Annotated Swadesh wordlists for the Athapaskan group (Na-Dene family).

Languages included: Hupa [pca-hup]; Mattole [pca-mvb]; Kato [pca-ktw]; Taldash Galice [pca-gce]; Tanaina, Upper Inlet [pca-tfu]; Tanaina, Outer Inlet [pca-tfo]; Tanaina, Inland [pca-tfi]; Tanaina, Iliamna [pca-tfl]; Ahtena, Central [pca-ahc]; Ahtena, Mentasta [pca-ahm]; Dogrib [pca-dgr]; Slavey, North [atp-nsl]; Tanacross [pca-tcb]; Upper Tanana [pca-tau]; Lower Tanana [pca-tal]; Carrier, Central [pca-car]; Koyukon [pca-koy]; Sarsi [pca-srs].

DATA SOURCES

General


I. Hupa

Main sources


Additional sources


II. Mattole

Main sources


Vocabulary of the Mattole language (Bear River dialect). Phonetic transcription and semantic definitions are unreliable.

Additional sources


III. Kato

Main sources


Additional sources


IV. Taldash Galice

Main sources


Additional sources


V. Tanaina (Upper Inlet, Outer Inlet, Inland, Iliamna).

Main sources


online at the Alaska Native Language Archive, item TI003H2004 (http://www.uaf.edu/anla/collections/search/resultDetail.xml?id=TI003H2004). // A grammar sketch of the Tanaina language (mostly based on the Inland dialect with sporadic references to other dialects).

Kari 1977 = Kari, James. Dena’ina Noun Dictionary. Fairbanks: Alaska Native Language Center. // Dictionary of the nouns of the Tanaina language. All main dialects are accounted for: Upper Inlet [U], Outer Inlet [O], Inland [I], Iliamna [Il] (if Iliamna is not marked separately, an Iliamna form is assumed to be the same as the Inland one). The absence of a specific siglum means that this form is used in all the dialects.

Kari 2007 = Kari, James. Dena’ina Topical Dictionary. Fairbanks: Alaska Native Language Center. // Thematic dictionary of the Tanaina language, covering all main dialects: Upper Inlet [U], Outer Inlet [O], Inland [I], Iliamna [Il] (apparent by if Iliamna is not marked separately, the Iliamna form is assumed to be the same as the Inland one, whereas specific Inland forms, not shared by Iliamna, are labeled as “NL”, i.e., Lime Village and Nondalton - two subdialects of Inland). The absence of a specific sigla means that this form is used in all the dialects.


Additional sources


Osgood 1937 = Osgood, Cornelius. *The Ethnography of the Tanaina*. New Haven, Yale University Publications in Anthropology, No. 16 (1937). // This ethnographical study, based on fieldwork of 1931-1932, includes wordlists (p. 208-220, additional data on p. 113-114, 128-131, 144-147) for six Tanaina dialects and subdialects: Seldovia (Kachemak Bay), Outer Inlet (Kenai), Upper Inlet (Tyonek, Upper Inlet, Susitna), Iliamna. Osgood’s linguistic data were incorporated into the cumulative dictionaries [Kari 1977; Kari 2007].

VI. Ahtena (Central, Mentasta)

Main sources

Kari 1990 = Kari, James. *Ahtna Athabaskan dictionary*. Fairbanks, Alaska: Alaska Native Language Center, University of Alaska. // *Extensive dictionary of the Ahtena language, covering all dialects: Central [C], Lower [L], Western [W], Mentasta [M] (the absence of a specific siglum means that this form is used in all the dialects), and supplemented with a grammatical sketch.*

Kari & Buck 1975 = Kari, James; Buck, Mildred. *Ahtna noun dictionary*. Fairbanks, Alaska: Alaska Native Language Center, University of Alaska. // *Thematic dictionary of the nouns of the Ahtena language. All main dialects are accounted for: Central [C], Lower [L], Western [W], Mentasta [M]. The data were revised and included into [Kari 1990].*

Smelcer 2010 = Smelcer, J. E. *Ahtna noun dictionary and pronunciation guide*. 2nd ed. The Ahtna Heritage Foundation. // *Thematic dictionary of the nouns of the Ahtena language. All main dialects are accounted for: Central [C], Lower [L], Western [W], Mentasta [M].*

Additional sources


VII. Dogrib
Main sources


Additional sources


VIII. North Slavey


Rice 1978 = Rice, Keren. 1978. *Hare Dictionary*. Ottawa: Northern Social Research Division, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs. // *Dictionary of the Hare dialect of Northern Slavey*. A preliminary publication. The available copy lacks page numbers, so we attempt to follow the pagination provided in the “Contents” section.


IX. Tanacross


A short Tanacross wordlist of ca. 400 items, mostly nouns, arranged by semantic categories.


X. Upper Tanana (Tetlin)

Main sources


Additional sources


XI. Lower Tanana (Minto)


XII. Central Carrier

Antoine et al. 1974 = Antoine, Francesca; Bird, Catherine; Isaac, Agnes; Prince, Nellie; Sam, Sally; Walker, Richard; Wilkinson, David B. Central Carrier Bilingual Dictionary. Fort Saint James, British Columbia: Carrier Linguistic Committee. // Central Carrier-English dictionary, ca. 3,000 entries, accompanied with the grammar sketch.


Poser 1998/2013 = Poser, William J. (Bill). Nak’albun/Dzinghubun Whut’enne Bughuni: Stuart/Trembleur Lake Carrier Lexicon. 2nd ed. Vanderhoof, BC: Yinka Dene Language Institute. // An extensive Central Carrier-English and English-Central Carrier dictionary with more than 15,000 entries. This cumulative work includes previous sources checked with the modern speakers and add a lot of newly collected data. We use the unpublished revised version of 15 August 2013, kindly provided by the author.

XIII. Koyukon


XIV. Degexit’an


XV. Sarsi

Main sources


Additional sources


Nanagusja 1996a = Nanagusja: A Tsuut’ina (Sarcee) Language Development Program.


**NOTES**

I. Hupa.


The main sources are the dictionaries [Sapir & Golla 2001; Golla 1996] and the grammars [Golla 1970; Golla 1996a]. Papers [Golla 1964; Golla 1977] are also very useful. In some controversial cases, specific forms have been checked against the text collections [Sapir & Golla 2001; Goddard 1904; Golla 1984].

A Hupa Swadesh wordlist is offered in [Hoijer 1956: 223] (extracted from Sapir’s field notes). For those cases in which the general semantics of the items in [Hoijer 1956] matches the current standards of GLD, our list is different from Hoijer’s in 7 entries, namely: 'to die', 'to fly', 'to see', 'to sit', 'small', 'water', 'yellow'.

I.2. Transliteration.

We transliterate the alphabets of [Golla 1996; Sapir & Golla 2001] as follows:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[Golla 1996]</th>
<th>[Sapir &amp; Golla 2001]</th>
<th>GLD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>tʰ (before a vowel) / t (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'</td>
<td>t'</td>
<td>t'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n'</td>
<td>n?</td>
<td>n?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'</td>
<td>A'</td>
<td>A'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l'</td>
<td>l?</td>
<td>l?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l'</td>
<td>l?</td>
<td>l?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dz</td>
<td>ʒ</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts</td>
<td>ɕ</td>
<td>ɕʰ (before a vowel) / ɕ (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts'</td>
<td>ɕ'</td>
<td>ɕ'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s'</td>
<td>s?</td>
<td>s'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>ɻ</td>
<td>ɻ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch</td>
<td>ʃ</td>
<td>ʃʰ (before a vowel) / ʃ (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chw</td>
<td>ɺw</td>
<td>ɺhw (before a vowel) / ɺw (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch'</td>
<td>ʂ'</td>
<td>ʂ'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sh</td>
<td>ʂ</td>
<td>ʂ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngy</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g, gy</td>
<td>ɡ̞'y</td>
<td>ɡ̞'y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k, ky</td>
<td>ɺ'y</td>
<td>ɺ'y (before a vowel) / ɺ'y (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k', ky'</td>
<td>ɺ'y</td>
<td>ɺ'y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>kʰ (before a vowel) / k (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Notes.

1. Hupa k {G}, kʰ {K} and k’ {K’} are marginal sounds, attested in diminutive (and sometimes augmentative!) forms as variants of palatal kʸ, kʰʸ and k’ʸ or in loanwords and onomatopoeic formations [Golla 1970: 44, 263].

2. As described in [Golla 1970; Golla 1996a: 366], morphophonologically there are three long vowels and three short vowels in Hupa. The long set is: e: a: o; its phonetic
realization is normally the same (e: a: o). The morphophonological short set is listed by Golla as a, o (although the notation i, a, u or i, a, o should be more appropriate from our point of view). Golla’s morphophonological short i realizes as an e-like sound before h, ?, and as an i-like sound elsewhere; this opposition e - i is reflected in the orthography and in our transcription. Morphophonological short o realizes as an o-like sound before h, ?, w, and as u-like sound elsewhere; this opposition o - u is not reflected in the orthography, where the character o is only used; in our transcription we follow the orthography.

3. The character u is frequently used in [Golla 1996] for short a in the position before C# or CC. E.g., =nuŋ ‘to drink’ (q.v.) for =nay in other sources; =xuc ‘to bite’ (q.v.) for =xac in other sources; yaʔ-atqay ‘(white) louse’ (q.v.) for yaʔ-atqay in other sources.

II. Mattole.

II.1. General.

The Mattole language is divided into two dialects: Mattole proper and Bear River (both died out in the middle of the 20th century). See [Golla 2011: 78 f.] for general details and [Li 1930: 2-3] for some phonetic peculiarities of the Bear River dialect. Our wordlist is compiled for the Mattole proper dialect, described in [Li 1930]. The Mattole Swadesh wordlist, offered in [Hoijer 1956], is extracted from [Li 1930]. The very short grammar sketch [Grune 1994] is, likewise, based on [Li 1930].

The main source for Bear River is the glossary in [Goddard 1929], collected from several informants. Goddard’s data are insufficient for compiling the full 110-item list; therefore, we quote the available Bear River forms in the notes. It should be noted that Goddard’s Bear River glosses are not very reliable either phonetically or semantically. It is interesting that the Bear River dialect demonstrates a substantial number of Swadesh items that are different from Mattole proper (see ‘bird’, ‘nail’, ‘egg’, ‘feather’, ‘louse’, ‘meat’, ‘night’, ‘rain’, ‘to see’, ‘skin’, ‘sun’, ‘yellow’, ‘worm’), although it is very likely that in many cases we are merely dealing with Goddard’s inaccurate definitions.

The unpublished Mattole and Bear River glossaries, collected by C. Hart Merriam in

II.2. **Transliteration.**

We transliterate the alphabets of [Li 1930] and [Goddard 1929] as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[Li 1930]</th>
<th>[Goddard 1929]</th>
<th>GLD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>p</td>
<td>pʰ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>p'</td>
<td>p'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tx</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>tʰ (before a vowel) / t (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'</td>
<td>t'</td>
<td>t'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n'</td>
<td>n'</td>
<td>nʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'ł</td>
<td>ł</td>
<td>ł’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>ł</td>
<td>ł’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts</td>
<td>ts</td>
<td>cʰ (before a vowel) / c (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t's</td>
<td>ts'</td>
<td>c’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Symbol</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'sy</td>
<td>c'y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dj</td>
<td>Č</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tcx</td>
<td>čʰ (before a vowel) / č (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'c</td>
<td>ċ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>Š</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tč</td>
<td>čʰ (before a vowel) / č (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gʷ</td>
<td>kʷ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kx</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'</td>
<td>k'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yʷ</td>
<td>yʷ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xw</td>
<td>x w</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋ'</td>
<td>ŋ'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h, '</td>
<td>h, '</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'</td>
<td>'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td>w, w</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w'</td>
<td>w'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hw, wh</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>a, α</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>e, e, ê</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i, i</td>
<td>i, i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>o, ø</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u, u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CC</td>
<td>C:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C'</td>
<td>Cʰ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V:</td>
<td>V:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V;</td>
<td>VV</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes.

1. According to [Li 1930: 5-7], the aspirated series is “strongly aspirated with a velar spirantal glide”. Thus, the transcription *tx kx čxʰ* for *tʰ kʰ čʰ* is possible. On the contrary, *cʰ* and *ɕʰ* is pronounced “with a very weak, and sometimes no, aspiration”.

2. Li proposes that the main source of *s* is the secondary defricativization of Mattole *cʰ* [Li 1930: 9 f.].

3. The exact place and manner of articulation of Li’s {tɕ} is not entirely clear; we transcribe this affricate as palatal *ɕʰ* (the transcription *čʰʸ* is also possible).

4. The velar series is actually palatalized (i.e., *kʰʸ*, *kʰʷʸ*, *kʰʰ*, *ɣʰʸ*, *ɣʰʷʸ*, *xʰ*, *xʰʷʸ*), although we prefer to transcribe it as plain velar for the sake of convenience (i.e., *k*, *kʷ* and so on).

5. Li’s {i̱} (a ə-like sound) is a variant of *i* in the position near a velar [Li 1930: 39 f.]. We do not distinguish between Li’s {i} and {i̱} in our transcription.

III. Kato.

III.1. General.

The Kato language became extinct in the middle or the 2nd half of the 20th century, see [Golla 2011: 81]. The main sources for Kato are the grammar sketch [Goddard 1912] and the text collection [Goddard 1909]. Short Kato wordlists in [Curtis 1924: 201-207] and [Essene 1942: 85-89] also provide some important lexical information (it should be noted
that the phonetic transcription in both [Essene 1942] and [Curtis 1924] is poor and unreliable. The Kato Swadesh wordlist, offered in [Hoijer 1956: 223-224], is extracted from [Goddard 1912].

III.2. Transliteration.

We transliterate the alphabet of [Goddard 1912; Goddard 1909] as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[Goddard 1912; Goddard 1909]</th>
<th>GLD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>tʰ (before a vowel) / t (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'</td>
<td>t'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n'</td>
<td>n'?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>Λ'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l'</td>
<td>l'?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l'</td>
<td>l'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts</td>
<td>cʰ (before a vowel) / c (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts'</td>
<td>c'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s'</td>
<td>s'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dj</td>
<td>č</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tc</td>
<td>čʰ (before a vowel) / č (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tc'</td>
<td>č'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Notes.

1. Not infrequently, in the specific forms recorded by Goddard, we find the aspirated affricates \( c^h \) \( \tilde{c}^h \) instead of the expected ejective sounds, e.g., \( =c'a-n \sim =c^h a-\eta \) ‘to hear’ or
Kato =čʰi: ‘to blow’ vs. Hupa =č’e: (see ‘wind’). It is unclear whether we are dealing with sporadic de-ejectivization of č’ ě in Kato or with inaccurate transcription on Goddard’s part.

IV. Taldash Galice.

IV.1. General.

The Galice-Applegate language consists of three known dialects: Dakobe (or Applegate), Taldash (or Galice), Nabiltse; all of them became extinct during the 20th century, see [Golla 2011: 72-73] (Golla prefers to treat Galice-Applegate as one of the dialects of the generic Rogue River language). Galice-Applegate is poorly documented, but data on the Taldash dialect are sufficient for compiling the GLD wordlist.

The main sources on Taldash Galice are the papers [Hoijer 1966; Hoijer 1973], which are based on data collected by Melville Jacobs and Hoijer in the 1930s and 1950s, and [Landar 1977], based on data collected in the mid-20th century from the same Galice speaker that Hoijer had worked with. The Taldash Galice 89-item wordlist in [Hoijer 1956: 223] is based on Jacobs’ materials. One Taldash Galice text from Jacobs’ collection was published as [Jacobs 1968].

The most reliable transcription of Taldash Galice is offered in [Hoijer 1973]. On the contrary, transcription in [Landar 1977] seems rather inaccurate; in particular, vowel nasality frequently remains unmarked by Landar.

A 19th century vocabulary of Taldash Galice by J. Owen Dorsey (Galice Creek [Talt uct un tude] vocabulary and grammatical notes, Yacltun or Galice Creek Jim and Peter Muggins, September 18 - October 9, 1884. NAA MS 4800:(4.1.2) (373), National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution. 53 pp.), reported in [Golla 2011], is unavailable to us.

IV.2. Transliteration.

We transliterate the alphabets of [Hoijer 1966; Hoijer 1973] as follows:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[Hoijer 1973]</th>
<th>[Hoijer 1966]</th>
<th>GLD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>tʰ (before a vowel) / t (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'</td>
<td>t'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ł</td>
<td>Ł</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>dz</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>č</td>
<td>ts'</td>
<td>c'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>z</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>dž</td>
<td>č</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>č</td>
<td>tšš</td>
<td>čʰ (before a vowel) / č (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ě</td>
<td>tš'</td>
<td>ě</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>š</td>
<td>š</td>
<td>š</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gʷ</td>
<td>gʷ</td>
<td>kʷ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>kʰ (before a vowel) / k (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʷ</td>
<td>kʷ</td>
<td>kʰʷ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'</td>
<td>k'</td>
<td>k'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʷ'</td>
<td>kʷ'</td>
<td>kʷ'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Notes.

1. According to [Landar 1977: 294], the alveodentals are actually dental: \( \tilde{t} \mathsf{S} \) and so on, although in [Hoijer 1966: 320] they are specified as apico-alveolar.

2. It is reported in [Golla 2011: 75] that Taldash Galice possesses two additional voiced stops: \( b \, d \) (originating from \( m \, n \) in many phonetic environments), although in other sources, e.g., [Hoijer 1966; Hoijer 1973], voiced \( b \, d \) are not mentioned.

3. In [Landar 1977: 294], an additional specific sibilant is mentioned: “whistled” \( s \), which we provisionally transcribe as \( s^\prime \).

4. According to [Hoijer 1966: 320], \( o, \, \alpha \) are actually realized as \( u, \, \upsilon \) in all positions except for vowel clusters.

V. Tanaina (Upper Inlet, Outer Inlet, Inland, Iliamna).

V.1. General.

The Tanaina (or Dena’ina) language consists of four main dialect groups: Upper Inlet (or Upper Cook Inlet; incl. Susitna Staion, Eklutna, Tyonek, Talkeetna, Knik subdialects), Outer Inlet (or Outer Cook Inlet or Kenai), Inland (incl. Lime Village and
Nondalton subdialects), Iliamna. The fifth - extinct and poorly documented - dialect is Seldovia. See [Kari 1975; Kari 2007: xii, xxi, xxv ff.; Holton et al. 2004: 3 ff.] for details. The Upper Inlet dialect is the most innovative in terms of phonetics. There are actually some important discrepancies in the basic vocabularies between the Tanaina dialects; because of this, we have compiled separate lists for each of the four main dialects. Sporadic forms from the Seldovia dialect are quoted in the notes.

The main lexicographic sources for the Tanaina language are the dictionaries [Kari 1977; Kari 2007] (all dialects), [Wassilli 1979] (Inland dialect) and the grammars and grammar sketches [Holton et al. 2004] (mostly based on the Inland dialect with references to other dialects), [Boraas 2010] (Outer Inlet dialect), [Tenenbaum 1978] (Inland dialect), [Lovick 2005] (all dialects). Additionally, the texts collected in [Tenenbaum 1976] (Inland dialect) have been used to check some forms.

In the dictionaries [Kari 1977; Kari 2007], the absence of a dialect siglum means that this specific form is used with this meaning in all the Tanaina dialects. It is explicitly noted in [Kari 1977: 12] that if an Iliamna ("Il") form is not quoted separately, the siglum "I" means that the specific form is attested not only in Inland, but also in Iliamna. As for [Kari 2007], strictly speaking, it is unclear whether an Iliamna form is assumed to be the same as the Inland one, if Iliamna is not marked separately, or not. It is likely, however, that [Kari 2007] has the same system of notation as [Kari 1977], i.e., the siglum "I" denotes both Inland and Iliamna, whereas specific Inland forms are labeled as "NL" (i.e., Lime Village and Nondalton - two subdialects of Inland).

Tanaina wordlists, recorded in the early 1930s and published in [Osgood 1937], were incorporated into the cumulative dictionaries [Kari 1977; Kari 2007], so we do not refer specially to [Osgood 1937].

Historical and comparative issues of Tanaina are discussed in [Gleason 1960; Kari 1975; Kari 1989; Kari 1996; Landar 1960].

For some basic terms (including Swadesh items), Tanaina dialects can lack original Athapaskan roots, using specific innovative expressions instead. These cases are called "elite replacements" by James Kari (see [Kari 1989: 545; Kari 1996: 59 ff.; Kari 2007: xxi]
Actually Kari’s "elite replacements" can be divided into two classes. The first class consists of descriptive verbal forms which have superseded original roots, e.g., 'head' is expressed as 'tip that extends', and so on. In these cases, we are dealing with normal gradual evolution of the original lexicon during natural language development. We are not aware of any positive evidence that such replacements are taboo driven in Tanaina. The second class consists of Tanaina words that are morphologically unanalyzable and unetymologizable. E.g., 'fire' is expressed by the enigmatic form \textit{tazʔi} in the bulk of Tanaina dialects, whereas the old inherited term \textit{qʰən} 'fire' is only retained in the Upper Inlet dialect. Within the GLD 110-item wordlists, such items are: 'bone', 'fire', 'hair', and possibly 'eye', 'heart', 'water'. In these cases, it is probable that we are dealing with remnants of a substrate language, which was superseded by Tanaina centuries ago.

V.2. Transliteration.

We transliterate the Tanaina alphabet as follows:

\[
\begin{array}{|c|c|}
\hline
\text{[Kari 2007; Holton et al. 2004; Tenenbaum 1978]} & \text{GLD} \\
\hline
b & p \\
m & m \\
v & v \\
\hline
d & t \\
t & \text{t}^\text{h} \ (\text{before a vowel}) / \ t \ (\text{before a consonant or a pause}) \\
t' & t' \\
n & n \\
\hline
dl & \text{ƛ} \\
tl & \text{ƛ}^\text{h} \ (\text{before a vowel}) / \ ƛ \ (\text{before a consonant or a pause}) \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Letter</th>
<th>Sound</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tl'</td>
<td>l'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dz</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts</td>
<td>cʰ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts'</td>
<td>c'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>z</td>
<td>z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>ě</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch</td>
<td>čʰ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch'</td>
<td>č'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zh</td>
<td>ž</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sh</td>
<td>š</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>kʰ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'</td>
<td>k'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŭ, y</td>
<td>ŭ, y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gg</td>
<td>q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q</td>
<td>qʰ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q'</td>
<td>q'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gh</td>
<td>š</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td>w</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1. In some Russian loanwords, the foreign sounds $f$, $r$, $o$, $e$ (orthographic: {é}) occur.

2. It is actually unclear whether the two back series are opposed as velar and uvular (i.e., $k$ - $q$, $x$ - $χ$ etc.) or as palatalized velar and non-palatalized velar (i.e., $k^{y}$ - $k$, $x^{y}$ - $x$ etc.). Traditional notation of Tanainanists - "front velars" vs. "back velars" - is uninformative, but in [Tenenbaum 1978: 26; Lovick 2005: 13], the front series is labeled as "velar" ($k$, $x$ etc.), whereas the back series is explicitly described as "uvular" ($q$, $χ$ etc.). On the other hand, according to the places of articulation figure by Siri Tuttle (quoted in [Kari 2007: xxv]), the front series looks like palatalized velar ($k^{y}$, $x^{y}$ etc.), whereas the back series is depicted as simple velar ($k$, $x$ etc.). For our transcription, we prefer the velar - uvular opposition ($k$ - $q$, $x$ - $χ$ etc.).

3. Several regular phonetic and morphological phenomena of dialectal origin are not (or not always) explicitly reflected in the main sections of the dictionaries [Kari 1977; Kari 2007]. The most important of these are: (1) $v$ implies $v$ in Inland & Iliamna, but $b$ in Upper Inlet & Outer Inlet and $w$ in Seldovia; (2) $č$ čʰ ě' š (Outer Inlet, Inland, Iliamna) imply $c$ $c^{h}$ ě’ $s$ respectively in Upper Inlet, see below for detail; (3) final $-y$ implies $-ɣ$ in Outer Inlet; (4) the izafet suffix $-a$ implies $-a$ in Upper Inlet & Inland, but $-ʔa$ in Outer Inlet & Iliamna; see [Kari 1975; Kari 1977: 20 f.; Kari 2007: xxvi ff.].

4. In the Upper Inlet dialect, the alveolar and postalveolar series have merged, i.e., the
Common Tanaina phonemes c - č, cʰ - čʰ, c' - č', s - š are not discriminated within the corresponding pair. In [Kari 1975: 50; Kari 2007: xxvi], the resulting Upper Inlet series is specified as intermediate between alveolar and postalveolar and transcribed with the acute sign [tš, š, ...] that imply that the only Upper Inlet sibilant series is retracted (č čʰ č’ š) vel sim. (cf. the naive transcription in [Osgood 1937] with Upper Inlet [š] and so on). On the contrary, in [Kari 1977: 16 et passim], the resulting Upper Inlet series is described as simple alveolar c cʰ c’ s. In our transcription we follow [Kari 1977]'s simplified notation, i.e., c cʰ c’ s. Additionally, it should be noted that in Upper Inlet, the Common Tanaina phonemes z, ž, ɣ, y have merged into y.

5. The orthographic apostrophe sign is transcribed as ? (except for the position after {t, c, č, k, q}, where it denotes ejectivization), thus {gh’} = nʔ, {n’} = nʔ etc., see [Holton et al. 2004: 2].

6. The glottal-stop (?) is an automatic prothesis in the case of vocalic onset. We do not note it in our transcription.

VI. Ahtena (Central, Mentasta)

VI.1. General.

The Ahtena (or Ahtna, Copper River, Mednovskiy) language consists of four main dialects: Central, Lower, Western, Mentasta/Upper; see [Kari 1990: 20 ff.] for details. Out of these, the Mentasta dialect is lexically the most distant from the others, whereas Western is the most archaic phonetically. In fact, no lexicostatistical differences between the Central, Lower and Western dialects have been revealed within the 110-item wordlist. Consequently, we only offer two Ahtena lists: Central Ahtena and Mentasta Ahtena (the Lower and Western data are quoted in notes on the Central entries). Non-Mentasta and Mentasta dialects differ in 4 Swadesh words: ‘breast’, ‘heart’, ‘mountain’, ‘sun’. It is interesting that at least in the case of ‘heart’, ‘mountain’, ‘sun’, it is the Mentasta dialect which retains the old Proto-Ahtena terms, whereas the non-Mentasta dialects demonstrates lexical replacements.
The primary lexicographic source for the Ahtena language is the dictionary [Kari 1990] (all dialects), supplemented with a phonological and morphological sketch; dictionaries of the Ahtena nominal forms [Kari & Buck 1975] and [Smelcer 2010] have been used as additional sources. The Ahtena verbal morphology is discussed in details in [Kari 1979]. Some important phonetic and morphophonological peculiarities of Ahtena are discussed in [Rice 2003; Tuttle 2010].

VI.2. Transliteration.

We transliterate the Ahtena alphabet as follows (see especially [Tuttle 2010]):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[Kari 1990; Smelcer 2010]</th>
<th>GLD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>tʰ (before a vowel) / t (before a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t’</td>
<td>t’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dl</td>
<td>ƛ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tl</td>
<td>ƛʰ (before a vowel) / ƛ (before a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tl’</td>
<td>ƛ’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ł</td>
<td>ł</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dz</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts</td>
<td>ch (before a vowel) / c (before a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts’</td>
<td>c’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>z</td>
<td>z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>kʰ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Notes.

1. In a few loanwords, the foreign sounds v {v}, pʰ {p} also occur [Kari 1990: 14].

2. It must be noted that, unlike other Athapaskan languages, Ahtena phonetically (as well as orthographically) discriminates between aspirated and non-aspirated consonants in the preconsonantal position. This is valid for at least t & tʰ, e.g., -tʰ- {-dgh-
Moreover, phonological /t/ becomes aspirated $t^h$ before $p$, $n$ and uvular (as well as velar?) stops, coinciding with /tʰ/. See [Tuttle 2010: 349 ff.] for details.

3. There is only one sibilant row in the Ahtena dialects. In [Kari 1990: 13, 19], it is described as intermediate between alveolar ($c$, $s$ etc.) and postalveolar ($č$, $š$ etc.) for most Ahtena speakers (i.e., the sounds are interpreted as retracted $č$ $čʰ$ $c'$ $z$ $s$). According to [Tuttle 2010: 343], however, the sibilants freely alternate between alveolar ($c$, $s$ etc.) and postalveolar ($č$, $š$, etc.) places of articulation. For the sake of convenience, we transcribe the Ahtena sibilants as alveolar, i.e., $c$ $cʰ$ $c'$ $s$ $z$.

4. As specified in [Tuttle 2010: 344], back consonants are opposed as palatal vs. uvular rows. For the sake of convenience, we transcribe the palatal obstruents as palatalized velars, i.e., $k^ʰ$ $k^ʰʸ$ $k^ʰ'y$ (as opposed to uvular $q$ $qʰ$ $q'$). The extremely rare palatal fricative is transcribed as $y$, i.e., devoiced $y$.

5. The sound $n$ synchronically originates from the cluster $nɤ$, see [Kari 1990: 15].

6. There is a number of phonetic and morphological phenomena of dialectal origin in Ahtena. The main discrepancy between the dialects is the fate of the Proto-Ahtena ejectives ($t' q'$ $k^ʰ q'$) in root-final position (regardless of whether the root is modified with a suffix or not). The reflexation scheme is rather complicated [Kari 1990: 23 ff.; Kari & Buck 1975: xv ff.], and the regular dialectal variants are not always written out in the dictionaries.

7. Other dialectal peculiarities are: $ty > k^ʰ$, $tɤ > q$, $tʰ$ $X > qʰ$, $nɤ > n$, $tʰ nɤ > qʰ N$ in the Lower dialect; vocalization (i.e. > $V$) of the verbal prefixes $ɤ$- and $z$- in Central, Lower and Western; special behaviour of the personal prefixes $k^ɤ$- ‘indefinite’, $c'$- ‘1st pl.’, $q^ʰ$- ‘3rd pl.’; $p-n > m-n$ in Mentasta; nasalization $Vn(ʔ) > ʔ(ʔ)$ in final position; drop or harmony of the final $-e(ʔ)$ & $-i(ʔ)$ in Mentasta. See [Kari 1990: 23 ff.; Kari & Buck 1975: xv ff.] for details. It must be noted that not all dialectal variants are explicitly written out in the main sections of the Ahtena dictionaries, so it is not always possible to reconstruct a specific dialectal form, proceeding from the headwords in the dictionaries.

8. In Mentasta, the special spelling {...nn} / {...nn'} is used for the final -$n(ʔ)$, which is
retained and does not develop into the nasalization of the preceding vowel, defying the regular rule of the dropping of final *-n(ʔ) in Mentasta (normally such Mentasta forms with retained -n(ʔ) originate from Proto-Ahtena *-ne(ʔ) / *-ni(ʔ) with regular vowel reduction in Mentasta). See [Kari 1990: 29; Kari & Buck 1975: xix] for details.

VII. Dogrib

VII.1. General.

The Dogrib (or Tłı̨cho) language consists of several close dialects, apparently with minimal lexical differences between them [Saxon & Siemens 1996: xvii]. The main phonetic discrepancy between the dialects is the fate of the alveolar and postalveolar series, on which see below. The primary lexicographic source for the Dogrib language is the educational dictionary [Saxon & Siemens 1996] together with its revised and enlarged on-line version [Saxon & Siemens n.d.]. Normally we refer to the paper volume [Saxon & Siemens 1996], and only when necessary to [Saxon & Siemens n.d.]. The short children’s dictionary [Siemens et al. 2007] as well as the etymological wordlists in [Ackroyd 1976] appear to also be useful in some cases. The only Dogrib grammars are the Ph.D. thesis [Coleman 1976] and the primer [Marinakis et al. 2007].

VII.2. Transliteration.

We transliterate the Dogrib alphabet as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[Saxon &amp; Siemens 1996; Marinakis et al. 2007]</th>
<th>GLD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mb</td>
<td>ʰp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>ʰ (before a vowel) / t (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t’</td>
<td>t’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Symbol</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nd</td>
<td>^t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dl</td>
<td>ł (before a vowel) / ł (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tl</td>
<td>ł (before a vowel) / ł (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tl'</td>
<td>ł'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dz</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts</td>
<td>c'h (before a vowel) / c (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts'</td>
<td>c'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>z</td>
<td>z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>ĉ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch</td>
<td>c'h (before a vowel) / c (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch'</td>
<td>c'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zh</td>
<td>ź</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sh</td>
<td>š</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>k'h (before a vowel) / k (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'</td>
<td>k'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gh</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gw</td>
<td>k'w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kw</td>
<td>k'hw (before a vowel) / k'w (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kw'</td>
<td>k'w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Notes.

1. Normally \( r \) occurs either in the verbal prefix \(-re- \) (< \(*-te-\)) or in loanwords (cf. [Coleman 1976: 9, 17]); \( r \) is frequently omitted by some speakers [Marinakis et al. 2007: 14].

2. Prenasalized \( \tilde{m} \) \( p \) \( \tilde{n} \) \( t \) are typical for the elder generation, whereas the majority of current speakers simplifies them to \( p \) \( t \) (it should be noted that except for some loanwords, \( p \) is a new sound for Dogrib; this is not right for \( t \), which is a full-fledged phoneme in conservative Dogrib) [Rice & Saxon 2002: 127 f.; Coleman 1976: 16].

3. Younger speakers merge the alveolar \( (c \ c^h \ c' \ s \ z) \) and postalveolar \( (\tilde{c} \ c^h \ c' \ \tilde{s} \ \tilde{z}) \) series as \( c \ c^h \ c' \ s \ z \) (this neutralization also has geographical distribution) [Rice & Saxon 2002: 128 f.].

4. Tone is defined for each syllable in the word. Two tones are opposed: high \( V \) (not
marked in the traditional orthography) and low V (orthographically V).

VIII. North Slavey

VIII.1. General.

North Slavey consists of three dialects: Hare, Bearlake, Mountain. Sometimes these three together with the closely related language South Slavey are treated as dialects of a single Slave language [Rice 1989: 1, 10-11]. Our North Slavey list is based on the Hare dialect which is the only one sufficiently documented for our purposes.

The primary lexicographic source for the Hare dialect is the preliminary dictionary [Rice 1978] plus the 100-item wordlist in [Hoijer 1956: 222], extracted from Petitot's dictionary (1876). Grammatical information has been taken from the detailed description [Rice 1989], based on the South Slavey language accompanied with extensive excursus to three North Slavey dialects. For a separate phonological description of Hare, see [Rice 1976].

VIII.2. Transliteration.

We transliterate the Hare alphabet of [Rice 1978; Rice 1989] as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[Rice 1978; Rice 1989]</th>
<th>GLD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>th (before a vowel) / t (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'</td>
<td>t'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dl</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tl'</td>
<td>A'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Letter</td>
<td>Sound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ř</td>
<td>ř</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>č</td>
<td>č</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>č'</td>
<td>č'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>z</td>
<td>z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ě</td>
<td>ě</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ž</td>
<td>ž</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>š</td>
<td>š</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰ</td>
<td>kʰ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'</td>
<td>k'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gh</td>
<td>ĝ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gw</td>
<td>gw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td>w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w'</td>
<td>w'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1. The ejective series (t’ c’ etc.) can optionally be realized as simple voiced segments (d ʒ etc.) in the intervocalic position [Rice 1989: 31].

2. Unlike other dialects, modern Hare practically lacks the aspirated affricates cʰ ěʰ ƛʰ; these are reported to have existed as late as the early 20th c., but recently they shifted to s š t respectively, although they are still occasionally retained in a few forms [Rice 1976: 17-18; Rice 1989: 35].

3. Lateral affricates (ƛ ƛ’) frequently have a velar onset.

4. ź can be retained in the speech of elder generation, but normally coincides with y among younger speakers [Rice 1976: 18; Rice 1989: 32].

5. Hare w’ is actually preglottalized.

6. The glottal stop (ʔ) is an automatic prothesis in the case of vocalic onset.

7. For the tonal opposition high / low and tonal assimilation, see [Rice 1989: 51].

IX. Tanacross

VIII.1. General.
The primary lexicographic source for the Tanacross language is the dictionary [Arnold et al. 2009] and the grammar [Holton 2000]; the unpublished wordlists [Brean & Milanowski 1979; McRoy 1973; Shinen 1958] have been used as additional sources.
VIII.2. Transliteration.

We transliterate the alphabet of [Arnold et al. 2009] as follows (cf. [Holton 2000: 312 ff.]):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[Arnold et al. 2009]</th>
<th>GLD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mb</td>
<td>mb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>t (before a vowel) / d (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>tʰ (before a vowel) / t (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'</td>
<td>t'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nn</td>
<td>n:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nh</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nd</td>
<td>ñd / biphonemic nt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ddh</td>
<td>tʰ (before a vowel) / dʰ (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tth</td>
<td>tʰ (before a vowel) / tʰ (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tth'</td>
<td>tʰ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dh</td>
<td>ṭ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>th</td>
<td>θ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>th</td>
<td>θ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dl</td>
<td>λ (before a vowel) / ƛ (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tl</td>
<td>λʰ (before a vowel) / ƛ (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tl'</td>
<td>ƛ'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
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<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dz</td>
<td>c (before a vowel) / 尬 (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts</td>
<td>cʰ (before a vowel) / c (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts'</td>
<td>c'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Letter</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>z</td>
<td>z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>š</td>
<td>š</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ķ (before a vowel) / ӝ (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ķ̬ (before a vowel) / ķ (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ķ'</td>
<td>ķ'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>š</td>
<td>š</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>š</td>
<td>š</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ķ</td>
<td>ķ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ķ'</td>
<td>ķ'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gh</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yy</td>
<td>y:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yh</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋ̃</td>
<td>ŋ̃</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
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<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
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<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>V (low)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>V (high)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ń</td>
<td>Ń (falling)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Notes.

1. The velar series is phonetically described as being intermediate between velar and uvular places of articulation, i.e., [k, x] and so on [Holton 2000: 24].

2. The final suffixal vowels (-V and -Vʔ) tend to be dropped. Some modern speakers still pronounce a very short a-like sound for the historical final vowels [Holton 2000: 26], but we follow Holton’s transcription and do not mark this vocalic segment.

3. The ejective series (t', ƛ' etc.) is restricted to pre-vocalic position (to be precise, to the root-initial position), where three series of stops and affricates \( t / t^h / t' \) \{d t t'\} are opposed [Holton 2000: 23, 29]. In the pre-consonantal position or before a pause, only two series of stops and affricates are opposed: voiced and voiceless, e.g., \( d / t \) \{d t\} etc. [Holton 2000: 23, 25, 29]. One should pay attention to the confused traditional orthography as described in the above table. The main case where the voiced stop/affricate occurs in pre-consonant position is the prefixal 1st sg. subject exponent -eg-, which is a very specific contractive development of the old subject morpheme and the “classifier” -l- [Holton 2000: 199]. In the final position, however, voiced stops/affricates as well as voiced fricatives are frequent. In the positions -VT, -VT-V(ʔ) (where the final -V(ʔ) is a suffix, e.g., possessive -Vʔ or negative -V [Holton 2000: 26 ff., 270 f.]) the historical binary opposition between non-ejective stops and affricates and the ejective ones \( t / t' \) was eliminated in favor of the non-ejective series \( t \). At the next stage, this root-final \( T \) in the intervocalic position -VT-V(ʔ) gets voiced: \( t > d \). Furthermore, -V(ʔ) was reduced to a very short vocalic segment and eventually dropped; this produced such word-final oppositions as -t / -d, -ƛ / -t and so on. Such a voicing (which is not a fully phonetically conditioned process, since not each intervocalic voiceless stop/affricate gets voiced) is an interesting feature of Tanacross historical phonetics. In principle, the historical phonetics of Tanacross is seriously "morphologized", and morphemic
boundaries between the root and the affixes share a specific status. Besides the aforementioned voicing of stops and affricates in root-final position, the following phenomena can be mentioned: 1) voiced fricatives \( \delta l z \gamma \) get semi-voiced \( \theta \dagger \xi \chi \) in root-initial position as discussed below; 2) the combination of the obstruent prefix with root-initial \( \tilde{r} \) yields a consonant cluster that differs from normal ejectives, e.g., the “classifier” \( =\tilde{t} \) plus a root of the shape \( =\tilde{V} \) produce \( t-\tilde{r} \), not \( t' \) as follows from [Arnold et al. 2009: 11, 15] and transcription of various verbal forms in [Holton 2000: passim]; 3) the high tone harmony \( VCV > VCV \) affects prefixal syllables, whereas root syllables do not harmonize in the same position [Holton 2000: 83 ff.].

4. It should be noted that in [Holton 2000], plain stops/affricates in the prevocalic position are frequently transcribed as voiced, not voiceless, e.g., [d\( \text{\textendash}\)ndi\( \text{\textendash} \)g] ‘moose’ [Holton 2000: 28], [c\( \text{\textendash}\)ay] ‘small’ [Holton 2000: 31] instead of the expected [t\( \text{\textendash}\)nti\( \text{\textendash} \)g], [q\( \text{\textendash}\)ay]. Such a voiced transcription contradicts the explicit statement that the prevocalic orthographic \{d, g etc.\} denote the plain voiceless series \( t, k \) etc. [Holton 2000: 23] and the regular transcriptions such as [ti\( \text{\textendash}\)ðintah] ‘you are sitting down’ [Holton 2000: 102].

5. The final vowel drop also caused the emergence of a phonological opposition between the voiceless and voiced fricatives \( \theta / \delta, s / z, \) etc., and the sonorants \( \eta / n, y / y \) in the final position.

6. The so-called semi-voiced fricatives actually possess different articulations, see [Holton 2000: 96 ff.] for detail. Semi-voiced \( \dagger \) phonetically represents voiceless onset plus voiced coda, i.e., \( \text{tl} \). Other semi-voiced, \( \theta \xi \xi \chi \), may also begin voiceless and transition to voiced (sz etc.), but more frequently these have either erratic voice or even no voice at all. According to [Holton 2000], the main distinctive feature of \( \theta \xi \xi \chi \) is lower amplitude frication noise, i.e., in most cases \( \theta \xi \xi \chi \) must be treated as weak voiceless \( \theta \xi \xi \chi \) as opposed to neutral voiceless \( \theta s \xi \chi \). I.e., the three-way opposition of the fricatives is to be analyzed as: voiced \( \delta / \) voiceless lax \( \theta \) (= \( \theta \)) / voiceless tense or neutral \( \theta \).

7. The semi-voiced fricatives \( \theta \dagger \xi \chi \) (but not \( \xi \)) are conditioned allophones of the voiced fricatives, according to [Holton 2000: 313]. From the formal point of view, however, \( \theta \dagger \xi \chi \) should not be treated as allophonic variants of \( \delta l z \gamma \), but rather as full-fledged
synchronic phonemes. As follows from [Holton 2000: 23, 43-45; Arnold et al. 2009: 24],
the semi-voiced fricatives θ̬s̬x̬ occur as a root-initial segment following the majority of
suffixes, e.g., the nominal possessives š-, tè-, etc., the verbal “classifiers” -t-, -l- and so
on. The semi-voiced fricatives alternate with the voiceless series θ s̬x which normally
occur after suffixal -h- [Holton 2000: 43].

8. š is a full-fledged phoneme (phonologically can be treated as ġ), whereas its voiceless
counterpart š is excluded from the synchronic alternation of the voiceless and voiced
fricatives [Holton 2000: 40, 45 ff.].

9. m ~ mb ~ b are free variants depending on the speaker [Holton 2000: 51; Arnold et al.
2009: 12].

10. "d is an allophonic variant of n, which occurs as a root-initial segment, if there is no
another nasal in the root [Holton 2000: 56]. Some speakers tend to denasalize "d > d
[Holton 2000: 57; Arnold et al. 2009: 12].

11. For long n: and y:, which occurs as -nʔ, -yʔ in the possessed forms < *...n-čʔ, *...y-čʔ,
see [Holton 2000: 59, 61].

12. In the traditional orthography, hyphen is used to mark a combination with the
glottal-stop. Thus, {k'} means kʔ (occurs at the morpheme boundaries) as opposed to
standard glottalized [k'] k’ [Arnold et al. 2009: 11, 15].

13. In the initial position before a consonant, n l s š x become syllabic n l š x” [Holton
2000: 39, 55, 91].

14. Initial vowels are normally modified by the prothesis ʔ- (not noted
orthographically), but not always. At least in the case of u, initial plain u- is
orthographical {wu-}, whereas orthographical {u-} expresses regular ʔu- [Holton 2000:
33; Arnold et al. 2009: 6].

15. o & ø: do not have nasalized counterparts.
16. We assume that [Arnold et al. 2009] is the most reliable source as regards tonal transcription of individual forms.

17. The extra-high tone \( \overline{V} \) is restricted to the root vowels of negated verbal forms in the final phrasal position [Holton 2000: 81 ff., 271]. Thus it is natural to describe the extra-high tone \( \overline{V} \) as phrasal prosody.

X. Upper Tanana (Tetlin)

IX.1. General.
The Upper Tanana language consists of five mutually intelligible dialects: Canadian, Scottie Creek, Northway, Tetlin, Nabesna [Minoura 1994]. Northway and Tetlin seem especially close to each other. Available lexicographic data are sufficient for the compilation of one list for the Tetlin dialect [Milanowski 2009]. We are thankful to Paul Milanowski and the Tetlin elder Ida Joe who have provided us with several lexical items missing from [Milanowski 2009] (these are quoted as “Milanowski, p.c.”, January 2015).

Lexical data, mostly nominal forms, from the Northway [Milanowski 2007] and Scottie Creek [John 1997] dialects are quoted in the notes.

For the revealed discrepancies between Tetlin-Northway and Scottie Creek see ‘bark’, ‘to eat’, ‘feather’, ‘green’, ‘seed’, and perhaps ‘ashes’.

IX.2. Transliteration.
The following transliterational chart covers our principal sources (see [Minoura 1994: 163, 165]):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[Milanowski 2009]</th>
<th>[John 1997]</th>
<th>GLD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>b (in the initial position) / (^m)b</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| m                | m           | m


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>t (before a vowel) / d (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>tʰ (before a vowel) / t (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'</td>
<td>t'</td>
<td>t'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n / n⁴ (see notes below)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nn</td>
<td>nn</td>
<td>n:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nh</td>
<td>nh</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nd</td>
<td>nd</td>
<td>n⁴ / biphonemic nt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ddh</td>
<td>ddh</td>
<td>t⁹ (before a vowel) / d⁹ (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tth</td>
<td>tth</td>
<td>t⁰h (before a vowel) / t⁰ (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tth'</td>
<td>tth'</td>
<td>t⁰</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dh</td>
<td>dh</td>
<td>ᶹ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>th</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>θ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>th</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>θ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dl</td>
<td>dl</td>
<td>ƛ (before a vowel) / ɬ (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tl</td>
<td>tl</td>
<td>ƛʰ (before a vowel) / ƛ (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tl'</td>
<td>tl'</td>
<td>ƛ'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɬ</td>
<td>ɬ</td>
<td>ɬ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dz</td>
<td>dz</td>
<td>c (before a vowel) / ʒ (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts</td>
<td>ts</td>
<td>cʰ (before a vowel) / c (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts'</td>
<td>ts'</td>
<td>c'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>š</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>č (before a vowel) / į (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch</td>
<td>ch</td>
<td>čʰ (before a vowel) / č (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch'</td>
<td>ch'</td>
<td>č</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sh</td>
<td>sh</td>
<td>š</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shy</td>
<td>shy</td>
<td>š'y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>k (before a vowel) / ŋ (before a consonant) / g (before a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>kʰ (before a vowel) / k (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'</td>
<td>k'</td>
<td>k'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x̬</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yy</td>
<td>yy</td>
<td>y:y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yh</td>
<td>yh</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'</td>
<td>'</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>h / ŋ (in the areal prefix řu-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Notes

1. The ejective series (t', t'\textsuperscript{h} etc.) is restricted to pre-vocalic position (root-initial, to be more precise), where three series of stops and affricates t / t\textsuperscript{h} / t' [d t t'] are opposed. In the pre-consonantal position or before a pause, only two series of stops and affricates are opposed: voiced and voiceless, e.g., d / t [d t] etc. [Minoura 1994: 168]. Historically, the situation is similar to that of the Tanacross language q.v.

2. The final suffixal vowels (-ə and -əʔ) tend to be dropped, although some modern speakers still pronounce a ə-like sound in the place of the historical final vowels [Minoura 1994: 171]. Synchronously, the reduced vowel ə should be treated as a morphophonological unit [Minoura 1994: 186-188].

3. The final vowel deletion also caused the emergence of a phonological opposition between voiceless and voiced sonorants n / ŋ, y / y in the final position.

4. A specific feature of Upper Tanana is the development of final root consonants followed by the ə-suffix (e.g., the negative or relativizing verbal suffix -ə or the possessive nominal suffix -əʔ): tə > dn [dn], kə > gŋ [gn], lə > t [l, ll], nə > n: [nn] [Minoura 1994: 171-172, 180-182]. It may be observed from [Minoura 1994: 182-184] that the same development of the morphonological sequence Ca can also occur in prefixes.
5. The so-called semi-voiced or lax fricatives (θ̬ ɬ̬ s̬ š̬ x̬) phonetically represent voiceless onset plus voiced coda, i.e., θð ɬl etc. [Minoura 1994: 166]. Apparently the three-way opposition of the fricatives is to be analyzed as: voiced δ / voiceless lax θ̬ (= θ) / voiceless tense or neutral θ.

6. Historically, the semi-voiced fricatives (θ̬ ɬ̬ s̬ š̬ x̬, but not š̬ y) are conditioned allophones of the voiced fricatives. Synchronously, the semi-voiced fricatives (θ̬ ɬ̬ s̬ ŝ̬ x̬) occur as a root-initial segment, whereas their voiced counterparts (δ l y) occur in prefixes and as root-initial segments in some compounds [Minoura 1994: 165]. It should be noted that the available Upper Tanana sources are not very consistent in their transcription of semi-voiced fricatives.

7. Lax š̬ y is a full-fledged phoneme (phonologically can be treated as ž) which is excluded from the synchronic alternation of the voiceless and voiced fricatives [Minoura 1994: 192-193].

8. According to [Minoura 1994: 167, 180], nasal n m are attested before ŝ̬ V, ųn, C, ų. Before V(C), where V and C are non-nasal, the complex variants nʰ mb (~ b) are pronounced instead. As for the mb ~ b fluctuation, it is stated in [Milanowski 2009: 4] that the character {b} is pronounced b word-initially and mb elsewhere.

9. At least some velar consonants are shifted back toward the uvular zone, i.e., k x etc. [Minoura 1994: 166; Milanowski 2009: 5]. Additionally, the stops k kʰ can be pronounced as affricates kx kʰ [Minoura 1994: 166].

10. Initial vowels are normally modified by prothetic ʔ- (not noted orthographically), but not always [Minoura 1994: 166, 168]. The exceptions are the possessive prefixes u- and i- which lack ʔ- (possessive u- can be orthographically represented as {wu-}).

11. In addition to the monophthongs listed above, there are several diphthongs in Upper Tanana [Minoura 1994: 163].

12. Pitch accent, i.e. tonal opposition is retained in the Canadian, Scottie Creek and Northway dialects, eroded in Nabesna and lost in Tetlin [Minoura 1994: 178]. The low
tone is marked, whereas the high one is unmarked or neutral. For tonal assimilation, see [Minoura 1994: 178].

XI. Lower Tanana (Minto)

X.1. General.
The Lower Tanana language consists of three closely related dialects: Minto (Minto-Nenana), Salcha (Salcha-Goodpaster), Chena [Urschel 2006: 4]. Out of these, Salcha and Chena are recently extinct, but Minto is still spoken. Available lexicographic data are sufficient for the compilation of one list for the Minto dialect.

The primary lexicographic source for the Minto dialect is the dictionary [Kari 1994; Tuttle 2009]; the verbal grammar [Urschel 2006] has been used as well. Scarce lexical data from the Salcha and Chena dialects are quoted in the notes. No reliable lexicostatistical discrepancies between the dialects have been revealed.

X.2. Transliteration.
The following transliterational chart covers our principal sources (see [Urschel 2006: 20-21]):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[Kari 1994; Tuttle 2009; Urschel 2006]</th>
<th>GLD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>tʰ (before a vowel) / t (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'</td>
<td>t'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nh</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ddbh</td>
<td>tʰ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| ttth                                   | tʰ (before a vowel) / tʰ (before a
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tth'</td>
<td>tth (before a vowel) / tth (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dh</td>
<td>dh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>th</td>
<td>th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dl</td>
<td>dl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tl, tl</td>
<td>tl, tl (before a vowel) / tl, tl (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tl'</td>
<td>tl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ł</td>
<td>ł</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɬ</td>
<td>ɬ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dz</td>
<td>dz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts</td>
<td>ts (before a vowel) / ts (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts'</td>
<td>ts'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>z</td>
<td>z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dr</td>
<td>dr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tr</td>
<td>tr (before a vowel) / tr (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tr'</td>
<td>tr'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zr</td>
<td>zr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sr</td>
<td>sr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch</td>
<td>ch (before a vowel) / ch (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch'</td>
<td>ch'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sh</td>
<td>sh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>kʰ (before a vowel) / k (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'</td>
<td>k'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gh</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x, kh</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yh</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔ</td>
<td>ʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>h_</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>η</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>Ω</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td>w_</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ě</td>
<td>ě</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ą, á</td>
<td>ą</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ū, ū</td>
<td>ū</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. The ejective series of stops and affricates (t', ƛ' etc.) seems to be restricted to the pre-vocalic position, where three series of stops and affricates t / tʰ / t' [d t t'] are opposed (but not only to root-initial position, cf. łuk'â 'fish', cʰəƛ'-ā 'small').

2. According to [Urschel 2006: 16], the vowels i a u are long ("full"), whereas a ə u are short ("reduced").

3. Nasal vowels (ā ā ū) are rare. Additionally, as follows from the transcription in [Kari 1994], they tend to lose their nasalization.
4. The tonal opposition high V (unmarked) / low V (marked) is residually retained by some older speakers, but synchronically is lost [Urschel 2006: 17-18].

XII. Central Carrier

XI.1. General.

Central Carrier is sometimes referred to simply as the Carrier language (as opposed to the Southern Carrier language); or the Central Carrier and Southern Carrier languages are treated as dialects of a single Carrier language (in this case, Central Carrier can be called the Stuart Lake dialect or Stuart-Trembleur dialect of Carrier).

Central Carrier is spoken by several Indian bands: Nak'azdli, Tl'azt'en, Yekooche [Poser 2011b: 43], with minimal linguistic discrepancies between them.

The primary lexicographic sources for Central Carrier are the cumulative dictionary [Poser 1998/2013] and the English-Central Carrier glossary [Poser 2011a] plus previous lexicographic works [Antoine et al. 1974; Morice 1932]; grammatical information has been taken from [Poser 2011b; Antoine et al. 1974; Morice 1932].

XI.2. Transliteration.

The following transliterational chart covers the Carrier Linguistic Committee writing system, see [Poser 2011b: 11-12] (further see [Poser 2002] for Morice's and Prince's orthographies and [Poser 2011b: 15] for the Carrier syllabics):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>GLD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[Poser 1998/2013]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>pʰ / p (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mb</td>
<td>mp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Character</td>
<td>Pronunciation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>tʰ (before a vowel) / t (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'</td>
<td>t'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nd</td>
<td>nt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dl</td>
<td>ĺ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tl, tl</td>
<td>ĺʰ (before a vowel) / ĺ (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tl'</td>
<td>ĺ'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lh</td>
<td>ĺl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dz</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts</td>
<td>cʰ (before a vowel) / c (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts'</td>
<td>c'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>z</td>
<td>z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dz</td>
<td>č</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts</td>
<td>čʰ (before a vowel) / č (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts'</td>
<td>č'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>z</td>
<td>ĺ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>š</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>č</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch</td>
<td>čʰ (before a vowel) / č (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch'</td>
<td>č'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sh</td>
<td>š</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>kʰ (before a vowel) / k (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’</td>
<td>k’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gh</td>
<td>ɣ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kh</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ng</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gw</td>
<td>kʷ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kw</td>
<td>kʰw (before a vowel) / kʷ (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kw’</td>
<td>kʷ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ghw</td>
<td>ɣʷ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wh</td>
<td>xʷ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td>w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>h_</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oo</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>Λ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ai</td>
<td>ai</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. $p^{ʰ}fr$ occur only in French and English loans [Poser 2011b: 13].
2. 母校母母'齿母'是舌面-牙龈音，对英语类大型音 [Poser 2011b: 14]。


4. 据比尔·波瑟（p.c.），中央卡里尔有一套重音系统，具有低功能。在 [Antoine et al. 1974] 中，元音被改写为重音符号（á, í 等）在一些音节中，可能表示高音。

XIII. Koyukon

XII.1. General.

The Koyukon (or Denaakk'e, Ten'a) language consists of three main dialects: Lower (Kaltag and Nulato sites), Central (Koyukuk, Huslia, Galena, Ruby and some other sites) and Upper (Tanana, Bearpaw and some other sites); these three are mutually intelligible, although they demonstrate some phonological, grammar and lexical discrepancies, see [Jetté & Jones 2000: liii ff.; Jones 1978: 3 ff.] for detail.

Our wordlist is based on the Central dialect, which functions as a "norm" for the Koyukon community; relevant dialectal forms are quoted in the notes. For reliable or potential lexicostatistic discrepancies between the dialects see 'bird', 'to bite', 'blood', 'cold', 'knee', 'new', 'small', 'tooth'. The Upper dialect is prone to lexical borrowing from the neighboring Lower Tanana language.

The primary lexicographic sources for Koyukon are the cumulative dictionary [Jetté & Jones 2000] (covers main dialects) and the educational English-Koyukon dictionary [Jones 1978] (based on the Central dialect); grammatical information has been taken from [Kroul 1975; Jones & Kwaraceius 1997; Thompson 1977].

XII.2. Transliteration.

The following transliterational chart covers our principal sources (see also the
comparative table in [Kroul 1975: 20-21]):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>tʰ (before a vowel) / t (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'</td>
<td>t'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nh</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dl</td>
<td>ü</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tl, tl</td>
<td>üʰ (before a vowel) / ü (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tl', tl'</td>
<td>ü'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l'</td>
<td>l'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dz</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts</td>
<td>cʰ (before a vowel) / c (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts'</td>
<td>c'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>z</td>
<td>z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>kʰ (before a vowel) / k (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'</td>
<td>k'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gg</td>
<td>q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kk</td>
<td>qʰ (before a vowel) / q (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kk'</td>
<td>q'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gh</td>
<td>χ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>χ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1. h is not always distinguished from χ in traditional orthography; both may be written as [h].

2. In the Upper dialect (except for root-final position in the Bearpaw subdialect), $k^h k' > č č' [j ch ch']$ and $y > š$ {sh}, whereas the uvular series retains its post-velar articulation. In the Bearpaw subdialect, $k^h k' > q q^h q'$ in root-final position. See [Jetté & Jones 2000: lix] for details.

3. The glottal stop (ʔ) is an automatic prothesis in case of vocalic onset. We do not note it in our transcription.

4. The vowel system of Koyukon is described as four "long or full vowels" {ee, aa, oo, o} and three "short or reduced vowels" {e, u, u} [Jetté & Jones 2000: lxvi, lxx]. We transliterate them as the long set $i: a: u: o:$ and the short set $ə u o$ respectively. According to [Kroul 1975: 19], short $u$ is actually realized either as $ʊ$ or as $ʌ$ or somewhere in between the two.

5. In the Lower dialect, final -V# and -Vʔ# have been deleted.
6. Outermost Koyukon varieties (the Lower dialect and the Toklat-Bearpaw subdialect of Upper Koyukon) retain the tonal opposition Ṵ / ṵ (the lower tone Ṵ is statistically marked), which has been lost in the central area [Jetté & Jones 2000: lvi, lx, lxxi]. However, available sources rarely offer ḳɲʸ tonal transcription.

XIV. Degexit'an

XIII.1. General.

Degexit'an (a.k.a. Deg Xinag, Deg Xit'an, Ingaliik, Ingaliit, Anvik) is a language of Western Alaska which consists of two dialects: Yukon and Kuskokwim, both nearly extinct. The Kuskokwim dialect is poorly described; our list is based on the Yukon dialect.

The primary lexicographic sources for Yukon Degexit'an are the noun glossary [Kari 1978], the verbal glossary [Kari 1976] and the learners' dictionary [Taff et al. 2007]. The text collection and glossary in [Chapman 1914] have also been extensively used (the majority of Chapman's texts was reelicited and retranscribed in the 1970s by James Kari, see Alaska Native Language Archive http://www.uaf.edu/anla/ for Kari's scanned manuscripts, identifiers IK974K1975b, IK974K1976f, IK887CK1981). The missing items are: 'that', 'this'.

In several cases, there are discrepancies between the archaic (or sub-dialectal) data of [Chapman 1914] and the modern Yukon sources [Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978]: we prefer to fill the slot with Chapman's words for 'breast', 'to drink', 'root', and with two synonyms for 'near'.

The only revealed lexicostatistic discrepancy between the Yukon and Kuskokwim dialects could be the word for 'stone'. It should, however, be noted that the Kuskokwim dialect was not systematically recorded.

XIII.2. Transliteration.

The following transliterational chart covers our principal sources (see [Hargus 2010]...
and other descriptions):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[Kari 1978; Taff et al. 2007]</th>
<th>GLD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>pʰ (before a vowel) / p (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mh</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m’</td>
<td>m?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>t (before a vowel) / d (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>tʰ (before a vowel) / t (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t’</td>
<td>t’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nh</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n’</td>
<td>n?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ddh</td>
<td>tʰ (before a vowel) / dʰ (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tth</td>
<td>tʰʰ (before a vowel) / tʰ (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tth’</td>
<td>tʰʰ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dh</td>
<td>ɬ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>th</td>
<td>ɬ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dl</td>
<td>ɬ (before a vowel) / t (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tl</td>
<td>ɬʰ (before a vowel) / ɬ (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tl’</td>
<td>ɬ’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l’</td>
<td>l’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dz</td>
<td>ʒ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts</td>
<td>cʰ (before a vowel) / c (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts’</td>
<td>c’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>z</td>
<td>z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Symbol</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dr</td>
<td>č (before a vowel) / ź (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tr</td>
<td>čʰ (before a vowel) / č (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tr’</td>
<td>č’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zr</td>
<td>ʐ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sr</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>č (before a vowel) / ź (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch</td>
<td>čʰ (before a vowel) / č (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch’</td>
<td>č’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sh</td>
<td>š</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>k (before a vowel) / g (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
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<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>kʰ (before a vowel) / k (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
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<td>k’</td>
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<tr>
<td>ng</td>
<td>ų</td>
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<tr>
<td>ngh</td>
<td>ų</td>
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<td>ng’</td>
<td>ų?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gg, G</td>
<td>q (before a vowel) / ɕ (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q</td>
<td>qʰ (before a vowel) / q (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
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<td>q’</td>
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<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>h_</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
1. $p$ $p^h$ are only attested in loanwords.

2. The situation with the four stop series ($d$ $t$ $t^h$ $t'$) is the same as in Koyukon q.v. The ejective series ($t'$, $ƛ'$ etc.) is restricted to the position before a vowel (to be precise, to the root-initial position), where three series of the stops and affricates $t$ / $t^h$ / $t'$ [$d$ $t$ $t'$] are opposed. In the position before a consonant or a pause, two series of the stops and affricates are opposed: voiced and voiceless, e.g., $d$ / $t$ [$d$ $t$] etc. [Hargus 2010: 34-35]. Note the tangled traditional orthography as described in the above table. It is interesting that the final vowel -a which was deleted in the modern language, causing the emergence of a voiced consonant (-$Vt^h$-$V(ʔ)$ > -$Vd$), is still retained in Chapman's transcription [Chapman 1914].

3. $ʊ$ can be phonologically treated as short $o$.

4. Marginal nasal vowels are transcribed for the negative particle ẽːheːʔẽː: 'no' in [Taff et al. 2007].

**XV. Sarsi**

**XIV.1. General.**

Sarsi (or Sarcee, Tsuut'ina) is a nearly extinct language which lacks a full-fledged lexicographic description, although available publications allow us to compile the Swadesh wordlist with only minor lacunae (missing items include 'heart', 'root', 'seed', 'salt', 'snake', 'worm', 'year'). The primary sources are the short noun glossary [Hoijer & Joël 1963] and the short verb glossary [Li 1930b] plus the 100-item wordlist in [Hoijer 1956: 222-223], based on Edward Sapir's unpublished field notes. Sarsi texts and phrases
offered in [Goddard 1915; Sapir 1923; Nanagusja 1996a; Nanagusja 1996b] have also been useful for our purposes. Grammatical information as well as some lexical items has been taken from the descriptive grammar [Cook 1984] plus some specific grammar papers such as [Leer 1997].

XIV.2. **Transliteration.**
The following transliterational chart covers our principal sources:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>GLD</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[Cook 1984; Hoijer &amp; Joël 1963]</td>
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<td>b</td>
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<td>t</td>
<td>tʰ (before a vowel) / t (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
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<td>t'</td>
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<td>n</td>
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<td>dl</td>
<td>λ</td>
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<tr>
<td>tl, tl</td>
<td>λʰ (before a vowel) / λ (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
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<td>tl', tl'</td>
<td>λ'</td>
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<tr>
<td>dz</td>
<td>c</td>
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<td>ts</td>
<td>cʰ (before a vowel) / c (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
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<td>ts'</td>
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<td>s</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>dj, dź</td>
<td>Ć</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tc, tš</td>
<td>Ćʰ (before a vowel) / Ć (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tc', tš'</td>
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<tr>
<td>Character</td>
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<td>j, ž</td>
<td>ž</td>
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<tr>
<td>c, š</td>
<td>š</td>
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<td>g</td>
<td>k</td>
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<td>k</td>
<td>kʰ (before a vowel) / k (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
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<td>Y</td>
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<td>x</td>
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<td>gw</td>
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<tr>
<td>kw</td>
<td>kʰw (before a vowel) / k (before a consonant or a pause)</td>
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<td>k’w</td>
<td>kʷ</td>
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<tr>
<td>u ([Hoijer 1956]: o)</td>
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<td>o, α</td>
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<td>V:</td>
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<td>Ź</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Notes:
1. *p* is a marginal phoneme. $k^w, k^{hw}$ can be treated as the combination $k, k^h + u$, although $k^w$ seems to be an actual phoneme [Cook 1984: 7-8].

2. $y_i > yi$, although some authors can write down such forms with etymological $y$.

3. The glottal stop (ʔ) is an automatic prothesis in the case of vocalic onset. We do not note it in our transcription.

4. *u* is realized in the range between *u* and *o*; *i* - in the range between *i* and *e*; *v* can lose its roundness $> a$ (note that *v* is frequently confused with *a* in the available sources).

5. In addition to the standard opposition between short (*V*) and long (*Vː*) vowels, there exist extra-long vowels which represent the result of recent contractions and can be phonemically treated as vocalic clusters $VV$ [Hoijer & Joël 1963: 65; Cook 1971: 13]. The majority of long vowels are the result of automatic lengthening before voiced consonants in the final position (e.g., *...az# > ...a;z#*), but in the innovative speech the opposition *V / Vː* became phonemic due to devoicing (*...a;z# > ...a;s#*) [Cook 1984: 13, 18-19]. It must be noted that morphophonemic contractions can yield either extra-long or long vowels (apparently this reflects two waves of contraction processes). The available sources are not consistent in the matter of length notation.

6. The Sarsi tonal opposition is traditionally described with three level tones: high $\check{V}$ / middle $\hat{V}$ / low $\tilde{V}$ [Hoijer & Joël 1963: 65; Cook 1971; Cook 1984: 11-12], although it is likely that the real phonological opposition is binary: high $\check{V}$ / low $\tilde{V}$, whereas middle $\hat{V}$ is the result of fluctuation of either the high or low tones [Cook 1984: 11; Barreda 2011]. We have observed substantial inconsistencies in tone notation for individual morphemes in the available sources. Besides the aforementioned level tones, there are contour tones appearing on contracted long or extra-long vowels. In [Hoijer & Joël 1963: 65], at least 6 distinct contour tones are reported, but we arbitrarily reduce them to two tones, rising $\check{V}$ and falling $\tilde{V}$, in our transcription.

Database compiled and annotated by:
**Hup:** A. Kassian, April 2011 / revised November 2011 (some transliterational details improved) / revised November 2012 (general revision with the data from [Sapir & Golla

**Mattole**: A. Kassian, October 2012 / revised October 2015 (minor transliterational corrections) / revised December 2015 (minor corrections).

**Kato**: A. Kassian, November 2012 / revised October 2015 (minor transliterational corrections) / revised December 2015 (minor corrections).

**Taldash Galice**: A. Kassian, December 2012 / revised October 2015 (minor transliterational corrections) / revised December 2015 (minor corrections).

**Tanaina (Upper Inlet, Outer Inlet, Inland, Iliamna)**: A. Kassian, March 2013 / revised April 2013 (minor corrections) / revised September 2013 (minor corrections) / revised October 2015 (some etymological corrections) / revised November 2015 (minor corrections) / revised December 2015 (minor corrections) / revised January 2016 (minor corrections) / revised July 2016 (minor corrections).

**Ahtena (Central, Mentasta)**: A. Kassian, April 2013 / revised September 2013 (minor corrections) / revised October 2015 (some etymological corrections) / revised November 2015 (minor corrections) / revised December 2015 (minor corrections).

**Dogrib**: A. Kassian, May 2013 / revised September 2013 (some etymological corrections) / revised October 2015 (minor corrections).

**North Slavey (Hare)**: A. Kassian, January 2018.

**Tanacross**: A. Kassian, September 2013 / revised January 2015 (minor corrections) / revised October 2015 (minor corrections) / revised December 2015 (minor corrections).

**Upper Tanana (Tetlin)**: A. Kassian, January 2015 / revised October 2015 (minor corrections) / revised December 2015 (minor corrections).

**Lower Tanana (Minto)**: A. Kassian, October 2015 / revised November 2015 (minor corrections) / revised December 2015 (minor corrections).

**Central Carrier**: A. Kassian, November 2015 / revised December 2015 (minor corrections).

**Koyukon (Central)**: A. Kassian, December 2015 / revised January 2016 (minor corrections) / revised July 2016 (minor corrections).

**Degexit’an**: A. Kassian, July 2016.

**Sarsi**: A. Kassian, January 2016.
1. ALL

Hupa ?ah=t'iŋ (1), Kato te-neʔ-haʔ ~ te-ne-haʔ (2), Taldash Galice kʰwai (3), Upper Inlet Tanaina tʰuʔ-u (2), Outer Inlet Tanaina tʰuʔ-u (2), Inland Tanaina tʰⁿeʔ-q'u (4) / tʰ-u-q'u (2), Iliamna Tanaina tʰuʔ-u (2), Central Ahtena cʰikʰ-ceʔ (5), Mentasta Ahtena cʰikʰ-ceʔ (5), Dogrib hâžè: (6), North Slavey (Hare) ?ari-yûné ~ ?ari-yôné (7), Tanacross xu=né=l=tʰè (8), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) xa=tʰ=ak-c'ənʔ (5), Lower Tanana (Minto) tə=tʰ=ak-c'ənʔ (5), Central Carrier c'iy-a-i (9), Koyukon tə=lʰ=ak-c'ənʔ (5), Degexit'an yə=χuʔ3 ~ yə=χuʔ5 (10), Sarsi lʰ-á-ʔá-tʰ-ə (11).

References and notes:


**Mattole**: Not attested.

**Kato**: Goddard 1912: 128. Cf. such examples as: "All the people slept, ... all the grizzlies drowned, ... all the elks drowned, ..." [Goddard 1909: 83 No. 4, 6-7]. Exact semantics and application as well as the morphological structure are unclear.

**Taldash Galice**: Jacobs 1968: 184. Attested in the passage "All (kʷai) those (Klamath) people shot at him - they say, but he dodged all (kʷai) of them too" [Jacobs 1968: 184 No. 6]. Exact semantics and application are unknown.

**Upper Inlet Tanana**: Kari 2007: 326. Glossed as 'all, everything, everyone'.

**Lower Inlet Tasana**: Kari 2007: 326; Boraas 2010: 43. Glossed as 'all, everything, everyone'.

**Inland Tasana**: Kari 2007: 326; Wassillie 1979: 4. Glossed as 'all, everything, everyone'. In [Wassillie 1979], two Inland forms for 'all' are quoted: tʰuʔ-q'u and tʰuʔ-Wassillie 1979: 4. Glossed simply as 'all'.

**Iliamna Tasana**: Kari 2007: 326. Glossed as all, everything, everyone'.

**Central Ahtena**: Kari 1990: 392, 477.

- **Lower Ahtena**: cʰikʰ-ceʔ [Kari 1990: 392, 477].
- **Western Ahtena**: cʰikʰ-ceʔ [Kari 1990: 392, 477].

**Mentasta Ahtena**: Kari 1990: 392, 477.

**Dogrib**: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 50, 140. Innovative pronunciation: hâžè: Glossed as 'all, everyone, everywhere'; polysemy: 'all (omnis) / all (totus)'; used both attributively and non-attributively. Morphologically unclear.

Distinct from *hôcʰ*: glossed as 'all' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 51], which seems more marginal (the only example is non-attributive: "Give them all to me").

**North Slavey (Hare)**: Rice 1978: 565; Rice 1989: 261. Polysemy: 'all (omnis) / all (totus)'. The second element is apparently the noun-like adjective -yûné 'old', as in *cʰ-yûnéʔ* 'old woman' [Rice 1978: 103].

Distinct from specific *hóyârɛ ~ hóyârɛ* 'all, entire (of time period)' [Rice 1978: 560, 565; Rice 1989: 266].

**Tanacross**: Arnold et al. 2009: 43. Polysemy: 'all (totus) / all (omnis)'; glossed as 'all (objects), entire, everything'. Cf. the human plural form xu=né=l=tʰ-ə 'all (people)' with the rare human plural suffix -y [Holton 2000: 157 f.]. Nominalized verbal form with the root *=lʰʰε* 'to be' [Arnold et al. 2009: 53] and the areal prefix *xu=* [Holton 2000: 234 ff.].

**Upper Tanana (Tetlin)**: Milanowski 2009: 20, 66. Provided with the example: "All the people are praying". Morphologically unclear.

**Lower Tanana (Minto)**: Kari 1994: 309; Tuttle 2009: 3. Used adverbially, glossed as 'all, entirely, whole, completely, everyone', thus with polysemy: 'all (omnis) / all (totus)'. A verbal derivative from =lʰʰek 'to be whole' (not documented outside this expression) plus the enclitic -c'ən' in the manner of -y [Kari 1994: 299]. Cf. the examples: "we are all looking at him", "and all of their language and all of their deeds, however, are being written down now" [Kari 1994: 309]. "We all went hunting last fall", "I ate it all" [Tuttle 2009: 3].

**Central Carrier**: Poser 1998/2013: 508, 594; Poser 2011a: 25; Antoine et al. 1974: 237. Polysemy: 'all (omnis) / all (totus)'. This is the generic form. Cf. other forms applicable to various objects: human *cʰiya-n-ne*, locative *cʰiya-tin*, abstract *cʰiya-xʷ* (see the numerals 'two' and also 'one' for the same inflection). Derived from the adverb *cʰiya* 'entirely' [Poser 1998/2013: 508].

Degexit'an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 53. Morphologically unclear. Polysemy: 'all (omnis) / all (totus)'. Cf. some examples: "family (lit.: all his relations)", "Invite all of them", "Beaver, muskrat, and foxes all have lodges", "Say it all again", "She swept the whole house" [Taff et al. 2007]. "All the young men of the village tried hard to get her" [Chapman 1914: 109], "He smeared the whole park with the rest of the found fat" [Chapman 1914: 119].

Distinct from *čta ~ čta-t* with polysemy 'all (totus) / every', glossed as 'completely, entirely' in [Kari 1978: 53] and as 'every' in [Taff et al. 2007] with the examples: "I'll go to see you every evening" [Taff et al. 2007], "Though I have been looking all over the world" [Chapman 1914: 140].

Distinct from *čtu=čtu-ʔag* 'entire, whole' [Kari 1978: 53; Chapman 1914: 224]. Cf. the example: "All the village people have their wives, except my brother" [Chapman 1914: 107].

Sarsi: Cook 1984: 77. Polysemy: 'all (omnis) / all (totus)'. Cf. some examples: "All his dogs he tied up. All the trees were lighted up" [Goddard 1915: 249], "all of the people", "all of the food" [Cook 1984: 77].

2. ASHES


References and notes:


Mattole: Li 1930: 126. Polysemy: 'ashes / grey (adj.)'. Derived from the verb *=-p*ai 'to be grey' [Li 1930: 81] with the adjectival prefix *ti- [Li 1930: 57] and the medio-passive exponent -*l*. [Li 1930: 70].


Kato: Goddard 1909: 150 No. 5-6, No. 8. Cf. No. 5-6: "She piled the ashes up" (translated by Goddard as 'She piled the dirt up again in the fireplace'), Substantive *kʰonʔ* 'fire' q.v. + locative suffix -*təŋ* 'at' [Goddard 1912: 24].

In [Curtis 1924: 204], the word for 'ashes' is quoted as something like *kʰonʔ-čəc*, the second element is unclear.


Distinct from *kʰonʔ-čənʔ* 'fiery coals; hot ashes' [Hoijer 1973: 57], literally 'redness of fire' with *kʰonʔ* 'fire' q.v. and *-čənʔ* 'to be red' q.v.


