NP Number Marking in the VP in Haida:

Hydaburg Dialect

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Introduction

In a paper presented at this conference last year (Eastman, Welsch, and Vaughan, 1975), we observed that in the verbal "word" in Haida "...for all tenses and aspects, the third person plural is inflectionally marked." (p.115) For Masset Haida, Harrison observed, "The noun has two numbers, the singular and plural. The singular and plural forms are not always distinct and must be determined always by the verb." (1895:130)

This paper will focus on number as marked in the VP in the Hydaburg, Alaska dialect of Haida (HBGH). Essentially, this analysis will show,

1) that where the VP contains a V (i.e. root/stem + tense/aspect) and the NP a PRO [+pl], the V (root/stem) obligatorily takes the suffix /?u/.

2) when a VP contains a V and the NP an N, number is not obligatorily marked.

3) optionally, in such sentences, an NP containing an N may occur with a coreferential PRO [+3rd]. In this case, the /?u/ verbal suffix again is obligatory.

4) In a sentence where the VP is a complement and the NP is [+3rd], plurality is marked. However in this case number is marked both for the PRO and the complement. With non-third person pronominal subjects, only
the complement is marked for number. The analysis here is restricted to relationships involving number between the NP and the VP. It is also restricted to relatively uncomp1ex sentences.¹

/’u/ as Third Person Plural Pronominal Marker in the Verb

In this dialect of Haida, the third person active personal pronoun both singular and plural is /’u/.² In order to distinguish number, then, a suffix is generally attached to the verb stem denoting plural. Consider the following sentences:

(1) 1 gutawaŋ they are eating
(1a) 1 guta’uɡan they ate
(2) 1 gutaŋ he is eating
(3) 1 kat’waŋ they are sleeping
(4) 1 kadaŋ he is sleeping
(5) 1 iwanwaŋ they are big
(6) 1 iwanɡ he/she is big

Sentences (1),(3) and (5) as compared to (2),(4) and (6) may be seen at first to be marked for plural by suffixing a surface /w/ to the verbal root, i.e.:

\[ \text{guta} + \text{w} \ 'eat' \quad \text{kat'} + \text{w} \ 'sleep' \quad \text{iwan} + \text{w} \ 'be big' \]

A surface morphological breakdown of (1),(3) and (5) demonstrates this:

(1) 1 gutawanŋ 1(PRO) + guta (eat) + w (pl.) + ɡaŋ (pres.) they are eating
(3) 1 kat’waŋ 1(PRO) + kat(sleep) + w (pl.) + ɡaŋ (pres.) they are sleeping
(5) 1 iwanwaŋ 1(PRO) + iwan (big) + w (pl.) + ɡaŋ (pres.) they are big

Alternatively, the same data could be analyzed such that the third person singular PRO is /ɡa/, the third plural /wa/ and the present tense morpheme is /ɡ/. Note that in (4) kat + ɡaŋ → kadaŋ.⁴
The analysis of /wa/ as the mark of plural number in the verb breaks down in light of (1a), (7) as compared to (7a) versus (8), i.e.:

(1a) 1 guta'ugan 1 (PRO) + guta (eat) + 'u (pl.) + gan (past) they ate

(7) 1 skadangi'ugan 1 (PRO) + skadaj (berry-pick) + gi (perfective) + 'u (pl.) + gan (past) they have already picked berries

(7a) 1 skadangi'ugan 1 (PRO) + skadaj (berry-pick) + gi (perfective) + w (pl.) < 'u (pl.) + an < ganj (pres.) they are already picking berries

(8) 1 skadangi'ugan 1 (PRO) + skadaj (berry-pick) + gi (perfective) + gan (past) he/she has already picked berries

These examples indicate that it may be '/u/ rather than /w/ or /wa/ which marks third person plural pronominal subjects in the verb.5

Plural marking, then, in (1),(1a),(3),(5),(7), and (7a) may be accounted for by suffixing an underlying '/u/ to the verb stem. Thus,

\[ \text{guta} + 'u \quad \text{guta} = \text{simple stem 'eat'} \quad (1) \text{ and (1a)} \]

\[ \text{kat} + 'u \quad \text{kat} = \text{simple stem 'sleep'} \quad (3) \]

\[ \text{iwan} + 'u \quad \text{iwan} = \text{simple stem 'big'} \quad \text{(see section below on plurality in sentential complements)} \quad (5) \]

\[ \text{skadaj} + gi + 'u \quad \text{skadangi} = \text{derived stem 'berry pick + perfective'} \quad (7) \text{and (7a)} \]

Note that in (3) the glottal stop occurs phonetically on the surface. This is analyzed here as an indicator of the morpheme boundary between the root and the plural marker and also as evidence that the plural marker is underlying '/u/ rather than /w/. See also Welsch (1976, this volume) regarding the co-occurrence of /t/ with '// before round vowels and footnote 4 (this paper).

