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Atlantic Provinces Linguistic Association
Association de linguistique des provinces atlantiques

PAMAPLA 38 / ACALPA 38

PAPERS FROM THE 38ST ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ATLANTIC PROVINCES LINGUISTIC ASSOCIATION

ACTES DU 38e COLLOQUE ANNUEL DE L'ASSOCIATION DE LINGUISTIQUE DES PROVINCES ATLANTIQUES

2014

EDITED BY / RÉDACTION

WLADYSLAW CICHOCKI & CHRISTINE HORNE

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University of New Brunswick
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Université du Nouveau-Brunswick
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ABOUT APLA/ALPA38

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The 38th Annual Meeting of the Atlantic Provinces Linguistic Association (APLA) / Association de linguistique des provinces atlantiques (ALPA) took place from 31 October to 1 November 2014 at the Wu Conference Centre on the campus of the University of New Brunswick in Fredericton NB. The conference was organized by a committee of linguists from the University of New Brunswick (UNB). The last time that APLA/ALPA met in Fredericton was in 2007 on the occasion of the Association's 31st anniversary.

About 30 scholars attended the APLA/ALPA38 conference. In addition to linguists from the four Atlantic Provinces, the conference attracted researchers from other regions of Canada, including Alberta, Ontario and Québec, as well as from Japan. About one quarter of the attendees were students.

The conference theme was "Language and society." James A. Walker (Department of Languages, Literatures and Linguistics, York University, Toronto) delivered the plenary Murray Kinloch Memorial Lecture. His presentation, entitled "Canadian English in the 21st century: Contact, continuity and change," discussed ethnolinguistic variation in Toronto English. He showed that while young Torontonians of all ethnic backgrounds have adapted to local linguistic norms they convey their ethnicity through differential use of features.

This volume of *PAMAPLA/ACAPLA* includes revised versions of five presentations given at the conference. The following fifteen papers were also presented but do not appear in these proceedings.

CHARLES BOBERG, *McGill University*, Variation and change in Gaspé English
To appear as C. Boberg & J. Hotton in *English World-Wide*

CHERYL ANNE CLELAND, *York University*, Gendered language in job advertisements and its effects on job application

PHILIP COMEAU, *Université du Québec à Montréal*, Les effets de la négation sur deux variables sociolinguistiques

PAUL COOK, *University of New Brunswick*, Can we build a corpus of Canadian English automatically from the Web?

ELIZABETH COWPER & DANIEL CURRIE HALL, *University of Toronto* & *Saint Mary's University*, Morphosyntactic features and the scope of contrast

PAUL DE DECKER, SARA MACKENZIE & ROSANNA PIERSON, *Memorial University of Newfoundland*, How does variation in production interact with perception? A look at differences in light and dark /l/ in Newfoundland English

BERNARD MULO FARENKIA, *Cape Breton University*, Lecture pragmatique des comptes rendus critiques d'ouvrages en linguistique

BRANDON J. FRY, *University of Ottawa*, Free Merge and minimality

ANNE L. KLINCK, *University of New Brunswick,* Making a significant difference: Bilingualism and re-creation in Charles d'Orléans
Published in *Neophilologus*: http://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11061-015-9437-5

MATTHIEU LEBLANC, *Université de Moncton,* Politique linguistique = politique de traduction? : pour une analyse du rôle de la traduction officielle au Nouveau-Brunswick

TAKESHI OGURO, *Chiba University of Commerce*, Types of WH-questions in Japanese, with special reference to Speech Act Phrase

MACKENZIE SALT, *McMaster University*, People, persons, and individuals: Is the DSM dehumanizing?

ALAIN FLAUBERT TAKAM & INNOCENT FASSÉ MBOUYA, *University of Lethbridge & University of Douala*, Language policy in education: Minority official language in technical and vocational programs in Canada and Cameroon

ALEXANDRA TSEDRYK, *Mount Saint Vincent University*, Pour une approche structurée d'enseignement de la paraphrase

The conference was made possible by generous support from the following offices and departments:

Office of the President and Vice-Chancellor, Dr Eddy Campbell, UNB
Office of the Vice President (Academic), Dr Tony Secco, UNB
Office of the Vice President (Research), Dr David Burns, UNB
Office of the Dean of Arts, Dr George A. MacLean, UNB
Second Language Education Centre, Faculty of Education, Dr Joseph Dicks, UNB
Department of English, Chair: Dr Jennifer Andrews, UNB
Département d'études françaises, Chair: Dr Christine Horne, UNB
Department of Psychology, Chair: Dr Sandra Byers, UNB

Photos from the conference are posted on the APLA/ALPA website at `www.unb.ca/fredericton/arts/departments/french/aplaalpa/en/photos/apla38-2014/index.html`

Two student assistants helped to ensure that everything ran smoothly: Tarun Porter and Natasha Quiring. Thanks also to assistance from Daniel Grant and Natalie Savoie. The members of the Organizing Committee were Wladyslaw Cichocki (French, UNB), Paul Cook (Computer Science, UNB), Christine Horne (French, UNB) and Anthony C. Lister (Retired, UNB).

"THE MOVING ADVERB MOVES; AND, HAVING MOVED, MOVES ON."[1] ADVERB PLACEMENT IN L1 ARABIC, L2 ENGLISH AND L3 FRENCH

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This paper describes a study that explored the acquisition of adverb placement in L3 French by learners whose L1 was Emirati Arabic and whose L2 was English. A picture-description task was developed to tap what Fassi Fehri calls the "transportability" of adverbs in Arabic. Participants were asked to write – in all three languages – up to three sentences describing nine labelled images, using all of the words on the image. While all four possible word orders were produced in all three languages, the frequencies differed depending on adverb class and on language. With imperfective adverbs, in Arabic and English the second and third responses provided different positions for the adverb (i.e., ASVO, SAVO, SVAO, SVOA); this rarely occurred in French. With measure and voice adverbs, in Arabic many second and third responses were with the verb in sentence-initial position (i.e., VSOA and VOSA); this did not occur in English or French. Transportability in the L1 and freer adverb placement with imperfective adverbs in the L2 did not transfer to the L3 at the earliest stages.

1. INTRODUCTION

According to De Angelis and Selinker (2001), no model of second language acquisition (henceforth SLA) that incorporates cross-linguistic influence can be complete if it is based exclusively on two languages. The L1 does not have "privileged status" (De Angelis, 2005:401), and subsequent languages acquired can also have an effect on acquisition of the target language. A number of hypotheses have been put forward concerning "the L3 transfer puzzle" (Rothman and Cabrelli-Amaro 2010:192): L1 transfer; L2 transfer (the "L2 status factor", Bardel and Falk 2007), which involves factors such as recency and learning environment; and positive transfer from L1 and/or L2 called the "Cumulative Enhancement Model" (Flynn et al. 2004). Cross-linguistic influence in L2/L3 acquisition can also be affected by psychotypology, or perceived language distance (Kellerman, 1977).

Arabic and French share rich verbal morphology, which accounts for the placement of adverbs and negation, but learners in the Arabian Gulf may not perceive these similarities because English and French are alike in terms of their writing systems, vocabulary and culture. This study examines adverb placement in L1 Arabic, L2 English and L3 French by speakers of Emirati Arabic. More specifically, it looks at whether what Fassi Fehri (1993: 13) called the "transportability" that characterizes the distribution of adverbs in Arabic is transferred to L3 French, or whether the fixed position of adverbs from L2 English is transferred.

1.1 Basic word order in Emirati Arabic, English and French

Basic declarative word order in Emirati Arabic is SVO, as it is in Gulf Arabic in general (Holes, 1989). However, VSO and OVS are also common (Aljenaie and Farghal 2009, Shaalan 2010). Basic declarative word order in English and French is

also SVO. With the exception of topicalization and left-dislocation (OSV), no other word orders are grammatical in English or French. Topicalization and left-dislocation are also found in Gulf Arabic (Holes, 1989).

1.2 Adverb placement in Emirati Arabic, English and French

For the analysis of adverb position in Arabic, English and French I have adopted the "feature-based theory" of adverb syntax based on Cinque (1999, 2004). Under this theory, all adverbs are base-generated as specifiers of semantically related functional projections between TP and VP/vP. According to Cinque (1999:v), the same functional projections are found in the same order cross-linguistically, and superficial differences in adverb placement between languages arise because other syntactic elements may move up from VP to positions above the adverb. This is perhaps one of the more controversial aspects of Cinque's theory. While many researchers – Alexidou (1997), Fassi Fehri (1997), Abeillé and Godard (2004) and Vainikka (2007) for example – have argued that adverbs can be base-generated in functional categories above VP, they also maintained that adverbial complements and other clause-final adverbials are generated within VP. Cinque (1999, 2004) was mute concerning possible mechanisms triggering movement. However, Costa (2004:737) proposed that "remnant VP movement" or scrambling could be involved.

Fassi Fehri (1997) and Vinet (1995) showed that Cinque's hierarchy was applicable, with minor modifications, to Arabic and French respectively. Table 1 shows a partial adverb hierarchy for Arabic, English and French, with functional projections for the adverbs used in the present study.

Table 1
Functional projections for adverbs in English, French and Arabic

	ASP$_{HABITUAL}$	**ASP$_{FREQUENTATIVEI}$**	**ASP$_{MEASURE}$**	**ASP$_{VOICE}$**	**ASP$_{FREQUENTATIVEII}$**	**VP**
English	usually	often	a lot a bit	badly well	often	
French	habituelle -ment	souvent	beaucoup peu	mal bien	souvent	
Arabic	ʔadatan	marrat	zein shwaije	muzein zein	marrat	

Traditionally, linguists have not made a distinction between habitual and frequentative adverbs, referring to both as "frequency" adverbs, but Cinque (1999) showed that adverbs expressing these meanings can co-occur in English and French, as shown in (1). According to my informants they can co-occur in Gulf Arabic as well. In what follows, I will refer to habitual and frequentative adverbs together as "imperfective adverbs" (Rivero, 1992: 311).

(1) a. She often usually eats fruit.
b. Elle mange habituellement souvent des fruits.

Second, as shown in (2a), in English *usually* (a habitual adverb) cannot appear in clause-final position while *often* (a frequentative adverb) can (2b.)

(2) a. *Mary eats ice-cream usually.
b. Mary eats ice-cream often.

French and Arabic are somewhat different: the equivalents of both *usually* and *often* can occur in clause-final position as shown in (3) and (4).

(3) Ils regardent la télé habituellement/souvent.
'They watch the TV usually/often.'

(4) Rachid yektib mesedjat ʔadatan/ marrat
'Rachid writes messages usually/often.'

To go in to a bit more detail, as can be seen in (5) and (6), *often* and *usually* occupy different positions in English: SVAO is ungrammatical (5c and 6c), and in clause-initial and clause-final position grammaticality depends on the adverb, grammatical with *often* (5a) and (5d) but ungrammatical with *always* (6a) and (6d).

(5) a. Often Meera speaks French. (ASVO)
b. Meera often speaks French. (SAVO)
c. *Meera speaks often French. (SVAO)
d. Meera speaks French often. (SVOA)

(6) a. ?Usually Meera speaks French. (ASVO)
b. Meera usually speaks French. (SAVO)
c. *Meera speaks usually French. (SVAO)
d. *Meera speaks French usually. (SVOA)

The equivalent adverbs in French (7) and (8) show different behaviour with ASVO; this word order is grammatical with *souvent* (7a) but not with *habituellement* (8a). Otherwise the two adverbs have similar syntactic behaviour: SAVO is ungrammatical, as shown in (7b) and (8b); SVAO is grammatical in both (7c) and (8c); and SVOA is grammatical with both.

(7) a. Souvent Meera parle français. (ASVO)
b. *Meera souvent parle français. (SAVO)
c. Meera parle souvent français. (SVAO)
d. Meera parle français souvent. (SVOA)

(8) a. ?Habituellement Meera parle français. (ASVO)
b. *Meera habituellement parle français. (ASVO)
c. Meera parle habituellement français. (SVAO)
d. Meera parle français habituellement. (SVOA)

In Arabic the equivalents of both *often* and *usually* can occur in all four adverbial positions (9), demonstrating the characteristic of transportability, but SAVO is preferred.

(9) a. Marrat/ʔadatan Meera tetkallam faransi. (ASVO)
'Meera often/usually speaks French.'
b. Meera marrat/ʔadatan tetkallam faransi. (SAVO)
'Often /Usually Meera speaks French.'
c. Meera tetkallam marrat/ʔadatan faransi. (SVAO)
'Meera speaks often/usually French.'

d. Meera tetkallam faransi marrat/ʔadatan (SVOA)
Meera speaks French often/usually.

As can be seen in (10) and (11), adverbs of voice (*well, badly)* and measure (*a lot, a little*) can only occur in SVOA position in English.

(10) a. Meera dances ballet badly. (SOVA)
b. *Badly Meera dances ballet. (ASVO)
c. *Meera badly dances ballet. (SAVO)
d. *Meera dances badly ballet. (SVAO)

(11) a. Fatima likes Paris a lot. (SOVA)
b. *A lot Fatima likes Paris. (ASVO)
c. *Fatima a lot likes Paris. (SAVO)
d. *Fatima likes a lot Paris. (SVAO)

The French equivalents occur only in SVAO, as shown in (12) and (13).

(12) a. *Meera danse le ballet mal. (SOVA)
b. *Mal Meera danse le ballet. (ASVO)
c. *Meera mal danse le ballet. (SAVO)
d. Meera danse mal le ballet. (SVAO)

(13) a. ?Fatima aime Paris beaucoup. (SOVA)
b. *Beaucoup Fatima aime Paris. (ASVO)
c. *Fatima beaucoup aime Paris. (SAVO)
d. Fatima aime beaucoup Paris. (SVAO)

In Arabic they are transportable, as shown in (14) and (15), although SVOA is preferred.

(14) a. Meera terges Khalidji muzein. (SVOA)
'Meera dances the Gulf dance badly.'
b. Muzein Meera terges Khalidji (ASVO)
'Badly Meera dances the Gulf dance.'
c. Meera muzeinterges Khalidji (SAVO)
'Meera badly dances the Gulf dance.'
d. Meera terges Khalidji muzein. (SVAO)
'Meera dances badly the Gulf dance.

Table 2
Positions for measure and voice adverbs[3]

EMIRATI ARABIC	ENGLISH	FRENCH
√ASVO	*ASVO	*ASVO
√SAVO	*SAVO	*SAVO
√SVAO	*SVAO	√SVAO
√SVOA	√SVOA	?SVOA

Table 2 summarizes placement of voice and measure adverbs in the three languages. In French they have the same position as imperfective adverbs — post-verbal — while in English they are clause-final. In Arabic they are transportable, although SVOA is preferred.

1.3 Research questions

Based on the description of adverb placement in Arabic, English and French presented in Section 1.2, if there is L1 transfer in the L3 acquisition of adverb placement, Arabophones should demonstrate transportability of adverbs in L3 French. In that case, we would expect participants to produce sentences exhibiting ASVO, SAVO, SVAO and SVOA word orders. If there is transfer of adverb placement from L2 English, adverb placement will be quite rigid in the L3 and will reflect the L2 order. In this case we would expect SAVO for habitual and frequentative adverbs and SVOA for voice and measure adverbs, but none of the other orders, with the exception of *often*, where ASVO and SVOA might be produced.

In sum, my two research questions are: Will Emirati Arabic speakers transfer the property of transportability of adverbs to L2 English and L3 French? Will they transfer fixed adverb position from L2 English to L3 French?

2. METHOD

As mentioned in Section 1.2, in Arabic most adverbs occur freely in a variety of positions. In order to tap this property of transportability, a picture-description task was developed, inspired by Juffs (1996). The tasks were administered over the semester to the same learners in the three languages, with at least one week between tasks. Examples in what follows are taken from the English task.

2.1 Materials

Participants were asked to write up to three sentences describing nine labelled images, using all of the words on the image. If they thought that there were fewer than three possible sentences, they were asked to write "no other way". The stimuli consisted of one adverb of frequency (*often*) and one habitual adverb (*usually*), two voice adverbs (*well, badly*) and two measure adverbs *(a lot, a bit).* Three negative adverbs (*not, ever, anymore*) were also included in the task, but the results with these adverbs will not be presented under Results.

Before performing the tasks, participants were given two practice pictures, one which showed two men looking at each other with the labels *Ali*, *looks at* and *Mohamed,* and the other with two framed pictures and the words *Fatima's picture, Meera's picture* and *under-above.* Possible responses to the first practice image are shown in (15), and were discussed before participants proceeded to the task.

(15) *Ali looks at Mohamed.*
Mohamed looks at Ali.
No other way.

Figure 1 gives an example of an image used in the picture-description task. Possible answers for Figure 1 are given in (16).

(16) *Fatima likes a lot Paris.*
Fatima likes Paris a lot.
No other way.

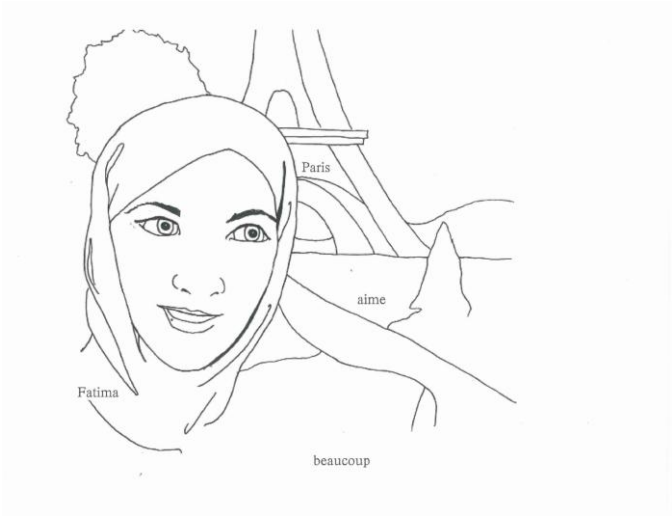

Figure 1
Example of an image[2] from the picture-description task

There were also grammaticality judgement tasks in the three languages, but only the results of the picture-description task will be presented in this paper.

2.2 Participants

The tasks in the three languages were administered to intact classes of beginning French L3 learners who were intermediate to advanced L2 users of English. Students who were non-Emiratis were excluded from the analysis, as were students whose mothers were not native speakers of Emirati Arabic, or those who did not complete the tasks in the three languages. The final set of participants was 16 female students studying at a post-secondary institution in the United Arab Emirates, ranging in age from 20 to 26 (mean 21.2, median 21.0).

2.3 Data coding and analysis

All responses were coded according to their structures, i.e. ASVO, SAVO and so forth. The coding was particularly complex for the Arabic task since, as mentioned in Section 1.1, basic word order in Gulf Arabic can be SVO, VSO or OVS, while both English and French have a fixed SVO word order in normal declarative sentences. For example, when the adverb was in final position, responses included SVOA, VSOA, and VOSA, as shown in (17).

(17) a. Meera tetkallam faransi marrat. (SVOA)
'Meera speaks French often.'
b. Tetkallam Meera faransi marrat. (VSOA)
'Speaks Meera French often.'
c. Tetkallam faransi Meera marrat. (VOSA)
Speaks French Meera often.

The types of responses in (17) were all coded separately, but for ease of presentation in this paper all were classified SVOA, since the adverb is in clause-final position. As will be seen in the Results section, in some cases the responses were SVOA the first, second and sometimes third time: the first response might be SVOA, the second VSOA and the third VOSA. The same is true of SVAO: any word order in which the adverb came between the verb and the object is presented as SVAO (for example VSAO); any pre-verbal adverbs are presented as SAVO (for example SOAV); and clause-initial adverbs are presented as ASVO (for example AVSO). "No other way" responses were also coded, and blank answers were coded "No other way."

3. RESULTS

Table 3 shows the percentage of "No other way" responses on the picture-description task. Recall that the possibility of second and third responses was to attempt to tap the transportability of adverbs. On the Arabic task, only 22.9 % of the second responses were "no other way", compared to 40.6% in English and 62.5% in French. In Arabic 70.8% of third responses were "no other way", compared to 84.4% in English and 97.9% in French.

Table 3
"No other way" second and third responses by language and by adverb class

	ARABIC		ENGLISH		FRENCH	
Response	2	3	2	3	2	3
Temporal	3	15	5	19	19	30
Measure	7	24	17	32	21	32
Voice	12	29	17	30	20	32
Total	22	68	39	81	60	94
Mean	7.3	22.7	13.0	27.0	20	31.3
%	22.9	70.8	40.6	84.4	62.5	97.9

As can also be seen in Table 3, the response patterns were different with the various adverb classes. In Arabic and English, there were fewer "no other way" third responses with imperfective adverbs (15/32 or 46.9% and 19/32 or 59.4% respectively) than there were with adverbs of measure (24/32 or 75% and 32/32 or 100%) and voice (29/32 or 90.6% and 30/32 or 93.7%). This pattern is not reflected in the French responses, where third "no other way" responses were similar for the three verb classes: 93.75% for imperfective adverbs and 100.00% for measure and voice adverbs.

In what follows, the results will be examined on a class-by-class basis. The results for the imperfective adverbs *often* (frequentative) and *usually* (habitual) will be presented separately due to the fact that, as was mentioned in Section 1.2, they belong to different adverb classes and their syntactic behaviour is different.

