little in common][uh][in- in
viewpoints.]... [17; 21]

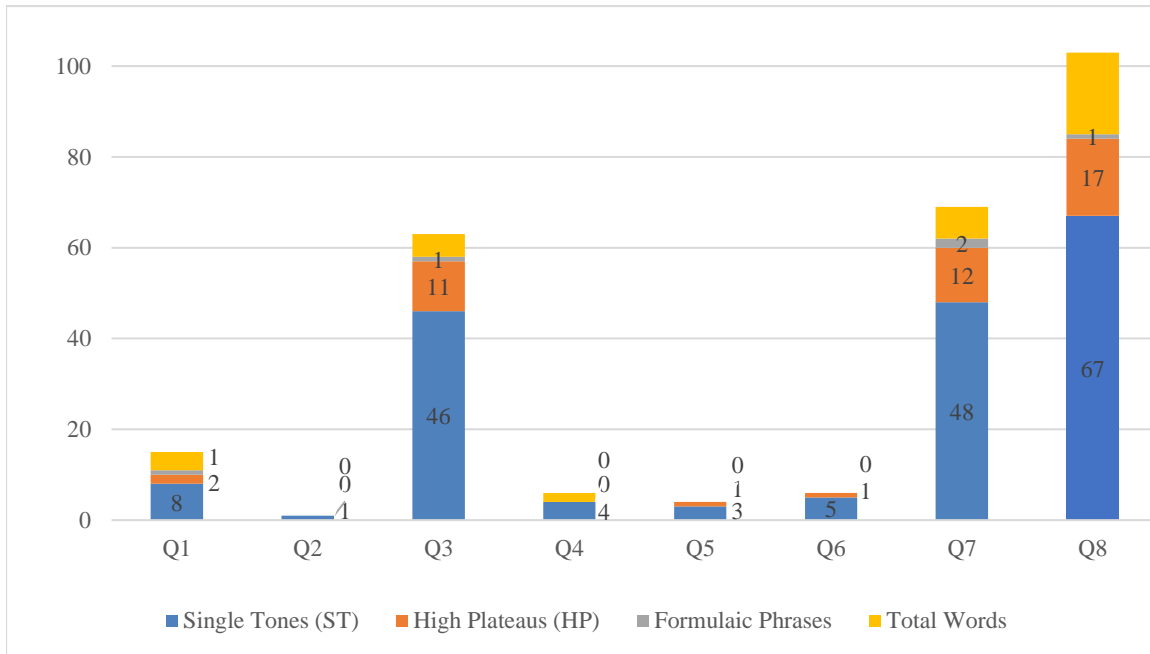
Q8: Sure I do, but you know I remember when I was in Moscow that first time and met the program director of the All Nation Channel in Moscow. And I asked him whether there was any relationship between what he and his colleagues knew about Soviet tastes and Soviet interests, and what they put on the air. And he drew himself up and he said, Prof. Hefner, when you went to your classroom, do you ask your students what you teach them, what you should teach them? And I wondered whether... This was back in the 60s, and you're saying that's different? [28; 29; 5; 11]

A8: [What][year][was][this?][I'm not only saying][that's different,][I think.]... [4; 8]

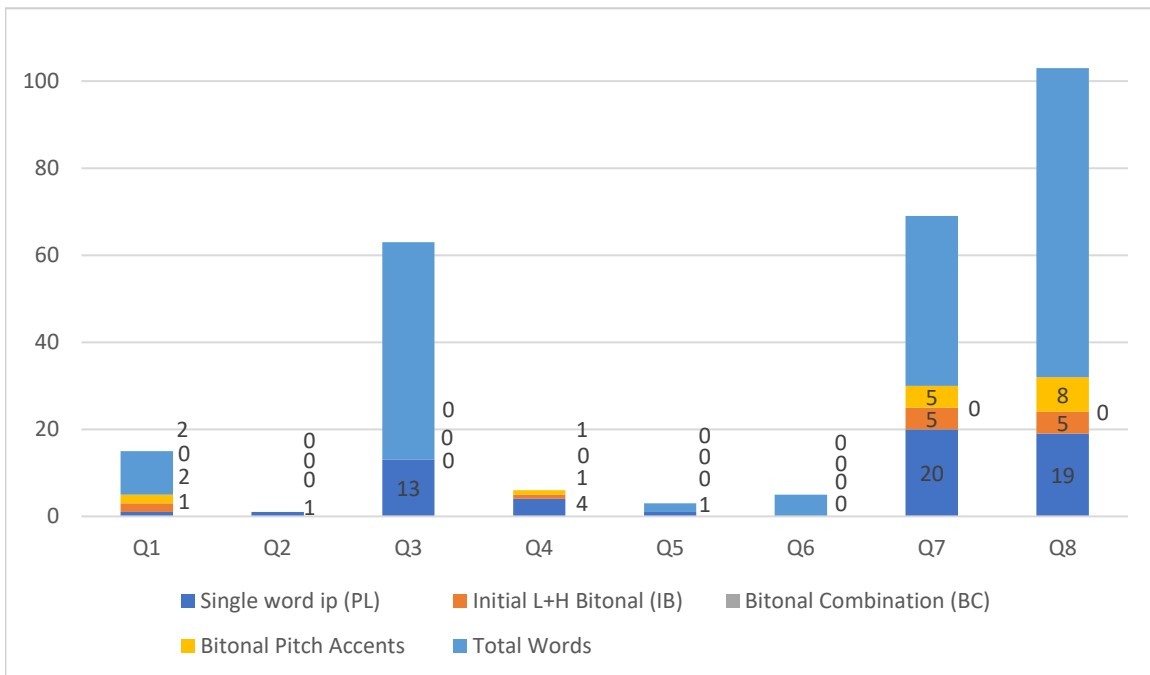
5.1.1.A THE OPEN MIND INTERVIEWER

The Open Mind interviewer is a speaker of mainstream American English (MAE), with no trace of dialectal influence. English phenomena are summarized in Graph 5.1, and bivalent phenomena in Graph 5.2. The height of each column reflects the total number of words per question, and the colored bands within each column indicate the number of phenomena that appear within this total word count. Instances where the number of phenomena exceed the total word count are indicated in footnotes. Bitonal frequency is presented as the aggregate number of bitonal pitch accents.

GRAPH 5.1 THE OPEN MIND, ENGLISH PHENOMENA BY QUESTION



GRAPH 5.2 THE OPEN MIND, BIVALENT PHENOMENA BY QUESTION



²⁸ Total phenomena outnumber total words per question turn in Graph 5.1: Q5,Q6; numbers are equal in Graph 5.1 Q2 and Graph 5.2 Q2, Q4.

The Open Mind interviewer produces short and long questions within the same interview. Thus, the longer questions (Q3, Q7, Q8) provide the best illustration of phenomena the interviewer typically produces. Unsurprisingly, these question turns exhibit a high degree of similarity in the percentage of English phenomena present; to a lesser degree, this is true for bivalent phenomena.

As anticipated for an English native speaker, *The Open Mind* interviewer produces no transfer phenomena and few bivalent ones. It is evident English language phenomena—in particular, single tones and high plateaus—occur with consistency in all questions. Single tones are assigned to between 53% and 100% of all words, and high plateaus form roughly 22% of each question. These numbers are comparable those for native English speakers analyzed in Chapter 4.

The consistency with which bivalent phenomena appear in the corpus is also more variable, as has been noted for the other English native speakers. Only thirteen instances of the ip-initial L+H pitch accent occur, and there are no instances of the L+H H+L bitonal combination. The most frequent bivalent phenomenon found in the speech of *The Open Mind* interviewer is single-word ips; however, these are also utilized as an interactional resource in English. This phenomenon numbers between 7% and 67% of questions longer than one word, and averages 21% of each question turn. Bitonal pitch accents are slightly more common than expected: between 0% and 25% of all pitch accent assignments in each question; however, only three of the eight question turns feature such a large quantity of bitonal pitch accents.

An analysis of *The Open Mind* interviewer's speech per IP is presented in Table 5.1. The overall frequency of the relevant intonational and lexical phenomena are traced as they appear in each question from the onset to the conclusion of the interview. The total number of the phenomena and their average frequency are calculated. IPs with a greater number of words are shaded darker, and unexpected or non-neutral occurrences appear in color for visibility.

TABLE 5.1 AFFILIATIVE INTERVIEW, THE OPEN MIND

Q#	SEQUENCE OF IPs	WORDS	INTONATIONAL PHONOLOGY								FORMULAIC PHRASES		
			BIVALENCY				TRANSFER				#	BIVALENCY	TRANSFER
			PL	IB	BC	BF	ST	HP	NS	CF			
1	1	15	1	2	0	20%	8	2	0	0	1	0	0
2	2	1	1	0	0	0%	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
3	3	63	13	0	0	0%	46	11	0	0	1	0	0
4	4	6	4	1	0	20%	4	0	0	0	0	0	0
5	5	3	1	0	0	0%	3	1	0	0	0	0	0
6	6	5	0	0	0	0%	5	1	0	0	0	0	0
7	7	29	9	2	0	8%	22	7	0	0	2	0	0
	8	19	2	1	0	8%	11	1	0	0	0	0	0
	9	21	9	2	0	12%	15	4	0	0	0	0	0
8	10	28	6	1	0	5%	20	5	0	0	1	0	0
	11	29	4	0	0	0%	22	7	0	0	0	0	0
	12	30	5	2	0	11%	16	3	0	0	0	0	0
	13	5	1	1	0	25%	3	1	0	0	0	0	0
	14	11	3	1	0	14%	6	1	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL:		265	59	13	0	N/A	182	44	0	0	5	0	0
AVERAGE:		19	4	.9	0	9%	13	3	0	0	.4	0	0

English language phenomena remain the primary components of IPs. Single tones occur in each IP with an average of 13 per IP, or nearly one per word. High plateaus average three per IP, and fail to appear in only two very short IPs. One IP contains bitonal pitch accents interspersed between H* pitch accents, and the other is a one-word IP with only one pitch accent in total. These data fall in with the range of those documented for the native English speaker interviewers analyzed in Chapter 4.

Bitonal pitch accents constitute no more than 9% of the total pitch accents per IP and occur in 36% of IPs, they make up 0% of pitch accents per IP. Single-word ips occur in 61% of IPs but with a frequency of only slightly more than one instance per IP. The frequency of bitonal pitch accents in this corpus may reflect the interviewer's attempts to contrast several phrases.

The L+H H+L bitonal combination, which is unusual for English, is entirely absent from this corpus, whereas the other two bivalent phenomena appear with surprising frequency. The ip-initial L+H pitch accent appears in 64% of IPs or almost once (0.9) per IP, and single-word ips are present in 93% of IPs, or on average 4 per IP. The quantity of bivalent phenomena observed in this corpus reaches higher numbers than in the speech of the other English native speaker interviewers analyzed thus far, with the exception of bitonal pitch accents: the BBC interviewer produced roughly twice as many of this phenomenon.

As previously noted, single-word ips display hesitancy or caution on the part of the interviewer; disfluencies may appear when the speaker produces a request for information that is dispreferred (cf. Pomerantz 1984; Schegloff 2007). This finding may relate to the desire of the interviewer to mitigate difficult questions by means of strategic pauses. It is possible that a prevalence of bitonal pitch accents or single-word ips are two mitigation strategies differentially preferred by the BBC and *The Open Mind* interviewers. Consistent across all native speaker interviewers is the clustering of disfluencies around the onset of problematic content, at function words, or the beginning of a sentence. In comparison, single-word ips in Russian are regularly produced at constituent boundaries or represent a null copula. Thus, we can assume that this finding may be unrelated to linguistic transfer or processing effects.

Several characteristic features of *The Open Mind* interviewer's speech are presented in Figure 5.2–Figure 5.4. Differences in the psychoperceptual classification of pitch contours in English and Russian may be related to a combination of fundamental frequency and intensity. Therefore, figures are presented with the fundamental frequency indicated in red, and the intensity represented in yellow. Characteristics of this interplay between these two acoustic elements for the English “hat pattern” and “high plateau” can be seen in Figure 5.2.

FIGURE 5.2 HAT PATTERN AND HIGH PLATEAU, THE OPEN MIND

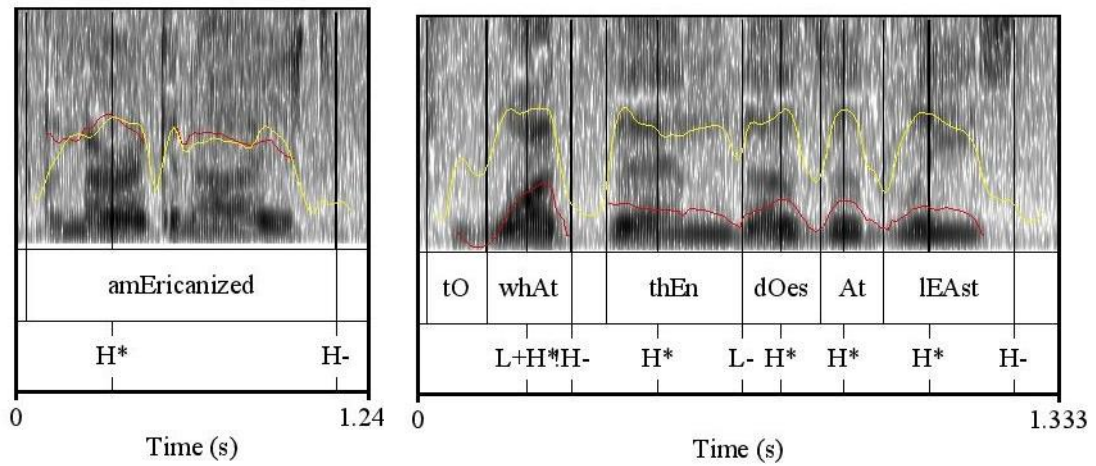


FIGURE 5.3 PITCH ACCENT CONTOURS, THE OPEN MIND

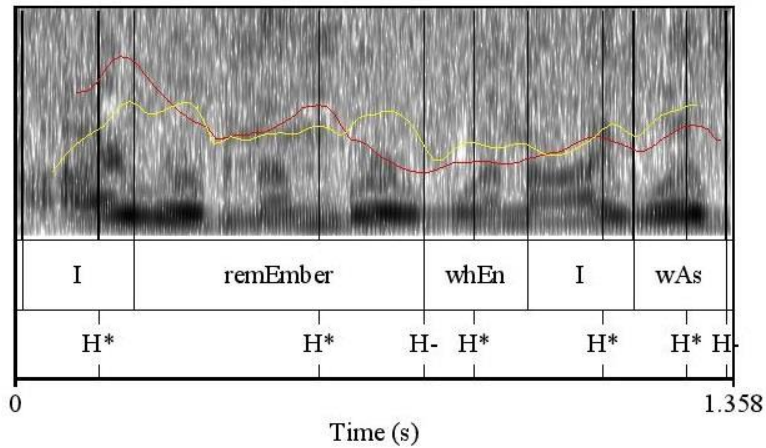
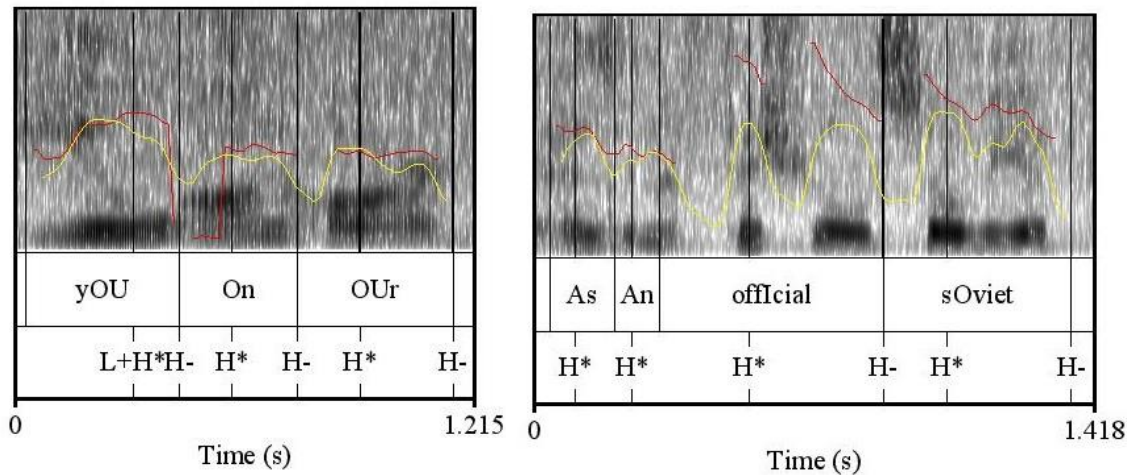


FIGURE 5.4 BITONAL AND SINGLE TONE PITCH ACCENTS, THE OPEN MIND



The two pitch tracks in Figure 5.2 show that vocal intensity in English prosody typically follows closely the same trajectory as the pitch track. Syllables are clearly distinguished, but the fundamental frequency and intensity contour generally form even, rounded contours, indicating a more or less equal intensity produced over each syllable and its parts. However, the hat pattern produced here is due to the prolonged stress of a word with one pitch accent, rather than a combination of two high pitch accents, as found in most contours of this type.

This can be compared with Figure 5.3, which presents a more common contour for individual pitch accents: the contour falls away rapidly after each high pitch target towards then next ip boundary, or in effect “sagging” between high pitch accents. Therefore, while this contour may look similar to Russian contours labeled with bitonal pitch accents, this similarity is only superficial, and the means of its production differ in each language.

Figure 5.4 further illustrate why contours that appear similar may be driven by different acoustic factors. In the first, we see the same rounded contour produced in Figure 5.2, which given a rising contour is perceived as the L+H pitch accent. However, key to this interpretation is likely to be the consistent rise in intensity that corresponds to the rise in fundamental frequency. In Figure 5.3, much steeper rises and falls are not perceived as bitonals, because the intensity accompanying pitch accent production does not support such an interpretation.

The second pitch track in Figure 5.4 illustrates a high plateau in which the first and last two pitch accents diverge considerably in their realization. It is notable that the intensity remains even over the syllable, whereas in the bitonal pitch accent assignment to the left, the intensity level changes within the syllable. In particular, differences in the psychoperceptual assignment of pitch contours in Russian and English may stem from this complex interplay of coordination between pitch and intensity.

Finally, *The Open Mind* interviewer makes minimal use of formulaic language, as defined in Section 2.3: 29% of IPs in the sample can be said to contain at least one formulaic phrase. Of the five occurrences, all can be classified as having a holistic pragmatic meaning, in which the whole is greater than the literal compositional meaning of the sum of its parts (cf. Wray 2002b:116). These include the phrases: “at least” (Q1), “well” (Q3/Q7), “now” (Q7), “you know” (Q8). All formulaic phrases are realized in high tones.

Chi-squared tests of independence can only be performed for a reduced number of categories, given the low occurrence of many phenomena of interest. Unlike in other interviews, where empty cells can be corrected for by collapsing across IPs and performing the analysis per question turn, this interview has numerous questions comprised of just one IP. Correlations between phenomena are presented in Table 5.2.²⁹

A weakly significant correlation between single tones and high plateaus is found ($\chi^2(77)=98$, $p=0.054$). A stronger correlation between these integral components of English prosody might be expected, if not for the prevalence of single-word ips that intersect potential high plateaus. It is telling that the correlation between single tones and single-word ips also nears significance ($p=0.10$). This was true for *The Washington Post* interviewer ($p=0.11$), but not for the BBC ($p=0.29$). Potentially this difference in prosodic norms or mitigation strategies is cultural.

TABLE 5.2 CORRELATIONS BETWEEN PHENOMENA, THE OPEN MIND

	Single Tones	High Plateau
Single-word ip	.10~	.27
Single Tones		.054*

²⁹ Categories with no or only infrequent instances of occurrence were excluded from the analysis (IB, BC, BF, NS, CF).

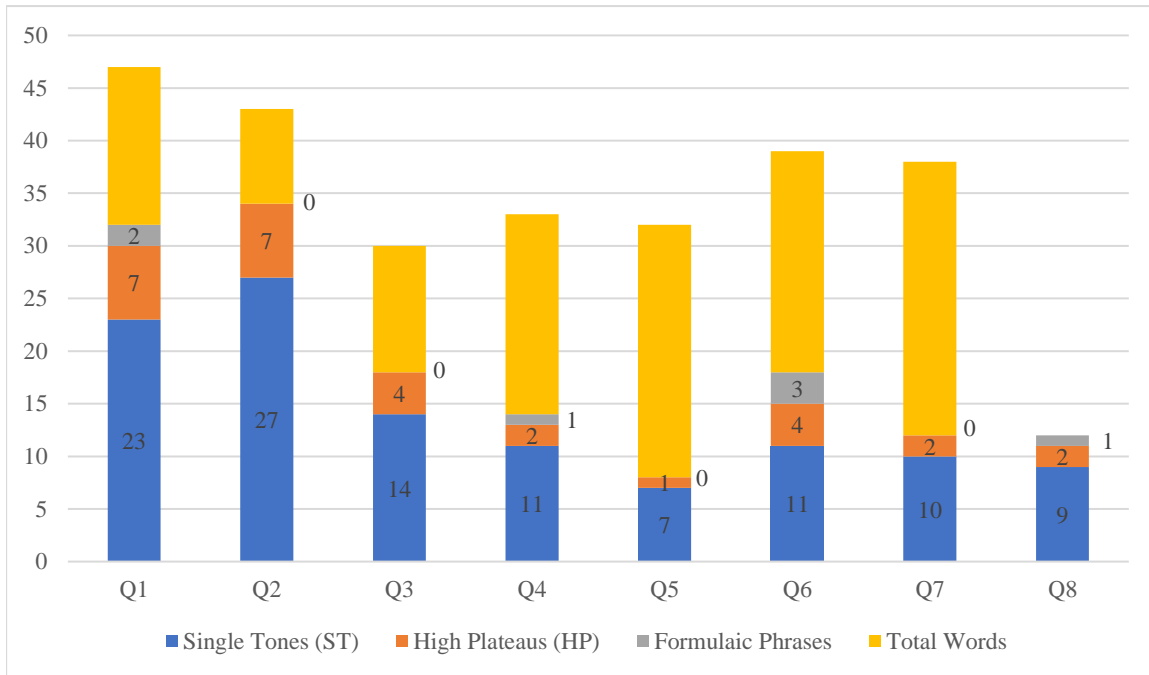
5.1.1.B VLADIMIR POSNER

In the analysis of Vladimir Posner's speech during *The Open Mind* interview, phenomena may be expected to appear in any of the categories. However, heritage English is anticipated to contain a relatively few to no bivalent features in affiliative contexts and no instances of transfer phenomena, such as the H+L* nuclear pitch accent and L+H H+L bitonal combination. English phenomena are summarized in Graph 5.3, bivalent phenomena in Graph 5.4, and Russian phenomena in Graph 5.5. The height of each column reflects the total number of words per question, and the colored bands within each column indicate the number of phenomena that appear within this total word count. There are no instances where the number of phenomena exceed the total word count. Bitonal frequency is presented as the aggregate number of bitonal pitch accents.

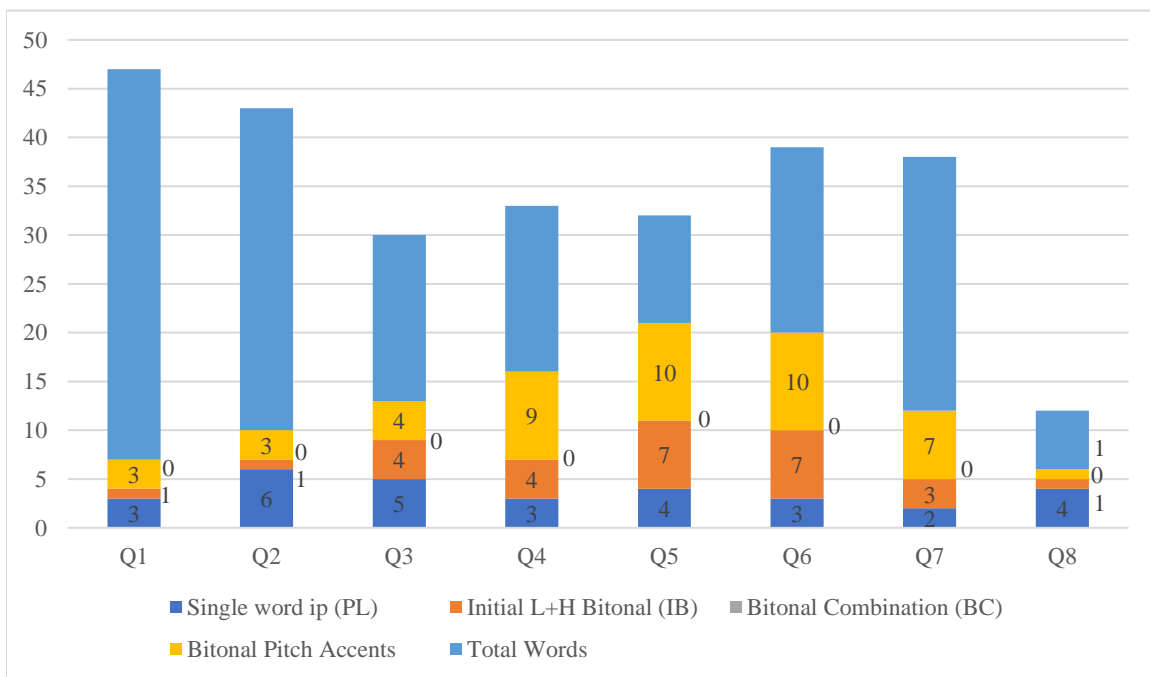
English language phenomena comprise a large proportion of all interview questions. Single tones fall on between 22-75% of words in each question response, and high plateaus form roughly 3-17% of each response. Posner appropriately utilized formulaic phrases in all of his answers. Consistency in the percentage of English phenomena remains high as the interview progresses. The percentage of English prosodic phenomena appears proportional to the question turn length, with the exception of formulaic phrases. The number of formulaic phrases fluctuate throughout the corpus, and are likely related to contextual factors.

Bivalent intonational phenomena also feature prominently in Posner's speech, most notably in the form of bitonal pitch accents, followed by single-word ips and the ip-initial L+H bitonal pitch accent. The percentage of bitonal pitch accents fluctuates between 7% and 67% of total pitch accents. Although the distribution varies considerably, there is a clear trajectory to their appearance: bitonal pitch accents increase from Q1-Q6, and decrease from Q6-Q8.

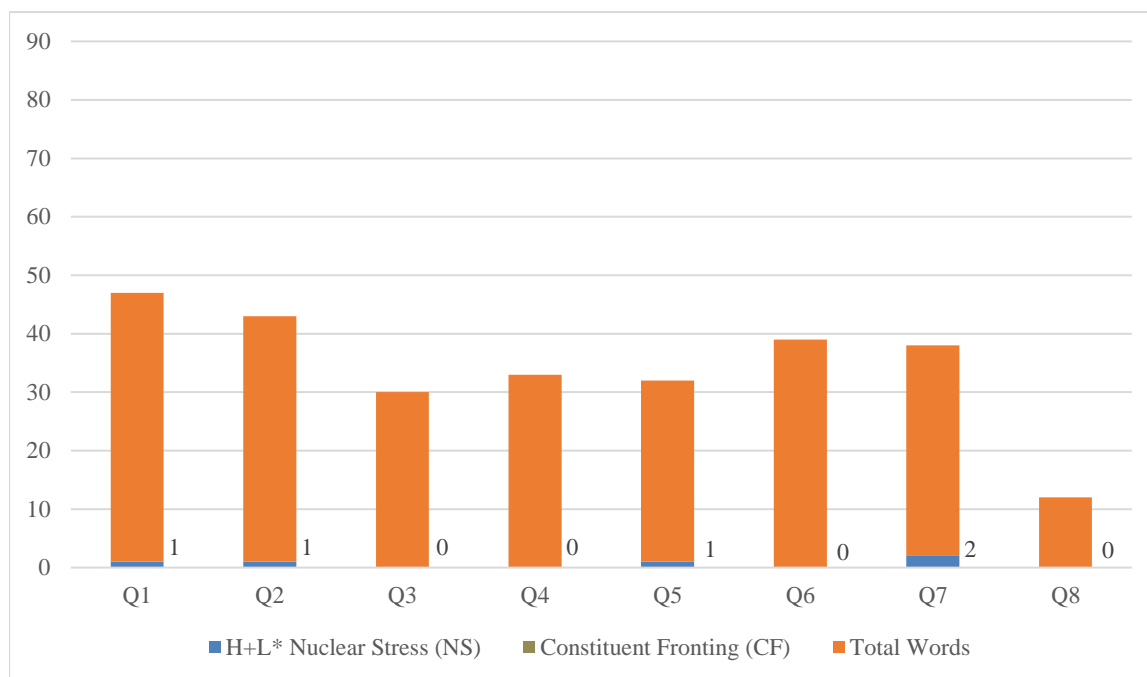
GRAPH 5.3 POSNER, ENGLISH PHENOMENA BY QUESTION



GRAPH 5.4 POSNER, BIVALENT PHENOMENA BY QUESTION



GRAPH 5.5 POSNER, RUSSIAN PHENOMENA BY QUESTION



This shift in the distribution of bitonal pitch accents is very interesting and extends to the other bivalent phenomena as well. For the first time yet observed, bivalent phenomenon appear to be very strongly correlated with contextual factors: as we know from the interview transcript, Q4-Q6 broach subjects that are emotional for Posner. This is possibly reflected in his production of bivalent phenomena, not just limited to the “emotive” English bitonal pitch accent, but also the Russian-like ip-initial L+H bitonal.

The H+L* nuclear pitch accent is the only phenomenon transferred from Russian. Here we see another notable difference from Lavrov’s corpus: Posner is able to produce 50% of his question responses without the H+L* nuclear pitch accent, indicating he is better able to suppress this feature of his more dominant language than the highly-proficient second language speaker.

TABLE 5.3 AFFILIATIVE INTERVIEW, POSNER

Q#	SEQUENCE OF IPS	WORDS	INTONATIONAL PHONOLOGY								FORMULAIC PHRASES		
			BIVALENCY				TRANSFER				#	BIVALENCY	TRANSFER
			PL	IB	BC	BF	ST	HP	NS	CF			
1	1	15	0	1	0	17%	5	1	0	0	1	1	0
	2	32	3	0	0	10%	18	6	1	0	1	1	0
2	3	9	0	0	0	0%	6	1	0	0	0	0	0
	4	34	6	1	0	13%	21	6	1	0	0	0	0
3	5	16	3	2	0	22%	7	1	0	0	0	0	0
	6	14	2	2	0	22%	7	3	0	0	0	0	0
4	7	20	3	3	0	50%	6	1	0	0	1	0	0
	8	7	0	0	0	20%	4	1	0	0	0	0	0
	9	6	0	1	0	67%	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
5	10	2	2	1	0	50%	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
	11	20	1	3	0	50%	6	1	1	0	0	0	0
	12	10	1	3	0	100%	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6	13	39	3	7	0	48%	11	4	0	0	3	0	0
7	14	17	2	0	0	33%	6	1	2	0	0	0	0
	15	21	0	3	0	57%	3	1	0	0	0	0	0
8	16	4	4	0	0	0%	4	0	0	0	0	0	0
	17	8	0	1	0	17%	5	2	0	0	1	0	0
TOTAL:		274	30	28	0	N/A	111	29	5	0	7	2	0
AVERAGE:		16	1.8	1.6	0	34%	6.5	1.7	.3	0	.4	0.12	0

An analysis of the phenomena per IP is presented in Table 5.3. Within the category of bivalent features, bitonal pitch accents are nearly ubiquitous, occurring in 88% of IPs. These occurrences are greater than that produced by *The Open Mind* interviewer: an average of 9%. Single-word ips are the next most common bivalent phenomenon, appearing in 65% of IPs at an average rate of 1.8 per IP. The ip-initial L+H bitonal pitch accent occurs less frequently as tokens, but in 71% of IPs (1.6 per IP). However, despite the prevalence of bivalent phenomena in his speech, Posner entirely avoids the L+H H+L bitonal combination throughout the corpus. Posner is not able to avoid the transfer phenomenon of the H+L* nuclear pitch accent, but its occurrence is limited to 24% of IPs, or one every third IP. For comparison, this also is only one third of the occurrences of the H+L* found in Lavrov’s affiliative interview corpus.

FIGURE 5.5 ENGLISH-LIKE PROSODIC CONTOURS

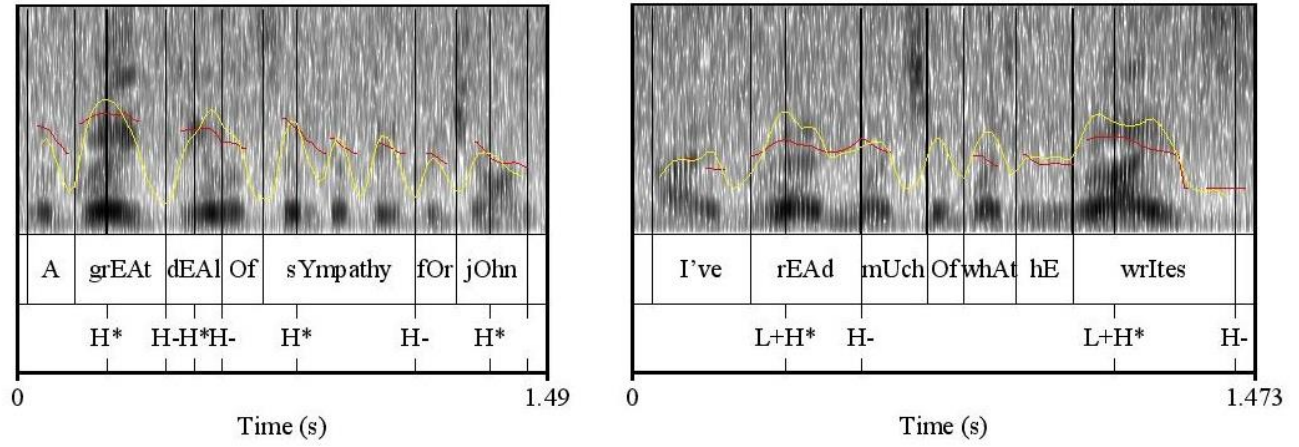
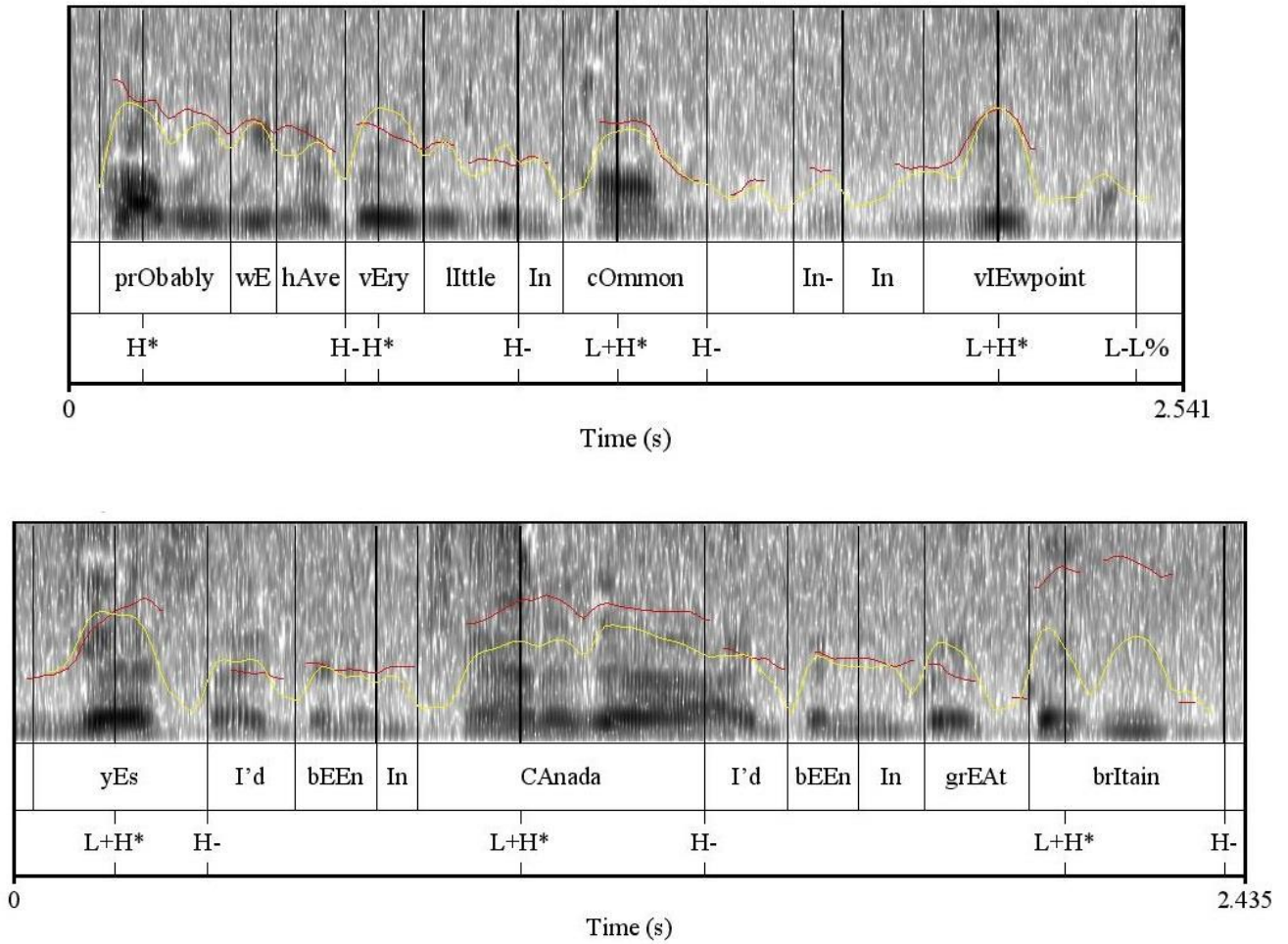


FIGURE 5.6 LONG PROSODIC CONTOURS



The pitch tracks in Figure 5.5 and Figure 5.6 closely resemble the contours produced by *The Open Mind's* English native speaker interviewer. The first of the images reveals a series of pitch accents clearly delineated from one another, and accompanied by intensity levels maintained at a consistent level through the syllable. This regularity allows the contour to be perceived as a high plateau, rather than a sawtooth pattern: the sharp descent visible in the pitch tracks are weakly produced and do not convey pitch movement to an English speaker listener.

