

[Text version of database, created 2/04/2018].

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

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I. Hupa

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VI. Ahtena (Central, Mentasta)

Main sources

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Main sources

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XIII. Koyukon

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XIV. Degexit'an

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XV. Sarsi

Main sources

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NOTES

I. Hupa.

I.1. *General*.

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:

[Golla 1996]	[Sapir & Golla 2001]	GLD
b	b	p
m	m	m
d	d	t
t	t	t ^h (before a vowel) / t (before a consonant or a pause)
t'	t'	t'
n	n	n
n'	nʔ	nʔ
tʃ'	ʃ'	ʃ'
l	l	l
l'	lʔ	lʔ
ɬ	ɬ	ɬ
dz	ʒ	c
ts	c	c ^h (before a vowel) / c (before a consonant or a pause)
ts'	c'	c'
s	s	s
s'	sʔ	s'
j	ʃ̣	č
ch		č ^h (before a vowel) / č (before a consonant or a pause)
chw	č ^w	č ^{hw} (before a vowel) / č ^w (before a consonant or a pause)
ch'	č'	č'
sh	š	š
ngy		ɲ
g, gy	g ^y	k ^y
k, ky	k ^y	k ^{hy} (before a vowel) / k ^y (before a consonant or a pause)
k', ky'	k' ^y	k' ^y
G	g	k
K	k	k ^h (before a vowel) / k (before a consonant or a pause)

K'	k'	k'
x	x	x
xw	x ^w	x ^w
ŋg	ŋ	ŋ
ŋg'	ŋʔ	ŋʔ
q	ɢ	q
q'	q'	q'
h	h	h
'	ʔ	ʔ
y	y	y
y'	yʔ	y'
w	w	w
w'	wʔ	w'
wh	W	ɯ
i	i	i
e	e	e
a	a	a
o	o	o
u		u
V:	V·	V:

Notes.

1. Hupa *k* {G}, *k^h* {K} and *k'* {K'} are marginal sounds, attested in diminutive (and sometimes augmentative!) forms as variants of palatal *k^y*, *k^{hy}* 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 *i*, *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*, *ʔ*, 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*, *ʔ*, *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., =*nun* 'to drink' (q.v.) for =*nan* in other sources; =*xuc* 'to bite' (q.v.) for =*xac* in other sources; *yaʔ-uʔ-qay* '(white) louse' (q.v.) for *yaʔ-aʔ-qay* 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 [Hojjer 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

1923 and reported in [Golla 2011: 259 ff.], remain unavailable to us. The same concerns Mattole proper and Bear River data collected by J. P. Harrington and published by E. L. Mills, 1985. *The Papers of John Peabody Harrington in the Smithsonian Institution, 1907-1957. Vol. 2: A Guide to the Field Notes: Native American History, Language, and Culture of Northern and Central California.* White Plains, NY: Kraus International Publications, pp. 3-9.

II.2. Transliteration.

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

[Li 1930]	[Goddard 1929]	GLD
b	b	p
	p	p ^h
	p'	p'
m	m	m
d		t
tx	t	t ^h (before a vowel) / t (before a consonant or a pause)
t'	t'	t'
n	n	n
n'	n'	n?
tʃ		ʃ
l	l	l
ʃ	ʃ	ʃ
	ʃ'	ʃ'
ts	ts	c ^h (before a vowel) / c (before a consonant or a pause)
t's	ts'	c'
s	s	s

t'sy		c'y
dj	dj	č
tcx	tc	č ^h (before a vowel) / č (before a consonant or a pause)
t'c	tc'	č'
c	c	š
tç		ç ^h (before a vowel) / ç (before a consonant or a pause)
g	g	k
g ^w		k ^w
kx	k	k ^h (before a vowel) / k (before a consonant or a pause)
k'	k'	k'
ɣ	ɣ	ɣ
ɣ ^w		ɣ ^w
x	x	x
xw	xw	x ^w
ŋ	ñ	ŋ
ŋ'	ñ'	ŋʔ
h, 'h	h, 'h	h
'	'	ʔ
y	y	y
w	w, w	w
w'	w'	w'
	hw, wh	ɱ
a	a, α	a
e	e, ε, ë	e
i, i	i, ι	i
o	o, ø	o
	u, υ	u

	CC	C:
	C'	C ^h
V·	V, VV	V:
V	V	V

Notes.

1. According to [Li 1930: 5-7], the aspirated series is “strongly aspirated with a velar spirantal glide”. Thus, the transcription $tx\ kx\ \check{c}x^y$ for $t^h\ k^h\ \check{c}^h$ is possible. On the contrary, c^h and ϕ^h 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 c^h [Li 1930: 9 f.].

3. The exact place and manner of articulation of Li’s $\{t\check{c}\}$ is not entirely clear; we transcribe this affricate as palatal ϕ^h (the transcription \check{c}^{hy} is also possible).

4. The velar series is actually palatalized (i.e., $k^y, k^{wy}, k^{hy}, k^y, \gamma^y, \gamma^{wy}, x^y, x^{wy}$), although we prefer to transcribe it as plain velar for the sake of convenience (i.e., k, k^w and so on).

5. Li’s $\{i\}$ (a ∂ -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 $\{i\}$ 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 [Hojjer 1956: 223-224], is extracted from [Goddard 1912].

III.2. Transliteration.

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

[Goddard 1912; Goddard 1909]	GLD
b	p
m	m
d	t
t	t ^h (before a vowel) / t (before a consonant or a pause)
t'	t'
n	n
n ^ε	nʔ
L	ʃ'
l	l
l ^ε	lʔ
L	ʃ
L ^ε	ʃ'
ts	c ^h (before a vowel) / c (before a consonant or a pause)
ts'	c'
s	s
s'	s'
dj	č
tc	č ^h (before a vowel) / č (before a consonant or a pause)
tc'	č'

c	č
j	ž
g	k
gw	k ^w
k	k ^h (before a vowel) / k (before a consonant or a pause)
kw	k ^{hw}
k'	k'
k'w	k' ^w
ɠ	ɣ
ñ	ŋ
ñ ^ε	ŋʔ
q	q
h, ʰ	h
ε	ʔ
y	y
w	w
a, a̰	a
e, ḛ	e
i	i
û	ə
ī	i:
ō	o:
ū	u:

Notes.

1. Not infrequently, in the specific forms recorded by Goddard, we find the aspirated affricates c^h $č^h$ instead of the expected ejective sounds, e.g., =c'a-n ~ =c^ha-ŋ 'to hear' or

Kato =č^hi: ‘to blow’ vs. Hupa =č^he: (see ‘wind’). It is unclear whether we are dealing with sporadic de-ejectivization of *c’ č^h* 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), Nabiltsé; 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 untude] 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:

[Hoijer 1973]	[Hoijer 1966]	GLD
b	b	p
m	m	m
d	d	t
t	t	t ^h (before a vowel) / t (before a consonant or a pause)
t̥	t'	t'
n	n	n
ɬ	tʃ	ʃ'
l	l	l
ɮ	ɮ	ɮ
j	dz	c
ć	ts'	c'
z	z	z
s	s	s
ǰ	dʒ	č
č	tʃ	č ^h (before a vowel) / č (before a consonant or a pause)
č̣	tʃ'	č'
š	š	š
g	g	k
g ^w	g ^w	k ^w
k	k	k ^h (before a vowel) / k (before a consonant or a pause)
k ^w	k ^w	k ^{hw}
ḳ	k'	k'
ḳ ^w	k ^w '	k ^w '
h	h	h
ʔ	ʔ	ʔ

y	y	y
w	w	w
W	W	ɱ
a	a	a
e	e	e
i	i	i
o	o	o
VV	VV	V:
Ṽ	Ṽ	ṽ

Notes.

1. According to [Landar 1977: 294], the alveodentals are actually dental: \underline{t} \underline{s} and so on, although in [Hojjer 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., [Hojjer 1966; Hojjer 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 $s^ʎ$.

4. According to [Hojjer 1966: 320], o , $o:$ are actually realized as $ʊ$, $ʊ:$ 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), [Wassillie 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 ("I") 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]

for detail), who tends to explain them as taboo replacements.

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 *tazʔi* in the bulk of Tanaina dialects, whereas the old inherited term *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:

[Kari 2007; Holton et al. 2004; Tenenbaum 1978]	GLD
b	p
m	m
v	v
d	t
t	t ^h (before a vowel) / t (before a consonant or a pause)
t'	t'
n	n
dl	ʎ
tl	ʎ ^h (before a vowel) / ʎ (before a consonant or a pause)

tl'	ʎ'
l	l
ɫ	ɫ
dz	c
ts	c ^h (before a vowel) / c (before a consonant or a pause)
ts'	c'
z	z
s	s
j	č
ch	č ^h (before a vowel) / č (before a consonant or a pause)
ch'	č'
zh	ž
sh	š
g	k
k	k ^h (before a vowel) / k (before a consonant or a pause)
k'	k'
ɣ, y	ɣ
x	x
gg	q
q	q ^h (before a vowel) / q (before a consonant or a pause)
q'	q'
gh	ɣ
h	χ
w	w

y	y
'	ʔ
ĥ, hh	h
i	i
e	ə
a	a
u	u

Notes.

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., *kʲ* - *k*, *xʲ* - *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 (*kʲ*, *xʲ* 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* *č'* *š* (Outer Inlet, Inland, Iliamna) imply *c* *cʰ* *c'* *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 $c - \check{c}$, $c^h - \check{c}^h$, $c' - \check{c}'$, $s - \check{s}$ 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 {tś, ś, ...} that imply that the only Upper Inlet sibilant series is retracted ($\underline{c} \underline{c}^h \underline{c}'$ \underline{s}) *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 $c \ c^h \ c' \ s$. In our transcription we follow [Kari 1977]'s simplified notation, i.e., $c \ c^h \ c' \ s$. Additionally, it should be noted that in Upper Inlet, the Common Tanaina phonemes z, \check{z}, γ, y have merged into y .

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

6. The glottal-stop ($ʔ$) 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]):

[Kari 1990; Smelcer 2010]	GLD
b	p
m	m
d	t
t	t ^h (before a vowel) / t (before a pause)
t'	t'
n	n
dl	λ
tl	λ ^h (before a vowel) / λ (before a pause)
tl'	λ'
l	l
ɬ	ɬ
dz	c
ts	c ^h (before a vowel) / c (before a pause)
ts'	c'
z	z
s	s
g	k ^y

c	k ^{hy} (before a vowel) / k ^y (before a pause)
c'	k ^y
gg	q
k	q ^h (before a vowel) / q (before a pause)
k'	q'
gh	ɸ
x	χ
ng	ŋ
y	y
yh	y̥
hw	ɱ
'	ʔ
h	h
i	i
e	ə
a	a
o	o
u	u
VV	V:
ae	e:
Ṽ	ṽ

Notes.

1. In a few loanwords, the foreign sounds *v* {v}, *p^h* {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* & *t^h*, e.g., *-tɸ-* {-dgh-

} vs. $-t^h n-$ {-tn-}. Moreover, phonological /t/ becomes aspirated t^h before p , n and uvular (as well as velar?) stops, coinciding with /t^h/. 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 (\check{c} , \check{s} etc.) for most Ahtena speakers (i.e., the sounds are interpreted as retracted \underline{c} \underline{c}^h \underline{c}' \underline{z} \underline{s}). According to [Tuttle 2010: 343], however, the sibilants freely alternate between alveolar (c , s etc.) and postalveolar (\check{c} , \check{s} , etc.) places of articulation. For the sake of convenience, we transcribe the Ahtena sibilants as alveolar, i.e., c c^h 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^y k^{hy} $k^{y'}$ (as opposed to uvular q q^h q'). The extremely rare palatal fricative is transcribed as y° , i.e., devoiced y .

5. The sound n synchronically originates from the cluster $n\mathcal{B}$, 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' λ' c' $k^{y'}$ 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: $ty > k^y$, $t\mathcal{B} > q$, $t^h\chi > q^h$, $n\mathcal{B} > n$, $t^h n\mathcal{B} > q^h n$ in the Lower dialect; vocalization (i.e. $> V$) of the verbal prefixes \mathcal{B} - and z - in Central, Lower and Western; special behaviour of the personal prefixes $k^{y'}$ - 'indefinite', c' - '1st pl.', q^h - '3rd pl.'; $p-n > m-n$ in Mentasta; nasalization $Vn(?) > \tilde{V}(?)$ in final position; drop or harmony of the final $-e(?)$ & $-i(?)$ 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 $-n(?)$, which is

retained and does not develop into the nasalization of the preceding vowel, defying the regular rule of the dropping of final **-n(?)* in Mentasta (normally such Mentasta forms with retained *-n(?)* originate from Proto-Ahtena **-ne(?)* / **-ni(?)* with regular vowel reduction in Mentasta). See [Kari 1990: 29; Kari & Buck 1975: xix] for details.

VII. Dogrib

VII.1. *General.*

The Dogrib (or Tłı̄cho) 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:

[Saxon & Siemens 1996; Marinakis et al. 2007]	GLD
b	p
mb	^m p
m	m
d	t
t	t ^h (before a vowel) / t (before a consonant or a pause)
t'	t'

nd	ⁿ t
n	n
dl	ɬ
tɬ	ɬ ^h (before a vowel) / ɬ (before a consonant or a pause)
tɬ'	ɬ'
l	l
ɬ	ɬ
dz	c
ts	c ^h (before a vowel) / c (before a consonant or a pause)
ts'	c'
z	z
s	s
j	č
ch	č ^h (before a vowel) / č (before a consonant or a pause)
ch'	č'
zh	ž
sh	š
g	k
k	k ^h (before a vowel) / k (before a consonant or a pause)
k'	k'
gh	ɣ
x	x
gw	k ^w
kw	k ^{hw} (before a vowel) / k ^w (before a consonant or a pause)
kw'	k ^w '
y	y

w	w
hw	ɱ
r	r
ʔ	ʔ
h	h
i, ɪ	i
e	e
a	a
o	o
Ṽ	ṽ
VV	V:
ṼṼ	ṽ:
V, VV	V, V:
V, VV	V, V:

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 *^mp ⁿt* 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 (*č č^h č' š ž*) 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:

[Rice 1978; Rice 1989]	GLD
b	p
f	f
m	m
d	t
t	t ^h (before a vowel) / t (before a consonant or a pause)
t'	t'
n	n
dl	λ
tl'	λ'

l	l
ɫ	ɫ
dz	c
ts'	c'
z	z
s	s
j	č
ch'	č'
zh	ž
sh	š
g	k
k	k ^h (before a vowel) / k (before a consonant or a pause)
k'	k'
gh	ɣ
x	x
gw	k ^w
y	y
w	w
w'	w'
r	r
'	ʔ
h	h
i	i
e	e
a	a
o	o

u	u
ie, ee	ie
V	Ŷ (low)
Ŷ	Ŷ (high)
Ŷ̃	Ŷ̃

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 *c^h č^h ʃ^h*; these are reported to have existed as late as the early 20th c., but recently they shifted to *s ʧ ʤ* respectively, although they are still occasionally retained in a few forms [Rice 1976: 17-18; Rice 1989: 35].
3. Lateral affricates (*ʃ ʃ'*) frequently have a velar onset.
4. *ʒ* 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.]):

[Arnold et al. 2009]	GLD
b	b
m	m
mb	^m b
d	t (before a vowel) / d (before a consonant or a pause)
t	t ^h (before a vowel) / t (before a consonant or a pause)
t'	t'
n	n
nn	n:
nh	<u>n</u>
nd	ⁿ d / biphonemic nt
ddh	t ^θ (before a vowel) / d ^θ (before a consonant or a pause)
tth	t ^{θh} (before a vowel) / t ^θ (before a consonant or a pause)
tth'	t ^{θ'}
dh	ð
<u>th</u>	<u>θ</u>
th	θ
dl	λ (before a vowel) / ɫ (before a consonant or a pause)
tl	λ ^h (before a vowel) / λ (before a consonant or a pause)
tl'	λ'
l	l
<u>ɫ</u>	<u>ɫ</u>
ɫ	ɫ
dz	c (before a vowel) / ʒ (before a consonant or a pause)
ts	c ^h (before a vowel) / c (before a consonant or a pause)
ts'	c'

z	z
s	ʃ
s	s
j	č (before a vowel) / ě (before a consonant or a pause)
ch	č ^h (before a vowel) / č (before a consonant or a pause)
ch'	č'
sh	š
sh	š
g	k (before a vowel) / g (before a consonant or a pause)
k	k ^h (before a vowel) / k (before a consonant or a pause)
k'	k'
gh	ɣ
x	ç
x	x
y	y
yy	y:
yh	y
'	ʔ
h	h
i	i
e	e
a	a
o	o
u	u
V	V (low)
V	V (high)
Ŷ	Ŷ (falling)

V	V (rising)
V̄	V (extra-high)
VV	V:
Ṽ	ṽ

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 -V?) tend to be dropped. Some modern speakers still pronounce a very short ə-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'*, *λ'* 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(?)* (where the final *-V(?)* is a suffix, e.g., possessive *-V?* 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(?)* gets voiced: *t > d*. Furthermore, *-V(?)* was reduced to a very short vocalic segment and eventually dropped; this produced such word-final oppositions as *-t / -d*, *-λ / -L* 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 δ l z γ get semi-voiced θ ζ ξ χ in root-initial position as discussed below; 2) the combination of the obstruent prefix with root-initial ʔ- yields a consonant cluster that differs from normal ejectives, e.g., the “classifier” =t= plus a root of the shape =ʔV produce $t\text{-ʔ}$, 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., [dɛndɪːg] ‘moose’ [Holton 2000: 28], [g^ra:y] ‘small’ [Holton 2000: 31] instead of the expected [tɛntɪːg], [q^ha:y]. 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 [tiðintah] ‘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 θ / δ , s / z , etc., and the sonorants η / 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 ζ phonetically represents voiceless onset plus voiced coda, i.e., $\text{ʔ}l$. Other semi-voiced, θ ξ χ , 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 θ ξ χ is lower amplitude frication noise, i.e., in most cases θ ξ χ must be treated as weak voiceless θ ξ χ as opposed to neutral voiceless θ s ξ x . I.e., the three-way opposition of the fricatives is to be analyzed as: voiced δ / voiceless lax θ (= θ) / voiceless tense or neutral θ .

7. The semi-voiced fricatives θ ζ ξ χ (but not ξ) are conditioned allophones of the voiced fricatives, according to [Holton 2000: 313]. From the formal point of view, however, θ ζ ξ χ should not be treated as allophonic variants of δ l z γ , but rather as full-fledged

synchronic phonemes. As follows from [Holton 2000: 23, 43-45; Arnold et al. 2009: 24], the semi-voiced fricatives θ ζ ς χ occur as a root-initial segment following the majority of suffixes, e.g., the nominal possessives \check{s} -, $t\grave{e}$ -, etc., the verbal “classifiers” $-t$ -, $-l$ - and so on. The semi-voiced fricatives alternate with the voiceless series θ t s x which normally occur after suffixal $-h$ - [Holton 2000: 43].

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

9. $m \sim \text{ʙ} \sim b$ are free variants depending on the speaker [Holton 2000: 51; Arnold et al. 2009: 12].

10. $\text{ᵐ}d$ 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 $\text{ᵐ}d > d$ [Holton 2000: 57; Arnold et al. 2009: 12].

11. For long n : and y :, which occurs as $-n:\text{?}$, $-y:\text{?}$ in the possessed forms $\langle *...n\text{-}\acute{e}\text{?}$, $*...y\text{-}\acute{e}\text{?}$, see [Holton 2000: 59, 61].

12. In the traditional orthography, hyphen is used to mark a combination with the glottal-stop. Thus, $\{k'\text{-}\}$ means $k\text{?}$ (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 \check{s} x become syllabic $\text{ᵐ}n$ $\text{ᵐ}l$ $\text{ᵐ}s$ $\text{ᵐ}\check{s}$ $\text{ᵐ}x$ [Holton 2000: 39, 55, 91].

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

15. o & $o:$ 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 \checkmark 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 \checkmark 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]):

[Milanowski 2009]	[John 1997]	GLD
b	m	b (in the initial position) / ^m b (elsewhere)
m	m	m

d	d	t (before a vowel) / d (before a consonant or a pause)
t	t	t ^h (before a vowel) / t (before a consonant or a pause)
t'	t'	t'
n	n	n / n ^d (see notes below)
nn	nn	n:
nh	nh	n̥
nd	nd	n ^d / biphonemic nt
ddh	ddh	t ^θ (before a vowel) / d ^θ (before a consonant or a pause)
tth	tth	t ^{θh} (before a vowel) / t ^θ (before a consonant or a pause)
tth'	tth'	t ^{θ'}
dh	dh	ð
th	<u>th</u>	θ̥
th	th	θ
dl	dl	λ (before a vowel) / ɬ (before a consonant or a pause)
tł	tl	λ ^h (before a vowel) / λ (before a consonant or a pause)
tl'	tl'	λ'
l	l	l
ł	<u>ł</u>	ł̥
ł	ł, lh	ł
dz	dz	c (before a vowel) / ʒ (before a consonant or a pause)
ts	ts	c ^h (before a vowel) / c (before a consonant or a pause)
ts'	ts'	c'

s	<u>s</u>	ʃ
s	s	s
j	j	č (before a vowel) / ž (before a consonant or a pause)
ch	ch	č ^h (before a vowel) / č (before a consonant or a pause)
ch'	ch'	č'
sh	<u>sh</u>	ʃ
sh	sh	š
shy	<u>sh</u>	ʃ ^y
g	g	k (before a vowel) / γ (before a consonant) / g (before a pause)
k	k	k ^h (before a vowel) / k (before a consonant or a pause)
k'	k'	k'
x	<u>x</u>	ç
x	x	x
	w	w
y	y	y
	yy	y:
yh	yh	ɣ
'	'	ʔ
h	h	h / ħ (in the areal prefix <i>ɦu-</i>)
i	i	i
e	e	e
a	a	a
o	o	o
u	u	u

	ä	ɤ
ü	ü	uu
	V	V (low)
	V	V (high / neutral)
	Ŷ	Ŷ (falling)
	Ṽ	Ṽ (rising)
VV	VV	V:
Ṽ	Ṽ	Ṽ

Notes

1. The ejective series (*t'*, *ɬ'* etc.) is restricted to pre-vocalic position (root-initial, to be more precise), where three series of stops and affricates *t / t^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 / ɣ* 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 > ɣŋ* {*gn*}, *lə > ɭ* {*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 morphophonological sequence *Cə* can also occur in prefixes.

