

Verbal Classifiers in Haida

[Invited Article]

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Abstract: Haida, a language isolate spoken in the northwestern coast of North America, uses classifiers on verbs to denote the semantic category of the referent of a noun that functions as the subject of an intransitive clause or the object of a transitive clause. The present study shows that the functions of Haida classifiers can be roughly divided into static and dynamic in terms of the degree of dependence on the contexts in which they occur. The former function relates to noun classification, in which classifiers refer to inherent properties of the syntactically associated noun, whereas in the latter function, classifiers denote the temporal state of the noun referent or the state or manner of an action to add some meaning to the verbal root. Thus, Haida classifiers can be considered distinctive in that they cover a wide range of functions, from typical noun classifications to various other kinds of functions.*

Key words: verbal classifier, noun categorization, Haida

1. Introduction

Haida has classifiers that are prefixed to verbal roots to denote the semantic category of the noun referent that functions as the subject of an intransitive clause or the object of a transitive clause.¹ In (1), the classifier *dlə-* is associated with the subject ‘the child’ of the intransitive verb, while the same classifier is used to denote the category of the object of the transitive verb in (2):²

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¹ Haida is a language isolate spoken in the northwestern coast of North America. The present study is based on data from the Skidegate dialect, which is spoken on Haida Gwaii (or the Queen Charlotte Islands) in British Columbia, Canada. The data presented in this article were obtained by the author, except where otherwise noted.

² The phonemic inventory of Haida is as follows: *b, d, g, ɔ, ʔ, (p), t, k, q, t', k', q', s, ʔ, x, χ, b, j* [d₃], *c* [tʃ], *c'*; *dl, tl, tl', m, n, η, w, y* [j]; *l, l'* [ʔ]; *'*; *i, (e), a, u, ə* (IPA equivalents are represented

- (1) nəŋ gaχa-s tay-**dlə**-gudi-gən.
 INDF be.child-NPST by.lying-CL-LIE-PST
 ‘The child lay down.’
- (2) nəŋ gaχa-s tə=**dlə**-xiidən.
 INDF be.child-NPST 1SG.AG=CL-PICK:PST
 ‘I picked up the child.’

In the typological framework of classifiers advocated by Aikhenvald (2000), Grinevald (2000), and others, Haida classifiers can be characterized as verbal classifiers located on verbs to refer to an argument.

The present paper aims to describe the morphosyntactic, formal, and semantic characteristics of Haida verbal classifiers and to show that they can be used (1) for classification of nouns, (2) for describing the temporal state of a noun referent, and (3) as verb modifiers to express the temporal state of the situation described by the verb to which they are attached.

The remainder of this paper is organized as follows: In the next section, a brief profile of Haida morphosyntax is given, followed by the basic descriptions of verbal classifiers in 3. In 4, I discuss the use of classifiers in discourse, and the last section is a conclusion.

2. Profile of Haida morphosyntax

Haida has a rich verbal morphology and can construct complicated words in which concrete (or lexical) ideas can be packed in addition to grammatical notions such as tense and mood; thus, it tends to show a polysynthetic nature. Nouns, in contrast, consist of fewer morphemes and contain less information than verbs.

The main resources for verbal morphology are affixes, but compounding is also observed. As morphemes are combined in an agglutinative manner, the boundary of each morpheme can be defined easily. The following is a simplified template of verbal morphology in Haida:

in square brackets for symbols that deviate from IPA conventions); the voiced letters for the obstruents (i.e., stops and affricates) represent unaspirated voiceless obstruents, while the voiceless letters represent aspirated voiceless obstruents. /ʔ/ represents a gradual beginning that fills the onset position of a syllable. The symbols used in other studies are converted to those employed in the present paper.

The following abbreviations are used in this paper:

AG: agentive, CAUS: causative, CL: classifier, CONT: continuative, EMPH: emphasis, EVD: evidential, FOC: focus, INDF: indefinite, INFO: information, INST: instrument, INSTR: instrumental prefix, NMLZ: nominalizer, NPST: nonpast, PN: personal name, OBJ: objective, PL: plural, PR: present, PST: past, REP: repetitive, SG: singular

Table 1. Verbal structure of Haida

Preverbal	Root	Postverbal	-Aspect/Mood marker	-Inflectional
causative-		-derivational	- <i>di</i> continuative	- <i>ga</i> nonpast
intransitivizer-		+verb root	- <i>xidi</i> inceptive	- <i>gan</i> past
instrumental-			- <i>gu</i> 3rd person plural	- <i>gay</i> present
classifier-			- <i>gəy</i> negative	- <i>s</i> nonpast
noun root+			- <i>gəy</i> habitual etc.	- <i>gay</i> complementizer
				-∅ imperative

Among these elements, the verbal root and tense markers are obligatory, whereas the other elements are optional.

Preverbal elements include instrumental prefixes, classifiers, a causative marker, intransitivizers, and noun roots. Noun incorporation, that is, N+V compounding, is also observed but is not productive.

Postverbal elements include derivational suffixes, compounded verbal roots, aspect/mood markers, and inflectional suffixes. Derivational suffixes denote location, direction, degree, and others, all of which are optional, followed by aspect/mood markers that occur in a certain fixed order, and inflectional suffixes. Although inflectional suffixes are obligatory to complete a predicate, there are many cases in which they are dropped, particularly in the speech forms of present-day speakers.

Verbal roots are classified as free or bound roots. Bound roots always require an instrumental prefix and/or a classifier, whereas free roots can be used without an instrumental prefix or classifier.³ An instrumental prefix, which denotes an instrument and the manner in which an action is performed, can be attached to a free root but a classifier cannot: classifiers are attached only to bound roots. Thus, the possible combinations of these prefixes and bound roots are as follows (other preverbal elements such as causative marker, incorporated noun, and others are omitted for the sake of simplicity):

- (3) a. INSTR-ROOT
 b. CL-ROOT
 c. INSTR-CL-ROOT

Bound roots can vary depending on whether they can take an instrumental prefix, a classifier, or both.

Semantically, free roots have lexical meanings, but the meanings of bound roots tend to be vague. Thus, an instrumental prefix and/or a classifier, both of which have more concrete semantics, contributes to clarifying the meaning of the whole unit of the bound root and the prefixes.⁴ The semantic classification of

³ In the present study, bound roots are designated in small capitals in glosses to be differentiated from free roots. Some bound roots with meanings that are too vague to be defined are simply glossed as 'ROOT.'

⁴ The problem of whether a classifier can denote a concrete meaning will be dealt with later

bound roots is discussed in 3.3.

Pronominals are expressed not by affixes, but by independent pronouns or clitics. The choice between these two depends on the syntactic environment in which they occur. As pronominals are not encoded within a verb, Haida deviates somewhat from typical polysynthetic languages, in which pronominals occur inside a verb complex.