An alternative Upper Inlet term for 'ashes' is *təs-c'ay* [Kari 2007: 248; Kari 1977: 132], for which see notes on Outer Inlet Tanaina.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 248, 345. Originates < *kə=lač-a*. There are several alternative Outer Inlet terms for 'ashes':

1) *təs-c'ay* [Kari 2007: 248; Kari 1977: 132], this form is a direct match with Upper Inlet *təs-c'ay* 'ashes'. Perhaps 'soil's air' with the same root *təs* 'soil' and *c'ay* (Upper Inlet *c'ay*, Outer Inlet *c'ay*) 'air' [Kari 1977: 135].

3) tazə-lač-a [Kari 2007: 248]; literally ‘fire’s soil’ with tazə ‘fire’ q.v. and the same root tač ‘soil’ (lač-a < *lač-ta).

Inland Tanaina:

An alternative Inland term for ‘ashes’ is tazə-lač-a [Kari 2007: 248], for which see notes on Outer Inlet Tanaina.

Iliamna Tanaina:

Central Ahtena:

Lower Ahtena: tɛc ~ q'onʔ=lec-ʔ [Kari 1990: 275, 480; Kari & Buck 1975: 97; Smelcer 2010: 67].

Western Ahtena: tɛc ~ q'onʔ=lec-ʔ [Kari 1990: 275, 480; Kari & Buck 1975: 97; Smelcer 2010: 67].


Distinct from tə-ẑə ‘ashes (top layer of white ashes)’ [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 70] with tə ‘smoke’ q.v. and ẑə ‘?’.


Tanacross: Holton 2000: 340; Brean & Milanowski 1979: 16. Literally ‘flour of fire’ with tɛc ‘flour’ [Arnold et al. 2009: 122, 315] and kəonə ‘fire’ q.v. It should be noted that the high tone tɛc should also yield high tone in the possessed form **tɛc-tə, whereas the rising tone in **fɛc-ʔ suggests the original low tone **fɛc [Holton 2000: 79].

In [Shinen 1958: 17], the Tanacross word for ‘ashes’ is quoted as tə-ʔə (Outer Inlet tə-ʔə), and it is glossed in the general meaning ‘ashes’ in [Kari 1994], but is specified as ‘volcanic ashes’ [Kari 1990: 275, 480; Kari & Buck 1975: 97; Smelcer 2010: 67].

Distinct from kəonə ʔəny-aʔ ‘ashes of open fire’ [Tuttle 2009: 8] ~ kəonə ʔəny-aʔ ‘ashes’ [Kari 1994: 93] (literally ‘fire’s sand’), təq ‘ashes, coals in stove or fireplace; charcoal’ [Kari 1994: 253; Tuttle 2009: 8], tətə’ʔ ~ kəonə tətə ‘hot embers, hot ashes, coals’ [Kari 1994: 313, 363], tə-ʔə’yə ‘ashes of bracket fungus (used to make leaf tobacco stronger)’ [Kari 1994: 301, 363; Tuttle 2009: 22] (according to Kari, ʔə’yə is the variant of the verbal root ʨɨk ‘to be bitter, pungent’; the initial element can thus be tə ‘smoke’, i.e., ‘pungent smoke’).


Distinct from tə-ʔə’yə ‘dust, smoke / fine white ashes of the hard brown birch fungus / steam / jet or spout of water’ [Jette & Jones 2000: 655], perhaps ‘pungent smoke’ with tət ‘smoke’ (q.v.) + ɛčk / ɛčy ‘(to be) pungent’.

Degexit’an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 51; Chapman 1914: 118. Literally ‘heat’s mud with tətə’ɛc’ cheat’ [Taff et al. 2007].

The second candidate is the more rare form ɬəc-ʔə ‘ashes’ [Kari 1978: 51] (not found in other sources), where initial ɬəc can be an assimilated variant of ɬəc ‘earth, soil / mud’ q.v., the second element is ʔə ‘to be hot / to be warm’ q.v., thus ‘ashes’ as ‘hot soil’.

Distinct from ɬəq ‘coals, charcoal, ashes’ [Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 51].

3. BARK

Hupa POSSR=šic’ (1), Kato čʰan=sač (1), Taldash Galice POSSR=ši: (2), Outer Inlet Tanaina k’=tič’a (3), Inland Tanaina k’=tič’a (3), Iliamna Tanaina k’=tič’a (3), Central Ahtena POSSR=la=t’uc-eʔ (3), Mentasta Ahtena POSSR=la=t’uc-eʔ (3), Dogrib we=t’i (3), North Slavey (Hare) POSSR=t’ûw-eʔ (3), Tanacross čè=làː=c’èy (4), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) ãu (5), Lower Tanana (Minto) POSSR=la=t’uc-aʔ (3), Central Carrier POSSR=la=t’uz (3), Koyukon POSSR=lo=t’uc-aʔ (3), Degexit’an POSSR=lo=t’eːc (3), Sarsi POSSR=c’út-ðʔ (6).

References and notes:


Mattole: Not attested.

Bear River dialect: not attested.


Upper Inlet Tanaina: No generic term documented for Upper Inlet Tanaina.


Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 61, 346; Kari 1977: 75. No generic term in [Wassillie 1979: 7], where k’=tič’a is not quoted at all.


Western Ahtena: POSSR=la=t’uc-eʔ [Kari 1990: 352, 482; Kari & Buck 1975: 30; Smelcer 2010: 107].


Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 114, 143. Polysemy: ‘bark / peel’. Initial ne= is apparently the fossilized possessive pronoun his, her, its’, cf., e.g., with a full-fledged possessor: k’iː wàːθ ‘bark’ [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 63] (k’i ‘birch’).


Distinct from the specific term c’è=làː–h=ć’èʔ ‘outer bark’ [Arnold et al. 2009: 51; Holton 2000: 340], which has the same structure as c’è=làː=ć’èʔ, but h=ć’èʔ is apparently the nominalized verb for ‘to peel’ (not attested independently; classifier =h= c’èʔ=). In [Shinen 1958: 12], another expression for ‘bark of tree’ is quoted: c’è=ðu=ć’ènʔ, which actually represents the compound c’è=ðu=ć’ènʔ ‘stump of branch remaining after branch is broken off’ [Arnold et al. 2009: 65].


Scottie Creek: c’è=làː=ć’èay ‘bark’, attested in the collocation c’è=ć’èlìc’èay ‘spruce bark’ [John 1997: 60] (c’è ‘spruce’).

Similar to the Tanacross expression for ‘bark’, but less clear morphologically, since the Tanana indefinite possessive pronoun is c’è=, not c’è:. Distinct from specific k’iː ‘birch / birch bark’ [John 1997: 57].

with ʰ={l}ʔ 'hand; branch' and ʰuc 'rind, peeling' [Kari 1994: 259]. Cf. the cognate verb ʰobl=ʰ=ʰuc 'to peel' [Kari 1994: 259].


**Central Carrier:** Poser 1998/2013: 234, 608; Antoine et al. 1974: 33, 297. Glossed as 'outer bark' by Poser and simply as 'bark' by Antoine et al. Literally 'peel of hands (i.e., of branches)' with POSSR=laʔ 'hand' q.v.; POSSR=ʰuc 'peeling, peel of potato; inner bark of tree' [Poser 1998/2013: 477; Antoine et al. 1974: 46]. In [Poser 2011a: 34], 'bark of tree' is translated simply as POSSR=ʰuc.

There is also an unclear term POSSR=laʔ=ʔʔ [Poser 1998/2013: 232] which means generally 'bark', occasionally attested as the first element of compounds or even as an independent word.

Distinct from two expressions for 'inner bark': POSSR=laʔ=ʔil and POSSR=laʔ=ʔat [Poser 1998/2013: 56; Morice 1932, 1: 45], whose second elements are unclear.

**Koyukon:** Jetté & Jones 2000: 557, 853; Jones 1978: 15. Specified as 'outer bark of tree', applicable to "most trees except for the birch". Literally ʰuc of hands (i.e., of branches) with POSSR=laʔ 'hand' q.v.; ʰucʰ 'peel' seems unattested outside this compound.

Distinct from ʰqiʔ 'birch / outer birch bark, roofing material' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 353].

**Degexit’an:** Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 17; Chapman 1914: 205, 228. Attested in the passages: "He saw the bark floating in the water", "He’s making a bark smokehouse". Literally ʰec of hands (i.e., of branches) with POSSR=laʔ=ʔ 'hand' q.v.

Distinct from the morphologically unclear term for 'inner bark': ʰkʰʔum 'bark, inner willow bark, cambium' [Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 17] (perhaps ʰk= stays for ʰkʰ= its').

Distinct from ʰqiʔ 'birch / birch bark' [Kari 1978: 18].

**Sarsi:** Hoijer & Jöell 1963: 71. Polysemy: 'peel (of fruit) / bark / shell (of nut)'.

4. BELLY

**Hupa** POSSR=mit’ (1), **Mattole** POSSR=p’iʔt (1), **Kato** POSSR=pat’ (1), **Taldash Galice** POSSR=paiʔ (1), **Upper Inlet Tanaina** POSSR=pat’ (1), **Outer Inlet Tanaina** POSSR=pis (2), **Inland Tanaina** POSSR=ʔat’ (1), **Iliamna Tanaina** POSSR=ʔat’ (1), **Central Ahtena** POSSR=pet’ ~ POSSR=ʔeʔt (1), **Mentasta Ahtena** POSSR=pet (1), **Dogrib** POSSR=ʔpə (1), **North Slavey (Hare)** POSSR=ʔeʔ (1), **Tanacross** POSSR=ʔhə:ʔʔ (3), **Upper Tanana (Tetlin)** POSSR=ʔhə:ʔʔ (3), **Lower Tanana (Minto)** POSSR=ʔat (1), **Central Carrier** POSSR=ʔat (1), **Koyukon** POSSR=pat (1), **Degexit’an** POSSR=ʔat (1), **Sarsi** POSSR=mitʔ (1).

References and notes:

**Hupa:** Sapir & Golla 2001: 772; Golla 1996: 10; Golla 1964: 110. Polysemy: 'belly / stomach'. The same root with the full grade of the izafet suffix: POSSR=mitʔ-ʔ 'the belly part (in cutting fish), deer tripe' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 772; Golla 1996: 10; Golla 1964: 110]; thus =mitʔ should originate from =mitʔ.

Distinct from the more rare term POSSR=ʔontʔ-ʔ 'belly' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 812; Golla 1964: 114], whose exact meaning and application are unknown.

**Mattole:** Li 1930: 126. Originates from =p’it [Li 1930: 6, 20] (further < =p’itʔ ?). Glossed by Li as 'stomach', thus apparently with polysemy: 'belly / stomach'.


**Kato:** Goddard 1912: 22; Goddard 1909: 143 No. 13, 152 No. 2, 158 No. 3. Polysemy: 'belly / stomach'. The non-possessed form is also attested: pat’ with the specific meaning 'stomach as food' [Goddard 1912: 20; Goddard 1909: 109 No. 5, 110 No. 1, 113 No. 3] - apparently plain pat is the result of reanalysis of the original expression POSSR=pat’.

There is also a term ʔcan ~ ʔcan that is glossed once as 'belly' [Goddard 1909: 79 No. 13], but actually, it seems to simply be the frequent word ʔcan 'food' [Goddard 1912: 20].


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**Outer Inlet Tanaina**: Kari 1977: 103. No Outer Inlet term for 'belly' in [Kari 2007].


**Central Ahtena**: Kari 1990: 105, 485; Kari & Buck 1975: 67; Smelcer 2010: 49. The form =pet is from [Kari & Buck 1975; Smelcer 2010].

**Lower Ahtena**: POSSR=pet [Kari 1990: 105, 485; Kari & Buck 1975: 67; Smelcer 2010: 49].

**Western Ahtena**: POSSR=pet [Kari 1990: 105, 485; Kari & Buck 1975: 67; Smelcer 2010: 49].


There is also a collocation POSSR=et: ‘t’ini, quoted in [Saxon & Siemens n.d.] as 'stomach, belly, tummy, abdomen, mid-section of body' (i.e., a full synonym of POSSR=po); literally 'middle of the body' with =et: =et: =et: 'body, insides' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 47] and ‘t’ini 'half, middle' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 93].

**North Slavey (Hare)**: Rice 1978: 38; Hoijer 1956: 222. Polysemy: 'belly / stomach'.

Distinct from POSSR=cʰüm-ʔ is quoted for 'human stomach', whereas POSSR=mêt is quoted for generic 'belly'.

**Upper Tanana (Tetlin)**: Milanowski 2009: 25, 69. Glossed as 'belly'.

Distinct from POSSR=cʰat 'stomach' [Milanowski 2009: 70].


**Scottie Creek**: POSSR=cʰat-ʔ 'belly, stomach' [John 1997: 11, 16].

**Lower Tanana (Minto)**: Kari 1994: 36, 368; Tuttle 2009: 19. Polysemy: 'belly / stomach'.

Distinct from POSSR=cʰat-'aʔ 'abdomen, belly' [Kari 1994: 313, 368].

Distinct from POSSR=cʰat-y'icviscera, abdomen' [Kari 1994: 48].

**Central Carrier**: Poser 1998/2013: 98, 613; Antoine et al. 1974: 16; Morice 1932, 1: 27. Polysemy: 'belly / stomach'.


Distinct from POSSR=cʰat 'abdomen, viscera / womb / inside the sled basket' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 298].


**Sarsi**: Hoijer & Joël 1963: 69; Hoijer 1956: 222.

5. BIG

Hupa =kʰʌːh (1), Mattole =cʰʌːr (1), Kato =cʰʌː (1), Taldash Galice =cʰʌːh (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina =t=kʰʌːh (1) / kʰʌːh (2), Inland Tanaina =t=kʰʌːh (1) / cʰʌː (3), Central Ahtena =kʰʌː (1) / kʰʌː (2), Mentasta Ahtena =kʰʌː (1) / kʰʌː (2), Dogrib =cʰʌː (1), North Slavey (Hare) =sà (1), Tanacross cʰʌː (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) cʰʌː (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) cʰʌː (1), Central Carrier cʰʌː (1), Koyukon =kʰʌː (1), Degéx’t’an cʰʌː (1), Sarsi =cʰʌː w ~ =cʰʌː w (1).

**References and notes:**

Golla 1970: 262].

**Mattole:** Li 1930: 45, 57, 118. Verbal root ‘to be big’. This is the heavy stem, originating < *čʰňux-i [Li 1930: 23]; the light stem is < čʰňh < *čʰňx. The same morpheme constitutes the augmentative suffix -čʰoh / -čʰow- [Li 1930: 138].

Bear River dialect: not attested.

**Kato:** Goddard 1912: 28, 74. Verbal root ‘to be big’; applied to ‘fish’, ‘teeth’, ‘country’ etc. This is the heavy stem, originating < *čʰňux-i; the light stem is čʰoh < *čʰňx. The same morpheme constitutes the augmentative suffix -čʰo [Goddard 1912: 26].

**Taldash Galice:** Hoijer 1973: 71; Landar 1977: 294. Verbal root: ‘to be big’. The same morpheme also forms the augmentative suffix -čʰoh (e.g., fčʰōh ‘horse’, lit. ‘big pet’ [Hoijer 1973: 61]).

**Upper Inlet Tanaina:** Not attested.

**Outer Inlet Tanaina:** Boraas 2010: 67, 82-83.

Two expressions for ‘big’ are documented in [Boraas 2010].

1. The verb *=kʰux, glossed as ‘to be big, large, tall, high, great in quantity or volume’. Paradigm: *=kʰux (< *=kʰǫx-o) [neuter imperfect. & perf.]/=kʰox (< *=kʰox) [progressive imperfect. & perf.]; the variant =kʰux (< *=kʰox-o) [neuter perf.] is attested as well.

2. The noun-like adjective kʰāu with examples: “big mountain”, “big moose”, “big village”, “big old man (euphemistic name for brown bear)” [Boraas 2010: 39]. In [Boraas 2010: 67], kʰāu is also quoted as the root for the transitional future form in the suppletive paradigm of the verb =kʰux ‘to be big’.

We are forced to treat =kʰux and kʰāu as synonyms. [Boraas 2010: 39].

**Inland Tanaina:** Tenenbaum 1978: 49 et passim; Tenenbaum 1976 1: 59 et passim; Wassillie 1979: 11.

Three expressions for ‘big’ have been found in the available sources.


   Also: “how big is a pile?” [Tenenbaum 1976 2: 33]; “a really big house” [Tenenbaum 1976 2: 9]; “a really big one” [Tenenbaum 1976 2: 24]; “a really big boat” [Tenenbaum 1976 2: 65]; “a really big caribou bull” [Tenenbaum 1976 3: 55]; “the baby got big” [Tenenbaum 1976 3: 68]; “The bear cubs were as big as...” [Tenenbaum 1976 4: 22]; “His son was as big as...” [Tenenbaum 1976 4: 32]; “this big one” [Tenenbaum 1976 1: 8]; “it was big” [Tenenbaum 1976 1: 10; 4: 38]; “It got big” [Tenenbaum 1976 3: 55; Tenenbaum 1976 4: 13]...


The difference between the tree expressions is unclear. We treat =kʰux and čʰox as synonyms, but exclude kʰ∧u, since it seems statistically marginal. [Wassillie 1979: 11].

**Iliamna Tanaina:** Not attested.

**Central Ahtena:** Kari 1990: 109; 485.

Lower Ahtena: =kʰʌɾx [Kari 1990: 109; 485].


Lower Ahtena: kʰʌɾɛ [Kari 1990: 112; 485].

Upper Ahtena: kʰʌɾɛ [Kari 1990: 112; 485].

**Mentasta Ahtena:** Kari 1990: 109; 485; Kari 1990: 112; 485.

**Dogrib:** Saxon & Siemens 1996: 80, 145. Innovative pronunciation: =čʰu. Verbal root: ‘to be big’. The same morpheme constitutes the augmentative suffix -čʰoh [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 8; Marinakis et al. 2007: 152]. The basic expressions for ‘small’ q.v. are based on this verb: =čʰoh- (~ contracted =čʰu), literally ‘not to be big’.

Distinct from the suffix -tʰ: =čʰoh- (e.g., tʰ ‘great, important, big, original’ [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 86].

**North Slavey (Hare):** Rice 1978: 261, 457, 489; Rice 1989: 239. Verb with polysemy: ‘to be big / to be old’. E.g.: “the knife is bigger than it” [Rice 1989: 1008]; “he has a big boat and a small boat” [Rice 1989: 1070]; “Bill hooked the biggest fish” [Rice 1989: 1008].
6. BIRD


References and notes:


Mattole: Li 1930: 125. Literally ‘small one’ < the impersonal thematic pronoun ?i- [Li 1930: 37 I.] + yə:x ‘small (subst.)’ (i.e., ‘animal’s young?’) [Li 1930: 125].


Kato: Goddard 1912: 29. Literally ‘it does/has feathers (tʰa)’. In Goddard’s data only the collective meaning ‘birds’ is attested,
although the expression *lakliy-weet-i* 'bird egg' [Essene 1942: 86] (with POSSR=weet-i: 'egg') should indicate that *lak-kʷ/lik̥* denotes sg. 'bird' as well.

Taldash Galice: Not attested.

**Upper Inlet Tanaina:** Kari 2007: 27, 346; Kari 1977: 42.


**Central Ahtena:** Kari 1990: 190, 486; Kari & Buck 1975: 15; Smelcer 2010: 36.

**Lower Ahtena:** qaqi [Kari 1990: 190, 486; Kari & Buck 1975: 15; Smelcer 2010: 36].

**Western Ahtena:** qaqi [Kari 1990: 190, 486; Kari & Buck 1975: 15; Smelcer 2010: 36].

**Mentasta Ahtena:** Kari 1990: 190, 486; Kari & Buck 1975: 15; Smelcer 2010: 36. Note the regular harmony -i > -a; the prefixal element *č* is unclear; it corresponds to *č* in Inland Tanaina *č=qaq-šla* 'bird' q.v.

**Dogrib:** Saxon & Siemens 1996: 8, 145. Innovative pronunciation: *č̣iš*. Final *Č* is the diminutive suffix [Marinakis et al. 2007: 152 ff.].

**North Slavey (Hare):** Rice 1978: 35, 121. Glossed with the generic meaning 'bird', e.g., 'he hit the bird with a stone' [Rice 1989: 302], "a bird's nest is located" [Rice 1989: 1026]. Initial *či* is a rare desemanticized prefix [Rice 1989: 166].

Distinct from *či*-yaa 'small bird' [Rice 1978: 94; Rice 1989: 44], final -yaa is a diminutive suffix [Rice 1989: 240]; *či=tón-i* 'large bird' [Rice 1978: 48; Rice 1989: 166], a deverbative with the i-nominalizer.

**Tanacross:** Arnold et al. 2009: 58; Holton 2000: 341; Brean & Milanowski 1979: 5; McRoy 1973: 2; Shinen 1958: 10. Literally 'small *či*' with *kuy* 'small' q.v.; the root *č* seems undocumented outside this expression.

**Upper Tanana (Tetlin):** Milanowski 2009: 27, 68. Cf. the example: "She is scattering bird seed" [Milanowski 2009: 48]. Could be a nominalized verbal form, although the meaning of the underlying verb */č=a*: is unclear (final *...dn < "...t-a* with the relativizing suffix).

**Northway:** *č=a*='udn 'bird' [Milanowski 2007: 3].

**Scottie Creek:** *č=a*='űt* 'bird' [John 1997: 7]. Cf. the available example: "What bird is this?".

**Lower Tanana (Minto):** Kari 1994: 293, 370; Tuttle 2009: 22. Glossed as 'birds (any), land birds'. Perhaps *čuy-a* with the diminutive suffix *-a~-.a*.


**Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 198; Jones 1978: 21. Apparently no generic term for 'bird' in the majority of Koyukon varieties. The only common expressions are Central *šqaxa*=t, literally 'summer animal', Lower *qaxq-čez*, literally 'small animal' with *qaxq* 'animal'. These are glossed as 'small birds which migrate south in the winter' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 198] or 'bird (of the twenty-bird variety)' [Jones & Kwaraceius 1997: 77]. As explained by Jetté, these terms apply "to all the small birds which live in the country only during summer and spend the winter elsewhere. The larger birds, such as ducks, geese, cranes, swans, etc., although etymologically comprised under the designation, are by custom excluded from it". In [Jones 1978: 21], however, *šqaxa* and *qaxq-čez* are quoted as generic terms for 'bird' in the Central and Lower dialects. There exists a generic term *č'uqa* 'bird' in the Toklat-Bearpaw subdialect of the Upper dialect [Jetté & Jones 2000: 647], which looks like a borrowing from Lower Tanana *čuy-a* 'bird'.

**Degexit'an:** Taff et al. 2007. Literally 'little animal' (cf. *qč* 'animal').

**Sarsi:** Hoijer & Jóel 1963: 72; Nanagusja 1996b: 156. Initial *i* is a prefix which occurs in many Sarsi nouns. Most likely, it is the fossilized indefinite non-personal possessive pronoun *i* [Hoijer & Jóel 1963: 66]. Final *-a* is the diminutive suffix *-a~-.a* [Li 1930b: 9].

7. BITE

Hupa =*xac* (1), Mattole =*kič* (2), Kato =*kac* (1), Taldash Galice =*teh* (3), Upper Inlet Tanaina =*kás* (2), Inland Tanaina =*bás* (2), Central Ahtena =*a=tʰ* (4), Mentasta Ahtena =*a=tʰ* (4), Dogrib =*tʰ* (3), North Slavey (Hare) =*ká* (4), Tanacross =*tʰ* (5), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) =*a=tʰ* (5), Lower Tanana (Minto) =*a=tʰ* (5), Central Carrier =*tʰ=čuentʰ* (6), Koyukon =*l=kuc* ~
=t=kuc (7), Degexit’an =təq (8) / =təc (7), Sarsi =ʔqə (5).

References and notes:


Mattole: Li 1930: 100. This is the heavy stem, originating < *=kič-i [Li 1930: 24 f.]; the light stem is =kiš < *=kič.

Bear River dialect: not attested.

Kato: Goddard 1912: 78. Note the de-ejectivization -c < -*-c’.

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 64; Hoijer 1956: 223. Imperf. & perf. stem. Exact meaning and application are, however, unknown. In [Hoijer 1956], transcribed as =tc’.


Outer Inlet Tanaina: Not attested.


Iliamna Tanaina: Not attested.


Lower Ahtena: =ʔaʃ [Kari 1990: 79, 486].

Western Ahtena: =ʔaʃ [Kari 1990: 79, 486].


Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 56, 146. Glossed as ‘to bite, take a bite out of’. In the available example, applied to a dog.

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 271, 442, 489. There are two verbs with the meaning ‘to bite’ in Hare: =k’u glossed as ‘to bite, chew up’ [Rice 1978: 442, 489] and =h=shu glossed as ‘to bite, hold in mouth, grab in mouth’ [Rice 1978: 270, 458, 489; Hoijer 1956: 222] (Hoijer quotes the 19th c. archaic variant =ču’). The verb =k’u seems to be more generic and frequent. Cf. attested examples with =k’u ‘to bite’: “s/he bit me” [Rice 1989: 67]. “I’ll bite them” [Rice 1978: 271], “John shot the dog that bit the child” [Rice 1989: 1196], “if a wolf is hungry, it sometimes bites people” [Rice 1989: 342], “Keep away because he might bite you” [Rice 1978: 207], “we bite ourselves” [Rice 1989: 490], “A mosquito bit me” [Rice 1978: 271]. Examples for =h=shu ‘to bite’ are more scant, and all of them refer to dogs or wolves: “the dog bit the boy” [Rice 1989: 987], “the dog might bite you” [Rice 1978: 270], “a hungry wolf will sometimes bite people” [Rice 1989: 1326]. Apparently the meaning ‘to grab in mouth’ is basic for =h=shu.


Distinct from =l=kuc ‘to bite’ [Kari 1994: 119, 370]. Since =l=kuc is only provided by Kari with a single example (“He bit it”), this verb is apparently more marginal than =ʔaʃ.

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 1219, 1250; Antoine et al. 1974: 204; Morice 1932, 1: 351. In [Poser 1998/2013: 1219, 1250], glossed as ‘to act violently on a soft material, e.g. to tear or split it’. Paradigm: =ʔeʔt [momentaneous imperf.] / =ʔeʔtɛl [momentaneous perf.]. Cf. the examples: “he is biting me”, “The puppy is biting my leg” [Antoine et al. 1974: 204], “it is biting him (playfully)” [Antoine et al. 1974: 268], “The dog bit him in the leg” [Antoine et al. 1974: 123], “When he was coming (walking) with us, a dog bit him” [Antoine et al. 1974: 168], “to bite (that is, to tear with teeth)”, “to bite (in a piece of bread)” [Morice 1932, 1: 351].


Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 196, 859; Jones 1978: 22. Applicable to both humans and animals (such as dogs).

In the Toklat-Bearpaw subdialect of the Upper dialect, a different verb =l=ɛ’at ‘to bite’ is used [Jetté & Jones 2000: 635] (although it is unclear whether it coexists with =l=kuc or not).

him”.

The second candidate is the verb \(=\iota \bar{s}\) ‘to bite’, adduced in [Hargus 2000: 6; Kari 1976: 26] with the example “dog bit him”. The difference between \(=t\bar{s}\) and \(=\iota \bar{s}\) is unclear; we have to treat them as synonyms.

Distinct from \(=\t \bar{s}\) ‘to gnaw’ [Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1976: 5], the imperfective \(=\t \bar{s}\) and the perfective \(=\t \bar{s}\) are used with the verb ‘to chew’ [Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1976: 5].

Sarsi: Li 1930b: 16.

A difficult case with three competing verbs:
1) \(=\k \bar{s}\) [imperf.] / \(=\k \bar{z}\) [perf.], glossed as ‘to bite’ in [Li 1930b: 20; Cook 1984: 253], without further information.
2) \(=\z \bar{\alpha} \bar{s}\) [imperf.] / \(=\z \bar{\alpha} \bar{\alpha} \bar{c}\) [perf.], glossed as ‘to gnaw’ in [Li 1930b: 17; Cook 1984: 233], but quoted in [Hojier 1956: 222] for the Swadesh meaning ‘to bite’.
3) \(=\t \bar{\eta}\) [imperf.] / \(=\t \bar{\epsilon}\) [perf.], glossed as ‘to chew’ in [Li 1930b: 16; Cook 1984: 71, 232].

Browsing through the text collection in [Goddard 1915] suggests, however, that \(=\t \bar{\eta}\) could be the basic expression for both ‘to bite’ and ‘to chew’. Cf. the found examples: “He [the hero acting like a bear] threw them down, then he pretended to bite them. There was no blood” [Goddard 1915: 255], "He [the hero] bit its [bear's] face" [Goddard 1915: 265], "A part of his body swells, then he chews [medicine] herb" [Goddard 1915: 219], "He put a grass in his mouth. He chewed it" [Goddard 1915: 241].

Provisionally we fill the slot with the verb \(=\t \bar{\eta}\), assuming synchronic polysemy: ‘to bite / to chew’.

7. BITE

Inland Tanaina =\(\k \bar{a} \bar{c}\) (2), Central Ahtena =\(\alpha \bar{\alpha} \bar{\alpha}'\) (4), Mentasta Ahtena =\(\alpha \bar{\alpha} \bar{\alpha}\) (4), Lower Tanana (Minto) =\(\alpha \bar{\alpha}\) (4), Degexit’an =\(\alpha \bar{\alpha}\) (2).

References and notes:

Inland Tanaina: Perfective.
Central Ahtena: Perfective.
Mentasta Ahtena: Perfective.
Lower Tanana (Minto): Perfective.

8. BLACK

Hupa =\(\k \bar{i} \bar{n}\) (1), Mattole =\(\k \bar{i} \bar{n}\) (1), Kato =\(\k \bar{i} \bar{n}\) (1), Taldash Galice =\(\bar{k} \bar{\alpha} \bar{n}\) (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina =\(l=t \bar{i} \bar{\alpha}\) (2), Outer Inlet Tanaina =\(l=t \bar{i} \bar{\alpha}\) (2), Inland Tanaina =\(\alpha \bar{\alpha} \bar{\alpha}\) (3), Iliamna Tanaina =\(\alpha \bar{\alpha} \bar{\alpha}\) (3), Central Ahtena =\(l=t \bar{i} \bar{\alpha} \bar{\alpha}\) (2), Mentasta Ahtena =\(l=t \bar{i} \bar{\alpha} \bar{\alpha}\) (2), Dogrib =\(\k \bar{z}\) (1), North Slavey (Hare) =\(l=z \bar{n}-\bar{\epsilon}\) (1), Tanacross \(t \bar{a}=t \bar{s} \bar{\epsilon} \bar{y}\) (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) \(t \bar{a}=t \bar{s} \bar{\epsilon} \bar{y}\) (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) =\(t=\lambda \bar{\alpha} \bar{\alpha}\) (3), Central Carrier =\(t=k \bar{\alpha} \bar{s}\) (4), Koyukon =\(\lambda \bar{\alpha} \bar{\alpha}\) (3), Degexit’an =\(\lambda \bar{\alpha} \bar{\alpha}\) (3), Sarsi =\(s=k \bar{\alpha} \bar{s}\) (4).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 796; Golla 1996: 11. Verbal root: ‘to be black’. Imperfective, originating < *\(=\k \bar{i} \bar{n}-\bar{i}\); the perfective root variant is \(=\k \bar{i} \bar{n} \bar{n}<\) *\(=\k \bar{i} \bar{n}-\bar{i}\).

Mattole: Li 1930: 80. Verbal root with polysemy: ‘to be dark / to be black’. Li quotes the verb ‘to be dark’ as \(=\k \bar{i} \bar{n}\) < *\(=\k \bar{i} \bar{n} \bar{n}\) [imperf.]/
"to be black". Paradigm: =\text{šin} 

Bear River dialect: \text{f=}\text{xin}=\text{e} \sim \text{fa=}\text{x}^\text{an} \text{ 'black'} [Goddard 1929: 314].

Kato: Goddard 1912: 28, 67; Curtis 1924: 203. Verbal root 'to be black'. Paradigm: =\text{šin} < \text{=šin}=\text{i} [light] / =\text{ši}n < \text{=šin}=\text{-i} [heavy].

Glottalization of the final nasal has spread from the old perfective stems ('=\text{šin}=\text{-i}', '=\text{šin}=\text{-i}' across the paradigm. The adjective-like form is =t=\text{šiy}', (it is) black'.

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 71; Landar 1977: 294. Verbal root: 'to be black'. The adjectival form is \text{fa=}\text{šan}.


Lower Ahtena: =l=t=\text{u}²\text{s} [Kari 1990: 351, 486; Kari & Buck 1975: 103; Smelcer 2010: 60].

Western Ahtena: =l=t=\text{uc}³ [Kari 1990: 351, 486; Kari & Buck 1975: 103; Smelcer 2010: 60].


Dogrib: Saxton & Siemens 1996: 18, 146. Verbal root with polysemy: 'to be black / to be dark'. It is also listed as the basic color term 'black' on the front flyleaf of [Saxon & Siemens 1996].

Distinct from the noun \text{f}ɛ, glossed as 'charcoal, black' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 100].

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 223, 484, 489; Rice 1989: 577, 910. Verbal stem 'to be black'; for the desemanticized verbal suffix -e see [Rice 1989: 816].

Distinct from =t=\text{a}l=\text{ù} to 'become black' [Rice 1978: 222, 488], with not very diagnostic examples: 'His face got black', 'The sky is getting dark'.

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 59; Holton 2000: 348; Brean & Milanowski 1979: 22; McRoy 1973: 16; Shinen 1958: 18. The verb =t=\text{q}ay 'to be black' with the adjectival/gender exponent t(a)= [Holton 2000: 237 ff.]. The root \text{q}ay 'black' also functions as the second element of nominal compounds [Holton 2000: 132].

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 15, 69, 72. The verb =t=\text{q}ay to 'be black' with the adjectival/gender exponent t(a)=.

Northway: ta=t=q\text{d}y 'black' [Milanowski 2007: 4].

Scottie Creek: ta=t=q\text{d}y or simply q\text{d}y 'black' [John 1997: 10, 29, 32].


There are two roots for 'black' in Lower Tanana:

1) the adjective =\text{a}x=\text{a}=\text{t} with polysemy: 'black / blue' [Kari 1994: 267, 370] and the verb =t=\text{a}x=\text{c} to 'be black' [Kari 1994: 267, 370; Tuttle 2009: 23]; its dimensional aspect (i.e., 'comparative, -er, more than') form =t=\text{a}x=\text{q} is translated as 'to be dark blue' in [Kari 1994: 267]. Cf. the example "My hair is black" [Tuttle 2009: 23].

2) the adjective \text{=}\text{m}=\text{a}t=\text{œ} = \text{=}\text{m}=\text{a} 'black', the verb =t=\text{q}=\text{a} \text{y} to 'be black' [Kari 1994: 352, 370]. Cf. the examples: "scoter (i.e., black duck)", "black moose", "it is black", "when birch are black, they are no good", "berries became ripe (i.e., dark, black)", "in August, after they get dark, they put them away" [Kari 1994: 352].

Since in the short glossaries [Krauss 1974: 37; Tuttle 2009: 23] only =\text{a}x=\text{c} is quoted for the meaning '(to be) black', whereas =\text{a}x=\text{q} is not mentioned at all, we treat =\text{a}x=\text{c} as the basic term for 'black' in synchronic Lower Tanana.


Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 603, 860; Jones 1978: 23. Verb with polysemy: 'to be black / to be dark blue'. Paradigm: =\text{a}x=\text{c} [neuter imperf.], =\text{a}x=\text{q} [transitional imperf.], =\text{a}x=\text{c} [transitional perf.]. Also functions as the noun-like adjective =\text{a}x=\text{a} to 'black'.

Some less commonly used expressions for 'black' are derived from t\text{a}=\text{c} 'charcoal': the verb =t=\text{a}=\text{c} 'to be black' and the noun-like adjective t\text{a}z=\text{a} 'black' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 604].

Degeit'an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 55; Kari 1976: 50. Verbal stem: 'to be black'. Cf. the examples in [Taff et al. 2007]: "Use the black ones", "They used to make pots out of black clay", "coffee (lit. black hot liquid)", "I used all the black thread".

The second candidate is =\text{a}x=\text{a}y, quoted in [Kari 1978: 55; Taff et al. 2007] with the same meaning 'to be black'. In [Kari 1976: 67], however, =\text{a}x=\text{a}y is glossed as 'to be dark / to be ripen'; examples in [Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 46] support the translation 'to be dark' for =\text{a}x=\text{a}y 'His face is black', 'pepper (lit. black salt)', "brown (lit. it is dark colored)", "rain cloud (lit. black cloud)". 
9. BLOOD

Hupa \(c^h\text{c}=\text{lin}\) \(\sim c^h\text{c}=\text{lin}\) (1), Mattole \(\text{POSSR}=c^h\text{c}=\text{lin}-\text{e}^2\) (1), Kato \(\text{se}=\text{lin}\) (1), Taldash Galice \(\text{ta}^t\) (2), Upper Inlet Tanaina \(\text{to}l\) (2), Outer Inlet Tanaina \(\text{ku}^a=\text{ta}^t=\text{lin}\) (3), Inland Tanaina \(k^h^a=\text{ta}^t=\text{lin}\) (3), Iliamna Tanaina \(k^a=\text{ta}^t=\text{lin}\) (3), Central Ahtena \(\text{tel}\) (2), Mentasta Ahtena \(\text{tel}\) (2), Dogrib \(\text{POSSR}=\text{tô}:\) (2), North Slavey (Hare) \(\text{POSSR}=\text{tel}-\text{e}^2\) (2), Tanacross \(\text{tê}:\) (2), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) \(\text{ta}^t\) (2), Lower Tanana (Minto) \(\text{ta}^t\) (2), Central Carrier \(\text{POSSR}=\text{u}=\text{k}^a\text{ai}=\text{lin}\) (4), Koyukon \(\text{la}=\text{q}^h\text{a}=n-a\) (4), Degexit'an \(\text{ta}^t\) (2), Sarsi \(\text{POSSR}=\text{t}^\text{i}^\text{l}^\text{a}^\text{v}\) (2).

References and notes:

**Hupa:** Sapir & Golla 2001: 735; Golla 1996: 12. The variant \(\text{...}=\text{lin}\) originates from \(^*=\text{lin}\). A nominalized formation from the verb \(^*=\text{lin}\) ‘to flow’, \(^*=\text{lin}\) ‘to flow (of blood), bleed’ [Sapir & Golla 2001: 763; Golla 1996: 12, 37]. For the so-called “simple prefix” \(^*=\text{c}\text{c}\text{e}\text{-}\) cf. [Golla 1970: 147]; the meaning of this element is unclear.

**Mattole:** Li 1930: 131. Normalized formation from the verb \(^*=\text{lin}\) ‘to flow’ [Li 1930: 122] (final -\(\text{e}^2\) is the izafet exponent). For the prefix \(^*=\text{c}\text{c}\text{e}\text{-}\) see notes on Hupa.

Bear River dialect: \(\text{POSSR}=\text{se}^\text{c}=\text{en}=\text{ê}\) ‘blood’ [Goddard 1929: 314], the same verbal formation as in Mattole proper. Cf. the non-possessed form with the specific meaning \(\text{se}=\text{lin}\) ‘blood of deer’ [Goddard 1929: 314].

**Kato:** Goddard 1912: 30; Curtis 1924: 201. Used without obligatory possessor prefixes. Derived from the verb \(^*=\text{lin}\) ‘to flow’; \(\text{se}=\text{lin}\) corresponds to the Hupa & Mattole prefix \(^*=\text{c}\text{c}\text{e}\text{-}\).

**Taldash Galice:** Hoijer 1973: 53; Hoijer 1956: 223. The possessed form is \(\text{POSSR}=\text{ta}^t\).

**Upper Inlet Tanaina:** Kari 2007: 96, 346; Kari 1977: 96. Possessed: \(\text{POSSR}=\text{ta}^t\).

**Outer Inlet Tanaina:** Kari 2007: 96, 346; Kari 1977: 96. Possessed: \(\text{POSSR}=\text{ku}^a=\text{ta}^t=\text{lin}\).

**Inland Tanaina:** Kari 2007: 96, 346; Kari 1977: 96; Wassillie 1979: 12. Possessed: \(\text{POSSR}=\text{ku}^a=\text{ta}^t=\text{lin}\) [Kari 2007: 96] or \(\text{POSSR}=\text{ku}^a=\text{ta}^t=\text{lin}-\text{a}\) [Kari 1977: 96].


**Central Ahtena:** Kari 1990: 148, 487; Kari & Buck 1975: 60; Smelcer 2010: 44.

- **Lower Ahtena:** \(\text{tel}\) [Kari 1990: 148, 487; Kari & Buck 1975: 60; Smelcer 2010: 44].

- **Western Ahtena:** \(\text{tel}\) [Kari 1990: 148, 487; Kari & Buck 1975: 60; Smelcer 2010: 44].

**Mentasta Ahtena:** Kari 1990: 148, 487; Kari & Buck 1975: 60; Smelcer 2010: 44.

**Dogrib:** Saxon & Siemens 1996: 25, 40, 146. The original non-possessed variant is \(\text{tô}:\), as in \(\text{POSSR}=\text{tô}:\text{ê}\) ‘blood-clot’ [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 25].

**North Slavey (Hare):** Rice 1978: 45, 122; Hoijer 1956: 222. The expression for ‘red’ (q.v.) is also based on this noun.


**Upper Tanana (Tetlin):** Milanowski 2009: 15, 69. Apparently, can be used without obligatory possessor prefixes.

- **Northway:** \(\text{ta}^t\) ‘blood’ [Milanowski 2007: 4].

- **Scottie Creek:** \(\text{ta}^t\), \(\text{POSSR}=\text{ta}^t-e^2\) ‘blood’ [John 1997: 18].

**Lower Tanana (Minto):** Kari 1994: 68, 371; Tuttle 2009: 25. In [Kari 1994], quoted as \(\text{ta}^t\), which could be a typo. Possessed: \(\text{POSSR}=\text{ta}^t\). Apparently, this anatomic term is normally applicable to humans. Cf. the denominative verb \(^*=\text{ta}^t\) ‘to be red’ [Kari 1994: 68].

Distinct from \(\delta^a=\text{k}^h\text{a}=n-a\) ‘animal blood / blood soup’ [Kari 1994: 153], literally ‘object in open shallow container’ with
the classificatory verb =ḳʰˈa to be in open shallow container', -i is the relativizing suffix.

**Central Carrier:** Poser 1998/2013: 518, 617; Poser 2011a: 42; Antoine et al. 1974: 42, 298. Literally 'it is located in open container' with the classificatory verb =ḳʰˈa to handle the contents of an open container' [Poser 1998/2013: 1221, 1255].

**Koyukon:** Jetté & Jones 2000: 331, 861; Jones 1978: 23. Polysemy: 'blood / blood vessel'. Literally 'object in open shallow container', from the classificatory verb =ʄʰˈeʔ [neuter imperf.] / =ʄʰˈeːʔ [neuter perf.] 'to be in open shallow container' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 331]. Apparently, this is specifically a Central word for 'blood'. As is noted in [Jetté & Jones 2000: 331]: "The proper word for 'blood' is taf, probably discarded upon the death of some individual in whose name it entered".

The Upper and Lower dialects retain the old term taf 'blood' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 130]. Also this word is marginally used in the Central dialect with the meaning 'bloody' (as in taf naːɬə ˈbloody meat').

**Degexit’an:** Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 38; Chapman 1914: 225. Alienable possession.

**Sarsi:** Hoijer & Joël 1963: 70; Hoijer 1956: 222; Nanagusja 1996a: 45. Note the lack of the expected final -ʔ in the suffix.

10. BONE

Hupa POSSR=c’inʔ ~ POSSR=c’inʔ? ~ POSSR=c’in-eʔ (1), Mattole POSSR=c”in-eʔ (1), Kato c’əŋ (1), Taldash Galice c’an (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina POSSR=c’an ~ POSSR=c’an-a (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina POSSR=ʁəs (2), Inland Tanaina POSSR=c’an (1), Iliamna Tanaina POSSR=c’an (1), Central Ahtena c’en (1), Mentasta Ahtena c’en (1), Dogrib POSSR=kʷəʔ (1), North Slavey (Hare) POSSR=ʁ’ɛn-eʔ (1), Tanacross tʰ’əŋ (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) tʰ’əŋ (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) tʰ’əŋ (1), Central Carrier POSSR=ʔ̑’ən (1), Koyukon ƛ’əŋ (1), Degexit’an tʰ’əŋ (1), Sarsi POSSR=c’in-ʔ (1).

References and notes:

**Hupa:** Sapir & Golla 2001: 738; Golla 1996: 13, 56. Polysemy: ‘bone / leg / needle, awl (made from a sharpened bone)’. The variants =c’iŋʔ < ~w’cinʔ < ~c’in-eʔ; the variants =c’iŋ is secondary.

**Mattole:** Li 1930: 134. Final -eʔ is the izafet exponent.

Bear River dialect: the basic term for 'bone' is apparently attested in the collocation pala sijn-eʔ 'deer's wrist bone' [Goddard 1929: 296, 310] (with pala ?).

**Kato:** Goddard 1912: 20; Curtis 1924: 201. Used without obligatory possessor prefixes.

**Taldash Galice:** Hoijer 1973: 59; Hoijer 1956: 222. The possessed forms are POSSR=c’an-eʔ or POSSR=c’at-eʔ (both < *POSSR=c’an-eʔ).

Polysemy: ‘bone / leg’ (attested for the variant POSSR=c’an-eʔ). In [Landar 1977: 294], quoted as c’ol (sic!).


**Inland Tanaina:** Kari 2007: 86, 346; Kari 1977: 95. In [Wassillie 1979: 12] and [Kari 1977: 95], the form POSSR=ʔ̑’ən-z=tʰ’in (Upper Inlet POSSR=ʔ̑’ən-y=tʰ’in) 'bone' is also quoted (the only term for 'bone' in [Wassillie 1979]), specified as 'longish bone, tibia, ulna, femur' for all the dialects in [Kari 2007: 12, 86]. Etymologically tʰ’in is a classificatory root 'to be / to handle' an elongated object', cf. tʰ’in, e.g., in Inland ƛ’u=z=tʰ’in ‘enclosed caribou fence (teardrop shape)', lit. ‘rear long object' [Kari 2007: 213] (ƛ’u- ‘buttocks, underside of a container').


**Central Ahtena:** Kari 1990: 405, 488; Kari & Buck 1975: 60; Smelcer 2010: 44.


Western Ahtena: c’en [Kari 1990: 405, 488; Kari & Buck 1975: 60; Smelcer 2010: 44].

**Mentasta Ahtena:** Kari 1990: 405, 488; Kari & Buck 1975: 60; Smelcer 2010: 44.


**North Slavey (Hare):** Rice 1978: 107, 122; Hoijer 1956: 222. Hoijer quotes the 19th c. archaic variant with kʷ for modern tʰ’. Polysemy:
'bone / leg'.


Northway: tʰən tʰ'bone' [Milanowski 2007: 4].


Degexit’an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 32; Chapman 1914: 221.


11. BREAST

Hupa POSSR=tʰah-tiy-ʔ (1), Mattole POSSR=c’oʔ-ʔ (2), Upper Inlet Tanaina POSSR=mamʔa (3), Outer Inlet Tanaina POSSR=mamʔa (3), Inland Tanaina POSSR=mamʔa (3), Iliamna Tanaina POSSR=mamʔa (3), Central Ahtena POSSR=paʔ-ʔ (4), Mentasta Ahtena POSSR=tʰuʔ-ʔ (5), Dogrib POSSR=tʰə́-ʔ (5), North Slavey (Hare) POSSR=tʰək-əʔ (6), Tanacross POSSR=cəh-čiʔ (7), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) POSSR=cɛh-tadn (7), Lower Tanana (Minto) POSSR=çay-ṭaʔ-ʔ (7), Central Carrier POSSR=ciʔ-tadn (7), Koyukon POSSR=ćox-ə (7), Degexit’an POSSR=ćox (7), Sarsi POSSR=c’uʔw-ʔ (2).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 789; Golla 1996: 14. Glossed as ‘chest, breast’. Alternatively can be analyzed as POSSR=tʰah-tiy-ʔ. A descriptive formation; the underlying meaning is unclear, however.


Mattole: Li 1930: 10, 131. Polysemy: ‘breast / milk’ with the example “her breast, her milk”. It is unclear whether POSSR=c’oʔ-ʔ denotes just ‘female breast’ or ‘breast (in general)’, but, since Li does not quote any other expressions for ‘breast’, we prefer to treat POSSR=c’oʔ-ʔ as a generic term.

Cf. POSSR=n=c’hʔq’ center of smbd.’s breast [Li 1930: 50] (≅ n=c’hʔnʔ).


variant ĭc- in the compound POSSR=č–čʔɛʔ ‘nipple’ [Kari 1990: 351] (lit. ‘breast’s stone’).

**Ddogrib:** Saxon & Siemens 1996: 45, 100, 147. Polysemy: ‘breast / milk’. In the anatomic meaning, probably applicable to both men and women, although it is not definitely clear (cf., e.g., the unisex compound POSSR=č–čʔɛʔ ‘breastbone, sternum’ [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 45] with =č–čʔɛʔ ‘bone’).

**North Slavey (Hare):** Rice 1978: 99, 128. There are two documented words for ‘breast (generic)’:
1) POSSR=wil–čʔ, glossed as ‘chest, body’ in [Rice 1978: 106], cf. the collocation ‘tuberculosis (lit. chest’s pain)’;
2) POSSR=ták–čʔ, glossed as ‘chest (breast area)’ [Rice 1978: 99], cf. the collocation ‘breast bone’.

However, the only Hare equivalent for English ‘body’ offered in [Rice 1978: 122] is POSSR=qin–čʔ, whereas POSSR=wil–čʔ is not quoted with this semantics. Thus it is likely that the underlying meaning of =wil–čʔ is ‘torso’ or ‘upper part of torso’ rather than ‘breast, chest’ itself. Because of this we tentatively fill the slot with =ták–čʔ.

Distinct from POSSR=tóq–čʔ, glossed as ‘breast’ in [Rice 1978: 99], which apparently specifically denotes ‘female breast’, since the only found examples are ‘milk (lit. breast’s water)’, ‘nipple (lit. breast’s head)’ [Rice 1978: 99], ‘first teeth (lit. breast’s teeth)’ [Rice 1989: 189].


**Upper Tanana (Teletin):** Milaniowski 2009: 16, 69. Glossed as ‘chest’. The first element ceh may be influenced on the part of POSSR=ceh: ‘heart’ (q.v.), the final -tadn (⟨-tat–ʔ⟩) is unclear. Cf. POSSR=ceh–tq̓uy–čʔ ‘lungs’ [Milaniowski 2009: 16], which contains the same root ceh.


**Northway:** POSSR=ceh–kadn, glossed as ‘chest’ [Milaniowski 2007: 5], POSSR=t’u–čʔ with polysemy: ‘female breast / milk’ [Milaniowski 2007: 4].


**Lower Tanana (Minto):** Kari 1994: 98, 133, 380. Glossed as ‘chest’. The first element qay is POSSR=qay–čʔ ‘heart’ (q.v.) or influenced on the part of POSSR=qay–čʔ, the morpheme chain tará: is unclear (Kari suggests that it contains POSSR=qin–čʔ, hump, humpback). The shortened morpheme ca– ‘chest / heart’ is used as the first element of various compounds [Kari 1994: 97].


**Central Carrier:** Poser 1998/2013: 153, 647; Antoine et al. 1974: 301. Polysemy: ‘chest, chest region / yard measure’. Cf. Antoine et al.’s example "his chest hurts". Literally ‘on top of ci’ where the first element is POSSR=ci ‘heart’ q.v. or influenced on the part of POSSR=ci, plus the postposition -k’ut ‘in, on, on top of’ [Poser 1998/2013: 223].

Distinct from POSSR=ci–k’ut a glossed as ‘breast (not specifically teats)’ in [Poser 1998/2013: 153, 647] (which contains =ci ‘heart’ and unclear k’ut).

Distinct from POSSR=qay ‘chest (thoracic cavity) / house, home / in (postposition)’ [Poser 1998/2013: 563; Antoine et al. 1974: 53], cf. Antoine et al.’s example "The man’s chest pains because he has tuberculosis".

Distinct from qut ‘breast (inside), chest’ [Moric 1932, 1: 26] (not confirmed in [Poser 1998/2013: 584]).


**Koyukon:** Jetté & Jones 2000: 175, 865. Final -a is not entirely clear, cf. the suffix -a ‘general area or time’ [Jetté & Jones 2000: 10]. Generic term glossed with polysemy: ‘chest, bosom, breast / on the front of’ (distinct from POSSR=qay–čʔ ‘heart’ q.v.). Cf. some examples: “he sleeps against my chest (said of a child)”, ‘he (medicine person) made a slightest choking noise in his upper chest (a sign that his thinking wanted to enter his body to speak)’.


Distinct from POSSR=t’u–čʔ ‘breast / nipple / bud of tree’ [Jetté & Jones 2000: 556, 865; Jones 1978: 27]. Apparently it refers specifically to ‘female breast’, cf. the examples: “milk is dripping from my breast”, “she is weaned [lit.: she discarded

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Degexit'an: Kari 1978: 35.

Two terms are in competition here: POSSR=qx cin POSSR=tx-čecn. Out of these, POSSR=qx cin specified as 'chest and sternum area' in [Kari 1978: 35], but browsing through texts in [Chapman 1914] suggests that POSSR=qx cin is the basic expression for 'breast' applicable to men, women and animals. Cf. the examples: "It will be here at my breast (=qx ʔ, said he. Then they put it around his neck. He wore it on his bosom (=qx ʔ)" [Chapman 1914: 115]. "If any great beast comes in where you are, hold the stick tightly against his breast (=qx ʔ" [Chapman 1914: 130]. "I [a woman] will put these stones at the sides of my chest (=tx-čecn), and on my breast (=qx ʔ and forehead" [Chapman 1914: 130], "set it [the stick] quickly against that bear's breast (=qx ʔ" [Chapman 1914: 134]. Surprisingly, POSSR=qx cin not quoted as a separate entry in [Taff et al. 2007] at all.

The second candidate is the deverbal POSSR=tx-čecn, glossed as generic 'chest' in [Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 35] (literally 'bending forward', see notes on Koyukon). This word is attested only once in [Chapman 1914: 130] in the aforementioned example: "I [a woman] will put these stones at the sides of my chest (=tx-čecn), and on my breast (=qx ʔ and forehead", where =tx-čecn means 'torso' rather than 'chest, breast'. On the other hand, [Taff et al. 2007] offer several instances for =tx-čecn 'chest, breast': "His chest hurts", "My chest is sick", "He has a big chest". Nevertheless, we prefer to fill the slot with POSSR=qx cin.

Distinct from POSSR=macna-ʔ 'female breast' [Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 36; Chapman 1914: 213].

Sarsi: Hoijer & Joël 1963: 68. Hoijer 1956: 222. Paradigm: cãː / POSSR=cãː-ʔ, with polysemy: 'breast / milk'. Glossed specifically as 'female breast', but the example "Young men their breasts who are cut go in. [...] While he lies his breasts they cut [...] The ropes sticks his breasts are stuck through they loop over" [Goddard 1915: 195] proves that it can be applied to 'male chest' as well.

12. BURN TR.

Hupa =lit (1), Mattole =k’uŋ? (2), Kato =lat (1), Taldash Galice =tat (3), Upper Inlet Tanaina =q’on (2), Outer Inlet Tanaina =q’on (2), Inland Tanaina =q’on (2), Iliamna Tanaina =q’on (2), Central Ahtena =q’a:n (2), Mentasta Ahtena =q’aː (2), Dogrib =k’o (2), North Slavey (Hare) =k’o (2), Tanacross =k’aː (2) / =k’emʔ (2), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) =k’aː (2) / =k’amʔ (2), Lower Tanana (Minto) =k’aŋ (2), Central Carrier =l=k’äm (2), Koyukon =l=q’oŋ (2), Degexit’an =q’um (4), Sarsi =s=k’in (2).

References and notes:

**Hupa**: Sapir & Golla 2001: 763; Golla 1996: 15, 35. Polysemy: 'to burn (trans.) / to set fire to / to burn (intrans.)'. The root variant =lit is progressive (< =lit-it-i [Golla 1977: 356]). The same root as fit 'smoke' q.v.

**Mattole**: Li 1930: 106. Polysemy: 'to burn (trans.) / to burn (intrans.)'. Originates from *=k’amʔ; the heavy stem is *=k’aːn < *=k’amʔ-i [Li 1930: 22].

River Bear dialect: not attested.

**Kato**: Goddard 1912: 64. Polysemy: 'to burn (trans.) / to burn (intrans.)'. The same root as tat 'smoke' q.v.

**Taldash Galice**: Hoijer 1973: 64. Paradigm: =lat [imperf.] / =lat ( < *=lat-ʔ) [ perf.]. Polysemy: 'to burn (trans.) / to burn (intrans.)'.

In [Hoijer 1956: 223], the generic term for 'to burn' (trans.) is, however, quoted as the unclear form =k’i. Distinct from =lat 'to burn up (intrans.)' [Hoijer 1973: 72] (the same root as tat 'smoke' q.v.).

**Upper Inlet Tanaina**: Kari 2007: 249.

**Outer Inlet Tanaina**: Kari 2007: 249.

**Inland Tanaina**: Kari 2007: 249; Wassillie 1979: 15.
  Lower Ahtena: =q'an [Kari 1990: 248, 491].
  Western Ahtena: =q'an [Kari 1990: 248, 491].
North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 221, 284, 443. Polysemy: 'to burn (intrans.) / to burn (trans.).'

The situation here is rather uncertain, since there are at least three verbs glossed as 'to burn' (both intransitive and transitive) in [Rice 1978; Rice 1989].

1) =k'ā 'to make fire, burn (trans.), =t=kō 'to be on fire, burn (intr.)' [Rice 1978: 221, 284, 443]. Cf. attested examples -transitive: "We burned all the wood that was chopped" [Rice 1978: 284], "s/he made fire" [Rice 1989: 603]. Intransitive: "His house is on fire", "Because green wood is burning, the smoke is strong", "The grass started to burn" [Rice 1978: 221], "candle (lit. burning fat)" [Rice 1989: 171], "it burned" [Rice 1989: 762].

2) intransitive =k'ē=mē [imperf., opt.]/ =k'ē=mā [perf.]. transitive - same stem with the "classifier" h-. It is glossed simply as 'to burn (trans./intrans.)' in [Rice 1978: 282, 448], but more specifically as 'to burn to ashes' in [Rice 1989: 895]. See [Rice 1989: 762] for the postposition əbj-kə 'on obj'. Without the exponent -kə, this verb means 'to singe' [Rice 1978: 448]. Cf. the attested example for (trans.): "He's burning garbage" [Rice 1978: 284]; for 'to burn (intrans.): "She burned in a fire", "The duck was burned", "Will it all burn down?" [Rice 1978: 282], "it burned" [Rice 1989: 762].

3) Transitive =lv=łā 'to burn, make fire' [Rice 1978: 281, 450], historically < *ʔl'ē. Cf. attested examples: "I burned the wood" [Rice 1978: 281], "Make fire!", "I made fire", "Burn the garbage!" [Rice 1978: 363], "I burned it all up" [Rice 1989: 603], "s/he burned up əbj" [Rice 1989: 712], "I burned up all the wood" [Rice 1978: 386].

 Provisionally we fill the slot with =k'ā, since, on the ground of the available data, one might suspect that other candidates actually have more specific meanings: =k'ē=mē [imperf.]/ =k'ē=mā [perf.] and =h=ə [transitive] 'to burn up' (as it is translated in examples in [Rice 1989]).


Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 627, 1221, 1256; Poser 2011a: 45; Antoine et al. 1974: 300. Polysemy: 'to burn (intrans.) / to burn (trans.)'.

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 363, 867; Jones 1978: 30. Paradigm: =q'ō-y [momentaneous imperfect.]/ =q'yū [continuative imperfect.]/ =q'ē [perf.]. Polysemy: 'to burn (intrans.) / to burn (trans.)'.

Degëxî't'an: Chapman 1914: 229. Derived from the noun q'ū'n' fire. q.v. Cf. some examples: "His wife also cut off her hair and burned it" [Chapman 1914: 126], "Then he began to cry, and burned his parka, hair, and back, and went off as a wolverene" [Chapman 1914: 162].


13. CLAW (NAIL)

Hupa POSSE=f=ə=θ=çכ' (1), Mattole POSSE=f=θ=çכ' (1), Kato la=gθ=ghēt-e (1), Taldash Galice POSSE=kan-yoʔ- (2), Upper Inlet Tanaina POSSE=lu=qən-ʔa (2), Outer Inlet Tanaina POSSE=lu=qən-ʔa (2), Inland Tanaina POSSE=lu=qən-ʔa (2), Iliamna Tanaina POSSE=lu=qən-ʔa (2), Central Ahtena POSSE=la=qən-eʔ (2), Mentasta Ahtena POSSE=la=qən-ʔa (2), Dogrib POSSE=la=qō (2), North Slavey (Hare) POSSE=lə=qόn-eʔ (2), Tanacross POSSE=in=lə=qō-y-ʔ.
(2), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) \(POSSR=la=kāy\-?\) (2), Lower Tanana (Minto) \(POSSR=la=kunn\-a\)
(2), Central Carrier \(POSSR=la=ki\) (2), Koyukon \(POSSR=an=lo=qun\-a\) (2), Degëxít’å’n \(POSSR=lo=qən \sim POSSR=lo=qən\) (2), Sarsi \(POSSR=la=kunn\-a\) (2).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 757; Golla 1996: 18, 35. Polysemy: ‘fingernail / front claw’. Literally = \(la\-\) ‘hand’ q.v. + \(kāy\-\) ‘claw, nail’. The latter morpheme is probably unattested outside of this compound as well as the parallel form \(POSSR=la=k\-kāy\-\) ‘toenail’ [Sapir & Golla 2001: 757; Golla 1996: 98] (‘foot’ q.v. + ‘claw, nail’).

Mattole: Li 1930: 132. Meaning glossed as ‘fingernail’. The first element =\(la\) denotes ‘hand’ q.v.

Bear River dialect: not attested. Cf. the specific term \(POSSR=k\-e\-SIM:Q\- ‘toenail’ [Goddard 1929: 298], where the first element is \(POSSR=k\-e\-\) ‘foot’ q.v., whereas =\(SIM:Q\) should be the Bear River term for ‘nail’.

Kato: Curtis 1924: 201. Unreliable transcription, although the second element apparently corresponds to Hupa & Mattole. The first element =\(la\) denotes ‘hand’ q.v.

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 56; Hoijer 1956: 223. Perhaps a compound with the unclear second element -\(yo\-\). Polysemy: ‘claw / fingernail’. In [Hoijer 1956: 223], quoted as \(POSSR=k\-an:yo\-\) a contraction from possessed *\(u\-=\) kan-\(yo\-\) ‘his/its nail’ (see [Hoijer 1966: 321]).


Lower Ahtena: \(POSSR=la=qan\-e\)? [Kari 1990: 192, 520; Kari & Buck 1975: 66; Smelcer 2010: 48].

Western Ahtena: \(POSSR=la=qan\-e\) [Kari 1990: 192, 520; Kari & Buck 1975: 66; Smelcer 2010: 48].


Distinct from the specific term \(POSSR=k\-e\-k\-h\- \ ‘toenail’ [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 43], literally ‘foot’s nail’ with =\(k\-e\) ‘foot’ q.v.

The plain root =\(k\-\) ‘claw, nail’ seems to be unattested. It is interesting that synchronously, =\(k\-\) ‘claw, nail’ has merged with =\(k\-\) ‘arm’ [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 41].

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 71, 138; Hoijer 1956: 222. Meaning ‘fingernail’, cf. the mirroring expression \(POSSR=k\-e\-k\-h\-k\- \ ‘toenail’ [Rice 1978: 65, 177]. Literally ‘kon of hand’ (with \(POSSR=la=\) ‘hand’) and ‘kon of foot’ (with \(POSSR=k\-h\-k\-\) ‘foot’). 

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 118; Holton 2000: 343; Brean & Milanowski 1979: 23; McRoy 1973: 9. Literally ‘k\-\(y\) of hand’ with \(POSSR=la=k\-\) ‘hand’ q.v. The root \(k\-\) ‘nail, claw’ is also attested in \(POSSR=k\-e\-la=\) ‘k\-\(y\)-\(g\) ‘claw; hoof’ [Arnold et al. 2009: 82, 147].


Northway: \(POSSR=la=k\-\(y\)-\(g\) ‘fingernail’ [Milanowski 2007: 8].

Scottie Creek: \(POSSR=la=k\-\(y\)-\(g\) ‘fingernail’ [John 1997: 12], \(POSSR=k\-e\-k\-\(y\)-\(g\) – \(POSSR=k\-e\-la=k\-\(y\)-\(g\) ‘toenail’ [John 1997: 17].

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 117, 403. Polysemy: ‘fingernail / claw / hoof of forefoot’, literally ‘kon of hand’ (with \(POSSR=la=\) ‘hand’). Cf. the compound \(POSSR=k\-h\-la=k\-h\-k\- \ ‘toenail’ [Kari 1994: 117], literally ‘fingernail of foot’ (with \(la=kunn\) < \(la\-kunn\) and \(POSSR=k\-h\-k\- \ ‘foot’). 

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 232, 711; Antoine et al. 1974: 32, 308. Polysemy: ‘fingernail / claw of forepaw’, literally ‘ki of hand’ (with \(POSSR=la=\) ‘hand’). Cf. the similar compound \(POSSR=k\-e\-\(g\) < *\(POSSR=k\-e\-\(m\)-\(g\) ‘toenail / claw of rear paw’ [Poser 1998/2013: 210, 962; Antoine et al. 1974: 27] (\(POSSR=k\-\) ‘foot’ and -\(n\) which occurs in some other compounds with \(k\-\)). The main root =\(k\-\) is not used independently.

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 219, 906; Jones 1978: 61. Polysemy: ‘fingernail / claws or hooves of the forelegs’. Literally ‘\(qun\) of hand’ with \(POSSR=lo=\) ‘hand’ q.v. and the anatomical gender exponent \(\(m\)-\(n\)\) [Jetté & Jones 2000: 460]. The main root =\(qun\) is not
used independently.

Cf. the second compound *POSSR=qʰə=ɬ-qun-ʔ* 'toenail / claws or hooves of the hind legs' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 219], literally 'fingernail of foot' (with *ɬ-qun* < *ɬ-qun* and *POSSR=qʰə-ʔ* 'foot').

**Degexit'an:** Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 35. According to [Taff et al. 2007], with polysemy: 'fingernail / claw'. Literally *qʰə* of hand' with *POSSR=ɬ-ʔ* 'hand' q.v. The main root *qʰə* is not used independently.

Cf. the second compound *POSSR=qʰə=ɬ-qun-ʔ* 'toenail / claw' [Kari 1978: 37], literally 'fingernail of foot' (with *ɬ-qun* < *ɬ-qun* and *POSSR=qʰə-ʔ* 'foot'). q.v.

**Sarsi:** Nanagusja 1996b: 154. Attested in the example 'he touched bottom and got some mud under his nails'. Literally 'kun of hand' with *POSSR=ɬ-ʔ* 'hand' q.v.

14. CLOUD

Hupa ʔah (1), Mattole ʔah (1), Taldash Galice ʔak (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina qʰas (2), Outer Inlet Tanaina qʰas (2), Inland Tanaina qʰas (2), Iliamna Tanaina qʰas (2), Central Ahtena qʰos (2), Mentasta Ahtena qʰos (2), Dogrib kóh (2), North Slavey (Hare) kʰ (2), Tanacross kʰʔ (2), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) kʰ (2), Lower Tanana (Minto) kʰʔ (2), Central Carrier kʰ=qʷə ʔis (2), Koyukon yo=qʰut (2), Degexit'an qʰʔ (2), Sarsi nà=kʰus (2).

**References and notes:**

**Hupa:** Sapir & Golla 2001: 731; Golla 1996: 19. Distinct from *mi=ʔ=čeh* = *ми=чех* 'fog, haze' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 772; Golla 1996: 37].

**Mattole:** Li 1930: 125. Distinct from *ʔ=čeh* 'fog' [Li 1930: 128] (where *ʔ*- could be the indefinite object exponent [Li 1930: 65] and - *s*- could be the durative perfective exponent [Li 1930: 66]).


**Kato:** Goddard 1912: 19; Curtis 1924: 204. Distinct from *y=č=čeh* 'fog' [Goddard 1912: 29; Curtis 1924: 205].


Cf. the verb *ʔ=č=čeh* [imperf.] / *kʰ=čeh* [imperf.] 'to become cloudy' [Hoijer 1973: 68] and the specific noun *čattni=ʔ=čeh* 'cumulus clouds', literally 'thunder’s home' [Hoijer 1973: 61].

**Upper Inlet Tanaina:** Kari 2007: 151, 348; Kari & Buck 1975: 89.

**Lower Ahtena:** qʰos [Kari 1990: 259, 498; Kari & Buck 1975: 89].

**Western Ahtena:** qʰos [Kari 1990: 259, 498; Kari & Buck 1975: 89].

**Mentasta Ahtena:** Kari 1990: 259, 498; Kari & Buck 1975: 89.

**Dogrib:** Saxon & Siemens 1996: 63, 153.

Distinct from ʔah 'fog, mist' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 3, 166].

**North Slavey (Hare):** Rice 1978: 69, 129; Hoijer 1956: 222.


**Upper Tanana (Tetlin):** Milanowski 2006: 19. Explained as ‘general word for clouds of any number or size’.

**Northway:** kóh 'cloud' [Milanowski 2007: 6].

**Scottie Creek:** kóh 'cloud' [John 1997: 63], *ʔ=č=čeh* 'fog' [John 1997: 64] (the first element *ʔ=č* means ‘water’, for the
second element cf. ʃuht 'snow' [John 1997: 66].


  Distinct from ʔk 'fog, mist' [Kari 1994: 24, 406].

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 231, 652; Poser 2011a: 56; Antoine et al. 1974: 129, 302; Morice 1932, 1: 24. Poser quotes it with - ɡ, Antoine et al. & Morice with - s. Cf. Poser's examples: 'There were clouds this morning', 'There are clouds present when it is going to rain'.

  Distinct from yat 'cloud', which is 'used only in expressions about it being cloudy, not to refer to individual clouds' [Poser 1998/2013: 554].

  Distinct from ʔa 'fog, mist' [Poser 1998/2013: 23; Antoine et al. 1974: 1].

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 368, 877; Jones 1978: 40. Glossed as 'cloud, cumulus cloud'. Literally 'cloud of sky' with yoː 'sky' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 696], although simple qú 'cloud' is also used.


15. COLD

Hupa =q'ac' (1), Mattole =k'ac (1), Kato =tʰm (2), Taldash Galice =k'ë? (3), Inland Tanaina â=ži (4), Central Ahtena =q'ac' (1), Mentasta Ahtena =q'ac (1), Dogrib =k'ò (1), North Slavey (Hare) =kâ (1), Tanacross n=ʔ=k'êt (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) =k'at (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) =k'êt (1), Central Carrier =k'az (1), Koyukon â=cu: (5), Degexit'an =q'ot (1), Sarsi =V=k'yês (1).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 780; Golla 1996: 19; Golla 1970: 143, 249. In [Golla 1996: 19], also the reduced root variant =q'uc' is also quoted. Verbal root: 'to be cold'. Widely applicable (to things, water, humans, weather, etc.).

  Distinct from =le 'to be cold, frozen' (said of a person) [Sapir & Golla 2001: 763].

Mattole: Li 1930: 28, 106. In [Li 1930: 28], this is specified as 'to be cold (of weather)', although in [Li 1930: 106], =k'ac is quoted as a generic term for 'to be cold'.

  Distinct from =c'iŋ 'to be frozen' (said of a person) [Li 1930: 111]; originates from *=c'iŋ; the heavy stem is =c'iŋ < *=c'iŋ-i [Li 1930: 21].

  Bear River dialect: not attested. Cf. =c'ayŋ 'to be cold' (said of a person) [Goddard 1929: 298, 314].

Kato: Goddard 1912: 71. Verbal root: 'to be cold'. Widely applicable: to water, weather, moon, etc., cf. examples in [Goddard 1909: 96 No. 1, 99 No. 14, 121 No. 5]. Paradigm: =t'ay < *=t'ain / =t'ain < *=t'ain-i.

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 68. Verbal root, glossed as 'to be(come) cold, cool off'. Paradigm: =k'ë? [imperf., perf.] / =k'ëʔ-s [perf.] [Hoijer 1973: 68 No. 200, 69 No. 202; Hoijer 1956: 223]. Applied to weather and, apparently, to objects, as may be seen from the gloss 'to cool off'.

  Cf. the second documented verb for 'to be cold': =k'or [Landar 1977: 294] which is, however, not a very reliable gloss.

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Not attested.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Not attested.

Inland Tanaina: Wassillie 1979: 23. Quoted by Wassillie as the only Inland term for 'cold (adj.)'. Applicable to both objects ('cold fat remains' [Wassillie 1979: 35]) and weather ('it's cold' [Wassillie 1979: 30], 'I am cold' [Wassillie 1979: 23]).

Iliamna Tanaina: Not attested.


  Lower Ahtena: =q'al's [Kari 1990: 252, 499].

  Western Ahtena: =q'ac' [Kari 1990: 252, 499].

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 48, 117, 153. Verbal root: 'to be cold'. Applied to both weather/atmosphere (example: 'It gets chilly at night') and objects (in the latter meaning glossed as 'to be cold to touch'). Paradigm: ≠kâ / ≠kâ.

Distinct from é-ci 'to be cold' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 25, 153]; apparently this is not a proper verb, but a fossilized verbal form, used as a noun-like adjective. The exact meaning and application of é-ci is unclear, but the explicit gloss é-ci 'cold weather' [Marinakis et al. 2007: 162] and the collocation é-vi-nékâ 'cold country, Arctic, north country' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 25] suggest that é-ci is applicable to weather, not objects.

Distinct from the deverbal substantive té=λ=k’â 'cough, cold, phlegm' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 15, 153].

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 382, 442, 493. Verbal stem: 'to be cold'. Cf. the examples: "cold wind" [Rice 1978: 129], "The water is really cold" [Rice 1978: 382].

Distinct from the verb ≠kâ '(it is) cold' [Rice 1978: 493], applicable specifically to weather, as in the examples: 'It is cold because my jacket is too thin' [Rice 1978: 219], "The cold made him shiver" [Rice 1978: 294], "I went in because it was cold outside" [Rice 1978: 397], "it is cold except for the house" [Rice 1989: 307].

Distinct from ≠λi (≠t=λi) 'to shiver / to be frozen, cold' [Rice 1978: 365, 424] as in "I almost froze" [Rice 1978: 365], "I am cold, starved, frozen" [Rice 1989: 453].

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 84; Holton 2000: 226, 239, 349; Shinen 1958: 19. Verbal form 'it is cold' with the adjectival/gender exponent n= [Holton 2000: 237 ff.]. Applied to both objects and weather. In [Holton 2000], quoted as either n=≠c̣i=k’ið or n=≠c̣i=k’ið. According to [Arnold et al. 2009], the verbal paradigm is ≠k’ið [imperf.]/ ≠k’ið [perf.].

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 45, 94. Verbal stem: 'to be cold', without further semantic specification. Cf. the adjectival form n=≠c̣i=k’â 'cold'.

Distinct from n=≠c̣i=k’ið 'cold' spell' [Milanowski 2009: 45], implying the verb n=t=λi=k’ið 'to get cold (of weather)'.

Scottie Creek: the noun-like adjective λi ≠c̣i 'cold' as in 'I’m drinking cold water' [John 1997: 39] and the verbal form n=≠c̣i=k’ið 'cold' as in "Is it cold outside?" [John 1997: 63]. Distinct from ≠λi: ‘to get cold (of weather)’ [John 1997: 63, 64].

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 172, 382; Tuttle 2009: 46. The transitional imperf. form is ≠k’ið. Verbal stem: 'to be cold'; also functions as the noun-like adjective kwiθv (≠kwiθ) ≠c̣i=k’â 'cold'. Applicable to both objects and weather. Cf. the examples: "cold water", "cold weather".

Distinct from the more marginal deverbal adjective λ=qλ ‘cold’ [Kari 1994: 96] (with the non-informative examples "it is cold", "he is cold"); further the substantive λi ‘cold’, the verb λi ‘to starve’ [Kari 1994: 96].


Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 179, 878; Jones 1978: 40. Adjectivized verbal form 'it is cold', applicable to both objects and weather. Cf. some examples: "His ears are cold" [Jones 1978: 54], "The floor is cold" [Jones 1978: 65], "It is cold out (= cold weather)" [Jones 1978: 114], "He would go hunting but it is too cold" [Jones 1978: 31]. This expression for 'cold' is used in the Central and Lower dialects.

In the Upper dialect, the form ≠λi: is used for 'cold' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 155], but it remains unclear whether ≠λi: is applicable only to weather (as in Jetté & Jones’ examples) or also to objects. The Upper form ≠λi: can be either inherited (cf. the Koyukon cognate verb ≠λi: ‘to starve, starve to death, be very hungry’ [Jetté & Jones 2000: 155]) or, more probably, borrowed from Lower Tanana λ=qλ ‘cold’.

Distinct from the substantive kwiθv ≠c̣i ‘cold object, cold weather, cold air’ (kwiθ is the indefinite possessive) and the verb ≠q’i=k’i / ≠q’i=k’i ‘to be intensely cold (of weather)’ [Jetté & Jones 2000: 369, 370].

Degexit’an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1976: 43; Chapman 1914: 230. Verbal stem: 'to be cold'. Paradigm: ≠q’iθv [stative imperf.] / ≠q’iθ [transitional imperf.] / ≠q’iθθ [transitional perf.] / ≠q’iθθθ [transitional future]. Applicable to both objects and weather. Cf. attested examples: "it became frosty weather" [Chapman 1914: 125], "They dressed themselves in brown-bear skins, for it had grown cold" [Chapman 1914: 135], "it drew toward winter" [Chapman 1914: 163], "October (lit. the cold month)", "I want cold water" [Taff et al. 2007].

