On the Discourse Functions of *nɪ* in Abou Dida: Expanding the Research Horizons of Cognitive Linguistics

【Invited Article】

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Abstract: The aims of this study are to investigate several discourse functions of *nɪ*-marked expressions used in narrative discourse in Abou Dida (Eastern Kru, Côte d'Ivoire) and to explore the possibility of expanding the research horizons of cognitive linguistic views of discourse phenomena building on the observations of how *nɪ*-marked expressions behave in the unfolding of discourse. While the discourse functions of *nɪ*-marked expressions can fall under the classification of left-dislocation, they are not exactly the same as what has been discussed in the preceding studies; left-dislocation has not been a central issue in cognitive linguistics. What makes *nɪ*-marked expressions unique is that *nɪ* can both left-dislocate and topicalize lexical NPs, forming a continuous spectrum of discourse functions. What cognitive linguistics contributes to left-dislocation studies is that it can generalize functions and patterns beyond individual examples. The survey results tell us about the significance of an empirical discourse analysis in a generalizable theoretical setting.*

Key words: sequential, left-dislocation, contrast, topicalization, empirical discourse analysis

1. Introduction

This study has two aims. One is to investigate several discourse functions of *nɪ*-marked expressions used in narrative discourse in Abou Dida, one dialect of the Dida complex, an Eastern Kru language of the Niger-Congo family, spoken

in Abou County in the southwest quadrant of Côte d'Ivoire (Dida from here on unless otherwise indicated). The other is to explore the possibility of expanding the research horizons of cognitive-linguistic views of discourse phenomena, building on observations of how *nI*-marked expressions behave in the unfolding of discourse. As shown later, the discourse functions of *nI*-marked expressions can fall under the classification of left-dislocation; however, they are not exactly the same as those that have been discussed in earlier studies (e.g. Jespersen 1933, Ross 1967, Gundel 1975, Prince 1997, Lambrecht 2001), and they seem to have a different take on it even when compared to similar phenomena occasionally pointed out in related languages (e.g. Marchese 1976, 1977, Schaefer and Egbokhare 2003, Hamlaoui and Makasso 2013, van der Wal 2014). Therefore, observations of the discourse functions of *nI*-marked expressions are likely to provide a chance to reconsider left-dislocation and related phenomena from a different and empirical point of view.

To the best of my knowledge, left-dislocation seems not to have been a central issue in cognitive linguistics. The majority of handbooks and research projects make no specific mention of it (e.g. Geeraerts and Cuyckens 2006, Dancygier 2017, Dąbrowska and Divjak 2019, 3 volumes[1]), except for some independent papers (e.g. Gregory and Michaelis 2001) and certain introspection-based works (e.g. Lambrecht 1994, criticized in Netz and Kuzar 2007: 310), which, however, may not constitute major research projects in cognitive linguistics. Further, studies on left-dislocation in languages other than English and French are rarely found in well-known cognitive-linguistic-oriented research, although it exhibits highly interpersonal properties typical of spoken-oriented discourse in some languages such as Italian (e.g. Duranti and Ochs 1979; but see Section 2.2 for important different aspects of left-dislocation). Considering this current situation, any discourse-based study of left-dislocation in languages outside of European contexts may have the potential not just to expand research horizons in cognitive linguistics but to push the boundaries of research on left-dislocation with an open mind but without theoretical commitment (see Sections 2.2 and 5.2 for related discussions).

This paper is structured as follows. In Section 2, I give a brief account of some characteristics of Dida, accompanied by descriptions of the narrative texts analyzed for this research. In Section 3, I describe some preceding studies on left-dislocation, albeit restricted to those relevant to this study. In Section 4, I present the research findings from the current study, while in Section 5, I discuss and draw some conclusions from a theory-neutral point of view, while in search of a possible relation to cognitive linguistics. Note that from here on, the hyphenated 'left-dislocation' is used in a theory-neutral manner.

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[1] Reference to dislocation phenomena (e.g. NP-fronting, extraposition, left/right-dislocation) is barely found in works on cognitive linguistics (e.g. Langacker 2001: 47, Tomlin and Myachykov 2019: 54). Those studies, however, are all excluded from here on to avoid endless mentioning.

2. The Dida complex
2.1. Dida

The language analyzed for the current study is Dida, specifically Abou Dida, a dialect spoken in Abou County, just south of the town of Lakota in the south-western part of Côte d'Ivoire. Dida dialects are spoken by an estimated 336,000 people there, according to Eberhard et al. (2019: 125), who identify Lakota Dida and Yocoboué Dida as two individual languages (but not as dialects of Dida). One reason why these languages are considered to be distinct from each other is that "Lakota Dida [is] marginally intelligible with Yocoboué Dida" (Eberhard et al. 2019: 125). The other reason concerns the existence of dialects in Lakota Dida and Yocoboué Dida, respectively: Vata in Lakota Dida, as well as Lozoua and Divo in Yocoboué Dida.[2] Needless to say, Dida speakers use French for historical reasons.

Several varieties in the Dida complex were introduced in Marchese (1986), who reports the following linguistic characteristics of Dida, based on her pioneering research on Lozoua Dida, Lakota Dida and Vata (see her earlier works therein). Dida exhibits the basic word order SVO with some other syntactic patterns, e.g. S Aux (O) V order,[3] common to all Kru languages (Marchese 1986: 218). In terms of phonological inventory, Dida has 25 consonants and 10 vowels, which may be identical to those of other Eastern Kru languages (Marchese 1986: 13–16); these are also identified in Abou Dida (more precisely, nine basic vowels with one minor central vowel /ə/).[4] Dida has five level tones, but more research is necessary on this point (see Miller 2005 for some useful survey results and Kutsch Lojenga 2018 for studies on tones in African languages). Further, Marchese (1986: 5) states that Vata, a dialect of Lakota Dida, may have been isolated from other Dida dialects.

2.2. Narratives in Abou Dida: The data

Miller (2005) is a preliminary but pioneering work on tones in Abou Dida, but an in-depth survey of discourse phenomena in the language seems not to have been conducted so far. It is true that both subject and object left-dislocations were

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[2] Shimizu (1989: 1100–1101) provides quite a different classification of the dialects. He specifies two superordinate categories of Dida: southern dialects (*parler du sud*, in the origi-nal) and Vata. The former includes Lakota Dida (but leaves out Vata) and Yocoboué Dida (except some subdialects such as Divo (cf. Eberhard et al. 2019: 125). Presumably, research on Dida has advanced in recent decades, with the result that the dialects are classified more accurately. Note that the number of Dida speakers might have increased from about 200,000 (Shimizu 1989) to about 336,000 (Eberhard et al. 2019: 125); otherwise, the preci-sion of the research might have been questioned due to continued field studies.