The second contour in Figure 5.5 illustrates how the intensity levels accompanying bitonal pitch accents typically remain close in shape to the pitch track, with a roughly symmetrical rise and fall. Greater work with the corpus can reveal whether Posner's production of a series of L+H pitch accents with intervening material deaccented is a compensatory strategy for Russian speakers: it preserves the Russian macro-rhythm, or the rhythm perceived by changes to the fundamental frequency (Jun 2014:524). In this way, Posner can be said to produce pitch accents both according to English contours, in the shape of individual pitch accents and their paired intensity, and according to Russian contours, in the overall macro-rhythm. That said, Posner produces English-like prosody in large stretches of the corpus with no trace of Russian language influence.

FIGURE 5.7 BITONAL PITCH ACCENTS

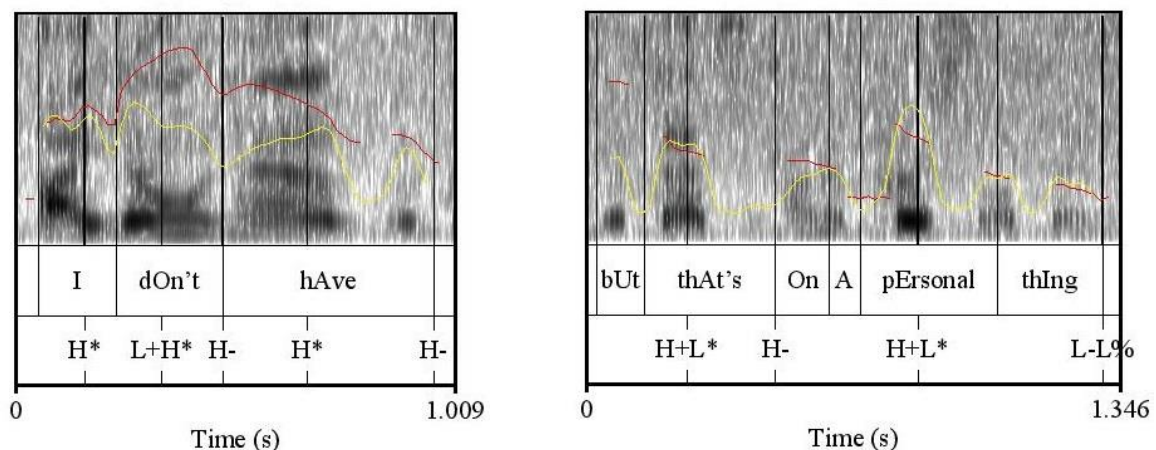


Figure 5.7 provides a closer look at the rare instances when Posner produces bitonal pitch accents not corresponding to the English norms found in *The Open Mind* interviewer's speech. As seen in longer contours, the first example illustrates the extensive pitch excursion necessary to perceive the L+H pitch accent in English. However, the accompanying shift in intensity level resembles what we anticipate in Russian speech: a shift during the rise and fall, lending a sense of pitch movement. In this particular example, Posner stretches the "h" in "have" such that most of the shift in intensity occurs during production of the consonant, rather than the vowel. This contributes to the perception of a single high tone when heard in context.

The second example is perhaps the only instance of pitch accent assignment in the corpus that can be said to be clearly non-typical of English: two H+L* pitch accents in rapid succession. Not only is the pitch accent disallowed in English, but the pairing of two such pitch accents sentence-final is frequently observed in Russian. The first of these pitch accents is across two words, rendering it similar to an English H* H- L* structure and thus possibly less serious of a violation. The second instance, however, produces the bitonal pitch accent within one syllable of one word. The dramatic drop in intensity on the syllable following the pitch accent promotes this interpretation.

Both of these non-normative bitonal pitch accents occur in the response to question six, during which Posner recounts his distaste for a critic. We may assume that perhaps given the context, these elements can be considered a modest form of disaffiliation, prompting shift away from English-language prosodic norms. These discrepancies occur within the larger attempt to produce bitonals that conform to his less dominant language, suggesting an overall attempt at affiliation and accommodation.

Like his interviewer, Posner makes minimal use of formulaic language, as defined in Section 2.3: 29% of IPs in the sample can be said to contain at least one formulaic phrase. Of the seven occurrences, all can be classified as having a holistic pragmatic meaning, in which the whole is greater than the literal compositional meaning of the sum of its parts (cf. Wray 2002b:116). These include the phrases: “first of all” (Q1), “after all” (Q1), “well” (Q4), “in fact” (Q6), “I think” (Q6/Q8), “at least” (Q6). All formulaic phrases are realized in high tones, with the exception of two of the three formulaic phrases produced in the response to Q5 (“in fact”, “at least”). The first is assigned a L+H pitch accent and the second is deaccented, following a L+H pitch accent. The greatest concentration of formulaic phrases occur in the response to Q5, in which Posner tells of a unique achievement: he was the first Soviet to appear on U.S. television as a commentator.

TABLE 5.4 FORMULAIC PHRASES, MLF, & PROSODY

Q#	PHRASE	MLF ³⁰	TRANSLATION(S)	MLF ³¹	PROSODY
1	first of all	28.5	prežde vsego v pervuû očered' vo-pervyh	121.7 35.8 73.3	H* H*
1	after all	58.9	v konce koncov ved'	67.2 667.5	H* H*
4	well	1216.8	nu čto ž	907.4 111.4	H*
6	in fact	283.1	na samom dele	70.3	L+H*
6,8	I think	630.6	dumaû sčitaû	186.5 42.6	L* H* H* (1x) (1x)
6	at least	275.1	po krajnej mere po men'sej mere	83.0 7.6	L+H*

³⁰ Corpus of Contemporary American English. 570,353,748 words. <https://corpus.byu.edu/COCA/>. MLF per million words.

³¹ Russian National Corpus. 283,431,966 words. <http://www.ruscorpora.ru/>. MLF per million words.

Whether or not a formulaic phrase can be considered to be bivalent pertains to the frequency of that expression’s use in each of the languages. Table 5.4 presents the mean lemma frequency (MLF) for each formulaic phrase. Those that have a greater or nearly equivalent frequency of use in Russian and English are classified as bivalent. This is 33% of the total number of formulaic phrases. None of the instances are categorized as a transfer item from English, because they all occur felicitously within their context of use. The first two formulaic phrases encountered in the corpus (“first of all”, “after all”) can be considered bivalent, as their MLF is greater in Russian than in English.

Chi-squared tests of independence indicate that the phenomena appear independently of one another (Table 4.5).³² Notably, the correlation between single tones and high plateaus found in *The Open Mind* interviewer’s speech is absent from Posner’s production. Instead, a correlation that nears significance is found between the ip-initial L+H pitch accent and bitonal frequency ($\chi^2(15)=24$, $p=0.065$). Given there were insufficient instances of L+H pitch accent to even be measured in the interviewer’s speech, this difference is important: despite Posner’s facility with English, the only significant correlation found in his speech is between bivalent phenomena.

TABLE 5.5 CORRELATIONS BETWEEN PHENOMENA, POSNER

	Initial L+H	Bitonal Frequency	Single Tones	High Plateau
Single-word ip	.33	.27	.17	.48
Initial L+H		.065~	.48	.33
Bitonal Frequency			.41	.26
Single Tones				.15

³² Counts of phenomena were collapsed across question turns for categories with numerous empty cells (NS, FP). Categories with no or only infrequent instances of occurrence were excluded from the analysis (BC, CF).

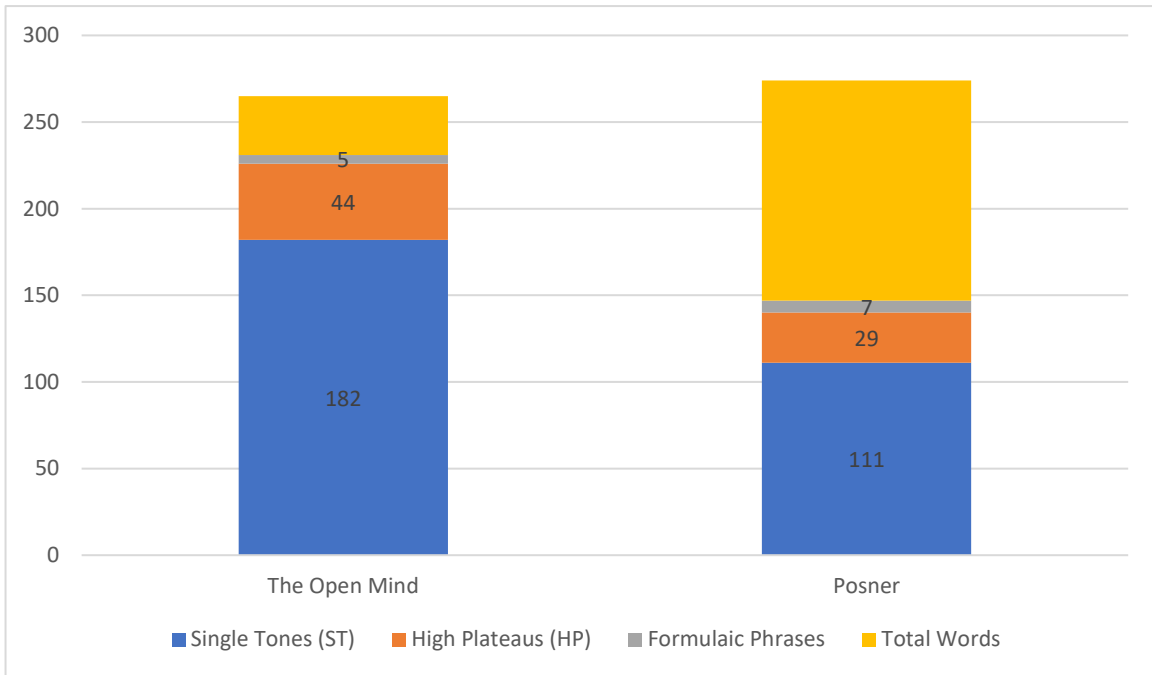
5.1.1.C ACCOMMODATION IN THE OPEN MIND INTERVIEW

In the affiliative interview, Posner's speech is similar in many regards to that of *The Open Mind* interviewer. Given the lack of a neutral baseline, it is difficult to say with certainty if Posner has adapted elements of his speech to accommodate to *The Open Mind* Interviewer. As mentioned above, contextual factors suggest Posner may engage in accommodation towards the interviewer on a larger scale in terms of the acoustic features of his pitch accents, and disaffiliation with in questions when discussing dispreferred subject matter: the appearance of two iterations of the Russian nuclear H+L* pitch accent, which Posner is otherwise very skilled at suppressing. However, subsequent comparison of the distribution of phenomena in the affiliative and antagonistic contexts can indicate if the results pattern differently in the two contexts.

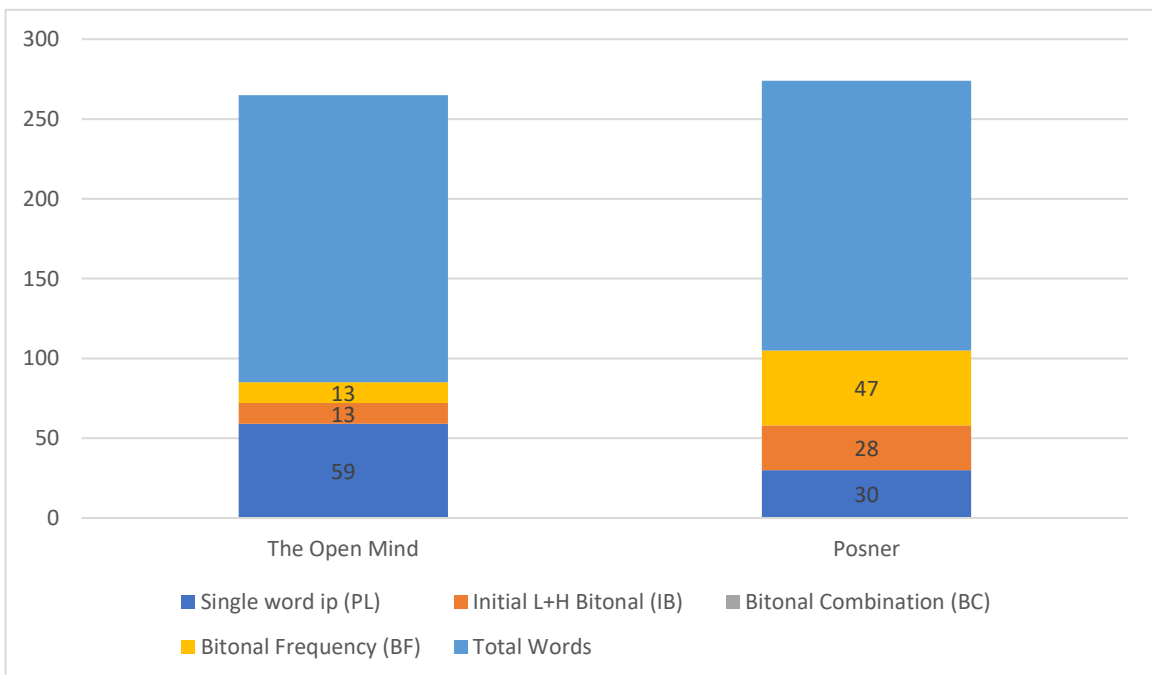
If we look at the aggregate totals of phenomena, presented in Graph 5.6 and Graph 5.7, it becomes apparent that despite the superficial similarity of Posner's speech to the English native speaker, significant differences remain. With the exception of formulaic phrases, not one of the category totals for Posner's corpus correspond to that of *The Open Mind* interviewer. This is most notable in the category of single tones, the most characteristic feature of English intonational phonology, and the related category of bitonal frequency. *The Open Mind* interviewer produces just 26% the number of bitonal pitch accents as Posner, and 39% more single tones.

This difference in utilization of bitonal phenomena between the interlocutors is similar to what we saw in the interview with Lavrov and the BBC, except the differences here are even more pronounced for our heritage speaker in the categories of the ip-initial L+H bitonal pitch accent and bitonal frequency. However, what is particularly interesting is that speaker differences manifest to an even greater degree in the English language phenomena categories, despite the fact Posner undoubtedly acquired the English facility of a native speaker in his youth.

GRAPH 5.6 THE OPEN MIND VS. POSNER, TOTAL ENGLISH PHENOMENA



GRAPH 5.7 THE OPEN MIND VS. POSNER, TOTAL BIVALENT PHENOMENA



Perhaps another key differences between the two sets of interlocutors is that Posner produces the Russian H+L* nuclear pitch accent only 33% as often as Lavrov. Thus, while relatively free in utilizing bitonal pitch accents, Posner shows greater control in producing linguistically systematic elements of his dominant language, as predicted. This finding parallels studies in sociolinguistics that find convergence in the phonetic systems of bilinguals, who tend to avoid categorical distinctions when unnecessary for comprehension (e.g., Watson 2002).

It is also notable that Posner, like Lavrov, is able to avoid the L+H H+L bitonal pitch accent combination, which speaks to its different status among the selected phenomena. It may be that such structures are large enough to be perceptibly salient, whereas macro-rhythm and the shape of individual pitch contours fall beneath the conscious attention of our bilingual speakers.

T-tests were conducted to investigate whether variance in the subject means between the two interviews was significant (Table 5.6). The interlocutors differed significantly in their production of two bivalent categories: single-word ips ($p=0.04$) and bitonal frequency ($p=0.012$). In transfer categories, the use of the H+L* bitonal pitch accent ($p=0.056$) and singles tones ($p=0.08$) neared significance, although in the case of the former, the phenomenon was entirely absent from *The Open Mind* interviewer corpus.

TABLE 5.6 T-TESTS BETWEEN SUBJECT MEANS: POSNER & THE OPEN MIND

TYPE	PHENOMENON	P-VALUE
Bivalent	Single-word ips	0.04*
	Initial L+H bitonal pitch accent	0.16
	Bitonal frequency	0.012*
Transfer	Single tones	0.08~
	High plateaus	0.16
	Nuclear stress	0.056~
Other	Formulaic phrases	0.83

Thus, Posner performed similarly to our proficient second language speaker in the bivalent categories, with two phenomena reaching significance. However, for Posner, one of these categories was single-word phrases, which may reflect interactional concerns. In terms of the transfer categories, Posner performed more poorly than Lavrov: both produced the Russian H+L* pitch accent with a frequency that was nearly significant, but Posner also differed in his production of single tones.

Therefore, we can assert that despite any possible attempt to accommodate, Lavrov retained difficulty producing native-like speech in two bivalent categories and two transfer categories. This difficulty was more substantial in the bivalent categories.

There was no notable difference found between the use of formulaic phrases for each interlocuter. In fact, the significance between subject means was extremely low ($p=0.83$), indicating that production norms were from a nearly equivalent population.

TABLE 5.7 ACCOMMODATION IN THE OPEN MIND INTERVIEW

	WORDS	INTONATIONAL PHONOLOGY								FORMULAIC PHRASES		
		BIVALENCY				TRANSFER				#	BIVALENCY	TRANSFER
		PL	IB	BC	BF	ST	HP	NS	CF			
THE OPEN MIND												
TOTAL:	265	59	13	0	N/A	182	44	0	0	5	0	0
AVERAGE:	19	4	.9	0	9%	13	3	0	0	.4	0	0
POSNER												
TOTAL:	274	30	28	0	N/A	111	29	5	0	7	2	0
AVERAGE:	16	1.8	1.6	0	34%	6.5	1.7	.3	0	.4	.12	0

5.1.2 ANTAGONISTIC INTERVIEW

The Munk Debates are held bi-annually with the aim to create an open forum for the debate of policy positions or political viewpoints deemed both controversial and topical. The April 10th, 2015, *The Munk Debates* argued whether the West should engage or isolate Russia. The format provides for two teams of debaters and a moderator. Questions may be posed to any of the four debaters by either the moderator or a member of the opposing team. Question and response sequences between Vladimir Posner and Anne Applebaum were especially heated, and thus questions posed by the latter to the former have been selected for analysis.

Fifteen question and answer pairs between the two are present throughout the debate. In this format, the length of questions varied considerably, as the opponent may or may not respect an interlocuter's right to finish a response. However, similar difficulties have been found in all of our antagonistic interviews thus far, rendering the debate format acceptable for comparison. Short questions were coded in full, but longer questions were coded until the first logical phrase break upon topic completion. In effort to balance the content coded for the question-answer pairs, in some cases a longer response was coded to allow for a comparable corpus from each interlocuter.

Additional selection criteria were not necessary, as all questions were deemed adversarial, with the exception of Q3, which was quickly interceded by the moderator and transformed into a congratulatory comment regarding an award received by Posner. Other questions exhibit the most abrasive framing of content found as of yet in any interview, including outright insults and claims of disbelief for the other's statements. Thus, it is fair to say Posner faces the most antagonistic interview context of all subjects in this study, which should be taken into account when analyzing his linguistic production. There are a few moments in which he appears to lose his temper slightly, although the exchange remains relatively cordial, at least in terms of Posner's contribution.

Selected questions include discussion of whether all Russian media promotes the Kremlin position (Q1), and a follow-up in the form of a critical retort (Q2); a query about Putin's response to NATO and how NATO's policy in Europe could be considered aggressive (Q4), followed by two follow-up retorts (Q5 and Q6), a remark mocking the "Man of the Year" award Posner received in Kiev (Q7), a clarification of NATO provisions and their relevance (Q8), a contradiction of Posner's assertion that fear plays a role in the Russian reception of NATO actions (Q9), a contradiction that there do still exist different ideologies in the West and in Russia (Q10), a second assertion of this opinion (Q11), a sarcastic remark (Q12), a reference to the political climate in Poland and concern over nuclear stockpiles (Q13), a contradiction that world powers continue to talk about nuclear weapons (Q14), and a rejection of Posner's response (Q15).

The excluded question (Q3) referenced when Posner was last in Kiev, which the moderator quickly turned into a congratulations for the award he traveled to Kiev to receive.

The debate was heavily interactive, resulting in some overlap of participant speech. In most instances, the pitch contour in question and response sequences can still be identified. A short passage presented in parenthesis (Q10) was not coded in the corpus because overlap in the recording occurred between more than one debater to the extent that they could no longer be reliably differentiated. Otherwise, the interview is coded irrespective of utterances by debate participants that may interject into the question and response sequences of interest.

The transcript of *The Munk Debates* interview (Fig. 5.8) provides an overview of the location and frequency of possible shifts between intonational systems. Phenomena unique to Russian prosody are highlighted in red, those unique to English prosody are highlighted in blue, and bivalent phenomena are indicated in purple. Sentence length is given in brackets, and formulaic phrases are in bold font. Interjections such as *uh*, *um*, *ah* are excluded from the analysis.

FIGURE 5.8 TRANSCRIPT OF THE MUNK DEBATES' INTERVIEW WITH POSNER

Q1: We give you Novaya Gazeta. [5]

H*H* H+L* H+L* H* H*H*H* H*H*H* H*H* H+L* H*+LH*+L

A1: [It is][about as][different][as ABC],[NBC],[and CBS].[About][as different]. [16; 3]

Q2: I haven't heard moral equivalence in a long time. [9]

L+H* L+H*H+L*H* H*H+H*H+L* H+L* H*+L H* H* L+H*

A2: [The people][here] [do not] [read] [Ukrainian][newspapers],[perhaps they do],[but Russian][they

don't]. [So],[they don't know][what's happening][in Russia]. [15; 8]

Q4: Wait, and I haven't finished with my last point. What's been happening since then? In this long period of time, while Russia was rebuilding its military, while it was invading one neighbor after another, the American army was **drawing down** its European forces, so much so that by twenty thirteen there was not one single American tank in Europe. This is an aggressive policy?... [9; 5; 45; 5]

L+H* H+L* H* H* H* H* H*+L* H* H* H* H* H*

A4: [The NATO][discussion][in][no][way][consolidates][his power][at home].[In][no][way].[As far][as

the people][are concerned],[it has nothing][to do][with his][power].[But NATO][does][have to do][with

the Russian][psyche].[And][perception,][as][was][said,][is very][important]. ... [11; 3; 15; 10; 8]

Q5: Sorry, sorry, Mr. Pozner, one of-one of the things the US has negotiated with, that NATO- [17]

H* H*+L+H* H*

A5: [May][I][finish][my][ah-] [4]

Q6: No, you can't finish. [4]

H*+L+H*H+L* L* H* H* H* H+L* L* L+H* H* H* H* H+L*

A6: [Oh,][I][can't].[Well,][thank you][very much].[And that's][the way][they speak][to Russia.]. [3; 5; 8]

Q7: That's how you become man of the year in Ukraine, **then**. [11]

H*+L+H* H* H+L* H*+L+H* H* H+L*

A7: [So,][I][will][repeat].[That][did][not][happen]. [4; 4]

Q8: **First**, I wanted to- Mr. Posner didn't let me correct him. But **in fact** the- one of the other elements of NATO expansion that was very important was an agreement to not move nuclear missiles, an agreement which the West has kept to. So that's one- **You know**, this is why the Cuban Missile Crisis analogy is completely wrong. [11; 32; 16]

H* H* L+H* L+H*

A8: [It's not][wrong][at all].[It's fear]. [5; 2]

Q9: And has nothing to do with it. [7]

L+H* H+L* H* H* H* H*

A9: [It's][fear].[On][both][sides].[Fear]. [2; 3; 1]

Q10: No, no, there are two ideologies now. Ok, fear there is. So what is the- what is the answer to the question about-about nuclear missiles? Fear and fear of nuclear weapons is very central to this issue. It **actually** explains why we aren't more enthusiastic about helping Ukraine. [7; 4; 15; 12; 11]

H* H+L* H* H+L* H* L+H* H+L* H* H* H* H+L* H+L*
Q10: [I][**think-**][I **think**][we're in a much][worse][place]. [Than][we][were]. [**quite frankly**]. [Because
 H* H* H* H* H+L* L+H* H+L* L+H* H+L* H H+L*
 back][then]. [there were two][ideologies][facing each other)]. [**Now**][there's no ideology][in Russia.]
 [10; 5; 7; 6]

Q11: Oh yes there is. [4]

H* H* H+L* H* H* H* L+H* L+H* H* H* H+L* H*
A11: [There's no ideology]. [And][for both][people there isn't]. [They don't even][know]. [what].
 H+L* L+H* H* L+H* H* L+H* L+H* H+L*
 [you know]. [what is][the future]. [what's the promise]. [what are][we working][for]? [3; 6; 19]

Q12: The good-good old days! [5]

H* H* H* L+H H* H* L+H* L+H* H* H* H* H* H*
A12: [No]. [those were][terrible days]. [but there was][an ideology]. [And it was][from the start]. [And the
 L+H* H* H* H* L+H* H* H* H* H* H* L+H* L*
 Red][Scare] [was about ideology]. [And you know it][as well as] [I do]. [10; 6; 7; 9].

Q13: Except in Poland. [3]

H* H* L+H* H* L+H* H* H* H*
A13: [It's][it's][it's][as] [if][they weren't][there]. [but][they][are]. [11]

Q14: Oh, they're talking about it in Europe. [7]

L+H* H* H* L+H* H+L* H* H* H* L+H* H+L*
A14: [Oh I think][it's][very dangerous]. [They're not talking][anywhere]. [6; 4]

Q15: That is not correct. [4]

L+H* H* L H* H* H* L+H* L+H* H* H* H* H*
A15: [They're not][present][the way][they used][to be]. [And I][think that's][a bad thing]. [9; 7]

A cursory assessment of the transcript reveals clear differences that appear in Posner's prosody when moving from the affiliative to the antagonistic context. Here we see a marked reduction in bivalent pitch accents, accompanied by a dramatic increase in the H+L* nuclear pitch accent, the transfer item Posner successfully suppressed in the affiliative interview. The Russian H+L* nuclear pitch accent features prominently and is frequently realized in a position that accurately corresponds to the felicitous assignment of nuclear stress. Violations of English intonational phonology occur throughout the interview, but cluster at the onset of the interview. In some responses, single tones appear sporadically. In others, particularly towards the end of the interview, Posner's production more closely resembles that of the affiliative interview.

5.1.2.A THE MUNK DEBATES INTERVIEWER

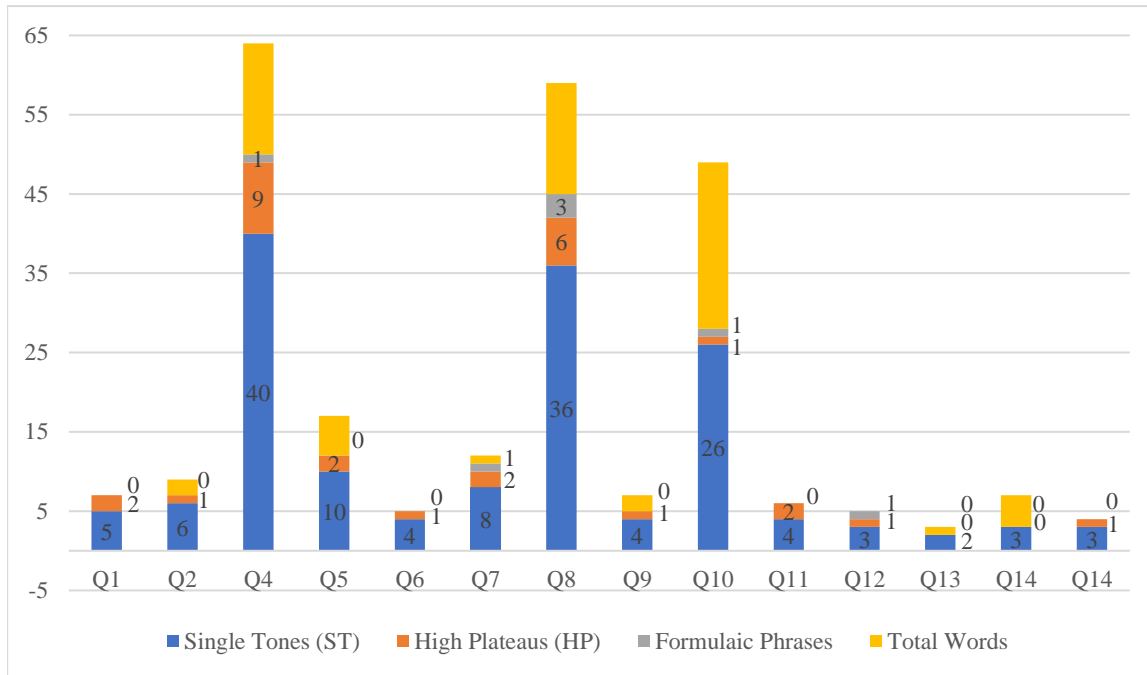
Posner's *Munk Debates* opponent is a naïve speaker of mainstream American English (MAE). Although she has spent an extended period of time in Poland, at the time of the interview she had resided in London for several years. Therefore, her intonational phonology should approximate that of our other American and British interviewers. A summary of the phenomena present in *The Munk Debates* interviewer's speech is provided in Graph 5.8 and Graph 5.9. The height of each column reflects the total number of words per question, and the colored bands within each column indicate the number of phenomena that appear within this total word count. Instances where the number of phenomena exceed the total word count are indicated in footnotes. Bitonal frequency is presented as the aggregate number of bitonal pitch accents.

Although *The Munk Debates* interviewer produces questions of varying length, the number of English language phenomena appear consistently throughout all question turns, and their frequency for the most part corresponds to the question length: Q10 and Q11 are moderate outliers. Formulaic phrases are the exception, and appear in just five of the fifteen question turns.

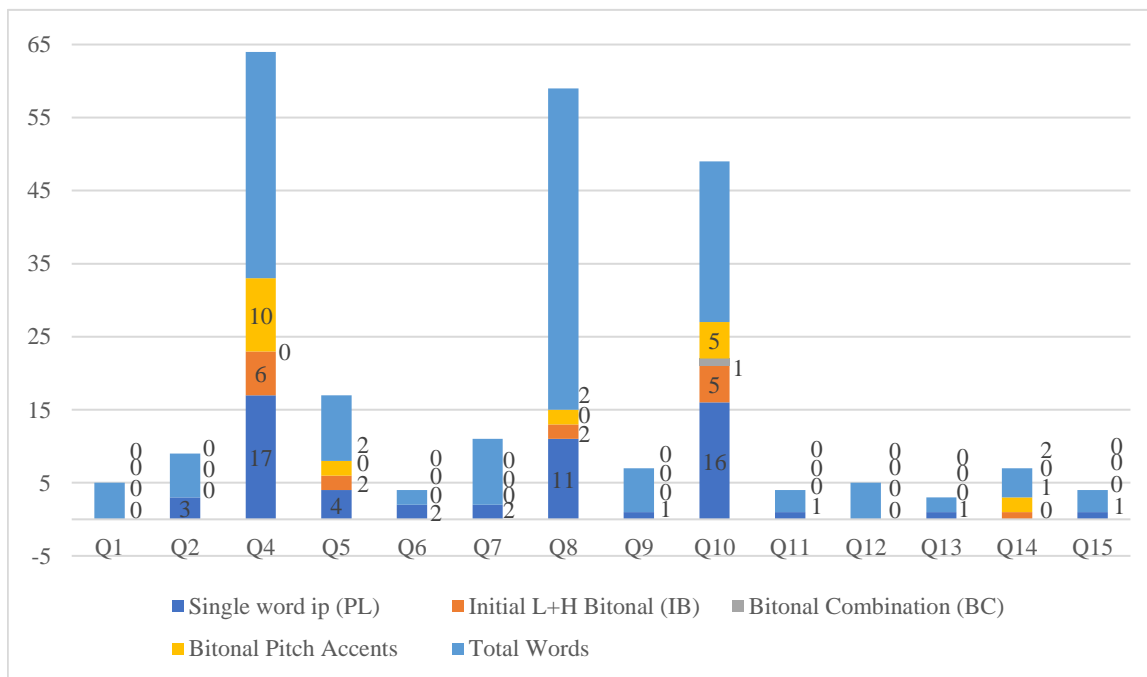
Bivalent phenomena are used sparingly by the interviewer and no category appears in every question turn, although single-word ips are a component of all but two questions. This variable appearance causes the number of single tones and high plateaus assigned to fluctuate considerably between 43% and 100% of all words per question for single tones, and high plateaus form between 0% and 75% of each question. This interviewer's speech more closely resembles that of the BBC interviewer in the frequent use of bitonal pitch accents, including the ip-initial L+H pitch accent. However, these phenomena are concentrated in just five of the fifteen questions.

Surprisingly, one instance of a transfer phenomenon occurs: the L+H H+L bitonal combination can be found in one question turn (Q10).

GRAPH 5.8 THE MUNK DEBATES, ENGLISH PHENOMENA BY QUESTION



GRAPH 5.9 THE MUNK DEBATES, BIVALENT PHENOMENA BY QUESTION



³³ Total phenomena outnumber total words per question turn in Graph 5.8: Q1, Q6, Q11; numbers are equal in Graph 5.1 Q7, Q12, Q14.

TABLE 5.8 ANTAGONISTIC INTERVIEW, MUNK DEBATES

Q#	SEQUENCE OF IPS	WORDS	INTONATIONAL PHONOLOGY								FORMULAIC PHRASES		
			BIVALENCY				TRANSFER				#	BIVALENCY	TRANSFER
			PL	IB	BC	BF	ST	HP	NS	CF			
1	1	5	0	0	0	0%	5	2	0	0	0	0	0
2	2	9	3	0	0	0%	6	1	0	0	0	0	0
4	3	9	2	1	0	17%	5	1	0	0	0	0	0
	4	5	2	0	0	25%	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
	5	45	11	5	0	19%	29	8	0	0	1	0	0
	6	5	2	0	0	25%	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
5	7	17	4	2	0	17%	10	2	0	0	0	0	0
6	8	4	2	0	0	0%	4	1	0	0	0	0	0
7	9	11	2	0	0	0%	8	2	0	0	1	0	0
8	10	11	3	0	0	0%	8	2	0	0	0	0	0
	11	32	4	1	0	6%	17	3	0	0	0	0	0
	12	16	4	1	0	8%	11	1	0	0	1	0	0
9	13	7	1	0	0	0%	4	1	0	0	0	0	0
10	14	7	4	1	0	20%	5	0	0	0	1	0	0
	16	4	2	1	1	67%	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
	17	15	3	2	0	29%	5	0	0	0	0	0	0
	18	12	2	1	0	14%	6	1	0	0	0	0	0
	19	11	5	0	0	10%	9	0	0	0	1	0	0
11	20	4	1	0	0	0%	4	2	0	0	0	0	0
12	21	5	0	0	0	0%	3	1	0	0	1	0	0
13	22	3	1	0	0	0%	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
14	23	7	0	1	0	40%	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
15	24	4	1	0	0	0%	3	1	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL:		248	59	16	1	N/A	154	30	1	0	6	0	0
AVERAGE:		10.1	2.6	.7	0	10%	6.7	1.3	0	0	.3	0	0

A breakdown of these phenomena per IP is given in Table 5.8. IPs with a greater number of words are shaded progressively darker in the table; bitonal frequency greater than the average is noted. Unexpected or non-neutral occurrences appear in color for visibility. English language phenomena occur consistently throughout the corpus, but in lesser quantities than seen in the affiliative interview. Single tones appear in every IP, whereas high plateaus occur in just 33% of IPs (average of 1.3 per IP).

Within the category of bivalent features, single-word ip are most prevalent, occurring in 88% of IPs. Bitonal pitch accents and the ip-initial L+H pitch accent are relatively frequent in the speech of this interviewer, if we compare her data with that of other English native interviewers. In particular, the ip-initial L+H bitonal pitch accent occurs in 42% of IPs with an average (0.7) of between once per IP and every other IP. This is more than twice the frequency seen in two of the other English native speaker corpora, but exactly equivalent to *The Open Mind* interviewer.

