BAAHE Conference 2 December 2022

Undercurrents: Challenging the Mainstream

Book of Abstracts

CENTRE D'ENSEIGNEMENT ET DE RECHERCHE EN ÉTUDES POSTCOLONIALES

LIÈGE université
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KEYNOTES

Undermining or enabling climate action with language

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Any hopes of abating climate change rest on sustained and combined action in three fields: emissions reduction, technological innovation and citizens' lifestyle changes (Wittoeck 2022). Citizens are key in all three: not only is it up to them to choose another lifestyle but they can also put pressure on politicians to take emission-reducing measures and promote, amongst others, renewable energy. Hence, citizens' communications about climate action – or non-action – are of great interest because they can reveal how well informed they are and how aware they are of their potential impact. Yet, citizens' voices in the public space have been studied much less than the discourses which they are thought to 'resonate with' (cf. Rosa 2016) such as political debates and manifestos, journalism, science communication, etc. Citizens' climate communication can be studied in such contexts as email chain letters, comments to online news and social media, answers to open questions in surveys, etc.

The aim of this talk is to make a – modest – start with the discourse analysis of communications by citizens representing all the main stances towards climate action, i.e. activists, concerned citizens, doubters and sceptics (Pepermans & Maeseele 2017, Metag & Schäfer 2018). Texts from both the English-speaking world and Belgium will be considered with particular attention for what Hjelmslev called the 'connotative' semiotic, i.e. figures of speech, frames, intertextuality, semantic prosodies, appraisal, etc. Of great importance are the often only half-conscious attitudes associated with ordinary words either by sociopolitical processes, such as pejorative *greenies*, *warmies*, used by older conservative voters in Australia, or more engineered ideological make-overs of words such as *realism*, *pragmatism*.

The approach will not be pure Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), in which analysts seek to lay bare the political biases and ideologies that they are critical of. The analytical tools of CDA are certainly useful. However, a more neutral analysis will be attempted, which reveals sociocultural and political identities, ingroup- and outgroup categorizations, and attitudes towards ecology and climate action for the whole spectrum from activist over concerned citizen to (mild or severe) sceptic. If one wants to encourage inclusive citizen participation, then all these segments of the population must be listened to and the analyst should be open to real sensitivities as well as blind spots and dogmatism in their communication.

The recently emerged approach of Positive Discourse Analysis (PDA) (Bartlett 2017) also offers useful analytical tools for climate action discourse: which linguistic resources can create solidarity and empower social agents? A good example is Nic Balthazar's "Song for the climate", whose stanzas contain imperatives and modals of necessity like:

No point in waiting
Or hesitating
We must get wise, take no more lies
And do it now now now
We need to build a better future
And we need to start right now!

PDA stresses the importance of re-framing, inverting, and construing counternarratives, which, with a view to inclusive calls for action, may be blended into a polyphonic approach (Fløttum & Gjerstad 2013).

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Diving into the river: The somatic undercurrents of deverbalization

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Douglas Robinson's first book on translation, *The Translator's Turn* (1991) has the "turn" in its title based on the Finnish verb for 'to translate,' *kääntää*, which literally means 'to turn', but with a pun on the verb, translating as turning off the SL highway into the TL woods, but also suggesting that now it is the translator's turn to be recognized—and explores the somatic undercurrents of translating, the ways in which the translator's preconscious affect conditions and guides cognitive decision-making. The book explored a kind of "somatic turn," in fact, but was soon caught up in the Cultural Turn. Yet, over the last five or six years that early work has increasingly been caught up into the Cognitive Turn, as part of the assimilation into translation studies of 4EA cognitive science—studying embodiment, embeddedness, enactivity, extendedness, and affect. The keynote address comes out of that same new "turn," that new exploration of the somatic undercurrents of translation, by returning to one of the great mysteries of early equivalence theory, coming out of the *théorie du sens* of Danica Seleskovitch in 1968, "deverbalization": the fact that it feels intuitively right to practicing translators and interpreters, but seems impossible to explain theoretically.