[3] This word order can be considered a case of 'exbraciation' (Stockwell 1977, Marchese 1981). This means that both direct and indirect objects are surrounded by verbal elements, i.e. auxiliary (AUX) and verb (V), which is called a verb brace. This phenomenon is also at-tested in Abou Dida (see Section 4.2.3).

[4] According to Shimizu (1989), Dida is considered to have 9 vowels and 26 consonants: he does not identify the central vowel /ə/, while adding one more consonant /ŋw/ to his list. I will not discuss this issue any further because it is not a central part of the current study.

examined in Shibasaki (2007); however, that is a preparatory work based on a more limited dataset and does not delve into other left-dislocational phenomena, albeit due to space limitations. In this study, I use the following narrative texts that were transcribed by the Abou Dida research team in 2002–2003, which enables us to gain a deeper understanding of left-dislocation in Abou Dida.

(1)   a. *Frog, where are you?*
      b. *My first day of school*
      c. *Recipe for vede*
      d. *The Genie story*
      e. *Net-hunting*

(1a) is an extemporaneous narrative story that Mr. Dadie produced while looking at a famous picture book with the same title, *Frog, where are you?* This narrative was recorded, transcribed and glossed by the research team in as much detail as possible; it became a seven-minute narrative, consisting of 181 intonation units (IUs). Chafe (1987: 22) gives a brief definition of an IU: "An intonation unit is a sequence of words combined under a single, coherent intonation contour, usually preceded by a pause." The IU has thus been taken as the natural unit of spoken discourse, especially in studies concerning information flow in conversational or narrative discourse. All examples in this study are transcribed based on IUs. (1b) is Mr. Dadie's personal narrative transcribed by the research team: it is less than two minutes long, consisting of 56 IUs. (1c) is a story about how to make a meal with cassava called *vede* [vɛ²dɛ²][5] in Abou Dida, i.e. the source of tapioca or a staple food in many tropical regions including where Mr. Dadie was born and raised. This text was transcribed by Edmundo Luna; it consists of 190 IUs. (1d) is a popular tale in Mr. Dadie's family, which is 26 IU long; it was transcribed by Kirk Miller.[6] (1e) is a six-minute story recorded by Diane Hintz; the first and last minute of the story were transcribed by Dan Hintz; it consists of 39 IUs. Some members of the research team might have revised some parts of the texts independently, especially with respect to tones; however, I use the texts in (1), albeit with some corrections, because the points in focus in this study are aspects of discourse syntax, which is unlikely to be susceptible to such revisions.

   Before moving any further, I add a supplementary explanation about the importance of narrative texts in taking a fresh look at left-dislocation. Oe et al. (2020: 234–238) analyze some features of left-dislocation across genres in Present Day Japanese and conclude that left-dislocation is likely to be used in a particular genre of discourse, which they call 'solo performance monologue,' in which one speaker is free to talk for a certain length of time without interference, as seen in lectures, theatrical shows, narrations, a sequence of discourse in written texts (e.g., diary), etc.[7] While they use narration as one type of genre, I regard it as synonymous

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[5] The superscript means the level of a given tone from here onward.
[6] In Miller (2005), he seems to have used a longer (new) version that consists of 104 IUs.
[7] Yamauchi (2017) provides a similar survey result through an analysis of articles in English

with narrative discourse, because the latter is consistent with what Oe et al. (2020) describe about solo performance monologue. In a nutshell, narrative texts in Dida are a good choice for an analysis of left-dislocation from a broader cross-linguistic perspective.[8]

3. Preceding studies on left-dislocation
3.1. In general linguistics

The phenomenon now called left-dislocation dates back over a century. Bally (1909: 302) states that "Pour obéir aux diverses tendances de la langue parlée, la construction des phrases tend vers une dislocation apparente" [(If we) follow the various tendencies of spoken language, (we realize that) the construction of sentences tends toward an apparent dislocation] (the present author's free translation). Decades later, Jespersen (1933: 95) regards the phenomenon as 'extraposition' and defines it as a word or a group of words that "is often placed by itself, outside the sentence proper, in which it is represented by a pronoun," as in (2). What became well known by the name of 'extraposition' came to be more recognized since Ross (1967: 422), who identified it as 'left-dislocation,' with the example in (3).

(2)   Charles Dickens, he was a novelist!   (Jespersen 1933: 95)
(3)   My father, he's Armenian, and my mother, she's Greek.   (Ross 1967: 424)

Among subsequent research on English discourse, one finds left-dislocation in a variety of venues (e.g. Gundel 1975, Geluykens 1992, Chafe 1994: 182–183, Ziv 1994, Kim 1995, Prince 1997, Gregory and Michaelis 2001, Netz and Kuzar 2007, Birner and Ward 2019). Up to the present, Dorgeloh and Wanner (2023) seems to be one of the most comprehensive, theory-neutral studies to deal with and properly analyze discourse phenomena in English, including left-dislocation. Tizón-Couto (2016) provides a solid foundation for a long-term diachronic study of left-dislocation in English.

I will not give here a historical overview of all major works on left-dislocation, because any classification of the phenomenon even in one language varies from one researcher to another, presumably depending on the types of data used in their research.[9] That said, of relevance here is that left-dislocation is considered to be attested in most languages (Lambrecht 2001: 1051, Fernández-Sánchez and Ott 2020; see below). As shown below, left-dislocation can also be found in

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newspapers and magazines. In a similar vein, I have emphasized the importance of written text genres, synchronically and diachronically (Shibasaki 2018, 2019, 2023), in order not to miss any important aspects of language use, variation and change. It should be emphasized here that important discourse phenomena are not limited to interaction and conversation.

[8] Some studies on English narratives, such as Norrick (2000) and Rühlemann (2013), make no specific mention of left-dislocation. A careful observation is thus required across genres and languages.

