0. Tahltan, a Dene1 language of northern British Columbia, possesses a complex verb structure. Here, as in all other languages belonging to the Dene linguistic stock, a finite verb consists of one or more prefixes (with diverse functions and sequential hierarchies), a verb stem, and occasionally also a suffix:

(1) ?esteN 'it is (?es-) frozen (-teN)'
(2) de:sdi:l 'I (-es-) will (d-: ••• -l) drink (_di:)
(3) ?edesi:nge:l+a: 'will (-d-: ••• -l) you (-an-) light (-h-k'a:) the fire (ko-) ? (fat)'

The intricacy of the Tahltan verb manifests itself in two processes. The first of these, internal sandhi, may characterize prefix strings and the prefix-stem boundary:

(5) na:Nt'e:s 'cook it again!' = /na~'e:n~h-t'e:s/ 'again - you/urgency - cook'
(6) kódis:n'ge:l+a: 'will (-d-: ••• -l) you (-an-) light (-h-k'a:) the fire (ko-) ? (fat)'

The second process, verb stems are subject to variation, an account of which is given in this report. We must distinguish two types of verb stem allomorphy in Tahltan: (1) stem suppletion (which serves to indicate subject or object number), and (2) morphonemic alternation (indicating tense or aspect). Both types are morphologically redundant in that number (except dual) and tense-aspect distinctions are also made by means of prefixation. The former type is exemplified, in passing, below:

(7) sesdâh 'I am sitting' = /3-es-ûah'/ 'stative - I - one sits'
(8) ?êkê: 'we (two) are sitting' = /?êdêke'/ 'we - two sit'
(9) de:št'i:s 'we (three or more) are sitting' = /de- '?es-?i: /'around - we - plural sit'
(10) de:nœ: 'I am going' = /de-?enæ: /'around - I - one goes'
(11) de:št'as 'we (two) are going' = /de- '?es-?i: /'around - we - go'
(12) de:šdœ: 'we (three or more) are going' = /de- '?es-de: /'around - we - plural go'

Phonemic stem variation is considerably more productive than the process described above, insofar as it affects virtually the entire inventory of verb stems in Tahltan; this is the phenomenon that will concern us from here on. Some examples:

(13) ?e:šché: 'I am eating' = /?es-č'el'/ 'I - eat'
(14) ?e:sče:š 'I have eaten' = /?e-č'ti:/ 'it - perfective - I - eat - final'
(15) de:sče:š 'I will eat' = /d-'e:s-ti:/ 'completion - I/future 1 - eat - future 2'
(16) ?ast'eh 'I am' = /?a-š-čeh'/ '- I - be'
(17) ?a:yt'e? 'he is crying' = /?a~'i:-0-ce:y~i /'conjugation - perfective - he - cry - final'
(18) nádâce:š 'he is going to cry again' = /na-d-'0:-cey~±/ '- completion - he/future 1 - cry - future 2'

1. In what follows, I will establish that morphonological alternation
in Tahltan verb stems is a conditioned (regular), rather than random (irregular), process. It will be shown that a diachronic-comparative description of such allomorphy (where older forms take the place of "underlying forms" en vogue in other theoretical approaches) is more suitable than one framed within a strictly synchronic discipline.

As a beginning student of Dene linguistics, I have often found the Tahltan verb bewildering in its complexity and apparent irregularity. When considering Tahltan verbal processes in isolation, that is, without giving attention to historical facets, one encounters the following complications: (1) erratic vowel alternations, (2) the virtual impossibility to make a classification of allomorphic types due to (3a) merging of certain stem-final consonants with (petrified) suffixes, (3b) the presence of VARIABLE vs. INVARIABLE stems (for detailed information on these see Leer: 5.1.2). Furthermore, Tahltan appears conservative in comparison with other Dene languages insofar as it has retained certain stem-final affricates. These facts, along with the relative antiquity of the Tahltan phoneme inventory (Nater: 4.3, and tables 5-7, 9-11), have convinced me that a thorough description of the Tahltan verb should not lack diachronic considerations.