Sentences (7) and (7a) argue against analyzing /gan/ as a singular marker of third person subjects in the verb since /gan/ does not occur in a derived stem. Thus, we assert here that **only** the plural third person pronoun is inflectionally marked and preserve our analysis of /gan/ as the present tense.
and /gən/ as the past (Eastman, et al. 1975). Swanton (1911:240 discusses a suffix -go (Masset - 'o ) Plurality saying,
"Originally this probably marked distributive plurality. It always follows la, the personal pronoun of the third person singular."

This -go (-'o ) appears to be the /'u/ discussed here which co-occurs with the third person pronoun marking it as plural. To account for the occurrence of /'u/, however, we are required to posit in a somewhat ad hoc fashion the following for present tense forms:

1. a + 'u + gən → 'waν
2. [+cons] + 'u + gən → 'waν
3. n + 'u + gən → 'waν

A suggestion of the phonological processes at work with third person plural marking in the present tense follows:

Rule (1) Vowel Strengthening

\[ V \rightarrow V / X + gG +[tɛns] \]

[-tɛns] [+tɛns]

Rule (2) G Deletion

\[ C \rightarrow \emptyset / X + V \]

[-tɛns] [+tɛns] [+low]

[+hil] [+back]

[a]

Rule (3) Glottal Stop Deletion (optional)

\[ C \rightarrow \emptyset / X + V \]

[-tɛns] [+cons] [+anterior]

[-low] [+nasal]

[-back]

[t, d]

Rule (4) Glide Formation

\[ \emptyset \rightarrow G / V \rightarrow V \]

[a rd] [a rd]

[+hi] [+hi]

[+back] [+back]

[-low] [-low]
Rule (5) Glide Strengthening (optional)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Vowel} & \quad \rightarrow \quad \emptyset / \\
\text{Glide} & \quad \rightarrow \quad \emptyset \\
\text{Back} & \quad \rightarrow \quad \emptyset
\end{align*}
\]

Sample Derivations

(1) \( \text{gutaw}_a \) they are eating

UF \( \text{guta} + 'u + \text{gag} \) Vowel Strengthening Rule (1)
\( \text{guta} + 'u + \text{gag} \) G Deletion Rule (2)
\( \text{guta} + u + \text{ag} \) Glottal Stop Deletion Rule (3)
\( \text{guta} + \text{uw} + \text{ag} \) Glide Formation Rule (4)
\( \text{guta} + w + \text{ag} \) Glide Strengthening Rule (5)

(3) \( \text{kat} \text{'wan}_a \) they are sleeping

UF \( \text{kat} + 'u + \text{gag} \) Vowel Strengthening Rule (1)
\( \text{kat} + 'u + \text{gag} \) G Deletion Rule (2)
\( \text{kat} + 'u + \text{ag} \) Glide Formation Rule (4)
\( \text{kat} + w + \text{ag} \) Glide Strengthening Rule (5)

(5) \( \text{iwan}_a \) they are big

UF \( \text{iwan} + 'u + \text{gag} \) Vowel Strengthening Rule (1)
\( \text{iwan} + 'u + \text{gag} \) G Deletion Rule (2)
\( \text{iwan} + u + \text{ag} \) Glottal Stop Deletion Rule (3)
\( \text{iwan} + \text{uw} + \text{ag} \) Glide Formation Rule (4)
\( \text{iwan} + w + \text{ag} \) Glide Strengthening Rule (5)

(7a) \( \text{skadangi} \text{'wan}_a \) they are already picking berries

UF \( \text{skadangi} + 'u + \text{gag} \) Vowel Strengthening Rule (1)
\( \text{skadangi} + 'u + \text{gag} \) G Deletion Rule (2)
\( \text{skadangi} + u + \text{ag} \) Glottal Stop Deletion Rule (3)
\( \text{skadangi} + \text{uw} + \text{ag} \) Glide Formation Rule (4)
\( \text{skadangi} + w + \text{ag} \) Glide Strengthening Rule (5)

Sentences (25) and (27) which will be discussed again in another section below involve a more complex derivation than the sentences presented so far, e.g.

