THE SKIDEGATE DIALECT OF HAIDA

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ABSTRACT

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The Haida language is spoken by the Native people of the Queen Charlotte Islands and in a few small areas of southeastern Alaska. There are two principal dialect continua: that represented by the speech community of Skidegate on the one hand and that of the Masset and Alaskan speech communities on the other. This study is devoted to a detailed structural description of the Skidegate dialect.

Chapter 1 explains the linguistic and ethnographic background of the study. Theoretical positions are stated, and an account of previous work on Haida is given, along with an assessment of Haida's historical position vis-à-vis the Na-Dene hypothesis. There is a brief description of linguistic variation within the Skidegate speech community and a comment on each of the four Skidegate speakers who served as a co-worker in the study. Ethnographic and historical material pertinant to the distribution and condition of the Haida speakership is presented.

Chapter 2 contains a description of Skidegate phonology. The chapter is divided into two parts. In the first part an inventory of (taxonomic) phonemes is given

and described in terms of manner and position of articulation. Pitch and stress are considered, minimal pairs documenting the phonemic analysis are listed and the syllable canon is described. In the second part of the chapter sets of ordered rules are given which permit the derivation of surface or shallow phonological representations from motivated underlying forms. From these rules it is evident that much of Skidegate phonology is functionally unified in a rule conspiracy to guarantee polysyllabic structure for inflected forms.

Chapter 3 gives an account of nominal formation and inflection. Nominals are defined on the basis of their inflectional possibilities, and are formed by compounding nominal roots and/or applying one of a small group of suffixes. Nominal inflection involves either old information reference or attributive reference.

Chapter 4 presents a description of predicate structure. The Skidegate predicate consists of a stem followed by inflectional suffixes divided into seven position classes: aspect suffixes, the plural, the negative, the habitual/periodic, tense/evidential suffixes, tense/modal suffixes and old information anaphora. These suffixes are examined in detail and their role in Skidegate grammar is illustrated. The stem is in turn analyzed into derivational elements (prefixes and suffixes) and a base. The derivational suffixes occur in four position classes following the base. Prefixes occur in two sets,

one containing three position classes and the other containing two classes. The first set consist, from right to left, of shape-classificatory elements, instrumentals and causatives. The second set consists of an intransitivizing element preceded by a causative. The base itself consists of one or more roots which may, in one or more cases, have an attached derivational suffix. When the predicate is used in a dependent clause, various suffixes replace the tense/modal suffixes.

In Chapter 5 the particles are classified on the basis of their syntactic function and described in detail. A brief syntactic characterization of particles in terms of the structure of Noun Phrases and Skidegate word order is given.

In Chapter 6 a personal narrative text in Skidegate is given, along with a detailed breakdown of the narrative into progressively finer units of discourse.

In Chapter 7 a brief typological comparison of Haida with other Northwestern languages is offered in terms of general structural organization and areas of particular elaboration. In terms of this survey Haida appears to be structurally somewhat anomalous in the general linguistic setting of the Northwest.

TO MY PARENTS

AND

TO MARY ANNE

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It is always a pleasure to record publically one's gratitude to others for assistance given in some major undertaking. In the present instance, however, a full accounting is not possible; too many people have contributed to this enterprise, and I shall have to be content with assuring those who have helped me, during the past half decade and more, that I greatly appreciate their efforts. In a number of cases, however, it has been the generosity and goodwill of individuals or groups which enabled my work to go on at all, and I wish to note these specifically.

The Skidegate speakers with whom I worked provided the resources for this study. I have identified them in the text and wish to here again: Mrs. Gertrude Kelly, Mr. Solomon Wilson, Mrs. Hazel Stevens and the late Mrs. Becky Pearson. Their role in the process of linguistic discovery was in several respects more difficult than my own--there can be few things as frustrating as trying to convey what should be quite obvious information to someone who does not catch on immediately--and I am grateful to all of them for their patience.

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To Nancy and Robert Turner of Victoria, British Columbia, I owe much more than the usual debt of friendship, for I had never before been outside New York when I began fieldwork on the B.C. coast, and one need not go very far out of one's own doors in order to experience genuinely frightening culture shock. Friendship and hospitality given freely under these conditions are not merely welcome; they are infinitely precious. One soon learns in the field that morale is as important as academic training, and at the very beginning is a good deal more so.

There are others to whom I am still more deeply indebted for the most fundamental kind of support in this as in all

other ventures, and their names are given in the dedication.

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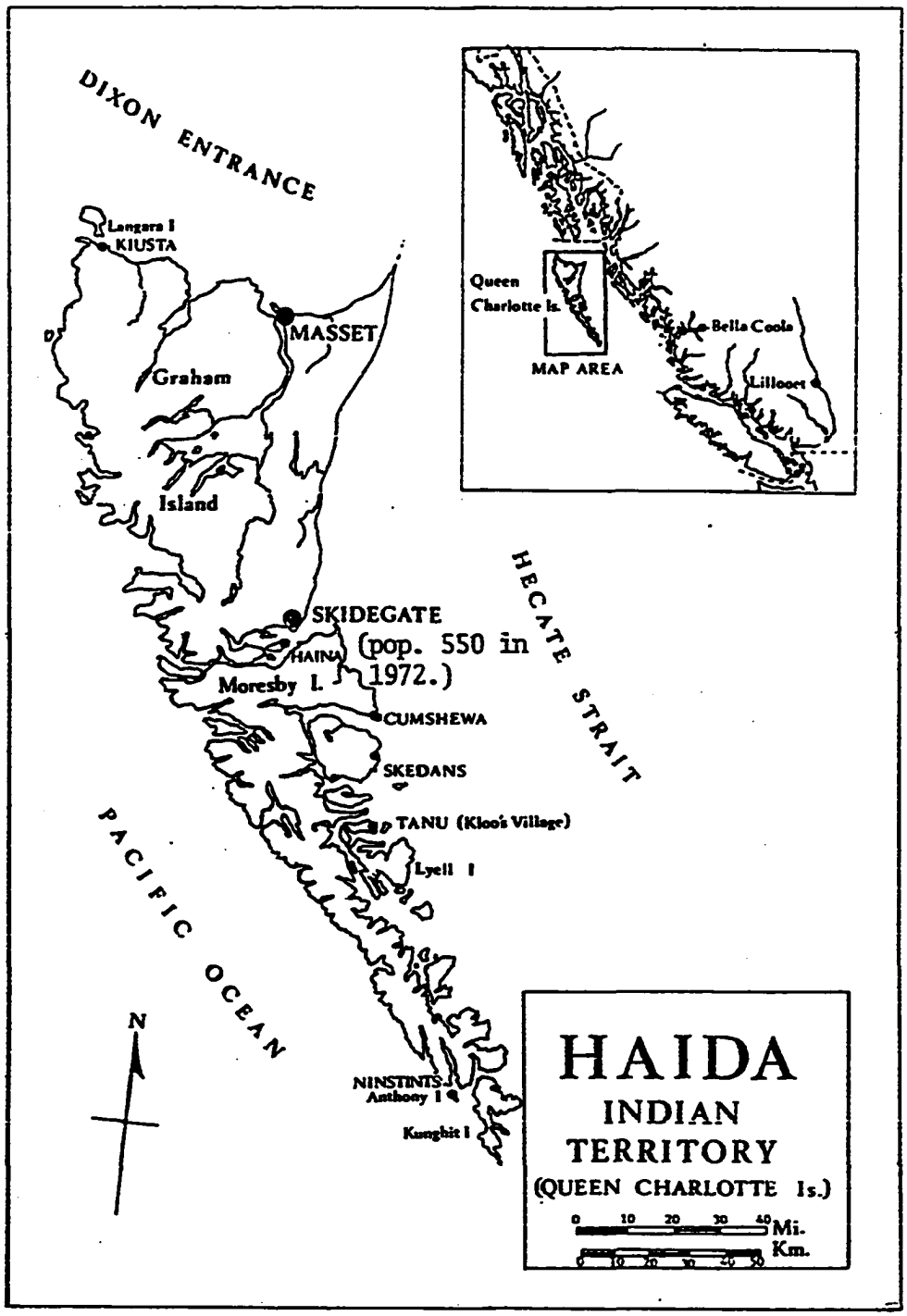
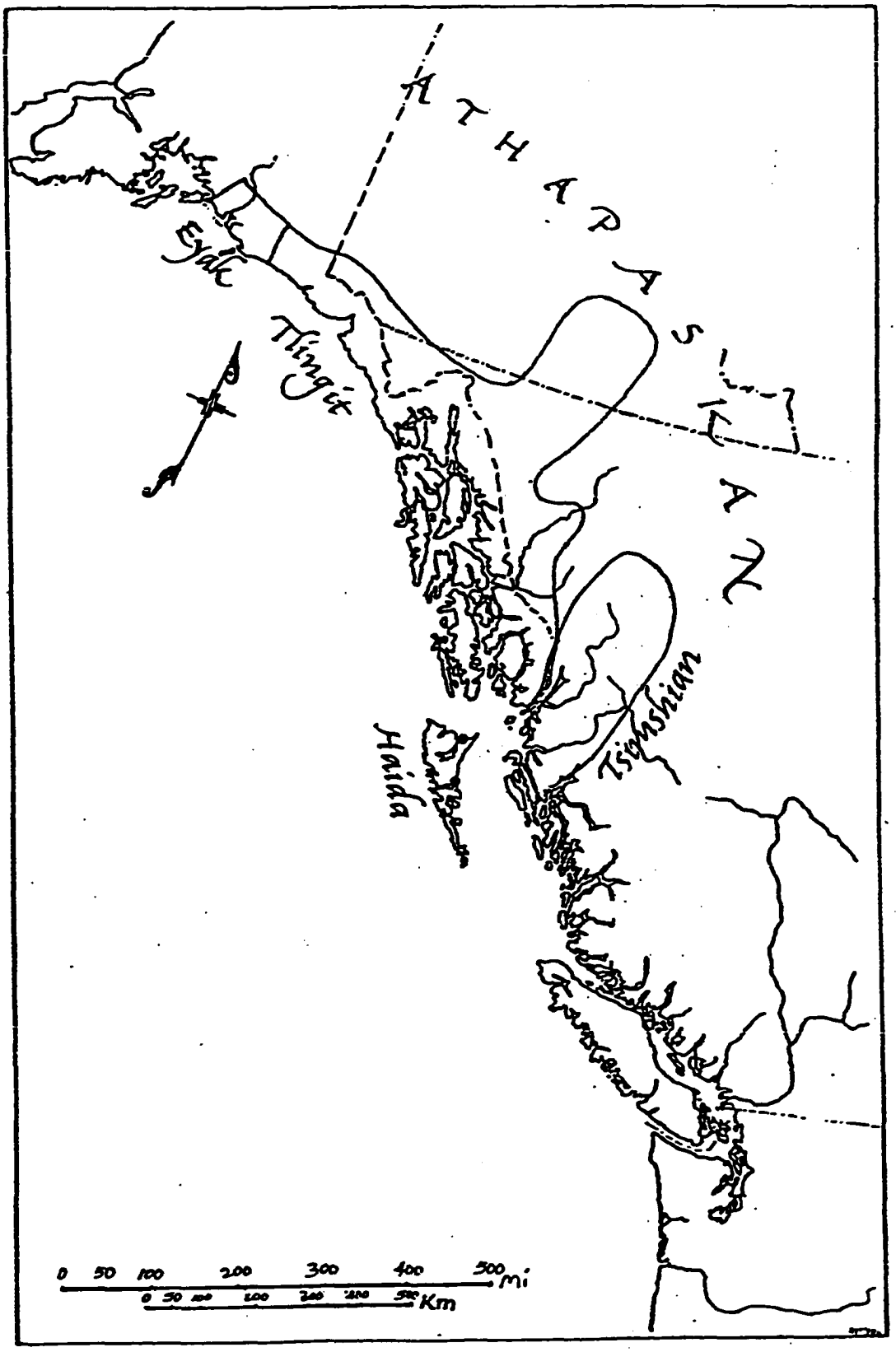
LIST OF SYMBOLS AND CONVENTIONS

/ /	phonemic representation
[ ]	phonetic representation
____	underlying representation
{ }	morphemic representation
X → Y/A	Y replaces X in the environment A.
X + Y	Representation Y immediately succeeds representation X in a given phonological derivation
A:B :: C:D	The relation between A and B is logically equivalent to the relation between C and D
*X	X is not synchronically attested
$_A[\ ]_A$	The elements which appear within the brackets form a constituent whose label in some syntactic representation is A
(A)	The appearance of A is optional
ϕ	The null element
+	In the statement of phonological rules, this symbol indicates morpheme boundaries, and also a positive value for a feature. In Chapters 4, 5 and 6 + indicates derivational status for the affix with which it is associated
-	Indicates morpheme boundaries in the breakdowns provided for words. When a morpheme is referred to in the text, - precedes it if a suffix and follows it if a prefix

$A \sim B$	A alternates with B
$\#_X$	The boundary specified by X



MAP 1 The Queen Charlotte Islands (reproduced from Turner 1974.)



MAP 2 The Northern Northwest Coast (prepared by R.D. Turner.)

Chapter 1 Methodological Preliminaries

1.1 Linguistic Background

1.1.1 Scope of Research

The following chapters contain a partial account of Skidegate Haida grammar, that is, the corpus of statements specifying the units of the language and the constraints upon their combination. I have concentrated on two subareas of the grammar, phonology and word structure. These, being finite in scope, can be investigated in far greater depth than can the rules governing combinations of words, encompassing syntax and discourse structure. The latter fields are open-ended and cannot, in any case, be approached without considerable understanding of phonology and morphology. The bulk of this dissertation consists of a description of the major word classes of Skidegate Haida (SkH), based upon their privileges of occurrence in grammatical constructions and upon their inflectional possibilities. I precede this description with a summary of the phonological forms in terms of which morphemes and morphs are represented and the rules governing these phonological elements. I conclude with an analysis of a SkH text illustrating the dynamic functioning of the language and a broad overview of the "geist" of Haida grammar in relation to the Northwest linguistic area as a whole. Within each of the chapters on word structure I have provided an inventory of morphemes, a statement of their div-

ision into position classes where appropriate, and all the rules of which I am aware determining the co-occurrence of members of different position classes.

This work contains a particular theoretical orientation, as does all description, whether overtly or implicitly. I recognize that the overwhelming thrust of the past twenty years' linguistic investigation has eliminated the notion that a separate level of phonological representation exists shallower than the most underlying and deeper than the phonetic. The so-called taxonomic phoneme which was supposedly defined at this level of representation has been successfully challenged from two perspectives. Chomsky (1964) has demonstrated that the phonemic level was, at best, ill-defined formally, while Halle (1959), Postal (1968) and many others have shown that the concept does not lead to insightful applications, since taxonomic phonemic descriptions are inherently incapable of capturing certain types of generalization. To ignore these advances of modern research would, in my view, be indefensible.

It is also true, however, that at least one investigator has adduced evidence to show that certain distributional contrasts among phonetic segments are regarded as salient by speakers of a given language. Schane (1971) presents suggestive arguments from several languages to show that certain types of surface constrast, once established, will lead to rules eliminating the contrastive phonological fea-

tures where these occur non-contrastively. To account for the psychological salience Schane believes his examples prove for this type of surface contrast, he proposes that the concept "phonemic" be given status in generative theory, though in a radically different way from the usual formulations of structural linguistics: "... the phoneme is not to be defined as an entity found at some autonomous level, but [is] deduced from the surface representations by considering the function of the rules leading to those representations." (Schane 1971, p. 518.)

It is clear from Schane's comments that there is a phonemic surface contrast between two segments when it is not possible to predict from any consistent feature of phonetic context which segment will appear in a given surface environment. This condition may arise for any of several reasons, all of which, in Schane's discussion, involve recourse to grammatical information to explain the source of the contrast. It may also be true, however, that two segments are in surface contrast not because of any particular rule application, but simply because they represent the fully specified feature matrices of two different underlying forms which never undergo morphophonemic change, and that these surface segments are never generated except as reflexes of unique underlying forms. This is often the

case in SkH, where phonetic representation are frequently isomorphic with underlying representations.

In describing the phonology of SkH, therefore, I refer to three types of entity: underlying forms, established through reference to grammatical information; units of surface contrast (phonemes), indicating all those segments which are mutually non-predictable on the basis of phonetic data; and phones, which represent acoustically and articulatorily defined segments of the stream of speech sounds. Underlying forms are underlined, phonemes appear within slashes (/ /) and phones within brackets ([ ]).

It is true that Schane, in his article, does not really define "phoneme" within the context of generative theory so much as he defines the notion "phonemic." Extrapolating from his formulation, I define a phoneme as the output of a sequence of phonological rules at the point at which the last rule has applied that makes reference to information which will not be present at the surface (and, as a corollary, at which all further feature specifications are supplied by what Schane refers to as "phonetic" rules.) To identify a phoneme thus requires knowledge of a complete phonological derivation, and in this sense phonemes, unlike either underlying forms or phones, are "global" segments, using this term as it applies in current generative theory.

On the other hand, I have avoided a generative metalanguage as much as possible for non-phonological parts of the grammar. To utilize generative representation in these areas would imply a knowledge of the derivational history of sentences, including, of course, the output of the base component, and I cannot at this point put forward a set of base rules for SkH on the basis of my data. The languages of the Northwest are in many respects not amenable to such formulation, particularly those of the Salishan and Wakashan families. Haida does not cut across traditional grammatical categories in nearly so spectacular a fashion as these languages; even so, I have approached characterizations of SkH syntax cautiously, although I invoke syntactic information when it is required to explain the distribution of morphemes. For the most part I have concerned myself with word structure. I regard the SkH word as a grammatical structure within which constituents occur in a fixed order; which is itself permutable with respect to other, similarly established units, and which can be identified by native speakers of Haida as meaningful in isolation. In addition, certain phonological rules apply across affix boundaries but not across word boundaries. A word may consist of a root, a root plus one or more affixes, or a compound of two or more roots any of which may have an attached affix, with the further possibility that any of these structures may appear with prefixes or inflectional suffixes. Precise

delineation of the canon for the Skǐ stem ("stem" designating the remainder of a word after inflectional suffixes have been removed) does not appear to be possible at this stage of research.

The data base upon which I have constructed my analysis was collected during a series of elicitation sessions each lasting, generally, three to four hours. In the first phase of research I collected lexical items. After mastering the phonetics of pronunciation and comprehension I began to collect more complex forms which appeared to correspond to sentences. Finally I elicited a series of personal narrative texts and concluded by re-eliciting one of Swanton's traditional narratives, reading his transcription to my Haida co-worker and writing her version as she repeated or corrected what Swanton had written.

1.1.2 The Historical Position of Haida

The debate over the historical position of Haida, and the so-called Na-Dene phylum generally, goes back more than eighty years. Haida was first grouped with Tlingit and the Athapaskan languages by Boas (1894) and Swanton (1908) and the label "Na-Dene" was first applied to this grouping by Sapir (1915). Sapir presented a number of specific morphological resemblances among the Na-Dene languages and a number of putative cognate sets to support his claim that Na-Dene was a genetic grouping, basing his

model of Haida grammar on Swanton's 1911 description. In 1920 Goddard challenged Sapir's claim for Tlingit on the grounds that Tlingit revealed only a marginal number of possible cognates with Athapaskan. Goddard (1920) noted that the explanations which had been offered to account for this lack of lexical cognacy between Tlingit and Athapaskan were so unconstrained that they could be used to support almost any claim of historical connection, regardless of the degree of resemblance among the languages in question. In his later years Boas became skeptical of the genetic basis of Na-Dene, largely on the same grounds as Goddard.

Throughout the debate, there appears to have been a tacit recognition that Haida was the most questionable candidate for inclusion in a Na-Dene phylum. Yet, although Boas' editorial corrections in Swanton's grammar should have served notice that the 1911 HAIL description of Haida contained a certain imprecision in the statement of the morphology, virtually all subsequent speculations on Haida vis-a-vis Na-Dene have relied heavily on Swanton's formulations. Sapir essentially repeated Swanton in setting forth position classes for his 1915 article, and Hymes (1956) retained Sapir's position classes, although introducing certain formal innovations. These structural models have borne the burden of support for Haida's place in Na-Dene;

however, as noted above, Sapir did present some lexical evidence involving Haida, and more recently H.-J. Pinnow has relied almost exclusively on lexical comparison to support his own defense of the "classical" Na-Dene hypothesis (e.g., Pinnow 1968.)

Within the past decade a new picture of Na-Dene has begun to emerge. The role of Eyak, a language now known to be related to Athapaskan, has taken on the utmost importance from the comparative point of view, since comparisons of both grammar and lexicon must be made, not merely with proto-Athapaskan forms but with proto-Athapaskan-Eyak. Even within proto-Athapaskan, modern research into Alaskan Athapaskan languages points to a very different picture of the early history of this family than that which appears in Sapir's 1915 lexical comparison. One result is that the putative cognates Sapir adduced seem, on examination, to be largely spurious, at least insofar as Haida is concerned. Furthermore, the picture of Haida morphology which is emerging in current investigations turns out to have very little in common with Athapaskan-Eyak and Tlingit. The latter display extremely significant grammatical continuities (see, for example, Krauss 1969) and a slowly but steadily increasing inventory of apparently genuine lexical cognates which are nowhere reflected in Haida. Krauss has, since 1969 at the latest, maintained that whatever genetic

reality Na-Dene may have does not include Haida, and Pinnow appears to share this view, to some extent at least (p.c.). On the other hand, Krauss has become increasingly convinced of a genetic link between Tlingit and Athpaskan-Eyak, involving not only affixal morphemes but roots as well, a position Pinnow has long advocated. There are thus signs of a developing concensus within Na-Dene studies that a proto-Athapaskan-Eyak-Tlingit did indeed exist, and that extremely prolonged contact between this language or its daughter languages and the ancestors of modern Haida is entirely adequate as an explanation of resemblances between Haida and the revised Na-Dene group. (Note the spatial contiguity of these languages indicated in Map 2.)

1.1.3 Previous Research on Haida Grammar

Serious work on Haida grammar begins with Harrison's account of the Masset dialect (Harrison 1893.) Harrison, a missionary active on the northern British Columbia coast, was far less gifted than his successor Keen as a phonetician and analyst; thus he completely ignored the distinction between ejective and non-ejective segments, merging the two series in favor of the latter type. He also failed to note pharyngeal stops. His grammatical statement consists principally of a large number of paradigms illustrating some of the tense and aspect combinations in the verb. He provides minimum analysis of words, following the word-in-paradigm

model of description common to Latinate grammars of the time.

Keen's description of the Masset dialect (Keen 1906) is far more satisfactory. Keen accurately transcribed forms containing ejective segments, and he was insightful enough to realize the pharyngeal aspects of articulation of both the pharyngeal stop /ʕ/ and the laryngealized continuants, using an apostrophe in both cases. Keen's statement contains discussions of nouns, verbs and particles; while he does divide the class of verbs into an unnecessarily large number of word classes, his analysis of verb morphology is often acute. Keen too offers a number of verb paradigms, as well as general vocabulary including names, numbers and pronouns; in addition, however, he actually identifies a number of inflectional suffixes and indicates their relative position.

By far the most complete presentation of Haida grammar extant is Swanton's chapter on the Skidegate dialect in the Handbook of American Indian Languages (Swanton 1911.) The bulk of this work is taken up with listing what Boas, in the Introduction, refers to as "major psychological groupings" of predicate morphemes. Each morpheme is listed, under its appropriate "grouping," and is provided with a meaning, or at least a rubric, usually accompanied by illustrative examples. These "psychological groupings" do not correspond exactly to position classes in Swanton's

practice, since co-occurring forms are often grouped under the same category. Nonetheless, some principle of syntagmatic ordering is present in Swanton's presentation, although semantic and distributional facts have not been separated sufficiently in his analysis of the predicate. Swanton also presents a brief discussion of particles containing some speculation on possible internal reconstruction, as well as a vocabulary list and an annotated text. Boas has made a few editorial comments in Swanton's presentation where the analysis appeared incomplete or inaccurate. It is worth noting that Swanton's data base appears to have been exclusively textual; there is no evidence of any paradigmatic elicitation whatsoever. Because of its seminal importance for later speculations about Na-Dene, I have made detailed comments on Swanton's analysis in separate sections or in footnotes in appropriate chapters.

The three researchers discussed above represent the only extensive field experience devoted to Haida until quite recently. Linguists after Swanton seem to have regarded his work as in some sense definitive, and even those who were aware that Haida required re-examination avoided serious contact with the language. During this phase most work involving Haida drew heavily on Swanton's analysis, as noted earlier, even where these later discussions were critical of his HAIL grammar. This tendency was well illustrated in

two articles which appeared in the second volume of IJAL. Both articles offer serious challenge to Swanton's view of Haida structure. Sapir's paper is modestly titled "The Phonetics of Haida" (Sapir 1923); in modern terms the article touches on phonetics, morphophonemics, morphology and internal reconstruction. Haeberlin's paper presents a re-analysis, or suggestions for a re-analysis, of the Skidegate predicate based on what he regards as material in Swanton's texts contradictory to the formulation given in the HAIL sketch.

Sapir's paper is one of his most ambitious and imaginative, and contains many excellent insights considering the two or three hours of first-hand elicitation on which it was based. Yet this limited exposure inevitably led Sapir to a number of implausible conclusions and analytic infelicities. Thus, he analyzes consonants with secondary articulations as unit segments, in spite of considerable evidence that such segments are better represented at even shallow phonological levels as consonant + semivowel (or even consonant + vowel) sequences. It is true that such sequences are unit segments phonetically, but Sapir's distinction between "primary" and "secondary" consonants makes clear that the forty-seven primary segments he sets up are not surface units. Sapir criticized Swanton's transcriptions in several places, which is not in itself surprising--they are are very far from perfect--but Sapir's

evidence is often weak. For example, he observes that "After an accented short vowel Swanton heard a t before dj and j... the firm, voiceless attack of the dj after a markedly short vowel created the illusion of a syllable-closing consonant." (Sapir 1923, p. 146). But Sapir was unaware of the form [k̓ʌ́qğʷi] "(something small) fall," which normally would be pronounced [k̓ʌ́ɣ̌ʷi] if the first syllable were not at least phonetically closed. It therefore seems likely that the form which Swanton transcribes k!Atdju "small," provoking the preceding comment by Sapir, really does have a syllable-closing consonant following the first vowel, and that while the underlying form of the shape classificatory element is k̓ʌ, its surface form always appears with a following consonant in accordance with the general constraint forbidding final [ʌ] in open syllables. Sapir imagined, moreover, that all occurrences of [ʌ] (ä in his orthography) could be derived from an underlying a, but minimal pairs exist to refute this supposition. To some extent Sapir's difficulties with the vowels were based on ill-founded morpheme division: he segmented -{gʌn} "past" into -{ga} "independent clause structure"-{n} "'to be at a given moment of time, to happen" with no justification presented anywhere for the latter gloss. Supposedly a→ʌ/__nasal, but this rule does not hold up in view of the abundant examples of

[a] preceding nasals; thus there is a minimal pair [ğan] "berry," [ğʌn] "for, on behalf of."

The preceding instance reveals that in spite of the announced topic, Sapir's focus in the paper is morphology, not phonetics. So does the comment which immediately follows his analysis of -{gʌn}: "I hope to show at a future opportunity that the whole tense-modal system of Haida is nothing but a loose compounding of demonstrative elements and particle verbs and that the synthetic nature of this scheme is more apparent than real. Thus Swanton's 'infallible' future is merely a verb phrase ʾa-sa-ŋ-[a] 'this will be [duratively].'" (Sapir 1923, p.154.) Here and elsewhere Sapir indulges in demonstrably incorrect etymologizing. Ironically, much of the weakness of his challenge to Swanton rests on his acceptance of Swanton's errors, as in this case. Sapir here identifies the initial segments of Swanton's -asaŋ with the deictic particle {ʔa}; the future suffix is not -asaŋ, however, but -{ğas}, where ğ deletes in most of Swanton's examples, as is predictable. The [aŋ] remaining belongs to -{gʌŋ} "independent old information," whose intial g→ϕ under a wide variety of conditions. Thus, the actual analysis of -asaŋ is not what Sapir claimed at all, but rather -{ğas}-{gʌŋ}. Following Swanton, Sapir confused different morphemes

which all have the underlying shape -gʌŋ. A comparable instance of indefensible etymologizing may be found in his discussion of the existence predicate {ʔiǰ} (i·ji in Sapir's writing) on pp. 150-151 of his article.

In spite of these serious flaws, there is much of value in Sapir's paper, particularly in his discussion of the difficult problems posed by [Ləl] syllables, where L represents any lateral element, and in his perception of the morphological link between shape classificatory roots with final m and those with final b. In addition, Sapir seems to me to have understood the problems of supersegmental phonology in Haida far better than any investigator so far. The existence of a single pitch minimal pair in SkH, unknown to either Swanton or Sapir, does not invalidate the general validity of Sapir's observation that "pitch alternations are a primary factor in the dynamics of Haida, though it is perfectly clear that a given syllable is not uniformly high pitched or low pitched." (Sapir 1923, p. 157). On the whole, the most valuable parts of Sapir's paper seem to me to be those concerned with phonetic description, which he provides in far greater detail than does Swanton.

Haeberlin's paper addresses itself to the important issue of Haida stem formation. Referring to Swanton's

characterization of the predicate complex, he notes that

"The essential features of this analysis are that the order of these four groups of elements in the verbal theme is rigid, that a verbal element is determined in its position by belonging to one of the four groups, and that there is an inherent distinction between primary verbal elements, represented by those of the third group, and secondary ones, represented by the other three groups. Do these grammatical principles explain the complexity of the phenomena?" (Haeberlin 1923, p. 159.)

Haeberlin approaches an answer to this question by pointing out examples from Swanton's own data which seem to violate the canons set forth in the HAIL sketch. According to Haeberlin, Swanton makes no provision in his formulation for cases in which (1) a stem can appear either to the right or to the left of other stems with which it is associated; (2) bases ("themes" in Haeberlin's usage) include a nominal element; (3) elements appear to the left of classificatory morphemes ("stems" in Haeberlin's terminology) which also appear as "primary" verbs (and which, by implication, should appear only to the right of the classificatory forms, which are described by Swanton as prefixes.) This type of case includes the appearance of a locative suffix as a "primary stem" (and, in my own data, as a particle) and similar problems.

Haeberlin concludes from these considerations that

"instead of assuming different categories of elements and attributing to them definite places in the complex, it is imperative to view the situation from the broader

standpoint of the combination of stems in general... a freer view of the composition of stems is warranted. As soon as it becomes apparent that combination of nominal and verbal stems is in no essential way distinct from one of different verbal stems, then our view of the Haida verbal complex as a stem or group of stems modified by definite classes of prefixes and suffixes must change." (Haeberlin 1923, p. 162.)

Haeberlin's critique succeeds in being simultaneously insightful and misdirected. Let us consider his objections in order.

(1) As far as the lack of rigid left/right order among stems is concerned, there is no stem in SkH which can appear to the left or the right of any given stem. All Haeberlin's examples illustrate is the fact that {qa} "move" appears to the left of some roots and to the right of others. There is nothing free about the positional order of {qa} with respect respect to any given root. Such facts belong to the lexicon; they imply an idiosyncratic basis for ordering which is the opposite of positional freedom. Indoeuropean bristles with comparable examples, e.g. English "offshoot" vs. "brush-off."

(2) There is no reason why a derivational process cannot produce a verb stem from a noun root or stem. -{da} in any case is a suffix, not a root. A compounding of noun stem-+ verb stem may produce a verb stem, but this hardly invalidates the use of position classes

in an analysis.

(3) Historical processes often permit the same linguistic form to function according to the canon of more than one morphosyntactic class. Synchronically, this is irrelevant to the establishment of position classes, especially if such classes contain more than one member. A case in point is English "full," which represents the same grammatical material as the suffix -ful in "careful," or the corresponding pair "less"/ "-less" as in "careless." In a synchronic analysis of English, moreover, one might be tempted to analyze the prefix "en-" in "enable" as being identical to the suffix "-en" in "weaken," and while historically the two affixes have different sources, purely descriptive principles might necessitate the equation if no historical sources and/or opportunities for comparison existed--as they in fact do not for Haida. This is a possibility that Haeberlin does not consider--that some of the morphemes he sees as freely occurring may in fact represent at least historically distinct elements.

Yet in certain respects Haeberlin may have captured an important truth not about Haida's synchronic structure but about its history. There is every reason to be suspicious about the Haida instrumental prefixes, for example, as

Swanton presents them, since almost all of them are grammatically identical to nominal or predicate roots. The classificatory elements too seem very likely, upon careful examination, to have been roots at an earlier period (see discussion of this point in Chapter 5.) Synchronically, both prefix classes appear to be closed to further expansion, and therefore the kind of freedom necessary to explain them as simply the initial elements in compound stems does not exist; for the shape classifiers there is the additional problem that almost all of them have ceased to function as roots, much like the "cran-" in "cranberry." Historically, however, Haeberlin may be entirely justified in supposing that the prefix classes were created by Haida's well-known tendency to form compound stems.

The heart of the difficulty with Haeberlin's claims is that he did not, quite understandably, separate derivational material from inflectional. This distinction, which is absolutely critical in all Haida dialects, was overlooked by Swanton; it seems to me quite likely that a meticulous re-examination of his text collections might have led to its discovery, but no subsequent investigator undertook the task. This problem seems to have entailed another, that is, an extremely lax application of the concept "stem." Apparently anything could be a stem, regardless of its inflectional

possibilities. The causative suffix -{da}, for example, is described in both Swanton's work and Haeberlin's as a stem, although it never can be independently inflected. Yet "stem" was not synonymous with "morpheme," as such examples might lead one to think, since Swanton did make a distinction in his description of predicate morphology between stems and suffixes.

It is somewhat curious that both Sapir, in one of the passages from his paper quoted above, and Haeberlin, as his main hypothesis, attacked the allegedly synthetic appearance of the Haida language. Diachronic speculation almost certainly played a part in this criticism, at least on Sapir's part, for the Na-Dene hypothesis was the subject of active debate during this period and, as I have pointed out elsewhere (Levine 1976) the "classical" Na-Dene perspective required a "loose" structure for Haida vis-á-vis Athapaskan and Tlingit. Unfortunately, Sapir's and Haeberlin's reinterpretations of Swanton were the first of a number of subsequent contributions by Amerindianists in which references to Haida were based entirely upon earlier work or extremely marginal contact with the language, rather than fieldwork. At present this trend has been reversed; a number of investigators are carrying out first-hand research on different dialects and different linguistic aspects of Haida. It is not possible

to comment in detail on recent work, nor would it be fair, since much of it has been presented extremely informally, and, in many cases, only for the consideration of other Haidanists. The current scene can be summed up as follows: there are two active research initiatives devoted to Haida, apart from the one represented by this dissertation. One originates with the Alaska Native Language Center at the University of Alaska, and has been largely conducted by Jeff Leer, with some work also by Michael Krauss. The other is based in Seattle, with Carol Eastman and Robert Welsch of the University of Washington's Department of Anthropology. Both institutions are studying Alaskan dialects. It is rumored that a graduate student has done some fieldwork in Masset with that dialect, but I cannot comment on this at present. In any case, some of the work now available on the northern dialects (see, especially, Welsch 1976) appears to set forth results thoroughly comparable to those reported for SkH in the following chapters. I should prefer to withold assessment of these efforts until they appear in a more formal presentation.

1.1.4 Information Sources for Skidegate Haida.

The research upon which this dissertation is based was initiated in February, 1972. From late February through early May I worked in Vancouver with Mrs. Gertrude Kelly,

the widow of the speaker who provided Sapir with material for his Haida phonetics article. Mrs. Kelly, although a native speaker of the Skidegate dialect, had not used Haida for communication on a daily basis for approximately sixty years. Her principal strength as an associate in this work lay in her clarity of pronunciation, so that she provided an excellent introduction to the surface phonology of SkH. However, in a number of instances Mrs. Kelly appeared uncertain of whether a velar or a uvular stop was the proper segment in certain forms. She occasionally produced a back segment apparently midway between a velar and a uvular stop, and in these cases it was difficult to know which segment to record. At a deeper level, Mrs. Kelly seemed unsure about the status of g-deletion rules, even in the post-alveodental environment where it is, for all other speaker, absolutely universal.

From June of 1972 through mid-January of the following year I worked in Skidegate with a series of speakers, starting with Solomon Wilson, who at 89 is generally regarded as among the very ablest living speakers of the Skidegate dialect, possibly the best. He was the heir of the last hereditary chief of /x̌ayna/, a small village on an island across the Channel from Queen Charlotte City known as Maude Island. This community represented the survivors of the original population of /č̓a?aɬ/, an island

off the west coast of Graham Island. Subsequently I worked with Mrs. Hazel Stevens, an excellent speaker in her mid-seventies, whose parents were from /t'anu/, and the late Mrs. Becky Pearson, whose family originated in Cumshewa and Kaisun. Mrs. Pearson was an outstanding co-worker and my principal source of data for most of the topics referred to in this dissertation. Mrs. Pearson was first exposed to English at the age of seven; she subsequently lived on the mainland, but returned to the Charlottes when she was in her twenties and immediately resumed the use of Haida. She spent a number of years living in Masset. Any form not specifically marked otherwise has been supplied by Mrs. Pearson.