Haida is a verb-final language. The order of the subject and the object of a transitive clause varies depending on whether the arguments are referred to by full nouns or pronouns. Pronouns distinguish between the agentive case and objective case for the first-person singular and plural and the second-person singular; the former is used for the subject of a transitive and an intransitive, whereas the latter is used for the object of a transitive and the subject of an intransitive. In this respect, Haida shows split intransitivity. In contrast, as nouns bear no case markers, word order is crucial for indexing the grammatical functions of each noun that functions as an argument in a clause, although the object arguments of some transitive verbs are marked by postpositions, depending on the transitive verbs that require them (e.g., =*gii* ‘into’ for the object of ‘breaking’ verbs, =*gi* ‘to’ for the object of ‘hold’).

3. Basic descriptions of Haida classifiers

This section describes the basic characteristics of Haida classifiers. In 3.1, morpho-syntactic characteristics of classifiers are observed and further details are presented in terms of their forms (3.2) and semantics (3.3).

3.1. Morphosyntactic characteristics of Haida classifiers

As shown in (1) and (2) above, Haida classifiers refer to nouns that function as the subject of an intransitive verb or the object of a transitive verb:⁵ The following are additional examples of verbal classifiers in Haida:

- (4) *sgan*=ʔad=ʔuu *qwaayaay* *gay-sga-giŋ-gaŋ*.
 red.cod=with=FOC the.rope by.floating-CL-BE.ON.THE.WATER-PR
 ‘The line floats up with red cod.’
- (5) *nawaay*=ʔəsŋ ʔə=gaad-**ji**-daal-gən.
 the.octopus=too 1SG.AG=by.towing-CL-MOVE.HORIZONTALLY-PST
 ‘I dragged the octopus.’

(4) illustrates the use of the classifier *sga-*, which refers to the physical property of the subject argument *qwaayaay* ‘the rope’, the definite form of *qwaay* ‘rope’, of the intransitive predicate. The classifier refers to one-dimensional extended objects

in 3.3.2.

⁵ More precisely, classifiers refer to a referent of the noun syntactically associated with the predicate in a clause; speakers pick out the most salient property of the referent that they think is appropriate in the context. See also Senft (2000: 27, 2007) and Contini-Morava and Kilarski (2013: 265).

such as ropes, lines, and roads. The classifier *ji-* in (5) is used for objects with radial projections such as hands, octopuses, and feet: Here, it is applied to *nawaay* ‘the octopus’, which functions as the object of the transitive predicate.

In (6), an excerpt from a narrative, in which the nominal argument is not overtly expressed, the classifier *dlə-* for a single animate entity (see 3.3.1) contributes to identifying the participant, ‘a flounder’, which was mentioned in the previous context:

- (6) *guud=sda=’uu dlə-guyaa-ʔatgiŋ-gən.*
 eagle=from=FOC CL-FALL:EVD-guess-PST
 ‘(It) must have fallen from an eagle.’

Classifiers can also occur on verbs that take no arguments, mainly those denoting natural phenomena, as illustrated below:

- (7) *q’una kun=gu xam-gwas=gyaan xil haana ʔinaasdlə-gaŋ.*
 Skedans.Point=at CL-RAIN.NPST=when flower grow-PR
 ‘At Skedans Point when there is fine rain, the flowers grow.’

The bound root *gu*, taking the nonpast form *gwas* expresses rainfall, the type of which is specified by a classifier; here, the classifier *xam-* describes fine rain. It should be noted that as no argument is associated with the classifier *xam-*, this usage is close to modifying a verb, deviating from typical noun classification (see also 4.2).

More than 100 classifiers are attested in Haida, while Enrico (2005) states that more than 400 of them are observed.⁶ In any case, the large number distinguishes them from noun class markers in languages like the Bantu languages; thus, Haida verbal classifiers are similar to numeral classifiers in this respect.

As mentioned above, classifiers are not attached to all verbal roots in Haida, among which only bound roots can take classifiers. In other words, Haida classifiers do not have the agreement functions as in noun class languages, where all verbs must contain an agreement marker in accordance with the class of a noun occurring in the same clause.

Although the meanings of bound roots tend to be too vague to be captured, the semantic groups of bound roots on which classifiers can appear may be roughly classified as in (8):⁷

⁶ Swanton (1911) lists 36 of them, while Levine (1977) gives 34. The discrepancy in numbers between Enrico’s and mine may be due in part to the inadequacy of my research, but also in part to differences in linguistic knowledge of the speakers with whom Enrico and I consulted; the Haida speakers with whom Enrico worked were from the last generation who had been brought up with Haida as their first language, using it in various aspects of their daily lives, while those with whom I consulted do not always speak Haida as their daily language, belonging to a younger generation than that of Enrico’s consultants.

⁷ To define the meanings of some of the bound roots given here and throughout the present paper, I refer to Enrico (2005) in addition to introspections provided by the speakers with whom I worked.

- (8) Semantic grouping of bound roots in Haida
- location/position: *gid* ‘stretch’, *gin* ‘be on the water’, *gudi* ‘lie on the ground’, *tən* ‘be up (on NP)’, *t’as* ‘be close’
 - movement: *i’i* ‘penetrate into’, *daal* ‘move horizontally’, *datda* ‘fall over’, *guy* ‘fall’, *gi* ‘move on the water’, *ga* ‘move’, *sdlə* ‘move’, *sgid* ‘come ashore’, *xyaay* ‘run’, *χast’a* ‘fall over’
 - state: *dal* ‘have a hole’, *juu* ‘be in a state of a classifier way’
 - change of state: *gad* ‘break up into classifier-like pieces’, *tə* ‘break’, *χəl* ‘get a classifier-like hole’, *sdlə* ‘open’, *tl’ə* ‘break off’
 - production of sounds: *daga* ‘make a noise’, *sda* ‘shout in a classifier-type voice’, *ηginəη* ‘cry in a classifier-like voice’, *χatgu* ‘laugh in a classifier-like voice’

This list is not exhaustive and the grouping is tentative in nature, but it should be noted that the semantic range covered by bound roots in Haida roughly corresponds to those of classificatory verbs that have suppletive forms in terms of shape, texture, and consistency of the referent of a noun functioning as S in intransitive clauses or O in transitive clauses, found in a number of languages of North America (see Davidson et al. 1963, Carter 1976, Croft 1994, Aikhenvald 2000). The semantic range covered by classificatory verbs tends to include “handling, motion, location, and existence” (Aikhenvald 2017: 379), which overlap in part with bound roots in Haida. However, the semantic range covered by Haida bound roots is larger than that of classificatory verbs in that the former also includes those that denote a change of state and sound production in addition to those denoted by the latter.

Free roots and bound roots convey similar meanings; therefore, one can express a certain action or event by using either free roots or bound roots with an instrumental prefix and/or a classifier. The difference that might occur between the two modes of expression is addressed in 4.3.

