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21 April 1986

Ansipsii'insxwi'y,

Enclosed is a photocopy of the Gitksan Grammar manuscript I submitted to the British Columbia Provincial Museum last month. I am distributing copies now among a number of friends and colleagues for reading and consideration. I would be glad to hear from you and to receive any comments and suggestions you might like to make in the way of corrections, improvements and whatever.

Before publication, I want to revise the chapters and organization to distinguish more clearly between those elements that pertain to predicates generally and those which relate more narrowly to verbal predicates, as well as to make some other additions on possession, tense, aspect, modality, kinterms, etc. And I'm sure I would benefit by any critical comments and proposals you might offer.

Could I also ask you not to cite or refer to this piece in publication without first consulting with me, please? Thanks much, and it will be good to hear from you when you've had a chance to read through the manuscript - which, by the way, is in reverse order and requires to be reversed.

Bruce Rigsby

G I T K S A N G R A M M A R

Prepared for the Linguistics Division, British Columbia
Provincial Museum by Bruce Rigsby, Department of Anthropology and
Sociology, University of Queensland, St Lucia, Qld 4067
AUSTRALIA.

March, 1986

All grammars leak.

Edward Sapir, Language, p. 38

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Other Gitksan people who have made contributions (some small, some large, but all helpful) to my knowledge of Gitksan language and culture are Johnson Alexander*, Bill Blackwater, Fred Good*, Rufus Good*, Chris Harris*, Clara Harris, Glen Harris*, Sadie Harris, Walter Harris, Lonnie Hindle, Ray Jones, Sally Jones, Beverley Johnson, Roger Johnson, Selena Johnson*, Yolanda Johnson, Anne Michael, David Milton, Jane Mowatt, Perry Sampson, Barbara Sennott, Fannie Smith, Gloria (Williams) Stevens, May Stevens, Robert Stevens*, Russell Stevens, Albert Tait, Pearl Trombley, Fred Wale, Kathleen Wale, Jack Williams, Glen Williams, Albert Wilson, Matilda Wilson, and Simon Wright*.

I've also made some use of Gitksan language materials taken from tapes that Jay Powell recorded of the Classified Word List for B.C. Indian Languages (developed by Aert Kuipers and comprising 1762 entries) in 1978. The speakers on the tapes include Clara Harris, Emma Harris, Jeff Harris, Walter Harris, Mary Johnson, Moses Morrison, and Mabel White. I transcribed the tapes myself in late 1981, then checked the glossing and extended the materials shortly afterward. I am grateful to Jay Powell for archiving the tapes at the B.C. Provincial Museum and making them accessible to students of Sim'alga_x.

Of my linguistic colleagues, there are several friends I must thank. Through all the years that John Dunn has worked on the Coast Tsimshian and Southern Tsimshian languages, he's always sent materials to me and kept in contact, even when I was a poor correspondent. Barbara Efrat kept faith with me, and I hope she is not disappointed with this work. Michael Krauss has always taken the time to respond to my draft papers and letters and to prod and encourage me. Michael Silverstein and I have long been friends and colleagues, and his work and letters and papers have had a greater effect on my linguistic anthropological perspective than he knows. And I owe special thanks to Marie-Lucie Tarpent.

She helped me get back into my Gitksan and Nisgha work in 1981, and she shared her insights with me freely, rescuing me from a number of dead-end positions. She will recognize a number of her original ideas that I've appropriated in these pages. I've acknowledged some of them in places, others I've taken for granted, I'm afraid. I hope she finds similar value in some of the things I have to say here.

Other colleagues who've encouraged and supported my Gitksan work in various ways include John Adams, Pier DePaola, Wilson Duff*, Marie-Françoise Guedon, Marjorie Halpin, Dell Hymes, Alice Kasakoff, Dale Kinkade, Bob Levine, Susan Marsden, Jay Miller, Jean Mulder, Jay Powell, George MacDonald, Joanne MacDonald, Wayne Suttles, and Rosalind Whalley.

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My wife Barbara has constantly encouraged me to complete this work, and over many years, her support and love have been without measure.

Research funding has come at various times from the National Museum of Canada, the University of New Mexico, Harvard University, the 'Ksan Association, the Center for Applied Linguistics, the University of Queensland, and the British Columbia Provincial Museum.

I alone am responsible for the views I express and the materials I present in this work. I would appreciate comments, suggestions, corrections, etc. from readers, and I'm open to discussion on any points by correspondence.

Sim ha'miyaa 'nii'y mi sim wil hlimoo'y.

[The names of persons now deceased are marked by *].

Chapter 1: Introduction

The Gitksan Communities

Gitksan is the indigenous language of the native Indian people who live mainly in a number of modern communities that are situated in or near the valley of the Skeena River in western British Columbia. Gitksan is an Anglicization of their own name for themselves, and it indeed means people of the Skeena River. The name is usually pronounced as Git~~x~~sen in the western villages, and as Gitxsan in the eastern villages, while it is sometimes said as Gitksan by Hazelton people.

Moving upstream, the Gitksan communities are:

1. Cedarvale or Miinhl Sginist foot of the jackpine; I've also recorded Miinsga'nist foot or base of the mountain. It is a small village that was founded about 1887 by Robert Tomlinson, a missionary and medical doctor. Cedarvale is located on the south bank of the Skeena just over 50 miles upstream from Terrace.
2. Kitwanga or Gitwingax people of the place of rabbits. The village is located on the north bank of the Skeena near the mouth of the Kitwanga (or Kitwancool) River.
3. Kitwancool or Gitwinhlguu'l people of the narrow place. The village is located on the Kitwancool River about 14 miles above its mouth on the Skeena. In recent years as the village population has increased, the Kitwancool people have revived the use of their former group name, Git-anyaaw, to refer to their village. (See Duff 1959 and Gitanyow History Project 1978 for more information on Kitwancool).

Situated between the Skeena and Nass Rivers, the people of

Kitwancool have social and political ties to both the Nisgha and other Gitksan villages. The Kitwancool people are currently pursuing their own land claim, and the community has not sought formal membership of the Gitksan-Wet'suwet'en Tribal Council (formerly, the Gitksan-Carrier Tribal Council). Many Kitwancool people would not consider themselves to be Gitksan, because they do not live on the Skeena River (as the name Gitksan implies) and because they regard themselves as an autonomous social and political grouping coordinate with the Nisghas and the Gitksans proper. However, Kitwancool speech subgroups with the other western Gitksan varieties spoken in Kitwanga and Kitsequecla, rather than with Nisgha or the eastern Gitksan varieties spoken in Hazelton, Glen Vowell, and Kispiox.

4. Kitsequecla or Gijigyukwhla people of Jigyukwhla (the name of a nearby mountain where the head of Kitsequecla Creek is found). The present village, sometimes called Sii Gijigyukwhla New Kitsequecla, is located on the south bank of the Skeena at the mouth of Kitsequecla Creek. The original village, situated closeby, underwent division about the turn of the century, and its residents shifted to Carnaby (or Sii Ts'eet'ixs New Land; the village was founded by 1891) and Andimaul (I've recorded both Andim'oo'l and Int'imool, which latter form is perhaps the Tsimshian word for lookout; the village was founded before 1908) villages, which were established not far away by the Methodists and the Salvation Army, respectively (Adams 1969:196, 1973:7). Andimaul has a native Gitksan name, which is spelled as Taxh'loauliitxw' in Adawkh1 Gitsegukla (1979); I've not had the

chance to hear the name myself. The modern village of Gitsegukla dates from about 1926.

5. Hazelton or Git-an'maaxs or Git-an'maaks people of the place of torchlight fishing. The reserve is located near the confluence of the Skeena and Bulkley Rivers, and is immediately adjacent to the town of Hazelton where the Gitksan-Wet'suwet'en Tribal Council offices, the Department of Indian Affairs office, the Northwest Community College branch, a high school, and the 'Ksan museum and campground complex are located.

6. Glen Vowell or Sigit'ox (the name of a nearby hill). Located on the north bank of the Skeena a few miles below the mouth of the Kispiox River, Glen Vowell was established sometime in the 1890s by people from Kispiox (mainly members of the Fireweed Tribe or phratry) who had earlier become members of the Salvation Army (Adams 1969:196).

7. Kispiox or Gisbayakws (Gisbahyakws is an older pronunciation that some people use) people of the hiding-place. The village, named Ansbahyaxw hiding-place, is located on the north bank of the Skeena on the upstream side at the mouth of the Kispiox River.

These present-day communities are mostly located on or near the sites of precontact winter villages, so that their residents continue to live on parts of their traditional territories.

In earlier times, Gitksan people also occupied two other larger winter villages further upstream. They were:

8. Kisgegas or Gisgaga'as people of the place of small white gulls. The main village was located on the north bank of the Babine River, a few miles above its confluence with the Skeena.

9. Kuldo or Gitgaldoo's ^o people of the wilderness or backwoods.

The main village was located on the Skeena about 80 miles above Kispiox.

Former residents of Kisgegas and Kuldo and their descendants have been settled for some time in Hazelton and Kispiox, where they maintain their traditional wilp (house) social groupings and participate in community ceremonial life. Despite absence from their home territories, they maintain traditional ownership and interests in them, as also do other Gitksan people in their own lands.

As well, in past times there were people whose ethnic identity was not Gitksan (or more precisely, of one of the Gitksan winter villages) who spoke Gitksan as a second language and an Athabaskan language as their first language. There are still people in the neighbouring Hagwilget and Moricetown communities who speak Gitksan in varying degrees of proficiency. The former residents around Bear Lake, situated about 80 miles northeast of Hazelton and about 40 miles northwest of Takla Lake, are said to have spoken both Gitksan and an Athabaskan language. The few Bear Lake people (and their descendants) who live in Hazelton now speak mainly Gitksan, and presumably, their relations who were shifted to Moricetown now speak the Babine language primarily. (See Kari 1975 for a discussion of Western Carrier or Babine/Gitksan linguistic relations). I've never heard or recorded a native name for the Bear Lake people; instead, I've always heard people refer to them in G as the Git-Bear Lake people of Bear Lake. The Gitksan call the Babine or

western "Carrier" language Silmaamax. The form can be analyzed as a plural that means fellow-languages - see pp. ?? - which recognizes the close relationships of the neighbouring Athabaskan languages among themselves.

Is Gitksan a Language or a Dialect?

The present monograph provides a grammatical description of the Gitksan language, and we now turn to the problem of defining just what we mean by the phrase "the Gitksan language". This leads us also to consider the relationships between the terms "language" and "dialect", because Gitksan has been referred to in the anthropological and linguistic literature as a dialect of the Nass-Gitksan language (Rigsby 1967, 1970, 1975). For an even longer period of time, Gitksan has also been referred to as a dialect of the Tsimshian language (Boas 1888, 1911; Garfield 1939:173, 195-6; Duff 1964:15; Guédon 1977). I reopen the question here.

There are four sorts of approaches that linguists and anthropologists have followed in defining the concepts of language and dialect. First, there is an older practice of referring to separate language varieties that share a common genetic origin as dialects (Haugen 1966:923). Thus someone might refer to English, German and Swedish as Germanic dialects, or of French, Spanish and Italian as Romance dialects. It is in this sense of shared historical origin that Boas usually referred to the Tsimshian and Nisgha languages as dialects of Tsimshian.

Second, American linguists have generally conceptualized the relationship between language and dialect in terms of mutual intelligibility. Accordingly, dialects are varieties of a language that are either mutually intelligible or are connected by mutually intelligible varieties (Hockett 1958:321-330; Gleason 1961:441-442). It was this sort of definition that I had in mind when I wrote (Rigsby 1970:212):

... Nass-Gitksan and its closely related congener, Coast Tsimshian, comprise the Tsimshian language family. Nass-Gitksan, as a language name, subsumes the dialects which are spoken today in a number of villages located in the Nass and Skeena River valleys. These dialects appear to fall into two major sub-groupings; the Nass dialects of the Nass valley and the Gitksan dialects of the Skeena Valley.

By this logic, I should present a full grammatical description of the Nass-Gitksan language in all its dialectal diversity, or else I should restrict myself and present a grammar of the Gitksan dialect(s) of the Nass-Gitksan language. A decade ago, I would have accepted this phrasing of the choice. Today, I cannot accept it because there are theoretical, methodological and practical considerations that lead me to accept and use the people's own phrasing in English that speaks of the Gitksan language, not of the Gitksan dialect.

The theoretical objection to the mutual intelligibility approach is that it assumes the intelligibility of two language varieties is primarily a function of their structural similarity. The closer two language varieties are in phonology, grammar and vocabulary, the more they are intelligible to each other. Some lexicostatistical studies make the same assumption and distinguish separate languages from dialects of the same language in terms of an arbitrary percentage of shared basic vocabulary, generally about 70%. Yet the literature on attempts to operationalize and measure intelligibility show the difficulties of distinguishing intelligibility due to structural similarity from that due to normal language learning. It is important to keep in mind that language varieties are intelligible to people, to speakers of language varieties; language varieties or codes are not intelligible to each other.

And too as Wolff (1959, 1967) pointed out, matters of social and cultural evaluation may lead speakers to deny that one or another language variety is intelligible to them. It seems to me that the interesting and important matter of intelligibility should be kept separate from the question of whether language varieties should be considered to be dialects of the same language or not. (See Rigsby and Sutton 1980-82:17-18 for a critical overview of the literature of intelligibility).

Third, the relationship of dialect to language may be cast in terms of speech functions as in everyday English-speaking and European usage (see Haugen 1966:924-925). Thus, a language has a full set of functions, including official use in public settings and education, written literature, and codified norms as set down in a standard orthography, grammars and dictionaries. In this way, modern Standard English, French and German qualify as languages. Dialects, for their part, are generally unwritten and are functionally restricted to domestic and community or regional settings. Cockney ^(in English) and the various Low German varieties of north coastal Germany count only as dialects, not as full languages. Phrased another way, such functional definitions basically ask whether a language variety is a Standard language or not. By this criterion, neither Gitksan nor Nisgha can be considered to be full languages, although both are in the early incipient stages of standard language development. Finally, these functional definitions often include an implicit negative, denigrating element, in that a language is considered to be better than a dialect. It is not surprising the Gitksan people

insist on calling their language a language and not a dialect, a linguists sometimes tell them they should.

This brings us finally to the fourth approach to the question of language and dialect. It is one that is implicit in much modern sociolinguistic and linguistic anthropological work, where the relationship(s) holding between social groups and the language varieties they speak is regarded as an empirical question, open to variability and requiring research (see specifically Hymes 1968; Rigsby and Sutton 1980-82; Romaine 1981). For example, speakers of local language varieties on the two sides of the boundary between The Netherlands and the German Federal Republic can understand and converse with one another, yet the people on The Netherlands side say that they speak Dutch, while those on the German side say that they speak German. A sociolinguist, such as Trudgill (1974:15-16), would say that the local varieties or dialects are heteronomous with respect to Standard Dutch or Standard German, as the case may be, but that the two national Standard languages are autonomous with respect to each other. Thus, the citizens and residents of The Netherlands national state consider the Dutch language to include local non-standard Dutch (but not Frisian) dialects along with Standard Dutch. Their views regarding the inclusion of Flemish and Afrikaans language varieties are more problematic. Germans similarly consider the German language to include non-standard and Standard German varieties.

Briefly put, this fourth approach places great value upon community norms relating to speech forms and their rules of use and upon community perceptions and definitions of language

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varieties, their intelligibility, and so on. In this respect, it may be said to emphasize "emic" phenomena, often non-linguistic, yet it also requires close attention to the hard "etic" facts of variability of speech forms within a community. Indeed, the very question of whether the social group under study is a community or not is an empirical one to be investigated, and this requires methods of ethnographic, sociolinguistic and sociological research that go beyond traditional dialectology and linguist-informant eliciting sessions. And unfortunately, these methods require more time, funding and research assistance than have been available to me over the period of my Gitksan (and Nisgha and Coast Tsimshian) research, yet I believe I have managed to gain some reliable knowledge about the Gitksan community and their norms relating to language and speech. Bloomfield (1927) offers a perceptive view of such norms among the Menomini, and V. Hymes (1975) presents the instructive case of Warm Springs Sahaptin, which is directly parallel to the Gitksan situation in many ways.

To anticipate, there is indeed a broader Gitksan community that includes the local village communities listed earlier. It can be defined etically by such sociological criteria as marriage patterns (Kasakoff ^{1970,} 1974, 1976) and participation in a common system of ceremonial exchange (Adams 1969, 1973, 1974). And emically it is defined by the people's own belief and public statements in English that they are Gitksan and speak their own language; they are not Nisgha (Nisga'a or Gitxemsim, or simply, Txemsim) nor are they Tsimshian (Ts'imsan), who each have their own distinctive native language.

However, the Gitksan people have no conventional indigenous name for their own language that sets it apart from Nisgha and Tsimshian. They generally refer to their own language as Sim'algax the real or true language, but the Nisgha and Tsimshian people do the same too. There is a term, Gitxsanimx (or similar form) that indeed means the Gitksan language specifically, as opposed to Nisga'amx the Nisgha language and Ts'imsanimx the Tsimshian language, but these locutions are not in common use the way that Sim'algax is, although their construction-type is apparently old. Another term, Amst, also names the language or perhaps (more narrowly) its more formal variety used on public occasions. Amst is thought to be an old name, and fewer people know it than know the name Sim'algax. I don't know whether the Nisghas and Tsimshians use Amst (or cognate forms). A few older Gitksan people call their language Gaanimx, but that term also includes Nisgha. It is a Tsimshian word that means the upstream or interior language; it is a loanword from the Coast Tsimshian language and not an originally Gitksan word.

With respect to language change, the existence of separate Gitksan, Nisgha and Tsimshian communities is significant, for these are the more or less bounded social units within which there are distinctive norms and standards relating to language and speech. Linguistic continuity and change, divergence and convergence, are functions primarily of intra-community culture and social interaction. It is in the Gitksan community that particular speech forms have definite indexical values and functions. Phrased differently, it is within the Gitksan community that old speech forms are maintained or lost and new

varieties, their intelligibility, and so on. In this respect, it may be said to emphasize "emic" phenomena, often non-linguistic, yet it also requires close attention to the hard "etic" facts of variability of speech forms within a community. Indeed, the very question of whether the social group under study is a community or not is an empirical one to be investigated, and this requires methods of ethnographic, sociolinguistic and sociological research that go beyond traditional dialectology and linguist-informant eliciting sessions. And unfortunately, these methods require more time, funding and research assistance than have been available to me over the period of my Gitksan (and Nisgha and Coast Tsimshian) research, yet I believe I have managed to gain some reliable knowledge about the Gitksan community and their norms relating to language and speech. Bloomfield (1927) offers a perceptive view of such norms among the Menomini, and V. Hymes (1975) presents the instructive case of Warm Springs Sahaptin, which is directly parallel to the Gitksan situation in many ways.

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ones are accepted or rejected. However, the Gitksan community is a bilingual community now, using English (one of the two official national languages of Canada) and Gitksan, so that it is not possible to understand the present currents and processes of change in the Gitksan language without reference to English and the broader European-Canadian society.

The Gitksan Speech Community Today

From a sociolinguistic perspective, the Gitksan community is in a transitional situation as people use English more and more in their social lives to the exclusion of Gitksan, which has come to be restricted mainly to the home or domestic scene and to use alongside English at public occasions, such as feasts, official ceremonies, and church services. The functional dominance of English has been established over the past century as Gitksan people have come to participate more fully in mainstream Canadian economic and social life where the knowledge and use of English are necessary and where native languages have been stigmatized as primitive and not suited to modern life. As well, there was a government policy (Levine and Cooper 1979) that suppressed (or at least discouraged) indigenous languages through the residential school system and excluded them from the classroom and playground until just a few years ago. Many Gitksan parents made a deliberate choice not to speak Gitksan to their children, but to use only English with them, so that they would grow up competent in English and avoid the shame and embarrassment that their parents had experienced from teachers and other Whites.

The functional expansion of English in the Gitksan community has been accompanied by the development of differences in Gitksan language competence and fluency across the generations to the point where one can say that English has become the vernacular for the great majority of Gitksan people. There are no monolingual speakers of Gitksan any longer, and no children are growing up with Gitksan as their only language. Older people (over sixty) are generally fully competent and fluent in Gitksan.

Many of them also have good English, although perhaps with an accent, while others speak English interlanguage varieties that display many transfers from Gitksan. Middle-aged people are variably competent and fluent in Gitksan, and they have excellent English. Most (but not all) of them are surely English dominant, i.e., they use much more English than Gitksan, and English appears to be the language of their personal identity, of their inner private lives and thoughts. Younger adults (over twenty) are definitely English-dominant, and there probably are more semi-speakers (in the sense of Dorian 1977, 1981, 1982) of Gitksan among them than there are fully competent, fluent speakers. Teenagers and children are virtually all English monolinguals by usage, although there are some fluent Gitksan speakers among them, and many of them would have a passive (hearing, but not speaking; comprehending, but not using) knowledge of the language gained from grandparents and older relatives.

The intergenerational continuity of transmission of Gitksan to children has definitely been broken. Children in Kispiox village entered primary school in the early 1940's as Gitksan monolinguals knowing little, if any English. As middle-aged adults these people are all English-dominant now, and many of them have become semi-speakers of Gitksan and even passive bilinguals. By 1966, when my family and I spent the summer in Kispiox, English had become the language of children's playgroups, and only a few sibling-sets of children spoke Gitksan among themselves, along with English. People say that only in

the past ten years has English become the language of children's play-groups in Kitwancool and Kitseguetla villages, where easy road access has been more recent.

As English has gained more native speakers in succeeding generations, there also has developed a non-standard variety of Gitksan English that has conventionalized a number of constructions and usages that are transfers from Gitksan language structure. These include the transitive verb use in the sense of wear, a construction of dip or dem Personal Name which corresponds to the non-standard English associative and them construction (e.g., dip Fred or dem Fred corresponds to Fred and them; dip is an indigenous G pluralizer, while dem is from English them), and a predicative possessive construction with head own (as in That's Mary's own., rather than That's Mary's.). These features are also found in Nisgha and Tsimshian English (Mulder 1980; Tarpent 1981b; these two papers were reprinted and published in ??).

The present situation of the Gitksan language must be judged as perilous, and its chances for long term survival are not good because it does not have a self-reproducing speech community whose members use it primarily for identity-construction and maintenance and for the full range of social functions. People do accord Gitksan a high measure of value as a salient symbol of their distinctive social identity and cultural heritage, but their ideology is not supported completely by their practice - they lament the loss of the language, yet go on speaking (mainly) English to their children and among themselves. The moves to teach Gitksan in school over the past decade indicate that some

people are aware of the impending demise of the language and that they recognize the importance of schooling for cultural transmission in modern life. It is true that bringing Gitksan into the school can help to raise its status, but it is unlikely that the school can be a more effective institution for transmitting the language to new generations of children than are the home and local community.

Michael Krauss (p.c.), who is the Director of the Alaska Native Language Center, suggests that there are three levels of language preservation which Indian people, linguists, and bilingual educators might seek to achieve in such cases as that of Gitksan. The first is simply to document the language as adequately as possible. This would include the preparation of a comprehensive grammar, dictionary, and collection of texts (including traditional oral literature), both written and taperecorded. The second level of language preservation involves the active cultivation of the language in a restricted number of social domains, such as at ceremonies, church, and school. This requires a knowledgeable class of native language specialists who can carry on the teaching of the language in formal and informal settings, while the majority of the community may have more limited competence and fluency in the language. The third level of language preservation is that found in living languages, where conversational ability in the vernacular is transmitted in the family and the local community. Gitksan parents and leaders might consider whether the maintenance and preservation of Gitksan as a living language is a realistic goal. Certainly the

preservation of Gitksan at the first two levels is possible, and indeed it is underway. As Krauss points out, the successful revival of Hebrew as a living language in the modern state of Israel was aided by its preservation over the centuries at the first and second levels, which kept it from total extinction.

There would be great tragedy in the death of the Gitksan language, but I believe that the misfortune of indigenous language loss would not be in the disappearance of a distinctive Gitksan social identity (at least not in the short term over a few generations). There is a simpleminded mainstream view, supported by some weakminded educators and academics and held even by some uncritical native people, that one cannot be a real Indian unless one can speak an Indian language. The weakness of this position is that it confuses external traits, such as speech, dress and appearance, with the inner values and principles that guide people's lives and make up the real substance of their social and personal identity. It seems evident that Gitksan people have taken English over for their own language, as seen in Gitksan English, and they use it for identity-construction and identity-maintenance and other social purposes. However, they don't speak their own Gitksan English around Whites, for they have been too often corrected and shamed for not speaking English properly, i.e., for speaking English that strays from local mainstream norms. The pattern of using "good" English with Whites has the unfortunate effect of reinforcing White suspicions that many Gitksans, especially those of apparent mixed descent, are not really and truly Indian.

The tragedy of the disappearance of the Gitksan language,

instead, would be in the loss of cultural heritage, because much traditional Gitksan knowledge of their homeland, customs and history has not been translated into English, and indeed it would suffer reduction and simplification by unreflective translation. The Whites like to believe that they occupied a wilderness a century or so ago, which they are transforming and developing. They also presume to give their own names to the land, but the chiefs and elders who speak Gitksan know well that their homeland is a humanized landscape that has a myriad of place names and associated legends and historical narratives. As well, there is a rich folk knowledge of animal and plant species and of their origins and uses, not to mention the high culture of the chiefs and Indian doctors. Unfortunately, Gitksan children today are learning only a small fraction of their heritage because they mainly have access only to what they hear in English.

For the descriptive linguist, the present situation of inter-generational differences in competence and command of the Gitksan language presents problems for they add to the range of variability that a grammar should account for in its coverage. Pacific Northwest linguists have generally ignored such problems, and this is understandable in the case of extinguishing languages where the information provided by a single speaker or small number of speakers who are willing and amenable to working with a linguist becomes even more precious. In my Gitksan fieldwork, I have worked mainly with a small number of older and middle-aged people who are regarded as good speakers, and I've tried to crosscheck material wherever possible. It's also been helpful to

present my analysis and understanding of various features of the language to several Gitksan language workshop groups, for they have corrected me and deepened my knowledge. The example sentences used in this grammar have all been checked by one or more older speakers [Some of the checking remains to be done]. Many examples come from my own observations and from texts, but most come from direct elicitation. Wherever possible, I try to describe and discuss variability - its sources are many and varied - for it is the stuff from which language change is fashioned, but for the most part, my description is based upon the eastern Gitksan language varieties spoken in Kispiox and Hazelton.

The Tsimshian Language Family

To judge from historical and oral accounts, the Gitksan, Nisgha and Tsimshian peoples seem always to have recognized that their respective languages are similar and are related in the sense of sharing common ancestry, although they differ in their accounts of which language has remained closest to its original or "pure" form. The first competent linguist to recognize the genetic relationship of the languages was Franz Boas, who began his work on them with two Coast Tsimshian speakers in Victoria in 1886. Boas (1888:231, translated by G.N. O'Grady) wrote not long after that "...The Tsimshian is spoken in two dialects, of which the Nisgha is seen to be the oldest... The following tribal groupings are distinguished among the Tsimshian. ...the first two [Nisgha and Gitksan] speak Nisgha, the remainder speak Tsimshian". Boas here used the term "dialects" in the same sense that nineteenth century philologists might have spoken of English and German as "Germanic dialects".

The well-known classification of Major J. W. Powell (1891:139-141) and his associates included the Chimmesyan [Tsimshian] family as one of its 58 families of North American Indian languages. The Powell classification of the Tsimshian languages was based upon Boas (1889), which repeated Boas' (1888) treatment.

Boas also spent a month in 1894 at Kincolith near the mouth of the Nass River, where he worked on Nisgha and Tsetsaut Athabaskan (see Rohner 1969:155-173 for materials on his stay). His Nisgha texts from the trip were published as Boas (1902). As a result of field research and desk analysis, Boas became well

aware of the similarities and differences between the Nisgha and Coast Tsimshian languages, for his Tsimshian grammar (henceforth, TG) in the first volume of the Handbook of North American Indian Languages, included parallel sketches of the two varieties. In the opening paragraphs of TG, he located where "the Tsimshian" was spoken and he referred to Tsimshian, Nisgha, and Gitksan as its "three principal dialects" (TG:287). Boas apparently did no work on the Gitksan language although he may have met some Gitksan people and he would certainly have heard the Nisghas and Tsimshians talking about the Gitksan people, their customs and their language.

It was George Dorsey, also an anthropologist, who in 1897 first accurately described the relations among the three languages, Gitksan, Nisgha, and Tsimshian, as they may be observed today. Dorsey (1897:277) wrote:

Boas [sic, referring probably to Boas (1889)] has divided the Tsimshian stock into dialects, those speaking the Nasqa and those speaking the Tsimshian proper... It is to be noted furthermore that the tribes speaking Nasqa are not confined to the territory of the Nass River, but are also found on the Skeena River. As to the distinguishing characteristics of the two dialects I had no time for investigation. But from various sources I learned that those tribes which spoke the Tsimshian dialect proper could not understand the Nasqa dialect, whereas the Nasqa tribes could understand those who spoke Tsimshian proper. It appears yet further that there are two closely related groups of the Nasqa dialect, the Nasqa and the Kitksan, the former group being confined to the Nass River, the latter to the Skeena river.

In Rigsby (1967), I quoted Dorsey with approval and I summarized the results of my field inquiries. Gitksan and Nisgha people alike say that they can understand one another readily upon first contact or hearing of the other language, although

there may be some unfamiliar words. Gitksan and Nisgha people do not readily understand the Coast Tsimshian language upon hearing it for the first time. Middle-aged Gitksan people in the late 1960's told me that they could only understand "about half" of what the Tsimshian say in their own language, but they also commented that it was easy for them to learn Coast Tsimshian. Full comprehension evidently requires second-language learning, but the task is not difficult because the two languages are closely related and structurally similar. Dunn (1976a:6) says that "... Coast Tsimshian people consider that Nass River speech is less unintelligible to them than is Gitksan. At the same time they feel that Nass and Gitksan belong to the same language and that both are different from their own native tongue".

From even before contact with Europeans, the Gitksan people had opportunities to learn a second language and to become bilingual. People used to travel to the coast and to the lower Nass River area in the early spring for oolachen (candlefish), where they met Nisgha and Tsimshian people and traded, attended their ceremonies, and intermarried with them. Gitksan people considered it to be prestigious to know and to be able to speak the Coast Tsimshian language properly. Gitksan chiefs often used the Coast Tsimshian language in public speeches and ceremonies, and many ceremonial songs were in it. From about 1900, many Gitksan people had the chance to hear and learn Coast Tsimshian during residence on the coast while working on fishing boats and in the salmon canneries.

In a later unpublished paper (Rigsby 1969), "Some Linguistic Insights into Recent Tsimshian Prehistory", I treated some of the

phonological (viz. the dorsal consonantisms) and lexical dimensions of the historical relationship between Gitksan and Nisgha and of them with the Coast Tsimshian language. Some features of the Gitksan/Nisgha relationship are repeated here in the chapter on phonology and elsewhere. To repeat the major conclusions of that paper (see also Rigsby and Dunn 1968), as well as Sherzer and Bauman 1972:142-143), I presented evidence which showed that all three languages of the Tsimshian family had borrowed words from other neighbouring languages and that the ancestral home of the proto-language was situated on the coast and not in the interior area, as Boas (1916:872) had earlier suggested.

Since then, John Dunn (1976a, 1976b) has reported that there is a second coastal Tsimshian language that is still spoken by several families in Klemtu and Hartley Bay. He calls the language "Southern Tsimshian"; its native name is [sgwəx̄s] at Hartley Bay and [sgwəmx̄] at Metlakatla, Alaska. Southern Tsimshian appears to be as distant from Coast Tsimshian along several dimensions as it is from Gitksan and Nisgha, and it is phonologically conservative in some ways interesting for the reconstruction of Proto-Tsimshian. The existence of Southern Tsimshian supports my earlier hypothesis that Proto-Tsimshian was spoken on the coast south of the Skeena, because its location accords with Sapir's (1916) principle that the area of greatest diversity is the area of longest occupation.

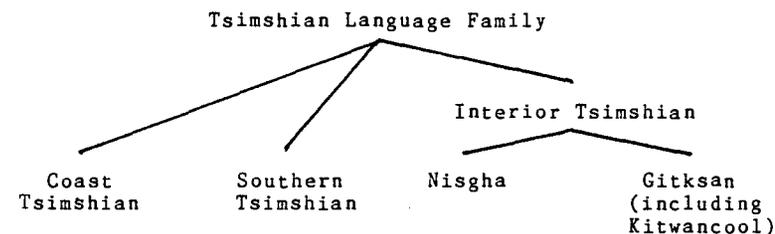
Most recently, Marie-Lucie Tarpent (1980, 1983b) has expanded our knowledge of the structural development of the

Tsimshian languages by applying the method of internal reconstruction to Nisgha plural formations. Plurality is a highly developed grammatical category in Gitksan, Nisgha, and Coast Tsimshian nominal and verbal morphology, and synchronically, each of the three languages displays a bewildering range of plural construction-types, ranging from simple initial C₁@- reduplicated forms through more opaque, often doubly marked (i.e. "pleonastic") reduplications, to suppletive sets. Tarpent provides reasonable analyses of the histories of the several construction types in Nisgha and importantly, she discerns three stages in the development of plural-marking in Nisgha. The details of the historical development of plural constructions in Gitksan and Coast Tsimshian differ from Nisgha, but Tarpent's results seem generalizable in broad outline to them. Tarpent (1983a) examines the Nisgha numerals and reconstructs some of their possible derivations.

Despite the great amount of descriptive linguistic work that has been done in Gitksan, Nisgha and Coast Tsimshian since 1966, the three languages remain inadequately and incompletely reported in the literature. Boas TG remains the major publication, and although it may be superseded in the future, it will remain a classic monument. One hopes that as new descriptive grammars (such as Dunn 1979 and this present one) of the four languages are written and published, we can turn more of our attention and energy towards unraveling the historical development of the Tsimshian language family and reconstructing its proto-language.

To conclude this section, the presently known classification of the four languages of the Tsimshian family may be represented

thus:



The Wider Relationships of the Tsimshian Language Family

Although Boas (1911:46) spoke of the languages of the Pacific Northwest as forming a distinctive language area (what we would now call a Sprachbund) and included Tsimshian among them, Edward Sapir was the first scholar to focus and comment more fully upon the areal historical relationships of the Tsimshian languages to neighbouring languages and language families. Sapir (1916:458; see also Golla 1984:108 for Sapir's earlier comments on the same topic in an unpublished 1913 letter to A. L. Kroeber) noted that Tsimshian, Kwakiutl-Nootka, Chemakum and Salishan all share the features of numeral classifiers and distributive (or plural) reduplication. Sapir also observed that the Tsimshian-speaking people were culturally more similar to the Haida and Tlingit (see also Sapir 1920:269-270, 1921d) than to their southern neighbours, and he (1916:459) said:

...the morphological resemblances between Tsimshian and the languages south of it, when contrasted with the lack of correspondingly significant resemblances between Tsimshian and Na-dene [Athabaskan, Haida, and Tlingit], seems to be indicative of a much earlier contact of the Tsimshian with the Kwakiutl and the Salish than with the Haida and Tlingit.

It was also Sapir who first proposed that the Tsimshian language family was genetically related to the Penutian language stock, whose other member languages are found far to the south, mainly in the present states of Oregon and California. In December, 1915, Sapir wrote to Kroeber with his thoughts on expanding the Penutian grouping to include a number of Oregon languages (Takelma; Coos, Siuslaw, and Alsea; and Chinookan) and the Tsimshianic languages:

And now (don't faint!), I think that Tsimshian is the most northern outlying member of the stock. Again greatly specialized, but still exhibiting many startling features in common... Of Chinook and Tsimshian I am not as sure as of Lower Umpqua [Siuslaw], Coos, and Takelma, but I think my evidence will grow as I work on it. How to group these languages I do not yet know, of course... I doubt if Takelma, W. Oregon, Chinook, and Tsimshian form a northern unit as contrasted with your southern [Californian] one. (from Golla 1984:201-202).

By 1918, Sapir was sufficiently confident to write to Robert Lowie:

Just at the moment I am carding some of my Penutian - Takelma - Coos - Siuslaw - Chinookan - Tsimshian correspondences. It is technical work, of course, but quite interesting, as many lines of historical research are opened up. Yes, my boy, Tsimshian. Not a bit isolated. Very specialized in development, but showing clear threads, in my humble and heterodox opinion, binding it to Oregonian "stocks". I have recently prepared a paper on Nass River terms of relationship, but am waiting to hear from Beynon - Barbeau's Tsimshian interpreter, for comparative Tsimshian data. (Boas' material does not seem completely satisfactory). ...

Three years later, Sapir (1921b, 1921c) published statements that included Tsimshian as a northern outlier of Penutian. It bears remarking that by this time, Sapir himself had done a fair bit of linguistic work on Nisgha and Coast Tsimshian with several men who had come to Ottawa in connection with land claim matters, he had obtained Coast Tsimshian kinterms from Beynon, he had discussed some Tsimshianic kinterms with Theresa Mayer, and of course he had read and worked through Boas' published materials on the two languages.

In his famous 1929 classification (foreshadowed in Sapir 1921b) where he grouped all North American native languages and some Central American ones into one or another of six superstocks, Sapir included "Tsimshian" as one of six co-ordinate branches within the Penutian superstock. Sapir (1929[1949]:175)

also characterized the Penutian languages structurally in this way:

The Penutian languages are far less cumbersome in structure than [Eskimo-Aleut, Algonkin-Wakashan, and Nadene] but are more tightly knit, presenting many analogies to the Indo-European languages; make use of suffixes of formal, rather than concrete, significance; show many types of inner stem change; and possess true nominal cases, for the most part. Chinook seems to have developed a secondary "polysynthetic" form on the basis of a broken down form of Penutian; while Tsimshian and Maidu have probably been considerably influenced by contact with Mosan [Wakashan and Salishan] and with Shoshonean and Hokan respectively.

Beyond the references cited, Sapir published no detailed evidence for the relationship, but the force of his genius and brilliance was such that many scholars uncritically accepted the Penutian connection of the Tsimshian languages as definite and established.

In 1956, Dell Hymes prepared a paper, "The Relationship of Tsimshian and Chinookan", in which he undertook to reconstruct what evidence might have inspired Sapir's hypothesis of their relationship. He reviewed what was then known of the history of Sapir's proposal of the Tsimshian languages as belonging to Penutian, he listed a number of apparent Nisgha, Coast Tsimshian and Chinookan grammatical and lexical correspondences, and he noted some systematic sound correspondences. Hymes found that there was such evidence to suggest the relationship. In retrospect, one can say that Hymes undertook a difficult task, given the poor phonetic quality of the Nisgha and Coast Tsimshian materials he had available to work with, not to mention the lack of good modern descriptive analyses of the two languages then.

Recently, Michael Silverstein (1979) published an overview

of Penutian research that presents a sober and perceptive appraisal of the situation at hand. Silverstein notes that the Tsimshianic languages diverge markedly in syntactic type from the Penutian archetype as defined by Sapir. They display "a tightly-knit phrase-level clisis as the productive morphosyntactic apparatus", and they encode case-relations at the surface level primarily through "strict constituent order" (Silverstein 1979:659, 669). This contrasts greatly with the structural type, say, of Yokuts, a quintessential Penutian language with nominal case-suffixes. Sapir considered the present Tsimshian structural type - what Rigsby (1975) termed "an analytic ergative syntax" - to be the product of contact with the Wakashan and Salishan languages, especially with Kwakiutl. However, it is precisely this same structural type which grammatical reconstruction indicates to be archaic within the Tsimshian family. And the sorts of morphosyntactic relationships that Silverstein was able to identify in an unpublished (1969) paper which may link the Tsimshian languages to the southern Penutian languages involve exactly this same phrasal syntax. Silverstein (1969) proposed that the /?an/ transitive subject relative clause proclitic and /n@-/ alienable possession prefix (in Coast Tsimshian; it is also a fossilized kinterm prefix in all the Tsimshian languages) were the reflexes of an earlier single syntactic formative, and he compared its construction type with similar constructions which are reconstructable in Coos, Alsea, and Yokuts, but he did not reach a firm conclusion of their genetic relationship.

The inclusion of the Tsimshian language family within the great Penutian stock, then, remains unproven and problematic.

The relationship cannot be established on the basis of a handful of resemblant lexical items as seen in:

Coast Tsimshian - guu?pl two (of abstract objects; of round objects; gulapdaat two (of persons aboard any conveyance); gipl'on two (of fathoms; of measures); galbeelk two (of canoes) - forms from Dunn (1978).

Nisgha - gilp'il /kilp-?@l/ two (things; and abstract count); galp /kalp/ testicles; gilpwa /kilp-wa/ two bundles of skins; galbee'etkws /q@-lpe-?-tkw-s/ two canoes.

Gitksan - gilbil /kilp-@l/ two (things; and abstract count); galp /kalp/ testicles.

These forms include a recurrent partial in /-lp-/ that has a shape similar to the /lVp-/ ~ /nVp/ root for two that is found in such Southern Plateau languages as Nez Perce, Cayuse, Sahaptin, Molala and Klamath (see Rigsby 1965:109-152). However, we cannot provide a detailed genetic hypothesis that includes a series of motivated historical transformations that can derive the synchronic grammatical forms in the several languages from a common original grammatical construction and thus establish their genetic relationship beyond doubt (Tarpent 1983a:66-68 proposes etymologies for the Nisgha forms built on the root in question). In fact, there is good reason to believe that numerals and numeral systems diffuse easily among languages in such

interlingual social contexts as trade and gambling (Rigsby 1965:151). Nonetheless, the resemblances above call out for some kind of historical explanation; they are unlikely to be chance convergences of sound and meaning. Silverstein's unpublished (1976) "Time Perspective in Northern and Western Penutian" paper, among other matters, explores some of the social organizational features of Pacific Northwest language communities and speech communities and their relevance to the geographical distribution of the Penutian languages outside California. He concludes (p. 9) with:

The real enigma, to my mind, is constituted by Tsimshian, for its position must imply movement, either by the ancestors of those who now speak it, or by the ancestors of those who spoke everything else in Penutian, or, worse still, by the ancestors of everyone in between. This problem takes us far beyond the temporal and linguistic bounds of Penutian itself, however.

I agree with Silverstein (1979:681) that if we are to make any progress on the front of the wider range genetic relationship of the Tsimshian language family, we need to do "careful comparative study of lexical formations with derivational suffixes." At the same time, however, we should also give greater priority to exploring the dimensions of the areal historical relations of the Tsimshianic languages to the neighbouring Kwakiutlan languages, particularly to Heiltsuk. In fact, a systematic comparison of Tsimshianic and Kwakiutlan grammatical constructions remains to be done; the parallels that Sapir thought he could discern need to be made explicit and appraised in the histories of the two language families. For a start, I suggest that they include at least a Verb - Subject - Object - basic constituent ordering followed by peripheral,

oblique constituents in independent clauses. The grammatical relations of major constituents in such clauses are indicated not only by their ordering, but also by enclitics that precede their syntactic host, but are suffixed to the preceding element. Both Tsiashianic and Kwakiutlan focus constituents by moving them into sentence-initial position, but in the Tsimshianic languages, predication and focusing are done by different formal patterns. In Kwakiutlan, I think, predication and focusing are conflated, so that predicates are always (usually) focused; my knowledge of Kwakiutlan structure comes mainly from Levine's work on Kwakwaka (see Levine 1980, 1981).

In the Tsimshianic languages, there is a ✓ Subject - Verb - Object ordering found in dependent (subordinate) clauses. This SVO ordering is surely older than the VSO one, and the dependent order subject pronominal clitics display striking resemblances to the first, second, and third person pronominal elements found in other Penutian languages. They are: /n@/ 1SG, /m@/ 2SG, /m@ ... s@m/ 2PL, and /t/ 3SG/PL.

In the meantime, the conservative position is to speak of the Tsimshian language family as an isolate. Its genetic relationship to other Penutian languages has not yet been demonstrated or established, but for the record, I suspect that ✓ Sapir was correct and we will be able to do that in coming years.

Gitksan Language Scholarship

It is possible to distinguish at least four currents in the stream of Gitksan language scholarship. There is an unbroken native tradition of language study, and there are the younger missionary/Christian, educational, and linguistic anthropological traditions. Sometimes the same persons have worked in several currents.

The native tradition of language study and art is embedded in the high culture of the singigat chiefs and haalayt shamans, Indian doctors, who are knowledgeable about the history and meanings of personal names, place names, crest names, and naxnox names, as well as the meanings of esoteric words and phrases. Chiefs use a special speech register for public speeches, such as at feasts and potlatches. It is characterized by a higher-pitched, louder voice-set, more rapid delivery, different vocabulary and (probably) its own rhetorical patterns and conventions. Young princes and princesses were trained by their families to become proper public speakers as part of their chiefly duties and responsibilities. Little is known about the esoteric knowledge of shamans or their special patterns of language use (but see Guédon 1977). And today as in the past, some older people are considered to be excellent narrators of the traditional oral literature, which includes adaawak legends, myths and ant'imahlasxw stories.

The missionary/Christian current of language study was initiated by Bishop William Ridley, who spent the winters of 1879-80 and 1880-81 in Hazelton. Ridley prepared Gitksan translations of selected prayers from the Book of Common Prayer

and had them printed in Victoria in 1881. These are the earliest known published materials in Gitksan (Ridley 1881).

The next missionary language scholar was Rev. Alfred Edwin Price, an Englishman who came to British Columbia about 1884, when he went to Fort Rupert with Rev. Hall. He spent shorter periods in 1888-89 at Metlakatla and Kincolith, then he shifted to the Anglican Mission at Kitwanga in 1889, remaining there until about the end of World War I. About the turn of the century, Price prepared a small primer (Price n.d.), which he printed on the press at Kitwanga. It includes an alphabet, a wordlist arranged by semantic fields, numerals, sections on adjectives, adjectival constructions, pronouns, interrogative constructions with pronouns, verb inflections, adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, possessive pronouns, and five short religious texts translated from English. In 1906, Price published a nicely bound edition of the Gospel of St. Luke translated into Gitksan.

It would appear from published and unpublished sources that there was cooperation and some scholarly division of labour between Price and Rev. James Benjamin McCullagh, who worked on the Nisgha language at Aiyansh on the Nass River. Price and McCullagh received priestly ordination together in July, 1890, and Price preached a sermon in the vernacular while visiting Aiyansh in 1896. In his primer, Price acknowledged and used McCullagh's 1894 Nisgha orthography, which employed letters from the English alphabet plus several diacritic marks. Price's 1906 orthography - which is called the "Old Alphabet" in the recent

western Gitksan language materials - appears to be a version of the Nisgha orthography that McCullagh developed in 1896 and used in his own translation of St. Matthew into Nisgha, published at Aiyansh in 1902. (McCullagh later also translated the Epistle of St. James into Nisgha). As well, Price credited Robert Tomlinson for assistance in revising the translation of St. Luke. Tomlinson was a medical doctor and missionary who was first posted at Kincolith on the Nass River, then at Kispiox on the Skeena. After siding with William Duncan in his dispute with Bishop Ridley, Tomlinson left the Church Missionary Society and founded a village settlement at Meanskinish or Cedarvale, not far downstream from Kitwanga, about 1887.

These matters are of some importance because the language that Price used in the primer and Gospel translation is more easily identified as Nisgha than as Gitksan! This is most clearly seen in Price's writing the demonstrative pronouns consistently as tgon this and tgoſt that, and the word for glass as tgwa. In the modern Nisgha orthography, these are indeed tgun, tgust, and tgwa, respectively, where Nisgha has phonetic voiced velar and labiovelar stops. The western Gitksan varieties have [t^hq̄n], [t^hq̄st^h], and [t^hwá], where the earlier phonetic velar and labiovelar stops have been lost (although they remain as labiovelar fricatives in the underlying phonological representations; see pp. ??). Price also regularly wrote final -qu for the verbal suffix which Nisgha has in [-k^wh] and all the Gitksan varieties have in [-x^w], and he made frequent use of the Nisgha sentence-initial discourse marker /'nił=k'i/. The primer does contain a few forms that are strictly Gitksan, e.g. stinim

dotsqu heavy iron for sdimim t'uuts'xw, where Nisgha would have 'malgaksgum t'uuts'kw. The copy of the primer I have used contains some small marginal entries in black ink by an unknown Gitksan hand. One of these has tgwa crossed out and twa is written in beside it!

It is not at all plain why Price should use Nisgha language forms and call them Gitksan. There is no reason to doubt his word that he did the major work himself in translating St. Luke, for McCullagh did not record ever doing so. Possibly the missionaries regarded the Nisgha accent and usage as more elegant or better than Gitksan or they considered that Nisgha was more widely used in trade. McCullagh once noted in his newsletter, Hagaga [Hak'ak'a'a The Key] (No. 5, Feb. 1894, p.1) that his Nisgha literacy lessons could be used "... with a little adaptation, among the Skeena tribes, there being only a very slight difference in the dialects". To judge from Price's work, he knew the language well indeed, but nonetheless, Gitksan people should not regard his "Gitksan" materials as representing their own language for it shows very obvious Nisgha influences.

The Price primer is a pedagogical work, and we may reasonably assume that it was used to teach children to read and write in the mission school he established about 1890 at Kitwanga. Price's bilingual teaching evidently ended about the time of World War I.

It is an interesting question to ask what were the motivations of the early missionaries, such as Rev. Price, in learning the native language and using it for preaching,

Scripture translation, and so on. Their primary goals were religious conversion - to save the souls of the "heathen" - and the inculcation of lower middle-class English values, such as industry, thrift, and individualism (see Usher 1974) into the young people. They wished to uproot and stamp out traditional Indian culture and social practices, e.g., totem poles, dance masks, rattles and other ceremonial paraphernalia, along with shamanistic and other ceremonial events, especially the yukw potlatch (see McCullagh 1899). These they considered to be elements of "heathenism". (Their positions on slavery, plural marriages and the status of women were more progressive). Thus, it was necessary for them to do language work and to learn the native language in order to reach and speak directly to adults, for whom English was a foreign language. The missionaries were also greatly concerned to teach the children English in the mission schools because they expected that they would lead their adult lives primarily in English, which was a not unreasonable assumption. McCullum and McCullum (1979:75ff) say that Price did not "denigrate the indigenous totem-clan-family system and made no great efforts against the potlatch". To judge from Price's 1888 Metlakatla diary (which I have read), he seems to have been a humane, sensitive person, more so than was William Duncan, but certainly he was convinced of the moral superiority of evangelical Christianity and he was concerned to convert the heathen natives. (See Levine and Cooper 1979 for an outspoken, critical account of the missionaries' role in the suppression of British Columbia native languages; Tschanz 1980 treats government policy and indigenous languages; while McBeth 1983, 1984 gives a

view of Indian boarding schools in America which points out their positive aspects in promoting the development of a broader Indian identity and in maintaining Indian identity. As well, I recall my surprise in 1982 when several Nisgha people spoke to me of how they liked their boarding school experience because it gave them the chance to get away from immediate family and community control and to mix with young Indian people from other places).

Jean Usher's (1974:75) biography of William Duncan, who founded Metlakatla in 1862 and later moved with his followers to Alaska in 1887, makes some perceptive observations (pp. 75, 94-95, 105, 109) regarding Duncan's language policies, which we can generalize to his other missionary colleagues on the coast, the Skeena, and the Nass. Although adults and school children at Metlakatla learned to read and write both in English and Tsimshian, Duncan very early began to teach mainly in English there. He did very little in the way of translation and printing of Tsimshian materials after 1867, and he clearly regarded it to be desirable for his community to become primarily, if not exclusively, English-speaking as quickly as possible. In modern terms, we would say that Duncan believed in and practiced a transfer-model of bilingualism, rather than a maintenance-model. His reasons for learning and using the native language were immediate and pragmatic; they did not include a belief in linguistic and cultural pluralism. Helen Meilleur, who was born and reared in Port Simpson, provides support for my interpretation of missionary language policy when she writes (1980:32):

The Boys' Home, at the time my parents lived near it, housed twenty-five young Tsimshians who learned something of carpentry and other basic skills as well as classroom subjects. They were taught entirely in English. Now that the native languages have been all but lost, there is bitter criticism of this system. And yet, without the immersion method, how could Indian children, who arrived without a word of English, have learned enough in a few years in the Boys' Home to supply the white men's knowledge that the villagers so earnestly sought. And though our Indian lore does not tell us this, the great impetus toward Christianity and twentieth-century ways came no more from missionaries than from the Indians themselves. And had you been a Tsimshian, would you not have welcomed an escape from the tyranny of the medicine man, the terrors of witchcraft, the inexorable class system, slavery and retaliatory killings?

However, we need not accept Meilleur's interpretation that most native people themselves freely rejected their own language and all their heritage by accepting the Whiteman's education and some White ways of life. That assumes narrow incorrect views on bilingualism (that it's not really possible to be competent in more than one language, because competence in one language is at the expense of competence in another - which is not necessarily so) and social identity (that the maintenance of indigenous or immigrant minority ethnic identities is incompatible with and antithetical to a mainstream identity - which ignores the situational dimensions of identity) which should have no place in a modern pluralistic society, as Canada aspires to be. It also fails to acknowledge the broader social environment of repressive government policy and mainstream Canadian prejudices and discrimination that led many native people to stop speaking their own languages and to choose not to teach them to their children.

The linguistic/anthropological tradition of Gitksan language work begins in the long careers of Marius Barbeau, the ethnographer and folklorist, and of William Beynon, a Tsimshian ethnographer, who began work together in 1914, although they did not undertake Gitksan work until 1920. It is difficult to disentangle Barbeau and Beynon's work without going back to the original fieldnotes, because Barbeau did not credit Beynon's contribution fully and properly when he published. Beynon did much of the fieldwork, transcription, and translation, while Barbeau mainly did editorial revision to prepare manuscripts for publication (Halpin 1978:146-147). Barbeau's published work (e.g., his monumental Totem Poles of the Gitksan, Upper Skeena River, British Columbia (1929)) is important because it includes so many personal names, group names, place names, and other lexical items. However, the orthography Barbeau used for publication is seriously deficient, and his actual field orthographic practice leaves much to be desired. One must always recheck forms from Barbeau with knowledgeable Gitksan consultants. (Duff 1964b gives a balanced appraisal of Barbeau's anthropological work among the Gitksan, Nisgha, and Tsimshian, and he also provides bibliographic references for many of Barbeau's works. See also Dawn 1981 for information on Barbeau's work among the Gitksan). I have perused some of Beynon's 1920 and 1953 fieldnotes on Gitksan, and from a linguistic point of view, their transcriptions show evidence of much interference from Coast Tsimshian - English and Coast Tsimshian were Beynon's native languages (Halpin 1978: 142). Beynon's unpublished field materials on Coast Tsimshian, Gitksan, and Nisgha (in the Museum

of Man in Ottawa) are rich and extensive, and they should receive the closer attention of linguists and anthropologists. Beynon also worked for Franz Boas during the period from 1932 to 1939, sending him some 250 narratives in Coast Tsimshian and English. Boas donated the 10,000-plus pages of manuscripts to the Butler Library at Columbia University, and through the organization of the Tsimpshean Tribe in Alaska, the Beynon Collection has now been microfilmed for their use and for other scholars. Beynon also worked for Philip Drucker in 1953-1955 (Halpin 1978:145, 151-152; Halpin's paper provides an excellent biography and appreciation of the largely unacknowledged ethnographic work of William Beynon).

The same caveats apply to the transcriptional and translation accuracy of the Gitksan forms recorded and presented by Drucker (1940:222-223, 1950:271), and by Adams (1969, 1973, 1974) and Kasakoff (1970, 1974).

About 1965, Alfred Braithwaite, who was enrolled for an M.A. in Linguistics at the University of Washington, settled at the store (and post office) at Skeena Crossing, just up the road from Kitsequecla, and he began fieldwork on Gitksan. Braithwaite and his wife Pat were initially associated with the Wycliffe Bible Translators or the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Braithwaite did not complete his degree, but in 1974, the Braithwaites prepared a small mimeographed booklet, which they titled Gitksan Reader. For use on the Nass and Skeena Rivers British Columbia Canada (Mr and Mrs A. Braithwaite 1974; I would like to thank Susan Marsden for giving me a copy of the booklet). It included

a section on sounds with a practical orthography, several short texts, and a small glossary. The Braithwaites' proposed writing system gained no community acceptance at Kitsequecla. It was rejected because it departed too much from conventional English orthographic norms, rather than building upon them as much as possible. For example, the Braithwaite Gitksan alphabet used the upper case letters and characters of the standard North American typewriter keyboard. These included the characters #, %, & and \$, which represented the phonemes /q/, /ʔ/, /'n/ and /ɬ/, respectively. The Braithwaites apparently ignored the North American convention of representing profane utterances in cartoons and comic strips with these and other characters, but the Kitsequecla people did not and they considered that the Braithwaites had represented their language in the same manner as swearing, and this too in Bible translations!

Wilson Duff (1959) edited a volume on Kitwancool history, territories, and customs, which contains a wealth of personal names and place names that were written down by Mrs. Constance Cox. Mrs. Cox was the daughter of Thomas Hankin, who founded Hazelton, and like her brother, Arthur Hankin, she grew up speaking and using Gitksan. Fred Good and his brother Rufus Good from Kitwancool and Johnson Williams from Kispiox helped me to transcribe ^{many of} these in technical linguistic orthography in 1966-68. Duff also tape-recorded a Gitksan word list for me in 1965 or 1966, and he facilitated and supported my first Gitksan fieldwork in Kispiox in 1966. The bibliography of the present work lists my few papers on Gitksan. Rood (1977) criticizes some aspects of my 1975 paper.

In 1969, Michael Silverstein did two periods of Gitksan language research along with me when we had Gitksan visitors at Harvard University and the University of New Mexico. Anderson (1974:174-178) presents some Gitksan phonological data and discusses its implications for rule-ordering. The data were given to him by Robert Underhill, who collected them during some sessions on Gitksan that Wallace Morgan and I conducted in Underhill's field methods course at Harvard in 1969. The same year, Beatrice and Michael Hall (of Queens College, CUNY) did some Gitksan fieldwork when Mrs Sarah Marshall visited John Adams and Alice Kasakoff in New York City.

About 1970, Ronald Wickstrom, who was enrolled for an M.A. in Linguistics at the University of Victoria, began fieldwork in Gitksan in the Hazelton area. Wickstrom had previously been associated with the Wycliffe Bible Translators, and he completed his Thesis on Gitksan phonology with special attention to glottalized segments in 1974. Many of the forms in Wickstrom (1974) are incorrectly transcribed and glossed.

