May 4, 1967

Dear Friends and Colleagues,

The paper enclosed is based upon my 1966 summer field research in Gitksan, which was supported generously by a National Museum of Canada contract. I prepared this paper expressly as my initial report to the National Museum. Upon Larry Thompson's invitation, I decided to submit it also as a contribution to the Second International Conference on Salish Languages this August in Seattle. We believe that its contents will be of areal interest to Salishanists. I am also sending copies to my "Penutianist" colleagues and to several Athabaskanists.

I regret that I could not mail out the third and main part of the paper now. It comprises the comparative vocabularies-forms in Coast Tsimshian, Nass, and Gitksan (the latter two in systematic phonemic and systematic phonetic representation) for approximately 400 English glosses. I'll have time to type them onto ditto masters and run them off early in the summer; I'll bring them to Seattle for distribution at the Conference.

Unless otherwise indicated, the forms cited in the second section of the paper are from Gitksan. Needless to say, the segmental symbols employed in the text have no systemic status: they are but convenient circumlocutions for distinctive-feature complexes.

Looking forward to renewing old acquaintanceships at the Conference and making new ones, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Bruce J. Rigsby

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ERRATA

p. 1, line 15- Change nisqá?a to [nisqá?^{a}] untranslated stem
line 27- Should read: ...by the lizards which fled
line 31- Change ʔtá:miks to ʔtáamiks

p. 2, line 19- Change kit spa yak^{w}s to kit spa yáx^{w}s. Systematic x and x^{w} become k and k^{w} before this s-suffix. This change is not discussed in the main text.

p. 4, line 13- Strike out may have

p. 7, lines 18 and 19- Change anemcám to an emcám

p. 9, line 13- The rule should read:

$$[-\text{cnt}] \text{ ---> } [+\text{cnt}] \; / \; \begin{bmatrix} \overline{} \\ +\text{cns} \\ -\text{son} \\ -\text{dif} \\ +\text{grv} \\ -\text{chk} \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} -\text{cns} \\ +\text{son} \end{bmatrix}$$

p. 10, line 25- Should read: Nass which will spirantize q ...

p. 11, line 30- Change [ʔúu?ck^{w}] to [ʔúu?cx^{w}]

p. 12, line 2- A short note- Gitksan /yeen/ fog is not subject to the rule which reduces organic long vowels before plain sonorants.

p. 13, line 9- Should read: lateral affricate may develop ...
line 32- Should read: ...that these latter segments should be

p. 16, line 25- Place dot under l in [maɬlyá^{h}] to indicate syllabicity

Tsimshian Comparative Vocabularies

with Notes

on Nass-Gitksan Systematic Phonology

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April, 1967

First two of three parts

The Tsimshian-speaking peoples lived in the valleys of the Nass and Skeena Rivers in northern British Columbia and along the coast from the mouth of the Nass in the north to the Milbanke Sound area in the south. Ethnographers customarily distinguish three main territorial divisions: the Coast Tsimshian or Tsimshian proper; the Nass or Niska; and the Gitksan.

In the past century, there were some fifteen Coast Tsimshian tribes (Duff 1964a:66). Each tribe occupied its own village or villages. The Coast Tsimshian villages were located along the Lower Skeena from the canyon at Terrace and below, and along the coast and adjacent islands. Duff (1964b:18-19) has listed and roughly located fourteen tribes of the Tsimshian proper.

The Nass or Niska (from nisqá?a) occupied the Lower Nass valley. Sapir (1915:3) listed and located the four Nass tribes of the past century:

1. kit xa ʔtn̓ people of the fish-trap This tribe inhabited the villages of kin qúlix place of scalps, now Kincolith, and lax qal ʔcáp on the village, now Greenville.
2. kit kikéeynix people further upstream They occupied the village of lax an ɬúwʔ on the mountain-slide.
3. kit wiṇ ksíɬkʷ people of the place of lizards This is also the name of their main village. P. J. Sims, the Fisheries Officer at Terrace, B.C., told me that he had been told the village had taken this name a few centuries ago when its inhabitants were forewarned of an impending volcanic eruption by lizards which fled the area several days in advance.
4. kit an wíliks people moving regularly from and back to their home village (Sapir's translation) They occupied the old village of kit lax ʔáamiks people on the pond and the newer village of a ʔyáns top of the leaf.

In the nineteenth century, there were seven Gitksan (from kit ksán people of the Skeena River) tribes, each named after

its home village. The Gitksan tribes occupied the Upper Skeena valley as well as the Upper Nass valley. The Gitksan tribes are:

1. kit win ɬkúl' people of the narrow place Their main village is located on the Kitwancool River about 14 miles above its confluence with the Skeena.
2. kit win qáx people of the place of rabbits ([gáx:] rabbit appears to be a loanword from Athabaskan) Their main village is located on the north bank of the Skeena near the mouth of the Kitwancool River.
3. kit cikihúkʷɬa [gi̯igúkʷɬa] people of cikihúkʷɬa (the name of a nearby mountain for which I have no translation) Their main village is located on the south bank of the Skeena at the mouth of Kitseguecla Creek.
4. kit an máhaks [gitʔanmá:ks] people who use birchbark torches (for spearing fish at night) Their main village was located at the confluence of the Skeena and Bulkley Rivers, now the present Hazelton.
5. kit spa yáxʷs [gispaʰyákʷs] people of the hiding-place Their main village, an spa yáxʷ, is located on the north bank of the Skeena at the mouth of the Kispiox River.
6. kit sqaqáʔas people of the place of small white gulls Their main village, now deserted, is located on the north bank of the Babine River, some few miles above its confluence with the Skeena.
7. kit qaltúw' people of the backwoods Their main village, now deserted, was situated on the Skeena about 80 miles above Kispiox.

Americanists have customarily regarded the Tsimshian-speaking peoples as speaking a single language whose three main dialects- Coast Tsimshian, Nass, and Gitksan- correspond to the three main territorial divisions. In fact, there are two Tsimshian languages, which I propose to call Coast Tsimshian and Nass-Gitksan. I suspect that the widespread bilingualism found among speakers of the two languages, especially among the Niska and the Gitksan, led

earlier ethnographers to consider the three dialects to belong to a single language. Certainly Franz Boas, whose Tsimshian grammar in the HBAIL included parallel sketches of Nass and Coast Tsimshian, was well aware of the striking differences between the two. Interestingly, George Dorsey some seventy years ago described the relations among dialects much as I found them to be in 1966:

> Boaz [sic] 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. (1897:277)

Linguists have usually considered mutual intelligibility of contiguous dialects to be the main criterion for their inclusion in a single language. However, mutual intelligibility may derive from a complex of factors, extralinguistic as well as linguistic (Wolff 1959). From the standpoint of the formal theory of grammar, operational attempts to quantify and measure intelligibility (Hickerson, Turner, and Hickerson 1952; Pierce 1952, 1954) have not been successful and leave much to be desired.

I interviewed informants from the three territorial divisions specifically on the matter of intelligibility. My Nass and Gitksan informants all agreed that Nass and Gitksan are readily intelligible to speakers of either dialect upon first hearing or contact. Speakers of Nass or Gitksan do not readily understand the Coast Tsimshian upon hearing it for the first time. Full comprehension evidently requires that they learn it. My younger Gitksan informants often commented that they could only understand "about half"

of what the Coast Tsimshian say, but that it was easy to learn. The Tsimshian-speaking peoples themselves recognize that the two languages are related. The relationship is fairly close, so that the task of learning the other is not difficult.

During the aboriginal period, suitable sociocultural matrices for second-language learning and bilingualism derived from inter-tribal marriage, trade, and travel. Among the Gitksan, at least, to know and to be able to speak proper Coast Tsimshian was prestigeful. High-ranked persons often used the Coast language in public speeches, and many songs used in public ceremonies were in the Coast language. I would venture the hypothesis that the prestigeful use of a second language by persons of high rank among the Gitksan ~~may have~~ has retarded the development of dialectal differences reflecting differential social ranking within village speech communities, as found among some Coast Salish groups. In these days, Nass and Gitksan people learn the Coast Tsimshian during residence on the coast while working on fishing boats and in the canneries.

The few Coast Tsimshian I talked with corroborated the lack of initial mutual intelligibility. My Kitkatla informant told me that she learned to understand Nass-Gitksan through working and talking with Nass and Gitksan women in the canneries. She usually speaks to them in Coast Tsimshian (and often in English!), while they either use their own dialect or the Coast language.

There is also motivation from synchronic typology for considering the Coast Tsimshian and Nass-Gitksan to be separate languages. Though we have as yet no formal metric of grammatical identity, I believe that the two languages are not identical at a grammatical level relevant to language classification as opposed to dialectal classification. Nass and Gitksan are grammatically identical; they differ only in phonological matrix entries for a small number of lexical items and in that Gitksan has added a few late phonological rules. Nass-Gitksan systematic phonemic base-forms, in most cases, are identical. Nass-Gitksan and Coast Tsimshian likely share many identical or similar syntactic rules, both phrase-structural (base) and transformational, but there are some

significant differences. Franz Boas (1911:349-62) long ago noted major differences in the systems of nominal determinative suffixes and syntactic connectives employed by the two languages.

