Coast Tsimshian relativization data indicate that subjects of transitive sentences cannot be considered similar to subjects of intransitive sentences and that the theory of an accessibility hierarchy must take this fact into account. The data further show that NP's with different functions are given most prominent element status by such divergent means as to make any discussion of an accessibility hierarchy difficult and perhaps irrelevant.

Relativization in Coast Tsimshian is best discussed in the context of syntactic strategies which give overriding prominence to particular nominal units in sentences and thus subordinate other sentential material. Such prominence can be given to NP's in both independent clauses (by topicalization) and dependent clauses (by relativization). The syntactic properties of sentence prominent ergatives (transitive subjects) are different from those of sentence prominent nominatives (intransitive subjects and direct objects). The Tsimshian data do not support the theory of an accessibility hierarchy of NP's whereby certain types (functional and other) of nominal constructions are available to be made the most prominent part of the sentence only if NP's higher up in the hierarchy are also available in the same way. This theory, developed by Keenan and Comrie and extended by Cole et al (cit. apud Cole 1976), states for example that subjects of sentences are relativizable in the same way that direct objects are, but not vice versa, i.e., subjects may be relativized by strategies that do not apply to objects, but any strategy which applies to objects will also apply to subjects because subjects are higher in the accessibility hierarchy. Specifically Cole and others claim that if objects can be deleted in relativization, so can subjects. The data presented in this paper show that Tsimshian direct
objects are syntactically identical to intransitive subjects and that both are distinct from transitive subjects, i.e., there are relativization strategies for which transitive subjects are available but intransitive subjects are not. The data further indicate that the common NP may be deleted from both the independent and dependent clauses in a relative construction if it is a nominative (intransitive subject or direct object), but the common NP may be deleted from only the subordinate clause if it is an ergative. This paper describes in turn (1) prominent ergatives in independent clauses, (2) prominent ergatives in embedded sentences, (3) prominent nominatives in independent clauses, (4) prominent nominatives in embedded sentences, (5) relativized locatives, and (6) derived nominals involving relativized material.

1. Ergatives are given sentential prominence in a number of closely related ways. The differences in these may in fact reflect a diachronic process. The earlier data, from Boas and Susman, exhibit the most complex type of prominence as shown in sentences (1), (1.1) and (2).

(1) t'nduyut ink'yilk'yinaam yats'isga da k'wan 2 (I am the one who gave you the animals; nduyu: give, plur; yats'isga: animal; da: to you; Boas G335).

(1.1) t nduyut in gy'ingyinam 'yets'isga da k'wan (I am the one who gave the animals to you).

(2) t nduyu dimt innaksga æguægint (It is I who will marry your daughter; nduyu: give, dim; innaksga: marry; Æguægint: your daughter).

The posited relationship between these two sets of sentences can be formally stated as in (5).

(5) SA: Aux+T-VT+DI+T-Erg+connective-Nom

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

condition: Erg is marked for prominence
SC: 5-6(-1+2-IN+3+7-8).

This analysis claims that (1) should be described as in (1.2).

(1.2) t proper connective; nduyu: t independent ergative marker; in prominent ergative marker; etc.

Susman's and later data contain a second type of construction exemplified by sentences (6), (7) and (8).

(6) 'nduyu dim t inmakeæa catcs;-Iaaw (you caught the trout; nduyu: give, dim; makæa catcs:-Iaaw: the trout).

(7) 'nduyu dim t innaksga æguægint (I will marry your daughter; Cf (2); Susman 335).

(8) 'nduyut in gwantga latab (I am the one who touched the table; nduyu: give, dim; gwantga latab: the table; Kitkatla 1960).

These sentences show the structural change described 3.

3 The independent ergative marker (t) indicates that the sentence is transitive and that the subject is an independent pronoun or NP rather than a dependent pronoun (See Dunn 1977a). The proper connective (t) indicates that the following NP is a proper noun or pronoun. Independent pronouns have the syntactic properties of proper nouns (See Dunn 1977b).
in (9).

(9) SA: Aux+T-VT+connective-Erg+connective-Nom

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
condition: Erg is marked for prominence
SC: 5-1+2-IN+3+6-7.

In (5) the connective between VT and Erg is partially retained and moved to the front of the sentence with Erg. In (9) the same connective is entirely lost.

Contemporary data show yet a third pattern as exemplified in (10), (11) and (12).

(10) Nidit inbaa'in boot (He is the one who is running the boat; nidit he; in prominent ergative marker; ba'in cause to run; boot boat; Metlkatla 1976; Hartley Bay 1976).

