EVIDENTIALS AND OLD INFORMATION IN SKIDEGATE HAIDA

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Evidentials and Old Information in Skidegate Haida

0.0 In his 1911 sketch of Skidegate Haida (SkH) grammar Swanton provides, under the heading "Modal Suffixes", the following statement on the morpheme -i:

-î is a final vowel used very frequently after past and usitative suffixes. In most cases it may be employed or omitted indifferently, but the cases in which there is a choice seem to show that it closes the sentence, and so probably indicates the completion of the idea. (Swanton, 1911, 253)

Both Swanton’s comment that -î is a "final vowel" and the examples he provides under his entry for "-i, in intervocalic position y, perfect time" (Swanton, 1911, 249) indicate that he did not intend to identify the former morpheme as a tense marker—indeed, he provides examples in Section 23 indicating co-occurrence of the two suffixes, for example

(1) gañaxAn 1A sudayagAnî "So he has said"

where the y in the form sudayagAni supposedly represents the intervocalic form of -i and the final î represents the modal suffix to which Swanton was unable to provide any concrete unitary meaning. In practice he confused them in a number of places.²

My contention is that neither of these morphemes is a tense, "temporal" or "modal" suffix in any way. Indeed, it seems clear that the "perfective" y is not a morpheme at all, but is one segment of a surface form of ga, an inflectional suffix indicating second hand information, which I will refer to as the evidential suffix. This suffix normally triggers epenthesis of the mid-vowel a directly before resonants immediately preceding ga. Thus, in the pairs of sentences (1) /1A xwigan/ "he, she was cold", /1A xwayagan/ "he, she was cold (second hand information)" (2) /1A ƙajugan/ "he, she sang", /1A ƙajawagan/ "he, she sang
(second hand information)'(3) /lA GayaGilgan/ "he, she got fat", /lA GayaGyalagan/ "he, she got fat (second hand information)"
the following derivations have applied:

(2) xwi "cold (animate)" -ga → xwaiga
    xwayga → xwaya
    kaju "sing" -ga "he, she got fat (second hand information)"
    kajauka → kajauka
    kajawa → kajawa
    Gila "become"-ga → Gila
    Gialga → Gyalga
    Gyalga → Gyla

However, for most polysyllabic stems with a mid-vowel as final segment the initial segment of the evidential suffix, instead of deleting as specified in rule (5), becomes the surface form y. This process is not specific to the evidential suffix; it also applies in the case of the nominal old information marker -gay when this suffix is used to nominalize predicate stems. An example of the occurrence of /ya/ in the use of the evidential is provided by

(3) /skagi lA gi la gi la qi'ayagan/ "She cut him a piece of dog salmon"

Here the derivation of the surface form is

(4) qi'ayagan -ga → qi'ayaga
    qi'ayaga → qi'ayaga
    qi'ayaga → qi'ayaga
    qi'ayaga → qi'ayaga

This type of process is typical and fails to apply only in the case of midvowel-final monosyllabic stems: /la ga tagan/ "he, she ate", /la ga tagagan/ "he, she ate (second hand information)", where the /ga/ in /tagagan/ is the surface form of the evidential suffix and is isomorphic with its underlying shape. It is interesting to note
that Swanton recognized the evidential category but represented it as marked by a completely separate tense suffix, with the shape -agAn in his transcription. This form differs from the current Skidegate form principally in the presence of the uvular segment. It is this segment which would have made it impossible for Swanton to segment the initial -a as part of a separate evidential morpheme. Either Swanton consistently mistranscribed a velar segment as a uvular, or the uvular has become fronted to a velar segment within the last three generations. Neither Swanton's account of the Masset cognates for -agAn nor Keen's contemporary description of the Masset dialect provide conclusive support for either of these alternatives. In any case, Swanton's examples of the use of -agAn reveal the same process of epenthesis described above, and it is likely that the source of y in Swanton's examples of the perfective is identical to the current source.

I shall suggest in the body of this paper that the problematic morpheme -i is no more a perfective marker than the segment /y/, although in using it speakers may inconsistently supply a perfective translation, as they occasionally do when -i is not present. I believe it can be shown that the unitary function of -i is to signal the presence of old information within grammatically appropriate range of the predicate in which it appears and as such is a significant anaphoric element in SkH discourse.