* * * * * * * * * * * *

Noam Chomsky (1964) has recently discussed three distinguishable levels of representation which might be associated with the phonological component of a generative grammar. Chomsky terms these the systematic phonemic, the taxonomic phonemic, and the systematic phonetic levels of representation. Chomsky's level of systematic phonemic representation corresponds to that of Edward Sapir's "maximally correct" phonological orthography for Southern Paiute, while his systematic phonetic level corresponds to that of Sapir's phonetic orthography (Sapir 1933). One might also say that Chomsky's three levels of representation correspond roughly to what structural linguists customarily term the morphophonemic, phonemic, and phonetic levels, respectively. I find very convincing Chomsky's arguments that the so-called taxonomic phonemic level of representation is not a necessary and significant level of representation in the phonological component of a descriptively adequate generative grammar and that certain conditions (bi-uniqueness, etc.) placed upon phonemic representation by taxonomic phonemicists are unwarranted and lead to complications of statement (see also Postal 1964).

This paper is a preliminary statement of Nass-Gitksan systematic phonology; I am yet a long ways from a completed Nass-Gitksan phonology, though I believe I have some insights into its main features. The following paragraphs attempt to state some of these insights and suggest the probable proper systematic phonemic representation of certain features of Nass-Gitksan phonology. For those who scan these comparative vocabularies for inspectional lexical resemblances with other languages, I would like to point out that the systematic phonemic representations of forms offer the most relevant material for historical comparison.

The Coast Tsimshian forms given in this paper are cast in a regularized phonetic transcription with some free variation indicated. I have not attempted even a taxonomic phonemicization of these scanty materials which were collected in two short afternoon informant sessions. It is my impression that Coast Tsimshian phonology differs from the Nass-Gitksan in several important features, notably in the allophony of the plain obstruents and in

its vowels. I am particularly uncertain of the proper underlying systematic phonemic representation of the Coast Tsimshian vowels.

The following distinctive feature matrix chart gives the initial underlying representation of the Nass-Gitksan inventory of systematic phonemes. Lexical morphemes are given such representation in the phrase-structure component of a Nass-Gitksan generative grammar. This chart recognizes four major types of phonemic segments: sonorants; obstruents; vowels; and glides. The separation of the nasals from the consonants and the postulation of a class of sonorants captures a number of phonetic and distributional similarities of the m, n, l, w, y series (cf., Postal's treatment of Mohawk; 1964:277). One of the advantages of postulating a separate class of sonorants is that one may state the diffenrence between n and l minimally as one of the presence or absence of nasality. Some Nass-Gitksan family dialects have l where others have n in certain morphemes:
/laxnúq/ vs. /naxnúq/ spirit-being
/ʔlii túxɬ ɬcmcám lax stúp/. vs.
/ʔnii túxɬ ɬcmcám lax stúp/. The kettles are on the stove.
The advantages of such a treatment of similar segments in the Sahaptian and Salishan languages as well should be obvious.

In describing Nass-Gitksan systematic phonology, further economies can be achieved and redundancies eliminated by the postulation of morpheme-structure rules, which are the latest rules of the phrase-structure component of the grammar. Some of these morpheme-structure rules specify features predictable by sequential position of the segment in the morpheme; others fill in the blanks in the various matrix entries given here for systematic phonemes. These latter have also been called "blank fill-in" or "redundancy" rules. I will make reference from time to time of some desirable morpheme-structure rules for Nass-Gitksan.

Redundancy rules should specify that the Nass-Gitksan plain stops-affricates are voiceless (unmarked for voicing):

Distinctive Feature Representation of Nass-Gitksan Systematic Phonemes

Sonorants:

	ˀm	m	ˀn	n	ˀl	l	ˀw	w	ˀy	y
consonantal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
sonorant	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
vocalic	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
grave	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
nasal			+	+	−	−				
checked	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	−

Obstruents:

	ˀp	p	ƛ̓	s	ƛ	c̓	c	t̓	t	x̣	q̓	q	x^w	$k^{w\prime}$	k^w	x	k̓	k
consonantal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
sonorant	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
diffuse	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
grave	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
flat													+	+	+	−	−	−
continuant			+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−
strident					+	+	+	−	−									
lateral			+	−	+	−	−											
checked	+	−				+	−	+	−		+	−		+	−		+	−

Vowels:

	uu	ii	aa	oo	ee	u	i	a
consonantal	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
sonorant	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
long	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−
diffuse	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−
compact			+	−	−			
grave	+	−		+	−	+	−	

Glides:

	h	ʔ
consonantal	−	−
sonorant	−	−
continuant	+	−

$$[-\text{chk}] \longrightarrow [-\text{voi}] \;/\; \left[\begin{matrix}\overline{\text{+cns}}\\ \text{-son}\\ \text{-cnt}\end{matrix}\right]$$

A later phonological rule aspirates (tenses) the plain stops-affricates in final position:

$$[-\text{chk}] \longrightarrow [+\text{tns}] \;/\; \left[\begin{matrix}\overline{\text{+cns}}\\ \text{-son}\\ \text{-cnt}\end{matrix}\right] \#$$

The plain stops-affricates are voiced whenever they precede a plus voiced segment (e.g., a vowel or vocalic sonorant). This rule must not be applied cyclically:

$$[-\text{chk}] \longrightarrow [+\text{voi}] \;/\; \left[\begin{matrix}\overline{\text{+cns}}\\ \text{-son}\\ \text{-cnt}\end{matrix}\right][+\text{voi}]$$

/kúpɬ/ ---> [gúpɬ] Eat it. (Imperative)
/kúptit/ ---> [gúpdit^{h}] They ate it. (Indicative)

A special optional late phonological rule should be written to derive [ɣ], a tempo variant of /q/:

$$[-\text{cnt}] \longrightarrow [+\text{cnt}] \;/\; \left[\begin{matrix}\text{+cns}\\ \text{-son}\\ \text{-dif}\\ \text{+grv}\\ \text{-chk}\end{matrix}\right] \cancel{[+\text{voi}]} \left[\begin{matrix}-\text{cns}\\ +\text{son}\end{matrix}\right]$$

/qanqán/ ---> [gangán] or [ɣanɣán] trees

In Gitksan, at least, there are a very few phonetic intervocalic voiceless aspirate plain stops, as in:

/kipháayk^{w}/ ---> [gip^{h}áyk^{wh}] flew (Sng. Indicative)

These are clearly to represented as clusters with systematic phonemic h as the second member:

$$\left[\begin{matrix}\text{+cns}\\ \text{-son}\\ \text{-cnt}\\ \text{-chk}\end{matrix}\right]\left[\begin{matrix}\text{-cns}\\ \text{-son}\\ \text{+cnt}\end{matrix}\right] \longrightarrow \left[\begin{matrix}\text{+cns}\\ \text{-son}\\ \text{-cnt}\\ \text{-chk}\\ \text{+tns}\end{matrix}\right]$$

There are also a few seemingly anomalous initial phonetic voiceless aspirate plain stops, as in:

[t^{h}yá^{ʔ}i^{i}tx^{w}] thunder
[t^{h}nibíbn] your MoBr
[t^{h}yáks] net-float

These forms actually involve a word boundary and should be systematically represented as:
/t yáʔytk^{W}/
/t nipípn/
/t yáks/
The initial segment will have been specified as voiceless by the early redundancy rule and aspirated (tensed) by the tensing rule for final plain stops-affricates.

One of the main differences between Nass and Gitksan is the spirantizing of systematic k and k^{W} in certain positions in Gitksan. Most Gitksan dialects spirantize systematic k and k^{W} in initial position before a systematic spirant and in final position, except following a sonorant. The dialect of Kitwancool village, which is situated geographically in an intermediate position between the Nass River and the Skeena River villages, appears to be intermediate in that it does not spirantize systematic k and k^{W} initially before systematic spirants.

$$[-\text{cnt}] \longrightarrow [+\text{cnt}] \;/\; \begin{bmatrix} +\text{cns} \\ -\text{son} \\ -\text{dif} \\ -\text{grv} \\ -\text{chk} \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +\text{cns} \\ -\text{son} \\ +\text{cnt} \end{bmatrix}$$
and
#, except after sonorants

/kit ksán/ ---> [gitxsán] Gitksan, people of the Skeena
/hítk^{W}/ ---> [hítx^{W}] be standing, be in upright position
/kamk/ ---> [gámk^{h}] be hot
/k^{W}álk^{W}/ ---> [g^{W}álk^{Wh}] be dry
/k^{W}álk^{W}a/ ---> [g^{W}álg^{W}a] dry

A special late phonological rule must also be written for Nass which will spirantize q when followed by a plain stop. I am not at all sure of the proper context restrictions to be placed on this rule:

$$[-\text{cnt}] \longrightarrow [+\text{cnt}] \;/\; \begin{bmatrix} \text{\_\_\_\_} \\ +\text{cns} \\ -\text{son} \\ -\text{dif} \\ +\text{grv} \\ -\text{chk} \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +\text{cns} \\ -\text{son} \\ -\text{cnt} \\ -\text{chk} \end{bmatrix}$$

Motivation for this rule can be seen in the following forms:

Nass [haʔáxkʷʰ]
Gitksan [haʔáqxʷ] be bad
Nass and Gitksan [haʔáɣam] or [haʔáyam] bad
Systematically, these should be represented in both dialects as:
/haʔáqkʷ/ be bad
/haʔáqm/ bad

The systematic glottalized (checked) stops-affricates have both preglottalized and simultaneously or slightly postglottalized variants. 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. In intervocalic position following primary stress, the simultaneously glottalized variants are in free variation with preglottalized variants. In Gitksan, all final systematic glottalized stops-affricates become preglottalized with aspirate release of the oral closure, actualizing as two phonetic segments. However, in Nass, only systematic q̓ is preglottalized in final position, and this appears to be optional. The other Nass final systematic glottalized stops-affricates have simultaneous glottal release.

