

LEFT- AND RIGHT-DISLOCATION IN DISCOURSE: DISCOURSE FUNCTIONS, WORD ORDER AND PROSODY

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Dislocation:

- placement of NP in extra-clausal position (left or right)
- presence of coreferential resumptive in host

Examples: (Quirk et al., 1985, p. 1310)

- (1) a. **That play_i, it_i** was terrible.
b. **He_i's a complete idiot, that brother of yours_i.**

Earlier accounts:

- often discussed in terms of Topic-marking (i.a. Gregory & Michaelis, 2001; Lambrecht, 1994, 2001; Ziv, 1994; Ziv & Grosz, 1994)
 - LD establishes/announces new Topic
 - RD continues/maintains already active Topic
- Topic-marking function rejected by Prince (1997)
 - no grammatical reflex in English (see also Mackenzie & Keizer, 1991)
 - no clear definition of aboutness Topic

Topic cannot explain the placement of the dislocated phrase in either the left or right periphery!

- RQ1: Which discourse-pragmatic features determine the placement of a dislocated element to the left or right of the main clause?
- RQ2: What is the prosodic realisation of left- and right-dislocation in spoken British English?
- RQ3: What is the interaction between the prosodic realisation of the dislocated element, its discourse-pragmatic features and the position relative to the main clause?

ICE-GB: (Nelson et al., 2002)

- covers a wide variety of genres (private conversations, interviews, etc.)
- includes audio files

Data collection:

- search for appositive NPs
- manual review of results to identify dislocations
- 64 dislocations found in total
 - 30 left dislocations
 - 34 right dislocations

Pragmatic analysis:

- distinction made between discourse- and host-oriented functions
 - discourse-orientation: relation of dislocated phrase to discourse context
 - host-orientation: relation of dislocated phrase to host clause
- dislocated phrase is taken to stand in a functional relation to both the context and the host

Prosodic analysis:

- ToBI (Silverman et al., 1992)
- IP and PPs only

Table 1: Discourse- and host-oriented functions

	Discourse-oriented	Host-oriented	
Left Dislocation	Introductory	Narrowing	Preparing
	Forefronting	Summarising	Anchoring
Right Dislocation	Continuation Maintenance	Repair	
	Continuation Reactivation	Disambiguation	
	Afterthought	Specification	
	Phatic	Clarification	
	Interaction		

Introductory: (see Tizón-Couto (2012); cf. Prince (1997))

- (2) We will go to a cash and carry place and get try and get a lot of the ingredients
COS [My friend Karen_i]_{ANCHOR}, her_i father has got a cash and carry card
(S1A-023 #322)

Forefronting: (see Tizón-Couto (2012); cf. Prince (1997))

- (3) The nature of the work that we do is no different from any other creative arts
group. **The way we work_i, the way we experiment_i, the way we design
choreography_i**, uh [all those things_i]_{SUMMARY} I think are similar to other dance
groups
(S1A-004 #124)

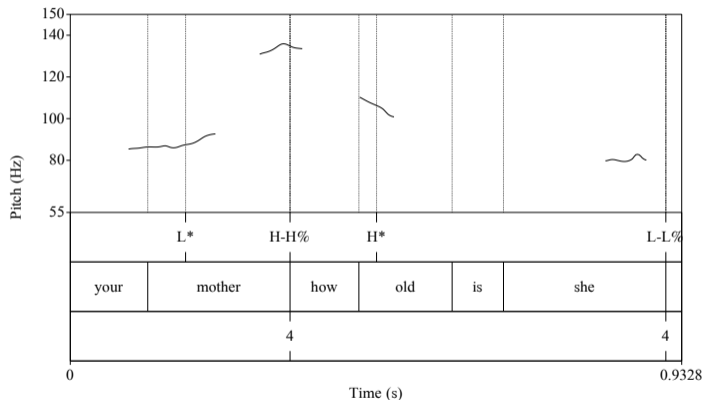


Figure 1: *Your mother, how old is she?*

Reactivation: (cf. Lambrecht, 2001)

- (4) Well you see Barry has an endpoint which is very very critical He says you wizz it until it balls round the knife [...] and the one before it you know it went from not looking as though it was balling at all to completely balling So **it_i** seems to exce exceedingly critical [**that endpoint_i**]_{DISAMBIG} (S1A-057 #192)

Phatic: (cf. Aijmer, 1989)

- (5) A: Uh did you say you've got a uh a gauze I can put on this ?
C: Yes, I can find you some, I think. Yes.
A: Oh dear, This foot hasn't <unclear>
B: Has it ... **it_i** looks swollen [**that foot_i**]_{CLARIF.}

(S1B-047#262)

Afterthought (AT): (cf. Aijmer, 1989; Lambrecht, 2001; Ziv & Grosz, 1994)