5. The so-called semi-voiced or lax fricatives (θ t s ʃ ʂ x) phonetically represent voiceless onset plus voiced coda, i.e., $\theta\delta$ $\text{t}l$ etc. [Minoura 1994: 166]. Apparently the three-way opposition of the fricatives is to be analyzed as: voiced δ / voiceless lax θ (= θ) / voiceless tense or neutral θ .

6. Historically, the semi-voiced fricatives (θ t s ʃ x , but not ʂ) are conditioned allophones of the voiced fricatives. Synchronously, the semi-voiced fricatives (θ t s ʃ x) 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 ʂ is a full-fledged phoneme (phonologically can be treated as ʒ) 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 \tilde{V} , Vn , C , $\#$. Before $V(C)$, where V and C are non-nasal, the complex variants n^d m^b ($\sim b$) are pronounced instead. As for the $m^b \sim b$ fluctuation, it is stated in [Milanowski 2009: 4] that the character {b} is pronounced b word-initially and m^b elsewhere.

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

10. Initial vowels are normally modified by prothetic ? - (not noted orthographically), but not always [Minoura 1994: 166, 168]. The exceptions are the possessive prefixes u - and i - which lack ? - (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]):

[Kari 1994; Tuttle 2009; Urschel 2006]	GLD
b	b
m	m
d	t
t	t ^h (before a vowel) / t (before a consonant or a pause)
t'	t'
n	n
nh	n̥
ddh	t ^θ
tth	t ^{θh} (before a vowel) / t ^θ (before a

	consonant or a pause)
tth'	t ^θ
dh	ð
th	θ
dl	λ
tł, tl	λ ^h (before a vowel) / λ (before a consonant or a pause)
tl'	λ'
l	l
ł	ł
dz	c
ts	c ^h (before a vowel) / c (before a consonant or a pause)
ts'	c'
z	z
s	s
dr	ç
tr	ç ^h (before a vowel) / ç (before a consonant or a pause)
tr'	ç'
zr	ʒ
sr	ʃ
j	č
ch	č ^h (before a vowel) / č (before a consonant or a pause)
ch'	č'
sh	š
g	k

k	k ^h (before a vowel) / k (before a consonant or a pause)
k'	k'
gh	ɣ
x, kh	x
y	y
yh	ɣ
'	ʔ
h	h ₋
i	i
e	ə
a	a
o	ʌ
u	u
w	ʊ ₋
ɛ̃	ẽ
ɛ̃, á	ã
ɛ̃, ú	ũ

1. The ejective series of stops and affricates (*t'*, *ʎ'* etc.) seems to be restricted to the pre-vocalic position, where three series of stops and affricates *t* / *t^h* / *t'* {*d* *t* *t'*} are opposed (but not only to root-initial position, cf. *ʎuk'a* 'fish', *c^həʎ'-ã* 'small').

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

3. Nasal vowels (*ẽ* *ã* *ũ*) 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):

[Poser 1998/2013]	GLD
b	p
p	p ^h / p (before a consonant or a pause)
m	m
mb	mp
f	f

d	t
t	t ^h (before a vowel) / t (before a consonant or a pause)
t'	t'
n	n
nd	nt
dl	ɬ
tɬ, tl	ɬ ^h (before a vowel) / ɬ (before a consonant or a pause)
tl'	ɬ'
l	l
lh	ɮ
dz	c
ts	c ^h (before a vowel) / c (before a consonant or a pause)
ts'	c'
z	z
s	s
<u>dz</u>	<u>ç</u>
<u>ts</u>	<u>ç</u> ^h (before a vowel) / <u>ç</u> (before a consonant or a pause)
<u>ts'</u>	<u>ç'</u>
<u>z</u>	<u>z</u>
<u>s</u>	<u>s</u>
j	č
ch	č ^h (before a vowel) / č (before a consonant or a pause)
ch'	č'
sh	š

g	k
k	k ^h (before a vowel) / k (before a consonant or a pause)
k'	k'
gh	ɣ
kh	x
ng	ŋ
gw	k ^w
kw	k ^{hw} (before a vowel) / k ^w (before a consonant or a pause)
kw'	k ^w '
ghw	ɣ ^w
wh	x ^w
y	y
w	w
r	r
'	ʔ
h	h_
i	i
e	e
a	a
o	o
oo	u
u	ʌ
ai	ai

1. *p^hfr* occur only in French and English loans [Poser 2011b: 13].

2. $\underset{_}{c}$ $\underset{_}{c}^h$ $\underset{_}{c}'$ $\underset{_}{z}$ $\underset{_}{s}$ are lamino-dental sounds, opposed to apico-alveolar c c^h c' z s [Poser 2011b: 14].

3. There is a phonological opposition between the initial vowels V - and the glottal stop onset $?V$ - [Poser 2011b: 14].

4. According to Bill Poser (p.c.), Central Carrier has a sort of pitch accent system with low functional load. In [Antoine et al. 1974], the vowels are modified with the acute sign (\acute{a} , \acute{i} etc.) in some morphemes, probably denoting the high tone.

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]):

[Jones 1978; Jetté & Jones 2000]	GLD
b	p
m	m
d	t
t	t ^h (before a vowel) / t (before a consonant or a pause)
t'	t'
n	n
nh	ɲ
dl	ʎ
tʃ, tʃl	tʃ ^h (before a vowel) / tʃ (before a consonant or a pause)
tʃ', tʃl'	tʃ'
l	l
ʎ	ʎ
dz	c
ts	tʃ ^h (before a vowel) / c (before a consonant or a pause)
ts'	c'
z	z
s	s
g	k
k	k ^h (before a vowel) / k (before a consonant or a pause)
k'	k'
gg	q
kk	q ^h (before a vowel) / q (before a consonant or a pause)
kk'	q'
gh	ɣ
h	χ

y	y
yh	y̥
'	ʔ
ĥ, h	h_
ee	i:
aa	a:
oo	u:
o	o:
e ([Jones 1978]: i, a)	ə
u	u
ʉ ([Jones 1978]: u)	o

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 k^h k' > č č^h č' {j ch ch'} and *y* > š {sh}, whereas the uvular series retains its post-velar articulation. In the Bearpaw subdialect, *k 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, ʉ} [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 \acute{V} / \grave{V} (the lower tone \grave{V} is statistically marked), which has been lost in the central area [Jetté & Jones 2000: lvi, lx, lxxi]. However, available sources rarely offer $\tilde{a}n^y$ tonal transcription.

XIV. Degexit'an

XIII.1. General.

Degexit'an (a.k.a. Deg Xinag, Deg Xit'an, Ingalik, Ingalit, 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):

[Kari 1978; Taff et al. 2007]	GLD
b	p
p	p ^h (before a vowel) / p (before a consonant or a pause)
m	m
mh	m̥
m'	mʔ
d	t (before a vowel) / d (before a consonant or a pause)
t	t ^h (before a vowel) / t (before a consonant or a pause)
t'	t'
n	n
nh	n̥
n'	nʔ
ddh	t ^θ (before a vowel) / d ^θ (before a consonant or a pause)
tth	t ^{θh} (before a vowel) / t ^θ (before a consonant or a pause)
tth'	t ^θ '
dh	ð
th	θ
dl	ʎ (before a vowel) / ɮ (before a consonant or a pause)
tl	ʎ ^h (before a vowel) / ʎ (before a consonant or a pause)
tl'	ʎ'
l	l
ɬ	ɬ
dz	c (before a vowel) / ʒ (before a consonant or a pause)
ts	c ^h (before a vowel) / c (before a consonant or a pause)
ts'	c'
z	z
s	s

dr	ɟ (before a vowel) / ɟ̥ (before a consonant or a pause)
tr	ɟʰ (before a vowel) / ɟ (before a consonant or a pause)
tr'	ɟ'
zr	ʒ
sr	ʒ̥
j	č (before a vowel) / č̥ (before a consonant or a pause)
ch	čʰ (before a vowel) / č (before a consonant or a pause)
ch'	č'
sh	š
g	k (before a vowel) / g (before a consonant or a pause)
k	kʰ (before a vowel) / k (before a consonant or a pause)
k'	k'
ng	ŋ
ngh	ŋ
ng'	ŋʔ
gg, G	q (before a vowel) / g (before a consonant or a pause)
q	qʰ (before a vowel) / q (before a consonant or a pause)
q'	q'
gh	ɣ
x	χ
y	y
yh	y̥
y'	yʔ
v	v
'	ʔ
h	h_

e	e:
a	a:
o	o:
u	u
i	ə

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', λ' 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 $-ə$ which was deleted in the modern language, causing the emergence of a voiced consonant ($-Vt^h-V(?) > -Vd$), is still retained in Chapman's transcription [Chapman 1914].

3. v can be phonologically treated as short o .

4. Marginal nasal vowels are transcribed for the negative particle $\tilde{e}:h\tilde{e}:? \tilde{e}:$ '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:

[Cook 1984; Hoijer & Joël 1963]	GLD
b	p
m	m
d	t
t	t ^h (before a vowel) / t (before a consonant or a pause)
t'	t'
n	n
dl	ɬ
tɬ, tɬ	ɬ ^h (before a vowel) / ɬ (before a consonant or a pause)
tɬ', tɬ'	ɬ'
l	l
ɬ	ɬ
dz	c
ts	c ^h (before a vowel) / c (before a consonant or a pause)
ts'	c'
z	z
s	s
dj, dž	č
tc, tš	č ^h (before a vowel) / č (before a consonant or a pause)
tc', tš'	č'

j, ž	ž
c, š	š
g	k
k	k ^h (before a vowel) / k (before a consonant or a pause)
k'	k'
ɣ	ɣ
x	x
gw	k ^w
kw	k ^{hw} (before a vowel) / k (before a consonant or a pause)
k'w	k' ^w
y	y
w	w
ʔ	ʔ
h	h ₋
i	i
a	a
u ([Hojjer 1956]: o)	u
o, α	ɒ
V·	V:
V:	VV
ǂ	ǂ
ǂ̄, V	ǂ̄
ǂ̇	ǂ̇

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. $\gamma i > yi$, although some authors can write down such forms with etymological γ .

3. The glottal stop (?) 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 $> \alpha$ (note that v is frequently confused with a in the available sources).

5. In addition to the standard opposition between short (V) and long ($V:$) vowels, there exist extra-long vowels which represent the result of recent contractions and can be phonemically treated as vocalic clusters VV [Hojjer & 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 $V / V:$ 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 \acute{V} / middle \bar{V} / low \grave{V} [Hojjer & Joël 1963: 65; Cook 1971; Cook 1984: 11-12], although it is likely that the real phonological opposition is binary: high \acute{V} / low \grave{V} , whereas middle \bar{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 [Hojjer & Joël 1963: 65], at least 6 distinct contour tones are reported, but we arbitrarily reduce them to two tones, rising \acute{V} and falling \hat{V} , in our transcription.

Database compiled and annotated by:

Hupa: A. Kassian, April 2011 / revised November 2011 (some transliterational details improved) / revised November 2012 (general revision with the data from [Sapir & Golla

2001] and [Golla 1996a] added) / revised October 2015 (minor transliterational corrections) / revised December 2015 (minor corrections).

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 *ʔah=tʰiŋ* (1), Kato *ʔe-neʔ-haʔ ~ ʔe-ne-haʔ* (2), Taldash Galice *kʰwai* (3), Upper Inlet Tanaina *ʔu-qʰu* (2), Outer Inlet Tanaina *ʔu-qʰu* (2), Inland Tanaina *tʰančʰ-qʰu* (4) / *ʔu-qʰu* (2), Iliamna Tanaina *ʔu-qʰu* (2), Central Ahtena *cʰikʰ-ceʔ* (5), Mentasta Ahtena *cʰikʰ-ceʔ* (5), Dogrib *hážō:* (6), North Slavey (Hare) *ʔàrì-yúné ~ ʔàrì-yóné* (7), Tanacross *xú=né=l=tʰèh* (8), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) *ʔa=h=tʰʰayŋʔ* (5), Lower Tanana (Minto) *tə=tʰʰak-cʰənʔ* (5), Central Carrier *çʰiya-i* (9), Koyukon *tə=ʔʰak-cʰənʔ* (5), Degexit'an *yυ=χυ3 ~ yə=χυ3* (10), Sarsi *ʔʰà-á-tʰà-à* (11).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 731; Golla 1996: 3; Golla 1970: 240. Polysemy: 'all (omnis) / all (totus) / completely'. Morphologically unclear. Cf. *ʔah-tʰin-e*: 'everything, everywhere' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 731].

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

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

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 326; Boraas 2010: 43. Glossed as 'all, everything, everyone'.

Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 326; Wassillie 1979: 4. Glossed as 'all, everything, everyone'. In [Wassillie 1979], two Inland forms for 'all' are quoted: *tʰančʰqʰu* and *ʔuqʰu*. Wassillie 1979: 4. Glossed simply as 'all'.

Iliamna Tanaina: 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: *hážō:*. Glossed as 'all, everyone, everywhere'; polysemy: 'all (omnis) / all (totus)'; used both attributively and non-attributively. Morphologically unclear.

Distinct from *hóʔi:*, 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 *-yúné* 'old', as in *cʰé-yúnéʔ* 'old woman' [Rice 1978: 103].

Distinct from specific *hóyàrè ~ ʔéyàrè* '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 *xú=né=l=tʰè-y* 'all (people)' with the rare human plural suffix *-y* [Holton 2000: 157 f.]. Nominalized verbal form with the root *=tʰèh* '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 *=tʰʰak* 'to be whole' (not documented outside this expression) plus the enclitic *-cʰənʔ* 'in the manner of, -ly' [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 *çʰiya-n-ne*, locative *çʰiya-tan*, abstract *çʰiya-xʷ* (see the numerals 'two' and also 'one' for the same inflection). Derived from the adverb *çʰiya* 'entirely' [Poser 1998/2013: 508].

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 574; Jones 1978: 10. Polysemy: 'all (omnis) / all (totus)'. Derived from the adjective $tə=\lambda^hək-ə?$ 'entirely, everything' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 574] (fossilized verbal form) + suffixal $-c'ən?$ 'in a direction, in a manner' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 665].

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 parka with the rest of the found fat" [Chapman 1914: 119].

Distinct from $e:tə \sim e:tə-t$ 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 $\chi v=t^{\theta}əg$ '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].

The root $\lambda^h a$ can represent the numeral 'one' q.v.: $\lambda^h k-\bar{a}z\bar{a}$ 'one', $\lambda^h v-n\bar{a}$ 'one (person)', $\lambda^h v-ti$ 'one (place)'. Final $-t\bar{a}$ is found in some other pronouns, e.g., $ti-t\bar{a}$ 'what?' q.v., $\chi\bar{a}-t\bar{a}-\bar{a}$ 'what (kind)' [Cook 1984: 60].

2. ASHES

Hupa $xo\eta? \sim tin$ (1), Mattole $t'i=l=pai$ (2), Kato $k^{hw}o:\eta?-tə\eta$ (1), Taldash Galice $t=c'as$ (3), Upper Inlet Tanaina $k'\bar{a}=lac-a$ (4), Outer Inlet Tanaina $k'\bar{a}=lač'-a$ (4), Inland Tanaina $k'\bar{a}=lač'-a$ (4), Iliamna Tanaina $k'\bar{a}=lač'-a$ (4), Central Ahtena $t'e:c \sim q^h on?=le:c-e?$ (4), Mentasta Ahtena $t'e:c \sim q^h on?=le:c-e?$ (4), Dogrib $t\bar{e}-mp\bar{e}$ (4), North Slavey (Hare) $li\bar{e}?$ (4), Tanacross $k^h \acute{o}n?=t\bar{e}:\bar{z}-?$ (4), Lower Tanana (Minto) $lac \sim k^h v n?=lac-a?$ (4), Central Carrier $t\bar{e}z$ (4), Koyukon $t\bar{a}:c$ (4), Degexit'an $t^{\theta} a:c=\bar{t}\bar{a}:c \sim t^{\theta} a:c=q\bar{a}=\bar{t}\bar{a}:c$ (4), Sarsi $c^h i t\bar{a}=k\bar{u}=\lambda^h i s-\bar{a}?$ (5).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 803; Golla 1996: 6. Substantive $xo\eta?$ 'fire' q.v. + locative suffix $-tin/-ti\eta$ 'at the place' [Golla 1996: vi; Golla 1970: 307].

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

Bear River dialect: $ta=l=pai \sim ta=l=pai?$, glossed with polysemy: 'ashes / grey' [Goddard 1929: 299, 313].

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 $k^{hw}o:\eta?$ 'fire' q.v. + locative suffix $-tə\eta$ 'at' [Goddard 1912: 24].

In [Curtis 1924: 204], the word for 'ashes' is quoted as something like $k^{hw}o:\eta?-č^h e$, the second element is unclear.

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 59; Landar 1977: 294. Polysemy: 'dirt / dust / cold ashes'. For morphology, see notes on 'sand'. In [Hoijer 1956: 223], quoted as $\check{c}as$.

Distinct from $k^{hw}an-sit$ 'fiery coals; hot ashes' [Hoijer 1973: 57], literally 'redness of fire' with $k^{hw}an?$ 'fire' q.v. and $=sit$ 'to be red' q.v.

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 248, 345.

An alternative Upper Inlet term for 'ashes' is $t\bar{a}s-c'\bar{a}y$ [Kari 2007: 248; Kari 1977: 132], for which see notes on Outer Inlet Tanaina.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 248, 345. Originates $< *k'\bar{a}=lač'-\bar{a}$.

There are several alternative Outer Inlet terms for 'ashes':

1) $t\bar{a}s-c'\bar{a}y$ [Kari 2007: 248; Kari 1977: 132]; this form is a direct match with Upper Inlet $t\bar{a}s-c'\bar{a}y$ 'ashes'. Perhaps 'soil's air' with the same root $t\bar{a}č$ 'soil' and $\check{c}\bar{a}y$ (Upper Inlet $c'\bar{a}y$, Outer Inlet $\check{c}\bar{a}y$) 'air' [Kari 1977: 135].

3. BARK

Hupa *POSSR=sic'* (1), Kato *čʰən=səc* (1), Taldash Galice *POSSR=ši:* (2), Outer Inlet Tanaina *k'=t'ič'-a* (3), Inland Tanaina *k'=t'ič'-a* (3), Iliamna Tanaina *k'=t'ič'-a* (3), Central Ahtena *POSSR=la=t'u:c-e?* (3), Mentasta Ahtena *POSSR=la=t'u:c-e?* (3), Dogrib *wé=t'i:* (3), North Slavey (Hare) *POSSR=t'úw-é?* (3), Tanacross *č'è=là:=c'èy* (4), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) *θuh* (5), Lower Tanana (Minto) *POSSR=lɛ=t'uc-a?* (3), Central Carrier *POSSR=la=t'uz* (3), Koyukon *POSSR=lo:=t'u:c-ə?* (3), Degexit'an *POSSR=lo:=t'e:ʒ* (3), Sarsi *POSSR=č'út-ṽ?* (6).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 783; Golla 1996: 29 sub 'dye'; Golla 1964: 112; Golla 1970: 219. Polysemy: 'bark / human skin / hide'. Cf. also some specific terms: *kʷi=la-tos-č'e?* 'heavy bark of conifers' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 752; Golla 1996: 9] (not entirely clear morphologically, the bound root *la:* is related to trees [Sapir & Golla 2001: 761]), *si-kʰye:c'* 'thin bark of deciduous trees; shell (of a nut)' [Golla 1996: 9].

Mattole: Not attested.

Bear River dialect: not attested.

Kato: Goddard 1912: 27. Literally 'tree' q.v. + 'skin' q.v.

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 60. Polysemy: 'human skin / animal hide / bark'.

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

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 61, 346; Kari 1977: 75.

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

Iliamna Tanaina: Kari 2007: 61, 346; Kari 1977: 75.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 352, 482; Kari & Buck 1975: 30; Smelcer 2010: 107.

Lower Ahtena: *POSSR=la=t'u:c-e?* [Kari 1990: 352, 482; Kari & Buck 1975: 30; Smelcer 2010: 107].

Western Ahtena: *POSSR=la=t'u:c-e?* [Kari 1990: 352, 482; Kari & Buck 1975: 30; Smelcer 2010: 107].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 352, 482; Kari & Buck 1975: 30; Smelcer 2010: 107.

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 114, 143. Polysemy: 'bark / peel'. Initial *wé=* is apparently the fossilized possessive pronoun 'his, her, its'; cf., e.g., with a full-fledged possessor: *k'i wé't'i:* 'birch bark' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 63] (*k'i* 'birch').

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 99, 118. Polysemy: 'skin / bark'.

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 51, 275, 307; Holton 2000: 340; Brean & Milanowski 1979: 9; McRoy 1973: 5. Glossed as 'tree bark, bark of any tree' in [Arnold et al. 2009], but specifically as 'spruce bark' in [Holton 2000]. Literally '*c'èy* of *là:*', where *là:* is the old root for 'hand / branch', whereas *c'èy* should mean 'peel, bark' *vel sim.*; initial *č'è=* is the indefinite possessive pronoun. The root *c'èy* seems undocumented outside this compound (cf. *c'èy* 'boat, skiff' [Arnold et al. 2009: 61]); the root *là:* with the underlying meaning 'hand / branch' is attested, e.g., in *=in-łá-?* 'hand' q.v. or *č'è=là:=?ét* 'branch' [Arnold et al. 2009: 65], literally 'boughs of *là:*' with *?ét* 'boughs' [Arnold et al. 2009: 250].

Distinct from the specific term *č'è=là=h=t'ú:ʒ* 'outer bark' [Arnold et al. 2009: 51; Holton 2000: 340], which has the same structure as *č'è=là:=c'èy*, but *=h=t'ú:ʒ* is apparently the nominalized verb for 'to peel' (not attested independently; classifier *=h=<*=ł=*).

In [Shinen 1958: 12], another expression for 'bark of tree' is quoted: *č'è=đu=c'èen?*, which actually represents the compound *č'è=Qù=c'èen-?* 'stump of branch remaining after branch is broken off' [Arnold et al. 2009: 65].

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski, p.c. Polysemy: 'bark / skin' q.v. Widely applicable: *c'o: θuh* 'spruce bark'; *k'ṽ: θuh* 'birch bark', *k'uuh θuh* 'alder bark' (Milanowski, p.c.).

