

**A CORPUS-BASED ANALYSIS OF LEFT DISLOCATION IN
LATE MODERN ENGLISH.
A FUNCTIONAL APPROACH TO THE CONSTRUCTION
AND ITS DISCOURSE FUNCTIONS**

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ABSTRACT: This paper tackles the syntactic, semantic and discursive characterization of English Left Dislocation in Late Modern English. To this end, the empirical research is based on a corpus of British literary texts from the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, which includes the work of thirty major authors from each century, with samples from over sixty literary productions totalling over one million words.

Once the definition of LD as a syntax-discourse interface structure is made explicit, the analysis concentrates on proposing specific discourse functions for LD. The article proposes eight different discourse functions for English LD, supported with respective examples. In this research, the reader will find, introduction, forefronting, acknowledge, attributive, contrastive, narrowing, summarizing, and correction LDs. These functions grow out of variables such as dislocate referentiality (especially), internal semantics of the LD construction or the interactional context (turn-taking or speaker stance). Last, the relationship between LD's topicality scope and the discourse functions proposed adds up to the discussion.

KEYWORDS: left dislocation; discourse functions; syntax.

1. Introduction

Although many linguistic studies are dedicated to the contrast between syntactic fronting strategies across languages,¹ it is not the objective of this paper to review frequently researched cross-linguistic structural dichotomies, such as the one given between Topicalisation (1) or Clitic Left Dislocation

¹ See Villalba (2000), who makes reference to a number of studies which tackle fronting and detached structures in at least ten different languages.

(CLLD) and Left Dislocation (2) proper (LD, henceforth; referred to as HTLD in the literature on Romance languages)² (see Cinque, 1990; Villalba, 2000).

- (1) *The little knowledge of fashionable manners and of the characters of the times of which Cecilia was yet mistress, she had gathered at the house of this gentleman, with whom the Dean her Uncle had been intimately connected: (F. Burney, Cecilia, 9) [Topicalisation]*
- (2) [...] beside *Women of a warm Constitution, if they loose one Lover will soon provide themselves of another. (M. Davys, The Accomplished Rake, 22) [LD]*

As I see it, such analyses are frequently linked to generative axioms such as *wh*-movement (Chomsky, 1977, 1986), the CP scheme (see Hudson, 2003 for an overview of how CP structure has been gradually adapted to constituent fronting) or Relativized Minimality (Rizzi, 1990, 1997) and their capability to account for the syntactic properties of peripheral elements. Conversely, this paper tackles English LD in a specific period (Late Modern English; IModE, henceforth) and aims at exploring the interface features of LD as a thematic system which may “serve a variety of distinct communicative functions in discourse” (Kies, 1988: 47). In this vein, several functional variables, namely information status, internal semantics or interactive aspects (turn-taking or stance), motivate the proposal of a typology comprising eight discourse functions for English LD.

I contend that the term ‘left-dislocate’ includes every (hanging) constituent which, inside one speaker-turn, evinces a referential index with a proform or anaphoric phrase in the core of the clause to which it is attached, except vocatives, self-correction items and the *as-for* construction. Grammatical features such as the category of the dislocate, the semantic relationship between the dislocate and the copy or the differences in illocutionary force between the dislocate and the ensuing clause suggest gradiency inside the LD category. Regarding the grammatical category of the dislocate, for

² First, CLLD is a left-detachment phenomenon by means of which a left-dislocated element of any syntactic category, and which can be iterated (and ordered freely in that case), is linked to a resumptive clitic in the core clause showing connectedness and island-sensitivity:

(Galician) *O libro*, compreino na librería Michelena. [clitic pronoun]

(Galician) Penso que **eu/a min*, non *me* vai afectar. [connectedness]

(Galician) **De Xoán*, din [que [eu son listo] e [el e parvo]]. [strong island constraints]

Second, HTLD, traditionally referred to as ‘nominativus pendens’ in the Romanic tradition, is a left-detachment process by way of which one left-dislocated NP is linked to a clitic pronoun, a strong pronoun or an epithet in the core clause. It shows “neither connectedness nor island-sensitivity,” its properties placing it “closer to anaphoric discourse relations than to syntactic ones” (Villalba, 2000: 103):

(Galician) *Xoán*, o que din e que *el* quere ser astronauta. [strong pronoun]

(Galician) *Ela*_{1/*2}, sen embargo, *María*₂ pensaba que non *lle*₁ ían falar. [no connectedness]

(Galician) *Xoán*, o que din e [que [eu son listo] e [el e parvo.]] [no island constraints]

instance, providing English LD has been often conceived (Ross, 1967; Cinque, 1990; Villalba, 2000) as the fronting of an NP within clause periphery, instances such as (3) to (5) below, in which a CP, a PP and an *if*-clause, respectively, trigger LD, may be perceived less prototypical than, for example, (1) above.