Table 4
Second and third responses to *often* and *usually*

	A2	**E2**	**F2**	**A3**	**E3**	**F3**
often	0.00%	31.25%	57.20%	31.25%	81.25%	92.90%
usually	18.75%	0.00	71.50%	62.50%	37.50%	92.90%

As seen in Table 4, participants treated the two adverbs differently in English and Arabic: in Arabic *often* was the adverb with the lowest "No other way" answers on second and third responses, 0% and 31.2% compared to 31.2% and 81.2% in English. Conversely, the "No other way" second and third responses for *usually* were 18.7% and 62.5% in Arabic, and 0% and 37.5% in English. The second responses in French were more similar to the Arabic results, with fewer "No other way" responses with *often* than *usually*.

Looking at the types of responses more closely, Figure 2 gives the responses to the frequentative adverb *often* by language and structure. It is clear that in all three languages the participants used all four structures, though to varying degrees.

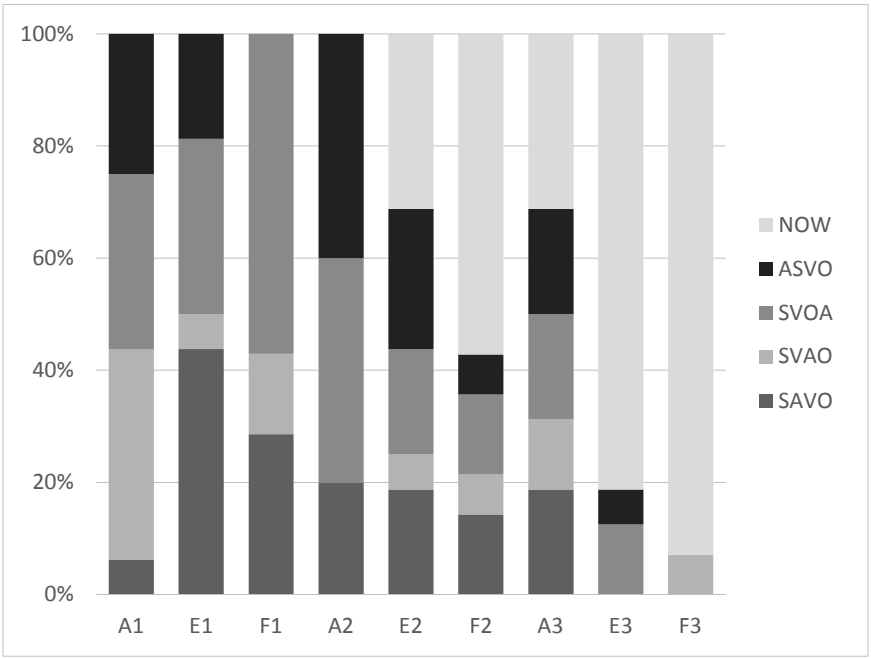

Figure 2
Responses to *often* by structure and group

For first responses, in Arabic SVAO was preferred (37.5%), in English SAVO (43.7%) and in French SVOA (57.1%). SVOA was also frequent in Arabic and English, with a mean of 30.0% in Arabic and 20.9% in English. To avoid long strings of numbers, in what follows the mean of first, second and third responses was calculated and will be presented. ASVO occurred frequently in Arabic (mean 27.9%) and English (mean 16.6%), but very rarely in French (mean 2.4%). SVAO occurred more frequently in Arabic (mean 16.7%) and French (mean 9.5%) than it did in

English (mean 4.1%), and SAVO occurred relatively frequently in all three languages (means are 20.9% in English, 15.0% in Arabic and 14.3% in French).

As can be seen in Figure 3, the structures used in responses to the habitual adverb *usually* were different from those for the frequentative adverb *often*, although again the participants used all four structures in the three languages with differing frequencies.

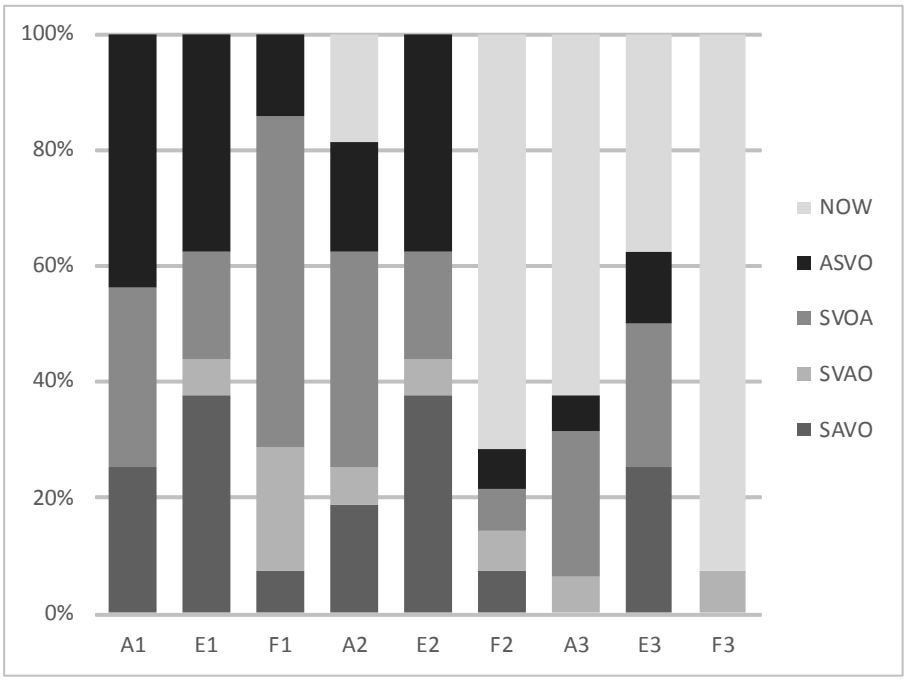

Figure 3
Responses to *usually* by structure and group

In Arabic ASVO was preferred (43.7%) in first responses; in English there were equal numbers of SAVO and ASVO (37.5% each) and in French SVOA was preferred (57.1%). SVOA was also frequent in Arabic (mean 31.2%) and English (mean 20.8%). ASVO occurs frequently in both English (mean 29.1%) and Arabic (mean 22.9%), but infrequently in French (mean 7.1%). SVAO occurred more frequently in French (mean 12.0%) than it did in Arabic (mean 4.2%) and English (mean 4.2%). SAVO occurred more often in English (mean 33.3%) and Arabic (mean 14.6%) than it did in French (4.7%).

Figure 4 presents the responses for the voice adverbs *badly* and *well* by language and structure. First of all it can be seen that responses are far less varied and there are more "No other way" responses than there were for the imperfective adverbs. In all three languages SVOA is the preferred structure in first responses, with 100% in Arabic, 78.1% in English and 71.5% in Arabic. SVAO occurred fairly often in English (mean 10.4%) and French (mean 13.1%) but rarely in Arabic (mean 3.1%). SAVO and ASVO occurred rarely, with means respectively of 0% and 2.1% in Arabic, 4.2% and 7.3% in English and 7.1% and 0% in French.

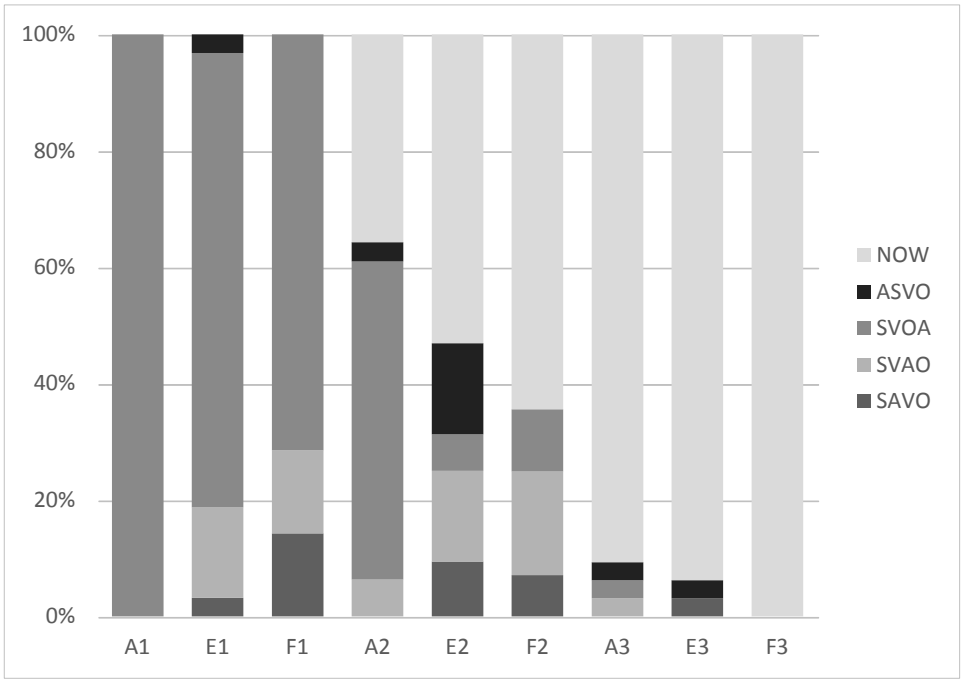

Figure 4
Responses to voice adverbs by structure and group

In Figure 5 are given the responses for the measure adverbs *a lot* and *a little* by language and structure. As was the case with the voice adverbs, there are more "No other way" responses and less variety in structures used.

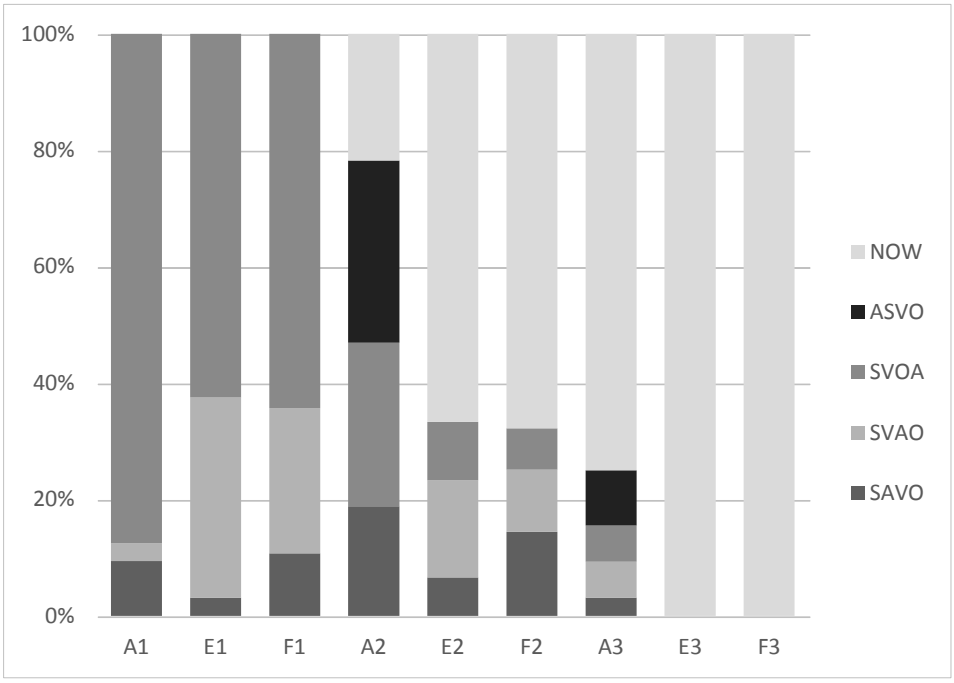

Figure 5
Responses to measure adverbs by structure and group

SVOA was again the preferred structure in first responses in the three languages: 87.5% in Arabic (mean 40.6%), 62.5% in English (mean 24.2%) and 64.3% in French (mean 23.8%). SVAO occurred more frequently in English (mean 11.1%) and French (mean 11.9%) than it did in Arabic (mean 1.0%). SAVO was more frequent in Arabic (mean 10.4%) and French (8.4%) than it was in English (3.2%). ASVO occurred in no language but Arabic (mean 13.6%).

Table 5 summarizes responses in percentages by adverb class and language. Shaded cells highlight the most frequent responses. For ease of exposition, *often* and *usually* have been combined under "Imperfective". Different responses to the two adverbs were presented above and will be considered in the Discussion.

Generally speaking, in all three languages the four adverb positions were produced. ASVO is frequent with imperfective adverbs in Arabic (31.19%) and English (30.00%), but less so in French (10.27%). There are no ASVO responses with measure adverbs in English and French, or with voice adverbs in Arabic and French. SAVO is the most frequent response with imperfective adverbs in English (35.72%), but less frequent in Arabic (18.33%) and French (19.56%). SAVO occurs with the other adverb classes as well, with the exception of voice adverbs in Arabic. SVAO also occurred in all three languages. In Arabic, responses ranged from 7.89% to 12.38% (M = 9.84, SD = 2.30, Mdn = 9.26); in English, the range was 5.71% to 28.07% (M = 18.06, SD = 11.36, Mdn 20.40) and, in French, it was 22.68% to 27.03% (M = 24.46, SD = 2.27, Mdn = 23.68). SVOA is the most frequent response for all adverb classes in the three languages, with the exception of imperfective adverbs in English. In Arabic, responses with SVOA ranged from 38.09% to 90.74% (M = 62.94, SD = 26.45, Mdn = 60.00); in English, the range was 28.57% to 55.10 (M = 41.34, SD = 13.29, Mdn= 40.35) and, in French, it was 47.62% to 60.53 (M = 54.02, SD = 6.52, Mdn = 54.05).

Table 5

Mean responses by language and adverb class. Note that for *usually* in English ASVO and SAVO were preferred equally (37.5% each).

		ASVO	**SAVO**	**SVAO**	**SVOA**	**NOW**
Arabic	*often*	27.9	15	16.7	30	10.4
English		16.6	20.9	4.1	20.9	37.5
French		2.4	14.3	9.5	23.8	50.0
Arabic	*usually*	22.9	14.6	4.2	31.2	27.1
English		29.1	33.3	4.2	20.8	12.5
French		7.1	4.7	12.0	21.4	54.8
Arabic	Voice	2.1	0	3.1	52.7	42.1
English		7.3	4.2	10.4	28.1	50.0
French		0	7.1	13.1	23.8	60.0
Arabic	Measure	13.6	10.4	3.1	40.6	32.3
English		0	3.2	17.0	24.2	55.6
French		0	8.4	11.9	23.8	55.9

4. DISCUSSION

The research question guiding the current study was whether speakers of Emirati Arabic would transfer the property of transportability of adverbs in their L1 to L3 French, or whether they would transfer fixed adverb position from L2 English to L3 French. If there is L1 transfer, participants would produce sentences exhibiting ASVO, SAVO, SVAO and SVOA order with all adverb classes. If there is L2 transfer, adverb order would be quite rigid in the L3 and would reflect the L2 order. In this case participants would produce SAVO for imperfective adverbs and SVOA for voice and measure adverbs, but none of the other orders, with the exception of *souvent* 'often', where ASVO and SVOA might be produced. If there is L2 transfer, participants would not produce SVAO, which is ungrammatical in English.

4.1 Transportability

As reported in the Results section there were more second and third responses on the Arabic task than there were on the English and French tasks, which suggests that the transportability of adverbs was not transferred from the L1 to the L3. That being said, in all three languages participants provided more second and third responses with imperfective adverbs than they did with voice and measure adverbs. These additional responses meant that participants used all four word orders with imperfective adverbs in all three languages. With measure adverbs, ASVO was not produced in English or French, and with voice adverbs ASVO was not produced in Arabic or French. SAVO did not occur with voice adverbs in Arabic.

In Arabic, with imperfective adverbs the second and third responses were almost always sentences with the adverb in different positions, while with measure and voice adverbs many second and third responses were due to word order of the subject and verb, with the adverb typically in clause-final position, i.e. VSOA or VOSA as well as SVOA. These word orders, with the verb in sentence-initial position, never occurred in English or French.

4.2 Imperfective adverbs

Participants treated the adverbs *often* and *usually* differently in Arabic and English. The preferred word orders, that is, the largest frequency of first responses, were respectively SVAO and ASVO in Arabic and SAVO and SAVO/ASVO in English. (The SAVO/ASVO word orders were produced equally frequently in preferred responses.) In French both adverbs had the same preferred word order, SVOA. As noted in Section 1.2, in English *usually* cannot appear in clause-final position while *often* can, but the equivalents of both adverbs can occur clause-finally in Arabic and French. In all three languages the percentage of SVOA responses was almost the same for the two adverbs, although it is ungrammatical with *usually* in English. The participants had recognized that the two adverbs were different in English, demonstrated by their different preferred word orders, but they had not learned the ungrammaticality of SVOA with *usually*. It is unclear whether SVOA in French was due to transfer from Arabic and/or English, or whether it was an L3 rule. The latter possibility is unlikely, however, since White (1990) showed that adverbs were infrequent in the input in French L2 classrooms.

4.3 Voice and measure adverbs

Participants made a clear distinction between imperfective adverbs on the one hand and voice and measure adverbs on the other. Responses are much more consistent with over 60% SVOA for first responses in all three languages. There were fewer second and third responses and less variety in these responses.

5. General Discussion and Conclusion

Participants showed sensitivity to adverb classes and did not over-generalize adverb placement from one class to other classes. This is particularly striking in L3 French, since the learners had had only 20 hours of exposure to the L3 when the task in that language was administered. Learners were cautious about transferring "marked" ASVO position with imperfective adverbs from L2 English to L3 French. This finding is *contra* Zobl (1992), who showed that L3 learners were less conservative than L2 learners. Freer adverb placement with imperfective adverbs in English is likely due to input and teaching in the L2 rather than L1 transfer, since the responses to the two adverbs were different in the two languages.

Balcom and Bouffard (2010) showed that Anglophone L2 learners of French preferred SVOA with imperfective adverbs, as did the French L3 learners in this study. In the case of the Anglophones, it could not be due to transfer from the L1, where SAVO is the preferred order. Balcom and Bouffard concluded that SVOA marked a developmental stage during which learners know that the position of imperfective adverbs is not pre-verbal in French, but have not been exposed to enough input to learn that in French the adverb occurs between the verb and object. The very similar results in L3 French, on a different task, are likely due to the same process in the development of the Interlanguage grammar. Input with intransitive sentences might also contribute to this Interlanguage rule, which reflects neither the L1 nor the L2.

The SVOA responses in L3 French are a problem for Cinque`s theory. Cinque (1999, 2004) maintained that all adverbs are base-generated in Aspect projections between VP and Tense, and he claimed that clause-final position is due to movement of the verb and object to the left of Aspect. Cinque is unclear as to what might trigger movement of these elements out of VP to a position above the adverb, or indeed what position the elements move to. Cinque's analysis is problematic for L2 English and particularly L3 French, since learners with only 20 hours of exposure would not have acquired those triggers. The Cumulative Enhancement Model (Flynn *et al*. 2004) proposed that in L3 acquisition there can be positive transfer from the L1 or the L2; it may be that the participants in this study had transferred the full IP tree, including Aspectual projections and VP from the L1 or the L2. The results of this study do not allow a determination to be made concerning which language would be the source of transfer.

VSOA and VOSA were frequent in L1 Arabic, but these structures were never produced in English or French. Research with learners at a lower level of proficiency in English might show an initial transfer of freer word order from L1 Arabic to L2 English, but a later rejection as learners realized these word orders do not occur in English. Participants in this study, who were intermediate to advanced users of L2 English, had learned that English had fixed word order, and they likely transferred this knowledge to L3 French. Psychotypology might have played a role, since English

and French are similar in terms of their orthography and culture, and both were learned in an academic environment.

NOTES

1. With apologies to Omar Khayyam.

2. Images for the picture-description task were produced by Kerri George of Image en Action Studio.

3. The format in Table 2 is based on Trahey (1976).

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⇦ THE *DICTIONARY OF CAPE BRETON ENGLISH*: FROM *AFTER* TO *ZOMBIE*

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The *Dictionary of Cape Breton English* is a regional dictionary that defines words and senses that are "native" to Cape Breton Island or are "distinctively characteristic" of Cape Breton English and Atlantic Canada. After a brief consideration of the scope of the dictionary, this paper examines how selected citations and the largest semantic domains of the terms defined in the dictionary reflect the social values of various communities on Cape Breton Island. Like the *Dictionary of Newfoundland English* and the *Dictionary of Prince Edward Island English*, the *Dictionary of Cape Breton English* gives special attention to words used in local industries that have become part of the regional lexicon. Terms from various semantic domains – industry, food, entertainment and social activities, and religion and beliefs – demonstrate some of the ways that the dictionary reflects the interests and values of various Cape Breton communities.

1. INTRODUCTION

Richard MacKinnon and I started work on the *Dictionary of Cape Breton English* (*DCBE)* in 1993, expecting to spend ten years or so, but as often occurs with dictionary projects, it has taken longer than expected. Like the *Dictionary of Newfoundland English* (2nd ed. 1990) and the *Dictionary of Prince Edward Island English* (1987), ours is a regional dictionary that seeks to collect and define the words and senses that are either native or distinctively used in an island community and in the Atlantic region. After a brief discussion of the scope of the dictionary, this paper examines how selected citations (dated quotations) and the main semantic domains of the terms defined in the dictionary reflect social values of various Cape Breton communities.