1.0 I employ the term "old information" in much the same way as Chafe (Chafe, 1970). Old information is information shared by speaker and hearer at a given point in a stretch of discourse. Old information may be explicitly introduced by a participant in the discourse, or it may be part of the universe of discourse. Nominal elements in SkH are marked with the suffix -gay to indicate that they
are old information; as noted above this suffix is also used to produce "nominalized" forms of predicates. New information is never marked in Shd; elements which correspond in translation to forms preceded by "a" or "an", new information markers in English, are uninflected. Thus ąa "dog(s), a dog"-gay becomes ąxagay/ "the dogs". gay only applies to non-human nominal forms. In some cases "the" will appear in the translation even when gay is not used, such as when /qun ļanga/ is translated "the moon is shining" where qun "moon" is not inflected with -gay. As a unique and culturally significant feature of the universe such inflection is not felt to be necessary.

1.1 The function of -i can to a large extent be inferred from sets of sentences such as the following:

(5) /daws įGaľ ădju ăq ľingan/ "I saw a little black cat"
    daws "cat(s), a cat", ľGaľ "black", ľA "small"-ă suffix
    applied to shape classificatory elements to form predicates,
    ľaw clause emphasis particle, ľa "active speaker", ľing "see"-gān "past tense"

(6) */daws įGaľ ădju ăq ľingan/i

(7) /dawįjay ľGaľ ădju ăq ľingan/ "I saw the little black cat"
    (same analysis as (5) except that -gay is suffixed to daws)

(8) /dawįjay ľGaľ ădju ăq ľingan/i "I saw the little black cat"
    (same analysis as (7) except that -i is suffixed to ľing-gān)

(9) /ūy ľa qixagān/ "I found a clam"
    ľyū "clam", ľa "active speaker", qixā "find"-gān "past tense"

(10) */ūy ľa qixagān/i

(11) /kiway ľa qixagān/ "I found the clam" (same analysis as (9)
    except that -gay is suffixed to ľyū)

(12)/kiway ľa qixagān/ "I found the clam" (same analysis as
    (11) except that -i is suffixed to qixā-gān)

(13) /Gūda cīsGwigān/ "A box fell"
    Gūda "box", cīs- shape classifier for large volume/container-
    Gwig "fall"-gān "past tense"

(14) */Gūda cīsGwigān/i
(15) /Guday ʔisGwigAn/ "The box fell" (same analysis as (13) except that -gay is suffixed to Guda)

(16) /Guday ʔisGwigAnni/ "The box fell" (same analysis as (15) except that -i is suffixed to cis-GwigAn)

In each of these sets, -i may or may not be used when old information is marked in the nominal form, but may not be used when the clause does not contain old information. The explicit presence of nominal old information is a key to the function of -i; it seems likely that Swanton, using texts as the basis for his analysis, neglected systematic elicitations to determine the environments in which -i cannot appear. It is clear from my data that -i, like gay, is applicable only to non-human old information. The presence of such information, explicit or implicit, may be noted in all of Swanton's examples. In (17) k'iaiha luai ʔanga LgoigayAgAni "All that time he worked upon his canoe" the nominal old information is provided by the form Luai, Swanton's representation of /'lawy/, the surface form of lu "canoe"-gay.

The implausibility of Swanton's gloss "perfective" for the ya in the predicate is noteworthy: the particle kya' has a strongly durative element of meaning quite incompatible with the idea of a "perfective" time reference.

1.2 A second type of explicit old information is provided by the deictic system. SkH has three degrees of deixis, represented by the roots ?a "proximate", haw "middle distance" and wa "distal". These forms serve as the basis for several different types of particle, though in some instances segmentation has more etymological than synchronic validity. Deictic pronouns are formed by adding -si to ?a and haw to produce /?asi/, /hawsi/; at the present time */wasi/ appears to be forbidden, though judging by Swanton's comments ?a and wa were once the basic elements of the system. In any case, the presence of /?asi/ and /hawsi/ permit the appearance of -i:

(18) /la ?asi qingAnni/ "I saw this"
1.3 The third type of explicit old information consists of the non-human pronoun ?u:

(20) /?u tagagAnni/ "It was eaten" 
?u "non-human", ta "eat"-ga "mediopassive"-gAn "past tense"-i

(21) /?u ?isGwigAnni/ "It fell" 
?u "non-human", ?is shape classifier for inanimate entities-Gwi "fall"-gAn "past tense"-i

1.4 In the above examples the old information referred to represents a participant immediately involved in the situation referred to. However, predicates can also be inflected with -i when they are grammatically proximate to certain locative constructions which contain old information, even though that information does not represent a principal participant in the specified situation. There are two types of such locative constructions.