Scottie Creek: *c'ṽ=lál=c'ay* 'bark', attested in the collocation *c'ok c'ilálc'ay* 'spruce bark' [John 1997: 60] (*c'ok* 'spruce'). Similar to the Tanacross expression for 'bark', but less clear morphologically, since the Tanana indefinite possessive pronoun is *č'ṽ=*, not *c'ṽ=*. Distinct from specific *k'ṽ:* 'birch / birch bark' [John 1997: 57].

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 259, 366. Glossed as 'outer bark of spruce, cottonwood, willow, alder'. Literally 'peel of branches'

with *=la-?* 'hand; branch' and *t'uc* 'rind, peeling' [Kari 1994: 259]. Cf. the cognate verb OBJ=*t=**t'uc* 'to peel' [Kari 1994: 259].

Distinct from *k'iy* 'birch / birch bark' [Kari 1994: 167, 366].

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=*la* 'hand' q.v. and POSSR=*t'uz* '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=*t'uz*.

There is also an unclear term POSSR=*la(-)?* [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=*la?*=*til* and POSSR=*la?*=*t'ai* [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 '*t'uc* of hands (i.e., of branches)' with POSSR=*lo*: 'hand' q.v.; *t'uc* '*peel' seems unattested outside this compound.

Distinct from *q'iy* 'birch / outer birchbark, 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 '*t'e:ʒ* of hands (i.e., of branches)' with POSSR=*lo-?* 'hand' q.v.

Distinct from the morphologically unclear term for 'inner bark': *ka:tʰəm* 'bark, inner willow bark, cambium' [Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 17] (perhaps *k=* stays for *kə=* 'its').

Distinct from *q'ay* 'birch / birch bark' [Kari 1978: 18].

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

4. BELLY

Hupa POSSR=*mit'* (1), Mattole POSSR=*p'iʔt'* (1), Kato POSSR=*pət'* (1), Taldash Galice POSSR=*pai?* (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina POSSR=*pət'* (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina POSSR=*pis* (2), Inland Tanaina POSSR=*vət'* (1), Iliamna Tanaina POSSR=*vət'* (1), Central Ahtena POSSR=*pet'* ~ POSSR=*peʔt* (1), Mentasta Ahtena POSSR=*pet* (1), Dogrib POSSR=*m'pò* (1), North Slavey (Hare) POSSR=*pé-?* (1), Tanacross POSSR=*cʰá:Ł-?* (3), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) POSSR=*cʰa:Ł-?* (3), Lower Tanana (Minto) POSSR=*bət* (1), Central Carrier POSSR=*pət* (1), Koyukon POSSR=*pət* (1), Degexit'an POSSR=*vət* (1), Sarsi POSSR=*mi?* (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=*mit-e?* 'the belly part (in cutting fish), deer tripe' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 770; Golla 1996: 10; Golla 1964: 110]; thus *=mit'* should originate from **=mit-?*.

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

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

Bear River dialect: POSSR=*pət* ~ POSSR=*pət'* with polysemy: 'belly / stomach' [Goddard 1929: 297, 313, 321].

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: *pət'* with the specific meaning 'stomach as food' [Goddard 1912: 20; Goddard 1909: 109 No. 5, 110 No. 1, 113 No. 3] - apparently plain *pət'* is the result of reanalysis of the original expression POSSR=*pət'*.

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

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 52; Hoijer 1956: 223; Landar 1977: 294. Polysemy: 'belly / stomach'.

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 96, 346; Kari 1977: 103.

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

Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 96, 346; Kari 1977: 103. No term for 'belly' in [Wassillie 1979].

Iliamna Tanaina: Kari 2007: 96, 346; Kari 1977: 103.

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

Lower Ahtena: POSSR=peʔt [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].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 105, 485; Kari & Buck 1975: 67; Smelcer 2010: 49.

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 33, 39, 215; Saxon & Siemens n.d. Innovative pronunciation: POSSR=pò. Polysemy: 'belly / stomach'; glossed as 'stomach, belly, tummy, abdomen, mid-section of body'; applied to humans and animals.

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

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

Distinct from POSSR=šò 'stomach (inside) / womb' [Rice 1978: 93].

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 56; Brean & Milanowski 1979: 23; McRoy 1973: 8. Glossed as 'belly, abdomen'.

Distinct from POSSR=mét 'stomach' [Arnold et al. 2009: 254; Brean & Milanowski 1979: 23; McRoy 1973: 8; Shinen 1958: 3].

It should be noted that in [Holton 2000: 341, 347], POSSR=c^há:L-? is quoted for 'human stomach', whereas POSSR=mét is quoted for generic 'belly'.

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

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

Northway: POSSR=c^ha:L-? 'belly' [Milanowski 2007: 3], POSSR=^mbat 'stomach' [Milanowski 2007: 17].

Scottie Creek: POSSR=c^há:L-? 'belly, stomach' [John 1997: 11, 16].

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

Distinct from POSSR=t^há:l-a? 'abdomen, belly' [Kari 1994: 313, 368].

Distinct from POSSR=c^há:l 'viscera, 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=c^han 'vagina / womb / stomach' [Poser 1998/2013: 101] and c^ház or c^ház 'stomach' [Morice 1932, 1: 27] (not confirmed in [Poser 1998/2013: 487]).

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 98, 857. Polysemy: 'belly, paunch / abdomen / stomach'.

Distinct from POSSR=k^ho: t 'abdomen, viscera / womb / inside the sled basket' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 298].

Degexit'an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 36; Chapman 1914: 219. Polysemy: 'belly / stomach'.

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

5. BIG

Hupa =k^{hy}ah (1), Mattole =ç^ha:ɣ (1), Kato =ç^hay (1), Taldash Galice =ç^hah (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina =t=k^huɤ (1) / k^haʔa (2), Inland Tanaina =t=k^huɤ (1) / ç^həχ (3), Central Ahtena =k^{hy}a:χ (1) / k^{hy}eʔe (2), Mentasta Ahtena =k^{hy}a:χ (1) / k^{hy}eʔe (2), Dogrib =ç^hà (1), North Slavey (Hare) =šà (1), Tanacross ç^həχ (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) ç^hoh (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) ç^hux (1), Central Carrier ç^ho (1), Koyukon =k^ho:χ (1), Degexit'an ç^huχ (1), Sarsi =ç^hv:ɔw ~ =ç^hvɔw (1).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 757; Golla 1996: 11; Golla 1970: 137. Verbal root 'to be big'. The light stem =k^{hy}ah < *=k^{hy}a:h; the heavy stem =k^{hy}a:ɔw < *=k^{hy}a:h-i. The same morpheme constitutes the augmentative suffix -k^{hy}oh ~ -k^hoh [Sapir & Golla 2001: 759; Golla 1996: 11;

Golla 1970: 262].

Mattole: Li 1930: 45, 57, 118. Verbal root 'to be big'. This is the heavy stem, originating < *=*c^hax-i* [Li 1930: 23]; the light stem is =*c^hah* < *=*c^ha:x*. The same morpheme constitutes the augmentative suffix -*c^hoh* / -*c^how-* [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 < *=*c^hax-i*; the light stem is =*c^hah* < *=*c^hax*. The same morpheme constitutes the augmentative suffix -*c^ho*: [Goddard 1912: 26].

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 71; Landar 1977: 294. Verbal root: 'to be big'. The same morpheme also forms the augmentative suffix -*c^hoh* (e.g., *ʔʔ-c^hoh* '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 =*t=k^huB*, glossed as 'to be big, large, tall, high, great in quantity or volume'. Paradigm: =*k^huB* (< *=*k^huχ-ə*) [neuter imperf. & perf.] / =*k^hχ* (< *=*k^hχ*) [progressive imperf. & perf.]; the variant =*k^hB* (< *=*k^hχ-ə*) [neuter perf.] is attested as well.

2) The noun-like adjective *k^haʔa* with examples: "big mountain", "big moose", "big village", "big old man (euphemistic name for brown bear)" [Boraas 2010: 39]. In [Boraas 2010: 67], *k^haʔa* is also quoted as the root for the transitional future form in the suppletive paradigm of the verb =*k^huB* 'to be big'.

We are forced to treat =*k^huB* and *k^haʔa* 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.

1) The verb =*t=k^huB* (< *=*k^huχ-ə*) 'to be big' with the following examples: "big tree", "big place", "big rock" [Tenenbaum 1978: 110 f.]; "big beaver" [Tenenbaum 1976 1: 59]; "big spruce" [Tenenbaum 1976 1: 61]; "big fish" [Tenenbaum 1976 1: 73]; "big cave" [Tenenbaum 1976 4: 12]; "big doorway" [Tenenbaum 1976 4: 13].

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 1978: 49, 50, 89]; "you're really big" [Tenenbaum 1976 1: 66]; "he's big" [Tenenbaum 1976 1: 69; Tenenbaum 1978: 110]; "he was so big" [Tenenbaum 1976 1: 79].

The verb =*k^hχ* / =*k^huχ* "to be expensive" [Tenenbaum 1978: 50] etymologically represents the same root.

2) The noun-like adjective *c^hχ* [Wassillie 1979: 11]. Examples: "A big plane landed" [Wassillie 1979: 11]; "big water hole" [Tenenbaum 1976 1: 3]; "big giant" [Tenenbaum 1976 1: 75]; "big fire" [Tenenbaum 1976 1: 78]; "big boat" [Tenenbaum 1976 2: 23, 63]; "big sandbar" [Tenenbaum 1976 3: 42]; "the big one" [Tenenbaum 1976 1: 75].

3) The noun-like adjective *k^haʔa* (~ contracted *k^ha*). Attested in a couple of examples: "big spruce tree" [Tenenbaum 1976 2: 59]; "big ground squirrel" [Tenenbaum 1976 3: 1, 8, 9], "a large dog" [Holton et al. 2004: 11].

The difference between the tree expressions is unclear. We treat =*k^huB* and *c^hχ* as synonyms, but exclude *k^haʔa*, since it seems statistically marginal. Wassillie 1979: 11.

Iliamna Tanaina: Not attested.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 109; 485.

Lower Ahtena: =*k^{hy}a:χ* [Kari 1990: 109; 485].

Western Ahtena: =*k^{hy}a:χ* [Kari 1990: 109; 485]. Kari 1990: 112; 485.

Lower Ahtena: *k^{hy}eʔe* [Kari 1990: 112; 485].

Western Ahtena: *k^{hy}eʔe* [Kari 1990: 112; 485].

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

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 80, 145. Innovative pronunciation: =*c^hā*. Verbal root: 'to be big'. The same morpheme constitutes the augmentative suffix -*c^hó* [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 8; Marinakis et al. 2007: 152]. The basic expressions for 'small' q.v. are based on this verb: =*c^hā-lé-(ā)*, literally 'not to be big'.

Distinct from the suffix -*ʔtè*: ~ -*tè*: '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:

1086], "I got tall" [Rice 1989: 1302]. The same morpheme is also part of the augmentative suffix *-šò* [Rice 1978: 93; Rice 1989: 238; Hoijer 1956: 222].

Another, apparently more rarely used, candidate is the deverbal adjective *tè=wé?* 'big' as in "big beaver", "Sunday (lit. big day)" [Rice 1978: 49], "big ice" [Rice 1978: 79].

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 57. Noun-like adjective. Cf. the cognate verbal form *n=c^há:x* '(to be) big' [Arnold et al. 2009: 58; Holton 2000: 350; Shinen 1958: 19], modified with the adjectival/gender exponent *n=* [Holton 2000: 237 ff.].

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 13, 68. Noun-like adjective, glossed as 'big / large / mature in size'. The examples are: "He put out a big fire" [Milanowski 2009: 103]; "big mountain" [Milanowski 2009: 16]. Cf. the cognate verbal forms *n=c^ha?* '(it is) big', *hō=c^ha?* '(it is) big' [Milanowski 2009: 5, 17, 21, 120].

Distinct from *hō=λ'at* '(it is) great (in quantity or degree)' [Milanowski 2009: 17].

Northway: *c^hoh* 'big, large, mature in size' [Milanowski 2007: 3].

Scottie Creek: *c^hoh* 'big', found in the examples: "The swan is a big, white bird" [John 1997: 10], "big toe" [John 1997: 17], "I am walking around by the big river" [John 1997: 48], "I see one big star" [John 1997: 52]. The cognate verb: *n=c^há:* '(it is) big', found in the examples: "Its nipple is big" [John 1997: 15], "The pack is big" [John 1997: 37].

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 50, 369; Tuttle 2009: 21. Cf. Kari's and Tuttle's examples: "big dog", "big house", "large sled", "large male caribou", "large whitefish". Also functions as the verb *=c^hux* [neuter imperf.] / *=c^hix* [transitional imperf./perf.] 'to be big, large, tall, high, great in quantity or volume' [Kari 1994: 50; Tuttle 2009: 21].

Distinct from *c^ha?a* with polysemy: 'big, large / dear' [Kari 1994: 42, 369], but this adjective is apparently more marginal in the meaning 'big' than *c^hux*, because *c^ha?a* is only provided with the example for 'dear' in [Kari 1994: 42] and not quoted in [Tuttle 2009] at all.

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 102, 613. A noun-like adjective or an augmentative suffix. The cognate verb *=c^ha* 'to be big' is also widely used [Poser 1998/2013: 614, 1218, 1249; Poser 2011a: 40; Antoine et al. 1974: 298].

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 297, 858; Jones 1978: 20. Verb 'to be big', widely applicable. Also functions as the noun-like adjective *k^hux* 'big' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 298].

Distinct from the adjective *kət-ə?* 'great, large, very big, enormous' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 188].

Degexit'an: Taff et al. 2007; Chapman 1914: 221. A noun-like adjective. The cognate verb *=c^ho:χ* 'to be big' may be used as well [Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1976: 27].

Sarsi: Li 1930: 25; Cook 1984: 67; Hoijer 1956: 222; Nanagusja 1996a: 129. Verbal stem: 'to be big'. Also functions as the noun-like adjective *c^húw* 'big' [Cook 1984: 67].

6. BIRD

Hupa *k^yi=ya:n* (1), Mattole *?i=y'a:x* (1), Kato *t'a-k^{hw}ili:η* (2), Upper Inlet Tanaina *qaqa-sla* (3), Outer Inlet Tanaina *qaqa-šla* (3), Inland Tanaina *č'=qaqa-šla* (3), Iliamna Tanaina *qaqa-šla quya* (3), Central Ahtena *qa:qi* (3), Mentasta Ahtena *c'e=qa:qa* (3), Dogrib *č^hí-á* (4), North Slavey (Hare) *?ó=k'ai* (5), Tanacross *c^hú-kà:y* (6), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) *c'e=h=t'u:dn* (7), Lower Tanana (Minto) *c^huya* (5), Central Carrier *tat'ai* (8), Koyukon *sa:η=qa:qə-?* (3), Degexit'an *qa:g-k'əʒ* (3), Sarsi *i=c'úy-ú ~ i=c'ay-a* (9).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 805; Golla 1996: 11; Golla 1964: 110. Literally 'small one' < the impersonal thematic pronoun *k^yi-* + *ya:n* 'animal's young' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 805; Golla 1996: 110] + *-i* (i.e., **k^yi=ya:n-i*).

Mattole: Li 1930: 125. Literally 'small one' < the impersonal thematic pronoun *?i-* [Li 1930: 37 f.] + *=ya:x* 'small (subst.)' (i.e., 'animal's young?') [Li 1930: 125].

Bear River dialect: *tak^hiti* 'bird' [Goddard 1929: 299, 314], an unclear form.

Kato: Goddard 1912: 29. Literally 'it does/has feathers (*t'a*)'. In Goddard's data only the collective meaning 'birds' is attested,

although the expression *t'akliŋ-weš-i* 'bird egg' [Essene 1942: 86] (with POSSR=*weš-i*: 'egg') should indicate that *t'a-k^{hw}ili:ŋ* denotes sg. 'bird' as well.

Taldash Galice: Not attested.

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

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 27, 346; Kari 1977: 27, 346.

Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 27, 346; Kari 1977: 27, 346; Wassillie 1979: 11. The prefixal element *č̣*= is unclear.

Iliamna Tanaina: Kari 2007: 27, 346; Kari 1977: 27, 346.

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

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

Western Ahtena: qa:qi [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 *c̣'e*= is unclear; it corresponds to *č̣*= in Inland Tanaina *č̣=qaqa-šla* 'bird' q.v.

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 8, 145. Innovative pronunciation: *c^{hw}iá*. Final *-á* 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 *ʔó*= is a rare desemantized prefix [Rice 1989: 166].

Distinct from *šòʔò-yá* 'small bird' [Rice 1978: 94; Rice 1989: 44], final *-ya* is a diminutive suffix [Rice 1989: 240]; *tè=t'òn-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 *c^{hw}ú*' with *ká:y* 'small' q.v.; the root *c^{hw}ú* 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 *=t'ut* is unclear (final *...dn < *...t-ə* with the relativizing suffix).

Northway: *c'a=h=t'udn* 'bird' [Milanowski 2007: 3].

Scottie Creek: *c'a=h=t'út* '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 *c^{hw}uy-a* with the diminutive suffix *-á ~ -a*.

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 148, 614; Poser 2011a: 40; Antoine et al. 1974: 92, 298. Polysemy: 'bird / duck'. Morphologically unclear.

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 *sa: ŋqa:qə-ʔ*, literally 'summer animal', Lower *qa:q-o:z*, literally 'small animal' with *qa:qə* 'animal'. These are glossed as 'small passerine birds which migrate south in the winter' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 198] or 'bird (of the tweety-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, *sa: ŋqa:qə-ʔ* and *qa:q-o:z* are quoted as generic terms for 'bird' in the Central and Lower dialects.

There exists a generic term *c^{hw}uyə* 'bird' in the Toklat-Bearpaw subdialect of the Upper dialect [Jetté & Jones 2000: 647], which looks like a borrowing from Lower Tanana *c^{hw}uy-a* 'bird'.

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

Sarsi: Hoijer & Joël 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 & Joël 1963: 66]. Final *-v* is the diminutive suffix *-a ~ -aa* [Li 1930b: 9].

7. BITE

Hupa =*xac'* (1), Mattole =*kič* (2), Kato =*kəc* (1), Taldash Galice =*teh* (3), Upper Inlet Tanaina =*ʋəs* (2), Inland Tanaina =*ʋaš* (2), Central Ahtena =*ʔa:t* (4), Mentasta Ahtena =*ʔa:t* (4), Dogrib =*té* (3), North Slavey (Hare) =*k'à* (4), Tanacross =*ʔét* (5), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) =*ʔa:t* (5), Lower Tanana (Minto) =*ʔn't* (5), Central Carrier =*t=č'u't* (6), Koyukon =*l=kuc ~*

=*t*=*kuc* (7), Degexit'an =*təʂ* (8) / =*təc* (7), Sarsi =*ʔəʃ* (5).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 797; Golla 1996: 11; Golla 1970: 84. In [Golla 1996], also the reduced root variant =*xuc*' is quoted. Applicable to humans, animals and insects. Distinct from =*qos* [light imperf.] / =*qoc*' [heavy perf.] 'to bite crunch (smth brittle); to bite off' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 756; Golla 1996: 11].

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 =*tei*.

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Lovick 2005: 50 ex. 2.13a.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Not attested.

Inland Tanaina: Wassillie 1979: 11; Tenenbaum 1978: 70. Applied to both humans and animals. Paradigm: =*kaš* [imperf.] / =*kač* [perf.] (for the consonant alternation cf. [Kari 2007: xxiv]).

Iliamna Tanaina: Not attested.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 79, 486.

Lower Ahtena: =*ʔa:ʃ* [Kari 1990: 79, 486].

Western Ahtena: =*ʔa:ʃ* [Kari 1990: 79, 486].

Mentasta Ahtena: 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'à* glossed as 'to bite, chew up' [Rice 1978: 442, 489] and =*h=shù* 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 =*č'u*).

The verb =*k'à* seems to be more generic and frequent. Cf. attested examples with =*k'à* '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=shù* '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=shù*.

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 58; Shinen 1958: 31. Paradigm is unknown. Applicable to humans and animals.

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 38. Paradigm is unknown.

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 27, 370. Paradigm: =*ʔaʃ* [imperf.] / =*ʔač* [perf.]. Polysemy: 'to eat / to bite' (q.v.). Cf. some of Kari's examples for the meaning 'to bite': "I bit it", "Are you gonna bite it?", "It'll bite you", "A dog bit me", "he bit it in two".

Distinct from =*l=kvc* 'to bite' [Kari 1994: 119, 370]. Since =*l=kvc* 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: =*t=č'uʃ* [momentaneous imperf.] / =*t=č'al* [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].

Distinct from =*t=yaš* 'to gnaw' [Poser 1998/2013: 1220, 1254; Antoine et al. 1974: 311].

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=cʰət* 'to bite' is used [Jetté & Jones 2000: 635] (although it is unclear whether it coexists with =*l=kuc* or not).

Degexit'an: Taff et al. 2007; Hargus 2010: 42. Paradigm: =*təʂ* [imperf.] / =*təc* [perf.]. Cf. the examples: "He bit it", "I bit it", "The dog bit

him".

The second candidate is the verb =*kuʃ* ~ =*kuʃ* ~ =*kuʃ* 'to bite', adduced in [Hargus 2000: 6; Kari 1976: 26] with the example "dog bit him". The difference between =*kuʃ* and =*kuʃ* is unclear; we have to treat them as synonyms.

Distinct from =*qe:θ* 'to gnaw' [Taff et al. 2007], =*o:t* [imperf.] / =*o:λ* [imperf.] 'to chew' [Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1976: 5]. Perfective.

Sarsi: Li 1930b: 16.

A difficult case with three competing verbs:

1) =*kás* [imperf.] / =*ká:z* [perf.], glossed as 'to bite' in [Li 1930b: 20; Cook 1984: 253], without further information.

2) =*s=xòs* [imperf.] / =*s=xò:z* ~ =*s=xòc-* [perf.], glossed as 'to gnaw' in [Li 1930b: 17; Cook 1984: 233], but quoted in [Hojjer 1956: 222] for the Swadesh meaning 'to bite'.

3) =*ʔòt* [imperf.] / =*ʔò:l* [perf.], glossed as 'to chew' in [Li 1930b: 16; Cook 1984: 71, 232].