(27) \( \text{gudai migwi gii'wan}_a \) \( \text{gudai migwi gii'wan}_a \) \( \text{boxes are floating across the bay} \)
Both variants of (27) undergo Glide Formation, i.e. Rule (4). The sentence is acceptable with or without Glide Strengthening (Rule (5)). Sentence (25) involves additional rules affecting the verb root prior to suffixation, i.e.,

(25) **kwa'1 (h)ilawag**  The rocks are all gone

Sentence (25) has also been recorded in our data as **kwa'1 hilawag**, i.e., showing variation much as (27) discussed above does with respect to the optionality of Glide Strengthening. Sentence (25) illustrates that there are additional rules in the grammar which affect a verb root or stem prior to suffixation. For the rules themselves as they are involved elsewhere in the language see Welsch (1976 this volume) "Features and Processes in Hydaburg Haida".

In the past tense, sentence (la) **l guta'ugan 'they ate'** also has a variant form as **l gutawugan**. Consider also sentence (lb):

(lb) **cin 1 tawugan**  
**cin 1 tawugan**  they ate fish.

Generally, with the past tense, the phonological rules do not apply although there is free variation in the examples with respect to the optional rule of Glide Formation. In the future, plurality is also marked when third plural pronouns occur with no change in the particle '/u/', e.g.,

(lc) **cin 1 ta'usan**  they will eat fish.

With the compound proximate future, which may be formed from the present
plus the distant future, the rules may be seen to apply. Compare
sentence (25a) in the simple future with (26a) in the compound proximate
future.

(25a) kwa'i hilusan The rock will be gone
(26a) kwa'i hila\waja'sa'an hilu + 'u + ga\j + sa'an The rocks will be gone

See below, as well, where these sentences will be discussed as examples
of NP marking in the verb when the NP as subject is inanimate.

Third Person Nominal Subjects

When a third person subject is not a personal (animate) pronoun,
a different situation obtains. In sentences (9) through (12), there
appear to be differences which correlate with differences in the number of
the subject. 6

(9) kidai k'aga\j kit + gai k'a + ga\j the tree is falling over
(10) kidai k'afa\j the trees are falling
(11) kidai k'aga\j the tree has already fallen
(12) kidai k'afa\j the trees have already fallen

This apparent difference in NP number reflected in the verb is
actually a case of verbal derivation involving suffixation of the morpheme
/\aj/ 'repeated action'. The consequence of suffixing /\aj/ to the verb
root /k'a/ 'fall over' is to pluralize a subject like /kidai/ 'tree(s)' since a single tree cannot repeatedly fall over; i.e., for repeated action
to be interpretable here, the subject must necessarily be plural. The use
of /\aj/ is further illustrated as follows;

(13) di ki'i l k'wi\j\j\j s/he mentioned my name (more than once).
(14) di ki'i l k'wi\j\j\j s/he mentioned my name (once).

versus

(15) di ki'i l k'wi\waj they are mentioning my name (once).
(16) di ki'i l k'wi\waj they are mentioning my name (more than once). 7
When a third person subject is animate (i.e. a human noun), plurality is not marked in the verb. Hydaburg Haida, in contrast to the Skidegate dialect, regularly employs the nominal suffix /gai/ (or /gai/) to pluralize human nouns (see footnote 6) except on nouns for

"..relationship terms which have a special plural suffix" (Welsch, 1975b:84).

Human nouns (including relationship terms) as subjects, then, are overtly marked for the plural, thus there is no plural marking in the verb, e.g.,

(17) nụł $\text{lublEdg}$a ɁdInugə $\langle / \text{idanu/ 'eat'}$
(17a) lublEt ɁdInugə
(18) lublEdgai ɁdInugə
(18a) ᾱ' lublEdgəs ɁdInugə
(19) nụł jadas cinai Ɂiskwungen
(20) jatgai cinai Ɂiskwungen

The use of /nụł/ and the suffix /s/ in the singular forms here particularize the subject much as /gai/ is a particularizer for non-human nouns. As Swanton (1911:249) states, "nAnc 'the' became definite with suffix -s."

