

‘I Ran From Him Because He Was a Sasquatch’: A Look at Complex Syntactic Structure in Haisla *

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Abstract: This article provides an overview of complex syntactic structure in Haisla, an Upper North Wakashan language spoken primarily in and around Kitamaat Village, BC, by members of the Haisla Nation. To date, no work on Haisla syntactic structure has been accomplished beyond analyses of simple one-clause utterances, and so this paper hopes to shed light on some of the more complex aspects of how Haisla sentences are constructed by describing the language’s clause subordination strategies. The focus of this work is specifically on Haisla’s complementizing and relativizing strategies. Complementation is accomplished using a complementizing enclitic =*i(d)* plus additional oblique marking; according to some analyses, there also exists a ‘locative complementizing suffix’, *-tem*, which may be nothing more than one more type of nominalizing suffix. Relativization is done both with and without a relativizer, and in this latter case, both with and without co-referential (= common argument) marking for the head noun.

Keywords: Haisla, North Wakashan, complementation, relativization, subordination

1 Introduction

This article provides an overview of complex syntactic structure in Haisla (ISO 639-3: *hais*, glottocode: *hais1244*) from a typological-functional perspective, taking a special look at two significantly understudied aspects of the language: *complementation* and *relativization*, together taken to both be forms of ‘clause subordination’ or ‘clausal embedding’. Prior research, such as Lincoln and Rath (1986), has provided only a brief sketch of Haisla syntax, while Bach (1990, 2006) similarly mentions only general features of how to build sentences in Haisla; all three authors’ work primarily focused on phonological, morphological, and lexical aspects of the language, resulting in numerous phonologies, dictionaries, and shorter works on stem- and word-formation, many of which touch only briefly on the issue of both simple and complex syntactic structure. While these works provide an essential foundation for understanding Haisla morphosyntactic structure at the level of one-clause (= ‘simplex’) utterances, neither goes deep enough to truly understand anything more than basic aspects of Haisla syntax. This article seeks to provide greater understanding in this key area of Haisla language study by analysing examples taken from both Lincoln and Rath’s (henceforth LR) and Emmon Bach’s work on the language from the prior century, as well as other resources as applicable. The key resources for this publication include LR’s (1986) Haisla dictionary, which includes many example sentences throughout as well as a brief sketch of (basic) Haisla syntax; their publication of the Haisla story surrounding *Báx^wbak^walanusiwa* — a mythical figure of some note within the mythologies of each of the Northern Wakashan languages — done in conjunction with Evelyn Windsor (1990); and

* I would like to extend my gratitude first and foremost to those elders, living and passed, whose work towards preserving their language has made it possible to study Haisla in the first place. I would also like to thank the Haisla Nation and First Nations Education Foundation for providing me with the opportunities to work closely with speakers and have access to published work on the language. Finally, I would like to thank my generous readers who have looked at this article and provided helpful feedback — *’anátsaq^wnug^wuła!*

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Bach's (1992, 1995, 1998) informally published collections of Haisla stories and lessons, which provide a rich database of both simple and complex utterances for analysis. Additional research includes that of Hein Vink's (n.d., 1974, 1977, 1980) lessons on Haisla grammar, Tero Vattukumpu's (2018, 2019, 2020a, 2020b) papers on special topics in Haisla grammar, and more recent research completed by myself and others who have been working with the Haisla Nation on their efforts at language revitalization.

Haisla is a critically endangered North Wakashan language spoken in northern British Columbia in and around Kitamaat Village; per official estimates, speakers number less than 100 (Gessner et al. 2018), and per informal conversation and personal observation, the number of fluent speakers is very likely significantly fewer.¹ The language can be further subdivided into two dialects — Haislakala (x̄á'isla'kala, glottocode: kiti1241) and Henaksialakala (x̄enák'sialakala, glottocode: hena1234) — and although very few speakers remain of this latter, it is well-represented in prior research, particularly in LR's 1986 dictionary of the language and their 1990 publication of a narrative in this dialect by a prominent speaker. Ultimately, though, there is little time to continue working with native speakers of either variety of the language, although thankfully much work has been previously done on the language in the form of the phonological descriptions, dictionaries cited earlier, and the language learning courses cited earlier. Additionally, descriptive work has continued into the 21st century based in large part on the foundation laid by these earlier authors, to whom I am also deeply obliged. Ultimately, the opportunity to continue working with native speakers is dwindling rapidly, and so to provide a greater understanding of Haisla for those who are still able to work with native Haisla-speaking elders, this work hopes to provide some insight into the nature of complex syntactic structure in Haisla in the form of a more detailed examination of Haisla complementation and relativization.

1.1 A note on terminology

By 'complex syntactic structure', I am referring to ways that Haisla creates *subordinated clauses*, thus resulting in a two- or multi-clause (= complex) utterance; to this end, I will examine both *complement* and *relative* clauses. Example (1) below from LR (1986:123) is an example of a complex Haisla sentence with a complement clause (CC, marked in **bold** and underlined), which is mirrored in the English translation with a clause beginning with 'that...':²

¹ There may be as few as a dozen fluent speakers left, although there remain several dozen semi-fluent speakers; many younger community members are working to revitalize the language through documentation and learning programs.

² Abbreviations: -○ 'suffix'; =○ 'enclitic'; -!○ 'hardening'; -°○ 'softening'; ○¹ 'proximal'; ○² 'medial'; ○³ 'distal'; ○⁴ 'absent'; ○₁ 'primary (deictic) or 'first (connective)'; ○₂ 'secondary (deictic) or 'second (connective)'; 1 'first person'; 2 'second person'; 3 'third person'; / 'either/or'; [] 'main clause'; {} 'morph set' or 'relative clause'; AUX 'auxiliary'; CA 'common argument'; CONN 'connective'; CMPZ 'complementizing (enclitic)'; D 'deictic (determiner)'; FV 'final vowel'; GL 'glottalizing juncture'; INCH 'inchoative'; INST 'instrumental'; LHA 'left-hand adjunct marker'; NEG 'negative'; NMZ 'nominalizer'; OBJ 'object'; OBL 'oblique'; PASS 'passive'; PERF 'perfect'; PL 'plural'; PN 'personal name'; PREP 'preposition'; PROP 'proper name'; Q 'question'; RC 'relative clause' RDP 'reduplicant'; RECIP 'reciprocal'; REP 'reportative'; SBJ 'subject'; SG 'singular'.

- (1) *hidái* [CC *bek^wesáisi*]CC *kíx^welsgitenc*.
 hidai bk^wsa=i=si kíx^w-|s-gil=Ø=ŋc
 COP.3 be_sasquatch=CMPZ=3³.OBL run-OUTSIDE-REASON=D1³=1SG.OBL
 ‘It is the fact [CC that 3³ was a sasquatch]CC which constitutes the reason I ran away.’³

In this example, the predicate head is *hidái* ‘it is’ (a copula for 3rd person referents), while the subject is a complement clause *bek^wesáisi*. This latter form is complementized and possessed form of *bek^wesá* ‘to be a sasquatch’. It is marked with the complementizing enclitic =*i* (one of two allomorphs for this enclitic; see Section 3.1.1) and the possessive enclitic =*si* ‘3rd person distal oblique (= 3³.OBL)’, the latter of which indicates the (thematic) subject of the complement clause.

For an example of a relative clause (RC), consider the following:

- (2) *dúq^welan* [DP *wísemāxi* {RC *łi’á*}RC]DP
 duq^w|a=n wísm=a=xí łia
 see=1.SBJ man=D1³=D2³ buy
 ‘I see the man³ that buys.’ (VW)

In (2), there is no overt relativizer; rather, the understanding of *łi’á* ‘buy’ as an RC is based purely on the placement of the verb in relation to the head noun, *wísemāxi* ‘man³’. Simple juxtaposition — or the ‘gap strategy’ (Section 3.2.2) — is one of Haisla’s three methods for indicating relative clauses, while the other two are to use an overt relativizer (Section 3.2.1) or a co-referential subject enclitic (Section 3.2.3), both of which must agree in deixis with the head noun. The data would suggest that the use of a relativizer and the presence of the CA in the RC are mutually exclusive, i.e., is not possible for both a relativizer *and* a CA to co-occur in the relative clause, although this is not conclusive and may require further testing.

With a few exceptions to be discussed, complementation is always accomplished through a combination of either a complementizing enclitic or a nominalizing suffix followed by oblique (= possessive) marking, while relativization is more complicated and can surface as any of the three strategies described in the previous paragraph. In what follows, I will first make some notes on Haisla orthography as used in this work, then present an overview of Haisla syntactic structure

I use SMALL CAPS for concepts which in English correspond to a single word but in Haisla are conveyed through a lexical suffix, as well for in-line citation of Haisla roots, such as *guk^w* ‘HOUSE’ (as opposed to the stem/word form *guk^w* ‘house’). Square brackets ‘[]’ will be used generally for most phrasal constituents, including complement clauses, while curly brackets ‘{}’ will be used specifically for relative clauses in particular; labels for these constituents will be placed in small caps, e.g., DP ‘determiner phrase’, at the beginning and end of all brackets. The first line of all examples is in the community orthography, while the second line is based on the Lincoln and Rath orthography with some modifications (see Section 1.2 for further discussion).

Finally, throughout this work, I have tried to note the speaker who gave the utterance wherever possible using the following abbreviations: CP – Cecil Price; GR – Gordon Robertson; FA – Franklin ‘Jack’ Albert; EG – Ella Grant; JL – Jeffrey Legaik; NG – Nelson Grant; VW – Vera Wilson. (Of these, only Gordon Robertson is a Henaksiala speaker; the others are all at least primarily Haislakala speakers, although some may have influence from Henaksiala, such as Franklin Albert, whose mother was a Henaksiala speaker.) Question marks ‘?’ indicate that a speaker’s exact identity is unknown.