The average percentage of bitonal pitch accents produced by *The Munk Debates* interviewer (10%) also falls within the range mapped out by the other English native speaker interviewers: more than the other American interviewers (2%, 9%), but considerably less than the BBC interviewer (17%). This interviewer also produces one instance of the L+H H+L bitonal combination, rarely seen in English. The interviewer who produced the greatest quality of bitonal pitch accents also replicated this feat. In this case, it is the poetic reordering of canonical sentence structure that allows for the juxtaposition of these two bitonal pitch accents.

Only one instance of a transfer phenomenon—the H+L* nuclear pitch accent—is produced in as a component part of the L+H H+L bitonal combination.

Despite this prevalence of bitonal pitch accents in quantity and structures, the speech of *The Munk Debates* interviewer remains clearly distinguishable from that of our heritage speaker. As can be seen in Figure 5.9 through Figure 5.11, bitonal pitch accents are frequently used for emphasis in English, but the means of their production and acoustic features differ from how bitonals are produced in Russian, or as transfer items by heritage speakers.

In Figure 5.9, *The Munk Debates* interviewer produces a characteristically flat high plateau with little variation. Here we see emphasis is performed with a simple increase of intensity.³⁴

³⁴ Fundamental frequency is represented in red, and intensity in yellow.

FIGURE 5.9 EMPHASIS IN HIGH PLATEAUS

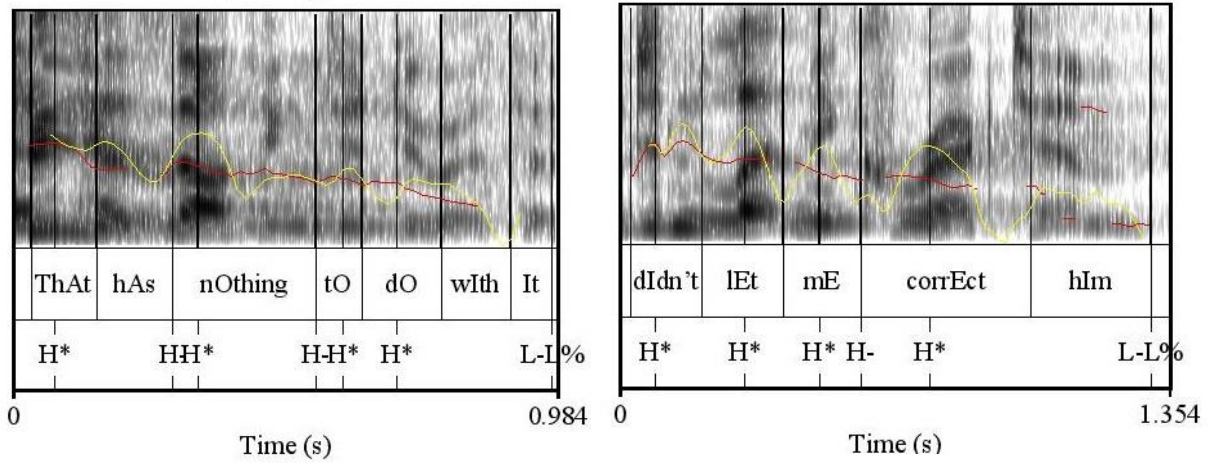


FIGURE 5.10 BITONAL EMPHASIS

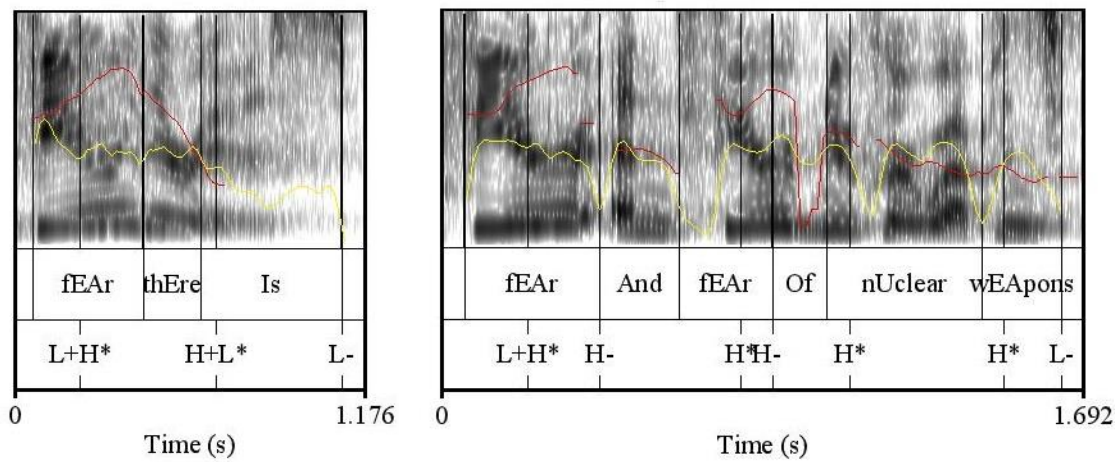
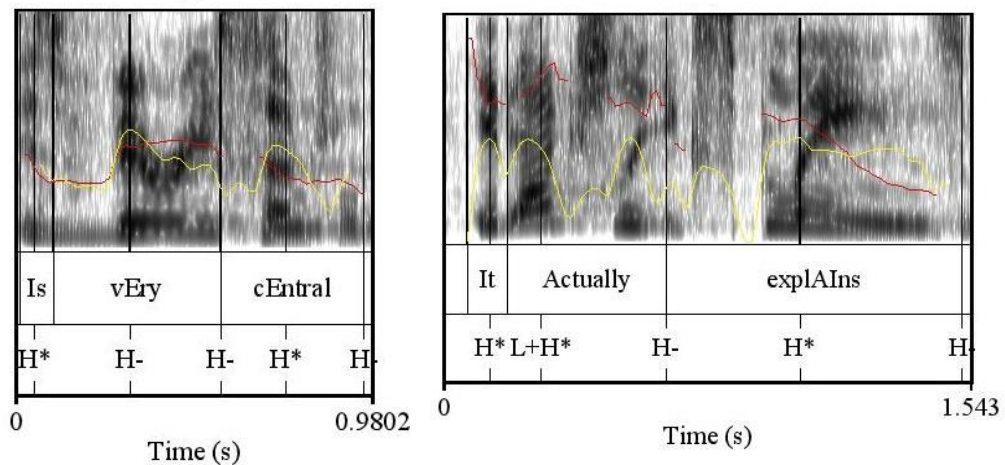


FIGURE 5.11 "BITONAL-LIKE" SINGLE TONE EMPHASIS



Emphasis is achieved by means of bitonal pitch accents is shown in Figure 5.10. The first of these examples illustrates the L+H H+L bitonal combination achieved by means of variation in the canonical English word order. The displaced constituent is produced with a rising bitonal pitch accent, and a H+L* nuclear pitch accent is perceived by the combination of a H* pitch accent and a L* pitch accent into one contour. As seen in other examples, the intensity level remains constant and a large pitch excursion creates the effect of pitch movement.

The second example in Figure 5.10 illustrates two attempts at stress placement on the same word, one which is perceived as a bitonal pitch accent, and the other which is not, or could be considered to be weakly expressed as a bitonal pitch accent. The first achieves this effect by means of a large pitch excursion, despite only a small deviation in intensity. The second attempt appears to show pitch movement and a deviation in intensity, but in actuality this is problematized by production of the subsequent word: the rise we see is something like the Russian “zanos” phenomenon, where word-initial vowels can be emphasized to assist in differentiating the word boundary.

Figure 5.11 shows two instances of emphasis with single tones, but in the midst of pitch contours that are considerably more complex than seen in Figure 5.9. In Russian, both of these contours would likely be perceived as bitonals, as a short burst and decline of intensity may trigger the perception of a fall, even when the actual pitch contour is rather flat. Thus, “very” in the first examples is perceived as a single tone, when “actually” in the second examples is not.

The same explanation follows for why “explains” in the second examples can be perceived as a single tone: opposite to the coordination of pitch and intensity seen in the first example of Figure 5.10, here the intensity is held constant while the pitch declines. Emphasis of the word is achieved, but not the perception of a falling contour.

Finally, *The Munk Debates* interviewer makes minimal use of formulaic language, as defined in Section 2.3: 25% of IPs in the sample can be said to contain at least one formulaic phrase. Of the seven phrases used, six can be classified as having a holistic pragmatic meaning, in which the whole is greater than the literal compositional meaning of the sum of its parts (cf. Wray 2002b:116). These include the phrases: “then” (Q7), “first” (Q8), “in fact” (Q8), “you know” (Q8), “actually” (Q10), and “good old days” (Q12). The expression without a holistic pragmatic meaning is “drawing down” (Q4). All formulaic phrases are realized in high tones.

Given the low occurrence of many phenomena of interest in the corpus, Chi-squared tests of independence were performed for a reduced number of categories.³⁵ Data were collapsed across question turns to minimize empty cells. Correlations between three phenomena are presented in Table 5.9. A significant correlation between single-word ips and single tones ($\chi^2(63)=85.56$, $p=0.03$), which was also found for the *Washington Post* interviewer. Unexpectedly, no significant correlation was found between high plateaus and their component parts, single tones.

TABLE 5.9 CORRELATIONS BETWEEN PHENOMENA, MUNK DEBATES

	Single Tones	High Plateau
Single-word ip	.03*	.23
Single Tones		.33

³⁵ Categories with no or only infrequent instances of occurrence were excluded from the analysis (IB, BC, BF, NS, CF, FP).

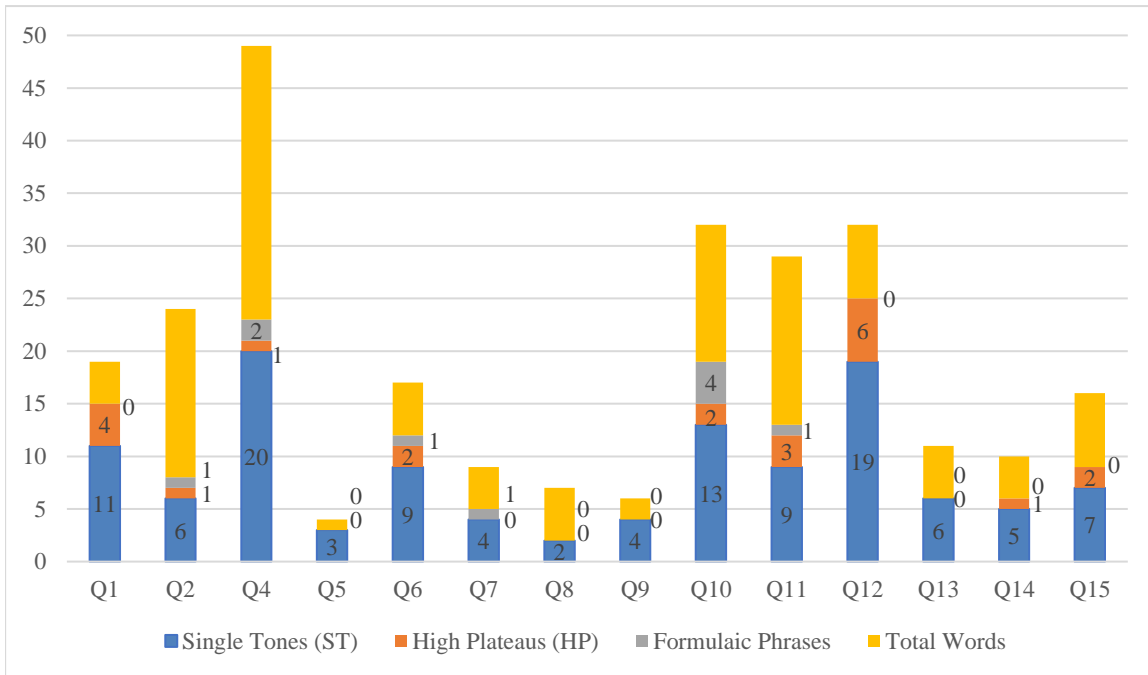
5.1.2.B VLADIMIR POSNER

An overview of the Vladimir Posner's speech in the antagonistic interview is presented in Graph 5.10, Graph 5.11, and Graph 5.12. Single tones remain frequent, but their quantity has fallen substantially (from 6.5 per IP to 3.3 per IP), such that now they average only 58% of pitch accents. Sentences making up 20% of the corpus have no single tones at all. High plateaus appear in 60% of IPs, but both the distribution of single tones and high plateaus appear unrelated to the question length. This suggests they are not assigned by some structural feature, but based at least partially on contextual factors.

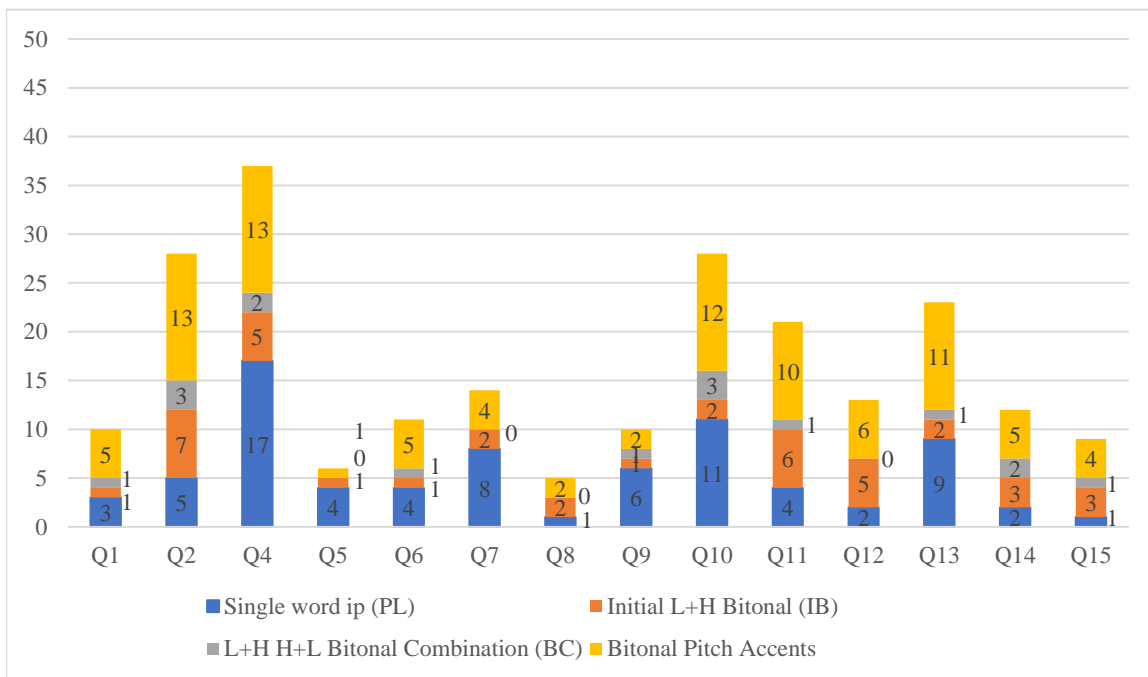
A comparison of the graphs reveals that bivalent phenomena are now the most frequent categories. Bitonal pitch accent frequency averages 40%, and 92% of IPs have a greater percentage of bitonal pitch accents than the interlocuter's speech: from 15% to 100%. Single-word ips increase from an average of 1.8 to 2.1 instances per IP. Additionally, the bitonal combination, which was entirely absent from Posner's *The Open Mind* interview, now averages 33% of IPs and a frequency of up to once every other IP (0.4 per IP).

Although Russian phenomena remain low overall in their frequency count, their occurrence rises noticeably in comparison with *The Open Mind* interview. In particular, the H+L* pitch accents appears as often as up to eight times in one question turn (Q4, Q10), comprising from 0% to 29% of each question response. At the same time, there are no instances of constituent fronting. From these graphs it is evident that now bitonal and Russian phenomena increase per question turn in proportion to the utterance length, and English phenomena seem haphazard in their appearance. This suggests that the underlying system may have switched to the dominant language.

GRAPH 5.10 POSNER, ENGLISH PHENOMENA BY QUESTION

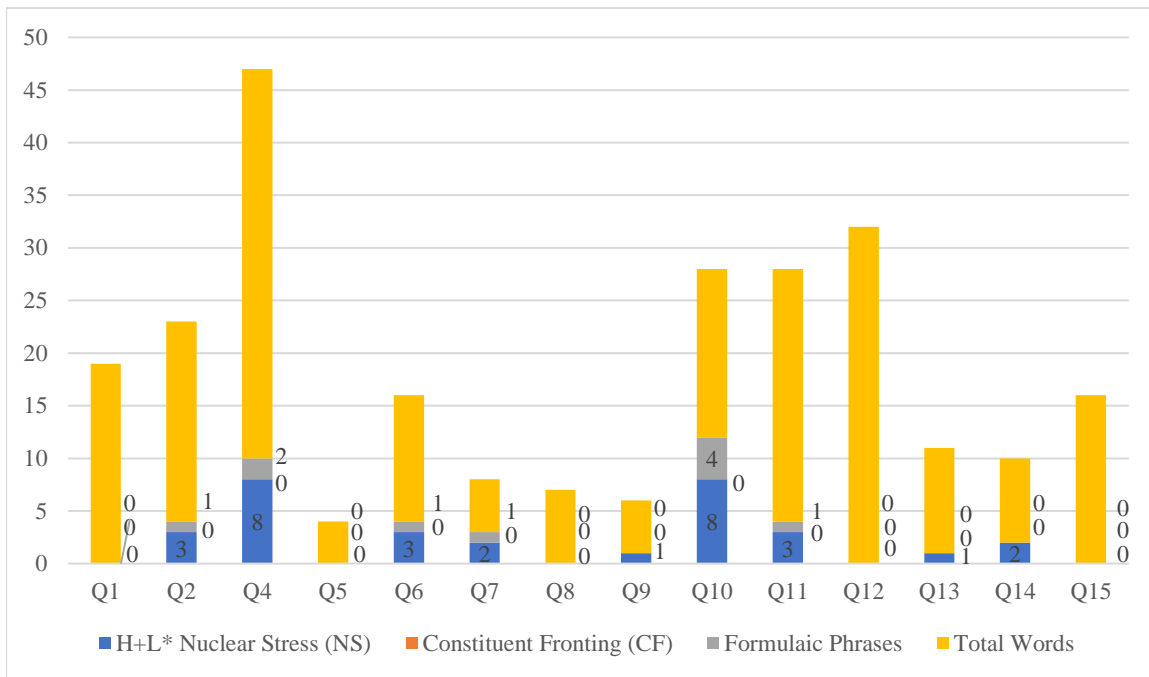


GRAPH 5.11 POSNER, BIVALENT PHENOMENA BY QUESTION



³⁶ Total phenomena outnumber total words per question turn in Graph 5.11: Q2, Q5, Q7, Q9, Q13, Q14; numbers are equal in Graph 5.11 Q10.

GRAPH 5.12 POSNER, RUSSIAN PHENOMENA BY QUESTION



An analysis of the phenomena per IP is given in Table 5.10. Although Posner produces prosodic elements in all three categories of Russian, bivalent, and English phenomena, transfer items remain concentrated in only one of the four possible category types: the H+L* nuclear pitch accent, followed by a noticeable decrease in high plateaus. The H+L* nuclear pitch accent in particular has increased threefold. High plateaus have dropped from 77% of IPs to just 47%.

Among bivalent categories, the most affected appears to be the bitonal combination, which now appears where previously it did not. Likewise, the increase in total bitonal pitch accents is striking in part because 77% of IPs with bitonal pitch accents contain 33% or greater of the H+L* pitch accent.

TABLE 5.10 ANTAGONISTIC INTERVIEW, POSNER

Q#	SEQUENCE OF IPs	WORDS	INTONATIONAL PHONOLOGY								FORMULAIC PHRASES		
			BIVALENCY				TRANSFER				#	BIVALENCY	TRANSFER
			PL	IB	BC	BF	ST	HP	NS	CF			
1	1	16	2	0	0	15%	11	4	0	0	0	0	0
	2	3	1	1	1	100%	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2	3	15	4	5	2	69%	4	1	2	0	0	0	0
	4	8	1	2	1	67%	2	0	1	0	1	1	0
4	5	11	5	1	1	38%	5	0	2	0	1	1	0
	6	3	3	0	0	0%	3	0	0	0	1	1	0
	7	15	1	2	1	50%	4	0	2	0	0	0	0
	8	10	2	2	0	50%	3	1	1	0	0	0	0
	9	8	6	0	0	38%	5	0	3	0	0	0	0
5	10	4	4	1	0	25%	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
6	11	3	3	1	1	33%	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
	12	5	1	0	0	20%	4	1	1	0	1	0	0
	13	8	0	0	0	33%	4	1	1	0	0	0	0
7	14	4	4	1	0	50%	2	0	1	0	1	1	0
	15	4	4	1	0	50%	2	0	1	0	0	0	0
8	16	5	1	1	0	50%	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
	17	2	0	1	0	100%	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9	18	2	2	1	1	100%	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
	19	3	3	0	0	0%	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
	20	1	1	0	0	0%	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
10	21	10	4	1	1	44%	5	1	3	0	2	0	0
	22	5	5	0	0	40%	3	0	1	0	1	1	0
	23	7	1	0	0	20%	4	1	1	0	0	0	0
	24	6	1	1	2	83%	1	0	3	0	1	0	0
11	25	3	0	0	0	33%	2	1	1	0	0	0	0
	26	6	1	1	0	40%	3	1	0	0	0	0	0
	27	19	3	5	1	67%	4	1	2	0	1	0	0
12	28	10	1	3	0	0%	5	1	0	0	0	0	0
	29	6	0	0	0	0%	4	2	0	0	0	0	0
	30	7	1	1	0	20%	4	1	0	0	0	0	0
	31	9	0	1	0	17%	6	2	0	0	0	0	0
13	33	11	9	2	1	25%	6	0	1	0	0	0	0
14	33	6	1	2	1	60%	2	0	1	0	0	0	0
	34	4	1	1	1	40%	3	1	1	0	0	0	0
15	35	9	1	2	1	50%	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
	36	7	0	1	0	20%	4	2	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL:		255	77	41	16	N/A	118	22	31	0	10	5	0
AVERAGE:		7.1	2.1	1.1	.4	40%	3.3	.6	.9	0	.3	.14	0

Posner also makes a distinction between pitch accents in Russian and English. Only a small change to the acoustic characteristics can render two very similar looking pitch tracks with a different interpretation. Figure 5.12 illustrates two high plateaus, only the second of which is interpreted as a bitonal pitch accent. The first example represents a short and quick high tone, followed by two that are slightly elongated for emphasis. A slow, smooth fall of this nature was seen several times in the corpus. The slight movement downwards resembles the typical fall in fundamental frequency observed in high plateaus, and contours of this type are generally perceived as one high pitch accent held longer than usual to lend prominence to the pitch accent.

In the second example of Figure 5.12, the final pitch accent is given a bitonal interpretation. Similar to the bitonals produced by English native speakers, the intensity curve follows the pitch track closely, until it becomes slightly misaligned on the syllable assigned the bitonal pitch accent. The sharper intensity curves here indicate these vowels are not elongated, and the final element is interpreted as a bitonal pitch accent. The final example in Figure 5.12 illustrates a series of high pitch accents in which the intensity varies considerably, but the effect is a series of rhythmic, distinct syllables, rather than pitch movement.

In Figure 5.13, we see longer curves where the pitch accents are clearly delineated within syllables. The abrupt, but flat, shift upwards on the final word is again interpreted as emphasis, rather than a bitonal pitch accent. The second example in this pair, to the contrary, shows the same initial rhythmic production of a high plateau; however, the intensity drops sharply after the word “about”, producing the effect of a bitonal pitch accent. The drastic change in intensity on the phrase-final word “different” also triggers the same interpretation.

FIGURE 5.12 HIGH TONES VERSUS BITONALS

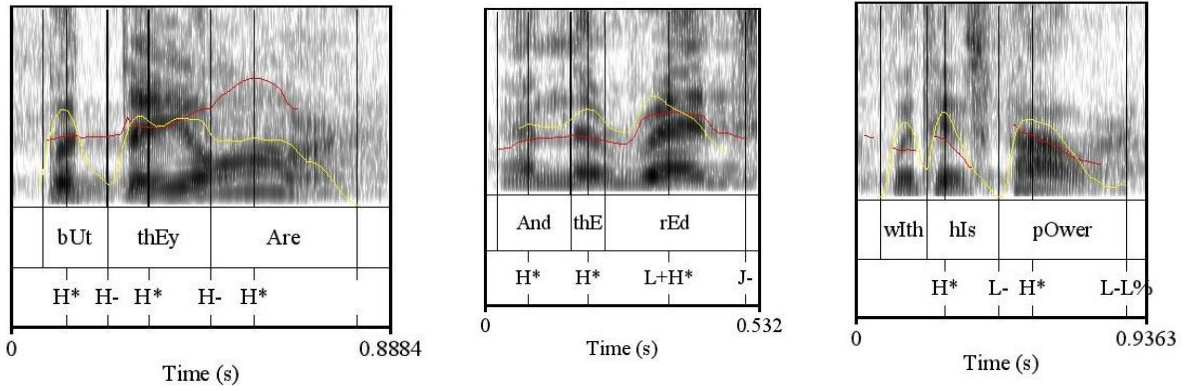


FIGURE 5.13 HIGH TONES

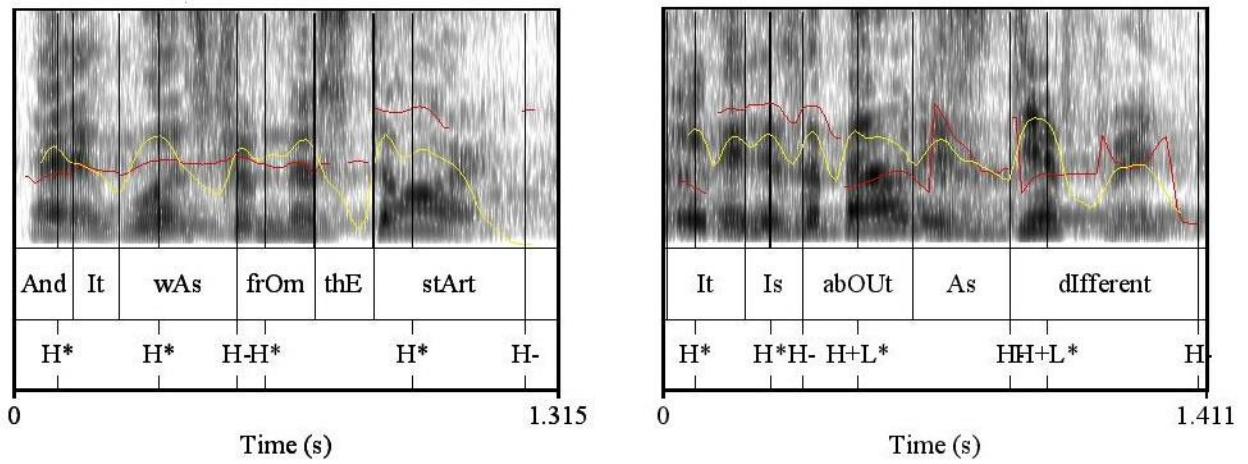
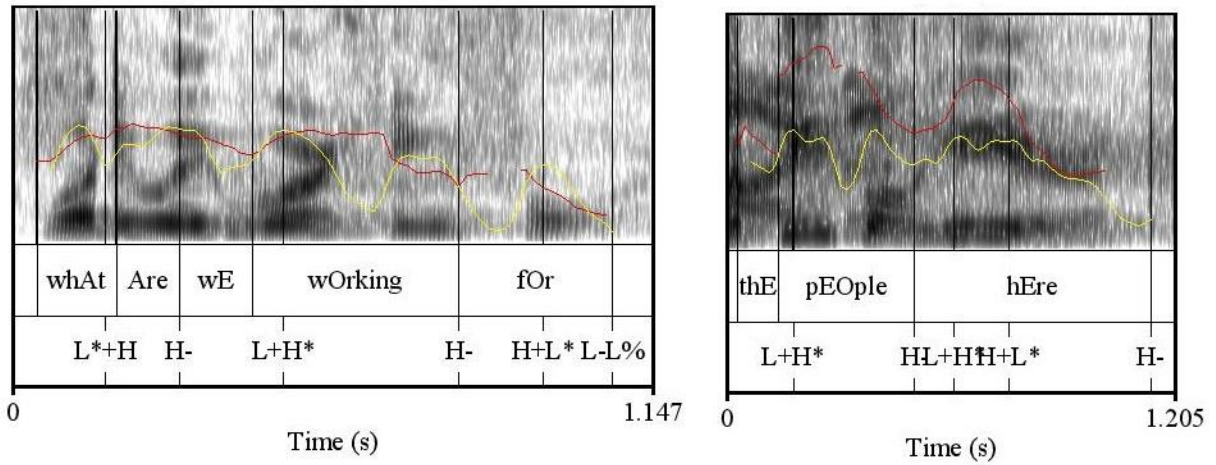


FIGURE 5.14 HIGH TONES VERSUS BITONALS



Multiple bitonal pitch accents are presented in Figure 5.14. On the word “working”, we can see how a sharp increase that is not aligned with the middle of a stressed syllable can contribute to the perception of pitch movement. In the final example of Figure 5.14, the intensity curve stays generally in tandem with the fundamental frequency, with one important difference: the large drop in fundamental frequency observed in the center of both L+H H+L structures facilitates their interpretation as bitonal pitch accents instead of simply an elongated, stressed syllable.

Formulaic phrases increase, although their average per IP remains similar: 0.3 per IP vs. 0.4 per IP in the shorter affiliative interview. Like his interviewer, Posner makes minimal use of formulaic language: 25% of IPs in the sample can be said to contain at least one formulaic phrase. The seven phrases can all be classified as having a holistic pragmatic meaning, in which the whole is greater than the literal compositional meaning of the sum of its parts (cf. Wray 2002b:116). These include the phrases: “so” (Q2, Q7), “in no way” (Q2), “well” (Q6), “I think” (Q10), “quite frankly” (Q10), “now” (Q10), “you know” (Q11).

TABLE 5.11 FORMULAIC PHRASES, MLF, & PROSODY

Q#	PHRASE	MLF ³⁷	TRANSLATION(S)	MLF ³⁸	PROSODY
1,7	so	2481.2	tak	3538.4	H*
2 (2x)	in no way	3.0	nikoim obrazom ni v koem slučae	3.1 11.2	H* H* H* (2x)
6	well	1216.8	nu čto ž	907.4 111.4	L*
10 (2x)	I think	630.6	dumaû sčitaû	186.5 42.6	H* H*+L* (2x)
10	quite frankly	3.6	čestno govorâ	7.5	H+L* H*+L (1x) (1x)
10	now	1533.5	sejčas	681.9	L+H*
11	you know	711.6	vy znaete	36.4	H+L*

³⁷ Corpus of Contemporary American English. 570,353,748 words. <https://corpus.byu.edu/COCA/>. MLF per million words.

³⁸ Russian National Corpus. 283,431,966 words. <http://www.ruscorpora.ru/>. MLF per million words.

Six of the ten formulaic phrases are realized in high tones. The four assigned bivalent or Russian pitch accents come during or after the question when Posner speaks of someone he dislikes (Q10, Q11). The greatest concentration of formulaic phrases can be found as well (Q10).

Whether or not a formulaic phrase can be considered to be bivalent pertains to the frequency of that expression’s use in each of the languages. Table 5.11 presents the mean lemma frequency (MLF) for each formulaic phrase. Those that have a greater or nearly equivalent frequency of use in Russian and English are classified as bivalent. This is 40% of the total number of formulaic phrases. None of the instances are categorized as a transfer item from English, because they all occur felicitously within their context of use. Three of the formulaic phrases encountered in the corpus (“so”, “no way”, “quite frankly”) can be considered bivalent, as their MLF is greater in Russian than in English.

Chi-squared tests of independence indicate that all of the phenomena appear independently of one another (Table 5.12).³⁹ Notably, the correlation between single tones and high plateaus found in *The Munk Debates* interviewer’s speech is absent from Posner’s production. For the one correlation that proved significant for our second language speaker, there is insufficient data. Given there were insufficient instances of certain categories to measure in this corpus, it is possible that relations with these missing categories might have been significant.

TABLE 5.12 CORRELATIONS BETWEEN PHENOMENA, POSNER

	Initial L+H	Bitonal Frequency	Single Tones
Single-word ip	.43	.55	.27
Initial L+H		.19	.51
Bitonal Frequency			.27

³⁹ Counts of phenomena were collapsed across question turns for categories with numerous empty cells (CP). Categories with no or only infrequent instances of occurrence were excluded from the analysis (BC, HP, NS, FP).

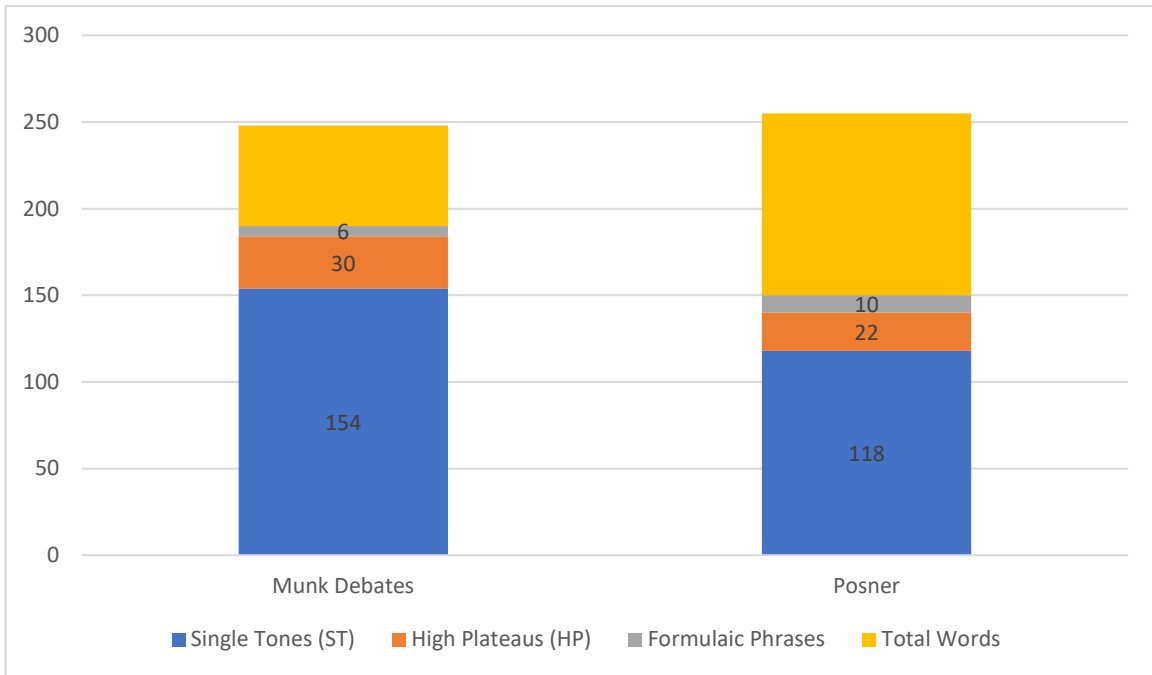
5.1.1.C DISAFFILIATION IN THE MUNK DEBATES INTERVIEW

Given the lack of a neutral baseline, it is difficult to say with certainty if Posner has adapted elements of his speech to accommodate to *The Munk Debates* Interviewer. As mentioned above, contextual factors suggest Posner may engage in accommodation towards the interviewer on a larger scale in terms of the acoustic features of his pitch accents, and disaffiliation with in questions when discussing dispreferred subject matter: the appearance of two iterations of the Russian nuclear H+L* pitch accent, which Posner is otherwise very skilled at suppressing. However, subsequent comparison of the distribution of phenomena in the affiliative and antagonistic contexts can indicate if the results pattern differently in the two contexts.