During the winter of 1971-72, James Hoard worked with Lonnie Hindle from Hazelton in a linguistic field methods class at the University of British Columbia. Hoard (1978) treats phonological matters with particular focus on the glottalized stops and the distinctive features required to characterize them adequately at both the phonological and phonetic levels. Many of the forms cited by Hoard are incorrectly transcribed.

Also during the 1970's, Marie-Françoise Guédon from the National Museum of Man, did ethnographic work among the Gitksan.

During its course, she collected many place names and vocabulary items. She was often assisted by Rosalind Whalley, who had a degree in linguistics from the University of Ottawa and was much interested in learning and analyzing Gitksan. Ms. Whalley also did ethnohistorical research in 1979 in conjunction with Dr. George MacDonald's archaeological research at the Kitwanga Fort National Historic Site. Ms. Whalley has collected much linguistic material over the years, and recently she prepared a paper (1982) on the Gitksan connective enclitics for a linguistics course at York University. *Add Robin Thistle-Walker dictionary*

There are two recent works produced mainly by Gitksan people that may be included in the linguistic-anthropological tradition. Both books contain much Gitksan language material, but are flawed by ubiquitous spelling errors. We-Gyet Wanders On (Kitanmax 1977) is a beautifully presented book of stories about 'Wii Gat, the trickster Giant. It has English translations followed by their Gitksan versions, illustrated with superb prints in the 'Ksan style. Gathering What the Great Nature Provided. Food Traditions of the Gitksan (Kitanmax-'Ksan 1980) is also well-presented, although the phrasing of its title is perhaps unfortunate, because it implies that Gitksan people were passive participants in their ecosystems, rather than active managers of habitats (by regularly burning off the undergrowth, for example) and curators of the land. The title is also regrettable in view of the land claims issues involved; its outdated perspective reflects the conventional Lockean wisdom that before people can be considered to have created or gained title in land, they must first have invested their labour in it by cultivating it. Modern

anthropological research elsewhere on hunter-gatherer-fisher people has provided more realistic and accurate views on their systems of land tenure, use and management (e.g., Lee and De Vore 1968; Damas 1969a, 1969b; Williams and Hunn 1982).

The educational or pedagogical stream of Gitksan language work initiated by Rev. Price ended sometime early in the century, as the mission-run reserve and residential schools taught only in English. It started to revive in the late 1960's when Mrs. Sarah Hindle and I began to formulate and experiment with a practical writing system for Gitksan. We initially used technical symbols, such as c', ɬ, and q, to write a level of phonetic representation up to, but excluding free variation. Lonnie Hindle, Mrs. Hindle's elder son, joined me at the University of New Mexico in 1970-71. We changed then to non-technical letters and letter-combinations, such as ts', hl, and k, in which we followed the practice initiated by Randy Bouchard of the B.C. Indian Languages Project, and we worked out most of the spelling conventions of the practical orthography. We first presented the practical orthography to Gitksan people when we taught and used it in an adult literacy workshop at 'Ksan in summer, 1971. I later presented the same practical orthography to three Nisgha men (Bert McKay, Bill McKay, and Hubert McMillan) who visited me at the University of New Mexico in November, 1971. And in July, 1973, I presented and taught the practical orthography in a Nisgha literacy workshop in New Aiyansh. About the same time, Hindle and I published a short practical dictionary of Gitksan (Hindle and Rigsby 1973) that included just over a thousand forms.

By the mid-1970's, there had developed a local movement to introduce bilingual/bicultural curriculum materials into the schools. Dr. Pier De Paola (p.c., the following section was written jointly in 1983 with Dr. De Paola) regards three events

as important in helping to initiate the movement. These were the construction of 'Ksan Village and the development of its group of artists and performers, the Hindle and Rigsby Gitksan dictionary, and the issuing of a document on Indian control of education by the National Indian Brotherhood.

The native guides, artists and performers at 'Ksan helped to improve the public image of the Gitksan by providing native and non-native spectators with views of a rich, vibrant, and continuing culture. 'Ksan coordinated the cultural interests and efforts of people from the six main Gitksan villages, and it provided a venue for sharing songs and artistic interests. 'Ksan artists and performers were among the first Gitksan cultural instructors at the local provincial and federal schools. In 1975, Victor Mowatt, a 'Ksan artist, began teaching native art and culture for ten consecutive weeks at each of the local schools. Mary Johnson, Solomon Marsden and David Milton, all 'Ksan performing artists, have now taught songs and dances to a generation of school children, and they are continuing their work.

In 1975, Susan Marsden, a Curriculum Developer for the local provincial school board, became interested in the cultural and artistic revival that 'Ksan had sparked. She helped to persuade school officials to include cultural studies and local native artists in the elementary school social studies curriculum. Cooperating with 'Ksan artists and native consultants, such as Edith Gawa, Mrs Marsden prepared a number of English curriculum packages (e.g., Birds of 'Ksan and Tsimshian Stories) and two

audiovisual packages. She collected the existing published articles and stories for use in the schools, and her Gitksan workshops for non-native school teachers did much to orient people who were unfamiliar with local native culture.

The Hindle and Rigsby dictionary was published in 1973 and copies of it were distributed without charge to many people, and they were also made available to the local schools free of charge. However, the dictionary was not suitable for general use as a school primer, and it was an object of curiosity and frustration to most people, who had received no instruction in how to read and write Gitksan in its new practical orthography. Russell Stevens, the Gitksan language teacher (1976-1978) at Hazelton High School, was able to make some use of it; he had been a participant in Rigsby's 1971 workshop at 'Ksan and he had learned some linguistics. There was an obvious need for Gitksan language pedagogical materials, and as a result of pressure from Gitksan and non-Gitksan staff at the Kispiox school, the Kispiox Band Council contracted with Dr. J. V. Powell, a linguist at the University of British Columbia, to prepare teaching materials. Powell and his wife, Vickie Jensen, a photographer and curriculum materials developer, produced two series of Gitksan language teaching materials for the Band (Powell and Stevens 1977a, 1977b; Jensen and Gawa 1977a, 1977b, 1977c; Jensen, Powell and Gawa 1978a, 1978b; Powell, Jensen, Gawa and Johnson 1980a, 1980b). Later, they provided a series of four Western Gitksan language teaching books for the Kitwancool, Kitsegucla and Kitwanga Bands (Jensen, Powell *et al.* 1979; Jensen and Powell 1980a, 1980b; Powell and Jensen 1980). All these materials are professionally

packaged and presented with excellent photographs. I cannot appraise them from a pedagogical standpoint, except to say that the Gitksan language materials in them do not measure up to the standards expected in academic linguistic publications - see Rigsby (1982) for criticisms focused on the Gitksan alphabet charts prepared by Powell.

Other people who taught Gitksan language classes in these years are: Randy Adams at the Kitwancool Day School and Kitwanga school (1979-present), Edith Gawa at the Kispiox school (1976-1978), Olive Mulwain at the Kitsegucla school (1978-1979), Fern Stevens at the Kispiox school (1981-present), Brenda Stewart at the Kispiox school (1978-1980), Albert Wilson at the Kitwanga school (1978-1979), and Matilda Wilson at the Kitsegucla School (1981-present). Barbara Sennott taught an evening class for adults through the Northwest Community College in 1982. (I am grateful to J. V. Powell for some of this information).

Although the Powell books alleviated some of the frustrations felt by the Gitksan instructors, they also made the teachers aware of their need to know more about the practical orthography, the linguistic analysis of Gitksan structure, and the methodology of language teaching. In 1981, Powell videotaped short presentations on his language teaching methods as used in the Gitksanimx for Kids series. In early 1982, Rigsby videotaped some workshop and small group sessions on the practical orthography and the linguistic analysis of Gitksan. The Powell and Rigsby videotaped sessions were in response to questions about their earlier work, and they helped to spark new interest

in Gitksan linguistics and language pedagogy among native teachers and teacher trainees. There is now a move to create a District Gitksan Language Committee, and in September, 1982, a Native Teacher Training Program opened under the auspices of the Gitksan-Carrier Tribal Council. It is envisioned that the Language Committee will organize and coordinate Native Studies workshops and act as a clearinghouse for schools and band projects.

The National Indian Brotherhood's (1972) paper on Indian Control of Education, subsequently adopted in principle by the federal government, gave encouragement to local native people, who sought to have the three federal schools (located on reserves) transferred to Band education authorities. As well, native leaders became more vocal in expressing their opinions about the content of school curricula and about the treatment of their children in the school setting. Band School Boards and School Committees, along with total Band control over educational funds at the six main Gitksan villages, have ensured that decisions are made and resources are committed to meet local native educational priorities. In addition to Indian control within the reserve communities, native leaders also fielded candidates for local provincial school board elections, and Mr Jim Angus of Kispiox was elected as a board member of District No. 88 in November, 1981. This was the same board that had reluctantly allowed Susan Marsden and Victor Mowatt to introduce Gitksan cultural materials as pilot projects in 1975.

Gitksan leaders are now persuaded that they must involve themselves in educational matters and assume control over them if

the steady erosion of native culture and language over the past century is to be stemmed. Increasingly, they have taken control of curriculum matters, so that today's situation differs much from the bilingual education efforts of Rev. Price in the 1890's. And the success of the Native Teacher Training Program at Hazelton will provide a cadre of Gitksan teachers who can implement bilingual/bicultural education policy.

Chapter 2: Grammatical Categories and Processes

Introduction

Grammatical categories in the classical sense of Boas (1911) include meaningful categories and relations, such as those of person, number, tense, transitive subject, etc., while grammatical processes are those formal means by which a language marks its particular inventory of grammatical categories in sentences, clauses, phrases, and words. For example, plural number is a grammatical category of most English nouns that is generally marked by the grammatical process of suffixation, as seen in boat / boats, etc., although another grammatical process (viz., vocalic ablaut) is seen in man / men. The G grammatical category par excellence is number - specifically, plural number. Out of the larger complement of its grammatical categories, it is plural number that G marks overtly in most of its nominal and verbal forms by the greatest variety of grammatical processes and construction types. See pp. ?? later in this chapter for an exposition of G plural marking.

The grammatical processes that G employs are affixation (including also reduplication and clisis), ablaut, compounding, suppletion, selection, and order (including also what Bloomfield 1933 called arrangement; see his pp. 163, 166). Of these, order is no doubt exploited to the greatest extent.

The following sections survey the various grammatical processes found in G. It should be kept in mind that a construction type may make use of more than one grammatical process.

Grammatical ProcessesAffixation

Prefixes are generally derivational, being used to build new forms, often belonging to other, different parts of speech, while suffixes are both derivational and inflectional. The several layers or form classes of verb suffixes, for example, include:

1. verb stem-forming derivational suffixes
2. voice derivational suffixes
3. pronominal inflectional suffixes
4. connective inflectional enclitics

Examples of derivational prefixes are seen in:

haxwdakw	anjok
/h@-x ^w tak ^w /	/?@n-cuq/
/INST-shoot/	/place-dwell/
<u>bow</u>	<u>camp, dwelling place</u>

(The @-character is used throughout this grammar to signify the schwa-vowel).

Examples of derivational suffixes and enclitics are found in:

Gaapxanthl tk'agi.
 /qa'p-x-@n-t=1 tq'a=k@/
 scratch-WITH.INST-TRN-3SG=CNN hide-DIST
She scraped the hide.

The four suffixes and enclitics following the initial verb stem

exemplify the respective four form class suffixal categories just mentioned.

Reduplication is a type of affixation in which the affixed form repeats or reduplicates in some way part or all of the phonological form of a base form. G reduplication is always initial (preceding the stem or the fuller phrase, as the case may be), it is partial, and it involves the copying (and sometimes simplification) of consonants, but not of vowels - the quality of the vowel in the reduplicated initial syllable is always predictable from its immediate consonantal environment. Reduplication is treated in more detail later on pp. ??, but several examples are seen here in:

K'ay bibaxhl goott.

/q'ay p@-pax=1 qot-t/

still DUR-run=CNN heart-3SG

His heart is still beating.

jok

jaxjok

/cuq/

/c@x-cuq/

ROOT

PL-ROOT

to camp, dwell (sg)

(pl)

bil'ust

bixbil'ust

/p@l?ust/

/p@x-p@l?ust/

ROOT

PL-ROOT

star

stars

In the first example, reduplication of the verb theme-initial C_1 marks the grammatical category of durative aspect, while in the second and third sets, reduplication of stem-initial $C_1...C_2$ marks plural number.

Clisis is also a type of affixation, but it differs from affixation proper (Klavans 1982, 1985; Zwicky & Pullum 1983; and Zwicky 1985 provide useful discussions of clisis and how clitics are to be distinguished from independent words and affixes). Like proper affixes, clitics are always bound forms, but they typically display greater positional freedom or distributional selectivity. Syntactically, clitics are phrasal affixes, but phonologically they attach to individual words. For example, the English possessive 's is a clitic, while the pluralizing s is an inflectional affix. In the Queen of England's hat, the 's is attached to the final constituent dominated by a specified phrasal node (however we might choose to label a possessive noun phrase), it occurs after its syntactic host, and it is phonologically attached by suffixation to that host (viz. England). In hats, the rules that generate or spell out the final pluralizing s make reference only to word-level, not to phrase-level, phenomena; plurality is primarily an inflectional category of English nouns, and only secondarily so (through summing) a category of noun phrases. In describing G clitics, I have followed Klavans (1985), who argues that clitic positioning and attachment can be adequately analyzed in terms of three parameters:

Parameter 1 (Dominance): INITIAL/FINAL. Does the clitic attach to the initial or final constituent dominated by a specified

phrase?

Parameter 2 (Precedence): BEFORE/AFTER. Does the clitic occur before or after the host chosen by the first parameter?

Parameter 3 (Phonological liaison): PROCLITIC/ENCLITIC. Does the clitic attach to the following element or the preceding one? It is necessary to distinguish between the syntactic host and the phonological host of a clitic, although these may be the same element.

G has both proclitics and enclitics. The dependent order transitive subject pronouns are usually proclitic to the following element in the verb phrase, while there is a three-member set of connective enclitics which are positioned before the initial nominal constituent (being sensitive to its syntactic function and whether it is a common or a proper noun), but suffixed to the preceding word or preposition (see Dunn 1979:131-132 for relevant discussion of the somewhat more complex Coast Tsimshian and Southern Tsimshian connective enclitics). Examples are seen in these independent order sentences:

Xhlii haksis Bruce-t Barbara gaxxw.

/xli· haks-@=s Bruce=t Barbara kaxx^w/

all.over scold-TRN=CNN Bruce=CNN Barbara last.night

Bruce bawled Barbara out last night.

Xhlii haksil gatt Barbara gaxxw.

/xli· haks-@=l kat=t Barbara kaxx^w/

all.over scold-TRN=CNN man=CNN Barbara last.night

The man bawled Barbara out last night.

Xhlii haksis Bruce-hl hanak' gaxxw.

/xli· haks-@=s Bruce=l h@naq' kaxx^w/

all.over scold-TRN=CNN Bruce=CNN woman last.night

Bruce bawled the woman out last night.

Limxt Bruce gaxxw.

/limx=t Bruce kaxx^w/

sing=CNN Bruce last.night

Bruce sang last night.

Limxhl gat gaxxw.

/limx=l kat kaxx^w/

sing=CNN man last.night

The man sang last night.

The g-enclitic here marks the following proper noun transitive subject, the t-enclitic marks the following proper noun transitive object or proper noun intransitive subject, and the hl-enclitic marks a following common noun in any syntactic function. (Phonologically unassimilated English names are ubiquitous in vernacular G speech, and they are syntactically proper nouns. Readers will note that the first three sentences make reference to my own marital situation. It is not the case

that I customarily abuse my wife verbally, but rather that one should be circumspect in selecting personal names when making up exemplary G sentences because sentences may have pragmatic force that goes far beyond their apparent propositional content).

It also bears discussion here that G has a large set of preverbal and pronominal elements which Boas and others (including myself) have referred to as "proclitics". Most of the preverbal "proclitics" in fact are also independent words, rather than clitics only, while the pronominal ones are the bound compounding forms, which are often (but not always) counterparts of independent nouns or adjectives. I propose to label their separate part-of-speech classes as "preverbals" and "pronominals", respectively. The phonological evidence for the status of the preverbals as independent words relates to their shapes. Although preverbals generally are secondarily stressed or unstressed, they display much the same patterning of their final consonants and vowels as do stressed independent words. For example, they end either in one of the three long vowels /-i'/, /-a'/, or /-u'/' or one of the three short vowels, which are /-a/, /-i/ and the neutral schwa-vowel /-@/ that harmonizes in its quality with the initial consonant of the following word (see pp. ??). By way of contrast, the final short vowels of prefixes are all schwa-vowels, harmonizing in quality with neighbouring consonants. In their apparent morphological structure, many of the preverbals display the same suffixes, /-@m/ and /-a/, which also mark attributive pre-nominal adjectives. There can be little question that attributive adjectives are

separate words, although they normally occur in close transition with their following nominal heads, just as in English. As well, native speakers can usually isolate the preverbals, especially the concrete adverbial ones, and supply an appropriate gloss or meaning for them. Unlike typical clitics, they have tight distributional restrictions, they display arbitrary gaps in their permitted combinations, they sometimes display phonological idiosyncrasies, as well as semantic idiosyncrasies, in combining with other forms, and they can be affected by syntactic rules. Zwicky & Pullum (1983) identified these as features that distinguish clitics from inflectional affixes, but I consider the isolability of the preverbal elements to weigh very heavily in according them the status of independent words. At normal speech tempo, they do of course form connected phonological phrases with the words adjacent to them, and it is this characteristic which doubtless has led linguists to regard them as proclitics or even prefixes. They seem to me to be not unlike English prepositions, determiners, and auxiliary verbs (see Zwicky 1985:287), and they too don't bear the primary phrasal stress. Two sentence examples that include preverbals are:

Dim luu tk'al sga t'akwdi'y 'niin.

/tim lu' tq'al sqa t'ak^w-t@-'y 'ni'-n/

FUT in (up).against blocking lock-TRN-1SG ABS-2SG

I'll lock you up. (e.g., in jail)

Luu sbagayt wil 'nii'y sgapdiihl gat.
 /lu· spaqayt wil 'ni·-'y sqapti'=1 kat/
 in among do.something ABS-1SG among=CNM people
I was among people.

The second, third and fourth words of the first sentence are preverbals, while the first two words of the second sentence are also preverbals (and sgapdi- is a preposition).

The class of pronominals proper includes bound forms which always compounded with the following constituent. Those which are paired with independent words, often differ in shape from them; see the sections later on the cranberry- and eventide- type compounds, pp. ??). Some examples of pronominals are:

laxyip
 /l@x#yip/
 PNM#ROOT
 on#ground
land, territory

ts'imts'ak
 /c'@m#c'aq/
 PNM#ROOT
 in(side)#nose
nostril

Ablaut

Ablaut is the interchanging of vowels and/or consonants to

derive new complex forms. Ablaut is a marginal, no longer productive grammatical process in G. The modern forms displaying ablaut are relics of an earlier stage of the language when it was more common. Most conspicuous among them are the hliihlik- type plurals, which display alternation between the full- and zero-grades of their roots in the singular and plural, respectively. Tarpent (1983b) has noted that this is an older construction-type. Examples are found in the section on irregular plurals, pp. ??

There are other examples of vocalic ablaut which pair together stressed vowels of different quality and/or quality, as in:

bahl	sga bihlee'e
/paɪ/	/sqə p@i-e·?/
ROOT	PVB ROOT-SFX
spread	blocking spread-SFX
<u>s</u> pread (vt sg)	<u>curtains</u>

dulpxw
 /tulp-x^w/
 be.near-MED
to be short (sg)

Dalbixsxwhl xshla'wisxwi'y.

/talp-@xs-x^w=ɿ xs-ɿax^w-?sx^w-@'y/

short-SFX-MED=CNN extreme-underside-ANTI-1SG [= shirt-1SG]

My shirt shrank.

Note that the two verb roots above differ only in the quality of their vowel; the second, derived stem could be glossed as shorten.

galp	gilbil, gilp'il
/kalp/	/kilp-@1/, /kilp-?@1/
ROOT	ROOT-SFX
<u>testicles</u>	<u>two</u> (things)

Again, the two verb roots differ only in vowel quality.

gahl	gihlee'e
/kaɿ/	/k@ɿ-e-?/
ROOT	ROOT-SFX
pierce	pierce-SFX
<u>pierce, stab</u> (vt sg)	<u>design</u>

<u>k'ots</u>	<u>k'ohl</u>
/q'uc/	/q'uɿ/
ROOT	ROOT
<u>to cut</u> (vt sg)	<u>to cut up</u> (fish) (vt sg)

Here the two roots differ in their final consonants in an ablaut pattern that is also found in some other Pacific Northwest languages, e.g., Chinookan, Nez Perce, and Sahaptin.

The examples of symbolism given later on pp. ?? where the singular and plural forms differ as short vowel to long vowel can

also be considered as ablaut, but they all probably developed historically through initial reduplication and later truncation of the medial consonant in its intervocalic environment (Tarpent 1983b:161).

[Add 'wii / 'weesxw

itxw / ee'esxw.

wa / wee'msxw

giba / gibee'esxw

k'uba / k'ip

k'ak / k'aa'ax

mumk' / moomst (?)

lo'op / too'lip / saa'lip

sga bisbits'].

Compounding

The conventional definition of compounding is that it involves the close juxtaposition or joining together of two (usually) free forms into a single word. Compounds are always bipartite constructions in their immediate constituency, although either or both members of a compound may be morphologically complex. English blackbird, as contrasted with the adjective plus noun phrase black bird, is an example of a typical compound. English also has untypical, marginal compounds such as the archaic eventide and the puzzling cranberry. In the first case, even- is obviously enough related to evening, but only those who have studied the history of English know that -tide is the reflex of Old English (Anglo-Saxon) tīd time, which is cognate with German Zeit time. Here a form that has been replaced generally throughout the modern language is preserved in a marginal morphological construction. In the second case, -berry has a clear meaning, but the historical relationship of cran- to crane is opaque until it is pointed out. Like English, G has many compound words, and it has blackbird, cranberry, and eventide types of compounds.

As an example of the first, blackbird construction type, the independent noun wilp house compounds rather freely with other nominals and intransitive verbs. Although as first member, it receives secondary stress (reduced to tertiary at normal speech tempo), it has a constant segmental phonetic shape; recall English black- and black. Some wilp-compounds are:

wilphalayt	wilphabasxw
/wilp#h@layt/	/wilp#hap-@sx ^w /
house#shaman	house#cover-ANTI
<u>shaman's house</u>	<u>barn</u> , cf. habasxw <u>hay</u>
wilpha'niijok	wilplakw
/wilp#h@-'ni'-cuq/	/wilp#lak ^w /
house#INST-on-dwell	house#wood
<u>berrydrying shed</u> , cf. ha'niijok <u>world</u>	<u>woodshed</u>
wilpli'ligit	wilpbiya
/wilp#li'lk-@t/	/wilp#piya/
house#ROOT-REL	house#beer
<u>feasthouse</u> , cf. li'ligit <u>feast</u>	<u>tavern</u> , <u>pub</u>
wilpsahun	wilpsiipxw
/wilp#s@-hun/	/wilp#siip-x ^w /
house#make-salmon	house#hurt-SFX
<u>smokehouse</u> , cf. sahun <u>process</u> <u>salmon</u> (vi)	<u>hospital</u> , cf. siipxw <u>hurt</u> , <u>be sick</u> (vi sg)
wilpdaw	wilpdixhlee'e
/wilp#taw/	/wilp#t@xl-e-?/
house#ice	house#bind-SFX
<u>igloo</u>	<u>jailhouse</u>

wilpwan
 /wilp#wan/
 house#sit (pl)
livingroom

The several G cranberry type (and some eventide type) compounds involve the initial phonetically-related compounding form contributing a more specific or restricted meaning to the derived form. The cranberry type compounds are so-called because the initial compounding form bears a partial phonetic resemblance to its independent partner; recall English cran- and crane.

The independent word gat man, person, people has the pronominal ablauted compounding form git-, which is used in the common construction for signifying village and ethnic groups, e.g.,

Gitxsan, Gitksan
 /k@t#xsan/, /k@t#ksan/
 people#Skeena River
Gitksan

Git-an'maaxs, Git-an'maaks
 /k@t#@n-'max^h-@xs/, /g@t#@n-'max-@ks/
 people#place-bright-SFX
Gitanmax, Hazelton people, cf. 'maaxs birchbark torch (?)

Git /k@t-/ simplifies when its compounding with other consonant-initials (including clusters) gives rise to non-permitted

clusters. Some examples are seen in:

Gijigyukwhla (< /k@t#j@kuk^wla/) Kitsequecla/
 Gisbayakws (< /k@t#sp@-ya^xw-s/) Kispiox
 Gitxemsim (/k@t#txims-@m/) Nisgha

The independent noun aks water, river, stream, fluid, juice has the pronominal ablauted compounding form /xs@-/, which is also commonly used for naming rivers and streams. Examples are:

xsi'moot'ixs	xsi'yans
/xs@#'moot'-@xs/	/xs@#'yans/
fluid#ROOT-SFX	fluid#leaf
<u>milk</u> , cf. 'moot'ixs	<u>dew</u>
<u>breast</u>	

Xsa'andoo'o	XsiTxemsim
/xs@#@n-to·?/	/xs@#txims-@m/
stream#place-faraway	stream-#txemsim
<u>Bulkley River</u>	<u>Nass River</u> , (lit. <u>Txemsim River</u> ; Txemsim is the proper name of Raven, the trickster)

Xsigunya'a
 /xs@#k^win-ya?/
 stream#point-spring salmon
Salmon River

The complex form lax'u top(side) (which is itself a compound

of prenominal lax on plus 'u top(side) has the prenominal ablauted compounding form, lax?a- /l@x-@#/ , as in:

lax'@wilp
/lax-?@#wilp/
on-top#house
roof

This compound with its narrower meaning may be contrasted with a similar possessive nominal phrase, as in:

lax'uhl wilp
/lax-?u=1 wilp/
on-top=CNN wilp
(the) top of a house

The eventide compounds are so-called because there is a suppletive relationship (see pp. ??) between the initial compounding form and its independent partner; recall English -tide and time. The following are three eventide types of compounds:

Gwila blanket has the prenominal compounding form gwiis-, as in:

gwiishalayt	gwiisgan'mala'a
/k ^w i·s#h@layt/	/k ^w i·s#qan-'mal-@?/
blanket#shaman	blanket#cause-ROOT-SFX
<u>shaman's blanket</u>	<u>button-blanket</u> , cf. <u>gan'mala'a button</u>

gwiisgaduuhl	gwiisgaak
/k ^w i·s#sqa-tu·1/	/k ^w i·s#qa·q/
blanket#across-ROOT	blanket#raven
<u>button-blanket</u> (doubled-up in back)	<u>Raven blanket, costume</u>

gwiislip'ast	gwiishlat'ax
/k ^w i·s#lip-?@st/	/k ^w i·s#lat'x/
blanket#sew-SFX	blanket#ROOT-SFX
<u>sewn blanket</u> (of groundhog skins)	<u>light, soft blanket</u> (of flannelette), cf. <u>hlat'ax be soft</u>

gwiismaaxwsxw
/k ^w i·s#ma·x ^w s-x ^w /
blanket#snow-SFX
<u>white blanket</u> , cf. <u>maaxws snow</u> (on ground)

The independent noun hanak' woman, female has the prenominal suppletive initial compounding form xsim-. The xsim- compounds have a narrower meaning than do their counterpart attributive phrases. Compare the forms:

Xsimgaakhl	hanak'am gaakhl
/xs@m#qa·kɬ/	/h@naq'-'@m qa·kɬ/
woman#rat	female-ATR rat
<u>Rat-Woman</u> (Wolf Tribe personal name)	<u>female rat</u>

The xsim- compounds often signify female members of social groups, and they are common as personal names (although their holder need not be a female). More examples are:

Xsim'amxsiwaa	Xsimha'yda _x
/xs@m#?amxsiwa·/	/xs@m#ha'yt-'@x/
woman#white person	woman#ROOT-SFX
(a) <u>white woman</u>	(a) <u>Haida woman</u> , cf. ha'yda _x <u>Haida</u>

Xsintxemsim
/xs@m#Txims-'@m/
woman#Txemsim (or Nass River)
(a) <u>Nisgaha woman</u>

A final eventide compound type is seen in the incorporating intransitive verb - nominal compounds in initial x-. Briefly, the independent transitive verb to eat (sg) is gup (/k^wip-/), and it has the suppletive initial compounding form x- (/x-/). The x- compounds have the more specific meanings to eat something habitually and to eat something (indefinite). Contrastive examples of the independent transitive and incorporating intransitive constructions are seen in:

Gubi'yhl anaaxgi.
/k^wip-'@-y=ɬ ?@na·x=k@/
eat-TRN-1SG=CNN bread-DIST
I ate the bread.

X'anaax 'nii'y.
/x#?@na·x 'ni·-'y/
eat#bread NOM-1SG
I eat bread. I ate some bread.

Gubi'yhl smaxgi.
/k^wip-'@-y=ɬ smax=ki/
eat-TRN-1SG=CNN meat-DIST
I ate the meat.

Xsmax 'nii'y.
/x#smax 'ni·-'y/
eat#meat NOM-1SG
I eat meat. I ate some meat.

Finally, it should be noted that compounds may be formed from compounds, i.e. the compounding morphological rule can apply to its own output (at least once), as seen in:

Gitxsinjihl

/k@t-x@-n@ci±/

people-stream-caribou

[[k@t]#[[x@]#[[n@ci±]]]

people of Caribou Creek, the name of a small Athabaskan-speaking group who moved into Kisgegas and formed one of its Fireweed houses.

Xsi'wiiluwax

/x@-'wi'-lu'-wax/

stream-big-in-gap

[[x@]#[['wi']#[[lu']][wax]]]

Ironside Creek (Big-Gap-Between-Hills-Stream)Suppletion

Suppletion as a grammatical process occurs when a phonetically dissimilar, synchronically unmotivated form replaces another form in part of its paradigm. The G eventide type compounds in fact display suppletion between the independent words and their bound initial compounding forms. Beyond these (which are not exhaustively listed here), G has about thirty suppletive singular/plural and transitive active/antipassive pairs of nominal, verb, pronominal, and preverbal forms (see also Tarpent 1983b:199-200; our listings differ both because of language differences and different phonological and internal reconstructive analyses). The following list is fairly comprehensive (of root alternation, but not the details of transitivizer selection in complex forms):

bax	gol
/pax/	/qul/
<u>run, move fast</u> (vi sg)	(pl)
daa'whl	saks
/ta.'w±/	/saks/
<u>leave, go away</u> (vi sg)	(pl)
dix yukw, dax yukw	dax dok
/tix yuk ^w /, /tax yuk ^w /	/tax tuq/
firmly hold	firmly get
<u>hold</u> (vt sg)	(pl)

gat	ii'xwt	
/kat/	/ʔi·'wx ^w t/	
<u>man</u>	<u>men</u>	
ga'a	ga'lasxw	
/kaʔ/	/ka'l-@sx ^w /	
see	see-ANTI	
<u>see</u> (vt sg)	<u>look around</u> (vi antipassive)	
	gilaa'l	giilaa'l
	/k@la·'l/	/ki·la·'l/
	<u>see (someone) go</u>	(pl)
	(vt sg)	
	gi'lsxw	
	/ki'l-sx ^w /	
	<u>dig potatoes</u> (vi), from earlier	
	<u>forage</u> perhaps	

Note the eastern and western G doublets /c'aʔ/, /c'a'l/ eye, face and /c'im#q'uʔ/, /c'im#qu'l/ anus, which display the same /ʔ/ : /'l/ correspondence.

gigi'y	gigitxs
/k@-ki'y/	/k@-kitxs/
DUR-ROOT	DUR-ROOT
<u>look</u> , <u>search for</u> (vt)	<u>be looking</u> , <u>searching</u> (for something) (vi)

guu	dok
/k ^w u·/	/tuq/
<u>take</u> , <u>get</u> , <u>catch</u>	(pl)
(vt sg)	
hlg ^u , hlg ^w a	k'uba
/k ^w @/	/k ^w 'ipa/
<u>small</u> , <u>little</u> (pnm sg)	(pl)

These are the suppletive, pronominal and pre-adjectival compounding forms of the independent adjectives ts'uusx /c'u'-sx/ and sisuus /s@-su's/ be small, little (vi sg, pl). They often cooccur, as in hlguts^uusx /k^w@#c'u'-sx/ a little one and k'ubasisuus /k^w'ipa#s@-su's/ little ones.

h ^l	
hlg ^u uxw	hlg ⁱ , xhlg ⁱ
/k ^w u·k ^w x ^w /	/k ^w ki/, /xk ^w ki/
<u>child</u>	<u>children</u>
<u>have a child</u> (vi sg)	(pl)
jakw	yats
/cak ^w /	/yac/
<u>kill</u> (vt sg)	(pl)

Check these forms because juxwjakw and hisyats also are used by good speakers. How does this pairing differ in meaning from the latter plurals?

k'eekxw	huut
/k'e·q-x ^w /	/hu·t/
ROOT-SFX	ROOT
<u>run away</u> , <u>flee</u> , <u>escape</u>	(pl)
(vi sg)	

luu maaks	luu lidixs
/lu· ma·k-s/	/lu· lit-@xs/
in wash-PASS	in wash-SFX
<u>wash (by immersion)</u> (vt sg)	(pl)
<u>mak</u>	t'ahl
/maq/	/t'a±/
<u>put, place</u> (vt sg)	(pl)
malkw	txalt
/malk ^w /	/txalt/
<u>burn (up), put into</u> <u>fire</u> (vt sg)	
'mas	limxs
/'mas/	/limxs/
<u>grow (up)</u> (vi sg)	(pl)
'nu'w	daxw
/'nu'w/	/tax ^w /
<u>die</u> (vi sg)	(pl)
sgi	dox
/ski/	/tux/
<u>lie, be stationary</u> (vi sg)	(pl)
<u>put, place something</u> <u>in a lying position</u> (vt sg)	(pl)

sim'oogit	simgigat
/s@m#?o·k-@t/	/s@m#k@-kat/
real#ROOT-REL	real#PL-man
S ^	
<u>chief</u>	<u>chiefs</u>

The root in the singular form appears to be the same one that occurs in 'wii ooks /'wi·#?o·k-s/ be wide (vi sg), while gigat is the regular plural of gat man, person in compounded forms.

t'aks	tk'i saks
/t'aks/	/tk'i saks/
dive	dive ^{down} leave
<u>dive</u> (vi sg)	(pl)
t'axw	t'uusx
/t'ax ^w /	/t'u·-sx/
sweep	sweep-ANTI
<u>sweep</u> (vt)	<u>sweep</u> (vi, antipassive)
t'aa	wan
/t'a·/	/wan/
<u>sit</u> (vi sg)	(pl)
ts'in	ts'imxs, lamjax ?
/c'in/	/c'imxs/, /lamc-ax/ ?
<u>enter, go into</u> (vi sg)	(pl)

ts'uusx	sisuus
/c'u·-sx/	/s@-su·s/
ROOT-ANTI	PL-ROOT
<u>be small, little</u> (pnm sg)	(pl)

See hlgu, hlgwa / k'uba above.

wiyitxw	suu gatxw
/wiyitx ^w /	/su· katx ^w /
<u>cry</u> (vi sg)	(pl)
'witxw	bakw, lak
/'witx ^w /	/pak ^w /, /lak/
<u>come, arrive from</u> (vi sg)	(pl)
'wii	wit'ax
/'wi·/	/wit'-@x/
ROOT	ROOT-SFX
<u>be big, large, great,</u> (pnm sg)	(pl)

These are the suppletive, prenominal and pre-adjectival compounding forms of the independent adjectives t'is /t'is/ and dist'is /t@s-t'is/ be big, large (vi sg, pl). They often occur, as in 'wiit'is /'wi·#t'is/ a big one and wit'axdist'is /wit'-@x#t@s-t'is/ big ones.

xsaxw	xseek
/xsax ^w /	/xse·q/
<u>go out</u> (vi sg)	(pl)

xa'a	wat'uxw	hlihlingit
/xa?/	/wat'x ^w /	/l@-hlinkit/
ROOT	ROOT	PL-slave
<u>male slave</u>	<u>female slave</u>	<u>slaves</u>

The root is a loan from Tlingit, where it means man, person.

these forms do not belong to a single
One might argue that ~~this is not a true~~ paradigm because there is a singular form hlgu hlingit little slave, which a grandparent might use to a child affectionately.

yee	wilaxs, hlo'o
/ye·/	/wil-@xs/, /lu?/
ROOT	ROOT-SFX, ROOT
<u>go, walk</u> (vi sg)	(pl)
'yak	lisxw
/'yaq/	/lis-x ^w /
hang	hang-TRN
<u>hang</u> (vt sg)	(pl)

Selection

In the grammatical process here termed "selection" (which differs from Bloomfield's (1933:164-165) use of the same term), there is always a selecting form and one or more selected forms. Overt grammatical categories receive formal marking in a form, whereas covert grammatical categories are not thus marked. Rather, covert grammatical categories evidence themselves when the covertly marked form selects some other form to agree with it or replace it. For example, the category of number is not overtly marked in the English noun sheep, but its covert number marking becomes apparent in such sentences as This sheep is an old ewe. and Those sheep are ready for shearing. Here the covert number marking of the nouns is manifested in the selection of the singular and plural demonstrative pronouns and in the singular and plural verb agreement. Similarly, gender is not overtly marked in most English nouns, but the gender class membership of forms such as man, woman, and stone are indicated in their appropriate pronoun replacements, he, she, and it, respectively.

G has a number of covert grammatical categories, such as proper / common, animate / nonanimate, human / nonhuman, count / mass, active / stative, etc., which manifest themselves by means of selection. For example, all G nouns are classified as either proper or common (see TG:297; Tarpent 1981a calls these determinate and indeterminate, respectively). The proper nouns include proper or personal names, (singular) senior kin terms, personal pronouns, and demonstrative pronouns; all other nouns are common. However, there is no overt formal marking of either category on a noun or in a noun phrase. Instead, the category

membership of a nominal reveals itself by selecting for one or the other of three connective enclitics, which also mark grammatical relations. The five sentences on pp. ⁵⁶⁻⁵⁷ illustrating the connective enclitics also provide examples to illustrate the proper / common noun distinction.

Order

As a grammatical process, order (or taxis) refers to the relative positioning of units, whether they be morphemes within words or words within phrases, clauses, and sentences, etc. Order is the most important morphosyntactic process in G, which has relatively little inflectional morphology. There is no extensive system of nominal case endings that mark the syntactic functions of nominals, nor is there any pronominal cross-reference. The ordering of words and other sentence constituents is quite fixed, and it is this ordering, together with a small number of connective enclitics, prepositions, and the verbal transitivity and voice derivational suffixes, which marks the surface syntactic functions (discussed in Chapter 4).

Within words, the ordering of prefixes and suffixes relative to the root and stem is generally rigid too, except that the interaction of some rules of derivational morphology complicates the positional class analysis of some morphemes. For example, the positioning of the inflectional verb suffixes and enclitics sketched later on pp. ?? (and simplified somewhat for expository purposes; see pp. ?? for a fuller treatment) is quite fixed, but the relative ordering within words of the /?@n-/ place and the

/s@-/ make, gather, process prefixes may vary, as seen in:

anjok	sa'anjok
/?@n-cuq/	/s@-?@n-cuq/
place-dwell	make-place-camp
<u>camp</u> , <u>dwelling place</u>	<u>make camp</u> (vi)

sagasx	Ansagasx
/s@-qasx/	/?@n-s@-qasx/
gather-wild rice	place-gather-wild rice
<u>dig wild rice</u> (vi)	<u>Ansagasx</u> (a place name near Kitwancool Lake which could be translated as <u>where they dig wild rice</u>)

Thus we can identify two morphological constructions that derive complex forms and have the following constituency:

[[?@n-][Verb_i]] place where Verb_i is done
 [[s@-][Nominal]] make, gather, process Nominal

The first derives new nominals; the second derives intransitive verbs. Mohanon's (1982) theory of lexical phonology with its ordered strata and the loop device which permits adjacent strata to be inputs to one another has no difficulties in accounting for such morphological derivations in which a complex nominal is placed within an intransitive verb and a complex intransitive verb is placed within a nominal.

G does have rich derivational syntax and morphology for forming complex nominal phrases and words (see pp. ??), as well as an elaborate derivational syntax for forming complex verb phrases with subtle and precise shades of meaning. The

preverbals signify a number of concrete locational and directional adverbial concepts, as well as some modal ones (see pp. ??). The inflectional verb morphology centers on number agreement and the personal pronouns, while its derivational morphology makes use of stem-forming thematic voice derivational and other prefixes and suffixes.

Morphological Complexity

In the morphological complexity of its words, G is analytic to synthetic. It displays more synthesis and has more derivational morphology than I implied in my 1975 paper where I characterized it as having an "analytic ergative syntax" (see also Tarpent 1983:123). Words of one and two morphemes abound in discourse and narrative, but words of five or six morphemes are not infrequent. For example, independent order transitive verb words commonly include at least three morphemes: the stem, a schwa-vowel transitive suffix, and a pronominal suffix and/or a connective enclitic. Some examples are seen in the first words of the first two sentences following and the second word of the third one:

Tisi'y.

/t'is-@-'y/

hit-TRN-1SG

I hit it.

Jabithl 'malgi.

/cap-@-t=ɿ 'mal=k@/

make-TRN-3SG=CNN canoe-DIST

He made a canoe (for someone else).

Dim siwilaaksini'yhl 'wahlin algax.

/tim s@-w@la'x-s-@n-@'y=ɿ 'waɿ@n ?alk-@x/

FUT PFX-know-PASS-TRN-1SG=CNN oldfashioned language

I will learn the oldfashioned language.

Derivational processes can also give rise to complex nominal words, such as:

anksuulaagaltxw

/?@n-ks@-wil-la'q-@l-tx^w/

place-out of-CMP-look-SFX-PASS

window (lit., place where one looks out)

haguxwsgalt'amdinsxw

/h@-k^wix^ws-tq'al-t'am-t@n-sx^w/

INST-self-against-mark-TRN-ANTI

camera

Some speakers pronounce this word as haguxwst'alt'amdinsxw.

A major difficulty in deciding how to locate and characterize the position of G along the morphological complexity continuum of analysis/synthesis/polysynthesis has to do with identifying words and distinguishing them from clitics and affixes proper. Discussing the Tsimshian verbal "proclitics", Boas (1911:32-33) wrote that it is "entirely arbitrary whether these phonetic groups are considered as separate words, or whether they are combined with the verbal expressions into a single word" (although he presented and discussed some criteria for deciding word status). He in fact preferred the latter analysis, and in TG (p. 295), he argued that they must be regarded "either as proclitics or as prefixes", and he used hyphens to indicate the internal constituency of complex verb forms. And later in Boas (1911:74), he gave an example of

Tsimshian polysynthesis in a long derived verb form. I myself would analyze similar forms in G as verb phrases made up of several words (some indeed morphologically complex) plus clitics, and not as single polysynthetic words; see the earlier discussion on "proclitics" on pp. ?? . They are syntactic constructions; however, G does indeed have long morphological constructions, as in the words for window and camera, which include bound forms that have independent word counterparts in other constructions. Similarities are found in such English constructions as lookout and to look out (of) something, where out is compounded with look to form a nominal in the first instance, although it occurs as an independent preposition word in the second. The case of tk'al (up) against, as in haguxsgalt'amdinsxw camera and Dim luu tk'al sga t'akwdi'y 'niin. I'll lock you up., is a parallel one.

In Rigsby (1975:346), I compared G with modern French and English with respect to its analytic-tending morphological structure, but M.-L. Tarpent (p.c., 1983:201) suggests that German with its many compound nominals and verb phrases with inseparable particles provides the more apt comparison. I agree with her. And G morphology certainly doesn't approach the polysynthetic character of that of Chinookan, Nez Perce, and Sahaptin, which are other Pacific Northwest languages that I'm reasonably familiar with. Nonetheless, I wouldn't wish to say simply that Boas was wrong in describing the Tsimshian languages as polysynthetic. There can be little doubt that its structural drift was toward greater synthesis before the recent intensive contact of its speakers with English.

Technique of Synthesis

In its techniques of synthesis, G is agglutinative for the most part, rather than inflective or symbolic. Some symbolism is apparent phonetically in such ablated forms as:

gwila	gwiila
/k ^w @la/	/k ^w i·la/
<u>blanket</u>	<u>blankets</u>
gwi'na	gwiil'na (?)
/k ^w 'na/	/k ^w i·'na/
<u>beg</u> (vt sg)	(pl)
gwineekxw	gwiineekxw
/k ^w @ne·q-x ^w /	/k ^w i·ne·q-x ^w /
ROOT-SFX	ROOT-SFX
<u>to be cold</u> (sg)	<u>to be cold</u> (pl)
Gi'namit loot.	Gii'namit loot.
/k@'nam-@-t lo·-t/	/ki·'nam-@-t lo·-t/
give-TRN-3SG OBL-3SG	give-TRN-3SG OBL-3SG
<u>He gave it to him.</u>	<u>He gave them to him.</u>
Gilaa'li'y.	Giilaa'li'y.
/k@la·'l-@-'y/	/ki·la·'l-@-'y/
see go-TRN-1SG	see go-TRN-1SG
<u>I saw him (or her) go.</u>	<u>I saw them go.</u>

hanak'	haanak'
/h@naq'/	/h@-h@naq'/
ROOT	PL-ROOT
<u>woman</u> , cf. /naq'/ <u>dress</u>	<u>women</u>
halayt	haalayt
/h@layt/	/h@-h@layt/
ROOT	PL-ROOT
<u>shaman</u>	<u>shamans</u>

Plural Marking

The relationship between the grammar proper and the lexicon (or dictionary) in linguistic description has been an interesting question at least since Boas (1911:34) observed that what is a matter of grammar in one language may be a matter of lexicography in another. The question is especially pertinent in G because its verbs and nominals display so much irregularity and complexity in their derivation and inflection. Number inflection or plural marking is most conspicuous in the diversity of its associated grammatical processes, as Boas (TG:297-298, 378-383) observed, and the membership of particular lexical items in the many plural marking classes and subclasses is morphologically conditioned. The situation is further complicated by the occurrence of many stems in constructions that belong to different parts of speech. For example, jok /cuq/ to camp, dwel (vi sg) has jaxjok /c@x-cuq/ as its plural, and it also occurs in the derived nominal anjok /?@n-cuq/ camp, dwelling place (n sg), which has the plural form anjaxjok /?@n-c@x-cuq/. It is generally true that a stem forms its plurals in the same way in the various constructions it occurs in, although there are exceptions, e.g., yee /ye*/ go, walk (vi sg) has two suppletive plurals, wilaxs /wil-axs/ and hlo'o /!u?/, but the derived form ayee /?@-ye*/ go fast (vi sg) pluralizes in aliyeet /?a-l@-ye*-t/, which is marked by the discontinuous cooccurrent verb prefix /l@-/ and suffix /-t/. It is usually possible to recognize the basic part-of-speech class membership of a specific stem from its morphological and syntactic properties, although ambiguous cases are common enough. The relevance of all this to the grammar /

lexicon question is that a G grammatical description should identify and describe all the different types of plural formation and give some examples of each, while it is the task of a G dictionary to list each and every lexical item along with its specific derivational and inflectional characteristics. It also makes it possible to treat plural formation here in a single section, rather than separately in sections in the chapters on verbs and nominals.

For expository purposes, we recognize six major plural formation classes, which are invariable forms, regular forms, irregular forms, pleonastic forms, suppletive forms, and passivized plurals. It is possible to recognize different classes and subclasses from the perspectives afforded by generative phonological analysis and by internal reconstruction (Tarpent 1983 and Thompson 1984 treat plural formation and reduplication in Nisgha, and their analyses provide many insights into the same in G). As well, there is a certain amount of interindividual variability in the assignment of particular forms to one or another plural formation class. This probably reflects traditional speech variety differences as well as innovation and indeterminacy in the present situation where G speech has a more restricted set of functions, speech community norms are more diffuse and less constraining, and many younger semi-speakers simply don't know the class membership of particular forms.

Invariable Forms

The class of invariable forms includes, among others, all

the nominals signifying plants and animals (these may, however, be covertly marked for number, which is evidenced in verbal number agreement), except for louse (t'a /t'a/, dit'a /t@-t'a/), dog (us /?us/, as'us /?@s-?us?/ and introduced domestic animals such as horses (gyuwadan /kuwadan/, gyuwadantxw /kuwatan-tx^w/; this is a loan from Chinook Jargon, and ultimately from Kiksht, the upriver Chinookan language), whereas those signifying humans are always formally marked for number. As well, many verbs and adjectives (which are really stative intransitive verbs) are invariable. It bears remarking that a particular lexical item may have singular and plural forms in Nisgha, but be invariable in G. This is a common pattern, viz., that plural marking has a baroque, exaggerated development in careful Nisgha speech (See also Tarpent 1983b, especially p. 202, fn. 7). Some examples of G invariable forms are:

giba

/k@pa/

ROOT

wait for (someone) (vt sg, pl)

ha'w

/ha'w/

ROOT

go home (vi sg, pl)

hlimoo .

/l@mo·/

ROOT

help (vt sg, pl)

limx

/limx/

ROOT

sing (vi sg, pl)

miiluxw

/mi·lk^w/

ROOT

dance (vi sg, pl)

xdax

/x̣tax/

ROOT

eat with (someone) (vt sg, pl)Regular Plurals

The regular class of plurals includes five subclasses, all characterized by internal regularity and having more than one member. Two of the subclasses involve prefixation proper, while the other three involve initial reduplication, which here is in fact a kind of reduplication where the consonantal shape of the reduplicating affix is determined (at least partly) by the consonantal shape of the stem.

/l@-/ Plurals

The first subclass form their plurals with the prefix /l@-/.

Exempl are:

aks

/?aks/

ROOT

drink (vi sg)

la'aks

/l@?aks/

PL-ROOT

(pl)

mootxw

/mo·-tx^w/

ROOT-PASS

be cured (vi sg)

limootxw

/l@-mo·-tx^w/

PL-ROOT-PASS

(pl)

ts'eex

/c'e·x/

ROOT

be satiated,
full from eating
(vi sg)

lts'eex

/l@-c'e·x/

PL-ROOT

(pl)

waax

/wa·x/

ROOT

paddle (vi sg)

luwaax

/l@-wa·x/

PL-ROOT

(pl)

xwdax	luxwdx
/x ^w tax/	/l@-x ^w tax/
ROOT	PL-ROOT
<u>be hungry</u> (vi sg)	(pl)

/q@-/ Plurals

The second subclass form their plurals with the prefix ga /q@-/. The meaning of the ga- prefix is strongly distributive, i.e., it signifies sets of objects separately distributed in space and/or time. Many body parts take this prefix; thus, such a ga- plural signifies a set of the same body parts belonging to different people. Examples are:

aat	ga'aat
/?a·t/	/q@-?a·t/
ROOT	PL-ROOT
<u>fish with net</u> (vi sg)	(pl)

goot	gagoot
/qo·t/	/q@-qo·t/
ROOT	PL-ROOT
<u>heart</u>	<u>hearts</u>

k'uukw'	gak'uukw'diit
/k ^w ·u·k ^w ·t/	/q@-k ^w ·u·k ^w ·-ti·t/
ROOT	PL-ROOT-3PL
<u>tail</u>	<u>their tails</u>

nuutxw	ganuutxw
/nu·tx ^w /	/q@-nu·txw/
ROOT	PL-ROOT
<u>dress up</u> (vi sg)	(pl)

wox	gawox
/wux/	/q@-wux/
ROOT	PL-ROOT
<u>bark</u> (vi sg)	(pl)

xoox	gaxoox
/xo·x/	/q@-xo·x/
ROOT	PL-ROOT
<u>yawn</u> (vi sg)	(pl)

The same ga- prefix is used in two other constructions. One forms abstract nominals that signify some attribute or entity in all its occurrences or manifestations. The construction type is:

[[l@-][q@-][Adj or Nominal]{[-(@)CNN] [Nominal]}
 {[-(@)PRO]}

Examples are:

hlagaxts'a'yhl daw
 /l@-q@-xc'a'y=ɪ taw/
 DEF-PL-thick=CNN ice
the thickness of the ice

hlaga'yanjihl k'ooxst
 /ɬ@-q@-'yans=ɬɬ q'o'xst/
 DEF-PL-leaf=CNN maple
 the foliage of the maple

The other ga-construction forms nominals of place, and it has a less clear or obvious distributive meaning. The construction type is:

[[q@-][Nominal]]

Examples are:

ga'aakhl wilp
 /q@-?a'q=ɬ wilp/
 PL-mouth=CNN house
 (the) front area of the house

Gawilmihl
 /q@-wil-miɬ/
 PL-where-burn

Gawilmihl (a place name up the Skeena Valley; it can be translated as the area where it burned)

C₁@- Plurals

The third subclass form their plurals by initial C₁@-reduplication. There are some simplifications observed in the reduplicating C₁, as glottalized obstruents and resonants alike lose their glottalization and change to their plain counterparts. As well, roots of this subclass with initial /w/, /m/ and /'m/

reduplicate in /hu-/, which probably descends from earlier */x^w@-/.

Examples are:

ba'a	biba'a
/pa?/	/p@-pa?/
ROOT	PL-ROOT
<u>thigh</u>	<u>thighs</u>

do'o	dido'o
/tu?/	/t@-tu?/
ROOT	PL-ROOT
<u>cheek</u>	<u>cheeks</u>

maxw	humaxw
/max ^w /	/hu-max ^w /
ROOT	PL-ROOT
<u>burst out laughing</u> (vi sg)	(pl)

muxw	humuxw
/mux ^w /	/hu-mux ^w /
ROOT	PL-ROOT
<u>ear</u>	<u>ears</u> (of one person); cf., <u>gahumuxw ears</u> (of several persons)

'mal	hu'mal
/'mal/	/hu-'mal/
ROOT	PL-ROOT
<u>canoe</u>	<u>canoes</u>
ts'ak'	jits'ak'
/c'ak'/	/c@c'ak'/
ROOT	PL-ROOT
<u>dish</u>	<u>dishes</u> (of one kind)
wa	huwa
/wa/	/hu-wa/
ROOT	PL-ROOT
<u>name</u>	<u>names</u>

Note also hlagahuwahl tk'am'u'm the names of (the parts of) our bodies.

wilp	huwilp
/wilp/	/hu-wilp/
ROOT	PL-ROOT
<u>house</u>	<u>houses</u>

C₁@C₂- Plurals

The fourth subclass form their plurals by initial C₁@C₂-reduplication. Glottalized obstruents and resonants simplify to their plain counterparts in the reduplicating C₁, as in the previous subclass. Stem-initial y /y/ generally reduplicates as /hi-/, which probably reflects earlier */x@-/. True organic

stem-initial /h/ reduplicates as /h/, and as laryngeals, reduplicated organic /h/ and /?/ give a-colouring to following schwa vowels. There are further changes beyond deglottalization in the reduplicating C₂, as the medial coronal affricate and dorsal stops spirantize to s, x, xw, and x (/s/, /x, /x^w/, /x/), respectively. Examples are:

akst	ax'akst
/?aks-t/	/?@x-?aks-t/
ROOT-SFX	PL-ROOT-SFX
<u>be wet</u> (vi sg)	(pl)

The t-suffix is a passive of state, which forms adjectives.

isxw	as'isxw
/?is-x ^w /	/?@s-?is-x ^w /
ROOT-SFX	PL-ROOT-SFX
<u>stink, smell</u> (vi sg)	(pl)

Glottal-stop initials generally reduplicate unchanged, as seen in the two examples above. However, they sometimes also weaken to /h-/, as seen in the next two examples:

Wahl k'uba ham'amsi'ma!
 /wa=1 k^w'ip-a h@m-?am-s@m-a/
 name=CNN small PL-be.good-2PL-QUES^h
Oh, you little goodie-goodies!

ulks	hal'ulks
/ʔul-ks/	/h@l-ʔul-ks/
ROOT-SFX	PL-ROOT-SFX
<u>drift</u> (vi sg)	(pl)

This verb selects human subjects/absolutives.

jap	jipjap
/cap/	/c@p-cap/
ROOT	PL-ROOT
<u>make, do</u> (vt sg)	(pl)

luu daw	luu duudaw
/lu· taw/	/lu· t@w-taw/
in freeze	in PL-freeze
<u>freeze</u> (vi sg)	(pl)

luu yaltxw	luu hilyaltxw
/lu· yalt-x ^w /	/lu· hil-yalt-x ^w /
in return-SFX	in PL-return-SFX
<u>return, come back</u> (vi sg)	(pl)

But compare the above with this y-initial root, which reduplicates as /y/, not /hi-/:

yim	yimyim
/yim/	/y@m-yim/
ROOT	PL-ROOT
<u>smell</u> (vt sg)	(pl)

The common eastern G form for smell (vt) is the invariable haneek, but yim (which is common in Nisgha) is known and used by some. Perhaps it is the usual form in western G.

tk'al hit'	tk'al hathit'
/tq'al hit'/	/tq'al h@t-hit'/
up.against stick	up.against PL-stick
<u>stick, adhere to</u> (vi sg)	(pl)

t'ak'in	dixt'ak'in
/t'ak'-@n/	/t@x-t'ak'-@n/
ROOT-TRN	PL-ROOT-TRN
<u>fold</u> (vt sg)	(pl)

t'ee'lt	dilt'ee'lt
/t'e·'lt/	/t@l-t'e·'lt/
ROOT	PL-ROOT
<u>be fast, quick</u> (vi sg)	(pl)

t'uuts'xw	dist'uuts'xw
/t'u·c'-x ^w /	/t@s-t'u·c'-x ^w /
ROOT-SFX	PL-ROOT-SFX
<u>be black</u> (vi sg) <u>knife, metal</u>	(pl)

ts'ak'	jixts'ak'
/c'ak'/	/c@x-c'ak'/
ROOT	PL-ROOT
<u>dish</u>	<u>dishes</u> (of several kinds)

Actually, the subclass membership of such forms as the above whose C₂ is /x/ and derives from /k k' x/ is indeterminate, as I can think of no criteria or tests to distinguish them from the subclass of C₁@x-plurals. I have arbitrarily assigned them to the C₁@C₂ subclass, which I suspect is historically prior.

ts'iikw	juxwts'iikw
/ts'i·k ^w /	/c@x ^w -c'i·k ^w /
ROOT	PL-ROOT
<u>leak</u> (vi sg)	(pl)

I've also recorded jixts'iikw /c@x-c'i·k^w/ in western G.

tl'ookw'	dixtl'ook'
/l'o·k'/	/t@x-l'o·k'/
ROOT	PL-ROOT
<u>be muddy</u> (vi sg)	(pl)

[The above plural form needs to be checked and confirmed].

