

Áádóó: An Analysis of a Navajo Discourse Marker

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I. Introduction

This paper examines and analyzes the Navajo word *áádóó*, as it functions in both narrative and conversational discourse. In our initial elicitations from our language consultants, it appeared that *áádóó* could be translated approximately to mean *and then*. Upon further analysis of conversation and story narration, however, *áádóó* actually seems to have multiple functions, and often follows similar patterns to units of speech that researchers have termed ‘discourse markers.’ The research on Navajo discourse is fairly limited, and based only on monologic speech and narratives. The research presented in this paper offers new insight into Navajo discourse. We base our analyses on real conversational data as well as written data and monologic speech, and thus gain a new perspective on the patterns of the language. We show that *áádóó* functions differently in conversational discourse from the way it functions as a sequential marker in narratives, and that the genre of speech itself will be the determining factor in the grammatical and pragmatic role of *áádóó*. We suggest that *áádóó* most appropriately falls into the category of discourse markers. Since a large part of the analysis that is done on discourse can only be genre-specific, even though there may be certain elements in common, observations about a given text cannot be generalized (Dooley and Levinsohn, 2001). In this study, the analysis of *áádóó* is conducted using various kinds of discourse.

II. Previous Literature

Few studies of Navajo discourse markers and discourse structure exist, particularly in the domain of conversational dialogue. So far, any work on discourse structure has been limited to narrative genres, since a corpus of Navajo spoken language has yet to be produced. One of the more prominent studies of Navajo discourse, however, is that of McCreedy (1989) who bases her analyses on prayers, personal narratives, and Coyote stories.

McCreedy looks at the notion of cohesion and referential continuity and how they relate to discourse structure. She follows Halliday and Hasan's (1976) categories of cohesion, remarking that in Navajo narratives two distinct categories emerge. The first is referential cohesion, in which pronouns refer to a participant or prop from previous discourse as in the following:

- (1) 'At'éédleei'. *Jichago*, *chizh énjíilááh*, *jiní*.
Girl-to. 4-subject-cry-subordinator, wood **4-subject**-gathered, it-is-said.
 '(He spoke) to a girl. As she wept, she gathered wood, it is said.'
 (Sapir and Hoijer 1942:24, as cited in McCreedy 1989; pp 446)

The second category prevalent in Navajo narratives is lexical cohesion, which is either repeated reference to a certain action, object, or attribute or the use of semantically related, often co-occurring, items as in:

- (2) I met **Charlie's son** yesterday. That **kid** is a real whirlwind!
 'Though he doesn't attend **church** regularly, Joe considers himself to be a **Methodist**.
 (McCreedy 1989)

McCreedy uses these two types of cohesion as a basis for looking at discourse structure and boundaries, and finds that shifts in coherence, in which referential and lexical cohesion are generally broken, are often marked by the form *áádóó*. From the narratives, she notes that *áádóó* is either always episode initial, or that it introduces a post-peak transition (a resolution section of the story). McCreedy additionally notes that *áádóó* precedes a verb involving high physical activity (run, roast, eat, rush away), and appears to always introduce a new action into the discourse. From these observations, she suggests that *áádóó* functions to indicate both a change in time and a new action in the narrative, thereby concluding its role as a 'temporal conjunction' and 'sequencer' (McCreedy 1989).

The very genre in which *áádóó* is found may have important implications for its role in spoken language. As McCreedy notes, the Coyote narratives tend to follow a formulaic structure, moving from episode to episode until the final resolution. *Aádóó* here is used at the episode boundaries, and so its role may be additionally seen as a sort of formulaic marker. Webster (2004) remarks that the opening line of Coyote stories often begins with either *áádóó* or *ako*. Webster's point here is that 'and' is the English replacement of *áádóó*, which he remarks "allows us to insert ourselves into a larger narrative" (Webster 2004). Therefore, he finds the function of *áádóó*, at least as it occurs in the first line of narratives, to be a pragmatic or stylistic form for situating the listener in the story.