2. SCOPE OF THE DICTIONARY

The *DCBE* follows Walter Avis's principles of collection as he articulated them in his Introduction to the *Dictionary of Canadianism* (1967, rpt. 1991). Avis (1967:xiii) identifies two types of words, those that are "native" and those that are "distinctively characteristic." By "native" he means those words that originate in the region or have exclusively survived in the area. In Cape Breton English, *suête* (or *les suêtes*) is native as the word describes the southeast winds that often reach hurricane force along the northwest coast of Cape Breton Island.[1] Occurring in a French-speaking area, *suête* is a cursive form of *sud-est*. Other native words include the card game *tarabish*, two meanings of *stripper* (one designating a crane that removes molds from steel ingots and, the second, a cow that gives milk during the winter months) and several modified by *Cape Breton*, such as *Cape Breton fiddling*, *Cape Breton Silver* (moonshine), and others. In a regional dictionary, however, the more frequent type of term is "distinctively characteristic." *Characteristic* indicates that a term must have sufficient evidence that it

is used in the region represented by the dictionary. *Distinctive* indicates the word or sense is limited in usage to a particular region or regions, and not part of "common vocabulary" (Avis 1967:xiii). These distinctive terms are regional, but do not originate, nor are they exclusively used, in Cape Breton English. For instance, *tittle* and *tickle* both designate a narrow, dangerous saltwater passage. Although both terms are used in Atlantic Canada, most North Americans would be unfamiliar with them.

In addition to adopting Avis's general principles of selection, we have also accepted a limited number of terms that are known both in and beyond Atlantic Canada. These terms are frequently represented in our citation files or survey evidence, and have cultural or historical importance in the development of Cape Breton Island. This type of term is similar to what Stefan Dollinger, Laurel J. Brinton, and Margery Fee, editors working on the second edition of the *Dictionary of Canadianisms*, describe as "'culturally' significant terms." They explain that this approach is more inclusive allowing for "terms that are of greater significance to Canadians than to those of other nationalities" (Dollinger et al. 2012:171-172). They note this broader approach is similar to the practices of national dictionaries from Australia and South Africa. In the Atlantic region some fishing terms are shared along the Atlantic coast and beyond, such as *flake* or *fish flake*, a raised wooden frame, covered with spaced boughs and used to dry salted fish, typically cod. This sense is strongly represented in our files with forty-four citations, and it is recorded in dictionaries from Canada, Britain, and the USA. Because of its importance to the economic development of Cape Breton and Atlantic Canada, the word is defined in our dictionary, but knowledge of this word stretches beyond the *DCBE*'s usual regional limits of Cape Breton Island and Atlantic Canada.

3. CITATIONS

Citations in a regional dictionary serve several purposes including attestation, dating the earliest known record of a term, and illustration of meanings, but they also offer glimpses into the social values and interests of the region. Like the *Dictionary of Newfoundland English* and *Dictionary of Prince Edward Island English*, our dictionary includes terms that have migrated from the work place into regional vocabulary. On Cape Breton Island, this is especially true of mining, fishing, and steel making. As one would expect, the citations illustrating these terms provide insights into the working lives of Cape Bretoners. At the headword *split*, the reader learns that fishers in 1906 received one dollar for every hundred pounds of fish that they had gutted and *split* by removing the backbone so the fish would lie flat, and that a *trawl line* (a long line with baited hooks used to catch ground fish) was usually two and a half miles long but could be as long as five miles (at the headword *tub of gear*). Several of the citations for coal mining terms mention that the miners would travel up to five miles under the sea to reach their work place or the *wall face* (the vertical coal seam), and that *trapper boys* (who opened and closed doors in mine passages to trap and direct the air flow) might begin work underground as young as nine years. *Coal trimmers*, who worked to *balance* (or trim) the coal in the holds of ships, would occasionally be buried under the coal while it was being loaded (at the headword *nut coal*). These details from citations in the dictionary sound like headlines from a tabloid magazine, but they were the facts of life for those working in these industries.

In addition to these glimpses into the working lives of Cape Bretoners, some of the citations for industrial terms also reveal other aspects of peoples' lives. The citations for the entry *pit prop*, a vertical support for the mine roof, exemplify aspects of the island's economic and social history.

> **pit prop** noun; also **prop**; compare **pit timber**, **timber**
> a trimmed log, six to eight feet long and approximately six inches in diameter, used as a vertical support for the mine roof; later, a steel post similarly used
>
> 1903 VERNON *CB Canada* 135 The most important uses to which it [timber] is put are for pit-props for the mines . . .. 1920 Beaton Institute MG 12 46 A9 n.p. Timber used in Mines year ending Sept. 30, 1920 . . . Props . . . 496, 236. 1974 LOTZ and LOTZ *CB Island* 97 In 1969, Cape Breton produced a little over a million cubic feet of rough pit props . . .. 1986 *CB's Magazine* 41, 2 See, in the wintertime they cut timber for the mine–booms and pit props. Pit props were for Glace Bay. That was part of your farming. 1988 Beaton Institute Tape 2381 . . . pit props would be piled . . . and Dunlap's [a general store] would exchange the wood for groceries or merchandise or money. 1990 Beaton Institute Tape 3004 They used to ship car loads from River Denys, pit props they called them. They're sticks of wood eight feet long about six to eight inches in diameter, and they ship car loads of that down to the mines in Sydney. 1996 *CB Post* 1 June 3A When the lake ice was thick enough the pit props would be loaded on to a steel shod sleigh and hauled across to Boisdale.
>
> [*EDD*, *OED3* (1794), *W3*; at *prop*: *EDD*, *OED3 Mining* (1613), *W3*][2]

Along with the factual details about the size of the pit props (6 to 8 feet long with a diameter of 6 to 8 inches), the citations also refer to the economic spinoffs outside of the mines. In 1920 the mines used nearly half a million pit props (Beaton Institute MG 12 46 A9 1920). Despite the introduction of iron props, nearly fifty years later, this number had reached "a little over a million cubic feet of rough pit props" (Lotz and Lotz 1974:97). Social patterns are also illustrated. Many farmers would use the winter months to cut props as a cash crop: "See, in the wintertime they cut timber for the mine-booms and pit props. Pit props were for Glace Bay. That was part of farming" (Caplan 1986:2). The citation at 1988 reveals that in small rural communities they used to barter, exchanging props for merchandise, or receive money (Beaton Institute Tape 2381, 1988).

The citations for the *Boston States* reflect social attitudes and migration patterns in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Cape Breton.

> **Boston States**, **the** noun, plural
>
> **1.** New England, occasionally Boston
>
> 1927 ARCHIBALD *The Token* 11 Well, Angus man, the sealin' trip may be dangerous, but it's not so dangerous as the trip to the Boston States . . .. 1948 MACNEIL *Highland Heart* 23 . . . Rory had a daughter who some years before had gone to Boston, often known in Cape Breton as

the Boston States. Boston in those days was the Valhalla of all ambitious Washabuckt [sic] boys and girls who ventured out into the world to better themselves. 1951 MACLENNAN *Each Man's Son* 161 ". . . once when he wass buying a suit of clothes in the Boston States the man in the store asked wass they too loose, so Captain Livingstone swelled out the muscles of hiss back and shoulders and burst every seam in them just to show a little of what he could do." 1975 BIRD *NS Historical Quarterly* 5 (4), 326 Many of them [visitors] were from the Boston States (as the New England States used to be called). 1988 MACDONALD *Eyestone* 34 I *left* Boston, left that place your kin fled to over the generations, the Boston States, land of plenty. 1994 GILLIS *Travels* 106 She taught school in Port Hood for a few years and then moved to "The Boston States" in the early 1920s. Aunt Mary worked in Boston as a domestic (maid), at a salary that was more than double what she had made as a teacher in Cape Breton. 1994 MACLEOD and ST. CLAIR *Pride of Place* 59 Work in the "Boston States" was akin to a finishing school. 2007 ST. CLAIR and LEVERT *Nancy's Wedding Feast* 14 *She determined that the best thing for her fatherless children was for her to leave them with their grandparents and go to work in Boston, Massachusetts, "The Boston States," as many still refer to New England.* 2007b BARBER *Only in Canada* 95 **Boston States** (*Maritimes & Nfld*) New England.

2. United States

1951 MACLENNAN *Saturday Night* 3 July 11 People no longer refer to the great republic as "the Boston States." 1974 LOTZ and LOTZ *CB Island* 103 They left for the 'Boston States'– the Cape Bretoner's term for the United States . . .. 2006 MACISAAC *Better Life* 124 Women who were good letter writers would sometimes embellish the wonders of their life in the "Boston States," a name given to all the American states by the Highland Scots of eastern Nova Scotia. Survey I Inf. 2 . . . down in the States. Survey I Inf. 20 The States.

[Sense 1: *DPEIE, DC Maritimes* (1948), *COD Cdn* (*Maritimes & Nfld*), *NCD Maritimes*, *SSPB.* Sense 2: *DPEIE* (1939); compare "In Nova Scotia, the United States of America are the *Boston* states . . .." *ML*]

In Atlantic Canada, the *Boston States* usually meant New England, occasionally Boston itself, and rarely the United States in general. Beyond this geographic reference, many Atlantic Canadians saw the Boston area as offering a "better life" with economic prosperity and social elegance. Like Alberta and Saskatchewan today, the Boston States were a magnet for young people – women working as domestics and men in factories. The citation at 2007 tells the story of a widowed mother making the difficult choice to leave her children with their grandparents so that she could better provide for their futures (St. Clair et al. 2007:14). A citation from Gillis recalls an aunt who moved to the Boston States to work as a domestic " . . . at a salary that was more than double what she had made as a teacher in Cape Breton" (Gillis 1994:106). In addition to the lure of more money, MacLeod and St. Clair (1994:59) observe the Boston States were " . . . akin to a

finishing school," and Neil MacNeil (1948:23) describes it as "the Valhalla of the ambitious" young people.

Many of the Cape Breton community histories tell stories of young people visiting home from the Boston States dressed in the latest fashions and having new fangled ideas about indoor plumbing. Neil MacNeil (1948:23-24) tells one such story set in Washabuck, probably occurring in the late 1800s. The daughter of Little Rory Donald Dhu returned from the Boston States for a visit with her well-to-do husband. She discovered that her family home still lacked both indoor and outdoor toilets. MacNeil comments: "The natives of Washabuckt [sic] did not miss sanitary facilities or think them necessary, for their ancestors had survived in good health and vigor for centuries without bathrooms and lavatories" (23). At his daughter's request, Rory built a *backhouse* (an outhouse), but after his daughter left, he tore it down as his neighbours would point at him saying "There goes proud Rory what does it in a box" and nicknamed him "Little Rory the Backhouse" (23). The story illustrates the possible social friction between urban and rural practices, and suggests why both social and language change was a conservative process, especially in rural areas.

4. SEMANTIC DOMAINS

The semantic domains of the terms defined in the dictionary also demonstrate how the entries reflect social values of Cape Breton. Table 1 gives an overview of the main domains in order of the frequency of entries. The following discussion considers only the five largest groups and explores some of the thematic patterns within these groups.

Table 1 Main semantic domains of words defined in the *Dictionary of Cape Breton English* and their frequency

FREQUENCY	SEMANTIC DOMAINS
100-110 entries	mining; fishing/fishery
20-39 entries	food; entertainment and social activities; religion and beliefs; music, humour and irony; steel
11-19 entries	clothing; ice; alcohol, farming and rural life; historical reference; terms of address; houses, rooms and related terms; weather
fewer than 10 entries	lumbering; vehicles; physical actions; topography; health and disease; trees and other plants; personal qualities

4.1 Mining terms

With the closure of its mines and steel plants, Cape Breton Island is today a post-industrial society, but 250 years of mining have influenced the general vocabulary of those living in the former industrial areas, which include not only the mines in Cape

Breton County but also the former mining areas in Inverness, Mabou, Judique, and other locations in Inverness County.[3] The terms *pit socks* and *pit boots* are typical examples of how mining terminology has become part of community lexicon. It is a common occurrence to hear stories of Cape Bretoners who have asked store clerks in Ontario for *pit socks* or *pit boots* and have received blank stares from the clerks who know them as work socks and work boots. As the citations for these terms indicate, these terms are frequently used outside of the mines or pits. These two mining terms are part of the remembered heritage of this industry, as are some of the early mining methods.

The earliest type of coal extraction, called *room and pillar mining* or *hand pick mining,* has been memorialized in the surviving vocabulary as found in published and tape recoded accounts, and by institutions like the Glace Bay Miners' Museum that recreated an underground mine from the early 1930s. Using this early method, two partners, or *buddies,* worked in a *room* (a tunnel approximately 14 feet wide cut into the coal seam) to extract the coal at the *coal face* (the vertical coal seam). The miners would leave a *pillar* (a solid block of coal 40 to 60 feet square) between the rooms to support the *roof* (the mine's ceiling), thus giving the name *room and pillar* to this type of mining. The miners would first *mine* or *cut* the coal (that is, make a narrow channel in the coal seam with pick axes, or later with specialized machinery) to create a two-foot channel under or beside the coal face to allow the coal to break when the *shotfirer* (a miner trained in explosives and mine safety) would *shoot*, or blast, the coal. The buddies would then load the broken coal into coal boxes with *pan shovels* (short handled shovels with a heavy, round blade the size of a pizza pan). *Pit ponies,* which were used in some mines until 1960 (MacNeil 1990:29), then pulled the coal boxes on rails to the *deep* (a sloping haulage tunnel that follows the coal seam) to be pulled to the surface or *bankhead* (a multi-storied building near the mine's entrance where coal boxes were emptied). Although this work was backbreaking, dirty, and dangerous, it has become part of the local folklore and vocabulary in the former industrial areas. Later mechanization gave words like *continuous miner*, *punching machine*, and *undercutter*,[4] but it is this early method that has captured the interest of many writing about Cape Breton mining.

The often turbulent relationship between workers and management has also generated lasting vocabulary. The company – frequently referred to as a single monolithic corporation but in fact had several corporate owners during its long history – owned and operated the famous *company stores* that offered credit to miners for groceries and other merchandise until the mid 1920s. Because so many miners were in debt to the stores, the miners distrusted them and called them the *pluck-me stores*, believing their pay was plucked from them by *check-offs* (or deductions). Frequently, the miners would receive very little or no cash on pay day, and consequently named their pay slips the *bobtail paysheets* or *bobtails*, which, like the tail of a bobcat, was short.

The degree of distinctiveness of these mining terms, and other work terms discussed below, varies. Terms like *pluckme store* and *bobtail paysheets* are closer to being Cape Bretonisms than the strictly technical terms. Many of the terms like *pit props*, *slope*, and *deep* are regional terms known not only in Cape Breton English but also in other areas where coal mining occurs. However, as Atkins and Rundell (2008:227) explain, a regional label indicates that "the item is mainly but not exclusively used*"* in a particular country or area. Many fishing and steel terms in the dictionary would be known in regions other than Cape Breton with similar industries. In this same vein, the

Dictionary of Prince Edward Island English defines *green* as "of a ranch-raised fox, having a coat that is not yet ready for pelting," but surely people living in areas where foxes are raised for pelts would be familiar with this sense of the word, as would trappers who cure animal pelts. At the same time**,** however, work-related terms are also regional as they are not part of "common vocabulary" because their particular meanings would be unfamiliar in areas without activities such as coal mining, commercial fishing or fox farming.

4.2 Fishing terms

Many fishing terms have also become part of the vocabulary in coastal areas on the island. The rich fishery along the Atlantic coast drew Europeans to North America first as seasonal fishers and then later as settlers to exploit the fish stocks during the years that the island was a French colony and then later an English possession. The longest lasting technology was the *dry fishery* for ground fish and is frequently discussed in the published texts and tape recordings on the fishery. In some areas on Cape Breton Island, the *dry fishery* was practiced as late as the 1960's (Gallant 2002). In the *dry fishery*, the fishers unloaded their catch on a *stage* (a wharf-like platform), often with the *stagehead* over the water. The fish were gutted, headed, and *split* by removing the *sound bone* (that part of the backbone near an air bladder called the *sound*) so the fish could be laid flat. The fish were then salted, rinsed, and later placed on *flakes* (raised platforms with spaced bows) to dry. Salted fish is still available in supermarkets, but it is now a specialty item rather than a staple during winter.

The lobster fishery has also generated several terms for the various parts of the lobster trap itself and the different ropes used to haul the traps. As Rose Mary Babitch (1996) found in her study of fishing vocabulary on the islands of Lamèque and Miscou in New Brunswick, these terms vary in different fishing areas. The trap typically used in this area has two sections, the *kitchen,* where the lobster enters to take the bait, and a second chamber – called the *parlour, jail,* or *prison* – where it becomes trapped. A *bridle,* a short rope permanently tied to the *kitchen end*, is used to hold the rope (often called the *snood*) that raises and lowers the trap in the water. As the season begins, the wooden traps need extra ballast so that they sit still on the ocean floor; these are called *dummy rocks* in certain areas.

Specialized boats were used for different types of fishing. *Lobster smacks* and *well boats* transported live lobsters in special holds where water circulates. Others include the *Newfoundland jacks* (small schooners built in Newfoundland and used in the Cape Breton fishery), *snapper boats* (used in the sword fishery), *stemmers* (12 to 20 foot boats used in the inshore fishery and powered by sail or oars), and *flats* (small boats with flat bottom).

4.3 Food terms

In addition to these two major categories of mining and fishing terms, several other semantic domains contributed words. Food terms are among the most productive of the groups, and several of these are Cape Bretonisms. *Cape Breton pork pies* are, in fact, small tarts with date filling, and no longer contain pork, although the citations accompanying the definition speculate that the pork refers to the pork lard once used in

the pastry. *Fat Archies* are thick, soft molasses cookies – often buttered like a biscuit – and *Cape Breton steak* is a variant of the traditional joke where the *steak* turns out to be a less expensive alternative; in Cape Breton it is baloney. The two desserts are highly prized, and *Cape Breton steak* illustrates the self-deprecating Cape Breton humour.

Other food terms are known regionally among older speakers or are loanwords. *Baker's fog* derisively refers to light and insubstantial baker's bread. *Krim-ko* was once a brand of chocolate milk available in the Maritimes, Ontario, and some northern US states, but the word has survived among Cape Bretoners in their fifties as a generic term for chocolate milk. Loanwords have also contributed to this group, illustrating the cultural values attached to the ethnic foods. Five come from Gaelic: *isbean* and *marag* are home-made sausages, *fuarag* is a mixture of cream and oatmeal still typically served in some places at Halloween, and *strupag* and *tea bheag* identify tea usually served with a snack. The Mi'kmaq have a quick bread called *lu'sknikn***,** and *fricot* (an Acadian stew or hearty soup made with potatoes and meat, typically chicken) is an Acadian French loanword.[5]

4.4 Terms for entertainment and social activities

Another category, entertainment and social activities, often reflects the co-operation and community spirit of the early settlers. For example, the term *frolic* is a gathering of volunteers to complete a specific task and is often followed by a social event with food, music, dancing and - yes - drinking. Although the term *frolic* probably originated in the United States, what makes the word distinctive in Cape Breton is the twenty-four varieties of frolics that are listed as variants (but not defined) at *frolic*: *barn, carding, chopping, cutting, digging, fulling, haying, hooking, house, milling, mowing, planting, ploughing, quilting, reaping, rolling, spinning, stumping, tucking, waulking, weaving, wood;* and by analogy, *cockfighting* and *ferret frolic*. The reasons for working on these tasks varied. At times someone might be incapable of working because of injury or illness; other tasks required many hands like barn raising, haying, or a chopping frolic; and others were an opportunity to relieve the boredom of a repetitive activity like spinning wool while chatting with friends. We defined the *milling frolic* separately as this activity of fulling/thickening homespun cloth was the most popular of the frolics and has generated several related words: *harrow* or *milling board*, *milling song*, *pairing song*, *putting up song*, *tucking*, and *waulking*. Once the milling was finished, often in the early morning, *pairing songs* were sung, as a singer would create an extemporary song to pair an eligible participant with a potential partner (Dunn 1953:40). Milling frolics are re-enacted today as tourist and cultural activities to keep the tradition and the songs alive.

This sense of community is also reflected in various fundraisers like the popular *pie social* and *box social* where males would bid on a dessert or a decorated box with food enclosed in order to share the food and an evening of dancing with the female contributor. *Box social* is an example of a term that is culturally and historically important, as it is well documented in several American dictionaries, while *pie social* is found in the *Dictionary of Prince Edward Island*, the *Gage Canadian Dictionary*, and the *Dictionary of American Regional English*. Similarly, *parcel posts*, *teas*, and *pound parties* raised money or food for schools, hospitals, and those in need.[6] I recently noticed *parcel post* mentioned in a church bulletin for a fundraiser in the town of Inverness.

