Louisiana State University
LSU Scholarly Repository

LSU Master's Theses | Graduate School

2016

Consecutive Connectors: A Study on Discourse Markers in Honduran Speech

LeeAnn Michelle Stover
Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College

Follow this and additional works at: https://repository.lsu.edu/gradschool_theses

Part of the Arts and Humanities Commons

Recommended Citation

Stover, LeeAnn Michelle, "Consecutive Connectors: A Study on Discourse Markers in Honduran Speech" (2016). *LSU Master's Theses*. 35.
https://repository.lsu.edu/gradschool_theses/35

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Graduate School at LSU Scholarly Repository. It has been accepted for inclusion in LSU Master's Theses by an authorized graduate school editor of LSU Scholarly Repository. For more information, please contact gradetd@lsu.edu.

CONSECUTIVE CONNECTORS: A STUDY ON DISCOURSE MARKERS IN HONDURAN SPEECH

A Thesis

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

in

The Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures

by
LeeAnn Michelle Stover
B.A., Louisiana State University, 2014
May 2016

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would first like to thank my thesis advisor, Dr. Jeremy King, for all of his assistance. He was always available whenever I ran into a trouble spot or had a question about my writing, and also provided emotional support when the work became overwhelming. He consistently allowed this paper to be my own work, but steered me in the right direction whenever he thought I needed it.

Special thanks go to Dr. Jill Brody, Dr. Dorian Dorado, and Dr. Andrea Morris for their feedback and assistance.

I would also like to thank my fellow graduate students Monika Estrada, Katie Mickel, Gabi Puscama, and Andrea Van Buskirk for allowing me to use recordings of interviews they had conducted. Without their generosity in sharing their work, my thesis could never have been completed.

Finally, I must profess my profound gratitude to my husband Landon, my parents and family members, and my friends for their unfailing support and continuous encouragement throughout my years of study and through the process of writing this thesis. I would not be who I am today without them. Thank you.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ii

ABSTRACT v

1. INTRODUCTION 1

2. LITERATURE REVIEW 5
  2.1 DMs and Consecutive Connectors 5
    2.1.1 Definitions, Study and Classifications 5
    2.1.2 Semantics, Pragmatics and Polysemy 9
    2.1.3 Consecutive Connectors 11
  2.2 *Entonces, Así* and *Pues* 14
    2.2.1 *Entonces* 14
    2.2.2 *Así* 16
    2.2.3 *Pues* 19
  2.3 Language Contact 21
    2.3.1 The Effects of Language Contact on DM Usage in United States Spanish 26

3. METHODOLOGY 30
  3.1 Community 30
  3.2 Corpus and Data Collection 32
  3.3 Research Questions 35

4. RESULTS 37
  4.1 Distribution of DMs 37
  4.2 Discourse Analysis 42
    4.2.1 *Entonces* 42
      4.2.1.1 Prefacing a Result 43
      4.2.1.2 Highlighting a Main Clause 44
      4.2.1.3 Prefacing a Response 46
      4.2.1.4 Closing a Response 47
      4.2.1.5 Indicating Progression of Discourse 49
    4.2.2 *Así* 50
      4.2.2.1 Conditional 52
      4.2.2.2 Support of Previous Discourse 53
      4.2.2.3 Conclusion 54
      4.2.2.4 Weaker and Non-Consecutive Functions 55
    4.2.3 *Pues* 56
      4.2.3.1 Adding Information 58
      4.2.3.2 Focus Device 59
      4.2.3.3 Unstressed *Pues* 60
  4.3 Language Contact 62

5. CONCLUSION 67

REFERENCES 72
VITA 78

ABSTRACT

This thesis addresses the question of discourse marker usage and function among a group of Honduran Spanish speakers who reside in Louisiana in an environment of English language contact. It seeks to descriptively outline the pragmatic functions of the consecutive connector markers *entonces*, *así* and *pues,* and to identify the meanings underlying these functions in informal conversation. As the first linguistic study of Hondurans in Baton Rouge, this thesis gives new insight to Spanish discourse marker usage in the United States. 19 Honduran speakers residing in Baton Rouge, Louisiana were interviewed, and their spontaneous speech was transcribed and analyzed for discourse marker usage and function. I found five different functions of the consecutive connector *entonces* which comprised three separate meanings, three functions of *así* with two semantic meanings, and finally two consecutive functions of *pues* with one shared meaning. I also have observed potential effects of English discourse marker borrowings on the usage of Spanish markers among this corpus. This thesis reveals interesting implications of the usage of consecutive connectors in a sample of Honduran speech in a situation of English contact, and opens the doors for further research on discourse markers in the United States.

1. INTRODUCTION

Discourse analysis has become more and more integrated into linguistics and specifically the field of pragmatics during the last few decades, and because of this numerous researchers have turned their focus to phenomena that have proven to be difficult to explain within the traditional confines of the field (Schwenter, 1996). Many linguists now look beyond the sentence level to larger connected pieces of text, as well as to other contextual elements such as shared background knowledge, in order to reconstruct how speakers use and interpret language (Fraser, 1990; Schwenter, 1996; Matras, 1998; Schourup, 1999; Travis, 2005; among others). Discourse elements previously ignored (Schwenter, 1996) as performance anomalies (such as pauses or fillers) are now recognized to play important functions in the flow of discourse. One set of such elements is referred to in the literature as discourse markers (henceforth referred to as DMs). This thesis will address the question of DM usage and function among a group of Honduran Spanish speakers who reside in Louisiana in an environment of English language contact. It seeks to descriptively outline the pragmatic functions of the markers *entonces*, *así* and *pues,* and to identify the meanings underlying these functions in informal conversation.

Since the 1980s and particularly in the last two decades, interest in DMs has increased exponentially with rising interest in the production and comprehension of extended discourse and, on a more general level, in pragmatic and contextual aspects of utterance interpretation (Schourup, 1999: 228). This broadening of interest has brought increased attention to elements of linguistic structure that seem to be most directly involved in relating separate utterances. Through this new

perspective, many elements that were previously sidelined in sentence-based linguistic research are now more readily and extensively studied. Exploration of DMs has become more and more abundant in both written and spoken registers of a variety of languages (Garcés Gómez, 1994; Schwenter, 1996; Domínguez García, 2002; etc.). Research on DMs has continued to expand and such items now appear prominently in pragmatic and discourse analytic research (Domínguez García, 2002; Brody, 2010; King, 2011; among others), in studies of language acquisition and language pedagogy (Corral Esteve, 2011), and in research on sociolinguistic topics from code-switching to gender variation (Hernández and Baldazo, 2013).

While DMs are certainly not a newly discovered linguistic entity, serious systematic research of markers did not appear until the 1980s. Levinson (1983) was one of the first to suggest that DMs as a group might be considered worth study, and research multiplied from there. Schourup (1985) is credited as the first to attempt to research DMs, closely followed by Schiffrin (1987), Blakemore (1987), and Fraser (1990). Research efforts expanded and diverged from there, and DMs became a widely and diversely studied phenomenon. Spanish DMs have also been studied somewhat extensively in the last two decades (Schwenter, 1996; Montes, 1999; Domínguez García, 2002; King, 2011), as we will see in the next chapter along with more information on the history of DM research and defining these markers.

Unsurprisingly, for an area where interest has become so widely based, DMs have been explored within a large number of frameworks reflecting deviating research interests, methods and goals (Schourup, 1999). With the variety of approaches have come inevitable disputes concerning classification and function.

These disputes have become more prominent in recent years as DMs have come to be seen not only as an underexplored aspect of language behavior but as a testing ground for ideas and hypotheses concerning the boundary between pragmatics and semantics and for the many theories of discourse structure and utterance interpretation (Schourup, 1999: 228). This thesis integrates pragmatics and semantics in analyzing DM functions and meanings in informal speech, and will rely on a previously established classification system that has widely been acknowledged and cited.

The aim of this thesis is to identify the conversational conditions under which a set of discourse markers is used in Honduran Spanish and to determine and explicate the meanings and functions of these markers. As noted above, the DMs analyzed in this investigation are *entonces* (generally translated as English 'so', 'then'), *así* ('thus', 'so') , and *pues* ('well', 'so', 'then'). It will be demonstrated that each DM plays an important role in discourse organization, as well as an interactional role in speaker-hearer negotiation. These three markers are a part of a category of DMs that are widely called consecutive connectors (Martín Zorraquino and Portolés Lázaro, 1999; Domínguez García, 2002; Corral Esteve, 2011), and they comprise an integral and substantial portion of the group of markers used in spoken Spanish discourse. This study is the first to analyze a corpus of Hondurans residing in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. Studies on Honduran Spanish are scarce, and studies of Spanish DMs in a situation of English language contact are also somewhat rare (Aaron, 2004; Torres and Potowski, 2008). For this reason, this study will offer new

insight to the field and will contribute valuable information for the discourse analysis of Spanish markers.

In the following chapter, I discuss the literature available on the topic of Spanish markers and the consecutive connectors *entonces*, *así* and *pues*. I begin with a general discussion of discourse markers, which leads into background on Spanish markers and consecutive connectors, followed by literature on the three connectors that I focus on in this study and ending with a brief introduction to language contact and its effects on discourse marker usage as well as general information on Spanish in the United States. Chapter 3 discusses the methodology employed by the study, including a description of the community, corpus, data collection, and research questions. The results (Chapter 4) will analyze three main topics: the frequencies of markers found in this Spanish corpus (consecutive connectors in particular), how the markers *entonces*, *así* and pues function in the data, and whether or not an effect of English contact exists in the usage of the Spanish markers being studied. Finally, I will conclude with a summary of my findings and suggestions for future studies.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

This literature review will offer an overview and definitions of DMs, classify Spanish consecutive connectors, discuss the DMs *entonces, así* and *pues* in some depth, and briefly mention DMs in contact with other languages (notably Spanish in contact with English in the United States) due to the nature of the corpus. Discourse markers have undergone more intense study among linguists in the recent past, and research on Spanish DMs has been increasing significantly in the last two decades (Schwenter, 1996; Aaron, 2004; Lipski, 2005; Torres and Potowski, 2008; King, 2011; Corral Esteve, 2011; among others). Defining the concept of a discourse marker and how to analyze it is not a simple matter and is disputed amongst researchers, but this study will mention several definitions of DMs and will use a working definition from Martín Zorraquino and Portolés Lázaro (1999), whose influential study will serve as a basis for classifying and analyzing consecutive connectors.

2.1 DMs and Consecutive Connectors

2.1.1 Definitions, Study and Classifications

Until linguists began to look beyond the domain of a sentence and examine spoken language more closely, expressions such as *like, you know,* and *well* were widely considered meaningless, only serving to fill a pause until a speaker found his or her next utterance. Spanish DMs were overlooked as well, assumed to have no meaning and no real purpose. The Spanish word for such meaningless words, *muletilla* (translated as "little crutch"), reflects the continued perception of the role of these words as meaningless and functionless support devices (Travis, 2005: 1).

Though today DMs are recognized as having meaning at the level of discourse (Myers-Scotton, 2002: 70), they are easily underestimated and hard to define and classify. Travis (2005) attributes this negative evaluation and difficulty in sorting to the fact that DMs are independent from the core syntactic structure of the utterances in which they occur and do not add to the referential content of that utterance, and therefore seem optional and unnecessary. However, more and more studies have begun to contemplate the importance of DMs within utterances and support the notion that they have pragmatic (and sometimes semantic) value, which makes them invaluable in speech.

Robin Lakoff (1973) was one of the pioneers of the notion that these words may not just be fillers after all. She argues that "these particles are not randomly assigned to sentences, but are appropriately used only under precise and well-defined conversational conventions" (Lakoff, 1973: 462). Over a decade later, Schiffrin (1987) presented the first in-depth analysis of a set of DMs in spontaneous discourse and showed that interactional and textual concerns govern the use of these markers. Today the study of DMs has become more and more common and is approached in various ways, and recent analyses have led to many new insights on these previously misunderstood forms (Travis, 2005, for example).

Despite more general acknowledgement that DMs serve a purpose within utterances, the definition of a DM itself is disputed among researchers. Even the term *discourse marker* is not completely uniform. Discourse markers are also known by a variety of other names such as *muletillas* (as we have already seen) in work on Spanish, *discourse particles, discourse operators, utterance modifiers, pragmatic*

markers, and *connectives* (Schourup, 1999; King, 2011). In fact, Brinton (1996) lists more than twenty terms for DMs. The term is highly debated, but this thesis will henceforth refer to these items as DMs due to its narrower range of reference and more precise attempts at definition (Schourup, 1999).

Torres and Potowski offer a basic level definition of DMs, calling them "particles that contribute to the overall coherence of discourse by signaling relationships across utterances" (2008: 263). Similarly, for Fraser a DM is "an expression which signals the relationship of the basic message to the foregoing message" (1996: 186). Schiffrin operationally defines DMs as "sequentially dependent elements which bracket units of talk" (1987: 31) and specifies that the beginning of one unit is the end of another. In other words, DMs connect different statements and their sequence falls between those two units. Meanwhile, Hansen defines them as "linguistic items of variable scope, and whose primary function is connective" (1998: 160). All of these definitions have similarities, but they also differ in various ways. For example, these definitions all consider connectivity to be a necessary characteristic, but conceive of it in different ways (such as how many units are required for connectivity). However, this paper will use a working definition from the Real Academia Española's *Gramática de la lengua española*. For Martín Zorraquino and Portolés Lázaro, DMs are:

> Unidades lingüísticas invariables -no ejercen una función sintáctica en el marco de la predicación oracional -son pues, elementos marginales- y poseen un cometido coincidente en el discurso: el de guiar, de acuerdo con sus distintas propiedades morfosintácticas, semánticas y pragmáticas, las inferencias que se realizan en la comunicación. (1999: 4057)

This definition is more complete than most and does not raise many theoretical concerns. It also portrays the variation present among Spanish DMs effectively (as argued by King, 2011) and allows markers to be distinguished from one another based on the types of relationships they connect. Thus, this model has been adopted as the working definition for analysis for this study. However, there are more concerns about DMs than just the specific definition. For example, DMs are frequently claimed to be optional in two distinct senses (Schorup, 1999: 231): First, they are widely regarded as syntactically optional in the sense that removing a DM from an utterance does not alter the grammaticality of the host sentence (Fraser, 1988: 22). They also, arguably, do not necessarily further the semantic relationship between the utterances that they connect (Schourup, 1999: 231), and therefore omitting the DM still allows the hearer to signal a relationship even if it is not explicitly cued. For example, the following two sentences are understood in roughly the same way:

(1) She is going to the store. **However**, I am going to school.

