

# EXTRACTION MORPHOSYNTAX AND *WH*-AGREEMENT IN GITKSAN: A CASE FOR ACCUSATIVITY\*

Clarissa Forbes  
University of Toronto

## 1. Introduction

This paper provides a description and brief analysis of extraction morphology in Gitksan, a Tsimshianic language of northern interior British Columbia. The description covers extraction marking in both local clause contexts, and over matrix clauses in long-distance extraction.

Work on extraction by Rigsby (1986), Davis and Brown (2011), and Brown (2016) serves as the foundation for this paper (as well as Tarpent 1987 for closely related Nisga'a). These authors demonstrate that Gitksan has a tripartite pattern of morphological extraction marking, differentiating sole arguments of intransitive verbs (noted as S), objects of transitive verbs (noted as O), and subjects of transitive verbs (noted as A). Brown (2016) shows that extraction marking indicative of both O and A extraction can be found on matrix clauses in long-distance extraction as well. This paper contributes data using different matrix predicates which demonstrates that long-distance S-extraction marking is also possible. In this paper, I therefore more robustly illustrate the tripartite pattern of extraction in Gitksan. It can be seen that in each case, the calculation of which morphological strategy to use in a given clause is always based on factors local to that clause domain.

I further make some new theoretical proposals with consequences for Gitksan clause structure and alignment. I argue that the tripartite nature of the extraction system demands that Gitksan syntax utilize a notion of *accusativity* to distinguish S and O, despite strong morphological ergativity in almost all other areas of the language. In addition, I show that antipassive objects exhibit similar restrictions on extraction as ergative (A) arguments, and similar workaround strategies. This too can be accounted for with reference to accusativity.

In section 2, I review the data on local extraction, and in 3 I discuss the data on long-distance extraction. A subpart of this, section 3.2 presents evidence that the calculation of all extraction marking can be implemented with reference to only the local CP domain. In section 4 I present some analyses of these patterns: first a discussion on *wh*-agreement and how transitivity, or accusativity, conditions different morphology, with the presentation of some mechanics, and second a discussion on extraction restrictions (of ergatives and

---

\* *'Wii t'isim ha'miiyaa 'nii'y* as my generous and helpful language teachers Barbara Sennott and Vince Gogag, and others I have worked with on and off the *laxyip*. This work was otherwise made possible thanks to the supervision and advice of Susana Béjar and Henry Davis. Thanks also go to the UBC Gitksan Lab for their continual commitment to collaboration, and to the audience of the CLA and WSCLA 22 for feedback. Financial support for this research was provided by the Jacobs Research Fund, the Department of Linguistics at the University of Toronto, and a SSHRC CGS award.

antipassive themes) with reference to Brown (2016) nominalization analysis. Section 5 concludes.

## 2. Background and local extraction morphology

Gitksan exhibits a consistent VSO word order. This word order is disrupted by focus fronting: A'-moved elements are fronted to a sentence-initial position before the verb and all auxiliaries. Such fronting, as well as the extraction marking to be discussed in the rest of the paper, applies in all cases of A'-movement: *wh*-questions, argument focus, clefts, and relative clauses (Rigsby, 1986; Davis and Brown, 2011).

Agreement in Gitksan is morphologically ergative. Ergative agreement may be a pre-predicate clitic (glossed as series I) or a suffix (glossed as series II), depending on clause type.<sup>1</sup> Clitics (I) are ergative in dependent clauses, while suffixes (II) are ergative in independent clauses (Rigsby, 1986). Suffixal agreement is often obscured on the surface, whenever it is immediately followed by an enclitic determiner of the DP argument coreferent with it (Tarpent, 1987; Davis and Forbes, 2015). However, clitic agreement is never obscured, making it easy to distinguish the two.

Extraction morphology does not follow an ergative/absolute split, but instead surfaces differently when each of the three types of core argument (S, O, and A) are extracted. That is, extraction morphology exhibits a *tripartite* split, demonstrated below; (a) examples provide a simple declarative sentence, and (b) examples provide a *wh*-question with A'-extraction. Morphemes characteristic of the extraction type are bolded.<sup>2</sup>

### (1) Subject extraction (SX)

a. Limx 'nit.  
sing 3.III  
'He's singing.' (BS)

b. Naa=**hl** lim-**it** \_\_?  
who=CN sing-sx \_\_  
'Who sang?' (Rigsby 1986:303)

### (2) Object extraction (OX)

a. Hlimoo-yi-'y=t Mary.  
help-OX-1SG.II=DN Mary  
'I helped Mary.' (VG)

<sup>1</sup> Other arguments not indexed by agreement surface as full pronouns (glossed as series III); ergatives never surface this way.