4.5 Terms associated with religion and beliefs

Religion and beliefs are another productive source of regional terms. One of the most remarkable examples from formal religion is the Presbyterian *open-air communions* that flourished on Cape Breton Island during the second half of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century (Stanley-Blackwell 2006.). Imported from Scotland, the five-day communion service was conducted out of doors, as no churches or buildings were large enough to house the two to five thousand participants. Because of its popularity, several terms have remained current. On *Question Day* (or *ceist day*, a Gaelic loanword), a small group of the pious and spiritually minded elders, called *the men*, explored a question to reveal the spiritual merits of a selected scriptural passage. On other days, the ministers would speak from a *tent* - actually, a wooden shed-like structure with a window facing the congregation seated on a hill overlooking the minister. Because musical instruments were not used in early Presbyterian services and printed copies of the psalms were not available for such a large congregation, the *precentors* would lead the singing of psalms by singing a verse, which was repeated by the congregation. Many of the sermons on Saturday were aimed at *fencing the tables*; that is, defending the communion tables from unworthy recipients. Those eligible to receive communion would be given a *token*: " . . . only those finally deemed worthy by elders, and by themselves, were issued a communion token which permitted them to receive the bread and wine*"* (St. Clair et al. 2007:128).

In addition to terms from formal religion, others were generated by beliefs in spirits, ghosts, and fairies. The Gaelic loanword *bochdan* designates a ghost and is often used in the phrase *bochdan stories* that tell about ghosts that frighten people and spook horses travelling over bridges or through wooded areas. MacKenzie (2005:18) writes that the Irish settlers were more frightened by the bochdans than by bears. Fairies were often designated by loanwords: *lutin* from French and the *duine beaga* (the little people) from Gaelic. *Forerunners*, *drokes* or *taibhs*[7] foretold future events and deaths. For example, a person hearing (but not seeing) coffin wood being delivered to a neighbour's home might consider this as a prediction of death, or a light observed near a person's home might foretell that someone would soon die.

The Acadian French communities have also contributed some terms derived from traditions associated with religion. The feast of Candlemas (2 February) or *Chandeleur* became more of a community celebration than a religious feast. Volunteers collected food for the party and performed the *Escaouette* (a lively dance and song) in the home of the potential donors. The word *Escaouette* also identified the leader of the dance and now is the name of a summer festival held at Cheticamp. *Mi-carême* is a similar example of a community celebration that began as a mid-Lenten tradition where disguised visitors entered homes of neighbours and family to see if the host family could guess the identities of the disguised visitors. Now, the displays of masks and mask-making activities are available during the summer months for interested tourists to learn about the tradition.

5. CONCLUSION

The citations and the semantic domains of words defined in this or any regional dictionary illustrate the connection between language and society. Like the *Dictionary of Newfoundland English* and the *Dictionary of Prince Edward Island English*, the industrial terms have become part of the regional vocabulary in communities near the work areas, and they give insight into the working conditions and the economy of the island community. This past summer, for instance, I was delighted to hear a friend use the term *pit socks* to describe her "bed socks." I am sure she has never seen the inside of a mine but uses the word as a natural part of her speech.

Although this paper has discussed only a few of the semantic groups found in the dictionary, Table 1 suggests the wide range of connections with various sorts of social activities. Many of the traditional social gatherings like *frolics* are certainly well memorialized in the surviving vocabulary, but many traditions have bridged the gap between the past and present. The co-operative spirit of the settlers reflected in the frolics continue today as family members help each other build their homes, and Cape Bretoners still generously support various fundraisers. The traditional activities of *milling frolics*, the *Escaouette*, the *mi-carême*, *ceilidhs* and *kitchen parties* were once for family and neighbours, but by both lexical and social extension these activities are now available to the public as part of cultural tourism. Local Gaelic, Acadian, and historical societies organize these sorts of events, thereby keeping alive the traditions and terms. Similarly, many traditional food items are still available. Historian and journalist Jim St. Clair (2010) explained that *fuarag* (the mixture of cream and oatmeal mentioned above) is still served at the Inverness Consolidated Hospital on Halloween.

Finally, the lexemes drawn from the domain of religion and beliefs touch on another aspect of society. There are many ways of finding comfort and meaning when bad things happen to good people – or even when good things happen to bad people. Formal religion and superstitious beliefs are two ways of coming to terms with hardships and losses. The annual *open-air communions* were the religious highlight in many Presbyterian communities and provided spiritual encouragement and religious instruction (often in the form of *notes* or memorable statements). Like weather forecasts, the various types of *forerunners* often predicted "bad news," but there is some comfort in having warnings of death or major change. For the minor challenges of life, like fresh milk going sour, beliefs may provide an outlet for anger and disappointment by blaming the loss on the *lutin* or the *duine beaga*, those mischievous fairies that like to mess in human affairs.

NOTES

1. On the west coast of Newfoundland, similar topographic features and winds from the southeast regularly cause hurricane force winds, and they too have also received a specific name, the *Wreck House Winds*. Here and below, the italicized terms indicate headwords from the *DCBE*. The accompanying explanations are derived from the dictionary's definitions but are abbreviated and informal, and so they do not appear in quotation marks unless they are taken directly from the dictionary.

2. In many instances, the dictionary entries conclude with "dictionary lists" (enclosed in square brackets) that list the abbreviations of dictionaries that share a meaning similar to that found in the *DCBE*. Eighteen dictionaries have been regularly checked for each headword, and other foreign language dictionaries have been used for loanwords from Gaelic, Acadian French and Mi'kmaw. The dictionary list also provides the earliest attested date among the dictionaries and an indication of the term's distribution beyond Cape Breton English. The full list of these abbreviations and their titles is given in the Appendix.

3. The term *company store* (discussed below) is one of the mining terms found on the western side of the island. In a taped interview, Anne Sherrington commented that a Co-op store in Judique was known as the *company store*: "You could have credit for the whole season there. In fact, you had to because you wouldn't get paid until you harvested. So they referred to that as the company store" (*DCBE* Tape 2007:28).

4. These terms are defined as a *continuous miner* "a machine that breaks the coal with tapered metal teeth on a rotating track and transfers it to a conveyor belt in a single process"; a *punching machine* "a pneumatic coal cutting machine with a sharpened bar or bit used to undermine (or cut) the coal face to allow room for the coal to break once blasted"; and an *undercutter* "a machine that cuts or punches a narrow channel along the bottom or sides of the coal being excavated (the coal face), to allow the coal to break after the explosive charge (the shot) is fired."

5. Although one might expect that *fricot* is widely used, of the eighteen dictionaries in the dictionary list regularly checked for headwords (see note 2 above), only the *Canadian Oxford Dictionary* (2nd ed. 2004) records this meaning and has the regional label *Maritimes.*

6. These terms are defined as *parcel post* "a fundraising activity where people bid on wrapped packages without knowing their contents"; *tea* "a fund-raiser, often in the afternoon or early evening, with tea, a light meal, and frequently a sale"; and *pound party* "a party to which guests bring a pound typically of some food item as a donation, often followed by a dance; also, the admission fee for a dance."

7. These terms are defined as *forerunner* "an omen, heard or seen, foretelling a death and occasionally other events," *droke* "an omen, heard or seen, that foretells a death," and *taibhs* "a spirit, vision, or sign foretelling an event, a forerunner."

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APPENDIX: Abbreviations of Dictionaries Cited in the *Dictionary of Cape Breton English*

CDS
Cassell's Dictionary of Slang. 1998. Jonathon Green (ed.). London: Cassell.

COD
Canadian Oxford Dictionary. 2nd ed. 2004. Katherine Barber (ed.). Toronto: Oxford University Press.

COED
Concise Oxford English Dictionary. 11th ed. 2009. Catherine Soanes and Angus Stevenson (eds.). New York: Oxford University Press.

DA
A Dictionary of Americanisms on Historical Principles. 2 vols. 1951. Mitford M. Mathews (ed.). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

DAE
A Dictionary of American English on Historical Principles. 4 vols. 1938-44. William A. Craigie and James R. Hulbert (eds.). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

DARE
Dictionary of American Regional English. 6 vols. 1985-2013. Frederic G. Cassidy [vol. 1], Frederic G. Cassidy and Joan Houston Hall [vols. 2-3], Joan Houston Hall [vols. 4-5], and Joan Houston Hall with Luanne von Schneidemesser [vol. 6] (eds.). Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

DC
A Dictionary of Canadianisms on Historical Principles. 1967. Reprinted 1991. Walter S. Avis, Charles Crate, Patrick Drysdale, Douglas Leechman, Matthew H. Scargill, and Charles J. Lovell (eds.). Toronto: Gage.

DFA
Dictionnaire du français acadien. 1999. Yves Cormier (ed.). Saint-Laurent, QC: Éditions Fides.

DNE
Dictionary of Newfoundland English. *Second Edition with Supplement*. 1990. G. M. Story, W. J. Kirwin, and J. D. A. Widdowson (eds.). Toronto: University of Toronto Press. URL: http://www.heritage.nf.ca/dictionary/

DPEIE
Dictionary of Prince Edward Island English. 1988. T. K. Pratt (ed.). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

DSL
Dictionary of the Scots Language Dictionar o the Scots Leid. 2004. Susan C. Rennie (ed.). Dundee, Scotland: University of Dundee. URL: http://www.dsl.ac.uk/

EDD

The English Dialect Dictionary. 6 vols. 1898-1905. Reprinted 1986. Joseph Wright (ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

FWCCD

Funk and Wagnalls Canadian College Dictionary. 1989. Walter S. Avis (editor, Canadian Edition) and Sidney I. Landau (editor-in-chief). Toronto: Fitzhenry and Whiteside.

GCD

Gage Canadian Dictionary. 1998. Gaelan Dodds de Wolf, Robert J. Gregg, Barbara P. Harris, and Matthew H. Scargill (eds.). Vancouver: Gage.

GD

A Pronouncing and Etymological Dictionary of the Gaelic Language: Gaelic-English, English-Gaelic. 1925. Reprinted 1979. Malcolm MacLennan (ed.). Aberdeen: Acair and Aberdeen University Press.

GED

The Gaelic-English Dictionary. 2004. Colin Mark (ed.). London: Routledge.

MEL

Mi'kmaw-English Lexicon. 2007. Mi'kmaw Kina'matnewey Board of Directors (eds.). Eskasoni, NS: Eskasoni Centre of Excellence.

MD

Micmac Dictionary. 1996. Albert D. DeBlois (ed.). Mercury Series Canadian Ethnology Service, Paper 131. Hull, QC: Canadian Museum of Civilization.

LES STRATÉGIES VERBALES DE POLITESSE EN SITUATION DE « DOUBLE CONTRAINTE » DANS LE DÉBAT TÉLÉVISÉ DE 2008 AU CANADA

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À l'aide des théories sur le système de la politesse, cette recherche a pour but de décrire les stratégies verbales utilisées par les cinq participants lors du débat politique national télévisé des chefs de 2008 au Canada, alors qu'ils devaient suivre la consigne particulière de flatter l'un de leurs adversaires. L'analyse démontre l'utilisation de mécanismes communs et divergents entre eux, au niveau des actes langagiers flatteurs et des actes langagiers menaçants. Cette contribution originale nous éclaire davantage sur les stratégies de politesse dans les débats politiques, plus notamment lors d'une situation de « double contrainte » très prononcée.

Using theories about politeness, this paper aims to describe the verbal strategies used by five political leaders during the national leaders' debate televised in Canada in 2008. The leaders were asked to make positive comments about one of their opponents. The analysis shows shared and divergent mechanisms, including both Face Flattering Acts and Face Threatening Acts. This original contribution provides a better understanding of politeness strategies in political debates and, in particular, in the very explicit situation of "double bind."

1. INTRODUCTION

La communication occupe une place centrale dans l'univers des politiciens. Avec la dimension médiatique qui s'est imposée dans cet univers de la communication, la façon de faire les choses force ces acteurs publiques à ne plus rien laisser au hasard. Par exemple, bien paraître et se distinguer lors d'un débat télévisé peuvent entraîner des effets décisifs sur une campagne électorale. Par contre, ce passage en direct peut aussi s'avérer un terrain glissant. Le travail est exigeant et il n'y a que peu de « *damage control* » pouvant être fait quand un imprévu survient devant la caméra.

Lors d'une campagne électorale fédérale récente, on a pu vivre en direct justement un épisode difficile. Alors que les chefs débattaient et essayaient de marquer des points depuis près d'une heure, en plein milieu du débat, une question surprise est venue chambarder le déroulement normal des choses :

> Bonjour. Vous êtes les leaders politiques du Canada et votre travail est de vous assurer du mieux-être et du bien-être des Canadiens, au-delà des chicanes partisanes. Dans ce contexte, pouvez-vous nommer au moins un bon coup ou une qualité de l'adversaire qui se trouve à votre gauche ?

« Question intéressante… » se permet de dire l'animateur. Les réactions devant la caméra nous suggèrent que la nouvelle consigne a pris tous les candidats par surprise. Visiblement déstabilisés, les chefs autour de la table s'agitent. Certains se redressent sur leur chaise. L'un se gratte nerveusement, alors qu'un autre prend une gorgée d'eau… Un candidat signale même à l'animateur son incompréhension de la question. Témoin de ce malaise général, l'animateur minimise la « gravité » de la question, qu'il qualifie d'« intéressante » en riant sur un ton léger. Bien qu'ils connaissent les thèmes à l'avance, les chefs n'avaient visiblement pas prévu une consigne aussi précise. Ils semblent agacés, voire tiraillés, à l'idée de suivre la consigne en donnant ainsi gratuitement des points à leur adversaire – et on comprend : cela va à l'encontre même de leur objectif respectif. Ils ne sont pas là pour donner des points à leur adversaire, mais bien pour leur en rafler le plus possible (Kerbrat-Orecchioni 2011 : 40).

La « double contrainte », telle que définie par Kerbrat-Orecchioni (1996 : 64) est un conflit entre la valorisation de soi et celle d'autrui. Dans cette optique, corrélativement, plus on se valorise au cours d'une interaction, plus on risque de dévaloriser autrui. En même temps, plus on valorise autrui, plus on se place en position basse ou de vulnérabilité. Nous expliquons davantage la notion de « double contrainte » dans la prochaine section, où l'on présente brièvement le cadre théorique du système de la politesse.

Dans le contexte de « double contrainte » fortement prononcée de cette partie du débat des chefs de 2008, notre débat à l'étude – coincés entre leurs propres objectifs personnels (gagner le débat) et celui de devoir se plier à la nouvelle contrainte pour bien paraître –, quelles stratégies les chefs ont-ils pu employer pour à la fois donner des points à leur adversaire et éviter d'en perdre ? Comment ont-ils pu tirer leur épingle du jeu et allier à la fois l'acte d'attaquer leur adversaire et celle de le flatter ? Voilà la question à l'étude et à laquelle cette recherche vise à répondre. Pour y arriver, nous nous fixons comme objectif de décrire les rouages au niveau des *Face Flattering Acts* et des *Face Threatening Acts* retrouvés dans le débat à l'étude. Cela nous permettra du même coup de discerner les stratégies communes et celles divergentes. Notre démarche cherche ainsi à relever les stratégies ayant permis à chacun des chefs de maintenir sa face et de se construire malgré tout une place, c'est-à-dire de marquer des points malgré la consigne de flatter son adversaire. En plus de démystifier un pan de la communication en politique, nous espérons par nos résultats mettre en lumière certains mécanismes du langage en interaction concernant la gestion de la « double contrainte » dans le système de la politesse, aspect très peu étudié dans l'analyse des débats politiques.

Cette analyse est abordée à l'aide d'outils développés dans le cadre théorique de la politesse, qui est présenté brièvement dans la partie qui suit.

1.1 Cadre théorique du système de la politesse

Intégrée à l'analyse des données naturelles en tant que système régulateur, la politesse est composée de matériaux du langage – autant verbal que paraverbal et non verbal – omniprésents au cours d'une interaction, qui à la fois reflètent la relation interpersonnelle et agissent sur elle. Elle est définie comme suit par Kerbrat-Orecchioni (2005 : 189) : « […] l'ensemble des procédés conventionnels ayant pour fonction de préserver le caractère harmonieux de la relation interpersonnelle, en dépit des risques de friction qu'implique toute rencontre sociale. »

Selon Goffman (1967), les participants engagés dans une interaction obéissent normalement au principe du respect de la face (« *face-work* »). Ce principe est régi par un ensemble de micro-rituels conventionnels auxquels les participants ont recours tout au long d'une interaction, alors qu'ils tentent à travers leurs comportements de maintenir leur face ainsi que celle de leur partenaire : « la face est donc un objet sacré, et il s'ensuit que l'ordre expressif nécessaire à sa préservation est un ordre rituel » (Goffman 1967 : 21). Le bon déroulement d'une interaction exige donc normalement un certain travail de coopération, faute de quoi on risque de perdre la face. On comprend que la face est indissociable des émotions, qui se manifestent à travers le langage. Comme le dit Traverso (1999 : 58) : « […] pourquoi en effet consacrer tant d'attention à la préservation des faces, sinon parce que la perte de face est une blessure, fortement marquée sur le plan émotionnel ? »

En s'inspirant des notions de Goffman, les linguistes Brown et Levinson (1987) ont développé un cadre théorique selon lequel tout individu possède deux faces : la face négative – qui correspond en gros au territoire corporel, biens matériels, savoirs secrets, et cetera – et la face positive – qui correspond plutôt au narcissisme, aux images de soi valorisées par l'individu et revendiquées au cours d'une interaction (Kerbrat-Orecchioni 1996 : 51-54). Selon eux, la présence d'un acte de langage peut à tout moment venir menacer l'une des faces de l'un des participants, ce qu'ils appellent des *Face Threatening Acts* (FTA) et qu'ils classent en quatre catégories : (1) actes menaçants pour la face négative de celui qui les accomplit (promesse, engagement, etc.) ; (2) actes menaçant pour la face positive de celui qui les accomplit (aveu, excuse, autocritique, etc.) ; (3) actes menaçants pour la face négative de celui qui les subit (offenses proxémiques, agressions visuelles, sonores ou olfactives, questions indiscrètes, interdiction, conseil, etc.) et (4) actes menaçants pour la face positive de celui qui les subit (critique, réfutation, moquerie, insulte, sarcasme, etc.). Kerbrat-Orecchionni spécifie tout de même que s'il existe des FTA dans le langage en interaction, il y a aussi des *Face Flattering Acts* (FFA), comme le compliment ou le cadeau. Deux types de manifestation linguistique de la politesse peuvent alors être produites : celle « positive », de nature productionniste de FFA, et celle « négative » de nature abstentionniste ou compensatoire de FTA.

Il s'avère néanmoins parfois difficile de se sortir d'une impasse. Pour tenter de nous éclairer davantage, Kerbrat-Orecchioni (1996 :64) fait référence à la notion de « double contrainte », développée au sein de l'École de Palo Alto. Dans une situation de « double contrainte », il y a un conflit entre l'altruisme et l'égoïsme. Les conventions de la politesse servent à contrebalancer les pulsions égocentriques et à neutraliser le pire pour l'interaction. Le tout réside habituellement dans un état très subtil entre la préservation de soi et le respect de l'autre. On se voit donc généralement à la recherche d'un compromis, parfois en adoucissant nos expressions (en prenant des manières embarrassées, etc.). Il nous arrive ainsi aussi, par exemple, de bémoliser un FFA qui nous est destiné. C'est le système de la politesse qui nous oblige à ces « contorsions verbales » si nous voulons maintenir notre rôle en société avec honneur.

Il arrive quand même de retrouver des situations où l'envie de se faire « mousser » émerge dans une séquence, comme dans un *match* (Goffman, 1967 : 24). Le débat politique télévisé représente bien un tel cas, où l'objectif est de marquer des points et de disqualifier son adversaire. Dans la question portant sur le thème « Leadership et gouvernance » au milieu du débat des chefs canadiens de 2008, nous retrouvons une

situation de *match*, mais dans laquelle s'insère une problématique particulièrement prononcée de la « double contrainte », tel que décrit en introduction. Pour marquer des points cette fois, la nouvelle contrainte fait en sorte qu'ils doivent en donner à l'autre – ce qui va à l'encontre de l'objectif visé habituellement dans un débat télévisé. Comment les chefs arriveront-ils à se valoriser devant la caméra, alors que la règle introduite par le citoyen leur impose plutôt de donner des qualités à leur adversaire ? C'est cette situation délicate à gérer qui nous a intéressés et que nous avons étudiée à travers les réactions verbales et les réponses des chefs, ce qui constitue notre corpus, que nous présentons avec notre méthodologie dans la partie qui suit.

2. MÉTHODOLOGIE ET CORPUS

Le corpus à l'étude est constitué d'une séquence du débat des chefs télévisé (en français) de 2008 au Canada, soit les réponses des candidats à la question reliée au thème « Leadership et gouvernance ». Ce débat est animé par le journaliste Stéphan Bureau et on y retrouve cinq participants : Elizabeth May (Parti vert du Canada), Stephen Harper (Parti conservateur du Canada), Jack Layton (Nouveau parti démocratique), Stéphane Dion (Parti libéral du Canada) et Gilles Duceppe (Bloc québécois). Comme de coutume, la place qui leur a été assignée a été pigée au hasard. On se souviendra que la formule adoptée était plus conviviale, puisque les participants étaient tous assis autour d'une table ovale. Cette année-là, le consortium des médias avait demandé aux citoyens d'envoyer des questions dans une vidéo. Les thèmes étaient connus en avance par tous les leaders, mais les questions précises n'ont été dévoilées qu'au moment où elles ont été posées en direct.

