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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 our 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

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were audiotaped. One conversation was taped in Los Angeles. The other nine were recorded in Oklahoma. Mrs. Catherine Will mond, 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.
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).

1a. Ihoo-át mali-cha taloowa-tok.
   woman-nm jump-conj:ss sing-pt
   Woman sang and jumped.

1b. Ihoo-át mali-na bhattak-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 bhattak 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. Ithaaani-li aya-l-a'chi-kat know-1st go-lat-irr-str:sgg
    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 / -kg

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

3a. Sa-chaaha-kat  ithána-li.
    lsiI-tali-comp:ss  know-lsi
    I know (that) I'm tall.

    2siI-comp:ds  knowlsi
    I know (that) you're tall.
    (examples from Munró and Willmond 1995:163)

-hmat / -hmg (realis)

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

    sing-lsi-sbr:ss  dance-lsi-pt
    After I sang, I danced.

    sing-lsi-sbr:ds  2si-laugh-pt
    After I sang, you laughed.

-kmat / -kmg (itrrealis)

This marker is usually translated as 'after' or 'when' and indicates the activities have not yet occurred.
5a. Taloowa-li-kmat hilha-li-a'chi
sing-1st-sbr: ss dance-1st-future
After I sing, I will dance.

5b. Taloowa-li-kma hilh(a)-a'chi
sing-sbr: ds dance-1st-future
After I sing, he will dance.

-hoomkat / -hookma
This marker is usually translated as 'if.'

sing-1st-sbr: ss dance-1st-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; danced because she; sang.

7b. Taloowa-hootoko hilha-li-tok.
sing-sbr: ds dance-1st-pt
I danced because she sang.

-tokoot / -toko
This marker is a backgrounding suffix.

8a. Taloowa-tokoot nilha-tok.
sing-bgr: ss dance-pt
She; danced while she; sang.
sing-bgrida dance-1sI-pt
I danced while she sang.

-cha / -na
These markers are ordinarily translated as 'and.'

9a. Talo'wa-cha -na hila-tok.
sing-conj:sg dance-pt
She sang and she sang.

9b. Talo'wa-na hila-tok.
sing-conj:ds dance-pt
She sang and she 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A.</th>
<th>-t / nasalization</th>
<th>(-t marks same subject, nasalization marks different subject!)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-kat / -kə</td>
<td>Dependent verb is (usually) the complement of main verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-hmat / -hma</td>
<td>'after or 'when'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-kmat / -kma</td>
<td>'after' or 'when' (future)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-hookmat / -hookma</td>
<td>'if'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-hootokoot / -hootoko</td>
<td>'because'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-tokoot / toko</td>
<td>Backgrounding</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| B.  | -cha / -na2       | '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 as

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

hihmot / hima

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marker</th>
<th>Same topic / different topic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>haataokot</td>
<td>haataokp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yahmihmat</td>
<td>yahmihma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hihamat</td>
<td>hihma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yghcha</td>
<td>yahna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marker</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Same-subject</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haataokot</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yahmihmat</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hihamat</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yghcha</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Different-subject</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haataoko</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yahmihma</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hihma</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yahna</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the conversation recorded between Frankie Alberson and Catherine Willmound, 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. Himma' hmitta' áyya'sháhookano yammat yah; uh nannâhookyá yappat chiśipokni alihâ' immi'ttook
ishimmáchikya nannishTânhî ki'yo yah.

1a: Himma' himmata' áyya'shá-hookano yamma-t yah now young exist-des those-nm do

1b: uh nannahookyá yappat chiśipokni alihâ' everything this:nn 2sIII-be.old two.or.more

1c: immi'-ttooook 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

i'machachipota hayyo'shna uchhipota'siattantahma i'shliitfalamashtokatschoolschaffichilitok.

**Haatoke** high school finishhat. Anta'antana caution tokoyears tokofokha'tokofokha'kma nannagnahantatokha'ni kaniny-kanilyaachichootchipotanakiiyappahookanoishtishi-a'chikiiyoimaachili. Ana'akotchipotanakiihofantichilitokimaachili. **Haatoke** i'ma antahay'm.

**Haatoke** i'ma antaham.

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

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

3c: angwa'nannaishithana kiiyo.
   then something 2sl-know neg

3d: Kanjkhmāk isht-anokfilli-li.
   sometimes about-think-1sf

3e: Himitta'aliha'yamma-tnanna-hmakoyoung two.or.more this-nm something-indef.aoc