From the literature cited above, *áádóó* appears to function as a 'temporal marker', 'sequencer', 'stylistic' or 'formulaic' form. In the following sections in this paper, we will look at whether *áádóó* functions similarly in our two different narratives, and then at how it functions in our conversational data. Returning to our hypothesis presented in Section 1, we predict that *áádóó* will function rather differently in conversational discourse from its functions in narratives, and that the very genre of speech will be the determining factor in its grammatical and pragmatic role.

III. Theoretical Approach

As mentioned earlier, this paper offers a new look at Navajo discourse, and

particularly the marker *áádóó*, through a usage-based, functionalist approach in which grammar is seen as “emergent” (Hopper 1998). This perspective takes its data from natural conversation, believing that only through this can the true nature and functions of language be revealed, and that grammar is neither a priori or innate. The regularity or structure of grammar is shaped by discourse, “...grammar...like speech itself must be viewed as a real-time, social phenomenon, and therefore is temporal; its structure is always deferred, always in a process but never arriving, and therefore emergent...” (1998, 156). Inherent in this approach is the notion that language is not modular, but rather composed of various parts and subparts that work together to create a speaker’s produced forms. Hopper (1998) argues that grammar is made up of sets of prefabricated parts that are constantly being restructured and “resemanticized” in discourse (Hopper, 1998). Forms emerge out of interaction and represent a speaker’s past experience with those forms; they are largely manipulated by speakers who use them for certain pragmatic purposes. Therefore, as we will see in the case of Navajo narrative and conversation, pragmatics plays a large role in shaping discourse.

There has been little research done with Navajo data from a functionalist perspective. For this reason, the findings and analyses in this paper largely differ from those in other studies, and demonstrate that forms are grammaticized in conversation and subject to resemanticization, rather than being attached to one specific meaning or function.

IV. Data

We used five different pieces of data in this research, representative of three different genres of discourse. Two of these are spoken narratives, two are excerpts from natural conversation, and one is a written narrative. The breadth of this data allows us to sufficiently compare the use of *áádóó* in both monologic and dialogic style.

The two spoken narratives are a retelling of *The Pear Story* (Chafe 1980), a film for use in language elicitation, which contains no spoken dialogue. In the first, we gathered the data from a paid language consultant, Begay, a linguistics graduate student who is fluent in both Navajo and English. Begay gave a running monologue in Navajo of the actions portrayed in the film about a boy who steals a basket of pears. The film contains a number of actions involving the boy and several other characters. In subsequent sessions, he then translated each line of narrative. We also had access to a narrative collected in an identical manner from another native Navajo speaker, Chee, complete with the English translation. Although both Chee and Begay’s oral narratives are based on the same film, the final products are strikingly different.

The two conversational pieces are somewhat different. For the first, we recorded a forty-five minute conversation between our two language consultants, Begay and Chee. From this conversation, we transcribed a three-minute section starting from ten minutes into the recording. This transcription was later translated by Chee for use in this paper. Because we had access to the audio of this conversation, we were able to analyze the intonation units in which *áádóó* appears- something we were not able to do for the second

conversation described below.

The second conversational piece we used is a transcription of a conversation/interview between two native female Navajo speakers and two male English speakers (Austin-Garrison, et al. 1996). The topic of conversation is ‘*Diné Bizaad*’, the Navajo language. We counted all instances of *áádóó* from the initial segment of the conversation, and Chee translated both the sentence containing *áádóó* and the one immediately preceding it.

Our last piece of data, the written narrative, is a Navajo joke (Wilson & Dennison, 1970), written in Navajo and including an English translation. We felt that it was important to include this type of genre, as it follows a certain formulaic style. As we mentioned in section II, certain formulaic Navajo narratives represent an interesting use of *áádóó*, and we wanted to compare this with non-formulaic forms.

These five different pieces of data give us a variety of genres from which to analyze the use of *áádóó*. Because narratives offer a different style of discourse from conversation, these pieces of data offer us rich sources of analyzing its function in discourse.