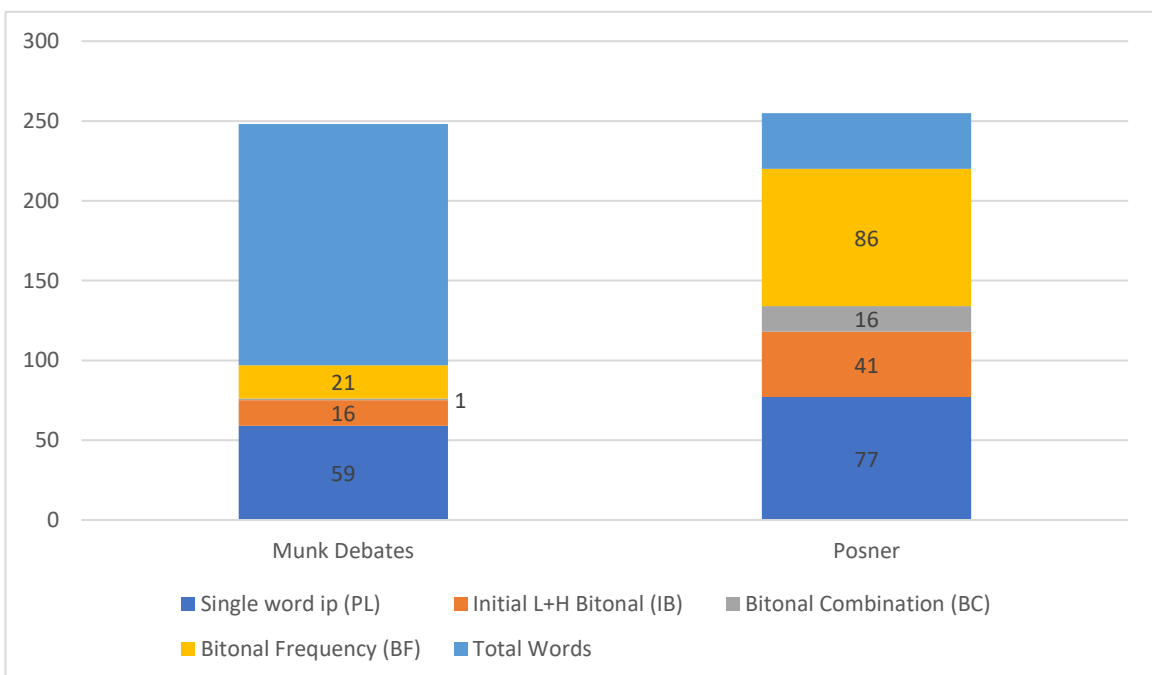
If we look at the aggregate totals of phenomena, presented in Graph 5.13 and Graph 5.14, it becomes apparent that despite the superficial similarity of Posner's speech to the English native speaker, significant differences remain, and these differences are arguable greater than observed with our second language speaker. With the exception of formulaic phrases and high plateaus, the category totals for Posner's corpus correspond to that of *The Munk Debates* interviewer.

This difference in utilization of bitonal phenomena between the interlocutors is similar to what we saw in the proficient second language interview with Lavrov and the BBC, except the differences here are even more pronounced for our heritage speaker in the categories of the ip-initial L+H bitonal pitch accent and bitonal frequency. However, what is particularly interesting is that speaker differences manifest to an even greater degree in the English language phenomena categories, despite the fact Posner undoubtedly acquired the English facility of a native speaker in his youth.

GRAPH 5.13 THE MUNK DEBATES VS. POSNER, TOTAL ENGLISH PHENOMENA



GRAPH 5.14 THE MUNK DEBATES VS. POSNER, TOTAL BIVALENT PHENOMENA



Perhaps another key differences between the two sets of interlocutors is Posner produces the Russian H+L* nuclear pitch accent three times as often as the interviewer. While able to control the production of this category in the affiliative interview, it appears that certain phenomena may be more greatly targeted by linguistic processing demands: the H+L* nuclear pitch accent, and the L+HH+L* bitonal combination.

T-tests were conducted to investigate whether variance between the two interviews was significant (Table 5.13). The interlocutors differed significantly in two bivalent categories: single-word ips ($p=0.04$) and bitonal frequency ($p=0.012$). In transfer categories, the use of the H+L* bitonal pitch accent ($p=0.056$) and single tones ($p=0.08$) neared significance, although in the case of the former, the phenomenon was entirely absent from *The Munk Debates* interviewer corpus.

TABLE 5.13 T-TESTS BETWEEN SUBJECT MEANS: POSNER & THE MUNK DEBATES

TYPE	PHENOMENON	P-VALUE
Bivalent	Single-word ips	0.47
	Initial L+H bitonal pitch accent	0.16
	Bitonal combination	0.00068***
	Bitonal frequency	0.0019**
Transfer	Single tones	0.015*
	High plateaus	0.087
	Nuclear stress	>0.0001***
Other	Formulaic phrases	0.89

TABLE 5.14 ACCOMMODATION IN THE MUNK DEBATES INTERVIEW

	WORDS	INTONATIONAL PHONOLOGY								FORMULAIC PHRASES		
		BIVALENCY				TRANSFER				#	BIVALENCY	TRANSFER
		PL	IB	BC	BF	ST	HP	NS	CF			
THE MUNK DEBATES												
TOTAL:	248	59	16	1	N/A	154	30	1	0	6	0	0
AVERAGE:	10.1	2.6	.7	0	10%	6.7	1.3	0	0	.3	0	0
POSNER												
TOTAL:	255	77	41	16	N/A	118	22	31	0	10	5	0
AVERAGE:	7.1	2.1	1.1	.4	40%	3.3	.6	.9	0	.3	.14	0

Thus, Posner performed better in the antagonistic context than our proficient second language speaker in the bivalent categories, where only two instead of three categories were significantly different from his interlocutor. However, Posner arguably performed worse in the transfer categories: although both subjects differed from their native speaker interlocuter in two categories, Posner's use of the H+L* bitonal pitch accent was substantially more significant.

Therefore, we can assert that despite any possible attempt to accommodate, Posner retained difficulty producing native-like speech in two bivalent categories and two transfer categories. This difficulty was more substantial in the transfer categories.

There was no notable difference found between the use of formulaic phrases for each interlocuter. In fact, the significance between subject means was extremely low ($p=0.89$), indicating that production norms were from a nearly equivalent population.

5.1.3 PERFORMANCE ACROSS CONTEXTS

The speech of the two interviewers from *The Open Mind* and *The Munk Debates* appear remarkably similar across categories (Table 5.15), as might be expected of two native speakers of the same dialect. Only the transfer phenomena—single tones and high plateaus—show differences in their implementation, but this difference only nears significance. *The Open Mind* interviewer utilizes nearly twice as many single tones and high plateaus as *The Munk Debates* interviewer; however, their production of bitonal pitch accents is not significantly different.

A comparison of Posner's performance across the two context reveals several significant differences between the two corpora: the LH H+L bitonal combination ($p < 0.0001$), single-word ips ($p=0.002$), singletons ($p=0.031$), high plateaus ($p=0.38$), and the H+L* nuclear pitch accent ($p=0.0099$).

TABLE 5.15 T-TESTS BETWEEN SUBJECT MEANS: THE OPEN MIND & MUNK DEBATES

TYPE	PHENOMENON	P-VALUE
Bivalent	Single-word ip	0.16
	Initial L+H bitonal pitch accent	0.48
	Bitonal combination	0.33
	Bitonal pitch accents	0.97
Transfer	Single tones	0.085~
	High plateaus	0.069~
Other	Formulaic phrases	0.62

TABLE 5.16 NATIVE ENGLISH INTERVIEWERS

	WORDS	INTONATIONAL PHONOLOGY								FORMULAIC PHRASES		
		BIVALENCY				TRANSFER				#	BIVALENCY	TRANSFER
		PL	IB	BC	BF	ST	HP	NS	CF			
THE OPEN MIND												
TOTAL:	265	59	13	0	N/A	182	44	0	0	5	0	0
AVERAGE:	19	4	.9	0	9%	13	3	0	0	.4	0	0
THE MUNK DEBATES												
TOTAL:	248	59	16	1	N/A	154	30	1	0	6	0	0
AVERAGE:	10.1	2.6	.7	0	10%	6.7	1.3	0	0	.3	0	0

As The Open Mind also used significantly more single tones and high plateaus than the other interviewer, there is some chance that Posner's frequent use of these items in the affiliative interview was an attempt at accommodating, for which a neutral baseline would be needed.

In contrast to the Russian native speaker interviewers, Posner's speech across contexts reveals differences between the affiliative and antagonistic contexts in every category, with the exception of formulaic phrases (0.4 vs. 0.3 per IP).

TABLE 5.17 T-TESTS BETWEEN SUBJECT MEANS: POSNER IN TWO CONTEXTS

TYPE	PHENOMENON	P-VALUE
Bivalent	Single-word ip	0.50
	Initial L+H bitonal pitch accent	0.30
	Bitonal Combination	<0.0001***
	Bitonal pitch accents	0.60
Transfer	Single Tones	0.031*
	High Plateau	0.038*
	Nuclear stress	0.0099**
Other	Formulaic phrases	0.53

TABLE 5.18 HERITAGE RUSSIAN

	WORDS	INTONATIONAL PHONOLOGY								FORMULAIC PHRASES		
		BIVALENCY				TRANSFER				#	BIVALENCY	TRANSFER
		PL	IB	BC	BF	ST	HP	NS	CF			
AFFILIATIVE												
TOTAL:	274	30	28	0	N/A	111	29	5	0	7	2	0
AVERAGE:	16	1.8	1.6	0	34%	6.5	1.7	.3	0	.4	.12	0
ANTAGONISTIC												
TOTAL:	255	77	41	16	N/A	118	22	31	0	10	5	0
AVERAGE:	7.1	2.1	1.1	.4	40%	3.3	.6	.9	0	.3	.14	0

Unlike the results for the second language speakers, which showed that bivalent prosodic phenomena of every category appear more frequently in an affiliative interview context, here the greatest difference is seen in the production of transfer phenomena. Posner's use of transfer categories nearly halved for all phenomena, with the exception of constituent fronting, which he did not produce. A dramatic difference was also seen for the production of the L+H H+L bitonal combination, which had been absent from the corpus until the antagonistic interview.

Despite expectations that heritage speakers hold a privileged linguistic status, particularly in regards to phonetic and prosodic phenomena, thus far in the data set this assumption has not held out. Posner is positioned between the two second language speakers in the degree to which

his own performance differed between contexts, reflecting the processing costs of the antagonistic context. Lavrov, the more proficient second language speaker maintained his prosody more subtly between the context, and McFaul was the least able to do so.

However, it is also telling what phenomena were affected for each subject: McFaul had greater difficulty with bivalent phenomena, indicating facility with his structural linguistic knowledge. Lavrov and Posner find more difficulty with transfer items, although this manifests in difficulty suppressing Russian contours like the L+H H+L* bitonal combination and the Russian H+L* pitch accent for Posner, and Lavrov struggles to produce second language phenomena, such as single tones and high plateaus.

5.2 JULIA IOFFE

Julia Ioffe is a journalist and occasional foreign correspondent, specializing in Russian political affairs. While she spent a brief period stationed in Moscow, where she appeared on Russian radio and TV in her capacity as a U.S. correspondent, Ioffe's reporting is primarily U.S.-based. The two interviews analyzed occurred between 2011 and 2012, during the period Ioffe resided in Moscow. Despite her journalistic credentials, Ioffe is the least experienced interview participant among the four subjects in this dissertation, whether interviews are carried out in English or Russian. Her lack of familiarity with television interviews becomes evident in the antagonistic interview.

Ioffe was born in Moscow to Russian parents, emigrating at the age of seven to the U.S. Ioffe's early language input was Russian, and she acquired English at the end of the Critical Period of language acquisition. Beginning in elementary school, Ioffe's schooling took place in English, whereas after immigration, her Russian language experience was limited until returning to Russia in 2009. Thus, Ioffe's profile of language acquisition is common to many U.S. heritage speakers.

Ioffe can clearly be said to have acquired Russian, yet her linguistic production in Russian is easily differentiated from native speaker monolinguals when she speaks in longer utterances, such as phrases or sentences. Her phonetics appear native-like, but she struggles with word choice and fluency. More specifically, Ioffe produces consonants with good accuracy, but her vowels are perceptibly different in quality from native speakers. It may be that her prosody contributes to this.

Like Posner, Ioffe's heritage language skills appear to fluctuate between interviews, and even within interviews. There are discrepancies in her language abilities between interviews that occur almost within the one year of one another, while Ioffe was residing in Moscow 2009-2012. It is apparent, especially in the antagonistic interview, that Ioffe notices her errors and is frustrated by them. It is likely that language anxiety may play some role in her linguistic performance.

Ioffe appears on Russian news programs that are left-leaning in their political views. However, similar to Posner, because of her foreign status and the rarity of Russian-speaking correspondents in Russia, she is treated with some degree of caution by her interviewers, which occasionally verges on suspicion. Ioffe is expected to explain, and, to some degree, take responsibility for statements and actions made by U.S. political actors. For this reason, even while meeting with the more liberal representatives of the Russian press, conflict can be detected such that an antagonistic atmosphere results in one interview. In the affiliative interview, Ioffe is treated like a member of the local journalistic community, where she is responsible only for her own opinions about her experience working in Russia.

5.2.1 AFFILIATIVE INTERVIEW

An affiliative interview with Julia Ioffe was conducted by Finam FM on February 16, 2011, with the theme “foreign journalists in Moscow”. Ioffe was invited to participate together with Michael Bohm, at that time, the opinion editor of *The Moscow Times*. The televised radio interview lasts nearly fifty minutes: twenty-two minutes of interviewer questions and thirty-six minutes of audience questions. Question and response pairs are selected from the first section for analysis. These questions represent the opinion of the interviewer, and therefore this data was deemed more appropriate to evaluate for attempts at accommodation due to the opportunity for personal interaction between the interviewer and interviewees. Nine questions were coded with the aim to limit response data to a corpus of approximately 250 words per subject. Questions were consistently shorter in duration, and thus coded in full, whereas responses were coded until the first logical phrase break upon topic completion.

The entire first half of the interview focused on a recent event in which a British journalist, Luke Harding, was temporarily denied entry to Russia by the authorities, which was widely perceived as “rebuke” or warning to foreign journalists working in the country. Throughout the interview, the invited journalists are treated respectfully as experts, and asked to interpret the recent events for the program audience. As the interviewer does not challenge or strongly disagree with his guests’ opinions, all of the question-response pairs are equally suitable for the analysis. The first nine questions were coded, which represents slightly less than half of the interviewer questions. Question eight is coded for the interviewer despite the fact that Ioffe provides no answer, to even the corpora, and because it still serves as linguistic input that may contribute to attempts at accommodation. Question responses for Michael Bohm are not reproduced; however, Ioffe leads the discussion in the first half of the interviewer-led section of the program, with the exception of question eight, and Bohm takes a greater role in answering questions in the second half.

The selected questions ask for a general reaction to the event (Q1); the deciding factor for why Luke Harding was singled out (Q2); whether “rules” imposed on foreign journalists are written or unwritten (Q3); a clarification that the events referred to take place in the North Caucasus (Q4), a clarification that problems with authorities not seen in the Caucuses are experienced in Moscow (Q5), a follow-up question about what the “rules” are understood to be by foreign journalists (Q6); clarification that there is one written rule (Q7); a question about when the authorities deem it necessary to punish a journalist (Q8), and how foreigners understand this “signal” (Q9). All questions frame their content in a speculative and objective manner, and the interviewer typically repeats and expands upon the opinions of his guests.

Excluded questions in the interactive, interviewer-led first half of the program question whether journalists have changed their working habits after the event (Q10), or have begun to engage in self-censure of controversial material (Q11), a comment that Russian and British high-ranking officials continue to want to establish good relations (Q12), whether it is difficult for foreign journalists to work in Russia (Q13), the suggestion that the event came about simply due to the fault of bureaucrats (Q14), whether they feel foreign journalists are considered to be slanderers by the Russian people (Q15), whether such actions stem from Russia's Soviet past (Q16), whether Lavrov apologizes for actions he ordered (Q17), how the event was perceived in the West (Q17), whether it reinforces negative stereotypes of Russia (Q18), or if such events will be repeated (Q19), and what kind of articles by journalists upset the Russian authorities (Q20).

The transcript of the Finam FM interview (Fig. 5.15) provides an overview of the prosodic features produced by Ioffe throughout the interview. Phenomena unique to Russian prosody are highlighted in red, those unique to English prosody are highlighted in blue, and bivalent phenomena are indicated in purple. Sentence length is given in brackets, and formulaic phrases are in bold font. Interjections such as *uh*, *um*, *ah* are excluded from the analysis. Prepositions are not coded as independent words, according to Russian intonational phonology, in which prepositions form one phonetic word with their object; exceptions are made when Ioffe treats prepositions as content words by assigning them pitch accents independent of their object. Russian language mistakes on the part of the interviewee are retained.

FIGURE 5.15 TRANSCRIPT OF FINAM FM'S INTERVIEW WITH IOFFE

Q1: Segodnâ my pogovorim **vot** o čem: inostrannyj žurnalist v Rossii - za čto ih vysylaût, i kto sleduûšij.
Today we will talk about this here: the foreign journalist in Russia – for what are they expelled, and
Nu, â dumaû, čto net odnogo čeloveka iz auditorii Finam FM, kto by ne znal istoriû s Britanskom
who's next. Well, I think that there is not one person in the audience of Finam FM who doesn't know
 žurnalistom *ah* Lukom Gardingim *ah* èto Moskovskij korrespondent *ah* gazety Guardian. *Ah nu vot â*
the story of the British journalist ah Luke Harding ah this is the Moscow correspondent from the
 hoču, čto v samom načale Vy vyskazali každyj svoi **da** soobraženiâ o proizošedšem. Čto
Guardian newspaper... Ah well now I want right at the start for each of you to tell your yeah thoughts on
 èto bylo dejstvitel'no nedorabotki činovnikov **tam** v MIDE, **da** kak èto v **obšem-to** prepodnosilos', i
what's happened. What was it really – blunders by officials there in MFA right, as it is generally supposed,
 otmeču **konečno** dlâ slušatelej, čto Garding **vse-taki** v"ehal v Rossiû, **da** i *ah* rabotaet *ah* v Moskovskom
 and I'll mention **of course** for our listeners that Harding **nonetheless** entered Russia **right**, and *ah* is
 bûro gazeta Guardian. Ŭliâ, **vot** Vaš vzglâd. [14; 24; 30; 4]
working ah in the Guardian's Moscow bureau. Julia, now your opinion.

H* L+H* H* H*L+H*H* H+L* H* H* H* H* H+L* H* H* H*+L H*
A1: [Ah][moj][vzglâd].[čto][èto][ne][sovsem-][ahm].[Vot][to][čto my][slyšaem][ob][ètom][dele].[on]
Ah my opinion is that it is not entirely- ahm. Now what we hear about this matter, it is
 H* H* L+H* H+L* H* H+L* L+H* H* H*L+H* H+L H* H* H* H*
 [uh][ne][sovsem][vot sut'][ètogo][dele].[Sut'][dele][čto][my][vidim][nakonec-to][kak][ah][prinimaetsâ]
uh not entirely see the heart of this matter. The heart of the matter is that we finally see how ah
 L+H*H+L* H+L* H+L* H* H*H* L*L+H* L+H* H* L+H* H*
 [rešenie][v rossijskoj][federacii].[My][vidim][čto][MID][vedet][kakie-to][otdel'nye][peregovory]
the Russian Federation makes decisions. We see that MFA conducts some kind of separate negotiations
 H+L* H* H* H* H* L+H* L+H*H+L* L+H* L+H* H*
 s žurnalistami][kotoryh][oni][akkredituût][puskat'][v stranu],[prodlevaet][im vizu],[potom][FSB]
with journalists whom they accredit to let into the country, extends their visas, then the FSB
 H* L+H*H+L* H* H* L+H* H* H* H* H+L*
 [na][granice][ih][ostanavlivaet].[To est'][rešenie][prinimaetsâ][kak][budto][os'minogom].
stops them at the border. That is, the decision is taken as if by an octopus. [6; 14; 11; 23; 7]

Q2: To est' i i i èto takaja tajn- tajnost' èto takaja tajnost' s semi pečatâmi. V zavisimosti ot loâl'nosti
That is and and and it's that sec- secret it's that secret of the seven seals. Depending on the loyalty of
 žurnalista, a **vot** čto po-vašemu mneniû ävlâetsâ takim faktorom? [14; 12]
the journalist, or what here in your opinion is this factor?

L+H* H* H*H+L* H* L+H*H*+L L+H* H+L* H* H+L* H*+L H*
A2: [Mne][kažetsâ][uh][net].[čto][mnogie][žurnalisty][často][kak by][narušaet][pravila],[kotorye]
It seems to me uh no, most journalists often kind of break the rules, which
 H* H+L* H* L+H*H* H* H+L* H+L*
 [kotorye][Luk][kak by][narušal][i][s nimi][ničego][ne bylo]. [20]
which Luke kind of broke, and nothing happened to them.

Q3: Podoždite, Ŭliâ. Čto za pravila? Oni pisannye, ili nepisannye? [2; 3; 4]
Wait, Julia. What kind of rules? Are they written, or unwritten?

L+H*H+L* H+L* H+L* H* H* H* H* H+L* H* H* H* H* H*
A3: [Vo-][pervyh][oni][nepisanyj],[i][potomu čto][oni][nepisanye][neponâtno],[čto][za][pravila],[i esli]
First of all, they aren't written, and because they aren't written, it's not clear what the rules are, and
 H* L*+HH+L* L*+HH+L* L+H* H* H* H* L+H*
 [oni voobše].[Èto my] [dumaem],[čto možet byt'][est' pravila].[Naprimera moi][kollegi][v N'û-Jork Tajms],
if they are at all. It's we who think that maybe there are rules. For example, my colleagues in the New
 L+H* H+L* H* L+H* H* H* H*
 [oni][govorât, čto][dlâ nas],[nikakih][pravil][net]. ... [17; 8; 14]
York Times, they say that for them, there are no rules.

Q4: Na Severnom Kavkaze. [2]

In the North Caucasus.

H* H* H* H* H* H* H*+L H*+L H* H* H* H* H*+L H*+L+H*
A4: [Kak raz][vot][ah][Si][Džej][Čivers][Čivers][ah],[kogda][on][zdes']][byl][v N'û-Jork Tajmse],[on]

Actually now ah C. J. Chivers—Chivers—ah, when he was here at the New York Times, he

H+L* H* H* H+L* L+H* H* H+L* H* H* H* H* L+H*H+L*
[bez kakogo][razrešeniâ]-[prosto][tiharēm]-[ah][poâvilsâ][tam][v Čečne][v boevyh][zonah].[Ěmu][tam]
without any permission—simply secretly—ah appeared there in Chechnya in combat zones. There they

H+L* L+H* H*+L L+H* L+H* H+L* H+L*
[davali][po-po][ručki][a on][zdes']][dolgo][sidel]. [25; 10]
gave a slap on the wrist, and he stayed here a long time.

Q5: No u nego ne vznikalo problem. A zdes'? A zdes' byla problema. [5; 2; 4]

But he didn't have problems. And here? And here there was problem.

H* H+L* H* L+H*H+L* H* H* H+L* H*H* H* H* L+H* H*
A5: [Zdes']][byla][problema].[Mne kažetsâ],[čto][edinstvennoe][pravilo],[èto][kak by][umet']][ah]

Here there was a problem. It seems to me, that the only rule is to kind of be able ah

H* H*+L H* L+H*H+L H* H* H* H* L+H* H*+L H* H*
[stroit']][otnošeniâ][ah][s MIDom].[S ah][s pravo-][pravooхранitel'nymi][organami].[Ne][narvat'sâ][pro-
to build relations ah with MFA. With ah with the law-law enforcement agencies. Not to make a scanda

H*H* H* L+H* L+H* H* H* H* H+L* H*+L H*+L
na rovnom][meste skandala, umet']][kak-to vot][zaglaživat']][takie][bol'nye][temy]. [3; 15; 14]
about- where there is none, to be able to here kind of smooth over such difficult topics.

Q6: No tak otmečetsâ čto očen' mnogo pisal o Vladimire Putine. Mnogo pisal o Severnom Kavkaze. No

But well it's noted that (he) wrote a lot about Vladimir Putin. (He) wrote a lot about the North

imenno ego nakazali, vot počemu? Počemu, Majkl? A kakie usloviâ vot ah stavit inostrannym
Caucasus. But they punished specifically him, now why? Why Michael? And impose what conditions now

žurnalistam, kto ih stavit? Vot Ůliâ skazala, čto èto nepisannye pravila, nigde ne v kakim...
on foreign journalists, and who imposes them? Now Julia said, that they are unwritten rules, nowhere in

no kind of... [9; 4; 6; 2; 10; 10]

H*+L+H* H*+L L+H* H* L+H* H+L* H* H*+L L+H*
A6: [Na][našej][kartočke][akkreditacii],[kotorye vydaetsâ][vsem][na MIDom],[ah][speredí][gde naš]

On our accreditation cards, which everyone is given at MFA, ah on the front, where our

H* L+H* L+H*H+L* H*+L H* H+L* H* H*+L+H* H* H* H* H*+L
[tam][fotografiâ],[dannye][pasportnye].[Ah][vzad][napisano][čto][MID][mož-][možet][vas][vygnat']][iz
like photograph and passport data (is). Ah on the back is written that the MFA can expel you from

L+H* H*
strany][ne ob"âsnââ ničego]. ... [15; 12]
the country without explaining anything.

Q7: Ah to est' èto vse-taki propisano. Takoe pravo u ministerstva est' [5; 4]

Ah that is it is written after all. The ministry has this kind of law.

L+H* L*+HH*+L H* H*+LL+H* H* H* H* H* H* L+H* H*+L H* H*
A7: [Napisano][pravo],[čto][pravil][net][krome][teh][kotorye my][v ètot][moment][pidumaem][i][kak
A law is written that there are no laws except those that we in that moment think up and kind of

H+L*
by][vnesëm]. [16]
introduce.

Q8: I nakažem. Inogda. **Prosto...** *Ah* a kogda nado. Podoždite, Majkl. A **vot** kogda nado. **Â** hoču **prosto...**
And we will punish. Sometimes. Just... Ah but when is it necessary. Wait, Michael. But now when is it necessary. I just want... Understand, understand... a journalist...

Q9: *Mm-hm. Ah, sKažite vot, posle proizošedšego, kak-to vot v žurnalistskom soobšestve, inostrannyh da Mm-hm. Ah, tell (us) now, after what happened, somehow here in the journalistic community, of foreign žurnalistov vot, ponimanie, tvoe osoznanie ètogo fakta, tože proizošlo? To est', vot Harding, da? right journalists here, has understanding, your awareness of this fact, also taken place? That is, Harding Konkretnyj emu ukazali ego obratno vernuli v London. A zatem čerez nedelû da značit on vse-taki po-here, right? Specifically he was selected, returned back to London. And then after a week yeah so he moemu vnov' vozvrašaetsâ v Rossiû. No Vy obo mne govorite o tom čto èto nekij znak dlâ žurnalistov da nonetheless I think again returns to Russia. But you tell me that it is some kind of sign for journalists right čto Vy rebâta ne dërgajtes'. [19; 5; 7; 12; 18] that: "You guys, don't move."*

L+H* H* H* H+L* L+H* H* H* H+L* H* H* H*H*

A9: [A my][s toboj][po-moemu][soglasny]. [Luk][ničego][takogo][ne pisal]. [Poètomu][kogda èto]
But you and I, I think, are agreed. Luke didn't write anything of that (nature). Therefore when it

H+L* H* H* H* L+H* L+H*H+L*L+H*H+L* H*+L H+L* L+H*H+L*L*+H L+H*

[slučilos'] [ah] [my] [vse] [perepisyvalis'] [tam imajls]. [zvonili] [drug] [druga], [obsuždali èto], [i nektu]
happened ah we all wrote like emails to one another, called one another, discussed it, and no one

H+L* L+H* H* H* H+L* H+L*

[ne mog] [ponât'] [ah] [kak èto] [ponât'] [voobše]. [5; 5; 23]
could understand ah how in general to understand it.

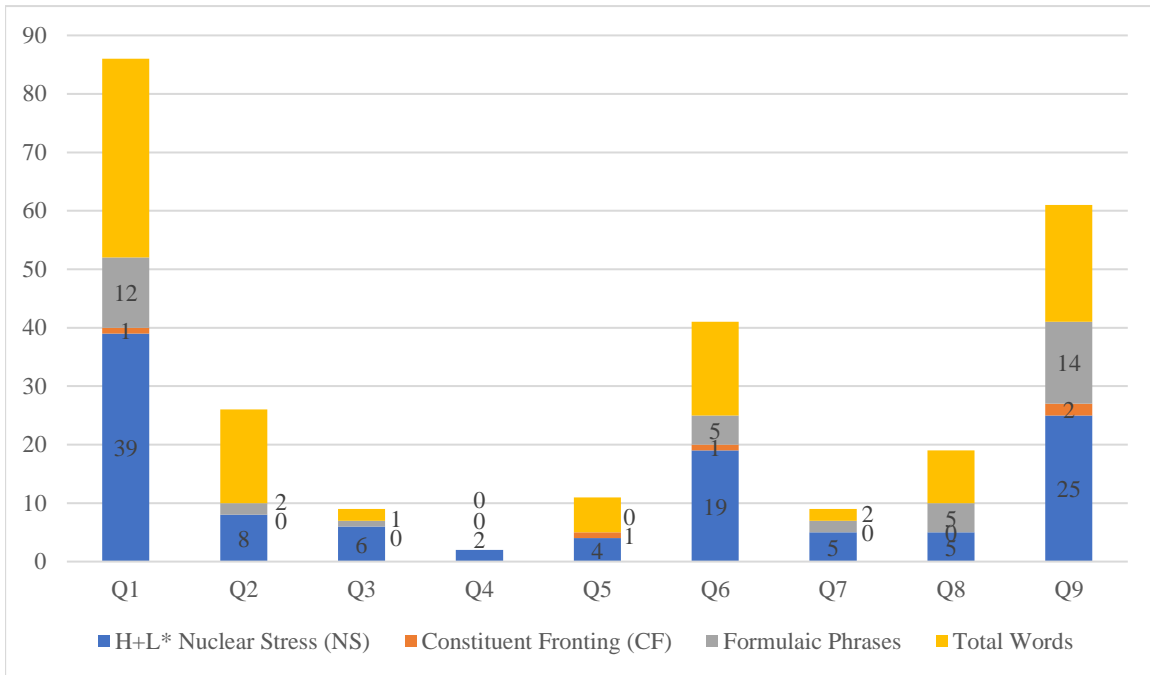
5.2.1.A THE FINAM FM INTERVIEWER

The interviewer is a speaker of standard Russian with no trace of dialectal influence. Russian prosodic phenomena are produced with the consistency expected of a native speaker. Bivalent phenomena in keeping with Russian intonational phenomena appear frequently, and transfer phenomena are entirely absent from the corpus.

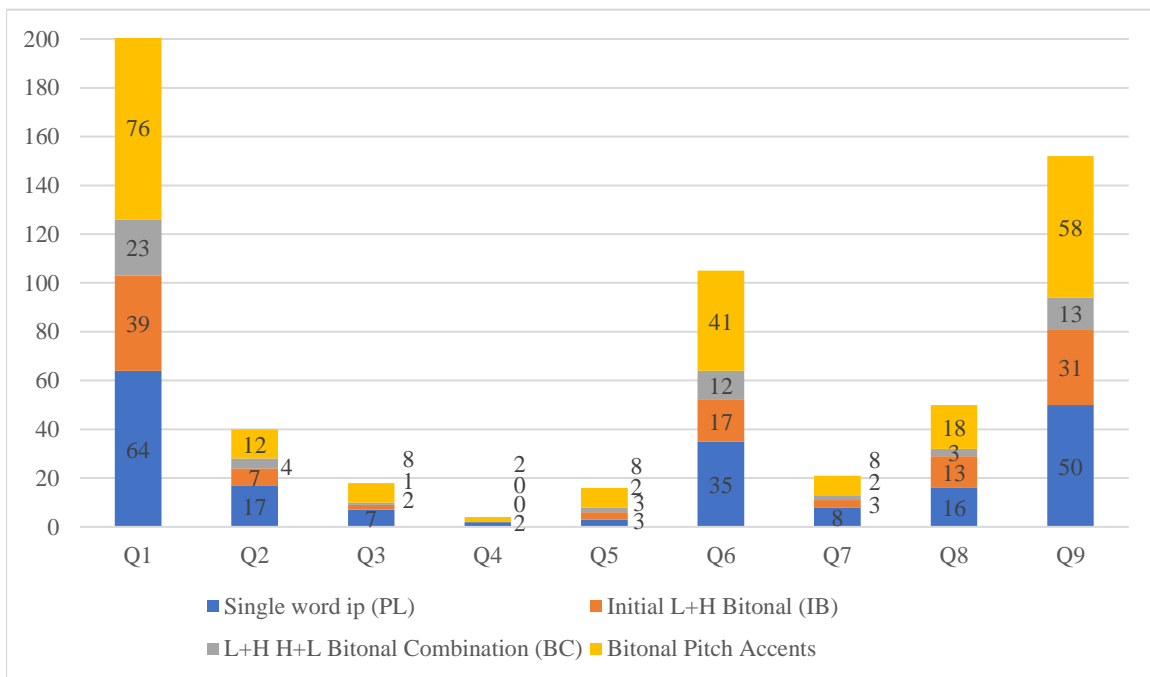
Russian phenomena are summarized in Graph 5.15, and bivalent phenomena in Graph 5.16.

The height of each column reflects the total number of words per question, and the colored bands within each column indicate the number of phenomena that appear within this total word count. Instances where the number of phenomena exceed the total word count are indicated in footnotes. For the purpose of these summary graphs, bitonal frequency is presented as the aggregate number of bitonal pitch accents.

GRAPH 5.15 FINAM FM, RUSSIAN PHENOMENA BY QUESTION



GRAPH 5.16 FINAM FM, BIVALENT PHENOMENA BY QUESTION



⁴⁰ Total phenomena outnumber total words per question turn for all question in Graph 5.9. Total phenomena are equal to total words per question in Graph 5.8 Q4.

The Finam FM interviewer produces short and long questions within the same interview. Thus, the longer questions (Q1, Q6, Q9) provide the best illustration of phenomena the interviewer typically produces. Unsurprisingly, these question turns exhibit a high degree of similarity in the percentage of Russian phenomena present. An equal degree of consistency in bivalent phenomena also appears to be true. This distribution of phenomena, in which they appear proportionally per question turn, suggests the phenomena are used systematically.

Russian language phenomena form a large proportion of each interview question. The H+L* nuclear pitch accent appears at least once in 100% of question turns and IPs, and often multiple times. This single pitch accent comprises between 26% and 46% of the total words per question. Constituent fronting, an informal element of Russian syntactic structure that effects nuclear stress assignment, occurs rarely in this corpus, appearing as one instance in 44% of questions. This phenomenon tends to occur in longer questions that also contain formulaic phrases.

As the bivalent phenomena are all compatible with Russian intonational phonology, it is not surprising that each type appears in every question turn, with the exception of Q4, which is only comprised of two words. Bitonal pitch accents are the most prevalent of the four phenomena (87% instances per total words), followed by single-word ips (76%) and the ip-initial L+H pitch accent (43%). The L+H H+L bitonal combination, while the least frequent of all bivalent phenomena, still constitutes up to nearly one third (Q1 27%, Q6 29%) of some questions.

An analysis of the phenomena in the Finam FM interviewer's speech is per IP presented in Table 5.19. The overall frequency of the relevant intonational and lexical phenomena are traced as they appear in each question from the onset to the conclusion of the interview. The total number of the phenomena and their average frequency is calculated. IPs with a greater number of words are shaded darker, and unexpected or non-neutral occurrences appear in color for visibility.

TABLE 5.19 AFFILIATIVE INTERVIEW, FINAM FM

Q#	SEQUENCE OF IPS	WORDS	INTONATIONAL PHONOLOGY								FORMULAIC PHRASES		
			BIVALENCY				TRANSFER				#	BIVALENCY	TRANSFER
			PL	IB	BC	BF	ST	HP	NS	CF			
1	1	14	9	7	8	100%	0	0	7	1	1	0	0
	2	24	17	9	6	100%	0	0	10	0	1	0	0
	3	14	10	9	4	100%	0	0	4	0	3	0	0
	4	30	26	13	4	100%	0	0	16	0	6	0	0
	5	4	2	1	1	100%	0	0	2	0	1	0	0
2	6	14	10	4	2	100%	0	0	3	0	1	0	0
	7	12	7	3	2	100%	0	0	5	0	1	0	0
3	8	2	2	0	0	100%	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
	9	3	1	0	0	100%	0	0	2	0	1	0	0
	10	4	4	2	1	100%	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
4	11	2	2	0	0	100%	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
5	12	5	1	1	1	100%	0	0	2	1	0	0	0
	13	2	0	1	0	100%	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	14	4	2	1	1	100%	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
6	15	9	7	3	1	100%	0	0	4	0	1	0	0
	16	4	4	2	2	100%	0	0	3	0	0	0	0
	17	6	6	4	2	100%	0	0	3	1	2	0	0
	18	2	2	1	1	100%	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
	19	10	9	2	2	100%	0	0	2	0	1	0	0
	20	10	7	5	4	100%	0	0	5	0	1	0	0
7	21	5	4	2	1	100%	0	0	2	0	2	0	0
	22	4	4	1	1	100%	0	0	3	0	0	0	0
8	23	2	2	1	1	100%	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
	24	1	1	0	0	100%	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
	25	1	1	1	0	100%	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
	26	3	2	2	1	100%	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
	27	2	2	2	0	100%	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	28	4	2	3	0	100%	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
	29	3	3	2	1	100%	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
	30	2	2	1	0	100%	0	0	1	0	2	0	0
	31	1	1	1	0	100%	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	9	32	19	14	7	4	100%	0	0	8	0	6	0
33		5	3	2	1	100%	0	0	1	0	3	0	0
34		7	7	3	2	100%	0	0	6	1	0	0	0
35		12	12	8	2	100%	0	0	7	0	3	0	0
36		18	14	11	4	100%	0	0	3	1	2	0	0
TOTAL:		264	202	115	60	N/A	0	0	113	5	41	0	0
AVERAGE:		7.2	5.6	3.2	1.7	100%	0	0	3.1	.1	1.1	0	0

Russian phenomena remain the sole components of IPs. Only ten of the IPs comprised of primarily one, two, or three words fail to contain all bivalent features. It is also apparent that these omissions cluster in particular question turns: Q3-Q5 and Q8. Most often this stems from the lack of the L+H H+L bitonal combination, a large prosodic structure. Less often, the IP is missing the ip-initial L+H pitch accent. Single-word ips are absent in only one IP.