(2) She is going to the store. I am going to school.

Even if DMs are optional, however, very few researchers would consider them useless or redundant (Schourup, 1999). Recent studies claim that omitting DMs can negatively affect the flow of the conversation (Brinton, 1996; Svartvik, 1979) or misconstrue a speaker's meaning (Brinton, 1996), thereby making DMs a necessary part of certain utterances. Discourse markers are indeed essential for a smooth interaction (Schourup, 1999: 231), and a speaker cannot simply slot a marker in whenever they might need to organize their thoughts. For Jucker and Smith (1998),

DMs also serve as a type of cue that conversationalists use to negotiate their common ground, which also adds importance to the role of DMs in smooth interactions. DMs follow patterns and serve their own unique purposes, as will be discussed throughout the rest of this chapter.

Classifying DMs is generally very difficult since "any one marker may have a wide variety of meanings which overlap with the meanings of other markers" (Brinton 1990: 48). Firstly, DMs are multifunctional and can operate at a discourse, grammatical, or lexical level (Schiffrin, 1987). Many authors support the notion that DMs tend to have one basic primary function while also having potential secondary functions, some of which may not be classified as DM usages (Schiffrin, 1987; King, 2011; among others). However, classifying these DMs into particular categories requires simplifying their functions and is no easy task. To remedy this, this study will use one of the most thorough and accepted classification systems for markers in Spanish: the model that comes from Martín Zorraquino and Portolés Lázaro's (1999) *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española.* Most importantly, this thesis will use the category that this model calls the *consecutive connectors*, which will be outlined and described in an upcoming section.

2.1.2 Semantics, Pragmatics and Polysemy

Through the beginning of the 2000s and even today, DMs have been widely assumed to be pragmatic devices that gain meaning from their context, which implies that their meaning cannot be exhaustively defined (Travis, 2005). Most studies on DMs take a pragmatic approach to the markers, where the context and function are identified but the meaning they carry is either not described or is

described in loose or very technical terms. Pragmatics, the study of language use in context, is largely considered an autonomous branch of linguistics that has little or nothing to do with semantics (Wong, 2007). However, Wong also points out that it seems a bit counterintuitive to attempt to comprehend language use without at the same time trying to understand what it means. This begs the question: Is studying DMs in a solely pragmatic context sufficient?

Several researchers have diverged from the pragmatic assumption and have attempted to semantically describe DMs (Fischer, 2000; Blakemore, 2002; Aaron, 2004; Travis, 2005). Travis attempts to demonstrate that "the pragmatic use of discourse markers under consideration is semantically driven: the use of discourse markers is determined by their inherent meanings, which interacts with context-driven features to give rise to different pragmatic functions" (2005: 2). She attempts to study DMs semantically rather than solely pragmatically, as have a few others (Blakemore, 2002; Aaron, 2004; among others). In her introduction to discourse markers, Blakemore states that discourse markers "are regarded as central to semantics because they raise problems for standard theories of meaning, and to pragmatics because they seem to play a role in the way discourse is understood" (2002: i).

In other words, the difference between a pragmatic approach and a semantic approach to the study of DMs is that pragmatic approaches attempt to identify the functions with which markers are used and semantic approaches attempt to identify the meaning associated with those functions. I maintain that both pragmatic and semantic meaning are important in analyzing DMs and, while the two intertwine

frequently since function and meaning have obvious overlaps, both contribute viewpoints from their respective perspectives and are relevant and necessary in order to analyze the particulars of markers of discourse. Thus, this study will intertwine both pragmatic functions and semantic meanings in its analysis.

In some of the first studies of DMs with a semantic approach, Fischer (2000a, 2000b) argues that interaction between an invariant semantic core and the context of occurrence leads to a result of multifunctionality among DMs. This notion of multifunctionality is also referred to from a semantic perspective as *polysemy*. Polysemy is defined as the coexistence of many possible meanings for a word or phrase (Fischer, 2000a), in this case different meanings for each DM examined in this corpus. Polysemy among DMs gives rise to two particular questions: Whether the relationship between the marker and non-marker forms are polysemous or homonymous, and if the relationship of the meanings of the various DM uses represent polysemy of generality of meaning (Travis, 2005: 4). While this thesis does not debate these questions about the degree of polysemy among these DMs, I acknowledge the premise that the three DMs studied here all have varying degrees of multifunctionality and polysemy. The analysis of the uses of these three DMs, and what functions and meanings arise from their uses in the conversations, will allow more insight into this notion.

2.1.3 Consecutive Connectors

As mentioned in the previous section, the classification system that this study will follow comes from the *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española* (Martín Zorraquino and Portolés Lázaro, 1999), a complete and descriptive study classifying

Spanish DMs based on their functions within discourse. Consecutive connectors are defined by *La gramática descriptiva* as those that present "el miembro de discurso en el que se encuentran como una consecuencia de un miembro anterior" (Martín Zorraquino and Portolés Lázaro, 1999: 4099). As a rule, consecutive connectors may not contradict or oppose the preceding statement but rather must complement it (Domínguez García, 2002). There are 10 consecutive connectors mentioned by this work. *Pues* and *así pues* are limited to demonstrating something as a consequence of a previous utterance. *Por tanto, por consiguiente, por ende*, and *de ahí* base their passage from an antecedent to a consecuence on reasoning. With *en consecuencia* and *de resultas,* the DM is a state in which one utterance is produced by another state of utterance. Finally, *así* and *entonces* are the least limited consecutive connectors that serve a variety of pragmatic functions and can occur in any part of the utterance (Martín Zorraquino and Portolés Lázaro, 1999: 4099).

Apart from Martín Zorraquino and Portolés Lázaro, many other studies recognize connectors and consecutive connectors as a definite category of classifying DMs (Domínguez García, 2002, 2007; Corral Esteve, 2011; among others). Connectives are a particular kind of DMs which function to link argumentatively the different parts of discourse (Domínguez García 2002: 6). Domínguez García even takes the consecutive connectors classification a step further and creates subdivisions within this category of DMs. With this system, *entonces, pues,* and *así* all fall under the subclass of polyvalent consecutive connectors (Domínguez García, 2002: 442). In fact, the only other DMs in the category according to Domínguez García are *así pues* and *de este modo.* These

polyvalent consecutive connectors are named for their varied meanings and multifunctionality. Domínguez García describes the importance and usefulness of these polyvalent consecutive connectors when she states "Queda demostrada así, la utilidad de este tipo de conectores polivalentes en discursos que tienen que ser necesariamente breves por exigencias editoriales y que, por lo tanto, tienen que ofrecer mucha información en poco espacio" (2002: 457). In addition to their role of relating clauses to previous clauses in a consecutive manner, these polyvalent DMs can also serve as argumentative (counterargumentative or exemplary), reformulative (summary) or metadiscursive (continuative) (Domínguez García, 2002: 442). These meanings coexist with the expression of consequence, but sometimes are ignored since consequence is the apparent main function of these markers. For this reason, this study will examine the polyfunctionality of these three DMs and examine all of their known meanings.

Consecutive connectors tend to occur very frequently in spontaneous speech. For example, Jørgensen and Martínez (2007) examine the speech of youth in Madrid and found 956 uses of consecutive connectors in their speech out of a 250,000-word corpus, more than any other category of DMs. 272 cases of *entonces* were found, 310 examples of *así*, and 317 uses of *pues,* which is a very high frequency of these DMs. A few cases of *así pues* and *así que* were also found in the category, but all other DMs categorized as consecutive connectors were absent from this corpus of Spanish youth.

2.2 *Entonces, Así* and *Pues*

2.2.1 *Entonces*

Entonces, the main discourse marker that will be analyzed in this paper, derives from what was originally a temporal adverb meaning "at that time" (Travis, 2005: 171). It is the most fluid of this group of connectors and can be used in the largest variety of contexts. Additionally, it is not required to be located in any specific part of an utterance (Martín Zorraquino and Portolés Lázaro, 1999); however, it occurs most frequently at the beginning of a discourse member (Corral Esteve, 2011). It is almost unanimously agreed upon as a connector (Pons Bordería, 1998), and although it is a very frequently occurring DM the research on *entonces* is relatively scarce. This section will be dedicated to describing the studies that do exist which, though few, are fortunately very descriptive.

This DM has evolved over time from a temporal use, to a temporal and causal (consecutive) use, to a purely causal use (Travis, 2005: 175). While the temporal use remains an important function, Travis argues, it has a "marginal role in spontaneous conversation, where the discourse markings of *entonces* have taken over" (Travis, 2005: 175). Even as a DM, *entonces* maintains a weak sense of temporality. In fact, Domínguez (2007) argues that it is often very difficult to distinguish between *entonces* as a temporal organizer and as a consecutive connector. As a consecutive connector, the number of occurrences found in speech is very high, which seems to illustrate its polyfunctionality while allowing speakers to express themselves without using a more specific marker (Corral Esteve, 2011: 213).

In an essay about linguistic concerns of clichés and "*muletillas*", sociologist Amando de Miguel refers to the use of *entonces* in this way:

> En la misma línea de verboides empalagosos tenemos los *entonces* con los que ahora es corriente salpicar la conversación y hasta los escritos más trascendentales. No me refiero a su función como adverbio, perfectamente legítima. Los *entonces* que ahora privan no se refieren a un tiempo determinado, ni a una consecuencia de nada. Son simples exclamaciones de autocomplacencia. (1994: 111)

While the "exclamación de autocomplacencia" is a stretch with which most would disagree (Cortés Rodríguez, 1991: 89), this statement is a testimony to the vitality of *entonces* as a discourse marker. In fact, it is one of the most widely used DMs and has become increasingly popular among Spanish speaking youth (Cortés Rodríguez, 1991). *Entonces* has shown several innovative uses as a conclusive DM and, as mentioned before, not as a temporal adverb.

The functional analysis of *entonces* in this paper will be based on Travis' (2005) five-part definition of the DM (all five separate yet interrelated meanings fall under the scope of the *Gramática española* characterization of consecutive connectors): "to introduce a result, highlight a main clause, introduce a response based on prior information, close a response, and indicate progression" (as summarized by Torres and Potowski, 2008: 267). In other words, Travis establishes three core meanings: to mark a result, mark a conclusion, or indicate progression. Departing from previous studies that examine only the function of DMs and assume that they lack semantic content (Schiffrin, 1987; Fraser 1996; etc), Travis seeks to identify the meaning of these markers by studying the conditions under which they appear in conversations among Colombians. *Entonces* appears most frequently in colloquial use, marking an advance in conversation with the introduction of new

ideas starting from a general topic or where one speaker introduces a point that follows from the information given by another person (Martí Sánchez, 2008). Corral Esteve (2011) argues that this frequency in colloquial use is due to the fact that *entonces* is the least restrictive connector and can be used in a variety of situations, even if another DM may be more specifically adequate in the situation.

According to Aaron (2004), the DM *entonces* has two non-discourse marker uses where it functions as a different part of speech: as a temporally deictic noun (en ese *entonces* íbamos mucho a la playa) or a temporal adverb (tienes que ir a la escuela y *entonces* a la biblioteca). In other words, *entonces* can function as a DM or can function as a temporal marker. Both Travis (2005) and Torres and Potowski (2008) find that the DM functions of *entonces* are much more frequent than its temporal function. Therefore, in the present study I will look for any cases of non-DM uses of *entonces,* but I do not expect to find many occurrences since it has largely taken over as a connective marker.

2.2.2 *Así*

After *entonce*s, the connector *así* is the next least restricted DM in the category (Martín Zorraquino and Portolés Lázaro, 1999). *Así*, originally an adverb, can be expressed as a DM in many contexts. It can be realized as an illustration of a previous word or as a conclusion. The functions of *así* as a DM can be divided into two groups, as explained in Corral Esteve (2011: 207):

(a) Ejemplificación, ilustrando lo anterior, por lo que frecuentemente aparece acompañado del operador discursivo *por ejemplo.*

(b) Conclusión, consecuencia determinada por una circunstancia anteriormente presentada por su capacidad anafórica como adverbio modal. Dicha circunstancia vendrá determinada por el contexto y sus funciones podrán ser variadas: condición, finalidad, causa, manera. A veces, el miembro introducido por así podrá explicitarse a través de un inciso.

The morphosyntactic characteristics of *así* are very fluid, and while it is frequently followed by a pause, no restrictions are obligatory (Corral Esteve, 2011: 207). Corral Esteve also notes that *así* can often be accompanied by *y* or *porque* in discourse. Domínguez García (2007) states that the consecutive function is the most common use of *así,* that this DM is generally subjective, and also that it can present itself with secondary uses such as condition or exemplification. Corral Esteve (2011) also found the consecutive value to appear most commonly in her corpus. *Así* also has another less common use as a metadiscursive conclusion or summation if it appears in the last sentences of a text (Corral Esteve, 2011). Finally, Domínguez García (2002) categorizes occurrences of *así* as consecutive/conditional and exemplary.

Silva Fernandes (2005) finds that *así* is a very commonly occurring DM, and relates it directly with *assim,* a Portuguese DM that appears frequently in discourse. This DM is frequent in colloquial speech, but it is also somewhat common in written registers as well. For example, Domínguez García (2002) finds that *así* occurred the most of the polyvalent consecutive connectors (previously described) in her written corpus with 22 occurrences (as compared to 7 instances of *entonces* and 9 of *pues*).

In addition to its functions that fall under the scope of a consecutive connector, *así* also has other connective functions that are not consecutive. This includes its original modal value (Domínguez García, 2002: 444), which is sometimes not consecutive. To illustrate the difference between *así* as consecutive and non-consecutive, I introduce an example from the corpus of Domínguez García, (2002: 297):

> Y ahora puedo conocer cómo han tratado a otros. **Así** es imposible que los ciudadanos y ciudadanas confíen en la justicia y crean eso tan repetidamente dicho de que Hacienda somos todos. **Así**, si al final se confirman los hechos podremos poner una piedra más en el río de desastres que los socialistas fueron capaces de construir. ¡Qué fácil se lo han puesto a la derecha!