(11) 'Nybyu na'in dzaba waab (I'm the one who built the house; 'nybyu I; na past completed; 'in prominent ergative marker; dzaba build; waab house; Metlkatla 1976; Hartley Bay 1976).

(11.1) 'Raxhu na'indzabi waap (I'm the one who built the house; Klemtu (Southern Tsimshian) 1976).

(12) 'Handim ingwantga latab (You are the ones who touched the table; Cf. (8); Kitkatla 1988).

In these latter examples neither the connective nor the independent ergative marker is present:

(13) SA: Aux+T-VT+connective-Erg+connective-Nom

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
condition: ergative is marked for prominence
SC: 5-1-IN+3+6-7.

The relationships between the sentence types (1) thru (12) can be summarized by a series of phrase markers:

(14)

In the foregoing examples the ergative has always been an independent pronoun. The topical ergative can also be expressed by a demonstrative pronoun (15-16), an interrogative pronoun (19), or a relative pronoun (20-21).

(15) Ni'niiit in luk'agan txaa'nii gyat (it was that which cleared off all the people; ni'nii demonstrative pronoun; t independent ergative marker; in prominent ergative marker; luk'agan
clear off; txa'nii all; gyat people; Boas T70).

(16) ada 'nii'nii t'inlabalsitga (he was the one who paid it back; ada conj; 'nii'nii demonstrative pronoun; t independent ergative marker; 'in prominent ergative marker; txa'ai pay back; tsa it; Boas u335).

(16.1) ada 'ni'nit in labalditga (Susan).

(17) ni'nii agwa'at ink'aloyin (this is the one that threw at you; ni'nii demonstrative pronoun; agwa'a determiner = here, present; t independent ergative marker; k'aloy throw at; in you; Kitkatla 1968)

(18) 'nii'nii dip gwal t'in'sit'aasga (these are the ones who began [it]; 'nii'nii demonstrative pronoun; dip plural; gwal present determiner; t independent ergative marker; 'in prominent ergative marker; sit'aas make sit; note: it is not clear whether the -sga should be considered a nominative pronoun or whether the nominative has been deleted; Boas u335).

(18.1) 'nii'nii stipgwai t'in sit'assga (Susan).

(19) nase dint innskaga 'guu'gas usu'o (who is it who will marry the daughter of Gau'o?); nase interrogative pronoun; dim future; t independent ergative marker; in prominent ergative marker; innskaga marry; 'guu'gas little one; Boas u335).

(19.1) nase dim t'innskaga 'guu'gisa sGaulo' (Susan).

(20) nast in'maxsidit txa'w (he is the one who made the halibut increase; nasa relative pronoun; t independent ergative marker in prominent ergative marker; 'maxsi grow; di transitive connective; t proper connective; txa'w halibut; Kitkatla 1972).

(21) nasa dim inwaga yuup (he is the one who digs the grave; nasa relative pronoun; dim future; t independent ergative marker; in prominent ergative marker; inwaga dig; yuup ground; Kitkatla 1972).

Sentences with demonstrative, interrogative and relative pronouns as topical ergatives consistently show the pattern described in (9). These data do, however, present two special problems. In (16) there is no nominative expressed even though the verb is clearly transitive. In (20) the connective between the verb and the ergative in the underlying sentence posited from context (20.1) is neither deleted nor moved to the front of the sentence; the ergative-nominative connective is deleted instead.

(20.1) 'maxsidit Sim'oyygit Ingwildiim-txa'nimo txa'w (Chief He-who-Foresees-Everyone made the halibut increase).

This variant is described in (9.1).

(9.1) SA: Aux+T-V+DI+T-proper Erg+connective-Nom 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 condition; ergative is marked for prominence SC: nasa(-1)+2-IN+3+4+5-8 This may be a special stylistic and/or personal device to give additional attention and specificity to the relativized ergative, and/or it might be judged ungrammatical by other speakers. The same data source shows the more usual construction as in (21). The rules which delete the independent ergative marker in some tense-aspect configurations (See Dunn 1977b) must be ordered after these topological rules. There are no instances of topicalized non-pronominal ergative NP's.

2. The same devices that give prominence to ergatives in independent sentences are also used to embed sentences into noun phrases. Embedded sentences where the common NP is an ergative show the same diachronically arranged variants as do topical ergatives. There are earlier examples of embedded clauses in which the independent ergative marker, t, is maintained:

(22) ada ka'tiikga aguxima ktiit dim in ts'ilim woosga 'nakst (then his little sister went out to call in his wife; lit: . . . his little sister who will call in his wife; ada conjunction; ka'tiikga go out; aguxima little; ktiit his sister; dim future; t independent ergative marker; in prominent ergative marker; ts'ilim in woosga call; 'nakst his wife; Susman 163).

