

# Contents

<b>Author's note</b>	<b>xi</b>
<b>Abbreviations</b>	<b>xii</b>
<b>Acknowledgements</b>	<b>xiv</b>

## **Part 1: Language and dialect** 1

<b>1 Witsuwit'en</b>	<b>3</b>
1.1. Geography	3
1.2. Demographics	4
1.3. Previous research on Witsuwit'en-Babine	5
1.4. Witsuwit'en-U' in Wit'en dialects	6
1.5. Witsuwit'en dialects	10
1.6. Carrier vs. Witsuwit'en-Babine	10
1.7. Language name	14

## **Part 2: Segmental phonetics and phonology** 17

<b>2 Consonant contrasts</b>	<b>19</b>
2.1. Consonant inventory	19
2.2. Labial consonants	20
2.3. Nasal consonants	20
2.4. Voiced vs. voiceless fricatives	21
2.5. Labio-velar consonants	29
2.6. /h/	34
2.7. Vɣ	42
2.8. Summary	45
<b>3 Consonant phonetics</b>	<b>46</b>
3.1. Ejective stops	46
3.2. Final glottalic consonants and voice quality	94
3.3. T-qualifier prefix	138
3.4. Summary	150

<b>4</b>	<b>Vowel quality</b>	<b>151</b>
4.1.	Introduction	151
4.2.	Previous analyses	152
4.3.	An acoustic study of vowel quality	155
4.4.	Summary	188
4.5.	Tables of numerical results	188
<b>5</b>	<b>Vowel quantity</b>	<b>191</b>
5.1.	Introduction	191
5.2.	Reduced vs. full vowels	191
5.3.	Long full vowels	202
5.4.	/ə/ lengthening	203
5.5.	A phonetic study of /a/, /aa/ and lengthened /ə/	203
5.6.	Representation of the reduced and full vowel classes	209
5.7.	Summary	212
<b>6</b>	<b>Consonant and vowel classes</b>	<b>213</b>
6.1.	Laryngeal features	213
6.2.	Place features	218
6.3.	Manner features	224
6.4.	Summary	225
<b>Part 3: Morphology and phonological structure</b>		<b>227</b>
<b>7</b>	<b>Nouns</b>	<b>229</b>
7.1.	Possessive prefixes	229
7.2.	Pronouns	237
7.3.	Nominal roots	238
7.4.	Compounds	245
7.5.	Plural and vocative forms	254
7.6.	Noun classes	256
7.7.	Nouns derived from other lexical categories	267
7.8.	Loan words	277
7.9.	Summary	285
<b>8</b>	<b>Postpositions</b>	<b>286</b>
8.1.	Inflection for object of postposition	286
8.2.	Postposition stems: phonological properties	294
8.3.	Postposition stems: semantic properties	299
8.4.	Noun phrases containing postpositional phrases	304
8.5.	Summary	305
<b>9</b>	<b>Directional system</b>	<b>307</b>
9.1.	Introduction	307
9.2.	Directional morphemes	307
9.3.	Directional words	310
9.4.	Directional adverbs vs. postpositions	312
9.5.	Co-occurrence with verb prefixes	315

9.6. Lexical items historically derived from directional adverbs	315
9.7. Summary	317
<b>10 Adjectives</b>	<b>318</b>
10.1. Predicate adjectives	318
10.2. Nominal adjectives	319
10.3. Post-nominal adjectives	321
10.4. Summary	326
<b>11 Numbers</b>	<b>327</b>
11.1. Cardinal numbers 1-10	327
11.2. Ordinal forms of numbers	329
11.3. Numbers: 11+	329
11.4. Summary	330
<b>12 Overview of verb structure</b>	<b>331</b>
12.1. The lexical verb	331
12.2. Inflection	332
12.3. Derivation	332
12.4. Prefix order restrictions	333
12.5. Discontinuity	333
12.6. The verb system	334
<b>13 Verb roots</b>	<b>335</b>
13.1. Overview	335
13.2. The lexical root	335
13.3. Number	337
13.4. Ablaut	338
13.5. Imperative suffixation	338
<b>14 Verb prefix position classes</b>	<b>340</b>
14.1. Introduction	340
14.2. Voice/valence (classifier)	341
14.3. Inner subject	355
14.4. Tense/negative/conjugation	356
14.5. Qualifier	384
14.6. Pronominal	403
14.7. Distributive: /n/	423
14.8. Incorporated root	427
14.9. Inceptive /ho/	431
14.10. Negative: /we/	434
14.11. Multiple: /ye/	435
14.12. Iterative: /ne/	438
14.13. Preverb: postposition/adverbial	443
14.14. Summary	458
14.15. Word external verb theme forming elements	459
<b>15 Aspectual verb suffixation</b>	<b>461</b>
15.1. Introduction	461