In addition to bound roots, classifiers can also be added to numerals, as shown below:⁸

- (9) quŋ **q’ay**-tgunʔut=’uu naay=ga dii gyaagin.
 month CL-be.three=FOC the.house=at 1SG.OBJ use
 ‘(They) hired me in the store for three months.’
- (10) c’it’aləŋaay **sq’a**-sdiŋ=dəŋʔad ’laa=gi ’la **χa**-sdlaa-s-ii.
 the.arrow CL-be.two=with 3=to 3 CL-GIVE:EVD-NPST-INFO
 ‘She gave (it) to him together with the two arrows.’ (Swanton 1905: 27)

It should be noted in (10) that the classifier *sq’a-*, which denotes one-dimensional,

⁸ The quantifier root *sk’u-sgu* can also take classifiers, thus meaning ‘whole of NP’ by the entire set of a classifier and root:

siŋ **sga**-sgu daalə **q’ay**-sgu=ʔad dii=gi tl’ə=sgəw-gən.
 day CL-WHOLE money CL-WHOLE=with 1SG.OBJ=to 3PL=pay-PST
 ‘They paid me a dollar for a whole day.’

straight, rigid objects such as arrows, occurs on the numeral, but that the classifier $\chi a-$, which covers a set of several things is added to the verb for ‘give’. This mismatch emerges on the ground that the classifier $\chi a-$ refers to the whole set of arrows and a bow mentioned in previous contexts.

Haida classifiers may seem analogous to the numeral classifiers found in Chinese or Japanese, but they are different from the latter in that they do not always appear on numerals which can be used without them.⁹

The characteristics of Haida classifiers can be summarized by comparing them with those of other nominal categorization devices such as numeral classifiers and noun class markers. Haida classifiers are typical of the verbal classifiers found in various languages that denote the category to which the nouns of the S function of intransitive clauses and O function of transitive clauses belong. They are relatively large in number and in that respect are similar to numeral classifiers, although numerals in Haida can be used without classifiers. Classifiers in Haida are not attached to all verbal roots, but only to a certain group of bound verbal roots, and do not function as agreement markers; in this respect, they differ from noun class markers.

3.2. Phonological characteristics of Haida classifiers

This section describes Haida classifiers in terms of their phonological forms, mentions the sound symbolism expressed by classifiers, and briefly touches upon the historical origin of Haida classifiers.

The data I have obtained show that classifiers are monosyllabic, as observed in other prefixes in Haida. Their phonological forms are given in (11) and (12) below; those in (11) are of the open-syllable type:

- (11) Haida classifiers of the open-syllable type
- CV [CV]: *ji-*, *ci-*, *qi-*; *t'a-*, *xa-*, *ga-*, *q'a-*, $\chi a-$, *ya-*; *qu-*, *k'u-*, *qu-*
 - Lə [L]: *dlə-*, *tl'ə-*
 - C₁C₂V [CCV]: *tqi-*, *sk'i-*; *tqa-*, *tga-*, *tq'a-*, *sda-*, *sga-*, *sk'a-*, *sq'a-*; *sgu-*
 - C₁(C₂)V [C(C)V]: *skt'-*; *jt'-*, *k'a-*, *ya-*

⁹ Since numerals can take inflectional suffixes, they can be regarded as belonging to the verb class in Haida. In the following examples, numerals function as the predicate:

- dii=qi='uu tada jiguga-gən.
1SG.OBJ=to=FOC year be.seven-PST
'I was seven years old.' (lit. The year was seven to me.)
- 'lə=t'ak'ingaləŋ tleəŋ-ga.
3=grandchildren be.five-NPST
'S/he has five grandchildren.' (lit. His/her grandchildren are five).
- 'laaga 'lə=ga-sdiŋ-gyaalaa-gən.
his 3=CL-be.two-become:EVD-PST
'He had two (canoes).'

Note that classifiers do not appear in (i) and (ii). The meaning of “canoe” is provided by the classifier *ga-*, which is used for flat and hard objects such as boards, dishes, and canoes.

- e. CVV [C \acute{V}]: *jii-*; *jaa-*, *kaa-*, *gaa-*, *q'aa-*, *waa-*; *χuu-*
 f. C₁C₂VV [CC \acute{V}]: *skaa-*, *sq'aa-*, *k'waa-*

Haida has two levels of phonetic pitch, high (H; [']) and neutral (unmarked), the occurrences of which are predictable from the rhyme structure. In open syllables, when a syllable contains /V/, its vowel is lengthened and bears a neutral pitch, as shown in (11a) and (11c). When a syllable consists of /L/ (including /l, ɫ, dl, tl, t'l/) and /ə/ as in (11b), the /ə/ is realized as syllabic [l̩]. The classifiers in (11d) are exceptional in that their vowel bears H but is not lengthened; their pitch, therefore, need to be specified as H at the phonological level. This type of rhyme appears to be idiosyncratic to classifiers. In contrast, when a syllable has /VV/ as its rhyme, it bears H, as shown in (11e) and (11f).

(12) is a list of classifiers of the closed-syllable type, where the items are sorted according to their rhyme structure:

- (12) Haida classifiers of the closed-syllable type:
 a. /CVO/ [CVO]: *χid-*, *c'is-*, *ʔis-*; *dab-*, *t'ab-*, *jab-*, *c'ab-*, *tl'ab-*, *gab-*, *k'ab-*, *xab-*, *q'ab-*, *tad-*, *cad-*, *c'ad-*, *t'ad-*, *tl'ad-*, *jat-*; *q'ut-*
 b. /CVR/ [C \acute{V} R]: *c'in-*, *ʔiw-*; *dam-*, *t'am-*, *jam-*, *sam-*, *tl'am-*, *gam-*, *kam-*, *k'am-*, *xam-*, *jan-*, *tl'an-*, *tan-*, *dal-*, *kal-*, *ʔal*, *gan-*, *tay-*, *q'ay-*, *t'aw-*, *gaɔw-*, *xaw-*; *k'un-*; *tl'əw-*
 c. /CVVC/ [C \acute{V} :C]: *c'aam-*, *gaam-*
 d. /C₁C₂VO/ [CCVO]: *tt'ab-*, *sgab-*, *tgab-*; *sdləd-*
 e. /C₁C₂VR/ [CC \acute{V} R]: *sʔiw-*; *tgam-*, *ʔgan-*, *sdaɔw-*, *st'aw-*, *sq'aw-*, *sk'ay-*; *stləw-*
 f. /C₁C₂VVC/ [CC \acute{V} :C]: *tt'aad-*, *tgzaam-*; *xwaad-*, *q'waad-*
 g. /C₁C₂C₃VC/ [CCCVC]: *snʔat-*
 h. /C₁C₂C₃VVC/ [CCC \acute{V} :C]: *tkyaad-*

A rhyme with /VV/ always bears H, as in (12c), (12f), and (12h), while one with /V/ can bear either H or neutral pitch, depending on the type of the coda: If the coda is one of /R/ (including /m, n, ŋ, l, w, y/), then the syllable bears H, whereas if the coda is /O/ (i.e., consonants other than /R/), then the syllable bears a neutral pitch.

