

# **Kansas Working Papers in Linguistics**

Studies in Native American Linguistics X

edited by

John Kyle

**Volume 24, Number 2  
1999**

Partial funding for this journal is provided by the  
Graduate and Professional Association of the University of Kansas

ISSN 1043-3805

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**Volume 24, Number 2**  
**Studies in Native American Linguistics X**  
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# PARAGRAPH-LEVEL SWITCH-REFERENCE MARKERS IN CHICKASAW CONVERSATION

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Abstract: Two types of switch-reference markers occur in Chickasaw. The first is a set of suffixes that indicate whether the verb in one clause has the same subject as the verb in a connected reference clause. The second is a set of words that mark topic continuity. These are referred to as paragraph-level switch-reference markers. Members of this group are usually translated as 'then', 'and', 'and so,' or 'so' and only occur in connected discourse. This study deals with the latter set.

## Introduction

Switch-reference is a syntactic phenomenon that has been a focus of linguistic research for the last thirty years. This study was designed to analyze the use of switch-reference markers as paragraph-level connectors in Chickasaw conversation. Data were collected by recording conversations between native Chickasaw speakers. Narrative segments from each conversation were then transcribed following Conversation Analysis conventions. The primary research questions addressed were (1) what are the paragraph-level connectors in Chickasaw? and (2) how are they used in conversation? This study's results inform current theories of switch-reference as well as increase our knowledge of Chickasaw grammar and discourse structures.

## Data Collection

The fieldwork for this study was done in April and August, 1994. Ten conversations between native speakers of Chickasaw

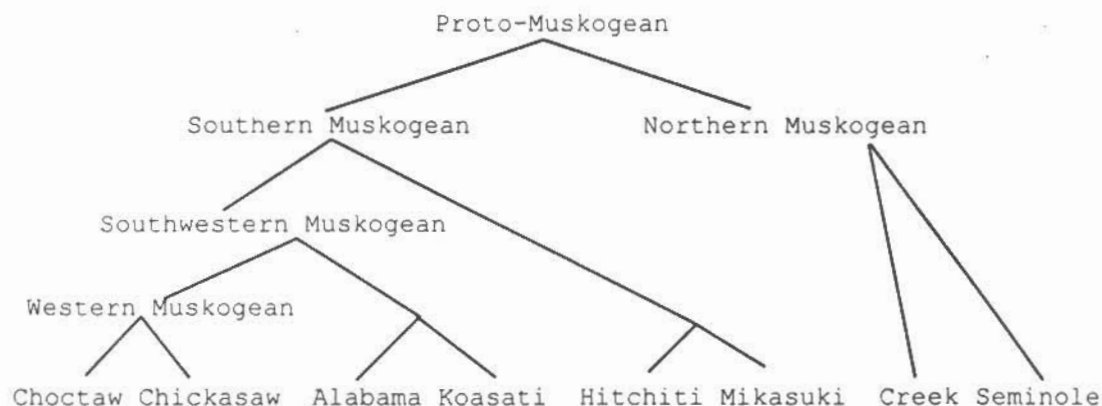
were audiotaped. One conversation was taped in Los Angeles. The other nine were recorded in Oklahoma. Mrs. Catherine Willmond, my Chickasaw teacher, was a participant in each of the conversations. Nine of the conversations were used for this study. The tenth involved an elderly participant who was ill and the resulting tape is not clear enough to be used.

The primary participants in these conversations were all people who are bilingual in Chickasaw and English and they ranged in age from their fifties to their mid-eighties. In addition, UCLA Professor Pamela Munro and I at times contributed to the conversations.

#### Chickasaw--Background

Chickasaw and Choctaw (a closely related language) make up the Western branch of Southwestern Muskogean. The other members of Southwestern Muskogean are Alabama and Koasati. Together with Hitchiti and Mikasuki, these languages comprise Southern Muskogean. Northern Muskogean consists of Creek and Seminole (Munro 1987). (This classification is not, however, uncontroversial. See Munro 1987 for a fuller discussion of this issue.) Figure 1, taken from Munro 1987, gives the Muskogean language family.