[9] Compare Geluykens's (1992: 158) 'referent-highlighting' with Gregory and Michaelis's (2001: 1670) 'topic establishing device.' Also see Fernández-Sánchez and Ott (2020: 31, nt.1) for different classification criteria for Romance and Germanic traditions.

narrative discourse in Dida and is attested in other languages spoken in Africa (see Downing and Marten 2019 for dislocation phenomena in Bantu languages, Cowan 1982 on Baka and Kresh, Haller and Watters 1984 on Zulgo, Rugege 1982 on Kinyarwanda; cf. Schaefer and Egbokhare 2003 on right-dislocation in Emai). In fact, it is not so difficult to find relevant studies on left-dislocation in other languages (e.g. Duranti and Ochs 1979 on Italian, Anagnostopoulou et al. 1997 on French, Dutch, Icelandic and others, including some of their dialects, Nolda 2014 on German, Doehler et al. 2015 on French, Oe et al. 2020 on Japanese, Nguyen and Nguyen 2023 on Vietnamese). In addition, Spina (2013) embarks on a short-term diachronic analysis of left-dislocation in Italian. Taking these continued research outcomes on left-dislocation into account, it would be no exaggeration to say that in general linguistics, left-dislocation has ever captured the attention of researchers, synchronically and diachronically, with issues that defy any attempt at a quick and simple solution.

3.2. In cognitive linguistics

These preceding studies are usually categorized as falling outside cognitive linguistics. It is no surprise that early works in cognitive linguistics do not include left-dislocation because they focus on categorization, analogical reasoning, and conceptualization as bases for further development (e.g. Langacker 1987, 1991). How, then, about subsequent research in cognitive linguistics that came out as discourse-oriented studies or applied investigations? Contrary to (our) expectation, studies that refer to left-dislocation (or dislocation phenomena in general) are extremely hard to come by, especially if one is seeking studies that reach a certain level of research, in terms of quality and quantity, at which cognitive linguists can exchange views and share thoughts with researchers from different theoretical backgrounds (Van Hoek et al. 1999, Graumann and Kallmeyer 2002, Kristiansen et al. 2006, Harrison et al. 2014, Giovanelli and Harrison 2018, Tenbrink 2020).

The fact that left-dislocation is difficult to address in cognitive linguistics, even after the advent of the 'quantitative turn' (Janda 2013, 2019), may be due to a number of circumstances (based on Dorgeloh and Wanner 2023: 70). One is that it is next to impossible to run any single reliable search for left-dislocated elements, especially in unparsed corpora. Another is that it is extremely difficult to extract all examples of left-dislocation from a given corpus, particularly when the range of elements between a fronted NP and the remaining pronoun extends over a long stretch of discourse (see Gregory and Michaelis 2001: 1668 for a similar discussion). In other words, any reliable study on left-dislocation is by necessity time-consuming; this might be one reason why we do not find many study reports on left-dislocation in cognitive linguistics, while some on-and-off progress on the phenomenon in general linguistics catches our attention, as summarized in Section 3.1.

The reality becomes more obvious, for example, when one remembers an increasing number of quantitative studies on argument structure constructions in cognitive linguistics (e.g. Gries and Stefanowitsch 2004), which have become

far easier.[10] In this particular respect, any empirical study of left-dislocation, i.e. a phenomenon going outside a clause and spreading over a stretch of discourse, can provide a powerful lens through which to review both the study areas and procedures of cognitive linguistics as challenges for the future.[11] Considering the fact that left-dislocation is reported in a wide range of languages, an empirical approach to left-dislocation in Dida, i.e. a not-well-documented language, is all the more beneficial for expanding areas of investigation in both general and cognitive linguistics.[12]

4. The discourse-syntactic functions of *nɪ*

In this section, I will introduce some typical examples of *nɪ*-marked expressions in Dida narrative discourse. The functions of *nɪ* can be classified into two general groups. One is the function by which language users can combine finite clauses, either clause-initially or clause-finally, albeit with a different level tone each: tone 5 for the former and tone 3 for the latter. I call this 'sequential *nɪ*' for explanatory convenience. Occasionally, this usage of *nɪ* appears stand-alone in separate IUs, which at a glance look to be unattached to either preceding or following clauses but which pragmatically serve to anticipate something to follow (Section 4.1). The other is the function whereby language users can left-dislocate something they want to contrast with another character or thing in a local stretch of discourse. This particular *nɪ* (tone 3) always occurs just after extraposed elements (Section 4.2).[13] In addition, *nɪ* can topicalize adverbial expressions and arguments. For example, adverbial expressions such as *ʤʒ³nʒ² s(a)² e³ ku³ nɪ³* 'luckily' (lit. 'in a lucky manner') and *zɪ³ka⁵¹ nɪ³* 'today' behave as sentence adverbials at clause-initial position, while *nɪ*-marked NPs can be used as topicalized elements clause-initially, albeit partially, because they do not have any corresponding pronominal forms in the following clause (Section 4.3).

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[10] See Harari (2015: Chap 11) for a reminder about the dangers of any highly advanced algorithmic and stochastic view of phenomena, which I believe holds true of linguistic research. It is important that when turning their attention to a discourse-/context-dependent analysis of as many examples as possible, researchers should not come up with extreme conclusions, statistically or introspectively.

[11] Iseki et al. (2019: 9) criticize some works in cognitive linguistics that deal with Japanese left-dislocation out of context. On the other hand, an experimentally based approach to left-dislocation, provided in Yoshimoto (2023), may be a possible analytical procedure for avoiding the out-of-context problem; I am grateful to one anonymous reviewer for pointing this out.

[12] What I mean by 'empirical' here cannot be substituted by 'quantitative' if each example is not carefully examined in its own discourse context (see Janda 2019 for further reminders in Section 5.2).

[13] In Shibasaki (2007), *nɪ⁵* is considered to left-dislocate elements, albeit limited to a small number of cases. Building on follow-up research, however, I will present a survey result that shows that elements can be left-dislocated only by *nɪ³* in Abou Dida.

4.1. Sequential *nɪ*
4.1.1. Clause-initial and clause-final *nɪ*

The sequential *nɪ* has three functions with respect to IUs. What I present in this section is clause-initial *nɪ* and clause-final *nɪ*, as seen in (4). Numbers to the left of each line refer to the IU number of a given narrative. Elements in focus are under-lined.[14] For convenience, this particular usage of *nɪ* is glossed 'and' unless otherwise specified. Note that in (4), the clause-final *nɪ* is not a simple coordination.

