THE ATHABASCAN COMPONENT OF NUXALK
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0. Introduction. Obvious lexical similarities between Nuxalk (Bella Coola, Salish) and Upper North Wakash have been described on previous occasions (Nater 1974, 1977, 1984; Nater and Rath 1987; Newman 1973). I also reported that a few Nuxalk words appear to be of Athabascan origin, and it is the latter portion of the Nuxalk lexicon that we shall examine in more detail than before. Note that, while I had presumed that traces of Athabascan vocabulary in Nuxalk were largely attributable to interaction with speakers of contemporary neighboring Athabascan languages (Carrier, Chilcotin), further research has revealed that most such borrowings are older than hitherto alleged; in addition, the number of clear Nuxalk-Athabascan lexical correspondences has grown considerably. Most Nuxalk verbo-nominal stems of Athabascan origin can now be traced back to older stages of Carrier-Chilcotin (and Nicola?) or to (pre-)proto-Athabascan (in a few cases even proto-Athabascan-Eyak). We wonder whether speakers of (pre-)proto-Athabascan passed through the Nuxalk cultural-linguistic (coastal) sphere, or if ties were established in the Interior. The latter scenario may seem more plausible to some (cf. Kinkade 1990:204-5), but we should not rule out the possibility that ancestors of the coastal Athabascans (viz. Hupa and other groups) did on occasion travel through Nuxalk territory. Or was contact made somewhere in between Nuxalk proper and the Interior, that is, did Athabascans mix with Nuxalk people in the mountainous regions east of Stuie? (This must in fact have been common practice; even today, Carrier and Chilcotin families and individuals undertake trips to or towards the Bella Coola valley so as to trade meat, pelts, soapberries etc. for salmon, eulachon oil, seaweed etc.) However, speculating on the exact geographical sites of linguistic exchange between Nuxalk and Athabascan, without the support of archeological evidence, is beyond the scope of this paper; for now, I will adopt the view that ALL of the above factors must have operated simultaneously.

1. Nuxalk-Athabascan lexical isoglosses. A comparison of PAE and (pre-)PA data with what is known about Nuxalk and its prehistory has convinced me that, as the result of successive waves of contact, the Nuxalk language has been subjected to a marked degree of lexical infusion by Athabascan, notably so during earlier developmental stages of the latter. Even though this type of pressure must have been applied quite steadily, it is useful to divide the prolonged period of contact into consecutive, if somewhat arbitrary, stages (see further below).

1.1. Nuxalk and Athabascan through time. Although it is apparently impossible to classify Athabascan languages via a Stammbaum model, such a classification does seem applicable to earlier stages of the Na-Dene phylum: 

\[
\text{PAE-Tlingit} \rightarrow \text{pre-Tlingit} \\
\begin{align*}
\text{pre-PA} & \rightarrow \text{PA} \\
\text{PA} & \rightarrow \text{Eyak} \\
\text{Eyak} & \rightarrow \text{Tlingit dialects} \\
\end{align*}
\]

so be shown that the Nuxalk-Athabascan connection underlies certain phonological traits and developments in Nuxalk that are quite unique in Salish. Considering the typological distance between Salish and Athabascan in general, we infer that Athabascan linguistic pressure has been more penetrating in Nuxalk than in other Salish; the likelihood that the origin of the Nuxalk-Athabascan interrelation antedates the development of the Nuxalk-Wakash Sprachbund is an indication that at least a section of the Nuxalk population has ancestral ties with the Interior Salish (which is corroborated by the fact that the Salish portion of the Nuxalk lexicon links Nuxalk with both Coast and Interior Salish, cf. Nater 1984: XVII). In this paper, the circumflex (as in /ɛ/ /ɛ'/ /ɛ/) is used instead of the hachek to transcribe apico-alveolars; in /ʁ/ and /ɬ/, the superscript dot replaces the subscript dot, and /ɢ/ = /G/. References are abbreviated as follows: C = Cook 1983; CD = Carrier Dictionary Committee 1974; K70 = Kuipers 1970, K74 = Kuipers 1974, K82 = Kuipers 1982, K89 = Kuipers 1989; KL = Krauss and Leer 1981; L = Leer 1979; LR = Lincoln and Rath 1986; MI = Morice 1932 (vol. I); N77 = Nater 1977, N84 = Nater 1984, N89 = Nater 1989, N90 = Nater 1990; NM = Newman 1973. For language name abbreviations see above (and CS = Coast Salish, IS = Interior Salish).
The oldest traces of Athabascan in Nuxalk go back to a period when early Salish dialects ancestral to Nuxalk were first influenced by pre-PA (+ PAE); this symbiotic relation continued through PA and post-PA into neo-A. The prehistory of Nuxalk itself is outlined as follows:

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   common Salish
      proto-IS ........ proto-IS
       Tillamook CS proto-Nux continuum IS
     neo-CS languages neo-Nux neo-IS languages
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This model reflects the view that (1) differences between proto-CS and proto-IS may have been small (i.e., proto-CS and proto-IS possibly comprised a dialect chain), (2) proto-Nux must have been dialectically diverse, (3) Nuxalk - being essentially neither Coastal nor Interior on the lexical level - is partially of Interior origin. Otherwise, I have here omitted certain details, such as the (debatable) status of Tsamosan (Olympic) as a separate division within Salish, and groupings (subdivisions) within CS and IS.

Accepting the thesis that initial contact between Salish- and Athabascan-speaking groups was established after PAE and Salish speech communities had begun to overlap, we may divide, however artificially, the Nuxalk-Athabascan alliance into the following five stages: (1) PAE → common Salish, (2) pre-PA → proto-IS, (3) PA → pre-proto-Nux, (4) post-PA → proto-Nux, (5) neo-A → neo-Nux. From here on, these stages will be labelled simply as PAE → Nux, pre-PA → Nux, PA → Nux, post-PA → Nux and neo-A → Nux.

1.1.2. Pre-PA → Nux. From the number of pre-PA → Nux lexical correspondences listed below it appears that contact between speakers of early IS dialects (ancestral to Nux) and pre-PA-speaking groups was more intimate than had been the case during the PAE → common Salish era. (As shown in 1.2, virtually no pre-PA → proto-CS borrowings are attested in Nux.) The PA words and roots listed here are demonstrably of PAE origin, and are therefore likely to have penetrated into pre-Nux IS at some pre-PA developmental level. Since pre-PA reconstructions as such are here unavailable, PA and Eyak forms are cited:

(5) Nux q'aw 'to pack, wrap, store' - Eyak q'aw 'provisions' (KL:126)
(6) Nux q'm (root) 'to burn, scorch something' - Eyak -q'a 'burn' (KL:140)
(7) Nux qaX 'rabbit' - PA *qaX, Eyak qaX id. (Nm:210)
(8) Nux qaX 'to pack, wrap, store' - Eyak q'aw 'provisions' (KL:126)
(9) Nux q'm (root) 'to burn, scorch something' - PA *q'tan 'burn', Eyak -q'a 'burn' (KL: 139) (cf. (12): fn. 8)
(10) Nux qaX 'rabbit' - PA *qaX, Eyak qaX id. (Nm:210)
(11) Nux qaX 'to pack, wrap, store' - Eyak q'aw 'provisions' (KL:126)
(12) Nux qaX 'to pack, wrap, store' - Eyak q'aw 'provisions' (KL:126)
(13) Nux yam± (root) 'to sing' (*yam±1) - PA *-ran, xan *(to sing) shaman(istically)', Eyak xil 'shaman' (KL:133)

1.1.3. PA > Nux. Athabascan influence on Salish persevered even as the Salish speech community began to disperse, and speakers of PA continued the interaction (initiated by their PAE and pre-PA forebears) with Salish groups, including what must by then have constituted a distinct pre-proto-Nuxalk division. In the list that follows, PA forms are cited where accessible; where such data are lacking, tentative reconstructions based on neo-A are proffered: 4

(14) Nux cik' 'to stab', ck' (root) 'sharp, stinging' - PA *-c'ik' 'smart, sting', Eyak -c'iya?k' id. (KL:94)

(15) Nux c'u (root), c'um (stem) 'to suck' - PA *c'u 'breast' (KL:S7)

(16) Nux c'up (root) 'to scratch' - PA *c,wa?t', Eyak _k'in?t' id. (KL:142)

(17) Nux ~'ulay 'birchbark basket' (*~'ul-ay) - PA *~'u-±/l- 'rope', an extension of *-~'u 'bind' (= Eyak -~'i) (KL:139) (Nux ~I-ayl is a petrified (common Salish) suffix signifying 'plant, bark')

(18) Nux ~'xwcn 'onion' - PA *~'axw 'grass' + *-can 'to smell' (= Eyak _can.) (NS9:32, KL:140) (the southern Carrier term for 'onion' is ~'o ~'o 'grass' + -can 'to smell, stink' - Nater 1975)

