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COAST TSIMSHIAN RELATIVIZATION

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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

1
SA: Distinction between
morphological?
syntactic ergativity.

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 Susman¹, exhibit the most complex type of prominence as shown in sentences (1), (1.1) and (2).

- (1) tnüüyut ink'yilk'yinaam yats'isga da k'wan² (I am the one who gave you the animals; nüüyu I; k'yilk'yinaam give, plur; yats'isga animal; da k'wan to you; Boas G395).
- (1.1) t nüüyut in gyinyinam 'yets'isga da k'wan (. . .; Susman).
- (2) t 'nüüyu dim innaksga lguulgint (It is I who will marry your daughter; 'nüüyu I; dim future;

¹References from Boas will be labeled G (1911) or T (1912). The Susman data (1940) are an exhaustive re-check of Boas G but also include new material. If a sentence is simply labeled (. . .; Susman), it is a re-elicitation of the immediately preceding Boas G example. Susman's manuscript conforms in pagination to Boas G.

²The orthography used here is the practical system in common use (Dunn 1978); I have interpreted the Boas and Susman orthographies to facilitate comparison.

naksga marry; lguulgint your little one; Boas G 335).

These sentences differ from (3) and (4) only in that they (the former) give sentential prominence to the ergative.

- (3) T k'yilk'yinaamdit nüüyu yats'isga da k'wan (T independent ergative marker; k'yilk'yinaam give, plur; di transitive connective; t proper connective).³
- (4) Dimt naksadit 'nüüyu lguulgint (Dim future; t independent ergative marker; naksa marry; di transitive connective; t proper connective).

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

- (5) SA: Aux+T-V_T+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; nüüyu; 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) 'nüün t in 'maga laaw (you are the one) who caught the trout; 'nüün you; 'maga catch; laaw trout; Susman 163).
- (7) 'nüüyu dim t innaksga lguulgin (I will marry your daughter; Cf (2); Susman 335).
- (8) 'nüüyut in gwantga latab (I am the one who touched the table; 'nüüyu I; gwantga touch; latab la table; Kitkatla 1968).

These sentences show the structural change described

³The independent ergative marker (t) indicates that the sentence is transitive and that the subject is an independent pronoun or NP rather than a dependent pronominal (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-V_T+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 V_T 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; baa'in cause to run; boot boat; Metlakatla 1976; Hartley Bay 1976).

(10.1) 'Niditga inbahan bootsga (He is the one who is running the boat; Klemtu (Southern Tsimshian) 1976).

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

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

(12) 'Nūūsim ingwantga latab (You are the ones who touched the table; Cf. (8); Kitkatla 1968).

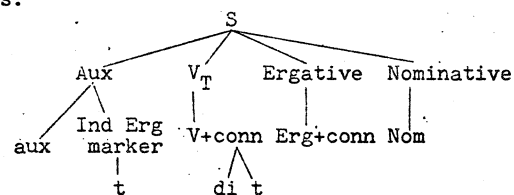
In these latter examples neither the connective nor the independent ergative marker is present:

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

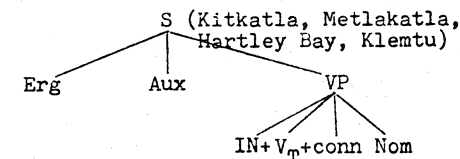
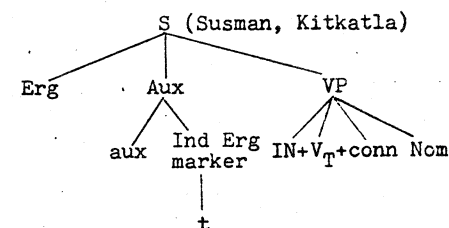
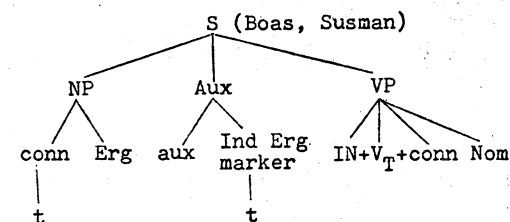
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
condition: ergative is marked for prominence
SC: 5-1-IN+3+6-7.