³ The translation given by LR (containing ‘which...’) would suggest the existence of a relative clause as well, but in discussion with one of the authors (Rath, p.c., 2023) this was to render the translation as exact as possible, *not* to suggest the existence of an RC in this particular utterance; an example of a true RC is given in example (2).

(Section 2), explore complex structure (Section 3), and conclude with a few final thoughts (Section 4). Appendices are provided which detail the Haisla orthography (Appendix A) and a number of enclitics relevant to this paper (Appendix B), and there is a final appendix (Appendix C) which provides a non-technical description of the contents of this paper.

1.2 A note on orthography

The Haisla Nation has adopted the ‘modern hybrid orthography’, a new standard developed within the past several years that attempts to take elements from all prior orthographies to best represent the Haisla language. This standard draws especially on work done by LR and Bach (who themselves drew from Vink, among other researchers working in the Pacific Northwest), and this work will follow it as closely as possible. Where necessary, modifications will be made to the data provided by LR, Bach, Vink, and others to fit the modern orthography as it is currently being used by the community; some ambiguities may remain from the source data, but these will be largely ignored, as they present no impediment to understanding clause structure. The reader should note that capitalization is not used in Haisla, so native Haisla words (even at the beginning of a sentence) will not be capitalized, while borrowed words (such as proper names) will be placed in SMALL CAPS in the vernacular to distinguish them from the surrounding material. (The pronunciation of borrowings is usually identical to that of the source language, usually English.)

The hybrid orthography is used to represent Haisla in both in-line citation and on the first line of all interlinearized examples. For underlying forms, a few special graphemes are used, notably: ⟨i⟩, ⟨â⟩, and ⟨ù⟩, each of which represents a ‘vocalic glottalized resonant’, as described by LR (1986:24–28). Phonetically, these are equivalent to a sequence /Vʔ/ (a brief closure of the glottis following a vocalic resonant, i.e., ‘vowel’, potentially resulting in creaky voice on the resonant itself), which is distinct from /Vʔ/ (a vowel followed by a glottal stop), for phonological reasons not discussed here. Schwa is never represented in underlying form, and so resonants that are vocalic in surface form (⟨em, en, el⟩) are presented as syllabic in underlying form (/m̩, n̩, l̩/). For a full list of Haisla phonemes and their corresponding orthographic representation (not including the special symbols used here), please see Appendix A.

2 Basic concepts

Before discussing complex structure, it is necessary to discuss basic morphosyntactic structure in Haisla, i.e., simple (one-clause) sentences. In particular, three issues in Haisla syntax will be important later on in discussing complement and relative clauses: *predication* (Section 2.1), *deixis* (Section 2.2), and *possession* (Section 2.3). Each of these will be dealt with in turn.

2.1 Predication

Haisla syntax consists of three primary elements: the obligatory *predicate*, following *arguments*,⁴ and optional *adjuncts*. The first two of these correspond to the more modern terms ‘verb phrase’ (VP) and ‘determiner phrase’ (DP), while the latter includes both the terms ‘adjective phrase’ (AP) and ‘prepositional phrase’ (PP) according to position: Haisla APs are exclusively pre-verbal/-nominal, and so are called ‘left-hand adjuncts’ (LHAs) in the literature, while Haisla PPs are exclusively post-verbal/-nominal, and so are labeled as ‘right-hand adjuncts’ (RHAs). In keeping

⁴ Also called *relata* (sg. *relatum*) in earlier work on Haisla and related languages.

with prior research on Haisla syntax, I will preferentially use the labels ‘predicate’, ‘argument’, and ‘left-/right-hand adjunct’, although in interlinearization I will make use of more modern abbreviations like DP ‘determiner phrase’.

Arguments are further subdivided into *subjects*, *objects*, and *obliques*, which must occur in that order within the clause. Strictly speaking, obliques only include those arguments preceded by the preposition *his/hes/=s* ‘oblique’ (the latter of these being a reduced enclitic form of the former) and not those marked by *la* ‘preposition’ or *qen* ‘for’, nor any time or manner adverbs (*tánslac* ‘tomorrow’, *’úx^wa* ‘also’, etc.) — these latter three are best understood as RHAs. Arguments may be DPs or enclitics, while predicates are strictly VPs; however, the predicate head is not always the main verb, and may be an auxiliary. Indeed, the main verb is always the last element within the predicate while the head is the first, and there can be several words intervening between them.

The predicate head is always (minimally) host to the subject ending if there is one. It may also host a wide variety of additional enclitics — some before and some after the subject enclitic — including tense, aspect, mood, object, and oblique marking. These first three may appear before while the last two appear after the subject ending. Thus, Haisla sentences may consist of just one verb with all of the necessary endings or maximally be a predicate with following arguments plus one or more RHAs.

- (3) *dáduq^weli ’isi.*
 daduq^wil=i=i’i=si
 watch=3³.SBJ=3³.OBJ=3³.OBL
 ‘3³ watch(es/ed) 3³ with 3³.’ (?EG; Bach 1990:74)

- (4) *dáduq^wila wísemāxi wáćiaxi his dáduq^wayuaxi la ’úx^wli ’asaxi qen hímasāxi.*
 daduq^wila wisᵐ=a=xī wáći=a=xī his daduq^wayu=a=xī la
 watch man=D₁³=D₂³ dog=D₁³=D₂³ OBL binoculars=D₁³=D₂³ PREP
 ’ux^wlias=a=xī qn hímas=a=xī
 roof=D₁³=D₂³ for chief=D₁³=D₂³
 ‘man³ watch(es/ed) dog³ with binoculars³ on roof³ for chief³.’ (NG)

In (3), verb *dáduq^wila* ‘to watch’ is followed by several enclitics — =i ‘3³ subject’, =i ‘3³ object’, and =si ‘3³ oblique’ — while in (4), the verb is followed by a subject *wísemāxi* ‘man³’, an object *wáćiaxi* ‘dog³’, and several RHAs, one of which (*his dáduq^wayuaxi* ‘with binoculars³’) is an oblique argument (and hence reducible to an enclitic). The superscript ‘3’ in both interlinearization and translation indicates an argument that is DISTAL, i.e., neither near the speaker nor the listener (= ‘over there’).

2.2 Deixis

Argument heads can consist of just a noun but are often preceded by one of several deictic demonstratives and are commonly followed by a series of up to two deictic enclitics: both a primary and a secondary deictic in the case of unpossessed nouns, and a primary deictic and an oblique enclitic in the case of possessed ones. The subscripts ○₁ and ○₂ will be used to mark the ‘PRIMARY’ and ‘SECONDARY’ deictics (among other uses; see Footnote 2), respectively, while independent deictics (i.e., determiners) will be left as merely ‘D’ with corresponding superscript.

(5) *qi beg^wánemāxi*
 qi bg^wanṃ=a=xī
 D³ person=D₁³=D₂³
 ‘that³ man³’ (??GR)

(6) *lāwānemasi*
 lāwānṃ=a=si
 husband=D₁³=3³.OBL
 ‘3³’s husband’

In (5), the noun *beg^wánem* ‘person’ (or ‘man’) is preceded by a deictic demonstrative *qi* ‘that³’ and proceeded by both a primary deictic =*a* and a secondary deictic =*xī*, both of which indicate a distal argument and which combine to form a deictic complex at the end of the noun; both the independent and bound deictics must agree, thus a mismatched phrase like **qik beg^wánemāxi* ‘this¹ man³’ is not possible. In (6), meanwhile, only the primary deictic =*a* occurs, which is then followed by an oblique enclitic indicating the possessor. On a possessed noun, the primary deictic and following oblique marker need not agree in deixis, and indeed can frequently differ; see, for example, *gúk^wgasi* ‘3³’s house¹’, wherein =*ga* ‘D₁¹’ refers to the possessum, which is near the speaker, and =*si* refers to the possessor, who is further away. Independent deictics may also precede possessed nouns, i.e., *qi lāwānemasi* (lit. ‘that³ 3³’s husband’), in which case the determiner agrees with the possessum. Additional notes on Haisla possession are given in the following section.

Finally, it is important to note that both primary and secondary deictics behave differently in the presence of an LHA: when preceded by an adjective marked with =*s* ‘LHA marker’, the primary deictic ‘drops out’, leaving only the secondary deictic. (This is one means of distinguishing an LHA from an RHA even though they are both formally identical.)

(7) *wísem s̄ā’ebek^waāxi*
 wíṃ=s s̄ā’bk^w=a=xī
 man=OBL child=D₁³=D₂³
 ‘man’³’s child³’ (VW)

(8) *wísem s̄ā’ebek^wxī⁵*
 wíṃ=s s̄ā’bk^w=xī
 man=LHA child=D₂³
 ‘male child³’ (i.e., ‘son’) (VW)

In (7), the argument *s̄ā’ebek^waāxi* ‘child³’ is the complement to a RHA headed by =*s*, which attaches enclitically to the preceding argument *wísem* ‘man’, creating a complex DP; this is an example of a possessive construction. In (8), meanwhile, *s̄ā’ebek^wxī* ‘child³’ is preceded by a left-hand adjunct *wísem* ‘male’, which is marked by an enclitic =*s* (formally indistinct from the oblique marker, but functionally different); the presence of this enclitic, and hence of an LHA, seemingly results in the disappearance of the primary deictic =*a*. The same phenomenon occurs with all primary deictics at

⁵ If preceded by a velar or uvular consonant, the /x̄/ found in all secondary deictics commonly disappears, although it may occasionally be preceded by an epenthetic schwa [ə] (e). Thus, *s̄ā’ebek^w(e)xī* and *s̄ā’ebek^wi* are both possible renderings here.

each level of deixis in both unpossessed and possessed nominal arguments. Notably, this does *not* happen with complementized arguments, which seemingly retain their primary deictics (if they are present) even in the presence of an LHA, a phenomenon that is discussed more fully in Section 3.1.3.