**Figure 1.**  
**Muskogean Language Family**



The Chickasaws originally lived in the Southeastern United States. However, in the 1830s they were forcibly relocated by the federal government to Oklahoma Indian Territory, along with the Cherokees, Choctaws, Seminoles, and Creeks, collectively referred to as the "Five Civilized Tribes". Today Chickasaw is spoken mainly in the Chickasaw Nation, which is located in south-central Oklahoma. The 1990 census report of the US Department of Commerce gives the Chickasaw population as 20,631; no figures are available on the number of tribal members who speak the language.

### Chickasaw Syntax

Chickasaw is an agglutinative language with nominative-accusative case-marking. The basic word order is SOV. Nouns can be marked for case (nominative or accusative) and possessor. Verbal morphology is significantly more complex. The reader is referred to Munro and Willmond 1994 and Munro 1997 for a fuller discussion of Chickasaw syntax.

### Switch-reference

The term 'switch-reference' was first used in Jacobsen (1967:240) to describe "the fact that a switch in subject or agent...is obligatorily indicated in certain situations by a morpheme, usually suffixed, which may or may not carry other meanings in addition". Since then, switch-reference systems in various languages have been described and analyzed. However, it should be noted that there is some controversy over exactly what switch-reference is. The canonical definition is that "switch-reference is an inflectional category of the verb, which indicates whether or not its subject is identical with the subject of some other verb" (Haiman and Munro 1983:ix). In my work, I follow Haiman and Munro.

### Switch-reference in Chickasaw -- syntactic overview

In complex Chickasaw sentences, that is, those with more than one clause, switch-reference (hereinafter SR) suffixes mark a verb as having a subject which is the same as or different from the subject in a reference clause. For example, consider the following two sentences (the relevant morphemes are indicated in bold, with the gloss underlined).<sup>2</sup>

1a. Ihoo-at    malli-**cha**    taloowa-tok.  
       woman-nm   jump-conj:**ss**   sing-pt  
       The woman sang and jumped.

1b. Ihoo-at    malli-**na**    hattak-at taloowa-tok.  
       woman-nm   jump-conj:**ds**   man-nm    sing-pt  
       The woman jumped and the man sang.

In these sentences, the reference clause (*taloowatok* in 1a and *hattakat taloowatok* in 1b) follows the subordinate clause. This is the usual position. The verb of the subordinate clause in 1a carries the same-subject SR marker, *-cha*; therefore, the subject

of the subordinate clause is the same as that of the verb in the main clause. However, in 1b, the subordinate verb has the suffix *-na*, which indicates the subject of the subordinate verb is different from that of the main verb. SR markers occur in addition to verbal affixes indicating person and have nothing to do with pronominalization. Switch-reference markers are redundant for first and second person but nevertheless are used. The following (from Munro 1983:236) shows this.

2. Ithaani-li aya-l-a'chi-**kat**  
     know-1sI go-1sI-irr-sbr:**ss**  
     I know (that) I'm going

It is clear from the verbal affixes indicating person that the subjects of the main verb and subordinate verb are the same in 2. Even so, the SR marker is required.

Members of this set of clause-level SR markers in Chickasaw are used to combine a main clause with one (or more) subordinate clauses. Let us look at these markers in some detail.

#### Clause-level switch-reference markers

This is the largest class of SR markers. Members of this group end in *-t* if the subject of the subordinate clause is the same as that of the reference clause and in a nasalized vowel if the two subjects are different. Both the subordinate and the

reference verb are fully inflected for subject, tense, and aspect. Some of the members of this group include

-kat / -ka

This marker is generally used as a complementizer and is usually translated as 'that.'

3a. Sa-chaaha-**kat** ithána-li.  
1sII-tall-comp:ss know-1sI  
I know (that) I'm tall.

