

s-Marking and Subordination in Kaigani Haida

Carol M. Eastman

Elizabeth A. Edwards

University of Washington

0. Introduction
1. Prior Analyses of the Haida s
2. s and the Semantic Scope of Subordination
3. Analysis of s from a Sentence Perspective
4. Conclusion

0. Introduction

In several recent papers (Eastman 1976, 1978; Eastman & Edwards 1979; Eastman, Welsch & Vaughan 1975; Edwards 1978a, 1978b), we have analyzed non-complex utterances in Haida<sup>1</sup> with respect to aspects of word order in the language. In our description of Haida so far, we consider the language to be Topic prominent (in the sense of Li & Thompson 1976). We see contrastiveness as a Topic function in Haida, while the communication of new information can be conveyed without topic-marking (see Edwards 1978a, Eastman & Edwards 1979).

In this paper we turn our attention to complex sentences. We will describe how elements that are subordinate to an utterance's main predication are delimited in the language. Complex utterances (as concatenations of simple sentences<sup>2</sup>) are

2

"manifested by means of different grammatical devices on the level of the sentence, such as coordination, apposition, some nominalizations, some relative transformations, etc...."  
(Daneš 1974:115)

In complex sentences in Haida, the particle s appears to signal or mark a number of these grammatical devices. We hope that by analyzing the Haida s we may be able to supply a structural explanation of the grammatical devices it marks in the language.

Just as the function of new information is conveyed by the order of elements and contrastiveness is conveyed by topic-marking, other communicative functions are manifest in the Haida sentence. One such function is subordination, e.g.,

- (1) nang iidamjuu uu l gwulaagan<sup>3</sup>  
person short T she like did  
(Topic) (S) (V)

She liked a short person. (i.e., a short person  
is who<sup>4</sup> she liked.)

- (2) nang iidamjuus uu l gwulaagan  
person short T she like did

She liked the short person.

In (2), note that s occurs between the noun phrase 'short person' and the topic marker uu. The s shows up in a number of different contexts in Haida sentences and has been analyzed variously in the extant literature. In this paper, we will describe the sentences in which s occurs and propose an analysis of s as everywhere marking the elements which precede it as subordinate to the main

predication. In (2) the s signals that the NP (short person) is to be interpreted as a dependent or subordinate clause (i.e., the person who is short) as well as Topic (i.e., ...is who...). This is in contrast to (1) where the Topic is a simple noun + adjective construction rather than an embedded clause (a separate predication). In (2) we assert that the main predication is "She liked (something)" and what that is (i.e., the object here) is subordinate to that main predication and hence marked s. We will claim that the s marks what it is attached to as what should be interpreted as a syntactic unit.

We will attempt to account for s as it delimits these syntactic units within larger discourse units. Levine (1977) and Leer (1977) indicate that dependent clauses are morphologically marked in Haida and that s may function as such a marker. We will describe the Haida s according to how it fits into a sentence's Topic/Comment structure to delimit the scope of subordination.

Our hypothesis is that, in complex sentences, whether or not they contain a Topic, whatever is subordinate is marked by a following s. If what is subordinate to a main clause is marked s, it may be seen as outside the main predication of the sentence.

#### 1. Prior Analyses of the Haida s

Levine (1977) analyzes the Skidegate dialect of Haida in

terms of discourse units in the language. In his analysis, which is essentially morphological in nature, there are a number of different ss described. We hope to show that many of these are instances of a single s which marks syntactically determined semantic subordination - that whatever occurs within the scope of s is subordinate to the rest of the sentence's Topic or Comment (depending on whether the s at issue occurs in the Topic or Comment). The following examples show the use of s in Skidegate Haida:

- (3) plʷstik bəgz gii t'aalang Isdaas t'aalang gaahldaagaa  
 plastic bags in we do s we (freeze present  
 (non-continuous))

We put it in plastic bags and we freeze it.