- (3) “*How I came here, it matters not,*” replied he, sullenly; “and as to my being out of humour, perhaps you may know better than I yet do, what cause I have for being so.” (E.F. Haywood, *Betsy Thoughtless*, 90)
- (4) I have seen him, said Sir Philip, formerly; but where was he when these events happened? – *At the Castle of Lovel, Sir; he came there* on a visit to the Lady, and waited there to receive my Lord, at his return from Wales; (C. Reeve, *The Old English Baron*, 6)
- (5) *If I have any energy and principle to carry me through* – I owe **it** to you.” (S. Baring-Gould, *In the roar of the sea*, 12)

As regards the semantic relationship between the dislocate and the copy, my concept of LD includes three different types of links between the left-dislocate and the copy in the core clause. This approach is inspired by general textual conceptions such as Halliday and Hasan’s (1976) ‘textual cohesion’, as well as by other definitions for LD, such as Huddleston and Pullum’s (2002: 1408)³. First, a total identity relationship is possible, where the element in the core is a resumptive pronoun or a mere cohesive repetition of the dislocated element:

- (6) *A mere ceremony of marriage; what more does it mean nowadays than that we two agree to live together on the ordinary terms of civilised society?*” (G. Allen, *The woman who did*, 40)

Second, a metonymy link may trigger LD when the element in the core (usually a full NP with a possessive pronoun as a determiner) expresses a part, quality, ingredient or branch of the left-dislocate⁴:

³ According to Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 1408), “[a] dislocated clause has a constituent, usually an NP, located to the left or right of the nucleus of the clause, with an *anaphorically linked pronoun or comparable form* within the nucleus itself” [emphasis mine].

⁴ The concept of English LD put forth here, as above defined and illustrated, would include what Visser (1970: Part I, 61) calls ‘nominativus pendens’ or anacoluthic/dangling subject and illustrated in (i). A metonymic (whole-part) relationship between the dislocate and the copy is observed:
(i) He, the chieftain of them all, his sword hangs outside on the wall.

- (7) ‘Tis eve. *The sun his ardent axle* cools
In ocean. Dripping geese shake off the pools. (E.S. Barrett, *The Heroine*, 146)

Third, a partial identity may also license an instance of LD, where the element in the core is a full NP or a pronoun that does not share the exact same semantic features⁵:

- (8) ‘An egg---a bantam’s egg. I am hatching a **very rare sort**. I carry it about everywhere with me, and it will get hatched in less than three weeks.’ (T. Hardy, *Jude the Obscure*, 63)

In a nutshell, left-dislocates which exhibit a total identity relationship with the following proform or anaphoric phrase are liable to be conceived as more suitable elements in a syntactic construction such as LD, according to conventional notions of the construction, than those which reveal a metonymic or partial identity relationship. Nevertheless, as argued by Geluykens (1992: 26), “a syntactic account, which might work for the prototype cases, does not allow us to make sufficient generalizations over syntactically unrelated instances [of LD]”.

It is not, however, the purpose of this paper to explore prototypicality within the LD tag (see Tizón-Couto, 2008b); instead, I shall explore its interpretive features and its specific functions in discourse.

2. The corpus

This paper focuses on LD in IModE in order to investigate the informative, semantic and discourse rationale of the construction in the recent history of English, especially after the fixation of the word-order patterns productive in Present-day English.⁶ I base this investigation on data retrieved from two electronic collections containing literary texts from the Britain of the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, namely *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* and *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*. After a previous selection of texts, a corpus of slightly over 600,000 words was gathered for each century, which adds up to an overall corpus of more than 1,200,000 words. All LD tokens

⁵ This type of LD would include what Lambrecht (1996: 282) terms ‘unlinked topic construction’ and where, from his point of view, “the TOP position is occupied by an NP which is not anaphorically linked to any argument”:

(i) La mer_x, tu vois de l’eau. (François corpus)
‘The ocean, you see water’. [(27a) in Lambrecht (1996: 282)]

Purposely overlooking strict anaphorical linking, there is a semantic/cohesive relation between *la mer* and *l’eau* that leads us to consider such examples as LD with a partial identity relation.