The H+L* nuclear pitch accent appears between 1 and 16 times per IP, for an average of 3.1 instances per IP. This is comparable to the previous Russian interviewers' production of the phenomenon (3 and 2.5 per IP). The other Russian-specific phenomenon, constituent fronting, occurs rarely in this corpus: just five times in four IPs, or 0.1 per IP. This is substantially less frequent than in other interviews (0.3, 0.4). Often this would be an indicator the interview adheres to a slightly more formal register; here the interviewer elides objects and speaks in phrases that are not fully elaborated. This can be considered a highly informal style of speech that avoids objects.

Bivalent phenomena are generally more frequent in the corpus, with the exception of the L+H H+L bitonal combination, which with an average of 1.7 instances per IP is utilized almost half as often as the nuclear stress pitch accent; nonetheless, this phenomenon appears in 72% of IPs in the corpus. The ip-initial L+H bitonal is approximately equivalent in frequency to the nuclear stress pitch accent (1.7 per IP), and appears in 89% of IPs, whereas the H+L* pitch accent occurs in 86%. This rate of occurrence is comparable to the other Russian interviewers (1.7, 1.8).

Single-word ips are by far the most frequent phenomenon, present in all but one 2-word IP and averaging an occurrence of 5.6 instances per IP. This is substantially more frequent than then in other Russian interviews, where speakers produce the phenomenon at an average occurrence of 3.6 and 3.4 per IP. This result likely again stems from the large number of short IPs found in the corpus, which tend to contain a greater number of smaller structures and word boundaries.

FIGURE 5.16 BITONAL PITCH ACCENTS, FINAM FM

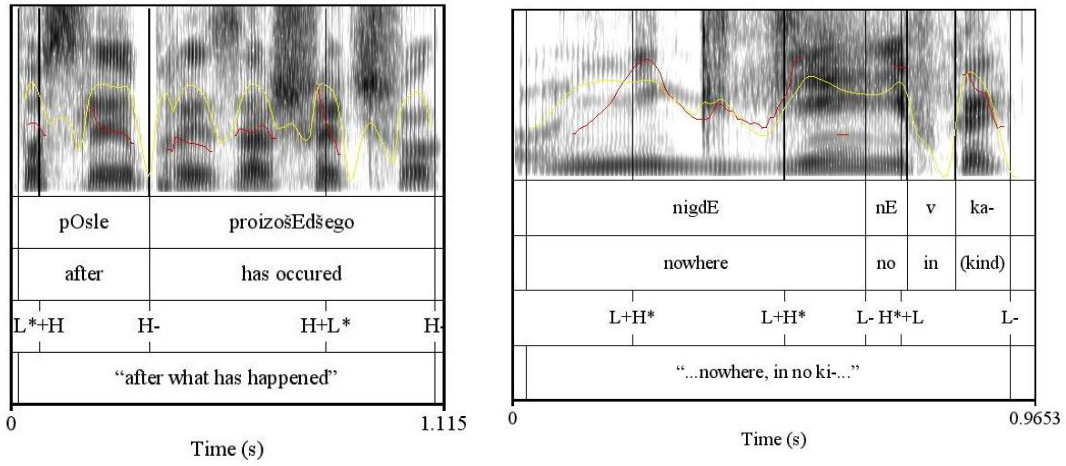
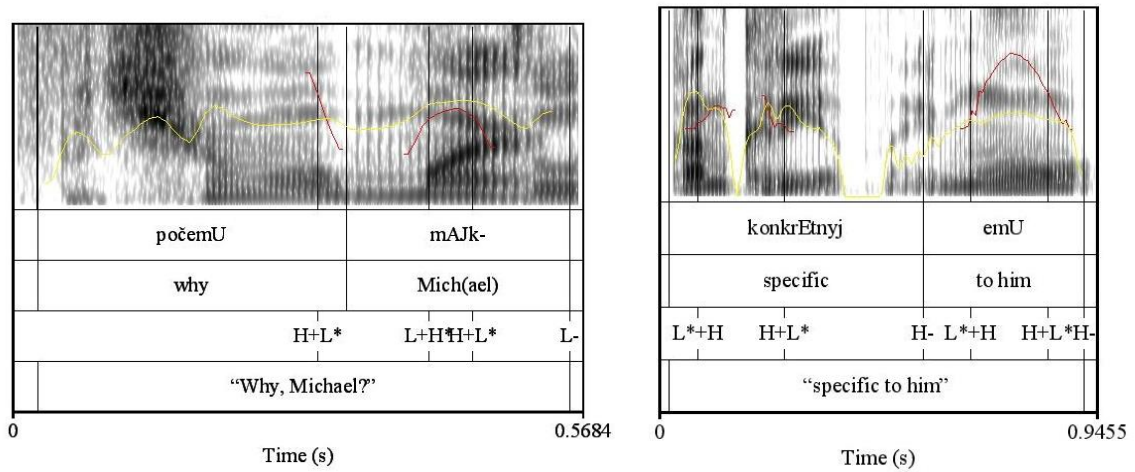


FIGURE 5.17 SINGLE-IP BITONAL COMBINATION, FINAM FM



Characteristic features of the Finam FM interviewer's speech are presented in Figure 5.16–Figure 5.18. Differences in the psychoperceptual classification of pitch contours in English and Russian may be related to a combination of fundamental frequency and intensity. Therefore, figures are presented with the fundamental frequency indicated in red, and the intensity in yellow. This is particularly visible in the bitonal pitch accents reproduced in Figure 5.16 and Figure 5.17.

In the first example of Figure 5.16, the contour superficially resembles the English “hat pattern”. However, a closer look at the pattern reveals not a rhythmic rise and fall of pitch and intensity corresponding to the word as a whole, but to individual syllables. This contributes to the rising effect on the first word *posle* (“after”) and the falling effect on the last syllable of the word *proizošedšego* (“has occurred”). It is also notable how the fall in pitch on the final syllable is very brief and steep, which is typical for Russian when a bitonal pitch accent is realized on one syllable.

In the second example, the pitch track is partially corrupted towards the end of the phrase due to noise in the recording, but still perceptible. The intensity contour provides a hint of the associated pitch contour. Here we see an abbreviated example of the “sawtooth pattern”, with short, sharp rises. In the first L+H* pitch accent, the intensity and fundamental frequency are offset, whereas in the second, they follow a similar contour. Therefore, although a mismatch in pitch and intensity contributes to the perception of pitch movement, it does not determine it: there are multiple ways in Russian to achieve this effect.

When a syllable is elongated, two pitch accents may be assigned to a word with one stressed syllable. The first example in Figure 5.17 shows a H+L* pitch accent realized by means of a steep, sharp fall. The smooth, rounded contour over the name “Michael” is highly unusual for Russian, except for when two bitonal pitch accents are assigned to one syllable. The second examples again shows the intensity offset, followed by the L+HH+L combination over one word.

FIGURE 5.18 COMBINATIONS OF BITONALS, FINAM FM

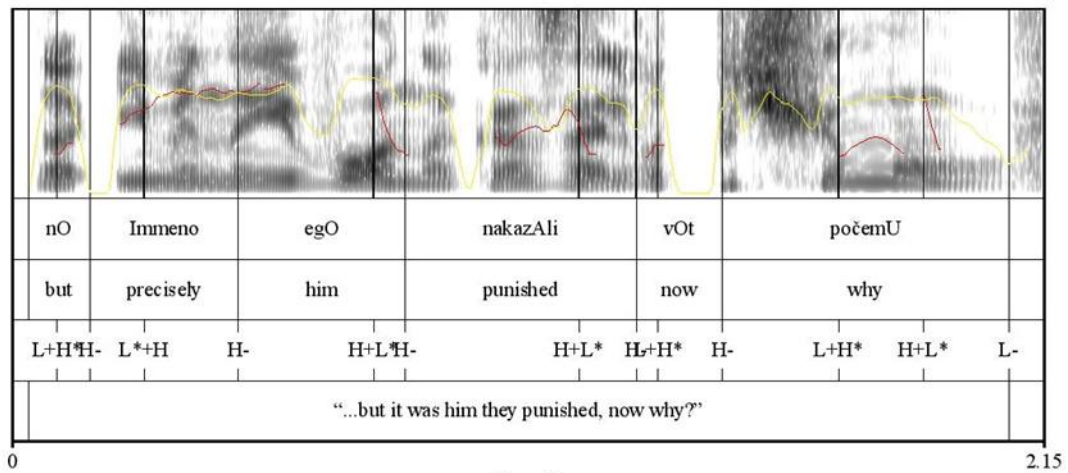
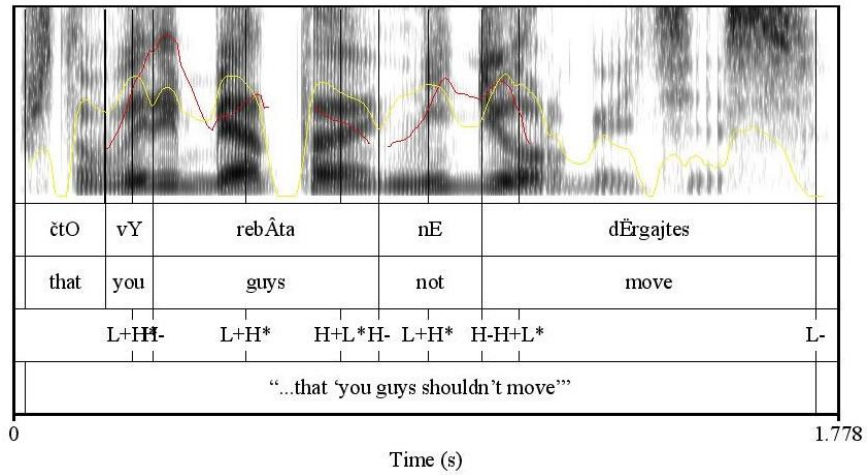
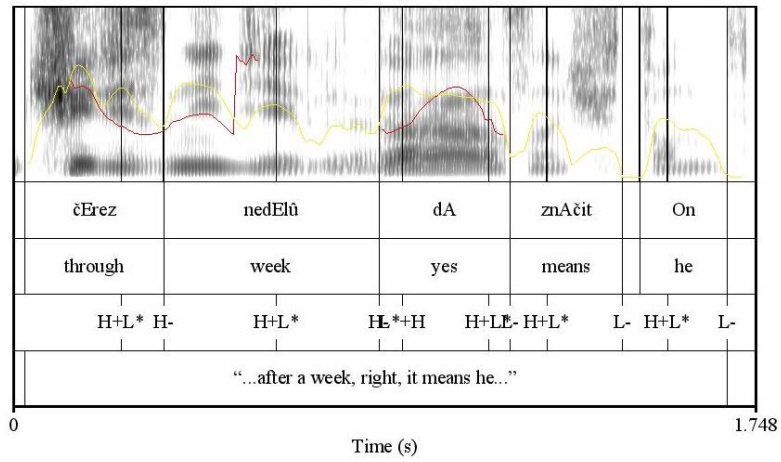


Figure 5.18 illustrates how different configurations of bitonal pitch accents appear in larger contours. Although the pitch track is corrupted in the middle of the first contour, this example is useful in that it again reveals the characteristic “sawtooth” pattern for the intensity levels that accompany a series of bitonal pitch accents. Two levels of intensity are clearly demarcated, and in the two visible cases, offset from the fundamental frequency contour.

The second example shows two alternate realizations for bitonal pitch accents and the L+H H+L bitonal combination. The third word in this phrase *rebâta* (“guys”) is also elongated, but such that it is assigned a L+H H+L bitonal combination with a pause in the middle. The second L+H H+L bitonal combination in this example is realized across an ip boundary, revealing a third kind of pitch and intensity contour. The final word in this phrase, *dërgajtes'* (“move”, imperative form), is assigned a pitch accent on its first syllable, leaving the rest of this rather long word deaccented.

This provides the opportunity to see the difference between the H+L* pitch accent and the deaccented fall towards a boundary tone that occurs in English. If it were the latter, the fall in pitch would decline more moderately to the end of the word, rather than the rapid decline visible here. When a bitonal pitch accent is realized over one syllable, it can be more difficult to determine whether the high or low tone of the pair is stressed. But here, the increase in the intensity towards the lower end of the fall in pitch lends the interpretation of a stressed final low tone.

In the final example we see three more illustrations of the H+L* pitch accent, all with a dramatic fall in pitch, which in the second two are realized relatively far away from a boundary tone. Two L+H H+L bitonal combinations are also present in this example, one realized across an ip boundary when the first component is stressed and elongated. A final interesting element of this contour is that two relatively moderate rises—*no* (“but”) and *now* (“vot”)—are still perceived as rising L+H* bitonals.

Finally, Finam FM uses extensively formulaic language, as defined in Section 2.3: 42% of IPs contain at least one formulaic phrase, and the average is 1.1 per IP. Of seventeen phrases, all have a holistic pragmatic meaning, in which the whole is greater than the literal compositional meaning of the sum of its parts (cf. Wray 2002b, p. 116). These include: *vot* (“here”/“now”/“see”, Q1,Q2,Q6,Q8,Q9), *nu* (“well”, Q1), *da* (“yes”/“right”, Q1,Q9), *tam* (“there”, Q1), *v obšem-to* (“in general”, Q1), *konečno* (“of course”, Q1), *vse-taki* (“after all”, Q1,Q7,Q9), *to est’* (“that is”, Q2,Q7,Q9), *čto za* (“what kind of”, Q3), *tak* (“so”, Q6), *imenno* (“precisely”, Q6), *prосто* (“simply”, Q8, 2x), *ponimajte* (“understand”, Q8, 2x), *kak-to* (“somehow”, Q9), *tože* “also” (Q9), *značit* (“so”, Q9), and *no* (“but”, Q9).

Chi-squared tests of independence can only be performed for a few categories, collapsed across IPs, given the low occurrence of several phenomena. Correlations are presented in Table 5.20.⁴¹ Three correlations are found that near significance, the strongest of which is between the ip-initial L+H pitch accent and the L+H H+L bitonal combination ($\chi^2(49)=63$, $p=0.086$), followed by the ip-initial L+H pitch accent with bitonal frequency ($\chi^2(42)=54$, $p=0.10$), and the bitonal frequency with the L+H H+L* bitonal combination ($\chi^2(42)=54$, $p=0.10$).

These correlations are of the same type, but substantially less significant than in the previous affiliative Russian language interview. In the previous Russian antagonistic interview, the first correlation is present as clearly significant, as well as a correlation between the bitonal frequency and single-word ips. This second correlation indicates the short nature of IPs in the antagonistic interview, and is likely the reason why greater significance is not found in this interview either: a large number of IPs are comprised of one, two, or three words, which may either represent incomplete sentences or lack sufficient space for complex prosodic structures.

⁴¹ Categories with no or only infrequent instances of occurrence were excluded from the analysis (ST, HP, CF, FP).

TABLE 5.20 CORRELATIONS BETWEEN PHENOMENA, FINAM FM

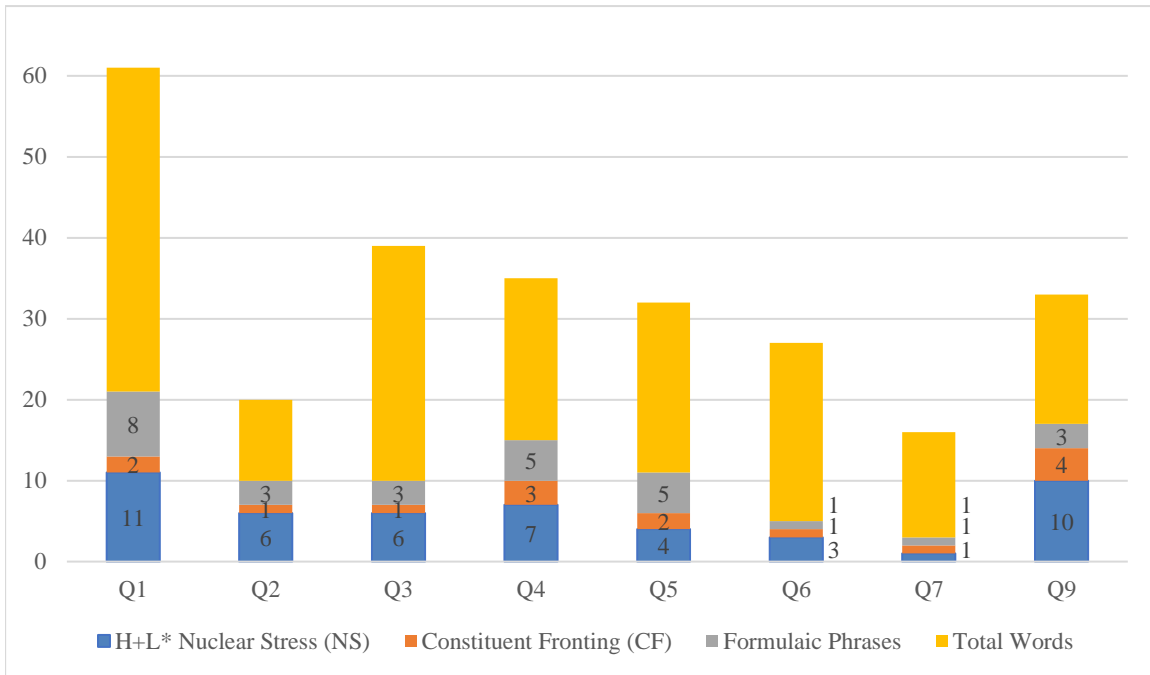
	Initial L+H	Bitonal Combination	Bitonal Frequency	H+L* Nuclear Stress
Single-word ip	.24	.24	.26	.24
Initial L+H		.086~	.10~	.22
Bitonal Combination			.10~	.22
Bitonal Frequency				.24

5.2.1.B JULIA IOFFE

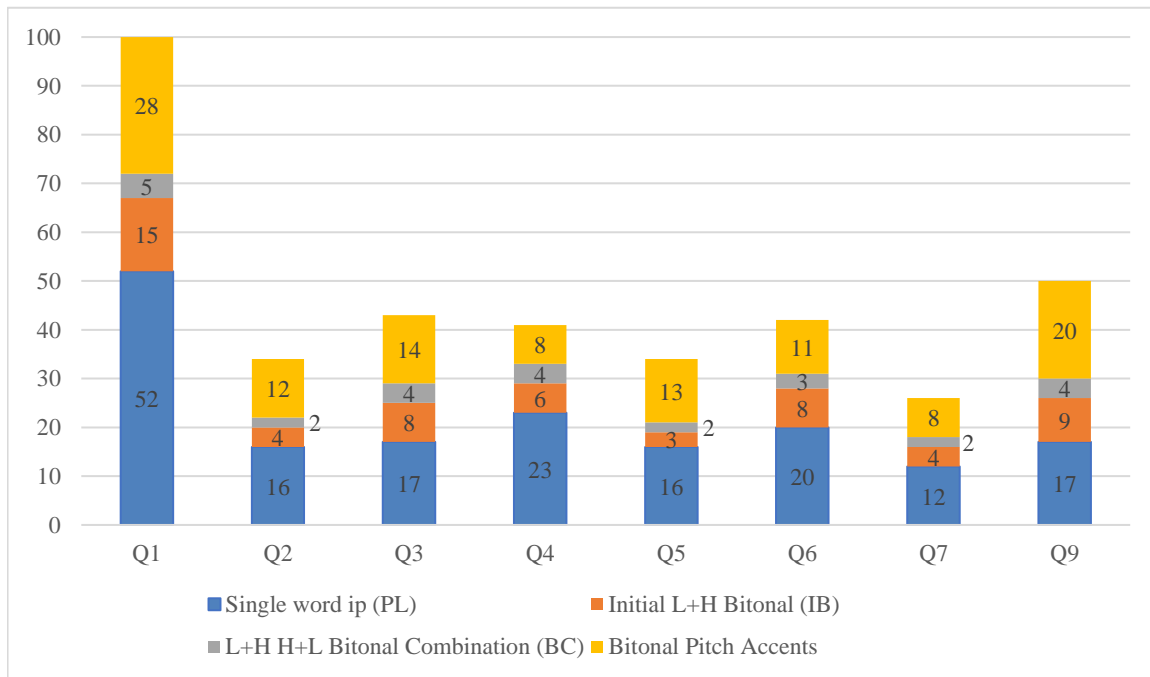
In the analysis of Julia Ioffe’s speech during the Finam FM interview, phenomena may be expected to appear in any category. However, heritage Russian is anticipated to be less restrictive of bivalent phenomena; they are typical components of Russian intonational phonology, whereas in English, bivalent phenomena are more often an atypical or marked realization. Still, as shared items between the systems, their occurrence could increase along with processing costs. We have seen in Posner’s corpus that a heritage speaker’s use of transfer items from their dominant language became more prevalent in the antagonistic context. Therefore, we expect Ioffe will likewise have difficulty suppressing linguistically meaningful aspects of her dominant language.

Russian language phenomena are summarized in Graph 5.17, bivalent phenomena in Graph 5.18, and English language phenomena in Graph 5.19. The height of each column reflects the total number of words per question, and the colored bands within each column indicate the number of phenomena that appear within this total word count. Instances where the number of phenomena exceed the total word count are indicated in footnotes. Bitonal frequency is presented as the aggregate number of bitonal pitch accents.

GRAPH 5.17 IOFFE, RUSSIAN PHENOMENA BY QUESTION

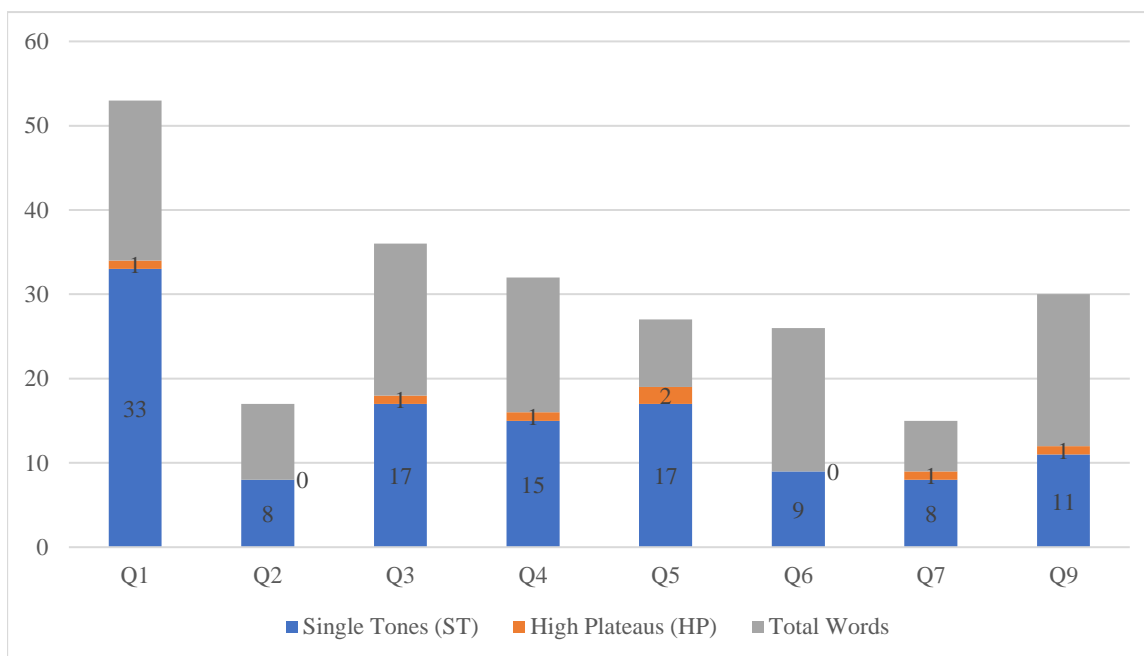


GRAPH 5.18 IOFFE, BIVALENT PHENOMENA BY QUESTION



⁴² Total phenomena outnumber total words per question turn for all question in Graph 5.11.

GRAPH 5.19 IOFFE, ENGLISH PHENOMENA BY QUESTION



All Russian language phenomena appear in each question turn. In addition to the H+L* pitch accent, which Ioffe produces at least once in every IP, she makes substantial use of constituent fronting. The Russian nuclear pitch accent forms no more than 6% and 30% of words in each question response, and constituent fronting comprises roughly 3-12% of each response. Formulaic phrases are also widely used, equaling more than twice the number of instances of constituent fronting and 60% of the instances of the H+L* pitch accent. However, the percentage of Russian prosodic phenomena does not appear proportional: Q2 and Q9 use a disproportionately large and Q1 a disproportionately small number of H+L* pitch accents. Several questions reveal a greater or lesser number of constituent fronting or formulaic phrases than expected. This suggests that the use of these phenomena are not fully systematic and subject to contextual factors.

Bivalent intonational phenomena also feature prominently in Ioffe's speech, most notably in the form of single-word phrases, followed by bitonal pitch accents, and the ip-initial L+H bitonal pitch accent. It is interesting that this phenomenon which is known to play a role in interactional concerns features more prominently than bitonal pitch accents, the primary component of Russian intonational phonology. The percentage of bitonal pitch accents fluctuates between 29% and 100% of total pitch accents; the ip-initial L+H pitch accent comprises 23% to 75% of these. Between 15% and 40% of bitonal pitch accents are combined into the L+H H+L bitonal combination.

English language phenomena also occur consistently throughout the corpus; Ioffe is not able to suppress single tones in any question. Comparing Graph 5.10 and Graph 5.12, it is apparent English phenomena comprise an even greater proportion of question turns than Russian ones do. Single tones fall on between 33-54% of words in each question response, and high plateaus form roughly 2-6% of six out of eight responses. With the exception of Q5, the proportion of single tones to question length appears relatively consistent. It is not immediately clear what in Q5 might serve as a contextual trigger for the greater number of English language phenomena: one high plateau occurs on a very long Russian word that Ioffe does not parse into smaller units, and the second occurs on an idiomatic phrase Ioffe may be familiar with, although it was not deemed common enough to be considered a formulaic phrase in this analysis. If this is the case, Q5 is simply an anomaly due to the chance combination of its component parts.

A detailed analysis of Ioffe's speech per IP is presented in Table 5.21. The overall frequency of the relevant intonational and lexical phenomena are traced as they appear in each question from the onset to the conclusion of the interview. The total number of the phenomena and their average frequency is calculated. IPs with a greater number of words are shaded darker, and unexpected or non-neutral occurrences appear in color for visibility

TABLE 5.21 AFFILIATIVE INTERVIEW, IOFFE

Q#	SEQUENCE OF IPs	WORDS	INTONATIONAL PHONOLOGY								FORMULAIC PHRASES		
			BIVALENCY				TRANSFER				#	BIVALENCY	TRANSFER
			PL	IB	BC	BF	ST	HP	NS	CF			
1	1	6	6	2	0	50%	3	0	1	0	0	0	0
	2	14	11	1	1	39%	8	0	3	0	3	1	0
	3	11	11	3	2	58%	5	0	3	0	2	0	0
	4	23	19	8	2	46%	13	1	3	2	1	0	0
	5	7	5	1	0	33%	4	0	1	0	2	0	1
2	6	20	16	4	2	60%	8	0	6	1	3	0	0
3	7	17	11	2	1	33%	10	1	3	0	3	0	0
	8	8	1	3	2	83%	1	0	2	0	0	0	0
	9	14	5	3	1	40%	6	0	1	1	0	0	0
4	10	25	16	2	1	35%	15	1	3	2	4	0	0
	11	10	7	4	3	100%	0	0	4	1	1	0	0
5	12	3	3	0	0	33%	2	0	1	1	0	0	0
	13	15	8	3	2	50%	7	2	2	0	2	0	0
	14	14	5	0	0	39%	8	0	1	1	3	0	0
6	15	15	11	6	3	79%	3	0	2	0	1	0	0
	16	12	9	2	0	67%	6	0	1	1	0	0	0
7	17	16	12	4	2	50%	8	1	1	1	1	0	0
9	18	5	3	1	0	50%	2	0	1	1	1	0	0
	19	5	3	1	0	50%	2	0	1	2	0	0	0
	20	23	11	7	4	70%	7	1	8	1	2	0	0
TOTAL:		263	173	57	26	N/A	118	7	48	15	29	1	1
AVERAGE:		13.2	8.7	2.9	1.3	53%	5.9	.4	2.4	.8	1.5	.05	.05

Within the category of bivalent features, Ioffe exhibits substantial difficulty producing exclusively bitonal pitch accents, even in this affiliative interview. For comparison, in his affiliative interview, McFaul produces on average 75% bitonal pitch accents; McFaul even manages to use 100% bitonal pitch accents in 31% of IPs. To the contrary, Ioffe is only able to average 53% bitonal pitch accents, and in just one IP (5% of the total) does she produce 100% bitonal pitch accents. However, she averages 1.3 L+H H+L bitonal combinations per IP, as compared to McFaul's average of 1.1 per IP. In fact, Ioffe seems to preferentially use this structure when she does produce bitonal pitch accents.

Single-word ips are by far the most common bivalent phenomenon, appearing in every IP and averaging 8.7 per IP. The ip-initial L+H bitonal pitch accent also occurs with great frequency: in all but one IP, for an average of 2.9 per IP. The ip-initial L+H bitonal pitch accent makes up 48% of the bitonal pitch accents produced by Ioffe.

Correspondingly, Ioffe produces a very high proportion of single tones: on average 5.9 per IP. This high number may also reflect the fact that Ioffe speaks in quite long sentences, averaging 13 words per IP. In long sentences, there is more unstressed material, which often takes the intonational phonology of the dominant language. This may be related to the decreased attention and effort expended for unstressed material; it may take control not to lapse out of the dominant language prosody. Additionally, seven high plateaus appear in Ioffe's corpus, found in 30% of IPs. In his affiliative interview, McFaul produced just two high plateaus, found in 5% of IPs.

The H+L* nuclear pitch accent and constituent fronting are two phenomena, which in the affiliative interview, Ioffe produces in a more native-like manner than McFaul. While still far from her interviewer's frequency of 3.1 H+L* pitch accent per IP, at an average of 2.4 per IP and not one single IP in which the pitch accent is excluded, Ioffe is more consistent in her production of this key phenomenon than McFaul, who produces on average 1.6 H+L* pitch accent per IP, found in 80% of IPs in the corpus.

Likewise, Ioffe produces on average 0.8 instances of constituent fronting per IP in 60% of IPs, whereas McFaul manages on average 0.1 instance per IP, found in 87% of IPs in the corpus. However, constituent fronting, while unique to Russian and characteristic of informal speech, is not necessarily a feature of Russian. For example, the Finam FM interviewer produced only 0.1 instance of constituent fronting per IP, found in 14% of IPs. It is possible that both Ioffe and McFaul may be overcompensating or using an overly informal register for the interview context.

FIGURE 5.19 PREFERENCE FOR SINGLE HIGH PITCH ACCENTS

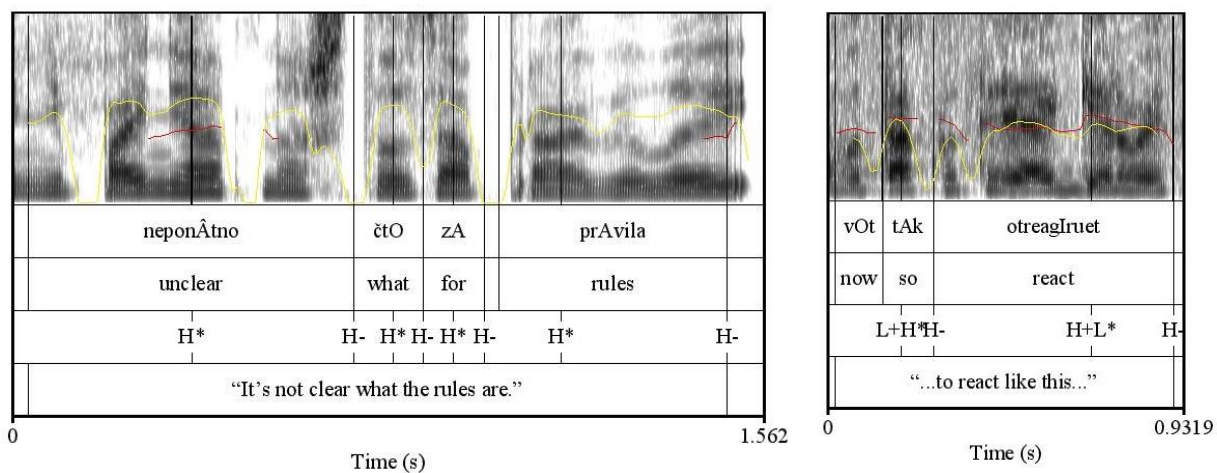


FIGURE 5.20 BITONAL COMBINATIONS

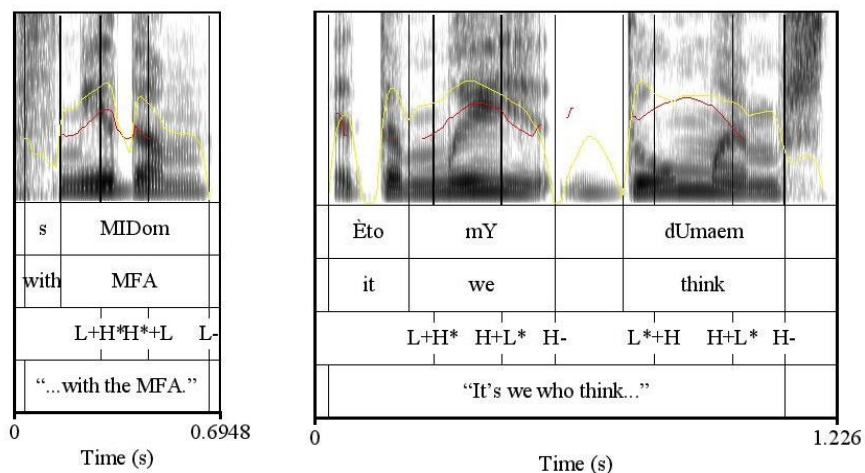
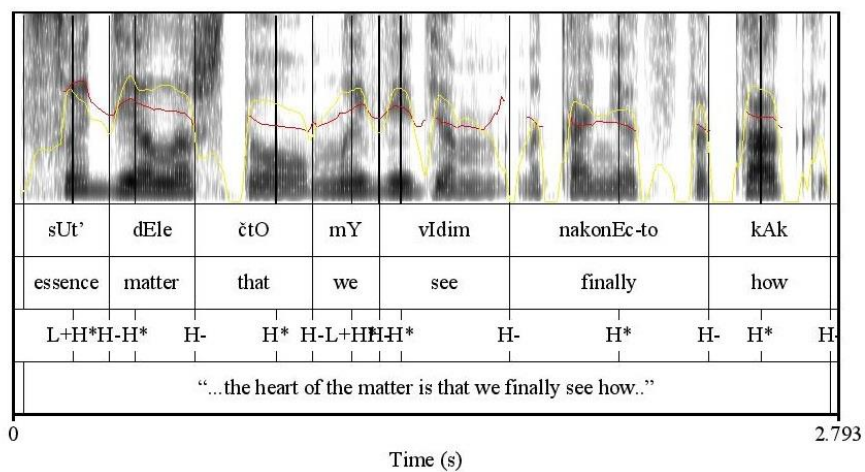


FIGURE 5.21 MIXED PITCH ACCENT CONTOURS



Ioffe's preference for high single pitch accents can be seen in Figure 5.19. In the first example, Ioffe produces the entire phrase exclusively in pitch accents. While integration of English intonational phonology to this extent is not extremely common, such passages are scattered throughout the interview, such that in some questions, Ioffe provides the impression of only occasionally inserting Russian prosody into the English intonational phonology. In particular, short quick phrases as seen here (*čto za*, “what kind of”) are often realized with single high tones.

The second example in Figure 5.19 illustrates weakly-expressed bitonal pitch accents. Ioffe manages to generate the impression of pitch movement, but these pitch contours are quite flat and the intensity contour largely follows that of the fundamental frequency. Without the extra help of intensity offset, the rise and fall of the pitch is just barely perceptible.

Ioffe gravitates towards the two extremes of production: either English-like single tones, or the L+H H+L bitonal combination, which is characteristic of Russian. In Figure 5.20, we see an individual example of the combination, which is punctuated by a short pause. Interrupted structures like this often occur with non-native speakers struggle to append a grammatical ending to a foreign word or abbreviation. The second example illustrates two bitonal combinations in succession. This is also not especially common in Russian, and here it is an example of how Ioffe uses the structure to emphasize words (*my*, “we”). The extremely rounded contour of *dumaem* (“we think”) should be noted in particular. Outside of this structure, this is a very unusual contour for Russian.