<sup>2</sup> Examples are from my primary elicitation or from the coordinated data of the UBC Gitksan Research Lab, with speaker initials provided as attribution, unless otherwise cited. Cited examples have been adapted for consistency in glossing. All mistakes are my own. Abbreviations in examples are as follows:

- b. Naa=**hl** hlimoo-**yi**-n \_\_\_?  
 who=CN help-OX-2SG.II \_\_\_  
 ‘Who did you help?’ (Rigsby 1986:303)

(3) *Agent extraction (AX)*

- a. Gub-i=s Jeremy=**hl** hon-n.  
 eat-OX=CN Jeremy=CN fish-2SG.II  
 ‘Jeremy ate your fish.’ (VG)

- b. Naa **an**=t gup(\_\_\_\_)=**hl** susiit?  
 who AX=3.I eat(\_\_\_\_)=CN potato  
 ‘Who ate the potato?’ (Davis and Brown 2011:50)

Intransitive subject extraction (SX) and transitive object extraction (OX) are each characterized by morphology suffixed to the predicate.<sup>3</sup> These each also have a common noun determiner =*hl* ‘CN’ intervening between the *wh*-element and the remnant clause. In contrast, transitive subject extraction (AX) is characterized by a pre-predicate morpheme *an*, and lack of the determiner. The transitive cases (OX and AX) also differ in terms of their transitive agreement morphology: OX is “independent” style, with suffixal ergative agreement, while AX is “dependent” style, with ergative clitic agreement. The suffix, when it surfaces, indexes the object.<sup>4</sup>

The pattern of extraction morphology in each case of local extraction can be summarized in as follows:

(4) *Summary of tripartite extraction morphology*

Extraction type	Morphology
Subject (SX)	S= <b>hl</b> Pred- <b>it</b>
Object (OX)	O= <b>hl</b> Pred- <b>i</b> -Agr <sub>A</sub> (A)
Agent (AX)	A <b>an</b> =Agr <sub>A</sub> Pred-Agr <sub>O</sub> (O)

The following section demonstrates how this tripartite pattern of agreement, conditioned by the syntactic role of the extracted argument, also surfaces in matrix clauses in long-distance extraction.

<sup>3</sup> Although in both S and O extraction cases predicate-marking involves a suffixed vowel, this vowel cannot be decomposed in such a way as to simply equate the two strategies; the SX vowel and OX/transitive vowel use different hiatus resolution strategies when suffixed to a vowel-final stem (SX = deletion vs. OX = glide epenthesis).

<sup>4</sup> This has the resulting pattern of an ‘anti-agreement’ effect: suffixal agreement never targets the extracted argument.

### 3. Long-distance extraction

In cases of long-distance extraction, where a *wh*-element moves from a lower CP to a higher one in order to reach sentence-initial position, the same morphological extraction patterns appear. Again, this follows a tripartite distribution, described in section 3.1. In section 3.2, I show how the morphology appearing on predicates in higher clauses is based on factors strictly local to that clause, not the properties of lower clauses or the original *wh* base position.

#### 3.1 Tripartite patterning, revisited

In long-distance extraction, we do not see the same morphology used in the base clause copied multiple times up the nested clauses; instead any of the three morphosyntactic extraction patterns may surface based on the predicate used in the higher clause. I here present a more complete picture of long-distance extraction morphology than discussed in prior work, with reference to three types of predicate. The first is novel; the latter two are referenced from work by Davis and Brown (2011) and Brown (2016).

I refer to the first type as ‘simple intransitive predicates’ (SIPs). These are intransitive predicates which take a single clausal argument. When something is extracted from the downstairs CP argument, S-extraction marking occurs on the matrix SIP, though it may be omitted.

- (5) Gu=hl nee=dii t’is(-it) ji jeb-i-n \_\_?  
 what=CN NEG=FOC big-SX [IRR do-OX-2SG.II \_\_]  
 ‘What do you not do often?’ (Lit: What is it not much that you do (it)?) (VG)

- (6) Gu=hl gay aam-it ji jap-xw-it \_\_?  
 what=CN CNTR good-SX [IRR make-PASS-SX \_\_]  
 ‘What would it be good if (it) were made?’ (VG)

Next are ‘transitive bridge predicates’ (TBPs; Brown 2016). These are transitive predicates with an ergative DP and a clausal complement. Such predicates are marked with O-extraction morphology when something is extracted from the lower clause.