The first case of *así* used in this example returns to the origins of the word *así* with a modal function: "*de esta manera*". It could possibly have a weak consecutive value but any other consecutive connector cannot replace it, which leads Domínguez García (and me) to believe that it is not an instance of a consecutive connector. Interestingly though, if that same phrase were instead "**Así,** es imposible que los ciudadanos y ciudadanas confíen en la justicia y crean eso tan repetidamente dicho de que Hacienda somos todos" with a pause following the use of *así*, there may be a stronger argument for a consecutive value. The second case of *así* in the example, which is followed by a comma, can easily be replaced by another consecutive connector (such as *en consecuencia*) without changing the meaning of the statement and also is accompanied by a pause, and therefore it is a clear example of *así* as a consecutive connector.

2.2.3 *Pues*

The DM *pues* derives from a causal conjunction, which originates from a temporal adverb meaning "after" (Travis, 2005). The temporal use has been completely lost in contemporary Spanish, and the causal conjunction form of *pues* exists in certain registers like written language but is rare in conversation. As a DM, *pues* maintains a notion of causality but is not considered a conjunction. Instead, *pues* as a DM functions in a variety of ways.

Pues is widely cited as being the most frequently studied Spanish marker (Portolés, 1989; Travis, 2005; King, 2011; etc.). In contemporary Spanish, *pues* can be used as a causal conjunction, a consecutive connector (as this study will focus on), or a comment marker (Martín Zorraquino and Portolés Lázaro ,1999: 4083). Some have argued that *pues* can also serve as a *conjunción adversativa* (Portolés, 1989; Mariner Bigorra, 1981), but most of the literature agrees that the majority of uses of this DM fall under the categories of either causal or consecutive (Domínguez García, 2007; Corral Esteve, 2011). *La Gramática* situates *pues* within causal and consecutive coordination, while *el Esbozo de la Academia* (1973) considers it to be a subordinate causal conjunction and a consecutive coordinate. An example of the different causal and consecutive functions is illustrated in the *Gramática*:

> Si digo: sufre la pena, PUES cometiste la culpa, indico en la segunda oración la causa de lo que afirmo en la primera: y si invierto el orden y digo: tú cometiste la culpa; sufre, PUES, la pena, enuncio la segunda como consecuencia de lo que afirmo en la primera. De modo que la conjunción coordinativa *pues* tiene el doble carácter de causal y consecutiva. Como causal indica la causa lógica o la razón de lo que se afirma en la primera de las dos oraciones que une, y como consecuencia denota que la segunda de las oraciones se expresa como efecto lógico de la primera. (309)

While these two functions of *pues* are described and frequently found in Spanish speech, this paper will distinguish and examine only those that meet the second classification: that of consecutive connector. King describes the use of *pues* as a consecutive connector, stating that it "refers to a prior element of discourse and presents the clause in which it is found as its consequence" (2011: 650). *Pues* as a consecutive connector follows two special morphosyntactic characteristics: it avoids the initial position of a discourse and follows a pause (Corral Esteve, 2011: 197). This DM has also been found to occur much less frequently as a consecutive connector, instead favoring its function as a comment marker. For example, King found a high number of comment marker functions of *pues* but only 16 examples (14 percent of the uses) of the DM used in a consecutive context (2011: 653).

Other studies (Domínguez García, 2007; Corral Esteve, 2011; etc.) distinguish the functions of *pues* when the DM is stressed versus unstressed. An unstressed *pues* appears in initial position without a pause, and *pues* in a stressed position is delivered as a sub-clause or in final position following a pause (Corral Esteve, 2011: 198). In other words, for *pues* to qualify as a consecutive connector according to the parameters set by Martín Zorraquino and Portolés Lázaro, it must be found in a stressed position. Interestingly, Corral Esteve (2011) agrees that *pues* in a stressed position almost exclusively functions as a consecutive connector, but also states that *pues* in an unstressed position expresses a deductive consequence and is more similar to the functions of *entonces* and *así* (198). Several others reject unstressed occurrences of *pues* as well (Fuentes Rodríguez, 1987: 141; Álvarez Menéndez, 1991:307-317; Martínez, 1997:54; Hernando Cuadrado, 1994: 45-47). This paper

will seek to evaluate the stressed or non-stressed positions of *pues* to further examine this notion.

Portolés (1989) mentions in his analysis of the connector *pues* that it shares many functional similarities with *entonces,* though he notes some intriguing differences. He states that "Se puede deducir, por todo ello, que *entonces* debe hacer referencia para su uso correcto a un enunciado emitido por un enunciador que no se pueda identificar con el locutor, mientras que *pues*, no" (1989: 128). He also mentions that *entonces* may appear as a temporal adverb while *pues* does not, and also that *entonces* refers to the immediate while *pues* does not necessarily specify a time. *Pues* and *entonces* share functional similarities though *entonces* is less restricted and only appears as a connector while *pues* can fill other DM functions that do not fit into the classification of consecutive connector. Thus, *pues* will need to be approached carefully in this discourse analysis.

2.3 Language Contact

The role of discourse markers in language contact has also been a recent topic of interest in linguistic and anthropological studies. Early studies of language contact believed that function words such as DMs were less likely to be borrowed between languages than content words such as nouns and verbs (Haugen, 1950; Weinreich, 1968). However, more recent research finds a high frequency of bilingual discourse markers in contact language varieties and now considers DMs to be the most highly transferable words (Matras, 2000; Brody, in press). In the words of Matras (1998: 282), DMs are "at the very top of the borrowability hierarchy in

situations of conventional, interactional language contact", which articulates this reversal in consideration.

Aaron (2004) maintains that there are two prevalent hypotheses in the study of DMs in bilingual speech. First, she states that semantically similar discourse markers develop specialized discourse functions and are maintained in complimentary distribution, or that native and second language DMs are in variation and either co-exist or the non-native DM eventually replaces the native one. The second hypothesis argues that non-native discourse markers can trigger language shifts (Aaron, 2004: 163). These hypotheses yield three possible outcomes: "(1) The two sets of discourse markers will coexist, (2) Similar markers from each language will acquire differentiated meanings, or (3) The markers from one language may replace those of the other language" (Torres and Potowski, 2008: 264).

The first of these outcomes, the coexistence of DMs, has been reported by Hill and Hill (1986) and Brody (1987). These studies note that in many cases of contact between Spanish and indigenous languages, Spanish markers and indigenous markers of similar meaning co-occur in the language. Brody (1995) finds that in Tojolab'al Mayan, Spanish DMs sometimes appear alone or as part of a group of bilingual markers. She also argues that Spanish borrowed DMs are not usually in complementary distribution with native markers, but markers from both languages seem to fulfill similar roles. The Spanish DMs do not fill a gap, but rather coexist with a closely related native marker and possibly serve to emphasize or highlight a point in the native text.

Other studies question whether or not two bilingual discourse systems can co-exist indefinitely, and argue for the second possible outcome mentioned that in a state of stable bilingualism, DMs could eventually acquire differentiated functions. Solomon (1995) contends that this outcome is most likely, and uses a close analysis of *entonces* in Yucatec narratives to provide evidence for her stance. She contends that once local and global functions of DMs are identified, differentiated functions might become apparent. Similarly, Fuller (2001) contends that "the use of bilingual markers without a complementary distribution of functions does not bode well for maintenance of the subordinate language, and agrees that only when doublets assume different functions can both discourse marking systems survive" (as explained by Torres and Potowski, 2008: 265).

Finally, a third possible outcome for markers in language contact situations exists in DM research. These researchers suggest a process in which DMs begin in a state of co-existence and proceed until one set of bilingual markers is partially or completely replaced (de Rooji, 2000; Goss and Salmons, 2000; Hlavac, 2006; among others). De Rooji (2000) examines French discourse markers in Shaba Swahili conversations and notes that French DMs are taking over Shaba Swahili markers. Hlavac (2006) articulates how English markers are replacing Croatian markers among English-Croatian bilinguals in Australia. He finds that the two language forms co-occur overall, but English DMs that perform more than one function are replacing Croatian DMs that have fewer functions. Both of these studies find partial replacement of the less salient language DMs, and Goss and Salmons (2000) even discuss a case of complete replacement of a discourse marking system. They study

Texas German varieties in contact with English, and find that English DMs enter German speech through code switching and coexist for a time but eventually completely replace German markers in the speech of bilinguals. All three of these outcomes illustrate that language contact has a profound effect on DM usage, and studies on speakers in language contact situations such as this one need to keep these important possibilities in mind.

Another possible explanation for why DMs may be borrowed from one language to another comes from Matras (1998). In his analysis, Matras argues that bilinguals, when faced with the tension of choosing among systems, are tempted to reduce certain directing phrases to just one set of elements. In this case, preference is given to the pragmatically dominant language. Thus, contact-related change among DMs is not due to lack of equivalent functions nor the prestige of the non-dominant language, but rather the cognitive pressure exerted on the speaker to draw on the resources of the pragmatically dominant language for discourse-regulating purposes. In other words, in the case of this corpus English DMs would be expected to sometimes have preference over Spanish DMs, simply because English is the dominant language in the United States and the bilingual speakers have grown accustomed to regulating their discourse using English words.

Though not exhaustively investigated, the issue of discourse markers in Spanish bilingual speech has been explored. For example, Aaron (2004) examines the DMs "so" and "*entonces*" among Spanish-English bilinguals in New Mexico and compared the pragmatic functions of each. Torres (2002) examines English-origin discourse markers in Puerto Rican Spanish and the overlap of DMs between English

and Spanish. Brody (1987, 1995) attests to the borrowings of Spanish DMs into indigenous American languages, while Solomon (1995) studies discourse functions of *entonces* and a semantically similar Yucatec Maya term. In spite of the fact that all of these studies focus on borrowing within Spanish and another contact language, none explicitly examine the effect of language contact on native language DMs in their own discourse.

While many English discourse markers, including several consecutive connectors, were found in the present Honduran corpus, English DMs will not be studied here, and the focus remains on the Spanish DMs previously mentioned. Thus, while the community studied is a bilingual community and all of the speakers live in situations of English contact, the only potential effect on Spanish DMs would be a reduced number of uses due to a possible replacement of Spanish DMs as English markers such saying *so* instead of *entonces*, as in the following examples from the present corpus:

(3) Es un proceso ***so*** no hemos ido desde que, desde que llegamos.

(4) He probado la comida de de otros lugares y no me gustó tanto porque no tienen sabor, ***so*** me ha acostumbrado más a la comida de aquí porque tiene mucha sabor.

In fact, Torres and Potowski (2008) found a frequent usage of *so* at the expense of *entonces* in Chicago Mexican, Puerto Rican and MexiRican speech, particularly among bilinguals with lower Spanish proficiency. While these effects will not be examined extensively in this study, it is important to keep in mind that the data in this corpus emerges from a situation of language contact and that borrowings of

English DMs may be prevalent. English does have potential effects on discourse, even if it has not been studied often within the context of Spanish DMs.

2.3.1 The Effects of Language Contact on DM Usage in United States Spanish

Finally, a brief background on Spanish in the United States is beneficial in understanding this corpus of Hondurans in Louisiana. After English, Spanish is the most commonly spoken language in the United States, and its speakers represent the fastest growing language minority in the country (Lipski, 2008: 1). On a worldwide scale, the United States is home to the second largest Spanish-speaking population. Though Spanish is not an official language of the country, it has a commanding presence in the United States.

Studying the demographics of Spanish speakers in the United States is complicated due to the ever changing population, return migration to countries of origin, underrepresentation in census counts, and undocumented members of the Spanish-speaking population that are difficult to contact or study (Lipski, 2008: 5). Moreover, there are apparent paradoxes that this data embody. On one hand, the total number of Spanish speakers in the United States is steadily growing, especially in urban areas of the Southwest, in southern Florida, and in New York City (Lipski, 2008). On the other hand, the retention of Spanish by U.S. born speakers is at an all time low in many communities. Spanish speakers are hard to track demographically, and also linguistically. Thus, the topic of Spanish in the United States is complicated.

Despite its complications, the bibliography of research on the Spanish language in the United States is large and growing rapidly, and patterns have emerged throughout the twentieth century and today (Lipski, 2008). Lipski outlines

this journey through the research milestones of scholarly writing about U.S. Spanish, connecting this research to the social history of the United States during the last two centuries. This extensive background is not necessary for the current research, but it is beneficial to note that linguistic scholarship on U.S. Spanish is a twentieth-century phenomenon, that writings on the topic appear in all media ranging from magazines and newspapers to descriptive novels, and that studies on specific varieties of Spanish dialects have become very popular in recent decades (Lipski, 2000, 2008). Honduran Spanish in the United States, which is grouped with other Central American dialects, is a lesser studied variety but has been the object of a few notable studies, which I will now briefly discuss.

The bibliography on Central American varieties of Spanish in the United States is quite small. Peñalosa (1984) is an early study on Guatemalans and Salvadorans in Los Angeles, with a brief discussion of their dialects but no mention of these Spanish varieties in the multilingual Los Angeles setting. Lipski (1985) discusses the variable pronunciation of final /s/ in Central American dialects in the U.S., attributing this to contact with other Spanish dialects in the United States. A comparison of Central American and Mexican American varieties in the U.S. setting can be found in Lipski (1988). Varela (1998) actually mentions Louisiana in her study of Central American Spanish in New Orleans. Finally, Lipski (2000, 2008) offers an overview of the linguistic situation of Central Americans in the United States. However, Honduran Spanish in the U.S. is very rarely isolated or highlighted and is an understudied language variety.

Through this state of contact between English and Spanish in the United States, several contact issues have arisen. Many Latinos living in the United States use English more frequently than Spanish, and almost all receive formal education in English and not in Spanish. When two languages come together for sustained periods of time, fluent bilinguals inevitably engage in contact induced speech phenomena. Lipski (2008) outlines three different phenomena: borrowing of words, transfer of translated idiomatic expressions (calques) and tilting word order patterns to make patterns in both languages more convergent, and finally code-switching (Lipski, 2008: 223). While borrowing requires a minimal amount of proficiency in the non-native language, calques and word tilting require a higher level of bilingual proficiency, and code-switching requires a fairly fluent bilingual speaker. For the sake of this thesis, I only look at borrowing since DM switches fall under this category. For this reason, the level of bilingualism among speakers could be at a minimum and this phenomenon could still occur, and thus measuring levels of bilingualism for the participants in this thesis is unnecessary.

