Some Remarks on the Phonology of Tahltan

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According to Michael E. Krauss, "at least some" Tahltan is a "llica" language, meaning that proto-Dene $*c/c/k/k^{\forall}$ is continued in Tahltan as respectively $c/c/c/c^4$. In my experience, however, Tahltan - that is, at least for the majority of regional speakers - appears to belong to the type "llc": c/c/c/c (which is contirmed in other publications on this language⁵). Furthermore, it is unfortunate that in previous reports on Tahltan linguistics little mention is made of some important facets of Tahltan phonology, to wit: degrees of vowel length, tones and unpredictable stress, heavy phonemes, and the role and origin of a number of marginal phonemes. In this article, I attempt to fill these gaps in the literature on Tahltan. In particular, I show that vowel length often has nasal and/or tonal reflexes in other Dene. Attention is also given to morpho-' gical operations, and I demonstrate how such processes have contributed to the e_{m-s} gence of the marginal phonemes.

place of articulation	articulatory manner
l: bilabial	a: stops
2: dental	l: plain (voiced)
3: coronal	Il: aspirated
A: interdental	III: glottalized
B: alveolar	b: continuants (fricatives)
C: palatal	I: voiceless
4: lateral	II: voiced
5: velar	III: glottalized
A: palatal	
B: pure velar	
C: uvular	
D: rounded	
6: laryngal (glottal)	

In tabular fashion, then, we list the consonants as follows:

	al	alI	aIII	ÞI	pII	PLII
1	b [b]				m (m)	
2	a (a)	ι [ι ^h]	1º [i]	n (N)	n [n]	n' (n)
38	3 (d ⁶)	∉ [ι ^θ]	€' (i ⁰)	# [0]	£ [6]	
38	3 (d ²)	c [t ⁸]	c' [t ⁸]	s [s]	z (z)	
3C	3 (a ³)	ڊ (ت ¹)	રુ (છે)	¥ [1]	± [3]	
4	1 (a ¹)	≠ [c [‡]]	₽ (₽)	± [±]	1 [1]	
58				j [h ^j]	y [j. y ^j]	
5B	s ísl	k [k ^h]	k' [k]	x [x]	8 [Y]	
5C	8 [8]	4 (4×)	a' [a]	¥ [X]	ε [Υ]	
5D	8 ^w (8 ^w)	k [₩] [k ^{ħ₩}]	k' [₩] (k [₩])	x ^w (x ^w)	~ [~, Y [#]]	
6			' [?]	h [h]		

Rounded velars are in free variation with rounded uvulars: $[g^{\forall} \sim g^{\forall}]$, $[x^{\forall} \sim \chi^{\forall}]$, etc. Note also, that after back vowels (\bar{o} , o, \bar{u} , u) the distinction between pure and rounded velars is neutralized: $-Iok^{\forall} = -Iok$ TO LAUGH (verb stem), $k\bar{u}x^{\forall} = k\bar{u}x$ RICE. Here, I always spell k, x, etc. See further (2.3.2) and (4.2).

-1-

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I = 2

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(1.1) The consonants enumerated in (1) are found pre- and postvocalically as illustrated below. V = vowel, V' = stressed vowel, \overline{V} = long vowel, I = morpheme or syllable boundary, - precedes bound stems, triple asterisks appear where phonotactic rules prohibit the occurrence of certain phonemes (see at the end of this section), and --signals the absence of data.

	₽─₩		V-1	
ь ⁶ :	be'de	FOOD		
	bēs	KNIFE	liyā°b	DEVIL
	men	LAKE		
	më 'da	WHO?		
d:	'eda''	BEAK	***	
	'edā''	EYE	***	
t:	tas	ARROW	k'at	ALREADY
	tāźeł	BROTH	bāt	GLOVES
τ':	t'o'3e	BREAST	***	
	'et'ā'ne	LEAF	***	
n:	***		te n	ICE
	***		gü n	GOLD
n:	nagā*	WOLVERINE	-gan	DRY
	nāši	KISS MY POSTERIOR!	3ān	HERE
n':	***		≴on'	STAR
	***		-ť'ān'	TO LISTEN
8:	₿enē•\$	DAY	***	
			*** ,	
ć:	'e¢e'n'	MEAT	-der	TO ROLL
	<i>L</i> ē	RUCK	-'ē£	TU KICK
ℓ' :	¢'a'	DISH	***	
	t'ā‡	MOSS	***	
# :	se l	SWEAT	bes	RIVERBANK
	s ā	SAND	₿enē * \$	DAY
t:	tat	SNOW		
	'eźā°t	MOUTH	-gēź	ITCHY
3:	31 'me	BIRD	***	
	3ī'yā'	NECKLACE	***	
c:	ca'	BEAVER	-bec	TO STRETCH
	-cān	TO SMELL	k'āc	WHETSTONE

	₽		v#	
c':	c'ah	нат	***	
	c'ū	SPRUCE	***	
s:	Sas	BLACK BEAR	xos	THORN
	sēk	SALIVA	bēs	KNIFE
z:	-zeh	TU SPIT		
	zās	RUSTLING NOISE	-'āz	MOTION PERFORMED BY TWO INDIVIDUALS
3:	31.3e	BERRIES	***	
	-3ān	MATURE	***	
ę:	'eće''	TAIL	'ećI'ć	AWL
	-62	BIG	-dīć	TO MOVE A BODY PART
٤':	ć'uh	QUILL	***	
	ć'ās	NIGHTLINE	***	
ŝ:	sa'xk' ^w et	BEADS	çoş	FEATHERS
			ç,922	NIGHTLINE
ž ⁷ :	-żeʻ'e	MAN'S BROTHER'S SON		
	-żā•ne	MALE ANIMAL	-ćūż	TO HANDLE A SHEET
1:	-Iok	TO LAUGH	***	
	Įū∙ne	MOUSE	***	
 <i>ŧ</i> ∶	f ej	GREASE	ℓ 'e ŧ	RUBBER
	'u £ ā`n	MUCH	£'8#	MOSS
₽' :	f' a'	BOTTOM	***	
	#'ū ŧ	ROPE	***	
ł:	łet	SMOKE	be l	SLEEP
	łūt	SCAB	‡' ū∔	ROPE
1:	'ela''	HAND		
	'elf' l e	BLADDER	lāsāl	I ARRIVED
g:	gah	RABB1T	***	
	güh	BUG, WORM	***	
k:	kon'	FIRE	k'lk	CURED FISHHEADS
	kē	FOOT-WEAR	sēk	SALIVA
k':	k'a'ye	WILLOW	***	
	k'āc	WHETSTONE	***	
x:	xas	SCAR	‡' ox	GRASS
	xēł	PACK	küx	RICE