- (7) Gu=hl da’akhlxw-i=s Michael ’wa-yi-t \_\_?  
 what=CN able-OX=DN Michael [find-OX-3.II \_\_]  
 ‘What was Michael able to find?’ (VG)

- (8) Michael=hl amgoo-d-i-’y an=t giikw(\_\_)=hl jixjik.  
 Michael=CN remember-T-OX-1SG.II [AX=3.I buy(\_\_)=CN car]  
 ‘I remember that MICHAEL bought a car.’ (VG)

Last are ‘intransitive bridge predicates’ (IBPs; Brown 2016). These are intransitive pred-

icates with an absolutive DP, and an additional oblique CP. Brown (2016) refers to these clauses as adjoined to the predicate. When something is extracted from the lower clause, the matrix IBP receives marking similar to A-extraction.

- (9) Gwi=hl **an** bisxw-in dim 'wa-yi-n \_\_?  
 what=CN AX expect-2SG.II [PROSP find-OX-2SG.II \_\_]  
 'What do you expect you will get?' (BS)
- (10) Naa=hl **an** xbits'exw-in dim 'witxw-it \_\_?  
 who=CN AX afraid-2SG.II [PROSP arrive-SX \_\_]  
 'Who do you fear will arrive?' (Brown 2016:18)

The morphology which surfaces for each type of predicate is summarized below:

- (11) *Long-distance extraction marking by predicate*

Extraction	Morphology			Resembles
Simple Intransitive (SIP)	WH=hl	Pred- <b>it</b>	[CP]	→ SX
Transitive Bridge (TBP)	WH=hl	Pred- <b>i-Agr<sub>A</sub></b> (A)	[CP]	→ OX
Intransitive Bridge (IBP)	WH(=hl) <b>an</b>	Pred-Agr <sub>S</sub> (S)	[CP]	→ AX

To conclude the description: simple intransitive predicates take a single argument which may be a CP. Transitive and intransitive bridge predicates both require an argument in addition to the CP, but differ in whether this argument is marked as ergative (A, for TBPs) or absolutive (S, for IBPs).

### 3.2 Locality in long-distance extraction

Having shown that upstairs predicates in long-distance extraction show extraction morphology comparable to the morphology in their downstairs clause counterparts, this section will discuss what conditions each of the three types of marking.

While in local extraction the morphology used is dependent on the syntactic role of the *wh*-element, I have presented long-distance extraction morphology as being conditioned by *types of predicate*, not the properties of the *wh*-element itself. This is evidenced by consistency in the form of extraction morphology in the upstairs clause, regardless of extraction morphology below or the syntactic role of the *wh* argument (Brown, 2016). Below, examples are presented extracting S, O, and A arguments long distance over the transitive bridge predicate *anook* 'allow', which consistently shows OX-style marking in the form of a vowel following the predicate stem.

- (12) Naa=hl gay anoog-a=s Clarissa dim lim-it \_?  
 who=CN CNTR allow-OX=DN Clarissa [PROSP sing-SX \_]  
 ‘Who did Clarissa allow to sing?’ (Brown 2016:17)
- (13) Guu=hl gay anoog-a=s Clarissa dim gub-i=s Aidan \_?  
 what=CN CNTR allow-OX=DN Clarissa [PROSP eat-OX=DN Aidan \_]  
 ‘What did Clarissa allow Aidan to eat?’ (Brown 2016:17)
- (14) Naa=hl gay anoog-a=s Clarissa dim an=t gup(\_)=hl huxws?  
 who=CN CNTR allow-OX=DN Clarissa [PROSP AX=3.I eat(\_)=CN dried.fish]  
 ‘Who did Clarissa allow to eat the *huxws*?’ (Brown 2016:17)

This demonstrates that it is possible to mix and match extraction morphology upstairs and downstairs in a single A'-movement chain. Multiple different types of marking may appear on predicates at different points of that chain. What we don't see, by contrast, is the same type of extraction morphology used in the lowest clause following the *wh*-word on its way up, continuously marking the original grammatical role along its path of movement.