Distinct from the fossilized verbal form ≠q’c: '(it is) cold', said of weather and atmosphere [Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 45; Kari 1976: 67; Chapman 1914: 210]. Cf. the examples: "It [weather] became cold" [Chapman 1914: 135], "In December it's really cold", "His ears are cold", "My fingers are cold", "It was cold early this morning", "When the mountain appears small from a distance, it's going to get colder", "October (lit. the month it gets cold)" [Taff et al. 2007]. Note the two
sy nonymous descriptive expressions for October, based on *qəd and *dí: respectively.

Distinct from *laq ’to have cold’ [Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1976: 33].

**Sarsi:** Li 1930b: 22; Hoijer 1956: 223; Cook 1984: 173; Nanagusa 1996a: 129. Verbal stem: ’to be cold’, applicable to both objects and weather. Paradigm: *=1v’kɪ̩s [imperf.] / *=1v’k’ɪ̩c < *=1v’k’ɪ̩c [perf.].

### 16. COME

**Hupa** =*ya: (1), **Mattole** =*ya: (1), **Kato** =*ya (1), **Taldash Galice** =*ya: (1), **Upper Inlet Tanaina** =*yu (1), **Outer Inlet Tanaina** =*yu (1), **Inland Tanaina** =*yu (1), **Iliamna Tanaina** =*yu (1), **Central Ahtena** =*ya: (1), **Mentasta Ahtena** =*ya: (1), **Dogrib =*λ’u (2), **North Slavey (Hare)** =*t=t (3) / =*tә (1), **Tanacross =hà’t (1) / =*šàh (1), **Upper Tanana (Tetlin) =haːɬ (1) / =*šy (1), **Lower Tanana (Minto) =ya: (1), **Central Carrier =*ya (1), **Koyukon =*ho: (1) / =*yo: (1), **Degexit’an =*hoːʔ (1) / =*yo: (1), **Sarsi =*yà ~ =*yâ (1).

**References and notes:**

**Hupa:** Sapir & Golla 2001: 803; Golla 1996: 19; Golla 1970: 229 et passim. Same root as ‘to go’ q.v. The general meaning of the root is ‘to move somewhere’ [intrans.]. [Golla 1970: 162, 301]. Used with sg. subj. The set =*ya-n (*=ya-n-i) / =*ya” is treated in [Golla 1977: 357] as directional imperfective/perfective, whereas =*ya / =*yaʔ (< *=yaʔ) is defined as nondirectional imperfective/perfective.

With pl. subj. the verb =*t=t [light imperf.] / =*t=ʔ [heavy imperf.] / =*t=ʔ-i [heavy imperf.] / =*teʔ < *=teʔ-ʔ-i [perf.] is used instead [Sapir & Golla 2001: 750; Golla 1996: 19, 40; Golla 1970: 162].

**Mattole:** Li 1930: 62 sub No. 44, 66 sub No. 3, 75. The light perfective stem; the heavy perfective stem is =*ya-i; the imperfective stem is =*ya-x. Polysemy: ’to go (q.v.) / to come / to go away’. Used with sg. subj.

Distinct from =*t=t [imperf.] / =*teʔ < *=teʔ-ʔ-i [perf.] with polysemy: ’to go / to come / to go away / to fly’ [Li 1930: 65 sub No. 9, 88], used with pl. subj.

Bear River dialect: not attested reliably.

**Kato:** Goddard 1912: 60. Paradigm: =*ya-ɬ [imperf.] / =*ya ~ =*ya-i ~ =*yaʔ [perf.]. Polysemy: ’to go (q.v.) / to come / to go away’. Used with sg. subj.

Distinct from =*t=t [imperf.] / =*teʔ < *=teʔ-ʔ-i [perf.] with polysemy: ’to go / to come / to go away’ [Goddard 1912: 69], used with pl. subj. (cf. notes on ’to go’).

**Taldash Galice:** Hoijer 1973: 69; Landar 1977: 294. Paradigm: =*ya-ɬ [imperf.] / =*ya: [perf.]. Polysemy: ’to go / to come’. This is the generic verb ’to move (intrans.)’, used with sg. subj.

See notes on ’to go’ for other verbs for ’to move (intrans.)’: =*t=ʔ / =*teʔ (dual. subj.), =*k’at / =*k’ə (pl. subj.).

**Upper Inlet Tanaina:** Kari 2007: 234.

**Outer Inlet Tanaina:** Kari 2007: 234; Boraas 2010: 24.


**Iliamna Tanaina:** Kari 2007: 234.

**Central Ahtena:** Kari 1990: 422, 500.

**Lower Ahtena:** =*ya: [Kari 1990: 422, 500].

**Western Ahtena:** =*ya: [Kari 1990: 422, 500].

**Mentasta Ahtena:** Kari 1990: 422, 500.

**Dogrib:** Saxon & Siemens 1996: ix. Used with sg. & dual. subj. The verb =*λ’u is only quoted in [Saxon & Siemens 1996] with the meaning ’to go’ q.v., but actually the attested examples suggest that =*λ’u possesses the standard Athapaskan polysemy: ’to go / to come’: ’You have come (=*λ’u) here so soon!’ [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 49], ”Because her husband came back (=*λ’u), she rushed around’ [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 77], ”He came back (=*λ’u) here” [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 85], ”She came (=*λ’u) to see me three times” [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 92].

With pl subj., the verb =*t=e ’to go / to come’ is used, cf. the example ”Last week you people said you would come here”
Distinct from the verb =tê, which is quoted in [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 153] as the basic equivalent for 'to come', but actually seems marginal in this meaning; =tê is glossed as 'to be, get to be (situation), happen, occur, go, do, come' in [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 3].

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 191, 468. There are two verbs found in available examples with the meaning 'to come':
1) =tl=ře, polysemy: 'to go / to come', sg., dual., pl. subj. [Rice 1978: 191, 468]. Cf. the examples: "We came for nothing" [Rice 1978: 191], "In spring, people go to the bush" [Rice 1978: 191], "I wasn’t pleased that he came in late" [Rice 1989: 303], "I don’t know why he came" [Rice 1989: 1254].
2) suppletive =tə / =yà, polysemy: 'to go / to come', sg. subj., see notes on 'to go'. Cf. the examples: "s/he came here but s/he didn’t stay long" [Rice 1989: 48], "s/he came after us" [Rice 1989: 296], "s/he comes customarily" [Rice 1989: 673], "I hope that he doesn’t come" [Rice 1989: 1106].

We have to treat these two verbs as synonyms.Rice 1978: 311, 415, 505.


With pl subj., the verb =l=ře [imperf., fut.]/ =l=ɬ [perf.] 'to go / to come / to run / to fly' is used [Arnold et al. 2009: 133; Holton 2000: 160, 214, 350].

For the meaning 'to come', cf. some examples: "I'm coming (=hàːɬ) from work" [Arnold et al. 2009: 297], "he came (=jîl) from far away" [Arnold et al. 2009: 115], "he came (=jîl) from his house" [Arnold et al. 2009: 127], "I came (=jîl) back from Tanacross" [Arnold et al. 2009: 274], "that's the way we came (=l=ɬ)" [Arnold et al. 2009: 97], "lots of people came (=l=ɬ) for the potlatch" [Arnold et al. 2009: 171].

Perfective stem, sg. subj.


With pl subj., the verb =l=ře [imperf., perf.]/ =l=ɬ [fut.]/ =l=ta-k [customary] 'to go / to come' is used [Milanowski 2009: 119].

Perfective stem, sg. subj.


Degexit’an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1976: 2; Chapman 1914: 212. A generic verb of going with polysemy: 'to go / to come', used with sg. subj. Suppletive paradigm: =hàːɬ [momentaneous/imperf.]/ =yà [momentaneous perf.]/ =hàːɬ [momentaneous fut.]/ =yà-ɬ [momentaneous opt.]/ =hàːɬ [continuous/imperf.]/ =yà [continuous perf.]. For further notes, see 'to go'.

Sarsi: Li 1930b: 16; Cook 1984: 56. A generic verb of going with polysemy: 'to go / to come', used with sg. subj. Paradigm: =yà[h] [imperf.]/ =yà [perf.]. Cf. such examples as "When did you come?" [Cook 1984: 52], etc. Further see notes on 'to go'.

16. COME

North Slavey (Hare) =yà (1).

References and notes:

North Slavey (Hare): Perfective stem.
17. DIE

Hupa =t‘cn (1) / =yah (2), Mattole =tiʔ (3), Kato =tan (3), Taldash Galice =c‘it (4), Outer Inlet Tanaina =ɬan (5), Inland Tanaina =qʔi=sil (6), Central Ahtena ye?=tʰ=e=l=c‘et (4), Mentasta Ahtena ye?=tʰ=e=l=c‘et (4), Dogrib =wi (7), North Slavey (Hare) =wi (7), Tanacross =h=tʰːʔ (8), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) =h=tʰːʔ (8), Lower Tanana (Minto) =nak (9) / =nak (9), Central Carrier ta=...=ʔai (10), Koyukon =nax (9) / =t=yoʔ (2), Degexit’an =naːx (9) / =ta=yəq (2), Sarsi =cʰb (11).

References and notes:

Hupa: Golla 1996: 25. According to the same source, the most common expression for 'to die (of human)' is the euphemistic tah-xaʔ ʔc-c‘-ti-yaw 'in some way he did it' (=yaw < =yah-), based on the suppletive verb =t‘iʔ (< *=t‘cn) [light imperfect] / =t‘cn (< *=t‘cn-i) [heavy imperfect] / =yah [light perfect] / =yaw [heavy perfect] / =nih [light optative] / =niw [heavy optative] 'to do (so); to happen' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 791, 805; Golla 1996: 26, 43; Golla 1970: 286]. Textual evidence confirms this as the default expression, cf. such examples with perfective =yah / =yaw as: 'She made an infusion for (her older sister) who was just about to die' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 309 No. 24], "That night he said, 'I've got a headache!' Before dawn, in the first light, he died" [Golla 1984: 53, 55], "They thought he had been dead for some time" [Golla 1984: 46, 49], "If I should talk the Indians would be no more. They would die" [Goddard 1904: 217, 219], "When they came to the village they were told that a man had died" [Goddard 1904: 175, 178].

Cf. examples for 'to die' with the imperfective stem (=t‘iʔ / =t‘cn): "Despite this, he did not die" [Sapir & Golla 2001: 327 No. 6], "People would never have died but for that" [Goddard 1904: 221, 224], "He took care of the people who died" [Goddard 1904: 346, 349], "but if she does eat them, these eels of mine won't die" [Goddard 1904: 253, 261], "It (= the eels) won't die" [Goddard 1904: 256, 262]. It should be noted that, according to the two latter examples, the expression 'to do it in some way' is applied to animals as well. Cf. examples for 'to die' with the optative stem (=nih / =niw): "When someone dies, they bring a board into the house" [Sapir & Golla 2001: 188 No. 1], "When people would die" [Sapir & Golla 2001: 327 No. 2].

A second candidate is the verb =c‘it 'to die; to be tired out, weak from exhaustion' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 743; Golla 1996: 25, 97], which, in the meaning 'to die', is noted by Golla as "direct term; very impolite". In known examples =c‘it is applied preferably to animals, mythological monsters or the waning moon: 'It is impossible for us to die' (the enemies of Little Woodpecker say) [Sapir & Golla 2001: 422 No. 146], "It (= the salmon) died at once" [Goddard 1904: 266, 268], "He (= the monster Two-Neck) did not die ... And then he died" [Goddard 1904: 164, 167], "He (= the monster) thought, 'For nothing I will die' ... At that resting place he died" [Goddard 1904: 346, 347, 349], "the waning moon (when its going from full to new)" [Golla 1996: 104]. Clear examples for =c‘it applied to a human being are: "Such a person doesn’t die in a good way" [Sapir & Golla 2001: 176 No. 16], "He dies in a bad way" [Sapir & Golla 2001: 179 No. 14], "I fell like I’m going to die" (a woman says) [Sapir & Golla 2001: 223 No. 5-6], "His brother almost died (of fright)" [Goddard 1904: 328, 330].

A third candidate for 'to die' is the verb =cøh (heavy stem: =cøw < *=cøh-i) 'to crowd, flock; to pile up', noted in [Golla 1996: 25] as "polite term".

The default Hupa expression for 'to die (of human) is apparently the one with =t‘iʔ / =yah (‘to do it in some way'). Light perfective stem.


Kato: Goddard 1912: 70. Heavy stem, originating < *=tan-i.


Upper Inlet Tanaina: Not attested reliably. Cf. =la-l, literally 'to be' used with sg. subj., and =t‘is 'to die, die off (pl. subj.)' in the example 'One after another they are dying off (=t‘is) and all of Susitna is gone (=la-l)' [Lovick 2005: 192, ex. 5.25f].

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Boraas 2010: 46. Attested in the example "He died suddenly".
Inland Tanaina: Wassillie 1979: 28, 45. Three Inland verbs for 'to die' are attested.

1) =q’i=sil [Wassillie 1979: 28, 45]. This seems to be the most frequent expression used with human subject. Cf. the following examples: "I am gone (= dying)" [Tenenbaum 1976 1: 16], "the husband was gone (= died)" [Tenenbaum 1976 1: 17, 18], "his parents died" [Tenenbaum 1976 3: 68], "a person is dead" [Wassillie 1979: 28], &=q’i=sil-an 'dead person', literally 'one who is gone' [Kari 2007: 73, 99].

2) =yuq [Wassillie 1979: 28, 45]. This seems to be the default expression used with animal subject. Cf. the examples: "dog died" [Wassillie 1979: 28], "chickadee died" [Tenenbaum 1976 1: 9], "raven died" [Tenenbaum 1976 2: 34], "seal died" [Tenenbaum 1976 2: 56].

3) =lan [Wassillie 1979: 28]. The only attested example is: "He died" [Wassillie 1979: 28].

Iliamna Tanaina: Not attested.


Lower Ahtena: yeʔ=t’e=le=c t [Kari 1990: 408, 508].

Western Ahtena: yeʔ=t’e=le=c t [Kari 1990: 408, 508].


Distinct from =ld to die (pl. subj.), quoted in [Saxon & Siemens n.d.] with the example "We are dying" (missing from [Saxon & Siemens 1996]).

The expressions for 'to kill' q.v. contain the same roots: =wi (sg. obj.) and =le (pl. obj.).


With pl. subj., the verb =fàk 'to die' is used [Arnold et al. 2009: 96]. Both verbs are applicable to humans and animals, although it is noted in [Arnold et al. 2009] that these are rarely used for people due to taboo (i.e., impoliteness). It is likely that more common forms for 'to die' are various euphemistic expressions, but these are not documented.

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 1980: 54, 95, 120. It is unclear whether =h=t’E is applicable to sg. subj. only or to both sg. and pl. subj. Euphemistically derived from the verb =t’E 'to sleep (sg. subj.)' q.v.

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 197, 390; Tuttle 2009: 57. Examples are only available for sg. subj.


Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 708, 889; Jones 1978: 48. Literally 'it happens to subj' with the suppletive verb =naX [imperf., opt.] / /aX [perf.] 'to occur, happen' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 708]. Probably this is the basic expression for 'to die', used with sg. human subj.

A second candidate is =laX [imperf.] / /aX [perf.] 'to die' (sg. subj.) [Jetté & Jones 2000: 582; Jones 1978: 48], but available examples show that it is more commonly applied to non-humans, i.e., to animals and plants.

Distinct from =naX [imperf.], / /aX [perf.] 'to die', used with pl. subj. (both humans and non-humans) [Jetté & Jones 2000: 481].

Another equivalent for 'to die', applicable to pl. human subj. is the rare verb =loX [imperf.], / /oX [perf.] with polysemy: 'to become unconscious / to fall asleep / to become paralyzed / to die' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 414].Perfictive.

Degéxííí: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1976: 36; Chapman 1914: 214. Literally 'it happens to subj' with the suppletive verb =naX [imperf., opt.] / /aX [perf.] / /aX [fut.] 'to happen'. Used with both sg. and pl. subj. Cf. some examples: "So he died. His wife put him into the kayak, among fine skins" [Chapman 1914: 126], "He died suddenly", "Lots of them died from the sickness" [Taff et al. 2007].

The second candidate is =laX [imperf.], / /aX [perf.] 'to die' [Kari 1976: 53; Chapman 1914: 202], but apparently this verb is applied specifically to animals, cf. the available examples: "the dried fish fell on him, and he [the mythical Mouse] died" [Chapman 1914: 206], "dead [of animal] (lit. it's dead)" [Taff et al. 2007].Perfictive.

Sarsi: Li 1930b: 23; Hoijer 1956: 223; Cook 1984: 176. Paradigm: =c[b] [imperf.], / /c[b] [perf.].
18. DOG

Hupa ŋiŋ? ~ POSSR=liŋ-kʰ-e? (1), Mattole na:ƛ’i: (2), Kato POSSR=la: (3), Taldash Galice ŋiʔ (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina ʔi-k’a (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina ʔi-k’a (1), Inland Tanaina ʔi-k’a (1), Iliamna Tanaina ʔi-k’a (1), Central Ahtena ʔi-k’č: (1), Mentasta Ahtena ʔi-k’č: (1), Dogrib Łʰi ~ POSSR=ʔi: (1), North Slavey (Hare) łi (1), Tanacross ʔi: (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) ʔi: (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) ʔi-k-a (1), Central Carrier ʔi (1), Koyukon ʔi-ʔ (1), Degexit’an ʔe:ʔ (1), Sarsi Ł’h (1).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 763, 766; Golla 1996: 27; Golla 1964: 117. Polysemy: ‘pet animal / dog / horse’. Another designation of ‘dog’ is the descriptive term νoකʔʔ=ne=γe=γeť, literally ‘it barks at something’ [Golla 1996: 9, 27] from the verb =γeʔ (the variant =yoh < =got) ‘to bark’ [Golla 1996: 9]. Golla [Golla 1996: 27] quotes ŋiŋ? and νoκʔʔ=ne=γe=γeť as synonyms in the meaning ‘dog’, but browsing through Hupa texts in [Goddard 1904; Sapir & Golla 2001; Golla 1984] clearly suggests that ŋiŋ? is the default designation for ‘dog’. Examples for ŋiŋ? ‘dog’ are numerous in [Goddard 1904] and [Sapir & Golla 2001] (e.g., “I wish I had a dog to go along with me” [Goddard 1904: 114, 131], “A dog skin blanket was hanging there over the door” [Goddard 1904: 170, 173], “Dogs are not all "overs"” [Sapir & Golla 2001: 191 No. 30]), Golla’s examples are: “Don’t even let a dog look from there!” [Golla 1984: 32, 34], “They were hauing a dog in the shed” [Golla 1996: 9, 27].


Distinct from the word for ‘horse’: ŋin-čʔo [Curtis 1924: 202], literally ‘big pet’ with the augmentative suffix -čʔo: [Goddard 1912: 26].

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 61; Landar 1977: 294. The possessed form is POSSR=li-čʔε with the old suffix -čʔ. Cf. the term for ‘horse’: ŋi-čʔoh [Hoijer 1973: 61], literally ‘big dog’ (historically ‘big pet’) with the augmentative suffix -čʔoh, for which see notes on ‘big’.


Western Ahtena: ʔi-k’č: [Kari 1990: 280, 510; Kari & Buck 1975: 8; Smelcer 2010: 66].


Dogrib: Saxton & Siemens 1996: 100, 158. The initial affricate Ł’ in the non-possessed form is strange, although paralleled by some other Athapaskan languages.

Cf. Ł’h-čʔo ‘horse’ [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 101], literally ‘big dog’ with the augmentative suffix -čʔo [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 8].

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 77, 133; Hoijer 1956: 222. In [Hoijer 1956], we find the 19th c. archaic variant Ł’h (before the spirantization). Possessed form: POSSR=li-čʔ ( (< *=li-q-čʔ)

Cf. ł’h-čʔo ‘horse’ [Rice 1978: 78], literally ‘big dog’ with the augmentative suffix -čʔo.

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 100; Holton 2000: 342; Brean & Milanowski 1979: 1; McRoy 1973: 1. The specific suffixed stem is used

In [Shinen 1958: 12], the word for ‘dog’ is transcribed as A\textsuperscript{ʔi}.

**Upper Tanana (Tetlin)**: Milanowski 2009: 20, 67. The possessed form is not documented.

**Northway**: ti ‘dog’ [Milanowski 2007: 2].

**Scottie Creek**: te POSSR=fi-k ‘dog’ [John 1997: 21].

**Lower Tanana (Minto)**: Kari 1994: 181, 392; Tuttle 2009: 58. Possessed: POSSR=li-k-ʔ\textsuperscript{i}; the non-possessed form ti-k-a was leveled by analogy with the possessed one. In compounds, the suffixless root ti- is retained: ti-c\textsuperscript{a}ʔa ‘bitch, female dog’, ti-k\textsuperscript{a}ya ‘puppy’, etc.


**Koyukon**: Jetté & Jones 2000: 388, 893; Jones 1978: 50. Polysemy: ‘dog / tame animal, pet’. Possessed: POSSR=li-k-ʔ\textsuperscript{e}; the non-possessed form ti-k was leveled by analogy with the possessed one. Plural: ti-\textsuperscript{a}ʔa? ‘dogs / pets’. In compounds, the suffixless root ti- is retained: ti-\textsuperscript{a}ʔa? ‘bitch, female dog’, etc. [Jetté & Jones 2000: 389].

**Degexit\textsuperscript{a}n**: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 5; Chapman 1914: 218. In compounds, the suffixless root ti- is retained: ti-c\textsuperscript{a}ʔa? ‘bitch’, ti-\textsuperscript{a}ʔ\textsuperscript{y} ‘puppy’ etc. [Kari 1978: 5].

**Sarsi**: Hoijer & Joël 1963: 68, 70; Hoijer 1956: 222; Cook 1984: 65. Paradigm: A\textsuperscript{ʔi} ~ A\textsuperscript{ʔi} ~ A\textsuperscript{ʔi}\textsuperscript{a} [sg.]; / POSSR=A\textsuperscript{ʔi}ʔ\textsuperscript{a} [sg.]; / A\textsuperscript{ʔi}-k\textsuperscript{a} ~ A\textsuperscript{ʔi}\textsuperscript{a}-k\textsuperscript{a} [pl.]; / POSSR-li-k\textsuperscript{a} ~ POSSR-A\textsuperscript{ʔi}-k\textsuperscript{a}~[w]\textsuperscript{a} [pl.]. In [Goddard 1915: 248], the pl. form POSSR=li-\textsuperscript{a}k\textsuperscript{a} ‘dogs’ can also be found. Note the distribution A\textsuperscript{ʔi}/-\textsuperscript{a} retained in Cook’s and Goddard’s data, leveled in favor of A\textsuperscript{ʔi} in Hoijer & Joël’s glossary.

Suffixed stem A\textsuperscript{ʔi}-\textsuperscript{a} with polysemy: ‘dog / horse’.

19. **DRINK**

Hupa =\textsuperscript{na}n (1), Mattole =\textsuperscript{na}n (1), Kato =\textsuperscript{na}n (1), Taldash Galice =\textsuperscript{na}: (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina =\textsuperscript{t}nun (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina =\textsuperscript{t}nun (1), Inland Tanaina =\textsuperscript{t}ⁿun (1), Iliamna Tanaina =\textsuperscript{t}nun (1), Central Ahtena =\textsuperscript{tʰ}n\textsuperscript{a}n (1), Mentasta Ahtena =\textsuperscript{tʰ}n\textsuperscript{a}: (1), Dogrib =t\textsuperscript{ʰ} (1), North Slavey (Hare) =t\textsuperscript{ʰ} (1), Tanacross =\textsuperscript{t}n\textsuperscript{a}: (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) =\textsuperscript{t}n\textsuperscript{a}: (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) =\textsuperscript{t}nu\textsuperscript{H} (1), Central Carrier =\textsuperscript{t}n\textsuperscript{a}i (1), Koyukon nu\textsuperscript{H} (1), Degexit\textsuperscript{a}n =\textsuperscript{nu}\textsuperscript{H} (1), Sarsi =\textsuperscript{t}v\textsuperscript{n} (1).

**References and notes:**

**Hupa**: Sapir & Golla 2001: 774; Golla 1996: 29; Golla 1996a: 388; Golla 1970: 147. The imperfective root variants are =\textsuperscript{na}n < *\textsuperscript{na}n [light] / =\textsuperscript{na}n < *\textsuperscript{na}n-\textsuperscript{i} [heavy], the perfective root variants are =\textsuperscript{na}n? < *\textsuperscript{na}n-ʔ [light] / =\textsuperscript{na}n < *\textsuperscript{na}n-ʔ\textsuperscript{i} [heavy]. In [Golla 1996], also the reduced light imperfective variant =\textsuperscript{nu}y is quoted.

**Mattole**: Li 1930: 94. This is the heavy imperfective stem, originating from *\textsuperscript{na}n-\textsuperscript{i}; the light imperfective stem is =\textsuperscript{na}n < *\textsuperscript{na}n [Li 1930: 21]; the perfective stem is =\textsuperscript{na}n\textsuperscript{ʔ} < *\textsuperscript{na}n-ʔ\textsuperscript{i}. Distinct from x\textsuperscript{x}, glossed as ‘to drink (to sip?)’ in [Li 1930: 80].

Bear River dialect: not attested.

**Kato**: Goddard 1912: 65. This is the heavy stem, originating from *\textsuperscript{na}n-\textsuperscript{i}; the light stem is =\textsuperscript{na}n < *\textsuperscript{na}n.

**Taldash Galice**: Hoijer 1973: 66; Hoijer 1956: 223. Paradigm: =\textsuperscript{na}: [imperf.] / =\textsuperscript{na}: [perf.].

**Upper Inlet Tanaina**: Kari 2007: 278, 349.

**Outer Inlet Tanaina**: Kari 2007: 278, 349.


**Iliamna Tanaina**: Kari 2007: 278, 349.

**Central Ahtena**: Kari 1990: 289, 511.

**Lower Ahtena**: =\textsuperscript{tʰ}n\textsuperscript{a}n [Kari 1990: 289, 511].
Western Ahtena: =t=na.n [Kari 1990: 289, 511].

Distinct from =q=c to 'drink, sip' [Saxon & Siemens n.d.].

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 422, 497; Hoijer 1956: 222. Originally from *=t=nā. Polysemy: 'to drink' / 'to overeat'. This is the basic verb for 'to drink' as confirmed by such examples as: "I don't like him to drink", 'Drink the tea', "Did you really drink four cups?", "He drank too much" [Rice 1978: 364], "They're not letting me drink water" [Rice 1978: 192], "Do you want to drink tea?" [Rice 1978: 370], "Drink up the juice" [Rice 1978: 386], "I overate" [Rice 1978: 202].

Distinct from =b̪o=t̪e=c, which is also glossed as 'to drink' in [Rice 1978: 472, 497], but available examples show that it is normally applicable to tea and nothing else, thus the underlying meaning of =b̪o=t̪e=c should be rather 'to sip': "Who drank up my tea?" [Rice 1978: 387]. "Do you drink tea?" [Rice 1978: 373]. "Who drank up my tea?" [Rice 1978: 387].


It is interesting that in the modern language as described in [Taff et al. 2007], the default verb for drinking is =q=c [imperf.] / =q=c [perf.] which means both 'to drink' and 'to sip' (in [Kari 1976: 68], only its original meaning 'to sip' is quoted). Cf. the examples for =q=c to 'drink' from [Taff et al. 2007]: "I drank tea in a cup", "She's drinking tea", "When he was drunk he drowned", "drink, soda pop (lit. what they drink)."

Sarsi: Li 1930b: 18; Hoijer 1956: 222. Paradigm: =t̪e ~ =t̪en- [imperf., perf.], historically < *=t=nən. In [Hoijer 1956], however, quoted simply as =nə(n)-.

20. DRY

Hupa =cʰaʔ (1), Mattole =cʰai (1), Kato =cʰai ~ =sai (1), Taldash Galice =cai (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina =qən (2), Outer Inlet Tanaina =qən (2), Inland Tanaina =qən (2) / =cʰiš (3), Iliamna Tanaina =qən (2), Central Ahtena =qən (2), Mentasta Ahtena =qən (2), Dogrib =kô (2) / =ʒà (4), North Slavey (Hare) =fə (1) / =kô (2), Tanacross n=č=l=kəy (2) / t=č=š̄ːk (4), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) kəy (2), Lower Tanana (Minto) =kən (2), Central Carrier =ki (2), Koyukon =qən (2), Degexit’an =qən (2), Sarsi =kʰn (2).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 735; Golla 1996: 29; Golla 1970: 137, 177 et passim. The light imperfective stem =cʰaʔ < *cʰaʔ-i; the perfective stem is =cʰaʔ- < *cʰaʔ- with the causative meaning 'to dry (trans.)'. Verbal root 'to be dry'. Widely applicable: stuff (e.g.,

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clothes, wood), food (e.g., salmon), snow.

Mattole: Li 1930: 107. Intransitive verb 'to be dry'. The transitive counterpart is \(=c\hat{a}i\-\hat{t}\) 'to dry smth' [Li 1930: 108], which coincides with the optative stem \(=c\hat{a}i\-\hat{t}\) of the intransitive verb.

Bear River dialect: only the transitive verb \(=sai(\hat{t})\) 'to dry (smth)' is documented [Goddard 1929: 315].

Kato: Goddard 1912: 73. Verbal root with polysemy: 'to be dry / to dry (trans.)'.

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 70. Verbal root with polysemy: 'to be dry / to dry (trans.) / to be bony, emaciated'.

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 63 sub dry wood, 151 sub drought (dry time or area), 282 sub dried meat, 285 sub dry fish bellies; Kari 1977: 78 sub dry wood.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: xxvii, 63 sub dry wood, 151 sub drought (dry time or area), 282 sub dried meat; Kari 1977: 78 sub dry wood.

Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: xxvii, 61 sub dry branches, 63 sub dry wood, 135 sub snowdrift (dry snow), 151 sub drought (dry time or area), 282 sub dried meat, 285 sub dry fish bellies; Kari 1977: 78 sub dry wood; Wassillie 1979: 31.

A second documented Inland verb for 'to be dry, dried out' is \(=či\hat{s}\) [imperf.], attested in the examples "It is dried out" [Wassillie 1979: 31], "he threw out some dried caribou flank meat to him: 'This dried up stuff is the only kind there is in here'" [Tenenbaum 1976 1: 38], "Your tail will dry up" [Tenenbaum 1976 2: 46], "Raven cut off his dried-up foot" [Tenenbaum 1976 2: 49]. The difference between the two verbs is unclear; we treat both as synonyms.Wassillie 1979: 31.


Lower Ahtena: \(=qan\) [Kari 1990: 191, 512].

Western Ahtena: \(=qan\) [Kari 1990: 191, 512].


There are three Dogrib verbs with the meaning 'to be dry':

1) \(=k\hat{o}\) [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 26, 117, 127, 160] with polysemy: 'to be dry / to dry (trans.) / to be skinny'. The attested examples are: "The clothes are drying on the line", "My mouth is dry" [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 26], "Everybody wants to dry a lot of fish for dryfish" [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 28], 'dry wood' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 104], "It is protected from drying out" [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 109], "She protects it from drying out" [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 127].

2) \(=\hat{z}a / =\hat{za}\) [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 18, 160] with polysemy: 'to be dry / to dry (trans.)'. The found examples are: "The clothes are going to get dry", "powdered (= dry) milk" [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 456], "I dried the clothes" [Rice 1978: 313], "The creeks are all dried up" [Rice 1978: 338], "it is dry" [Rice 1978: 391].

3) \(=\hat{u}\), glossed as 'to be dried' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 73, 159]. This one is apparently a morphological variant of \(=\hat{za}\). We treat \(=k\hat{o}\) and \(=\hat{za}\) as synonyms.Saxon & Siemens 1996: 18, 160. The variant \(=\hat{za}\) is attested after the suffixal \(=h\); innovative pronunciation: \(=\hat{za} / =\hat{s}a\).

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 426, 498.

There are two Hare verbs with the meaning 'to dry (intrans.)' (with the \(h\)-classifier 'to dry (trans.)'): \(=\hat{f}u\) (\(<=c\hat{i}\)) and \(=k\hat{\theta}\). Both are widely used and the semantic difference between them is unclear. We have to treat them as synonyms, although the verb \(=k\hat{\theta}\) tends to be applicable specifically to meat and fish and thus could be ruled out in future.

Cf. the found examples for intrans. \(=\hat{f}u\) and trans. \(=h=\hat{f}i\): "The clothes are dry" [Rice 1978: 259], "The clothes dried on the line", "It dried from exposure to the weather" [Rice 1978: 306], "The field dried up" [Rice 1978: 338], "it is dry" [Rice 1989: 456], "I dried the clothes" [Rice 1978: 313], "The creeks are all dried up" [Rice 1978: 391].

Cf. the found examples for intrans. \(=k\hat{\theta}\) and trans. \(=h=k\hat{\theta}\): "the string is dry" [Rice 1989: 245]. "The fish are drying" [Rice 1978: 219], "My skin is dry", "The fish is dry" [Rice 1978: 256], "The fish are drying" [Rice 1978: 390], "The meat is dried" [Rice 1989: 454], "Dry the meat" [Rice 1978: 365], Rice 1978: 431, 498.


There are several documented terms for 'to be dry'. Two of them we prefer to treat as synonyms.

1) The verb \(=\hat{b}=k\hat{\theta}y\) 'to dry (trans.)' / \(=l=\hat{b}=k\hat{\theta}y\) 'to be dry', which is quoted as the main term for 'dry' in [Arnold et al. 2009: 104; Holton 2000: 349; Shinen 1958: 20]. The adjectival meaning can be expressed either as one of the forms \(n=\hat{b}=\hat{v}=k\hat{\theta}y\) or \(t=\hat{b}=\hat{v}=k\hat{\theta}y\) (it is) dry' (with the adjectival/gender exponents \(=\hat{v}\) or \(t=\) [Holton 2000: 237 ff.]) or as the noun-like adjective \(k\hat{\theta}y\). The found examples, however, are not very illustrative: "the woman is drying (=\(k\hat{\theta}y\) fish" [Arnold et al. 2009: 104], "dry \(k\hat{\theta}y\) meat" [Arnold et al. 2009: 172], "he is skinny (lit. dry, \(n=\hat{v}=\hat{b}=k\hat{\theta}y\) because he was sick" [Arnold et al. 2009: 236], "my chin is dry (=\(k\hat{\theta}y\)) (i.e.: I am thirsty)" [Arnold et al. 2009: 268].
2) The verbal form \( t̕e=łəq \) ‘(it is) dry’ [Arnold et al. 2009: 104] with the adjectival/gender exponent \( t̕ \) [Holton 2000: 237 ff.]. Cf. the examples in [Arnold et al. 2009: 104]: ‘the ground is completely dry’, ‘the moss is really dry’, ‘dried out leaves (in autumn)’.

Distinct from a more specific verb \( =ł=łəq̕ \) ‘to be drying’, applied to clothes, tents, etc. [Arnold et al. 2009: 104].

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 73. Glossed with polysemy: ‘dry / withered / thin’. Apparently this noun-like adjective is the basic expression for ‘dry’ in Tetlin. Cf. the cognate verb \( =ł=łəq̕ \) ‘to dry (trans., trans.), air-dry smth.’ with the examples ‘The cups are drying’, ‘She is drying fish’ [Milanowski 2009: 95].

A second candidiate is the noun-like adjective \( =łəq:\), attested in the example ‘spruce firewood which is mostly dry’ [Milanowski 2009: 27, 86] and the verb \( =ł=łəq\) ‘to make dry’ [Milanowski 2009: 95, 100].

Northway: \( kəl \), glossed with polysemy: ‘dry / withered / thin’ and the cognate verb \( =ł=kəl \) in the transitive example “Someone is drying dishes” [Milanowski 2007: 7].


Degexit'an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1976: 21. Verbal stem: “to be dry / to dry (trans.)”. Also functions as the noun-like adjective \( q\) [customary] ‘dry, dried’. Cf. the examples from [Taff et al. 2007]: “It dried”, “My hands are dry (lit. the skin on my hands is dry)”, “He’s chewing dried meat”, “I went for dry wood”, “dried apples or other dried fruit (lit. dried ears)”. The second candidate is the verb \( x=q\) glossed as ‘to be dry’ [Kari 1976: 58], but not found in other sources.

Sarsi: Li 1930b: 21; Cook 1984: 159. Verbal stem: “to be dry”. Cf. Cook’s example: “It (wood) is dry”.

21. EAR

Hupa \( POSSR=či:w’ ~ POSSR=či:w=ɛ? \) (1), Mattole \( POSSR=či:w=ɛ? \) (1), Kato \( POSSR=čk=ɛ? \) (1), Taldash Galice \( POSSR=sati \) (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina \( POSSR=ci:l=ʔu \) (2), Outer Inlet Tanaina \( POSSR=čəw=ʔa \) (1), Inland Tanaina \( POSSR=čəw=ʔa \) (1), Iliamna Tanaina \( POSSR=čəw=ʔa \) (1), Central Athena \( POSSR=ca=k=ɛ? \) (1), Mentasta Athena \( POSSR=ca=k=ɛ? \) (1), Dogrib \( POSSR=če:\text{m}pə: \) (1), North Slavey (Hare) \( POSSR=ci?= \) (2), Tanacross \( POSSR=čəy=ʔ \) (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) \( POSSR=ca=y=ʔ \) (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) \( POSSR=ca=y=ʔ \) (1), Central Carrier \( POSSR=co \) (1), Koyukon \( POSSR=ca=k=ɛ? \) (1), Degexit'an \( POSSR=ca=k ~ POSSR=ca=G \) (1), Sarsi \( POSSR=ci:y=ʔ \) (1).

References and notes:


Mattole: Li 1930: 132. Surprisingly, specified by Li as ‘ear (ear interior)’, but no other words for ‘ear’ are documented in [Li 1930], thus it is likely that \( POSSR=ci:y=ɛ? \) is actually a generic term.

Bear River dialect: \( POSSR=čk=ɛ? ~ POSSR=čg=ɛ?’ ear’ [Goddard 1929: 315].

Kato: Goddard 1912: 22; Goddard 1909: 110 No. 2, 114 No. 10, 181 No. 10; Curtis 1924: 201. Sporadic ejectivization \( ēk > ēk \) in Goddard’s transcription is quite unclear.

22. EARTH

Hupa nin? ~ ne?n (1), Kato ne? (1), Taldash Galice nan?-te: (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina tāc (2), Outer Inlet Tanaina tāč (2), Inland Tanaina tāč (2), Iliamna Tanaina tāč (2), Central Ahtena tēc (2), Mentasta Ahtena tēc (2), Dogrib tē (1), North Slavey (Hare) nē (1), Tanacross nēn? (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) nan? (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) nan? (1), Central Carrier y/n (1), Koyukon nan? (1), Degexit’an tāc (2), Sarsi kù=Â’is (3).
References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 778; Golla 1996: 30. Polysemy: 'dirt / earth / ground'. Originates from *ninʔV. Cf. also ninisʔn with polysemy 'country, land / world, surface of the earth / mountain' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 778; Golla 1996: 30], probably < *ninʔ-saʔlan 'ground-lies', according to Golla.

Mattole: Not documented. The old root ninʔ 'earth' is, however, attested in neʔ=ne=niŋ-kix 'earthquake', formed with the verb -kix 'to shake (intrans.)' [Li 1930: 99].

Bear River dialect: not attested.

Kato: Goddard 1912: 20; Curtis 1924: 205. Polysemy: 'soil / land / world'. For the meaning 'soil' cf. examples like "He poured into it [into the canoe] a quantity of soil that they might have a fire in the canoe" [Goddard 1909: 125 No. 13].

Distinct from teč 'clay' [Goddard 1912: 19; Goddard 1909: 147 No. 11, 76 No. 3-5, 133 No. 10].


Cf. the cognate noun nanisʔ-šè 'world, cosmos' [Hoijer 1973: 55], which is an exact match for Hupa ninisʔn 'world' (see notes on Hupa 'earth').


Lower Ahtena: teč [Kari 1990: 275].

Western Ahtena: teč [Kari 1990: 275].


Distinct from nekč̣, which is attested in two collocations: ti: nekč̣ 'world, earth' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 19], literally 'this nekč̣' with demonstrative ti: 'this' q.v.; hâz: nekč̣ 'world, earth' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 50], literally 'all nekč̣' with demonstrative hâẓ: 'all' q.v.

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 82; Hoijer 1956: 222. The possessed from is =nén-e. Polysemy: 'earth (soil) / land / ground / back (anatomic)'. In [Rice 1978], glossed only as 'land, ground'. Cf. the collocation tèri nénèʔ 'world, earth' [Rice 1978: 47, 135], literally 'this earth'.


Northway: nanʔ 'earth, soil / ground / land' [Milanowski 2007: 9].

Scottie Creek: nənʔ, glossed as 'earth, land' [John 1997: 46].


Cf. the collocation nanʔ=kskat 'the world, the earth' [Kari 1994: 205] with the postposition OBJ=kskat 'on, upon the surface of obj'. [Kari 1994: 155].


Degesilán: Taff et al. 2007. Polysemy: 'earth, soil / mud'. Cf. the found examples: "Dig a hole and cover it up with earth" [Taff et al. 2007]. "Now, the moss of salmon tails and fins that they had cooked was full of dirt and earth" [Chapman 1914: 175].

Distinct from nanʔ 'land / world / ground' [Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 42; Chapman 1914: 216], the variant nanʔ is used in incorporation.

Sarsi: Hoijer & Jøel 1963: 74. Initial ku is the fossilized indefinite personal possessive [Hoijer & Jøel 1963: 66], literally 'somebody’s Xis'. Glossed simply as ‘earth’ by Hoijer & Jøel, but apparently with polysemy: ‘earth, soil / dirt, mud’. The example for the meaning 'earth, soil' is contained in [Sapir 1923], the tale "Lodge-Boy and Thrown-Away": "He spread earth all around inside the tent". In the creation myth quoted in [Nanagusa 1996b: 153-154], however, ku=Xis is consistently translated as 'mud, dirt' (as opposed to niskα 'land', the latter was being created from mud). The same translation 'dirt' is offered for the
example in [Cook 1984: 49]: "He threw dirt in his eye".

In [Hoijer 1956: 223], the equivalent ni is offered for the Swadesh item 'earth'; unfortunately, this archaic form is not confirmed by other sources.

Distinct from nisk'á 'land', attested in the creation myth [Nanagusa 1996b: 153-154] (probably nis-k'á with the postposition -k'á on [Cook 1984: 189]; further ni-s-k'á?). Translation 'land' is confirmed for nisk'á by the example in [Cook 1984: 71]: 'God', literally "earth he has made".

Distinct from A'tez / POSSR'A'te-n'á 'soft earth, mud; white clay' [Hoijer & Joël 1963: 68].

23. EAT

Hupa =yan (1), Mattole =yan (1), Kato =yan (1), Taldash Galice =yã: (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina =l=qaːt (2), Outer Inlet Tanaina =l=qaːt (2), Inland Tanaina =l=qaːt (2), Iliamna Tanaina =l=qaːt (2), Central Ahtena =yaːn ~ =t=ən (1), Mentasta Ahtena =yãː ~ =t=əː (1), Dogrib =ʔãː (3) / =t=ãː (4), North Slavey (Hare) =t=t=ãː (4), Tanacrass =ʔãː (3) / =ʔãː (3), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) =ʔãː (3), Lower Tanana (Minto) =ʔãː (3) / =ʔãː (3), Central Carrier =ʔãː (3), Koyukon =hãːn ~ =t=ʊːn (1), Degexit'an =hãːn (1), Sarsi =s=nã (5) / =cʰːt- (6).

References and notes:


Distinct from the ablaut verb =ye ~ =ye [imperf.] / =yan-ʔ (< *yan-n-i) [perf.] 'to eat up, devour' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 805, 806, 820; Golla 1996: 25]. The basic verb =yan 'to eat' looks like a result of generalization of the perfective stem of the aforementioned verb 'to devour'.

**Mattole:** Li 1930: 77. The imperfective root variants are =yan < *yan [light] / =yan < *yan-i [heavy], the perfective root variants are =yan? < *yan-ʔ [light] / =yan? < *yan-ʔ-i [heavy], see [Li 1930: 21 f.].

Distinct from the ablaut verb =ye [imperf.] / =yan-ʔ (< *yan-n-i) [light perf.] / =yan < *yan-n-i [heavy perf.] with polysemy 'to eat (clean) up / to win (in gambling)' [Li 1930: 77].


**Kato:** Goddard 1912: 61. The imperfective root variants are =yan < *yan [light] / =yan < *yan-i [heavy], the perfective root variant is =yan? < *yan-ʔ-i [heavy].

**Taldash Galice:** Hoijer 1973: 69; Hoijer 1966: 326. Paradigm: =yãː [imperf.] / =yãː [perf.]. Also attested in a textual passage: "I used to drink human blood early in the morning, and (only) then you would eat (ē=š=yãː) well" [Jacobs 1968: 184 No. 11]. In [Hoijer 1956: 223], the basic verb for 'to eat' is erroneously quoted as =ya.

There is actually a second verb for 'to eat' in [Hoijer 1973: 68]: =kʰːt [imperf.] / =kʰːt? (< *kʰːt-ʔ) [perf.]. Both =yãː and =kʰːt are quoted by Hoijer without semantic specifications and comments, but since =kʰːt is only attested in [Hoijer 1973], it is likely that =kʰːt is a more marginal or semantically specific word, and, therefore, cannot be considered a full-fledged synonym of the basic verb =yãː.

Distinct from the specific verb =kʰːs 'to eat grass-like food (e.g., spinach); to graze (intrans.)' [Hoijer 1973: 67].

**Upper Inlet Tanaina:** Kari 2007: 278, 349.

**Outer Inlet Tanaina:** Kari 2007: 278, 349.


**Iliamna Tanaina:** Kari 2007: 278, 349.

**Central Ahtena:** Kari 1990: 429, 513.

**Lower Ahtena:** =yan ~ =t=ən [Kari 1990: 429, 513].
Western Ahtena: =yən ~ =t=ən [Kari 1990: 429, 513].

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 123, 161. The system of Dogrib verbs of eating is complicated and not all of its details are clear.

Based on attested examples, it may be concluded that =ʔà is the basic verb for 'to eat'. Subj. = sg. only(?), human/animal; obj. = any(?). Cf. especially the indefinite context "What are you eating?" [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 123], and also the following examples: "Take two pills a day", "He eats donuts (by dunking them) in tea" [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 75], "Obviously the dog ate it" [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 85]. "He is eating it all", "I ate all the bread" [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 118], "The boy took the meat but he didn't eat it" [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 123].

There are two other verbs, glossed as 'to have a meal, eat' by Saxon & Siemens:

1) =t̤t̤ [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 92, 161], subj. = sg. & dual., human only(?). The examples are: "Eat!" [Saxon & Siemens 1996: iv], "Eat and then you may play" [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 38]. "Because I'm taking pills I can't eat", "I am able to eat" [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 49]. "They are thankful because they have meat to eat" [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 92]. "I've already eaten" [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 122], and especially "Because you were eating delicious meat,..." [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 131].

2) =žé (innovative pronunciation =zé) [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 92, 161], subj. = pl., human only(?). The examples are: "They cook meat and eat" [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 39], "Lots of people are eating", "Are you going to eat?" [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 92].

As may be seen from the examples, =t̤t̤ and =žé are normally used as intransitive verbs; the most obvious counterexample where transitive use is attested is "Because you were eating (=t̤t̤) delicious meat,...". It is possible that the Dogrib system is quadruple: transitive sg., =ʔà / transitive pl. / / intransitive sg./dual. =t̤t̤ / intransitive pl. =žé. It must be noted that it is unclear from the available sources which verb is used in the transitive function with pl. (and dual.) subj.

We prefer to treat transitive =ʔà and intransitive =t̤t̤ as synonyms. There are also several additional verbs of eating with more specific meanings:

1) =t̤ 'to eat', subj. = any; obj. = pl. [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 124, 161]. The examples: "We are eating crackers" [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 16], "My mother eats any kind of berries at all" [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 51], "In summer time bears eat berries of any kind" [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 99], "Lots of people take medicine when their throats are sore", "I'm eating raisins" [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 124]

2) =x̂a 'to eat; chew on', subj. = animal [Saxon & Siemens n.d.]; missing from [Saxon & Siemens 1996].

3) =k̡a 'to eat', obj. = meat, orange, etc. (i.e., juicy food?) [Saxon & Siemens n.d.]; missing from [Saxon & Siemens 1996]. The example: "She is going to eat it" [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 92, 161].

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 333, 463, 499.

The basic Hare verbs for 'to eat' are =t̤ =t̤ and used with sg. & dual. subj. [Rice 1978: 333, 463], and =l̆=ȳi with pl. subj. [Rice 1978: 333, 482].

Cf. numerous examples for sg. & dual. =t̤: "He ran home to eat" [Rice 1978: 188], "I'm eating fish", "I ate again", "He's noisy when he eats", "We had already started to eat when they came in" [Rice 1978: 333], "He keeps me from eating" [Rice 1978: 370], "He eats all the time" [Rice 1978: 564], "I ate some food and it was bad for me" [Rice 1989: 25], "s/he ate berries, meat, and fish" [Rice 1989: 48], "who ate the bread?" [Rice 1989: 257], and so on.

Cf. examples for pl. =l̆=ȳi: "We'll eat soon", "Let's eat" [Rice 1978: 333], "we just finished eating" [Rice 1989: 345].

Besides there is the old verb for eating, =ʔà, used with sg., dual. & pl. subj. It is glossed with polysemy: 'to eat / to chew' in [Rice 1978: 356, 401], but specified as 'to chew / to eat a small meal, snack' in [Rice 1989: 789]. This one is definitely more rarely used than =t̤. Cf. the found examples for =ʔà: "I got a bad stomach from the food that I ate", "She has to take medicine" [Rice 1978: 356], "they are eating" [Rice 1989: 623], "I am eating (something)" [Rice 1989: 629].

Distinct from =t̤ =t̤ 'to eat (individual pieces, one by one)' [Rice 1978: 363, 386, 416], =l̆=e=ci 'to eat up' [Rice 1978: 387, 425].


Scottie Creek: =k̡a; 'to eat' [John 1997: 40], a different root.


There are two verbs for 'to eat' in Lower Tanana:


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The verb =y= is glossed simply as 'to eat', whereas =l= is specified as 'to eat, chew' by Kari and 'to eat smith. (chewing)' by Tuttle; actually =l= shows polysemy: 'to eat / to bite' (q.v.). It is stated in [Kari 1994: 339] that =l= is more frequently used than =y= for the meaning 'to eat', which is why we prefer to take =l= as the basic verb for 'to eat' (as well as for 'to bite').

Distinct from the specific verb =l= to eat (pl. obj.) [Kari 1994: 65, 396] (note that =y= and =l= are used with both sg. and pl. obj.). Perfective.


Distinct from the baby-talk verb =a= 'to eat' [Poser 1998/2013: 689, 1249].

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 285, 897; Jones 1978: 54. Paradigm: =h= [durative imperf.] / =h= [momentaneous imperf.] / =h= [fut.]. Used with sg. subj. (regardless of the number of objects), cf. some examples: "He's eating breakfast", "I am eating crackers", "I'm eating from a dish", "She is eating", "He's eating fast", "I like to eat fish", "I'll eat it with onions", "Porcupine is sitting on a birch tree eating birch bark", "Raven is eating something" [Taff et al. 2007].


Degexit’an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1976: 3; Chapman 1914: 225. Paradigm: =h= [durative imperf.] / =h= [momentaneous imperf.] / =h= [fut.]. Used with sg. subj. (regardless of the number of objects), cf. some examples: "He's eating breakfast", 'I'm eating crackers', "I'm eating from a dish", "She is eating", "He's eating fast", "I like to eat fish", "I'll eat it with onions", "Forcupine is sitting on a birch tree eating birch bark", "Raven is eating something" [Taff et al. 2007].

Distinct from =l= [imperf.] / =l= [perf.] to 'eat' [Kari 1976: 36], used with sg. subj. (regardless of the number of obj.), cf. some examples: "they started to eat obj", "they don't eat obj" [Hargus 2000: 5], "we'll eat", "we started to eat" [Hargus 2000: 11], "You guys eat!", "We'll eat later", "We don't eat mushrooms" [Taff et al. 2007].

Sarsi: Li 1930b: 20; Hoijer 1956: 222.

As noted in [Cook 1984: 156] and elsewhere, there are two verbs for 'to eat' in Sarsi, both without reliable etymology:


2) =c= / =c= [momentaneous imperf.] / =c= [iterative imperf.] / =c= [iterative imperf.] [Li 1930b: 23, 25; Cook 1984: 156]. The iterative form =c= was regularly assimilated < *c=c (further < *c=). Cf. some examples: "He will eat all the food" [Cook 1984: 78], "Because you do not speak to me, I shall eat it" [Cook 1984: 90], "He's finished eating" [Cook 1984: 157], "Don't eat!" [Cook 1984: 221], "after lunch, have them say: 'I ate well'" [Nanagusa 1996b: 70].

Both verbs are provided by a number of textual instances (above), but the semantic or pragmatic difference between the two is unclear. We treat them as synonyms.

Distinct from =c= [imperf.] / =c= [perf.] to 'eat up, to annihilate' [Li 1930b: 19]. Li 1930b: 23; Cook 1984: 156.

24. EGG


Mattole: Li 1930: 126. Quoted by Li as ṭw-e-x-eʔ with the indefinite possessive pronoun (for which see notes on ‘meat’).

Bear River dialect: kōʔ ~ kōʔ ‘egg’ [Goddard 1929: 315].

Kato: Goddard 1912: 21; Essene 1942: 86.


North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 60, 135; Hoijer 1956: 222.


Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 14, 73. Cf. the cognate verb =t=x̬aʔ ‘to be round’ q.v.

Northway: POSSR=xeq-ʔ ‘egg’ [Milanowski 2007: 7].

Scottie Creek: POSSR=xeq-ʔ ‘egg’ [John 1997: 7].


Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 236, 897; Jones 1978: 55. Cf. the cognate verb =t=x̬aʔ ‘to be round 3D’ q.v.

Degexit’an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 14. Verbal form, although structural details are not entirely clear; possibly contains the classificatory verb =lo ‘to handle pl. obj.’ [Kari 1978: 34].


25. EYE

Hupa POSSR=naʔ-ʔ (1), Mattole POSSR=n’aʔ-g-ʔ (1), Kato POSSR=naʔ (1), Taldash Galice POSSR=ʔaʔ-i (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina POSSR=naw-ʔa (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina POSSR=ʔaʔuʔ-ʔa (2), Inland Tanaina POSSR=naw-ʔa (1), Iliamna Tanaina POSSR=naw-ʔa (1), Central Ahtena POSSR=neq-ʔeʔ (1), Mentasta Ahtena POSSR=neq-ʔeʔ (1), Dogrib POSSR=ʔaʔ (1), North Slavey (Hare) POSSR=ʔaʔ (1), Tanacross POSSR=dąʔ-ʔ ~ POSSR=ʔdąʔ-ʔ (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) POSSR=nąʔ-eʔ-ʔ (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) POSSR=naw-ʔa (1), Central Carrier POSSR=naʔ-ʔ (1), Koyukon POSSR=nex-ʔa (1), Degexit’an POSSR=naxʔ-ʔa (3), Sarsi POSSR=nįʔ-ʔ (1).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 774; Golla 1996: 32. Polysemy: ‘eye / large seed, pit’. Synchronously, the root is to be defined as naʔ (not neʔ, which should yield phonetic naʔ), as can be seen in some compounds like POSSR=naʔ-ʔ ‘eyelash’ etc. [Sapir & Golla 2001: 773; Golla 1964: 112; Golla 1996: 32] and the adverbal forms like POSSR=naʔ ‘waiting for POSSR’, POSSR=naʔ-ʔ ‘in the presence of POSSR’ [Sapir & Golla 2001: 773].
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Koyukon:

Lower Tanana (Minto):

Upper Tanana (Tetlin):

Tanacross:

North Slavey (Hare):

Dogrib:

Central Ahtena:

Inland Tanaina:

Tanacross:

POSSR=naq-e ~ POSSR=naq-ʔe ‘eye’ [Goddard 1929: 316].

Kato: Goddard 1912: 22; Curtis 1924: 201.


Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 88, 349; Kari 1977: 97. This form is obscure (so-called ‘elite replacement’). Kari explains this as POSSR=ʔa=tʰuː-ta with the literal translation ‘liquid that is with him’ [Kari 2007: 88] or ‘liquid-grease that is with one’ [Kari 1996: 61]. Kari may be implying POSSR=ʔ with X (the postposition -ʔ with) plus the substantive Lʰw ‘oil, grease’ (see notes on ‘fat’) - the latter morpheme was simplified (Lʰw > tʰuː). However, we tentatively prefer to leave =ʔtʰuː- without analysis.


Northway: POSSR=ʔaq-ʔe ‘eye’ [Milanowski 2007: 7].

Scottie Creek: POSSR=ʔick ‘eye’ [John 1997: 12].


Distinct from the more specific and rare term naq-ʔ ‘eye-substance or material’ [Jetté & Jones 2000: 487]. Jetté explains the difference between POSSR=naq-kʔ and naq-ʔ as follows: “The Ten’a use both naq-kʔ and naq-ʔ; to designate the eye, the former for the eye-substance or material, the latter for the eye-place or location”.

Degexit’an: Taff et al. 2007. This word is glossed in [Taff et al. 2007] as ‘person’s eye’, i.e., applicable to humans, although instances where POSSR=naq-ʔa is applied to mythical animals have also been found: “My eye is red” [Taff et al. 2007], “then, squirrel, his eye, began to cry” [Leonard 2007: 55], “his [raven’s] eyes turned white” [Chapman 1914: 118]. Cf. the derivative naq-ʔaː as ‘eye socket’ [Kari 1978: 33] (final -aː is apparently the same locative suffix as Koyukon -ʔa). The second candidate is POSSR=naq, glossed simply as ‘eye’ in [Kari 1978: 33], but specified as ‘something’s eye’ [Taff et al. 2007], i.e., applicable to animals, cf. the only found example: “Big moose eye”.

Additionally, there is an older root for ‘eye’, na- and naq- ~ naq- ~ noq- ~ naq- ~ naq- ~ noq- ~ naq- ~ noq- ~ naq- ~, retained in verbal incorporation or as the first element of nominal compounds, e.g., na=faq-ʔa ‘he has his eyes shut’ [Taff et al. 2007], naq-ʔaːq ‘glasses (lit. eye dish)’ [Taff et al. 2007], POSSR=neq-xːʔ ‘eye lid’ [Kari 1978: 33]. POSSR=naq-ʔe ‘eyeball, pupil’ [Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 33] (final -ʔe is apparently the same locative suffix as Koyukon -ʔe). Cf. also the attested examples with POSSR=naq-ʔ ‘tears’ (see notes on ‘fat’) - the latter morpheme was simplified (Lʰw > tʰuː). However, we tentatively prefer to leave =ʔtʰuː- without analysis.

Bear River dialect: POSSR=naq-e ~ POSSR=naq-ʔe ‘eye’ [Goddard 1929: 316].
to be of unclear origin.


26. FAT N.

Hupa POSR=q’ah (1), Mattole POSR=k’ah (1), Kato k’wah (1), Taldash Galice č’a=k’ah (1),
Upper Inlet Tanaina POSR=q’áχ (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina POSR=q’áχ (1), Inland Tanaina
POSSR=q’áχ (1), Iliamna Tanaina POSR=q’áχ (1), Central Ahtena POSR=q’áχ (1), Mentasta
Ahtena POSR=q’áχ (1), Dogrib POSR=k’à (1), North Slavey (Hare) POSR=k’à (1), Tanacross
POSSR=k’à ~ POSSR=k’ah (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) POSSR=k’ah (1), Lower Tanana (Minto)
POSSR=k’ux (1) / xa ~ POSSR=yaʔ (2), Central Carrier POSSR=k’o (1), Koyukon POSSR=q’áχ (1),
Degexit’an POSSR=q’váχ (1), Sarsi POSSR=k’á (1).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 780; Golla 1996: 33. Glossed as ‘fat (on smb.’s body)’, but the following example proves that =q’ah is more widely applicable: ‘On looking closer he was surprised to see that her dress was (made) of deer fat’ [Goddard 1904: 164, 168]. The corresponding verb =q’ah (< *q’ách) / =q’áw (< *q’áh-i) means ‘to be fat’ [Sapir & Golla 2001: 780; Golla 1996: 33; Golla 1970: 139], but its application is unclear.

Mattole: Li 1930: 130. Glossed simply as ‘fat’. Quoted as =l=k’ah with the indefinite possessive pronoun =l-, for which see notes on ‘meat’.

Distinct from k’c, which is glossed as ‘fat, lard’ in [Li 1930: 130] and probably represents a more specific term.

Bear River dialect: not attested.

Kato: Goddard 1912: 20, 110. Synchronously, used without obligatory possessor prefixes. Historically, a contraction from *k’w=k’ah
’smb’s/smth’s fat’ (with the fossilized indefinite possessive pronoun k’w-, for which see [Goddard 1912: 21]). Cf. the
cognate verb =k’ah (< *=k’áχ) / =k’áw (< *=k’áh-i) ‘to be fat’ [Goddard 1912: 18, 79].

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 61; Hoijer 1956: 223; Landar 1977: 294. Initial č’a= in Hoijer’s transcription is the indefinite possessive
pronoun č’a= [Hoijer 1966: 322] (the vowel lengthening a > a: in ča=’k’ah is, however, not clear). Cf. the cognate verb =k’à ‘to
be fatty, greasy’ [Hoijer 1973: 68].


term for ‘fat’ is POSSR=trík’iš, for which see notes on Common Tanaina.


Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 252, 518; Kari & Buck 1975: 60; Smelcer 2010: 44.

Lower Ahtena: POSSR=q’áχ [Kari 1990: 252, 518; Kari & Buck 1975: 60; Smelcer 2010: 44].

Western Ahtena: POSSR=q’áχ [Kari 1990: 252, 518; Kari & Buck 1975: 60; Smelcer 2010: 44].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 252, 518; Kari & Buck 1975: 60; Smelcer 2010: 44.

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 30, 43, 164. Glossed as ‘fat, body fat’ with the example ‘My mother is going to keep the fat to make
lard’; applicable to both animals and humans. Cf. the cognate verb =k’a to be fat’ [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 69].

Distinct from POSSR=λ’áh, glossed as ‘lard, grease, oil, gasoline, fuel, ointment’ [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 100].

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 68, 137.

Distinct from ċi ‘lard, gas, oil, grease’ [Rice 1978: 149] (alienable possession).

-h is irregular. The verb =l=k’áx ‘to be fat’ (applicable to humans) is based on this noun.

Distinct from ċi=č’áx-ʔ ‘rendered fat’ [Arnold et al. 2009: 115; Holton 2000: 343] (initial ċi= is the indefinite possessive
pronoun).

Distinct from xé, glossed as 'grease, lard' in [Arnold et al. 2009: 137].

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 14, 74. Cf. the cognate verb =l-k'ax 'to be fat' [Milanowski 2009: 45].

Distinct from xey, glossed as 'lard, grease, oil' in [Milanowski 2009: 28].

Scottie Creek: POSSR=k'ah 'fat' [John 1997: 12], xe, POSSR=x-e 'grease' [John 1997: 41].


A difficult case with two candidates for the slot:
1) POSSR=k'ux, glossed simply as 'fat' [Kari 1994: 171, 401] without semantic specification and textual examples; cf. the cognate verb =l-k'ax 'to be fat' [Kari 1994: 171].

2) xa, POSSR=x-a, glossed as 'grease, lard' in [Kari 1994: 122] and 'fat, grease' in [Tuttle 2009: 73]. This term is more widely used, judging by data in [Kari 1994; Tuttle 2009], cf. the example: "They eat bear fat with crackers, dry meat". The cognate verb is =l-xa 'to be greasy' [Kari 1994: 122].

We have to treat POSSR=k'ux and xa as synonyms.


Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 219, 706; Poser 2011a: 84; Antoine et al. 1974: 30, 308. Cf. Antoine et al.'s example: "When we prepare meat (drying and smoking) we fry the fat (=k'od) for its grease (=yé)". Cf. the cognate verb =l-k'a ~ =t-k'a 'to be fat' [Poser 1998/2013: 706, 1221, 1256; Antoine et al. 1974: 308] (as in the example "He is fat").

Distinct from x- ~ POSSR=x-e(?) 'lard, grease, oil' [Poser 1998/2013: 224; Antoine et al. 1974: 124]. Cf. the above example with 'fat' plus 'He fries with grease only', "He treats his boots with oil" [Antoine et al. 1974: 124].


Degexit'an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 32; Chapman 1914: 230. Cf. some examples: "I make ice cream with moose fat" [Taff et al. 2007]. "And when it was day, she brought in her fine parka, the clean one, the best she had. Deer-fat too, and berries, she brought in" 108, "They did not sleep, for filling him up with deer-fat" [Chapman 1914: 114], "Below the place, deer-bones had been thrown over the bank. Below the bones there was a great quantity of fat" [Chapman 1914: 119]. Cf. the cognate verb =q’uk 'to be fat' [Kari 1976: 44; Chapman 1914: 230].

Sarsi: Hoijer & Joel 1963: 69. Cf. the example: "Then all wood he put on the fire. The old man said, 'All meat fat even cook'. Then all was cooked" [Goddard 1915: 251].

Distinct from x’a / POSSR=x’uh-a’r ‘grease’ [Hoijer & Joel 1963: 67].

27. FEATHER

Hupa POSSR=x’il? ~ POSSR=x’il-e? (1), Mattole t’a-? (2), Kato t’a? (2), Taldash Galice POSSR=t’a-i? (2), Upper Inlet Tanaina POSSR=t’u (2), Outer Inlet Tanaina POSSR=t’u (2), Inland Tanaina POSSR=t’u (2), Iliamna Tanaina POSSR=t’u (2), Central Ahtena T’a: (2), Mentasta Ahtena T’a: (2), Dogrib T’a’h (2), North Slavey (Hare) POSSR=t’a: (2), Tanacross T’a: (2) / POSSR=t’ã-? (3), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) t’a ~ POSSR=t’a: (2), Lower Tanana (Minto) T’a (2), Central Carrier POSSR=t’a ~ POSSR=t’a: (2), Koyukon T’o: (2) / POSSR=t’a:n? (3), Degexit’an POSSR=t’a:n-ka (4), Sarsi T’ay~ ~ T’uy~ (2).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 743; Golla 1996: 33; Golla 1964: 114. Polysemy: 'feather / wing / fin'. Cf. also a different descriptive term
POSSR=či-s'=kč-ʔ "fine feathers, down" [Sapir & Golla 2001: 753; Golla 1996: 33] from the bound verbal root =s=kč 'to be fuzzy' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 752].

**Mattole**: Li 1930: 128. Synchronically, should be analyzed as =t'a-ʔ (where the final glottal-stop is the old izafet exponent) rather than =t'aʔ. Cfr. the cognate verb =t'a: 'to feather an arrow' [Li 1930: 91].

Bear River dialect: Ąiŋ 'feather' [Goddard 1929: 316]. Apparently secondary < ‘leaf’ (cf. Mattole proper POSSR=t'ayʔ 'leaf' q.v.).

**Kato**: Goddard 1912: 20, 100. Used without obligatory possessor prefixes. Cfr. the cognate verb =t'a 'to feather an arrow' [Goddard 1912: 82, 100].

**Taldash Galice**: Hoijer 1956: 223; Landar 1977: 294. It must be noted that in [Hoijer 1973: 55], there are such forms as t'alkai 'tail or wing feather' and suffixed t'alkay-ʔ 'short body feathers', which actually represent the collocation t'a-kai 'white feather' (with t=kai 'white' q.v.).

Cf. the cognate verb =t'ah 'to feather an arrow' [Hoijer 1973: 66].


**Lower Ahtena**: t'a: [Kari 1990: 339, 519; Kari & Buck 1975: 25; Smelcer 2010: 43].

**Western Ahtena**: t'a: [Kari 1990: 339, 519; Kari & Buck 1975: 25; Smelcer 2010: 43].


Distinct from č'ah (possessed: POSSR=č'äk) 'feathers; down feathers' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 8, 107].

**North Slavey (Hare)**: Rice 1978: 99, 137; Hoijer 1956: 222.


Differently in [Arnold et al. 2009: 116], where the possessed form POSSR=t'č-ʔ 'feather' is quoted - in fact, with polysemy: 'leaf / feather'. The same form POSSR=t'č-ʔ is also attested in [Brean & Milansowski 1979: 5] with the gloss 'wing' (it should be noted that the actual Tanacross term for 'wing' is POSSR=č'ěnʔʔ [Arnold et al. 2009: 295; Holton 2000: 348]).

Apparently, the old term t'a: 'feather' is currently being superseded with POSSR=t'č-ʔ 'leaf'. We treat both terms as synonyms.


**Upper Tanana (Telin)**: Milansowski 2009: 26, 74. Polysemy: 'feather / wing'.

Distinct from č'ň'ŋy 'short feathers, down feathers' [Milansowski 2009: 13].

**Northway**: POSSR=t'č-ʔ with polysemy: 'feather / wing' [Milansowski 2007: 8, 19].

**Scottie Creek**: č'ň'ŋy 'feather', distinct from POSSR=t'č-ʔ 'wing' [John 1997: 7].

**Lower Tanana (Minto)**: Kari 1994: 256, 402; Tuttle 2009: 75. Possessed: POSSR=t'č-ʔ, Glossed as 'feather, wing or tail feather'.

Distinct from collective POSSR=t'čə-ʔ with polysemy: 'hair / fur / feathers' [Kari 1994: 129].

Distinct from č'ń'ŋtʰ 'down feathers' [Kari 1994: 50], č'ń=č'ěn-kaʔ-ʔ 'down feathers' [Kari 1994: 46] (č'ń= is the indefinite possessive pronoun, -ka is a nominal suffix [Kari 1994: 106]).

**Central Carrier**: Poser 1998/2013: 474, 707; Poser 2011a: 84. Meaning specifically 'wing feather' with polysemy: 'wing feather / wing' (in [Antoine et al. 1974: 44] only as 'wing').

Distinct from č'ń=tʰ 'breast feathers, down' [Poser 1998/2013: 510] (in [Antoine et al. 1974: 238, 308] this word is quoted as a generic term for 'feather').

**Koyukon**: Jetté & Jones 2000: 552, 904; Jones 1978: 59. Meaning specifically 'quill, large feather, wing or tail feather'. Possessed: POSSR=t'č-ʔ - POSSR=t'čə, the latter form POSSR=t'čəʔ with polysemy: 'feather / leaf .


**Degiefian**: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 14. Cfr. the examples: "Dance fans are made with swan feathers" [Taff et al. 2007], "I will tie a feather to his hair" [Chapman 1914: 107]. Morphologically unclear, cf. the verb =tʰ=ʔ 'to caulk, chink'; final -ka may be the
same as the desemanticized nominal suffix -ko in Koyukon.

'Down, soft feathers' is expressed by the collocation POSSR=\text{t}^\text{a}=\text{d}-\text{ko} k^\text{c}=\text{d}^\text{d}' [Taff et al. 2007] with k\text{c}=\text{d}' 'soft', or simply as POSSR=\text{c}=\text{d}^\text{d}' [Kari 1978: 14].

Distinct from the more specific terms POSSR=\text{c}=\text{t}' 'large feather' [Kari 1978: 14].

Sarsi: Hoijer & Joël 1963: 67; Hoijer 1956: 222; Nanagusja 1996b: 117, 121. Paradigm: t\text{a}=h ~ t\text{a}=\text{h} / POSSR=\text{t}^\text{a}=\text{d} ~ POSSR=\text{t}^\text{a}=\text{a} (forms in t\text{a} are from [Nanagusja 1996b]). Polysemy: 'feather / wing'. Cf. such examples as 'has wings, then plucks a feather' [Nanagusja 1996b: 148], "Hawk feathers are tied on the sword handle" [Goddard 1915: 207].

Distinct from POSSR=\text{c}=\text{i}=\text{t}' which is glossed as 'feather' in [Hoijer & Joël 1963: 71], but apparently this word is to be read POSSR=\text{c}=\text{i}=\text{t}' 'soft feathers, down' as follows from the transcription and translation in [Goddard 1915: 215].

28. FIRE

Hupa x\text{o}=\text{r} (1), Mattole k^\text{h}=\text{o}=\text{r} (1), Kato k^\text{h}=\text{o}=\text{r} (1), Taldash Galice k^\text{h}=\text{a}=\text{n} (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina q^\text{h}=\text{a}=\text{n} (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina t\text{a}=\text{z}=\text{i} (2), Inland Tanaina t\text{a}=\text{z}=\text{i} (2), Iliamna Tanaina t\text{a}=\text{z}=\text{i} (2), Central Ahtena q^\text{h}=\text{o}=\text{r} (1), Mentasta Ahtena q^\text{h}=\text{o}=\text{r} (1), Dogrib k^\text{h}=\text{b} (1), North Slavey (Hare) k^\text{b}=\text{t} (1), Tanacross k^\text{h}=\text{u}=\text{n} (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) k^\text{h}=\text{u}=\text{n} (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) k^\text{h}=\text{u}=\text{n} (1), Central Carrier k^\text{h}=\text{a}=\text{n} (1), Koyukon q^\text{h}=\text{u}=\text{n} (1), Degexit'an q^\text{h}=\text{u}=\text{n} (1), Sarsi k^\text{h}=\text{u}=\text{n} (1).

References and notes:

Mattole: Li 1930: 130. Cf. the cognate verb =k=\text{h}=\text{o}=\text{r} 'to sit down by the fire to warm one's self' [Li 1930: 105].
Bear River dialect: k^\text{h}=\text{o}=\text{r} ~ k^\text{h}=\text{a}=\text{n} 'fire' [Goddard 1929: 316].
Kato: Goddard 1912: 20; Curtis 1924: 205.
Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 57; Hoijer 1956: 223; Landar 1977: 294. Cf. the cognate verb =k^\text{h}=\text{a}=\text{n} 'to warm oneself at the fire' [Hoijer 1973: 68].
Lower Ahtena: q^\text{h}=\text{o} (Kari 1990: 244, 520; Kari & Buck 1975: 97; Smelcer 2010: 67).
Western Ahtena: q^\text{h}=\text{o} (Kari 1990: 244, 520; Kari & Buck 1975: 97; Smelcer 2010: 67).
North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 66, 138; Hoijer 1956: 222. Possessed form: POSSR=k^\text{h}=\text{u}=\text{n}-\text{t}. Polysemy: 'fire / match'.
Northway: k^\text{h}=\text{u}=\text{n} 'fire / match' [Milanowski 2007: 8].
Scottie Creek: k^\text{h}=\text{u}=\text{n} 'fire' [Johl 1997: 35].
Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 159, 403; Tuttle 2009: 77. Possessed form: possr=k^\text{h}=\text{u}=\text{n}-\text{t}. Polysemy: 'fire / matches'. Cf. the cognate verb \text{w}=\text{t}=k^\text{h}=\text{u}=\text{n} 'to be clear, bright' [Kari 1994: 159].
Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 342, 906. Cf. the cognate verb \text{w}=\text{t}=q^\text{h}=\text{u}=\text{n} 'to be red hot / to be transparent, glisten' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 343; Jones 1978: 61].
Degexit'an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 51; Chapman 1914: 229. The verb -qʷənt 'to burn' q.v. is derived from this noun.


29. FISH

Hupa ɨɬoʔ (1), Mattole ɬokʰə (1), Kato ɬo-内部nai (2), Taldash Galice t=ɬkʰay-a: (3) / ɬokʰə: (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina ɬhəkələ ~ sakələ (4) / tiqə (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina ɬakələ (4) / ɬuʔə (1), Inland Tanaina ɬakələ (4) / tiqə (1), Iliamna Tanaina ɬakələ (4) / tiqə (1), Central Ahtena ɬh-a-pəy (5), Mentasta Ahtena ɬh-a-pəy (5), Dogrib tiwē ~ tié (1), North Slavey (Hare) lükə (1), Tanacross tiʔg (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) tiwəŋ ~ tiʔk (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) tiʔkə (1), Central Carrier ɬo (1), Koyukon tiwə (1), Degexit’an ɬec (1), Sarsi ɬhɨkʰɨ (1).

References and notes:


Mattole: Li 1930: 133. Glossed as ‘fish (salmon)’. Apparently a generic term with polysemy ‘fish / salmon’ (as in Hupa), cf. Li’s translation “The coyote fooled his grandmother. ’I will spear fish (ɬokʰə) for you’, he said to her; ’I will kill deer for you’” [Li 1930: 139, 150].

Bear River dialect: ɬokʰə ~ ʃəkʰə ~ ʃək is only documented with the specific meaning ‘salmon’ [Goddard 1929: 305].

Kato: Goddard 1942: 28; Goddard 1909: 71 fn. 15; Curtis 1924: 202; Essene 1942: 86. Explicitly explained by Goddard as the generic term for ‘fish’. The second element is ɬo- ‘water’ q.v., the second one probably means ‘fresh meat’, see notes on Hupa.

Distinct from ʃək ‘steel-head salmon’ [Goddard 1929: 19].

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 57. Glossed by Hoijer as ‘trout; all fish except salmon’. A nominalized verb form from the root ɬkʰay (e.g., a color designation); final -ə can be the relative enclitic -a ‘one who’ [Hoijer 1956: 322], although the vowel length is unclear.


Lower Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 17, 350. The vowel u instead of the expected i is irregular.


Northway: tiwəŋ ‘fish / whitefish’ [Milanowski 2007: 8].

Scottie Creek: ʃək ‘fish’, the word for ‘whitefish’ is quoted as tiʔk [John 1997: 35].


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30. FLY V.