The final example in Figure 5.20 reveals how Ioffe combines single tones and bitonal pitch accents. Content words, stressed words, phrase-final, and phase-initial—as pictured here—elements of the sentence tend to be assigned bitonal pitch accents by Ioffe. We can assume these elements require more planning and attention than the intervening function words, and thus are better candidates for the correct assignment of prosody from the dominant language.

Finally, Ioffe makes extensive use of formulaic language, as defined in Section 2.3: 70% of IPs in the sample can be said to contain at least one formulaic phrase, and the average is 1.5 per IP. This is nearly twice the number of formulaic phrases as her interviewer, and on average 40% more instances than McFaul and 77% more than Posner. Of seventeen phrases, all but three can be classified as having a holistic pragmatic meaning, in which the whole is greater than the literal compositional meaning of the sum of its parts (cf. Wray 2002b:116). These include the phrases: *vot*, (“see”/“here”/“now”), *nakonec-to* (“finally”), *kakie-to* (“some kind of”), *kak budto* (“as if”), *mne kažetsâ*, (“seems to me”), *kak by* (“like”), *vo-pervyh* (“first of all”), *čto za* (“what kind of”), *voobše* (“in general”), *kak raz* (“exactly”), *prosto* (“simply”), *tam* (“there”), *kak-to* (“somehow”), *takie* (“such”). The three formulaic phrases without a holistic pragmatic meaning are: *sut' dela* (“heart of the matter”), *to est'* (“that is”), *po-moemu* (“in my opinion”).

Bivalent uses of formulaic phrases are pragmatically inappropriate, revealing some aspect of innovation in the use of the formulaic phrase as a discourse particle, its modal interpretation, or syntactic position. Instances of transfer are infelicitous and invoke an idiosyncratic scenario related to the heritage speaker’s personal experience with the expression. The classification of a formulaic phrase as bivalent or an example of transfer is related to each individual use of a particular formulaic phrase in a specific IP; therefore, formulaic phrases may be classified differently depending on the context.⁴³ Table 5.22 presents the mean lemma frequency (MLF) for each formulaic phrase in Russian and its possible English translation.

Ioffe produces only one instance out of seventeen of a bivalent formulaic phrase: *to est'* (“that is”); however, this phrase is also used by her interlocutor on two occasions throughout the interview. It is possible she had heard the phrase at some point earlier in the interview.

⁴³ Judgements of pragmatic appropriateness were confirmed in discussion with an experienced Russian native speaker language instructor.

TABLE 5.22 FORMULAIC PHRASES, MLF, & PROSODY

Q#	PHRASE	MLF ⁴⁴	TRANSLATION(S)	MLF ⁴⁵	PROSODY		
1 (2x),4,5	vot	1629.6	see here now	1073.1 1030.5 1533.5	H* (3x)	H+ (1x)	
1 (2x)	sut' dela	2.3	heart of the matter crux of the matter core of the matter	0.6 0.2 0.02	+L*H+L* (1x)	L+H* (1x)	H*
1	nakonec-to (nakonec)	0.02 (385.6)	finally at last	199.1 21.7	H*		
1	kakie-to (kakie)	104.9 (198.9)	some kind of	26.6	H*		
1	to est'	255.1	that is	333.9	H* H*		
1	kak budto	186.6	as if as though	166.4 37.1	H* H*		
2,5	mne kažetsâ	61.9	seems to me	12.1	L+H* (1x)	H* (1x)	L+H* H+L* (1x)
2 (2x),5,7	kak by	284.3	as if sort of	166.4 160.1	H* (3x)	H* H* (1x)	
3	vo-pervyh	73.3	first of all	28.6	L+H* L+H*		
3	čto za	97.4	what kind of	25.5	H* H*		
3,9	voobše	353.8	in general generally	34.6 79.7	H* (1x)	H+L* (1x)	
4	kak raz	109.0	the very right in the middle of while we're at it	74.1 1.7 0.2	H* H*		
4	prosto	531.3	simply just	157.2 4.7	H+L*		
4 (2x),6,9	tam	1013.1	over there	19.9	H* (2x)	H+L* (1x)	L+H* (1x)
5	kak-to	110.0	somehow	55.5	H*		
5	takie	302.9	this kind of such kind of	24.9 0.04	H+L*		
9	po-moemu	42.4	in my opinion to my mind	5.5 1.4	H*		

⁴⁴ Corpus of Contemporary American English. 570,353,748 words. <https://corpus.byu.edu/COCA/>. MLF per million words.

⁴⁵ Russian National Corpus. 283,431,966 words. <http://www.ruscorpora.ru/>. MLF per million words.

Formulaic phrases are used felicitously with no evidence of transfer, with one exception: instead of *sut' dela*, Ioffe inserts the word *eto* (“this”) in the first instance, making the phrase “the heart of *this* matter”, which would be infelicitous in Russian.

Ioffe’s considerable use of formulaic phrases would seem to indicate facility with informal language and a strong understanding of pragmatic language use. However, there is the question of overcompensation, given the number and amount of pragmatic formulaic phrases Ioffe utilizes. A number of these are quite informal, such that the appropriateness of her register for a professional interview may be questioned. The transfer item comes as her third formulaic phrase, preceded by two instances of *vot* (“see”/“here”/“now”). *Vot* is considered an undesirable “parasitic” word in Russian, criticized in similar ways to the American discourse marker “like”.

Ioffe produces four formulaic phrases in common with the other non-native Russian interview subject, McFaul: a discourse marker use of *tam* (“there”) and *prosto* (“simply”), *takoj* (“this kind of”), and *kakoj* (“what kind of”). Ioffe shares six formulaic phrases in common with her Finam FM interviewer: the pragmatic use of *tam* (“there”), *vot* (“see”/“here”/“now”), *to est'* (“that is”), *cto za* (“what kind of”), *prosto* (“simply”), *kak-to* (“somehow”).

Chi-squared tests of independence indicate that the prosodic phenomena of interest generally appear independently of one another (Table 5.23). Two correlations that near significance are found: between single-word ips and the bitonal combination ($\chi^2(15)=24$, $p=0.065$), as well as between the ip-initial L+H pitch accent and constituent fronting ($\chi^2(15)=24$, $p=0.065$). Although the correlations are all between Russian language phenomena, they are not necessarily the relations we would expect, and therefore difficult to interpret at this point.

TABLE 5.23 CORRELATIONS BETWEEN PHENOMENA, IOFFE

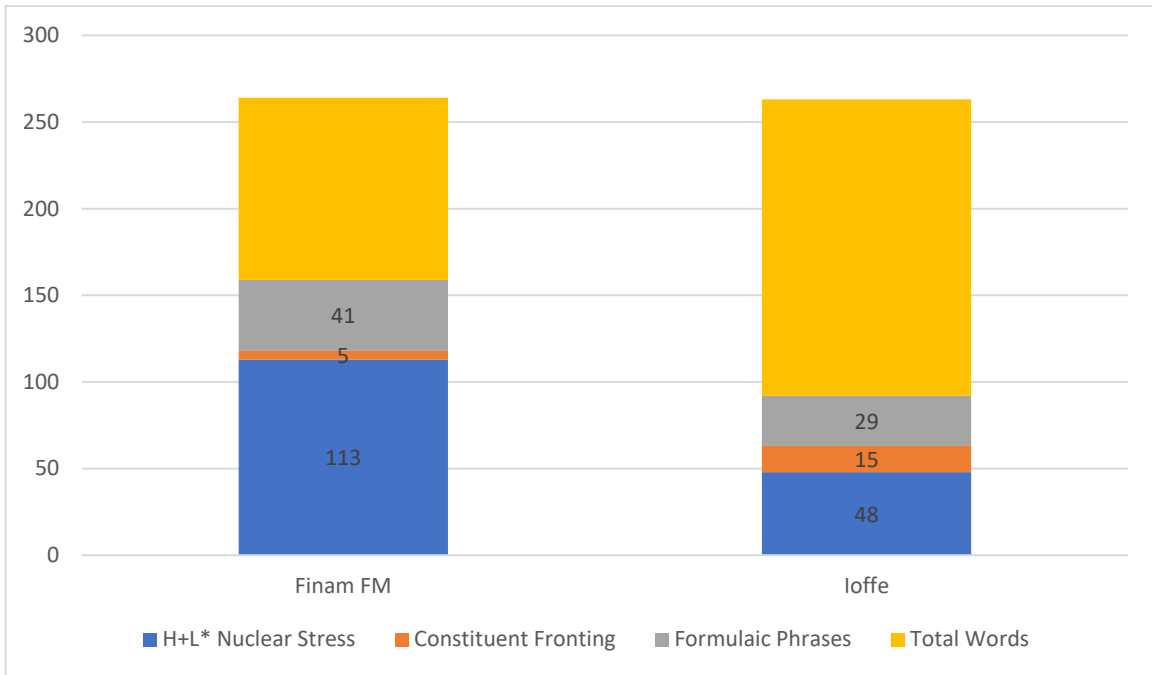
	Initial L+H	Bitonal Combination	Bitonal Frequency	Single Tones	Nuclear H+L* Stress	Constituent Fronting	Formulaic Phrase
Single-word ip	.31	.065~	.38	.22	.21	.38	.15
Initial L+H		.23	.28	.11	.21	.065~	.30
Bitonal Combination			.26	.13	.30	.53	.19
Bitonal Frequency				.28	.30	.39	.33
Single Tones					.21	.14	.29
Nuclear H+L* Stress						.16	.16
Constituent Fronting							.25

5.1.1.C ACCOMMODATION IN THE FINAM FM INTERVIEW

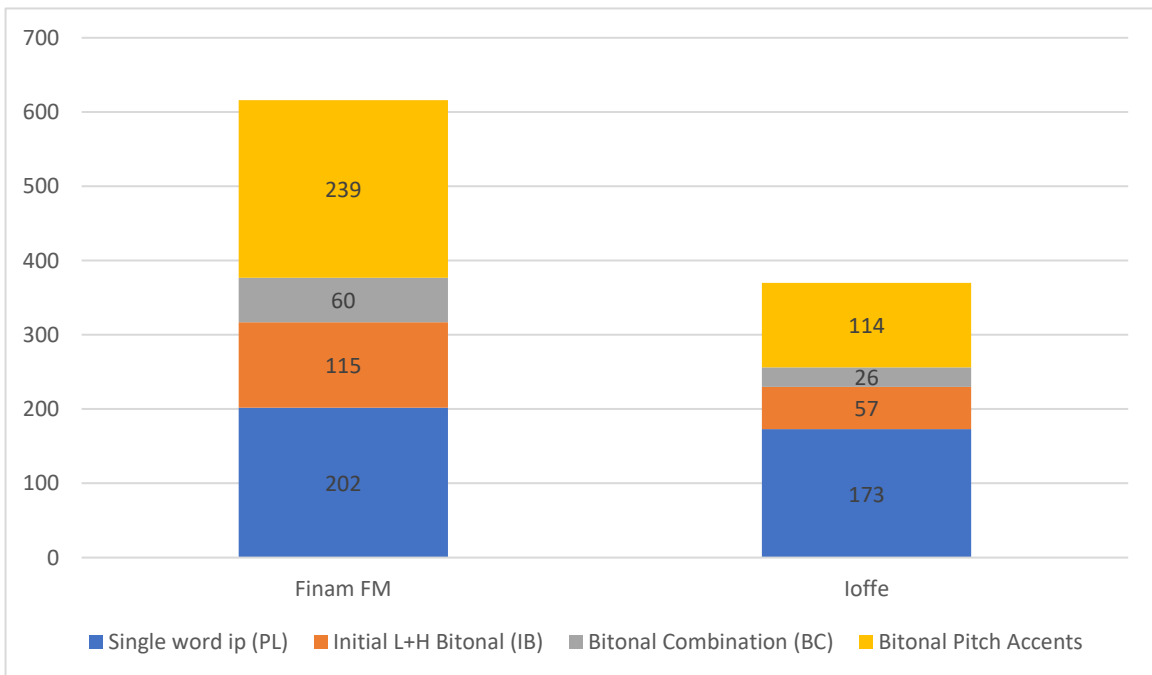
In the affiliative interview, Ioffe’s speech is remarkably dissimilar to that of the Finam FM interviewer. No reason emerges either from a contextual analysis of the interview or from the interaction between the interlocutors to suggest that Ioffe is in any way uncomfortable in the interview. To the contrary, she takes the lead in answering many questions before her colleague and appears to have a positive rapport with the interviewer. Therefore, it is more likely to assume that this is Ioffe’s typical profile for prosodic production, or possibly even an improvement over her typical production, if accommodation has in fact taken place.

Aggregate totals of phenomena are presented in Graph 5.20 and Graph 5.21. Among Russian phenomena, not one category approximates those of the interviewer. Ioffe produces only 42% of the H+L* nuclear pitch accents, yet three times as many fronted items. The linguistically less systematic category of formulaic phrases bears the most resemblance to native speaker norms, although Ioffe still produces 29% fewer of these items.

GRAPH 5.20 FINAM FM VS. IOFFE, TOTAL RUSSIAN PHENOMENA



GRAPH 5.21 FINAM FM VS. IOFFE, TOTAL BIVALENT PHENOMENA



pitch accents, the component phenomenon of Russian prosody, comprises only 48% of the interviewer's totals for the same size corpus. However, approximately the same ratio holds: the ip-initial L+H pitch accent is reduced by 50% and the L+H H+L bitonal combination by 43%. In addition, the other common aspect of the corpora is that for the interviewer, the bitonal combination makes up 25% of all bitonal pitch accents, and 23% for Ioffe.

Therefore, we can hypothesize that Ioffe maintains some systematic relations in her Russian prosody, but this system is reduced in scope, leaving room for the integration of English phenomena in a hybrid system. This seen in the similar proportions that hold between pitch accent types: H+L* pitch accent (47%/42%), ip-initial L+H (48%/50%), and the bitonal combination.

T-tests were conducted to investigate whether variance in the subject means between the two interviews was significant (Table 5.24). The interlocutors differed significantly in production of one bivalent category: single-word ips ($p=0.04$). In transfer categories, differences were found for single tones ($p < 0.0001$), high plateaus ($p=0.0015$), and constituent fronting ($p=0.0015$).

TABLE 5.24 T-TESTS BETWEEN SUBJECT MEANS: IOFFE & FINAM FM

TYPE	PHENOMENON	P-VALUE
Bivalent	Single-word ips	0.040*
	Initial L+H bitonal pitch accent	0.64
	Bitonal combination	0.38
	Bitonal frequency	0.53
Transfer	Single tones	< 0.0001***
	High plateaus	0.015*
	Nuclear stress	0.29
	Constituent fronting	0.0015**
Other	Formulaic phrases	0.42

5.2.2 ANTAGONISTIC INTERVIEW

Rain TV conducted an antagonistic interview with Julia Ioffe on March 27, 2012. The interview consisted of ten question and answer pairs. Five of these pairs were coded with the aim to limit response data to a corpus of approximately 250 words per subject. The initial four questions in addition to the final question were deemed the most antagonistic in terms of their subject matter and framing of content. Unlike many other interviews, in this case, the interviewers were intent on expressing their own opinions, to the extent of directly contradicting Ioffe, and thus both interviewer and interviewee questions were coded until the first logical phrase break upon topic completion. Two questions in particular, Q3 and Q10, involved antagonistic interaction between the interlocutors, and thus these two questions are coded until the interactional event of interest.

Ioffe was invited in the capacity of a political expert on the U.S. She was asked to interpret recent comments by U.S. presidential candidate Mitt Romney, who stated Russia was America's number one enemy. Thus, Ioffe is placed in the situation of needing to politely apologize to her hosts for behavior she is expected to understand. During the course of discussing this sensitive subject, Ioffe must manage the feelings of her interlocutors. Furthermore, one of the interviewers makes subtle and not-so-subtle comments insinuating Ioffe has misunderstood her questions, undermining Ioffe's presentation as a competent professional and proficient Russian speaker.

It is apparent Ioffe finds the demands of this televised interview challenging. Her demeanor and facial expression convey extreme discomfort, and she does indeed fail to always accurately address the questions posed her. In a second incident, Ioffe interrupts her own response, which was veering off on a tangent, to request her host remind her of his question, suggesting her attentional resources are taxed. At other times, Ioffe briefly lapses into English, failing to find the correct Russian word. All of these details contribute to making the interview an antagonistic one.

The selected questions ask whether Mitt Romney will repeat his audacious words after the election, even if president (Q1); a follow up question reiterating whether the U.S. could really have a president who considers Russia their biggest enemy (Q2); Whether this talk is really just to make an impression (Q3); how Russians should interpret such talk (Q4); and a complaint about the duplicitous nature of politicians (Q10). Although the tone softens towards the middle of the interview, in the initial section, questions are consistently framed as leading and accusatory. Controversial subject matter is foregrounded rather than mitigated.

Excluded questions include a query on whether all Americans feel the same way (Q5); why stereotypes of Russia persist in the U.S. despite the number of Russian speakers who reside there (Q6); whether an complete break with Russia is a foreseeable outcome of this rhetoric (Q7); whether the anti-American rhetoric from Russian worries American officials (Q8); and a follow-up question about the response of officials (Q9).

The transcript of the Rain TV interview (Fig. 5.22) provides an overview of the prosodic features produced by Ioffe throughout the interview. Phenomena unique to Russian prosody are highlighted in red, those unique to English prosody are highlighted in blue, and bivalent phenomena are indicated in purple. Sentence length is given in brackets, and formulaic phrases are in bold font. Interjections such as *uh*, *um*, *ah* are excluded from the analysis. Prepositions are not coded as independent words, according to Russian intonational phonology, where prepositions form one phonetic word with their object; exceptions are made when Ioffe treats prepositions as content words by assigning them pitch accents independent of their object. Russian language mistakes on the part of the interviewee are retained.

FIGURE 5.22 TRANSCRIPT OF RAIN TV'S INTERVIEW WITH IOFFE

Q1: V soedinennyh štatah, posle obnarodovaniâ razgovorov obvinili Obama v zaigrivanii s Rossii, i bol'she
In the United States, after announcing talks, Obama was accused of intrigue with Russian, and above
drugih vozmutil'sâ kandidat v prezidenty vot respublikanec Mitt Romnej nazvavšij Rossiû glavnym vragom
all was the Republican candidate Mitt Romney outraged; he'd named Russia the primary enemy of the
SŠA. ...Meždu tem amerikanske žurnalisty posle zaočnoj perepalki Medvedeva s Romnej prinâlis' ah
USA. ...Meanwhile, after a long-distance dispute between Medvedev and Romney ah American journalists
pisat' o konce peregruzki o novej holodnoj vojne vozmožno daže Moskvy Vašington. Antirossijskuû
have begun to write about the end of the "restart", about even a new cold war possible between Moscow
 ritoriku kandidata v prezidenty my obsudim s gost'û studii Ūliâ Joffe, obozrevatel' žurnala Foreign Policy.
and Washington. We will discuss anti-Russian sentiment by a presidential candidate with our studio guest,
Ūliâ, zdravstvujte. Možno li oždat', što Mitt Romnej povtorit eti slova posle vyborov, i v kakom kačestve
Julia Ioffe. Julia, hello. Can we expect that Mitt Romney will repeat these words after the elections, and in
on ih povtorit? Vot tak, što dumaete ob ètom? [20; 14; 2; 17; 5]
what capacity will he repeat them? So now, what do you think about this?

H*+L H* L+H* H* H* H* H*+L H*L+H* H*+L H*+L
A1: [Posle][vyborov][prezidenta][Ameriki]? [No][smotrâ][kem][on budet][posle][vyborov]. [4; 7]
After the American presidential elections? But it depends who he will be after the elections.

Q2: V kakom kačestve? Kak raz èto bylo dva voprosa v odnom. Čto Vy dumaete, naskol'ko veroâtno,
In what capacity? Exactly, it was two questions in one. What do you think, how likely is it
čto dejstvitel'no v Amerike budet takoj prezident, kotoryj sčitaet Rossiû vragom nomer odni? [2; 7; 17]
that there will actually be this kind of president in America, who considers Russia enemy number one?

H* H* H* L*+H H* H* L+H* H+L* H* H* H* H* H*
A2: [Ā][dumaû]. [čto][daže][ah][segodnâšnjij][Mitt Romney][ne sčitaet][Rossiû][ah][vragom][nomer]
I think that even ah today's Mitt Romney does not consider Russia ah to be enemy number

H* H* H*+L H* H* H*H*H* H* L+H* H+L* H* H+L*
 [odin]. [On][obâzan]. [osobenno][v ètoj][davitoj][političeskoj][srede]. [kotorââ][sčas][sušestvuet]
one. He is obliged, especially in this tense political environment that now exists

H* L*+H H* H* H+L* H* H* H* H* H* H* H* H* H* H* H*
 [v Vašingtone]. [On][obâzan][vot tak][otreagirivat'] [na][ah][lûboj][takoj][ah][fak-ap][Obamy]. [Prostitute]
in Washington. He is obliged to react like this to ah any such ah fuck-up of Obama's. Excuse (me)

H*
 [za]... [13; 11; 10; 2]
for...

Q3: To est' èto prosto radi krasnogo slovca? No podobnââ retorika ved' byla u MîkKajna ah kogda on
That is, it is simply to create an impression? But McCain after all had similar rhetoric ah when he
borolsâ za president. [7; 10]
ran for president.

H+L* H*+LL+H*H+L*H* L+H* L+H*H+L*H* H* H* H+L* L+H*H+L*H+L*H*
A3: [Konečno]. [da]. [Nu]. [res-][republikancy]. [oni] [ah][kak][vot][govoril][Medvedev][da]. [oni]
Of course, yes. Well, Rep-Republicans, they ah as Medvedev now said yeah, they

H*+L H+L* H+L* L+H* H* H* H* H* H+L* H*+L L+H* H*+L
 [zastrâli][v holodnoj][vojne]. [Voo]bše. [â][dolžna][skazat'], [èto][tak-][takoj][strannyj][oborot]. [esli][čut']
are stuck in the cold war. In general, I should say that it's su-such a strange turn of events, if

H+L* H* L+H* H+L* H+L* H* H* H+L* H* H*
 čut' otmetat'] [ah][časy][na neskol'ko][mesâcev][kogda][byla][žestočajšaja][anti][amerikanskaja]
(you) turn back a bit ah the clock a few months, when there was the fiercest anti-American

H* H* L*+H* H* H* H* H* H* H+L* H+L* H*+L H+L*
 [propaganda][zdes'] [v Rossii][so storony][Kremlâ i][Belogo][Doma]. [Ah][Slyšali][a vot][rovno][takie že]
propaganda here in Russia from the side of the Kremlin and White House. Ah but here (they) heard

H+L* H* L+H*H+L* H* H* L+H* H*+L H* H* H* L+H* H* H*
 [slova][Obama][Medvedevu].[Ah][včera][amerikancy][slyšali][za-][za][zakrytymi][dverami][ot][ah]
the very same words of Obama to Medvedev. Ah yesterday the Americans heard be-behind closed doors
 H*+L L+H* L+H* H*+L H+L* H*+L L+H* L+H* H*
 [russkih][partnerov],[govorili im],[slušajte],[rebâta][my vse][ponimaem],[čto vy obizajtes],[no]
from ah (their) Russian partners, (they) told them, guys we all understand that you are offended, but
 L+H* L+H* L+H* L+H* H* H* L+H*H+L* L+H*H+L* H* H+L* H*
 [podoždi][čut'-čut'],[vot posle][vyborov],[vsë][opât'] [naladimsâ],[zanimëmsâ][nastoâšimi][delami].[Ah]
wait a little bit, now after the elections, everything will be fine again and we will occupy ourselves with
 H+L* H+L* H* H* H* H* H* L+H*H+L*L+H* L+H* L+H* L+H*
 [I teper' my][slyšim],[čto][Obama][govorit] [rovno][tože] [samoe] [i] [Medvedev][govorit],[rebâta].
real matters. And now we hear that Obama says exactly the same (thing) and Medvedev says, guys,
 H* H* L+H*L+H* H* H* H*
 [èto][ne][holodnaâ][vojna] [čë][Vy][zdes']...
it's not the cold war, what are you (doing) here... [2; 13; 28; 8; 32; 21]

Q4: Mitt Romnej, ne Obama. Obama naoborot govorit nečto priâtnogo dlâ rossijskoj strany. Mitt Romnej
Mitt Romney, not Obama. Obama to the contrary says pleasant things for the Russian country. Mitt
 ne (unintelligible). Slovo McKajna, èto otlîčaetsâ tem, čto McKajna, èto byl adresat vse-taki ètogo
Romney (unintelligible). The words of McCain, these are different in that, McCain, he has an addressee
 negodovaniâ. Vladimir Putin, on ne porazil cel', on govorit. A tak, čtoby Rossiâ vrag nomer odni SŠA,
after all for his indignation. Vladimir Putin, he hasn't met his goal, he says. But thus to say Russia is
batûški svâtye, i čto ž polučaetsâ, vse, čto do vyborov nam govorili, na čto namekali
the U.S.A's enemy number one, good lord, and whatever happens, everything that we were told
 vysokopostavlennye lica i prosto prâmo upominali, merkuût, čto pravdu okazyvaetsâ, vot Mitt Romnej
before the elections, what high-ranking officials hinted at, and simply directly mentioned, (they'll) reckon
 govorit. No čto delat' čelovek rossijskogo, kogda on slyšat' takoe? [4; 8; 3; 13; 34; 9]
it is all true, now Mitt Romney says (it). But what should a Russian person do, when he hears such
 things?

L+H* H* H* H* H+L* H+L* H* L+H* L+H*H+L* H* H* H+L* H+L*
A4: [No][nado][ponât'] [ah][konte-][kontekst][političeskij]. [Mitt][Romnej] [ah][sčas][očen'] [tâželo].
But (you) have to ah understand the political cont-context. Mitt Romney ah has it very bad now.
 H* H* H* H* H+L* H* L+H* L+H* H+L* L+H* L+H* H*+L
 [Ego][pressuet] [ah][Rik][Santorum]. [ah][kotoryj] [boleë] [takoj] [religioznyj]. [konservativnyj]. [kotoryj]
He's challenged ah by Rick Santorum, ah who is more that kind of religion conservative, who
 H*+L H*+L H* H* H* L+H* H*+L H* L* L+H* H*+L L+H*
 [bol'se] [nравitsâ] [vot] [èti] [ba-] [bazy] [super-] [konservativnyh] [respublikancev]. [I on] [dolžen] [pokazat']
pleases more these here ba-bases of super conservative republicans. And he should show
 L+H* H+L* L+H* L+H*H+L* H*
 [svoi] [klyki]. [čto on] [takoj] [že] [zloj]... [6; 5; 19; 11]
His cliques, that he is just as mean...

Q10: To, čto- kak kažetsâ, ah čto vot slovo "obida" kak-to ne očen' podhodit dlâ takih vot otnošenij
That- it seems, ah, that here the word "offence" somehow doesn't fit for these here relations of
 ciničnyh soveršenno lûdej. Â imeû v vidu diplomatov i politikov ah kotoryj za zakrytymi dverami rešâit
completely cynical people. I mean diplomats and politicians ah who behind closed doors decide
 soveršenno drugie voprosy ah maloPONâtnye i vo obšem ah na publiku vynosâtmm sostoâšie iz obših fraz
completely different questions ah obscure and in general ah tell the public some kind of things made up
 kakie-to veši. [19; 23]
of vague phrases.

L*+H L+H* H*L+H* L+H*H*+L H* H* H*+L H* H+L* L+H*H+L*L+H*H+L* H*
 A10: [No][vse ravno-][uh][no][vo-pervyh][ah][â znaù][čto èto][smešno][zvučit]. [no][oni][ne-][ne]
But anyway, uh but first of all, ah I know that it sounds funny, but they aren-aren't
 H+L* L+H*H+L* H* H*H+L* H* H*+LH+L* H* L+H* H* L+H* H*H+L* H*
 [nastol'ko][ciničnye]. [kak][my][dumaem]. [Ah][èto][est']. [Ah][vo-vtoryh]. [Um][My][o][čem][sčas
as cynical as we think. Ah there's that. Ah secondly. Um, now what are we talking
 H* H* H*+LH* H* H* L+H* L*+H H+L* H* H+L* H* H*+L H*
 govorim]. [Pro-][Da][da][da]. [Ah][vo-][votoryh]. [èto][vyglâdit][ah][eše-][eše][menee][vygodno][dlâ
about. About- Yes, yes, yes. Ah, se-secondly, it looks ah eve-even less favorable for
 L+H* H* H* H+L* H* H* H*+L H* H* H* H* L+H*H+L* H* H*
 Obama]. [kog-][kogda on][govorit]. [čto][ah][dajte][mne][čut'] [ah][mesta][dlâ manëvrov]. [sčas][pro-]
Obama, whe-when he says, that ah give me a bit ah of space for maneuvering, now
 H*L+H*H+L* H* H* H* H* H* H* H* H* H* H*
 [projdut][vybory]. [i][my][opât'] [načnemsâ] [ah][na-][načnem][zanimat'sâ][delami]. ... [20; 2; 1; 5; 4; 33]
the elections wi-will pass, and we will again ah we'll being to do business...

A cursory assessment of the transcript reveals less of a distinction between Ioffe's prosody in the affiliative and antagonistic context, and more of one in regards to the prosodic system that appears to dominate per question. In both interview contexts, English intonational phonology appears to dominate. Ioffe provides the impression of inserting Russian prosody into the intonational phonology "matrix" of her more dominant language. In this interview, however, there appears to be a second tendency in the data: questions one, two and ten are dominated by English language prosody, whereas there is a shift in question three, revealing a perceptible increase in the Russian H+L* pitch accent. Likewise in the second half of this rather long question response, there is partial shift back in the other prosodic system, with greater frequency of bivalent phenomenon.

Additionally, Russian phenomena correspond to the felicitous assignment of nuclear stress. We see less of an issue of clustering of certain prosodic systems at the beginning of IPs, and more use of the heritage language on content and stressed words. We tend not to see, as we did with second language speakers, instances of single tones appearing sporadically in isolation.

5.2.2.A THE RAIN TV INTERVIEWER

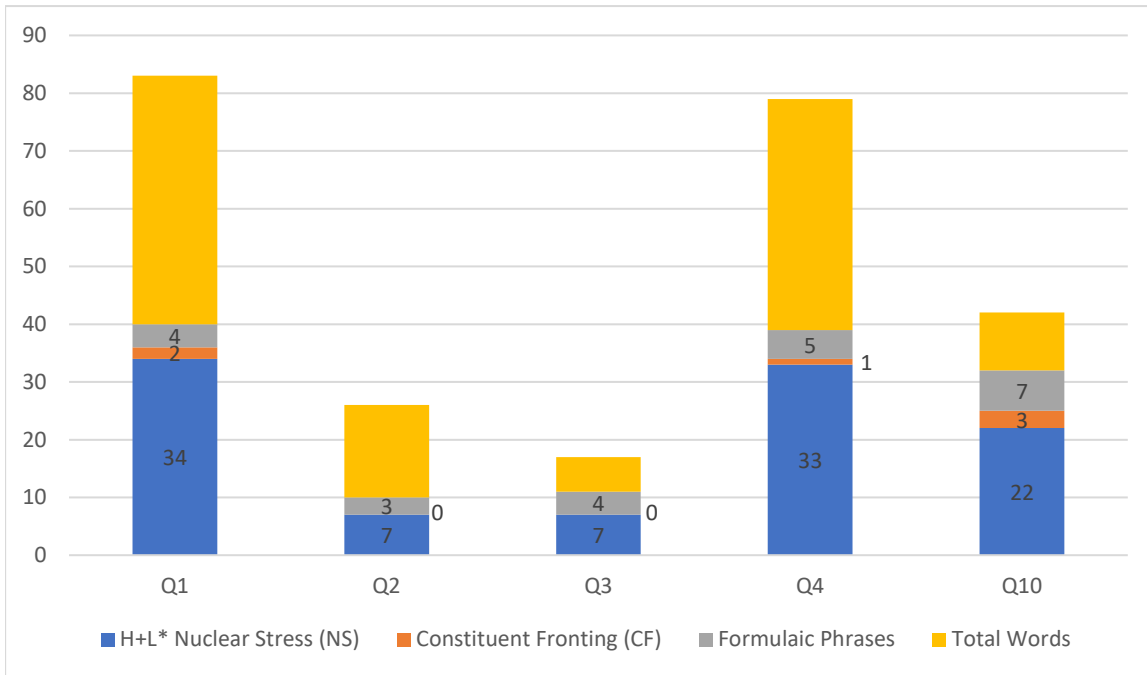
This interview has two interviewers. Both are speakers of standard Russian with no trace of dialectal influence. Russian prosodic phenomena are produced with the consistency expected of a native speaker. Bivalent phenomena in keeping with Russian intonational phenomena appear frequently, and transfer phenomena are entirely absent from the corpus. Russian phenomena are summarized in Graph 5.22, and bivalent phenomena in Graph 5.23. The height of each column reflects the total number of words per question, and the colored bands within each column indicate the number of phenomena that appear within this total word count. Instances where the number of phenomena exceed the total word count are indicated in footnotes. For the purpose of these summary graphs, bitonal frequency is presented as the aggregate number of bitonal pitch accents.

Russian language phenomena occur regularly throughout all of the interview questions. The graphs are striking in the strict consistency of Russian language phenomena across questions turns, which appears to increase proportionally when question length increases. The H+L* nuclear pitch accent and constituent fronting appear at least once in 100% of question turns and IPs. Their frequency appears related to the number of IPs per question.

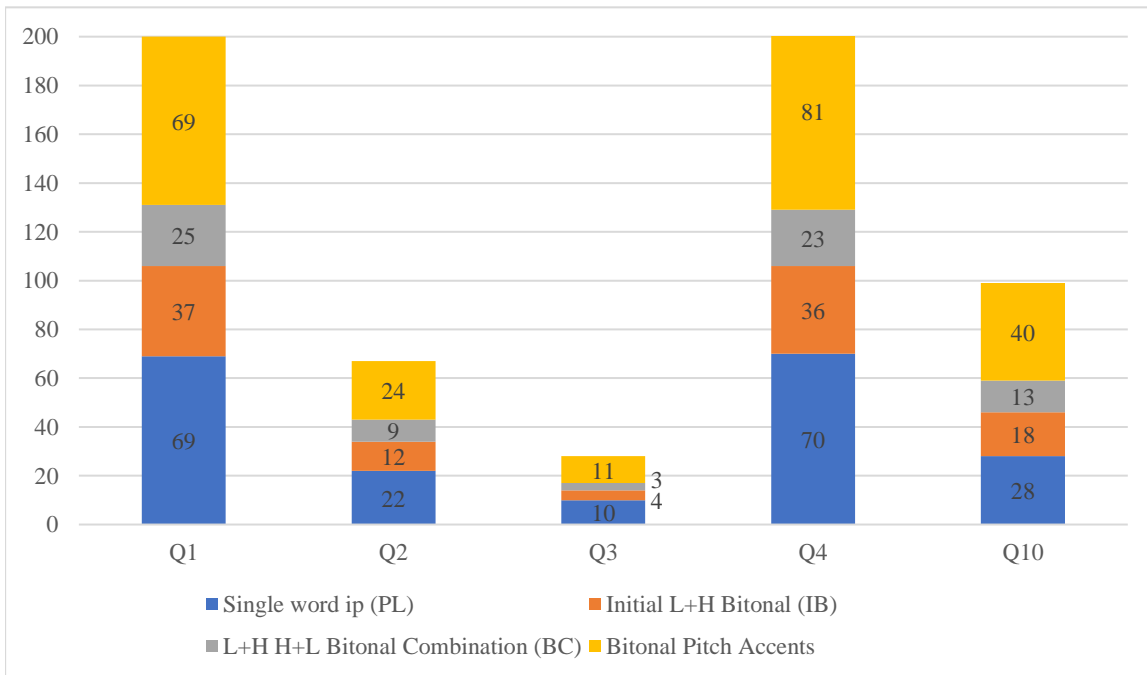
Only the use of formulaic phrases appears idiosyncratic. While appearing with great regularity in each question, the prevalence of formulaic phrases does not appear proportional to the question length, and therefore may be more affected by contextual factors.

Bivalent features exhibit the same striking consistency of occurrence in proportion to question length. What is more, subcategories such as the L+H H+L bitonal combination and the related ip-initial L+H pitch accent remain proportional to other bivalent phenomena types. This is the first time we have seen a corpus with this degree of regularity.

GRAPH 5.22 RAIN TV, RUSSIAN PHENOMENA BY QUESTION



GRAPH 5.23 RAIN TV, BIVALENT PHENOMENA BY QUESTION



⁴⁶ Total phenomena outnumber total words per question turn for all question turns in Graph 5.16.