(6) B: She's quite sexy in it. Basically she 's not trying actually. He's the chap from Soap isn't he

A: That's exactly. Not Soap. Yes. It is but. No

B: It looks like **him_i**; you know [**the father_i**]_{REPAIR}

(S1A-041 #030)

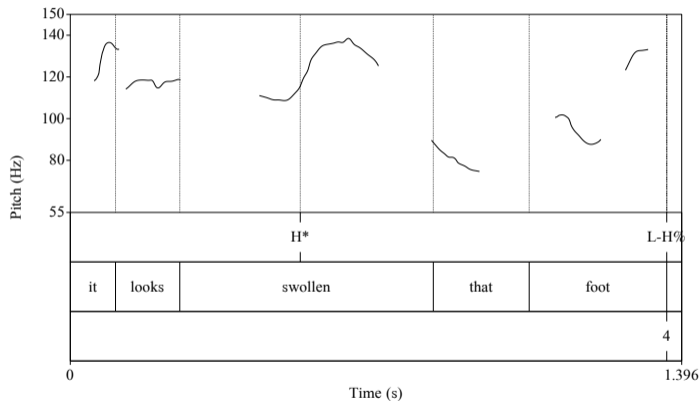


Figure 2: *It looks swollen that foot.*

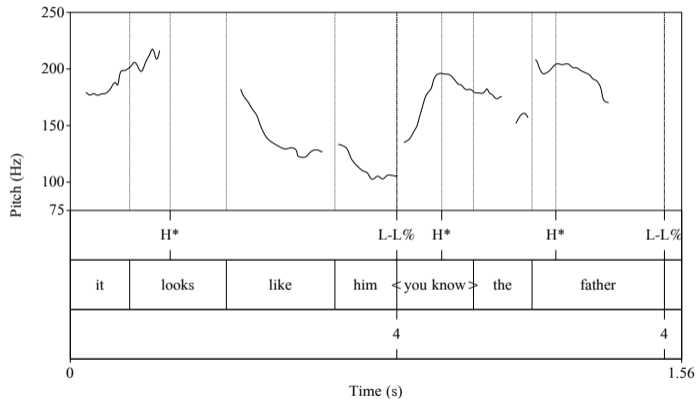


Figure 3: *It looks like him, you know, the father.*

Is there a unifying factor that determines the linguistic marking (i.e. position & prosody)?

Principle of Task urgency: (Givón, 1988, p. 252)

(7) Attend first to the more urgent task

- if information is least predictable, it is most urgent to express
- has repercussions for word order in languages
 - less predictable information is ordered before predictable information

Left and right dislocations:

(8) a. A: Is he [=speaker B's father] treated for blood pressure or anything like that?

B: No.

A: And **your mother**_i how old is **she**_i?

(S1A-051 #317)

b. A: Oh dear, This foot hasn't <unclear>

B: Has it ... **it**_i looks swollen **that foot**_i;

(S1B-047#262)

- LD communicatively important → pre-clausal position and prosodically prominent
- RD fully predictable → post-clausal position and prosodically integrated/deaccented

Afterthoughts:

(9) B: She's quite sexy in it. Basically she 's not trying actually. He 's the chap from Soap isn't he

A: That 's exactly. Not Soap. Yes. It is but. No

B: It looks like **him**_i you know **the father**_i

(S1A-041 #030)

- position result of production process
- information in final phrase not predictable based on the host → prosodic prominence
- may be related to Focus structure, i.e. AT probably in Focus

General characterisation:

- "form-oriented function-to-form approach" (Hengeveld & Mackenzie, 2008, pp. 38–39)
 - form-oriented: only systematically coded functional elements represented
 - function-to-form: functions used to explain the form
- hierarchical top-down organisation (i.e. directional)
- four levels of analysis
 - Interpersonal Level (discourse & pragmatics)
 - Representational Level (semantics)
 - Morphosyntactic Level (morphosyntax)
 - Phonological levels (phonology)

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Left- and right dislocation in FDG: (Hengeveld & Mackenzie, 2008)

- dislocated item treated as subsidiary Discourse Act (A_1) at the IL
- assigned the rhetorical functions **PRELUDE** (LD) and **AFTERTHOUGHT** (AT)

- (10) a. And your mother how old is she
 IL: (M_I : [(A_I –your mother– (A_I))**PRELUDE** (A_J : –how old is she– (A_J))] (M_I))
- b. It looks like him you know the father
 IL: (M_I : [(A_I –it looks like him– (A_I)) (A_J : –the father– (A_J))**AFTERTHOUGHT**] (M_I))

- position assigned by rhetorical functions **PRELUDE** and **AFTERTHOUGHT**
- prosodic detachment reflex of Discourse Act status