1.4.1 In the first type an element to which the -gay suffix has been attached is present:

(22) /nagay Gaw Guda cisGwigAnni/ "A box fell in the house"
This has the same analysis as (16) except that the construction /nagay Gaw/ is present: na "house"-gay, Ga spatial particle marking the presence of boundaries, haw clause emphasis particle. Compare (22) with

(23) */na Gaw Guda cisGwigAnni/
and with (14). The behavior of the construction na-gay Ga both with respect to the clause emphasis particle haw and to the possibility of permutation to the right of predicates indicates that it is a constituent. The scope of -i, therefore, includes elements not immediately dominated by the node which immediately
dominates the predicate containing -i.

1.4.2 In the second type of locative construction the particle gu is present. gu is a spatial particle which on the basis of its distribution is evidently the maximally unmarked indicator of location. It refers generally to positions in various planes of space, but does not identify elements of direction or the presence of boundaries. In isolation it provides the translation "there" and thus in some respects mirrors the function of -i as a reference to old information in the discourse:

(24) /gAm qa-xulnay gu ?isGANANNI/ "There wasn't even a bathroom there"
gAm negative particle, qa-xul-na compound which literally translates "go-out house", gu unmarked spatial particle, ?is predicate of existence-GA~ negative inflectional suffix-gAN "past tense"-i (it is possible that the surface form /gu/ here represents gu followed by one of the usual reductions of the clause emphasis particle hAw)

1.5 In addition to explicit old information, -i refers to information implicit in the discourse context or in the non-linguistic conditions in which the reference is made:

(25) /la tagANNI/ "I ate it"
   la "active speaker", ta "eat"-GAN "past tense"-i
Since ta is inherently transitive, its use implies the presence of some other participant, a patient of the action not specifically mentioned. If on the other hand the particle ga precedes ta the predicate appears to be grammatically intransitivized, and there can be no other participant:

(26) */la ga tagANNI/6
The same restriction holds for predicates such as /gyaqid/ "carve (intransitive)" : gya- "intransitivizer"-qid "carve". This non-co-occurrence of gya- and -i would, I suggest, be extraordinarily difficult to motivate on the basis of an aspectual gloss such as "perfective" and would be equally difficult to explain on the grounds that
-i in some sense "indicates the completion of the idea".

Swanton's own examples once more provide illustration of -i's anaphoric function. In

(27) 1' gidatc!aiau 1A gi 1A īsdagāwagAnī "When she brought food, they gave them to her"

there is no pronominal form corresponding to "them"; "them" is implicit as the object of īsda and is referred to in the final -i. Similarly, in

(28) gaganhao 1A wāgAnīnī "That is the reason why I do it" the -i almost certainly refers to that which has been done, although it may refer to the "reason" previously alluded to. (Swanton, 1911,253).

2.0 -i marks old information when the past tense morpheme appears; in the non-past, this distinction is maintained by contrast between ţa, which appears on predicates in non-past independent declarative clauses, and ţAn which has identical semantic range but also requires old information within the same grammatical range as -i. Swanton appears to have completely overlooked this morpheme in his presentation of suffixes, except that under the heading "Temporal Suffixes" he presents the form "-(a)san" infallible future occurrence, similar to English 'you shall'. Boas includes a note to the effect that the future element "is probably -s". In fact the form that Swanton presented is the surface form of the sequence Gas-gAn, where -Gas is the future suffix. Swanton's examples indicate that he was actually writing this sequence of suffixes /?asan/:

(29) Luai dAn āa sildada'asan "I will let you have the canoe"
(30) djagAñ da daogasan "You will go and get your wife"
(31) 1' šgAlgatgaasan "He will conceal you"
(32) gusu L' iL'agidas ta'asan "What will the chiefs eat?"

Since SkH permits no long vowels or vowel clusters, the sequence aa in Swanton's orthography should probably be taken to be a?a. In three of these four examples, then, Swanton has written the "in-
fallible future" as /\?asan/; in (30) he appears to have written it /gasan/. Swanton glosses the /ga/ in this sequence as "auxiliary", his label for the mediopassive, which he lists on p.237 as a stem "to be", but apart from the unlikelihood of this analysis in terms of the semantics of the translation, the use of the active pronoun da, instead of the non-active pronoun which invariably accompanies a predicate containing a mediopassive rules out his gloss absolutely. It seems very likely that Swanton's -gas\~ in (30) is a mistranscription of /Gasan/. That Swanton would confuse the uvular stop /G/ with both /g/ and /?/ is consistent with his misrepresentation of /g/ as a uvular stop in the sequence -ga-g\~ alluded to in 0.0, or his merging of two different classificatory elements, iga and \~i\~a, under the heading iga in his discussion of the shape classifiers: he apparently confused back segments relatively frequently.