⁶ According to the relevant literature, the consolidation of the contemporary word order dates back to early Modern English (see Pérez-Guerra, 1999).

here researched (a total of 343 instances) have been retrieved through manual search.

Corpus	No. of words	LD instances	Normalized frequency (per 10,000 words)
18th c.	608,076	103	1.69
19th c.	602,114	240	3.98
Total	1,210,190	343	2.83

Table 1. Distribution of LD

3. LD as an interface thematic system

From an interpretive point of view, left-dislocated constituents can be characterized as relevant at the sentence level, since they represent meaningful choices “determining from which ‘semantic perspective’ [... a] particular process is to be viewed” (Gómez González, 2001: 119). Although LD in English seems to resemble the topic-comment structure of languages such as Chinese (Jiménez Juliá, 1995), Japanese (Dik, 1997) or Hmong (Gass and Selinker, 2001), the characterization of a dislocate as an absolute ‘pragmatic theme’ or “the materialization of what the sentence is about” (Pérez-Guerra, 1999: 17-18) is problematic⁷ (see Huddleston, 1988: 158). Nevertheless, although left-dislocates are independent from the notion of subject, and not absolute semantic topics, they are not considered here separate from the concept of Theme as point of departure for the clause, in the sense of Halliday (1994: 34):

The Theme functions in the structure of the CLAUSE AS A MESSAGE. A clause has meaning as a message, a quantum of information; the Theme is the point of departure for the message. It is the element the speaker selects for ‘grounding’ what he is going to say.

⁷ In example (i), according to Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 1409-1410), it would be difficult to know if the clause following *this one guy* is about ‘the guy’, about ‘the ring’ or about ‘a flirting tip’:

- (i) A: What kind of tips do you get dancing?
 B: Well, *this one guy*, he gave me a diamond ring that I still wear on my right hand and tell people is from my grandmother.

Prince (1998: 284) maintains that, in (ii) “it seems counterintuitive that I would process this proposition as being ‘about’ the referent of the landlady in any significant sense”:

- (ii) ‘My sister_i got stabbed. She_i died. Two of my sisters were living together on 18th Street. They had gone to bed, and this man, their girlfriend’s husband, came in. He started fussing with my sister_i and she_i started to scream. **The landlady_j, she_j went up**, and he laid her_j out. So sister_i went to get a wash cloth to put on her_j, he stabbed her_i in the back. But she_j saw her death. She_j went and told my mother when my brother was buried. “Mother,” she_j said, “your trouble is not over yet. You’re going to have another death in the family. And it’s going to be me.” And sure enough, it was.

LD can thus be understood as a syntactic interface structure relevant to the exploration of a “grammar of the paragraph” (Longacre, 1979; Montgomery, 1982), “text grammar” (Hasan, 1984; Halliday, [1985] 1994²) or “discourse grammar” (Geluykens, 1992; Ford, Fox and Thompson, 2003) since it contributes to clause function and texture at the three levels proposed by Halliday ([1985] 1994²): ideative, introducing an entity/referent; interpersonal, since it self-selects turn and presents speaker’s stance; and textual, by acting as an anaphorical/cohesive link with previous discourse and a point of departure for the subsequent clause. As Gómez González (2001: 179) puts it, “thematic choices [such as LD] are interpersonally oriented textual choices, establishing point of view in discourse and acting as discourse markers, helping texts be cohesive and consistent.” The measurement of ‘topic persistence’ (Givón, 1983) reveals that it would not be fantasy to associate LD with strong cohesiveness at the paragraph level. Figure 1 evinces that the average topicality (continuity) of a left-dislocated item is 3.78⁸.

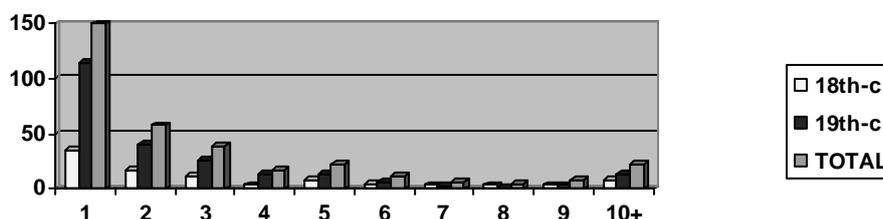


Figure 1. Topicality of LD in number of clauses.