Hupa =xis (1) / =xic’ (2), Mattole =t’ay’ (2), Kato =t’ay’ (2), Taldash Galice =t’ah (2), Inland Tanaina =čax (3) / =čaq’ (3), Central Ahtena =t’aχ (2) / =t’aq (2), Mentasta Ahtena =t’aχ (2) / =t’aq (2), Dogrib =t’a (2), North Slavey (Hare) =l=wi (4), Tanacross =l=τ’ax (2) / =l=τ’èk (2), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) =t’ah (2), Lower Tanana (Minto) =t’ux (2) / =t’uk (2), Central Carrier =t’o (2), Koyukon =t’oq (2), Degexit’an =t’vχ (2) / =t’vq (2), Sarsi =t’oh (2).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 800; Golla 1996: 37. Polysemy: ‘to fall down, fall swooping / to fly’. The perfective root variant is =xic’ < *=xic’-.

The verb =t’ah / =t’aw (quoted in [Hoijer 1956: 223] as ‘to fly’) means ‘to float about in the air, wave (like a flag), waft about’ [Sapir & Golla 2001: 790; Golla 1996: 36]. Perfective.

Mattole: Li 1930: 91. This is the heavy stem, originating from *=t’ax-i [Li 1930: 23]; the light stem is =t’a < *=t’ax. Used with sg. subj.

Distinct from =t’ih [imperf.] / =t’ih [perf.] with polysemy: ‘to go / to come / to go away / to fly’ [Li 1930: 88], used with pl. subj.

Bear River dialect: not attested.

Kato: Goddard 1912: 72. This is the heavy stem, originating from *=t’ax-i; the light stem is =t’ah ~ =t’a < *=t’ax. Applied to both sg. and pl. subj.

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 66; Hoijer 1956: 223. It is unclear whether =t’ah is used with both sg. and pl. subj. or with sg. subj. only.

Distinct from =kas, glossed as ‘to fly (away)’, pl. subj. [Hoijer 1973: 67].

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Not attested.

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Not attested.

Inland Tanaina: Tenenbaum 1978: 151. Paradigm: =čq’ [imperf.] / =čaq’ [perf.], see the data in [Tenenbaum 1978: 151, 224; Lovick 2005: 164 ex. 4.50a, 4.50c]. Apparently, normally applied to sg. subj., although the use with pl. subj. is also attested, see [Tenenbaum 1976 2: 6, 9, 60, 61].

A second Inland verb for ‘to fly (sg. subj.)’ is =l=aw, see examples in [Tenenbaum 1978: 154, 178, 199; Tenenbaum 1976 1: 19, 20, 50, 52, 54, 71; 2: 1, 2, 3, 14, 38, 58, 66; 3: 46]. It must be noted that Tenenbaum normally glossed =l=aw as ‘to fly away’ or ‘to fly back’. In [Wassillie 1979: 40], =l=aw is quoted for the meanings ‘to fly about, across, back’.

A third Inland verb for ‘to fly (sg. subj.)’ is =fr’q’ [perf.]; this root is quoted in [Holton et al. 2004: 39], but without any textual instances.

A fourth Inland verb for ‘to fly (sg. subj.)’ could be =l=ɔɔς, which is glossed as a generic verb for ‘to fly (sg. subj.)’ in [Kari 2007: 329] and [Wassillie 1979: 40], but according to [Tenenbaum 1976 1: 48, 51, 52; 2: 14; Lovick 2005: 34 ex. 1.29a], =l=ɔɔς rather shows the more specific meaning ‘to fly around’.


Iliamna Tanaina: Not attested.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 343, 523.

Lower Ahtena: =t’aq [Kari 1990: 343, 523].

Dogrib: Saxton & Siemens 1996: ix, 61, 166. Used with sg. subj. only?

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 258, 477, 502. Used with sg. and subj. This is the default verb for 'to fly (sg.)' as can be seen from numerous examples: "He wants it to fly away" [Rice 1978: 205], "The bird is flying" [Rice 1978: 258], "The airplane is flying around" [Rice 1978: 287], "It doesn't fly anymore" [Rice 1978: 289]. "The bird flew away from us", "He'll fly back tomorrow" [Rice 1978: 307]. "The bird flew up", "I flew here a while ago" [Rice 1978: 322]. "The plane has to circle around" [Rice 1978: 331], "s/he flew to Norman Wells again" [Rice 1989: 352].

With pl. subj., the verb =tię 'to go / to fly' [Rice 1978: 312, 418, 502] is used. Cf. some examples: "Look at the birds flying" [Rice 1978: 251], "Where are they flying?", "Let's fly back" [Rice 1978: 307], "The birds are flying" [Rice 1978: 312], "The birds will fly up" [Rice 1978: 322], "they are flying downriver" [Rice 1989: 320].

The old verb =t=tà 'to fly' [Rice 1978: 259, 465, 502; Hoijer 1956: 222] is used with all numbers, but its attestations are scant and applied to airplane only: "I'm going to fly there", "We'll fly for the meat" [Rice 1978: 259], "airplane (lit. boat that flies around)" [Rice 1989: 171].


With pl subj., the verb =täf [imperf., fut.] / =tɛ:ɬ [perf.] 'to go / to come / to run / to fly' is used [Holton 2000: 160]. Perfective.

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milankowski 2009: 58, 97. Specified as 'to fly (as an airplane does)', no other Tetlin verbs for 'to fly' are documented.

Scottie Creek: =t=təh, attested in the example "The bluebottle is flying away around" [John 1997: 44].


Distinct from =n=ə=ɬɪ[t [momentaneous imperf.] / =n=ə=ɬɪ=ɬ [progressive imperf.] / =n=ə=ɬɪ[t [perf.] 'to fly' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 691, 911; Jones 1978: 65] used with pl. subj. < the classificatory verb =y=ɬ 'to move elongated object quickly'.

In the Upper dialect, 'to fly (pl. subj.)' is expressed by the general verb of plural motion =t=q[t [imperf.] =t=ɬ [perf.] / =t=t ~ =t=ɬ [fut.] with polysemy: 'to go / to come / to swim / to fly' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 117, 919].


Distinct from =y=ɬ[t 'to fly', used with pl. subj. [Taff et al. 2007]. Perfective.


Distinct from =t=t [imperf.] / =t=t [perf.] with polysemy: 'to go / to come / to fly' [Li 1930b: 18] used with pl. subj.

31. FOOT
Hupa POS=SSR=χeʔ (1), Mattole POS=SSR=ŋh₂eʔ (1), Kato POS=SSR=ŋh₃eʔ (1), Taldash Galice POS=SSR=ŋhₑʔ (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina POS=SSR=ŋʰaʔ (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina POS=SSR=qʰa-ɬ'n⁻ʔa (1), Inland Tanaina POS=SSR=ŋʰaʔ (1), Iliamna Tanaina POS=SSR=q³a (1), Central Ahtena POS=SSR=qʰeʔ (1), Mentasta Ahtena POS=SSR=qʰeʔ (1), Dogrib POS=SSR=ŋh₃eʔ (1), North Slavey (Hare) POS=SSR=ŋhₑʔ (1), Tanacross POS=SSR=ŋhₑʔ (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) POS=SSR=ŋhₑʔ (1),...
Lower Tanana (Minto) $\textit{POSSR}=k^h\alpha$-? (1), Central Carrier $\textit{POSSR}=k^h\epsilon$ (1), Koyukon $\textit{POSSR}=q^\alpha\alpha$-? (1), Degexit'an $\textit{POSSR}=q^\alpha\alpha$-? (1), Sarsi $\textit{POSSR}=k^h\beta$-? (1).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 799; Golla 1996: 37. Polysemy: ‘foot (of human or animal) / footprint / track’. As is noted in [Golla 1964: 115], on the synchronic level the root has two shapes: $xe\sim xe$ (as in $\textit{POSSR}=xe^\alpha$-? ‘heel’, literally ‘foot stomper’ [Sapir & Golla 2001: 799; Golla 1996: 45]) and $xe$ (as in $\textit{POSSR}=xe^\alpha$-? ‘toenail’). A cognate verb is $xe$ [light impf.] / $xe$-? [perf.] ‘to track (an animal)’ [Golla 1996: 99].

Distinct from the term for ‘leg’, which is expressed by the word for ‘bone’ q.v.: $\textit{POSSR}=c^m\epsilon$.

Mattole: Li 1930: 130. Cf. the cognate verb $k^e\epsilon\tau$ ‘to track smbd.’ [Li 1930: 21, 104] and the compound $\textit{POSSR}=k^e\epsilon\tau \cdot k^\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha$-? ‘ankle’ (-$k^\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha$-? ‘joint’) [Li 1930: 130].

Distinct from $\textit{POSSR}=\textit{c}^\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha$-? ‘leg’ [Li 1930: 131].

Bear River dialect: $\textit{POSSR}=k^e\epsilon\tau$-? ‘foot’ [Goddard 1929: 316]. Attested also in the compound $\textit{POSSR}=k^e\epsilon\sim \textit{c}^m\epsilon$ ‘toenail’ [Goddard 1929: 298]. Distinct from $\textit{POSSR}=\textit{lo}^\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha$ (also erroneously $\textit{POSSR}=\textit{lo}^\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha$), glossed as ‘leg’ or ‘lower leg’ in [Goddard 1929: 308, 317], literally ‘smbd.’s salmon’ (corresponds to Hupa $\textit{POSSR}=\textit{lo}^q\alpha\epsilon$-? ‘calf of leg’, lit. ‘smbd.’s salmon’ [Golla 1996: 56]).

Kato: Goddard 1912: 22. It must be noted that in [Curtis 1924: 201], this item is transcribed as $k^e\epsilon\tau$ without labialization. In [Goddard 1912: 22], the analysis $\textit{POSSR}=k^m\alpha\epsilon\tau$ is proposed, but browsing through texts in [Goddard 1909] suggests that $k^m\epsilon\tau$ is used either without prefixed possessive pronouns (e.g., [Goddard 1909: 112 No. 18, 180 No. 10]) or with the indefinite possessive pronoun $k^m\alpha\tau$, i.e., $k^m\alpha\tau\cdot k^\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha$-? ‘smbd.’s foot’ (e.g., [Goddard 1909: 116 No. 3/4/7, 118 No. 13]). Thus Goddard’s $k^m\epsilon\tau$ ‘foot’ is historically a contraction from $k^m\alpha\epsilon\tau\cdot k^\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha$-? ‘smbd.’s foot’ - cf. the similar case of $k^m\alpha\tau$ ‘fat’ q.v.

Distinct from $\textit{POSSR}=\textit{c}^m\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha$-? ‘leg’ [Goddard 1912: 22]. It must be noted that in [Curtis 1924: 201], ‘leg’ is quoted as $\textit{POSSR}=c^m\epsilon\alpha \cdot \textit{c}^m$-? ‘bone’ that coincides with the Hupa polysemy ‘bone / leg’ q.v.

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 57; Hoijer 1956: 223; Landar 1977: 294, 295. Polysemy: ‘foot / foot print, tracks, trail / hoof’. In [Landar 1977], quoted as $k^m\epsilon\tau$ - a contraction from the possessed form *$\textit{c}^m\alpha\epsilon\tau\cdot \textit{c}^m\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha$-? ‘his/its arm’ (see [Hoijer 1966: 321]). Cf. the cognate verb $k^e\epsilon\tau$ ‘to track down, trail (trans.)’ [Hoijer 1973: 68].

Distinct from $\textit{POSSR}=\textit{c}^m\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha$ with polysemy: ‘bone / leg’ [Hoijer 1973: 59; Landar 1977: 295].


Outer Inlet Tanana: Kari 2007: 94, 350; Kari 1977: 106. Or, perhaps, to be read $\textit{POSSR}=q^\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha$-? $\textit{nu}$ without the izafet exponent?

Polysemy: ‘foot / leg’.


Lower Ahtena: $\textit{POSSR}=q^\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha$-? [Kari 1990: 238, 523; Kari & Buck 1975: 70; Smelcer 2010: 51].

Western Ahtena: $\textit{POSSR}=q^\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha$-? [Kari 1990: 238, 523; Kari & Buck 1975: 70; Smelcer 2010: 51].


Distinct from several terms for ‘leg’: $\textit{POSSR}=c^m\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha$ ‘leg’ [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 40], compound $\textit{POSSR}=c^m\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha$-? ‘leg bone / leg’ (literally ‘leg’s bone’) [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 40] and simple secondary $\textit{POSSR}=k^m\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha$ with polysemy: ‘leg bone / leg / corpse’ [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 44].

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 65, 139; Hoijer 1956: 222. Polysemy: ‘foot / claw / shoe’. Non-possessed form: $k^\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha$.

Distinct from two terms for ‘leg’: $\textit{POSSR}=\textit{w}^\alpha\epsilon\tau\alpha\tau\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha-? ‘bone / leg’ [Rice 1978: 107, 149], $\textit{POSSR}=\textit{w}^\alpha\epsilon\tau\alpha\tau\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha-? ‘legging, bloomers, pants / leg’ [Rice 1978: 106, 149].


Distinct from $\textit{POSSR}=\textit{zd}^m\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha$ ‘leg’ [Arnold et al. 2009: 163; Holton 2000: 155; Brean & Milanowski 1979: 25; McCoy 1973: 9; Shinen 1958: 3] and $\textit{POSSR}=\textit{c}^m\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha-? ‘lower leg, shin’ [Arnold et al. 2009: 163; Brean & Milanowski 1979: 23].

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 74. For morphology, cf. the compounds $\textit{POSSR}=k^h\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha-? ‘big toe’ or $\textit{POSSR}=k^h\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha-?$
'toenail' [Milanowski 2009: 18].

Distinct from POSSR=co-lʔ 'leg' [Milanowski 2009: 77].


Distinct from POSSR=kiʔ-ʔ 'leg' [Poser 1998/2013: 209, 787; Antoine et al. 1974: 27, 316], literally 'handle of foot' with POSSR=ćiʔ 'handle of broom, canoe paddle, or similar object, stem of plant' [Poser 1998/2013: 102].


Distinct from the term for 'leg': POSSR=ćiʔ 'bone / skeleton / leg / shell' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 600; Jones 1978: 93].

Distinct from the term for 'lower leg': POSSR=ćiʔ 'leg, lower leg; tapered post, stanchion' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 178].

As explained by Jetté: "Especially the lower portion, from the knee down. [...] =ćiʔ and =ćiʔ are both said of the whole leg, but =ćiʔ refers more particularly to the lower portion" [Jetté & Jones 2000: 178].

**Degexit'an**: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 37; Chapman 1914: 229. Polysemy: 'foot / paw'. For morphology, cf. such compounds as POSSR=qoL-ʔ 'sole of foot' [Kari 1978: 37], etc.

Distinct from POSSR=čiʔ 'leg' [Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 37; Chapman 1914: 221].


Distinct from POSSR=qis 'leg' [Hoijer & Joel 1963: 69].

### 32. FULL

**Hupa** =min (1), Mattole =piʔ (1), Kato =paʔ (1), Taldash Galice =man (1), Inland Tanaina =l=wan (1), Central Ahtena =l=pen (1), Mentasta Ahtena =l=men (1), Dogrib =l=ʔ (2), North Slavey (Hare) =l=ʔ (2), Tanacross =l=ʔʔ (2), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) =l=č’ak (3), Central Carrier =p=man (1), Koyukon =l=ʔʔ (2) / =l=ʔʔ (4), Degexit'an =v=H (1), Sarsi =č’is-ʔ (5).

**References and notes:**


**Mattole**: Li 1930: 84. Verbal root 'to become full'. Imperfective stem, originating from *=piʔ; the heavy perfective stem is =piʔ=ʔ < *=piʔ(ʔ)=ʔ-i.

Bear River dialect: not attested.

**Kato**: Goddard 1912: 69. Verbal root: 'to be full; to fill'. Imperfective stem, originating from *=piʔ; the perfective stems are =piʔ < *=piʔ(ʔ)=ʔ-i.


**Upper Inlet Tanaina**: Not attested.

**Outlet Inlet Tanaina**: Not attested.

**Inland Tanaina**: Wassillie 1979: 42. Polysemy: 'to fill (trans.) / to be full, filled'. Applied to liquids. The following examples have been found: 'The gas tank is full' [Wassillie 1979: 42], 'She filled the mouse bladder (with oil)' [Tenenbaum 1976 1: 10].

Distinct from the verb =ail to fill (trans.) / to be full', used in the example: 'Who could fill these (= snowshoes)? ... They were already filled (with webbing, raw-hide lacing)' [Tenenbaum 1976 1: 65; Tenenbaum 1978: 76, 151]. The same root is attested as =l=ʔ with the meaning 'to haul': 'I haul wood' [Tenenbaum 1978: 148].
Distinct from the verb $l=ł'əč$ / $=ł-təč$ 'to fill (trans.) / to be full', used in the examples: "He filled up his pockets all over his whole body with cranberries" [Tenenbaum 1976 2: 14; Lovick 2005: 35], "He filled the boat with spruce cones" [Tenenbaum 1976 2: 63].

Sometimes generic (classificatory) verbs can be used with the meaning 'to be full', cf. $=ł'uq$ 'to handle multiple objects' in the example "It's full of sugar" [Wassillie 1979: 42].

Iliamna Tanaina: Not attested.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 105, 525.
- Lower Ahtena: $=l$=pen [Kari 1990: 105, 525].
- Western Ahtena: $=l$=pen [Kari 1990: 105, 525].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 105, 525.


North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 215, 410, 503; Hoijer 1956: 222. This is actually the "classificatory" verb $=t$ [imperf.] / $=ł$ [perf.] with the generic meaning 'to be in position (of 3-dimensional obj.)' [Rice 1978: 404; Rice 1989: 782, 794]; further notes see under 'give'.


Distinct from $=l$=täk 'to be packed, full', $=t$ëk 'to be full (from eating), satisfied' [Arnold et al. 2009: 128].

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 120.

Distinct from $=l$=täk 'to be full (from eating)' [Milanowski 2009: 53, 97].

Lower Tanana (Minto): Not documented properly.


Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 64, 915; Jones 1978: 68. Polysemy: 'to be sufficient, enough / to be full'. Cf. some examples: "The pail is full", "The freezer is full". Paradigm: $=l$=tä $=l$=tän $=l$=tä=$t$ [neuter imperf.] / $=l$=tôk [neuter perf.]. As plausibly proposed by Jetté & Jones, denasalized forms are due to influence of the generic classificatory verb $=ł$ $=t$ 'compact) object is in position' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 40]. Perfective.

Degexit'an: Taff et al. 2007; Chapman 1914: 219. In [Kari 1976: 8] it is glossed as 'to pour, surge, spill'; thus, the underlying meaning is 'to be filled up'.

Cf. some examples: "Kayak is full (of killed game)" [Chapman 1914: 125], "She took it and put it into her mouth, and sucked it until her mouth was full. When her mouth was full, she emptied it into the water in which he had washed himself" [Chapman 1914: 145], "Their house was full of every kind of skin that there is upon this earth below" [Chapman 1914: 147], "My cup is full", "Is your pail full?" [Taff et al. 2007].

Sarsi: Li 1930b: 24; Hoijer 1956: 223. Verbal stem: 'to be full'; $=ć$is=t is the imperf. & perf. form. Final -n(4) is the fossilized perfective exponent, on which see further in [Li 1930b: 11].

33. GIVE

Hupa $=ʔa$: (1), Kato $=ʔa$ (1), Central Ahtena $=ʔa$-n (1), Mentasta Ahtena $=ʔa$-n (1), North Slavey (Hare) $=ʔə$ (1) / $=t$=šə (2), Tanacross $=ʔə$=...-$=ʔə$-y (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) $=ʔə$=...-$=ʔə$ (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) $=ʔə$=...-$=ʔə$- (1), Central Carrier $=ʔa$ (1), Koyukon $=ʔə$=...-$=ʔə$-y (1), Degexit’an $=ʔə$=...-$=ʔə$-y (1), Sarsi $=ʔə$h (1).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 730, 731; Golla 1996: 40. A classificatory verb whose general meaning is 'to handle a round object'. The set $=ʔa$-n (< $=ʔə$-n) / $=ʔə$-n (< $=ʔə$-n-i) is directional imperfective/perfective, $=ʔa$: / $=ʔa$- (cf. $=ʔə$-) is nondirectional
imperfective/perfective [Golla 1977: 357].

**Mattole:** Not attested. Cf. the classificatory verb with the general meaning 'to handle round object', which could be the default expression for 'to give' (like in Hupa q.v.): directional imperfective =ʔa-x, directional perfective =ʔa-ŋ [light]; < *ʔa-x-n] / =ʔa-n [heavy; < *ʔa-x-n-i], nondirectional imperfective =ʔa [light] / =ʔa-i [heavy; < *ʔa-x-i], nondirectional perfective =ʔa-ʔ [Li 1930: 72].

Bear River dialect: not attested.

**Kato:** Goddard 1912: 59 (sub =ʔai] and =ʔanj). A classificatory verb whose general meaning is 'to handle a round object'. Among several classificatory verbs, used in the meaning 'to give' with corresponding specific objects, =ʔa is the most generic one. Interrogative contexts like 'What did you give him?' or 'to give him?' remains uncertain.

Not attested. Cf. the classificatory verb with the general meaning 'to handle round solid object', which could be the default expression for 'to give' (like in Hupa q.v.): =ʔa-i [imperf.] / =ʔi < *ʔa-x-n [perf.].

**North Slavey (Hare):** Dogrib: Iliamna Tanaina: Outer Inlet Tanaina: Taldash Galice: Not attested. Cf. the classificatory verb with the general meaning 'to handle round object', which could be the default expression for 'to give' (like in Hupa q.v.): directional imperfective =ʔa-x, directional perfective =ʔa-ŋ [light; < *ʔa-x-n] / =ʔa-n [heavy; < *ʔa-x-n-i], nondirectional imperfective =ʔa [light] / =ʔa-i [heavy; < *ʔa-x-i], nondirectional perfective =ʔa-ʔ [Li 1930: 72].

**Upper Inlet Tanaina:** Not attested.

**Talnakh:** Not attested. Cf. the classificatory verb with the general meaning 'to handle round solid object', which could be the default expression for 'to give' (like in Hupa q.v.): =ʔa-i [imperf.] / =ʔi < *ʔa-x-n [perf.].

**Central Ahtena:** Kari 1990: 70, 527.

**Lower Ahtena:** =ʔa-x-n [Kari 1990: 70, 527].

**Western Ahtena:** =ʔa-x-n [Kari 1990: 70, 527].

**Mentana Ahtena:** Kari 1990: 70, 527.

**Dogrib:** The meaning 'to give' is expressed by the so-called classificatory verbs with the general meaning 'to handle object'. The choice of a specific verb depends on the kind of object (elongated, fabric-like, plural, and so on), see [Tenenbaum 1978: 132 ff.; Holton et al. 2004: 40 ff.] for the Inland classificatory verbs and [Boraas 2010: 118] for the Outer Inlet ones. Which of the classificatory verbs is used as the default one (i.e., in contexts such as "What did you give him?" or "Give me something"), however, remains uncertain.

**North Slavey (Hare):** Rice 1978: 252, 404, 504. Paradigm: =ʔa [imperf.] / =ʔo [perf.].

The meaning 'to give' is expressed by the so-called classificatory verbs with the general semantics 'to handle object' [Hoijer 1973: 63 No. 11].

**North Slavey (Hare):** Rice 1978: 252, 404, 504. Paradigm: =ʔa [imperf.] / =ʔo [perf.].

The meaning 'to give' is expressed by the so-called classificatory verbs with the general semantics 'to handle object' [Hoijer 1973: 63 No. 11].


The meaning 'to give' is expressed by the so-called classificatory verbs with the general meaning 'to handle object' plus the specific prefix ʔa-ŋ. The choice of a specific verb depends on the kind of object. Cf. the list in [Arnold et al. 2009: 29 ff., 131; Shinen 1958: 42]: =ʔa-ŋ [imperf.] / =ʔo [perf.] 'general, compact object', =ʔo-y [imperf.] / =ʔi [perf.] 'long object', =ʔa-ŋ [imperf.] / =ʔo [perf.] 'rigid object', =ʔa-x [light] / =ʔa-i [heavy; < *ʔa-x-i], nondirectional perfective =ʔa-ʔ [Li 1930: 72].
The meaning 'to give' is expressed by the so-called classificatory verbs with the general meaning 'to handle OBJ' plus the prefix Łav. The choice of any specific verb depends on the kind of object. Cf. the list in [Milanowski 2009: 114-117]: Łav 'general; round; hollow'; Łav 'long; speaker’s vegetation; fluid mass'; Łav ‘fluid; object in open container’, Łauk ‘rope-like; plural objects’.


The meaning 'to give' is expressed by the so-called classificatory verbs with the general meaning 'to handle OBJ' frequently accompanied with the prefix Łav [Kari 1994: 266]. The choice of any specific verb depends on the kind of object. The Lower Tanana system of classificatory verbs has not yet been described properly, but it seems that Łai- 'to handle compact object' is the most generic expression for 'to give'. Cf. some examples with Łav...Łai- ‘to give’: 'I gave her the hat', 'give him the plate', 'hand me that book' [Kar 1974: 4].


The meaning 'to give' is expressed by the so-called classificatory verbs with the general meaning 'to handle OBJ'. The choice of any specific verb depends on the kind of object. Cf. the list in [Poser 2011b: 36; Poser 1998/2013: 12; Antoine et al. 1974: 368 ff.]: =Łai 'non-plural generic object', =Łai ‘uncountable objects (sugar, berries)’, =Łai ‘plural default objects’, =Łaŋ ‘contents of open container (cup of tea)’, =Łam ‘long rigid object (stick)’, =Łe ‘body (dog)’, =Ług ‘two-dimensional flexible object (shirts)’, =Łaŋ ‘mushy stuff (mud)’, =Łay ‘liquid (water); hay-like (hay)’, =Łaŋ ‘to fluffy stuff (down)’, and some others which can be found in [Poser 1998/2013: 1247-1266].


The meaning ‘to give’ is expressed by the so-called classificatory verbs with the general meaning ‘to handle OBJ’ / OBJ is in position frequently accompanied with the prefix Łav= [Jetté & Jones 2000: 608]. The choice of any specific verb depends on the kind of object. Cf. the non-exhaustive list in [Henry & Henry 1965: 113]: =Łav-y / =Łav-t ‘round, solid object, or an object not otherwise classified (e.g., ball, rock, ball of rope, book, sun, clock, axe, barrel, bead, coin, house, village)’; =Łav-y / =Łav; Łav ‘rigid, usually slender object (e.g., pencil, log, lumber, door, dried fish, one snowshoe, feather, arrow, boat, sled, blade of grass)’ with =Łav-y / =Łav; Łav ‘large, bulky object (e.g., mattress, pack sack, bag of flour or sugar)’; =Łaŋ-y / =Łaŋ ‘animate or living being’; =Łay ‘soft, sticky mass (e.g., cooked cereal, dough, soft mud)’; =Łaŋ ‘food that can be consumed immediately (e.g., a meal, soup, cooked meat)’; =Łay ‘powdery or granular mass not in a container (e.g., sand, flour, salt, sugar)’;

Degexit'an: Taff et al. 2007. Paradigm: =Łai-y [imperf.] / =Łai-t [perf.]. The meaning 'to give' is expressed by the so-called classificatory verbs with the general meaning 'to handle OBJ’ / OBJ is in position’, frequently accompanied with the prefix Łav=. Apparently =Łai-y ‘to handle compact object’ [Kari 1976: 4] is used for the most generic expression for 'to give', cf. some examples: “She gave it to me for Mothers’ Day”, ’Give me half of that’, ‘He gave me part of it’ [Taff et al. 2007].


The meaning ‘to give’ is expressed by the so-called classificatory verbs with the general meaning ‘to handle OBJ’. The choice of any specific verb depends on the kind of object. Cf. the list in [Cook 1984: 140]: =Łai / =Łai-ni ‘round, solid object’; =Łai / =Łai-ni ‘living being’; =Łai / =Łai-ni ‘long object’; =Łai / =Łai-ni ‘object with a dish’; =Łai / =Łai-ni ~ =Łai / =Łai-ni ‘grain-like object’; =Łai / =Łai-ni ‘fabric-like object’;

34. GOOD

Hupa =nɔn (1), Mattole =xʷa:n (1), Kato =šo:η (1), Taldash Galice =šo (1), Upper Inlet
Tanaina ya=κόλ-i (2), Outer Inlet Tanaina ya=κόλ-i (2), Inland Tanaina ya=κόλ-i (2), Iliamna Tanaina ya=κόλ-i (2), Central Ahtena vel-i (2), Mentasta Ahtena vel (2), Dogrib =ʔɪ (1), North Slavey (Hare) =ʔɔ (1), Tanacross =ʔuː; (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) =ʔɔː (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) =ʔuŋ ʔ - =uʔ-ʔ-u (1), Central Carrier =ʔu (1), Koyukon =ʔuŋ-ŋ (1), Degexit’an =ʔe-ŋ (1), Sarsi SUBj=á-kù-ni-lih (3).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 797; Golla 1996: 41. Verbal root ‘to be good’. The heavy imperfective stem, originating from *=nyaon-i; the perfective stem is =wɔh’n < *=nyaon-i with the causative meaning ‘to suit, be good to’ [Sapir & Golla 2001: 797; Golla 1996: 92].

Mattole: Li 1930: 81. Verbal root ‘to be good’. This is the heavy stem, originating from *=x’aon-i; the light stem is =x’aon < *=x’aon [Li 1930: 21 f.].

Bear River dialect: =x’aon ~ =h’ont ~ =h’onŋ ‘to be good’ [Goddard 1929: 316].


Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 316, 351; Kari 1977: 249. The variant ya=κόλ-i is also attested [Boraas 2010: 43 et passim].


Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 218, 528.

Lower Ahtena: vel-i [Kari 1990: 218, 528].

Western Ahtena: vel-i [Kari 1990: 218, 528].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 218, 528. Regular reduction of final -i.


Scottie Creek: =ʔɔː: ‘to be good’ [John 1997: 1].


Degexit’an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1976: 68; Chapman 1914: 221. Verbal stem: ‘to be good’, glossed as ‘good, handsome, pretty’ in [Taff et al. 2007]. Cf. the examples: “This duck soup is good”, “It’s nice outside”, ”He saw a pretty woman”, ”Orange juice is good”, ”His boss is good” [Taff et al. 2007].

Distinct from the noun-like adjective neč ‘good’ [Taff et al. 2007] which, apparently, is used less frequently. Cf. the examples: “This is good soup”, ”She makes good fry bread”, ”He has a good job” [Taff et al. 2007].

Sarsi: Cook 1984: 181. This expression is based on the verb =ʔiŋ ~ =ʔiŋ- [imperfect.] / =ʔiŋn [perfect.] ‘to be’ [Li 1930b: 26] plus the impersonal subject prefix ku and “thematic” ni [Cook 1984: 171]. Probably the main meaningful element here is ʔi, which can be analyzed as the postposition construction ʔi =ni ‘(to be) like ʔi’ or ‘(to be) on ʔi’ [Cook 1984: 187]. I.e., ‘smth. is good’ = literally ‘(it) is like smth.’ or ‘(it) is on smth.’.

Cf. some examples: ”This soup is good”, ”This bannock is good” [Nanagusja 1996b: 69], ”This tea is good” [Nanagusja 1996b: 80], ”It’s a good sign” [Nanagusja 1996b: 102].
35. GREEN

Hupa =cʰow (1), Kato =cʰv: (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina kʰ=tʰun qʰi-i-ti-l-tʰ-an-i (2) / kʰ=cʰan qʰa-l-chʰin-i (3), Outer Inlet Tanaina kʰ=tʰun qʰi-i-ti-l-tʰ-an-i (2) / kʰ=cʰan qʰi-i-ti-l-tʰ-an-i (3), Inland Tanaina kʰ=tʰun qʰi-i-ti-l-tʰ-an-i (2) / kʰ=cʰan qʰi-i-ti-l-tʰ-an-i (3), Iliamna Tanaina kʰ=tʰun qʰi-i-ti-l-tʰ-an-i (2) / kʰ=cʰan qʰi-i-ti-l-tʰ-an-i (3), Central Ahtena ḻox qʰe-l-chʰin-i (4), Mentasta Ahtena ḻox te-ƛ'eš (4), Dogrib t̓ɬt̓ə̨łə̨n̓i (2), North Slavey (Hare) ḱ̕t̓ə̨ʔə̨l (2), Tanacross t̩=tʰv: (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) =l=tʰv: (1) / =l=tʰuk (1), Central Carrier =l=ƛ'az (6), Koyukon =l=ƛ'ux (1), Degexit'än χ̓o̓nəʔyał-χ̓əq'ay (7), Sarsi =s=čêš (8).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 737; Golla 1996: 12. Polysemy: 'to be blue / to be green' (apparently also 'to be yellow' q.v.).

Distinct from =lo-q' to be green, unripe (of berries, fruits) [Sapir & Golla 2001: 764; Golla 1996: 42].

Mattole: Not attested. Cf. the verb =cʰow 'to be blue / to be yellow (q.v.)' [Li 1930: 10, 110], which apparently also denotes 'to be green'.

Bear River dialect: not attested.

Kato: Goddard 1912: 28; Curtis 1924: 203. Verbal root with polysemy: 'to be blue / to be green' - explicit gloss in [Curtis 1924].

Glossed by Goddard as 'to be blue' only, but the phrase ḻox ɬ=č, translated by Goddard as "blue grass", also points to the meaning 'green'.

Taldash Galice: Not attested.


Western Ahtena: 1 Not attested.


Plain t̓ɬt̓ə̨łə̨n̓i or t̓ɬt̓ ɬə̨l̓ə̨n̓i 'leaf' can also be used as the noun-like adjective 'green' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 54].

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 34, 142. A noun-like adjective with polysemy: 'leaf / flower / cabbage, lettuce, vegetables / green (adj.).'


In [Shinen 1958: 18], the expression cetəɬə̨kəcə̨ in is quoted for 'green', to be read as analytic cetəɬə̨kəcə̨ in. kəz=təɬə̨l̓ə̨n̓i 'it resembles a leaf' with cetəɬə̨l̓ə̨n̓i 'leaf' q.v. (initial cetə̨l is the indefinite possessive pronoun) and the verb =l=ɬə̨l̓ə̨n̓i 'to resemble' [Arnold et al. 2009: 165].

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski, p.c.; Milanowski 2009: 72. Polysemy: 'green / yellow / brown' (specified by Milanowski as 'part of the broad spectrum of brown'). Nominalized verbal form: 'it is brown'.

Scottie Creek: xaʔkəx teuł=ƛ'ux 'green', a specification of the basic color term teuł=ƛ'ux 'blue' [John 1997: 32]. Cf. tat̓ayay 'black' > haʔkəx tat̓ayay 'brown' [John 1997: 32], containing the same element xaʔkəx in a different transcription.


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Paradigm: \(=l= \text{phonix} \) [neuter imperf.] / \(=l= \text{phoiux} \) [progressive imperf.] / \(=l= \text{phoiuk} \) [transitional perf.]. Perfective.


Distinct from the verb \(=l=\text{ehe} \) 'to be unripe, green' [Poser 1998/2013: 148, 745] and the noun-like adjective \(=l=\text{ehe} \) 'rare (of meat)' [Poser 1998/2013: 475].

**Koyukon:** Jetté & Jones 2000: 586. Verbal stem, also functions as the noun-like adjective \(=l=\text{wa-s} \). In [Jetté & Jones 2000: 586], glossed as 'to be yellow, tan, brown, olive-green, be the color of a smoke-tanned skin', but actually with polysemy: 'to be yellow / to be green' as follows from Jetté's note that the 'Ten'a are not particular in distinguishing colors, and commonly express a light green as 'yellow', and a dark green as 'black' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 648] and the example "shiny green grass in lakes" [Jetté & Jones 2000: 605].

There is also a rare verb \(=l=\text{c\text{-}uq} \) 'to be yellow / to be green' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 648], which represents a cognate of \(=l=\text{wa-s} \) having been borrowed from a neighboring lect.

**Degexit'an:** Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 55. Literally 'plant-like' with \(\chi=\text{voc}+\text{wa-l} \) 'plant' (which literally means 'that which is growing' with \(=\text{voc}+\text{I} \) [neuter imperf.] / \(=\text{voc}+\text{I} \) [progressive imperf.] 'to grow' [Kari 1976: 64]).

**Sarsi:** Li 1930b: 25; Cook 1984: 166. Verb with polysemy: 'to be dark blue / to be green'. Cf. some examples: "green leaves", "green beads", "green jacket" [Nanagusja 1996b: 188].

### 36. HAIR

**Hupa** \(=\text{c\text{-}i=wa-}\eta? \sim \text{POSSR} \sim \text{c\text{-}i=wa-n-}\) (1), **Mattole** \(=\text{POSSR} \sim \text{c\text{-}i=wa-n-}\) (1), **Kato** \(=\text{POSSR} \sim \text{si-}\) (1), **Taldash Galice** \(=\text{POSSR} \sim \text{si-}\) (2), **Upper Inlet Tanaina** \(=\text{POSSR} \sim \text{c\text{-}i=nu}\) (1), **Outer Inlet Tanaina** \(=\text{POSSR} \sim \text{c\text{-}i=nu}\) (1), **Iliamna Tanaina** \(=\text{POSSR} \sim \text{c\text{-}i=nu}\) (1), **Central Ahtena** \(=\text{POSSR} \sim \text{c\text{-}i=nu}\) (1), **Mentasta Ahtena** \(=\text{POSSR} \sim \text{c\text{-}i=nu}\) (1), **Dogrib** \(=\text{POSSR} \sim \text{c\text{-}i=nu}\) (1), **North Slavey (Hare)** \(=\text{POSSR} \sim \text{c\text{-}i=nu}\) (1), **Tanacross** \(=\text{POSSR} \sim \text{c\text{-}i=nu}\) (1), **Upper Tanana (Tetlin)** \(=\text{POSSR} \sim \text{c\text{-}i=nu}\) (1), **Lower Tanana (Minto)** \(=\text{POSSR} \sim \text{c\text{-}i=nu}\) (1), **Central Carrier** \(=\text{POSSR} \sim \text{c\text{-}i=nu}\) (1), **Koyukon** \(=\text{POSSR} \sim \text{c\text{-}i=nu}\) (1), **Degexit'an** \(=\text{POSSR} \sim \text{c\text{-}i=nu}\) (1), **Sarsi** \(=\text{POSSR} \sim \text{c\text{-}i=nu}\) (1).

**References and notes:**

**Hupa:** Sapir & Golla 2001: 736; Golla 1996: 43; Golla 1996a: 385. In [Golla 1996], these forms are quoted as \(=\text{c\text{-}i=wa-n} \sim \text{c\text{-}i=wa-n} \). Compound of the root \(=\text{c\text{-}i=wa} \) 'head' (q.v.) and \(=\text{wa-n} \) 'body hair, fur' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 792; Golla 1996: 43]. It is stated in [Golla 1996a: 110] that the synchronic Hupa root is \(=\text{wa-n} \) (not \(=\text{wa-n} \) with the izafet exponent), cf. the full form \(=\text{POSSR} \sim \text{c\text{-}i=wa-n} \) quoted in [Golla 1996a: 385]. Thus \(=\text{wa-n} \sim \text{wa-n} \) in the compounds for 'head hair' apparently originate from \(=\text{wa-n} \) with the cluster simplification. The final \(=\text{nu-n} \) (\(=\text{nu-n} \)) contains an old N-suffix with the synchronic izafet exponent \(=\text{e} \).

**Mattole:** Li 1930b: 126. Synchronously, can be analyzed as \(=\text{k\text{-}a}\) or \(=\text{k\text{-}a}\). Compound of \(=\text{POSSR} \sim \text{c\text{-}i=nu} \) 'head' (q.v.) and \(=\text{POSSR} \sim \text{c\text{-}i=nu} \) 'fear' [Li 1930b: 126]. For \(=\text{nu-n} \) instead of \(=\text{nu-n} \) see [Li 1930: 93].

Bear River dialect: \(=\text{POSSR} \sim \text{si-}\) 'head hair' [Goddard 1929: 317].

**Kato:** Goddard 1909: 144 No. 6; Curtis 1924: 201. Compound of \(=\text{POSSR} \sim \text{si-}\) 'head' (q.v.) and \(=\text{POSSR} \sim \text{ka}\) 'hair, fur' [Goddard 1912: 22].

**Taldash Galice:** Hoijer 1973: 59; Landar 1977: 294. Polyezemy: 'head / head hair'. Transcribed by Landar as \(=\text{nu-n} \). In compounds, the form \(=\text{nu-n} \) is used [Hoijer 1973: 59].

The old root for 'hair' is retained in several synchronic variants:
1) \(=\text{POSSR} \sim \text{nu-n} \) 'body hair; wool, fur' [Hoijer 1973: 57].
2) \(=\text{POSSR} \sim \text{nu-n} \) 'hair (not specified semantically)' [Hoijer 1956: 223].
3) \(=\text{nu-n} \) in the compound \(=\text{POSSR} \sim \text{nu-n} \) 'beard, moustache' [Hoijer 1973: 55; Landar 1977: 294] (lit. 'mouth hair' with \(=\text{nu-n} \) 'mouth' q.v.).

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Upper Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 87, 351; Kari 1977: 96. Apparently, can be used without obligatory possessor prefixes. The possessed form is POSSR=c̪iʔ-ʔa.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 87, 351; Kari 1977: 96. Apparently, can be used without obligatory possessor prefixes. The possessed form is POSSR=c̪iʔ-ʔa.

Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 87, 351; Kari 1977: 96; Wassillie 1979: 47. Apparently, can be used without obligatory possessor prefixes. The possessed form is POSSR=c̪iʔ-ʔa.

Iliamna Tanaina: Kari 2007: 87, 351; Kari 1977: 96. Apparently, can be used without obligatory possessor prefixes. The possessed form is POSSR=c̪iʔ-ʔa.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 208, 531; Kari & Buck 1975: 60; Smelcer 2010: 44.

Lower Ahtena: POSSR=c̪iʔ-ʔa [Kari 1990: 208, 531; Kari & Buck 1975: 60; Smelcer 2010: 44].

Western Ahtena: POSSR=c̪iʔ-ʔa [Kari 1990: 208, 531; Kari & Buck 1975: 60; Smelcer 2010: 44].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 208, 531; Kari & Buck 1975: 60; Smelcer 2010: 44.

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 44, 173. The non-possessed form is also allowed: f̪t̪̣iʔ-ʔa [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 65]. Apparently this compound only denotes human head hair, cf. the examples: "Braid your hair!" [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 16], "Nowadays, a lot of women keep their hair short" [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 19], "Your hair curls nicely" [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 29], "I have already combed my hair" [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 58]. "If people are sad, we cut their hair" [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 108]. Literally ‘head’s fur’ with =k̪t̪̣i ‘head’ q.v. and the generic term POSSR=q̪a ‘hair, fur’ [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 27].

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 60, 143. Literally ‘head’s hair’ with POSSR=ʔθ-ʔa ‘head’ q.v. and the generic term POSSR=q̪aʔ-ʔa ‘hair, fur’ [Rice 1978: 60, 143].


Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 26, 70, 75. Meaning ‘head hair’, literally ‘x̬ʔa ‘head’. The noun =x̬ʔa is not documented outside of this collocation. The noun POSSR=ʔθ-ʔa ‘head’ can be used in the meaning ‘head hair’ in some contexts, cf. the example ‘She combs her hair (=ʔθ-ʔa) every day’ [Milanowski 2009: 94].

Distinct from ṭuʔ ‘fur’ [Milanowski 2009: 16].

Northway: POSSR=f̪t̪̣iʔ-ʔa ‘head hair’ [Milanowski 2007: 9], ṭuʔ ‘fur’ [Milanowski 2007: 8].

Scottie Creek: POSSR=f̪t̪̣iʔ-ʔa ‘head hair’, POSSR=q̪aʔ-ʔa ‘hair, fur’ [John 1997: 13].


Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 584, 923; Jones 1978: 76. Alienable possession; possessed: POSSR=ʔaʔ=ʔa=ʔa ~ POSSR=ʔaʔ=ʔa=ʔa=ʔa. Meaning ‘head hair’. The synchronic root ʔaʔ=ʔa (POSSR=ʔaʔ=ʔa=ʔa) is the result of contraction and reanalysis of the more rarely used compound POSSR=ʔaʔ=ʔa=ʔa=ʔa=ʔa=ʔa=ʔa, literally ‘head’s hair’ with POSSR=ʔaʔ=ʔa=ʔa=ʔa=ʔa=ʔa=ʔa=ʔa=ʔa ‘fur, body hair’ [Jetté & Jones 2000: 249].


37. HAND

Hupa POSSR=laʔ (1), Mattole ‘POSSR=laʔ (1), Kato POSSR=laʔ (1), Taldash Galice POSSR=laʔ (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina POSSR=qun-ʔa (2), Outer Inlet Tanaina POSSR=qun-ʔa (2), Inland Tanaina POSSR=qun-ʔa (2), Iliamna Tanaina POSSR=qun-ʔa (2), Central Ahtena POSSR=laʔ (1), Mentasta Ahtena POSSR=laʔ (1), Dogrib POSSR=ʔθ-ʔa ~ POSSR=ʔθ-ʔa ~ POSSR=laʔ (1), North Slavey (Hare) POSSR=ʔθ-ʔa (1), Tanacross POSSR=ʔθ-ʔa (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin)
POSS=la-? ~ POSS=laː?- (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) POSS=la?- (1), Central Carrier POSS=la (1), Koyukon POSS=loː?- (1), Degexit'an POSS=loː?- (1), Sarsi POSS=là?- (1).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 761; Golla 1996: 43. Polysemy: 'hand / finger'. The synchronic root is =la? (not *=la-? with the izafet exponent), cf. the compound POSS=laʔ-kʰɛɬ‘cʼ ‘fingernail’ q.v. and see [Golla 1964: 117].

The meaning ‘arm’ is expressed by the descriptive formation POSS=kʰɛɬɨʔ (< **kʰɛɬwa=win=*la-?), literally 'it extends away from smb.' [Golla 1996: 5; Golla 1996a: 384; Golla 1970: 220] (cf. the similar structure of the stem for ‘head’ q.v.).

The old root for ‘arm’ could be san, attested in POSS=san-tʔaq ‘shoulders’, if < ‘between (=tʔaq) arms’ [Sapir & Golla 2001: 754].


Distinct from kanih (i.e., POSS=kan-iʔ) ‘arm’ [Curtis 1924: 201] and POSS=kan=ɛʔ ‘arm, shoulder’ [Goddard 1912: 22; Goddard 1909: 160 No. 7]. It seems that Curtis’ =kan- and Goddard’s =kan- represent two different terms.


Distinct from POSS=kanɛʔ with polysemy: ‘arm / branch of tree’ [Hoijer 1973: 56]. In [Hoijer 1956: 223; Landar 1977: 294], quoted as kʰanɛʔ or kʰenɛʔ = a contraction from the possessed form *wan-kʰanɛʔ ‘his/its arm’ (see [Hoijer 1966: 321]).


Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 42, 173. The most archaic form is probably =il-ɬa with the nasal gender prefix.

Distinct from POSS=kiʔɛʔ ‘arm’ [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 41, 141].

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 71, 143; Hoijer 1956: 222. As first element of compounds, the variant ɬaʔ- is used.

Distinct from POSS=kanɛʔ ‘front legs of animals’ [Rice 1978: 57, 116].


Distinct from POSS=kax-ʔ ‘arm’ [Milanowski 2009: 67].


only in compounds). Synchronously rather =lo- than =loʔ, cf. lo- as the first element of compounds.


Degexit’an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 35; Chapman 1914: 217. The variant lo- is attested in compounds.

Distinct from POSSR=ʔen- ‘arm’ [Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 34; Chapman 1914: 230].


Distinct from POSSR=ʔen-ʔ ‘arm’ [Hoijer & Joël 1963: 70].

38. HEAD

Hupa POSSR=ʔe=ʔaʔ-ʔa-y (1), Mattole POSSR=ʔhʔ-ʔ (2), Kato POSSR=ʔiʔ-ʔ (2), Taldash Galice PossR=ʔiʔ-ʔ (2), Upper Inlet Tanaina POSSR=kʰi=n=ʔʔ (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina POSSR=n=ʔʔ (1), Inland Tanaina POSSR=cʰi ~ POSSR=n=ʔʔ (2), Iliamna Tanaina POSSR=n=ʔʔ (2), Central Ahtena POSSR=ʔhʔ-ʔ (2), Mentasta Ahtena POSSR=ʔhʔ-ʔ (2), Dogrib POSSR=kʰiʔ (2), North Slavey (Hare) POSSR=ʔhʔ-ʔ (2), Tanacross POSSR=tʰʔʔ-ʔ (2), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) POSSR=tʰʔʔ-ʔ (2), Lower Tanana (Minto) POSSR=tʰʔʔ-ʔ (2), Central Carrier POSSR=ʔiʔ (2), Koyukon POSSR=ʔʔ-ʔ (2), Degexit’an POSSR=tʰʔʔ-ʔ (2), Sarsi POSSR=cʰiʔ (2).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 730; Golla 1996: 44. Literally ‘it extends against smb.’ *=e=ʔaʔ=ʔa-ʔ with the verbal root =ʔa ‘to extend’.

The old term POSSR=ʔe=ʔ ‘head’ is obsolete [Sapir & Golla 2001: 735] (specified as ‘a dialect form, generally replaced by POSSR=ʔe=ʔaʔ=ʔa-y’). This root is also retained in compounds like POSSR=ʔe=ʔkʰiʔ ‘back of the head’ (literally ‘base of head’) [Sapir & Golla 2001: 735; Golla 1996: 44] or adverbial formations like na=ʔe=ʔ ‘ahead, first, preceding’ [Sapir & Golla 2001: 735; Golla 1996: 3]. The shortened variant cʰiʔ is attested as the first element of some compounds [Sapir & Golla 2001: 736], particularly cʰiʔ=na-ʔʔ ‘head’ q.v.

Mattole: Li 1930: 131. The synchronic Mattole root is <cʰiʔ (not POSSR=cʰiʔ with the izafet exponent), as follows from the compounds POSSR=cʰiʔeʔ=ʔaʔ ‘head hair’ q.v. [Li 1930: 126] (cʰiʔ ‘fur’ with plosivization γ > g) and POSSR=ʔʔ-ʔx=ʔʔ ‘brain’ [Li 1930: 133] (with sporadic fricativization cʰ > s, for which see [Li 1930: 9 f.]).

Bear River dialect: POSSR=cʰiʔ ~ POSSR=ʔʔ ‘head’ [Goddard 1929: 317].

Kato: Goddard 1912: 22; Curtis 1924: 201.


Upper Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 87, 351; Kari 1977: 96. A descriptive formation, which is translated in [Kari 1996: 61] as ‘tip that extends’. Apparently =ʔiʔ is a contraction from *ʔiʔ=ʔu-i, i.e. the classificatory verb =ʔu ‘to handle a single compact object’ [Tenenbaum 1978: 132, 135; Holton et al. 2004: 40; Boraas 2010: 65, 118] with the imperfective exponent =ʔ= (regularly > Upper Inlet =ʔ=) or =ʔ= (n=ʔ=ʔ=ʔ= with the imperfective exponent =ʔ=; in both cases final *=ʔ is the relative nominalizer -ʔʔi-i ~ -ʔʔi; [Kari 2007: 329; Boraas 2010: 17, 144]. Initial =ʔʔi is thus the directional prefix ‘at or to the end of something’, for which see [Tenenbaum 1978: 180] (Inland dialect) and [Boraas 2010: 129] (Outer Inlet dialect).

For similar occasional contractions of nominalized *ʔʔ=ʔ=, cf. the forms for ‘heart’, ‘sun’ q.v. and, e.g., the expression for ‘fence’ (literally ‘linear extends in circle’): Upper Inlet niʔ’ana=ʔi=ʔʔ-y, Outer Inlet niʔ’ana=ʔ=ʔ=ʔʔ-y, Inland niʔ’ana=ʔ=ʔʔ-y [Kari 2007: 224].


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Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 87, 351. In [Kari 1977: 96; Wassilie 1979: 49], only the variant POSSR=c'ih is quoted.
Western Ahtena: POSSR=c'eh-ʔ [Kari 1990: 391, 533; Kari & Buck 1975: 60; Smelcer 2010: 44].
North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 54, 143; Hoijer 1956: 222. Hoijer adduces the 19th c. archaic variant [=kfüh]. As first element of compounds, the variant fi- is used.
Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 26, 70, 75. Synchronously, =tʰiʔ-ʔ with the izaaf suffix (cf. the compounds like tʰiʔ-šə 'hat') and fossilized =tʰiʔ-ʔ (cf. the compounds like tʰiʔ-c'əc': 'dragonfly').
Northway: POSSR=tʰiʔ-ʔ 'head' [Milanowski 2007: 9].
Scottie Creek: POSSR=tʰiʔ-ʔ 'head' [John 1997: 14].
Degexit'an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 32; Chapman 1914: 220. The variants tʰiʔ- ~ tʰiʔ- are attested in compounds.

39. HEAR
Hupa =c'eh (1), Mattolle =niix ~ =ni-t (3) / =c'iy (1), Kato =c'ë-y (1) / =c'an =c'ahŋ ~ =sanŋ (2),
Taldash Galice =c'ë: (1) / =c'ą-ʔ (2), Inland Tanaina =nan (3) / =nik (3), Central Ahtena =c'an (1),
Mentasta Ahtena =c'ąʔ (1), Dogrib =kʷaŋ (2), North Slavey (Hare) =hʔa ~ =h=waŋ (2),
Tanacross =tʰiʔk (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) =tʰak (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) =t=tʰaŋ (2),
Central Carrier =ŋo (2), Koyukon =Lʰəŋ (2), Degexit'an =tʰaŋ (2), Sarsi =c'ih (2).

References and notes:
Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 739; Golla 1996: 45; Golla 1970: 261. According to available sources, there are three ways in Hupa to express the semantics of hearing:

1) The enclitic -c'eh ( or -c'ih) or -c'iy (or -c'ih-i), attached to the clause, which denotes the perceived act, see [Golla 1970: 261; Golla 1996: 45; Sapir & Golla 2001: 739]. The generic meaning of -c'eh / -c'iy is perception in general (e.g., feeling, taste), but the usual and most frequent meaning is simply 'hearing'. Examples for -c'eh / -c'iy 'it is heard' or 'SUB hears it' are numerous, e.g.: 'I hear (c'eh) that salmon crying, I feel (c'eh) the salmon have come; I hear (c'eh) Salmon's Grandmother crying' [Golla 1984: 15, 16], 'And a kissing noise she heard (c'eh)' [Goddard 1904: 111], 'I hear (c'eh) two (people)' [Goddard 1904: 170], 'I heard (c'eh) them get up' [Golla 1984: 13, 14], 'Let me see what it was that I heard (c'iy) doing something' [Golla 1984: 19, 22], 'in that direction inside it someone was singing there she heard (c'iy)' [Golla 1984: 28], 'he sang along there she heard (c'i)' [Golla 1984: 29], 'And he walking along a creek heard (c'iy)' [Goddard 1904: 111], 'he heard croak (c'iy)' [Goddard 1904: 112], 'it sounded he heard (c'iy)' [Goddard 1904: 144], etc.

2) the adverb Lʰuŋ-kąʔ / Lʰuŋ-kąʔ (also plain kąʔ), glossed as 'seeing (with surprise), noticing (with surprise), unexpectedly, surprisingly, lo and behold!' [Golla 1996: 57, 93; Sapir & Golla 2001: 752], which is applied to the act of perception (seeing, hearing, etc.). Normally Lʰuŋ-kąʔ / Lʰuŋ-kąʔ is used together with the word that denotes perception. Examples for Lʰuŋ-kąʔ / Lʰuŋ-kąʔ with -c'eh / -c'iy in the meaning 'SUB hears (it)' are numerous. E.g.: "Then I heard (Lʰuŋ-kąʔ ... c'eh) something making a cracking noise going" [Golla 1984: 11], "Then in the middle of the night she heard (Lʰuŋ-kąʔ ... c'eh) something uncertain making a noise" [Golla 1984: 18, 22], "As she was coming down the ridge towards Xonsahding,
she heard (ʔan-kʷaʔ ... ćeh) people crying downstream from Xonsahding. She thought, 'I hear (ćeh) something there; let me
go down there' [Golla 1984: 21, 23], "Inside it she heard (ʔan-kʷaʔ ... ćeh) someone was singing" [Golla 1984: 28], "He was
surprised to hear (ʔan-kʷaʔ ... ćeh) someone splitting logs" [Goddard 1904: 108], "As he walked along he heard (ʔan-kʷaʔ ...
ći̊w) laughing" [Goddard 1904: 109], "In a hollow tree she heard (ʔan-kʷaʔ ... ćeh) a baby rolling around" [Goddard 1904: 157],
"when they came they heard (ʔan-kʷaʔ ... ćeh) talking" [Goddard 1904: 170], etc. Sometimes the second element of the
collocation ʔan-kʷaʔ ... ćeh / -ći̊w can be omitted; two examples are found with the semantics of hearing: "Then she heard
(ʔan-kʷaʔ) a baby crying" [Goddard 1904: 135], "he heard (ʔan-kʷaʔ) here he came running" [Goddard 1904: 360].

3) Finally, there is a predicative way to express the semantics of hearing with the verbs =ya to 'move' or =n̓a to
extend: the descriptive collocations POSR ectaling =ya 'smb.'s head moves to' [Golla 1996: 45] and POSR ectaling =na 'smb.'s
head extends to'. Four examples have been found: "it was midnight and he heard (POS R ectaling =ya) a jingling noise he
heard (ći̊w)" [Goddard 1904: 293], "She heard (POS R ectaling =ya) no longer the sound of the games and the talk of the
Kixunai" [Goddard 1904: 306, 308], "She did not hear (POS R ectaling =ya) their talk" [Goddard 1904: 307, 309], "Then she
heard (POS R ectaling =na) (something)" [Golla 1984: 28].

The statistical analysis clearly shows that the most common way to express the semantics of hearing is the enclitic
-ćeh / -ći̊w.

The suppletive nasal counterpart =cʔan (< perfective *cʔa-n-ʔ-i) functions as an inflected verb with the passive
meaning 'to sound, be heard' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 731; Golla 1996: 45].

Cf. also a separate verb =ni in 'to hear about smth.' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 779; Golla 1996: 45].

Mattole: Li 1930: 96. Imperfective stem; the perfective stem is =ni-i.

Two Mattole verbs for 'to hear' are quoted in [Li 1930]: =nix and =ćeh. The semantic difference between them is
unclear (both are illustrated with examples like 'I hear it'). We treat these verbs as synonyms.

Bear River dialect: not attested.Li 1930: 11, 50, 57 sub No. 20, 110. The imperfective stems are =ćeh < *ćex and =ći̊w <
*ći̊x-i [Li 1930: 23]; the suppletive perfective stem is =ćan < *ći̊an-ʔ-i (for such a morphological pattern see [Li 1930: 29]).
The separate verb for 'to listen' is based on the n-variant: imperfective =ći̊n < *ći̊un and =ći̊n < *ći̊un-ʔ-i, perfective =ći̊n <
*ći̊un-ʔ-i [Li 1930: 110].

Kato: Goddard 1912: 73. The imperfective stems are =ćeh < *ćex and =ći̊w < *ći̊x-i. The suppletive perfective stem is =ći̊an ~ =ści̊an ~
=sci̊an [Goddard 1912: 73; Goddard 1909: 106 No. 9]. Polysemy: 'to hear / to listen'. Note the sporadic shift c > cʰ in the
perfective stem.Perfective.

verb for 'to listen' is based on the n-root: =ći̊k [imperf.] / =ći̊ʔ [imperf.], see [Hoijer 1973: 70 No. 268].Perfective.

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Not attested.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Not attested properly. The only known context is: "we heard news from home", where the verb =hax is used
[Boraas 2010: 47].


Iliamna Tanaina: Not attested.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 399, 534.

Lower Ahtena: =ći̊an [Kari 1990: 399, 534].

Western Ahtena: =ći̊an [Kari 1990: 399, 534].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 399, 534.

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 26, 125, 175. Polysemy: 'to hear / to hear of / to listen / to understand'. Cf. the examples for 'to hear':
"We heard him" [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 26], "Yesterday I heard my younger brother talking to his little brother" [Saxon &
Siemens 1996: 125].

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 380, 409, 510. Paradigm: =h=ʔ/ʔ ~ =h=ʔ [imperf.] / =h=ʔ/ʔ ~ =h=ʔ [perf.]. In [Hoijer 1956: 222], the 19th
c. archaic variant =kʷey is quoted, which apparently corresponds to modern =h=ʔ/ʔ ~ =h=ʔ. Polysemy: 'to hear / to hear about / to listen'. Cf. the examples: "I heard him singing", "Listen to me", "You shouldn't listen to histories" [Rice 1978: 380], "we heard crying", "we heard voices" [Rice 1989: 182], "I was sure I heard a knock on the door" [Rice 1989: 362], "we
heard someone singing in there" [Rice 1989: 1226], "I can't hear well" [Rice 1989: 1101], "I heard you talking outside" [Rice
1989: 1231], "did you hear where he is living?" [Rice 1989: 1245], "I heard that she sings well" [Rice 1989: 1247], "I heard
that he is living in Colville Lake" [Rice 1989: 1251].
Distinct from the rarely used verb =lɨ which is glossed as 'to hear the sound of' [Rice 1978: 423] with the following examples: 'I heard someone coming', 'I heard her singing' [Rice 1978: 246], 'I hear the grouse dancing' [Rice 1978: 202].


Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 98, 100. Polysemy: 'to hear / to listen'.


Distinct from the more rare and specific verb Obi=...=nɪk glossed with polysemy: 'to hear the sound of obj. / to make a noise' [Kari 1994: 216].

Distinct from =tʰʔk 'to listen / to understand' [Kari 1994: 320, 431].


The suppletive perfect form of the customary aspect: =lːwʔ [customary perf.] (quoted as =lːw in [Jetté & Jones 2000], this looks like a typo).

Distinct from =nɪk [perf.] 'to feel' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 449], and in particular 'to hear Obi (sound, animal calling), become aware of Obi by hearing' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 452].

Degexit'an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1976: 59; Chapman 1914: 220. Paradigm: =lʰʔw, ɨ ([imperf.] / =lʰʔw, ʰn-ʔ [perf.]) / =lʰʔw, ʰʔ [fut.]. Polysemy: 'to hear / to listen'. Cf. some examples: 'I heard the bell', 'I heard an echo', 'What do you hear?' [Taff et al. 2007]. 'All at once she heard (=lʰʔw, ʰʔ - it was the name of her husband. She listened (=lʰʔw, ʰʔ and looked at him' [Chapman 1914: 127], 'A young man is paddling along. As if expecting to hear (=lʰʔw, ʰʔ something, he turns his head and listens (=lʰʔw, ʰʔ' [Chapman 1914: 157].

The suppletive imperfective stem =lʰʔq 'to hear' [Kari 1976: 59] has only been found either with negation: 'She doesn't hear', 'I can't hear Beth', 'Something isn't hearing anything' [Taff et al. 2007]. 'Still she weeps, and does not hear him' [Chapman 1914: 127]; or in the positive meaning 'to know, understand': 'He understands Degexit'an" [Taff et al. 2007].


Distinct from =c=cː- ~ =c=cʰk- [imperf., perf.] 'to listen' [Li 1930b: 24].

39. HEAR
Mattole =cʰaʔn (2).

References and notes:

Mattole: Perfective.

40. HEART
Hupa POSSR=kʰuʔan-saʔaː-n (1), Mattole POSSR=čʰiːy-eʔ (2), Kato POSSR=čiːʔ (2), Talsdh
Galice POSSR=stʰʔeʔ (2), Upper Inlet Tanaina POSSR=kʰuʔ-yʔiː-n (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina POSSR=kʰuʔ-zʔiː-n (1) / POSSR=iqʔti (3), Inland Tanaina POSSR=kʰuʔ-zʔiː-n (1), Iliamna Tanaina POSSR=iqʔt-i (3), Central Ahtena POSSR=kʰuʔ-iː=zʔaː-n-i (1), Mentasta Ahtena POSSR=ceːyʔ-ʔ (2), Dogrib POSSR=čː (2), North Slavey (Hare) POSSR=čiːʔ-ʔ (2), Tanacross POSSR=čːyʔ-ʔ (2),
Upper Tanana (Tetlin) POSSR=ce: ~ POSSR=ceʔ (2), Lower Tanana (Minto) POSSR=čay-aʔ (2), Central Carrier POSSR=ci (2), Koyukon POSSR=čaʔ-aʔ (2), Degexit’an POSSR=yeʔ-aʔ (3).

References and notes:


Kato: Goddard 1912: 22; Curtis 1924: 201.


Lower Ahtena: POSSR=ʔkʰin=ʔʔəʔʔ (2), POSSR=ʔkʰin=ʔʔəʔʔ (2), POSSR=ʔkʰin=ʔʔəʔʔ (2) [Kari 1990: 71, 534; Kari & Buck 1975: 68; Smelcer 2010: 49].

Western Ahtena: POSSR=ʔkʰin=ʔʔəʔʔ (2), POSSR=ʔkʰin=ʔʔəʔʔ (2) [Kari 1990: 71, 534; Kari & Buck 1975: 68; Smelcer 2010: 49].


North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 52, 144; Hoijer 1956: 222.


Northway: POSSR=čʔ ‘heart’ [Milanowski 2007: 9].

Scottie Creek: POSSR=čʔ ‘heart’ [John 1997: 14].


Degexit’an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 36; Chapman 1914: 210. Cannot be separated from Tanaina POSSR=ʔqːʔ-t-ʔ ‘heart’, literally ‘within the inside’, although the presumed stem =ʔqːʔ ‘inside’ is not attested in Degexit’an; final -d is apparently the same locative suffix as Koyukon -t.

Sarsi: No expressions for ‘heart’ are documented reliably. In [Hoijer 1956: 222], the unclear form POSSR=čʔɛjɛnɛ ‘heart’ is quoted, not confirmed by other sources.

41. HORN

Hupa POSSR=teʔ (1), Mattole POSSR=teʔ (1), Kato POSSR=teʔ (1), Taldash Galice POSSR=teʔ (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina POSSR=ta (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina POSSR=ta ~ POSSR=tay-a (1), Inland Tanaina POSSR=ta (1), Iliamna Tanaina POSSR=ta (1), Central Ahtena POSSR=teʔ (1), Mentasta Ahtena POSSR=teʔ (1), Dorgrib POSSR=tɛ (1), North Slavey (Hare) POSSR=tieʔ (1),
Tanacross *POSSR=*ši-? (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) *POSSR=*te-? (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) *POSSR=*ta-? (1), Central Carrier *POSSR=*te (1), Koyukon *POSSR=*ta-? (1), Degexit'an *wa=*taq-ay ~ *POSSR=*wa=*taq-ay (2), Sarsi *POSSR=*ti-? (1).

References and notes:

**Hupa:** Sapir & Golla 2001: 748; Golla 1996: 47. The synchronic Hupa root is =*te*, not =*ti*, cf. the allomorph *te* in the compound *k*’*ni*-*te:* *k*’*nita*’ spoon’, literally ‘smth.’s horn’s base’ [Sapir & Golla 2001: 748; Golla 1996: 89; Golla 1964: 111].

**Mattole:** Li 1930: 127. Morphologically =*te-* or =*ti*.

Bear River dialect: POSSR=*te-*/*ti*’ horn’ [Goddard 1929: 317].

**Kato:** Goddard 1912: 22. Morphologically =*te-* or =*ti*.

**Taldash Galice:** Hoijer 1973: 54; Hoijer 1956: 223; Landar 1977: 295. Morphologically, either =*te-* or =*ti*.

Polysemy: ‘horn / ice chisel’ [Li 1930: 127. Morphologically =*te-* or =*ti*].


**Outer Inlet Tanaina:** Kari 2007: 13, 352; Kari 1977: 31. The form POSSR=ta is modern, whereas POSSR=ta*-a with the izafet exponent -a (rather to be read POSSR=ta*-a?) originates from the 19th century sources.


**Central Ahtena:** Kari 1990: 147, 536; Kari & Buck 1975: 9.

**Lower Ahtena:** POSSR=*te-* [Kari 1990: 147, 536; Kari & Buck 1975: 9].

**Western Ahtena:** POSSR=*te-* [Kari 1990: 147, 536; Kari & Buck 1975: 9].

**Mentasta Ahtena:** Kari 1990: 147, 536; Kari & Buck 1975: 9.

**Dogrib:** Saxon & Siemens 1996: 25, 177. Polysemy: ‘horn, antler / ice chisel’.


**Upper Tanana (Tetlin):** Milanowski 2009: 13, 76. Glossed as ‘horns, antlers’.

**Northway:** POSSR=*te-* ‘horn, antler’ [Milanowski 2007: 10].

**Scottie Creek:** POSSR=*te-* ‘horn, antler’ [John 1997: 49].


**Koyukon:** Poser 1998/2013: 107, 931; Jones 1978: 81. The variant *ta* is used in compounds.

**Degexit’an:** Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 6. The form *wa=*taq-ay is from [Taff et al. 2007]. *wa=*taq-ay is from [Kari 1978], both for ‘horn(s)’; cf. *wa=*taq-ay ‘antlers’ [Taff et al. 2007]. The forms contain the postposition =*taq-* ‘up’ and the nominalizer -*a*; thus *wa=*taq-ay literally means ‘that which is on top’.

**Sarsi:** Hoijer & Joel 1963: 69; Hoijer 1956: 222.

42. I

**Hupa** *ne:* (1), Mattole *ši:* (1), Kato *ši:* (1), Taldash Galice *ši:* (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina *śi:* (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina *śi:* (1), Inland Tanaina *śi:* (1), Iliamna Tanaina *śi:* (1), Central Ahtena *śi:* (1), Mentasta Ahtena *śi:* (1), Dogrib *śi:* (1), North Slavey (Hare) *śe*-ni (1), Tanacross *śih ~ ši:* (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) *śin* (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) *śi* (1), Central Carrier *śi* (1), Koyukon *śi:* (1), Degexit’an *se:* (1), Sarsi *śi*-ni (1).

References and notes:

Mattole: Li 1930: 133. The same morpheme is also present in the prefixal possessive pronoun -si- 'my' [Li 1930: 133], 1 sg. subject verbal prefix -s- [Li 1930: 68], 1 sg. object verbal prefix -si- [Li 1930: 64].

Bear River dialect: -i 'me' [Goddard 1929: 317].

Kato: Goddard 1912: 33. The same morpheme is found in the prefixal possessive pronoun -či 'my' [Goddard 1912: 21].


Sarsi: Degexit'an: Kari 1956: 222. Final -ni is a suffix modifying personal and some other pronouns.

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1989: 253; Hoijer 1956: 222. Final -ni is a suffix modifying personal and some other pronouns.


Rice: 2009: 82. The same morpheme is present in the prefixal possessive pronoun -či- / -či 'my' [Milanowski 2009: 9].

Northway: -či 'me' [Milanowski 2007: 15].

Scottie Creek: -či 'me' [John 1997: 5].


Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 728, 805; Jones & Kvaraceus 1997: 4. The emphatic variant -či- 'me' is seldom used. The same morpheme is present in the prefixal possessive pronoun -či- 'my', 1st sg. subject verbal prefix -či-, 1st sg. object verbal prefix -či- [Jetté & Jones 2000: 805].

Degexit'an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 25. The same morpheme is present in the prefixal possessive pronoun -či- 'my' [Kari 1978: 25].

Sarsi: Cook 1984: 62; Hoijer 1956: 222. Final -ni is a morpheme common for all independent personal and some other pronouns; it can be analyzed as the archaic human singulative exponent -n + the relativizer -i. The same morpheme is present in the prefixal possessive pronoun -či- 'my', 1st sg. subject verbal prefix -či-, 1st sg. object verbal prefix -či- [Cook 1984: 64, 193, 197].

43. KILL

Hupa =we: (1), Mattole =ke: (1), Kato =ki- 'nt (1), Taldash Galice =ke: (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina =či=OBj=t=t=yuq (2), Inland Tanaina =či=OBJ=t=t=yuq (2), Central Ahtena =z=či=BE: (1), Mentasta Ahtena =z=či=BE: (1), Dogrib =wi (3), North Slavey (Hare) =h=xiè (1), Tanacross =h=xiè: (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) =h=xiè (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) =t=yá (1), Central Carrier =t=ýé (1), Koyukon =t=BA: (1) / =la: (4), Degexit'an =BA: (1) / =la- 'x (4), Sarsi =s=xiè (1) / =s=yì (1).
References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 793; Golla 1996: 53; Golla 1970: 152, 163 et passim. Used with sg. obj. (object may be human or animal).
The heavy perfective root variant is =wɪ-ɛn ~ =wɪ-ɛn-i.

Distinct from =wɪ-ɛn-i 'to kill', used with pl. obj. [Sapir & Golla 2001: 793; Golla 1996: 53; Golla 1970: 152, 163]
(object may be human or animal).

Mattole: Li 1930: 98. Imperfective stem; the perfective stem is =kɪ-ɛn ~ =kɪ-ɛ. Used with both sg. and pl. obj.

Bear River dialect: =kɛn, =kɛn, =kɪɛn 'to kill' [Goddard 1929: 317], used with both sg. and pl. obj.

Kato: Goddard 1912: 77. Perfective stem. Apparently used with sg. obj. only.

Distinct from =kɪɛn 'to kill', used with pl. obj. [Goddard 1912: 76].


Distinct from the verb =tɛl ~ =tɛl [imperf.] / =tɛlɛ [perf.], glossed as 'to slaughter, annihilate, kill' [Hoijer 1973: 64]. This could be the default term for 'to kill' with pl. obj.

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Not attested. Cf. the verb =tɛl ~ =tɛl [imperf.] / =tɛlɛ [perf.] 'to kill (pl. obj.)' [Lovick 2005: 44 ex. 2.5b, 77 ex. 3.17, 100 ex. 3.40d, 117 ex. 4.4] ("one who kills them [= brown bears]", "Cold killed them all", "It would kill them right away", "it [= spear] killed them [= bears]").

Lower Inlet Tanaina: Not attested.


Iliamna Tanaina: Not attested.


Lower Ahtena: =z=ɪ=kɛ [Kari 1990: 213, 542].

Western Ahtena: =z=ɪ=ɛ [Kari 1990: 213, 542].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 213, 542. Polysemy: 'to kill / to beat up'.

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 32, 181. =mɪ after the prefixal =h=. Paradigm: =wɪ [imperf.] / =wɪ [perf.]. Used with sg. obj. This seems to be the basic root for 'to kill', cf. examples like "The wicked old woman is going to kill me", "We've killed the giant owl" [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 32].


The expressions for 'to die' q.v. contain the same roots: =wɪ (sg. subj.) and =tɛ (pl. subj.).

Distinct from the collocation POSSE=ɛ=ɛk =qɪɛ 'to kill' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 46, 132], literally 'to make death (ɛ=ɛk) to smb'.

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 375, 435, 514; Hoijer 1956: 222. Paradigm: =h=xɪɛ [imperf.] / =h=xɪ [perf.]. Used with sg. obj. Apparently this is the most frequently used verb for 'to die', cf. the found examples: "He killed a man" [Rice 1978: 375], "she killed him/her" [Rice 1989: 67], "I killed it" [Rice 1989: 792], "the dog drowned (lit. water killed the dog)" [Rice 1989: 1216], "I drowned the pup (lit. I caused water to kill the pup)" [Rice 1989: 1304].

With pl. obj., the verb =qɪɛ 'to kill' is used [Rice 1978: 387, 436, cf. the examples: "I killed them" [Rice 1989: 792], "That dog killed many people" [Rice 1978: 387], "both people drowned (lit. water killed two persons)" [Rice 1989: 264].

Distinct from the rarely used =h=ɛ=ɛk 'to kill (sg. & pl. obj)' [Rice 1978: 294, 478], a causative from =ɛ=ɛk 'to die' q.v. with the h-transitivizer [Rice 1989: 454]. The only attested example is: "I killed the dog" [Rice 1978: 294].

Distinct from =fɪ 'to kill someone by medicine or witchcraft' [Rice 1978: 371, 427].


With pl. obj., the verb =qɪɛ: 'to kill' is used [Arnold et al. 2009: 158; Holton 2000: 160].

both sg. and pl. obj.

**Lower Tanana (Minto):** Kari 1994: 121, 426; Tuttle 2009: 111. Paradigm: $=\gamma a$ [imperf.] / $=\gamma a-\eta$ [perf.] / $=\gamma a-\eta$ [fut.] / $=\gamma a-\gamma$ [customary]. Used with sg. obj.

Distinct from $=\gamma a$ [imperf.] / $=\gamma a-\eta$ [perf.] / $=\gamma a-\gamma$ [customary] with polysemy: 'to make / to build / to kill', used with pl. obj. [Kari 1994: 131, 426].

**Central Carrier:** Poser 1998/2013: 773, 1220, 1254; Poser 2011a: 120; Antoine et al. 1974: 315. Paradigm: $=\gamma e$ [imperf.] / $=\gamma i$ [perf.] / $=\gamma e-\gamma$ [fut.]. Used with sg. & dual. obj. (with both humans and animals as a subject and as an object).

Distinct from $=\gamma m$ 'to kill', used with pl. obj. [Poser 1998/2013: 774, 1220, 1253; Poser 2011a: 120; Antoine et al. 1974: 315].

**Koyukon:** Jetté & Jones 2000: 227, 940; Jones 1978: 89. Paradigm: $=\gamma x$ [imperf.] / $=\gamma x-\gamma$ [perf.]. Polysemy: 'to kill / to beat, injury'. Used with sg. obj. As noted in [Jetté & Jones 2000], $=\gamma x$ is "mainly used with human objects, but can be used for killing animals".

