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Local and global functions of a borrowed/native pair of discourse markers in a Yucatec Maya narrative¹

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1. Introduction.

Five hundred years of contact with Spanish has resulted in the introduction of many Spanish loanwords into the native languages of the Americas, including Yucatec Maya (hereafter referred to as YM), which is spoken by several hundred thousand people in the Yucatán Peninsula, Mexico and in northwestern Belize. Among these borrowings has been a profusion of discourse markers (hereafter referred to as DM's), such as entonses2 'then', 'so', which have joined the ranks of the pre-existing Maya discourse markers, such as ká '(and) then', 'when'. Entonses and ká are semantically overlapping linguistic items that are frequently employed in narratives; yet, like most other YM DM's, their textual functions have not been investigated systematically. In this paper, after providing a definition of DM's, defining my approach to their analysis, and reviewing previous work on the uses of entonses and ká, and I analyze the functions of these two items in a spoken YM narrative I recorded in 1994. In particular, I demonstrate that as DM's, they have complementary global functions: while *entonses* serves to set orientation apart from action and mark succession BETWEEN narrative episodes, ká foregrounds successive actions (and key states) WITHIN narrative episodes. In addition, ká also functions locally as a subordinator and as a coordinator that marks the temporal relationship between successive or overlapping events. This finding has two important implications: it indicates how past analyses of these Maya forms must be revised and expanded, and it also demonstrates how the analysis of DM functions can be significantly refined by distinguishing not only between local and global relations, as Schiffrin (1987) does, but also among degrees of global relations.

II. Definitions and Approaches

A. Definition of and approach to discourse markers. My approach to DM analysis takes as its starting point aspects of Schiffrin's seminal work on DM's (1987). First, I follow Schiffrin (1987) in defining DM's as "sequentially dependent elements which bracket units of talk" (31)3 that "look simultaneously forward and backward" in the text (37). Schiffrin (1987; see also 1992) discusses connectives and other items that can function as DM's in terms of their local and global uses on various planes of discourse, including semantic, pragmatic, and cognitive planes. In this paper I focus on the functions of entonses and ká in IDEATIONAL STRUCTURE, a semantic plane of discourse that is made up of propositions, or ideas (Schiffrin 1987:25-6, borrowing from Halliday 1977). Among the criticisms that have been leveled against Schiffrin's model of discourse structure is Redeker's claim that "haziness surrounds the notion of ideational structure" (1991: 1162); in particular, across her work, Schiffrin is not consistent in how she defines the local and global relationships between the units that comprise this plane. By extrapolating from Schiffrin (1987:24, 247 and 1992:789, ft. 8), I define LOCAL RELATIONSHIPS within ideational structure as those that exist between two contiguous propositions without considering the organization of the texts in which they may be embedded. I define GLOBAL RELATIONSHIPS in ideational structure, meanwhile, as (1) those found between propositions that are not adjacent or (2) those found between contiguous propositions when one

considers the organization of the texts (e.g. narratives) in which they are embedded. Finally, I adopt Schiffrin's position (1987) that by definition a connective has a DM function at ideational structure if and only if it is functioning globally, in addition to any local function it may also have.

To make these definitions more concrete, let us consider examples of local and global uses of English *then* on the ideational plane:

- (1) Q: Did you visit John when you went to New York?
 A: I visited him then. (Schiffrin 1987: 248-9)
- (2) a. There's a cop up the next block.
 - b. There used-there was a cop over here.
 - c. He's retired.
 - d. Then uh, there a a [sic.] couple uniform cops around here somewhere.
 (Schiffrin 1992: 771)

The *then* in (1) is not a discourse marker, for it functions only locally to indicate temporal overlap between the events in the question and the answer. The *then* in (2d) is a discourse marker, as it is functioning globally to mark a return to the list (begun in 2a) after a descriptive digression (in 2c). Note that I follow Schiffrin in assuming that a token can be multifunctional (see examples below; see Fraser 1990:389 for an opposing viewpoint), but I recognize that in practice it is often difficult to differentiate an ambiguous token from a multifunctional one.⁴