1.1.5 Linguistic Variation in Skidegate Haida

It is interesting to compare the data supplied by these speakers respectively. There is considerable variation, so much so that one is tempted to regard individual speech as manifesting sub-dialect level features. This variation ranges from shallow phonology to syntactic structure, and while there is mutual resemblance among these sub-dialects relative to the speech forms encountered in Masset, it seems to me somewhat misleading to refer to "the" Skidegate dialect. Phonological variation exists at the surface level most obviously in the vowels. Data from Mrs. Pearson reveal a much wider distribution of [e] than do any of the other speakers

with whom I worked. She also displayed significant deviation in canonical constraints on syllable shape. Morphological variation is revealed in the following data from Solomon Wilson and Becky Pearson, respectively:

/di xʷixidisλʌga/ "I'm becoming cold."

/ʔu k̓ağasλʌdiga/ "It's drying out."

In both examples the morpheme -{sλʌ}, indicating something like permeation, accomplishment or progress toward a natural goal, is present in the predicate, but in Wilson's example it occurs to the right of -{xidi} and is therefore itself an inflectional suffix (see Chapter 4.) In Becky Pearson's usage -{sλʌ} is always found to the left of any inflectional suffixes. In this respect Wilson's use of the permeative suffix differs from all other speakers with whom I worked. Another instance of morphological variation is the distribution of -{gʌŋ} and -{gə} in the speech of these speakers. In Becky Pearson's idiolect these forms pattern very strictly, according to the presence or non-presence of old information in the clause. In the former case, either -{gʌŋ} or -{ga} can appear as tense/modal suffixes; in the latter case only -{ga} may appear. This patterning is not so strictly defined in the idiolects of several other of my co-workers. For Hazel Stevens the two suffixes are often interchangeable, although the -{i} old information anaphora suffix (see Chapter 4) is distributed as in Mrs.

Pearson's idiolect. In Solomon Wilson's idiolect -{i} can be added to -{gʌn} regardless of the syntactic environment, while -{ga} and -{gʌŋ} are, apparently, in free variation. Still another instance of morphological variation is the distribution of the inflectional suffix -{gi}, whose privileges of occurence appear highly idiosyncratic. In Becky Pearson's idiolect -{gi} can be concatenated with aspectual suffixes and therefore must belong to a different position class; in the speech of my other co-workers this was not the case. Syntactic diversity is present as well. In several idiolects it is possible to say

/la ga tağasga kyah ʔa/ "He's going to eat outside."

{la} third person, {ga} particle which here intransitivizes the predicate, {ta} "eat" -{ğas} "future"-{ga} "neutral tense/modal suffix," {kiǩ} "outside," {ʔa} "constituent transfer."

The freest use of this constituent order is found in Becky Pearson's idiolect, even to the point of S V O {ʔa} constructions:

/la qiǩagʌn ḵaw ʔa/ "He found herring spawn."

Such constructions, in which objects of predicates appear following these predicates, are forbidden in the speech of some of the Skidegate people. For Hazel Stevens, the SkH form above corresponding to "He's going outside" is, in her

words, "saying it backwards."

The scope of idiolect variation in Skidegate extends well beyond the cases cited, but its depth is not clear, nor are its origins apparent. Two factors, however, are almost certainly involved:

(1) in precontact times there were between ten and fifteen local groups inhabiting the southern Charlottes The exact degree of contact among these groups is not known, but research into Halkomelem (Statham, 1973) suggests that linguistic diversity has less to do with frequency or infrequency of intergroup contact than with the number of exploitable habitat zones available to a population. The intensity of linguistic divergence is proportional to the number of available zones, and also to the degree of interdependence among the groups. It is thus not surprising to find that Eskimo is spoken as essentially a single language across thousands of miles, and that sub-Arctic Athapaskan and Algonkian-speaking peoples tend to display considerably less linguistic diversity than relatives living along the coast well to the south. There are striking examples of the same sort of phenomenon outside North America. We might, therefore, expect to find suggestions of considerable intergroup variation over an area of the size occupied by the original southern dialects of Haida.

(2) Haida is moribund in all dialects. There is ample

evidence that under such conditions languages can undergo profound change in an extremely short time. Nancy Dorian notes that her study of Scots Gaelic in three villages "makes abundantly clear... that the last speakers of a dying language can be a very misleading source of information about the grammar (and presumably also phonology and semantics) of the language they represent...." She subsequently notes that "whenever a grammar is written or a protolanguage reconstructed on the basis of materials gathered from a few last speakers,... the stage of the language represented by those speakers is markedly deviant even in terms of the recent history of the language." (Dorian 1973, pp. 437-438.) John Dunn has illustrated the same process in the context of the Northwest Coast (Dunn 1974.) In the case of Haida, none of the Haida speakers with whom I worked was monolingual, and I seriously doubt whether there are any SkH speakers now living who are totally monolingual. In such a situation there will inevitably be pressure on a speaker's Haida usage from English rules and categories. It would appear that certain systems have been subject to major alteration in one speaker's idiolect while other systems have undergone change for other speakers. Thus the old information anaphora system has been relatively well preserved in Becky Pearson's idiolect, while the shape-

classificatory system has, in practice, undergone some simplification. Exactly the reverse is true for Hazel Stevens. For both speakers, the shape system has become weakened in the formation of numeral predicates. In some instances the informants apply shape classificatory elements to numerals used in counting various objects, according to the shape category to which these objects belong. In most case, however, the application of shape elements to numerals is dispensed with. Earlier studies, such as Harrison's and Swanton's, make clear that even comparatively recently all objects were shape-classificatory with respect to numeration. Unfortunately, the time depth of Haida research is insufficient to provide a baseline for estimating the relative attenuation of the various dialects and sub-dialects.

1.2 Ethnographic Background.

The Haida people who provided the data for this dissertation live on the Queen Charlotte Islands, a large archipelago approximately seventy miles off the British Columbia mainland. The name Haida is the English rendering of the native word /x̌ayda/ or /x̌aydaǧa/, applied to members of the group at present, but originally meaning simply "person." The name itself does not appear to be analyzable, although several speakers have supplied what seem to be folk etymologies. In one instance the name

was linked to the predicate /x̌aynin̨a/ "(be) alive." The /ğa/ in the second version of the name given above was in this instance identified with the suffix -{ğa} which often marks a possessed form. The speaker who provided this explanation suggested that /x̌aydağa/ can be translated "those possessing life." This explanation, while plausible, is undermined by the lack of any other cases of /n/~/d/; nonetheless, it cannot be ruled out.

At present there are small Haida communities in southeastern Alaska, representing population movements from the northern groups on the Charlottes some time within the last three hundred years. For the most part the Haida are still living on the Charlottes, now occupying only two villages, Skidegate at the southern end of Graham Island and Masset at the northern end. Considerable differences exist between the respective dialects of the two villages, at least in their phonologies and lexical inventories. Unfortunately there are insufficient data currently available for the Masset dialect to judge the degree to which it has diverged grammatically from the Skidegate dialect. It should be noted that in all likelihood "the" Masset dialect is in fact a dialect mosaic, as SkH is, since Masset was the northern refugium

for survivors of the epidemics of the middle and late 1800's, as Skidegate was the southern refugium.

1.2.1. Precontact Haida Society

1.2.1.1. Social Organization

Prior to extensive contact with European society, the Haida were distributed among a large number of villages on both large islands, Graham and Moresby, and also a number of smaller islands (see Map 1.) Within each village, the residents belonged to matrilineages, with each lineage occupying its own large wooden house. Residence appears to have been avunculocal, with sons leaving their parents' residence more or less permanently at adolescence. Rosman and Rubel (1971), in their comprehensive review of data pertaining to Northwest Coast social organization, present convincing evidence that a rule of patrilateral cross-cousin marriage was in force among both the Haida and the Tlingit, linking each generation with two others in any given generation, but with a complete reversal in the direction of exchanges between related lineages from one generation to the next.

Superimposed upon the pattern of cross-cousin marriage was a moiety system which assigned lineages to either /x̌uya/ "Raven" or /ǧud/ "Eagle" moieties. Rosman and Rubel explain this as a consequence of the cross-cousin marriage

rule: since the two lineages which marry into a third lineage are paired as rivals, with certain symbols of negative affect exchanged between them at potlatches, but are each linked with the third as an ally, a minimum of four groups is necessary to avoid ambivalent structural relations, and thus a de facto moiety situation is created. The moieties were thus epiphenomenal originally; ironically, they appear to have persisted as cultural categories far more tenaciously than the marriage rule which generated them.

1.2.1.2. Economic Activity

Resources, both material and non-material, were owned by lineages. Ideologically there seems to have been only small distinction made between these two forms of wealth. Names, crests, songs, myths and other forms of intangible property were conventionally fixed and finite; the seasonal recurrence of fish and wild food on which the Haida subsisted seems to have led to the conception of material wealth as limited, although non-exhaustible. Thus, the salmon which ran up the various creeks and inlets of the Charlottes in any given year were regarded as identical to the salmon which had gone up the same stream in all the previous years. This belief represents an extension of the Haida conception of reincarnation into the natural world.

The Haida fished five different species of salmon, as well as black cod, halibut, red snapper and other denizens

of the northern coastal waters. They also gathered clams, cockles, abalone, crab, mussels, sea urchins and other shellfish. These resources were and are unequally distributed on the Charlottes, so that different areas exploited different resources. This situation persists in the modern period (see, for example, the text examined in Chapter 7.) It is probable that a considerable trade existed in the precontact period, since the area of occupation and resource exploitation was far larger (and included the now-uninhabited west coast.) Seasonal fluctuations in production were probably part of the economy, if the patterns hypothesized by Suttles for the Coast Salish (1960) and by Piddocke for the Kwakwala-speaking peoples (1962) were general over the Northwest Coast. Such may well have been the case for the Haida, because the climate in this area of the Pacific is in large measure determined by the movements of the Japanese Current, which runs off the west coast of the Charlottes. When the current runs further out at sea, the winters on the Charlottes are colder, although only rarely severe. The drop in temperature affects the micro-environments of shallow water in which the salmon deposit their eggs; if the drop is sufficient, the population of a creek will be seriously reduced for one season. The somewhat uncertain basis of resource exploitation in this type of environment makes

it likely that groups maintained some degree of contact with each other for economic reasons. The actual degree of contact is unclear; it is not easy to assess the depth of the communication network among the aboriginal communities. This question has a direct bearing on the problem of dialect and idiolect variation discussed in 1.1.5.

The Haida exploited a variety of berries and other wild plants, some of which were consumed as food, with others used as medicines (see Turner, 1974, for an insightful presentation of Haida ethnobotany.) They also utilized cedar wood for houses and cedar bark for blankets (see Swanton 1905 for discussion of material technology.)

In addition to the network of economic exchange the Haida maintained among themselves, they were involved with the mainland peoples along the entire Coast, as well as the inhabitants of Vancouver Island, both as trade partners and as predators. Certain items, such as oulachen oil, are not available on the Charlottes; it was necessary for the Haida to barter for them. The Haida also raided for slaves and, in the postcontact period, for furs. Militarily the Haida held a considerable advantage over other Northwestern groups, since they alone had the navigational experience--acquired out of necessity--to repeatedly cross and re-cross the exceedingly dangerous

Hecate Straits, and therefore were almost immune from retaliatory raids by members of other groups.

1.2.2. Contact and its Effects

The first extensive contacts with European society the Haidas experienced were the result of the maritime fur trade which began in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. By and large this contact was amicable (though the community on Anthony Island was a major exception to this pattern; see Duff and Kew 1973.) The SkH name for "white man" is /yads x̌aydağa/, the first word of which is a contraction of /hiğiyaĉi/ "iron, steel," while /x̌aydağa/ discussed above, originally applied generically to human beings. The Haida, in effect, characterized the Europeans on the basis of the economic contact between the two societies, for iron was an important trade item in the early period.

In the century following the first contact with the Europeans, many members of Haida groups moved down to Victoria, which was at that time the major European settlement in British Columbia, and found employment in the city. This migration itself probably did not affect the population of the Charlottes radically; indeed, it is unlikely that there were any abrupt changes in Haida settlement patterns, economic relations or social organization during the first half of the century, although the inflow of British currency may have

somewhat inflated indigenous standards of wealth.

Serious disruption in the postcontact demography of the Queen Charlottes resulted from the smallpox epidemics which began in Victoria in 1862 and moved rapidly up the coast. The affected Haidas living in the south were forced to return to the Charlottes by authorities who feared that they would be vectors of the disease in the Victoria area. For the next several decades small pox decimated Haida villages. As populations in local communities decreased, village sites were abandoned and survivors in the southern parts of the Charlottes converged upon Skidegate. This convergence did not occur at the same time from all sources, but seems to have been complete by around 1825.

This general decrease in population, and the accompanying breakdown of productive social units, resulted in a serious decline in the Haida's standard of living. The growth of commercial fishing as a primary industry on the British Columbia coast may well have affected indigenous food-gathering adversely, although representing an option which provided the Haida with ready cash. Commercial fishing and cannery work was probably the principal source of income for the Haida in the early twentieth century, but the standard of living remained low enough that diseases such as tuberculosis exacted a heavy toll in Skidegate. The growth of the logging

industry on the northern coast greatly strengthened the economic situation of the Skidegate people; for geographical reasons it had less effect on the northern population on Graham Island.

As the Haida became integrated into the European economy, their lives were increasingly controlled by the dictates of the Canadian Federal government and the major Christian Churches of British Columbia. Secular and religious agencies both did their best to suppress traditional cultural practices such as matriliny, multi-heath households, patrilateral cross-cousin marriage and the use of Haida for ordinary communication. It is not uncommon to hear stories from older people on the Charlottes of beatings received as children for speaking Haida. A systematic, and in many respects successful, effort was exerted by church-run schools to abolish Haida language and non-linguistic culture (see Levine and Cooper 1976 for documentation of this process as a province-wide phenomenon affecting most Native groups.) The somewhat pathetic efforts by the Church in recent years to rectify this policy only serves to underline the effectiveness of its earlier destructive practice.

1.2.3 The Modern Situation

The Haida, unlike many other aboriginal groups in

British Columbia, eventually succeeded in restoring a measure of prosperity to their lives, principally through logging and fishing work. A number of people living in the village own their own fishing vessels and nets. In addition log salvage, fisheries patrol work and retailing provide income for the village. The brilliant career of Haida art has resumed in the form of commercial enterprises, with gold, silver and argillite carving replacing, for the most part, the large-scale woodwork which was the most conspicuous expression of Haida aesthetics in the nineteenth century. So successful have these efforts been that Skidegate is presently among the most prosperous communities in British Columbia regardless of ethnic composition.

Concommitant with this increased standard of living has been a resurgence of the Skidegate band's population. Unfortunately the same cannot be said for the Haida speech community, since children do not learn the language. It is probably optimistic to suppose that more than forty-five or fifty speakers of SkH are alive; these speakers are, moreover, with one or two exceptions, in their mid-sixties or older.

Intermarriage between the Haida and non-Haida populations around Skidegate has been frequent. In general the standard of living in Skidegate is quite comparable to that of Queen

Charlotte City, where the bulk of the White population lives. There is a certain amount of integration of the two groups in the workplace, especially in the logging industry. The creation of both affinal and vocational links between the Native and White communities on the southern end of Graham Island has resulted in a considerably less tense situation than one encounters elsewhere in the Northwest. There are, to be sure, elements of mutual antagonism, since the Skidegate people still regard Whites as interlopers in what was originally their domain, and are actively involved in the Land Claims litigation. Still, social tension nowhere appears to be extremely strong amongst any of the sub-groups living on this part of the Charlottes. As long as the economy of the Charlottes remains stable and no major demographic changes occur, this relatively stable set of relations seems likely to continue.

1.3 Research Goals

As I have intimated at the beginning of this chapter, I have avoided extended consideration of those areas of Haida grammar which would require rather abstract formulations. I feel no antagonism at all to theoretical aspects of linguistic inquiry; my contention is, however, that at present not enough is known about the Skidegate dialect to give such inquiry much substance. We do not currently

possess in linguistics a systematic and empirically sound theory of universals to act as a grid against which to plot the structure of any given language. I am aware that certain other Northwesternists may object to this statement, but the issue, as I choose to see it, is a matter of empirical soundness even more than systematicity. Theories of linguistic universals have been put forward with a few sentences from each of at most a handful of languages as documentation. There is even the theoretical question of whether it is possible to verify the non-tautological status of suggestions about "what every language has."

Having said this, I must explain why I have used certain elements of modern syntactic vocabulary in some of my comments about Skidegate structure, such as NP. To some extent, the constructions I have labelled NP in Haida correspond, within Haida, to the types of grammatical structures conventionally described as NP in English. In some instances, such as postpositional phrases, one can apply more general formulations (such as Chomsky's A-over-A constraint) to the specifically Haida structures. My goal is to reveal something of the fabric of Haida, and I think that this goal is aided by the use of such syntactic analogies wherever possible. If I have not gone further in my syntactic characterizations, it is because I have not been able to

support any analogy further. Partly this is due, of course, to my lack of adequate knowledge of Haida, and partly to imprecise definitions in the literature of the features of some of the items used to label syntactic structures via, for example, tree-structures.

I do not believe that Haida has been well understood in past research, the insightful work of Keen, Swanton and Sapir notwithstanding. Much of the problem is simply that not enough research was done. Swanton, relying almost entirely on texts for his data, doubtless missed the sort of information that would emerge, for instance, in conversation. Sapir's firsthand work with Haida was, as noted above, marginal. In order to understand a language even basically much more investigation is required than has been accorded to Haida so far. The same can be said for other languages in the Northwest which are vaguely felt to have been "done," merely because a few grammars of them have been written. The career of English syntactic study during the past twenty years has revealed tremendous numbers of previously unrecognized problems, if few enduring solutions; yet English had been exhaustively studied for centuries previous to the publication of Syntactic Structures. In the case of Haida, we know far less of its structure than was known of English or French in the eighteenth century; we are only beginning to know what the facts of Haida are. Without knowing such facts, speculations on Haida prehistory

must remain vacuous; elsewhere (Levine 1976) I have detailed the deficiencies of comparative work involving Haida, and noted that these deficiencies, when not the result of serious misinterpretation of the data, were the result of inadequate knowledge. The history of Na-Dene speculation should make us not unduly cautious in our diachronic investigations, but, rather, more intensive and comprehensive in our synchronic probing.

This work, then, is offered as part of the beginnings of a revival of interest in Haida as a language, independent of the Na-Dene issue. There is no question here of being exhaustive; much of importance has doubtless been omitted. Still, it is a start, and will, I hope, stimulate interest in Haida, even to the extent of persuading linguists to consider further fieldwork with the language.

Chapter 2 Phonology

2.1 Skidegate Phonology: a summary.

The Skidegate dialect contains a well-developed consonant system, although one that is rather small by Northwestern standards, and a five-vowel system, containing one vowel whose systemic status is problematic. The consonants are divisible into stops, representing the maximum degree of obstruction to air flow through the vocal tract; fricatives, produced with a less absolute degree of closure, enabling air to flow through past the point of articulation; and sonorants, in which there is minimum obstruction to the air flow. The difference between classes of segments within each of these major categories is determined by the shape of the oral cavity; the same is true among the vowels. In addition to the segmental contrasts among consonants and vowels there are suprasegmental distinctions of stress and pitch, though neither of these, in itself, appears to be systemically phonemic. Stress is perhaps best characterized for Haida as the relative loudness of the syllable nucleus, while pitch, whose acoustic parameter is frequency, is either high or low.

In this chapter I present a synopsis of SkH phonology, consisting of two parts: a description of the phonemes of

the language and their possible combinations, where by phonemes I mean contrastive phonological segments defined strictly on the basis of grammatical information, and a statement of the major phonological rules of the language. These rules relate contrastive units defined on the basis of both phonetic and grammatical information to units at the phonemic level, or in some instances at still shallower levels. For Skidegate, these rules are fairly straightforward and do not possess extreme depth, yet the ordering convention is clearly required in order to account for the data relatively economically.

2.2 Phonemes and their arrangements

2.2.1 The Phoneme Inventory

The following chart gives the phonemic system of Skidegate:

Consonants

	bilabials	alveodentals plain	alveodentals affricate -lat	alveodentals affricate +lat	velar	uvular	glottal
Stops							
-tense	b	d	ǰ	λ	g	ǧ	ʔ
+tense		t̓	c̓	λ̓	k̓	q̓	
ejective		t	c	ƛ	k	q	
Fricatives			s	ɬ	x	x̌	h
Sonorants							
+nasal	m	n			ŋ		
-nasal	w		y	l			

	Vowels		
	front	mid	back
high	i		u
mid	e	ʌ	
low		a	# (vowel truncation)

Pitch: high and low.

Stress: primary, secondary and unstressed.

Although it is not specifically noted on this chart, /j̃/ and /y/ are to be described as palatal at some level of representation in terms of their low-level phonological effects on following /a/.

2.2.2 Consonants

2.2.2.1 Stops

Stops are divisible into three types on the basis of the nature of the air stream which produces them and the configuration of the vocal tract while they are being produced. Ejectives are made by the release of air trapped and held under pressure between the point of articulation in the oral cavity (formed by the tongue for all ejectives in Skidegate) and the larynx with glottis completely closed, forced upward to compress the trapped air. They are quite loud, relative to e.g. the ejective segments in Wakashan or Salishan languages. Non-tense stops are articulated with a relatively lax vocal tract and have

the following values: voiceless after immediately preceding fricatives, but otherwise voiced pre-vocalically. Non-tense stops are voiceless in syllable final position. Tense stops are produced with a relatively tense vocal tract and are always aspirated and voiceless; they may never appear in syllable final position. In effect this analysis assigns contrastiveness to aspiration, rather than voicing, a solution which seems preferable on the basis of the following points: (1) there is at least one environment in which contrast is maintained solely by aspiration, that is, /#$_{syl}$fricative___. To assume that voicing was contrastive and aspiration redundant would make the contrastive value of aspiration in this environment difficult to explain straightforwardly. (2) In all northern dialects of Haida, a pharyngeal stop /ʕ/ corresponds to Skidegate /ğ/. Phonetically this stop /ʕ/ is voiceless and unaspirated. In terms of the analysis I offer, the northern stop is -tense, and so the -tense Skidegate stop corresponds to the -tense northern stop. If, however, the primary contrast is described in terms of voicing, the +voice Skidegate stop corresponds to the -voice northern stop. This correspondence strikes me as being far less natural (in terms of the ±voice analysis) than would the correspondence Sk q: n. ʕ, which never occurs; Sk q: n. q in all cases. Hence the aspiration description of the contrast accounts for this correspondence more naturally than the voice

description.

Stops are articulated in the following vocal tract positions: bilabial, alveodental, velar, uvular and glottal. The first articulatory position, as the chart shows, is defective relative to the others: there is only one bilabial stop, /b/, and it is highly restricted with respect to both syllable structure (it occurs only in syllable-final position in monomorphemes) and grammatical form-class.

2.2.2.1.1 Bilabials

The bilabial stop, /b/, is produced by bringing the upper and lower lips together to form the obstruction to air flow through the mouth. Its sole appearance in medial position in a monomorphemic form is in /ʔaba/ "to chew food for a child or old person," which may be a borrowing. Forms such as /sabəli/ "bread" or /bid/ "dime" are transparent borrowings.

2.2.2.1.2 Alveodentals

2.2.2.1.2.1 Plain Stops

The plain alveodental stops are /d/, /t/ and /t̪/. All are produced by bringing the apex of the tongue into contact with the alveolar ridge just behind the front teeth.

Examples

/d/: /dalʌŋ/ "second person plural."

/dʌws/ "cat"

/dasgid/ "push"

/ǧud/ "eagle"

/hawid/ "hurry!"

/sdiŋ/ "two"

/ɬdan/ "blue huckleberry"

/t/: /tan/ "black bear"

/tada/ "cold (outside), year"

/taǰu/ "wind"

/stiwaɣ/ "the sea urchin(s)"

/ɬtaxwi/ "friend"

/t̓/: /t̓alʌŋ/ "first person plural (active)"

/t̓iɬ/ "wet (on the surface)

/st̓i/ "sick"

/ɬt̓igʌŋ/ "think something is insufficient."

2.2.2.1.2.2 Affricates

The non-lateral affricates are /ǰ/, /c/ and /c̓/; the lateral affricates are /λ/,/ƛ/ and /ƛ̓/. /c/ has two allophones, [c^h], produced by a protracted release of the alveodental obstruction during which the apex of the tongue moves slightly back toward the edge of the alveolar ridge before the closure is completely released, and [$\check{c}^h$], during which the mid-part of the tongue rises toward the palate to produce a partial obstruction even as the

alveodental obstruction is released. [č^{h}] generally appears /__i, though there is actually somewhat freer variation than this statement indicates. There is no allophony among the other affricates. No affricate phoneme may appear in syllable-final position.

The infrequency of syllable-initial fricative + affricate consonant clusters is striking. Such clusters do exist, e.g. /sλʌgu/ "land otter," /sƛʌn/ "needle," but they are restricted to a very few instances of s+lateral affricted; even here I am not aware of any cases in which the lateral affricate is /ƛ̓/. It is possible that the explanation lies in the fact that both the affricates and the fricatives are alveodental and that a principal of dissimilation is operating. Another factor possible is suggested by the alternation of /λ/ and /l/ following s, namely, that at some level of Haida phonology native speakers regard affricates as sequences of segments, even though, in terms of the syllable canon, the affricates are single segments. /d/ followed by epenthetic /ɬ/ produces a phonetic entity in no way distinguishable from /λ/, so that in at least in some sense stop + fricative sequences are equated with affricates. If affricates are to some extent analyzed by native speakers as sequences, the syllable canon would tend to minimize the frequency of fricative + affricate clusters.

Examples

/ǰ/: /ǰaʔad/ "woman"

/ǰiŋa/ "far away"

/c/: /cina/ "fish"

/cix̌wa/ ~ /cix̌u/ "beach, seafood"

/c̓/: /c̓anu/ "fire, firewood"

/c̓iǧa/ "move"

/λ/: /λʌǧʷi/ "(a person) fall"

/sλʌgu/ "land otter"

/λ̓/: /λ̓ʌga/ "ground, place"

/λ̓an/ "stop"

/λ̓̓/: /λ̓̓adǧʷi/ "(something spread out) fall"

2.2.2.1.3 Velars

Velars are produced by bringing the mid-part of the tongue into contact with the roof of the mouth at a point very close to the point of articulation for velars in English. They display a very small degree of fronting preceding /y/ or /i/.

Examples

/g/: /gina/ "something"

/gʌm/ negative particle

/ɬgaǰu/ "branching structure"

/sgway/ "back"

/k/: /kuga/ "cook"

/ɬkuxid/ "worry"

/kil/ "language, voice"

/skaǰu/ "small and round"

/k̓/: /k̓aw/ "herring spawn"

/k̓ina/ "warm, hot"

/ɬk̓in/ "woods"

/sk̓ʌlǰu/ "boil"

2.2.2.1.4 Uvulars

The uvulars are produced by retracting the tongue so that the very back comes into contact with the uvula. There is never any confusion as to whether one is hearing a velar or a uvular sound, even when labialization is present. /ǧ/ is the only back stop which displays significant allophony; in word initial position /ǧ/ is pronounced [ǧ]; elsewhere it is pronounced variably [ǧ]~[ɣ̌], with the latter phone appearing particularly often intervocalically. So common is [ɣ̌] that Boas often transcribed it r, apparently identifying it with the French uvular fricative.

Examples

/ǧ/: /ǧʌnλʌ/ "water"

/ǧan/ "berry"

/sǧana/ "killer whale, supernatural power"

/ɬǧa/ "rock"

/q/: /qaw/ "egg"

/qʌlga/ "ice, glass, bottle"

/squda/ "hit (once, with fist)"

/sqʌl/ "shoulder"

/q̓/: /q̓aχada/ "dogfish"

/q̓aɬu/ "get up"

/sq̓aŋʔu/ "stick"

/sq̓ad/ "recognize"

/ɬq̓ayχʌn/ "comb"

2.2.2.1.5 Glottal

Glottal stop, /ʔ/, has privileges of occurrence identical to the back stops, and in terms of both distributional restrictions and participation in phonological rules appears to group naturally with the latter, rather than with the semivowels and /h/, recent theoretical descriptions notwithstanding (e.g. Chomsky and Halle 1968.)

Examples

/ʔ/: /ʔaŋa/ "yes"

/ʔina/ "be born, grow"

/ɬʔanǰu/ "stupid"

/ʔumsʔʌd/ "know"

2.2.2.2 Fricatives

The fricatives in the Skidegate dialect occur in the same articulatory positions described for the stops, with the

exception of the bilabial position. All are voiceless.

2.2.2.2.1 Alveodental

The alveodental fricatives are /s/ and /ɬ/. /s/ is produced by contact between the apex of the tongue and the alveolar ridge, with air forced through the point of contact; it has the invariant phonetic form [s]. /ɬ/ is made with the same point of articulation, but the air is forced around this point. A very slight portion of the front of the tongue behind the apex rests against the roof of the mouth in the articulation of [ɬ], the sole phonetic representative of /ɬ/.

Examples

/s/: /su/ "lake"

/sğana/ "killer whale, supernatural power"

/ğadkadas/ "jump (once)"

/ɬ/: /ɬa/ "first person singular (active)"

/ɬğa/ "rock"

/ɬğaɬ/ "black, hue"

2.2.2.2.2 Velar

The velar fricative is /x/. It occurs relatively infrequently.

Examples

/x/: /xil/ "leaf, medicine"

/xaya/ "sunlight"

/xyay/ "arm"

2.2.2.2.3 Uvular

The uvular fricative is /x̌/.

Examples

/x̌/: /x̌a/ "dog"

/q̓ax̌ada/ "dogfish"

/x̌yu/ "rib"

2.2.2.2.4 Glottal

The glottal fricative is /h/. It differs in its distribution from the other back fricatives in that it regularly appears in all Skidegate idiolects in syllable final position, on the one hand, and never precedes /y/ or /w/, on the other.

Examples

/h/: /hawid/ "hurry"

/huyad/ "today"

/kyah/ "outside"

2.2.2.3 Sonorants

2.2.2.3.1 Nasal Sonorants

The nasal sonorants are /m/, /n/ and /ŋ/. /m/ has a highly restricted distribution relative to

the other two members of this class: no indigenous Skidegate form has word initial /m/. In this respect, as well as in its general infrequency, /m/ parallels the distributional peculiarities of /b/.

Examples

/m/: /t̓ʌm/ "louse"

/gʌm/ "negative"

/n/: /tan/ "bear"

/niɬ/ "drink"

/ŋ/: /ŋal/ "seaweed"

/qiŋ/ "see"

2.2.2.3.2 Oral Sonorants

Oral sonorants are always laryngealized immediately following word or morpheme boundary.

2.2.2.3.2.1 Lateral Sonorants

/l/ is the only lateral sonorant. It is occasionally pronounced with a markedly dark quality when it occurs as the final segment in a syllable containing /ǧ/.

Examples

/ŋalay/ "the seaweed"

/kil/ "voice"

2.2.2.3.2.2 Semivowels

The two semivowels are /w/ and /y/. Their distribution is

considered further below in relation to the syllable canon.

Examples

/w/: /ʔkʌw/ "cold (inanimate)"

/ʔkiway/ "the clam(s)"

/y/: /tay/ "lie down"

/huyad/ "today"

2.2.3 Vowels

It does not appear particularly realistic to refer to "the" Skidegate vowel system. Somewhat different sets of distinctions are maintained between different idiolects, though Skidegate speakers resemble each other in their vowel systems far more than any of them resembles any Masset or Alaskan Haida speaker. Insofar as one can discuss a "basic" Skidegate system it is that presented in the chart given at the beginning of this chapter. However, one speaker does maintain a distinction between [i] and [I] (a distinction, so far as I am aware, restricted to a single minimal pair.) For all other speakers with whom I worked [i] and [I] are allophones of the phoneme /i/. It should be noted, however, that in the northern dialects of Haida a phonemic distinction appears to exist between [i] and [I], and between [u] and [U] (see Welsch 1976, p.289.) The vowel /e/, which ranges in phonetic quality between [e] and [ɛ], appears extremely infrequently, and

then almost invariably /__y. /e/ often appears in contractions where one would have expected /a/; thus {la}{gi} "to him" contracts to /ley/. There is in fact only one form in Skidegate of indigenous origin where /e/ appears before a segment other than /y/: the number "five," /λeɬʌ/. It is possible that this form was at one time *λeyɬʌ, for while Swanton records this word as Leiɬ, he transcribes the borrowed Tlingit form /yeɬ/ "Raven (mythological name)" as yeɬ. The fact that he represented the vocalic nucleus of the form for "five" as ei, rather than simply e as in the Tlingit loan-word, may indicate that the form he heard did contain /y/ following the /e/. In such a case it would have been entirely consistent with the rest of his transcriptional practice for Swanton to record this /y/ as i. If such were the case, it would indicate that as of only a few generations ago /e/ was restricted in its distribution to /__y environments absolutely. Such a distribution would clearly suggest that some sort of conditioning is responsible for /e/, and that, given a correct interpretation of underlying phonological forms, /e/ might be derivable in all its occurrences from some other segment, most likely a.

The vowels exhibit considerable allophony. /i/ and /u/ have the following phonetic shapes: respectively [i] and

[u] in open syllables, [I] and [U] in syllables closed by a sonorant, and [i]~[I] and [u]~[U] in syllables closed by a non-sonorant. /a/ has a markedly fronted form following palatal segments, and is slightly backed following /ǧ/. Although a demonstrable phonemic difference exists between /ʌ/ and /a/, their distribution in open syllables exactly parallels that of the peripheral allophones of /i/ and /u/ vis-à-vis the non-peripheral allophones: just as only [i] and [u] appear in open syllables, so only /a/ appears in this context. Except for /l/, any C_{lat} + /ʌ/ will have the form [Cəl]. Thus /ƛʌway/ "the boat" is phonetically /ƛəlway/. The sequence /lʌl/ is phonetically [ləl]; /lʌ/ is phonetically /ʔəl/.

A phenomenon previously undescribed for Haida I have designated vowel truncation. Under certain circumstances (predictable, for the most part, if grammatical information is taken into account) /a/ becomes voiceless soon after phonation begins. Swanton appears to have recorded this process but confused /#/ with the glottal stop, probably on account of the abruptness with which voicing sometimes terminates during truncation. At least one minimal pair exists: [stḁ] "foot," [stḁ#] "full," where a# is a unit symbol representing the truncated vowel. It is an arbitrary choice whether to set up a truncated versus a non-truncated vowel as two separate phonemes, or to isolate truncation as

a single segment with a very limited distribution, but a choice must be made if one adheres to a phonemic level of phonological representation. I suggest that the element # be accorded phonemic status as a separate element.

2.2.4 Suprasegmental phenomena

Suprasegmental features in SkH are at present very poorly understood. Phonetically there are two degrees of pitch--high and low--and three degrees of stress--primary, secondary and unstressed. The essential problem for explanation is whether one or both of these suprasegmental features is inherent in syllables or predictable by rule. In this section I cannot attempt to do more than briefly note what seems to me a reasonable perspective for further investigation.

The following types of facts must be accounted for in any theory of Skidegate supersegmental phonology:

(1) In at least one instance, pitch is the basis of a phonemic distinction between forms: [q̄ix̌a] "find" vs. [q̄ix̌a], "look for, shop around," where a bar over a syllable indicates high pitch and a bar below the syllable marks low pitch. Mrs. Pearson, who provided this pair, was very insistent that the two words were distinct, and consistently distinguished them by the glosses given on the basis of pitch alone.

(2) In a number of instances, pitch and stress appear to have a certain functional status in combination with each other:

[ǧudayu ʔiǰi] "It's the box."

[ǧudayu ʔiǰi] "It's the eagle."

[ɬa ga tağasga] "I will eat."

[ɬa ga tağasga] "I'll be on my way to eat."

(3) In most other instances, neither pitch nor stress plays an obvious role in distinguishing forms. In texts, rapidly spoken conversation and other types of ordinary discourse, the syllables are for the most part pronounced at a single level of pitch. In the first of the above examples, the final syllable in [ǧudayu] may bear either high or low pitch. Monosyllables are all pronounced at the same level of pitch. In very few instances does mispronunciation of suprasegmental features interfere with intelligibility.

(4) Pitch and stress alternations are extremely common:

[ɬa ga taga] "I'm eating."

[ɬəl taga] "I'm eating (it)."

where {ɬa} "first person singular (active)" appears alternately with secondary stress and high pitch, and unstressed with low pitch.

(5) However, the {ta} root "eat" in the above examples, and several suffixes, notably the evidential -{ga}, "middle" -{ga}, and habitual/periodic -{gʌŋ} are always pronounced with high pitch and primary stress.

(6) There is no clear connection between the way in which a word is pronounced in isolation and the way it appears in a sentence. Thus:

[kájū́] "sing."

[kā́jūwāy lā́ga]~[kā́juwāy lā́ga] "The singing's good."