/nụł/ closely corresponds to the definite article 'the' in English. Sentences (17a) and (18a) exemplify indefinite forms in the singular and plural respectively.

Also, sentences (21) and (22) refer to indefinite nouns, e.g. a minister and a woman versus the minister and the woman.

(21) lublEdgə ɁdInugə a minister is eating (as opposed to, e.g., a plumber).
(22) jada cinai Ɂiskwungen a woman cleaned the fish (as opposed to, e.g., a man).

Sentences (23) and (24) illustrate the situation with kinship terms:

(23) di k'wailəq ɁdInugə my(our) older brothers are eating.
(24) di k'wai idInugaj my(our)older brother is eating.

Note that 'our' is often used as the English gloss but /di/ is the first person singular possessive PRO, i.e. 'my'.

In addition to the use of suffixes such as /daj/ 'repeated action' to imply plural with inanimate subjects, since non-human nouns are not regularly marked for plural, such subjects (as was seen to be the case with third person pronouns) may take verbs which suffix /'u/ in the plural, e.g.,

(25) kwa'i hilawanaj the rocks are all gone. < kwa'i + (h)ilu + 'u + gaj

(25a) kw'i hilusan the rock will be gone.

(26) kwa'i higuwan the rock was all gone. kwa'i + (h)ilu + gan

(26a) kwa'i hiluwansa'an the rocks will be gone.

(27) gudai ingwi gi'uwaj boxes are floating across the bay.

gudai ingwi gi'wanaj

(28) gudai ingwi gi'ugaj boxes are floating across the bay.

Sentences (27) and (28) are in free variation. Thus, with non-human subjects plural marking in the V is optional, e.g., gi'u = float

\[ gi'u + ('u) + gaj \{ gi'uwa\aj \]

\[ gi'wanaj \]

\[ gi'ugaj \]

You will recall that the rules for deriving (27) were given above.

Since plural marking is not obligatory with non-human subjects, context may be seen to be an important factor in determining number here.

(29) kwa'i gudai a ijin\(8\) the rock is in the box

{ the rocks are in the box

*the rock is in (the)boxes (semantically anomalously)

the rocks are in the boxes

(30) sk'kajwai gugaj the cup is lost

{ the cups are lost
Of course, both human and non-human subjects may be quantified to indicate number as well. With non-human subjects modified by third person plural possessive pronouns, it appears that marking of plurality in the verb is the more usual practice, e.g.,

kigwai la k'alaway. their baskets are empty
kigwai la k'alaway. his/her basket is empty

versus

kigwai k'alaway. the baskets are empty.

As with active pronouns, possessives are not distinguishable for number in the third person, i.e., la 'his, her', la 'their'.

Coreferential Nominal and Pronominal Subjects

In the previous section, we observed that in HbgH, human nouns are overtly distinguished as singular and plural. When such nouns occur as sentential subjects, plural marking does not occur in the verb. In the section preceding that, it was shown that when personal pronouns occur as sentential subjects likewise, in the first and second persons, the pronouns are marked for number and the verb is not. However, the third person definite pronoun is not distinguished in the plural. Verbs with third person plural pronominal subjects, then, obligatorily take the suffix /'u/. Non-human subjects optionally suffix /'u/ to the verb. In this section we will illustrate a third common sentence type. Consider the following sentences:

(31) jatgai cinai 1 xiski\'un'ugan the women cleaned the fish (cf.(20) above)
(32) xat'aya 1 katwa\' the people are sleeping
(33) lublEdgai 1 cud\'alwa\' the ministers are small

In (31) - (33) human subjects (with suffixed particularizers) occur and the verbs also suffix /'u/ to mark the plural. Note, however, that each
sentence also contains the third person personal pronoun /I/ as well. Thus, the sentences could be glossed also as
a. the women, they cleaned the fish.
b. the people, they are sleeping.
c. the ministers, they are small.
respectively. Sentences (34) - (36) are the corresponding singular forms of (31) - (33).