Specifically, the type of morphology chosen in an upstairs clause is dependent on argument-structural properties of the upstairs predicate. In the following example, it can be seen that extraction over a transitive matrix predicate (here again *anook* ‘to allow’) involves OX marking, while extraction over a passivized version of the predicate (*anookxw*), involves SX marking. This is indicative of the shift of the complement CP from a transitive object to an intransitive argument.

- (15) Gu=hl gay nee=dii anoog-a=s nox-on dim wil-i-n \_?  
 what=CN CNTR NEG=FOC allow-OX=DN mother-2SG.II [PROSP do-OX-2SG.II \_]  
 ‘What does your mother not allow you to do?’ (VG)
- (16) Naa=hl nee=dii anook-xw-it dim an=t gup(\_)=hl sugwa?  
 who=CN NEG=FOC allow-PASS-SX [PROSP AX=3.I eat(\_)=CN sugar]  
 ‘Who is not allowed to eat sugar?’ (VG)

The generalization that emerges is one based on familiar factors of locality and domain-restriction. The extraction marking that appears on any given predicate in a A'-movement chain marks a *local* relationship between the predicate and the extracted argument; no reference can be made to properties of the *wh*-element outside of the immediate clause of evaluation. More specifically, the syntactic role that seems to be referenced in an upstairs clause is not that of the *wh*-word's original position, but rather the position of the lower CP within the higher one. As Brown (2016) puts it, the morphosyntax of extracting from within an argument CP seems to be identical to the morphosyntax of extracting the argument itself; this pattern is also seen in Halkomelem (Salish; Thompson 2012). In Gitksan, this generalization holds for both simple intransitive predicates, where the CP resembles S,

and transitive bridge predicates, where the CP resembles O.

#### 4. Analysis and structural insights

How might we syntactically model the local evaluation of extraction morphology, and implement the spellout of each pattern? In this section, I present an analysis with the goal of addressing this question, and additionally present some theoretical issues arising. Primary focus is given to the S-extraction and O-extraction patterns.

In section 4.1 I lay out the role of the intermediate spec-CP landing site for long-distance extraction and the subsequent calculation of extraction morphology. Section 4.2 I suggest a *wh*-agreement analysis of S- and O-extraction, drawing primarily on differences in transitivity, and specifically accusativity, between the two cases. Finally, in section 4.3 I consider A-extraction marking, presenting a variation from Brown's (2016) interpretation of long-distance A-marking with reference to antipassive objects and the importance of formal accusative case.

##### 4.1 Intermediate *wh*-positions

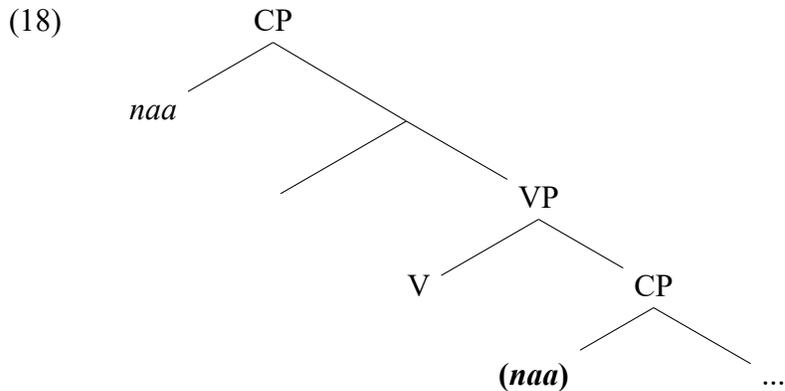
To model the local calculation of extraction patterns, we may capitalize on the evidence for intermediate spec-CP landing sites for *wh*-words identified by Davis and Brown (2011), who demonstrate that Gitksan is an optional *wh*-copying language. In (17), a case of long-distance extraction, the *wh*-element *gwi* 'what' appears sentence-initially in the specifier of the matrix CP, but may optionally appear in the specifier of the lower CP as well.

- (17) **Gwi=hl** ha'niigoot=s James (**gwi=hl**) gub-i=s Tyler \_\_?  
 what=CN thought=DN James [what=CN eat-OX=DN Tyler \_\_]  
 'What does James think Tyler ate?' (Davis and Brown 2011:64)

In short, *wh*-copies can be spelled out in intermediate positions in long-distance extraction; such data confirms the cyclic nature of A'-movement through intermediate CP specifiers.<sup>5</sup> These can be modeled as in (18).