For animal sg. object, the verb $=\gamma x$ with polysemy: 'to catch / to kill' seems preferable [Jetté & Jones 2000: 378] (used in the converasive aspect). We treat both as synonyms.

Distinct from $=\gamma e$ with polysemy: 'to make / to kill / to beat up', used with pl. human/animal obj. [Jetté & Jones 2000: 252] (cf. the example for the meaning 'to make': "he made them (boots, sleds)"). Jetté & Jones 2000: 378.

**Degexit’an:** Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1976: 24; Chapman 1914: 223. Paradigm: $=\gamma x$ [imperf.] / $=\gamma x-\gamma$ [perf.]. Used with sg. obj.

The second candidate is the verb $=\lambda x-\chi$ [imperf.] / $=\lambda x-\gamma$ [imperf.] 'to kill' [Kari 1976: 33; Chapman 1914: 217]; it is glossed as 'to kill (sg.)' in [Kari 1976], but actually seems applicable to both sg. and pl. obj.

According to modern data in [Taff et al. 2007], $=\gamma x$ is applicable to both humans and animals as its object, cf. some examples: "He killed something", 'The boy killed the moose' [Taff et al. 2007], "he killed her" [Chapman 1914: 122], "they (almost) killed him" [Chapman 1914: 181], 'kill (ye) me!' [Chapman 1914: 196]. It seems that the second verb, $=\lambda x-\chi / =\lambda x-\gamma$ is missing from [Taff et al. 2007] at all.

On the contrary, browsing through [Chapman 1914] suggests that the object of $=\gamma x$ is normally humans or mythical heroes. Whereas $=\lambda x$ is applicable to ordinary animals. Cf. the attested examples: 'outside his house, upon racks, he had piles of deer-skins and beaver-skins — so many did he kill' [Chapman 1914: 123], "Remember how little game you killed (=\lambda x-\gamma) last spring. You might not be back for a long time', said she. [...] 'Because, when there was plenty of game near by, up the river, I could get (=\lambda x-\chi) them; but now that they are far away, I kill (=\lambda x-\chi) but few'. Then said his wife, 'Why is it that you get (=\lambda x-\chi) so few?"' [Chapman 1914: 125].

We treat $=\gamma x$ and $=\lambda x$ as synonyms.


**Sarsi:** Li 1930b: 17; Hoijer 1956: 223; Cook 1984: 58. Abblaut paradigm: $=\gamma x$ [imperf.] / $=\gamma i$ [imperf.] / $=\gamma x-\gamma$ [imperf.] (gi $*\gamma i$). Used with sg. & dual. obj.

Distinct from $=\gamma h$ / $=\gamma i$- 'to kill' [Li 1930b: 17; Cook 1984: 58], used with pl. obj. Perfective.

44. KNEE

Hupa POSSR=$qot$ (1), Mattole POSSR=$k^w\delta^q$ (1), Kato POSSR=$qot$ (1), Taldash Galice POSSR=$k^w\alpha$ ~ POSSR=$k^w\alpha$ (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina POSSR=$\epsilon^a$s (2) / POSSR=$qot$ (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina POSSR=$\epsilon\delta^i$s (3), Inland Tanaina POSSR=$\epsilon\delta^i$s (3), Iliamma Tanaina POSSR=$\epsilon\delta^i$s (3), Central Ahtena POSSR=$qot$ (1), Mentasta Ahtena POSSR=$qot$ (1), Dogrib POSSR=$\epsilon^h$=kò (1), North Slavey (Hare) POSSR=$k^\delta$ (1), Tanacross POSSR=$k^\delta$ (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) POSSR=$k^\delta$ (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) POSSR=$k^\delta$ (1), Central Carrier POSSR=$k^w\alpha$ (1), Koyukon POSSR=$qut$ (1), Degexit’an POSSR=$c^b$osta$\gamma$a (2), Sarsi POSSR=$kut-n$ (1).
References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 756; Golla 1996: 53. Polysemy: ‘knee / joint (anatomic)’. Apparently the same root is represented by the verb =qot ‘to bend (e.g., stick, rod); to set a snare’ [Sapir & Golla 2001: 756; Golla 1996: 11, 87].

Mattole: Li 1930: 129. It is unclear whether the verb =k'at to stoop down (intrins.) [Li 1930: 100] and the substantive =k'cx='k' ‘joint’ (in the compounds POSSR=k'k'=k'cx='e’ ‘ankle’, POSSR=k'k'=k'cx='e’ ‘wrist’ [Li 1930: 130] with the roots ‘foot’ and ‘hand’ respectively) are related to =k'it ‘knee’.

Bear River dialect: POSSR=kot ~ POSSR=k'ʔ ‘knee’ (both forms are corrupt), POSSR=koɬ ‘top of knee’ [Goddard 1929: 317].

Kato: Goddard 1912: 22; Curtis 1924: 201.

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 56; Hoijer 1956: 223. Cf. the cognate verb =kʷoʔ ‘to stoop down (intrans.)’ [Li 1930: 100] and the substantive =kʷoːxʷ ‘joint’ (in the compounds POSSR=kʰe=k'cx='e’ ‘ankle’, POSSR=kʰe=k'cx='e’ ‘wrist’ [Li 1930: 130] with the roots ‘foot’ and ‘hand’ respectively) are related to =k'it ‘knee’.


Western Ahtena: POSSR=qot [Kari 1990: 199, 543; Kari & Buck 1975: 70; Smelcer 2010: 50].


Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 41, 182. Polysemy: ‘joints of the body / shoulder / knee / elbow’. The first element =éh is a desemanticized prefix, the same as in POSSR=éh=t’à ‘chin / beak, bill of a bird’. Plain kò is used in compounds and as the incorporated verbal morpheme, e.g., =kòʔ=...=ʔa to kneel’ [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 77].

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 56, 148; Hoijer 1956: 222.


Scottie Creek: POSSR=kot ‘knee’ [John 1997: 14].


Differently in the Lower dialect, where POSSR=ƛʰuːqəʔ ‘knee’ is used [Jetté & Jones 2000: 585].


Sarsi: Hoijer 1956: 222. No expressions for ‘knee’ in other sources.

45. KNOW

Hupa =c’it (1), Mattole =c’it (1), Taldash Galice =c’it (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina =ni (2), Inland Tanaina =ni (2), Central Ahtena ta=OBJ=t=i=0=nə-s (2), Mentasta Ahtena ta=OBJ=t=i=0=nə-s (2), Dogrib =žó (3), North Slavey (Hare) =h=śó (3), Tanacross =t=déy (2), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) =t=nay ~ =t=nāy (2), Lower Tanana (Minto) =t=nay (2), Central Carrier =zən (4), Koyukon =t=nay (2), Degexit’an =nay (2), Sarsi =nih (2).

References and notes:


Distinct from =ʔa: ’to know how; to understand’ [Sapir & Golla 2001: 730; Golla 1996: 54, 101].
Mattole: Li 1930: 111. This is the heavy perfective stem, originating < *=cʰit-i; the light imperfective stem is =cʰiŋ < *cʰit [Li 1930: 20]. The only verb for 'to know' found in [Li 1930].

Bear River dialect: not attested.

Kato: Not properly attested. Cf. the verb =cʰet 'to know' [Goddard 1912: 73], attested in the context "we didn't know him". This is probably the basic Kato verb for 'to know' (note the de-ejectivization cʰ < c).

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 71. Polysemy: 'to know / to learn, come to know / to recognize'.

Distinct from =yl, glossed as 'to be wise, know about (things)' [Hoijer 1973: 69].

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Lovick 2005: 27 ex. 1.22b. An example: "I know her name too".

Distinct from the verb =yəm (corresponds to Inland =zen), which is attested with the meaning 'to know, be aware' in the following example: "they knew that they had escaped" [Lovick 2005: 38 ex. 1.37].

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Not attested.

Inland Tanaina: Wassillie 1979: 56. Cf. the examples: "I know it", "I know that it's way" [Wassillie 1979: 56], "and that's how we'll know it's you" [Tenenbaum 1976: 3: 63]. Polysemy: 'to know / to recognize / to be acquainted with', as follows from the additional instances: 'he recognized her', "I know them" [Tenenbaum 1978: 150]. The perfective form is apparently =ni-t, as follows from the example "he found me out (i.e. that I was there)" [Tenenbaum 1978: 150].

Distinct from the verb =zn, which is attested with the meaning 'to know, be aware' in the following examples: "he knew he was almost there" [Tenenbaum 1976: 1: 3], "we don't know the reason it disappeared" [Tenenbaum 1976: 3: 37], "he is one who knows more than me" [Tenenbaum 1978: 206]. The generic meaning of =zn / =zin, however, seems to be 'to want' [Wassillie 1979: 108].

Iliamna Tanaina: Not attested.


Lower Ahtena: ta-OBJ=t=s-i=O-na-s [Kari 1990: 309, 543].

Western Ahtena: ta-OBJ=t=s-i=O-na-s [Kari 1990: 309, 543].


North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 273, 483, 514. Generic verb with the meaning 'to know'. Cf. the examples: "Do you know where the blanket is?", "I know that man", "I knew that he was sick", "I know that they are always late", "No one knew how to fix it", "I knew that they were sick" [Rice 1978: 273], "Do you know who she's going to marry?" [Rice 1978: 377]. "I know that Mary is living in Norman Wells" [Rice 1989: 19], "Do you know how to write your name?" [Rice 1978: 202], "the man I know" [Rice 1989: 19].

Without the h-transitivizer, the verb has the shape =yl [imperf.] / =yu [perf.] with the meaning 'to be wise' [Rice 1978: 483].

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 159; Holton 2000: 350; Shinen 1958: 45. Imperfective stem. The perfective root variant =w’il-k is used in the negative stem c’w’=n=st=w’il’eg ‘do not know’ [Arnold et al. 2009: 159].


Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 215, 216, 427; Tuttle 2009: 113. Glossed as 'to know, notice, realize, be aware of, be acquainted with; to know (information, song, story)'. Paradigm: =t=nay [imperf., future] / =t=nik [perf.]. Apparently only imperfect. =t=nay is used for the positive meaning 'to know'. Cf. the negative stem c’w’=n=st=nik-d ‘do not know (information, song, story)’ [Kari 1994: 216] with the perfective root variant.

Distinct from =l=ta y’ / =l=ta y [imperf.] / =l=ta=n-ʔ ~ =l=ta=n-ʔ [perf.] 'to know (a skill)' [Kari 1994: 70; Tuttle 2009: 113].

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 779, 1224, 1266; Poser 2011a: 123; Antoine et al. 1974: 315. Paradigm: =g=t [imperf.] / =g[in] [perf.]. Polysemy: 'to think / to know'. Cf. some examples for the generic meaning 'to know': "He says he knows you from long ago", "He knows how to make snowshoes", "He understands how a person feels when a relative dies", "He does not know how to write" [Antoine et al. 1974: 222], "That man doesn't know what shame is" [Antoine et al. 1974: 269].

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 450, 941; Jones 1978: 90. Imperfective stem with the general meaning 'to know', glossed as 'to know, be conscious of, be acquainted with'. The perfective root variant =t=nik is used in the negative construction 'do not know' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 451]. The polysemantic verb =ni’g / =nay / =niki generally refers "to awareness or sensory perception"

Sarsi: Li 1930b: 20; Cook 1984: 235. Glossed as ‘to know, to be aware’. Paradigm: =nīk [imperf.] / =nīh – =ni-t-. [perf.]: final -t- is the perfective exponent [Li 1930b: 11].

Distinct from =šānt- [imperf.] / =šān [perf.] (=š... < *=š=y... < *=`=y...) ‘to know about’ [Li 1930b: 16].

Distinct from =šēh [imperf.] / =šēl – =šē-t-. [perf.] (=š... < *=š=y... < *=`=y...) ‘to find out, to know’ [Li 1930b: 24; Cook 1984: 235].

46. LEAF

Hupa POSSR=t’anŋ? (1), Mattole POSSR=t’anŋ? (1), Taldash Galice ê'a=t’aʔ (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina POSSR=t’un (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina POSSR=t’un (1), Inland Tanaina POSSR=t’un (1), Iliamna Tanaina POSSR=t’un (1), Central Ahtena k’v’e=t’aʔ (1), Mentasta Ahtena k’v’e=t’anʔ (1), Dogrib t’=t’ও ~ t’=t’–ʔ (1), North Slavey (Hare) ṭi=t’ʔ-? (1), Tanacross POSSR=t’aʔ (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) POSSR=t’aʔ ~ POSSR=t’anːʔ? (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) POSSR=t’anʔ ~ POSSR=t’an-aʔ (1), Central Carrier POSSR=t’an (1), Koyukon POSSR=t’ɔnʔ (1), Degexit’an POSSR=t’ɔnʔ (1), Sarsi t’aːsi ~ t’éːsi (2).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 789; Golla 1996: 56; Golla 1970: 220; Golla 1964: 112. In [Golla 1996: 56], quoted as POSSR=t’unŋʔ. Applied to trees and plants. May denote a single leaf or several leaves. The synchronic root is rather t’an (POSSR=t’unŋʔ < *POSSR=t’an-ŋʔ), cf. compounds like k’n=nehs-t’un (< *=t’un-ŋʔ) ‘tan oak’, lit. ‘its long leaves’ and ṭi=...=t’unʔ ‘ripe’ [Li 1930: 92].

Distinct from collective POSSR=t’oʊʔ (< *=t’oʊʔ-i) ‘grass, grassy plant, brush’ [Sapir & Golla 2001: 789; Golla 1996: 56].

Mattole: Li 1930: 128. Originates from *=t’unʔ. The synchronic root is t’anʔ, not t’an, cf. the cognate verb t’ɪʔnʔ (< *=t’ɪʔn-ʔ-i) ‘to become ripe’ [Li 1930: 92].

Bear River dialect: not attested.

Kato: Not attested.


Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 54, 183. Initial ṭ= looks like an indefinite possessive pronoun; final -a is the diminutive suffix [Marinakis et al. 2007: 152 f.]. Glossed as ‘leaf, leafy stuff’. The expressions for ‘green’ etc. are based on this word.


Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 14, 77. Synchronously, should rather be analyzed as tʰe than tʰə-t, if the compound tʰə-náʔ 'fox sparrow' [Milanowski 2009: 26] is related.


Scottie Creek: POSSR=tʰəʔ 'leaf' [John 1997: 59].


47. LIE

Hupa =tʰe: (1), Mattole =tʰe: (1), Kato =tʰi:n (1), Taldash Galice =tʰiː (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina =tʰa:n (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina =tʰa:n (1), Inland Tanaina =tʰa:n (1), Central Ahtena =tʰe:n (1), Mentasta Ahtena =tʰe:n (1), Dogrib =tʰi (1), North Slavey (Hare) =t=tʰi (1), Tanacross =l=tʰəy (2), Lower Tanana (Minto) =tʰa:n (1), Central Carrier =tʰi (1), Koyukon =tʰa:n (1), Degexit’an =tʰa:n (1), Sarsi =tʰilh (1).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 786, 788; Golla 1996: 56; Golla 1970: 162. Polysemy: ‘to lie / to lie down’, used with sg. subj., applied to humans or animals. A classificatory verb with the generic meaning ‘to handle living being’. Root variants: directional imperfective/perfective =tʰe-n (< *tʰe-c-n) / =tʰe-n (< *tʰe-c-n-i), nondirectional imperfective/perfective =tʰe: / =tʰe: (<?, *tʰe: < *tʰe:). The variant =tʰe: also functions as a synchronically separate verb ‘to lie (said of a living or dead being)’ [Li 1930: 90].

Expression for ‘to lie (pl. subj.)’ is unknown.


Kato: Goddard 1912: 71. Polysemy: ‘to lie / to lie down’, probably used with sg. subj, only. A classificatory verb with the generic meaning ‘to handle living being’. The directional imperfective stem is =tʰeː; the directional perfective stems are =tʰeː and =tʰeː (<?, *tʰeː). The variant =tʰe also functions as a synchronically separate verb ‘to lie (said of a living or dead being)’ [Li 1930: 90].

Mattole: Li 1930: 29, 90. Polysemy: ‘to lie / to lie down’, apparently used with sg. subj, only. A classificatory verb with the generic meaning ‘to handle round object’ (pl. subj.) [Sapir & Golla 2001: 786; Golla 1996: 56; Golla 1970: 162], which is used with pl. subj.

Distint from the verbs for ‘to lie’ used with inanimate subject: =tʰc:n ‘to handle a round object’ (sg. subj.) and =lː ‘to handle several objects’ (pl. subj.) [Sapir & Golla 2001: 786; Golla 1996: 388].


Distinct from the verbs *-cʔi [perf.] ‘to lie’, used with animated dual. subj. [Hoijer 1973: 71].

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Lovick 2005: 155 ex. 4.44c. ‘He [i.e., the Wolf] was just lying on his belly by him’.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Boraas 2010: 66 f. Glossed as ‘to lie down’, but actually this is a classificatory verb with the generic meaning ‘to handle a single living being’ [Boraas 2010: 118]. For the paradigm see [Boraas 2010: 67]: =tʰaː [imperf.] / =tʰaː [imperf. continuative] / =tʰa:n [perf.].

Inland Tanaina: Tenenbaum 1978: 140; Holton et al. 2004: 39. Polysemy: ‘to lie / to lie down’. =tʰaː-n is the perfective stem of the classificatory verb =tʰaː [imperf.] / =tʰa:n [perf.] ‘to handle a single living being’ (applied to humans, animals, and even...
toy animals such as dolls). Cf. the examples for the stative meaning of \(=t'a-n\): "an animate object lies e.g. sleeping" [Tenenbaum 1978: 123], "the baby is lying" [Tenenbaum 1978: 143]. The active meaning 'to lie down' is rather expressed by the imperfective \(=t'a Tuttle 2009: 118\). This is the so-called classificatory verb 'to be in position', applicable to sg. animate subj. [Rice 1989: 781], thus with polysemy: 'to be in a certain position / to lie / to lie down / to sleep'.

The expression for 'to lie (pl. animate subj.)' is not documented. Cf. the verb \(=l=yâ\) 'to sleep / to stand', applicable to pl. animate subj.

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 164. Glossed with polysemy: 'to lie / to lie down'. Applicable to humans and probably to animated subjects in general. For things, various classificatory verbs are used, as stated in [Arnold et al. 2009: 30]; see the whole list under 'to give'.

Distinct from specific verbs for 'to lie prone': \(=t'b\) [sg. subj.] / \(=t'b\) [pl. subj.], quoted in [Holton 2000: 160], not found in [Arnold et al. 2009].

Upper Tanana (Tellin): Not documented.


Distinct from \(=t'a\) [neuter imperf.] / \(=t'a\) [momentaneous imperfect] / \(=t'a\) [momentaneous perf.] 'to lie / to recline / to sleep' used with pl. anim. subj. [Kari 1994: 232].


Distinct from \(=l'e\) 'to lie / to lie down / to sleep', used with pl. subj. [Poser 1998/2013: 805, 1222, 1259].

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 496, 946; Jones 1978: 94. Paradigm: \(=t'a-\) [neuter imperf.] / \(=t'a-\) [neuter perf.]. Polysemy: 'to lie / to lie down' (in the Upper dialect with additional polysemy: 'to lie / to lie down / to sleep'). Used with sg. & dual. subj. Actually \(=t'a-\) is the generic classificatory verb 'animate or living being is in position'.

Distinct from \(=c\) [sg. subj.] / \(=c\) [pl. subj.]. [Jetté & Jones 2000: 173; Jones & Kwarsece 1997: 88].

Distinct from \(=l=e\) 'to sleep' q.v.

Degéx't'an: Taff et al. 2007; Chapman 1914: 227. Paradigm: \(=t'a-\) [imperf.] / \(=t'a-\) [perf.]. Polysemy: 'to lie / to lie down'. Actually \(=t'a-\) is a generic classificatory verb with the meaning 'to handle animate object' [Kari 1976: 46]. Cf. some examples for 'to lie (down)'; "The dog is lying on the grass", "She's lying down", "We'll lie down after a while" [Taff et al. 2007], "in which he lies (bed)" [Chapman 1914: 153]. Apparently used with both sg. and pl. subj.

Distinct from \(=c\) 'to lie / to lie down' [Kari 1976: 16; Chapman 1914: 223] used with pl. subj. only. This verb seems rare, not found in [Taff et al. 2007].

Sarsi: Li 1930b: 18; Hoijer 1956: 223; Cook 1984: 140. Ablaut paradigm: \(=t'ah\) [imperf.] / \(=t'ah\) [perf.]. Polysemy: 'to lie / to sleep / pl.
living being is in position'; used with sg. subj.
Cf. the cognate active paradigm =tʰałh [imperf.]/ =tʰáh ~ =tʰ-i-n- [perf.] 'to lie down / to handle sg. living being' [Cook 1984: 140-142].
Distinct from the verbs used with pl. subj.: neuter =V=ú=əz [imperf., perf.]/ =V=ú=əc ~ =V=ú=əc- 'to lie / to sleep / several living beings are in position'; active =V=ú=əz / =V=ú=əc- ~ =V=ú=əc- 'to lie down / to handle several living beings' [Li 1930b: 19; Cook 1984: 140].

48. LIVER

Hupa POSSR=sit’ (1), Mattole POSSR=cʰʔiʔɬ (1), Kato POSSR=tʰel-əʔ (2), Taldash Galice POSSR=satʔ (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina POSSR=ʔat’ (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina POSSR=zat’ (1), Inland Tanaina POSSR=ʔat’ (1), Iliamna Tanaina POSSR=zat’ (1), Central Ahtena POSSR=ʔeʔt (1), Mentasta Ahtena POSSR=ʔeʔt (1), Dogrib POSSR=ʔə (1), North Slavey (Hare) POSSR=ʔwèʔ (1), Tanacross POSSR=ʔet (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) POSSR=ʔat (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) POSSR=ʔat (1), Central Carrier POSSR=zat (1), Koyukon POSSR=kʰə=ʔoː=ʔtʃiʔ (3), Degexit’an POSSR=ʔeʔ=ʔə=ʔoː=ʔtʃiʔ (3), Sarsi POSSR=ziʔ (1).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 784; Golla 1996: 57. The synchronic root can be either =sit’ or =sit (POSSR=sit’ < *POSSR=sit-iʔ).
Mattole: Li 1930: 131.
Bear River dialect: POSSR=sit’ ~ POSSR=sit’ ‘liver’ [Goddard 1929: 317].
Western Ahtena: POSSR=ʔeʔ (Kari 1990: 459, 547; Kari & Buck 1975: 69; Smelcer 2010: 50).
North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 105, 150.
Scottie Creek: POSSR=ʔən’l ‘liver’ [John 1997: 15].
49. **LONG**

Hupa =nes (1), Mattole =nes (1), Kato =nes (1), Taldash Galice =tes (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina =t=nay (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina =t=naz (1), Inland Tanaina =t=naz (1), Iliamna Tanaina =t=naz (1), Central Ahtena =t=nes (1), Mentasta Ahtena =t=nes (1), Dogrib =n=tè (1), North Slavey (Hare) =tiè (1), Tanacross =dé:θ (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) =n=iäh (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) =nαθ ~ =l=nαθ (1), Central Carrier =yiz (2), Koyukon =nαl (1), Degexit'an =nα:θ (1), Sarsi =ʌːɨ:l (3).

References and notes:

**Hupa**: Sapir & Golla 2001: 776; Golla 1996: 58; Golla 1970: 77. Verbal root with polysemy: 'to be long / to be tall'. The heavy stem, originating from *=nes-i*. Cf. the irregular short variant nis, which is possibly attested in the compound nis-kʰiy 'fir, pine; any tall conifer', lit. 'tall tree' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 778; Golla 1996: 35].


**Kato**: Goddard 1912: 65. Verbal root: 'to be long'.


**Upper Inlet Tanaina**: Kari 2007: 179. Attested in the collocation "long hair".

**Outer Inlet Tanaina**: Boraas 2010: 137.

**Inland Tanaina**: Wassillie 1979: 60; Tenenbaum 1978: 49. In [Kari 2007: 179], quoted in the collocation "long hair".

**Iliamna Tanaina**: Kari 2007: 179. Attested in the collocation "long hair".

**Central Ahtena**: Kari 1990: 298, 548.

- **Lower Ahtena**: =t=nes [Kari 1990: 298, 548].
- **Western Ahtena**: =t=nes [Kari 1990: 298, 548].
- **Mentasta Ahtena**: Kari 1990: 298, 548.
- **North Slavey (Hare)**: Rice 1978: 259, 416, 517; Hoijer 1956: 222. Verbal stem: 'to be long'.
- **Upper Tanana (Tetlin)**: Milanowski 2009: 21, 49, 100, 120. The fossilized verbal form n≡iähl ~ n≡iähl 'it is long' is also used in the adjectival function.
- **Lower Tanana (Minto)**: Kari 1994: 198, 431. Verb with polysemy: 'to be long / to be tall, high'. Also functions as the noun-like adjectival nαθ ~ nαθ- 'long'. Cf. the examples: "a long rope", "a long willow", "a long cane" [Kari 1994: 198], "The mouse is brown, and it has a long tail" [Tuttle 2009: 138], "The crane has long legs" [Tuttle 2009: 170].

A second candidate is =t=ʔa [Kari 1994: 23] from the generic verb =t=ʔ 'linear, elongated, rigid object extends' [Kari 1994: 22]. Cf. Kari's examples: "it (rope) is long", "its leaves are narrow and long", "it is straight". It seems that =t=ʔa is more rare than nαθ and its meaning is close to 'straight'.


In some fossilized forms, =yiz can also express the meaning 'to be long (temporal)', e.g., in the adverb nτ.x=x=*yiz 'all of the time, all along' [Poser 1998/2013: 335].

Distinct from =kαθ 'to be long (temporal)' < =caθ 'to be light in weight' [Poser 1998/2013: 794, 1219, 1252]. Cf. some examples: "it (period of time) is long", "The days are getting longer", "In mid-summer the day is very long" [Poser 1998/2013: 335].
The days are

Central Ahtena:
Upper Inlet Tanaina:
Taldash Galice:

1996: 58].

‘head louse’), parasite’ (polysemy: ‘louse / parasite’). On the contrary, in [Sapir & Golla 2001], Hupa:

‘to be long (spatial) / to be tall / to be long (temporal)’. Cf. some examples: ‘long hair’, ‘The rope is too long’, ‘The rope is too long (temporal)’. Cf. some examples: ‘long hair’, ‘The rope is too long’, ‘far away, long ways’, ‘In January the days are beginning to get longer’ [Taff et al. 2007]. The noun-like adjective n̓it̓ʔ ‘long’ may also be used [Taff et al. 2007].


A second candidate is =V=c+iʔs - =V=c+iʔs-aʔ ‘to be long, tall’ [Li 1930b: 24], but without examples or semantic specifications.

Distinct from =nəʔ ‘to be tall, giant-like’ [Li 1930b: 19]. Note that in [Hoijer 1956: 222] it is quoted in the Swadesh meaning ‘long’.

50. LOUSE

Hupa yaʔ (1), Mattoleʔiʔ=ʔuʔ (1), Kato yaʔ (1), Taldash Galice yaʔ (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina əʔyu (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina əʔyu (1), Inland Tanaina əʔyu (1), Iliamna Tanaina əʔyu (1), Central Ahtena yaʔ (1), Mentasta Ahtena yaʔ (1), Dogrib ʔà (1), North Slavey (Hare) yáʔ (1), Tanacross ʔáʔ (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) ʔýʔaʔ (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) yáʔ (1), Central Carrier POSSR=yaʔ (1), Koyukon yoʔ. (1), Degexit’an yoʔ. (1), Sarsi yáʔ (1).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 804; Golla 1996: 58. In [Golla 1996], glossed as ‘louse (specifically head louse), parasite’ (polysemy: ‘louse / parasite’). On the contrary, in [Sapir & Golla 2001], yaʔ is specified as ‘body louse’, whereas the meaning ‘head louse’ is ascribed to the compound yaʔ=ʔuʔ < *yaʔ=ʔ-uʔ, literally ‘white louse’ (in [Golla 1996: 58], this compound is quoted as yaʔ=ʔ-uʔ=ʔ=qay with the direct translation ‘white louse’).

Mattole: Li 1930: 125. Glossed as ‘head louse’. Apparently a contraction from *ni=yaʔ-aʔ ’its/smbd.’s louse’ with the indefinite possessive pronoun ni- (for which see notes on ‘meat’). Cf. the similar contracted Hupa form maʔ=ʔau ’its parasite’ < *mi=yaʔ-iʔ [Golla 1996: 58].

The old root yaʔ ‘louse’ is also retained in the compound yaʔ-s-ʔai ’white louse’ (i.e., ‘Arctorthezia’ or rather ‘body louse’?) [Li 1930: 125] (with sʔai ‘to be white’ q.v.; medial sʔ- is the durative perfective exponent [Li 1930: 66]). Bear River dialect: yaʔ-s ‘head louse’, distinct from the compound yaʔ-s-ʔai ’body louse’ (lit. ‘white louse’) [Goddard 1929: 318].


Distinct from *tâhčé: 'flea, tick (on dogs or rabbit)' [Saxon & Siemens n.d.].

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 110, 150; Hoijer 1956: 222.


Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 23, 76. Specified as 'lice (on people)'.

Distinct from *λγγ, which is glossed as 'lice (on animal)' [Milanowski 2009: 26, 76].

Northway: *šəʔ lice (on people), *λγγ lice (on animal) [Milanowski 2007: 11].

Scottie Creek: * söz with polysemy: 'louse / flea', *ʔųʔi, 'blood sucker' [John 1997: 44]. For the meaning 'flea' cf. the collocation *šʔ which is glossed as 'fleas', literally 'dog's šʔ [John 1997: 44].


Degexit’an: Kari 1978: 15.


51. MAN

Hupa xo=łes=ta-y ~ xo=ʔos=ta-y ~ xʷe=łes=ta-y (1), Mattole kaʔt’e:n (2), Kato naneʔ ~ naneʔš (3), Taldash Galice te=s=te: (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina qʰuxt’an-a (4), Outer Inlet Tanaina qʰuxt’an-a ~ qʰut’an-a (4), Inland Tanaina qʰut’an (4), Iliamna Tanaina qʰuxt’an-a (4), Central Ahtena qʰoht’e:n-e (4), Mentasta Ahtena qʰoht’e:n (4), Dogrib tóné ~ tó (5), North Slavey (Hare) təně (5), Tanacross tèvèh (5), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) tən’eh ~ tən’e: (5), Lower Tanana (Minto) tənə ~ tənəh (5), Central Carrier tənə: (5), Koyukon tənə: (5), Degexit’an tənə: (5), Sarsi tənə (5).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 745; Golla 1996: 60. Polysemy: 'man / male (subst.)'. As proposed in [Sapir & Golla 2001], apparently reduced from *xʷəʔ to *ta- with the verb =la: 'to stay, live; to sit down' (see notes on 'to sit'), i.e., 'man' as 'the one who sits down'. Only adult men were allowed to sit on redwood stools; woman and children sat on the ground'.

Mattole: Li 1930: 129. Polysemy: 'man / husband'. Morphonologically unclear. Li proposes that the first element kaʔ- means 'male', whereas t’e:n is to be analyzed as the verb =te: 'to be of such sort' [Li 1930: 92] (perhaps the same verb is used in kʰo=ni=s=teʔ 'person' q.v.) plus the etnonymical suffix =ni: 'person' [Li 1930: 138].

Bear River dialect: kʰut’e:ne ~ kʰar’e:ne ~ kʰut’a:ta 'man; husband' [Goddard 1929: 318] (corrupted forms, which correspond to the Mattole proper word). The second term for 'man' quoted in [Goddard 1929: 318] is ko-ne-s-te, which is in reality, apparently, a word for 'person' q.v.

Kato: Goddard 1909: 79 No. 9, 119 No. 3, 130 No. 1, 165 No. 10, 168 No. 16, 175 No. 7-9. Morphologically unclear. Polysemy: 'man [sg.] / person [sg.] / people [pl.]. As explained in [Goddard 1909: 71 fn. 21], this word originally meant 'human being', having recently been narrowed down to the meaning 'Indian, not European'. Currently this is also the default word for 'man [sg.], although browsing through [Goddard 1909] would rather suggest that the plural meaning 'men' is expressed by the unanalyzable stem nan-k’a-ta:n [Goddard 1909: 165 No. 13, 173 No. 1, 9].

Distinct from the unanalyzable rəssz=yaʔ 'husband' [Goddard 1912: 23; Goddard 1909: 132 No. 14], which probably contains the same verbal root tan as nan-k’a-ta:n 'men' above. Formally it can be interpreted as the verb =tan 'to
die' q.v.


The archaic form of =tc is =tai, as follows from ta=ta 'people' [Jacobs 1968: 184 No. 6]; thus, Hoijer's synchronic root =tc represents a contraction of the heavy stem *=ta=i* from *=ta* 'to sit' q.v. Further see notes on the Hupa term for 'man'.

Distinct from a second term for 'husband': POSSR=ʔəniʔ [Hoijer 1973: 56].

**Upper Inlet Tanaina**: Kari 2007: 72, 353; Kari 1977: 88. Used for both sg. ('man, person') and pl. ('men, persons').

**Outer Inlet Tanaina**: Kari 2007: 72, 353; Kari 1977: 88. Used for both sg. ('man, person') and pl. ('men, persons').


**Iliamna Tanaina**: Kari 2007: 72, 353; Kari 1977: 88. Used for both sg. ('man, person') and pl. ('men, persons').

**Central Ahtena**:

- **Lower Ahtena**: q=ʔət'en-e [Kari 1990: 87, 550; Kari & Buck 1975: 54].
- **Western Ahtena**: q=ʔət'en-e [Kari 1990: 87, 550; Kari & Buck 1975: 54].

**Mentasta Ahtena**:

- **Kari 900**: 87, 350; Kari & Buck 1975: 54. Regular reduction of final -e.

**Dogrib**:

- **Saxon & Siemens 1996**: 20, 187; Marinakis et al. 2007: 163. tó is the reduced variant of tóné. Polysemy: 'man / person / people / Dene people'. For the specific meaning 'man (male human being)', the compounds tóné-č: ~ tó-č: [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 20] can also be used, where POSSR=č: means 'male', cf., e.g., ƛ'ilč:č:č: 'male dog' (ƛ'il' dog).

**North Slavey (Hare)**: Rice 1978: 45, 151; Hoijer 1956: 222. Polysemy: 'man / person / people'.


Paradigm: təʔdəʔ [sg. / təʔdəʔ [pl.]; for the rare human plural suffix -y see [Holton 2000: 157 f.].


**Upper Tanana (Tetlin)**: Milanowski 2009: 16, 78, 81. Polysemy: 'man / person / people'.

Distinct from POSSR=č:č:č 'husband' [Milanowski 2009: 18, 76].


**Scottie Creek**: tó:č:č with polysemy: 'man / person, people' [John 1997: 54, 82].

**Lower Tanana (Minto)**: Kari 1994: 196, 434; Tuttle 2009: 127. Glossed as 'person, human, man', thus with polysemy: 'person / man'.


Distinct from POSSR=q=ʔən 'husband' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 342].


Distinct from POSSR=q=ʔəθ 'husband' [Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 29; Chapman 1914: 229].

**Sarsi**: Hoijer & Joël 1963: 72; Hoijer 1956: 222. Polysemy: 'man / person / eyeball, pupil of the eye'. Cf. some examples for the meaning 'man': 'If a man comes to me' [Cook 1984: 42], 'This man takes pretty women away from them' [Cook 1984: 79], "Having walked down the hill, the man entered the house" [Cook 1984: 84], 'The man who is alive was given to me, and those six men over there in the poplar trees were also given to me' [Cook 1984: 85], 'He'll hire the man' [Cook 1984: 203].

Distinct from the deverbal substantive kú̑=tín-i 'male' [Hoijer & Joël 1963: 72] which can be used in the meaning 'man' as follows from the example 'The man killed a beaver' [Cook 1984: 31]. Cf. the cognate substantives kú̑=tín-ú 'a tribe, a people', čuí̑=tín-á 'Sarsi' [Hoijer & Joël 1963: 72; Cook 1984: 1]. The starting verb can be =t'i ~ =tín- 'to act, treat, work' [Li 1930b: 19]; kú̑= can be the locative/unspecified prefix [Cook 1984: 204].

Distinct from POSSR=kú̑la 'husband' [Hoijer & Joël 1963: 71; Cook 1984: 64].

52. MANY

Hupa tan = tən (1), Mattole tan (1), Kato tan (1), Taldash Galice təː (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina kʰi=s=t'a (2), Outer Inlet Tanaina kʰi=s=t'a (2), Inland Tanaina kʰi=s=t'a (2), Iliamna Tanaina kʰi=s=t'a (2), Central Ahtena =n=l=t'čʔ (2), Mentasta Ahtena =n=l=t'čʔ (2), Dogrib
\(\text{tō} \) (1), North Slavey (Hare) =\(\text{tō} \) (1), Tanacross \(n=\text{λān} \) (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) \(n=\text{λan} \sim n=\text{λā} \) (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) =\(\text{loη} \) (1), Central Carrier =\(\text{lai} \) (1), Koyukon =\(\text{loη} \) (1), Degexit’an =\(\text{loη} \) (1), Sarsi =\(\text{λ\text{h}in} \) (1).

References and notes:

**Hupa:** Sapir & Golla 2001: 765; Golla 1996: 60. Golla 1996: 60. The variant \(\text{hā} < \text{λan}, \) the variant \(\text{hā} < \text{λan-i}. \) Also functions as a verb: \(\text{λan} \) 'to be many, lots'.

**Mattole:** Li 1930: 120. An adverb. Also functions as a verb: \(\text{λan} < \text{λan-} \) [imperf.] / \(\text{λan} < \text{λan-} \) [perf.] 'to be many' [Li 1930: 120].

- Distinct from the more marginal adverb \(\text{λan} \) 'many' [Kari 1994: 252], derived from the verb \(\text{λan} \) 'to be big' q.v. with the adverbial suffix \(\text{̓} \).
- Bear River dialect: not attested.

**Kato:** Goddard 1912: 29, 64. Also functions as a verb: \(\text{λan} \) 'to be many'.

**Taldash Galice:** Hoijer 1956: 223; Landar 1977: 295.

**Upper Inlet Tanaina:** Kari 2007: 327; Kari 1977: 261.

**Lower Inlet Tanaina:** Kari 2007: 327; Kari 1977: 261; Boraas 2010: 43.

**Inland Tanaina:** Kari 2007: 327; Kari 1977: 261. According to [Holton et al. 2004: 12], with polysemy: 'many / too much / very'.

**Iliamna Tanaina:** Kari 2007: 327; Kari 1977: 261.

**Central Ahtena:** Kari 1990: 346, 550.

- **Lower Ahtena:** \(\text{λan} = \text{l=te-} \) [Kari 1990: 346, 550].
- **Western Ahtena:** \(\text{λan} = \text{l=te-} \) [Kari 1990: 346, 550].

**Mentasta Ahtena:** Kari 1990: 346, 550.

**Dogrib:** Saxon & Siemens 1996: 70, 187. Polysemy: 'many / much'. Also functions as a verb: \(\text{λan} \) 'to be many' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 80] \(\text{λan} < \text{λan-}\).

**North Slavey (Hare):** Rice 1978: 452, 519; Rice 1989: 265; Hoijer 1956: 222. Verbal root with polysemy: 'to be many / to be much'.


**Upper Tanana (Tetlin):** Milanowski 2009: 21, 78, 120. Polysemy: 'many / much'. Verbal form: '(it is) many'. Also functions as a verb: \(\text{λan} \) 'to be many'.

- **Northway:** \(\text{λan} \) 'many' [Milanowski 2007: 12].

**Lower Tanana (Minto):** Kari 1994: 185, 434. Verbal stem: 'to be many, lots, plentiful, abundant'.

- Distinct from the more marginal adverb \(\text{λan} = \text{l=te-yi} \) 'many, lots' [Kari 1994: 252], derived from the verb \(\text{λa} \) 'to be thus' [Kari 1994: 250].

**Central Carrier:** Poser 1998/2013: 809, 1221, 1257; Poser 2011a: 137; Antoine et al. 1974: 111, 318. Verbal stem: 'to be many, numerous'. Cf. the fossilized adverbial form \(\text{h.l=λai} \) 'many' \(=\text{t=λai} \) [Poser 1998/2013: 192; Antoine et al. 1974: 111]. Also functions as the adverb \(\text{λai} \) 'many / much' [Poser 1998/2013: 241].

**Koyukon:** Jetté & Jones 2000: 414, 951; Jones 1978: 100. Verbal stem: 'to be many, numerous', also functions as the adverb \(\text{λai} \) 'many'.

**Degexit’an:** Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1976: 33; Chapman 1914: 217. Verbal stem: 'to be many, numerous', also functions as the adverb \(\text{λai} \) 'many' [Kari 1978: 53].

Sarsi: Li 1930b: 26; Hoijer 1956: 222. Paradigm: \(\text{λan} \) 'to be many / to be much'.

53. MEAT

Hupa \(\text{POSSR} = \text{c\text{h}n} \) (1), Mattole \(\text{c\text{h}n} \) (1), Kato \(\text{POSSR} = \text{san} \) (1), Taldash Galice \(\text{POSSR} = \text{san} \) (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina \(k=\text{c\text{h}n} \) (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina \(k=\text{c\text{h}n} \) (1), Inland Tanaina \(k=\text{c\text{h}n} \) (1), Iliamna Tanaina \(k=\text{c\text{h}n} \) (1), Central Ahtena \(k=\text{c\text{h}v} \) (1), Mentasta
Ahtena $kʰɛ=cʰʔ$ (1), Dogrib $pò$ (3), North Slavey (Hare) $ʔi=yê$ (4), Tanacross $šíʔ$ (5), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) $šíʔ ~ šiʔ$ (5), Lower Tanana (Minto) POSS$=tʰʔn$ (1), Central Carrier POSS$=kʰʔn$ (1), Koyukon $na=laʔn-a$ (6), Degexit'an $nc=laʔn$ (6), Sarsi $á=lín-i$ (6).

References and notes:

**Hupa:** Sapir & Golla 2001: 736; Golla 1996: 61; Golla 1964: 113. The synchronic root can be either $cʰʔn$ or $cʰin$ (POSS$=cʰʔn$ < *POSS$=cʰin$-). Cf., however, the reduced root variant $-sin-$, attested in several compounds [Sapir & Golla 2001: 783; Golla 1964: 112].

**Mattole:** Li 1930: 126. Verbal expression. Initial $ʔi$- is apparently a rare indefinite possessive pronoun, which regularly corresponds to Hupa $kʔi$- with the same meaning (cf. the same structure in $ʔi=kʰʔat-ʔiʔ$ 'root' q.v., $ʔi=kʰʔiʔ$ 'fat' q.v., $ʔi=qʰɛ-xiʔ$ 'egg' q.v., perhaps $ʔiʔ-čneʔ$ 'doe' [Li 1930: 125], etc.; for the historical phonetic development see [Li 1930: 36 ff.]); final $-ʔ$ is the izafet exponent. The stem $l=xi$ coincides with the verb $l=xin$ (‘to be dark’, black [Li 1930: 80] (see notes on ‘black’); thus, ‘meat’ = ‘the dark one’.

Bear River dialect: the old term POSS$=cʰʔan$ < *cʰan-ʔ ‘meat’ is retained [Goddard 1929: 296].

**Kato:** Goddard 1912: 22.


**Upper Inlet Tanaina:** Kari 2007: 278, 353; Kari 1977: 212.


**Central Ahtena:** Kari 1990: 381, 551; Kari & Buck 1975: 141; Smelcer 2010: 75.

- **Lower Ahtena:** $kʰ=ɛ=cʰʔ$ [Kari 1990: 381, 551; Kari & Buck 1975: 141; Smelcer 2010: 75].
- **Western Ahtena:** $kʰ=ɛ=cʰɛn$ [Kari 1990: 381, 551; Kari & Buck 1975: 141; Smelcer 2010: 75].

**Mentasta Ahtena:** Kari 1990: 381, 551; Kari & Buck 1975: 141; Smelcer 2010: 75.


Distinct from POSS$=kʰʔo$ glossed with polysemy: ‘flesh / skin’ in [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 44]. As follows from the animate possessive $kiʔ$ (‘his $kʰʔ$), this term is normally applied to humans, but one example for the meaning ‘animal meat’ has also been found: “Ring-necked duck has tough flesh (we$=kʰʔo$)” [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 18]. Additionally, $kʰʔo$ is widely used as a bound root with the meaning ‘meat’ in such compounds as $cʰʔn-kʰʔo$ ‘duck meat’, $tɛtʰ=kʰʔo$ ‘moose meat’, $ɛkʰʔ=kʰʔo$ ‘caribou meat’, etc. [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 8, 14, 31], and simply in the expression $cʰ=kʰʔo$ ‘caribou’, lit. ‘its meat’ [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 31].

**North Slavey (Hare):** Rice 1978: 35, 151; Rice 1989: 10. Initial $ʔi$- is the indefinite possessive pronoun.

Distinct from POSS$=fɛʔ$ ‘flesh’ [Rice 1978: 54; Hoijer 1956: 222]. Hoijer adds the 19th c. archaic variant $=kʰɛn$.

Distinct from $pɛʔ$, POSS$=pɛ-r$ ‘food’ [Rice 1978: 38, 139].


Distinct from the more specific term $n=ɛn$ ‘cooked meat’ [Arnold et al. 2009: 173; Holton 2000: 345], which represents a nominalized verbal form with the adjectival/gender exponent $n$ = [Holton 2000: 237 ff.] (the synchronic meaning of the root $=ɛn$ is unclear).


Distinct from the more specific or rare term POSS$=tʰʔn$-ʔ, glossed as ‘flesh, meat’, applicable to both animals and humans [Milanowski 2009: 26, 69] with the example: “He is roasting moose meat” [Milanowski 2009: 59].

**Northway:** $šíʔ$ with polysemy: ‘meat / food’ [Milanowski 2007: 12].

**Scottie Creek:** $šíʔ$, POSS$=tʰʔn$-ʔ, both are glossed as ‘meat’, but according to the examples in [John 1997: 41-42] the former one is more common.

Distinct from more rare *lan-i* ‘game, meat’ [Kari 1994: 78]. In the Chena dialect, the rare term *na-lan-i* ‘meat, flesh’ is also attested [Kari 1994: 178] (a nominalized verbal form, the meaning of the starting root *lan* is unknown).

Distinct from two terms for ‘fish meat’; *č=na* [Kari 1994: 224] (*č=* is the indefinite possessive pronoun) and POSSR=θA? [Kari 1994: 91].


The old term *ʌʔ=moon* is glossed as ‘meat from warm-blooded animals, human flesh’ [Jetté & Jones 2000: 576] (with the example “he hauled its (game animal’s) meat home”), being a rarely used synonym of *na-lan-i*. This root is also retained in *x=moon* ‘piece of meat, supply of animal or fish meat’ [Jetté & Jones 2000: 576] (*k=* is the indefinite possessive) and several compounds.

Distinct from POSSR=nat ‘fish meat, flesh of cold-blooded animals’ [Jetté & Jones 2000: 489].

**Degexit’aan**: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 80; Chapman 1914: 214. Historically = ‘anatomical fresh object’, see notes on Koyukon *na-lan-i* ‘meat’. This is the most frequent word for ‘meat’ in both [Taff et al. 2007] and [Chapman 1914], cf. some examples: “She’s cooking meat”, “Friday (lit. the day we don’t eat meat)”, “He’s cutting meat with a knife”, “He’s chewing dried meat”, “The meat is raw” [Taff et al. 2007], “Then she offered him meat; but the Raven said, ‘I don’t care for meat, I get tired of it: fish is the only thing that I care for’” [Chapman 1914: 119], “There was nothing, — no food or meat” [Chapman 1914: 121], “Finally, while the boys were asleep, she brought in, from off her cache, meat and fat and king-salmon dried, and piled it up in the house” [Chapman 1914: 128].

The old term POSSR=mayʔ is glossed as ‘meat’ in [Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 80; Chapman 1914: 221], but actually is rarely used. Cf. the found examples: “fly (lit. that which eats meat)”, “I want beaver meat” [Taff et al. 2007], “One was cooking meat in a large pot, and the other was cooking beaver-meat in a large pot” [Chapman 1914: 131].


### 54. MOON

**Hupa** *naː ~ xiʔeʔ=naː* (1), **Mattole** *xaː* (1), Kato *na=ka-i* (2), Taldash Galice *čːaː=l=siː* (3), **Upper Inlet Tanaina** *νː=l=ca-y* (4), **Outer Inlet Tanaina** *νː=l=ča* (4), **Inland Tanaina** *νː=l=ča-y* (4), **Iliamna Tanaina** *νː=l=ča-y* (4), **Central Ahtena** *tʰec=naː=ʔaː-y-eʔ* (5), **Mentasta Ahtena** *tʰec=naː=ʔaː-y-ʔ* (5), **Dogrib** *acid=zaː: ~ acid=ʔɑːh* (1), **North Slavey** (Hare) *ʔ=ciːʔ* (4), **Tanacross** *γː=l=ćeːy* (4), **Upper Tanana (Tetlin)** *čː=qː=ćeːk ~ čː=ʔː=ćeːy* (4), **Lower Tanana (Minto)** *tʰt=ʔoːʔ=ʔoː-ʔ* (1), **Central Carrier** *sa* (1), **Koyukon** *t=əː=t=təː-l* (6), **Degexit’aan** *t=əː=t=təː-l* (6), **Sarsi** *yː=niːy-ʔ* (7).

#### References and notes:

**Hupa**: Sapir & Golla 2001: 796; Golla 1996: 63, 92; Hoijer 1956: 223. The word *naː* shows the standard areal polysemy: ‘sun / moon’, although there exists a specialized expression for ‘moon’: *xiʔeʔ=naː*, literally ‘night’ q.v. + ‘sun / moon’ (quoted in [Golla 1996: 63], not yet noted in [Sapir & Golla 2001]). For similar specialized expressions for ‘sun’ see under the latter.

Distinct from expressions for ‘month’: *(t)at-naː=nt-ʔ* ~ *naː=nt-ʔ*, literally ‘(one round object, i.e., moon) has come to lie there again’ [Sapir & Golla 2001: 600; Golla 1996: 63] and *mi-ntii*, literally ‘its side, slope’ [Sapir & Golla 2001: 777; Golla 1996: 63].

**Mattole**: Li 1938: 126, 148 sub No. 75. Polysemy: ‘sun / moon / month / light of sun or moon’. In order to avoid this polysemy, certain collocations are also used: *kanɨʔ-xiaʔ* ‘moon’ (the first element means ‘evening’) and *ciʔ-xiaʔ* ‘sun’ (the first element means
'day').

Bear River dialect: *yanin-zaʔ ~ kanu-naʔ 'moon' [Goddard 1929: 318].

Kato: Goddard 1912: 30; Curtis 1924: 205. Literally 'it walks' with *ka 'to walk' [Goddard 1912: 76] (*ka is apparently a specific compressed form of the generic verb *ya 'to go' q.v.). According to examples in [Goddard 1909: 81 No. 4, 99 No. 14, 100 No. 10-12, 101 No. 14, 141 No. 7], this is currently the default expression for 'moon'. The more archaic term *sá is currently the default expression for 'moon'. The more archaic term *q.v., which is quoted in [Hoijer 1956: 222] with the 19th c. archaic polysemy: 'sun / *sà kíi 1979: 13; McRoy 1973: 6; Shinen 1958: 13. Literally 'it shines' with the verb *sá 'to shine' q.v. and *sá 'to hide' [Hoijer 1973: 70].

Lower Tanacross:

Tanacross: North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 23, 153. This seems to be the basic term for 'moon' in Hare, since it is also used in such expressions as 'crecent moon', 'full moon', 'half moon', 'rainbow around moon'. Apparently a verbal form from the otherwise unattested verb 'to shine'.

Another expression for 'moon' is *tʰ=èwè=tʰ=sà [Rice 1978: 96], consisting of *tʰèwè 'night', *sà 'sun / month' and (perhaps) *tʰì 'here'. Cf. the mirroring expression *cinì=tìh=sà 'sun' with *cinì 'day'.

Distinct from *sà 'sun / month' q.v., which is quoted in [Hoijer 1956: 222] with the 19th c. archaic polysemy: *sà 'sun / moon'. The word *sà can be safely posited as the Proto-North Slavey term for 'sun / moon / month'.

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 23, 153. This seems to be the basic term for 'moon' in Hare, since it is also used in such expressions as 'crecent moon', 'full moon', 'half moon', 'rainbow around moon'. Apparently a verbal form from the otherwise unattested verb 'to shine'.


Distinct from *sà: 'sun; month' (see sub 'sun'); such a polysemy indicates that *sà: was the Proto-Tanacross term for 'sun / moon / month'.

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 13, 78. Literally 'it shines' with the verb *l=çèk 'to light (as from a bulb)' [Milanowski 2009: 42]. Final *γ < *γ̂γ̂ with the γ-nominalizer.

Northway: *ç=ì=çèk 'moon' [Milanowski 2007: 12].

Scottie Creek: *ç=ì=çèk 'moon' [John 1997: 65].

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 236, 354, 438; Tuttle 2009: 135. This is the Minto form, literally 'night sun' with *tʰì 'night' and *sà 'sun'.

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In the Chen dialect, either simply so with polysemy: ‘sun / moon / month’ is used [Kari 1994: 354] or tʰat ɣ=a=ɬiy-i ‘moon’ [Kari 1994: 98, 236], literally ‘night shining from =l=ci=ɬiy (Minto: =l=ci=ɬiy) to shine’.

**Central Carrier:** Poser 1998/2013: 420, 816; Antoine et al. 1974: 198, 319. Polysemy: ‘sun / moon / generally any heavenly body other than a star’.

The second expression for ‘moon’ is the collocation tɛɾqis u-zaʔ, literally ‘its ʔa (≠ sa) at night’ [Poser 1998/2013: 58; Poser 2011a: 142; Antoine et al. 1974: 35].

Distinct from ʔa-ʔu/ʔu ‘moon’ ([Poser 1998/2013: 425, 816], literally ‘n.m of moon’. In [Moric 1932, 1: 30], simple n.m is glossed as ‘month; season’, which is not confirmed in [Poser 1998/2013: 389].

**Koyukon:** Jetté & Jones 2000: 550, 957; Jones 1978: 104. Variants with the retained relativizer suffix are attested as well: tətɛɛl-o ~ tətɛɛl-i. Literally ‘burning object in position’. Derived from the generic classificationary verb tʰa=ɬ-t=ɬa ‘burning object is in position’ [Jetté & Jones 2000: 549].

In the Lower dialect, it competes with a more rare term nəʔ=ɬo-y, with polysemy: ‘sun / moon’, literally ‘compact object that repetitively moves’ [Jetté & Jones 2000: 53] < the generic classificationary verb ɬo ‘compact object is in position’.

There are also several expressions for ‘moon’ based on the words ʔo ‘sun’, nəʔ=ɬo-y ‘sun / moon’ and ɬa=t / təl ‘night’ with the literal meaning ‘night’s sun’ in non-Central dialects: Lower ɬa=t-o nəʔ=ɬo-y [Jetté & Jones 2000: 577], Lower ɬa=t-o ɬa=ɬ-o [Jetté & Jones 2000: 739], Upper (Toklat-Bearpaw subdialect) təl ɬa=ɬ-o [Jetté & Jones 2000: 514].


**Degexit’an:** Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 45. Literally ‘burning object in position’, for internal meaning see comm. on the Koyukon form. Cf. the examples for təɛ=ɬ-t=ɬ-o ‘moon’: “At that time darkness was over all the earth; there was no sun (nəʔ=ɬo-y) or moon (ɬa=t-ɬa=ɬ-o) here” [Chapman 1914: 106], “Dusk or darkness, no sun (nəʔ=ɬo-y) no moon (ɬa=t-ɬa=ɬ-o), only darkness, yet he travelled” [Chapman 1914: 111], “Then it was dark with the woman, and she looked for the moon” [Chapman 1914: 161], “The moon is bright” [Taff et al. 2007].

According to [Kari 1978: 45], the word nəʔ=ɬo-y ‘sun’ q.v. means both ‘sun’ and ‘moon’, but this is not confirmed by other sources.

Distinct from two words for ‘month’ offered in [Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 49]: POSSR=ɛɛɪ ‘during a period’), nəʔ=ɬo ~ nəʔ (apparently contraction of nəʔ=ɬo-y ‘sun’ q.v.).


55. MOUNTAIN

**Hupa** minis’a:n (1), Kato c’a=ɬ=s=nəʔ=ɬ-o? (2), Taldash Galice nac’ani? (3), Upper Inlet Tanaina twəlay (-1), Outer Inlet Tanaina twili (-1), Inland Tanaina tw̱ili (-1), Iliamna Tanaina tw̱ili (-1), Central Ahtena t=we=ləc-y (4), Mentasta Ahtena ceɬ (5), Dogrib sɪh (6), North Slavey (Hare) sɪʔ (6), Tanacross tʰɛt (5), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) tʰəɬ (5), Lower Tanana (Minto) tʰəɬ (5), Central Carrier ɛɬəɬ (5), Koyukon ɬəɬ (5), Degexit’an t=ɛ=ɬ-c-y (4), Sarsi ɛɬis ~ ɛɬis (7).

References and notes:

**Hupa:** Sapir & Golla 2001: 778; Golla 1996: 30, 63. Polysemy: ‘country, land / world, surface of the earth / mountain’. Probably to be analyzed as *nɪnɨʔ-sɨ-ɭa-i’ ground-lies’, according to Golla.

**Mattole:** Not attested.

**Bear River dialect:** not attested.

**Kato:** Goddard 1912: 30; Goddard 1909: 71 No. 2, 76 No. 8-9, 88 No. 14; Curtis 1924: 205. Literally ‘this is vertical’ with the verbal root 147


North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 92, 154.


Distinct from cεn=ik ‘cliff, a steep drop-off from a hill, mountain, or riverbank’ [Milanowski 2009: 16].


Scottie Creek: t=ra ‘mountain’ [John 1997: 47].


Distinct from t=la with polysemy: ‘large stone / mountain’ [Kari 1994: 306] (apparently not a frequent expression for ‘mountain’).

Distinct from nominalized t=t=vi=la-yi ‘mountain range, Alaska Range’ [Kari 1994: 186] from the classificatory verb =la ‘plural objects are in position; sg. rope-like object is in position’.


A difficult case with two candidates for the slot:

1) š=gi glossed as ‘hill, knoll, timbered mountain’ in [Poser 1998/2013: 446, 817] and ‘small mountain’ in [Antoine et al. 1974: 211, 319] (the variant -y=gi in archaic compounds).


Apparently q=ra should be chosen to represent the Swadesh meaning. In particular, it seems to be more frequently used than š=gi. Cf. some examples with q=ra: “They see the blue grouse only in the mountains” [Antoine et al. 1974: 80], “There are many flowers on the mountains” [Antoine et al. 1974: 97], “The smoke is ascending from between the mountains” [Antoine et al. 1974: 102], “He is reaching the top of the steep mountain” [Antoine et al. 1974: 103]. “He is camping overnight on the mountain” [Antoine et al. 1974: 170]. “Whenever we go up to the mountain mother brings a ground-hog blanket for us” [Antoine et al. 1974: 175]. “He is buried in an avalanche on the mountain” [Antoine et al. 1974: 194].

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 156, 958; Jones 1978: 106. Glossed as ‘mountain, large hill, range of mountains or high hills’.

A second candidate is su=t (retained historical y- is the possessed form: POSSR=yol-ʔ) ‘mountain, ridge, mountain range’ [Jetté & Jones 2000: 692]. As noted by Jones, su=t is used mainly in toponyms, the more common term for ‘mountain’ is Angle.

Distinct from t=taclaya = taclayi: ‘mountain range, Alaska Range’ [Jetté & Jones 2000: 407; Jones 1978: 106]. In [Jetté & Jones 2000], quoted as an Upper dialect form; if so, it is likely a borrowing from Lower Tanana t=t=vi=la-yi ‘mountain range, Alaska Range’. In [Jones 1978], quoted as a Central dialect form; if so, Koyukon t=t=vi=la-ya literally means ‘those that are in line’ from the generic classificatory verb =la ‘plural objects are in position’.

Degexi’an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 42; Chapman 1914: 230. Literally ‘plural objects are in a line’ with the generic classificatory verb =la: to handle pl. obj. [Kari 1976: 34].

56. MOUTH

Hupa POSSR=saːh (1) / POSSR=taʔ (2), Mattole POSSR=taʔ (2), Kato POSSR=taʔ (2), Taldash Galice POSSR=taʔ (2), Upper Inlet Tanaina POSSR=yaʔ (3) / POSSR=tu (2), Outer Inlet Tanaina POSSR=zaʔ (3) / POSSR=ti (2), Inland Tanaina POSSR=zaʔ (3) / POSSR=tu (2), Iliamna Tanaina POSSR=zaʔ (3) / POSSR=tu (2), Central Ahtena POSSR=zːa (1), Mentasta Ahtena POSSR=za (1), Dogrib POSSR=ʔwːʔ (1), North Slavey (Hare) POSSR=ʔwːʔ (1), Tanacross POSSR=ʔwːʔ (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) POSSR=ʔaːʔ (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) POSSR=ʔaːʔ (1), Central Carrier POSSR=ʔa (1), Koyukon POSSR=ʔːʔ (1), Degexitʔan POSSR=ʔoːʔ / POSSR=ʔtːʔ (1), Sarsi POSSR=ʔaʔ (1).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 782; Golla 1996: 63; Golla 1964: 112. There are two words for 'mouth' in Hupa:

1) POSSR=saːh 'oral cavity', glossed by Golla as 'the inside of the mouth' and 'mouth (interior)'. The variant saː is used as an incorporate element, e.g., POSSR=saː-tʰʔicn 'tongue' q.v. (literally 'inside the mouth (q.v.) it (stick-like object) lies'), etc. [Sapir & Golla 2001: 782]. Note the alternative variant POSSR=saʔq, quoted in [Golla 1996: 63] for 'the inside of the mouth', which actually looks like the incorporate saː with the postposition -eq 'inside' / -ʔq (locative) [Sapir & Golla 2001: 729, 781; Golla 1970: 225].

2) POSSR=taʔ 'mouth opening and lips', glossed by Golla as 'mouth, lips', although for 'lips' per se there is an alternative specialized expression: POSSR=taʔ-sːic, literally 'mouth + skin' [Golla 1996: 57].

Browsing through [Golla 1970; Golla 1996] and other sources does not permit to make a definite choice; therefore, we treat =saːh and =taʔ as synonyms. Sapir & Golla 2001: 745, 746; Golla 1996: 63; Golla 1964: 111. The synchronic root is rather taʔ, cf. -taʔ- in various compounds [Sapir & Golla 2001: 745], although taʔ is also used in compounds: POSSR=taʔ-kʰʔinːʔč 'gums' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 746; Golla 1996: 42] and POSSR=taʔ-sːic 'lips' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 746], although the latter is quoted as POSSR=taʔ-sːic in [Golla 1996: 57].

Mattole: Li 1930: 127. The synchronic root is =taʔ, cf. the compounds POSSR=taʔ-pʰʔik 'lip' [Li 1930: 126] (with pʰʔik ?) and POSSR=taʔ-eʔʔis 'lip' [Li 1930: 131] (with eʔʔis 'skin' q.v.).

The second root sa 'mouth, oral cavity' is retained in the compound POSSR=sa-sːicn 'tongue' q.v., literally 'inside the mouth it (stick-like object) lies' [Li 1930: 131].

Bear River dialect: POSSR=ʔa 'mouth' [Goddard 1929: 318].

Kato: Goddard 1912: 22; Curtis 1924: 201. Polysemy: 'mouth / voice, sounds of speaking'.

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 53; Hoijer 1956: 223; Landar 1977: 295. Synchronically, either =taʔ or =taʔ?: both taʔ- and taʔ- variants are attested as the second element of compounds, see [Hoijer 1973: 53].


Western Ahtena: POSSR=ʔa [Kari 1990: 447, 555; Kari & Buck 1975: 63].


Distinct from POSSR=čt-tà' 'chin / beak, bill of a bird' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 26]; the first element =čt- is a desemanticized prefix, the same as in POSSR=čt-kà 'knee' q.v.

Distinct from POSSR=čt, glossed as 'mouth area, lips' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 40].

**North Slavey (Hare):** Rice 1978: 105, 154; Hoijer 1956: 222. In compounds, the variant win- is used. Distinct from POSSR=čt- 'beak' [Rice 1978: 43].


**Upper Tanana (Tetlin):** Milanowski 2009: 23, 70. For the final -i, see notes on Lower Tanana.

**Scottie Creek:** POSSR=čt 'mouth' [John 1997: 15].

**Lower Tanana (Minto):** Kari 1994: 92, 439. The variant ść is used as the first element of compounds, the incorporated morpheme and the postposition 'into the mouth of OBJ' [Kari 1994: 92]; therefore, final -i in POSSR=ść-i should be analyzed as a suffixal extension.

**Central Carrier:** Poser 1998/2013: 590, 817; Poser 2011a: 143; Antoine et al. 1974: 56, 319.

**Koyukon:** Jetté & Jones 2000: 404, 959; Jones 1978: 106. Both forms mean 'mouth / in the mouth', final -n is the area nominalizer [Jetté & Jones 2000: 495].

Distinct from POSSR=čtn- 'snout of mammal, beak of bird; opening, neck, rim of container', POSSR=čtn- 'around the (human) mouth; around the edge of' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 143, 144] (the suffix -tn means 'around' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 461]).

**Degexit'an:** Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 34; Chapman 1914: 219. The suffixless form POSSR=č is from [Chapman 1914] (and is also attested in the Kuskokwim dialect [Kari 1978: 34]). Other sources give it with the area nominalizer -t (as in Koyukon q.v.). The unclear phonetic variant POSSR=č-t 'mouth' is added in [Kari 1978: 34]. In incorporation, the morpheme ść-t 'mouth' is used [Taff et al. 2007].

Distinct from POSSR=čtn- 'beak' [Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 14].

**Sarsi:** Hoijer & Joël 1963: 69; Hoijer 1956: 222.

57. NAME

Hupa POSSR=α=me-ʔ (1), Taldash Galice POSSR=α=ši-ʔ (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina POSSR=i=ya (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina POSSR=i=zi (1), Inland Tanaina POSSR=i=zi (1), Iliamna Tanaina POSSR=i=zi (1), Central Ahtena POSSR=ʔu=ze-ʔ (1), Mentasta Ahtena POSSR=u=za-ʔ (1), Dogrib POSSR=i=zi ~ POSSR=ʔi=zi (1), North Slavey (Hare) POSSR=ʔi=zi (1), Tanacross POSSR=ʔz=zi-ʔ (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) POSSR=ʔi=zi-ʔ ~ POSSR=ʔi=zi-ʔ (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) POSSR=ʔu=za-ʔ (1), Central Carrier u=zi (1), Koyukon u=s (1), Degexit'an POSSR=ʔe=za-ʔ (1), Sarsi POSSR=zi-ʔ (1).

References and notes:

**Hupa:** Sapir & Golla 2001: 796; Golla 1996: 65. The prefix α- can be a "semitransitive" marker, cf. [Golla 1970: 164]. Also functions as a verbal root: =me- 'to call by name, to be named' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 796; Golla 1996: 65; Golla 1970: 164].

**Mattole:** Not attested. Cf. the verb =zi-ʔ [perf.] 'to call by name' [Li 1930: 80].

Bear River dialect: not attested.

**Kato:** Not attested. Cf. the verb =ći- 'to name, call by name' [Goddard 1912: 61].


**Upper Inlet Tanana:** Kari 2007: 304, 354. The variant =ziya apparently < =zi-ši-ʔ with the optional izafet suffix.

**Outer Inlet Tanana:** Kari 2007: 304, 354.

**Inland Tanana:** Kari 2007: 304, 354.

**Iliamna Tanaina:** Kari 2007: 304, 354.


Northway: POSSR=ōː=si-ʔ 'name' [Milanowski 2007: 13].

Scottie Creek: POSSR=ōː=si-ʔ 'name' [John 1997: 3].


58. NECK

Hupa POSSR=q’os (1), Mattole POSSR=k’os (1), Kato POSSR=t’ai (2), Taldash Galice POSSR=k’w̱as (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina POSSR=q’as (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina POSSR=q’as (1), Inland Tanaina POSSR=q’as (1), Iliamna Tanaina POSSR=q’as (1), Central Ahtena POSSR=q’os (1), Mentasta Ahtena POSSR=q’os (1), Dogrib POSSR=k’oh (1), North Slavey (Hare) POSSR=k’o (1), Tanacross POSSR=k’ód (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) POSSR=k’oh (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) POSSR=k’oθ (1), Central Carrier POSSR=kiːl-ɛ̃h.m (3), Koyukon POSSR=q’uː (1), Degexit’an POSSR=q’oθ (1), Sarsi POSSR=k’yus (1).

References and notes:


Mattole: Li 1930: 130. Bear River dialect: two specific terms are documented, POSSR=k’os ‘back of the neck’ and POSSR=nis ‘front of the neck’ [Goddard 1929: 318].

Kato: Goddard 1912: 22; Curtis 1924: 201.


59. NEW

Hupa ʔaŋ (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina q'u-ti-ti ~ q'u-ti-x'-ya-ʔa (2), Outer Inlet Tanaina q'u-ti-ti ~ q'u-ti-qʰ̩-ya-ʔa (2), Inland Tanaina q'u-ti-ti ~ q'u-ti-qʰ-o-ya-ʔa (2), Iliamna Tanaina q'u-ti-ti ~ q'u-ti-qʰ-o-ya-ʔa (2), Central Ahtena ʔa-ti-ti (2), Mentasta Ahtena q'a-ti-ti (2), Dogrib =kʰ: (3), North Slavey (Hare) ʔè=kʰ’omî ~ ʔè=kʰ’omè (4), Tanacross k’a-ti-ti (2), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) k’a-tu-ʔu (2), Central Carrier ?a-ti-t (5), Koyukon aʔ-a-ʔ-ti-.ʔi: (6), Degexit’an q’o-te:.d ~ q’o-te:.t ~ q’o-te: (2), Sarsi kʰ’ha-hi-ta (7).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 780; Golla 1996: 65. Polysemy: ‘recently, just now / new’. In [Sapir & Golla 2001], ʔaŋ is only glossed as ‘recently’ (there are no expressions for ‘new’ in this dictionary); in [Golla 1996], ʔaŋ is transcribed as q’ay.

Mattole: Not attested.

Bear River dialect: not attested.

Kato: Not attested.

Taldash Galice: Not attested.


Tanacross: Shinen 1958: 20. Not found in other sources. Tonal and quantitative transcription are unclear. For the ti-suffixes see notes on Ahtena.

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 72. A noun-like adjective, found in the example "He is showing us a new dance". Derived from the adverb kâ-s-tuʔ ~ kâh,tuʔ:'now, right now' [Milanowski 2009: 19].

Lower Tanana (Minto): Not documented properly.

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 27, 824; Antoine et al. 1974: 3. Polysemy: 'new / now'; the morphological analysis is in accordance with similar forms in other languages. The variant  lám-ti-ti is also attested. Cf. some examples: "He is moving into the new house" [Antoine et al. 1974: 77], "He is broke because he bought a new car" [Antoine et al. 1974: 122], "He bought a new bed for his children" [Antoine et al. 1974: 131], "He is finishing the new house" [Antoine et al. 1974: 135], "We are going to buy a new stove" [Antoine et al. 1974: 206].

The adjective ?əʔu 'another' [Poser 1998/2013: 71] can be translated as 'new' in some contexts: "He is making new snowshoes" [Antoine et al. 1974: 2], "I am going to buy a new mattress for my bed" [Antoine et al. 1974: 129].


In the Lower dialect, the parallel formation aʔɨ-aʔ-t-ti: 'new' is used < Lower aʔɨ-aʔ-t-ta ~ aʔɨ-aʔ-t-ta 'right now, recently, just now' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 127, 597].

Degexit'an: Taff et al. 2007; Chapman 1914: 230. The forms q̓əc-təc ~ q̓əc-təc-t are quoted with polysemy: 'new / ago, a while ago' in [Taff et al. 2007]. Cf. the examples: "He’s building a new house", "We’re getting a new cupboard", "I want a new kicker", "He has a new hat", "His parka has a new ruff", "She is singing a new song" [Taff et al. 2007].


60. NIGHT

Hupa xi=ƛ’eʔ ~ xu=ƛ’eʔ ~ xa=ƛ’eʔ (1), Mattole ća=kʷə=l=x’iʔ (2), Kato ƛ’eʔ (1), Taldash Galice ƛ’eʔ (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina tʰəc (3), Outer Inlet Tanaina ƛ’aʔq (1), Inland Tanaina tʰəc (3), Iliamna Tanaina ƛ’aʔq (1), Central Ahnten tʰəc (3), Mentasta Ahnten tʰəc (3), Dogrib tʰó ~ tʰːʔ (3), North Slavey (Hare) tʰəwə (3), Tanacross tʰədə (3), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) tʰədən (3), Lower Tanana (Minto) tʰədə (3), Central Carrier tʰəz (3), Koyukon ƛʰət-ə (3), Degexit’an tʰət-ə:: əʔə (3), Sarsi xɨʔ (4).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 801; Golla 1996: 65; Golla 1964: 117. The first element xɨ- is not entirely clear; it may be a permutation of the root xɨʔ 'dark, murky color' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 801; Golla 1996: 24; Golla 1964: 116].

Mattole: Li 1930: 126. Literally 'it is dark here'. Descriptive expression with the verb =l=xɨʔ (< *=l=xɨn) 'to be dark, black' [Li 1930: 80] (cf. notes on 'black'). Initial ć- is the verbal prefix 'darkness' [Li 1930: 62]; kʷə- is the prefix referring to place or weather [Li 1930: 61].

Bear River dialect: ʃɨtən’k’o, an unclear formation, glossed as 'night, eight or nine o’clock' [Goddard 1929: 318].

Kato: Goddard 1912: 19. Contra Goddard, in [Curtis 1924: 205], 'night' is quoted as something like c’e:ut - an unclear form.
Distinct from the word for 'evening': xəh-č, glossed as 'evening, night' in [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 121], literally 'before the darkness' with xəh 'darkness' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 121] and č 'until, before' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 106].

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 96, 156; Hoijer 1956: 222.
Northway: t̢a̠ñ 'night' [Milanowski 2007: 13].
Scottie Creek: t̢a̠ñ 'night' [John 1997: 65].
Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 474, 824. Distinct from the adverb t̢a̠-t̢-čis 'at night' [Poser 1998/2013: 57, 824], which is glossed, however, simply as 'night' in [Poser 2011a: 146; Antoine et al. 1974: 35, 320]; either a nominal compound or a fossilized verbal form from an unclear root.
Degexit'an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 47; Chapman 1914: 216. Polysemy: 'night / at night'; glossed only as 'last night' in [Kari 1978: 47]. Historically 'long night', 'all night long' with the old root t̢a̠t̢- 'night' and nαθ 'long' q.v. Corresponds to Koyukon t̢a̠ñ x̣o̠ X̣-ñat̢ 'all night long'.
Cf. some examples for t̢a̠-t̢-nαθ 'night, at night': "So then, one night, one some one scratched her head while she slept" [Chapman 1914: 107], "So, for two days and two nights he remained in the house" [Chapman 1914: 141]. "Bats fly around at night", "I sat up at night", "He came in the middle of the night", "Last night he was wild" [Taff et al. 2007].

61. NOSE
Hupa POSSR=n=cʰniːn (1), Mattole 'POSSR=n=cʰIx (1), Kato POSSR=an=č (1), Taldash Galice POSSR=t̢=sas (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina POSSR=n=cʰIs (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina POSSR=n=cʰIs (1), Inland Tanaina POSSR=n=cʰIx (1), Iliamma Tanaina POSSR=n=cʰIx (1), Central Ahtena POSSR=en=cʰIs (1), Mentasta Ahtena POSSR=en=cʰIs (1), Dogrib POSSR=t̢=ʃ=ʔ (2), North Slavey (Hare) POSSR=t̢=ʃ=ʔ (2), Tanacross POSSR=in=cʰI (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) POSSR=t̢=cʰI (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) POSSR=an=cʰIy (1), Central Carrier POSSR=n=in=cʰIs (1), Koyukon POSSR=an=cʰIy (1), Degexit'an POSSR=an=cʰIy (1), Sarsi POSSR=cʰIh (1).

References and notes:


Mattole: Li 1930: 129.

Bear River dialect: POSSR=n=čuav ~ POSSR=n=čex= 'nose' [Goddard 1929: 318].

Kato: Goddard 1912: 21; Curtis 1924: 201.

Cf. the verb =ču 'to smell (trans., intrans.)' [Goddard 1912: 75].


Cf. the verbs =šaš 'imperf.' / =šaši 'perf.' 'to smell smth stinking' [Hoijer 1973: 71] and =sane 'imperf.' 'to be stinky' [Hoijer 1973: 70].


Western Ahtena: POSSR=en=čiš [Kari 1990: 390, 559; Kari & Buck 1975: 62; Smelcer 2010: 45].


Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 42, 192; Siemens et al. 2007: 31. It is quoted in [Siemens et al. 2007] and therefore should be the default expression for 'nose' in modern Dogrib.

The second candidate is the more archaic term POSSR=čiš 'nose' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 42, 192].

Of the two words, at least POSSR=čiš is also applicable to animals: =čiš 'its nose' [Siemens et al. 2007: 82].

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 60, 156; Rice 1989: 212; Hoijer 1956: 222. The same root without the izafet suffix: POSSR=čiš 'nostril, inside nose' [Rice 1978: 60].

The old root s is apparently retained in the compound =čil-čil 'snout' [Rice 1978: 91].


Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 18, 70. Cf. the verbs =čiš 'to smell (trans.), =čiš 'to stink' [Milanowski 2009: 56].

Northway: POSSR=čiš 'nose' [Milanowski 2007: 13].