Clearly SkH is not a tone language, insofar as this term applies to languages which possess inherent tone assigned to every syllable (e.g., Chinese, Mazateco). On the other hand, SkH is not a language in which pitch and stress are functions purely of syntax/discourse structure, or of other aspects of the phonology (as with pitch in Swedish.) Instead, I would suggest that in SkH, for any syllable, one of the following four conditions applies:

(a) underlying pitch and stress are both specified;

(b) underlying pitch is specified;

(c) underlying stress is specified;

(d) no underlying value for either suprasegmental feature is specified.

Where neither pich nor stress are supplied in the underlying form of a word, the phonetic details of these features are supplied by assignment of the word to one of a very limited number of suprasegmental position classes. Thus, for one syllable words there is only one class: all monosyllablic words are pronounced equally loudly and at the

same level of pitch. For two syllable words, the following classes exist:

(1) first syllable: [high pitch / stress], second syllable: [low pitch / unstressed]

(2) first syllable: [low pitch / stress], second syllable: [high pitch / stress]

(3) first syllable: [low pitch / stress], second syllable: [low pitch / stress]

I am unable to provide the inventory of classes for three or more syllable words on the basis of my present corpus. It should be noted that (1)-(3) above represent the possibilities for monomorphemic words. Inflected one-syllable roots, where these can appear in isolation, all belong to class (1).

At more complex grammatical levels, unspecified values for pitch and stress are determined by rule. I cannot provide these rules; their formulation to some extent depends upon exact description of the phrase structure rules of SkH clauses which, as noted earlier, is not possible at this stage of our understanding. One very important rule which applies above the word level may be stated, however: all syllables, whether assigned underlying pitch or not, are low-pitched utterance finally; e.g.

[ɬəl tágagʌn] "I ate it (second hand information)."

[ɬa gwa tága] "Did I eat it?"

The value of this model, limited and sketchy as it is, is that it allows us to explain how it is possible for

pitch and pitch/stress minimal pairs to exist and yet, at the same time, for suprasegmental contrasts to be "levelled out" over long stretches of discourse and to have only marginal importance in determining the intelligibility of utterances. In most cases the SkH syllable is unspecified for either pitch or stress, and since syntactic structure and conversational speed are both factored into the eventual determination of the suprasegmental features in pronunciation, the articulation of a syntactically correct utterance relatively rapidly will enable the hearer to overlook many, if not most, of the prosodic errors. This is not to say that such errors are ignored. Mrs. Pearson at one point indicated that my Haida was presentable "except for your accent." This in itself, however, reinforces the impression of pitch and stress as being relatively minor aspects of SkH so far as intelligibility is concerned. On the other hand, an error in pronouncing pitch and/or stress in forms such as -{gʌŋ} "habitual/periodic," which has inherent specification for pitch and stress, resulted in incomprehension of the utterance by the hearer.

The model of suprasegmental phonology outlined here is highly tentative. The nature of the data is so difficult that a disproportionately large amount of time, relative to the rest of the phonology, would be required

to assemble sufficient evidence for a complete solution. Hence I have had to limit the treatment of the suprasegmental phonology to sketching the framework I propose for future investigation.

2.2.5 Minimal pairs

The following are minimal or near minimal pairs corroborating the phonemic distinctions proposed above.

/t/: /d/ [tʌw] "oil"
[dʌws] "cat"

/t/: /t̓/ [tăǔn] "spring salmon"
[t̓ăǔn] "feather"

/d/: /t̓/ [dalʌŋ] "you (plural)"
[t̓alʌŋ] "first person plural (active)"

/t/: /g/ [tʌw] "oil"
[gʌw] "lost"

/t/: /k/ [ti ː] "(someone's) tea"
[kiğa] "meat, name"

/t/: /k̓/ [tʌw] "oil"
[k̓ʌw] "cold (inanimate)"

/t̓/: /g/ [t̓ʌm] "louse"
[gʌm] "negative"

/d/: /k/ [diğa] "mine"
[kiğa] "name, meat"

/d/: /k̓/ [dʌws] "cat" / [k̓ʌws] "cold (dependent pred.)"

/d/: /g/ [da] "second person singular (active)"

[ga] "some"

/d/: /ǧ/ [dʌn] "second person singular (neuter)"

[ǧʌn] "for"

/d/: /q/ [da] "second person singular (active)"

[qa] "go"

/d/: /q̓/ [da] "second person singular (active)"

[q̓a] "harpoon"

/t/: /ǧ/ [ta] "eat"

[ǧa] "to, amongst"

/t/: /q/ [ta] "eat"

[qa] "go"

/t/: /q̓/ [ta] "eat"

[q̓a] "harpoon"

/t̓/: /ǧ/ [t̓iɬ] "wet"

[giɬ] "become"

/t̓/: /q̓/ [q̓ʌlgi] "to the swamp"

[tʌlgi] "across"

/t̓/: /q/ [t̓In] "robin"

[qiŋ] "see"

/g/: /ǧ/ [gid] "child, doll"

[ǧid] "predicate of condition"

/g/: /q/ [gIŋ] "hold, support"

[qIŋ] "see"

/g/: /q̓/ [ga] "some"

[q̓a] "harpoon"

/k/: /ǧ/ [kiǧaw] "a name (foregrounded)"

[ǧigaw] "salmon trap (rapid speech)"

/k/: /q/ [kUn] "whale, point"

[qUŋ] "moon"

/k̓/: /ǧ/ [k̓aw] "herring spawn"

[qaway] "the (bird's) egg"

/k̓/: /q̓/ [sq̓aǰu] "stick-shaped"

[sk̓aǰu] "cylinder-shaped"

/ǰ/: /c/ [ǰiŋa] "far"

[čina] "fish"

/c/: /č̓/ [cInsda] "from (a) salmon"

[č̓Insda] "from (a) beaver"

/ǰ/: /č̓/ [ǰa?ad] "woman"

[č̓a?aɬ] name of an island off the west coast of Graham Island

/λ/: /ƛ/ [λu] "when"

[ƛu] "boat"

/λ/: /ƛ̓/ [λu] "when"

[ƛ̓u] "wedge"

/ƛ/: /ƛ̓/ [ƛ̓u] "wedge"

[ƛu] "boat"

/m/: /ŋ/ [malu] "minnow"

[ŋalu] "kelp (foregrounded)"

/n/: /ŋ/ [tanay] "the bear"

[taŋay] "the salt"

/w/: /y/ [qʌlgay] "the bottle"

[qʌlgaw] "a bottle (foregrounded; rapid speech)"

/w/: /l/ [ǧaw] "in, amongst (foregrounded; rapid speech)"

[ǧal] "night"

/y/: /l/ [ǧay] "blood"

[ǧal] "night"

/m/: /b/ [dʌmǰu] "round"

[dʌpǰu] "crooked"

/s/: /ɬ/ [sgaǰu] "ring-like"

[ɬgaǰu] "forking"

/x/: /x̌/ [xɪl] "medicine"

[x̌ɪl] "neck"

/x̌/: /h/ [x̌aŋa] "face"

[hana] "pretty"

/i/: /u/ [gi] "to"

[gu] "there"

/i/: /a/ [k̓away] "the herring spawn"

[k̓iway] "the way, clam"

/i/: /ʌ/ [sqIl] "black cod"

[sqʌl] "shoulder"

/u/: /a/ [gu] "there"

[ga] "some"

/u/: /ʌ/ [k̓uda] "beak"

[k̓ʌdǰu] "small"

/a/: /ʌ [k̓ʌw] "cold (inanimate)"

[k̓aw] "herring spawn"

[ǧʌn] "for"

[ǧan] "berry"

2.2.6 The Syllable Canon

The Haida syllable is an articulatory grouping of consonant segments around a vocalic nucleus. This grouping appears to be produced by a single contraction of the chest muscles generating air flow through the vocal tract. In certain words, however, there is more than one possible syllable breakdown which meets this purely articulatory criterion. In such cases the criterion for choosing a particular analysis into syllables must be the canon revealed by monosyllablic words.

The Skidegate syllable can have a variety of shapes, subject to the constraint that it must contain an initial consonant

and one, and only one, vowel. This fact is of typological interest because it appears that in several Northwestern languages, such as Bella Coola, Upper Chehalis and possibly Nootka, adjacent consonents may represent the peaks of different syllables. Consonant sequences appear within syllables both preceding and following the vowel nucleus. The shapes of these pre- and post-vocalic clusters are independent of each other. The canon for the prevocalic sequence may be summarized as follows:

(Alveodental fricative) C (semi-vowel)

If the first optional segment is present C must be a stop. If only the second optional segment is present C must be either a back fricative (not /h/, however) or a stop (never /b/ nor an affricate nor, if the semivowel is /w/, any front stop.) The canon for the postvocalic sequence may be summarized as

(Semi-vowel) C (s)

where C may be a sonorant (not a semi-vowel, however), a non-tense front stop or ɬ, or a sequence of non-tense front stop plus ɬ. The sequence /C semivowel/ in prevocalic position is manifested phonetically as a single segment: thus /k̓y/ is pronounced [k̓ʸ].

This organization of the syllable canon clearly assigns fricatives to natural classes. By "front" positions generally I mean bilabial and alveodental; "back" labels velar and uvular (and, for stops, glottal as well.) Only back fric-

atives can appear immediately before semivowels; only front fricatives can appear as initial segments in pre-vocalic clusters or in syllable final position. This back/front distinction also divides the stops: no front syllable can appear /__w, and no back stop can appear in syllable final position or in any syllable-final cluster.

It should be noted, in concluding this account of Skidegate phonemes and their possible combinations, that the relationship between syllable structure and morpheme structure in Skidegate is a complex and poorly understood problem at present. There are notable continuities, but also outstanding differences. For example, no Skidegate morpheme has the structure -{Cvk} or {CvCsemivowel}, parallel with the syllable canon restrictions. However, many morphemes have an underlying initial vowel, and there is at least one with underlying form -s. It seems to me very probable that a full account of morpheme structure constraints in SkH will have to incorporate some notion of an underlying syllable closely related to the "shallow" syllable described in this section. This area of Haida phonology deserves much investigation.

2.3 Phonological rules

By taking grammatical information into account it is

possible to provide a concise set of rules which predict systematic alternations in the phonemic shapes of Skidegate forms. There are a number of morpheme-specific rules in Skidegate, and I have referred to these in the sections of later chapters describing the appropriate morphemes.

There is nothing particularly complex about Haida morphophonemics, especially when viewed from the perspective of, e.g., Athapaskan or even Salishan. The contractions among the inflectional suffixes are fairly transparent. From a general point of view, the most noteworthy process is the epenthesis of a associated with a number of suffixes, but principally with the evidential suffix {ga}(though other suffixes with this shape also induce a-epenthesis.)

A second important morphophonemic process is the extremly frequent deletion of the initial g of suffixes, particularly -{gay} "nominal old information." Swanton himself regarded this process as a critical one, and dwelled upon the difficulty of stating environments in which it occurs and those in which it does not. It is true that g-deletion is not absolutely predictable; nonetheless, it does not seem to be quite as irregular as previous description has suggested.

Phonological rules in Skidegate appear to be divisible into at least two distinct sets, within each of which the

ordering convention must apply at least partially. Between these sets no necessary ordering is evident.

The first set contains the following rules:

1. ɬ → l/__+g

2. ϕ → a/__resonant + ga

3. Λ → a/__a__

4. x̌ → #/__ word final or aspect suffix

5. g → ǧ/x̌__

6. g → ϕ/high vowel+ ___
   VC(M)+ ___ (M = a or Λ)

   In this last environment, however, the suffixes with underlying shape ga do not lose their initial segment if the preceding segment is an M; rather, g → y.

7. [+voc] → [-αsyll]/___$\begin{Bmatrix}\text{-cons}\\ \alpha\text{syl}\end{Bmatrix}$

8. aa → a

Example derivations will be provided below. The following considerations motivate this ordering. Numerous alternations show that ɬ → l preceding suffixes with an initial underlying g; thus /ʔiɬ/, /ʔilga/ "wet," "is wet" but /ʔiɬǧasga/ "will be wet." It is also clear that the evidential suffix (among others) triggers vowel epenthesis immediately before a final sonorant or vowel: /di xwiga/ "I'm cold," /lΛ xwayagΛn/ "he was cold (reported or inferred);" /da q̓aɬuga/ "you get up,"

/da ʔalawagʌn/ "you got up (reported or inferred)."
The underlying shape of the evidential suffix is revealed, in surface contexts in which the initial segment of the suffix does not delete, as ga. In an alternation like /niɬ/, /nyalagʌn/ "drink," "drank (reported or inferred)," the presence of l rather than ɬ in the second form attests to the existence of a following g earlier in the derivation (and thus accords with the independent evidence just cited for ga as an underlying shape.) Before epenthesis can occur, however, ɬ must be replaced by a resonant segment, to conform to the pattern of pre-resonant epenthesis noted elsewhere in the language. Hence, the order of rules (1) and (2) is far more natural and motivated by the facts of SkH than assuming either the reverse order or no order at all. As for (3), consider ʔiɬʌ, the underlying form for "cut," + ga "evidential." The phonemic form representing this sequence is /ʔiɬaya/. Assuming that Rule 2 has applied, there would be ʔilaʌga at an intermediate stage of the derivation. Since often g → y/a__, it is necessary to provide an environment in which this occurs. It would, of course, be possible to have ʌ → ϕ/__a__, which achieves the same effect as Rules 3 and 8 together, and therefore would be more economical in terms of the number of rules. Since deletion of a vowel contiguous to another vowel is nowhere else present in SkH, the present formulation is

preferred. g does not delete following syllable-final x̌, but rather assimilates in position of articulation. However, this rule does not apply to the first segment of the aspect suffix -{gi}, which remains intact. Hence it is necessary to allow (4) to precede (5) so that this assimilation will not take place. (4) and (5) are required only in the idiolect of one of my Skidegate co-workers, whose syllable canon permitted final x̌, but there are traces of this segment in final position in the speech of other Skidegate speakers. It is not possible to discuss this problem in detail, but there is reason to believe that this underlying x̌ has become /h/ in those idiolect in which syllable final x̌ is not found.

(4)-(5) are not inherently ordered with respect to (1)-(2)-(3), but both sets of rules must precede (6), which specifies the conditions for the deletion of g--not only the g of the evidential, but the g of -{gay} as well, when the latter suffix is attached to nominal stems. When -{gay} is applied to predicate stems to form nominalizations the conditions for its deletion are much more restricted. Part of the difficulty Swanton encountered in explaining the pattern of deletion for the first segment in -{gay} was due to his failure to distinguish nominal from predicate environments.

Once g is deleted, Rule (7) applies. The most obvious functioning of this rule is found when α has the value +.

The rule then has the form [+voc] → [-syll]/__$\begin{bmatrix}\text{-cons}\\ \text{+syl}\end{bmatrix}$,
i.e., vowels lose syllabicity before other vowels. Thus one has derivations such as the following:

{niɬ} "drink" - {ga} "evidential"

niɬga

↓

nilga (Rule 1)

↓

nialga (Rule 2)

↓

niala (Rule 6)

↓

nyala (Rule 7)

which is the correct phonemic shape.

{x̌ʌw} "go out fishing" - {ʔin} "on a boat" - {ga} "evidential"

x̌ʌwʔinga

↓

x̌ʌwʔianga (Rule 1)

↓

x̌ʌwʔiana (Rule 6)

↓

x̌ʌwʔyana (Rule 7)

and /ʔy/ becomes [ỷ].

{x̌agu} "halibut" -{gay} "nominal old information"

ǎagugay

↓

ǎaguay (Rule 6)

↓

ǎagway (Rule 7)

But there are instances too where α has the value -; here Rule 7 has the form [+voc] → +syl/__$\begin{Bmatrix}\text{-cons}\\ \text{-syl}\end{Bmatrix}$. That is, a semivowel will become a full vowel before another semivowel. Rule (7), stated as a variable rule, applies repeatedly in all eligible environments. For example:

{ǩyu} "clam" - {gay} "nominal old information"

ǩyugay

↓

ǩyuay (Rule 6)

↓

ǩyway (Rule 7)

↓

ǩiway (Rule 7)

The evidence showing a symmetrical shift w → u is not as strong, since there are relatively few Cwi underlying shapes for nouns. Note, however, the following derivation:

{dagwi} "strong" - {sgi} "almost"

dagwisgi

There is, apparently, a rule of uncertain ordering that

$\phi \rightarrow a/i+$ ___s, whose application is not presently predictable. Thus the derivation continues:

dagwiasgi

↓

dagwyasgi (Rule 7)

↓

daguyasi (Rule 7)

This derivation yields the correct phonemic shape and gives strong support to the generality of Rule (7).

Another necessary set of rules is the following:

9. $\phi \rightarrow \Lambda / {}^{s}_{C_{lat}} \_\_ \begin{pmatrix} +voc \\ -syl \end{pmatrix}$

10. $\Lambda \rightarrow$ i/non-lateral strident alveodentals____; $C_{lat}\Lambda \rightarrow C\text{ə}l$

In any feature description, s, c, ǰ and ĉ will, at some level, be assigned the value +strident. (9) and (10) are necessary for derivations of the form

{ƛu} "boat" - {gay} "nominal old information"

ƛugay

↓

ƛuay (Rule 6)

↓

ƛway (Rule 7)

↓

ƛΛway (Rule 9)

↓

ƛəlway (Rule 10)

Since another rule requires Λ → a in all open syllables, Rule (10) must precede Rule (11):

11. Λ → a/__syllable final

The first part of Rule (10) is necessary for derivations such as the following:

{su} "lake" - {gay} "nominal old information"

sugay

↓

suay (Rule 6)

↓

sway (Rule 7)

↓

sΛway (Rule 9)

↓

siway (Rule 10)

The same type of derivation accounts for the alternation /čʷu/ "red cedar," /čʷiway/ "the red cedar." Another instance of the application of Rule (10) is perhaps to be found in the alternations /ʔis/ "predicate of existence," /ʔiǰi/ "is...," /ʔisǧasga/ "will be...." The underlying shape of the existence predicate is ʔiǰ. It appears difficult at first to explain the motivation for the apparent alternation /ga/ ~ /i/ on phonological grounds. The neutral tense/modal suffix has the shape /ga/ virtually everywhere

in Skidegate except when concatenated with CV̆j roots, so that it seems necessary to posit -ga as the underlying shape. However, when the evidential suffix {ga}, referred to above, is applied to such roots, the result is /ʔiǰa/. Hence there is reason to suppose that the underlying form of the tense/modal suffix is actually -gʌ, not -ga. This difference in the underlying form would account for the differences in phonemic shape between the two ʔiǰ + suffix sequences. For now the derivation becomes

{ʔiǰ} - {gʌ}

ʔiǰgʌ

↓

ʔiǰʌ (Rule 6, only applying to this suffix when C is a stop.)

↓

ʔiǰi (Rule 10)

There is direct evidence from other tense/modal suffixes to strengthen this hypothesis: /ʔiǰiŋga/ "is from time to time...," /ʔisğʌŋgʌŋga/ "isn't from time to time...," where the underlying shape of the habitual/periodic suffix is gʌŋ. The point of this example is that, following ǰ, the vowel of the habitual/periodic suffix, ʌ, behaves exactly as does the vowel of the neutral tense/modal suffix. Since in non-lateral contexts ʌ → a in open syllables, and since the neutral tense/modal

suffix is never followed by any other, it would not be surprising to find it appear with the shape /ga/ in all other contexts.

The difficulty with this solution is that it appears to involve an "absolute neutralization" of a and ʌ and hence must be treated extremely cautiously. There is no way of demonstrating, on the basis of the current corpus for Skidegate, that the alternation /ga/ ~ /i/ is not idiosyncratic. Even if, historically, the shape of the neutral tense/modal suffix is *gʌ, it is quite possible that the alternation *gʌ ~ *i, perhaps regular at an earlier period, survived a reinterpretation of *gʌ as ga--a relic phenomenon, in other words. This reinterpretation would have occurred, naturally, after the institution of the rule neutralizing the distinction between ʌ and a in open syllables. Throughout the world, the copula often preserves irregularities which are levelled out elsewhere. Hence, for the present, I will continue to interpret the underlying shape of the neutral tense/modal suffix as ga.

Further complications are introduced into the picture by the existence of the phonemic form /ğasaŋ/ representing the concatenation of -{ğas} "future" with -{gʌŋ} "neutral old information anaphora" (see Chapter 4 for discussion.) We should expect that, following the deletion of g, the vowel of the second suffix should → i in accord with

Rule (10). This does not occur, however; it would appear, rather, that at some point preceding the application of Rule (10) the vowel Λ is replaced by a. This process is limited to the suffix -{gʌŋ} of the sixth position class of predicate inflectional suffixes. It has been observed in other dialects of Haida; Welsch (1976) refers to it as "vowel strengthening," though his interpretation of its functioning differs somewhat from my own.

The second set of rules, applying in the order given, is

(A) ǰ → s/___ syllable final

(B) ϕ → [+voc]/s__ +s#$_{word}$

(C) ss → s

The functioning of these rules may be seen in the following derivations:

{ʔiǰ} "predicate of existence" -{s} "dependent structure"

ʔiǰs

↓

ʔiss (Rule A)

↓

ʔisVs (Rule B)

Subsequently a vowel harmony rule assigns to V the same features as the vowel in the preceding syllable, to give /ʔisis/. The operation of this vowel harmony rule is also

manifested in the concatenation of -{ğas} "future" -{s} giving the phonemic result /ğasas/.

{ʔiǰ} - {s} - {i} "old information anaphora"

ʔiǰsi

↓

ʔissi (Rule A)

↓

ʔisi (Rule C)

which is the correct phonemic output. Rule (A) is well motivated by numerous examples of the form /ʔas/ "soapberry," /ʔaǰay/ "the soapberry," etc.

The set A-C has no obvious ordering with respect to 1-11. A third "set," consisting of the single rule ŋ → n/___ [word or morpheme boundary] alveodental, also seems unordered with respect to either of the first two sets.

Inspection of these few rules brings to light an interesting fact. g is deleted in many contexts, yet never in contexts where--given the operation of other rules of the grammar--the phonemic output of an inflected noun or verb will be a monosyllable. If g is deleted following a, there is always a preceding syllable. Where there is no preceding syllable, g is retained--except when a preceding segment, w or y, can eventually be expanded into

a syllablic form according to Rule (7). When even this cannot be done, a vowel is inserted by Rule (9). Thus, much of Skidegate phonology would appear to be functionally unified by a rule conspiracy to guarantee polymorphemic structure for all inflected words.

Chapter 3 Nominal Forms

3.1 Introduction

SkH nominals constitute a distinct morphological class, defined by the ability to receive inflection with the suffix -{gay} or one of the alternate suffixes indicating that the stem is old information, or with the suffixes -{ğa} or -{i} indicating a relation of attribution, but which cannot be inflected with any of the predicate inflectional suffixes. This definition, based specifically on morphological possibilities, does not take into account such factors as syntactic distribution. There are a number of forms whose distribution appears to be largely parallel to the nominals as I have defined them here, but whose inflectional possibilities are significantly different. It may eventually prove useful to group all of these syntactically resemblant forms under a single rubric, such as "substantive" or some comparable term, but at present, while the syntax of SkH is so little known, it seems to me preferable to rely on morphological criteria in establishing word classes.

3.2 Nominal Formation

3.2.1 Roots

With the exception of plant names, nominal forms referring to indigenous features of Skidegate culture tend to be (at least synchronically) monomorphemic. Animal names in particular are noteworthy in this respect, but the same tendency is

observable in the terms for body parts, kinship terms and common household articles. In some cases, post-Contact elements and innovations are also designated monomorphemically, e.g. /ƛ̓kad/ "deer." Examples of monomorphemic nominal forms are /ǧuda/ "box," /taǧun/ "spring salmon," /qigu/ "spruce root basket," /x̌uya/ "raven," /q̓a/ "harpoon," /cix̌u/ "beach, seafood."

Kinship terms, which must always be inflected, will be discussed below. Apart from this class of nominal elements and some body part terms, any nominal root can appear as an independent form.

3.2.2 Complex Forms

In many instances nominal elements are analyzable into two or more morphemes. No extremely productive grammatical formula exists for constructing such forms. Many culturally recent items are polymorphemic; special forms seem to have been coined to refer to such objects which call attention to their function and shape. Even when such forms contain recognizable morphemes, there are frequently elemements present whose grammatical status is quite obscure.

3.2.2.1 Nominals containing -{ʔu}

-{ʔu} is an instrumental marker with relatively limited productivity. Its function is most clearly exhibited in forms such as the following:

/gyaq̓id?u/ "carving tool"

{gya}-"intransitivizing prefix" + {q̓id} "carve" + {?u}

/č̓isğalaŋ?u/ "cooking pot"

{č̓is}- "shape classifier for hollow volumes" + {ğalʌŋ} "cook" + -{?u}

The appearance of /a/ rather than /ʌ/ preceding /ŋ/ in the above example may reflect the operation of a rule of mid-vowel epenthesis associated with -{?u}, as in the form

/ƛʌgaqyaŋ?u/ "binoculars"

{ƛʌga} "land place" + {qiŋ} "see" + -{?u}

Other examples are

/ğağalaŋ?u/ "frying pan"

(This form has the same analysis as /č̓isğalaŋ?u/ except that the first morpheme is {ğa}-, shape classifier for flat objects.)

/ğasλʌ?u/ "shovel"

{ğa}- "shape classifier for flat objects" + {sλʌ} "arrange or affect the position of something" + -{?u}

/kidsğalaŋ?u/ "poker"

{kids}- meaning unknown, but almost certainly related to the instrumental prefix {kid}- "with a stick" + {ğalʌŋ} "cook" + -{?u}

3.2.2.2 Nominals containing Shape Classifiers

The shape classifiers in Skidegate are a set of morphemes which most frequently appear prefixally with certain predicates indicating motion or position, and also with number predicates. The shape classifiers mark size, shape and animateness of the nominals associated with them. These morphemes also appear in nominal forms themselves. Some of the forms given in 3.1.2.1 are examples. In addition there are forms such as the following:

/ǧudɬgaǧaŋʔu/ "chair"

{ǧud} meaning uncertain, but probably etymologically connected with Northern Haida /ʕUd/ "buttocks," with which it is cognate + {ɬǧa} "shape classifier for objects which involve branching off the end of some node" + {ǧaŋ} meaning unknown + -{ʔu} "instrumental"

/ǧaʔal/ "box lid"

{ǧa} "shape classifier for flat things" + {ʔal} meaning unknown.

/sťaskagya/ "shoe," discussed below in 3.1.2.3, contains the shape classifier for "shoe" and other open cylinders, {ska}. In all cases, when a nomininal form which contains a shape classifier appears with one of the predicates which requires shape specification (as described in Chapter 4),

the shape prefix which appears in the predicate is identical with that contained in the noun to which it applies.

3.2.2.3 Nominals containing -{gya}

{gya} is found in a number of nominal forms referring to things which are worn on the body. Swanton (1911, p. 239) suggests that the directional suffix -gya given in his data may be the same form as the root of the verb "stand." While I do not find this suggestion convincing, it seems to me that there may be a connection between this nominal formative {gya} and the predicate "stand." I have glossed this morpheme as "encircling," but "standing at" may be closer to the actual sense. Thus in the following form

/sλʌgya/ "ring"

{sλʌ} "hand, finger" (possibly an instrumental prefix) +

{gya} "stand at"

the ring is that which "stands at" or "guards" the fingers. One difficulty which arises in this analysis is illustrated by the form for "the ring:"

/sλʌgigay/ "the ring"

Same analysis as the previous example except that here the old information suffix -{gay} is added.

In terms of the analysis offerred here it is necessary to posit a surface form [gigay] arising out of a concatenation of {gya}-{gay}, which, while not implausible, is

somewhat unmotivated. The same difficulty arises with the other members of this set, which are

/x̌igya/ "bracelet"

{x̌i}- "instrumental prefix for 'arm'" + {gya}

/gyugya/ "earring"

Same analysis as the foregoing except that {gyu} "ear" precedes {gya}

/qʌnğagya/ "apron"

{qʌn} "front" + {ğa} meaning unknown, possibly the attributive suffix + {gya}

3.2.2.4 Nominals containing -{dan}

The suffix -{dan} appears in two nominal forms and seems to mean "place for..." or, conceivably, "instrument."

/č̓amudan/ "stove"

{č̓amu} "fire, firewood, burn" + {dan}

/taydan/ "bed"

{tay} "lie down" + {dan}

3.2.2.5 Nominals containing -{t̓isgu}

The morpheme -{t̓isgu} appears in three forms: /cit̓isgu/ "coat," /gʌmt̓isgu/ "kerchief," /x̌ʷat̓isgu/ "man's shirt." The first contains the shape classifier {ci} for non-rigid containers; the latter two are not recognizable.

3.2.2.6 Nominal Sequences

In a number of instances nouns appear to be produced by simply concatenating nominal forms. Often this involves the use of the attributive suffix -{ğa}, particularly in plant names. In other cases, however, the nominals in the sequence are uninflected. Thus the form for "Adam's apple" is /qagʌn skuǰi/: {qagʌn} "throat," {skuǰi} "bone." The calf of the leg is called /ƛ̓kyaƛ̓ qaw/, where the first word identifies the lower leg and the second means "egg." "Toad" is /ƛ̓kyan q̓usƛ̓an/ in which the first element is a variant of the word {ƛ̓kin} "forest," and the second means "crab." Many other examples of this type exist, e.g. /qaxʷulnay/ "bathroom," literally "go-out house".

Another type of nominal form consists of a particle followed by some modifying element. This is the structure of the forms which indicate types of person based upon the particles {naŋ} (singular) and {ʔʌ} (plural), both of which refer to some indefinite or unspecified person(s):

/ƛaw naŋ x̌an k̓yawğa ğida/ "I'm waiting for someone."
{ƛa} first person singular (active), {hʌw} clause emphasis, {naŋ}, {x̌an} emphatic particle, {k̓yawğa} "until," {ğid} "lack, wait for" -{ğa} neutral tense/modal suffix

/daǰiŋay nan dağasi ğan di ʔuns?ida/ "I know whose hat it is."
{daǰiŋ} "hat"-{gay} nominal old information, {naŋ},

{daǧa} "own"-{s} dependent structure-{i} old information anaphora, {ǧan} "for," {di} first person singular (neutral), {ʔuns?ʌd} "know"-{ga} neutral tense/modal suffix

As explained earlier, the ordinary Skidegate form used to translate "man" consists of {naŋ} followed by a modifying form produced by predicatizing {ʔiɬiŋ} "male." Other forms of this type are

/nan ǰa?ada/ "a woman"

{naŋ}, {ǰa?ad} "woman" + -{ga} "middle"

/naŋ ǧaxa/ "a child"

{naŋ}, {ǧaxa} "weak"

/nan s̓awa/ "a witch"

{naŋ}, {s̓ʌw} "witch" + -{ga} "middle"

In one case the speaker used the English vocabulary item "chief" in conjunction with {naŋ}, forming [naŋ čIyfgas] "the chief." Here the rule for initial g-deletion does not apply, and the full form of the predicatizing "middle" morpheme is revealed. (Properly, the Skidegate form for "a chief" is /naŋ q̓ula/ or /naŋ q̓ʌwla/.)

Similar constructions are formed for the plural with {ʔʌʌ} replacing {naŋ}. Keen, in his earlier study of the Masset dialect, refers to these two morphemes as "articles,"

but this term seems inappropriate, suggesting as it does a grammatical form whose occurrence is dependent upon that of some other form. As the example sentences given show quite clearly, {naŋ} can appear independently of any modifying element and assume the agentive function in clauses,for example. The same is true for {ʔʌ}.

3.3 Nominal Inflection

3.3.1 Old and New Information

The concept of a distinction between old and new information has been most forcefully presented in recent years by Wallace Chafe (1970). The essence of this concept is that language is to be seen as a more or less continuous discourse, into which elements are continually being introduced for the first time and then referred to in later parts of the discourse. On their first appearance in the discourse they constitute "new" information; in subsequent discourse they are "old" information. Certain elements belong to the stock of cultural information all speakers of a language share, and hence are inherently "old."

New information is never overtly marked in Skidegate; elements which correspond in translation to form preceded by "a" or "an" have no inflection at all. Nominal forms which constitute old information (corresponding to

translation forms preceded by "the, this, that")
are marked with a suffix with the underlying shape
gay:

/x̌a/ "dog, dogs"

{x̌a} "dog"

/x̌agay/ "the dog, dogs"

{x̌a} "dog"-{gay}

-{gay} applies only to non-human nominal forms (with the exception of certain formations indicating aggregates.)

Of all the affixes in Skidegate, -{gay} has the most idiosyncratic phonology. The conditioning of the initial g-deletion to which this form is usually subject cannot be stated simply; it is easier to summarize the contexts in which it is retained:

(1) in all monosyllablic forms with Ca shape, as in the above example with {x̌a};

(2) in all items of foreign vocabulary which have not been reinterpreted as Skidegate forms: [bIyčgay] "the beach," [mayngay] "the mine," [bidgay] "the dime," [čIkčIkgay] "the wagon" (from Chinook Jargon.)

(3) in most predicates with final Ca shape, e.g., /hʌlx̌agay/ nominalization of {hʌlx̌a} "gather."

In most other contexts, initial g deletes when {gay} is suffixed to nominal stems: /tanay/ "the bear," where the root is {tan} "bear," /čiŋay/ "the beaver" with {čiŋ} the

root for "beaver," and /cinay/ "the fish" with {cina} the root for "fish." The behavior of -{gay} when suffixed to predicate stems is significantly different from its use in nominal inflection in two respects: in the first place it often induces a-epenthesis in predicate stems /___sonorant final, and in the second place g survives in a much wider range of environments. The first phenomenon is illustrated in compound bases containing the root {ğił} "become," where the presence of -{gay} triggers a-epenthesis before the final derived sonorant to produce the phonemic string /ğyalay/ by the same sort of derivation as that demonstrated for the evidential -{ga} at length in 2.2. Similarly, {gi?i} "sew"-{gay} yields the string /gi?yagay/, with /?y/ becoming, of course, [ỷ]. When the derivational suffix -{?in} "by means of a vehicle" is suffixed to a stem and -{gay} is added, the two suffixes have the surface form /?yangay/. The second phenomenon referred to above is illustrated by comparing the forms /tanay/ "the bear" and /činŋay/ "the beaver" with the forms /x̌ʌw?yangay/ "going out fishing" containg the sequence -{xʌw}-{?in} referred to above, and with /qyaŋgay/, the product of {qiŋ} "see"-{gay}. Clearly g is retained when the old information suffix is applied to a predicate stem in the same environments in which it deletes when the suffix is applied to a nominal stem.

Another respect in which the phonological behavior of -{gay} seems to be determined by the form class with which it co-occurs is found in the following examples, in which -{gay} has the shallow shape /yey/:

/ciǐway gi hʌlǐayey λaw?laŋ/ "Getting seafood is easy."

{ciǐu} "seafood"-{gay}, {gi} "to, towards," {hʌlǐa} "gather"-{gay}, {λawlʌ} "easy"-{gʌŋ} neutral old information anaphora

/ɬǧaŋgulǐayey gina waλu ǐan giŋqwangʌŋgin/ "The work made there be lots of everything."

{ɬǧaŋgulǐa} "work"-{gay}, {gina} non-human pro-nominal, {waλu} particle which, associated with {xan}, means "all, everything," {ǐan} emphatic, {giŋ}- "causative" + {qwan} "lots"-{gʌŋ} "habitual/periodic"-{gʌn} "past tense"

Other instances include:

/?isʔʌǐayey/ "going (there)"

{?iǰ} "be" +-{ʔʌǐa} "to that place"-{gay}

/dalyey/ "rain"

{dal} "rain"-{gay}

/ǐuʔʌyey/ "intermittant drinking"

{xuʔʌ} "drink intermittantly"-{gay}

Number is in most cases not marked in nominal forms. Therefore a nominal co-occuring with -{gay} is unspecified for number; /tanay/, for example, will translate both "the bear" and "the bears" according to context. This general

pattern does not hold, however, when the nominal refers to a human category: thus /ǰa?aday/ is always translated "the women," never "the woman." In order to construct the form which translates "the woman," a nominal structure of the type discussed above in 3.1.2.6 containing {naŋ} must be used. The old information status of such a form is marked by a suffix -{s}. /naŋ ?iɬiŋa/ "a man" becomes /naŋ ?iɬiŋas/ "the man;" /naŋ ğaǩa/ "a child" becomes /naŋ ğaǩas/ "the child." According to residents of Skidegate, the name Ninstints, which has been applied to the extinct Haida-speaking community on Anthony Island, derives from a myth of the village's origin, in which a chief reveals a two-fold nature encompassing both human existence and an affinity with white mice. He becomes known as /nan sdins/: {naŋ}, {sdiŋ} "two"-{s}. The construction literally means "the one who is two."

3.3.2 Numeration and Aggregation

Non-human nominal forms do not contain overt grammatical indication of number. For certain categories, however, plurality is indicated by a suffix -{lʌŋ}. This morpheme co-occurs with terms identifying types of relationship:

/gidğalʌŋ/ "children"

{gid} "child"-{ğa}"attribution"-{lʌŋ}

/ɬtaxwulʌŋ/ "friends"

{ɬtaxu} "friend"-{lʌŋ}

k!waigalaⁿ "elder brothers" (Swanton 1911, p. 260.)

