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When Written is Spoken: Dislocation and the Oral Code[1]

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ABSTRACT

This article suggests a refinement of the link between dislocated constructions and the oral code. The research is based on an investigation of a mixed-medium corpus of contemporary French, including spoken language, journalistic prose and literary fiction. It is shown first that the form and function of dislocations vary according to the level of orality of the voice in which they are found: in particular, the intermediary nature of citations in newspaper articles is emphasised. It is then argued that the strict association of dislocation with the stylistic function of orality should be modified, since conveying orality does not always seem to be the primary motivation for dislocation.

1. INTRODUCTION

The link between dislocation and spoken language is frequently made both in grammars of French and in linguistic research into this construction. Gadet (1991: 110) opens her review of the treatment of dislocation in twentieth-century French grammars with the question 'Le détachement: une structure de l'oral?'. However, despite the fact that dislocation is one of the most frequently studied constructions, there is still no certain answer to this question. There is some agreement that dislocation is more frequent in spoken French than in written French (Gadet, 1991: 110; Blasco-Dulbecco, 1999: 83). What remains uncertain, however, is whether dislocation always entails a certain level of orality, even when it is used on the page. Blasco-Dulbecco (1999: 94) does not doubt this link to the oral code: she states that 'à l'écrit, la dislocation a une function stylistique: journalistes ou écrivains y recourent pour donner un effet d'oralité'. Intuitively, it seems likely that dislocation will frequently have this function, but I would like to suggest that further investigation of the use of dislocated constructions is necessary before firm conclusions can be drawn. The research discussed in the current article constitutes the first step in such a program.

[1] I would like to thank Wendy Ayres-Bennett and José Deulofeu for their help and guidance while I was carrying out the research presented here. I would also like to thank two anonymous reviewers who provided very detailed commentaries on an earlier version of this article.

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The purpose of this article is to propose a refinement of our understanding of the link between dislocation in French and the oral code, through the analysis of a mixed-medium corpus of contemporary French. Starting from the apparent consensus that dislocation is more frequent in the oral code, I look first at the notion of medium and propose an intermediary code – Representation of the Oral in the Graphic – that is frequently found in the journalistic prose I analyse. It is shown that using this intermediary code increases the accuracy of descriptions of the form and function of dislocated constructions according to medium. This suggests that large categories such as spoken and written French are not sufficient for the kind of fine-grained analysis required to understand the relationship between dislocation and the oral code. The second part of the investigation therefore focuses on the question of the oralising function of dislocation in contemporary French fiction. This is done by analysing variation in the form and function of dislocated constructions in voices with varying levels of orality, ranging from direct speech to narrative.

2. METHODOLOGY AND CORPUS

From among the 'foisonnement terminologique' (Gadet, 1991: 119), including dislocation, detachment and segmentation, I use the term dislocation because it refers most consistently to the same structure (Blasco-Dulbecco, 1999: 9, 43). Dislocation is commonly defined as the detachment of an element from its canonical position in the main clause to either the left or the right, with the detached element being coreferential with a clitic pronoun in the main clause (Ayres-Bennett and Carruthers, 2001: 257). Blasco-Dulbecco (1999: 9) cites examples such as (1) and (2) where the dislocated element and the coreferential clitic are highlighted.

(1) **L'auteur de l'Adonis, il** ne peut être qu'un esprit singulièrement attentif (Valéry)
(2) Je **les** compare, **ces sentiments**, à des étais (Gide).

Several problems with the terminology have been highlighted: Blanche-Benveniste (2006: 477) notes that the very notion of dislocation is linked to a transformational analysis according to which dislocation results from movement. Although this analysis has now largely been abandoned, the terminology remains. Blasco-Dulbecco (1999: 11 n.2) also criticises the use of the labels 'left' and 'right' to refer to the position of the dislocated element, since they privilege the analysis of written over spoken language. In both cases, it is important to recognise the problems but the terminology is retained here because it is generally recognised in the field.

Linguists have also encountered what are perhaps more serious problems in defining dislocation: first the nature of the relationship between the dislocated element and the clitic pronoun, and second the relationship between dislocation and other constructions. Blasco-Dulbecco (1997, 1999) argues that the notion of coreference is too broad, and that there is not always strict coreference between the dislocated element and the clitic. This is highlighted by the absence of grammatical agreement in (3) and (4).

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(3) **la mairie ils** ont dit d'attendre (Blasco 1997: 12)
(4) c'est pour ça que **la Suisse on** a rarement des problèmes (*ibid*).

These examples bring us to the second definitional problem, namely the relationship between dislocation and other related constructions because it could be argued that (3) and (4) are not cases of dislocation, but rather binary constructions. Deulofeu (1977: 37) defines binary constructions as 'deux éléments d'énoncé dans une relation de couple . . . la relation n'est pas marquée par des catégories grammaticales', as in (5).

(5) **ces souliers j'**écrase les pieds de tout le monde (Deulofeu, 1979: 75).

In this respect, the definition of dislocation used in the current investigation is narrower than that used by Blasco-Dulbecco: although the two construction types are closely related, I distinguish between dislocation and binary constructions.

Where the definition of dislocation used here is similar to Blasco-Dulbecco's, on the other hand, is with respect to the question of subject doubling. It is standard within generative analyses to distinguish between subject doubling and dislocation. Rowlett (2007: 137) for example, contrasts the subject doubling in (6) and the dislocation in (7).

(6) **Mon chat il** dort tout le temps
(7) **Mon chat, il** dort tout le temps

However, I do not maintain this distinction in the investigation, primarily because the main diagnostics that are used to differentiate the two constructions are based on prosody.[2] It is assumed that in written French the presence of the comma reflects the different prosodic patterns, and thus it distinguishes between the two constructions. Like Blasco-Dulbecco (1997; 1999; 2004), I base my analysis of spoken French on transcriptions compiled by the Groupe Aixois de Recherche en Syntaxe (GARS, now DÉLIC). Their methodology, outlined by Blanche-Benveniste, Rouget and Sabio (2002: 9–13), means that the transcriptions contain neither punctuation such as commas, nor intonation coding. This means that both (6) and (7) are likely to be transcribed as (8).