2.1 The behavior of g\~n parallels that of -i almost exactly:

(33) /\~i \~id\~n/ "I'm carving (it)"
  \~i "active speaker", \~id "carve"-g\~n

(34) */\~i gya\~id\~n/ (same analysis as (33) except that gya- "in-
transitivizer" is prefixed to the stem)

(35) /\~xagayu ?ijin/ "It's a dog"
  x\~a "dog"-g\~y nominal old information marker, h\~aw clause em-
phasis particle h\~aw, ?is predicate of existence-g\~n

(36) */\~xaw ?ijin/ (same analysis as (35) except that the nominal
old information marker is not suffixed to the stem)

In Skidegate at the present time it appears that g\~n has become somewhat more generalized in its distribution than -i; my Haida co-workers were more tolerant of applying g\~n to non-human old information than they were in the case of -i and in a few instances allowed the appearance of g\~n in contexts in which there was no demonstrable old information present. In subsequent rechecking these forms were rejected, but there is no doubt that g\~n is less ab-
solutely tied to old information anaphora than is -i. It seems...
to me likely that this generalization of gan has been in process for some time. There are indications, based on data from northern dialects, that this process has continued to the point where in Masset the cognate of -gan has assumed the function of marking non-past independent declarative forms, although ga does not appear to be entirely extinct.

3.0 There are two kinds of clause in SkH: dependent and independent. Dependent clauses are either "embedded", that is, function as the translation objects of predicates in higher clauses, or belong to the large class of forms which I label, in the absence of a genuinely suitable English rubric, "subordinate". Embedded clauses which are the translation object of what appear to be factive predicates are marked by a suffix -s₁; subordinate structure is marked by a suffix -s₂. There is insufficient evidence at present to identify these two morphemes. Both replace all tense suffixes; past tense is either inferred from context or, if necessary, indicated by use of the evidential suffix, just as in the case of past interrogative forms. Thus neither morpheme has any tense functions of its own. -i appears following both s₁ and s₂ under the same conditions that apply in the case of independent predicates.

3.1 The following pair of forms is representative of many such sets strictly parallel to those presented in 1.1:

(37) /Agu kaw gi da hAlxas Gan di ?unsida/ "I know how you pick fish eggs" Agu "the way", kaw "herring spawn", gi directional suffix obligatorily associated with hAlxa, da "active hearer", hAlxa "pick, gather, etc." -s₁, Gan particle obligatorily associated with ?unsAd, di "inactive speaker", ?unsAd "know" -ga "non-past tense"

(38) */Agu kaw gi da hAlxasi Gan di ?unsida/ (same analysis as (37) except that -i is suffixed to hAlxa)

Compare these to

(39) /Agu kaway gi da hAlxasi Gan di ?unsida/ (same analysis as (38) except that -gay is suffixed to kaw)
3.2 The following forms exemplify one of the uses of -i in dependent clause structures:

(40) /Gayasi gyu tālāŋ hālxa₂ganga/ "We get the fat ones"
The most plausible interpretation of such forms is that -i here refers to the unstated "subject" of the predicate Gaya "fat, rich" whose subordinate status is marked by -s₂, and that the predicate gl... hālxa "collect, gather" applies to this anaphorically invoked "subject" just as it applies to overt nominal forms in, for example,

(41) /kaway gyu tālāŋ hālxa₂ganga/ "We get herring spawn" kaw "herring spawn"-gay, gi (see (37)), haw clause emphasis particle, tālāŋ "active first person plural", hālxa-ganga "habitual/periodic activity"-ga "non-past tense"
The structure of reference would then appear to be approximately

(42) (it) (which is) fat we get

This use of -i is important; together, subordination and old information anaphora take the place of relativization here and elsewhere. It appears to me most unlikely that the concept "relativization" can be grammatically motivated in SkH except in the vacuous sense that some information in a clause may be subordinate to other information. Discussion of this issue in the detail it deserves is beyond the scope of this paper, but it is worth noting that in a typical phrase like /su GaGudyas/ "a lake that was there" (su "still water", Ga shape classifier for flat objects-Gudi "maintain a stationary position"-s₂ "subordinate structure") there are no relative particles of any kind. No such particles have been discovered so far in SkH.