---

<sup>5</sup> Another question that Davis and Brown (2011) entertain is whether Gitksan makes use of a direct or indirect strategy for A'-movement, given the possibility for *wh*-words to function predicatively and take a headless relative clause argument. They show that a direct movement strategy must be used at least in cases of focus. Extrapolating from this finding, I assume that Gitksan A'-movement may involve direct movement in both focus and *wh* cases, in both local and long-distance extraction, though this merits further examination.



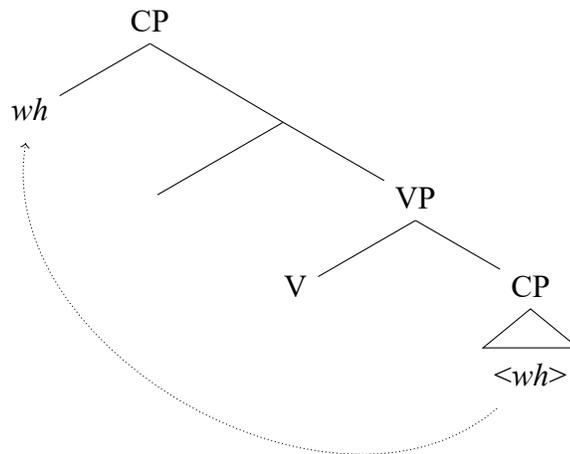
We may then say that the evaluation of extraction morphology through any higher clauses is based on the location of the intermediate *wh* position – that is, the position of the embedded CP relative to the predicate. Unlike the original *wh* base position, the intermediate *wh* position is visible within the local domain of the upstairs clause. The tripartite pattern of extraction morphosyntax in both local and long-distance extraction therefore provides insight into case and argument-structural properties of the Gitksan clause – both matrix and embedded, and with CP and DP arguments.

#### 4.2 S-extraction, O-extraction, and accusativity

In this section I will explore a major consequence of the difference in patterning between S and O, which elsewhere in the language typically pattern together in an absolutive alignment: this consequence is *accusativity*. I suggest a mechanism for deriving S- and O-style extraction marking referencing a [WH] and [ACC] features.

Brown’s (2016) prior discussion of extraction morphology provides the foundation for an analysis of extraction morphology. While most of his discussion centered around the A-extraction marker *an*, which he analyzed as a nominalizer, he did also propose of the S-extraction marker *-it* that it “index[es] agreement between a head and its ex-situ argument”, essentially adopting a *wh*-agreement approach to SX marking. However, this definition does not provide any basis for distinguishing S-type marking from O-type marking. Examples of long-distance S- and O-style marking highlight this even further; assuming these are both instances of extraction out of a CP complement to the verb, neither being raised to a subject-like case position,<sup>6</sup> the relation of the extracted *wh*-word to the verb is identical on a purely structural basis.

<sup>6</sup> Although it is difficult to tell whether an intransitive argument is in subject or object position due to VSO ordering, this assumption is justified under the observation that if the CP were a subject, we would expect extraction from within it to be barred (Ross’s 1967 Subject Island constraint). However, extraction from a single CP argument is possible, as in (5) and (6), in contrast to their ungrammatical English translations.

(19) *Extraction from a transitive or intransitive complement clause*

What differentiates extraction from a simple intransitive predicate's complement CP and a transitive bridge predicate's complement CP is exclusively the *transitivity* of that predicate. In either case, the CP is a direct argument of the predicate, but a transitive bridge predicate additionally has a DP argument in ergative position. We may therefore amend Brown's (2016) description of the conditions for the SX marker *-it* to the following: this morpheme indexes agreement between an *intransitive* head and its sole ex-situ argument. Object extraction morphology also indicates a relation between a head and an ex-situ argument, but differs in that the head has an additional argument.

In Gitksan, extraction morphology, wherein intransitive S arguments and transitive O arguments are differentiated, is the clearest evidence of heterogeneity between objects and intransitive subjects, which elsewhere pattern together as absolutes. In conditioning the distinct S and O styles of extraction morphosyntax, then, it is necessary to posit some underlying feature or structure which distinguishes the two types of argument. I suggest that this is abstract accusative case assignment.

Following Brown's (2016) *wh*-agreement approach, I take the subject extraction marker *-it* to be analyzed as a general marker of *wh*-extraction, based on its position at the end of the predicate, potentially in a  $\phi$ -agreement slot. Distinct object-style marking can be differentiated from it by targeted spellout of an abstract [ACC] case feature assigned to a CP object.