(19) Nux q'ls 'cambium' (*q'alas, q'anas) - cf. PA *-larr 'to flow' (KL:35)

Furthermore, there are a few Nuxalk words not all of which are of obvious Salish or Wakash descent, and that may tentatively be linked with PA: 4

(20) Nux c'k 'to shelter, cover, shade' and c'1 (root) 'to wink, close one's eye(s) - ?PA *-c'1 'to close one's eyes' (Tahltan /n...-c'ɪ, c'ɪ, c'ɪ/ id., Carrier /n...-c'ɪ, c'ɪ/ id. - MI:523)

(21) Nux kac'an 'tail' (*ka?c'(a)n1) - PA *Ke? 'tail' (N89:32, KL:140) (the southern Carrier term for 'onion' is K'o 'grass' + -can 'to smell, stink' - Nater 1975)

(22) Nux silin 'kidney' (*si-lin7) - cf. PA *-larr 'to flow' (KL:35)

1.1.4. Post-PA > Nux. As the proto-Nuxalk cultural-linguistic division became increasingly more isolated from the remaining Salish world, social intercourse with Athabascan groups dwindled, too. Neighboring Wakashan communities now became the prevailing cultural role model, as well as a source of new lexical material. As we shall see in 1.1.5, the relation between Nuxalk and Athabascan populations had now reached a point where a role reversal was imminent. The only two Nuxalk words that can be traced back to post-PA are:

(23) Nux k'w¥ 'firewood' (*k'w¥) - Carrier k'wan 'fire' (PA *q'wan', Eyak qu'n- id. - KL:140-141) (cf. footnotes 5, 7, 8, 10)

(24) Nux tas 'blunt arrow used for stunning birds' - Carrier tas 'blunt-headed arrow' (MI:25), Tahltan tas 'arrow'

1.1.5. Neo-A > Nux. Once the Nuxalk had secured their coalition with adjacent Wakash groups, relations with Athabascans changed drastically and irreversibly: "In spite of their close ties with both the neighboring Athapaskans and Wakashans, the status-conscious Bella Coola held sharply differing attitudes toward these two peoples. The 'much-despised Carriers' and Chilcotins were regarded as crude and ignorant people from the meager lands of the interior; the Wakashans, on the other hand, were admired for their noble families, their power, and their superior lore (McIlwraith 1948: I, 19)" (Nm:203). This attitudinal change is commensurate with a reversal in the direction of borrowing apparent from some Nuxalk-Athabascan lexical similarities that originated after establishment of the new cultural-political order. Thus, a number of Chilcotin and southern Carrier words have obviously been borrowed from Nuxalk (rather than the other way around):

(25) Nux kc'k1 'herring' - Carrier Calc1 id.
(26) Nux nuxwski 'soapberries' - Carrier nowas id. (cf. was 'foam')
(27) Nux sputx 'eulachon' - Carrier sbuitid.
(28) Nux t'li 'dog salmon' - Carrier t'ali id.
(29) Nux ?uq'‘uuni 'throat' - Chilcotin be-q'uni 'his throat', niq'uni 'adam's apple' (C:125)
The similarity between the following Nuxalk and Carrier words may, however, be fortuitous:

(31) Nux sc'cili 'bush of dwarf blueberry' ("sc-ci-cl-l'i") - Carrier ?i'kal 'blueberry' (should the latter, in turn, be compared with Nux ?i'kay 'to pick berries'?)

(32) Nux c'i'lk 'bald eagle' ('c'i-lk-t') - Carrier ?a'ak 'fishing eagle' (cf. al-

2. Nuxalk phonological developments occasioned by (pre-)PA. A number of sound

Nux/7

scent: (29) Nux 'ug'uni 'throat' (= Chilcotin -q'un) is from the same source as Haida q'yq'uni id. (N77:63) and Haisla q'bi'ni id. (LR:319), and (30) Nux q'ani 'spoon' (= Chilcotin qani) is also originally Wakash: cf. Haisla q'ani 'horseshoe lambs (used as dishes at potlatches)' (LR:116).

(26) Nux nux'aki 'soapberries' (= Carrier nowa) continues *na(w)-?a'-?a-?a-kan/ (which as such has been preserved in Kwakiutl nak'askan id. - N77:35), from common Salish */na(a)x/- 'inside', *?a-?a 'to foam' (K70:69) (which in turn has generated Carrier was 'foam') and */?-?a-?a/ 'back, top surface'.