V. Findings

The oral narratives: The Pear Stories

In her analysis of its occurrence in narrative, McCreedy (1989) concludes that *áádóó* mainly occurs episode-initially and is always used to mark sequences of physical action. Occurrence in this function within the narrative might be expected since by definition, a narrative discourse is generally an account of events that naturally occur in sequence. Additionally, in the accounting of events it could also be expected that the use of verbs of speech, motion, and action will be prevalent within this type of discourse; this does appear to be the case. Following is a short excerpt of Begay’s narrative of *The Pear Story* film. The use of *áádóó* in (3) is representative of the majority of phrases in which its function is to introduce a physical action, which follows the previous sequence; however, (4) introduces a physical action that is non-sequential and non-episodic within this particular context. Significantly, (4) is reflective of the way *áádóó* functions in conversation, as we will discuss below, to maintain or reiterate a particular topic from previous discourse. It seems to be used in this case as a temporal discourse marker, which serves to alert the listener to refer back to a previous topic (i.e. that the man continues to pick fruit as he was doing before).

(3) **Áádóó** ts’in bineest’a naazkánée yiyii[tsa
and then fruit baskets he saw it
‘And then the little boy saw the baskets of fruit.’

(4) **Áádóó** hastiin yee dol ahalchííhgóó t’ahdii ts’in bineest’a náyiilááh
and then the man af. obviously still fruit he’s picking
‘And then the man obviously still picking fruit.’

(5) **Áádóó** ts'in bineest'a' yee néidiika
 and then fruit aforementioned he picked it up
 'And then the boy picked up the basket of the aforementioned fruit.'

(6) Ts'in benest'a' yee yinyeezáá
 fruit aforementioned he stole it
 'The boy stole the aforementioned fruit.'

(7) **Áádóó** bidaa'déé'éí át'ee yázhí léi a'téé uhm dzi'izi bihilwoł
 and then possessor front of boy little some bicycle she's rolling w/the wheels
 'And then in front of the boy there's some little girl riding a bike.'

In her account of the same film, Chee's use of *áádóó* is quite minimal. Each occurrence introduces physical action and marks temporal sequencing. Below are the four tokens of *áádóó* that we pulled from her narrative (not in order).

(8) **Áádóó** ashkii yázhí dzi'ízi yikáá naatizhgo
 and then boy little bike above it he fell down

Áádóó ałchíní ashiiké yázhí táa'go
 (9) and then children boys little three when

(10) **Áádóó** ch'ah yái'ni'á' dóó ha'ùshii
 and then hat he gave him and something

Áádóó k'ad yí da'ayá yiwohjó'ó yijah
 and then now they are eating that away from me they are walking

Another function of *áádóó* that occurs in the narrative is as a type of conjunction (McCreehy 1989). Although this type of occurrence is infrequent, *áádóó* does appear syntactically as a conjunctive form, though only once in the narratives analyzed. Notice in the following examples from Begay's account of the story, that while *áádóó* can be translated as simply 'and' the use of the term seems to have been used as a marker signaling that the action is shown in sequence within the film, though the actual events do not occur as a single episode. This is intuitive for someone telling a story that switches between characters, actions and scenes, *áádóó* functions as the transition. In these examples, it is not functioning to introduce a new episode, but rather, it is signaling the listener to refer to another scene that has already been established.

(11) Na'ahooahae lei aní haayáo daats'i biniinaa
 rooster cawing sun-came-out maybe because-of-obj classifier (big,bulky)
 'The rooster is calling out maybe because the sun came out.'

(12) **Áádóó** hastiin léi' ts'in bineest'a' náyiilááh
 And then man-indef. wood-bearing-fruit is-picking-it
 'And then a man is picking fruit.'

(13) **Áádóó** hastiin ahdii ts'in bineest'a náyiiíááh
 And then man-def still wood-bearing-fruit is-picking-it
 'And t he man is still picking fruit

(14) **Áádóó** naaná éí ashkii yázhí léi' dzi'ízi bił yiwoł
 And then again-anaphora boy small -ind bicycle with rolling-with-it
 'And then again back to the small kid rolling with a bicycle.'