Browsing through the text collection in [Goddard 1915] suggests, however, that =*ʔòt* 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 =*ʔòt*, assuming synchronic polysemy: 'to bite / to chew'.

7. BITE

Inland Tanaina =*kuč* (2), Central Ahtena =*ʔa:λ'* (4), Mentasta Ahtena =*ʔa:λ* (4), Lower Tanana (Minto) =*ʔaλ* (4), Degexit'an =*kuʃ* (2).

References and notes:

Inland Tanaina: Perfective.

Central Ahtena: Perfective.

Mentasta Ahtena: Perfective.

Lower Tanana (Minto): Perfective.

Degexit'an: Hargus 2000: 6; Kari 1976: 26.

8. BLACK

Hupa =*min* (1), Mattole =*xin* (1), Kato =*š:i:n?* (1), Taldash Galice =*šan* (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina =*l=t'ic'* (2), Outer Inlet Tanaina =*l=t'əš* (2), Inland Tanaina =*λ'əč'* (3), Iliamna Tanaina =*λ'əč'* (3), Central Ahtena =*l=t'u:c'* (2), Mentasta Ahtena =*l=t'u:c* (2), Dogrib =*zó* (1), North Slavey (Hare) =*l=zèn-è* (1), Tanacross *tà=t=šěy* (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) *ta=t=sāy* (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) =*t=λ'əc* (3), Central Carrier =*t=kaʃ* (4), Koyukon =*λ'əc* (3), Degexit'an =*λ'əc* (3), Sarsi =*s=kòš* (4).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 796; Golla 1996: 11. Verbal root: 'to be black'. Imperfective, originating < *=*min-i*; the perfective root variant is =*meʔn* < =*min-ʔ-i*.

Mattole: Li 1930: 80. Verbal root with polysemy: 'to be dark / to be black'. Li quotes the verb 'to be dark' as =*xin* < *=*xin* [imperf.] /

=xi:ʔn < *=xin-ʔ-i [perf.] (*l*-classifier) and posits the separate verb =xin (< *=xin-i) (zero-classifier) 'to be black'. Cf. the full form *t*i=x'in '(it is) black' (for the adjectival prefix *t*i- see [Li 1930: 64]).

Bear River dialect: *t*u=x^win-e ~ *t*a=x^wan 'black' [Goddard 1929: 314].

Kato: Goddard 1912: 28, 67; Curtis 1924: 203. Verbal root 'to be black'. Paradigm: =šəŋʔ < *=šin-ʔ [light] / =šinʔ < *=šin-ʔ-i [heavy].

Glottalization of the final nasal has spread from the old perfective stems (*=šin-ʔ, *=šin-ʔ-i) across the paradigm. The adjectival-like form is *t*=šəŋʔ '(it is) black'.

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 71; Landar 1977: 294. Verbal root: 'to be black'. The adjectival form is *t*a=šan.

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 319, 346; Kari 1977: 253.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 319, 346; Kari 1977: 253.

Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 319, 346; Kari 1977: 253; Wassillie 1979: 11.

Iliamna Tanaina: Kari 2007: 319, 346; Kari 1977: 253.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 351, 486; Kari & Buck 1975: 103; Smelcer 2010: 60.

Lower Ahtena: =l=t'u:ʔs [Kari 1990: 351, 486; Kari & Buck 1975: 103; Smelcer 2010: 60].

Western Ahtena: =l=t'u:c' [Kari 1990: 351, 486; Kari & Buck 1975: 103; Smelcer 2010: 60].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 351, 486; Kari & Buck 1975: 103; Smelcer 2010: 60.

Dogrib: Saxon & 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 *t*è, 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=λ'è '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=š'èy 'to be black' with the adjectival/gender exponent *t*(a)= [Holton 2000: 237 ff.]. The root š'èy 'black' also functions as the second element of nominal compounds [Holton 2000: 132].

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 15, 69, 72. The verb =t=sāy 'to be black' with the adjectival/gender exponent *t*(a)=.

Northway: *t*a=t=sāy 'black' [Milanowski 2007: 4].

Scottie Creek: *t*a=t=šāy or simply šāy 'black' [John 1997: 10, 29, 32].

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 267, 370; Tuttle 2009: 23.

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

1) the adjective λ'əc-aʔ with polysemy: 'black / blue' [Kari 1994: 267, 370] and the verb =t=λ'əc 'to be black' [Kari 1994: 267, 370; Tuttle 2009: 23]; its dimensional aspect (i.e., 'comparative, -er, more than') form =l=λ'əʃ is translated as 'to be dark blue' in [Kari 1994: 267]. Cf. the example "My hair is black" [Tuttle 2009: 23].

2) the adjective zəŋ-aʔ ~ zəŋ-a 'black', the verb =t=zəŋ '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 =λ'əc is quoted for the meaning '(to be) black', whereas =zəŋ is not mentioned at all, we treat =λ'əc as the basic term for 'black' in synchronic Lower Tanana.

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 614, 1220, 1253; Poser 2011a: 41; Antoine et al. 1974: 89, 298. Verbal stem: 'to be black'.

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 603, 860; Jones 1978: 23. Verb with polysemy: 'to be black / to be dark blue'. Paradigm: =λ'əc [neuter imperf.] / =λ'i:s [transitional imperf.] / =λ'i:c [transitional perf.]. Also functions as the noun-like adjective λ'əc-əʔ 'black' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 604].

Some less commonly used expressions for 'black' are derived from *t*as 'charcoal': the verb =t=*t*as 'to be black' and the noun-like adjective *t*a:z-əʔ 'black' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 545].

Degexit'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 =zəŋ, quoted in [Kari 1978: 55; Taff et al. 2007] with the same meaning 'to be black'. In [Kari 1976: 67], however, =zəŋ 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 =zəŋ: "His face is black", 'pepper (*lit.* black salt)', "brown (*lit.* it is dark colored)", "rain cloud (*lit.* black cloud)".

Sarsi: Li 1930b: 21; Cook 1984: 166. Verbal stem: 'to be black'.

Distinct from =*f'āz* 'to paint black' [Li 1930b: 19], denominative < *f'ās* 'charcoal'.

The archaic root *zin* '(to be) black' is retained in the expression *m̄-γ̄-zin-ū?* 'wolf, literally 'its hair (is) black' [Hojjer & Joël 1963: 74]. Note that *zin-i* is erroneously quoted in [Hojjer 1956: 223] for the Swadesh meaning 'black'.

9. BLOOD

Hupa *c^he:=linj* ~ *c^he:=lin* (1), Mattole *POSSR=c^he:=l'in-e?* (1), Kato *se:=lin* (1), Taldash Galice *taʔ* (2), Upper Inlet Tanaina *təl* (2), Outer Inlet Tanaina *ku=ta=t=t^hin* (3), Inland Tanaina *k^ha=ta=t=t^hin* (3), Iliamna Tanaina *k^ha=ta=t=t^hin* (3), Central Ahtena *tel* (2), Mentasta Ahtena *tel* (2), Dogrib *POSSR=tò:* (2), North Slavey (Hare) *POSS=tél-é?* (2), Tanacross *tèʔ* (2), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) *taʔ* (2), Lower Tanana (Minto) *təʔ* (2), Central Carrier *POSSR=u=ṣ=k^hai-?* (4), Koyukon *lə=q^ho:-n-ə* (4), Degexit'an *təʔ* (2), Sarsi *POSSR=tíʔ-ù* (2).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 735; Golla 1996: 12. The variant ...=*lin* originates from *=*lin-i*. A nominalized formation from the verb =*lin* 'to flow', *c^he:=...=lin* 'to flow (of blood), bleed' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 763; Golla 1996: 12, 37]. For the so-called "simple prefix" *c^he:-* cf. [Golla 1970: 147]; the meaning of this element is unclear.

Mattole: Li 1930: 131. Nominalized formation from the verb =*lin* 'to flow' [Li 1930: 122] (final *-e?* is the izafet exponent). For the prefix *c^he:-*, see notes on Hupa.

Bear River dialect: *POSSR=se=l'en-e?* 'blood' [Goddard 1929: 314], the same verbal formation as in Mattole proper. Cf. the non-possessed form with the specific meaning *se=lin* 'blood of deer' [Goddard 1929: 314].

Kato: Goddard 1912: 30; Curtis 1924: 201. Used without obligatory possessor prefixes. Derived from the verb =*lin* 'to flow'; *se:=* corresponds to the Hupa & Mattole prefix *c^he:=*.

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 53; Hoijer 1956: 223. The possessed form is *POSSR=taʔ*.

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 96, 346; Kari 1977: 96. Possessed: *POSSR=təl-a*.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 96, 346; Kari 1977: 96. Possessed: *POSSR=kutatt^hin-ʔa*.

Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 96, 346; Kari 1977: 96; Wassillie 1979: 12. Possessed: *POSSR=k^hadatt^hin* [Kari 2007: 96] or *POSSR=k^hadatt^hin-a* [Kari 1977: 96].

Iliamna Tanaina: Kari 2007: 96, 346; Kari 1977: 96.

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

Lower Ahtena: *tel* [Kari 1990: 148, 487; Kari & Buck 1975: 60; Smelcer 2010: 44].

Western Ahtena: *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 *tóh*, as in *POSSR=tóh-t'è:* '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.

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 60; Holton 2000: 341; Brean & Milanowski 1979: 3; McRoy 1973: 2; Shinen 1958: 4. Can be used without obligatory possessor prefixes.

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

Northway: *taʔ* 'blood' [Milanowski 2007: 4].

Scottie Creek: *təʔ*, *POSSR=təʔ-?* 'blood' [John 1997: 18].

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 68, 371; Tuttle 2009: 25. In [Kari 1994], quoted as *təl*, which could be a typo. Possessed: *POSSR=təl-a?*. Apparently, this anatomic term is normally applicable to humans. Cf. the denominative verb =*l=təʔ* 'to be red' [Kari 1994: 68].

Distinct from *δə=k^han-n-i* 'animal blood / blood soup' [Kari 1994: 153], literally 'object in open shallow container' with

the classificatory verb =*k^hai* '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 =*k^hai* '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 =*q^ho:-ŋ* [neuter imperf.] / =*q^ho:-ʔ* [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 *tət*, probably discarded upon the death of some individual in whose name it entered".

The Upper and Lower dialects retain the old term *tət* 'blood' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 130]. Also this word is marginally used in the Central dialect with the meaning 'bloody' (as in *tət nəla: ŋ* 'bloody 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'ijʔ* ~ *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=ʋəs* (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=k'wō:* (1), North Slavey (Hare) *POSSR=w'en-éʔ* (1), Tanacross *t^oəŋ* (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) *t^oaŋ* (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) *t^oaŋ* (1), Central Carrier *POSSR=c'an* (1), Koyukon *ʔ'aŋ* (1), Degexit'an *t^oaŋ* (1), Sarsi *POSSR=c'in-ʋʔ* (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'ijʔ* < *=*c'in-ʔ* < *=*c'in-eʔ*; the variants =*c'inʔ* 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 *pa:la sin-eʔ* '(deer's) wrist bone' [Goddard 1929: 296, 310] (with *pa:la* '?').

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

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 59; Hoijer 1956: 223. The possessed forms are *POSSR=c'anʔ-e* or *POSSR=c'at-eʔ* (both < **POSSR=c'an-eʔ*). Polysemy: 'bone / leg' (attested for the variant *POSSR=c'at-eʔ*). In [Landar 1977: 294], quoted as *c'oʔ* (sic!).

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 86, 346; Kari 1977: 95.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 86, 346; Kari 1977: 95.

Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 86, 346; Kari 1977: 95. In [Wassillie 1979: 12] and [Kari 1977: 95], the form *POSSR=i=z=t^hin* (Upper Inlet *POSSR=i=y=t^hin*) '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 *t^hin* is a classificatory root '(to be / to handle) an elongated object', cf. *t^hin*, e.g., in Inland *ʔ'u=z=t^hin* 'enclosed caribou fence (teardrop shape)', lit. 'rear long object' [Kari 2007: 213] (*ʔ'u-* 'buttocks, underside of a container').

Iliamna Tanaina: Kari 2007: 86, 346; Kari 1977: 95.

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

Lower Ahtena: *c'en* [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.

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 44, 147. Polysemy: 'bone / leg / corpse'.

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 107, 122; Hoijer 1956: 222. Hoijer quotes the 19th c. archaic variant with *k^w* for modern *w*. Polysemy:

'bone / leg'.

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 62; Holton 2000: 124, 341; Brean & Milanowski 1979: 23; McRoy 1973: 10; Shinen 1958: 3.

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 28, 70.

Northway: $t^{\theta}a\ i$ 'bone' [Milanowski 2007: 4].

Scottie Creek: POSSR= $t^{\theta}\delta n$ -? 'bone' [John 1997: 11].

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 316, 372. Possessed: POSSR= $t^{\theta}an-a?$.

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 510, 621; Poser 2011a: 43; Antoine et al. 1974: 52, 299.

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 600, 862; Jones 1978: 24. Polysemy: 'bone / skeleton / leg / shell'. Alienable possession; possessed: POSSR= $\lambda an-a?$.

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

Sarsi: Hoijer & Joël 1963: 71; Hoijer 1956: 222.

11. BREAST

Hupa POSSR= $t'ah-tiy-e?$ (1), Mattole POSSR= $c'o$ -? (2), Upper Inlet Tanaina POSSR= $mam\lambda a$ (3), Outer Inlet Tanaina POSSR= $mam\lambda a$ (3), Inland Tanaina POSSR= $mam\lambda a$ (3), Iliamna Tanaina POSSR= $mam\lambda a$ (3), Central Ahtena POSSR= pa -? (4), Mentasta Ahtena POSSR= $t'u$:? (5), Dogrib POSSR= $t'\delta$: (5), North Slavey (Hare) POSSR= $t'ak-é?$ (6), Tanacross POSSR= $c\acute{e}h-c'h\acute{i}$: (7), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) POSSR= $ceh-tadn$ (7), Lower Tanana (Minto) POSSR= $\acute{c}ay-ta-\gamma an-a?$ (7), Central Carrier POSSR= $ci-k'at$ (7), Koyukon POSSR= $co:B-a$ (7), Degexit'an POSSR= $\acute{c}o:G$ (7), Sarsi POSSR= $c'uw-\delta$ (2).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 789; Golla 1996: 14. Glossed as 'chest, breast'. Alternatively can be analyzed as POSSR= $t'ah-ti-ye$ -?. A descriptive formation; the underlying meaning is unclear, however.

Distinct from POSSR= $c'o$ -? with polysemy: 'female breast / milk' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 739; Golla 1996: 14] and the relational noun POSSR= $\acute{c}e:?\text{-}x^w$ 'at smb.'s breast, in front of smb.' [Golla 1996: 14] (the latter contains the locative $-x^w(i)$ 'at' [Golla 1970: 275]). The root $\acute{c}e?$ is also retained in expressions for 'breastbone' [Golla 1996: 14] and 'to be tired' [Golla 1996: 97].

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

Cf. 'POSSR= $n=c^h i\eta?$ 'center of smbd.'s breast' [Li 1930: 50] ($\leftarrow =n=c^h i\eta?$).

Bear River dialect: cf. POSSR= $c'o$ glossed as 'its breast' and 'sea lion's breast' in [Goddard 1929: 297, 320] and POSSR= $n=t'e$ -? 'above smbd.'s breast' [Goddard 1929: 307].

Kato: Not attested. Cf. the morphologically unclear stem POSSR= $yi:c^h ye$ 'breast', applied to a meadowlark [Goddard 1909: 157 No. 15].

Taldash Galice: Not attested. Cf. POSSR= $c'aw-e?$ 'female breast' [Hoijer 1973: 59; Hoijer 1956: 223].

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 92, 347; Kari 1977: 103.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 92, 347; Kari 1977: 103.

Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 92, 347; Kari 1977: 103.

Iliamna Tanaina: Kari 2007: 92, 347; Kari 1977: 103.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 98, 489; Kari & Buck 1975: 67; Smelcer 2010: 48.

Lower Ahtena: POSSR= pa -? [Kari 1990: 98, 489; Kari & Buck 1975: 67; Smelcer 2010: 48].

Western Ahtena: POSSR= pa -? [Kari 1990: 98, 489; Kari & Buck 1975: 67; Smelcer 2010: 48].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 351, 489; Kari & Buck 1975: 67; Smelcer 2010: 48. Should rather be analyzed as POSSR= $t'u$:?, cf. the

variant *t'u:-* in the compound POSSR=*t'u:-c^he-?* 'nipple' [Kari 1990: 351] (lit. 'breast's stone').

Dogrib: 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=*t'ò:-k^wò:* 'breastbone, sternum' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 45] with =*k^wò:* 'bone').

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 99, 128. There are two documented words for 'breast (generic)':

1) POSSR=*wil-é?*, glossed as 'chest, body' in [Rice 1978: 106], cf. the collocation 'tuberculosis (lit. chest's pain)';

2) POSSR=*t'ák-é?*, 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=*yim-é?*, whereas POSSR=*wil-é?* is not quoted with this semantics. Thus it is likely that the underlying meaning of =*wil-é?* is 'torso' or 'upper part of torso' rather than 'breast, chest' itself. Because of this we tentatively fill the slot with =*t'ák-é?*.

Distinct from POSSR=*t'óy-é?*, 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].

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 78; Holton 2000: 342; Brean & Milanowski 1979: 25; McRoy 1973: 8; Shinen 1958: 3. Glossed as 'chest'. Literally 'tip of *ceh*' with POSSR=*č^hi:* 'end, tip, point of physical object' [Arnold et al. 2009: 109]. Cf. POSSR=*ceh-t^hàh*, glossed as 'chest area' [Arnold et al. 2009: 78], literally 'in *ceh*' with the same morpheme *ceh* and the postposition *-t^hàh* 'in' [Holton 2000: 282]. The root *ceh* may be influenced on the part of POSSR=*cč:y-?* 'heart' (q.v.).

Distinct from POSSR=*t'ú:-?* with polysemy: 'female breast / milk' [Arnold et al. 2009: 65, 174; Holton 2000: 341; Brean & Milanowski 1979: 25; McRoy 1973: 8].

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 16, 69. Glossed as 'chest'. The first element *ceh* may be influenced on the part of POSSR=*ce:* 'heart' (q.v.), the final *-tadn* (< *-tat-ə?*) is unclear. Cf. POSSR=*ceh-?oyŋ-?* 'lungs' [Milanowski 2009: 16], which contains the same root *ceh*.

Distinct from POSSR=*t'u:-?* with polysemy: 'female breast / milk' [Milanowski 2009: 26, 69].

Northway: POSSR=*ceh-tadn*, glossed as 'chest' [Milanowski 2007: 5], POSSR=*t'u:-?* with polysemy: 'female breast / milk' [Milanowski 2007: 4].

Scottie Creek: POSSR=*ceh-čⁱ:-?*, glossed as 'chest', morphologically unclear [John 1997: 11]; cf. the quoted example: "My chest hurts". Distinct from POSSR=*t'u:-?* with polysemy: 'female breast / milk' [John 1997: 11, 19].

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 98, 133, 380. Glossed as 'chest'. The first element *çay* is POSSR=*çay-a?* 'heart' (q.v.) or influenced on the part of POSSR=*çay-a?*; the morpheme chain *tə-yam* is unclear (Kari suggests that it contains POSSR=*yan-a?* 'hump, humpback'). The shortened morpheme *çə-* 'chest / heart' is used as the first element of various compounds [Kari 1994: 97].

Distinct from POSSR=*t^hu:-?* with polysemy: 'female breast / milk' [Kari 1994: 320, 373].

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 153, 647; Antoine et al. 1974: 301. Polysemy: 'chest, breast 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'at* 'in, on, on top of' [Poser 1998/2013: 223].

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

Distinct from POSSR=*yoh* '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 *yat* 'breast (inside), chest' [Morice 1932, 1: 26] (not confirmed in [Poser 1998/2013: 584]).

Distinct from POSSR=*ç'u:-?* 'female breast / milk' [Poser 1998/2013: 509; Antoine et al. 1974: 51, 237].

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

A second, probably more marginal candidate is POSSR=*to:-wə:n-ə?* 'chest, torso' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 255; Jones 1978: 36], literally 'bending forward' with *to:-* 'front' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 137] and *wə:n?* 'stooping, bending over, crouching' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 254]. It should be noted, however, that POSSR=*to:-wə:n-ə?* is quoted in [Jones 1978: 36] as the default expression for 'chest'.

Distinct from POSSR=*t'uk-ə?* '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

the breast]" [Jetté & Jones 2000: 556]. The example "his breast" offered in [Jones 1978: 27] can be an inaccuracy. Cf. the cognate verb =*t'ut* [neuter imperf.] / =*t'uk* [repetitive/customary imperf.] / =*t'ut* [repetitive perf.] 'to suck' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 555].

Degexit'an: Kari 1978: 35.

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

The second candidate is the deverbative POSSR=*to-ɬo:n*, 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 (=to:ɬo:n), and on my breast (=ço: *ç* and forehead", where =*to-ɬo:n* means 'torso' rather than 'chest, breast'. On the other hand, [Taff et al. 2007] offer several instances for =*to-ɬo:n* 'chest, breast': "His chest hurts", "My chest is sick", "He has a big chest". Nevertheless, we prefer to fill the slot with POSSR=*ço*: *ç*

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

Sarsi: Hoijer & Joël 1963: 68; Hoijer 1956: 222. Paradigm: *c'ü* / POSSR=*c'üw-ü*, 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'an?* (2), Kato =*lat* (1), Taldash Galice =*tat* (3), Upper Inlet Tanaina =*q'an* (2), Outer Inlet Tanaina =*q'an* (2), Inland Tanaina =*q'an* (2), Iliamna Tanaina =*q'an* (2), Central Ahtena =*q'a:n* (2), Mentasta Ahtena =*q'ã*: (2), Dogrib =*k'ó* (2), North Slavey (Hare) =*k'ö* (2), Tanacross =*k'ã*: (2) / =*k'en*-? (2), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) =*k'ã*: (2) / =*k'an*-? (2), Lower Tanana (Minto) =*k'an* (2), Central Carrier =*t=k'an* (2), Koyukon =*t=q'o:n* (2), Degexit'an =*q'hn?* (4), Sarsi =*s=k'ün*- (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 *t'it* 'smoke' q.v.

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

Bear River dialect: not attested.

Kato: Goddard 1912: 64. Polysemy: 'to burn (trans.) / to burn (intrans.)'. The same root as *t'at* 'smoke' q.v.