It seems most natural and economical to consider the simultaneously glottalized variants as the norm by marking them as plus checked in matrix entries in base-forms and to derive the preglottalized variants by later phonological rule:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{cns} \\ -\text{son} \\ -\text{cnt} \\ +\text{chk} \end{bmatrix} \text{---} > \begin{bmatrix} -\text{cns} \\ -\text{son} \\ -\text{cnt} \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +\text{cns} \\ -\text{son} \\ -\text{cnt} \\ -\text{chk} \end{bmatrix} \quad / \text{ in specified environments}$$

If such a rule were to be applied before the tensing and voicing rules, its outputs would be operated upon by them and the correct phonetic representation obtained:
/hanáq̓/ ---> [hanáʔqʰ] woman
/ɬóoc̓/ ---> [ɬóoʔcʰ] Rocky Mt. whitefish
/t̓úuck̓ʷ/ ---> [t̓úuʔcx̌ʷ] be black
/q̓óop̓/ ---> [q̓óoʔpʰ] or [ʔóoʔpʰ] fish heart
/túlc̓/ ---> [dúlʔcʰ] clitoris
/ínt̓/ ---> [ʔínʔtʰ] nit, louse egg

/kíɬ̓/ ---> [gí?ɬ] red variety of sockeye salmon
/sm hák^{w}axtɬ yéen/. ---> [smhá?g^{w}axtɬyéen] It's really fogged over.
/t̓akalúc/ ---> [t̓akalúc^{h}] or [t̓a?galúc^{h}] fox

In both the Nass and Gitksan dialects, initial systematic q̓ may sometimes be weakened optionally to [?]:

$$[+\text{cns}] \text{ ---> } [-\text{cns}] \text{ / \#} \begin{bmatrix} -\text{son} \\ -\text{dif} \\ +\text{grv} \\ -\text{cnt} \\ +\text{chk} \end{bmatrix}$$

/q̓am ksi wáa/ ---> [q̓amksiwáa] or [?amksiwáa] White man, literally-completely bleached-out

This rule should also be extended in context restrictions to operate upon systematic q̓ intervocalically. However, it would appear that not all morphemes are subject to this rule, and we may mark them thus in the lexicon. Examples of intervocalically weakened q̓ are:
/hanáq̓st/ ---> [haná?^{a}st^{h}] the woman (present and visible)
/hanáq̓m/ ---> [haná?am] woman's (attributive)

This matter of weakened intervocalic systematic q̓'s may be relevant to a small number of forms which always appear with phonetic intervocalic [?], such as:
[gá?a?^{i}] I saw it. (Indicative)
[?iɬée?^{e}] blood
[xá?^{a}] male slave (singular)
[ẇáa?^{a}tx^{w}] cry out (as a dog)
If these forms were to be represented with intervocalic systematic q̓ and marked in the lexicon as subject to the weakening rule, we could dispense with ? as a systematic phoneme. In all its occurrences, the glottal stop would then be inorganic or predictable, and thus non-phonemic. A morpheme-structure rule inserts the initial glottal stop of morphemes beginning with a vowel. The segmentalization rule and the weakening rule account for other occurrences of the phonetic glottal stop. However, there is some comparative evidence which argues against this proposal; I do not cite it here. For the time being, I represent these forms systematically as:

/ká?Vy/
/iɬée?V/
/xá?V/
/wáa?Vtk^{w}/

V symbolizes a vowel archiphoneme whose quality is determined by the preceding vowel. This vowel is not epenthetic and must be entered in base-forms in the lexicon.

Despite earlier reports of its absence in the Tsimshian dialects, Nass-Gitksan does have a glottalized lateral affricate at both the systematic phonemic and phonetic levels, but not its plain unglottalized counterpart at both levels. A phonetic plain lateral affricate ~~does~~ may develop from the preglottalization of final ɬ' in Gitksan, but I often hear clear transition between the stopped onset and the lateral release. Clusters of systematic t and ɬ are quite frequent, and I invariably hear clear transition between the two segments. Phonetic plain voiced lateral affricates probably also develop by deglottalization in initial (wholly or partly) reduplicated bases, but I have no examples. The glottalized lateral affricate is very rare; I have recorded only the following forms with it:

/kakúɬ'/ ankle
/kíɬ'/ red variety of sockeye salmon
/ɬák'/ lower lip
/ɬóok'/ mud
/ɬúqac'/, in Nass /qaɬúqac'/ a wild rhubarb
/ɬáa'/ a man's name (Wolf Phratry)
/tqaas níɬ'/ salmon fry, sardine

I found no glottalized lateral affricates in my Coast Tsimshian work.

The systematic front velar stops k and k' are regularly palatalized (sharped) before non-grave vowels, as is also the systematic spirant x:

$$[-\text{flt}] \text{ ---> } [\div\text{shp}] \;/\; \begin{bmatrix} \div\text{cns} \\ -\text{son} \\ -\text{dif} \\ -\text{grv} \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} -\text{cns} \\ \div\text{son} \\ -\text{grv} \end{bmatrix}$$

There are also phonetic palatalized front velars (formerly called "anterior palatals") before grave vowels in a small number of forms. Morphological considerations make it clear that these latter segments should be represented systematically as /kihV$^{+\text{grv}}$/. Thus:

(BR-8-29-67)

/kihóoks/ ---> [góoks] float, drift (singular)
To treat these phonetic segments otherwise and postulate systematic phonemic palatalized front velars would obscure the regular palatalization of the front velars before non-grave vowels and complicate the systematic phonological statement unnecessarily. The zeroing of intervocalic systematic h, as in float, drift, is discussed later.

By redundancy rule, the systematic phonemic spirants ɬ s x x^W x are always voiceless (unmarked for voicing):

$$[+\text{cnt}] \text{ ---> } [-\text{voi}] \text{ / } \begin{bmatrix} +\text{cns} \\ -\text{son} \end{bmatrix}$$

The phonetic [x^W]'s, which develop in Gitksan from both systematic k^W and x^W, are only weakly labialized; often they are not labialized at all, but they are always articulated with pharyngeal constriction. Boas (1911:289-290) evidently did not hear them as labialized in Nass; he described them as "middle palatals," contrasting with "anterior palatals" and "velars."

In slow deliberate speech, the systematic spirants are phonetically lengthened as codas in short final stressed syllables:

$$[+\text{cnt}] \text{ ---> } [+\text{lng}] \text{ / } \begin{bmatrix} -\text{cns} \\ +\text{son} \\ -\text{lng} \\ +\text{stress} \end{bmatrix} \left(\begin{bmatrix} +\text{cns} \\ -\text{son} \end{bmatrix} \right) \begin{bmatrix} +\text{cns} \\ -\text{son} \end{bmatrix} \#$$

/wíɬ/ ---> [wíɬɬ] fir-tree
/ús/ ---> [ʔúss] dog
/áx/ ---> [ʔáxx] an edible root-species
/áks/ ---> [ʔákss] water, drink

One should bear in mind that in Gitksan not all phonetic spirants develop from systematic phonemic or organic spirants. For example, a stem like [mílux^W] dance (intransitive) displays the following paradigmatic alternations in the subjunctive:
/yúk^{W}ɬ míluk^{W}y/ ---> [yúk^{W}ɬ mílug^{W}iʔ^i] I am/was dancing.
/yúk^{W}ɬ míluk^{W}n/ ---> [yúk^{W}ɬ mílug^{W}n] You are/were dancing.
/yúk^{W}ɬ míluk^{W}t/ ---> [yúk^{W}ɬ mílux^{W}t^h] He is/was dancing.

/yúk^{W}ɬ míluk^{W}m/ ---> [yúk^{W}ɬ mílug^{W}m] We are/were dancing.
/yúk^{W}ɬ míluk^{W}sm/ ---> [yúk^{W}ɬ mílux$^{\hat{W}}$sm] You are/were dancing. (plu)
/yúk^{W}ɬ míluk^{W}tit/ ---> [yúk^{W}ɬ mílux^{W}dit^{h}] They are/were dancing.

The front velar spirantizing rule of Gitksan does not operate if the systematic k or k^{W} follows a stressed vowel. Thus:

/hak^{W}ták^{W}/ ---> [hax^{W}dák^{Wh}] bow
/yúk^{W}ɬ k^{W}ták^{W}y/ ---> [yúk^{W}ɬ x^{W}dág^{W}i?^{i}] I am/was shooting/ firing a weapon. (intransitive)
/yúk^{W}ɬ k^{W}ták^{W}n/ ---> [yúk^{W}ɬ x^{W}dág^{W}n]
/yúk^{W}ɬ k^{W}ták^{W}t/ ---> [yúk^{W}ɬ x^{W}dák^{W}t^{h}]
/yúk^{W}ɬ k^{W}ták^{W}m/ ---> [yúk^{W}ɬ x^{W}dág^{W}m]
/yúk^{W}ɬ k^{W}ták^{W}sm/ ---> [yúk^{W}ɬ x^{W}dák$^{\hat{W}}$sm]
/yúk^{W}ɬ k^{W}ták^{W}tit/ ---> [yúk^{W}ɬ x^{W}dák^{W}dit^{h}]

Phonetic [y] and [w] develop regularly from organic or systematic x and x^{W}, respectively, in intervocalic position. Thus, /wáax/ paddle has the following paradigm:

/wáaxy/ ---> [wáayi?^{i}] my paddle
/wáaxn/ ---> [wáayn] your paddle
/wáaxt/ ---> [wáaxt^{h}] his paddle
/wáaxm/ ---> [wáaym] our paddle
/wáaxsm/ ---> [wáaxsm] your paddle (plu)
/wáaxtit/ ---> [wáaxdit^{h}] their paddle

This alternation requires such a rule as:

$$\begin{bmatrix}-\text{son}\\-\text{dif}\end{bmatrix} \text{---> } \begin{bmatrix}+\text{son}\\+\text{dif}\end{bmatrix} \;/\; \begin{bmatrix}-\text{cns}\\+\text{son}\end{bmatrix}\begin{bmatrix}\overline{+\text{cns}}\\-\text{grv}\\-\text{flt}\\+\text{cnt}\end{bmatrix}\begin{bmatrix}-\text{cns}\\+\text{son}\end{bmatrix}$$

Note that the intervocalic environment which triggers this sonorantizing rule results from the insertion of the epenthetic vowels which I have not yet discussed.