(4) 12 $ɔ^3$ ji^1 na^3 $\underline{nɪ^3}$
          3sg.sbj   come.pst   then   and
          'When he came

      13   $ɔ^3$ $nɛ^3$ a^2 $ɓɛ^{31}$ $dʊ^2$ $kʊ^3$
          3sg.sbj   say.pfv   1pl.sbj   sit.ipfv   down   loc
          he told us to sit down

      14   $\underline{nɪ^5}$ a^2 $ɓɛ^2$ $dʊ^2$ $kʊ^3$
          and   1pl.sbj   sit.pfv down   loc
          and we sat down.'   (*My first day of school* 12–14)

As mentioned above, each usage of *nɪ* has its own tone (except for a few rare cases; see later sections). In (4), *nɪ³* in IU12 serves as a subordinator with *na³* 'when', but when it is used without it, it behaves like a coordinative or sequential marker, as seen in *nɪ³* in IU69 in (7) below.

4.1.2. Independent *nɪ*

Either clause-initial or clause-final *nɪ* seems to be used stand-alone in terms of IUs, as in (5) and (6).

(5) 30 a^2 $ɓwa^3$ $ma{:}^3$
          1pl.sbj   kill.ipfv   animals
          'We kill animals

      31   $sɛ^1$ a^2 ka^3 a^3 $ma{:}^3$ li^3
          so.that   1pl.sbj   aux   ant   animals   eat
          in order to eat animals (so that we would eat animals)

      32   $\underline{nɪ^3}$
          and
          and

      33   $ɪ^2$ $ɪ^3$ ji^1
          what   1sg.sbj   know
          (that's) what I know.'   (*Net-hunting* 30–33)

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[14] The glossing conventions are as follows: accomp = accompaniment; ant = anterior; aux = auxiliary; cop = copula; def = definite; dist = distal; foc = focus; evid = evidential; fs = false start; ipfv = imperfective; irr = irrealis; loc = locative; neg = negative; obj = object; pfv = perfective; pl = plural; pst = past; seq = sequential; sg = singular; spec = specific (:³); sbj = subject; t = tone shift; trans = translocative; v = verb; voc = vocative; wrdsch = word searcher; 1 = first person; 3 = third person.

(6) 114   ɓɪ³   ɔ³   jlʊ⁵ gʊ¹   ɪ³   na³
            there   3SG.SBJ   stand.up.PFV   SEQ   then
            'He stood up there
     115   nɪ⁵
            and
            and
     116   gʊ³¹jʊ²   ɔ³   ji¹
            dog.SG   3SG.SBJ   come.PFV
            the dog, he came.'   (*Frog, where are you?* 114–116)

Like the conjunction *and* in English, *nɪ* appears clause-initially and clause-finally, as discussed in Section 4.1.1, and it also appears stand-alone with respect to the IU, as shown above. In terms of frequency, however, the majority of the stand-alone usage is *nɪ⁵* (about 92%; 24 out of 26 examples), which may have derived from the clause-initial *nɪ⁵* mentioned in Section 4.1.1 (and which will be discussed in Section 5.1). What we can learn from these discourse functions is that the sequential *nɪ* turns out to be textual, connecting both preceding and following information, thus sharing one typical property of discourse markers (Schiffrin 1987: 21–31; see Heine et al. 2021: 6 for more detailed definitions).

4.2. Left-dislocation by *nɪ*

In this section, I will address some typical examples of *nɪ*-marked left-dislocation in Dida narrative discourse. What *nɪ* can left-dislocate is (1) subject (lexical noun), (2) object (lexical noun) or (3) adpositional phrase (mostly post-positional phrases). Syntactically or discourse-sequentially, *nɪ* appears to expect something to come in the following stretch of discourse. In this point, both sequential *nɪ* and left-dislocation *nɪ* appear to have something in common. Further, an element that is left-dislocated by *nɪ* enables the addressee to anticipate that the speaker will present a viewpoint on it in the following discourse. That is, the *nɪ*-marked left-dislocation does not just perform a sequential function but takes on an interpersonal function, as shown later in this section (see also Section 5.1). In addition to these *nɪ*-marked left-dislocations, there are some examples that are left-dislocated without *nɪ*. Note that only *nɪ³* can left-dislocate elements, at least in the current data; from here onward, it is shown as *nɪ* without its superscript unless otherwise noted.

4.2.1. Subject left-dislocation by *nɪ*

Example (7) shows a typical case of subject left-dislocation by *nɪ*.

(7) 66 su³   e³   lʊ²gʊ⁵   ṗa²la³
         tree.SG   DEF   bee.PL   gourd.SG
         'The tree, a bee hive
     67 bɛ²dɪa²   su³   e³   mnɪ⁵
         hang.PFV   tree.SG   DEF   inside
         was hanging from the tree.

68 (h)a²³wli¹   jʊ³   e³   nɪ³,
    friend.voc   child.sg   def   and
    My friend! The child,

69 ɓu³¹ke²   mnɪ⁵   ɔ³   nɛ³   ɔ³   ɓa⁵tɛ³   ɪ³   nɪ³
    hole.sg   inside 3sg.sbj   say.ipfv 3sg.sbj   look.at.ipfv seq and
    he says he is going to look into the hole and…'

(Frog, where are you? 66–69)

The first expression *su³ e³* 'the tree' in IU66 seems to be a false start, because it is used as part of the post-positional phrase *su³ e³ mnɪ⁵* 'from the tree' in IU67. In these two IUs, the local topic is a beehive hanging from the tree. In IU68, the speaker introduces another character *jʊ³ e³* 'the boy' in contrast to the beehive. The left-dislocated *jʊ³ e³* 'the boy' has its coreferential pronoun *ɔ³* 'he' in the following clause. About 95% of all the subject left-dislocations (i.e. 21 out of 22 examples) are attested in *Frog, where are you?* and *Recipe for vede*; the former text includes a couple of main characters, e.g. a boy, a dog, a frog and others, while the latter introduces a variety of cooking ingredients and a cooking process in a certain consecutive order. Therefore, a contrastive introduction of different characters or things seems to be a basic discourse-functional property characteristic of left-dislocation in Dida (see Geluykens 1992: 87).

The following is another example of subject left-dislocation.

(8) 72 sɛ¹   ɔ³   ka⁵   sɪ⁵   ɛ⁵,
         thus   3sg.sbj   going   then   3obj
         'then she is going (to do something to) the cassava,

     73 ɛ-   tʃ-   nɪ³nɛ²,
         fs[15] fs   wrdsch
         whatchamacallit,

     74 tʃɛ⁵zɪ²⁻⁵   zʊ⁵,
         big.bowl.inside[16] put.ipfv
         put (it) in a big bowl,

     75 sɛ¹   ɔ³   ka⁵   sɪ⁵   ɛ⁵   pʊ⁵   kʊ²   nu²,
         thus   3sg.sbj   going   then   3obj   flour   loc   make
         then she is going to make it (cassava) into a flour,

     76 pʊ⁵   na³   nɪ³,
         paste   then   and
         that paste,

     77 ʊ³   mʊ⁵¹
         3sg.sbj   that
         it (the paste) is that,'   *(Recipe for vede* 72–77)

In the prior context, the speaker explains that in the morning, women get up

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[15] The tones of these two false starts *ɛ-* and *tʃ-* could not be properly identified.