Issue:

- Discourse Act status depends on prosodic detachment
- currently, no way of representing prosodically integrated right dislocations

Proposal: integrated RDs as (Referential) Subacts (R_J)

(11) It looks SWOLLEN that foot

IL: (A_I : [(F_I : DECL) (P_1)_S (P_2)_A (C_I : [(R_I) (R_J)_{BCKGR} (C_{m_I} : [(T_I) (T_J)]
(C_{m_I})_{FOC}] (C_I))] (A_I))

- position assigned by pragmatic function Background (Bckgr)
- integration and deaccentuation reflex of this function

- functional analysis of 30 LDs and 34 RDs conducted
 - distinction between discourse- and host-oriented functions
- Task urgency (TUG) (see Givón, 1988)
 - most urgent (least predictable) information expressed first (LD and vice versa for RD)
 - Afterthoughts → position result of production process; prosody result of TUG
- FDG analysis
 - LD and AT represented as subsidiary Discourse Acts with rhetorical function (PRELUDE and AFTERTHOUGHT)
 - RD represented as Referential Subact with Background function

Aijmer, K. (1989). Themes and Tails: The Discourse Functions of Dislocated Elements. *Nordic Journal of Linguistics*, 12(2), 137–154

-> dislocation not very frequent in English Descriptive model left-dislocated element -> Theme (Topic in Lambrecht) right-dislocated element -> Tail (AntiTopic in Lambrecht) Discourse functions of the theme Theme represents entity that subsequent predication is going to bear upon (cf. Dik 1981: 132) Theme is an independent tone unit Functions identification: speaker identifies discourse referent (also called 'reinforcing' or 'foregrounding') connective/transition marker exemplification (of what participants have been talking about) addition contrast temporal sequencing Theme introducing new discourse entity -> less integrated in following discourse (prosody) marked by rising/fall-rise tone depending on information status, themes can be more or less closely tied to following utterance -> well-anchored theme more strongly connected than new theme reintroduction: previously mentioned, but no longer accessible (element in dislocated position not found in the immediate context) simplification (NOT in Prince's sense) caused by conditions for planning adaptation of the speaker's linguistic behaviour breaks up utterance into more manageable units Discourse functions of the tail postponed identification (disambiguation) afterthoughts need to be distinguished from tails tails rising intonation -> not always marked off by tone unit boundary from predication (goes against Lambrecht!) afterthoughts falling intonation -> Aijmer does not distinguish RD from other elements in tail position! predication (i.e. clause) has special properties AB event -> predication expresses shared knowledge between speakers predication has expressive/emotional function element may also be placed in tail as a result of syntactic complexity.

- Givón, T. (1988). The pragmatics of word-order: Predictability, importance and attention. In M. Hammond & E. Moravcsik (Eds.), *Studies in syntactic typology* (pp. 243–284). John Benjamins.
Literaturangaben.
- Gregory, M. L., & Michaelis, L. A. (2001). Topicalization and left-dislocation: A functional opposition revisited. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 33(11), 1665–1706
article argues against Prince's claim that LD has no unitary function -> author's claim that overall function is Topic promotion/establishment Methodology -> 5 clauses before and after of LD construction used (Givon 1984 -> 20 clauses yield no more insight than 5).
- Hengeveld, K., & Mackenzie, J. L. (2008). *Functional Discourse Grammar: A typologically-based theory of language structure*. Oxford University Press.
- Lambrecht, K. (1994). *Information structure and sentence form: Topic, focus, and the mental representations of discourse referents*. Cambridge University Press.

Lambrech, K. (2001). Dislocation. In M. Haspelmath, E. König, W. Oesterreicher, & W. Raible (Eds.), *Language typology and language universals* (pp. 1050–1078, Vol. 2). Mouton de Gruyter.

4 criteria for definition of dislocation: extra-clausal position possible alternative intra-clausal position
 pronominal coindexation special prosody -> 1. is the only necessary (but not sufficient) condition
 Article uses Top for LD position and AntiTop for RD position Dislocation and superficially similar
 constructions Topicalisation (vs. LD) Topicalised constituent is not extra-clausal, but pre-clauses (hence
 still a complement of the verb), i.e. different syntactic positions difference between topicalisation & LD
 -> dislocated element can always be omitted! Focus-movement (Focus preposing) (vs. LD) resembles
 Topicalisation -> preposed constituent functions as a complement of the verb differs in prosody from
 topicalisation -> preposed constituent only point of prominence in Foc preposing a Focus-movement
 sentence cannot be converted into LD (unlike topicalisation sentence) Clitic-doubling (vs. RD) does not
 exist in English afaik Extraposition (vs. RD) subject/object constituent extraposed to end of clause;
 canonical position filled with dummy element extraposed constituent -> typically complement clause
 difference to RD -> extraposed constituent is intra-clausal argument (which is the focus and hence
 accented) Extraposition sentences do not have LD counterpart Subject-inversion constructions (vs. RD)
 subject occurs at the end rather than beginning of clause inverted subject necessarily accented The
 structure of dislocation sentences Grammatical functions of the pronominals mostly subjects, but can
 also be objects pronominal may also function as adjunct (e.g. [In Ostdeutschland], da) Types of
 pronominals mostly personal pronouns (free pronouns in English) but can also be -> morphologically
 bound atonic pronouns (e.g. French), inflectional affix (e.g. Italian), null element (e.g. Turkish),
 independent/tonic pronoun forms (e.g. Chichewa) Unlinked topics constituent appears in Top position
 without any anaphoric link to an intra-clausal argument/adjunct -> common feature of topic-prominent