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	#V		V#	
g :	'egu''	TOOTH	-ce g	TO CRY
-	nagā	WOLVERINE		
: ⁸ ز	'lnjo'∄	BLOW IT UP!	₽' oj	GRASS
	c'e'nejē	SEED		
у:	ya'	LOUSE	de¢o⁺y	SOMETHING YELLOW
	yē'da	WHAT?		
8 ^w :			***	
	g ^w ēł	SACK	***	
k ^w :			-lok [¥]	TO LAUGH (= -Jok)
	łak [₩] ē°	TWICE	nā nāk ^W	A CHIEF'S NAME
κ , ^w :	sa xk' et	BEADS	***	
	k' ^W ā'ga	OLD SALMON	***	
x ^w :	see (4.2)		-zox ^w	TO SWEEP $(= -tox)$
	kex ^W ā'n	SILVER FOX	kūx [₩]	RICE (= kūx)
w:	nā vi	HARD LIQUOR	-tow	TO SWEEP $(= -tog)$
			gāw	DRUM
8:	degaʻy	SWAN	***	
	8ª¥	PILOT BREAD	***	
q:	c'eqo'hge	MOOSE SKIN CANOE		
	qā tū	CHICKADEE	¢'īq	TOBACCO
q':	q'axā`dī	DOOR	***	
	'eq'ā'dī	ANIMAL'S WOMB	***	
x:			sa'xk' ^w et	BEADS
	q'axã'dĩ	DOOR	Ŧox	WHITEFISH
g :	ga n'3e	GOOSE (= gaʻnʻse)		
	ql ć'axōgē t	FRYING PAN		
۰:	'eco's	PADDLE	'ega''	HAIR
	'āh	SNOWSHOES	'egā''	HALF
h:	ho3ih	CARIBOU	dih	HEN, GROUSE
			'āh	SNOWSHOES

The main phonotactic restrictions are: (1a) word-initially and -finally, consonant clusters are not allowed⁹; (1b) clusters of over two consonants are not tolerated wordedially⁹; (2) in word-final position, stops are always lenis-voiceless (spelled t, \overline{k} , \overline{k} , etc.); (3) in stems containing two or more coronal consonants, there is agreement as to place of articulation between these consonants (see further (2.1)).

(2) A Tahltan word is characterized by one or more of the following suprasegmental and sandhi phenomena:

(1) articulatory agreement between 3A-C consonants - see (2.1);

(2) distinctive stress or tone - see (2.2.1-2);

(3) distinctive vowel length - see (2.2.3);

(4) alternation of stem-final and -initial consonants - see (2.3).

(2.1) Most Tahltan stems contain a CVC sequence. If both consonants in such stems belong to a coronal (3A-C) series, they always agree as regards place of articulation¹⁰. Thus, "dVz, "dVs, "sVs, "dVs, and the like, are not found in the language. It appears that progressive assimilation has eliminated such possibilities from Tahltan. Consider: $-d\bar{u}z$ TO HANDLE A SHEET(-LIKE OBJECT) = Chiricahua Apache $-c\bar{o}.z$, Chipewyan -duz, central Carrier -duz; 'edo's PADDLE = southern Carrier cos^4 . More examples of such phonetic harmony are: -dee' TO EAT, $d\bar{a}z$ EDIBLE ROOT, cec FIREWOOD, $d'\bar{a}s$ NIGHTLINE, sas BLACK BEAR, dos FEATHERS, 'edi'd AWL, $3I'\bar{3}e$ BERRIES, das SNOW, $z\bar{a}s$ RUSTLING NOISE.

(2.2) Tahltan vowels are described in terms of qualitative and quantitative features:

	front-flat	mid-flat	mid	mid-round	back-round
short-lax	i [i] I [1]	e [ɛ]	a [ɑ]	0 [ɔ]	u [v]
long-tense	ī [i*]	ē (c')	ā [a']	ō [o']	ū (u')

The position of I is, as this chart indicates, somewhat problematic. In the first place, this vowel has no long-tense counterpart. Secondly, I is in near-complementary distribution with i. Furthermore, I varies freely with e in certain words, environment. I shall first show how i and e both contrast with I in similar surroundings:

<u>i vs. I</u> :	di'n en THIS LAND	V8.	dedI'ni HE, HIM
	'a'c'ila IT HAS BEEN FIXED	vs.	cI'li GOPHER
<u>e vs. l</u> :	±1'ge ONE	vs.	de ge BE OFF!
	-gl'le ROUND	vs.	-ce'le SMALL

Next, we consider the distribution of i and I, neutralization of the i-I distinction in closed syllables, and free variation between I and e.

In open syllables we encounter both i and I (see the examples given above). However, stressed 1 is in near-complementary distribution with <u>unstressed i</u> in this position (unstressed I and stressed i being very rare), and directly before ' and h, i is found with the exclusion of I. Examples:

<u>unstressed i</u>	stressed I
'a°c'ila IT HAS BEEN FIXED	cl°li GOPHER
tine°≢idē≢ WE HAVE LEFT	'esgl'ne MY SONG
sik'a°s I BIT IT	dl'di THIS
<u>i 'V</u>	<u>ihV</u>
'ec'i`'e GUTS	¢'i'he MOSQUITO
-ti''e GOOD	∔e'dihā IS IT SWEET?
'esli''e MY DOG	nust'i'he MARTEN

Rare instances of stressed i (other than before ' or h) are: ni^dus'ā I MAY BUY IT, xiⁿa SLAVE, di'*i*'ā AFTER THIS. Note, that di'- THIS is inherently stressed.

Most occurrences of unstressed I are due either to addition of one of the regularly stressed deictic prefixes di'- THIS and 'e'(y)- THAT (di'kIme THIS HOUSE, 'e'clli THAT GOPHER) or to free variation between unstressed e and I (see further below).

In closed syllables, the i-I contrast is neutralized. Unless followed by ' or h, i/I is pronounced I after 3C palatals: -¿I¿ TO TIE, -¿'Ił TO COMB, 'e¿I'¿ AWL, -ĴIt TO STINK. Before ' and h we hear i only: -Ĵih TO LIVE, BREATHE, xih ANIMAL, łe'dih SWEET, 'esdi'' MY MIND, 'eni'' FACE. In all other positions, I and i alternate freely: k'ik/ k'Ik CURED FISHHEADS, k'is/k'Is RED ALDER, 'in-/'In- THOU, THY, disdū'sde/dIsdū'sde SNIPE, -gic/-gIC TO WRITE, xit/xIt HOUSE.

Both in open and closed syllables, unstressed e frequently varies with I: debē'he/ debē'hI MOUNTAIN SHEEP, 'ibā''e/'ibā''I WEASEL, kenā''et/kenā''lt/klnā''et/klnā''It COAT, ŝa'xk'^wet/ša'xk'^WIt BEADS, etc.

Orthographically, I consistently distinguish i from I in open syllables. In closed syllables, I spell i only before ' and h. Where i and I are in free variation, we are compelled to write I, since inflected forms do not allow a pronunciation with i: besides $k_{I_1}^{i_1}k$, k_{I

The I variant of unstressed e is rendered as e: debē'he, 'ibā''e, kenā''et, ša'xk'^wet. The distinction between e and e is necessitated by items such as de'ne MAN, -ti''e COOD, which never appear as *de'nI, *-ti''I. (2.2.1) In polysyllabic words, one vowel often appears more prominent than others. Such prominence is achieved through the concomitance of high tone, expiratory strength (loudness), and/or slight lengthening. Unstressed vowels tend to be phonetically shorter than accented vowels; phonemically long vowels, in particular, are pronounced perceptibly shorter in unstressed syllables than when stressed, without, however, losing their tense character. Stress, when present, is marked (with a raised period after the vowel) in polysyllabic words only. In monosyllabic words, on the other hand, high tone is left unmarked, whereas distinctive low tone is indicated by a period following $+ \infty$ low-toned vowel. Some examples: ho'nāzē CHIPMUNK, hozā'ze BUCKBRUSH, 'āh SNOWSHC 'ā.h FOG. See further (2.2.2).