Another interesting finding was that in Begay's narrative seventeen tokens of *áádóó* were found, while Chee's contained only four. Although the same story (*Pear Story*, Chafe 1980) is told by the two different speakers, we find differences in how they are told. Lyons uses the term *individual style* to refer to those features of a text which identify it as being the product of a particular author, or speaker in this case, which represent his or her choice in terms of manner of expression (Dooley & Levinson 2001, citing Lyons 1977); one simple, common difference of individual style concerns sentence-initial connectives (e.g., expressions like 'because of that,' 'after that,' 'so,' etc.). This usage is a common occurrence and we find this is the case with the use of *áádóó* in Navajo (Lyons 1977).

As with McCreeedy (1989), Lyons (1977), Dooley & Levinson (2001) and others who write about the specific elements that occur in narrative according to individual style, we also find that individual style plays a major role with the use of *áádóó* in *The Pear Story* narratives. Chee's and Begay's use of *áádóó* are very different from each other. Depending on the individual style, its use has been shown to vary in frequency and function within the narratives. In the majority of *áádóó* clauses in both narratives, however, its main function appears to be as a sequence marker.

The written narrative: a joke

The function of *áádóó* in the short Navajo joke (Text 12: Wilson and Dennison 1970) is very similar to its function in Coyote narratives and personal prayers, as argued by McCreeedy (1989). Of the fifty-three total words in the joke, *áádóó* occurs five times. At first glance, it is apparent that *áádóó* here occurs only in sentence-initial position. However, when we examine its context more closely, and look at the verbs it precedes and the actions it introduces within the larger story, we see that it does indeed function as both a sequencer and temporal marker.

Significantly, the five occurrences of *áádóó* take place in immediately adjoining sentences. Therefore, the structure is roughly as follows:

- (a). A father said to his son...
- (b). "All right", the boy said...
- (c). *Aádóó* he took a bow and arrows
- (d). *Aádóó* he started out after the horse
- (e). *Aádóó* he overtook the horse
- (f). *Aádóó* he shot it right there
- (g). *Aádóó* he returned home
- (h). his father said ...
- (i) "Well", said the boy...

(Wilson and Dennison 1970)

Clearly, *áádóó* is functioning as a sort of sequential marker, but only within a single episode. That is, we can take lines (e)-(g) to be one episode, evidenced by the fact that each line uses the pronoun 'he' to refer to 'the boy', and the verb in each line refers to an action performed by the boy. In accordance with McCreedy's position, *áádóó* in these lines precedes a highly physical action ('took a bow and arrows', 'overtook the horse', 'shot it', etc.) In line (h), in which *áádóó* is not present, the full noun phrase "his father" is used, and the less physical verb 'said' denotes an action performed by the father, and not the boy. Therefore, *áádóó* in this written narrative does appear to be of a sort of formulaic nature; it marks subsequent events and referential cohesion within a single episode. Additionally, we may say that it functions here as a temporal conjunction; it conjoins sentences and activities that refer to and describe a single participant.

The use of *áádóó* in this joke adds a particular rhythm. This listing rhythm emphasizes each task the boy accomplishes. In this genre, *áádóó* is used to incorporate rhythm and draw attention to salient features of the discourse prompting humorous construal.

The Edited and Transcribed Conversation: Dine Bizaad

The distribution and function of *áádóó* in the edited conversation about Navajo language use is significantly more complex than its distribution in the narrative. We took sixteen instances of *áádóó* from the initial segment of transcribed conversation. In only three of these does *áádóó* seem to function in a way similar to the narratives. First, in one instance it occurs at the beginning of a new speaker's turn. Second, in two utterances, it does appear to act as a sequential marker, but significantly, it does not occur alone, as in the following:

(15) **Ako** *áádóó* biké'di...
so and then afterward...

(16) **Akohgo** *áádóó* nílíi...
so then aadoo over-there...