B. Narrative structure and genre. I have drawn the principal YM data for this paper from narrative, which Labov (1972:359-60) defines as "one method of recapitulating past experience by matching a verbal sequence of clauses to the sequence of events which (it is inferred) actually occurred." In his terms, a fullyformed narrative may include an ABSTRACT, ORIENTATION, COMPLICATING ACTION, EVALUATION, RESOLUTION, and a CODA (ibid.:363). In particular, the orientation give descriptive information about the setting and characters, and the complicating action units comprise the main body of the narrative; each describes an event. I will be focusing on a single narrative text, a more or less factual account of the contemporary settling of the narrator's native village, Xcocmil, Yucatán, by a group that included the narrator's father. It exhibits the characteristics of YM formal narrative speech, including repetition and parallelisms (see Burns 1973:145-64, Mudd 1979). James Fox (personal communication) classifies this text as a member of the úuchben tzikbal 'myth' subgenre (see Burns 1973), since the narrator defines the time frame as úuchih 'long ago' and the characters as áabwelosó'ob 'forefathers' (see YM text in Sect. IV, lines 1, 2, 5, 21), and he weaves into the story an account of the origin of current local political strife.

III. Entonses and ká: Functions in Spanish and Maya

Before examining how *entonses* and $k\acute{a}$ are functioning in this narrative, it is useful to review what is already known about their uses in YM generally. In addition, since *entonses* has been borrowed from Spanish, a language with which YM is still in contact, I will present some data from contemporary Spanish in order to suggest some functions that we might find in the YM data.⁵

A. Functions of entonces and entonses. Cortés Rodríguez (1991:89-97) classified by function all of the tokens of entonces in a corpus of spoken Peninsular Spanish.

Most of his categories reflect, in Schiffrin's terms, local resultative and anaphoric uses and global textual functions at ideational structure. By analyzing tokens of *entonces* in a Yucatec Spanish oral narrative produced by the same native speaker of Yucatec Maya whose Maya story I will discuss later, I determined that it has similar functions in this contemporary Spanish dialect; some examples are in (3a-b)6:

- (3)a. Y esa sascabera que donde sacamos sascab y empezamos a meter pura piedra and that quarry that where remove-1P/pret clay and begin-1P/pret to put/in-inf pure stone adentro ... Entonces se llenó, ni así ... y entonces la maquinaria allí ah limpió inside so refl/3 fill-3S/pret not thusly and then the machinery there uh clean-3S/pret esa pedacita. that piece-dim
 - 'And that quarry where we took out clay and we began to put stones in So it got filled up, not even like this ... and then the machine there uh it cleared that little piece [of land].'
 - b. Este, ya que dejas tu escuela, ya entras con los ejidatarios ... a trabajar ... uh already that leave-2Spres pp2S school already enter-2Spres with the landowners to work-inf Entonces pues la escuela ... hay un, sascabera allí s- allí lo sacamos sascab hicimos So well the school exist-pres a quarry there fs there acc3S remove-1Ppret clay make-1Ppret una cueva muy grande hah? a cave very big yeah

'Uh, once you finish school, you enter in with the communal land owners ... to work

So well the school there c- uh there's a quarry there w- there we took out clay we made a big cave, right?'

In (3a) the first *entonces* is functioning locally as a resultative linking propositions of cause and effect, while the second is functioning both locally and globally to connect sequential events and mark an action unit in a narrative, respectively. The *entonces* in (3b), meanwhile, is functioning globally as a DM to mark the transition from background discussion to narrative events; note the corresponding use of the present and preterite verb tenses in the description and action, respectively.

No in-depth study of Mayan *entonses* can be found in the literature, but various references to its functions suggest that it does NOT have the wide range of uses of its Spanish counterpart. Based on a review of cross-linguistic, principally narrative Maya data, Brody (1987:510-1) classifies *entonses* as a borrowed conjunction that can also function as a DM; such items, she claims, always occur clause-initially. In Tojolabal Maya, in particular, borrowed conjunctions occur most commonly at topic shifts and episode boundaries, and often they occur in a phrase that combines a number of native and borrowed DM's (Brody 1989: 18-9). In these doublets or triplets of DM's, which are common across Mayan languages, the borrowed Spanish form usually comes first; further, the sequence often fills the function of highlighting and emphasis (Brody 1987:511-2, but see Brody 1989:24-5 on sequences in Tojolabal; for examples from various Mesoamerican languages, see Stolz and Stolz 1995 and the references in Brody 1987:512).