2.3 Possession

The full range of behaviours and meanings of the independent, primary, and secondary deictics — and indeed deixis and other morphosyntactic categories affecting word formation in general — as well as their involvement in indicating possession, will not be discussed here, and are only mentioned in this section to prepare the reader for their involvement in both complement and relative clauses. It is only necessary to recognize that the primary deictic marks the *possessum*, while the oblique enclitic marks the *possessor* — I will return to this topic in Section 3.1.3, where I will discuss what I will conveniently call ‘possessive’ marking in complement clauses.

3 Complex structure

Having now outlined the basics of Haisla morphology and syntax, I now turn my attention to complex syntactic structure in Haisla; specifically, I will look at ‘complementation’ (Section 3.1) and ‘relativization’ (Section 3.2). Haisla relative clauses are always post-nominal, while complement clauses can occur in argument position as subjects, objects, or obliques (as the complement to the preposition *qen* ‘for, in order to’ or, more rarely, as a complement to the oblique marker *his*). There are seemingly two complementizing endings: one for complement clauses more generally, *=i(d)* (Section 3.1.1), and another for specifically locative complement clauses, *-tem* (Section 3.1.2), as argued for by Lincoln et al. (1990). For this second item, the term ‘locative’ is used only very generally, as this suffix encodes not only the spatial but also temporal setting, possibly among other semantic categories; indeed, it will be questioned whether the suffix *-tem* is a complementizer at all or in fact just another nominalizer.

Both *=i(d)* and *-tem* are used in a few lexical and one semi-lexical item that function very similarly to conjunctions: the former is found in *li(d)-*, translated roughly as ‘when’, ‘as’, or ‘at that time’ (Section 3.1.1.3), and the latter in *látém* and *máasdem*, translated roughly as ‘where’ (Section 3.1.2.1) and ‘why’ (Section 3.1.2.2), respectively. Complement clauses are always marked using oblique marking (Section 3.1.3 that corresponds to the agent (or ‘doer’) of the complement clause, while the complement clause itself can be considered a form of nominal argument with certain verbal characteristics.

Finally, relative clauses can appear with a relativizer (= ‘gap strategy’; Section 3.2.2) or without one (Section 3.2.2); the common argument may surface as an enclitic on the verb (Section 3.2.3), although its occurrence seems mutually exclusive with relativizers. When a relativizer is present, it always takes the form of a deictic determiner that agrees in deixis with the relativized noun.

3.1 Complementation

Complementation is achieved through use of one or both of the following endings: the enclitic *=i(d)* ‘complementizing enclitic’ (Section 3.1.1), which is by far the most common of the two, and *-tem* ‘locative complementizing suffix’ (Section 3.1.2), which is used less often and may in fact be nothing more than a nominalizing suffix (Sections 3.1.1 and 3.1.2). I will first discuss the complementizing enclitic, as it is not only more common but also presents a wider range of

associated morphological and syntactic structures, then discuss the locative complementizing suffix, as well as discuss its potential status as a nominalizing suffix.

3.1.1 =i(d) ‘complementizing enclitic’

Complementation is most often achieved through the complementizing enclitic =i(d). (I do not refer to this a ‘complementizer’, as this term is better left for the preposition *qen* ‘for’, which commonly introduces a complement clause.) This enclitic always occurs in second position directly after the stem to which it attaches, and it is almost always followed by oblique marking corresponding to the thematic subject (but grammatical possessor) of the complement, although a few other possibilities exist; notably, no TAM-marking is possible before or after this enclitic, and indeed it appears to occupy the same slot in the morphology as the future tense (=λ), recent past (=t(et)), distant past (=gut), and perfective (=’ina) enclitics. The complementizing enclitic =i(d) has been previously referred to as the ‘factualizing suffix’ in discussions of Heiltsuk grammar (Rath 1981:70–1) and Haisla narrative (Lincoln et al. 1990:39), and examples of it can also be found in Oowekyala texts (Hilton & Rath 1982)⁶ as well, being in most of these works translated as “the fact that...” (hence ‘factualizing’). This description, however, appears altogether too rigid and unnecessarily complicated (let alone inaccurate for its referencing a ‘suffix’ instead of ‘enclitic’), as what is accomplished by this marker is clearly a form of complementation. Example (1) — repeated below as (9) — shows both the form =i and a following marker =si on the stem and is given a more colloquial translation that matches the Haisla more closely.

- (9) *hidái bek^wesáisi kix^welsgitenc.*
 hidai bk^wsa=i=si kix^w-łs-git=Ø=nc
 COP.3 be_sasquatch=CMPZ=3³.OBL run-OUTSIDE-REASON=D1³=1SG.OBL
 ‘That 3³ was a sasquatch is the reason I ran away from him³.’

Once the enclitic is attached to a verb stem, the resulting (incomplete) stem lies somewhere between a noun and a verb. A comparison may be made to the status of English gerunds, such as ‘running’ and ‘cooking’, which are built from verbal stems but feature many of the same qualities of nouns. In favour of a noun-like interpretation for complement clauses such as (9), there are the following pieces of evidence: (i) the subject must always be a nominal argument that directly follows the predicate (in the example above, *hidái*); (ii) the resultant stem is possessed like other nominals (as above with the enclitic =si); and (iii) the complement clause commonly follows a preposition (often *qen*, or more rarely, *his*), a property normally reserved for nouns.

Despite this, however, complementized forms of verbal stems also show evidence of more verb-like characteristics, namely that: (i) they always receive a verbal or ‘action-oriented’ interpretation, i.e., they are never translated using nominal phrases; (ii) they are nearly always built from verb stems (although a few exceptions do exist); and (iii) they can be followed by object/oblique enclitics, full NPs, additional RHAs, and even further VPs, as the examples below will demonstrate.

⁶ For example, consider *ǵúlhqłh’idisi* ‘that they could eat tallow’ (Hilton & Rath 1982:82), with a similar enclitic complex =isi attached to the verb *ǵúlhqłh’id* ‘to eat tallow’; presumably a very similar form could be constructed in Haisla, although I have yet to test this.

- (10) *hidái ('úmac) ławínáinuk^wigencus hémgilagitenc qéncu.*
 hidai ('umas=s) ławínai-nuk^w=i=gnc=us hmgila-git=Ø=nc
 COP.3 (big=LHA) love-HAVE=CMPZ=1SG.OBL=2.OBL cook-REASON=D₁³=1SG.OBL
 qn=su
 for=2.SBJ
 'It is because I love you (a lot) that I cook for you.' (NG)
- (11) *kútan qen dúdeq^weliganux^w'i la geldálixi.*
 kuta=n qn du<d>q^wl=i=ganuk^w=i la gldal=i=xí
 think=1.SBJ for <RDP>see=CMPZ=1PL.EXCL.OBL=3³.OBJ PREP Kildala=D₁³=D₂³
 'I think that we (excl.) saw it³ at Kildala³.' (EG?; Bach 1995:59)
- (12) *saḡgi qen wánudisi lanlanuk^w qi zax^wenasi du qi łati.*
 saḡg=i qn wánud=i=si la=ηła=nuk^w qi
 want=3³.SBJ for trade=CMPZ=3³.OBL PREP=1.OBJ=EXCL D³
 zax^wη=a=si du qi łati
 oolichan=D₁³=3³.OBL and D³ oolichan_grease
 'They want to trade with us for oolichans [*sic*] and [oolichan] grease.' (EG?; Bach 1995:57)
- (13) *saḡgenux^w qen lu'eli'ex^ws 'aqa lanlanuk^w.*
 saḡg=nuk^w qn lúł=i='x^ws 'aqa la=ηła=nuk^w
 want=EXCL for again=CMPZ=2.OBL come PREP=1.OBJ=EXCL
 'We (EXCL.) want you to come again to us (*excl.*).' (EG?; Bach 1995:59)

The utterance in (10) contains an oblique argument =*us* 'you (OBL)' following the oblique marker =*genc* (indicating the thematic subject 'I'), while the one in (11) contains a direct object =*i* following =*ganux^w* (indicating the thematic subject 'we (EXCL.)'). In this latter example, there is additionally an RHA, *la geldálixi* 'at Kildala³', as part of the complement clause in the second utterance, denoting the place of the action described. Finally, (12) contains an example of a coordinated NP, *qi zax^wenasi du qi łati* 'the oolichans³ and oolichan grease', while (13) contains an additional verb '*aqa* 'come'. Taken together, each of these examples demonstrate that complementized stems share some of the same features as verbs, indicating that complement clauses are likewise complete predicates in their own right rather than simply nominal arguments.

Complement clauses very commonly appear after the preposition *qen* 'for', which acts as a complementizer, often with a purposive meaning (either 'so' or 'in order to'):

- (14) *qi năuk^ws tétēqiláyu'enc qi ḡáḡapenc qen 'úq^wigenc bek^weḡdí.*
 qi năuk^w=s ttqila-yu=nc=s qi ḡaḡap=Ø=nc qn
 D³ one=LHA teach-INST=1.OBL=OBL D³ grandparent=D₁³=1.OBL for
 'uq^w=i=gnc bk^wḡdi
 believe=CMPZ=1SG.OBL God
 'This is one thing taught to me by my grandfather, so I would believe in God.' (GR; Bach 1992:24)

The use of *qen* (or any of the cognates in other North Wakashan languages) to create benefactive and purposive complement clauses is well-attested (Sardinha 2011; Fortescue 2007) and presents

a common genetic feature of the family going back to Proto-Wakashan **q*-. The main contribution I make here is in detailing the mechanisms by which these clauses are created and ordered within Haisla syntax specifically. Notably, this complementizer is not always necessary.