C₁@x- Plurals

The fifth, final regular subclass form their plurals by initial C₁@x- reduplication. This is apparently the productive, open plural subclass in Nisgha, but it is not such in G, where it is rather smallish. Some examples are:

gwee'y	gwigwee'y
/k ^w e·y'/	/k ^w @x-k ^w e·y'/
ROOT	PL-ROOT
<u>be poor</u> (vi sg)	(pl)

hukwsxw	haxhukwsxw
/huk ^w s-x ^w /	/h@x-huk ^w s-x ^w /
ROOT-SFX	PL-ROOT-SFX
<u>be there</u> (with someone), <u>join</u> (vi sg)	(pl)

k'eegan	gixk'e·gan
/k'e·q-@n/	/k@x-k'e·q-@n/
ROOT-TRN	PL-ROOT-TRN
<u>drill</u> (vt sg)	(pl)
logom wil	logom wixwil
/luq-@m wil/	/luq-@m w@x-wil/
ROOT-ATR ROOT	ROOT-ATR PL-ROOT
<u>be old and useless</u> (vi sg)	(pl)

Lok /luq/ be rotten, old (vi sg), an independent adjective, is here inflected with the attributive suffix and is a preverbal.

ska'nist	sixska'nist (?)
/sq@'nist/	/s@x-sq@'nist/
ROOT	PL-ROOT
<u>mountain</u> (sg)	(pl)

The sga- here is no doubt historically related to the independent preverbal sga /sqa/ across, blocking, but I haven't segmented it off synchronically as it is treated as root-initial for reduplication.

Irregular Plurals

The irregular class of plurals includes sets of forms in which the singular and plural display phonetic similarity that cannot be described by regular synchronically-motivated morphological or phonological rules (although internal reconstruction can often illuminate their historical derivations). These are treated by listing, with comment where appropriate. Examples are:

am'ugit	ha'mix'ugit
/?@m-?u-k-@t/	/h@'m-@x-?u-k-@t/
good.for-cover-SFX-SREL	good.for-PL-cover-SFX-SREL
<u>clothing</u>	<u>clothing</u> (of different people?)

The forms above are western G.

ayawaatxw	aliwaatxw
/?@ya-wa·tx ^w /	/?@-l@-wa·tx ^w /
PFX-ROOT	PFX-PL-ROOT
<u>scream</u> (in pain) (vi sg)	(pl)

I've also recorded ayagawaatxw /?@ya-q@-wa·tx^w/, another plural form. Compare also waatxw /wa·tx^w/ cry (vi sg).

gipaykw	liipaykw, lipaykw
/k@phayk ^w /	/li·phayk ^w /, /l@phayk ^w /
<u>fly</u> (vi sg)	(pl)

giihl	laahl
/ki·l/	/la·l/
<u>be lying down</u> (sg)	(pl)
gwiikw	gitgwiikw
/k ^w i·k ^w /	/k@t-k ^w i·k ^w /
ROOT	PL-ROOT
<u>buy</u> (vt sg)	(pl)

I've also recorded gixgwiikw /k@x-k^wi·k^w/ as a plural.

gyooxsxw	looxsxw
/ko·xsx ^w /	/lo·xsx ^w /
<u>dance</u> (vi sg)	(pl)

The above forms are probably morphologically complex, but I can think of no non-arbitrary way to segment the final suffix(es). The usual G (and Nisgha) form for dance is miiluxw /mi·lk^w/, and it may be that gyooxsxw / looxsxw signify a special kind of dancing.

when they dance into a hall, etc.

gyooks	looks
/ko·-ks/	lo·-ks/
ROOT-PASS	ROOT-PASS
<u>drift (in water)</u> (vi sg)	(pl)

gyukws	luguxws
/kuk ^w s/	/l@-k ^w @x ^w s/
ROOT	PL-ROOT
<u>jump</u> (of fish) (vi sg)	(pl)

gyukwsxw	luguxws
/kuk ^w s-x ^w /	/l@-k ^w @x ^w s/
ROOT-SFX	PL-ROOT
<u>wake up</u> (vi sg)	(pl)

For some speakers, gyukwsxw is an invariable form.

gup	gipgup
/k ^w ip/	/k@p-k ^w ip/
ROOT	PL-ROOT
<u>eat</u> (vt sg)	(pl)

<u>genx</u>	linx
/qin-x/	/lin-x/
ROOT-SFX	ROOT-SFX
<u>fall</u> (of tree, etc.) (vi sg)	(pl)

hasba gyoo	hasba loo
/haspa ko·/	/haspa lo·/
PVB ROOT	PVB ROOT
<u>lie on one's back</u> (vi sg)	(pl)

Hasba /haspa/ is a preverbal meaning upside down.

hetxw	litxw
/hit-x ^w /	/lit-x ^w /
ROOT-SFX	ROOT-SFX
<u>stand, be standing</u> (vi sg)	(pl)

hlak	hliihlik
/lak/	/li·-lik/
ROOT	PL-ROOT
<u>be bent</u> (vi sg)	(pl)

These forms are typical of a subset of the irregular plurals in that the reduplicated plural morpheme displays stressed /C₁V·-/ shape, while the root appears phonetically in zero-grade with an unstressed vowel of predictable quality. Tarpent (1983) and Thompson (1984) derive such plural forms by synchronic phonological rules which delete reduplicated dorsal segments, leaving a long vowel behind. I believe they are correct historically, but the forms are irregular synchronically and should be derived by morphological rules.

ihlakt	ihlaahlaxt
/?ilaq-t/	/?i-la·-lax-t/
ROOT-SFX	R(-PL-)OOT-SFX
<u>be broken</u> (in one place) (vi sg)	(pl)

The plural morpheme here appears to be an infix which reduplicates the C₂ of the stem. The unstressed i-vowel following an initial glottal stop is also anomalous, but dialectological data indicate that it descends from */k'@/; I recorded k'ihlagan- /k'@laq-@n-/ break (vt) from an elderly Kitwanga speaker. And no doubt */k'@/ was earlier a prefix - before it fused with the root following.

laks	laalaxs
/laqs/	/la·-laxs/
ROOT	PL-ROOT
<u>bathe</u> (vi sg)	(pl)

<u>lok</u>	<u>loolax</u>
/luq/	/lo'-lx/
ROOT	PL-ROOT
<u>be rotten</u> (vi sg)	(pl)
<u>mihlatxw</u>	<u>mihlihlatxw</u>
/m@la-tx ^w /	/m-@i-@la-tx ^w /
ROOT-SFX	R(-PL-)OOT-SFX
<u>be green</u> (vi sg)	(pl)
cf. <u>mihla bile</u>	
<u>makxw</u>	<u>maamaxxw</u>
/maq-x ^w /	/ma'-mx-x ^w /
ROOT-SFX	PL-ROOT-SFX
<u>get on board,</u> <u>get into a vehicle</u> (vi sg)	(pl)
'maxs	maa'maxs
/'maxs/	/ma'-'maxs/
ROOT	PL-ROOT
<u>(a pair of) pants</u>	<u>(pairs of) pants</u>
naks	niinixs
/naks/	/ni'-nixs/
ROOT	PL-ROOT
<u>spouse</u>	<u>wives</u>

This plural form appears to have a reduplicated infix marking the plural category. I have arbitrarily taken the infix to be V₁C₂, to maintain parallelism with ihlaahlaxt above, but it could equally well be analyzed as V₂C₃.

<u>nak'</u>	<u>naa'nax</u>
/naq'/	/na'-'nax/
ROOT	PL-ROOT
<u>dress</u>	<u>dresses</u>
<u>nax</u>	<u>naanax</u>
/nax/	/na'-nax/
ROOT	PL-ROOT
<u>snowshoe</u>	<u>snowshoes</u>
<u>naxnok</u>	<u>naxnoonax</u>
/n@x-nuq/	/n@x-no'-nax/
PFX-ROOT	PFX-PL-ROOT
<u>supernatural being</u> (n) <u>be clever, skilled</u> (vi sg)	<u>supernatural beings</u> (n) (pl)
Some speakers say <u>laxnook</u> / <u>laxnoonax</u>	
nox	noonax
/nux/	/no'-nax/
<u>mother, mother's</u> <u>sister</u>	<u>mother and mother's sister(s)</u> (of one person)
no'ohl	hino'ohl
/nu?ɪ/	/hi-nu?ɪ/
ROOT	PL-ROOT
<u>shoulder</u>	<u>shoulders</u>

The above form is the only one I've recorded in which the /hi-/ prefix alone marks plurality. That's why I've classified it among the irregular plurals instead of setting up a sixth class of regular plurals. The /hi-/ pluralizing prefix does occur in

some of the pleonastic plurals, however; and see the following forms:

nuuhl _x w	hihl _{nuuhl} _x w
/nu· ₁ x-x ^w /	/hi ₁ -nu· ₁ x-x ^w /
ROOT-SFX	PL-ROOT-SFX
<u>be wet, soaked</u> (vi sg)	(pl)

I've also recorded a regular plural form nih_{nuuhl}_xw /n@₁-nu·₁x-x^w/ in western G.

'naa no'o	'naa 'noona'a
/'na· nu?/	/'na· no·-n?/
PVB ROOT	PVB PL-ROOT
<u>hole</u>	<u>holes</u>

The above root is basically an intransitive verb, and 'naa means visible against a background. /nu?/ occurs in other complex intransitive verb themes.

sak'	siisik'
/sak'/	/si·-sk'/
ROOT	PL-ROOT
<u>stretch</u> (vt sg)	(pl)
sak	siisax
/saq/	/si·-sx/
ROOT	PL-ROOT
<u>be sharp</u> (vi sg)	(pl)

sigidimnak'	sigidimhaanak'
/sik-@t-@m naq'/	/sik-@t-@m h@-h@naq'/
ROOT-SREL-ATR ROOT	ROOT-SREL-ATR PL-ROOT
<u>chieftainess</u>	<u>chieftainesses</u>

Compare nak' /naq'/ dress and hanak' /h@-naq'/ woman. While the forms for chieftainess(es) are transparent attributive-plus-noun phrases, the meaning of the root of the first member is unclear; I know of no other forms in which it occurs.

sga 'wa	sga wit'wa
/sqa 'wa/	/sqa w@t-'wa/
blocking ROOT	blocking PL-ROOT
<u>meet</u> (by prearrangement) (vt sg)	(pl)

'Wa /'wa/ is a root meaning find, get to, arrive at a place, while the preverbal sga /sqa/ means across, blocking the way.

wok	woowax
/wuq/	/woo-wx/
ROOT	PL-ROOT
<u>sleep</u> (vi sg)	(pl)
yuuk _x w	k txook _x w
/yu·q-x ^w /	/txo·q-x ^w /
ROOT-SFX	ROOT-SFX
<u>eat</u> (vi sg)	(pl)

See also the forms for blanket, beg, be cold, and see go on pp. ?? of the section on Technique of Synthesis; they can be classified among the irregular plurals.

Pleonastic Plurals

The pleonastic class of plurals includes those sets of forms in which the plural member is indicated as such by more than one grammatical process. Examples are:

ax'etxw

/?@x-?itx^w/

PFX-ROOT

howl (vi sg)

galax'etxw

/q@-l@-x?itx^w/

PL-PL-PFX-ROOT

(pl)

ayee

/?@-ye·/

PFX-ROOT

go fast (vi sg)

aliyeet

/?@-l@-ye·-t/

PFX-PL-ROOT-PL

(pl)

gamk

/kamk/

ROOT

be hot (vi sg)

limlamk

/l@m-lamk/

PL-ROOT

(pl)

gap

/kap/

ROOT

dip, spoon,
ladle (vt sg)

liplap

/l@p-lap/

PL-ROOT

(pl)

gwi'nitxw

/k^w@'nit-x^w/

ROOT-SFX

get up, arise (vi sg)

li'nidimxst

/l@-'nit-@mxs-t/

PL-ROOT-SFX-PL

(pl)

'nakw

/'nak^w/

ROOT

be long, far away,
take a long time (vi sg)

hi'niiluxw

/x@-'ni·-lx^w/

PL-ROOT

(pl)

xpts'axw

/xpc'ax^w/

ROOT

be afraid,

laxbits'iixw

/l@-xp@c'i·x^w/

PL-ROOT

yaxw

/yax^w/

ROOT

hide (vi sg)

hiliixw

/hi-li·x^w/

PL-ROOT

(pl)

Suppletive Plurals

The suppletive plurals, in which synchronically-motivated phonetic similarity between singular and plural members is lacking, have been treated already by listing in the section on Suppletion; see pp. ??

Passivized Plurals

Many kinship terms pluralize with the passive suffix. Such a construction alone signifies a collective plural - the set of such relatives of a single person. The ga- /q@-/ prefixed construction signifies the distributive plural - the sets of such relatives of more than one person. Sometimes the ga- prefix and the passive suffix cooccur; sometimes not. Examples are:

guslis	guslisxi'y	gaguslisxu'm
/k ^w @slis/	/k ^w @slis-x ^w -@'y/	/q@-k ^w @slis-x ^w -@'m/
ROOT	ROOT-PASS-1SG	PL-ROOT-PASS-1PL

<u>woman's brother's</u> <u>child, man's</u> <u>child</u>	<u>my...</u> (coll pl)	<u>our...</u> (dist pl)
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hlgikw	hlihlgikws
/iki·k ^w /	/i@-iki·k ^w -s/
ROOT	PL-ROOT-PASS

<u>woman's sister,</u> <u>woman's female parallel</u> <u>cousin</u>	(coll pl)
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gahlgikwsi'm
/q@-iki·k ^w -s-@'m/
PL-ROOT-PASS-1PL
<u>our sisters,</u> etc. (of females)

nibip	nibipxw	ganibipxw
/n@-pip/	/n@-pip-x ^w /	/q@-n@-pip-x ^w /
PFX-ROOT	PFX-ROOT-PASS	PL-PFX-ROOT-PASS
<u>mother's brother,</u> <u>father's sister's</u> <u>husband</u>	(coll pl)	(dist pl)
nigwoot	nigwootxw	ganigwootxu'm
/n@-k ^w o·t/	/n@-k ^w o·t-x ^w /	/q@-n@-k ^w o·t-x ^w -@'m/
PFX-ROOT	PFX-ROOT-PASS	PL-PFX-ROOT-PASS-1PL
<u>father, father's</u> <u>brother</u>	(coll pl)	<u>our fathers,</u> etc.
wak	wakxw	gawakxw
/wak/	/wak-x ^w /	/q@-wak-x ^w /
ROOT	ROOT-PASS	PL-ROOT-PASS
<u>man's brother,</u> <u>man's parallel</u> <u>cousin</u>	(coll pl)	(dist pl)

Other kinship terms, particularly those used in address but also in informal reference, pluralize with dip, which is the first person plural dependent order ergative clitic and which also is used to form conjoined personal plural phrases - see pp. ???. Such dip kinship plurals are syntactic, not morphological formations, and thus are not counted here as a seventh plural formation class, but some examples are:

baap dip baabi'y
/pa'p/ /t@p pa'p-@'y/
ROOT PL ROOT-1SG

father, father's my... (coll pl)
brother, dad, daddy

naa'a dip naa'a'y
/na'?'/ /t@p na'?'-'y/
ROOT PL ROOT-1PL

mother, mother's my... (coll pl)
sister, mum

niye'	ye'e	dip niye'e'y
/n@-yi?/	/yi?/	/t@p n@-yi?-'y/
AFX-ROOT	ROOT	PL AFX-ROOT-1SG
<u>grandfather</u> (reference term)	<u>grandfather</u> (address term)	<u>my grandfathers</u>

Chapter 3: Phonology

Introduction

The phonological perspective from which I've tried to analyze and interpret the sound pattern of Gitksan is one in which the basic function of the phonology of a language is to provide pronunciations for the structured strings of morphemes that are the output of the syntactic component of its grammar. In other words, phonology provides phonetic representations for syntactic strings. However, this is not done by one application of an undifferentiated, unitary set of phonological rules to strings of base-forms written as sequences of phonemic segments. Rather, lexical morphemes are inserted into strings from the lexicon with their phonological representations cast in columns of distinctive feature matrices, and not as indivisible unitary phonemic segments. Grammatical morphemes and formatives appear in strings as complexes of one or more grammatical or syntactic features, such as [+Ego], [+Tu], [+proper], [+animate], [+human], [+singular], [+proximal], etc., and later they are spelled out and assigned phonological representations by morphological rules. For example, in the case of the several plural-marking classes of G nouns, verbs, etc., it is the morphological rules that spell out the shapes of initial reduplicating plural prefixes, the suppletive plural forms, and the like. Pronominal clitics and suffixes too have their phonological representations spelled out by the morphological rules.

At this level, the columns of distinctive feature matrices in strings are not fully specified; they contain only whatever

information is phonologically distinctive about the morpheme or formative represented. They are not yet specified for the various predictable prelexical phonological features that have been termed sequential redundancies and segmental redundancies (Stanley 1967). As examples of the former, we might observe that all G root morphemes begin with a consonant. Thus, the feature [-syl] is predictable in the initial segments of such morphemes. Apparently too, initial consonant clusters in such morphemes are limited to three members, so that the fourth segmental column of one with an initial triconsonantal cluster will always be a vowel, and thus its [+syl] feature is predictable. As examples of segmental redundancy, we observe that underlyingly all the [+son, -cns] vowel segments are [+voi], while all the [-syl, -son, +cns] obstruent segments are [-voi, -hsp], i.e., the vowels are underlyingly voiced, while the obstruents are voiceless and not aspirated. Formally, the sequential and segmental redundancies can be captured and stated by either morpheme structure rules or morpheme structure conditions (see Stanley 1967, whose proposals seem not to have been explicitly considered and accepted or rejected by more recent phonological theories).

At this point in phonological derivations, all the values of the distinctive features in the segmental column representations of the strings of lexical and grammatical morphemes generated by the grammar have been specified. It is at this point that the phonological rules proper operate. They capture the predictable phonetic phenomena that arise through morpheme and word combination and through occurrence in particular environments

where these change the features specified by the underlying representations and the morphological rules. To anticipate briefly, one G phonological rule changes dorsal fricatives into homorganic glides in intervocalic post-tonic position, while another rule aspirates plain non-lateral stops and affricates in word-final position.

Generally speaking, the phonological rules are constrained only by one-way uniqueness, and they may delete, add, combine, and rearrange columnar segments as well as change feature values within segments. By one-way uniqueness, I mean that any given phonological representation uniquely specifies a phonetic representation up to and including features of free variation, but any given phonetic representation need not uniquely specify a phonological representation. For example, a phonetic intervocalic [y] may be assigned either to /y/ or to /x/, depending upon matters of morphological constituency and paradigmatic alternations or their lack. Absolute neutralization, however, is excluded.

The outputs of the phonological rule component, i.e., strings of segment-sized units to which no further rules apply, are fully specified for all distinctive and redundant features relevant to their pronunciation. Such terminal strings may be regarded essentially as sets of instructions to the organs of speech.

It is assumed in this account that the G phonological rules are extrinsically, rather than intrinsically, ordered, but it may be that I'm insensitive to the features of G phonology that are crucial to demonstrating one or the other position as whether

The Gitksan Practical Orthography

The G forms in this grammar are written in the Gitksan practical alphabet, as well as in technical linguistic orthography. This is done to make the material accessible to a wider audience of readers, including Gitksan and Nisgha people and other people who are involved or interested in Gitksan language literacy and bilingual education. As well, the professional linguist should appreciate having G forms presented in a practical orthography that is close to or identical with their pronunciation, since their underlying phonological representations are fairly abstract.

Taking the environments in which particular letters and letter-combinations occur into account, the practical orthography provides essentially a broad transcription or systematic phonetic level of representation of speechforms up to the level of, but not including, free variation for deliberate speech.

The major spelling rules or orthographic conventions are:

1. In native Sim'alga_x words, the voiceless stops p, t, ts, kw, and k occur at the end of words and when followed by another consonant. There are a small number of exceptions to this rule. Some exceptions are native words, such as tun this (one), tust that (one), dipun these (people), and dipust those (people), in which a tense voiceless stop occurs before a vowel. Other exceptions, such as hapeenasxw paintbrush and sikeeksin the cake you made, contain borrowed roots or are loanwords. These are discussed on pp. ?? and should be memorized as exceptions to the

general rule.

2. In native Sim'alga_x words, the lax voiced stops b, d, j, g, gw, and g are always followed by a vowel, which differs from the English spelling convention displayed in spin, stink, and skin. Thus the following are correct spellings:

sbak taste (vt), not *spak
 sdin be heavy (vi sg), not *stin
 sgan pitch, not *skan
 sgenx little finger, not *skenx
 sgwatxw joke (vi), not *skwatxw

Libleet priest, minister furnishes an exception to the rule, as the native G sound pattern would lead one to expect *lipleet. Libleet could be a loanword from Chinook Jargon, or it could have been borrowed directly from French-speaking employees of the Hudson's Bay Company in the last century, or both could be the case. Its ultimate source is French le prêtre the priest.

3. The palatal stops [gʲ] and [kʲ] are written as gy and ky', respectively, before the back rounded vowels /o/, /o·/, /u/, and /u·/, i.e., before o, oo, u, and uu. In all other environments, the palatal stops are written simply as g, k, or k', as appropriate, because their palatalization is completely predictable.

4. Preglottalized allophones and other allophonic sequences of the glottalized stops and resonants are always written as p', t', ts', tɬ', k', kw', k', 'm, 'n, 'l, 'w, and 'y, as appropriate.

5. Sequences of phonetic [gu], [k'u], and [xu] that alternate with [g^wi], [k^w'i], and [x^wi], respectively, may be written as gwi, kw'i, and xwi, as seen in:

gwila'l three (things)
 gipaygwinsxw, gipaykw'insxw airplane
 Gyuksxwin! Wake up! (sg)

6. Sequences of voiceless stop followed by a glottal stop develop in some reduplicated and other forms. These should be written with the appropriate voiceless stop letter followed by the hyphen, rather than the apostrophe, to avoid confusion with the glottalized stops, which are written as k', kw', p', t', etc. Village names beginning in Git-an... people of the place of ... provide good examples of the use of the hyphen:

Git-an'mahaks or Git-an'mahaxs Gitanmax, Hazelton, lit.
people of the place of torchlight fishing
 Git-anyaaw Gitanow, the old name now revived for
 Kitwancool

Some reduplicated forms that illustrate the hyphen are:

ap-aapxin be light (in weight) (vi pl)
 at-aat'ixs come (vi pl)

I developed and used the hyphen convention in the 1971 and 1973 literacy workshops, but it was not included in the 1973 Gitksan practical dictionary. Marie-Lucie Tarpent developed it independently in her Nisgha work.

Capital letters should be used as in English for personal names, group names, place names, etc. and at the beginnings of sentences. The period or full stop should be used at the ends of declarative sentences, while questions are marked at the end with the question mark, and imperatives and some other directives are indicated by the exclamation mark at the end.

Alphabetical Key

The conventions used in this chapter for representing phonetic vowels are: i = a tenser high front (or close) unrounded vowel; I = iota, a laxer high front unrounded vowel; e = a tenser mid front (or half-close) unrounded vowel; E = epsilon, a laxer mid front or (half-open) unrounded vowel; a = a low frontish unrounded vowel; A = alpha, a low central (or open) vowel ranging up to the carat; o = a tenser mid back (or half close) rounded vowel; O = open o, a laxer mid back (or half-open) rounded vowel; u = a tenser high back (or close) rounded vowel; U = upsilon, a laxer high back rounded vowel; and ȯ = omega, i.e., a back rounded vowel intermediate between upsilon and o in height.

The following key lists the letters and letter-combinations of the practical alphabet in alphabetical order, along with their names. It also provides an inventory of the principal allophones they represent, as discussed in the following sections.

1. a short a
 - [a - E - A] allophones of /a/
 - [A] allophones of /a/ near uvulars
 - [a] shortened allophones of /a·/ before the plain resonants /m/, /n/, /l/, /w/, and /y/
 - [A] voiced and voiceless echo vowels after /a·?/ and /a·?/
2. aa long a
 - [a· - A·] allophones of /a·/
3. b bee
 - [b] prevocalic allophones of /p/

4. d dee
 - [d] prevocalic allophones of /t/
5. e short e
 - [E] lowered allophones of /i/ before /?/ and /x/
 - [E] shortened allophones of /e·/ before the plain resonants /m/ and /w/
 - [e] lowered allophones of /i/ after /q/
 - [E] lowered allophones of /i/ after /x/
 - [E - e] lowered allophones of /i/ after /h/ and /?/
 - [E] echo vowel after /i·?/ and /e·?/
6. ee long e
 - [E· - e·] allophones of /e·/
 - [e·] lowered allophones of /i·/ after /q/
7. g gee
 - [g^y] prevocalic allophones of /k/ before non-rounded vowels
 - [g] prevocalic delabialized velar allophones of /k^w/ before /i/ and /u·/
8. g back gee
 - [g̥ - g̊] prevocalic allophones of /q/
9. gw gee double-you
 - [g^w] other prevocalic allophones of /k^w/
10. h aitch
 - [h] initial and postconsonantal allophones of /h/
 - [h] post-tonic intervocalic allophones of /x/
11. hl aitch-ell
 - [ɬ] allophones of /ɬ/

12. i short i
 [I ~ i] allophones of /i/
 [I] shortened and raised allophone of /e·/ before /n/
13. ii long i
 [i·] allophones of /i·/
14. j jay
 [ɟ ~ j] prevocalic allophones of /c/
15. k soft front kay
 [k^yh] and [k^h] allophones of prevocalic cluster /kh/
 [k] post-tonic preconsonantal velarized allophones of
 /k/ before /ɬ/ and /s/
 [k^yh] final allophones of /k/
16. k' hard front kay
 [k^y'] initial and pretonic prevocalic allophones of
 /k'/
 [ʔg^y] intervocalic allophones of /k'/
 [ʔk] post-tonic preconsonantal velarized allophones of
 /k'/ before /ɬ/ and /s/
 [ʔk^y] other preconsonantal allophones of /k'/
 [ʔk^yh] final allophones of /k'/
17. k soft back kay
 [q] preconsonantal allophones of /q/
 [q^h] final allophones of /q/
18. k' hard back kay
 [q'] initial and pretonic allophones of /q'/
 [ʔg] intervocalic allophones of /q'/
 [ʔq] preconsonantal allophones of /q'/
 [ʔq^h] final allophones of /q'/

19. kw kay double-you
 [k^w] preconsonantal allophones of /k^w/
 [k^wh] final allophones of /k^w/
20. kw' hard kay double-you
 [k^w'] initial and pretonic allophones of /k^w'/
 [ʔg^w] intervocalic allophones of /k^w'/
 [ʔk^w'] preconsonantal allophones of /k^w'/
 [ʔk^wh] final allophones of /k^w'/
21. l ell
 [l] allophones of /l/
22. 'l hard ell
 ['l] intervocalic and final allophones of /'l/
23. m em
 [m] allophones of /m/
24. 'm hard em
 ['m] initial and postconsonantal allophones of /'m/
 [ʔm] other allophones of /'m/
25. n enn
 [n] allophones of /n/
26. 'n hard enn
 ['n] initial allophones of /'n/
 [ʔn] other allophones of /'n/
27. o short o
 [0 ~ o] lowered allophones of /u/ before /ʔ/, /q/,
 /q'/, and /x/
 [0 ~ o] shortened allophones of /o·/ before /m/
 [o] pretonic lowered allophones of /u/ after /q/ and /x/.
 [0 ~ o] echo vowel after /uʔ/ and /o·/

28. oo lóng o
[O· - o·] allophones of /o·/
29. p pee
[p^h] allophones of prevocalic clusters /ph/ and /px^w/
[p] preconsonantal allophones of /p/
[p^h] final allophones of /p/
30. p' hard pee
[?b] intervocalic allophones of /p'/
[?p] preconsonantal allophones of /p'/
[?p^h] final allophones of /p'/

The hard pee sound doesn't occur at the beginnings of Gitksan words, although it does in a few Nisgha words and personal names.

31. s ess
[s - s] allophones of /s/
32. t tee
[t^h] allophones of prevocalic clusters /th/, /tx/, and /tx^w/
[t] preconsonantal allophones of /t/
[t^h] final allophones of /t/
33. t' hard tee
[t'] initial and pretonic allophones of /t'/
[?d] intervocalic allophones of /t'/
[?t] preconsonantal allophones of /t'/
[?t^h] final allophones of /t'/
34. t1' hard tee-ell
[b'] initial and intervocalic allophones of /b'/
[?t±] preconsonantal and final allophones of /b'/

35. ts tee-ess
[c] intervocalic allophones of clusters /ts/ and /cs/
[c] preconsonantal allophones of /c/
[c^h] final allophones of /c/
36. ts' hard tee-ess
[c'] initial, pretonic, and intervocalic allophones of /c'/
[?c] preconsonantal allophones of /c'/
[?c^h] final allophones of /c'/
37. u short u
[U - u] allophones of /u/
[U - u] shortened and raised allophones of /o·/ before /n/
[U - u] allophones of /i/ after delabialized /k^w/ and /x^w/
[U - ɔ] lowered allophones of /u/ after /ʔ/ and /h/
38. uu long u
[ɔ·] lowered allophones of /u·/ before /q/
[u·] other allophones of /u·/
39. w double-you
[w] allophones of /w/
[w] post-tonic intervocalic allophones of /x^w/
40. 'w hard double-you
['w] initial allophones of /'w/
[?w] intervocalic allophones of /'w/
[?U - ?u] preconsonantal allophones of /'w/
[?U - ?u] final allophones of /'w/

41. x eks
 [x] velarized allophones of /x/ before /ɫ/ and /s/
 [xʷ] other preconsonantal allophones of /x/
 [x] delabialized allophones of /xʷ/ before /i/
 [xʷ] final allophones of /x/
 [xʷ] fricativized allophones of final /k/
42. ɣ back eks
 [ɣ] allophones of /x/
 [ɣ] fricativized final allophones of /q/
43. xw eks double-you
 [xʷ] allophones of /xʷ/
 [xʷ] fricativized allophones of final /kʷ/
44. y why
 [y] allophones of /y/
 [y] post-tonic intervocalic allophones of /x/
45. 'y hard why
 ['y] initial and postconsonantal allophones of /'y/
 [ʔy] intervocalic allophones of /'y/
 [ʔi] preconsonantal allophones of /'y/
 [ʔⁱ] final allophones of /'y/
46. ' glottal stop
 [ʔ] final and preconsonantal allophones of /ʔ/
 [ʔ] postconsonantal allophones of /ʔ/ after /ɫ/, /s/,
 /xʷ/, and /x/.
47. - hyphen
 [ʔ] other, post-stop allophones of /ʔ/

Obstruents

The four major classes of phonemic segments are obstruents, resonants (or sonorants), (non-resonant) glides, and vowels.

Among the obstruents, the distinctive series contrasts are those among the plain stops (including the affricates), the glottalized stops (and affricates), and the fricatives.

Plain Stops

Focusing first on the plain stops, one notes that there are three phonetic subclasses that are in complementary distribution, ignoring several much smaller subclasses of apparent exceptions. Lax (i.e., lenis), usually voiced stops are found in prevocalic position; tenser, voiceless stops with noticeable aspirate release are found in final position; while plain voiceless stops are found in the remaining preconsonantal position. The following possessive paradigm of /nɪpɪp/ maternal uncle displays [b - p^h - p] alternations that are characteristic of the plain stop allophony:

nɪpɪp	[nɪbɪp ^h]	<u>maternal uncle</u>	/n@-pɪp/
nɪbɪbɪ'y	[nɪbɪbɪ'i]	<u>my</u> ...	/n@-pɪp-@'y/
nɪbɪbɪn	[nɪbɪbɪn]	<u>your</u> (sg) ...	/n@-pɪp-@n/
nɪbɪpt	[nɪbɪpt ^h]	<u>his, her</u> ...	/n@-pɪp-t/
nɪbɪbɪ'm	[nɪbɪbɪ?m]	<u>our</u> ...	/n@-pɪp-@'m/
nɪbɪpsɪ'm	[nɪbɪpsɪ?m]	<u>your</u> (pl) ...	/n@-pɪp-s@m/
nɪbɪpdiit	[nɪbɪpdi't ^h]	<u>their</u> ...	/n@-pɪp-ti't/

Only the labial and plain dental stops occur in pretonic, preconsonantal position; dorsal stops are lacking there:

pdal	[pd ^h ál], [pd ^h É ^h]	<u>rib</u>	/ptal/
phlo'on	[p ^h ló'on]	<u>sea otter</u>	/p ^h lu'on/
psa	[psá ^h]	<u>clay</u>	/psa/
tk'ihlxw	[tk ^y 'ílx ^w]	<u>child</u>	/tk'ílx ^w /
tk'a	[tq'á ^h]	<u>skin, hide</u>	/tq'a/
txux	>[txó ^y]	<u>halibut</u>	/txux ^y /
xpts'axw	[xpc'áx ^w]	<u>be afraid</u> (vi sg)	/xpc'ax ^w /

These distributional patterns suggest that the plain stops should be represented underlyingly as voiceless stops, and that their voiced and aspirated allophones should be derived by rule. Thus, we postulate:

Rule 1 Plain voiceless stops become lax voiced stops when they precede a vowel.

Rule 2 Plain voiceless stops gain aspirate release in final position.

(The numbering of rules follows their order of exposition here, rather than their order of application; where it is of interest, I explicitly consider the relative order of application of specific rules in my discussion).

There are a number of anomalous forms in which prevocalic tense voiceless aspirated stops occur. Some of them are loans

from English, which contrasts lax voiced and tense voiceless stops in all positions (except after /s/), while others are native G forms. The situation bears consideration because of the possibility that structural pressure from English loans may have brought about the phonemic split of the formerly plain voiceless stop series into two new distinctive voiced and voiceless series. That does not seem to be the case, but there are obvious advantages to be gained by distinguishing voiced and voiceless stops in the practical orthography, which is designed for people literate also in English.

Loans from English with anomalous voiceless aspirated stops include:

hapeenasxw	[hap ^h é.nasx ^w]	<u>paintbrush</u>
	/h@-pe'n-@sx ^w /	
kaa	[k ^h a·]	<u>car</u>
	/kha·/	
sikeeksin	[sIk ^h é.ksIn]	<u>the cake you made</u>
	/s@-khe'k-s-@n/	
sipayin	[sIp ^h ÁyIn]	<u>the pie you made</u>
	/s@-phay-@n/	
tii	[t ^h í·]	<u>tea</u>
	/thi·/	

It should also be observed that English personal names predominate in vernacular speech, while Gitksan personal names are used mainly in ceremonial and traditional narrative contexts. Thus, many English names, such as Peter [p^hita] and Tom [t^ha·m],

have been nativized with initial voiceless aspirated stops. All these anomalous forms can be reasonably represented underlyingly as clusters of plain stop followed by /h/. (See later Rule 5, which accounts for [p^h-] and [t^h-]).

Native G forms with apparently anomalous initial and intervocalic [t^h] are of three kinds and they include:

tyaks	[t ^h yÉks]	<u>net float</u>
tya'lt	[t ^h yá?lt ^h]	<u>be good looking</u> (of a house) (vi)
tya'ytxw	[t ^h yá'itx ^w]	<u>thunder</u>
tyukw	[t ^h yúk ^{wh}]	<u>dusk</u>
sityeewa	[sIt ^h yÉ·wA]	<u>trade</u> (vi)
sityeexws	[sIt ^h yÉ·x ^{ws}]	<u>change</u> (vt)
tun	[t ^h ún]	<u>this</u> (one)
tust	[t ^h úst ^h]	<u>that</u> (one)
twa	[t ^h wá]	<u>glass, quartz crystal</u>
twaa'lixs-	[t ^h wá·?lixs-]	<u>mix, stir</u> (vt)
too'lip	[t ^h Ó·?lip ^h]	<u>cook by steaming in earth-oven</u> (vi)
toost	[t ^h Ó·st ^h]	<u>belongings</u> (including clothes, shoes, gear, etc.)
sitook	[sIt ^h Ó·q ^h]	<u>coax, deceive, lead on</u> (vt)

It is not desirable to represent the first six forms with initial underlying /ty-/ because other distributional evidence

leads us to expect that initial stop-plus-resonant clusters are not permitted - see pp. ???. However, it is relevant to note that allophones of the palatal fricative occur in all phonetic environments except this pretonic prevocalic one. Thus it would be appropriate to represent these for with initial /tx-/ and to postulate a gliding rule, similar to one which is needed elsewhere to characterize the same change in other environments. Indeed, */tx-/ (< earlier */tk-/) may be their historical source (These proposals are due to Marie-Lucie Tarpent). Thus, their underlying shapes are /txaks/, /txa'lt/, /txa'ytx^w/, /txuk^w/, /s@-txe·x^w-s/, and /s@-txe·x^w-a/.

The three forms [t^hún], [t^húst^h], and [t^hwá] have Nisgha cognates in [tgún], [tgúst^h], and [tgwá], respectively, whose underlying shapes are /t=k^win/, /t=k^wist/, and /tk^wa/. (While we cannot simply transfer phonological solutions that are motivated and justified in Nisgha across to Gitksan, it is useful to refer to Nisgha forms, bearing in mind that the two languages are closely related and that the identity or near-identity of many of their base-forms reflects their recent common linguistic ancestry. Indeed there is a fossilized, marginal unrestructured reflex of earlier */k^win/ preserved in the G form k'ayimgun /q'ay-@m=k^win/ nearby, near here. Its post-resonant environment has blocked spirantization). Here too, as it was with the palatal fricative, we note that allophones of the labiovelar fricative in G are found in all phonetic environments except the pretonic prevocalic one. As well, we will elsewhere need a rule to change x^wi-type sequences to xu ones, as well as another

gliding rule to characterize the $[x^w \sim w]$ alternation in other environments, so it completes the parallelism with the $/tx^-/$ forms if we represent the four G forms as $/t=x^win/$, $/t=x^wist/$, $/tx^wa/$, and $/tx^wa\cdot'1-\text{@}xs/$. The rules needed to map them onto phonetic representations are:

Rule 3 $x^w i \text{ ---> } x^u$

Rule 4 $t \begin{bmatrix} x \\ x^w \\ xu \end{bmatrix} \text{ ---> } t^h \begin{bmatrix} y \\ w \\ u \end{bmatrix} / \# _$

[A rule similar in part to this one needs to be added somewhere to derive $[-sun]$ from $/s=x^win/$ and $[-sust]$ from $/s=x^wist/$; these are the enclitic demonstratives].

The final three forms present another problem for the phonological representation of their initial clusters because their Nisgha counterparts have voiced stops, i.e. $[sId\acute{o}\cdot q^h]$, $[d\acute{o}\cdot?lIp]$, and $[d\acute{o}\cdot st^h]$, respectively. Also similar is the anomalous intervocalic $[-p^h-]$ found in the intransitive verb pair $[g^yIp^h\acute{A}yk^{wh}]$ and $[lIp^h\acute{A}yk^{wh}]$ (with alternant in $[li\cdot p^h\acute{A}yk^{wh}]$ fly (vi sg, pl), whose corresponding Nisgha forms are $[g^yIb\acute{a}yk^{wh}]$ and $[li\cdot b\acute{a}yk^{wh}]$. I propose that the G forms should be represented with clusters of stop plus $/h/$, as in $/k\text{@}phayk^w/$ and $/l\text{@}phayk^w/$ (or $/li\cdot phayk^w/$).

Rule 5 $\begin{bmatrix} t \\ p \end{bmatrix} h \text{ ---> } \begin{bmatrix} t^h \\ p^h \end{bmatrix}$

Thus they are $/tho\cdot\text{'-}lp/$, $/tho\cdot st/$, and $/s\text{@}\text{-}tho\cdot q/$, respectively.

Glottalized Stops

The underlying glottalized stop/affricate phonemes have both preglottalized and simultaneously or slightly post-glottalized allophones. In initial position and also when preceding a stressed vowel, the release of the glottal closure is simultaneous with or slightly following the release of the oral closure. Compared to the glottalized stops of other Pacific Northwest languages such as Chinookan and Sahaptin, those of Gitksan and Nisgha (see Boas 1911:76-77, 287-288; Sapir 1915:29-30; ^{but note Sapir 1938} and my own Nisgha fieldnotes) have a definite lenis character, not unlike those of Nez Perce (Aoki 1968, and my own NP fieldnotes). Hoard (1978) has, as a matter of fact, described the glottalized stops in one young Gitksan man's [Lonnie Hindle's] speech as voiced implosives, where the closed glottis drops before the oral closure is released. There is some support for Hoard's observations in Wickstrom (1974), who did instrumental study of the G glottalized obstruents and resonants. Wickstrom (p. 63) found in the spectrograms of glottalized stops produced by an older Gitksan woman [Sarah Marshall] that, "There is a definite tendency to have voicing as evidenced by a light voicing bar. This is probably due to some vibration of the vocal cords during the glottal release". Hoard (1978:115) observes that he mistakenly recorded voiced stops when he failed to hear their glottalization on first hearing, as I myself tend to do. Price (n.d.) also wrote glottalized stops as voiced ones. On the other hand, Wickstrom (1974) and Powell's pedagogical materials generally represent the glottalized stops incorrectly as voiceless ones. I despair of trying to reconcile and interpret

these differing positions, but I am confident that what I hear and record as glottalized obstruents are indeed phonetically and phonemically distinct from their plain counterparts. What remains unclear is the precise phonetic description of the phonatory mechanism of the G glottalized stops. Further instrumental work and articulatory observation by a competent phonetician is needed to clarify the situation. There may well also be interindividual variability in the production of the glottalized obstruents.

In intervocalic position following stress (i.e., post-tonically) and elsewhere, as well as preconsonantly, preglottalized allophones are normal, although postglottalized ones may occur in deliberately pronounced citation forms and monitored speech. Final underlying glottalized stops and affricates become preglottalized with aspirate release of the oral closure, actualizing as two phonetic segments. However, final /b'/ lacks aspiration, realizing as the sequence [-ʔtɪ] most often; e.g., /kɪb'/ > [gʷɪʔtɪ] sockeye salmon (in red colour phase). It would seem most natural and economical to consider the simultaneous or slightly postglottalized variants to be the norm by entering them as such in their underlying representations. The segmentalized variants should be derived by a phonological rule that may be informally stated as:

Rule 6 Glottalized stops and affricates become sequences of glottal stop plus plain stop or affricate in non-pretonic intervocalic position, in preconsonantal position, and in final position.

OK in final position, but requires modification elsewhere - is a matter of timing

If Rule 6 is ordered and applied before Rules 1 and 2, its outputs would feed into and be operated upon by them, thus obtaining the correct phonetic representations. The following forms (ordered from labials through uvulars, in intervocalic and final positions) are illustrative:

gop' [gʷʔpʰ] waves
/qo·p'/

Goop /qo·p/ with a final soft /p/ is the more common pronunciation.

goy'ax [gʷyʔbax/ be bright, light (vi)
/quy-p'x/

Compare 'max /'max/ the bright ball of light that Txemsim (the Trickster) stole, and also the root in 'maaxs /'max-@xs/ birchbark torch. The glottalized /p'/ in the reduced root is no doubt original.

hit' [ɬɪʔtʰ] ball, sphere
/ɬit'/

int' [ʔɪnʔtʰ] nit, louse egg
/ʔint'/

hlit'xw	[ɬíʔtxʷ]	<u>be spherical</u> , (vi sg) <u>round</u>
	/ɬit'-xʷ/	
hloots'	[ɬóʔcʰ]	<u>Rocky Mountain whitefish</u>
	/ɬo·c'/	
This is a probable loanword from Athabaskan.		
dults'	[dúlʔcʰ]	<u>clitoris</u>
	/tulc'/	
t'uuts'xw	[t'úʔcxʷ]	<u>be black</u> (vi sg), <u>knife, metal</u>
	/t'u·c'-xʷ/	
gitl'	[gʷíʔtɬ]	<u>sockeye salmon</u> (in red colour phase)
	/kiɬ'/	
xsbatl'xw	[xsbáʔtɬxʷ]	<u>make a plopping noise</u> (vi sg)
	/xs-paɬ'-xʷ/	
t'ak'aluts	[t'aʔgʷalúcʰ]	<u>fox</u>
	/t'ak'aluc/	
This is a probable loanword from Athabaskan.		
ts'ak	[c'Éʔkʷʰ]	<u>dish, plate</u>
	/c'ak'/	

This form is also widely found in Athabaskan languages.

lukw'il	[lúʔgʷíɬ]	<u>very</u>
	/lukʷ-ʔ@ɬ/	
t'ikw'	[t'íʔkʷʰ]	<u>navel, belly-button</u>
	/t'ikʷ'/	
k'ilk'al	[kʷíɬʔgʷáɬ]	<u>all over the outer surface</u> (pvb)
	/k'ilqʷ-ʔ@ɬ/	
	<i>Has alternates in /k'íɬg-əl/</i>	
hanak'	[hAnáʔqʰ]	<u>woman, female</u>
	/h@naq'/	
Hlaa hanak't.	[ɬa·nÁʔqtʰ]	<u>She's now become a woman.</u>
	/ɬa· h@naq'-t/	

[Should somewhere mention the sporadic weakening of /q'/ to [ʔ] and [ʔ]].

Obstruent Positions of Articulation

The obstruent phonemes are distinguished phonologically in seven positions of articulation, which are:

1. labial (or bilabial)
2. alveolar with plain median release
3. alveolar with median sibilant fricative release
4. alveolar with lateral fricative release
5. palatal (or front velar)
6. labiovelar
7. uvular (or back velar)

The alveolar obstruents may also be classified as and referred to as "coronals", while the palatals, labiovelars, and uvulars are "dorsals". Phonetically there are two more positions of articulation that are found non-distinctively; these are the plain velar and labio-uvular positions, which group among the dorsals.

Labials

The labial position of articulation displays only stop contrasts of manner, whereas the coronals and dorsals distinguish fricatives also. The plain labial stops are common, while the glottalized /p'/ is decidedly rare. Comparative evidence from the Coast Tsimshian makes it plain that some modern G (and Nisgha) forms in /'m/ reflect older Proto-Tsimshian */p'/; e.g., Coast Tsimshian [p'áxs] pants, G /'maxs/, and Nisgha /'maqs/. The weak development of labial consonants is a not uncommon Pacific Northwest trait, but the G labials are much more frequent than those of Haida and Tlingit (For Haida, see Leer 1977; Levine

1977:45, 48, 55-56; and Sapir 1923 - ^{Skidegate} ~~Masset~~ Haida has /b/ only in one form that is not clearly a recent loan, while /m/ is infrequent and never occurs word-initially. For Tlingit, see Leer 1978 - Tlingit has no labials at all; its /w/ structurally ^{/w/ in} groups with the velars. The same is true of G and Nisgha.).

Coronals

The coronal stops are like English in having apico-alveolar articulation. The coronal affricates with median spirantal release (which are unitary phonemic segments) have prevocalic voiced allophones in [ʒ] and [ʝ], while the /s/ phoneme similarly has [s] and [s̥] allophones in a wider range of environments. The [s̥] variant lacks the protruded lip-rounding that is characteristic of English /s̥/, however. From the time of Boas' (1911:289) description of Nisgha at least, it has been obvious that there is but a single /s/ phoneme with variable allophony in the Tsimshianic languages. There is much inter-speaker variability in the G pronunciation of /s/.

Impressionistically, the two major patterns are:

1. Some speakers use [s̥] generally in all environments, but [s] occurs sporadically near the rounded vowels.
2. Other speakers use [s] generally in all environments, but [s̥] occurs frequently near the non-back vowels, especially /i/ and /i·/, and following the velar fricative [x].

There are no apparent correlations of one or the other pattern with such social variables as the gender, social class rank, house group membership, or village of origin or residence of the

speaker. This may not have been the case in the past, and such a feature would have lent itself well to functioning as a sociolinguistic marker or index. In the present G speech community, the [s] norm is definitely the more favoured, and in my Sim'alga_x literacy classes, several older persons, recognized as good speakers, have insisted that only [s] in all environments is proper.

There are some anomalous intervocalic [c] allophones (never [č]) found in the second person plural forms of the possessive paradigms of /t/- and /c/-final nouns; representative examples are seen in:

lit	[lít ^h]	<u>wedge</u>
	/lit/	
lidi'y	[lídi?í]	<u>my wedge</u>
	/lit-@'y/	
lidin	[lídiIn]	<u>your</u> (sg) ...
	/lit-@n/	
litt	[lít ^h t ^h]	<u>his, her</u> ...
	/lit-t/	
lidi'm	[lídi?m]	<u>our</u> ...
	/lit-@'m/	
litsi'm	[líci?m]	<u>your</u> (pl) ...
	/lit-s@'m/	
litdiit	[lít ^h di·t ^h]	<u>their</u> ...
	/lit-ti·t/	
doots	[dó·c ^h]	<u>man's sister</u>
	/to·c/	
dooji'y	[dó·zi?í]	<u>my sister</u>
	/to·c-@'y/	
doojin	[dó·ziIn]	<u>your</u> (sg) ...
	/to·c-@n/	
dootst	[dó·ct ^h]	<u>his, her</u> ...
	/to·c-t/	
dooji'm	[dó·zi?m]	<u>our</u> ...
	/to·c-@'m/	
dootsi'm	[dó·ci?m]	<u>your</u> (pl) ...
	/to·c-s@'m/	
dootsdiit	[dó·cdi·t ^h]	<u>their</u> ...
	/to·c-ti·t/	

The morphological evidence makes it plain that underlyingly these are to be represented as /-s@'m/ 2PL following stem-final /t/ and /c/. Thus we postulate a rule that will coalesce the clusters (arising from affixation) into a single /c/ segmnt.

Rule 7 $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} t \\ c \end{array} \right\} s \rightarrow c$

Some older speakers have a prevocalic aspirated [c^h] in the form [č^hiyE] moose calf, which is a loan from the neighbouring Babine (or Western Carrier) Athabaskan language.

The several allophones of the /c'/ phoneme never palatalize to [č'].

There are two coronal obstruent phonemes with lateral release: a plain voiceless lateral fricative /ɬ/ and a glottalized lateral affricate /ɬ'. Boas (1911:288) evidently did not observe the /ɬ'/ during his Nisgha work, and he thought it was absent from the sound inventory, which would set the language apart from others of the Pacific Northwest, where it is ubiquitous.

The /ɬ/ is articulated with the tongue tip and blade making closure in the alveolar area and with the airstream flowing out bilaterally behind the canine teeth. It is important to note the bilateral symmetry of the sound because non-native speakers learning to produce it have a tendency to let the airstream flow out just one side, rather than both.

The /ɬ'/ phoneme is found in only a handful of G forms, and I list those known to me (given here in just one derived stem

form in the case of verb roots). None can be identified positively as loans from neighbouring languages, and most of them appear to be organic or primary - just a few of them are possible developments from the cluster /ɬ+?/, which is the case for more Nisgha forms (Tarpent 1983:205):

gitl'	[gʲíʔtɬ]	<u>sockeye salmon</u> (in red colour phase)
	/kʲiɬ'/	
hligatl'	[ɬIgʲÉʔtɬ]	<u>toe jam</u>
	/ɬikʲaɬ'/	
k'ak'otl'	[kʲ'Eq'óʔtɬ]	<u>ankle</u>
	/k'aq'uɬ'/	
tɬ'ak	[ɬ'áq ^h]	<u>be sour-faced</u> (vi)
	/ɬ'aq/	
tɬ'ak'	[ɬ'áʔq ^h]	<u>lower lip</u> <u>pout</u> (vi sg)
	/ɬ'aq'/	
Tɬ'a'eew	[ɬ'AʔÉ·w]	<u>Tɬ'a'eew</u> (personal name, Wolf phratry)
	/ɬ'@ʔe·w/	

Tl'aa	[L'á·]	Tl'aa (personal name, Wolf phratry) <i>SW says means run away after a murder 3-73</i>
	/L'a·/	
tl'ok'	[L'ó·q ^{wh}]	<u>be unsatisfied with a gift received</u> (vi)
	/L'uq'/	
tl'ok'ats	[L'ó·gAc ^h]	<u>wild rhubarb</u>
	/L'uq'c/	
tl'ook'	[L'ó·?k ^{yh}]	<u>mud, be muddy</u> (vi sg)
	/L'o·k'/	
tk'aasnitl'	[tq'A·sní?tɪ]	<i>newly hatched</i> <u>salmon fry, sardine</u>
	/tq'a·-sniɪ'/	
I am unsure about the segmentation of the form above.		
ts'atl'in	[c'Ál'In-]	<u>scorch</u> (vt)
	/c'ab'-ən/	
xsbatl'xw	[xsbÁ?tɪx ^w]	<u>make a plopping, slapping sound</u> (vi sg)
	/xs-pab'-x ^w /	

Some additional forms with /b'/ are found in Nisgha. They

are:

Antl'ah^hins wíigat *plummers on Nass R on n. side below Fishing Bay*
2/25/73

galgatl'	[galgá?tɪ]	<u>be slightly crooked</u> (vi)
	/q@ɪ-qab'/	

hahl(h)uutl'akhlkw	[haú·L'aqɪk ^{wh}]	<u>boil</u> (vi)
	/h@ɪ-hu·ɪ-?@x-ɪx ^w /	
hihlyatl'ikskw	[hiɪyáL'ɪksk ^{wh}]	<u>slip and fall</u> (vi pl)
	/hiɪ-yat-?@ks-k ^w /	
Note yahl /yat/ <u>slime</u>		
kw'aatl'ax	[k ^w 'á·L'ax]	<u>snail, slug</u>
	/k ^w 'a·L'x/	
p'atl'iks	[p'áL'ɪks]	<u>be wet, soaked, sodden</u> (vi)
	/p'at-?@ks/	
saa tl'ee'e	[sa·L'É·?E]	<u>undress</u> (vi)
	/sa·t'ɪ-e·?/	
sitl'	[sɪ?tɪ]	<u>dusk</u>
	/siɪ'/	
ts'ihlts'atl'	[c'ɪɪc'áb']	<u>have a rippled surface</u> (vi)

Four of these forms show /ɪ/ to be the C₂ ablaut counterpart of /b'/ in initial syllable reduplication, parallel to /s/ with /c/ and /c'/, but G dixtl'ook' /t@x-L'ó·k'/ be muddy (vi pl) shows /t/ to be its C₁ counterpart, unlike /c/ and /c'/, which pair with /c/.

Three of the Nisgha forms have apparent G cognates in hahlut'axhlxw /h@ɪ-hu·t'-@x-ɪx^w/ boil (vi), eastern G yat'ixsxw

73 notes give /sɪɪ/ for this to

/yat'-@xs-x^w/ slip and fall, fall down on a slippery surface (vi sg), and eastern G kw'aat'ax /k^w'a·t-'x/ and western G gwaa'lax /k^w'a·'lx/ snail, slug, while Western Gitksan ts'et'in /c'et'-@n/ scorch (vt) corresponds to Eastern Gitksan ts'at1'in /c'ab'-@n/. I suspect that the /b'/ phoneme has a history going back to Proto-Nisgha-Gitksan, if not also to Proto-Tsimshian, but it is currently being lost as forms drop out from the lexicon or merge with /t'/.

Dorsals

The dorsal obstruents are greatly differentiated in G. Phonetically, one can observe dorsal obstruents at five positions of articulation: palatal (termed "anterior palatal" in the earlier literature); velar, labiovelar, uvular (or back velar); and labio-uvular. The phonemic status of these segment types presents a series of problems for analysis.

To deal first with the simpler problem, we can say that the labialized uvulars clearly develop from underlying uvulars, assimilating in roundedness to a preceding mid rounded vowel, as in:

jok [ʒóq^{wh}] live, dwell, camp (vi sg)
/cuq/

hloxs [ʔóx^ws] sun, moon, luminary
/ʔuxs/

jook [ʒó·q^{wh}] be ashamed (vi sg)
/co·q/

Note that no rounding develops on the uvular stop in the few forms where it follows /u·/; as for example in:

uuk [ʔó·q^h] copper
/ʔu·q/

This suggests that the rule for labializing uvulars should be

phrased to operate in the environment following mid back rounded vowels, and later we will see that short /u/ drops to mid height before uvulars, which rule feeds into it. Thus we postulate:

$$\text{Rule 8 } \begin{bmatrix} q \\ ?q \\ x \end{bmatrix} \text{ ---> } \begin{bmatrix} q^w \\ ?q^w \\ x^w \end{bmatrix} \quad / o, o^{\cdot} _ (C)\#$$

It is also common for the voiced uvular stop [g], derived from underlying /q/ by the voicing Rule 1, to weaken and spirantize to [g̤] at normal and allegro tempo in unmonitored speech. This leniting process may be characterized in the following rule:

$$\text{Rule 9 } g \text{ ---> } g̤ \quad / \text{ at normal and allegro tempo in unmonitored speech}$$

It is the three front dorsal series - palatal, velar, and labiovelar - that present the main analytical problem. However, the alternations of particular front dorsal segments and their complementary distributions strongly support a solution in which there are only two underlying distinctive positions of articulation, viz., palatal and labiovelar.

