	Relativization				Topicalization			
	$Subj_T$	$Subj_I$	Obj	Loc	$Subj_T$	$Subj_I$	Obj	Loc
obligatory deletion					+	-	-.	+
deletion in independent clause	-	-	+	+				
CU	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-
NI('NII)	-	-	-	+				

Table 2. Tsimshian Prominence Strategies II.

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Word Order in Haida

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0. Introduction

In recent years a number of linguists have taken a renewed interest in describing and analyzing Haida. Since Swanton's investigations in the early twentieth century, little work had been done and Haida had been considered likely to be a Na-Dene language based on the limited amount of data available. In 1965, Krauss observed that not only was Haida less well-known than the other members of a Na-Dene group (Tlingit, Athapaskan, Eyak) "but also it appears that Haida has evolved in this respect to the point where it shows only vestiges of the structure still well-preserved in Athapaskan and especially in Eyak and Tlingit."(p.19)

One structural feature shared by purported Na-Dene languages is constituent word order. Swanton's description of Haida (1911) was the basis of Sapir's (1915) attempt to classify Haida as genetically related to Tlingit and other Athapaskan languages. In typologically classifying Haida as Na-Dene, the ordering of subject and object with respect to the verb was considered significant. Levine (1976:8) cites

a claim by Hymes that the object precedes the subject pronoun
in Haida but seems to ignore the position of the subject when it is
a noun. It is said that Na-Dene languages all exhibit OSV word
order and it would appear, at first glance, that in terms of syntactic
categories, the basic order typology in Haida is OSV, e.g.,

(1) chiin hl taagang   I eat fish.
     fish   I   eat + present
      O   S   V

However, Swanton (1911:267) clearly indicates that constituent order
is largely determined by the nominal or pronominal status of the
subject:

> When the subject and object of the verb are nouns,
> the former precedes; when they are pronouns, the
> order is reversed. A third pronominal object is
> followed by one of the connectives, and is placed
> before the other personal pronouns. When nouns and
> pronouns are both used as subjects or objects, the
> pronouns usually stand nearest to the verb, and
> exceptions to this are usually for emphasis.

It is the purpose of this paper to examine constituent order in
Haida to see what, if any, basic order typology obtains in the
language.[1]

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1. Constituent Order and Sentence Types

Sentence (1) above serves as an example of OSV constituent
order in Haida. In that sentence, it is important to note that the
object is a noun (chiin 'fish') and the subject a pronoun (hl 'I').
In accord with Swanton's analysis we see here an instance of his "rule"
that "when nouns and pronouns are both used as subjects and objects,
the pronouns usually stand nearest to the verb...". The next three
examples illustrate this same point:[2]

(2) xagyaa l   daawaang   they have a dog.
     dog a   they have + present
      O   S   V

(3) ja'aang hl tiigan   I killed my wife.
     wife my I   kill + past
      O   S   V

Swanton's "rule" also accounts as well for

(4) dii kaa   l   tiigan   my uncle killed him.
     my uncle   him   kill + past
       S   O   V

insofar as the pronoun stands "nearest to the verb". Leer (1977:147)
observed that "...if there are both subject and object pronouns, the
object pronoun precedes the subject pronoun and they both precede the
verb". According to this analysis, position of pronouns in a sentence
with respect to the verb determines which is the sentential subject
and which the sentential object. Consider the following example which
bears this out:

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BL: pronominal
elements only
in discussion
of NA-DENE hypothesis.

(5) laa   1   tiigan   he killed her.
     her   he   kill + past
     O   S   V

Welsch (1975) documented <u>both</u> an OSV and SOV word order in sentences

where both subject and object are pronouns. His analysis involved

distinguishing pronouns as emphatic or declarative. This calls to

mind Swanton's claim that, with regard to his "rule", "exceptions

to this are usually for emphasis." Similarly, Leer noted an except-

ion, which we will see to be related, when he stated:

> ...the independent subject pronouns and the ind-
>
> ependent object pronouns...are used at the beginning
>
> of a sentence followed by the initial phrase marker
>
> <u>uu</u>. An independent pronoun is actually a form of the
>
> subject or object pronoun which is used outside the verb
>
> phrase. (1977:72)

1.1 Topicalization

Edwards (1978) provides an analysis of the function and

meaning of <u>topicalization</u> in Haida in relation to the ordering of

elements. She concludes that linear ordering in Haida with respect

to grammatical categories (such as S,V,O) is less important than 1)

classification of each ordered element as noun or pronoun and 2)

the <u>communicative importance</u> of ordered elements. Welsch's emphatic

pronouns and Leer's pronouns "followed by the initial phrase marker

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<u>uu</u>" are also analyzable as pronouns plus topic-marking particles in

this sense.