Sentence (3) which occurred in text (connected speech) is a sentence without a topic. Of this example Levine (1977:235) notes that the verb 'Isdaa requires s rather than the tense marker gung so as to not break up "a descriptive sequence of two actions conceived as interconnected." He continues,

"Such considerations of the relative interconnectedness of events -- which belong to extra linguistic culture -- are very likely responsible for the division of discourse such as this text into sentential units and further into dependent and independent clauses."

Thus, the s in (3) marks what precedes it as subordinate to the following main clause in the sentence.

- (4) daa gyaa k'iids gaan dii unsiidaa  
you Poss. come s it I know

I know you came.

The s in (4) may be seen to function in the same way -- as marking that which precedes it as subordinate to what follows. However, examples such as (4) are analyzed by Levine as marked dependent predicate structure determined by the sentence's internal syntax rather than by the "relative inter-connectedness of events -- which belong to the extra linguistic culture."

Of sentences like (4) he asserts:

"Dependent predicate structure is marked in constructions which are the translation objects of {gaan}... 'uns'ad 'know', suda 'tell', and gudla 'like' by replacing the inflectional suffixes of the sixth position class with a suffix-{s}." (1977:166)

The use of s in Levine's analysis functions to mark off what he calls "object clauses". He contends that predicates so marked "appear to be factive; that is, they presuppose the truth of the information contained in the embedded clause" (op. cit., 168). That is, what is known, told, or liked is marked with an s as in (4) and is presupposed by both speaker and hearer to be true.

Sentence (5) illustrates yet another type of s in Levine's analysis:

- (5) Hlaa gaads gyaan dii k'inaagangaa  
I ran s when I/me warm get do  
(and)  
When I run it makes me warm.

In (5) s delimits what are "adverbial clauses" according to Levine. It differs from the s of "object clauses" in that,

"The constant meaning of this suffix is that the predicate so marked is of subordinate status to some other element in the sentence. When adverbial particles follow the subordinate predicate, the subordinated information translates as a modification of the information given in the independent clause."  
(1977:168)

The s in (6) functions like the s in (3) except that it is followed by another particle ii often associated with s in the language.

- (6) guud gaa t'aalang 'isdasii t'aalang k'uuchidangaa  
together at we do sii we shape cause do

We put it together and bundle it up.

Levine (op. cit.:170) sees ii to be an "old information anaphora suffix" that "can appear following {s}." In our analysis, we consider ii to be a particle with a plural sense denoting that the 'thing' it refers to is one out of many similar things rather than the one only. Thus the 'it' in Levine's sentence that is being put together is one of many 'its' which may or may not also end up being put together. We will discuss this particle in somewhat more detail below when we demonstrate that the particle need not be involved in an analysis of the function of the s at issue here.

The remaining function of the s in Haida as discussed by

Levine appears to be quite different from the others and is illustrated by:

(7) nang 'ihlingas the man  
person man

vs.

nang 'ihlinga a man  
person man

To Levine, the s in this example is a distinct suffix denoting "old information" and he characterizes it as associated with the determiner nang used to "particularize" nouns:

"In order to construct the form which translates 'the woman', a nominal structure ... containing nang must be used. The old information status of such a form is marked by a suffix -{s}." (1977:97)

Levine analyzes nang as a particle indicating 'singular' that in combination with a following noun denoting type of person refers to that person in an "indefinite or unspecified" way (op. cit., 91). When such a nominal construction has the s suffix attached to the noun following nang as in (7) then the construction translates in a definite sense. Levine uses the terms old and new information after Chafe (1970) such that elements mentioned for the first time are new information (e.g. 'a man'); "in subsequent discourse they are "old"information" (Ibid.). Thus when a nang + \_\_\_\_s form is used, the assumption is made that what the noun refers to has already occurred in discourse or belongs "to the stock of

cultural information all speakers of the language share.." (op. cit.).