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In his report on Tahltan stress phenomena, Eung-Do Cook formulates a number of rules that seem to make stress predictable in most positions in polysyllabic forms¹¹. However, he also admits that there are some exceptions to his stress rules¹². The percentage of such exceptions in my field notes leads me to consider stress-tone a distinctive trait in Tahltan. Consider the following data:

CVCVC: łe'dih IT IS SWEET, 'e'dih THAT GROUSE <u>vs.</u> keye'h TOWN, 'udo'h IT IS BIG CVCVC: nā'é'et IT FELL OFF, të'dek TOUGH MEAT <u>vs.</u> 'Iyo'f IT IS SWOLLEN, tāq'a'f NEEDLE CVCV(C): 'u'nā GUN, 'a'dīl ON PURPOSE <u>vs.</u> é'ifa' CLOTH, sadē'' SUN CVCV: é'I'nā CANDLE vs. c'Ivū' BRACELET

CVCVCV: 'e'zele THAT ONE ONLY, de'gena BE OFF!, ni''iya GET UP! <u>vs.</u> 'eĉ'I'de GRISTLE, łet'e'hi COOKED, taĉ'I'le KINGFISHER vs. nohoye' HE IS PLAYING

- CVCCVCV: 'ā'seda STEELHEAD, 'ū'wel'e ALWAYS <u>vs.</u> 'ūde'đi FOR US TY) EAT, čoč'I'de TOILET PAPER
- CVCVCV(C): kl'3ōk'eh YESTERDAY, kl'mōc'ih AWAY FROM THE HOUSE, na'dāceł HE IS GOING TO CRY AGAIN <u>vs.</u> kazū'ne OTTER, kenā''et COAT, 'etē'le PANCREAS <u>vs.</u> yekāgo't SOME-BODY BAWLED HIM OUT, q'anāxa'n FENCE
- CVCVCV: ho'desē I SAY, TALK, c'e'nejē SEED, me'nedū DOMESTIC SHEEP <u>vs.</u> ba3ilī' A WOMAN'S NICKNAME, ket'išā' AWL, k'enasā' I AM WALKING AROUND, k'e'ihī' CHEAPER
- CVCVCV: hoʻnāzē CHIPMUNK, k'uʻnāyēł ROSEHIPS, ¢I'dāt'āx KERCHIEF <u>vs.</u> 'eq'ā'dī ANIMAL'S WOMB, q'axā'dī DOOR

In addition, there are some bisyllabic words where neither syllable has distinctive prominence. In these, stress either is absent, fluctuates, or occurs in both syllables: ho3ih = ho'3ih = ho'3i'h = ho'3i'h CARIBOU, dānā = dā'nā = dānā' = dā'nā' MONEY. He I do not indicate stress at all. In compound words, both members are as a rule accenteu: deko'źno'ne COUGH MEDICINE (deko'ź COUGH, non' MEDICINE), $\sharp i''3I'3e$ CURRANT < "dog

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 $(\sharp i')$ berry (3I'3e), 'e $\sharp a$ 'h $\sharp' \bar{u}$ 'le BRIDLE < "mouth ('e $\sharp a$ 'h-) rope $(\sharp' \bar{u} b)$, d \bar{a} 'htu'' TEARS < "eye (d $\bar{a}h$ -) water (t \bar{u})".

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(2.2.2) Tone distinguishes a small number of monosyllabic words:

low tone	high tone		
xI.# KNOLL	xIs PUS		
xē.l STEEL TRAP	xē l PACK		
'ā.h FOG	'āh SNOWSHOES		

Note, that the high-pitched peaks in 'āh and xēł sound <u>shorter</u> than the low-toned ones in 'ā.h and xē.ł. This is an indication that Tahltan (like, e.g., Dogrib) is historically a language with low-marked tone¹³. Otherwise, tonal contrast does not play a role in affixal derivations of these minimal pairs: 'esgē'le¹⁴ can mean either MY PACK or MY STEEL TRAP.

(2.2.3) Phonemic vowel length is distinctive in pairs such as:

short vowel	long vowel		
'ega'' HAIR	'egā'' HALF		
'eda'' BEAK	'edā'' EYE		
kene 🖸 RAFT	kenē' ≴ CROSS		
ah I HEARD SOMETHING!	'äh SNOWSHOES		
-3edo'ne CHEST	'edō'ne CHILD		

In verbal forms, phonemically unstressed long vowels are often marked by a falling pitch contour (marked V^* .) - here, a difference in vowel length can mark the difference between present and past tense. Examples:

present	past
k'Ina'nahde l YOU CHASE HIM	k'Ina'nā',hdeł YOU CHASED HIM
hoʻdindë YOU TALK	hu'dī'.ndē YOU TALKED
dInko*≴ YOU COUGH	dī'.nko' s YOU COUGHED
'ahlī'n YOU DANCE	'ā'.hlī'n YOU DANCED

nis secondary stress-tone pattern is, however, optional, and it is not necessary to indicate it in transcriptions.

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(2.3) Nouns can be used as syntactically independent forms: xIt (A) HOUSE, bāt GLOVE(S), SLEEVE(S), ≠ej GREASE, xIm SONG, etc. Besides these, we find affixal formations: 'esgI'de MY HOUSE, 'ē'čbā'de SHIRT SLEEVE(S), 'es≱e'ye MY GREASE, ce'jgl'ne FUNERAL DIRGE. We observe that the bound nominal stems differ from the free forms in that stem-initial and -final voiceless consonants often alternate with voiced consonants. I have recorded the following alternations:

	<u>stem-fin</u>	al	stem-inil	ial
	free	bound	free	bound
1	-t	-d-		
2	- n	-0-		
3	-n '	-n('n)-		
4	-t	-3-		
5	-\$	- t -	\$ -	-t-
6	-c	-3-		
7	-s	-2-	8-	-z-
8	-¢	-3-		
9	-#	-1-	# -	-1-
10	-1	-1-	1 -	-1-
11	-k	-8-		
12	-x	-8-	x -	-8-
13	-j	-y-		
14	-4	-8-		

Two other, quite marginal, alternations are:

15 -ś -ż y- -ż-

(2.3.1) An illustration of the consonant alternations follows below. In the examples given, I cite, where possible, possessive forms: 'es...e MY ... Thus, we read, e.g., 10: \pm et SMOKE - 'esle'de (the latter meaning MY SMOKE).