A similar structure to (42) is found in
(43) /Ganla Ga ?issiyu talaŋ qinga/ "We see it when it's in the water" Ganla "water", Ga spatial particle indicating the presence of boundaries, ?i predicate of existence-s, "subordinate structure"-i, talaŋ "active first person plural", qinga "see"-ga "non-past tense"
The structure of reference can be represented as
(44) water in (it) is we see

-i does not, it should be noted, introduce by its presence new information or function pronominally, but calls attention to information implicit in the construction. Thus in a sentence of the form

(45) /ŋalay ganaGisi gyanu gi talaŋ qaganə/
"When it gets thick on the kelp we pick it"

-i can be omitted without altering the grammaticality of the sentences. That is, in certain types of SkH constructions the inactive participants can be overtly omitted and yet be grammatically understood to be present in the discourse. -i serves as a pointed reminder of what is known, rather than a source of new knowledge.\(^9\)

4.0 The reasons for the existence of -i cannot, it is clear, be determined within the boundaries of the sentence. Only in connected narrative can the interplay of the grammatical options available to the speaker--omission or inclusion of participants in adjacent or non-adjacent stretches of discourse, the use or omission of information anaphora and so on--be understood. It seems to me that native speakers of SkH are often conscious of their motivations in the use of -i. An illustration of this awareness was forcibly presented to me by my principal Hais co-worker in the course of work on a text she had provided. The text begins with a question:

(46) /'lua kaw gi talaŋ həlxagay Gan ?unsiday gi gwa dən sdaŋ/ 
"Do you want to know how we pick fish eggs?"

The rest of the text develops an answer to this question, which can be broken down into three clauses, with approximately the structure

(47) \([1\text{the way of our getting herring spawn}]_1 \text{the knowing}]_2 \text{do you want?} 
After this initial question herring spawn--kaw--is not mentioned explicitly once in the remaining thirteen sentences in the text. On several occasions I enquired of my co-worker the reason for inflecting one or another predicate form with -i; invariably the response was to
direct me back to the question which began the text with a remark like "You're asking about k'aw, aren't you? Isn't that what you're interested in?" or something comparable. The initial question introduces k'aw as a discourse element and makes it classifiable as old information throughout the text, although not all old information anaphora in the text refers to k'aw.

As noted earlier, in certain contexts, particularly in dependent clauses, inactive participants need not be included explicitly; in a smaller range and number of cases the active participant may be omitted. This strong tendency toward something like gapping almost certainly creates situations in which the hearer's attention as well as the speaker's needs to be refocussed on the implicit topics of discourse. I suggest, as a starting point for future research, that -i is the principal means for achieving this discourse objective.
FOOTNOTES

1. The data upon which this paper is based is part of a corpus collected during 1972-1973 and part of 1975 funded by the National Science Foundation. I wish to express my gratitude to my Haida co-workers for sharing with me both their knowledge of the Skidegate dialect and their friendship over the past three years.

2. Thus, in Swanton's first example of the "perfect time" suffix

(48) ḡitg̓un awa'în gi 1A ḺsḺtc̓ḻa'yən̓ ənsuga
"he had brought a goose to his mother, they say."
The perfective is said to be y, and the following -aŋ is identified as "past inexperienced". Similarly in form (17) -ya is identified as the perfect, appearing to the left of the tense suffix. In Swanton's fourth example of "perfect time"

(49) ga̓naxAn 1A sudayagani "so he has said"
The perfective is said to be -i, which follows -aŋAn, while the y following suda is left unexplained. The same is true in

(50) 1' q̓aq̓�̓q̓Ani "he wandered around"
where the final -i is identified as the "perfect" suffix. Finally there is the form

(51) lnaga'i g̓aḺḻid̓Ḻa'yəgani "There were five towns"
in which both ya and the final i are labelled "perfect".

This confusion and lack of rigor in the assignment of labels to forms typifies the weakest aspect of Swanton's work. His organization of the grammatical statement is based almost exclusively on identifying broad semantic classes of affixes with virtually no regard for their arrangement in position classes. This procedure carries to an extreme degree the method implicit in Boas' summary of the Handbook sketches:

"... the method of treatment throughout has been an analytical one. No attempt has been made to compare the forms of the Indian grammars with the grammars of English, Latin or even among themselves; but in each case the psychological groupings which are given depend entirely upon the inner form of each language." (Boas, 1911, p.81)
Swanton's description purely in terms of "psychological" groupings and his consequent neglect of distributional problems led him in this and other instances to ad hoc and inconsistent morphological solutions; see footnote 7.