Palatal obstruents are found in a great range of environments. They occur prevocally before all vowels, although they are less frequent before rounded vowels, as seen in:

baasga	[bá·sg ^y E]	<u>frightened</u>
	/pa·sk-a/	
gat	[g ^y Ét ^h]	<u>man, person</u>
	/kat/	
geets'	[g ^y É·?c ^h]	<u>downstream</u>
	/ke·c'/	
gigi'y	[g ^y Ig ^y i [?] i]	<u>look for</u> (vt)
	/k@-ki'y-/	
giis	[g ^y i's]	<u>be mistaken</u> (vi sg)
	/ki's/	
gyoo	[g ^y o·]	<u>be motionless</u> (vi sg)
	/ko·/	
gyukwsxw	[g ^y uk ^w sx ^w]	<u>wake up</u> (vi sg)
	/kuk ^w s-x ^w /	
hak'yo'o	[hAk ^y 'ó?°]	<u>back, spine</u>
	/h ^h ak'u?/	
k'ap	[k ^h 'Ép ^h]	<u>ten</u> (animals)
	/k'ap/	
k'aa	[k ^y 'á·]	<u>exceedingly</u> (pvb)
	/k'a·/	
k'eekw	[k ^y 'É·k ^{wh}]	<u>one</u> (animal)
	/k'e·k ^w /	
k'i'y	[k ^y 'i [?] i]	<u>one</u> (thing)
	/k'i'y/	
k'ii	[k ^y 'i·]	<u>and then</u> (discourse marker)
	/k'i·/	
k'yul	[k ^y 'úl]	<u>one</u> (human)
	/k'-ul/	

Palatal obstruents occur postvocally in final position, as seen in:

anaax	[?Aná·xʸ]	<u>bread</u>
	/ʔ@na·x/	
hix	[híxʸ]	<u>fat</u> (n); <u>be fat</u> (vi sg)
	/hix/	
hoox	[hó·xʸ]	<u>use, wear</u> (vt sg)
	/ho·x/	
lax	[lÉxʸ]	<u>fur, body hair</u>
	/lax/	
Laxsgiik	[lAxsgʸi·kʸh]	<u>Eagle tribe, phratry</u> <i>loan from CT</i>
	/l@-xs-ki·k/	
luux	[lú·xʸ]	<u>alder</u>
	/lu·x/	
saak	[sá·kʸh]	<u>oolachen</u>
	/sa·k/	
This is a loanword, ultimately from Tlingit, perhaps via Nisgha.		
ts'eex	[c'É·xʸ]	<u>be full, sated</u> (vi sg)
	/c'e·x/	
ts'ik	[c'Íkʸh]	<u>hawk species</u>
	/c'ik/	
txux	[txó·xʸ]	<u>halibut</u>
	/txux/	
wak	[wÉkʸh]	<u>man's brother</u>
	/wak/	

Palatal obstruents also occur in a wide range of preconsonantal and postconsonantal environments, as seen in:

gimxdi	[gʸImxʸdí]	<u>man's sister, woman's brother</u>
	/k@mxti/	
Gixga'at.	[gʸixʸgʸá?atʰ]	<u>He, She saw them.</u>
	/k@x-ka?-@-t/	
matx	[mÉtxʸ]	<u>mountain goat</u>
	/matx/	
t'ilx	[t'ílxʸ]	<u>grease</u>
	/t'ilx/	
t'imlanx	[t'ImlÉnxʸ]	<u>neck</u>
	/t'@m#lanx/	
ts'uusx	[c'ú·sxʸ]	<u>be small, little</u> (vi sg)
	/c'u·-sx/	
xbaa'w	[xʸbá·?u]	<u>jaw</u>
	/xpa'w/	
xbul	[xʸbúl]	<u>ten</u> (humans)
	/xp-ul/	

However, palatal obstruents are not found before /s/ or /ʃ/, but one finds velars there instead, as seen in:

hixhl	[hixʃ]	<u>boy</u> (old word used in legends)
	/hixʃ/	
Xhliyem laxha	[xʃiyÉmlAxá]	<u>Walks-Across-the-Sky</u> (personal name, Wolf Phratry)
	/xʃ@ ye·-m lax#ha/	

Xsan	[xsán]	<u>Skeena River</u>
	/xsan/	
xsaxw	[xsÁx ^w]	<u>go out</u> (vi sg)
	/xsax ^w /	
Xsintxemsim	[xsImtx Émsim]	<u>Nisgha woman</u>
	/xsim#tx ims-@m/	
daax	[dá·x ^y]	<u>outer surface, circumference</u>
	/ta·x/	
hlidaaxhl	[Idá·x	<u>the outer surface of the</u> house
wilp	wilp ^h]	
	/ @-ta·x= wilp/	
wak	[wÉk ^y h]	<u>man's brother</u>
	/wak/	
wagi'y	[wÉg ^y i?i]	<u>my brother</u>
	/wak-@'y/	
wagin	[wÉg ^y In]	<u>your</u> (sg) ...
	/wak-@n/	
wakt	[wÉk ^y t ^h]	<u>his</u> ...
	/wak-t/	
wagi'm	[wÉg ^y I?m]	<u>our</u> ...
	/wak-@'m/	
waksi'm	[wáksI?m]	<u>your</u> (pl) ...
	/wak-s@'m/	
wakdiit	[wÉk ^y di·t ^h]	<u>their</u> ...

These distributions and alternations argue strongly for a solution in which there are only underlying palatal, not velar,

segments, and a phonological rule that depalatalizes or velarizes palatal obstruents before /s/ and /t/ (and perhaps also before /x^w/, etc.). Such a rule is much more simply formulated than one that would palatalize underlying velars in all environments except before /s/ and /t/, not to mention its essential correctness, or dare I say, its "naturalness". (I owe these insights to M.-L. Tarpent, who managed to convince me of their correctness after I had been strongly committed for years to the position that all G palatals arose by regular rule from underlying velars. Unlike Tarpent (1983) and Thompson (1984), I represent these palatal phonemes as /k/, /k'/, and /x/, rather than /k^y/, /k^y'/, and /x^y/, so as to save typing strokes and printer's ink!).

$$\text{Rule 10 } \begin{bmatrix} k^y \\ ?k^y \\ x^y \end{bmatrix} \text{ ---> } \begin{bmatrix} k \\ ?k \\ x \end{bmatrix} / _ s, t$$

There are some doublets that pair /k'/ with /'y/ and /?i/, where the alternant in /k'/ is obviously the older of the pair:

k'ink, ink [k^y'Ínk^yh], [?'Ínk^yh] /k'ink/, /?ink/
boiled fish head

ihlee'e, k'ihlee'e [?I|É·?É], [k^y'i|É·?É] /?il·e·?/, /k'@l·e·?

blood

Note hIagaagwi'ihlee'e [|AgA·g^wi?i|É·?É] /|@-qa·k^w-@-?ile·?/ the bloodvessel where the /-@/ attributive suffix on /qa·k^w/ vein, sinew has i-quality, rather than a-quality as it should have before an underlying laryngeal /?/. Thus some synchronic /?/s, which derive historically from /k'/, still operate as

palatals with respect to conditioning schwa vowel quality.

'yaga, k'aga [^hyÁgA], [^hkY'ÁgA] /'yaq̄a/, /k'aq̄a/

down (along a slope, at an angle) (pvb)

k'ii, ?ii [^hkY'ī·], [^h?ī·] /k'ī·/, /?ī·/

and then (discourse marker)

The labiovelars are not strongly labialized. They are often articulated with spread lips, but there is always inner rounding. In fact, Boas (TG:289-290) evidently did not observe and perceive them as labialized in Nisgha; instead he described them as "middle palatals", which contrasted with "anterior palatals" [palatals] and "velars" [uvulars].

The labiovelars, particularly the stops occur in a great range of environments, but they are conspicuously absent before stressed /i/, /u/, and /u·/. Examples are:

axxw	[^h ?Áxx ^w]	<u>night</u>
	/? ^h axx ^w /	
gwaasxw	[g ^w á'sx ^w]	<u>borrow</u> (vi)
	/k ^w ·s-x ^w /	
gwee'y	[g ^w É·?ī]	<u>be poor</u> (vi sg)
	/k ^w e·'y/	
gwila	[g ^w IlÁ ^h]	<u>blanket</u>
	/k ^w @la/	
gwiikw	[g ^w ī·k ^{wh}]	<u>groundhog, marmot</u>
	/k ^w i·k ^w /	
gwiila	[g ^w ī·lÁ ^h]	<u>blankets</u>
	/k ^w i·la/	
laaxws	[lÁ·x ^w s]	<u>light</u> (n)
	/la·x ^w s/	
maxw	[mÁx ^w]	<u>burst out laughing</u> (vi sg)
	/max ^w /	
maaxwsxw	[má·x ^w sx ^w]	<u>be white</u> (vi sg)
	/ma·-x ^w s-x ^w /	

maaxwsxwa	[má·x ^w sx ^w A]	<u>white</u> (atr sg)
	/ma·-x ^w s-x ^w -a/	
muxw	[múx ^w]	<u>ear</u>
	/mux ^w /	
nigwoot	[nIg ^w Ó·t ^h]	<u>father</u>
	/n@-k ^w o·t/	
xwts'aan	[x ^w c'á·n]	<u>totem pole</u>
	/x ^w c'a·n/	

This form is anomalous in that the long vowel doesn't shorten before syllable-final /n/. It could be a loan from Coast Tsimshian, and it has a doublet partner pts'aan /pc'a·n/ that is found in western G.

xwhlak	[x ^w í·Ék ^y h]	<u>soften</u> (a hide by pulling it through a hole (vt))
	/x ^w íak/	
xwdak	[x ^w dÉx ^y]	<u>be hungry</u> (vi sg)
	/x ^w tax/	
yuukxw	[yó·qx ^w]	<u>eat</u> (vi sg)
	/yu·q-x ^w /	

As well, sequences of velar followed by [u] elsewhere are found to alternate with sequences of labiovelar followed by [i] or to occur without such alternation, where phonotactic patterning and strict morphological parallelism would lead one to expect the latter; for example:

gwila'l	[g ^w Ilá?1], [gulá?1]	<u>three</u> (things)
	/k ^w @1a'l/	

guslis	[guslís]	<u>man's sister's child,</u> <u>woman's brother's child</u>
	/k ^w @slis/	
tk'ihlxum hanak'	[tk ^y 'ílxum hAnÁ?q ^h]	<u>girl</u>
	/tk'ílx ^w -@m h@naq'/	
Yukwhl txookxu'm.	[yúk ^w ± txÓ·qxu?m]	<u>We're eating.</u>

And there are a number of forms that display velars followed by stressed [u] and [u·], as in:

Gubi'y.	[gúbi?í]	<u>I ate it.</u>
	/k ^w íp-@'y/	
guxw	[gúx ^w]	<u>shoot</u> (vt sg)
	/k ^w ix ^w /	
Guuhl!	[gú·±]	<u>Get it!</u>
	/k ^w u·-±/	
k'uuhl	[k'ú·±]	<u>year</u>
	/k ^w 'u·±/	

The complementary distribution of these sequences with those involving phonetic labiovelars provides good evidence for delabialization; i.e., some plain velars develop or arise from labiovelars. However, it seems best to derive the velars by two separate rules:

Rule 11 $\begin{bmatrix} k^w \\ k^w \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} k \\ k \end{bmatrix} / _ u \cdot$

This rule operates only intramorphemically.

Rule 12 $\begin{bmatrix} k^w \\ k^w \\ x^w \end{bmatrix}_i \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} k \\ k' \\ x \end{bmatrix}_u$

This rule has earlier Rule 3 as a subpart; it operates both intramorphemically and across morpheme boundaries.

One of the major differences between the Gitksan varieties and the Nisgha varieties is that G forms often exhibit palatal, velar, and labiovelar fricatives where the Nisgha forms have the corresponding stops. This is the synchronic result of a front dorsal fricativizing or spirantizing rule whose operation historically brought about the restructuring of G /k/ and /k^w/ in specific environments. In fact, the eastern Gitksan dialects differ from their western congeners in this regard. The following forms are characteristic of the situation:

Nisgha	W. Gitksan	E. Gitksan	
/kamk/	same	same	<u>be hot</u> (vi sg)
/kamk-@m/	same	same	<u>hot</u> (sg)
/k ^w alk ^w /	same	same	<u>be dry</u> (vi sg)
/k ^w alk ^w -a/	same	same	<u>dried</u> (atr sg)
/ksax ^w /	/ksex ^w /	/xsax ^w /	<u>go out</u> (vi sg)
/c'u ⁻ -sk/	/c'u ⁻ -sx/	same	<u>be small,</u> <u>little</u> (vi sg)
/c'u ⁻ -sk-@m/	/c'u ⁻ -sx-@m/	same	<u>small, little</u>
/saks ^w /	/seksx ^w /	/saksx ^w /	<u>be clean</u> (vi sg)
/t'u ⁻ c'-k ^w /	/t'u ⁻ c'-x ^w /	same	<u>be black</u> (vi sg)
/t'u ⁻ c'k ^w -a/	/t'u ⁻ c'-x ^w -a/	same	<u>black</u> (sg)

In all the G varieties, front velar spirantization has taken place in post-obstruent, final environments, but not in post-resonant ones. In the eastern G varieties, the application of the rule has been extended in a mirror-image fashion to include pre-obstruent environments. The restructuring of the final front velar segments is clearly indicated by the attributive forms in /-@m/ and /-a/ (the choice of suffix is morphologically conditioned) where the new stem with final fricative has been analogically extended to replace an older (phonetic) stem-alternant with final voiced stop, as is preserved in Nisgha. After the restructuring and analogical extension took place, the spirantizing rule applied vacuously in the main, its operation being restricted to the historically later pre-obstruent environments in eastern G. In eastern G, one can still observe the fluctuation of [k] and [x] in those pre-obstruent environments where a resonant precedes the front dorsal across a boundary; for example:

[gÁlksi], [gÁlxsi] through a corridor or passageway (pvb)

/qal-ks@/

[q'AmksIwÁ'], [ʔAmksIwÁ'], [ʔAmxsIwÁ'], [ʔAmsIwÁ']

White person

This form seems to be treated as though it were analyzable into three words /q'am ksi wa'/, although it is not. It is a loanword from the coast, but its ultimate historical origin is unknown. The first pronunciation above is the oldest in G, and it is the norm in Nisgha.

[wɪlksI'wɪtx^w], [wɪlxsI'wɪtx^w] a person of one's father's phratry (lit., where one comes out from) /wɪl ksi 'wɪtx^w/
whence one comes

The alternants in [x] appear to be the favoured ones now.

There is another similar, but separate spirantizing rule that operates synchronically in G. It apparently is restricted to the labiovelar stop /k^w/. Exemplary paradigms are seen in:

diikw	[dɪ·k ^{wh}]	<u>woman's sister</u>
	/ti·k ^w /	
diigwi'y	[dɪ·g ^{wi?i}]	<u>my</u> ...
	/ti·k ^w -@'y/	
diigwin	[dɪ·g ^{wIn}]	<u>your</u> (sg) ...
	/ti·k ^w -@n/	
diixwt	[dɪ·x ^{wt^h}]	<u>her</u> ...
	/ti·k ^w -t/	
diigwi'm	[dɪ·g ^{wI?m}]	<u>our</u> ...
	/ti·k ^w -@'m/	
diixwsi'm	[dɪ·x ^{wsI?m}]	<u>your</u> (pl) ...
	/ti·k ^w -s@m/	
diixwdiit	[dɪ·x ^{wdi·t^h}]	<u>their</u> ...

miiluxw	[mɪ·lux ^w]	<u>dance</u> (vi sg, pl)
	/mi·lk ^w /	
Yukwhl miilugwi'y.	[yùk ^{wɪ} mɪ·lug ^{wi?i}]	<u>I'm dancing.</u>
	/yuk ^{w=ɪ} mi·lk ^w -@'y/	
Yukwhl miilugwin.	[yùk ^{wɪ} mɪ·lug ^{wIn}]	<u>You</u> (sg) ...
	/yuk ^{w=ɪ} mi·lk ^w -@n/	
Yukwhl miiluxwt.	[yùk ^{wɪ} mɪ·lux ^{wt^h}]	<u>He, She</u> ...
	/yuk ^{w=ɪ} mi·lk ^w -t/	
Yukwhl miilugwi'm.	[yùk ^{wɪ} mɪ·lug ^{wI?m}]	<u>We</u> ...
	/yuk ^{w=ɪ} mi·lk ^w -@'m/	
Yukwhl miiluxwsi'm.	[yùk ^{wɪ} mɪ·lux ^{wsI?m}]	<u>You</u> (pl) ...
	/yuk ^{w=ɪ} mi·lk ^w -s@m/	
Yukwhl miiluxwdiit	[yùk ^{wɪ} mɪ·lux ^{wdi·t^h}]	<u>They</u> ...
	/yuk ^{w=ɪ} mi·lk ^w -ti·t/	

The rule that accounts for these alternations is:

Rule 13 k^w ----> x^w / V·(CV) _ C^{obstruent}

It operates after the epenthetic vowel has been inserted to break up the root-final cluster; see Rule 28, pp. ??.

There are three sets of alternations that pair the dorsal fricatives /x/, /x^w/, and /x/ with the glides /y/, /w/, and /h/, respectively. These are illustrated in the following paradigms:

hix	[híxʸ]	<u>fat</u> (n), <u>be fat</u> (vi sg)
/hix/		
hiya	[híyE]	<u>fat</u> (atr)
/hix-a/		
waax	[wá·xʸ]	<u>paddle</u>
/wa·x/		
waayi'y	[wá·yiʔ ⁱ]	<u>my</u> ...
/wa·x-@'y/		
waayin	[wá·yIn]	<u>your</u> (sg) ...
/wa·x-@n/		
waaxt	[wá·xʸt ^h]	<u>his</u> , <u>her</u> ...
/wa·x-t/		
waayi'm	[wá·yIʔm]	<u>our</u> ...
/wa·x-@'m/		
waaxsi'm	[wá·xsIʔm]	<u>your</u> (pl) ...
/wa·x-s@'m/		
waaxdiit	[wá·xʸdi·t ^h]	<u>their</u> ...
/wa·x-ti·t		

x _{dax}	[x _d Éxʸ]	<u>eat with</u> (vt sg, pl)
/xtax/		
Dim x _d ayi'y	'niin. [d@m x _d áyi ^ʔ 'ní·n]	
	<u>I'll eat with you.</u> (sg) /t@m xtax-@-'y 'ni·-n/	
Dim x _d ayin	'nii'y. [d@m x _d áyIn 'ní·'y]	
	<u>You'll eat with me.</u> /t@m xtax-@-n 'ni·-'y/	
Dim x _d ayit	'nii'y. [d@m x _d áyIt 'ní·'y]	
	<u>She'll eat with me.</u> /t@m xtax-@-t 'ni·-'y/	
Dim x _d ayi'm	'nisi'm. [d@m x _d áyIʔm 'ní·sI'm]	
	<u>We'll eat with you.</u> (pl) /t@m xtax-@-'m 'ni-s@'m/	
Dim x _d ayisi'm	'nuu'm. [d@m x _d áyisiʔm 'nú·'m]	
	<u>You'll (pl) eat with us.</u> /t@m xtax-@-s@'m 'nu·-'m/	
Dim x _d axdiit	'nuu'm. [d@m x _d Éxʸdi·t 'nú·'m]	
	<u>They'll eat with us.</u> /t@m xtax-ti·t 'nu·-'m/	
muxw	[múx ^w]	<u>ear</u>
/mux ^w /		
muwi'y	[múwiʔ ⁱ]	<u>my</u> ...
/mux ^w -@'y/		
muwin, muhun	[múwIn], [múhun]	<u>your</u> ...
/mux ^w -@n/		
muxwt	[múx ^w t ^h]	<u>his</u> , <u>her</u> ...
/mux ^w -t/		

ixw	[?íx ^w]	<u>fish</u> (with line) (vi sg, pl)
	/?ix ^w /	
Yukwhl iwi'y.	[yuk ^w ɬ ?íwi?í]	
<u>I'm fishing.</u>	/yuk ^w ɬ ?íw-@'y/	
... iwin.	[...?íwIn]	
<u>You</u> (sg)...	/... ?ix ^w -@n/	
... ixwt.	[... ?íx ^w t ^h]	
<u>He, She</u> ...	/... ?ix ^w -t/	
... iwi'm, ixu'm.	[... ?íwI'm ~ ?íxu'm]	
<u>We</u> ...	/... ?ix ^w -@'m/	
... ixwsi'm.	[... ?íx ^w -sI'm]	
<u>You</u> (pl) ...	/... ?ix ^w -s@'m/	
... ixwdiit	[... ?íx ^w di·t ^h]	
<u>They</u> ...	/... ?ix ^w -ti·t/	

guxw	[gúx ^w]
	<u>shoot, hit</u> /k ^w ix ^w /
	(by shooting) (vt sg)
Guwi'y.	[gúwi?í]
<u>I shot / hit it.</u>	/k ^w ix ^w -@-'y/ →
Guwin.	[gúwIn]
<u>You</u> (sg) ...	/k ^w ix ^w -@-n/
Guwit. / Guhut.	[gúwIt ^h], [gúhut ^h]
<u>He, She</u> ...	/k ^w ix ^w -@-t/
Guwi'm. / Guhu'm.	[gúwI?m], [gúhu?m]
<u>We</u> ...	/k ^w ix ^w -@-'m/
Guwisi'm.	[gúwIsI?m]
<u>You</u> (pl) ...	/k ^w ix ^w -@-s@'m/
Guxwdiit.	[gúx ^w di·t ^h]
<u>They</u> ...	/k ^w ix ^w -ti·t/

Ts'ilayxw	[c'Iláyx ^w]
<u>visit</u> (vt sg, pl)	/c@layx ^w /
Ts'ilaywi'y.	[c'Iláyi ^{wi?} i]
<u>I visited him / her.</u>	/c@layx ^w -@-'y/
Ts'ilaywin.	[c'IláywIn]
<u>You</u> (sg) ...	/c'@layx ^w -@-n/
Ts'ilaywit.	[c'IláywIt ^h]
<u>He / She</u> ...	/c'@layx ^w -@-t/
Ts'ilayu'm.	[c'Iláyu?m]
<u>We</u> ...	/c'@layx ^w -@-'m/
Ts'ilaywisi'm.	[c'Iláywisi?m]
<u>You</u> (pl) ...	/c'@layx ^w -@-s@m/
Ts'ilayxwdiit.	[c'Iláyx ^w di·t ^h]
<u>They</u> ...	/c'@layx ^w -ti·t/

nox	[nÓx ^w]	<u>mother</u>	/nu _x /
noho'y, noo'y	[nÓhO?i], [nÓ·'y]	<u>my</u> ...	/nu _x -@'y/
nohon, noon	[nÓhOn], [nÓ·n]	<u>your</u> (sg) ...	/nu _x -@n/
noxt	[nÓx ^w t ^h]	<u>his, her</u> ...	/nu _x -t/
noho'm, noo'm	[nÓhO?m], [nÓ·?m]	{ <u>our</u> ...	/nu _x -@'m/
noxsi'm	[nÓx ^w si?m]	<u>your</u> (pl) ...	/nu _x -s@m/
noxdiit	[nÓx ^w di·t ^h]	<u>their</u> ...	/nu _x -ti·t/

bax	[bÁx]
<u>run</u> (sg)	/pa _x /
Yukwhl baha'y.	[yuk ^w ± bÁhA?i]
<u>I'm running.</u>	/yuk ^w =± pa _x -@'y/
... bahan.	[... bÁhAn]
<u>You</u> (sg) ...	/... pa _x -@n/
... baxt.	[... bÁxt ^h]
<u>He, She</u> ...	/... pa _x -t/

The common feature of the stem-alternants with glides illustrated above is that they all occur following the rightmost, stressed root vowel and preceding a vowel. The gliding rule can be characterized thus:

$$\text{Rule 14} \quad \begin{bmatrix} x \\ x^w \\ x \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} y \\ w \\ h \end{bmatrix} / \acute{V} (y) _ V$$

and in distinctive features:

$$[+cns] \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} -cns \\ \alpha_{son} \end{bmatrix} / [+syl] \begin{bmatrix} -syl \\ -ant \\ +cnt \\ \alpha_{hgh} \end{bmatrix} [+syl]$$

The schwa vowels of stem-forming derivational suffixes do not attract stress; note the paradigm of alga_x /?alk-@x/, /?alk-@q/, where there are no fricative / glide alternations in the post-tonic intervocalic environments.

algax	[?Alg ^y Ex]
<u>language, speech</u> <u>speak</u> (vi sg)	/?alk-@x/, /?alk-@q/
Yukwhl algaxa'y.	[yuk ^w ɪ ?Alg ^y ExA? ⁱ]
... algaga'y.	[... ?Alg ^y EgA? ⁱ]
<u>I'm speaking.</u>	/yuk ^w =ɪ ?alk-@x-@'y/ /... ?alk-@q-@'y/
... algaxan.	[... ?Alg ^y ExAn]
... algagan.	[... ?Alg ^y EgAn]
<u>You</u> (sg) ...	/... ?alk-@x-@n/ /... ?alk-@q-@n/
... algaxt.	[... ?Alg ^y Ext ^h]
<u>He, She</u> ...	/... ?alk-ax-t/ /... ?alk-@q-t/
... al'algaxa'm.	[?Al? ⁱ Alg ^y ExA?m]
... al'algaga'm.	[?Al? ⁱ Alg ^y EgA?m]
<u>We</u> ...	/... ?@l-?alk-@x-@'m/ /... ?@l-?alk-@q-@'m/
... al'algaxsi'm	[?Al? ⁱ Alg ^y ExsI?m]
<u>You</u> (pl)	/... ?@l-?alk-@x-s@'m/ /... ?@l-?alk-@q-s@'m/
... al'algaxdiit	[?Al? ⁱ Alg ^y Exdi ^t h]
<u>They</u> ...	/... ?@l-?alk-@x-ti ^t / /... ?@l-?alk-@q-ti ^t /

During my 1982 fieldwork, I observed that some younger speakers did not glide intervocalic /x/ to /h/, but retained it instead, which gives rise to such forms as ...baxa'y, corresponding to older ...baha'y.

There are a number of forms with final /x/ and /x/ following a resonant that display alternants in -Ø-. Exemplary forms are:

also in slow, monitored Nigzha

t'imlanx	[t'ImlÉnx ^y]
<u>neck</u>	/t'@m#lanx/
t'imlani'y	[t'ImlÉni? ⁱ]
<u>my</u> ...	/t@#lan-@'y/
t'imlanin	[t'ImlÉnIn]
<u>your</u> (sg) ...	/t'@m#lan-@n
t'imlanxt	[t'ImlÉnx ^y t ^h]
<u>his, her</u> ...	/t'@m#lanx-t/
dilx, dilax	[díl x], [dílA x]
<u>tongue</u>	/tilx/
dili'y	[díl i? ⁱ]
<u>my</u> ...	/til-@'y/
dilin	[dílIn]
<u>your</u> (sg) ...	/til-@n/
dilxt, dilaxt	[díl x ^t h], [dílA x ^t h]
<u>his, her</u> ...	/tilx-t/
gadili'm	[gAdílI?m]
<u>our</u> ...	/q@-til-@'m/
gadilxsi'm	[gAdíl xSI?m]
<u>your</u> (pl) ...	/q@-tilx-s@'m/
gadilxdiit	[gAdíl xdi ^t h]
<u>their</u> ...	/q@-tilx-ti ^t /

The verbal paradigm of limx /limx/ sing (vi sg, pl) displays the same kind of alternations.

These alternations seem to require special lexical rules that specify that the shorter root-alternants /lan-/, /til-/,

etc. occur preceding the 1SG, 2SG, 1PL, /-@m/ attributive, and /-@n/ transitive suffixes. They are morphologically, not phonologically, conditioned.

Resonants

The plain resonants /m/, /n/, /l/, /w/, and /y/ require few phonetic comments, except that /l/ never darkens or velarizes as in English and that some speakers velarize /n/ following a short stressed vowel before /k/, as in:

ts'imts'anks	[c'Imc'áŋks], [c'Imc'áŋks]
<u>armpit</u>	/c'im#c'anks/

gwanks	[g ^w Áŋks], [g ^w Áŋks]
<u>spring</u>	/k ^w anks/

Rule 15 n ---> ŋ / \acute{V} _ k for some speakers

The glottalized resonants have glottal release preceding the release of the oral closure. Underlying /'y/ and /'w/ in preconsonantal and final positions actualize as two phonetic segments: a glottal stop followed by a short [i] or [u], respectively, which may be syllabic in the deliberate pronunciation of a citation form on which attention is focused, and which may also be a voiceless glide in final position. It is important not to confuse these sequences with the phonetically similar sequences of glottal stop followed by one of the vowels [E], [A], or [O], which echo the previous vowel. The two sets of sequences are structurally dissimilar. In the first instance, there are alternations of the kind [-?ⁱ - -'y-] and [-?^u - -'w-], as seen in:

nii'y	['ni·?i]
<u>I, me</u>	/ 'ni·-'y/
'Nii'ya?	['ni·'yA]
<u>Is it I, me?</u>	/ 'ni·-'y-a/
ganaa'w	[gAnÁ·?u]
<u>frog</u>	/ q@na·'w/
Ganaa'wa?	[gAnÁ·'wA]
<u>Is it a frog?</u>	/ q@na·'w-a/

In the second case, there are no alternations with glottalized resonants, but only the voiced and voiceless alternant pairs, [-?E- - -?E], [-?A- - -A], and [-?O- - -?O]. These latter develop or arise from sequences of underlying /V?/ and will be discussed more fully later; see pp. ??.

Rule 16 $\begin{bmatrix} 'y \\ 'w \end{bmatrix} \text{---> } / \begin{bmatrix} ?i \\ ?u \end{bmatrix} - C, \begin{bmatrix} ?i \\ ?u \end{bmatrix} - \#$

There are phonetic syllabic non-glide resonants [m̥], [ŋ], [l̥], and [ʔm̥] occurring in unstressed post-consonantal environments, and there are alternations of [-Im̥ ~ -m̥], [-In̥ ~ -ŋ], and [-Il̥ ~ -l̥] in stressed position, e.g.:

dim	[dIm̥ ~ dm̥]
FUT(ure) tense	/ tim/

ts'inhlik'	[c'ŋɩ́?kʸh]
<u>squirrel</u>	/ c'in#ti'k/
t'illuulak'	[t'ɩ́lu·la?qʰ] ~ [t'ɩ́lu·1A?qʰ]
<u>corpse-handler</u>	/ t'il#lu·1q' /
(people from the phratry or tribe of the father of the deceased person who wash and prepare the corpse for burial, etc.)	
Gingit.	[gʸÍmgʸItʰ - gʸm̥gʸItʰ]
<u>He, She wiped it.</u>	/ kimk-@-t/
jin	[jɩ́n - jŋ̥]
<u>hummingbird,</u>	/ cin/
<u>the pinching game</u>	
silt	[sɩ́ltʰ ~ sɩ́tʰ]
<u>be drunk</u> (vi sg)	/ silt/

gup	[gúp ^h]
<u>eat</u> (vt sg)	/k ^w ip/
Gubi'y	[gúb ⁱ ? ⁱ]
<u>I ate it.</u>	/k ^w ip-@-'y/
Gubin.	[gúbIn - gúb ⁿ]
<u>You</u> (sg) ...	/k ^w ip-@-n/
Gubit.	[gúbIt ^h]
<u>He, She</u> ...	/k ^w ip-@-t/
Gubi'm.	[gúbI?m - gúb?m]
<u>We</u> ...	/k ^w ip-@-'m/
Gubisi'm.	[gúbisI?m - gúbis?m]
<u>You</u> (pl) ...	/k ^w ip-@-s@m/
Gupdiit.	[gúpdi·t ^h]
<u>They</u> ...	/k ^w ip-ti·t/

These complementary distributions and alternations, together with the occurrence of voiced stops immediately preceding the syllabic resonants, make it plain that the phonetic syllabic non-glide resonants arise from clusters with preceding short [i], which may be either organic or coloured from schwa.

$$\text{Rule 17} \quad i \begin{bmatrix} m \\ m \\ n \\ 1 \end{bmatrix} \text{ ---> } \begin{bmatrix} m \\ m \\ n \\ i \end{bmatrix}$$

This rule is obligatory in unstressed environments, and optional in stressed environments.

Thus it seems plain that all resonants have a vowel immediately preceding or following at some stage of their derivational history (see p. ??).

As well, there are preconsonantal phonetic syllabic [ŋ]s and [l]s that occur preceding the coronal stop /t/ and /t'/ and the median released affricates /c/ and /c'/. Examples are:

nda	[ndá ^h]
<u>where?</u>	/n@ta/
Ndee'ehl!	[ndÉ·?E±]
<u>Pass it!</u> (e.g., some food)	/n@te·?-±/
njihl	[nǰI±]
<u>caribou</u> (archaic)	/n@ci±/

This form could be a loan from a neighbouring Athabaskan language.

nts'iits'	[nc'í·?c ^h]
<u>grandmother</u>	/n@c-'i·c'/
lts'eex	[lc'é·xʸ]
<u>be sated, full</u> (vi pl)	/l@c-'e·x/

Phonotactic, distributional considerations, viz. that resonants are always flanked by a vowel underlyingly, lead me to postulate a rule of the form:

$$\text{Rule 18} \quad \begin{bmatrix} n \\ i \\ i \end{bmatrix} \text{ ---> } \begin{bmatrix} n \\ i \\ c \end{bmatrix} / _ t, t', c, c'$$

I know of but one example, but there appears to be a

haplology rule that truncates the sequence /i'yí'y/, as in:

Dim gigi'yhl hlgu tk'ihlxw. [dm g^yig^yi[?]i[?] l^gu[~]tk^y'ílx^w]
I'll look for the child. /tim k@-ki'y-@-'y= l k^w@tk'ílx^w/

where an intermediate representation of the verb form here is
 k^yi-k^yi'y-i-'y.

Rule 19 i'y ---> Ø / i'y _

Across word boundaries at normal speech tempo when an
 initial glottalized resonant follows a final one, the latter
 deglottalizes, as seen in:

Ga'a'y 'niin. [g^ya[?]ay 'ní·n/
I saw you. (sg) /ka?-@-'y 'ni·-n/

Rule 20 'R₁ ---> R₁ / _ # 'R

Glides

The phonetic non-resonant glide [h] is found in four kinds
 of environments, but the phonemic status of the several
 allophones is complex. To deal with the simpler cases first, we
 note that there is an inorganic aspirate h-offglide that often
 develops following short vowels in final stressed syllables,
 particularly in deliberately pronounced citation forms. Some
 examples are:

Di!	[dÍ ^h]
<u>Move!</u> (sg)	/ti/
dawi	[dAwÍ ^h]
<u>mountain sheep</u>	/tawi/
dibe	[dIbÉ ^h]
<u>mountain sheep</u>	/t@pe/

The two forms above are loans from neighbouring Athabaskan
 languages.

sa	[sá ^h]
<u>day</u>	/sa/
sga	[sg ^y E ^h]
<u>herring</u>	/ska/
gwaso	[g ^w Asó ^h]
<u>pig</u>	/k ^w aso/

The above form is a loanword, ultimately from French cochon.

'malu ['mAlu^h]
 be crazy (vi sg) /'ma-lu/

There is a doublet 'mali /'ma-li/ that some speakers use. Both have an anomalous short unstressed a-vowel, where an i-coloured schwa would be expected. The plural of 'malu is 'magalu /'ma-q@-lu/.

The rule by which these predictable h-offglides develop is:

Rule 21 $\acute{V}_1 \rightarrow \acute{V}_1^h / _ \#$

There are also phonetic intervocalic h-glides that alternate with [x̣], and these allophones clearly must be assigned to the underlying uvular fricative /x̣/, as they arise through the operation of the dorsal fricative gliding rule - Rule 14.

Examples are found on pp. ??.

However, Gitksan does have a non-resonant glide phoneme /h/. In initial position, there is an h-on glide that contrasts with all other consonant segments, e.g.:

ha [há - há^h]
 air /ha/

haat [há·t^h]
 guts, intestines /ha·t/

hetxw [hÉtx^w - hétx^w]
 stand (vi sg) /hit-x^w/

hinak [hinÁq^h]
 skunk cabbage /hinaq/

hihluxw [hí·lux^w]
 morning /hi·lx^w/

hun [hón]
 salmon, anadromous fish /hun/

hupx [hóp̣x̣]
 forehead /hup̣x̣/

huxws [húx^ws]
 dried salmon slices /hux^ws/

huut [hú·t^h]
 flee, run away (vi pl) /hu·t/

Hoard (1978:112-113) reports that he observed four /h/ allophones in the speech of his young male speaker. These were:

- [h] a voiceless vocalic onglide
- [ḥ] a voiceless pharyngealized fricative
- [h̥] a voiced vocalic onglide
- [h̥̣] a voiced pharyngealized fricative

I myself have regularly observed only two /h/ allophones: the

voiceless vocalic onglide [h] and a "voiced", actually murmured, vocalic onglide that I represent as [h̥] (differing from Hoard). The word for salmon (hun /hun/) seems often to begin with [h̥] in the speech of older speakers, but for younger speakers, [h-] is definitely the present norm. And the secondary intervocalic aitches that develop from /x/ are often "voiced" or murmured. I'm confident that I haven't left any phonemic segments lurking about for reasons of phonetic underdiscrimination - there are not two h-phonemes /h/ and /h̥/ - but some initial /h/s (those that appear before [i] and [u]) probably descend from initial /x/ and /x^w/, respectively, and they never "voice".

The underlying root-initial /h/ deletes obligatorily when it occurs intervocalically, as may develop in C₁@- reduplication. Some examples are:

haalayt	[h̥ ^a ·lÁyt ^h]
<u>shamans</u>	/h@-h@layt/
haanak'	[h̥ ^a ·nÁ?q ^h]
<u>women</u>	/h@-h@naq'/
'Wiist'is	['wi·st'Ís]
<u>Great Pretends-to-Hit</u> (personal name, Frog / Raven Tribe)	/'wi·#his-t'is/

Rule 22 h ---> Ø / V _ V

In the eastern G varieties, this rule precedes the dorsal

fricative gliding rule (in a bleeding order), but in Nisgha and the western G varieties, it follows the latter in feeding order so that no intervocalic h-glides are found in those varieties. However, the two rules remain separately ordered in Nisgha and western G, and they are not conflated into a unitary h, x ---> Ø V _ V rule, because /h/ and /x/ separately condition the quality of schwa vowels at different stages in derivations.

The root-initial /h/ also elides generally when it occurs in post-consonantal environments such as develop across word boundaries at normal speech tempo. Compounding also gives rise to such environments. Examples are:

Agwihl anheesi'm? [?Ag^wÍ̥ ?AnhÉ·sI?m], [?Ag^wÍ̥ ?AnÉ·sI?m]
What are you talking about? /?ak^wi=̥ ?@n-he·-si'm/
What's the point of what you're saying?

anhooya	[?AnhÓ·yA], [?AnÓ·yA]
<u>tool, vehicle</u>	/?@n-ho·x-a/
laxha	[lAxhá], [lAxá]
<u>sky, heaven</u>	/lax#ha/
laxha'niijok	[lAxhA'ni·jóq ^{wh}], [lAxA'ni·jóq ^{wh}]
<u>on the earth, in the world</u>	/lax#h@-'ni·-cuq/
Xhalaytdi'y 'nitxi.	[xAlÁytdi'y 'nitx ^v i]
<u>I shamanized him, her.</u> (kill someone by shamanistic means)	/x#h@layt-t@-'y 'ni-t-x@/

Rule 23 h ---> Ø / C(#) _

There are also a few synchronically unanalyzable form that older speakers pronounce with post-consonantal [h], but which younger speakers lack. Examples are:

Ganeda in wG too
Ganhada, Ganada [gAnháA], [gAnáA], [g_χAnÉdA]
Frog / Raven Tribe, /qanhata/, /qanata/
phratry

This is the conventional name in the western G varieties and in Nisgha; in the eastern G varieties, it is called LaxSee 'l /lax#se·'l/ (perhaps from earlier *l@-xs-se·'l/), but many eastern G people know and recognize Ganhada, Ganada, and Ganeda.

'mishaax, 'misaax ['mIshá·xʸ], ['mIsá·xʸ]
daylight /'m@sha·x/, /'m@sa·x/

The h-eliding rule is evidently blocked in the post-consonantal environments that are created by C₁@- reduplication, as seen for example in:

haxhooyasxw [haxʸhÓ·yEsxʷ]
clothes /h@x-ho·x-@sxʷ/

The second non-resonant glide phoneme is the glottal stop /ʔ/. As is the case with some phonetic h-glides, there are also some phonetic glottal stops that must be assigned to allophones to other phonemes. For example, the phonetic glottal stops that develop from the segmentalizing of glottalized stops and

resonants in intervocalic, preconsonantal, and final environment that were discussed earlier (see pp. ??). However, the glottal stop phoneme occurs distinctively in initial and intervocalic environments, as well as some post-consonantal environments, including those that develop by reduplication, compounding, and across word boundaries at normal speech tempo. Unlike /h/, the glottal stop phoneme never elides, nor does it regularly glottalize preceding consonantal segments (although some glottalized consonants arise from morphological rules from clusters of C-? in the formation of irregular antipassive and transitives - see pp. ??).

The first set of examples illustrate the /ʔ/ in initial and post-consonantal environments:

ax [ʔÁx]
bulblet fern /ʔax/
aak [ʔÁ·qʰ]
lip /ʔa·q/
eek [ʔÉ·qʰ]
coho salmon /ʔe·q/
is [ʔÍs]
pee (vi sg), soapberry, /ʔis/
Get away! (said to dogs)

iis	[?i's]
<u>necklace</u>	/?i's/
us	[?os]
<u>dog</u>	/?us/
uuk	[?o'q ^h]
<u>copper</u>	/?u'q/
Dalgam Uuk	[dElgAm?o'q ^h]
<u>Talking-Copper</u> (personal name, Frog / Raven Tribe)	/talq-@m ?u'q/
Git-angwalkw	[gYIt?Ang ^w alk ^{wh}]
<u>Git-angwalkw</u> <u>People of the Dry Place</u> , a place name up the Skeena River	/k@t#?@n-k ^w alk ^w /
hanak'am us	[hAnA?gAm?os]
<u>female dog</u>	/h@naq'-@m ?us/
nis'in	[nIs?In]
<u>mink</u>	/n@s?in/
Compare Nisgha lis'yeen /l@s'ye'n/ <u>mink</u> .	
s'in	[s?In]
<u>bottom</u>	/s?in/
Compare Nisgha s'yeen /s'ye'n/ <u>bottom</u> .	

on Kupiat R?

x'anaax	[x?Aná·xY]
<u>eat some bread</u> (vi sg)	/x#?@na·x/
x'is	[x?Is]
<u>eat some soapberries</u> (vi sg)	/x#?is/

The following set of forms illustrate the /?/ in phonetic intervocalic environments:

do'o	[dO?O]
<u>cheek</u>	/du?/
Ga'at.	[gYá?at ^h]
<u>He, She saw it.</u>	/ka?-@-t/
gibee'esxw	[gYIbÉ·?Esx ^w]
<u>wait</u> (on someone) (vi) (antipassive)	/k@pe·?-sx ^w /
haky'o'o	[hAkY'ó?o]
<u>back</u>	/h@-k'u?/
haa'atxw	[há·'Atx ^w]
<u>woodpecker sp.</u>	/ha·?-tx ^w /
ihlee'e	[?IiÉ·?E]
<u>blood</u>	/?ile·?/

se'e	[sÉ?E]
<u>foot</u> , <u>leg</u>	/si?/
so'o	[sÓ?O]
<u>food</u> (taken home after eating elsewhere; leftovers from elsewhere. Mank /man-q/ ^{are} is one's leftovers at home)	/su?/
waa'atxw	[wá·?Atx ^w]
<u>scream</u> (vi sg)	/wa·?-tx ^w /
xa'a	[xá?ª]
<u>male slave</u>	/xa?/
ya'a	[yá?ª]
<u>spring salmon</u>	/ya?/
ye'e	[yÉ?E]
<u>grandfather</u>	/yi?/

Note that the above forms display a short vowel just following the phonetic intervocalic glottal stop that echoes the quality of the preceding low or mid vowel. The echo vowel in final position is voiceless or even absent; elsewhere (always preconsonantly), it is ^o _A viced. Recall from earlier discussion (see pp. ??) that sequences of glottal stop followed by short [i] and [u] are assigned as allophones to /'y/ and /'w/, respectively. To anticipate the treatment of vowels in the next section, these distributional facts support an analysis that postulates two

ordered rules. The first rule lowers the short high vowels /i/ and /u/ to mid [E] and [O], respectively, before /?/, and the second rule then copies a short echo vowel of the same quality following the glottal stop. Thus, underlyingly such glottal stops are really preconsonantal, and we can say that the glottal stop phoneme is always flanked by a consonant in phonological representations.

Rule 24
$$\begin{bmatrix} i \\ u \end{bmatrix} \text{ ---> } \begin{bmatrix} E \\ O \end{bmatrix} / _ ?$$

Rule 25
$$\emptyset \text{ ---> } \begin{bmatrix} e \\ a \\ o \end{bmatrix} / \begin{bmatrix} e, e^\cdot \\ a, a^\cdot \\ o, o^\cdot \end{bmatrix} ? - \{C\}$$

(In formalizing this rule, I've ignored the slight phonetic differences between [e] and [E], [a] and [A], and [o] and [O], and the devoicing of the echo vowel in final position).

The situation of glottal stop-final and glottalized resonant-final words in the western G varieties differs from the eastern G varieties discussed above. In western G, there is no echo vowel following a final glottal stop. Similarly, final /'y/ and /'w/ after their homorganic vowels /i/ and /u/, respectively, actualize as [?]. Otherwise, final glottalized resonants realize as a segmentalized sequence of glottal stop followed by a voiceless resonant glide or nasal or liquid, as appropriate. Some western G examples are:

se'	[sÉʔ]
<u>foot, leg</u>	/siʔ/
so'	[sÓʔ]
<u>food</u> (taken home)	/suʔ/
xa'	[xáʔ]
<u>male slave</u>	/xaʔ/
ya'	[yáʔ]
<u>spring salmon</u>	/yaʔ/
ye'	[yÉʔ]
<u>grandfather</u>	/yiʔ/
ju'w	[ǰúʔ]
<u>puppy</u>	/cu'w/
Ju'waʔ	[ǰú'wA]
<u>Is it a puppy?</u>	/cu'w-a/
'ni'y	['níʔ]
<u>I, me</u>	/'ni-'y/
'Ni'yaʔ	['ní'yA]
<u>Is it I, me?</u>	/'ni-'y-a/

'Nii'y with a long vowel is the most common pronunciation of I, me in the G varieties and Nisgha, but I've recorded several older eastern G speakers and older and younger western G speakers who use the shorter variant.

ts'e'l	[c'Éʔ]
<u>eye, face</u>	/c'e'l/

Compare eastern G ts'a'a /c'aʔ/ eye, face.

Vowels

There are eight vowel phonemes in G that occur distinctively under primary stress: three short vowels - /i/, /a/, and /u/; and five long vowels - /i·/, /e·/, /a·/, /o·/, and /u·/. The three long vowels /i·/, /a·/, and /u·/ occur in unstressed and secondary stressed environments. In pretonic unstressed and secondary stressed environments, there are no distinctive contrasts among the short vowel allophones found, and so we represent these underlyingly as /@/ or schwa (a neutral vowel unspecified for quality), but in post-tonic final position, two short vowels contrast, which are non-low /@/ and low /a/. If one were to select one of the fully specified short vowels as the unmarked one that undergoes colouring according to its consonantal environment, it would have to be /i/. Many stressed phonetic long vowels are ^{organic or primary} not phonemic long vowels, but instead they develop from various vowel and glide sequences, as will be discussed later. It is possible that two additional short vowels, viz., /e/ and /o/, are gaining distinctive or phonemic status under primary stress.

Long Vowels

The five long vowels phonetically approximate the following norms [i· - e·], [E· - e·], [a· - A·], [O· - o·], and [Q· - u·].

Examples are:

diikw [di·k^{wh}]
woman's sister /ti·k^w/

giihl	[g ^y i·ɬ]
<u>lie down</u> (vi sg)	/ki·ɬ/
hiihluxw	[hi·lux ^w]
<u>morning</u>	/hi·ɬx ^w /
jilgees	[jɪlge·s]
<u>chipmunk</u>	/c@lqi·s/
'nii'y	['ni·y]
<u>I, me</u>	/'ni·-y/
ee'e	[?É·?E]
<u>yes</u>	/?e·?/
k'eekw	[k·É·k ^{wh}]
<u>ten</u> (animals)	/k·e·k ^w /
seeks	[sé·ks]
<u>splash</u> (vt sg)	/se·ks/
yee	[yÉ·]
<u>go</u> (vi sg)	/ye·/
yeen	[yé·n]
<u>cloud</u>	/ye·n/

This monomorphemic form is anomalous in that its long vowel doesn't shorten before syllable-final /n/. Its Nisgha correspondent is identical.

aat	[?á·t ^h]
<u>net</u> (n), <u>fish with net</u> (vi sg)	/?a·t/
baap	[bá·p ^h]
<u>father, dad</u>	/pa·p/

daak'	[dÁ·?q ^h]
<u>excavated area of old plank house</u>	/ta·q'/
laahl	[lá·ɬ]
<u>lie down</u> (vi pl)	/la·ɬ/
xsgaak	[xsgʷá·kʷ ^h]
<u>eagle</u>	/xs#ka·k/
hoox	[hó·xʷ]
<u>use, wear</u> (vt sg)	/ho·x/
ky'oots	[kʷ'ó·c ^h]
<u>yesterday</u>	/k'ó·c/
moos	[mó·s]
<u>thumb, big toe</u>	/mo·s/
toast	[t ^h ó·st ^h]
<u>belongings, gear</u>	/tho·st/
txookxw	[txó·qx ^w]
<u>eat</u> (vi pl)	/txo·q-x ^w /
uuk	[?ó·q ^h]
<u>copper</u>	/?u·q/
luux	[lú·xʷ]
<u>alder</u>	/lu·x/
muus	[mú·s]
<u>scabby scarred neck</u> (an old word)	/mu·s/
t'uuts'xw	[t'ú·?cx ^w]
<u>be black</u> (vi sg)	/t'u·c'-x ^w /

moose (loan from English and ultimately from an Algonquian language)

yuukxw	[yó·qx ^w]
<u>eat</u> (vi sg)	/yu·q-x ^w /

A discussion of the allophony of the long vowels follows. The phonetic norm of /i·/ is [i·], but following uvulars, [e·] is found. The norm of /e/ is [E·], a laxer mid front unrounded vowel, but before /k/, the tenser [e·] is found (but it cannot be assigned to /i·/ because [i·] occurs contrastively in that environment, even though it overlaps and is phonetically identical with the [e·] allophone of /i·/ that occurs after uvulars).

The norm of /a·/ is [a·], a low front unrounded vowel, but before uvulars, a backer [A·] is found. The /o·/ norm is [O·], a laxer mid back rounded vowel, but a tenser allophone [o·] is found in some forms where the precise environmental conditioning is unclear. The /u·/ norm is [u·], a high back slightly rounded vowel, but before uvulars, the vowel [ó·] is found. It is back and rounded, slightly lower than [U] but higher than the [o·] allophone of /o·/, with which it does not overlap. I've also heard t'uuts'xw /t'u·c'-x^w/ be black (vi sg) pronounced consistently by some western G speakers as [t'ó·?cx^w]; the same speakers also say [t^hón] and [t^hóst^h] for this and that, where [t^hún] and [t^húst^h] are more common.

The underlying long vowels regularly shorten before the plain sonorants in syllable-final position, and the following sorts of alternations are found:

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Nee dii yee'y.	[nÈ· di· yÉ·'y]
<u>I didn't go.</u>	/ne· ti· ye·'y/
Nee dii yin.	[nÈ· di· yIn]
<u>You didn't go.</u> (sg)	/ne· ti· ye·-n/
Nee dii yeet.	[nÈ· di· yÉ·t ^h]
<u>He, She didn't go.</u>	/ne· ti· ye·-t/
Xhli yem laxha	[xliyÈmlAxá]
<u>Walks-Across-the-Sky</u> (man's name, Wolf Tribe)	/xli ye·-m lax#ha/
Yukwhl t'aa'y.	[yùk ^w t'á·?i]
<u>I'm sitting.</u>	/yuk ^w =t'á·-'y/
Yukwhl t'an.	[yùk ^w t'á·-n/
<u>You're sitting.</u> (sg)	/yuk ^w =t'á·-n/
Yukwhl t'aat.	[yùk ^w t'á·t ^h /
<u>He, She is sitting.</u>	/yuk ^w =t'á·-t/
loo'y	[lÓ·?i]
<u>for, to me</u>	/lo·-'y/
lun	[lún]
<u>for, to you</u>	/lo·-n/
Unshortened loon [lÓ·n]	/lo·-n/ is common among western G speakers.
loot	[lÓ·t ^h]
<u>for, to him, her</u>	/lo·-t/

The rules that generate such alternations are:

Rule 26 V· ---> V / _ R {#
C}Rule 27 é, ó ---> í, ú / _ n {#
C}

Comparison of the above forms with cognate and other Nisgha forms makes it plain that the shortening and raising rules of eastern G are later historical developments, innovations specific to it. Note these additional correspondences:

Nisgha	Gitksan	
[mi'yé·n] /m@'ye·n/	[mI?In] /mi?in/	<u>smoke</u>
[lIs'yé·n] /l@s'ye·n/	[nIs?In] /n@s?in/	<u>mink</u>
[q'am'yé·n] /q'@m'ye·n/	[gAm?In] /q@m?in/	<u>toilet paper</u>
[lá·n] /la·n/	[lán], [lÉn] /lan/	<u>fish eggs, roe</u>
['má·l] /'ma·l/	['mál] /'mal/	<u>canoe</u>
[?á·m] /?a·m/	[?Ám] /?am/	<u>be good</u> (vi sg)
[dá·w] /ta·w/	[dÁw] /taw/	<u>ice</u>
[g ^w Ó·m] /k ^w o·m/	[gúm] /k ^w im/	<u>ashes, fly-ash</u>

[s'yó·n]
/s'yo·n/

[s'yún]
/s'yun/

glacier

All these are monomorphemic forms that have been subject to the historical operation of the shortening and raising rules, and consequently they have undergone restructuring because they do not alternate with long counterparts. G smoke has been restructured to /mi?in/, which has an anomalous i-vowel where an a-coloured schwa vowel is expected before the glottal stop (although I have recorded [mA?ín] /m@?in/ in western G). In eastern G, canoe /'mal/ is always ['mál], whereas in western G, it has been further changed to ['mÉl]. Eastern G fish eggs /lan/ has discrete alternants in [lán] and [lÉn], the latter more common, while western G has only [lÉn]. Former /k^wo·m/ yields [gúm] by rule, which is then reinterpreted as /k^wim/.

Forms that continue to alternate, such as [g^yÉ·w - g^yÉw] downstream and [mó·mst^h - mómst^h] be foolish, silly (vi sg) are not subject to reinterpretation and restructuring with short /e/ and /o/, respectively. They remain underlyingly /ke·w/ and /mo·mst/, respectively.

As well, there are loanwords that display non-alternating short e and o, such as dibe [dÍbÉ^h] /t@pe/ mountain sheep (from Athabaskan), lemato [lÉmAtó] /lemato/ domestic sheep (from French le mouton ultimately; the word is not widely used now), and gwaso [g^wAso^h] /k^wasó/ pig (from French cochon ultimately), and these and other such loanwords might reinforce the tendency to reinterpret and restructure the phonetic short mid vowels as distinct phonemes.

There are a number of obvious exceptions to the shortening and raising rules that require comment. Laal [lá·l] /la·l/ bone game, slahal game is a probable post-contact loan deriving ultimately from some Salishan language to the south. Miin [mí·n] /mi·n/ base of mountain, foot of tree, headman, Lord is found in all G and Nisgha varieties, and it probably goes back to Proto-Tsimshian. I recorded [mí·n - míhin] alternants from a Kisgegas speaker in 1966, which might indicate the form descends from */mix-@n/ and not from */mi·n/. The common G word for tobacco, cigarette has alternants in [mi'yé·n] and [mi'yÉn]. It is evidently a post-contact loan from Nisgha, but the expected cognate of Nisgha /m@'ye·n/ smoke (later extended to tobacco) does occur in G as /mi?in/. The loan form does seem to undergo the shortening rule sporadically. 'Niin ['ní·n] /'ni·n/, the second person singular nominative-accusative pronoun, is another glaring exception to the shortening rule, and I have no acceptable explanation for it.

Short Vowels

The stressed short vowel phonemes exhibit much phonetic variation and variability. The phonetic norm of /i/ is [I], but [e] is generally found after /q/ and /q'/, as seen in:

Bisi'y.	[b'Ísi?i]
<u>I tore it.</u>	/pis-@-'y/
ges	[g'és], [g'Ís]
<u>hair</u>	/qis/
k'esii	[q'ési·], [q'Ísi·]
<u>knee</u>	/q'is-i·/
The variants in the above two forms are discrete, not gradient; the first of each pair is the more common pronunciation.	
sip	[s'íp ^h]
<u>bone</u>	/sip/
ts'in	[c'ín]
<u>go in, enter</u> (vi sg)	/c'in/

Recall from the earlier discussion (see pp. ??) that /i/ lowers to [E] before the glottal stop phoneme. As well, [I] and [e] are conspicuously absent before uvulars (whereas [A] and [O] are frequent), although I know two forms that display short [E] before [x]. They are ts'ex [c'Éx] /c'ix/ juniper tree and western G be_x [bÉx] /pix/ lungs (corresponding to eastern G and Nisgha be_x [bÉ·x] /pe·x/). Thus Rule 23 must be extended to operate before /?/ and /x/ both, as in:

Rule 28 $\begin{bmatrix} i \\ u \end{bmatrix} \text{ ---> } \begin{bmatrix} E \\ O \end{bmatrix} / \text{ - ? , x , q , q' }$

G Txemsim [tx'ÉmsIm] Raven (the Trickster) corresponds to Nisgha Txeesim [tx'e·msIm]. The G and Nisgha underlying representations are /txims-@m/ and /txe·ms-@m/, respectively. (However, the Gitksan generally call the Trickster 'Wii Gat Giant). Although the shortening rule has operated historically in the stressed short vowel of the G form, the /x/ immediately preceding it permits its reinterpretation and restructuring as short /i/, rather than short /e/.

