

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 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  $\begin{bmatrix} +3rd \\ +pl \end{bmatrix}$ , 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  $\begin{bmatrix} +3rd \\ +pl \end{bmatrix}$ . In this case, the /?u/ verbal suffix again is obligatory.

(4) In a sentence where the VP is a complement and the NP is  $\begin{bmatrix} +3rd \\ +pl \end{bmatrix}$ , 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 uncomplex sentences.<sup>1</sup>

/'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 /1/.<sup>2</sup> In order to distinguish number, then, a suffix is generally attached to the verb stem denoting plural. Consider the following sentences:<sup>3</sup>

- |      |                        |                   |
|------|------------------------|-------------------|
| (1)  | 1 gutaway              | they are eating   |
| (1a) | 1 guta'ugan            | they ate          |
| (2)  | 1 gutagay              | he is eating      |
| (3)  | 1 <u>kat</u> 'way      | they are sleeping |
| (4)  | 1 <u>kada</u> n        | he is sleeping    |
| (5)  | 1 iwanway              | they are big      |
| (6)  | 1 iwan <del>g</del> ay | 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.:

guta + w 'eat'      kat' + w 'sleep'      iwan + w 'be big'

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

- |     |                   |   |                   |
|-----|-------------------|---|-------------------|
| (1) | 1 gutaway         | 1(PRO) + guta (eat) + w (pl.) + gay (pres.)         | they are eating   |
| (3) | 1 <u>kat</u> 'way | 1(PRO) + <u>kat</u> (sleep) + w (pl.) + gay (pres.) | they are sleeping |
| (5) | 1 iwanway         | 1(PRO) + iwan (big) + w (pl.) + gay (pres.)         | they are big      |

Alternatively, the same data could be analyzed such that the third person singular PRO is /ga/, the third plural /wa/ and the present tense morpheme is /y/. Note that in (4) kat + gay → kadan.<sup>4</sup>



and /gʌn/ as the past (Eastman, et.al. 1975). Swanton (1911:240 discusses a suffix -go (Masset - ʼo ) Plurality saying,

"Originally this probably marked distributive plurality. It always follows la, the personal pronoun of the third person singular."

This -go (-ʼo ) 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 + gʌŋ → 'waŋ
2.  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} +\text{cons} \\ +\text{tense} \end{array} \right] + 'u + gʌŋ \rightarrow 'waŋ$
3. n + 'u + gʌŋ → 'waŋ

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

Rule (1) Vowel Strengthening

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{V} \rightarrow \text{V} / \text{X} + \text{g} \text{ — } \text{C} \\ \left[ \begin{array}{c} -\text{tns} \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c} +\text{tns} \end{array} \right] \quad \left[ \begin{array}{c} +\text{nas} \end{array} \right] \end{array}$$

Rule (2) G Deletion

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{C} \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{X} + \text{ — } \text{V} \\ \left[ \begin{array}{c} -\text{tns} \\ +\text{hi} \\ +\text{back} \\ -\text{cont} \end{array} \right] \quad \left[ \begin{array}{c} +\text{tns} \\ +\text{low} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{g} \quad \text{a} \end{array}$$

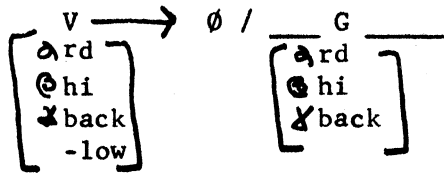
Rule (3) Glottal Stop Deletion (optional)

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{C} \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{X} \text{ — } \text{V} \quad \text{where X} \neq \left[ \begin{array}{c} +\text{cons} \\ +\text{anterior} \\ -\text{nasal} \end{array} \right] \\ \left[ \begin{array}{c} -\text{tns} \\ +\text{low} \\ -\text{back} \end{array} \right] \quad \text{t, d} \end{array}$$

Rule (4) Glide Formation

$$\emptyset \rightarrow \text{G} / \text{V} \text{ — } \text{V} \\ \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{rd} \\ \text{hi} \\ \text{back} \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{rd} \\ \text{hi} \\ \text{back} \\ -\text{low} \end{array} \right]$$

## Rule (5) Glide Strengthening (optional)

Sample Derivations

- (1) 1 gutawan they are eating

UF	guta + 'u + gan	
	guta + 'u + gan	Vowel Strengthening Rule (1)
	guta + 'u + an	G Deletion Rule (2)
	guta + u + an	Glottal Stop Deletion Rule (3)
	guta + uw + an	Glide Formation Rule (4)
	guta + w + an	Glide Strengthening Rule (5)

- (3) 1 kat'wan they are sleeping

UF	kat + 'u + gan	
	kat + 'u + gan	Vowel Strengthening Rule (1)
	kat + 'u + an	G Deletion Rule (2)
	kat + 'uw + an	Glide Formation Rule (4)
	kat + 'w + an	Glide Strengthening Rule (5)