3. The following ordered rules apply to the morpheme sequences which are the input for the derivations presented:

(1) \( \text{i} \rightarrow \text{l/ga} \)

(2) \( \emptyset \rightarrow a/\_\text{sonorant ga} \)

(3) \( \wedge \rightarrow a/\_a\)

(4) \( [+\text{voc}] \rightarrow [-\alpha \text{syllabic}] /\_\alpha \text{syllabic}] \)

(5) \( g \rightarrow \emptyset/C\)

After \( g \rightarrow y \) as in derivation (4),

(6) \( aa \rightarrow a \)

4. One encounters forms like /ja?aday/ "the (group of) women" which have the structure /ja?ad "women"-gay nominal old information marker. This construction is confined to aggregates; forms such as */nan ja?aday/ are ungrammatical. The fact that both -gay and -i apply only to non-human old information, and that a form ga suffixed with i would have the surface shape /gay/, provides a basis for speculation on the connection between old information inflection in nominal and predicate forms.

5. This form can be distinguished from a form which means, in effect, "to shop around for" only by a pitch difference:

[\text{q}i\text{ça}] (low pitch-low pitch) "shop around for"

[\text{q}i\text{ça}] (high pitch-low pitch) "find"

This marginal use of pitch to distinguish a single set of lexical forms does not seem to me to permit description of SkH as a "tone language", although it raises issues in SkH phonology which are at present unresolvable.
6. Although /ga ta/ is grammatically parallel to, e.g., /ga kaGas\lambda ga/ "dry (some)" in that /ga/ represents a separate particle (thus /ga la ta/ "eat!") it seems to be a somewhat idiomatric construction in two respects. In the first place, as noted above, old information anaphora cannot be applied to ta when ga precedes the latter, although in all other appearances of ga it can be marked if grammatical/discourse conditions otherwise permit. Second, the translation "it" or "some" never appears when ga is preposed to ta, although some such pronominal form appears in translation in other appearances of ga before a predicate.

7. Swanton glosses the predicate in this sentence as "wa stem TO DO; -g\tilde{\alpha}n continuative; -g\tilde{\iota}n = g\tilde{\iota}n usitative; -i perfect." It is not possible to pass judgment absolutely on this analysis, since in the interval between Swanton's work and my own the suffixes may have shifted in meaning. However, Swanton's own examples cast doubt on his analysis of g\tilde{\alpha}n (g\tilde{\alpha}n) as "continuative" and suggest a simpler analysis of gin. In Swanton's entry under g\tilde{\alpha}n he describes it as "the common continuative or perhaps habitual suffix" (p.250). In all my data, this suffix appears to have a periodic or habitual meaning; it denotes not the continuation of something but its recurrence. One wonders then why speakers of SkH felt the need to use an additional suffix, the so-called usitative, to signal the same meaning, for according to Swanton's gloss the suffix gin denotes "events that occur or occurred habitually...." It will be noted, however, that in all of Swanton's examples for the Skidegate dialect -gin never occurs except following the "continuative" suffix, and is never used except to indicate past events. The evidence thus suggests that -gin is nothing more than the form the past tense suffix -g\tilde{\alpha}n takes after -g\tilde{\alpha}n, the habitual/periodic suffix (not, of course, to be confused with the non-past old information
anaphora marker. The two suffixes have the same surface form in some contexts but are subject to different phonological rules in several cases.)

8. The lack of tense reference in the use of \(-s\) may account for Swanton's observation that "-s or -si is properly used in forming infinitives and participles, but by some speakers it has come to be employed as the equivalent of the past temporal suffix" (254)

9. An example of a case in which the active participant is omitted is provided by

\( (54) /di g\text{i}n\text{i}st\text{i}x\text{a}g\text{a}n\text{g}\text{a}n\text{ni}/ \) "It made me mad"
\( /d\text{i}/ "inactive speaker", /gi/ "causative"-st\text{ı} "sick, bad"-\)
\( /x\text{a}g\text{a}n\text{ı}/ meaning unknown, possibly analyzable-g\text{a}n "past tense"-\)
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