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

(14)



4



In the foregoing examples the ergative has always been an independent pronoun. The topical ergative can also be expressed by a demonstrative pronoun (15-18), an interrogative pronoun (19), or a relative pronoun (20-21).

(15) Ni'niit in luk'agan txa'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

5

- (16) clear off; txa'nii all; gyat people; Boas T70).
 ada 'niinii t'inlabaalsitga (he was the one who paid it back; ada conj; 'niinii demonstrative pronoun; t independent ergative marker; 'in prominent ergative marker; labaalsi pay back; tga it; Boas G335).
- (16.1) ada 'ni'nit in labaalditga (Susman)
- (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; in prominent ergative marker; k'aloy throw at; in you; Kitkatla 1968)
- (18) 'nii'nii dip gwai t'insit'aasga (these are the ones who began lit; 'nii'nii demonstrative pronoun; dip plural; gwai present determiner; t independent ergative marker; 'in prominent ergative marker; sit'aa make sit; Note: it is not clear whether the -sga should be considered a nominative pronoun or whether the nominative has been deleted; Boas G335).
- (18.1) 'ni'nii stipgwai t'in sit'aasga (Susman).
- (19) naa dimt innaksga lguulgis Gauo' (who is it who will marry the daughter of Gauo?; naa interrogative pronoun; dim future; t independent ergative marker; in prominent ergative marker; naksga marry; lguulgis little one; Boas G335).
- (19.1) naa dim t'innaksga lguulgis sGau'o' (Susman).
- (20) naat in'maxsidit txaw (he is the one who made the halibut increase; naa relative pronoun; t independent ergative marker; in prominent ergative marker; 'maxsi grow; di transitive connective; t proper connective; txaw halibut; Kitkatla 1972).
- (21) naa dimt inwaga yuup (he is the one who digs the grave; naa relative pronoun; dim future; t independent ergative marker; in prominent ergative marker; waga 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 (18) 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'oygyit Ingwildimni-txa'nigo txaw (Chief He-Who-Foresees-Everything made the halibut increase).

This variant is described in (9.1).

- (9.1) SA: Aux+T-V_T+DI+T-proper Erg+connective-Nom

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

condition: ergative is marked for prominence

SC: naa(-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 topicalization 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 ksüülska lguulxim ktiit dimt 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; ksüülska go out; lguulxim little; ktiit his sister; dim future; t independent ergative marker; in prominent or embedded ergative marker; ts'ilim in; woosga call; 'nakst his wife; Susman 163).
- (23) adat 'nax'nooda txa'ni nigyada ksian wula waalska t'apxadooltga hanaang'at in waa Hats'inaasit (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'noo hear; da transitive connective; txa'ni all; nigyada people; ksian Skeena; wula aux; waalsga do; t'apxadooltga 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); waa find; Hats'inaasit Hatsenas; Boas T80).

- (24) ada wil silootgat dimt ingagūl 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; gagūl look for, plur; dim wila aux; txooxgat eat; Kitkatla 1972).

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

- (25) txa'ni gyet inluusik ts'aa#dim (those around us; txa'ni all; gyet people; in embedded ergative marker; luusik be inside; ts'aa#di the inside part; m our; Kitkatla 1968).
 (26) txa'nis dip'nūsim in naxa'nu amhawyu (all you who have heard my voice; txa'nis all; dip'nūsim you, plur; in embedded ergative marker; naxa'nu hear; amhaw voice; yu my; 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

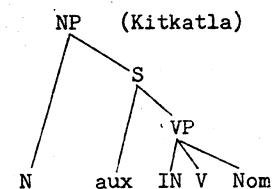
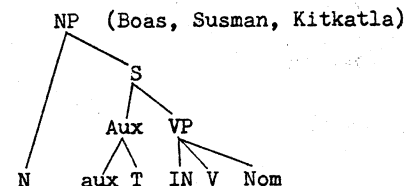
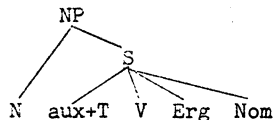
SC: 1(-2)+3-IN+4+7-8.