(6) hlaau   xyaalgang   I am dancing.
     I + Topic   dance + present

     <u>hlaau</u> = <u>hlaa</u> (I-active) + <u>uu</u> (Topic)
     cf. Welsch <u>Iao</u>, Leer <u>hláa</u> <u>uu</u>

In Haida, whatever is topicalized in a sentence is preposed to

sentence initial position. For our purposes here, in analyzing

linear word or constituent order in the language, it is sufficient

to point out that regardless of whether an element is a subject or

object, noun or pronoun, if it is marked as a topic, it is sentence

initial. But, non-topicalized sentence elements often do conform to

Swanton's "rule". In the analysis to be presented here, we will

consider whether or not it is useful to look at constituent order

in Haida in terms of such a "rule" at all.

The following sentences illustrate various sentence types in the

language:

(7) nang   iihlingaas   sablii   taagaayk   guulaagank
     the   man   bread   to   like + present +
                                    eat + def.   definite
       S   O   V

The man likes to eat bread.

(8) sablii   uu   taagaayk   nang   iihlingaas   guulaagank
     bread   Topic to   the   man   like + present +
                    eat + def.   definite
               O   S   V
The man likes to eat bread. (i.e., bread is -the type of-eating
the man likes//the man likes eating when the "topic" of eating is
bread.)

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(9) sablii   taagaayk   l   guulaagank
    bread   to   she like + present + definite
              eat + def.
           O   S   V
    She likes to eat bread. (or, she likes bread-eating)

(10) taagaayk   l   guulaagank
     to   she like + present + definite.
     eat + def.
     O   S   V
     She likes eating (to eat).

In sentence (8), sablii 'bread' is marked as the topic (uu) and is therefore sentence initial. In sentence (9) the object is a nominal (i.e., NP consisting of a verbal noun + object noun) sablii taagaayk 'bread-eating' or 'to eat bread' while the subject is a pronoun 's/he' l and the expectation of Swanton's "rule" is met since the pronoun occurs closest to the verb. The same situation occurs in (10). In (7) both the subject and object are NPs and there is no topic-marking with a resultant order of SOV. Eastman, et.al.(1975:97) claimed that nominal subjects and objects like pronominal subjects and objects reflect both an SOV and OSV constituent order depending on "whether they are emphatic or declarative." Thus, if nominal subjects are topicalized, they precede objects, if nominal objects are topicalized, they precede subjects.

(11) nang   iihlingaas   uu   sablii   taagaayk   gwuulaak
    the   man   Topic bread   eating   like + timeless +
                                         definite
        S   O   V
    The man likes to eat bread
    (i.e., The man is who it is who likes bread-eating).

In (11) the subject is a nominal and is topicalized and is in initial position. In (8) and (12) the object is topicalized and, as a result, the constituent order is OSV.

(12) sablii   uu   nang   iihlingaas   gwuulaak
    bread   Topic the   man   like + timeless + definite
    O   S   V
    The man likes bread.
    (i.e., bread is what it is that the man likes)

1.2 Non-topicalized Nominal Subjects and Objects

When neither the subject or object are marked for topic as in (7) above, how is sentence interpretation accomplished? So far, our analysis upholds Swanton's "rule" in its claim that the relative ordering of subject and object in Haida depends on their nominal (whether N or NP) or pronominal status and/or emphasis. It remains to see whether (7) above represents the "rule" when neither subjects nor objects are topicalized. That is, is the basic order when subjects and objects are both nouns (or noun phrases) or both pronouns, SOV? What is the constituent order in sentences with adjuncts which are neither nominal or pronominal (e.g., with prepositional phrases or adverbial phrases)?

Swanton predicted that where both subject and object are both nominals or both pronominals and not emphasized, the subject would always come first. As pointed out by Edwards (1978), this is not always the case.