Pour analyser notre corpus, la démarche transversale (Traverso 1999 : 26-27), qui consiste à isoler dans le corpus une ou des variables définies à l'avance, est favorisée dans cette étude afin d'isoler les FFA et les FTA. Afin de manier la lecture à notre guise, nous nous sommes servis du logiciel de capture d'écran Camtasia Studio et nous avons enregistré l'intégralité du débat, disponible sur le site web de Radio-Canada. Ensuite, nous avons procédé à la transcription en nous inspirant des conventions établies en linguistique par Losier et al. (2002). Nous avons inséré le corpus transcrit en annexe, à la toute fin de cet article.

3. ANALYSE

Nous procèderons tout d'abord, au point 3.1, à l'analyse de la séquence d'ouverture. Ce passage illustre bien le tiraillement que la situation de « double contrainte » peut entraîner. Nous verrons aussi d'ailleurs comment l'ouverture des interventions des chefs est façonnée par ce contexte difficile au niveau du *face-work*. Ensuite, aux points 3.2 et 3.3, nous analyserons de façon détaillée la production de FFA et FTA au niveau de la strate verbale, afin de montrer les stratégies utilisées par les chefs pour répondre à la « double contrainte », soit d'allier l'acte de se valoriser à celui de valoriser leur adversaire.

3.1 Malaise général en situation de « double contrainte »

La toute première récurrence observable dans le corpus est le malaise, qui est visible chez les chefs après l'écoute de la question. La présence du rire, ayant servi à minimiser la menace que représente la consigne, est l'une des réactions significativement notables en réponse à la nouvelle consigne. On constate que l'animateur lui-même produit un rire minimisateur quand il présente la question (ligne 5) : « ((SB rit.)) Question intéressante, pour laquelle vous étiez peut-être pas préparés. » Puis, avant le début des interventions, Duceppe envoie une blague qui brise la glace pour atténuer l'atmosphère et fait rire tout le monde (voir Extrait 1 : ligne 13) – du moins visiblement, à défaut de pouvoir se prononcer sur Harper en raison de l'angle de la caméra :

Extrait 1

13	GD 1 : [Ah], je croyais que je parlais de vous, Monsieur Bureau : vous êtes à ma gauche… SB 3 : [Alors, c'est–] GD 2 : Vous posez bien les questions! EM 2 : ((rire))

Si le rire contribue à atténuer l'atmosphère, le malaise se laisse quand même percevoir chez chacun à travers d'autres indices, parmi les composantes linguistiques. Au niveau verbal, on a des hésitations, entre autres aux lignes 49, 59, 85, 91, 96 et 124. En effet, par exemple, Harper (voir Extrait 2 : ligne 68) et May (voir Extrait 3 : ligne 124) ont des départs un peu plus laborieux, pouvant nous indiquer le malaise qu'ils ressentaient, tout en pouvant gagner quelques secondes :

Extrait 2

68	((SH regarde JL et sourit.)) Monsieur Layton, Jack, eu… Je peux– ↑ <Je peux dire> des bonnes choses sur Jack

Extrait 3

125	EM 9 : Oui, je pense que Monsieur Harper et Monsieur Layton ont travaillé d– fort ((EM regarde et pointe JL.)) pour ↑ quelque chose ensemble, mais je laissais ça pour le moment ((EM balaye l'air de la main.)) parce que j'arriveras ici. Je suis très heureuse avec ça. ((EM regarde SH.)) Monsieur Harper, j'ai trouvé fort pour, ((EM gesticule.)) comme vous avez peut-être souviens, ((SH se frotte le poignet nerveusement.)) pour trouver les choses que nous avons ensemble partagées.

Layton semble également ressentir une certaine gêne au départ, alors qu'il relâche un sourire atténuateur de la menace envers sa face, quand l'animateur l'a placé sur la sellette. À ce moment précis, en tant que *bystanders*, Dion et May aussi laissent aller un rire atténuateur (voir Extrait 4 : lignes 46 et 48) :

Extrait 4

46	SB 6 : Mais c'est pas à vous encore. C'est Monsieur Layton ((EM rit.)) qui doit dire du bien de son voisin de gauche, Monsieur Dion, en le regardant dans les yeux. Ça va être beau, ça. **((SB rit.))**
	JL 1 : Mais voilà– **((SD rit.)) ((JL rit**, se rapproche de SD et lui touche le bras.))

Le malaise manifesté au début de la séquence à l'étude vis-à-vis de la consigne ne s'évacue pas par la suite. En effet, durant la séquence d'ouverture de chaque intervention, tous les chefs ont utilisé des stratégies d'autodéfense. On relève entre autres le marqueur d'opposition « mais » utilisé comme ouvreur, affichant d'emblée une opposition avec l'idée de ne pas être capable d'envoyer un FFA à leur adversaire. On observe chez Duceppe : « Mais, je pense que Madame May a des préoccupations au niveau de l'environnement fort importantes. » (ligne 21) ; on note chez Layton : « Mais voilà– ((SD rit.)) ((JL rit, se rapproche de SD et lui touche le bras.)) Voilà, c'est un professeur comme moi. » (ligne 49). Selon Maingueneau (cité par Marchand 1998 : 115) : « Le mais de réfutation récuse la légitimité de ce qu'un destinataire a dit ou pensé, pourrait avoir dit ou pensé ». En effet, le connecteur « mais » agit comme stratégie de réfutation, ayant l'effet de nier et de rectifier l'idée présupposée de ne pas être capable de relever le défi de flatter son adversaire.

D'autres indices révélant une autodéfense ont été perceptibles dans notre analyse. Harper, par exemple, a adopté un ton de voix plus aigu et hésitant pour dire « Monsieur Layton, Jack, eu… Je peux– Je peux dire des bonnes choses sur Jack » (ligne 68). May aussi a éprouvé des difficultés au départ, en raison de ses hésitations, prenant de la ligne 124 jusqu'à 127, avant de commencer à donner des FFA. Elle affirme en plus : « j'ai trouvé (*sic*) fort pour, comme vous avez peut-être souviens, pour trouver les choses que nous avons ensemble partagées » (ligne 127).

Dion, pour sa part, s'est défendu d'emblée de « mettre en cause la sincérité » de Duceppe (voir Extrait 5 : ligne 94). Néanmoins, comme les autres, il laisse transparaître des indices d'un malaise à l'idée d'envoyer des FFA à son adversaire : sa gorge se serre quand il prononce son premier « oui » (Extrait 5 : ligne 91) et les mots « au contraire » (Extrait 5 : ligne 96). Il serre aussi ses pouces quand il laisse aller son FFA (Extrait 5 : ligne 98) :

Extrait 5

	SB 8 : Monsieur Dion, vous nous avez
90	parlé récemment de ce que vous étiez aussi, vous, fier nationaliste québécois.
	SD 1 : **<Oui. >**
	SB 9 : Vous pouvez dire ça dans le bleu des yeux à Gilles Duceppe ((EM rit.)) ((GD sourit.)) en vantant ses mérites. ((SB rit.)
	SD 2 : ((SD acquiesce de la tête.)) → Oui, certainement, c'est pas moi qui ((SD
95	jette un regard vers SH.)) va mettre en cause la sincérité ((SD regarde GD et hoche la tête.)) de Monsieur Duceppe**. <Au contraire>**, je pense qu'il veut vraiment tout faire pour aider les Québécois et le Québec, **((SD joue avec ses pouces.))**

3.2 Des FFA servant surtout ses propres objectifs

Malgré le malaise des candidats à l'idée de donner des qualités de leur adversaire, les chefs doivent répondre à la consigne. Ils finissent donc par produire quelques FFA. Néanmoins, on relève plusieurs formes de FFA : les directs, les inclusifs (du locuteur), les détournés vers soi-même, ceux valorisant explicitement sa propre face, les bémolisés ou affaiblis et, finalement, ceux servant à envoyer subtilement de façon détournée un FTA au premier ministre, la réelle cible.

Les FFA directs destinés à leur adversaire sont rares. On en retrouve à quelques reprises, par exemple : quand Duceppe dit que May a « des préoccupations environnementales fort importantes » (ligne 21), quand Layton dit à Dion qu'il est « honnête » et « intelligent » (ligne 51), lorsque Harper dit apprécier que Layton est « honnête envers le débat » (ligne 85), ou encore lorsque May dit à Harper qu'il est un « bon père » (ligne 130). On remarque toutefois que les FFA directs produits par Harper et Dion ne sont arrivés qu'à la clôture de leur intervention, ce qui pourrait être interprété comme des actes réparateurs de leur déviance de la consigne. Concernant les FFA directs, il est intéressant de constater qu'ils concernent généralement les qualités personnelles plutôt que politiques.

Les FFA bémolisés sont ceux qui sont suivis d'atténuateurs qui ont pour effet d'affaiblir l'acte de langage flatteur. Ce procédé est surtout utilisé par Dion, par exemple quand il dit que Duceppe a un sens de l'État « quand il est à son meilleur » (ligne 114). May également se servira de cette stratégie, en disant à Harper qu'il est un homme de principe, tout en ajoutant que les dits principes vont conduire le pays dans une « direction dangereux (*sic*) » (ligne 135).

Les FFA inclusifs, c'est-à-dire ceux utilisés pour s'inclure parmi les destinataires du FFA, sont plus nombreux que les FFA directs. Par exemple c'est le cas de Duceppe quand il remercie May pour avoir eu des « bonnes paroles pour le Bloc » (ligne 37) ; le cas de Layton quand il dit à Dion qu'il est un « professeur » comme lui (ligne 50) ; le cas aussi de Harper quand il remercie Layton d'avoir coopéré « avec le gouvernement » (ligne 78) ; et le cas de Dion quand il affirme viser la « même chose » que Duceppe, soit de vouloir aider le Québec (ligne 100). Il est intéressant de souligner qu'il n'y a en fait que May qui ne détourne jamais ainsi subtilement un seul FFA vers elle-même.

Les FFA produits envers soi-même ne sont pas toujours aussi subtils. En effet, les chefs réussissent à insérer certains FFA qui sont bien explicites dans lesquels une certaine valorisation de soi est très clairement énoncée. Voici des exemples : « il faut élire des députés du Bloc » (Duceppe, ligne 41) ; « comme premier ministre, je vais le faire » (Layton, ligne 61) ; « C'est ce que le Parti libéral pourra offrir » (Dion, ligne 111), etc. Si Harper n'a pas été aussi explicite durant la première partie, il l'a été néanmoins durant la deuxième, par exemple quand il fait son auto-éloge à la clôture du débat, en disant avoir dirigé le plus long mandat d'un gouvernement minoritaire dans l'histoire du pays (ligne 317). Le premier ministre en a quand même profité souvent pour rappeler son rôle de « gouvernement » dans la première partie, ce qui constitue un taxème qui lui est particulier, comparativement aux autres chefs. Enfin, encore une fois, May est la seule à ne pas s'auto-décerner de FFA direct ou valoriser son propre parti, durant toute la séquence du débat.

Enfin, certains FFA donnés à leur adversaire ont pu être transformés en FTA pour être détournés vers le premier ministre Harper, leur véritable adversaire. Deux chefs ont

surtout utilisé cette stratégie, soit Duceppe et Dion. Duceppe, par exemple, rappelle qu'il a participé avec May à des événements importants où les experts « dénonçaient tous la politique du gouvernement Harper » (ligne 27). Dion, lui, affirme que Duceppe a raison « quand il dit qu'il faut pas que Monsieur Harper devienne majoritaire » (ligne 105). De plus, au début de son intervention, le chef libéral soutient Duceppe en déclarant, contrairement à Harper, ne pas remettre en cause sa sincérité, tout en jetant un regard déictique accusateur envers Harper (ligne 95) : « Oui, certainement, c'est pas moi qui va mettre en cause la sincérité de Monsieur Duceppe. »

Finalement, même s'ils ont produits des FFA, on peut voir que les chefs s'en sont généralement servis à leurs propres fins. Ils ne se sont pas gênés non plus pour envoyer des FTA, malgré la consigne.

3.3 Des FTA, malgré tout

Certains chefs ont profité de la consigne pour produire des FTA explicites, parfois envers leur adversaire ou encore pour attaquer le premier ministre. Au niveau des FTA envers leur adversaire, par exemple, Layton a clairement critiqué le bilan du Parti libéral de Dion (ligne 52) : « Mais malheureusement, son parti a… pendant treize ans… pas un bilan, eu… des étoiles, si vous voulez. » Pour sa part, Dion a également dit à Duceppe qu'il manquait un peu d'ambition (ligne 107) : « il manque un peu d'ambition. » Il faut noter deux choses importantes néanmoins. D'abord, les FTA relevés dans le corpus concernent strictement un aspect politique ou idéologique de leur adversaire concerné. De plus, ils sont toujours accompagnés de minimisateurs ou coussins atténuateurs (ex. : « un peu », une hésitation, etc.) et/ou même un rire complice (ex. : celui entre Dion et Duceppe, quand il est dit de son adversaire qu'il manque d'ambition, à la ligne 107). Il y a bien d'autres atténuateurs au niveau non verbal et paraverbal. Nous n'abordons ici que ceux au niveau verbal. Aucun FTA n'est émis directement à la face de son adversaire sans qu'on y décèle des indices d'un certain malaise ou un enrobage de politesse négative.

Certains chefs ont souvent dérivé délibérément de la consigne et se sont permis de concentrer leurs attaques sur le premier ministre, la réelle cible. On peut ainsi retrouver cette affirmation de Duceppe : « pour vaincre et empêcher une majorité de Monsieur Harper, il faut élire des députés du Bloc québécois » (ligne 41). Il y a également celle-ci, de la part de Dion : « C'est ce que le Parti libéral pourra offrir, eu… plutôt que les conservateurs » (ligne 112). Il est toutefois intéressant de noter que ces FTA sont produits alors que les chefs parlent *de* Harper, et non *à* Harper. Le message est quand même assez clair pour tout le monde, y compris les téléspectateurs (qui sont en fait toujours le réel destinataire visé par les candidats).

4. CONCLUSION

Dans cette recherche, nous avons voulu savoir comment les candidats aux élections fédérales de 2008 au Canada, en plein milieu du débat télévisé des chefs en français, ont pu utiliser des stratégies verbales relevant du système de la (im)politesse pour tirer leur épingle du jeu, dans le contexte d'une question venant d'un téléspectateur qui les a mis dans une situation de « double contrainte » fortement prononcée, les poussant à devoir donner des points positifs à leur adversaire pour répondre à la consigne s'ils veulent

gagner le débat, ce qui va à l'encontre des règles habituelles d'un débat politique télévisé, soit de marquer des points pour soi et se faire valoir.

Tel que démontré à l'aide de notre analyse, les chefs produisent des actes flatteurs (FFA) envers leur adversaire – ils doivent répondre au citoyen, à défaut d'être disqualifiés en direct. Toutefois, il a été démontré clairement dans notre analyse que la plupart du temps, ces FFA ont servi à atteindre leurs objectifs personnels. En effet, de façon générale, ils s'en sont servis – quelquefois par le biais de la reprise dialogique – pour s'inclure à l'occasion parmi les destinataires de leur FFA, ou encore pour s'allier avec leur adversaire et attaquer finalement le premier ministre, l'ultime adversaire. D'ailleurs, les chefs ne se sont pas gênés pour lancer des FTA malgré tout, y compris à l'adversaire de leur gauche, contrairement à ce qu'exigeait la consigne. Il a néanmoins été intéressant de constater que les FTA concernaient essentiellement l'aspect idéologique ou partisan de leur adversaire, alors que les FFA utilisés pour répondre à la consigne touchaient généralement leur côté plus intime ou personnel.

Enfin, les résultats obtenus révèlent des stratégies divergentes chez Elizabeth May, qui avait sans doute le plus grand défi d'entre tous : flatter le premier ministre, celui qui a été la cible principale d'attaques de tous côtés depuis le début du débat. Malgré tout, elle s'est distinguée au niveau des FFA au cours du débat, que ce soit dans la première ou dans la deuxième partie de notre corpus. En effet, elle est à peu près la seule à avoir utilisé des FFA directs et francs (voir Extrait 6 : lignes 130 et 132), sans les détourner en sa faveur :

Extrait 6

130	pense que vous êtes un… un bon piè– père pour les en– pour– avec vos enfants. Les enfants : très charmants, très engagés. ((EM sourit à SH.)) Et je pense que vos efforts pour le pays du Canada sont basés sur vos principes.

Si May n'a pas pu utiliser des alliances pour attaquer le premier ministre, contrairement aux autres, elle a misé sur l'intégrité en lui lançant directement un FTA à la ligne 135 (« je pense que vos– votre– vos principes va changer Canada dans une direction dangereux »), qui disqualifie du même coup l'un des FFA qu'elle lui avait destiné, à la ligne 132, au sujet de ses valeurs idéologiques : les efforts de Harper pour le pays sont basés sur ses principes, mais ses principes sont « dangereux ». Elle s'est permis tout de même une petite gêne et a atténué ses FTA à plusieurs reprises. Elle a, par exemple, utilisé un euphémisme (« autocrate »), à la ligne 143, au lieu d'un mot plus dur (ex. : « dictateur », « tyran », etc.). De plus, elle n'a pas hésité à la ligne 131 à enrober de procédés de politesse positive les FFA qu'elle envoie à Harper au sujet de ses enfants et de ses efforts pour le pays, avant de lui lancer les FTA.

Ce n'est pas seulement avec Harper que les stratégies de May ont été singulières. Plus loin dans le débat (voir Extrait 7), on a pu la voir dans d'autres interventions renforcer des FFA que Jack Layton s'administrait, en qualifiant d'« éloquent » le discours de leur ancien chef de parti, et venir même carrément au secours de Gilles Duceppe en difficulté – sans qu'elle ne soit sollicitée de le faire, alors même que l'animateur avait placé le chef du Bloc québécois sur la sellette – en appuyant son idée pour le soutenir. Personne d'autre durant le débat ne produit de FFA de façon aussi gratuite et altruiste, surtout pas pour sauver la face de qui que ce soit.

Extrait 7

EM 15 : C'est le dernier discours de Monsieur Broadbent. Je le souviens très bien.
JL 5 : [Oui.]
EM 16 : C'est très, eu… éléqu– eu… éloquent ?
JL 6 : Oui.
EM 17 : Et il a rét– eu… souligné les droits humains dans le niveau de Nations Unies. Il– Il y a le respect l'un à l'autre ici, dans cette Chambre des communes… Nous manque le respect là. Je pense pour le- le leadership, c'est très important de faire ce– comme Monsieur Duceppe a dit, devoir servir le public. Il faut d'être à l'écoute des citoyens.

Elizabeth May a donc bien pu tirer son épingle du jeu, malgré l'ampleur du défi qui l'attendait pourtant. En effet, son comportement honnête et poli dénote par rapport au comportement des autres candidats. Se pose alors la question à savoir s'il y a un lien avec le fait que May soit une femme. Son comportement est-il représentatif de stratégies typiquement « féminines » ? De plus, y a-t-il une corrélation possible avec le fait que la Parti vert soit le 5^{e} parti à la Chambre des communes, donc un parti marginal, ayant ainsi une plus grande marge de manoeuvre discursive ? Si l'on se réfère à ce qui est démontré par plusieurs chercheurs, plus le discours se rapproche du pouvoir, plus il se « vide » de contenu, devient « ramasse-tout », « neutre », etc. Ainsi, les petits partis auraient tendance à être plus affirmatifs de leurs valeurs et n'hésiteraient pas à afficher plus clairement leur position idéologique. En fonction des résultats obtenus, nous ne pouvons que formuler des hypothèses à cet égard. Un regard dans la littérature autour de la théorie du genre, ou encore du discours en marginalité, pourraient nous donner des pistes intéressantes à suivre.

En plus des pistes mentionnées ci-haut, il serait intéressant d'élargir les horizons de la recherche à d'autres situations de « double contrainte », un phénomène particulièrement présent dans notre vie quotidienne en société. De telles analyses peuvent s'avérer précieuses pour nous aider à mieux pénétrer les rouages du langage dans la gestion de l'alter et de l'ego en interaction.

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APPENDICE: Transcription du corpus

[citoyen] : Bonjour. Vous êtes les leaders politiques du Canada et votre travail est de vous assurer du mieux-être et du bien-être des Canadiens, au-delà des chicanes partisanes. Dans ce contexte, pouvez-vous nommer au moins un bon coup ou une qualité de l'adversaire qui se trouve à votre gauche ?

SB 1 : ((SB rit.)) Question intéressante, pour laquelle vous étiez peut-être pas préparés. ((SD s'ajuste sur sa chaise et bouge ses papiers.)) ((JL se gratte le nez et se frotte les doigts.)) ((GD bouge les doigts et se rajuste sur sa chaise.)) Alors, vous êtes pas certaine d'avoir bien compris ?

EM 1 : Non, je n'ai pas bien compris. Pardon.

