EVIDENTIALS AND OLD INFORMATION IN SKIDEGATE HAIDA

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Evidentials and Old Information
in Skidegate Haida[1]

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

> -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 xwigʌn/ "he, she was cold", /1A xwayagʌn/ "he, she was cold (second hand information" (2) /1A k̓ajugʌn/ "he, she sang", /1A k̓ajawagʌn/ "he, she sang

(second hand information)" (3) /lʌ GayaGilgʌn/ "he, she got fat",
/lʌ GayaGyalagʌn/ "he, she got fat (second hand information)"
the following derivations have applied[3]:

(2)   x̱wi "cold (animate)" -ga   → xwaiga
        xwaiga   → xwayga
        xwayga   → xwaya

        k̓aǰu "sing" -ga   → k̓aǰauga
        k̓aǰauga   → k̓aǰawga
        k̓aǰawga   → k̓aǰawa

        Giɬ "become"-ga   → Gilga
        Gilga   → Gialga
        Gialga   → Gyalga
        Gyalga   → Gyala

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) /sk̓agi lʌ gi la gi la q̓iⱡayagʌn/ "She cut him a piece of
                                                    dog salmon"

        sk̓agi "dog salmon", lʌ "non-active third person", gi spatial
        particle indicating "direction toward", la "active third
        person", q̓iⱡʌ "cut"-ga "evidential"-gʌn "past"

Here the derivation of the surface form is

    (4) q̓iⱡʌ -ga   → q̓iⱡaʌga
        q̓iⱡaʌga   → q̓iⱡaaga
        q̓iⱡaaga   → q̓iⱡaaya
        q̓iⱡaaya   → q̓iⱡaya

This type of process is typical and fails to apply only in the
case of midvowel-final monosyllabic stems: /la ga tagʌn/ "he, she
ate", /la ga tagagʌn/ "he, she ate (second hand information)", where
the /ga/ in /tagagʌn/ 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 cur-
rent Skidegate form principally in the presence of the uvular seg-
ment. It is this segment which would have made it impossible for
Swanton to segment the initial -a as part of a separate eviden-
tial 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/, al-
though in using it speakers may inconsistently supply a perfective
translation, as they occasionally do when -i is not present. I be-
lieve 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 sig-
nificant 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 SkH; elements which correspond in translation to forms preceded by "a" or "an", new information markers in English, are uninflected. Thus xa "dog(s), a dog"-gay becomes /xagay/ "the dogs". gay only applies to non-human nominal forms.[4] In some cases "the" will appear in the translation even when gay is not used, such as when /qun ʎanga/ is translated "the moon is shining" where quŋ "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) /dʌws ɬGaɬ kʌdǰu ʔu ɬ qiŋgʌn/ "I saw a little black cat"

dʌws "cat(s), a cat", ɬGaɬ "black", kʌ "small"-ǰu suffix applied to shape classificatory elements to form predicates, hʌw clause emphasis particle, ɬa "active speaker", qiŋ "see"-gʌn "past tense"

(6) */dʌws ɬGaɬ kʌdǰu ʔu ɬa qiŋgʌnni/

(7) /dʌwǰay ɬGaɬ kʌdǰu ʔu ɬa qiŋgʌn/ "I saw the little black cat" (same analysis as (5) except that -gay is suffixed to d ws)

(8) /dʌwǰay ɬGaɬ kʌdǰu ʔu ɬa qiŋgʌnni/ "I saw the little black cat" (same analysis as (7) except that -i is suffixed to qiŋ-gʌn)

(9) /kyu ɬa qixagʌn/ "I found a clam"
kyu "clam", ɬa "active speaker", qixa "find"[5]-gʌn "past tense"

(10) */kyu ɬa qixagʌnni/

(11) /kiway ɬa qixagʌn/ "I found the clam" (same analysis as (9) except that -gay is suffixed to kyu)

(12) /kiway ɬa qixagʌnni/ "I found the clam" (same analysis as (11) except that -i is suffixed to qixa-gʌn)

(13) /Guda čisGwigʌn/ "A box fell"
Guda "box", čis- shape classifier for large volume/container-Gwi "fall"-gʌn "past tense"

(14) */Guda čisGwigʌnni/

(15) /Guday ċisGwigʌn/ "The box fell" (same analysis as (13) except that -gay is suffixed to Guda)

(16) /Guday ċisGwigʌnni/ "The box fell" (same analysis as (15) except that -i is suffixed to ċis-Gwi-gʌn)

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!iałhao Luai an̄ga lA LgołgayagAni "All that time he worked upon his canoe"

the nominal old information is provided by the form Luai, Swanton's representation of /ʎʌway/, the surface form of ʎu "canoe"-gay. The implausibility of Swanton's gloss "perfective" for the ya in the predicate is noteworthy: the particle k̇yał 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 ʔa "proximate", hʌw "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 ʔa and hʌw to produce /ʔasi/, /hʌwsi/; at the present time */wasi/ appears to be forbidden, though judging by Swanton's comments ʔa and wa were once the basic elements of the system. In any case, the presence of /ʔasi/ and /hʌwsi/ permit the appearance of -i:

(18) /ła ʔasi qiŋgʌnni/ "I saw this"

ła "active speaker", ʔa "proximate"-si pronominalizer,
qin "see"-gʌn "past tense"-i

(19) /hʌwsiyu ŧalʌn tagʌnni/ "That's what we ate"
hʌw "middle distance"-si pronominalizer, hʌw clause
emphasis particle, ŧalʌŋ "active first person plural",
ta "eat"-gʌn "past tense"-i

1.3 The third type of explicit old information consists of the
non-human pronoun ʔu:

(20) /ʔu tagagʌnni/ "It was eaten"
ʔu "non-human", ta "eat"-ga "mediopassive"-gʌn "past tense"-i
(21) /ʔu ʔisGwigʌnni/ "It fell"
ʔu "non-human", ʔis shape classifier for inanimate entities-
Gwi "fall"-gʌn "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 gram-
matically proximate to certain locative constructions which con-
tain old information, even though that information does not rep-
resent 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 ćisGwigʌnni/ "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, hʌw clause emphasis particle. Compare
(22) with

(23) */na Gaw Guda ćisGwigʌnni/
and with (14). The behavior of the construction na-gay Ga both
with respect to the clause emphasis particle hʌw and to the pos-
sibility 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 lo-
cation. 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) /gʌm qaxulnay gu ʔisGʌŋgʌnni/ "There wasn't even a bathroom there"
> gʌm negative particle, qa-xul-na compound which literally
> translates "go-out house", gu unmarked spatial particle,
> ʔis predicate of existence-Gʌŋ negative inflectional suffix-
> gʌn "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 hʌw)

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

> (25) /ɫa tagʌnni/ "I ate it"
> ɫa "active speaker", ta "eat"-gʌn "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) */ɫa ga tagʌnni/[6]

The same restriction holds for predicates such as /gyaqid/ "carve (in-
transitive)":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' gĭdatc!iai ļu 1A gî 1A îsdagāwagAnî "When she brought food,
                                    they gave them to her"

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

  (28) gaganhao ɫA wāgAñginî "That is the reason why I do it"[7]

the -i almost certainly refers to that which has been done, al-
though 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
ga, which appears on predicates in non-past independent declarative
clauses, and gʌŋ 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)sañ 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-gʌŋ, where
-Gas is the future suffix. Swanton's examples indicate that he was
actually writing this sequence of suffixes /ʔasaŋ/:

  (29) Luai dAñ ɫa sildada'asañ "I will let you have the canoe"
  (30) djagAñ da daogasañ "You will go and get your wife"
  (31) 1' sgAlgatgaasañ "He will conceal you"
  (32) gusu L!'i'L!agidas ta'asañ "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 aʔa. In
threee of these four examples, then, Swanton has written the "in-

fallible future" as /ʔasaŋ/; in (30) he appears to have written it
/gasaŋ/. 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 -gasañ in (30) is a mistranscrip-
tion of /Gasaŋ/. That Swanton would confuse the uvular stop /G/
with both /g/ and /ʔ/ is consistent with his misrepresentation of
/g/ as a uvular stop in the sequence -ga-gʌn alluded to in 0.0,
or his merging of two different classificatory elements, ɬga and
ɬq̓a, under the heading ɬga in his discussion of the shape classifiers:
he apparently confused back segments relatively frequently.

2.1 The behavior of gʌŋ parallels that of -i almost exactly:

(33) /ɬʌ q̓idʌŋ/ "I'm carving (it)"
ɬa "active speaker", q̓id "carve"-gʌŋ

(34) */ɬʌ gyaq̓idʌŋ/ (same analysis as (33) except that gya- "in-
transitivizer" is prefixed to the stem)

(35) /xagayu ʔiǰiŋ/ "It's a dog"
xa "dog"-gay nominal old information marker, hʌw clause em-
phasis particle hʌw, ʔis predicate of existence-gʌŋ

(36) */xaw ʔiǰiŋ/ (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 -gʌŋ has become
somewhat more generalized in its distribution than -i; my Haida
co-workers were more tolerant of applying -gʌŋ to non-human old
information than they were in the case of -i and in a few instances
allowed the appearance of -gʌŋ in contexts in which there was no
demonstrable old information present. In subsequent rechecking these
forms were rejected, but there is no doubt that -gʌŋ is less ab-
solutely tied to old information anaphora than is -i. It seems

to me likely that this generalization of g∧ŋ 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 Mas-
set the cognate of -g∧ŋ 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 pred-
icates are marked by a suffix -s_1; subordinate structure is marked
by a suffix -s_2. There is insufficient evidence at present to identi-
fy 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.[8]
Thus neither morpheme has any tense functions of its own. -i appears
following both s_1 and -s_2 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) /ʎ∧gu ḱaw gi da h∧lxas Gan di ʔunsida/ "I know how you pick fish eggs"
        ʎ∧gu "the way", ḱaw "herring spawn", gi directional suffix
        obligatorily associated with h∧lxa, da "active hearer",
        h∧lxa "pick, gather, etc."-s_1, Gan particle obligatorily
        associated with ʔuns∧d, di "inactive speaker", ʔuns∧d "know"-
        ga "non-past tense"