(34) jada cinai (1) ëiskwUnt the woman cleaned the fish.
(35) nUn xatas (1) kadaŋ the person is sleeping.
(36) nUJ lublEdgas (1) cuju⁹ the minister is small.

In (34) - (36), the coreferential use of /I/ third person is optional whereas in (31) - (33), it is obligatory if '/u/ is suffixed to the verb. (31) - (33) however, may also occur as (37)-(39), i.e.,

(37) jatgai cinai ëiskwUnt the women cleaned the fish.
(38) xat'aya kadaŋ the people are sleeping.
(39) lublEdgai cud⁹ the ministers are small.

In the next section, other sentence types will be examined with respect to plural marking of subject complementizers. So far, we have seen that '/u/ is an obligatory suffix on regular verbs when a third person plural pronoun is overtly employed in a sentence; it may be optionally but rarely employed in a sentence (here necessarily without the pronoun) in sentences with non-human subjects.

Plurality in Sentential Complements

In Haida, a verb is any Root or Stem which may be inflected for tense. Thus, as sentences (5) and (6) above show, what are glossed in English as predicate adjectives (i.e. adjectival complements) function as verbs. Consider (5) and (6) again along with some other sentences.

(5) 1 iwanwaŋ they are big.
Observe that (5) and (6) and (40) and (43) are consistent with our analysis so far in that in those sentences, the verb is straightforward (i.e. root /iwan/ + tense /ŋa/ 'present') with (5) showing the appropriate use of /'u/ to mark a third plural personal pronominal subject. The problem here lies in (41) and (42) with plural subjects, non-human and plural pronominal (first person) respectively.

In discussing plural stems, Swanton (1911:276) indicated that he had encountered this same problem,

"By substitution of one stem for another, plurality is sometimes indicated in the verb itself; but a close examination shows that this phenomenon is not as common as it first appears. A large number of plural stems of this kind prove to be nothing more than adjectives with the plural suffix -dAla or -da, and still others really have the same stem in the singular and plural; but the Haida mind requires some additional affix in one number to satisfy its conception fully."10

Our examples of sentences using iwan 'big' as a verb show a different kind of plural marking in a verb stem. Swanton (1911:276) states,

"The plural of adjectives expressing shape and size is expressed by the syllables -dAla and -da. These may be plural equivalents of the stem dju."
Swanton's examples are:

a) t'la'gao k'À'mdAla
   fine snow (k'À''mdju, a small or fine object)

b) qè'gu yù'dAla
   big buckets (yù'An, big)

c) ə a xÀ'dAla
   small children (xa'tdju, small thing-Masset)

d) yùA'nda
   big things (yù'An, big)

e) djì'nda
   long things (djì', long)

Given these examples plus our data, it would seem then that in accord with Swanton, adjectives expressing shape and size are marked in the plural, e.g.,

(41) rAuwai waÀuan dina iwandaŋ all my canoes are big.
(42) iÀ iwandaŋ we are big.

That is, this is the case even when adjective roots are used as the roots of verbal constructions. Note, though, what happens with third person plural pronominal subjects, e.g.,

(5) 1 iwanaŋ they are big.

One might have expected *1 iwandaŋ. It appears that with third person plural pronouns, subjects of an adjectival complement construction, the /'u/ plural marker takes precedence over marking the adjective for plural.

As we have seen throughout, when an animate (human) nominal subject occurs in a regular sentence (i.e. with a verb root) the verb is marked for the plural with /'u/ as well under certain conditions. But, with animate (human) nominal plural subjects of predicate adjective constructions, the adjectives may be marked (i.e. third person marking does not take precedence when the third person is nominal rather than pronominal), e.g.,

(43) dì xÀl iwanaŋ versus my husband is big.
(44) iÀ xÀl iwandaŋ our husbands are big.