On liminality and existences outside the binary in Akwaeke Emezi's *Freshwater*

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Freshwater is a novel by Nigerian writer Akwaeke Emezi that follows the life of Ada, an ọgbanje. In Igbo spirituality, an ọgbanje is a malevolent spirit who inhabits the bodies of children still to be born and who later deliberately causes these children to die, usually before puberty, to cause grief to their family. Because Ada is an ọgbanje (although she refuses to acknowledge this fact), she exists between the world of the living and the world of the spirits. Her situation thus complicates the opposition between life and death, and it coexists in the novel with her identity outside of the gender binary: like Emezi themself, Ada is non-binary.

In *Freshwater*, Ada shares her body with a multiplicity of enmeshed spirits, the brothersisters, who are represented in a number of chapters as a narrative 'we', but also with spirits that exist individually within her: there is Asụghara, who appears to protect Ada when she discovers that her boyfriend has been sexually assaulting her in her sleep and Saint Vincent, a softer spirit who is characterised by his masculinity and attraction to women. Throughout her teenage years and early adulthood, Ada tries to understand the complexities of her identity and make them fit her Western context as she studies in the US. However, she ultimately understands that her existence goes beyond the limits of Western science and Christianity as she acknowledges that she is an ọgbanje.

Research on *Freshwater* has so far analysed the coexistence of Igbo spirituality with gender non-conformity in the novel without focusing on the general state of in-betweenness of Ada's existence as an ọgbanje. In this paper, I will argue that the novel problematises the rigidity of the gender binary by exposing its inability to function concurrently with precolonial Igbo beliefs. Western gender roles, as well as Christianity, were imposed on Igbo people by British colonisers and in their novel, Emezi decentres both by creating a protagonist who is unquestionably an ọgbanje and whose gender does not fit within the man-woman dichotomy. Indeed, Ada is a compound of different identities, different spirits, who are referred to using different pronouns: Asụghara and Ada are referred to using she, Saint Vincent he and the brothersisters use we. Ada, in addition to being in-between genders as well as spirits, also finds herself in a liminal state as she is torn between a life with other humans and a death desired by Asụghara, her protective spirit.

Black British Theatre Practice as a source of renewal:
Kwame Kwei-Armah's *Elmina's Kitchen* in postcolonial studies and the foreign language classroom

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"The stage is in darkness. A single spotlight slowly reveals a costumed man, standing absolutely still with a gurkle […] in his hands." (*Elmina's Kitchen*, p.3).

If the field of postcolonial studies is a well-established part of literary studies in academia nowadays, it has not yet fully entered the foreign language classroom in German schools. Whereas conflicts and developments connected to the socio-political realities of the post-colonial world are being widely discussed, the attention paid to its various writers remains limited to a few texts in the majority of English learning environments. This contribution focuses on Kwame Kwei-Armah's play *Elmina's Kitchen* as an example of the *minor genre* drama in postcolonial literary studies and a source of inspiration for the English language classroom.

On the one hand, the study draws the attention to the aesthetic quality of the play and the variety of experiences it offers to spectators, thus investigating the sensuous access gained through its theatrical language rather than focussing on its intellectual dimension in terms of analysing ideas and topics. This approach seems to offer the opportunity of overcoming the 'orthodox' postcolonial interpretative pattern of *writing back* since it allows for appreciating postcolonial drama as a cultural system on its own.

On the other hand, the contribution aims at pointing out the parallels between the world of *Elmina's Kitchen,* set in modern-day London, and the reality of students in Berlin, as an example of the high potential modern postcolonial drama offers for identification and social integration, especially for students with a multicultural background. The encounter with postcolonial drama can possibly lead them to a personal process of reconnecting to the school system and the feeling of being represented.

In the end, there will be the question of how studying the aesthetic dimension in postcolonial drama as well as dealing with its potential for young learners of English can contribute to the advancement of knowledge in both literary studies and didactics in the field.

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Quotation in Internet memes and other social media discourse

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This paper investigates uses of quotation constructions in Internet memes. Internet memes have been analysed as constructions combining image and (very limited) text in recognizable, highly patterned ways, inviting communicators' inventiveness to create new variations within the established constructional constraints of the meme, allowing them to quickly express viewpoints and elicit responses (see, e.g., Shifman 2014, Dancygier & Vandelanotte 2017, Zenner & Geeraerts 2017). That quotation should feature prominently in a number of meme families should come as no surprise, given the recognized role of quotation in dramatizing and evaluating important actions in spoken interaction (e.g. Mayes 1990, Haiman 1990, Holt & Clift 2007) and in evoking attitudes in certain genres of fiction and poetry (e.g. Dancygier & Vandelanotte 2009, Dancygier 2012).