Following the laryngeal glide /h/, the short /i/ lowers into the [E - e] range, the former being the norm. Some examples are:

helt	[hélt ^h]
<u>be much, many</u> (vi)	/hilt/
hetxw	[hÉtx ^w - hétx ^w]
<u>stand</u> (vi sg)	/hit-x ^w /
Simhedini'y 'nit.	[sImÉdIni?i 'nít ^h]
<u>I believed him.</u>	/s@m-hi-t@n-@'y 'ni-t/

The phonetic treatment of the stressed short /a/ phoneme in the G varieties contrasts greatly with that in Nisgha. The Nisgha phonetic norm of /a/ is /Ǻ/, a low front unrounded vowel - Sapir (1915:29) described it as "like a of English hat." - although there is a tendency for a slightly retracted vowel to occur near uvulars. In the G varieties, while a retracted [A] occurs around uvulars, there are great differences in other environments. Essentially, there are two allophonic norms for stressed short /a/ - the first is a low central vowel [A] that may range up to the carat [ʌ] or front to [a], and the second is

[E], epsilon, a mid front vowel. In the eastern G varieties, the stressed [A]-pronunciations predominate, although [E] pronunciations are not uncommon near palatals. In western G, the stressed [E]-pronunciations are now the invariant norm in many forms, particularly near palatals and plain coronals. Western G people insist on writing these forms with the letter e, rather than a, in the practical orthography in order to mark explicitly that their speech differs from eastern G speech. The first group following lists five common forms in short stressed /a/ to illustrate the differences just described, while the second five are common forms that display identical pronunciations in eastern and western G varieties:

Nisgha	Eastern Gitksan	Western Gitksan
[bʰǎn]	[bʰÁN]	[bʰÉn]
<u>belly</u>	/pan/	
[dʰǎpʰ]	[dʰÁPʰ]	[dʰÉpʰ]
<u>liver</u>	/tap/	
[ʃǎbi'y]	ʃ [ʃʰÁbiʔi], [ʃʰÉbiʔi]	[ʃʰÉbiʔi]
<u>I made it.</u>	/cap-@-'y/	
[wʰǎkʰ]	[wʰÉkʰ], [wʰÁkʰ]	[wʰÉkʰ]
<u>man's brother</u>	/wak/	
[Xwǎ]	[XwÁ]	[XwÉ]
<u>name</u>	/Xwa/	
[ʔǎks]	[ʔáks]	[ʔáks]
<u>water, stream</u>	/ʔaks/	
[ʔǎxʷtʰ]	[ʔÁxʷtʰ]	[ʔÁxʷtʰ]
<u>porcupine</u>	/ʔaxʷt/	
[bʰǎx]	[bʰÁx]	[bʰÁx]
<u>run</u> (vi sg)	/pax/	
[nǎʔqʰ]	[nÁʔqʰ]	[nÁʔqʰ]
<u>dress</u>	/naq'/	
[c'ǎqʰ]	[c'Áqʰ]	[c'Áqʰ]
<u>nose</u>	/c'aq/	

In unstressed environments, eastern G short /a/ tends to centralize toward the carat value of [A], while in western G, there is sporadic, but categorial (discrete, not gradient) alternation between [A]- and [E]-pronunciations, as seen for

example in such western G forms as [ʔAná·xʸ] and [ʔEná·xʸ]
/ʔana·x/ bread and [ʔAs 'ní·n] and [ʔEs 'ní·n] /ʔas 'ni·-n/ for,
to you (sg).

Such a situation presents problems for phonologists who conscientiously attend to intra-individual speech variation and inter-individual speech variability. There is little difficulty in accepting that short /a/ in eastern G includes [E] allophones. In western G, one could ignore the social or indexical value of the [E]-pronunciations and note that the [E] and [A] allophones are in non-contrastive, complementary distribution; thus they could all be assigned to the short /a/ phoneme. However, a more sociolinguistically sensitive view might be that short /e/ is emerging or has emerged as a distinctive phoneme in western G, with many forms shifting from /a/ to /e/ in their underlying representations, and others remaining as /a/. We can date this sound change as within the past generation or so. It ^{was} is not evident in the speech of my two Kitwancool and one Kitwanga consultants, all men who were born in the 1890s. Their speech displayed many [E]s near palatals, but rarely near the plain coronals. The same sound change is probably occurring form by form, environment by environment, in eastern G. [Ask John Dunn whether there is or has been a similar sound change in the Coast Tsimshian varieties of the lower Skeena River and adjacent coast].

The short /u/ phoneme has several principal stressed allophones. As was foreshadowed in Rules 23 and 27, /u/ lowers to [O] before the glottal stop and the uvulars. No other short back rounded vowel occurs in these environments, and so [O] (open

o) is assigned to /u/ on the basis of complementary distribution and phonetic similarity. Some more examples are:

box	[bóxʷ]
<u>blow</u> (vi sg)	/pux/
dok'	[dóʔqʰh]
<u>be deaf</u> (vi sg)	/tuq'/
jok	[ʒóqʰh]
<u>camp, dwell</u> (vi sg)	/cuq/
lok'	[lóʔqʰh]
<u>eel, lamprey</u>	/luq'/
mo'on	[móʔOn]
<u>salt</u>	/muʔn/

There is a second stressed /u/-allophone following the uvulars /q/ and /q'/ that centers about [o]. It occurs in such forms as:

gokw	[gókʰh]
<u>nod</u> (vi sg)	/qukʷ/
gol	[gól]
<u>run</u> (vi sg), also <u>loon</u>	/qul/
gos	[gós]
<u>jump</u> (vi sg)	/qus/
k'o	[q'óʰh]
<u>penis</u>	/q'u/

<u>k'ohl</u>	[q'óɬ]
<u>cut up</u> (fish) (vt sg)	/q'uɬ/
<u>k'ots</u>	[q'óc ^h]
<u>cut</u> (vt sg)	/q'uc/

There are a smallish number of forms that have alternative pronunciations in [o] and in a slightly higher vowel, symbolized here as [u]. They include:

an'un	[?An?ón], [?An?ún]
<u>hand, arm</u>	/?@n-?un/
hun	[hón], [hún]
<u>salmon, anadromous fish</u>	/hun/
hupx	[hóp ^x], [húp ^x]
<u>forehead</u>	/hup ^x /
lax'u	[lAx?ó], [lAx?ú]
<u>top</u> (side or part)	/lax#?u/
us	[?ós], [?ús]
<u>dog</u>	/?us/

? Three of the above forms have Nisgha cognates in /o·/; cf. Nisgha /qo·l/ loon (but /qu/ run (vi sg)), /ho·n/ salmon, anadromous fish, and /q'o·/ penis.

Elsewhere, the remaining allophone is [u], which varies somewhat in its tenseness/laxness. Recall also that the short /u/ phoneme has a restricted or defective distribution in that it does not contrast with short /i/ following a labiovelar. In that environment, whether stressed or unstressed, one generally finds

[u], and it has been assigned to the underlying /i/. Remember too that the preceding labiovelar undergoes delabialization, e.g., gup eat (vt sg) derives from /k^wip/, not from /k^wup/. Examples of forms with the [u] allophone of short /u/ are:

anuhl	[?Anúɬ]
<u>drum</u>	/?@nuɬ/
dulpxw	[dúlpx ^w]
<u>be short</u> (vi sg)	/tulp-x ^w /
dults'	[dúl?c ^h]
<u>clitoris</u>	/tulc'/
dus	[dús]
<u>bounce</u> (vt sg)	/tus/
huts'	[hú?c ^h]
<u>sardine</u>	/huc'/

I've never heard a *[ho?c^h] pronunciation of this form; I wonder whether it might not descend from earlier */x^wic'/.

huxws	[húx ^w s]
<u>dried salmon slices</u>	/hux ^w s/
'nu'w	['nú?u]
<u>die</u> (vi sg)	/'nu'w/
umhlxw	[?úmɬx ^w]
<u>moss</u>	/?u-mɬx ^w /

Short /u/ does not occur in word-final position, although final phonetic [-u] (or even [-o]) may develop from /-k^wi/ or /x^wi/, as seen in:

agu	[?Agú]
<u>what</u>	/?@k ^w i/
T'asxu!	[t'Ásxo]
<u>Go on!</u>	/t'asx ^w i/

In word- and utterance-final position, only short /@/ and /a/ occur, and they contrast there - for example, [=k^yi], [=x^yi] /-k@/, /-x@/ DISTal enclitic and [=g^yE] ... enclitic. Otherwise, with few exceptions, the quality of unstressed short vowels is predictable. To simplify somewhat, [u] occurs before labiovelars and [w], [A]-like allophones occur near uvulars and laryngeals, and [I]-like allophones occur everywhere else. Ignoring loanwords, the exceptional or anomalous unstressed short vowels in native words seem to have developed historically following earlier */x/, */x^w/, and */k'/, for example. I have discussed a number of such forms already, and I have generally represented them with an underlying fully specified vowel (either /i/ or /u/), rather than with the schwa.

Stress

Stress, vowel epenthesis and the quality of unstressed vowels, together with word and phrasal boundaries, are inter-related phenomena, and the rhythm of G speech is stress-timed. Stress is nowhere distinctive in the language, yet it cannot be predicted simply on the basis of surface phonetic criteria, such as occurrence on a particular syllable of the word. Stress is in fact both phonologically and grammatically conditioned. In the citation forms of single verb, adjective, and noun words, primary stress falls on the right-most vowel of the root - and the majority of roots are monosyllabic - while in compound words, primary stress falls on the right-most root-vowel of the right-most member of the compound. In the citation forms of preverbal words, primary stress falls on the left-most vowel. And in the independent personal pronouns, the primary stress falls on the vowel of the base. Examples are:

Laagaldi'y.	[lÁ·gAldi'y]
<u>I examined it,</u> <u>looked it over.</u>	[[[[lÁ·q][-@1]][-t@]]['y]]

The square brackets of the lower right-hand representations give the morphological constituency of the complex form.

Hlimooyin.	[±ImÓ·yIn]
<u>You (sg) helped him, her.</u>	[[[±@mÓ·][-y@]][-n]]
hat'akxw	[hAt'áqx ^w]
<u>be bad</u> (vi sg)	[[[h@-][t'áq]][-x ^w]]
hadit'akxw	[hAdIt'Áqx ^w]
<u>be bad</u> (vi pl)	[[[h@-][t@-][t'áq]][-x ^w]]

ganiis	[gAní's]
<u>dog salmon</u>	/q@ni's/
ya'a	[yá?ª]
<u>spring salmon</u>	/ya?/
guxwsmáx	[gùx ^w smÉx ^y]
<u>shoot bears</u> (vi)	[[k ^w ix ^w #[smáx]]]

This is an incorporated, compounded verb form.

galdimwalhun	[gÁldImwalhón]
<u>box for carrying fish</u>	[[qalt][-@m]#[[wal]#[hún]]]

This is a complex compound whose right-most member is itself an incorporated, compounded verb form.

balgi	[bálg ^y i]
act <u>unexpectedly</u> (pvb)	{pálk@}
duula	[dú·1A]
<u>improperly</u> (pvb)	[tú·lá] <i>redo brackets</i>
hagwil	[hÁg ^w Il]
<u>slowly, deliberately</u> (pvb)	[hákw@1] "
k'ilk'al, k'ilgal	[k ^y 'íl?gAl], [k'ílqAl]
<u>over the surface</u> (pvb)	[k'ílq'@1], [k'ílq@1] "
tsilim, ts'imwil	[c'IlIm], [c'imwil]
<u>into a stationary object</u> (pvb)	[c'il@1], [c'imw@1] "

nisi'm	['nIsI?m]
<u>you</u> (pl)	[['ní][-s@'m]]

loosi'm	[lÓ·sI?m]
<u>for, to you</u> (pl)	[[lÓ·][-s@'m]]

In phrases, the primary stress falls on the right-most root-vowel of the head word, which occurs right-most in both verb and nominal phrases. The other stressed vowels in phrases reduce to secondary stresses in careful speech, and they reduce even further in prominence at normal speech tempo. Examples are seen in the following attributive nominal phrases:

hat'agam us	[hAt'ÁgAm?ós]
<u>a bad dog</u>	[[[h@-][t'áq]][-@m]] [?ús]
hadit'agam as'us	[hAdIt'ÁgAm?As?ós]
<u>bad dogs</u>	[[[h@-][t@-][t'áq]][-@m]][[?@s][?ú]

However, in demonstrative nominal phrases, the demonstrative occurs right-most and is enclitic or suffixed to the preceding noun head, which receives the primary stress on its right-most root vowel, as in:

us tun	[?óst ^h ùn]
<u>this dog</u>	[[?ús]=[t]=[x ^w ín]]]
hanak' txust	[hAnÁ?qt ^h úst ^h]
<u>that woman</u>	[[h@náq']=[t]=[x ^w íst]]]

The main stressing rule evidently operates fairly early, because primary stress figures significantly in the environments of a number of phonological rules. The vowels of derivational

and inflectional suffixes play no role in stress-assignment and they never receive primary stress. There are but two exceptions known to me, which are:

t'imis	[t'Imís]
<u>write</u> (vi sg)	[[t'@m][-ís]]
wok'es	[wOq'és]
<u>dig</u> (vi sg)	[[wuq'][-ís]]

The following are some sentence-length examples, broken down into major phrasal constituents, that illustrate the placement of phrasal stress:

Dim k'ali dibaha'm 'niin go'ohl Gisbayakws t'aahlakw ja amhl laxha.

We'll run you (sg) up to Kispiox tomorrow if the weather's good.

/tim q'ali d@-(páx)-@'m ('ní·)-n

qu?=í k@t#sp@-(yáx^w)-s

t'a·íák^w

c@={?ám}=í lax#(há)/

The stress-attracting roots and bases are here indicated by curly braces enclosing them.

Sim luu gatgoot'insxwt dip John gant Mary siwilaayinhl Sim'algax.

John and Mary are really applying themselves to learning

Sim'algax (the Gitksan language).

/sim lu· q@t-(qó·t)-?@n-sx^w=t tip (Jóhn) qan=t (Máry)

s@-(w@lá·x)-@n=í sim-(?álk)-@x/

This sentence should be checked to see whether the complement would be better marked with an /?a=í/ preposition.

Naa ni wil gi'namhl daala?

Who did I give the money to?

/{ná·}

n@=wil {k@'nám}-í {tá·la}/

Daala [d²á·lA] /ta·la/ money is a loanword from English, and its first syllable receives stress, rather than the expected rightmost, final vowel.

Vowel Epenthesis

We now consider three kinds of vocalic epenthesis in G whose analysis here is motivated by considerations of the predictability of stress-placement, by considerations of the complementary distribution and distributional symmetry of underlying and surface consonant clusters, and sometimes also by considerations of morphological symmetry. The first kind of epenthesis requires morphological rules specific to particular suffixal morphemes, while the remaining two are phonological rules which make reference to syntactic categories.

The first kind of morphological epenthesis ensures that resonants are always flanked by a preceding and/or a following vowel. For example, three pronominal suffixes and one

*close up
+ indent*

*sginist
jack pin*

attributive suffix alternant have basic shapes in single resonant segments; these are /-'y/ 1SG, /-n/ 2SG, /-'m/, and /-m/, respectively. But when a consonant-final stem precedes, the suffixes acquire a vowel of predictable quality before the resonant. The relevant morphological rules give rise to such allomorphic sets as [-n] - [-An] - [-En] - [-In] - [-On] - [-un], which we represent underlyingly as /-n/ - /-@n/ 2SG. Examples are seen in:

wa	[wÁ]
<u>name</u>	/wa/
wan	[wÁn]
<u>your name</u> (sg)	/wa-n/
ts'ak	[c'Áq ^h]
<u>nose</u>	/c'aq/
ts'agan	[c'ÁgAn]
<u>your nose</u> (sg)	/c'aq-@n/
nax	[nÁx]
<u>snowshoe</u>	/nax/
nahan	[nÁhAn]
<u>your snowshoe</u> (sg)	/nax-@n/
beex	[bÉ·x]
<u>lungs</u>	/pe·x/
behen	[bÉhEn]
<u>your lungs</u> (sg)	/pe·x-@n

dap	[dÁp ^h]
<u>liver</u>	/tap/
dabin	[dÁbIn]
<u>your liver</u> (sg)	/tap-@n/
lax	[lÉx ^y], [lÁx ^y]
<u>body hair</u> , <u>fur</u>	/lax/
layin	[láyIn]
<u>your body hair</u>	/lax-@n/
anjok	[?AnjÓq ^{wh}]
<u>camp</u>	/?@n-cuq/
anjogon	[?AnjÓgOn]
<u>your camp</u> (sg)	/?@n-cuq-@n/
bukw	[búk ^{wh}]
<u>book</u>	/puk ^w /
bugwin, bugun	[búg ^w In], [búgun]
<u>your book</u> (sg)	/puk ^w -@n/
muxw	[múx ^w]
<u>ear</u>	/mux ^w / ^h
muwin, muhun	[múwIn], [múgun]
<u>your ear</u> (sg)	/mux ^w -@n/

The second kind of epenthesis operates to break up root-final consonantal clusters that are preceded by a long vowel. The process inserts a vowel of predictable quality between the

consonants, and it is formalized as:

Rule 29 $\emptyset \rightarrow @ / \dots \acute{V} \cdot C _ C$

Some intramorphemic examples are:

aaluxw	[?á·lux ^w]	
<u>sing and dance</u> <u>in chorus</u> (vi)	/?a·lx ^w /	
aats'ip	[?Á·c'Ip]	
<u>door</u>	/?a·c'p/	? /-cp/ zero-grade of /cap/
hoobix	[hÓ·bix ^y]	
<u>spoon</u>	/ho·px/	
luulak'	[lú·lA?q ^h]	
<u>corpse, ghost</u>	/lu·lq'/	
ts'iyoolik'	[c'iyó·lI?q ^{yh}]	
<u>kingfisher</u>	/c'@yo·lk'/	

Intermorphemic examples are found in the hliihlik-type plurals, e.g.:

hliihlik	[l̥i·l̥Ik ^{yh}]
<u>be bent</u> (vi pl)	/l̥i·-lk/

See pp. ?? for more examples.

The third kind of epenthesis operates in a more restricted

set of environments than the second. It breaks up intramorphemic root-final consonantal clusters following a short vowel - where one member of the cluster is a glottalized segment and the following one is a stop or /x/. The rule is:

Rule 30 $\emptyset \rightarrow \{ \dots \acute{V}(R)C' _ C_{x(C)}^{stop} \}$

Some examples are:

a'lax	[?Á?lAx]
<u>be angry, mad</u> (but not moved to action) (vi sg)	/?a'lx/, /?a'lq/
hlat'ax	[l̥á?dax]
<u>be soft, flabby,</u> <u>slack</u> (vi sg)	/l̥at'x/
namk'ap	[nÁm?gAp ^h]
<u>bank</u> (of stream)	/namq'p/
tl'ok'ats	[l̥'Ó?gAc ^h]
<u>wild rhubarb</u>	/l̥'uq'c/
ts'a'waxs	[c'Á'wAx ^s]
<u>shoes</u>	/c'a'wx ^s /

The main stress rule operates and assigns primary stress to the right-most root vowel before either of the last two rules apply.

Unstressed Vowel Quality

We can now generalize about the quality of unstressed vowels, whether pre-tonic or post-tonic, and the order of our discussion reflects the ordering of the sub-parts of the vowel-quality conditioning and harmonizing rule. Following a uvular obstruent preceded by a mid back rounded vowel, an unstressed vowel harmonizes or echoes its [O]-quality. However, there are some speakers who lack this part of the vowel quality rule. Elsewhere preceding or following a uvular obstruent, the unstressed vowel is [A]. Thus it can be seen that the speakers just mentioned extend the environment to include all uvulars, no matter what the preceding vowel. Relevant examples are seen in these forms:

anjogo'y	[?AnjÓgO'y]
anjoga'y	[?AnjÓgA'y]
<u>my camp</u>	/?@n-cuq-@'y/

Following the initial laryngeal glides /h/ and /?/, the unstressed vowel is [A], as it is also before an intervocalic /?/. Thus the conditioning environments are:

[?] _ and #C _ ?V
[h] _

Some examples are seen in:

ayuuk	[?Ayó·q ^h]
<u>law</u>	/?@yu·q/

hat'uusx	[hAt'ú·sx ^y]
<u>broom</u>	/h@-t'u·-sx/
hla'ankwst	[lA?Ánk ^w st ^h]
<u>the cooked one</u>	/l@-?ank ^w -s-t/
da'akhlxw	[dA?Áqlxw]
<u>be able to</u> (vt)	/t@-?aqlx ^w /

Following an intermediate [h], which always derives from underlying /x/ in intervocalic environments, the unstressed vowel echoes the quality of the preceding mid ([E] or [O]) or low vowel ([A]). As well, the preceding vowel shortens, if long, so that there are no phonetic V₁hV₁ sequences in the language; there are only V₁hV₁ ones. An example is seen in:

behe'y	[bÉhE'y]
<u>my lungs</u>	/pe·x-@'y/

Note that the same shortening of a long vowel before intervocalic [h] also takes place before a fully specified vowel, as seen in the attributive nominal phrase meha 'moot'ixs [mÉhA 'mÓ·?dixs] /me·x-a 'mo·t'-@xs/ cheese, literally sour, fermented milk. And it also occurs across compound boundaries and word boundaries, as seen in:

'wiila'y	['wi·lá?i]
<u>be big, large</u> (vi sg)	/wi·#hila'y/
(of roundish and squarish objects)	

In the form above, the shortening has taken place across a word-internal compound boundary.

Hlaa hanak't. [ɬa.náʔqtʰ]

She's become a woman. /ɬa.h@naq'-t/

In the form above, the shortening has taken place across a word boundary.

The same vocalic harmony (across intervocalic [h]) operates also in the mirror-image environment, as seen in:

hlehes Bruce [ɬEhÉs] Bruce
what Bruce said /ɬ@-hi=s Bruce/

Preceding a labiovelar, the unstressed vowel is [u], which is expectable, and to account for pre-tonic instances (which generally arise through prefixation and initial reduplication), the conditioning environment should be stated as:

- C^w {
 #
 C}

Some examples are:

juxwjakw [jux^wʃAk^{wh}]
kill (vt pl) /c@x^w-cakw/
 luxwdax [lux^wdÉx^y]
be hungry (vi pl) /l@-x^wtax/

All speakers round the unstressed vowel before a labiovelar in initial C₁@C^w- reduplication and in the /l@-/ plurals, but not all speakers round the unstressed vowel across a morpheme

boundary before a labiovelar, such as develops through regular prefixation. Thus suxwdamst [sux^wdámst^h] /s@-x^wta'-mst/ a loan from one's father's people shows the rounding harmony, but sigwilat [sIg^wIlát^h] /s@-k^w@la-t/ a loan from one's affines does not and wilpsiwilaaksa [wílpsIwIlá'ksA] /wilp#s@la'x-s-a/ school do not. However, there are many speakers who have extended the rule's environment to operate across morpheme boundaries, and they say sugwilat [sugwIlát^h] and [wílpsuwilá'ksA].

In all other environments, the unstressed short vowel is [i] or some iota-like allophone. Examples abound on this and previous pages.

Underlying and Surface Phonotactic Patterns

It is usual for there to be a considerable difference or distance between the surface phonetic representations of syntactic strings and their abstract underlying and lexical representations. On the phonetic surface, consonant clusters are common in G, yet many theoretically possible combinations of consonantal phonemes simply do not occur. Some of these non-occurrent consonantal clusters reflect true gaps, while others do not develop because one or another epenthesis rule has operated to break up the cluster that one would expect. Considering the gaps and factoring out the redundancies that are captured by the various morphological and phonological rules, such as those of epenthesis and voicing, one can gain a perspective on the underlying canonical structure of lexical and grammatical morphemes that is at variance with surface phonetic appearances. It is in this respect that G differs phonetically from other (non-Tsimshianic) Pacific Northwest languages, particularly the Salishan and Wakashan languages, which display somewhat greater length and variety of consonantal clustering that arises from the elision and/or underlying absence of vowels, because G avoids many possible clusters by its morpheme structure sequential redundancy rules or conditions and by its morphological and phonological epenthesis rules.

In fact, in the underlying canonical shapes of its lexical verb, adjective, and noun roots, G displays great partiality to closed monosyllables of CVC-type, although disyllabic roots are not uncommon, and a few trisyllabic roots exist. Preverbals and prenominals too are often monosyllabic, but affixes exhibit a

greater variety of shapes. Prefixes commonly have CV- and CVC-shapes, while suffixes show a greater range of shapes, which include -C, -VC, -CC, -VCC, -V, CV, and -CVC.

We now turn to the surface and underlying phonotactic patterning of words in order to make some general distributional statements.

All G words begin with one or more consonants. Any consonant, except /'l/, /p'/, /x/, and /x^w/, can occur as a single initial. Initial consonantal clusters may include two or three members, with the restrictions that there are no clusters of identical consonants and that resonants and glottalized segments occur only as the right-most members of initial consonant clusters.

Resonants are always flanked by a preceding and/or a following vowel.

Initial biconsonantal clusters begin with either a stop or a fricative. First-member stops are limited to /p/ and /t/. /p/ seems to be followed only by two stops, which are /t/ and /c'/, and by the glide /h/. /t/ precedes the dorsal glottalized stops, the dorsal fricatives, and the glide /h/, but not the plain stops. The plain dorsal stops /k/, /k^w/, and /q/ are conspicuously absent in all the various initial consonantal clusters. /x/ and /x^w/ are followed only by stops and non-dorsal fricatives, but the other first-member fricatives, /x̣/, /s/, and /ʒ/, may be followed by any of the stops, fricatives, and resonants, and by the glottal stop. Examples of initial biconsonantal clusters are:

S+S

pdo'o	[pdO?O]
<u>door</u>	/ptu?/
pts'a'ytxw	[pc'ʔ ⁱ tx ^w]
<u>comb one's hair</u> (vi sg)	/pc'a'y-tx ^w /
tk'ihlxw	[tk ^y 'iix ^w]
<u>child</u>	/tk'iix ^w /
tk'u	[tk'u]
<u>around</u> (pvb)	/tk ^w 'i/
tk'a	[tq'a]
<u>skin, hide</u>	

(Initial /tq'/ clusters seem unstable in complex constructions. The /t/ often elides when utterance-initial. In other cases, the cluster simplifies to glottalized /t'/ . Note the following forms that indicate the historical derivation of some modern initial /t'/s from earlier /tq'/:

Daxtk'a'a	[dAxtq'Á?Á]
<u>Flatheads</u>	/t@x-tq'a?/

This group name signifies the native people from the coastal area south of the Southern Tsimshian who practiced head-flattening in the old days. Such people were often taken by or sold or traded as slaves to the Tsimshianic-speaking peoples, and their visible deformation was regarded as a mark of their socially inferior status.

t'aagan	[t'a'gAn], [t'a'gAn]
<u>lumber, sawn timber</u>	/t'a'gAn/
tk'aadakh1	[tq'Á·dÁk]
t'aadakh1	[t'a'·dÁk]
<u>tump-line</u> (a flattened tie-rope)	/tq'a'·tak1/ /t'a'·tak1/

tk'am'u	[tq'Am'u]
t'im'u	[t'im'u]
<u>body</u>	/tq'a-m#u/ /t'im#?u/

This form signifies the outer part of the body, and it might be more literally translated as "skin-covering". Tk'a [tq'Á] /tq'a/ is the general G word for skin, hide, while Nisgha has anaas [ʔan#s] /ʔana's/, although I've recorded /tq'a/ in a marginal Nis compound - look the form up in notes. Thus /tq'a/ is probably the Nisgha-Gitksan word.

There is also a common prenominal in both G and Nisgha - t'im [t'Im] /t'im/ surface. I suggest that it is the modern reduced reflex of earlier /tq'a-m/, the prenominal attributive form of /tq'a/.).

S+F

tyaks	[t ^{hy} Éks]
<u>net float</u>	/txaks/
twa	[t ^{hwá}]
<u>glass, quartz crystal</u>	/tx ^w a/

Note that while the above two forms underlying have initial stop-plus-fricative clusters, they realize phonetically on the surface as voiceless aspirate stops followed by resonants; see the discussion on pp. ??.

txalpx	[txÁlpx]
<u>four</u> (things, animals)	/txalpx/
toast	[t ^h Ó·st ^h]
<u>belongings, gear</u>	/tho·st/

F+S

sgan	[sg ^y Én]
<u>pitch</u>	/skan/
sk'eexw	[sq'É·xx ^w]
<u>dark</u> (n), <u>be dark</u> (vi sg)	/sq'e·x-x ^w /

81 notes give area around the lip
/tqama.g/ 229
are around the lip
com one

73 notes give area around the lip
/tqam?a.g/ lip

xbaa'w	[xʲbá. ^{ʔu} ʷ]
<u>jaw</u>	/xpa·'w/
xwdax	[xʷdÉxʲ]
<u>be hungry</u> (vi sg)	/xʷtax/
xdax	[xdÉxʲ]
<u>eat with</u> (someone) (vt sg, pl)	/xtax/
F+F	
xsiip	[xsi·pʰ]
<u>(fine) sand</u>	/xsi·p/
xwsit	[xʷsɪtʰ]
<u>fall, autumn</u>	/xʷsit/
xhlaahl	[xɫá·ɫ]
<u>red willow</u>	/xɫá·ɫ/
F+R	
smax	[smÉxʲ], [smÁxʲ]
<u>meat, flesh,</u> <u>black bear</u>	/smax/
s'mintxw	[s'mɪncxʷ]
<u>a winter game</u>	/s'mincxʷ/

This is an archaic word, which is the name of a game that was played in wintertime by throwing a stick through a hoop.

syán	[syÉn]
<u>be tainted, affected</u> (by a spell or violation of a taboo) (vi sg)	/syan/
s'yun	[s'yún]
<u>glacier</u>	/s'yun/

F+?	
s'in	[s?ɪn]
<u>bottom</u>	/s?in/
x'anaax	[x?Aná·xʲ]
<u>eat some bread</u> (vi)	/x#?@na·x/
F+h	
xun	[xón]
<u>eat some salmon</u> (vi) (incorporated, compounded form)	/x#hun/

Initial triconsonantal clusters always begin with a fricative, which is either /x/ or /xʲ/. I know of just one word that has an initial fricative followed by two stops, i.e., an initial F+S+S cluster. It is xpts'axw [xpc'Áxʷ] /xpc'axʷ/ be afraid, have fear (vi sg), and its Nisgha cognate is xbits'axw [xbɪc'Áxʷ] /xp@c'axʷ/, which has only a biconsonantal cluster initially. Otherwise, initial triconsonantal clusters always begin with two fricatives, where /s/ and /ɫ/ are the usual second members. Such clusters may have a stop, fricative, resonant, or the glottal stop as their third, right-most member. Some examples of initial triconsonantal clusters are:

F+F+S	
xsgook	[xsgó·qʰ]
<u>be first</u> (vi)	/xs-qo·q/

xhlgii kw	[x±gʸi·k ^{wh}]
<u>woman's sister</u>	/x±ki·k ^w /
The more common pronunciation of this lexical item is hlgii kw	
	[±gʸi·k ^{wh}] /±ki·k ^w /.
<u>xsbatl'xw</u>	[xsbÁ?t±x ^w]
<u>make a plopping,</u> <u>slapping sound</u> (vi sg)	/xs=pa±'-x ^w /

F+F+F	
xshla'wsxw	[xsbÁ'±sx ^w]
<u>shirt</u>	/xs-±ax ^w -?sx ^w /

F+F+R	
<u>xsmā'ytxw</u>	[xsmā'±tx ^w]
<u>be purple</u> (vi sg)	/xs=ma·'y-tx ^w /
<u>xs'wing</u>	[xs'wInq ^h]
<u>herring eggs</u>	/xs='win-q/

F+F+?	
<u>xs'ootxw</u>	[xs?Ó·tx ^w]
<u>make the sound</u> <u>of paddling</u> (vi)	/xs-?o·-tx ^w /

All single consonants may occur underlyingly in intervocalic position, but recall that the dorsal fricative phonemes, /x/, /x^w/, and /x/, have glide allophones, [y], [w], and [h], respectively, in immediate post-tonic intervocalic position. As well, some phonetic intervocalic [h]s arise from /x^w/ and perhaps even from /x/.

Intervocalic consonantal clusters display much greater

variety than do their initial counterparts. The following biconsonantal clusters are found:

S+S	
T'akdiit.	[t'ák ^y di·t ^h]
<u>They forgot it</u>	/t'ak-ti·t/
S+F	
t'uuts'xwa	[t'ú·?cx ^w A]
<u>black</u> (atr)	/t'u·c'-x ^w -a/
S+?	
ap-aapxin	[?Ap?á·px ^y In]
<u>be light</u> (in weight) (vi pl)	/?@p-?a·px-@n/
S+h	
gipaykw	[g ^y Ip ^h áyk ^{wh}]
<u>fly</u> (vi sg)	/k@phayk ^w /
F+S	
nixdaa	[nix ^y dá·]
<u>father's sister</u>	/n@-xta·/
F+F	
hloxsim axxw	[±Ox ^w sIm ?Áxxw]
<u>moon</u>	/±uxs-@m ?axxw/

F+R

hlismayi'y [ɬɪsmáyi?i]
 my body /ɬ@-smax-@'y/

F+?

gas'uu [gAs?ú·]
 boil (n) /qas?u·/

F+h

'mishaax ['mIshá·xʸ]
 daylight /'m@sha·x/

The more common pronunciation of this lexical item is 'misaax
 ['mIsá·xʸ] /'m@sa·x/.

R+S

haldawgit [hAldáwgʸItʰ]
 witchcraft, sorcery /h@ɬtawk-@t/

R+F

tunsa [tʰúnsA]
 this one here /t=xʷin=sa/

R+R

gan'mala [gAn'mÁlA]
 button /qan#'mal-a/

R+?

bil'ust [bɪl?ústʰ]
 star /p@l?ust/

R+h

anheet [ʔAnhÉ·tʰ]
 she
 the point of
 what he said /ʔ@n-he·-t/

The more common pronunciation of this form elides the [h]; it is
 [ʔAnÉ·tʰ].

Intervocalic triconsonantal clusters occur, but of the various possible combinations of consonant types, I have observed just a few, such as:

S+F+F

gaakhlxum [gá·kɫxum]
strong (of sinew) /qa·kɫ-x^v-@m/
 or bowstring) (atr)

R+F+S

gimxti [g^yImx^ydiX]
man's brother, /k@mxtiX/
woman's sister

A four-member (R+S+F+S) intervocalic consonantal cluster is found in tɣalpdul [tɣAlpdúl] /tɣalpt-ul/ four (humans), and I would not be surprised to encounter a five-member intervocalic consonant cluster. Intervocalic clusters of more than two consonants seem always to include one or more fricatives and/or resonants.

The laryngeal glides /ʔ/ and /h/ participate in a wider range of underlying intervocalic consonant clusters than appear phonetically. The glottal stop /ʔ/ does occur as the first member of underlying intervocalic and final consonantal clusters, but at the phonetic surface, it is always followed by an organic vowel (e.g., realizing an allomorph of the /-(y)@-/ transitivizer) or an echo vowel inserted by regular phonological rule (see p. ??, Rule 25). Some examples of the glottal stop as first member in intervocalic and final clusters are:

Intervocalic ?+S

lo'oba un [lɔʔɔbA ʔɔn]
bicep /luʔp-a ʔun/

This form might be more literally translated as "arm-stone".

Intervocalic ?+F

...

Intervocalic ?+R

...

Final ?+S

lo'op [lɔʔɔp^h]
stone, rock /luʔp/

Final ?+F

'mo'oxw ['mɔʔɔx^w]
pus /'muʔ-x^w/

Compare 'mo'o ['mɔʔ⁰] semen.

Final ?+R

mo'on [mɔʔɔn]
salt /muʔn/

Examples of the glottal stop as the second member of intervocalic consonantal clusters are found above; see the entries for S+?, F+?, and R+?.

The non-resonant glide /h/ never occurs as the first member

of intervocalic and final consonantal clusters, but it does occur as the right-most member of underlying intervocalic biconsonantal clusters, although it generally elides in normal, unmonitored speech when it follows a fricative or a resonant (see the intervocalic F+h and R+h entries above), and in the few cases where it follows a plain stop, it leaves its trace by aspirating that stop and blocking it from undergoing the voicing rule before the following vowel (see the intervocalic S+h entry above).

In word-final position, there are also a number of phonetic consonantal clusters found, but these are just a sub-set of the the larger set of underlying clusters that may develop through suffixation and enclisis. Recall the morphological and phonological epenthesis rules discussed earlier; see pp. ?? . They break up or prevent from developing a variety of expected clusters containing resonants, as well as other expected consonantal combinations.

A word may end in any single consonant except /h/. Recall, however, that word-final /ʔ/ in the eastern G varieties always realizes phonetically with a voiceless echo vowel, and that the sporadic final phonetic h-offglide in forms such as wa [wÁ^h] /wa/ name is inorganic and not present in the underlying representation.

Final biconsonantal clusters include:

S+S	
dapt	[dÁpt ^h]
<u>his</u> , <u>her</u> <u>liver</u>	/tap-t/

S+F	
matx	[mÉtx ^y], [mÁtx ^y]
<u>mountain</u> <u>goat</u>	/matx/

F+S	
wist	[wÍst ^h]
<u>root</u>	/wist/

F+F	
dihlxw	[dÍlx ^w]
<u>basket</u> (woven from cedarbark)	/tilx ^w /

R+S	
lalt	[lÉlt ^h], [lÁlt ^h]
<u>snake</u> , <u>worm</u>	/lalt/

R+S	
sgenx	[sgénx ^y]
<u>little</u> <u>finger</u>	/sqinx/

In final consonantal clusters, the preglottalized allophones of glottalized sts occur as first members, and they occur as right-most members only following a non-glide resonant. Some examples are:

Final C'+S
 nak't [nÁ?qt^h]
her dress /naq'-t/

Final C'+F
 t'uuts'xw [t'ú·?cx^w]
be black (vi sg) /t'u·c'-x^w/
knife, metal

Final R+C'
 int' [ʔIn?t^h]
nit, louse egg /ʔint'//

Final triconsonantal clusters abound, they always include one or more fricatives, and they may include a resonant as the first member. Some examples include:

S+S+F
 da'akhlxw [dÁ?Áqɫx^w]
be able to (vt) /t@-aqɫx^w/

S+S+F
 akst [ʔakst^h]
be wet (vi sg) /ʔaks-t/

F+S+S
 xbiistt [xbí·stt^h]
his, her box /xpi·st/
 -t
 A

F+F+S
 dihlxwt [dÍɫx^wt^h]
~~X~~ her basket /tiɫx^w-t/
 R+S+S
 gaytt [gáytt^h]
his, her hat /qayt-t/

R+S+F
 haldawkxw [hÁldÁwqx^w]
medecine /h@ɫtawq-x^w/
 (taken orally or internally)

R+F+S
 limxt [lÍmx^yt^h]
his, her song /limx-t/

There are also some final four-member consonantal clusters. They seem always to include two or more fricatives. It's worth remarking that fricatives seem to function phonetically as pseudo-syllabic peaks in the longer clusters. Some examples of four-member final consonantal clusters are:

S+F+F+S
 Da'akhlxwt. [dÁ?Áqɫx^wt^h]
He, She can do it. /t@?aqɫx^w/

R+F+F+S
 tk'al wilimhlxwt [tq'Ál wÍlÍmɫx^wt^h]
his, her servant /tq'al wil-@mɫx^w-t/

I've not observed any final five-member consonantal clusters, but it should be mentioned that many word-final clusters with one or the other of the pronominal enclitics /=ɪ/, /=s/, and /=t/ develop in connected speech, but these cannot be easily separated from the following constituent in monitored speech, say, for a linguist. However, if a speaker hesitates in saying such a phrase, the enclitic comes at the end of the word before the pause. As well, many longer consonantal clusters arise across word boundaries. In the way of illustration, the following sentence exhibits a six-member consonantal cluster across a word boundary:

Jilksthl daw. [jɪlkstɪdɔw]
The ice is melted. /cilks-t=ɪ taw/

There are no underlying or phonetic vowel clusters at the word-level. Intramorphemically, phonetic complex vocalic nuclei such as occur in dayks [dÁyks] /tayks/ Indian ice cream and daw [dÁw] /taw/ ice, freeze (vi sg), must be analyzed phonologically as clusters of vowel plus resonant (off)glide, rather than as clusters of full vowels, when distributional and stress-assignment phenomena are considered. The inventory of such diphthongs in G is limited to /e·w/, /aw/, /aaw/, /ay/, and /uy/, while Nisgha has at least one more long diphthong /a·y/. I know of only one G form that has the /aaw/ diphthong, one with /eew/, and two that contain the /uy/ diphthong. They are Git-anyaaw ^{ʔá} [gʏItʔAnyá·w] /kət#?@n-ya·w/ Gitanyow (the old name for Kitwancool village), geew, gew [GʏÉ·w], [gʏÉw] /ke·w/ downstream (n), gapk'oypx [gApq'Óypx] /q@p-q'uypx/ flower sp., and goyp'ax [gÓy?bAx] /quy-p'x/ be bright, light (vi sg) in eastern G - goy'max [gÓy'mAx] /quy-'mX/ in western G.

As well, there are no underlying or phonetic vowel clusters intermorphemically at the word level. Where one would expect to find two vowels coming together, they do not in fact do so. For example, the majority of verb roots form transitive stems with a transitivizer suffix whose usual underlying shape is /-@/, but there is a very small set of vowel-final verb roots that form their independent order transitive stems with /-y@/ [-yi]. Similarly, there is an interrogative suffix whose usual underlying shape is /-a/, but it appears as /-ya/ after vowel-final forms. However, there is a small number of older speakers who display a transitivizer alternant in [-hi], instead of /-y@/ [-yi]. Some relevant paradigm examples are:

giba	[g ^y Ibá ^h]
<u>wait for</u> (vt sg, pl)	/k@pa/
Gibayi'y 'nit.	[g ^y Ibáyi? ⁱ 'nIt]
Gibahi'y 'nit.	[g ^y Ibáhi? ⁱ 'nit]
<u>I waited for him, her.</u>	/k@pa-y@-'y/ /k@pa-hi-'y/
Gibayin ...	[g ^y IbáyIn ...]
Gibahin ...	[g ^y IbáhIn ...]
<u>You</u> (sg) ...	/k@pa-y@-n /k@pa-hi-n/
Gibayit ...	[g ^y IbáyIt ^h ...]
Gibahit ...	[g ^y IbáhIt ^h ...]
<u>He, She</u> ...	/k@pa-y@-t/ /k@pa-hi-t/
Gibayi'm ...	[g ^y IbáyI?m ...]
Gibahi'm ...	[g ^y IbáhI?m ...]
<u>We</u> ...	/k@pa-y@-'m/ /k@pa-hi-'m/
Gibayisi'm ...	[g ^y IbáyIsI?m ...]
Gibahisi'm ...	[g ^y IbáhIsI?m ...]
<u>You</u> (pl) ...	/k@pa-y@-s@m/ /k@pa-hi-s@m/
Gibadiit.	[g ^y IbÁdi·t ^h]
<u>They</u> ...	/k@pa-ti·t/

lax'ni	[lAx'ní ^h]
<u>hear</u> (vt sg, pl)	/l@x'ni/
Laxnii'y 'nit.	[lAx'ní·? ⁱ 'nít ^h]
<u>I heard him, her.</u>	/l@x'ni-y@-'y 'nit/
Lax'niin ...	[lAx'ní·n ...]
<u>You</u> (sg) ...	/l@x'ni-y@-n .../
Lax'niit ...	[lAx'ní·t ^h ...]
<u>He, She</u> ...	/l@x'ni-y@-t .../
Lax'nii'm ...	[lAx'ní·?m ...]
<u>We</u> ...	/l@x'ni-y@-'m .../
Lax'niisi'm ...	[lAx'ní·sI?m ...]
<u>You</u> (pl) ...	/l@x'ni-y@-s@m .../
Lax'nidiit ...	[lAx'nídi·t ^h]
<u>They</u> ...	/l@x'ni-ti·t/

Speakers who use the /-hi/ alternants generally have the same unmonitored surface forms in this paradigm as do those who use /-y@/, but I've also recorded a few deliberate /-hi/ alternants of hear, which are:

Nax'nihim 'nit.	[nAx'níhI'm 'nít ^h]
<u>We heard him, her</u>	/n@x'ni-hi-'m 'nit/
Lax'nihiy.	[lAx'níhi'y]
<u>I heard it.</u>	/l@x'ni-hi-'y/

The forms for hear with initial /n-/ are the more common pronunciation among G speakers.

The other members of this small set of verb roots that form

their independent order transitive stems in /-y@/ or /-hi/ are:

hlimoo	[ɬImó·]
<u>help</u> (vt sg, pl)	/ɬ@mo·/
moo	[mó·]
<u>resemble</u> (in appearance) (vt)	/mo·/
sgi	[sgʸi]
<u>place, put</u> (vt sg)	/ski/
'wa	['wÁ]
<u>find, get to</u> (vt sg, pl)	/'wa/

I suggest that both the /-y@/ and /-hi/ transitive stems are reflexes of an earlier */-x@/. Recall that phonetic [xʸ] does not occur intervocalically, that some phonetic post-consonantal [y]s arise from underlying /x/, and that /hi-/ [hi-] is the initial reduplicating sequence for most /y/-initial roots. As well, the dropping of post-consonantal /x/ before the 1SG, 2SG, and 1PL suffixes in the paradigms of forms such as limx [limxʸ] song, sing (vi sg, pl) may be relevant to reconstructing */-x@/ as occurring also in consonant-final roots, so that modern /-@/ is also its reflex.

The inflected forms for hear above give evidence for a later elision rule that deletes the intervocalic /y/ and /h/ glides, so that a secondary phonetic long vowel appears in normal unmonitored speech. The rule is:

Rule 31 $\acute{V}_1 \left\{ \begin{matrix} y \\ h \end{matrix} \right\} V_1 \text{ ---> } \acute{V}_1 \cdot$

In fact, the rule should be extended to apply also in similar mirror-image environments, as in:

Rule 32 $\left\{ \acute{V}_1 \left\{ \begin{matrix} y \\ h \\ ? \end{matrix} \right\} V_1 \right\} \text{ ---> } \acute{V}_1 \cdot$

Some relevant examples are:

hlehet	[ɬEhÉtʰ], [ɬÉ·tʰ]
<u>what he, she said</u> <u>the words he, she said</u>	/ɬ@-hi-t/
saʔangwa, saangwa	[sAʔÁngʷA], [sá·ngʷA]
<u>cook</u> (vi)	/s@-ʔankʷ-a/

There is a tendency for this rule to apply to strings with intervocalic [h] developed from /x/, as in nohon and noon [nóhOn], [nó·n] /nux-@n/ your (sg) mother. Note that Rule 22 given earlier is actually a sub-part of the present Rule 32. The elision of intervocalic [h] may also be relevant to the history of the forms for bead(s). Most G speakers use gyuu, ^[gʷá·] which can be represented underlyingly as /ku·/, but there is an alternate pronunciation that some older people use. It is gehuu, ^[gʷÉhú·] and it can be analyzed as /k@hu·/. N is ...

Sandhi

We conclude the chapter with a very brief examination of the sandhi phenomena that develop across word boundaries through the operation of various syntactic processes.

By and large, the conventional definition of the word as a minimal free form yields clear decisions as to word boundaries. I've found that linguistically naive native speakers can usually isolate and identify word boundaries consistently, as well as provide glosses for words. But it is true that they sometimes have difficulty in isolating words that normally occur embedded in longer constructions, such as words with final enclitics or verb words in dependent order constructions. However, with a little linguistic training, G speakers are no different from other people in extending their metalinguistic competence to talk more freely about the words and other elements of their language (see Silverstein 1981 for a discussion of the factors underlying "naive" metalinguistic awareness).

We mentioned earlier that the first of two glottalized resonants that come into contact across word boundaries undergoes glottalization in normal unmonitored speech - see Rule 20, p. ?? . Generally in unmonitored speech at normal tempo when identical consonants come into contact across word boundaries, they tend to fuse into a single consonant, i.e., one of them elides. Some examples are:

Ga'a'yhl hlbin. [gʲaʔaʔiɪbɪn]
I saw a whale. /kaʔ-@-'yɪɪ ɪpin/

Ga'att Tom [gʲaʔattʰÁ·m]
he, She saw Tom. /kaʔ-@-t=t ta·m/

Ga'as Sam-t Tom. [gʲaʔasÁ·mtÁ·m]
Sam saw Tom. /kaʔ-@=s sÁ·m=t tÁ·m/

The same process also operates across compound and other word-internal boundaries, as seen in:

amiiluxw [ʔAm/i'luxʷ]
(dancing) mask /ʔ@m-mi·lkʷ/

ts'imuxw [c'Imuxʷ]
ear /c'im#muxʷ/

This form signifies the inner ear part of the body, so that one might say:

Siipxwhl ts'imuwi'y. [si'pxʷɪ c'Imúwi'y]
My ear aches. /si'p-xʷ=ɪ c'im#muxʷ-@'y/

Ts'im [c'Im] /c'im/ is a prenominal, the suppletive compounding form of ts'ee'w [c'É·ʔu] /c'e·'w/ interior, inner part.

I suspect that some forms which historically derive from two-word constructions have been reanalyzed as single words. Two examples are:

t'ugwantxw [t'ugʷÁntxʷ]
fall down

This form historically, if not synchronically, derives from /t'ip kʷant-xʷ/, but the preverbal final /-p/ has elided and its unstressed vowel has harmonized with the following labiovelar

*simma.y / ?
 sima.y*

/k^w/. Many, if not most, speakers may now have it underlyingly as /t'@k^want-x^w/.

ts'imaak [c'ImÁ·q^h]

mouth

This form historically derives from /c'im#?a·q/, and many older speakers pronounce it as [c'Im?Á·q^h], while younger speakers always pronounce it without the post-consonantal glottal stop. They may have restructured the form to /c'@ma·q/.

Phonetic clusters of unlike vowels may develop across word boundaries due to the elision of word-initial /h/ when a preceding vowel-final word puts it into an intervocalic environment. Phonetic [w] and [y] glides may also develop from word-initial /h/, the choice of which is conditioned by the preceding word-final vowel. Some examples are:

Luuhisye'e1 [lù·Isyé·'1],
[lù·wIsyé·'1]

Made-a-Mistake-Inside /lu·his-ye·'1/
(personal name, Frog / Raven Tribe)

Xhlii haksi'yt Barbara. [xli·'àksi?i^t Bárbara],
[xli·yàksi?i^t ...], and careful
[xli·hàksi?i^t ...]

I bawled Barbara out. /xli·haks-@-'y=t Barbara/

Chapter 4: Syntax

Major Sentence Types

The three major sentence types are declaratives, interrogatives, and directives. Declarative and interrogative sentences can be defined strictly by their form, but directive sentences require attention to their sociolinguistic function in addition to linguistic form. Two kinds of directive sentences in fact have the same linguistic form as declarative sentences, but can be distinguished from them with respect to their functional covariance with sociolinguistic factors of speech events, such as the speaker's intention, the relative social statuses of interlocutors, the character of their social relationship (whether solidary, etc.), and so on.

Before focusing on the major sentence types, it is useful to discuss briefly the distinction between underlying (deep) syntactic structure and surface syntactic structure, as well as that between categorial and relational syntactic concepts. By underlying syntactic structure, I refer to an abstract level of syntactic representation which may represent as identical two or more constructions that differ in their apparent morphosyntactic constituency, but which are propositionally synonymous. Surface structure is the level of syntactic representation that is apparent in the linear orderings and labelled bracketed arrangements of morphemes and other phrasal and clausal constituents of sentences that can be assigned full phonological representations. Underlying and surface syntactic structure are both abstract theoretical constructs that we postulate in order

to understand the structure of sentences. Sentences too are theoretical constructs that we postulate in order to understand utterances, which are actual historical behavioural-actional events. Sentences are related to utterances as types to tokens, but one should not conclude that sentences with their underlying and surface structures are any less real as phenomena than utterances are, any more than one should say that genes are less real than are humans and other animals and plants.

One may also distinguish between categorial and relational concepts at both the underlying and surface levels of representation. In surface and deep structure, we can speak of the different parts of speech in Gitksan, such as proper nouns, personal pronouns, transitive verbs, intransitive verbs, adjectives, and the like. These are form-class categories that are defined in terms of their distributional properties relative to other such form-class categories. One must be careful to maintain consistency and not to blur the distinction between individual lexical items and their form-class or part-of-speech class membership. For example, the lexical root ts'al /c'al/ is variously found in nominal, intransitive verb, and transitive verb word-level constructions, as seen in:

Ginis Clara-hl hlguuhlxt ahl ts'algi.

/kin-@=s Clara=1 1k^wu·1x^w-t ?a=1 c'al=k@/

give-TRN-CNN Clara=CNN child-3SG PREP=CNN half.smoked.salmon=DIST

Clara gave her daughter some half-smoked salmon.

Ts'al is here a common noun, the object of the oblique preposition-plus-connective ahl /?a=1/.

Yukwhl ts'als Clara.

/yuk^w=1 c'al=s Clara/

PROG=CNN slice.up=CNN Clara

Clara is slicing up (fish into thin strips for smoking).

Ts'al is here the intransitive verb in a sentential complement functioning as subject/absolute adjunct of the intransitive PROgressive verb yukw /yuk^w/.

Dim ts'alis Clara-hl hunist.

/tim c'al-@=s Clara=1 hun=@st/

FUT slice.up-TRN=CNN Clara=CNN salmon=INTERACT

Clara will slice up the fish (into thin strips for smoking).

Ts'al is here inflected as a transitive verb theme in an independent sentence.

Relational concepts, on the other hand, have to do with the roles that constituents play or occupy in sentences. In G underlying structure, we recognize the central syntactic relations of predicate (PRED), transitive subject or agent (A), intransitive subject or simply (subject) (S), transitive object or (simply) object (O), and dative (D), plus other peripheral syntactic relations. However, at the level of surface structure, we recognize a somewhat different, smaller inventory of syntactic relations that includes the predicate (PRED), ergative (ERG), absolutive (ABS), and oblique (OBL) roles.

Independent Order Declarative Sentences

A helpful heuristic schema for discussing the surface structure of declarative sentences is:

PREDicate	((ERGative)	ABSolutive)	(OBLique)
Phrase	Phrase	Phrase	Phrase

This is interpreted thus - a sentence must contain a predicate phrase, and it may have an absolutive phrase and one or more oblique phrases. It may have an ergative phrase only it also includes an absolutive phrase (which may be a zero-pronominalization). The positional ordering or arrangement of phrasal constituents is exactly as it is in the schema.

Single Predicate Sentences

Sentences that have only a surface predicate phrase generally signify temporal and meteorological phenomena; i.e., they include a nominal signifying, for example, daylight, dark(ness), rain, falling snow or winter, which can also serve as a temporal oblique phrase in a fuller sentence. Some examples are:

'Misaax.

/'m@sha·x/

daylight

It was, is daylight.

Sk'eeexw.

/sq'e·xx^w/

dark(ness)

It was, is dark.

Maadim.

/ma·-t-@m/

ROOT-SREL-ATR

It was, is winter., It was, is snowing.

Compare maaxws /ma·-x^ws/ (fallen snow (on ground)).

Sentences such as Saa bax. /sa· pax/ (He, She Ran away.) similarly display only a predicate phrase in their surface structure, but they should be analysed as elliptical sentence fragments related to fuller sentences such as Saa bax 'nit. /sa· pax 'nit/ He, She ran away., where there is a personal pronoun absolutive phrase present. Such elliptical sentences are appropriate to particular discourse and narrative contexts where their underlying antecedent subject appears in a previous sentence, perhaps a question asked by one's interlocutor.

For example, someone might ask Neehl amda?

/ne·-ɪ ?am-t-a/

NEG=CN good-3SG-QUES

Is it (not) good?

And a good reply would be simply Am.

/?am/

good

Yes, it's good.

To answer with just Ee'e.

/?e·?/

yes

Yes. alone is to give an English-type

yes/no answer. It will be understood, and many younger people

use such answers, but they differ from the traditional G reply, which is to repeat the predicate phrase, perhaps preceded by the yes or no word.

Independent Intransitive Sentences

The independent intransitive sentence has a predicate phrase followed by an absolutive phrase, plus one or more oblique phrases. These occur in exactly that surface ordering, and they may be bound together by connective enclitics, whose occurrence or non-occurrence is conditioned by whether the following nominal is a proper noun, a common noun, a personal pronoun, or a demonstrative pronoun. The schemata for independent intransitive sentences with examples are:

Verb_i=t # Proper Noun

Saa bax_t Bob.

/sa· pa_x=t Bob/

away ran=CNN Bob

Bob ran away.

Verb_i=hl # Common Noun

Saa bax_{hl} gatgi.

/sa· pa_x=l kat=k@/

away ran=CNN man=DIST

The man ran away.

Verb_i # Personal Pronoun

Saa bax 'nit.

/sa· pa_x 'ni-t/

away ran ABS-3SG

He, She ran away.

Verb_i Demonstrative pronoun

Saa bax tust.

/sa· pa_x t=x^wist/

away ran CNN=that

He, She (that one here) ran away.

Also to be included among the independent intransitive sentences are those that have an adjective or quantifier (including numerals) predicate, for these are in fact subclasses of the intransitive verbs. Adjective and quantifier predicates receive connective-marking exactly like other intransitive verbs.

Independent Equational Sentences

Gitksan has no be-copula, and independent equational sentences, translated as X is a Y., have the Y-element in the initial predicate position, with the same connective-marking as the intransitives. Possessed nominals, including kin terms, may serve as predicates in independent equational sentences, but personal names, personal pronouns, and demonstrative pronouns do not; they are restricted to the absolutive and oblique syntactic relations here. Some examples are:

Possessed Kin Term=t # Proper Noun

Noho'yt Mary.

/nuχ-@'y=t Mary/

mother-1SG=CNN Mary

Mary is my mother

Possessed Kin Term=hl # Common Noun

Nixdaa'yhl hanak'tusdist.

/n@-xta·-'y=ł h@naq'=t=x^vist=@st/

PFX-ROOT-1SG=CNN woman=CNN=that=INTERACT

That woman is my (paternal) aunt.

Possessed Kin Term # Personal Pronoun

Nibibin 'nit.

/n@-pip-@n 'ni-t/

PFX-ROOT-2SG ABS-3SG

He is your (maternal) uncle.

Possessed Kin Term # Demonstrative Pronoun

Niye'esi'm tun.

/n@-yi?-s@'m t=x^vin/

PFX-ROOT-2PL CNN=this

He (this one here) is your (pl) grandfather.

Independent Possessive Sentences

There is no lexical verb have, but there are independent possessive sentences that have the same connective marking as the intransitives. Their predicative common nouns sometimes occur in

passivized form (which marks their alienable possession); the independent possessive sentences are discussed on pp. ??.

Independent Transitive Sentences

The independent transitive sentence has an initial predicate phrase followed by an obligatory ergative, an obligatory absolutive phrase, and one or more optional oblique phrases. The schemata for their connective marking are:

Verb_t=s # Proper Noun=t # Proper Noun

Hlimooyis Tom=t Mary.

/ɪ@mo'-y@s Tom=t Mary/

help-TRN=CNN Tom=CNN Mary

Tom helped Mary.

Verb_t=s # Proper Noun=hl # Common Noun

Hlimooyis Tom-hl nakst.