In the sections following, adherence is made to Leer's distinctions between (a) VARIABLE vs. INVARIABLE (roots), (b) OBSTRUENT-CLOSED vs. NON-OBSTRUENT-CLOSED (roots); these differentiations are especially useful in an account of Tahltan verb stems, where they can be employed both in a synchronic and diachronic sense.

2. Tahltan verb stems can be divided into two main categories:

- INVARIABLE
- VARIABLE

(V = non-R consonant; R = dental nasal, palatalized velar, glottal, or long-tense vowel.)

Within the category of variable stems, finer distinctions must be made: a variable stem morph-set may contain two, three, or several allomorphs. However, due to the incompleteness of my data, I have not been able to ascertain (1) the highest number of allomorphs possible, (2) whether certain verb stems, to date diagnosed as invariable, may, on further investigation, prove to be variable. (Stems with dubious status are not mentioned in this paper.) I have, however, come to the tentative conclusion that the average variable verb stem is realized as a set of three allomorphs.

As concerns the paucity of proto-Dene reconstructions adduced in the next section, the reader is requested to consider that information on proto-Dene verb stems is as yet rather scant; where such data are not available, I offer, when feasible, experimental reconstructions (representing older stages of Tahltan, or proto-west-Canadian Dene) based on forms recorded for Tahltan, central Carrier (Story and Carrier Dictionary Committee), Babine (Story), and Sarcee (Cook). I also mention Ahtna (Kari) facts where necessary.

3. In the enumeration of Tahltan verb forms contained in this section, the following abbreviations are used: PPD = pre-proto-Dene, PD = proto-Dene, PWD = proto-west-Canadian Dene, OT = older Tahltan, NT = modern Tahltan; cnt = continuative, cst = customary, dis = distributive, fut = future, imp = imperfective, mon = momentaneous, neg = negative, mtr = neuter, opt = optative, pf = perfective, prog = progressive, rep = repetitive, rev = reversative, sem = semelfactive, 10F = imperfective-optative-future; B and L are Leer's basic and lengthened. Furthermore, -y = Leer's -å (the pre-proto-Dene perfective suffix); v = short vowel, v: = long vowel, nasalization, v? and v:? are Leer's -e and -e; å, å (etc.) are replaced by å, å (etc.); I render the proto-Dene back velars as å, å, å, å; palatality of proto-Dene front velars (not being phonemically distinctive) is not indicated by me: á, á, á, á.
barking’ (in ya-...-h-teel ‘to be the source of barking’ = ‘to bark’) and dos ‘boiling’.

Consider the following forms:

(22) yastee ‘I am barking’ = /ya~?a-s~h-teel/ ‘ya- conjugation -...- perfective - I - h augmentation - barking’

(23) yate:stee ‘I will bark’ = /ya~?a-d-'e:s~h-teel/ ‘ya- conjugation -...- completion - I/future - I - h augmentation - barking’

(25) dadenedos ‘it is boiling’ = /da-de-'ne-dosl/ ‘upwards, rising -around, throughout -(sur)face - boiling’

(27) dadene:sdos ‘I will boil it’ = /da-de-'ne~'e:s~h-dos/16 ‘upwards, rising -around, throughout -(sur)face - I/future - I - h augmentation - boiling’

3.2. Variable verb stems are numerous. In view of certain historical and morphological properties, I divide them into non-obstruent-closed obstruent-closed (section 3.2.1) and obstruent-closed (section 3.2.2) stems (cf. Leer: sections 3 and 4). Henceforth, we shall be concerned solely with the study of verb stems, and I will purposely refrain from analyzing the prefix complexes functioning as constituents of the cited Tahltan finite verbs (some of which would, besides, require rather detailed comments: cf. footnotes 5, 8, 11, 16). In 3.2.1 we examine the ...K# stems, in 3.2.1.1 the transitional category of MIXED TYPE stems is considered, and in 3.2.2 the ...K# verb stems are treated.

latter have replaced proto-Dene phonemes termed "sonorants" by Leer), or a glottal phoneme (h, h? glottals are non-obstruent insofar as they are NON-LABIAL and NON-LINGUAL, and differ from all other phonemes in various other respects as well). Members of this class are unlike ...K# verb stems, because (1) ? and h play an important role, (2) the suffix /h/ 'future,' does not always affect the stem, (3) PPD suffixes are more readily traceable than they are in ...K# verb stems (this peculiarity is typical of pan-Dene). For proto-Dene, the third and second criteria, and partially also the first one, are identical (NT ? continues PD /?/’/a’/. NT h continues PD h/). For further details I refer to Leer (sections 4-4.5).