3b. Chi-chaaha-**ka** ithána-li.  
2sII-comp:ds know-1sI  
I know (that) you're tall.  
(examples from Munro and Willmond 1995:163)

-hmat / -hma (realis)

This marker is usually translated as 'after' or 'when' and indicates the activities have already occurred.

4a. Taloowa-li-**hmat** hilha-li-tok.  
sing-1sI-sbr:ss dance-1sI-pt  
After I sang, I danced.

4b. Taloowa-li-**hma** ish-ollali-tok.  
sing-1sI-sbr:ds 2sI-laugh-pt  
After I sang, you laughed.

-kmat / -kma (irrealis)

This marker is usually translated as 'after' or 'when' and indicates the activities have not yet occurred.



5a. Taloowa-li-**km~~at~~** hilha-li-a'chi  
 sing-lsI-sbr:**ss** dance-lsI-future  
 After I sing, I will dance.

5b. Taloowa-li-**kma** hilh(a)-a'chi  
 sing-sbr:**ds** dance-lsI-future  
 After I sing, he will dance.

-hookmat / -hookma

This marker is usually translated as 'if.'

6a. Taloowa-li-**hookmat** hilha-li-a'chi.  
 sing-lsI-sbr:**ss** dance-lsI-future  
 If I sing, I will dance.

6b. Taloowa-li-**hookma** hilh(a)-a'chi.  
 sing-li-sbr:**ds** dance-future  
 If I sing, he will dance.

-hootokoot / -hootoko

This marker is usually translated as 'because.'

7a. Taloowa-**hootokoot** hilha-tok.  
 sing-sbr:**ss** dance-pt  
 She<sub>1</sub> danced because she<sub>1</sub> sang.

7b. Taloowa-**hootoko** hilha-li-tok.  
 sing-sbr:**ds** dance-lsI-pt  
 I danced because she sang.

-tokoot / -toko

This marker is a backgrounding suffix.

8a. Taloowa-**tokoot** hilha-tok.  
 sing-bgr:**ss** dance-pt  
 She<sub>1</sub> danced while she<sub>1</sub> sang.

- 8b. Taloowa-**toko** hilha-li-tok.  
 sing-bgr:**ds** dance-1sI-pt  
 I danced while she sang.

-cha / -na

These markers are ordinarily translated as 'and.'

- 9a. Talo'wa-**cha** hilha-tok.  
 sing-conj:**ss** dance-pt  
 She<sub>1</sub> sang and she<sub>1</sub> danced.

- 9b. Talo'wa-**na** hilha-tok.  
 sing-conj:**ds** dance-pt  
 She<sub>1</sub> sang and she<sub>2</sub> danced.

The first-person singular I marker, -li, causes the -cha same-subject switch-reference marker to reduce to -t. This "is the only person-marker which conditions this reduction of -cha to -t" (Munro 1983:233). It is different from the -t suffix that indicates a participle.

Table 1 summarizes the information provided above.

Table 1. Some Clause Level Switch-Reference Markers

<b>A. -t / nasalization</b>	(-t marks same subject, nasalization marks different subject)
-kat / -k <u>a</u>	Dependent verb is (usually) the complement of main verb
-hmat / -h <u>ma</u>	'after' or 'when'
-kmat / -k <u>ma</u>	'after' or 'when' (future)
-hookmat / -hook <u>ma</u>	'if'
-hootokoot / -hootok <u>o</u>	'because'
-tokoot / tok <u>o</u>	Backgrounding
<b>B. -cha / -na<sup>3</sup></b>	'and' or 'and then' (-cha marks same subject, -na marks different subject) (no tense ending on dependent verb)

For a full discussion of Chickasaw switch-reference phenomena, the reader is referred to Munro 1997.