[16] The form *tʃɛ⁵zɪ²⁻⁵* is a reduced form of *tʃɛ⁵zɪ³* 'big bowl' and *ɪ⁵* 'inside' in a naturally occurring narrative. Accordingly, the lexical tones might be changed.

to cook cassava prepared beforehand, by removing water from it and by doing something the speaker cannot remember to the cassava (IU72). Then they put it in a bowl (IU74), making it into a flour (IU75). After that, the women can get the paste they need (IU76), which is put out and dried in the sun in the following discourse. The reason the speaker uses *nı* in IU76 to left-dislocate the paste may be that the women prepare a flour paste there that is used for the next step, which might indicate an episode boundary. (8) does not show the introduction of a different or new referent, unlike (7); however, in the sense that step-by-step processes of a cooking recipe are contrastively explained, the usages of *nı* in both cases share a similar discourse function.

4.2.2. Object left-dislocation by *nı*

Infrequently though it occurs, objects can be left-dislocated by *nı*. Example (9) is one such example.

(9)   173   nɪ^3 wɛ$^{2\text{–}3}$ vɛ^{2}dɛ^2 e^3 nɪ^3,
            and kind.SPEC   cassava   DEF and
            'So, that kind of vede (cassava)

       174   a^2 lɪ^3 ɛ^5,
            1PL.SBJ   eat.IPFV   3OBJ
            we eat it (cassava),

       175   zʊ^3 ja^1.
            fish   ACCOMP
            with fish.'   (*Recipe for vede* 173–175)

In IU173, there are two examples of *nɪ^3*. The IU-initial *nɪ^3* serves a sequential function, as addressed in Section 4.1.1, while the other *nɪ^3* serves to left-dislocate *wɛ$^{2\text{–}3}$ vɛ^{2}dɛ^2 e^3* 'that kind of cassava,' which is realized as a pronominal object *ɛ^5* 'it' in the following clause. Here I provide a supplementary explanation about the tone of the IU-initial *nı* in IU173. As explained in Section 4.1.1, it usually carries tone 5, but this particular use exhibits tone 3 exceptionally in the same position. Further research is required on this point.[17]

    Another example of object left-dislocation is shown in (10).

(10) 104   nɪ^5 gʊ^{31}jʊ^2 nɪ^5,
            and   dog   and
            'and the dog,

       105   lʊ^{2}gʊ^5 tʊ^3 ɔ^5
            bee.PL   chase.IPFV   3SG.OBJ
            the bees are chasing him (the dog)'   (*Frog, where are you?* 104–105)

In the preceding discourse, the speaker talks about both the dog and the boy: the dog is running away from the bees because they are chasing him, while the boy

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[17] Another note is required on the form of *wɛ$^{2\text{–}3}$* 'kind (of).' When an element is recognized as being specific, the lexical tone is accompanied by another tone 3, i.e. *wɛ$^{2\text{–}3}$*.

falls down. Then the speaker repeats the dog's situation, now left-dislocating it by *nɪ* in IU104; the coreferential *ʝ⁵* is the object of the verb *tʋ³* 'to chase.' Like in (9), the underlined *nɪ* does not carry its usual tone 3, but the function it serves is a clear case of object left-dislocation.

4.2.3. Locative left-dislocation by *nɪ*

Locative left-dislocation, as below, is found a little more frequently than object left-dislocation.

(11) 150   wa³   ʝɪ⁵¹   ɓo²lu⁵ ʝɪ³⁵.
            3PL.SBJ   see.PFV   log.SG by.eye
            'they saw a log.

    151   ɓo²lu⁵ e³   mnɪ⁵   n̠ɪ³ ɓu³¹kɪ²,
            log.SG DEF inside and hole.SG
            In that piece of wood

    152   ka⁵da² a⁵⁻¹   ku¹   na³   ɓɪ³.
            big.SG DIST-FOC   exist   then   there
            there was a big hole.'   (*Frog, where are you?* 150–152)

In IU150, the boy and the dog found a log, which serves as a local topic. In IU151, the speaker left-dislocates the log as a locative expression *ɓo²lu⁵ e³ mnɪ⁵* 'inside the log,' because he wants to pay further attention to a hole in it. The locative expression *ɓo²lu⁵ e³ mnɪ⁵* has its coreferential locative adverb *ɓɪ³* 'there' in the following clause. The distal *a* in IU152 is in focus accompanied by its grammatical tone (⁻¹), i.e. *a⁵⁻¹*.

    Another example of locative left-dislocation is as follows.

(12) 23 pɪ⁵   mnɪ⁵   wɛ³   wa³   ga³nɔ³   nɪ³,
          morning in   EVID 3PL.SBJ wake.up.IPFV and
          'In the morning when they woke up,

    24 ɓue²tiʋ⁵¹ e³   mnɪ⁵   n̠ɪ³
          bottle.SG DEF inside and
          in the bottle

    25 liu³¹   f̃ɪː⁵   lɪ³   ɓɪ⁵   ku¹.
          thing.SG none   NEG.T there.T   exist
          there is nothing there (i.e., the frog had got out from the bottle).
                                                            (*Frog, where are you?* 23–25)

The point in focus here is *nɪ* in IU24. As seen in (11), the locative expression *ɓue²tiʋ⁵¹ e³ mnɪ⁵* 'inside the bottle' is left-dislocated and its corresponding locative adverb *ɓɪ* 'there' is in the next clause. The order of the clausal elements in IU25 in (12) is slightly different from that in IU152 in (11), presumably because in (12), the negative *lɪ³* could be a verbal element, which exbraciates its verbal pair *ku* 'exist' at the end of the clause (see Note 3). The other *nɪ*, in IU23, does not serve to left-dislocate the temporal adverbial expression *pɪ⁵-mnɪ⁵ wɛ³ wa³ ga³nɔ³* 'in the morning when they woke up' because nothing coreferential is attested in the clause in IU25.

In other words, *nɪ* plays a role in topicalizing the expression at utterance-initial position (see Section 4.3 for detailed discussions on this).