(8) **mon chat il** dort tout le temps

However, it is not merely this practical consideration that motivates my conflation of subject doubling and dislocation, rather the problems posed by the graphic code. While some tokens can be distinguished by diagnostics that do not involve prosody, it would be imprudent in other cases to rely on the use of the comma to distinguish between the two constructions.[3] Other factors, such as normative

[2] See Coveney (2003: 113) for a summary of the prosodic features that have been used to distinguish the two constructions.

[3] Rowlett (2007: 137) mentions some diagnostic tests that do not involve prosody but these cannot be used to distinguish between the two phenomena on every occasion. For example, following Nadasdi (1995) he notes that "doubled subjects are incompatible with contrastive/emphatic stress, unlike LDed subjects" and that "doubled subjects follow non-selected CP* material, while LDed subjects precede such material". However, it is

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Table 1. *Corpus data*

Language Type	Number of Words	Number of Tokens	Tokens per 1,000 Words
Spoken	22,000	172	7.82
Journalistic	1,475,000	81	0.55
Fiction	45,000	130	2.89

pressure, influence decisions of this sort. Since written French plays an important role in this investigation, it is desirable to use the same syntactic analysis for the two media and examples such as (6) and (7) are therefore both analysed as dislocations.

The investigation is based on a corpus involving three language types: spoken French, journalistic French and contemporary French fiction. The spoken French section of the corpus consists of two transcriptions belonging to the GARS corpus: a conversation among six speakers, recorded and transcribed in 1995, and three separate interviews carried out in 2000. The journalistic section is made up of six consecutive editions of *Libération* (20–26 September 2001).[4] The corpus of written French fiction consists of 45,000 words taken from three contemporary prize-winning novels: *Confidence pour confidence* by Paule Constant, *Ingrid Caven* by Jean-Jacques Schuhl and *Le Complexe de Di* by Dai Sije (see Appendix for bibliographical information).[5] Table 1 gives a summary of the corpus.

The data in Table 1 are in line with observations made elsewhere regarding the relatively high frequency of dislocation in spoken French (e.g. Gadet, 1991: 110; Blasco-Dulbecco, 1999: 83).[6] The design of the corpus reflects the aim of this research: it is smaller than corpora used in other studies of dislocation such as Blasco-Dulbecco (1999) and Coveney (2003) that are based on over 2,000 and 1,761 tokens respectively (Blasco-Dulbecco, 1999: 83; Coveney, 2003: 112–13). This investigation is based on only 383 tokens because the close reading of individual tokens played an important role in the analysis. This means that it is generally not possible to provide conclusive statistical evidence because there are not enough data points. However, it is frequently possible to see systematic patterns in the data

only the comma that distinguishes between left dislocation and subject doubling in (6) and (7).

[4] Tokens of dislocation from advertisements in the newspaper were not included, since they can be considered to come from a different genre.

[5] In McLaughlin (2008) I compare the use of dislocation in this corpus of French fiction with a corpus of fiction in French that has been translated from English. One of the most interesting results is that dislocation is used less frequently in translated French: the figure is 2.89 per 1,000 words for original French (see Table 1) and 1.29 per 1,000 words for translated French.

[6] It should be noted, however, that the corpus was not designed to test this hypothesis, so the data presented in Table 1 do not constitute strong evidence that dislocation is more frequent in the oral code. Before drawing any firm conclusions, at least two methodological questions would need to be addressed: first, it would need to be determined what constitutes a word across the two codes and second, it would be necessary to use a corpus that could be considered broadly representative of the two codes.

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and the combination of this and close reading of individual tokens seems to be an appropriate way to investigate the stylistic function of dislocation.

Another feature of the corpus is the mixture of media and language types: this reflects the focus on the question of speech voice and is seen in other recent work in the field of speech and thought presentation such as Marnette (2005). The spoken section of the corpus consists of two types of discourse that are frequently used in linguistic research: multi-speaker conversation and interview. The journalistic section comes from the newspaper, *Libération*, which is a national left-leaning publication in France with a readership of 172,770.[7] The choice of works to include in the literary section of the corpus was conditioned by a desire to limit both the time period and the genre: the three novels were published over a period of five years (1998–2003), and are all prize-winning fiction. Since the aim of this project is to compare the use of dislocation across spoken, journalistic and literary French, no comparison is offered on this occasion between the individual components that make up each of the three sections. It is clear, however, that the question of variation between texts within one language type would be interesting: for example, Marnette (2005: 251, 280 n.38) notes that dislocation is particularly frequent in Céline's *Voyage au bout de la nuit* as a non-standard feature alongside the dropping of *ne* in negation, slang, colloquialism and the use of *on* for *nous*.

The main question addressed throughout this investigation is how dislocation is used in different media and in different speech presentation voices. Each token was therefore classified according to a range of features to allow comparison of both its form and its function. The analysis of form broadly follows the *Approche pronominale* that is concerned with the syntactic features of this construction. In the present investigation, the tokens were classified according to the position of the dislocated element relative to the main clause: it can be to the left (LD), (9), to the right (RD), (10), multiple elements can be dislocated (MD), (11), and there also exist what I have termed 'repeated dislocations' (R), (12), where the same element is dislocated twice (Rowlett 2007: 174).[8]

(9) **moi je** trouve
(10) **je** sais pas **moi**
(11) **elle ça lui** manque **d'avoir le contact**
(12) **moi je** parlerais pas **moi**

It is clear from the discussion of the definition of dislocation above that different analyses of tokens (9)–(12) would be proposed under other frameworks, but the definition of dislocation used here is broader because of the type of corpus being investigated. Using the *Approche prononinale* that considers pronouns, rather than lexical nouns, to be basic (Blanche-Benveniste *et al.*, 1984: 23–59), the tokens are

[7] Circulation figure for 2008 comes from the *Assocation pour le contrôle de la diffusion des médias* (http://www.ojd.com/engine/).
[8] Unless otherwise indicated, the examples come from the corpus; bibliographical information is given in the Appendix.

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classed according to the type of pronoun used in the main clause. It can either have a subject function (S) as in (9), or an object function (13)–(16).