To summarize the above, we might interpret Levine as having described four distinct functions for the Haida s:

1. Extra-linguistic or context dependent as in (3) - this is the "compound sentence" s
2. Sentence dependent as in (4) - this is the "object clause" s
3. Clause dependent as in (5) - this is the "adverb clause" s
4. Category dependent as in (7) - this is the "old information NP" s

In his analysis of Alaskan (Kaigani) Haida, Leer (1977) also sees s as having a general subordinate function which he relates to what he calls the participial form of the verb - a form used only in the present and past tenses. According to him, s may be used "...in place of the present tense ending as the form of the present participial" (1977:129). With regard to this present or s participial, Leer points out that it is "used with prepositions and preposition-like particles to form subordinate verb clauses which are used as a modification or extension of the main clause." (Ibid.)

Thus, he associates the suffix -s with prepositions, which he observes follow the verb and come at the end of subordinate clauses. In contrast, we claim in our analysis that s may occur as suffixed to the prepositions themselves as well as on the verb

(8) nang iitl'aakdaas      the chief

9

10

treated as verbs which 'become' adjectival or categorical through the suffixation of s.

To summarize Leer's analysis of the -s suffix in Haida, we may say that, to him, the s is the present participial form of a verb and it is used:

1. To denote subordinate clauses (when) followed by a preposition --this we may call the subordinate s which may be illustrated by (12).

(12) gam 'laa dii gulaa'angs k'yaanaan    uu 'laa aa hl  
 Neg him I like Neg s even though T him to I  
 gyuu'alaangsaang                      (Leer 1977:131)  
 listen will

Even though I don't like him, I'll listen to him.

or

I don't like him, but I'll listen to him.

2. To denote nominalized verbs of "fact". As noted above, this parallels one of the s functions described by Levine as well. One of Leer's examples of this is (13).

(13) dang hl kings an hl kil 'laagang                      (Leer 1977:132)  
 you I see s for I thankful an

I'm thankful to see you (I'm thankful for (the fact that)  
 I see you).

3. To denote NPs formed from verb clauses. This is the NP -s exemplified above in (8).
4. To denote "adjectivalized" verbs of "description" as in (11).

5. To denote "verbalized" demonstratives as in (9).

## 2. s and the Semantic Scope of Subordination

We have seen above that while s has been analyzed as having to do with subordination in Haida sentences by previous researchers, it has been so analyzed from a morphological rather than syntactic or semantic point of view. Thus, both Levine and Leer see there to be a number of different s morphemes with different grammatical meanings despite their common form. Implicit in those analyses, however, and explicit in the examples of s provided therein, is the idea that s in Haida functions at the sentence level with actually a single function or meaning - to mark what precedes it as subordinate to what follows.

In this paper we will present an analysis of s as a subordinate marker delimiting the scope of what is outside a sentence's main predication. Our analysis accounts for all instances of s described by Leer and Levine as well as for occurrences of s in our own data on Kaigani Haida.<sup>5</sup> We will show that the four separate functions of s described by Levine and the five participial ss (with different functions) and categoric s from Leer's analysis are all examples of a single particle s with a communicative function limiting the semantic scope of subordination in a sentence.

We will relate subordination and foregrounding as two grammatical devices in Haida at the sentence level which function to distinguish degrees of communicative importance. What is foregrounded is intended by the speaker to be an introduction of a new element to the conversation (discourse), hence, to convey new information (see Edwards 1978a). What is s-marked as subordinate is never new information. It is communicatively important in a different sense, namely, that it delimits a reference to a prior (hence, "old") or subordinate predication.

### 3. Analysis of s from a sentence perspective in Haida

In this section we will look at a number of different sentences in which s occurs in Haida. We will see that in all cases, s refers back to the boundary of the syntactic category in which it occurs and delimits the range (or scope) of elements of lesser import to the speaker's message than the main clause. According to this analysis, s forms the rightmost boundary of a sentence constituent that is outside the main predication.

