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 here 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 played a role in the genesis of Nuxalk-Athabascan lexical similitudes. The following Nuxalk-Athabascan osmotic stages can be distinguished: (a) PAE → Nux, (b) pre-PA → Nux, (c) PA → Nux, (d) post-PA → Nux and (e) neo-A → Nux (A = Athabascan, PA = proto-Athabascan, PAE = proto-Athabascan-Eyak, post-PA = early Carrier-Chilcotin(-Nicola), neo-A = Carrier-Chilcotin, Nux = Nuxalk).[1] It will al-

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;[2] 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 /ĉ/ /ĉ'/ /ŝ/) is used instead of the hachek to transcribe apico-alveolars; in /ẋ/ and /ẏ/, the superscript dot replaces the subscript dot, and /g̣/ = /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).
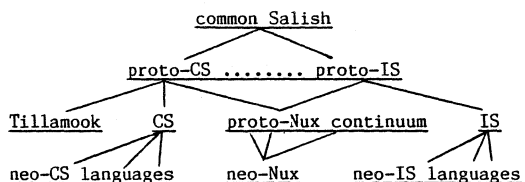
1. **Nuxalk-Athabascan lexical isoglosses.** A comparison of PAE and (pre-)PA data with what is known about Nuxalk and its prehistory has convinced me that, as the result of successive waves of contact, the Nuxalk language has been subjected to a marked degree of lexical infusion by Athabascan, notably 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:[3]

PAE-Tlingit

pre-PA + PAE   pre-Tlingit

PA   Eyak   Tlingit dialects
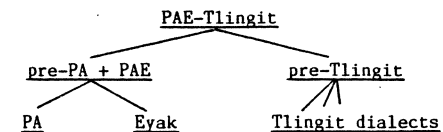
The oldest traces of Athabascan in Nuxalk go back to a period when early Salish dialects ancestral to Nuxalk were first influenced by pre-PA (+ PAE); this symbiotic relation continued through PA and post-PA into neo-A. The prehistory of Nuxalk itself is outlined as follows:

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                    common Salish
                   /            \
          proto-CS ........ 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 <u>PAE ≯ Nux</u>, <u>pre-PA ≯ Nux</u>, <u>PA ≯ Nux</u>, <u>post-PA ≯ Nux</u> and <u>neo-A ≯ Nux</u>.

1.1.1. PAE ≯ Nux.
Traces of PAE found in Nuxalk appear to be remnants of PAE lexical infusions into common Salish dialects ultimately preceding Nuxalk. The few such residues on record are:[4]

(1) Nux q'aw 'to pack, wrap, store' – Eyak q'əw 'provisions' (KL:126)

(2) Nux ʔut'ak 'to vomit' – Eyak wət' 'vomit' (PA *-wəʔt' 'belly') (KL:9-10)

(3) Nux ƛ'x̣ (root) 'to burst, crack(le), spark(le)' – Eyak -ƛeʔx̣ '(fish) flops' (pre-PA *-ƛəx̣d 'jump up; flare up (of fire)') (KL:104)

In addition, there is (4) Nux k^{w}anat 'to weep', which has no known cognates in Salish. But if ...at is here originally suffixal (cf. Nux /-t/ 'formative' and Shuswap /-t, -ét/ 'status form'), a CVC root *k^{w}an may be akin to Eyak -kī^{n}x̣ and PA *-ćʷəi̧, -ćʷēʔi̧ 'to weep', i.e. with Eyak -k...^{n}x̣ and PA *-ćʷ...i̧ going back to PAE *-k^w...(n)x̣. However, there is no evidence that Eyak nasality is indeed of PAE origin (KL:142), while there is no trace in Nux k^{w}an(-)at of a postvelar fricative equalling PAE ...x̣ (or cf. Eyak /-x̣/ 'progressive' (L:46)?).