(13) **le reste**, elles **l**'ont appris en salle des profs
(14) **elles** on **leur** parle de l'anesthésie péridurale
(15) **ça** j'**en** ai fait beaucoup
(16) **l'idée qu'on se réalise par nos actes** [. . .], j'**y** crois

Examples (13)–(16) illustrate the four possible object functions in dislocated constructions in French that correspond to four different pronominal paradigms: LE, LUI, EN and Y.

The tokens are also classified according to their function and this is based on the work that has been done on dislocation in the fields of functional and pragmatic syntax, principally, Lambrecht (1981; 1994), Barnes (1985) and Ashby (1988). Barnes (1985) develops work by linguists such as Cinque (1977), Larsson (1979) and Lambrecht (1981; 1984; 1987) that had highlighted the topic-comment structure of dislocated constructions. Through the analysis of a corpus of spoken French, Barnes (1985) shows that this topic-comment structure is rarely the motivation for left dislocation in French, but that instead left dislocation is motivated by a variety of pragmatic functions that all stem from this structure. She maps out four pragmatic functions: contrast, topic shift, turn taking and weak motivation.[9] Ashby (1988) develops this work on LD by applying similar tests to RD and establishes a list of eight possible functions. These functions are drawn from work on dislocation by a range of linguists including Chafe (1976), Lambrecht (1981) and Barnes (1985), and also from Ashby's own analysis of spoken French:[10]

Contrast (C) – overtly contrastive
Topic Shift (TS) – introducing a new topic
Turn Taking (TT) – signals beginning of speaker's turn
Filler (F) – has no clear pragmatic motivation, and is accompanied by hesitation
Clarification (CL) – clarifies the referent
Epithet (E) – gives information about the referent
TC (TC) – signals end of speaker's turn
Weak (W) – has no apparent pragmatic/discourse motivation

To this list, I add the function 'list interpretation' (LI) that is based on an observation by Blasco (1997: 18) who notes that left dislocation can be used in lists such as (17).

(17) ***La patrie***, il **lui** en voulait de ses démêlés avec l'autorité militaire ou municipale. ***La religion***, il **l**'ignorait depuis sa première communion. ***L'amour,*** il ne **l**'avait rencontré que vénal et criard.

[9] Here, there is some overlap with accounts of left dislocation under the generative framework: inspired by Rizzi (1997), left dislocated elements (that are of course distinct from doubled subjects) are thought to occupy a position in the left periphery of clause, performing a topicalising function (Rowlett 2007: 177–80).
[10] See Ashby (1988: 217–26) for full definitions and examples.

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In the present corpus, a similar effect is seen in the list interpretation in (18), although it occurs within the same sentence.

(18) **Médicaments, calmants, analgésiques**, vous **les** connaissez tous.

All tokens in the corpus were classified according to these nine functions.

This approach was chosen rather than alternatives, such as subsequent developments in the generative field, because it provides a detailed mapping that is specific to French and includes a broad range of discourse-pragmatic functions that can lead to dislocation. Of all the categories, filler and clarification appear to be the most problematic: Ashby (1988: 221–22) notes that RDs are used as fillers in examples such as (19) where the dislocated pronoun has 'no pragmatic motivation other than to reflect the speaker's hesitation in completing the sentence'.

(19) Euh, on débute un petit peu par, eu comment **je** vais vous dire, **moi**, euh, la charcuterie par exemple.

There is considerable overlap with the category of weakly motivated dislocations where there is no strong pragmatic or discourse function.[11] Clarification, on the other hand, is problematic because it requires intuition to determine that the dislocation in cases such as (20), cited by Ashby (1988: 220), is used to avoid a potential ambiguity.

(20) Speaker 21: [describing a friend's new apartment]:
Claire a trouvé un appartement. Justement, elle voulait, parce qu'elle travaille rue de Toulon. Elle a trouvé un appartement, une maison où a vécu Gambetta. C'est très récent, quand même. Il est bien.
Speaker 97: C'est certainement mieux que moderne parce que . . .
Speaker 21: C'est un apparemtent du dix-neuvième siècle. Il est rénové. Oh, **elle** n'est pas vieille, la **maison**.

I retain both the filler and clarification categories in the investigation, but acknowledge that the judgements made here are by nature more subjective than, for example, the classification of dislocation according to the function of the clitic pronoun.

3. AN INTERMEDIARY CODE

In this section I propose the use of an intermediary code, Representation of the Oral in the Graphic (henceforth ROG), for the analysis of dislocated constructions in French. The distinction between the oral and graphic codes has certainly been brought into question. Ayres-Bennett and Carruthers (2001: 4), for example, note that the dichotomy is complicated by the different registers available within the codes, ranging from a formal lecture in the oral code to an informal post-it™ note. At the same time, however, much of the recent research into dislocation in French

[11] On weakly motivated dislocations, see Barnes (1985: 24–26).

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focuses either on spoken French (e.g. Coveney, 2003; Blasco-Dulbecco, 2004) or retains the written-spoken dichotomy (e.g. Blasco-Dulbecco, 1999). The question underlying this section, therefore, is whether it is helpful in a linguistic analysis of dislocation in French to recognise that some cases of written language have their origins in speech. This idea is certainly not new in the study of French syntax in general (see for example Fleischman, 1986; Carruthers, 2005; and Marnette, 2005) but its significance for dislocation has yet to be highlighted. The case being considered here involves reported speech in the press. Out of a total of 81 tokens of dislocation that were found in six issues of *Libération*, 47, or 58%, are instances of reported speech. This result is significant because until now, tokens of dislocation taken from newspapers have been classified as graphic. For example, (21) from *Le Provençal* is included in the 'corpus écrit' by Blasco-Dulbecco (1999: 332).

(21) A la fin 90, J.J va donc quitter la télévision, avec le sentiment « d'**en** avoir fait **des choses** »

This choice is perhaps problematic in an investigation that at times offers comparison between usage in the two codes. On the other hand, it is understandable because it would also be inappropriate to classify the token as spoken French. When citing spoken language, journalists do aim to reproduce the speaker's words very closely in the interests of accuracy but it is possible that some features will change (such as instances of hesitation or repetition). I therefore suggest that such tokens should be classed as ROG reflecting their dual origins in both codes, and their two authors: the original speaker and the journalist.[12] Examples from my corpus include (22) from a lead article and (23) from a transcription of an interview.