An s-marked constituent (whether it is a category such as an NP, a phrase, a clause) can act as a sentence element as well. Thus s-marked constituents, in addition to being subordinate element(s), may simultaneously function syntactically as prepositional phrases, subjects, objects and so forth. In Haida,

s-marked constituents may never function as verbs since Haida is a verb-final language. If a verb were to be s-marked, the entire sentence would thus be marked as subordinate - a functional anomaly. Non-main verbs (Leer's participials, for example) insofar as they do not function syntactically as verbs, on the other hand, may be included in the semantic scope of subordination (i.e., be s-marked). Though s-marked constituents have syntactic functions they are analyzable as separate predications.

Just as s-marked constituents never involve a sentence's main verb, likewise, in topic-marked sentences topic-marking particles may not suffix an s since Topics are never subordinate to a sentence's main predication but rather stand outside it altogether. Within a sentence's Topic (to the left of the topic-marking particle) an s-marked constituent may occur just as s-marked constituents may occur anywhere within a Comment as well, as long as it is to the left of the main verb. The scope of a topic-marking particle extends leftward to the beginning of the sentence while the scope of a subordination particle extends leftward until another delimiting particle is encountered. Thus, in (14) below the scope of s encompasses only 'the woman'; the scope of the preposition ii 'in', on the other hand, extends to sentence-initial position and encompasses the phrase 'inside the house' (thus, 'in the inside of the house').

- (14) naa kaahlil 11 nang jaadas kwa haawadaayaan  
house inside into (sg) woman s rock throw Past

The woman threw a rock into the house.

By so analyzing these topic-marked and s-marked constituents, we may determine the semantic range or scope of the particles used for marking by subtracting what is s- (and what is topic-) marked from the main predication. To this extent, grammatically marked constituents in general and s-marked constituents in particular are embedded components of complex sentences.

The following examples show the scope of s in a number of different sentences:

(14) (shown above)

When the s follows jaada in the NP nang jaada (sg. + woman), it means 'there was a woman who', but when there is no s, nang jaada by itself means 'a woman'. When nang jaada is s-marked, we know that the speaker has a particular person in mind. However, that person the speaker has in mind is not the main point of the communication, what was done is (here, the fact of a rock being thrown into the house). Without s, 'a woman' remains a part of the sentence's main predication. Thus, in (14) what is communicated is that someone threw rocks into the (inside of) the house and what is important is what happened, not who did it. In (15), the point of the communication includes the who as well as the what.

- (15) naa kaahlil 11 nang jaada kwa haawadaayaan  
house inside into (sg) woman rock throw (Past)

A woman threw a rock into the house.

By removing an NP from the sentence's main predication in (14) s has a kind of passivizing effect in this language which has no syntactic passive otherwise. What is communicated in (14) is that 'A rock was thrown into the house (by the woman)' while in (15) the more active 'A woman threw a rock into the house' is intended.

- (16) tl' xaataa iidamdala l gwulaaganuu tluu s'gits  
(pl) person short she like did T canoe red s

l gwuhlt'aawan  
they steal Past

The short people she liked stole the red canoe.

In (16), xaataa iidamdala l gwulaaganuu 'She liked the short people' + uu (topic-marker) functions as the sentence's Topic while tluu s'gits l gwuhlt'aawan 'they stole the red canoe' is the Comment. Since the scope of s extends leftward until either the beginning of the sentence or another particle with semantic function is encountered, it is clear that s-marking in (16) extends only over tluu s'git 'red canoe' since to the left of that constituent is the topic-marking particle uu. Thus, in (16) as in (14) the scope of s-marking is such that the s delimits or particularizes the NP apart from its other communicative functions in the sentence. Syntactically, in these two examples, one



s-marked NP is an Object (red canoe) and one is a Subject (the woman). Yet in both cases these syntactic functions are marked as less communicatively important than in the sentences without s-marking.