Virtually no work has been done, meanwhile, on the use of borrowed Spanish DM's in YM, specifically. Ligorred Perramón (1990:145-6) merely states that he found *entonses* to be one of three markers borrowed "with a frequency markedly superior to that of the rest of the loans of this type" (translation mine) in the YM narratives he collected. Blair (1964:45) called *entonses* and other YM discourse markers "particle stems" that had yet to be further subclassified. Burns (1973:166) says that some borrowed and native DM's (including *entonses*) are "grammatically similar and semantically 'empty'." Finally, Lucy (1989:16) makes

reference to the role of *entonses* in "draw[ing] out implications" in Yucatec Maya speech, but he does not provide any examples.

B. Functions of ká. Several authors have provided analyses of YM ká, however, including Andrade (1941), Blair (1964), and Blair and Vermont-Salas (1965-7, vols. I-II, hereafter referred to by volume; note that all examples from these authors are slightly adapted orthographically; in this and subsequent sections, ch, ch', tz, tz', and x will be employed in place of their IPA equivalents \dot{c} , \dot{c}' , ϕ , ϕ' , and \dot{s} , respectively; glosses are mine and contain the abbreviations listed in ft. 6). The uses of ká fall into two general categories: subordinating and coordinating. Subordinating ká functions as a complementizer, as seen in (4a), when it follows a verb of wish, command, or preference; the verb it subordinates take the suffix -Vk (V= echo vowel) if transitive or -ø if intransitive (Blair and Vermont-Salas II:568). In a related construction, subordinating $k\acute{a}$ functions like the English optative modal may, as in (4b) (see ibid.:566-7). In addition, subordinating ká can function like the English adverbial wh-phrase when to mark temporally overlapping past events (see ibid.: 687-8, Andrade 1941: 373). When the clause containing $k\acute{a}$ precedes the clause containing the temporally overlapping event, the construction is of the form (le) $k\acute{a} + completive verb + e'$; when the $k\acute{a}$ clause follows the clause with the temporally overlapping event, the form is (le) $k\dot{a}$ + completive verb (see 4-d).

(4)a. In k'áat ká talake'ex a k'ahóolt in tàanaho'.
erg1S want-incomp that come-sub-abs2P erg2 know-sub erg1S household-deic
T want [for] you to come to meet my household.'
(Blair and Vermont-Salas I:323)

b. Ká séeb utzchahakech.
 may fast good-become-sub-abs2S
 'May you get well soon.'

(Blair and Vermont-Salas II:560)

c. Ká h k'ú[']uben xôok yáax t u kàahil Káantamayeke', yan ten syéete 'ányos. when comp deliver/pass/comp-abs1S study first at erg3 town-relab Cantamayec-top exist pron1S seven years 'When I was first put in school in the town of Cantamayec, I was seven.'

(Blair and Vermont-Salas II:607)

d. Tu'ux h binech (le) ká luk'ech Káantamayek?
where comp go/comp-abs2S (the) when leave/comp-abs2S Cantamayec
'Where did you go when you left Cantamayec?' (ibid.:687)

This last subordinating use of $k\acute{a}$ is closely related to its conjunctive use, which is to link successive clausal events. Andrade (1941: 370-1) concluded, based on the data he examined, that the conjunction $k\acute{a}$ cannot precede the first statement of a discourse or the first sentence spoken in answer to a question, it cannot be used before a negative, it is always clause initial, and the verb that immediately follows it must be in the completive or in the inceptive ($h\acute{o}op$ 'began to'+ $incompletive\ verb$) aspect, as in (5a,b). As (5b) shows, $k\acute{a}$ + $h\acute{o}op'$ can contract to $k\acute{a}p$ (Lucy 1993: 122, ft. 32, citing William Hanks, personal communication).

(5)a. ká h máanen t ho' ká t in wilah Hwàan ká ... then comp move/comp-abs1S to Mérida then comp erg1S see-comp Juan then '(and) then I moved to Merida (and) then I saw Juan (and) then ' (Blair and Vermont-Salas II:624) b. pues káp u bin u kam t u t'an
 well then/begin/comp erg3 go erg3 raise-sub to erg3 speech
 'well [then] he began to raise his voice' (Lucy 1993:110, line 117)

In contrast with Andrade's claim that conjunctive $k\acute{a}$ co-occurs only with completive and inceptive verbs, however, the *Diccionario Maya* (1991:Maya-Spanish, 276), which draws upon sources from the 16th century to the present, gives examples of conjunctive $k\acute{a}$ (spelled ka') co-occurring with other verbal aspects. Finally, Burns (1973:127) considers conjunctive $k\acute{a}$ to be "a defining feature of narrative," where it is "used as an utterance-beginning term. When it occurs in this position ... it seems to signify only that the utterances are part of a narrative ..." (127). After examining the YM text in Section IV, we will be able to evaluate the claims of Burns (1973) and others with respect to the features and functions of YM *entonses* and $k\acute{a}$ (for comparisons with the closely related Itzá Maya, see Hofling 1987:485).