The following should be noted. The tone of *h* 'negative' is usually 5, but it exhibits 3 in IU25; that is why it is glossed as a case of tone shift (T). The same applies to *bɪ⁵* in IU25: its lexical tone is 3, as in (11) above, but here it shows 5. Again, further research is required.

4.2.4. Left-dislocation without *nɪ*

In this section, I provide examples of left-dislocation without *nɪ*. Firstly, the number of examples is relatively small. I found only one example of object left-dislocation, as in (13), in which the left-dislocated *lʊ²gʊ⁵-ː³* 'those bees' has its coreferential pronominal object *ʊ⁵* in the following clause.

(13) 78   a²³wli¹   lʊ²gʊ⁵-ː³
          friend.voc   bee.pl-spec
          'I mean, those bees,
     79   ka³lɛ⁵⁻¹   bʊa³   na³   ʊ⁵
          anger-foc   hit.ipfv.t   then   3pl.obj
          they (bees) got really angry (lit., anger hit them very much).'
                                                            (*Frog, where are you?* 78–79)

Secondly, subject left-dislocation is a little more frequently used in the texts. Three examples of subject left-dislocation are shown below.

(14) 144   jʊ³-ː²   ɔ⁵⁻¹   ɓa³   sɪ³-i²   na³,
           child.sg-foc   3sg.sbj-foc   take.ipfv.t   now-irr.t   then
           'and the child, he is taking (the dog),'[18]   (*Frog, where are you?* 144)
(15) 174   ɪ⁵   mɪ⁵¹   ka³ a³   pa³pa⁵   ni²nɪ³   lɛ¹.
           all.this   that   aux ant   throw.throw   story   cop
           'It's this which would have been a tale.'
     175   bɔ²lʊ⁵ e³ ʊ³   ʧɛ⁵¹lɛ¹ se⁵   mnɪ⁵.
           frog   def 3sg.sbj   move   house   inside
           The frog, he went home.'   (*Frog, where are you?* 174–175)
(16) 54   wa³ sɔ⁵ (e)³,
           3pl two def
           'The two of them (the boy and the dog),'[19]
     55   wa³   wlʊ⁵¹   se⁵   e³   mnɪ⁵   zɔ²³.
           3pl.sbj   leave.pfv   house.sg   def   inside   under
           they left the house.'   (*Frog, where are you?* 54–56)

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[18] According to our native consultant (p.c. with Mr. Dadie in June 2003), the grammatical tone for focus can be 1 or 2 (or sometimes 3 as in (17) below). Further research is needed on this point.
[19] The reason why *(e)* is parenthesized is that the sequence of *sɔ* and *e* in a naturally occurring narrative sounds like [soː] (ɔe > oː).

In (14), the left-dislocated *jʊ³* 'the child' appears as its coreferential pronoun in the following clause. One might think that elements followed by grammatical tones for focus or specificity can be extraposed clause-initially. It is true that such elements can be left-dislocated, as shown in (9) and (13), but not always so, as seen in (7)–(8) and (10)–(12). In fact, *bɔˀlʊ⁵ e³* 'the frog' is left-dislocated in (15) without such a grammatical tone. See IU116 in (6) for another subject left-dislocation without *nɪ*.

Worth noting is the left-dislocation of *wa³ sɔ⁵ (e)³* 'the two of them' in (16) without *nɪ*. Since its corresponding pronoun *wa³* appears as a subject in the following clause, we might expect *nɪ* to follow the left-dislocated element; however, we do not see that. Considering all the examples of left-dislocation by *nɪ* in the data, it is obvious that *nɪ* can left-dislocate only lexical NPs. In (16), what is left-dislocated includes a pronominal element; the other two examples in the data from exactly the same discourse sequence, not shown here because of limitations of space, lend support to this observation.

Lastly in this section, let us consider the following examples. Note that the final tone of *jʊ³⁻² ¹ᐟ²* 'the boy' in (18) indicates 2½.

(17) 75 gʊ³¹jʊ²⁻³   <u>ma²</u>   <u>nɪ³</u>,
         dog-FOC   for.one's.part   and
         'the dog (for his part),

     76 su³   zɔ²³   ɔ³   kʊ¹   na³   nɪ³
         tree under 3SG.SBJ exist then   and
         he is under the tree.'   (*Frog, where are you?* 75–76)

(18) 87 jʊ³⁻² ¹ᐟ²   <u>ma¹</u>,
         child.SG-FOC   for.one's.part
         'The boy (for his part),
         (2 parenthetical IUs are snipped here for space constraints)

     90 ɓu³¹ke² e³   mnɪ⁵   ɓɪ³   ɔ³   mnɪ²   na³   ɓa⁵tɛ²   bɔ²⁻⁵
         hole   DEF inside there 3SG.SBJ go.PFV then   look.at.PFV   TRANS.in
         he went there to look into the hole.'   (*Frog, where are you?* 87–90)

In addition to the left-dislocation by *nɪ*, the sequence of *ma nɪ* can left-dislocate elements, as in (17). Occasionally, left-dislocation becomes possible only by *ma*, as in (18). There are four examples of such left-dislocation in the data: three of the former type and one of the latter, all of which are subject left-dislocation. We cannot rush to any conclusion due to there being such a small number of examples; however, three out of the four examples are left-dislocation of either specific or focused elements. This issue will be readdressed in Section 5.3.

4.3. Topicalization and constraints on double left-dislocation by *nɪ*

In addition to the function of left-dislocating elements, *nɪ* has the other function of topicalizing elements, mostly temporal adverbial expressions and occasionally subjects (but neither objects nor locative expressions). One example of subject topicalization by *nɪ* is provided in (19).

(19) 106   wa³   sɔ⁵   e³   nɪ³,
            3PL.SBJ two   DEF   and
            (then) the two of them (the boy and the dog),

     107   kw‌ɪɪ⁵   ɓɪa³   wa⁵
            suffer   suffer 3PL.OBJ
            are suffering from them (the bees),'   (*Frog, where are you?* 106–107)

In (19), *wa³ sɔ⁵ e³* 'the two of them' is extraposed at clause-initial position by *nɪ*, but this is not a case of left-dislocation but of topicalization, because its coreferential pronoun is not included in the following clause. This example provides evidence of the observation in Section 4.2.4 that *nɪ* can only left-dislocate lexical NPs (see (16) on this point).