It is possible for s to delimit larger constituents in Haida sentences.

- (17) atlin l is dluus dluu uu dii aan sablii l gaalinggank  
here she is when s when T me for bread she fries

When she is here(is when) she fries me bread.

In (17), the main predication is dii aan sablii l gaalinggank 'She fries bread for me'. The time she does it is outside the main predication, in the topic, signified by the rightmost dluu 'when' plus the topic-marking particle uu. The time she does it is also in an s-marked phrase, 'when she is here'. This s-marked phrase, outside the main predication, is part of the topic-marked constituent and thus also contrastive. 'When she is here' (s-marked) is when it is that (topic-marked) she fries bread for me'.

Note that s may not occur on the preposition dluu 'when' when only one dluu is used to delimit a clause. This is because the contrastive function of the topic-marking particle uu makes it impossible to subordinate what has just been topic-marked.

- (18) atlin l is dluu dii aan sablii l gaalinggank  
here she is when me for bread she fries

When she's here she fries me bread.

Here the main predication is 'She fries bread for me when she's here'. The clause 'when she's here' is not subordinate to the main predication but instead may be analyzed as topic-marked for emphasis. In fact, the 'preposition' dluu is perhaps best analyzed as a topic marking particle in so far as whatever precedes it are the leftmost elements in a sentence and are contrastive in function. Dluu delimits temporal topics, while uu delimits topics in general. There are other topic-marking particles in Haida that may allow us to subcategorize topic-marking in general as well as analyze instances of multiple topic marking although this awaits further research.

Let us return to the examples Levine and Leer used (repeated here for convenience) and reanalyze s as delimiting constituents embedded in sentences with a subordinating semantic function.

- (3) pl'istik baags gii t'aalang Isdas t'aalang gaahldaagaa  
plastic bags in we do s we freeze + Pres.

We put it in plastic bags and we freeze it.

- (4) daa gyaa k'iids gaan dii unsiidaa  
you Poss. come s it I know

I know you came.

- (5) Hlaa gaads gyaan dii k'inaagangaa  
I run s when I/me warm get do  
(and)  
When I run it makes me warm.

- (6) guud gaa t'aalang 'isdasii t'aalang k'uuchidangaa  
together at we do sii we shape can do

We put it together and bundle it up.

- (7) nang 'iihlingas the man  
person man s
- (8) nang iitlaakdaas the chief  
person chief s
- (9) aa nang jaadaa is this woman  
this (sg) woman is
- (10) gwaahl kugiinaas the paper sack  
sack paper
- (11) chiinaay 'laas ii hl gudaay iik isdaa  
fish the good s in I box the in + Def. put (timeless)

I put the good fish in in the box.

- (12) gam 'laa dii gulaa'angs k'yaanaan uu 'laa aa hl  
Neg him I like Neg s even though T him to I

gyuu'alaangsaang  
listen will

Even though I don't like him, I'll listen to him.

- (13) dang hl kings an hl kil 'laagang  
you I see s for I thankful am

I'm thankful to see you.

In (3), the clause 'we put (it)' marked by s (t'aalang isdas) is outside or subordinate to the main predication 'we freeze (it)' not marked by s (t'aalang gaahldaagaa) and the prepositional phrase marked by gii 'in' shows where the semantic scope of s stops in the sentence. Since 'we' both 'put it' in plastic bags and 'freeze it' in plastic bags, the phrase 'in plastic bags' is not

included in the scope of s since it is part of the main predication, i.e., 'we freeze it in plastic bags'.

In each of the examples of s-marked constituents in Haida sentences we may analyze the s-marked constituent as a distinct syntactic unit. The following English glosses illustrate how a number of the examples above may be interpreted if we separate the s-marked constituents:

- (3) In plastic bags [we put (it)]<sub>s</sub> we freeze (it).

- (4) [You came]<sub>s</sub> I know it.