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:[4]

(5) Nux ʔaq'ʷm 'herring spawning' – PA *q'ūn' 'roe', Eyak -q'uʔ 'spawn', q'əmā 'roe' (KL:141) (for Nux ...m from (pre-)PA *...n' cf. qm, q'm, yamł below and 1.1.4: k^{w}mł)[5]

(6) Nux q^{w}uc' 'to wash, launder' – PA *-ġēc', -ġəc' 'to wring', Eyak -ġəməc', -ġəc' 'to twist, wring' (KL:95) (from PAE *-ġ^w...c'/-ġ...w^{n}c'ʔ)[6]

(7) Nux laakc 'squirrel' (*laʔk-c) – PA *-ləg, -ləʔk' id., Eyak cəłk' id. (and cf. Tlingit całg, Tsimshian c'ənłák' id.) (KL:108-109)

(8) Nux qax̣ 'rabbit' – PA *ġəx̣, Eyak ġax̣ id. (Nm:210)

(9) Nux qm (root) 'soft, gentle' – PA *-ġəŋ$_2$' 'lukewarm', Eyak -ġuʔ 'warm' (KL:139) (cf. (12): fn. 8)

(10) Nux q'm (root) 'to burn, scorch something' – PA *-q'ān 'burn', Eyak -q'a 'burn' (KL:140)[7]

(11) Nux stn 'stick, tree' (*s-tn) – PA *-tān, -tən 'classif. sticklike obj.', Eyak -ta id. (KL:191)

(12) Nux wl 'to pour' – PA *-ŋ$_2$əł,[8] Eyak -ʔił id. (KL:134-6)

(13) Nux yamɬ (root) 'to sing' (*yam-ɬʔ) – PA *-ɣən, xən '(to sing) shaman(is-
     tically)', Eyak xīl '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 *-ĉ'īk' 'smart,
     sting', Eyak -ĉ'iyaʔk' id. (KL:94)

(15) Nux c'u (root), c'um (stem) 'to suck' – PA *c'ū 'breast' (KL:87)[9]

(16) Nux c'up (root) 'to scratch' – PA *-ĉ'^{w}əʔt', Eyak -k'iⁿʔt' id. (KL:142)[10]

(17) Nux ƛ'ulay 'birchbark basket' (*ƛ'ul-ay) – PA *ƛ'ū-ɬ/l- 'rope', an exten-
     sion of *-ƛ'ū 'bind' (= Eyak -ƛ'i) (KL:139) (Nux */-ay/ is a petrified
     (common Salish) suffix signifying 'plant, bark')

(18) Nux ƛ'x̣^{w}cn 'onion' – PA *ƛ'əx̣^{w} 'grass' + *-ĉən 'to smell' (= Eyak -ĉaⁿ')
     (N89:32, KL:140) (the southern Carrier term for 'onion' is ƛ'ocən: ƛ'o
     'grass' + -cən 'to smell, stink' – Nater 1975)

(19) Nux q'ls 'cambium' (*q'ələs, q'ənəŝ) – PA *q'ənəx-ɬ id. (KL:90)[11]

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'ɬ 'to shelter, cover, shade' and c'i (root) 'to wink, close one's
     eye(s)' – ?PA *-ĉ'(^{w})...ʔɬ/ƛ' 'to close one's eyes' (Tahltan /n-...-c'īɬ,
     -c'eƛ, -c'eɬ/ id., Carrier /n-...-c'iɬ, -c'əɬ/ id. – MI:523)[12]

(21) Nux kac'an 'tail' (*kaʔc'(a)nʔ) – PA *keʔ 'tail' (N89:34) + *-c'ən 'bone'
     (= Eyak c'əl – KL:93)?

(22) Nux silin 'kidney' (*si-linʔ) – cf. PA *-ləŋ '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 Wakash 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:[4]

(23) Nux k^{w}mɬ 'firewood' (*k^{w}m-ɬ) – Carrier k^{w}ən 'fire' (PA *q^{w}ən', Eyak qū$^{-n}$
     id. – KL:140-141) (cf. footnotes 5, 7, 8, 10)

(24) Nux tas 'blunt arrow used for stunning birds' – Carrier təs '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 Wakash-
ans, 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 Car-
rier words have obviously been borrowed from Nuxalk (rather than the other way
around):[4]

(25) Nux kɫkl 'herring' – Carrier ĉəlĉəl id.

(26) Nux nux̣^{w}ski 'soapberries' – Carrier nowəs id. (cf. wəs 'foam')

(27) Nux sputx 'eulachon' – Carrier sbutix id.

(28) Nux t'li 'dog salmon' – Carrier t'əli id.