Based on an extensive manually collected data set and expanding on initial analyses (e.g. Dancygier & Vandelanotte 2016, Dancygier & Vandelanotte 2017, Vandelanotte 2019), we propose a fuller analysis of various types of quotation found in Internet memes and other social media discourse. A first set of cases feature explicit reporting frames such as *said no one ever, (and then) X said,* [plural NP subject] *be like*, or *what if I told you*, and perform functions such as viewpoint reversal, stereotype reinforcement, irony and mockery, with images often involving humorous incongruity with parts of the artefact. A second group of phenomena under investigation concerns usage without explicit reporting frames: zero quotatives in image macro memes (such as 'Scumbag Steve' memes), but also various uses of quotations as 'labels' on images (either as one-off constructs or as part of more constructional patterns), and a number of fictive dialogue formats found in Twitter discourse, such as *X / also X* (and *me / also me*), highlighting inconsistencies in people's behaviour, and cumulative 'non-quotations' (e.g. *nobody:* followed by an empty line) culminating in a fictive quote being held up as unwanted and unsolicited.

The way in which this range of quotative usage quickly and often humorously typifies attitudes (individual or collective), often in the absence of specific 'real' speakers, supports earlier research on 'non-quotative' uses of quotation (e.g. von Roncador 1988, Tannen 1989, Clark & Gerrig 1990, Vandelanotte 2009, Pascual 2014). It also provides a fruitful testing ground for Construction Grammar notions of constructhood vs. constructionhood. Finally, it connects with current concerns around multimodality in language, in considering the ways and degrees to which images are integral parts of constructs and constructions.

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Defying the Q&A format in interviews? Exploring interrogatives in learner interviewee speech

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The Louvain International Database of Spoken English Interlanguage (LINDSEI) contains informal interviews with intermediate to advanced level learners of English as a foreign language from various mother tongue backgrounds. However informal these interviews may be, they do not share two of Clark's (1996) typical features of face-to-face conversation, namely self-determination and self-expression. While the free exchange of turns is a fundamental organising factor of conversations, in interviews the participants do not determine for themselves what actions to take when. Instead of being 'locally managed' as in conversations (Lazaraton 1992), the turn-taking system is pre-specified: interviews are organised according to a question-answer format. Besides taking actions as themselves (Clarke's self-expression) the participants in an interview also take actions as 'interviewer' or 'interviewee'. As Fiksdal (1990) points out, the participants have rights and obligations as interviewer or interviewee: the interviewer has the right and obligation to ask questions and the interviewee has the obligation to answer these questions.

This paper reports on research into the use of interrogative clauses, and more specifically *Wh*-questions and *yes/no*-questions (Biber et al. 1999), by the learner interviewees in four of the subcorpora included on the LINDSEI CD-ROM (Gilquin et al. 2010), namely LINDSEI_Chinese, LINDSEI_Dutch, LINDSEI_French and LINDSEI_Polish. The following research questions are addressed: (1) to what extent do the learner interviewees use interrogatives in a context which arguably does not encourage the use of these structures, and (2) why do the learner interviewees appear to defy the question-answer format of the interviews? The paper focuses more particularly on the discourse/pragmatic functions of the interrogatives uncovered in the data such as direct speech/thought reporting, speech management (Allwood et al. 1990, Rühlemann 2006), elicitation of information from the interviewer (for example to assess or establish common ground) or interview/task-oriented metadiscursive function. The pedagogical implications of the findings are discussed.

The paper also explores the use of interrogatives by learner interviewees in the Conversation and Discussion subset of the Trinity Lancaster Corpus. The Trinity Lancaster Corpus (henceforth TLC, Gablasova et al. 2019) includes spoken data produced by learners of English from over ten different mother tongue backgrounds within the framework of the Graded Examinations of Spoken English (developed and organised by Trinity College London). The Conversation and Discussion subset features data produced

by learners taking the spoken English exam in the context of speaking tasks which have been characterised as both dialogic and jointly-led (Gablasova et al. 2019). The main focus is on a qualitative functional analysis of the interrogatives used by the learners in the subset of the TLC under study (compared with the LINDSEI data) and on the possible impact of differences in the formality of the setting ('semi-formal' in the TLC vs. more informal in LINDSEI, Gablasova et al. 2019), in speaker roles (candidate and examiner in the TLC vs. interviewee and interviewer only in LINDSEI) and in turn-taking format.