As regards (8) Nux qa' 'rabbit', note that qa/q/... is widespread: Tlingit qa', Tsimshian qa' (Na:210) (an equally widely diffused root underlies (7) Nux laakc 'squirrel').

Of special interest is (34) Nux milix 'kinnikinnick' whose older meaning may have been *(kinnikinnick) leaves suitable for smoking' (kinnikinnick leaves were formerly dried and smoked like tobacco), and which appears to go back to *milax'/mil'x-w/ma(na)x/ma(na)x(w) (Kuipers reconstructs *s-manx/x-w '(to smoke) tobacco' - K82:75). At the same time, common Salish *ma(na)x(w) bears a striking resemblance to PA *manax 'kinnikinnick' (which is itself related to Tlingit tjen id. - Kl:101). Considering further that the use of tobacco as such was probably unknown in pre-contact times, I surmise that at least one of the substances then smoked was indeed the dried leaves of the kinnikinnick plant, and that the PA + Tlingit and Salish terms are in fact cognate; however, it remains to be determined if *ma(na)x(w) is of Na-Dene origin, or whether *manax and *ma(na)x(w) both stem from a substratum language. (Compare also Gitksan miy'an 'tobacco', mi'nin 'smoke' and smiy'nen 'to smoke tobacco' (Hindle and Rigsby 1973), whose mi...?y...?n resembles Salish m...n(...).)

Finally, let us consider (35) Nux p'x 'crabapple', which has, as far as I am aware, no cognates either in Salish or in geographically contiguous (Wakash, Athabascan) languages, and thus strikes us as rather exotic. Nevertheless, in two languages not spoken in the immediate vicinity of Nuxalk we find words for 'crabapple' that are reminiscent of Nux p'x, viz. Haida k'ay and Tlingit x'ax (KL:163). These can be compared with p'x if (a) Nux p'x goes back to *p'a?ax alternating with *k'ax (cf. N90:256), and (b) Haida k'ay continues *k'ak (presumably via *k'ax) (KL:152-163). Does a substratum word *k'a?k/*k'a?x/*k'a?x(x), or the like, underlie the Nux, Haida and Tlingit terms for 'crabapple'?
Shaw shifts characterizing the transitions (1) from pre-PA to PA and (2) from PA to neo-A have left their marks on Nuxalk. The first such shift is pre-PA velar $\rightarrow$ PA front velar $\rightarrow$ neo-A palatal, while two other shifts, having taken place between pre-PA and PA, are the result of spirantization and suprasegmentalization (L:24-25). (The latter phenomena pertain to the treatment of certain pre-PA root-final stops and glottalization and $'//'$. Below, we will observe that the fronting/palatalization of $'//'$ is also characteristic of Salish other than Nux, while Nux spirantization and $'//'$ $\rightarrow$ $'//'$ (the former being typical of Wakash and Tsimshian as well) are virtually unique within Salish. (For a Tsimshian parallel of Nux $''/VC'/''$ $\rightarrow$ $''/VC'/''$ $\rightarrow$ $''/VC'/''$, see Cook 1981:269.) Finally, the lack of distinctive stress in Nux is also ascribed to (pre-)PA influence on older stages of Nuxalk.

2.1. Pre-PA velar $\rightarrow$ PA front velar $\rightarrow$ neo-A palatal. All pre-PA velars became PA fronted velars, which in turn became palatal affricates in most neo-A (L:7, 15) (for PA $''/x/''$ $\rightarrow$ neo-PA $''/V/''$, $''/V/''$ see fn. 15). The pre-PA velar $\rightarrow$ PA front velar shift, in particular, has affected northern Wakash, Tsimshian and Nuxalk (palatality of $'/k/'$, $'/k/''$ etc. now being an areal feature), while the PA front velar $\rightarrow$ neo-A palatal shift has left its imprint on all CS and southeastern IS (Kalispel, Coeur d'Alene, Flathead, Spokane).