I here lay out a possible procedure for the calculation of extraction morphology. In an instance of local extraction, argument DPs receive three different types of case (following e.g. Legate 2008): [ERG] for ergatives and [ACC] for objects, and [NOM] for intransitive arguments. Then, as a reflection of these agreement operations, morphology is spelled out on the predicate indicating agreement with an argument which has a *wh*-feature. The object extraction pattern is generated when agreement occurs with an argument having both [WH] and [ACC] features. Otherwise, the subject extraction pattern with the *-it* morpheme is generated upon agreement with a [WH] argument. I assume following Brown (2016) that the extraction of ergative subjects is barred and a nominalization strategy is used instead;

no *wh*-agreement is expected in this case. Elsewhere in the literature, accounts of locally-sensitive *wh*-agreement have been forwarded for Chamorro (Chung, 1994), Irish (Noonan, 2002), and Formosan languages (Chen and Fukuda, 2016).

We may also consider a derivation of long-distance extraction. First, as in local-extraction, abstract case would be assigned to arguments of the predicate, including to CP complements of the verb. If a *wh*-element is present in spec-CP of the complement clause, case assigned to the clause is also able to be assigned to the *wh*-element, since there is no intervening phase boundary or better agreement target. The CP layer is, essentially, permeable for case. *wh*-agreement proceeds in the same fashion as above, this time taking into consideration only the case feature most recently applied to the *wh*-word.

There are a number of different scenarios possible when more than one case is applied to a DP as it crosses clause boundaries – this is referred to as ‘multiple case checking’ by Béjar and Massam (1999), who explore which case is ultimately realized on a DP that moves through multiple domains (and specifically, multiple case positions) in dependent-marking languages. Under the analysis forwarded here, Gitksan is the head-marking counterpart, allowing a DP to receive case multiple times, and subsequently control marking on multiple predicates. Gitksan patterns like Hungarian and Niuean in that multiple case-assignment is allowed, and in that the most recently assigned (structural) case is favored for realization, rather than the original case applied to the DP, as occurs in Icelandic.

The analysis I have presented here, which draws upon accusativity, has some consequences for how Gitksan ergativity may be analyzed. For example, I have drawn on the notion that objects and intransitive subjects must be featurally differentiated, in order for each to condition different extraction morphosyntax. This relates to Legate’s (2008) classification of ergative languages into two types: ABS=NOM languages, where both S and O receive the same underlying nominative case from T, and therefore cannot be distinguished in case-related syntactic processes; and ABS=DEF languages, where the S and O arguments receive case from different sources, and can therefore be distinguished in syntactic processes, but usually pattern together morphologically. We must categorize Gitksan as the ABS=DEF type, as S and O are underlyingly heterogeneous.

### 4.3 AX and extraction restrictions

In this section, I more closely consider the role of ergative extraction morphology: the pre-predicative marker *an*. I ultimately link the expanded distribution of the A-extraction in long-distance contexts to extraction of *formally non-accusative objects*.

Unlike the markers of intransitive and object extraction, the appearance of ergative *an* in a long-distance context, where a DP extracts over an intransitive bridge predicate, cannot be understood as extraction from a CP in ergative position. By all morphological measures, IBPs seem to be truly syntactically intransitive. They lack all transitive predicate marking on the stem; furthermore, were they transitive, we might expect resumptive ergative clitic agreement with the extracted A argument to surface, as is the case when ergatives are extracted locally. Contrast the local ergative extraction example in (20), which has a

third-person ergative clitic, with the long-distance case in (21), which does not:

- (20) Naa **an=t** gup( )=hl susiit?  
 who AX=3.I eat( )=CN potato  
 ‘Who ate the potato?’ (Davis and Brown 2011:50)

- (21) Naa=hl **an** xbits’exw-in dim ’witxw-it \_?  
 who=CN AX afraid-2SG.II [PROSP arrive-SX \_]  
 ‘Who do you fear will arrive?’ (Brown 2016:18)

Furthermore, some examples of IBPs include antipassivized verbs like *gibee’esxw* ‘wait (for stg.)’, derived from *giba* ‘wait for O’. The following examples present the same sentence, each with a DP and CP argument. In (22), the morphology is transitive, involving a stem vowel and suffix to track the ergative DP; by contrast the antipassivized version in (23a) is intransitive, lacking a stem vowel and with the DP argument realized as a full pronoun, rather than an ergative suffix.