Within the United States, the tendency of Spanish speakers to use English borrowings is strong. Although there is no single U.S. dialect of Spanish (Lipski, 2008: 225), most varieties of Spanish in the United States can be distinguished from the dialects from which they derive. This distinction is principally seen through a higher frequency of Anglicisms in the speech of Latinos living for extended periods of time with English contact. English words continue to permeate Spanish in the United States, and since discourse markers are so easily transferred it stands to reason that there may be a high frequency of English DM borrowings in the corpus

among participants that were raised in the United States or have lived here for an extended period of time. My approach to examining potential language contact effects will be described in the next chapter, where I will outline the methodology used in this study. I will begin by describing the community examined in this thesis, follow with an explanation of the corpus and how data has been gathered for study, and finally outline the research questions that this study focuses on.

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1 Community

Honduras is located in Central America, sharing borders with Guatemala and El Salvador to the west and Nicaragua to the east. It also shares a large border with the Caribbean Sea to its north and a small border with the Gulf of Fonseca (North Pacific Ocean) to the south. The size of Honduras is relatively small, slightly larger than the state of Tennessee. According to the CIA world fact book, the population of Honduras is roughly 9 million, with a 90% *mestizo* population of mixed Amerindian and European ancestry. The official language of the country is Spanish, though several Amerindian dialects are also spoken there. Honduras is one of the poorest countries in Latin American and has the world's highest murder rate. Like other Central and South American countries, it is predominantly Catholic (97%).

Within its borders, Honduras contains a complex mosaic of ethnolinguistic variation, archaisms, and the products of linguistic drift (Lipski, 2008). Since it is situated in the middle of Central America and is so small, Honduras does not contain any major dialect zones; regional features of Honduran Spanish spill over into Guatemala, El Salvador, and Nicaragua. The Spanish of Honduras has not been studied often, and therefore unique linguistic characteristics of the nation have not been established. The country is extremely mountainous and the communities are isolated, since most of the interior communication is limited to footpaths or trails that cannot always be accessed. Honduran Spanish "is largely the product of the geographical isolation of interior regions and a traditionally high rate of illiteracy, estimated at 60–70% nationwide and reaching 90% or higher in many rural areas"

(Lipski, 2008: 186). The majority of Hondurans are not in contact with standardized linguistic influences, and even where schools exist, the speech of teachers likely represents the same rural tendencies. For these reasons, Honduran Spanish is not highly studied and existing research has not convincingly pointed out significant linguistic distinctions between it and the Spanish of surrounding countries.

This study focuses on Spanish as spoken by Hondurans who have migrated from Central America to the United States and reside in the state of Louisiana. The immigration of Central Americans to the United States has had largely economic and political motivations in recent decades. Between the 1970s and 1980s, political tensions in various Central American countries began waves of immigration to the United States to escape turmoil and economic hardship (Lipski, 2000: 189). The majority of these first immigrants came from higher socioeconomic classes and settled in places where concentrations of Hispanics already existed. Today, the immigration of Hondurans is motivated by poverty, political instability, and natural disasters (Lynch, 2008: 136) and the rate of migrants from the middle and lower classes is increasing (Lipski, 2000:90).

According to the Census Bureau's 2011 American Community Survey, more than 700,000 Hondurans live in the United States. This is almost the same number of Hondurans that live in Tegucigalpa, the capital of Honduras. Hondurans make up the ninth largest group of Hispanics in the United States, or 1.4% of the Hispanic population. Hondurans also have the highest increase rate in immigration to the United States of all Hispanic groups from 2000-2010 (Escobar and Potowski, 2015). The largest concentrations of Hondurans in the United States can be found in New

York City, Los Angeles, Miami, and Houston. However, New Orleans has also become a very popular destination for Hondurans due to its ports and strong connections with the United Fruit Company, a banana industry that links the northern Honduran ports of Tela and La Ceiba via maritime routes with the port of New Orleans (Lipski, 2008). The Hondurans in New Orleans share a strong sense of community identity and have established themselves firmly in the area (Euraque, 2004). In fact, Hondurans are the largest Hispanic group living in New Orleans and in other Louisiana cities such as Baton Rouge (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). The U.S. Census Bureau (2010) indicates that the Hispanic population in East Baton Rouge increased between 50.0 and 99.9% during that time period, and as of 2010 represented 3.7% of the total population of the parish. These statistics suggest that the Honduran population has increased in East Baton Rouge during this time as well. The Honduran population in Louisiana has increased significantly in the 21st century and there is a notable presence of Hondurans in the state of Louisiana.

3.2 Corpus and Data Collection

The corpus for this study consists of conversations with 19 Honduran speakers residing in Louisiana at the time of recording. The data analyzed is drawn from semi-structured interviews which have a duration of approximately 45 minutes per speaker. The interviews were all conducted in Baton Rouge, Louisiana by five different bilingual interviewers over a span of two months in the spring of 2015. The five interviewers all possess a high proficiency in Spanish: four of the interviewers are non-native Spanish speakers and one is a native Spanish speaker from Argentina, but all can be considered advanced Spanish speakers under the

guidelines established by ACTFL (as described by Martin, Swender and Rivera-Martinez, 2013). Each audio recording was transcribed in alignment with the transcription protocol established by Tagliamonte (2006). While there is no single, standard way of putting spoken word to paper and no ideal transcription system for research on spoken discourse (Du Bois, 1991), this study follows the pattern of Tagliamonte for several reasons. Tagliamonte utilizes a transcription system that is based on morphological authenticity, which is well suited for this research since no phonological variation is studied. For the sake of ease of reading and due to no need for phonological specification, words are transcribed as they would appear orthographically in the language. However, the system still contains conventions for oral discourse phenomena such as false starts, hesitations and fillers, pauses and reported speech. Since this study does not exclusively analyze intonation and the only required convention beyond the morphological aspects would be a pause (designated with a comma for short pauses and an ellipsis for notable pauses), Tagliamonte's protocol is adequate and appropriate for this set of data. The corpus consists of approximately 770 minutes of transcribed conversation, which yielded 1,287 tokens of consecutive connectors.

The speakers, as mentioned, are all of Honduran background and, at the time of the interview, residing in the state of Louisiana. To be classified as Honduran for this study, the speaker must have been born in Honduras or born in the United States to at least one parent who was born and raised in Honduras and arrived in the United States during adulthood. In other words, the participant must be a first generation, 1.5 generation, or early second generation Honduran immigrant (as

defined by Smith, 2003). All speakers have lived in the United States for a minimum of five years and have a high proficiency in Spanish, and Spanish is the first language of all speakers in this corpus. The speakers come from several different cities in Honduras, so regional variation is not controlled which is a potential variation that may affect DM use (Travis, 2005:10) and will be considered when analyzing the data. However, register is controlled to some degree by drawing data from spontaneous, informal conversation. To examine a potential effect of language contact on DM use, the occurrences from each conversation will be observed based on each individual and their degree of contact. Those who have been in the United States for a longer period of time or who arrived at a younger age are expected to have a higher degree of contact and thus use more English DMs.

The participants have varying social backgrounds. Their ages ranged from 19-58 at the time of the interview, with the majority of the participants in their early 20s. Most of the participants were students in various programs, while a few participants were waitresses, economists, or business people. However, all participants fall into the middle class and all 19 resided in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. The sex distribution of the participants is essentially uniform, with 10 female participants and 9 male participants. Many of the participants were born in Tegucigalpa, the capital of Honduras. However, two were born in the United States, a few come from southern Honduras in Choluteca and San Marcos de Colón, and one participant comes from San Pedro Sula in northern Honduras. All have resided in the United States for at least 5 years, but many have lived in contact with the English

language for a more extended period of time, with the longest time of residence at 29 years.

3.3 Research Questions

The goals of this thesis are to identify which consecutive connectors appear in Honduran speech and with what frequency, to examine the pragmatic and semantic uses of the markers *entonces, así* and *pues* and their contexts of use and to examine potential effects of language contact on DM usage. As such, the main investigation questions of this study are:

> 1. With what frequency do consecutive connectors occur in the speech of Hondurans residing in Louisiana, and how does this frequency compare to other Spanish discourse markers?
>
> 2. What functions and meanings can be found in the expression of the discourse markers entonces, así and pues in the speech of Hondurans living in Louisiana?
>
> 3. Is there an apparent effect of language contact on the patterns of consecutive connector usage among Honduran speakers residing in Louisiana? Specifically, does the phenomenon of language borrowing play a role in the employment of this class of DMs?

The data analysis and discussion for the present study will identify DM frequency of use, examine pragmatic and potentially semantic functions of the consecutive connectors *entonces, así* and *pues* in the context of spontaneous speech, and compare DM usage among speakers to look for language contact effects. The results will first point out how frequently DMs are found in the corpus to compare the use of consecutive connectors with other popular DMs. This examination of frequency may shed light on the prevalence and importance of consecutive connectors in spontaneous Honduran speech. Secondly, the uses of the markers *entonces, así* and *pues* will be closely scrutinized. Uses of these markers will be

grouped into their functions, and their communicative intent and employment will be compared in relation to their meanings. Finally, DM use patterns will be studied for individual speakers to examine a possible effect of language contact on the use of consecutive connectors. Individuals who arrived in the United States at an earlier age and have lived in contact with English for a longer period of time will be compared with speakers who arrived in Louisiana later in life and have spent less time in the United States. Through this analysis of individual participants, I assume that those who immigrated later in life and have spent less time in the United States are more linguistically similar to speakers still living in Honduras, while those raised in the United States may illustrate more effects of language contact on their DM usage.

4. RESULTS

This results section will consist of three parts: First, I discuss statistics on the frequency with which the DMs occurred in the corpus. I mention the frequency of occurrences of *entonces, así* and *pues* and how their frequency compares with other heavily used markers in colloquial discourse. Namely, I show that these consecutive connectors are three of the five most frequent DMs that appear among these speakers and that *entonces* surpasses all others in frequency. The second section details a discourse analysis of the uses of the three DMs *entonces, así,* and *pues.* I discuss the variety of functions of each of the three DMs that appear in the corpus with a focus on the functions and meanings of the DMs working as consecutive connectors. This includes examples and explanations in relation to how these markers are found within the speech of the Honduran participants in this study. Finally, these results examine if there is an effect of language contact on DM usage among these speakers. While this is not the focus of this thesis, as I have previously stated, it is important to note that interesting patterns were found that could indicate a possible effect of English on Spanish DMs among the Hondurans that arrived in the United States at a young age.

4.1 Distribution of DMs

Before presenting an analysis of the consecutive connectors *entonces, así* and *pues* as they appear in the corpus, I first discuss the number of occurrences of each DM in the category and compare their frequency with other DMs to show their prevalence. Figure 1 shows the top five most frequently occurring DMs in the Honduran corpus:

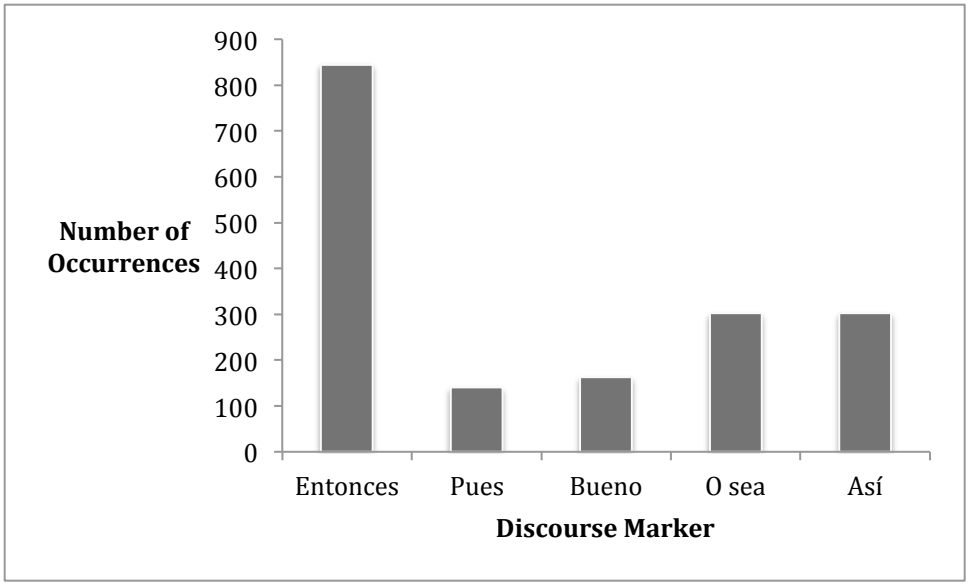

Figure 1. Most Occurring Discourse Markers

As the figure reveals, *entonces* is very clearly the DM that occurs with the greatest frequency in this corpus with 845 tokens. The other two DMs discussed in this study also appear in the top five most frequently used DMs, with 302 tokens of *así* and 140 occurrences of *pues*. The other two markers found most frequently in this colloquial speech are *bueno* and *o sea*, with 163 and 302 occurrences, respectively.

The frequency of *bueno* and *o sea* is not surprising, since they are very commonly found in Spanish language speech and discussion of them actually comprises half of Travis's (2005) findings. *Bueno* is generally translated into English as 'OK', 'well', 'alright', or 'anyway', though none of these words has precisely the same range of use as *bueno*. It has a narrower range of use and is less generalized than other DMs, and therefore has a more tangible meaning and is easier to study. The environments in which *bueno* occurs can be classified according to structural position and prosody (Travis, 2005: 78-79). It occurs turn initially as a response to

what someone else has said, or turn medially when the speaker is commenting or responding to something he or she is already in the process of saying (*En una ciudad normal, así, lo que hacen es, digamos, afuera como-* ***Bueno*** *ahora están cambiando mucho).*[1] Travis found 92 cases of *bueno* in her corpus (as compared to *entonces* with 201 and *pues* with 219), a relatively high frequency. *Bueno* is very common and its functions are rather concrete, so it is understandable that this DM has a high frequency in this corpus of spontaneous speech.