1: bāt GLOVES - 'esbā'de; <u>2</u>: xIn SONG - 'esgI'ne; <u>3</u>: śon' STAK - 'eśśo'n'ne, non' MEDI-CINE - 'esno'ne; <u>4</u>: -*ded* TO EAT - 'ū*de*'ži FOR US TO EAT; <u>5</u>: *d*ē BELT - 'eźźe''¹⁵, źaś SNOW - 'eźźa'źe; <u>6</u>: k'āc WHETSTONE - 'esk'ā'3e; <u>7</u>: seł HOOK - 'esze'łe, bēs KNIFE -'esbā'ze; <u>8</u>: 'ēč SHIRT - 'es'ē'3e; <u>9</u>: źi' DOG - 'esli''e¹⁶, źi'ā'ź PILLOW - 'eźźi'ā'*i*e; <u>10</u>: łet SMOKE - 'esle'de, mīł SNARE - 'esmī'le; <u>11</u>: sēk SALIVA - 'eszē'ge; <u>12</u>: xos THORN - 'esgo'se, kūx RICE - 'eskū'ge; <u>13</u>: źej GREASE - 'esźe'ye; <u>14</u>: t'ōq WART - 'es-

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-t'ō'ge; <u>15</u>: 'eye''e MAN'S BROTHER'S SON - 'eşye''e/'eşże''e¹⁷, -č1= -č \overline{u} ż TO HANDLE A SHEET(-LIKE OBJECT)¹⁸.

(2.3.2) In a limited number of stems, pure velar continuants alternate with palatal ones, that is, some speakers pronounce \underline{x} and \underline{x} , some \underline{j} and \underline{y} , and others consider both variants acceptable. I have recorded this fluctuation in:

	-x	-8	- j	-y
FROSTY		-20 8		-zoy
GRASS	f 'ox	-#'o' ge	₽' oj	- ‡' oʻye
SNUFF		'e f'a'gi		'e ‡'a'yi
TO WEEP	-cex	-ce g	-cej	-cey

The occurrence of these doublets appears to be due to older dialectal (now idiolectal) differences; in one dialect, g was tolerated before all vowels, whereas in the other, g became y before front vowels. Subsequently, secondary stems (f'oj, -cej) were formed (j already being in the phoneme inventory), restoring the balance (x : g = j : y)¹⁹. The stems -zog, -zoy, -ceg, and -cey continue formations with suffixal -i²⁰ (cf. the optional vowels discussed in (3.3.5)); -f'o'ge and -f'o'ye are possessive forms.

(2.3.3) Not all Tahltan stems are sensitive to the sandhi processes described in (2.3). The first (limited) category of such "immune" stems comprises items such as $\frac{1}{2}$ as SNOW, ga'n $\frac{1}{2}$ GOOSE, -la' HAND, which contain inherently voiced initial consonants, and dega'y SWAN, $\frac{1}{3}$ m HERE, gaw DRUM, whose voiced final continuants never vary with voiceless ones. Secondly, there is a relatively small class of stems with a voiceless initial and/or final consonant that remains voiceless in morphological derivations:

	nominal simplex	possessive form
<u>initial</u>	≸ā Sand	'e≴≴ð°e ²¹ MY SAND
	sas BLACK BEAR	'essa'se MY BLACK BEAR
	xas SCAR	'esxa'se MY SCAR
	son' STAR	'eźźo'n'ne MY STAR
final	tas ARROW	'esta'se MY ARROW
	kene 🖌 RAFT	'eskene'≢e MY RAFT
	xał CLUB	'esga'ie MY CLUB
	ć'ās NIGHTLINE	'eść'ã'śe MY NIGHTLINE ²²

Those stem-final consonants that resist voicing are all continuants – the low frequency of immune stems is doubtless correlated with the fact that intervocalic voiceless continuants are generally rare²³. The only example in my notes of a change-immune stem-final non-continuant is $g\bar{o}$ 'sk' \bar{a} ć SHADOW ('esg \bar{o} 'sk' \bar{a} će MY SHADOW).

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(3) In this section, I compare Tahltan vowels and nasals with their reflexes in other Dene²⁴. Comparative-historical evidence is based on data from central and southern Carrier (cCa, resp. sCa), Chiricahua Apache (Ap), Chipewyan (Cp), Sarcee (Sa), Rae Dogrib (Do), and Chilcotin (Cl); the proto-Dene reconstructions are from M.F. Hardwic Tahltan Phonology and Morphology²⁵.

(3.1) Tahltan V' and reflexes in other Dene:

	proto-Dene	<u>Tahltan</u>	low tone	high tone
ARROW	y'a'	k'a'	Ap k'ā. cCa k'a. ^a)	Cp k'a' Cl k'뷥'
BEAVER	ča'	ca'	Ap ĉa. cCa ca.	Срса° СІс‼° Doca°
DISH	c'ak'	¢'a'	Ap c'ā. ^b) sCa c'a.y	Cl c'ai' ^c)
HAIR	g a'	'ega''	Ap bigā. ^d) cCa -ga.'	
HAND	???	'ela''	cCa 'Əla.	Cp si ⁿ la ^{.e}) Cl sElĦ)
HEAD	ci'	'e¢i''	Ap bicīi ^{• 8}) cCa '∂∉i.	Cp nEr(i ^{°h}) Cl sEr(i ^{°i})
LOUSE	ya'	ya'	Ap yā. cCa ya. Do ża.	Ср уа [°] С1 у8°
TAIL	ke'	'eće''	Ap bicē. ^j) cCa '∂ċe. ₁ Do weċe.)	Cl bEči ^{, k})
TEETH	Şu'	'egu''	Ap bigō. ^m) cCa '∂gu.	Cp sEgu ⁿ) Cl segwo')

^a) BULLET ^b) SHALLOW BASKET ^c) PLATE ^d) ITS WOOL ^e) MY HAND ^f) MY HAND ⁸) THAT WHICH IS HIS HEAD ^h) YOUR HEAD ⁱ) MY HEAD ^j) HIS TAIL ^k) ITS TAIL ¹) ITS TAIL ^m) HIS TEETH ⁿ) MY TOOTH ^o) MY TOOTH In Tahltan, prefixal 'e- ONE'S is compulsory in nouns referring to body parts when no possessive affixes are added.

The regularity of the above correspondences is obvious: where proto-Dene and Tahltan have V', we observe low tone in Ap (+ vowel length), cCa, and Do, and high tone in Cp and Cl (with one exception: Do ca' BEAVER). Note further, that Cl c'ai' PLATE has irregular c' instead of $\ell^{*,26}$.