The evolution of Tahltan verb stems is illustrated below. (Note that /h/ is still a recognizable, and productive, suffix in modern Tahltan.)

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<tr>
<th>STAGE I</th>
<th>STAGE II</th>
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<tr>
<td>suffixes</td>
<td>verb root</td>
<td>morph-set</td>
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<tr>
<td>verb stem</td>
<td>verb stem</td>
<td>morph-set</td>
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<tr>
<td>morph-set</td>
<td>suprasegmental features</td>
<td>allomorphs</td>
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<td>reduced</td>
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Stage I is pre-proto-Dene; Stage II comprises proto-Dene and proto-west-Canadian Dene; Stage III represents Tahltan (both OT and NT). B' = glottalized basic, L' = glottalized lengthened (see Leer: 4, 4.1-4.4). The addition of an "obstruent suffix" to a PPD obstruent-closed root was coupled with reduction of the vowel contained in the root (Leer: 3.4.). The PPD suffixes (detailed in Leer: 3.1, 3.4.1-3.4.5) were: /-yl/ 'perfective', /-yl?/ 'progressive, negative perfective', /-xl/ 'reversative', /-kl/ 'repetitive-customary', /-xl/ 'semelfactive non-perfective', and /-tl/ 'semelfactive perfective'. The morphonological changes that transpired during the transition from PPD to PD are illustrated in Leer: 3.5.1-3.5.6 and 4.6.1-4.6.6. The phonological modifications that characterize the evolutionary stages intermediate between PD and NT are:

(1) REDUCTION OF VOWEL + GLOTTAL: (a) *vih (I) = vi, (II) = vh, (b) *vi?
(I) + x₁, (II) + x₂

(1) = (x₁ + x₂ + η₁, (x₂ + η₂) = (x₂ + η₂ + η₃
(2) TREATMENT OF PD STEM-FINAL (PRE-)GLOTTALIZED VELARS: (a) *k'/q' + x₁, (b) *k'/q' + x₂, (c) *k'/q' = k; (3) CONSONANT ASSIMILATION: interdental, alveolar, and palatal consonants influence each other when in mutual proximity (Noter: 2.1); (4) TREATMENT OF PD AND OT FRONT VELARS: (a) *e:li ~ *e:yi, (b) *e:li ~ *e:yi, (c) *e:li ~ *e:yi

(2) TO BE: (a) *ast'eh 'I am', (b) *ast'e:hy 'I have been', (c) *ast'e:l 'I will be'

(3) TO BLOW, BE WIND: (a) *c'ih 'it is windy', (b) *c'ih 'wind', (c) *c'al 'there will be a strong wind blowing'

(4) TO GO BY BOAT: (a) nedaxedehki:N 'he took us across', (b) *tade:sh 'I will go up the river by boat'

(5) TO BREATHE: (a) *dak'ih 'I am breathing', (b) *kanedi:k 'I have come back to life', (c) *kanedi:k 'I will live forever, over and over'
(6) TO BUILD: (a) ?esci: 'I am building', (b) sihci:N 'I have built', (c) d~:sci:l 'I will build':

(7) TO BURN: (a) deduk'a: 'it may burn', (b) k6de:hk'a:N 'I have lit the fire', (c) k6de:sk'a:l 'I will light the fire', (d) desk'an' 'it is burning':

(8) TO CARRY, PACK: (a) ta?adange: 'pack it uphill!', (b) ta?esgi:N 'I have packed it uphill', (c) ta?ade:sge:l 'I will pack it uphill':

(9) TO CRY, WEEP: (a) ?ec~y 'he is crying', (b) yi:ced 'he has cried', (c) nada:cel 'he will cry again':

(10) TO DIE: (a) t6:nca:+sa: 'you are bound to die', (b) taseca:n 'he is dead', (c) tad~:sca:l 'I will die':

(11) TO DIP: (a) meyi:?iska: 'I am dipped it', (c) meyi:?de:ska:l 'I will dip it':