/íx^{W}/ fish with line (intransitive) has the following paradigm:

/yúk^{W}ɬ íx^{W}y/ ---> [yúk^{W}ɬ ?íwi?^{i}] I am/was fi sh ing with line.
/yúk^{W}ɬ íx^{W}n/ ---> [yúk^{W}ɬ ?íwn]
/yúk^{W}ɬ íx^{W}t/ ---> [yúk^{W}ɬ ?íx$^{\hat{W}}$t^{h}]

/yúk^{w}ɬ íx^{w}ʼm/ ---> [yúk^{w}ɬ ʔíẁmʼ]
/yúk^{w}ɬ íx^{w}smʼ/ ---> [yúk^{w}ɬ ʔíẋ^{w}smʼ]
/yúk^{w}ɬ íx^{w}tit/ ---> [yúk^{w}ɬ ʔíẋ^{w}dit^{h}]

This alternation requires such a rule as:

$$\begin{bmatrix}-\text{son}\\-\text{dif}\\-\text{grv}\end{bmatrix} \text{---> } \begin{bmatrix}+\text{son}\\+\text{dif}\\+\text{grv}\end{bmatrix} \text{ / } \begin{bmatrix}-\text{cns}\\+\text{son}\end{bmatrix}\begin{bmatrix}\overline{+\text{cns}}\\+\text{flt}\\+\text{cnt}\end{bmatrix}\begin{bmatrix}-\text{cns}\\+\text{son}\end{bmatrix}$$

I would like to collapse the last two rules into a single rule, thus capturing the sonorantization of systematic x and x^{w} as a singulary process. However, the variable gravity of [x^{w}] and [w], but not [x] and [y], seems to preclude the use of an alpha-rule.

The systematic phonemic representation of the phonetic glide [h] in Nass-Gitksan is fairly complex. In a number of forms, an inorganic h-offglide develops following the short vowels in final stressed open syllables. I suspect that this rule operates throughout the lexicon, but it may be restricted to forms so marked in the lexicon. Several Southern Athabaskan languages (e.g., Navaho and Chiricahua Apache) have an identical phonological rule; I am not familiar with the phonologies of any Athabaskan languages contiguous with Nass-Gitksan. However, some of my examples are loans from Athabaskan. Examples are:

/tawí/ ---> [dawí^{h}] mt. sheep (Athabaskan)
/tipá/ ---> [dibá^{h}] mt. sheep (Athabaskan)
/sá/ ---> [sá^{h}] day (Athabaskan?)
/ská/ ---> [sgá^{h}] herring
/maclyá/ ---> [maɮlyá^{h}] nighthawk
/ma lú/ ---> [malú^{h}] crazy

The segmentalizing rule for the inorganic h is:

$$\begin{bmatrix}-\text{cns}\\+\text{son}\\-\text{lng}\\+\text{stress}\end{bmatrix} \text{---> } \begin{bmatrix}-\text{cns}\\+\text{son}\\-\text{lng}\\+\text{stress}\end{bmatrix}\begin{bmatrix}-\text{cns}\\-\text{son}\\+\text{cnt}\end{bmatrix} \text{ / \_\_\_ \#}$$

Phonetic intervocalic h-glides, which are often voiced [ɦ], are regular developments from systematic phonemic x. Thus, /haséex/ shaman's rattle has the following paradigm:

/haséexʸ/ ---> [haséhe^{ʔi}] my rattle
/haséexn/ ---> [haséhen] your rattle
/haséext/ ---> [haséext^{h}] his rattle
The gliding rule for systematic x is:

$$[+\text{cns}] \text{ ---> } [-\text{cns}] \text{ / } \begin{bmatrix} -\text{cns} \\ +\text{son} \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} \overline{-\text{son}}^{\circ} \\ -\text{dif} \\ +\text{grv} \\ +\text{cnt} \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} -\text{cns} \\ +\text{son} \end{bmatrix}$$

Note that I have not yet accounted for the epenthetic vowels in the first and second person forms. However, they clearly must be inserted before the x-gliding rule operates. Similarly, the epenthetics must also be inserted before the x and x^{w}-sonorantizing rules operate.

Nass-Gitksan does have a systematic phonemic h, which actualizes as [h] in initial position, aspirates an immediately preceeding plain stop before a vowel, and zeroes elsewhere:
/hanáq/ ---> [haná^{ʔ}q^{h}] woman
/hahanáq/ ---> [haaná^{ʔ}q^{h}] women
/kipháayk^{w}/ ---> [gip^{h}áyk^{wh}] flew (sng. Indicative)

Across word boundaries, at normal speech tempo, initial systematic h zeroes:
/lax há/ ---> [laxá] in the air, sky (note here that the word boundary prevents the x-gliding rule from operating and thus a phonetic intervocalic x develops.)
/mis háax/ ---> [misáax] daylight
/qan háta/ ---> [ganáda] Frog-Raven Phratry

The plain sonorants m n l w y require no special note, save that l never velarizes or darkens and n never velarizes. The glottalized sonorants have glottal release preceeding the release of the oral closure or vocalic constriction. Systematic y and w when following a vowel and preceeding a consonant actualize as two phonetic segments: a glottal stop followed by a very short non-syllabic i or u, which assimilates in voicing to the following segment, devoicing if final.

/háwsm/ ---> [há^{u}sm] Go home! (plu)
/yúk^{w}ɬ háwtit/ ---> [yúk^{w}ɬ há^{u}dit^{h}] They are/were going home.
/qanáaw/ ---> [ganáa^{u}] frog, toad
/máay/ ---> [máa^{i}] fruit, berries

Across word boundaries, when an initial glottalized sonorant follows a final glottalized sonorant, the latter deglottalizes: /ká$^{?}$Vy nín/ ---> [gá$^{?}$aynín] I saw you.

The glottalized stops and glottalized sonorants alike have deglottalized allophones in initial (wholly or partially) reduplicated bases:
/cák/ ---> [cá$^{?}$k^{h}] dish
/cicák/ ---> [jicá$^{?}$k^{h}] dishes
/qáp/ ---> [qáp^{h}] part
/qapqápk^{w}/ ---> [gapqápx^{w}] kinsmen, relatives
/cóoltk^{w}/ ---> [jóoltx^{w}] wrinkle
/cilcóoltk^{w}/ ---> [jiljóoltx^{w}] wrinkles
/máxs/ ---> [máxs] pants
/máamaxs/ ---> [máamaxs] pairs of pants

At this time, I find it necessary to recognize eight Nass-Gitksan systematic vowel phonemes. Deeper Nass-Gitksan work or further work in Coast Tsimshian may require the postulation of a different inventory. There are five organic long vowels: ii ee aa oo uu, and three short vowels: i a u. There are also short phonetic epenthetic vowels, but they are predictable and thus non-phonemic. Examples of the systematic vowels are:
/íis/ ---> [$^{?}$íis] necklace
/éeq/ ---> [$^{?}$éeq^{h}] coho salmon
/áaq/ ---> [$^{?}$áaq^{h}] mouth
/móos/ ---> [móos] thumb, big toe
/múus/ ---> [múus] scabby scarred neck
/ís/ ---> [$^{?}$íss] urine, soapberry
/áx/ ---> [$^{?}$áxx] an edible root species
/ús/ ---> [$^{?}$úss] dog

The systematic long vowels phonetically approximate [i· ɛ· a·~ɑ· ɔ·~o· u·].

In Gitksan, the systematic long vowels regularly shorten or reduce before systematic plain sonorants:

/ʔtáan/ ---> [ʔtán] Sit! (sng)

/táayks/ ---> [dáyks] concoction of snow and grease

/séeykit/ ---> [séyqit^{h}] murder

The reduction rule for long vowels is:

$$[+\text{lng}] \text{ ---> } [-\text{lng}] \; / \begin{bmatrix} -\text{cns} \\ +\text{son} \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +\text{cns} \\ +\text{son} \\ -\text{chk} \end{bmatrix}$$

This vowel reduction rule must be ordered to apply before the x and x^{w} sonorantizing rules operate, else their outputs will be incorrectly operated upon.

Phonetic long vowels before systematic plain sonorants do develop by the zeroing of intervocalic systematic h. Such a form as Gitksan [míin] foot, base, bottom is represented systematically as /míhin/. In the Kisgegas dialect, I recorded [míin] and [míhin] as free variants.

In both Nass and Gitksan, the systematic long vowels reduce before systematic x̣ when it is followed by an epenthetic vowel:

/péex̣/ ---> [béex̣] lungs

/péex̣y/ ---> [béhe^{i}ʔ] my lungs

/péex̣n/ ---> [béhen] your lungs

/péex̣t/ ---> [béex̣t^{h}] his lungs

The systematic short vowels exhibit much phonetic variation; some free, some conditioned. Systematic i has variants in [i ɪ e ɛ̝]; systematic a has variants in [ɛ a ɑ ʌ]; and systematic u has variants in [u ʊ o ɔ]. Thus, systematic /kát/ man, person freely varies as [qɛ́t^{h} ~ qát^{h}]. The reduced systematic long vowels never exhibit such quality variation.