TABLE 5.25 ANTAGONISTIC INTERVIEW, RAIN TV

Q#	SEQUENCE OF IPS	WORDS	INTONATIONAL PHONOLOGY								FORMULAIC PHRASES		
			BIVALENCY				TRANSFER				#	BIVALENCY	TRANSFER
			PL	IB	BC	BF	ST	HP	NS	CF			
1	1	25	23	12	6	100%	0	0	10	0	1	0	0
	2	20	18	7	7	100%	0	0	11	1	1	0	0
	3	14	14	6	4	100%	0	0	4	0	0	0	0
	4	2	2	1	1	100%	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
	5	17	12	10	5	100%	0	0	6	1	0	0	0
	6	5	0	1	2	100%	0	0	2	0	2	0	0
2	7	2	2	1	1	100%	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
	8	7	5	2	2	100%	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
	9	17	15	9	6	100%	0	0	5	0	2	0	0
3	10	7	6	3	2	100%	0	0	3	0	3	0	0
	11	10	4	1	1	100%	0	0	4	0	1	0	0
4	12	4	2	1	1	100%	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
	13	8	8	2	1	100%	0	0	7	0	0	0	0
	14	3	1	1	1	100%	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
	15	13	13	4	4	100%	0	0	7	0	1	0	0
	16	8	6	4	2	100%	0	0	3	0	0	0	0
	17	34	31	19	12	100%	0	0	9	1	3	0	0
	18	9	9	5	2	100%	0	0	4	0	1	0	0
10	19	19	11	6	6	100%	0	0	9	1	4	0	0
	20	23	17	12	7	100%	0	0	13	2	3	0	0
TOTAL:		247	199	107	73	N/A	0	0	103	6	23	0	0
AVERAGE:		12.4	10.0	5.4	3.7	100%	0	0	5.2	.3	1.2	0	0

An analysis of the phenomena per IP is presented in Table 5.25. Within the category of bivalent features, the prevalence of single-word phrases is quite high, in particular for a phenomenon that may have an interactional role instead of or in addition to a structural one. However, the interview overall does not give the impression of hesitation or caution.

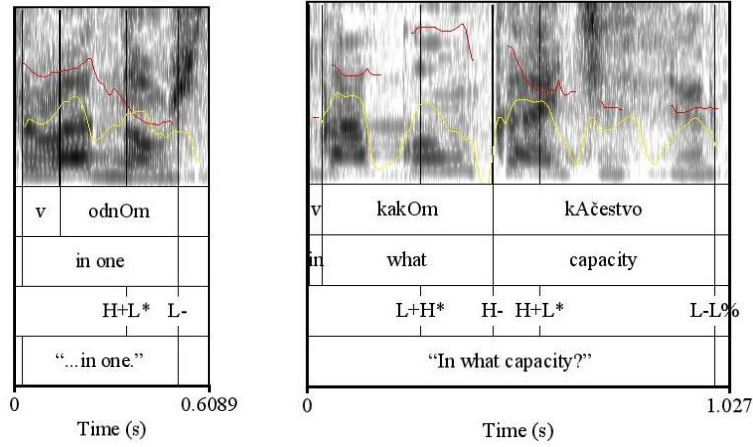
The H+L* nuclear pitch accent is also particularly prevalent in the corpus, illustrating how in native speech, this pitch accent is typically assigned multiple times per IP.

Certain characteristic shapes of Russian prosody can be discerned in the speech of the Rain TV interviewer. Figure 5.23 illustrates three characteristic pitch accent shapes common to Russian. The first is called *zanos'* in the Russian literature: this is a word-initial L+H* lift in the pitch contour. This is a property of word-initial vowels, for example, the “o” in the word *odin* (“one”) seen here. Both of the pitch tracks in Figure 5.23 demonstrate less rounded pitch contours and larger falls in intensity between syllables than typically observed in English.

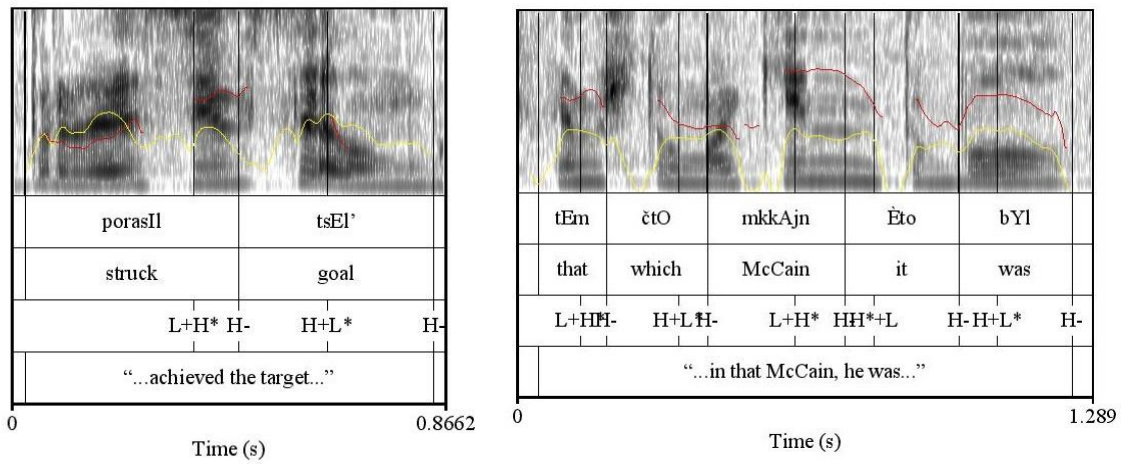
In the second example, we see the difference between a L+H and H+L pitch contour. The rising pitch accent often curves upwards in a convex shape, whereas the falling pitch accent typically displays a concave shape. This is in part facilitated by the fact that rising pitch accents often are realized across two syllables, whereas the falling pitch accent is commonly realized over one syllable, leaving less time for the pitch movement to take place. However, although these are some of the most common contours for bitonal pitch accent, other realizations are possible, including pitch movement across ip boundaries.

In Figure 5.24 we see some modifications of these pitch contours within the larger context of a phrase. The first contour shows a longer, slower rise over two syllables, with a strong burst of intensity at the beginning and end of the L+H H+L combination. The fall is again a steep one realized over one syllable. There is a fading away of the intensity between syllables, and these two bursts of intensity may either be roughly approximate in magnitude, or one weaker than the other. In the second example, we see a rounded increase in intensity for each syllable, similar to what we would expect in English, except the curve is less symmetrical, showing a large, or in this case, small, increase of at the very beginning or end of a syllable. This contributes to the perception of pitch movement.

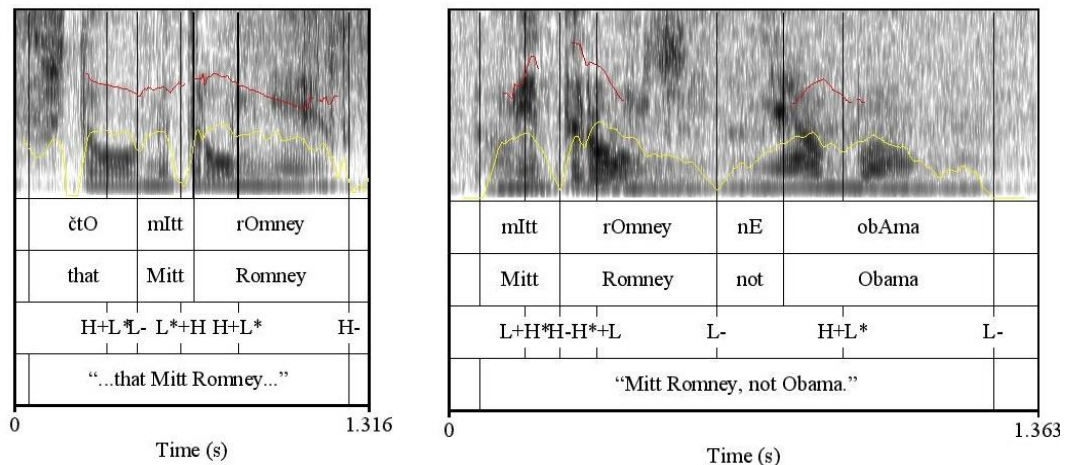
5.23 BITONAL PITCH ACCENT SHAPES



5.24 BITONAL PITCH ACCENT CONTOURS



5.25 L+H H+L BITONAL COMBINATION CONTOURS



Rising contours are convex, and falling contours are concave. The exception to this is the L+H H+L combination when produced in quick succession, often over one syllable. In the second example of Figure 5.25, we see this structure over the name “McCain”. In many cases, this structure will show a pitch contour that is unusually rounded and symmetrical for Russian. Other realizations of the L+H HL bitonal combination are shown in Figure 5.25. The same structure is presented in three different instances in two examples, such that the common elements are clearly visible. There is some indication that which tone in the pair is accented will affect the shape of the contour; specifically, stressed tones on the outside of the L+H H+L contour may account for a wider contour, or possibly a smoother curve, in some scenarios.

Finally the Rain TV interviewers make extensive use of formulaic language, as defined in Section 2.3: 50% of IPs in the sample can be said to contain at least one formulaic phrase, and the average is 1.2 per IP. This is slightly less than in the affiliative interview (42%, 1.5 per IP). Of twenty phrases, all but two can be classified as having a holistic pragmatic meaning, in which the whole is greater than the literal compositional meaning of the sum of its parts (cf. Wray 2002b:116). These include the phrases: *daže* (“even”, Q1), *vot tak* (“like so”, Q1), *kak raz* (“exactly”, Q2), *dejstvitel’no* (“actually”, Q2), *takoj* (“this kind of”, Q2), *to est’* (“that is”, Q3), *prosto* (“simply”, Q3), *krasnye slova* (“pretty words”, Q3), *ved’* (“after all”, Q3), *vse-taki* (“after all”, Q4), *batûški svâtye* (“holy saints”, Q4), *čto ž* (“whatever”, Q4), *vot* (“see”/“here”/“now”, Q4, Q10), *no* (“but”, Q4), *kak-to* (“somehow”, Q10), *soveršenno* (“completely”, Q10, 2x), *vo obšëm* (“in general”, Q10), *kakie-to* (“some kind of”, Q10). The two formulaic phrases without a holistic pragmatic meaning are: *meždu tem* (“meanwhile”, Q1), *imeû v vidu* (“have in mind”, Q10).

Chi-squared tests of independence can only be performed for a reduced number of categories, given the low occurrence of several phenomena of interest. Data is collapsed across IPs to perform the analysis per question turn. Correlations between phenomena are presented in Table 5.20.⁴⁷ In this interview, quite surprisingly no correlations were found to be significant or even approach significance. Although there are two interviewers contributing to this corpus, in theory correlations associated with Russian language phenomena should persist throughout a native speaker population.

One potential explanation for this finding is that the corpus appears well-balanced between short and long questions. It is possible given the complexity of Russian prosodic structures, that long and short sentences have different properties, which in a larger corpus balance each other out. A second possibility along the same line of thinking is that the interview may show a mix of informal, “non-neutral” sentence contours versus formal “neutral” sentence contours” (see section 2.2 pg. 28).

TABLE 5.26 CORRELATIONS BETWEEN PHENOMENA, RAIN TV

	Initial L+H	Bitonal Combination	Bitonal Frequency	H+L* Nuclear Stress	Formulaic Phrase
Single-word ip	.22	.22	.22	.24	.24
Initial L+H		.22	.22	.24	.24
Bitonal Combination			.22	.24	.24
Bitonal Frequency				.24	.24
H+L* Nuclear Stress					.26

⁴⁷ Categories with no or only infrequent instances of occurrence were excluded from the analysis (ST, HP, CF).

5.2.1.B JULIA IOFFE

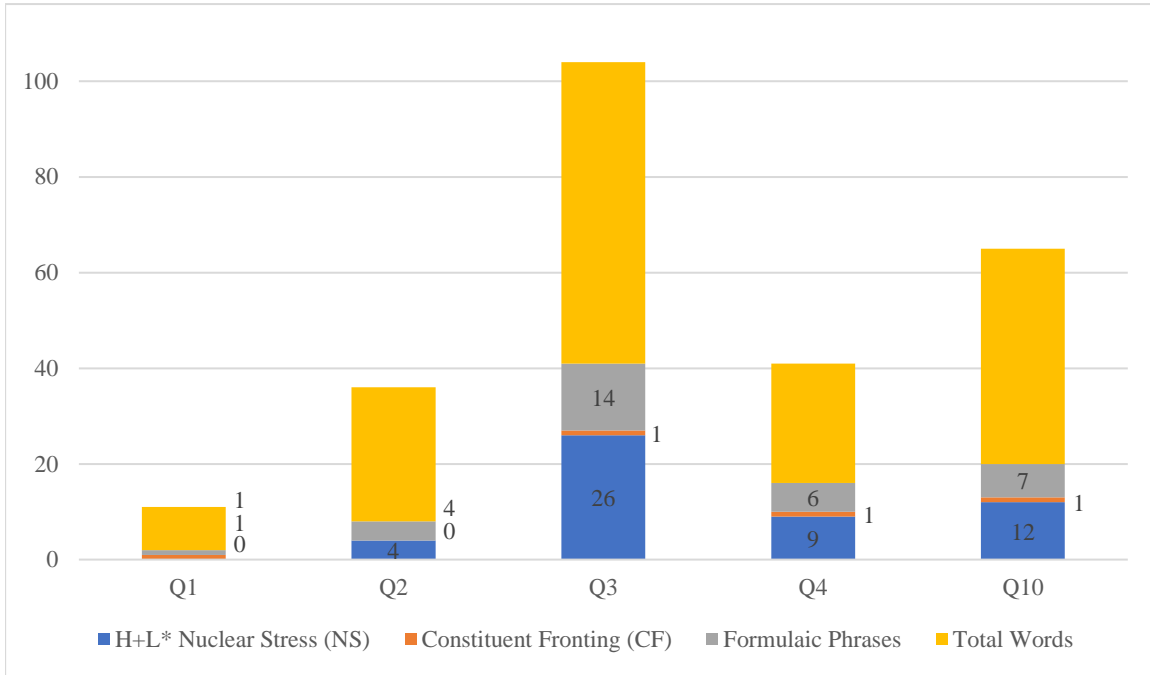
In the antagonistic interview, Ioffe produces elements of both systems consistently thorough out the corpus. Russian language phenomena are summarized in Graph 5.24, bivalent phenomena in Graph 5.25, and English language phenomena in Graph 5.26. The height of each column reflects the total number of words per question, and the colored bands within each column indicate the number of phenomena that appear within this total word count. Instances where the number of phenomena exceed the total word count are indicated in footnotes. For the purpose of these summary graphs, bitonal frequency is presented as the aggregate number of bitonal pitch accents.

Russian phenomena appear consistently in all question turns, but their proportion to the overall sentence length is noticeably less than in the interviewer's speech. Ioffe exhibits greater regularity and preference for utilizing formulaic phrases than constituent fronting throughout the interview; nonetheless, constituent fronting occurs with great regularity, appearing in every question turn, if not every IP. In this regard, it is possible that Ioffe may be displaying a preference for lexical rather than prosodic means of expressing pragmatic meaning.

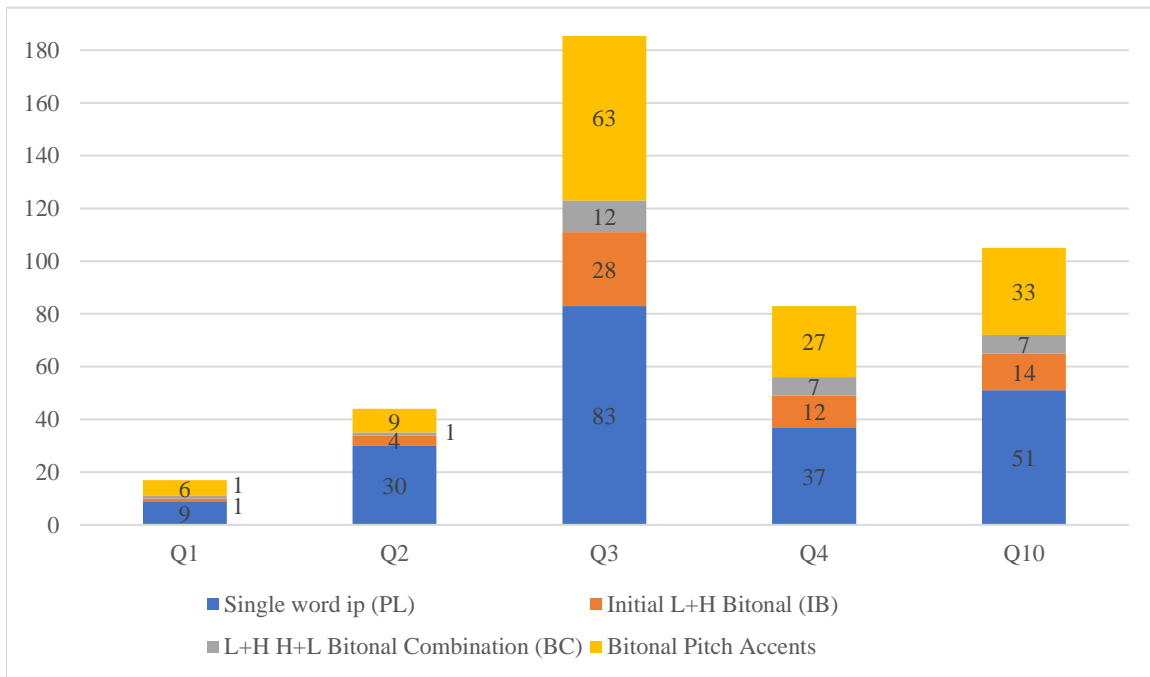
Other prosodic phenomena like the ip-initial L+H pitch accent and the L+H H+L bitonal combination display an irregular pattern in the corpus, suggesting they are not deployed according to systematic principles. Alternatively, this pattern of appearance may also relate to shifts from one intonational system from one question turn to the next, or within question turns.

English language phenomena also occur consistently throughout the corpus; Ioffe is not able to suppress single tones in any question. Comparing Graph 5.24 and Graph 5.26, it is apparent English phenomena even comprise a greater proportion of question turns than Russian ones do.

GRAPH 5.24 IOFFE, RUSSIAN PHENOMENA BY QUESTION

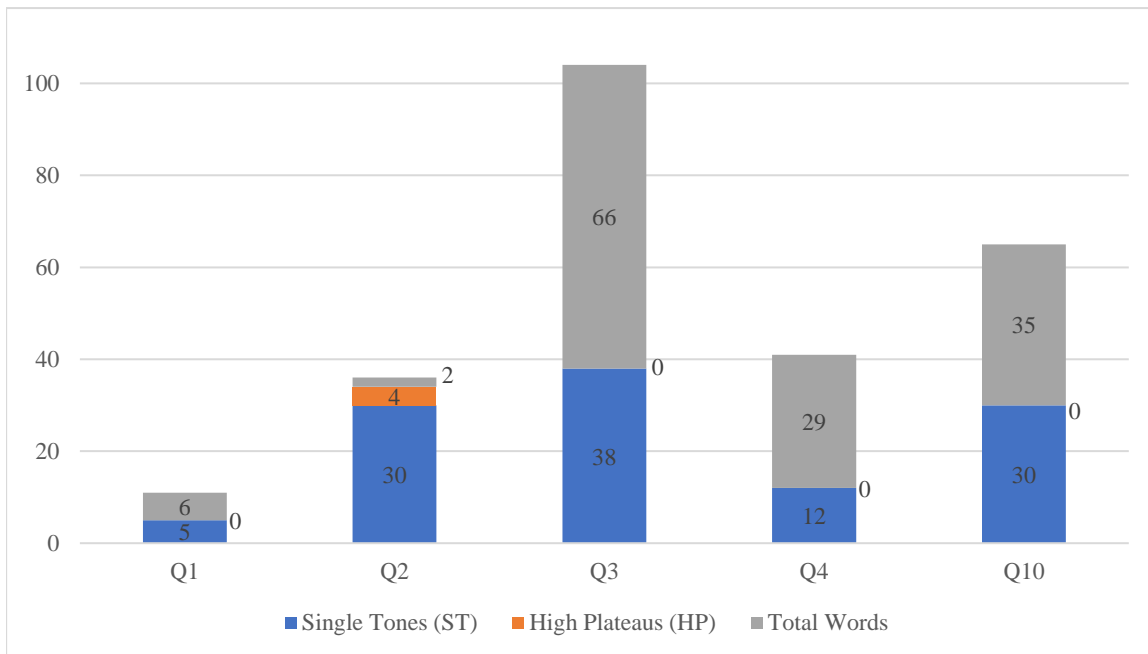


GRAPH 5.23 IOFFE, BIVALENT PHENOMENA BY QUESTION



⁴⁸ Total phenomena outnumber total words per question turn for all question turns in Graph 5.18.

GRAPH 5.26 IOFFE, ENGLISH PHENOMENA BY QUESTION



The transcript revealed that certain phenomena belonging to one system or another appear to cluster in different question turns. Graph 5.26 also supports this interpretation. Questions one, two and ten are disproportionately dominated by English language phenomena, and this is especially apparent in question turn two, the only instance where Ioffe produces high plateaus in the corpus. This raises the question of whether Ioffe is shifting the basis of her prosodic system in response to linguistic or contextual cues, or in response to stress and processing demands that might affect her during an antagonistic interview. The primary constant in her prosodic system appears counterintuitively to be single-word phrases.

Examining the data on the level of the IP instead of the question turn provides more insight into how these shifts across prosodic systems may occur. The bitonal combination, a structure in which all of the characteristic features of Russian prosody occur, features less in the initial and final question turns, where in the transcript English intonational phonology appeared to dominate.

TABLE 5.27 ANTAGONISTIC INTERVIEW, JULIA IOFFE

Q#	SEQUENCE OF IPS	WORDS	INTONATIONAL PHONOLOGY								FORMULAIC PHRASES		
			BIVALENCY				TRANSFER				#	BIVALENCY	TRANSFER
			PL	IB	BC	BF	ST	HP	NS	CF			
1	1	4	4	1	0	50%	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
	2	7	5	0	1	57%	3	0	0	1	1	0	0
2	3	13	9	2	0	23%	10	1	1	0	2	1	0
	4	11	11	1	1	31%	9	1	2	0	1	0	0
	5	10	8	1	0	18%	9	2	1	0	1	0	0
	6	2	2	0	0	0%	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
3	7	2	2	0	0	100%	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
	8	13	13	5	4	19%	3	0	7	0	3	1	0
	9	28	22	4	2	42%	15	0	5	0	3	0	0
	10	8	5	1	1	88%	1	0	6	0	3	0	0
	11	32	23	12	4	69%	9	0	4	1	2	0	0
	12	21	18	6	1	50%	10	0	3	0	2	1	0
4	13	6	6	1	0	60%	2	0	2	0	1	0	0
	14	5	5	2	1	83%	1	0	3	0	1	0	0
	15	19	19	4	3	58%	8	0	2	1	2	0	0
	16	11	7	5	3	89%	1	0	2	0	2	0	0
10	17	20	14	7	4	75%	5	0	6	0	2	0	0
	18	2	2	0	0	100%	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	19	1	1	1	0	100%	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
	20	5	3	1	0	50%	2	0	1	1	1	0	0
	21	4	4	0	0	25%	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
	22	33	27	5	3	38%	20	0	5	0	3	0	0
TOTAL:		257	210	59	28	N/A	115	4	51	4	32	3	0
AVERAGE:		11.7	9.5	2.7	1.3	60%	5.2	.2	2.3	.2	1.5	.14	0

With the bitonal combination comes a large increase in other characteristic features, such as the H+L* nuclear pitch accent. However, the magnitude of increase for this phenomenon was beyond the number of pitch accents needed to complete the bitonal combination (one per IP). Perhaps similarly, we see the larger structure of the high plateau appear only in Q2, which is comprised 86% of single tones. It is worth considering whether for heritage speakers, automatic production of smaller phenomena build into these larger structures or if they function as a larger, more salient organizing principles to drive a shift into a new intonational system.

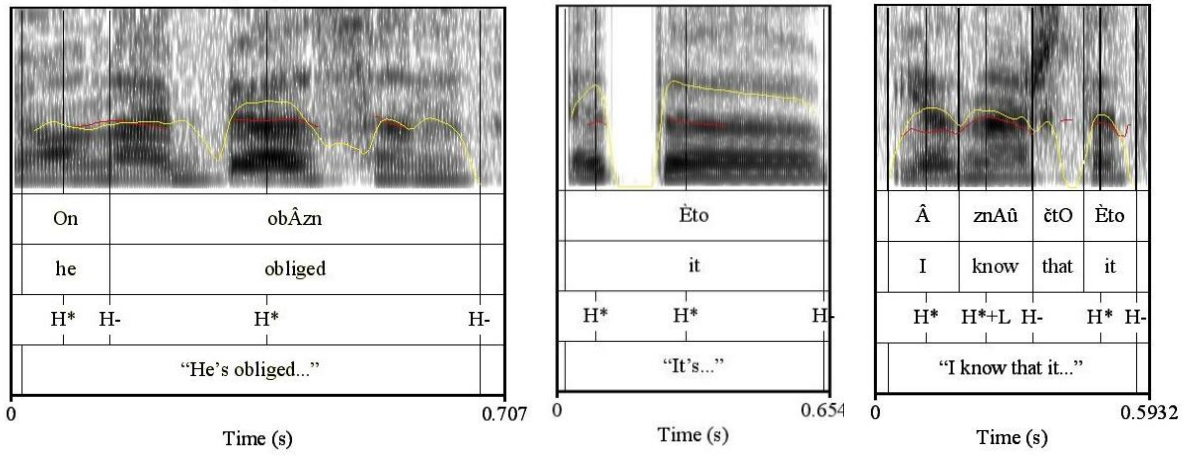
Yet in this antagonistic interview, Ioffe's bitonal pitch accents also flatten, such that they become weakly expressed, at times to the extent that they are no longer viable as a bitonal pitch accent. Figure 5.26 illustrates three instances in which Ioffe produces single tones, a clear violation of Russian intonational phonology, instead of the necessary bitonal pitch accent.

In the first example, Ioffe stresses the word *obâzan* ("obliged") through elongation and increasing intensity over the stressed syllable. However, this rise in intensity fits squarely over the stressed syllable and conveys no pitch movement, resulting in a very non-native-like pronunciation. In the second instance, a flat hat pattern emerges when Ioffe assigns the word *èto* ("this") two high single tones instead of a rising or falling bitonal pitch accent. In the final example, Ioffe places bitonal pitch accents only in stressed positions, such as this content word *znaû* ("I know") between function words.

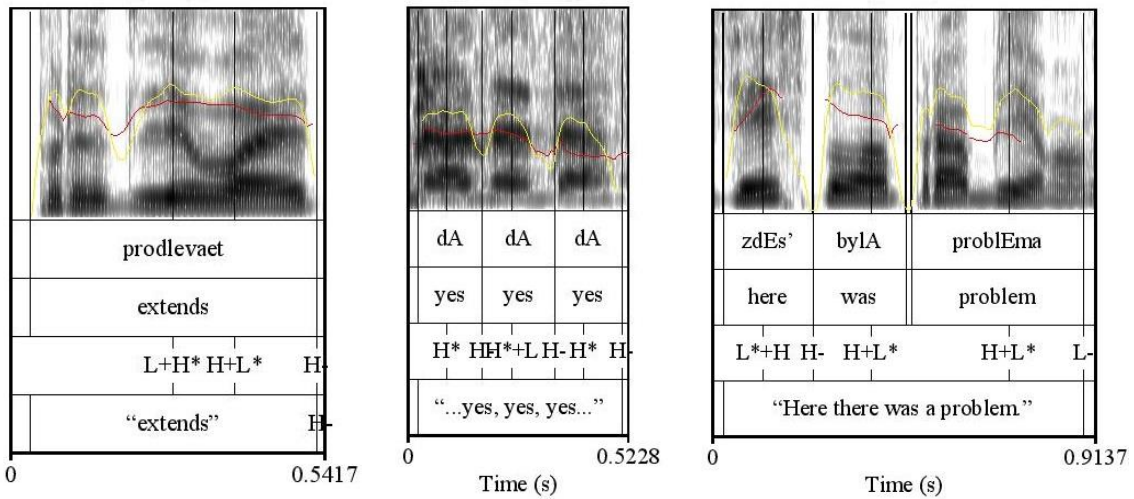
At other times, bitonal pitch accents are discernable in Ioffe's speech, although weakly expressed. In Figure 5.27, the first illustrates a L+H H+L bitonal combination. The pitch excursion is substantially reduced from other structures of this type presented elsewhere in the dissertation, but the characteristic pitch and intensity contours are still recognizable. It is perceived as rising moderately, with a subtle drop in pitch on the second syllable.

In the second example, it is again the middle item in a series of three that is the only word to receive the correct, bitonal assignment. Because the same word is repeated three times, here we can see the subtle differences in contours that do and do not correspond to a perceptible rise or fall in pitch. The third example can be compared to the second: now we have three moderately well expressed bitonal pitch accents on each word. In particular, the final word *problema* ("problem") can be identified as bitonal in Russian, whereas the pitch accent on all the stressed syllables in these examples might easily be mistaken for a single pitch accent in English.

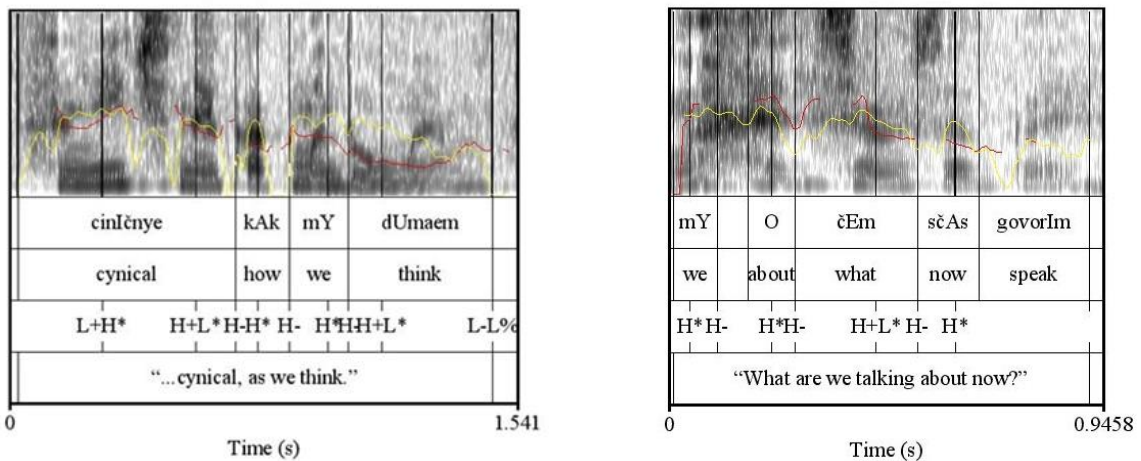
5.26 NON-EXPRESSED BITONALS



5.27 WEAKLY-EXPRESSED BITONALS



5.28 WEAKLY-EXPRESSED CONTOURS



The final two examples in Figure 5.28 illustrate larger phrasal structures in which bitonal pitch accents appear. In the first of these, we see how in rapidly produced speech, Ioffe has difficulty assigning bitonal pitch accents to all elements of a phrase. This type of evidence is one reason why it is likely that these prosodic errors occur due to the recruitment of attentional resources for other tasks during stressful interactions, or when processing costs increase.

For example, the second instance is taken from that moment in the antagonistic interview when Ioffe forgets what question has been posed to her and must ask her interviewer to repeat himself. This is an inherently embarrassing situation for a professional journalist to find oneself in, complicated by the fact that it highlights the fact that her capabilities as a moderately proficient heritage language speaker have been overwhelmed. In this moment of increased processing costs, Ioffe produces phenomena associated with her dominant language at the beginning and end of the phrase: single tones and deaccentation of the final sentence phrase.

Finally, Ioffe makes an extensive use of formulaic language, as defined in Section 2.3: 82% of IPs in the sample contain at least one formulaic phrase. The average is 1.5 per IP, as in her affiliative interview. However, this is still 20% more formulaic phrases than her interviewer produces, and on average 40% more instances than McFaul and 80% more than Posner in their antagonistic interviews. Of twenty phrases, all but three are classified as having a holistic pragmatic meaning, in which the whole is greater than the literal compositional meaning of the sum of its parts (cf. Wray 2002b:116). These include: *no* (“but”), *â dumaû* (“I think”), *daže* (“even”), *sčas* (“now”/“wait”), *vot tak* (“like so”), *takoj* (“this kind of”), *konečno* (“of course”), *nu* (“well”), *vot*, (“see”/“here”/“now”), *da* (“yes”/“right”), *voobše* (“in general”), *čut'- čut'* (“just a little”), *a* (“and”/“but”), *že* (intensifying particle), *tože samoe* (“the same”), *čë* (slang for “what”), *vse ravno* (“no matter”), *vo-pervyh* (“first of all”), *vo-vtoryh* (“second of all”), *čut'* (“a bit”).

Bivalent formulaic phrases are pragmatically inappropriate, whereas instances of transfer are infelicitous and invoke an idiosyncratic scenario related to the speaker's personal experience with the expression. Formulaic phrases may be classified differently depending on the specific use in context.⁴⁹ Table 5.28 presents the mean lemma frequency (MLF) for each formulaic phrase in Russian and its possible English translation.

TABLE 5.28 FORMULAIC PHRASES, MLF, & PROSODY

Q#	PHRASE	MLF ⁵⁰	TRANSLATION(S)	MLF ⁵¹	PROSODY
1	no	5437.6	but	4542.0	H*
2	â думаî	70.0	I think	630.1	H* H*
2	daže	1368.6	even	1094.8	L+H*
2,4,10 (2x)	sčas	1.9	N/A	-	H*
2	vot tak	46.1	like so	4.9	H*
2,3 (2x), 4 (2x)	takoj/ takie	541.2 302.9	this kind of such kind of	24.9 0.04	H* (1x) H+L* (3x) L+H* (2x)
3	konečno	578.7	of course	234.2	H+L*
3	nu	907.4	well	1216.8	L+H* H+L*
3 (3x),4	vot	1629.6	see here now	1073.1 1030.5 1533.5	H* (2x) H+L* (1x) L+H* (1x)
3	da	1790.3	right	881.9	H+L*
3	voobše	353.8	in general generally	34.6 79.7	L+H*
3 (2x)	čut'- čut'	26.8	just a little	10.9	H+L* (1x) L+H* (1x)
3,4	a	8011.3	N/A	-	H+L*
3,4	že	3492.2	N/A	-	H+L*
3	tože samoe	1.3	the same	495.4	H* (1x) L+H* (1x) H+L* (1x)
3	čë	12.8	N/A	-	L+H*
10	vse ravno	152.0	no matter	12.8	L+H*
10	vo-pervyh	73.3	first of all firstly	28.5 0.9	L+H* H+L*
10 (2x)	vo-vtoryh	58.4	secondly second of all	6.9 0.7	L+H* (1x) H* L+H* (1x)
10	čut'	212.1	a bit	83.2	H*

⁴⁹ Judgements of pragmatic appropriateness were confirmed in discussion with an experienced Russian native speaker language instructor.

⁵⁰ Corpus of Contemporary American English. 570,353,748 words. <https://corpus.byu.edu/COCA/>. MLF per million words.

⁵¹ Russian National Corpus. 283,431,966 words. <http://www.ruscorpora.ru/>. MLF per million words.

Ioffe continues to use a large number of formulaic phrases in the antagonistic interview; the range is slightly larger, three more phrases can be classified as bivalent. For example, instead of *mne kažetsâ* (“seems to me”), a Russian-specific expression, she says *â думаû* (“I think”), the English variant. However, overall formulaic phrases are used felicitously with no evidence of transfer. Generally little difference is evident in her selection of formulaic phrases between the two interviews. Ioffe now shares six formulaic phrases with McFaul, which represent a standard set of phrases most Russian language students will learn early in their study: *nu* (“well”), *no* (“but”), *da* (“yes”/“right”), *tože samoe* (“the same”), *takoj* (“this kind of”). *Sčas* (“now”/“wait”), while a slang word, comes from the common word *sejčas* (“now”).

Chi-squared tests of independence indicate that the prosodic phenomena of interest generally appear entirely independently of one another (Table 5.29). There are no relations that approach significance. This suggests that in the antagonistic interview, previous elements of systematicity may have been lost. A second interpretation may be that if indeed Ioffe’s prosody shifts in towards and away from one prosodic system or another over the course of the interview, this may interfere with establishing clear correlations.