(12) TO DRINK: (a) nA?usda:N 'I should drink again', (b) di:ndi: 'drink it up!', (c) dér:di: 'I will drink':

(Eyak /-ê/ 'to carry on one's back')

(10) TO DIP: (a) ta?esgi: 'you are bound to die', (b) taseca:n 'he is dead', (c) tad~:sca:l 'I will die':

(11) TO DIP: (a) meyi:?iska: 'I am dipped it', (c) meyi:?de:ska:l 'I will dip it':

(12) TO DRINK: (a) nA?usda:N 'I should drink again', (b) di:ndi: 'drink it up!', (c) dér:di: 'I will drink':

(Eyak /-ê/ 'to carry on one's back')
For PD ñ from PPD see Leer: 2.3.3.

(13) TO LIGHT: (a) melakod1:ht'aN 'I have lit the fire', (b) k'änac't'a:hê-t'a:hê 'what (-i) one (-c'(e)-) causes (-h-) to shine (-t'a:hê-) around (k'ana-)' = 'flashlight';

(14) TO BE FROZEN: (a) ?este:N 'it is frozen', (b) yet'ê:t 'it is becoming frozen, freezing';

(15) TO GROW, MATURE: (a) se13!ân 'I am old', (b) c'eneyed 'what (-i) one (-c'(e)-) causes (-h-) to grow (-ye:-) on the surface (-ye:-)' = 'seedling, sprout, domestic plant(s), garden vegetables'; (c) na:ye:!' it is growing' (cf. 12), and see Leer: 2.3.3 and 4.6.6):

(16) TO HAVE: (a) ?est'i:N 'I have', (b) yest'1:n' 'I have had', (c) de:st'i:'I will have':

(17) TO KILL (sg. object): (a) ?edu:si:Nxe: 'don't kill him!', (b) se:-hxi:n 'I have killed him', (c) ?edese:sge:!' I will kill myself':

(18) TO LIE (sg. subject, SLEEP, DREAM: (a) naste: 'I am dreaming', (b) yi:ste? 'I have slept', (c) seti:n 'he is lying down', (d) n1:n-te:l+a: 'are you going to sleep?':

11/12
Note the phonetic-semantic similarity between (3) and (5) in PPD.

3.2.1.1. MIXED TYPE verbal morph-sets contain both ••• R# and ••• K# members. They constitute a small intermediate category, which has evolved through certain morphonological changes. Examples follow below.

(22) TO BE COOKED: (a) ná:k'w:m: 'cook it again!', (b) t'é:k's:n 'I will cook it', (c) t'é:k's:n 'I have cooked it':

(23) TO HOOK: (a) ±fle: n:se:z'hi 'he hooked a fish', (b) ±fle: ±s:ze:n± 'I will hook a fish', (c) ±fle: ±s:ze:n± 'I have hooked (several) fish':

(24) TO REACH FOR, AIM AT (-h-di ••• / 'to cause to come within reach, to

Note the verbal augment /-1-/. This element as such is never realized phonetically, but has the following effects: (1) like /-h-/, it causes deletion of /-s-/ 'I' after /-i:-/ 'perfective,12 (as in tasi:zek), (2) a contiguous stem-initial voiceless continuant becomes voiced.

(24) TO REACH FOR, AIM AT (-h-di... / 'to cause to come within reach, to
have as one's goal'): (a) néswádï:t' aim at it!', (b) mekáh tédëndii: 'I may reach down into the water for it', (c) mekah tédëndii: 'I will reach down into the water for it':

(a) -h-di:c (5d) -ni:c -ni?k -ni?k-Y (pf)
(b) -h-di: (5d, la1) -ni:h -ni:x -ni:k (L, mon/10)
(c) -h-da:k (5d) -na:k -nak-l (prog/mom/fut)

(Eyak /-le'g'w/ 'to move one's hand', Tlingit /-ni'g'w/ 'to feel')

(25) TO SWALLOW: (a) di:Nde: 'swallow it!', (b) de:hdek 'I have swallowed it':

(a) -h-de: (5d, la1)
(b) -h-de:k (5d)
(c) -h_dal (5d) -dahl -daxl (prog/mom/fut)