(22) Le secrétaire régional CFDT de la Fédération chimie-énergie, lui-même salarié d'AZF à Toulouse, est tout aussi formel: "**Le nitrate d'ammonium ça** n'explose pas."

(23) Comment avez-vous réagi quand vous avez entendu Sharon dire "**Arafat**, **c**'est notre Ben Laden"?

It is clear that in both tokens the dislocations are oral in origin, although they are found on the page in *Libération*: they are therefore both classified as ROG.

Using this tri-partite classification, I analysed the form of the 253 tokens of dislocation in spoken and journalistic French. Figure 1 shows the position of the dislocated element according to the code, and Figure 2 shows the function of the clitic according to code: the numerical data is given in tabular form in Tables 2 and 3. From the outset, it is important to note that the relatively small size of the corpus means that for some categories there are only very few tokens.

The data in Figures 1 and 2 were tested to determine where there is any correlation between the code and either the position of the

[12] This of course simplifies the model somewhat, since it is also possible that the speaker's words were oral but read aloud from a written text, for example, in the case of a press conference. Even in such cases ROG may be appropriate because of the mixing of codes it reflects.

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Table 2. *Numerical data for Figure 1*[13]

	O	ROG	G
LD	88.95 (153)	89.36 (42)	94.12 (32)
RD	8.14 (14)	10.64 (5)	5.88 (2)
M	1.74 (3)		
R	1.16 (2)		
Total	100 (172)	100 (47)	100 (34)

Table 3. *Numerical data for Figure 2*

	O	ROG	G
Subject	93.22 (165)	91.30 (42)	82.35 (28)
Object	6.78 (12)	8.7 (4)	17.65 (6)
Total	100 (177)	100 (46)	100 (34)

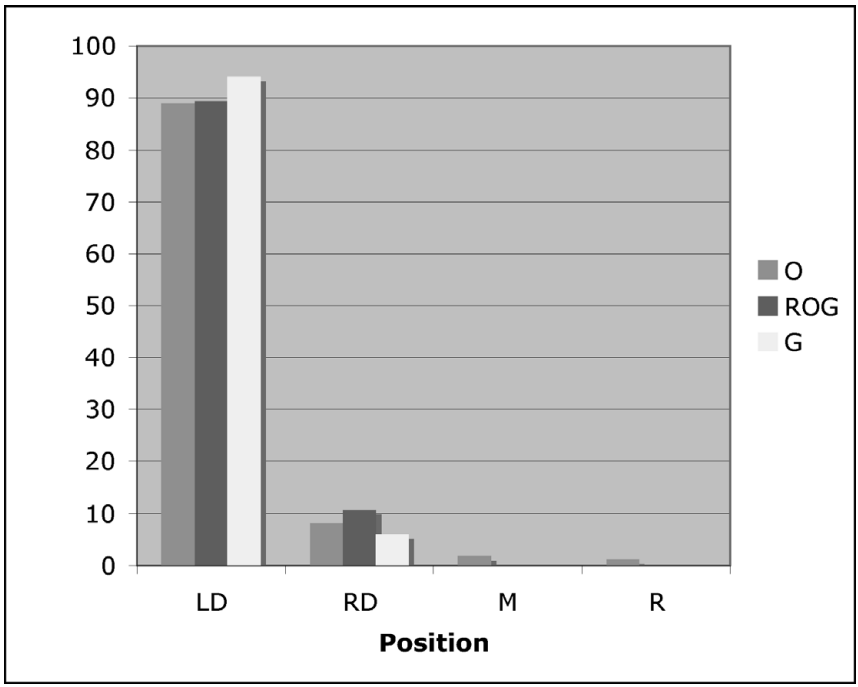


Figure 1. *Position of the dislocated element according to code.*

dislocated element or the function of the clitic. The significance of the correlation was tested using the chi-squared test: the results are not statistically

[13] Here, and in the following tables, the first figure given is the percentage, and the figure in parentheses is the actual number of tokens.

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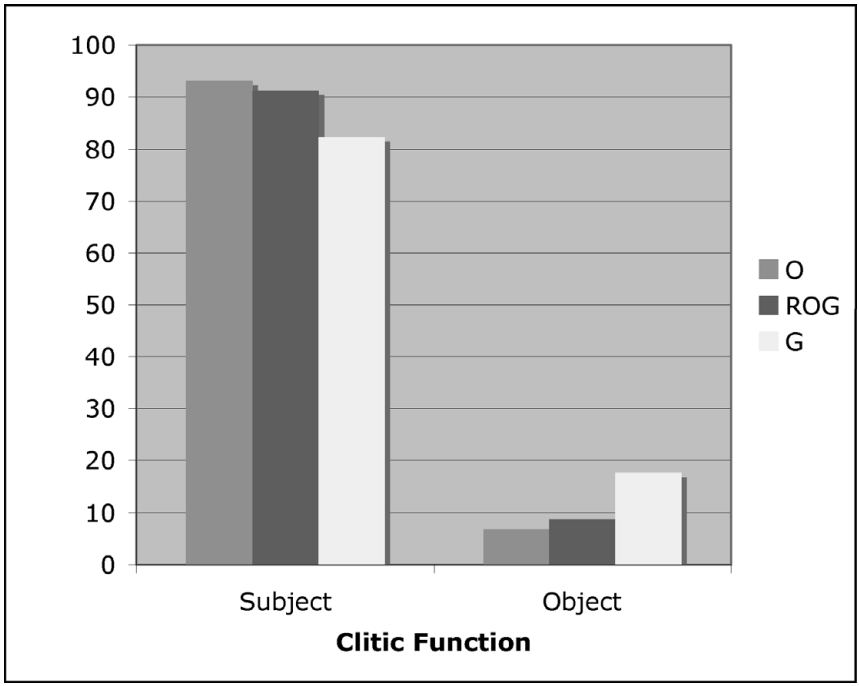