(23) adat 'nak'nooda txa'nii ngyada ksonian wula walaiga t'apxawdooltga hanaang'at in waa Hats'inasit (then all the people of the Skeena...
heard what the two women who had found Hatsenas were doing; ada conj; t independent ergative marker; 'nax'nuoo hear; da transitive connective; tx'a'ni all; m'iyada people; Ksan skeens; wula aux; wamâga do; t'axkâdootla two; hanaang'a women; t independent ergative marker; in embedded ergative marker (Note: Boas indicates that this sentence would also be correct if the IN were omitted); was find; Hats'inaasit Hatsenas; Boas 180).

(24) ada wil silootgat dim ingâddul dim wila txooxgat (then they started out, the ones who were looking for something to eat; ada conj; wil aux; silootga start out; t they; dim aux; t independent ergative marker; t embedded ergative marker; gap'atlu look for; plur; dim wila aux; txooxgat eat; Kitkatla 1972).

There are later examples in which the independent ergative marker is not maintained:

(25) tx'a'ni gyet inluusik ts'aa'dim (those around us; tx'a'ni all; gyet people; in embedded ergative marker; luusik be inside; ts'aa'dim the inside part; s our; Kitkatla 1968).

(26) tx'a'nis dip'nû'ddim in nax'a'nu amhawyu (all you who have heard my voice; tx'a'nis all; dip'nû'ddim you; plur; in embedded ergative marker; nax'a'nu hear; amhaw voice; yu gyi Kitkatla 1968).

The formal statements in (27) and (27.1) are related respectively to (9) and (13).

(27) SA: NP ••• Aux+T-V-T+conn-Erg+conn-Nom

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
condition: 1=6
SC: 1-2+3-IN+4+7-8.

(27.1) SA and condition same as (27)


Phrase markers in (26) summarize the relationship between (22-24) and (25-26).

3.1 In summary topical and relative ergatives are always deleted. The topical ergatives are replaced by pronouns and the verb carries the IN proclitic. The relative ergatives are simply deleted from the embedded clause whose verb also carries the IN proclitic.

3. The syntactic devices which give prominence to nominatives (intransitive subjects and direct objects) are distinct from ergative prominent structures. The IN element is used only for ergatives. It never occurs with intransitive subjects much less direct objects. Furthermore the topical nominative NP is not always deleted or replaced by a pronoun. Both topical and relative nominatives may be expressed by the relative pronoun GU or GO, but never by the relative pronoun NAA; the latter is restricted to the expression of ergatives.

3.1 A nominative NP marked for prominence in an independent sentence may simply be topicalized:

(29) Waaba awaan nah dzabu (That's the house I built; waaba house; awaan there determiner; nah past completed; dzab build; u ly Metlakatla

(29.1) Yaa ni awa'ni naa dzabu (Klemtu 1976).
(30) Aca tax'i ni manwineeyga gwa'a naa me'tu (Then these are the main foods I have just talked about; ada conj; tax'i ni alli manwineeyga main foods; gwa'a present determiner; naa aux; me'tu tell about; u j; Kitkatla 1968).

Rule (31) posits a relationship between these sentences and the usual word order.

(31) SA: Aux-VT-Erg-Nom

condition: nominative is marked for prominence

The topical nominative may be (replaced by) an independent pronoun (32), a demonstrative pronoun (33-34), or the relative pronoun GU or GO (35-36).

(32) Adat 'niida naa niidza (He's the one the bear saw; ada conjunction; 'niida he~ aux; niidza see; ada conj; Kitkatla 1970,).

(32.1) Nii tga riiidzi5ga olga (Klemtu).

(33) Ada wi'ni silayawxgo 'nl~a twelvaklak (She is the one I ate with; ada conj; wi'ni aux; 'ni noun; silayawxgo eat with; ada conj; twelvaklak noon; Kitkatla 1968).

(34) Ni'tni gu6ilim (That's what we pick; ni'tni demonstrative pronoun; gu6ilim pick; ada conj; Kitkatla 1976).

(35) Guu nadigjina nga naganiyaatgim (Those are the ones prayed to by our grandfathers; guu nominative relative pronoun and marker; gyi~ga pray to; plurt; naganiyaatgim our grandfathers; boas G39~).