The epenthetic vowels in Nass-Gitksan are introduced to break impermissible clusters of sonorants and obstruents within word boundaries. I am not yet certain as to the proper statement of restrictions on clusters, so I will only give examples of epenthesis. Following systematic q̓ and q, the epenthetic vowel is [a], unless the preceding vowel is one of the u-series. In that

case, the epenthetic vowel is [o].
/hanáq̓st/ ---> [haná?^{a}st^{h}] the woman (present and visible)
/c̓m áaqy̓/ ---> [c̓m?áaga?^{i}] in my mouth
/c̓m áaqn/ ---> [c̓m?áagan] in your mouth
/c̓éeqy̓/ ---> [c̓éega?^{i}] I licked it.
/c̓éeqn/ ---> [c̓éegan] You licked it.
/yúk^{w}ɬ wúqy̓/ ---> [yúk^{w}ɬ wógo?^{i}] I was sleeping.
/yúk^{w}ɬ wúqn/ ---> [yúk^{w}ɬ wógon] You were sleeping.

Following systematic x, the epenthetic vowels appear to assimilate in quality to the preceeding vowel:
/yúk^{w}ɬ páxy̓/ ---> [yúk^{w}ɬ báha?^{i}] I am/was running.
/yúk^{w}ɬ páxn/ ---> [yúk^{w}ɬ báhan] You are/were running.
/péexy̓/ ---> [béhe?^{i}] my lungs
/péexn/ ---> [béhen] your lungs
/núxy̓/ ---> [nóho?^{i}] my mother
/núxn/ ---> [nóhon] your mother
Following all other obstruents, the epenthetic vowel is [i]:
/kúpy̓ɬ smáx/ ---> [gúbi?^{i}ɬsmáx] I ate some meat.
/kúpnɬ smáx/ ---> [gúbnɬsmáx] You ate some meat.
/kúptɬ smáx/ ---> [gúbitɬsmáx] He ate some meat.
/yúk^{w}ɬ n kúpɬ smáx/ ---> [yúk^{w}ɬ nigúpɬsmáx] or
[yúk^{w}ɬ nigúbiɬsmáx] I'm eating some meat.

Stem-final systematic k palatalizes and systematic x sonorantizes when followed by a nasal:
/wákn/ ---> [wágn] your parallel sibling
/páaskm/ ---> [báasgm] or [báasxm] frightened
/wáaxn/ ---> [wáayn] your paddle
/wáaxm̓/ ---> [wáaym̓] our paddle
It would seem best in these cases to insert an epenthetic i following the systematic k or x, so that they might palatalize or sonorantize by regular rule, then zero the epenthetic by later rule.

An alternative to the postulation of the epenthetic vowels would be to enter them in the base-forms in the lexicon. They

would later be zeroed by phonological rule in specified environments. The epenthetic solution seems preferable to me for these reasons: the quality of the phonetic vowels in question is completely predictable and if one introduces them by a rule of epenthesis, there is a considerable saving of features over entering them in base-forms in the lexicon.

I have found it necessary thus far to postulate only one juncture element- the word boundary. I found that my informants could readily and consistently isolate and identify word boundaries, marking them by pauses in slow deliberate speech. At normal speech tempo, word boundaries receive no phonetic representation, though they do affect contiguous segments in certain cases. I have already mentioned the deglottalization of glottalized sonorants across word boundaries. Similarly, two identical plain sonorants or obstruents separated by a word boundary actualize as a single segment with no pause at normal speech tempo. In a form like /wii xá?V/ ---> [wiixá?^{a}] Big Slave (a man's name), the presence of the word boundary is indicated by the phonetic intervocalic x, which would glide to [h] in its absence.

Nass-Gitksan is actually a very analytic language. Affixes are few in number; they are mostly suffixes. For the naive listener, an illusion of synthesis results from the stress pattern in Nass-Gitksan. Only heads of phrases and the second members of compounds receive primary stress. All other adverbial and adnominal elements are proclitic and unstressed.

/tm q̓ali yée n̓íy̓ quwɬ an spa yáx^{w}/ --->
[dmq̓aliyéen̓í?^{i}go?^{o}ɬ?anspa^{h}yáx^{w}]
future-upstream-go I to-relative-place of-hiding

I'll go upstream to Kispiox (literally- "the place of hiding").

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Tsimshian Comparative Vocabularies

with Notes

on Nass-Gitksan Systematic Phonology

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Third of three parts

Note:

These comparative vocabularies present forms from Coast Tsimshian, Nass, and Gitksan for almost 300 English glosses. My choice of forms was guided by the Swadesh 200-word list and the forms cited by Boas in his 1911 remarks on Tsimshian comparative phonology (pp. 290-94), though I omitted numerals (which I will supply on request). The forms are given in this order: Coast Tsimshian (informant from Kitkatla); Nass (informant from Aiyansh); and Gitksan (informants from Kispiox). The Coast Tsimshian forms are in a regularized phonetic transcription with some free variation indicated. The Nass and Gitksan forms are given first in systematic phonemic representation, then in systematic phonetic representation (with no free variation indicated). If the phonetic representation does not differ significantly from the phonemic, then only the latter is given. Long segments in Coast Tsimshian are indicated by the following raised dot; long segments in Nass-Gitksan are indicated by identical symbol-clusters. See also Sapir 1915:29-30 for an accurate summary of Nass phonetics.

be afraid: ...; x̣ pc'áx^{W} > x̣pc'áx^{W}; x̣ pc'áx^{W} > x̣pc'áx^{W}

alder tree: lúwi; ...; lúux

be alive, live: dɪdú·ls; titíls > didíls; titíls > didíls

all: g^{W}ílgɑ; ...; k^{W}áalqa > g^{W}áalg̣a (Note the long vowel doesn't shorten)

be angry: ɬú·nti; ...; á'lx̣ > ?á'lax̣/?á'lx̣a-

animal: ...; ...; cák^{W}ask^{W} > ǰág^{W}asx^{W} (see kill) and yácisk^{W} > yáǰisx^{W}

ankle: x̣'ca?ɑší·; k̓a'kú'ɬ > k̓a'kó'ɬ; k̓a'kú'ɬ > k̓a'kó?ɬ

arm: 'nasto ?an?ón; 't'm q̓'áax > 't'mq̓'áax; 't'm q̓'áax > 't'mq̓'áax

arrow: hawá·l; ...; ha wíl > hawíl

ashes: gó·m; k^{W}óom > g^{W}óom; k^{W}óom > gúm

back (bodypart): hak̓'ó; hak̓'ihú'w > hak̓'ó?^{o}; hak̓'ihú'w > hak̓'ó?^{o}

be bad: hat'áxk^{h}; hat'áqk^{W} > hat'áxk^{wh}; hat'áqk^{W} > hat'áqx^{W}

bark (of tree): má·š; máas; máas

basket (a larger berry-basket): dú·ɬk^{h}; tíɬk^{W} > díɬk^{wh}; tíɬk^{W} > díɬx^{W}

be on (be positioned on): skú· sg, dó· plu; skí > sg̣í, túx̣ > dóx̣; skí > sg̣í, túx̣ > dóx̣

beaver: s̓č'ól; 'cimílix; 'cimílix

belly: bán; pán > bán; pán > bán

berry, fruit: má·y; máa'y > máa?^{i}; máa'y > máa?^{i}

be big, large: wi·lɛ́·ks; wii 'tís > wiit'íss; wii 'tís > wiit'íss

bird: 'c'úwc̓^{h} ~ 'c'ú?^{u}c̓^{h}; 'c'úuc' > 'c'úuc; 'c'úuc' > 'c'úu?c^{h}

bite: bá?q- ~ bá?x̣; hác'-; hác'-

black, iron, knife: 't'ú·wc̓k^{h} ~ 't'ú·?^{u}c̓k^{h}; 't'úuck^{W} > 't'úu?ck^{wh}; 't'úuck^{W} > 't'úu?cx^{W}

blanket: wʌ́š ~ wɛ́š; k^{W}lá > g^{W}lá^{h}; k^{W}lá > g^{W}lá^{h}

black bear: ?ól·; smáx; smáx

be blind: šú·nš; ...; síns

blood: ʔiɬé·; iɬéeʔV > ʔiɬéeʔ^{e}; iɬéeʔV > ʔiɬéeʔ^{e}

blow: swánsg- or g^{w}ántg-; swán or k^{w}ántk^{w} > g^{w}ántk^{wh}; swán

bone: šáyp^{h}; c'íp > c'íp^{h}; síp > síp^{h}

bow (weapon): hak^{w}dák^{h}; ...; ha k^{w}ták^{w} > hax^{w}dák^{wh}

breasts: míʔis; móoc'iks > móoc'iks; móot'iks > móot'ixs

breathe: ...; ...; ksi náaɬk^{w} > xsináaɬx^{w}

burn (intrans): g^{w}álk^{h}; míɬ > míɬɬ; míɬ > míɬɬ

button: nɪp'á'la; ...; m'ála

canoe: xšó; m'áal > m'áal; m'áal > m'ál

caribou: ...; wicíx > wiǰíx; wicíx > wiǰíx or ncíɬ > nǰíɬɬ

catch fish (trans): m'ʌ́k^{h}-; m'úk^{w}-; m'úk^{w}-

chest, sternum: gáyk^{h}; q'íɬq > q'íɬq^{h}; q'íɬq > q'íɬx

chief: šmʔə́·git sg, šmgɪgát plu; sm óokit > smʔóogit^{h}, sm kikát smgigát^{h}; sm óokit > smʔóogit^{h}, sm kikát > smgigát^{h}