The rest of the occurrences of *áádóó* function rather differently. First, we notice that while it tends to occur sentence initially, it appears much less formulaic and does not perform any sequential function. That is, except for examples (15) and (16) above, in no instance does *áádóó* report a change in events or time. Furthermore, the verbs which *áádóó* precedes are not activity verbs; more often they are communicative, (e.g. 'to say', 'to think', 'to read,' etc.) This could be an indication that the action being described is not the element to which the speaker is giving the most importance, as is the case in the narratives. Rather, it seems that *áádóó* is working in conjunction with the noun phrase, either to reiterate it or to mark a lexically cohesive and semantically related switch to a new subject/topic, as is evident in the following:

Lexically cohesive

- (17) áádóó aldó' níléí
and then over there ('over there' refers back three sentences to *Tseyi' Ch'inili*, which is a name for a place)
- (18) ..binaaltsoos bee ádaalne' **Áádoó** na'adzooigíí aldó...
their book are-being-made-with-it and then the-one-being-written with

Lexically cohesive, with emphasis on second noun introduced:

- (19) **Shimá** t'eiyá bídíneeshnih nahalin. **Áádoó** índa shizhé'é béhosésíid.
my-mother only I-am-used-to-her it seems. And then then/next my-father I-got-to-know-him
- (20) "Hólah, bimásání bóhólníh" ni. **Áádoó** shimásání éí ání,
(???) his-mat. grandma she-is-in-charge it-said And then my-mat. grandma she-said
- Aádoó** shicheii kódidíniil ho'doo'niid.
And then my-mat.grandpa you-will-say-this he-was-told

Repetition of full NP

- (21) Jó diigi ádaat'éhígíí da shíí díí naaltsoos ályaaígí deiyídóoltah hwiinidzin (2 utterances in between)
so this the-ones maybe this paper the-one-that-is-made they-will-read-it it-is-thought
- Aádoó** índa díí naaltsoos...
And then next this paper

In each example above, regardless of the category, *áádóó* is conjoining two utterances in which a particular subject is being discussed. In some cases, as in (17), (20), and (21), the utterances are not immediately adjoined, but are separated; this only supports the idea that it is the subject or topic here that is of importance in the discourse. In those sentences that are lexically cohesive, *áádóó* serves to announce a continuity of reference; the topic is being maintained. In the sentences which are lexically cohesive but in which the second noun only slightly differs from the first (examples 19 and 20), *áádóó* functions to let us know that while the exact subject may be changed, there is a parallel between the two subjects being marked. That is, in (19) the speaker is talking about her relationship with her mother, and then relates this to her relationship with her father. Furthermore, in (20) **'his** maternal grandmother' changes to **'my** maternal grandmother', which then changes to **'my maternal grandfather'**. In these examples, the lexical cohesion between grandmother and grandfather keeps the topic the same, and the subjects are semantically related. *Aádoó* may be the marker that draws the listener's attention to this phenomenon.

Examples similar to (21), in which the entire noun phrase is repeated serves to reiterate the maintenance of the topic or subject. Rather than use a pronoun, the speaker chooses to repeat 'this paper,' which is definite. This is important because studies of information flow show that when a referent is introduced into the discourse, it tends to be

referred to in pronominal form in subsequent discourse. This supports the idea that *áádóó* may function in conversation to attune the listener to the fact that the topic or subject is being maintained, and that it is the topic/subject that is still of particular importance in the subsequent utterance.

The Natural Conversation: Begay and Chee

Within the two and a half minutes of spoken conversational discourse that were closely analyzed for this study, *áádóó* appears to function to maintain a speaker’s turn, as well as maintain the use of a noun phrase or related noun phrase across intonation unit boundaries. Five occurrences of *áádóó* were found in the 2 ½ minute segment of discourse that begins with the 10th minute of an approximately 25 minute long uninterrupted conversation.

Four of the five tokens of *áádóó* were found to begin a new intonation unit in the conversation. This suggests that *áádóó* functions in discourse to maintain a speaker’s turn and to signal that the speaker has more to say. It also links the current utterance to the proceeding. This is no surprise, due to the semantics of *áádóó*, which has traditionally been analyzed as an adpositional phrase that means ‘from there’ (McCreeedy 1989: 450). Examples (22) through (25) exemplify *áádóó* being used at the beginning of an intonation unit.

- (22) **Áádóó** ídíiniidée k’ad díí kwé’é saad yilts’iígíí ha’íí oolyé.
 Then what:we:said now this here words he:one:falling what it:is:
called
‘the word that is right here, what does it mean?’