{łtaxwi}apparently requires a suffix -{i} when the singular is indicated; this may be the same as the attributive -{i} used in connection with body part terms, but the identification is not certain.

The form -{čid} at first appears to be a plural suffix as well: /ʔiłiŋ/ "man," /ʔiłinčid/ "men," /ǰaʔad/ "woman," /ǰaʔadčid/ "women," /ǧaxa/ "child," /ǧaxačid/ "children," /stʌw/ "witch," /stʌwčid/ "witches." I suggest, however, that -{čid} does not actually mark plurality as such, but rather indicates some type of aggregate or collectivity. In all my data -{čid} is used in discourse contexts involving groups of people; for example

/ʔiłinčiday sǧwanaw taŋa łʌ gindʌwsǧagʌn/"I sent one of the boys for salt water."

{ʔiłiŋ} "man" + -{čid} -{gay} nominal old information, {sgwan} "one"-{a} meaning unknown, {hʌw} foreground, {taŋa} "salt, saltwater," {ła} "first person singular (active)," {giŋ}- "causative" + {dʌw} "get something" + -{sǧa} "towards the beach"-{gʌn} "past tense"

In this example, and in all those Swanton provides (1911, p. 260), nominal forms containing -{čid} also contain the suffix -{gay}. This reinforces the likelihood that -{čid} indicates something other than simple plurality, since ordinarily -{gay} does not apply to human old information. In effect -{čid} refers to a unit of collectivity,

which in itself is not human, although its members are.

3.3.3 Attribution

The suffix -{ğa} appears in nominal forms and in particle constructions, and indicates a relationship of attribution between the nominal form in which it appears and some other noun or pronoun. Where there is a syntactic contrast between a discourse situation in which the subject of a clause is co-referential with the possessor (in the genitive sense) in that clause, as opposed to a situation in which there is no such co-referentiality, -{ğa} is used in the latter case, and a suffix -{Aŋ} used for the former. -{ğa} is also used, however, in syntactic situations--e.g. plant names--where there is no possibility of this type of co-referentiality. Hence it seems accurate to describe a situation in which the subject of the sentence and the possessor are identical as in some sense marked and represented by -{Aŋ}, while -{ğa} refers to all other situations and thus signals the unmarked situation. The attributive relationship takes three specific forms: genuine possession, kinship relation and a general connection whose precise content is inferred from the discourse context.

3.3.3.1 Kinship Terms

Kinship terms in Skidegate consist of a root plus a suffix indicating whether the term is used for reference or address. Address is normally marked by a morpheme which always has the shape /ay/, as in /ʔaway/ "mother," /cinay/ "grandfather" where the roots are respectively {ʔaw} and {cin}. One wonders whether the /ay/ partial represents a specialized use of the nominal old information suffix; unfortunately there is no way to tell this. The ordinary elicitation form for reference kin terms has the structure root -{ğa}:

/x̌adğa/ "father"

{x̌ad} "father (woman speaking)" -{ğa}

/ƛalğa/ "husband"

{ƛal} "husband" -{ğa}

The ordinary elicitation form given for "my father" would be /di x̌adğa/, where {di} is the neutral first person singular particle. As noted above, -{ğa} is also used in cases of non-coreferentiality between subject and genitive possessor, as in

/di cinğa st̓iga/ "My grandfather's sick."

{di} "first person singular (neutral)," {cin} "grandfather"-{ğa}, {st̓i} "sick"-{ga} neutral tense/mode suffix

In the special case of such co-referentiality -{ʌŋ} is used:

/ʔawʌn ɬʌ qiŋgʌn/ "I saw my mother."

{?aw} "mother"-{ʌŋ}, {łɑ} "first person singular (active),"
{qiŋ} "see"-{gʌn} "past tense"

3.3.3.2 Possession

The distribution of -{ğa} in marking actual, semantic possession is the same as that discussed in the preceding section.

/di łtaxwi nağa / "my friend's house."
{di} "first person singular (neutral)," {łtaxu} "friend"-{i} use unclear, {na} "house"-{ğa}

/di qasga s̓tiga/ "My head hurts."
{di} "first person singular (neutral)," {qas} "head" -{ğa}, {s̓ti} "sick" -{ga} neutral tense/modal suffix

When the possessor is the subject of the sentence the particle {?ʌŋğa} is used. This form appears to be a sequence ?ʌŋ-ğa, where the first element bears a striking resemblance to the marked attribution suffix discussed in the preceding section, and the second would seem to be the unmarked attribution suffix. Such an analysis is difficult to explain synchronically, but is probably valid historically.

/ğaxagay ?asiŋ ?ʌŋğa t̓alʌŋ ?isdagʌŋgin/ "We used to take our children with us."

{ğaxa} "child, weak"-{gay} nominal old information, {?asiŋ} "also," {?ʌŋğa}, {t̓alʌŋ} "first person plural (active)," {?isda} general action predicate -{gʌŋ} "habitual/periodic" -

{gʌn} "past tense"

Other possessive constructions involving the use of -{ğa} will be discussed in Chapter 5.

3.3.3.3 General Attribution

-{ğa} is frequently used to establish a relationship of association whose precise nature is evident from context. Thus in

/yahgu taǰağa/ "the middle of the village"

{yaǰ} "middle," {gu} "there," {taǰa} "sand"-{ğa}

-{ğa} certainly does not mark possession. (Note that the analysis of yaǰ as the underlying form of the root for "middle" is tentative and based on alternations of the form /kyah/ ~ /kiǰa/ "outside," where it seems likely that ǰ derives from Swanton's "distributive" {ǰa}.) Many plant names have this form:

/q̊alčida lisğa/ "Crow's lace"

{q̊alčida} "crow," {lis} "lace"-{ğa}

/yanʌŋ xilğa/ "Cloud medicine"

{yanʌŋ} "cloud," {xil} "leaf"-{ğa}

Chapter 4 Predicate Structure

4.1 Summary of Predicate Structures

Skidegate utilizes two types of predicate structure, independent and dependent. The independent predicate can be used to form sentences by appearing either as the only predicate in the sentence or in combination with other independent or dependent predicates. Dependent predicates cannot be the only predicate in a sentence. They appear in two principal types of construction: embedded clauses, of which there are three major forms, and nominalized constructions.

4.2 Independent Predicate Structure

The independent Skidegate predicate displays three significant levels of grammatical structure. The maximal predicate word consists of a predicate stem plus one or more inflectional suffixes. The predicate stem is analyzable into one or more optional derivational prefixes, one or more predicate bases, and one or more optional derivational suffixes. The predicate base is generated by the following rule:

Base → (prefix) R (suffix)

R → Predicate root / Nominal root / ϕ

There is an obvious parallelism between the structure

of the base, as given here, and the structure of the stem. The reason for distinguishing them is that the base or series of bases can precede a whole series of derivational suffixes occurring in a fixed order, and where there is more than one base present it is clearly undesirable to suppose that these derivational suffixes form a constituent solely with the last base in the series. On the other hand, some mechanism is needed to allow derivational suffixes to appear <u>within</u> bases, since this is one of the distinctive properties of Haida compounding. Hence two different orders of structure are required to account for the distribution of derivational suffixes. The justification of the inclusion of prefixes in the formula for the base, as well as the null value for R, is that the language contains what are, synchronically at least, prefix-suffix constructions functioning as bases, with no grammatical root present. I regard any monomorphemic form which can take inflectional suffixes directly as a predicate root; in terms of this definition neither the derivational prefixes nor derivational suffixes which apparently combine with them to form stems can be regarded as roots. Hence the correct base form can only be generated by allowing a null value for R.

Diachronically, such constructions seem to suggest that the prefixes which participate in them were originally independent elements, since one finds them in other contexts in which their prefixal status seems rather doubtful. Other evidence supports this suggestion, to which we will return below.

4.2.1 Derivation and Inflection

The distinction between derivation and inflection is required only in the suffixes; there are no inflectional prefixes. Inflectional suffixes are those which have no selectional restrictions on the stems to which they are suffixed. Derivational suffixes are governed in their co-occurrence with stems by the grammatical sub-categories to which the stem belongs. This distributional difference corresponds to an apparent difference in semantic effect: derivational suffixes seem to induce changes in the meanings contributed by the bases or stems to which they apply, while inflectional suffixes do not change meaning but rather contribute information necessary to place the indicated meaning in the discourse context. Freedom of co-occurrence has two important correlates in terms of linear and grammatical order: in the first place, the inflectional suffixes are all adjacent to each other and are all to the right of the derivational suffixes; in

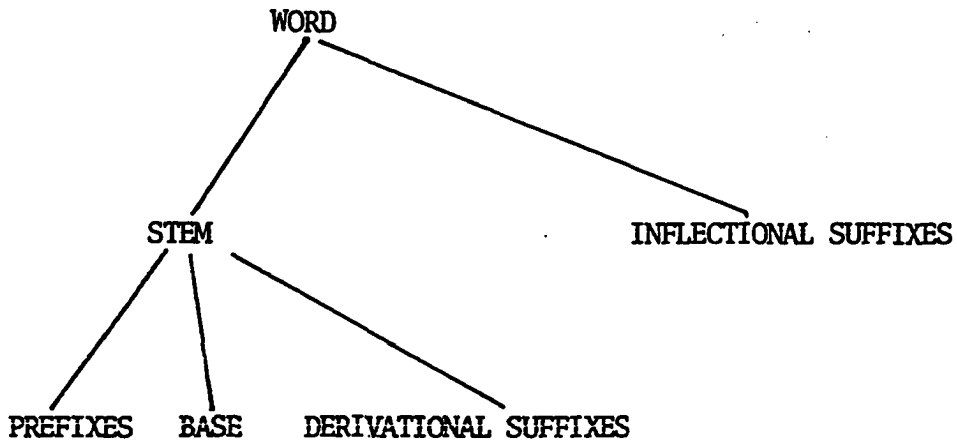


Chart 1: Analytic Levels of the Predicate

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Aspect	Plural	Negative	Habitual	Tense/info.	Tense/modal	Info. Anaphora
-xidi	(incip.)	-ǧu	-gʌŋ	-gʌŋ	-ǧas	-ga	-i
-di	(dur.)				-ga	-gʌn	
-gi	(complet.)					-gʌŋ	
-sgi	("almost")						

Chart 2: Inflectional Suffixes

Position Classes

1		2	3	4
-ga -ǧa	1			
-ĉi -xuɬ -ɬʌ -tʌɬ -ǧuŋ -ʎʌx̌a -λʌ -gigʌŋ	2	-sλʌ	-da	-ǧa -ʔin
-ǰu -dʌl -ʔʌn	3			
-ʔu -x̌aŋ	4			

Chart 3: Derivational Suffixes

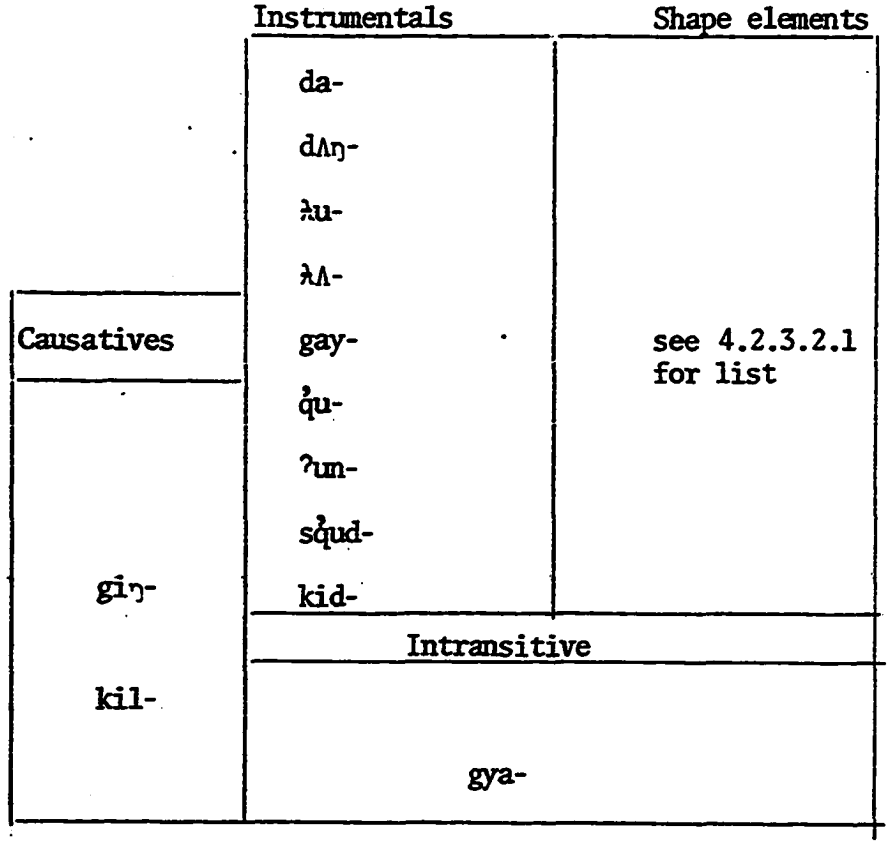


Chart 4: Prefixes

the second place, only derivational suffixes can appear within the base itself. The suffix which appears within parentheses in the rule for the generation of the base is always a derivational suffix.

4.2.2 Inflectional Suffixes

A description of the inflectional suffixes follows. These suffixes are distributed in seven position classes following the derivational suffix position classes. In independent predicates a suffix belonging to position class 6 must be present unless the sentence contains the imperative particle {ɬa} or the interrogative particle {gwa} (see Chart 2.)

4.2.2.1 Position Class 1

The first position class contains aspect markers. These suffixes are independent of tense, since they can co-occur with any of the tense/modal suffixes of position class 6 (though this is not true in all cases for all informants) or either of the suffixes in position class 5. This set of suffixes serves to locate participants with respect to the action or state presented in the base.

4.2.2.1.1 -{xidi}

-{xidi} indicates participation which has not yet occurred but which is about to; that is, participation is imminent.

Often the translation ignores the imminent aspect of the participation, so that the English is a simple future.

/lʌ ʔaɬɯxidayagʌn/ "He was just getting up."

{lʌ} "third person (active)," {ʔaɬu} "get up from prone position" - {xidi}-{ga} "second hand information" -{gʌn}"past tense"

/la ɬʌ qiŋğaxidiga/ "I'm ready to go and see him."

{lʌ}"third person (neutral)," {ɬa} "first person singular (active)," {qiŋ} "see" + -{ğa} "translocative"-{xidi}-{ga} neutral tense/modal suffix

/xyaɬu ʔisxidiga/ "There's going to be a dance."

{xyaɬ} "dance," {hʌw} foreground, {ʔiǰ} existence predicate -{xidi}-{ga} neutral tense/modal suffix

It may be noted that imminence must be defined relative to the action in question: a dance which is going to be held tomorrow is regarded as imminent, while a meal which is going to be eaten tomorrow is not.

4.2.2.1.2 -{di}

-{di} is the durative aspect marker, signalling the ongoing involvement of participants in the action or state indicated by the stem.

/ʔalʌŋ ƛʌguɬğadyaŋ/ "We're fixing it."

{ʔalʌŋ} "first person plural (active), {ƛʌ}- "with the hand"

+ {ğuɬğa} "make, fix"-{di}-{gʌŋ} neutral old information anaphora

/ʔu k̓ağasλʌdyaŋ/ "It's drying"

{ʔu} "non-human participant," {k̓a} "dry" + -{ğa} "change of state" - {sλʌ} "permeation" -{di}-{gʌŋ} "neutral old information anaphora"

/t̓alʌn λʌskumx̌adiga/ "We're right in the middle of cleaning it."

{t̓alʌŋ} "first person plural (active)" {λʌ}- "with the hand" + {skumx̌a} "clean" -{di}-{ga} neutral tense/modal suffix

Compare the following two sentences:

/ʔu ğalʌnslaŋ/ "It gets cooked, it got cooked."

{ʔu} "non-human participant," {ğalʌŋ} "cook"-{sλʌ} "permeation"-{gʌŋ} neutral old information anaphora

/ʔu ğalʌnslʌdyaŋ/ "It's getting cooked."

(Same analysis as the preceding example except that -{di} is present.)

There are a number of predicates in SkH which indicate actions of very brief, even instantaneous, duration. These "punctual" stems cannot co-occur with -{di}. For example, {squda} "hit (with the fist)" cannot co-occur with -{di}; since the action has no duration, it is not possible to refer

to participation in the action of hitting while the action is going on. Only if the derivational suffix -{gʌŋ} marking a repetition of punctual action is added to {squda} can -{di} be suffixed: /la ɬʌ squdandiga/ "I'm hitting him."

-{di} participates in certain idiosyncratic contractions: (1) -{di}-{ğas} "future" → /dyas/. This contraction also applies to -{xidi}; it apparently involves deletion of the initial segment of -{ğas}.

(2) -{di}-{gʌŋ} neutral old information anaphora → /dyaŋ/. Here too the initial segment of -{gʌŋ} has deleted. This contraction occurs only when the suffix following -{di} is the neutral old information anaphora suffix; it never occurs when the suffix which follows is -{gʌŋ} "habitual/ periodic." Such morpheme specificity in the operation of phonological rules is a major theme of Skidegate phonology.

4.2.2.1.3 -{gi}

The analysis of -{gi} is difficult, as speakers often disagree on the proper interpretation of forms containing it, and because in certain contexts it seems to mean "always," rather than "already," the completive meaning complementary to the other aspects already discussed. It is not clear whether polysemy or homophony is involved in this variation. In the latter meaning it may be described as signalling the prior completion of participation in

some action or situation.

/la ɬʌ qiŋgigʌn/ "I already saw him."

{lʌ} "third person (neutral)," {ɬa} "first person singular (active)," {qiŋ} "see"-{gi}-{gʌn} "past tense"

/lʌ x̌uɬʌgiga/ "He's just finished drinking."

{la} "third person (active)," {x̌uɬʌ} "drink," -{gi}, -{ga} neutral tense/modal suffix

4.2.2.1.4 -{sgi}

-{sgi} indicates that participation in the action or state indicated in the stem almost took place. There is some uncertainty about the membership of -{sgi} in this position class, or among the inflectional suffixes in general.

/law qunʌŋgiɬsgiga/ "He almost went crazy."

{lʌ} "third person (neutral)," {qunʌŋ} "crazy"+ {ğiɬ}"become"-{sgi}-{ga} neutral tense/modal suffix

4.2.2.2 Position Class 2

Inflectional position class 2 has one member, -{ğu}, which indicates third person plurality in either the agent or the non agent in any situation:

/di gi la wasq̓ʌwsdağugʌn/ "They yelled at me."

{di} "first person singular (neutral)," {gi} "to,"

{la} "third person (active)," {wasq̓ʌwǰ}- "yell (once)" + {da} meaning uncertain: either causative or plural - {ğu}- {gʌn} "past tense"

-{ğu} participates in the following contractions:

(1) -{ğu} -{ğas} "future" → /ğwas/. Here it appears that the initial segment of -{ğas} deletes.

(2) -{ğu} -{gʌŋ} neutral old information anaphora → /ğwaŋ/. Here too the initial segment of -{gʌŋ} has deleted.

4.2.2.3 Position Class 3

Inflectional position class 3 has a single member, -{ğʌŋ}, the negative suffix. Negation always requires this suffix and the negative particle {gʌm}.

/gʌm gu ɬa ʔisğʌŋğasga/ "I will not be there."

{gʌm} "not," {gu} "there," {ɬa} "first person singular (active)," {ʔiǰ} existence predicate -{ğʌŋ}-{ğas}"future" -{ga} neutral tense/modal suffix

4.2.2.4 Position Class 4

Inflectional position class 4 has one member, -{gʌŋ}, which marks habitual or periodic participation in the action or condition indicated by the stem. It is occasionally translated "always," though this translation usually requires the presence of a preceding suffix -{gi} (see above, 4.2.2.1.3.)

Certain bases must always be inflected with the habitual/per-

iodic suffix. Thus {kilxi} "need" obligatorily appears inflected with this suffix; the only way one can determine that the base is not in fact kilxigʌŋ is by forming the negative: /gʌm gi di kilxiğʌŋgʌŋga/ "I don't need it," where the negative suffix, described in the preceding section, appears between {kilxi} and -{gʌŋ}.

/ʔannu lʌ ʔiǰiŋga/"He comes here from time to time." {ʔan} "here," {hʌw} foreground, {la} "third person (active)," {ʔiǰ} existence predicate -{gʌŋ}-{ga} neutral tense/modal suffix
This example illustrates the contraction ǰ + gʌŋ → /ǰiŋ/.

4.2.2.5 Position Class 5

Inflectional position class 5 has two members, -{ğas} and -{ga}.

4.2.2.5.1 -{ğas}

-{ğas} marks the future, with occasional translation as a conditional.

/gʌm gu ɬa ʔisğʌŋğasga/ "I will not be there." (See 4.2.2.3 for analysis.)

In general, VCa (where V is a mid-vowel) -{ğas} → /VCas/. -{ğas} participates in other, more idiosyncratic contrac-

tions, e.g. {ǩud?uɬ} "die"-{ğas}→ /ǩud?waɬs/

4.2.2.5.2 -{ga}

-{ga} has two historically interrelated functions: (1) It indicates that the speaker has no firsthand knowledge of the information contained in the clause to which the predicate it inflects belongs. It appears quite commonly in the narration of traditional textual marterial. Since the speaker is expected to be aware of his or her actions, -{ga} will not ordinarily appear in independent predicates when the speaker is a participant in the action of situation. This suffix can only be applied to past situations. When asked to repeat an item of text substituting "I" for "he" or "she" or the present for the past, the speaker automatically drops -{ga}.

/lʌ gwalagʌn/ "He felt sorry (second-hand information.)" {lʌ} "third person (neutral)," {guɬ} "feel sorry" -{ga}-{gʌn} "past"

(2) -{ga} is used to indicate the past tense in contexts where there is no overt tense marking.

(a) In interrogative forms of sentences formed with the particle {gwa} there is no tense inflection in the predicate.

Sentences of the form

/dʌŋ ʔqwida/ "You are hungry"

{dʌŋ} "second person singular (neutral)," {ʔqud}

"hungry"-{ga} neutral tense/modal suffix

have corresponding interrogative forms

/dʌŋ gwa ʔqud/ "Are you hungry?"

When the tense-inflected form of the sentence

contains the past tense suffix -{gʌn}, the interrogative

must be formed with the second-hand information suffix

-{ga}.

/dʌŋ gwa ʔqwida/ "Were you hungry?"

(Identical to the preceding example except that

-{ga} is suffixed to {ʔqud}.)

/ʔasi gwa da qyaŋa/ "Did you see this?"

{ʔa} "this," -{si} pronominalizer for deictic

particles, {gwa} interrogative, {da} "second person

singular (active)," {qiŋ} "see"-{ga}

(b) In interrogatives formed with the in-

terrogative pronominal particles (see Chapter 5)

the tense inflection must always be made with -{gʌŋ}

neutral old information anaphora. In such questions,

just as with those formed by using {gwa}, the only

way to indicate that the sentence refers to the past is

to use -{ga} second hand information.

/gismudʔu lʌ ʔisʔʌx̌ayaŋ/ "When did he come back?"

{gisnud} "when," -{u} "interrogative," {la} "third person (active)," {ʔiǰ} existence predicate +-{ʔʌʌx̌a} "movement toward a particular place"-{ga}-{gʌŋ} "neutral old information anaphora"

(c) In certain dependent predicate structures, the second-hand information suffix is used to mark past occurrence even in non-interrogative forms, and even when the speaker is a participant in the action indicated by the stem:

/gina gi ʔtalʌŋ hʌlx̌ayasu ʔtalʌŋ kandagʌŋgin/ "What we used to get we canned."

{gina} "what, something," {gi} "to," {ʔtalʌŋ} "first person plural (active)," {hʌlx̌a} "gather"-{ga}-{s} dependent structure, {hʌw} foreground, {ʔtalʌŋ}, {kan}"can"-{da} "causative"-{gʌŋ} "habitual/periodic" -{gʌn} "past"

The use of -{ga} in (a)-(c) suggests that an extension of its earlier semantic range has recently been under way. This extension seems logical enough, since the second-hand information suffix is almost completely restricted to past contexts. In constructions where tense inflection has been eliminated the redundant association of -{ga} with past tense provides a means of disambiguating time reference. Such semantic extensions are not uncommon among evidential systems

generally. One might speculate that sharing position class 5 with -{ğas}, which has purely tense meaning, may have put pressure on -{ga} to conform to a more tense-like function. It is, of course, equally possible that the assignment of -{ga} and -{gas} to the same position class occurred only after the former had begun its semantic extension, though, given the incompatibility of -{ğas} with -{gʌn}, and the restriction of -{ga}to predicates containing -{gʌn}, it is difficult to imagine that -{ğas} and -{ga} could ever have co-occurred at any time.

4.2.2.6 Position Class 6

Inflectional position class 6 contains three suffixes, pertaining to tense and/or modal meaning.

4.2.2.6.1 -{ga}

-{ga} appears in all non-interrogative, non-imperative predicates which are not marked as past and do not contain any old information anaphora. In almost every case the translation is in fact non-past. However, there are a number of instances in which the translation provided for a predicate form containing -{ga} is in the past tense. In many such cases, the semantics of the stem is responsible for these past translations--e.g., stems referring to "punctual" actions. In such cases the translation will be past tense, because such actions

by their very nature are regarded as either future or past; they are too brief to have any present. In other cases, form marked with -{ga} have past translations because of their grammatical contexts. In /gina gi ʔalʌŋ hʌlǐagʌnnu ʔalʌŋ kandaga/ there are two predicates: "Whatever we got we canned" there are two predicates, /hʌlǐagʌn/ and /kandaga/. The first is marked as past with -{gʌn}; the second is not, but because of the tense of the first translates past anyway.

/ʔannu lʌ ʔiǰiŋga/ "He comes here from time to time." (See 4.2.2.4 for analysis.)

/ʔalʌn ƛʌskunǐadiga/ "We're right in the middle of cleaning it." (See 4.2.2.1 for analysis.)

/gʌm gu ɬa ʔisğʌŋğasga/ "I will not be there." (See 4.2.2.3 for analysis.)

-{ga} has an allomorph /i/ which appears when the suffix is added to stems with ǰ as final segment: /ʔan lʌ ʔiǰi/ "He'll be here;" /lʌ ʔadiǰi/ "He's drowning," where the stem is -{ʔaydaǰ}.

4.2.2.6.2 -{gʌŋ}

-{gʌŋ} covers virtually the same semantic range as -{ga}. However, its privileges of occurrence are significantly different in two respects: in the first place, as noted above, it must be used in any interrogative

formed with one of the interrogative pronominal particles; in the second place, it is restricted, apart from the context just referred to, to the same grammatical environments as the -{i} suffix which occupied the seventh inflectional position class. In independent predicate structure -{i} can only be concatenated with the past tense suffix -{gʌn}, so that semantically and distributionally -{gʌŋ} parallels -{gʌn} + {i}.

-{gʌŋ} participates in the very general contaction g → ϕ/CV___. This contraction never applies to the habitual/periodic suffix -{gʌŋ}; however, both suffixes have an allomorph /iŋ/ following stems with final ǰ, parallel to the behavior of the tense/modal suffix -{ga}.

4.2.2.6.3 -{gʌn}

-{gʌn} marks the past tense; forms containing this suffix never have any but a past meaning.

/lʌ ʔaɬuxcidayagʌn/ "He was just getting up."
(See 4.2.2.1.1 for analysis.)

/lʌ gwalagʌn/ "He felt sorry (second hand information)."
(See 4.2.2.5.2 for analysis.)

The members of position class 6 bear an obvious phonological resemblance to each other. As mentioned earlier, there is no synchronic basis for further seg-

mentation of any of these suffixes, but it is tempting to speculate that at some earlier stage of the language -{gʌŋ} and -{gʌn} were each composed of two morphemes from ajoining position classes. Strengthening this speculation are the facts that (1) -{ga} at times seems almost empty of meaning while -{gʌn} marks the past tense in a very straightforward way; (2) -{gʌŋ} has a distribution paralleling -{gʌn} -{i}, suggesting that it is the reflex of a sequence of suffixes.

4.2.2.7 -{i}

The seventh inflectional position class has a single member, the suffix -{i}, which signals the presence of non-human old information within some as yet undefined grammatical proximity to the predicate. Old information in Skidegate may be either explicit or implicit.

4.2.2.7.1 Explicit Old Information

4.2.2.7.1.1 Nominal Old Information

Nominal old information is marked by -{gay}, as discussed in 3.2.1. The anaphoric function of -{i} emerges especially clearly in relation to this type of old information:
/dʌws ɨǧaɨ k̓ʌdǰu ʔu ɬʌ qiŋgʌn/ "I saw a little black cat."
{dʌws} "cat," {ɨǧaɨ} "black," {k̓ʌ} "little"+-{ǰu} derivational suffix, {hʌw} foreground, {ɬa} "first person

singular (active)," {qiŋ}"see" -{gʌn} "past tense"

*/dʌws ɬğaɬ k̓ʌdǰu ʔu ɬʌ qiŋgʌnni/

(-{i} added.)

/dʌwǰay ɬğaɬ k̓ʌdǰu ʔu ɬʌ qiŋgʌn/ "I saw the little black cat."

/dʌwǰay ɬğal k̓ʌdǰu ʔu ɬʌ qiŋgʌnni/ "I saw the little black cat."

The same pattern of permitted and non-permitted suffixation of -{i} is found in such pairs as /ğuday čisğwigʌnni/ "The box fell" vs. */guda čisğwigʌnni/, or /k̓iway ɬa qiǩagʌnni/ "I found the clam" vs. */k̓yu ɬa qiǩagʌnni/. In both of these pairs the only difference between the grammatical and non-grammatical forms is that the former contain a nominal element to which -{gay} has been suffixed, while in the latter -{gay}is lacking.

4.2.2.7.1.2 Deictic Pronouns

Deictic pronouns are discussed in detail in Chapter 5. In these examples they are the forms /ʔasi/ "this (one)" and /hʌwsi/ "that (one)."

/ɬa ʔasi qiŋgʌnni/ "I saw this."

{ɬa} "first person singular (active)," {ʔa} "here"-{si} pronominalizes deictic particles, {qiŋ}"see"-{gʌn} "past tense"-{i}

/hʌwsiyu t̓alʌn tagʌnni/ "That's what we ate."

{hʌw} "that"-{si} pronominalizes deictic particles, {hʌw} foreground, {ʔalʌŋ} "first person plural (active)," {ta} "eat"-{gʌn} "past tense" -{i}

4.2.2.7.1.3 Locational Phrases

Spatial reference, if sufficiently specific, can constitute old information permitting the use of -{i}. The particle {gu} (see Chapter 5) has various translations, but in isolation seems to function as a locational pronoun, translatable as "there," referring to a place which has been mentioned in previous discourse.

/gʌm qaxulnay gu ʔisğʌŋgʌnni/ "There wasn't even a bathroom there."

{gʌm} "not," {qa} "move" + -{xuł} "out" +{na} "house," {gu}, {ʔiǰ} existence predicate -{ğʌŋ} "negative" -{gʌn} "past tense" -{i}

The location previously mentioned may be referred to overtly:

/nagay ğaw ğuda čisğwigʌnni/ "A box fell in the house."

{na} "house" -{gay} nominal old information, {ğa} "in," {hʌw} foreground, {ğuda} "box,"{čis}- shape element + {ğwi} "fall" -{gʌn} "past tense" -{i}

It is worth noting that the form */na ğaw ğuda čisğwigʌnni/, identical to the preceding example except for the presence

of -{gay}, is ungrammatical. So, for that matter, is */ğuda čisğwigʌnni/, where the locational element has been removed.

4.2.2.7.2 Implicit Old Information

Implicit old information is inferred from discourse context, or from the non-linguistic conditions in which the reference is made.

/ɬa tagʌnni/ "I ate it"

{ɬa} "first person singular (active)," {ta} "eat"-{gʌn} "past tense" -{i}

Since {ta} is inherently transitive, its use implies the presence of some patient not specifically mentioned. If, however, the particle {ga} had preceded {ta}, intransitivizing the predicate, the form */ɬa ga tagʌnni/ which would have resulted is ungrammatical.

4.2.2.7.3 Current Status of Old Information Anaphora

The use of -{i} as old information anaphora seems to be a part of Skidegate grammar which has become somewhat irregular in certain idiolects. My principal co-worker in Skidegate maintained the system presented in 4.2.2.7, but the speaker with whom I did the next greatest amount of work frequently used -{i} in contexts in which no old information, implicit or explicit, was present (although statistically more often with old information present than not.)

As noted in 4.2.2.1.6, -{gʌŋ} parallels the distribution of -{gʌn}-{i}, so that all the constraints noted in 4.2.2.7 for -{i} apply to -{gʌŋ} in Becky Pearson's idiolect. Similarly, in Hazel Steven's idiolect these constraints are relaxed to the same degree that those on -{i} are.

4.2.3 The Predicate Stem

4.2.3.1 Derivational Suffixes

The distinction between inflectional and derivational suffixes has been outlined earlier. Since the derivational suffixes are by definition less productive than the inflectional suffixes, it is more difficult to assign them to position classes in a straightforward way.

4.2.3.1.1 Position Class 1

The first derivational position class consists of all suffixes which appear in the position immediately to the right of the bases with which they co-occur. Since there are selectional restrictions on which suffixes can appear with any given base, all that common membership in this position class means is that there are no instances in my data of any suffix appearing to the left of any of these suffixes. Within the four

subsets of this position class, however, members of a single subset all co-occur with at least one common base.

4.2.3.1.1.1 Subset 1

Subset 1 contains two suffixes, -{ga} and -{ğa}.

4.2.3.1.1.1.1 -{ga}

-{ga} confers on various non-predicate roots the distributional privileges of predicate bases. It has been discussed earlier in connection with nominal constructions containing {naŋ}. Applied to certain predicate roots, this suffix has the effect of creating a "middle voice" predicate.

/di ğudaga/ "I'm an Eagle."
{di} "first person singular (neutral)," {ğud} "eagle" + -{ga}-{ga} neutral tense/modal suffix

/ʔu k̓agaga/ "It's dry."
{ʔu} "it," {k̓a} "dry" + -{ga}-{ga} neutral tense/modal suffix

/ʔu qyaŋgagʌn/ "It could be seen"
{ʔu} "it," {qiŋ} "see"+-{ga} -{gʌn} "past tense"

4.2.3.1.1.1.2 -{ğa}

-{ğa} is used with roots which predicate some physical

attribute or condition. The suffix apparently refers to some change of state, in accordance with the meaning of the base.

/ʔu k̓ağasλʌga/ "It's drying."

{ʔu} "it," {k̓a} "dry" + -{ğa} + -{sλʌ} "permeative" -{ga} neutral tense/modal suffix

/hʌw t̓iɬğaga/ "It's getting wet."

{hʌw} "that," {t̓iɬ} "wet" + -{ğa} -{ga} neutral tense/modal suffix

4.2.3.1.1.2 Subset 2

The second subset of derivational suffixes in position class 1 follows bases which predicate motion of some kind. Statistically, these suffixes appear in ordinary speech most frequently with {qa}, the general predicate of motion.

4.2.3.1.1.2.1 -{č̓i}

-{č̓i} indicates movement into or through a space.

/nagay ğiyu la č̓iğač̓igʌn/ "He moved into the house."

{na} "house" -{gay} nominal old information, {ği} "into, through," {hʌw} foreground, {la} "third person (active)," {č̓iğa} "move"+-{č̓i}-{gʌn} "past tense"

/qač̓i ɬa/ "Come in!"

{qa} "move" + -{č̓i}, {ɬa} imperative

4.2.3.1.1.2.2 -{xuɬ}

-{xuɬ} refers to movement out of a space.

/la ɬʌ kilqaxulgʌn/ "I told him to get out."

{lʌ} "third person (neutral)," {ɬa} "first person singular (active)," {kil} "by speaking" + {qa} "move" + -{xuɬ} -{gʌn} "past tense"

4.2.3.1.1.2.3 -{ɬʌ}

-{ɬʌ} indicates movement upwards.

/qayday gud ɬa qaɬʌgʌn/ "I climbed the tree."

{qayd} "tree" -{gay} nominal old information, {gu} "there," -{d} relates action to the specified location, {ɬa} "first person singular (active)," {qa} "move"+-{ɬʌ}-{gʌn} "past tense"

4.2.3.1.1.2.4 -{t̓ʌɬ}

-{t̓ʌɬ} indicates movement downwards.

/la ƛ̓ʌ qat̓ʌɬɬagʌndasi/ "They let him off first..."

(transliterated from Swanton 1911, p. 246.)

{lʌ} "third person (neutral)," {ƛ̓ʌ} "they," {qa} "move" + -{t̓ʌɬ}+ -{ɬagʌŋ} "first" + -{da} "causative" -{s} dependent structure -{i} old informtion anaphora

4.2.3.1.1.2.5 -{ğuŋ}

-{ğuŋ} specifies more or less random motion.

/na x̌a ğid lʌ qağuŋga/ "He's walking around inside the house."