Another possible sentence here is,

(45) iÀ xÀ1aŋ iwandaŋ our husbands are big < iÀ xÀ1aŋ (iÀ 'we, our' xÀl 'husband' + 1aŋ (pl.) + iwan 'big' + 1aŋ (adj. pl. marking))
Consider again sentences (33), (36), (39) and the following sentences:

(33) 1 lub1Edgai 1 cud1alwaŋ  \hspace{1cm} \text{the ministers are small}

(36) nùŋ lub1Edgas (1) cuju  \hspace{1cm} \text{the minister is small (it's a small minister)}

(39) lub1Edgai cud1al  \hspace{1cm} \text{the ministers are small (they are small ministers)}

(46) 1 cuju  \hspace{1cm} \text{he/she is small}

(47) 1 cud1alaŋ  \hspace{1cm} \text{they are small}

(48) kidaŋ cuju \hspace{1cm} \text{the tree is small}

\hspace{1cm} kidaŋ cujugaŋ \\

(49) kidaŋ cud1al \hspace{1cm} \text{the trees are small}

\hspace{1cm} kidaŋ cud1alaŋ \\

The variants of (48) and (49) correspond to what may be glossed in English as e.g., \text{kidaŋ cuju} (it's a ) small tree' versus \text{kidaŋ cujugaŋ} 'the tree is small', i.e. these sentences are not obligatorily marked for present tense to express state; /d\text{\textbar}/ then marks adjectives as plural. With third person plural pronominal subjects of constructions containing adjectival roots, both the \text{PRO} and the \text{ADJ} are marked in the \text{VP} for number as in (33) and (47).

Non-human subjects and human subjects without coreferential \text{pronouns} of \text{VPs} based on \text{ADJ} roots are not marked for plural in the \text{VP} yet the adjectival complement does take the adjective plural marker /d\text{\textbar}/.

The following sentences illustrate one further case of plural marking in the verb. It is included here since the effect is to \text{nominalize} the pronominal subject.

(50) 1 xialgUŋk  \hspace{1cm} \text{he/she is a dancer (professionally)}

(51) 1 xialgUŋwaŋ  \hspace{1cm} \text{they are dancers (professionally)}

(52) 1 xialgUŋwaŋ  \hspace{1cm} \text{he/she dances}
Here, /gUŋk/ which may be roughly glossed as 'habitual action' or 'regular activity' is suffixed to a root. Compare /l skadangigUŋk/ 'he is always picking berries' and /l skadangiwaj/ 'they're always picking berries'.

In the singular, the inflected present form involves suffixing the tense marker, e.g.,

\[ l \text{xial} + gUŋk + gaj \rightarrow l \text{xialgUngaj} \]

he/she is a pres. /k/ + /g/ \rightarrow /g/

dancer

In the plural, through the same process, the surface form of the "nominalized" and inflected verbal forms coalesce in the third person presumably due to the compulsory plural marking in the VP of the PRO. Compare:

(53) iX xialgUngaj we dance
(54) iX xialgUŋk we are dancers

**Conclusion**

The above analysis has shown that verbs obligatorily suffix /'u/ to indicate third person plural pronominal subjects in HbgH. /'u/ suffixation occurs also when plurality is otherwise marked in the verb (e.g. with adjective roots). It further occurs with human subjects marked for the plural when coreferential third plural pronouns also occur. In sentences with plural human nouns as subjects only, /'u/ does not occur since plurality is obligatorily marked with such nouns. Where non-human nouns occur as subjects /'u/ suffixation to the verb may optionally occur. This is rare unless the subject is modified by a third person plural possessive pronoun. Since non-human nouns are not marked for number, context or quantification is generally relied upon. One case was cited where an aspectual morpheme (i.e. /daj/ 'repeated action') effectively serves to
mark an inanimate subject as plural. Another aspectual morpheme (i.e. gūŋk 'habitual' or 'regular activity') was cited. With this morpheme, the singular is marked by the final /k/, but in the plural with third plural PRO subjects marked with /'u/, the surface form of the nominalized and verbal forms are indistinguishable.

Harrison's claim, quoted in the Introduction, that since singular and plural forms of nouns "are not always distinct and must be determined always by the verb" is thus partially validated here. The main difference is that it is not necessarily plurality per se that the verb determines but rather by determining type of action (e.g. repeated or habitual) as well, the number of the subject (non-human) is semantically determined. Number is always determined by the verb when the third person plural active personal pronoun is the subject as distinct from the third singular personal pronoun since both have the same surface form /l/ in an NP. It is usually determined by the verb when the subject contains a third person plural possessive pronoun modifier.
For the prior analysis on which much of this paper is based, see Eastman, et.al. (1975) where it was stated that tense and aspectual suffixes in Haida are attached directly to a simple predicate root or to a derived predicate root or stem. The report was restricted to describing three primary tenses (present, distant past, and distant future). Further, a timeless aspectual suffix was discussed along with a compound perfective suffix made up of a particle /gi/ + the distant past, and a compound proximate future suffix made up of a particle /an/ + the distant future. Most of the sentential examples used in this paper are interpretable through the prior analysis. Where they differ or involve other aspectual particles will be noted here.