15.2. Continuative	464
15.3. Momentaneous	471
15.4. Persistent	480
15.5. Distributive	480
15.6. Conclusive	482
15.7. Durative	490
15.8. Repetitive	498
15.9. Neuter	501
15.10. Semelfactive	506
15.11. Customary	509
15.12. Progressive	514
15.13. Summary of aspectual stem variation	517
<b>16 Verb theme categories</b>	<b>519</b>
16.1. Introduction	519
16.2. Active vs. neuter verb themes	520
16.3. Active verb themes	522
16.4. Neuter verb themes	556
16.5. Summary	568
<b>17 Inflectionally defective verbs</b>	<b>569</b>
17.1. Third person subject only	569
17.2. No perfective	569
17.3. No perfective and no positive	570
17.4. Suppletive perfective	570
17.5. No imperfective	570
17.6. Imperfective negative only	570
17.7. Imperative only	571
17.8. No negative	571
17.9. No tense or subject	571
17.10. Summary	573
<b>18 Phonological domains</b>	<b>574</b>
18.1. Word domain	574
18.2. Stem domain	585
18.3. Prefix domain	586
18.4. Conjunct domain	588
18.5. Qualifier domain?	593
18.6. Summary	600
<b>Part 4: Suprasegmental phonology</b>	<b>601</b>
<b>19 Syllables</b>	<b>603</b>
19.1. Syllable types	603
19.2. Coda consonants	604
19.3. Word-final rhymes	607
19.4. Onsetless syllables	609

19.5. Consonant clusters	612
19.6. Antigemination	617
19.7. Syllable weight	620
19.8. [ə] ~ 0 alternations	620
19.9. Glides	627
19.10. Summary	630
<b>20 Stress</b>	<b>631</b>
20.1. Previous analyses	631
20.2. Word stress: qualitative observations	633
20.3. Phonetic correlates of stress in Witsuwit'en	643
20.4. Summary	668
<b>Part 5: Prefix case studies</b>	<b>669</b>
<b>21 Morpheme-specific alternation</b>	<b>671</b>
21.1. Introduction	671
21.2. Allomorphy as output optimization	671
21.3. Co-phonologies vs. prespecification	678
21.4. Summary	678
<b>22 First person plural subject prefix</b>	<b>680</b>
22.1. Introduction	680
22.2. Overview	681
22.3. ___V	682
22.4. V___C	683
22.5. C___C	686
22.6. <i>PWd</i> [___C	687
22.7. ___C.	688
22.8. <i>PWd</i> [C___	689
22.9. Second person singular object + first person plural subject	691
22.10. Summary	692
22.11. Cross-linguistic perspective	693
<b>23 Areal prefix</b>	<b>694</b>
23.1. Introduction	694
23.2. The areal prefix in Witsuwit'en	695
23.3. The verbal areal prefix	695
23.4. The areal prefix with nouns, postpositions, adjectives and directional adverbs	702
23.5. Summary	704
<b>24 D-voice prefix</b>	<b>706</b>
24.1. Introduction	706
24.2. The Witsuwit'en pattern	707
24.3. First person dual subject	713
24.4. OT analysis	716
24.5. Thematic and iterative D-voice	720

- 24.6. D- combinations 726
- 24.7. Summary 729

**Part 6: Conclusion 731**

**25 Witsuwit'en in comparative and theoretical perspective 733**

**Appendices 735**

**26 Historical phonology 737**

- 26.1. Consonants 737
- 26.2. Reflexes of vowel initial roots 749
- 26.3. Vowels 750

**27 Writing systems for Witsuwit'en-Babine 756**

- 27.1. Introduction 756
- 27.2. G j vs. gg g 758
- 27.3. Cl vs. gil 758
- 27.4. Long full vowels 759
- 27.5. Front vowels 759
- 27.6. Uwh, eeyh vs. uh, ïh 760
- 27.7. Glottalized nasals 761
- 27.8. Conclusion 761

**28 Verb paradigms 762**

- 28.1. Imperfective and customary 762
- 28.2. Perfective 771
- 28.3. Future 790
- 28.4. Optative 792
- 28.5. Perfective negative 795
- 28.6. Non-perfective negative 799
- 28.7. Irregular verbs 809

**29 Texts 812**

- 29.1. Alfred Joseph, 1 July 1999, Witsuwit'en summit 812
- 29.2. Mabel Forsythe and Lillian Morris talking together, September 1997 815

**References 820**

**Index 831**