(Eyak /-?n?k'/ 'to swallow')

(26) TO CLEAN, WIPE DRY (with /-h-/): (a) mek'e:?usde: 'let me wipe it dry', (b) mek'e:?i:hde:k 'I have wiped it dry', (c) mek'e:?de:sdel 'I will wipe it dry':

(a) -h-de: (la1)
(b) -h-dek (5a)
(c) -h_dal (5d)

(Ca yna?aldeh 'he wipes')

3.2.2. In this section is listed a number of ...K# verb stem sets.

(27) TO ASK (with /-h-/): (a) nôdeskat 'I ask you', (b) nôdeskat 'I have asked you', (c) nôdeskat 'I will ask you':

(a) -h-kat -kat 1-qat 1-qat (B)
(b) -h-kat -kat 2-qat 2-qat (pf)
(c) -h-ka:k -ka:k (7a) 2-qat-k 2-qat-k (prog/mom/fut)

(Ba udi:saq 'I ask', Ah /Drudáqsaqde:d/ 'to ask', Eyak /Dr?atetsikulq?at/ 'to ask')

(28) TO (BECOME) INFLATE(D): (a) ?aNyu:l 'blow it up!', (b) ?i:hy61\ 'I blew it up', (c) ?a?n?k' 'it will swell up':

(a) -h':yu:l -yu:l -lu:?l 1-xu:l (L, mom/IO)
(b) -h':yo1\ -yo/u1\ -lu?1\ 1-xu1\-Y (pf)
(c) -Vol -yo/ul -lu?l 1-xu1\-l (prog/mom/fut)

(Eyak /-xu?1\/ 'to blow', and cf. (3) and (5))

(29) TO MAKE BROTH (with /-h-/): (a) sited 'we are making broth', (b) yehca:c 'he has made broth':

(a) -h-ce:~'i: (13) -ce:~/s
(b) -h-ca:c (13) -ca:c/e

(Eyak ka?k 'soup')

(30) TO CHASE: (a) k'anane~yo:t 'I am chasing game', (b) tehu:dene:yu:t 'I have chased them away', (c) tehu:dene~yol 'I will chase them away':

(a) -yoc -yo/ut~ (14e)
(b) -yu:t -yu:t 1-yu:t (pi)
(c) -yol -yo/ul 1-yutl (prog/mom/fut)

(Eyak ka?k 'soup')
(31) TO CHEW: (a) ?en?à:h 'I am chewing', (b) nadennit'â:h 'I will chew it well', (c) nadennit'â:h 'I have chewed it well', (d) ?en?à:h 'chew it!'

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<td>(d)</td>
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Alternatively, /-'a/: may go back to PD */-'a:/ (PPD */-'a:/) (B, cnt/IO(F)) itself unattested; however, Ah has /0+n+0+c'//'ah'/ 'bite object once'.

(32) TO CLOSE ONE'S EYES: (a) nanc'â:h 'close your eyes!', (b) nanc'â:h 'I have closed my eyes', (c) nanc'â:h 'I will close my eyes'.

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<td>(c)</td>
<td>-c'i:à</td>
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(33) TO HANDLE CLOTH (with /-h-/): (a) ?em?i:cu: 'put the cloth away!', (b) ?em?i:cu: 'I have put the cloth away', (c) ?em?i:cu: 'I will put the cloth away', (d) ?em?i:cu: 'I have lashed it up'.

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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>-ku:à</td>
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<td>(b)</td>
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<td>(c)</td>
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<td>(d)</td>
<td>-h-cu:à (3)</td>
<td>-ku:à</td>
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PWD 2 in (a) and (b) is suggested by the Sa reflex /-cdz/ 'a fabric to lie (pf/imp)'. Cf. further Bn /-kos/ 'to handle a fabric', Ca derag:ifi- fut 'he hangs up a coat'.

(34) TO BE COLD: (a) dekk'â:h 'it is cold (weather)', (b) ?aj:sh'â:h 'the water is cold', (c) ?aj:sh'â:h 'it has become cold'.