- (15) *gu'álaλnug^wuλa gu'áliq^ws qi nuáqeliḫi.*
 gúaλa=λ=nug^w=uλa gúaλ=i=q^ws qi nuaq|_l=i=ḫi
 help=FUT=1.SBJ=2.OBJ help=CMPZ=2.OBL D³ elder=D₁³=D₂³
 'I am going to help you because you helped the old man.' (GR; Lincoln et al. 1990:72)

In (15) above, the complement clause, *gu'áliq^ws qi nuáqeliḫi* 'that you helped the old man³', is given without the need to be introduced by *qen*; nevertheless, the interpretation is construed as indicating the reason for the action in the main clause, *gu'álaλnug^wuλa* 'I will help you'. The difference between this utterance and ones like (14) appears to be one of *reason* vs. *result*: when an action is taken to achieve some end or result, then *qen* is preferred, but when the action is the reason for some other action, then the complement clause may be merely stated without any introductory material.

Nevertheless, it appears to be possible that reasons like that in (15) may optionally be introduced with *his*, though such examples do not appear to be common:

- (16) *kúusi 'íkuya dúq^wela qi beg^wánemaḫi gúg^wi'asi (his) teksáisi*
 kuus=i 'íkuya duq^wḷa qi bg^wanḡ=a=ḫi gúg^wi-'=a=si (his)
 NEG=3³.SBJ can see D³ human=D₁³=D₂³ foot-GL=D₁³=3³.OBL OBL
 tk_sa=i=si
 be_pot_bellied=CMPZ=3³.OBL
 'The man³ cannot see his³ feet because he³ is pot-bellied.' (GR; Lincoln & Rath 1986:137)

As indicated by the parentheses in (16) above, the element *his* is optional, perhaps even merely facultative, i.e., it can be easily omitted without changing the meaning of the utterance. It should be noted, however, that LR record only one other instance of this type of construction: *la'áiḷ JOHN-a la gúk^wasi (his) yúg^wex'idisi* 'John³ went inside his³ house because it³ ([=]si) started to rain (yúg^wex'id)' (Lincoln & Rath 1986:137). I have been unable to find any additional instances of this type of construction, and so it is either marginal or indeed no longer present in the modern form of the language. (As always, LR's examples come from a now deceased speaker of Haisla's minority dialect, Gordon Robertson. Attempts to recreate or otherwise reconstruct his speech often prove unfruitful).

Finally, complement clauses can also be introduced by *qi* 'that³':⁷

- (17) *lali 'anátxaḫ^win bibi'uenc qi 'áigisi ma'eláuk^waḫi.*
 la=l_i=i 'anátzaq^w=in bibi'u=Ø=nc qi 'aig=i=si
 AUX=REP=3³.SBJ say_thanks=PERF uncle=D₁³=1.OBL D³ rescue=CMPZ=3³.OBL
 ma'lauk^w=a=ḫi
 two=D₁³=D₂³
 'Apparently they³ said thanks to my uncle³ because he³ saved the two³ [of them].' (FA)

⁷ It may be that this phenomenon is more general in that *any* of Haisla's demonstratives can introduce a complement clause, presumably on the basis of the CC's 'distance' relative to the speaker (see Section 3.1.3), but thus far I have only found examples with *qi*.

Instead of the more usual *qen*, the complement clause *'áigisi* 'that he³ saved' is introduced by *qi*; that the distal deictic determiner is used may be because complement clauses with 3rd person possessors are conceptually 'over there' (= distal), as discussed in Section 3.1.3. (It's unknown what would happen with 1st and 2nd person possessors — to date, such instances have never been recorded.)

There is additionally one single example with both *qen* and *qi*:

- (18) *li pála'in qen qi 'ikui 'eḡ^ws dááḡud.*
 l=i pála='in qn qi 'iku=i='ḡ^ws daaḡud
 AUX=3³.SBJ work=PERF for D³ can=CMPZ=2.OBL take_down
 'She³ makes [it] so that³ you can take [it] off.' (VW)

In this example, both *qen* and *qi* seem to introduce the complement clause. (Elsewise, *qi* may be modifying the complement clause *'ikui 'eḡ^ws* 'that you can', which as complement clauses in Haisla have some nominal features as discussed previously, is not out of the question.) From the context in which it was given, however, it is not clear if this utterance was what the speaker truly intended to say, or if it represents a disfluency.

As a final note, complement clauses can function as the heads of LHAs; such examples are rare, but they can be found modifying both NPs and, somewhat more commonly, VPs.

- (19) *qálagitc g^witelixi qu 'ikisu hémsa.*
 qála-git=s g^wit|i=i=x̄i qu 'ik=i=su=s h̄msa
 know-REASON=OBL Tsimshian=D_i³=D₂³ D² good=CMPZ=3².OBL=OBL food
 'That's how it's known by the Tsimshian that [it] is good to eat.' (GR; Bach 1992:23)

- (20) *lidsis lu'él 'esénḡ...*
 l=id=si=s lú|l 'sḡḡ
 AUX=CMPZ=3³.OBL=OBL again year
 'When again after a year...' (or 'When again it had been a year...') (GR; Bach 1992:60)

In (19), the complement clause *'ikisu* 'that 3² is good' appears to be modifying *hémsa* 'food', while in (20), *lidsis* (roughly 'when it³...') is modifying *lu'él* 'again'. The exact meaning/function of the complement clause as an LHA is unclear: its function in the first utterance is closer to an argument, being both the object of the clause and preceded by *qu* 'that²', while in the second, it is clearly modifying the head of the predicate. In any case, this usage of complement clauses appears to be marginal at best or may even represent a type of marking as yet unidentified.

3.1.1.1 Complement clauses without possessive enclitics

Although almost always followed by an oblique enclitic that indicates the doer of the action described in the complement clause (i.e., the 'thematic subject'), two other possibilities exist: (i) the complementized stem ends in =s 'oblique', in which case what follows is a full NP or sometimes VP, or (ii) the stem ends merely in =i,⁸ in which case the doer of the action is either known from the main clause or otherwise unspecified.

⁸ No instance has been found of this type with the augmented form =id, but this possibility should not be ruled out.

- (21) *wáx'id hímasāxi qen hidáis qi beg^wánemāxi.*
 wāx-'id hímas=a=̄xi q̄n hida=i=s qi beg^wan̄m=a=̄xi
 tell-INCH chief=D₁³=D₂³ for COP.3=CMPZ=OBL D³ person=D₁³=D₂³
 'Chief³ told that this³ man³ should be the one.'
 (Lincoln & Rath 1986:123)

- (22) *kúun qáala qen ḡ^wáili.*
 kuu=n qáala q̄n ḡ^wail=i
 NEG=1.SBJ know for do=CMPZ
 'I don't know what to do.'
 (GR; Lincoln & Rath 1986:303)

In (21), the head of the complement clause, *hidá* '3rd person copula', only has the complementizing enclitic =*i* and the oblique enclitic =*s* because it is followed by the full noun phrase, *qi beg^wánemāxi* 'that³ man³', which serves as the clause's possessor and thus thematic subject of the clause. Similarly, in (22), the head of the complement clause, *ḡ^wáil* 'do', features only the complementizing suffix and no oblique marking, which may have two motivations: (i) because the thematic subject of the complement clause is the same as that of the main clause — namely =*n* '1st person subject (=I)' — thus rendering double-marking redundant and unnecessary, or (ii) because there is no following argument that can serve as either subject or object, thus negating the need for even the oblique enclitic =*s*. This last observation is made based on the existence of utterances like the following:

- (23) *gu'alá̄pina wáuk^ws beg^wánem̄xi qen qínemis láqiyási...*
 gūal-áp=ina [wáuk^w=s bg^wan̄m=̄xi] q̄n q̄in̄m=i=s
 help-RECIP=PERF some=LHA person=D₂³ for much=CMPZ=OBL
 laqi-'=a=si
 get-GL=D₁³=3³.OBL
 '[Some people] helped each other to get a lot...'
 (EG; Bach 1995:60)

Example (23) above presents an interesting instance where the thematic subjects of the main and subordinate clause are identical, and yet oblique marking is present in a reduced form: *qínemis* 'in order to (get) a lot' with oblique marker =*s* instead of the expected *qínemisi* with =*si* to indicate the 3rd person distal subject. This seems to occur because of the presence of the following argument, *láqiyási* (roughly 'their³ getting³'), which serves as the thematic object of the complement clause. That this blocks the appearance of the expected oblique marker to indicate the possessor of the complement head *qínem* may suggest that *láqiyási* is in fact the grammatical (although not thematic) possessor/subject of the clause.

In general, the absence of the possessive marker in favour of the oblique marker =*s* seems to be a response to whether there is a following 3rd person object or not: when there is a 3rd person object, regardless of whether it is the thematic subject, the oblique enclitic =*s* must be used. The same appears to not be true of complement clauses where the subject is 1st or 2nd person.

- (24) *li bélkudsu'ina qen 'ikuiganis x^wíta la qi 'áupasi, qi hímac 'íkiāxi.*
 l=i b̄lk-!ud-su='ina q̄n 'iku=i=ganis x^wíta la
 AUX=3³.SBJ bleed-TR-PASS=PERF for can=CMPZ=1PL.INCL.OBL return PREP
 qi 'aup=a=si qi hímas=s 'íkí=a=̄xi
 D³ father=D₁³=3³.OBL D³ chief=OBL heaven=D₁³=D₂³
 'He³ was bled so that we (*incl.*) could return to his³ Father³, the Chief³ of Heaven³.' (CP)

In (24) above, even though there is following material, *x^wila* ‘to return’, that is not the thematic subject, the subject remains as it is, i.e., not 3rd but 1st person: =*ganis* ‘1st person exclusive plural oblique’. There is additionally no oblique enclitic =*s* following the possessive enclitic.