So far we have seen both left-dislocation and topicalization. As in (12), two expressions (temporal and locative ones) are sometimes extraposed clause-initially together, but only one extraposed expression can have its coreferential element in the following clause. Finally in this section, I provide another example that shows another aspect of the constraint on double left-dislocation by *nɪ*.

(20) 119   zɪ³glɪ³ɓɛ³³,
            in.fact
            'In fact,

     120   pi⁵¹dɛ²   wli⁵ ɔ³   jlʊ⁵   gʊ² ɪ³   nɪ³,
            termite.hill.SG   top 3SG.SBJ   stand.IPFV   up   SEQ and
            at the top of the hill where he (the boy) is standing up

     121   dʒɛ²,
            buffalo.SG
            buffalo,

     122   ɛ⁵‑¹   zʊ³zʊ¹   na³   wa²³.
            3SG.SBJ‑FOC   hide.PFV then   place
            it (buffalo) was hidden in the place (the hill).

     123   dʒɛ²   e³   nɪ³,
            buffalo.SG DEF   and
            so the buffalo,

     124   ɛ³   mɛ⁵‑¹   ɓa³   na³   ɔ⁵   gwi⁵   kɔ³.
            3SG.SBJ   3SG‑FOC   take.IPFV then   3SG.OBJ   horn.PL   by.hand
            he (buffalo) is the one who takes him (boy) with its horns.'
                                              (*Frog, where are you?* 119–124)

In IU120, the locative expression *pi⁵¹dɛ² wli⁵* '(at) the top of the hill' is left-dislocated by *nɪ*, while in IU121, a buffalo *dʒɛ²*, a newly introduced character to the narrative, is left-dislocated without *nɪ*. Since they are both lexical NPs and have their own coreferential expressions in IU122, they have the potential to be marked by *nɪ* for left-dislocation. However, only the former is *nɪ*-marked. One possible reason is that in Dida, the speaker can left-dislocate only one expression by *nɪ* at a time, presumably to reduce surplus load on the information-processing capacity of both

speakers and hearers, even in an unstoppable unfolding of discourse (cf. Yamauchi 2017). As proof of this, the speaker left-dislocates the buffalo by *nɪ* in IU123 along with the definite marker *e³*. This phenomenon seems not to have been addressed in the preceding studies, but I have only two cases in the data that are relevant to constraints on double left-dislocation. Further research is required.

5. Discussion and concluding remarks
5.1. The distributional patterns of *nɪ* in narrative discourse

Table 1 summarizes the distributional patterns of *nɪ* in Dida narrative discourse. Numbers represent the raw tokens of each function; the percentage means the relative frequency of all the tokens. What we can learn from Table 1 is as follows. Firstly, it is obvious that the majority of the *nɪ*-marked functions are the clause-initial and clause-final *nɪ*. The independent *nɪ* can be identified due to our IU-based analysis of texts and is most likely to be derived from the clause-initial *nɪ* because they have the same tone (tone 5), apart from some exceptional cases (Sections 4.1.1 and 4.1.2). The coordinative example of *nɪ*, i.e. *gɛɪwie nɪ ɓɪga:* 'Geiwie Village and Gbiga Village,' may have derived from the sequential *nɪ* or vice versa; I leave that for my future work.

Table 1 The distributional patterns of *nɪ* in Dida narrative discourse (LD=left-dislocation)

Type	Subtype		Number of examples (%/all)
Sequential	Clause-initial *nɪ*		44 (26.0%)
	Clause-final *nɪ*		47 (27.8%)
	Independent *nɪ*		26 (15.4%)
	NP *nɪ* NP (coordination)		1 (0.6%)
		Subtotal	118 (69.8%)
Subject LD	Post-NP *nɪ*		11 (6.5%)
	Post-NP *ma nɪ*		3 (1.8%)
	LD without *nɪ*		8 (4.7%)
		Subtotal	22 (13.0%)
Object LD	Post-NP *nɪ*		5 (3.0%)
	LD without *nɪ*		1 (0.6%)
		Subtotal	6 (3.6%)
Locative LD	Post-PP *nɪ*		10 (5.9%)
Topicalization	X *nɪ*		12 (7.1%)
Other	False start (unanalyzable)		1 (0.6%)
		Total	169 (100%)

Secondly, the total number of left-dislocation examples accounts for 22.5% of the data. The function of left-dislocation is to extrapose an NP to clause-initial position and to resume it as a pronoun (or a proadverb in the case of Dida) in the following clause. A left-dislocated NP is often introduced in contrast to another character or thing mentioned in the preceding discourse (Section 4.2.1), which implies that a left-dislocated NP is not just put outside of an immediate clause but

rather forms a larger part of the discourse (see Shibasaki 2018 for a relevant discussion on this issue). In this sense, the left-dislocating function of *nɪ* can be considered to be more grammatical than the sequential *nɪ*; differences in the frequency of each function support this hypothetical view. At the beginning of Section 4, I took it that the potential expansion of *nɪ* from the sequential to the left-dislocation function goes in tandem with the functional expansion from textual to interpersonal: the opposite change is unlikely from the perspective of language change in general (Traugott 1982). The historical relation between these two functions is worth reconsidering because it seems not to have come under close scrutiny (e.g. Kuteva et al. 2019).

Thirdly, among all the examples of left-dislocation, subjects are left-dislocated more frequently than the other two types; they are typically agentive, as in (7). Importantly, infrequent though they are (two cases), subjects can be topicalized by *nɪ*; the other ten cases are all topicalization of temporal and manner adverbials. In other words, what is left-dislocated and topicalized by *nɪ* partially represents an "intersection of agent and topic, i.e. the clearest instances of subjects, cross-linguistically, are agents which are also topics" (Comrie 1989: 107). While *nɪ* behaves differently in terms of syntax according to left-dislocation and topicalization (Sections 4.2 and 4.3), their pragmatic functions in discourse overlap, albeit partially (see Section 5.3).

5.2. What left-dislocation can bring to cognitive linguistics

What, then, can the present study on Dida left-dislocation bring to cognitive linguistics? There are at least three issues that one can present of left-dislocation in relation to cognitive linguistics. Firstly, researchers need to look at a variety of discourse types in order not to miss important phenomena, e.g. left-dislocation, which has not been a central objective of cognitive linguistics, as described in Sections 1 and 3.2, at least in the eyes of a discourse-functionalist (see Note 7 also on this point). Through an analysis of Japanese left-dislocation, Oe et al. (2020: 226, 233–239, 241, nt.18) suggest that researchers need to maximize the availability of data and to analyze examples in their own contexts, while keeping introspection-based observations to the minimum. More to the point, survey results should be built around all the data in a case study (not just around a handful of examples congruent with a particular theory or hypothesis), including exceptional and hard-to-handle examples, carefully examined in context (Laury and Ono 2006). While I need to examine other genres of discourse in Dida, an empirical survey of narrative discourse enabled us to find that, in Dida, one element *nɪ* can left-dislocate and topicalize lexical NPs, which is clearly related to the sequential use of *nɪ*.