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<td>(c)</td>
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<td>-k'ai:à</td>
<td>-q'ai:c'</td>
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(35) TO CUT: (a) ?e?i:à:h 'I am cutting', (b) nadennit'â:h 'I have cut it up', (c) nadennit'â:h = nadennit'â:h, (d) nadennit'â:h 'I will cut it up'.

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(b/c) nadennit'â:h may contain /-1-/ 1/-/1:ei/-:i:.

(36) TO EAT: (a) ?e?i:à:h 'I am eating', (b) ?e?i:à:h 'I have eaten', (c) ?e?i:à:h 'I will eat'.

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(37) TWO GO: (a) t'du:zur 'let's (the two of us) go out!', (b) t'du:zur 'we both have gone out', (c) tandl'as 'we both will go up again'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NT</th>
<th>OT</th>
<th>PD</th>
<th>PPD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a)</td>
<td>-tu:j (3)</td>
<td>-tu:j (4c)</td>
<td>-tu:j (4c)</td>
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<tr>
<td>(b)</td>
<td>-tu:j (3)</td>
<td>-tu:j (3)</td>
<td>-tu:j (3)</td>
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<td>(c)</td>
<td>-tu:j (3)</td>
<td>-tu:j (3)</td>
<td>-tu:j (3)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Note the following: (a) `/...-u/ ('id-').../+-u/ 'optative', /-id/- 'we', /-i/- 'urgency'), (b) /...-('sid-').../+-u/ 'it's.../+-u/ where A may be identified with /-a/- 'be in a ... state'), /-i/- 'perfective'), (c) /...-('id-').../+-u/ 'optative', /-'id-/ 'we', /-':-/ 'future').

(38) TO GRAB, CATCH (with /-h-/): (a) /'h:t'/ 'I have caught it', (b) /'h:t'/ 'I will catch it'.

(39) TO HANG: (a) /'nba:/ 'hang it!', (b) /'nba:/ 'somebody has hung it', (c) /'nba:/ 'it is hanging'.

(40) TO FALL, DUMP, POUR DOWN: (a) /'næl/ 'a mass of' snow has come down (from the roof)', (b) /'næl/ 'it is raining', (c) /'næl/ 'it has rained', (d) /'næl/ 'it will rain'.

(41) TO BE WIDE, BROAD, SPREAD: (a) /'i:t'/ 'it is wide', (b) /'i:t'/ 'I have spread it', (c) /'i:t'/ 'I will spread it'.

(42) TO STRETCH (with /-l-/): (a) /'l-bec'/ 'stretch it!', (b) /'l-bec'/ 'I have stretched it', (c) /'l-bec'/ 'I will stretch it'.

(43) TO URINATE: (a) /'lesl'/ 'I am urinating', (b) /'lesl'/ 'I have urinated', (c) /'lesl'/ 'I will urinate'.
BILABIAL: future 2 '. In other finite forms containing /future l talk/ you (object)
subjunctive around, not location-bound say', say, have go I.

For stressed ~, ~, ~, ~; £, y; 4 For stressed ~, ~, ~, ~;
My research on Tahltan has been supported by the Foundation for Linguistic Research, which is funded by the Netherlands Organization for the Advancement of Pure Research, Z.W.O.

The Tahltan phonemes are:

The juncture symbol • indicates the following, mutually exclusive, phenomena: (1) voicing of a preceding voiceless consonant caused by a vocalic suffix, (2) consonant cluster alleviation, (3) telescoping of a vowel sequence, (4) syllabic assimilation (cf. fn. 7).

5 Morphological and morphonological representations are printed between virgules. Prefixes such as /-de-/ and /-h-/ which are always stem-contiguous, have customarily been labelled "classifiers"; I refer to Krauss (1969) for a detailed discussion of such elements. Although they often appear semantically opaque, /-h-/ basically has a transitive-causative function, and /-de-/ often expresses reflexivity. Contractions involving /-d~/, such as /-d~x.../, = ..., and /-d~y.../, = ..., are ascribed to the well-known "D-effect". Moreover, /-de~-/ may be related to /-d~, and may be the word-initial variant of */-de-/* (so far unattested, but consider footnotes 2 and 8).