- (5) 1 iwanwan they are big

UF	iwan + 'u + gan	
	iwan + 'u + gan	Vowel Strengthening Rule (1)
	iwan + 'u + an	G Deletion Rule (2)
	iwan + u + an	Glottal Stop Deletion Rule (3)
	iwan + uw + an	Glide Formation Rule (4)
	iwan + w + an	Glide Strengthening Rule (5)

- (7a) 1 skadangiwān they are already picking berries

UF	skadangi + 'u + gan	
	skadangi + 'u + gan	Vowel Strengthening Rule (1)
	skadangi + 'u + an	G Deletion Rule (2)
	skadangi + u + an	Glottal Stop Deletion Rule (3)
	skadangi + uw + an	Glide Formation Rule (4)
	skadangi + w + an	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) gudai ingwi gi'uan } boxes are floating across the bay  
 gudai ingwi gi'wan }

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) kw<sup>h</sup>i (h)ilawaŋ      The rocks are all gone

UF	(h)ilu + 'u + gaŋ	
	(h)ilau + 'u + gaŋ	Vowel Epenthesis
	(h)ilau + u + gaŋ	Glottal Stop Deletion    Rule (3)
	(h)ila + u + gaŋ	Vowel Assimilation
	(h)ila + u + gaŋ	Vowel Strengthening    Rule (1)
	(h)ila + u + aŋ	G Deletion                Rule (2)
	(h)ila + uw + aŋ	Glide Formation           Rule (4)
	(h)ila + w + aŋ	Glide Strengthening    Rule (5)

Sentence (25) has also been recorded in our data as kw<sup>h</sup>i hilaawaŋ, 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 (1a) l guta'ugaŋ 'they ate' also has a variant form as l gutawugaŋ . Consider also sentence (1b):

(1b) cin l ta'ugaŋ }  
       cin l tawugaŋ }      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.,

(1c) cin l 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) kwΛ'i hilusan The rock will be gone

(26a) kwΛ'i hilauwansa'an < hilu + 'u + ɣɛŋ + 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.<sup>6</sup>

(9) kidai k'agɛŋ < kit + gai k'a + ɣɛŋ the tree is falling over

(10) kidai k'adɛŋ the trees are falling

(11) kidai k'agigɛn the tree has already fallen

(12) kidai k'adɛŋgigɛn 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 /ɛŋ/ 'repeated action'. The consequence of suffixing /ɛŋ/ 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 /ɛŋ/ is further illustrated as follows;

(13) di ki'i 1 k'widɛŋɛn s/he mentioned my name (more than once).

(14) di ki'i 1 k'wigɛn s/he mentioned my name (once).

versus

(15) di ki'i 1 k'wi'wan they are mentioning my name (once).

(16) di ki'i 1 k'widɛŋwan they are mentioning my name (more than once).<sup>7</sup>

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 /gay/ (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)  | nUŋ lublEdgas ɬdInugʌŋ < / ɬdanu/ 'eat' | the minister is eating.       |
| (17a) | lublEt ɬdInugʌŋ                         | a minister is eating.         |
| (18)  | lublEdgai ɬdInugʌŋ                      | (the) ministers are eating.   |
| (18a) | ʔ' lublEdgas ɬdʌnugʌŋ                   | (some) ministers are eating.  |
| (19)  | nUŋ jadas cinai ʔIskwUŋʌn               | the woman cleaned the fish.   |
| (20)  | jatgai cinai ʔIskwUŋʌn                  | (the) women cleaned the fish. |

The use of /nUŋ/ 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, "nAn 'the' becomed definite with suffix -s."

/nUŋ/ 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) | lublEdga ɬdInugʌŋ    | a minister is eating (as opposed to, e.g.,<br>a plumber). |
| (22) | jada cinai ʔIskwUŋʌn | a woman cleaned the fish (as opposed to, e.g.,<br>a man). |

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

- |      |                     |                                    |
|------|---------------------|------------------------------------|
| (23) | di k'wailŋ ɬdInugʌŋ | my(our) older brothers are eating. |
|------|---------------------|------------------------------------|





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'alawaŋ.    their baskets are empty

kigwai la k'alagaŋ.    his/her basket is empty

versus

kigwai k'alagaŋ.    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 l ʔiskwUn'ugan    the women cleaned the fish (cf.(20)above)

(32) xat'aya l katwaŋ    the people are sleeping

(33) lublEdgai l cudAlwaŋ    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 /1/ 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) ʔIskwUngʌn the woman cleaned the fish.

(35) nUŋ xatas (1) kadan the person is sleeping.

(36) nUŋ lublEdgas (1) cuju<sup>9</sup> the minister is small.

In (34) - (36), the coreferential use of /1/ 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 ʔIskwUngʌn the women cleaned the fish.