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Reappropriating Translation Technologies: Leveraging Translator Corpora for Individual and Creative Uses

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Translation technologies have progressively—albeit profoundly—changed the translation sector in the last two decades, impacting industry standards and expectations, business models, translators' practices and student training, including outside of translation and interpreting programs (Kenny 2017; Guerberof-Arenas & Moorkens 2019; Loock et al. 2022). Although the latest types of neural machine translation systems, notably Transformer models (Vaswani 2017), have irrevocably made their way into the daily lives of professionals, the typical discourse is that they remain antinomic to the sort of creative processes to be found in the literary and video game domains for instance. Despite this

common preconception, a small community of researchers have recently focused on this very subject (Hansen 2021).

Similarly, our work has focused on challenging this view, starting with computer-assisted translation tools and now drawing a parallel with the latest machine translation (MT) systems, so as to suggest a new approach to the analysis and translation of literary style (Youdale 2020). While our primary aim was to show that it was indeed possible to rely on computer tools for the translation of creative texts, which we have proved to be true with relevant corpora and under the right circumstances, our main and somewhat unexpected finding is that it is even possible to tailor such tools in a way that reflects an individual translator's style, thus opening up a whole new research avenue and possibly a shift of paradigm for machine translation.

Indeed, the current trend within the field of computer science is the development of increasingly bigger systems and datasets—aptly called "very large language models". However, our experience shows that light and individually customized systems are much more efficient for a task as specific and challenging as literary translation. What is more, small language models and frugality might be a good way to address the ecological, ethical and quality concerns of MT (Guerberof Arenas & Toral 2020; Kenny & Winters 2020; Koponen et al. 2022).

In this context, the aim of this paper is to present the results and findings of about three years of research on the topic of literary machine translation, focusing on how we have created our tailored MT system, to what extent this tool has adapted to the style of a specific translator, and what could be the foreseeable developments for such technology. Our main example for this endeavour is the classic fantasy saga *Septimus Heap* (Angie Sage, HarperCollins, 2005–2013) and its translation into French (Nathalie Serval, Albin Michel, 2005–2013). The choice of novels in itself is further subject to a few connotations, as the common idea is that such tools would be best suited for use with "paraliterary" works. Once again, our experiments have revealed a different picture: such fictional texts proved to be particularly challenging for machines due to their inherent mythopoetic nature, but they also clearly illustrate the advantage that we have in reappropriating and rethinking technology for creative and personal uses.

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Interpersonal undercurrents conveyed by *are you sure, do you think, is there a chance* in interrogatives

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Polar interrogatives are typically used to ask the hearer to provide the correct polarity of the proposition they contain. Speakers may convey the polarity they expect by giving the question a positive or negative orientation (Quirk et al. 1985). In (1) the assertive determiner *some* codes the speaker's expectation of a positive answer. In (2), depending on the context, the negator *not* may either code the expected polarity or pragmatically convey the opposite polarity.

(1) Will you have *some* wine?
(2) Is*n't* there a charger with it?

Speakers may also attach a *likelihood* to the polarity-orientation (Verstraete 2007; Davies 2012), as in (3), where *might* indicates that the speaker assesses the likelihood that 'it has some value' as low.

(3) *Might* it be of some value? (WB, Verstraete 2007: 61)

Such coded or pragmatically implied speaker-expectations can be thought of as 'undercurrents' in interrogatives.

This presentation deals with a hitherto largely ignored resource conveying these undercurrents in interrogatives, viz. expressions like *are you sure*, *do you think*, for instance, or *Is there any chance* in (4), which functions like *might* in (3).

(4) *Is there any chance* Wayne Clark will be down there (WB)

In their declarative form, these expressions have been much researched in grammaticalization studies as clauses expressing epistemic modal meanings (henceforth CLEMs) by, amongst others, Thompson & Mulac (1991a, b), Boye & Harder (2007), Davidse et al. (2022).