Example (9) would be an exemplary instance of an introductory LD (see section 5.1.). It can be observed that the LD (*the second silver Trout, [...] he*) is employed in order to switch the reference of the pronoun *he* from *the first silver Trout*, who dies, to *the second silver Trout* in the story (about three silver Trouts). The second silver Trout becomes topical, *ie.* it is repeated cohesively as *he* in the five ensuing clauses, after its appearance as a left-dislocate, up to the point when he addresses God:

- (9) The little Fool did not consider that he was now in a strange Country, and many a Mile from the sweet River, where he was born and bred, and had received all his Nourishment. So, when he came down, he happened to alight among dry Sands and Rocks, where there was not a Bit to eat, nor a Drop of Water to drink; and so there he lay faint and tired, and unable to rise, gasping, and

⁸ The data offered by Montgomery (1982: 429) for LD in conversational English seem to add up to this intuition, since approximately 75 percent of his LD tokens are thematic in a span of 1-5 clauses, 18 percent extend their thematic scope to the span of 6-10 clauses and around 7 percent surpass the 10 clause span.

fluttering, and beating himself against the Stones, till at length he died in great Pain and Misery.

Now, *the second silver Trout*, though he was not so high minded as the first little proud Trout, yet **he** did not want for Conceit enough, and he was moreover a narrow hearted and very selfish little Trout, and, provided he himself was snug and safe, he did not care what became of all the Fishes in the World. So he says to God:

May it please your Honour, I don't wish, not I, for Wings to fly out of the Water, and to ramble into strange Places, where I don't know what may become of me. (H. Brooke, *The Fool of Quality*, 54)

Taking Gómez González's (2001: 179) words above as a point of departure, common ground can be observed between a left-dislocate and what Schiffrin (2001: 58) defines as a discourse marker, namely that the dislocate is "syntactically detachable," that it appears in "initial position" or, more significantly, that it operates at both "local [clausal] and global [discourse] levels." Accordingly, left-dislocates could be considered 'parallel pragmatic markers' (they encode a message separate from the basic and/or commentary message) which contribute to the following clause in a number of ways, in a similar manner a discourse marker "helps to integrate the many different simultaneous processes underlying the construction of discourse, and thus helps create coherence" (Schiffrin 2001: 58).

The whole LD construction (left-dislocate + clause) would constitute a unitary syntactic construction employed as an interface between clause and text semantics and grammar through cohesive (strict/non-strict) anaphora. In addition, given the multifunctional character of LD, although it has a primary function (referent (re)introduction) or more central functions (introductory and foregrounding), it evinces more marginal uses (see section 5).

4. Accounting for LD in informative terms

In order to account for the informative character of left-dislocates, any kind of speaker- or hearer-presuppositional category, such as "universal knowledge" or "inferable from the situation," has been avoided due to the written and historical character of the corpus.⁹ Thus, an item has been considered recoverable only when previously mentioned in the text before its occurrence as a dislocate. The distance between the left-dislocate and its referent in discourse is here accounted for in terms of the number of intervening clausal units:

⁹ In Gómez González's (2001: 44) words:

the array of knowledge implied by GivK [shared knowledge] is so vast, incorporating both general background knowledge and knowledge arising from the co(n)text that the concept becomes virtually useless. For one thing, discourse participants tend to have a vast knowledge which is 'shared' and this would make any piece of information given.

1. RP: the referent occurs in the previous clause.
2. L: the referent occurs in the five preceding clauses.
3. A: the referent occurs in the 6-20 preceding clauses.
4. D: the referent is deducible from linguistic context, *ie.* from previously mentioned elements (in the 20 preceding clauses approx.)
5. N: the referent does not appear in the text and can be considered brand new.

Figure 2 offers the recoverability statistics for all the LD tokens from the corpus:

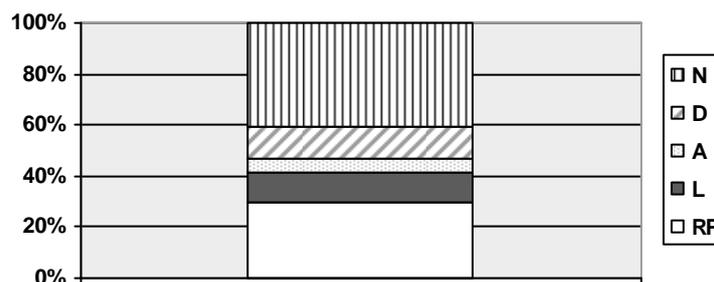


Figure 2. Referentiality – Totals given (RP, L, A, D) vs. new (N)

Figure 2 shows a slight tendency for the dislocate to render given information (RP, L, A or D). Nonetheless, new elements account for approximately 40 percent of the tokens. LD can be consequently profiled as a syntactic structure which characteristically challenges the given-new contract since none of the two statuses is particularly productive. The nature of LD agrees then with interactive-semantic interpretations of the theme/topic interface (see Chafe, 1994; Lambrecht, 1996) in the sense that, although there is a tendency for subjects to be light and given in English, topichood is constantly renegotiated in a discourse/text through structures like LD.