#### Paragraph-level connectives

In addition to the clause-level switch-reference markers listed in Table 1, there also exists another set referred to as paragraph-level switch-reference markers (Munro 1998, Payne 1980). Paragraph-level SR markers "behave as if they had the same subject as the preceding clause (even if that clause is not itself switch-reference marked), and are marked for different subject relative to the next clause" (Munro 1998:50). The members of this group are usually translated as 'then', 'and',

'and so,' or 'so.' They only occur in connected discourse. Payne (1980:111) notes that "they never occur on sentences elicited in isolation." Although these are referred to as paragraph-level switch-reference markers, this terminology is somewhat misleading since the term 'paragraph' relates to written text. Perhaps a better term would be 'topic continuity indicator.' However, since terminology has already been established to describe this phenomenon, I will continue to use paragraph-level switch-reference marker. These markers are

*haatokot / haatoko*

which may be glossed as

haa-tokot	haa-toko
then-bgr:ss	then-bgr:ds

*yahmihmat / yahmihma*

which may be glossed as

yahmi-hmat	yahmi-hma
do-bgr:ss	do-bgr:ds

*yahcha / yahna*

which may be glossed as

yah-cha	yah-na
do-conj:ss	do-conj:ds

*hihmat / hihma*

which may be glossed as

hi-hmat	hi-hma
then-rl:ss	then-rl:ds

These markers are listed in Table 2.

**Table 2. Paragraph-Level Switch-Reference Markers**

**same topic / different topic**

haatokot	/	haatoko
yahmihmat	/	yahmihma
hihmat	/	hihma
yahcha	/	yahna

I found only eight paragraph-level switch-reference markers in the conversational segments I transcribed. All eight were different-subject markers. Table 3 shows the markers found.

**Table 3. Paragraph-Level Switch-reference Markers Found**

Marker	Quantity
<u>Same-subject</u>	
haatokot	0
yahmihmat	0
hihmat	0
yahcha	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>0</b>
<u>Different-subject</u>	
haatoko	7
yahmnihma	1
hihma	0
yahna	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>8</b>

In the conversation recorded between Frankie Alberson and Catherine Willmond, Frankie used three of these markers in one turn. In order to discuss this, the turn preceding this larger turn is included. The complete turn is first given in Chickasaw. The number in the left margin indicates the turn number; the letter indicates the speaker (F for Frankie and C for Catherine).

The Chickasaw turn is broken down into clauses (clauses carry the turn number and a letter), which are then glossed. The English translation of the turn is provided after the clauses. If English words were used in a turn, they appear in italics. Paragraphs are marked with an arrow in the left margin; paragraph-level switch-reference markers are in bold.

1 F: *uh-huh*. Himmaka' himitta' áyya'shahookano yammāt yah; *uh*  
nannahookya yappat chísipokni alhiha' immi'ttook  
ishimaachikya nannishtanhi ki'yo yah.

1a: Himmaka' himitta' áyya'sha-hookano yamma-t yah  
now young exist-des those-nm do

1b: *uh* nannahookya yappat chí-sipokni alhiha'  
everything this:nm 2sIII-be.old two.or.more

1c: immi'-tttook  
possession-rpt

1d: ish-im-aachi-kya  
2sI-dat-say.to-but

1e: nann-isht-anhi ki'yo yah  
something-about-care neg do

1T: *Uh-huh*. Now the young ones, that's the way they do.  
You tell them this all used to belong to your ancestors, but  
they don't care.

2 C: *unh-unh*

3 F: **Yahmihma** anowa' yappat ibaachinkano'mi yamma ishimaachikma  
anowa' nanna ishithána ki'yo. Kaníhkmak ishtanokfillili.  
Himmita' alhiha' yammāt nannahmakó hookanihmia'chi yahmichi  
ayailaminakaash. (laughter) Amialhihookano tamowat  
tahatoko *granddaughters* tokchinat ammayyasha. Tamowa  
táwwa'a and *uh* chipota tiikchaffat. Holissopisakat áakat

i'macha chipota hayyo'shna; uh chipota'siat antahma i'shlit  
falamashtokat school chaffichilitok.