(35.1) Guu nadi gyipyinxga naganiyaatgim (That which our grandfathers worshiped; guu nominal relative pronoun and marker; gyi~ga pray to; plurt; naganiyaatgim our grandfathers; boas G39~).

(36) Guu nadi su nabaatga (It is that which recently arrived; guu nominative relative pronoun and marker; su recently; nabaatga arrive; Susman G39~).

(37) SA: V-(Erg)-Nom

1 2
SC: GU-NADI-1.

4. The GU/GO relative is used to express the relativized nominative of an embedded clause;

(38) naganina kaceta'g a guda d6dlsd (their husbands who had died; naganina kaceta'g a their husbands; guda relative nominative; d6dlsd die, past; Boas T77).

(39) Adat le-heelda na likleeksim gyadet a gu haw sumaxsidit (Then the people forbade the young people to say so; lit: then the people forbade what the young people said; adat le-heelda then they forbade; na likleeksim gyadet the people; a gu what; haw say; sumaxsidit the young people; Boas T212).

(40) Yats'isga... gu awula wutwayin (the animals that you always found; yats'isga animals; gu that; awula aux; wutwayin you find; Boas G39~).

(41) Yats'isga... guu awula wutwayin (Susman).

(41.1) Yats'isga... guu əwula wutwayin (Boas).

(42) Luksgyigyetk goyna 'wantu (lots of things that I planted; luksgyigyetk different things; guy relative nominative past completed; 'wantu plant; u j; Kitkatla 1968).

(43) Wineeyga go6im gabat (food they could eat;
wineeya food; go that; dim future; gaba eat; t
they; Kitkatla 1972).
(44) SA: NP . . . ; Aux-V-(Erg)-Nom
1 2 3 4
condition: 1=4
SC: (1)-GU+2-3.
(45)
(46) Gwa'adi ni miilgu (Here's here; ni demonstrative pronoun; miilgu I play; u Kitkatla 1968).
(47) SA: Aux-V-(Erg)-Nom-Loc
1 2 3 4
condition: 1=4
(48) Ada wil sit'atk dip goo gyaaks (Then they go out where the water is clear; ada then; wil aux; sit'atk go out; dip plur; goo relative pronoun; gyaaks clear water; Kitkatla 1968).
(49) Laandzi dip naba ni miilgu (Let's go to the place where I play; laandzi dip let's go; naba place; ni demonstrative pronoun; miilgu I play; Kitkatla 1968).
(50) Dim dihabin nimiilgu (You will know where I play; dim future; dihabi know; n you; ni demonstrative pronoun; miilgu I play; Kitkatla 1968).
(51) Dim dihabin nimiilgu (You will know where I play; dim future; dihabi know; n you; ni demonstrative pronoun; miilgu I play; Kitkatla 1968).
(52) SA: NP . . . ; Aux-V-(Erg)-Nom-Loc
1 2 3 4
condition: 1=4
(52.1) SA and condition same as in (52)
SC: (1)-ni-2-3.
(53)
and may be required, i.e., the topicalization transformation may be triggered by certain tense-aspect configurations (Dunn 1977a).

6. Two nominalizing proclitics effect the relativization/subordination of clauses. They are YU (54–61) and HUK (62–67).

(54) yussamig (one who has meat; sami meat; Boas G334).
(54.1) yussamik (Susman).
(55) yuungatg (one who has manhood; gyat man; Boas G334).
(55.1) yuugyatg (one who is vigorous; Susman).
(56) yuwaalp (one who has a house; waalp house; Susman 324).
(57) yuhakwdak (archer; hadwak bow; Metlakatla 1976 and Hartley Bay 1976).
(57.1) xsin yagw'tga hakwdak (archer; Klemtu 1976).
(58) yu'noo (drummer; 'noo~ drum; Metlakatla 1976 and Hartley Bay 1976).
(58.1) yuu 'inhoo± (drummer; Klemtu 1976).
(59) yuwaal (miser, tightwad, hoarder; huwa root; Note: one who has something hidden away (root) "for a rainy day;" Metlakatla 1976).
(60) SA: NP . . . ; Aux-Possessor-Possessed

condition: 1=3
SC: YU+4(+k).