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 64. Paradigm: =*tat* [imperf.] / =*ta?* (< *=*tat*-?) [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'at*.

Distinct from =*lat* 'to burn up (intrans.)' [Hoijer 1973: 72] (the same root as *t'at* 'smoke' q.v.).

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 249.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 249.

Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 249; Wassillie 1979: 15.

Iliamna Tanaina: Kari 2007: 249.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 248, 491.

Lower Ahtena: =q'a:n [Kari 1990: 248, 491].

Western Ahtena: =q'a:n [Kari 1990: 248, 491].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 248, 491.

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 125, 148. Paradigm: =k'ō / =k'ō. Polysemy: 'to burn (intrans.) / to burn (trans.) / light up, switch on light'.

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'ō 'to make fire, burn (trans.)', =t=k'ō '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'è...=l'ì [imperf., opt.] / =k'è...=l'è [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 OBJ-*k'è* 'on OBJ'. Without the exponent *-k'è*, this verb means 'to singe' [Rice 1978: 448]. Cf. the attested example for 'to burn (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 =h=ʔà 'to burn, make fire' [Rice 1978: 281, 450], historically < *=*λ*^h*a*. 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 OBJ" [Rice 1989: 712], "I burned up all the wood" [Rice 1978: 386].

Provisionally we fill the slot with =k'ō, since, on the ground of the available data, one might suspect that other candidates actually have more specific meanings: =k'è...=l'ì 'to burn to ashes' and =h=ʔà 'to burn up' (as it is translated in examples in [Rice 1989]).

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 69; Shinen 1958: 30. Polysemy: 'to burn (intrans.) / to burn (trans.)'. Paradigm: =k'ā: [imperf.] / =k'én-ʔ [perf.], for the stem =k'ā: see [Arnold et al. 2009: 118; Shinen 1958: 30]. Perfective stem.

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 45, 93. Polysemy: 'to burn (intrans.) / to burn (trans.) / shine, radiate'. Paradigm: =k'ā: [imperf.] / =k'an-ʔ [perf.]. Perfective stem.

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 169, 375; Tuttle 2009: 31. Paradigm: =k'ā [imperf.] / =k'vn-ʔ [perf.]. Polysemy: 'to burn (intrans.) / to burn (trans.)'.

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 imperf.] / =q'u ɿ [continuative imperf.] / =q'ō: ɿ [perf.]. Polysemy: 'to burn (intrans.) / to burn (trans.)'.

Degexit'an: Chapman 1914: 229. Derived from the noun *q'vm?* '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].

Sarsi: Li 1930b: 22; Hoijer 1956: 223; Cook 1984: 182. Polysemy: 'to burn (intrans.) / to burn (trans.)'. Paradigm: =s=k'ú - =s=k'ún-.

13. CLAW (NAIL)

Hupa *POSSR=laʔ=k^{hy}eʔc'* (1), Mattole *POSSR=laʔ=ç^heʔs* (1), Kato *la=ç^haht-e* (1), Taldash Galice *POSSR=kan-yo-ʔ* (2), Upper Inlet Tanaina *POSSR=lu=qən-a* (2), Outer Inlet Tanaina *POSSR=lu=qən-ʔa* (2), Inland Tanaina *POSSR=lu=qən-a* (2), Iliamna Tanaina *POSSR=lu=qən-ʔa* (2), Central Ahtena *POSSR=la=qan-eʔ* (2), Mentasta Ahtena *POSSR=la=qan-ʔ* (2), Dogrib *POSSR=lá=k'ō:* (2), North Slavey (Hare) *POSSR=là=kón-éʔ* (2), Tanacross *POSSR=in=là:kěy-ʔ*

(2), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) *POSSR=la=kāy-ʔ* (2), Lower Tanana (Minto) *POSSR=lA=kvn-aʔ*
 (2), Central Carrier *POSSR=la=ki* (2), Koyukon *POSSR=ən=lo:=qun-əʔ* (2), Degexit'an
POSSR=lo:=qəŋ ~ *POSSR=le:=qəŋ* (2), Sarsi *POSSR=la=kvn-a* (2).

References and notes:

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

Mattole: Li 1930: 132. Meaning glossed as 'fingernail'. The first element =*laʔ* denotes 'hand' q.v.

Bear River dialect: not attested. Cf. the specific term *POSSR=k^he=šim-e* 'toenail' [Goddard 1929: 298], where the first element is *POSSR=k^he(-)ʔ* 'foot' q.v., whereas =*šim:* 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 =*laʔ* 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^wan-yo* - a contraction from possessed **wa=kan-yo-ʔ* 'his/its nail' (see [Hoijer 1966: 321]).

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 92, 350; Kari 1977: 102.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 92, 350; Kari 1977: 102.

Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 92, 350; Kari 1977: 102.

Iliamna Tanaina: Kari 2007: 92, 350; Kari 1977: 102.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 192, 520; Kari & Buck 1975: 66; Smelcer 2010: 48.

Lower Ahtena: *POSSR=la=qan-eʔ* [Kari 1990: 192, 520; Kari & Buck 1975: 66; Smelcer 2010: 48].

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

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 192, 520; Kari & Buck 1975: 66; Smelcer 2010: 48.

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 31, 44, 165. Glossed with polysemy: 'fingernail / claw'; literally 'hand's nail' with =*la* 'hand' q.v.

Distinct from the specific term *POSSR=k^hé=kò:* 'toenail' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 43], literally 'foot's nail' with =*k^hé* 'foot' q.v.

The plain root =*kò:* 'claw, nail' seems to be unattested. It is interesting that synchronously, =*kò:* 'claw, nail' has merged with =*kò:* 'arm' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 41].

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 71, 138; Hoijer 1956: 222. Meaning 'fingernail', cf. the mirroring expression *POSSR=k^hiè=kón-éʔ* 'toenail' [Rice 1978: 65, 177]. Literally 'kon of hand' (with *POSSR=lá-ʔ* 'hand') and 'kon of foot' (with *POSSR=k^hié-ʔ* 'foot').

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 118; Holton 2000: 343; Brean & Milanowski 1979: 23; McRoy 1973: 9. Literally 'kēy of hand' with *POSSR=in=ʔá-ʔ* 'hand' q.v. The root *kēy* 'nail, claw' is also attested in *POSSR=k^hé=là(:)=kēy-ʔ* 'claw; hoof' [Arnold et al. 2009: 82, 147], literally 'kēy of hand of foot/paw' with the additional possessor *POSSR=k^hé-ʔ* 'foot' q.v.

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 19. Meaning specifically 'fingernail', literally 'kāy of hand'. Cf. the parallel compound *POSSR=k^he-kāy-ʔ* 'toenail' [Milanowski 2009: 18], literally 'kāy of foot'.

Northway: *POSSR=la-kāy-ʔ* 'fingernail' [Milanowski 2007: 8].

Scottie Creek: *POSSR=la-kāy-ʔ* 'fingernail' [John 1997: 12], *POSSR=k^he-kāy-ʔ* ~ *POSSR=k^he-la-kāy-ʔ* 'toenail' [John 1997: 17].

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 117, 403. Polysemy: 'fingernail / claw / hoof of forefoot', literally 'kvn of hand' (with *POSSR=lA-ʔ* 'hand'). Cf. the compound *POSSR=k^ha-lə-kvn-aʔ* 'toenail' [Kari 1994: 117], literally 'fingernail of foot' (with *lə-kvn* < *lA-kvn* and *POSSR=k^ha-ʔ* '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^he=ŋi* (< **POSSR=k^he=n=ki*) 'toenail / claw of rear paw' [Poser 1998/2013: 210, 962; Antoine et al. 1974: 27] (*POSSR=k^he* 'foot' and *-n-* which occurs in some other compounds with =*k^he*). The main root =*ki* 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-ʔ* 'hand' q.v. and the anatomical gender exponent *ən-ŋə-* [Jetté & Jones 2000: 460]. The main root =*qun* is not

used independently.

Cf. the second compound $\text{POSSR}=q^h a:l=qun-\partial?$ 'toenail / claws or hooves of the hind legs' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 219], literally 'fingernail of foot' (with $l-qun < lo:-qun$ and $\text{POSSR}=q^h a:-?$ 'foot').

Degexit'an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 35. According to [Taff et al. 2007], with polysemy: 'fingernail / claw'. Literally 'qəŋ of hand' with $\text{POSSR}=lo:-?$ 'hand' q.v. The main root $=qəŋ$ is not used independently.

Cf. the second compound $\text{POSSR}=q^h \partial=l\partial=qəŋ$ 'toenail / claw' [Kari 1978: 37], literally 'fingernail of foot' (with $l\partial-qəŋ < lo:-qəŋ$ and $\text{POSSR}=q^h a:-?$ 'foot' q.v.).

Sarsi: Nanagusja 1996b: 154. Attested in the example "he touched bottom and got some mud under his nails". Literally 'kvn of hand' with $\text{POSSR}=l\partial:-?$ 'hand' q.v.

14. CLOUD

Hupa ʔah (1), Mattole ʔah (1), Kato ah (1), Taldash Galice ʔak (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina $q'as$ (2), Outer Inlet Tanaina $q'as$ (2), Inland Tanaina $q'as$ (2), Iliamna Tanaina $q'as$ (2), Central Ahtena $q'os$ (2), Mentasta Ahtena $q'os$ (2), Dogrib $k'oh$ (2), North Slavey (Hare) $k'ò$ (2), Tanacross $k'ò\theta$ (2), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) $k'oh$ (2), Lower Tanana (Minto) $k'v\theta$ (2), Central Carrier $k'^w\text{as}$ ~ $k'^w\text{as}$ (2), Koyukon $yo:=q'u\text{t}$ (2), Degexit'an $q'v\theta$ (2), Sarsi $n\grave{a}=k'ús$ (2).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 731; Golla 1996: 19. Distinct from $mi=s=\acute{c}e:$ ~ $mi=s=\acute{c}eh$ 'fog, haze' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 772; Golla 1996: 37].

Mattole: Li 1930: 125. Distinct from $\text{ʔi}=s=t'v\text{ʔ}$ 'fog' [Li 1930: 128] (where $\text{ʔi}-$ could be the indefinite object exponent [Li 1930: 65] and $-s-$ could be the durative perfective exponent [Li 1930: 66]).

Bear River dialect: ʔah 'cloud' [Goddard 1929: 295, 314]. Distinct from $\text{ʔist}^h\text{o}\text{ʔot}$ 'fog' [Goddard 1929: 304, 314].

Kato: Goddard 1912: 19; Curtis 1924: 204. Distinct from $yi=s=f'ot$ 'fog' [Goddard 1912: 29; Curtis 1924: 205].

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1956: 223; Hoijer 1973: 52. Polysemy: 'cloud / fog'.

Cf. the verb $=k^h\text{at}$ [imperf.] / $=k^h\text{at} < *k^h\text{at}-?$ [imperf.] 'to become cloudy' [Hoijer 1973: 68] and the specific noun $\acute{c}atatni:-pat-e?$ 'cumulus clouds', literally 'thunder's home' [Hoijer 1973: 61].

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 151, 348; Kari 1977: 139.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 151, 348; Kari 1977: 139.

Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 151, 348; Kari 1977: 139.

Iliamna Tanaina: Kari 2007: 151, 348; Kari 1977: 139.

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

Lower Ahtena: $q'os$ [Kari 1990: 259, 498; Kari & Buck 1975: 89].

Western Ahtena: $q'os$ [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 $\text{ʔ\acute{a}h}$ 'fog, mist' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 3, 166].

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

Distinct from $\text{ʔ\acute{a}ʔ}$ 'fog' [Rice 1978: 23, 139].

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 83; Holton 2000: 342; Brean & Milanowski 1979: 12; McRoy 1973: 6; Shinen 1958: 12.

Distinct from $\acute{c}\acute{e}=c'\acute{e}\lambda$ 'low clouds along mountains' [Arnold et al. 2009: 83] (glossed as 'fog' in [Holton 2000: 343]), literally 'smth.'s brush' with $c'\acute{e}\lambda$ 'brush, bush (away from town)' [Arnold et al. 2009: 68, 69].

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 19. Explained as 'general word for clouds of any number or size'.

Distinct from $\acute{c}i=c'a\text{t}$ 'fog' [Milanowski 2009: 14, 74] ($\acute{c}i=$ is the indefinite possessive pronoun).

Northway: $k'oh$ 'cloud' [Milanowski 2007: 6].

Scottie Creek: $k'òh$ 'cloud' [John 1997: 63], $t^h\grave{a}:-\acute{s}uch$ 'fog' [John 1997: 64] (the first element $t^h\grave{a}:$ means 'water', for the

second element cf. *šuh* 'snow' [John 1997: 66]).

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 171, 381; Tuttle 2009: 45.

Distinct from *ak* '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 -s, 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 *yo*: 'sky' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 696], although simple *q'ut* 'cloud' is also used.

Degexit'an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 46.

Sarsi: Hoijer 1956: 223; Cook 1984: 67. Initial *nà=* is not entirely clear.

15. COLD

Hupa =*q'ac*' (1), Mattole =*k'ac* (1), Kato =*t^hən* (2), Taldash Galice =*k'e?* (3), Inland Tanaina *ə=ži* (4), Central Ahtena =*q'ac*' (1), Mentasta Ahtena =*q'ac* (1), Dogrib =*k'ò* (1), North Slavey (Hare) =*k'à* (1), Tanacross *n=é:=k'èt^θ* (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) =*k'at* (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) =*k'ut^θ* (1), Central Carrier =*k'az* (1), Koyukon *ə=cu*: (5), Degexit'an =*q'ut^θ* (1), Sarsi =*V=k'ús* (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'ij* 'to be frozen' (said of a person) [Li 1930: 111]; originates from **=c'in*; the heavy stem is =*c'in* < **=c'in-i* [Li 1930: 21].

Bear River dialect: not attested. Cf. =*c^haj* '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^hən* < **=t^hin* / =*t^hən* < **=t^hin-i*.

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 68. Verbal root, glossed as 'to be(come) cold, cool off'. Paradigm: =*k'e?* [imperf., perf.] / =*k'a:ʔ-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^hot* [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.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 252, 499.

Lower Ahtena: =*q'aʔs* [Kari 1990: 252, 499].

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

Mentasta Ahtena: 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: =*k'ò* / =*k'à*.

Distinct from *é=cá* '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=cá* is unclear, but the explicit gloss *é=cá* 'cold weather' [Marinakis et al. 2007: 162] and the collocation *é=cá-nèk'é* 'cold country, Arctic, north country' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 25] suggest that *é=cá* is applicable to weather, not objects.

Distinct from the deverbative substantive *té=h=k'h'ó* '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 =*k'ù* '(it is) cold' [Rice 1978: 493], applicable specifically to weather, as in the examples: "I'm 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 =*λ'ù* (< =*t=λ'ù*) '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=é=k'èè* or *n=è=k'ét'*. According to [Arnold et al. 2009], the verbal paradigm is =*k'èt'* [imperf.] / =*k'à:t'* [perf.].

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

Distinct from *u=n^d=e=t=k'uu*: 'cold spell' [Milanowski 2009: 45], implying the verb =*t=k'uu*: 'to get cold (of weather)'.

Scottie Creek: the noun-like adjective *k'ýt* 'cold' as in "I'm drinking cold water" [John 1997: 39] and the verbal form *n=e=k'ýt* 'cold' as in "Is it cold outside?" [John 1997: 63]. Distinct from =*k'uu*: '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'it*. Verbal stem: 'to be cold'; also functions as the noun-like adjective *k'ut'* ~ *k'ut'-a?* 'cold'. Applicable to both objects and weather. Cf. the examples: "cold water", "cold weather".

Distinct from the more marginal deverbal adjective *?ə=λ'i* 'cold' [Kari 1994: 96] (with the non-informative examples "it is cold", "he is cold"); further the substantive *λ'i* 'cold', the verb =*λ'i* 'to starve' [Kari 1994: 96].

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 653, 1221, 1256; Poser 2011a: 57; Antoine et al. 1974: 302. Verbal stem: 'to be cold', applicable to both objects and weather. Cf. its substantivized form *h₁A=k'w₁λ'z* 'cold' [Poser 1998/2013: 192].

Distinct from the substantive *λ'i* 'cold (as affecting the human body)' [Morice 1932, 1: 24] (not confirmed in [Poser 1998/2013: 151]) and the verb =*t=λ'i* 'to feel cold' [Poser 1998/2013: 653, 1219, 1251; Antoine et al. 1974: 302].

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

Distinct from the substantive *k'ə=q'v'λ* 'cold object, cold weather, cold air' (*k'ə* is the indefinite possessive) and the verb =*q'v'λ* / =*q'v:t'* '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'v't'* [stative imperf.] / =*q'əδ* [transitional imperf.] / =*q'v:t'* [transitional perf.] / =*q'v'θ* [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 *ə=ze*: '(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

synonymous descriptive expressions for October, based on $=q\delta\delta$ and $\varepsilon z e$: respectively.

Distinct from $=l o: q$ 'to have cold' [Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1976: 33].

Sarsi: Li 1930b: 22; Hoijer 1956: 223; Cook 1984: 173; Nanagusja 1996a: 129. Verbal stem: 'to be cold', applicable to both objects and weather. Paradigm: $=V=k\acute{u}s$ [imperf.] / $=V=k\acute{u}:z \sim =V=k\acute{u}c-$ [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 $=\lambda^h\acute{a}$ (2), North Slavey (Hare) $=t=t\grave{i}$ (3) / $=t\grave{a}$ (1), Tanacross $=h\grave{a}:t$ (1) / $=\check{s}\acute{a}h$ (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) $=h\grave{a}:t$ (1) / $=\check{s}^y\acute{a}h$ (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) $=y\grave{a}$ (1), Central Carrier $=ya$ (1), Koyukon $=ho:$ (1) / $=yo:$ (1), Degexit'an $=ho:-?$ (1) / $=yo:$ (1), Sarsi $=y\acute{a} \sim =y\acute{a}h$ (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 $=ya:$ / $=ya-?$ ($=ya:-?$) is defined as nondirectional imperfective/perfective.

With pl. subj. the verb $=t\acute{i}t$ [light imperf.] / $=t\acute{i}l$ ($=t\acute{i}t-i$) [heavy imperf.] / $=te:\lambda'$ ($=te:\lambda'-i$) [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 $=t\acute{i}t$ [imperf.] / $=te:\lambda'$ ($=te:\lambda'-i$) [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: $=ya-s$ [imperf.] / $=ya \sim =ya-i \sim =ya-?$ [perf.]. Polysemy: 'to go (q.v.) / to come / to go away'. Used with sg. subj.

Distinct from $=t\acute{a}t$ [imperf.] / $=tel?$ ($=tel?-i$) [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: $=ya-s$ [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.): $=t\acute{a}t$ / $=te?\acute{t}$ (dual. subj.), $=k^h\acute{a}t$ / $=k^h\acute{a}?$ (pl. subj.).

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 234.

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

Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 234; Wassillie 1979: 24; Tenenbaum 1978: 186.

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 $=\lambda^h\acute{a}$ is only quoted in [Saxon & Siemens 1996] with the meaning 'to go' q.v., but actually the attested examples suggest that $=\lambda^h\acute{a}$ possesses the standard Athapaskan polysemy: 'to go / to come': "You have come ($=\lambda^h\acute{a}$) here so soon!" [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 49], "Because her husband came back ($=\lambda^h\acute{a}$), she rushed around" [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 77], "He came back ($=\lambda^h\acute{a}$) here" [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 85], "She came ($=\lambda^h\acute{a}$) to see me three times" [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 92].

With pl subj., the verb $=t\grave{e}$ 'to go / to come' is used, cf. the example "Last week you people said you would come here"

[Saxon & Siemens 1996: 82].

Distinct from the verb =té, which is quoted in [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 153] as the basic equivalent for 'to come', but actually seems marginal in this meaning: =té 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) =t=tí, polysemy: 'to go / to come', sg., dual., pl. subj. [Rice 1978: 191, 468]. Cf. the examples: "We came for nothing", "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 =tâ / =yâ, 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.

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 133; Holton 2000: 214, 350. A generic verb of going with polysemy: 'to go / to come', used with sg. subj. Suppletive paradigm: =há:t [imperf., fut.] / =šâh [perf.]. Historically, apparently =há:-t.

With pl subj., the verb =tét [imperf., fut.] / =tè:λ [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 (=há:t) from work" [Arnold et al. 2009: 297], "he came (=šâh) from far away" [Arnold et al. 2009: 115], "he came (=šâh) from his house" [Arnold et al. 2009: 127], "I came (=šâh) back from Tanacross" [Arnold et al. 2009: 274], "that's the way we came (=tè:λ)" [Arnold et al. 2009: 97], "lots of people came (=tè:λ) for the potlatch" [Arnold et al. 2009: 171]. Perfective stem, sg. subj.

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 43, 119. A generic verb of going with polysemy: 'to go / to come', used with sg. subj. Suppletive paradigm: =há:t [imperf., fut.] / =šâh [perf.] / =t=ta:-k [customary].

With pl subj., the verb =te:t [imperf., perf.] / =ta-t [fut.] / =t=ta-k [customary] 'to go / to come' is used [Milanowski 2009: 119]. Perfective stem, sg. subj.

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 332, 412; Tuttle 2009: 87; Urschel 2006: 26. A generic verb of going with polysemy: 'to go / to come', used with sg. & dual. subj. Paradigm: =yλ-y [momentaneous/customary imperf.] / =yλ [perf.] / =yλ-t [momentaneous progressive]. Further see notes on 'to go'.

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 654, 1223, 1263; Poser 2011a: 57; Antoine et al. 1974: 302. A generic verb of going with polysemy: 'to go / to come', used with sg. subj. Paradigm: =ya [continuous imperf.] / =ya-? [continuous perf.] / =yai-h [customary/momentaneous imperf.] / =ya-t [progressive imperf.]. Further see notes on 'to go'.

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 700, 878; Jones 1978: 41; Jones & Kwaraceius 1997: 109. A generic verb of going with polysemy: 'to go / to come', used with sg. subj. Suppletive paradigm: =ho:-y [momentaneous imperf.] / =yo: [momentaneous perf.] / =ho:-t [momentaneous fut.] / =yo:-? [momentaneous opt.] / =ho: [continuative imperf.] / =yo: [continuative perf.] / =ho:-t [continuative fut.] / =ho:-t [continuative opt.]. Further see notes on 'to go'. 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: =o:-y [momentaneous imperf.] / =yo: [momentaneous perf.] / =ho:-t [momentaneous fut.] / =yo:-? [momentaneous opt.] / =ho:-? [continuative imperf.] / =yo: [continuative perf.]. For further notes, see 'to go'. Perfective stem, sg. subj.