Figure 2. *Clitic function according to Code.*

significant.[14] However, in all but one case across both figures, the result for ROG lies between the results for the oral code and the graphic code. This suggests that using ROG allows a better comparison between the codes although more data would be required to provide the statistical evidence. Blasco-Dulbecco's (1999) excellent study provides one of the most comprehensive and insightful analyses of dislocation in French, but I would like to suggest that refining the analysis of code in this way leads to two improvements. It leads first to the emergence of interesting results previously hidden by the two-way division of code and second, to a questioning of the assumption that dislocation is primarily an oral structure. Blasco-Dulbecco (*ibid.*: 94) assumes that writers use dislocation to represent orality, but she observes that 'leurs exemples fabriqués présentent une distribution fort différente de celle de la langue parlée qu'ils cherchent à refléter'. This argument is used convincingly to show that linguists should not rely on written examples to investigate a structure such as dislocation. However, it masks the potential for this structure to serve a function other than a reflection of the oral code. In the next section, therefore, I analyse the use of dislocation in different speech voices in contemporary French fiction to explore the premise of Blasco-Dulbecco's argument, namely that dislocation is used in written French 'pour donner un effet d'oralité'.

[14] For Figure 1: $\aleph^2 = 2.35$ to 6df so $p = 0.88$. For Figure 2: $\aleph^2 = 4.4$ to 2df so $p = 0.11$.

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Table 4. *Number of tokens per voice*

Voice	Number of tokens
NRA	65
NRSA	1
IS	0
FIS	2
DS	14
FDS	48
Total	130

4. SPEECH PRESENTATION IN FICTION

The 130 tokens of dislocation from contemporary French fiction were classified according to the speech voice in which they were found using Leech and Short's (1981) continuum:

Narrative report of action (NRA)
Narrative report of speech act (NRSA)
Indirect speech (IS)
Free indirect speech (FIS)
Direct speech (DS)
Free direct speech (FDS)

This continuum was chosen because it is organised according to a progressive loss of control on the part of the narrator, which can be seen for the purposes of this investigation to correspond to an increase in the level of orality in the individual voices.[15] The narrator has the least control in DS and FDS that we can assume often contain what Fludernik (1993: 19) calls 'typicalized "mimetic" features' in this case used to mark orality. Fludernik writes: 'since language cannot reproduce language in completely authentic fashion, representation has to recreate the known features of expressive utterance and when wishing to enhance the mimetic status of the represented discourse, this mimetic effect increasingly comes to rely on the deployment of typicalized "mimetic" features and on their density and pervasiveness'. This continuum therefore allows the main hypothesis of this section to be tested: if the function of dislocation on the page is to give the effect of orality as a typicalized mimetic feature, then it is expected that most – if not all – of the tokens will be found in the most oral voices. Table 4 summarises the number of tokens of dislocation found in each voice.

In most cases, classifying the tokens according to voice posed few problems: according to the classification, (24) is an example of NRA and (25) an example of FDS.

(24) Du regard, Lola Dhol fit le tour de la pièce. [. . .] Pour Lola, **l'hiver c**'était aussi le ventre rouge du théâtre Gustav-Dhol [. . .].

[15] The continuum is still widely used today (for example Marnette, 2005).

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Table 5. *Numerical data for Figure 3*

	NRA	NRSA	IS	FIS	DS	FDS
LD	73.85 (48)	100 (1)		50 (1)	64.29 (9)	60.42 (29)
RD	20 (13)			50 (1)	35.71 (5)	39.58 (19)
MD	6.15 (4)					
Total	100 (65)	100 (1)		100 (2)	100 (14)	100 (48)

(25) –Écoute, dit Gloria, si tu avais besoin de dollars et que tu en trouvais un gros tas sur le trottoir, qu'est-ce que tu ferais? –Je les prendrais, dit Babette. [. . .] –Eh bien! **moi**, **j**'ai besoin d'un livre et je le prends.

As regards the results presented in Table 4 it is immediately interesting to note that not all of the tokens are found in the most oral voices; in fact, exactly half of the tokens are found in the least oral voice, NRA. There are several possible explanations for this: it could be that it is inappropriate to associate dislocation with orality, or that some types of dislocations are more strongly linked to orality than others.[16] However, the explanation I explore here is that dislocation can perform an oral function in voices such as DS and FDS, but that it may also have a different function in the other voices. In the rest of this section, therefore, I present a comparison of the form and function of dislocation in the different voices to determine to what extent it can be said to play different roles according to the level of orality of the voice.

To begin with, Figure 3 shows the distribution of different types of dislocations for each voice. It is immediately obvious that, unlike the corpus of spoken French, this corpus contains no repeated dislocations. This could certainly have occurred by chance since repeated dislocations are relatively rare (see Figure 1). On the other hand, it is also possible that this kind of repetition is one of the features of the oral code that are not automatically used when representing orality on the page, either in journalistic citation or in the creation of fictional voices.

Before discussing Figure 3, it is important to point out that the results for NRSA, IS and FIS given in Table 4 are so low (at 1, 0 and 2 respectively) that it is impossible to draw any conclusions for them. Instead, the discussion throughout this section focuses on the results for NRA, DS and FDS. Although the results for Figure 3 are not statistically significant overall, there is a pattern in these three voices for the proportion of LDs to reduce as the voices become more oral, and correspondingly for the proportion of RDs to increase.[17] A similar pattern was seen across the codes in Figure 1 where the oral code has the smallest proportion of LDs. This result is interesting because it shows that the authors display usage patterns in the speech

[16] This is something that is implied by much of Blasco-Dulbecco's work on dislocation (e.g. Blasco, 1997; Blasco-Dulbecco, 1999; 2004).

[17] For Figure 3: $\aleph^2 = 8.42$ to 8df so $p = 0.39$.