3.1.1.2 =*i* vs. =*id*

Thus far, no forms have been presented with the allomorph =*id*; indeed, this form of the suffix appears to be overall less common than =*i*. Nevertheless, many examples can still be found of this allomorph.

- (25) ...*laⁱ wela* 'in *qi x^wenúk^ws wawaláís qen kⁱesidsi l^wawels*.
 la=ⁱi w^la='in qi x^wenúk^w=s wawalais qⁿ kⁱs=id=si
 AUX=REP=3³.SBJ keep=PERF D³ child=OBL PROPN for NEG=CMPZ=3³.OBL
 law^ls
 go_outside
 ‘...[it is said 3³] kept wawaláís’s child...so she couldn’t go out.’ (JL; Bach 1998:77)

- (26) *kⁱ nuáqigil wígeta qen w^wanudápidⁱsi...*
 kⁱ nuáqi-gil wígt=a qⁿ w^wanud-áp=id=si
 NEG idea-MAKE PROPN=PN for trade-RECIP=CMPZ=3³.OBL
 ‘Wigit didn’t get any idea about how he could trade...’ (JL; Bach 1998:92, 102)

Both (25) and (26) above feature =*id* on, respectively, the negative auxiliary *kⁱes-* and the verb *w^wanudápidⁱ* ‘to trade together’; it may be there is a slight preference for placing =*id* on auxiliary verbs — e.g., *kⁱes-* ‘no, not’, *l(a)-* ‘auxiliary’, etc. — but this tendency is far from absolute.

3.1.1.3 *li(d)-* ‘when, as’

There exists a complementized form of the auxiliary verb *la*, which takes the form *li(d)-* and means roughly ‘when’ or ‘as’; it is used to subordinate one clause to another, functioning essentially as a subordinating conjunction ‘when/as’. Both forms *li-* and *lid-* appear to be used interchangeably, although care should be taken that this latter is not confused with *lid*, a separate element that commonly appears at the beginning of clauses (not discussed here). Example (27) presents a typical instance of this form to serve as the head of a complement clause following the main clause to indicate when the action in the main clause takes place.

- (27) *núsažens n^wyems qi ’áasganiaxⁱ lisi ’e^wx^w kⁱx^w’is qi m^wén^wé^wgis xuláís*.
 nusa=ž=ŋ=s nuym=s qi ’aasgani=a=xⁱ l=i=si
 tell_story=FUT=1.SBJ=OBL story=OBL D³ mouse=D¹³=D²³ AUX=CMPZ=3³.OBL
 ’x^w kⁱuq^w-’is qi m^wŋ-čq-’is xulais
 in_vain drag-BEACH D³ one-LONG-BEACH salmon_eggs
 ‘I’m going to tell the story of the³ mouse³ when he³ was trying [in vain] to drag onto the beach a bunch of salmon eggs.’ (GR; Bach 1992:11)

In (27) above, the main clause is *núsažens n^wyems qi ’áasganiaxⁱ*; the following complement clause is headed by *lisi* — in this case meaning ‘when’ — with the thematic subject being the same as that in the main clause (and thus reduced to an enclitic =*si*).

Occasionally, a clause beginning with *li(d)-* can be fronted to the beginning of an utterance, i.e., before even the predicate (which in most cases cannot be preceded by anything but an LHA; see Section 2.1). Such examples are not rare per se, but are certainly less common, and seem to only be possible with *li(d)-*. When found, they typically contain an enclitic =s ‘oblique’ attached to the end of the connective, possibly marking them as an LHA (as indicated in the interlinear below).

- (28) *lidsis lu'el 'esénx̄, m̄enx̄sá'ins 'esénx̄...*
 l=id=si=s λùl̄ 's̄n̄x̄ m̄n̄-x̄sa='in=s 's̄n̄x̄
 AUX=CMPZ=3³.OBL=LHA again year one-FLAT=PERF=OBL year
 ‘When again after a year, one year...’ (GR; Bach 1992:60)

In (28), the main clause, *m̄enx̄sá'ins 'esénx̄* ‘one year’, is preceded by a complement clause, *lidsis lu'el 'esénx̄* ‘when again after a year’, that introduces the time of the main action. These examples, which can be found in the speech of both Haislakala and Henaksialakala speakers, present an interesting deviation from an otherwise inviolable rule in Haisla syntax: the predicate *must* come first. It is currently unknown if this is an innovation in Haisla — possibly due to prolonged contact with English — or if the same structure can or could be found in the other North Wakashan languages. This last point may prove fruitful for comparison by looking at text collections of Heiltsuk and Oowekyala.

3.1.2 *-tem* ‘locative complementizer’

In addition to the enclitic =*i(d)*, there is what Lincoln and Rath (1990:111) describe as a complementizing suffix, *-tem*, that is specifically for ‘locative complements’, i.e., those which express an action done *at some place* (or *time*), as opposed to more generally as with =*i(d)*. Unlike =*i(d)*, which is only used in complement clauses, *-tem* may be used either in a complement clause (29) or on independent words (30). The existence of such independent words may indicate that *-tem* is closer to a nominalizing than a strictly complementizing suffix.

- (29) *k̄usi lu'el 'áqatem.*
 kus=i λùl̄ 'aqa-t̄m̄
 NEG=3³.SBJ again come-LOC.NMZ
 ‘They would not come there again.’ (Bach 1992:8)

- (30) *k̄'wá'it wáç'iax̄u la látēm his wísemāx̄i.*
 k̄'w-a-'it̄ wáç-i=aq=x̄u la la-t̄m̄ his wísm̄=a=x̄i
 sit-INDOORS dog-EP=D₁²=D₂² PREP go-LOC.NMZ OBL man=D₁³=D₂³
 ‘The dog³ is [sitting] where the man³ is.’ (Lincoln & Rath 1986:249)

The word *látēm* is often used as a single item (Section 3.1.2.1) and can be understood as a nominal stem that often translates to ‘where’. There is also a noun *m̄áasdem* (Section 3.1.2.2)⁹, which mean roughly ‘why’ or ‘reason’, as well as several other nominal stems built with {-*tem*, -*dem*}, such as *wátdem* ‘word’ (\sqrt{wat} - ‘SPEAK, UTTER’) and *ḡísdem* ‘cow parsnip’ ($\sqrt{ḡis}$ - ‘COW PARSNIP’). The existence of such items casts doubt as to whether *-tem* really denotes complement clauses at all, as opposed to being one of Haisla’s many nominalizing suffixes.

⁹ The allomorph *-dem* appears after fricatives for phonological reasons.

Regardless, the notion of ‘location’ in this suffix cannot in many cases be interpreted literally; in many examples, no location is meant, rather a reference to time.

- (31) *k̄uu, ḡiala'in qi latemasi kes q̄^wi q̄^wela.*
 kuu ḡiala='in qi la-tṃ=a=si ks q̄^w<iq^w>la
 NEG long_time=PERF D³ go-LOC.NMZ=D₁³=3³.OBL NEG <RDP.PL>live
 ‘No, they have not been alive for a long time.’ (EG?; Bach 1995:43)

- (32) *ḡiala'in látémenc wálaḡli dúq^weluḡ.*
 ḡiala='in la-tṃ=ṃc wálaḡli duq^wl̄=uḡ
 long_time=PERF go-LOC.NMZ=1.OBL last see=2.OBL
 ‘It’s been a while since last I saw you.’ (VW)

In both (31) and (32) above, there is no reference to an actual place, but rather to a time, *ḡiala'in* ‘(a) long time (ago)’; such use does not appear to be unusual for Haisla, and indeed words like *látém* ‘where’ may better translated as ‘when’ or ‘at that time’ depending on the context. (Note also that in the first of these two examples, *látemasi* is preceded by a deictic, *qi* ‘D³’, which also suggests its status as a noun.)

Additionally, Lincoln et al. (1990:111) note that use of *-tem* does not preclude the use of *=i(d)*; indeed, they record an instance where both appear on the same word:

- (33) *...k̄uuli n̄ik qen tisaḡatemis qi béḡḡemaḡi.*
 kuu=i=i n̄ik qṃ tisaḡa-tṃ=i=s qi bḡḡḡḡḡ=a=ḡi
 NEG=REP=3³.SBJ say for drip_down-LOC.NMZ=CMPZ=OBL D³ blood=D₁³=D₂³
 ‘...according to the story, he did not allow dripping off of blood to occur.’
 (GR; Lincoln et al. 1990:64)

In (33), the verb *tisaḡa* ‘to drip down’ is first complementized (or nominalized; see following section), then complementized again as the complement of *qen*; the resulting translation of the whole phrase — *qen tisaḡatemis qi béḡḡemaḡi* — may perhaps be best rendered as ‘for when the dripping down of the blood occur(s/ed)’.

3.1.2.1 *látém* ‘where’

Much like how the auxiliary *la + =i(d)* produces a connective *li(d)-* with the meaning of ‘when’, ‘as’, or ‘at that time’, the verb *la* ‘go, be at a place’ can combine with the suffix *-tem* to produce a stem *látém*, whose meaning is roughly ‘where’ (or as discussed earlier, ‘when’ in the appropriate context). This word can be used independent of any use within a complement clause, and in such cases can often be translated as ‘place’, as I have done previously in this paper.