/ɪ@mo'-y@s Tom=ɪ naks-t/

help-TRN=CNN Tom=CNN spouse-3SG

Tom helped his wife.

Verb_t=hl # Common Noun=t # Proper Noun

Hlimooyihl hlgutk'ihlxwt Mary.

/ɪ@mo'-y@=ɪ ɪk^w@#tk'ix^w=t Mary/

help-TRN=CNN small#child=CNN Mary

The child helped Mary.

Verb_t=hl # Common Noun=hl # Common Noun

Hlimooyihl hlgut'kihlxwhl logom 'wiigatgi.

/ɪ@mo'-y@-ɪ ɪk^w@#tk'ix^w=ɪ luq-@m 'wi'#kat=k@/

help-TRN=CNN small#child=CNN old-ATR big#man=DIST

The child helped the old man.

Verb_t-Personal Pronoun # Personal Pronoun

Hlimooyit 'nuu'm.

/ɪ@mo'-y@-t 'nu--'m/

help-TRN-3SG ABS-1PL

He, She helped us.

Hlimooyi'm 'nit.

/ɪ@mo'-y@-'m 'ni-t/

help-TRN-1PL ABS-3SG

We helped him, her.

The third person absolutive pronoun can be deleted in such sentences, provided that it has an antecedent in a previous sentence of the discourse or that its referent is present at the speech event. Thus, such sentences that lack surface absolutive phrases are only apparent, not true exceptions to the earlier general statement that required their presence.

Verb_t-Personal Pronoun=t # Proper Noun

Hlimooyi'yt Mary.

/ɪ@mo'-y@-'y=t Mary/

help-TRN-1SG=CNN Mary

I helped Mary.

Verb_t-Personal Pronoun=hl # Common Noun

Hlimooyinhl libleedim gatgi.

/ɬ@mo'-y@-n=ɬ l@ple't-@m kat=k@/

help-TRN-2SG=CNN minister-ATR man=DIST

You (sg) helped the minister.

Verb_t=s # Proper Noun # Third Person Pronoun

Hlimooyis Mary 'nidiitgi.

/ɬ@mo'-y@=s Mary 'ni-ti't=k@/

help-TRN=CNN Mary ABS-3PL=DIST

Mary helped them.

Verb_t=hl # Common Noun # Third Person Pronoun

Hlimooyihl sim'oogit 'nitgi.

/ɬ@mo'-y@=ɬ sim#?o'k-@t 'ni-t-k@/

help-TRN=CNN chief ABS-3SG=DIST

The chief helped him, her.

The third person absolutive pronouns in these two sentences are deletable under the same conditions as described just before on p. ??.

Verb_t-t # First or Second Person Pronoun=t # Proper Noun

Hlimooyit 'nuu'²m=t Mary.

/ɬ@mo'-y@-t 'nu'-'m=t Mary/

help-TRN-3SG ABS-1PL=CNN Mary

Mary helped us.

Verb_t-t # First or Second Person Pronoun=hl # Common Noun

Hlimooyit 'nisi'mhl sim'oogitgi.

/ɬ@mo'-y@-t 'ni-s@'m=ɬ s@m#?o'k-@t=k@/

help-TRN-3SG ABS-2PL=CNN chief=DIST

The chief helped you (pl).

The last two schemata present the surface structure constituency of such sentences, but in underlying structure we represent them as:

Verb_t # Proper or Common Noun # Personal Pronoun

This parallels the underlying and (usual) surface structures of the other independent transitive sentences. Such configuration of transitive subject (A) and transitive object (O) triggers a transformational rule that extraposes the ergative first or second person pronoun to the right, but leaves a trace behind in the third person singular pronoun -t suffixed to the verb. In the past, it would seem that this transformational rule operated categorically or obligatorily, but there are some younger speakers who do not apply it. They commonly produce sentences that display the same surface constituent order as the underlying one, as seen in:

Hlimooyis Mary 'nuu'm.

/ɬ@mo'-y@=s Mary 'nu'-'m/

help-TRN=CNN Mary ABS-1PL

Mary helped us.

Hlimooyihl sim'oogit 'nisi'm.
 /ɬ@mo'-y@=ɬ s@m#?o'k-@t 'ni-s@m/
 help-TRN=CNN chief ABS-2PL
The chief helped you.

I've discussed the two constructions - the right-extraposited one and the simpler one - with some thoughtful middle-aged and older speakers. They say that the extraposited construction is "good" or "proper" Gitksan, but they recognize that the simpler construction occurs, and sometimes they use it themselves. There appears to be no difference of propositional meaning between the two constructions, and I would expect the (derivationally) simpler, non-extraposited construction to remain frequent or become more so in the speech of younger bilingual people. My consultants also say that the non-extraposited structure seems better when there is an oblique phrase or clause present, as in:

Xhlii haksis Barbara 'nii'y wil he'y.
 /xli' haks-@=s Barbara 'ni'-y wil hi-'y/
 all.over scold-TRN=CNN Barbara ABS-1SG CMP saying-1SG
Barbara bawled me out when I mentioned it.

There is also a lesser difference apparent between the underlying and surface structures of independent transitive sentences that have personal pronoun subjects. The ergative pronouns are suffixed to the verb stem in surface structure, but underlyingly we represent the structure of such sentences as:

Verb_t # Personal Pronoun # { Personal Pronoun
 Proper or Common Noun }

in parallel with the sentences that have proper or common noun transitive subjects, whose underlying structure is:

Verb_t # Proper or Common Noun # { Personal Pronoun
 Proper or Common Noun }

However, personal pronoun transitive subjects are attracted onto the immediately preceding verb stem as pronominal suffixes. One might wish to argue that these are really pronominal enclitics, which are attached to the final constituent dominated by the Verb Phrase node, occurring after their syntactic host, and attached enclitically to it. This is true, but I analyze them as suffixes, rather, than as enclitics, because verb stems inflected with one or another transitivizing suffix (usually /-(y)@-/) cannot occur as free forms. They must be closed by an ergative pronominal suffix. Inflected transitive verb stems with one or the other ergative connective enclitic attached do not occur as free forms. Instead, they are always followed by their ergative proper or common noun, although speakers may pause or hesitate briefly just after the connective enclitic. However, at some level of syntactic representation, the ergative pronominal suffixes certainly are attached to the whole verb theme and not just to the preceding verb stem.

I've not heard many demonstrative pronouns serving as ergative phrases in independent transitive sentences, but their basic schema is:

Verb_t=sun=CNN # Proper or Common Noun
 sust Personal Pronoun

Wilaayisunhl t_xaa'nitxwshl hen.

/w@la·x-@-s=x^win=ł t_xa·-'ni-t-x^ws=ł hi-n/

know-TRN=CNN=this=CNN all-ABS-3SG-PASS=CNN saying-2SG

He (this one here) understands everything you said.

[Check this sentence; I remember it from the meeting at Kitwancool School when someone warned a young woman that I understood Sim'algax].

In the surface structure schema above, the demonstrative pronoun has been attracted onto the verb stem and suffixed to it.

Inflected transitive stems closed by a demonstrative pronominal suffix can occur as free forms. [Check this for sure - remember the possibility of ambiguity, e.g., Ga'asun! Look at this!]

Ergative demonstrative pronouns behave the same as ergative proper nouns with respect to right-extrapolation when there is a first or second person absolutive phrase, as in:

Verb_t-t # First or Second Person Pronoun=t # Demonstrative

Hlimooyit 'nuu'mt dipust.

/ł@mo·-y@-t 'nu·-'m=t tip=x^wist/

help-TRN-3SG ABS-1PL=CNN PL=that

They (those people here) helped us.

The second t-connective enclitic above is elided before the following word-initial /t-/ - see pp. ?? on sandhi phenomena.

Demonstrative pronouns are freely used as underlying intransitive subject and transitive object phrases, but they

typically / obligatorily (?) require that the sentence occur as a appropriate focused construction. Focused constructions are discussed below on pp. ??.

Number Agreement

Number agreement is also a prominent feature of independent declarative and other G sentence types. The predicate - usually a verb - is inflected to agree with the singular or plural number of its absolutive phrase. The relevant nominal and verbal pluralizing morphology has been discussed in Chapter 2; see pp. ?? on plural-marking, but some examples to illustrate verb number agreement with the absolutive phrase, whether arising from the underlying intransitive subject (S) or transitive object (O), are:

Hlabixsxt Barbara.

/ɫap-@xs-x^w=t Barbara/

ROOT-SFX-MED=CNN Barbara

Barbara is tired.

Hliphlabixsxt dip Barbara gant Mark.

/ɫip-ɫap-@xs-x^w=t tip Barbara gan=t Mark/

PL-ROOT-SFX-MED=CNN PL Barbara and=CNN Mark

Barbara and Mark are tired.

K'ojis Mary-hl sgusiitgi.

/q'uc-@=s Mary=ɫ sk^w@si't=k@/

cut-TRN=CNN Mary=CNN potato=DIST

Mary cut up the potato.

Gask'ojis Mary-hl sgusiitgi.

/q@s-q'uc-@-s Mary=ɫ sk^w@si't=k@/

PL-cut-TRN=CNN Mary=ɫ potato=DIST

Mary cut up the potatoes.

There is a similar sort of ergative (underlying subject or A) number agreement found in sentences where the reduplicated verb signifies the plural actions of plural agents, as seen in:

Hats'dihl ushl duusgi.

/hac'-t@=ɫ ?us=ɫ tu's=k@/

bite-TRN=CNN dog=CNN cat=DIST

The dog bit the cat.

Hashats'dihl as'ushl duusgi.

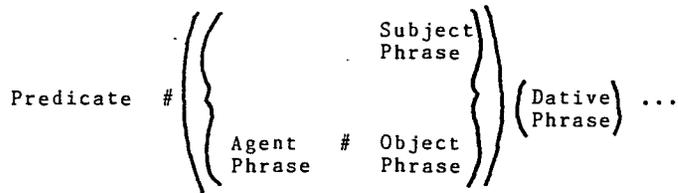
/h@s-hac'-t@=ɫ ?@s?us-k@/

PL-bite-TRN=CNN PL-dog=CNN cat=DIST

The dogs bit the cat.

Summary

Independent declarative sentences always contain an initial predicate phrase in both underlying and surface structure. In its underlying structure, a sentence may also have either an intransitive subject (S) phrase or a transitive subject (A) phrase together with a transitive object (O) phrase, plus a dative and/or other peripheral phrases. Their underlying constituent order is invariably:



In surface structure, the order of constituents and their phrasal structure may differ from their underlying configuration.

Underlying transitive subject pronominal phrases appear on the surface as ergative pronominal suffixes on the verb, and the third person proper or common noun transitive subjects of sentences with first or second person transitive objects usually are extraposed just to the right of the object, leaving behind a third person singular ergative pronominal suffix trace on the verb. (Certain object-complements also extrapose, but to the right of the dative; see pp. ?? on dependent order constructions).

One or another of three connective enclitics, -s, -t, and -hl, occurs on the final member of the initial member of major constituent phrasal pairs; its selection is conditioned by the underlying syntactic role of the second, non-pronominal nominal member and by whether it is a proper or a common noun. The connective enclitics are not present in underlying structure, but are inserted by transformational rules that are sensitive to specific configurations of constituents and their syntactic features. The connective enclitics are not strictly interpretable as mixed-relational (in the sense of Sapir 1921, 1933) case markers. Rather, constituent order or taxis is the primary morphosyntactic process for marking syntactic relations

at both the underlying and surface level of representation, and the connective enclitics should be seen to operate within a larger system of oppositions (that includes order and various derivational affixes) to distinguish particular syntactic constructions one from another.

The Dependent Order

Gitksan sentences may be distinguished in underlying structure as either simple or complex. A simple sentence contains no other sentence, whereas a complex sentence includes more than one. Complements are sentences that are embedded or subordinated within a phrasal constituent of another, matrix sentence. Complements may be classified in two ways, according to:

1. Their external syntactic function as intransitive subject, transitive object, or whatever kind of phrasal constituent of a matrix sentence.
2. Their internal structure as they signify the transitive subject, intransitive subject, or transitive object of the embedded sentence, the place where some act or event takes place, the time when some act or event takes place, the cause of some act or event taking place, etc.

Independent order constructions in G are always sentences in surface structure, but dependent order constructions often take the surface form of complements. The difference between independent and dependent order constructions is a purely morphosyntactic one that involves different constituent order and connective marking. Other things being equal, the two major construction types are propositionally synonymous, and contrary to Boas (TG:399), who labelled them as "indicative" and "subjunctive", respectively, there is no semantic difference of meaning between them. A speaker is not free simply to choose to use one or the other order, but instead sentences shift obligatorily from their underlying configuration into the surface

dependent order under the following conditions:

1. Following a predicative particle, such as hlaa /la·/ INCEPTive, now, as of now, gaks /qaks/ for the first time, and ganiwila /qani-wila/ always, continually.
2. In discourse when "loosely" coordinated in a series with a previous sentence without a conjunctive particle, and when more "tightly" linked with a previous sentence by the discourse marker conjunction ii /?i·/ and then.
3. In second person imperative directives and first person plural hortative imperative directives; see pp. ?? later on directives.

The above constructions are sentences; those following are all complements:

4. When serving as the subject S-complements of such intransitive lexical verb constructions as yukw /yuk^w/ PROGRESSive, (luu) nee not exist, nee(gi) dii /ne·-k@ ti·/ NEGative, hu'wen dii /hu'ween ti·/ not yet, ak /?aq/ be unable to, and hlixw /his-x^w/ be finished.
5. When serving as the object O-complements of transitive verbs and several oblique complement types that are all formed with the complementizer wil /wil/ in eastern G and win /win/ in western G

(e.g., locative complements, time complements, and weakly causal complements).

Many of the S- and O-complements of 4. and 5. are similar to English that-complements in their meanings.

6. When serving as other oblique complement types formed with the oblique preposition a= /?a=/ and with complementizers such as hlidaa- /ɬ@-ta·-/ when, whenever, gan /qan/ for the reason that, because, ji, ja /c@=/ IRRealis, if, ji daa /c@=ta·/ if ever, and wila /wila/ how, in the manner that.

7. When serving as headless relative clause complements that signify the transitive subject of the embedded sentence. See examples in the section on focused transitive subjects, pp. ??.

8. When serving as "downshifted" (this term is due to Marie-Lucie Tarpent) headless relative complements that signify the intransitive subject of the embedded sentence. See examples in the section on focused intransitive subjects, pp. ??.

9. In possessed nominal phrases and in privative phrases. See section on possession, pp. ??, and on the privative prefix, pp. ??.

Single Predicate Structures

Sentences that have only underlying predicates with no central (A, S, and O) nominal adjuncts do not change

significantly in the dependent order, but when single predicate sentences are embedded as sentential subject/absolutive complements of the independent lexical verb yukw /yuk^W/ PROgressive, they are preceded by the -hl enclitic. Some illustrative examples of dependent order single predicate S-complements are:

Yukwhl maadim.
/yuk^W=ɬ ma·-t-@m/
PROG=ɬ falling.snow
It's snowing

Nee dii maadim.
/ne· ti· ma·-t-@m/
NEG CONTRAST falling.snow
It's not snowing.

Hlaa maadim.
/ɬa· ma·-t-@m/
INCEPT falling.snow
It's now snowing., It's now wintertime.

Yukwhl dim maadim.
/yuk^W=ɬ tim ma·-t-@m/
PROG=CNN FUT falling.snow
It'll snow before long., It'll soon be wintertime.

Hlaa dim maadim.
 /la· tim ma·-t-@m/
 INCEPT FUT falling.snow
It's going to snow soon.

Hlaa yukwhl dim maadim.
 /la· yuk^w=i tim ma·-t-@m/
 INCEPT PROG=CNN FUT falling.snow
It can snow anytime now.

Intransitive Structures

In the dependent order, the absolutive phrasal constituent of intransitive sentences (including equational and simple progressive constructions) shifts one phrasal position leftward into the same slot (with appropriate connective marking) occupied by the independent ergative phrase. Thus, an underlying personal pronoun intransitive subject is marked by the same series - Series 2 (see pp. ??) - of pronominal suffixes that mark independent ergative personal pronouns, while proper and common noun subjects are preceded by the -s and -hl connective enclitics on the predicate. Compare these pairs of independent order sentences with similar dependent order sentences, and note the final complement example, which can serve as an oblique time, place or weakly causal adjunct:

Hadixs 'nii'y.
 /hat-@xs 'ni·-'y/
 swim ABS-1SG
I swam.

Hadixs /hat-@xs/ swim (vi sg) is a complex intransitive verb stem that consists of a root and derivational suffix.

Hlaa hadixsi'y.
 /la· hat-@xs-@'y/
 INCEPT swim-1SG
I'm now swimming. (have now started to swim)

Hahla'lst Mary ganhl hlagats'uut.
 /h@la'lst=t Mary qan=i i@-q@-c'u·-t/
 work=CNN Mary and=CNN DEF-PL-other-3SG
Mary and the others worked.

[This sentence would probably be better phrased with dip /tip/ at the front of the conjoined subject/absolutive noun phras.]

Yukwhl hahla'lsdis Mary ganhl hlag²ts'uut gyuu'n.
 /yuk^w=i h@la'lst-@=s Mary qan=i i@-q@-c'u·-t ku·'n/
 PROG work-INCR=CNN Mary and=CNN DEF-PL-other-3SG now
Mary and the others are working now.

Hadixshl gatgi.
 /hat-@xs=i kat=k@/
 swim=CNN man=DIST
The man swam.

Nee dii hadixshl gatgi.
 /nee tii hat-@xs=1 kat=k@/
 NEG CONTRAST swim=CNN man=DIST
The man didn't swim.

... wil hadixsi'y
 /... wil hat-@xs-@'y/
 CMP swim-1SG
when I swam, where I swam, as, because I swam

Transitive Structures

Speaking generally about the dependent order transitive constructions, we can say that the pronominalization of the underlying transitive subject phrase appears at the front of the verb phrase. However, a transitive subject noun cannot move leftward over the verb phrase to its front. In such a configuration, the connective marking for ergative and absolutive phrases remains the same as in the independent order. If the underlying transitive subject is a personal pronoun, it shifts leftward to the front of the verb phrase and the underlying object noun phrase shifts leftward one phrasal position and is linked to the verb by the connective that is appropriate to the independent order ergative phrase, either proper or common. The same connective marking holds also for the dependent order intransitive and equational noun subject. Underlying transitive object pronouns and intransitive subject pronouns appear on the surface as Series 2 pronominal suffixes on the verb, except that a transitive object pronoun will appear as a surface independent

absolutive Series 3 (see pp. ??) pronoun if the verb is already marked by the Series 1 -diit /-ti't/ third person plural ergative pronominal suffix. Right-extraposition of third person transitive subject nouns with first or second person object pronouns operates as in the independent order.

There is a (largely) separate set (Series 1 - see pp. ??) of dependent order ergative pronominal clitics, whose positioning varies in the different constructions with hlaa /1a' / INCEPTive, yukw /yuk^w/ PROGRESSive, nee dii /ne' ti' / NEGAtive, dim /tim/ FUTURE, and wil /wil/ CoMPlementizer. The following are the common patterns or schemata, and other instances can be viewed as formed on one or another of them:

1SG	hlaa (yukw)	ni (dim)	Verb
2SG	hlaa (yukw)	mi (dim)	Verb
3SG	hlaa (yukw)	(dim)	=t Verb
1PL	hlaa (yukw)	dip (dim)	Verb
2PL	hlaa (yukw)	mi (dim) sim	Verb
3PL	hlaa (yukw)	(dim)	=t Verb-dii
1SG	nee ni (dim)	dii	Verb
	<u>or</u>	nee (dim)	dii=n
2SG	nee mi (dim)	dii	Verb
3SG	nee (dim)	dii=t	Verb
1PL	nee dip (dim)	dii	Verb
2PL	nee mi (dim) sim	dii	Verb
3PL	nee (dim)	dii=t	Verb-dii

1SG	ni (dim)	wil	Verb
2SG	mi (dim)	wil	Verb
3SG	(dim)	wil=t	Verb
1PL	dip (dim)	wil	Verb
<u>or</u>	(dim) dip	wil	Verb
2PL	mi (dim) sim	wil	Verb
3PL	(dim)	wil=t	Verb-diit

The ni, mi, dip, and mi ... sim clitics are generally proclitic to the following word, while the third person t is usually enclitic to the previous element.

In the dependent order, absolutive personal pronouns are marked by the same Series 2 pronominal suffixes that realize independent ergative personal pronouns unless there is a Series 1 ergative -diit suffix marking the plurality of a third person transitive subject. In such a configuration, the regular independent order Series III absolutive pronouns are used, because the absolutive pronoun cannot shift leftward one position.

Examples illustrative of the above schemata are found throughout this and other sections.

Focused Declarative Sentences

While independent order declarative sentences may be regarded as syntactically simpler than other sentence types in that their usual surface phrasal constituent order is the same as their underlying order, they are not the most frequent sentence type in discourse and narrative. Instead, focused sentences and dependent order sentences and clauses are more common.

Any major phrasal or clausal constituent of an underlying independent sentence may be focused or topicalized by moving it to the front of the sentence. The propositional content of a focused sentence is the same as its non-focused independent order counterpart; i.e., they are propositionally synonymous and thus they share a common underlying structure representation, but they are not pragmatically or indexically equivalent. Focusing is one means by which the textual structuring of discourse and narrative is accomplished. However, focused constructions are not simply stylistic alternatives that speakers are free to make use of or not. In the case of underlying sentences containing a question word constituent, it must be focused and fronted in a way that is reminiscent of English wh-question movement. Similarly, demonstrative S- and O-phrases seem to require focusing. And focused sentences are the appropriate answers to focused question word interrogatives. Beyond these cases, though, focusing provides the means for speakers to maintain and shift topics over sentences.

Focusing provides one kind of evidence that the absolutive syntactic relation is not a unitary undifferentiated one in underlying structure as Rigsby (1975) argued. The absolutive

represents rather the surface coming together or neutralization of several different underlying syntactic relations or functions. This can be seen in the separate treatments of focused transitive object phrases and intransitive subject phrases (together with equational subjects and possessors).

Focused Intransitive Subject or S-Phrase

To focus an intransitive subject phrase, it is moved to the front of the sentence and linked to it by the -hl enclitic, while the predicate adds the -(V)t /-(@)t/ intransitive relativizer suffix. Thus the predicate takes the form of a downshifted intransitive subject S-relative clause, see pp. ???. Respecting the surface structure of focused S-phrase sentences, it should be noted that the /-(@)t/ suffix disambiguates them from unfocused sentences having the same phrasal constituents in the same order. The /-(@)t/ relativizer suffix marks the predicate distinctively so that the initial constituent can only be interpreted as a focused one. Some examples are:

'Nii'yhl bahat.

/'ni^h·^h pax-@t/

ABS-1SG=CNN run-SREL

It was me who ran. I am the one who ran.

Mary-hl dim hlguuhlxit.

/Mary=1 tim 1k^wu·1x^w-@t/

Mary=CNN FUT have.child-SREL

It's Mary who will have a child.

Tunhl gwalgwitsa.

/t=x^win=1 k^walk^w-@t=sa/

this=CNN dry-SREL=PROX

This is the dry one here. This one here is dry.

Mark-hl bahadist.

/Mark=1 pax-@t=@st/

Mark=CNN run-SREL-INTERACT

It's Mark who's running.

The above is an appropriate answer to a focused question word sentence such as:

Naahl gay bahadist go'ohl duu'w lax ha'niihlit'?

/na^h·=1 qay pax-@t=@st qu?=1 tu^h·'w lax#h@-'ni^h-lit'/

who=CNN which run-SREL=INTERACT LOC=CNN short.distance

on#INST-on-play.ball

Who is that (one) running over there on the playing field?

Compare the following pairs of unfocused and focused sentences:

Independent order unfocused sentence-

Hlgutk'ihlxwhl gat.

/ɪkʷ@#tk'ɪɪxʷ=ɪ kat/

small#child=CNN male

The boy is a child.

Focused equational subject-

Gathl hlgutk'ihlxwit.

/kat=ɪ ɪkʷ@#tk'ɪɪxʷ-@t/

male=CNN small#child-SREL

It's the boy who is a child.

Independent order unfocused sentence-

Gathl hlgutk'ihlxw.

/kat=ɪ ɪkʷ@#tk'ɪɪxʷ/

male=CNN small#child

The child is a boy.

Focused equational subject-

Hlgutk'ihlxwhl gadit.

/ɪkʷ@#tk'ɪɪxʷ=ɪ kat-@t/

small#child=CNN male-SREL

It's the child who is a boy.

Possessors also focus in the same way, except that they leave behind an oblique pronoun inflected with the Series 2 third person singular pronominal suffix as a trace of their original, underlying syntactic relation. That is, possessors underlyingly are in the DATIVE syntactic relationship to their possessed predicate. An example is:

Gat tusthl wilbit loot.

/kat=t=xʷist=ɪ wilp-@t lo'-t/

man-that=CNN house=SREL OBL-3SG

It's that man's, the house is.

Focused Transitive Object or O-Phrase

To focus a transitive object phrase, it is simply moved to the front of the sentence and linked to it by the -hl enclitic, while the rest of the sentence remains unchanged as in the independent order. The same pattern also operates to focus an equational subject that has a possessed nominal (including possessed kin terms) as a predicate. Some examples are:

Anaaxhl gubi'y.

/?@na'x=ɪ kʷip-@-'y/

bread=CNN eat-TRN-1SG

It was bread that I ate

Smaxhl guwin.

/smax=1 k^wix^w-@-n/

bear=CNN shoot-TRN-2SG

It was a bear that you shot.

Miyuphl hasakt.

/m@yup=1 h@saq-t/

rice=CNN want-3SG

It's rice that he, she wants.

Hasak- want, desire is a noun, not a verb, and it always occurs in possessed form. One can demonstrate that it is a noun, not a transitive verb, by examining its 3SG form - there is no stem-forming transitivizer suffix present. Thus the unfocused independent order counterpart of the above sentence is:

Hasakthl miyup.

/h@saq-t=1 m@yup/

want-3SG= rice

He, She wants (some) rice.

*Hasagathl miyup.

/h@saq-@-t=1 m@yup/

want-TRN-3SG=CNN rice

He, She wants (some) rice.

The sentence immediately above is ungrammatical or not well-formed.

A focused transitive object sentence may be simpler in its surface structure than its unfocused independent order counterpart, as in the case of configurations of right-extrapolated

third person noun transitive subject with first or second person pronoun transitive object. Compare the following pair of sentences:

Right-extrapolated independent order sentence-

Ga'at 'nii'yt Mary.

/ka?-@-t 'ni'-'y=t Mary/

see-3SG ABS-1SG=CNN Mary

Mary saw me.

Focused transitive object phrase-

'Nii'yhl ga'as Mary.

/'ni'-'y=1 ka?-@=s Mary/

ABS-1SG=CNN see-TRN=CNN Mary

It was me that Mary saw.

Focused Transitive Subject or A-Phrase

To focus a transitive subject noun or demonstrative pronoun, it is moved to the front of the sentence and an agentive or A-relative clause is formed with the rest of the sentence. This is done by introducing the A-relative proclitic an /?an/ at the front of the verb phrase and shifting the sentence into the dependent order; see pp. ?? for the details of dependent order formations. To focus a transitive subject personal pronoun, its corresponding Series 3 independent pronoun is introduced at the front of the sentence, and the rest of the sentence forms an A-relative clause. Examples are:

Sarah aṅhlimoo'y.

/Sarah ?an=ɪ@mo--'y/

Sarah AREL=help-1SG

Sarah is the one who helped me.

'Niin dim angidaxdiit.

/'ni'-n tim ?an=kit-@x-ti't/

ABS-2SG FUT AREL=ask-3PL

You're the one who will ask them.

Gidax /kit-@x/ is a transitive verb stem constructed of a root plus a derivational suffix.

A-relative clauses display variability in whether they have a third person Series 1 dependent order ergative clitic pronoun or not, as well as in its positioning, as seen in the following examples:

'Nii'y t-anguphl anaax. /'ni--'y t=?an=k^wip=ɪ ?@na·x/
ABS-1SG 3SG=AREL=eat=CNN bread

'Nii'y antguphl anaax. /'ni--'y ?an=t=k^wip=ɪ ?@na·x/
ABS-1SG AREL=3SG=eat=CNN bread

'Nii'y anguphl anaax. /'ni·[̄]'y ?an=k^wip=ɪ ?@na·x/
ABS-1SG AREL=eat=CNN bread

I am the one who ate the bread.

Focused Dative Phrase or D-Phrase

To focus an indirect object or dative noun, it is moved to the front of the sentence and the wil complementizer is introduced at the front of the remaining sentence, which shifts it into the dependent order. Compare the following pairs of

unfocused and focused sentences:

Independent Order Transitive Sentence-

Gi'nams Walter-hl daala as Bruce.

/k@'nam=s Walter=ɪ ta·la ?a=s Bruce/

give=CNN Walter=CNN money PREP=CNN Bruce

Walter gave some money to Bruce.

Focused Dative or D-Phrase-

Bruce wilt gi'nams Walter-hl daala.

/Bruce wil=t k@'nam=s Walter=ɪ taala/

Bruce CMP=3SG give=CNN Walter=CNN money

Bruce is the one who(m) Walter gave some money to.

*why -t
on wil?*

Independent Order Transitive Sentence-

Mahldi'y as Mark dim wil ha'wi'y.

/maɪ-t@-'y ?a=s Mark tim wil ha'w-@'y/

tell-TRN-1SG PREP=CNN Mark FUT CMP go.home-1SG

I told Mark (that) I would go home.

Focused Dative or D-Phrase-

Mark ni wil mahlhihl dim wil ha'wi'y.

/Mark n@=wil maɪ-@=ɪ tim wil ha'w-@'y/

Mark 1SG=CMP tell-INCR=CNN FUT CMP go.home-1SG

Mark is the one who(m) I told (that) I would go home.

I haven't observed or elicited any focused dative personal pronouns, but I have no reason to expect that they can't be

focused.

Other Focused Constructions

Other underlying oblique or peripheral constituents, such as manner phrases, naming phrases, locative phrases, time phrases, and circumstantial clauses, can also be focused. To focus such a constituent, it is moved to the front of the sentence. A

focused, fronted locative phrase requires the introduction of the *wil* complementizer. The focusing of manner, naming, locative, and time phrases shifts the remainder of the sentence into the dependent order, while the fronting and focusing of a circumstantial clause does not - the rest of the sentence stays in the independent order. However, the coordinating discourse marker *ii* /?i:/ and then may be introduced following a focused time phrase or circumstantial clause; it always requires the remainder of the sentence to shift into the dependent order.

Focused Manner Phrase-

Tun ni wila guhut.

/t=x^win n@=wila k^wix^w-@-t/

this 1SG=how.CMP shoot-INCR-3SG

This is how I shot it., This is the way I shot it.

The following question and answer pair illustrate the focusing of a naming phrase:

Agu mi siwadihl silgidim hlguuhlwin?

/?@k^wi m@s@-wa-t@=i ik^wuulix^w-@n/

what 2SG=PFX-name-INCR=CNN child-2SG

What did you name your oldest child?

John ni siwadit.

/John n@s@-wa-t@-t/

John 1SG=PFX-name-INCR-3SG

I named him John.

In the independent order, the complex transitive verb *siwatdi-* /s@-wa-t-t@-/ governs the ergative for its transitive subject, the absolutive for its transitive object, and the oblique for its naming phrase, as seen in:

Siwatdithl us ahl Towser.

/s@-wa-t@-t@=i ?us ?a=i Towser/

TRN-name-INCR-3SG=CNN dog PREP=i Towser

He, She named the dog Towser.

See pp. ?? for a description of this /s@-/ transitive thematic construction.

The following provide examples of a complex independent order sentence and its counterparts with focused locative phrase, time phrase, and circumstantial clause, respectively:

Unfocused Independent Order Sentence-

Dim k'ali dibaha'm 'niin go'ohl Gisbayakws t'aahlakw ja amhl laxha.

/tim q'ali t@-pax@-'m 'ni'-n qu?=1 kit#sp@-yax^w-s t'a'1ak^w c@=?am=1 l@x#ha/

FUT upstream TRN-run-TRN-1PL ABS-2SG LOC=CNN people#lair-hide-PASS
tomorrow IRREAL=good=CNN on#air

We'll run you up to Kispiox tomorrow if the weather is good.

Focused Locative Phrase Sentence-

Go'ohl Gisbayakws dim dip wil k'ali dibahan t'aahlakw ja amhl laxha.

/qu?=1 k@t#sp@-yax^w-s tim dip wil q'ali t@-pax@-n t'a'1ak^w c@=?am=1 l@x#ha/

LOC=CNN people#lair-hide-PASS FUT 1PL CMP upstream TRN-run-2SG
tomorrow IRREAL=good=CNN on#air

It's up to Kispiox that we'll run you tomorrow if the weather is good.

Focused Time Phrase Sentence-

T'aahlakw dim dip k'ali dibahan go'ohl Gisbayakws ja amhl laxha.
/t'a'1ak^w tim tip q'ali t@-pax@-n qu?=1 k@t#sp@-yax^w-s c@=?am=1 l@x#ha/

tomorrow FUT 1PL upstream TRN-run-2SG LOC=CNN people#lair-hide-PASS
IRREAL=?am=1 l@x#ha

It's tomorrow that we'll run you up to Kispiox if the weather is good.

Focused Circumstantial Clause Sentence-

Ja amhl laxha, dim k'ali dibaha'm 'niin go'ohl Gisbayakws t'aahlakw.

/c@=?am=1 l@x#ha tim q'ali t@-pax@-'m 'ni'-n qu?=1 k@t#sp@-yax^w-s t'a'1ak^w/

IRREAL=good=CNN on#air FUT upstream TRN-run-TRN-1PL ABS-2SG
LOC=CNN people#lair-hide-PASS tomorrow

If the weather is good, we'll run you up to Kispiox tomorrow.

In fact, an entire sentence can be focused in discourse or narrative. This is accomplished with 'nit /'ni-t/ it (Series 3 independent absolute pronoun) serving as the fronted, focused element, which may be followed by the appropriate complementizer. The focused sentence itself may be signified by the pro-verb will do (something) (vi) or the nominal he /hi-/ what X says/said in the dependent order. Some examples are:

'Nithl wil 'nii 'masi'y lax Gisbayakws.

/'ni-t=ɩ wil 'ni' 'mas-@'y l@x#k@t=sp@-yax^w-s/

ABS-3SG=CNN CMP on grow-1SG on#people#lair-hide-PASS

It was there that I grew up, in Kispiox

'Nithl wilt.

/'ni-t=ɩ wil-t/

ABS-3SG=CNN do.something-3SG

That's what he, she did. That's what happened.

'Nithl het.

/'ni-t=ɩ hi-t/

ABS-3SG=CNN saying-3SG

That's what he, she said.

'Nithl wil wilt.

/'ni-t=ɩ wil wil-t/

ABS-3SG=CNN CMP do.something-3SG

That's where he, she did it. That's where it happened.

'Nithl wila wilt.

/'ni-t=ɩ wila wil-t/

ABS-3SG=CNN how.CMP do.something-3SG

That's how he, she did it. That's how it happened.

'Nithl gan wilt.

/'ni-t=ɩ qan wil-t/

ABS-3SG=CNN cause do.something-3SG

That's why he, she did it. That's why it happened.

Interrogatives

Interrogative sentences in G are of two kinds, which may be called yes/no questions and focused constituent questions.

Yes/No Questions

In yes/no questions, the speaker asks for confirmation or denial of the main proposition of the sentence. Yes/no questions can be answered minimally with the particles Ee'e. /?e'/?/ Yes. or Nee. /ne'/?/ No., as in English, but good speakers say that it is better to frame fuller answers or replies in terms of the predicate and nominal adjuncts of the question sentence. Yes/no questions are formed by adding the QUESTION suffix -(y)a /-(y)a/ to the last word of a declarative sentence (which may be focused or not) and leaving its intonation contour unchanged. It is usual for yes/no questions to be formed as negatives with the intransitive main verb nee NEGative, not exist, which requires a dependent order sentential complement absolutive adjunct. In English, the difference in meaning between positively and negatively framed questions indexes a difference in the questioner's background knowledge and the reply he or she anticipates. It is unclear to me whether the same pragmatic contrast obtains in G; it may simply be conventional to form such questions with both the negative and the -(y)a question suffix. The matter requires further linguistic ethnographic investigation. A good positive reply to an intransitive yes/no question should repeat the predicate and delete a third person absolutive phrase, but not a first or second person one. Similarly, a good reply to a transitive yes/no question may

delete a third person absolutive phrase. Examples are:

Am wila wina?

/?am wila wi-n-a/

good how.CMP do.something-2SG-QUES

How are you doing?, Are you doing well?

Am wila wili'y.

/?am wila wil-@'y/

good howCMP do.something-1SG

I'm fine., I'm doing well.

Neehl daa'whl naksiya?

/ne'=1 ta'w1=1 naks-@'y-a/

NEG leave=CNN spouse-1SG-QUES

Did my wife leave?

Ee'e, daa'whl.

or Daa'whl.

/e'?, ta'w1/

/ta'w1/

yes, left

left

Yes, she left.

She left.

Nee, dit'aa.

/ne', t@-t'a'/?

no, DUR-sit

No, she's (still) here.

Neehl gwilana?

/ne'ɬ kʷ@la-n-a/

NEG=CNN blanket-2SG-QUES

Do you have a blanket?

Ee'e, sgi.

or

Ee'e, sgihl gwila'y.

/?e'?, ski/

/?e'?, ski=ɬ kʷ@la-'y/

yes, lie

yes, lie=cnn blanket-1SG

Yes, I do.

Yes, I've got a blanket.

Nee, nee dii gwila'y.

/ne', ne' ti' kʷ@la-'y/

no, NEG CONTRAST blanket-1SG

No, I don't have a blanket.

Nee dim hahla'lsdina?

/ne' tim h@la'lst-@n-a/

NEG FUT work-2SG-QUES

Will you work?, Are you going to work?

Dim hahla'lst 'nii'y.

/tim h@la'lst 'ni-'y/

FUT work ABS-1SG

I'll work.

Nee, nem dii hahla'lsdi'y.

/ne', ne'=m ti' h@la'lst-@'y/

no, NEG=FUT CONTRAST work-1SG

No, I won't work.

The second word of the above sentence is contracted from the longer underlying sequence /ne' tim ti' .../.

Nem amgoohl naksiya?

/ne'=m ?@m-qo'=ɬ naks-@'y-a/

NEG=2SG remember=CNN spouse-1SG-QUES

Do you remember my wife?

In the above sentence, the dependent order 2SG ergative is enclitic to the preceding main predicate or verb, rather than proclitic to the following form. Remember is a complex verb form, consisting of a prefix /?@m-/ and a root /qo'/.

Ee'e, amgoodi'y.

/?e'?, ?@m-qo'-t@-'y/

yes, remember-TRN-1SG

Yes, I remember her.

Nee, nee diin amgoot.

/ne', ne' ti'=n ?@m-qo'-t/

no, NEG CONTRAST=1SG remember-3SG

No, I don't remember her.

Nee mi 'wahl andidaala'ya?

/ne' m@='wa=ɬ ?@nt@-ta'la-'y-a/

NEG 2SG=find=CNN wallet-1SG-QUES

Did you find my wallet?, Have you found my wallet?

Wallet is a complex nominal, which consists of a prefix /?@nt@-/ container (usually bag- or sack-like - see pp. ??) and the borrowed root /ta'la/ money (from English dollar).

Ee'e, 'wayi'y.

/?e'/, 'wa-y@-'y/

yes, find-TRN-1SG

Yes, I found it.

Nee, nee diin 'wat.

/ne', ne' ti'=n 'wa-t/

no, NEG CONTRAST=1SG find-3SG

No, I didn't find it.

Focused Constituent Questions

Focused constituent questions are thus called because their surface structure always displays the questioning constituent in the focused sentence-initial position. There is a small set of questioning forms whose presence in an underlying sentence structure requires that it undergo the surface rearrangement and changes appropriate to focusing in a way that is reminiscent of the fronting of English wh-words in questions. These questioning forms include:

naa	/na'/'	<u>who, whom</u>
agwi, gwi, agu, gu	/?@k ^{wi} /, /k ^{wi} /	<u>what</u>
nda	/n@ta/	<u>where, how</u>
gaxgwi, axgwi, daxgu	/k@xk ^{wi} / /?@xk ^{wi} / /t@xk ^{wi} /	<u>when</u>

The who-form combines with the wil complementizer, as in:

naa wil	/na' wil/	<u>to whom</u>
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The what-form combines with the complementizers wil /wil/ and gan /qan/, as in:

agu wil	/?@k ^{wi} wil/	<u>what for</u>
agu gan	/?@k ^{wi} qan/	<u>why, for what reason</u>

And the where, how-form combines with the wil and wila complementizers and with ga-abstract quality nominals, as in:

*These forms
with comp's
raise the question
of what their
replies look like.*

nda wil	/n@ta wil/	<u>where to,</u> <u>where from</u>
nda wila	/n@ta wila/	<u>how,</u> <u>in what manner</u>
nda(hl) gabihl	/n@ta(=1) q@-pi=1/	<u>how many</u>
nda(hl) gasgoohl	/n@ta(=1) q@-sqo'=1/	<u>how much</u>
nda(hl) g ² ₂ nakwhl	/n@ta(=1) q@-'nak ^w =1/	<u>how long,</u> <u>how far,</u> <u>how tall</u>

Good answers to focused constituent questions should themselves be in focused form. Examples of such questions and some possible replies are:

Naa tun?	Naahl wasun?
/na' t=x ^w in/	/na' 1 ^w wa=s=x ^w in/
who this.one	who=CNN name=CNN=this
<u>Who is he, she</u> <u>Who is this person?</u>	<u>What's his, her name?</u>
Agwi tusdist?	Guhl wasun?
/?@k ^w i t=x ^w ist-@st/	/k ^w i 1 ^w wa=s=x ^w in/
what that.one-INTERACT	what=CNN name=CNN=this
<u>What's that?</u>	<u>What's this thing?</u> <u>What's this thing called</u>

It is arguable whether the above four equational sentences have focused question constituents. They might better be analyzed as having the questioning form in the sentence-initial main predicate position.

Intransitive Subject or S-Question-

Naahl limit.	'Nii'yhl limit.
/na'=1 lim-@t/	/'ni--'y=1 lim-@t/
who=CNN sing-SREL	ABS-1SG=CNN sing-SREL
<u>Who (was the one who) sang?</u>	<u>I (am the one who) sang.</u>

Transitive Object or O-Question-

Naahl hlimooyin?	Bruce-hl hlimooyi'y.
/na'=1 1 ^w @mo'-y@-n/	/Bruce=1 1@mo'-y@-'y/
who=CNN help-TRN-2SG	Bruce=CNN help-TRN-1SG
<u>Who did you help?</u>	<u>It was Bruce who(m) I helped.</u>

Gwihl 'ningubin?	Smaxhl 'ningubi'y.
/k ^w i=1 'n@m#k ^w ip-@-n/	/smax=1 'n@m#k ^w ip-@-'y/
what=CNN want#eat-TRN-2SG	meat=CNN want#eat-TRN-1SG
<u>What do you want to eat?</u>	<u>It's meat (that) I want to eat.</u>

Transitive Subject or A-Question-

Naa ant gay hlimoos Bruce?	'Nii'y anhlimoot.
/na' ?an=t qay 1@mo'=s Bruce/	/'ni--'y ?an=1@mo'-t/
who AREL=3SG which help=CNN Bruce	ABS-1SG AREL=help-3SG
<u>Who (is the one who) helped Bruce?</u>	<u>I (am the one who) helped Bruce.</u>

Focused Dative or D-Question-

Naa ni wil gi'namhl daala?

Mark ni wil gi'namt.

/na· n@=wil k@'nam=i ta'la/

/Mark n@=wil k@'nam-t/

who 1SG=CMP give=CNN money

Mark 1SG=~~CMP~~ give-3SG

Who did I give money to?

It was Mark that I gave it to.

Ndat Barbara?

Nda 'nidiit?

/n@ta=t Barbara/

/n@ta 'ni-ti·t/

where=CNN

where ABS-3PL

Where is Barbara?

Where are they?

Gaxgwi dis wihl guxws 'witxws Mary?

/k@xk^wi tis wi=i k^wix^ws 'witx^w=s Mary/

when time do.something=CNN back come=CNN Mary

When did Mary come back?

Agu wil hookst?

/?@k^wi wil ho·x-s-t/

what CMP use-PASS-3SG

What is it used for?

Agum dim wil hooxt?

/?@k^wi=m tim wil ho·x-t/

what=2SG FUT CMP use-3SG

What will you use it for?

Agu gan win mi t'ishl wagin?

/?@k^wi qan wi-n m@=t's=i wak-@n/

what cause do.something-2SG 2SG=hit-CNN brother-2SG

Why did you do it - hit your brother?

The dependent order clause mi t'ishl wagin you hit your brother is loosely linked as a post-posed appositive complement to win what you did.

Nda wil yin?

Nda wil 'witxwin?

/n@ta wil ye'-n/

/n@ta wil 'witx^w-@n/

where CMP go-2SG

where CMP come.from-2SG

Where are you going?

Where do you come from?

Nda wil baxs Mark?

Lax ha'niihlit' wil baxt.

/n@ta wil pax=s Mark/

/l@x#h@-'ni'-iit' wil pax-t/

where CMP run=CNN Mark

on#playing.field CMP run-3SG

Where is Mark running?

On the playing field is where he's running.

Ndam dim wila jabit?

Ndam wila 'muguhl hun?

/n@ta=m tim wila cap-@-t/

/n@ta=m wila 'muk^w-@=i hun/

how=2SG FUT how.CMP
make-TRN-3SG

how=2SG howCMP catch-TRN=CNN
salmon

How will you do it?
How will you make it?

How did you catch the salmon?

Ndahl gabihl digithl gubin?

/n@ta=i q@-bi=i tik-@t=i k^wip-@-n/

how=CNN PL-be.so.many=CNN smoked.oolachen=CNN eat-TRN-2SG

How many smoked oolachens did you eat?

Digit smoked oolachen has the surface form of a subject relative construction, but its verb root /tik/ doesn't occur elsewhere to my knowledge.

Ndahl gasgoohl anaaxhl hasagan?

/n@ta=1 q@-sqo'=1 ?@na'x=1 h@saq=@n/

how=CNN PL-be.so.much=CNN flour want-2SG

How much flour do you want

Ndahl gasgoos Tom gyuu'n?

/n@ta=1 q@-sqo'=s Tom ku''n/

how=CNN PL-be.so.much=CNN Tom now

How big is Tom now?

Ndahl ga'nakws noon?

/n@ta=1 q@-'nak^w=s nux=@n/

how=CNN PL-be.tall=CNN mother-2SG

How tall is your mother?

Ndahl ga'nakwhl hlidaadaa'whlit.

/n@ta=1 q@-'nak^w=1 1@-ta'-ta.'w1@t/

how=CNN PL-be.long=CNN DEF-time-leave-SREL

How long has it been since he left?

How long has it been since his departure?

Directives

Directive sentences may be defined functionally (and prototypically) as sentences by whose utterance a speaker intends to get his or her hearer(s) to perform an action. There are at least four second person directive construction types that are common in G discourse and narrative. There is a true imperative construction. Second, sentences having future declarative form (both independent order and focused constructions) are used as directives. Third, there is a conventionalized periphrastic construction, translatable as It will be good that you do (something), which always functions directly. This periphrastic construction can be attenuated in directness even further by substituting the ji, ja /c@=/ IRREALis clitic for the FUTURE particle, thus translating as It would be good if you do (something). And fourth, just as in English, negative questions may be used directly, as in Won't you wait for me! The four directive constructions are also used as first person hortative directives, translatable as Let's do (something)!

One way to conceptualize the differences in meaning among the several directive constructions is that they differ in "politeness". The periphrastic and question directives are the most polite, the imperatives least so, and the future declaratives are intermediate in politeness. This is the way that my consultants describe them, but this may be an unconscious "folk" ideological formulation that derives from and masks over status differences between speaker and hearer. Gitksan society was and is socially stratified. There was and is still a clear division between chiefly and non-chiefly status, while in former

times, slaves lacked status and power of their own. The chiefs organized and directed the labour of others, often using spokesmen to deliver their orders. The traditional social relations of production, as well as the forces of production, are much transformed today from former times, but chiefs continue to have high status.

As well, there is a division between senior and non-senior kin. Kin terms that signify senior kin belong to the class of proper nouns, while the remainder are common nouns (the boundary between senior and non-senior kin is somewhat fuzzy, but the distinction is no less real linguistically and sociologically). Seniority within one's own generation is also sociologically salient, and the different relationships are encoded in separate lexemes. And generally speaking, males are senior to females. One expects that these status differences would be indexed in the choice of directives that speakers use in social interaction, but it remains unclear to what extent that solidarity, formality, etc. interact with status differences in the selection of appropriate directives. This would be a good topic for linguistic ethnographic research, both text-based and participant-observation in methodology.

Imperatives are basically dependent order constructions in their pronominal inflection. Intransitive imperatives mark their underlying subject on the surface with a Series 2 second person singular or plural suffix on the verb stem. The formation of transitive imperatives is slightly more complex. Transitive objects are marked as surface absolutes by the same preceding

connectives or Series 2 pronominal suffixes on the verb as in the dependent order. However, if there is no surface absolute noun, the verb form is always closed by a Series 2 object pronominal suffix (but not including -t 3SG), by the g-connective with an enclitic demonstrative pronoun following, or by the suffix -hl. No doubt the -hl suffix has its historical origin in the homophonous connective enclitic, but it must be analyzed synchronically as a transitive third person imperative suffix because it has a constant form and does not contrast with *-s in the same fuller syntactic environment, i.e., it is not sensitive to whether its underlying deleted third person object is a proper or a common noun. And unlike the dependent order, there is no Series 1 second person ergative pronominal clitic *mi, ma /m@/* present, although the plurality of the underlying transitive subject is marked by the *sim /sim/* Series 1 second person ergative plural number clitic.

Examples of the four kinds of directives follow:

Imperatives

Intransitive-

T'an!

Wansi'm!

/t'a^o-n/

/wan-s@'m/

sit-2SG

sit-2PL

Sit (down)! (sg)

Sit (down)! (pl)

Ha'win!	Ha'wsi'm!
/ha'w-@n/	/ha'w-s@'m/
go.home-2SG	go.home-2PL
<u>Go home!</u> (sg)	<u>Go home!</u> (pl)

Transitive-

Giba'y!	Sim giba'm!
/k@pa-'y/	/sim=k@pa-'m/
wait-1SG	2PL=wait-1PL
<u>Wait for me!</u> (singular agent)	<u>Wait for us!</u> (plural agents)

Note that the above forms are similar to, but not identical to the following independent order transitive sentences:

Gibayi'y.	Gibayi'm.
/k@pa-y@-'y/	/k@pa-y@-'m/
wait-TRN-1SG	wait-TRN-1PL
<u>I waited for him, her.</u>	<u>We waited for him, her.</u>

The presence of the independent order /-y@-/ transitivizer disambiguates the two construction types.

[Check for Gibahl! Wait for him, her! and Gibadiit! Wait for them!].

Batshl gan tun!	Sim batshl gan tun!
/pac-1 qan=t=x ^w in/	/sim=pac-1 qan=t=x ^w in/
lift-IMP log=this	2PL=lift-IMP log=this
<u>Lift this log!</u> (singular agent)	<u>Lift this log!</u> (plural agents)

The verb bats /pac/ means lift (a heavy object).

Batshl!	Sim bisbatshl!
/pac-1/	/sim=p@s-pac-1/
lift-IMP	2PL=PL-lift-IMP
<u>Lift it!</u> (singular agent)	<u>Lift them!</u> (plural agents)

Ga'as Bruce!

/ka?=s Bruce/

see=CNN Bruce

Look at Bruce!
(singular agent)

'Min guusun!

Sim 'min guusust!

/'min k^wu'=s=x^win/

/sim='min k^wu'=s=x^wist/

up take=CNN=this

2PL=up take=CNN=that

Pick this up!
(singular agent)

Pick that up!
(plural agents)

The verb guu /k^wu-/ means take, put (a light object).

Gidaxhl gaxgwi dim guxws luu yaltxwt.

/kit-@x=1 k@xk^wi tim k^wix^ws lu' yalt-x^w-t/

ask=CNN when FUT back in return-SFX-3SG

Ask him, her when he, she will come back!

Gidax ask (vt sg, pl) is a complex form consisting of a root /kit-/ and a derivational suffix /-@x/.

Gidaxdiit nda dim wil yeediit!

/kit-@x-ti't n@ta tim wil ye'-ti't/

ask-3PL where FUT CMP go-3PL

Ask them where they'll go!

[Check this sentence - it has a singular verb root in the subordinated locative clause - could be casual speech. I've recently come across several dependent order plural yee forms in JW's texts].

Future Declarative Directives

Intransitives-

Dim t'aa 'niin!

Dim wan 'nisi'm!

/tim t'a' 'ni'-n/

/tim wan 'ni-s@m/

FUT sit ABS-2SG

FUT sit ABS-2PL

Sit (down)! (sg)

Sit (down)! (pl)

Dim ha'w 'niin!

Dim ha'w 'nisi'm!

/tim ha'w 'ni'-n/

/tim ha'w 'ni-s@m/

FUT go.home ABS-2SG

FUT go.home ABS-2PL

Go home! (sg)

Go home! (pl)

Transitives-

Dim gibayin 'nii'y!

Dim gibayisi'm 'nuu'm!

/tim k@pa-y@-n 'ni'-y/

/tim k@pa-y@s@m 'nu'-m/

FUT wait-TRN-2SG
ABS-1SG

FUT wait-TRN-2PL ABS-1PL

Wait for me!
(singular agent)

Wait for us!
(plural agents)

Gan tun dim batsdin!

Gan tun dim batsdisi'm!

/qan=t=x^win tim
pac-t@-n/

/qan=t=x^win tim pac-t@s@m/

log=this FUT
lift-TRN-2SG

log=this FUT lift-TRN-2PL

Lift this log!
(singular agent)

Lift this log!
(plural agents)

Note that there is no hl-connective on the fronted, focused transitive object phrase; that may be due to the demonstrative pronoun enclitic to the noun head. See the focused object directive sentence following where the connective is present.

Hanak'hl dim gibayisi'm!

/h@naq'=1 tim k@pa-y@s@m/

woman=CNN FUT wait-TRN-2PL

Wait for the lady! (plural agents)

Periphrastic Directives

Intransitives-

Amhl dim t'an!

Amhl dim wansi'm!

/?am=1 tim t'a'-n/

/?am=1 tim wan-s@m/

good=CNN FUT sit-2SG

good=CNN FUT sit-2PL

Sit (down)! (sg)

Sit (down)! (pl)

Amhl dim ha'win!

Amhl dim ha'wsi'm!

/?am=1 tim ha'w-@n/

/?am=1 tim ha'w-s@m/

good=CNN FUT
go.home-2SG

good=CNN FUT go.home-2PL

Go home! (sg)

Go home! (pl)

Transitives-

Am (mi) dim giba'y! Am (mi) dim sim gibadiit!
 /?am (m@=)tim k@pa-'y/ /?am (m@=)tim sim=k@pa-ti't/
 good (2SG=)FUT wait-1SG good (2SG=)FUT 2PL=wait-3PL
Wait for me! Wait for them!
 (singular agent) (plural agents)

Question Directives

Intransitive-

Nee(hl) dim t'aana!
 /ne'=(l) tim t'a'-n-a/
 NEG=(CNN) FUT sit-2SG-QUES
Won't you sit down! (sg)

Transitive-

Nem dim giba'ya!
 /ne'=m tim k@pa-'y-a/
 NEG=2SG FUT wait-1SG-QUES
Wait for me! (singular agent)

Hortative Directives

Di, ha'wi'm!
 /ti, ha'w-@'m/
 move, go.home-1PL
Let's go home!

This is a fairly rough and informal hortative, addressed to a single interlocutor.

Dim ha'w 'nuu'm!
 /tim ha'w 'nu--'m/
 FUT go.home ABS-1PL
Let's go home!

Am ja ha'wi'm!
 /?am c@=ha'w-@'m/
 good IRREAL=go.home-1PL
Let's go home!

Hlaa am ja ha'wi'm!
 /la' ?am c@=ha'w-@'m/
 INCEPT good IRREAL=go.home-1PL
Let's go home! (It's already time for us to go).

Neehl ha'wi'ma!
 /ne'=l ha'w-@'m-a/
 NEG=CNN go.home-1PL-QUES
Let's go home!, Aren't we going home?

[Check this form].

[Check for transitive hortatives].

[Need to collect more /ha'w/ proscriptive imperatives, which aren't treated here].

*There is no p. 3
 It got left out
 inadvertently*

Chapter 5: Verbs

Introduction

As a major immediate syntactic constituent in the surface structure of an independent order G sentence, the predicate phrase may contain a verb phrase, and in the case of transitive constructions, the verb phrase may also include an ergative nominal adjunct as a right-most immediate phrasal constituent. (Despite Rood (1977), I still maintain that underlying transitive subject nominal adjuncts are inside the verb phrase, i.e., they are dominated by the verb phrase node, and, as well, they appear in surface structure as ergatives, which remain inside the verb phrase or which, in the case of personal pronouns, are attracted onto the verb). The verb constituent, for its part, consists of a verb theme plus, optionally as appropriate, its pronominal clitics and suffixes (discussed on pp. ??), its connective enclitics (discussed on pp. ??), and its modal enclitics (discussed later on pp. ??).

The verb theme, in its turn, consists usually of a verb stem preceded by one or more preverbals. The verb stem is the right-most head element of the verb theme. The verb stem may consist minimally of a verb root alone, or it may be built upon a verb root or a noun root plus one or more verbal inflectional and derivational affixes. Other verb themes are built upon a nominal plus one or more verbal affixes, or of a compounded, incorporated verb - noun combination (perhaps linked together by an attributive suffix), or of a compounded verb - verb combination (perhaps linked together by the -hl connective).

The verb root is a simple monomorphemic form. Many G lexical roots belong to a single part of speech form-class, but some have multiple membership and may participate in both simple verb stem and formally unmarked deverbative noun constructions.