SB 2 : [Eu… Alors, eu…] Vous allez voir, c'est assez simple. Il suffit de voir ce que va faire Monsieur Duceppe, puisqu'il va parler de vous, madame May, et égal–

GD 1 : [Ah], je croyais que je parlais de vous, Monsieur Bureau : vous êtes à ma gauche…

SB 3 : [Alors, c'est–]

GD 2 : Vous posez bien les questions !

EM 2 : ((rire))

SB 4 : Oui, j'aurais beaucoup aimé ça, mais malheureusement vous parlez de madame May, qui est à votre gauche dans ce cas-ci. ((JL retouche ses manches.)) ((SD joue avec son stylo.))

GD 3 : Mais, je pense que Madame May a des préoccupations au niveau de l'environnement fort importantes. ((GD tourne son regard vers EM et penche son buste dans sa direction.)) On a participé d'ailleurs ensemble, hein, à des rencontres à Ottawa où on a honoré les scientifiques, hein, qui ont mérité ce prix, avec Al Gore=

EM 3 : [Oui, oui.] ((EM acquiesce de la tête.))

GD 4 : =et qui dénonçaient tous la politique du gouvernement Harper. ((GD fait un geste accusateur avec les index et penche son buste vers l'avant.))

EM 4 : Oui.

GD 5 : Et ça, j'en suis redevable à madame May qui a bien fait ce travail-là. ↑ Je lui dis cependant – ↓ je pense qu'elle est d'accord avec moi ((GD regarde EM et hoche de la tête de façon affirmative.)) ((EM acquiesce de la tête.)) –, ↑ si on veut empêcher Monsieur Harper d'avoir une majorité, hein, bien, ((GD penche son buste vers l'avant, en ouvrant les bras et les paumes de main tournées vers le haut.)) il faut faire en sorte qu'on le batte. Et puis, je pense que notre programme – ((GD tourne son regard vers EM, penche son buste vers elle et tend les bras vers elle.)) → et vous l'avez déjà reconnu en disant que Bernard Bigras était le meilleur critique en environnement puis le Bloc avait été le parti le plus solide en environnement au parlement. Je pense qu'au Québec, ((GD commence à relâcher un sourire en coin.)) pour vaincre et empêcher une majorité de Monsieur Harper, il faut élire des députés du Bloc Québécois. Je vous remercie d'avoir dit et eu ces bonnes paroles pour le Bloc. ((GD rit.))

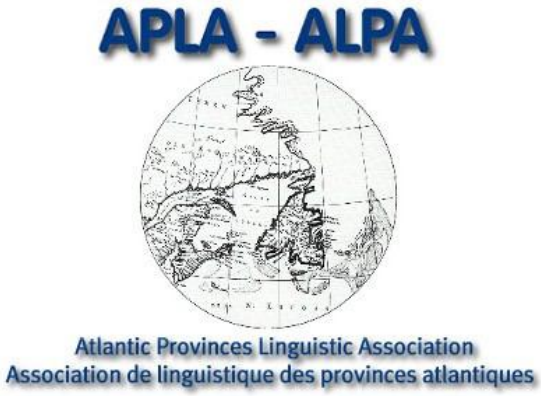
EM 5 : ((EM rit.)) Oui. ((EM rit.)

SB 5 : Alors, vous avez compris l'exercice ?

EM 6 : Oui, oui, oui.
SB 6 : Mais c'est pas à vous encore. C'est Monsieur Layton ((EM rit.)) qui doit dire du bien de son voisin de gauche, Monsieur Dion, en le regardant dans les yeux. Ça va être beau, ça. ((SB rit.))
JL 1 : Mais voilà– ((SD rit.)) ((JL rit, se rapproche de SD et lui touche le bras.)) Voilà, c'est un professeur comme moi. ((JL se vise avec ses mains, puis rapproche son buste vers SD.)) C'est un homme honnête, intelligent. Mais malheureusement, ↓ son parti a… ((JL s'abaisse la tête.)) [ǂ] pendant treize ans… ((JL se rabaisse la tête.)) pas un bilan, eu… ((JL mime des guillemets.)) des étoiles, si vous voulez. ↑ ((JL se redresse droit et produit des battements rythmiques de la tête.)) Mais ce que j'ai apprécié, c'est que / on peut travailler ensemble. ((JL regarde Dion.)) On– Et avec ↑ tous les partis, et ↑ tous les chefs ((JL ouvre grand les bras et regarde tout le monde.)) ((SD se retire contre le dos de sa chaise.)), on a travaillé dans la Chambre des communes d'une façon respectueuse. Et moi, je peux– ↑ je pense que c'était le… l'essentiel de cette question. ((SD avance son buste et regarde JL.)) ((JL jette un bref regard régulateur vers SD.)) C'est comme (sic) le citoyen nous demande de travailler pour les meilleurs résultats. ↑ Et comme premier ministre, je vais le faire. Je vais rassembler les leaders pour avoir les discussions, pour assurer de faire avancer les préoccupations ((JL produit un regard synchronisateur envers SD.)) des familles. ((SD répond au synchronisateur de JL en acquiesçant.))
SB 7 : Merci, eu… beaucoup. Notre prochain à se prononcer, c'est Monsieur Harper sur Monsieur Layton.
SH 1 : ((SH regarde JL et sourit.)) Monsieur Layton, Jack, eu… Je peux– ↑ <Je peux dire> des bonnes choses sur Jack ((SH lève la main droite et la rabaisse en balayant.)), malgré nos grandes différences ((SH sourit et effectue des « va-et-vients » kinémimiques avec ses mains.)) en… en philosophie, nous avons travaillé ensemble sur des questions où nous sommes– ((SH produit des battements rythmiques de la main droite et de la tête, en plus de pencher la tête vers JL, en le regardant et en haussant les sourcils.)) où nous étions d'accord. ((JL hoche la tête.)) Par exemple, la reconnaissance de la nation québécoise, ((JL hoche la tête.)) les excuses pour les Aut– les écoles autochtones ((SH bat de la main droite.)) où vous avez fait un très… ((SH tend la gauche bien ouverte vers JL.)) ((JL hoche la tête.)) un très bon travail avec le gouvernement et je l'ai mentionné à la Chambre des communes. ↑ Même sur la Loi sur la– l'imputabilité à la responsabilité, ((SH tend la main vers JL.)) nous avons eu des différences, ((SH effectue des « va-et-vients » kinémimiques avec ses mains.)) mais nous avons eu beaucoup de… beaucoup de points communs. Et moi, je trouve en général que, malgré nos différences, que=
JL 2 : Énormes.
SH 2 : =vous– ((JL rit.)) Vous êtes… Vous êtes honnête envers le débat et je l'apprécie.
JL 3 : ((JL acquiesce de la tête.)) Merci beaucoup.
SB 8 : [Merci], Monsieur Harper. Monsieur Layton qui souligne ici les différences énormes. Monsieur Dion, vous nous avez parlé récemment de ce que vous étiez aussi, vous, fier nationaliste québécois.

SD 1 : <Oui. >
SB 9 : Vous pouvez dire ça dans le bleu des yeux à Gilles Duceppe ((EM rit.)) ((GD sourit.)) en vantant ses mérites. ((SB rit.)
SD 2 : ((SD acquiesce de la tête.)) → Oui, certainement, c'est pas moi qui ((SD jette un regard vers SH.)) va mettre en cause la sincérité ((SD regarde GD et hoche la tête.)) de Monsieur Duceppe. <Au contraire>, je pense qu'il veut vraiment tout faire pour aider les Québécois et le Québec, ((SD joue avec ses pouces.)) et– On a un désaccord sur la façon dont on doit s'y prendre ((SD bat des mains et hoche de la tête, en regardant brièvement GD.)) ((GD acquiesce de la tête et pointe ses mains vers SD.)), mais on vise la même chose ((SD détourne le regard.)) ((GD se redresse sur sa chaise, incline la tête en direction de SD et en maintenant le regard vers lui.)) En tant que chefs d'opposition, on a coopéré très souvent. Ça a été une belle expérience pour moi. ((SD hoche de la tête.)) Eu…
Bien sûr, je trouve que Monsieur Duceppe a raison ((SD regarde Duceppe.)) quand il dit qu'il faut pas que Monsieur Harper devienne majoritaire. C'est une chose– ((SD regarde GD en hochant la tête.)) ((GD acquiesce de la tête, sourit et pointe SD avec ses pouces.)) Puis je trouve que là, il manque un peu d'ambition. ((SD agite les mains vers Duceppe, le regarde, penche son buste vers lui et sourit.)) ((GD rit, mais se redresse de suite après sur sa chaise.)) En fait, on devrait avoir un gouvernement ↑ progressiste qui va travailler pour ↑ tous les Canadiens. C'est ce que le Parti libéral pourra offrir, eu… ((SD désigne SH avec sa main.)) plutôt que les conservateurs. Donc, on peut faire un pas de plus ((SD bat la main et la tête, en regardant GD.)) dans cette direction. Je voudrais ajouter que Monsieur Duceppe, quand il est à son meilleur, ((SD serre les pouces, puis gesticule des mains.)) a un sens de l'État et ça, c'est très apprécié <de ma part>. ((SD se serre les lèvres.)) ((GD incline la tête légèrement, horizontalement, puis détourne le regard.))
SB 10 : Merci beaucoup, Monsieur Dion. Alors, vous terminerez le bal, madame May. Vous avez compris les règles du jeu ?
EM 7 : [Oui.]
SB 11 : Et il reste une personne dont on n'a pas encore parlé.
EM 8 : [Oui.]
SB 12 : C'est Monsieur Harper, qui est à votre gauche.
EM 9 : Oui, je pense que Monsieur Harper et Monsieur Layton ont travaillé d– fort ((EM regarde et pointe JL.)) pour ↑ quelque chose ensemble, mais je laissais ça pour le moment ((EM balaye l'air de la main.)) parce que j'arriveras ici. Je suis très heureuse avec ça. ((EM regarde SH.)) Monsieur Harper, j'ai trouvé fort pour, ((EM gesticule.)) comme vous avez peut-être souviens, ((SH se frotte le poignet nerveusement.)) pour trouver les choses que nous avons ensemble partagées. Je pense que vous êtes un… un bon piè– père pour les en– pour– avec vos enfants.
Les enfants : très charmants, très engagés. ((EM sourit à SH.)) Et je pense que vos efforts pour le pays du Canada sont basés sur vos principes. Mais, évidemment, ((EM lève ses bras de chaque côté, en ouvrant la paume des mains vers le haut.)) ((SH ferme les yeux brièvement et on entend quelqu'un relâcher un léger soupir.)) je– je pense que vos– votre– vos principes va changer Canada dans une direction dangereux. Alors, aussi, aussi, c'est

SB 13 : Mer…
EM 10 : C'est o– C'est– Malheureusement, je pense que votre sorte de leadership=
SB 14 : [Merci…]
SD 3 : [xxx] débat, là.
SB 15 : Alors– Alors–
EM 11 : =c'est plus autocrate. ((EM affiche une mimique faciale exprimant le dédain.))
SB 16 : Merci, madame May. ((SD rit.))
EM 12 : Oui. Oui.
SD 4 : C'est pas le débat, là.
EM 13 : Oui. Oui.
SB 17 : Bien, le débat, on parle de leadership et moi je vais vous poser une question.
EM 14 : ((EM se tourne vers SH, le regarde et se rapproche de lui, en lui touchant le bras.)) [xxx]
SD 5 : Bon. ((SD détourne son regard vers le stylo avec lequel il commence à jouer.))
SB 18 : Cette question a été posée, Stéphane Dion. C'est qu'il y en a plusieurs qui, quand ils voient les campagnes électorales, se demandent c'est quoi le ton approprié.
SD 6 : Oui. ((SD hoche la tête plusieurs fois.))


APLA - ALPA
Atlantic Provinces Linguistic Association
Association de linguistique des provinces atlantiques

⇦ THE LANGUAGE OF QUOTATIONS IN HONG KONG CHINESE NEWSPAPERS

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In Hong Kong standard written Chinese is Mandarin while Cantonese, which is the language of the vast majority of the territory's population and is entirely acceptable when spoken, has very low status in its written form. This poses a problem for newspaper editors when quoting Cantonese speech. In the past, it was translated into Mandarin, but in recent years there has been an increasing use of Cantonese. This article examines the reporting of a speech in two different newspapers, the quality *Ming Pao* and the mass circulation *Apple Daily*, to study whether there was variation in the amount of Cantonese in the quotations. It was found that there was slightly less in *Ming Pao* than in *Apple Daily*, though not as much as might have been expected. There was also a greater use of quotation in *Ming Pao,* which again was not expected based on earlier research. However, comparison with the actual words as recorded in a YouTube video revealed that both newspapers still reduced the amount of Cantonese.

1 INTRODUCTION

The present article discusses quotations in Chinese newspapers and, in particular, examines an account, in two different newspapers, of remarks made by Li Ka-shing at the annual shareholders meeting of Hutchison Whampoa Limited and Cheung Kong Holdings. According to the business magazine *Forbes*, Li, who is the Chairman of the two companies concerned, is the eighth richest person in the world as of March 2013, with an estimated wealth of US $31 billion. This is of relevance since his status validates Cantonese, which he often uses and which he also used in this meeting rather than Mandarin or English.

Quoted speech in Hong Kong newspapers is of particular interest due to the language situation in the territory. Cantonese is one of the three official *spoken* languages, the others being Mandarin and English. However, there are only two official *written* languages, Mandarin and English. Although Cantonese can be written, the written form is looked down on as being low class, uneducated and crude, and has traditionally been reserved for working class material, popular songs and light entertainment. It is not used for serious matters. Spoken Cantonese does not suffer from this discrimination, and it is widely used in Hong Kong in all areas, from the lowest to the highest ranks of society. It is also the language most commonly used in the Hong Kong Legislative Council. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that Snow (2004) reports that in recent years there has been an increasing use of Cantonese in Hong Kong newspapers. For a review of Snow's study, see Lister (2009).

The problem for newspaper editors is how to quote Cantonese speech, since reproducing the speech verbatim could be seen as denigrating the speaker. An alternative is to translate the quotation into Mandarin, but this risks losing nuances of meaning. A

third solution is to employ indirect speech. This allows much more leeway since the speech can be summarized, and for that purpose the use of Mandarin is entirely acceptable.

The problem does not exist across the border in the province of Guangzhou. Even though Cantonese is widely spoken there, it is not an official language. All newspapers are written in Mandarin, and speeches and talks are given mainly in Mandarin. Cantonese speech, when it does occur, is translated into Mandarin. This is in line with the official policy of the Chinese government, which is to promote Mandarin and to discourage the use of dialects. In laissez-faire Hong Kong, in comparison, editors are free to publish in whatever dialect they please, and they encounter no obstacles in using Cantonese. The contrast between newspaper quotations in Hong Kong and in Guangzhou is quite dramatic, the former appearing more colourful and authentic, the latter more official and formal. It does appear also, from a cursory examination, that the frequency of quotations is higher in Hong Kong newspapers than in the mainland press.

One of the problems encountered for this study was determining the original language of a particular quotation. However, if there are any Cantonese characters in the direct quotation, it is virtually certain that the original was Cantonese. If the quote is entirely in Mandarin, the original may have been in English, Mandarin or Cantonese.

A further problem is defining exactly what is Cantonese and what is Mandarin. Some terms are clearly Cantonese, and are represented by a series of characters that are specific to Cantonese. However, some words exist in Mandarin also but with different meanings, or are used in a different way, or occur far less frequently. Cantonese speakers are also not always certain whether particular terms or words are also used in Mandarin, and sometimes they will err on the side of caution. The best way to establish whether a particular word is Cantonese is to ask native speakers of Mandarin whether they would understand and/or use it, though this method is not completely foolproof. Another related problem is that formal Cantonese is very similar to Mandarin, and there may be little or no difference between the two in a given quotation.

In this paper, it is assumed that the speech studied was in Cantonese, since Cantonese terms are scattered throughout the quotes. If it had been in English or Mandarin, this would certainly not have been the case. Moreover, part of the speech was broadcast on YouTube, including many of the quotations mentioned in this paper.

The amount of Cantonese in Hong Kong newspapers varies. Quality newspapers, such as *Ming Pao*, have traditionally used less Cantonese than popular mass circulation newspapers such as *Apple Daily*, and the pro People's Republic of China newspaper *Wen Wei Po* contains little or no Cantonese, as is the case with newspapers in Guangzhou. The choice of language is both political and cultural. *Ming Pao* tends to use less Cantonese than *Apple Daily* for cultural reasons, and it is considered to be among the best newspapers for its use of Chinese.

According to a Media Credibility Survey conducted by The Chinese University of Hong Kong in 2006, *Ming Pao* was selected as the most credible Chinese language newspaper. It aims at providing comprehensive and accurate reports on political and economic issues in Hong Kong and mainland China. Well known for its accuracy in language, many secondary schools in Hong Kong encourage their students to subscribe to *Ming Pao* to improve their Chinese language.

Wen Wei Po, on the other hand, avoids Cantonese in accordance with the Chinese

government's policy of promoting Mandarin and of discouraging the use of other varieties of Chinese. The mass circulation *Apple Daily* uses Cantonese to identify more closely with its readership and to demonstrate its opposition to China's language policy of promoting Mandarin at the expense of regional dialects.

This study examines reporting of the speech made by Li Ka-shing to shareholders on 5 August 2011. It compares the reports in two different newspapers, the quality *Ming Pao* and the mass circulation *Apple Daily*.

2. QUOTATIONS

2.1 Two examples of quotations in *Ming Pao*

There were 14 quotations in the *Ming Pao* article. One was repeated three times; one was repeated twice; and there were 12 indirect quotations. No distinction is made between different types of quotations, such as the three categories – direct quotations, iconic quotations and iconic expressions - identified by So Fung Ming (1998)[1]. The first quotation in the passage, given in (1), is the one that is repeated three times. Cantonese words and expressions are in bold type.

(1) 「要 **識 得 做 嘢, 唔 係 剩 係 識 得** 口 講」
‘Jiu3 **sik1 dak1 zou6 je5**, **m4 hai6 zing6 hai6 sik1 dak1** hau2 gong2.’
must know do things, not is only know mouth speak

‘He must know how to do things, and not only talk.’

The quotation is almost completely in Cantonese, probably because it was an important statement by Li concerning one of the candidates in the election for Hong Kong's Chief Executive. It was probably safer to report it word for word in the original language rather than translate it into Mandarin. In addition, the sentence would also lose some of its flavour and impact in translation.

In the quotation given in (2), there are only a few Cantonese words or expressions. It is certainly not accurate reporting since the mixture of Mandarin and Cantonese would be most unlikely in normal Cantonese speech. For example, the possessive particle 的(Mandarin *de, C*antonese *dik1*), the verb *to be* 是(Mandarin *shì* , Cantonese *si6*) , and the negative 不(Mandarin *bù*, Cantonese *bat1*) are Mandarin, and in Cantonese would be respectively 嘅 *ge3,* 係 *hai6* and 唔 *m4*, while 點解 *dim2 gaai2* ‘why’, is Cantonese for Mandarin 為什麼 *wèishéme* and Cantonese 成日, *seng4 jat6* ‘all day’, in Mandarin would be 整天 *zhěng tiān*. 叻*lek1* ‘clever’ is a Cantonese adjective. In Mandarin the character exists but is only used in place names.

(2) 「司長 的意思 是，你 **點解 成日** complain（抱怨），
‘Si1 zoeng2 dik1 ji3 si1 si6, nei5 **dim2 gaai2 seng4 jat6** complain (pou5 jyun3),
the chief LP meaning is, you why all day complain (complain),

點解 不努力去學些什麼。我 14 歲打工
dim2 gaai2 bat1 nou5 lik6 heoi3 hok6 se1 sam6 mo1 . Ngo5 14 seoi3 daa2 gung1
why not strive go learn some things. I 14 years work

負 擔 起 家 庭， 一 路 走 來， 我 不 是 最 **叻** 那 個，
fu6 daam1 hei2 gaa1 ting4 , jat1 lou6 zau2 loi4 , ngo5 bat1 si6 zeoi3 **lek1** naa5 go3,
support family, one way go come, I not am most clever that one,

但 我 走 的 路 是 可 以 有 成 就 的。」
daan6 ngo5 zau2 dik1 lou6 si6 ho2 ji5 jau5 sing4 zau6 dik1.'
but I go LP way is can have success PRT

'The principal secretary's meaning was, why do you always complain, why do you not energetically go and learn something. When I was fourteen, I worked to support my family. From then until now, I was not the smartest, but the road I took was one which could lead to success.' [PRT=particle]

2.2 Two examples of quotations in *Apple Daily*

In the example from *Apple Daily* given in (3), half of the words or expressions are in Cantonese

(3) 「將 來 2017 年 **你 哋 都 有 得** 選
'Zoeng1 loi4 2017 nin4 **nei5 dei6 dou1 jau5 dak1** syun2,
future 2017 year you also can elect,

而 家 講 早 些 少 **啫**。」
ji4 gaa1 gong2 zou2 se1 siu2 **ze1**.'
now speak early somewhat little PTR

'In the future in 2017, you can also vote, I only spoke now a little early.'