5. Discourse functions of LD in IModE

The functionality of LD in discourse, as well as its structure and interpretation, can be viewed from several perspectives. First, from a cognitive or informational perspective, LD would be the means to avoid grammatical complexity, to avoid new elements in argument position and to ease processing. In other words, LD is a possible method to obey the cognitive-linguistic limitations given in linguistic interaction (Quirk *et al.*, 1985; Dik, 1989; Chafe, 1994; Lambrecht, 1996; Huddleston and Pullum, 2002). LD would, for instance, satisfy cognitive maxims such as the 'Principle of the

Separation of Role and Reference’, stated by Lambrecht (1996: 185) as follows: “Do not introduce a referent and talk about it in the same clause.”

Second, from an interactive point of view, LD would be the means to negotiate referents and compete for or gain the floor (Geluykens, 1992; Givón, 2001; Ford, Fox and Thompson, 2003). According to Duranti and Ochs (1979: 405), LDs “may be used not only to gain access to the speaking floor but also to block or to reduce the access of others participating in the social interaction.”

Last, from a more specific point of view that I term (con)textual, the most cited main ‘referent foregrounding/setting’ function of LD can be argued to achieve more specific shades affected by contextual features and speakers’ attitudes.

These three interpretations cannot be considered mutually exclusive, since they all depart from “an understanding of syntax [which] depends in large part on an understanding of its role in the interactional settings in which language is used” (Ono and Thompson, 1994: 402). From my point of view, English LD is multifunctional; its main referent introducing/foregrounding role seems to achieve different functional tones depending on the grammatical and interactional context within which the construction occurs. As Geluykens (1992: 95) admits, “the fact that the main function of a LD is referent introduction does not disqualify it from carrying additional functions.” Also, in Kim’s (1995: 277) words, “LD subsumes a multitude of interactional functions whose domains are extremely diverse.” In the following sections, the main function of LD is further exploited and specified with a more refined typology of functions that relies on contextual features such as referentiality (‘forefronting’ versus ‘introductory’), the semantic relationship between the dislocate and the copy (‘narrowing’ or ‘contrast’), on general interactional circumstances (‘acknowledgment’ or ‘summarizing’) or on the speaker’s attitude (‘attributive’ or ‘correction’). Figure 3 outlines my view of LD’s functional variety:

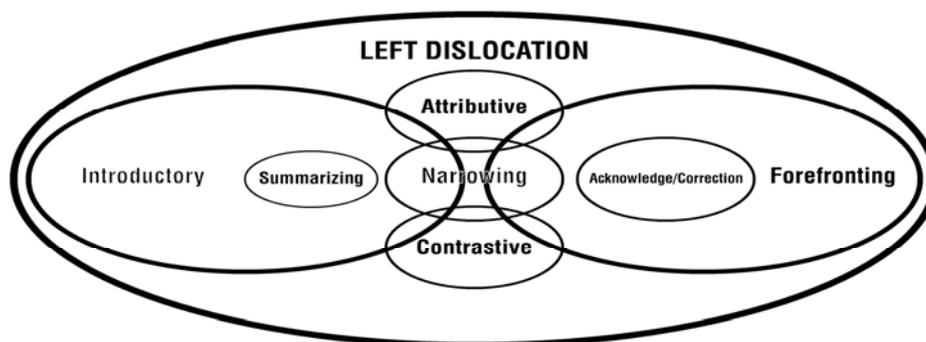


Figure 3. Functions of LD

5.1. Introductory LD

In ‘introductory’ LD, a new element, not mentioned in the preceding discourse, is left dislocated and predicated on. The main essence of this function is the fact that it always introduces new elements which have not previously been mentioned in the text:

- (10) Her fine black Hair, hung upon her Neck in Curls, which had so much the Appearance of being artless, that all but her Maid, *whose Employment it was to give them that Form, imagined they were so.* (C.R. Lennox, *The Female Quixote*, 7)
- (11) *Whatever Constancy Honoria was Mistress of, she summon'd it all at this dangerous Juncture, that the Prince her Uncle might not read the Secret of her Soul;* (M. de la R. Manley, *Memoirs of Europe*, 108)

This type of LD usually evinces a total identity semantic relation between the dislocate and the copy (91.5%). Unsurprisingly, the copy occupies prototypical argument positions such as Subject (61.6%) and Object (23.3%) and most examples rely on prototypical declarative sentences (90.6%).