From (11) and (12), we observe the following phonological characteristics of classifiers: When a cluster of more than two consonants occurs in the onset, the first consonant is either /s/ or /t/ followed by an obstruent, in addition to the cluster of an obstruent and a glide /w, y/. Such clusters are commonly observed elsewhere, but clusters such as /sʔ/ and /snʔ/ are not found elsewhere and thus seem to be idiosyncratic to classifiers.

Some classifiers are similar in form, as represented in the following frame:

- (13) a. V : VV (e.g. *ga-* : *gaa-*, *q'a-* : *q'aa-*, *sk'a-* : *sk'aa-*, *gam-* : *gaam-*, *tgam-* : *tgaam-*)
 b. Vb : Vm (e.g. *dab-* : *dam-*, *t'ab-* : *t'am-*, *jab-* : *jam-*, *gab-* : *gam-* (*kam-*), *k'ab-* : *k'am-*, *tl'ab-* : *tl'am-*, *xab-* : *xam-*)

Enrico (2005: 1857ff.) explores the semantic relationship among Haida classifiers in more detail and with more data to find “a strong tendency” for /Vb/ to be related to /Vm/, /Vw/, /aab/, and /aam/; for /Vl/ to be related to /Vl/, /aal/, and /aal/; and for /Vm/ to be related to /Vb/, /Vn/, /Vw/, /aab/, and /aam/.¹⁰ The correlation between the semantics of each pair of classifiers is discussed in the next section.

Turning to the /V/-type rhyme in (11a), the vowel is lengthened. Vowel lengthening is typically observed in a syllable with a /V/-type rhyme in a monosyllabic word or the initial position of a polysyllabic word, including a verb that consists of a free root and other elements, as in (14a). Vowel lengthening is also observed in an instrumental prefix of the same type of syllable as in (14b). However, it is not observed in a bound root of the same type of syllable, as shown in (14c), where the vowel of the bound root remains short, realized as [u] (see also (14b), where the first vowel of the bound root /gi/ is realized as short):

- (14) a. /χ̣a/ [χ̣a:] ‘dog’, /G̣u:ɡən/ [G̣u:ɡən] ‘burn [PST]’, analyzed as *Gu-ɡən* (burn-PST)
 b. /G̣u:jabg̣iləŋ/ [G̣u:ɟap̣g̣iləŋ] ‘to twinkle’, analyzed as *Gu-jab-giləŋ* (by.burn-ing-CL-ROOT)
 c. /tləlG̣u/ [tl̩l̩G̣u] ‘to carry on a vehicle’, analyzed as *tləl-Gu* (by.carrying.on.vehicle-ROOT)

As shown in (11), the vowel of the /V/-type classifier is lengthened, which parallels free verbal roots and instrumental prefixes that are phonologically more independent than bound verbal roots.

As some instrumental prefixes originated from nouns or verbs (see Hori 2016), it can be assumed that some classifiers also might have developed from nouns or verbs, at least judging from their phonological behaviors described here. Indeed, Levine (1977: 153) notes the following similarities between classifiers and the nouns with which they are associated:

- (15) a. t’aw- : t’aagun ‘feather’
 b. sq’a- : sq’aanʔu ‘stick’
 c. kun- : kun ‘point, nose’

Mithun (1986) argues that verbal classifiers tend to develop through noun incorporation, a lexical process of compounding a noun and a verb to form a new verb stem, in which the incorporated noun takes on a classificatory function. The pairs in (15) seem to support Mithun’s argument, but as many other classifiers show no similarities to any verb or noun roots, some other sources might be considered. However, further evidence is not available to clarify the historical origin of Haida classifiers.

¹⁰ Note that some of the forms given by Enrico have not been attested in my study.

3.3. Semantic characteristics of Haida classifiers

The semantic parameters in noun categorization have been explored by Adams and Conklin (1973), Allan (1977), Croft (1994), and Aikhenvald (2000), among others. According to Aikhenvald (2017: 377), the semantic parameters recurrent in verbal classifiers of various languages include shape, size, structure or position, animacy, and consistency, but the entire inventory of classifiers in Haida cannot be covered by these parameters. The difficulty of descriptions of classifiers can also be ascribed to the heterogeneous nature of objects or entities that are associated with a given classifier. Enrico (2005) attempts to describe the Haida classifiers in the Masset dialect, a northern variety of Haida, using several semantic properties such as dimensionality, length, flexibility, and others, but excludes classifiers for three-dimensional objects from his argument. The properties he postulates to describe Haida classifiers are overly fragmented, and as a result, it is difficult to see how the classifiers are organized to form a larger system. Furthermore, there is no way to judge whether his observation matches the ways in which native speakers of Haida categorize each item; this could be true of any attempt to categorize classifiers.

Haida classifiers can be grouped into those that are associated with certain nouns in a rather fixed manner and those that are not. The former categorizes nouns in terms of their inherent properties and is used in a neutral context, which means that the use of the classifier is consistent among speakers; in other words, the use of such classifiers is default. The latter denotes the temporal state of the noun referent, and their function is to highlight a certain property of the noun referent rather than to signal the category to which the noun belongs, so classifiers that are associated with a noun will differ depending on the context (see 4.2 for further details on the difference between the two). In this section, we concentrate on the former group and propose semantic parameters that might be relevant to grouping Haida classifiers.

3.3.1. Animacy

Haida uses classifiers to divide noun referents into animate and inanimate entities. Animate referents are associated with *dlə-* for a singular entity and *gaŋ-* for a group of entities, while inanimate entities are covered by *ʔis-* (not specified for number) and *χa-* for a collection of objects (see (10) for the classifier *χa-*). Therefore, animate and inanimate entities can be subdivided in terms of [individuation], that is, a single object versus a group of objects (cf. Croft 1994: 165).

However, the distinction between animate and inanimate entities is rather vague; the classifier *dlə-* covers not all animals, but only humans, mammals, fish, and birds (Enrico 2005: 642), and different classifiers need to be used for other animals according to their features (e.g., *ji-* for octopus as in (5)). As discussed later in 4.2, classifiers originally used for inanimate objects can be applied to human referents to add a certain semantic effect.

As in many classifier languages, there is a classifier that can be applied to a wide range of inanimate objects in Haida, the classifier *ʔis-*. In fact, some speakers use this classifier frequently and even apply it to objects for which there is an

appropriate classifier to use:

- (16) *gyaaʔadaay ʔaa ʔis-guy-da-gən.*
 the.blanket 1SG.AG CL-FALL-CAUS-PST
 ‘I dropped the blanket.’