Scottie Creek: POSSR=čiš 'nose' [John 1997: 15].


The alienable stem in=čiš 'nose, snout (of hog), nozzle' is also attested [Poser 1998/2013: 206].

Distinct from the obsolete term POSSR=in=čiš 'nose, snout' [Poser 1998/2013: 205].


Degext'an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 33; Chapman 1914: 216. In [Taff et al. 2007], the innovative variant POSSR=ńčiš of unclear nature is also quoted.


Distinct from POSSR=ńčiš 'beak of a bird), snout of animal' [Hoijer & Joël 1963: 69].

62. NOT

Hupa tu-: (1), Mattole tu-: (1), Kato tu-: (1), Taldash Galice tu-: (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina k'úš'ta (2) / z- (3), Inland Tanaina n=ču (5) / z- (3), Central Ahtena =e (6) / ?e=le? (7), Mentasta Ahtena =e (6) / q'a-liʔ ~ q'a-liʔ ~ q'a-li: (7), Dogrib =le (7), North Slavey (Hare) =yi=le ~ =le (7) / tù (1), Tanacross k'á- (8) / i:- (4), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) k'a- (8) / i:- (4),
Lower Tanana (Minto) =ā (6) / ḏ- (3), Central Carrier ɬ- (7) / z- (3), Koyukon =aː ~ =a (6) / lo- (3), Degexit’án ḏ- ~ θ- (3) / c’an? (9), Sarsi tú (1).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 752; Golla 1996: 66; Golla 1996a: 381; Golla 1970: 291. The verbal prefix teː- is used for both indicative and prohibitive. In prohibitive, the predicate is additionally modified with the enclitic -heh ‘despite, even if’ [Sapir & Golla 2001: 756; Golla 1996a: 383; Golla 1970: 291].

Mattole: Li 1930: 128 sub toʃćʔ; 143 “He did not kill the people”, 145 sub No. 9. Verbal prefix (or particle) teː-, expressing negation of assertion. In the prohibitive form, the verb is modified with teː- and the additional prefix yiː ~ gi- [Li 1930: 34]. Bear River dialect: not attested.

Kato: Goddard 1912: 41. The verbal prefix (or particle) teː- expresses negation of assertion. The prohibitive pattern is unclear. Cf. the verb =ixʔ (< *ixʔ [perf.?]) ‘to be none, do not exist’ [Goddard 1912: 70].

Taldash Galice: Landar 1977: 294 No. 8, 295 No. 69, 85. The prohibitive exponent is not documented.

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Not attested. Cf. the prohibitive, which can be expressed in one of the following ways:

1) the verbal enclitic -i, as in [Lovick 2005: 45 ex. 2.7, 160 ex. 4.47c].
2) the verbal enclitic -laki, as in [Lovick 2005: 44 ex. 2.5c, 225 ex. 6.13c].

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Boraas 2010: 86-89. According to [Boraas 2010], negation of assertion is expressed by the combination of the particle kuaʃʔi ‘not’ + the verbal confix z-…*V in imperfective, future and customary, and similarly by the particle kuaʃʔi ‘not’ + the confix i-…*V in perfective and stative imperfective. The morpheme -*V is an etymological and morphophonological unit, phonetically realized as a zero, but causing the voicing of root final fricatives (i.e., ḏ > -l and presumably other fricatives in the old intervocalic position).

Prohibitive (i.e., negative imperative) can be expressed in one of the three ways [Boraas 2010: 89-91]:
1) The particle kuaʃʔi + the enclitic particle -tu.
2) The verbal enclitic -u.

Inland Tanaina: Tenenbaum 1978: 112-114; Holton et al. 2004: 32. According to [Tenenbaum 1978; Holton et al. 2004], verbal negation of assertion is expressed by the combination of the proclitic particle n=čʔi ‘not’ (or n=ʔaša ~ n=luʔa ‘not yet’) + the verbal confix z-…*V in imperfective, future and customary, and similarly by the particle n=čʔi ‘not’ + the confix i-…*V in perfective and stative imperfective. The morpheme -*V is an etymological and morphophonological unit, phonetically realized as a zero, but causing the voicing of root final fricatives (i.e., ḏ > -l, x > ḏ, ḏ > x and presumably s > z, š > ž in the old intervocalic position).

Prohibitive (i.e., negative imperative) can be expressed in one of the three ways [Tenenbaum 1978: 114-115; Holton et al. 2004: 32-33]:
1) The proclitic particle n=čʔi + the enclitic particle -tu.
2) The verbal enclitic -lu.

Iliamna Tanaina: Not attested.


Lower Ahtena: =e [Kari 1990: 55, 66].


Lower Ahtena: ʔe=leʔ [Kari 1990: 276].

Western Ahtena: lìi [Kari 1990: 276]. Instead of lìi, younger speakers of the Cantwell subdialects can use the particle k’γeqʔ of unclear origin [Kari 1990: 126].


Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 68; Marinakis et al. 2007: 131, 152, 162. Information from [Marinakis et al. 2007] and a brief analysis of [Saxon & Siemens 1996] suggest that the main exponent of both negation of assertion and prohibitive is the enclitic -le, attached to the verb.

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1989: 1101. According to [Rice 1989: 1101 ff.], the most common ways to express negation of assertion are:
1) the verbal enclitic =yí=le or simply =le [Rice 1989: 1101].
2) the particle tí [Rice 1989: 1103].

The forms (=yí)=le and tí are mutually interchangeable and also frequently co-occur in the same phrase [Rice 1989: 1104].

Prohibitive is expressed with the help of the same verbal enclitic (=yí)=le [Rice 1989: 1102] and/or the complex particle ʔëhtini [Rice 1989: 1105].

**Tanacross:** Arnold et al. 2009: 185, 231; Holton 2000: 270. According to [Holton 2000: 270 ff., 231 ff.], negation of assertion is expressed by the combination of the particle/proclitic k'úr = not + the verbal prefix =i= + the verbal suffix *-V. The morpheme *-Vis an etymological and morphophonological unit, phonetically realized as a zero, but causing the voicing of root final consonant (i.e., -t > -l, tʰ > dʰ and so on in the old intervocalic position). The prefix =i= appears in active perfective and stative imperfective verbs which lack an inner subject prefix, whereas in other forms, underlying =i= is realized as high tone of a prefix vowel. Additionally, in final phrasal position, the root vowel acquires extra-high tone - this is the only case when extra-high tone appears in Tanacross [Holton 2000: 81 ff., 271], otherwise the dropped suffix *-V causes the standard tonal assimilation of the root vowel.

Besides, the verbal suffix *-V may combine with a specific "negative-descriptive" prefix c'- at least in the verbal stem c'=t=mvèg ‘do not know’ from =t=ëdëy ‘to know’ q.v.

Prohibitive is formed with the particle sìʔ ~ súʔ [Holton 2000: 289],Holton 2000: 231.

**Upper Tanana (Tetlin):** Milanowski 2009: 19, 81; Minoura 1997: 191. According to [Minoura 1997: 191-192], negation of assertion is normally expressed by the combination of the particle/proclitic k'úr = not + the verbal prefix =i= + the verbal suffix *-S (the latter tends to be dropped in the majority of dialects, causing change of the final consonants). [Minoura 1997] is apparently based on the Scottie Creek dialect (the tonal forms are k'úr- and =i=), but the described system should be common for the Upper Tanana varieties, because Minoura does not mention dialectal discrepancies. In [Milanowski 2009: 19, 81], the Tetlin negative particle is quoted in two variants: k'úr- and k'úr-čey-

The aforementioned negative construction competes with the less frequently used negative construction: proclitic lì:b + enclitic *sìʔ [Minoura 1997: 191-192].

Besides, there exists a specific "negative-descriptive" prefix c’, attested in such verbal stems as c’=...t=varèk ‘do not know’ from =t=sanìy ‘to know’ [Milanowski 2009: 49, 99] or c’=...=l=kìy ‘to taste bad’ from =l=kìy ‘to taste good’ [Milanowski 2009: 45].

Prohibitive is formed with the particle sìʔ [Milanowski 2009: 22, 81],Minoura 1997: 191.

**Lower Tanana (Minto):** Kari 1994: 3; Urschel 2006: 39-40. According to [Urschel 2006], negation of assertion is normally expressed by the combination of the verbal enclitic/suffix -a (tonal: -a, sporadically denasalizes: -i) + one of the two prefixes: -d- in non-perfective (i.e., imperfective active, future, optative, progressive) forms or -i- in other forms (i.e., perfective active, perfective stative, imperfective stative).

Additionally, the enclitic -a may combine with a specific negative prefix c’ which is glossed as 'negative descriptive, pejorative' in [Kari 1994: 3, 280]. It is attested in such verbal stems as c’=...=kat-á ‘to be blunt, stubby, dull’ from =kat / =kat ‘to stab, spear, poke, prick, lance OBJ with pointed instrument’ [Kari 1994: 107] or c’=...=l=nik-á ‘do not know (information, song, story)’ from =l=nik ‘to know (information, song, story)’ [Kari 1994: 216], etc.

It should be noted that simple -a does not obligatorily express negation of assertion, but may occasionally mark negative dimensional adjectives such as c’=xùl-á ‘small’, tì=c’ak-á ‘narrow’, =kìc-á ‘(to be) short’ etc.


**Central Carrier:** Poser 2011b: 26.

The Central Carrier system of negation has not yet been described in detail, but it can be seen from the paradigms in [Poser 2011b: 26] that verbal negation of assertion is expressed by the prefix ʔì. Additionally, the prefix =z= is used in imperfective, future, and optative forms. In imperfective and optative, =...=z= is supplemented with the suffix *-V, an etymological and morphophonological unit, phonetically realized as zero, but causing the voicing of root final fricatives (i.e., -t > -l and so on in the old intervocalic position).

There is also a special participial form ʔìw ‘not’ which is used for non-verbal negation or for emphatic verb negation: “if placed immediately before the verb ʔìw is merely emphatic, and if emphasis is not desired, is omitted. However, if something other than the verb is to be brought within the scope of negation, ʔìw is obligatory and must precede whatever is negated” [Poser 1998/2013: 31]

**Koyukon:** Jetté & Jones 2000: 5; Thompson 1977: 29.

According to [Thompson 1977: 29-31], negation of assertion is normally expressed by the combination of the verbal suffix -e + one of the two prefixes: -i- in non-perfective (i.e., imperfective and progressive) forms or -i- in perfective. As noted in [Jetté & Jones 2000: 5], suffixal -e can be reduced > -i (with -i being even more common).

Additionally, the suffix -i may combine with the specific negative prefix ʔe which is glossed as 'pejorative, negative, lacking' in [Jetté & Jones 2000: 660]. It is attested in such verbal stems as ɬʔe=niq-ə 'do not know' from =n=tay 'to know', ɬʔe=t=q’un-ə 'to be without a husband' from =q’un? husband’, etc. The full variant of this pejorative morpheme ʔe- 'bad, evil, difficulty' is used as the incorporated root or the first element of compounds [Jetté & Jones 2000: 672].

The suffix -i alone is lexicalized in several verbs, where it emphasizes small dimensions, e.g., =kuc-ə 'to be small', =e=q-ə 'to be narrow' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 5].


**Degexitan:** Taff et al. 2007; Hargus 2000. Browsing through [Taff et al. 2007; Hargus 2000] suggests that negation of assertion is expressed by the suffix *.V*, which is an etymological and morphophonological unit, phonetically realized as a zero, but causing the voicing of root final consonants (i.e., ɬ > -ɬ, -q > -ʔ, etc. in the old intervocalic position). Additionally, the prefix ʔ- ~ -ʔ- is also used (apparently it is restricted to non-perfective forms, just like the related -i- in Koyukon), as well as the enclitic particle ʔen. Cf. non-perfective: =t=ʔe=ʔe=ɬ-ə 'we will do (it)' / =t=ʔe=ʔe=ɬ-ə 'we won’t do (it)' [Hargus 2000: 10], n=ʔe=t=ʔe=ɬ-ə. What (n=ʔe=t) will he say? / t=ʔe=ɬ-ə=ne ʔen? 'he didn’t say' [Hargus 2000: 14].

We treat -ʔ- and ʔen? as synonyms.

Prohibitive exponents are not documented properly.Taff et al. 2007; Hargus 2000.

**Sarsi:** Cook 1984: 51. Glossed as 'not' by Cook. Browsing through the texts in [Goddard 1915] suggests that the verbal proclitic tâ is the most common way to express negation of assertion.

Another negative exponent is the verbal prefix/proclitic ɬâ, attested in some examples [Cook 1984: 182]. There is also a particle ɬâ, glossed as 'no' in [Cook 1984: 51] (with the example: 'It wasn’t water').

Prohibitive is expressed by -t in the suffix chain -i-kiú-t, where -kiú is the optative exponent [Cook 1984: 37].

62. NOT

Outer Inlet Tanaina i- (4), Inland Tanaina i- (4), Lower Tanana (Minto) i- (4), Koyukon i- (4).

References and notes:

**Outer Inlet Tanaina:** Boraas 2010: 86-89.

**Inland Tanaina:** Tenenbaum 1978: 112-114; Holton et al. 2004: 32.


63. ONE

Hupa ɬa? (1), Mattole ɬaiha? (1), Kato ɭa? (1), Taldash Galice ɬa? (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina ɬə- (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina ɬə- (1), Inland Tanaina ɬə- (1), Iliamna Tanaina ɬə- (1), Central Ahtena ɬə-ʔe (1), Mentasta Ahtena ɬə-ʔe (1), Dogrib ɬ-ɭə (1), North Slavey (Hare) ɬik (1) / ɬ-ɭə ~ ɬ-ɭi (1), Tanacross ɬəɭə (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin)
c'eh'tlagn (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) c'itk'-i (1), Central Carrier ?i=to (1), Koyukon k'i=atl-aq'-i: (1), Degexit'an kət-aq-a ~ kət-aq (1), Sarsi λʰi-k'-ażá (1).

References and notes:

Mattole: Li 1930: 134. Quoted by Li as 'laihaʔ - probably a typo, since l- in the initial position should not occur in Mattole. Historically *laihaʔ, although the element -haʔ is unclear: cf. the enclitic particle -haʔ, probably with the emphatic function [Li 1930: 136].

Bear River dialect: 'laihaʔ one' [Goodard 1929: 318].

Kato: Goodard 1912: 36; Curtis 1924: 205.


Dogrib: Sax on & Siemens 1996: 53, 194. The initial morpheme ʃ is unclear.


According to the description in [Rice 1989: 376-377] and available examples, Hare possesses two cardinal numerals for '1', liki and là-tè, and two cardinal numerals for '2', rak'idi and ʔo-k'è-tè.

In preposition to the counted noun, the forms liki '1' and rak'idi '2' are used.

In postposition, là-tè '1' is normally used; cf. some examples with animate and non-animate nouns: "One kid ran around all night" [Rice 1978: 285], "I netted only one fish" [Rice 1978: 370], "I measured one piece of wood" [Rice 1978: 229], whereas liki '1' has the specific meaning 'one of the'. The situation with cardinal '2' is slightly different: both rak'idi '2' and ʔo-k'è-tè '2' can be used postpositionally, and the difference between two numerals is not described.

The semantic opposition between the constructions numeral + noun and noun + numeral is such that the noun designates a less concrete object in the former case [Rice 1989: 377].

Final -tè / -tè is the verb 'there are number' [Rice 1989: 383, 385]. Further analysis of liki '1' and là-tè '1' is less evident, apparently the forms are cognate to each other representing various results of reanalysis of the proto-stem. It is proposed in [Rice 1989: 376] that the first element of là-tè '1' is POSSR-là-tè hand q.v., but this solution is typologically not likely and also does not explain the high tone in là-tè. Rice 1978: 72, 157; Rice 1989: 373.


Northway: c'eh'teŋŋ one' [Milanowski 2007: 13].

Scottie Creek: c'eh'tik one' [John 1997: 52].

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 301; Tuttle 2009: 148; Frank et al. 1988: 34. Applicable to things; c'hik'-a ʄis applicable to humans.


Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 309, 391, 812; Jones 1978: 113. Applicable to things; k'i=t-aq'-aʔ - k'i=t-aq-ʔis applicable to humans. Cf. k'i=t-aq ʔi='once, k'i=t-ωu 'in one direction' and other adverbs based on the synchronic root k'i=t- 'one, single' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 309].

Degexit'an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 52. Applicable to things and animals; kət-aq-a ʄis applicable to humans (both men and women); kət-aq ~ kət-aq-tə is applicable to places and also means 'once' [Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 52; Chapman 1914: 229].

Sarsi: Cook 1984: 76; Hoijer 1956: 222. Cf. λʰi-nu 'one (person), λʰi-ti 'one (place)' [Cook 1984: 103], λʰi-k'-i 'one (out of several), some' [Cook 1984: 77].
64. PERSON

Hupa kʰʔi=win=yaʔn=yaːn (1), Mattole kʰo=ni=s=tʰeʔ (2), Kato naneš ~ naneš (3), Taldash Galice ta=tʰe: (4), Upper Inlet Tanaina qʰuʔtʰ'an-a (5), Outer Inlet Tanaina qʰuʔtʰ'an-a ~ qʰuʔtʰ'an-a (5), Inland Tanaina qʰuʔtʰ'an (5), Iliamna Tanaina qʰuʔtʰ'an-a (5), Central Ahtena qʰoʔtʰ'en-e (5), Mentasta Ahtena qʰoʔtʰ'en (5), Dogrib tóne ~ tó (6), North Slavey (Hare) tənè (6), Tanacross tədèh (6), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) tinʰeʔ ~ tinʰe: (6), Lower Tanana (Minto) kʰʌxʔtʰ'an-a ~ kʰʌhʔtʰ'an-a (5) / təna ~ tənəh (6), Central Carrier tane (6), Koyukon təna: (6), Degexit'an təna: (6), Sarsi tiná (6).

References and notes:


Mattole: Li 1930: 130. Li quotes this nominalized verbal form as the collective term 'people (Indian)', although the Bear River gloss ko-ne-s-te 'man' q.v. could point out that it can be used with the singulative meaning as well. Morphologically it looks like a deverbal from the verb =te or =teʔ' (cf. =te 'to be of such sort' [Li 1930: 92] and the expression for 'man' q.v.: kaiʔ'en). Cf. also the ethnonymical suffix -ni 'person' [Li 1930: 138].

Bear River dialect: not attested. Cf. ko-ne-s-te, glossed in [Goddard 1929: 318] as 'man' (an error for 'person').


Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 54. Polysemy: 'person / Galice tribal name / relatives'. Originates from *=ta-i 'to sit', further see notes on 'man'.


Lower Ahtena: qʰoʔtʰ'en-e [Kari 1990: 87, 566; Kari & Buck 1975: 54].

Western Ahtena: qʰoʔtʰ'en-e [Kari 1990: 87, 566; Kari & Buck 1975: 54].


Dogrib: Saxton & Siemens 1996: 20, 196; Marinakis et al. 2007: 163. tó is the reduced variant of tóne. Polysemy: 'man / person / people / Dene people'.

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 45, 160. Polysemy: 'man / person / people'.


Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski, p.c.; Milanowski 2009: 16, 78, 81. Polysemy: 'man / person / people'. Distinct from the more specific term kʰoʔtʰ'en ~ tʰin, glossed as 'a person of a particular kind or from a particular place' [Milanowski 2009: 18, 26, 81] and probably ineligible for the status of the generic term for 'person' in Tetlin. The variant tʰin (only used as the second element of compounds?) looks like a secondary abbreviation of kʰoʔtʰ'en. The latter corresponds to Ahtena qʰoʔtʰ'en-e 'man / person', Tanaina qʰuʔtʰ'an-a 'man / person' q.v. Tanana kʰoʔtʰ'in could be an Ahtena loanword.

Scottie Creek: tinʰeʔ with polysemy: 'man / person, people' [John 1997: 54, 82].

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 12, 452. Glossed as 'person (of either sex), people, human, man, middle age person, Athabaskan person'. Pl.: kʰʌxʔtʰ'an-a-yi 'peoples'. To be analyzed in the same manner as Tanaina qʰuʔtʰ'an, Ahtena qʰoʔtʰ'en-e 'man / person' (q.v.): literally kʰ-ʌxʔ-tʰ'an-a 'one who has territory' with the verb =tʰ-a (< =tʰ-an) 'to have, possess' and -na 'pl. human relative suffix' [Kari 1994: 196] (the original plural form 'persons' has superseded the singular one); initial kʰ- is expected.
to be an areal object prefix 'area, place', although this morpheme is not quoted in [Kari 1994; Urschel 2006] as a morphological unit, which is why the whole term could actually be a loanword from a neighboring lect.

The second candidate is tna with polysemy: 'person / man' (q.v.). We have to treat kʰiṭšan-a and tna as synonyms for 'person'. Kari 1994: 196.


Distinct from the collective term naniʔ-q:č cőv-tan-ʔ 'human beings' [Kari 1978: 29], literally 'person(s) on surface of the earth' with naniʔ 'ground, world' q.v. and q:č 'covering' [Taff et al. 2007].


65. RAIN

Hupa na=n=ya-y (1), Mattole =ti’y (2), Kato tʰ=ə=t=p=ɬ ~ tʰ=ə=t=p ah (3), Taldash Galice na=ya: (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina kʰun (4), Outer Inlet Tanaina kʰun (4), Inland Tanaina kʰun (4), Iliamna Tanaina kʰun (4), Central Ahtena kʰən (4), Mentasta Ahtena kʰən: (4), Dogrib čʰə (4), North Slavey (Hare) čʰə (4), Tanacross čʰə: (4), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) čʰə: ~ čʰə: tʰuʔ (4), Lower Tanana (Minto) čʰən (4), Central Carrier čʰan (4), Koyukon kʰən (4), Degexit’an čʰən (4), Sarsi čʰə (4).

References and notes:

Hupa: Golla 1996: 77. Not found in [Sapir & Golla 2001]. Polysemy: ‘rain (subst.) / it’s raining’. A descriptive formation with the directional prefix na- 'down from vertically above' [Golla 1970: 125] and the verbal root =ya: ‘to move somewhere’ (for which see notes on ‘come’ & ‘go’).

The old root for ‘rain’ is retained in kʰu=t=kʰəh ‘hailstorm’ [Sapir & Golla 2001: 757] with the augmentative suffix -kʰəh (for which see notes on ‘big’).

Mattole: Li 1930: 86. Verbal stem with the meaning ‘to rain’: =teh < *=teh [imperf.] / =ti’y < *=teh-i [perf.]. Li does not quote any nominal forms for ‘rain’; apparently, the default expressions for ‘rain’ are based on the aforementioned verb.


Kato: Goddard 1909: 74 No. 4, 93 No. 5; Curtis 1924: 205. Literally ‘it falls, it sprinkles’ from the verb =p ah < *=p il [light imperfect] / =p ol < *=p il-i [heavy imperfect] / =p ili < *=p il-ʔ-i [heavy perf.] ‘to fall (pl. subj.), fall in drops’ [Goddard 1912: 68].


In [Hoijer 1973: 69], specific paradigmatic forms of =ya: ‘to move, go’ q.v. are treated as a separate verb for ‘to rain’: =ya: [imperf.] / =yaʔ [perf.].


Western Ahtena: kʰən [Kari 1990: 110, 574; Kari & Buck 1975: 89; Smelcer 2010: 127].
66. RED

Hupa ʰc'el-nehw-a:n (1), Mattolle =čʰi:č (2), Kato t=čʰi:k (2), Taldash Galice =sit (3), Upper Inlet Tanaina =l=tal (4), Outer Inlet Tanaina =l=tal (4), Inland Tanaina =tal (4), Iliamna Tanaina =l=tal (4), Central Ahtena =l=tel (4), Mentasta Ahtena =l=tel (4), Dogrib =k'ó (5), North Slavey (Hare) tè=tel-è (4), Tanacross t=è=l=t'èl (6), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) t=e=l=l=tal (6), Lower Tanana (Minto) =l=k'as (5), Central Carrier =l=k'am (7), Koyukon =t=q'as (5), Degexit'an =q'as ~ =q'ax (5), Sarsi =V=k'á:z (5).

References and notes:

Hupa: Golla 1996: 78. Not found in [Sapir & Golla 2001]. As noted by Golla, a contraction from ʰc'el-lin ne-h-a-wa:n, literally ʰc'el-lin /blood/ q.v. + 'it resembles' [Golla 1996: 78; Golla 1970: 63].

Mattole: Li 1930: 116. Verbal root ‘to be red’. Cf. the full form ti=čʰi:č ‘(it is) red’ (for the adjectival prefix ti- see [Li 1930: 64]).

Bear River dialect: not attested.

Kato: Goddard 1912: 28; Curtis 1924: 203. An adjective-like deverbal form. Polysemy: ‘red / yellow’ (the meaning ‘yellow’ is only quoted in [Curtis 1924]).

Distinct from the verb =čʰi:, which is glossed in [Goddard 1912: 74] with polysemy: ‘to be red / to dawn’, although browsing through [Goddard 1909] suggests that its only meaning seems to be ‘to dawn’.


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North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 14, 416, 529; Rice 1989: 10. Verbal form 'it is red', eventually based on the substantive POSS=tel-eʔ 'blood' q.v.; initial t- is the adjectival prefix [Rice 1989: 617], for the desemanticized verbal suffix -e see [Rice 1989: 816].

Distinct from more specific siʔ 'red ashes from driftwood / vermillion (adj.)' [Rice 1978: 90] (in [Hoijer 1956: 222], it is quoted as the basic term for 'red').


Distinct from phonetically similar tel 'blood' q.v.


Northway: t=e=tel (it is) red [Milanowski 2007: 15] (quoted with a typo).

Scottie Creek: e=tel-tele, t=el-tele (it is) red [John 1997: 32].

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 166, 463; Tuttle 2009: 162. Verbal stem: 'to be red', also functions as the noun-like adjective kʰaz-aʔ 'red'. Derived from the substantive kʰas 'thin leaf alder, red alder' [Kari 1994: 166].

The second candidate is the rarely used verb -el-tel 'to be red' [Kari 1994: 68] from tel 'blood' q.v.


In the Upper dialect, it competes with the more marginal verb -el-tel 'be red, be blood-red, be bloody' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 131] from tel 'blood' q.v.


Sarsi: Li 1930b: 22; Hoijer 1956: 223; Cook 1984: 166. Verbal stem: 'to be red'.

67. ROAD

Hupa tʰin (1), Mattole tʰen-iʔ (1), Kato tʰani: (1), Taldash Galice tʰate: (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina tʰan (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina tʰon (1), Inland Tanaina tʰon (1), Iliamna Tanaina tʰon (1), Central Ahtena tʰene (1), Mentasta Ahtena tʰen (1), Dogrib tʰi-li (1), North Slavey (Hare) kʰè (2), Tanacross tʰêtj (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) tʰêtj (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) tʰona (1), Central Carrier tʰi (1), Koyukon tʰoʔa (1), Degexit'an tʰaʔ (1), Sarsi tʰi:nɔ ~ tʰi:nə (1).

References and notes:


Mattole: Li 1930: 128, 148 sub No. 84. Glossed as 'road, trail'. The final element -ʔ is unclear. There is another attested variant: tini̊ 'road' [Li 1930: 148 sub No. 84], phonetically obscure.

Bear River dialect: tʰena ~ tʰana 'road' [Goddard 1929: 319].

Kato: Goddard 1912: 32, 120.

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 54; Hoijer 1956: 223. Glossed as 'road, trail'.


Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 97, 204. The second morpheme -li is unclear. Glossed with polysemy: 'road / path / trail'. This is the
default expression for 'road' as follows from numerous instances: "When it's slippery, they put gravel on the road" [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 6], "He was by chance walking back on the road" [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 12], "He walked by on the other side of the road" [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 37], "The road is slippery because it rained a lot" [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 42], "He is travelling on the road" [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 73], "A road runs to Whati", "Long ago the road didn't extend to Yellowknife" [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 81], "Evidently they made a road across the lake" [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 85], "The road is crooked" [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 118], "And so the bus drove off the road" [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 130], "A truck went over the road" [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 130].

The second candidate is këli: or ê-këli:kë: (with possessive ê = 'its' and the postposition -kë: 'place of'), glossed as 'path, road' in [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 62]. It is a much more rare term, no examples have been found.

**North Slavey (Hare):** Rice 1978: 56, 166. The possessed form is POSSR=kïr-êʔ [Rice 1989: 213] (apparently not POSSR=kïr-êʔ), Glossed simply as 'road', cf. the attested examples: "The road is narrow" [Rice 1978: 260], "We followed an old road" [Rice 1978: 561], "we found him walking back along the road" [Rice 1989: 1227].

Distinct from more specific têy-lù 'large road' [Rice 1978: 97] with the example "A tree fell across the road" [Rice 1978: 321]. Final -lù is an unclear element; formally it can be the attributive 'round' (see [Rice 1989: 244] for South Slavey -lù 'round'), a suffixless cognate to the verb =lùl-ê 'to be round' q.v.

Distinct from tênê 'path' [Rice 1978: 96, 159]. The words têy-lù 'large road' and tênê 'path' are cognate.


**Upper Tanana (Tetlin):** Milanowski 2009: 24, 82. Polysemy: 'trail / road'.

Distinct from nỳŋŋ 'way, route' [Milanowski 2009: 22].

**Northway:** têy 'road' [Milanowski 2007: 15].

**Lower Tanana (Minto):** Kari 1994: 234, 465; Tuttle 2009: 165. Glossed as 'trail, road, path'.

**Central Carrier:** Poser 1998/2013: 463, 874; Poser 2011a: 174; Antoine et al. 1974: 217, 326. Glossed as 'trail, road, path'.

**Koyukon:** Jetté & Jones 2000: 513, 993; Jones 1978: 133. Glossed as 'trail, path, road'.

**Degexit’an:** Taft et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 87. Polysemy: 'road / trail'.

**Sarsi:** Hoijer & Joël 1963: 70; Cook 1984: 215. Briefly glossed as 'path' in the sources. Note that in [Hoijer 1956: 223], an unclear Sarsi form ñsti- is quoted in the Swadesh meaning 'path'.

### 68. ROOT

Hupa qat (1), Mattolle POSSR=kʰat-êʔ (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina POSSR=qac-ã (2), Outer Inlet Tanaina POSSR=qac-ã (2), Inland Tanaina POSSR=qac-ã (2), Iliamna Tanaina POSSR=qac-ã (2), Central Ahtena POSSR=kʰen-êʔ (3), Mentasta Ahtena POSSR=kʰen-êʔ (3), Dogrib xóh (4), North Slavey (Hare) xāi (4), Tanacross xèy (4), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) xay (4), Lower Tanana (Minto) xv=n=kat= (2), Central Carrier POSSR=yilh (4), Koyukon POSSR=qat:ã-ãʔ (2), Degexit’an POSSR=qat:d (2).

### References and notes:

**Hupa:** Sapir & Golla 2001: 753; Golla 1964: 116. In [Golla 1996], quoted as qut. Glossed as 'tree roots (esp. willow)' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 753; Golla 1964: 116] and more narrowly 'the long tubular root of the willow, used in basketry' [Golla 1996: 80]. Cf. the following examples: "He picked up a willow (q’ililèm) root (qut)" [Goddard 1904: 197], "There he saw alder (q’ilè) roots (qut) projecting into the water" [Goddard 1904: 341, 344].

Distinct from the more specific term xay 'the roots of a conifer (esp. pine or spruce roots)' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 799; Golla 1996: 80; Golla 1964: 115]. Examples are: "On the fire I throw small roots, so that they may get cooked" [Golla 1970: 271], "I make a cut along the lengths of the roots I brought" [Golla 1970: 306].

A third candidate is POSSR=qâc-êʔ, glossed as 'clumped roots, (tree’s) stump' in [Sapir & Golla 2001: 797; Golla 1996: 92; Golla 1964: 115]. An example: "The scabby one took a Tan oak and split it to its roots with his hands" [Goddard 1904:
The same word is used in the expression for 'angelica, sweet anise, incense root': _mi-xač'-čt xo-len_, literally 'its-roots are-plenty' [Golla 1996: 4; Goddard 1904: 227]. It seems that _possr=xax'-čt_ displays the specific collective meaning 'roots'; therefore, we exclude _=xax'-čt_ from the list.

**Mattole:** Li 1930: 130. Quoted as _ʔi=kʰat-čt_ with the indefinite possessive pronoun _ʔi_, for which see notes on 'meat’. Cf. the non-possessed variant _kʰeʰ_ in _kʰal poverty_ 'under the roots' [Li 1930: 135, 149 sub No. 93]; this form is not clear, because the normal development for the final position is _-t > -h_, not _-t > -ʔ_ [Li 1930: 20].

Bear River dialect: not attested reliably.

**Kato:** Not attested.

**Talbash Galice:** Not attested.

**Upper Inlet Tanaina:** Kari 2007: 62, 356.

**Outer Inlet Tanaina:** Kari 2007: 62, 356.

**Inland Tanaina:** Kari 2007: 62, 356.

**Iliamna Tanaina:** Kari 2007: 62, 356.


**Western Ahtena:** _possr=kʰen-čt_ [Kari 1990: 113, 579; Kari & Buck 1975: 31; Smelcer 2010: 107].


**Dogrib:** Saxon & Siemens 1996: 121; 205. Glossed simply as 'root' with the example "When it's summer lots of roots grow" [Poser 1998/2013: 159, 876; Poser 2011a: 174; Antoine et al. 1974: 24, 326].

**North Slavey (Hare):** Rice 1978: 108, 167.

**Tanacross:** Arnold et al. 2009: 218; Holton 2000: 347; Brean & Milanowski 1979: 9; McRoy 1973: 5; 13. Usually glossed as 'spruce roots', but actually the word looks like a generic term, cf. the collocation for 'willow roots': _kʰeʰ x̬en-čt_; literally '_čt_ 'tree, bush, log, twig, stick', _x̬_ 'under the', see notes on 'tree'.

**Upper Tanana (Tetlin):** Milanowski 2009: 28, 82.

Distinct from _čʰətʰ_ 'edible root (carrot, Indian potato, potato)' [Arnold et al. 2009: 218; Brean & Milanowski 1979: 9].

**Northway:** _xon 'root', _čʰuc_ 'edible root' [Milanowski 2009: 25, 82].

**Scottie Creek:** _xon, possr=יה-ʔ_ 'root' [John 1997: 60], _čʰuc_ 'bear root (Hedysarum)' [John 1997: 57].


Distinct from _xon_ 'spruce root, tree roots' [Kari 1994: 140], which is apparently more rare.

Distinct from _čʰa=kʰčʰi=aʰ_ 'tree trunk and roots' [Kari 1994: 134] (čʰi is the indefinite possessive pronoun).

**Central Carrier:** Poser 1998/2013: 159, 876; Poser 2011a: 174; Antoine et al. 1974: 24, 326.

**Koyukon:** Jetté & Jones 2000: 204, 994; Jones 1978: 133. Explained by Jetté as 'General term applying to all roots except the fine radicles of the spruce (and other trees) which are specifically termed _xon_. Cf. the possibly cognate verb _=t=qəl_ 'to be twisted, awry, out of alignment’ [Jetté & Jones 2000: 207].

Distinct from _xon_ glossed as 'spruce root, long thin tree roots' and specified as 'The long slender roots of the spruce, used to sew together the birch bark pieces in making canoes ... [and] baskets’ [Jetté & Jones 2000: 277].

**Degexit'an:** Kari 1978: 17; Chapman 1914: 229. Glossed as 'tree roots' by Kari and simply as 'root' by Chapman. Cf. the attested examples: "She tore up spruces by the roots. In her rage, she broke down the trees also" [Chapman 1914: 129]. "Then he happened to look toward the root [of the big drift-log lying in the edge of the water], and there were two masks hanging on it […] He went to them; and when he reached them, he put out his hand to take them, when all at once the root vanished'" [Chapman 1914: 172], "The earth shook, and soon afterwards the door opened. You see they had put a big root against the door" [Chapman 1914: 176], "There he was all day, when the root that covered the smoke-hole slid aside, and a stunningly pretty woman in a fine marten-skin parka put her face down inside the hole. […] Then she threw down the big root upon the hole, and turned away and vanished" [Chapman 1914: 178-179], "One morning his father placed a big root at the door for him, to exercise with’" [Chapman 1914: 189].

It should be noted that the word _possr=qadʰi_ is not found in [Taff et al. 2007].
ROUND

Hupa =wol ~ =wot (1) / =mac' (2), Kato =poš (2), Taldash Galice =paš (2), Inland Tanaina =l=vic' (2) / =laaž (3), Central Ahtena =l=cit (4) / =l=pac' (2), Mentasta Ahtena =l=cit (4) / =l=pac' (2), Dogrib =ñt-á ~ =ñt-á (5), North Slavey (Hare) =lùl-è (6) / =yén-é (5), Tanacross =t=ñcés (3) / =l=mátò (2), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) =t=ñia (3), Lower Tanana (Minto) =l=γas (3) / =bátò ~ =l=batò (2), Central Carrier =c-an (7), Koyukon =t=kas (3), Degexit'an ka=maθ (2), Sarsi =vàl (8) / =mìz ~ =mìc' (2).

References and notes:


Mattole: Not attested. Cf. the verb =pas ‘to coil (a rope)’ [Li 1930: 82], which corresponds to Hupa =mac’.

Kato: Goddard 1912: 98, 158. Both of the attested examples in [Goddard 1909: 80 No. 1, 133 No. 3] point to the specific meaning ‘to be round 3D’.

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 63. Verbal root with polysemy: ‘to be round 3D / to roll (like a ball)’. No expression for ‘round 2D’ is documented.

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Not attested properly. The existence of the verbs =puc ‘to be round’ and =laany ‘to be round’ is expected on the basis of the following documented collocations: k’tun puc’-a ‘quaking aspen, little cottonwood’, lit. ‘leaf-round’ [Kari 2007: 50], na-âk-l-âny-ì ‘soup bowl’, lit. ‘one that is round’ [Kari 2007: 268].

It must be noted that the aforementioned collocations point to the original meaning ‘to be round 2D’ for both =puc’ and =laany.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Not attested properly. The existence of the verb =l=pas ‘to be round 3D’ is expected on the basis of the following documented collocations: cít-l-pas-i ‘bufflehead (Bucephala albeola)’, lit. ‘round head’ [Kari 2007: 29].

Inland Tanaina: Wassillie 1979: 83. Verbal root: ‘to be round 3D’. Wassillie quotes the inflected form t=ña=l=vic’ with the example “round ball”. Wassillie 1979: 83; Tenenbaum 1978: 154. Tenenbaum’s gloss ‘it’s spherical’ implies the meaning ‘to be round 3D’, whereas Wassillie’s example “the sun is round” can point to either ‘to be round 3D’ or ‘to be round 2D’.

Iliamna Tanaina: Not attested.


Western Ahtena: =l=cit [Kari 1990: 174, 580].


Western Ahtena: =l=pac’ [Kari 1990: 99, 580].


Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 52, 205; Marinakis et al. 2007: 154, 156. Verbal root: ‘to be round’. Final -i is the common diminutive suffix [Marinakis et al. 2007: 152 f.f.], a-ñt-á ~ a-ñt-á is also commonly used as a noun-like adjective (or a suffix) ‘round’ [Marinakis et al. 2007: 156]. It is unclear whether a-ñt-á ~ a-ñt-á means ‘round 3D/2D’ or only ‘round 3D’. In [Marinakis et al. 2007: 154, 156], it is explicitly specified as ‘round like a ball’, i.e., ‘round 3D’, but the only found example “Her face is
No specific expressions for 'round 2D' have been found in the available sources.

Cf. also the verbal root =mén: with unclear meaning, attested in the substantive èc=âm=êmèń = èc=âm=êmèń 'circle, round' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 37; Siemens et al. 2007: 25]; initial èc- is the verbal spatial prefix 'in a circle' [Marinakis et al. 2007: 103].

**North Slavey (Hare):** Rice 1978: 261, 449, 531. For the desemanticized verbal suffix -e see [Rice 1989: 816].

There is a variety of verbs documented with the meaning 'to be round' in Hare:
1) =lùl-é with polysemy: 'to roll (trans., intrans.) / to be round 3D' [Rice 1978: 261, 449, 531] (glossed as 'round, spherical'). The attested examples are: 'The teapot is round', 'The wood is round' [Rice 1978: 261].
2) =yêñ-é with polysemy: 'to roll (trans., intrans.) / to be round 2D' [Rice 1978: 260, 435, 531] (glossed as 'round and flat'). The attested example is: 'Give me the round plate' [Rice 1978: 260].
3) =kûl-é 'to be narrow and round' [Rice 1978: 259, 431, 531] with the example 'The stick is long, round, and narrow' [Rice 1978: 259]. Apparently the meaning 'to be round in section' is meant.
4) =mën-é 'to be round 2D' [Rice 1978: 261, 453] (glossed as 'to be circular'), the example is: 'The frame is round' [Rice 1978: 261]. Substantivized hû=mên-ẫ means 'circle' [Rice 1978: 62].
5) =kûl-é 'to be round' [Rice 1978: 261, 443, 531] with only one obscure example "The thread is big" [Rice 1978: 261], perhaps the meaning 'to be round in section' is meant;
6) =pûr-é 'to be rounded, curved' [Rice 1978: 257, 531], e.g., "The knife is rounded" [Rice 1978: 257].

Provisionally we fill the slot with =lùl-é 'round 3D' and =yêñ-é 'round 2D', although further corpus analysis is required.Rice 1978: 260, 435, 531.


**Upper Tanana (Tetlin):** Milanowski, p.c. Verbal root: 'to be round'. Milanowski's only example points to the meaning 'round 2D': çêtxia lẫỹn 'round dish'. Cf. the cognate noun POSSR=xîn-t- 'egg' q.v.

**Lower Tanana (Minto):** Kari 1994: 123, 466. Verbal stem: 'to be round 3D'. Cf. the cognate noun POSSR=xàs-z-'egg' q.v.

A second, probably more specific candidate is =lûcît, glossed as 'to be spherical, round, circular, concave, chubby' [Kari 1994: 104].Kari 1994: 40, 466. Verbal stem: 'to be round 2D'. The basic meaning of =lûcît is 'to roll, revolve, spin' [Kari 1994: 40].

**Central Carrier:** Poser 1998/2013: 318, 876; Poser 2011a: 175; Antoine et al. 1974: 159, 326. Polysemy: 'to be round 3D / to be round 2D / to curl up'. Cf. the examples: "The plate is round and flat", "The world is supposed to be round", "The dog is curled up by the fireplace" [Poser 1998/2013: 318].

May be the same verb as =çì:n 'to be stiff, hard', thus in [Poser 1998/2013: 750, 1223, 1263].

**Koyukon:** Jetté & Jones 2000: 235, 994. Polysemy: 'to be round 3D / to be fat, plump, lumpy'. Also functions as the noun-like adjective kàs 'round 3D' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 236]. Cf. the cognate noun POSSR=kàs-z- 'egg' q.v.

No expressions for 'round 2D' are documented reliably. Cf. the noun-like adjective qæc = qæc-å̃, glossed as 'circular, spherical, solidly', with the example tôxôl qæc 'silver dollar', literally 'round, solid dollar' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 204]. The cognate verb =l=qæc means 'to be wide-eyed, go having one's eyes open wide' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 204].

**Deguixin:** Taff et al. 2007. Expressions for 'round' are poorly documented in available sources. The best candidate is kà=mûθ, glossed as 'round on the outside' in [Taff et al. 2007] with the only example 'I have a round bowl'. Cf. the cognate verb =kà=mûθ to roll' [Kari 1976: 18; Taff et al. 2007]. It is likely that kà=mûθ is the Deguixin expression for 'round 3D'.

The second candidate is the verb =nxû to be spherical [Kari 1976: 24], not found in other sources.

Cf. the verb =nxû, translated as 'to be round' in the expression for 'bowl', literally 'round container' [Taff et al. 2007] and as 'to be round and deep inside' in the example "It is round and deep inside" [Taff et al. 2007]. Apparently, this is the same root as =nxû to 'be long', nxû 'long' q.v.

Cf. the verb =nxû = =nxû 'to roll, turn' [Kari 1976: 25].

**Sarsi:** Li 1930b: 17; Cook 1984: 158. Not specified semantically, but apparently means 'to be round 3D'. Cf. the cognate verb =yûl 'to roll (intr.)' [Li 1930b: 17; Cook 1984: 158].Li 1930b: 18. Not specified semantically, but apparently means 'to be round 2D'. Cf. the cognate verb =mûs [imperf.] = =mûs ʔ =mûs 'to roll (intr., ring-like object)' [Li 1930b: 17].
70. SAND

Hupa ɬı=čin (1), Mattole ɬe:s (2), Kato sai (3), Taldash Galice sai (3), Upper Inlet Tanaina suy (3), Outer Inlet Tanaina suv (3), Inland Tanaina suy (3), Iliamna Tanaina suvţi (3), Central Ahtena sas (3), Mentasta Ahtena sas (3), Dogrib ʔ=waː (3), North Slavey (Hare) wà (3), Tanacross ʔaːy (3), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) ʔaːy (3), Lower Tanana (Minto) ʔaːy (3), Central Carrier sai (3), Koyukon ʕac (2), Degexit’an ʔaːy (3), Sarsi cʰaː-ciṭ (4).

References and notes:


Mattole: Li 1930: 132.

Bear River dialect: ɬe’s ‘sand’ [Goddard 1929: 320].


Distinct from ɬe=ɕɛs ‘dust’ [Goddard 1912: 16, 30], which corresponds to the Hupa term for ‘sand’ (with de-ejectivization ɬɛ < ɛt).

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 58. However, in [Hoijer 1956: 223], the word for ‘sand’ is quoted as s=tai - an unclear form.

Distinct from ɬe=ɕɛs ‘dirt / dust / cold ashes’ [Hoijer 1973: 59], which corresponds to the Hupa and Kato terms for ‘sand’.


Distinct from deverbal ʔ=ɛ=ɬɛʔ-i, glossed as ‘mud, sand’ [Rice 1978: 29] < =ɬɛʔ ‘to be dark’ [Rice 1978: 470].


Scottie Creek: ʔaːy with polysemy: ‘sand / gravel’ [John 1997: 46].

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 93, 467.


which liquid is drained from sand" [Jetté & Jones 2000: 649].

A second candidate is toṣ ‘sand, fine gravel’ [Jetté & Jones 2000: 417] which is presumably more rare. Cf. the only
found example: “he is walking (pushing) soft sand, fine gravel (which fills his tracks)” [Jetté & Jones 2000: 67].

Degexit’an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 43.

Sarsi: Hoijer & Joël 1963: 74; Hoijer 1956: 223. Literally ‘rough stones’ with č’s ‘stone’ q.v. and =čì ‘to be rough to the feel, like
chapped hands’ [Li 1930b: 23].

71. SAY

Hupa =ne: (1), Mattole =ne: (1), Kato =ni: (1), Taldash Galice =tat (2) / =ni ~ =niy-a (1),
Upper Inlet Tanaina =ni (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina =ni (1), Inland Tanaina =ni (1), Central
Ahtena =ni: (1), Mentasta Ahtena =ni: (1), Dogrib =tí ~ =tí (1), North Slavey (Hare) =tì
(1), Tanacross =nih (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) =nih (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) =ni ~ =tì
(1), Central Carrier =ni (1), Koyukon =ni: (1), Degexit’an =ne: (1), Sarsi =ni (1).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 775; Golla 1996: 81. Glossed as ‘to say something, make noise, speak’. The perfective stem is =ne? < *ne-?

Distinct from =y-ne [sg. subj.] / =y-x-ne [pl. subj.] ‘to speak, talk’ [Sapir & Golla 2001: 793, 806; Golla 1996: 88, 94].

Mattole: Li 1930: 95. The heavy stem is =ni: (< *ne-i). Bear River dialect: =na ~ =ni ‘to say’ [Goddard 1929: 320].


Distinct from =yi-ti ‘to speak, talk’, used in 1-2 person only [Goddard 1912: 62].


Upper Inlet Tanaina: Lovick 2005: 31 ex. 1.27a, 44 ex. 2.5c, etc. Polysemy: ‘to say / to call’.


Iliamna Tanaina: Not attested.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 304, 582.

Lower Ahtena: =ni: [Kari 1990: 304, 582].

Western Ahtena: =ni: [Kari 1990: 304, 582].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 304, 582.


As noted in [Saxon & Siemens 1996: xi], this is actually a suppletive verb with the root =šè used in the 1st p. sg. and the root =tì elsewhere. Cf. =èh=ti ‘he said it’ vs. =èh=šè=ı I said it’ [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 3, 4].


Distinct from =fi ‘to talk’ [Rice 1978: 386, 428].


Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 206-207, 468; Tuttle 2009: 171. Paradigm: =ni ~ =tì [imperf.] / =niʔ ~ =tìʔ [perf.]. The variant =ni is used for 1 & 2 p. sg., =tì for pl. For 3 p. sg. either =ni or =tì can be used, as may be seen from the data in [Kari 1994: 206-207].


Koyukon: Jette & Jones 2000: 436, 997; Jones 1978: 136. Paradigm: =niː [imperf.] / =niːʔ [perf.]. Also used with the “classifier” ʔ-

References and notes:

Hupa =cʰis (1) / =cʰan (1), Mattole =ʔɨn (2), Kato =səs (1) / =cʰan ~ =saŋ (1), Taldash Galice =ʔi (2), Inland Tanaina =ʔan (2), Central Ahtena =ʔɛːn (2), Mentasta Ahtena =ʔɛːn (2), Dogrib =ʔi (2), North Slavey (Hare) =tə (3), Tanacross =n=h=ʔəh (2), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) =n=h=ʔi (2), Lower Tanana (Minto) =n=ʔɛːn (2), Koyukon =n=ʔɪn (2), Degexit’an =tʰə-ŋ (1) / =tʰən (1), Sarsi =ʔɛ (2).

72. SEE

Hupa =cʰis (1) / =cʰan (1), Mattole =ʔɨn (2), Kato =səs (1) / =cʰan ~ =saŋ (1), Taldash Galice =ʔi (2), Inland Tanaina =ʔan (2), Central Ahtena =ʔɛːn (2), Mentasta Ahtena =ʔɛːn (2), Dogrib =ʔi (2), North Slavey (Hare) =tə (3), Tanacross =n=h=ʔəh (2), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) =n=h=ʔi (2), Lower Tanana (Minto) =n=ʔɛːn (2), Koyukon =n=ʔɪn (2), Degexit’an =tʰə-ŋ (1) / =tʰən (1), Sarsi =ʔɛ (2).

References and notes:


Distinct from the verb =ʔɛn ‘to look (on, at, around, etc.)’ [Sapir & Golla 2001: 733; Golla 1996: 58] (quoted in [Hoijer 1956: 223] as ‘to see’). Perfective stem.

Mattole: Li 1930: 74-75. Synchronic polysemy: ‘to do (t-classifier) / to have, possess (t-classifier) / to be related to (t-classifier) / to see (t-classifier)’. Paradigm: =ʔii (< =ʔɨn) [light imperfect], =ʔɛn (< =ʔɨn-i) [heavy imperfect]. =ʔɛnʔ (< =ʔɨnʔ) [perf.]. The perfective stem =ʔɛnʔ (heavy =ʔɛnʔ < =ʔɨnʔ-i) with the zero-classifier also functions as the separate verb ‘to look’ [Li 1930: 75].

Bear River dialect: =saŋ, attested in the expression ‘nothing I see’ [Goddard 1929: 300].

Kato: Goddard 1912: 67, 73. The paradigm is irregular: =sas [imperf.] / =cʰan ~ =saŋ [perf.]. Polysemy: ‘to see / to find’.

Distinct from the verb =ʔii (< =ʔɨn [perf.]) ‘to look (on, at, etc.)’ [Goddard 1912: 60]. Perfective stem.


Upper Inlet Tanaina: Not attested.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Not attested.

Inland Tanaina: Wassillie 1979: 86; Holton et al. 2004: 24. The root =ʔan displays synchronous polysemy: ‘to do (t-classifier) / to have, possess (t-classifier) / to see (zero- or t-classifier) / to look (t-classifier)’ [Wassillie 1979: 29, 49, 60, 86].

Iliamma Tanaina: Not attested.


Lower Ahtena: =t=ɫɛn [Kari 1990: 86, 583].

Western Ahtena: =t=ɫɛn [Kari 1990: 86, 583].

**Dogrib:** Saxon & Siemens 1996: 60, 123, 207. The meaning 'to look' is expressed by the same root or by =tâ 'to look at, watch' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 126].

**North Slavey (Hare):** Rice 1978: 251, 414, 532. Polysemy: 'to see / to look'.

The old root is retained as =tâ 'to search for' [Rice 1978: 265, 408]. In [Hoijer 1956: 222], the root 'to see' is quoted as =h, which probably reflects archaic usage of =tâ.

**Tanacross:** Arnold et al. 2009: 168, 225; Holton 2000: 351; Shinen 1958: 66. Paradigm: =n=sh=ʔĩ [imperf.] / =n=sh=ʔɛ-ʔ [perf.]. Polysemy: 'to see / to look'. Initial =n= is the thematic prefix, =h= is the "classifier".

Synchronously distinct from the verb for 'to do': =t=t=ʔḬ̃ [imperf.] / =t=t=ʔɛ-ʔ [perf.] with the abnormal root shape VʔV, thematic(ʔ) =t= and the "classifier" =t= [Arnold et al. 2009: 99; Holton 2000: 349] (different paradigm in [Holton 2000: 167, 270]).


**Lower Tanana (Minto):** Kari 1994: 11, 47, Tuttle 2009: 174. In [Tuttle 2009], quoted as =n=t=ʔa i. Polysemy: 'to see / to look'.


Synchronously, the root coincides with =t=ʔa i 'to do' [Kari 1994: 8].

**Central Carrier:** Poser 1998/2013: 890, 1218, 1248; Poser 2011a: 182; Antoine et al. 1974: 327.

Distinct from =ʔɛn 'to do', which is mostly used with the "classifiers" t= or t= [Poser 1998/2013: 673, 1218, 1248; Antoine et al. 1974: 305].


It seems, however, that, firstly, =ʔɛ y is more rarely used for the uncontrollable action 'to see' than =ʔɛn-ʔ / =ʔɛn yis. Secondly, the main meaning of =ʔɛn yis the controlled action 'to look'.

Cf. the following passages where =ʔɛ n 'to look' is opposed to =ʔɛn-ʔ about, and upward also, and saw (=t=ʔɛ y Ƥ a house' [Kari 1994: 116], "Though I have been looking (=ʔɛn-ʔ) all over the world', she said, 'I could see (=ʔɛn yis) me but your' [Kari 1994: 140].

**Sarsi:** Li 1930b: 16; Hoijer 1956: 222; Cook 1984: 241. Paradigm: =ʔĩ ~ =ʔɛn-ʔ [imperf.] / =ʔɛ ~ =ʔɛn-ʔ [perf.]. Cf. some examples: "I saw my wife, but I did not see my son" [Cook 1984: 81], "The woman saw him, the way he walks" [Cook 1984: 91], "When I went home, I saw him" [Cook 1984: 92], "He saw Crees who were on the warpath" [Cook 1984: 106], "I showed him (= I made see him)" [Cook 1984: 116], "I saw it", "we saw" [Cook 1984: 126], "He saw me (really)" [Cook 1984: 169], "I'm blind, cannot see" [Cook 1984: 221], "I'll go and see him" [Cook 1984: 287].


A second candidate is =ʔɛn cʰɛh glossed simply as 'to see' in [Li 1930b: 23], but the few attested instances suggest that its meaning is rather 'to meet, see each other': "Can he see him?" [Cook 1984: 48], "I will see you tomorrow" [Cook 1984: 52], "I would like to see him" [Cook 1984: 114], "They want to see me" [Cook 1984: 115].

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73. **SEED**

**Hupa POSSR=sa:y ~ POSSR=sa:y-ʔ (1),** Mattole POSSR=cʰʔiʔ-ʔ (1), Taldash Galice m=ʔa=seʔ-ʔ (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina POSSR=n=cʔasʔ-ʔ (2), Outer Inlet Tanaina POSSR=n=cʔasʔ-ʔa (2), Inland
Tanaina $\text{POSSR} = n = c'\text{s-a}$ (2), Iliamna Tanaina $\text{POSSR} = n = c'\text{s-ʔa}$ (2), Central Ahtena $k'\text{e} = n = c'\text{s-e}$? (2), Mentasta Ahtena $k'\text{e} = n = c'\text{s-e}$? (2), Dogrib $\text{i} \text{sì}: \text{t̪əhē}: \text{wēč}: (3)$, North Slavey (Hare) $\text{i} \text{ā-h = s}̮ = \text{ʔər} = \text{y}ārι\text{y}i\text{ʔ}$ (3), Tanacross $\text{ʔi} = n = h = t'o'\text{ʔe}$? (4), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) $n'\text{eš} = \text{ʔe}$? (5), Lower Tanana (Minto) $\text{tan} = \text{t̪o'\text{ʔa}}$? (6), Central Carrier $\text{han'ye} = \text{ma}i$? (7), Koyukon $\text{pəc}'\text{ən} k'ə = \text{tanə} = \text{ʔ-a}$ (8), Degexit'an $\text{vəc}'\text{ən} \text{χu} = \text{ʔə} = \text{ʔy}əl$ (9).

References and notes:


Distinct from $\text{POSSR = na-ʔ} 'large seed, pit' [Golla 1996: 82], literally 'eye(s)' q.v.

Mattole: Li 1930: 131. Glossed as 'seeds'. Synchronously, can be analyzed as $=\text{c}'\text{ai-ʔ}$ or $=\text{c}'\text{aiʔ}$.

Bear River dialect: not attested.

Kato: Not attested.

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 53. Quoted by Hoijer as māsecutive without morpheme boundaries, although in light of external evidence, the most probable analysis is $n = =\text{c} = \text{ʔe-ʔ}'it's seed' with the possessive pronoun $m$. [Hoijer 1966: 321, 322]. However, the nasalized morpheme $=\text{c}'$ remains unclear (the gender prefix $-\text{ʔ}$).


Western Ahtena: $k'\text{e} = n = c'\text{s-e}$? [Kari 1990: 411, 583; Kari & Buck 1975: 31; Smelcer 2010: 108].


North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 99, 169. The collocation literally means 'things grow' with $=\text{s} = \text{ʔ}'thing' (from $=\text{s}'to make') and $=\text{gi}'to grow' [Rice 1978: 482].

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 226. Glossed as 'seed in plant, fruits'. Looks like a nominalized verbal form, but the meaning of the root $=\text{t̪o'\text{ʔe}}$ is unclear.


Scottie Creek: $=\text{m} = \text{n = t' =} - \text{m} = \text{t̪o'\text{ʔe-ʔ}}'seed', attested in the examples 'berry seed' [John 1997: 57], 'The silverberry has seeds' [John 1997: 60]. Literally 'stone of min', the meaning of $\text{m}$ is unclear.


Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 168, 891; Poser 2011a: 182; Antoine et al. 1974: 102, 327. Literally 'growing berries': verbal form $\text{ha} = \text{n = yeh} = \text{ʔi (plant) grows} + \text{mai} 'berry' [Poser 1998/2013: 288; Antoine et al. 1974: 147], borrowed from Gitxsan (Tsimsianic) $\text{ma} = \text{ʔi} 'berry, fruit'. Final $ = \text{ʔ} in $\text{han'ye} = \text{mai}$? can therefore be considered as part of the root. The semantic derivation 'berry > 'seed' seems to be an inner Carrier innovation; because of this, we treat $\text{han'ye} = \text{mai}$ 'seed' as a 'native' item.

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 698. A poorly documented item. The only known expression $\text{pəc}'\text{ən} \text{tanə} = \text{ʔ-a}'seeds' literally means 'some plant [occurs] from it' $< \text{tanə} = \text{ʔ-a}'plants, vegetation, vegetable' (literally 'that which grows'), $=\text{c}'\text{a n}'from'.

For the Upper dialect, $\text{POSSR = na-ʔ} 'seed, pit' is quoted [Jetté & Jones 2000: 562] $< \text{ʔə}'stone' q.v.

Degexit'an: Kari 1978: 17. A poorly documented item. The only known expression $\text{vəc}'\text{ən} \text{ʔə} = \text{ʔyəl}'seeds' literally means 'vegetation [occurs] from it' $< \text{ʔə} = \text{ʔyəl}'vegetation' [Kari 1978: 17] (literally 'that which grows').

Sarsi: Not documented.
Hupa \( ya=ʔa: \) (1), Mattole =ta: (2), Kato =ta (2), Taldash Galice =ta: (2), Upper Inlet Tanaina =tu (2), Outer Inlet Tanaina =tu (2), Inland Tanaina =tu (2), Central Ahtena =ta: (2), Mentasta Ahtena =ta: (2), Dogrib =tā (2), North Slavey (Hare) =tā (2), Tanacross =tāh (2), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) =tāh (2), Lower Tanana (Minto) =tā (2), Central Carrier =ta (2), Koyukon =to: (2), Degexit’an =to: (2), Sarsi =tį (2).

References and notes:

**Hupa**: Sapir & Golla 2001: 582 No. 16.10; Golla 1996: 85. Used with sg. subj. With pl. subj the verbal stem \( ya=ʔc:\text{A} \) ‘to sit’ is used instead. Literal meaning: ‘to extend upward’ with the directional prefix \( ya= \) ‘up into the air, movement off the surface of the ground’ [Sapir & Golla 2001: 803; Golla 1970: 124] and the suppletive verb =\( ta \) [sg. subj.] / =\( ʔc:\text{A} \) [pl. subj.] ‘to extend’ [Sapir & Golla 2001: 730, 732; Golla 1996: 32; Golla 1970: 141].

Distinct from verbs for ‘to sit down’, which are based on the roots \( =\text{c}^\text{ah} ~ =\text{c}^\text{ai} \) [imperf., sg. subj.] / =\( \text{a} \) ~ =\( \text{a}=\text{y} \) [perf., sg. subj.] / =\( \text{t} \text{t} \) [imperf., pl. subj.] / =\( \text{tc}:\text{A} \) [perf., pl. subj.], see [Golla 1996: 85-86; Sapir & Golla 2001: 734, 745]. The general meaning of =\( \text{ta} \) ~ =\( \text{a}=\text{y} \) is ‘to stay, live’ [Sapir & Golla 2001: 745; Golla 1970: 36, 90]; the general meaning of =\( \text{t} \text{t} \text{t} \) / =\( \text{tc}:\text{A} \) is ‘to go, move’ [Sapir & Golla 2001: 750]; on the contrary, the root \( =\text{c}^\text{ah} ~ =\text{c}^\text{ai} \) seems unattested outside the stems for ‘to sit down’ [Sapir & Golla 2001: 734].

**Mattole**: Li 1930: 85, 107. Suppletive verb =\( \text{c}^\text{a}:\text{c} \) [imperf.] / =\( \text{a} \) [light perf.] / =\( \text{a}=\text{i} \) [heavy perf.]. Polysemy: ‘to sit / to sit down’. As follows from [Li 1930: 71-72], in the stative meaning, only the perfective stem is used.

Bear River dialect: the same suppletive verb =\( \text{sa} \) / =\( \text{a}=\text{i} \) ‘to sit / to sit down’ [Goddard 1929: 320].

**Kato**: Goddard 1912: 69. Polysemy: ‘to sit / to sit down / to remain’. Probably used with sg. subj. only.

Distinct from \( =\text{t} \text{t} \text{i} ~ =\text{t}=\text{ti} \) [imperf.] / =\( \text{t}=\text{ti} \) ~ =\( \text{t}=\text{t}=\text{t} \) [perf.] ‘to sit / to sit down / to stay’, used with pl. subj. [Goddard 1912: 60].

There is also a rare verb =\( \text{sa} \), glossed as ‘to sit’ in [Goddard 1912: 66], although textual evidence suggests that the translation ‘to camp’ vel sim. should be more appropriate.

**Taldash Galice**: Hoijer 1973: 63; Hoijer 1956: 223; Landar 1977: 295. Polysemy: ‘to sit / to be at home’. Used with both sg. and pl. subj. Distinct from the verb =\( \text{t} \text{t} \) [imperf.] / =\( \text{t}=\text{t} \) ~ =\( \text{t}=\text{t}=\text{t} \) [perf.] ‘to sit / to sit down / to stay’, used with pl. subj. [Hoijer 1973: 70].

This verb is apparently more rare than =\( \text{ta} \); perhaps the basic meaning of =\( \text{sat} \) is specifically ‘to sit down’.

Distinct from the verb =\( \text{t} \text{t} \text{i} \), used with pl. subj. and glossed as ‘to be sitting (there); to live (there)’ [Hoijer 1973: 68].

**Upper Inlet Tanaina**: Lovick 2005: 111, 216. Examples: “When they returned their baby was sitting there” [Lovick 2005: 111 ex. 3.47], “The baby crane was sitting in the nest” [Lovick 2005: 216 ex. 6.6b]. No examples with pl. subj. have been found.

**Outer Inlet Tanaina**: Boraas 2010: 18 et passim. Cf. the examples: “Sit by me” [Boraas 2010: 24], “He is sitting against me” [Boraas 2010: 18], “there near them he was sitting on a bush” [Boraas 2010: 25], “she is just sitting” [Boraas 2010: 45]. No examples with pl. subj. have been found.

The instance ‘Sit by me’ should point to the polysemy: ‘to sit / to sit down’ for =\( \text{tu} \), although there is also a specific verb for ‘to sit down’: =\( \text{c}^\text{i} \text{tu} \), cf. “she sat down beside the fire” [Boraas 2010: 19], “she sat down behind him” [Boraas 2010: 26].

**Inland Tanaina**: Tenenbaum 1978: 48, 141; Holton et al. 2004: 39. Polysemy: ‘to sit / to sit down / to stay’, used with sg. & dual. subj. In [Tenenbaum 1978: 141], =\( \text{tu} \) is treated as a classificatory verb ‘to handle a single animate object’. Paradigm: =\( \text{tu} \) [imperf.] / =\( \text{tu}=\text{t} \) [perf.].

Examples: “I am sitting” [Tenenbaum 1978: 97], “he’s sitting”, “I was sitting” [Tenenbaum 1978: 48], “we (dual.) are sitting” [Tenenbaum 1978: 63]. The meaning ‘to sit down’ should follow from the instance ‘Sit by me!’ [Tenenbaum 1978: 202].

Distinct from =\( \text{t}=\text{t}=\text{c} \text{i} \) with polysemy: ‘to sit / to stay’, used with pl. subj. [Tenenbaum 1978: 233, 237 448; Holton et al. 2004: 39].

Distinct from =\( \text{c}^\text{ai} \) / =\( \text{c}^\text{oi} \) [fut.] ‘to sit down’ [Wassillie 1979: 89; Tenenbaum 1978: 59].
Iliamna Tanaina: Not attested.
  Lower Ahtena: *=ta [Kari 1990: 132, 588].
  Western Ahtena: *=ta [Kari 1990: 132, 588].
  Distinct from *kʰtʰ 'to be located / to sit / to stay' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 105, 210], applied to dual. subj.
  Distinct from *k ’ to be located / to sit / to stay' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 105, 210], applied to pl. subj.
North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 356, 414, 535; Hoijer 1956: 222. Used with sg. subj. Polysemy: 'to sit / to sit down / to stay / to visit'.
Cf. some examples: 'I’m sitting opposite the wall', "He's sitting near me" [Rice 1978: 215]. "Sit down", "Did you stay at home?", "I like to visit them" [Rice 1978: 356].
  Distinct from *kʰtʰ 'to sit / to sit down' [Rice 1978: 367, 440], used with dual. subj.
  Distinct from *tʰ=otʰ ‘to sit / to sit down’ [Rice 1978: 361, 480], used with pl. subj.
  Distinct from *kʰ ‘to sit / to be located', used with dual. subj. [Poser 1998/2013: 906, 1221, 1255].
  Distinct from *l=ti ‘to sit / to be located', used with pl. subj. [Poser 1998/2013: 906, 1223, 1263].
  Distinct from *=l=tx ‘to sit / to sit down / to stay / to dwell' used with pl. subj. [Jetté & Jones 2000: 593; Jones & Kwaraceius 1997: 90].
Degexif'an: Taff et al. 2007; Chapman 1914: 226. Polysemy: 'to sit / to sit down / to stay / to dwell'. Applicable to sg. subj.
  Distinct from *=pʰ ‘to sit / to sit down / to stay / to dwell' used with pl. subj. [Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1976: 59; Chapman 1914: 220].
  Distinct from *=cʰʔtʰ ‘to sit / to sit down / to stay / to dwell' [Li 1930b: 24; Cook 1984: 144], used with pl. subj.
  Distinct from *=cʰʔtʰ ~ *=cʰʔtʰ [imperf.] / *=cʰʔtʰ ~ *=cʰʔtʰ [perf.] 'to sit down quickly' [Li 1930b: 23].

75. SKIN
Hupa POSSR=sic’ (1), Mattole POSSR=tʰas-eʔ (2) / POSSR=cʰeʔs (1), Kato POSSR=sac (1), Taldash Galice POSSR=šiː (3), Upper Inlet Tanaina POSSR=yas (4), Outer Inlet Tanaina POSSR=yas (4), Inland Tanaina POSSR=yas (4), Iliamna Tanaina POSSR=yas (4), Central Ahtena POSSR=zes (5) / POSSR=cʰ:s (6), Mentasta Ahtena POSSR=zes (5) / POSSR=cʰ:s (6), Dogrib POSSR=kʰas (7) / POSSR=wo (5), North Slavey (Hare) POSSR=tʰuʔ-eʔ (8), Tanacross POSSR=θɛθ (5), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) POSSR=θuʔh (5), Lower Tanana (Minto) POSSR=ðaθ
(5), Central Carrier POSSR=ζΛΩ (5), Koyukon POSSR=ιρ (5), Degexit'an POSSR=qʰʌG (9), Sarsi yi=s=Λʔ ~ yi=s=Λā (10).

References and notes:

Mattole: Li 1930: 127. Two Mattole words for ‘skin’ are quoted in [Li 1930], both of them without any semantic specifications. Both seem to be applicable to a human, as is obvious from the parallel expressions for ‘eyelid’: analytic POSSR=nax-εθ ‘εθ and compound POSSR=naʔ-εθ ‘εθ (the first element is POSSR=nax-εθ ‘εθ and compound POSSR=naʔ-εθ ‘εθ). We treat these terms as synonyms.

Kato: Goddard 1912: 15, 22. Also used in the expression for ‘bark’ q.v. Note the de-ejectivization -c < ‘c’.


Western Ahtena: POSSR=zes [Kari 1990: 459, 589; Kari & Buck 1975: 60; Smelcer 2010: 44].


Western Ahtena: POSSR=εθ [Kari 1990: 414, 589; Kari & Buck 1975: 60].


Distinct from POSSR=weʔ ‘hide, skin, leather’ [Rice 1978: 105, 144], which is apparently applicable specifically to animals.


Northway: POSSR=θuθ ‘skin’ [Milanowski 2007: 16].

Scottie Creek: POSSR=θuθ ‘skin’ [John 1997: 16].


Degexit’an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 32. Polysemy: ‘human skin / covering, surface’. Specified as ‘outer skin’ in [Kari 1978: 32]. Cf. the attested examples: ‘The skin on my hands is dry’; “Her face skin is rough” [Taff et al. 2007], “When they had got through, his skin was covered with blood” [Chapman 1914: 177].

some examples: "He’s scraping a skin", "That’s a nice wolf fur" [Taff et al. 2007], "Their house was full of every kind of skin that there is upon this earth below" [Chapman 1914: 147].

The third candidate is POSSR=laq=ʔaʔ, glossed simply as 'skin' in [Kari 1978: 32] (la- '?'). This word is attested in [Chapman 1914: 228] as simply POSSR=q=ʔaʔ 'skin' with such examples as: "you must put many fine marten-skins beside me in the kayak [...] and beaver-skins too, fine ones" [Chapman 1914: 126]. It seems that POSSR=q=ʔaʔ means specifically 'fur-skin' in Chapman’s texts. Apparently the same word is attested in [Taff et al. 2007] as POSSR=q=ʔaʔ 'bark' in the only example "Porcupine is sitting on a birch tree eating birch bark" (this is not the main word for 'bark' q.v.).

Sarsi: Hoijer & Joël 1963: 74; Cook 1984: 68. Polysemy: 'skin (of human, animal) / bag'. Initial yi- is the fossilized 4th person possessive [Cook 1984: 64]; =q= is not entirely clear.

76. SLEEP

Hupa =wani (1), Mattole =laːɬ (2), Kato =laːɬ (2), Taldash Galice =laːɬ (2), Upper Inlet Tanaina =l=taq (3), Outer Inlet Tanaina =l=taq (3), Inland Tanaina =l=taq (3), Iliamna Tanaina =l=taq (3), Central Ahtena naːɬ−...-t-lʔɛn (4), Mentasta Ahtena naːɬ−...-t-lʔɛn (4), Dogrib =tʰɬ (5), North Slavey (Hare) =t=tʰɬ (5), Tanacross =tʰɛ: (5), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) =tʰɬ: (5), Lower Tanana (Minto) =tʰaːɬ (5), Central Carrier =tʰɬ (5), Koyukon pʰaːɬ−...-l-tʰɛn (6), Degexit'an v=ɬ-AUX (6), Sarsi =tʰiːɬ (5).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 792; Golla 1996: 86. In [Golla 1996], quoted as =wani. The perfective root variant is =waːɬaŋ < =wan-ʔi. As analyzed in [Sapir & Golla 2001: 721, 758], the normal expression for 'to sleep' originates from *OBJ-kʰi-/(w)-wan, which literally means 'there is a sleep (wan) for X'. The element kʰi- is not clear, however [Sapir & Golla 2001: 758].

Cf. the distinct noun mốʔ 'sleep, sleepiness, dream' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 771; Golla 1996: 86].

Mattole: Li 1930: 3, 120, 149 sub No. 87. Glossed as 'to dream' in the main dictionary section. The meaning 'to sleep' is expressed by the perfective stem of this verb.

Bear River dialect =laːɬ 'to sleep' [Goddard 1929: 320; Li 1930: 3].

Kato: Goddard 1912: 63. The heavy stem is =laːɬ < =laːɬ-i. Glossed as 'to sleep, to dream'.

Distinct from the verb =yaːɬ 'to be sleepy' [Goddard 1912: 61], the morphological structure is the same as in the case of Hupa =wani 'to sleep': there is a sleepiness (yala) for X.

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 72; Hoijer 1956: 223. In [Hoijer 1973], glossed as 'to fall asleep, go to sleep; to dream about X'; in [Hoijer 1956], quoted as =laːɬ.


Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 84, 590.

Lower Ahtena: naːɬ−...-t-lʔɛn [Kari 1990: 84, 590].

Western Ahtena: naːɬ−...-t-lʔɛn [Kari 1990: 84, 590].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 84, 590.

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 118, 210. This is the classificatory verb 'to handle rigid object' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: viii]. Used with sg. subj. In application to animates, with polysemy: 'to be located / to lie / to lie down / to sleep'.

Distinct from =tʰɛ: 'to be located / to sleep' (also 'to lie?'), which is normally used with pl. animate subj., but in the meaning 'to sleep' can also have the habitual function (e.g., 'I always sleep alone') [Saxon & Siemens 1996: ix, 73, 118, 210].

Cf. the noun *pe(h)- 'sleep', used in some verbal expressions [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 6].

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 334, 462, 535; Hoijer 1956: 222. This is the so-called classificatory verb 'to be in position', applicable
to sg. animate subj. [Rice 1989: 781], thus with polysemy: 'to be in a certain position / to lie / to lie down / to sleep'.

With pl. subj., the verb =hta =qá is used with polysemy: 'to sleep / to stand' [Rice 1978: 334, 481, 535].

Distinct from =hta =xá [imperf.] / =hta [perf.] 'to be sleepy' [Rice 1978: 209, 435].


With pl. subj., the verb =hté =tú meaning 'to sleep' is used [Milanowski 2009: 54, 106].


Distinct from =tác [neuter imperf.] / =tác [momentaneous imperf.] / =tác [momentaneous perf.] 'to lie / to recline / to sleep' used with pl. anim. subj. [Kari 1994: 323].

Distinct from the substantive bọt 'sleep' [Kari 1994: 35].


Distinct from =tčʔ / =tčʔ 'to lie / to lie down / to sleep', used with pl. subj. [Poser 1998/2013: 910, 1222, 1259].

Distinct from the baby-talk verb =kótʔ 'to sleep' (any subj.) [Poser 1998/2013: 910, 1221, 1256].

Distinct from the substantive pót 'sleep, sleepiness, trance' [Poser 1998/2013: 94].


Distinct from =cat with polysemy: 'to lie / to lie down / to sleep', used with pl. subj. [Jetté & Jones 2000: 173; Jones & Kwaracius 1997: 88].

Distinct from =tčʔ / =tčʔ 'to lie / to lie down' (sg. & dual. subj.) q.v.

Degexit'an: Taff et al. 2007; Chapman 1914: 213. Browsing through available sources suggests that the most common expressions for 'to sleep' consist of the noun vart 'sleep' [Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 39; Chapman 1914: 213] plus various auxiliary verbs. Cf. some examples: "So then, one night, some one scratched her head while she slept" [Chapman 1914: 107], "go into the kashime and get some sleep! I am sleepy too" [Chapman 1914: 107], "All night long he did not sleep, thinking" [Chapman 1914: 110], "One morning, while the boys were still asleep, the woman went out early, before sunrise, to weep" [Chapman 1914: 127]. "He fell asleep among the willows" [Taff et al. 2007]. The auxiliary verb in question can be =tacə [Kari 1976: 46], as in "Did you sleep well?" [Taff et al. 2007], or something else.

Distinct from the verb =dac, glossed as 'to sleep' in [Chapman 1914: 219] and everywhere in his texts, but specified as 'to camp' in [Taff et al. 2007].

At least in one instance, the classificatory verb =tác, glossed as 'to handle animate obj.' [Kari 1976: 46] is used in the meaning 'to sleep'; "I sleep back there" [Taff et al. 2007].