(38) xat'aya kadan the people are sleeping.

(39) lublEdgai cudʌl 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 iwanwan they are big.

- (6) 1 iwang<sup>ga</sup> he/she is big.  
 (40) Xuwai dina iwang<sup>ga</sup> my canoe is big.  
 (41) Xuwai wa<sup>la</sup>uan dina iwanda<sup>ga</sup> all my canoes are big.  
 (42) i<sup>la</sup> iwanda<sup>ga</sup> we are big  
 (43) di iwang<sup>ga</sup> I am 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 /ga/ '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."<sup>10</sup>

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!a'gao k!A'mdAla | fine snow (kA'mdju, a small or fine object)  |
| b) qē!gu yū'dAla     | big buckets (yū'An, big)                     |
| c) ɛa xA'dAla        | small children (xa'tdju, small thing-Masset) |
| d) yūA'nda           | big things (yū'An, big)                      |
| e) dji'nda           | long things (djiñ, 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) ʔuwaɪ wa ʔuan dina iwandaŋ      all my canoes are big.  
 (42) iʔ 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) l iwanwaŋ      they are big.

One might have expected \*l 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) di ʔal iwangaŋ | my husband is big.    |
|                     | versus                |
| (44) iʔ ʔal iwandaŋ | our husbands are big. |

Another possible sentence here is,

- (45) iʔ ʔalaŋ iwandaŋ      our husbands are big < iʔ ʔalaŋ  
 (iʔ 'we,our' ʔal 'husband' + laŋ (pl.)  
 + iwan 'big' + daŋ (adj. pl. marking) )

Consider again sentences (33),(36),(39) and the following sentences:

- |      |  |   |
|------|--|---|
| (33) | lublEdgai 1 cudalwan                         | the ministers are small                               |
| (36) | nUn lublEdgas (1) cuju                       | the minister is small (it's a small minister)         |
| (39) | lublEdgai cudal                              | the ministers are small<br>(they are small ministers) |
| (46) | 1 cuju                                       | he/she is small                                       |
| (47) | 1 cudalwan                                   | they are small  |
| (48) | <u>kidai</u> cuju ~<br><u>kidai</u> cujugan  | the tree is small                                     |
|      |  |   |
| (49) | <u>kidai</u> cudal ~<br><u>kidai</u> cudalan | the trees are small                                   |
|      |  |   |

The variants of (48) and (49) correspond to what may be glossed in English as e.g., kidai cuju '(it's a ) small tree' versus kidai cujugan 'the tree is small', i.e. these sentences are not obligatorily marked for present tense to express state; /dal/ then marks adjectives as plural. With third person plural pronominal subjects of constructions containing adjectival roots, both the PRO and the ADJ are marked in the VP for number as in (33) and (47). Non-human subjects and human subjects without coreferential pronouns of VPs based on ADJ roots are not marked for plural in the VP yet the adjectival complement does take the adjective plural marker /dal/.

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

- |      |              |   |
|------|--------------|---|
| (50) | 1 xialgUnk   | he/she is a dancer (professionally) <sup>11</sup> |
| (51) | 1 xialgUnwan | they are dancers (professionally)                 |
|      |              | they dance  |
| (52) | 1 xialgUngan | 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 skadangiwŋ/ 'they're always picking berries'. In the singular, the inflected present form involves suffixing the tense marker, e.g.,

l xial + gUŋk + gŋ → l xialgUŋgŋ  
 he/she is a                      pres.      /k/ + /g/ → /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 xialgUŋgŋ                      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. /dŋ/ 'repeated action') effectively serves to

mark an inanimate subject as plural. Another aspectual morpheme (i.e. gUŋk '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.



# Footnotes

1

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.

I wish to thank my colleagues on the University of Washington "Sea-Alaska Haida Project" and the University of Washington Graduate School Research Fund which has provided consultant fees for this research. Specifically, I am grateful to my co-workers, Lillian Pettviel, Elizabeth Edwards and Daniel Vaughan. I wish to particularly thank Robert Welsh for hours of discussion about many points discussed here.

2

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

3

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/.

4

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 where we expect /g/, we find /'/ in this dialect. See also Welsh 1976 (this volume) regarding the occurrence of /t/ with /'/ / +voc  
+rnd.

5

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 /waʔuan/ 'everyone' meaning 'they' (definite) versus /ʔ/ 'they' (indefinite). See also Note 7 below.

6

Welsh (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." (Welsh 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'.

7

Note also the sentence /di ki'i ʔ k'wigan/ 'somebody or they (indefinite) mentioned my name'. When /ʔ/ 'they' (indefinite) is used as a third person pronoun, the /u/ suffix is not required in the verb. /ʔ/ is used when the individuals referred to are not necessarily known while /l/ 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.

8

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

9

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

10

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.

11

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

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