5.2. Forefronting LD

This function is inspired, among other sources, by the work of Montgomery (1982: 428), who asserts that some LDs “are mentioned to keep thematic information in the forefront,” as well as by Prince’s (1998) poset LD. A ‘forefronting LD’ can be observed in (12), where the speaker singles out *that*, *ie.* the previously mentioned *trick*, in order to offer its judgement on the referent (*it was no better, but worse than...*). In (13), *His Virtue and his other Qualifications* cannot be considered a brand new item, since it is inferable from the previous discourse (*generous, friendly, brave*, etc). The purpose of this instance of LD is to bring the character’s virtues to the forefront in order to comment on their relevance for his portrayal, while drifting away from a digression on *Passions*.

- (12) ‘twas a taught trick to gain credit of the world for more sense and knowledge than a man was worth; and *that, with all its pretensions, – it was no better, but often worse, than what a French wit had long ago defined it,* (L. Sterne, *Tristram Shandy*, 57-58)
- (13) He was generous, friendly and brave to an Excess; but Simplicity was his Characteristic: he did, no more than Mr. Colley Cibber, apprehend any such Passions as Malice and Envy to exist in Mankind, which was indeed less remarkable in a Country Parson than in a Gentleman who hath past his Life behind the Scenes, a Place which hath been seldom thought the School of Innocence; and where a very little Observation would have convinced the great

Apologist, that those Passions have a real Existence in the human Mind.

His Virtue and his other Qualifications, as they rendered him equal to his Office, so **they** made him an agreeable and valuable Companion, and had so much endeared and well recommended him to a Bishop, that at the Age of Fifty, he was provided with a handsome Income of twenty-three Pounds a Year; which however, he could not make any great Figure with: because he lived in a dear Country, and was a little incumbered with a Wife and six Children. (H. Fielding, *Joseph Andrews*, 10)

To put it briefly, in ‘forefronting’ LD a given (RP, L, A) or deducible (D) item is brought to the vanguard of the story or the dialogue by one speaker for a specific purpose. Regarding referentiality, apart from bringing immediately mentioned referents to the forefront (28.9% RP), ‘forefronting’ LDs introduce long distance items (19.4% L and 13.1% A) as well as deducible elements (39.4% D) more frequently than any other type of LD.

The resumptive most frequently acts as Subject (60.5%) or Object (23.6%) in the core clause, which is usually declarative (77.6%) and less frequently imperative (5.2%), interrogative (4.8%) or exclamative (4.8%). The semantic relation between dislocate and copy is total identity in most of the tokens (88.15%) and partial identity in only 11.84% of the instances.

5.3. Acknowledge LD

This type of LD relies on an acknowledgment by a different speaker which uses repetition as a cohesive device to continue on with the dialogue right after an intervention by another speaker.¹⁰ Hence, lexical repetition or grammatical parallelism (Kies, 1988: 62) provides cohesion. Geluykens (1992: 93) explains instances such as (14) by stating that “the main function of this LD is to sum up, to synthesize some aspects of the previous context, in order to give some further comment on it.” The referentiality statistics seem to confirm this characterization, since most of the tokens are promoted from the immediately preceding (73.2% RP) or closely preceding (16% L; 8.9% A; 1.7% D) discourse.