O sea, tied with *así* as the second most common DM in the present corpus, is also not surprising. This DM roughly translates as 'I mean', 'rather', or 'that is to say'. It functions mainly as a reformulative device allowing the speaker to express something that has been said in the prior discourse in other words (*al inicio cuando estaba en el highschool, no me llamaba tanto la agricultura.* ***O sea*** *me gustaba más la parte de ingenierías*). It has five different functions (as identified by Travis, 2005) and its position in the turn of discourse (initial or medial) and the syntactic status of the preceding material (complete or incomplete) are relevant to its functional range. Travis found 93 occurrences in her data, about the same number of tokens as *bueno* and therefore also rather common. While *o sea* and *bueno* do appear among the most frequent DMs of the corpus and occur even more often than *pues*, the fact that three of the five most frequent DMs in the data are consecutive connectors illustrates the prominence and importance of these elements in speech.

I will now shift my attention to the uses of all the consecutive connector DMs as determined by *La Gramática*. This classification names 10 total consecutive

[1] Unless otherwise noted, all textual examples are taken from the corpus under investigation in the current study, as described in chapter 3.

connectors: *entonces, pues, así, así pues, por tanto, por consiguiente, por ende, de ahí, en consecuencia* and *de resultas*. The frequency of the three connectors in this study have already been mentioned, but will now be compared to the other seven DMs in the category as found in the corpus, shown by Figure 2:

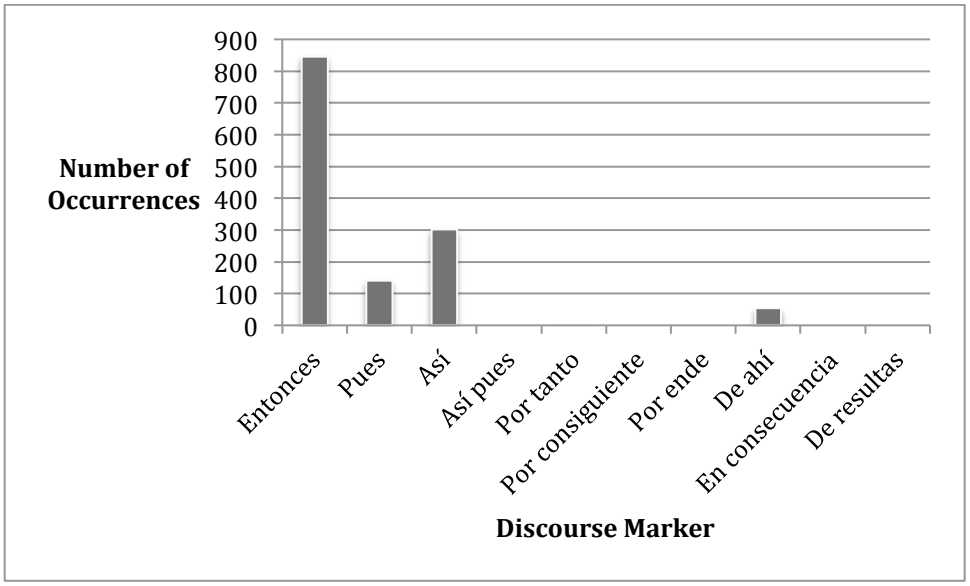

Figure 2. Frequency of Consecutive Connectors

As Figure 2 shows, five of the seven remaining DMs under the consecutive connector category are not found in this corpus. *Por tanto* is only used once, and the only consecutive connector outside of *entonces, así* and *pues* with multiple occurrences is *de ahí* with 54 tokens. This number is noteworthy, but in comparison to the top three connectors is used much less. However, since this marker is found in the discourse it will briefly be discussed.

De ahí, according to Martín Zorraquino and Portolés Lázaro (1999), involves reasoning like the other consecutive connectors but involving a different nature. They describe this nature as such: "el consecuente es una evidencia y se presenta el antecedente como un argumento que lleva a ella" (Martín Zorraquino and Portolés

Lázaro, 1999: 4103). For example, take the utterance *Ese tipo es el culpable.* ***De ahí,*** *las muchas cosas que sabe*. The DM shows certainty that the man in question knows many things and presents an argument leading to this conclusion. This DM always situates itself in the initial position of the clause it introduces, and it is sometimes followed by the word *que* with a verb conjugated in the subjunctive (Martín Zorraquino and Portolés Lázaro, 1999: 4104). To show this DM in use in the Honduran corpus, three examples are shown below:

(5) Sí, siempre le dicen así. Pero es más porque cerca hay otras colonias más pobres o bien pobres, y **de ahí** llegaban a robar y hacer travesuras, los ladrones, y ahí se iban a sus colonias, entonces creo que es más por eso, pero siempre ha sido una colonia tranquila.

(6) Juegos de mesas jugábamos a veces, ajedrez me enseñó a jugar, me enseñó a jugar (¿Qué más?) Eso, ajedrez, baloncesto y jugábamos otros juegos de mesa con ella y la familia en general y de jugar jugar (¿qué más?), no, **de ahí** ya no, yo solo jugaba fútbol, andaba en bici.

(7) Yo solo agarraba los *brownies* de, de esos que son deliciosos, y **de ahí** ellos solo comían, y contaban calorías y eso.

All three of these examples illustrate and confirm the description of *de ahí* from *La Gramática*. They all begin the clause that becomes the conclusion or result of the previous statement. In other words, the previous clause leads to the conclusion that follows *de ahí*, which joins the two utterances and introduces the conclusion. This DM appears more often in the corpus than expected since it is typically not a very common DM in colloquial speech, but nevertheless the tokens reveal a pattern that

confirms their function within the discourse and is a very interesting addition to this study.

4.2 Discourse Analysis

To analyze the three main markers studied in this corpus, several aspects of the tokens have been observed. I examine the placement of the DMs to see if their typical trends from previous studies match with the utterances here. I also use placement to help determine if the occurrence of these DMs is in fact a consecutive connector or if it serves a different function in the discourse. Another factor I examine is if each DM utterance is followed by a pause or not to help aid in my analysis. Most importantly, I look at the functions and meanings behind the uses of the utterances, citing several clear examples of each type of function and examining them.

4.2.1 *Entonces*

As mentioned in the literature review, five functions of *entonces* are identified and used in this corpus: prefacing a result, highlighting a main clause, prefacing a response, closing a response, and indicating progression. These five functions can then be grouped into three different meanings. When used with the functions of introducing a result and the main clause of the sentence, *entonces* marks upcoming information as deriving from previous information where it expresses a real world result. When prefacing or closing a response, *entonces* marks an utterance that responds to what another interlocutor has said, which performs a speech act that is based on a conclusion drawn from prior discourse. Finally, when marking progression, *entonces* serves to indicate that because of what has been said

in the prior discourse, the speaker will continue with the conversation. The epistemic sense is lost here and *entonces* is strictly a speech-act level cause. This section will go through all five of the functions of *entonces* with examples from the corpus and intertwine meaning throughout.

4.2.1.1 Prefacing a Result

The most basic function of *entonces* that most closely relates to its source meaning is to introduce a result or consequence of something referred to in prior discourse by the same speaker. It is found in turn medial position since it is a continuation of the speaker's own words, and the material this resultative *entonces* responds to is usually expressed in the immediately previous utterance, though it can sometimes be separated from the result by other material. Likewise, the result itself is typically expressed directly following the use of *entonces*, but this is not always the case and the result can even occasionally be left implicit. For the sake of this discussion, I present examples where the DM immediately introduces a result based on something succinctly stated in the immediately prior discourse. Example 8 points out such a case:

(8) Creo que la labor, sí aprendí principios de apagar incendios, pero no es suficientemente- no es que saqué una maestría en eso. **Entonces,** no puedo ir a controlar un incendio forestal de amplia magnitud.

This speaker did not learn enough about putting out fires in his forestry class since his graduate education did not specialize in forest fires, and because of this he does not have the knowledge to control a large forest fire. In other words, his inability to put out a forest fire is a direct result of his insufficient education on the topic. His

lack of knowledge on the subject can be understood as the factor that has led him to the result that he cannot fight fire, a result of the preceding utterance. Essentially, this example follows a basic pattern: "I said something (X). *Entonces*, because of (X) I say (Y)." The first component captures the fact that DMs respond to prior discourse, and the second component points out the resultative meaning and clarifies a direct relationship involved between the two clauses.

4.2.1.2 Highlighting a Main Clause

Entonces can also be used following a subordinate clause and prefacing the main clause of complex sentences. This is often found in conditional sentences, but as we will see *entonces* is not restricted to this context. In all cases, *entonces* serves the role of contextualizing the main clause in terms of the prior subordinate clause, and highlighting the consequential relation between the two (Garcés Gómez, 1994; Pons Bordería, 1998). This consequential relationship, like the previous function, is based on the real world; in this case, a real world realization of the condition referred to in the subordinate clause gives rise to what is referred to in the main clause (Travis, 2005: 192). In other words, this function of *entonces* has meaning by marking the upcoming information as a result that derives from what has been said previously by the same interlocutor. To exemplify this function, both a conditional sentence and a non-conditional sentence are given.

(9) Si los animales están listos, **entonces** hay que darles la comida.

In this discourse, this speaker is discussing her thesis project in which she experimented on rats. She mentions the importance of timing during the experiment, and then states that if the rats are hungry, *entonces* you need to feed

them. In this example, "si los animales están listos" is the subordinate clause and the main clause is "hay que darles la comida". The DM *entonces* highlights the causal relationship between the two, and the speaker is expanding on her own discourse. She is expressing something along the lines of 'The animals are hungry, and thus they must be fed.' Thus, this role of *entonces* is consistent with the previous section, which outlines "I said something (X). *Entonces*, because of (X) I say (Y)". However, in order to produce this role the subordinate clause does not need to be conditional. For example:

(10) Es relativamente más cerca para regresar a Honduras. Cuando me iba de viaje **entonces** apliqué a las del sur sin saber dónde quedaban ni nada.

In this discourse, the subordinate clause is "cuando me iba de viaje" and the main clause is "apliqué a las del sur". The first clause cannot stand alone without the following clause, and the DM in this situation connects the dependent clause to the independent one. While this example does not involve the conditional, it still begins with a subordinate clause and then *entonces* connects it to the main clause. By using the DM and the main argument after the subordinate clause, the DM functions to highlight that the main clause is the result of the information established in the prior discourse (the subordinate clause). In other words, the speaker is highlighting that knowing where to apply was necessary when he needed to travel. The result in this case is the act of applying to a certain location because of the speaker's need to travel. This example serves the same function as conditional subordinate clauses, and both serve to highlight the main clause that happens to follow the subordinate clause.

4.2.1.3 Prefacing a Response

The third function that *entonces* as a DM performs is to introduce a response based on something that another interlocutor has said, something that has been mutually established in the discourse, or something that has occurred in the extralinguistic environment. In this context, *entonces* introduces a speech act that is based on a conclusion the speaker has drawn from the discourse. In this sense, *entonces* includes both an epistemic component (the speaker comes to know something because of what has been said) and a speech-act component (they go on to say something because of what they now know) which can introduce a variety of speech acts such as suggestions, requests, proposals, questions and so on (Travis, 2005: 198). Here is a clear example from the corpus of *entonces* as a preface to a response:

(11) G: Tengo dos hermanos mayores, así que todas esas cosas las he hecho.

R: Bueno, **entonces** no me voy a quedar tan reservado, ya veo que tenés la misma…

G: Sí, vos dale, dale.

R: …actitud. ¿Dos hermanos mayores o menores?

Since prefacing a response requires two speakers, this is the first example used from the corpus that also involves the interviewer's participation as an interlocutor. The interviewee, R, starts off this part of the conversation by talking about some of the mischievous things he did as a child back in his home of Zamorano, such as spraying an aerosol can with a lighter in the stream so that a fire is produced. Upon hearing that the interviewer has done the same and also had a mischievous streak growing

up due to her brothers, the speaker responds with relief and a greater sense of comfort knowing that his interlocutor can relate to his experiences. The previous utterance, which establishes that his speaking companion also set fire to aerosol cans as a child, results in R's more open response, which is prefaced and introduced by the *entonces* that connects the two (as well as the use of the DM *bueno*, which serves the same function along with *entonces* here). The *entonces* functions to make his thought process explicit to his interlocutor.

4.2.1.4 Closing a Response

Another function of *entonces*, which shares meaning with the function of prefacing a response discussed above, is to close a response. In addition to marking upcoming information, *entonces* also can mark preceding material. This function can occur in utterance-final position, ending that specific discourse contribution of the interlocutor. It appears turn medially since it marks preceding material produced by the same speaker, and overtly indicates that the speaker performs the speech act because of what has been spoken in the prior discourse or because of what the speaker has learned from that prior discourse. The meaning carried is the same as where *entonces* begins a response and can mark a range of speech acts including requests, suggestions, assertions, questions and more. It can be expressed with final intonation or with a rising intonation, as if to ask the tag question ¿*Entonces*? Nevertheless, there are no occurrences of a closing *entonces* expressed with rising intonation, and therefore all the examples of *entonces* in this corpus that close a response are used with final intonation and end the discourse in which they occur. However, due to the interview structure the cases of *entonces* that end a discourse

only occur within the same speaker. Given that interviewees' speech made up the vast majority of the corpus, as is common in sociolinguistic interviews, most of their discourse did not require them to close someone else's response. They would begin by answering a question, but then continue to speak as long as they wished to on the topic, which leads interviewees to draw their own conclusions instead of closing someone else's. For this reason, the occurrences of utterance final *entonces* in the corpus are only found within speakers. Travis (2005) would argue that these instances no longer qualify under the function of closing a response, but I disagree. I argue that concluding a response to your own discourse serves the same function as concluding a response to someone else's. For example:

> (12) Compartimos la misma ropa porque somos del mismo tamaño, usamos los mismos zapatos. Entonces como, cuando llegamos más bien yo uso la de ella y ella usa la mía, sí, y mi herm- mi mamá también tiene la misma talla de zapatos, las tres compartimos **entonces.**

In this example, while speaking of her sister, the speaker points out that she shares clothes and also shoes with her. Finally, she expresses that she is also the same shoe size as her mother, and that all three share their shoes. This is an assertion on the part of the speaker that because she has the same shoe size as her sister and mother, as a result the three of them share shoes. By utilizing *entonces* last in the utterance, the speaker is adding emphasis and finality to her statement and her conclusion that she also shares her shoes with her mom in addition to her sister. She is reaching a conclusion and closing her response just as if she were interacting more with another interlocutor. Therefore, this study argues that examples such as these

maintain the connective function of *entonces* as a conclusion to a response. Though few, the utterance ending uses of *entonces* in this corpus serve the same purpose as a conclusion to a response to someone else.