**Haatoko** *high school finishhmat*. Ánta- ántana coup- tok-  
years toklo fokha' toklo fokha'kma nannaho ahántatokha'ni  
kaniy- kaniyaa'chihoot chipota nakni' yappahookano ishtishi-  
a'chi ki'yo imaachili. Ana'akot chipota nakni' hofantichi-  
litok imaachili. **Haa-toko** i'ma ántahay'm.

**Haatoko** i'ma ántaham.

→3a: **Yahmihma** anowa' yappat ibaa-chin-kano'mi  
then: **ds** again those.nm com-dat-distant.relative

3b: yamma ish-im-aachi-kma  
that 2sI-dat-say.to-irr:ds

3c: anowa' nanna ishithána ki'yo.  
then something 2sI-know neg

3d: Kaníhkma' isht-anokfilli-li.  
sometimes about-think-1sI

3e: Himitta' alhiha' yamma-t nanna-hmako  
young two.or.more this-nm something-indef.acc

3f: hoo-kanihmi-a'chi  
3p-happen-inc

3g: yahmichi aya-illa-mina-k-aash. (laughter)  
do go-just-hab-lkr-afore

3h: Am-alhi-hookano  
1s.dat-two.or.more-des

3i: tamowa-t taha-toko  
went.away-prt compl-bgr:ds

3j: *granddaughters* tochchi'na-t am-máyya'sha.  
three-prt 1sIII-have

3k: Tamowa táwwa'a and uh  
go.away be.both

- 3l: chipota tiik-chaff-at holissopisa-kat  
child girl-one-nm go.to.school-sbr:ss
- 3m: áa-kat  
go.along-sbr:ss
- 3n: i'ma-cha  
still-conj:ss
- 3o: chipota hayyo'sh-na;  
get pregnant-conj:ds
- 3p: uh chipota'si-at ánta-hma i'sh-li-t  
baby-nm stay-rl:ds take:ggr-lsI-prt
- 3q: falamash-tokat  
send.back-pt:sbr:ss
- 3r: school chaffichi-li-tok.  
send.away-lsI-pt
- >3s: **Haa-toko** high school finish-hmat.  
then-pt:ds finish-rl:ss
- 3t: Ánta- ánta-na  
stay- stay-conj:ds
- 3u: coup- tok- years toklo fokha'-kma nanna-ho  
two be.about-irr:ds maybe-acc:ds
- 3v: ahánta-tok-ha'ni  
stay-pt-epis
- 3w: kaniy- kaniya-a'chi-hoot  
go.away-incompl-foc:nm
- 3x: chipota nakni' yappa-hookano isht-ishi-a'chi ki'yo  
child male this-topic with-take-inc neg
- 3y: im-aachi-li.  
dat-say-lsI
- 3z: Ana'akot chipota nakni' hofantichi-li-tok  
I:emph child boy raise-lsI-pt



3aa: im-aachi-li.  
dat-say-1sI

-->3bb: **Haa-toko**      i'ma    ánta-hay'm.  
so-pt:**ds**            still   stay-ever

3T: Then when you tell them it's your kinfolks, you don't care. Sometimes I think about them. These young ones will go and do something. (laughter) Mine are gone; I have three granddaughters. They're all gone. One girl went to school; she was still going to school and she got pregnant; when the baby was born, I took him and I sent her back to school. Then she *finished high school* and stayed; it's been about two years maybe she stayed. She was going to go away and I said you're not going to take the boy. I told her I raised this boy up. So he's still here now.

As noted in Munro 1998, these paragraph level markers "show divisions between major sections of the text, and are naturally associated with 'a change of grammatical subject' (50). To understand their use in the preceding example, we must determine the subject of the sections immediately before and after the markers occur.