Discourse-oriented functions:

(cf. Prince, 1997; Tizón-Couto, 2012)

- Introductory: dislocated phrase introduces new referent into discourse
- Forefronting: dislocated phrase brings referent to foreground

Host-oriented functions:

(cf. Mann & Thompson, 1988; Tizón-Couto, 2012)

- Preparation: fall-back; prepares topic for the host
- Narrowing: based on part-whole relationship between initial NP and resumptive
- Summarising: several (dislocated) NPs summarised by resumptive in host
- Anchoring: initial NP functions as referential anchor for resumptive

Discourse-oriented functions:

(cf. Aijmer, 1989; Lambrecht, 2001; Ziv, 1994)

- Continuation Maintenance: maintains already active Topic
- Continuation Reactivation: reactivates Topic that has receded into background
- Afterthought: by definition corrective; speaker realises error and repairs it
- Phatic: used to build rapport between speaker and addressee
- Interactional: expresses counterexpectancy in the host

Host-oriented functions:

- Clarification: fall-back; clarifies the referent of the resumptive in the host
- Repair: repairs host utterance in cases where there is no potential referent in the context
- Disambiguation: identifies the referent of the host in cases where there are several potential referents in the context
- Specification: variable - value relation between host and dislocated phrase

Introductory LD:

- (12) A: Yeah, but you haven't been in the past in hospitals for anything.
B: No.
A: No. Now [**your parents**_i]_{PREP}, are **they**_i alive and well?

(S1A-051 #305)

Forefronting LD:

- (13) And the cost is that a number of these infants [= pre-term infants] come through with disabilities of some form. **These disabilities_i [some of them_i]_{NARROWING}** are major and obvious such as uh quadriplegia.

(S2A-046 #114)

Maintaining RD:

- (14) I mean the the way Mr Griffiths fastens on his heroines and the camera from that moment on exploits women in a particular way right the way through the whole of cinema up to this day Very rarely has that been uh as it were subverted [. . .] uh **It_i**'s very hierarchical [**the cinema_i**]_{CLAR}

(S1B-045 #086)

Interactional RD:

- (15) C: [...] there's all these numbers that you can dial for all, all the different sexual pleasures that you want. [...]
D: Mm, they're just <unclear> Are **they_i** are they classified [**the sexual pleasures_i**]_{SPEC}

(S1A-027 #181)

Maintaining RD:

- (16) I mean the the way Mr Griffiths fastens on his heroines and the camera from that moment on exploits women in a particular way right the way through the whole of cinema up to this day Very rarely has that been uh as it were subverted [. . .] uh **It_i**'s very hierarchical [**the cinema_i**]_{CLAR}

(S1B-045 #086)

(10a) And your mother how old is she

IL: (M_I: [(A_I –your mother– (A_I))_{PRELUDE} (A_J: –how old is she– (A_J))] (M_I))

PL: (U_i: [(rIP_i: (lrPP_i: –and your mother– (PP_i)) (IP_i)) (fIP_j: (hfPP_j: –how old is she– (PP_j)) (IP))] (U_i))

(10b) It looks like him you know the father

IL: (M_I: [(A_I –it looks like him– (A_I)) (A_J: –the father– (A_J))_{AFTERTHOUGHT}] (M_I))

PL: (U_i: [(fIP_i: (hfPP_i: –it like him– (PP_i)) (IP_i)) (fIP_j: (hfPP_j: –you know the father– (PP_j)) (IP))] (U_i))

(11) It looks swollen that foot

IL: (A_I: [(F_i: DECL) (P₁)_S (P₂)_A (C_I: [(R_I) (R_J))_{BCKGR} (C_{mI}: [(T_I) (T_J)] (C_{mI}))_{FOC} (C_I))] (A_I))

PL: (fIP_i: (hfPP_i: –it looks swollen that foot– (PP_i)) (IP_i))