IV. The Yucatec Maya Narrative

The narrator of the text to be analyzed is a male corn farmer who was in his mid-forties when I recorded the text in his house as part of an interview (March, 1994). He is bilingual and literate in Maya and a nonstandard variety of Yucatec Spanish. The transcription was initially done by a Spanish-Yucatec bilingual college student in Yucatán, but it was revised by several additional native and nonnative Maya speakers (including myself). A phonetically transcribed excerpt is presented below; line numbers refer to the complete transcript, and ellipsis marks places where parts of the original text have been omitted. Phonological material that is present in underlying representation but has been deleted in speech is in small brackets; editorial comments are italicized and in small brackets. The text is split into lines by breath pauses (following Lucy 1993:103), and commas mark pauses internal to lines. *Entonses* and $k\hat{a}$ are in boldface, and tokens of these forms that are DM's are underlined; other items I will be mentioning are in small capital letters.

[INITIAL ORIENTATION--I]

- o sea le: tyèempoh 'úuchih
 or be-sub the time happen-comp
 In other words, a: long time ago,
- le:, 'áabwelosó'obo' seny- senyoró'[ob], [Spanish:] son los abwéelos
 the grandfather-P-P-deic sir-P, [Spanish:] be-Ppres the grandfathers
 the: forefathers gentle- gentlemen, they are the forefathers
- 3. deste' Tz'itnup ... from Dzitnup from Dzitnup ...

IEXTENDED ORIENTATION--21

6. ká hóop' u::, 'u tàal u yéemlóo[b]

then begin/comp erg3 erg 3 come erg3 descend-incomp-P Then the::y, they began to come down,

7. ká luk'ó'ob Tz'itnup túun tàaló'ob tz'òon

then leave/comp-P Dzitnup prog3 come/incomp hunt/incomp then they left Dzitnup to come hunting,

8. túun tàaló['ob] tz'òon beyo' ká h k'uchó'ob waye'
prog/3 come/incomp-P hunt/incomp thus-deic then [or: when] comp arrive/comp-P here-deic
they were coming hunting thus, then they arrived here.
[or:] they were coming hunting thus when they arrived here.

9. chéen làa'[b] kàah ... just ruined town Just a ruined town ...

[END OF ORIENTATION]

14. entóonses

so So.

[COMPLICATING ACTION: HUNTING EPISODE-- 3]

15. ká h tàalóobe', 'um p'ée pàartée' ká h táap' Chan Chichimila'

when comp come/comp-P-top one cl/thing part-top then comp hit/comp Chan Chichimila' when they came, as for one group, then they came across Chan Chichimila'.

16. káp u séegr u tàalóo[b] tz'òon, ká t u káaxt[ah]ó'obi' u la' kàaha[l]e' pero bey hatz'utz then/begin/comp erg3 continue/incomp erg3 come/incomp-P hunt/incomp then comp erg3 find-[comp-]P-immediately erg3 other town-top but thus pretty Then they began to continue coming to hunt, then they found right away [what was] another town, but [it was] a pretty one.

17. ká h tàa[l] miin hay túuli'[l], ká t u káahsah ká u tz'on mehen nàa'yi'[l]

then comp came/comp some how/many cl/animate-relab then comp erg3 begin-cause-comp that erg3 hunt-sub little house-relab

Then came some people, then they began to cause [to be made], in order for hunting [so that one hunt], little huts.

18. káp u séegr u binó'o[b] letío'o[b] ...

then/begin/comp erg3 continue/incomp erg3 go/incomp-P pron3-P

Then they began to continue to come ...

21. bey u tzikbatik le:: áabwelosó'ob úucha'

thus erg/3 say/it-incomp the grandfather-P-P happen-comp-deic thus say the:: forefathers of here long ago.

ICOMPLICATING ACTION: FARMING EPISODE--41

22. entóonses PWES: káp u bin u káahsko['ob] bey waya'

then well then/begin/comp erg3 go/incomp erg3 settle-incomp-P thus here-deic

Then well, then they began to go settle thus this place; 23. DESPWÈESE', k u binó'o[b], k u ka'a binó'o[b] Tz'itnup

after-top incomp erg3 go/incomp-P incomp erg3 two go/incomp-P Dzitnup after, they go, they return to Dzitnup.