¹⁰ The fact that this type of LD occurs at the beginning of a turn right after another speaker’s intervention sets it radically apart from ‘for’ LD, where a recoverable element can be promoted to initial position at the middle of a turn or inside a monologue. Example (i) would not then be an ‘ack’ but a ‘for’ LD, since the exclamation (*Sincerity!*) refers to something the same speaker has just uttered (*his sincerity*):

- (i) I suspected him, and determined to test his sincerity. *Sincerity!* It seems like a profanation of **the word** to write **it** in connection with such a monster, so asked him point-blank:
“Why may I not go to-night?” (B. Stoker, *Dracula*, 50)

Although less typical constituents can appear dislocated (PPs or clauses) because of the echoing character of this LD, it most frequently occurs with nominal dislocates (87.5%):

- (14) I am seeking out too – for a gentleman, a scholar and a friend.”
 “A *friend*, Sir George? and is it in me you could expect to find **one**?
 In a close unsociable contracted heart, shut to pleasure, and unopening even to kindness.” (R.Bage, *Man as he is*, 24)
- (15) On this she asked me if I knew Polly Philips. Undoubtedly, says I, the fair girl which was so tender of me when I was sick, and has been, as you told me, but two months in the house? *the same* says Phoebe. You must know then, **she** is kept by a young Genoese merchant, whom his uncle, who is immensely rich, and whose darling he is, sent over here with an English merchant his friend, on a pretext of settling some accounts, [...] (J. Cleland, *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure*, 74-75)

In (14), the speaker repeats the constituent *a friend* in order to acknowledge the previous statement and to show his surprise. This fits nicely the ensuing question. In (15), ‘Phoebe’ employs an acknowledge LD in order to check on the fact that the listener has identified the referent she is about to predicate on.

5.4. Attributive LD

This type of LD is embodied by an initial peripheral element (an NP including one or more adjectives) through which the speaker attaches a quality to the entity resumed by the copy:

- (16) I perceive, said Asbella, that Love is not only blind, but void of all Manner of Sense, otherwise, you cou’d not speak of her as a Person of Virtue, who is a Criminal of so deep a Dye. *One, not only disobedient to her Father, but his Murtherer; an ungrateful Sorceress, who bewitches you with her Beauty, and then abandons you to Despair by her Scorn and Ingratitude. She* neither considers you as her Brother, Lover, nor Benefactor; the latter of which you have sufficiently prov’d your self to be, in undertaking her Protection, when her Crimes had reduced her to a perfect Exigence; but she, transported with an irregular Affection, is not capable to consider her own Interest, which is bound up in your Kindness, and Constancy. (J. Barker, *J. Exilius*, 45)
- (17) *Ungrateful wretches*, said Nourjahad! I cast **them** off for ever. Yet it is an irksome thing to live without friends. (F.C. Sheridan, *The History of Nourjahad*, 76)

One of the essential features in ‘attributive’ LD is the speaker’s mark of affect stance towards the entity which occupies a central argument in the subsequent clause. Hence, it makes sense to assume that most speaker judgments are applied to referents that are already present in the discourse. This prediction is borne out by the data (60% RP; 12.7% L; 1.8% A), although a small amount of D (9%) and N elements (16.3%) are introduced for the first time with a quality attached to them.

5.5. Contrastive LD

This type of LD (6.7% of the tokens) is inspired by the remark that, in discourse, “selecting one member of a presuppositional set amount to contrasting one set member against the others” (Kies 1988:59). This type of LD is exemplified in (18) and (19) below. In the two of them, an entity is introduced to provide comparison with a previously mentioned item (*me* and *this here boy*; *the seamen* and *the master*) as in: *I love lemon. Orange, I hate it.*

(18) My name is Tom Bowling, — and *this here boy*, you look as if you did not know **him** neither, — ‘tis like you mayn’t. (T.G. Smollett, *Roderick Random*: 15)

(19) By this Time it blew a terrible Storm indeed, and now I began to see Terror and Amazement in the Faces even of the Seamen themselves. *The Master*, tho’ vigilant in the Business of preserving the Ship, yet as he went in and out of his Cabbin by me, I could hear **him** softly to himself say several times, Lord be merciful to us, we shall be all lost, we shall be all undone; and the like. During these first Hurries, I was stupid, lying still in my Cabbin, which was in the Steerage, and cannot describe my Temper: (D. Defoe, *The Life and Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*: 10-11)

It is in order here to point out that there seem to be no preferences regarding the information status of the left-dislocate for this type of LD; in other words, the comparison frame is, at this stage, more important than informational factors in ‘cnt’ LD.

5.6. Narrowing LD

This type of LD is based on a metonymic (part-whole) semantic relationship between the dislocate and the copy, *ie.* the copy in the main clause resembles a part of the whole embodied by the dislocate. By using this type of LD, the speaker narrows down the focus of the discourse in order to make the narration more precise.