- (23) **áádóó** kwé’é díí yikáá’ nidayiinííł ndi.
 and:then here this on:it they:put(SPO):on:it even:though
‘and then even though they are putting it on here’

- (24) **áádóó** ninaadanihidikid díísh éí ha’íí oolyé.
 and:then they:ask:us:again Thursday DEM what it:is:called
‘and then they will ask us again, what does this mean?’

- (25) **áádóó** akee’di áá éí ha’íí naabikáá’ shoo.
 and:then the:end:at what on:it:again let’s:see
‘and then at the end what else does it say, let’s see’

Due to the fact that the conversation is centered around the issue of language ideology and language use, as stated earlier verbs that appear in the same intonation unit as *áádóó* are verbs are largely related to communication, such as *to speak, to ask, to be called, and to say*. These findings contradict what has previously been said regarding the semantic types of verbs that *áádóó* is found to occur with. For example, McCreeedy (1989) found that *áádóó* was found in narrative 100% of the time with verbs that denote

physical action, such as ‘to run’ (McCreey 1989:451). This suggests that the semantics of the verb is not what governs the employment of *áádóó* in conversational Navajo, a finding which we also concluded from the conversational data in *Diné Bizaad*.

In examples (23) and (24), it appears that the noun phrase is what plays a major role in the use of *áádóó*. The intonation unit preceding examples (23) and (24) explicitly mention the use of Navajo language. The use of Navajo language is then elaborated on in the subsequent intonation units with *áádóó* beginning each intonation unit and simultaneously functioning to hold the speaker’s turn. *Áádóó* serves the function of maintenance in two ways; it is used to maintain a speaker’s turn and to maintain the use of a noun phrase or related noun phrase across intonation units.

Example (26) is the only instance of *áádóó* that was found within the boundaries of a single intonation unit. Although it is not performing the function of turn maintenance, it still functions to maintain the use of related noun phrases. In this example, *dínék’elyí* is used in the first clause and *bilagáanak’elyí* is used in the second, with *áádóó* functioning in between them to signal the use of a related NP to follow.

(26)	áá	dínék’elyí	ya’áti’o	áádóó	í’áadoo	bilagáanak’elyí	baa	
	only	Navajo:in:	being:spoken:	and then	not/NEG	white:people	about	
		the:way:of	when			in:the:way:of	them	
	yánaa’áti’igo	hot’áo	éí	ałhíní	yázhí	í	ídahwiidoof’aał	ní.
	being:spoken:	like this	DEM	children	little	they(3’):will	it	
	again:when					learn	says	

‘the children will learn Navajo when speaking only in Navajo and not having to repeat it in English’

Áádóó functions in conversational Navajo for turn maintenance across intonation unit boundaries and to maintain the use of a noun phrase or related noun phrase. Four of five occurrences of *áádóó* in the analyzed conversation are found at the beginning of intonation units, which leads to the conclusion that it plays a role in the way that speakers maintain their turns and signal the arrival of related information into the discourse.

VI. Discussion

From the findings outlined above, we can safely say that *áádóó* does indeed function differently depending on the genre in which it is situated, and all these functions are related. Its function in the narratives, both oral and written, confirms McCreey’s (1989) findings that *áádóó* acts as a sequencer or marker of temporal change. The verbs *áádóó* precedes are physical, therefore, the addition of *áádóó* creates a sense that it is the actions in the story that are of particular importance. Additionally, we see the same pragmatic and stylistic use of *áádóó* in the narratives, as suggested by both McCreey (1989) and Webster (2004): it does seem to occur in formulaic sequences.

In the data from natural conversation, however, *áádóó* is rarely used as a temporal or sequencing agent. Almost never in our conversational data do we see *áádóó* preceding

highly physical verbs. Rather, it appears that *áádóó* signals that the noun phrase, or the topic/subject, is the most important element of the sentence, and that it has been maintained or will be maintained in the discourse. Additionally, from the conversation in which we were able to code for intonation units, it appears that *áádóó* functions to maintain a speaker's turn.