- (34) *sas látémnuk^wà?*
 s=as latṃ-nuk^w=a
 AUX.Q=Q.2 where-HAVE=Q.TAG
 ‘Do you have a place to stay?’ (Lincoln & Rath 1986:249)

Both *látém* and *máasdem* (discussed in Section 3.1.2.2) can be used outside of complement clauses, which may suggest that they are in fact fully lexical stems, not merely inflected forms. Indeed, as mentioned in the previous section, *látém* bears many of the same characteristics as a regular

3.1.2.3 *-tem* as a nominalizing suffix — a comparison to Heiltsuk

Additional evidence that *-tem* constitutes a nominalizing suffix and not a complementizing one comes from the closely related language, Heiltsuk. In his grammar of Heiltsuk, Rath (1981) identifies an evidently cognate suffix, *-xdm*. (Interestingly, this suffix is probably cognate not only with Haisla {*-tem*, *-dem*}, but also a separate lexical suffix, *-xdema* ‘site, location’, which may have formed the basis for the first, or vice-versa.) For the suffix as found in Heiltsuk, Rath notes that it only attaches to *lá* ‘go’ with high tone (and not its allomorph *la* with low tone); the result is an item *láxdm* ‘where’, which ends up being the Heiltsuk cognate for Haisla *látém* (same meaning). Indeed, both *láxdm* and *látém* can and frequently do feature the exact same post-nominal possessive marking (minus the differences in tonality):

- (37) *Lálinákva wísmáxi la láxdmási gvúkvlá.*
 Lálinákva wísm=á=xi la láxdm=á=si gvúkvlá
 go_home man³=D₁³=D₂³ PREP where=D₁³=3³.OBL dwell
 ‘Man^[3] is/was heading for his residence^[3] [=where he lives/dwells].’ (Rath 1980: 109)

- (38) *...weli xwíta’in l látemasi leqwelá.*
 w=|i l latm=a=si lq^wla
 CONN₂=AUX=3³.SBJ PREP where= D₁³=3³.OBL fire
 ‘...then he³ returned to where there was a fire.’ (EG; Bach 1995: 62)

In (37) and (38), both *láxdm* and *látém* feature the same enclitic complex =*asi*.¹² This would indicate that in both Haisla and Heiltsuk, {*-tem*, *-dem*} and *-xdm* do not, in fact, function as complementizing suffixes but rather as nominalizing ones, permitting the speaker to include possessive marking (both a primary deictic and oblique enclitic) after the stem. This behaviour is notably different from complement clauses, which only allow an oblique enclitic and not the primary deictic, as discussed in the next section. Accordingly, I ultimately settle on the analysis that *-tem* is, in fact, a nominalizing suffix, albeit one that does feature reference to a ‘spatiotemporal setting’ which I indicate in glossing through use of the abbreviation ‘LOC.NMZ’.

3.1.3 Oblique marking in complement clauses

The complementizing enclitic is always followed by an oblique enclitic (with some exceptions already mentioned in Section 3.1.1.1). This oblique marker always refers to the subject of the complement clause, and since oblique marking and possessive marking are identical in Haisla, one can think of the subject as the ‘owner’ of the newly nominalized verbal stem, at least historically. Note, however, that the range of possible oblique (= possessive) marking is more limited in Haisla subordinate clauses than in other cases: indeed, the possible collocations of a primary deictic and the following oblique marking are severely restricted.

- (39) *gu’áligenc*
 guáλ=i=gñc
 help=CMPZ=1SG.OBL
 ‘that I helped’ or ‘my helping¹’

¹² The only difference is that the Heiltsuk form features a high tone on the first vowel, i.e., =*ási*.

- (40) **gu'ália'enc* / **gu'álienc* / **gu'álitient*
 gúaλ=i=a'=ɲc gúaλ=i=Ø=ɲc gúaλ=i=ti=ɲc
 help=CMPZ=D₁²=1.OBL help=CMPZ=D₁³=1.OBL help=CMPZ=D₁⁴=1.OBL
 ‘*my helping² / *my helping³ / *my helping⁴’

Example (39) presents the only possible means of complementizing a verb with a 1st person subject; the primary deictic =*g* is here assumed to form part of a special 1st person singular oblique enclitic that is only found in complement clauses, just as with the other possible oblique markers for other persons. Example (40), meanwhile, presents forms that are not possible: primary deictics *other* than the proximal =*g* are not permitted, thus providing some evidence that the deictic =*g* is in fact not separate from the oblique marker that follows, but rather forms a compound ending. Indeed, all complement clauses with a 1st person thematic subject must always have the primary deictic =*g(a)* following the complementing suffix. For this reason, I have chosen to treat the forms =*genc* ‘1SG.OBL’, =*ganis* ‘1PL.INCL.OBL’, and =*ganuk^w* ‘1PL.EXCL.OBL’ as their own forms without separating the primary deictic; for all intents and purposes, they act as single units, and the surrounding context will disambiguate whether the compound is being used or if in fact there is a sequence of ‘primary deictic + 1st person oblique enclitic’. (A similar analysis is possible for 2nd person forms, discussed in the following paragraph.) As additional support of this analysis, these compound forms do *not* lose their primary deictic when the complemented form is preceded by an LHA, as in (41):

- (41) *sáxgen qen 'iks bek^wáligenc.*
 saxg=ɲ qɲ 'ik=s bk^wal=i=gɲc
 want=1.SBJ for good=LHA speak=CMPZ=1SG.OBL
 ‘I want to speak well.’ (NG)

In example (41), the primary deictic remains despite the presence of an LHA, ‘*iks* ‘good’ (or ‘well’), which in other cases would cause the deictic to drop out, as discussed earlier in Section 2.2.

Those with a 2nd person thematic subject must always have the complementizing suffix =*i*¹³ be followed by =‘*eḡ^ws*’ (sometimes =‘*eq^ws*’ with unspirantized /q/, or =‘*q^ws*’/=‘*x^ws*’ without the suffix-initial glottal stop; for this latter). Historically, this is a combined form of the primary deictic =*aq*, indicating a medial argument, followed by the oblique possessive ending =*us* ‘your’. The addition of glottal stop /ʔ/ is due to a difference in Haislakala vs. Henaksialakala: the form =*aq* at some point became =*a*’ in Haislakala as both dialects diverged. As a result of this change, the form =‘*eḡ^ws*’ (or =‘*eq^ws*’) is only found in the speech of Haislakala speakers, while =‘*eḡ^ws*’ (or =‘*q^ws*’) is the form used by Henaksialakala speakers.

- (42) *maasi páli'eḡ^ws 'islam?* [xá'islakala]
 maas=i p'al=i='q^ws 'islam
 what=Q.1/3 work=CMPZ=2.OBL today
 ‘What are you working at today?’ (EG; Bach 1995:35)

¹³ It should be noted that no example of the allomorph =*id* has been found preceding the 2nd person oblique forms; thus, the forms =*id*(‘)*eq^ws*/=*id*(‘)*eḡ^ws*, while hypothetically possible, have been observed. This may be for articulatory purposes, or simply because it is not the usual way to construct complementized forms for the 1st and 2nd person.

- (43) *sáxgesu qen páliq^ws.* [x̄enákialakala]
 sāxg=su q̄n p̄al=i=q^ws
 want=2.SBJ for work=CMPZ=2.OBL
 ‘You want to work.’ (GR; Lincoln & Rath 1986:328)

Example (42) is taken from a Haislakala speaker, while (43) is from Gordon Robertson, a Henaksialakala speaker; the form =*ēx^ws* with glottal stop and epenthetic [ə] is seen in the first, while the second contains =*q^ws* (no glottal stop and hence no epenthetic schwa). In both cases, the alternation /x̄~q/ is assumed to be merely allophonic. Notably, LR record both =*x̄^ws* and =*q^ws* at different points in their data.

Finally, complement clauses with 3rd person subjects feature no primary deictic at all and instead merely have the appropriate possessive ending following =*i(d)*. It may be that for these forms specifically, the complementizing enclitic occupies the same morphological slot as the primary deictic, thereby preventing their co-occurrence with one another.

- (44) *ḡ^wáḡ^wełcualit’ina qen dex^w’idisi.*
 ḡ^waḡ^włcualit’=’ina q̄n dx^w’id=i=si
 ready=PERF for jump=CMPZ=3³.OBL
 ‘3³ is now ready to jump.’ (GR; Lincoln & Rath 1986:115)

In (44), there appears to be no primary deictic preceding the oblique marker =*si*. It is possible that there is a ‘null enclitic’ = \emptyset as the primary deictic, as occurs in forms with 1st and 2nd person possessive marking, like in the forms *ḡúk^wenc* ‘my house³’ and *ḡúk^wus* ‘your house³’ (*guk^w= \emptyset =nc* and *guk^w= \emptyset =us*, respectively), wherein distal possessed arguments do not contain the expected primary deictic =*a* (cf. (8) in Section 2.2) but rather a null allomorph. However, positing the existence of such an allomorph in complement clauses is at best unnecessary and at worst inaccurate: it is far easier to simply say that =*i(d)* occupies this slot in the morphological structure, a fact which may additionally be explainable by an appeal to semantics.

This more limited range of oblique marking is perhaps explained by appealing to the location of the subordinated action: what one does is always near oneself, so what ‘I’ (or ‘we’) do is always ‘near me’ (or ‘us’), what ‘you’ do is always ‘near you’, and what anyone else does is ‘over there’ (neither ‘near me’ nor ‘near you’). As such, the seeming absence of a form like *=*gasi* (=ga + =*si*) in a complement clause with a 3rd person referent would seem to make plenty of sense: if the action is ‘someone else’s’, then naturally it could not be near the speaker, and this understanding may possibly be extended to instances where the referent *is* near the speaker, yet the action is not considered to be. (It is noteworthy that even a form such as *=*gasik* is also not possible, despite the enclitic =*sik* referring to a 3rd person proximal referent — this implies the existence of a calcified grammatical construction.) Additionally, that complement clauses seemingly cannot take tense/aspect markers may explain the absence of a ‘absent, just gone’ category, which obligatorily features either =*gul* ‘distant past’, or more commonly =*t(et)* ‘recent past’ before the primary and secondary deictics. The reader will notice that glosses for the 2nd and 3rd person ‘complement oblique’ enclitics remain the same as in regular possessed items. In such cases, context (i.e., the presence/absence of the complementizing enclitic) will disambiguate whether a possessed argument or a complement clause is meant.