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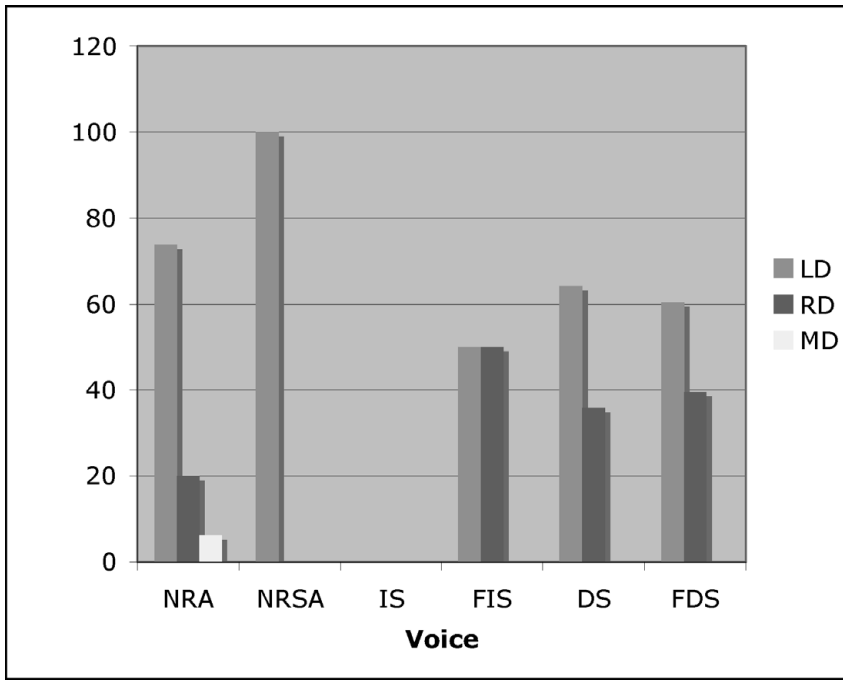


Figure 3. *Position of the dislocated element according to voice.*

voices of the text similar to those found in the oral code itself. This suggests that there is a link between the formal features of the speech voices in written fiction and the formal features of spoken language. In this case, therefore, both types of orality correlate. Figure 3 also shows that MDs are only found within NRA, which supports the idea that the stylistic function of dislocation differs according to the voice in which it is used. In Figure 1 it was seen that MDs are only found in the spoken French part of that corpus so they are probably more typical of spoken rather than written French. This implies that that their use in only the least oral of voices in the corpus of fiction reflects the fact that dislocation has more than one stylistic function in written French.

The notion that dislocation may have more than one stylistic function is supported by the results in Figure 4 showing the distribution of tokens with different syntactic functions for the clitic, according to voice.

Once again, the findings are not statistically significant and the results for NRSA, IS and FIS are too low to allow comparison.[18] However, the results for the other three voices are interesting because they display a different pattern from Figure 3: in Figure 3 the more oral voices made less use of what is the most common overall

[18] For Figure 4: $\aleph^2 = 1.65$ to 5df so $p = 0.89$.

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Table 6. *Numerical data for Figure 4*

	NRA	NRSA	IS	FIS	DS	FDS
Subject	71.01 (49)	100 (1)		100 (2)	71.43 (10)	77.08 (37)
Object	28.99 (20)				28.57 (4)	22.92 (11)
Total	100 (69)	100 (1)		100 (2)	100 (14)	100 (48)

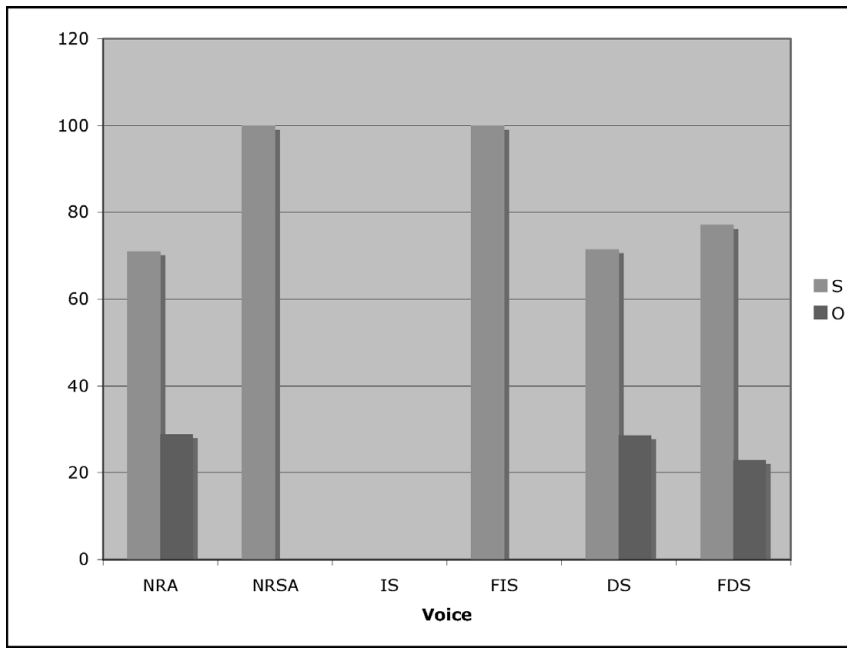


Figure 4. *Syntactic function of the clitic according to voice.*

type of dislocation, LD, and more use of the less common types, RD and MD. It was argued that this relatively lower frequency of LD in the more oral voices reflected the distribution seen across the codes in Figure 1. Here, on the other hand, the more oral voices make a relatively greater use of the most common function overall, Subject, and less use of the object functions. It is interesting to consider why this might be the case. It is certainly possible that the object function is avoided by authors because it is perceived as more complex on account of its relatively low overall frequency in French. However, such an explanation would be difficult to support with concrete evidence and a more likely reason concerns the perceptibility of the features in question. Behind both Fludernik's (1993: 19) 'typicalised "mimetic"' features and Blasco-Dulbecco's (1999: 94) assumption that dislocation is used by writers 'pour donner un effer d'oralité' is the idea that writers select features that are associated with the oral code to give an oral tone to their writing. This selection process clearly depends on the features being both

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Table 7. *Numerical data for Figure 5*

	NRA	NRSA	IS	FIS	DS	FDS
C	25.76 (17)				7.14 (1)	20.83 (10)
TS	42.42 (28)			50 (1)	42.8 (6)	41.67 (20)
TT					14.29 (2)	2.08 (1)
F						
Cl	3.03 (2)				14.29 (2)	10.42 (5)
E	6.06 (4)			50 (1)		6.25 (3)
TC					7.14 (1)	2.08 (1)
W	13.64 (9)	100 (1)			7.14 (1)	12.5 (6)
LI	9.09 (6)				7.14 (1)	4.17 (2)
Total	100 (66)	100 (1)		100 (2)	100 (14)	100 (48)