2.2. Pre-PA $''/VC'/''$ $\rightarrow$ PA $''/V/''$. A Nuxalk phonological development similar to the phenomenon of suprasegmentalization in Athabaskan, to wit $''/V/''$ $\rightarrow$ $''/V/''$ and $''/VC'/''$ $\rightarrow$ $''/VC'/''$ $\rightarrow$ $''/VC'/''$ (cf. N84:19), has yielded Nuxalk words with $''/VC'/''$ (where $''/V/''$ $\rightarrow$ $''/V/''$ corresponding to $''/VC'/''$ or $''/VC'/''$ in other Salish, e.g. Nux niix? $''/fire/''$ (N(u)-(h)i?qW $''/fire/''$ - id.), Nux x'ax?'l $''/light of weight/''$ (''x'a''s- = Squamish $''/h/ax/''$ id.), and Nux tiik? $''/to hit with a hammer/''$ (''ti?q?'' = Shuswap teq''-m $''/to nail/''$, Nux suki = susq''i/i) $''/young sibling/''$ (''s-''u?q''i? = Squamish $''/s-a?q''$ - ?tl 'brother, sister, cousin', Shuswap $''/aq''$ $''/sibling of same sex/''$) (N77). (For Nux $''/a/''$ from $''/u/''$ see 2.3; Nux x'ax?'l from $''/u/x/''$, $''/a/''$ is discussed in N90:249 ff.)

The Nux shift from $''/VC'/''$ $\rightarrow$ $''/VC'/''$ must first have operated on stem-final consonants, from where it spread to open syllables as well. The prehistory of Nux laakc $''/squirrel/''$ given in 1.1.2 indicates that the intermediate stage in the shift from $''/VC'/''$ to $''/VC'/''$ (later $''/VC'/''$) was $''/VC'/''$, a sequence which is rare in Salish, but apparently not infrequent in PA; thus, I infer that Nux vowel length from (pre-)glottalization has been occasioned by proto-Athabaskan.

2.3. Pre-PA $''/Vq''/''$ $\rightarrow$ PA $''/Vq''/''$. In certain environments, the feature of glottalization of pre-PA $''/q''/''$, too, was transferred to a preceding vowel, and the uvular stop was subjected to spirantization, i.e. $''/q''/''$ became $''/k''/''$ (L:24-25, 54). This phenomenon (marking - like palatalization of the $'/k/''$ series - the transition from pre-PA to PA) diffused to Nuxalk, where $''/Vq''/''$ often continues $''/Vq''(qW)/''$ or $''/Vq''(qW)/''$, e.g. Nux xwaaxwi $''/light of weight/''$, Squamish $''/wi?q/''$ $''/light of weight/''$, Shuswap $''/wi?q/''$ $''/to undo, wreck/''$) (N77); see further 2.2. Spirantization (which affected not only originally glottalized stops in (pre-)PA) is now an areal feature, and as such is also found in Wakash and Tsimshian (cf. fn. 19, LR:11-12 and Cook 1981:269). (For Nux $''/q''/''$ alternating with $''/k''/''$, see N84:21-22.)

2.4. Lack of distinctive stress/tone. Among the Salish languages, Nuxalk is unique insofar as it has no distinctive prosodic features (stress or tone; for phonetic details, see N84:27-28). Such lack of distinctive intonation was, however, also characteristic of PA (which appears to have had constricted vs. non-constricted, rather than high- vs. low-toned, vowels - L:12-13), and I surmise that here, too, Athabaskan influence has played a significant role. Areally, the isolated position of Nuxalk in this respect is corroborated by the presence of distinctive stress or tone in all neighboring languages ($+$ Tsimshian).
firmed. Furthermore, the geographical distance between CS and southeastern IS
(which have in common the /k k' x/ → /ʔ ʔ'/ shift induced by (post-)PA) hints
at the possibility of a split into southwestbound post-PA groups (precursors of
the Kwahioqua, Tlatskanai, Tolowa, Nupa etc.) and southeastbound (pre-Navaho
and -Apache?) Athabascans. The likely site of such a separation is just north
of Columbian Salish, viz. the area once occupied by the Nicola. The latter hy­
pothesis, however, must be tested via a thorough lexical and/or typological com­
parison of southeastern IS with southern Athabascan. As far as an ongoing ex­
mamination of Salish-Athabascan lexical similarities is concerned, we definitely
need access to more proto-Salish reconstructions than are now available; an ex­
haustive index of proto-Athabascan etymologies, too, would benefit the type of
investigation set out in this paper.

FOOTNOTES

1. For the distinction between PAE, pre-PA and PA, see Krauss and Leer 1981 and
Leer 1979.

2. On the phonological level, however, Nuxalk is not as close typologically to
Athabascan as those Salish (Interior) languages that have voiced velar and den­
tal phonemes (/ŋ/ /n/) as well as vowel inventories that are richer than the ba­
sic triad /i/ /a/ /u/ found in Nuxalk.