3.2 Relativization

Relative clauses (RCs) may either contain (Section 3.2.1 Fehler! Verweisquelle konnte nicht gefunden werden.) or lack (Section 3.2.2) an overt relativizer; those without a relativizer employ a ‘gap strategy’, whereby the relative clause is merely placed after the noun. When a relativizer is used, it takes the form of a deictic determiner that agrees in deixis with the head noun. Whether the RC does or does not have a relativizer, there may additionally be an agreement marker that marks the common argument (CA) within the relative clause that likewise agrees in deixis (Section 3.2.3). Whether overt or not, the CA must always be the subject of the RC, a fact which leads to many instances where passivization (using one of Haisla’s many ‘voice’ suffixes — not discussed in this paper) is employed on the verb within the RC to permit modification of the head noun. There is no formal distinction in form between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses.

3.2.1 Relative clauses with relativizers

Relative clauses with relativizers always feature one of the following determiners, which are used to introduce the RC: *qik*, *qu*, *qi*, or *qiki*, referencing the proximal, medial, distal, and absental levels of deixis, respectively. The determiner is always in agreement with the deixis of the head noun in the main clause, seemingly even when this is not made explicit on the noun, as in example (45).

- (45) *beg^wánem* {RC *qi pála* }RC
 bg^wanm̩ qi pála
 person D³ work
 ‘(the) person who^[3] works’ (Lincoln et al. 1990:115)

Here *qi* introduces the relative clause, *qi pála* ‘who³ works’, which serves to modify the noun *beg^wánem* ‘person’. It is of course possible, if not vastly more common, to create an example with full deictic marking (46).

- (46) *hidái wísemaḫi qi gu’álenḫa his pa’ináienç.*
 hidai wism̩=a=x̄i qi gúaḷ=ḫḷa his p̩ainai=Ø=ḫç
 COP.3 man=D₁³=D₂³ D³ help=1.OBJ OBL work=D₁³=1.OBJ
 ‘He³’s the man³ who³ helped me with my work.’ (NG)

Example (46) is far more typical of relative clauses with relativizers in Haisla: the deixis is clearly marked on the head noun, *wísemaḫi* ‘man³’, which in turn agrees with the relativizer *qi*. This clause is also typical in that the head noun is left unexpressed in the RC and is also the subject of the relative clause; to express an idea such as, ‘the man who I helped’, the RC would need to be rendered as, ‘the man *who is/was helped (by me)*’.

3.2.2 Relative clauses without relativizers

Relative clauses without relativizers employ a ‘gap strategy’ whereby an RC is placed after the head noun without any other morphosyntactic element to introduce it. Because the common argument in a relative clause must be the subject, passive constructions are very common in RCs, particularly the passivizing suffix *-su* (47) (although others are possible but seemingly less common); RCs containing a passivized verb commonly lack a relativizer, as indicated in the following utterance recorded by Vattukumpu:

- (47) *kus sásemnuk^w* [DP *sáaki* {RC *ketásus JOHN-a* }RC]DP
 kus sasɯ-nuk^w saak=i kta-su=s JOHN=a=a
 NEG children-HAVE grizzly=D₂³ shoot-PASS=OBL PROP_N=D₁³=PN
 ‘The grizzly³ that was shot by John had no cubs.’ (Vattukumpu 2020b:259)¹⁴

This example presents a relative clause, *ketásus JOHN-a* ‘shot by John’, which modifies the noun *sáaka^{x̄i}* ‘grizzly³’ within the DP; note that the verb is a passivized form of *ketá* ‘shoot (a gun)’. The following DP, *JOHN-a* ‘John³’, is preceded by the oblique =s, which marks it as the (now demoted and hence optional) agent.

3.2.3 The common argument in RCs

Normally, Haisla RCs lack a common argument that is co-referential with the head noun in the main clause, and indeed no examples of any co-referential elements have been found for RCs with overt relativizers. However, for RCs that lack relativizers, it is possible to include a subject enclitic which is co-referential with the subject of the relative clause.

- (48) *x̄^wálasu’ina his* [DP *qi wísemāx̄i* {RC *čísi*}RC]DP *gi lúpasu*.
x̄^waḷa-su=’ina his *qi wisɯ=a=x̄i* *čís=i* *g=i* *ḷupa-su*
 clean-PASS=PERF OBL D³ man=D₁³=D₂³ care=**3³.SBJ** CONN₁=3³.SBJ roast-PASS
 ‘It was cleaned and dressed by the caretaker man and barbecued.’ (JL; Bach 1998:4)

In (48), the subject enclitic =i on the end of *čísi* is evidently co-referential with the noun phrase *qi wísemāx̄i* ‘that³ (or the³) man³’. Thus, the phrase translated as ‘caretaker man’ can be taken to mean something closer to ‘the man *who takes care*’. Such instances of a CA being expressed in the RC are not common and indeed never occur when a relativizer is present. When the relativizer is absent, however, the preference in Haisla still seems to be that the CA is left unexpressed, perhaps to avoid ‘double-marking’ of the deixis on both the relativizer and the subject enclitic. There also happen to be no instances recorded where an RC that contains a passivized verb also contains an overt CA, but this may be merely coincidental and not otherwise indicative of anything.

4 Conclusion

This article has explored complex syntactic structure in Haisla, an Upper North Wakashan language spoken primarily in and around Kitamaat Village, BC, by members of the Haisla Nation. This aspect of the language is by far the hitherto least examined and therefore least understood, and so presents the opportunity for fruitful research that may, eventually, serve to improve Haisla language curricula in and around Kitamaat Village. To this end, I have presented an analysis that has sought to better understand the strategies that Haisla speakers employ in order to combine clauses to create

¹⁴ Vattukumpu’s reference lacks both *qi* and the enclitic complex =*a^{x̄i}*, which are otherwise expected. He does include an enclitic =*i* on the end of *saak*, although there is nothing in the utterance to motivate the lack of the primary deictic. Arguments without either the primary deictic or the /*x̄*/ of the secondary, e.g., *beg^wánemi* ‘person³’ and *ság^wemi* ‘seal³’ (both of which have been elicited), are somewhat rare but do seem to occur occasionally and await investigation. As a final note, much like =*i*, the medial deictic =*u* can also be used without additional phonetic material, i.e., *ság^wemu* ‘seal²’; the proximal deictic complex, meanwhile, commonly reduces to =*ga^{x̄}*, as it *ság^wemga^{x̄}* ‘seal¹’.

complex utterances beyond simple sentences, focusing especially on both *complementizing* and *relativizing* strategies in Haisla. It is hoped that by providing a detailed analysis of each for Haisla, further work may be accomplished in the other Upper North Wakashan languages, particularly Heiltsuk and Oowekyala; very likely, complementation and relativization will be very similar, if not nearly identical, in both languages.

After describing the general characteristics of the language, including basic morphological and syntactic concepts, I described the complementizing enclitic =*i(d)*, which in most cases is necessarily followed by the appropriate possessive (or ‘oblique’) enclitic to indicate the doer of the complementized action. I also explored the suffix *-tem*, which has previously been argued to create a ‘locative’ complement clause, i.e., one that has spatiotemporal reference for when/where an action occurs. However, *-tem* seems to be nothing more than another one of Haisla’s many nominalizers, albeit one with special reference to the ‘spatiotemporal setting’ of an action; accordingly, it has been glossed as ‘LOC.NMZ’ throughout this work in favour of my (re-)analysis. Finally, in exploring relative clauses, I noted that there are three strategies: (i) RCs that feature a relativizer that agrees in deixis with the head noun and is homophonous with the prenominal deictics: *qik*, *qu*, *qi*, and *qiki*; (ii) RCs that utilize simple juxtaposition of a noun with a following verb with no additional marking; and (iii) RCs that contain a co-referential subject enclitic that serves as the common argument within the RC. Passivization is extremely common in Haisla RCs, as the head noun *must* be the subject of the RC.

There are two additional appendices added to the end of this paper: Appendix B, which contains a full list of all Haisla primary and secondary deictics and oblique (possessive) enclitics as mentioned in Section 2, as well as a listing complement enclitics mentioned in Section 3 and the subsequent forms by combining them with =*i(d)*. Appendix C presents a short, less technical description of Haisla complementation — focusing specifically on =*i(d)* and the various relativization strategies, while ignoring the questionable *-tem* — that, it is hoped, will provide the non-specialist language learner with a clear and easy understanding of how to create their own complex clauses in Haisla.

