

Gamma Bonding and Contraction in Tsimshian Uvular Syllables

John Dunn and R. A. Hays

Additions and Corrections:

5. Posited derivations for some lexica:

additional data:

(22) *g^we:q̣a > g^we:a ~ g^wea ~ g^we: poor
 (k,m) (hb) (m,pr)

(22.1) *g^we:q̣a-ɬ > g^weaɬ gunny sack; scrotum
 (m,pr)

(22.2) *g^we:q̣a- > g^weX- (in g^weXgo:msmt^h winter food)
 (pr)

(23) ṭ^sa^wX ~ ṭ^seHX ~ ṭ^seHG deaf
 (k) (pr) (pr)

(24) ṭo:X ~ ṭo:q̣^h ~ ṭoHq̣^h suck
 (pr) (pr) (m)

(25) Gaq̣ʔáy ~ Gaʔáy wing
 (pr) (pr)

(26) Xsṭo:X ~ Xsṭo:q̣^h ~ laX-sṭoHGa ~ laX-sṭ^hoX < *sṭo:q̣a sleep
 (k) (pr) (pr) (k)

(27) mo:X ~ mo:q̣^h ~ moX ~ moq̣^h kelp
 (hb) (hb) (k,m,pr) (k,m,pr)

(28) mo:mX ~ mu:mq̣^h ~ momX ~ Ga-momG smile
 (k) (k) (k) (k)

(29) nʔa:mG ~ n̄a:mX peaceful
 (pr) (pr)

(30) saq̣aɬ ~ s̄aɬ settle an estate
 (k) (k)

(31) w̄aweH ~ wahwe be in doubt
 (k) (m)

(32) woX ~ woq̣^h sleep
 (k) (k)

6. Laryngeal bonding in syllable initial consonants:

additional data for page 151:

daʔo:X ~ ṭo:X cheek; suck
 (m) (pr)

Gáph^haYt^hk^h ~ káph^haYt^hk^h fall down
(m) (k,m)

hu-wáat ~ wáath sell; trade
(k) (k)

additional data for page 152:

n^ha:mG ~ ná:mX peaceful
(pr) (pr)

lax ~ lilaq^h needle
(k) (k)

maGo:Xs ~ maqoXs salmon berries
(hb,pr) (k)

mak^{wh}s ~ mak^{wh}s blizzard; powder snow
(hb) (hb)

mo:s ~ mo:s-X thumb / chewed fat (eaten by licking it)
(hb,k,pr) (pr)

minwa:lXs ~ manwa:lXs walk up (plural agreement form)
(m,pr) (m,pr)

wa:t^hk^h ~ wa:t^hk^h be found
(m) (k)

7. Uvular Effacement in Consonant Clusters

The example at the top of page 153 has a syllable boundary in the cluster and should be placed with the first example in part 7 on page 152. At the same place add:

duk^{wh}ǀGn ~ lu:-dak^{wh}ǀn drown
(m,pr) (m)

8. Uvular Contraction in Clusters

Substitute the word "coalescence" for contraction.

To the examples at the top of page 154 add:

hathotXk^h ~ hatóak^h ~ hathóXk^h to boil
(m) (k) (hb)

To the examples in the middle of page 154 add:

bet^{sh}Gn ~ bet^sn place upright
(hb,pr) (k,m,pr)

The forms for South wind and kiss (middle of page 154) are not examples of coalescence. They belong in section 5.