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

16. COME

North Slavey (Hare) =yâ (1).

References and notes:

North Slavey (Hare): Perfective stem.

17. DIE

Hupa =*t'e:n* (1) / =*yah* (2), Mattole =*tiŋ?* (3), Kato =*tən* (3), Taldash Galice =*c'it* (4), Outer Inlet Tanaina =*λan* (5), Inland Tanaina =*q^hi=sil* (6), Central Ahtena *ye:ʔ=t^h=e=l=c'et* (4), Mentasta Ahtena *ye:ʔ=t^h=e=l=c'et* (4), Dogrib =*wí* (7), North Slavey (Hare) =*wì* (7), Tanacross =*h=t^hč̣:* (8), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) =*h=t^hř:* (8), Lower Tanana (Minto) =*nax* (9) / =*nak* (9), Central Carrier *ta=...=çai* (10), Koyukon =*na:χ* (9) / =*t=yo:χ* (2), Degexit'an =*na:χ* (9) / =*tə=yo:q* (2), Sarsi =*c^hḡ* (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-xo? ʔa-č̣i-ti-yaw* 'in-some-way he-did-it' (= *yaw* < =*yah-i*), based on the suppletive verb =*t'ij* (< *=*t'e:n*) [light imperf.] / =*t'e:n* (< *=*t'e:n-i*) [heavy imperf.] / =*yah* [light perf.] / =*yaw* [heavy perf.] / =*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'ij* / = *t'e:n*): "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 =*čit* '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 =*čit* 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 =*čit* 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 =*čeh* (heavy stem: =*čew* < *=*čeh-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'ij* / =*yah* ('to do it in some way'). Light perfective stem.

Mattole: Li 1930: 87. Originates from *=*tin?*; the heavy stem is =*tin?* < *=*tin?-i* [Li 1930: 22]. Distinct from =*laʔt* 'to die' (said of a tree) [Li 1930: 119].

Bear River dialect: not attested.

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

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 71; Hoijer 1956: 223; Landar 1977: 294.

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^hi=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], *vɔ=q^hi=sil-ən* '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) =*ʌan* [Wassillie 1979: 28]. The only attested example is: "He died" [Wassillie 1979: 28].

Iliamna Tanaina: Not attested.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 408, 508.

Lower Ahtena: *ye:ʔ=t^h=e=l=c'et* [Kari 1990: 408, 508].

Western Ahtena: *ye:ʔ=t^h=e=l=c'et* [Kari 1990: 408, 508].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 408, 508.

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 32, 157. Used with sg. subj.

Distinct from =*dé* '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: =*wí* (sg. obj.) and =*té* (pl. obj.).

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 294, 388, 478, 496; Hoijer 1956: 222. Paradigm: =*wi* [imperf.] / =*wè* [perf.], used with both sg. and pl. subj. [Rice 1989: 792].

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 96; Shinen 1958: 34. Used with sg. subj.

With pl. subj., the verb =*ʔá:k* '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 2009: 54, 95, 120. It is unclear whether =*h=t^hr*: is applicable to sg. subj. only or to both sg. and pl. subj. Euphemistically derived from the verb =*t^hr*: 'to sleep (sg. subj.)' q.v.

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

Distinct from =*lax* [imperf.] / =*lak* [perf.] 'to die', applicable to pl. subj. [Kari 1994: 190]. Perfective.

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 670, 1223, 1262; Poser 2011a: 67. Used with sg. & pl. subj. Paradigm: =*çá-h* [imperf.] / =*çai* [perf.]. In [Antoine et al. 1974], erroneously transcribed as *ta=...=cai*, cf. "Many people died during the famine" [Antoine et al. 1974: 73], "he is dying (very near death)" [Antoine et al. 1974: 77], "He understands how a person feels when a relative dies" [Antoine et al. 1974: 222], etc.

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 708, 889; Jones 1978: 48. Literally 'it happens to SUBJ' with the suppletive verb =*na:ç* [imperf., opt.] / =*t=yo:ç* [perf.] / =*ni:-ʔ* [fut.] '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 =*l=ʌ^ho:-ç* [imperf.] / =*l=ʌ^ho:-ʔ* [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 =*na:* [imperf.] / =*no:-ʔ* [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 =*lo:ç* [imperf.] / =*lo:q* [perf.] with polysemy: 'to become unconscious / to fall asleep / to become paralyzed / to die' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 414]. Perfective.

Degexit'an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1976: 36; Chapman 1914: 214. Literally 'it happens to SUBJ' with the suppletive verb =*na:ç* [imperf., opt.] / =*t=yo:q* [perf.] / =*ne:-ʔ* [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 =*t^ho:-ç* / =*t^ho:-n-ʔ* 'to die' [Kari 1976: 53; Chapman 1914: 220], 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]. Perfective.

Sarsi: Li 1930b: 23; Hoijer 1956: 223; Cook 1984: 176. Paradigm: =*c^hy* [imperf.] / =*c^hy* [perf.].

18. DOG

Hupa *ʔiŋʔ* ~ POSSR=*liŋ-kʷ-eʔ* (1), Mattole *na:ʔi:* (2), Kato POSSR=*lo:* (3), Taldash Galice *ʔiʔ* (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina *ʔi-kʷa* (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina *ʔi-kʷa* (1), Inland Tanaina *ʔi-kʷa* (1), Iliamna Tanaina *ʔi-kʷa* (1), Central Ahtena *ʔi-kʷe:* (1), Mentasta Ahtena *ʔi-kʷe:* (1), Dogrib *ʔʰi* ~ POSSR=*ʔi:* (1), North Slavey (Hare) *li* (1), Tanacross *ʔi:* (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) *ʔi:* (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) *ʔi-k-a* (1), Central Carrier *ʔi* (1), Koyukon *ʔi:-k* (1), Degexit'an *ʔe:-k* (1), Sarsi *ʔʰi* (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 *no:=kʷi=ne:=yo:t*, literally 'it barks at something' [Golla 1996: 9, 27] from the verb *=yo:t* (the variant *=yoh < =yot#*) 'to bark' [Golla 1996: 9]. Golla [Golla 1996: 27] quotes *ʔiŋʔ* and *no:=kʷi=ne:=yo:t* as synonyms in the meaning 'dog', but browsing through Hupa texts in [Goddard 1904; Sapir & Golla 2001; Golla 1984] clearly suggests that *ʔiŋʔ* is the default designation for 'dog'. Examples for *ʔiŋʔ* '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 allowed to eat his left-overs" [Sapir & Golla 2001: 191 No. 30]), Golla's examples are: "Don't even let a dog look from there!" [Golla 1984: 32, 34], "dogs never come here" [Golla 1970: 301]. By contrast, no textual examples for *no:=kʷi=ne:=yo:t* have been found.

Mattole: Li 1930: 128.

Bear River dialect: *naʔi ~ neʔi* with polysemy: 'dog / horse' [Goddard 1929: 306, 315].

Kato: Goddard 1912: 23. Browsing through [Goddard 1909] suggests that POSSR=*lo:* or POSSR=*lo:-c* (with the diminutive suffix [Goddard 1912: 27]) are the default expressions for 'dog', although there is also an alternative form *naʔki: ~ naʔki:* 'dog' [Goddard 1912: 31, 90, 118]. The latter is morphologically unclear, cf. Mattole *na:ʔi:* 'dog'. In [Curtis 1924: 202] and [Essene 1942: 86], however, 'dog' is quoted as *nati*.

Distinct from the word for 'horse': *ʔin-čʰo* [Curtis 1924: 202], literally 'big pet' with the augmentative suffix *-čʰo:* [Goddard 1912: 26].

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 61; Landar 1977: 294. The possessed form is POSSR=*li:-čʰ-eʔ* with the old suffix *-čʰ*. Cf. the term for 'horse': *ʔiʔ-čʰoh* [Hoijer 1973: 61], literally 'big dog' (historically 'big pet') with the augmentative suffix *-čʰoh*, for which see notes on 'big'.

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 11, 241, 349; Kari 1977: 30.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 11, 241, 349; Kari 1977: 30.

Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 11, 241, 349; Kari 1977: 30; Wassillie 1979: 29.

Iliamna Tanaina: Kari 2007: 11, 241, 349; Kari 1977: 30.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 280, 510; Kari & Buck 1975: 8; Smelcer 2010: 66.

Lower Ahtena: *ʔi-kʷe:* [Kari 1990: 280, 510; Kari & Buck 1975: 8; Smelcer 2010: 66].

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

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 280, 510; Kari & Buck 1975: 8; Smelcer 2010: 66.

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

Cf. *ʔʰi-čʰo* 'horse' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 101], literally 'big dog' with the augmentative suffix *-čʰo* [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 8].

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

Cf. *li-šo* 'horse' [Rice 1978: 78], literally 'big dog' with the augmentative suffix *-šo*.

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

in the possessed form: POSSR= ʔi-g-ʔ . The plural form is modified with the plural suffix: ʔi-ʔin 'dogs' [Arnold et al. 2009: 100; Holton 2000: 157].

In [Shinen 1958: 12], the word for 'dog' is transcribed as $\lambda^h i$.

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

Northway: ʔi : 'dog' [Milanowski 2007: 2].

Scottie Creek: ʔi , POSSR= ʔi-k 'dog' [John 1997: 21].

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 181, 392; Tuttle 2009: 58. Possessed: POSSR= li-k-aʔ ; the non-possessed form ʔi-k-a was leveled by analogy with the possessed one. In compounds, the suffixless root ʔi- is retained: ʔi-c'aʔa 'bitch, female dog', ʔi-kliya 'puppy', etc.

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 256, 673; Poser 2011a: 70. Possessed: POSSR= la-k . Plural: $\text{ʔi-k}^h e$. Polysemy: 'dog / horse' in the recent past.

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 388, 893; Jones 1978: 50. Polysemy: 'dog / tame animal, pet'. Possessed: POSSR= li-k-aʔ ; the non-possessed form ʔi-k was leveled by analogy with the possessed one. Plural: $\text{ʔi-q}^h aʔ$ 'dogs / pets'. In compounds, the suffixless root ʔi- is retained: ʔi-c'aʔa 'bitch, female dog', etc. [Jetté & Jones 2000: 389].

Degexit'an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 5; Chapman 1914: 218. In compounds, the suffixless root ʔe- is retained: ʔe-c'aʔ 'bitch', ʔe-qo:y 'puppy' etc. [Kari 1978: 5].

Sarsi: Hoijer & Joël 1963: 68, 70; Hoijer 1956: 222; Cook 1984: 65. Paradigm: $\lambda^h i \sim \lambda^h i \sim \lambda^h i\text{-}\check{c}\acute{a}$ [sg.] / POSSR= $\lambda^h i\text{-}h\text{-}\check{u}ʔ$ [sg.] / $\lambda^h i\text{-}k^h\acute{a} \sim \lambda^h i\text{-}\check{c}\acute{a}\text{-}k^h\acute{a}$ [pl.] / POSSR= $\text{li-k}^h\acute{a} \sim \text{POSSR}=\lambda^h i\text{-}k^h\acute{u}\text{-}\check{u}ʔ$ [pl.]. In [Goddard 1915: 248], the pl. form POSSR= $\text{li-c}\acute{a}\text{-}k^h\acute{a}$ 'dogs' can also be found. Note the distribution $\lambda^h\text{-}$ / -l- retained in Cook's and Goddard's data, leveled in favor of λ^h in Hoijer & Joël's glossary.

Suffixed stem $\lambda^h i\text{-}\check{c}\acute{a}$ with polysemy: 'dog / horse'.

19. DRINK

Hupa = na:n (1), Mattole = na:n (1), Kato = nan (1), Taldash Galice = na: (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina = t=nun (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina = t=nun (1), Inland Tanaina = t=nun (1), Iliamna Tanaina = t=nun (1), Central Ahtena = $\text{t}^h\text{=na:n}$ (1), Mentasta Ahtena = $\text{t}^h\text{=n}\acute{a}$: (1), Dogrib = $\text{t}\acute{o}$ (1), North Slavey (Hare) = $\text{t}\acute{o}$ (1), Tanacross = $\text{t=n}\acute{a}$: (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) = $\text{t=n}\acute{a}$: (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) = t=nun (1), Central Carrier = t=nai (1), Koyukon nu:n (1), Degexit'an = ne:n (1), Sarsi = $\text{t}\acute{u}n\text{-}$ (1).

References and notes:

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

Mattole: Li 1930: 94. This is the heavy imperfective stem, originating from *=na:n-i ; the light imperfective stem is = nah < *=na:n [Li 1930: 21]; the perfective stem is = na:ʔn < *=na:n-ʔ-i . Distinct from = xix , 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 *=nan-i ; the light stem is = $\text{na}\eta$ < *=nan .

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 66; Hoijer 1956: 223. Paradigm: = na : [imperf.] / = na-ʔ [perf.].

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 278, 349.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 278, 349.

Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 278, 349; Wassillie 1979: 31; Holton et al. 2004: 22.

Iliamna Tanaina: Kari 2007: 278, 349.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 289, 511.

Lower Ahtena: = $\text{t}^h\text{=na:n}$ [Kari 1990: 289, 511].

Western Ahtena: =t^h=na:n [Kari 1990: 289, 511].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 289, 511.

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 124, 159.

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

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 422, 497; Hoijer 1956: 222. Originally from *=t=nō. 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 =h=ts'è, 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 =h=ts'è 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].

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 102; Holton 2000: 175, 349; Shinen 1958: 35. Paradigm: =t=nâ: [imperf.] / =t=nâ'-? [perf.]. In [Holton 2000: 349], quoted as =t=nâ: - a typo.

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 48, 95.

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 226, 394; Tuttle 2009: 62. Paradigm: =t=nu ɪ [imperf.] / =t=nun-? [perf.] / =t=nu-y [custmary].

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 677, 1222, 1258; Poser 2011a: 72; Antoine et al. 1974: 305. Paradigm: =t=nai [imperf.] / =t=nai-? [perf.] / =t=ni-h [custmary imperf.].

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 492, 894; Jones 1978: 51. Paradigm: =nu: ŋ [durative imperf.] / =nu:-y [momentaneous imperf.] / =nu:n-? [perf.].

Distinct from =zəs 'to sip, drink (hot liquid, alcoholic beverage)' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 737].

Degexit'an: Kari 1976: 37; Chapman 1914: 214. Paradigm: =ne: ŋ [imperf.] / =ne:n-? [perf.] / =ne:-ʔ [fut.] / =ne:-y [opt.]. In [Taff et al. 2007] it is specified as 'to drink, gulping smth. cold', but browsing through Chapman's text examples suggests that =ne: ŋ is retained as the basic verb for 'to drink': "I will drink some water", said she; and when she drank, she swallowed the spruce-needle" [Chapman 1914: 112], "and asked her for some water. 'There is some', said she, 'out there on the floor. Drink!'" [Chapman 1914: 169], "So he drank the water; and she gave him some food, and he ate it" [Chapman 1914: 169], "Three days he spent there without anything to eat or drink" [Chapman 1914: 178], "Then she reached down a little bowl with some water in it. 'Here', said she, "drink this!" [Chapman 1914: 179].

It is interesting that in the modern language as described in [Taff et al. 2007], the default verb for drinking is =zəʃ [imperf.] / =zəʃ [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 =zəʃ '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: =tú ~ =tún- [imperf., perf.], historically < *=t=nún. In [Hoijer 1956], however, quoted simply as =nú(n-).

20. DRY

Hupa =c^ha:y (1), Mattole =c^hai (1), Kato =c^hai ~ =sai (1), Taldash Galice =cai (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina =qən (2), Outer Inlet Tanaina =qən (2), Inland Tanaina =qən (2) / =č'is̄ (3), Iliamna Tanaina =qən (2), Central Ahtena =qan (2), Mentasta Ahtena =qan (2), Dogrib =kō̄ (2) / =žà (4), North Slavey (Hare) =fâ (1) / =kō̄ (2), Tanacross n=è=l=kēy (2) / t=é:š̄à:k (4), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) kây (2), Lower Tanana (Minto) =kvn̄ (2), Central Carrier =ki (2), Koyukon =quŋ (2), Degexit'an =qəŋ (2), Sarsi =kṽ:n (2).

References and notes:

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

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

Mattole: Li 1930: 107. Intransitive verb 'to be dry'. The transitive counterpart is =c^hai-ʔ 'to dry smth' [Li 1930: 108], which coincides with the optative stem =c^hai-ʔ of the intransitive verb.

Bear River dialect: only the transitive verb =sai(?) '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 =č'iš [imperf.] / =č'ic' [perf.], 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.

Iliamna Tanaina: Kari 2007: xxvii; Kari 1977: 78 sub dry wood.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 191, 512.

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

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

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 191, 512.

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 26, 117, 127, 160.

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

1) =kó [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) =žà / =šà [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: 18].

3) =čà, glossed as 'to be dried' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 73, 159]. This one is apparently a morphological variant of =žà.

We treat =kó and =žà as synonyms. Saxon & Siemens 1996: 18, 160. The variant =šà is attested after the suffixal =h=; innovative pronunciation: =zà / =sà.

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.)'): =fâ (< *c^hV) and =kò. Both are widely used and the semantic difference between them is unclear. We have to treat them as synonyms, although the verb =kò tends to be applicable specifically to meat and fish and thus could be ruled out in future.

Cf. the found examples for intrans. =fâ and trans. =h=fâ: "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. =kò and trans. =h=kò: "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.

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 104; Holton 2000: 349; Shinen 1958: 20.

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

1) The verb =h=kčy 'to dry (trans.)' / =l=kčy '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*=è=l=kčy or *t*=è=kčy '(it is) dry' (with the adjectival/gender exponents *n*= or *t*= [Holton 2000: 237 ff.]) or as the noun-like adjective *kčy*. The found examples, however, are not very illustrative: "the woman is drying (=kčy) fish" [Arnold et al. 2009: 104], "dry (kčy) meat" [Arnold et al. 2009: 172], "he is skinny (lit. dry, *n*=è=l=kčy) because he was sick" [Arnold et al. 2009: 236], "my chin is dry (=kčy) (i.e.: I am thirsty)" [Arnold et al. 2009: 268].

2) The verbal form $t=e=šà:k$ '(it is) dry' [Arnold et al. 2009: 104] with the adjectival/gender exponent $t=$ [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 $=l=t^{oh}ây$ 'to be drying', applied to clothes, tents, etc. [Arnold et al. 2009: 104]. 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 $=h=kây$ 'to dry (intrans., trans.), air-dry smth.' with the examples "The cups are drying", "She is drying fish" [Milanowski 2009: 95].

A second candidate is the noun-like adjective $t^{oh}ây$, attested in the example "spruce firewood which is mostly dry" [Milanowski 2009: 27, 86] and the verb $=l=t^{oh}ây$ 'to make dry' [Milanowski 2009: 95, 100].

Northway: $kây$, glossed with polysemy: 'dry / withered / thin' and the cognate verb $=h=kay$ in the transitive example "Someone is drying dishes" [Milanowski 2007: 7].

Scottie Creek: $kây$, $e=kây$, $t=e=kây$ 'dry', attested in the examples "I am eating dry meat" [John 1997: 42], "dry ground" [John 1997: 42], "dry firewood" [John 1997: 58], "dry branch" [John 1997: 60].

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 116, 394; Tuttle 2009: 63. Verb 'to be dry'. Paradigm: $=kw \eta$ [imperf.] / $=k\lambda-y$ [customary]. Also functions as the noun-like adjective $kw \eta$ 'dry'. Cf. Kari's examples: "dry wood", "dry fish", "dry meat", "dry surface", "cube sugar".

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 684, 1220, 1252; Poser 2011a: 74; Antoine et al. 1974: 306. Verbal stem: 'to be dry'.

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 218, 895; Jones 1978: 52. Verbal stem: 'to be dry'. Paradigm: $=qu \iota$ [neuter imperf.] / $=qo:-y$ [customary imperf.]. Widely applicable, cf. some examples: "The clothes dried", "The king salmon is dry", "place is dry".

Degexit'an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1976: 21. Verbal stem: 'to be dry / to dry (trans.)'. Also functions as the noun-like adjective $qəŋ$ '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 $=c^həç$, glossed as 'to be dry' in [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 $POSSR=\check{c}iw'$ ~ $POSSR=\check{c}iw-e?$ (1), Mattole $POSSR=\check{c}'i:\gamma-e?$ (1), Kato $POSSR=\check{c}'k-e?$ ~ $POSSR=\check{c}k-e?$ (1), Taldash Galice $POSSR=sa:i$ (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina $POSSR=ci-l-?u$ (2), Outer Inlet Tanaina $POSSR=\check{c}əB-?a$ (1), Inland Tanaina $POSSR=\check{c}əB-a$ (1), Iliamna Tanaina $POSSR=\check{c}əB-?a$ (1), Central Ahtena $POSSR=cəB-e?$ (1), Mentasta Ahtena $POSSR=cəB-a?$ (1), Dogrib $POSSR=cè:-^m pà:$ (1), North Slavey (Hare) $POSSR=cí-?$ (2), Tanacross $POSSR=că:\gamma-?$ (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) $POSSR=cay-\eta?$ (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) $POSSR=cəy-a?$ (1), Central Carrier $POSSR=co$ (1), Koyukon $POSSR=cəB-ə?$ (1), Degexit'an $POSSR=cə:B$ ~ $POSSR=cəB$ (1), Sarsi $POSSR=cíy-?ə?$ (1).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 811; Golla 1996: 30; Golla 1964: 113.

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 $POSSR=\check{c}iy-e?$ is actually a generic term.

Bear River dialect: $POSSR=\check{c}ug-e?$ ~ $POSSR=\check{c}'ig-e$ 'ear' [Goddard 1929: 315].

Kato: Goddard 1912: 22; Goddard 1909: 110 No. 2, 114 No. 10, 181 No. 10; Curtis 1924: 201. Sporadic ejection $\check{c}k > \check{c}'k$ in Goddard's transcription is quite unclear.

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 58; Hoijer 1956: 223; Landar 1977: 294. In [Landar 1977], transcribed as $s^y ai$.