B2: Skidegate is case

(13) laa   l   tiigan   s/he killed him/her.
   her/him s/he kill + past
     O   S   V

It appears that with pronouns the rule is OSV. Object pronouns
precede subject pronouns when both occur in the same sentence. This
may be unambiguously illustrated by (14)

(14) laa   hl   tiigan   I killed him/her.
   him/her   I   kill + past
     O   S   V

   In contrast, there appears to be no "rule" for constituent order
when both subject and object are nominals. Sentences (15)-(18) are
further examples.

(15) yaalaay   skaangway   iisdang   The raven is taking the
   the raven   the stick   take + pres. stick.
     S   O   V

(16) Joe Lil aan chiin dlaatlaagan   Joe brought Lil a fish.
   Joe Lil for fish bring + past
     'fish for Lil' (fish shape)
     S   O   V

(17) nang   jaadaa   Fred   tiigan   The woman killed Fred.
   the   woman   Fred   kill + past   or
                                         Fred killed the woman.

(18) Fred nang jaadas tiigan
   Fred the woman kill + past
                                         The woman killed Fred.
                                                   or
                                         Fred killed the woman.

(19) nang   iihlingas   kiiksgaay   taa'aasaan   The man will
   the   man   the cake   eat + fut.   eat the cake.
     S   O   V

(20) kiiksgaay   nang   iihlingaas   taa'aasaan   The man will
   the cake   the   man   eat + fut.   eat the cake.
     O   S   V

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(19) and (20) illustrate that where interpretation will produce
semantic anomaly, there is no ambiguity occasioned by free ordering
of subject and object nominals before a verb. That is, both sentences
"mean" that 'The man will eat the cake' since neither can "mean" 'The
cake will eat the man'. (17) and (18), on the other hand, indicate that
free constituent order in non-semantically anomalous sentences yields
both syntactic and semantic ambiguity.[3]

   In the absence of topic-marking particles, then, and where context
cannot differentiate subject from object, ambiguity such as in (17) and
(18) can only be dissolved by means of prior knowledge of the hearer
(hearer presupposition, i.e., the hearer knows or can presuppose who
is dead - Fred or the woman). When non-semantically anomalous yet
syntactically ambiguous sentences such as (17) and (18) contain ele-
ments which are topicalized, the fact of topic-marking triggers an
additional rule which eliminates the syntactic ambiguity:

(21) Fred uu   nang   jaadas   tiigan   The woman killed Fred.
   Fred Topic the   woman   kill + past
      O   S   V

(22) nang   jaadas   uu   Fred   tiigan   Fred killed the woman.
   the   woman Topic Fred   kill + past
      O   S   V

Although Edwards (1978) observes that , in general, there is a
" tendency to keep the subject near the verb ", what happens if the
subject is topicalized for emphasis?

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(23) nang   jaadas   uu Fred 1   tiigan   The woman killed Fred.
     the   woman Topic Fred she kill + past

Literally (23) translates into English as 'The woman (is who) it is,

she killed Fred.' Here we see that when the subject is topicalized,

it moves out of the sentence and is coreferential with an anaphoric

pronominal subject. The anaphoric pronominal subject, then, conforms

to the "rule" yielding OSV order (since the sentential subject

is now a pronoun) and preserves the tendency to keep the subject near

the verb.

Likewise, when neither subjects nor objects per se are topic-

alized, the elements that are topicalized are sentence initial yet

outside the range of any constituent order "rule" affecting subjects

and objects. Sentence (24) illustrates this.

(24) kalk'aau   tablegaay   unk flowersgaay iijang
the vase + in + Topic the table on+ the flowers be + present
                 def.
     The flowers are in the vase on the table.
     (lit. In the vase (is where) the flowers are on the table)

   In the vase (topic) on the table (sentential object)
   the flowers (subject) are (verb)

So, this utterance in Haida might be looked at as consisting

of a Topic (In the vase) + an OSV element (the flowers are on the table).

2. Constituent Order and Topic Prominence

In the preceding section, we saw that whenever a

constituent of a sentence is topicalized in Haida - regardless of

the syntactic function of that constituent as subject or object,

that constituent occurs in sentence initial position.[4] When

topicalization does not occur, the object generally precedes the

subject and both precede the verb, i.e., OSV order is the "rule".