24. k u tàaló'o[b], tàak u mèent la- káp u men[ti]k u kòolo'[ob] incomp erg3 come/incomp-P want erg3 make fs then/begin/comp erg3 make-incomp erg3 farm-

They come, they want to make? then they began to make their [corn] farms.

25. k u mèe[n]t[i]k u kòolo'[ob] bey waya' PWES

incomp erg3 make-incomp erg3 farm-P thus here-deic well

So they make their farms here thus,

26. káp u chan p'áat[a]ló'[ob]

then/begin/comp erg3 little stay-incomp-P then they began to stay a little bit,

27. chéen 'u'[m] p'é semàanae' ...

just one cl/thing week-top just a week,

[COMPLICATING ACTION: SECOND HUNTING EPISODE--5]

30. entonses ká t u séegr u binó'o[b] letío'o[b] te' tz'òonó'[ob] utz t u yichó'ob u tz'on[i]ko'[ob] le k'áaxi[l] k'é[k']'eno'

So then comp [or: prog] erg3 continue/comp [or: continue/incomp] erg3 go/incomp-P pron3-P there hunt/incomp-P good to erg3 eye-P hunt-incomp-P the mountain-relab pig-deic So then they continued going hunting, they liked hunting the mountain pigs there. [or:] So then they were continuing to go hunting, they liked hunting the mountain pigs there

31. k u k'uchulo'[o]b tak Ichmul kàah ... incomp erg3 arrive-incomp-P to Ichmul town They arrive as far as the town of Ichmul ...

[CLIMAX: SETTLING OF XCOCMIL--6]

- 40. PWES: bey u tàalo['o]bo' bey u tàalo['o]bo' láakah t u yilah, u màasi::[l] so thus erg3 come/incomp-P-deic thus erg3 come/incomp-P-deic all comp erg3 see-comp erg3 more-relab
 - So, thus they come thus they come the rest saw it, more from:;,
- 41. Tz'itnup[il]o'obe', ká h'éemô'o[b], ká ya'abhi[l] máax waya'

 Dzitnup-[relab-]P-top then comp descend/comp-P then much-relab who here-deic Dzitnup, then they came down, then [there were] many people here.
- 42. DESPWÈESE' ká t u tukul t u bino'o[b] kàahah Chik'intz'ono'ot after-top then prog erg3 think-incomp prog erg3 go/incomp-P town Chikindzonot After, then they were thinking of going to the town of Chikintzonot,
- 43. PERO Chik'intz'ono'ote' ma' xan p'áato'obi', ká ka' 'éemo'[ob] waye', way Xkokmil but Chikindzonot-top not also stay/comp-P-neg then two descend/comp-P here-deic here Xcocmil but as for Chikindzonot, they didn't stay there, then they returned down here, here in Xcocmil.

[SHIFT TO ANOTHER TOPIC: CHIKINDZONOT--7]

- 44. entóonses, u màasi[l] Tz'itnup[il]o['o]b TUNE' ká h éemo'obe' dirèekto' Chik'intz'onot binó'o[b]
 - so erg3 more-relab Dzitnup-[relab-]P finally-top when comp descend/comp-P-top straight Chikindzonot go/comp-P
 - Then, finally more from Dzitnup, when they headed down, straight to Chikindzonot they went,
- PÈERÓOH PWES Chik'intz'onó'ote' but well Chikindzonot-top But well as for Chikindzonot,
- 46. hach séeb 'úuch u: 'u káahsak 'úucho' nohoch kàah nohoch kàah ...
 very quickly happen/comp erg3 erg3 populate-cause-sub happen/comp-deic big town big town
 very quickly long ago it became populated long ago [it was a] big town big town ...

V. Local and global textual functions of YM discourse markers

I now turn to an examination of *entonses* and $k\hat{a}$ in this narrative to demonstrate that the ideational functions of these items are in complementary distribution: *entonses* is a DM that globally marks the transition from one episode to the next, while $k\hat{a}$ is a connective that functions locally to link contiguous propositions and a DM that globally joins units within episodes. First, note that all tokens of *entonses* and $k\hat{a}$ correspond with semantic (propositional) and syntactic (clausal) boundaries; in particular, all are clause initial. While all four examples of *entonses* also correspond with line beginnings (which mark breath pauses), only seven of the $k\hat{a}$'s are in line-initial position (another three are preceded on their lines only by Spanish DM's). In order to analyze the functions of the DM's, I have divided the text into seven subsections by topic; these are numbered in the text above. The first two topics are the initial and extended orientation, respectively, the third topic is hunting, the fourth is farming, and the fifth is hunting. The sixth topic, the climax of the narrative, addresses the settling of Xcocmil, and the seventh topic is a new narrative about the settling of Chikindzonot.