child: ɬkuwó·mɬk^{h} sg, k'ʌb'ʌtk'ú·ɬk^{h} plu; ɬku tk'íɬk^{w} > ɬgutk'íɬk^{wh}, ...; ɬku tk'íɬk^{w} > ɬgutk'íɬx^{w}, k'upa tk'íɬk^{w} > k'ubatk'íɬx^{w}

chin, jaw: k^{h}pá·w; ...; kpáw' > xbáʔ^{u}

be clean: sák^{h}sk^{h}; sáksk^{w} > sáksk^{wh}; sáksk^{w} > sáksx^{w}

cloud, fog: yɛ́·n; yéen > yéen; yéen > yéen (Note this vowel doesn't shorten)

coho salmon: ʔə́·x; éeq > ʔéeq^{h}; éeq > ʔéeq^{h}

be cold: g^{w}ʌ́t^{h}k^{h}~g^{w}át^{h}k^{h}; k^{w}néeqk^{w} > g^{w}néexk^{wh}; k^{w}néeqk^{w} > g^{w}néeqx^{w}

come, arrive: bɛ́č̓g- sg and plu; áat'iksk^{w} > ʔáat'iksk^{wh}, aat'áat'iksk^{w} > ʔat'áat'iksk^{wh}; áat'iksk^{w} > ʔáat'ixsx^{w}, aat'áat'iksk^{w} > ʔat'áat'ixsx^{w}

cook (trans): ...; si ánk^{w}s-> saʔánk^{w}s-; si ánk^{w}s-> saʔánk^{w}s- or ánk^{w}sn- > ʔánk^{w}sn-

cook by boiling, boil (trans): ǰém-; cám- > ǰám-; cám-> ǰám-

be correct: hóg̱ɛx̱; húkax̱ > hóg̱ax̱; húkax̱ > hóg̱ax̱

cottonwood tree (see canoe): ʔampá·l; am máal > ʔammáal; am máal > ʔammál

count: ...; ...; líc̓xkʷ > líc̓xxʷ

be crooked, bent: ɬɛ́kʸ ~ ɬɛ́k̓ ~ ɬɛ́k; ɬák > ɬákʰ; ɬák > ɬákʰ

cut: q̓óc-; q̓úc-; q̓úc-

be dark: sxɛ́tʰkʰ; sq̓éex̱kʷ > sq̓éex̱kʷʰ; sq̓éex̱kʷ > sq̓éex̱xʷ

day: šɛ́ʰ; sá >saʰ; sá > saʰ

dead: ǰékʰ; n̓úwm > n̓úʔᵘm; n̓úwm > n̓úʔᵘm

deer: wán; wán; wán

die: ǰɛ́g- sg, də́· plu; n̓úw > n̓úʔᵘ, táxʷ > dáxʷ; n̓úw > n̓úʔᵘ, táxʷ > dáxʷ

dig (intrans): tgi·wáʔa-; waq̓ískʷ > waq̓ískʷʰ; waq̓ískʷ > waq̓ísxʷ

dirt, earth: č̓á:č̓ɬks ~ č̓áʔᵃɮ̓ɬks; č̓áč̓iks > č̓áč̓iks; č̓áti̓ks > č̓áti̓xs

dish: gáyɬ; č̓ák > č̓ák and wúws > wóʔᵒs; č̓ák > č̓áʔkʰ and wúws > wóʔᵒs

do (intrans): wá·l; wíl; wíl

dog: háš; ús > ʔóss; ús > ʔúss

dog salmon: gayní·s; q̓a ít > q̓aʔítʰ; qaníis > g̱aníis

woman's dress: náʔᵃ; náq̓ > náq; náq̓ > náʔqʰ

drink, water, river: ʔákš; áks > ʔákss; áks > ʔákss

be dry: gú·nkʰs; kʷálkʷ > gʷálkʷʰ; kʷálkʷ > gʷálkʷʰ

be dull: q̓ó·lx̱; x̱ ɬtéeq > x̱ɬdéeqʰ; x̱ ɬtéeq > x̱ɬdéeqʰ

dust: ...; mítkʷ > mítkʷʰ; mítkʷ > mítxʷ

eagle: x̱šg̱í·kʰ; x̱s káak > x̱sg̱áakʰ; x̱s káak > x̱sg̱áakʰ

ear: č̓m̱·ú· (mú· earring); múxʷ; múxʷ

earth, ground, land: yú·p^{h}; yíp > yíp^{h}; yíp > yíp^{h}

eat (intrans): yá·wxg- sg, txó·xg- plur; yóoqk^{w} > yóoxk^{wh}, txóoqk^{w} > txóoxk^{wh}; yúqk^{w} > yóqx^{w}, txúqk^{w} > txóqx^{w}

eat (trans): gʌ́b-; kíp-; kúp-

egg (of bird): ɬgm·ɛ́t^{h} ~ ɬg^{ə}mɛ́t^{h}; ɬkim há > ɬgimá; ɬkim há > ɬgimá

elbow: sxánɪs; sqáns > sgáns; sqáns > sgáns

end, tip: ʔcuwá·n; ...; ʔcuwín > ʔcuwín

eye, face: ʔčál; ʔcál > ʔcál; ʔcáʔV > ʔcáʔ^{a}

fall down: gáyna sg, lí·na plu; qínx > gínx, línx, qínx > gínx, línx

fart: ...; ʔmásk^{w} > ʔmásk^{wh}; ʔmásk^{w} > ʔmásx^{w}

fast, quick: ʔtí·lt^{h}; ...; ʔtáʔVlt > ʔtáʔalt^{h}

fat (noun): yɛ́y; híx; híx

fear (trans): bá·š-; ...; páask- > báask-/báasx-

feast: lú·lgɪt; ...; líʔlikit > líʔligit^{h}

few, not many: ʔʌbú·; ...; ɬipúu > ɬibúu

fight: ...; ...; tál > dál

fire, fuel, firewood: lák^{h}; lák^{w} > lák^{wh}; lák^{w} > lák^{wh}

fish (lake), trout: lá·w; ...; láax^{w} > láax^{w}

fish (river), salmon: hǫ́·n; hóon > hóon; hóon > hón

fish eggs, spawn: lá·n; lán; lán

fish with line (intrans): ʔú-; ʔúx^{w} > ʔúx^{w}; íx^{w} > ʔíx^{w}

fish with net (intrans): ʔá·t^{h} net (noun); áat > ʔáat^{h}; áat > ʔáat^{h}

flesh, meat: šámi; smáx; smáx (see black bear in Nass and Gitksan)
body

float (intrans): ...; ...; kihóoks > góoks sg, lihóoks > lóoks

flower: mɬǰaga̱lé·; macaqalée > maǰaga̱lée; macaqalée > maǰaga̱lée

fly (intrans): gɪp^{h}á·yg- sg, lɪp^{h}á·yg- plu; kipáayk^{w} > gibáayk^{wh}, lipáayk^{w} > libáayk^{wh}; kipháayk^{w} > gip^{h}áyk^{wh}, lipháayk^{w} > lip^{h}áyk^{wh}

foot, leg: ʔaš̌í·; asáy̓ > ʔasáʔ^{i}; sáʔV > sáʔ^{a}

forehead: wɔ́·px̣~wó·px̣; ...; húpx̣ > hópx̣

fox: na̱ga̱č̓é·; nuqaac̓á > noga̱ac̓á; t̓ak̓alúc > t̓aʔga̱lúc^{h} ~t̓ak̓alúc^{h}

freeze (intrans), ice: dá·w; táaw > dáaw; táaw > dáw

frog, toad: ga̱náw; qanáaw̓ > ga̱náaʔ^{u}; qanáaw̓ > ga̱náaʔ^{u}

be full: hóltk^{h}; mítk^{w} > mítk^{wh}; mítk^{w} > mítx^{w}

fur, body hair, feather: lí·; láx; láx

fur seal: q̓ɔ́·n; q̓óon > q̓óon; ...

give: k̓ɪlám-~k̓ɪlám-; kinám- > gi̱nám-; kinám- > gi̱nám-

go into, enter: c̓ín- sg, lámǰag- plu; c̓ín, lámcax̣ > lámǰax̣; c̓ín, c̓ímax̣s > c̓ímax̣s

go out: kšú- sg, kšó·g- plu; ksáx^{w}, ksi ɬúw̓ > ksiɬóʔ^{o}; ksáx^{w},> xsáx^{w}, kséeq > xséeq^{h}

be good: ʔá·m; áam > ʔáam; áam > ʔám

grass: kyó·x̣; háp̓isk^{w} > háp̓isk^{wh}; hápask^{w} > hábasx^{w}

grease: q̓áwči; t̓ílix; t̓ílix

be green: mɬɬí·t^{h}k^{h}; miɬátk^{w} > miɬátk^{wh}; miɬátk^{w} > miɬátx^{w}

grizzly bear: mɪdí·k^{h}; lik̓íns̓k^{w} > lik̓íns̓k^{wh}; lik̓íns̓k^{w} > lik̓íns̓x^{w}