Sarsi: Li 1930b: 18; Holjer 1956: 223; Cook 1984: 140. Ablaut paradigm: =táh [imperf.] / =tah [perf.]. Polysemy: 'to lie / to sleep / sg. living being is in position'; used with sg. subj.

Distinct from the verb used with pl. subj.: =v=ttác [imperf., perf.] / =v=ttác ~ =v=ttác ~ 'to lie / to sleep / several living beings are in position' [Li 1930b: 19; Cook 1984: 140].

77. SMALL

Hupa =kiye? ~ =kiyeʔ-c ~ =kiyʔ-c (1), Mattole =kow' (2), Kato POSSR=yáς-c (3), Taldash Galice ?iʔ=tiʔ=amʔ (4), Outer Inlet Tanaina qwa (5), Inland Tanaina =t=ćʰak' (6) / quya (5), Central Ahtena =t=ćʰʔ-i (6) / qay (5), Mentasta Ahtena =t=ćʰk=’u (6) / quay (5), Dogrib =ćʰ=á-lá ~ =ćʰ=á-lá-á (7), North Slavey (Hare) =sél-è (8), Tanacross káqy (5) / n=ćʰ=h:Ł ~ n=ćʰ=Ł (8), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) káqy (5) / n=ćʰ=u:Ł (8), Lower Tanana (Minto) =ćʰ=áʔ-á (8), Central
Carrier =t'am (1) / =cʰul (8), Koyukon =kuc-a (9), Degexit'an k'əʔ (10), Sarsi =cʰɬɪ'-á (8).

References and notes:

**Hupa:** Sapir & Golla 2001: 753; Golla 1996: 57, 87. Verbal root 'to be small, little'; applied to sg. subject (animated or inanimate). Distinct from =kɛʰk-ɨ-c ~ =kɛʰk'-ɨ-c 'to be small, little', applied to pl. subject (animated or inanimate) [Sapir & Golla 2001: 753; Golla 1996: 57, 87]. Note the consonant symbolism k' > k in both forms; the final element -c is the widely applicable diminutive suffix -č(i) [Golla 1970: 261] also with the symbolic shift ɛ > c [Golla 1970: 44, 263].

It is unclear whether the adverb mi=neckʰ-ɨ-c 'a little bit' [Golla 1996: 87] is related to one of the aforementioned roots (via a kind of contraction) or not.

Distinct from the word ya=ni 'animal's young' according to [Sapir & Golla 2001: 805; Golla 1996: 81 'sapling', 100 sub 'trout', 110], not 'small (adj.)' in general (quoted, however, as generic 'small' in [Hoijer 1956: 223]).

**Mattole:** Li 1930: 107. Verbal root 'to be small'. The exact meaning and application are unknown (Li’s only example is ‘I am small’). Distinct from =yaax 'small (subj.)' [Li 1930: 125], see notes on ‘bird’.

Bear River dialect: not attested.

**Kato:** Goddard 1912: 27. Browsing through [Goddard 1909] suggests that the default way to express the meaning 'small X' is the pattern subj POSSr=qaš-ci, literally 'X's its small'. Cf., e.g., se wi=qaš-c 'small stone' [Goddard 1909: 76 No. 10, 89 No. 15-16], ɬɛɪnai =qaš-ci 'small fish' [Goddard 1909: 91 No. 1], =qaš-ci šali cramped 'small creeks' [Goddard 1909: 91 No. 10], ɛipe =qaš-ci 'small fish' [Goddard 1909: 93 No. 4] (opposed to =čʰi 'big [firs]' in the next phrase), etc. Originally POSSr=qaš-ci is the substantive 'small, young' [Goddard 1912: 23]. The final morpheme -c is the diminutive suffix -č -c [Goddard 1912: 27].

**Taldash Galice:** Hoijer 1973: 65. Literally ‘it is small’ (the verb -tam? ‘to be small’ seems unattested outside this expression). Cf. the variant ni=ta mi=ni=ta ‘small, young’ in [Jacobs 1968: 184 No. 10], which might be more archaic. In [Hoijer 1956: 223], quoted as ʔɪst’aŋ, in [Landar 1977: 295], as ʔɪst’aŋ - apparently an inaccurate transcription of final -m in both cases.

**Upper Inlet Tanaina:** Not attested. Cf. the noun-like adjective quya [Lovick 2005: 32], documented only in the nominalized function ‘baby’ [Lovick 2005: 33 ex. 1.28a, 44 ex. 2.5c].

**Outer Inlet Tanaina:** Boraas 2010: 39. Noun-like adjective, attested in conjunction with ‘mountains’, ‘dogs’, ‘birch’, ‘houses’. Distinct from the noun-like adjective (or the suffix) ɪšla, attested in the expressions 'little friend' (euphemistic name for wolverine) [Boraas 2010: 39] and kʰi-ɪšla 'a little more' (with the adverb/adjective kʰi 'more; another') [Boraas 2010: 43].


We treat =tʰɛʔi and quya as synonyms. Distinct from the noun-like adjective (or the suffix) ɪšla, which means ‘small, little’, but in all attested examples, it is applied only to animated subjects, see [Wassillie 1979: 59] and cf. the Common Tanaina expression qaqa-ɪšla 'bird' q.v., lit. 'little animal'. Wassillie 1979: 59; Holton et al. 2004: 11.

**Iliamna Tanaina:** Not attested.

**Central Ahtena:** Kari 1990: 392, 591.

**Lower Ahtena:** =tɛʔi-k [Kari 1990: 392, 591].


**Lower Ahtena:** qaʔi [Kari 1990: 191, 591].

**Western Ahtena:** qaʔi [Kari 1990: 191, 591].


**Dogrib:** Saxon & Siemens 1996: 42, 80, 211; Marinakis et al. 2007: 154. Innovative pronunciation: =cʰə-lé-ʔi. Verbal expression ‘not to be big’ with =cʰə ‘be big’ q.v. and the negation -lé q.v. The optional -a is the diminutive suffix, see below.

=cʰə-lé-ʔi seems to be the default full-fledged expression for 'small, little', cf. the found examples: "Her little sister
went to sleep beside the old woman” [Saxon & Siemern 1996: 16], “The houses are both too small” [Saxon & Siemern 1996: 55], “small building” [Saxon & Siemert 1996: 58], “The puppy is small” [Saxon & Siemert 1996: 80].

Cf. the very common and productive diminutive suffix -ə (after a nasalized vowel) [Marinakis et al. 2007: 152 ff.]

**North Slavey (Hare):** Rice 1978: 261, 455, 536; Rice 1989: 241. Functions either as the verb =əl-ə ‘to be small’ or the noun-like adjective stəl-ə ‘small’.


**Upper Tanana (Tetlin):** Milanowski 2009: 17.

Two Tetlin expressions for ‘small’ are documented: the noun-like adjective kəy with polysemy: ‘small, little / young’ [Milanowski 2009: 17] and verbal n=cʰul with polysemy: ‘small / short’ [Milanowski 2009: 22], =cʰul ‘to be small / to be short’ [Milanowski 2009: 57, 120]. Both are accompanied with several textual examples. We have to treat them as synonyms.Milanowski 2009: 22.


Since only =cʰul-ə is quoted in [Tuttle 2009: 183] for English ‘small’, we assume that kə is a more rare and marginal word.

**Central Carrier:** Poser 1998/2013: 912, 1222, 1261. Apparently borrowed from Babine =f=famʔ ‘to be small’.

There are two main candidates for the meaning (‘to be) small’ in Central Carrier:


2) =cʰul ‘to be small, little’ [Poser 1998/2013: 912, 1223, 1262]. Cf. the found examples: “This fishnet has a fine mesh” [Poser 1998/2013: 143]. "He backed out with the crate because the doorway is too small” [Poser 1998/2013: 182]. "His little toe hurts as a result of wearing shoes too small (n=cʰulul)” [Poser 1998/2013: 210]. "When he was small he got into everything”; “I got a blister on my foot because my shoes were too small”, “The child is dissatisfied because they gave him a small amount of money”, “The shrew is much smaller than the mouse and has a narrower face” [Poser 1998/2013: 373], “When we were small mother packed us (on her back)” [Poser 1998/2013: 494], “When I was small, I remember grandmother telling stories” [Poser 1998/2013: 538].

Both are widely applicable, but browsing through the available data suggests that =f=fam can be more frequently used than =cʰul (Bill Poser, p.c., confirms it). Nevertheless, we treat both items as synonyms, since =f=fam appears to be a loan from the neighboring Babine language, being unknown to other Carrier varieties (Bill Poser, p.c.).


**Koyukon:** Jetté & Jones 2000: 195, 1011; Jones 1978: 152. Verbal stem: ‘to be small, little’, widely applicable. Final -ə is the lexicalized negative suffix, emphasizing small dimensions, see [Jetté & Jones 2000: 5] and notes on ‘not’. Used in the Central and Lower dialects. This verb is quoted in [Jones 1978: 152] as the only expression for ‘small, little’.

Differently in the Upper dialect, where the verb =cʰul-ə ‘to be small, little’ [Jetté & Jones 2000: 636] is used instead.

Distinct from the noun-like adjective əyə=ə ‘yoʃə’ ‘small / young’ [Jetté & Jones 2000: 715], whose normal meaning is ‘young’ (applicable to humans and animals). Cf. substantivized əyəʃ ‘fetus, childbirth; young animal or waterfowl’ [Jetté &
Degexit'an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1976: 30; Chapman 1914: 229. A noun-like adjective. Browsing through available sources suggests that this is the most common and widely applicable expression for 'small, little'.

The second candidate is =sl-a 'to be small, few' [Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1976: 50], which is, however, more rarely used.

Sarsi: Li 1930b: 24; Cook 1984: 67; Hoijer 1956: 222. Verbal stem: 'to be small'. Also functions as the noun-like adjective cʰiƛ'-'ə 'to be small' [Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1976: 50]. Final -a ~ aa is the diminutive suffix [Li 1930b: 9]. Cf. some examples: "small cloud", "little chief", "small man" [Cook 1984: 67], "His beak is small" [Nanagusja 1996b: 147], etc.

A second candidate is =čʰit� 'to be small' [Li 1930b: 25; Nanagusja 1996a: 129], but without textual evidence.

78. SMOKE

Hupa ɬıt (1), Mattole ɬiłh (1), Kato ɬat (1), Taldash Galice ɬat (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina ta=s=kt-i (2), Outer Inlet Tanaina ta=s=kt-i (2), Inland Tanaina ta=s=kt-i (2), Iliamna Tanaina ta=s=kt-i (2), Central Ahtena ɬet (1), Mentasta Ahtena ɬet (1), Dogrib ɬó (1), North Slavey (Hare) lē (1), Tanacross ɬet (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) ɬat (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) ɬat (1), Central Carrier ɬat (1), Koyukon ɬat (1), Degexit'an ɬat (1), Sarsi ƛʰit- (1).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 766; Golla 1996: 87; Golla 1964: 117. The same root as ɬɨt 'to burn' q.v.

Mattole: Li 1930: 132. Regularly originates from ɬɨt [Li 1930: 20].

Bear River dialect: ɬıt ~ ɬat ~ ɬıt 'smoke' [Goddard 1929: 320].

Kato: Goddard 1912: 19; Curtis 1924: 205. The same root as ɬat 'to burn' q.v.


Western Ahtena: [Kari 1990: 278, 591; Kari & Buck 1975: 98; Smelcer 2010: 67].


Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 70, 211.

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 72, 171; Hoijer 1956: 222. The possessive form is POSSR=ɬer-čə.


Northway: ɬat 'smoke' [Milanowski 2007: 16].

Scottie Creek: ɬɪt 'smoke' [John 1997: 34].


79. STAND

Hupa =yeːn (1), Mattole =yiːn (1), Kato =yiŋ (1), Taldash Galice =keʔ (2), Outer Inlet Tanaina =san (1), Inland Tanaina =san (1), Central Ahtena =t=zen (1), Mentasta Ahtena =t=zen (1), Dogrib nà=...=wó (3), North Slavey (Hare) =we (3), Tanacross nà=...=θ̬è (3), Upper Inlet Tanana (Tetlin) nd=...=θat (3), Lower Tanana (Minto) n=...=ðət (3), Central Carrier =yin (1), Koyukon =haː- (1), Degexit’an nt=...=ðət (3), Sarsi nà=...=zít- (3).

References and notes:


Distinct from =neː 'to stand (in vertical projections) (said of things)' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 779; Golla 1996: 90].

Mattole: Li 1930: 79. Originates from * =yin-i (heavy stem). Distinct from =kai, which is glossed as 'to stand' in [Li 1930: 106], although all the examples point to the active meaning 'to stand up'; distinct from =tʰaːɬ [imperf.] / =tʰaːʔ [perf.] with polysemy: 'to move one's foot / to stand up / to kick' [Li 1930: 57, 89].

Bear River dialect: not attested. Cf. =kai 'to stand up' [Goddard 1929: 321].

Kato: Goddard 1912: 61. Polysemy: 'to stand / to live in a place'. No specific expressions for 'to stand up' (animated subj.) are attested.

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 67; Hoijer 1956: 223. A neuter intransitive verb. In [Hoijer 1956], quoted as =kai? , the default verb for 'to stand'. In [Hoijer 1973], glossed as 'to stand up straight, have an erect posture'.

Distinct from the active intransitive =tʰaːɬ [imperf.] / =tʰaːʔ [perf.], glossed as 'to arise, stand (up); step (down)' in [Hoijer 1973: 65]; perhaps this active verb means rather 'to stand up' than 'to stand'.

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Not attested.


Inland Tanaina: Wassillie 1979: 95. Apparently applied to animated subject only. Attested examples: "You stand right here", "The moose is standing in the water" [Wassillie 1979: 95], "Pete is standing beside Albert" [Tenenbaum 1978: 222], "he perceived a standing person" [Tenenbaum 1976 1: 30].

Distinct from =l=čʰit / =l=čʰət 'to stand up' [Wassillie 1979: 95].

Iliamna Tanaina: Not attested.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 172, 598.

Lower Ahtena: =t=zen [Kari 1990: 172, 598].

Western Ahtena: =t=zen [Kari 1990: 172, 598].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 172, 598.


Distinct from nà=...=ži 'to stand', used with pl. subj. (both inanimate and animate) [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 77].


With pl. subj., the verb =l=qà shows polysemy: 'to sleep / to stand' [Rice 1978: 311, 481, 538].


Distinct from the specific verbs for 'to stand up': sg. subj. =t=ʔåh, pl. subj. =t=téːʔ [Arnold et al. 2009: 251-252].


Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 90, 484; Tuttle 2009: 194. Initial n= is a "thematic" prefix. Polysemy: 'to stand / to stand up'.

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Applicable to sg. & dual. subj.


Distinct from =l-q=s: ‘to stand / to stand up’ [Taff et al. 2007; Chapman 1914: 213] used with pl. subj. as in: “there they were, standing in the water, throwing out fish” [Chapman 1914: 188], “Everyone stand up” [Taff et al. 2007].


Distinct from =l-j=ʔi ‘to stand / to camp’ [Li 1930b: 17], used with pl. subj.

80. STAR

Hupa ʰsɨʔ (1), Mattole ʰsɨʔ (1), Kato ko:ʔan-?= ~ ko:ʔaneʔ (2), Taldash Galice sanʔ (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina sin ~ sən ~ səm (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina sin ~ səm ~ sim (1), Iliamna Tanaina sin ~ səm (1), Central Ahtena səʔ (1), Mentasta Ahtena səʔ (1), Dogrib nə (1), North Slavey (Hare) wəʔ (1), Tanacross sənʔ (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) sanʔ (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) sənʔ (1), Central Carrier ʰum (1), Koyukon ʰu:ʔ (1), Degexit’an tə:ʔ (1), Sarsi sūh (1).

References and notes:

Mattole: Li 1930: 131.

Bear River dialect: ʰsɨʔ ~ səʔ ~ sənʔ ‘star’ [Goddard 1929: 321].

Kato: Goddard 1912: 32, 122; Curtis 1924: 205. An unanalyzable formation. It is well attested in texts from [Goddard 1909], although in all known contexts, it is the plural meaning ‘stars’ that is implied for ko:ʔaniʔ ~ ko:ʔaneʔ. In [Curtis 1924: 205], however, the form is quoted for sg. ‘star’.

The old word for ‘star’ is probably retained as sən in the untranslatable collocation sən fən ~ sən fəns - name of a specific star or constellation [Goddard 1912: 31; Goddard 1909: 101 No. 13].


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Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 252; Holton 2000: 347; Brean & Milankowski 1979: 12; McRoy 1973: 6; Shinen 1958: 14. It should be noted that the etymologically expected Tanacross form should be **qʔinʔ; initial s- can be influenced on the part of Ahtena sonʔ = sʔʔʔ star’ (cf. Holton 2000: 143) for lexical borrowing from Ahtena into Tanacross).


Northway: sonʔ ‘star’ [Milanowski 2007: 17].

Scottie Creek: sʔʔʔ ‘star’ [John 1997: 66].


Degexit’an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 45.


81. STONE

Hupa cʰʔe: (1), Mattole cʰʔe: ~ se: (1), Kato se (1), Taldash Galice se: (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina qʰa=t=nik-i (2), Outer Inlet Tanaina qʰa=t=nik-i (2), Inland Tanaina qʰa=t=nik-i (2), Iliamna Tanaina qʰa=t=nik-i ~ qʰa=n=t=nik-i (2), Central Ahtena c’es (3), Mentasta Ahtena c’es (3), Dogrib kʰwε (1), North Slavey (Hare) fe (1), Tanacross tʰhε: (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) tʰhε: (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) tʰh-a-k’unaʔ ~ tʰh-a (1), Central Carrier cʰʔe (1), Koyukon ləʔo-n-a (4), Degexit’an noː=qʰʔoːq-ay (5), Sarsi cʰbʰ- (1).

References and notes:


Mattole: Li 1930: 131.

Bear River dialect: se ‘stone’ [Goddard 1929: 321].


Degexit’an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 45.


References and notes:


Mattole: Li 1930: 131.

Bear River dialect: se ‘stone’ [Goddard 1929: 321].


Degexit’an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 45.

Simple *tʰu* is quoted in [Tuttle 2009: 196] as the only translation of English ‘stone’ (with the significant example "He threw a stone"), but glossed in [Kari 1994: 306] as ‘rock, stone (larger)’ (further with additional polysemy ‘large stone / mountain’; however, this is not a basic word for ‘mountain’).

Distinct from two rare terms, glossed simply as ‘stone’ without specifications and examples: ᵐɑʔ-ʔo-n-i [Kari 1994: 19], ᵐɛ [Kari 1994: 34].


Distinct from the old term ᵐɑʔ: ‘boulder / rocky cliff, bluff’ [Jetté & Jones 2000: 561]. As explained by Jetté, ᵐɑʔ: “contrasts with ᵐɑʔ, which designates smaller rocks that can be handled”.

**Degexit'an**: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 43; Chapman 1914: 215. Looks like a nominalized deverbal form, although details are unclear. This is the main word for ‘stone’ in the Yukon dialect according to [Kari 1978] and Chapman’s data, cf. the attested examples: "She went up over a place where there were flat stones; and she thought, ‘I will put these stones at the sides of my chest, and on my breast and forehead’" [Chapman 1914: 130], "they [two boys] went into the house and ate it. Then one of them got under a stone, and the other got under a pillow, and there they stayed" [Chapman 1914: 197].

In [Taff et al. 2007], Yukon noc=q’eq-yq is quoted in the meaning ‘gravel’, but in one of the textual examples it is translated as ‘rocks’: ‘Lots of gravel is piled here and there’; "I threw rocks in the water”.

The second candidate is noc=q’eqy, also an unclear deverbative. It is quoted in the generic meaning ‘rock, stone’ in [Taff et al. 2007], but in both examples it occurs only within the collocation noc=q’eqy ᵐɑʔ ‘big stone’: ‘There are lots of big rocks’, "A big rock was put in the road”. This can imply that noc=q’eqy has a more specific meaning than simply ‘stone’. It must be noted that noc=q’eqy is quoted in [Kari 1978: 43] as a Kuskokwim dialectal term for ‘stone’, which semantically corresponds to noc=q’eq-yq ‘stone’ in the Yukon dialect.

Both noc=q’eq-yq and noc=q’eqy are also used in the expressions for ‘stone axe’: Yukon dialect noc=q’eq-yq ᵐʰ noop, Kuskokwim dialect noc=q’eqy ᵐʰ noop [Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 67].

Distinct from the old term ᵐʰu: ‘boulder’ [Kari 1978: 43].


82. SUN


**References and notes:**

**Hupa**: Sapir & Golla 2001: 796; Golla 1996: 92; Hoijer 1956: 223. The word *ma* demonstrates the standard areal polysemy: ‘sun / moon’, although there also exist specialized expressions for this celestial body: cʰinkʰcʰwít-na, literally ‘daytime’ + ‘sun’, cʰinkʰcʰwít-ql, literally ‘daylight’ + ‘comes along’, cʰetít-ql, literally ‘here’ + ‘it comes along’ [Golla 1996: 92] (these forms are not yet attested in [Sapir & Golla 2001]). For a similar specialized expression for ‘moon’ (‘night *ma*) see under the latter.
Mattole: Li 1930: 126, 148 sub No. 75. Polysemy: ‘sun / moon / month / light of sun or moon’. The more specific collocation čiŋ-xaʔ 'sun' (the first element čiŋ means ‘day’ [Li 1930: 131]) is also used, see notes on ‘moon’. Bear River dialect: nayai - nakai with the strange polysemy: ‘sun / rainbow’ [Goddard 1929: 306, 321]; apparently, an inaccurate gloss.

Kato: Goddard 1912: 20; Curtis 1924: 205. Polysemy: ‘sun / moon’, although this is currently not the default term for ‘moon’.


Western Ahtena: na=ʔa-y [Kari 1990: 73, 603; Kari & Buck 1975: 87; Smelcer 2010: 126].


Three sá-based terms for ‘sun’ are quoted in [Saxon & Siemens 1996], out of which the simple sá ‘sun / moon / month’ and the compound sá-tè ‘sun’ are quoted in [Siemens et al. 2007]. So sá and sá-tè should be the default expressions for ‘sun’ in Dogrib. sá-tè literally means ‘great sá’ with -tè: ‘great, big, important, good’ [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 14]. The third term is či-kó-sá: ‘sun’ [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 22], literally ‘sá of the day’ (či’) with the unclear element kó. It must be noted that this compound is recent, since the intervocalic -s- has not voiced into -z-.


In the Chena dialect, so with polysemy: ‘sun / moon’ [Kari 1994: 354].


Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 739, 1028; Jones 1978: 165. Polysemy: ‘sun / month’. According to [Jones 1978], this is still the most common expression for ‘sun’ (cf. the quoted example: “She’s looking at the sun”). In the Lower dialect, the extended collocation cən xo-tq ‘sun’, literally ‘day’s sun’ is also used [Jetté & Jones 2000: 739].


Degexit’an: Taff et al. 2007: 45; Chapman 1914: 213. Literally ‘compact object that repetitively moves’ with the generic classificatory verb =tʰ ‘imperf.] / =tʰ ‘perf.’ ‘to handle compact object’ [Kari 1976: 4]. Cf. the examples for xo=ʔo-w ‘sun’: “At that time darkness was over all the earth; there was no sun (xo=ʔo-w) or moon (xo=tʰ=ʔo-l) there” [Chapman 1914: 106]. “Dusk or darkness, no sun (xo=ʔo-w) no moon (xo=tʰ=ʔo-l), only darkness, yet he travelled” [Chapman 1914: 111], “Early in the morning the sun is red” [Taff et al. 2007].

According to [Kari 1978: 45], xo=ʔo-w means both ‘sun’ and ‘moon’, but this is not confirmed by other sources. The original polysemy ‘sun / moon / month’ for xo=ʔo-w is possibly revealed by xo=ʔo-w = xo= ‘month’ [Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 49], if these forms represent contraction of xo=ʔo-w.
83. SWIM

Hupa =me: (1), Mattole =pe: (1), Kato =pe (1), Taldash Galice =t'oh (2), Outer Inlet Tanaina =pa (1), Inland Tanaina =eʰi=l=kʰʔl (3), Central Ahtena =pe:s (1), Mentasta Ahtena =pe:s (1) / tʰa=...=t=en (4), Dogrib =m.pem (1), North Slavey (Hare) =piè (1) / =mi (1), Tanacross =mèːl (1) / =meh (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) =n=beː -l (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) =ba-y (1), Central Carrier =pe (1), Koyukon =pa:y (1), Degexit'an =va:y (1), Sarsi =mēh (1).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 770; Golla 1996: 93; Golla 1977: 357. Polysemy: 'to swim / to bathe'. Applied at least to human beings. According to [Golla 1977: 357], the paradigm is: directional imperfective/perfective =mi-n (< *me-n) / =me-n (< *me-n-i), nondirectional imperfective/perfective =me / =me-t (< *me-t). Perhaps this is the same word as the classificatory verb =me [imperf.] / =me/t [perf.] to gather small objects (berries, etc.) [Sapir & Golla 2001: 770].

Mattole: Li 1930: 82. Paradigm: =pe [imperf.] / =peʔ [perf.]. Polysemy: 'to swim / to take a bath'.


Kato: Goddard 1912: 68. Paradigm: =pe [nondirectional imperf.] / =pi-ʔ [directional imperf.] / =pi-n [nondirectional perf.]. Used with both sg. and pl. subj.

Distinct from the more specific verb =leʔ / =ley 'to swim under water' [Goddard 1912: 63] and from =kʰʔl 'to bath (pl. subj.)' [Goddard 1912: 78].


Distinct from =li 'to swim', applied to a fish [Landar 1977: 295].

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Not attested.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Boraas 2010: 94. Cf. the example "he is swimming naked" [Boraas 2010: 46].

Distinct from =laʔ 'to swim', applied to fish, cf. the examples "A fish swim in to me" [Boraas 2010: 25] and "he swim around outside of him" [Boraas 2010: 26] (in the later case, the Raven, which has tuned into a fish, is mentioned).

Inland Tanaina: Wassilie 1979: 99. Applied to a human. The first element tʰi is the incorporated morpheme 'head'.

Distinct from the verb =laʔ, which seems to only be applied to fishes and (mythological) animals: nikʰu=n=št=lu 'I swim' [Tenenbaum 1978: 182] with the directional adverbial prefixes nikʰu 'out in a horizontal direction'; niʔqʰu=n=št=lu (< *niʔqʰu) 'he swim back to shore' [Tenenbaum 1978: 182] with the directional adverbial prefixes niʔqʰu 'to the beach or to higher ground from the water'; tʰu=n=št=lu 'I swim underwater' [Tenenbaum 1978: 185] with the directional adverbial prefixes tʰu 'submerged in water'; čaw=n=št=lu 'he swim (around outside of him)' [Tenenbaum 1978: 206].

Distinct from =t=kʰʔt 'to swim across' [Lovick 2005: 19, 61 ex. 2.30a; Tenenbaum 1976 1: 59, 60] - a causative from the classificatory verb =t=kʰʔt 'to handle a mushy or sticky object' [Tenenbaum 1978: 140].

Iliamna Tanaina: Not attested.


Western Ahtena: =pe:s [Kari 1990: 101, 604].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 101, 604.Kari 1990: 348, 604. Initial tʰa- is the incorporated morpheme 'water' q.v. This is a specific Mentasta expression, applicable to humans (both sg. and pl. subj.). We treat it as a synonym of the main Ahtena verbs =pe:s and =tʰaʔt.


Distinct from =teʔ / =tʰə 'to swim', pl. subj. [Saxton & Siemens 1996: ix, 60, 217].

Distinct from \(\text{=\text{ṭu}}\) 'to swim', pl. subj. [Rice 1978: 302, 406, 541]. Perfective.

**Tanacross:** Arnold et al. 2009: 260; Holton 2000: 352. This is the imperfective root variant. As proposed in [Holton 2000: 352], \(\text{=mèf}\) is to be historically analyzed as a suffixal formation: \(\text{=mèf}\-\text{ṭ}^\text{ʔ}\), although \(\text{ṭ}^\text{ʔ}\) is the normal exponent of the future form [Holton 2000: 269].

In [Shinen 1958: 59], the full paradigm is quoted as \(\text{=bēl}\ [\text{imperf.}] \) / \(\text{=mab}\ [\text{perf.}]\) 'to swim', where \(\text{=bēl}\) is a phonetic variant of \(\text{=mèf}\). Shinen 1958: 59. Perfective stem.

**Upper Tanana (Tetlin):** Milanoowski 2009: 39, 58, 107. Glossed simply as ‘to swim’ in [Milanowski 2009], specified as ‘human or animal movement through water without significant splashing’ (Milanowski, p.c.). Final \(\text{ṭ}^\text{ʔ}\) is a rare suffix (synchronously \(\text{ṭ}^\text{ʔ}\) is the future exponent) which can be singled out by comparison with the cognate verb \(\text{=l=bc-k}\) 'to swim across' [Milanowski 2009: 39, 107] (‘A person swims across’), where \(\text{ḥ}\) is formally the exponent of customary aspect.

Distinct from the more marked verb \(\text{=h=ṭa- ṭ}^\text{ʔ}\) 'to swim' [Milanowski 2009: 58, 107], specified as ‘human or animal movement through water with significant splashing’ (Milanowski, p.c.). Cf. the available example: “He is swimming in the creek” [Milanowski 2009: 58].


**Central Carrier:** Poser 1998/2013: 944, 1218, 1249; Poser 2011a: 208; Antoine et al. 1974: 333. Paradigm: \(\text{=pe}\ [\text{imperf.}]\) / \(\text{=pi}\ [\text{perf.}]\) / \(\text{=pa- ṭ}^\text{ʔ}\) / \(\text{=pa- ṭ}\) [progressive imperfect]. Used with sg. & dual. subj. Cf. the example: "He is strong because he is always swimming” [Antoine et al. 1974: 180].

Distinct from \(\text{=l=əəf}^\text{ʔ}\) / \(\text{=l=əf}^\text{ʔ}\) [imperf.] / \(\text{=l=əf}^\text{ʔ}\) [future] / \(\text{=l=əf}^\text{ʔ}\) [perf.] ‘to swim’, used with pl. subj. [Poser 1998/2013: 944, 1218, 1248].


Distinct from \(\text{=l=əx}^\text{ʔ}\) [imperf.] / \(\text{=l=əx}^\text{ʔ}\) [perfect.] ‘to swim’, used with pl. subj. [Jetté & Jones 2000: 27, 1030; Jones 1978: 167].

A second, apparently more rare expression for ‘to swim (pl. subj.)’ is the general verb of motion \(\text{=ta- ṭ}\) [imperf.] \(\text{=ta- ṭ}\) [perfect.] / \(\text{=ta- ṭ}\) [future] with polysemy: ‘to go / to come / to swim’ [Jetté & Jones 2000: 116].

**Degexeit'an:** Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1976a: 8; Chapman 1914: 218. Paradigm: \(\text{=va-y}\) [momentaneous imperfect] / \(\text{=va- ṭ}\) [momentaneous perfect] / \(\text{=v=yo- ṭ}\) [progressive imperfect] / \(\text{=v=yo}\) [progressive perfect]. According to [Kari 1976], used with sg. subj., but in [Taff et al. 2007] there is also an example with pl. subj.: "Water beetles are swimming all around”.

Distinct from \(\text{=ta- ṭ}\) [imperf.] / \(\text{=ta- ṭ}\) [perfect.] ‘to swim’, used with pl. subj. [Kari 1976: 6]. Not found in [Taff et al. 2007], where it is apparently supplanted with singulative \(\text{=va- ṭ}\).

Distinct from \(\text{=la- ṭ}\) ‘to swim’, applicable to fish(es) [Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1976: 34; Chapman 1914: 201].

**Sarsi:** Li 1930b: 17; Hoijer 1956: 223; Cook 1984: 248. Ablaut paradigm: \(\text{=mab}\) [imperfect] / \(\text{=mi-} \) ~ \(\text{=miy-}\) [perfect]. Cf. the available examples: ‘Can he swim?’ [Cook 1984: 36], ‘I might swim’ [Cook 1984: 37], ‘He has been swimming. He is one of us’ [Goddard 1915: 267].

Distinct from \(\text{=l=ṭi}\) [imperf.] / \(\text{=l=ṭi}\) [perfect.] glossed as ‘to bathe, swim’ [Li 1930b: 16]. It is possible that \(\text{=mab}\) is applied preferably to humans, whereas \(\text{=l=ṭi}\) ‘to swim’ is applied to animals, cf. the mirroring forms: \(\text{yī=mi- ṭ}^\text{ʔ} (\text{‘the one (person) who is swimming’ vs. yī=čśi- ṭ}^\text{ʔ} (\text{‘the one (animal) that is swimming’)} [Cook 1984: 104].

Distinct from \(\text{=l=ṭi}\) [imperf.] / \(\text{=l=ṭi}\) [perfect. ] ‘to go, walk (sg./dual. animals) / to swim, dive’ [Li 1930b: 20; Cook 1984: 56], without any semantic specifications concerning the meaning ‘to swim’.

84. TAIL

**Hupa** \(\text{POSSR}=k^\text{bye}\?) (1), **Mattole** \(\text{POSSR}=\text{q}^\text{byi}\?) (1), **Kato** \(\text{POSSR}=\text{q}^\text{byi}\?) (1), **Taldash Galice** \(\text{POSSR}=\text{q}^\text{byi}-\?) (1), **Upper Inlet Tanaina** \(\text{POSSR}=k^\text{byal-a}\) (2), **Outer Inlet Tanaina** \(\text{POSSR}=k^\text{ba}\) (1),...
Inland Tanaina POSR=$k^h$a-čat-a (1), Iliamna Tanaina POSR=$k^h$a-čat-a (1), Central Ahtena POSR=$k^h$e-ʔ (1), Mentasta Ahtena POSR=$k^h$e-ʔ (1), Dogrib POSR=$č$è (1), North Slavey (Hare) POSR=šè-ʔ (1), Tanacross POSR=$č$è-ʔ (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) POSR=$č$è-ʔ (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) POSR=$č$è-ʔ (1), Central Ahtena POSR=$č$è (1), Koyukon POSR=$k^h$a-ʔ (1), Degexit’an POSR=$č$è-ʔ (1), Sarsi POSR=$č$è-ʔ (1).

References and notes:

**Hupa:** Sapir & Golla 2001: 757; Golla 1996: 94; Golla 1964: 115. The synchronic root is $k^h$e, not $k^h$e, cf. such compounds as $k^h$e-nes 'pine squirrel', literally 'long tail' or $k^h$e-čil 'bobbed tail', literally 'tail-blunted' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 757; Golla 1996: 94].

Distinct from the separate term POSR=$k^h$e-čil 'fish tail' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 758; Golla 1996: 94].

**Mattole:** Li 1930: 132. Morphologically =č or =č-ʔ.

Bear River dialect: not attested as a separate word. The old term is retained in the compound $č$-čil-nes < č-čil-nes 'panther', literally 'long (q.v.) tail' [Goddard 1929: 300, 311].

**Kato:** Goddard 1912: 22. Applied to mammals, serpents and perhaps to fish (cf. [Goddard 1909: 138 No. 12]).

Distinct from POSR=$č$e-čil 'tail' [Goddard 1909: 86 No. 4; Goddard 1912: 22], applied to sea lions.


**Upper Inlet Tanaina:** Kari 2007: 15, 359; Kari 1977: 31. According to [Kari 2007], a generic term applied to mammals and apparently birds.

**Outer Inlet Tanaina:** Kari 2007: 15, 359; Kari 1977: 31. According to [Kari 2007], a generic term applied to mammals and, apparently, birds.

The verbal incorporated element 'tail' is quoted in [Boraas 2010: 125] as $k^h$ača- ~ $k^h$e- without semantic comments; see notes on Inland Tanaina.

**Inland Tanaina:** Kari 2007: 15, 359; Kari 1977: 31. According to [Kari 2007; Kari 1977], this word denotes a 'round tail (dog, moose)', i.e., an elongated terete tail.

Distinct from POSR=$k^h$a 'flat tail (of muskrat, beaver, bird)' [Kari 2007: 15; Kari 1977: 31].

Differently in [Wassille 1979: 99], where POSR=$k^h$učača is applied to a beaver, whereas POSR=$k^h$a is applied to birds.

The verbal incorporated element 'tail' is quoted in [Tenenbaum 1978: 164] as $k^h$uča- ~ $k^h$e- without semantic comments. These are either two different morphemes with different meanings ($k^h$uča- is an abbreviated form of POSR=$k^h$učača; $k^h$a- goes back to POSR=$k^h$a), or the second variant $k^h$a- may be an abbreviated form of $k^h$uča- (< POSR=$k^h$učača).

**Iliamna Tanaina:** Kari 2007: 15, 359; Kari 1977: 31. If the analysis of -a as the izafet exponent is correct, the Iliamna form is to be read POSR=$k^h$a-čat-a (< *ačt-a). According to [Kari 2007; Kari 1977], this denotes a 'round tail (dog, moose)', i.e., an elongated terete tail.

Distinct from POSR=$k^h$a 'flat tail (of muskrat, beaver, bird)' [Kari 2007: 15; Kari 1977: 31].

**Central Ahtena:** Kari 1990: 112, 605; Kari & Buck 1975: 9.

**Lower Ahtena:** POSR=$k^h$e-ʔ [Kari 1990: 112, 605; Kari & Buck 1975: 9].

**Western Ahtena:** POSR=$k^h$e-ʔ [Kari 1990: 112, 605; Kari & Buck 1975: 9].


**85. THAT**

Hupa yoːw (1) / yeːw (2), Mattole yi: ~ hai=yi: (2), Kato hai=ye ~ hai=yi: (2), Upper Inlet Tanaina ki-n-i ~ ki-n (3), Outer Inlet Tanaina ki-n-i ~ ki-n (3), Inland Tanaina ki-n-i ~ ki-n (3), Iliamna Tanaina ki-n-i ~ ki-n (3), Central Ahtena ka-n-i (3), Mentasta Ahtena ka-n-i (3), Dogrib éyi (2), North Slavey (Hare) ?èyì ~ ?èyè-rì (2), Tanacross nâ: ~ nàː-n (4), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) ay (2), Lower Tanana (Minto) a=yi (2), Central Carrier n=yu-n (2) / n=γ-an-λn ~ ηan-λn (3), Koyukon i.y (2) / noːk (4), Sarsi iy (2) / niɣú (4).

**References and notes:**

**Hupa:** Sapir & Golla 2001: 810; Golla 1996: 95. Originates < *yοw-i.

The general deictic system in Hupa is ternary:
1) te ~ teːt ~ hay-te ~ həy-teːt 'this' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 747; Golla 1996: 96; Golla 1970: 299] (the plain form te: with polysemy: 'this / here');
2) yeːw ~ həy-yəw 'that (close by, visible)' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 810; Golla 1996: 95; Golla 1970: 299];
3) yeːw ~ həy-yəw 'that (far off, invisible)' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 806; Golla 1996: 95; Golla 1970: 299].

We treat yeːw and yeːw as synonyms.

For the optional proclitic həy-, which functions like a definite article in nominal phrases, see [Golla 1970: 268 f.]. Sapir & Golla 2001: 806; Golla 1996: 95. Originates < *yəw-i.

**Mattole:** Li 1930: 133. According to [Li 1930: 133], the system of Mattole demonstrative pronouns is binary: ti: 'this, these' (also hai=tiː) / yi: 'that, those' (also hai=yiː). There is also a general demonstrative hai, glossed by Li as 'the, this, that' and specified as 'practically an article'. Bear River dialect: not attested reliably.

**Kato:** Goddard 1912: 34. According to [Goddard 1912: 34], the system of Kato demonstrative pronouns is binary: ti: 'this' / hai=ye ~ hai=yiː 'that'. There is also a general demonstrative hiː, glossed by Goddard as 'the' and specified as 'practically an article'.

**Taldash Galice:** Not attested.


**Central Ahtena:** Kari 1990: 208, 607.

- **Lower Ahtena:** ka-n-i [Kari 1990: 208, 607].
- **Western Ahtena:** ka-n-i [Kari 1990: 208, 607].

**Mentasta Ahtena:** Kari 1990: 208, 607.

According to available sources, the system of Dogrib demonstrative pronouns (both attributive and nominalized) is binary: ťi'-y̌i' 'this' / əy̌i' 'that / there'.

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1989: 255. Final -ri (< *-ťi) is an enclitic element modifying demonstrative and some other pronouns, e.g., y̌e-ri 'what' q.v.

According to [Rice 1989: 255], the system of Hare demonstrative pronouns is binary: ťe-ri 'this' / ʔe-ri ~ ʔe-ri-ri 'that'.


Details are not documented, but according to [Holton 2000: 279], the basic opposition of Tanacross demonstrative pronouns (both attributive and nominalized) is binary: ʔe-~ ʔɛn 'this (sg.)', ʔe- these (pl.) / nk- ~ nk- 'that (sg.)'; he, she, it', ʔe- y̌i' those (pl.)'.

It should be specially noted that in [Holton 2000: 279], forms for the proximal ('this, these') and distal ('that, those') pronouns are swapped; this looks like a typographic error.

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 12, 86. In [Milanowski 2009: 12, 18, 28, 86], the proximal demonstrative pronoun is given as ča-n ~ čah 'this', opposed to two distal demonstrative pronouns ay and xat which are quoted as synonyms with the gloss 'that / that one (demonstrative)'. As specified by Milanowski (p.c.), ay is most commonly used, whereas xat is generally used only when an alternate equivalent is needed within a context. Thus the Tetlin system is actually binary: ča-n ~ čah 'this' / ay 'that'.

The pronoun ay could be analyzed as a=y, see notes on Lower Tanana.


Available sources show that the basic opposition of Lower Tanana attributive demonstrative pronouns is binary: ča- ~ ča y̌i' 'this', these' / ay̌i' 'that, those'.

The pronoun ay̌i with polysemy: 'that, those / it, they (3rd p. sg./pl. non-human) is used both attributively and non-attributively, applied to things and animals. For humans, the extended stem ay̌i- 'he, she, him, her, 3rd p. sg. human'.

In the light of such pronouns as ya-t 'there, at that place' and ya-na 'they, them, 3rd p. pl. human' [Kari 1994: 324], it is possible to analyze ay̌i 'that' as a=y with =y - a prefix of demonstratives, on which see further [Kari 1994: 14].

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 402; Poser 2011b: 38; Antoine et al. 1974: 352. Meaning 'that (near the addressee)'.

As described in [Poser 2011b: 38] and slightly differently in [Antoine et al. 1974: 352], the system of Central Carrier attributive demonstrative pronouns is ternary: n=ñ-a-n 'this (near the speaker) / n=ñ-a-n 'that (near the addressee) / n=ñ-a-n ~ n=ñ-a-n 'that (far from the speaker & the addressee)'.

Initial n= is the common pronominal element, cf., e.g., n-ta 'what?, which?', n-tet 'when?'. Poser 1998/2013: 350, 352; Poser 2011b: 38; Antoine et al. 1974: 352. Meaning 'that (far from the speaker & the addressee)'.

Paradigm: n=ñ-a-n / n=ñ-a-n

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 33, 806; Jones & Kwaraiceus 1997: 15. Meaning 'that (near addressee)'. The variant found mainly in the Lower dialect is oy.

According to [Jones & Kwaraiceus 1997: 15; Jetté & Jones 2000: 806], the system of Central Koyukon attributive demonstrative pronouns is quaternary: kə 'this (near speaker)' / oy ~ oy- 'that (near addressee); aforementioned (that one that we are talking about) / now 'that (far from speaker & addressee)' / yaq 'that (far away)'. The latter item yaq-ə is apparently the same word as yaq-ə 'down, downward, below' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 687]; final -ə is the lexicalized negative suffix, emphasizing small dimensions, see [Jetté & Jones 2000: 5] and notes on 'not'.

We treat oy 'that (near addressee)' and now 'that (far from speaker & addressee)' as synonyms for 'that'. Jetté & Jones 2000: 493, 806; Jones & Kwaraiceus 1997: 15. Meaning 'that (far from speaker & addressee)'.

Degexit'an: Not documented properly.

Sarsi: Cook 1984: 73.

According to Cook's analysis, the system of Sarsi attributive demonstrative pronouns is ternary: ti- 'this' / iy- 'that (proximate)' / n'=iy- 'that (distant)'. We treat iy- and n'=iy- as synonyms for 'that'. Cook 1984: 73.
Hupa teː ~ teː-t (1), Mattole tiː ~ hai=tiː (1), Kato tiː (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina ki-n-i ~ ki-n (2), Outer Inlet Tanaina ki-n-i ~ ki-n (2), Inland Tanaina ki-n-i ~ ki-n (2), Iliamna Tanaina ki-n-i ~ ki-n (2), Central Ahtena kʰaː-n-i (2), Mentasta Ahtena kʰaː-n-i (2), Dogrib tiː (1), North Slavey (Hare) tè-ri (1), Tanacross čâː ~ čâː-n (2), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) ča-n ~ čah (2), Lower Tanana (Minto) ča ~ čaŋ (2), Central Carrier n=ṭa-n (1), Koyukon ko: (2), Sarsi ti- (1).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 747; Golla 1996: 96. (=)teː-t originates < *(=)teː-ti. The plain form teː with polysemy: 'this / here'. See notes on 'that'.
Mattole: Li 1930: 133. See notes on 'that'.
   Bear River dialect: not attested reliably.
Kato: Goddard 1912: 34. See notes on 'that'.
Taldash Galice: Not attested.
   Lower Ahtena: kʰaː-n-i [Kari 1990: 178, 608].
   Western Ahtena: kʰaː-n-i [Kari 1990: 178, 608].
Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 19, 221; Marinakis et al. 2007: 162. In [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 19, 221], the forms tiː-ţ̌iː and tiː-ţ̌eː 'this' are also quoted. It is likely that simple tiː is used attributively (the example: "These houses are among the trees" [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 19]), whereas tiː-ţ̌eː (contracted tiː-ţ̌iː) is a nominalized contraction with ţ̌iː: 'this one' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 54].
North Slavey (Hare): Rico 1989: 255. See notes on 'that'.
Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 268. See notes on 'that'.
Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 18, 86. The variant čah is quoted with polysemy: 'this / here'.
Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 146, 495. Polysemy: 'this, these / here / now'. Used attributively; the nominalized forms are ča ŋ 'this (person)' and ča:i 'this (thing)'. See notes on 'that'.
Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 335; Poser 2011b: 38; Antoine et al. 1974: 352. Meaning 'this (near the speaker)'. Paradigm: n=ṭa-n [humans & dogs, sg.] / n=ṭa-n-ne [humans & dogs, pl.] / n=ṭi [non-human, sg. & pl.]. See notes on 'that'.
Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 192, 806; Jones & Kwareceius 1997: 15. Meaning 'this (near speaker)'. See notes on 'that'.
Degexi'an: Not documented properly.
Sarsi: Cook 1984: 73. Paradigm: ti-ni [sg. human] / ti-ni [pl. human] / ti-yi [sg./pl. non-human]. Final -ni is the same morpheme as in the personal pronouns (si-ni 'I q.v. etc.); final -ni is the plural human suffix. Further see notes on 'that'.

87. THOU

Hupa niŋ (1), Mattole niŋ (1), Kato niŋ (1), Taldash Galice nan (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina nan (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina nan (1), Inland Tanaina nan (1), Iliamna Tanaina nan (1), Central Ahtena nen (1), Mentasta Ahtena nen (1), Dogrib niː (1), North Slavey (Hare) nè-nè (1), Tanacross nèn (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) nan (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) nan (1),

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Central Carrier *ny-an* (1), Koyukon *naŋ* (1), Degexit'an *ŋaŋ* (1), Sarsi *ni-ní* (1).

References and notes:


**Mattole**: Li 1930: 133. Regularly originates from *'nin*. The same morpheme in the prefixal possessive pronoun *ni*- 'thy' [Li 1930: 133], 2 sg. subject verbal prefix *-n*- [Li 1930: 68], 2 sg. object verbal prefix *-ni*- [Li 1930: 64].

Bear River dialect: *nan* 'thou' [Goddard 1929: 322].

**Kato**: Goddard 1912: 33. Regularly originates from *'nin*. The same morpheme is found in the prefixal possessive pronoun *n*- < *'ni*- 'thy' [Goddard 1912: 21].

**Taldash Galice**: Hoijer 1956: 223; Landar 1977: 296. The same morpheme in the prefixal possessive pronoun *n*- [before C or V] / *t*- [before V] < *'ni*- 'thy' [Hoijer 1966: 322], 2 sg. indirect & direct object verbal prefix *n*- [before C or V] / *t*- [before V] [Hoijer 1966: 323, 324].


**Central Ahtena**: Kari 1990: 35, 300.

- **Lower Ahtena**: nen [Kari 1990: 35, 300].
- **Western Ahtena**: nen [Kari 1990: 35, 300].

**Mentasta Ahtena**: Kari 1990: 35, 300.

**Dogrib**: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 82; Marinakis et al. 2007: 40.

The same morpheme is present in the prefixal possessive pronoun *n*- 'thy', 2nd sg. subject verbal prefix *-n*- [Saxon & Siemens 1996: xiii; Marinakis et al. 2007: 39, 114, 128; Coleman 1976: 21].

**North Slavey (Hare)**: Rice 1989: 253; Hoijer 1956: 222. Final *-n* is a suffix that modifies personal and some other pronouns.

**Tanacross**: Arnold et al. 2009: 300. In [Holton 2000: 278], transcribed as *nin*. The same morpheme is present in the prefixal possessive pronoun *n*- 'thy', 2nd sg. subject verbal prefix *-n*-, 2nd sg. object verbal prefix *-n*- [Holton 2000: 145, 199, 248].

**Upper Tanana (Tetlin)**: Milanowski 2009: 82. The same morpheme is present in the prefixal possessive pronoun *n*- 'thy' [Milanowski 2009: 9].

- **Northway**: *nan* 'thou' [Milanowski 2007: 15].
- **Scottie Creek**: *ny ní* 'thou' [John 1997: 83].

**Lower Tanana (Minto)**: Kari 1994: 202. The same morpheme is present in the prefixal possessive pronoun *na*- 'thy', 2nd sg. subject verbal prefix *-na*-, 2nd sg. object verbal prefix *-na*- [Kari 1994: 202].

**Central Carrier**: Poser 1998/2013: 403; Antoine et al. 1974: 351. The same morpheme is present in the prefixal possessive pronoun *n*- 'thy', 2nd sg. subject verbal prefix *-n*-, 2nd sg. object verbal prefix *-n*- [Antoine et al. 1974: 349-350].

**Koyukon**: Jetté & Jones 2000: 469, 805; Jones & Kwaraceius 1997: 4. The same morpheme is present in the prefixal possessive pronoun *n*- 'thy', 2nd sg. subject verbal prefix *-n*-, 2nd sg. object verbal prefix *-n*- [Jetté & Jones 2000: 805].

**Degexit'an**: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 25. The same morpheme is present in the prefixal possessive pronoun *pa*- 'thy' [Kari 1978: 25].

**Sarsi**: Cook 1984: 62; Hoijer 1956: 222. Final *-ni* is a morpheme common for all independent personal pronouns. The same root morpheme is present in the prefixal possessive pronoun *ni*- 'thy', 2nd sg. subject verbal prefix *-ni*-, 2nd sg. object verbal prefix *-ni*- [Cook 1984: 64, 193, 197].

88. TONGUE

Hupa *POSSR=s*a*=s=ṭʰaːn* (1), Mattole *POSSR=s*a*=s=ṭʰaːn* (1), Kato *POSSR=soʔ* (2), Taldash Galice =ṭoʔ (3), Upper Inlet Tanaina *POSSR=cʰi-la* (2), Outer Inlet Tanaina *POSSR=cʰi-lu* (2), Inland Tanaina *POSSR=cʰi-la* (2), Iliamna Tanaina *POSSR=cʰi-la* (2), Central Ahtena...
POSSE=cʰu-la? (2), Mentasta Ahtena POSSE=cʰu-la? (2), Dogrib POSSE=wá-li: ~ POSSE=wá=ri: (4), North Slavey (Hare) POSSE=wá=ri (4), Tanacross POSSE=tʰu:-l? (2), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) POSSE=tʰu:-L? (2), Lower Tanana (Minto) POSSE=tʰu-la? (2), Central Carrier POSSE=cʰu-la (2), Koyukon POSSE=Lʰu:-l-aʔ (2), Degexit'an POSSE=tʰe:-l (2), Sarsi POSSE=cʰu?-ʔ (2).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 782; Golla 1996: 98. A descriptive formation < *sah-si-tʰan-i 'inside the mouth it (stick-like object) lies'.
Mattole: Li 1930: 131. A descriptive formation (‘inside the mouth (q.v.) it (long object) lies’ from the verb =tʰan (< *tʰan-i) ‘to lie (said of long object)’ [Li 1930: 89].

Kato: Goddard 1912: 22; Goddard 1909: 110 No. 3; Curtis 1924: 201.
Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 61. There is no single term for ‘tongue’ in Taldash Galice according to [Hoijer 1973], but two compounds with specific meanings are used instead: POSSE=tʰa-hoʔ ‘back/root of the tongue’ [Hoijer 1973: 53] (with =tʰa- ‘mouth’ q.v.) and POSSE=sa-tʰoʔ ‘tip of the tongue’ [Hoijer 1973: 58] (with =sa- ‘?’).

In [Landar 1977: 295], the generic term for ‘tongue’ is quoted as the compound ta=saʔ ‘mouth’ (i.e., ta=saʔ-ʔ) with ta=ʔ ‘?’. Cf. the word tʰa=ʔoh ‘snake’ q.v., literally ‘big tongue’ with the augmentative suffix -ʔoh (see notes on ‘big’).

Western Ahtena: POSSE=cʰu-laʔ [Kari 1990: 397, 611; Kari & Buck 1975: 63; Smelcer 2010: 46].


Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 26, 70.

Scottie Creek: POSSE=tʰu=-ʔ ‘tongue’ [John 1997: 17].


Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 985, 1038; Jones 1978: 177. The incorporated variant of this word is Lʰuːlɔʔ, thus POSSE=Lʰuːl-aʔ is apparently the result of reanalysis of the old compound POSSE=Lʰuːl-aʔ as a CVC-root with the standard izafet suffix -aʔ. Cf. loʔ ‘tip’ attested, e.g., in tʰoːlə ‘tip of feather’ [Jetté & Jones 2000: 552] (tʰoː ‘feather’) or POSSE=ʔaːʔ ‘end, tip’ [Jetté & Jones 2000: 405] (locative suffix -ʔaʔ).

Degexit’an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 34. Cf. POSSE=ʔu ‘the tip or top of something’ [Taff et al. 2007]. See further notes on Koyukon.

89. TOOTH
Hupa POSSR=woʔ (1), Mattole POSSR=ʃwʔ (1), Kato POSSR=woʔ (1), Taldash Galice POSSR=koʔ (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina POSSR=bi (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina POSSR=zaq=ɔz=ʌi (2), Inland Tanaina POSSR=bi (1), Iliamna Tanaina POSSR=bi (1), Central Ahtena POSSR=vuʔ (1), Mentasta Ahtena POSSR=kuʔ (1), Dogrib POSSR=γʔ (1), North Slavey (Hare) POSSR=γʔ (1), Tanacross POSSR=χuʔ (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) POSSR=uxuʔ (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) POSSR=γuʔ (1), Central Carrier POSSR=γ (1), Koyukon POSSR=buʔ (1), Degexit’an POSSR=beʔ (1), Sarsi POSSR=γʔ (1).

References and notes:

Mattole: Li 1930: 126. Morphologically either =ʒwʔ or =ʃwʔ.
Bear River dialect: POSSR=woʔ ~ POSSR=go ‘teeth’ [Goddard 1929: 321].
Kato: Goddard 1912: 22; Curtis 1924: 201.
Taldash Galice: Hoijer & Joël 1963: 69; Hoijer 1956: 222. Synchronically, either =koʔ or =koʔ-.
Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 97; Kari 1977: 99. Nominalized verbal forms, literally ‘plural objects in mouth’ with the incorporated morpheme zaq= ‘mouh’ q.v. and the classificatory verb =lu ‘to handle plural objects’ [Boraas 2010: 118; Tenenbaum 1978: 141; Holton et al. 2004: 40 ff.], modified with the perfective exponent =z, the classifier =t= and the relative nominalizer -i with the subsequent contraction, i.e., =ɔzʌi < =z=t=lu-i.


North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 60, 177; Hoijer 1956: 222. In compounds, the variant γʔ- is used, e.g., POSSR=γuʔ-ʔ ‘gum’ [Rice 1978: 60].


Scottie Creek: POSSR=γuʔ ‘tooth’ [John 1997: 17].

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 134, 498. In compounds, the variant γuʔ- is used.


In the Lower dialect, this item competes with the nominalized verbal form POSSR=ʌx=ʌʔ=ʌʔ-ʔ ‘tooth’ [Jetté & Jones 2000: 59, 404], literally ‘(compact) object in the mouth’ < ʌx ‘mouth’ q.v. + the generic classificatory verb =ʌx ‘compact object is in position’ [Jetté & Jones 2000: 40] + the izafet suffix -ʔo.

Degexit’an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 34; Chapman 1914: 223.


90. TREE
Hupa kʰiη (1), Mattole ϕʰiη (1), Kato çʰm (1), Taldash Galice çʰan (1), Upper Inlet

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Tanaina c'pa-la (2), Outer Inlet Tanaina č'wa-la (2), Inland Tanaina č'va-la (2), Iliamna Tanaina č'va-la (2), Central Ahtena č'ape-li (2), Mentasta Ahtena č'ape-l (2), Dogrib té=čʰi (1), North Slavey (Hare) č'ūh ~ č'ū (2), Tanacross č'øyʷ (2), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) č'ox: (2), Lower Tanana (Minto) č'aba (2), Central Carrier t₁=čʰ:m (1), Koyukon c'apa: (2), Degexit'an čʰač (3), Sarsi i=čʰi (1).

References and notes:


Distinct from čʰʰi ‘wood, firewood’ [Sapir & Golla 2001: 741; Golla 1996: 108].

Mattole: Li 1930: 130 (sub s'αeʰiŋ), 132. Polysemy: ‘tree / stick’. Additionally cf. the compounds ʔis-čʰiŋ ‘fir tree’ [Li 1930: 132], s'α-eʰiŋ ‘acorn’ [Li 1930: 130] (čʰiŋ is also accepted as a word for ‘tree’ in [Hoijer 1956: 224]).

Distinct from čʰi ‘wood’ [Li 1930: 132] (i.e., ‘piece of wood’, not ‘forest’?) and ʔis=ɛʷ ‘timber’ [Li 1930: 129] (literally ‘what has been piled up’, although =ɛ is not documented as a separate verb in [Li 1930]).

Bear River dialect: not attested. Cf. čʰmiş ~ čʰex ~ čʰex ~ čʰes ‘(piece of) wood’ [Goddard 1929: 311, 322].

Kato: Goddard 1912: 16, 20, 25; Curtis 1924: 205. In [Curtis 1924], expectedly quoted as čʰiŋ, whereas Goddard’s transcription čʰm is not entirely clear (< čʰ+m-i?). Polysemy: ‘tree / wood, firewood’ (for the latter meaning see [Goddard 1909: 103 No. 11-13]).

There is, however, also a separate term al ‘wood, firewood’ [Goddard 1912: 19; Goddard 1909: 137 No. 12].


Distinct from čʰap: ‘firewood’ [Hoijer 1973: 59].


Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 47, 360. Note the unusual sound w (this form is confirmed in [Kari 1977: 59]) instead of expected p.


It may be seen from the numerous attested examples that té=čʰi is the default term for ‘tree’: ‘These houses are among the trees’ [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 19], ”One day the old man put up a string stretching from one tree to another’ [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 33], “The fruit tree is growing” [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 87], “That is where the boy hopped between the trees” [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 108], “He is shouting in among the trees” [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 112], “She sat next to the tree under the snow for a long time” [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 116], “He climbed the tree” [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 128], “between the trees” [Marinakis et al. 2007: 69], “he is shouting in among the trees” [Marinakis et al. 2007: 70].


The second candidate is čʰi with polysemy: ‘tree / spruce / boat’ [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 105]. In [Siemens et al. 2007: 74], however, čʰi is only glossed as ‘spruce tree’. The only found example for the generic meaning ‘tree’ is “There used to be trees standing there, but they cut them all down” [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 76] plus a couple of compounds such as čʰi-awí: ‘cluster of trees’ [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 106], čʰi-ʔuk: ‘old tree’ [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 106], čʰi-kʰʼi: ‘bare tree without branches’ [Marinakis et al. 2007: 159].

Apparently, čʰi ‘spruce’ has a tendency to denote ‘tree’ in general, but nevertheless, the default generic term in modern Dogrib seems to be té=čʰi.

Distinct from čʰo: ‘firewood, log, dry wood’ [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 104].
Distinct from bê-nî, POSSR=e-sin-që ‘wood (material) / stick’ [Rice 1978: 47], although in [Hoijer 1956: 222] it is quoted as the term for 'tree'. Initial bê- is a gender prefix referring to wood [Rice 1989: 606].
Distinct from sê-t ~ sê ‘firewood’ [Rice 1978: 90].


Scottie Creek: cʰok with polysemy 'tree / spruce' [John 1997: 60, 61].


A compound with an unclear first component taa and POSSR=e-n ‘handle of broom, canoe paddle, or similar object, stem of plant’ [Poser 1998/2013: 102], where e-n seems to be the main meaningful element, cf. such compounds with e-n ‘tree’ as: e-n-too ‘forest’, literally ‘among e-n’ [Poser 1998/2013: 103], e-n-tit ‘tree burnt yet standing’, literally ‘smoke of e-n’ [Poser 1998/2013: 103], etc.

Distinct from taa-nqì ‘stick, log, wood, wooden object, handle, wooden frame; the woods, brush, timber; stem, stalk, trunk of plant’ [Jetté & Jones 2000: 294]. Initial taa is probably a gender prefix; the isolated kʰa POSSR=kʰa-nì means ‘base, lower part of, open space; meadow, flat area, plain’ [Jetté & Jones 2000: 293].

Degexit’an: Taff et al. 2007; Chapman 1914: 129. Polysemy: 'tree / stick / wood, timber / firewood'.
Distinct from two dialectal words for ‘spruce tree’: Yukon taa-levtq, Kuskokwim cʰevo [Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 19].

Sarsi: Hoijer & Joël 1963: 72; Hoijer 1956: 222. Initial t is the fossilized indefinite non-personal possessive. Polysemy: 'tree / brush / wood, timber'; cf. some examples for the general meaning ‘tree’: ‘Let’s run up to the eagle which is brooding on the tree’, “Son, an angry bear is staying among those trees; don’t go near it” [Cook 1984: 44].”All his dogs he tied up. All the trees were lighted up” [Goddard 1915: 249], “Small boy climbed up the tree” [Goddard 1915: 267].
Distinct from POSSR=ti=cʰin-qa ‘stick, piece of wood’ [Hoijer & Joël 1963: 72] which contains the same root cʰin plus the desemanticized morpheme ti.

91. TWO

Hupa nahx (1), Mattole nakʰhəh (1), Kato nak-kʰaʔ (1), Taldash Galice natei (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina nu-tʰ-a ~ nu-tʰ-ay ~ nu-tʰ-ix-a (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina nu-tʰ-ix-a (1), Inland Tanaina nu-tʰ-ix-a (1), Iliamna Tanaina nu-tʰ-ix-a (1), Central Ahtena na-te:qi (1), Mentasta Ahtena na-te:qe (1), Dogrib nákʰli (1), North Slavey (Hare) rákʰli (1) / ʔ=akaʔ-t’e ~ ʔ=akaʔ-t’iè ~ ʔ=akaʔ-t’è (1), Tanacross ʔit:kʰi:y (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) tækʰey (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) nłatʰi-k’a (1), Central Carrier na-n-k’h (1), Koyukon nātʰi:q-ʔi: (1), Degexit’an tʰe:qʰa: (1) / nə:qʰ-a: (1), Sarsi ákʰi-yîi ~ ikʰi-yîi (1).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 774; Golla 1996: 100; Golla 1970: 255. Originates < *nahx. The reduced variant, used as the first element of
92. WALK (GO)

Hupa =ya: (1), Mattole =ya: (1), Kato =ya (1), Taldash Galice =ya: (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina =yu (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina =yu (1), Inland Tanaina =yu (1), Iliamna Tanaina =yu (1), Central Ahtena =ya: (1), Mentasta Ahtena =ya: (1), Dogrib =ʔaː ʔ (2), North Slavey (Hare) =t=ʔa (2), Tanacross =hát (1) / =ʔah (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) =hát (1) / =ʔah (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) =ya: (1), Central Carrier =ya: (1), Koyukon =ho: (1) / =yo: (1), Degexit’an =hoːʔ (1) / =yo: (1), Sarsi =yá ~ =yah (1).

References and notes:

Bear River dialect: nak'ah ~ nak’ a ‘two’ [Goddard 1929: 322].

Kato: Goddard 1912: 36; Curtis 1924: 205. Both sources explicitly quote this form with the double velar ...k’...[72x107]


North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 86, 179; Rice 1989: 10, 373, 376; Hoijer 1956: 222. There are two cardinal numerals with the meaning ‘2’ in Hare: râk’ê and ðâk’ê-tê, see notes on ‘1’ for the difference. Numerals râk’ê and ðâk’ê-tê are cognate with each other; initial r- < n- (the form with the retained nasal is documented in Hoijer’s list), the forms ðâk’ê-tê, ðâk’ê-tê are extended with vocalic prefixes, final - tô / -tê is the verb ‘there are number’ [Rice 1989: 383, 385].Rice 1978: 179; Rice 1989: 376.


Scottie Creek: ñâk’ay ‘two’ [John 1997: 52].


Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 318, 1284; Antoine et al. 1974: 396. This is the generic form. Cf. other forms applicable to various objects: human nət-ne, multiplicative nət-tən, locative nə-tən, abstract nə-ən.


Degexit’an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 52. This numeral is applicable to women, animals and things, cf. some examples with tʰeq’ə: ʰ ‘on each side of the fire two beautiful women had set their pots to cook’ [Chapman 1914: 131], “there were two masks hanging on it” [Chapman 1914: 172]. Other forms are used with ‘men’ and ‘times’: nət’ix-on is applicable to men; nət ~ nət’ix-ə is applicable to times (’twice’) [Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 52; Chapman 1914: 215].

We treat tʰeq’ə:x and nət’ix-on as synonyms.Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 52; Chapman 1914: 215.

Sarsi: Cook 1984: 76, 103; Hoijer 1956: 222.

With pl. subj. the verb =til [light imperf.] / =til < *til-i [heavy imperf.] / =teʔl < *teʔl-i [light perf.] / =teʔl< *teʔl-i [heavy perf.] is used instead [Sapir & Golla 2001: 750; Golla 1996: 19, 40; Golla 1996a: 368; Golla 1970: 162].

Mattole: Li 1930: 75. The light perfective stem; the heavy perfective stem is =ya-i; the imperfective stem is =ya:x. Polysemy: 'to go / to come (q.v.) / to come away'. Used with sg. subj.

Distinct from =til [imperf.] / =teʔl (< *teʔl-i) [perf.] with polysemy: 'to go / to come / to go away'. Used with sg. subj. Bear River dialect: perfective =ya-x 'to go' (used with sg. subj.) [Li 1930: 3].


Distinct from =tət [imperf.] / =təʔl (< *təl-ʔ-i) [perf.] with polysemy: 'to go / to come / to go away' [Goddard 1912: 69], used with pl. subj. (surprisingly, it is noted in [Goddard 1912: 69] that =tət / =təʔl is used with dual subj. only, although examples like [Goddard 1909: 96 No. 12] confirm the plural usage).


Distinct from =tsə [imperf.] / =tə [perf.] 'to move (intr.)', used with both sg. & pl. subj. [Hoijer 1973: 64]; historically =ya-x / =ya with the prefixed t-classifier.

Distinct from =tət ~ =tət [imperf.] / =təʔl (< *təl-ʔ-i) [perf.] 'to move (intr.)', used with dual. subj. [Hoijer 1973: 64].

Distinct from kʰaʔ [imperf.] / kʰaʔ (< kʰaʔ-ʔ-i) [perf.] 'to move (intr.)', used with pl. subj. [Hoijer 1973: 68].


Lower Ahtena: =ya [Kari 1990: 422, 500].

Western Ahtena: =ya [Kari 1990: 422, 500].


Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: ix, 16, 78, 171. Used with sg. & dual. subj. Polysemy: 'to go / to go away / to come'. Glossed as 'to go (one or two people), travel to a place (one or two people)' and 'to start out (one person), leave (one person), go (one person), land (a plane)'. For the meaning 'to come' see notes on 'to come'.

Distinct from =tət 'to go / to come', used with pl. subj. It is quoted in [Saxon & Siemens 1996: ix] with the meaning 'to walk', but the example "They go (+tət) to the barrenlands for caribou for as long as a week" [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 49] suggests the basic meaning 'to go'; for 'to come' see notes on 'to come'.

Distinct from the verbs for 'to walk': =tə 'to walk (sg.)', =nə 'to walk (dual.)' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: ix]. With pl. subj. the aforementioned generic verb =tə 'to walk, go, come (pl.)' is used.

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 312, 450, 505. Used with sg. & dual. subj.

According to [Rice 1989: 873], the Hare system of motion verbs should discriminate between the so-called "controlled" and "uncontrolled" actions (see notes on 'to give' where the same opposition is discussed for the so-called classificatory verbs), but synchronic details are not documented.

Apparently =tət is the default and most frequently used verb for 'to go (sg. & dual. subj.)'. Cf. some examples: "He went to his traps", "Go straight to where you shot it", "He went back by boat" [Rice 1978: 312], "Go for the meat" [Rice 1978: 197], "I'm going upstairs" [Rice 1978: 276], "I'm scared to go in that house" [Rice 1978: 277].

Distinct from the verb =tət 'to go / to come', sg., dual. & pl. subj. [Rice 1978: 191, 468] which seems to be less frequently used. Cf. the examples: "Don't go near the dog", "We came for nothing", "In spring, people go to the bush" [Rice 1978: 191].

Distinct from the suppletive verb =nə (< =nəa) [imperf.] / =ya [perf.] 'to go, walk / to come', sg. subj. [Rice 1978: 311, 415, 505; Rice 1989: 868] (originates from *-a fused with various prefixal consonants) which is less frequently used and
whose actual meaning is rather 'to walk' than generic 'to go'. Cf., e.g., the opposite examples: "Go across (=ta)" vs. 'Walk across / Go across slowly (=ta, =ya)" [Rice 1978: 302].

With pl. subj., the verbs =têq with polysemy: 'to go / to walk / to come / to run' [Rice 1978: 244, 479, 505] or =tê with polysemy: 'to go / to fly' [Rice 1978: 312, 418, 505] are used.

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 133; Holton 2000: 214, 350; Shinen 1958: 40. A generic verb of going, with polysemy: 'to go / to come', used with sg. subj. Suppletive paradigm: =hêť [imperf., fut.] / =sâh [perf.]. As proposed in [Holton 2000: 214], the imperfective root is to be historically analyzed as a suffixal formation: =hêť-[i], although -i is the normal exponent of the future form [Holton 2000: 269].

With pl subj., the verb =ta[t imperfect., fut.] / =ta-[r] [perf.] 'to go / to come / to run / to fly' is used [Arnold et al. 2009: 133; Holton 2000: 160, 214, 350; Shinen 1958: 40]. Perfective stem, sg. subj.


With pl subj., the verb =tê[r] [imperf., perf.] / =ta-[r] [fut.] / =tê--ta-k [customary] 'to go / to come' is used [Milanowski 2009: 119].


Distinct from =tâ[r] [imperf.] / =tâ-[r] [perf.] / =tâ-ta-[î] [customary] 'to go / to come / to fly / to swim' used with pl subj. [Kari 1994: 63, 412; Tuttle 2009: 88; Urschel 2006: 26, 83].


The Toklat-Bearpaw subdialect of the Upper dialect tends to use the root =yo all through the paradigm.


Degexit'an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1976: 2; Chapman 1914: 212. A generic verb of going with polysemy: 'to go / to come', used with sg. subj. Suppletive paradigm: =kâ-y [momentaneous imperf.] / =yo [momentaneous perf.] / =loč-[i] [momentaneous fut.] / =yoi [continuous imperf.].


Sarsi: Li 1930b: 16; Cook 1984: 56. A generic verb of going with polysemy: 'to go / to come', used with sg. subj. Paradigm: =yâl(h) [imperf.] / =yâl [perf.].

Distinct from =râš [imperf.] / =râ-[î] [perf.] (cf. *râ-[î] < *râ-[î]) 'to go / to come' [Li 1930b: 19; Cook 1984: 56] used with dual subj.

Distinct from =râ[t] [imperf.] / =râ-[î] [perf.] with polysemy: 'to go / to come / to fly' [Li 1930b: 18; Cook 1984: 56] used with pl. subj.

Distinct from the verbs 'to go, walk', applicable specifically to animals: sg./dual subj. =V=kâ[t] ~ =V=kâ-t ~ =V=kâ [imperf.] / =V=kâ[t] ~ =V=kâ-t [perf.] / =V=kâ-t [continuous] [Li 1930b: 20; Cook 1984: 56]; pl. subj. =s=ôš [imperf.] / =s=ô[t] ~
93. WARM (HOT)

Hupa =sel (1), Mattole =sel (1), Kato =sel (1), Taldash Galice =saṭ (1), Inland Tanaina =l=q̩on (2), Central Ahtena =l=k̩oq (3), Mentasta Ahtena =l=k̩oq (3), Dogrib =k̩u (2), North Slavey (Hare) =wi (1) / =wél-è (1), Tanacross =l=k̓onʔ̑ (4), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) =l=q̩unʔ (2), Lower Tanana (Minto) =ʔɑ̌l (1), Central Carrier =z̓əl (1), Koyukon =l=k̓uɬ (3), Degexit’an =ʔɑ̌l (1), Sarsi =z̓ɪl (1).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 782; Golla 1996: 47, 104; Golla 1970: 143. Originates < *-sel-i. Polysemy: 'to be hot / to be warm'. Applicable to both objects and weather.

Mattole: Li 1930: 108. Verbal root 'to be warm'. Originates from *-sel-i (heavy stem). No separate term for 'hot' is documented.


Upper Inlet Tanaina: Not attested properly.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Not attested properly.

Inland Tanaina: Wassillie 1979: 108. Used as either the verbal root 'to be warm' or the nominalized adjective n=l=q̩on-i. Ablaut paradigm: =l=q̩on / =l=q̩on / =l=q̩on; cf. fut./opt. =l=q̩i-t [Kari 2007: 342] and imperfective causative =l=q̩i-x 'to warm (trans.)' [Tenenbaum 1976 4: 18]. This is the most frequent root for 'warm', apparently applied to both objects and weather.

Cf. the following examples for =l=q̩on: "it's warm (area)", "It's too warm", "it was warm" [Wassillie 1979: 108], "warm coat" [Wassillie 1979: 23]. "The place was warm with a fire burning in the middle of the floor. It was really nice and warm inside" [Tenenbaum 1976 3: 5], "Is it getting warm again?" [Kari 2007: 342]. "That is how they used to warm him up" (causative) [Tenenbaum 1976 4: 18], "he is hot, feels hot" [Kari 2007: 100], "Are you warm?" [Wassillie 1979: 109].

A second candidate is the verbal form =ưỡa. This is frequently glossed as 'hot' [Wassillie 1979: 51], but available instances suggest that = الوحيد normally applied to weather. Cf.: "It is too warm (=蚴a), open the door" [Wassillie 1979: 70], "It's a hot (=蚴a) day, you go swimming" [Wassillie 1979: 99]. "It was really hot (=蚴a)" (of weather) [Tenenbaum 1976 3: 45]. The more relevant instance is "it's hot" (of a fallen spark) [Tenenbaum 1976 1: 79], but it must be noted that here the form =蚴a is used (phonetically an Upper Inlet or Outer Inlet variant). However, the collocation =蚴a-yi mɪntni 'hot water' (with mɪntni 'water' q.v.) is significant, see notes on Common Tanaina. The semantic difference between =l=q̩on and =蚴a is unclear.

Cf. also the verb =l=ʊuɬ, which is once translated as 'to be warm' in the significant context: "it is warm (water)" [Tenenbaum 1978: 152]. The correct meaning of =l=ʊuɬ seems, however, to be 'to boil', cf. the paradigmatic variant =l=ʊoɬ 'to boil' [Tenenbaum 1978: 123; Kari 2007: 293].

Iliamna Tanaina: Not attested properly.


Lower Ahtena: =l=k̩oq [Kari 1990: 127, 618].

Western Ahtena: =l=k̩oq [Kari 1990: 127, 618].


Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 48, 117, 177, 227; Marinakis et al. 2007: 162. Verbal root with polysemy: 'to be warm / to be hot'. Derived from the noun k̩oɬ 'fire' q.v. Applied to both weather/atmosphere (example: "The weather is getting warm" [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 48]) and objects (in the latter meaning glossed as 'to be hot to touch, be heated'; cf. the collocation ʔɪ
The meaning 'to be hot' can additionally be expressed as =l-kʰí to 'be hot' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 48, 177] with the adverb t̪i to 'very, really, too much, too many' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 20].

Distinct from the fossilized verbal form =l-t̪i 'hot; heat, fever' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 25, 177]. The exact meaning and application of =l-t̪i is unclear, but the explicit gloss éti 'hot weather' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 25] and the collocation éti+nik̈é 'hot country, tropical land' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 25] suggest that =l-t̪i is applicable to weather, not objects.


Cf. examples for =ra / =wé: "The stove is hot", "The house got warm", "I'm getting hot" [Rice 1978: 329], "Warm your hands" [Rice 1978: 317].