4.2.1.5 Indicating Progression of Discourse

Finally, a fifth function of *entonces* appears to be a further development of its use to introduce a speech act based on a conclusion, where the DM generalizes further to encode the reason for saying what follows, but where the epistemic notion is lost (Travis, 2005: 215). That is to say, this function serves solely at the level of the speech act and marks progression of discourse. This function is the broadest in terms of the discourse environment in which it occurs and tends to be the most commonly occurring function of all the uses of *entonces*. It can occur in turn-initial and turn-medial position and can also respond to another interlocutor's speech or to the same speaker's speech. I illustrate a turn-medial example, which is the more common occurrence of *entonces* in this function.

(13) Tomé un servicio de buses peculiar, porque solo iba yo, era un bus de quince personas y solo iba yo, **entonces** me acuerdo costaba como ciento-ciento veinte dólares.

In this sequence, the speaker took a bus that only contained one passenger, and the bus cost 120 dollars. The bus costing 120 dollars is not a result of or conclusion drawn from the fact that this speaker was the only person riding the bus, but rather a sequence following the events that happened to the speaker. He tells a story about taking an unusual bus, and then once that information was established he is able to add additional information that the bus was expensive. After showing that his

situation involves a bus, the speaker is able to move on and discuss the price of the bus. *Entonces* functions to focus attention on the new discourse topic that the ride was expensive. In this example, *entonces* carries an illocutionary force that outlines the notion that because of what has been said prior to this, the speaker is going on to say something more. This function, as can be seen, is the broadest function of the consecutive connector *entonces* and for this reason is the most commonly appearing in this data.

4.2.2 *Así*

While the functions and categorizations of *entonces* follow the interpretation by Travis (2005), this analysis of *así* more closely mirrors the notions argued by Domínguez García (2002) and Corral Esteve (2011). Recall that the literature states that *así* is frequently preceded by *y* or *porque*, and like *entonces* is habitually followed by a pause, though it is not mandatory. While this data shows that *así* in spontaneous Honduran speech is not often preceded by either *y* or *porque,* the data does confirm the frequency of a pause following the use of this DM. In the case of *así* more so than the other two DMs discussed, its primary function appears to not follow a significant pattern but rather is grouped within a general scope of consecutive connector functioning. To illustrate this, let us look at several examples from the corpus:

(14) Me acuerdo cuando-, cuando iba a entrar al quirófano, pero no me acuerdo **así**, tantas cosas, no sé en qué consistirá.

(15) Entonces quiero, o sea, quiero experimentar **así,** el sueño de vivir y trabajar y pagarme a mí y poder también ayudarles a mis papás algún día.

(16) Creo que es el único viaje realmente familiar que hemos hecho. **Así,** entre todos, que todos nos vamos a un lugar, ahí fue bonito irnos a la isla.

(17) Entonces jugamos en el patio con mis primos todo el tiempo, siempre siempre. Y peleamos un montón siempre también, y **así** de todo andábamos en bicicleta y patines y todo esto y súper pinta.

These examples do not follow a pattern or have a predictably classifiable primary function, other than the fact that they connect two pieces of discourse that immediately precede and follow each other. Sometimes *así* is accompanied by a pause, other times it is not. Sometimes *así* is followed by a preposition, and other times an adjective or noun accompanies *así* in these examples. Example 14 helps the speaker state how many things were passing through his or her mind at a certain point and time; example 15 refers to the speaker's hope for a more self-sustainable future; example 16 connects a family trip to the notion that everyone was there, which made the vacation special; and finally *así* in example 17 (with an *y* preceding it) describes a chain of childhood activities. In all four of these cases *así* connects two utterances that relate to each other, but no specific pattern or precise function can be determined. At least, no researcher has tried to tackle that feat yet.

While no previous studies have further defined *así* within the scope of consecutive connection, así remains a polyvalent marker and three secondary functions exist. All of these functions translate into two primary meanings, which are to highlight a preceding clause or to preface a speech act based on a conclusion. This section describes and gives examples for the three secondary functions of *así*: as a conditional, to exemplify prior discourse, and as a conclusion. I also mention

what Domínguez García (2002, 2007) argues to be weaker consecutive functions of *así* but show that no justifiable cases of this kind have been found in the current data.

4.2.2.1 Conditional

One of the functions that co-exists frequently with *así* as a consecutive connector is its conditional value. Montolio Durán (1991) describes this connector, along with *entonces* and *así pues*, as "*procondicionante*" because it refers to the hypothetical formation along the lines of *siendo así* and *así las cosas* (Domínguez García, 2002: 447). This function of *así* appears when the previous discourse and the statement introduced by the DM are expressed as hypotheses. However, the word "conditional" here may be misleading and not strictly appropriate: As Domínguez García states, "lo que sucede realmente en este tipo de relaciones es que la premisa para la conclusión, esto es, el enunciado al que remite así, se presenta como hipótesis, y como hipótesis, además, que se acepta; así continúa expresando un valor consecutivo, pero es el enunciado al que remite el que contiene el valor hipotético" (2002: 448). This is why she and Montolio prefer the term *procondicionante*.

(18) Pero si te vas más para, para el este allá sí se pone- si manejas dos horas, se vuelve cada vez más bonita. Allá si ya te vas tres horas y ya es- **así** es que el azul que pase de piscina, piscina.

This discourse involves a speaker describing the ocean and its beauty. She speaks of how the ocean gets more and more beautiful in Honduras the further one drives. This utterance essentially means that if you drive three hours, you'll find an ocean such a beautiful blue that it looks like a swimming pool. The hypothesis is stated

explicitly as a conditional, which makes this a strong example of *así* with a conditional function. *Así* serves to connect the hypothesis that if one were to drive three hours, then one would find an ocean as blue as a swimming pool. This *procondicionante* example, along with several others, illustrates this secondary function of *así* in Honduran speech in Louisiana.

4.2.2.2 Support of Previous Discourse

Another function of the consecutive connector *así* can be found in the form of exemplification, also called illustration or clarification, where the DM provides support to a preceding statement. This function is limited to supporting a specific statement that has been mentioned, and cannot be considered a consecutive connector if it exemplifies a general concept. It does not need to exemplify the immediately preceding clause (though it normally does), as long as the DM begins a statement that addresses a specific comment. With this function, *así* can almost always be interchanged with the marker '*de modo que*' which roughly translates to English as 'in such a way that'. The majority of the cases of *así* in this corpus fall under this secondary function.

> (19) Sí, siempre le dicen así. Pero es más porque cerca hay otras colonias más pobres o bien pobres, y de ahí llegaban a robar y hacer travesuras, los ladrones, y ahí se iban a sus colonias, Entonces creo que es más por eso, pero siempre ha sido una colonia tranquila. **Así**, la gente que vive ahí, como te digo, es gente trabajadora y de clase media baja.

In this instance, the immediately preceding clause states that the place this speaker comes from is a tranquil community, and more tranquil than the poorer areas

surrounding his. He then clarifies and illustrates that the community he grew up in contains people from the working and middle class rather than the poorer areas like surrounding communities, which is what helps make his community so peaceful. In other words, "my community is tranquil and safer, **así**, we come from the working and lower middle class". The preceding clause makes a statement, and the following clause supports the statement. We also could substitute '*de modo que'* and the communicative intent of the discourse would hold true. This sample from the corpus is a straightforward example of the use of *así* for illustration and clarification in colloquial speech.

4.2.2.3 Conclusion

A third, less common function of the consecutive connector *así* is to provide a conclusion to the preceding discourse. This function is more of a summary provided at the very end of discourse, and cannot have argumentative value. It solely serves to recap prior discourse and lacks any consequential value. While it may appear more commonly in written discourse to close letters or chapters, spontaneous speech is continual and typically does not involve abrupt ends and beginnings so this value of *así* is not commonly seen. In fact, only a few examples of this function have been found in the corpus:

(20) Y conocí a, a una persona de- que venía de México, que voló de México a Ba- a, a Baton Rouge, y venía en el mismo avión y cuando estábamos, eh, recogiendo las maletas él vio mi, mi panfleto de inglés. Y entonces nos identificamos, veníamos al mismo curso de inglés, pero él traía un inglés mucho más avanzado, estaba nivel quinto, o sea, ha- hablaba bien el, el inglés

y, y lo notaba por la interacción que él tenía p- haciendo preguntas, acerca de dónde tomar un, un taxi, cómo venir a LSU, a lo que veníamos, que me facilitó la comunicación inicial al llegar acá. Entonces, brevemente **así** fue la, la historia de llegar acá.

In this conversation, the speaker is recounting the story of how he arrived in the United States. Before this, he mentions his low level of Spanish and his struggles with finding his flight from New Orleans to Baton Rouge after arriving in an airport where he could not understand a thing. He carried a pamphlet around the airport describing the program he was joining, hoping that someone would recognize it and strike up a conversation with him. It worked, and then he began speaking to a Mexican man who was enrolled in the same program, which is where this discourse begins. In other words, the speaker is retelling a long history of his arrival to the United States, and then ends his story by summarizing that '*Entonce*s, in short ***así*** was the story of how I arrived here.' He is using both *entonces* and *así* to begin his summary statement and conclude his story, which is a very clear example of this function at work. However, since conversations are generally continuous this type of function in oral discourse is much more rare, only appearing sporadically in the speech corpus.

4.2.2.4 Weaker and Non-Consecutive Functions

Domínguez García (2002) also argues that some instances of *así* that do not meet the previous criteria or functions could still very weakly be considered to serve a consecutive connector function. For example, when the DM appears in turn-initial position, focalized (with a pause following it), with a verb-subject inversion

(as opposed to the typical subject-verb pattern that the Spanish language follows) and appears as a comment to a speaker's own discourse, it could very loosely follow a consecutive value. She gives this example: *"Éste es, por desgracia, el único alimento espiritual de la inmensa mayoría de nuestros jóvenes y no tan jóvenes.* ***Así*** *nos luce el pelo. Y sin embargo, (...)"* (Domínguez García 2002: 444). She also argues that *así* in its original modal value may sometimes be considered to have a weak consecutive value, as in *"Y ahora puedo conocer cómo han tratado a otros.* ***Así*** *es imposible que los ciudadanos y ciudadanas confíen en la justicia y crean eso tan repetidamente dicho de que Hacienda somos todos"* (Domínguez García 2002: 445). However, the data reveals no cases of these two scenarios that may allow *así* to loosely function as a consecutive connector. These situations, I conclude, are generally more common in written registers (such as the ones Domínguez García studied) and appear very rarely in oral discourse.

4.2.3 *Pues*

As previously established, the consecutive connector function of *pues* is typically characterized as occurring in the non-initial position, being followed by a pause, and presenting the clause that follows it as the result of the discourse that precedes the DM. It is the most restricted of the three DMs in its consecutive function. *Pues* as a consecutive connector may not introduce statements that oppose the previous argument, but rather complement it (as is the case with all uses of consecutive connectors). This data reveals consecutive connector functions that confirm this pattern, though a few other instances of *pues* as a consecutive connector that do not follow the criteria have been found as well. However, in

following the distinction made by King (2011), I agree that no cases of *pues* in turn initial position function as consecutive connectors, but rather they serve as comment markers. This section will begin with the typical functions of *pues* as a consecutive DM which I define as adding information and as a focus device, and then will mention a few cases of occurrences of *pues* in unstressed position that still serve consecutive functions.

As argued by Domínguez García (2002), all cases of *pues* in stressed positions (described in the section on *pues* during the literature review) serve a consecutive function in discourse. However, not many have classified the functions of *pues* in terms of its uses in unstressed positions or the functions of the marker as a consecutive connector. Travis (2005) categorizes seven different marker functions of *pues (*adding information, serving as a focus device, introducing a repair, prefacing a response, prefacing an answer, introducing direct speech, and marking topic completion), but does not separate them in terms of consecutive functions and comment markers. For the sake of focusing on *pues* as a consecutive connector, I have determined that two of these functions most fulfill the desired characterization: adding information and serving as a focus device. All other functions that Travis establishes can be considered comment markers and will not be discussed. I will, however, still mention a few examples of *pues* in unstressed positions that do not fit into these three functions, following instead the categorization set up by Domínguez García (2002) where an unstressed *pues* with a deductive consecutive or metadiscursive value can still function as a consecutive connector. All of these functions fall under one primary meaning for *pues* as a DM:

Indicating that the speaker is going to say something because of preceding discourse. I will begin with the two functions that I have determined to serve consecutive functions that Travis establishes, then will discuss the few occasions of unstressed *pues* in a consecutive role as defined by Domínguez García.

4.2.3.1 Adding Information

The first function of *pues* found in this data is the most common function of *pues* as a consecutive connector, in which the speaker prefaces extra information that adds to what s/he has already said. In other words, the speaker produces a complete utterance and then uses *pues* to introduce a further commentary on that utterance. This function is always turn-medial, and is the most similar to its original use as a causal conjunction. Furthermore, this function is only found in spoken Spanish and not in other registers, and is used to build upon and further the previous discourse in a manner similar to the discourse progression function of *entonces* (Travis, 2005: 241). However, while *entonces* can be used to mark a return to an old topic following a digression or as a continuation of the topic, *pues* can only mark a continuation of the same topic. We can see an example of continuation of a topic in this example:

> (21) También estoy tratando de sacar un, una orientación en estadística y, **pues**, espero terminar para el diciembre de dos mil dieciséis o mayo de dos mil diecisiete.

Here, the speaker is communicating about his desire to receive a minor in statistics on top of his existing major at the university he attends. Due to the fact that he is adding this minor, he hopes to graduate in December of 2016 or May of 2017. The

first utterance is a complete thought and a syntactically complete idea, and *pues* then links that idea with the following idea, his hopes to graduate in the next year. The second discourse segment is an elaboration of the first, and they are connected by the consecutive connector *pues* in this situation.