grow (intrans): p̓áš-; ...; m̓ás

guts, intestines: há·t^{h}; háat > háat^{h}; háat > háat^{h}

hail: ...; ...; caxcáx̣ > ǰax̣cáx̣

hair: gáws; qís > gíss; qís > gíss

hair seal: ʔú·la; íl̓x > ʔíl̓x; íl̓x > ʔíl̓x

halibut: tx̓áw; tx̓úx > tx̓óx; tx̓úx > tx̓óx

hand: ʔanʔón; an ún > ʔanʔón; an ún > ʔanʔón

head (see hair): t̓m g̓áwš; t̓m qís > t̓mg̓íss; t̓m qís > t̓mg̓íss

hear: n̓ax̓nú·-; nax̓ná-; nax̓ní- or lax̓ní-

heart: g̓ó·t^{h}; qóot > g̓óot^{h}; qóot > g̓óot^{h}

be heavy: p̓álg̓ɛk^{h}sk^{h}~p̓álg̓ɛk^{h}sk^{h}; m̓álkaksk^{w} > m̓álg̓aksk^{wh}; stín > sdín

hold (in hand): dax̓yá·k^{w}-; tix̓ yúk^{w}- > dix̓yúk^{wh}-; tax̓ yúk^{w}- > dax̓yúk^{w}-

be hot: g̓ɛ́mk^{h}; kámk > g̓ámk^{h}; kámk > g̓ámk^{h}

house: wá·lp^{h}~wá·p^{h}; wílp > wílp^{h}; wílp > wílp^{h}

humpback salmon: st̓mhó·n; sti'm hóon > sdi'móon; sti'm hóon > sdi'món

hunt (intrans): ...; ...; silínask^{w} > silínasx^{w}

kidney: lɪbɛč̓áw; t̓aka'cée > t̓ak̓a'cée; ki'cée > g̓i'cée or t̓apée > t̓abée

kill: ...; ...; cák^{w}-

knee: q̓alq̓áyšɪk; q̓ísaʔV > q̓ísaʔ^{a}; q̓ísi

know (trans): wɪlá·y-; wiláax-; wiláax-

lake: t̓á·; t̓áx̓ > t̓áxx; t̓áx̓ > t̓áxx

land otter: w̓ʌ́č^{h}a; w̓ácx̓; w̓ácx̓

laugh: ...; ...; c̓áɬx̓

leaf: y̓éns̆; y̓áns; y̓áns

leave (intrans): dá·wɬ-^{sg}; t̓áaw̓ɬ > dáaʔ^{o}ɬ sg; t̓áaw̓ɬ > dáaʔ^{o}ɬ sg

lie, tell a lie: ...; ...; yál

lie down (intrans, takes animate subject): nó·k^{h}- sg, lá·ɬg- plu; kéeɬ > géeɬ; láaɬ; kíiɬ > gíiɬ, láaɬ

light (noun): góyʼpa; qúypax > góypax; qúypax > góypax

lightning: čʼámt^{h}i ~ čʼámt^{h}i; ...; húmax > hómax

be lightweight: ʔɛ́·p^{h}n; áapxn > ʔáapxn; áapxn > ʔáapxn

liver: dɛ́p^{h}; táp > dáp^{h}; táp > dáp^{h}

lizard: k^{h}šʼí·ɬk^{h}; ksíɬk^{w} > ksíɬk^{wh}; ksíɬk^{w} > xsíɬx^{w}

be long: wi·ʼnák^{h}; wii ʼnák^{w} > wiiʼnák^{wh}; wii ʼnák^{w} > wiiʼnák^{wh}

louse: čʼɛ́sk^{wh}; čʼísk^{w} > čʼísk^{wh}; tʼá

lungs: bɛ́·; péex > béex; péex > béex

man (person sg): yʼú·t^{h}a sg; kát > gát^{h}, íʼwxt > ʔíʔ^{u}xt^{h}; kát > gát^{h}, íʼwxt > ʔíʔ^{u}xt^{h}

marten: yɛ́ni; hátʼ > hát; hátʼ > háʔt^{h}

melt (intrans): ǰɪǰí·lkš-; cílks > ǰílks; cílks > ǰílks

mink: lɪšʔyá·n; lis yʼéen > lisyʼéen; nis yʼéen > nisʔín

moon: gɛ́mgm ʔá·t^{h}k^{h}; łúqsm áqk^{w} > łóqsm ʔáxk^{wh}; łúqsm áqk^{w} > łóxsm ʔáqx^{w}

moose: ...; xatáa > xadáa; xatáa > xadáa or kéesa > géesa, cíya moose calf (from Athabaskan?)

mountain: sxanʼí·s; sqanʼíst > sganʼíst^{h}; sqanʼíst > sganʼíst^{h}

mt. goat: mát^{h}i; mátx; mátx

mt. lion: hawháw; hawháw > hawáw; hawháw > hawáw or túusm kilílix > dúusm gilílix (cat of the woods)

mt. sheep: ...; an čʼáwaxs > ʔančʼáwaxs ram (one who wears shoes); tipá > dibá^{h} or tawí > dawí^{h}

mouse: wɨčʼí·n; tipóokit > dibóogit^{h}; tipóokit > dibóogit^{h}

mouth: čʼmʔá·x; čʼm áaq > čʼmʔáaq^{h}; čʼm áaq > čʼmʔáaq^{h}

much, many: hɛ́ld-; hálṭ > hálṭʰ; hálṭ > hálṭʰ

mud: ...; ɬóok > ɬóok; ɬóok > ɬóoʔkʰ

muskrat: naqédɛ; naqáta > naqáda; naqáta > naqáda

nails, claws: ɬáxs; ɬáqs > ɬáqs; ɬáqs > ɬáxs

name: wá·~wá·ʰ; wá > wáʰ; wá > wáʰ

be narrow, thin (in diameter): gáwskʰ; qísᵏʷ > gísᵏʷʰ; qísᵏʷ (see hair) > gísxʷ

navel: tíʔɪkʰ; túkʷ > túkʷ; tíkʷ > tíʔkʷʰ

neck: tm lá·ni; tm lánx > tmlánx; tm lánx > tmlánx

negative: ʔáɬga-~ʔákʰa-; ...; née

be new: šú·; síi; síi

night: húpɪl; áqkʷ > ʔáxkʷʰ; áqkʷ > ʔáqxʷ

nose: čáx; čáq; čáq

ocean (beyond sight of land): lax šú·lda; lax síilta > laxsíilda; lax síilta > laxsíilda (probably a loan from Nass; note the vowel doesn't reduce by rule)

other, strange: lɪks; ...; liks > lixs (unstressed adverbial/adnominal clitic)

paddle: wá·y; wáax; wáax

pants: páxš; máqs > máqs; máqs > máxs

path, road: gáyna; qínx > gínx; qínx > gínx

penis: ...; qóo (may have misheard length); qú > qó

pierce (trans): gɛ́ɬg-; káɬkʷ-; káɬkʷ-

play (intrans): ...; ...; ma ús > maʔúss sg, ma usús > maasʔúss plu (literally: act like a dog)

porcupine: ʔáwtʰa~ʔáwtʰa; áxʷt >ʔáxʷtʰ; áxʷt > ʔáxʷtʰ

porpoise: ǰíw; cíxʷ > ǰíxʷ; ...

prince, princess: ɬguwá·lkšiɬkʰ sg; ɬku wílksiɬkʷ > ɬguwílksiɬkʷʰ; ɬku wílksiɬkʷ > ɬguwílksiɬxʷ

pull (trans): kšɪšə́ʔyk-; sák-; támqn- > dámgan-

push, hit, strike: ʔtú·š-; ʔtís-; ʔtís-

rabbit: štuk^{w}ɬí·n; qáx̣ > gáxx̣; qáx̣ > gáxx̣

rain: wá·š; hay wís > haywíss; wís > wíss

rat: gá·kɬɪk^{h}; qákɬ > gákɬ; qákɬ > gákɬ

be red (see blood): ...; iɬée?Vtk^{w} > ?iɬée?^{e}tk^{wh}; iɬée?Vtk^{w} > ?iɬée?^{e}tx^{w}

be red (ochre color): mɛ́šk^{h}; másk^{w} > másk^{wh}; másk^{w} > másx^{w}

return (intrans): ʔwá·tg- sg, gə́ plu; ʔwítk^{w} > ʔwítk^{wh}, pák^{w} > come from bák^{wh}; ʔwítk^{w} > ʔwítx^{w}, pák^{w} > bák^{wh}

root: hú·š; wíst > wíst^{h}; wíst > wíst^{h}

rope: hag^{w}ɬhú·; ha k^{w}lúx^{w} > hag^{w}lúx^{w}; ha k^{w}lúx^{w} > hag^{w}lúx^{w}

be rotten: lóx̣; lúq > lóq^{h}; lúq > lóq^{h}

be rough: gʌšgá·č^{h}k^{h}; séeql > séegal; séeql > séegal

rub: w^{ɬ}lí·l-; ɬi pálʔ-> ɬibálʔ-; ɬi pálʔ- > ɬibálʔ-

run (intrans): bá?a- sg, qóɬ- plu; páx̣ > báx̣, qúl > gól; páx̣ > báx̣, qúl > gól

run away, flee (intrans): ...; kéeqk^{w} > kéexk^{wh} sg, húut > húut^{h} plur; kéeqk^{w} > kéeqx^{w}, húut > húut^{h}

salt: món; múwn > mó?^{o}n; múwn > mó?^{o}n

sand: ?áws; áws > ?áwss; áws > ?áwss

scratch: ...; ...; qáap-

sea-lion: tí·bn; típn > tíbn; ...