- (22) Dim giba-**yi-t** dim ’witxw=s Henry.  
 PROSP wait.for-OX-3.II [PROSP arrive=DN Henry]  
 ‘He will wait for Henry to arrive.’ (VG)

- (23) Dim gibee-’esxw **’nit** dim ’witxw=s Henry.  
 PROSP wait.for-ANTIP 3.III [PROSP arrive=DN Henry]  
 ‘He will wait for Henry to arrive.’ (VG)

Because antipassivization standardly involves detransitivization via the loss of the internal argument and retention of the external argument, there is no reason to believe this is a transitive verb where the CP is in ergative subject position. Rather, the predicate has been detransitivized, and the ergative subject has been converted to an absolutive. The CP in the antipassivized example (23), is an *antipassive object*; it is thematically linked to the predicate in the same way it was in the transitive sentence, but it is no longer case-licensed; it surfaces as an oblique, though there is no overt morphology to indicate this for CPs. Yet, extraction out of (23) requires use of the ‘ergative’ extraction marker *an*.

- (24) Naa=hl **an** gibee-’esxw-in dim ’witxw-it \_?  
 who=CN AX wait.for-ANTIP-2SG.II [PROSP arrive-SX \_]  
 ‘Who will you wait for to arrive?’ (Brown 2016:19)

We may compare parallel case where the antipassive object is a simple DP, this time overtly oblique-marked. These also require the use of *an* to extract.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Note that the suffixes in each of the cases below does not index the ergative, but instead the absolutive, due to a change in clause-type caused by the introduction of imperfective *yukw*.

- (25) a. Yukw=hl gibee-'esxw-i'y a=s Henry.  
 IPFV=1.I wait.for-ANTIP-1SG.II PREP=DN Henry  
 'I'm waiting for Henry.' (BS)
- b. Naa=hl **an** gibee-'esxw-t \_\_ =ist?  
 who=1.I AX wait.for-ANTIP-3.II \_\_ =AFFRM  
 'Who's she waiting for?' (BS)

We might then unify all intransitive bridge predicates – both those which are morphologically antipassive (e.g. *gibee'esxw* 'wait for (stg.)') and those which are not (e.g. *bisxw* 'expect, hope') – as a class of predicates which may take a CP as a thematic argument, but do not have the structure to case-license this argument as accusative. Essentially, it is a class of predicates with dative/oblique CP arguments.

As previously mentioned, Brown (2016) links the *an* morpheme to a homophonous nominalizer *an-*, suggesting that illicit ergative extraction is rescued by nominalization of the remnant clause. By de-linking the appearance of this morpheme from ergativity, it's possible to provide a unified analysis of the various extraction contexts where *an* appears: for extraction of (or out of) ergatives *and* unlicensed objects. Brown (2016) describes the CP argument of an IBP as an adjunct clause, and proposes that *an* licenses extraction from within the adjunct. This has two issues: first, local adjunct extraction typically involves different morphology (the complementizer *wil*), and it is not obvious why the local and long-distance extraction patterns should be unrelated; second, Adjunct Island Condition violations elsewhere cannot be repaired (Davis and Brown, 2011). I therefore adopt an alternative approach whereby the relevant clauses are structural complements, rather than adjuncts, but differ in their case properties.

We may define 'ergative' extraction marking in both local and long-distance contexts as nominalization licensing extraction from an illicit position: these being *ergatives* and *antipassive/unindexed objects*.<sup>8</sup> Such a generalization further highlights the importance of formal accusative case assignment in transitive verbal structures.

## 5. Conclusion

This paper has shown that Gitksan's tripartite system of extraction morphosyntax appears in both local extraction clauses and matrix clauses of long-distance extraction, including new data on long-distance extraction over simple intransitive predicates. The choice of extraction morphology, no matter how far away the original position of the *wh*-word lies, is always conditioned by local factors; there is no looking past clause boundaries.

I provided a preliminary characterization of morphemes used in extraction contexts: the S-extraction marker is a general marker of agreement with a [WH] argument, while O-extraction marking preempts this by appearing in the context of a [WH] and [ACC] element.

<sup>8</sup> Nominalization is similarly required to extract antipassive themes in some Salish languages (Henry Davis, p.c.).