(61) huk'gats'a (auctioneer, i.e., one who pours out; gata's pour out; Boas G335).
(62.1) huk'gats'a (Susman).
(63) huyaaq'gask (cheater; yaamg'ask cheat; Susman 335).
(64) huk'zap (jack-of-all-trades; dzap make, build; Hartley Bay 1974).
7. Relativized and topicalized ergatives are always indicated by the IN proclitic attached to the verb of the clause in which topicalization or relativization occurs. Independent topical ergatives are always expressed by a pronoun; there are no examples in the data of non-pronominal topical ergatives. The topical ergative may be an independent personal pronoun (1-2, 6-8, 10-12), a demonstrative pronoun (15-18), an interrogative pronoun (19), or the ergative relative pronoun NAA (20-21). In relative constructions where the common NP is an ergative in the subordinate clause, it is always deleted from the subordinate clause, and it is never expressed by a relative or other pronoun (22-25). However, the common NP maintained in the independent clause may be nonpronominal (22-23, 25) or either an independent personal pronoun (26) or a dependent pronominal affix (27).

Independent topical nominals may be expressed by a nonpronominal NP (29-30), an independent personal pronoun (32), a demonstrative pronoun (33-34), or the general (non-ergative) relative pronoun GU (35-36). In relative constructions where the common NP is a nominative in the subordinate clause, it is always deleted from the embedded clause and expressed by the relative pronoun GU (39, 41-43). The shared NP may be deleted from both clauses and expressed by GU (40).

Independent topical locatives may be expressed by a local determiner and the demonstrative pronoun NI (46). In embedded clauses where the common NP is a locative, it is deleted from the subordinate clause and expressed by the demonstrative NI (50), or it may be deleted from both clauses and expressed by either NI (51) or GU (49).

Possessor ergatives may be deleted in derived nominals and expressed by the proclitic YU attached to the possessed noun (54-59). Ergatives and nominatives may be deleted in derived nominals and expressed by the HUK proclitic attached to the verb (ergatives: 62-64; nominatives: 65).

Tables 1 and 2 show NP accessibility to these syntactic strategies for sentential prominence. The data summarized in Table 1 would support an accessibility hierarchy theory if it were extended to place subjects of transitive sentences in a higher accessibility category than subjects of intransitive sentences. The data summarized in Table 2 do not support the accessibility hierarchy theory.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relativization</th>
<th>Topicalization</th>
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<tr>
<td>IN-</td>
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<td>YU-</td>
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<td>NAA</td>
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<td>HUK-</td>
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<td>obligatory deletion</td>
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Table 1. Tsimshian Prominence Strategies I
Introduction

1. Constituent Order and Sentence Types

1.1 Topicalization

1.2 Non-topicalized Nominal Subjects and Objects

2. Constituent Order and Topic Prominence

3. Conclusion

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

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

| Table 2. Tsimshian Prominence Strategies I. |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relativization</th>
<th>Topicalization</th>
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<td>obligatory deletion</td>
<td>obligatory deletion in independent clause</td>
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REFERENCES


Interrogative, ergative
1. Was it a bear that killed the dog?
   really bear-ɪ past-'n kill-di dog
   k'ap ol-ɪ nah-'n dzagwa-di haas

Interrogative, nominative
2. Is it a dog that the child sees?
   really dog-aɪ see-dii child
   k'ap hasa-aɪ niídza-dii ɪgwomɪk

3. Is it the woman who is sick?
   really woman-yɪ sick-di
   k'ap hanà'ka-yɪ siipga-di

4. Is it the man who ran?
   really man-yɪ past run-t
   k'ap 'yuuta-yɪ nah baa-t

5. Was it a dog that the bear killed?
   really dog-ɪ past kill-di-di bear
   k'ap haas-ɪ nah dzakw-di-di ol

Negative, interrogative, ergative
6. Wasn't it a bear that killed the dog? (expects yes answer)
   no-ɪ bear-ɪ past-'n kill-di dog
   aayn-ɪ ol-ɪ nah-'n dzagwa-di haas

7. It wasn't the bear that killed the dog, was it? (expects no answer)
   (Note: the tag is optional in Tsimshian)
   not-di bear-ɪ-'n-t kill-ɪ dog (tag)
   aïga-di ol-ɪ-'n-t dzagwa-ɪ haas ('nii)

Negative, interrogative, nominative
8. Wasn't it a dog that the bear killed? (expects yes answer)
   no-ɪ dog-ɪ past-really kill-di bear
   aayn-ɪ haas-ɪ na-'ap dzakw-di di ol

9. It wasn't a dog that the bear killed, was it? (expects no answer)
   (note: the tag is optional in Tsimshian)
   not-di dog-ɪ past kill-di bear (tag)
   aïga-di haas-ɪ nah dzagwa-di di ol ('nii)

Negative, ergative
10. It wasn't me that killed the bears.
    not-dit I-t IN-t kill-t bear
    aïga-dit 'nd̂dy-t in-t d̂d'n-t ol