9. Summary and Conclusion.

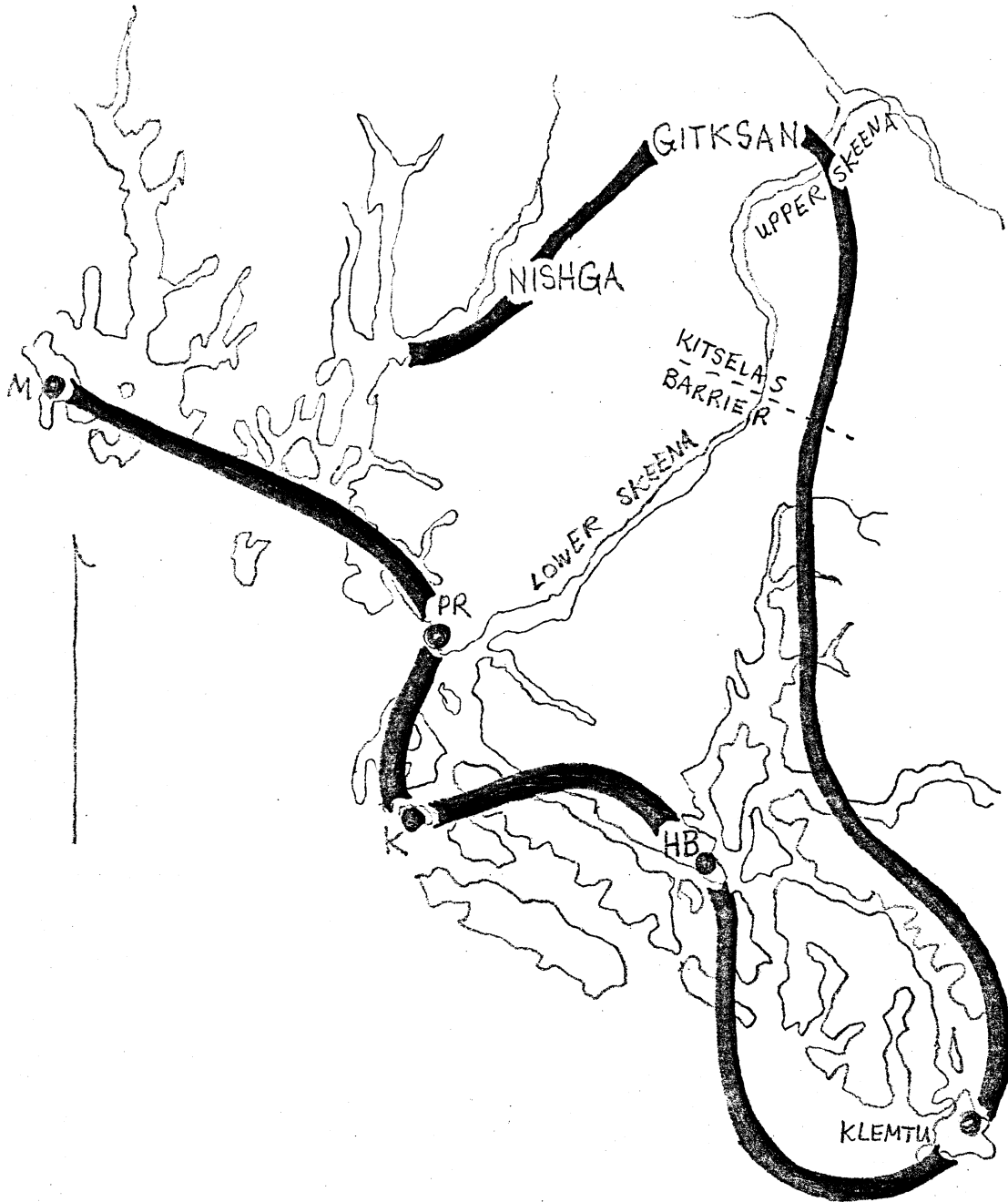
Because of the supplemental data the figures in the last paragraph on page 156 should be revised:

The CI for Hartley Bay is the highest (1.29 = 22÷17). The CI's for Prince Rupert (.63 = 27÷42) and for Metlakatla (.66 = 25÷38) are the lowest. Kitkatla has an intermediate CI (.80 = 36÷45).

A revision of pages 160 and 161:

These dialect and/or language variants indicate that the higher CI scores will be found in the interior and in the southern part of the coast and that the lower CI scores will be found in northern coastal communities, which also happen to be post-contact amalgamations and relocations of former lower Skeena River communities.

Other geographic, ecological and traditional historical factors seem to indicate that the Nass-Gitksan and the Klemtu Tsimshian, i.e., those dialects with the highest CI scores, are not so far removed from one another as a map might indicate and that the Coast Tsimshian should in no way be considered the geographic/historical intermediaries between the upper Skeena and the Southern Tsimshian. The Kitselas Canyon, separating the upper Skeena from the lower Skeena, opens downstream into two intersecting coastal valleys, one leading to the West and to the Coast Tsimshian Communities via the lower Skeena, the other running North and South and providing easy access to the Nass River in the North and to Kitamat Sound in the South (see Louis Allaire. 1978. L'Archéologie des Kitselas d'après le site stratifié de Gitaus (Commission Archéologique du Canada dossier 72). pp 8-11. Ottawa: Musée National de l'Homme). From Kitamat Sound there is a natural, sheltered water passage to Klemtu, via Douglas Channel, Fraser Reach, Graham Reach, Tolmie Channel and Milbanke Sound (see Map 1). There is ample evidence (in place names and burial sites) of a long-standing Tsimshian presence in this sheltered passageway. There are also traditional Tsimshian stories recalling a time when water flowed from the upper Skeena through the Kitselas Canyon and thence southward into Kitamat Sound, not westward into the lower Skeena. These stories record a mythic event that changed the course of the Skeena from one valley into another (See Marius Barbeau. 1950. Totem Poles volume 1 (Anthropological series 30), pp 107-109. Ottawa: National Museums of Canada). There may be some basis for this traditional history in volcanic eruptions that significantly altered the environment in the intersection of these two coastal valleys some 250 years ago (See Allaire, *op. cit.* p 11, and Clavin J. Heusser. 1960. Late Pleistocene environments of North Pacific America (special bulletin 35), p 25. New York: American Geographical Society). In any event the sociolinguistic implications of this traditional history are clear.