To elucidate the meanings of CLEMs in interrogatives, I firstly distinguish the various speech functions interrogatives can serve. According to Berry's (2016, 2021) analysis of dialogue in terms of exchange structure, interrogatives can express not only questions about new propositions but also queries and challenges about propositions that have already been given. Questions are further subdivided into 'real' questions in which the speaker is the secondary knower looking for information and 'examination' questions in which the speaker is the primary knower. Queries put the exchange on hold to clarify a representational element or the interlocutor's status, after which the exchange resumes. Challenges fundamentally question representational content or the interlocutor's status, aborting the exchange. Secondly, I develop an analytical model of the different functions CLEMs can serve in these types of interrogatives, as surveyed in the table below. I then use a representative dataset extracted from WordbanksOnline of *are you sure* (176 tokens), *do you think* (737 tokens) and *is there a/any/some chance* (36 tokens) to verify if the proposed functions adequately capture all the data, and to survey the distribution of these functions over the three CLEMs investigated.

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Type	Subtype	Function of CLEM	
Question	Real Question	assess likelihood of polarity bias	***Is there a chance*** *he will be there?*
		transfer modal responsibility	*Going to take you much longer* ***do you think****?*
	Examination Question	mark speaker as primary knower	***Are you sure*** *you weren't having a quick smoke yourself ?*
Query	Representational	query polarity or part of proposition	*In this week's Time there's an article about bunjee jumping …* ***Are you sure*** *that wasn't the April the first edition?*
	Interpersonal	query hearer's knower status	*A: So do you think Neil Kinnock will be the next Prime Minister? -- B: Yes.* *A:* ***Do you think*** *he will?*
Challenge	Representational	trigger rhetorical question interpretation, which asserts new proposition	***Do you think*** *we're in a civilized society after we've just heard this?*
	Interpersonal	challenge hearer's knower status	*A: I don't want to sound alarmist – B: Mr Howard,* ***are you sure*** *you don't want to sound alarmist?*

Three's a Charm – On Negational Modification as a Third Type of Quantity Modification of English *all* and French *tout*

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In 2017, Njende et al. investigated the conceptual analogy between degree modification (i.e. quality modification, as in *very hot* or *almost full*) and quantity modification (i.e. the modification of quantifiers, as in *very few* or *almost all*), building on Paradis and her study of (un)boundedness (1997, 2000, 2001). In contrast to the vast body of research on

quantifiers (e.g. Barwise & Cooper 1981; Gärdenfors 1987; Langacker 1991, 2008, 2016, 2017; Doetjes 1997; Benninger 1999; Radden & Dirven 2007) the literature on quantity modification had been quite scant up to then (e.g. Njende et al. 2017: 34).

In their paper, Njende et al. apply the categorization of degree modification into proportional and scalar modifiers to quantity modification. They explain that relative quantifiers (e.g. *all*, *most*, *some*), which compare the size of a predicated mass to that of a reference mass, take proportional modifiers, which comment on the coincidence (be it partial or total) between said predicated and reference masses (Njende et al. 2017: 55). Proportional modifiers in turn subdivide into two categories: approximating modifiers, as in *almost all*, and totality modifiers, as in *absolutely all* (Njende et al. 2017: 55).

It is argued here that, in addition to these two types of modification, a third type has to be recognized, i.e. negational quantity modification expressed by *not* in English and *(ne) pas* in French. We will explore the scope of negation as well as relevant syntactic tests, which proved crucial for the data analysis, especially for French.

Interestingly, we found that negational modification also co-occurs regularly with a semantic specification phenomenon (SSP). SSPs build on the addition of another element – typically a second quantifier, either preceding or following *not all* – to generate contrast in the sentence. This phenomenon presumably aims to clarify (even just partly) the intended meaning, as in (1) below.

(1) ***Not all*** atheists believe in evolution. *Many* do, but ***not all***. (YCCQA_uk)

The English and French data used for this study were extracted from a lower-register written comparable corpus called *Yahoo-based Contrastive Corpus of Questions and Answers* (YCCQA) (De Smet 2009). The YCCQA corpus totals 29 million words, is available in English, French, German, and Spanish, and covers the time period 2006 to 2009 (De Smet 2009). Provided that sufficient data was available, datasets of 150 occurrences were compiled using AntConc (Anthony 2010).

The contribution made by this study is thus threefold: (i) it complements Njende et al.'s model with a third subtype of proportional quantity modification of the relative quantifiers *all* and *tout*; (ii) it discusses the many problems linked to the scope of negation, and suggests a test for the scope of negation with quantity modification; (iii) it investigates semantic specification and offers a description of SSPs with English *all* and French *tout*.