(29) Nux ʔuq'^{w}uuni 'throat' – Chilcotin be-q'uni 'his throat', niq'uni 'adam's
     apple' (C:125)

(30) Nux qʷaniɬ 'spoon' – Chilcotin qäniṣ id. (C:124)

The similarity between the following Nuxalk and Carrier words may, however, be fortuitous:

(31) Nux scɬcli 'bush of dwarf blueberry' (*s-cl-cl-i?) – Carrier ʔiɬcəl 'blue-
berry' (should the latter, in turn, be compared with Nux ʔiɬcay 'to pick
berries'?)

(32) Nux c'lkt 'bald eagle' (*c'lk-t) – Carrier ʔəc'ək 'fishing eagle' (cf. al-
so Haisla c'lk (root) 'feather' – LR:431)

Only (33) Nux cllik, cl?lik 'coyote' is evidently of neo-A origin, cf. Chilcotin
čəl?ík id. (with /č/ rather than /c/ – N77:20).

1.2. PAE → Nux and beyond: lexical diffusion. Several of the pairs given in
1.1.1-5 have Salish cognates. Thus, (2) Nux ʔut'ak 'to vomit' is also related
to Shuswap wetk'x and Lillooet wet'k' id. (N77:62) (all from *wət'(a)k/wat'k('),
from a PAE denom. verb *-wət'k: */-k/ 'rep.-cust.' – L:46-47); PA *q'ūn' 'roe'
(which underlies (5) Nux ʔaq'ʷm 'herring spawning') also survives in Shuswap
q'ʷúne 'soup made of fish-eggs with sceqʷm' and ʔek'ʷn 'fish roe' (K74:249,278);
(6) Nux qʷuc' 'to launder' is also akin to Shuswap qʷic'-m 'wash laundry' (N77:
52); (pre-)PA -ġəŋ₂' 'lukewarm' underlies not only (9) Nux qm 'soft, gentle', but
e.g. Shuswap qm-qem-t 'lukewarm, cooled off, gentle' (K74:234) as well; (13) Nux
yamɬ 'to sing' may also be related to Shuswap ymtn-em 'to sing a lovesong' (?ym-
-tn-) (K89:223); (14) Nux c(i)k' 'sting(ing)' is also connected with Sechelt
cíč'-it 'pick up with a fork, spike' (N77:21); (20) Nux c'ɬ 'to shade etc.' and
c'i 'to close one's eye(s)' have probably also been inspired by common Salish
c'i/al 'shade, shadow' (K82:79).[13] Here, (pre-)PA lexical elements have appar-
ently diffused beyond those early Salish divisions that would ultimately compose
the distinct Nuxalk ethnos.

Two Nuxalk-Athabascan lexical pairs appear to have congeners even in Wakash: (3)
Nux ƛ'x̣ 'to burst etc.' also resembles Haisla ƛ'ɬqa 'to crack' (LR:359), while
PA q'ənəx-ɬ 'sap, cambium' not only underlies (19) Nux q'ls id., but may also be
continued (truncated) in Haisla q'n (root) 'to stop running (said of the sap of
a tree)' (LR:482).

Two Nuxalk terms that have spread into Chilcotin are themselves of Wakash de-

scent: (29) Nux ʔuq'ʷuuni 'throat' (= Chilcotin -q'uni) is from the same source
as Heiltsuk q'ʷúq'ʷún'ɬ id. (N77:63) and Haisla q'ùq'ʷn'i id. (LR:319), and (30)
Nux qʷaniɬ 'spoon' (= Chilcotin qäniṣ) is also originally Wakash: cf. Haisla
ġʷanɬ 'horseclam shells (used as dishes at potlatches)' (LR:116).[14]

(26) Nux nux̣ʷski 'soapberries' (= Carrier nowəs) continues */nə(w)-x̣ʷəs-kən/
(which as such has been preserved in Kwakiutl nəx̣ʷəskə́n id. – N77:35), from com-
mon Salish */n(əxʷ)-/ 'inside', *x̣ʷus 'to foam' (K70:69) (which in turn has gen-
erated Carrier wəs 'foam') and */-(i)kən/ 'back, top surface'.