The appropriate classifier for ‘blanket’ is *gi-*. In (16), the classifier *ʔis-* does not fulfill its supposed classification function. The verbal root *guy* is a bound root that cannot be used without a classifier, so the classifier *ʔis-* that is applicable to any inanimate objects is used to fill the position in which a classifier ought to occur. This might be a sign of a simplification of the categorizations that would eventually result in animate and inanimate classes. However, more knowledgeable speakers have a large stock of classifiers and can use different classifiers to refer to different objects.

3.3.2. Dimensionality and other semantic parameters

Dimensionality is one of the parameters prevalent among classifier languages (Aikhenvald 2000 and others) and is also relevant to classifying inanimate objects in Haida, as described by Enrico (1987, 2005) for the Masset dialect. Inanimate objects can be classified as one-dimensional, two-dimensional, and three-dimensional, among which two-dimensional objects are the most difficult to classify, as they are the most complicated in shape, involving more features to capture each object.

As pointed out by Allan (1977: 301), the one-dimensional category is associated with consistency, whereby it is further grouped into flexible and rigid objects. The former can be further divided into extended (e.g., *sga-* for rope, road) and non-extended objects (e.g., *t'a-* for necklace, belt), the latter into straight (e.g., *sq'a-* for stick, cane) and non-straight objects (e.g., *sga-* for ring, bow).

Two-dimensional objects are flat in nature and hence are assigned the [extended] parameter. They can be further divided into those with and without a certain shape. Some classifiers for objects with a certain shape include *gu-* for round objects (e.g., buttons, masks), *sda-* for annular objects (e.g., rings, bracelets), *tGa-* for grid-like objects (e.g., ladder, chair), *t'aw-* for spatulate objects (e.g., feathers, spoons), *tq'a-* for objects with projections (e.g., combs, brooms), *tga-* for objects with paired projections (e.g., scissors, forks), and *ji-* for radial objects (e.g., octopus, gloves). Some classifiers for objects without definite shape are *tl'ə-* for flat and thin objects (e.g., paper, leaf), *q'a-* for stretched objects (e.g., the sky, cheek), and *garw-* for wide objects (e.g., board, window).

Three-dimensional objects are divided into those with and without definite shapes. The classifiers for objects with definite shapes include: [cylindrical] *tqi-* (solid) (e.g., log, totem pole), *sk'a-* (hollow) (e.g., bottle, riddle); [spherical] *skaa-* (small) (e.g., berry, potato), *q'ay-* (large) (e.g., the moon, money); [rectangular] *c'is-* (box-like), *tay-* (building). The classifier for objects with no definite shape is *ci-* for bags, coats, and baskets.

The above classification is based on some of the classifiers in my data, so it is

far from complete enough to describe the semantic parameters of all the classifiers in Haida. As mentioned above, the nouns that are grouped together even by the same classifier are heterogeneous in nature, and in fact, one may find it difficult to grasp the semantic motivations for some nouns that do not share any properties with other nouns covered by the same classifier. For example, the classifier *taɣ-* is used for houses and axes, but it also covers waves or clouds (Enrico 2005: 117). It is difficult to find semantic grounds that can cover these objects.

In some cases, the apparent heterogeneous nature of categorization can be explained through metaphoric extension.¹¹ For example, the classifier *sga-* is used for one-dimensional flexible objects such as rope, road, and thread as well as units of time such as *siŋ* ‘day’, *gaal* ‘night’, and *tada* ‘year, winter’. Such units of time could be compared to thread-like objects, making it conceivable to include units of time in the group of one-dimensional flexible objects. However, this interpretation is not necessarily well-founded and could be considered far-fetched by some.

In some cases, the motivation for including an item that is apparently different from others in the same group can be more completely identified. For example, the noun *sgaw* ‘knife’ is associated with the classifier *sga-* for flat objects such as *tʼaada* ‘board’ and *qaytə* ‘dish’. “Knife” is included with “board” and “dish” because Haida people formerly used mussel shells as knives (Enrico 2005: 558). As a shell is a flat object, knives were considered to belong to the same group as boards and dishes, and their association with the classifier *sga-* continued even after other shapes of knives were introduced through contact with Europeans. Thus, in some cases classifiers can reveal the historical background of material culture.

It should also be noted that the same noun can be associated with different classifiers. For example, *stəqyaa* ‘ring’ belongs to the group associated with the classifier *sda-* as well as to that associated with *sga-*. I have not checked the interchangeability of these two classifiers, but it seems that the former is mainly used for two-dimensional annular objects, whereas the latter is mainly used for one-dimensional arch-shaped objects (Enrico 2005: 393, 491). Likewise, *gudʔgagaanʔu* ‘chair’ can be associated with *tga-* and *tqa-*; the former refers to grid-like objects (e.g., raft, ladder), while the latter is used for objects with paired projections (e.g., scissors, forks). Note that the noun itself contains the classifier *tga-*, but a form like *gudʔgagaanʔu* is not attested.¹² These examples show that a classifier and an associated noun do not show one-to-one correspondence.

As mentioned in 3.2, some pairs of classifiers are similar in form. Levine (1977: 151) presents the following pairs in which one member ends with /b/ and the other ends with /m/, arguing that while the former denotes one-dimensional objects, the latter denotes two-dimensional objects:

¹¹ Cf. Mizuguchi’s (2004) attempt to explain how the Japanese numeral classifier *hon* for long and slender objects can be extended to apply to, for example, telephone calls, radio, and TV programs using the Idealized Cognitive Model of Lakoff (1987).

¹² In the Masset and Alaskan dialects, the noun for ‘chair’ contains the classifier *tqa-* (Enrico 2005: 1320).

- (17) a. t'ab- (straight) : t'am- (narrow)
 b. dab- (small) : dam- (big and round)
 c. sgab- (curved) : sgam- (hemispherical)

As shown in (13b) (repeated and rearranged in (18)), there are more pairs with /b/ and /m/:

- (18) a. jab- (fast) : jam- (gloss unknown)
 b. gab- (concave) : gam- (round and concave) : (kam- (small and round))
 c. k'ab- (tight) : k'am- (small pieces)
 d. ḷgab- (fast) : ḷgam- (small spherical)
 e. t'l'ab- (thin) : t'l'am- (tight)
 f. xab- (fast) : xam- (fine rain)

Examining the items in (18), it becomes clear that the correlation between /Vb/ and /Vm/, if any, is not as simple as Levine (1977) assumes. In fact, all pairs except those in (18b) do not seem to have anything to do with the dimensionality of the objects to which they refer.¹³

Enrico (2005: 1861f.) also notes correlations between /Vb/ and /Vm/, /Vb/ and /Vw/, /Vb/ and /aab/, /Vb/ and /aam/, /Vb/ and /Vd/, and /Vb/ and /Vh/ and summarizes the semantic characteristics of classifiers that contain each rhyme as follows. Classifiers of the /Vb/-type refer to one or two dimensions, in contrast with those of the /Vm/-type denoting an extension in an additional dimension; /Vw/ denotes a wider version of /Vb/, and /aam/ denotes a larger version; and /Vd/ is a pejorative version of /Vb/ when applied to persons, as is /Vh/.