{na} "house," {x̌a} distributive, {ği} "through, into," -{d} relates action to the specified location, {la} "third person (active)," {qa} "move" + -{ğuŋ}-{ga} neutral tense/modal suffix

4.2.3.1.1.2.6 -{ʔʌx̌a}

-{ʔʌx̌a} indicates motion towards a particular goal or destination.

/gu ʔu ʔtalʌŋ qaʔʌx̌agʌn/ "We walked there (to that place.)"
{gu} "there," {hʌw} foreground, {ʔtalʌŋ} "first person plural (active)," {qa} "move" + -{ʔʌx̌a} -{gʌn} "past tense"

4.2.3.1.1.2.7 -{λʌ}

-{λʌ} indicates motion in a vehicle of some sort.

/la la qaλʌğwas/ "They took her aboard..."
{lʌ} "third person (neutral)," {la} "third person (active)," {qa} "move" + -{λʌ}-{ğu} "plural" -{s} dependent structure (transliterated from Swanton 1911, p.247.)

4.2.3.1.1.2.8 -{giğʌŋ}

The meaning of this suffix is unknown at present; it may be analyzable further.

/ʔkiway gud hu ɬʌ qagiğʌŋgʌnni/ "I was walking on the road."
{ʔkyu} "road" -{gay} nominal old information, {gu} "there," {d} relates action to the specified location, {hʌw} foreground,

{łą} "first person singular (active)," {qa} "move" +
-{giğʌŋ} -{gʌn} "past tense" - {i} old information
anaphora

4.2.3.1.1.3 Subset 3

The third subset of derivational position class 1 contains three suffixes, all of which form predicates from shape classifiers.

4.2.3.1.1.3.1 -{ǰu}

-{ǰu} forms predicates which, while occasionally inflected, more often appear as modifiers of nominal forms. These nominal forms are always singular in reference.

/łga yuǰu gu q̓ayğudiga/ "There's a big rock sitting there."
{łga} "rock," {yu} "big" + -{ǰu}, {gu} "there,"
{q̓ay} shape element + {ğudi} "stationary" -{ga}
neutral tense/modal suffix

4.2.3.1.1.3.2 -{dʌl}

-{dʌl} has the same function as -{ǰu}, but applies to nominal forms with plural reference.

/stiway k̓ʌddʌllaŋ gʌm yudʌlğʌŋgʌŋ/ "They're small, not large, the sea-urchins."

{styu} "sea-urchin" -{gay} nominal old information, {k̓ʌ} -
"small" + -{dʌl} -{gʌŋ} neutral old information anaphora,
{gʌm} "not," {yu}- "big" + -{dʌl} - {ğʌŋ} "negative" -

{gʌŋ} neutral old information anaphora

4.2.3.1.1.3.3 -{ʔʌn}

-{ʔʌn} only appears in my data suffixed to the shape elements {yu}- "big" and {k̓ʌ}- "small." Unlike the suffixes described in the preceding two sections, -{ʔʌn} seems to create predicates of magnitude which are not restricted to physical dimension. Thus, in /lʌ k̓ajuğayayuʔʌnga/ "He sings really well/ the predicate {yu}- + -{ʔʌn} functions as an intensifier and corresponds to the translation "really."

4.2.3.1.1.4 Subset 4

The fourth subset in the first derivational position class contains two suffixes which mark the base as singular or plural respectively, depending on the number of participants. These suffixes occur in my data with only two roots, {q̓ʌw} "sit" and {na} "live," but they probably can be applied to others.

4.2.3.1.1.4.1 -{ʔu}

-{ʔu} indicates a single participant in the action.

/ƛu gu ğaw naʔuga/ "He lives on the boat."

{ƛu} "boat," {gu} "there," {ğa} "at, in," {hʌw} foreground, {la} "third person (active)," {na} "live" +

-{ʔu} -{ga} neutral tense/modal suffix

4.2.3.1.1.4.2 -{x̌aŋ}

-{x̌aŋ} indicates the participation of several individuals in the action.

/ʔannu lʌ nax̌ʌŋğuga/ "They live here."

{ʔan} "here," {hʌw} foreground, {la} "third person (active)," {na} "live"+- {x̌aŋ} -{ğu} "plural" -{ga} neutral tense/modal suffix

4.2.3.1.2 Position Class 2

The second position class has two members, -{sλʌ} and -{λagʌŋ}. This is a de facto grouping: both suffixes follow the suffixes in position class 1 and precede the causative suffix. It seems likely that further data will indicate some co-occurrence of the two suffixes.

4.2.3.1.2.1 -{sλʌ}

-{sλʌ} is often preceded by -{ğa}, discussed under 4.2.3.1.1.1.2. -{sλʌ} appears to indicate that some process, specified in the preceding part of the stem, totally permeates whatever object is the site of the process.

/ʔu ǩağasλʌga/ "It's drying."

(See 4.2.3.1.1.1.2 for analysis.)

Forms containing -{sλʌ} occasioned some difference in the interpretation provided by speakers; one glossed /di ğayağasλʌga/ as "I'm getting fat," while another offered the gloss "I'm getting back to my normal weight."

4.2.3.1.2.2 -{λagʌŋ}

This suffix translates "the first" or "first."

/la ʔʌ qaʔʌɬλagʌndasi/ "They let him off first."

(See 4.2.3.1.1.2.4 for translation.)

4.2.3.1.3 Position Class 3

The third derivational position class contains a single member, the suffix -{da}. -{da} is highly productive, contributing in most uses a causative element to the meaning of the predicate in which it appears, or an element clearly related to the idea of causation or deliberate effort.

/ğuday ɬa čisğwidaŋ/ "I dropped the box."

{ğuda} "box"-{gay} nominal old information, {ɬa} "first person singular (active)," {čis}- shape element +{ğwi} "fall" + -{da} -{gʌŋ} neutral old information anaphora

/la qwandagʌnni/ "He got lots."

{la} "first person singular (active)," {qwan} "lots" + -{da} - {gʌn} "past tense" - {i} old information anaphora

/ʔan la ṡtidaga/ "He pretends to be sick."

{ʔan} meaning unknown, {la} "first person (active),"

{ṡti} "sick" -{da} -{ga} neutral tense/modal suffix

The "deliberate effort" aspect of -{da} seems in some contexts to develop into a quasi-reflexive meaning:

/lʌ kil ɬʌ yahdaga/ "I believe his talk."

{lʌ} "third person (neutral)," {kil} "voice, word, speech,"

{ɬʌ} "first person singular (active)," {yan} "true" +

-{da} -{ga} neutral tense/modal suffix

which may be interpreted literally as "I make his words true to or for myself." Note the /n/ ~ /h/ alternation evidenced here in the variant forms for "true."

4.2.3.1.4 Position Class 4

The fourth position class contains two suffixes, -{ğa} and -{ʔin}, which seem to be translocatives. They cannot appear with predicate bases which specify qualities or attributes.

4.2.3.1.4.1 -{ğa}

-{ğa} indicates that participation in the indicated action is accompanied by, or dependent upon, some preliminary movement or travel.

/ɬa ga tağaga/ "I'm on my way to eat."

{ɬa} "first person singular (active)," {ga} indefinite reference," {ta} "eat" + -{ğa} -{ga} neutral tense/modal

suffix.

4.2.3.1.4.2 -{?in}

-{?in} also indicates the association of participation with travel, but with the more specific reference to use of a vehicle of some sort, generally a boat.

/lʌ x̌ʌw?ingʌn/ "He went out fishing."

{la} "third person (active)," {x̌ʌw} "go fishing" + -{?in} -{gʌn} "past tense"

4.2.3.1.5 Residual Suffixes

There are a number of derivational suffixes in Skidegate which cannot be ordered with respect to each other or to the suffixes already discussed on the basis of available data.

4.2.3.1.5.1 {ǰu}

-{ǰu} only appears following -{ğa} or -{?in}, and indicates return from the action specified in the rest of the predicate.

/ɬa gatağaǰuga/ "I've just come from eating."

{ɬa} "first person singular (active)," {ga} indefinite reference, {ta} "eat" + -{ğa} "translocative" + -{ǰu} -{ga} neutral tense/modal suffix

4.2.3.1.5.2 -{ʔʌğa}

-{ʔʌğa} indicates completeness, inclusiveness of the

action indicated.

/ƛ̓aday gwa ʔu taƛ̓ʌğa/ "Do the deer eat it all?"

{ƛ̓ad} "deer" -{gay} nominal old information, {gwa} interrogative, {ʔu} "it," {ta} "eat" -{ƛ̓ʌğa}

4.2.3.1.5.3 -{gʌŋ}

This suffix, as noted in the discussion of the durative aspect suffix -{di}, produces predicates corresponding to a succession of discrete actions when suffixed to forms indicating punctual events. An example of a predicate containing this suffix is provided in 4.2.2.1.2. Other examples of the use of this suffix are: /ğadkadas/ "jump," /ğadkadaǰiŋ/ "jump (repeatedly);" /ğwičiɬda/ "wink (once)," /ğwičiɬdaŋ/ "wink (repeatedly)." It seems appropriate to give this suffix the label "iterative."

4.2.3.1.5.4 -{x̌ʌl}

-{x̌ʌl} gives an imperative significance to the predicate.

/la ɬa ga taxʌlga/ "I told him to eat."

{lʌ} "third person (neutral)," {ɬa} "first person singular (active)," {ga} indefinite reference, {ta} "eat" + {x̌ʌl} -{ga} neutral tense/modal suffix

4.2.3.1.5.5 -{ɬʌŋa}

-{ɬʌŋa} corresponds to "can" or "be able to."

/łə ga taɬʌŋaga/ "I can eat."

{łə} "first person singular (active)," {ga} indefinite reference, {ta} "eat" + -{ɬʌŋə} -{ga} neutral tense/modal suffix

4.2.3.1.5.6 -{dʌŋ}

-{dʌŋ}, when suffixed to nominal forms, creates a predicate which indicates the activity of going hunting or gathering for the indicated thing: /ʔkaw/ "herring spawn," /ʔkawdʌŋ/ "gather herring spawn." -{dʌŋ} participates in at least one prefix + suffix base form: when added to the shape element {ska}- , applied to small round objects, it forms a predicate /skadʌŋ/ "look for berries." Such examples suggest that originally {ska} and probably many of the other shape elements as well were nominal forms.

4.2.3.2 Prefixes

There are two sets of prefix position classes. The first contains three position classes, the second contains two. The following description of prefixal position classes presents them in order from the rightmost leftward.

4.2.3.2.1 Prefix Set 1

4.2.3.2.1.1 Position Class 1

The first prefix position class contains shape classificatory elements, which have been briefly mentioned in Chapter 3. Skidegate bases are divisible into those which require specification of the shape category to which the pertinant nominal form belongs and those which do not. The shape categories represented in the grammar seem to involve various physical parameters of form and size, as well as a distinction between animimate and inanimate.

Shape classifiers are prefixed not only in the case of classificatory bases but in the use of numerals in counting. There is evidence that only a generation or two ago the use of numeral forms required the appearance of prefixes demarcating the shape of the entities counted; currently, however, the obligatory character of this prefixation seems to have passed out of active use in the language, although retained as frozen forms in a limited number of dialects. There seems to be a certain amount of idiolect variation with respect to this point.

4.2.3.2.1.1.1 {ɬga}-

{ɬga}- classifies objects which are seen as defined by branching or forking from the end of a central axis.

The branching may involve either parallel alignment of branches (chair, fork, bed, stove, binoculars) or angular alignment (scissor, adze, halibut hook.) Apparently the legs on the various types of furniture classified by {łga}- are considered the most significant aspect of their shape.

/ğudłgağaŋʔway ła łgağwidaŋ/ "I dropped the chair."
ğudłgağaŋʔu "chair" (see 3.1.2.2 for analysis) - {gay} nominal old information, {ła} "first person singular (active)," {łga}- + {ğwi} "fall" + -{da} "causative" - {gʌŋ} neutral old information anaphora

łga - also classifies /taydan/ "bed," /takidğaʔu/ "fork," /čanudan/ "stove," /x̌uʔta/ "adze" and /taʔu/ "halibut hook."

4.2.3.2.1.1.2 {ğa}-

{ğa}- classifies objects which are flat, and in which neither of the pertinant dimensions is relatively larger vis-à-vis the other.

/kʔiway ła ğağwidaŋ/ "I dropped the door."
(The analysis here is the same as that of the preceding section, except that {kʔyu} "door" appears in place of the form for "chair," and {ğa}- appears in place of {łga}-.)

{ğa}- classifies /xil/ "leaf, medicine," /ğuda ğa?al/ "box lid," /xaŋa sğaŋ?u/ "mirror," /sğaw/ "knife," /taqada?u/ "splitting knife," /ğasλʌ?u/ "shovel," /su/ "lake," /qʌnğagi/ "apron."

4.2.3.2.1.1.3 {gu}-

{gu}- classifies roundish but not absolutely round objects; these are generally flat on one side, or hollow.

/nijaŋ?way gayguginga/ "The mask is floating."

nijaŋ?u "mask" - {gay} nominal old information, {gay}- "by floating" + {gu}- + {giŋ}"float" - {ga} neutral tense/modal suffix

{gu}- also classifies /ɬʌl/ "flounder," /dajiŋ/ "hat," /ğalgaɬ?in/ "abalone," /quŋalaŋ?u/ "button."

4.2.3.2.1.1.4 {q̓ay}-

{q̓ay}- appears to classify spheroidal or cylindrical forms.

/gʌwǰaway ɬa q̓ayğwidaŋ/ "I dropped the drum."

(The analysis here is the same as for the example in 4.2.3.2.1.1.1 except that the nominal form here is gʌwǰa?u "drum.")

{q̓ay}- also classifies /kyuqayja?u/ "hammer," /k̓yu/ "clam," /ɬğa/ "stone, rock," /t̓ağu/ "copper." It is difficult to motivate the inclusion of coppers

in this group; however, coppers are treated as round objects in other languages of the Northwest Coast which have shape classification systems.

4.2.3.2.1.1.5 {x̌un}-

{x̌un}- classifies a mass or aggregate of a single variety of thing.

/gi?insgway ɬa x̌unğwidaŋ/ "I dropped a bunch of clothing."
(The analysis here is the same as that of the example in 4.2.3.1.1.1, except that the nominal form is {gi?nsgu} "clothing.")

4.2.3.2.1.1.6 {ɬq̓a}-

{ɬq̓a}- classifies two objects in my data, tree branches and combs. Both consist of a central axis along which smaller elements project more or less perpendicularly.

/ƛaǰay ɬq̓ağwigʌŋ/ "The branch is falling."
{ƛaǰ} "branch" -{gay} nominal old information, {ɬq̓a}- +
{ğwi} - {gʌŋ} neutral old information anaphora

4.2.3.2.1.1.7 {tay}-

It is difficult to explain the distribution of {tay}-, which in my data classifies three objects: shirt, kerchief and axe.

/xwaṫisgway gaytayginga/ "The shirt is floating."

(The analysis here is the same as that of 4.2.3.2.1.1.3 except that the nominal form is xwaʔisgu "shirt".)

4.2.3.2.1.1.8 sda- ~ sga-

This classifier, which has two different and apparently unconditioned phonological forms, applies to rigid circular or nearly circular objects.

/sɬʌgigay ɬa sgaǧwidaŋ/ "I dropped the ring."

(See 4.2.3.2.1.1.1 for analysis; sɬʌgya "ring" is the nominal form here.)

sda -/ sga - also classifies /xigya/ "bracelet," /kungi/ "nose ring," /sqil ʔaxul/ "black cod hook."

4.2.3.2.1.1.9 {ʔa}-

{ʔa}- classifies long, flexible objects.

/qwayay gayʔaygiŋga/ "The rope is floating."

(See 4.2.3.2.1.1.3 for analysis; {qway} "rope" is the nominal form here.)

{ʔa} also classifies /ʔaxad/ "net," /λʌǰiga?u/ "belt."

4.2.3.2.1.1.10 {sʔa}-

{sʔa}- classifies long, cylindrical objects.

/q̓asǧuǰa?way gaysʔagiŋga/ "The lamp is floating."

(See 4.2.3.2.1.1.3 for analysis; q̓asǧuǰa?u "lamp" is the nominal form here.)

{sʔa}- also classifies /sʔaʔʌx̌u/ bottle,

/sƛ̓ağanǰusƛ̓yuʔal/ "spruce cone," /q̓uǰaŋʔu/ "pipe."

4.2.3.2.1.1.11 {ƛ̓u}-

The common features of the objects classified by {ƛ̓u}- are not apparent.

/qudaʔway ɬa ƛ̓uğwidaŋ/ "I dropped the chisel."
(Same analysis as in 4.2.3.2.1.1.1; the nominal form here is <u>qudaʔu</u>.)

{ƛ̓u}- also classifies /gwaʔal/ "bag," /sayin/ "nail," /sğan/ "red cod," and, according to Hazel Stevens, "anything wrapped up like a parcel."

4.2.3.2.1.1.12 {sq̓a}-

{sq̓a}- classifies long, narrow, rigid objects.
/sq̓aŋʔway sq̓ağwiga/ "The stick is falling."
(Same analysis as in 4.2.3.2.1.1.6; the nominal form here is <u>sq̓aŋʔu</u> "stick.")

{sq̓a} also classifies /ʔal/ "canoe paddle," /q̓a/ "harpoon," /kidsğalaŋʔu/ "poker," /č̓asƛ̓ki/ "cane," /č̓iƛ̓alʌŋ/ "arrow," /sɬʌna/ "needle".

4.2.3.2.1.1.13 {ƛ̓aw}-

{ƛ̓aw}- classifies relatively long, teardrop-shaped objects.

/ƛ̓ağunay gayƛ̓awginga/ "The feather is floating."

(Same analysis as in 4.2.3.2.1.1.3; the nominal form here is {ʔtaǧun}.)

{ʔtaw}- also classifies /sɬagul/ "spoon."

4.2.3.2.1.1.14 {ska}-

{ska}- classifies small, round objects.

/ʔkayay ɬa skaǧwidaŋ/ "I dropped the crabapple."

(See 4.2.3.2.1.1.1 for analysis; the nominal form here is ʔkay "crabapple.")

{sʔka}- also classifies /sǧiλʌǧu/ "red huckleberry," /sgʌwsid/ "potato," /ʔqay/ "cranberry," /ǧan/ "berry."

4.2.3.2.1.1.15 {ɬgi}-

{ɬgi}- classifies very large cylindrical objects.

/ʔčamuway ɬgiǧaxunaŋga/ "The log is rolling."

{ʔčamu} "log" -{gaɣ}nominal old information, {ɬgi}- + {gaxunaŋ} "roll" - {ga} neutral old information anaphora

{ɬgi}- also classifies {gyaǧʌŋ} "totem pole" (conceivably analyzable as {gya} "stand" + - ǧʌŋ where the latter form is found also in the suffix -{giǧʌŋ} discussed above.)

4.2.3.2.1.1.16 {sʔɬʌ}-

{sʔɬʌ}- classifies only one object in my data, firewood lying in a pile or mass together.

/ʔčamuway gaysʔɬʌginga/ "The firewood is floating."

(See 4.2.3.2.1.1.3 for analysis; the nominal form here is {čanu} "fire, firewood."

4.2.3.2.1.1.17 {ci}-

{ci}- classifies container-like objects.

/gwalay gaciginga/ "The box is floating."

(See 4.2.3.2.1.13 for analysis; the nominal form here is gwa?al type of small box, where the form ?al may also be present in ğa?al "lid.")

{ci}- also classifies /xwatisgu/ "shirt," /citisgu/ "coat," /qigu/ "spruce root basket," /łkidgi/ "dress," /čił/ "pillow." It appears that rigidity may be an important parameter separating the objects classified by {ci}- from those classified by {čis}-; with one exception (/gwa?al/) none of the {ci}- shaped objects are rigid.

4.2.3.2.1.1.18 {čis}-

{čis}- classifies rigid containers which are open at the top.

/ğuday łа čisğwidaŋ/ "I dropped the box."

(See 4.2.3.2.1.1.1 for analysis; the nominal form here is {ğuda} "box.")

{čis}- also classifies /tʌwta/ "greasebox," /ğanağa/ "pail," /čisğalaŋ?u/ "cooking pot"

4.2.3.2.1.1.19 {gi}-

{gi}- classifies non-rigid objects which are relatively flat and rectangular in shape, and also {ɬu} "canoe," which I find quite difficult to explain.

/gya?aday ɬa giğwidaŋ/ "I dropped the blanket."

(See 4.2.3.2.1.1.20 for analysis; the nominal form here is {gya?ad} "blanket.")

{gi}- also classifies /gʌmt̓isgu/ "kerchief," /gixyaŋ?u/ "material," /qunğagi/ "apron."

4.2.3.2.1.1.20 {q̓uɬ}-

{q̓uɬ}- classifies only one object in my data, /dal sgilğa/, a type of flower. The speaker commented that {q̓uɬ}- would be used to classify any flower.

4.2.3.2.1.1.21 {?is}-

{?is}- classifies inanimate objects, or objects which are regarded as possessing only marginal animateness, e.g. mussels.

/qwayay ɬa ?isğwidaŋ/ "I dropped the rope."

(See 4.2.3.2.1.1.1 for analysis.)

4.2.3.2.1.1.22 {λʌ}-

This suffix classifies animate entities.

/x̌agay ɬa ?isğwidaŋ/ "I dropped the dog."

(See 4.2.3.2.1.1.1 for analysis; the nominal form here

is {xa} "dog.")

4.2.3.2.1.1.23 {squd}-

{squd}- classifies only one type of object in my data, /sǧiλʌǧu/ "red huckleberries."

4.2.3.2.1.1.24 {xʌ}-

{xʌ}- applies generally to small objects.

/ɬa xaǧwidagʌn/ "I dropped something small."

ɬa "first person singular (active), {xʌ}- + {ǧwi} "fall" + -{da} causative - {gʌn} "past tense"

4.2.3.2.1.1.25 {ʔkʌ}-

{ʔkʌ}- is also applied to any small object.

/ɬa ʔkʌǧǧwidagʌn/"I dropped something small."

(Same analysis as in 4.2.3.2.1.1.24.)

Notice that when the syllable boundary is strengthened following ʔkʌ- (see 1.1.3 for another example of this phenomenon) by epenthesis of a copy of the following consonant, the copy has the phonetic form [q], not [q^{w}], as would have been the case if labialization were integral to the segment rather than representing a following /w/. This example adds further to the evidence for analyzing secondary articulations in SkH as the result of separate segments.

4.2.3.2.1.1.26 {yu}-

{yu}- applies generally to large objects.

/ɬa yuǧwidaŋ/ "I dropped something large."

(See 4.2.3.2.1.1.24 for analysis.)

4.2.3.2.1.1.27 {qil}-

{qil}- also applies to large objects.

/ɬa qilǧwidaŋ/ "I dropped something large."

(See 4.2.3.2.1.1.24 for analysis.)

4.2.3.2.1.1.28 {t̓ʌb}-

{t̓ʌb}- applies to straight objects.

/hʌwsi t̓ʌbǧwigʌŋ/ "That straight thing fell."

{hʌw} "that," -{si} pronominalizes deictic particles,

{t̓ʌb}- + {ǧwi}"fall" - {gʌŋ} neutral old information anaphora

4.2.3.2.1.1.29 {t̓ʌm}-

{t̓ʌm}- applies to thin or narrow objects.

/hʌwsi t̓ʌmǧwigʌŋ/ "Something skinny fell."

(See 4.2.3.2.1.1.28 for analysis.)

4.2.3.2.1.1.30 {dʌb}-

{dʌb}- applies to short objects.

/hʌwsi dʌbǧwigʌŋ/ "That short thing fell."

(See 4.2.3.2.1.1.28 for analysis.)

4.2.3.2.1.1.31 {dʌm}-

{dʌm}- applies to fat or wide objects.

4.2.3.2.1.1.32 {sgʌb}-

{sgʌb}- classifies crooked looking objects. It has the phonemic shape /sgʌb/ when used to form predicates with the suffix -{ǰu}, but the shape /sgʌɬ/ when prefixed to {ǧwi}.

/hʌwsi sgʌɬǧwigʌŋ/ "Something crooked fell."
(See 4.2.3.2.1.1.28 for analysis.)

4.2.3.2.1.1.33 {sgʌm}-

{sgʌm}- classifies things which are perceived as round and open.

/hʌwsi sgʌmǧwigʌŋ/ "Something round fell."
(See 4.2.3.2.1.1.28 for analysis.)

4.2.3.2.1.1.34 {ʔƛad}-

{ʔƛad}- classifies objects which are perceived as too wide, or large in some unpleasing way. This classifier is often used to refer to other people in a distinctly nasty way.

/hʌwsi ʔƛadǧwigʌŋ/ "Something big and ugly fell."
(See 4.2.3.2.1.1.28 for analysis.)

When {ʔƛad}- is combined with -{ǰu} to form a predicate, an epenthetic [ɬ]appears between the two morphemes, producing a form which can be phonemicized either as /ʔadɬǰu/ or /ʔaƛǰu/ "fat and ugly." In terms of

pattern congruence and canonical consistency, the former phonemicization is by far the preferable.

The classifiers presented in the foregoing discussion reveal some interesting possibilities for further analysis as well as speculations concerning their integrity as a morphological class. These questions have implications for Haida prehistory.

The suffixes in 4.2.3.2.28 - 33 can be divided into three pairs, each pair containing morphemes which differ from each other only in the presence or absence of nasality in the final segment. It is possible to see an equivalence between the type of prefix with final m and those with final b:

t̓Ʌb : t̓Ʌm :: dɅb : dɅm :: sgɅb : sgɅm

straight : narrow :: short : wide :: crooked : round

While these proportions are in so sense obvious, they are not at all implausible. The forms in b appear to refer to configurations of line--a single dimension--while those in m seem to identify two-dimensional correlates, or orthogonal correlates. In English "tall and thin," "short and fat" are conventional pairings, so the idea of correlations of this type ought to be familiar to us. It would

indeed be remarkable for the apparent phonological/semantic linkings incorporated in these prefixes to have developed coincidentally. I suggest, therefore, that -m and -b were at one time morphemes of SkH. This possibility would account for the proliferation of bilabial segments--especially b--in the classifiers but virtually nowhere else in the language far more economically than assuming ʔtʌb and the others to have always been monomorphemic. As independent segments they have a better chance of being loan elements than if their status were purely phonological, and the scarcity of b, in particular, is far easier to understand in terms of foreign origin than otherwise. Further evidence supporting the segmentation of the final bilabials is provided by the alternation /sgʌb/ ~ /sgʌɬ/ noted in 4.2.3.1.1.32. There is no natural phonological explanation for this alternation; and the only alternative to a thoroughly unnatural rule to produce [b] ~ [ɬ] in this one instance is to allow b grammatical independence from the rest of the prefix.

It should also be noted that the shape classifiers as a whole seem to be a rather heterogeneous class. There is a considerable difference in the specificity

of the first twenty-three prefixes vis-à-vis the remainder. The latter refer to objects in a very general way, compared, for example, with {ɬq̓a}-. When particular objects are referred to in sentences, the most knowledgable speakers tend to use the more specific classifier, rather than appealing to the relatively general type. If, as seems likely, -m and -b are serious candidates for grammatical status at some point in Haida's history, they were concatenated only with the latter variety of shape element. This seems to argue for an earlier distinction in the southern dialects of Haida between these two classes of shape prefix.

In certain instances there is an appreciable resemblance between the shape classifiers and the forms they classify. {t̓aw}- and {t̓agun} "feather" and {sq̓a}- and {sq̓aŋʔu} "stick" exhibit this resemblance, and while I did not collect any forms containing kun as a classifier, it is my very strong impression that kun does appear as such, applying to objects which are perceived as pointed. {kun} is also the root for "point, nose."

These facts must be taken into consideration when compar-

ing Haida shape-classification to, for example, classification in Athapaskan. There is probably no Athapaskan language which makes use of more than fifteen parameters, and those which have been discussed in print (see Davidson et al., 1963) use twelve or fewer, manifested through variation in the shape of the verb stem. Haida, on the other hand, gives evidence so far of more than forty shape classes. Within the classifier system there appear to be subsets exhibiting both phonological and semantic differences. Furthermore, the shape elements are only very loosely connected with the rest of the predicate, and seem to overlap with nominal forms to some extent; they also appear in constructions which raise doubts as to their uniquely prefixal status. In view of these considerations, one is tempted to hypothesize a late origin for the classifiers, at least as a morphological category of the predicate, possibly as the result of areal pressure from other languages in the vicinity which possess systematic shape classification in verb forms.

4.2.3.2.2.1.2 Classificatory Roots

The following roots in Skidegate require the use of shape classifiers: {ğwi} "fall," {giŋ} "hold, support," {ğaxumaŋ} "roll," {xid} "vertical movement," {ğudi}

"maintain a stationary position on a surface," {dal} "continuous horizontal motion," {t̓ʌs} meaning unknown, {ɬʌŋ} "position above," {gid} "lean against," {ğaw} "lower," {gast̓a} "kick over," {ğulaŋ} "rotary motion," {xyu} "hang," {ǰu} meaning uncertain, perhaps "catch," {č̓i} "move from one place to another," {sgid} "shove, push against, cause sudden contact," /ɬğiɬ/ ~ /ɬğal/ "wind, turn," {sλʌ} "put (inside), arrange," {st̓a}"remove something from something else." There are undoubtedly several others.

These bases display resemblances to each other, in some cases, or to other forms in Skidegate. {ğwi}, {ğudi} and {ğaw} have considerable phonological similarity towards each other and all three refer to motion or position involving the ground, or some surface.{ɬʌŋ} "position above" is phonologically close to -{ɬʌ} "vertical movement." The st̓a of {ğast̓a} "kick over" is the same shape as the root for "foot" and the instrumental prefix indicating "by kicking." {č̓i} "move from one place to another" semantically resembles the suffix -{č̓i}. I do not wish to attribute historical priority to any one form at the expense of others which it resembles, but merely point out, here and elsewhere, the strong

tendency in Skidegate (and Haida generally, I suspect,) for the same structural elements to appear in a variety of grammatical functions.

One other feature of shape classification in Skidegate should be noted, namely its ergative nature. Swanton sums up the case as follows: "[The noun] is here represented by the use of the classifiers which express the subject of the intransitive verb, or the object of the transitive verb as a member of a certain class of things, the principal of classification being form." (Swanton 1911, p. 216.) It is of interest that in other Northwest Coast languages a tendency towards ergativity may be found within the confines of a single subsection of the grammar. Kinkade (1975) presents evidence for a "limited ergative system" govering the operation of certain types of pluralization in Upper Chehalis. Such "limited" systems may reflect typological tendencies in the which deserve fuller investigation.

4.2.3.2.1.3 Position Class 2

The second position class contains instrumental prefixes.

4.2.3.2.1.3.1 {da}-

{da}- may be translated "by pushing."

/ǧuday ła dačisdalgʌŋ/ "I'm pushing the box."

{ǧuda} "box" - {gay} nominal old information, {ła} "first person singular (active)," {da}- + {čis}- shape element + {dal} "continuous horizontal movement" -{gʌŋ} neutral old information anaphora

4.2.3.2.1.3.2 {dʌŋ}-

{dʌŋ}- may be translated "by pulling."

/ǧuday ła dʌnčisdalgʌŋ/ "I'm pulling the box."

(See 4.2.3.1.2.1 for analysis.)

4.2.3.2.1.3.3 {ƛu}-

{ƛu}- refers to travel by boat.

/ƛ̓ʌ ƛu?isƛ̓ʌx̌agʌn/ "They came up on a boat."

{ƛ̓ʌ} "they," {ƛu}- + {?iǰ} "existence predicate" + -{ƛ̓ʌx̌a}"movement towards a particular destination" -{gʌn} "past tense"

{ƛu} is also the nominal form for "boat."

4.2.3.2.1.3.4 {gay}-

{gay}- may be translated "by floating."

/niǰaŋ?way gayguginga/ "The mask is floating."

(See 4.2.3.2.1.1.3 for analysis.)

4.2.3.2.1.3.5 {q̓u}-

{q̓u}- refers to the use of the teeth

/ǧałda?way ła q̓ugiginga/ "I'm holding the blanket with my teeth."

{ğaɬda?u} "blanket" -{gay} nominal old information, {ɬa} "first person singular (active)," {q̓u} - + {gi}- shape element + {giŋ} "hold" -{ga} neutral tense/ modal suffix

4.2.3.2.1.3.6 {?un}-

{?un}- refers to the use of the back.

/sq̓aŋ?u ɬa ?unsq̓agindalga/ "I'm carrying the stick on my back."

{sq̓aŋ?u} "stick," {ɬa} "first person singular (active)," {?un}- + {sq̓a}- shape element + {giŋ} "hold" + {dal}"continuous horizontal motion" -{ga} neutral tense/modal suffix

It is likely that this form also appears as a particle in the construction ?un gu "on top of " (see Chapter 5.)

4.2.3.2.1.3.7 {squd}-

{squd}- refers to the use of the arms.

/ğuday ɬa squdč̓isgiŋga/ "I'm carrying the box."

(See the preceding section for analysis. The nominal form here is {ğuda} "box;" the appropriate shape element {č̓is}- is used.)

4.2.3.2.1.3.8 {kid}-

{kid}-, which seems sometimes to have phonemic /kids/, appears to refer to the use of a pointed object.

/la lʌ kidğatač̓as/ "He threw it in with a stick..."

(Transliterated from Swanton 1911, p. 222.)

{lʌ} "third person (neutral)," {la} "third person (active)," {kid}- + {ğata} "throw (?)" +-{c̓i} "movement into" -{s} dependent structure

The instrumental prefixes raise a difficult isssue, first addressed by Haeberlin. Forms which occur to the left of the shape classifiers as part of the predicate, and which cannot themselves be inflected as predicates, must be regarded as members of the instrumental prefix class. This is true both for forms like {sq̓ud}-, which occurs nowhere else in the grammar, and forms like {ƛu}-, which occurs elsewhere as the nominal root "boat" but which cannot be compounded with predicate bases. However, when a form which occurs to the left of a shape classifier is itself recognizable as a predicate base, there is a serious question as to whether it can be automatically assigned to the instrumentals, or whether is may not be part of stem with the structure $Base_1$ + $Base_2$, where the second base contains a shape classifier as initial prefix. For example, on strictly formal grounds {ğad} in /qʌlgay ğadsk̓aǰugulaŋga/ "The bottle is spinning around" appears to be an instrumental, since it precedes a shape classifier. But sk̓aǰu is, fairly clearly, the base composed of the prefix {sk̓a}- and the suffix -{ǰu}, and such bases

do not, as far as I am aware, ever appear with any additional prefixation. {ğad}, in all probability, is also represented in forms such as /ğadkadas/ "jump (once)," and the root for "run" has /ğad/ as one of its two allomorphs. If all three instances are identified as a single form which means something like "rapid motion," it is evident that the appearance of {ğad}- in the foregoing example is the result of compounding in a structure with the shape $Base_1 + Base_2 + Base_3$, where the first base consists of {ğad}, the second of {sk̂a}- + -{ǰu}, and the third consists of {ğulaŋ} "rotary motion." Swanton's treatment of the instrumentals resulted in a much longer list (see footnote 1), containing many forms which I do not believe to be genuine prefixes, but rather initial bases in elaborate compound stems. They have perhaps been converted into de facto prefixes by a freezing of compound formation. To some extent, then, their status is an open question, for it is not possible at this point to determine how productive stem-compounding in Skidegate among the current speakership.

4.2.3.2.1.3.9 {x̌a}-

{x̌a}- refers to the use of the arms.

/ğuday ɬa x̌ač̂isǰuga/ "I caught the box."

{ğuda} "box" -{gay} nominal old information, {ɬa} "first person singular (active)," {x̌a}- + {č̂is}- shape element +

{ǰu}"catch" -{ga} neutral tense modal suffix

4.2.3.2.1.3.10 -{ƛʌ}-

{ƛʌ}- indicates use of the hand and fingers.

/ʔtalʌn ƛʌǧuɬǧaŋ/ "We fix it."

{ʔtalʌŋ} "first person plural (active)," {ƛʌ}- + {ǧuɬǧa}"fix" -{gʌŋ} neutral old information anaphora

4.2.3.2.1.4 Position Class 3

The third position class contains two suffixes which indicate control over some action or situation.

4.2.3.2.1.4.1 {giŋ}-

{giŋ}- indicates causation. It appears to differ in meaning from -{da} in that it generally refers to control over the actions of others.

/la ɬʌ giŋƛuqaʔʌǰagʌn/ "I made him come."

{lʌ} "third person (neutral)," {ɬʌ} "first person singular (active)," {giŋ}- + {ƛu}- "by boat" + {qa} "move" + {ʔʌǰa} "movement towards a particular destination" - {gʌn} "past tense"

4.2.3.2.1.4.2 {kil}-

{kil}-, which is a form of the root for "voice, word," indicates a verbal direction given to someone. It is not absolutely clear whether {kil}- belongs in this position class or with the instrumentals.

/la ɬʌ kilqaydʌn/ "I told him to go away."

{lʌ} "third person (neutral)," {ɬa} "first person singular (active)," {kil}- + {qayd} "go away" + -{gʌn} "past tense"

4.2.3.2.2 Prefix Set 2

The second set of prefix position classes contains two position classes.