But, despite a clear tendency in the language for subjects to be

near the verb, it may be the case that the distinction of subject

and object is not useful in considering constituent typology in the

language. Since not only grammatical objects are topicalized in

Haida and since other constituents can appear in initial position,

it is not sufficient to conclude that OSV is the basic order

typology. So doing implies a predominance of object-initial

utterances in the language and this is plainly not the case.

Likewise SOV cannot be considered basic since, though subjects can

occur initially when topicalized or when nominal and accompanied by

pronominal objects, one cannot say that an SOV constituent order

prevails.

In contrast, it is suggested here that an alternative approach

to the question of word order in Haida based on the function of

meaningful elements in sentences will solve a number of descriptive

problems and also characterize the language in such a way that

productive comparisons may be made between it and other
Northwest Coast languages. The typology of Haida as OSV is
functionally analyzable to encompass apparent counter examples if we
consider that a sentence's topic, whatever its morphological or
syntactic composition may be, is the sentence initial element
obligatorily. Where topic marking does not occur overtly, there is
a tendency when both grammatical subjects and objects are nouns for
an OSV order to occur more frequently. Still speaker intent may
alter the order such that context and/or hearer's logical
presuppostions may account for interpretability.

    In an analysis of Haida word order, the sentence, considered
linearly, consists of:

    [Topic (a discourse category)] + NP (a syntactic category)
                        + Verb (VP, a syntactic category)
NP here includes nominals, pronominals, noun phrases, whether
subject or object, in relation to the verb. Adverbial and locative
phrases that occur as grammatical objects or subjects also fit in
here. Every sentence employs an optional Topic and an obligatory
NP and Verb. In sentences where no element is emphasized or where
there is nothing contrastive or of striking communicative importance
(Edwards,1978: Introduction), no element will be topicalized and
either an OSV or SOV order will occur in general concurrence with
Swanton's "rule". Still, the syntactically ambiguous unmarked order

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in sentences with nominal subjects and objects will rely on context
and/or presupposition for interpretation.

    In Edwards' analysis of topic and topic marking particles
topicalization is considered to be a process which "...preposes a
sentence element for the purpose of focus or contrast" (p.4-5).
When a language uses topicalization more frequently than any other
process it is said to be topic prominent (Li & Thompson,1976). The
evidence presented here seems to indicate that Haida is best analyzed
as Topic Prominent rather than as having a particular dominant
constituent order.[5]

3.   Conclusion

    In the Introduction to this paper, we observed that Haida is
usually considered to have a basic order typology of OSV and that
this is one of the few features that involve its continued yet
increasingly unlikely inclusion in the Na-Dene hypothesis. Levine
(1976) in reviewing the evidence for Haida as Na-Dene states that it
is his current view, and that also held by Krauss, that "Haida
cannot be shown to be a Na-Dene language". At most, Levine contends,
common points of Na-Dene affiliation are 1) they all contain post
positions which enter into construction with each other, 2)"they
all have a neuter/active distinction in the verb which is reflected
pronominally" and 3) they all have OSV constituent order.

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Among the world's languages an OSV order of meaningful elements
constitutes a rare type. Greenberg (1966) cites no cases of languages with
such a basic order typology. His proposed language universal #1 states:

> In declarative sentences with nominal subject and
>
> object, the dominant order is almost always one
>
> in which the subject precedes the object. (p.77)

So, if analyzed as an OSV language, Haida would deviate from the
proposed universal dominant order of subjects and objects (in its
tendency for subjects to precede the verb) and also be unusual as a
verb-final language. Since it is not possible to demonstrate that an
OSV order predominates in Haida given the preponderance of utterances
containing initial elements with topic-markers and given the tolerance
of syntactic and semantic ambiguity with respect to subject/object
order, little utility will be gained by considering the language as hav-
ing a basic order typology as OSV.

We have shown here that Swanton's "rule" for ordering constituents
in Haida with respect to the verb does not apply when both subjects
and objects are nominals. Though syntactic ambiguity occurs, there
is a preference for subjects to follow objects rather than precede
them. Thus, nominal order does not reverse pronominal order but par-
allels it. It is the case that "when nouns and pronouns are both used
as subjects or objects the pronouns usually stand nearest to the verb"

except when topicalization occurs.