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See Welsch (1975a) for a detailed analysis of Haida pronouns.

Most of the phonetic symbols used here are conventional IPA symbols. A few, though, are those used in the Practical Orthography used for Alaska Haida by the Haida Language Workshop (Ketchikan, Alaska). Those symbols are 'k-line' and 'g-line' and 'x-line'; the voiceless uvular stop (formerly represented by us as /q/) and the voiceless pharyngeal obstruent, and the pharyngeal fricative. Here the sounds are written respectively as /k/, /g/, and /x/.

The opposition between /t/ and /d/ in Haida is not a straight-forward voice/voiceless distinction. /t/ is an aspirated [+tense] alveodental obstruent and /d/ is an unaspirated [-tense] alveodental obstruent. /t/+/g/ → /d/ is a relatively common phonological process in this dialect. The glottal stop // occurring in sentence (3) has a bearing on the eventual analysis of this data, but it is noteworthy here that in certain environments we expect /g/, we find // in this dialect. See also Welsch 1976 (this volume) regarding the occurrence of /t/ with // /+[voC].[+rnd].

Our Haida consultant, however, has suggested that there is a certain "psychological reality" to /wa/ as a third person plural marker in that she "feels" that it is a contraction of /wa\uan/ 'everyone' meaning 'they' (definite) versus /\'/ 'they' (indefinite). See also Note 7 below.

Welsch (1975b) has discussed the nominal suffix /gay/ in the Hydaburg dialect of Haida as it differs from the Skidegate dialect (Levine,1975). In HbgH (Hydaburg Haida), /gay/ is regularly suffixed to human nouns to imply plurality. However,

"By contrast there is no true plural for non-human nouns. Plurality is largely inferred from context or marked in other elements." (Welsch 1975b:84)
These other elements are the focus of this paper. In non-human nouns, e.g., kit 'tree(s)', kidai < kit + gay 'tree (s)', as Welsch pointed out, Hbgh Haida as opposed to Skh (Skidegate Haida) differs,

"In Hbgh gay acts to mark particularization. The contrast presented by the presence or absence of the suffix is generally whether the speaker has a particular example(s) in mind or not." (Welsch, 1975:84-85).

Thus, kit 'tree(s)' i.e. 'any old tree' or 'any old trees' and kidai 'tree(s)', 'specific tree' or 'specific trees'.

Note also the sentence /di ki'1 A' k'wigan/ 'somebody or they (indefinite) mentioned my name'. When /A'/ 'they' (indefinite) is used as a third person pronoun, the /u/ suffix is not required in the verb. /A'/ is used when the individuals referred to are not necessarily known while /1/ indicates that the speaker is referring to all the particular individuals. In English, this is comparable to the use of 'they' in e.g., 'they are saying he's crazy' in which the 'they' may refer to either specific individuals or remain indefinite.

In the section below on sentential complementizers, it will be shown that complementizers of copula constructions (e.g. predicate adjectives, nouns, and locatives) involving i3i, 'is/are' mark number variously. Generally as (28) illustrates, context is the determining factor for locatives.

See below in the following section regarding the alternation of /cuju/ ~ /cud1/ 'small'.

Swanton (1911:276) goes on to say "In the other cases there seems to be an alteration in idea from the Haida point of view, such as would impel in all languages the choice of a different verb." So far in our work on Haida we have found two verbs 'to go' and 'to sit' which have different stems in the singular and plural. Swanton adds 'to fly' and 'to kill'. The verb 'to fall' (of trees) discussed here clearly does not employ different stems in this sense.

Our consultant claims that in both the singular and plural the /k/ of /gUnk/ is realized but in the plural it is a "silent k".
Sources


Welsch, Robert (1975a) "Haida Pronouns - Hydaburg Dialect: LEKTOS, Special Issue, Papers from the 10th International Conference on Salishan Languages. pp. 118-134.


——— (1976) "Features and Processes in Hydaburg Haida" this volume.