Although some correlation might be found between the sound and meaning of classifiers, the issue of sound symbolism observed in Haida classifiers is not explored further in the present study because of insufficient data.

It should be pointed out that Haida classifiers denote onomatopoeias when added to verbal roots that mean the production of a sound or verbal act of animate entities (see (8) above for the semantic grouping of bound roots):

- (19) dii dal q'ud-**χu**-daga-ga.
 1SG.OBJ stomach by.hunger-CL-MAKE.A.NOISE-NPST
 'My stomach is rumbling.'
- (20) ?aŋk'us='iisda=χan 'lɔ=**gam**-daga-sdlɔ-gən.
 all.of.sudden 3=CL-MAKE.A.NOISE-completely-PST
 'All of sudden he made a loud noise.'
- (21) 'laa=gi ḷɔ=**ḷgaam**-sda-gən.
 3=to 1SG.AG=CL-SHOUT-PST
 'I hollered at her.'

¹³ Sapir (1923 [1991: 156]) was the first to find /b/ and /m/ pairs in classifiers, suggesting that the /m/ series indicates "rounded, all round" objects, while the /b/ series indicates "stubby protruding", even though he admits that the evidence for his speculation was insufficient.

- (22) huu ʼlə=ɣ^{aa}-ŋgiŋəŋ=qawdi...
 then 3=CL-CRY=for.a.while
 ‘Then he cried loudly and after a while ...’
- (23) yaan Beth **kaa**-χatgu-gən.
 truly PN CL-LAUGH-PST
 ‘Beth cackled.’

The classifier *χu-* in (19) denotes the rumbling sound of one’s stomach; *gam-* in (20) denotes a loud noise; *tgaam-* in (21) used for a loud voice; *q’aa-* in (22) for a harsh scream; *kaa-* in (23) for high-pitched laughter. Two of these classifiers extend their meanings to denote sounds: *gam-* for round and concave objects; *tgaam-* for a large chair, while the other three are classifiers that are used exclusively to represent sounds.

Classifiers with an onomatopoeic function can also occur on a bound root that does not represent sound production. In (24), the classifier *χid-* for a clattering sound is added to the verbal root *nənəŋ* that denotes bringing things into contact with each other:

- (24) dii jaasga=ʔəsiŋ ʔaŋga nəŋ q’id-**χid**-nənəŋ-t’ajəŋ.
 1SG.OBJ sister=too own INDF by.cutting-CL-CONTACT-try
 ‘My sister was trying to cut her own, making a clattering noise.’

I have not obtained sufficient data to describe how onomatopoeias are represented in Haida, so their systematic clarification should be left for future research.

The examples given so far in this section clearly show that Haida classifiers convey concrete meanings, which is in line with Allan’s (1977: 290) claim that “classifiers do have meaning” (see also Senft 2000: 36). The following examples also illustrate that the classifiers have meanings, where the demonstrative is the only nominal of the clause:

- (25) huusii =ʼuu **c’is**-juu-ga.
 that=FOC CL-ROOT-NPST
 ‘That is a box-like thing.’ (c’is-: box-like objects)
- (26) huusii =ʼuu **sq’a**-juu-ga.
 ‘That is a stick-like thing.’ (sq’a-: one-dimensional, straight, rigid objects such as sticks, canes)

The verbal root *juu* here does not have any lexical meanings and its function is to fill the position of a verbal root. In fact, classifiers convey rather concrete meanings to show what the objects to which the demonstratives refer are like, thus defining the semantics of the whole predicate. It is also evident that classifiers have lexical meanings from the fact that speakers can grasp and explain the meaning of classifiers. This is contrast to noun class markers that have no semantic transparency in themselves.¹⁴

¹⁴ Evidence that classifiers have lexical meanings is also provided by nouns derived from

However, the question of what the classifiers mean remains; Senft (2000: 36) argues that classifiers highlight a special (shade of) meaning among the sum of extralinguistic referents to which the associated noun refers (see also Lucy 2000: 330). Put another way, different classifiers can be applied to the same noun depending on the context in which they are used. The next section deals with this function of Haida classifiers.

4. Functions of Haida classifiers in a broader context

As has been frequently pointed out in previous studies, classifiers generally play certain functional roles within a discourse. Haida classifiers also have various functions to fulfill in discourse.

4.1. Specification of noun referents

The most effective use of Haida classifiers is to disambiguate homonyms. For example, the noun *k'iw* has several meanings such as 'clam', 'ladder', 'door', and 'road', but its referent can be clarified by using the appropriate classifiers. The following are examples of how classifiers can be effectively used to specify the referent of the noun *k'iw*:

- (27) a. *k'iwaay* *ɬə=skaa-guy-da-gən*.
 the.clam 1SG.AG=CL-FALL-CAUS-PST
 'I dropped the clam.' (skaa-: small spherical objects)
- b. *k'iwaay* *ɬə=ɬga-guy-da-gən*.
 the.ladder 1SG.AG=CL-FALL-CAUS-PST
 'I dropped the ladder.' (ɬga-: grid-like objects)
- c. *k'iwaay* *ɬə=ga-guy-da-gən*.
 the.door 1SG.AG=CL-FALL-CAUS-PST
 'I dropped the door.' (ga-: flat and hard objects)

Similarly, classifiers can contribute to specifying what a noun refers to when it has only a vague meaning. For example, as the noun *quqin* means anything made of paper, the appropriate classifier must be used, when one needs to clarify the type of paper product the noun refers to. In the following pair of examples, the use of different classifiers, *tl'ə-* for sheet-like objects and *q'ay-* for sturdy three-

verbs that contain classifiers. The nouns in the following examples contrast with each other in terms of classifiers:

- (i) *kiw-q'ay-jaa-ʔu* (by.tying-CL-HOLD-INST) 'hammer'
 (ii) *kiw-tl'ə-jaaw* (by.tying-CL-HOLD) 'ax'

(i) can literally mean "an instrument that holds something bulky by tying"; the literal meaning of (ii) is something like "an instrument that holds something thin by tying". The difference between the two nouns lies in the classifiers *q'ay-* and *tl'ə-*, with the former representing a large sturdy object, and the latter representing a thin object. Thus, the difference in classifiers contributes to creating lexical items, but the productivity is unclear. Incidentally, these examples are not typical deverbal nouns, because their verbal base forms, *kiw-q'ay-juu* and *kiw-tl'ə-juu*, have not been attested.

dimensional objects can differentiate the noun referent into ‘a sheet of paper’ and ‘a book’:

- (28) a. quginaay 'laa tɬə-xiidən.
 the.paper 3 CL-PICK.UP.PST
 ‘S/he picked up the sheet of paper.’
 b. quginaay 'laa q'ay-xiidən.
 the.paper 3 CL-PICK.UP.PST
 ‘S/he picked up the book.’