The second example, given in (4), contains no Cantonese at all and is interesting since Li Ka-shing was quoting from a speech that he delivered to graduating students in Shantou, China, and that would have been in Mandarin.

(4)「逆 境 和 挑 戰 只 要 能 激 發 起 生 命 的
'Jik6 ging2 wo4 tiu1 zin3 zi2 jiu3 nang4 gik1 faat3 hei2 sang1 ming6 dik1
hardship and challenges only must can arouse life LP

力 度, 我 們 的 成 就 是 可 以 超 乎 自 己
lik6 dou6, ngo5 mun4 dik1 sing4 zau6 si6 ho2 ji5 ciu1 fu4 zi6 gei2
vigour, our LP accomplishments is can surpass self

所 想 像 的」
so2 soeng2 zoeng6 dik1'
all imagined PRT

'As long as hardship and challenges can arouse life's vigour, then our achievements can surpass our own imagination.' [LP=linking particle]

However, it is likely that he quoted his words with Cantonese pronunciation with a few minor changes, such as replacing Mandarin *shi4* "to be" with its Cantonese equivalent *hai6*. The whole passage would then have been translated back to Mandarin by the reporter.

2.3 Comparison of a quotation in *Ming Pao*, *Apple Daily* and YouTube

The following quotation appeared in the two newspapers, and Li's actual words were also recorded in a YouTube video clip (no longer available). In *Ming Pao*, the quotation is reported as in (5).

(5) 他 表 示，為 免 對 「有 心 和 有 可 能 出 來 選
Taa1 biu2 si6, wai6 min5 deoi3 'jau5 sam1 wo4 yau5 ho2 nang4 ceot1 loi4 syun2
he said , to avoid have intention and have probability participate elect

特 首 的 人 士 不 公 道」，不 會 評 論 個 別
dak6 sau2 dik1 yan4 si6 bat1 gung1 dou6', bat1 wui5 ping4 leon6 go3 bit6
leader LP people not fair , not will comment individual

人 選.
jan4 syun2
contestants.

'He said, in order to avoid 'being unjust to people who intend to and have the probability of participating in the election for the leader', he would not comment on individual contestants.'

In the *Apple Daily* reporting, given in (6), Li's words are reported more directly.

(6) 李 嘉 誠 拒 絕 評 論 個 別 人 選，
Lei5 gaa1 sing4 keoi5 zyut6 ping4 leon6 go3 bit6 jan4 syun2.
Li Ka shing refused comment individual contestants

「我 講 **乜 嘢**，對 任 何 想 做 特 首
'ngo5 gong2 **mat1 je5** deoi3 jam6 ho4 soeng2 zou6 dak6 sau2
I say anything about any wishes be leader

嘅 人 都 **唔** 公 平」
ge3 jan4 dou1 **m4** gung1 ping4.'
LP person entirely not fair

Li Ka-shing refused to comment on individual contestants, 'It would not be fair if I said anything about any person who wishes to be the leader.'

What Li actually said, transcribed from the YouTube clip, is given in (7).

(7)「我 今 日 講 任 何 **邊** 句 說 話 對 有 心
'Ngo5 gam1 jat6 gong2 jam6 ho4 **bin1** geoi3 syut3 waa6 deoi3 jau5 sam1
I this day say any (?) words about have intention

出	**嚟**	競	選	**嘅**	可	能	**嘅**	特	首	**喺**	**唔**	公	道	**嘅**」
ceot1	**lei4**	ging6	syun2	**ge3**	ho2	nang4	**ge3**	dak6	sau2	**hai2**	**m4**	gung1	dou6	**ge3**’
out	come	compete	election	LP	probable		LP	leader		is	not	fair		PRT

‘I say today that it would not be fair if I said anything about those probable contestants in the leadership election.’ [Note that 邊 *bin1* is probably a mistake for *jat1* ‘one’]

It can be seen that neither newspaper accurately reported the actual words spoken by Li, in spite of the quotation marks, although the general meaning of his remarks was accurately reflected. The quality newspaper *Ming Pao* diverged from the original words by translating them into Mandarin, and it also embedded them in the sentence. The quotation marks could have been omitted, since in this case direct speech and reported speech would have been the same. The only reason the quotation marks were added was to give the appearance of authenticity. Overall, accuracy was sacrificed to language correctness.

The mass circulation *Apple Daily* retained the original Cantonese and, in addition, used the first person pronoun *ngo5*. This version certainly appears more authentic than the translated report in *Ming Pao*, but again it is a summary of what was said rather than a true representation of the actual words. Moreover, while in the audio clip the number of Cantonese words was 12, including the grammatical particle *ge3* that was repeated three times, in *Apple Daily* there were just four Cantonese words, including two occurrences of *ge3.* In *Ming Pao* there were no Cantonese words at all.

3. SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

Table 1 gives some descriptive statistics about the quotations found in the two newspaper reports. There was a greater amount of quotation in the quality *Ming Pao* than in the mass circulation *Apple Daily* (31.5% versus 22.5%). However, the quotations in *Ming Pao* had a slightly lesser percentage of Cantonese words and expressions than in *Apple Daily* (18.4% versus 22.4%).

Table 1
A comparison of the total amount of quotation and the use of Cantonese in the two newspapers

	MING PAO	***APPLE DAILY***
total number of characters in the article	863	595
relative amount of quotation	31.5%	22.5%
percentage of Cantonese in the quotations	18.4%	22.4%

Both results are somewhat unexpected. According to So (1998:76), the overall percentage of quotations in the two newspapers was almost the same: 2.39% for *Apple Daily* and 2.49% for *Ming Pao.* So also reports that the percentages of quotations in *Sing Pao* and the pro People's Chinese Republic newspaper *Wen Wei Po* were 0.28% and 0.20% respectively. However, So's results were based on a larger corpus, and the two passages in this study were chosen specifically for their large number of quotations. So did not examine the use of Cantonese, but one might have expected that there would have been a far greater frequency of Cantonese terms in the quotations in the mass circulation *Apple Daily* than in the quality *Ming Pao*. In fact, there were only a slightly larger number, 22.4% versus 18.4%. However, the fact that one quotation in *Ming Pao* containing ten Cantonese words out of thirteen was repeated three times, may have influenced the results.

Further research would be necessary to determine whether these figures would be confirmed with a larger corpus. It is possible that the use of Cantonese is growing and is now used by even the quality newspapers in direct quotations, while in *Apple Daily* there may be no increase in the use of Cantonese compared with earlier years. To find out whether this is so, it would be necessary to compare the present use of Cantonese in both newspapers with past practice. Both newspapers reduced the number of Cantonese terms, when the quotations were compared with the actual words spoken by Li, as recorded in the YouTube video.

NOTE

1. So Fung Ming (1998:14-15) borrows Yung's concept of iconic quotation (1966) in which "direct discourse is prepared by indirect discourse and emerges from inside it" (Voloshinov 1986:132). She defines an iconic expression as one that is in quotation marks but is in fact not a real quotation, for example, "she seems to know those tricks of his." So shows how journalists can reveal their point of view by their use of quotations, but does not examine the choice of language, Mandarin or Cantonese, or the accuracy of the quotations, both of which can also reveal the journalist's and the newspaper's political bias.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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THE SYNTAX OF NULL PRONOUNS IN RUSSIAN

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This paper focuses on null subjects in Russian root finite clauses, discussing the structural properties of referential and non-referential NS constructions. The question is: What is the structural position of a null pronoun (pro)? Hypothetically, the specifier of tense (Spec,TP) is a position where pro is licensed and interpreted (Rizzi 1986). Under the current assumptions, the licensing head is a complementizer (C), not an inflectional head with rich agreement. This is what Sigurðson (2011) calls "context linking," implying that C is involved in extra-clausal context scanning and clause-internal C/edge linking. In Tsedryk (2015), I implement Sigurðson's idea, proposing that pro is a bare matrix of ϕ-features valued by C. Pro can also be viewed as a regular pronoun that is void of phonetic content (Holmberg 2005). Both approaches are discussed in section 3, where I scrutinize pro from a feature-geometric perspective. Sections 1 and 2 provide empirical background, introducing different types of NSs (section 1) and presenting intervention effects (between C and pro) in the context of Sigurðson's C/edge linking generalization (section 2). As a theoretical framework, I assume a probe-goal model (e.g., Chomsky 2000 et seq.) and a non-cartographic architecture of the clausal spine with three functional categories (v, T and C).

1. NULL SUBJECT TYPES IN RUSSIAN

Historically, Russian evolved from a canonical pro-drop system towards a non-pro-drop one, showing a considerable decline of Null Subjects (NSs) after the middle of the 17th century (Choo 2003:84). From a typological point of view, it is uncontroversial to claim that, compared to West and South Slavic languages, Modern Russian is not a pro-drop language (see, e.g., Lindseth 1998). Even though Russian is not a canonical NS language, it still allows the subject to be dropped. This property of Russian kept it in a somewhat grey zone of the pro-drop/non-pro-drop dichotomy (see Tsedryk 2015 for an overview).

The Russian type of subject drop is sometimes described in terms of topic-drop or ellipsis (Franks 1995, McShane 2009). It is usually agreed that subject drop in Russian is more restricted than it is in canonical NS languages. In fact, a referential subject should not be left unpronounced unless it can be recovered from the immediate discourse or context. A subject gap can have an extra-clausal linguistic antecedent, as in (1a), or it can be associated with a situational referent, as in (1b).

(1)a. Kto-nibud' videl Mašu$_i$? ____$_i$ govorila že, čto ____$_i$ pridët
somebody saw.M Maša.ACC said.F FOC that will.come.3SG
vovremja.
on.time
'Did anybody see Maša? (She) did say that (she) would come on time.'

b. [Pointing toward Maša's friend.]
____$_i$ govorit, čto pjat' minut nazad Maša byla ešče doma.
says.3SG that five minutes ago Maša.NOM was.F still home
'(She) says that five minutes ago Maša was still home.'

Examples (1a-b) show that referential NSs in Russian are compatible with past, present and future tenses. Present and future have identical verbal inflection with number and person agreement; past tense has agreement in gender and number, but not in person.

In (2), the intended interpretation of NS is 1PL, whereas the verbal inflection does not reflect the person feature in morphology. According to Avrutin and Rohrbacher (1997), person features in the past tense are by-products of presupposition and they are supplied by "discourse binding."

(2) ____ včera byli na rynke, ____ videli tam Mašu.
yesterday were.PL at market saw.PL there Maša.ACC
'(We) were at the market yesterday, (we) saw Maša there.'

Note that the first subject gap precedes the adverb (*včera*). The motivation behind this particular notation will become clear in section 2.

In addition to referential NSs (available for any tense and person), Russian also has 3rd person non-referential NSs, as illustrated in (3). These NSs are differentiated by morphological number: 3PL is comparable to an arbitrary *they* and 3SG to an impersonal *it*. I refer to these instances of NS as "arbitrary" and "impersonal" pro, respectively.

(3)a. ____ govorjat, čto zavtra budet lit' dožd'.
say.3PL that tomorrow will.be.3SG to.pour rain.NOM
'(They) say that it will pour with rain tomorrow.'
b. Zavtra ____ budet xolodno.
tomorrow will.be.3SG cold
'It will be cold tomorrow.'

Again, for reasons to be explained in section 2, I make a particular choice in the alignment of the subject gap in (3b). This time it follows the adverb (*zavtra*), unlike the NS in (2). From a phonetic point of view, it is unmotivated. From a semantic point of view, we have a referential pro in (2) and a non-referential one in (3b). From a syntactic point view, I claim that these NSs are not in the same structural position.

In sum, there are three types of pro: (i) referential pro with any person and number specification (1SG/PL, 2SG/PL, 3SG/PL), (ii) arbitrary pro (3PL), and (iii) impersonal pro (3SG). We can entertain the idea of having a null counterpart for each overt pronoun (following Holmberg 2005) and assuming a special kind of non-referential pro for each instance in (3). At a more abstract level, we can assume that there is only one kind of pro and that syntax is able to manipulate features in such a manner that every single instance of NS (referential or not), as briefly sketched in (1)-(3), is a result of a syntactic computation. I return to this discussion in section 3.

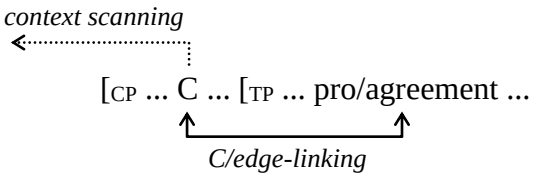
2. C/EDGE LINKING AND INTERVENTION EFFECTS

As mentioned in section 1, Russian is sometimes described as a topic-drop language. Topic-drop is more restricted than canonical pro-drop found in Romance; e.g., Germanic topic-drop should have an empty left edge. In this section, Russian is compared to both Germanic and Romance types of subject drop. While discussing Russian data, I rely on Sigurðson's (2011) idea of "context linking."

According to Sigurðson (2011), the syntactic structure should contain C/edge linking features (CLn) in the C-domain of a clause. A set of such features includes different kinds of topics (Top), as well as a logophoric agent (Λ_A) and a logophoric patient (Λ_P), also commonly known as the "speaker" and the "hearer." Their purpose is to provide a medium between syntax and context, which is formally ensured by the generalization in (4).

(4) *C/Edge-Linking Generalization* (Sigurðson 2011:282)
Any definite argument, overt or silent, *positively* matches *at least one* CLn in its local C-domain, CLn $\in \{\Lambda_A, \Lambda_P, \text{Top}, ...\}$.

On the one hand, a CLn scans the context outside the clause; on the other, it is linked to an argument clause-internally. The umbrella term for both processes is "context linking" as schematically presented in (5) (based on (35) in Sigurðson 2011:284). In a non-cartographic setting (assumed here in divergence from Sigurðson 2011), the locus of {CLn} is C. Slightly simplifying Sigurðson's proposal, I assume that it is the C head that ensures context linking (context scanning + C/edge-linking).

(5)


What is relevant from a syntactic point of view is C/edge linking, which amounts to Chomsky's Agree (2000 et seq.) that relates features, ensuring their interpretability at the interfaces.

Abstracting away from technical details, it is worth pointing out that C/edge linking is subject to minimality effects (Rizzi 1990). More precisely, in Germanic (e.g., Icelandic), pro is a phrasal category, whereas in Romance (e.g., Italian), it is not: agreement morphology is an incorporated weak pronoun attached to T, and pro and T form a phonological unit, making Spec,TP invisible at the interfaces. Thus, an XP intervenes between C and pro in (6b), but not in (7a) (Sigurðson 2011:286-7).

(6)a. Tala **stundum** íslensku. *Icelandic*
speak.1SG sometimes Icelandic
'I sometimes speak Icelandic.'

b. ***Stundum** tala íslensku.
sometimes speak.1SG Icelandic

c. [CP C ... (*XP) ... pro ... Tϕ

(7)a. **Travolta** parlo islandese. *Italian*
sometimes speak.1SG Icelandic
'Sometimes I speak Icelandic.'

b. [$_{CP}$ C ... (XP) ... pro-T$_{\phi}$

Let us now consider intervention effects in Russian, beginning with (8), which features a question-answer pair with two possible answers. A2 in (8) is comparable with (6b).[1] What is interesting is that *eë* 'her' fronting becomes perfectly grammatical if the verb is plural and the subject has an arbitrary reading, as in (9).

(8) Q: Kak ty poznakomilsja s Mašej?
how you.NOM got.acquainted.M with Maša.INSTR
'How did you get acquainted with Maša?'
A1: Vstretil u druga na večerinke.
met.M at friend's on party
'I met her at a friend's party.'
A2: ***Eë** vstretil u druga na večerinke.
her.ACC met.M at friend's on party

(9) **Eë** vstretil-i na vyhode iz doma.
her.ACC met-PL at exit from house
'She was met at the exit from the house.'

As expected, there is no intervention effect in (9), since the arbitrary pro does not require C/edge linking, whereas the referential pro has to be linked to C. In (10), we have a topic (*Mašu*) in a preverbal position. Again, only an arbitrary reading is available. In some cases, fronting an XP may lead to ambiguity, as shown in (11).

(10) [Maša has disappeared. Everybody talks about her (= given topic), but nobody knows where she is. Somebody says:]
Mašu videl-i včera v magazine.
Maša.ACC saw-PL yesterday in store
(i) #'(We) saw Maša yesterday in the store.' (referential)
(ii) 'Maša was seen yesterday in the store.' (arbitrary)

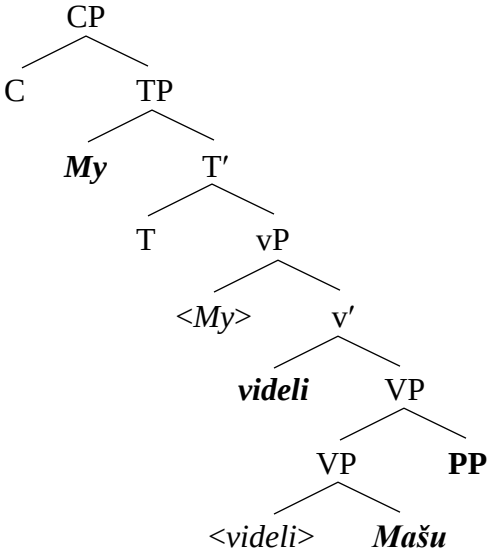
(11) **Včera v magazine** videl-i Mašu.
yesterday in store saw-PL Maša.ACC
(i) 'Yesterday in the store (we) saw Maša.' (referential)
(ii) 'Yesterday in the store Maša was seen.' (arbitrary)

In what follows, I will focus on (10) and (11). Before looking at the structure of these sentences, let me first spell out some relevant features of Russian syntax.

In (12a), we have a variant of (10)-(11) with an overt pronominal subject. As shown in (12b), the subject is in its canonical position (Spec,TP), motivated by the Extended Projection Principle (EPP). Phonetically expressed nodes are in bold.

(12)a. My videl-i Mašu [PP včera v magazine].
We saw-PL Maša.ACC yesterday in store
'We saw Maša yesterday in the store.'

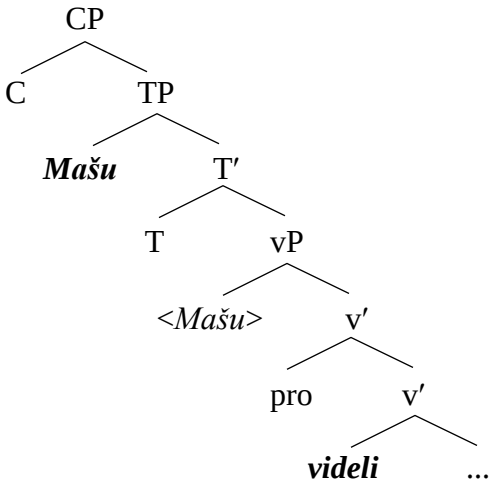
b.



There are two relevant properties of Russian syntax. First, the verb does not move to T.[2] Second, the EPP position does not have to be occupied by a nominative DP—any XP can potentially fill this position (see Bailyn 2012: 317-8).

Returning now to (10), assume that *Mašu* (being topicalized from its VP-internal object position via the outer Spec,vP) moves to Spec,TP by-passing the subject pro, as shown in (13). By virtue of being a topic, *Mašu* holds the most prominent structural position, which coincides with a need to satisfy EPP.[3]

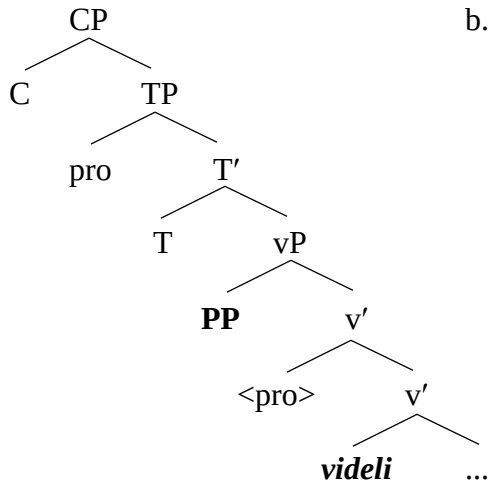
(13)



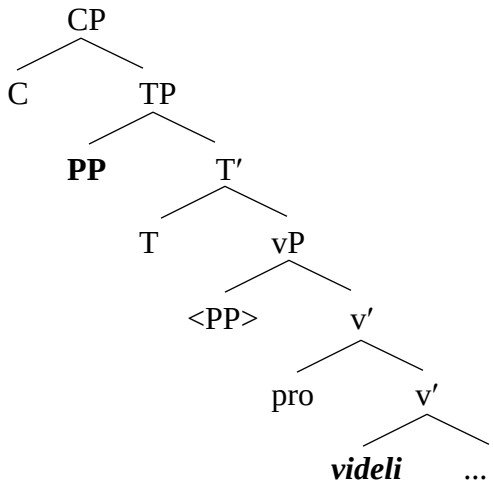
In (13), *Mašu* intervenes between C and pro, preventing the latter from been contextually linked. Thus, only a non-referential pro can be used in this configuration.