The first topic, lines 1-5, comprises the initial orientation of the narrative; here the time frame, physical setting, and characters are introduced. There are no active verbs in this section, and no tokens of $k\acute{a}$ or *entonses*. The second section of the narrative, the extended orientation, includes lines 6-13. Lines 6-8 are action units with completive or inceptive verbs ($h\acute{o}op\ u\ t\grave{a}al$ 'they began to come',

 $luk'\delta'ob$ 'they left', and $k'uch\delta'ob$ 'they arrived', respectively), and all three contain $k\acute{a}$ The $k\acute{a}$ in line 6 is functioning globally to mark the transition from background description to action units. The $k\acute{a}$ in 7, meanwhile, is functioning both locally to conjoin successive events and globally to indicate a successive action unit. Finally, the $k\acute{a}$ in line 8 is ambiguous: it could have local and global coordinating functions, like the $k\acute{a}$ in line 7, or it could be functioning only locally as a subordinating $k\acute{a}$ akin to English when (thus it is half underlined). These three lines, which tell how the forefathers came to the general area that is now Xcocmil and neighboring towns, are clearly part of the orientation of the narrative, as they are followed by a long description (lines 9-13) which orients the listener to the physical setting for all of the topics that follow. As in the initial orientation clauses, there are no active verbs and no $k\acute{a}$ or entonses tokens.

The extended orientation ends in line 13, and the principal complicating action starts in line 15; in line 14, globally marking the transition from description to action, is the first token of *entonses*. Tokens of $k\acute{a}$ are found in lines 15-18; they all precede completive or inceptive verbs ($k\acute{a} + h\acute{o}op'$ contracts to $k\acute{a}p$). The first $k\acute{a}$ in line 15 is a subordinator that locally marks temporal overlap between events in its clause and the following clause. The second $k\acute{a}$ in line 15 is functioning both locally to coordinate overlapping events and globally as a DM to mark a key action unit. The two tokens of $k\acute{a}$ in line 16 and the first two in line 17, meanwhile, have this same global function, as well as the local function of marking successive events. The third $k\acute{a}$ in line 17 is functioning locally as a complementizer.

The fourth topic of the narrative begins in line 22. Entonses (and pwes, see below) marks the transition. The $k\acute{a}p$'s in lines 22, 24, and 26 globally mark and connect the main action units and foreground them in relationship to the intervening material; the $k\acute{a}p$'s in lines 24 and 26 also locally mark events in temporal succession. The shift to the fifth topic occurs in line 30, where hunting is taken up again. Line 30 begins with entonses, and $k\acute{a}$ globally marks the initial complicating action; note that the verbal construction t u $s\acute{e}egr$ in line 30 is ambiguous between the completive 'they continued' and the progressive 'they were continuing'.

The sixth topic, which begins in line 40, is the climax of the narrative, for it treats how the forefathers ended up in Xcocmil, specifically. The transition between the descriptive discussion of hunting in Ichmul and the action-laden section on the settling of Xcocmil is not made by entonses, but by another borrowed discourse marker, pwes (again, see below). The first ká in line 41 and the one in line 43 function both locally to connect successive events and globally to mark the main action units; they both precede completive aspect verbs. The second ká in line 41 and the ká in line 42 are different, however, for they do not precede completive or inceptive verbs; instead, the token in 41 is in a clause that has no verb at all, and the one in 42 precedes a progressive aspect verb (t u tukul 'they were thinking'). In addition, both of these kā's can be given resultative interpretations, and they both introduce key states in the chain of events leading to the settling of Xcocmil: in line 41, as a result of the settlers' coming down, there were many people in the area; in line 42, as a result of the crowding, people thought of going to Chikindzonot. In short, conjunctive $k\acute{a}$ can function as a resultative, even in verbless clauses, to foreground the material it introduces.

This sixth section includes the resolution of the narrative, for it completes the story of how Xcocmil came to be settled. The narrator shifts to a different but not unrelated topic in the seventh section, namely, how the neighboring Chikindzonot became a big town. The DM *entonses* globally marks this shift in line 44. Meanwhile, the *ká* in line 44 functions locally to mark temporally

overlapping linguistic events; note the completive verbs *éemo'ob* 'they descended' and *bino'o[b]* 'they went' in the temporally overlapping clauses.