As the noun *qugin* in (28) does not provide information other than the material, the classifier adds a more concrete meaning to the noun. However, when the predicate consists of a free root to which classifiers cannot be attached, such a device for specification is not available, so it is not clear whether the noun refers to ‘paper’ or ‘book’, as shown in (29):

- (29) quginaay 'laa qiŋ-gən.
 the.paper 3 see-PST
 ‘S/he read the paper/the book, etc.’

Needless to say, one must resort to the context in which the sentence is uttered to grasp what the noun refers to.

In (30), the same noun *tga* ‘stone’ is used in each of the following pair of examples, but the difference in shapes can be denoted by applying different classifiers to the nouns:

- (30) a. tga tə=skaa-guy-da-gən.
 stone 1SG.AG=CL-FALL-CAUS-PST
 ‘I dropped a (ball-shaped) stone.’
 b. tga tə=gu-guy-da-gən.
 ‘I dropped a (button-shaped) stone.’

The classifier *skaa-* applies to small round objects by which one can understand that the referent of the noun is ball-like, while the classifier *gu-* is for flat and concave objects; thus, the referent can be understood as a button-shaped stone. It should be noted that there is no modifier for the noun, but the classifier specifies the shape of the noun in this pair of examples.

4.2. Expressing the temporal state of a noun referent

As in many classifier languages, Haida classifiers do not have a one-to-one correspondence with a noun; different classifiers can be chosen depending on the context associated with the noun.

A fish should be associated with the classifier *dlə-* for animate entities, as in (31a), but the classifier *ga-* for flat and hard objects is used in (31b), which means that the fish is sliced and cooked; thus, the use of the classifier *ga-* is suitable in this context:

- (31) a. *ciina=ʔəsiŋ dɫɔ-ʔən-gən.*
 fish=too CL-BE-PST
 ‘There was a fish (on it), too.’
 b. *ciina=ʔəsiŋ ca-ʔən-gən.*
 ‘There was a (slice of) fish (on it).’

As (31b) shows, one can choose an appropriate classifier from among several possible options to describe the temporal state of the referent.

The use of the classifier *gaw-* in (32b) instead of the default classifier *ci-* in (32a) for coats emphasizes the unusual size of the coat:

- (32) a. *ʔaaga citʔiisgu gawdla gay-ci-giŋ-gən.*
 her coat new by.floating-CL-BE.ON.THE.WATER-PST
 ‘Her new coat was floating.’
 b. *ʔaaga citʔiisgu gawdla gay-gaw-giŋ-gən.*
 ‘Her new (and big) coat was floating.’

It should be noted that the classifier *gaw-*, covering any wide object (e.g., board, dish), denotes the temporal state of the subject noun in (32b); no other modifier is added to denote that the coat is large. Thus, the classifier is used not to refer to the category to which the noun belongs, but to specify the state of the noun from the speaker’s perspective.

Classifiers can function as measuring units that also denote the temporal state of the noun referent. For example, the noun *sgəwsiid* ‘potato’ should be associated with the classifier *skaa-* for small spherical objects, but in (33), different classifiers are employed to express that the potatoes are in a certain container: a box denoted by the classifier *ʔis-* for a box-like object in (33a), and a bag by *ci-* for a flexible container in (33b):

- (33) a. *sgəwsidaay ʔis-gudi-ga.*
 the.potatoes CL-LIE-NPST
 ‘There are potatoes in a box.’
 b. *sgəwsidaay ci-gudi-ga.*
 ‘There are potatoes in a bag.’

Similar meanings can be expressed by adding postpositional phrases like *guda=ga* (box=in) ‘in a box’, but the intended meanings are adequately expressed by the classifiers. These classifiers do not represent the inherent properties of the noun ‘potatoes’, but the temporal state of the noun.

As shown in the above examples, a speaker can choose a different classifier at will to describe the state of the referent more effectively by highlighting the most salient property from the speaker’s perspective. Thus, such usage of classifiers is different from the function of denoting the semantic category to which the noun referent belongs. The function of classifiers here is to denote the temporal state of noun referents; as a result, they can modify the noun from the outside of a noun phrase.

The application of classifiers to express specific meanings for human referents can also be observed. As described above, a human entity is referred to by the classifier *dlə-* (see 3.3.1). However, different classifiers can be used to add some sort of meaning, pejorative in many cases, to the person functioning as an S or O in the clause.

- (34) 'laa **k'u**-daal-di-gən.
 3 CL-MOVE.ALONG-CONT-PST
 'He, a poor thing, was walking.'
- (35) gə q'ayaas **sgab**-jiguləŋ-ga.
 the.old.people CL-WALK.AROUND-NPST
 'The old people were walking around with their backs bent.'

The classifier used for neutral expression in (34) should be *dlə-*, denoting a single human entity, but here the classifier *k'u-*, originally applying to small compact objects including a baby, is used to add a sense of pity to the referent. The referent 'old people' in (35) should be associated with the classifier *gaŋ-* for a group of people, but the classifier *sgab-* in (35), normally referring to bent objects, adds a pejorative meaning. Thus, when classifiers for inanimate objects are applied to human referents, they take on a pitying or pejorative sense in many cases.

Classifiers can also denote a noun referent's state due to the event described by the verb. For example, (36), an excerpt from a narrative, describes the following scene: *dii cinga* 'my grandfather' was sitting on a chair in front of our house (= 36 [1]), whistling and playing rhythm with his feet, when he broke the chair into pieces (= 36 [2]). When the speaker heard the noise, she rushed to the spot and found the chair scattered in pieces (= 36 [3]).¹⁵

- (36) [1] dii cinga=ʔəsiŋ naagaay χan=gu gudɫgagaanʔu=gu q'əwʔu-gən.
 my grandfather=too the.house in.front.of chair=on sit-PST
 'My grandfather was sitting in front of the house.'
- [2] gii='uu gudɫgagaanʔwaay=gii 'la gud-**k'əm**-lə-gən.
 then the.chair=into 3 by.sitting-CL-BREAK-PST
 'He broke the chair into pieces by sitting.'
- [3] gudɫgagaanʔwaay tləgaay=gu **jal**-gudi-gən.
 the.chair the.ground=on CL-LIE-PST
 'The (parts of the) chair piled up in a mess on the ground.'

The classifier *k'əm-* in (36 [2]) for small pieces expresses the state caused by the action of sitting on the chair and breaking it, while the classifier *jal-* in (36 [3]) for scattering of small objects (parts of the chair in this example) denotes the result of this chain of events.