3f: hoo-kaninmi-a'chihap-pappen-inc

3g: yahmichiaya-illa-mina-k-aash.(laughter)
dogo-just-hab-lkk-afore

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

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

3j: granddaughters toochhi'na-tam-māyya'sha.
   three-prt lisill-have

3k: Tamowataawa'and uh
   go.away be.both
3i: chipota tik-chaff-at holissopisa-kat
       child  girl-one-nm  go.to.school-sbr:ss
3m: ãa-kat
goa.long-sbr:ss
3n: i'mar-chaa
still-conj:ss
3o: chipota hayyo'sh-na;
get pregnant-conj:ds
3p: uh chipota'si-at ãnta-hma  į'sh-li-t
    baby-nm  stay-ili:ds  take:grr-1sl-plt
3q: falamas tokat
    send.back-pt:sbr:ss
3r: school chaffichi-li-tok,
    send.away-1sl-plt
3̂s: Haa-toko  high school finish-hmat.
    then-pt:ds  finish-rl:as
3t: ãnta-  ãnta-na
    stay-  stay-conj:ds
3u: coup- tok- years toklo fokha'-kma  nanna-hq
    two  be.about-irr:ds  maybe-acc:ds
3v: ahânta-tok-ha'ni
    stay-epis
3w: kanly- kaniya-a'chi-hoot
    go.away-incompl-foc:nn
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-1sl
3z: Ana'akot chipota nakni' hofantichi-li-tok
    I:emph child boy  raise-1sl-pu
3aa: im-aachi-li.
dat-say-1sI

-->3bb: Maa-toko im'aa ānta-hay'm.
so-pt'ds still stay-ever

JT: 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 continuation, 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, yahmha. 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 yahmihm (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 Hastokg high school finishmat. The subject of the clause immediately preceding this is 'I' (the subject of the verb chaffichi); the subject of the clause following hastokg is 'she'.

The last connective occurs in the last clause of turn 3 (clause 3bb). Hdatokg 'ma ánta-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.
II: Cutin yammat iṣhíhàna’ni ki’yo? Yammakọ
angwa’ imihoo yammat Leona-at iyyillitoko
hopaaki ki’yoka angwa’ Bug yammat
iṣtíhalalali’chitoko’ni aschimankọ.

Haatoko angwa’ Cutin-hmat heart problem yammata-
iṣhíchíha illitoko’okya
yammat.

Ia: Cutin yamma-t iṣhíhàna-a’ni ki’yo
Cutin that-nm 2st-know-pot neg

Ib: Yamma-akọ angwa’ imihoo yammat-
that-constr:acc again wife that-nm

Ib(cont): Leona-at iyyillitoko
Leona-nm die:yor-bgrids

Ic: hopaaki ki’yo-ka
long.time not-sbrids

Id: angwa’ Bug’ yamma-t itihaalalle-a’chi-tok-a’ni
then Bug that-nm get.married-inc-pt-pot

Ie: aachi-mankọ
say-pt:evd

-->If: Haa-toko angwa’ Cutin-hmat heart problem
then-pt:ds then Cutin-nm

If(cont): yamma-t
iṣhího:tokko; that-nm get-because:ss

-->Ig: haa-toko angwa’ heart attack i’shi-cha
then-pt:ds then get:gor-conj:ss

Ih: illi-tok’okya yamm-at.
die-pt:but that-nm

Ii: 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 angwa' imbrother Joe Shields-at January illi angwa'.

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

3b: Joe Shields-at January illi angwa'.
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 Will mond.

1M: and um jikakat žilihat žáhohnihatmikat ithánahookya naachi acho’lli ikihna’noki’kat chokmat ikpi’so miya.

1a: and um jla-kat
different-
1b: alhiha-at kánnohmi-kat several-nm be.few-
1c: ithánahookya know-but
1d: naachi acho’lli quilt sew
1e: ik-itha’n-o-ki-kat hyp-know-neg-neg-
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-pst'da
3T: Then

4C: Oh, yeah.

5M: Haatoko yammat illikma naachi acho\'lanikat; hookya Edna, Edna-at acho\'li\'hi biyyiyikahookya 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: naachi acho\'li-a\'ni-ka
quilt sew-pot-sbr:ds

5c: hookya Edna, Edna-at acho\'li-(a)\'hi biyyiyika-hookya but Edna-nm sew-conv always-but

5d: hopooni\'
cook '

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)

' /?/  ln /隐约/

a  m
sa (long/a/)  n
æ (nasal/a/)  ng /隐约/
b  o
ch /ɔ/  oo (long/o/)
d'  o (nasal/o/)
e  p
f  r
g  s
h  sh /ʃ/
i  t
ii (long/i/)  u
i (nasal/i/)  v
j /dʒ/  w
k  y
l  z
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix/</th>
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<th>Abbreviation</th>
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NOTES

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

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

3 As noted above, -ll followed by -chs surfaces as -lit and -li followed by -ns surfaces as -lj.

4 Bug is the nickname of Lee Fannie Shields. Lizzie, Lee Fannie, and Lena all grew up together.

REFERENCES


----- 1998 (ms.). To appear in Native Languages of the Southeastern United States, ed. Janine Scancarelli and Heather K. Hardy, University of Nebraska Press.