Swanton's proposed "rule" also addresses the effect on constit-
uent order when there is an added pronominal object. Consider
sentence (25):

(25) laa   dii   aan   l   tiigan   He killed her for me.
      her   me   for   he kill + past

Here the added pronominal object behaves in accord with Swanton's
prediction in that it "is followed by one of the connectives" (aan
'for') but it is not "placed before the other personal pronouns" un-
less, of course, it is topicalized;

(26) dii   aan   uu   laa   l   tiigan   He killed her for me.
      me   for   Topic her   he kill + past

   (lit., for me is 'why' he killed her)

Sentence (27), a variant of (25), however, indicates that untopic-
alized added pronominal objects actually may be placed before the
other personal pronouns as Swanton expected.

(27) dii   aan   laa   l   tiigan   He killed her for me.
      me   for   her   he kill + past

I.e., added pronominal objects may precede or follow other pronominal
objects. Ambiguity does not occur since the extra (indirect object)
pronoun is the one with a connective after it regardless of where it
occurs in the utterance.

Thus, from this analysis, it is claimed that Haida is a topic-
prominent language in which a Sentence is analyzed as (Topic) +
Comment. The concept of Comment entails constituent order in accord

with an elaborated and modified version of Swanton's "rule".
That is, in the syntactically independent unit analyzed as Comment;
when the subject and object of the verb are nouns, objects may pre-
cede subjects and subjects may precede objects; when they are pro-
nouns, objects precede subjects. A third pronominal object is followed
by one of the connectives, and is placed either before the other
personal pronouns or after the object pronoun (necessarily before the
subject pronoun to preserve the tendency for subject pronouns to stand
nearest to the verb). When nouns and pronouns are both used as sub-
jects or objects, the pronouns usually stand nearest to the verb.

Exceptions to this "rule" are usually occasioned by the process
of topicalization or, as Swanton stated it, "exceptions to this are
usually for emphasis" (1911:267).

To illustrate, Sentence (26) may be analyzed as:

a) Topic   dii aan uu 'for me'

b) Comment   laa   l   tiigan
                her   he kill + past
                O   S   V

Any constituent may be topicalized and a sentence comment may stand
alone and involve either OSV or SOV constituent order. Haida as a
topic-prominent language may best be analyzed as having no one basic
order typology in terms of the order of meaningful elements in sent-
ences - even though both an SOV and OSV order are common.

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Notes

1
 I wish to thank Ms. Lillian Pettviel for serving as the Haida
language consultant for this paper. Partial support for this re-
search was provided by a grant for consultant fees from the Melville
and Elizabeth Jacobs Foundation (Summer, 1977), Whatcom County Museum.

2
 The orthography used for the Haida examples in this paper is that used
by Edwards (1977) and (1978), a modified form of the Practical Ortho-
graphy used in the Haida Language Workshop, Ketchikan, Alaska.

3
 It may be that the element placed first by the speaker is considered
more important for communicational ends than that which comes next even
though the hearer is faced with grammatical and semantic problems of
interpretation when there is no overt marking. Edwards (1978) explores
this idea using the concept of foregrounding.

4
 Edwards (1978) considers what happens when more than one constituent
is topicalized in a sentence and points to further possibilities for
research on this question.

5
 In examining topic-marking in Haida, Edwards (1978) considers the imp-
lication such an analysis has for the notions of subject and object in
a "functional" framework. Since the concern in this paper is with con-
stituent order in general, we need only note that, in considering Haida
as topic-prominent, the notion of grammatical subject "is not crucial to

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the order of elements in the sentence" and the logical subject

and object figure in selectional restrictions on the verb. In this

framework, a sentence is considered as consisting of (Topic) +

Comment where the Comment may be syntactically independent (i.e.

consist of NP + VP). (cf. Sgall, et. al.,1973).

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Topic Marking in Haida

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0. Introduction
1. Theoretical Perspective and Prior Studies
2.0 Data and Analysis
2.1 Ordering
2.2 The Topic as Theme

3.0 Summary and Implications

0. Introduction

On-going analysis of the role of some post-positional
particles in Haida indicates that topic marking and topic-
prominence are important in the organization of this language.
Topicalization refers to a process whereby sentence elements are
placed at the front of the sentence for the purpose of focus or
contrast. Some languages employ topicalization more than others
and are said to be topic-prominent languages (Li & Thompson 1976).
Chinese is the time-honored example of a topic-prominent language.

The topic in Haida will be assumed to be any sentence-initial
element (a word or phrase) marked with a topic marking particle.
Initial elements without such particles will be said to be