Cf. examples for =wel-é: "warm wind" [Rice 1978: 182], "This sweater shrinks in hot water’ [Rice 1978: 333], "It's hot outside", "The soup is hot" [Rice 1978: 383], "you must not touch the stove when it is hot" [Rice 1989: 412], "it is warm" [Rice 1989: 908].

Distinct from the very rare verb =l-kʰí to 'be hot' [Rice 1989: 687, 816], not found in [Rice 1978].


Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 286; Holton 2000: 352. Verbal root: 'to be warm'. =l-kónʔ is apparently the perfective stem; in [Holton 2000], the imperfective =l-kón is quoted. Applied to both weather/atmosphere and objects.

Distinct from =qέ to 'be hot' [Arnold et al. 2009: 148; Holton 2000: 350; Shinen 1958: 20], applied to both weather/atmosphere and objects.

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 21, 45, 88, 109. Verbal root: 'to be warm' (apparently the perfective stem with the exponent -ʔ). Exact application is unclear. Derived from the noun kʰumʔ 'fire' q.v.

Distinct from =luk ~ =luk to 'be hot' [Milanowski 2009: 46, 98].

Scottie Creek: =l-kʰonʔ to 'be warm' [John 1997: 67].

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 85, 506; Tuttle 2009: 101. Verb with polysemy: 'to be warm / to be hot'; also functions as the noun-like adjective d̪ət̪ 'hot'. Applicable to both objects and weather. Cf. the examples: "I am warm", "the weather is hot", "the water is hot", "the water is not hot", "area became warm (in spring)", "in which house will I warm up my hands?", "the hot springs water-steam is rising", "in summer the caribou are hot" [Kari 1994: 86], "It's cold, drink hot tea!", "The weather is hot" [Tuttle 2009: 101].

A second candidate is =l-kʰ̱mʔ to 'be warm / to be hot' [Kari 1994: 45, 506] (not quoted in [Tuttle 2009]), which is also applicable to objects and weather; cf. the available examples: "it is warm to me", "when it starts to turn warm, they set traps for muskrats", "soup is hot", "the beaver's tail got hot" [Kari 1994: 45-46]. Semantic difference between (=)dx̂ and =l-kʰ̱mʔ is unclear, but it seems that =l-kʰ̱mʔ is a more rare term.

Distinct from =l(l)kónʔ to 'be lukewarm' [Kari 1994: 117, 506]. Cf. Kari's examples: "water is lukewarm", "it is warm out", "we go for birch when it is getting warm", "it became spring weather".

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 986, 1224, 1266. Also with the t-classifier: ~q̱.l < ~q̱.l. Paradigm: ~q̱.l [stative imperf. ] / ~q̱.l [continuative imperf.]. Glossed as 'to be warm' in [Poser 1998/2013: 1224]. Available examples show that this verb is normally applied to objects meaning 'to be warm'. Cf. the found examples: "They warm the child with their breath" [Poser 1998/2013: 175], "The water is warm [has been warmed up]" [Poser 1998/2013: 316], "I am getting warm, warming up" [Poser 1998/2013: 332], "The coffee is warm" [Poser 1998/2013: 363], "Stuart Lake is warm" [Poser 1998/2013: 451], "It is warm here" [Poser 1998/2013: 540].

Distinct from the verb =l-γ̱.a̱s ~ =l-γ̱az ~ =l-w̱as 'to be hot / to be warm' [Poser 1998/2013: 757, 986, 1220, 1254; Antoine et al. 1974: 337] (in [Antoine et al. 1974] sometimes transcribed as =l-w̱as for Poser's =l-γ̱.a̱s). The basic meaning of this verb is proposed as 'to be hot' in [Poser 1998/2013: 1220]. Examples show that its usual meanings are 'to be hot (of objects) and 'to be warm/hot (of weather, body condition).

Cf. the available examples where =l-γ̱.a̱s ~ =l-γ̱az ~ =l-w̱as is glossed as 'warm': "Warm up the tea for me" [Poser 1998/2013: 75], "My mittens are very nice, and warm" [Poser 1998/2013: 76], "When you leave milk in a warm place for a long time it will turn sour" [Poser 1998/2013: 156], "When the sky cleared it warmed up and the leaves came out" [Poser 1998/2013: 163], "Down south it is still warm so they are going around naked" [Poser 1998/2013: 217], "The ice is melting
whenever it gets warm” [Poser 1998/2013: 309], "When it warms up there comes to be slush on the ice” [Poser 1998/2013: 329], "you feel warm” [Poser 1998/2013: 354], "He is warm because he wears many clothes when going outside” [Poser 1998/2013: 380], "The sun was very warm” [Poser 1998/2013: 380], "He is sitting in the shade because it is too warm” [Poser 1998/2013: 425]. "When it is warm a carcass bloats quickly” [Poser 1998/2013: 471], "Mother bought me a nice, warm blanket” [Poser 1998/2013: 501]. "He is sitting in the shade because it is too warm” [Poser 1998/2013: 539].

And the examples where =l=ʔ=ʔʷ=ʔƛ’īː ‘to be very hot’ [Li 1930b: 27] glossed as ‘hot’. "He asked for cold water because he was hot” [Poser 1998/2013: 99]. "He is sweating because he is hot” [Poser 1998/2013: 354]. "The sun is very hot in the summer" [Poser 1998/2013: 420], "The coffee is hot”, "The cup is hot” [Poser 1998/2013: 380]. "He is bathing because the weather is hot” [Poser 1998/2013: 473]. "It is hot here” [Poser 1998/2013: 540], "He is splashing water on the car because it is hot” [Poser 1998/2013: 570]. "He soaks the snowshoes in hot water and then frames them” [Poser 1998/2013: 581].


Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 318, 1049; Jones 1978: 81, 187. Verb with polysemy: ‘to be warm / to be hot’, applicable to both objects (including liquids) and weather.

Distinct from specific =l=ʔ ‘to be hot’, applicable exclusively to liquids [Jetté & Jones 2000: 392].

In the Central and Upper dialects, the rare verb =l=kʷ=ʔ ‘to be hot (of objects)’ is also attested [Jetté & Jones 2000: 295].

Degexit’sa taff et al. 2007; Kari 1976: 11; Chapman 1914: 219. This looks like the most basic and frequent verb (with polysemy: ‘to be hot / to be warm’), applicable to both objects and weather. Cf. the examples: "she wet it with warm water” [Chapman 1914: 128], "so that he was naked. Then she placed warm water by him, and shaved deer-fat into it. Then she bathed him” [Chapman 1914: 145]. "The soup is hot” [Taff et al. 2007]. Also of weather and atmosphere: "It is starting to get warm outside”, "I’m warm”, "Put on your warm sweater”, "It’s really hot outside” [Taff et al. 2007].

Distinct from the verb =qʷ=ʔ=ʔ ‘to be hot (of objects)’, attested in two examples: "The woman was angry, and threw hot ashes into his eyes with a ladle” [Chapman 1914: 118], "Is the kettle boiling?” (i.e., “Is the kettle warm?”) [Taff et al. 2007].

Distinct from =qʷ=ʔ=ʔ ‘to be warm’ [Kari 1976: 42], no examples found.

Distinct from =qʷ=ʔ=ʔ ‘to be lukewarm’ [Kari 1976: 22], no examples found.

Sarsi: Li 1930b: 22; Nanagusja 1996a: 129. Verbal stem: ‘to be warm’. Paradigm: =ziʔ [imperf.] / =ziʔ [perf.] ‘to be warm’. This is the only expression for ‘warm’ found in the sources, apparently applicable to both objects and weather, although the available examples are not very informative: “There is a warm breeze” [Cook 1984: 168]. "I’m warm” [Nanagusja 1996b: 150], "It is hot” [Nanagusja 1996b: 313]. "It’s warm” (weather) [Nanagusja 1996b: 316].

Distinct from =q=ʔ=ʔ ‘to be hot’ [Li 1930b: 22], which is apparently the general expression for ‘hot’ applicable to both objects and weather, although the examples are not very informative either: ‘It’s hot. I’d like some ice cream” [Nanagusja 1996b: 312]. “It’s hot. Wipe sweat from brow” [Nanagusja 1996b: 356]. "You are hot” [Li 1930b: 7].

Distinct from =li = =l=ʔ=ʔ ‘to be hot’, applicable specifically to weather [Li 1930b: 18; Hoijer 1956: 223].

Distinct from =l=ʔ=ʔ ‘to be very hot’ [Li 1930b: 27].

94. WATER

Hupa tʰaʔ=na=ʔ (1), Mattole taʔ=na=ʔ ~ taʔ=na=ʔ (1), Kato tʰo: (2), Upper Inlet Tanaina piʔ=ni (3), Outer Inlet Tanaina miʔ=ni (3), Inland Tanaina viʔ=ni ~ miʔ=ni (3), Iliamna Tanaina viʔ=ni ~ miʔ=ni (3), Central Ahtena tʰu: (2), Mentasta Ahtena tʰu: (2), Dogrib tʰi (2), North Slavey (Hare) tʰu (2), Tanacross tʰu (2), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) tʰu: (2), Lower Tanana (Minto) tʰu (2), Central Carrier tʰu (2), Koyukon tʰu: (2), Degexit’sa tʰe: (2), Sarsi tʰu=ʔ (2).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 774; Golla 1996: 105. Glossed as ‘water (for drinking)’, although actually this form represents the generic
term for ‘water’. A descriptive formation < *tʰwil-čč=t=na=n-ʔ (thus [Sapir & Golla 2001]; in [Golla 1996], the form *tʰa=t=na=n-ʔ is proposed, which seems less preferable), literally ‘what one drinks through the water’ with the verb =na=n- ‘to drink’ q.v. and the directional prefix tʰwa- ‘into the water’, for which see below. Cf. also recent compounds like xon=tʰa=n=n ‘alcohol’, literally ‘fire + water’ [Golla 1996: 3], tʰa=n=n ‘coffee’, literally ‘water + black’ [Golla 1996: 19].

The old root tʰw- is retained as tʰw- ‘body of water, river, ocean’ [Sapir & Golla 2001: 789; Golla 1996: 105]; POSSR=tʰo-ʔ ‘juice, sap’ [Sapir & Golla 2001: 789; Golla 1996: 51], the verb =tʰw- ‘to extend, reach (of water)’ [Sapir & Golla 2001: 789] and as an element of various compounds like tʰw-tʰiʔ ‘beach, shore, at the river’ (literally ‘water-place’) [Sapir & Golla 2001: 789; Golla 1996: 9], tʰo-sʔiʔ ‘spring of cold water), cold water’ < tʰw-siʔ-sʔiʔ ‘water + cold’ [Sapir & Golla 2001: 789; Golla 1996: 19], etc.

The ablaut variant of tʰw- functions as the verbal directional prefixes tʰwa- ‘into the water (and out again), moving through the water’ etc. [Sapir & Golla 2001: 784; Golla 1970: 126-127].

For other terms with the semantics of ‘water’, see [Golla 1996: 105].

Mattole: Li 1930: 128. Derived from the verb =na=n in=n=n ‘to drink’ q.v., literally ‘what one drinks’ (see notes on Hupa).

The old root tʰw- ‘water’ is retained in such compounds as pi-tʰo-ʔ ‘juice’, POSSR=naʔ-tʰo-ʔ ‘tears’ [Li 1930: 128] (with naʔ ‘eye’ q.v.), the verb =tʰo-ʔ [perf.] ‘to move (said of water)’ [Li 1930: 91], the substantive tʰe-y ‘otter’ [Li 1930: 128] (lit. ‘in the water’) and the verbal prefix teh- ‘in(to) water’ [Li 1930: 57] (with the regular despiration tʰ > t in prefix syllables [Li 1930: 31]).

Bear River dialect: ta=n=nah ~ tʰa=n=nah ~ ta=n=n ‘water’ [Goddard 1929: 322].

Kato: Goddard 1912: 20; Curtis 1924: 205.

Taldash Galice: The generic term for ‘water’ or at least specifically for ‘sweet water that is good for drinking’ is not documented in available sources. In [Hoijer 1956: 223], the generic term is quoted as tʰw-, although the hyphen sign should indicate that tʰw- was extracted by Hoijer from certain compounds. In [Hoijer 1973: 55], independent tʰw- is translated as ‘flowing water; river; water in nature’. Two attested compounds with tʰw- prove, however, that tʰw- was indeed the generic Galice term for ‘water’ at least until recently: tʰw-sʔaʔ ‘hot water’ (with =sʔaʔ ‘to be hot, warm’) [Hoijer 1973: 55]; POSSR=taʔ-tʰw- ‘tears’ (lit. ‘eye water’ with POSSR=taʔ ‘eye’ q.v.) [Landar 1977: 294].

Cf. the ablaut variants of the same root: tʰw- ‘river, water’ in tʰw-iʔ-sʔaʔ ‘in the middle of the river’ [Hoijer 1973: 54]; tʰw- in compounds like tʰa-paʔ ‘thirst’, tʰa-lʔ-kʔat ‘water for domestic use’, etc. [Hoijer 1973: 54].


In the Lime Village subdialect, the loanword ama can also be used for ‘water’ [Kari 2007: 121; Kari 1977: 113; Wassilie 1979: 109] < Central Alaskan Yupik amaq ‘water’.


Western Ahtena: tʰu: [Kari 1990: 337, 619; Kari & Buck 1975: 77; Smelcer 2010: 96].


Cf. the ablaut variants of the same root: tʰu: ‘river, water’ in tʰu-iʔ-sʔaʔ ‘in the middle of the river’ [Hoijer 1973: 54]; tʰu- in compounds like tʰa-paʔ ‘thirst’, tʰa-lʔ-kʔat ‘water for domestic use’, etc. [Hoijer 1973: 54].


Degexit’an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 40; Chapman 1914: 227. Attested in both dialects, according to [Kari 1978].
In the Kuskokwim dialect, it competes with the form *anəq 'water' [Kari 1978: 40], borrowed from Yupik *anəq 'water'.


95. WE

**Hupa** nehe: (1), **Mattole** noh-niŋ (1), **Kato** neh-ŋi (1), **Taldash Galice** tawa (1), **Upper Inlet Tanaina** na-y-na (1), **Outer Inlet Tanaina** na-na (1), **Inland Tanaina** na-yi (1), **Iliamna Tanaina** na-yi (1), **Central Ahtena** ne-ŋe (1), **Mentasta Ahtena** ne-ŋ (1), **Dogoř** kó-xí (2), **North Slavey** (Hare) ràxèle-ní (1), **Tanacross** nèː-čon (1), **Lower Tanana** (Minto) ṭana-xŋ (1) / xŋ (3), **Central Carrier** xṇeni (3), **Koyukon** xoŋ (3), **Degéxt’an** xŋ (3) / ṭanaː-čon (4), **Sarsi** náːni (1).

**References and notes:**

**Hupa:** Sapir & Golla 2001: 776, 779; Golla 1996: 105; Golla 1970: 236. As proposed in [Sapir & Golla 2001], neher originates < *noh-e with secondary vowel assimilation (the final element -e is unclear, however). The same morpheme constitutes the prefixal possessive pronoun *nokh- with polysemy: 'our' / your (pl.)' [Golla 1970: 212]. But different morphemes are used for subject verbal prefixes: 1 pl. -tí, 2 pl. -ob- [Golla 1970: 69].

Cf. the independent 2 pl. pronoun *nokh-n < *nokh-ni you' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 779; Golla 1996: 110; Golla 1970: 236].

**Mattole:** Li 1930: 133. Polysemy: 'we / you (pl.). This looks like a synchronic compound of nok *we / you (pl.) + niŋ 'thou' q.v. The same morpheme constitutes the prefixal possessive pronoun noh- 'our / your (pl.)' [Li 1930: 133], 1 & 2 pl. object verbal prefix -noh- [Golla 1970: 103]. But different morphemes are used for subject verbal prefixes: 1 pl. -ti, 2 pl. -ob- [Li 1930: 65].

Bear River dialect: the pronoun 'we' is not attested. Cf. the pronoun nehe 'you (pl.)' [Goddard 1929: 322] - perhaps this is actually the 1 pl. pronoun 'we', incorrectly glossed by Goddard.

**Kato:** Goddard 1912: 33. Cf. neh-ŋi 'you (pl.)'; the same morpheme constitutes the prefixal possessive pronoun noh- with polysemy: 'our / your (pl.)' [Goddard 1912: 21].


The independent pronoun for 2 pl. 'you' is not documented.


**Central Ahtena:** Kari 1990: 35, 295.

**Lower Ahtena:** ne-ŋe [Kari 1990: 35, 295].

**Western Ahtena:** ne-ŋe [Kari 1990: 35, 295].

**Mentasta Ahtena:** Kari 1990: 35, 295. Regular reduction of final -e.

**Dogoř:** Saxon & Siemens 1996: 47; Marinakis et al. 2007: 40. There are several documented pronominal forms for 'we, us' (apparently none of them distinguish between the dual and plural number):

1) kó-xí 'we, us' (dual/pl.?) [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 47; Marinakis et al. 2007: 40].

2) kó-xí 'we, us' (dual/pl.) [Marinakis et al. 2007: 40]; apparently a rare form, not quoted in [Saxon & Siemens 1996; Saxon & Siemens n.d.].

3) kó-xí 'we, us' (dual/pl.) [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 57; Marinakis et al. 2007: 40]. It is specified in [Marinakis et al. 2007: 40] as rare.

4) xí 'us' (also 'we?') [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 121; Marinakis et al. 2007: 40]. It is specified in [Marinakis et al. 2007: 40] as rare.
5) ná-xī, which basic meaning is 'you (dual., pl.)' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 75; Marinakis et al. 2007: 40]. According to [Saxon & Siemens 1996; Marinakis et al. 2007], some speakers can also use ná-xī for 'we, us (dual., pl.).'

It is likely that the most common pronoun of the 1st p. dual./pl. is kô-xī (it is quoted as the basic form in [Marinakis et al. 2007: 40]). In the only two found instances for the independent pronoun 'we, us (pl.)', kô-xī and ná-xī are attested: "We (kô-xī) don't live nowadays like the oldtimers did" [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 19], "We (ná-xī) painted the house ourselves" [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 120].

The same morpheme kô is present in the prefixal possessive pronoun kô- 'our (pl.)', 1st dual./pl. object verbal prefix -kô- [Saxon & Siemens 1996: xiii; Marinakis et al. 2007: 39, 128].

For the dual. possessive 'our', the 2nd p. pronoun is used: ná-xī- 'our (dual.) / your (dual., pl.)' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: xiii].

Different morphemes are used as subject verbal prefixes: 1st dual. subject -wil- ('we'), 1st pl. subject -cé- ('we' or indefinite 'someone') [Marinakis et al. 2007: 114; Coleman 1976: 21].

**North Slavey (Hare):** Rice 1989: 253; Hoijer 1956: 222. Hoijer quotes the 19th c. archaic variant náxè-nē. Polysemy: 'we / you (pl.)'.

**Tanacross:** Arnold et al. 2009: 288. In [Holton 2000: 278], transcribed as nè-xónêt. The same morpheme is present in the prefixal possessive pronoun nè- 'our', 1st pl. object verbal prefix -nè-. [Holton 2000: 145, 248].

For 1st pl. subject, the impersonal subject prefix -cè- is used [Holton 2000: 199, 243].


**Upper Tanana (Tetlin):** Milanowski 2009: 82. The same morpheme is present in the prefixal possessive pronoun nè-x(?)- 'our' [Milanowski 2009: 9].

Cf. the 2nd pl. pronouns: independent n'uh-xon 'you' [Milanowski 2009: 82], prefixal possessive n'uh(?)- 'your' [Milanowski 2009: 9].

**Northway:** n'èxón 'we' [Milanowski 2007: 15].

**Lower Tanana (Minto):** Kari 1994: 138, 196. It is suggested in [Kari 1994: 138] that both tana-xô and simple xo ncan be used as the independent pronoun 'we'.

The same morpheme tana- is present in the prefixal possessive pronoun tana- 'our', 1st pl. direct object verbal prefix -tana- [Kari 1994: 196]. Although for 1st pl. subject, the impersonal subject prefix -çä- is used [Kari 1994: 280].

Initial tana- formally coincides with the substantive tana 'man / person' q.v.


**Central Carrier:** Poser 1998/2013: 527; Antoine et al. 1974: 351. A different morpheme is present in the prefixal possessive pronoun ne- 'our', 1st pl. direct object verbal prefix -ne-. [Antoine et al. 1974: 349, 350]. For 1st pl. subject, the prefix -çä- is used [Antoine et al. 1974: 350].


A different morpheme is found in the prefixal possessive pronoun tana- 'our', 1st pl. direct object verbal prefix -tana-. [Jetté & Jones 2000: 428, 805]. For 1st pl. subject, the prefix -çä- is used [Jetté & Jones 2000: 805].

Pronominal tana- formally coincides with the substantive tana 'man / person' q.v.

Cf. the 2nd pl. pronouns: independent yox-xol < yox-xô 'you', prefixal possessive yox- 'your', 2nd pl. direct object verbal prefix yox-, 2nd pl. subject verbal prefix -çö- [Jetté & Jones 2000: 721, 805].

**Dege'at:** Kari 1978: 25. Two independent pronouns meaning 'we' are quoted in [Kari 1978] without additional details: çô xo and tana-çô y. We have to treat them as synonyms.

The prefixal possessive pronoun 'our is tana- [Kari 1978: 25]. For 1st pl. subject, the prefix -çä- is used [Hargus 2000].


**Sars:** Cook 1984: 62; Hoijer 1956: 222. Final -ni is a morpheme common for all independent personal pronouns.
96. WHAT

Hupa *tay-t ~ tiy-t* (1), Mattolle *t'i:-to?* (1), Kato *ti:-či:* (1), Taldash Galice *ti* (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina *ya-ta* (2) / *ya=ta* (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina *ya-či* (2) / *ya=ti* (1), Inland Tanaina *ya-ta* (2) / *ya=ta* (1), Iliamna Tanaina *ya-ta* (2) / *ya=ta* (1), Central Ahtena *y’i-či* (2) / *y’i=ti* (1), Mentasta Ahtena *y’i-či* (2) / *y’i=ti* (1), Dogrib *ā=či* (2), North Slavey (Hare) *yè-řì ~ ?ā=řè-řì* (2), Tanacross *t'i:* (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) *t:i* (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) *tə=ya* (1) / *tə=ya* (2), Central Carrier *t:i* (1), Koyukon *kən ~ kən-i:* (3), Degexit’an *kən* (3), Sarsi *t'i-ţá* (1).

References and notes:


**Mattole**: Li 1930: 134. The final *-to?* is a general pronominal interrogative element, present in all the interrogative pronouns that are listed in [Li 1930: 134].

**Bear River dialect**: not attested.

**Kato**: Goddard 1912: 34. The final *-či* is a general pronominal interrogative element.

**Taldash Galice**: Landar 1977: 295 No. 83. Attested in the phrase “What do you call this?”.


**Central Ahtena**: Kari 1990: 440, 621.

**Lower Ahtena**: *y’i-či* [Kari 1990: 440, 621].

**Western Ahtena**: *y’i-či* [Kari 1990: 440, 621].Kari 1990: 440, 621.


**Dogrib**: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 6, 229; Marinakis et al. 2007: 162. Used with all numbers? Apparently *āyi* ‘what?’ and *āmè: ‘who?’ q.v. are to be analyzed as *ā=ʒi:, ā=mc:, with the common desemanticized element *ā-*. 

**North Slavey (Hare)**: Rice 1989: 257. Final *-ři* (*-ti*) is an enclitic element modifying demonstrative and some other pronouns; initial *ḥa* is a proclitic element optionally modifying interrogative pronouns.


**Upper Tanana (Tetlin)**: Milanowski 2009: 15, 88.

**Lower Tanana (Minto)**: Kari 1994: 72, 508; Tuttle 2009: 221. It should be noted that in the light of the parallel pronoun *tə=ba ‘who’ q.v., the morphemes *ya* and *=ba* can be considered as meaningful elements from the synchronic point of view, whereas *tə* is an additional interrogative exponent.

**Central Carrier**: Poser 1998/2013: 123, 992; Antoine et al. 1974: 79. Apparently this is the basic interrogative pronoun *'what'?. Cf. some examples: ‘What is it called?’, ‘What is he eating?’, ‘I wonder what he is eating’, ‘What are you doing?’, ‘He is wondering what I want’ [Poser 1998/2013: 123].


In the Upper dialect (Toklat-Bearpaw subdialect) two pronouns for 'what?' coexist: inherited čem (< km) and borrowed taya (< Lower Tanana ta-ya 'what?') [Jetté & Jones 2000: 137].

Degexit'an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 101. This is apparently the basic interrogative pronoun 'what?'. Cf. some examples: "What's so funny?", "What grows there?", "What do you hear?", "What are you hollering for?", "What do I smell?", "What's he talking about?" [Taff et al. 2007]. "What is this?", "Which one is this?" [Kari 1978: 101].

The second candidate is the frequent pronoun n=tə=tə 'what?', how? [Kari 1978: 102; Chapman 1914: 216], but it seems that in the majority of examples it can be translated as 'how?' or 'which?'. Cf. some instances: "What did she say?", "What happened to him?", "What kind (n=tə=tə) do you have?", "What's the news?", "What's it doing outside? (i.e.: What's the weather like?)" [Taff et al. 2007], "What are you doing?", 'How far is it?' [Kari 1978: 102].

Sarsi: Cook 1984: 60. Final -fà is found in some other pronouns, e.g., n=lɑ́-fà-à 'all' q.v., xà-tà-à 'what (kind)' [Cook 1984: 60].

97. WHITE

Hupa =qay (1), Mattole =kai (1), Kato t=kaɪ (1), Taldash Galice =kai (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina =l=qay (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina =l=qay (1), Inland Tanaina =l=qay (1), Iliamna Tanaina =l=qay (1), Central Ahtena =l=qay (1), Mentasta Ahtena =l=qey (1), Dogrib =kâ: (1), North Slavey (Hare) tê=kâl-ë (2), Tanacross t=ŋà=l=ŋe (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) t=e=l=ŋaɪ ~ t=e=l=ŋaɪ (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) =l=k'vɑ́ (2), Central Carrier =t=ŋɑ́ (3), Koyukon =l=q'ɔ́t (2), Degexit'an =q'ɔ́t (2), Sarsi =V=kây ~ =V=kây (1).

References and notes:


Mattole: Li 1930: 97. Verbal root 'to be white'; adjective t=kaɪ 'white' [Li 1930: 64]. Distinct from the specific term n=ŋəoi 'white people' [Li 1930: 126] (for the impersonal thematic pronoun t= - cf. [Li 1930: 37 f.]).

Bear River dialect: not attested.


Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 192, 621.

Lower Ahtena: =l=qay [Kari 1990: 192, 621].

Western Ahtena: =l=qay [Kari 1990: 192, 621].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 192, 621.


North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 221, 442, 552. Verbal form 'it is white', initial t= is the adjectival prefix [Rice 1989: 617], for the desemanticized verbal suffix -e see [Rice 1989: 816].

Distinct from the verb =kâ which is quoted in [Hoijer 1956: 222] as =kay 'to be white', but in modern language =kâ means 'to be holy, pure / to come (of daylight)' [Rice 1978: 220, 430], although the old meaning is retained in =li=kâ 'to make white' [Rice 1978: 220, 430] and =t=kâ 'to become white' [Rice 1978: 222, 430].

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 15, 42, 72. Formed from the verb =l-kay 'to be white'.

Northway: t=eq-l-kay 'it is white' [Milanowski 2007: 19].

Scottie Creek: e=eq-l-kay 'it is white' [John 1997: 32].

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 172, 509; Tuttle 2009: 225. Verbal stem: 'to be white'. Paradigm: =l-k'əl [neutral imperf.] / =l-k'əl [transitional imperf.] / =l-k'əl [transitional perf.]. Also functions as the noun-like adjective k'əl-aʔ 'white'.


Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 369, 1054; Jones 1978: 193. Verbal stem: 'to be white'. Paradigm: =qəʔ [neutral imperf.] / =qəʔ [momentaneous imperf.]. Also functions as the noun-like adjective qəʔ-aʔ 'white'.


Sarsi: Li 1930b: 21; Hoijer 1956: 223; Cook 1984: 166. Apparently this is the basic Sarsi verb for 'to be white'. Cf. some examples: "I'm white" [Cook 1984: 166], "It's white" [Cook 1984: 176], "white men (= people with white flesh)" [Hoijer & Joël 1963: 75], "All (the horses) were white [...] Its mane was white" [Goddard 1915: 229], "Its head is white" [Goddard 1915: 265].

Distinct from =l-kus 'to be very white', applied to cloth, paper, etc. [Li 1930b: 21; Cook 1984: 163, 166].

98. WHO

Hupa tan-t (1), Mattole tan-toʔ (1), Kato tan-či: (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina pa-ta (2) / pa=ta (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina pa-ti-n (2) / pa=ti-n (1), Inland Tanaina va-ta (2) / va=ta (1), Iliamna Tanaina va-ta (2) / va=ta (1), Central Ahtena pe-te (2) / pe=te (1), Mentasta Ahtena pe-te (2) / pe=te (1), Degexit’an tan-pa: (1) / tan-pa: (2)

References and notes:


Mattole: Li 1930: 134. The final -oʔ is a general pronoun interrogative element, present in all the interrogative pronouns that are listed in [Li 1930: 134].

Bear River dialect: not attested.

Kato: Goddard 1912: 34. The final -či is a general pronoun interrogative element.

Taldash Galice: Not attested.


Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 103, 621.

Lower Ahtena: pe-te [Kari 1990: 103, 621].


Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 5, 230; Marinakis et al. 2007: 162. Sg. form; dual. & pl. form is áni-k’č. For initial á-, cf. notes on á-yi: 208
North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1989: 257. Initial \( ta- \) is a proclitic element optionally modifying interrogative pronouns; final \(-n\) is a suffix modifying personal and some other pronouns.


Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 289, 996; Antoine et al. 1974: 147, 339, 353. Initial \( n= \) is a common pronominal element, realized as \( n= \) before non-labials, cf., e.g., \( n=ta= \) ‘what?’, which?’, \( n=t= \) ‘when?’, \( n=yu=n \) ‘that’.


Sarsi: Cook 1984: 60. Morphologically unclear.

99. WOMAN

Hupa \( c^hameh\lambda^\prime on \) (1), Mattole \( yan-k^h e h \) (2), Kato \( \check{c}ek \) (3), Taldash Galice \( c^\check{a}k^h e c\) (4), Upper Inlet Tanaina \( ta=k^i\prime on \sim k^i\prime on \) (5), Outer Inlet Tanaina \( k^i\prime on \) (5), Inland Tanaina \( ta=k^e=k^i\prime on \) (5), Iliamna Tanaina \( k^i\prime on \) (5), Central Ahtena \( c^aq^h c \) (3), Mentasta Ahtena \( c^aq^h c \) (3), Dogrib \( c^\check{e}k^\check{b}o \) (3), North Slavey (Hare) \( c^\check{e}k^h \) (3), Tanacross \( c^\check{e}hx^e h \) (3), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) \( c^e e h \) (3), Lower Tanana (Minto) \( c^\check{a}x a \) (3), Central Carrier \( c^\check{e}k^h e \) (3), Koyukon \( se\tilde{t}\text{-t}^\prime a\eta \) (6), Degexit’an \( n=\check{q}^\prime \alpha=\check{t}=o-\eta \sim n=\check{q}^\prime \alpha=\check{t}=o-\eta \) (7), Sarsi \( c^i k^h \) (3) ~ \( c^i k^h \) (3).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 734; Golla 1996: 108. In [Golla 1996], transcribed as \( \check{c}\text{um}... \) A descriptive formation; as noted by Golla, \( < ^c^a\\text{ny} m^c-s-l^\prime on-i \), literally ‘deerskin apron (\( c^\text{ny} \)) tied (\( l^\prime on \)) on to her’.

Mattole: Li 1930: 125. As proposed by Li, this form consists of \( yan- \) ‘female’ (probably also attested in \( y^\text{ane} \) ‘doe’ [Li 1930: 125]) and the suffix \(-k^h e h \); the literal meaning of the entire form is ‘female class’.

Bear River dialect: \( \text{yan-}k^h e h – yi-\text{yan-}k^h u \) ‘woman’ [Goddard 1929: 322] (the first element \( yi- \) of the latter form is probably the indefinite possessive pronoun, for which see notes on ‘meat’).

Kato: Goddard 1912: 20. Two words for ‘woman’ are quoted by Goddard: \( \check{c}ek \) [Goddard 1912: 20] and \( \check{c}yan \) [Goddard 1912: 24] (the latter looks like a verbal form, currently unanalyzable). Browsing through [Goddard 1909] suggests that \( \check{c}ek \) is the default expression for sg. ‘woman’ (ca. 15%), whereas the form \( \check{c}yan-k^h \): is the default expression for pl. ‘women’ (ca. 10%; the final element \(-k^h \) is the rare plural exponent [Goddard 1912: 20]). In a couple of cases, \( \check{c}ek \) is used for pl. ‘women’, but the general distribution \( \check{c}ek \) [sg. / \( \check{c}yan-k^h \) [pl.]] is beyond doubt.

It must be noted that the plain form \( \check{c}yan \) seems very rare in Goddard’s texts, if it exists at all, but the suffixed stem \( \check{c}yan-k^h \) (final \(-k^h \) is the diminutive suffix) is well attested - normally with the specific meaning ‘old woman’ (sg./pl.).

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 59; Hoijer 1956: 223; Landar 1977: 294. Polysemy: ‘woman / wife’. The plural form is \( c^\check{e}k^h e-y^x c \) ‘women’ (with the rare plural suffix \(-y^x c \) [Hoijer 1966: 322 f.]), although there is also another alternative plural form \( \check{c}e-y^x c \) ‘women, women folks’ [Hoijer 1973: 59] with a separate root \( \check{c}e-\).

Historically, \( c^\check{e}k^h e c \) is the plural form \( c^\check{e}-k^h e c \) *‘women’ with the fossilized plural suffix \(-k^h e c \) (for which see [Hoijer 1966: 322 f.]).

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 72, 361.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 72, 361.


Iliamna Tanaina: Kari 2007: 72, 361.


Lower Ahtena: \( c^aq^h c \) [Kari 1990: 238, 623; Kari & Buck 1975: 54].
Western Ahtena: ćaq̓xe [Kari 1990: 238, 623; Kari & Buck 1975: 54].


In [Hoijer 1956: 222], the compound čé-line 'woman' is quoted, not found in modern sources.


Distinct from POSSR=ʔet̚ 'wife' [Milanowski 2009: 12, 89].

Northway: cexe 'woman', POSSR=ʔet̚ 'wife' [Milanowski 2007: 19].

Scottie Creek: čex̱x̱̂ 'woman', POSSR=ʔet̚ 'wife' [John 1997: 56].


Distinct from POSSR=ʔet̚ 'wife' / female mate of animal' [Kari 1994: 26, 510].


Distinct from ʔat̚ 'wife' [Poser 1998/2013: 29].


A more rare expression for 'woman' is the deverbal expression tana=q’o=t̚ɛ=ʔ [sg.1] / tana=q’o=t̚ɛ=ʔa=t̚ o [pl.1] [Jetté & Jones 2000: 701], literally 'the one that causes us to walk around' with the suppletive verb -(h)ik [sg.1] / =t̚et [pl.1] 'to go' q.v. As explained by Jetté: "Probably because women were the main movers when travelling, while men do the hunting".

Distinct from archaic čt̚ ‘woman’ retained in a couple of compounds [Jetté & Jones 2000: 652].

Distinct from POSSR=ʔet̚ 'wife' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 65].

Degexit’an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 29; Chapman 1914: 215. Suppletive plural: n=q’o=t̚=da=t̚[n] on. Polysemy: 'girl / woman'. Literally 'the one that causes (us) to walk around', see further notes on Koyukon tana=q’o=t̚=ʔ [sg.1] / tana=q’o=t̚=ʔa=t̚ o [pl.1] ‘woman’. This is the basic term for 'woman' with numerous examples.

The second candidate is the rare term sact̚-t̚=ʔaʔ ‘woman’ [Kari 1978: 29], not found in other sources. Morphologically unclear; corresponds to Koyukon sct̚=ʔaʔ ‘woman’ q.v.

Distinct from POSSR=ʔet̚ 'wife' [Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 28; Chapman 1914: 211]. In the Kuskokwim dialect, it sounds as POSSR=ʔet̚ 'wife' according to [Kari 1978: 28], although [Chapman 1914: 211] gives both variants, POSSR=ʔet̚ and POSSR=ʔoʔ, apparently for the Yukon dialect.

Sarsi: Hoijer & Joel 1963: 73; Hoijer 1956: 222; Cook 1984: 67. Non-standard pl.: č’t̚-k’uʔ-ʔ ~ čt̚-k’uʔ-ʔ ‘women' with the suffix k’uʔ-ʔ ~ k’uʔ-ʔ, on which see further in [Cook 1984: 67].

Distinct from POSSR=c&ỹʔ-ʔ ‘wife’ [Hoijer & Joel 1963: 71].

100. YELLOW

Hupa taʔk’u=t̚aw-nehwaw̓ (1), Mattole =eʔow (2), Kato t=čhik (3), Taldash Galice =c’oh (4), Upper Inlet Tanaina ti=t̚aw=čhik-i (3) / l=čhik-i (5), Outer Inlet Tanaina ti=t̚aw=čhik-i (3) / l=čik-i (5), Inland Tanaina ti=t̚aw=čhik-i (3) / l=čik-i (5), Illiamina Tanaina ti=t̚aw=čhik-i (3) /
l=cʰʌk- (5), Central Ahtena =l=cʰoʔ (5), Mentasta Ahtena =l=cʰoʔ (5), Dogrib =kʰaw- (5),
North Slavey (Hare) tɛ=fə (5), Tanacross tɛ=tɛ=l=tʰʌx (5), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) tɛ=l=tʰoʔ: (5),
Lower Tanana (Minto) =l=tʰʌx (5) / =tɛ=cʰik (3), Central Carrier =l=cʰo (2), Koyukon
=l=ɬʰox (5), Degexit’an =tʰʌx (5), Sarsi =V=cʰiʔw (2) / =V=cʰiʔy (5).

References and notes:

Hupa: Golla 1996: 110. A descriptive formation, literally təʔ-kʰoxw ‘oriole’ [Sapir & Golla 2001: 893] + ‘it resembles’. As noted by Golla: “this is a recent term. In traditional times the color yellow was not distinguished from brown or red”. Cf. čiʔ-nehwaw ‘brown’ (literally ‘muddy water’ + ‘it resembles’) [Golla 1996: 14] and c’hel-nehwaw ‘red’ (literally ‘blood’ + ‘it resembles’) q.v.

By contrast, ‘yellow’ is quoted as =cʰox in [Hoijer 1956: 223; Li 1930: 10], coinciding with the term for ‘green’ q.v. Thus it is very likely that =cʰox actually possessed the polysemy ‘to be green / to be blue / to be yellow’ in archaic Hupa. No terms for ‘yellow’ in [Sapir & Golla 2001].

Mattole: Li 1930: 10, 110. Polysemy: ‘to be blue / to be yellow’ (actually ‘to be blue / to be green (q.v.) / to be yellow?’). Adjectival formation: tɛ=cʰox ‘blue / yellow’.

Bear River dialect: fɛi=cʰiʔ ‘yellow’ [Goddard 1929: 322].

Kato: Goddard 1912: 28; Curtis 1924: 203. An adjective-like deverbal form. Polysemy: ‘red / yellow’ (the meaning ‘yellow’ is only quoted in [Curtis 1924]).

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 71. Verbal root: ‘to be yellow’. The adjectival form is tɛ=c’h.


Lower Ahtena: =l=cʰox [Kari 1990: 394, 625].

Western Ahtena: =l=cʰox [Kari 1990: 394, 625].


North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 220, 429, 554; Hoijer 1956: 222. Hoijer quotes the 19th c. archaic variant [-kʃuqoʔ]. Verbal form ‘it is yellow’; initial tɛ- is an adjectival prefix [Rice 1989: 617].


Scottie Creek: e=tɛ=tʰoʔ ‘(it is) yellow’ [John 1997: 32].


There are two Lower Tanana expressions for the yellow part of spectrum: ‘yellow-brown’ and ‘yellow-orange’.


We treat both forms as synonyms.Kari 1994: 290, 513.


Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 586, 1060; Jones 1978: 199. Verbal stem, also functions as the noun-like adjective ɬʰux-ɬ. In [Jetté & Jones 2000: 586], glossed as ‘to be yellow, tan, brown, olive-green, be the color of a smoke-tanned skin’, but actually with polysemy: ‘to be yellow / to be green’. Further see notes on ‘green’.

Degexit’an: Kari 1978: 55. Verbal stem: ‘to be yellow’.
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There are two Sarsi verbs for 'yellow': =V=cʰúw glossed as 'to be yellow (green)' (this is not the expression for 'green' q.v., however), and =V=cʰáy to 'be orange-yellow'. Apparently they denote 'light yellow' and 'dark yellow' respectively. We have to treat them as synonyms.

101. FAR

**Sarsi:** Li 1930b: 24; Cook 1984: 166. There are two Sarsi verbs for 'yellow': =V=cʰúw glossed as 'to be yellow (green)' (this is not the expression for 'green' q.v., however), and =V=cʰáy to 'be orange-yellow'. Apparently they denote 'light yellow' and 'dark yellow' respectively. We have to treat them as synonyms.

**References and notes:**

**Hupa:** Sapir & Golla 2001: 782; Golla 1996: 24, 33. Verbal root with polysemy: 'to be far / to be deep'. Originates < *=sat-i; the parallel light variant is =sah < *=sat.

**Mattole:** Not attested. Cf. the verb =cʰat 'to be deep' [Li 1930: 108], which corresponds to the Hupa term for 'to be far / to be deep' q.v.

**Bear River dialect:** not attested.

**Kato:** Goddard 1912: 38. Verbal root 'to be far'. Originates < *=sat, as suggested by the Hupa comparandum. Cf. the synchronically different verb =sat < *=sat-i 'to be deep' [Goddard 1912: 66].

**Taldash Galice:** Hoijer 1973: 70. Verbal root, glossed as 'to be far away, distant, far away'. The adjectival form is ɬ=cah.

**Distinct from the verb =man 'to be deep / to be full' [Hoijer 1973: 63].

**Upper Inlet Tanaina:** Not attested.

**Outer Inlet Tanaina:** Not attested.

**Inland Tanaina:** Tenenbaum 1978: 120; Wassillie 1979: 34. Verbal root: 'to be far'.

**Central Ahtena:** Kari 1990: 458, 518.

**Lower Ahtena:** =zet [Kari 1990: 458, 518].

**Western Ahtena:** =zet [Kari 1990: 458, 518].

**Mentasta Ahtena:** Kari 1990: 458, 518.

**Dogrib:** Saxon & Siemens 1996: 47, 81, 164; Marinakis et al. 2007: 163. Verbal root with polysemy: 'to be far, distant / to be deep'. The latter meaning is quoted for the root variant =nic [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 93]. The expressions for 'near' q.v. are based on this verb: =wá-le(á), literally 'not to be far'.

**North Slavey (Hare):** Rice 1978: 562, 566. Verbal form with polysemy: 'it is far (spatially) / it is far (temporally)'.

**Tanacross:** Arnold et al. 2009: 115; Shinen 1958: 22. Verbal root: 'to be far'.

**Upper Tanana (Tetlin):** Milanowski 2009: 22, 74. Glossed as 'far away / distant in space or time'. Verbal root =θa't 'to be far'; final ...dn < *...t-a with the relativizing suffix.

**Lower Tanana (Minto):** Kari 1994: 92, 401. Verb with polysemy: 'to be far, distant (spatially) / to be far (temporally)'.

**Central Carrier:** Poser 1998/2013: 355, 704; Poser 2011a: 83; Antoine et al. 1974: 172, 307. Fossilized verbal form with polysemy: 'far, distant (spatially) / far (temporally)', from the verb =cʰat 'to be long (temporal)' [Poser 1998/2013: 794, 1219, 1252], further to =cʰat 'to be light in weight'.

**Koyukon:** Jetté & Jones 2000: 417, 904; Jones 1978: 59. Verbal form with polysemy: 'far, distant (spatially) / far (temporally)'.

**Degexit'an:** Taff et al. 2007; Chapman 1914: 220. Verbal form. Cf. some examples: "The mountains are far away", "binoculars (lit.: far away in it we see)" [Taff et al. 2007], "but now that they are far away, I kill but few" [Chapman 1914: 125], "While I was far from you, I was thinking about you" [Chapman 1914: 135], "And then far away she heard the sound of singing" [Chapman 1914: 164]

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The second candidate is the more rare form $\eta=\theta \eta \theta$ 'far away, long ways' [Taff et al. 2007] from $\eta=a \theta$ 'to be long'

q.v.

Sarsi: Nanagusja 1996a: 128. Not a very reliable form, glossed as 'far away' in the only source. Initial $ku=$ is the locative prefix.

102. HEAVY

Hupa =tas (1), Kato =tas (1), Taldash Galice =tas (1), Inland Tanaina =t=tuz (1), Central Ahtena =t=tes (1), Mentasta Ahtena =t=tes (1), Dogrib =t= (1), North Slavey (Hare) =k$^h$ (2), Tanacross $n=t\alpha \theta$ (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) =$tu\theta \sim n=tu$: (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) =$t\alpha \theta$ (1), Central Carrier =taz (1), Koyukon =to$: (1), Degexit'an =to$: (1), Sarsi =k$^h$ (2).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 747; Golla 1996: 45. Verbal root: 'to be heavy'.
Mattole: Not attested.

Bear River dialect: =tas 'to be heavy' [Goddard 1929: 317].

Kato: Goddard 1912: 15; Goddard 1909: 158 No. 8. Verbal root: 'to be heavy'.


Upper Inlet Tanaina: Not attested.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Not attested.

Inland Tanaina: Wassilie 1979: 49. In [Tenenbaum 1976 3: 56], quoted as =$t=tes" (his pack was heavy").

Iliamna Tanaina: Not attested.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 152, 534.

Lower Ahtena: =$t=tes [Kari 1990: 152, 534].

Western Ahtena: =$t=tes [Kari 1990: 152, 534].


Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 80, 176. Verbal root: 'to be heavy'.

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 260, 440, 510. Verbal stem: 'to be heavy'. Cf. the examples: "The box is too heavy", "How heavy are you?" [Rice 1978: 260].

The second candidate is =$t= \theta 'to be heavy' [Rice 1978: 301, 414] as in "That box is really heavy" [Rice 1978: 301], but according to Rice, this verb is only used in Hare localities (Fort Norman, Fort Franklin) contacting with other Slavey dialects.

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 145; Shinen 1958: 20. In [Holton 2000: 31, 350], transcribed as =$t=tus" (his pack was heavy").

Verbal form: 'it is heavy', with the adjectival/gender exponent $n=$ [Holton 2000: 237 ff.].

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 21, 98, 120. Verbal root: 'to be heavy', cf. the frequently used deverbal adjective =$t=tu\theta~ n=tu\theta ' (it is) heavy'.

Northway: =$t=tu\theta ' (it is) heavy' [Milanowski 2007: 14].

Scottie Creek: =$n=\theta ' (it is) heavy' [John 1997: 29].

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 79, 418. Verbal stem: 'to be heavy'.

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 753, 1219, 1250; Poser 2011a: 110; Antoine et al. 1974: 313. Verbal stem: 'to be heavy'.

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 146, 928; Jones 1978: 79. Verbal stem: 'to be heavy'.

Degexit'an: Taff et al. 2007. Verbal stem: 'to be heavy'.

Sarsi: Li 1930b: 21; Cook 1984: 172; Nanagusja 1996a: 129. Verbal stem: 'to be heavy'.

103. NEAR

Hupa =tin (1), Kato =tan (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina =u$^b$ (2), Inland Tanaina =u$^b$ (2), Central
Ahtena *kak-e* (2), Mentasta Ahtena *kak-a* (2), Dogrib =wà-lē (3), North Slavey (Hare) nì=wał-lē (3), Tanacross *t=χà*? (2), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) =c=χaḥ (2), Lower Tanana (Minto) =l=koč-a (4) / OBJ=ʔaγa (5), Central Carrier *xwe* =e=γοh (2) / *xwe* =e=γan (6), Koyukon OBJ=č’u-χà (7), Degexit’an n=*l=qv3 ~ n=*l=qv3-ʔaʔ* (4) / OBJ=ʔaʔ (5), Sarsi ku=*$=l^ʔan-a* (8).

References and notes:

**Hupa**: Sapir & Golla 2001: 751; Golla 1996: 65. Verbal root: ‘to be close, near by’. Originates from *=tin*; the perfective root variant is =teh < *=tin-t-i.

**Mattole**: Not attested.

Bear River dialect: not attested.

**Kato**: Goddard 1912: 38. Verbal root: ‘to be near, close’. The equivalent for ‘to be nearby’ is =tan-č with the diminutive suffix -č ~ -č.

**Taldash Galice**: Not attested.

**Upper Inlet Tanaina**: Not attested.


**Inland Tanaina**: Kari 2007: 333.

**Iliamna Tanaina**: Not attested.

**Central Ahtena**: Kari 1990: 203, 558.

- **Lower Ahtena**: *kak-e* [Kari 1990: 203, 558].
- **Western Ahtena**: *kak-e* [Kari 1990: 203, 558].


**Dogrib**: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 81, 191. Verbal root, glossed as ‘to be near, be nearby, be close by’. Literally ‘not to be far’ with =wà ‘to be far’ q.v., and the negation -lē q.v.

The higher degree of closeness is expressed by =wà-lē-á ‘to be very close by, be very near, be nearby’ [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 81] with the additional diminutive suffix -á [Marinakis et al. 2007: 152 ff.].

Distinct from the postposition POSSR-ká ‘beside, next to, near’ [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 108] (with the example: ‘The groceries are beside the flour’).

**North Slavey (Hare)**: Rice 1978: 191. Not reliably documented. Hare nì=wał-lē ‘near’ literally means ‘(it is) not far’ with nì=wał ‘(it is) far’ q.v. It is found in only one example: “Don’t go near the dog” [Rice 1978: 191].

A second candidate is the verb =h=tiw–á [Rice 1978: 303, 422, 521], glossed with polysemy: ‘to be short / to be near’, but not provided with examples for the meaning ‘near’.

Distinct from the postposition =qá ‘next to, nearby’ [Rice 1978: 559; Rice 1989: 281] as in “He’s sitting near me”.

**Tanacross**: Arnold et al. 2009: 181; Shinen 1958: 22. Functions as a postposition. Semi-voiced χ should indicate that initial á is a prefix.

**Upper Tanana (Tetlin)**: Milankoński 2009: 12, 80.

- **Northway**: a=xah ‘near, nearby’ [Milankoński 2007: 13].
- **Lower Tanana (Minto)**: Kari 1994: 119, 443. Verb with polysemy: ‘to be short (spatial) / to be short (temporal) / to be near’, close to’.

Final -a (<-á) expresses negative dimensional semantics; see notes on ‘not’. Cf. Kari’s examples: “it is close”, “then as it was close enough to them to be visible”.

A second candidate is the postposition OBJ=qγa ‘near’ (Rice 1978: 16, 443], cf. Kari’s examples: “Golstream is near Cache”, “they were not close to the Minto people”.

We have to treat =b=koč-a and OBJ=qγa as synonyms.Rari 1994: 16, 443.

**Central Carrier**: Poser 1998/2013: 527, 823; Poser 2011a: 145; Antoine et al. 1974: 247, 320. There are two similar expressions, both with polysemy: ‘near (spatial) / near (temporal)’.

1) *xwe* =γoh (the spatial examples: “When they were near the bear den, they began to run back”, “They are living close to Tache”).
2) \( x^{\text{be}} = n^\text{y}_{\text{a}} \) (the spatial example: "They made camp close to the river").

Both of them represent fossilized verbal forms, initial \( x^{\text{be}} \) is the areal prefix. We treat them as synonyms.

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 263, 667, 962; Jones 1978: 108. Cf. some examples: "he is standing close to her", "he is walking along near her", "The place is very near the river", "it (compact object) is close to the house", "it is closely sewn, with stitches close together". Originates from the areal noun \( =\text{cun} \) to, toward, at, in the direction of [Jetté & Jones 2000: 664] + the clitic \( \text{qu} \) 'general area, the place where, the time when' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 262]. Since \( =\text{cun} \text{qu} \) is the only expression for 'near' quoted in [Jones 1978], it is permissible to use it to fill the primary slot.

Other expressions for 'near' are:

1) \( \text{obj=}=\text{cun}-\text{tu}_{\text{a}} \text{a} \) 'in the vicinity of, nearby, near to, next to', literally 'in separate places' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 38], cf. the examples: "he one who works for him lives near him", "he lives near his parents", "there are two fires burning next to each other".

2) \( \text{obj}=\text{cun}-\text{tu}_{\text{a}} \text{a} \) 'near to, close to, in the neighborhood of' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 137] \( =\text{tu}_{\text{a}} \text{a} \) 'preceding, ahead of, in front of' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 623]. The examples are: "there were no people near them", "he was walking around close to the camp".

3) \( \text{obj}=\text{nuct}_{\text{a}} \text{a} \) 'around, near' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 489]. The examples are: "near the house, around the house", "you were standing near sth. (e.g., near a bear)", "the caribou were lying near the boulder".

Degexit'an: Chapman 1914. Adverbalized verbal form from \( \text{=tu}_{\text{a}} \text{a} \) < \( =\text{tu}_{\text{a}} \text{a} \) 'to be short' q.v. This is the only form for 'near' found in the text collection [Chapman 1914], but missing in other sources. Cf. the examples: "Then, near the village, he changed himself into a man, and kept on toward the village" [Chapman 1914: 111], "Because, when there was plenty of game near by, up the river, I could get them" [Chapman 1914: 125], "She came near to the village from behind it" [Chapman 1914: 131]. "Outside, near the house, she took off the skin, and removed the teeth also" [Chapman 1914: 134], "Now", said they, "get out, for the village is near!" [Chapman 1914: 192].

The second candidate is \( \text{obj}=\text{dxr} \) 'near, nearby, close' [Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 104]. Cf. some examples: "He will build his house near the bank", "Sit near me", "Sit close to the fire", "His house is close to the store" [Taff et al. 2007].

We treat \( =\text{tu}_{\text{a}} \text{a} \text{q} \text{a} \) and \( \text{obj}=\text{dxr} \) as synonyms.

Sarsi: Nanagusja 1996a: 128. Not a very reliable form found in one source only. Initial \( \text{ku} \) is the locative prefix; final \(-a\) is the diminutive suffix.

104. SALT

Hupa \( \text{fle} \text{h}=\text{q'oni} \text{c} \) (1), Kato \( \text{fe}=\text{təə} \text{n} \) (2), Upper Inlet Tanaina \( \text{nu}=\text{t}_{\text{b}} \text{i} \) (3), Outer Inlet Tanaina \( \text{nu}=\text{t}_{\text{b}} \text{i} \) (3), Inland Tanaina \( \text{nu}=\text{t}_{\text{b}} \text{i} \) (3), Iliamna Tanaina \( \text{nu}=\text{t}_{\text{b}} \text{i} \) (3), Central Ahtena \( \text{na}=\text{t}_{\text{h}} \text{u}_{\text{-j}} \) (3), Mentasta Ahtena \( \text{na}=\text{t}_{\text{h}} \text{u}_{\text{-j}} \) (3), Dogrib \( \text{təwá} \) (4), North Slavey (Hare) \( \text{lésíl} \text{í} \) \( \text{lésíl} \) \( \text{lésíl} \) \( \text{lésíl} \) \text{í} (1), Tanacross \( \text{lsel} \) (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) \( \text{scl} \) (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) \( \text{na}=\text{t}_{\text{h}} \text{u} \) (3), Central Carrier \( \text{lisel} \) \( \text{lasel} \) (1), Koyukon \( \text{sə:o} \) \( \text{səl} \) (1), Degexit'an \( \text{təəxəgəq} \) (1), \( \text{təəxəgəq} \) (1).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 765; Golla 1996: 81. For the first element \( \text{fle} \text{h} \) 'a sloppy object', see notes on 'sand'. The root \( \text{q'oni} \text{c} \) is not entirely clear (cf. the verbal root \( \text{q'oni} \text{c} \) 'to be sour, salty' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 781; Golla 1996: 81]).

Mattole: Not attested.

Bear River dialect: not attested.

Kato: Goddard 1912: 30; Curtis 1924: 203. Explicitly explained by Goddard as a deverbal form from \( =\text{tu}_{\text{a}} \text{a} \) 'to be bitter', although there is no evidence for such a Kato verb in Goddard's data. The attested verb for 'to be sour, bitter' is \( =\text{ki} \text{xe} \) [Goddard 1912: 79].

Taldash Galice: Not attested.

Distinct from the special term for 'store-bought salt': $k=t^h u=t^i t$ [Kari 2007: 290], literally 'something that they pour into water' vel sim.

**Outer Inlet Tanaina:** Kari 2007: 128, 290, 357; Kari 1977: 221.

**Inland Tanaina:** Kari 2007: 128, 290, 357; Kari 1977: 221; Wassillie 1979: 84.

**Iliamna Tanaina:** Kari 2007: 128, 290, 357; Kari 1977: 221.

**Central Ahtena:** Kari 1990: 337, 581; Kari & Buck 1975: 147; Smelcer 2010: 79, 97.

- **Lower Ahtena** [Kari 2007: 337, 581; Kari & Buck 1975: 147; Smelcer 2010: 79, 97].

**Western Ahtena** [Kari 1990: 337, 581; Kari & Buck 1975: 147; Smelcer 2010: 79, 97].

**Mentasta Ahtena:** Kari 1990: 337, 581; Kari & Buck 1975: 147; Smelcer 2010: 79, 97.

**Dogrib:** Saxon & Siemens 1996: 17, 206. Morphologically unclear.

**North Slavey (Hare):** Rice 1978: 74, 168. Borrowed from French {le sel} 'salt'.


**Upper Tanana (Tetlin):** Milanowski, p.c. Borrowed from French {le sel} 'salt'. Seldom used, according to Milanowski.

**Scottie Creek:** $lìːl$ 'salt' [John 1997: 43].

**Lower Tanana (Minto):** Kari 1994: 247, 467. Polysemy: 'salt / saltwater / ocean, Pacific Ocean'. Literally 'water of $nâ$ with $tʰu$ 'water' q.v., the meaning of $nâ$ is not clear.

**Central Carrier:** Poser 1998/2013: 235, 240, 882; Poser 2011a: 177; Antoine et al. 1974: 131, 327. Borrowed from French {le sel} 'salt'.

**Koyukon:** Jetté & Jones 2000: 740, 996; Jones 1978: 136. Borrowed from Russian $solʸ$ 'salt'.

**Degexit'an:** Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 83. Borrowed from Yupik $taʁyuq$ 'salt'.

**Sarsi:** Not documented.

**References and notes:**

**Hupa:** Sapir & Golla 2001: 810; Golla 1996: 84. Verbal root: 'to be short'.

**Mattole:** Li 1930: 115. Verbal root 'to be short'.

- Bear River dialect: $=cet$ 'to be short' [Goddard 1929: 320] (to be read as **$=čet$**).

**Kato:** Goddard 1909: 116 No. 9. Browsing through [Goddard 1909] suggests that the meaning '(to be) short' is expressed by the forms $s=woːl-č$ ('short sticks' [Goddard 1909: 116 No. 9, 117 No. 9]) ~ $=č=woːl-č$ ('short ripples' [Goddard 1909: 121 No. 8]) ~ $s=woːl-c$ ~ $s=woːl-č$ ('short back-bone' [Goddard 1909: 138 No. 11, 142 No. 15]). The first element is not entirely clear, whereas the final $č$ ~ $c$ is the common diminutive suffix [Goddard 1912: 27]. It must be noted that in [Goddard 1912: 36], $s=woːl-č$ is treated as a "pronominal adjective" with the meaning 'small'.

**Taldash Galice:** Not attested.

**Upper Inlet Tanaina:** Kari 2007: 101.

**Outer Inlet Tanaina:** Kari 2007: 101.

**Inland Tanaina:** Kari 2007: 101.

**Iliamna Tanaina:** Kari 2007: 101.

**Central Ahtena:** Kari 1990: 155, 586.
**Lower Ahtena:** =l-tiy-e [Kari 1990: 155, 586].
**Western Ahtena:** =l-tiy-e [Kari 1990: 155, 586].

**Mentasta Ahtena:** Kari 1990: 155, 586. Final -e was regularly reduced.

**Dogrib:** Saxon & Siemens 1996: 80, 208. Verbal stem with polysemy: 'to be short (spatial) / to be short (temporal)'. Final -e is the common diminutive suffix [Marinakos et al. 2007: 152 ff.].

**North Slavey (Hare):** Rice 1978: 303, 422, 534. Verb with polysemy: 'to be short / to be near'. For the desemanticized verbal suffix -e see [Rice 1989: 816]. The examples are: "The tree is short" [Rice 1978: 259], "The days are getting shorter" [Rice 1978: 303].

A second candidate is =t-čír-e 'to be short' [Rice 1978: 260, 438, 534] with the examples: "Her hair is short", "My mother is short" [Rice 1978: 260]. The difference between the two verbs is unclear; we have to treat them as synonyms.Rice 1978: 260, 438, 534.

**Tanacross:** Arnold et al. 2009: 231; Holton 2000: 351; Shinen 1958: 20. Verbal stem with polysemy: 'to be short (spatial) / to be short (temporal)'.

**Upper Tanana (Minto):** Milanowski 2009: 57, 83, 105. Verbal root with polysemy: 'to be small / to be short'. The only available example 'One is tall and the other is short' may point to the specific meaning 'small in height (of person)' [Milanowski 2009: 57], but Milanowski, p.c., has confirmed the generic meaning 'to be short' for =či̊ďľ.

**Lower Tanana (Tetlin):** Kari 1994: 119, 473. Verb with polysemy: 'to be short (spatial) / to be short (temporal) / to be near, close to'. Also used with the "classifiers" -č̌o or -č̌. Final -č̌ expresses negative dimensional semantics, see notes on 'not'. Cf. Kari's examples: "short day", "it (stick...) is short", "it (rope) is short", "it (board) is short".

**Central Carrier:** Poser 1998/2013: 900, 1219, 1251; Poser 2011a: 185; Antoine et al. 1974: 328. Verb with polysemy: 'to be short (spatial) / to be short (temporal)'.

**Koyukon:** Jetté & Jones 2000: 221, 1004; Jones 1978: 144. Verb with polysemy: 'to be short (spatial) / to be short (temporal)'. Also used with the "classifier" -č̌. Final -č̌ is a lexicalized negative suffix, emphasizing small dimensions, see [Jetté & Jones 2000: 5] and notes on 'not'.

**Degexit'an:** Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1976: 22. Verb with polysemy: 'to be short (spatial) / to be short (temporal)', according to the examples in [Taff et al. 2007; Chapman 1914]. Final -č̌ < *-č-čə.

**Sarsi:** Li 1930b: 22; Nanagusja 1996a: 129; Nanagusja 1996b: 317. Verbal stem: 'to be short (spatial)'. Final -č̌ is the diminutive suffix -a ~ -ač̌ [Li 1930b: 9]. Cf. the examples: "These pants are too short" [Nanagusja 1996b: 313], "This has two short legs" [Nanagusja 1996b: 355].

Distinct from the verb =tú=t-ťaá 'to be short', quoted without specifications and examples in [Li 1930b: 18] (-ť is the fossilized perfective exponent plus the diminutive suffix -ač̌).

### 106. SNAKE

**Hupa** λ̃i̊wín ~ λ̃i̊;n ~ λ̃ín (1), **Mattole** λ̃i̊:i̊:š (1), **Taldash Galice** λ̃a:s (1) / əč-q̌oh (2), **North Slavey (Hare)** rá=tú (3), **Central Carrier** λ̃a:ǧas (1).

**References and notes:**

**Hupa:** Sapir & Golla 2001: 767; Golla 1996: 87; Golla 1964: 117. Polysemy: 'snake / rattlesnake'. The form λ̃i̊wín is original, λ̃i̊:n and λ̃ín are contracted; in the modern source [Golla 1996], only the latter variant is quoted.

**Mattole:** Li 1930: 133. Morphologically unclear.

Bear River dialect: ʃeš̌ 'snake' [Goddard 1929: 320].

**Kato:** Not attested. Cf. the specific term ʃkɔš̌ 'rattlesnake' [Goddard 1912: 90], which corresponds to the Hupa-Mattole generic term.

**Taldash Galice:** Hoijer 1973: 62 No. 301. Two terms for 'snake' are quoted in [Hoijer 1973]: archaic λ̃a:s and descriptive əč-q̌oh, both of them without additional specification. We treat them as synonyms.Hojier 1973: 62 No. 298. Literally 'big tongue' with əč 'tongue' q.v. and the augmentative suffix -q̌oh (see notes on 'big').

**Upper Inlet Tanaina:** No original term.

**Outer Inlet Tanaina:** No original term.

**Inland Tanaina:** No original term.
Iliamna Tanaina: No original term.
Central Ahtena: No original term.
Mentasta Ahtena: No original term.


Tanacross: There are no endemic snake spp. in Alaska. The available sources do not quote any expressions for ‘snake’.

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): There are no endemic snake spp. in Alaska. The available sources do not quote any expressions for ‘snake’.

Lower Tanana (Minto): There are no endemic snake spp. in Alaska. In [Kari 1994: 128], the word Aγαγε from the Chena dialect is quoted with polysemy: ‘arctic lamprey, eel / snake’. Its Minto counterpart Aγαγ is glossed simply as ‘eel, lamprey’ in [Krauss 1974: 12]. Apparently ‘snake’ is a recent artificial meaning for this word.


Koyukon: There are no endemic snake spp. in Alaska.

Degexit’an: There are no endemic snake spp. in Alaska.

Sarsi: The only documented term for ‘snake’ is the morphologically unclear form nàtüzíyá, glossed several times by Sapir as ‘snake’ in the tales “How Spotted Eagle and Crow-Flag brought home the medicine-pipe” and “The man who chopped a log into the river with his brother” [Sapir 1923]. The same form nàtüzíyá is offered in [Hoijer 1956: 223] for the meaning ‘worm’ q.v. (Hoijer himself has relied on Sapir’s unpublished materials). At the current stage, we prefer to leave the slots ‘snake’ and ‘worm’ empty.

107. THIN1

Hupa =t’aʔnyc: (1), Mattole =c’ix (3), Taldash Galice =t’aʔ (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina =l=t’un (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina =l=t’un (1), Inland Tanaina =l=t’un (1), Iliamna Tanaina =l=t’un (1), Central Ahtena =l=t’an-e (1), Mentasta Ahtena =l=t’an (1), Dogrib =t’hó-lé-â ~ =t’hó-lé (4), North Slavey (Hare) =pèl-è (5), Tanacross =t’á:n (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) =t’an (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) =t=l=os-k-â (7), Central Carrier =t’an ~ =t’on (1), Koyukon =t=l=us-k-a (7), Degexit’an =t=ə=las-k-a (7), Sarsi =t=ːn (1).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 790; Golla 1996: 96. Verbal root: ‘to be thin (2D)’. Historically, < *t’aʔnyc, but the whole root is synchronically unanalyzable, cf. [Sapir & Golla 2001: 818].

Mattole: Li 1930: 118. Verbal root ‘to be thin’. The semantics remain unspecified by Li; thus, apparently with polysemy: ‘to be thin 2D / to be thin 1D’.

Bear River dialect: not attested.

Kato: Not attested.

Taldash Galice: Landar 1977: 295. Landar’s transcription can also be interpreted as =t’ãʔ. Verbal root: ‘to be thin’. The exact semantics and application remain unknown.

Lower Ahtena: =l-t'an-e [Kari 1990: 341, 608].
Western Ahtena: =l-t'an-e [Kari 1990: 341, 608].
Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 16, 221; Saxon & Siemens n.d.; Siemens et al. 2007: 10. Verbal root, probably with polysemy: 'to be thin 2D / to be thin 1D' (in the only attested example, this verb-like adjective is applied to crackers, implying the meaning 'to be thin 2D'). Literally 'not to be thick' with =t'ʊ to be thick' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 16] and the negation -lé q.v. Optional final -i is the diminutive suffix [Marinakis et al. 2007: 152 ff.]
There is also a verb =pó-á 'to be thin' [Saxon & Siemens n.d.; Marinakis et al. 2007: 154], explicitly glossed as 'thin in dimension (metal, slice of bread)', that implies the specific meaning 'to be thin 2D' likewise.
We treat =t'ʊ-le-á (¼) and =pó-á as synonyms.
North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 219, 411, 544. This is the only found expression for '(to be) thin', with only one example: "I'm cold because my jacket is too thin" [Rice 1978: 219].
There are two documented verbs with the meaning 'to be thin', both only with examples for the meaning 'thin 2D': 
1) =t'án [Arnold et al. 2009: 267], cf. the example "rabbit skin is thin" [Arnold et al. 2009: 267]; 
2) =t'-bú [Arnold et al. 2009: 267; Holton 2000: 352], cf. the examples 'caribou skin is thin while moose skin is thick', "it is warm outside, so she is just wearing a thin shirt" [Arnold et al. 2009: 267].
We treat them as synonyms.
Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski, p.c. Verbal root: 'to be thin'. Milanowski's only example points to the meaning 'thin 2D': t'á ʃ k'at'čán 'thin ice'.
Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 180, 495. Meaning 'to be thin 2D' (glossed by Kari as 'inanimate is thin, membranous'). Cf. Kari's examples: "when the ice is thin", 'then the caribou skins that seemed to be thinner were for undergarments'. A denominative verb from POSSR=las-ka-á('membrane, thin skin' [Kari 1994: 179], where -ka is a nominal suffix [Kari 1994: 106]. Final -á expresses negative dimensional semantics, see notes on 'not'. The only candidate for 'thin 1D' is the verb =čák-a glossed as 'to be narrow, thin, skinny' plus the noun-like adjective čák-a 'narrow' [Kari 1994: 295]. Cf. Kari's examples: 'its leaves are narrow', "the ant came to have its narrow waist", "narrow strip of timber", 'marsh hawk (lit. skinny legs)'. Final -a (<-á) expresses negative dimensional semantics, see notes on 'not'.
Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 956, 1222, 1260; Poser 2011a: 215; Antoine et al. 1974: 334. Meaning 'to be thin 2D'. Cf. the examples: "Some of the coins are thin" [Antoine et al. 1974: 232], "The hide I prepared is very thin", "The walls (of this house) are thin", "The plate is round and flat", "She is slicing the bread very thin" [Poser 1998/2013: 501].
Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 245, 1034; Jones 1978: 172. Denominative verb, meaning specifically 'to be thin 2D' (cf. the example: 'The ice is thin'), although the original noun *'lus-k 'membrane' is not retained in Koyukon, further see notes on Lower Tanana =t=l-los-k-a 'to be thin 2D'. Also functions as the noun-like adjective lus-k-aʔ 'thin 2D'. Distinct from the noun-like adjective t'oxn-áʔ 'thin 2D' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 553], which seems to be applicable specifically to leather.
Degexitàn: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1976: 35. Only examples for the meaning 'to be thin (2D)' have been found: "They want that thin moose skin", 'The ice is thin' [Taff et al. 2007]. For morphology, see notes on Lower Tanana, Koyukon.
In [Kari 1976: 48], the verb =t'en 'to be thin' is also quoted with a question mark.
Sarsi: Li 1930b: 19. Meaning 'to be thin 2D' (glossed as 'to be thin and flattened out' by Li). Cf. the example: "thin cloth" [Goddard 1915: 211].
Distinct from =nìčl 'to be thin and spread out' [Li 1930b: 18], which we treat as 'thin 1D', although no examples have been found.
Distinct from =čák-áʔ to be narrow, to be slim' [Li 1930b: 25].
107. THIN

Hupa =t’ikʷ (2), Central Ahtena =t’=c’ewhat-e (3), Mentasta Ahtena =t’=c’eq-e (3), Dogrib = pó-á (5), Tanacross =t=t’ôn (6), Lower Tanana (Minto) =c’ak-a (3), Central Carrier =tat ~ =tot (8), Koyukon =c’aq-ə (3), Sarsi =mi:l ~ =mil-əə (5).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 791; Golla 1996: 96. Verbal root with polysemy: ‘to be thin (1D) / to be slender, slim / to be narrow’.
   Lower Ahtena: =t’=c’eq-e [Kari 1990: 404, 608].
   Western Ahtena: =t’=c’eq-e [Kari 1990: 404, 608].
Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 652; Jones 1978: 172. Polysemy: ‘to be thin 1D / to be narrow’. Cf. some examples: “the stick or log is small in diameter”, “The rope is small in diameter”. Final -ə is the lexicalized negative suffix, emphasizing small dimensions, see [Jetté & Jones 2000: 5] and notes on ‘not’.
Sarsi: Li 1930b: 18. Meaning ‘to be thin 1D’ (glossed as ‘to be thin and spread out’ by Li). The final element is the diminutive suffix -ə ~ -as [Li 1930b: 9].

108. WIND

Hupa tʰeh=s=c’eq (1), Kato wa=nα=n=c’hːʔ (1), Taldash Galice t=c’eq (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina t=c’ay (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina t=c’ay (1), Inland Tanaina t=c’ay (1), Iliamna Tanaina t=c’ay (1), Central Ahtena t=c’ai (1), Mentasta Ahtena t=c’ai (1), Dogrib n=t’h=c’ai (1), North Slavey (Hare) n=i=h=c’ai (1), Tanacross è=h=c’eq (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) è=h=c’ay (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) a=t=c’ay (1), Central Carrier ni=t=c’ai (1), Koyukon a=t=c’iy (1), Degexit’an a=t=c’eq ~ χ’a=tε=c’ay (1), Sarsi ni=s=c’ai (1).

References and notes:

Mattole: Not attested.
Kato: Goddard 1909: 74 No. 2, 80 No. 12; Curtis 1924: 205. Literally ‘it blows through’ from the verb =c’eq: ‘to blow (of wind)’ [Goddard 1912: 74]. It is unclear whether =c’eq is used outside this expression; the generic verb for ‘to blow (particularly of wind), fan’ is =yəʔ [Goddard 1912: 62]. Note the sporadic de-ejectivization in the root =c’eq < *c’eq.
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Scottie Creek: =ɬʰ=cʰi ‘(wind) blows’ [John 1997: 67].
Sarsi: Hoijer 1956: 223; Goddard 1915: 234, 268; Cook 1984: 45. Literally ‘it blows’ from the verb =s=cʰi ‘to blow (of wind) / to blow (trans.)’ [Li 1930b: 24].

109. WORM

Hupa qaː (1), Mattole yaneʔ (2), Kato qaː (1), Taldash Galice kəː (1), North Slavey (Hare) kù (1), Central Carrier ?nisko (3).

References and notes:

Mattole: Li 1930: 125. Could be a verbal form.
Upper Inlet Tanaina: No original term.
Outer Inlet Tanaina: No original term.
Inland Tanaina: No original term.
Iliamna Tanaina: No original term.
Central Ahtena: No original term.
Mentasta Ahtena: No original term.
Dogrib: No original term. There are no or almost no endemic earthworms in the Northwest Territories. Cf. the generic term for ‘insect’: kɪː, glossed with polysemy: ‘insect / bug / worm / snake’ [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 48].
North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 59, 185. Glossed simply as ‘worm’; apparently a generic term for this meaning.
Upper Tanana (Tetlin): There are no endemic earthworms in Alaska.
Scottie Creek: Cf. the generic term kɪː ‘insect, worm’ [John 1997: 44, 45].
Lower Tanana (Minto): There are no endemic earthworms in Alaska. Cf. the generic terms kux ‘insect, bug, worm’ [Kari 1994: 115], further tʊːək ‘tree worm’ (literally ‘worm of wood’). There is also a specific term tʊːək, attested in the compound tʊːək ɬɨːwək ‘wood worm’, literally ‘wood worm’ [Kari 1994: 315].
Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 61, 999; Poser 2011a: 239; Antoine et al. 1974: 41, 340. This is a generic term for worm-like creatures, glossed as ‘worm, larva, maggot’. In particular, ʔaʊsko is the default expression for ‘earthworm’ (Bill Poser, p.c.). Morphologically unclear, can be a compound whose second element ko represents the more generic term kuʔ ‘bug / worm’ [Poser 1998/2013: 157, 999].


Koyukon: There are no endemic earthworms in Alaska. Cf. the generic terms quːʔ ~ quː ꭓ ‘insect, bug, fly, worm’ [Jetté & Jones 2000: 215].

Degexit’an: There are no endemic earthworms in Alaska. Cf. the generic term qeːχ ‘bug, worm, maggot’ [Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 16]. In [Taff et al. 2007], the example “There are earthworms in my garden” is offered, where ‘earthworm’ is denoted by the expression qeːχ ŋəθ ‘long worm’.

Sarsi: No expressions for ‘earthworm’ are documented reliably. The only known word for ‘worm’ (not specified) is the unclear form nàtúzí ꭓá in [Hoijer 1956: 223], although the same word is translated by Sapir as ‘snake’ q.v.

110. YEAR

Hupa xay (1), Taldash Galice kʰai (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina ʰayi (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina ʰayi (1), Inland Tanaina ʰayi (1), Iliamna Tanaina ʰayi (1), Central Ahtena ʰay (1), Mentasta Ahtena ʰey (1), Dogrib xó ~ xóː ~ xóyé (1), North Slavey (Hare) xà (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) xay (1), Central Carrier yəʔ-k’at (2), Koyukon ʰay (1).

References and notes:

Lower Ahtena: ʰay [Kari 1990: 212, 625].
Western Ahtena: ʰay [Kari 1990: 212, 625].
Tanacross: The only source which offers an expression for ‘year’ is [Shinen 1958: 22], where the form na=ne=ʔ=te=θ̬et ‘year’ is quoted. Theoretically, it can mean something like ‘it stands’ from the verb nà=…=θ̬et ‘to stand’ q.v.
Scottie Creek: xay with polysemy: ‘year / winter’ [John 1997: 68].
Sarsi: Not documented.