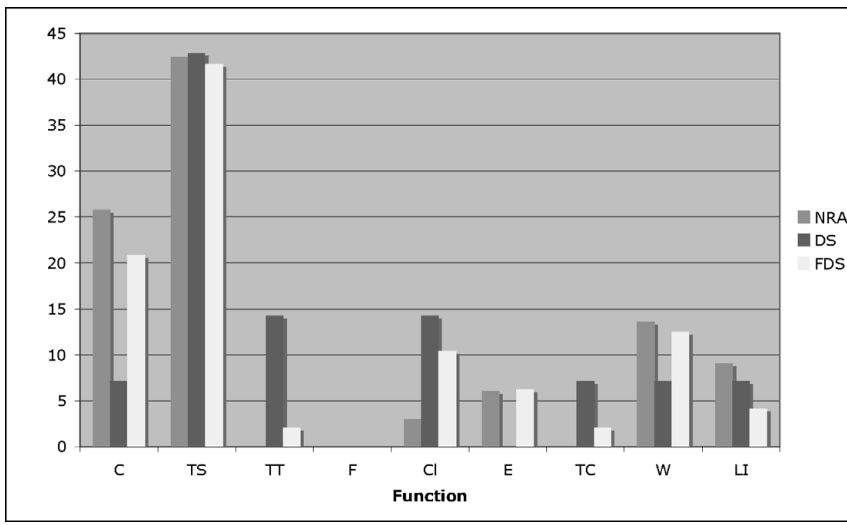


Figure 5. *Discourse-pragmatic function according to voice.*

perceptible and somehow conventionally – or typically – associated with the tone they are meant to reflect. The difference between the patterns seen in Figures 3 and 4 may therefore result from the fact that authors associate the use of dislocations other than LD with the oral code but do not use the function of the clitic pronoun as a '"mimetic" feature' and thus the function that is the most common overall, namely subject, is the most frequent here. This difference between the two figures illustrates the kinds of difference to be found between the oral code and its constructed counterpart on the page.

The final set of data is presented in Figure 5 showing the discourse-pragmatic function of tokens according to voice. In this case, I have simplified the voice category to include only NRA, DS and FDS because of the small numbers of tokens for the other voices and the large number of categories for function.

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These data are not significant at the p = 5 level, but they are significant at the p = 10 level.[19] Several observations can be made about the results: it is striking that the TS function is consistent across the three voices at 42.24%, 42.86% and 41.67% for NRA, DS and FDS respectively. This confirms the frequent association of dislocation with topic shift (Ashby, 1988: 217; Lambrecht, 1994: 183; Blanche-Benveniste, 2006: 479). The first conclusion that can be drawn here, then, is that with its main function, the use of dislocation does not vary across the voices. However, never more than 43% of tokens have the TS function so it is also important to take into account the other functions where there is more variation.

First, it can be seen that there are no tokens with the F function in the corpus. This can be compared to Ashby (1988: 217) who finds that 23 out of 172, or 13%, of RDs in his corpus of have this function. It may well be that there are no such tokens here because there are only 38 RDs in this part of the corpus. However, it is also possible that even a larger corpus of RDs would not contain any dislocations with the filler function because it is a function limited to the oral code. Ashby's (1988: 222) definition suggests this is possible because it indicates that filler dislocations have no pragmatic motivation and consequently, this may be a function of dislocation that authors choose not to pick up and represent on the page. This is similar to repeated dislocations that were seen in Figure 1 to be present only in spoken French. In this way, the F function is different from Cl that is found in the corpus of French fiction and is used substantially less in NRA than in either of the two more oral voices. The opposite pattern is seen for C that is used more in the narrative voice than in the more oral voices.[20] An example of C in NRA is given in (26) and an example of Cl in DS in (27).

(26) **Un acteur** il faut **le** voir sur un écran, **un écrivain** il faut **le** lire.

(27) "Par un bel après-midi, à Munich, **on** était allés, **Rainer et moi**, dans un endroit qui venait d'ouvrir"

The token in (27) sheds some light on the frequent use of dislocation as a clarifying device in the more oral voices because it highlights one of the difficulties writers face when trying to represent orality on the page. If spoken French is characterised by a more frequent use of pronouns than written French, for similar reasons the more oral voices in fiction can also be characterised by a more frequent use of pronouns. However, the very interactivity that leads to the more frequent use of pronouns in the oral code is present only at the level of implied speakers and implied hearers in written fiction: the author is also catering for an actual reader with whom there is no interaction beyond the words on the page. I would like to suggest, therefore, that in cases such as (27), the pronoun can reflect the oral code but it is the absence of interactivity that leads to the use of the clarifying dislocation. What we see here, therefore, is a difference between true orality – the oral code – and

[19] For Figure 5: $\aleph^2 = 21.42$ to 14df so p = 0.092.

[20] No conclusions can be drawn about the variation seen for the other functions in Figure 5 because there are too few data points.

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the imitative orality of speech voices on the page; and it is this difference that explains the particular distribution of dislocations with clarifying function across the three voices.

So far, the findings of this investigation of the use of dislocation in contemporary French fiction cast doubt over the assumption that its function on the page is always oral. The strongest evidence for this is the fact that half of the dislocations are used in the least oral of the voices. It was also seen that there are differences in the way dislocation is used in the different voices at both the formal and functional levels. It is certainly true that dislocation can be used to indicate orality, as Blasco-Dulbecco (1999: 94) notes. Token (25), for example, is found in the most oral of voices and other 'mimetic features' are present such as 'eh bien!'. It can be said with some certainty that the dislocation 'moi je' is used here 'pour donner un effet d'oralité'. In cases such as (24), on the other hand, it is less certain that dislocation is being used for its orality: it is the voice of the narrator, and there are no other 'mimetic features' present. In fact, in the same paragraph, the narrator uses features more closely associated with the graphic code such as the simple past, subject-verb inversion and lexical items such as 'dévêtir' where 'déshabiller' might be more typical in unplanned speech. There are also rhetorical features typical of literary prose such as the following extended metaphor: 'Au nord, l'hiver retient longtemps l'enfance, il la couve dans les cocons de neige, il la pelotonne dans de grands lits blancs et s'inscrit sur les vitres les signes étincelants de son bonheur'. In this context, it is unlikely that the dislocation is used to reflect orality.