In turn 1, Frankie is talking about how young people behave. When she ends the turn, the grammatical subject is 'they.' Turn 2 is not relevant to the discussion of subject. This turn consists of a continuer, by which Catherine is merely indicating that she follows what Frankie is saying and acknowledges that, although a speaker transition is possible at this point, she understands that Frankie is not through with her narrative. In turn 3, Frankie begins with a different-subject connective, *yahmihma*. This indicates that the subject of the next clause is different from that of the preceding turn. Indeed, this is the

case. The subject of the clause following *yahmihma* (in 3b) is 'you'. It is also interesting to note that the topic of 1 (the behavior of young people) could be construed as being the initial topic of turn 3. However, note that Frankie changes the topic to thinking about the young people. I believe it is this topic shift that dictates the use of the paragraph-level connective.

The next connective occurs later in the same turn, in the clause *Haatoko high school finishhmat*. The subject of the clause immediately preceding this is 'I' (the subject of the verb *chaffichi*); the subject of the clause following *haatoko* is 'she'.

The last connective occurs in the last clause of turn 3 (clause 3bb), *Haatoko i'ma anta-hay'm*. The subject of this clause is 'he' while the subject of the preceding clause is 'I'. There is also a topic shift from what Frankie told the girl to the fact that the boy is still with Frankie.

Thus, in this one turn, we can see how Frankie uses paragraph-level connectives to set off different sections of the turn and indicate topic shifts.

The other three paragraph-level markers are used in the same way. The following sequence is taken from the conversation between Lizzie Frazier, Onita Carnes, and Catherine Willmond; in it, Lizzie uses two different-subject paragraph-level connectives.

1L: Cutin yammāt ishithāna'ni ki'yo? Yammako  
 anowa' imihoo yammāt Leona-at iyyi'llitoko  
 hopaaki ki'yoka anowa' Bug yammāt  
 ittihaalalla'chitoka'ni aachimanko.

**Haatoko** anowa' Cutin-hmat *heart problem* yamma-at  
 ishihootokoot; [general laughter]

**haatoko** anowa' *heart attack* i'shicha illitokookya  
 yammāt.

1a: Cutin yamma-t ish-ithāna-a'ni ki'yo  
 Cutin that-nm 2sI-know-pot neg

1b: Yamma-ako anowa' imihoo yamma-t  
 that-cntr:acc again wife that-nm

1b(cont) Leona-at iyyi'lli-toko  
 Leona-nm die:ygr-bgr:ds

1c: hopaaki ki'yo-ka  
 long.time not-sbr:ds

1d: anowa' Bug<sup>4</sup> yamma-t ittihaalall-a'chi-tok-a'ni  
 then Bug that-nm get.married-inc-pt-pot

1e: aachi-manko.  
 say-pt:evid

-->1f: **Haa-toko** anowa' Cutin-hmat *heart problem*  
 then-pt:**ds** then Cutin-nm

1f(cont): yamma-t ishi-hootokoot;  
 that-nm get-because:ss

-->1g: **haa-toko** anowa' *heart attack* i'shi-cha  
 then-pt:**ds** then get:ggr-conj:ss

1h: illi-tok-ookya yamm-at.  
 die-pt-but that-nm

1T: That Cutin, you must know him, don't you? That one was  
 his wife before, Leona, died; before too long then Bug was  
 supposed to marry him (they said).

**Then** Cutin had a *heart problem* [general laughter];

**and then** he had a *heart attack* but he died.

20: (yamm-at) Oh.

2a: (yamm-at) oh  
that-nm

2T: (That one) Oh.

3L: **Haatoko** yamma anowa' imbrother Joe Shields-at January illi  
anowa'.

-->3a: **Haa-toko** yamma anowa' im-brother  
then-pt:ds that then dat-brother

3b: Joe Shields-at January illi anowa'.  
Joe Shields-nm January die then

3T: **Then** her brother; Joe Shields died then in  
January.