Consider now the ambiguous sentence in (11). At some point of the derivation, PP moves to an outer Spec,vP (see (14)). Note that this movement is not the same as topicalization of *Mašu* in (10)/(13). In fact, it is common for spatio-temporal topics to be fronted in all-new-information sentences (see Dyakonova 2009:15), but they do not have to be as prominent as individual topics. When T is merged, there is an option of satisfying EPP by either pro or PP. If EPP is satisfied by pro, we obtain (14a). If EPP is satisfied by PP, we have (14b).

(14)a.



b.



Crucially, since the verb does not move to T, we do not have an overt indication of whether or not PP has moved to Spec,TP. Both configurations have the same word order (PP-*videli…*).

Unlike (14a), the configuration in (14b)—just like the one in (13)—is incompatible with a referential pro, because there is an intervener (PP). The subsequent question is whether or not (14a) is compatible with an arbitrary pro. If yes, this structure alone would be sufficient to account for the ambiguity in (11), and we would have no empirical motivation behind the structure in (14b). In a more restrictive approach, each structure in (14) would correspond to a particular reading: referential in (14a) vs. arbitrary in (14b).

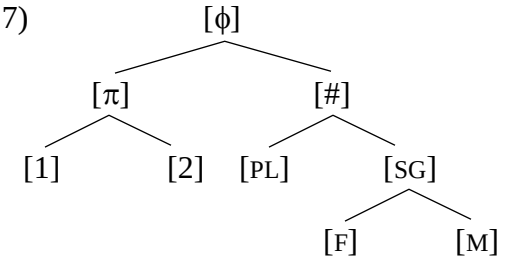
3. THE SYNTAX OF PRO

3.1 Approach A: Pro as a ϕP valued by C

In Tsedryk (2015), I consider the arbitrary pro as a by-product of the syntactic computation. That is, there is no inherent difference between a referential and a non-referential pro until the latter enters into a probe-goal relation with C. Initially, pro has a minimal specification in ϕ-features, whereas C contains a maximally specified set of ϕ-features.

For convenience, ϕ-features are represented as a hierarchical set:

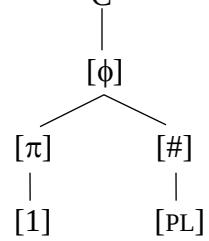
(17)



This feature geometry is adapted specifically to Russian inflectional and pronominal systems (a slightly modified version of (22) in Tsedryk 2015: 353).[4] For all nodes, except [π] (person) and [#] (number), the sisterhood means 'exclusive disjunction' ('either... or'). First person ([1]) excludes second person ([2]), plural ([PL]) excludes singular ([SG]), and feminine ([F]) excludes masculine ([M]). Dominance is implicational: [1] and [2] imply [π], [F] and [M] imply [SG], and [PL] and [SG] imply [#]. Bare [π] is '3rd person' and bare [SG] is 'neuter'.

Thus, C starts with a feature specification in (17) and ends up with a reduced specification depending on the context: contextually irrelevant features are dissociated from the structure as a result of context scanning; see, e.g., (18a). T and pro have only a bare root [ϕ], as in (18b-c).

(18)a.



b.

c.

In addition to (18), we have to stipulate that ϕ-features of C and T are [-interpretable], whereas those of pro are [+interpretable]. That is, ϕ-features in C are [-interpretable, +valued], those in T are [-interpretable, -valued], and for pro they are [+interpretable, -valued]. Labeling features as [+/-interpretable] is essential in a "derivational time-bombs model" (Preminger 2014). Only a [-interpretable] feature can trigger a probe-goal relation, which ends up copying features from one syntactic node to another.

When T targets pro, nothing happens, since both contain nothing but a bare root of ϕ-features. However, when pro moves to Spec,TP, as in (14a), it can be targeted by C and ϕ-features are copied from C to pro. As a result, pro receives a contextually linked set of ϕ-features, which is possible only if it is probed by C. If, instead of pro, another XP moves to Spec,TP, as in (14b), C would not be able to probe further than this XP. In this case, pro cannot receive contextually linked ϕ-features from C. This derivation results in a default 3rd person specification characterizing an arbitary/impersonal pro, as in (3) (see Tsedryk 2015: 355 for further details).[5]

This approach clearly separates both structures in (14). It also makes a testable prediction that there is a correlation between XP fronting and non-referential instances of

pro. Nevertheless, there is a conceptual drawback: it relies on the assumption that features can be either interpretable or not regardless of their geometric property. That is, T and pro look the same from the point of view of ϕ-features, but we still have to stipulate that those of pro are [+interpretable] and that those of T are [-interpretable]. This is hard to motivate besides the need to have T as a probe. In Tsedryk (2015), I simply assume a four-way feature specification (following Pesetsky and Torrego 2007) and combine [+/-interpretable] and [+/-valued] in four logical possibilities distributed among C, T, DP and a bare ϕP.

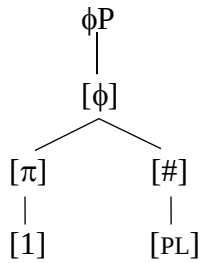
(19)

C	[-interpretable] [+valued]
T	[-interpretable] [-valued]
DP	[+interpretable] [+valued]
ϕP	[+interpretable] [-valued]

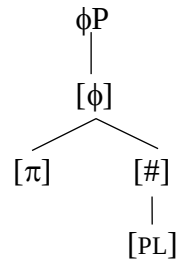
3.2 Approach B: Pro as a ϕP/DP with its own values

As an alternative, we can assume that pro has a predetermined set of ϕ-features just like any other pronoun (Holmberg 2005). For example, it can be 1PL (20a) or 3PL (20b).

(20)a.



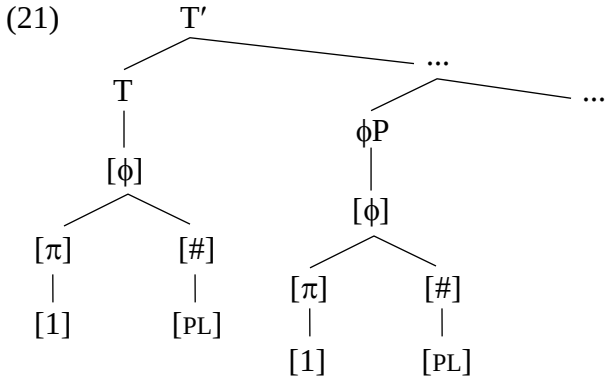
b.



Note that, if we assume that T has a bare root [ϕ], as in (18b), we do not have to introduce an ad hoc [+/-interpretable] distinction. There is a choice. We can follow Chomsky (2000) who suggests that ϕ-feature interpretability is related to availability of ϕ-feature values (a valued feature is interpretable, while an unvalued one is not). Alternatively, we can simply dispense with interpretability of features in syntax and assume a version of agreement developed by Preminger (2014). That is, agreement is an obligatory operation that is not derivative of some conceptually needed property (i.e., uninterpretable features), but it is an obligatory operation on its own. What it does is to copy one piece of ϕ-geometry to another. This route is worth exploring in more detail, but I leave both options open at this point.

When T (= 18b) targets a fully specified ϕP (e.g., 1PL), the latter's features are copied to T, producing the following result:

(21)



At this point, the movement of ϕP to Spec,TP becomes redundant, since all ϕ-features have already been copied to T, and it does not make sense to project a specifier that would duplicate the same set of features. We thus predict that pro should not appear in Spec,TP.

The ban of pro from Spec,TP has nothing surprising if we dispense with EPP. For example, according to Kučerová (2014), EPP could be replaced by a more general T-Extension Requirement:

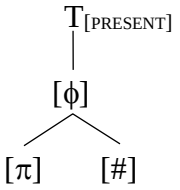
(22) If Merge(T,α) applies, Merge(T′,β) must be the next step of the derivation, where T′ is a projection of T and β belongs to the same phase domain as T (Kučerová 2014: 137).

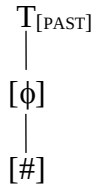
To rephrase, (22) roughly states that, if T has been merged with some phrase (e.g., vP), another instance of Merge should also take place. The second instance of Merge can, but—crucially—does not need to end up with an XP in Spec,TP. What is relevant for our discussion is that T in (21) can now be extended: either by an XP, which would result in a specifier, or by C, in which case no specifier would be projected. Whatever is the next instance of Merge, once the ϕ-features of ϕP are copied to T, they become accessible to C. Even if an XP moves to Spec,TP, C is still the category that, at some point, is merged with TP and a specifier of T is not an obstacle between C and TP (and all features of T are supposedly available in its projection, TP). In other words, we run into an empirical problem: we do not expect intervention effects between C and ϕP, since T is the head (local to C) that makes the copied features readily accessible to C. We falsely predict that structures (13) and (14b) should be compatible with both referential and arbitrary readings (see the above discussion of (10) and (11)).

To remedy the problem created, we should ensure that pro can still move to Spec,TP without inducing a redundancy between such movement and its features copied to T. The moving phrase could be, for example, a superset of features that are copied in a probe-goal relation. There are two possible ways to achieve this result. One of them is to specify T in such a manner that it does not require all features to be copied to T. Another way is to add an additional structural layer to ϕP. These two options are dealt with in sections 3.2.1 and 3.2.2, respectively.

3.2.1 Present vs. past tense

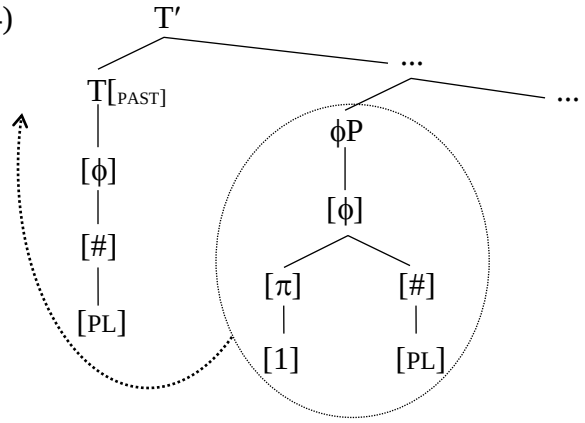
As mentioned in section 1, the past tense in Russian shows agreement in number and gender, whereas the present (and future) tense shows agreement in person and number. Thus, instead of (18b), we should have different ϕ-geometries for $T_{[PRESENT]}$ and $T_{[PAST]}$, as in (23).

(23)a. 

b. 

Not all ϕ-features are copied to T. $T_{[PRESENT]}$ looks for person and number values, except [SG].[6] $T_{[PAST]}$ would trigger copying either [PL] or [SG].

Now, if we replace T in (21) by $T_{[PAST]}$ from (23b), we would have a configuration in which only [PL] is copied to T. In (24), ϕP is a superset of the ϕ-features in T (cf. (21)).

(24) 

Movement of ϕP in (24) would not create a specifier with an identical set of ϕ-features as T. Moreover, moving ϕP to Spec,TP brings [π] to a higher position, making it accessible to C. [π] can now be linked to C in accordance with the C/edge linking generalization in (4).

In the present tense, on the other hand, the situation is the same as in (21). [π] is already present in T, and this feature will either stay as such (3rd person) or it would dominate [1] or [2] if these values are copied from the goal (ϕP). To put it differently, $T_{[PRESENT]}$ would basically have the same set of ϕ-features as ϕP. That is, we predict an asymmetry between $T_{[PRESENT]}$ and $T_{[PAST]}$: the latter, but not the former, should induce intervention effects discussed in section 2. As we can see in (25), this prediction is not accurate: the topic (*Mašu*) does not allow a null subject.

(25)Q: Kak vy otnosites' k Maše?
how you.NOM feel towards Maša.DAT
'How do you feel about Maša?'

A: **Mašu** *(my) očen' ljubim.
Maša.ACC we.NOM very like.1PL
'Maša, we like her very much.'

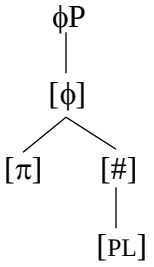
To reiterate, if pro were just an instance of the ϕ-features in $T_{[PRESENT]}$, it would be accessible to C with or without an XP in Spec,TP. Even though $T_{[PRESENT]}$ and $T_{[PAST]}$ do have different ϕ-feature specifications, this difference does not seem to affect the syntactic distribution of the null subjects in Russian.

Recall that we aim to ensure that a copy of ϕ-features in T (as a result of a probe-goal/T-ϕP relation) does not make ϕP accessible to C. Otherwise, Russian would have a Romance-type pro-drop. ϕP should move to Spec,TP, and this movement should not be redundant with regard to ϕ-features in T (i.e., features copied to T should be a subset of features of the category moved to Spec,TP). Adding a structural layer to the moving ϕP is a plausible solution.

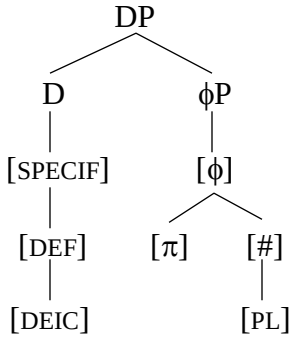
3.2.2 ϕP vs. DP

As pointed out in section 2, an arbitrary pro is likely to remain in Spec,vP, whereas a referential one is likely to move to Spec,TP. This syntactic difference can be attributed to a structural weight of the pronoun itself. For example, the arbitrary-referential dichotomy can be formalized as a ϕP-DP structural distinction.

(26)a. *Arbitrary 3PL*



b. *Referential 3PL*



The D(eterminer) layer adds other features such as 'specific', 'definite' and 'deictic'. Unlike Camacho (2013), I do not represent these features as part of the ϕ-feature geometry. D ensures the referentiality of the ϕ-set, which otherwise does not have its own reference. According to Holmberg (2005), D is a feature of T in pro-drop languages and a null pronoun is a ϕP. Thus, when ϕP is probed by T, ϕP is interpreted as a referential pronoun. Since Russian is not a pro-drop language of the Romance type, T does not have a D-feature. A referential pronoun is a DP itself.

As it stands, the structural difference in (26) can also be related to spell-out. Under the assumption that D is the head that is targeted by overt pronominal exponents at the time of vocabulary insertion (going back to Postal's (1966) suggestion that pronouns are determiners), the structure in (26a) is always phonetically empty, whereas the one in (26b) can be either null or not. That is, a referential pro is nothing but a lack of phonetic

material in D; otherwise it is not syntactically different from an overt pronoun, like *oni* 'they' (in the case of the 3PL feature specification). The overt vs. covert distinction in the referential pronominal system is just a matter of spell-out regulated at the sensorimotor interface.

Now we can also assume that a DP (but not a ϕP) has to move to Spec,TP by virtue of the additional D layer. It is D that has to be linked to C in accordance with the C/edge linking generalization in (4). Consequently, ϕP always stays in situ without being affected by an intervening XP. If we return to the structures in (14), we should have a DP (= referential pro) in (14a) and a ϕP (= arbitrary pro) in (14b), and no overlap between these two structures is expected either with $T_{[PAST]}$ or $T_{[PRESENT]}$.

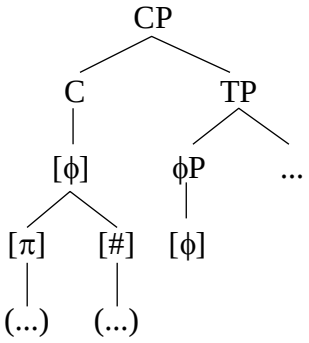
4. CONCLUSION

To conclude, Russian patterns with a Germanic topic-drop (e.g., Icelandic) that is recognized by intervention effects, which are absent in canonical pro-drop languages (e.g., Italian). To have a contextually linked pro in a topic-drop language, nothing should intervene between C and pro. Russian also has a non-referential (arbitrary 3PL or impersonal 3SG) pro, which is not subject to C/edge linking generalization (Sigurðson 2011).

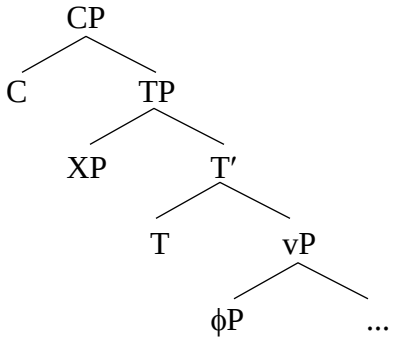
In section 3, two approaches (A and B) were considered. Under approach A (shown in (27)), pro is a bundle of ϕ-features (ϕP) that are valued in syntax. The locus of ϕ-features for ϕP is C (C's ϕ-features are contextually linked). If there is an XP intervening between C and ϕP, the latter cannot be probed by C and receives an arbitrary/impersonal reading (Tsedryk 2015).

(27) *Approach A*

a. *Referential pro*



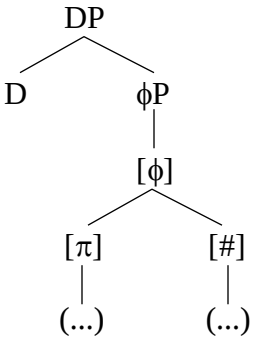
b. *Non-referential pro*



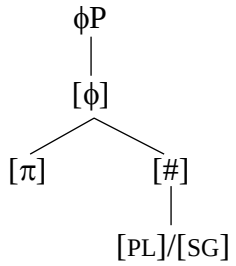
Under approach B, ϕP has a predetermined set of features. In this case, we are led to postulate the structural distinction shown in (28) (see section 3.2 for motivation).

(28) *Approach B*

a. *Referential pro*



b. *Non-referential pro*[7]



In (28), referential pro is syntactically identical to an overt pronoun; the only difference is the lack of a phonetically visible exponent in D, which is a matter of post-syntactic vocabulary insertion.

Approach B has two conceptual advantages. First, it does not have to rely on feature interpretability as a driving force of syntactic agreement (in light of Preminger 2014). Second, movement to Spec,TP can now be related to the fact that the moving category is a DP, as opposed to a bare ϕP (definiteness effect). Under approach A, the only motivation for moving ϕP to Spec,TP is EPP. However, this movement loses ground if EPP is to be reconsidered in terms of a more general T-Extension Requirement (Kučerová 2014; see (22)).

From an empirical point of view, approach A establishes a direct relationship between XP fronting and non-referential pro: if an XP moves to Spec,TP, pro remains in situ and receives an arbitrary/impersonal reading. We thus expect impersonal and arbitrary constructions to have a fronted XP. This prediction is only indirectly implied by approach B. XP fronting might correlate with the occurrence of a bare ϕP (since the latter is not supposed to move due to its referential defectiveness), but a bare ϕP could in principle occur independently from a fronted XP. Thus, as far as I can see, approach A has a stronger predictive power. Moreover, approach B raises a question related to intervention effects, presented in section 2. If referential pro is syntactically indistinguishable from overt pronouns, it is not clear why the latter do not induce intervention effects. We still need to add a stipulation that would differentiate referential pro from overt pronouns at some level of representation (if it is not syntax). Other things being equal, I leave both approaches as plausible options for the analysis of null pronouns in Russian.

NOTES

1. Object pronouns in Russian usually scramble to the left of the verb. Thus, leaving *eë* after the verb in (8) is not a viable option, even though A2 could be somewhat improved if the pronoun were used post-verbally.

2. According to Gribanova (2013), there is an aspectual projection sandwiched between TP and vP. Here I use a slightly simplified structure.

3. In (14), EPP could potentially be satisfied by pro. However, if pro moved from vP, it would not prevent the topic from moving to a higher position (the topic is supposed to be structurally prominent). In a structure with multiple specifiers, the topic can still move to an outer Spec,TP, and we would again prevent pro from being linked to C. See section 3 for further discussion.

4. In Tsedryk (2015), the root node in ϕ-feature geometry is labeled as [D].

5. In Tsedryk (2015), I propose that feature values that are not linked to discourse/context (i.e., non-D-linked [3PL] and [3SG]) are transferred from C to T. In fact, I assume that only an edge head can have a D-linked set of features.

6. Only [PL] is copied under the [#] node of $T_{[PRESENT]}$. Copying [SG] without copying [M] or [F] would be impossible, since it is a snippet of the ϕ-geometry that is copied, not a random value (see Preminger 2014). If [SG] is copied as well, we expect that $T_{[PRESENT]}$ also has agreement in gender, which is not the case. In other words, singular in present tense inflection is a privative feature, implying the absence of [PL], rather than the presence of [SG].

7. It is possible that a 3SG non-referential (impersonal) pro in Russian does not have [π] at all, which would explain the fact that this pro is non-agentive and inanimate. Alternatively, animacy could be part of the ϕ-feature geometry, following Harley and Ritter (2002) and McGinnis (2005).

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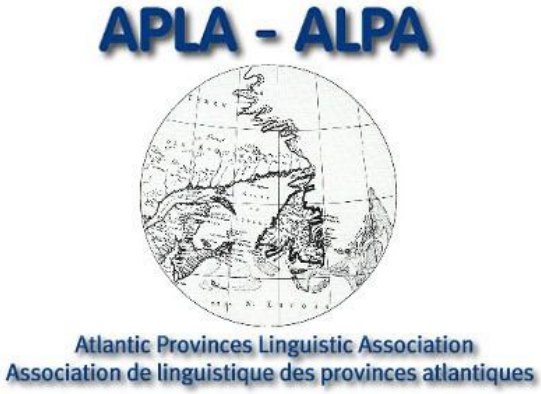
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