4.2.3.2 Focus Device

While *pues* as adding information follows a syntactically complete unit and adds information to that unit, *pues* can also serve as a focus device following a syntactically incomplete unit. With this function, the speaker produces a smooth stream of speech and *pues* occurs in the middle of a constituent. It is important to note that in the uses considered here, there is no indication that the speaker is repairing an earlier utterance, which is a separate function of *pues* according to Travis (2005) that serves as a comment marker instead of a consecutive connector. Here, the *pues* instead connects a smooth statement. In the environments classified under this function of a focus device, the upcoming discourse is already tied to the previous discourse because they form one constituent. Through this function, *pues* is apparently redundant but serves the pragmatic effect of highlighting the forthcoming material and its relationship with the preceding discourse. It is used in complex sentences, following a conjunction (not always directly), and between clausal constituents.

(22) Aquí siento que puedo hacer lo que yo quiera y algún día **pues** podría ayudar a Honduras pero me parece que estar, de que vivir en Honduras me limitaba mucho. O sea como pone incapacidad.

We can see through example 22 that this phrase is a well flowing sentence even without the inclusion of a DM. *Pues* in this scenario serves to connect two already related clauses and serves to highlight the fact that maybe someday the speaker will be able to return to Honduras. This use of *pues* highlights the relationship between the speaker's possibility of helping and the notion of someday. It clearly serves a pragmatic function of highlighting the relationship between the clauses and focusing in on the future possibilities for the speaker.

4.2.3.3 Unstressed *Pues*

As the literature review discussed, in an unstressed position *pues* as a DM typically serves as a comment marker. However, with a deductive consecutive or metadiscursive value, it is possible that *pues* in an unstressed position could still function as a consecutive connector. Alarcos Llorach argues this point by quoting *El Esbozo* (1973), which argues that the stressed vs. unstressed use of *pues* "no es distintivo, sino mera repercusión del puesto que ocupa en la secuencia" (1992: 13). In other words, the stressed and unstressed positions would merely apply to the position in the sentence and not cause different functions and meanings of *pues*. While I join Travis (2005) in disagreeing with this statement and believe that the intonation of the DM does affect its function within an utterance, I acknowledge that finding a consecutive use of *pues* in an unstressed position is rare, though not impossible. If an unstressed *pues* expresses a deductive consequence that accepts the content of a previous statement or an implicit premise to be true, then it resembles and can be considered a weak consecutive connector. For example, in the formula 'possibly A; if so, *pues* B' could be interchanged with *entonces* and would

maintain consecutive function (Domínguez García, 2002: 461). While very few examples such as this are found in the corpus, here is one that illustrates an unstressed *pues* that still functions as a connector:

(23) Y eso es lo que, lo que pienso conseguir primero y si decido que necesit- que requ- que si deseo sacar una maestría o sacar un posgrado, **pues** lo haré.

In this example, the speaker is declaring that if she chooses to continue her schooling for a master's degree then she will do it. In this case, the utterance loosely follows the previous formula, with 'A' being the possibility of choosing to continue her education for a graduate level degree, and *pues* connecting her 'B' willingness to do it. *Pues* is not followed by a pause here and is not distinctively consecutive, but it still serves a weak consecutive function by connecting the two clauses. An unstressed *pues* can also acquire a series of metadiscursive values that have led authors like Domínguez García (2002) to postulate the existence of a "continuative" or "inferential" *pues,* in which case the connector functions as a marker of response, replication, phatic communion (social interaction) or continuation. These values would also classify an unstressed *pues* as a consecutive connector. However, I argue that these metadiscursive values may fall under the previous two functions of adding and focusing information that I have already described. Just because they are not followed by a pause does not change their function, and though more careful attention should be given to those cases in an unstressed position, their functions and consecutive classification are not impacted.

Domínguez García (2002) also argues that a counterargumentative *pues* in an unstressed position can act as a pseudo consecutive connector, but for the sake of

this thesis I reject that function as not being fully consecutive and therefore do not consider it to be a consecutive function of *pues* (though it is not entirely causal either). It is also important to keep in mind that many occurrences of *pue*s in this corpus may either be DMs that are comment markers instead of consecutive connectors and are not discussed, or function as causal conjunctions and therefore are not DMs.

4.3 Language Contact

To examine a potential effect of English and Spanish language contact on DM usage, I have examined the frequencies and DM usages of the individual speakers in the corpus with regard to their time in the United States and age of arrival. With the exception of one outlier, the conversations of participants who moved to Louisiana at a young age show a clear reduction in the occurrence of Spanish markers with greater language contact. For example, the participants that arrived in the United States at an early age use *entonces* an average of 28 times throughout the conversation, while participants who arrived in the United States as adults or who have not spent as much time residing in a state of English contact employ *entonces* an average of 53 times. In other words, individuals that were not raised with English contact used the common DM *entonces* an average of nearly twice as many times as those who grew up in a linguistic situation of contact with English. Similar patterns are found with *así* and *pues*, with 4.5 versus 10 average uses of *pues* and 11.3 versus 21 average occurrences of *así* for younger arrivals versus older arrivals, respectively. The outlier in the group, a participant who was born in the United States to Honduran parents, has the most occurrences of *entonces* out of all the

speakers but clearly uses the word as a filler (warranting the word *muletilla*) since her Spanish proficiency is lower than that of the rest of the younger arrivals and she frequently struggles to find the right words to say. Of all the other speakers, clear patterns of lower DM usage are found among speakers that grew up in the United States.

These reductions in occurrences of Spanish DMs among speakers could very plausibly be attributed to an increased amount of language contact with English and higher levels of bilingualism (though bilingualism is not measured in this study). Returning to the hypotheses established by Aaron (2004) that (1) native and second language DMs are in variation and either co-exist or the non-native DM eventually replaces the native one or (2) non-native discourse markers can trigger code-switches, clear evidence can be seen of both replacement of the native DM with the non-native one and a language shift triggered by the non-native DM. That is to say, the reduction in native DMs and pattern of English switch found among the bilingual speakers reflect these hypotheses, which suggests that language contact is affecting DM usage. In this case, an appropriate way to examine a possible effect of English DMs on the corpus would be to look for an increase in English DMs in addition to a decrease in Spanish markers.

If language contact in bilingual speech is indeed affecting the DM usage in the data, then evidence should be seen showing that either (1) The two sets of discourse markers will coexist, (2) similar markers from each language will acquire differentiated meanings, or (3) the markers from one language may replace those of the other language. This current data appears to show a hint of indication toward all

three of these outcomes. The DMs coexist in the data in the sense that both Spanish and English DMs are used, but without interviews conducted in English as well it is impossible to see the extent of coexistence among the DMs in both languages. The second outcome is also rather hard to prove and would require an entire discourse analysis of its own, but *so* appears to be used in a wider variety of contexts that are more in accordance with the Spanish usage of *entonces,* and therefore a preliminary glance would appear to support this second outcome as well. The third outcome of DM replacement is the most easily observable. While Spanish markers are not disappearing by any means, it can be noted in the data that English markers replace Spanish markers in many instances where Spanish is otherwise maintained.

The most obvious observations that can be made of English DMs replacing the native Spanish DMs can be seen with the English *so* replacing the Spanish *entonces*. Among the six speakers that arrived in the United States before adolescence, *so* is by far the most commonly transferred English borrowing into their speech. Three examples are provided below:

(24) Él venía y me agarraba mi tarea y la escondía hasta en la siguiente mañana en la mañana no tenía la tarea. ***So*** llegaba a la escuela sin tarea

(25) No sé si tenía *maybe* dos años cuando él se vino para acá ***so*** él no me recordaba mucho.

(26) Me recuerdo que la primera palabra que me enseñó fue azul. *Blue*. ***So*** cuando yo llegué a la escuela mi primer día de escuela quería ir al baño, y yo siempre le estaba diciendo *blue blue blue blue blue blue*.

While *entonces* has not been entirely replaced by any means and still holds a commanding presence in the corpus, many potential occurrences of the DM were removed by this insertion of the word *so* instead. Speakers often remained entirely in Spanish except for the DM. This holds true for all participants and not just those who arrived in the United States before adolescence, though those who immigrated at an older age used *so* much less frequently. This transfer of *so* among the speakers also supports the notion that DMs are the most transferable words between languages (Matras, 2000; Brody, in press) since borrowing frequently occurred only with the DM itself.

The DM is not always the only word borrowed from English within these Spanish interviews. Interestingly, another observation made through this data is that a DM (in either Spanish or English) sometimes triggered a language shift, which supports Aaron's second hypothesis that non-native discourse markers can trigger a language shift. For example:

(27) No le pusieron *enough bell peppers so* cuando tengo que agarrar el plato, y lo tiró en el piso.

(28) Me dice "te paro por esto y por esto y por esto." Pero solo tenía luces de atrás apagadas. Y me quería dar *like four tickets*.

(29) Sí, siempre digo lo mismo yo digo "¡Catherine! ¿Pero los días que no trabajas por qué estás aquí? O sea, que otro lugar es- *like expand your mind somewhere else*!"

In these three examples, the DM triggered a language shift either from Spanish to English or from a temporary English shift back to Spanish. Example 27 illustrates a

case of the DM *so* triggering the speaker to switch back to the language of the interview. She added a phrase in English to her discourse, but then smoothly used a DM and transitioned back into Spanish. The other two examples trigger the opposite: a switch from the language of the interview (Spanish) to a phrase in English. In these two examples, the DM used to provoke the switch is *like*. These examples appear to confirm Aaron's second hypothesis that non-native DMs can activate language shifts. Clearly, English contact is impacting the usage of native and non-native DMs in this corpus and further study on this effect of language contact would be beneficial.

Finally, though regional variation is not controlled in this study, it does not appear to affect the use of DMs among speakers. No significant patterns were found among those born in the capital of Tegucigalpa versus those who were born in other regions of Honduras. In fact, no clear pattern can be noticed from any of the social factors differentiating the speakers. Variation in DM usage appears to derive from each individual's own idiolect and does not follow a predictable or statistically significant pattern. A variationist study may be able to reveal more about internal and external variables and their potential significance in predicting Spanish DM usage, but this study is limited to hypotheses based on observation and frequency and no apparent differences have been found.

5. CONCLUSION

This thesis began with an overview of discourse markers and their importance in academic study, introducing the topic and how I chose to study it in a community of Hondurans living in Baton Rouge, Louisiana that has never before been studied. It then provided extensive background on DMs in general and the Spanish markers *entonces*, *así* and *pues* in particular. This included providing definitions and explaining the classification system of consecutive connectors as well as describing the potential effect that language contact may have on native DM usage. Next, I described my methodology for collecting data and how I approached gathering results, including transcription methods, a description of the corpus and investigation questions to be analyzed. In the results section, this study described its findings and detailed a discourse analysis of the frequency and occurrences of the three consecutive connectors *entonces, así* and *pues,* also discussing the role that English contact appears to play in Spanish DM usage in this corpus. Finally, I would like to summarize my findings and suggest further steps be taken in future research.

The first goal of this paper was to identify the frequency of consecutive connectors in the speech of Hondurans residing in Louisiana. I found that the connectors *entonces, así* and *pues* appear frequently in the data, with *entonces* occurring the most of any markers. In fact, three of the five most frequently occurring DMs in the corpus come from the consecutive connector category and, as expected, are the three connectors that this study focuses on. The other consecutive connectors I presented are rarely found in the data, with five of them having no occurrences, *por tanto* expressed only once, and *de ahí* occurring 54 times. However,

the only consecutive connectors with a significant number of occurrences in this spoken data are the three studied extensively throughout this thesis. With 845 tokens of *entonces,* 302 occurrences of *así* and 140 utterances of *pues*, these three consecutive connectors were found to be very prominent in the spoken word of Hondurans residing in Louisiana and have the highest frequency of any category of DMs in the data.

The main focus of this study was to examine how *entonces, así* and *pues* are expressed within the recorded conversations. I found five main functions of *entonces* that yielded three different meanings. The functions of *entonces* used in this data are prefacing a result, highlighting a main clause, prefacing a response, closing a response, and indicating progression of discourse. This translates to three different meanings: marking upcoming information as deriving from previous information where it expresses a real world result, marking an utterance that responds to what another interlocutor has said which performs a speech act that is based on a conclusion drawn from prior discourse, and indicating that because of what has been said in the prior discourse, the speaker will continue with the conversation. Examples of these five functions and three meanings are notably present in the data. *Así* as a consecutive connector in this corpus is found more generally without specified functions, though secondary functions as a conditional, as direct support of the previous discourse and as a conclusion were observed. No situations of weaker functions were found that could still be classified as serving a consecutive function, and thus all other uses are considered non-consecutive. The consecutive functions of *pues* as indicated by my results are to add information and

to serve as a focus device, though a few instances of an unstressed *pues* were also found to serve consecutive functions. All other DM uses of *pues,* I conclude, function instead as comment markers (as described by King, 2011).

The strongest indicators that this study found to indicate and distinguish between functions of consecutive connectivity are the presence of a pause after the DM and the position of the DM in the discourse. For example, *pues* cannot be found in a turn initial position in order for it to function as a consecutive connector. It is, however, still followed by a pause. A pause following an occurrence of *así* also triggered a consecutive connector, and its position in the utterance helped to determine its secondary function. These two factors were especially helpful in categorizing *entonces*, since all 845 tokens of the DM fall into the consecutive connector classification and its five functions can sometimes seem to overlap. However, knowing the position of the DM and whether or not it is followed by a pause aided in determining its function. A turn initial position indicated that *entonces* functions as a preface to a response (or occasionally a progression in discourse). At the end of an utterance, *entonces* functions as a close to a response. When appearing turn medially after a subordinate clause and without a pause following the DM occurrence, a highlighting of a main clause function is triggered. Finally, other turn medial occurrences indicate a result or discourse progression, and both are followed with a pause. These two indicators help immensely in the identification and classification of consecutive connectors.