Although it is not the aim of the current article to determine exactly what other functions dislocation might play in fiction, several possibilities have emerged. To begin with, as early as Barnes (1985: 49), it was noted that dislocation can be grammatically triggered: 'The data of this corpus strongly suggest that the use of LD with lexical subjects of *être* is quasi-obligatory where *ce* (*c-*) is an appropriate anaphor.' This probably explains the dislocation in (24). Where dislocation is grammatically triggered, it is unlikely that it will also perform a strong stylistic function such as conveying orality, although the two can certainly coincide in some tokens. Similarly, the function of dislocation can also be primarily discourse-pragmatic rather than stylistic. The token in (28) is an example of the narrative voice and the main function of the dislocation is the establishment of a topic.

(28) Elles étaient près de se disputer, et puis elles tombèrent d'accord, **la fautive c'**était la fille et toute cette catégorie calamiteuse de jeunes femmes arrogantes qui s'installent d'emblée dans la compétition avec des femmes comme elles et ne doutent pas une seconde qu'elles remporteront la victoire.

Once again, it is possible to interpret this dislocation as not having a particularly oral function.

I have suggested that tokens can be stylistically neutral, but it might also be beneficial to offer a refinement of the term 'oral' and distinguish, as Leech and Short (1981) and Marnette (2005) do, between speech and thought. In this way, the function of the dislocation in token (25) can accurately be described as oral since

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it is the oral code that is being represented on the page. The token in (29), on the other hand, is difficult to associate with the oral code since it is found in an excerpt from a diary entitled 'Jeudi 29 juin' which should perhaps be considered closer to thought than to speech.

(29) **Moi, je** craignais que ma mémoire ne succombât devant tous les objets de rêves de ces jeunes filles

The potential for overlap between types of reported discourse is highlighted by Marnette (2005: 50–63) and she proposes a continuum of discourse types from external speech, via inner speech to thoughts and, finally, attitudes. In applying this continuum to data from nineteenth and twentieth-century French literature, Marnette (*ibid*.: ch.3) shows that there is frequent blurring between speech and thought. The use of dislocation in the diary entry in (29) probably results from this blurring between speech and thought but it is still useful to point out that conveying orality does not necessarily imply any truly oral source for the token. It may therefore be beneficial in a future study to investigate whether there are differences in the form and function of tokens in reported speech and in reported thought in literary fiction.

Finally, token (30) suggests that dislocation can play a stylistic role that is not necessarily oral.

(30) Elle se rappelait ce conseil du Grand Shakespearien : **les écrivains**, il **les** faut morts.

Alongside the discourse-pragmatic function of TS, its stylistic function may in part be oral, but it is significant that it appears in the novel just two sentences after the dislocated construction that was given in (26). It therefore plays another stylistic role in establishing a parallelism between the two sentences that, thanks to the dislocation, become linked both by their content and by their phrase structure. This example illustrates the potential for dislocation to have a range of stylistic functions.

Before concluding, it is important to highlight an unavoidable difficulty when investigating stylistic function: there is the potential for circularity in analysing tokens from the narrative voices such as (28). So far, only two types of orality have been considered in this article: first, ROG that represents actual instances of speech on the page, and second, the range of voices from IS to FDS used by writers to represent imagined speech on the page and often involving Fludernik's 'typicalized "mimetic features"'. At the heart of the problem is the potential for a third kind of orality where the writer has chosen to imbue the voice of the narrator with a level of orality. The circularity in analysing the stylistic function of dislocation would emerge here if the only clue to the oral 'tone' of the narrator's voice were the use of dislocation. However, in practice it seems unlikely that this will pose a problem because if the writer wishes the narrator's voice to be to some extent oral, it is unlikely that dislocation will be the sole feature used to convey this tone. On its own, therefore, the distribution of tokens across the different voices may not be sufficient evidence to illustrate the non-oral function of dislocation. However, this

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claim is supported here by both further comparison of the formal and functional features of dislocation in the different voices on the page and by qualitative analysis of individual tokens.

5. CONCLUSION

To return to Gadet's (1991: 110) question: 'Le détachement: une structure de l'oral?', this investigation has contributed two main findings. First, it was seen that the notion of orality is itself complex and three main types of orality have been seen: the 'primary' orality of the oral code, the 'representative' orality of the oral code presented on the page in journalistic prose and the 'constructed' orality of the imagined oral code in speech presentation in written fiction.[21] At a theoretical level, it is appropriate to acknowledge that all three types of orality are related but that distinguishing between them is important in order to reflect the very different circumstances of their production. At the practical level, the analysis of the form and function of dislocation presented here supports the use of this model, since it allows us to link some of the differences in the form and function of the tokens of dislocation to the different types of orality in which they are found. This then leads to the second main finding of this investigation, namely that dislocation in contemporary French fiction is not necessarily restricted to the sole stylistic function of conveying 'orality'. This may well be the most frequent – and even dominant – function, but it does not seem to be its only function. This interest in the function of dislocation could be explored further by using a larger corpus and by taking into consideration a wider range of texts and text-types. Nevertheless, it is possible at this stage to conclude that dislocation is not only 'une structure de l'oral'.

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[21] See Marnette (2005: 39–42) for a discussion of the distinction between real and invented reported speech.

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APPENDIX

The following is a summary of the bibliographical information for the three components of the corpus.

1) The Written Press

Libération, 20 September 2001–26 September 2001.

2) Spoken French

Rigaud, N. (2000). Corpus Part 2 'L'amour est-il une denrée périssable ?'. In: *On en revient à dire que je disais. Éléments linguistiques pour une approche intégrative pour un corpus de parole spontanée: interaction et négotiation*. Unpublished DEA Thesis, Université de Provence, Aix-Marseille I.

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3) Contemporary Fiction

Constant, P. (1998). *Confidence pour Confidence*. Paris: Gallimard.
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