To exemplify these concepts, consider the structure of this directive sentence, which has the same surface structure as an independent order future declarative sentence:

Dim luu yuhusi'mhl sise'ehl ganiye'etxwsi'm!
 /tim lu' yux^w-@-s@m=ɩ s@-si?=ɩ q@-n@-yi?-tx^w-s@m/
 FUT in follow-TRN-2PL=CNN PL-foot=CNN PL-PFX-grandfather-
 PASS-2PL
Follow in the footsteps of your grandfathers! (plural agents)

The two immediate constituents of the sentence are the initial predicate phrase - Dim luu yuhusi'mhl Follow in (2PL) - and the following absolutive adjunct phrase - sise'ehl ganiye'etxwsi'm the footsteps of your grandfathers. The predicate phrase contains the initial future particle dim /tim/ and the following verb phrase luu yuhusi'mhl /lu' yux^w-@-s@m=ɩ/, which is also a verb. When the -si'm /-s@m/ 2PL pronominal suffix and the -hl /=ɩ/ connective enclitic are stripped off, the verb theme luu yuhu- /lu' yux^w-@-/ remains. In turn, the verb theme has an initial preverbal luu /lu' / in preceding the verb stem yuhu- /yux^w-@-/. And finally, the verb stem is built up from the transitive verb root yuxw /yux^w/ follow and the independent order transitivizer suffix -u- /-@-/ (its u-quality harmonizes with the

vowel of the root across the immediate post-tonic intervocalic h-glide developed from the intervocalic fricative /x^w/). Yuxw /yux^w/ does not occur alone as a simple noun or verb root construction.

This chapter aims to describe some of the derivational and inflectional complexities of the structure of G verb themes. The task is difficult - in fact, daunting - because it is not possible to first simply discuss the preverbals and their various arrangements, then move on to discuss stem-formation, and so on. That approach overlooks or disregards the internal hierarchical structuring of verb themes that is not immediately apparent in the linear ordering of their morphemes, but which may be ascertained through procedures of substitution and contrast. As well, it is not possible to classify and subdivide the preverbals into a reasonably small number of positional classes because of their great number and the lack of observed cooccurrence relationships among many of them for semantic and other reasons. Nor is it possible to describe the distribution of preverbals in a single comprehensive morpheme-order diagram or chart or in an ordered set of phrase structure rules. It seems to me that verb theme derivation is as much or more a matter for the lexicographer as it is for the grammarian (narrowly defined). And so the framework adopted here for describing verb theme derivation is to present and discuss the major verb thematic grammatical categories, the range of thematic construction types (which are not presented as mutually exclusive categories), and then to survey a subset of the hundred-plus preverbals, which can be loosely subdivided into several semantico-syntactic

subclasses, including local adverbial, manner, time, and degree preverbals. I do not here treat the stem-forming derivational suffixes, such as /-@s/, /-@l/, /-@n/, and /-@xs/, because they also figure in the derivation of nominals and their meanings do not seem constant.

Verb Thematic Grammatical Categories

The major grammatical categories of the verb theme are transitivity, voice, number, and aspect. Transitivity and voice are semantically interrelated generic categories in that they are concerned with the thematic roles or case relationships of speech event and narrated event participants (signified by various nominal adjuncts) to actions, states, processes, etc. (signified by verbal predicates). The controlled and directed action of an agent/ergative participant that is signified in a transitive active construction differs from the undirected action of a subject/absolutive participant in an antipassive construction.

Transitivity and Case Frames

Transitivity is a property of the entire verb theme, not just of the stem, and this is recognized in the labelled and bracketed immediate constituent representations of themes. Transitivity is sometimes marked overtly by affixes, and it is always covertly marked by the selection of ergative and/or absolutive nominal adjuncts. As well, complex intransitive verb themes may be built up from verb roots that also form transitive stems. These complex intransitive themes are overtly marked by

suffixes that signify their intransitive voice character as medial, detransitivized, antipassive, and passive. From the perspective of underlying and surface syntactic structure, the marking of transitivity and voice can be viewed as part of the more general phenomenon of predicate government. As a class of predicates, verb themes select for particular underlying and surface structure arrangements of nominal and clausal adjuncts, and these case frames are an important part of their lexical description. Some of the common verb thematic case frames with examples are:

1. (Underlying nominal adjuncts) Subject, Locative; (surface nominal adjuncts) Absolutive, Locative:

'naa yee /'aⁿ· ye·/ walk into view (vi sg)
 'Naa yee 'nii'y go'ohl ts'ingenx.
 /'na· ye· 'ni·-'y qu?=1 c'@m#qinx/
 into.view go ABS-1SG LOC=CNN in#road
I walked out of the woods onto the road.

2. Subject, Dative; Absolutive, Oblique

aluu t'aa /?@lu· t'a·/ be plain, comprehensible (vi sg)
 Aluu t'aahl ayuuk loo'y.
 /?@lu· t'a·=1 ?@yu·q lo·-'y/
 visible sit=CNN law OBL-1SG
I understand the law., The law is comprehensible to me.

This is the conventional G construction that expresses the

meaning signified in English by the transitive verb understand.

If the underlying subject is a sentential complement, then it appears in surface structure as a wil-complement, as in:

Hlaa aluu t'aa wil 'niinhl hluwilt.

/1a· ?@lu· t'a· wil 'ni·-n=1 1@-wil-t/

INCEPT visible sit CMP ABS-2SG=CNN DEF-do.something-3SG

It's now plain that you did it, that it was your doing.

This sentence lacks a dative/oblique adjunct. [Check to see whether the wil-complement would be right-extraposed beyond a dative/oblique adjunct].

3. Agent, Object; Ergative, Absolutive

ga'a- /ka?-@-/ see (vt sg)

Ga'as Tom-t Mary.

/ka?-@=s Tom=t Mary/

see-TRN=CNN Tom=t Mary

Tom saw Mary.

If the underlying object is a sentential complement, then it appears in surface structure as a wil-complement, as in:

Ga'as Tom wil baxs Mary.

/ka?-@=s Tom wil pax=s Mary/

see-TRN=CNN Tom CMP run=CNN Mary

Tom saw Mary running.

4. Agent, Object, Instrumental; Ergative, Absolutive, Oblique

k'oji- /q'uc-@-/ cut (vt sg)

K'ojis Tom-hl smax ahl t'uuts'xw.

/q'uc-@=s Tom=ɩ smax ?a=ɩ t'u'c'-xʷ/

cut-TRN=CNN Tom=CNN meat PREP=CNN knife

Tom cut the meat with a knife.

5. Agent, Object, Dative; Ergative, Absolutive, Oblique

gi'nami- /k@'nam-@-/ give (something) to (someone) (vt sg)

Gi'namis Mark-hl daala ahl gimxdit.

/k@'nam-@=s Mark=ɩ ta'la ?a=ɩ kimxti-t/

give-TRN=CNN Mark=ɩ money PREP=CNN sister-3SG

Mark gave some money to his sister.Mark gave his sister some money.gini- /kin-@-/ provide (someone) with (something to eat, drink, or smoke) (vt)

Ginis Mark-hl gimxdit ahl biya.

/kin-@=s Mark=ɩ kimxti-t ?a=ɩ piya/

provide-TRN=CNN Mark=CNN sister-3SG PREP=CNN beer

Mark provided his sister with some beer.Mark gave his sister some beer.mahldi- /maɩ-t@-/ tell (something) to (someone) (vt)Mahldis Mark ahl gimxdit dim wil saa daa'whlt go'ohl
laxmo'on./maɩ-t@=s Mark ?a=ɩ kimxti-t tim wil sa' ta'wɩ-t qu?=ɩ
lax#mu?n/

tell-TRN=CNN Mark FUT CMP away leave-3SG LOC=CNN coast

Mark told his sister that he would leave to go to the coast.

Mahldi- takes sentential complement objects, which appear in surface structure as right-extraposed wil-complements.

6. Agent, Object, Name; Ergative, Absolutive, Oblique

siwatdi- /s@-wa-t-t@/ name (someone or something) as (name) (vt)

Siwatdihl gathl us ahl Towser.

/s@-wa-t-t@=ɩ kat=ɩ ?us ?a=ɩ Towser/

TRN=name-INCR-TRN=CNN man=CNN dog PREP=CNN Towser

The man named the dog "Towser".

The underlying name adjunct of siwatdi- cannot be regarded as a dative, even though it surfaces as an oblique just as do the datives in the preceding case frame type 5. That is because underlying dative and name adjuncts are treated differently in focused constructions - see pp. ??.

The Marking of Transitivity and Voice Categories

The intransitive and transitive values of verb themes may be overtly marked by affixes. This is particularly the case for verb themes in independent order constructions because some transitivity suffixes do not occur in dependent order constructions, in which the arrangement of pronominal clitics and suffixes is sufficient to identify the construction as transitive. And some of the transitivity and intransitivity suffixes also signify voice thematic categories, including the transitive active, the antipassive, the passive of action, and the causative.

Intransitive Thematic Constructions

The major intransitive thematic construction types, together with their associated affixes, are:

1. Unmarked intransitive themes have no transitivity suffix in their stems, i.e., the root alone or a complex of root plus derivational affixes serves as stem, and it may be preceded by one or more preverbals. This is the open class of intransitives. Some examples are:

yee	/ye'/	<u>go, walk</u> (vi sg)
wilaxs	/wil-@xs/	(pl)
ts'in	/c'in/	<u>enter, go in</u> (vi sg)
ts'imaxs	/c'im-@xs/	(pl)
xsaxw	/xsax ^w /	<u>go out</u> (vi sg)
xseek	/xse'q/	(pl)

<u>k'ak</u>	/q'aq/	<u>open</u> (vi)
<u>k'aa'ax</u>	/q'a'-?x/	(pl)

2. Medial (or middle voice) intransitive themes are formed with the suffix $-(t)xw$ $/-(t)x^w/$. (There is a homophonous suffix that also occurs in passive and certain transitive theme constructions, but it belongs to a different form class). The full $/-tx^w/$ form of the suffix occurs after a root- or stem-final vowel, glottal stop, or resonant; elsewhere, the $/-x^w/$ alternant is found.

One kind of medial theme is built with a subset of verb roots that also form transitive themes with the $/-(t)@n-/$ causative suffix. They include:

hetxw	/hit-x ^w /	<u>be standing</u> (vi sg)
litxw	/lit-x ^w /	(pl)
mitxw	/mit-x ^w /	<u>be full</u> (vi sg)
saks-xw	/saks-x ^w /	<u>be clean</u> (vi sg)
yuukxw	/yu'q-x ^w /	<u>eat</u> (vi sg)
txookxw	/txo'q-x ^w /	(pl)

A specialized medial verb theme is seen in:

makxw	/maq-x ^w /	<u>board, get into</u> (a boat or vehicle) (vi sg)
maamaxw	/ma'-m _x -x ^w /	(pl)

This theme is apparently built upon the singular verb root $/maq-/$

put, place, which also occurs in transitive active and detransitivized themes.

Another kind of medial theme is seen in the derivation of stative adjectives from noun roots. Some examples are:

ihlee'txw /?ile'?-tx^w/ be red (vi sg)

Compare ihlee'e /?ile'?/ blood.

maaxwsxw /ma'-x^wws-x^w/ be white (vi sg)

Compare maaxws /ma'-x^ws/ snow (on ground).

mihlatxw /m@!a-tx^w/ be green (vi sg)

Compare mihla /m@!a/ bile.

t'uuts'xw /t'u·c'-x^w/ be black (vi sg),
knife, metal

Compare t'uuts' /t'u·c'/ charcoal.

And lastly, it should be noted that there are many intransitive verb themes that end in final /-x^w/, but there is no clear evidence for segmenting it off as the medial suffix. An example is seen in:

isxw /?isx^w/ stink, be smelly (vi sg)

But compare is /?is/ pee, urinate (vi sg).

3. Antipassive intransitive themes are built upon roots that generally occur also in transitive themes, but not all transitive themes have antipassive counterparts. And sometimes the

antipassive form has a more specialized meaning. This leads me to believe that antipassives should be base-generated or lexically derived, rather than derived freely by transformational rule (see also Grimshaw and Mester 1985 for a similar argument with respect to Labrador Inuttut). Antipassives also occur in several deverbative nominal constructions. Some antipassive themes contain roots that evidently are no longer used in transitive active constructions.

In the case of antipassive themes that have regular transitive active counterparts, the semantic distinction appears to be one of undirected action as contrasted with directed goal-oriented action (see Comrie 1981:225 on the same distinction of effect-orientated or subject-orientated action in Georgian). This is also reflected in the selection of underlying subject and agent adjuncts for antipassive and transitive active themes, respectively. Contrastive examples are seen in:

Transitive active construction-

Yukwt gibas Bruce-t Barbara.

/yuk^w=t k@pa=s Bruce=t Barbara/

PROG=3SG wait=CNN Bruce=CNN Barbara

Bruce is waiting for Barbara.

Antipassive construction-

Yukwhl gibee'esxws Bruce as Barbara.

/yuk^W=l k@pe'-?sx^W=s Bruce ?a=s Barbara/

PROG=CNN wait-ANTI=CNN Bruce PREP=CNN Barbara

Bruce is waiting on Barbara.

Bruce has been waiting on Barbara.

In both sentences above, the independent progressive main verb yukw /yuk^W/ has a subject/absolute sentential complement; the first one is transitive active, the second is antipassive, and both are dependent order constructions.

The antipassive suffix has several alternants. There is a marginal allomorph, evidently archaic, that is found in t'uusx /t'u'-sx/ sweep (vi sg) - compare t'axw /t'ax^W/ sweep (vt sg) - and in alternate older forms of two deverbative nominals, viz., biyoosx /p@yo'-sx/ mosquito, troublesome biting insect and sa'winsx /sax^W-?@n-sx/ paper - compare saxw /sax^W/ shake, flutter (vt sg). Biyoosxw /p@yo'-sx^W/ and sa'winsxw /saxw-?@n-sx^W/ are the common pronunciations today.

The regular antipassive suffix alternant following a consonant is -asxw /-asx^W/, and the a-quality of its unstressed vowel reflects an earlier suffix-initial glottal stop, now lost in most environments. Following the uncommon short vowel-final roots, the antipassive alternant is /-?sx^W/ and it gives rise to irregular ablauted root alternants with long vowels. And there is a third alternant in -sxw /-sx^W/, which occurs following resonants and the glottal stop. Nisgha also retains an archaic /-sk/ antipassive alternant, but its regular alternant glottalizes the root-final segment. Compare Nisgha hap'iskw and

G habasxw grass, hay; both are antipassive forms derived from hap /hap-/ cover. More examples of antipassive verb themes are:

damgansxw /tamq-@n-sx^W/ do pulling, pull (vi)

Compare damgan- /tamq-@n-/ pull (vt)

ee'esxw /?e'-?sx^W/ promise (vi)

Compare itxwi- /?i-tx^W-@-/ call out (something) (vt)

ga'lasxw /ka'l-asx^W/ look around, open one's eyes (vi sg)

Compare ga'a- /ka?-@-/ see (vt sg).

gibee'esxw /k@pe'-?sx^W/ wait on (someone) (vi)

Compare gibayi- /k@pa-y@-/ wait for (someone) (vt sg, pl).

gubasxw /k^Wip-asx^W/ eat berries while picking (vi)

Compare gubi- /k^Wip-@-/ eat (vt sg).

guwasxw /k^Wix^W-asx^W/ fall down forward (vi)

Compare guwi- /k^Wix^W-@-/ shoot, hit by shooting (vt sg).

go'omsxw /qu?-m-sx^W/ do fetching (vi)

Compare go'o- /qu?-@-/ fetch, go for (something) (vt).

mahlasxw /maɫ-asx^W/ narrate, preach, do telling (vi)

Compare mahldi- /maɫ-t@-/ tell (something) to (someone) (vt)

ts'o'osxw /c'u?-sx^w/ skin, do skinning (vi)
 Compare ts'o'odi- /c'u?-t@-/ skin (vt)

4. Detransitivized verb themes are syntactically similar to antipassive themes in that both constructions take subject/absolute nominal adjuncts, but they differ in that detransitive themes do not cooccur with dative/oblique nominal adjuncts, as antipassivized themes optionally do.

Detransitivized verb themes are definitely uncommon, but they also are found in a few other complex nominal morphological constructions, e.g., agentive headless relatives, place and instrumental nominals - see pp. ?? later.

The detransitivizing suffix is generally -a /-a/, but some careful speakers use -a'a /-a?/. There are irregular alternants in -'wa /-'wa/ and -'ma /-'ma/ in several themes; these perhaps evidence an earlier initial glottal stop in the suffix. Examples are:

dasa /tas-a/ touch, touch or affect someone as a jinx (vi)

Compare dasi- /tas@-/ touch (vt sg).

k'asba saa guu'wa

/q'asp@ sa· k^wu·-'wa/

astray away take-DETRN

engage in petty thievery (vi)

Compare guudi- /k^wu·-t@-/ take, get (vt sg).

k'asbi·dogo'wa

/q'asp@ tuq-'wa/

astray take-DETRN

steal, pick things up without asking (vi)

Compare dogo- /tuq-@-/ take, get (vt pl)

luu si'naha

/lu· s@-'nax-a/

in TRN-bait-DETRN

bait traps (vi)

Compare si'naxdi- /s@-'nax-t@-/ bait (traps) (vt).

saa guu'wa

/sa· k^wu-'wa/

away take-DETRN

copy someone else's design,
imitate someone's behaviour (vi)

See k'asba saa guu'wa entry above.

six ga'la

/six ka'l-a/

steadily see-DETRN

look, watch steadily (vi)

sit'aa'ma

/s@-t'a-'ma/

TRN-sit-DETRN

start, begin (vi)

5. Passive verb themes usually/always are built upon roots that also occur in transitive active and antipassive constructions, but not all transitives have antipassive counterparts, and fewer still have passives. The main sense of the G passive is a passive of action that is similar in meaning to the be- and get- passives of Standard English. G passives do not cooccur with oblique adjuncts that signify an underlying agent adjunct. That is, G has only sentences corresponding to English I was shot. / I got shot. and not to I was shot by John. One can render a similar sense to the latter English sentence by focusing the transitive object/absolute adjunct to form a G sentence better translated as It was me that John shot.

Passivized themes may also have other, related senses, which include possession and some reflexive actions.

In part, the passive suffix alternants are the same as the homophonous medial suffix $-(t)x^w / -(t)x^w/$. The longer alternant occurs after vowel-, resonant-, and glottal-stop finals, and $-x^w / -x^w/$ occurs after most obstruent finals. However, there is also a passive suffix alternant in $-s / -s/$ that is found after the final dorsal obstruents $k, kw, \underline{k}, x, xw$ and \underline{x} (i.e., $/k/, /k^w/, /q/, /x/, /x^w/,$ and $/\underline{x}/$, respectively). This $-s/$ alternant strengthens or "hardens" preceding root-final $/x/$ and $/x^w/$ fricatives into stops. The $-s/$ alternant also cooccurs with the $-(t)x^w/$ alternant, as in $sit'aatxws /s@-t'a'-tx^w-s/$ start, begin (vi), which takes sentential subject/absolute complements. Thus, the $-(t)x^w/$ and $-s/$ alternants are not completely in complementary distribution, if this $-(t)x^w/$ is the passive alternant, rather than the medial one. I don't have a good

understanding of the relationships and subtle differences of meaning among the various passive and medial thematic constructions, so I cannot be certain here.

Some preverbals require their verb stem heads to be in passivized form, e.g., his joks /his cuq-s/ have a picnic, lit. pretend to camp ^(vi) - compare jok /cuq/ camp, dwell (vi sg).

Some passive of action examples are:

ankws /?ank^w-s/ be cooked (vi)

Compare sa?angwi- /s@-?ank^w-@-/ cook (vt).

gamks /kank-s/ be heated (up) (vi)

Compare sigamgi- /s@-kank-@-/ heat (up) (vt)

gukws /k^wix^w-s/ get shot (vi)

Compare guwi- /k^wix^w-@-/ shoot, hit by shooting (vt).

gupxw /k^wip-x^w/ be edible, be generally eaten (vi)

Compare gubi- /k^wip-@/ eat (vt sg). This passive theme has a specialized meaning, rather than the expected be, get eaten.

hooks /ho·x-s/ be used (for something) (vi)

Compare hooyi- /ho·x-@/ use, wear (vt sg).

ts'o'otxw /c'u?-tx^w/ get skinned (vi)

Compare ts'o'odi- /c'u?-t@-/ skin (vt).

yo'oksts'a'ltxw

/yu?-ks#c'a'l-tx^w/

wash#face-PASS

have, get one's face washed (vi)

This western G form is an incorporated verb-plus-noun compounded that has been passivized.

Passives of possession are built upon nouns. They can function as verbal predicates, but it is more usual for such constructions to be pluralized nominals - see pp. ???. Some examples are:

bilantxw /p@lan-tx^w/ have a belt on, wear a belt (vi)

Compare bilan /p@lan/ belt.

gaytxw /qayt-x^w/ have a hat on, wear a hat (vi)

Compare gayt /qayt/ hat.

mi'yentxw, mi'yeentxw /m@'ye·n-tx^w/ have tobacco, have some smokes (vi)

Compare mi'yen, mi'yeen /m@'ye·n/ tobacco, cigarettes; see pp. ??? for a discussion of the phonology of this form.

Reflexive constructions are of several kinds, and one sort of reflexive theme is formed with the passive suffix. Some examples are:

gaapxw /qa·p-x^w/ scratch oneself (vi)

Compare gaabi- /qa·p-@-/ scratch (vt sg).

pts'a'ytxw /pc'a'y-tx^w/ comb one's own hair (vi)

Compare pts'a'yi- /pc'a'y-@-/ comb someone's hair (vt).

siwilaaksintxw

/s@-w@la·x-s-@n-tx^w/

TRN-know-PASS-CAUS-PASS

train, teach oneself (vi)

Compare siwilaaksi- /s@-w@la·x-s-@-/ learn (vi).

si'yimkxw /s@-'yim-q-x^w/ shave oneself (vi)

Compare 'yim /'yim/ (porcupine) quill and 'yimk /'yim-q/ beard, whiskers.

6. Passive of state constructions are similar in sense to the stative adjective constructions, with which they are apparently in complementary distribution, being built upon a different set of verb roots (those that transitivize with the causative suffix -din- /-(t)@n-/ and a small number of noun roots that signify natural phenomena such as water and mud. The passive of state suffix has a single allomorph in -t /-t/. Some examples are:

akst /?aks-t/ be wet (vi)

Compare aks /?aks/ water, fluid, juice.

ihlakt /?i!aq-t/ be broken (in two, as a stick or limb) (vi)

Compare ihlagani- /?i!aq-@n-@-/ break (vt); see pp. ?? for a discussion of the phonology of this root.

kw'ast /k^w'as-t/ be broken (into pieces) (vi)

Compare kw'asini- /k^w'as-@n-@/ break (vt).

sak't /saq'-t/ be broken, cracked (in a single break) (vi)

Compare sak'ani- /saq'-@n-@-/ crack (vt).

t'uxwhlaa'nst, t'uxwhlaa'lst, duxwhlaa'lst

/t'@x^w!a·'ns-t/, t'@x^w!a·'ls-t/, /t@x^w!a·'s-t/

ROOT-SPASS

be broken in two (of string, rope, wool yarn, etc.) (vi)

It is most likely that the initial part of this root can be analyzed as deriving historically from /t'ip/ (straight) down.

sga tl'ook't /sqa ɬ'o·k'-t/ be muddy, be blocked by mud (as a road or path) (vi)

Compare tl'ook' /ɬ'o·k'/ mud.

Transitive Thematic Constructions

The transitive thematic constructions, together with their transitivity affixes and preverbals, are:

1. The most common kind of transitive theme is formed with the suffix /-(y)@-/. Its /-yi-/ allomorph occurs following the small set of short vowel-final transitive verb roots and its several other phonologically conditioned allomorphs occur after a large morphologically conditioned set of consonant-final verb roots - see pp. ?? for a discussion of the phonology of this suffix.

Some examples are:

Dasit.	Ga'at.
/tas-@-t/	/ka?-@-t/
touch-TRN-3SG	see-TRN-3SG
<u>He, She touched it.</u>	<u>He, She saw it.</u>

Gubit.	Jabit.
/k ^w ip-@-t/	/cap-@-t/
eat-TRN-3SG	make-TRN-3SG
<u>He, She ate it.</u>	<u>He, She made it.</u>

2. The other common kind of transitive theme is built with the suffix -di- /-t@-/. It can be grouped together with the /-(y)@-/ suffix alternants into a single morpheme on the basis of complementary distribution and identical meanings. /-t@-/ transitivity affixes the few long vowel-final transitive verb roots, and it occurs with a large morphologically conditioned set of

consonant-final verb roots too. As well, some preverbals, such as 'naa /'na·/ into view, visible against a background, out of the woods, select the /-t@-/ suffix to build complex themes with verb roots that otherwise cooccur with /-(y)@-/.

The /-(y)@-/ - /-t@-/ transitivity affix morpheme occurs only in independent order transitive constructions, but does not occur before the Series 2 third person plural pronominal suffix -diit /-ti·t/. Its absence there is apparently conditioned morphologically, not phonologically.

Some examples of the di- /-t@-/ suffix are:

Guudit.	Mahldit lun.
/k ^w u·-t@-t/	/maɪ-t@-t lo·-n/
take-TRN-3SG	tell-TRN-3SG OBL-2SG
<u>He, She took it.</u>	<u>He, She told it to you.</u>

K'akdit.	Suudit.
/q'aq-t@-t/	/su·-t@-t/
open-TRN-3SG	fetch-TRN-3SG
<u>He, She opened it</u> (e.g., a door)	<u>He, She fetched it.</u>

'Naa k'otsdit.	Xsi ga'adit.
/'na· q'uc-t@-t/	/xs@ ka?-t@-t/
into.view cut-TRN-3SG	out see-TRN-3SG
<u>He, She cut it open.</u> (e.g., opened a tin can)	<u>He, She chose, selected it.</u>

Xts'i yatsdi'yhl gan.

/xc'@ yac-t@-'y=i qan/

/PVB hit-TRN-1SG=CNN tree/

I cut, chopped down a tree.

The preverbal xts'i, xts'a /xc'@/ means along a cylindrical object, while the root yats /yac/ means hit, strike with an object held in the hand.

The last three verb roots above belong to the set that select the /-(y)@-/ suffix alternant when they occur in themes lacking preverbals or containing other, neutral preverbals.

3. Another common kind of transitive theme is formed with the CAUSative suffix /-(t)@n-/ , which has the more specific meaning of cause by one's own hand or action. Its /-tin-/ alternant occurs following resonants, while /-@n-/ occurs elsewhere. The set of verb roots that select the /-(t)@n-/ causative suffix is morphologically conditioned, and it includes, among others, those roots that occur in intransitive themes with the medial /-(t)x^v/ suffix. Although /-(t)@n-/ is in complementary distribution with the /-(y)@-/ and /-t@-/ suffix alternants, it does definitely contrast in meaning with them, and unlike them, it occurs both in independent order and dependent order constructions and it may precede the -diit /-ti't/ 3PL pronominal suffix. Some examples are:

Hedint.

/hit-@n-t/

stand-CAUS-3SG

He, She stood it up.

K'eegant.

/k'e'q-@n-t/

flee-CAUS-3SG

He, She chased it away.

Kw'asint.

/k^w'as-@n-t/

break-CAUS-3SG

He, She broke it into pieces.

Lidint.

/lit-@n-t/

stand-CAUS-3SG

He, She stood them up.

Midint.

/mit-@n-t/

full-CAUS-3SG

He, She filled it.

Saksint.

/saks-@n-t/

clean-CAUS-3SG

He, She cleaned it.

Ts'indindiit.

/c'in-t@n-ti't/

enter-CAUS-3PL

They let him, her in.
They admitted him, her.

The first six forms above all have corresponding medial themes, while the final form corresponds to the simple intransitive theme ts'in /c'in/ enter, go in.

4. A less common kind of transitive theme is built with a combination of the passive suffix followed by the /-@-/ transitivizing suffix alternant, which has its usual restricted

distribution (i.e., only in independent order configurations and not before the third person plural suffix).

The first sub-type of this construction are complex themes built with local adverbial preverbals and passivized intransitive stems. Some examples are:

Gyuwil baxxwit.

/kux^w-@l pax-x^w-@-t/

past run-PASS-TRN-3SG

He, She ran past him, her, it.

'Nii t'aatxwit.

/'ni· t'a·-tx^w-@-t/

on sit-PASS-TRN-3SG

He, She sat on it, took a sitting position on it.

This theme has the sense of assuming or moving into a position of sitting on something, e.g., a horse, whereas its corresponding intransitive theme 'nii t'aa /'ni· t'a·/ means more specifically be in a sitting position (on something). There are other similarly formed pairs of transitive and intransitive themes that display the same distinction of meaning.

'Niik'an gosxwit.

/'ni·q'@n qus-x^w-@-t/

over jump-PASS-TRN-3SG

He, She jumped over it.

I have fewer examples of the second sub-type of passivized transitive theme to hand, and they are built upon both noun and verb roots. Some examples are:

Hakwhlxwit.

/hak^w±-x^w-@-t/

hook-PASS-TRN-3SG

He, She gaffed, hooked it.

Compare hakwhl /hak^w±/ gaff, hook (n).

Hapxwit.

/hap-x^w-@-t/

cover-PASS-TRN-3SG

He, She trapped it.

Compare t'ip hap /t'ip hap/ collapse, fall down (of a building) (vi), habasxw /hap-asx^w/ grass, hay, and habi- /hap-@/ cover (vt sg). The basic sense of this root seems to be a downward covering movement.

Naksxwit.

/naks-x^w-@-t/

spouse-PASS-TRN-3SG

He married her., She married him.

5. /t@-/-Intransitive Verb Root-/-TRN-)

There is a small set of transitive themes that are formed from intransitive verb roots with the prefix /t@-/. Most of its members share a specialized comitative meaning, viz., that the agent/ergative participant accompanies the moving object/ absolutive participant. In some themes, however, the /t@-/ prefix seems simply to be a transitivizer. The /t@-/ prefix attaches to the front of the verb stem, it may be preceded by one or more preverbals in the theme, and it cooccurs discontinuously

with the /-@-/ transitive suffix alternant in its usual restricted distribution, and elsewhere in dependent order constructions without it. Some examples are:

Didalgat.

/t@-talq-@-t/

TRN-talk-TRN-3SG

He, She talked with him, her.

Compare the intransitive attributive in the personal name Dalgam Uuk /talq-@m ?u'q/ Talking-Copper (personal name, Frog / Raven Tribe).

Didaa'whlit.

/t@-ta·'wɬ-@-t/

TRN-leave-TRN-3SG

He, She left with him, her.
He, She went away with him, her.

Compare daa'whl /ta·'wɬ/ leave, go away (vi sg)

Dilugwit.

/t@-luk^w-@-t/

TRN-move-TRN-3SG

He, She moved, shifted it.

Compare lukw /luk^w/ move, shift (vi pl)

Dimootxwit.

/t@-mo·-tx^w-@-t/

TRN-ROOT-PASS-TRN-3SG

He, She saved, cured him, her.

Compare mootxw /mo·-tx^w/ be saved, cured. The same root no doubt also occurs in the form hlimoo /l@mo·/ help (vt sg, pl), although I have not segmented it here synchronically.

Di'witxwit.

/t@-'witx^w-@-t/

TRN-come-TRN-3SG

He, She brought it.

Compare 'witxw /'witx^w/ come (from) (vi sg).

Duwaayit.

/t@-wa·x-@-t/

TRN-paddle-TRN-3SG

He, She paddled it.

Compare waax paddle (vi sg), paddle (n).

K'ali dibahat.

/q'ali t@-paɣ-@-t/

upstream TRN-run-TRN-3SG

He, She ran him, her up the river. (in a vehicle).

This theme is a loan translation from English. Also, compare bax /paɣ/ run (vi) and the antipassivized deverbative nominal bahasxw /paɣ-asx^w/ wind.

6. /sil/ Intransitive Verb(-TRN)-

There is another transitive thematic construction that has a more general comitative meaning. It is formed from simpler intransitives with the preverbal sil /sil/, which cooccurs discontinuously with the /-@-/ transitive suffix in its usual restricted distribution, and elsewhere without it. Some examples are:

Sil gagatxwit.

/sil q@-kat-x^w-@-t/

with PL-be.born-PASS-TRN-3SG

He, She has the same mother as him, her.

Sil gasgootxwit.

/sil q@-sqo'-tx^w-@-t/

with PL-be.so.much-PASS-TRN-3SG

He, She is the same size (or shape) as him, her.

Sil jogot.

/sil cuq-@-t/

with dwell-TRN-3SG

He's living with her.
She's living with him.

Sil sgwatxwit.

/sil sk^watx^w-@-t/

with joke-TRN-3SG

He, She joked with him, her.

Sil t'aatxwit.

/sil t'a'-tx^w-@-t/

with sit-PASS-TRN-3SG

He, She sat with him, her.

The agent/ergative participant sat, but the object/absolute participant need not have been sitting.

Sil gat'aatxwit.

/sil q@-t'a'-tx^w-@-t/

with PL-sit-PASS-TRN-3SG

He, She sat with him, her.

Both participants were sitting.

7. The jussive construction provides yet another kind of transitive theme. It is formed with the preverbal gun /k^win/. If a jussive theme is derived from or built upon an embedded or subordinated intransitive (which remains formally unmarked for transitivity), the underlying subject of the intransitive verb realizes as the surface absolute of the sentence. If the jussive is built on a transitive (which retains its usual transitivity marking), the underlying object of the transitive realizes as a absolute and the underlying agent surfaces as an oblique adjunct. The jussive main clause agent always is the surface ergative of the sentence. Some examples of sentences containing jussive themes are:

Gun wili'y 'nidiit.

/k^win wil-@'y 'ni-ti·t/

JUSS do.something-1SG ABS-3PL

I made them do it.

Gun saa yee'y.

/k^win sa· ye·-'y/

JUSS away go-1SG

I made him, her go away.

Gun ma_kxwhl!

/k^win maq-x^w-t/

JUSS board-IMP

Get into the boat! (or other vehicle)

Ma_kxw /maq-x^w/ is a complex medial intransitive theme; see pp. ??.

Gun bahldi'yhl skana loot.

/k^win pa_t-t@-'y=t sqan-a lo·-t/

JUSS spread.out-TRN-1SG=CNN cedar.mat OBL-3SG

I had him, her spread out the cedar mat.

Gun t'amdi'yhl letter aloos Barbara.

/k^win t'am-t@-'y=t letter ?a-lo·=s Barbara/

JUSS mark-TRN-1SG=CNN letter PREP-OBL=CNN Barbara

I told Barbara to write a letter.

I had Barbara write a letter.

Gun 'nidini'y aloos John wil guu liiluxwshl nakst.

/k^win 'nit-@n-@'y ?a-lo·=s John wil k^wu· li·lx^ws-t nak's-t/

JUSS agree-CAUS-1SG PREP-OBL=CNN John CMP HABIT steal=CNN spouse-3SG

I made John agree, admit that his wife steals.

/s@-/ Thematic Constructions

There are a great variety of intransitive and transitive verb thematic constructions formed with the prefix /s@-/. Some of these also figure in the derivation of more complex nominals or as complex nominals themselves. Thus it seems useful to treat all the /s@-/ verb themes in a single section to show the transitivity and voice relationships that exist among some related thematic sets.

Intransitives-

1. s@-/-Nominal

The first intransitive /s@-/ construction is formed by prefixing /s@-/ to a nominal head, and the derived theme has the meaning process or procure by one's action the affected object signified by the nominal. Some examples are:

sagax

simaa'y

/s@-qasx/

/s@-ma·'y/

PFX-wild.rice

PFX-berries

dig wild rice
(chocolate lily) (vi)

pick berries (vi)

Maa'y /ma·'y/ is the generic form for berries, fruit.

sits 'ak'	sa'is
/s@-c'aq'/	/s@-?is/
PFX-clam	PFX-soapberries
<u>dig, gather clams</u> (vi)	<u>pick soapberries</u> (vi)

2. /s@-/-Nominal

The second intransitive /s@-/ construction has the same constituency, but its meaning is bring into existence by one's action the effected object signified by the nominal. Some examples are:

sagan	si'mal
/s@-qan/	/s@-'mal/
PFX-pole	PFX-canoe
<u>make a totem pole</u> (vi)	<u>make a canoe</u> (vi)

sa'anjok	sa'anyuust
/s@-?@n-cuq/	/s@-?@n-yu'-st/
PFX-place-camp	PFX-place-ROOT-SFX
<u>make camp</u> (vi)	<u>dig, make a storage pit, cellar</u> (vi)

Note that the last two examples are built upon complex nominals that contain the prefix an- /?@n-/, one of whose senses is place where the action signified by the following intransitive verb is done.

3. /s@-/-Nominal-ANTI

A third kind of /s@-/ theme is an antipassivized one. I have only one example, and it has the constituency /s@-/-Nominal-

ANTI, as seen in:

<i>add double space</i>	sa'anwilasxw
	/s@-?@n-wil-asx ^w /
	PFX-point-do.something-ANTI
	<u>set an example or precedent for someone's socialization</u> (vi)

Note that it is built upon the complex nominal anwil /?@n-wil/ the point of one's action, an example, which is also formed with the prefix an /?@n-/, but in its sense of the point or meaning of the action signified by the following intransitive verb. I suggest that the labelled bracketing of the longer, verb theme is:

[[s@-]PFX[[?@n-]PFX[wil]ROOT]]NOM[asx^w]ANTI|vi

4. A fourth kind of /s@-/ intransitive theme is a detransitivized one. It has three sub-types that I've observed, and they display the following patterns:

a. /s@-/-Nominal-DETRN

sa'anwila
/s@-?@n-wil-a/
PFX-point-do.something-DETRN
<u>set an example or precedent</u> (vi)

luu si'naha
/lu· s@-'nax-a/
in PFX-bait-DETRN
<u>do trap-baiting</u> (vi)

The suggested labelled bracketing for the second form is:

[[[lu^{*}]pVB[[s@-]pVB['na^x]NOM]vi]vt[-a]DETRN]vi

b. /s@-/-Intransitive Verb-DETRN

sigaksa

/s@-kaks-a/

PFX-be.peaceful-DETRN

quieten, settle a situation down (vi)

sityeewa

/s@-tre^w-a/

PFX-change-DETRN

do exchanging, trading (vi)

sit'aa'ma

/s@-t'a^{*}-ma/

PFX-sit-DETRN

start, begin (vi)

The suggested labelled bracketing for the last form is:

[[[s@-]pFX[t'a^{*}]vi]vt[-'ma]DETRN]vi

c. /s@-/-Transitive verb-PASS-DETRN

siwilaaksa

/s@-w@la^x-s-a/

PFX-know-PASS-DETRN

teach, do teaching (vi)

The suggested labelled bracketing is:

[[[[[s@-]pFX[w@la^x]vt]vt[-s]PASS]vi]vt[-a]DETRN]vi

5. The fifth kind of intransitive /s@-/ verb theme is a passivized one. It subsumes several constructions that have different meanings. They are:

a. /s@-/-Nominal-PASS

The meaning of this construction is change, turn into the object signified by the nominal. Some examples are:

sahalaytxw, saalaytxw

/s@-h@layt-x^w/

PFX-shaman-PASS

become a shaman, Indian doctor (vi)

sa'usxw

/s@-?us-x^w/

PFX-dog-PASS

change, turn into a dog (vi)

Simidiiks

/s@-m@ti·k-s/

PFX-grizzly.bear-PASS

Turn-Into-A-Grizzly Bear
(personal name; ? Tribe / Phratry)

Midiik /m@ti·k/ is the Coast Tsimshian word for grizzly bear.

b. /s@-/Nominal-PASS(-PASS)

This thematic construction seems to be built upon the second, effected object kind of theme, and it adds an ethical dative sort of meaning to it, i.e., make for oneself the object signified by the nominal. Some examples are:

sa'aatxw

/s@-?a·t-x^w/

PFX-net-PASS

make a net for oneself (vi)

silakws

/s@-lak^w-s/

PFX-fire-PASS

make a fire for oneself (vi)

siwilpxws

/s@-wilp-x^w-s/

PFX-house-PASS-PASS

build a house for oneself (vi)

c. /s@-/Nominal-PASS

Superficially, this thematic construction resembles the previous one, but comparison leads me to regard it as a passivized reflexive. An example to hand is:

si'yimkxw

/s@-'yim-q-x^w/

PFX-beard-PASS

shave oneself (vi)

d. /s@-/Intransitive Verb-PASS-PASS

Two examples of this subtype of theme are:

sit'aatxws

/s@-t'a·-tx^w-s/

PFX-sit-PASS-PASS

start, begin (vi)

siwiltxws

/s@-wil-tx^w-s/

PFX-do.something-PASS-PASS

practice, be in the habit of doing something (vi)

Both the above themes govern or take sentential complement subject/absolute adjuncts, e.g. Siwiltxwshl wili'y. I've gotten into the habit of doing it.

e. /s@-/Transitive Verb-PASS-CAUS-PASS

This is a complex passivized intransitivized thematic

construction. The sole example I've observed is:

siwilaaksintxw
 /s@-w@la·x-s-@n-tx^w/
 PFX-know-PASS-CAUS-PASS
train, teach oneself (vi)

Its suggested labelled bracketing is:

[[[[[s@-]PFX[w@la·x]Vt]Vt[-s]PASS]Vi[-@n]CAUS]Vt[-tx^w]PASS]Vi

Transitives-

The transitive /s@-/ thematic constructions are formed either with one of the transitive (TRN) suffix alternants (with characteristic restricted distribution) or with the /-(t)@n-/ CAUSative suffix. There are four subtypes that I've observed.

1. /s@-/-Nominal-TRN

Some examples are:

'Nii si'naxdi'yhl ha'iwiy.
 /'ni· s@-'nax-t@-y=ɪ h@-?ix^w-@'y/
 on PFX-bait-TRN-1SG=CNN INST-fish.with.line-1SG
I put bait on my line.

Siwatdithl us ahl Towser.
 /s@-wat-t@-t=ɪ ?us ?a=ɪ Towser/
 PFX-name-INC-TRN-3SG=CNN dog PREP=CNN Towser
He, She named the dog Towser.

Si'yimgat.
 /s@-'yim-q-@-t/
 PFX-beard-TRN-3SG
He, She shaved him.

Recall that 'yimk /'yim-q/ beard, whisker is built of a root /'yim/ plus derivational suffix /-q/ - see pp. ??.

2. /s@-/-Intransitive Verb-TRN

The second transitive /s@-/ construction has the above

pattern, and with state verbs, its general meaning is cause someone or something to have the state characteristics signified by the verb. With process verbs, its general meaning is cause someone or something to undergo the process signified by the verb. The first three examples are built on state verbs, while the remainder are derived from process verbs:

Sideexdit.

/s@-te·x-t@-t/

PFX-be.connected-TRN-3SG

He, She tied it up.

Sigamgit.

/s@-kamk-@-t/

PFX-be.hot-TRN-3SG

He, She heated it.

Siyahlxwit.

/s@-yaix^w-@-t/

PFX-be.slippery-MED-TRN-3SG

He, She polished, smoothed it.

Compare also yahlx saliva, spit, which is built from a root /yai/ slime plus derivational suffix /-x/.

Sidawit.

/s@-taw-@-t/

PFX-freeze-TRN-3SG

He, She froze it.

Simihlit.

/s@-mił-@-t/

PFX-burn-TRN-3SG

He, She burned it. *(made it burn)*

Si'masit.

/s@-'mas-@-t/

PFX-grow-TRN-3SG

He, She grew, raised it.

Sityeexwdit.

/s@-txe·x^w-t@-t/

PFX-change-TRN-3SG

He, She exchanged, changed it.

Sit'aayit.

/s@-t'a·-y@-t/

PFX-sit-TRN-3SG

He, She started, began it.

I have to hand only single examples of the third and fourth subtypes of /s@-/ transitive themes. They are:

3. /s@-/-Transitive Verb-PASS-TRN

Siwilaaksit.

/s@-w@la·x-s-@-t/

PFX-know-PASS-TRN-3SG

He, She learned it.

4. /s@-/-Transitive Verb-PASS-CAUS

Siwilaaksint.

/s@-w@la·x-s-@n-t/

PFX-know-PASS-CAUS-3SG

He, She taught it.

Number Marking in Verb Themes

Number marking in the verb theme generally arises by an agreement rule that copies or is conditioned by the number value of the surface absolutive adjunct, but sometimes it signifies the singularity or plurality of the verbal action; see pp. ???. In the latter case, then, number is a lexical, derivational property of the theme, rather than an inflectional one.

It bears repeating that patterns of number marking are often irregular and morphologically conditioned. More specifically, their selection is part of thematic lexical entries. For example, observe the different patterns of plural marking in

these three related pairs of verb themes:

gisa yee	gisa wilaxs
/kisa ye·/	/kisa wil-@xs/
downstream go	downstream go
<u>go, walk downstream</u> (vi sg)	(pl)

Wilaxs /wil-@xs/, one suppletive plural alternant of yee /ye·/ go, walk, is a complex stem built up from wil /wil-/ do something and -axs /-@xs/, a derivational suffix of unclear meaning.

'min yee	'min hlo'o
/'min ye·/	/'min lu?/
up go	up go
<u>go up</u> (e.g., on a ladder) (vi sg)	(pl)

Hlo'o /lu?/ is a second suppletive plural of yee /ye·/ go, walk.

sdx yee	sdx liyeet
/stax ye·/	/stax l@-ye·-t/
on.one.side go	on.one.side PL-go-PL
<u>go, walk on one side</u> (e.g., of a stream) (vi sg)	(pl)

Here the plural stem is built with the cooccurrent, discontinuous pluralizing prefix and suffix li-...-t /l@-...-t/.

Aspect Marking in Verb Themes

A range of aspectual notions in G are marked syntactically by independent lexical verbs, such as yukw /yuk^w/ PROGRESSIVE, and the INCEPTIVE predicative particle hlaa /l̥aː/ (see pp. ??), but the category of DURATIVE (as opposed to the unmarked punctative) aspect is marked morphologically in verb themes (and nominal predicates too). Durative aspect is marked formally by C₁@-reduplication of the initial consonant of the first, left-most word in the verb theme, whether it is a preverbal or the stem. The predicative particle k'ay /q'ay/ still, yet is followed by verb themes marked for durative aspect, and it also shifts its sentential complement into the dependent order. As well, when temporal clauses are focused by fronting (see pp. ??), they are often in durative form. Some examples are seen in the following sentences:

K'ay bibaha'y.

/q'ay p@-paː-@'y/
still DUR-run-1SG

I'm still running.

K'ay gagoldiit.

/q'ay q@-qul-tiːt/
still DUR-run-3PL

They're still running.

K'ay dit'aahl maaxws.

/q'ay t@-t'aː=ɪ maː-x^ws/
still DUR-sit=CNN fallen.snow

The snow is still lying (on the ground).

K'ay gak'esxdiihl is.

/q'ay q@-q'isx-tiː=ɪ ?is/
still DUR-be.unripe-CONTRAST=CNN soapberries

The soapberries are still green, unripe.

Gigisa yugwi'y ga'as Joe, lok'an t'ugwantxwi'y ts'im aks.

/k@-kis-a yuk^w-@'y qa?=s Joe, luq'@n t'ip k^want-x^w-@'y
c'@m#?aks/

DUR-downstream follow LOC=CNN Joe, into.water down fall-MED-
1SG in#water

As I was going downstream to Joe's, I fell into the water.

Gak'ali yixyugu'm ga'as Joe, dis wilhl lok'an t'ip lagi'm
ts'im aks.

/q@-q'ali y@x-yuk^w-@'m qa?=s Joe, tis wil=ɪ luq'@n t'ip
lak-@'m c'@m#?aks/

DUR-upstream PL-follow-1PL LOC=CNN Joe, time do.something=CNN
into.water down fall-1PL in#water

As we were going upstream to Joe's, it happened that we fell into the water.

Preverbals

The status of preverbals as independent words was discussed earlier on pp. ??, so their role in the formation of complex verb themes is really a matter of derivational syntax. They signify a range of adverbial notions, which include local adverbial, manner, time, and degree concepts. I've observed and recorded over a hundred preverbals, the greater number of them being local adverbial. Some of the preverbals are moribund and archaic, known only to older speakers and/or occurring in just a few themes, while others are vital and productive, combining fairly freely with other preverbals to form yet more complex themes. Because of their arbitrary patterns of combination and the idiomatic meanings of some of these, I suggest that the dictionary or lexicon is the more appropriate place to treat the specifics of preverbal derivational syntax, so that here I will simply present a selection of preverbals in themes to illustrate the range of concepts they signify. I haven't tried to arrange them in positional classes (to the extent that is possible), and I can't really say that my analysis of them goes beyond Boas, except perhaps in glossing (and I am grateful to Marie-Lucie Tarpent for sharing her insights into the meanings of many preverbals with me).

Local Adverbial (Position and Movement) Preverbals

A number of the local adverbial preverbals come in antonymous pairs, as Boas TG noted long ago. Examples are:

bax /pax/ : 'yaga /'yaq-a/, k'aga /k'aq-a/
up, upward along a slope TG:300, #1 : down, upward along a slope
 TG:300, #2

Bax gagetxwhl genx.
 /pax q@-qitx^w=CNN qinx/
 upward DUR-be.difficult=CNN trail
The trail up(ward) is difficult.

'Yaga k'eegani'yhl us.
 /'yaq-a k'e'q-@n-@'y=ɿ ?us/
 downward flee-CAUS-1SG=CNN dog
I chased the dog down the hill.

Compare 'yak /'yaq/ be hanging down (vi sg)

'min /'min/ : t'ip /t'ip/
(straight) up, upward TG:300-301, #3 : (straight) down, downward
 TG:301, #4

'Min gosxwi'yhl lax gyuwadan.
 /'min qus-x^w-@-'y=ɿ l@x#kuwatan/
 up jump-PASS-TRN-1SG=CNN on#horse
I jumped up onto the horse.

Dim t'ip dogo'm.
 /tim t'ip tuq-@-'m/
 FUT down take-TRN-1PL
We'll take them down. (off of something)

logom /luq-@m/, lagam /laq-@m/ : t'uxws /t'ux^ws/, ts'uxws
/c^tux^ws/

into something on a lower plane, which is usually smaller and/or mobile TG:301, #5 : out of something on a lower plane, which is usually smaller and/or mobile TG:301, #6

Logom halaldinhl ts'im anlakw!
/luq@m h@lal-t@n=ɿ c'im#?@n-lak^w/
into throw-CAUS-IMP in#place-fire
Throw it into the fireplace!

Some speakers use this proclitic also in place of lok'on /luq'-@n/, which has the more specialized meaning of into the water, into the canoe, into the fire.

T'uxws daa'whl 'nii'y ts'im aks.
/t'ux^ws ta'wɿ 'ni'-y c'im#?aks/
out leave ABS-1SG in#water
I went overboard into the water (e.g., from inside a canoe)

ts'ilim /c'il-@m/, ts'imwil /c'im-w@l/ : xsi, xsa, xsu /xs@/

into something on the same plane, which is usually large and/or stationary TG:302, #7 : out of something on the same plane, which is usually large and stationary TG:302, #8

Ts'ilim makdi'y go'ohl ts'im wilbin.
/c'il-@m maq-t@-y qu?=ɿ c'im#wilp-@n/
into put-TRN-1SG LOC=CNN in#house-2SG
I put it in your house.

Xsi guudi'y.
/xs@ k^wu'-t@-'y/
out take-TRN-1SG
I took it out. (of something), I bailed him out. (of jail)

uxws /?ux^ws/ : jagam /caq-@m/, sogom /suq-@m/

along the shore, from on the shore onto, into the water, from near the shore to the open water TG:302, #10 : from on the water to the shore TG:302, #9

Uxws yee 'nii'y go'ohl lax ts'eehl aks.
/?ux^ws ye' 'ni'-y qu?=ɿ lax#c'e'=ɿ ?aks/
along.shore go ABS-1SG LOC=CNN on#edge=CNN water
I walked alongside the water's edge.

Am sogom sidehe'yhl 'mal.
/?am suq-@m s@-te'x-@-'y=ɿ 'mal/
only PFX-bind.together-TRN-1SG=CNN canoe
I tied the canoe to the shore.

hagun /?hak^w-@n/ : 'widin /'wit-@n/

toward speaker or point of reference TG:310, #44 : forward away from speaker or point of reference TG:309, #41

Dim hagun dulpxw 'nii'y loot.
/tim hak^w-@n tulp-x^w 'ni'-y.lo'-t/
FUT toward be.near-MED ABS-1SG OBL-3SG
I'll move closer to him, her.

'Widin hlo'oxsi'y.

/'wit-@n ɬu?xs-@-'y/

forward kick-TRN-1SG

I kicked it (forward) in front of me.

galdix /qalt@x/ : 'naa /'na·/

into the woods TG:302, #11 : out of the woods, into sight or view
against a background TG:303, #12

Galdix yee· 'nii'y.

/qalt@x ye· 'ni·-'y/

into.woods go ABS-1SG

I walked (off the road) into the woods.

'Naa yatsdi'yhl gan.

/'na· yac-t@-'y=ɬ qan/

into.view hit-TRN-1SG=CNN tree

I cut the tree open., I blazed the tree.

k'ali /q'ali/ : gisa /kis-a/

upstream, upriver TG:303, #17 : downstream, downriver TG:304, #18

K'ali gyoohl hun.

/q'ali ko·=ɬ hun/

upstream swim=CNN salmon

The salmon is swimming upstream.

I have glossed gyoo /ko·/ here as swim, but its meaning seems to change with different proclitics.

Sim gisa hooxhl 'mal ahl gisa aks.

/s@m=kis-a ho·x=ɬ 'mal ?a=ɬ kis-a#?aks/

2PL=downstream use=CNN canoe OBL=CNN downstream#river

Use the canoe (to go) downstream! (plural agents)

The remaining local adverbial preverbals treated here are ordered loosely by their meanings, rather than by their G alphabetical order.

'nii /'ni·/, 'lii /'li·/

on TG:307, #30

'Nii jaga laxlilphl maa'y lax ha'niiwan.

/'ni· caq-a l@xlilp=ɬ ma·'y l@x#h@-'ni·-wan/

on across roll=CNN berries on#floor

The berries rolled across the floor.

Ha'niiwan /h@-'ni·-wan/ is a complex nominal, whose constituency glosses as INST-on-sit(pl).

luu /lu·/

in, inside TG:306, #29

Luu miyuxwshl hlits'ee'whl wilp.

/lu· m@yux^vs=ɬ ɬ@c'e·'w=ɬ wilp/

in smell.good=CNN DEF-interior=CNN wilp

It smells good inside the house., The interior of the house
smells good.

Luu /luː/ and /'niː/ are in contrastive distribution, and they precede other preverbals of more specific local adverbial meaning in more complex themes - see various examples scattered throughout this and other sections.

kw'ihl /kʷ'iɬ/

around, about, in different places TG:307, #33

Kw'ihl gyoohl nis'in hlaxwhl aks.

/kʷ'iɬ koː=ɬ n@s'in ɬaxʷ=ɬ ?aks/

about swim=CNN mink underneath=CNN water

The mink swam about under the water.

Although the basic sense of this preverbal is local adverbial, it sometimes seems to signify a related aspectual notion of repeated or distributed activity in much the same manner as -abat does in the Kriol language of northern Australia. Note the polite greeting:

Ndahl ligi kw'ihl win?

/n@ta=ɬ liki kʷ'iɬ wi-n/

how=CNN indefinite about do.something-2SG

How are you doing?

saa /saː/

away, off TG:309, #39

Saa swandihl bahasxw.

/saː swan-t@=ɬ paɣ-asxʷ/

away blow-TRN=CNN wind

The wind blew it away.

luxwhli /luxʷɬi/

underneath

Git luxwhli bahani'yhl kaatxwi'y hlaxwhl ganeexs.

/kit luxʷɬi paɣ-@n-@'y=ɬ kaː-txʷ-@'y ɬaxʷ=ɬ q@neːxs/

right underneath run-CAUS-1SG=CNN car-PASS-1SG
underneath=CNN bridge

I drove my car right underneath the bridge.

maxhli, maxhla, maxhlixs /maxɬ@/, /maxɬ-@xs/

around or over an obstacle TG:312, #60

Maxhlixs sgihl genx loot.

/maxɬ-@xs ski=ɬ qinx loː-t/

around.obstacle lie=CNN trail OBL-3SG

The trail goes over, around it.

bagayt /pa-qayt/

in the middle, centre TG:317, #82

Bagayt sak'thl hlisilkwt.

/pa-qayt saq'-t=ɬ ɬ@-silk^w-t/

centre be.cracked-SPASS=CNN DEF-middle-3SG

It's cracked right in the centre., Its centre is cracked in the middle.

sdax /stax/

on, along one side TG:310, #49

Gisa sdax liyeet 'nuu'm lax ts'eehl aks.

/kis-a stax ɬ@-ye'-t 'nu'-m lax#c'e'=ɬ ?aks/

downstream on.one.side PL-go-PL ABS-1PL on#edge=CNN river

We walked down along one side of the river.

laax /la'x/

to and fro, at both ends, on opposite sides TG:309, #38

Laax liyuxwdi'm lax ts'eehl aks.

/la'x ɬ@-yux^w-t@-'m lax#c'e'=ɬ ?aks/

on.opposite.sides PL-follow-TRN-1PL on#edge=CNN river

We walked, followed it on opposite sides of the river.

sga /sqa/

blocking the way, across TG:308, #36

Luu sga hetxw 'nii'y.

/lu' sqa hit-x^w 'ni-'y/

in blocking stand-MED ABS-1SG

I stood in, blocking the way.

guxws /k^wix^wʒ/

back(ward) TG:323, #115

Guxws ga'lasxw 'nii'y.

/k^wix^ws ka'l-asx^w 'ni-'y/

backward see-ANTI ABS-1SG

I looked back.

This preverbal also signifies reflexive action by one's own hand or action back onto oneself. In a passive theme with guxws, the action signified is consciously willful, but in a transitive active theme, the action is not necessarily willful. Note these examples:

Guxws k'otsxw 'nii'y.

/k^wix^ws q'uc-x^w 'ni-'y/

backward cut-PASS ABS-1SG

I cut myself (deliberately)

K'oji'yhl lip 'nii'y.

/q'uc-@-'y=ɿ lip 'ni·'y/

cut-TRN-1SG=CNN self ABS-1SG

I cut myself. (unintentionally)

Lip guxws xts'i ts'iipdithl t'imlanx.

/lip k^wix^ws xc'@ c'i·p-t@-t=ɿ t'@m#lanx/

self backward around.cylinder tie-TRN-3SG=CNN surface#neck

He, she tied something around (his, her own neck). .