Finally, this thesis aimed to examine any potential effects of English language contact on Spanish DMs within the corpus. Comparing participants who arrived in

the United States before adolescence to other participants who arrived later in life, the data showed that those with a prolonged contact with the English language who grew up in this state of contact have lower frequencies of DM usage, favoring instead an English counterpart. I found that the non-native DMs may appear to be replacing the native DMs to a certain extent (though markers in both languages are still clearly coexisting among these speakers), and also found evidence of DM usage triggering a language shift. While this aspect of the paper was not studied extensively and no concrete conclusions can be made, the data appear to support previous studies that show how language contact can and does affect DM usage.

Several intriguing results have been determined in this study, but it still has limitations. Firstly, the small number of participants cannot accurately represent an entire population, and therefore this study cannot be generalized or conclude anything concrete about the entire population of Hondurans living in Louisiana. Additionally, the fact that five different interviewers conversed with the participants could have caused unexpected variation. Social factors such as regional variation were not tightly controlled. Additionally, the inclusion of language contact, though beneficial, is not substantial and not strongly enough supported through the analysis due to the nature of the study. I recommend that future studies also examine the use of markers in both formal and informal genres, given that Fuller (2003) suggests that stylistic variation affects the use of DMs. As part of this effort, further studies should be done on register, as DMs are often linked to specific registers and genres of discourse (Brinton 1996; Carranza 2004; King 2011). Some functions of certain DMs are only found in oral registers while others typically only

appear in written registers, and for this reason a future study on consecutive connectors should further examine the issue of register. In addition, comparing the DM usage among Hondurans in the United States with lifelong residents of Honduras could further the analysis of the effect of language contact on this community. Finally, future studies of DMs should analyze spontaneous conversation as it occurs naturally in the speaker's environment, not solely in the form of an interview where the dialogue is more one-sided.

While it does have its limitations, this thesis is undoubtedly beneficial as a research effort in the field of discourse analysis. Firstly, this community has never been studied by any previous research. Honduran Spanish is very rarely examined and Honduran Spanish in contact with English is studied even less, and this study is unprecedented in the community analyzed in Louisiana within the field of discourse analysis. Also, this thesis is framed in a way that no other research has ever been framed. While several studies have examined Spanish consecutive connectors and analyzed how these DMs apply in written speech, to the best of my knowledge no previous study has analyzed Spanish consecutive connectors specifically in oral discourse. This category of DMs is severely understudied, but this thesis has shown that it reveals intriguing patterns and warrants further examination. This community and this topic are both worth studying, and the patterns found here in DM usage among Hondurans residing in Louisiana could serve as a strong base for future examination of Spanish DMs in various situations of English contact with any variety of Spanish.

REFERENCES

Aaron, J. E. (2004). "So respetamos un tradición del uno al otro." *Spanish in Context* 1: 161-179.

Alarcos Llorach, E. (1992). "Pues." *Gramma-Temas* 1: 11-26.

Álvarez Menéndez, A. I. (1991). "Conectores y grupos oracionales consecutivos." *Lingüística Española Actual* 13: 117-132.

Blakemore, D. (1987). *Semantic constraints on relevance*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Blakemore, D. (2002). *Relevance and linguistic meaning: The semantics and pragmatics of discourse markers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Brinton, L. J. (1996). *Pragmatic markers in English: Grammaticalization and discourse functions.* Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Brody, J. (1987). "Particles Borrowed from Spanish as Discourse Markers in Mayan Languages." *Anthropological Linguistics* 29: 507–521.

Brody, J. (1995). "Lending the Unborrowable: Spanish Discourse Markers in Indigenous American Languages." *Spanish in Four Continents: Language Contact and Bilingualism*: 132-147.

Brody, J. (2010). "Discourse Markers in Tojolab'al Mayan." *Parasession on Languaje in Context*: 15-29.

Brody, J. (in press). "Borrowed Spanish Discourse Markers in Narrative: A Comparison across Three Generations of Tojolab'al (Mayan) Speakers." *The Dynamics of Language Variation and Change: Varieties of Spanish across Space and Time*, Ed. J. King and S. Sessarego.

Carranza, I. E. (2004). "Discourse Markers in the Construction of the Text, the Activity, and the Social Relations. Evidence from Courtroom Discourse." *Current Trends in the Pragmatics of Spanish*, Ed. Rosina Márquez Reiter and María Elena Placencia. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 203-27.

Corral Esteve, C. (2011). *Los conectores discursivos de la lengua escrita en clase de español como lengua extranjera: una propuesta de trabajo*. Doctoral dissertation, Universidad de León.

Corpus of Honduran Residents in Louisiana. (2015). Louisiana State University.

Cortés Rodríguez, L. (1991). *Sobre conectores, expletivos y muletillas en español*. Málaga: Ágora.

De Miguel, A. (1994). *La perversión del lenguaje*. Espasa Calpe.

De Rooji, V. (2000). "French Discourse Markers in Shaba Swahili conversations." *International Journal of Bilingualism* 4: 447–467.

Domínguez García, M. N. (2002). *La organización del discurso argumentativo: los conectores*. Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca.

Domínguez García, M. N. (2007). *Conectores discursivos en textos argumentativos breves*. Madrid: Arco Libros.

Du Bois, J. W. (1991) "Transcription design principles for spoken discourse research." *Pragmatics* 1: 71-106.

Escobar, A. M., & Potowski, K. (2015). *El español de los Estados Unidos.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Euraque, S. (2004). *"Honduran Memories": Identity, Race, Place and Memory in New Orleans, Louisiana* (Master's thesis).

Fischer, K. (2000a). "Discourse Particles, Turn-taking, and the Semantics-Pragmatics Interface." *Revue de sémantique et pragmatique* 8: 111-137.

Fischer, K. (2000b). *From cognitive semantics to lexical pragmatics: The functional polysemy of discourse particles*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Fraser, B. (1988). "Types of English Discourse Markers." *Acta Linguistica Hungarica* 38: 19-33.

Fraser, B. (1990). "An Approach to Discourse Markers." *Journal of Pragmatics* 14: 383-395.

Fraser, B. (1996). "Pragmatic Markers." *Pragmatics* 6: 167-190.

Fuentes Rodríguez, C. (1987): *Enlaces extraoracionales*. Sevilla: Alfar.

Fuller, J. M. (2001). "The Principle of Pragmatic Detachability in Borrowing: English-origin Discourse Markers in Pennsylvania German." *Linguistics: An Interdisciplinary Journal of the Language Sciences* 39: 351–369.

Fuller, J. M. (2003). "Discourse Marker Use Across Speech Sontexts: A Comparison of Native and Non-native Speaker Performance." *Multilingua* 22: 185–208.

Garcés Gómez, M. P. (1994). "Funciones y valores de *entonces* en español." *Estudios para un corpus del español:* 217-230.

Goss, E., & Salmons, J. (2000). "The Evolution of a Bilingual Discourse Marking System: Model Particles and English Markers in German-American Dialects." *International Journal of Bilingualism* 4: 469–484.

Hansen, M. B. M. (1998). *The function of discourse particles: a study with special reference to spoken standard French*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Haugen, E. (1950). "The Analysis of Linguistic Borrowing." *Language* 2: 210-231.

Hernández, J. E., & Baldazo, R. (2013). "Distribución variable de un marcador del discurso: no decir nada es como decir" verdad"." *Revista española de lingüística* 43: 113-150.

Hernando Cuadrado, L. A. (1994): "Sobre el funcionamiento de *pues* en el enunciado discursivo." *ASELE*: 43-50.

Hill, J., & Hill, K. (1986). *Speaking Mexicano: Dynamics of syncretic language in Central Mexico*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Hlavac, J. (2006). "Bilingual Discourse Markers: Evidence from Croatian-English Code-switching." *Journal of Pragmatics* 38: 1870–1900.

Jørgensen, A. M., & Martínez, J. A. (2007). "Los marcadores del discurso del lenguaje juvenil de Madrid." *Revista Virtual de Estudos da Linguagem* 5: 1-19.

Jucker, A. H., &Smith, S. W. (1998). "And people just you know like 'wow' Discourse Markers as Negotiating Strategies." *Discourse markers: Descriptions and theory*, *57*: 171-202.

King, J. (2011). "Structuring Conversation: Discourse Markers in Cervantes's Entremeses." *Hispania* 94: 648-662.

Lakoff, R. (1971). "Questionable Answers and Answerable Questions." *Issues in linguistics: Papers in honor of Henry and Renée Kahane* Ed. Braj Kachru, Robert Lees, Yakov Malkiel, Angelina Pietrangeli, and Sol Saporta. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press. 453-467.

Lipski, J. M. (1985). "/s/ in Central American Spanish." *Hispania* 68: 143-149.

Lipski, J. M. (1988). "Central American Varieties, Mexican and Chicano Spanish." In *Research Issues and Problems in United States Spanish*, ed. J. Ornstein, G. Green, and D. Bixler Marquez, 157–69. Brownsville: Pan American University.

Lipski, J. M. (2000). "The Linguistic Situation of Central Americans." *Language diversity: problem or resource* 2: 189-215.

Lipski, J. M. (2005). "Code-switching or Borrowing? *No sé so no puedo decir*, You Know." *Selected proceedings of the second workshop on Spanish linguistics,* Ed. L. Sayahi & M. Westmoreland. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Press. 1-15.

Lipski, J. M. (2008). *Varieties of Spanish in the United States*. Washington: Georgetown University Press.

Lynch, A. (2008). "Otros países del ámbito hispano." *Enciclopedia del español en los Estados Unidos,* Ed. H. Lopez Morales*.* Madrid: Instituto Cervantes/Santillana. 135-139.

Mariner Bigorra, S, (1981). "*Pues* and *donc* adversativos." *Logos Semantikos* 4: 289-297.

Martí Sánchez, M. (2008). *Los marcadores en español L/E: Conectores discursivos y operadores pragmáticos*. Madrid: ArcoLibros.

Martin, C., Swender, E., & Rivera-Martinez, M. (2013). "Assessing the Oral Proficiency of Heritage Speakers According to the ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines 2012–Speaking." *Heritage Language Journal*.

Martín Zorraquino, M. A. and Portolés Lazaro, J. (1989). "Los marcadores del discurso." *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española.* Ed. Ignacio Bosque Muñoz and Violeta Demonte Barreto. Madrid: Espasa Calpe. 4051-4214.

Martínez, R. (1997). *Conectando texto. Guía para el uso efectivo de elementos conectores en castellano*. Barcelona: Octaedro.

Matras, Y. (1998). "Utterance modifiers and universals of grammatical borrowing." *Linguistics* 36: 281-331.

Matras, Y. (2000). "Fusion and the cognitive basis for bilingual discourse markers." *International Journal of Bilingualism* 4: 505-528.

Montes, R. G. (1999). " The Development of Discourse Markers in Spanish: Interjections." *Journal of Pragmatics* 31: 1289-1319.

Montolio Durán, E. (1991). "'Así pues, entonces, lo mejor será que pienses bien lo de casarte.' Acerca de los *procondicionantes* en español." *Foro Hispánico 2. Exploraciones semánticas y pragmáticas del español*. Amsterdam-Atlanta: Editions Rodolpi B. V.

Myers-Scotton, C. (2002). *Contact linguistics: Bilingual encounters and grammatical outcomes.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Peñalosa, F. (1984). *Central Americans in Los Angeles: Background, language, education*. Los Alamitos, CA: National Center for Bilingual Research.

Pons Bordería, S. (1998). *Conexión y conectores. Estudio de su relación en el registro informal de la lengua*. Valencia: Departamento de Filología Española Universitat de Valencia.

Portolés, J. (1989). "El conector argumentativo *pues*." *Dicenda. Cuadernos de Filología Hispánica* 8: 117-133.

Real Academia Española (1973): *Esbozo de una nueva gramática de la lengua española*. Madrid: Espasa Calpe.

Schiffrin, D. (1987). *Discourse markers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schourup, L. (1985). *Common discourse particles in English conversation:* like, well, y'know. New York: Garland.

Schourup, L. (1999). "Discourse markers." *Lingua* 107: 227-265.

Schwenter, S. A. (1996). "Some reflections on *o sea*: A discourse marker in Spanish." *Journal of pragmatics* 25: 855-874.

Silva Fernandes, I. C. (2005). "Los marcadores discursivos en la argumentación escrita: estudio comparado en el español y en el portugués de Brasil." Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad.

Smith, J. P. (2003). "Assimilation Across the Latino Generations." *The American Economic Review*, 93: 315-319.

Solomon, J. (1995). "Local and Global Functions of a Borrowed/Native Pair of Discourse Markers in a Yucatec Maya Narrative." *Berkeley Linguistics Society* 21: 287–298.

Svartvik, J. (1979). "*Well* in Conversation." *Studies in English linguistics, for Randolph Quirk*, Ed. Sidney Greenbaum, Geoffrey Leech, and Jan Svartvik. London: Longman. 167-177.

Tagliamonte, S. A. (2006). *Analysing sociolinguistic variation*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Torres, L. 2002. "Bilingual Discourse Markers in Puerto Rican Spanish." *Language in Society* 31: 65–83.

Torres, L. & Potowski, K. (2008). "A comparative study of bilingual discourse markers in Chicago Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Mexi Rican Spanish." *International Journal of Bilingualism* 12: 263-279.

Travis, C. E. (2005). *Discourse markers in Colombian Spanish: A Study in polysemy*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

U.S. Census Bureau. (2010). Total population by race and ethnicity: *East Baton Rouge Parish, LA*.

Varela, B. (1998). "Discurso de Incorporación: El Español Centroamericano de Luisiana." *Boletín de la Academia Norteamericana de la Lengua Española* 9: 1-40.

Weinreich, U. (1968). *Languages in contact*. The Hague: Mouton.

Wong, J. (2007). "Catherine Travis: Discourse Markers in Colombian Spanish: A Study in Polysemy." *Language in Society* 36: 135-136.

VITA

LeeAnn Stover, a native of Dallas, Texas, received two Bachelor's Degrees from Louisiana State University (LSU) in Psychology and Spanish with a concentration in Secondary Education. She has taught at the high school level through an LSU externship and has discovered a passion for teaching Spanish. She was accepted into the LSU Foreign Languages and Literatures program, majoring in Hispanic Studies with a linguistics specialization. She anticipates graduating with her Master's Degree in May 2016.