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Appendix A: Haisla orthography

Table A.1 Chart of Haisla phonemic consonants with orthographic representation

	OBSTRUENTS (O)							RESONANTS (R)					
	PLOSIVES						FRICATIVES	PLAIN				GLOTTALIZED	
	VOICED		VOICELESS		EJECTIVE			PLAIN		GLOTTALIZED			
LABIAL	/b/	⟨b⟩	/p/	⟨p⟩	/pʰ/	⟨p̣⟩			/m/	⟨m⟩	/ᵐm/	⟨ᵐṃ⟩	
	/d/	⟨d⟩	/t/	⟨t⟩	/tʰ/	⟨ṭ⟩			/n/	⟨n⟩	/ᵐn/	⟨ᵐṇ⟩	
ALVEOLAR	/dz/	⟨z⟩	/ts/	⟨c⟩	/tsʰ/	⟨c̣⟩	/s/	⟨s⟩					
	/dl/	⟨λ⟩	/tl/	⟨λ⟩	/tʰ/	⟨λ̣⟩	/ʃ/	⟨ʃ⟩	/l/	⟨l⟩	/ᵐl/	⟨ᵐḷ⟩	
VELAR	/g/	⟨g⟩	/k/	⟨k⟩	/kʰ/	⟨ḳ⟩	/x/	⟨x⟩	/j/	⟨y⟩	/ᵐj/	⟨ᵐj̣⟩	
	/gʷ/	⟨gʷ⟩	/kʷ/	⟨kʷ⟩	/kʰʷ/	⟨ḳʷ⟩	/xʷ/	⟨xʷ⟩	/w/	⟨w⟩	/ᵐw/	⟨ᵐẉ⟩	
UVULAR	/ɠ/	⟨ḡʷ⟩	/q/	⟨q⟩	/qʰ/	⟨q̣⟩	/χ/	⟨x̄ʷ⟩					
	/ɠʷ/	⟨ḡʷ⟩	/qʷ/	⟨qʷ⟩	/qʰʷ/	⟨q̣ʷ⟩	/χʷ/	⟨x̄ʷ⟩					
GLOTTAL	/ʔ/	⟨ʔ⟩					/h/	⟨h⟩					

Table A.2 Chart of Haisla phonemic vowels and diphthongs with orthographic representation

	FRONT	CENTRAL	BACK	
HIGH	/i(:)/	⟨i(i)⟩	/u(:)/	⟨u(u)⟩
LOW		/a(:)/	⟨a(a)⟩	

DIPHTHONGS: /ai/ (= [ɛ:]) ⟨ai⟩, /au/ (= [ɔ:]) ⟨au⟩

The above describes the standard orthography as used by the community. Haisla contains 42 consonants, divided into ‘obstruents’ and ‘resonants’, both of which may be ‘plain’ (unaccented) or ‘glottalized’ (◌̣), while dorsal consonants can also be labialized (◌ʷ). There are 3 vowels, /i, a, u/; there are also two diphthongs /ai, au/, which surface as long vowels [ɛ:, ɔ:], and a contrast between long and short vowels, all of which is marked in the orthography. Stress is either a HIGH or a LOW tone depending on if the word is in citation/focus form or not and is marked using an acute accent (◌̣) in the orthography; schwa ⟨e⟩ is often epenthesized in consonant clusters and is not represented in this article in underlying forms.

Appendix B: Haisla primary/secondary deictics & oblique enclitics

Table B.1 *Primary and secondary deictics*

DEIXIS	PRIMARY DEICTIC	SECONDARY DEICTIC	PRIMARY + SECONDARY
PROXIMAL	=ga	=x̄ga	=ga \bar{x} ga
MEDIAL	=a(q')	=(x̄)u	=(a \bar{x})u
DISTAL	=a	=(x̄)i	=(a \bar{x})i
ABSENTAL	=ti	=x̄ga	=ti \bar{x} ga

Table B.2 *Oblique (possessive) enclitics*

1SG	1PL.INCL	1PL.EXCL	2
=nc	=nis	=nuk ^w	=su/=q ^{ws}
3 ¹	3 ²	3 ³	3 ⁴
=sik	=su	=si	=i(d)sgi

Table B.3 *Compound complement enclitics*

1SG	1PL.INCL	1PL.EXCL	2	
			HA	HN
=gnc	=ganis	=ganuk ^w	=q ^{ws}	=q' ^{ws}
3 ¹	3 ²	3 ³	3 ⁴	
=sik	=su	=si	=sgi	

Table B.4 *Combined forms of complementizing enclitic =i(d) with oblique enclitics*

1SG	1PL.INCL	1PL.EXCL	2	
			HA	HN
=i(d)gnc	=i(d)ganis	=i(d)ganuk ^w	=i(d)q ^{ws}	=i(d)q' ^{ws}
3 ¹	3 ²	3 ³	3 ⁴	
=i(d)sik	=i(d)su	=i(d)si	=i(d)sgi	

Appendix C: Non-technical description of Haisla complex clauses

In any language, it often becomes necessary to talk about a ‘sentence-within-a-sentence’, such as the following example from English: *I knew that John went to the store*. In this example, we can see a ‘main clause’ (MC) that itself contains a ‘subordinate’ clause (SC), both of which are marked using square brackets ‘[]’:

(1) [I knew [that John went to the store]SC]MC

In this example, the main clause is ‘I knew...’; the word ‘that’ introduces the second sentence, which is ‘John went to the store’. Taken together, examples like this are called *complex clauses* because while they are a clause on their own, they additionally contain one or more additional clauses (contrasted with *simple clauses*, which contain just one clause, e.g., ‘John went to the store’). The example above specifically contains what’s known as a ‘complement clause’ (CC) because it ‘completes’ the idea introduced by the main clause: the verb ‘know’ in English requires that one ‘know something’, and that something can be an entire sentence on its own. Another type of complex clause is a ‘relative clause’ (RC), e.g., ‘John is the man who went to the store’. The relative clause in this sentence is marked below using curly braces ‘{}’:

(2) John is [the man {who went to the store}RC].

RCs also contain an entire sentence, but they often look a little different: they are often ‘incomplete’, in that they often do not contain a subject, because they are actually modifying a noun in the main clause. In (2) above, for example, ‘the man’ is modified by ‘...who went to the store’; taken together, they form a complete unit.

Both CCs and RCs are possible in Haisla as well. Below is an example first of a CC (3) and then an RC (4):

(3) *hidái bek^wesáisi kíx^welsgitenc.*
‘I ran from him because he was a sasquatch.’

(4) *dúq^welan wísema^xi lí[’]á.*
‘I see the man who buys.’

In (3), the CC is *bek^wesáisi* ‘...that he is a sasquatch’, which is placed within the main clause *hidái...kíx^welsgitenc* ‘the reason I ran away is...’ — i.e., [*hidái [bek^wesáisi]SC kíx^welsgitenc*]MC — while in (4), the RC is *lí[’]á* ‘(who) buys’, which modifies *wísema^xi* ‘man (*over there*)’ — i.e., *dúq^welan [wísema^xi {lí[’]á}]*.

To form CC’s in Haisla, the following steps must be taken:

- i. Find your verb, e.g., *bek^wesá* ‘to be a sasquatch’;
- ii. Place the ending =*i* (sometimes =*id* instead) at the end of the verb;
 - a. If the only vowel in the verb is /a/, or if /a/ is the only *stressed* vowel, then =*i* will be added after, as in *bek^wesá* → *bek^wesái-* and *lu[’]elá* → *lu[’]elái-*

- b. If the verb ends in /a/ but there is another vowel in the verb that is stressed, then replace /a/ with =i, e.g., *kíx^wela* ‘run’ → *kíx^weli*-
- iii. Place the appropriate ending at the end, which will indicate the one who is doing the action in the CC; please see Table B.3 in Appendix B for a list of these endings, and see Table B.4 in the same section for how they are combined with =i(d) in different configurations.

As an example, here is how one would say ‘...that I buy’ in Haisla: *ǎi’á* → *ǎi’ái-* → *ǎi’áigenc*; and here is how one would say ‘...that you play’: *’émta* → *’émtai-* → *’émli’eq^{ws}* or *’émliq^{ws}*. (Note that there is a difference if one is speaking *xá’isalakala* or *xénáksialakala* — the difference is minor, but important!)

In order to make an RC, a few things need to be kept in mind: (i) first, Haisla RCs always come *after* the noun they modify (much like in English); (ii) unlike in English, Haisla RCs may be left implicit, i.e., they do not need anything to introduce them (as in (4) above); (iii) if one wishes, it is possible to introduce the RC more overtly using one of Haisla’s deictic determiners: *qik* ‘this (here)’, *qu* ‘that (there)’, *qi* ‘that (over there)’, *qiki* ‘that (just gone / absent)’; (iv) occasionally, extra material is needed, which will be discussed shortly. Before that, though, let’s look at a few examples:

- (5) *kú sásemnuk^w* [*sáaki* {*ketásus JOHN-a*}RC].
 ‘[The grizzly {that was shot by John}] had no cubs.’
- (6) [*beg^wánem* {*qi pála*}RC]
 ‘[man {who works}]’
- (7) *x^wáλasu’ina his* [*qi wísemāxi* {*ćisi*}RC].
 ‘It was cleaned and dressed by [the man {who takes care}]’.

In each of these examples, both the noun and RC have been noted in the Haisla and corresponding English translation. Example (5) demonstrates an instance where nothing is needed to introduce the relative clause: it is simply placed directly after the noun. Example (6), meanwhile, demonstrates an instance where the relative clause is introduced by a determiner — in this case, *qi* — much like how English would use ‘who’, ‘which’, or ‘that’. Finally, example (7) shows an instance where the relative clause has something extra: the ending =i, which refers to an entity that is both the subject of the clause and ‘over there’, has been added to the verb in the RC. It appears as though Haisla does not allow for this type of construction to occur with a determiner — thus, one can (seemingly) not have a sentence like the following:

- (8) **[wísem* {*qi páli*}]
 ‘[man {who works}]’

In this hypothetical example, both *qi* and =i have been employed in the RC, but it is unclear in talking to speakers if such an example as (8) could actually exist. It may be that since both *qi* and =i contain roughly the same information — they both refer to *wísem*, for instance, and they both indicate that the man in question is ‘over there’ (away from the speaker) — then this ‘doubling-up’ of elements is unnecessary. In that sense, it may not be strictly ‘wrong’, but it certainly appears to be dispreferred by speakers and is probably best avoided.