4.2.3.2.2.1 Position Class 1

The first position contains a single prefix, {gya}-, which applies to a limited set of transitive bases and intransitivizes them.

/lʌ gyaʔʌga/ "She's sewing."

{la} "third person (active)," {gya}- + {ʔʌ}- "sew"

-{ga} neutral tense/modal suffix

{gya}- also co-occurs with the bases {x̌ay} "knit," {q̓id} "carve," {dax̌} "buy." In the last case, the form /gyadax̌/ means "sell," an unexpected gloss since in its other uses {gya} simply produces an intransitive form. Syntactically, however, /gyadax̌/ actually does seem to be intransitive since, unlike {dax̌}, it requires the use of a postposed particle {ʔad} (see Chapter 5) to establish a connection with its object.

4.2.3.2.2.2 Position Class 2

The second position class contains the prefixes which

comprise the third position class of the first prefix set.

/la ɬʌ giŋgyaq̓idʌn/ "I made him carve."

{lʌ} "third person (neutral)," {ɬa} "first person singular," {giŋ}- + {gya}- instransitive + {q̓id} "carve" -{gʌn} "past tense"

4.2.4 The Predicate Base

The simplest type of predicate base is formed when the (prefix) and (suffix) options in the rule given in 4.2 are ignored and R → Predicate root. This produces roots to which inflectional suffixes can be attached directly; many examples are contained in the preceding sections. A somewhat more complex situation arises when R → Non-predicate root. If this is the form of the rule, the (suffix) option is no longer optional, but must be taken. Apart from the classificatory elements which enter into prefix-suffix constructions, the suffix chosen must be -{ga} "middle" (see 4.2.3.1.1.1.1) or -{da} "causative."

It is not possible to state with certainty at this point how much recursiveness must be built into the rules of Skidegate predicate formation. If -{ǰu} and the other suffixes in this position class are treated simply as

derivational suffixes, an example such as /ʔu yuʔʌngilga/ "it's gotten big" contains a derivational suffix within the unit which would, theoretically, receive derivational inflection. Within my corpus there are no clear examples of structures such as [Root + derivational suffix(es)]$_{Base}$ + derivational suffix(es)$_{Stem}$, but there are some instances which may turn out to have this configuration, such as /la la tagyaǧʌŋgwaŋas/ "He ate it as he stood around." The stem can be analyzed in more than one way; however, if -{ǧʌŋ} is a derivational suffix and is represented in the suffix discussed under 4.2.3.1.1.2.8, then it is possible that the structure of this stem must be given as [$_{stem}$ [ta]$_{base}$ [gya + ǧʌŋ]$_{base}$ + gwaŋ]$_{stem}$, where -{gwaŋ} is a poorly understood suffix which seems to mean "around, about." Its position in the predicate complex is uncertain. The breakdown just presented implies a type of stem in which several bases, some containing derivational suffixes, form a stem which itself takes derivational suffixes. The problem is then to determine how much recursiveness or endocentricity should be incorporated in the rules which generate the stem.

Another open question concerns the relative order of bases within a stem. Swanton believed that the order of these bases is determined by syntactic function: "It would seem that... each complex expresses modality or instrumentality

in relation to the following ones." (Swanton 1911, p. 218.) But this formulation is inadequate, since there are many examples which contradict it: /lʌ ǩaǰuğayayu?ʌnga/ "he sings really well," where {ğaya} "rich, fat" reflects upon {ǩaǰu} "sing" which precedes it, and yu?ʌn "very much" modifies preceding {ğaya}. This common pattern of stem, in which the first base indicates an action or state and the following ones introduce qualifications, is exactly opposed to Swanton's dictum, which makes too much dependent on the paraphrase or gloss provided. Similar efforts to associate affixal order with syntax--such as Swadesh's general treatment of the so-called "governing suffixes" in Nootka (Swadesh 1933)--leave themselves open to the same criticism. In general, it would seem that such syntactically based attempts to account for affixal order have been somewhat premature.

Another possibility is that the order of bases is a function of the lexicon in most cases. A broad variety of Northwestern languages appear to support the claim that what were originally thought to be ~~grammatically derivative types of morphological forms~~---- lexical suffixes, for example--must be regarded as equally basic. In transformational terms, stems composed of compounded bases would not represent surface grammatical reductions of underlying periphrasic constructions, but

unpredictable lexical entries. A third possibility is that both syntactically predictable and lexically idiosyncratic stem forms exist.

4.3 Dependent Predicate Structure

4.3.1 Embedding constructions

There are two principal types of embedding construction: that in which the dependent predicate occurs as the object of another verb, such as {ʔunsʔʌd} "know," suda "tell" and that in which the predicate is used in a construction which modifies or qualifies an independent predicate structure. This modification is often marked by the presence of an adverbial particle; in other cases the nature of the modification must be inferred from the meaning of the dependent predicate. These two types of construction are designated below as object clauses and adverbial clauses, respectively.

4.3.1.1 Object Clauses

Dependent predicate structure is marked in constructions which are the translation objects of {ğan} ... {ʔunsʔʌd} "know," suda "tell" and gudla "like" by replacing the inflectional suffixes of the sixth position class with a suffix -{s}.

/da gyaq̓ids ğan di ʔunsʔida/ "I know you carve."
{da}"second person singular (active)," {gya}- "intran-

sitive" + {q̊id} "carve" - {s}, {ğan} "for,"
{di} "first person singular (neutral)," {ʔuns?ʌd}
"know" - {ga} neutral tense/modal suffix

The old information anaphora suffix -{i} can appear following -{s}.

/ɬʌ qinsi ğan lʌ ʔuns?ida/ "He knows I see it, saw it."
{ɬa} "first person singular (active)," {qiŋ} "see" -{s}
-{i}, {ğan}"for," {lʌ} "third person (neutral)," {ʔuns?ʌd}
"know" -{ga} neutral tense/modal suffix

The use of the second-hand information suffix in such predicates to identify past tense has been discussed in the section above devoted to -{i}.

When the predicate is the object of {su} "say" or gudʌŋ "think," it must contain the suffix -{gʌŋ} in place of the markers of the sixth position class. It is possible that this -{gʌŋ} should be identified with the -{gʌŋ} of position class 6, but there is no evidence to support this identification. In /lʌ sğiɬʌxidayaŋ/ "He started to cry, they say," there is no old information evident to which which reference could be made. (On the other hand, both suffixes are subject to the same phonological processes, and a case might be made on this basis for identifying them, but this seems insufficient proof.)

It seems to me quite likely that the distinction between -{s} and -{gʌŋ} reflects a distinction in factivity between the predicates which require them respectively. The predicates which require -{s} appear to be factive; that is, they presuppose the truth of the information contained in the embedded clause. Those requiring -{gʌŋ} in the embedded predicate do not. While the factivity of suda is not evident from the English gloss, there is some evidence from morphology that it is relatively forceful, since it appears to be composed of {su} "say" followed by the causative suffix -{da}.

4.3.1.2 Adverbial Clauses

Adverbial clauses are formed with a suffix -{s} replacing the suffixes of inflectional position class 6--a different suffix -{s}, be it noted, from that discussed in the preceding section. The constant meaning of this suffix is that the predicate so marked is of subordinate status to some other element in the sentence. When adverbial particles follow the subordinate predicate, the subordinated information translates as a modification of the information given in the independent clause.

/łʌ ğads gyan di ǩinagʌŋga/ "When I run it makes me warm."

{ła} "first person singular (active)," {ğad} "run" -{s},

{gyan} "when," {di} "first person singular (neutral),"
{ǩin} "warm"+-{ga} "middle" -{gʌŋ} "habitual/periodic" -
{ga} neutral tense/modal suffix

When the (pro-) nominal object of an independent predicate is an element in a clause whose predicate displays dependent structure, the latter appears to modify the nominal element and usually produces glosses containing relative clauses:

/su ğağudyas łʌ qiŋgʌn/ "I saw the lake that was lying there."
{su} "lake," {ğa}- shape element + {ğudi} "stationary position on a surface" -{s}, {ła} "first person singular (active),"
{qiŋ} "see" -{gʌn} "past tense"

There is a sense, not apparent in the translation, in which a clause containing a dependent predicate is *subordinate* to a following clause containing an independent predicate, where the translation gives the impression of a *co-ordinate* relationship:

/gud ğa ʔtalʌŋ ʔisdasi ʔtalʌŋ ʔkučidʌŋga/ "We put it together and bundle it up."
{gud} "together," {ğa} "in, at," {ʔtalʌŋ} "first person plural (active)," {ʔisda} predicate of action - {s} - {i} old information anaphora, {ʔtalʌŋ}, {ʔku}- shape element + {čid} meaning unclear - {gʌŋ} "habitual/periodic" -{ga} neutral tense/modal suffix

In narrative discourse one of the most common types of construction is a long series of clauses containing dependent predicates, concluding with an independent clause. This is usually the manner in which a series of actions is presented.

The preceding example illustrates the fact that the old information anaphora suffix can appear following -{s}. There is a certain type of construction in which, it would appear, the presence of -{i} is obligatory. In sentences such as

/ğayasi gyu ʔalʌŋ hʌlx̌agʌŋga/ "We get the fat ones."

{ğaya} "fat" -{s} -{i}, {gi} "to," {hʌw} foreground, {ʔalʌŋ} "first person plural (active)," {hʌlx̌a} "gather" -{gʌŋ} "habitual/periodic" -{ga} neutral tense/modal suffix -{i} must be present in order to provide an implicit subject for the embedded clause which can serve as the object of the predicate {gi}....{hʌlx̌a}.

4.3.2 Nominalized Predicates

The suffix -{gay}, discussed in Chapter 3, is used to create a second type of dependent predicate structure which may be referred to as "nominalized." The nominalized predicate may appear alone or with a pronoun or nominimal form functioning as subject, object or both.

/x̌awgay di giŋğax̌agilga/ "Fishing tires me."
{x̌aw} "fish" -{gay}, {di} "first person singular (neutral)," {giŋ}- "causative" + {ğax̌a}"weak" + {giɬ} "become" -{ga} neutral tense/modal suffix

/ɬʌ ʔkaǰuway di gudlaga/ "I like to sing."
{ɬa} "first person singular (active)," {ʔkaǰu} "sing" - {gay}, {di} "first person singular (neutral)," {gud} "mental activity" + {la} "good" -{ga} neutral tense/modal suffix

In view of the fact that the pronoun here associated with the nominalized predicate is the *active* form, not the neutral form one would expect if a possessive relationship were being expressed ("my singing"), it is reasonable to suggest that in this construction the whole clause has been nominalized. Nominalized predicates can also appear with aspectual inflection.

4.4 Personal Pronouns

Personal pronouns are formally particles. However, it is advantageous to consider them in the present discussion of predicate morphology, since there two sets of pronouns in Skidegate and the choice of set in any particular case is is determined, via the predicate, on the basis of the active or non-active (neuter) role of the participant in question. Grammatically neutral contexts fall broadly into three principal types: mental or physical states, objects

of predicates, and "oblique" relations (including possession; see Chapter 3) contained in phraseses such as the Skidegate equivalents of "to me," "from him," etc. (Note, in the following examples, that the foreground marker {hʌw} reduces to a single vocalic segment postclitically bound to the constituent it underscores.)

/hʌwnu di xwigʌn/ "I was cold there."
{hʌwn} "there," {hʌw} foreground, {di} "first person singular (active)," {xwi} "cold" -{gʌn} "past tense"

/da gyaq̓ids ğan di ʔums?ida/ "I know you carve."
(See 4.3.1.1 for analysis.)

/di la squdagʌn/ "He hit me."
{di} "first person singular (neutral)," {la} "third person (active)," {squda} "hit" -{gʌn} "past tense"

/law di sda ʔisdagʌnni/ "He took it from me."
{la} "third person (active)," {di} "first person singular (active)," {sda} "from," {ʔisda} "predicate of action" -{gʌn} "past tense" - {i} old information anaphora

The neutral pronouns are {di} "first person singular," {dʌŋ} "second person singular," {lʌ} "third person," {ʔiɬʌ} "first person plural," {dalʌŋ} "second person plural." In neither pronominal set is plurality distinguished in the third person pronoun itself.

Active pronouns are {ɬa} "first person singular," {da} "second person singular," {la} "third person," {ɬalʌŋ} "first person singular," {dalʌŋ} "second person plural."

The only phonological complications which the pronouns present arise in the phonemic shapes of the third person pronouns. It would seem that the neutral form {lʌ} always has the surface shape {la} except when it occurs immediately preceding the predicate of the clause to which it belongs. Thus it often overlaps the active form {la}. {la} itself, however, occasionally appears with the phonemic form /lʌ/ due to suprasegmental phenomena, poorly understood at present, which cause the underlying a of the particle to reduce to ʌ at some level. Thus, while grammatical minimal pairs exist with the form

/tanay la qiŋgʌn/ "He saw the bear."

/tanay lʌ qiŋgʌn/ "The bear saw him."

(illustrating the rule that pronouns always appear to the right of (pro-) nominal forms in clauses unless the former are foregrounded) there are also sentences like

/la lʌ qiŋgʌn/ "He saw him"

in which the relation between the phonemic and underlying shapes of the pronouns is inverted: /la/ here derives from {lʌ}, the neutral pronoun, while /ɬʌ/ is the

phonemic shape of {la}, the active pronoun.

Sapir made some suggestions about possible historical morphological analysis of the pronouns. In his 1923 study he broke {t̥alʌŋ} and {dalʌŋ} into two morphemes each, with the second element identical to the -{lʌŋ} plural suffix discussed in Chapter 3, and {ʔiɬ̥ʌ} into two morphemes with the second identical to the particle {ɬ̥ʌ} also discussed in Chapter 3. In the case of {dalʌŋ} the remainder, da, can obviously be identified with the singular second person particle {da}, but it is not clear what meaning can be assigned to t̥a- or ʔi-. As far as I am aware these partials do not recur in Skidegate with meanings compatible with Sapir's analysis, and hence I do not regard these interpretations as tenable, even diachronically. In the following chapter I comment briefly on the syntactic functioning of the pronominal particles.

Chapter 5 Particles

5.1 Introduction

The Skidegate dialect contains a large number of particles. These may be divided into a number of classes on the basis of their syntactic behavior, although it is not possible at this stage of research to make such a division equally rigorous for all classes. I have isolated seven classes of particles:

(1) Pro-nominals: these particles have parallel distribution, in surface grammar, to nominal stems.

(2) Postpositions: these particles form noun phrases when used in construction with a preceding noun or pronominal. Grammatical evidence that N + postposition form a constituent is provided by two criteria: the behavior of this type of construction with respect to clause emphasis and the permutation possibilities of the construction with respect to the predicate of the clause. Postpositional phrases are endocentric in one respect: N + postposition + postposition + ... exist, so that the distribution of N + postposition overlaps in this respect that of N. Hence the dividing line between pro-nominals and postpositional phrases, while generally clear, becomes less definite in this one regard.

(3) Postpositional Phrase Pro-forms: these particles have distribution identical to N + postposition, including

the endocentric possibility referred to in (2).

(4) Prepositions: these particles form noun phrases when used in construction with a following noun. Grammatical evidence that preposition + N is a constituent is provided by the same criteria invoked for postpositional phrases.

(5) Modals: the surface distribution of these particles is not at all well understood at present. These particles define sentence modes, i.e. interrogative, and do not appear to enter into constituency with any other elements of the sentence.

(6) Adverbials: these particles enter into constituency with preceding clauses, generally subordinate, whose relation to the following clause is specified by the adverbial. Grammatical evidence that Clause + Adv forms a constituent is provided by the same criteria as that for postpositional and prepositional phrases.

(7) Emphatic particles: these particles emphasize preceding constituents, though the two forms which belong to this class are not syntactically parallel and are grouped together for convenience primarily.

5.2 Pro-Nominals

There are two sub-classes of Pro-nominals: those with interrogative function and those which do not have interrogative function.

5.2.1 Interrogative Pro-Nominals

As stated in Chapter 4, interrogative Pro-nominal particles function as old information in determining predicate inflection; that is they require -{gʌŋ} as the representative of position class 6, both for past and non-past contexts. It should also be noted that a suffix -{u} can be isolated for these forms which does not seem to occur elsewhere and is probably best regarded as a fossilized element, possibly a frozen form of the foreground marker {hʌw}, predictably reduced.

5.2.1.1 {gasiŋ}

{gasiŋ} generally translates "how" or "what" and appears to function both interrogatively and non-interrogatively, as illustrated in the following examples respectively.

/gasiŋu ğa da ƛaɬğʌlgʌŋ/ "How are you fixing it?"

{gasiŋ} - {u}, {ğa} "in, at," {da} "second person singular (active)," {ƛʌ}-"by hand" + {ğuɬğa} "fix" - {gʌŋ} neutral old information anaphora

/gasiŋ gwa ğid/ "What's it like?"

{gasiŋ}, {gwa} "interrogative," {ğid} "predicate of condition"

The above form is an interrogative, but is constructed on the pattern of yes/no questions: the particle {gwa} is used and the predicate receives no tense/modal inflection. {gasiŋ} appears to function strictly as a pro-form.

5.2.1.2 {gisdu}

{gisdu} indicates "who... ?" in interrogative constructions.

/gisdu gyağa ǩagay ʔiǰiŋ/ "Who owns that dog?"

{gisdu}, {gya}- possessive particle -{ğa} "attributive," {ǩa} "dog" -{gay} nominal old information, {ʔiǰ} existence predicate - {gʌŋ} neutral old information anaphora

5.2.1.3 {gismud}

{gismud} indicates "when... ?" in interrogative contexts.

/gismuddu lʌ sdiɬğasaŋ/ "When is he coming back?"

{gismud} - {u}, {la} "third person (active)," {sdiɬ} "return" -{ğas} "future" - {gʌŋ} neutral old information anaphora

5.2.1.4 {gin}

{gin} indicates "where...?" in interrogative contexts.

/gimu dʌn s̀tigʌŋ/ "Where are you sick?"

{gin} - {u}, {dʌŋ} "second person singular (neutral)," {s̀ti} "sick" - {gʌŋ} neutral old information anaphora

The sentence /gin gyu da qaydaŋ/ "Where are you going?," in which the postposition {gi} is followed by the suffix -{u}, illustrates the possibility of the pronominals appearing in place of N in postpositional phrases.

5.2.1.5 {gus}

{gus} indicates "what... ?" in interrogative contexts.

/gusu da tağasaŋ/ "What are you going to eat?"

{gus} - {u}, {da} "second person singular (active),"

{ta} "eat" - {ğas} "future" - {gʌŋ} neutral old information

The sentence /gus gyu da sdałaŋ/ is parallel to /gin gyu da qaydaŋ/ given in the preceding section, and means "what do you want?"

5.2.1.6 {gislu}

{gislu} indicates "how much, how many?" in both interrogative and non-interrogative contexts.

/gislu ʔan ʔiǰiŋ/ "How many are here?"

{gislu}, {ʔan} "here," {ʔiǰ} existence predicate - {gʌŋ} neutral old information anaphora

In /gʌm gislu la gi tada ğids ğan di ʔums?ʌdğʌŋga/ "I don't know how many (the) years are to him," i.e. "I don't know how old he is," {gislu} functions non-interrogatively.

5.2.1.7 {gi̯kus}

{gi̯kus}, like {gus}, indicates "what...?"; the difference in meaning between the two forms, if any exists, is not apparent. {gi̯kus} seems to have a variant form gu̯kus ; the alternation gu ~ gi, or hints of such an alternation at an earlier period, may be inferred from the form of a number of the interrogative pronominals.

/gi̯kusu ʔiǰiŋ/ "What is that?"

{gikus} - {u}, {ʔiǰ} existence predicate - {gʌŋ}

neutral old information anaphora

5.2.1.8 {ginis}

{ginis} indicates "which one... ?" in interrogative contexts.

/ginisu dʌŋ ǧuŋǧa ʔiǰiŋ/ "Which one is your father?"

{ginis} -{u}, {dʌŋ} "second person singular (neutral),"

{ǧʌŋ} "father" - {ǧa} "attributive," {ʔiǰ} existence predicate - {gʌŋ} neutral old information anaphora

A certain amount of internal reconstruction is possible for the forms given in 5.2.1.1-5.2.1.8, based on obvious phonological/semantic similarities.

5.2.2 Non-interrogative Pro-Nominals

5.2.2.1 {gina}

{gina} denotes some unspecified non-human referent.

/gina gyu ƛ̓ʌ qiŋga/ "They're looking for something."

{gina}, {gi} "to, towards," {hʌw} foreground, {ƛ̓ʌ} "they," {qiŋ} "see" - {ga} neutral tense/modal suffix

5.2.2.2 {ƛʌgu}

{ƛʌgu} indicates something like "the way, manner, fashion."

/hʌwsi ƛʌgu la ǧalʌŋgʌnni di gudlaga/ "I like the way he cooked that."

5.3 Postpositions

Postpositions have in almost every case a spatial meaning, except in certain in certain idiomatic constructions in which they obligatorily accompany members of a special set of predicates. All postpositional phrases can be permuted to the right of the predicate of the clause to which they belong. The syntactic status of postpositional phrases is considered briefly in 5.10.

5.3.1 {ʔun}

{ʔun} is phonologically and doubtless etymologically identical to the instrumental prefix {ʔun}- illustrated in 4.2.3.2.1.2.6. This particle always appears compounded with the postposition {gu}, forming a construction which means "on top of."

/ɬǧagay ʔungu sq̓aƛ̓ʌx̌u sq̓aɬʌŋga/ "The cup is on top of a rock."

{ɬga} "rock" - {gay} nominal old information, {ʔun}, {gu}, {sq̓a}- shape element +{ƛ̓ʌx̌u} meaning unknown, {sq̓a}- shape element + {ɬʌŋ} "position above" - {ga} neutral tense/modal suffix

5.3.2 {x̌id}

{x̌id} contributes a basic meaning "below" to the constructions in which it appears, but in some instances this is translated "in front," e.g. /lʌnagay x̌idgu/

"in front of the village." Such translations are to be explained by extralinguistic circumstances; in this case, Haida villages were situated on rises immediately behind a beach, with the house fronts facing the water. {x̌id} always appears compounded with another postposition.

/nagay x̌idgu ɬa ʔiǰiŋ/ "I'm under the house."
{na} "house" -{gay} nominal old information, {x̌id}, {gu}, {ɬa} "first person singular (active)," {ʔiǰ} existence predicate - {gʌŋ} neutral old information anaphora

{x̌id} also appears in the constructions x̌idǧi "under" and x̌idgi "down."

5.3.3 {x̌ʌŋ}

{x̌ʌŋ}, which like {ʔun} is limited in its role as postposition to compound constructions with {gu}, means "in front of" or, perhaps, "facing," and is probably related to x̌aŋa "face."

/nagay x̌ʌŋgu la ʔiǰiŋ/ "It's in front of the house."
{na} "house" - {gay} nominal old information, {x̌ʌŋ}, {gu}, {la} "third person (active)," {ʔiǰ} predicate of existence - {gʌŋ} neutral old information anaphora

5.3.4 {gu}

{gu} has a rather complex distribution which cannot

be easily tied to an obvious meaning. It appears to be an unmarked form, indicating location in the most general way, and consequently sometimes overlaps the translation sense of other postpositions.It usually translates "on" when used in a postpositional phrase. When it appears without a preceding co-constituent, it seems to function as a non-specific location indicator and is translated "there."

/gwayay gu ʔu ɬa ʔiǰinni/ "I was out on the islands."
{gway} "island" - {gay} nominal old information, {gu}, {hʌw} foreground, {ɬa} "first person singular (active)," {ʔiǰ} existence predicate - {gʌn} "past tense" - {i} old information anaphora

/dʌn sgway gu gina ʔiǰi/ "There's something on your back."
{dʌn} "second person singular (neutral)," {sgway} "back," {gu}, {gina} "something," {ʔiǰ} existence predicate - {ga} neutral tense/modal suffix

/gu ṭalʌŋ ğaɬdagʌŋgin/ "We used to stay overnight there."
{gu}, {ṭalʌŋ} "first person plural (active)," {ğaɬ} "night" + {da} "causative" - {gʌŋ} "habitual/periodic" -{gʌn} "past tense"

{gu} actively participates in the formation of postpositional phrases containing more than one postposition:
/ƛu yuǰu gu ğaw ṭalʌŋ ʔiǰiŋga/ "We used to go up on boats," /gus gu sdaw dalʌl dalʌŋ qwandayaŋ/ "Where did

you get all that money?" Furthermore, {gu} may appear more than once within a single clause to carry out different functions: in /ƛu yuǰu gu ğa gu ʔtalʌn ƛuqaʔƛʌx̌agʌn/ "We got there on a big boat" {gu} appears in the postpositional phrase ƛu yuǰu gu ğa and also functions as a non-specific location indicator following {ğa}.

The concatenation of {gu} with the postposition {gi} is particularly interesting. The sequence of these two particles produces a phonemic string /gwi/, resulting automatically from deletion of the g of {gi} followed by reduction of u to w prevocalically, as required by Rule 7 in Chapter 2. {gi} itself refers to direction; the combination of location and direction postpositions has the effect of determining that there must be or have been movement in space to reach the location referred to. Thus, in the sentence /ŋalay gwiyu hʌwsi cigʌŋgʌn/ "That's what spawns on the kelp," a more literal rendering of the postpositional phrase would give "That's what spawn onto the kelp." The same element of meaning is involved when gi is compounded with preceding postpositional compounds containing {gu} as the final member. In /nagay x̌idgwiyu— ʔu la ʔkaʔagʌnni/ "He threw it under the house," the speaker emphasized that the thrower could not have been under the house him/herself at the time of throwing. In effect, /x̌idgwiyu/ ({x̌id} + {gu} + {gi} followed by the foreground

marker {hʌw}) means something comparable to "underto."

5.3.5 {ğa}

The essential meaning of {ğa}, as opposed to {gu}, appears to refer to location defined in terms of space which is somehow bounded. {ğa} is often translated by "in" or "amongst."

/nagay ğa la xyalgʌnni/ "He danced in the house."
{na} "house" -{gay} nominal old information, {ğa}, {la} "third person (active)," {xyaƛ} "dance" - {gʌn} "past tense" - {i} old information anaphora

/čisğalaŋʔway ğa x̌ʌnnu ƛa čisğasğagʌnni/ "I put it in the same pot."
čisğalaŋʔu "pot" -{gay} nominal old information, {ğa}, {x̌ʌn} emphatic, {hʌw} foreground, {ƛa} "first person singular (active)," {čis}- shape element + {ğasğa} "put" (?) - {gʌn} "past tense" - {i} old information anaphora

In certain constructions, the presence of spatial boundaries implied by the use of {ğa} is concealed. Thus in /ǩaw ğa la ʔisis di gi la sudagʌn/ "She told me she was going to the herring spawn" it must be borne in mind that herring spawn is deposited on beds of seaweed which are regarded as markedly distinct from the water around them. In order to harvest the eggs (which is the reason for "going to" them) it is necessary to penetrate them in a small boat. In the construction /xyal ğa/ "to the dance" it appears that what is referred to is en-

trance into the dance area, and so on.

{gu}, by contrast, appears to always specify a plane--below, above or neither, depending on whether it is compounded with {x̌id}, with {ʔun} or either with {x̌ʌŋ} or without any preceding element. The key feature of {gu}, vis-à-vis {ğa}, is the absence of boundaries. It might seem unlikely, therefore, that a postpositional phrase could exist containing both {gu} and {ğa}, since such a phrase would then indicate both boundaries and the absence of boundaries. In the construction ƛu gu ga, "on the boat," however, it may be that a boat is regarded simultaneously as a location and as an enclosure, so that both particles may be present. Other constructions, e.g. ƛu gu ği as in /ƛu gu ğiyu la ƙaťagʌmni/ "He threw it on the boat," make clear by the use of {ği} (see 5.3.8) that a boat is regarded as a penetrable *volume*.

5.3.6 {gi}

{gi} indicates movement or orientation towards something or to something.

/la gi łʌ ʔisdagʌn/ "I gave it to him."
{lʌ} "third person (neutral)," {gi}, {ła} "first person singular (active)," {ʔisda} predicate of action - {gʌn} "past tense"

5.3.7 {sda}

{sda} indicates movement or orientation away from some-

thing.

/la sda ɬʌ ʔisdagʌn/ "I took it from him."

(See preceding section for analysis.)

In the sentence /huyad ʔu gʌm gaŋaŋ ğidğʌŋgʌŋ ʔkiway ʔʌ ƛʌğulğagʌnni sda ʔa/ "Now there's none like that after they fixed the road," {sda} seems to subordinate the clause ʔkyu-gay ʔʌ ƛʌ-ğuɬğa-gʌn-i "They fixed the road." {sda} thus functions here as an adverbial (see 5.7.), though it is unclear whether the subordination implies causality or only temporal order.

5.3.8 {ği}

{ği} indicates movement through some sort of boundary or enclosed space.

/nagay ği ʔu la qasğwanʌŋgʌŋ/ "He walked through the house." {na} "house" -{gay} nominal old information, {ği}, {hʌw} foreground, {la} "third person (active)," {qa} "move" + sğwanʌŋ probably related to sgwansʌŋ "one" -{gʌŋ} neutral old information anaphora

5.3.9 {ʔulğa}

{ʔuɬğa} indicates proximity. It is conceivable that this form is actually a compound of an element {ʔuɬ} with the post-position {ğa}.

/nagay ʔuɬğa ʔu lʌ xwigʌnni/ "It was cold near the house."

{na} "house" - {gay} nominal old information, {q̓uɬğa}, {hʌw} foreground, {xwi} "cold" - {gʌn} "past tense - {i} old information anaphora

5.3.10 {ğʌn}

{ğʌn} indicates purpose or benefit.

/gud ğʌn t̓alʌŋ ?isdaŋ/ "We do it for each other."

{gud} reciprocal, {ğʌn}, {t̓alʌŋ} "first person plural (active)," {?isda} predicate of action -{gʌŋ} neutral old information anaphora

5.3.11 {t̓ʌlgi}

It seems likely that this particle is, at least etymologically, a compound of {t̓ʌɬ} and {gi}, where t̓ʌɬ is the shape of the suffix discussed in 4.2.3.1.1.2.4 indicating "motion downward." The connection between the postposition and the suffix is evident in forms such as /ğʌnλay t̓ʌlgyu ɬğa là k̓at̓agʌn/ "He threw a rock over the stream."

{ğʌnλʌ} "water" - {gay} nominal old information, {t̓ʌlgi}, {hʌw} foreground, {ɬğa} "rock," {la} "third person (active)," {k̓at̓a} "throw" - {gʌn} "past tense"

It appears that the use of this form has been extended to comparisons, perhaps on the basis of the meaning "over," as in /ɬtaxun t̓ʌlgyu di xwiga/ "I'm colder than my friend."

5.3.12 {ʔad}

{ʔad} generally translates "with," and is the principal means of conjoining nominal forms.

/di ʔad gwa dʌŋ ʔisguda/ "Do you want to come with me?"

{di} "first person singular (neutral)," {ʔad}, {gwa} interrogative, {dʌŋ} "second person singular (neutral)," {ʔiǰ} existence predicate + guda "want," related to {gud} "mental activity"

5.3.13 {dʌŋʔad}

{dʌŋʔad} appears to be used very much in the same way as {ʔad}; it is possible that it represents a "full form" of which {ʔad} is a contraction.

/wa dʌŋʔad la qaxulgʌn/ "He went out with it."

{ʔu} "it," {dʌŋʔad}, la "third person (active)," {qa} "move" + -{xùl} "out of..." -{gʌn} "past tense"

5.3.14 {tʌwǧʌn}

This postposition may be a compound of a form {tʌw} with {ǧʌn}, although the former element does not recur in my data in other grammatical environments. The form {tʌwǧʌn} translates "besides."

/ʔkiway tʌwǧʌnnu nagay ʔiǰiŋ/ "The house is beside the road."

{ʔkyù} "road" - {gay} nominal old information, {tʌwǧʌn},

{hʌw} foreground, {na} "house" - {gay} nominal old information, {ʔiǰ} existence predicate - {gʌŋ} neutral old information anaphora

5.3.15 {x̌a}

This form is problematic; it may in fact be suffixal. Swanton identifies it a distributive, but this gloss may not be adequate.

/ɬ̓kin x̌a giyu ɬʌ qaydʌn/ "I went up into the woods."
{ɬ̓kin} "woods," {x̌a}, {gi} "to, towards," {hʌw} foreground, {ɬa} "first person singular (active)," {qayd} "leave, go" - {gʌn} "past tense"

5.4 Postpositional Phrase Pro-forms

The class of particles I describe as postpositional phrase pro-forms shares the following distributional possibilities with postpositional phrases: (1) its members cannot appear as subject or object of any predicate; (2) they may be permuted to the right of the predicate of the clause to which they belong; (3) they may form postpositional phrases by entering into construction with postpositions; (4) they do not appear to form constituents with modifying elements. It is not possible to say whether or not current syntactic theory would require a description of these forms as surface lexical representatives of underlying

postpositional phrases; it is probably the case that not enough is known about Haida syntax to permit such an analysis. I use the term "pro-form" in describing this class without any implication that "pro-forms" are in some sense derived from some kind of full form; my purpose is merely to characterize the class in terms of its distribution, which seems rather specific as outlined in (1)-(4). It should be noted that when these pro-forms are concatenated with postpositions or postpositional phrases, as referred to in (2), they form a constituent which is a postpositional phrase. See 5.10 for a discussion of the criteria for establishing constituency in Skidegate.

Pro-forms appear to have primarily temporal or spatial reference. For this reason Swanton characterized them as "adverbs," a term covering several particle which do not conform to (1)-(4) in addition. I have assigned some of these other particles to the class of modals. Swanton also identifies the pro-forms with postpositions in their syntactic function (Swanton 1911, p.265.) This is clearly inappropriate, since the particles in question never form constituents with preceding nominal forms. This fact is in itself a strong argument for identifying the class syntactically with constructions already containing a nominal form.

5.4.1 {q̓ad}

{q̓ad} indicates a distant location over water.

/q̓ad gi t̓alʌŋ ʔisis gyannu gina ğa x̌annu t̓alʌŋ qadagʌŋga/
"When we go across we barter it for anything."
{q̓ad}, {gi} "to, towards," {t̓alʌŋ} "first person plural (active), {ʔiǰ} existence predicate -{s} subordinate structure (adverbial), {gyan} "when," {hʌw} foreground, {gina} "anything," {ğa} "at, in," {x̌ʌn} emphatic, {hʌw} foreground, {t̓alʌŋ} "first person plural (active),"
qada "barter" (perhaps {qa} "go" followed by the causative suffix: "make go") -{gʌŋ} "habitual/periodic" -{ga} neutral tense/modal suffix

There is an obvious relationship betwee {q̓ad} and a particle q̓ada which appears in forms such as /q̓adaw ʔiǰi/ "It's out in front," /q̓ada ğayuway gu ʔu ɬa x̌ʌwʔingʌn/ "I went out to fish in the ocean," /q̓ada gwayay q̓uɬğaw gi t̓alʌŋ hʌlx̌aga/ "Out by those islands is where we get it." The last two examples illustrate a major difference between {q̓ad} and q̓ada: the latter appears to function prepositionally, although it is by no means evident that /q̓ada gayuway gu/ is a single constituent. However, the phrase /q̓ada gwayay/ "the islands out there" definitely raises this possibility.

5.4.2 {sih}

{sih} seems to identify a height or a high location.

/sih gi gayuway ʔijiŋga/ "The waves go way up."
{sih}, {gi} "to, toward," {ǧayu} "ocean" - {gay}
nominal old information, {ʔij} existence predicate
- {gʌŋ} "habitual/periodic" - {ga} neutral tense/
modal suffix

5.4.3 {kyah}

{kyah} refers to the outside. There is some reason to believe that the underlying form of this particle is kiǩa or kiǩ; it appears with the latter shape in one item of data from Becky Pearson, who also possessed the alternation /tyah/ ~ /tiǩ/. The relative infrequency of final h suggests that both {sih} and {kyah} may derive from underlying Ci ǩa constructions, where ǩa is the particle discussed in 5.3.14, parallel to ɬkin ǩa "in the woods" and other spatial descriptions.
/kyah di xwigʌn/ "I was cold outside"
{kyah}, {di} "first person singular (neutral)," {xwi}
"cold" - {gʌn} "past tense"

{kyah} appears to function idiomatically in a fashion parallel to the English translation "outside," as, for example, in the construction kyah gu sda "outside of me," that is, "besides me."

5.4.4 {gud}

{gud} indicates that the action specified in the predicate is reciprocal among the participants. It is not completely clear whether this particle should be identified as a postpositional phrase pro-form or a pro-nominal on the basis of the present corpus.

/gud ʔalʌŋ qiŋga/ "We see each other."

{gud}, {ʔalʌŋ} "first person plural (active),"

{qiŋ} "see" - {ga} neutral tense/modal suffix

5.4.5 {hiʔağʌn}

{hiʔağʌn} is best translated "a little while ago." It is possible that the form is actually a compound containing the postposition {ğʌn}.

/hiʔağʌnnu łaɬ qiŋga/ "I just saw him."