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 89, 349; Kari 1977: 98. Literally 'extending to his hearing' or 'extending his inner ear' with the classificatory verb =ʔu 'to handle a single compact object' [Tenenbaum 1978: 132, 135; Holton et al. 2004: 40; Boraas 2010: 65, 118]. The Upper Inlet incorporated element *ci* historically means 'inner ear, hearing' (cf. the cognate Degexit'an, Koyukon, Tanacross etc. forms for 'inner ear, hearing'). This is also attested in the synchronic Tanaina expressions for 'inner ear, hearing': Outer Inlet, Inland POSSR=*ci-yiq'*, Upper Inlet POSSR=*ci-q'-e* [Kari 2007: 89], where *-(y)iq'* is the postposition 'inside, into' (cf. Outer Inlet *-(y)iq'* 'inside, into' [Boraas 2010: 27, 35]).

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 89, 349; Kari 1977: 98.

Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 89, 349; Kari 1977: 98; Wassillie 1979: 32.

Iliamna Tanaina: Kari 2007: 89, 349; Kari 1977: 98.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 167, 513; Kari & Buck 1975: 62; Smelcer 2010: 45.

Lower Ahtena: POSSR=*caʔ-eʔ* [Kari 1990: 167, 513; Kari & Buck 1975: 62; Smelcer 2010: 45].

Western Ahtena: POSSR=*caʔ-eʔ* [Kari 1990: 167, 513; Kari & Buck 1975: 62; Smelcer 2010: 45].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 167, 513; Kari & Buck 1975: 62; Smelcer 2010: 45.

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 40, 160. Glossed as 'outer ear, ear'. Literally 'edge of *cè*' with *cè*: *'ear' and POSSR=*mpà*: 'edge, seam' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 107]. Cf. *mpà*: in other compounds like, e.g., *tíli-mpà*: 'roadside' ← *tíli* 'road' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 97], *c'i-mpà*: 'sails' ← *c'i* 'boat' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 106].

Distinct from POSSR=*č*, glossed as 'ear, hearing' in [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 40, 160]; apparently the meaning 'inner ear, hearing' is implied.

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 52, 135; Hoijer 1956: 222. The old term =*ce-* ~ =*ca-* 'ear' is retained in the compounds *cè-lù* 'earrings', POSSR=*cà-pár-éʔ* ~ POSSR=*cè-pár-éʔ* 'earlobe' [Rice 1978: 52]; final *-lù* is the attributive 'round', a suffixless cognate to the verb =*lùl-è* 'to be round 3D' q.v. (see [Rice 1989: 244] for South Slavey *-lù* 'round'); final =*par-e* is the attributive 'rounded, curved' [Rice 1978: 257, 531].

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 106; Holton 2000: 342; Brean & Milanowski 1979: 23; McRoy 1973: 8.

Distinct from POSSR=*ci*: 'inner ear, hearing' [Arnold et al. 2009: 106; Holton 2000: 344].

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 13, 69. Final *-ŋʔ* is the izafet exponent (...*ŋŋʔ* < *...*k-əʔ*).

Northway: POSSR=*cay-ŋʔ* 'ear' [Milanowski 2007: 7].

Scottie Creek: POSSR=*cāk* 'ear' [John 1997: 12].

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 103, 395.

Distinct from POSSR=*ci-yit* ~ POSSR=*ci-yet* 'inner ear, hearing' [Kari 1994: 103, 329; Tuttle 2009: 99] (contains the postposition OBJ=*yit* 'in, inside').

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 153, 688; Poser 2011a: 76; Antoine et al. 1974: 22, 306.

Distinct from POSSR=*ceh* 'ear as organ of hearing' [Poser 1998/2013: 151, 688].

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 169, 896; Jones 1978: 54.

Distinct from POSSR=*cə-y* ~ POSSR=*ci-y* ~ POSSR=*cə-yət* ~ POSSR=*ci-yət* 'inner ear, hearing' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 170; Jones 1978: 54]. Final *-y* ~ *-yət* is the fossilized postposition *-yi:* ~ *-yit* 'in, inside' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 680].

Degexit'an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 33. The variant POSSR=*cəʔ* is from [Kari 1978].

Distinct from POSSR=*ce*: 'inner ear' [Taff et al. 2007], POSSR=*ce-t* 'hearing' [Kari 1978: 33].

Sarsi: Hoijer & Joël 1963: 71; Hoijer 1956: 222.

22. EARTH

Hupa *ninʔ* ~ *neʔn* (1), Kato *neʔ* (1), Taldash Galice *nanʔ-te*: (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina *ʔac* (2), Outer Inlet Tanaina *ʔač* (2), Inland Tanaina *ʔač* (2), Iliamna Tanaina *ʔač* (2), Central Ahtena *ʔe:c* (2), Mentasta Ahtena *ʔe:c* (2), Dogrib *ʔtè* (1), North Slavey (Hare) *nè* (1), Tanacross *nénʔ* (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) *nanʔ* (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) *nənʔ* (1), Central Carrier *yan* (1), Koyukon *nənʔ* (1), Degexit'an *ʔa:c* (2), Sarsi *kù=ʔis* (3).

References and notes:

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

Mattole: Not documented. The old root *ninʔ* 'earth' is, however, attested in *ne-ʔ=no=n'iŋ-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 *ʔec ~ ʔeč* 'clay' [Goddard 1912: 19; Goddard 1909: 147 No. 11, 76 No. 3-5, 133 No. 10].

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 55; Hoijer 1956: 223. Glossed as 'earth, land, country'. The second element *-te* is not entirely clear.

Cf. the cognate noun *nanʔ-s'ā*: 'world, cosmos' [Hoijer 1973: 55], which is an exact match for Hupa *ninis'a:n* 'world' (see notes on Hupa 'earth').

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 144, 358; Kari 1977: 122.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 144, 358; Kari 1977: 122.

Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 144, 358; Kari 1977: 122.

Iliamna Tanaina: Kari 2007: 144, 358; Kari 1977: 122.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 275.

Lower Ahtena: ʔe:c [Kari 1990: 275].

Western Ahtena: ʔe:c [Kari 1990: 275].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 275.

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 86, 161. Innovative pronunciation: *tè*. Polysemy: 'ground / land / earth / dirt'. For the meaning 'earth', cf. the collocations *tè:-c'h'i*: 'wooden cache insulated with earth' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 18], *tè:-t'h'ò*: 'wooden cache insulated with earth or moss' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 18].

Distinct from *nèk'é*, which is attested in two collocations: *tí: nèk'é* 'world, earth' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 19], literally 'this *nèk'é*' with demonstrative *tí*: 'this' q.v.; *hážò: nèk'é* 'world, earth' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 50], literally 'all *nèk'é*' with demonstrative *hážò*: 'all' q.v.

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

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 97, 160, 321; Shinen 1958: 12. Polysemy: 'soil / dirt / ground / land, country'.

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 21, 75. Polysemy: 'earth, soil / ground / land'.

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

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

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 205, 395; Tuttle 2009: 66. Polysemy: 'earth, soil / ground / land, country'.

Cf. the collocation *nənʔ-k'h'əkət* 'the world, the earth' [Kari 1994: 205] with the postposition OBJ=*k'h'əkət* 'on, upon the surface of obj.' [Kari 1994: 155].

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 579; Antoine et al. 1974: 283. Polysemy: 'earth, soil / ground / floor'. Cf. some examples: "the soil here is sandy" [Poser 1998/2013: 882], "He is digging up the ground for a garden" [Poser 1998/2013: 579].

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 474, 897. Polysemy: 'earth, soil / land, country / ground'.

Degexit'an: 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 mess of salmon tails and fins that they had cooked was full of dirt and earth" [Chapman 1914: 175].

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

Sarsi: Hoijer & Joël 1963: 74. Initial *ku=* is the fossilized indefinite personal possessive [Hoijer & Joël 1963: 66], literally 'somebody's *ʔis*'. Glossed simply as 'earth' by Hoijer & Joël, 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 [Nanagusja 1996b: 153-154], however, *ku=ʔis* is consistently translated as 'mud, dirt' (as opposed to *nisk'a* '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 [Hojier 1956: 223], the equivalent *nī* is offered for the Swadesh item 'earth'; unfortunately, this archaic form is not confirmed by other sources.

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

Distinct from $\lambda^h\ddot{v}:z$ / POSSR= $\lambda^h\ddot{v}c-\ddot{v}?$ 'soft earth, mud; white clay' [Hojier & Joël 1963: 68].

23. EAT

Hupa =*ya:n* (1), Mattole =*ya:n* (1), Kato =*yan* (1), Taldash Galice =*yā:* (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina =*l=q^hat* (2), Outer Inlet Tanaina =*l=q^hat* (2), Inland Tanaina =*l=q^hat* (2), Iliamna Tanaina =*l=q^hat* (2), Central Ahtena =*ya:n* ~ =*t=a:n* (1), Mentasta Ahtena =*yā:* ~ =*t=ā:* (1), Dogrib =*ṛā* (3) / =*t^hi* (4), North Slavey (Hare) =*t=t^hi* (4), Tanacross =*ṛá:t* (3) / =*ṛá:λ* (3), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) =*ṛá:t* (3), Lower Tanana (Minto) =*ṛat* (3) / =*ṛaλ* (3), Central Carrier =*ṛat* (3), Koyukon =*ho:n* ~ =*t=o:n* (1), Degexit'an =*ho:n* (1), Sarsi =*s=nā* (5) / =*c^hát-* (6).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 805; Golla 1996: 30; Golla 1996a: 388; Golla 1970: 154. The imperfective root variants are =*yaŋ* < *=*yan* [light] / =*ya:n* < *=*ya:n-i* [heavy], the perfective root variants are =*yanʔ* < *=*ya:n-ʔ* [light] / =*yaʔn* < *=*ya:n-ʔ-i* [heavy]. In [Golla 1996], also the reduced root variant =*yuy* [light imperf.] is quoted. Cf. the cognate noun *k^ʷi-wi=yul* 'what one eats (in general), food' < *=*ya:n-t-i* [Golla 1996: 37].

Distinct from the ablaut verb =*ye:* ~ =*ye^h* [imperf.] / =*ya:n* (< *=*ya:n-i*) [perf.] 'to eat up, devour' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 805, 806, 820; Golla 1996: 25]. The basic verb =*ya:n* '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 =*yaŋ* < *=*ya:n* [light] / =*ya:n* < *=*ya:n-i* [heavy], the perfective root variants are =*yanʔ* < *=*ya:n-ʔ* [light] / =*yaʔn* < *=*ya:n-ʔ-i* [heavy], see [Li 1930: 21 f.].

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

Bear River dialect: =*ya(h)* / =*yaŋ* 'to eat' [Goddard 1929: 315].

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

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

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

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

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 278, 349.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 278, 349.

Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 278, 349; Wassillie 1979: 32; Holton et al. 2004: 23.

Iliamna Tanaina: Kari 2007: 278, 349.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 429, 513.

Lower Ahtena: =*ya:n* ~ =*t=a:n* [Kari 1990: 429, 513].

Western Ahtena: =ya:n ~ =t=a:n [Kari 1990: 429, 513].

Mentasta Ahtena: 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) =tʰí [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 =zê) [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 92, 161], subj. = pl., human only(?). The examples are: "There 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, =tʰí and =žé are normally used as intransitive verbs; the most obvious counterexample where transitive use is attested is "Because you were eating (=tʰí) delicious meat,..." It is possible that the Dogrib system is quadruple: transitive sg. =ʔà / transitive pl. ? / intransitive sg./dual. =tʰí / 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 =tʰí as synonyms.

There are also several additional verbs of eating with more specific meanings:

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

3) =k'á '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 =t=tʰí, used with sg. & dual. subj. [Rice 1978: 333, 463], and =l=yiè with pl. subj. [Rice 1978: 333, 482].

Cf. numerous examples for sg. & dual. =t=tʰí: "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. =l=yiè: "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 =t=tʰí. 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 =t=tiè 'to eat (individual pieces, one by one)' [Rice 1978: 363, 386, 416], =t=ciè 'to eat up' [Rice 1978: 387, 425].

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 107; Holton 2000: 349; Shinen 1958: 36. Paradigm: =ʔá:t [imperf.] / =ʔá:ʔ [perf.]. Perfective stem.

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 38, 96.

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

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 27, 395; Tuttle 2009: 67

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

1) =ya ʔ- =tʰ ʔ [durative imperf.] / =yan-ʔ ~ =tam-ʔ [durative perf.] [Kari 1994: 339, 395; Tuttle 2009: 66].

2) =ʔaʔ [imperf.] / =ʔaʔ [perf.] [Kari 1994: 27, 395; Tuttle 2009: 67].

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

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

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 689, 1218, 1247; Poser 2011a: 77; Antoine et al. 1974: 306. Polysemy: 'to eat / to chew'. Paradigm: =ʔaʔ [imperf.] / =ʔaʔ [perf.] =ʔaʔ [customary].

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

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 285, 897; Jones 1978: 54. Paradigm: =(h)o: ʏ [durative imperf.] / =(h)i: ʏ [momentaneous imperf.] / =(h)o:n-ʔ [perf.]. Perhaps normally used with sg. obj.

Distinct from =l=ta:ʔ [imperf.] / =l=ta:ʔ [perf.] with polysemy: 'to eat (pl. obj.) / eat, graze upon obj. (of animal)' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 121].

Degexit'an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1976: 3; Chapman 1914: 225. Paradigm: =ho: ʏ [durative imperf.] / =he: ʏ [momentaneous imperf.] / =ho:n-ʔ [perf.] / =he: ʔ [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].

Distinct from =t=no:- ʔ [imperf.] / =t=no:-ʔ [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:

1) =s=nū ~ =s=nū- [imperf.] / =s=nū-ʔ [perf.] [Li 1930b: 20; Cook 1984: 156; Hoijer 1956: 222]. Cf. some examples: "What (kind) do you eat?" [Cook 1984: 60], "I don't eat that kind" [Cook 1984: 62], "The domestic animals that belong to you, that kind of animal, I eat" [Cook 1984: 65], "Grandfather: Let's sit down and eat" [Nanagusja 1996b: 69].

2) =c^hāʔ ~ =c^hāt- [momentaneous imperf.] / =c^hi:ž [iterative imperf.] / =c^hāʔ ~ =c^hāt- [perf.] [Li 1930b: 23, 25; Cook 1984: 156]. The iterative form =c^hi:ž was regularly assimilated < *c^hi:ž (further < *c^hi:ž). 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'" [Nanagusja 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 =s=tāh [imperf.] / =s=tāʔ ~ =s=tāk- [perf.] 'to eat up, to annihilate' [Li 1930b: 19]. Li 1930b: 23; Cook 1984: 156.

24. EGG

Hupa *POSSR*=we:m-eʔ (1), Mattole *POSSR*=y'e:x-eʔ (1), Kato *POSSR*=weš-i: (1), Taldash Galice *POSSR*=we:s-eʔ (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina *POSSR*=kay-a (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina *POSSR*=kaž-ʔa (1), Inland Tanaina *POSSR*=kaž-a (1), Iliamna Tanaina *POSSR*=kaž-ʔa (1), Central Ahtena *POSSR*=be:z-eʔ (1), Mentasta Ahtena *POSSR*=be:z-eʔ (1), Dogrib *POSSR*=yè ~ *POSSR*=yè (1), North Slavey (Hare) *POSSR*=yíé-ʔ (1), Tanacross *POSSR*=xě:z-ʔ (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) *POSSR*=xia-ʔ (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) *POSSR*=yaz-aʔ (1), Central Carrier *POSSR*=yez (1), Koyukon *POSSR*=ka:z-ʔ (1), Degexit'an *POSSR*=ç'a:=θ=ʔo:y (2), Sarsi *POSSR*=yūs-ʔ (1).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 794; Golla 1996: 31; Golla 1964: 110.

Mattole: Li 1930: 126. Quoted by Li as *ʔi=y'e:x-eʔ* with the indefinite possessive pronoun (for which see notes on 'meat').
 Bear River dialect: *k'oŋ ~ k'oŋʔ* 'egg' [Goddard 1929: 315].

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

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 57; Hoijer 1956: 223. Quoted in [Hoijer 1973] as *we:seʔ* without a possessor prefix; probably a typo.

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 39, 349; Kari 1977: 53.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 39, 349; Kari 1977: 53. In Nikolai Rezanov's data (1805), 'egg' is quoted as an unclear form
 POSSR=*ʔ'azʔi* [Kari 2007: 39]: apparently an error.

Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 39, 349; Kari 1977: 53; Wassillie 1979: 33.

Iliamna Tanaina: Kari 2007: 39, 349; Kari 1977: 53.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 216, 513; Kari & Buck 1975: 25; Smelcer 2010: 43.
Lower Ahtena: POSSR=*ʔe:z-eʔ* [Kari 1990: 216, 513; Kari & Buck 1975: 25; Smelcer 2010: 43].
Western Ahtena: POSSR=*ʔe:z-eʔ* [Kari 1990: 216, 513; Kari & Buck 1975: 25; Smelcer 2010: 43].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 216, 513; Kari & Buck 1975: 25; Smelcer 2010: 43.

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 37, 161. Polysemy: 'egg / testicle'.

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

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 108; Holton 2000: 129, 346; Shinen 1958: 15. Polysemy: 'egg / round object'. Cf. the cognate verb =*t=ʔe:s*
 'to be round 3D' q.v.

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 14, 73. Cf. the cognate verb =*t=xia* 'to be round' q.v.
Northway: POSSR=*xea-ʔ* 'egg' [Milanowski 2007: 7].
Scottie Creek: POSSR=*xia-ʔ* 'egg' [John 1997: 7].

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 123, 396. Polysemy: 'egg / testicles'. Cf. the cognate verbs: =*t=yʔs* 'to nest, sit on nest of eggs',
 =*t=yʔs* 'to be round 3D' [Kari 1994: 123].

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 225, 694; Poser 2011a: 79; Antoine et al. 1974: 24. Polysemy: 'egg / testicles'.

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 236, 897; Jones 1978: 55. Cf. the cognate verb =*t=ʔas* '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].

Sarsi: Hoijer & Joël 1963: 71; Hoijer 1956: 222.

25. EYE

Hupa POSSR=*na:-ʔ* (1), Mattole POSSR=*n'a:g-eʔ* (1), Kato POSSR=*naʔ* (1), Taldash Galice
 POSSR=*ta:-i* (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina POSSR=*nab-a* (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina POSSR=*ʔtʰuk-ʔa*
 (2), Inland Tanaina POSSR=*nab-a* (1), Iliamna Tanaina POSSR=*nab-ʔa* (1), Central Ahtena
 POSSR=*ne:q-eʔ* (1), Mentasta Ahtena POSSR=*ne:q-eʔ* (1), Dogrib POSSR=*n'tà:* (1), North Slavey
 (Hare) POSSR=*tá-ʔ* (1), Tanacross POSSR=*dǎ:γ-ʔ* ~ POSSR=*n'dǎ:γ-ʔ* (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin)
 POSSR=*n'da:γ-ŋʔ* (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) POSSR=*naγ-aʔ* (1), Central Carrier POSSR=*na-k'az*
 (1), Koyukon POSSR=*no:ʔ-ʔ* (1), Degexit'an POSSR=*na:q'a:* (3), Sarsi POSSR=*núγ-ʔ* (1).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 774; Golla 1996: 32. Polysemy: 'eye / large seed, pit'. Synchronically, the root is to be defined as *na:* (not
naʔ, which should yield phonetic *naʔ*), as can be seen in some compounds like POSSR=*na:-t'uŋʔ* 'eyelash' etc. [Sapir & Golla 2001: 773;
 Golla 1964: 112; Golla 1996: 32] and the adverbial forms like POSSR=*na:* 'waiting for POSSR', POSSR=*na:-t* 'in the presence of POSSR'
 [Sapir & Golla 2001: 773].

Mattole: Li 1930: 128. Cf. the variant *naʔ* found in compounds like POSSR=*naʔ-tʰoʔ* 'tears' [Li 1930: 128] (with *tʰoʔ* 'water' q.v.), POSSR=*naʔ-cʰeʔs* 'eyelid' [Li 1930: 131] (with *cʰeʔs* 'skin' q.v.) and the verbal incorporated morpheme *na-* 'referring to the eye' [Li 1930: 58]. The phonetic relationship between the variants in *-g-* and *-ʔ-* is not entirely clear.

Bear River dialect: POSSR=*nag-e* ~ POSSR=*nay-eʔ* 'eye' [Goddard 1929: 316].

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

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 53; Hoijer 1956: 223. Cf. this root in the compound POSSR=*ta-tʰo*: 'tears' (lit. 'eye water' with *tʰo*: 'water' q.v.) [Landar 1977: 294].

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 88, 349; Kari 1977: 97.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 88, 349; Kari 1977: 97. This form is obscure (so-called "elite replacement"). Kari explains this as POSSR=*ʔt-tʰuʔ-ʔa* 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=*ʔt* 'with X' (the postposition *-ʔt* 'with') plus the substantive *ʔʰʊʔ* 'oil, grease' (see notes on 'fat') - the latter morpheme was simplified (*ʔʰʊʔ > tʰuʔ*). However, we tentatively prefer to leave *ʔt-tʰuʔ* without analysis.

Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 88, 349; Kari 1977: 97; Wassillie 1979: 34.

Iliamna Tanaina: Kari 2007: 88, 349; Kari 1977: 97.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 297, 517; Kari & Buck 1975: 61; Smelcer 2010: 45.

Lower Ahtena: POSSR=*ne:q-eʔ* [Kari 1990: 297, 517; Kari & Buck 1975: 61; Smelcer 2010: 45].

Western Ahtena: POSSR=*ne:q-eʔ* [Kari 1990: 297, 517; Kari & Buck 1975: 61; Smelcer 2010: 45].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 297, 517; Kari & Buck 1975: 61; Smelcer 2010: 45.

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 39, 163. Polysemy: 'eye / eyesight'. Innovative pronunciation: POSSR=*tã:*; in compounds, the shape *=nã-* is retained, e.g., POSSR=*nã-tʰi* 'tears', lit. 'eye's water' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 45].

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 43, 136; Hoijer 1956: 222.

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 112; Holton 2000: 343; Brean & Milanowski 1979: 23; McRoy 1973: 8; Shinen 1958: 3. The incorporated variant: *ʔdã:x-* [Holton 2000: 258].