(20) *Sir John* she thought would soon steer **his Course** towards Cambridge, and then she might make what Revolutions in the Family she had a Mind to (M. Davys, *The Accomplished Rake*: 29-30)

- (21) *Unhappy Man!* **his Presumption** will be severely enough punished,
(C.R. Lennox, *The Female Quixote*: 17)

Sir John's itinerary (in 20) and the unhappy man's presumption (in 21) both constitute the copy referring back to the left-dislocate which introduces each character. This narrowing function, which co-occurs with other functions such as 'attributive' (21), accounts for 5.64% of the tokens.

5.7. Summarizing LD ('sum')

This type of LD I have labelled 'summarizing' lists new items rather than recapitulates given information; therefore, it summarizes in a way completely different to the one in Geluykens (1992: 93) points out for what I term 'acknowledge' LD (see section 5.3). Whereas in an 'acknowledge' LD a speaker repeats given information to create cohesion, in a 'summarizing' LD the speaker introduces a list of new referents in order to comment on them as a whole. In only 1 of the 13 tokens of 'sum' LD a cohesive tie can be observed between the 'summarizing' dislocate and the previous discourse.

- (22) The speaker's obstinate carriage, square coat, square legs, square shoulders – nay, his very neckcloth, trained to take him by the throat with an unaccommodating grasp, like a stubborn fact, as it was, – **all** helped the emphasis. (C. Dickens, *Hard Times*, 4)
- (23) Upon this the gentleman, laying down his pipe, and changing the tone of his countenance, from an ironical grin to something more intently contemptuous: "Honour, said he, *Honour and Politeness!* **this** is the coin of the world, and passes current with the fools of it. (H. Mackenzie, *The Man of Feeling*, 74)

In both (22) and (23), a list of new elements is resumed through a proform (*all* and *this*) in order to comment, respectively, on the elements that helped the character's emphasis and what the character considers 'the coin of the world'. The 'summarizing' function accounts for 3.67% of the tokens and can be included as a subtype of 'introductory' LD which displays a much heavier nominal left-dislocate (an average of 24 words).

5.8. Correction LD

This type of LD (1.12% of the tokens) could be included under 'acknowledge' LD, since the informative and syntactic characteristics of both types seem identical. However, I have proposed two separate functions anchored on the fact that, in 'correction' LD, one speaker repeats an idea or a constituent mentioned right before by another speaker (as in 'acknowledge' LD) and subsequently offers an alternative as the integrated copy in the clause. Thus, it is the specific correction attitude of the speaker that is reflected through the two most important parts of the LD: the left-dislocate (repetition) and the resumptive (correction).

(24) “I am too much of a courtier,” said he, “to differ from the ladies,” and he trod on both our feet.

“A *courtier!*” cried I: “I should rather have imagined you a **musician**.” (E.S. Barrett, *The Heroine*, 77)

(25) “Why, my dear uncle,” said Montmorenci, “don’t you recollect the night you began jumping like a grasshopper, and scolding the full-moon in my deer-park?”

“*Your deer-park?* I warrant you are not worth a **cabbage-garden!**” (E.S. Barrett, *The Heroine*, 195)

Another essential feature of this LD, apart from the correction stance of the speaker, would be the semantic relation of partial identity (in 100% of the cases) between the dislocate and the copy in the following clause.

6. Concluding remarks

This paper puts forward an interpretive characterization of English LD (as defined in section 1) as an interface structure between clause grammar and paragraph or textual grammar. Left-dislocates can be associated with the concept of theme (in the sense of Halliday, [1985] 1994²), given that they establish a point of departure on which the subsequent message is grounded. In addition, the concept of left-dislocate may be linked to the concept of discourse marker (as in Schiffrin, 2001) in the sense that it is syntactically detached, it occupies an initial position and it operates locally (the semantic link with the ensuing clause is essential for interpretation) and at global level (it creates cohesive harmony at the text level). The data suggest that referents promoted by means of a left-dislocate tend to stay topical in discourse, that is, they are cohesively repeated in, approximately, the 4 ensuing clauses.

Left dislocation can be observed to act at several different levels. Firstly, from a cognitive or informational perspective, LD would be the means to avoid grammatical complexity and to obey the cognitive-linguistic limitations given in linguistic interaction. Secondly, from an interactive point of view, LD would be the means to negotiate referents and compete for or gain the floor. Thirdly, from a contextual standpoint, LD’s most cited main ‘referent grounding’ function can be argued to achieve more specific shades affected by contextual features and speakers’ attitudes. A typology of eight functions for LD has been proposed and justified by linking explicit semantic and contextual aspects to the functional features recognized for each proposed type.

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