6 For /-d~x.../, = ..., see the preceding footnote. For /...e~H.../ + e~ see footnote 3.

7 For assimilation rules such as /e~H.../ + e~ see section 2.1 of my paper on Tahltan phonology.

8 Deletion of stem-initial 4 after /-a-/ 'I' has also been noted in some other finite verbs, such as hddede: 'I am talking' = /ho~de~a:de:/ 'areal - around; not location-bound - I - talk', desih 'I said' = /de~s~dai:/ 'around - I - say', desih: 'I will go' = /de~'es~s~dai:/ 'completion - if future; go - future;'. In other finite forms containing the same stem, 4 is present: hddede: 'he is talking' = /ho~de~o~de:/, kənudii: 'let me explain, let me show you the way' = /ke~'u~u~s~h~oi:/ 'direction - you (object) - subjunctive - I - 4 augmentation - say, have explicit knowledge', hōndii: 'will you go?' = /ho~'en~s~dai:/, (/-)de~-/ 'around, not location-bound, all over' may somehow be related to */-de~-/ 'self' and/or (/-)de~-/ 'completion' (cf. fn. 5).

The suffix /-i/, which causes voicing of stem-final voiceless stops and continuants, can be deleted (symbolized as 4). Such optional elimination allows phonetically voiced stops to occur word-finally. The juncture symbol • indicates the following, mutually exclusive, phenomena: (1) voicing of a preceding voiceless consonant caused by a vocalic suffix, (2) consonant cluster alleviation, (3) telescoping of a vowel sequence, (4) syllabic and affricate assimilation (cf. fn. 7).
10 /-i:/ occasions elimination of a preceding consonant, except after
an interdental, alveolar, or palatal continuant, in which position it is
deleted. /-...i:-/ 'future' may be a fused variant of /-'i:-/ 'per-
fective'.

11 /-a-/* unidentified prefix, possibly meaning 'being (in) the center'.

12 Note, how /-s-/ is deleted between /-'i:-/ and /-h-/:

This suggests that /-'i:-/ has, c.q. has had, consonantal properties.

13 /-'0:-/ is realized as : •• a:•• b between consonants.

14 I consistently avoid the concept ROOT in this paper in view of its
descriptive irrelevance in regard to the Tahltan verb.

15 The, equally invariable, Sarcee cognates of Tahltan -tek and -dos
are resp. -tlA and -AdA.

16 Where two stress-attracting prefixes occur consecutively, location
of the stress is determined by the leftmost such prefix.
In (27) note deletion of /-w-/* (for which see fn. 12), and ...*ih•••••
(rather than *...*ih•••••), which is the result of the shift *wit = wi
(whereby *i merges with a preceding long flat vowel - cf. sample sen-
tence (14), where *...*ih••••• = /...*i:*.../ whose completion antedates
the *ih + (is) fusion (cf. Nater: 4.1). Thus:

**wit + *witl + eih

VS.

**wit + *witl + si

17 B = cnt/I(OF), B-Y = mon/cnt/pt/(ntr), B-k = mon/rep/cst; B' = dis/
I(OF), B'k = dis/rep/cst; L = mon/I0 or durative/I0; L' = str/opt or
mon/cnt/opt, L'-y = ntr/pt, L'-k = ntr/rep/cst; /-/ = prog/mon/fut;
*B'-Y, *L'-y, and *L-k are unattested (and L virtually so) in Leer's non-
-obstruent-closed roots. As far as (b) is concerned, note that the op-
tional NT suffix /-i/ 'final' appears to continue PD /-(y)j/ (from PPD
/yan/ 'eg. human relative enclitic' - Leer: 4.5), rather than the PPD
perfective suffix /-V/, which was elided in L'-Y verb stems.

18 Krauss and Leer (1981) replace Leer's (1979) PD ...I by ...I (note,
that our I also stands for PD jI). PD /-h'aw/ seems to continue PPD
/-h'aw/ (cf. next fn.), which is related to Eyak /-h'1/ (from PPD-Eyak
/-h'iw/).

19 In some instances, *l and *l may continue (P)PD ax, resp. ax (cf.
Leer: 2.3.4).

20 OT b has disappeared before a word-final consonant. For b = y after
front-flat vowels see Nater: 4.1. The distribution of y and *l is dis-
cussed in Nater: 2.2.
REFERENCES