- (5) [I run]<sub>s</sub> and I am warm.

- (6) [We put it together]<sub>s</sub> we shape the 'its' into bundles.

- (12) [I don't like him]<sub>s</sub> even though (Topic) I will listen to him.

In (12), the subordinate clause 'I don't like him' is also topic-marked with the thrust of the predication being that

'there is a mitigating circumstance (I don't like him) the specifics of which are not important to the main message (I will listen to him)'. 'I don't like him' is s-marked, a

subordinate fact to the main predication, and a constituent of the topic (the mitigating circumstance).

- (13) [I see you]<sub>s</sub> I am thankful for (it).

In (13) we interpret that the speaker is thankful for something (the main message) and that something is the subordinate predication 'I see you'.

(11) [The fish is good]<sub>s</sub> I put (it) into the inside of the box.  
What is being communicated in (11) is that something was put into the box, what it was (the good fish) is not the main part of the sentence.

In the other examples of the many functions of s cited in earlier sections, we see s only at the level of the constituent it delimits rather than in the context of an entire sentence.

Thus with

(7) nang iihlinga + s the man

(8) nang iitl'aakdaa +s the chief

(10) gwaahl kuglinaa + s the paper sack

in isolation we are unable to see how these s-marked NPs function as subordinate to the main predication of the sentences they are in. Sentences (2) and (14) above, however, serve to indicate that the proposed analysis of s-marked constituents applies as well to these constructions that at first glance appear to be definite NPs. In (2) and (14), nang iidanjuus and nang jaadass refer to a particular short person and a particular woman respectively when s-marked but only a short person and a woman when not s-marked as explained above. The scope of s-marking an NP is such that s delimits or particularizes the NP apart from its other communicative functions in a sentence.

Leer's verbalized demonstrative as exemplified in (9) above

bears some further comment. It appears that we may analyze the phrase (9) aa nang jaadaa is 'this woman' as to/at sg. woman is (i.e., 'to be').

The phrase is equivalent to the English 'the woman is at (or present)'. According to such an analysis, we can show that the s in (9) is not an example of marked semantic subordination at all. In a similar vein, consider

(18) aatlin l is dluu / dii aan sablii l gaalinggank  
here she is when me for bread she fries

When she's here she fries me bread.

In this sentence the phrase 'aa...is' is equivalent to 'she is at this place'.

(19) anis gutaatsai daa dii gulaagan (anis = aa + n + is)  
this coat the your I like

I like this coat of ours.

An analysis of demonstrative pronouns and their morphological complexity has yet to be done for Haida, yet it is likely that they are composed initially of prepositions and finally of the morpheme is 'to be'. As Welsch (1975a) observed with regard to Kaigani (Alaskan) Haida, there are three demonstrative pronouns: anis 'this one', hunis 'that one', and wunis 'that one over there' with cognate forms in the Skidegate dialect which are used as deictic pronouns. When used alone anis, hunis and wunis refer to people in an 'absolute' pronominal sense. "Used with nouns

they act as deictic adjectives

anis kiidaay jinggan 'this tree is tall'

hunis kiidaay skapjuugan 'that tree is bent over''

(Welsch 1975a:11)

anis and hunis have plural forms atldaas 'these ones' and hutldaas 'those ones' respectively. It may be that n(i) and tlda mark number (n ← nang 'sg. person'; tlda → tl 'persons, they indef. pl.').

The s on

(7) nang iihlingas 'the man' (sg. person + man + is)

(8) nang iitlaakdas 'the chief' (sg. person + chief + is)

(10) gwaahl kuginaas 'the paper sack' (sack + paper + is)

likewise is perhaps best analyzed as a reflex of is 'to be'.