'3.2) Next, we consider the counterparts of Tahltan $\bar{\mathtt{V}}$:

	proto-Dene	Tahltan	low tone	high tone
BELT	???	ģē	cCa se.	Cl #e'
CHARCOAL	t'ēś ^w	t'ēs	Ap t'ē.s cCa t'e.s Cl t'i.s	
CRANE	???	dēł	cCa de. l	
TO HANDLE A SHEET	???	-tūż	Ар —cō.z Ср —сu.≠ Sa —cu.z cCa —сu.z	
GLOVES	wāt'	bāt	cCa ba.t	Cl bä't
GREY	???	de-bā'-'e	cCa bai.	Ap 3i. l -ba
TO HANG	wâl	-bā #	Ap -ba.ł, -bā.ł	• •
HEART	3 ^w ēyð'	'e-3ē''	cCa '∂3i' Cl bE3i, ^a)	Ap bi3e'i' ^a)
KNIFE	wēś	bēs	Cp be.s	Ap bē°ś
LEAF	t'ān'	'e-t'ā'n-e	cCa 'Ət'a.n	C1 'Et'ä'n
MOSS *)	c'ā ∔'	ℓ 'ā ∔	cCa ∉'a.l	
PACK	xēł	xēł	cCa xe. l Cl xe. l	Ap xē' l
RIBS	kānq'ð	'e-cā·g-e	sCa -ćak Cp bE-ća ⁿ .g-a ^{n. b}) Cl nEnće ⁿ .	
ROCK	cē	έē	Cp ∉E. Cl ∉e.	
SCAB	l at'	łūt	Cp l u.r cCa lu.t Cl sElu.t ^c)	Ap 1 0°
SHEEP	dəwē	debē⁺(he)	cCa dƏbe. ^d) Cl dEbi.	Ap di.be'

*) Tahltan ℓ 'a# has specific reference to a <u>pink kind of moss</u>, the generic term for MOSS being nī'.

^a) HIS HEART ^b) HIS RIBS ^c) MY SCAB ^d) GOAT

	proto-Dene	Tahltan	low tone	high tone
SKY	yā	yā	Cp ya. cCa ya	
SUN	s ^w ā	sā	Cp sa. cCa sa. Cl sä.	Ap sa Do sa
TO T'AN	-zē	- ≴ ē	Cp –ģE.	
THREE	???	tā'-t'e	cCa ta. Cp ta	Ap ta'-i' Cl te'i
WATER	tū	tū	Cp, Cl tu. cCa tu.	Ap to'

In terms of regular correspondences, we note that the Ca (and most Cp) reflexes of proto-Dene and Tahltan \overline{V} are low-toned. On the other hand, where the Ap reflexes have low pitch, the vowel is long, whereas the Ap high-pitched vowels are short (except in KNIFE and PACK). This is an indication that not all cited proto-Dene reconstructions are warranted.

Other instances of Tahltan \overline{V} appear to continue proto-Dene \overline{V} + nasal(ity), \overline{V} + continuant, or \overline{V} + glottalized stop (note RIBS in the preceding list). Other Dene languages have here \underline{V} + (mostly voiced) continuant and/or nasality. The state of affairs is illustrated in the table below²⁷.

	proto-Dene	Tahltan	<u>continuant</u>	<u>nasal(ity)</u>
EAR	???	3ē(h)-	cCa '∂3o (< #-3∂g) Cp sE-3ag-a ^a) Cl sE3ag ^a)	
EDGE	wān'-ð (H)	-mā''e		Ap bibā ⁿ i ^{· b}) Cp ba ⁿ ·n-E
EYE	nā(x) (H)	'e-dā., ²⁸	Cp sE-nag-a ^{°C}) Cl sEnag ^C)	
FOG	'āq' (H)	'ā.h	Cl ex	
GOAT	???	'isbā'	sCa sbay Cl ≢Ebai	
РІТСН	3ēq' (H) 3e'q' (S)	3ēh	Cp -3Eg- Cl 3a°x cCa 3eh	
RAIN	kān (H)	4a		cCa ćan Ap n°ica

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^a)

	<u>proto-Dene</u>	Tahltan	<u>continuant</u>	<u>nasality</u>
SAND	sāx (H)	\$ā	cCa ≢ai Ap sa'i	
I SAY	???	ho'-desē		Cp dEsi ⁿ Do re.si ⁿ
SNOWSHOES	'āx (H)	'āh	cCa 'aih	
TO VOMIT	quy (H)	-kū	Cp -kui Sa ku.y	

^a) MY EAR ^b) THAT WHICH IS ITS EDGE ^c) MY EYE

Note proto-Dene quy, with short -u-.

(3.3) In (3.2) we saw that Tahltan \overline{V} continues proto-Dene \overline{V} + nasal in a few cases (EDGE, RAIN, RIBS). Much more often, however, proto-Dene nasals have been retained. In (3.3.1-4) I compare Tahltan V + nasal with reflexes in other Dene, and I discuss the status and origin of the nasal consonants n, m, and n' in (3.3.5).

(3.3.1) First, we consider Tahltan Vn(V)# and VmV#:

	proto-Dene	<u>Tahltan</u>	<u>V + nasal</u>	nasal vowel
DAY	3 ^r en ⁴ (S)	₿en-ē°\$	cCa, Cl 3in sCa 3en	Cp 3i ⁿ Do 3e ⁿ
HOUSE	q3x.9 (H)	kI'me		Cl nEnko ^{n.} Cp ku ^{n.} -E ⁿ
NOSE	-cīx (H)	'e-ci'h, 'e-cI'n-		Ap goʻ-ti ^{n, a}) Cl sEci ⁿ x b)
TRAIL	tðŋ(ð) (H)	te'n e	Cl EtE'n Cp ten-E	
WRIST, ANKLE	???	-ċl'ne	Ap −ci°n° sCa −č∂n−	

It appears that masals have been preserved intervocalically. Proto-Dene n (or nasality) must have been optional in HOUSE and NOSE, as suggested by the modern reflexes, and the Tahltan (petrified) noun kū (in kū'-sesdah "I am sitting at the house" = I AM MARRIED), cf. sCa ku HOUSE, Ap kõ.- CAMP.

(3.3.2) The reflexes of Tahltan Vn'# are:

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(3.3.2) The reflexes of Tahltan Vn'# are:

	proto-Dene	<u>Tahltan</u>	<u>V + nasal</u>	nasal vowel
EXCREMENT	???	can'	cCa can Cl c‼*n Sa ca₊n	Cp ca ⁿ •, -ca ⁿ •n- Ap -ća ⁿ • Do co ⁿ
FIRE	q [₩] ∂n'(H)	kon'	cCa k [₩] ∂n C1 kɔ⁺n Cp ku⁺n	Ap ko ⁿ . Do ko ⁿ .
MEAT	cən'(H) –cəỹ'(S)	'e-¢e°n'	cCa '∂∤∂ŋ Cl E¢E'n Cp -¢e'n	
STAR	sðŵ'(H)	≴on'	cCa≴∂m Cl≴E°n	Ap so ⁿ s

Here, Tahltan is more conservative than other Dene in that it has preserved glottalization of nasals. Note further the regularity in tonal reflexes: high tone in Cl and Cp, low in Ap and cCa.