- (27.1) SA and condition same as (27)

SC: 1-2-in+4+7-6.

Phrase markers in (28) summarize the relationship between (22-24) and (25-26).

- (28)



2.1 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 I; Metlakatla)

1976; Hartley Bay 1976).

(29.1) Waabi awa'ani nah dzabu (Klemtu 1976).

(30) Ada txa'ni manwineeya gwa'a naa meitu (Then these are the main foods I have just talked about; ada conj; txa'ni all; manwineeya main foods; gwa'a present determiner; naa aux; meit tell about; u I; Kitkatla 1968).

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

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

1 2 3 4

condition: nominative is marked for prominence
SC: 4-1-2-3.

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 nah niidza ol (He's the one the bear saw; ada conjunction; 'niida he; nah aux; niidza see; ol bear; Metlakatla 1976).

(32.1) Niitga niidzisa olga (Klemtu).

(33) Ada wil 'ni silayawxgo la twelvaklak (She is the one I ate with at noon; ada conj; wil aux; 'ni demonstrative pronoun; silayawxg eat with; o I; la aux; twelvaklak noon; Kitkatla 1968).

(34) Ni'ni gu'ldim (That's what we pick; ni'ni demonstrative pronoun; gu'ldi pick; m we; Kitkatla 1968).

(35) Guu nadi gyigyinxga naganiaatgim (Those are the ones prayed to by our grandfathers; guu nadi-nominative relative pronoun and marker; gyigyinxga pray to, plur; naganiaatgim our grandfathers; Boas G395).

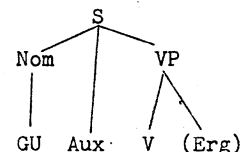
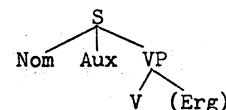
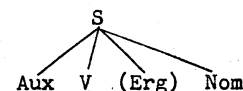
(35.1) Gu nadi gyigyinxga naganiaatgim (That which our grandfathers worshiped; Susman).

(36) Gu nadi su nabaatga (It is that which recently arrived; gu nadi nominative relative pronoun and marker; su recently; nabaatga arrive; Susman 395).

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

1 2
SC: GU-NADI-1.

(38)



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

(39) naganinaksgetga'a guda du'udisda (their husbands who had died; naganinaksgetga'a their husbands; guda relative nominative; du'udisda die, plur; Boas T72).

(40) Adat la-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 la-heelda then they forbade; nalikleeksim gyadet the people; a gu what; haw say; sumaxsidit the young people; Boas T212).

(41) yats'isga . . . gu laawula wutwayin (the animals that you always found; yats'isga animals; gu that; laawula aux; wutwayin you find; Boas G395).

(41.1) 'yets'isga . . . gu laawila wutwaayin (Susman).

(42) luksgyigyeth goyna 'waantu (lots of things that I planted; luksgyigyeth different things; goy relative nominative; na past completed; 'waant plant; u I; Kitkatla 1968).