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Elizabeth Gaskell's *North and South:* Margaret Hale's Dual Identity and the Transitioning Image of the Victorian Mother

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Arguably, Elizabeth Gaskell often adopts a subtle feminist stand in her novels by using a surface plot highlighting economic differences between the rich and the poor. In *Mary Barton* (1848) and *North and South* (1854) for instance, Gaskell portrays female protagonists as victims of both the economic system and Victorian gendered norms. These characters are torn between conforming to what is expected of them and entering into "direct confrontation with society" so they can assert themselves and gain a measure of agency (Abel et al. 1983).

In *North and South*, the protagonist, Margaret Hale, experiences downward social mobility while she becomes a maternal figure in the context of her family, her work, and her romantic relationship. Connected as it is with Margaret's move from the southern upper-class to the northern upper-class, motherhood takes on different meanings in this novel. Significantly, as Davis (1992) remarks, Margaret's multifaceted position as a mother figure can be seen to respect Victorian values and yet depart from them, as the female character goes back and forth between the public and the domestic spheres. Building on and yet extending Davis's scholarship, my paper will argue that, through Margaret, Gaskell problematizes the position of mothers, not only by showing that the female character challenges Victorian norms but also by masculinizing her to further anchor her in the men's sphere, giving her by the same occasion the power and the agency that she is automatically deprived of due to her gender.

My reading of Margaret's character, which relies on the analysis of different plots in Victorian fiction by Abel et al. in *The Voyage In: Fiction of Female Development* (1983), is meant to show the distinction between the "surface plot, which affirms social conventions, and a submerged plot, which encodes rebellion" (Abel et al. 1983). Gaskell's representation of Margaret makes the reader doubt if her actions are respectable or not. The female protagonist plays with the borders of the public and domestic spheres in such a way that one must read between the lines to see the critique of Victorian motherhood and its toll on women (Millet 1972; Davis 1992). This motherly figure will be analysed from a feminist point of view, but also a psychoanalytic one, as Margaret can also be seen to represent a symbolic parent within the Freudian Oedipus plot. What is striking, however, is that Margaret embodies both a father and a mother figure. By masculinizing her, not only does Gaskell make her female character self-sufficient; she also gives an "alternative […] to masculinity" (Abel et al. 1983) that still presents a conflicted adherence to Victorian values.

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The Banyan Class
Universal Design for Learning in the English classroom

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Universal Design for Learning (UDL) presents a great challenge to dominant modes of thought in language teaching. This approach to this teaching is grounded on an understanding of learning as a shared activity and considers how individual differences between learners can be mobilized in ways that improve learning opportunities for everyone. First developed in the USA in the 1990s, it has been introduced and applied in four European countries: Lithuania, Austria, Poland and Finland. There is very little research on UDL from Europe and very few studies have found their way into the professional literature published in English. This paper wishes to shed some light on a new project undertaken at the European School of Brussels IV which aims at implementing the principles of Universal Design for Learning in the English L2 classroom. This paper reports on methodological considerations, pedagogical development including use of tablets and reflects on the impact of this approach on the well-being of the students.

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I never realized how controversial it was – On the embedded exclamative

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The exclamative clause type in English is generally accepted to include instances such as (1) and (2). These prototypical exclamatives are fronted by *what* or *how* and are distinguishable from the interrogative clause type, as in (5), by the absence of subject-auxiliary inversion. Pragmatically, they are characterised by their conveying of presupposed content, subjectivity, high degree, and surprise (often referred to as mirativity) (cf. Michaelis & Lambrecht 1996; Michaelis 2001; Rett 2008, 2011; Krawczak & Glynn 2015; Unger 2019; Ghesquière & Troughton 2021). This study proposes a re-analysis of a specific type of exclamative clause, i.e. embedded exclamative clauses, as illustrated in (3) and (4).

(1) Phew, what a relief. (WB sunnow)
(2) I thought he had been going away with his mates. How wrong I was. (WB sunnow)
(3) People are starting to realise what a good all-round player he is. (WB sunnow)
(4) The parents of this school know just how important reading is. (WB sunnow)
(5) How wrong is he?