{hiʔağʌn}, {hʌw} foreground, {lʌ} "third person (neutral)," {łaɬ} "first person singular (active)," {qiŋ} "see" - {ga} neutral tense/modal suffix

5.4.6 {ƛʌsda}

{ƛʌsda} translates "long ago." It is very possible that this form represents a compound containing {sda}, which as noted in 5.3.7 is occasionally used with some temporal sigificance. If so, then etymologically at least {λʌsda} is not a pro-form but a full postpositional phrase.

/ƛʌsda gʌm ɬğaŋgulx̌a ʔan ʔisğʌŋgʌŋgin/
"Years ago there was no work here."

{ƛʌsda}, {hʌw} foreground, {gʌm} negative, {ɬğaŋgulx̌a} "work," {ʔan} "here," {ʔiǰ} existence predicate - {ğʌŋ} negative suffix - {gʌŋ} "habitual/periodic" - {gʌn} "past tense"

5.4.7 {huyad}

{huyad} signifies "today, right now."

/ʔaŋa, huyaddu di dagwiyaga/ "Yes, I'm well today."

{ʔaŋa} "yes," {huyad}, {hʌw} foreground, {di} "first person singular (neutral)," dagwiya "well" (certainly based on dagwi "strong," but precisely how, and what the reason for the iy sequence rather than a syllabicity shift to uy, as illustrated in Chapter 2, may be, cannot be stated at present) - {ga} neutral tense/modal suffix

5.5 Prepositions

The prepositions constitute a small class of particles which have deictic significance. They form constituents with following nominal forms, but preposition and nominal do not appear to be as closely bound together in such constructions as do nominals and postpositions. The prepositions serve as the basis for certain locational and demonstrative elements, although the processes involved

in their formation are probably not accurately described in synchronic terms as suffixation.

5.5.1 {ʔa}

{ʔa} identifies nominal or pronominal forms as proximate.

/ʔa ğudayu gyagʌn ʔiǰi/ "This box is mine."

{ʔa}, {ğuda} "box" - {gay} nominal old information, {gya} possessive -{gʌn} speaker/possessor coreference, {ʔiǰ} existence predicate -{ga} neutral tense/modal suffix

{ʔa} also emphasizes proximity in the spatial relations marked by various particles, as in /ʔa q̓adaw ʔiǰi/ "It's out in front here."

It is likely that {ʔa} is the basis for ʔan "here." ʔan has a distribution parallel to the postpositional phrase pro forms. {ʔa} also serves as the basis for pro-nominal forms: ʔasi "this," as in /ʔasiyu ʔiǰi/ "It's this," and ʔanis "this one," as in /ʔanisu ʔiǰi/ "It's this one." There is almost certainly identity between the n in ʔan and that in the interrogative pro-nominal {gin}, historically speaking.

5.5.2 {hʌw}

{hʌw} identifies nominal or pronominal forms as

being at a middle distance.

/hʌw ğudayu ɬʌ q̓idʌni/ "I carved that box."

{hʌw}, {ğuda} "box" - {gay} nominal old information, {hʌw} foreground, {ɬa} "first person singular (active)," {q̓id} "carve" - {gʌn} "past tense" - {i} old information anaphora

{hʌw} also appears to be the basis for the forms hʌwn "there," as in /hʌwn gyu lʌ čiğagʌn/ "He moved there," hʌwsi "that," as in /hʌwsi ʔad ɬa gyadaxğʌn/ "I sold that," and hʌwnis "that one," as in /hʌwnisu di gudlaga/ "I sold that one." These are all parallel to those adduced for {ʔa} in the preceding section. Furthermore, {hʌw} appears to function as some sort of dummy support for the emphatic {xan} in the idiomatic construction hʌw xan: /hʌw xanmu cina gi la hʌlxaga/ "He's still fishing."

In addition, there is a problematic form /hʌwsgay/ which appears to contain a particle {gay}, an anaphoric form best translated as "that stuff," which almost certainly represents the source of the -{gay} nominal old information suffix. Since no independent form *hʌws exists, it is possible that the s in /hʌwsgay/ is epenthetic; there is evidence, in the interrogative pro-nominals, of an earlier rule of s-epenthesis in Skidegate.

It may also be that this s is linked with the s in the apparent pronominalizing suffix -{si}, referred to above.

5.5.3 {wa}

{wa} identifies objects at the furthest position from the speaker; it is, however, less commonly used than {ʔa} or {hʌw}. {wa} cannot appear with the endings -{si} or -{nis}, although it does appear to form constructions with spatial postpositions, which is not true of {ʔa} or {hʌw}.

/wa ğudayu gyagʌn ʔiǰi/ "That box over there is mine." (See 5.5.1 for analysis.)

In /wa ğiyu ła ʔisdagʌnni/ "I put it there," {wa} seems to form a constituent with the postposition {ği}, but such examples should be regarded cautiously. There may be several particles which can appear with the phonemic shape /wa/. wan, corresponding exactly to ʔan and hʌwn, indicates a location at a maximum distance from the speaker. Unlike these forms, however, it appears to function in at least one instance as a predicate root: /łʌ wanğasga/ "I'll go up on the beach." The form wadsgwa appears to mean something similar to the meaning of wan; Swanton identifies a form "adjxwa" (/ʔaǰxwa/ in my transcription

system) as "over here," but this form does not occur in my corpus. The gwa partial in wadsgwa is most likely identical to the form Swanton gives as gua "towards" as in łkiagua "towards the door of the house." Such a segmentation reinforces the likelihood of an earlier rule of s-epenthesis, alluded to in several places above.

5.6 Adverbials

Adverbial particles have much in common with postpositions, both in terms of their rightward position in constructions and in terms of the permutation possibilities of the constructions to which they belong. As noted in connection with {sda}, there is an occasional overlap between the postpositions and the adverbials. Unlike postpositions, however, adverbials form no endocentric constructions. In an adverbial phrase there can be but one adverbial particle. In addition, adverbial phrases generally contain full clauses, rather than nouns, as leftmost elements. In most cases these are dependent clauses, but not always. It is difficult, at this stage of knowledge, to make extremely broad generalizations about the distribution of the adverbials. For example, one encounters the form /gyannu gasin da sugʌŋ/ "and what did you say?" where the appearance of {gyan} to the left of the rest of the question is definitely unusual. The limits

on the syntactic freedom of this class of particles requires considerable further investigation.

5.6.1 {λu}

{λu} is various translated "if" and "when;" it may thus be glossed as a reference to an event which has not occurred up to the present, without any distinction between potentiality and actual achievement.

/la gi ɬʌ kyagʌŋŋay λu la qaʔλʌx̌agʌn/ "He came when I called him."

{lʌ} "third person (neutral)," {gi} "to, towards," {ɬa} "first person singular (active)," {kyagʌŋ} "call" - {gay} nominal old information, {λu}, {la} "third person (active)," {qa} "move" + -{ʔλʌx̌a} - {gʌn} "past tense"

The form /kyah gi la ɬʌ qaxulga sabli ɬʌ λʌğuɬğa λu ʔa/ "If I make bread I'll tell him to get out" illustrates the permutation of the adverbial phrase sabli ɬa λʌğulğa λu to the right of the predicate of the independent clause. It also exemplifies an infrequent form of signalling dependent clause structure, viz., supplying no inflectional suffix to mark structure type. {λù} is often used to conjoin clauses, as in /čanudanay ğaʔal ʔasin ɬa λʌǰuğaɬdayey λu ʔungu sabligay ɬa ğalʌŋgʌmni/ "I turned the lid of the stove upside down and cooked on it." This sentence is in accord with the tendency in Skidegate to conjoin clauses by subordinating one of them, a charac-

teristic feature of Haida discourse.

5.6.2 {gyan}

{gyan} seems to overlap the meaning of {λu} almost completely. It translates variously as "if, when, and."

/łʌ ğads gyan di ǩinagʌŋga/ "When I run it makes me warm." {ła} "first person singular (active)," {ğad} "run" - {s} dependent structure (adverbial), {gyan}, {di} "first person singular (neutral)," ǩina "warm" (analyzable into {ǩin} "warm" + some suffix which may be the "middle" suffix -{ga}, or possibly a suffix with the shape -{a}) - {gʌŋ} "habitual/ periodic" - {ga} neutral tense/modal suffix

Other examples of {gyan} are /dʌmx̌ʌn di ğid gyanu dʌn łʌ qyaŋğasga/ "If I'm well I'll come see you" and /gi łа dayʌŋgʌnni gyan łа qinsťagʌnni/ "I was looking for it and I found it." In textual material {gyan} is used as a clause conjunct by my main informant far more often than {λu}. It is not possible to characterize the difference in function between these two adverbial with any precision, however, at this stage of research.

5.6.3 {ğagʌn}

{ğagʌn} translates "because." Concatenated with {gina}, it forms a construction gina ğagʌn "why (something

happenned)" as illustrated in forms such as /gina ğagʌn lʌ sus ğʌn di ʔuns?ida/ "I know why he said it." Concatenated with the interrogative particle {gus} and the interrogative suffix -{u}, it forms a construction gus ğagʌnu "why... ?" as in /gus ğagʌnnu lʌ ʔisɬʌx̌ayaŋ/ "Why did he come?" For the most part, however, {ğagʌn} appears in construction with dependent clauses.

/lʌ q̓uds ğagʌnnu ʔan gi la ʔiǰin/ "He came here because he's hungry."

{lʌ} "third person (neutral)," {q̓ud} "hungry" - {s} dependent structure (adverbial), {ğagʌn}, {hʌw} foreground, ʔan "here," {gi} "to, towards," {la} "third person (active)," {ʔiǰ} existence predicate - {gʌn} "past tense"

5.6.4 {kuŋğasda}

{kuŋğasda} translates "before;" it may contain {sda}.

/lʌ ʔisɬʌx̌ayey kuŋğasdaw gʌm ɬʌgwi t̓alʌŋ ʔisɬʌŋay gʌwğʌŋga/ "We can't leave before he comes."

{la} "third person (active)," {ʔiǰ} existence predicate + -{ɬʌx̌a} "to a destination" -{gay} nominal old information, {kuŋğasda}, {hʌw} foreground, {gʌm} "not," {ɬʌgu} "way," {gi} "to," {ʔiǰ}+-{ɬʌŋ} "can," -{gay}, {gʌw} "lost" -{ğʌŋ} "negative" -{ga} neutral tense/modal suffix

5.6.5 {qʌwdi}

{qʌwdi} translates "after" or in some other fashion indicating precedence.

/ʔan lʌ ʔis qʌwdiyu lʌ qaydʌn/ "He was here for a while and then he left."

ʔan "here," {la} "third person (active)," {ʔiǰ} existence predicate, {qʌwdi}, {hʌw} foreground , {la} "third person (active)," {qayd} "leave" - {gʌn} "past tense"

5.6.6 {di}

{di} conveys a meaning comparable to that expressed by "during." In the following example this sense of sustained duration is reflected in the use of the durative aspect marker -{di}. It seems likely that there is an historical connection between the suffix and the particle; synchronically, however, they co-occur and are clearly different grammatical forms.

/na ğʌŋga la ʔisdya dyu la ɬʌ qiŋgʌŋgin/ "When he was home I used to see him."

{na} "house," {ğʌŋga} meaning unknown, {la} "third person (active)," {ʔiǰ} existence predicate - {di} durative aspect, {di}, {hʌw}foreground , {lʌ}"third person (neutral)," {ɬʌ} "first person singular (active)," {qiŋ} "see" - {gʌŋ} "habitual/periodic" - {gʌn} "past tense"

The appearance of -{di} suffixed to {ʔiǰ} is very unusual.

5.6.7 {sk̓yan}

{sk̓yan} translates "in spite of, but."

/?an da ?isis sk̓yan x̌ʌnnu gʌm dʌn t̓alʌŋ qiŋğʌŋga/

"Even if you're here we don't see you."

?an "here," {da} "second person singular (active),"

{?iǰ} existence predicate - {s} dependent structure

(adverbial), {sk̓yan}, {x̌ʌn} emphatic, {hʌw} foreground,

{gʌm} negative particle, {dʌn} "second person singular

(neutral)," {t̓alʌŋ} "first person plural (active),"

{qiŋ} "see" - {ğʌŋ} negative - {ga} neutral tense/modal

suffix

5.6.8 {k̓yawğa}

{k̓yawğa} means something like "until." It seems to

function as much postpositionally as adverbially.

/di k̓yawğa la ğida/ "He's waiting for me."

{di} "first person singular (neutral)," {k̓yawğa},

{la} "third person (active)," {ğid} "wait for, lack" -

{ga} neutral tense/modal suffix

/?an x̌ʌnnu lʌ ?is̓ʌx̌ey k̓yawğa t̓alʌŋ ğidğasga/ "We'll wait
until he gets here."

5.7 Modal Particles

Modal particles mark the discourse function of

clauses. Their outstanding distributional feature is

that they do not appear to form constituents with any other

element in the clause. Coupled with this the modal particles

display considerable positional freedom, so that it is not possible to state the constraints on their appearance in clauses, although certain tendencies are evident.

5.7.1 {gʌm}

{gʌm} serves both as the negative syntactic particle and as the response form for "no."

/gʌm gu.ɬa ʔisğʌŋğasga/ "I will not be there." (See 4.2.2.3 for analysis.)

In certain constructions the use of {gʌm} requires additional grammatical material vis-à-vis the non-negative: /gʌm ƛʌgu naŋ ği ƛ̓aw hak̓wan wağʌŋga/ "No one can do it." Here {naŋ}, which would be sufficient to express "someone" in "Someone can do it," must be supplemented by the construction ği ƛ̓aw, where it is possible that ƛ̓a is identical to the {ƛ̓ʌ} discussed in Chapter 3. The meaning of this construction is unclear and very probably idiomatic. A parallel example is /gʌm gina ƛ̓a gu ʔisğʌŋgʌnni/ "There was nothing there."

5.7.2 {ʔa}

{ʔa} marks a constituent which is used outside the context of any independent clause to which the constituent would normally belong; an isolated phrase, in other words.

In most cases it is evident that the constituent has been permuted to the right of its predicate: /čisğalaŋʔway ğa x̌ʌnnu ɬa čisğasgʌnni taŋagiɬyuʔanay ğan ʔa/ "I put it in the same pot so it would get really salty," where taŋagiɬyuʔʌn - gay ğʌn would ordinarily be the left-most constituent in the sentence. Particles also undergo this sort of permutation: /ɬkin x̌a giyu talʌŋ hʌlx̌aŋ huyad ʔa/ "He's hunting in the woods now," in which {huyad} has been moved to the right of {hʌlx̌a} "hunt, gather" - {gʌŋ}. Even nouns undergo this type of movement, at least in the speech of some Skidegate people:

/kaw la qix̌agʌn/ "He found some herring spawn."

/la qixagʌn kaw ʔa/ "He found some herring spawn."

Dependent clauses followed by {ʔa} can appear in isolation: /gi lʌ gudʌnsi ğagʌn ʔa/ "Because he wants it." (in answer to a question.)

5.7.3 {ɬa}

{ɬa} is the imperative particle.

/ga ɬa tʌŋğada/ "Salt some!"

{ga} "some," {ɬa}, {tʌŋ} "salt" + -{ğa} "change of state" + -{da} causative

Ordinarily the use of {ɬa} requires only that the predicate have

the form of a bare stem or stem plus the -{ğu} plural suffix. In other cases, however, the picture is more complex. Consider the form /skuǰi ɬa dey x̌ʌn qiŋaŋ/ "Look after the bones," where {dey} seems to mean "carefully." {qiŋ} "see" is followed by a suffix with the phonetic form -[aŋ], appearing in Becky Pearson's speech only when she was presenting textual material, in particular traditional narratives. This form is interesting because of its resemblance to the suffix -{č̓aŋ} (conceivably to be assigned to inflectional position class 6) which appears in such forms as /hala ɬalʌŋ ga tač̓aŋ/ "Let' eat." In other cases {ɬa} reduces to a single vocalic segment which attaches postclitically to various elements of the clause: /dey x̌ʌnna ƛʌskumx̌a/ "Be careful while you're cleaning."

5.7.4 {gwa}

{gwa} is the interrogative particle, used to form yes/no-response questions.

/dʌŋ gwa q̓ud/ "Are you hungry?"
{dʌŋ} "second person singular (neutral)," {gwa}, {q̓ud} "hungry"

5.8 Emphatic Particles.

The cover term "emphatic" is an oversimplification of the function performed by the two particles to which I have applied the term. They are not syntactically parallel.

Both form constituents with grammatical material to their left, yet it would be inaccurate to include them with either postpositions or adverbials, since their co-members in many of these constructions never appear with either adverbials or postpositions.

5.8.1 {hʌw}

{hʌw}, to which I refer thoughout this analysis as the foreground marker, applies to constituents with which it is construction and signals the focus of interest within the clause. The position of {hʌw} thus distinguishes /hʌwsiyu ɬʌ x̌aydigʌn/ "That's what I was knitting" from /ɬaw hʌwsi x̌aydigʌn/ "I'm the one who was knitting that," where {hʌw} has been reduced to [u] in the first example and to [w] in the second. The effect of this foregrounding is frequently lost in the translation.

{hʌw} rarely appears as [hʌw] in the surface phonology. It becomes progressively reduced to [hu], [ʔu] and finally to a single segment which is either [w], following /a/, or [u], following all other segments. When {hʌw} is reduced to [u] and attaches to a preceding stop, the stop becomes geminate.

The foreground marker plays a very significant syntactic role, which will be discussed below in 5.10.

5.8.2 {x̌ʌn}

{x̌ʌn} serves to intensify or underscore certain implicit--often extralinguistic--features of the situation described in the sentence. For example, it translates "even" in /gʌm qaxulnay x̌ʌn gu ʔisgʌŋgʌnni/ "There wasn't even a bathroom there." In this context {x̌ʌn} is used to mark the fact that a bathroom is something that one expects to find, that its absence calls for comment. Similarly, {x̌ʌn} translates "right" in /wa gu x̌annu ʔalʌŋ ʔkağasλʌdagʌŋgin/ "We used to dry them right there." Here the use of {x̌ʌn} stresses the fact that herring spawn were not moved at all to be dried. In /nagay ğa x̌annu la ʔiji/ "He's still in the house" attention is called to the fact that someone has persisted in staying in a certain place. {x̌ʌn} puts special stress on the context in which an action is committed or a situation set, apparently in the face of some expectation that the action or situation might well be different from what it is.

{x̌ʌn} takes part in the formation of many constructions which appear somewhat idiomatic. Thus /waλu x̌an/ "all, everyone, everything" is not easily analyzable. In a form like /hʌw x̌ʌn/ "still," the use of the preposition {hʌw} is difficult to motivate. In /gaŋaŋ x̌ʌn/ "as soon

as" the use of {x̌Λn} reinforces the simultaneity conveyed by the use of {gaŋaŋ} "like, the same as," but depending on the context the phrase will be translated in other ways, or will not correspond to a separate element in the translation.

5.9 Unclassified Particles

There are a number of particles in Skidegate which cannot be assigned to any of the classes described above. Some of these forms suggest possible sub-grouping on the basis of syntactic parallelism, but I have refrained from setting up further classes until more data is available.

5.9.1 {ʔada}

{ʔada} translates "different, various."

/ʔadaw ̓talΛŋ ƛΛğuɬğagΛnni/ "We made it different."

{ʔada}, {hΛw} foreground, {̓talΛŋ} "first person singular (active)," {ƛΛ}- "by hand" + {ğulğa} "make" - {gΛn} "past tense" - {i} old information anaphora.

{ʔada} combines with the stem-forming "middle" suffix to produce a predicate {ʔadaga} "different."

5.9.2 {ʔaŋa}

{ʔaŋa} is the response form for "yes."

It can be used in isolation or incorporated in a sentence, e.g. /ʔaŋa, gu la ʔisğwasaŋ/ "Yes, they'll

be there."

5.9.3 ?asğid

?asğid usually translates "around here" or something comparable. Historically it is extremely likely that this is a complex form, compounded from {?a}, discussed earlier, and ğid, a partial which appears elsewhere (see 5.9.4 and 5.9.5) with locative meaning: /?asğid lʌ ?isdyu la ɬʌ qiŋgʌŋgin/ "While he was around here I used to see him." The s in ?asğid is very likely the residue of an epenthetic process which I have pointed out elsewhere. Swanton noted the presence of these intrusive fricatives, but only for the set I have described as interrogative pro-nominals. He suggested that the s might be comparable to the Tlingit interrogative particle {sa} historically, but since this s occurs in non-interrogative contexts as well as interrogative contexts in Skidegate there is no foundation for Swanton's comparison (Swanton 1911, p. 261.) Nor does it appear possible to associate any constant meaning with this s.

As far as the partial ğid is concerned, it is possible that this form should be analyzed as the postposition {ği} followed by a suffix -{d} segmented by Swanton (1911,

p. 264). The particles which contain ğid all seem to involve a meaning translatable as "throughout," corresponding to the sense of the postposition {ği}.

5.9.4 ƛʌğid

ƛʌğid translates "everywhere, all over." Here too it is probable that ğid has been compounded with an element ƛʌ, perhaps with morphemic status, which is very likely the same form which appears in ƛʌgu "place" and ƛʌdağaw "mountain:" /ƛʌğid x̌ʌnnu lʌ xyalagʌn/ "He danced everywhere."

5.9.5 x̌ağid

x̌ağid translates "inside," but a more accurate translation would probably be "within." The most probable account of this form is that the "distributive" {x̌a} discussed earlier in this chapter has beencompounded with ğid, as in /na x̌ağid lʌ qagunga/ "He's walking around inside the house."

5.9.6 {ʔu}

{ʔü} indicates some unspecified non-human referent. It generally translates "it."

/ʔu k̓ağasƛʌdyaŋ/ "It's drying."

(See 4.2.3.1.1.1.2; the durative suffix -{di} is used.)

{ʔu} sometimes has the surface shape [ʔwa], as in /wa dʌŋʔad la qaxulgʌn/ "He went out with it." In certain constructions {ʔu} apparently serves as an anaphoric element marking the place of a constituent which has been permuted to the right of the predicate, as in /x̌eyda sdaw ʔu qyaŋgagʌŋgin mayngay ʔa/ "You could see the mine right from the bottom," literally "The mine could be seen from the bottom," where {ʔu} takes the place of mayngay before the predicate. It is possible that in one somewhat obscure type of construction, illustrated by the sentence /la ga ta wa gi kilxigʌŋga/ "He should eat," the form /wa/ represents {ʔu}, so that, taking into account the meaning of {kilxi} "need," the literal meaning is something like "It needs (that) he eat."

5.9.7 {ga}

{ga} indicates some unspecified referent, usually translated as "some." It does not pattern syntactically like the pronouns (see below, 5.10) but rather like a full nominal which is the object of a predicate whose subject is also a full nominal:

/ʔalʌŋ ga qix̌aga/ "We found some."

{ʔalʌŋ} "first person singular (neutral)," {ga}, {qix̌a} "find" - {ğas} "future" - {ga} neutral tense/modal

suffix

If {ga} were a pronoun, as Swanton describes it, we would expect it to precede {ˌtalʌŋ} in the above example. I do not have data on the behavior of {ga} as a sentence subject, or on its relations with the foreground marker.

5.9.8 {λu}

{λu} identifies the boundaries of a quantity or activity. It often translates "as," "as much," or something paraphrasable as "to the extent of."

/dʌn λu cina ɬʌ qiǰasga/ "I'll get as much fish as you."

{dʌn} "second person singular (neutral)," {λu}, {cina} "fish," {ɬʌ} "first person singular (active)," {qiǰa} "find" - {ğas} "future" - {ga} neutral tense/modal suffix

5.9.9 {guλu}

{guλu} establishes a relation of identity or resemblance between elements. Historically this form could easily be a contraction of {gud} "reciprocal" with {λu}, discussed in the preceding section.

/guλu ʔu ğidaŋ/ "They're the same size."

{guλu}, {ʔu} "it," {ğid} predicate of condition - {gʌŋ} neutral old information anaphora

5.9.10 {gaŋaŋ}

{gaŋaŋ} establishes a relation of identity or resemblance between elements.

/tawayu huyad quyasi gaŋaŋ x̌anu k̓away ʔasiŋ ǧidaŋ/

"The grease is expensive and so is the herring spawn."

{tʌw} "grease" - {gay} nominal old information, {hʌw} foreground, {huyad} "now," {quya} "expensive" - {s} dependent structure (adverb clause), {gaŋaŋ}, {x̌ʌn} emphatic , {hʌw} foreground , {k̓aw} "herring spawn" - {gay} nominal old information , {ʔasiŋ} "also," {ǧid} predicate of condition - {gʌŋ} neutral old information anaphora.

It is quite possible that {gaŋaŋ} should be assigned to the adverbial class, but I do not possess sufficient evidence on this point.

5.9.11 {gya}

{gya} indicates possession; however, it must receive a suffix to indicate its function. When the speaker and the possessor are identical, a suffix -{gʌn} is attached: /gyagʌn x̌agayu ʔiji/ "That's my dog," where the first person pronoun never appears. When the speaker is not the same person as the possessor, the attributive suffix -{ǧa} is used, and the possessive particle follows a personal pronoun,

as in /la gyaǧa čikčikgayu ʔiǰi/ "It's his wagon." Swanton regarded {gya} as a suffix, stating that in Masset "it is now sometimes used as the equivalent of ga." (Swanton 1911, p. 269.) It seems more accurate to regard the form gia which Swanton gives for Masset as the correspondent of Skidegate gyaǧa where ǧ in Skidegate corresponds to Masset ϕ /a__a; the resulting vowel cluster is reduced to a single a.

5.9.12 ǧaʔadǧa

ǧaʔadǧa poses a problem, since in its very limited appearance in my data it translates "ever," while Swanton supplies the gloss "between," and also refers to a form ǧaʔadǧi with the gloss "between (with motion)." Though Swanton provides no examples, I am prepared to accept these glosses, which point in an obvious way to a compounding of some form {ǧaʔad} with the postpositions {ǧa} and {ǧi}. However, forms such as /gʌm gwa ǧaʔadǧa da ɖaǧʌŋgʌŋ/ "Don't you ever sleep?" are left unexplained.

5.9.13 {ǧaŋa}

{ǧaŋa} only appears in construction with {la} "third person (active)," with which it forms a plural.

/la ǧaŋaw ɖajuga/ "They're the ones that are singing."

{la} "third person (active)," {ğaŋa}, {hʌw} foreground, {ǩaǰu} "sing" - {ga} neutral tense/modal suffix

As this example illustrates, the use of {ğaŋa} makes it unnecessary to employ the plural inflectional suffix in the predicate. The use of {ğaŋa} is not at all well understood at present.

5.9.14 {λan}

{λan} translates "stop."

/λan la ɬa giŋwagʌnni/ "I made him stop doing it."

{λan}, {lʌ} "third person (neutral)," {ɬa} "first person singular (active)," {giŋ}- + {wa} "do" - {gʌn} "past" - {i} old information anaphora

5.9.15 {waλu}

This form only appears in construction with {x̌ʌn}, forming a phrase which translates "all, everyone, everything:" /waλu x̌ʌnnu ɬʌ qiŋgʌn/ "I saw all of it." It is conceivable that {waλu} represents a compound containing {λu} "extent," discussed above.

5.9.16 {ʔasiŋ}

{ʔasiŋ} translates "also."

/tawayu hụyad quyasi gaŋaŋ x̌ʌnnu ǩaway ʔasiŋ ğidaŋ/ "The grease is expensive and so is the herring spawn."

(See 5.9.10 for analysis.)

5.10 Syntactic Properties of Particles

Any consideration of Skidegate syntax must begin with the basic facts of word order. There are, in effect, three canons for constituent order in clauses containing no foregrounded elements:
(1) X S(ubject) O(bject) V(erb), which applies when both S and O are nominals. X designates all other material in the clause, with the exception of modal particles.
(2) X O S V, which applies when both S and O are pronouns. This is the principal syntactic distinction between pronouns and pronominals: only the particles I have described as pronouns conform to this canon.
(3) X (Pro-)Nominal Pronoun V, which is self explanatory. Considerations of clause function are here ignored; what is important is the form-class of the constituent.

These three canons are not applicable when a foregrounded constituent occurs within the clause. Under these conditions the canon is

(4) A hʌw B, where A is the foregrounded constituent and B is the rest of the clause. In one sense (1)-(3) do apply even when an element is foregrounded, as long as that element belongs to X; i.e., is not either S or O.

In general, it appears that {hʌw} cannot separate members of a grammatical constituent from each other. This may be stated formally in the following manner: {hʌw} follows strings of morphemes dominated by nodes immediately below the sentential node. This formulation, which is has the status of a hypothesis, has important implications for the constituent structure of Skidegate sentences. It would mean, for example, that the ordinary order of full nominal forms, S O V, could not be parsed as NP PrPhr (see Table of Symbols), where PrPhr is NP V, because {hʌw} can in fact follow the sentence object, but cannot follow the verb. In other words, it does not appear that NP V under any circumstances forms a constituent separate from another member of the clause.

The structure of postpositional phrases is of particular interest in this connection. It is clear that postpositions not only occur adjacent to each other, producing strings of as many as three postpositions so far noted, but may form constituents when they occur in these stings. Two independent criteria constitute evidence that N + postposition (+ postposition (+ postposition)) are a grammatical unit: in the first place, as noted earlier, such strings can be permuted to

the right of the predicate in their clause. Thus, one can say either /la gi ɬʌʔisdagʌnni/ or /ɬʌ ʔisdagʌnni la gi ʔa/ for "I gave it to him," where $_{NP}$[la gi]$_{NP}$ is permuted to the right of $_{V}$[ʔisdagʌnni]$_{V}$, while the permutation of {la} by itself would not be possible: */gi ɬʌ ʔisdagʌnni la ʔa/. The same would hold for a longer postpositional phrase, such as /nagay x̌idgwi/ "under the house (with motion):" one could not permute $_{NP}$[nagay], or $_{NP}$[nagay x̌id]$_{NP}$ or $_{NP}$ [nagay x̌idgu] to the right of the verb. Such a prohibition calls to mind the well-known A-over-A constraint which restricts application of a grammatical rule specified for a certain constituent description--such as NP--to the highest node within the clause bearing that description, within the limits of the structure index for the rule. If, then, rightward permutation of a constituent is regarded as a transformation--as it would be, in the metalanguage of generative syntax--the behavior of postpositional phrases that one would predict from the A-over-A constraint is exactly what one finds.

The second indication of the grammatical integrity of strings of postpositions is their behavior with respect to foregrounding. As noted earlier, foregrounding

involves the appearance of the foregrounded constituent at the extreme left of the clause. It is tempting to regard foregrounding, in this sense, as leftward permutation, at least for constituents which are subjects or objects. In any case, the same restrictions may be noted in this case as obtained for rightward permutation: only the maximal postpositional phrase can be foregrounded. Continuing the example given above, one could have /nagay ǰidgwiyu/ but never */nagayu ǰidgwi/ or */nagay ǰiddu gwi/-- nor, for that matter, */gyu nagay ǰidgu/. The implication of this, of course, is that foregrounding is to be described as the result of a transformational process, since it respects the A-over-A condition.

It would go far beyond the scope of this thesis to attempt a characterization of Skidegate NPs. As noted in Chapter 1, not enough is known about the language to permit such an attempt, though the data point in certain directions. {ǰʌn}, for example, appears to the right of any postpositional elements with which it is in construction. Nothing with which it forms a constituent may be permuted either rightward or (in the sense discussed above) leftward. It would seem, then, that when {ǰʌn} forms a constituent with

an element X preceding, the labelling for the brackets on X X̌An is the same as for the brackets on X. The foregoing is largely speculative of course; too little information on the distribution of particles exists, and we still do not know, for example, whether the constraints on dependent clauses followed by adverbial particles are parallel to those on postpositional phrases. Clearly there is ample room for future investigation in these areas of Skidegate grammar.

Chapter 6 Analysis of a Haida Text

6.1 Introduction

The text presented in this chapter was the first of eleven personal narratives collected from Becky Pearson. The text as presented has been divided into fourteen parts. These divisions were made by the speaker and seem to correspond neither to sentential units nor to units one might wish to characterize as paragraphs, though some are grammatically minimal sentences and some are considerably longer. It will be noted that every one of these divisions, regardless of length, concludes with an independent predicate structure.

The text begins with a question, and the remainder of the text develops out of the answer to the question. This fact is important for understanding the use of old information anaphora throughout the narrative. It would appear that the initial question introduces {ʔkaw} "herring spawn" as a discourse element for the first time and makes it classifiable as old information in the rest of the text, although not all old information anaphora refers to {ʔkaw}. Mrs. Pearson was quite conscious of the connection between -{i} and {ʔkaw} in any given clause.

Ethnographically this text is of interest in calling attention to the economic specializations and exchanges which have been maintained between the two villages. The severe contraction of the original Haida-speaking population on the Charlottes thoroughly damaged what must have been an active network of productive interdependence maintained among the twenty-odd local groups in the pre-Contact period. Mrs. Pearson's account attests to both a strictly mercantile exchange of goods between Masset and Skidegate and a more informal type of arrangement between families. I am not aware of any modern ethnographic treatment of economic (or other) relations between the two villages.

6.2 Becky Pearson's Narrative

In the analysis below I present the text as a whole, with the major divisions (henceforth "discourse units") indicated numerically. In the discussion of the various discourse units I present their composition in terms of constituent clause units, but do not attempt any further characterization of discourse structure.

(1) /ƛʌgu ʔkaw gi ʔtalʌŋ hʌlx̌agay ǧʌn ʔunsʔʌdday gi gwa dʌn sdaɬʌ (2) ƛu gu ǧaw gi ʔtalʌŋ hʌlx̌agʌŋga lʌnagay

x̌idgu ʔa q̓ada gwayay q̓uɬǧa gi t̓alʌŋ hʌlx̌aŋ (3) gaŋasi gyu t̓alʌŋ hʌlx̌aŋ ʔiɬǧidsi t̓alʌŋ tʌŋǧadasi gyan ʔisin t̓alʌŋ ga k̓aǧada gyan ʔisin t̓alʌŋ ga qaɬdaga siŋa ǧʌn ʔa (4) ŋalay gwiyu hʌwsi cigʌnsi gaŋaǧiɬs gyanu gi t̓alʌŋ hʌlx̌agʌŋga ǧal sdin ƛu gaŋaǧilay ǧidaŋ (5) ƛ̓ʌway gu ǧi sda t̓alʌŋ ʔisdasi gaŋaŋ x̌ʌnnu t̓alʌŋ qʌwsƛʌǧwaŋ gyan ʔisin t̓alʌŋ ga tʌŋǧadaga gyan ʔisiŋ plæstIk bægz ǧi t̓alʌŋ ʔisdas t̓alʌŋ qaɬdaga (6) k̓aǧaslasi gyanu gud ǧa t̓alʌŋ ʔisdasiyu t̓alʌŋ k̓uc̓idʌŋga guƛu k̓uc̓idey wey kilxigʌŋga q̓ad gi t̓alʌŋ ʔisis gyanu gina ǧa x̌ʌnnu t̓alʌŋ qadagʌŋga tʌw ǧaw t̓alʌŋ qadagʌŋga tawayu huyad quyasi gaŋaŋ x̌ʌnnu k̓away ʔasiŋ ǧidaŋ (7) sǧyu gi ʔasin t̓alʌŋ hʌlx̌agʌŋga (8) sǧiway gi t̓alʌŋ hʌlx̌as gyannu fayv pawn peyl ǧaw q̓ey ƛ̓eɬiyagʌŋga (9) gay ʔad hu gud gi x̌an t̓alʌŋ gyadax̌ugʌŋga gʌm sǧyu ʔan t̓alʌŋ qix̌aǧʌŋgʌŋga ɬǧagilda gu ʔa (10) mæsəd sdaw sǧyu t̓alʌŋ ʔisdas gyanu q̓ada meynlænd sda ʔasiŋ sǧyu t̓alʌŋ ʔisdagʌŋga (11) sǧyu gi t̓alʌŋ hʌlx̌as gyanu kʌmšəwa ʔInlet ǧaw gi t̓alʌŋ hʌlx̌agʌŋgin (12) huyaddu gʌm gaŋaŋ x̌ʌn t̓alʌŋ waǧʌŋga gæsbʌwt xadala ʔis dyu kʌmšəwa ǧaw gi t̓alʌŋ hʌlx̌aʔingʌŋgin wa gu x̌ʌnnu t̓alʌŋ k̓agasƛʌdagʌŋgin (13) gyan k̓aǧasi hu ʔan gi t̓alʌŋ ʔisdasi gyanu t̓alʌŋ x̌igʌŋgin gyanu c̓amudan ǧi t̓alʌŋ ga ʔisdas

hu ʔada ɬalʌŋ ʎʌğulğaga (14) gay ʔad ʔasiŋ
ɬalʌŋ gyadaxʷaŋ

(1) Do you want to know how we pick fish eggs?
(2) We go out on the boats and we get them by
those islands (3) We pick the thick ones and then we
salt some and we dry some and we also freeze some
for the wintertime (4) They spawn on the kelp when
it gets thick on the kelp we pick it and it takes
a couple of days to get thick on the kelp (5) When
we take it off the boat we spread some of it out
on the beack and we also put it in plastic bags and
we freeze it (6) When it gets dry we put them together
and bundle them up and the bundles have to be uniform
size and we barter it for grease the grease is ex-
pensive and so is the fish eggs (7) We harvest sea-
weed too (8) When we pick the seaweed it's five dol-
lars for a five-pound pail (9) We sell it to one
another; we don't get the seaweed here in Skidegate
(10) We get the seaweed from Masset and then we also
get some from the mainland too (11) When we went
to get seaweed we had to go to Cumshewa Inlet there's
where we used to have to get it (12) They don't do
that any more when we had small gasboats we used to
go to Cumshewa and get it and dry it right there
(13) When it's dry we bring it over here and we dry
it and we put some in the stove and we fix it dif-

ferent (14) We used to sell that too.