Following Brown (2016), the A-extraction marker is a nominalizer arising in cases of illicit extraction; I specifically demonstrate that it surfaces when extracting unindexed objects such as oblique antipassive themes (both long-distance and local), and link these latter cases to a distinction between objects with abstract accusative case versus those without. Long-distance extraction morphology was specifically analyzed as referencing the most recent case assigned to a *wh*-word in spec-CP of a complement clause – that is, the case assigned to the complement clause itself, which is transmitted to the *wh*-word.

It must be noted that the picture of extraction morphology provided here is still incomplete. Just as the A-extraction marker *an* is not truly restricted to extraction of A-arguments, but also surfaces when extracting an unindexed object, the S-extraction marker also surfaces in a greater variety of extraction contexts: when extracting over some verb-derived auxiliaries (Tarpent 1987:267), simple nominal predicates, and when extracting possessors (Rigsby 1986:282). The O-extraction pattern, even more puzzlingly, is more characteristically found in independent transitive clauses without any obvious extraction at all.<sup>9</sup> Further thought into the context for this particular morphological frame is necessary; indeed, the interaction of extraction with clause-typing and  $\phi$ -agreement remains to be explored in full.

Regardless, this paper has served as a case in favor of abstract accusative case assignment in Gitksan, despite otherwise prominent ergative/absolutive patterning. It further suggests that ‘extraction restrictions’ be viewed in a broader light; these restrictions are not typical only of ergative subjects, but may extend to other types of arguments, including anomalous unlicensed objects, such as antipassive themes. The co-occurrence of accusative patterning and ergative extraction restrictions furthermore contradicts prior claims that these two properties are complementary (Coon et al., 2014).

### References

- Béjar, Susana and Diane Massam. 1999. Multiple case checking. *Syntax* 2(2): 65–79.
- Brown, Colin. 2016. *Extraction restrictions in Gitksan*. Master’s thesis, McGill University.
- Chen, Victoria and Shin Fukuda. 2016. “absolutive” marks agreement, not Case: against the syntactic ergative analysis for the Austronesian-type voice system. In *Proceedings of NELS 46*, ed. Christopher Hammerly and Brandon Prickett. GLSA Amherst, 201–211.
- Chung, Sandra. 1994. Wh-agreement and “referentiality” in Chamorro. *Linguistic Inquiry* 25(1): 1–44.
- Coon, Jessica, Pedro Mateo Pedro, and Omer Preminger. 2014. The role of case in A-bar extraction asymmetries: Evidence from Mayan. *Linguistic Variation* 14(2): 179–242. To appear in the Oxford Handbook of Ergativity (Coon et al, eds).
- Davis, Henry and Jason Brown. 2011. On A’-dependencies in Gitksan. In *Papers for the 46th International Conference on Salish and Neighbouring Languages*. UBC Working Papers in Linguistics, 43–80.
- Davis, Henry and Clarissa Forbes. 2015. Connect four! The morphosyntax of argument marking

<sup>9</sup> Tarpent (1991) presents an analysis of such transitive clauses as copular or pseudocleft-like in nature, which links these two facts; however, Hunt (1993) presents some serious challenge for such an approach.

- in Tsimshianic. In *Papers for the 50th International Conference on Salish and Neighbouring Languages*. UBCWPL.
- Hunt, Katharine. 1993. *Clause structure, agreement and case in Gitksan*. Ph.D. thesis, University of British Columbia.
- Legate, Julie Anne. 2008. Morphological and abstract case. *Linguistic Inquiry* 39: 55–101.
- Noonan, Máire. 2002. CP-pied-piping and remnant IP movement in long distance wh-movement. In *Dimensions of movement: From features to remnants*, ed. Artemis Alexiadou, Elena Anagnostopoulou, Sjef Barbiers, and Hans Martin Gaertner. John Benjamins Publishing Company, 269–296.
- Rigsby, Bruce. 1986. *Gitksan grammar*. Ms., University of Queensland, Australia.
- Ross, John Robert. 1967. *Constraints on variables in syntax*. Ph.D. thesis, MIT.
- Tarpent, Marie-Lucie. 1987. *A grammar of the Nisgha language*. Ph.D. thesis, University of Victoria.
- Tarpent, Marie-Lucie. 1991. The morpheme -ə- and the mysteries of Nisgha syntax. In *Papers for the 26th International Conference on Salish and Neighbouring Languages*. 317–345.
- Thompson, James. 2012. *Syntactic nominalization in Halkomelem Salish*. Ph.D. thesis, University of British Columbia.