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

Of special interest is (34) Nux milix̣ʷ '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
*miləx̣ʷ/mil'x̣ʷ/man(ə)x/man'x(ʷ) (Kuipers reconstructs *s-manx/x̣ʷ '(to smoke) to-
bacco' – K82:75). At the same time, common Salish *man(ə)x(ʷ) bears a striking
resemblance to PA *dənəx 'kinnikinnick' (which is itself related to Tlingit tinx
id. – KL:101). Considering further that the use of <u>tobacco</u> 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 deter-
mined if *man(ə)x(ʷ) is of Na-Dene origin, or whether *dənəx and *man(ə)x(ʷ)
both stem from a substratum language. (Compare also Gitksan miy'an 'tobacco',
mi?in 'smoke' and x̣miy'éen 'to smoke tobacco' (Hindle and Rigsby 1973), whose
#m...?/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'əy and Tlingit x'ax̣'
(KL:163). These can be compared with p'x if (a) Nux p'x goes back to *t'ʔəx al-
ternating with *k'əx (cf. N90:256), and (b) Haida k'əy continues *k'ək (presum-
ably via *k'əx) (KL:162-163). Does a substratum word *k'ə?k('), k'ə?x('), or
the like, underlie the Nux, Haida and Tlingit terms for 'crabapple'?

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

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 → PA front velar → neo-A palatal,[15] while two other shifts, having taken place between pre-PA and PA, are the result of <u>spirantization</u> and <u>suprasegmentalization</u> (L:24-25). (The latter phenomena pertain to the treatment of certain pre-PA root-final stops and glottalization and */ʔ/.) Below, we will observe that the fronting/palatalization of */K/ is also characteristic of Salish other than Nux, while Nux spirantization and */Vʔ/ → /V̄/ (the former being typical of Wakash and Tsimshian as well) are virtually unique within Salish. (For a Tsimshian parallel of Nux **/VC'/ → */VʔC/ → /V̄C/, 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 → PA front velar → 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/ → neo-A /šV, Vç/ see fn. 15). The pre-PA velar → PA front velar shift, in particular, has affected northern Wakash, Tsimshian and Nuxalk (palatality of /k/, /k'/ etc. now being an areal feature),[16] while the PA front velar → 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'/ → PA */VʔC/.

A Nuxalk phonological development similar to the phenomenon of suprasegmentalization in Athabascan, to wit */Vʔ/ → /V̄/ and **/VC'/ → */VʔC/ → /V̄C/ (cf. N84:19), has yielded Nuxalk words with /V̄C/ (where /V̄/ = /V₁V₁/) corresponding to /VʔC/ or /VC'/ in other Salish, e.g. Nux niix̌ʷ 'fire' (*n(u)-(h)iʔqʷ = Squamish (h)iʔqʷ- id.), Nux x̌ʷaax̌ʷi 'light of weight' (*x̌ʷaʔ- = Squamish ʔá̌ʔx̌ʷa id.), and Nux tiix̌ʷ 'to hit with a hammer' (*tiʔqʷ, tiq'ʷ = Shuswap teq'ʷ-m 'to nail'), Nux suux̌i (= susqʷi/ii) 'younger sibling' (*s-uʔqʷiʔ, ʔuqʷiʔ = Squamish s-(ʔ)əq'ʷíʔtl 'brother, sister, cousin', Shuswap ʔuq'ʷy 'sibling of same sex') (N77). (For Nux /x̌ʷ/ from */qʷ/ see 2.3; Nux /uX/ from */uXʷ, əwX/ is discussed in N90:249 ff.)

The Nux shift from */VC'/ to /V̄C/ must first have operated on stem-final consonants, from where it spread to open syllables as well.[17] The prehistory of Nux laakc 'squirrel' given in 1.1.2 indicates that the intermediate stage in the shift from **/VC'/ to */VʔC/ (later /V̄C/) was */VʔC'/, a sequence which is rare

in Salish, but apparently not infrequent in PA;[18] thus, I infer that Nux vowel length from (pre-)glottalization has been occasioned by proto-Athabascan.

2.3. Pre-PA **/Vq'/ → PA */Vʔx̌/.

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 */x̌/ (L:24-25, 54).[19] This phenomenon (marking - like palatalization of the /k/ series - the transition from pre-PA to PA) diffused to Nuxalk, where /V̄x̌(ʷ)/ often continues */Vʔq(ʷ)/ or */Vq'(ʷ)/, e.g. Nux snaax̌ 'slave' (*s-naʔq = Comox nanʔq), Nux wiix̌ (root) 'to pry open' (*wiʔq, wiq' = Squamish wiq'- 'open', Shuswap wiq'-m 'to undo, wreck') (N77); see further 2.2. Spirantization (which affected not <u>only</u> 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(ʷ)/ alternating with /x̌(ʷ)/, 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 <u>constricted</u> vs. <u>non-constricted</u>, rather than high- vs. low-toned, vowels - L:12-13), and I surmise that here, too, Athabascan 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?).