The first connective, *haatoko*, occurs toward the end of turn 1. The subject of the clause preceding it is 'Bug'; the subject of the clause following it is 'Cutin'. Therefore, this marks a change in subject. Note also that the topic of the first part of the turn is the marital status of Cutin but that after the connective, the topic changes to his heart trouble.

The next connective is also *haatoko*. The subject of the clause preceding it is 'he' (referring to Cutin) while the subject of the following clause is 'that one'. The topic also

shifts from a discussion of Cutin's heart trouble to Bug's brother.

The final connective occurs in the conversation between Mary James and Catherine Willmond.

1M: and um ilakat alhihat kánnohmikat ithá<sup>h</sup>nahookya naachi  
' acho'li ikitha'noki'kat chokmat ikpi'so miya.

1a: and um ila-kat  
different-sbr:ss

1b: alhiha-at kánnohmi-kat  
several-nm be.few-sbr:ss

1c: ithá<sup>h</sup>na-hookya  
know-but

1d: naachi acho'li  
quilt sew

1e: ik-itha'n-o-ki-kat  
hyp-know-neg-neg-sbr:ss

1f: chokma-t ik-pi's-o  
good-prt hyp-see-neg

1g: miya  
say

1T: and um there are some different ones, there are a few, they know, but they don't know how to sew a quilt and they said they can't see so well.

2C: (laughter)

3M: **Haa-toko**

-->3a: **Haa-toko**  
then-pt:**ds**

3T: **Then**

4C: *Oh, yeah.*

5M: **Haatoko** yamm<sup>a</sup>t illik<sup>a</sup>ma na<sup>a</sup>achi a<sup>h</sup>o'lanikat; hookya Edna,  
Edna-at a<sup>h</sup>o'li'hi biyyikahookya hopooni' *she's a cook,*  
*see, she has to be in the kitchen cooking and uh (x.x)*  
poshnaak illa see Frankie-at anowa' ala salami ki'yotoko.

-->5a: **Haa-toko** yamma-t illi-kma  
then-pt:ds that-nm die-irr:ds

5b: na<sup>a</sup>achi a<sup>h</sup>o'li-a'ni-ka  
quilt sew-pot-sbr:ds

5c: hookya Edna, Edna-at a<sup>h</sup>o'li-(a)'hi biyyika-hookya  
but Edna-nm sew-conv always-but

5d: hopooni'  
cook 't

5e: *she's a cook, see, she has to be in the kitchen cooking*  
*and uh (x.x)*

5f: poshnaak illa see  
us just

5g: Frankie-at anowa' ala salami ki'yo-toko  
Frankie-nm now come too.much neg-bgr:ds

5T: **Then** they're all dying out, the ones who can sew quilts  
but Edna, Edna can sew but she's a cook, *she's a cook, see,*  
*she has to be in the kitchen cooking and uh it's just us,*  
*see, now Frankie doesn't come too often.*

In this sequence, the last subject of turn 1 is 'they'. Mary attempts to start a turn in 3 but is cut off by Catherine. In turn 5, Mary restarts her utterance; the subject of the next clause is also 'they'. However, this refers to those who are dying out, which is a different group from those who say they

can't sew. Therefore, the subject of these two clauses is different. Also, the topic of turn 3 is those who say they can't sew. The topic of 5 is the fact that the ones who could sew are dying. Again, we see the use of a paragraph-level connective not only to mark a shift in grammatical subject but also to mark a shift in topic.

This use of paragraph-level switch-reference markers to denote topic change is quite interesting and deserving of further research. Williams 1995 found that Choctaw speakers use same-subject discourse-unit switch-reference markers (his term for the Choctaw analogs to Chickasaw paragraph-level switch-reference markers) to indicate continuity of a topic or a narrative episode and different-subject markers to indicate discontinuity of topic or episode. I found no instances of same-subject paragraph-level connectives. However, speakers attest to their existence and usage. Since these markers occur relatively rarely in conversation, the absence of same-subject markers may have been an artifact of the segments chosen for transcription or it may have to do with individual speaker preference. Only 3 of the 9 speakers taped used these markers. Certainly, further research on paragraph-level connectives in both Chickasaw and Choctaw is indicated. Comparisons with topic closure and initiation in English (e.g., Button and Casey 1984) should illuminate the general process of topic shift in conversation.