Map 1. The Tsimshian Dialect Chain.

The material presented in this paper lends some support to the notion that the Tsimshian language family is a dialect chain bent into a circle with Nishga-Gitksan and the northern dialects of Coast Tsimshian representing the divergent extremes (see Map 1). New data from the Nass River and from the northernmost Gitksan communities, e.g., Qaldo, will help complete our understanding of this dialect chain.

Footnotes

1. While it is true that high and mid vowels never contrast, there are some words that do not contain uvulars and yet appear to be lexicalized with mid vowels, for instance, Vi Hilbert's Lushootseed name, [taq^wɔblo]. A strict phonemicization would require that underlying /e/ and /o/ be set up on this evidence, as this is not free variation, *per se*; however, the very clear generalization is that the mid vowels are, with the exception of ɔ, conditioned variants of the high vowels. It should also be mentioned that for some speakers, not only uvulars but also glottal stops condition lowering. This does not effect the substance of my argument.

2. Lushootseed has voiceless uvular and labio-uvular stops (q, q^w), and their glottal ejective counterparts (q̣, q̣^w), as well as uvular and labio-uvular voiceless fricatives (X, X^w).

3. It is, admittedly, conceptually odd to think of these vowels as being lowered twice, one degree in each direction the subrules apply, since what is happening is really a simple height assimilation. But one presumes that Anderson's theoretical construct is not meant to mirror production but only to model it.

4. Given the rudimentary state of research on the phonology of Lushootseed, I have not attempted to distinguish between those mid vowels which actually alternate with high vowels in the same morpheme and those which are present due to some static constraint on distribution. However, this last example quite clearly consists of a transitivizing suffix /-id/, which appears as [ed] when affixed to a stem ending in a uvular. Thus rule (2) does describe dynamic alternations (allomorphy).

References

- Anderson, S.R. (1974) The Organization of Phonology, New York, Academic Press.
 Chomsky, N. & M. Halle (1968) The Sound Pattern of English, New York, Harper and Row.
 Hess, T. & V. Hilbert (1976) Lushootseed, Seattle, American Indian Studies, University of Washington.

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Phonological Traits of Shuswap Dialects¹

Aert H. Kuipers
 University of Leiden

1. The Shuswap dialects fall into a Western and an Eastern group (henceforth abbreviated WSh and ESh). The dividing line runs N-S between the Reserves of Kamloops and Chase. This division is based on the treatment of the unstressed syllabic resonants m and n. In WSh these are preserved as such. In ESh they are to a greater or lesser extent replaced by other syllabic resonants (m by w, and n by y) or by the vowel a. The conditions for these shifts are not the same in all ESh dialects. In this paper, we concentrate on the dialect of Canim Lake and Alkali Lake as representative of WSh, and on that of Enderby for ESh. As the special features of ESh are obvious innovations, we discuss the main phonological features of WSh first.

2. The WSh phonemes are presented in the chart below (1. labials, 2. dentals and laterals, 3. palatals, 4. plain velars, 5. plain uvulars, 6. laryngeals, 7. labialized velars and w, 8. labialized uvulars):

Conss.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Vowels
Plos.	p	t	c	k	q		k ^w	q ^w	
	p̣	ṭ	c̣	ḳ	q̣		ḳ ^w	q̣ ^w	a ɔ
Fric.		i	s	x	χ		x ^w	χ ^w	ə (ʌ)
Res.	m	n	l	y	ɣ	ʕ	h	w	ɕ ^w
	ṃ	ṇ	ḷ	ỵ	ɣ̣	[ʕ̣]	ḥ	ʔ ^w	ɕ̣ ^w
									i u ʊ

3.1 Phonetically, ṭ is [ḳ] in the speech of the older, [ṭ] in that of the younger generation. -- c̣ ɕ̣ ṣ are [ç̣ ɕ̣/ɕ̣ ʃ̣], the pronunciation [ç̣] being the more common one in most WSh dialects other than that of Canim Lake. -- ɣ̣ is similar to a voiced velar fricative, but with a wider aperture. The vowels a i u are [æ/ɛ i/e u/o]; the retracted vowels ɔ ʊ are [ɑ ɔ].