From these observations, we see that classifiers in Haida can denote the state of a noun that is syntactically associated with them in the same clause. This func-

¹⁵ I have omitted some similar sentences that occur between these from the text for the sake of space.

tion might be considered an extension of the noun classification function, which means that classifiers categorize a noun in terms of its state in extralinguistic reality.

4.3. Expressing the temporal state of an event

Haida classifiers can also express the state of an action, a usage that deviates from typical noun classification in that it does not denote properties relevant to nouns that are syntactically associated with the classifiers. For example, the classifier *xab-* in (37) describes how *c'it'aləŋ?waay* 'the arrow' moved as it was released:

- (37) *gaŋaa=χan='uu c'it'aləŋ?waay xab-lə-gən.*
 soon the.arrow CL-MOVE-PST
 'Soon the arrow went fast.'

What the classifier denotes is not related to the arrow's inherent properties. If the classifier *sq'a-* for one-dimensional extended objects such as arrows were used instead, the predicate would merely indicate that the arrow moved, with no other specific meaning added.

Similarly, the following examples show instances of classifiers used to express the state or manner rather than category of nouns with which they are syntactically associated:

- (38) *k'ayc'aaw gu-jab-giləŋ.*
 stars by.burning-CL-STAY
 'The stars are shining.' (lit. The stars stay (in the sky), twinkling.)
- (39) *'laa t'am-sgid+q'əw?u-di-gən.*
 3 CL-LOOK+sit-CONT-PST
 'S/he was sitting there with an angry look on his/her face.'

The classifier *jab-* in (38) describes that the object is twinkling, while *t'am-* in (39) denotes an angry appearance when it attaches to the bound root *sgid*, which means 'look in a classifier way'.¹⁶

The classifiers exemplified in (37) to (39) function as verb modifiers, and have nothing to do with the inherent properties of the noun referents with which they are associated. In this sense, this type of classifier usage deviates from the typical noun classification and is very similar to an adverbial function. The following pair of examples illustrates that a similar meaning is expressed by the independent adverbial in (40a) and the classifier in (40b):

- (40) a. *hawiid=χan 'laa gə taa-gən.*
 in.a.hurry 3 INDF eat-PST
- b. *'laa gə t'gab-gaac'i-gən.*
 3 INDF CL-EAT-PST
 'He ate something in a hurry.'

¹⁶ See also (7) in 3.1, in which no NP associated with the classifier appears.

The classifier in (40b) denotes something like ‘fast’, which roughly corresponds to the independent adverbial ‘in a hurry’ in (40a). The verb *taa* ‘to eat’ is a free root, and so cannot take a classifier. Thus, there are at least two ways to express similar meanings: using a free root and using a bound root. The difference between the two is too subtle to be captured, but regarding the pair in (40), the notions of ‘in a hurry’ and ‘to eat’ are packed in a compositional manner if one uses the expression like (40b), while they are scattered, as it were, in the clause, as in (40a), from which it can be imagined that the information is easier to follow in (40b) than in (40a). Although more research is needed to clarify the difference between these expressions, we can assume that different expressions like these are useful to manage the flow of discourses.

5. Conclusion

The functions of verbal classifiers in Haida that have been described in the present study thus far can be summarized as follows:

Table 2. Functions of Haida classifiers

Function	a. Noun classification (3.1, 4.1)	b. Denoting the temporal state of nouns (4.2)	c. Verb modification (4.3)
Usage	Static	← ————— →	Dynamic
Degree of association with nouns	High	← ————— →	Low

From the descriptions of Haida classifiers, we find that there are two types of usage, static usage and dynamic usage, based on the degree of dependency on the contexts in which they occur.¹⁷ Classifiers can be considered to be used statically when their application is consistent, regardless of the contexts in which they occur; in this sense, such use is of a default nature. The relationship between a classifier and its syntactically associated noun tends to be relatively fixed, although fluidity can be observed to some extent. This usage is typically observed in noun classification functions.

However, when the application of classifiers is dependent on the context, they can be considered to be used dynamically. As the choice of a classifier depends on the context, speakers can choose the appropriate classifier when they need to add more information. The relationship between a noun and the classifier is not as firmly fixed as in noun classification. However, some classifiers are used in both ways. Such usage is typically found in verb modification functions.

In addition, the three functions shown in Table 2 differ with regard to the

¹⁷ The terms “static” and “dynamic” are adopted differently from Senft’s (2000) usage. Senft (2000: 25) uses “static” to mean that “semantic domains”, classification of nominal referents based on semantic principles, are fixed, whereas “dynamic” is used to mean the interaction between “semantic domains”.

degree to which classifiers are associated with nouns. The degree of association with nouns is highest in the noun classification function, and decreases toward the verb modification function, which has no reference to noun properties. Although these three functions differ in this manner, it could be pointed out that they converge to “specification” of noun referents or events. The function of noun classification is to classify a noun referent based on the inherent properties by which the classifier specifies the referent. In contrast, the function of denoting temporal states is to classify a noun temporarily, adding some information not inherently embedded in the noun (see also Senft 2000: 21) and thus narrowing down or specifying its meaning. In this sense, the latter function is close to modification, which leads to the third function of modifiers for verbs that specify the state of the event denoted by the verb, as it were, and define the meaning of the whole unit of classifier and verbal root, where the latter has only a vague meaning.

It may be that Haida classifiers have taken on these functions because their semantic transparency gives speakers some freedom to choose a contextually appropriate classifier. Such freedom has been observed in previous studies on noun categorization, but no study has so far adequately examined whether this is also prevalent among verbal classifiers. Verbal classifiers are found in many languages, but they have not been given much attention in typological studies of noun classification. Further studies need to be done to clarify whether Haida classifiers are common or unique among verbal classifiers in various languages and how verbal classifiers can be characterized in noun categorization typology.

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【要 旨】

ハイダ語の類別接頭辞について

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カナダ北西海岸地域とアメリカ合衆国アラスカ州南東部で話されるハイダ語には、動詞に付加されて自動詞節の主語や他動詞節の目的語となる名詞句の指示対象がどのような意味範疇に属するかを示す類別接頭辞がある。ハイダ語の類別接頭辞の用法は、文脈への依存度の違いによって、静的なそれと動的なそれに分けられる。前者は、文脈に関係なく、一定の名詞句と固定的に結びつき、典型的な名詞類別の機能を果たす。一方、後者は、文脈に応じて両者の結びつきが可変的であり、それゆえに指示対象を細分化して表わせる。更に、ハイダ語の類別接頭辞には、名詞句の意味範疇を示さずに、動詞をいわば内側から修飾するような機能もある。このように、ハイダ語の類別接頭辞は、名詞類別にとどまらず、幅広い機能を有する点が特徴的であるといえる。