Reference grammars and many initial accounts of the exclamative clause type assume that an exclamative clause can be embedded in much the same way as the interrogative (cf. Elliot 1974: 233; Grimshaw 1979: 281; Quirk et al. 1985: 1055; Trotta 2000; Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 991; Zanuttini & Portner 2003; Collins 2005: 3). However, in recent years more and more have disputed the fact that structures such as (3) or (4) can be defined as exclamative (Michaelis & Lambrecht 1996: 241-242; Rett 2008; Chernilovskaya 2014; Heine et al. 2020). This is largely based on the idea that the exclamative must encode a certain illocutionary force. Rett (2008: 603) asserts that "illocutionary force is a property of an utterance as a whole, not of subcomponents of utterances". If the illocutionary force of the matrix clause reigns over the whole utterance, the embedded *wh*-clause must constitute a separate phenomenon (cf. Chernilovskaya 2014: 23). Many studies of the exclamative eliminate embedded *wh*-clauses for these reasons and, as a consequence, they have not been the subject of much discussion in their own right.

Nevertheless, there does exist a slight undercurrent that seeks to redeem the term embedded exclamative and has indeed found much to reconcile them with the characteristics associated with matrix exclamatives (Nye 2013; Jugnet 2015). The current study seeks to contribute to this by exploring Jugnet's (2015: 137) assertion that, while it is true that complement clauses do not possess independent illocutionary force, "the speaker plays on the formal similarity between subordinate and true exclamatives in

order to give salience to the content".[1] The way in which a speaker chooses to embed an exclamative means that it retains enough of its semantic content to retain the name of exclamative. Her conclusions are drawn from *how* exclamatives subordinated under *be surprised / surprising.* As a natural progression and extension, this study will be carried out through a corpus study of embedded *how* and *what* exclamatives appearing under an unrestricted range of predicates. It will investigate to what extent they formally and semantically resemble matrix exclamatives.

The data for this study are drawn from the Wordbanks British books subcorpus and will be analysed in terms of the criteria normally associated with their matrix counterparts. To do this, parameters including form (word order, punctuation, ellipsis) and meaning (presupposed content, subjectivity, high degree, surprise) will be taken into account. The verbs that are found to licence the embedded exclamative (cf. Trotta 2000: 119) will be quantified and analysed to ascertain what impact they may have on the interpretation of an embedded exclamative.

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[1] "[L]e locuteur joue de la similitude formelle entre subordonnées et véritables exclamatives afin d'accorder une saillance au contenu informationnel introduit" (Jugnet 2015: 137).

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Noun incorporation in Present-day English: A corpus-based approach

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This paper presents a corpus study on noun incorporation (N+V compounds) in Present-day English, illustrated in (1) to (3). The process of noun incorporation (NI) has received ample scholarly attention in the typological literature, as early as Mithun's (1984) seminal paper, which presented a four-way functional typology. However, Mithun regarded English as not showing NI, arguing that "[t]he few English constructions that most closely resemble NI (e.g. *to baby-sit*, *to mountain-climb*, or *to word-process*), do not actually result from a productive compounding process, but are rather V's backformed from compound N's" (1984: 847). In this paper, we take a constructional perspective and hence also include such backformed instances, just like earlier studies focusing on NI in English (Hall 1956, Rice & Prideaux 1991, Feist 2013). What is innovative about our approach is that we combine qualitative and quantitative analyses of corpus data, and interact with typological generalizations.

(1) I **channel-surf** occasionally to find out what passes for public service television these days. (WB)
(2) Channel V […] will godfather them as "adopted daughters", **handholding** them for the next two years. (WB)
(3) O'Meara […] said: "I **baby-sat** Tiger Woods and I told Tiger it's his turn to babysit Sergio [García]. He's an incredible talent but he is still only 19." (WB)

We set out to investigate two research questions, using 100-hit random samples of 12 N+V compounds varying in semantic relation of N to V (e.g. patient, comitative) and semantic features of N (e.g. bodypart, animacy), drawn from WordBanks*Online*. First, we examine how productive NI is in terms of showing a full set of inflectional forms. It will turn out that most compounds are attested with finite verb forms in the data; it is not the case that NI only yields gerunds.