-t?

>

The remaining proclitics are placed in G alphabetical order within sections.

Manner Preverbals

a /?a/, k'a /q'a/

anew, again

Am a lipxwdi'y.

/?am ?a lip-x^w-t@[̄]y/

just anew sew-PASS-TRN-1SG

I'm sewing it over again.

at'igwil /?at'k^w-@l/, adigwil /?atk^w-@l/

always, time after time

'Nithl at'igwil t'imisit loo'y.

/'ni-t=ɿ ?at'k^w-@l t'@m-is-@t lo·-'y/

ABS-3SG=CNN always mark-SFX-SREL OBL-1SG

He, She is the one who always writes for me.

[Check this form again for vowel length and its second consonant].

balgi /palki/

unexpectedly, for no apparent reason

Balgi k'akhl aats'ip.

/palki q'aq=ɪ ?a·c'p/

unexpectedly open=CNN door

The door opened unexpectedly. (for no apparent reason)

balim /pal-@m/

act like TG:317, #80

Balim guutdi'yhl gan.

/pal-@m k^wu·-t-t@-'y=ɪ qan/

act.like take-INCR-TRN-1SG=CNN pole

I acted like I was taking the pole.

hagwil /hak^w-@l/

slowly, deliberately TG:316, #76

Hagwil jogo yee 'nii'y.

/hak^w-@l cuq-@ ye· 'ni·-'y/

slowly across go ABS-1SG

I crossed over slowly.

luu bagayt /lu· pa-qayt/

in all directions, to no good end

Luu bagayt kw'ihl waax 'nii'y

/lu· pa-qayt k^wiɪ wa·x 'ni·-'y/

in.all.directions about paddle ABS-1SG

I paddled about in all directions. (and got nowhere)

This preverbal combination literally means in the middle, but it generally has the idiomatic meaning given above.

gani /qani/

for a long time, continually TG:325, #120

Gani wilaayi'y 'nitxi.

/qani w@la·x-@-'y 'ni-t=x@/

for.long.time know-TRN-1SG ABS-3SG=DIST

I've known him, her for a long time.

kw'ox /k^wux/, kw'oo /k^wo·/

sometimes

'Nithl kw'oo t'imisit loo'y.

/'ni-t=ɪ k^wo· t'@m-is-@t lo·-'y/

ABS-3SG=CNN sometimes mark-SFX-SREL OBL-1SG

He, She is the one who sometimes writes for me.

k'ants'in /q'amc'-'@n/

secretively TG:340, #179

K'ants'in ts'in 'nit.

/q'amc'-'@n c'in 'ni-t/

secretively enter ABS-3SG

He, She snuck in.

saa /sa' /

suddenly TG:319, #98

Saa jakhl hanak'.

/sa' cak=1 h@naq' /

suddenly faint=CNN woman

The woman suddenly fainted.

This preverbal occurs in very few themes; it is homophonous with the more common local adverbial preverbal saa /sa' / awy, off.

^
a

sagayt /sa-qayt/

together TG:319, #99

Hiyukwhl ni sagayt k'alhl habasxwi'y.

/hi-yuk^w=1 n@=sa-qayt q'al=1 hap-asx^w-@'y/

DUR-PROG=CNN 1SG=together rake=CNN hay-1SG

I'm stacking my hay. (raking it together into stacks)

sgidim /ski-t@m/

have to, must

Sgidim t'aahl hanak' go'ohl ant'aat.

/ski-t@m t'a'=1 h@naq' qu?=1 ?@n-t'a'-t/

have.to sit=CNN woman LOC=CNN place-sit-3SG

The woman has to, must sit in her reserved place.

Sgidim /ski-t@m/ seems to be compounded of sgi /sgi/ lie, be in a lying position (vi sg) and the future particle dim /tim/, but it may have been reanalyzed as /skit-@m/. I have heard some speakers express the same meaning with a different construction where sgi /ski/ is used as a predicative particle followed by dim /tim/ in a dependent order complement.

Ant'aa /?@n-t'a' / is a complex nominal that signifies the ranked place where a chief or chieftainness is seated at a potlatch or feast.

sik'ihl /sik'@1/

try to do the activity signified by the verb head

Yukwhl sik'ihl wiltxwi'y.

/yuk^w=1 sik'@1 wil-tx^w-@'y/

PROG=CNN try.to do.something-PASS-1SG

I'm trying to do it., I'm doing the best I can.

Note that this preverbal requires an intransitive verb head to shift into passivized form.

six /six/

steadily TG:320, #102

Six waaks 'nii'y.

/six wa·x-s 'ni·-'y/

steadily paddle-PASS ABS-1SG

I paddled steadily.

This preverbal also shifts intransitive verb heads into passivized or detransitivized form. Some speakers also use it in the sense of try to, as in:

Dim six 'mukwidi'yhl laaxw.

/tim six 'muk^w-t@-'y=ɪ la·x^w/

FUT try.to catch-TRN-1SG=CNN trout

I'll try to catch trout.

Time Preverbals

ahlda /?aɪt-a/

at night TG:314, #69

Ahlda yee 'nii'y (ahl axxw).

/?aɪt-a ye· 'ni·-'y (?a=ɪ ?axx^w)/

at.night go ABS-1SG PREP=CNN night

I walked at night, during the night.

This is an archaic, moribund preverbal, found now mainly in some personal names. The meaning it signifies is now usually expressed in the parenthesized, optional oblique time phrase.

yalgi /yalgi/

early, before time

Dim yalgi giuhl 'nii'y.

/tim yalgi ki·ɪ 'ni·-'y/

FUT early lie.down ABS-1SG

I'll go to bed early.

Note also the oblique time phrase (itself a nominalized verb theme) yalgi 'nakw /yalgi 'nak^w/ a long time ago.

Degree Preverbals

am /?am/, k'am /q'am/

just, only TG:324, #118

am sogom sidehe'yhl 'mal.

/?am suq-@m s@-te·x-@-'y=ɪ 'mal/

just to.shore PFX-bind.together-TRN-1SG=CNN canoe

I tied the canoe to the shore. (so I could pull it in for later use).

ap /?ap/, k'ap /q'ap/

certainly, indeed, for sure TG:323, #117

K'ap jabi'yhl wilp.

/q'ap cap-@-'y=ɪ wilp/

certainly make-TRN-1SG=CNN house

I certainly did build a house.

xsa /xsa/, xsax /xsax/

just, only TG:322, #112

Xsax gi'namithl ts'uusxithl hix loo'm.

/xsax k@'nam-@-t=i c'u'-sx-@t=i hix lo'-'m/

only give-TRN-3SG=CNN be.small-ANTI-SREL=CNN fat OBL-1PL

He, She only gave us the small piece of fat.

[I think these degree forms above would be more properly analyzed as pre-predicative adverbs, rather than as preverbals, as they also occur before nominals. Also add sim and others].

Chapter 6: Nominals

Introduction

In underlying structure, nominal adjuncts function as arguments of various kinds (agent, subject, object, dative, place, time, cause, etc.) on predicates. Nominals may be classified as either simple nouns or derived nominals. Simple nouns may be either morphologically simple or complex, but what is criterial for status as a simple noun is that a form is not derived from another form, whether it belongs to another part of speech or not. For example, gan /qan/ tree, wood is a simple noun, not derived from any other form, while ts'al /c'al/ half-smoked salmon is morphologically simple, but is derived from the homophonous verb root that means slice (salmon) into thin strips for smoking. As a (deverbative) nominal, ts'al displays its covertly marked status through the grammatical process of selection - it functions as a subject or object nominal adjunct, selecting the -hl common noun enclitic, and so on. On the other hand, derived nominals are always derived from other forms. For example, t'uuts'il /t'u'c'-'@1/ pupil (of eye) is derived from or built upon t'uuts' /t'u'c'/'/ charcoal by the affixation of the derivational suffix /-'@1/, while jagwasxw /cak^w-@sx^w/ animal (sg) is a deverbative nominal that is built upon the transitive verb root jakw /cak^w/ by affixing the antipassive suffix /-'@sx^w/. Complex nominals are not limited to single word forms, as phrases and complement clauses may also be complex nominals - see later examples on pp. ??.

We will say no more about simple nominals, other than to

identify them when it is relevant to the discussion at hand; instead, this chapter will survey some of the common complex nominal constructions, including the pronouns, and then move to examine the structure of non-central, oblique adjuncts of various kinds. My discussion is classificatory, and I have little to say about the details of positional ordering of the different prenominals and prefixes relative to one another, or perhaps better phrased, about the derivational ordering or history of particular complex forms here. As well, some of the prenominals treated here also have wider distributions, belonging to other form-classes or parts of speech too.

Prenominal Constructions

Prenominals are distinguished from nominal prefixes phonologically in that the former are compounded with the following unit, and they may bear secondary stress in deliberate speech, while the latter are more tightly joined to the following unit and they are always unstressed. Nonetheless, the status of particular items as one or the other can be problematic.

The following are examples of prenominal constructions:

hlgu, hlgwa /ɬkʷ@/ : k'uba /kʷ'@p-a/
small, little (sg) TG:327, #135 : (pl) TG:322-323, #113

hlguwilxsihlxw	k'ubawilxsihlxw
/ɬkʷ@#wil-xs@ɬxʷ/	/kʷ'@p-a#wil-xs@ɬxʷ/
small-prince	small-prince
<u>prince, princess</u>	<u>princes, princesses</u> <u>princes and princesses</u>

This lexeme signifies the children of chiefly ranked parents who have not yet attained chiefly status; its root head is /wil/, but I cannot provide a gloss for the remaining derivational suffix or suffixes, as the case may be.

guu /kʷu·/, gwixw /kʷ@xʷ/ one who habitually does (something)
 TG:335, #162

guuyal	guu'aadim gat
/kʷu·#yal/	/kʷu·#?a·t-@m kat/
HABIT#lie	HABIT#fish.with.net-ATR man
<u>(habitual) liar</u>	<u>a good net-fisherman</u>

lax /l@x/ on (something), but in (a village or area) TG:332, #151

lax Gisbayakws	laxmo'on
/l@x#k@t#sp@#yaxʷ-s/	/l@x#mu?n/
on#people#lair#hide-PASS	on#salt
<u>in Kispiox</u>	<u>coast, at, on the coast</u> (the saltwater channels, but not the open sea)

gan /q@n/ instrument or implement for doing something, cause or source of something TG:335, #161

ganjap	ganwalx
/q@n#cap/	/q@n#walx/
INSTR#make	INSTR#pack
<u>loom</u> (for tumpline)	<u>packboard</u>
gan'a'laxa'y	lip ganhaaxwi'y
/q@n#a'l-@x-@'y/	/lip q@n#ha`x-x ^w -@'y/
INSTR#be.angry-1SG	self INSTR#have.difficulty-MED-1SG
<u>(the cause of) my anger</u>	<u>the cause, source of my own troubles, difficulties</u>

sbi, sba /sp@/ lair, den TG:330, #141

sba'axwt	sbinaxnok
/sp@#?ax ^w t/	/sp@#n@x-nuq/
lair#porcupine	lair#supernatural.being
<u>porcupine's den</u>	<u>place where supernatural beings live</u>

sii /si·/ new, fresh TG320, #101

sim sii hun	sii t'uuts'xw
/s@m#si·#hun/	/si·#t'u·c'-x ^w /
true#new#salmon	new#knife
<u>really fresh salmon</u>	<u>a new knife</u>

sim /s@m/ real, true TG337, #168

simgan	<u>K'ap simhen.</u>
/s@m#qan/	/q'ap s@m#hi-n/
true#tree	certainly true-saying-2SG
<u>red cedar</u>	<u>What you say is certainly true.</u>
simsmax	simt'ilx
/s@m#smax/	/s@m#t'ilx/
true#bear	true#grease
<u>black bear</u>	<u>oolachen grease</u>

sgan /sq@n/ a fruiting tree or bush TG:330, #142

sgan'is	sganmilkst
/sq@n#?is/	/sq@n#milkst/
tree#soapberry	tree#crabapple
<u>soapberry bush</u>	<u>crabapple tree</u>

Compare the form for crabapple with milksax /milks-@x/ be sour, tart (vi sg).

t'im /t'@m/ surface 330, #140

t'imges	t'inhlaa'm
/t'@m#qis/	/t'@m#la·'m
surface-hair	surface-shinbone
<u>head</u>	<u>shin</u>

See pp. ?? for fuller discussion of this form, deriving it from earlier attributive */tq'a-m/.

ts'in /c'əm/ in(side) TG:332, #152

ts'in'se'e	ts'in'un
/c'əm#si?/	/c'əm#?un/
inside-foot	inside-hand
<u>sole</u>	<u>palm</u>

This pronominal is the bound compounding form of ts'ee'w /c'e'w/ interior; see pp. ?? for more discussion.

'wahlin /'waɪ-ən/ old, former TG:315, #72*/k'weɪən/wɪ*

'wahlin giget	'wahlin ɔn
/'waɪ-ən#kɪ-kat/	/'waɪ-ən#qan/
former#PL-person	former#pole
<u>ancestors,</u> <u>former people</u>	<u>an old totem pole</u>

'wii /'wi:/ : wit'ax /wit'-əx/

big, large, great 315, #73 : (pl) 315, #73a

'wiiseəxs	'wiila'yim ts'uuts'
/'wi:#se'xs/	/'wi:#hila'y-əm c'u'c'/
big#spruce	/big#be.large-ATR bird/
<u>a big spruce tree</u>	<u>a large bird</u>

Wit'ax gadipxs!	Wit'ax galp
/wit'-əx#qə-tipxs/	/wit'əx#galp/
big#PL-heel	big#testicle
<u>Big heels!</u> (an insulting epithet)	<u>Big-Testicles</u> (personal name)

xsi /xsi/ fresh TG:331, #145

xsi hun	xsi saak
/xsi#hun/	/xsi#sa'k/
fresh#salmon	fresh#oolachen
<u>fresh salmon</u>	<u>fresh oolachen</u>

This is an archaic pronominal, not much used anymore, having been replaced by such expressions as (sim) sii /səm'si-/ new, fresh; see pp. ?. Note that its vowel does not harmonize with the following laryngeal in xsi hun, and in other environments, it is homophonous with two other forms in xsi /xsə/. The first is the preverbal meaning out of (see pp. ??) and the other is a pronominal meaning river, stream, fluid, juice (see pp. ??).

Nominal Prefixes

The following provide examples of some of the more common prefixes that figure in the derivation of complex nouns. It should also be remembered that complex nouns are sometimes built upon complex verbs that include independent word preverbals; in such cases, the word boundaries are erased and the preverbals assume prefix form.

am- /?@m-/ good for something, used for something TG:328, #136

amhalayt	am'mal
/?@m-h@layt/	/?@m-'mal/
used.for-shaman	used.for-canoe
<u>shaman's headdress</u>	<u>cottonwood tree</u>
amnax	hla'amba'ahl gan
/?@m-nax/	/!@-?@m-pa?=# qan/
used.for-snowshoe	DEF-used.for-thigh=CNW tree
<u>lacing for snowshoe</u>	<u>the big main exposed roots of the tree</u>

Nowadays many speakers use babiis /papi's/ in place of the old word amnax; babiis evidently is a loan from Canadian French babiche.

Many tree names begin with the am- prefix, but it is often not possible to gloss the root or stem of the form beyond giving its common English name or Latin botanical genus and species designation (where it is known); for example:

amhaawak	am'waasan
/?@m-ha'wq/	/?@m-'wa'san/
used.for-birch	used.for-willow
<u>birch tree</u>	<u>willow tree</u>

an- /?@n-/ place where some activity takes place, object or point of some action or emotion, instrument for performing some action TG:333-334, # 163

This prefix requires its verbal head to be in intransitive form, and its three senses can be clearly distinguished. It is homophonous with the agentive relative proclitic, but belongs to a different form class.

place where some activity takes place-

an'aat	ansgimhlxw
/?@n-?a't/	/?@n-ski-m!x ^w /
place-net	place-lie-SFX
<u>place for net-fishing</u>	<u>womb, uterus (where the baby lies)</u>

In a construction type closely related to its first sense, an- /?@n-/ also occurs prefixed to some place nominals, such as in:

andoo'o	andoosda
/?@n-to'??/	/?@n-to'st-a/
place-ROOT	place-STEM-SFX
<u>over there, the next place or room</u>	<u>across the river, ther side of the river</u>

object or point of some action or emotion

anhlibalga'y	ansiip'insxwi'y
/ʔ@n-l@palq-@'y/	/ʔ@n-si·p'-@n-sx ^w /
object-oppose-1SG	object-like-CAUS-ANTI
<u>my enemy</u> (the object of my opposition)	<u>my friend, lover</u> the object of my love)

anheen
/ʔ@n-he·-n/
object-saying-2SG

the point of what you said, say

Note that the long vowel in this form doesn't shorten, which suggests that the "root" here is in fact a complex form. I can't offer a reasonable further analysis, but phonetically similar forms occur in the possessed noun he- /hi-/ what you said, say (the words themselves, as opposed to their meaning and the irregular third person plural verb form Dihitda... /ti-hi·t-ta/... They say...

instrument for performing some action

anjam	anhooya
/ʔ@n-cam/	/ʔ@n-ho·x-a/
INSTR-cook	INSTR-use-DETRN
<u>pot, kettle</u>	<u>tool, vehicle (?)</u>

jam /cam-/ is a transitive verb meaning cook by boiling, and anjam is the one exceptional form I know where the verb is not in an intransitive form. Perhaps this root earlier had an intransitive usage that has now been lost.

I have also recorded several relative-like forms built on

detransitivized themes that signify human actors; they are:

angaja	an'iiijat
/ʔ@n-qac-a/	/ʔ@n-ʔi·c-a-t/
PFX-pour-DETRN	PFX-fry-DETRN-SREL
<u>bartender (pourer)</u>	<u>person who fries</u> (something)

[Check bartender for SREL suffix].

And last, I am unable to fit the following form into any of the above categories:

angookxu'm
/ʔ@n-qo·q-x^w-@'m
PFX-be.first-PASS-1PL
our previous generations,
the people before us

anda-, andi-, andu- /ʔ@nt@-/ container for something (usually bag or sack-like) TG:334, #158

andahawil	anda'is
/ʔ@nt@-h@wil/	/ʔ@nt@-ʔis/
container-arrow	container-urine
<u>quiver</u>	<u>bladder</u>

Hawil arrow can be further analysed into /h@-wil/ INSTR-do.something.

andihlguahlxwhl ts'uuts' anduwoot'
 /?@nt@-lk^wu·lx^w=CNN c'u·c'/ /?@nt@-wo·t'/
 container-child=CNN bird container-sell
bird's nest pocket

ax- /?@x-/ Privative, not having something, TG:328, #137

This prefix is used to form privative nominals similar to English nouns in -less, as well as downshifted, dependent order nominalizations of verbs. Some examples are:

axgabitxwit	axk'alk'an, axgalk'an
/?@x-q@-pi-tx ^w -@t/	/?@x-q'@lq'an/
PRIV-PL-be.something -PASS-SREL	PRIV-uvula
<u>no-see-um</u> (small biting blackfly)	<u>disobedient</u> (?)

Gabitxw has the meaning appear, be visible (vi).

Axk'alk'an generally is used with respect to a child who doesn't listen to his or her elders and obey them, and it carries also a sense of acting irresponsibly.

axc'imuxw
 /?@x#c'@m-mux^w/
 PRIV-inside-ear
a person who doesn't listen,
 ("ear-less")

'Nakwhl dim axgiihli'y.
 /'nak^w=ɩ tim ?@x·ki·ɩ-@'y/
 be.long=CNN FUT PRIV-lie.down-1SG
I won't lie down for a long time.
I'll be a long time without lying down.

Phonetically, the final uvular fricative of the privative prefix often realizes as an h-offglide, or it elides completely, leaving a good clear unreduced a-quality short vowel behind.

ha- instrument, means for doing something TG:334, #60

ha'aks	hapt's'a'y
/h@-?aks/	/h@-pc'a'y/
INSTR-water	INSTR-comb
<u>bucket</u>	<u>comb</u>
hak'aga	hayatshlit'
/h@-q'aa-a/	/h@-yac#lit'/
INSTR-open-DETRN	INSTR-hit-ball
<u>key</u>	<u>baseball bat</u>

It is possible that nouns such as hanak' /h@naq'/ woman, halayt /h@layt/ shaman, and hasak- /h@saq-/ want, desire contain a ha-prefix, but the instrumental sense of this one isn't clear in them.

ha'nii- /h@-'ni'-/ something that an activity is done on TG334-335, #160

ha'niijok	ha'nii <u>txookxw</u>
/h@-'ni'-cuq/	/h@-'ni'-txo'q-x ^w /
INSTR-on-dwell	INSTR-on-eat(pl)-MED
<u>world, earth</u>	<u>table</u>

This prefix-complex is also used in constructions signifying the seven days of the introduced European week, as seen in the two names for Sunday:

ha'niiganuutxw	ha'niisgwa'ytxw
/h@-'ni'-q@-nuutx ^w /	/h@-'ni'-sk ^{wa} 'ytx ^w /
INSTR-on-PL-dress.up	INSTR-on-rest
<u>Sunday</u> (day to dress up on)	<u>Sunday</u> (day to rest on)

gi- /k@-/ last previous

gigwooyim	gik'uuhl
/k@-k ^{wo} 'x-@m/	/k@-k ^w 'u'1/
last-spring	last-year
<u>last spring</u>	<u>last year</u>

Gwooyim /k^{wo}'x-@m/ patently is a complex form containing a root and the attributive suffix, but I cannot gloss the root.

Note also gaxxw /kaxx^w/ last night, which M.-L. Tarpent reasonably derives from earlier */k@-'?axk^w/ last-night.

gi- /k@-/ place, location TG:331-332, #144

This prefix occurs in a number of complex place nominals, including some where phonetic change has operated to obscure its presence. Boas grouped and discussed it together with the prefix ga- /q@-/, which is in fact the distributive plural prefix in one of its senses; see pp. ???. Examples are:

gew, geew	/ke'w/	<u>area down by the water</u>
geets'	/ke'c'/	<u>downstream area</u>
gigeenix	/k@-ke'nx/	<u>upstream area</u> <u>up-valley area</u>
giiks	/ki'ks/	<u>(out) on the water</u>
gilan	/k@-lan/	<u>stern area</u> (of boat)
gililx	/k@-lilx/	<u>upland wooded area</u> (away from a stream) <u>upstairs, atop a ladder</u>
gits'ook	/k@-c'o'q/	<u>Northern Lights</u> , cf. /c'o'q/ <u>be.stained (vi)</u>

hla-, hli- /1@-/ DEFinite

This prefix is used to form complex nominals that signify definite, specific attributes or parts of some possessor. It is commonly used when speaking of the inalienably possessed parts of one's body, or of one's body itself. Examples are:

hlagasipdiit	hlahabihl anjam
/1@-q@-sip-ti't/	/1@-hap-@=CNW?an-cam/
DEF-PL-bone-3PL	DEF-cover-INCR=CNM kettle
<u>their bones</u>	<u>the lid of the kettle</u>

hlits'akt hlits'ee'whl ts'imuwi'y
 /ɬc-c'aq-t/ /ɬc-c'e'w=ɬ c'@m#mux^w-@'y/
 DEF-nose-3SG DEF-interior=CNN in#ear-1SG
the tip of it, its tip the interior of my ear
 (e.g., of a spear)

xs- /xs-/ extreme, most TG:330, #143

xsgalanim hlguuhlxiwi'y
 /xs-q@-lan-@m ɬk^wu·lx^w-@'y/
 extreme-PL-following-ATR child-1SG
my last child

xsgoogothl kat
 /xs-qo·q-@t=CNN kat/
 extreme-be.first-SREL=CNN man
the man who is headman (restrictive phrase)

xshla'wsxw
 /xs-ɬax^w-?sx^w/
 extreme-underside-ANTI
undershirt

Compare hlaxw /ɬax^w/ under(side), a simple locative noun.

xsts'uwin
 /xs-c'@win/
 extreme-tip
lead dog (of a team)

Compare tsuwin tip, point.

Nominal Suffixes

While there are a number of derivational suffixes, such as /-(@)l/, /-(@)st/, /-(@)xs/, and /-(@)x/, which derive both verb stems and complex nominals, I have found it difficult to discern constant or prototypical meanings in them, and so I've not treated them more closely in this grammar. However, there are a very few nominal derivational suffixes that have clear lexical content, and they include:

-(i)mx, -m(a)x /-mx/ language

Amksiwaamax	Gitksanimx
/?@mks@wa·-mx/	/k@t#xsan-@mx/
whiteman-language	Gitksan-language
<u>English</u>	<u>Gitksan (language)</u>

Nisga'amx	Ts'imsanimx
/n@sqa?-mx/	/c'@m#san-@mx/
Nisgha-language	Tsimshian-language
<u>Nisgha (language)</u>	<u>Coast Tsimshian (language)</u>

See pp. ?? where I observe that Gitksanimx is a new formation, based on an older construction, and that the proper name of the language of the Gitksan people is Sim'alga^x /s@#?alk-@x/ real, true language. Some people have also told me that sim'alga^x can be used as a common noun (in the English sense) to designate any people's own or native language.

The Gitksan people call the western "Carrier" or Babine language (of Hagwilgate and Moricetown) Silmaamax. I suggest that this is in fact a plural form that can be analyzed as /s@l#ma·-mx/ with#PL-language. We saw on pp. ?? that sil /sil/ is a preverbal that figures in the derivation of one kind of comitative transitive verb theme. It also has membership among

the prenominals, where it occurs in such forms as silgadi'y /s@l#kat-@'y/ my friend, fellow man (used by men) and silhanak' /s@l#h@naq'-@'y/ my friend, fellow woman (used by women). Silmaamax appears to be a plural formation of the hliihlik-type (see pp. ??), and I suggest that its earlier meaning was something like fellow-languages, which implies that the Gitksan people were aware of the close historical relationship among the neighbouring Athabaskan languages. Thus the modern nominal suffix /-mx/ derives from a zero-grade alternant of an earlier independent root, */maq/.

-ii /-i'/ like, resembling

I have just a few examples of this kind of nominal, as seen in:

Wihl smayii wihl gat tust.

/wi=CNN smax-i· wi=CNN kat#t=x^wist/

ROOT=CNN bear-like ROOT=CNN man=that

That man looks like a bear.

I haven't glossed the verb roots here, because I'm unsure of the details of the construction type, but they are shortened alternants of wil /wil/ do (something).

Note the following question and answer pair:

Ndahl wila 'wayihl waats?

/n@ta=i wila 'wa-y@=i wa·c/

how=CNN how.CMP find-TRN=CNN watch

What time is it? (lit., How does the watch find it?)

Waats /wa·c/ watch is a loanword from English. The same question can be asked also as Guhl wila 'wayihl waats?

One could reply to this request for the time with:

Wihl ligi tenii.

/wi=i liki then-i·/

do.something INDEF ten-like

It's about ten o'clock.

Tenii /then-i·/ ten-like, ten-ish here is the subject/absolutive of this independent order sentence reply.

Agentive Relative Constructions

We earlier discussed agentive relative constructions with respect to the focusing of underlying agents or transitive subjects; see pp. ?? for their variable patterns of formation. The earlier focused examples given there all have agentive relatives functioning as predicate nominals, and so are most all other examples I've come across in texts and discourse, but note the following two sentences I elicited directly:

Gathl anjaguhl smaxgi dim ant guphl ma'y-st.

/kat=i ?@n=cak^w-@=i smax=k@ tim ?@n=t=k^wip=i ma'y-st/

man=CNN AREL=kill-INCR=CNN bear=DIST FUT AREL=3SG=eat=CNN
berries=INTERACT

It's the man that killed the bear who will eat the berries.

The first agentive relative above is post-posed and appositive to the noun kat /kat/ man, the whole phrase being fronted and focused. The second agentive relative in the sentence is its predicative nominal. Such sentences demonstrate the syntactic potential and expressive power of the language, but I'm unsure just how common they are in daily discourse.

Ga'a'yhl gat anjagwihl nakst.

/ka?-@-'y=1 kat ?@n-cak^v-@=1 naks-t/

see-TRN-1SG=CNN man AREL-kill-INCR=CNN spouse-3SG

I saw the man who killed his wife.

Here the agentive relative is post-posed and appositive to the object/absolute noun gat /kat/ man.

Subject Relative Constructions

We treated subject relative constructions earlier on pp. ?? in connection with the focusing of underlying intransitive subject nominals. Their construction type is straightforward: Intransitive Verb-(@)t. The examples given earlier were all predicative nominals, but I have a slightly wider range of elicited and volunteered examples, which include:

Dim 'nu'whl gathl bahatgi.

/tim 'nu'w=1 kat=1 paḡ-@t=k@/

FUT die=CNN man=CNN run-SREL=DIST

The man who ran will die

Here the subject relative is appositive to the subject/absolute nominal of an unfocused independent order sentence.

Gathl bahatgi dim 'nu'wt.

/kat=1 paḡ-@t=k@ tim 'nu'w-t/

man=CNN run-SREL=DIST FUT die-SREL

It's the man that ran who (is the one who) will die.

Here the Subject relative is post-posed and appositive to the noun gat /kat/ man, and the whole phrase is fronted and focused.

Dim t'isihl xa'ahl gathl bahatgi.

/tim t'is-@=1 xa?=1 kat=1 paḡ-@t=k@/

FUT hit-TRN=CNN slave=CNN man=CNN run-SREL=DIST

The slave will hit the man who ran.

Here the subject relative is post-posed and appositive to the object/absolute nominal of an unfocused independent order sentence.

Jaga geexs 'nii'y ahl aks sga baat.

/caq-a qe'x-s 'ni'-'y ?a=1 ?aks sga paḡ-@t/

across cross.water-SFX ABS-1SG OBL=CNN water blocking
run-SREL

I crossed over the water running across the way

Here the subject relative is post-posed and appositive to the locative/oblique noun object of the oblique preposition /?a-/.

Subject relative constructions can be downshifted and preposed to a nominal head, and the whole phrase so formed acquires a definite (and sometimes contrastive) sense, as seen in:

maaxwaxwa us

/ma'x^ws-x^w-a ?us/

be.white-MED-ATR dog

a white dog

maaxwsxwithl us

/ma'x^ws-x^w-a ?us/

be.white-MED-SREL=CNN dog

a dog that's white (and not black or any other colour)

t'uuts'xwa us	t'uuts'xwithl us
/t'u·c'-x ^w -a ?us/	/t'u·c'-x ^w -@t=1 ?us/
be.black-MED-ATR dog	be.black-MED-SREL=CNN dog
<u>a black dog</u>	<u>a dog that's black</u> (and not any other colour)

Note also these conventionalized forms that signify two Christian concepts:

Amithl Haykw	Hat'akxwithl Haykw
/?am-@t=1 hayk ^w /	/h@t'aq-x ^w -@t=1 hayk ^w /
be.good-SREL=CNN spirit	be.bad-MED-SREL=CNN spirit
<u>the Holy Spirit</u> (<u>the spirit that's good</u>)	<u>the Devil</u> (<u>the spirit that's bad</u>)

There are other subject relatives that are conventionalized lexical items. Some examples are:

t'ak'xwit	t'imisit
/t'ak'-x ^w -@t/	/t'@m-is-@t/
squat-MED-SREL	mark-SFX-SREL
<u>(a kind of) hill</u>	<u>secretary (writer)</u>

T'ak'xw /t'ak'-x^w/ is an intransitive verb meaning squat, draw up one's legs, bend one's legs at the knees - the subject relative evidently describes the conformation of this kind of hill.

I've also suggested - see pp. ?? - that such conventional lexical items as sim'oogit /s@m#?o·k-@t/ chief and seegit /seek-@t/ murderer are in fact subject relative constructions whose

roots no longer occur in related central verb constructions.

Object Relative Constructions

I have twice elicited object relative constructions, but I don't recall having come across them in texts or discourse. In 1968, I recorded an isolated phrase smax hligigwi'y /smax 1@-ki·k^w-@'y/, which my consultant translated as the meat I bought, and in 1969, I elicited a series of sentences with object relatives from an older western Gitksan man during a field methods course. Some of them are:

Mahldi'y loodit dim guwis John-hl smax hliga'an.

/ma1-t@-'y lo·-tit tim k^wix^w-@=s John=1 smax 1@-ka?-n/

tell-TRN-1SG OBL-3PL FUT shoot-TRN=CNN John=CNN bear DEF-see-2SG

I told them that John would shoot the bear that you saw.

... smax hlilipga'as Michael.

/... smax 1@-1@p-ka?=s Michael/

... bear DEF-see=CNN Michael

I told them that John would shoot the bear that Michael himself saw.

The schema for the object relative construction seems to be:

DEF - Transitive Verb - Personal Pronoun
= CNN Proper or Common Noun

Since both consultants, who were excellent speakers of the

language, gave identical constructions, I don't believe they are nonce formations. For some reason, I've not tried to elicit the construction again, but I have discussed it with M.-L. Tarpent, who says that it is lacking in Nisgha. Perhaps it is a Gitksan innovation that simply extends the range of deverbative possessed transitive nominals, such as found in sentences like:

Makdi'yhl jabi'y.

/maq-t@-'y=± cap-@'y/

put.down-TRN-1SG=CNN make-1SG

I put my work away.

I threw my work away. (after fixing it)

The two translations are from different speakers.

The object relative construction simply adds the hla-, hli- /t@-/ DEFinite prefix to the deverbative possessed transitive nominal.

We saw earlier (pp. ??) that underlying intransitive subjects and transitive objects participate in different focusing constructions, although they generally fall together as surface absolutive adjuncts in independent order sentences - recall that underlying subject sentential complements realize as plain dependent order complements, while underlying object sentential realize as wil-complements. The existence of different relative constructions for the two underlying syntactic relations also reinforces the argument for their underlying distinctness. And certainly the subject relative construction is limited to intransitive verbs.

Deverbative Antipassive Nominals

We earlier (pp. ??) treated antipassivized verb themes, which mark a relationship of their underlying subject argument to the verbal predicate which differs from that of an agentive one. Many antipassivized forms are ^{?lexicalized} conventionalized as deverbative nominals. I can discern no syntactic or semantic reasons for why a simple antipassive form (one having no prenominals or other affixes) should belong to the nominal part of speech rather than to the verbs; it seems an arbitrary matter of lexical derivation. Most deverbative antipassive forms have one of two senses: they may signify either an intransitive subject or a transitive object, but others have instrumental and locative senses, their prefixes deriving them from verbal forms. Some examples of these kinds of deverbative antipassive nominals are:

gipaygunsxw

t'isasxw

/k@phayk^w-@n-sx^w/

/t'is-asx^w/

fly-CAUS-ANTI

hit-ANTI

airplane
("flier")

a grouse that's drumming
("drummer")

haxhooyasxw

malgwasxw

/h@x-ho'x-asx^w/

/malk^w-asx^w/

PL-wear-ANTI

burn-ANTI

clothes

a root from a plant species
that is burnt for medicinal
purposes (moxibustion?)

ansilinasxw	<u>gansisdinasxw</u>
/?@n-s@-lin-asx ^w /	/q@n-s@-stin-asxw/
place-PFX-ROOT-ANTI	INSTR-PFX-be.heavy-ANTI
<u>hunting ground,</u> <u>territory</u>	<u>ballast</u>

Silinasxw is an antipassive verb meaning hunt and trap (vi); I don't know of a related transitive active form.

There is an alternative form for ballast, which begins with the instrumental prefix ha- /h@-/. It is hasisdinasxw /h@s@-stin-asx^w/.

Kinship Terms

Kinterms are nominals, some simple and some complex. There is a distinction between the set of terms that are generally used in referring to some kinsperson and those that are used in direct address. The referential terms are sometimes said to be more formal, while the address terms are informal. In fact, the address terms can be used referentially, and what seems to be relevant to the choice of one or the other kind of term are aspects of the social relationship between interlocutors, as well as the kin relationship of both interlocutors to a third person referent. I believe that a good linguistic ethnographic study of kinterms and their usage in daily social life and in personal narrative texts would be more productive than the sort of context-free questioning and eliciting work that others and myself have done in the past.

The G kinterms are very similar to those of Nisgha, as described by Sapir (1920, 1921d). Kasakóff (1970) treated G kinterms in her doctoral dissertation. Hindle and Rigsby (1973:57-60) presented a listing of most G kinterms, but didn't

include a number of common generic or higher-order terms. I won't repeat the inventory of kinterms here, but will point out that the senior generation kinterms belong to the class of proper nouns, while own-generation and junior generation kinterms are common nouns. Kinterms pluralized with the distributive plural prefix ga- /q@-/ are treated as common nouns, no matter whether senior or not, while senior kinterms pluralized with the dip /tip/ pluralizer remain proper nouns.

Personal Pronouns

The personal pronouns fall into two categories. First and second person pronouns are always deictic, directly indexing the identity of the speaker or hearer(s) in a speech event with some participant(s) in the narrated event (Benveniste 1971a, 1971b; Jakobson 1971). Third person pronouns may be either deictic or anaphoric, replacing or pronominalizing some third person nominal previous occurring in the discourse or narrative. The personal pronouns are also distinguished formally for singular / plural, but not for inclusive / exclusive (whether the hearer is included) in the first person plural pronoun.

For expository purposes, I classify the personal pronouns into three series, which is based upon their use in the central participant roles (agent/ergative, subject/absolute, and object/absolute) in independent and dependent order constructions - see also Rigsby (1975:351). Their use ⁱ on other non-central or peripheral syntactic relations can be described derivatively in terms of two of the series. The series are numbered according to their left-to-right positioning in the two

orders, dependent and independent.

Series 1 Pronouns

Series 1 pronouns are used exclusively as agent/ergative pronouns in dependent order constructions. Series 1 pronouns are clitics. The first and second person pronouns are generally proclitic, but sometimes they are enclitic to the previous element. The third person (singular) pronoun is generally enclitic, but is sometimes proclitic to a following element, while its pluralizer is always suffixed to the verb theme. See pp. ?? for their ordering schemata. The Series 1 pronouns are:

ni, na, nu	/n@/	<u>I</u>
mi, ma, mu	/m@/	<u>you</u> (sg)
t	/t/	<u>he, she it</u>
dip	/t@p/	<u>we</u>
mi ... sim	/m@ ... s@m/	<u>you</u> (pl)
t ... Verb Theme-diit	/t ... Verb Theme- ^t i·t/	<u>they</u>

Series 2 Pronouns

The Series 2 pronouns are used as agent/ergatives in independent order constructions, as subject/absolutives of dependent order constructions, and as object/absolutives of non-third person plural dependent order constructions. They are:

-'y	/-'y/	<u>I, me</u>
-n	/-n/	<u>you</u> (sg)
-t	/-t/	<u>he, him</u> <u>she, her</u> <u>it</u>
-'m	/-'m/	<u>we, us</u>
-si'm	/-s@m/	<u>you</u> (pl)
-diit	/-ti·t/	<u>they, them</u>

The above are the basic Series 2 alternants that occur following vowel-final themes. Recall that following consonant-finals, the 1SG, 2SG, and 1PL have alternants whose initial schwa-vowel harmonizes with the preceding consonant.

The Series 2 pronouns are also used as possessors in possessed nominal constructions, whether downshifted or deverbative.

Series 3 Pronouns

The Series 3 pronouns are used as subject/absolutives in independent order constructions, and as object/absolutives in dependent order constructions having third person plural agent/ergatives. The Series 3 pronouns are:

'nii'y	/'ni·-'y/	<u>I, me</u>
'niin	/'ni·-n/	<u>you</u> (sg)
'nit	/'ni-t/	<u>he, him</u> <u>she, her</u> <u>it</u>
'nuu'm	/'nu·-'m/	<u>we, us</u>
'nisi'm	/'ni-ti·t/	<u>you</u> (pl)
'nidiit	/'ni-ti·t/	<u>they, them</u>

Many speakers use 'ni'y /'ni-'y/ with a short vowel for 1SG, but I now have the impression that 'nii'y is more common. In my earlier work, I consistently heard and wrote 'nu'm /'nu-'m/ we, us with a short vowel from my consultants. Several of them passed away some years ago, and I haven't checked my recordings to see whether my transcription was correct. I've checked with many younger consultants and they use 'nuu'm with a long vowel. As well, many speakers use 'nidit /'ni-tit/ for 3PL. The same speakers use -dit /-tit/ as the general Series 2 pronoun, except following verb-themes built with the di- /t@-/ transitivizer. There they use the longer alternant -diit /-ti't/, which avoids homophony with the third person singular, as seen in the western G examples:

Jekwdit.	Jekwdiit.
/cak ^w -t@-t/	/cek ^w -ti't/
kill-TRN-3SG	kill-3PL
<u>He</u> , <u>She</u> <u>killed</u> <u>it</u> .	<u>They</u> <u>killed</u> <u>it</u> .

It seems clear to me that the shorter forms are historically older than the longer 'nii'y and 'nidiit forms, which regularize the base and suffix allomorphy in the Series 2 and 3 paradigms somewhat.

Other Personal Pronouns

-da /-ta/ 3PL

There is another subject/absolute 3PL pronoun, which is

the suffix -da /-ta/. It occurs only in independent order constructions. Some examples are:

Didaxwda.	Dim Amksiwaamaxda.
/t@-tax ^w -ta/	/tim ?amksiwa'-m ^x -ta/
PL-die(pl)-3PL	FUT whiteman-language-3PL
<u>They</u> <u>died</u> .	<u>They'll</u> <u>talk</u> <u>English</u> .

Luu bagayt kw'ihl hal'ulksda lax ha'niijok.
 /lu· pa-qayt k^w'iɪ h@l-?ulks-ta l@x#h@-'ni'-cuq/
 in.all.directions about PL-drift-3PL on#world
They drifted around all over the world.

G /?ulks/ drift evidently descends from earlier */wil-ks/, which remains unchanged in Nisgha.

I think that /-ta/ is never deictic, but is always anaphoric to some previous third person plural nominal in the discourse or narrative. However, I don't really understand its usage - it bears further investigation.

-dii /-ti'/, -dix /-t@x/

There is an indefinite impersonal subject/absolute pronoun that is marked by the two suffix alternants -dii /-ti'/ and -dix /-t@x/. I haven't observed it as a main clause subject/absolute. Some examples are:

Nee diit anooks naa'a dim ligi kw'ihl Amksiwaamaxdii
 gosun.
 /ne· tii=t ?@no'q=s na·? tim liki k'wił ?@mks@wa'-mɣ-ti·
 qu=s=x^win/

NEG CONTRAST-3SG allow=CNN Mum FUT INDEF about
 whiteman-language-IMPERS LOC=this

"Mama don't 'llow no English-speaking 'round here"!

This sentence was meant as a humorous translation of a proposition cast in terms of an old popular song. Naa'a is the address form for mother; thus I've glossed it as Mum. It can be used referentially among familiars. Note too that it takes a proper noun connective enclitic preceding.

Hehl ligi k'ali xs'ootxwdii, hehl nax'ni'y.
 /hi=ł liki q'ali xs#?o'-tx^w-ti·, hi=ł n@x'ni-y@-'y/
 sound=CNN INDEF upstream sound.like-cover-PASS-IMPERS,
 sound=CNN hear-TRN-1SG

The sound of someone paddling upstream, the sound (I think) I hear.
I think I hear someone paddling upstream.

Elsewhere I've glossed he- /hi-/ as saying, but it has a broader signification than just speech, which I've rendered here as sound.

Demonstrative Personal Pronouns

'Nit /'ni-t/ 3SG and 'nidiit /'ni-ti·t/ 3PL are not used deictically to introduce new personal referents in discourse. Instead, the demonstrative pronouns are used. The singular demonstratives may have either personal or non-human reference, but the plurals always have personal reference. The independent Series 3-type demonstrative pronouns are:

tun	dipun
/t=x ^w in/	/tip=x ^w in/
CNN=this	PL=this
<u>this (one),</u> <u>this person,</u> <u>he, she (here)</u>	<u>these (ones),</u> <u>these people,</u> <u>they (here)</u>

tust	dipust
/t=x ^w ist/	/tip=x ^w ist/
CNN-that	PL=that
<u>that (one),</u> <u>that person,</u> <u>he, she (there)</u>	<u>those (ones),</u> <u>those people,</u> <u>they (there)</u>

The singular demonstratives have enclitic Series 2-type forms in -sun /=s=x^win/ and -sust /=s=x^wist/; see examples on pp. ?? for independent order and imperative examples.

k'inaa /k'@n#na·/

K'inaa is a personal pronoun meaning so-and-so, which is used to avoid direct mention of a person's name. It is a compound of /k'an/ thing, whatchamacallit and /na·/ who. It can be used in any central or peripheral syntactic function. A humorous example is seen in:

Hats'im ligi kw'ihl wilxsins k'inaahl gagan gasgoohl
hlit-anwilaaxhl yal.

/hac' -@m liki k'w'il wil-xs-@n=s k'@n#na'=± q@n-qan q@-sqo'=±
±@-t-?@n-w@la'x=± yal/

PVB INDEF about walk-CAUS=CNN so.and.so=CNN PL-tree
PL-be.so.much DEF-3SG-AREL-know=CNN lie

So-and-so can make trees walk the way he, she knows how to
tell lies.

Like the Series 3 personal pronouns and the demonstratives,
k'inaa is classified as a proper noun, as is shown by its
selection of proper noun enclitics.

Conjoined Nominal Phrases

I haven't studied conjoined nominal phrases systematically,
so my comments are incomplete. If the underlying conjoined
nominal phrase contains a personal pronoun, then it is summed
with the other nominal(s), and a pronoun of appropriate person
and number appears on the surface left-most in the phrase. The
following nominal member(s) is preceded by the conjunction gan
/qan/ inflected with the appropriate proper or common noun
absolute enclitics -t /t/ and -hl /hl/. If the conjoined
nominal phrase includes no first or second person pronouns, but
more than one proper noun or personal name, it is best preceded by
dip /tip/ pluralizer and the gan conjunction separates the
nominals. Some examples are:

Conjoined agentive/ergative phrase-

Guhu'mhl wan gant John.

/k'wix'w-@-'m=± wan qan=t John/

shoot-TRN-1PL=CNN deer and=CNN John

John and I shot a deer.

Note that gant John and John is extraposed to the right of the
object/absolute adjunct wan deer.

[Check again for gans /qan=s/ forms, as in Nisgha].

Conjoined focused agentive/ergative phrase-

Dip John gant Mary ant hoo hlimoo'y.

/tip John qan=t Mary ?@n=t ho' ±@mo'-'y/

PL John and=CNN Mary AREL=3SG also help-me

John and Mary also helped me.

Conjoined subject/absolute phrase-

Ha'w 'nuu'm gant John.

/ha'w 'nu--'m qan=t John/

go.home ABS-1PL and=CNN John

John and I went home.

Dim gawagaani 'nuu'm gan dip 'nidiit.

/tim q@w@ka'ni 'nu--'m qan tip 'ni-ti't/

FUT make.peace ABS-1PL and PL ABS-3PL

We're going to make peace with them.

We and they will make peace.

Gawagaani is a loanword from the Tlingit language where it means deer, but it signifies a peace-making ceremony in G, where hostages ("deer") used to be exchanged as a sign of good faith.

The use of dip 'nidiit, rather than just 'nidiit, signifies that they are an organized social group of some kind - see next section.

Luu am'amhl gagoodi'm ganhl naksi'y wil dip da'akhlxw hats'im
hoo guxws luu yaltxu'm go'ohl Ansbahyaxw.

/lu' ?@m-?am=1 q@-qo't-@'m qan=1 naks-@'y wil .../

in PL-be.good=CNN PL-heart-1PL and=CNN spouse-1SG CMP ...

My wife and I are happy that we've been able to come back to Kispiox.

A more literal translation ^fof the first part of this sentence would be something like My wife's and my hearts are happy that ..., and the subject/absolute plural nominal gagoot hearts has conjoined plural possessors marked by the suffixed Series 2 first person plural pronoun -i'm /-@'m/ and the following phrase ganhl naksi'y and my wife.

Dip /tip/ Associative Phrases

In the preceding section, we saw that dip /tip/ can pluralize a summed, conjoined nominal phrase. It can also be

used with a single nominal head, which construction has a meaning like that the nonstandard English associative and them, as in John and them, where John is focused on as either the leader of a social group or the person through whom the speaker traces a link to a social group. In G, dip John /tip John/ would usually signify John and his family or household group. This is the construction type that M.-L. Tarpent (1981) has written about with respect to Nisgha and Nisgha English. It also occurs in Gitksan English as either Dem John or Dip John - see pp. ?? - and its usage is much stigmatized.

Oblique Nominal Phrases

In Chapter 4 on syntax, we treated the underlying and surface central syntactic relations, but said little about the peripheral ones. To recall the discussion, one can distinguish a number of underlying syntactic roles or relations, including dative, instrument, place, time, cause, circumstantial, and others. On the surface, all these fall together formally as oblique adjuncts. They are distinguished one from the other primarily by their specific lexical content, rather than by their order or more elaborate formal marking. Gitksan has no ^{elaborated} ~~rich~~ system of prepositions with specific lexical content as in English. The specifics of local adverbial notions are generally expressed by the preverbals, but there is a small set of prepositions, an oblique pronominal base, and some nominal complementizers that are used to mark formally the peripheral syntactic relations outside the predicate. These constructions are discussed briefly in succeeding subsections.

Oblique Personal Pronouns

There is a set of independent oblique personal pronouns that can realize underlying datives, locatives, and instrumentals on the surface. They are formed on the base /lo'-/ by suffixing the Series 2 pronouns, as seen in:

loo'y	/lo'-'y/	<u>to, for me</u>
lun, loon	/lo'-n/	... <u>you</u> (sg)
loot	/lo'-t/	... <u>him, her,</u> <u>here, there</u> <u>with it</u>
loo'm	/lo'-'m/	... <u>us</u>
loosi'm	/lo'-s@m/	... <u>you</u> (pl)
loodiit, loodit	/lo'-ti't/ /lo'-tit/	... <u>them</u>

The second alternants given for second person singular and third person plural are mainly used by western G speakers.

Oblique Prepositional Phrases

Much the same range of peripheral relations can be marked on the surface by phrases that are formed with the general preposition a /?a-/ (glossed as PREP in the interlinear translations) inflected by an appropriate connective enclitic if followed by a proper or common noun.

General prepositional phrases with personal pronouns are formed with the Series 3 independent pronouns, as in:

as 'nii'y	/?a=s 'ni'-'y/	<u>to, for me</u>
as 'niin	/?a=s 'ni'-n/	... <u>you</u> (sg)
as 'nit	/?a=s 'nit/	... <u>him, her</u>
as 'nuu'm	/?a=s 'nu'-'m/	... <u>us</u>
as 'nisi'm	/?a=s 'ni-s@m/	... <u>you</u> (pl)
as 'nidiit	/?a=s 'ni-ti't/	... <u>them</u>

General prepositional phrases with demonstrative pronouns are formed as follows:

asun	/?a=s=x ^w in/	<u>to, for this person</u> ... <u>him, her (here)</u>
as dipun	/?a=s tip=x ^w in/	<u>to, for these people</u> ... <u>them (here)</u>
asust	/?a=s=x ^w ist/	<u>to, for that person</u> ... <u>him, her (there)</u>
as dipust	/?a=s tip=x ^w ist/	<u>to, for those people</u> ... <u>them (there)</u>

General prepositional phrases with personal and demonstrative pronouns mark underlying datives, and they seem always to have personal reference.

There is a specialized locative preposition (glossed as LOC in the interlinear translations) that forms locative prepositional phrases with personal pronouns, demonstratives, and other proper and common nouns. This construction always has a locative sense, and depending upon the specific lexical content of the preverbals and root of the verb theme, it can be translated variously with English at, in, from, to, etc.

Locative prepositional phrases formed with personal pronouns are:

go'o'y	/qu?-'y/	to <u>me</u> , to <u>my place</u> , etc.
go'on	/qu?-n/	... <u>you</u> (sg)
go'ot	/qu?-t/	... <u>him</u> , <u>her</u>
go'o'm	/qu?-'m/	... <u>us</u>
go'osi'm	/qu?-s@m/	... <u>you</u> (pl)
go'odiit	/qu?-ti't/	... <u>them</u>

Western G seems to have ga'a- /qa?-/ as its specialized locative preposition.

The specialized locatives formed with demonstratives have lento (deliberate careful speech) and allegro (faster unmonitored speech) forms, which are:

gosun	/qu=s=x ^w in/	<u>here</u> , <u>hither</u> , <u>hence</u>
gasun	/q@s=s=x ^w in/	as above, but allegro
gosust	/qu=s=x ^w ist/	<u>there</u> , <u>thither</u> , <u>thence</u>
gasust	/q@s=s=x ^w ist/	as above, but allegro

Nisgha lacks the specialized go'o- /qu?-/ preposition entirely, but G and Nisgha both have a homophonous transitive verb meaning fetch, go for (something), which probably is its source historically.

General prepositional phrases can also be formed with proper and common nouns. Their schemata are:

as Proper Noun	/?a=s Proper Noun/
ahl Common Noun	/?a=± Common Noun/

Such phrases can be translated variously as datives, locatives, temporals, and instrumentals, although locative phrases are more commonly formed with the specialized locative preposition, as in:

go'os Proper Noun	/qu?=s Proper Noun/
go'ohl Common Noun	/qu?=± Common Noun/

And it is common to omit any oblique marking with locative nouns, such as geets' /ke'c'/ downstream, compound nominals containing a locative pronominal such as ts'im /c'@m-/ in(side) or lax /l@x-/ on, and nominal phrases with a possessed locative noun, such as hlaxwhl wilp underneath (of) the house, etc. The use of a preposition with such nominals is somewhat puristic in casual speech. Time nominals likewise often are unmarked by the general preposition. For their part, however, instrumental adjuncts are always marked with the general preposition, as in:

Galxsi gahlxwit ahl t'uuts'xw.
 /qalxs@ ka±-x^w-@-t ?a=± t'u'c'-x^w/
 through stab-PASS-TRN-3SG Prep=CNN knife
He, She stabbed him, her right through with a knife.

And last, there is a complex preposition aloo- /?alo'-/ that is common in some speakers' speech with human proper and common noun adjuncts. Its schemata are:

aloos Proper Noun	/?a-lo'=s Proper Noun/
aloohl Common Noun	/?a-lo'=± Common Noun/

Time sense

Ha'w ja ha'win mi ji wagayt wil 'mukwhl hun!

/ha'w c@=ha'w-@n m@c@=wa-qayt wil 'muk^w=1 hun/

PROSCRIP IRREAL=go.home 2SG=IRREAL=completed CMP catch=CNN
salmon

Don't go home until you've caught a salmon!

Weakly causal sense

Dim wan 'nuu'm wil yukwhl hliphlabixsxu'm.

/tim wan 'nu--'m wil yuk^w=1 1@p-lap-@xs-x^w-@'m/

FUT sit ABS-1PL CMP PROG=CNN PL-be.tired-MED-1PL

We'll sit down because, as we are tired.

Hak'agahl hooyi'y ni wil k'akhl aats'ip.

/h@-q'aq-a=1 ho'x-@-'y n@=wil q'aq=1 ?a'c'p/

key=CNN use-TRN-1SG 1SG CMP open=CNN door

It was a key (that) I used as I opened the door
It was a key (that) I used in order to open the door.

ad
Ahl-Complements

Time sense

Kw'ihl kw'adixsxw 'nii'y ahl huwogo'y.

/k^w'i1 k^w'at-@xs-x^w 'ni--'y ?a=1 hu-wuq-@'y/

about flop-MED ABS-1SG PREP=CNN DUR-sleep-1SG

I flop about when I'm sleeping.

in order to-sense

Ii hats'imoo haldim goldiit at ga'adiit.

/i' hac'-@m ho' halt-@m qul-ti't ?a-t ka?-ti't/

and.then once.again from.ground move.quickly-3PL PREP-3 see-

And then once again they got up quickly to see it.

Ant yeexsdiit adimt ga'adiit a ji 'nu'wt.

/?@n=t ye'xs-ti't ?a=tim=t ka?-ti't ?a=c@ 'nu'w-t/

AREL=3SG return.to.check-3PL PREP=FUT=3 see-3PL PREP=IRREAL
die-3SG

It was the ones who had returned to check to see whether she
had died.

The final ahl-complement in this sentence is an irrealis clause.

Cause-Complements (with gan /qan/)

Luu hloohladihl lakw ts'im sduup dim gan t'ee'ldim gamkt.

/lu' 1o'-1@-t@=1 lak^w c'@m#stu'p tim qan t'e-'lt-@m kamk-t/

in move.pl.obj-INCR=CNN fuel in#stove FUT cause be.quick-ATR
be hot-3SG

Put some wood in the stove so it will heat up quickly!

Sduup /stu'p/ stove is a loan from English.

'Nithl gan he'y, nigidaxan agwihl dim jabin.

/'ni-t=1 qan he-'y, n@-kit-@x-@n ?ak^wi=1 tim cap-@n/

ABS-3SG=CNN cause saying-1SG 1SG=ask-2SG what=CNN FUT make-2S

That's why I said it, why I'm asking you what you'll do,
make.

After-Complements (with galan /q@-lan/)

Luu hloohladi'yhl lakw galan hlixwhl gal ts'akt.

/lu· lo·-t@-t@-'y=± lak^w q@-lan hix-x^w=± qal c'ak-t/

in move.pl.obj-TRN-1SG=CNN fuel after finish-MED=CNN PVB
go.out-3SG

I put some wood in after the fire had already all gone out.

Before-Complements (with hlagook /t@-qo·q/)

Sigamkhl aksist hlagook dim ts'akhl lakw.

/s@-kamk=± ?aks-@st t@-qo·q tim c'ak=± lak^w/

PFX-be.hot=CNN water-INTERACT DEF-be.first FUT go.out=CNN fire

Heat up the water before the fire goes out!

Until-Complements (with ganee /q@-ne·/)

PL-NEG

Daasgandi'yhl t'uuts'xw ganeehl sakt.

/ta·skan-t@-'y=± t'u·c'-x^w q@-ne·=± saq-t/

sharpen-TRN-1SG=CNN knife until be.sharp-3SG

I sharpened, ground the knife until it was sharp.

Time-Complements (with dis wil /tis wil/)

Hiyukwhl libasdiit dis wil ts'ini'y.

/hi-yuk^w=± lip-as-ti·t tis wil c'in-@'y/

DUR-PROG=CNN sew-SFX-3PL time CMP enter-1SG

They were sewing when I came in.

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