(3.3.3) Tahltan $\overline{V}n(V)$ has the following reflexes:

	proto-Dene	<u>Tahltan</u>	<u>V + nasal</u>	<u>nasal vowel</u>
TO BE	-1ēŋ (H)	-11n	Sa -li'n	Ap -li ^{n.} Cp -li ⁿ
TO BURN	???	-k'ān	cCa -k'∂n Sa -k'a°n-	Cp -k'a ⁿ
TO DRINK	-nāŋ ₂ (H)	-dān ²⁸	Sa -da'n-	Cp -da ⁿ
EDGE	wān'-ð (H)	-mā`ne	cCa ba, h∂ban	Cp ba ⁿ 'n-
HERE	???	3an	cCa nĴan Cl in3Ħn	Ap 3a ⁿ . Cp 3a
TO KILL	gēn (H)	-xIn		Ap -xi ^{n.}
LEAF	t'ān' (H)	'e-t'ā'ne	cCa 'ðt'an Cl Et'ä'n	
TO LIE DOWN	-रस्म (H)	-tîn		Ap -ti ^{n.} Cp -ti ⁿ
MANY	1 āη (Η)	łān	cCa ła(n)- Sa ł a.n	Cl łä ⁿ Cp łan Do ło
TO SWIM	-wēŋ (H)	-bIn		Ap -bi ^{n.} Cp -bi ⁿ
TO TAN	-zāŋ (H)	-sān		Cp -sa ⁿ

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Of special interest are $-m\bar{a}$ 'ne EDCE and 'e-t'ā'ne LEAF. These forms appear irregular insofar as proto-Dene glottalization seems to have been discontinued. However, besides $-m\bar{a}$ 'ne and 'e-t'ā'ne I have also recorded $-m\bar{a}$ 'e (cf. (3.2)), resp. 'e-t'ā'', with only minor differences in meaning. I infer that, at some stage(s) intermediate between proto-Dene and contemporary Tahltan,

The separate developments proposed in (2a) and (2b) entail a phonemic split (dialectal in origin?). For $n'\partial > ne$ see (2.3.1).

The postulated shifts account for the modern Tahltan forms as follows:

<u>proto-Dene</u>						<u>Tahltan</u>
-l'ān'	-	-t'ān'	>	-t'ā ⁿ '	>	-t'ā'
	>	-t'ān'-ð	>	-t'ā'ne	=	-t'ā'ne
-vān'-∂	=	-wān'ə	>	-mā ne	=	-mā'ne
	E	-wān'ð	>	-mā ⁿ 'e	>	-mā''e

As regards phonemic-dialectal splits in earlier stages of Tahltan, cf. (2.3.2), and consider, in general, the <u>wave</u> (rather than <u>Stammbaum</u>) relation between members of the Dene linguistic continuum, where dialectal separations followed by reunions are not uncommon.

(3.3.4) Finally, we consider Tahltan Vm#.

	proto-Dene	Tahltan	<u>V + nasal</u>	nasal vowel
BONE	c'ðn (H)	'e-¢'e'n	cCa '∂¢'∂n Cp ¢'en	
TO GROWL	g [₩] ∂n (H) -gun (S)	-gon	Cp -gun (-gu ⁿ)	Cp - g u ⁿ (-gun)
ICE	tðn (H)	ten	cCa t∂n Cl tEn	
LAKE	wən (H)	men	cCa b∂n-	Cl bi ⁿ
LAND	ηẩn' (H)	nen	cCa y∂n Cp ne'n (ni ⁿ '-) Cl nE'n	Cp ni ⁿ °- (ne°n)

	<u>proto-Dene</u>	<u>Tahltan</u>	<u>V + nasal</u>	nasal vowel
SONG	<mark>8</mark> 9u (H)	xIn	cCa ṡ∂n Cl ṡEn Cp ṡen Sa xi'n	Ap gi ⁿ Cp ši ⁿ - Do ši ⁿ
STICK	də-kən (H)	dečľ n	cCa d∂č∂n Cl dEčEn Cp dEčin	Ap di.ci ⁿ .
MATURE	-gāŋ (H)	-yan	cCa h∂nyan Sa yαn–	Ap -ya ^{n .} Cp nīya ⁿ

Irregular Tahltan reflexes are LAND and MATURE (see further (3.3.5)).

(3.3.5) Some remarks on the phonemic status and origin of n, n, n' are called for. In modern Tahltan, the continuants n and n pattern as fricatives morphonologically: n relates to n in the same way as, e.g., x does to g (see (2.3)). The glottalized nasal n', however, stands out by being the only glottalized non-plosive phoneme in the language. It is of rare occurrence, and there is no predictable alternation pattern - n'# varies with either n'ne or ne (see (2.3.1), and cf. (2.3.3)).

In word-final position, n is more frequent than n (this is true for voiceless vs. voiced continuants in general). Word-final voiced continuants are usually the result of vowel deletion (for exceptional cases see (2.3.3)): nadē'n/nadē'ni GHOST, -cey/-ceye TO WEEP, 'egadē'n/'egadē'ni WOMAN, etc.; I spell such items with a slash through the optional vowel: nadē'ní, -ceyé, 'egadē'ní. Due to the alternation voiceless-voiced and the optional deletion of final e and i, doublets with n# and n# exist: -gam/-ganf DRY, -'In/-'Inf TO SEE, etc.

The verbal augment -h- ("h-classifier"²⁹) regularly devoice contiguous n- (and -y): me'sēndī SHOW ME HOW TO DO IT! (< me'-s-ē-n-h-dī "it-me-request-thou-verbal augment--inform"). 'Injo'ž BLOW IT UP! (< 'In-h-vo'ž "thou-verbal augment-inflate").

From the data presented in (3.3.1-4) we can reconstruct the origin of Tahltan stem--final n, n, and n':

proto-Dene	<u>Tahltan</u>
n', ỹ', ữ', ŋ'	n'
∇n'(V), ∇η, ∇η ₂	Vn(V)
n	n

In addition, $\overline{Vn'} > \overline{V'} > \overline{V'}$ and $\overline{Vn'} > \overline{V'ne} > \overline{Vne}$ (cf. (3.3.3)).

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Tahltan new LAND must be a back-formation: $**\eta \partial n^* > *nen^* > -ne^ne$ (possessed) > new (free form). This innovative -n# compares to the secondary -j# discussed in (2.3.2). Another apparently irregular Tahltan form is -yaw MATURE (probably < -gam or -gam, rather than -gām), which may be related to -yāme MATURE MALE ANIMAL (?< -gām∂).

(4) I label a Tahltan phoneme XI <u>heavy</u>, if it can be replaced optionally by the phonetically close X2 (but not vice versa). Such one-way variance has been observed in the interdental and uvular series, and is of an idiolectal nature. On the one hand, we must distinguish between ($\underline{\ell}/c$) and (c) speakers (the latter merge the interdental and alveolar series), and on the other, between (\underline{q}/k) and (\underline{k}) speakers (the latter having no uvulars in their phoneme inventory). The ($\underline{\ell}/c$) > (c) and (\underline{q}/k) > (k) mergers do not necessarily co-exist in the different idiolects, so that there are ($\underline{\ell}/c$, \underline{q}/k), ($\underline{\ell}/c$, \underline{k}), (c, \underline{q}/k), and (c, \underline{k}) speakers. Thus, I have recorded, e.g., $\ell^{*}Iq$, $\ell^{*}Tk$, c'Iq, and c'Ik for TOBACCO, depending on which merger(s) has (have), or has (have) not, been completed in the informant's speech variant. For uvulars in particular, see (4.3). The disappearance (in certain idiolects) of the distinction between interdental and alveolar consonants is probably due to Kaska, Sekani, and, to a lesser degree, Gitksan and Tlingit linguistic pressure³⁰; cf. (4.3).