Second, we investigate to what extent Mithun's (1984) typology can be applied to English. We argue that Mithun's types I, II and IV are attested, while type III is not. Type I,

compounding for nameworthy activities, is most common (1). Type II, involving manipulation of case roles, is exemplified in (2): the incorporation of the patient noun allows its possessor to be "promoted" to object position (non-incorporated equivalent: *holding their hands*) (see also Feist 2013: 170). Type III, incorporation as a productive means for backgrounding known or incidental information, does not seem to occur in English (*contra* Feist 2013: 166). Finally, we argue that examples like (3) instantiate type IV, classificatory incorporation: the external noun phrase *Tiger Woods* identifies the argument implied by the incorporated noun *baby* (cf. Mithun 1984: 863), and *baby* semantically classifies the referent of *Tiger Woods*. This analysis is supported by the widened semantic scope of the incorporated noun *baby* in such uses, generalized to 'entity in need of care', with animacy restrictions lifted, as evidenced in (4).

(4) The printers are part of a system that automatically generates 60-day renewal notices each night. "There have been issues with some of the notices getting out," Miss Witt said. "We're **baby-sitting** the printers." (WB)

We thus argue that English provides a counter-example to Mithun's (1984) implicational hierarchy (type I > II > III > IV) in synchrony, lacking type III altogether. This may relate to the analytic nature of English, which lacks pronominal affixes on the verb, a feature indicated as typical of languages displaying types III and IV by Mithun (1984: 859-872).

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Corpora

WordbanksOnline Corpus https://wordbanks.harpercollins.co.uk/

Insubordinate *which*: Ill-behaved pronoun or new-found conjunction?

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The study investigates the use of *which* in so-called 'gapless' and 'gap-filled' relative clauses, i.e. clauses that resemble 'ordinary' (non-restrictive) relative clauses but that lack a 'gap', either because there is none, e.g. (1), or because it is 'filled' by another element, e.g. *it* in (2).

(1) I was like hugging him so tight **which** they always say don't hug your kids so tight. (COCA)
(2) They will take every opportunity to leverage that against us, **which** to me it's quite frustrating. (COCA)

Such examples are often dismissed as ungrammatical (e.g. Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1191). Against this, Loock (2007: 77) argues that they are too frequent to be dismissed as 'performance errors'. Instead, he hypothesises that *which* functions, in such cases, as a conjunction linking two clauses. Collins & Radford (2015) reject this position, defending that *which* is a relative pronoun but one that serves as the complement of a 'silent' preposition, e.g. *[about] which* in (1).

This study argues that *which* does serve as a conjunction in (1) and (2), more specifically a coordinating conjunction. This is evidenced, for instance, by the fact that, unlike subordinate clauses (Verstraete 2007), non-relative *which*-clauses have their own speech-functional value, e.g. (3).

(3) *Speaker 1:* Right – the group comes together because you form a horror group. *Speaker 2:* Yes – **which**, to quote Carol Kane's character in the show, what the hell is a horror group? (COCA)

Building on this position, I examined what discourse function conjunction *which* serves based on the analysis of spoken English corpus data (including audio material). Could it, for instance, be a 'floor-keeping' device, as Loock (2007) suggests?

First, I used the coding scheme proposed by Criblé & Degand (2019) to examine what types of discourse relation are found between the *which*-clause and the prior discourse. I distinguished between four 'discourse domains' (i.e., ideational, interpersonal, sequential, and rhetorical) and more precise 'discourse functions' (e.g. addition, contrast, cause).

Second, I studied the prosodic patterns of non-relative *which*-clauses, examining (i) intonation unit boundaries, (ii) nuclear accentuation, (iii) pitch register, (iv) intensity (perceived as loudness), (v) presence of (un)filled pauses (specifically before and/or after *which*). This allowed me to (a) test Loock's hypothesis that conjunction *which* is a 'floor-keeping' device and (b) examine prosodically signalled coherence relations between the *which*-clause and the prior text.

The analysis suggests that, if conjunction *which* is used as a floor-keeping strategy, that is by no means its main function. Instead, conjunction *which* occupies a distinct functional niche vis-à-vis other conjunctions (e.g. *and*, *but*), signalling specification of, or elaboration on, the prior discourse. It operates in two discourse domains: (i) in the rhetorical domain, it introduces a **subjectively appreciated detail**; (ii) in the sequential domain, it marks the start of a **parenthetical comment**. These two uses were found to correlate with distinct prosodic patterns.

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