6.3 Analysis of the Text

In the following discussion I employ the terms "sentential unit" and "clause unit." By the first term I mean the mininal constituent of a discourse unit which can stand as an independent isolated utterance which, if subtracted from the discourse unit, would leave no dependent structure as a remainder. By the second term I mean any constituent which contains a single predicate.

6.3.1 First Discourse Unit

The first discourse unit consists of a single sentential unit containing three clause units.

6.3.1.1 C_1 (First Clause Unit)

/ɬʌgu ʔkaw gi ʔtalʌŋ hʌlx̌agay/ "the way of our getting herring spawn"

{ɬʌgu} "way," {ʔkaw} "herring spawn," {gi} "to," {ʔtalʌŋ} "first person plural (active)," {hʌlx̌a} "gather" -{gay} nominal old information

6.3.1.2 C_2

/ğʌn ʔuns?ʌdday/ "(the)know(ing of)"

{ğʌn} "for," {ʔuns?ʌd} "know" - {gay} nominal old information

6.3.1.3 C_3

/gi gwa dʌn sdaɬʌ/ "Do you want to know (it)?"

{gi} "to," {gwa} interrogative, {dʌn} "second person singular (neutral)," {sdaɬʌ} "want"

The predicate {sdaɬʌ} applies to the nominalized form of {ʔuns?ʌd}, which in turn applies to a nominalized form of the clause ǩaw gi ʈalʌŋ hʌlx̌aga as it modifies {ƛʌgu}. The first discourse unit may then be represented more or less as

C_1[C_2[C_3[the way we get {ǩaw}]$_{C_3}$ the knowing of]$_{C_2}$ do you want?]$_{C_1}$

6.3.2 Second Discourse Unit

The second discourse unit consists of two sentential units, each of which contains a single clause unit.

6.3.2.1 S_1

/ƛu gu ğaw gi ʈalʌŋ hʌlx̌aŋ lʌnagay x̌idgu ʔa/

"We go out to get it on boats in front of the village."

{ƛu} "boat," {gu} "there," {ğa} "at, in," {hʌw} foreground, {gi} "to," {ʈalʌŋ} "first person plural (active)," {hʌlx̌a} "gather, collect"-{gʌŋ} neutral old information anaphora, {lʌna} "village," {x̌id} "below," {gu} "there," {ʔa} modal particle

6.3.2.2 S_2

/ʔqada gwayay ʔuɬǧa gi ʔtalʌŋ hʌlǰaŋ/

"We get it around those islands out there."

{ʔqada} "out, distant,"{gway} "island" -{gay} nominal old information, ʔuɬǧa "around," {gi} "to," {ʔtalʌŋ} "first person plural (active)," {hʌlǰa} "collect, gather" - {gʌŋ} neutral old information anaphora

In both S_1 and S_2 the translation object of {gi}...{hʌlǰa} is implicit; it is the {ʔkaw} alluded to in the first discourse unit, which, as old information, permits the use of -{gʌŋ} in the second sentential unit.

6.3.3 Third Discourse Unit

The third discourse unit consists of two sentential units, the first containing two clause units and the second containing three clause units.

6.3.3.1 S_1

/gaŋasi gyu ʔtalʌŋ hʌlǰaŋ/ "We get the thick ones."

6.3.3.1.1 C_1

/gaŋasi/ "(It's) thick..."

{gaŋa} "thick" - {s} dependent structure - {i} old information anaphora

6.3.3.1.2 C_2

/gyu ʔalʌŋ hʌlx̌aŋ/ "We get (it)."

{gi} "to," {hʌw} foreground, {ʔalʌŋ} "first person plural (active)," {hʌlx̌a} "gather, collect" - {gʌŋ} neutral old information anaphora

The most likely analysis of S_1 is that the implicit subject of C_1, referred to by -{i}, is the unstated object of {gi}...{hʌlx̌a} in C_2. The structure of reference in S_1 may be represented as

C_1 [(It(which is))thick]$_{C_1}$ C_2 [we pick]$_{C_2}$

6.3.3.2 S_2

/ʔiɬğidsi ʔalʌŋ taŋğadasi gyan ʔisiŋ ʔalʌŋ ga ʔkağada gyan ʔisiŋ ʔalʌŋ ga qaɬda siŋa ğʌn ʔa/ "And then we salt some and we dry some and we also freeze some for winter."

6.3.3.2.1 C_1

/ʔiɬğidsi ʔalʌŋ taŋğadasi/ "We salt some."

ʔiɬğid "some" (probably analyzable) -{si} pronominalizer, {ʔalʌŋ} "first person plural (active)," {tʌŋ} "salt" + -{ğa} "change of state" + -{da} "causative" -{s} dependent structure -{i} old information anaphora The function of the construction gyan ʔasiŋ in linking these and other clauses is somewhat obscure and will

be discussed more fully below.

6.3.3.2.2 C_2

/ɬalʌŋ ga ɬkağada/ "We dry some... "

{ɬalʌŋ} "first person plural (active)," {ga} "some," {ɬka} "dry" + - {ğa} "change of state" + - {da} "causative"

6.3.3.2.3 C_3

/ɬalʌŋ ga qaɬdaga siŋa ğʌn ʔa/ "We freeze some for the winter."

{ɬalʌŋ} "first person plural (active)," {ga} "some," {qaɬ} "freeze" + -{da} "causative" - {ga} neutral tense/modal suffix, {sʌŋ} "hard, day" - {a} meaning unknown, {ğʌn} "for," {ʔa} modal particle

6.3.4 Fourth Discourse Unit

The fourth discourse unit consists of two sentential units. The first sentential unit contains three clause units and the second contains two clause units.

6.3.4.1 S_1

/ŋalay gwiyu hʌwsi cigʌnsi gaŋağiɬs gyanu gi ɬalʌŋ hʌlx̌agʌŋga/ "They spawn on the kelp when it gets thick on the kelp we pick it."

6.3.4.1.1 C_1

/ŋalay gwiyu hʌwsi cigʌnsi/ "They spawn on the kelp..."

{ŋal} "kelp" - {gay} nominal old information, {gu} "there," {gi} "to," {hʌw} foreground, {hʌw} "proximate" - {si} pronominalizer, {cigʌn} "excrete" -{s} dependent structure - {i} old information anaphora

6.3.4.1.2 C_2

/gaŋağiɬs gyan/ "When it gets thick... "

{gaŋa} "thick" + {ğiɬ} "become" - {s} dependent structure, {gyan} "when"

6.3.4.1.3 C_3

/gi ʔalʌŋ hʌlx̌agʌŋga/ "We pick it."

{gi} "to," {ʔalʌŋ} "first person plural (active)," {hʌlx̌a} "collect, gather" -{gʌŋ} "habitual/periodic" - {ga} neutral tense/modal suffix

6.3.4.2 S_2

/ğal sdiŋ λu gaŋağilay ğidaŋ/ "It takes a couple of days to get thick on the kelp."

6.3.4.2.1 C_1

/gaŋağilay/ "(the)getting thick"

{gaŋa} "thick" + {giɬ} "become" - {gay} nominal old information

This clause unit is a nominalization of gaŋa + ğiɬ and functions as the subject of the second clause unit.

6.3.4.2.2 C_2

/ğal sdiŋ λu... ğidaŋ/ "(It) takes two days."

{ğal} "night," {sdiŋ} "two," {λu} "extent,"

{ğid} "wait for, lack" - {gʌŋ} neutral old information anaphora

6.3.5 Fifth Discourse Unit

The fifth discourse unit consists of three sentential units, the first and third containing two clause units and the second containing a single clause unit.

6.3.5.1 S_1

/λʌway gu ği sda ʔtalʌŋ ʔisdasi gaŋaŋ x̌ʌnnu ʔtalʌŋ qʌwsλʌğwaŋ/ "We take it off the boat and we spread it around."

6.3.5.1.1 C_1

/λʌway gu ği sda ʔisdasi gaŋaŋ x̌ʌn/ "Right when we take it off the boat."

{λu} "boat" - {gay} nominal old information, {gu} "there,"

{ği} "through," {sda} "from," {ʔisda} action predicate -

{s} dependent structure - {i} old information anaphora,

{gaŋaŋ} "like," {x̌ʌn} "emphatic"

6.3.5.1.2 C_2

/ˈtalʌŋ qʌwsλʌğwaŋ/ "We spread it around."

{ˈtalʌŋ} "first person plural (active)," {qʌw} meaning unknown +-{sλʌ} "arrange" - {ğu} "plural" - {gʌŋ} neutral old information anaphora

6.3.5.2 S_2

/ˈtalʌŋ ga tʌŋğadaga/ "We salt some of it."

{ˈtalʌŋ} "first person plural (active)," {ga} "some," {tʌŋ} + -{ğa} "change of state" + -{da} "causative" - {ga} neutral tense/modal suffix

6.3.5.3 S_3

/plæstIk bægz ği ˈtalʌŋ ʔisdas ˈtalʌŋ qaɬdaga/

"We put it in plastic bags and we freeze it."

6.3.5.3.1 C_1

/plæstIk bægz ği ˈtalʌŋ ʔisdas/ "We put it in plastic bags."

/plæstIk bægz/ "plastic bags," {ği} "through," {ˈtalʌŋ} "first person plural (active)," {ʔisda} action predicate - {s} dependent structure

6.3.5.3.2 C_2

/ˈtalʌŋ qaɬdaga/ "We freeze (it)."

{ˈtalʌŋ} "first person plural (active)," {qaɬ}

"freeze" + -{da} "causative" - {ga} neutral tense/modal suffix

It may be noted here that Mrs. Pearson rejected both the substitution of -{gʌŋ} for -{s} in S_3, C_1 and the introduction of gyan ʔasiŋ between C_1 and C_2 of S_3. It appears to be the case that such treatment would have the effect of breaking up a descriptive sequence of two actions conceived as interconnected. Such considerations of the relative interconnectedness of events--which belong to extralinguistic culture--are very likely responsible for the division of discourse such as this text into sentential units and further into dependent or independent clauses.

6.3.6 Sixth Discourse Unit

The sixth discourse unit consists of five sentential units. The first contains three clause units, the second, third and fifth contain two clauses each, and the fourth contains a single clause unit.

6.3.6.1 S_1

/ʔkağaslasi gyanu gud ğa ʔtalʌŋ ʔisdasiyu ʔtalʌŋ ʔkučidʌŋga/ "When it gets dry, we put them together and bundle them up."

6.3.6.1.1 C_1

/ʔkağaslasi gyanu/ "When it gets dry... "

{ʔka} "dry" + -{ğa} "change of state" + -{sλʌ} "permeation" - {s} dependent structure -{i} old information anaphora

6.3.6.1.2 C_2

/gud ğa ʔtalʌŋ ʔisdasiyu/ "We put them together..."

{gud} "reciprocity," {ğa} "at, in," {ʔtalʌŋ} "first person plural (active)," {ʔisda} action predicate - {s} dependent structure - {i} old information anaphora, {hʌw} foreground

6.3.6.1.3 C_3

/ʔtalʌŋ ʔkučiḍʌŋga/ "We bundle them up."

{ʔtalʌŋ} "first person plural (active)," {ʔku}-shape element + -{ʔčiḍ} root of unknown meaning - {gʌŋ} "habitual/periodic" - {ga} neutral tense/modal suffix

6.3.6.2 S_2

/gulu ʔkučiḍey wey kilxigʌŋga/ "The bundles have to be the same size."

6.3.6.2.1 C_1

/gulu... wey kilxigʌŋga/ "(They) have to be the same size."

guλu probably to be analyzed as {gud} "reciprocal," {λu} "extent," but this analysis is not certain;{ʔu} "it, they," {gi} "to," {kilxi} "need" - {gʌŋ} "habitual/periodic" - {ga} neutral tense/modal suffix

6.3.6.2.2 C_2

/ʔǩučidey/ "the bundles"

{ʔǩu}- + {ʔčid} root of unknown meaning - {gay} nominal old information

6.3.6.3 S_3

/ʔq̓ad gi ʔtalʌŋ ʔisis gyanu gina ğa x̌ʌnnu ʔtalʌŋ qadagʌŋga/ "When we go across we barter it for anything."

6.3.6.3.1 C_1

/ʔq̓ad gi ʔtalʌŋ ʔisis gyanu/ "When we go across... "

{ʔq̓ad} "across," {gi} "to," {ʔtalʌŋ} "first person plural (active)," {ʔiǰ} existence predicate - {s} dependent structure, {gyan} "when," {hʌw} foreground

6.3.6.3.2 C_2

/gina ğa x̌ʌnnu ʔtalʌŋ qadagʌŋga/ "We barter it for anything."

{gina} "anything," {ğa} "at, in," {x̌ʌn} emphatic, {hʌw} foreground, {ʔtalʌŋ} "first person plural (active)," {qa} "go" + -{da} "causative" -{gʌŋ} "habitual/periodic" -{ga} neutral tense/modal suffix

6.3.6.4 S_4

/tʌw ğaw ʔalʌŋ qadagʌŋga/ "We barter it for grease"

{tʌw} "grease," {ğa} "at, in," {hʌw} foreground,

{ʔalʌŋ} "first person plural (active)," {qa} "go" +

-{da} "causative" - {gʌŋ} "habitual/periodic" -

{ga} neutral tense/modal suffix

6.3.6.5 S_5

/tawayu huyad quyasi gaŋaŋ x̌ʌnnu ʔkaway ʔasiŋ ğidaŋ/

"The grease is expensive and so is the fish eggs."

6.3.6.5.1 C_1

/tawayu huyad quyasi gaŋaŋ x̌ʌnnu/ "Just like the grease is expensive..."

{tʌw} "grease" - {gay} nominal old information,{hʌw}

foreground, {huyad} "today, now," {quya} "precious" -

{s} dependent structure - {i} old information ana-

phora, {gaŋaŋ} "resemble," {x̌ʌn} emphatic, {hʌw}

foreground (Strictly speaking, it is necessay to

assign this particle to the following clause C_2, since

only one foreground marker per clause is permitted.)

6.3.6.5.2 C_2

/ʔkaway ʔasiŋ ğidaŋ/ "So is the fish eggs."

{ʔkaw} "herring spawn" -{gay} nominal old information,

{ʔasiŋ} "also," {ğid} predicate of condition - {gʌŋ}

neutral old information anaphora

6.3.7 Seventh Discourse Unit

The seventh discourse unit consists of a single one-clause sentential unit.

/sğyu gi ʔasiŋ ʔalʌŋ hʌlx̌agʌŋga/ "We harvest seaweed too."

{sğyu} Porphyra perforata, {gi} "to," {ʔasiŋ} "also," {ʔalʌŋ} "first person plural (active)," {hʌlx̌a} "collect, gather" - {gʌŋ} "habitual/periodic" - {ga} neutral tense/ modal suffix

6.3.8 Eighth Discourse Unit

The eight discourse unit consists of a single sentential unit containing two clause units.

/sğiway gi ʔalʌŋ hʌlx̌as gyanu fayv p wnd peyl ğaw ʔey ƛeɬiyagʌŋga/ "When we pick the seaweed it's five dollars for a five pound pail."

6.3.8.1 C_1

/sğiway gi ʔalʌŋ hʌlx̌as gyanu/ "When we pick the seaweed"

{sğyu} Porphyra perforata - {gay} nominal old information, {gi} "to," {ʔalʌŋ} "first person plural (active)," {hʌlx̌a} "collect, gather" - {s} dependent structure, {gyan} "when," {hʌw} foreground

6.3.8.2 C_2

/fayv pwnd peyl ğaw ʔey ƛeɬiyagʌŋga/ "It's five dollars for a five pound pail"

fayv pawnd peyl "five pound pail," {ğa} "at, in," {hʌw} foreground, {λeɬʌ} "five" +-{ga} middle - {gʌŋ} "habitual/periodic" - {ga} neutral tense/modal suffix

In this clause the phonemic form /λeɬiya/ results from the fact that g ~ y in the suffix -{ga}; under these circumstances ʌ → i. The appearance of the foreground marker both at the end of C_1 and in the middle of C_2 is unexpected and difficult to explain, since following {gyan} in C_1 it represents the whole of C_1 as the foregrounded element in C_2, and therefore should not appear after another element in C_2. It is possible that a speech error is involved.

6.3.9 Ninth Discourse Unit

The ninth discourse unit consists of two sentential units, each containing a single clause unit.

6.3.9.1 S_1

/gay ʔaddu gud gi x̌ʌn t̓alʌŋ gyadax̌ugʌŋga/

"We even sell it to one another."

{gay} "that (stuff)," {ʔad} "with," {gʌd} "reciprocal," {gi} "to," {x̌ʌn} "emphatic," {t̓alʌŋ} "first person plural (active)," {gya}- "intransitive" + {dax̌(u)}"exchange" - {gʌŋ} "habitual/periodic" -{ga} neutral

tense/modal suffix

6.3.9.2 S_2

/gʌm sğyu ʔan t̉alʌŋ qix̌ağʌŋgʌŋga ɬğagilda gu ʔa/ "We don't get the seaweed here in Skidegate."

{gʌm} negative, {sğyu} Porphyra perforata, {ʔan} "here," {t̉alʌŋ} "first person plural (active)," {qix̌a} "find" (historically perhaps associated with {qiŋ} "see" and the distributive particle{x̌a}) - {ğʌŋ} "negative" - {gʌŋ} "habitual/periodic" - {ga} neutral tense/modal suffix, ɬğagilda "Skidegate" (which contains the nominal {ɬğa} "rock"), {gu} "there," {ʔa} modal particle

6.3.10 Tenth Discourse Unit

The tenth discourse unit consists of a single sentential unit containing two clause units.

/mæsʌd sdaw sğyu t̉alʌŋ ʔisdas gyanu q̉ada meynland sda ʔasiŋ sğyu t̉alʌŋ ʔisdagʌŋga/ "When we get the seaweed from Masset we also get some from the mainland too."

6.3.10.1 C_1

/mæsʌd sdaw sğyu t̉alʌŋ ʔisdas gyanu/ "When we get the seaweed from Masset..."

mæsʌd "Masset," {sda} "from," {hʌw} foreground,

{sğyu} Porphyra perforata, {ʔalʌŋ} "first person plural (active)," {ʔisda} action predicate - {s} dependent structure, {gyan} "when," {hʌw} foreground

6.3.10.2 C_2

/ʔqada meylænd sda ʔasiŋ sğyu ʔalʌŋ ʔisdagʌŋga/ "We also get some from the mainland."

ʔqada "distance" (probably {ʔqad} "across, over (the ocean)" + some suffix -{ga} or -{a} of undetermined meaning), meynlænd "mainland," {sda} "from," {ʔasiŋ} "also," {sğyu} Porphyra perforata, {ʔalʌŋ} "first person plural (active)," {ʔisda} action predicate - {gʌŋ} habitual/periodic - {ga} neutral tense/modal suffix

6.3.11 Eleventh Discourse Unit

The eleventh discourse unit consists of a single sentential unit containing two clause units.

/sğyu gi ʔalʌŋ hʌlx̌as gyanu kʌmšəwa ʔInlet ğaw gi ʔalʌŋ hʌlx̌agʌŋga/ "When we went to get seaweed we had to go to Cumshewa Inlet."

6.3.11.1 C_1

/sğyu gi ʔalʌŋ hʌlx̌as gyanu/ "When we went for seaweed..." {sğyu} Porphyra perforata, {gi} "to," {ʔalʌŋ} "first person plural (active)," {hʌlx̌a} "collect, gather" - {s}

dependent structure, {gyan}"when," {hʌw} foreground

6.3.11.2 C_2

/kʌmšəwa ʔinlet ğaw gi ʔalʌŋ hʌlx̌agʌŋgin/

"We went up Cumshewa Inlet."

kumšəwa ʔInlet Cumshewa Inlet, {ğa} "at, in," {hʌw} foreground, {gi} "to," {ʔalʌŋ} "first person plural (active)," {hʌlx̌a}"collect, gather" - {gʌŋ} "habitual/periodic"- {gʌn} "past tense"

It should be noted that in C_2 we find the sequence ga hʌw gi. As has previously been explained, a sequence of postpositions generally forms part of a constituent, and hence will appear to the left of the foreground marker {hʌw}. In C_2, however, {ğa} and {gi} do not form a constituent, as the placement of {hʌw} makes clear. This difference in constituent structure is doubtless connected with the fact that {gi} is idiomatically associated with the predicate {hʌlx̌a} and thus, for example, cannot be permuted to the right of the predicate as ordinary "unattached" postpositions, and the larger constructions to which they belong, may: *ʔalʌŋ hʌlx̌agʌŋgin gi ʔa.

6.3.12 Twelfth Discourse Unit

The twelfth discourse unit consists of three sentential units, the first and third containing a

single clause and the second containing two clause units.

6.3.12.1 S_1

/huyaddu gʌm gaŋaŋ x̌ʌn t̓alʌŋ waǧʌŋga/

"We don't do like that these days."

{huyad} "now, today," {hʌw} foreground, {gʌm} negative, {gaŋaŋ} "resemble," {x̌ʌn} emphatic, {t̓alʌŋ} "first person plural (active)," {wa} "do" - {ǧʌŋ} negative - {ga} neutral tense/ modal suffix

6.3.12.2 S_2

/gæsbʌwt xadala ʔis dyu kʌmšəwa ǧaw gi t̓alʌŋ hʌlx̌aʔingʌŋgin/ "When there were small gasboats we used to go up Cumshewa Inlet."

gæsbʌwt "gasboat," {xa}- shape element + -{dala} "plural," {ʔiǰ} existence predicate, {di} "while," {hʌw} foreground, kʌmšəwa Cumshewa, {ǧa} "at, in," {hʌw} foreground, {gi} "to," {t̓alʌŋ} "first person plural (active)," {hʌlx̌a} "gather, collect" + -{ʔin} "by boat" - {gʌŋ} "habitual/periodic" - {gʌn} "past tense"

Here too it is difficult to understand why {hʌw} follows both {di} and {ǧa}. The distribution of

the foreground marker is certainly one of the more problematic areas of Haida morphosyntax.

6.3.12.3 S_3

/wa gu xʌnnu ʔtalʌŋ kʔağasλʌdagʌŋgin/ "We used to dry it right there."

{wa} "over there," {gu} "there," {xʌn} emphatic, {ʔtalʌŋ} "first person plural (active)," {kʔa} "dry" + -{ğa} "change of state" + -{sλʌ} "permeation" + -{da} "causative" - {gʌŋ} "habitual/periodic" - {gʌn} "past tense"

6.3.13 Thirteenth Discourse Unit

The thirteenth discourse unit consists of two sentential units, the first containing three clause units and the second containing two clause units.

6.3.13.1 S_1

/gyan kʔağasi hu ʔan gi ʔtalʌŋ ʔisdasi gyannu ʔtalʌŋ xigʌŋgin/ "When it's dry we bring it over here and we grind it."

6,3.13.1.1 C_1

/gyan kʔağasi hu/ "When it's dry... "

{gyan} "when," {kʔa} "dry" + -{ğa} "change of state" - {i} old information anaphora, {hʌw} foreground

6.3.13.1.2 C_2

/ʔan gi ʔalʌŋ ʔisdasi gyanu/ "We bring it over here..."

{ʔan} "here," {gi} "to," {ʔalʌŋ} "first person plural (active)," {ʔisda} action predicate - {s} dependent structure - {i} old information anaphora

6.3.13.1.3 C_3

/ʔalʌŋ ǰigʌŋgin/ "We grind it."

{ʔalʌŋ} "first person plural (active)," {ǰi} "grind" -{gʌŋ} "habitual/periodic" - {gʌn} "past tense"

6.3.13.2 S_2

/čanudan ğ ʔalʌŋ ga ʔisdas hu ʔada ʔalʌŋ ɬʌğuɬğaga/ "We put some in the stove and we fix it different."

6.3.13.2.1 C_1

/čanudan ğ ʔalʌŋ ga ʔisdas hu/ "We put some in the stove..."

{čanu} "fire, firewood" +-{dan} "place," {ğ} "through," {ʔalʌŋ} "first person plural (active)," {ga} "some," {ʔisda} action predicate - {s} dependent structure, {hʌw} foreground

6.3.13.2.2 C_2

/ʔada ɬalʌŋ ɬʌǧuɬǧaga/ "We fix it different."

{ʔada} "different," {ɬalʌŋ} "first person plural (active)," {ɬʌ} - "by hand" + {ǧuɬǧa} "accomplish" - {ga} neutral tense/modal suffix

6.3.14 Fourteenth Discourse Unit

The fourteenth discourse unit consists of a single one-clause sentential unit.

/gay ʔad ʔasiŋ ɬalʌŋ gyadaxwaŋ/ "We used to sell that too."

{gay} "that (stuff)," {ʔad} "with," {ʔasiŋ} "also," {ɬalʌŋ} "first person plural (active)," {gya} "intransitive" + {dax(u)} "exchange" - {gʌŋ} neutral old information anaphora

Chapter 7 Haida in Context

It is perhaps worthwhile to conclude this study with some comments on the general structural flavor of the Skidegate dialect with respect to other languages in the Northwest. On the whole, Haida is quite unusual in this areal context, and the linguist with field experience in other parts of the Northwest will very likely be impressed by the lack of affinity to be found between Haida and other languages of the region. Even in the more limited setting of the northern Northwest Coast, some of whose languages have exerted a certain typological pressure on Haida, there is a striking shallowness in the resemblances between the Athapaskan languages, Eyak and Tlingit on the one hand and Skidegate on the other. When one extends the frame of comparison to the more southerly families, the anomalous status of Haida becomes still more strongly marked..

The northern group of languages referred to in the preceding paragraph have invested a large amount of effort in evolving aspectual distinctions

of considerable complexity. In certain instances these distinctions impose synchronically unanalyzable variations on the phonological shape of roots; the Athapaskan languages are well-known for this sort of pattern. In some cases, stem shape variation alone indicates the apectual meaning; in other cases certain prefixes are also present which refer to aspect. Moreover, the aspects are (in standard treatments of Athapaskan languages) divided into two cross-cutting categories, often labelled "aspects" and "modes" respectively. The distribution of prefixes with respect to these categories is highly complex.

In addition to this aspectual treatment, the northern languages categorize shape differences at fundamental levels of the grammar. In Athapaskan, these differences are indicated by extensive suppletion in the predicate stem. In some cases this suppletion is extreme enough to cause one to wonder if totally different lexical items may not be involved (as in the well-known example of "lie" vs. "sit" vs. "stand" in English to indicate maintenance of a stationary position, the predicate being determined by the shape of the object referred to.) In other cases the suppletion is no more radical than that evident in purely aspectual suppletion.

In Tlingit this noun classification system overlaps another central part of the grammar, the so-called classifiers, discussed brilliantly and decisively by Krauss (1969). He demonstrates that this aspect of prefix morphology was common to Athapaskan-Eyak and Tlingit, and that it consisted in three position classes which may be summarized as (d)S(y), where S labels a position class with four members: ϕ, s, š, ɬ. The d component identifies "predicate-centered" forms (Krauss 1969, p. 66) which appear to be used in instances in which the action is not conceived as extending to something beyond the actor-action axis (e.g., reflexives, reciprocals, self-benefactives etc.) or is not conceived as originating with a well-defined agent (as in forms comparable to the French "on..." construction.) The y component cannot be summarized neatly in terms of semantic function; its distribution is largely determined by the aspectual system of Tlingit. The S class member which appears in any given verb is selected on the basis of whether or not certain derivational elements are present in the verb morphology, and also on the basis of shape classification. In Athapaskan languages the choice of the S-class prefix is a function only of the

derivational prefixes associated with the verb root. It should be noted that here, as elsewhere, the choice of derivational prefix has important consequences for verb inflection in Athapaskan.

The facts summarized in the foregoing paragraphs indicate that aspectual inflection, shape categorization and the complex grammar of the "classifiers"--three fundamentally interrelated aspects of Athapaskan-Eyak and Tlingit grammar--are pervasive factors in the organization of these languages. They are, in some sense, much of what the Na-Dene languages (using Na-Dene in a restricted sense, excluding Haida) are about. For the language learner they represent a large part of the major difficulty in gaining fluency and are the factors which make Athapaskan seem, to English speakers, so extraordinarily, even impossibly, intricate and demanding.

Regarded from this perspective, the foregoing chapters should make it evident that Haida's inflectional machinery is comparatively minor. The aspectual system is quite straightforward and not at all elaborate; there is no need whatsoever for the "paradigm" descriptions common in Athapaskan grammatical descriptions. Most of the inflectional system refers to aspect or tense, with other meanings

associated with or superimposed on these in some cases. There are four or five instances in which one finds stem shape suppletion on the basis of number; in all but one of these, it should be noted, the suppletion is extreme and probably indicates that the roots are conceived as totally different lexical items. As I have indicated in this study and elsewhere (Levine 1976) the shape prefixes in Skidegate--in fact the prefixes in general--appear to be almost afterthoughts, and are very probably late elaborations. Tlingit has appparently influenced Haida sufficiently for the latter to have developed some sort of shape distinctions, even if these are, relatively speaking, only superficially tied to the verb. But there is absolutely nothing parallel to the classifier positions in Haida, Pinnow's speculations to the contrary notwithstanding. The frequently noted possible significance of the cluster-initial fricatives s and ɬ in this connection receives no support from any available data. All one can say is that the two front fricatives form a natural phonological class from several points of view--position in the syllable, co-occurence restrictions with respect to semi-vowels, effect on following ʌ--and display no parallelisms whatever with the s and ɬ of the Tlingit classifier system. The latter two are generally phonologically conditioned alternants; in Haida shape prefixes s and

a contrast and in at least one instance distinguish two of the shape elements from each other. There is no evidence at all to suggest they be segmented and given morphological status in a synchronic description, nor any indication that they had morphological status historically. Nor do the other members of the classifier position classes have any analogues in Skidegate; predicate-focussed constructions, as defined in terms of the Na-Dene languages, do not exist in Skidegate except, perhaps, in forms containing the "middle" suffix -{ga}.

It is true that Skidegate has a distinction between active and neutral bases, comparable to that found between active and neuter bases in the Na-Dene languages. But whereas in Haida the distinction is based on the choice of pronominal sets, in the Na-Dene languages this is not always so; the primary criterion in the latter case is the number of aspectual paradigms available to the base. Neuter bases only have a single paradigm available for any given predicate base (though the particular paradigm varies from base to base); active bases have the full range of paradigms available. Apart from this difference in the distinction between active and non-active roots, there seem to be some semantic differences between what Haida regards as neutral and what the other languages regard

as neutral. It is fair to say, however, that in Haida, as in Na-Dene, the difference between neutral and active seems fundamental in the grammar.

If the basic structural concerns of Athapaskan-Eyak and Tlingit appear to have little to do with Haida, for the most part, this is emphatically the case when one considers Wakashan or Salishan in relation to Haida. The differences here transcend matters of specific detail; they concern the essential philosophy of the languages involved, if one may speak in such terms. To take a single instance, that of the value of the noun/verb distinction: in Haida, there is an extremely strict division between these two classes, morphologically as well as syntactically. Probably fewer than ten roots can appear indifferently with nominal or predicative inflection. In Athapaskan there is far more overlap, enough so that Hoijer supposed it reasonably likely that the two classes may at one time have been identical (Sapir and Hoijer 1967, p. 73.) At the same time, there are, synchronically, significant formal differences between nouns and verbs, since the latter appear with derivational material which nouns (save those derived from verbs) lack. In Wakashan, however, the distinction between nouns and verbs is almost non-existent. Note, for example, the following pair of Kwakwala sentences:

/hanaboliɬuχ̌ʷda gəldasiχ̌/ "The box is under the table."

/gəldasuχ̌ʷda hanaboliɬiχ̌/ "It's a box under the table."

In the first sentence, /gəldas/ "box" is the subject of /hanaboliɬ/ "underneath in the house" and receives deictic inflection -iχ̌ in accord with the suffix cluster -uχ̌ʷ-da which indicates that the form immediately following is the subject of the predicate and is proximate to the hearer or, more loosely, to the speech situation. In the second sentence, /gəldas/ is the predicate and /hanaboliɬ/ is the subject of /gəldas/. The inflectional treatment of subject and predicate is identical in the two sentences. Furthermore, /gəldas/ can receive tense inflection and /hanaboliɬ/ possessive inflection. It has been long recognized that in languages like these the noun/verb opposition is blurred to a degree unsurpassed anywhere else in the world. Salishan displays the same weakness in the contrast, although perhaps not to as great an extent. Note however the following typical pair from Thompson:

wíkne he speʔec "I saw the bear."

spéʔec e wíkne "It was a bear I saw."

(Thomson 1976.) The form /he/ in the first sentence is a direct complement marker with underlying shape e (as in

the second example.) The first and second sentences are thus identical except that, as Thompson notes, "'subjects' and 'predicates' simply switch position." There are other examples of the indifferent use of the same form in subject and predicate positions given by Thompson.

Both Salishan and Wakashan show tremendous concern for spatial delineation and deictic reference; particularly in Salishan, deixis represents an impressively elaborate and sophisticated part of the grammar, often subsuming notions comparable to tense in other families. In Northern Wakashan, subsuming Kwakwala, Heiltsuk and Haisla, deixis is less subtle but perhaps more systematic, associated with positions in the speech situation. In both families, spatial identification is a constant theme: many Wakashan roots identify spatial relations, e.g. Kwakwala nəq- "neither one side nor the other," qʷis- "other side," ʔaps- "adjacent side," ʔik̓- "above," etc. There are a number of examples in both Northern and Southern Wakashan languages in which a root cannot be inflected unless a suffix indicating spatial position is attached. Both branches of Wakashan have dozens of suffixes identifying locations, positions in space, types of orientation and so on with varying degrees of abstractness and geographic reference. Salishan languages have a

less elaborate inventory of suffixes, but there are many of these and their use pervades Salishan word-formation.

In Haida most spatial identification is made by the postpositions. Here Haida is much more like the northern languages discussed above than the southern. In Athapaskan-Eyak and Tlingit spatial postpositions supply most information of this sort. In none of the northern languages, including Haida, do spatial distinctions receive so much attention in the grammar of the predicate as they do in Wakashan. Haida does possess a well-defined and quite limited set of spatial suffixes, which appear to be used mostly in conjunction with predicates of motion or posture. Although I do not possess extensive data in this matter, it is my impression that Skidegate speakers quite willingly accept predicate forms which omit these spatial suffixes, at least in some contexts, where one would expect them to be required.

I am aware that in this survey I have been characterizing Haida in terms of negative features. Since the language is a total isolate which has not been profoundly influenced by neighboring tongues such characterization is perhaps inevitable from a typological point of view. But there is another factor involved. The languages of the Northwest tend to differ rather spectacularly from

those of the Indo-European family. It is typical of this situation that, for example, in Salishan languages all roots are intransitive, and transitive constructions are rather "marked," reflecting a grammatical philosophy in which situations have no necessary connection with entities which might be participants in those situations. But in Haida the English speaker finds little of this sort of thing. The breakup of the universe of meaning into pieces in Haida, and the assignment of these pieces to grammatical forms, reveals a patterning not at all unfamiliar to speakers of Indo-European languages. The predicate indicates values of tense, aspect, number and modality; direct objects have no special marker, but indirect objects are separated from other constituents by particles in constructions which are syntactically identical to other types of constructions not involving indirect objects (preposition phrases in English), but rather supplying spatial or temporal information; prefixes are derivational, but suffixes are either derivational or inflectional. The resemblance to English persists in small details: the positional distinction between the future and the other tense forms in Skidegate is quite comparable to the same distinction

in English. The tense system shows other parallels; thus, in both English and Haida the past tense is morphologically more clearly specified than the so-called 'present tense,' which has aspectual meaning as well. Haida predicates--verbs and adjectives--correspond semantically quite closely to Haida predicates; Haida {ʔiǰ} is in several respects similar to the English copula; the precise aspectual distinctions which Haida makes are often quite easily translated by English aspectual morphemes.

This general resemblance in the overall "feel" of Haida--especially English and the Romance languages--is based on details of morphology and conditioned by what is doubtless a somewhat subjective sense of the "genius" of the language based on contact with a good deal of Skidegate data. It is difficult to assess the status of such intuitions, of course. Yet, whether or not they have any value, it is worth noting that English-speaking investigators have never, to my knowledge, expressed such impressions about any other language or family in the Northwest.

INDEX OF AFFIXES AND PARTICLES

The entries in this Index are ordered according to the place of their initial segments in the articulatory schemas of consonants and vowels given in section 2.2.1. Vowels precede consonants. Numbers refer to the page on which the most detailed discussion of the item in question begins.

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