(4.1) I have recorded the phoneme \dot{z} only in $\dot{s}ah\dot{z}\ddot{a}$ ine MATURE RAM, $-\dot{c}\ddot{u}\dot{z}$ TO HANDLE A SHEET-LIKE OBJECT, and 'esze''e = 'esye''e MY BROTHER'S SON (said by men)¹⁷. In each of these items, \dot{z} has evolved through progressive assimilation: following (within one word), but mecessarily in adjacency to, a 3C palatal consonant, \underline{y} and $z > \dot{z}$. Thus, $-\dot{z}\ddot{a}$ ine goes back to $-y\ddot{a}$ ine, cf. 'iźbā'yā'ne MATURE BILLY GOAT ('iźbā' MOUNTAIN GOAT) (*sha- as such being a petrified root); $-\dot{c}\ddot{u}\dot{z}$ continues older $-\dot{c}\ddot{u}z$ (or $-\dot{c}\ddot{u}\dot{z}$); $-\dot{z}e''e$ is the free variant of -ye''e after 'es- MY (which is itself the, positionally determined, alloworph of 'es- directly before y and 3C consonants¹⁰). The rare phoneme \dot{z} is marginal also in that it has not been recorded word-initially.

The voiceless palatalized velar continuant j, too, has limited distribution: like \dot{z} , it does not occur word-initially. Word-final ij is not opposed to ih (and I spell ih). The origin of j is diverse:

- (1) -ih# continues proto-Dene -∂x or -Īx: dih GROUSE < -d∂x, 'ide`nih BEARBERRIES
 < -d∂n∂x, 'e-ci`h NOSE < -čIx, ∉'ih MOSQUITO < c'Ix;
- (2) the verbal augment -h- merges with following y to produce j: 'Injo'# BLOW IT UP! (see (3.3.5)), c'e'nejē SEED < "what one causes to grow" (c'e- ONE, -ne- (no clear meaning), -h- VERBAL AUGMENT (causative), -yē TO GROW);

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(4) x has an allophone [h^J] before front vowels, as in, e.g., xIm SONG, xIt HOUSE, xēi PACK. Here, #x- alternates with, slightly palatal, -g- (rather than with -y-) in the possessed forms (and 'es- MY does not become 'es-): 'esgl'ne, 'esgl'de, 'esgē'le. Most consultants, however, pronounce x before front vowels with rather more friction than j, i.e., [x^j]: [x^j₁N], [x^j₁t], [x^j₂:¹].

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(4.2) The rounded velar series is semi-defective in that very few words containing such consonants were actually recorded. Some of these are: $g^{\overline{e}i}$ SACK, $iak^{\overline{e}}$ TWi $k'^{\overline{a}}$ gg OLD COHO SALMON, wa'xdānā GLASSES, gāw DRUM. The voiceless continuant x' is found in kex'ā'n SILVER FOX, and verbal forms containing the direct object prefix -tx''- US (as in ne'tx'edehkīm HE TOOK US ACROSS, ke'tx'ehdī HE IS TEACHING US THE WAY). Note, that -tx''- appears to be the reduced and incorporated (i.e., bound) variant of daxu'ni WE, US, that is, daxu- > -dax''(u)-> -dx''-> -tx''-. According to at least two consultants, -tx''- can be replaced freely by -dax- (which may be a contamination of dah- OUR and (older) -dax''(u)-): ne'daxedehkīm, ke'daxehdī.

(4.3) In (4) I pointed out that many speakers of Iskut Tahltan do not include uvular consonants in their phoneme inventory. These informants substitute g, k, etc. for g, q, etc. - uvularized velars are heavy, because the feature <u>uvularization/retraction</u> is omissible. The marginal status of uvulars in Tahltan is further attested by the fact that none of the neighboring Dene languages possess a uvular series. The closest Dene idiom with uvulars in its phoneme inventory is Babine³¹, but I have not found any cognates shared by Tahltan and Babine that feature uvular phonemes. Another geo-graphically close, but linguistically very remote³² neighbor is Tlingit. Here we find the source of most Tahltan uvulars. Some loans from Tlingit involving uvulars are: q'axā'dī DOOR, c'eqo'hge SKIN CANOE, *e*'Iq TOBACCO, qūq BOX, to'gatāł PANTS.

The interaction with the Tlingits must have commenced at a time when the disappearance of the uvular series as such (in one or several dialects) was only incipient³³. This also accounts for the preservation of a small number of native uvular consonants. I have recorded uvulars in a few stems of proto-Dene origin:

	proto-Dene	<u>Tahltan</u>
THROAT	d,qç,	q'as-
WILLOW	q'åy'	q'a'ye
CLOUD	d'"92	q'os

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FOOTNOTES

1. The customary term among linguists is "Athabascan", also spelled "Athabaskan", "Athapascan", or "Athapaskan". My preference for "Dene" is based on several considerations: (a) there is lack of agreement on the spelling of the traditional label; (b) the term "Atha^b/ $_{p}as^{c}/_{k}an$ is a misnomer (since it should refer strictly to Amerindians residing in the vicinity of Lake Athabasca), and is often totally alien, or offensive, to speakers of Dene languages; (c) the designation "Dene" is commonly used in both native and non-native television broadcasts; (d) there is no reason why the Dene cannot follow the example set by the Inuit, who have successfully convinced the public that the former epithet "Eskimo" is inappropriate.

2. The large majority of my data has been obtained from Mr. Steven Louie of Iskut; I hereby express my gratitude for his assistance. Whenever we meet, Mr. Robert Quock, manager of the local Co-op store, also helps by volunteering Tahltan words and expressions, which is highly appreciated. In addition, I often double-check my field notes with my wife, Mrs. Greta Nater, and with her parents. On a less regular basis, numerous other persons provide information on their language.

The Tahltan language appears to be nearing extinction, despite the Band's efforts to maintain it by means of formal education. Instruction in the native language is now given, but many students lack the necessary incentive, and the Tahltan language instructor, Mr. Charles Quock, desperately needs more community support, as well as guidance in the development of his teaching methods. Generally speaking, those persons who have a first-hand command of Tahltan are in their thirties and over; I estimate that, at Iskut, there are only some twenty fluent speakers of Tahltan. However, positive developments are under way: a practical orthography has been proposed, and Mr. Charles Quock is trying to improve his teaching skills through a course offered in Whitehorse, Yukon.

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3. Eung-Do Cook's and Rev. T.P. Thorman's data indicate that such differences must exist, c.q. have existed. Otherwise, discrepancies between speakers of Tahltan at Iskut (and probably also at Telegraph Creek) must now be considered to be sub-dialectal in nature. The near-idiolectal character of the linguistic diversity is evidenced 331

in certain families, where sibling₁ uses a different form of Tahltan than sibling₂. For instance, Mr. Robert Quock is a $(\frac{\ell}{c}, k)$ speaker (with a "lisped" ℓ -series - cf. footnote 5), whereas his full brother, Mr. Charles Quock, is a $(\frac{\ell}{c}, q/k)$ speaker. My impression is that both different life styles and intermarriage are responsible for such, seemingly anomalous, idiomatic differences.

In following sections, I use the term "idiolectal" when discussing phonetic--phonemic differences between Tahltan speakers. I remain intrigued by the transition from dialectal to idiolectal plurality in this village.