3. For Harry Hoijer's attempts at classifying Athabascan languages, read Krauss
1974: 323 ff. After KL, the term "Na-Dene" is here used in reference to PAE +
Tlingit only (Haida not being included).

4. For Salish, Wakash and/or other cognates, see 1.2. PA constricted vowels
(KL's /y/ and /ʔ/) are rendered as /ʔ/.

5. Was there a form *q'(w)awn/g', intermediate between (pre-)PA and Nux? (But
consider Eyak q'aga!?) Cf. footnotes 7, 8, 10.

6. Compare also Nux kic' 'to twist, wring, wash', which is a post-PA diffusion
(*-gaq'ic', cf. Carrier /na-...-ga/ 'to wring' - CD:340). If Squamish č'ic' 'to
be twisted' (N77:41) is from older *č'(')ic', it, too, is originally Athabascan.

7. The Nux term goes back to PA *-q'an (basic stem), which may have varied with
*-q'aŋ prior to entering Nuxalk (cf. footnotes 5, 8, 10).

8. PA /g'/ may have been /g'/, /ʔw'/, or /m/ (KL:58-73, 119-123); cf. footnotes
5, 7, 10.

9. Also generally Salish: common Salish *c'uq', 'to suck' (K70:60), *c'y/gm 'to
suck, kiss' (K82:78).

10. PA *č'(w)at' was apparently modified to *č'aw(?)t(?) before being absorbed
by pre-proto-Nuxalk (cf. footnotes 5, 7, 8).

Nux/11

Nux/12
11. *q'anā is here reconstructed as a transitional form (late PA/early IS) predating pre-proto-Nuxalk *q'als (cf. fn. 14). For the alleviation of the PA word-final cluster *kʷ, cf. Carrier k'anih 'solidified jack pine sap' (CD:122) = Tahltan k'ām, k'āni.

12. All Tahltan data are from my field notes. Hereafter, when Carrier data are not followed by a reference code (CD or MI), they, too, have been copied from my own files.

13. *c'i/əl may actually be a later diffusion (from post-PA): ?cf. Carrier c'əl 'thick brush/underbrush' (CD:231). Nux p'ək 'to wink' (with Wakash cognates), if from *k'ə(-ə), may also belong here (cf. N90:247-249).

14. Historically, Nux ...k is either /-k/ 'belonging to' (cf. N84:58), /-kə/ 'round' (cf. N84:85), or a reduction of /-ək/ 'food implement' (cf. N84:81).

15. However, not all Athabascan languages have undergone the front velar - palatal shift, while in Chilcotin, Chipewyan and other Athabascan, /‐j/ (syllable final) is in complementary distribution with /‐j/ (syllable initial) (Cook 1981: 258).

16. Note that in these languages, /c/ /s/ etc. do not have the same phonetic latitude as in languages where /k/ /s/ etc. have been fronted (such as Shuswap, where /c/ /s/ are as a rule phonetically apico-alveolar; cf. fn. 11).

17. Like Tsimshian "unbonding" (Cook 1981:269) and (pre-)PA suprasegmentalization, Nux *k*VC ‐ > *VC, /VC/ ‐ > /VC/ has predominantly affected root- and suffix-final /VC/ sequences.

18. Besides *-la'k 'squirrel' and *-c'at 'scratch', Krauss and Leer list *-c'at 'nail', *-ra'c 'hill', *-wa't 'belly', *-zaq 'belch', *-waq 'cheek', *-naq 'swallow, choke', *a'ct (also *a't) 'fart' and *-tək (also *-tuk) 'blow'.

19. Generally, (pre-)PA spirantization applied to all series that included a fricative (affricates, front and back velars). See Leer: 24-25, 53, 54, 55, 57, 58.

References


Southern Carrier field notes.

Tahltan field notes.


ERRATA

Page Nux/4, 2nd line from bottom: substitute "(KL:140,191)" for "(KL:191)"
Page Nux/5, 10th line from bottom: delete "-Mater 1975"
Page Nux/5, 9th line from bottom: substitute "(KL:99)" for "(KL:90)"
Page Nux/7, 15th line from bottom: substitute "-gag2" for "-gag2"
Page Nux/8, 18th line from top: substitute "KL:100" for "KL:101"
Page Nux/9, 7th line from top: substitute "\^k' x/" for "\^k/x/"