TABLE 5.29 CORRELATIONS BETWEEN PHENOMENA, IOFFE

	Initial L+H	Bitonal Combination	Bitonal Frequency	Single Tones	Nuclear H+L* Stress	Formulaic Phrase
Single-word ip	.22	.27	.22	.24	.21	.22
Initial L+H		.27	.22	.24	.22	.22
Bitonal Combination			.27	.28	.27	.27
Bitonal Frequency				.24	.22	.22
Single Tones					.24	.24
Nuclear H+L* Stress						.22

5.2.1.C DISAFFILIATION IN THE RAIN TV INTERVIEW

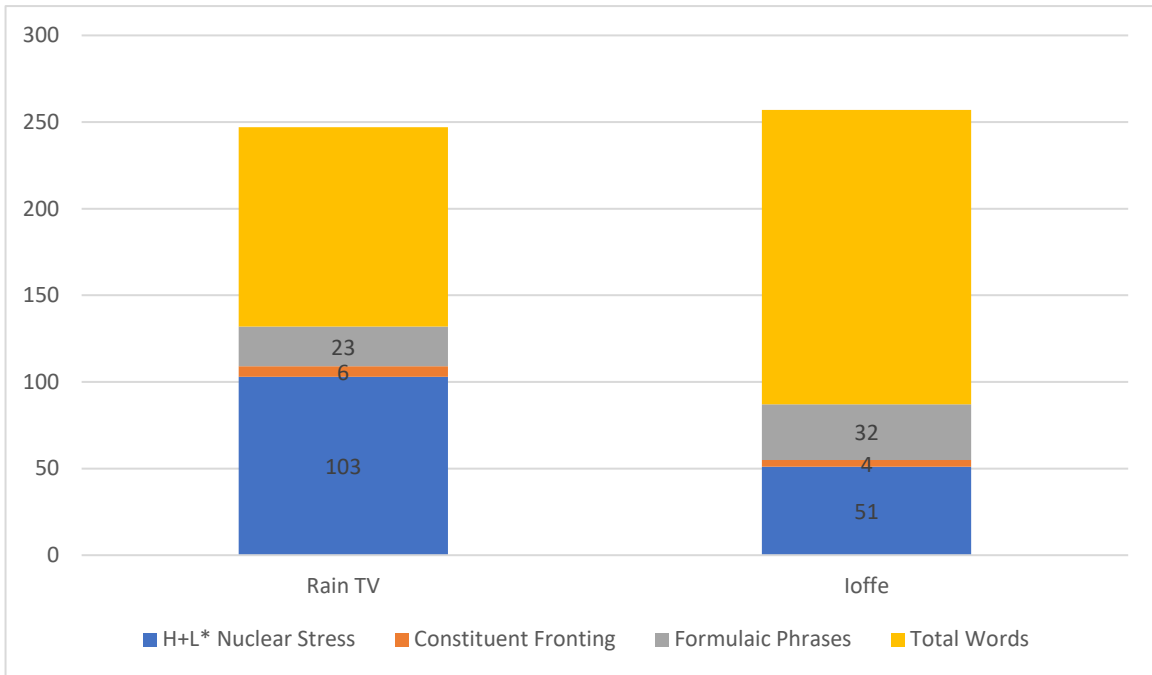
In the antagonistic interview, Ioffe's speech is again remarkably dissimilar to that of the interviewers, but here the categories in which those differences appear have shifted. Ioffe is visually distressed throughout the interview and at times struggles to answer interviewer questions, such that her proficiency level appears lower than in the affiliative interview. Therefore, it is likely this distress translates into processing difficulties. According to accommodation theory, this scenario should produce disaffiliation.

Aggregate totals of phenomena are presented in Graph 5.27 and Graph 5.28. Among Russian phenomena, only the category of constituent fronting approximates the number of instances in the interviewers' speech. However, although these interviewers produce one more instance found in the affiliative interview, Ioffe has reduced her production by 73%. Constituent fronting is indicative of a conversational register and requires complex knowledge of the language to properly execute; therefore, the reduction of instances may reveal that Ioffe is feeling less comfortable with her interviewers and/or that she may be avoiding difficult linguistic structures.

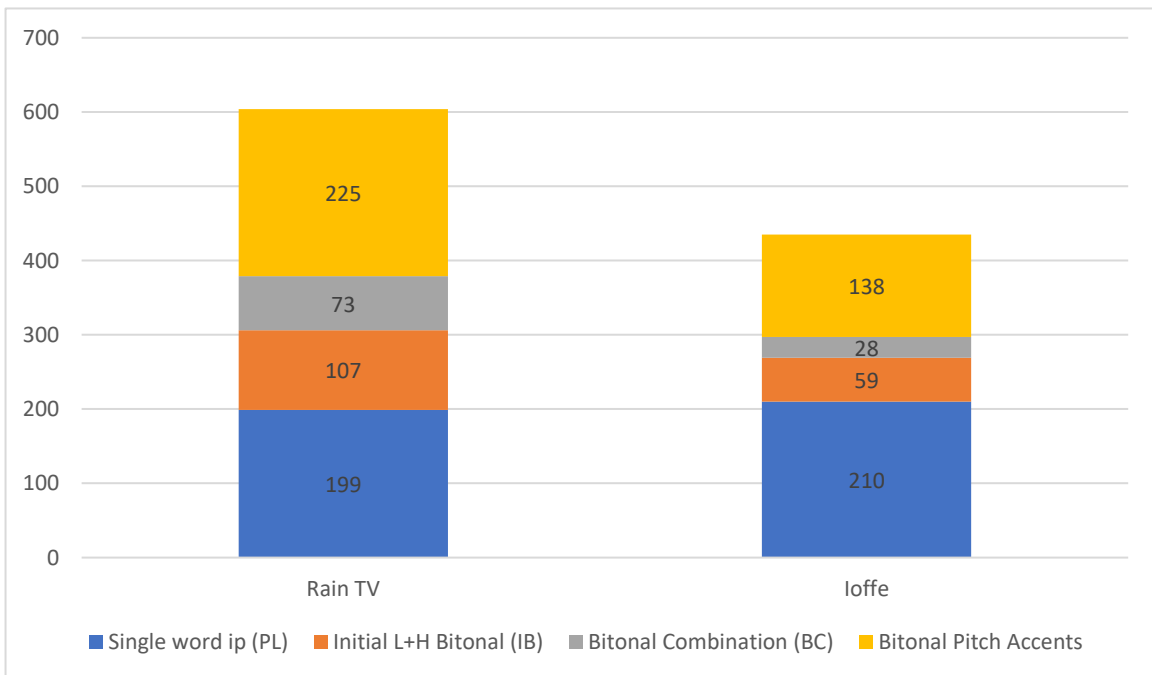
However, Ioffe produces 50% of the H+L* pitch accents and 55% ip-initial L+H pitch accents relative to her interviewers. Although H*+L and L*+H pitch accents are also allowable in Russia, these figures give a sense of the degree to which single tones have been incorporated into her Russian language prosody.

Relative to her interviewers, Ioffe produces 28% more formulaic phrases. Most of the formulaic phrases Ioffe uses have a holistic pragmatic meaning, and many of them are quite informal. Therefore, her greater reliance on formulaic phrases may show that in antagonistic contexts, she relies upon lexical phenomena to a greater degree.

GRAPH 5.27 RAIN TV VS. IOFFE, TOTAL RUSSIAN PHENOMENA



GRAPH 5.28 RAIN TV VS. IOFFE, TOTAL BIVALENT PHENOMENA



However, the prevalence of single-word ips show the most notable difference between speakers. For all other Russian and bivalent phenomena, Ioffe produces fewer instances than her interviewers. For single-word ips, she produces 5% more instances. Because this phenomenon has been linked to interactional concerns, this may indicate Ioffe speaks cautiously or with hesitation.

T-tests were conducted to investigate whether variance in the subject means between the two interviews was significant (Table 5.30). The interlocutors differed significantly in their production of three of four bivalent categories: the ip-initial L+H pitch accent ($p=0.045$), the L+H H+L bitonal combination ($p=0.0032$), and bitonal frequency ($p=0.042$). In transfer categories, differences were found for single tones ($p < 0.0001$), nuclear stress ($p=0.0058$). Production of high plateaus neared significance ($p=0.10$).

TABLE 5.30 T-TESTS BETWEEN SUBJECT MEANS: IOFFE & RAIN TV

TYPE	PHENOMENON	P-VALUE
Bivalent	Single-word ips	0.87
	Initial L+H bitonal pitch accent	0.045*
	Bitonal combination	0.0032**
	Bitonal frequency	0.042*
Transfer	Single tones	< 0.0001***
	High plateaus	0.10~
	Nuclear stress	0.0058**
	Constituent fronting	0.45
Other	Formulaic phrases	0.40

5.2.2.D PERFORMANCE ACROSS CONTEXTS

The speech of the Russian interviewers from Finam FM and Rain TV (Table 5.31) are compared to reveal how similar these two interview contexts may be in terms of the prosodic input Ioffe receives. Ioffe’s prosody across contexts (Table 5.32) is also compared to assess how additional processing costs inherent in the antagonistic interview may affect her linguistic production.

TABLE 5.31 T-TESTS BETWEEN SUBJECT MEANS: FINAM FM & RAIN TV

TYPE	PHENOMENON	P-VALUE
Bivalent	Single-word ip	0.042*
	Initial L+H bitonal pitch accent	0.09~
	Bitonal Combination	0.011*
	Bitonal pitch accents	0.057~
Transfer	Nuclear stress	0.049*
	Constituent fronting	0.26
Other	Formulaic phrases	0.98

TABLE 5.32 NATIVE RUSSIAN INTERVIEWERS

	WORDS	INTONATIONAL PHONOLOGY								FORMULAIC PHRASES		
		BIVALENCY				TRANSFER				#	BIVALENCY	TRANSFER
		PL	IB	BC	BF	ST	HP	NS	CF			
FINAM FM												
TOTAL:	264	202	115	60	239	0	0	113	5	41	0	0
AVERAGE:	7.2	5.6	3.2	1.7	100%	0	0	3.1	.1	1.1	0	0
RAIN TV												
TOTAL:	247	199	107	73	225	0	0	103	6	23	0	0
AVERAGE:	12.4	10.0	5.4	3.7	100%	0	0	5.2	.3	1.2	0	0

Our two native speaker interviewers actually produce quite different prosody. This may be related to natural variation within Russian, or a prevalence of formal (“neutral”) versus informal (“non-neutral”) prosodic structures in one or the other interview. Certainly, the affiliative interview consisted of sentences that were much shorter in length (7.2 vs. 12.4 words), limiting opportunities to express the L+H H+L bitonal combination, which is a large structure.

There was a difference in speed of production, which resulted in a larger number of expressed bitonal pitch accents in the speech of Finam FM (239 vs. 225). In rapid speech, ips may incorporate more words per pitch accent. ip-initial bitonals are both 48% of the total pitch accents, but the nearly significant difference noted here may pertain to their distribution in the corpus, the size of structures available—according to Yokoyama (2001), canonical structure in Russian may have multiple iterations of L+H before the H+L* component—and the significant difference found in single-word ips. The Rain TV interviewers averaged nearly twice as many single-word ips in their interview, which may have affected how many L+H pitch accents were placed as ip-initial.

Finally, there is a significant difference in the use of the H+L* pitch accent. This again appears to pertain to distribution, as the percentage of H+L* pitch accents to the total pitch accents is 47% to 46% for Finam FM and Rain TV, respectively. Rain TV averages 40% more H+L* pitch accents per IP, which is likely related to the length of sentences produced.

These differences in interviewer prosody should be kept in mind when considering Ioffe's own performance. In particular, this pertains to categories where the difference between interviewers is significant, but not between Ioffe and the interviewer. For example, overall use of single-word ips is greater in the antagonistic interview: 82% and 81% relative total words for Ioffe and the interviewers, respectively, versus 66% and 77% of total words for Ioffe and the Finam FM interviewer .

Arguably, this could be considered accommodation by means of the phenomenon that is most related to interactional concerns rather than structural ones. However, it would be strange to see accommodation in just one indicator, when all the other phenomena diverge from the interviewers' production. Instead, this increase may reflect the joint apprehension experienced by

the interlocutors in this interview. Ioffe also speaks more slowly, increasing the tendency to produce single-word ips.

TABLE 5.33 T-TESTS BETWEEN SUBJECT MEANS: IOFFE IN TWO CONTEXTS

TYPE	PHENOMENON	P-VALUE
Bivalent	Single-word ip	0.66
	Initial L+H bitonal pitch accent	0.84
	Bitonal combination	0.95
	Bitonal pitch accents	0.71
Transfer	Single tones	0.64
	High plateaus	0.33
	Nuclear stress	0.90
	Constituent fronting	0.0039**
Other	Formulaic phrases	0.99

TABLE 5.34 HERITAGE RUSSIAN

	WORDS	INTONATIONAL PHONOLOGY								FORMULAIC PHRASES		
		BIVALENCY				TRANSFER				#	BIVALENCY	TRANSFER
		PL	IB	BC	BF	ST	HP	NS	CF			
AFFILIATIVE												
TOTAL:	263	173	57	26	114	118	7	48	15	29	1	1
AVERAGE:	13.2	8.7	2.9	1.3	53%	5.9	.4	2.4	.8	1.5	.05	.05
ANTAGONISTIC												
TOTAL:	257	210	59	28	138	115	4	51	4	32	3	0
AVERAGE:	11.7	9.5	2.7	1.3	60%	5.2	.2	2.3	.2	1.5	.14	0

In contrast to the Russian native speaker interviewers, Ioffe’s speech across contexts remains surprisingly consistent. Even her use of single-word ips does not reach significance. The only category in which Ioffe produces in significantly different manner is constituent fronting. Ioffe’s use of this phenomenon decreases from 0.8 per IP to 0.2.

Thus, while not very native-like, Ioffe is quite consistent, with additional processing costs affecting only her use of complex structures such as constituent fronting. Ioffe produces 67% more of this phenomenon than her affiliative interviewer, and 33% less than her antagonistic interviewers. This finding likely reflects more “friendly” informal structures used with Finam FM.

Although not a significant difference, relative her Rain TV interviewers, Ioffe produces 28% more formulaic phrases. This is 9% more than in the affiliative interview, an increase found despite the fact that the Finam FM interviewer produces 56% more formulaic phrases than the Rain TV interviewers.

Both findings together suggest that, as anticipated, speakers with a relatively lower level of proficiency, or with a level lower than necessitated by the needs of their discourse situation, may rely to a greater degree on lexical items when they encounter processing difficulties.

Given that the interviewers’ prosody diverges, it is also possible that instances where Ioffe does not adapt to these changes could also reflect disaffiliation, rather than invariance on the part of her production. After all, both Ioffe and Rain TV produce a much larger number of single-word IPs than we see in other data, suggesting Ioffe may be sensitive to aspects of her interlocuters’ speech that pertain to interactional concerns more than structural ones.

Categories where the interviewers’ prosody diverges, and a significant difference between Ioffe and Rain TV is found include: the ip-initial L+H bitonal pitch accent, the bitonal combination, and bitonal frequency. This could occur when we again consider difference in formal (neutral) and informal (non-neutral) sentence structure. In particular it is interesting that while Rain TV produces less overall bitonal pitch accents, Ioffe produces more. Conforming to a certain type of Russian prosody could be invariance, or could also mean disaffiliating from another type.

I suspect that as a speaker less familiar with formal environments, Ioffe may exaggerate features of informal prosody and lexical selection when she feels stressed in the discourse situation.

Thus, although they are relatively restricted in nature, we do find potential differences in Ioffe's prosody that may pertain to processing costs (constituent fronting, formulaic phrases), and potentially if not accommodation, then disaffiliation (the ip-initial L+H bitonal pitch accent, the L+H H+L bitonal combination, bitonal frequency).

5.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter has shown that heritage language speakers, like second language speakers adapt their linguistic performance across affiliative and antagonistic contexts. Likewise, heritage language speakers also may exhibit significant differences in their production of bivalent and transfer prosodic phenomena in each context, although this result was found in just one of two subjects. It is notable, however, that the consistency was shown across contexts for substandard performance, which may be a sign of fossilization (Selinker & Lakshmanan 1992).

For these heritage speakers, greater skill in the felicitous use of prosodic phenomena did seem to correlate with greater overall proficiency level. Although both subjects were able in varying degrees to accurately utilize or suppress the linguistically meaningful, yet poorly salient H+L* nuclear pitch accent in all contexts; heritage speakers still showed ample evidence of transfer from their dominant language, especially in the antagonistic context.

Bivalent phenomena were widely used even in the affiliative interview, at the same time as heritage speakers exhibited a lack of consistency in their use of both Russian- and English-specific prosodic phenomena. In the antagonistic interview, both heritage subjects increased their use of large, salient bivalent structures like the L+H H+L* bitonal pitch accent, although to varying

degrees, and increased the proportion of strictly Russian or English prosodic phenomena they produced.

In this study, heritage languages speakers exhibited excellent facility with lexical items, represented by formulaic phrases. Both subjects used consistently less bivalent or transfer instances of formulaic phrases than did the second language speakers. Despite this facility with formulaic expressions, they were not relied upon as a resource in the antagonistic interview: heritage language speakers' use of formulaic phrases remained consistent across interview contexts.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

This dissertation posed several linguistic problems inherent in the acquisition of language pragmatics by second and heritage language speakers: firstly, how do non-native speakers accommodate to speech in a foreign language that they may not have fully acquired, or that they may have acquired in an idiosyncratic fashion—do they accommodate by means of linguistically systematic phenomena, or with phenomena that are merely perceptually salient? Secondly, what role might age of acquisition and proficiency play in determining subjects' ability to accommodate felicitously, and in linguistically systematic ways? Thus, language pragmatics is investigated as the expression of speaker intent through a stance of alignment or incongruence with one's interlocutor, conveyed according to the principles of speech accommodation theory.

6.1 OVERVIEW

To this end, Chapter one hypothesized that accommodation and disaffiliation will be discernable in the speech of four political actors (two Russian, two American) when faced with an affiliative or antagonistic context. This process is measured in two categories of linguistic phenomena that may convey both linguistically systematic information and pragmatic meaning: prosody and formulaic phrases. However, contrary to theories of intergroup or intercultural contact, Chapter one described how linguistic phenomena highly relevant for the conveyance of speaker intent may not correspond to the ease with which those phenomena can be ascertained, especially by second language learners. This is discussed as conceptual versus perceptual salience (Andersen 1978) and related to the practical and theoretical aims of the dissertation.

On a practical level, relevant to second language acquisition, the analysis assessed the relative abilities of second and heritage language speakers 1) to master two sets of phenomena—prosody and formulaic phrases—that are theorized to differ in their degree of perceptual salience, and 2) to apply them felicitously in emotive contexts that impose greater or lesser processing constraints upon the speakers.

On a theoretical level, relevant to linguistic and accommodation theory, the analysis considered how second and heritage language speakers perceive linguistic systematicity; specifically, can each category of speaker reliably distinguish between the gradient and categorical use of linguistic phenomena? Do second and heritage language speakers exhibit preferential acquisition and production of word-level phenomena (lexical items) or those below the level of the word (prosodic pitch accent assignment), in accordance with or contrary to Silverstein's (1981) famous observations on “the limits of awareness” for linguistic regularity? Furthermore, do heritage language speakers show advantages in production skills or linguistic processing, and if so, how is this advantage expressed? In this manner, assumptions regarding a proposed advantage for heritage speakers in acquiring prosodic, but not lexical phenomena was investigated.

Finally, Chapter one established two key concepts utilized to evaluate acquisition and to indirectly describe perceptual processes: *transfer* and *bivalency* within a second or heritage speaker's interlanguage system. Bivalency (Wollard 1999) is understood as a type of “good enough” processing (cf. Ferreira & Bailey 2002) in which speakers simply avoid categorical divisions when they are judged unnecessary to understand and to be understood. Transfer (e.g., Gass & Selinker 1992) is the interference of first language structures inappropriate to the second or heritage language. Transfer represents a violation with no concern for or no knowledge of its infelicitous status; bivalency reveals an awareness of the second or heritage language system.

Accommodation theory presupposes affiliative contexts create the desire to replicate “native-like” prosody, a desire not found in antagonistic contexts, which moreover impose processing constraints on the speaker. Thus, transfer in an affiliative context represents poor perceptual skills and poor underlying knowledge of linguistic systematicity; in an antagonistic context, transfer may also represent processing difficulties. Bivalency represents a less severe misinterpretation of or less severe constraints upon the second or heritage language system. However, the most knowledgeable speakers are theorized to accommodate by means of phenomena characteristic of the second or heritage language system, even if they violate principles of the speaker’s native or dominant language: e.g., single tones or high plateaus for a Russian speaker of English, or the H+L* pitch accent for an English speaker of Russian.

Chapter two defined the two categories of phenomena for analysis—intonational phonology and formulaic phrases—by first elucidating the nature of Russian and English intonational phonology and what elements may be considered permissible, bivalent, or violations within in each system, before moving on to establish the category of formulaic phrases based on the work of previous scholars. The Tones and Break Indices notational system was introduced and a rationale was provided for the selection of the prosodic phenomena analyzed in the dissertation.

Based on the assumptions of Chapter one and the properties of the linguistic phenomena described in Chapter two, Chapter three developed a methodology to measure prosodic and lexical accommodation. The classification procedure for bivalent and transfer items was explained for each category, as well as the suitability of the phenomena for the research aims. The research design was described, as were specific research questions, and details pertaining to the corpus, data collection, and procedure for analysis.

Formulaic phrases are structures above the level of the word, and therefore are thought to be consciously perceived and regulated by semantic memory; the component parts of sentence-level prosody are below the level of the word, and assumed to be governed by procedural memory. Thus, formulaic phrases by default may be more salient and thus a more likely candidate for accommodation than prosody, especially for less proficient speakers.

All prosodic transfer phenomena are more characteristic of one language, yet less salient than bivalent categories. Thus, transfer violations are considered to be interference from the first or dominant language. Because bivalent phenomena are salient, two interpretations are possible: their use is related to a moderate degree of knowledge of and shared representations between languages, or the speaker relies upon perceptually salient qualities in language acquisition. The use of non-salient phenomena that are nonetheless most characteristic of the second or heritage language will show attention to linguistic systematicity in language acquisition and a high degree of linguistic knowledge for the second or heritage language.

Thus, Chapter three clarified how the characteristics of each phenomenon of interest within the two categories of prosody and formulaic phrases allow us to make judgements about the degree to which subjects rely upon salient stimuli in acquisition, and their overall knowledge of linguistic systematicity in their second or heritage language.

6.2 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

A summary of the findings is presented below. It was hypothesized that heritage speakers will utilize greater numbers of bivalent phenomena—those acceptable to either system—due to a shared representation of prosodic phenomena across languages, and that second language learners

will produce more transfer phenomena, being less able to perceive linguistically systematic relations, or phenomena that are perceptually, rather than linguistically salient.

Likewise, a higher proficiency level may mitigate the effects of processing costs inherent in an antagonist interview, and these speakers are more likely to accommodate or disaffiliate with an interlocuter by means of linguistically systematic phenomena. Less proficient speakers are anticipated, to the contrary, to accommodate by means of the most perceptually salient categories. Less proficient speakers will also suffer to a greater extent from increased processing costs, revealing the greatest difference between the affiliative and antagonistic contexts.

6.2.1. SECOND LANGUAGE SPEAKERS

Second language speakers were represented by two civil servants, one Russian who acquired English (Sergei Lavrov), and one American who acquired Russian (Michael McFaul). The Russian second language speaker of English is considerably more proficient than the American second language speaker of Russian.

6.2.1A SERGEI LAVROV

Sergei Lavrov, a highly proficient second language speaker of English, largely conforms to the norms of English intonational phonology in the affiliative interview. In English prosody, single tones are felicitous, and bitonal pitch accents are bivalent. An exception is the H+L* pitch accent, which bears linguistic meaning in Russian intonational phonology, but is a violation of English prosody. Lavrov does produce the infelicitous H+L* pitch accents, but only in a handful of instances, and he produces no constituent fronting, a second type of violation. We can say overall, Lavrov's speech in affiliative contexts is reasonably native-like. However, the percentage of

bitonal pitch accents in Lavrov's speech remains high for English norms, clustering at the beginning and ending of phrasal units (IPs and ips). This suggests he may have difficulty initiating and sustaining his second language prosody. The Russian H+L* pitch accent surfaces most frequently when Lavrov stresses sentence elements; he may have integrated the Russian nuclear pitch accent into his interlanguage with a new function. Lavrov nonetheless is not able to finish a single question response without producing at least one H+L* pitch accent.

English language and Russian language phenomena appear proportional to the sentence length, suggesting there is a systematic nature to their deployment. The appearance of bivalent phenomena is more variable, particularly in regards to single-word ips and the ip-initial L+H pitch accent. There is only one instance of the large L+H H+L bitonal structure. Because the latter two phenomena are perceptually salient, this finding indicates Lavrov is largely able to suppress phenomena that differ in both a salient and linguistically systematic manner, but to varying degrees: the linguistically systematic H+L* phenomenon is reduced relative Russian usage, but remains a persistent feature of Lavrov's prosody. The only significant difference between Lavrov and his interviewer's speech was found for bivalent phenomena: the ip-initial L+H pitch accent and the total number of bitonal pitch accents.

In the antagonistic interview, Lavrov's prosody becomes less English-like and appears to shift norms to foreground bivalent phenomena, and to a lesser extent, transfer phenomena; in particular, the H+L* pitch accent. Single tones are reduced to just 36% of pitch accents, and now violations cluster in larger passages, increasing towards the end of the interview. Single tones appear sporadically throughout question responses, appearing successively at the end and occasionally at the beginning of a question response.

While in this interview some question responses were still not assigned a H+L* pitch accent, the overall frequency of this phenomenon increases. The overall proportionality of English, Russian, and bivalent phenomena appear to switch – now only the bivalent phenomena appear to be systematically distributed by sentence length, increasing steadily from Q3 to Q11. The same trend is observed for lexical items: the total number of formulaic phrases used by Lavrov falls, but bivalent formulaic phrases rise to 46% of the total.

As a result, in the antagonistic interview, a significant difference is found between Lavrov's speech and that of the interviewer in three out of four bivalent categories, and two of three transfer categories. However, the H+L* pitch accent only nears significance, and formulaic phrases are not used in significantly different ways. If in the affiliative interview Lavrov showed difficulty maintaining English intonational phonology over the course of an IP, the antagonistic interview provides the impression that Lavrov inserts English prosody only occasionally into his discourse. We can conclude that despite his proficiency, Lavrov still has difficulty approximating English prosodic norms, particularly when in antagonist contexts. In accordance with our expectations, however, Lavrov relies upon bivalent phenomena when processing costs increase.

6.2.1B MICHAEL MCF Faul

Michael McFaul, a less proficient second language speaker of Russian, is unexpectedly native-like in his production of Russian intonational phonology. Although the least proficient of the four subjects, McFaul shows a surprising ability to produce bivalent and systematic elements of Russian prosody: bitonal pitch accents average 75% of all pitch accents per IP, and only 8% of all IPs contain less than 50% bitonal pitch accents. McFaul uses all categories of bivalent phenomena, including the L+H H+L bitonal combination. It is notable that McFaul is able to recreate the H+L*

nuclear pitch accent, which, while linguistically significant, is arguably less salient than other phenomena of interest. McFaul produces a second Russian-specific phenomenon, constituent fronting, in 42% of IPs. Thus, the scope of McFaul's engagement with the Russian prosodic system is considerable; he assimilates not only salient phenomena, but linguistically systematic ones.

McFaul does violate Russian norms by producing single tones in 69% of IPs; however, the H+L* pitch accent appears in 79% of IPs, outnumbering single tones, which remain scattered among larger stretches of bivalent or Russian prosody. Single tones cluster at the beginning or middle of long phrases, as if McFaul has difficulty initiating or sustaining the second language intonational system. Unlike Lavrov, transfer phenomena do not seem to appear in instances where McFaul stresses elements of the sentence. Instead, English single pitch accents appear in unstressed elements of the sentence, as if in those moments when McFaul lacks concentration.

However, in the affiliative interview, only the distribution of bivalent phenomena across question turns appears systematic, suggesting McFaul, like Lavrov, has developed a hybrid interlanguage system that integrates aspects of both systems; however, for McFaul, this is his standard production, whereas hybridity appears in Lavrov's speech when stressed. Formulaic phrases are produced in 62% of IPs, of which 42% are bivalent and 9% are transfer items. Thus, unexpectedly, McFaul is actually more native-like in prosodic categories than lexical ones.

The greatest significant difference in prosodic phenomena produced by McFaul and his interviewer is found for two bivalent categories, bitonal pitch accents and the bitonal combination, as well as three transfer categories: single tones, the H+L* pitch accent, and constituent fronting. Thus, McFaul still remains inaccurate in many ways, but has clearly indicated he can perceive and correctly use systematic, non-salient elements of Russian prosody.

In the antagonistic interview, even as McFaul's prosody shifts towards that of his native language, systematic elements of Russian are retained. We see a similar process take place in the antagonistic interview as we did in Lavrov's corpus, except now transfer items are differentially targeted: the distribution of phenomena per question turn becomes more systematic across English, but Russian phenomena also remain relatively consistent, as the percentage of bivalent phenomena becomes distributed in a haphazard fashion. This is driven by a greater number of omissions in bivalent categories, as well as a marked increase in single tones and high plateaus. Nonetheless, although the H+L* pitch accent appears less frequently, the overall percentage of its occurrence in the corpus is retained: 76% versus 79% of IPs in the prior context.

Changes between McFaul's interviews would again appear to take place in his prosodic rather than lexical production: while McFaul produces 10 more instances of formulaic phrases, the average is the same as in the affiliative interview (0.9 per IP). However, this is not entirely true if we consider the nature of these phrases: 19 formulaic phrases in the antagonistic interview are bivalent, as compared to just 9 in the affiliative interview.

A greater number of categories are used in a significantly different manner between interviewers in the antagonistic interview, suggesting that McFaul may indeed disaffiliate from his interlocuter. In bivalent categories, the same categories as in the affiliate interview remain significantly different plus a new category: the ip-initial L+H pitch accent. Among transfer categories, all are now significantly different, with the exception of constituent fronting.

However, it is important to note that there is variability between the interviewers' speech as well. Despite findings that McFaul's speech has become less like his interviewers—perhaps an instance of disaffiliation in prosodic phenomena—the total percentage of H+L* pitch accents

remains 75%. Thus, McFaul still retains a degree of Russian-like production in this antagonistic interview that, as we will see, the American heritage speaker cannot manage.

6.2.2. HERITAGE LANGUAGE SPEAKERS

Heritage speakers were represented by two political journalists, one a heritage English speaker (Vladimir Posner), and one heritage Russian speaker (Julia Ioffe). The Russian English heritage speaker is considerably more proficient and experienced in giving political interviews than the American Russian heritage speaker.

6.2.2A VLADIMIR POSNER

Vladimir Posner, a highly proficient heritage speaker of English, largely conforms to the norms of English intonational phonology in the affiliative interview. Posner shows himself to be the most native-like of both Russian subjects in the production of English prosody. Although this may be what we expect of a heritage speaker, Posner still exhibits certain deviations from native prosody that are unique compared to our second language speaker's performance. Within bivalent categories, Posner produces nearly four times the percent of bitonal pitch accents, and over four times as many single-word IPs. However, perhaps more tellingly, Posner's production of two key transfer phenomena is nearly halved in comparison with the interviewer: single tones and the high plateau. What is more, despite his facility in English, Posner continues to produce the H+L* pitch accent, a clear violation of English intonational phonology.

Only the categories of single-word ips and bitonal frequency show a significant difference between the speech of the interlocutors, although the difference in single tones and the H+L* pitch accent near significance.

Lexical items between the two interlocutors, however, show no distinction. Moreover, Posner produces all of the formulaic phrases he utilizes felicitously. Thus Posner appears better able to utilize lexical items in a native-like way, and is unable to suppress transfer phenomena from his dominant language in entirety.

In the antagonistic interview, Posner's prosody becomes English-like and appears to shift norms to foreground transfer phenomena. Contrary to expectations, in the antagonistic interview, it is not bivalent phenomena that predominate, although bitonal pitch accents increase considerably. Given Posner's exceptional linguistic facility, it is possible, but improbable that these differences are due to processing costs. In the antagonistic interview, there are still four categories that are significantly different from that of his interlocutor: among bivalent categories, this is still bitonal frequency, which is slightly increased from 35% to 40%, but also the L+H H+L bitonal combination. In his previous interview, Posner produced not one instance of this structure, but in the antagonistic interview, he produces the structure 16 times in comparison to his interviewer's one instance.

The same two transfer categories are significantly different. Single tones are half of what Posner produces in his own interview and one quarter of what the previous affiliative interviewer produced. But the biggest surprise lies in Posner's production of the H+L* nuclear pitch accent. This phenomenon increases six times from 5 instances in the affiliative interview to 31 in the antagonistic interview. Formulaic phrases continue to be produced felicitously and in the same quantity as produced by the interviewer.

Thus, although Posner may disaffiliate by means of bivalent phenomena, there appears to remain an underlying structural difference in his English that persists in the form of the Russian H+L* pitch accent. Posner's use of lexical items is entirely native-like.

6.2.2B JULIE IOFFE

Julia Ioffe, a less proficient heritage speaker of Russian, is unexpectedly non-Russian-like in her production of Russian intonational phonology. We anticipated that heritage speakers would have an advantage in producing prosodic phenomena, but this is not proven to be the case with Ioffe. If we compare the total percentages of phenomena she produces in relation to her interviewer, Ioffe appears to speak in a native-like fashion. However, if we consider the breakdown of phenomena per IP, McFaul in fact produces more Russian-specific prosodic phenomena. For example, Ioffe's average use of bitonal pitch accents is 53%, but she only manages to produce on IP with 100% bitonal pitch accents, whereas McFaul manages to produce 12 instances, or 31% of his corpus.

As for the H+L* pitch accent, when measured per IP, Ioffe's corpus reveals 60% of IPs contain at least one IP, whereas in McFaul's corpus, the H+L* pitch accent occurs in at least 79% of IPs. Therefore, Ioffe's higher total number relative McFaul's (2.4 versus 1.6 per IP) may represent multiple iterations of the pitch accent per IP, which is a less fundamental concern than the presence of at least one per IP.

In the antagonistic interview, Ioffe's prosody becomes less Russian-like and appears to shift norms to foreground bivalent phenomena. The difference in Ioffe's production between the two interview contexts in regards to the system she preferentially engages resembles the strategies employed by Lavrov, the proficient second language speaker, when speaking English in the antagonistic context, more so than it resembles the strategies employed by Posner, her fellow heritage speaker. One exception may be that both Ioffe and Posner produced a substantial number of instances of the L+H H+L bitonal combination in their antagonistic interviews, although for Ioffe, this appears to be a preferred structure in both interviews.

The most notable feature of Ioffe's production lies in how consistent she is between contexts, even if her overall resemblance to Russian native speaker is not very great. In the antagonistic interview, she differs from her interlocuter in three of the bivalent categories—bitonal frequency, bitonal combination, and the L+H initial bitonal—as well as in two transfer categories: single tones and H+L* pitch accent. The difference in the interlocutors' production of high plateaus approaches significance. A key difference here is that Ioffe's production of the H+L* pitch accent is now significantly different from that of her interviewer. However, the only category in which Ioffe is significantly different from her own production in the affiliative interview is the category of constituent fronting.

6.3 SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE STUDIES

For future study, it would be advised to test the conclusions found in these case studies on a wider basis, comparing naturalistic and laboratory speech. In particular, identifying a subject's language learning profile and learner preferences might shed light on whether the acquisition of prosody and phonetics occurs in a bimodal distribution by learner type, or by age of acquisition. Additionally, perceptual studies are necessary to determine whether our subjects' deficiencies in their second language or heritage language prosody correspond to differences in their ability to perceive and identify correct structures in native Russian or native English. To develop the research in the direction of speech accommodation, it would be advisable to conduct a similar scenario in a laboratory setting, where subjects can be asked to report on their feelings at the time, in addition to judgements of interlocutor proficiency and likability based on relative abilities to produce prosodic phenomena.

6.4 IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

In conclusion, we find that even this small number of case studies brings surprising results that must be incorporated and explained by existing linguistic and second language acquisition theory. All four subjects exhibit substantial differences in their degree of acquisition of linguistic versus salient phenomena in prosodic and lexical categories, which do not easily correspond simply to their age of acquisition or proficiency level in the second or heritage language. We must conclude that individual differences exist, and play a notable role in the acquisition of intonational phonology. These differences are likely related to learning style, integrative motivation, or specific cognitive factors, such as how each subject responds to stressful contexts or language anxiety. However, one universal remains: not one interview subject was unaffected by the change in interview context, as evidenced by their linguistic production.

Perhaps the most strikingly finding is that heritage language speakers who had fully acquired their heritage language in their youth do not necessarily retain the same linguistic advantage they enjoy in regards to their phonetic production, and in fact rarely produce fully native-like prosody. Furthermore, less proficient second language speakers, like McFaul, can possess substandard phonetics in conjunction with a more advanced understanding of prosodic structure.

Unexpectedly, heritage speakers did have an advantage in regards to their use of lexical items. Although they may enjoy greater socialization to account for these differences, nonetheless, the greater reliance of second language speakers on bivalent formulaic phrases resemble a processing strategy, in that this tendency appeared in the antagonistic interviews only in response to the new environment.

Thus, while we cannot fully support the statement that the linguistic salience of a linguistic phenomenon for acquisition purposes is related to whether it is above or below the word level, there is some evidence that larger and possibly more salient structures are relied upon to a greater degree when processing costs rise. For example, second language speakers increased their use of bivalent formulaic phrases, while both heritage speakers increased their use of the L+H H+L bitonal combination. Additionally, while not the focus of this investigation, it was apparent in the data analysis stage, that heritage speakers retain an advantage for the phonetic acquisition of their language.

On a final note, this study contributes to the study of Russian intonational phonology, which is still as of yet understudied and lacks a Russian-specific ToBI notational system, as well as a full model of its intonational phonology in accordance with AM theory. This dissertation represents a systematic attempt to describe native, second language and heritage Russian, which can contribute to a future model of the intonational phonology of all three speaker categories.

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