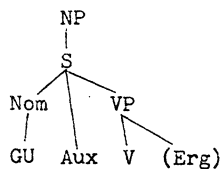
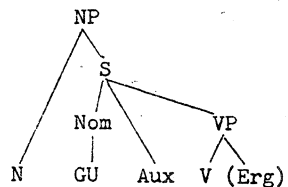
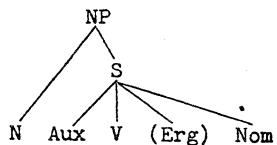
(43) wineeya godim gabat (food they could eat;

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)

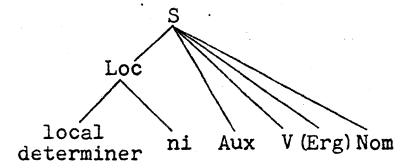
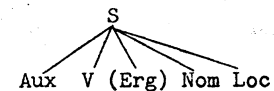


5. Locatives may be topicalized (46-48) or relativized (49-53):

- (46) Gwa'adi ni miilgu (Here's where I play; gwa'adi here; ni demonstrative pronoun; miilg play; u I; Kitkatla 1968).

- (47) SA: Aux-V-(Erg)-Nom-Loc
 1 2 3
 SC: 3-1-2.

- (48)



- (49) 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).

- (50) Laandzi dip haba ni miilgu (Let's go to the place where I play; laandzi dip let's go; haba place; 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).

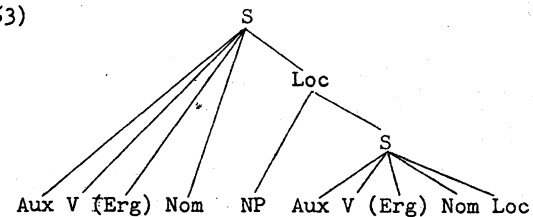
- (52) SA: NP . . . ; Aux-V-(Erg)-Nom-Loc
 1 2 3 4

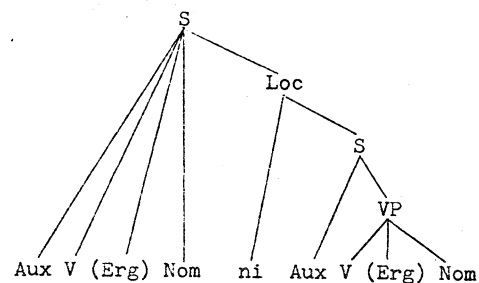
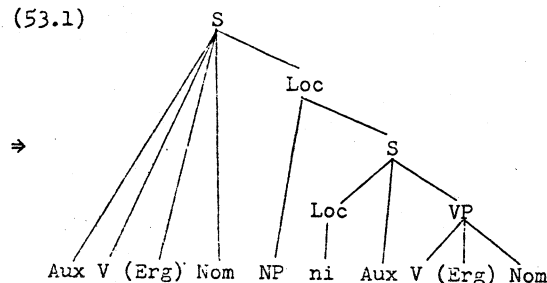
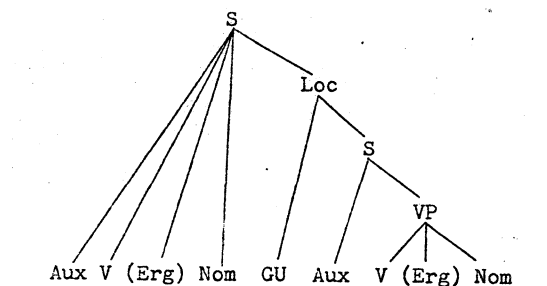
condition: $l=4$

SC: GU-2-3

- (52.1) SA and condition same as in (52)
SC: (1)-ni-2-3

- (53)





The topicalization of locatives and temporals is, however, a part of a tense-aspect concord system and

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) yusamig (one who has meat; sami meat; Boas G334).

(54.1) yusamik (Susman).

(55) yuhgyatg (one who has manhood; gyat man; Boas G334).

(55.1) yugyetgat (one who is vigorous; Susman).

(56) yuwaalp (one who has a house; waalp house; Susman 334).

(57) yuhakwdak (archer; hadwdak bow; Metlakatla 1976 and Hartley Bay 1976).

(57.1) xsin yaagwtga hakwdak (archer; Klemtu 1976).