Appendix

## Chickasaw Alphabet (developed by Prof. Pamela Munro)

' /ʔ/	lh /ɬ/
a	m
aa (long /a/)	n
<u>a</u> (nasal /a/)	ng /ŋ/
b	o
ch /tʃ/	oo (long /o/)
q'	<u>o</u> (nasal /o/)
e	p
f	r
g	s
h	sh /ʃ/
i	t
ii (long /i/)	u
<u>i</u> (nasal /i/)	v
j /j/	w
k	y
l	z



## Chickasaw Prefixes and Suffixes

Prefix/ Suffix	Meaning	Abbreviation
aa-	locative	loc
-at / -aat	nominative	nm
-aash	aforementioned	afore
-a'chi	incompletive	inc
-a'ni	potential	pot
-akot	contrastive:nominative	cntr:nm
-ako	contrastive:accusative	cntr:acc
-ak	oblique	obl
-a'hi	convictional	conv
-a	accusative	acc
-cha	conjunction:same subject	conj:ss
-chayni	deductive	ded
-chi	dubitative	dub
-ha	focus:different subject	foc:ds
-haat	question:nominative	q:nm
-hā'ni	epistemic	epis
-hcha	perfective	perf
-hmat	realis:same subject	rl:ss
-hma	realis:different subject	rl:ds
hoo-	3rd person plural	3pp
-hookya	but	but
-hookano	desiderative	des
-hookma	if:different subject	if:ds
-hookmat	if:same subject	if:ss
-hoot	focus:nominative	foc:nm
-hootoko	because:different subject	because:ds
-hootokoot	because:same subject	because:ss
-hoottook	focus:remote past	foc:rpt
-ho	exclamation (verb)	excl
	focus (noun)	foc
ibaa-	comitative	com
ik-	hypothetical	hyp
im-	dative	dat

Prefix/ Suffix	Meaning	Abbreviation
-k-	linker	lkr
-ka	subordinating:diff. subj.	sbr:ds
-kat	subordinating:same subj	sbr:ss
-kma	irrealis:different subject	irr:ds
-kmat	irrealis:same subject	irr:ss
-kya	variant of -hookya	but
-maá	triplural auxiliary	tpl.aux
-manko	past:evidential	pt:evid
-mina	habitual	hab
-na	conjunction:diff subj	conj:ds
-na'-	habitual	hab
-o	exclamation	excl
okaa-	into	into
-ookano	topic	top
-ookya	but	but
-oot	focus	foc
osht-	directional preverb	dir.preverb
-o'si	diminutive	dim
-t	participle	prt
-tá'sha	evidential	evid
-tok	past	pt
-tokat	past:subordinating:same subj	pt:sbr:ss
-toka	past:subordinating:diff subj	pt:sbr:ds
-tokma	past:compl:diff subj	pt:cmp:ds
-tokmat	past:compl:same subj	pt:cmp:ss
-tokoot	backgrounding:same subj	bgr:ss
-toko	backgrounding:diff subj	bgr:ds
-ttook	remote past	rpt
-ttooka	remote past:subord:diff subj	rpt:sbr:ds

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Work for this study was completed thanks to grants from the UCLA American Indian Study Center and the UCLA Pauley Foundation.

<sup>2</sup> Abbreviations used for morphological markers are given in the appendix, along with the orthography.

<sup>3</sup> As noted above, *-li* followed by *-cha* surfaces as *-lit* and *-li* followed by *-na* surfaces as *-li*.

<sup>4</sup> Bug is the nickname of Lee Fannie Shields. Lizzie, Lee Fannie, and Leona all grew up together.

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