Secondly, it is important to appreciate the endeavors of traditional linguistics, i.e. language documentation (even of our native tongues), in both reconsidering and reinventing the analytical procedures and methods of cognitive linguistics from the bottom up. What *nɪ* reveals about extraposition phenomena in Dida is that left-dislocation and topicalization cannot be clearly divided but form a continuous spectrum of discourse functions, presumably through language con-

tact (e.g. Shibasaki 2023). If we broaden our perspective to look at regionally and genetically related languages, we may notice a possible historical relation between them. Look at (21) from Godie, a Western Kru language.

(21) Godie (Western Kru, Niger-Congo)

Zozii	nʌ,	ɔ	yʌmʌ	guu'	'cʉ	'cʉ	'cʉ
Jesus	non-final	3SG.SBJ	heal.PST	disease	kind	kind	kind

'Jesus, he healed all kinds of disease.'   (Marchese 1977: 163)

In (21), the element *nʌ* left-dislocates the NP *zozii* 'Jesus,' which recurs as a coreferential pronoun *ɔ* in the following clause. Obviously, these two elements and their function are remarkably similar to those in Dida (see (7) for reference). Note that *nʌ* can also serve to introduce clauses, like *nɪ* in Dida.

Lastly, it would be more important to maximize an empirical analysis of languages in context than to focus on a large data analysis (p.c. with Scott DeLancey at LSA Summer Institute, 2001). It is true that I summarized the frequency of each respective function of *nɪ* in Table 1, but this is based on the results of a due process of linguistic analysis in context. Understanding the distribution is as easy as anything, or rather, I made a point of summing it up succinctly, because I personally believe that it is usually (albeit not always) the case that "the simplest model that is appropriate to the data is the best one to use, since the results will be most accessible to readers" (Janda 2019: 23). Of course, I never reject the value of quantitative analyses, but I make a humble offer to reacknowledge the significance of empirical discourse analysis through a study of left-dislocation in Dida.

5.3. What cognitive linguistics can bring to studies on left-dislocation

Finally, we consider what cognitive linguistics can bring to studies on left-dislocation, specifically in Dida. It seems to me that the most typical characteristic of cognitive linguistics is to generalize beyond individual functions and patterns of a given element at various linguistic levels (Fischer 2017). Since we have carefully investigated each respective function of *nɪ* in its context, such a cognitive linguistic perspective can be applied to extend the discourse-functional view of *nɪ* one step further in terms of generalization.

Figure 1 summarizes the formal and semantic properties of *nɪ* in discourse, building on the analyses of examples in Section 4. The dotted lines mean that the semantic properties therein are not required but are marked occasionally. The size of the circle stands for the relative frequency of each *nɪ*-marked expression: left-dislocation is more frequently found with *nɪ* than topicalization (see Table 1).
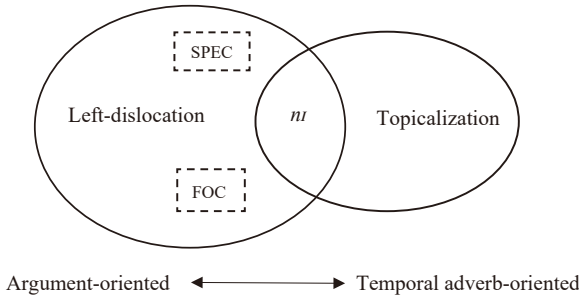
Figure 1 The relationship between left-dislocation and topicalization in Dida

Figure 1 turns out to be similar to those in preceding works (e.g. Gregory and Michaelis 2001); however, what makes Dida left-dislocation unique is that *nɪ* can both left-dislocate and topicalize lexical NPs, following some syntactic rules (Section 4.3), while exhibiting clear discourse-syntactic relations to the sequential function of *nɪ* connecting either NPs or clauses (Section 5.1).

   Further, in the case of Dida, arguments mean not only subjects and objects but also locative elements of a given (in)transitive verb. In (12), one locative expression *buetiʋ e mnɪ* 'inside the bottle' is left-dislocated and its coreferential locative adverb *bɪ* 'there' is in the following clause. According to our native consultant (p.c. June 2003), the coreferential adverb *bɪ* 'there' is an argument of the verb *kʋ* 'to exist' in Dida: if a left-dislocated element is not a verbal argument, speakers of Dida put no coreferential element in the following clause. Considering this point, a potential boundary between left-dislocation and topicalization depends on whether an extraposed element is an argument or not. It is conceivable that criteria for arguments vary from one language to another, synchronically and diachronically. However, such criteria often show continuity in distribution across languages (e.g. certain correlations between types of form encoding person and grammatical relations in Payne 1997: 158; see Shibasaki 2005, 2006, 2014 for more detailed discussions). As Gregory and Michaelis (2001: 1703) point out, "what makes a form marked or unmarked will depend upon the options afforded by the particular language system." What is important is thus to understand at which point along the left-dislocation to topicalization continuum a given case is positioned and why. Dida is just different from English and other languages, but it is hoped that Figure 1 can represent a general idea of left-dislocation in Dida from the perspective of cognitive linguistics. All that is required is to continue empirical research, to reexamine and hopefully establish the validity of this case study.

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【要　旨】

アブディダ語における*ni*の談話機能
―認知言語学の研究領域の拡充を目指して―

柴﨑礼士郎

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　　本稿ではアブディダ語（東クルー族，コートジボワール）の語りテキストで使用される*ni*標示表現を分析し，同時に，認知言語学における談話分析研究の再検討と拡充を狙いとする。*ni*標示表現は外置現象に関する先行研究で報告されている現象とは異なる振る舞いを示している。認知言語学では外置現象を中心的課題として取り組んだ纏まった研究史がないため，同分野での実証的談話研究を充実させるには良き研究手法である。*ni*標示表現の特徴は語彙名詞を左方転移させる機能と話題化する機能を担い，認知言語学は個々の機能とパターンを一般化して纏め上げる理論的特性を持つ。考察結果から分かることは，コンテクストに基づく実証的な談話分析を，一般化可能な理論的環境で推進する重要性である。