4. For the transcription of non-Tahltan items, see footnote 25.

Note, that I have simplified the transcription of some proto-Dene phonemes as follows: (1) ' (as in ξ , ξ) replaces <u>haček</u>; (2) k, k^{\forall} , η , etc. replace k, k, η , etc.

Note further, that in more recent articles on proto-Dene, Jeff Leer and Michael E. Krauss posit ts^r , s^r , etc. in favor of k^w , x^w , etc.

5. So far, I have not encountered any "IIIca" speakers in the village of Iskut. Certain idiolects, however, lack interdentals, and in others, the ℓ -series is "lisped" rather than truly interdental.

6. The labial plosive occurs, as a rule, only in non-syllable-final position. The one exception to this restriction, liyā'b DEVIL, is a loan from French. This word cannot be rendered as "liyā'p, because an aspirated labial stop "p is non-existent in Tahltan.

7. See section (4.1).

8. See sections (2.3.2) and (4.1).

9. I have, however, recorded a few words with an initial consonant cluster, viz. ska'di CRAZY and sgo'h's SOAPBERRIES (also heard as 'isgo'h's). The one word with a syllable--final cluster is k'unc POTATOES (borrowed from a coastal language, possibly Tlingit). The absence of medial $C_1C_2C_3$ clusters may be a consequence of limitation la.

10. For a more detailed discussion of this phenomenon, read chapter 7 of Hardwick's thesis. In adjacency to stems beginning in a 3A-C consonant, prefixal ...s- is always assimilated to the contiguous coronal.

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12. Cook's counter-examples involve: (a) compounds, (b) particles, (c) loan words, and (d) inherently stressed prefixes.

13. Jeff Leer makes a similar remark in his <u>Report on the Recommended Tahltan Ortho-</u> <u>graphy</u> (manuscript, 1985). It is interesting that in Chiricahua Apache, too, low-toned long vowels are characterized by more duration than are high-toned long vowels.

14. For voicing of stem-final and -initial consonants see section (2.3).

15. Note, first of all, the short vowel in the possessed form 'effe'' (cf. (2.2.1)): <u>bound</u> -tu' = <u>free</u> tū WATER). Secondly, the possessive marker -' occurs (instead of -e) after stem-final V in nouns referring to objects usually not shared with others, such as items of clothing, body parts, and the like.

16. The alternation $\frac{f}{f} \sim 1-$ is irregular (recorded only in fi'). However, f- is here secondary; in most (if not all) other Dene languages, the word for DOG begins in a voiceless lateral <u>fricative</u>. Compare also Tahltan 'u-fa'n IT IS MUCH and fa'n/ VERY.

17. In 'esze''e, two shifts have taken place: (a) \dots sy... > \dots sy..., (b) \dots sy... > \dots sz...; cf. footnote 10. Note further, that not all informants accept 'esze''e. In their idiolects, only the first shift is allowed: 'esye''e.

18. See section (4.1). Note, that final consonant alternation also applies to verb stems - see my <u>Conditioned Allomorphy in Tahltan Verb Stems</u> (in preparation).

19. The regular Tahltan reflex of proto-Dene x/g! ($\partial x^{\vee}l$) is x! (ox!): $\frac{1}{2}$ 'ox < $\frac{1}{2}$ ' ∂x^{\vee} , -cex < $-\frac{1}{2}$ ' ∂g . For the origin of j! see section (4.1).

20. -i has a nominalizing function: -zog/-zoy meaning SOMETHING FROSTY, -ceg/-cey SOMEBODY WEEPING.

21. We would have expected $\#\bar{a}h$ and $\#e\#\bar{a}h$ (from proto-Dene sāx), but even in careful speech, there never is h. It is possible that in 'e##a^'e an originally present h has been elided (cf. debē' = debē'he MOUNTAIN SHEEP), and that $\#\bar{a}$ is a secondary formation; cf. section (2.3.2).

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22. A nightline is a fishline set in the late afternoon, and checked early the next day. Note further, that stem-final $\frac{1}{2}$ is immune to voicing (except in $-\frac{1}{2}I\frac{1}{2}$, see (2.3.1)); this is correlated with the extreme rarity of $\frac{1}{2}$ between vowels.

23. Some words containing an intervocalic voiceless fricative are: 'iée'ni BELONGINGS, hoslo'se LING COD, ket'iśā' AWL, geśū' PORK, mē'xu I WONDER WHO, daxu'ni WE, q'axā'dī DOOR, 'e'e'łe BEAVER DAM, 'eła'gexIt HOUSE MADE OF SPLIT LOGS, 'e'śit'ēź WE ARE COOK-ING. Of these, geśū' is a loan (< Chinook Jargon < French), and so is q'axā'dī (from Tlingit); me'xu contains the enclitic -xu UNSPECIFIED, I WONDER WH-; 'e'śit'ēź contains -śid- WE (enclitics and pronominal prefixes are not sensitive to voicing processes).

24. I have selected a small number of Dene languages that are characterized by the presence of distinctive tone and/or nasality.

25. The orthography of other Dene is the same as the one employed for Tahltan in this paper. However, due to the limited number of symbols available on my daisywheels, I spell shwa as ∂ , the <u>epsilon</u> has been replaced by E, raised n indicates <u>nasality</u>, and \mathbbm{H} stands for as.

26. I suspect that Cl c'ai' is actually a misrecording.

27. From here on, tone is not indicated when left unmarked in the sources. Furthermore, note the occasional differences between H (<u>Hardwick</u>) and S (<u>Story</u>) as regards the reconstruction of proto-Dene forms.

28. For Tahltan d < proto-Dene n see Hardwick, pages 19-20.

29. The verbal augment -h- corresponds to -1- in other Dene. For a thorough treatment of the Dene verbal augments, read Krauss' "On the Classification in the Athapaskan, Eyak, and Tlingit Verb", IJAL Vol. 35, No. 4, Memoir 24, 1969.

30. Such areal phenomena are not unusual. Consider, for example, the retention of uvulars in Ingalik, Tanaina, and other Dene spoken near the Inuit linguistic continuum.

31, See Gillian Story's Babine and Carrier Phonology.

32. The debate on a possible genetic link between Tlingit and Eyak-Dene continues. One proponent of such a connection is Jeff Leer, who infers common origin from structural resemblances (viz. the "classifiers" discussed in Krauss' article mentioned in footnote 29). Heinz-Jürgen Pinnow's view on this matter seems, however, at least somewhat debatable. In the first place, he adduces lexical (rather than typological) similarities in his attempts to prove a genetic relationship (his reconstructions often being unwarranted). Secondly, he also includes <u>Haida</u> in his comparisons; this approach (based on the <u>Na-Dene</u> concept) is currently in serious dispute.

33. If Thorman describes a dialect immediately ancestral to contemporary Tahltan, some sound shifts appear to be of recent origin. Loans from Tlingit confirm this: (\underline{f}/c) speakers have interdentals in Tlingit words originally containing s, s', c, c', etc. Tlingit influence has been quite penetrating, although frequent contact has now ceased (formerly, the Tahltans traded, waged war, and intermarried with the Tlingits), but there are still individuals at Iskut and Telegraph Creek who have some knowledge of the Tlingit language.

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