However, in these examples, each of the 'particularized' nouns or NPs may be considered to exemplify instances of s-marking and be analyzed as syntactic units. Ultimately if the demonstratives are more thoroughly analyzed and more data are available it may turn out to be the case that they too are syntactic s-marked units. E.g., anis might be best seen as 'at + sg. person + s' and interpreted as 'this' (= a sg. person is at) while atldaas 'these, these ones' (= pl. persons are at).

Our analysis of the s on "particularized" NPs and on demonstratives as likely examples of this same subordinating s

conflicts with Levine's view that the s on nouns and NPs is neither a subordinating particle nor an allomorph of 'is (to be)'. He analyzes this s as a morpheme denoting "old information" (1977:97). As Welsch (1975b) observed:

"Levine's analysis asserts that both nominal and predicate elements are marked for old information in SkH by one of several old information suffixes.

In Hydaburg Haida (HbgH) these same suffixes occur but do not in my view mark the presence of old

information." (p. 82)

Levine's "old information" suffixes (including this s) indicate that the elements to which they are suffixed (in this case nouns) represent "information shared by speaker and hearer at a given point in a stretch of discourse" (Welsch, 1975b:83). They have the effect, in Levine's view, of making indefinite NPs (e.g. a woman) definite (the woman). The speaker and hearer already share the information when 'the woman' is communicated but they don't when the non-s form is used. In our analysis, we agree that s on nouns does "particularize" (and thus one could justify an "old information" function for s) yet s does not particularize in a determiner (the versus a) sense but instead by forming embedded sentences out of the NPs to which the s is suffixed.

Singular Ns or NPs which have this s suffix also frequently

occur in Haida with a following ii (not to be confused with the preposition ii 'in') which (as in (3) above) functions to distinguish a 'one from many' singular noun from a 'one and only one' singular noun.

#### 4. Conclusion

The morpheme s in Haida delimits embedded constituents in complex sentences which are less communicatively important in the sentence as a whole than is the main (non s-marked) predication. What is marked s is a syntactic unit in its own right. s-marked constituents may occur in either (or both) the Topic or Comment of a sentence although neither Topic nor Comment per se as units may be s-marked since, by definition, they are not subordinate elements in any sentence. Consider (19) and (20) as examples of sentences with s-marked constituents in the Topic:

- (19) dlung k'aalings ginaan uu dii sinaan gwudunggang  
you (Pl) write s like T I also want

I want to write like you people do.

We may interpret (19) as "I want (to write) and how I want (it) is 'like you write'". The separate predication is 'you write' (dlung k'aalings) and the main predication is 'I also want (something)'. What it is 'I want' is topic-marked and is 'like

— s .

Thus, the topic-marker refers to or encompasses everything

to the left of it (dlung k'aalings ginaan), the s marks the subordinate clause within the Topic (dlung k'aaling). The topic-marker and the subordinate marker thus differ in their scope or semantic range in the sentence. s always delimits a syntactic unit, while a topic-marker may encompass a broader semantic range.

- (20) gwa dang l k'insii uu Bill ging guudang  
there you he see s ii T Bill thing think (wonder)

Seeing you there caused Bill to wonder.

In (20) the subordinate clause is 'he sees you there'. The Topic is 'seeing you there of all the places you could be' (as indicated by ii). That is, seeing you there is what the thing is that Bill thought.

The Haida s, then, functions to delimit the syntactic constituents in complex sentences which are subordinate to the sentence's main predication. It always marks embedded sentences which in English are "manifested by means of different grammatical devices on the level of the sentence such as coordination, apposition, some nominalizations, some relative transformations etc..." (Daneš 1974:115). In Haida, in contrast to English, it appears that these different 'grammatical devices' (usually transformations in English) are handled through the use of particles to mark off what elements are encompassed within specific semantic functions such as subordination and topic-marking.