    (38) */ʎ∧gu ḱaw gi da h∧lxasi Gan di ʔunsida/ (same analysis as
        (37) except that -i is suffixed to h∧lxa)

Compare these to

    (39) /ʎ∧gu ḱaway gi da h∧lxasi Gan di ʔunsida/ (same analysis as
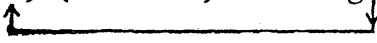   (38) except that -gay is suffixed to ḱaw)

3.2 The following forms exemplify one of the uses of -i in dependent clause structures:

(40) /Gayasi gyu ƚalʌŋ hʌlx̣agʌŋga/ "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 -s_2, and that the predicate gi... hʌlx̣a "collect, gather" applies to this anaphorically in-voked "subject" just as it applies to overt nominal forms in, for exanple,

(41) /k̓away gyu ƚalʌŋ hʌlx̣agʌŋga/ "We get herring spawn"
kaw "herring spawn"-gay, gi (see (37)), hʌw clause emphasis particle, ƚalʌŋ "active first person plural", hʌlx̣a-gʌŋ "hab-itual/periodic activity"-ga "non-past tense"

The structure of reference would then appear to be approximately

(42) (it) (which is) fat we get
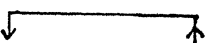
This use of -i is important; together, subordination and old in-formation anaphora take the place of relativization here and else-where. It appears to me most unlikely that the concept "relativiz-ation" can be grammatically motivated in SkH except in the vacuous sense that some information in a clause 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"-s_2 "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) /Gʌnλʌ Ga ʔissiyu ƚalʌŋ qinga/ "We see it when it's in the water"
Gʌnλʌ "water", Ga spatial particle indicating the presence of boundaries, ʔis predicate of existence-s_2 "subordinate structure"-i, ƚalʌŋ "active first person plural", qiŋ "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 in-
formation implicit in the construction. Thus in a sentence of the form

(45) /ŋalay gaŋaGiɬsi gyanu gi ɬalʌŋ qagʌŋga/
    "When it gets thick on the kelp we pick it"

-i can be omitted without altering the gammaticality of the sen-
tences. 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 pre-
sented to me by my principal Haids co-worker in the course of work
on a text she had provided. The text begins with a question:

(46) /ƛʌgu k̓aw gi ɬalʌŋ hʌlx̌agay Gan ʔunsiday gi gwa dʌn sdaɬʌ/
    "Do you want to know how we pick fish eggs?"

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

(47) [$_2$[$_1$[the way of our getting herring spawn]$_1$the knowing]$_2$ do you want?
After this initial question herring spawn--k̓aw--is not mentioned ex-
plicitly 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 k̓aw, aren't you? Isn't that what you're interested in?" or something comparable. The initial question introduces k̓aw 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) ɬgitgun awa'ñ gi 1A ḶsLtc!a'yañ wansuga
      "he had brought a goose to his mother, they say."

the perfective is said to be y, and the following -añ 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) gañaxAn 1A sudayagAni "so he has said"

the perfective is said to be -i, which follows -agAn, while the y following suda is left unexplained. The same is true in

   (50) 1' qagoñgAni "he wandered around"

where the final -i is identified as the "perfect" suffix. Finally there is the form

   (51) lnaga'i gaLaiɫdAya'gani "There were five towns"

in which both yá 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) $ł \rightarrow l/$___ga

(2) $\emptyset \rightarrow a/$___sonorant ga

(3) $\wedge \rightarrow a/$__a__

(4) $[+voc] \rightarrow [-\alpha \ syllabic]/$___$[\alpha \ syllabic]$

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

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

(6) $aa \rightarrow a$

4. One encounters forms like /ǰaʔaday/ "the (group of) women" which have the structure ǰaʔad "women"-gay nominal old information marker. This construction is confined to aggregates; forms such as */nan ǰaʔaday/ 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:
    [qîxa] (low pitch-low pitch) "shop around for"
    [qíxa] (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 k̓aGasλʌga/
"dry (some)" in that /ga/ represents a separate particle (thus
/ga ła ta/ "eat!") it seems to be a somewhat idiomatic 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 pronom-
inal 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; -gÃn continuative; -gīn = gîn 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 gÃn (gʌŋ) as "continuative" and suggest a simpler
analysis of gin. In Swanton's entry under gÃn 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 re-
currence. 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 -gʌn takes after -gʌŋ, 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 $-\underline{s}_1$ 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 giństixagʌŋgʌnni/ "It made me mad"
        di "inactive speaker", giŋ "causative"-sti "sick, bad"-
        xagʌŋ meaning unknown, possibly analyzable-gʌn "past tense"-
        i

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