Although the functions of *áádóó* are certainly different across genres, it makes sense to talk about this word as a discourse marker. In the following section, we will briefly discuss discourse markers in general, and highlight some discourse markers as they have been researched in other languages. We should point out again that no literature on Navajo discourse markers exists, at least that we are aware of, because so far no corpus of conversational Navajo has been produced. By looking at the similarities between the functions of *áádóó* as we have suggested above and discourse markers from other languages, we may be able to conclude that this particle functions as a discourse marker in some contexts.

What is a Discourse Marker?

The body of research on discourse markers is quickly growing and while it is impossible to compile an exhaustive list of English discourse markers, the following words, which comprise an incomplete list, have been labeled discourse markers in previous research: *actually, oh, anyway, I mean, you know, like, I think, you know what I mean*. It is clear in the following discussion of some of the research on discourse markers that *áádóó* fits into this category, regardless of discourse genre.

Schiffrin (1987) describes discourse markers as “sequentially dependent elements which bracket units of talk” (1987:31). Aijmer (2002) says they give clues as to “how discourse is segmented and processed” (2002: 1). Essentially, discourse markers alert the listener that the speaker intends for them to take note of an important boundary in the discourse. They guide interpretation of an utterance and reduce cognitive effort on the part of the listener.

One discourse marker studied in Schiffrin (1987) is *oh*. She calls it a marker of information management (1987:73). She says *oh* is found in repairs, to initiate a self-repair. She also finds that it is used when speakers must reorient him/herself to information (1987: 86). Schiffrin also studies *you know* or *y'know*. She believes that this discourse marker functions to ensure that the speaker and hearer have the same background knowledge.

While limited in quantity, there is some research on discourse markers from other languages. In her dissertation, Makowski (in press) analyzes discourse markers in Spanish. She says the following discourse markers signal a relationship of contrast or dissonance between utterances: *pero* (but), *sin embargo* (however), *por el contrario* (on the contrary). Discourse markers that illustrate a relationship of cause, inference or result between current and prior discourse are: *como resultado* (as a result), *por eso* (because of that), and *por lo tanto* (therefore).

In her study on discourse markers in French, Rey (1997) finds that the word *donc* is roughly equivalent to English *therefore, so* or *hence*. She says it can indicate a consequence or reformulation or can signify that the speaker is returning to the main topic after digressing. The phrase *en effet* can express confirmation or introduce a cause. She likens it to the English *indeed*. She also finds that the following French words function as discourse markers: *mais* (*but*), *cependant* (*however*), and *car* (*because*).

Maschler (2002) studies the role of discourse markers in conversational Hebrew. She believes that discourse markers “must refer metalingually to the realm of the text, to the interaction between its participants or to their cognitive processes” (2002: 2) and that it must occur initially in the intonation contour. She finds that the Hebrew word *tir’e* (*look*) fits both sets of criteria. It is not actually instructing the listener to look at anything, but is focusing their attention within the discourse.

The above discussion of discourse markers cross-linguistically certainly can be applied to *áádóó*. Its primary function, both in the narrative and in the conversation, is to alert the listener to the fact that something important is either being maintained or introduced in the discourse, whether it is a new episode and event, or a topic from previous sentences. Although its functions vary across genres, the overall finding that it is a communicative tool used by the speaker for the listener makes the analysis that *áádóó* is indeed a discourse marker highly plausible.

VII. Conclusion

In our analysis of *áádóó*, we have found several distinct but related functions. In conversation, it can signify that the speaker is returning to the main topic after digressing or it can maintain lexical cohesion. This is similar to the function of discourse markers in other languages, which guide the interpretation of an utterance and as was found in previous research, it occurs initially in the intonation contour. In narrative, its main function appears to be as a sequence marker. The uses of *áádóó* in each genre examined are in line with the functions of that particular genre. Narratives are composed of episodes, which are related to each other, and *áádóó* functions to link these related episodes. In conversation, *áádóó* links utterances within a single turn, as it is organized in turns rather than episodes. Our findings suggest that while the functions of *áádóó* are varied depending on context of use, it appears to function similarly to discourse markers in other languages.

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