3. Conclusions.

At this point, only a few inferences about the prehistorical conditions underlying the ancient Nuxalk-Athabascan connection can be made. My data suggest that the oldest contacts between pre-Nuxalk Salish and Athabascan groups were established somewhere in the northern regions of what now comprises the Salish domain; four out of the five PAE → Nux and pre-PA → Nux diffusions with Salish cognates, viz. (2) ʔut'ak, (5) ʔaq'ʷm, (6) qʷuc and (13) yaml, are shared with IS only. Later (PA → Nux) diffusions that involve CS as well originated further to the south, and thus (while no definite conclusions regarding the precise location of a common Salish homeland, and subsequent diasporas, are drawn here), a southward Athabascan migratory pattern is indicated, if not con-

firmed. Furthermore, the geographical distance between CS and southeastern IS
(which have in common the /k k' x/ $\rightarrow$ /č č' š/ shift induced by (post-)PA) hints
at the possibility of a split into <u>southwestbound</u> post-PA groups (precursors of
the Kwalhioqua, Tlatskanai, Tolowa, Hupa etc.?) and <u>southeastbound</u> (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 exam-
ination 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 (/ɣ/ /z/) 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
1976: 323 ff. After KL, the term "Na-Dene" is here used in reference to PAE +
Tlingit only (Haida <u>not</u> being included).

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

5. Was there a form $^*q'(^w)əwn/ŋ^w$, intermediate between (pre-)PA and Nux? (But
consider Eyak q'əmā̄!) Cf. footnotes 7, 8, 10.

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

7. The Nux term goes back to PA *-q'ən (basic stem), which may have varied with
*-q'əŋ$_2$ prior to entering Nuxalk (cf. footnotes 5, 8, 10).

8. PA /ŋ$_2$/ may have been /ŋ^w/, /w^n/, or /m/ (KL:58-73, 119-123); cf. footnotes
5, 7, 10.

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

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

11. *q'ənəŝ is here reconstructed as a transitional form (late PA/early IS) predating pre-proto-Nuxalk *q'ələs (cf. fn. 16). For the alleviation of the PA word-final cluster *xɫɬ, cf. Carrier k'ənih 'solidified jack pine sap' (CD:122) = Tahltan k'ən, k'ŝni.

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/al may actually be a later diffusion (from post-PA): ?cf. Carrier c'əl 'thick brush/underbrush' (CD:231). Nux p'ɫa 'to wink' (with Wakash cognates), if from *t'ʾəɫ(-)a, may also belong here (cf. N90:247-249).

14. Historically, Nux ...ɫ is either /-ɫ/ 'belonging to' (cf. N84:58), /ᵋiɫ/ 'round' (cf. N84:85), or a reduction of /-aɫ/ '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, /ç/ (syllable final) is in complementary distribution with /ŝ/ (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/ /x/ etc. have not 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 **/VC'/ → */VʔC/ → /V̄C/ has predominantly affected root- and suffix-final /VC/ sequences.

18. Besides *-ləʔk' 'squirrel' and *-ĉ'ʷəʔt' 'scratch', Krauss and Leer list *-ĉ'ʷəʔĉ'ʷ 'nail', *-ɣəʔc' 'hill', *-wəʔt' 'belly', *-zaʔq' 'belch', *-wəʔĉ' 'cheek', *-nəʔq' 'swallow, choke', *ƛ'əʔt' (also *ƛ'ət') 'fart' and *-ɣuʔƛ' (also *-ɣuƛ') '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, 56, 57, 58.

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ERRATA

Page Nux/4, 2nd line from bottom: substitute "(KL:140,191)" for "(KL:191)"

Page Nux/5, 10th line from bottom: delete "- Nater 1975"

Page Nux/5, 9th line from bottom: substitute "(KL:99)" for "(KL:90)"

Page Nux/7, 15th line from bottom: substitute "*-ġəŋ'$_2$" for "-ġəŋ'$_2$"

Page Nux/8, 18th line from top: substitute "KL:100" for "KL:101"

Page Nux/9, 7th line from top: substitute "*/k k' x/" for "*/K/"