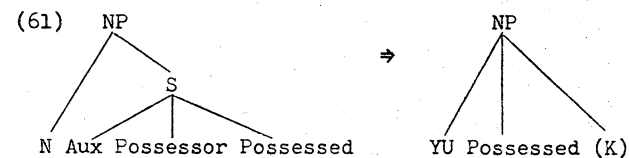
(58) yu'noot (drummer; 'noot drum; Metlakatla 1976 and Hartley Bay 1976).

(58.1) yuu 'inhoot (drummer; Klemtu 1976).

(59) yuhuus (miser, tightwad, hoarder; huus 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).



(62) hukgats'a (auctioneer, i.e., one who pours out; gats'a pour out; Boas G335).

(62.1) hukgadzaks (Susman).

(63) hukyaamgask (cheater; yaamg'ask cheat; Susman 335).

(64) hukdzap (jack-of-all-trades; dzap make, build; Hartley Bay 1974).

(65) huk'alubaa (a fast runner; 'alu in front; baa run; Hartley Bay 1974).

(66) SA: NP . . . ; Aux-V-Erg-Nom.
1 2 3 4 5

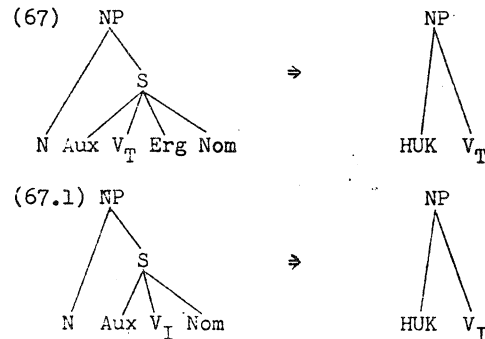
condition: 1=4

SC: HUK+3.

(66.1) SA: NP . . . ; Aux-V-Nom
1 2 3 4

condition: 1=4

SC: HUK+3.



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 (22-26). 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 (24).

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.

	Relativization				Topicalization			
	Subj _T	Subj _I	Obj	Loc	Subj _T	Subj _I	Obj	Loc
IN-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
YU-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
NAA					+	-	-	-
HUK-	+	+	-	-				
obligatory deletion	+	+	+	+				
NI('NII)					+	+	+	+

Table 1. Tsimshian Prominence Strategies I

	Relativization				Topicalization			
	Subj _T	Subj _I	Obj	Loc	Subj _T	Subj _I	Obj	Loc
obligatory deletion					+	-	-	+
deletion in independent clause	-	-	+	+				
CU	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-
NI('NII)	-	-	-	+				

Table 2. Tsimshian Prominence Strategies II.

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Word Order in Haida

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0. Introduction
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

0. Introduction

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

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

Dunn - Addenda

Interrogative, ergative

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

Interrogative, nominative

2. Is it a dog that the child sees?
really dog-a see-dii child
k'ap haas-a niidza-dii ɬguwomɬk
3. Is it the woman who is sick?
really woman-y sick-di
k'ap hana'ka-y siipga-di
4. Is it the man who ran?
really man-y past run-t
k'ap 'yuuta-y nah baa-t
5. Was it a dog that the bear killed?
really dog-i past kill-di-di bear
k'ap haas-i nah dzakw-di-di ol

Negative, interrogative, ergative

6. Wasn't it a bear that killed the dog? (expects yes answer)
no-i bear-i past-n kill-di dog
aayn-i ol-i 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-i-n-t kill-i dog (tag)
aɬga-di ol-i-n-t dzagwa-i haas ('nii)

Negative, interrogative, nominative

8. Wasn't it a dog that the bear killed? (expects yes answer)
no-i dog-i past-really kill-di bear
aayn-i haas-i na-'ap dzakw-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-i past kill-di bear (tag)
aɬga-di haas-i nah dzagwa-di ol ('nii)

Negative, ergative

10. It wasn't me that killed the bears.
not-dit I-t IN-t kill-t bear
aɬga-dit 'nɬɬy-t in-t dɬɬ'n-t ol