In summary, the text in question contains four tokens of entonses, all of which are functioning globally as DM's: the first marked the transition from orientation to complicating action; the second, third, and fourth marked episode shifts. Entonses did not mark the shift to a very important episode, that containing the narrative climax, but another borrowed DM, pwes, served this function. Most tokens of ká, meanwhile, served local (non-DM) functions as subordinators or as coordinators of temporally overlapping or sequential linguistic events, and two tokens of ká appeared to be functioning locally as resultatives. All of the locally functioning coordinating ká's and the two resultative ká's were simultaneously working as DM's, for they filled the global narrative function of foregrounding important complicating action units and states within a given topic. Finally, there were several ká's (in lines 6, 22, and 30) that appeared to be serving only this global function of marking action units within topics. Thus, in short, the ideational functions of *entonses* and $k\acute{a}$ in this text are in complementary distribution: the former globally marks the transition from one narrative episode to the next, while the latter locally connects propositions and globally marks event and key state units within episodes.

As I referred to above, there are also a number of other items in this text that function as connectives and/or DM's, including Spanish-derived pwes 'well', 'so' (lines 22, 25, 40, 45), peroh 'but' (lines 43, 45), and despwees 'after' (lines 23, 42), and native Maya tun 'then', 'finally' (line 44). Line initial pwes occurs in a triplet with entonses and ká to begin the only episode in which farming is mentioned (line 22); it occurs alone to begin the climactic sixth episode (line 40); and it appears in a doublet with peroh in the beginning of the new narrative about Chikindzonot (line 45). Line initial pwes thus seems to be functioning globally to highlight certain episodes or topics. Despwèes, meanwhile, appears in sequence with ká in line 42, where it indicates an important shift in action internal to the episode. Finally, it is significant that the short climactic episode on the settling of Xcocmil has a particularly high concentration of DM's, including pwes (line 40), ká (two tokens in line 41, one each in lines 42 and 43), despwees (line 42), and pero (line 43). Like the repetitions in Rickford's (1986:305) creole data, these items have the effect of "letting the individual events sink into consciousness slowly"; this is a DM function not in the semantic ideational structure, but in the pragmatic participation framework (see Schiffrin 1987:26-8 citing Goffman 1981, see also Halliday 1977). Ultimately, of course, a comprehensive account of the functions of YM DM's must look not only at ideational functions, but also at interactive and cognitive functions; it must consider sociolinguistic factors, such as the age, sex, and level of bilingualism of the narrator; and it must include data from across textual genres (e.g. see Solomon, in preparation, on YM DM's across narrative subgenres).

VI. Implications of the analyses

The analyses presented above allow us to evaluate critically not only previous claims in the literature about YM *entonses* and $k\acute{a}$, but also Schiffrin's approach to DM analysis, in particular her two-way distinction between local and global functions. First, contrary to the position of Burns (1973:12), conjunctive $k\acute{a}$ is not just a indicator of narrative genre; it always serves local and/or global linking functions in the text. Second, while the data support Andrade's assertion that conjunctive $k\acute{a}$ is always clause initial, they contradict his generalization that this $k\acute{a}$

is restricted to clauses with inceptive or completive verbs (1941:370-1), for conjunctive $k\acute{a}$ can co-occur with progressive verbs and even in verbless clauses. Further, Brody's claim (1987:512) that sequences of DM's often function to highlight or emphasize does not hold for YM entonses and $k\acute{a}$ (or for sequences involving pwes or despwèes with $k\acute{a}$); as was shown above, even when they are in sequence, these items fill complementary local and global discourse functions. Finally, Brody's position and mine on the function of DM sequences yield different predictions about the order of the linguistic items that compose them: although Brody (ibid.:511) observed that across Mayan languages, Spanish-derived DM's usually precede other DM's in sequences, her claim that these sequences are used for emphasis does not restrict the order of the components, while my analysis of YM entonses and $k\acute{a}$ predicts that they when they appear in sequence, entonses will be first. Further empirical data will show whether this prediction holds.