sea otter: pɬó·n: pɬúwn > pɬó?^{o}n; pɬúwn > pɬó?^{o}n

see (trans): ní·j-; ká?V- > gá?a-; ká?V- > gá?a-

seed: n^{ɬ}wána; an wána?V > ?anwána?^{a}; an wána?V > ?anwána?^{a}

sew: lú?pɬš-; lípas- > lípas-; lípas- > líbas-

be sharp: šʌ́x; sáq > sáq^{h}; sáq > sáq^{h}

be short: dɛ́lp^{h}k^{h}; tílpk^{w} > dílpk^{wh}; túlpk^{w} > dúlpx^{w}

sing: lí·mi-; límx; límx

sit (be in sitting position): ʔtá- sg, wán plu; ʔtáa, wán; ʔtáa, wán

skin, hide: ʔaná·s; anáas > ʔanáas; ʔtqá

sky: laxʷ há; laxʷ há > laxʷá; laxʷ há > laxʷá

sleep: xsʔtóg-; wúq > wóq^{h}; wúq > wóq^{h}

be slow (see snake): lá·ltk^{h}; láltk^{w} > láltk^{wh}; láltk^{w} > láltx^{w}

be small: ʔcú·sk^{h}; ʔcúusk > ʔcúusk^{h}; ʔcúusk > ʔcúusx

smell, stink (intrans): ...; ísk^{w} > ʔísk^{wh}; ísk^{w} > ísx^{w}

smell (trans): hú·m-; yím-; yím- or hanéeq-

smoke: ʔiyán; mi ʔyéen > miʔyéen; mi ʔyéen > miʔín

be smooth: yɛ́ɬk^{h}; yáɬk^{w} > yáɬk^{wh}; yáɬk^{w} > yáɬx^{w}

snake, worm: mɬtxʷalá·lt snake, lá·lt^{h} worm; lálṭ > lálṭ^{h}; lálṭ > lálṭ^{h}

snot: ...; núʔc > núʔc; núʔc > núʔc^{h}

snow: mɔ́·k^{h}š snow on ground, má·dm falling snow; máak^{w}s > máak^{w}s, máatm > máadm; máak^{w}s > máax^{w}s, máatm > máadm

sockeye salmon: mɬs·ɔ́; misúw > misóʔ^{o}; misúw > misóʔ^{o}

sockeye salmon (red variety): ...; kíɬ > gíɬ; kíɬ > giLgíʔɬ

be sour: mɔ́·lkšaxʷ; mílksaxʷ or méexʷ; mílksaxʷ or méexʷ

spit (intrans): p^{h}ɔ́kšk^{h}; púksk^{w} > búksk^{wh}; xʷ púksk^{w} > xʷbúksx^{w}

split (intrans): ...; ...; sáʔqt > saʔqt^{h}

spring salmon: yɛ́ > yaʔ^{a}; han k^{w}ʌ́ʌym > hang^{w}ʌ́ʌym spring salmon in river, yáʔV$_{\wedge}$ spring salmon on ocean; yáʔV > yáʔ^{a}

squeeze: dʌ́mkš-; támiks > dámiks; támiks > dámixs

squirrel: dɛ́šx; ʔcn ɬík' > ʔcnɬík'; ʔcn ɬík' > ʔcnɬíʔk^{h} (ɬík' is a loan from Athabaskan)

stand (be in upright position) (intrans): há·ytg- sg, máxšg- plu; hítk^{w} > hítk^{wh}, máqsk^{w} > máqsk^{wh}; hítk^{w} > hítx^{w}, lítk^{w} > lítx^{w}

star: bɪyálš; pilíst > bilíst^{h}; pil úst > bilʔúst^{h}

steelhead trout: mɬ·í·t; milít > milít^{h}; milít > milít^{h}

stone, rock: lóp^{h}; lúwp > lóʔ^{o}p^{h}; lúwp > lóʔ^{o}p^{h}

be straight: ʔáčɪk^{h}; ...; pálx > bálx

suck: tó·x-~tó·g-; tóoq-; móoq-

sun: gɛ́mk^{h}; ɬúqs > ɬóqs; ɬúqs > ɬóxs

swell up: gí·tg-; ...; kítk^{w} > gítx^{w}

swim: hádɪkš- sg, lahé·dɪks- plu; hátiks > hádiks, hathátiks > hat^{h}ádiks; hátiks > hádixs, hathátiks > hat^{h}ádixs

tail (of animal): čú·p^{h}; kúuk^{w} > kúuk^{w}; kúuk^{w} > kúuʔk^{wh}

tail (of fish): náčɪks; ɬácx; ɬácx

tell (trans): háw-; hí-; há-

throw: ʔóy-~ʔóy-; úx- > ʔóx-/ʔóy-; halálṭn-

be thick: xcí; xcáy > xcáʔ^{i}; xcáy > xcáʔ^{i}

be thin: háni; hánx; hánx

thunder: galɪplí·p^{h}; t yáytk^{w} > t^{h}yáʔ^{i}tk^{wh}; t yáytk^{w} > t^{h}yáʔ^{i}tx^{w}

tie up (trans): txal čí·b-; tqal cípk^{w}-; tqal cípk^{w}-

tongue: dú·la; tílx > dílx; tílx > dílx

tooth: wą́·n; wéen > wéen; wéen > wín

tree, wood; pole: gán; qán > gán; qán > gán

vomit (intrans): xší·d-; xsít > xsít^{h}; xsít > xsít^{h}

walk, go: yáʔa- sg, šʌʔʌpwá·xš- plu; yée, ɬúw > ɬóʔ^{o}; yée, wílaxs

wash (trans): yó·kš̌-; yúwks- > yó?°ks-; yúwks- > yó?°xs-

weasel: mɨkšǐ́·ɬ; miksíɬ > miksíɬɬ; miksíɬ > miksíɬɬ (note this Gitksan k does not undergo the spirantizing rule)

be wet: ?ákš̌; núuɬxk^{w} > núuɬxk^{wh} or ákst > ?ákst^{h}; núuɬxk^{w} > núuɬxx^{w} or akst > ?ákst^{h}

whale (not killer-whale): ɬpú·n; ɬpín > ɬbín; ...

what: gó-; akú > ?agú; akú > ?agú

when: ...; kaxkú > gaxgú; kaxkú > gaxgú

where: ndá-; nta > ndá^{h}; ntá > ndá^{h}

whiskers: ?í·mx; yímq > yímq^{h}; yímq > yímq^{h}

be white (see snow on ground): mɔ́·k^{h}šk^{h}; máak^{w}sk^{w} > máaksk^{wh}; máak^{w}sk^{w} > máaxsx^{w}

who: ná·-; náa; náa

be wide: wi·txó; wii óoks > wii?óoks; wii óoks > wii?óoks

wind: bášk^{h}; pá?Vsk^{w} > bá?ask^{wh}; páhask^{w} > báhasx^{w}/báasx^{w}

wing (see arm): gaq̓á·y; q̓áax; q̓áax

wipe oneself (intrans): ...; ...; qam íntk^{w} > gam?íntx^{w}

wolf: gɪbá·w; kipúu > gibúu; kipúu > gibúu

wolverine: nɔ́·śɪk^{h}; nóosik̓; naaqíc > naagíc^{h}

woman: hanáʔ^{q} sg, hanáʔnx plu; hanáq̓, hahanáq̓ > haanáq̓; hanáq̓ > hanáʔq^{h}, hahanáq̓ > haanáʔq^{h}

woods, forest: gɪlhá̓wli upriver; ...; kilílix > gilílix

be wrong, incorrect; to miss (intrans): gí·s; kíis > gíis; kíis > gíis

year: k̓ó·ɬ; k̓úuɬ; k̓úuɬ

Tsimshian Personal Pronouns:

The Tsimshian languages both display an ergative pronominal syntax: the subjects of intransitive verbs and the objects of transitive verbs are formally identical, while the subjects of transitive verbs are formally distinct. Following traditional usage, one may then speak of nominative and ergative pronouns, respectively. However, in both Tsimshian languages, mood is an obligatory grammatical category, and the ordering of pronouns in the indicative mood differs from that of the subjunctive. E.g., an indicative ergative is formally identical with a subjunctive nominative. The pronominal schema in Nass-Gitksan are as follows:

Indicative transitive: Verb + Subject # Object

/ʔtísy ʔnín/ I hit/struck you.

Indicative intransitive: Verb # Subject

/ʔkʷɬ páx ʔnín/ You ran about.

Subjunctive transitive: ... Subject # Verb + Object

/hii yúkʷ n ʔtísn/ I am hitting/striking you.

Subjunctive intransitive: ... Verb + Subject

/hii yúkʷɬ ʔkʷɬ páxn/ You are running about.

In Nass-Gitksan, selection for mood is strongly related to clausal subordination; subordinated clauses are always in the subjunctive.

The Nass-Gitksan subjunctive ergative pronouns are:

n	I	tip,	we
m	you (sg)	m sm	you (pl)
t	he, they		

The Nass-Gitksan indicative ergative and subjunctive nominative pronouns are:

-ʔy	-ʔm
-n	-ʔsm
-t	-tit

The Nass-Gitksan indicative nominative pronouns are:

ʔníʔy	ʔnúm
ʔnín	ʔnísm
ʔnít	ʔnítit

The Coast Tsimshian indicative nominatives are:

[ʔnú·yu]	[ʔnú·m]
[ʔnú·n]	[ʔnú·šmˀ]
[ʔní·tʰ]	[dɪpʔní·tʰ]

Both languages also have a set of dative pronouns. An exemplary sentence from Nass-Gitksan is:

/háyʔ lóon tm wil páxyʔ/ I told you that I would run.

The Nass-Gitksan dative pronouns are:

lóoyʔ	lóomʔ
lóon	lóosmʔ
lóot	lóotit

The Coast Tsimshian datives are:

[ˀakʔó·y]	[ˀakʔʌ́mʔ]
[ˀakʷʔʌ́n]	[ˀakʷʔʌ́šmˀ]
[dɪsnʔí·tʰ]	[dɪsdɪpnʔí·tʰ]