## Notes

1. The data here represent our own work on Kaigani Haida as well as material from the work of Leer (1977) and of Levine (1977) on Skidegate.
2. Complex utterances may be analyzed as  

"a textual concatenation of grammatically independent sentences in which a transitional zone exists, comprising cases of sentence units that reveal a more complicated (or composed) T-R structure, i.e., units that, from the point of view of FSP, reveal a textual character, which, however, represent a single grammatical unit, one sentence only." (Daneš 1974:115)

T-R structure refers to a Theme-Rheme dichotomy which we are calling Topic-Comment in these pages.
3. The orthography in all examples is a modified form of that proposed by the Haida Language Workshop (Sitka, Alaska 1972) currently being used to prepare practical Haida Language materials. See Leer (1977) for the phonological equivalents of the symbols and Edwards (1978b) for the modifications.
4. It is convenient to gloss the topic-marking particle as "it is" or "is who" because of the semantic prominence of the topic-marked unit.
5. We wish to thank Ms. Lillian Pettviel for acting as our Haida language consultant for this research and the Graduate School

Research Fund (GSRF Award #GSRF455162) for providing partial support through consultant fees and travel money for a visit to Hydaburg, Alaska (summer, 1978).

## Sources

- Chafe, Wallace. 1970. *Meaning and the Structure of Language*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Danes, F. 1974. Functional Sentence Perspective and the Organization of the Text. In *Papers on Functional Sentence Perspective*. Ed. F. Danes. The Hague: Mouton. Pp
- Danes, F. (Ed.) 1974. *Papers on Functional Sentence Perspective*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Eastman, Caron M. & Elizabeth A. Edwards. 1979. *New Information and Contrastiveness*. ms.
- Eastman, Carol M. 1976. NP Number Marking in the VP in Haida: Hydaburg Dialect. Paper presented at the XIth International Conference on Salishan Languages. (Seattle, WA August 12-14, 1976). Pp 264-282 of *Conference Working Papers* (Eastman & Welsch, Compilers).
- Eastman, Carol M. 1978. Word Order in Haida. Paper presented at the XIIIth International Conference on Salishan Languages. (Victoria, B.C., Canada August 17-19, 1978). Pp 352-371 of *Conference Proceedings*.
- Eastman, Carol M., Robert L. Welsch and J. Daniel Vaughan. 1975. On Tense and Aspects of Aspect in Haida: Hydaburg Dialect. LEKTOS (Special Issue) *Papers from the Xth International Conference on Salishan Languages*. (Ellensburg, WA August 14-16, 1975) Ed. Robert St. Clair. Pp 96-117.
- Edwards, Elizabeth A. 1978a. Topic Marking in Haida. Paper presented at the XIIIth International Conference on Salishan Languages. (Victoria, B. C. Canada, August 17-19, 1978) Pp 372-390 of *Conference Proceedings*.
- Edwards, Elizabeth A. 1978b. Topic and Topic-Marking Particles in Haida. Unpublished M. A. Thesis. Department of Anthropology, University of Washington.
- Leer, Jeff. 1977. Introduction. *Haida Dictionary*. Society for the Preservation of Haida Language and Literature and the Alaska Native Language Center. University of Alaska. Fairbanks Pp 12-155.

- Levine, Robert D. 1977. *The Skidegate Dialect of Haida*. Unpublished PhD. Dissertation. Columbia University.
- Li, Charles N. & Sandra A. Thompson. 1976. Subject and Topic: A New Typology of Language. In *Subject and Topic*. Ed. Charles N. Li. Pp 457-489.
- Li, Charles N. (Ed.) 1976. *Subject and Topic*. New York: Academic Press.
- Welsch, Robert L. 1975a *Haida Pronouns -- Hydaburg Dialect*. LEKTOS (Special Issue) *Papers from the Xth International Conference on Salishan Languages*. (Ellensburg, WA August 12-14, 1975) Pp 118-134.
- Welsch, Robert L. 1975b. Particularization vs. Old Information in Hydaburg Haida. *Working Papers in Linguistics*. University of Washington. (Autumn 1975) Pp 82-89.