Finally, the YM data show that Schiffrin's distinction between local and global ideational relationships (1987, 1992) can be carried further, for a more precise analysis of DM functions requires reference to a cline of global relationships. In narrative texts, these global relationships range from connections between small chunks of text, such as complicating action units, to relationships of larger scope in which episodes or topics are linked. This more fine-grained distinction represents an important addition to current taxonomies of DM functions (e.g. see those of Schiffrin 1987, Fraser 1988, Redeker 1991).

VII. Directions for future research

The implications of work on YM DM's in fact reach beyond the study of the YM language and DM analysis to theoretical issues in borrowing and grammaticalization. As Brody discusses (1987:507-8), work on Mayan conjunctions and discourse markers has shown, contrary to previous belief, that (1) such forms can indeed be borrowed from one language into another and (2) borrowing often does not fill a linguistic gap (see ibid, for references). An issue for future research is the extent to which borrowed and native DM's have complementary functions, in YM¹⁰ and cross-linguistically, and what the origins of these complementary functions might be. For example, with respect to YM, in her discussion of loanwords in narrative couplets (note that there is no treatment of DM's), Mudd (1979: 58) claims that "the stylistic contribution of the [Spanish] loan words arises from the fact that they 'stand out' against a background of Yucatec words; they differ phonologically from the numerically predominant Yucatec words in both content and patterning." Entonces stands out from surrounding Maya material because of its length (and pwes and despwèes stand out because of their pw cluster). Evidence that these are desired features in linguistic items that mark more global relationships comes from a survey of other narratives (e.g. see Burns 1973): when *entonses* or another loanword is not used to mark a topic or episode shift, the native word ha'alibe' 'well', which is marked because of its length, is often used instead. Another possible origin of the contrasting functions of these DM's is that historically, such forms first come into a language at the highest (or most global) level of discourse (see Stolz and Stolz 1995:47). A cross-linguistic historical investigation of the grammaticalization of DM's would provide data to support or refute this theory. In short, approaching the study of DM's from discourse, sociolinguistic, and historical perspectives simultaneously promises exciting new data for a diverse range of linguistic theories and issues.

Notes

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- ² I will use the Spanish orthographic form of this term (entonces) when I am referring specifically to the Spanish use of this item; otherwise I will use the IPA spelling (entonses).
- Or units of writing, I would add, but the focus of this paper is talk.
- 4 An analysis of intonational features appears to eliminate the ambiguity in many English examples; an analysis of YM intonation, which I do not attempt in this paper, might do the same for some of the Maya examples (see also ft. 7).
- ⁵ I will leave the precise nature of the diachronic and synchronic relationships between Spanish *entonces* and YM *entonses* as an issue for future research.
- Throughout this paper I will use the following abbreviations in glosses: 1= 1st person, 2= 2nd person, 3= 3rd person, abs= absolutive, acc= accusative, cause= causative, cl= classifier, comp= completive, deic= deictic marker, dim= diminutive, erg= ergative, fs= false start, incomp= incompletive, inf= infinitive, inter= interjection, neg= negative, P= plural, pass= passive, perf= perfect, pp= possessive pronoun, pres= present, pret= preterite, prog= progressive, pron= independent pronoun, refl= reflexive, relab= relational/abstractive suffix, S= singular, sfut= subordinate and subordinating future, sub= subordinate/subjunctive, top= topicalizer, / links features of a single morpheme (note: used only when the several glosses that must be listed for a single morpheme are unclear without it), indicates a morpheme boundary.
- A logical question at this point is whether a line division based on clauses (e.g. see Labov 1972: 361-2), pause length (e.g. see Burns 1973, following Tedlock 1972) or intonation pattern (e.g. see Chafe 1980) might be more telling. I prepared versions of the text with line breaks based on independent clauses and on pause length, but neither provided a significantly more informative picture of the DM's. Line breaks based on intonation might indeed prove useful, but given that YM is a tone language, and given that virtually no work has been done on YM intonation, I felt that such an undertaking was best left for a future project.
- During the discussion following the presentation of this paper at BLS 23, Michael Silverstein suggested that employing a more complex textual architecture might help to provide an integrated account of the functions of not only *entonses* and $k\acute{a}$, but also the other borrowed and native discourse markers in the text. I will leave such an analysis, however, for future work.
- Note that in YM, borrowed *pwes* is not always clause initial (e.g., see line 25 of the YM text in Sect. IV); however, an analysis of the functions of *pwes* is beyond the scope of this paper.
- Although throughout this paper I have referred to $k\acute{a}$ as a native YM word, it is possible that it was in fact itself an earlier (pre-Conquest) borrowing from Nahuatl.

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