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 20, 69. Final *-ŋʔ* is the izafet exponent.

Northway: POSSR=*nʰa:ŋ-ŋʔ* 'eye' [Milanowski 2007: 7].

Scottie Creek: POSSR=*nʰã:k* 'eye' [John 1997: 12].

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 197, 400; Tuttle 2009: 71. Polysemy: 'eye / month'.

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 291, 702; Antoine et al. 1974: 37, 307. Plural: POSSR=*na* 'eyes'. The suffix *-kʰʌz* means 'one member of a natural pair' [Poser 1998/2013: 1269], but it must be noted that the related substantive *ʔʰʌkʰʌz* 'half' has a different phonetic shape [Poser 1998/2013: 56] (although in [Antoine et al. 1974: 31], this word is quoted as *ʔʰʌkʰʌz*).

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 487, 902; Jones 1978: 57. Polysemy: 'eye / month' (i.e., 'moon' as 'eye?').

Distinct from the more specific and rare term *noqʰo* 'eye-substance or material' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 487]. Jetté explains the difference between POSSR=*no:x-ʔ* and *noqʰo* as follows: "The Ten'a use both *no:xʔ* and *noqʰo*, 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=*na:qʰa:* 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 *na:qʰa:-t* as 'eye socket' [Kari 1978: 33] (final *-t* is apparently the same locative suffix as Koyukon *-t*).

The second candidate is POSSR=*ma:q*, 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 *na:χ-* ~ *no:χ-* ~ *noχ-*, retained in verbal incorporation or as the first element of nominal compounds, e.g., *na-t-cʰʌʔ* 'he has his eyes shut' [Taff et al. 2007], *noχ-tʰʊq* 'glasses' (lit. eye dish) [Taff et al. 2007], POSSR=*na:χ-to:-ʔ* 'eye lid' [Kari 1978: 33], POSSR=*na-ye:d* 'eyeball, pupil' [Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 33] (final *-ye:d* is apparently the same locative suffix as Koyukon *-yʔt*), etc. Cf. also the attested examples with POSSR=*na-ye:d* 'eyeball' where it functions as a generic term: "His eyes are bloodshot" [Taff et al. 2007], "They washed him [a raven-like child], and dressed him in a fine parka, and he stared with those big eyes of his" [Chapman 1914: 114].

It seems that the basic term POSSR=*na:qʰa:* 'eye' is related to Koyukon *noqʰo* 'eye-substance or material', representing a semantic innovation in Degexit'an, although the old root *na:(χ)* is still retained in compounds. It is, however, quite probable that the vocalism of POSSR=*na:qʰa:* has been influenced by *na:(χ)-*. The rare term POSSR=*ma:q* 'eye (of animal)' seems

to be of unclear origin.

Sarsi: Hoijer & Joël 1963: 70; Hoijer 1956: 222. Polysemy: 'eye / moon'.

26. FAT N.

Hupa *POSSR=q'ah* (1), Mattole *POSSR=k'ah* (1), Kato *k'wah* (1), Taldash Galice *č'a=k'ah* (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina *POSSR=q'aχ* (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina *POSSR=q'aχ* (1), Inland Tanaina *POSSR=q'aχ* (1), Iliamna Tanaina *POSSR=q'aχ* (1), Central Ahtena *POSSR=q'aχ* (1), Mentasta Ahtena *POSSR=q'aχ* (1), Dogrib *POSSR=k'á* (1), North Slavey (Hare) *POSSR=k'à* (1), Tanacross *POSSR=k'àx* ~ *POSSR=k'àh* (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) *POSSR=k'ah* (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) *POSSR=k'ux* (1) / *xa* ~ *POSSR=ya-ʔ* (2), Central Carrier *POSSR=k'o* (1), Koyukon *POSSR=q'oχ* (1), Degexit'an *POSSR=q'uχ* (1), Sarsi *POSSR=k'ā* (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'a:h*) / *=q'a:w* (< **=q'a:h-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 *?i=k'ah* with the indefinite possessive pronoun *?i-*, for which see notes on 'meat'.

Distinct from *k^he*, 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. Synchronically, used without obligatory possessor prefixes. Historically, a contraction from **k^{hw}=k'ah* 'smb's/smith's fat' (with the fossilized indefinite possessive pronoun *k^{hw}-*, for which see [Goddard 1912: 21]). Cf. the cognate verb *=k'ah* (< **=k'ax*) / *=k'aγ* (< **=k'ax-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 *č'a=k'ah* is, however, not clear). Cf. the cognate verb *=k'ah* 'to be fatty, greasy' [Hoijer 1973: 68].

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 13, 350; Kari 1977: 95.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 13, 350; Kari 1977: 95.

Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 13, 350; Kari 1977: 95; Wassillie 1979: 35. The second word quoted in [Wassillie 1979: 35] as a generic term for 'fat' is *POSSR=ti#k^hiti*, for which see notes on Common Tanaina.

Iliamna Tanaina: Kari 2007: 13, 350; Kari 1977: 95.

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

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

Western Ahtena: *POSSR=q'aχ* [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'á* 'to be fat' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 69].

Distinct from *POSSR=λ^héh*, glossed as 'lard, grease, oil, gasoline, fuel, ointment' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 100].

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

Distinct from *tè* 'lard, gas, oil, grease' [Rice 1978: 149] (alienable possession).

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 115; Holton 2000: 343; Shinen 1958: 15. Glossed as 'fat (food)'. The weakening of the final fricative *-x > -h* is irregular. The verb *=l=k'á:x* 'to be fat' (applicable to humans) is based on this noun.

Distinct from *č'è=č^há:ʔ* 'rendered fat' [Arnold et al. 2009: 115; Holton 2000: 343] (initial *č'è=* 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'a* '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=*χé-?* 'grease' [John 1997: 41].

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 171, 401.

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'ux* 'to be fat' [Kari 1994: 171].

2) *xa*, POSSR=*γa-?*, 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 *=t=γa* 'to be greasy' [Kari 1994: 122].

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

Distinct from more specific terms: POSSR=*c^hnyu-?* 'abdominal fat, abdominal lining' [Kari 1994: 48, 341, 401] (probably derived from POSSR=*c^hl n* 'viscera, abdomen' with unclear *-yu*), POSSR=*ça-nal* 'fat around heart, pericardium' [Kari 1994: 97, 401; Tuttle 2009: 73] (< *ça*- 'heart', *nal* *'sack'), POSSR=*t^hul-k^hac-a?* 'fat in stomach' [Kari 1994: 152, 401] (morphologically unclear). Kari 1994: 122; Tuttle 2009: 73.

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'o) for its grease (=ye)". 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 *xe ~ POSSR=γe-(?)* '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].

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 368, 904; Jones 1978: 59. Glossed as 'fat, suet, tallow'. Cf. the cognate verb *=l=q'oχ* 'to be fat (of animal, meat)' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 368].

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'uχ* 'to be fat' [Kari 1976: 44; Chapman 1914: 230].

Sarsi: Hoijer & Joël 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 *xí / POSSR=γóh-ò?* 'grease' [Hoijer & Joël 1963: 67].

27. FEATHER

Hupa POSSR=*č'il?* ~ POSSR=*č'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'áh* (2), North Slavey (Hare) POSSR=*t'á-?* (2), Tanacross *t'à:* (2) / POSSR=*t'á-?* (3), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) *t'a:* ~ POSSR=*t'a-?* (2), Lower Tanana (Minto) *t'n* (2), Central Carrier POSSR=*t'a* ~ POSSR=*t'a-?* (2), Koyukon *t'o:* (2) / POSSR=*t'o:n?* (3), Degexit'an POSSR=*t^θəθ-kə* (4), Sarsi *t'ay-* ~ *t'vy-* (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=*c'i-s-k'e-?* 'fine feathers, down' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 753; Golla 1996: 33] from the bound verbal root =*s=k'e* 'to be fuzzy' (?) [Sapir & Golla 2001: 752].

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

Bear River dialect: *t'aj* 'feather' [Goddard 1929: 316]. Apparently secondary < 'leaf' (cf. Mattole proper POSSR=*t'aj?* 'leaf' q.v.).

Kato: Goddard 1912: 20, 100. Used without obligatory possessor prefixes. Cf. 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-ah* 'short body feathers', which actually represent the collocation *t'a-lkai* 'white feather' (with *t=kai* 'white' q.v.).

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

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 39, 350; Kari 1977: 52.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 39, 350; Kari 1977: 52.

Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 39, 350; Kari 1977: 52; Wassillie 1979: 35.

Iliamna Tanaina: Kari 2007: 39, 350; Kari 1977: 52.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 339, 519; Kari & Buck 1975: 25; Smelcer 2010: 43.

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].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 339, 519; Kari & Buck 1975: 25; Smelcer 2010: 43.

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 99, 164. Possessed form: POSSR=*t'â*.

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

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

Distinct from *šô*, POSSR=*šôr-ê?* 'down, feathers' [Rice 1978: 93; Rice 1989: 215] (alienable possession).

Tanacross: Holton 2000: 343; Brean & Milanowski 1979: 5; McRoy 1973: 4.

Differently in [Arnold et al. 2009: 116], where the possessed form POSSR=*t'â-?* 'feather' is quoted - in fact, with polysemy: 'leaf / feather'. The same form POSSR=*t'â-?* is also attested in [Brean & Milanowski 1979: 5] with the gloss 'wing' (it should be noted that the actual Tanacross term for 'wing' is POSSR=*in-č'ên-?* [Arnold et al. 2009: 295; Holton 2000: 348]). Apparently, the old term *t'â*: 'feather' is currently being superseded with POSSR=*t'â-?* 'leaf'. We treat both terms as synonyms.

Distinct from *č'ûy* 'down' [Arnold et al. 2009: 116; Holton 2000: 343; Brean & Milanowski 1979: 5; McRoy 1973: 4]. Arnold et al. 2009: 116.

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 26, 74. Polysemy: 'feather / wing'.

Distinct from *č'ûy* 'short feathers, down feathers' [Milanowski 2009: 13].

Northway: POSSR=*t'a-?* with polysemy: 'feather / wing' [Milanowski 2007: 8, 19].

Scottie Creek: *č'ûy* 'feather', distinct from POSSR=*t'â-?* 'wing' [John 1997: 7].

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

Distinct from collective POSSR=*γ-?* with polysemy: 'hair / fur / feathers' [Kari 1994: 129].

Distinct from *č'ut^θ* 'down feathers' [Kari 1994: 50], *č'â=č'âs-ka-?* 'down feathers' [Kari 1994: 46] (*č'â=* 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'âz* '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'o-?* ~ POSSR=*t'o:n?*, the latter form POSSR=*t'o:n?* with polysemy: 'feather / leaf'.

Distinct from POSSR=*k'u:λ-â?* 'small feathers, down feathers; fluffy, soft material' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 305]. Jetté & Jones 2000: 552.

Degexit'an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 14. Cf. 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 =*t'ô'âθ* 'to caulk, chink'; final *-kâ* may be the

same as the desemantized nominal suffix *-kə* in Koyukon.

'Down, soft feathers' is expressed by the collocation POSSR=*tʰəθ-kə kʰe:dʰ* [Taff et al. 2007] with *kʰe:dʰ* 'soft', or simply as POSSR=*kʰe:dʰ* [Kari 1978: 14].

Distinct from the more specific terms POSSR=*tʰo:-ʔ* 'large feather' [Kari 1978: 14].

Sarsi: Hoijer & Joël 1963: 67; Hoijer 1956: 222; Nanagusja 1996b: 117, 121. Paradigm: *tʰáh ~ tʰvh* / POSSR=*tʰáy-ʔʔ* ~ POSSR=*tʰvy-a* (forms in *v* 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=*cʰús-ʔʔ* which is glossed as 'feather' in [Hoijer & Joël 1963: 71], but apparently this word is to be read POSSR=*cʰús-ʔʔ* 'soft feathers, down' as follows from the transcription and translation in [Goddard 1915: 215].

28. FIRE

Hupa *xoŋʔ* (1), Mattole *kʰoŋʔ* (1), Kato *kʰwʰo:ŋʔ* (1), Taldash Galice *kʰwʰanʔ* (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina *qʰəŋ* (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina *tazʔi* (2), Inland Tanaina *tazʔi* (2), Iliamna Tanaina *tazʔi* (2), Central Ahtena *qʰōʔ* (1), Mentasta Ahtena *qʰōʔ* (1), Dogrib *kʰō* (1), North Slavey (Hare) *kʰōʔ* (1), Tanacross *kʰónʔ* (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) *kʰunʔ* (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) *kʰunʔ* (1), Central Carrier *kʰwʰan* (1), Koyukon *qʰunʔ* (1), Degexit'an *qʰunʔ* (1), Sarsi *kʰùn-* (1).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 803; Golla 1996: 35.

Mattole: Li 1930: 130. Cf. the cognate verb =*kʰoŋʔ* 'to sit down by the fire to warm one's self' [Li 1930: 105].

Bear River dialect: *kʰoŋʔ ~ kʰonʔ* '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 =*kʰwʰanʔ* 'to warm oneself at the fire' [Hoijer 1973: 68].

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 248, 350; Kari 1977: 131.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 248, 350; Kari 1977: 131.

Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 248, 350; Kari 1977: 131; Wassillie 1979: 38.

Iliamna Tanaina: Kari 2007: 248, 350; Kari 1977: 131.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 244, 520; Kari & Buck 1975: 97; Smelcer 2010: 67.

Lower Ahtena: *qʰōʔ* [Kari 1990: 244, 520; Kari & Buck 1975: 97; Smelcer 2010: 67].

Western Ahtena: *qʰonʔ* [Kari 1990: 244, 520; Kari & Buck 1975: 97; Smelcer 2010: 67].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 244, 520; Kari & Buck 1975: 97; Smelcer 2010: 67.

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 58, 165. Polysemy: 'fire / campfire'.

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 66, 138; Hoijer 1956: 222. Possessed form: POSSR=*kʰón-éʔ*. Polysemy: 'fire / match'.

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 118, 172; Holton 2000: 343; Brean & Milanowski 1979: 16; McRoy 1973: 7; Shinen 1958: 12. Polysemy: 'fire / matches'.

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 18, 74. Polysemy: 'fire / match'.

Northway: *kʰunʔ* 'fire / match' [Milanowski 2007: 8].

Scottie Creek: *kʰōnʔ* 'fire' [John 1997: 33].

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 159, 403; Tuttle 2009: 77. Possessed form: possr=*kʰun-aʔ*. Polysemy: 'fire / matches'. Cf. the cognate verb =*n-t=kʰunʔ* 'to be clear, bright' [Kari 1994: 159].

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 230, 711; Poser 2011a: 88; Antoine et al. 1974: 128, 308.

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 342, 906. Cf. the cognate verb =*l=qʰunʔ* '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 =*q^hom?* 'to burn' q.v. is derived from this noun.
Sarsi: Hoijer & Joël 1963: 67; Hoijer 1956: 223. Paradigm: *k^hū?* / POSSR=*k^hūn-ū?*. Polysemy: 'fire / firewood'.

29. FISH

Hupa *ʔo:q* (1), Mattole *ʔo:k'eh* (1), Kato *t^ho-nai* (2), Taldash Galice *ʔ=k^{hw}ay-a* (3) / *ʔo:k'e* (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina *c^hakala* ~ *sakala* (4) / *ʔiq'a* (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina *šakala* (4) / *ʔuq'a* (1), Inland Tanaina *šakala* (4) / *ʔiq'a* (1), Iliamna Tanaina *šakala* (4) / *ʔiq'a* (1), Central Ahtena *c^ha-pe:y* (5), Mentasta Ahtena *c^ha-pe:y* (5), Dogrib *ʔiwé* ~ *ʔié* (1), North Slavey (Hare) *lùkè* (1), Tanacross *ʔù:g* (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) *ʔu:γη* ~ *ʔu:k* (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) *ʔuk'a* (1), Central Carrier *ʔo* (1), Koyukon *ʔu:q'ə* (1), Degexit'an *ʔe:g* (1), Sarsi *ʔ^húk'ú* (1).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 767; Golla 1996: 35. Originates from **ʔo:q'i* (without vowel shortening in the resulting form). Possessed form: POSSR=*lo:q'-e?*. Polysemy: 'fish / salmon'. Cf. also the descriptive formation *t^hohma:y* 'fish, eels, general term for all edible water creatures' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 789; Golla 1996: 35] (probably from *t^ho-* 'water' q.v. and *xi-na:y* 'fresh meat' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 775]).
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 (*ʔo:k'eh*) for you', he said to her; 'I will kill deer for you'" [Li 1930: 139, 150].

Bear River dialect: *ʔok'a* ~ *ʔok'e* ~ *ʔok* is only documented with the specific meaning 'salmon' [Goddard 1929: 305].

Kato: Goddard 1912: 28; Goddard 1909: 71 fn. 15; Curtiss 1924: 202; Essene 1942: 86. Explicitly explained by Goddard as the generic term for 'fish'. The first element is *t^ho-* 'water' q.v., the second one probably means 'fresh meat', see notes on Hupa.

Distinct from *ʔo:k* 'steel-head salmon' [Goddard 1912: 19].

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 57. Glossed by Hoijer as 'trout; all fish except salmon'. A nominalized verb form from the root =*k^{hw}ay* (e.g., a color designation); final *-a*: can be the relative enclitic *-a* 'one who' [Hoijer 1966: 322], although the vowel length is unclear.

On the contrary, in [Hoijer 1956: 223; Landar 1977: 294], 'fish' is quoted as *ʔo:k'e* (inaccurately transcribed by Landar as *ʔo:k^he*), which only means specifically 'salmon' according to [Hoijer 1973: 62]. We treat *ʔo:k'e* as a synonym for 'fish'. Hoijer 1956: 223; Landar 1977: 294. Polysemy: 'fish / salmon'.

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 17, 350. The Upper Inlet word *c^həpay* is also quoted as a synonym in [Kari 2007: 17]. Kari 2007: 17, 350.

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

Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 17, 350. Kari 2007: 17, 350.

Iliamna Tanaina: Kari 2007: 17, 350. Kari 2007: 17, 350.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 103, 371, 520; Kari & Buck 1975: 10.

Lower Ahtena: *c^ha-pe:y* [Kari 1990: 103, 371, 520; Kari & Buck 1975: 10].

Western Ahtena: *c^ha-pe:y* [Kari 1990: 103, 371, 520; Kari & Buck 1975: 10].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 103, 371, 520; Kari & Buck 1975: 10.

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 70, 165. Glossed as simple 'fish'.

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 79, 138; Hoijer 1956: 222. Possessed form: POSSR=*lúké-?*.

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 118; Holton 2000: 343; Brean & Milanowski 1979: 4; McRoy 1973: 2; Shinen 1958: 10. Polysemy: 'fish / humpback whitefish'. Cf. the term *ʔù:g* *é^hòx* 'king salmon' [Arnold et al. 2009: 119], literally 'big fish'.

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 20, 74. Polysemy: 'fish / whitefish'.

Northway: *ʔu:γη* 'fish / whitefish' [Milanowski 2007: 8].

Scottie Creek: *ʔu:k* 'fish', the word for 'whitefish' is quoted as *ʔù:k* [John 1997: 35].

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 192, 404; Tuttle 2009: 78. Quoted as *luk'a* by Kari. Polysemy: 'fish / salmon'.

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 263, 713; Poser 2011a: 89; Antoine et al. 1974: 142.

Formally distinct from *toh* 'lake whitefish' [Poser 1998/2013: 264; Antoine et al. 1974: 143].

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 419, 907; Jones 1978: 61. Polysemy: 'fish / salmon / whitefish'.

Degexit'an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 7; Chapman 1914: 218.

Sarsi: Hoijer & Joël 1963: 70; Hoijer 1956: 222.

30. FLY V.

Hupa =*xis* (1) / =*xic*' (1), Mattole =*t'ay* (2), Kato =*t'ay* (2), Taldash Galice =*t'ah* (2), Inland Tanaina =*čəχ* (3) / =*čaq'* (3), Central Ahtena =*t'aχ* (2) / =*t'aq* (2), Mentasta Ahtena =*t'aχ* (2) / =*t'aq* (2), Dogrib =*t'á* (2), North Slavey (Hare) =*l=wì* (4), Tanacross =*t=t'àx* (2) / =*t=t'èk* (2), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) =*t'ah* (2), Lower Tanana (Minto) =*t'vx* (2) / =*t'vk* (2), Central Carrier =*t'o* (2), Koyukon =*t'oq* (2), Degexit'an =*t'vχ* (2) / =*t'vq* (2), Sarsi =*t'úh* (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*-ʔ.

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'ah* < *=*t'ax*. Used with sg. subj.

Distinct from =*t'it* [imperf.] / =*te:ʔ* [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.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Not attested.

Inland Tanaina: Tenenbaum 1978: 151. Paradigm: =*čəχ* [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 =*lən*, 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 =*lən* as 'to fly away' or 'to fly back'. In [Wassillie 1979: 40], =*lən* is quoted for the meanings 'to fly about, across, back'.

A third Inland verb for 'to fly (sg. subj.)' is =*t'əq'* [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=zəx*, 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=zəx* rather shows the more specific meaning 'to fly around'.

Distinct from =*tət* [imperf.] / =*taλ'* [perf.] 'to fly (pl. subj.)' [Tenenbaum 1978: 151, 224; Holton et al. 2004: 39; Kari 2007: 329], the same verb as =*taλ'* [imperf.] / =*taλ'* [perf.] 'to go (pl. subj.)' q.v., thus, with polysemy: 'to go / to fly'. Perfective.

Iliamna Tanaina: Not attested.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 343, 523.

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

Western Ahtena: =*t'aq* [Kari 1990: 343, 523]. Perfective.

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 343, 523. Perfective.

Dogrib: Saxon & 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 =*tiè* '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'á* '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].

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 123; Holton 2000: 160, 350. Paradigm: =*t'áx* [imperf.] / =*t'èk* ~ =*t'ák* [perf.]. Used with sg. subj.

With pl. subj., the verb =*t'èt* [imperf., fut.] / =*t'èλ* [perf.] 'to go / to come / to run / to fly' is used [Holton 2000: 160]. Perfective.

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

Scottie Creek: =*t'áh*, attested in the example "The bluebottle fly is flying around" [John 1997: 44].

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 260, 406; Tuttle 2009: 82. Paradigm: =*t'ax*, =*t'ux* [imperf.] / =*t'ók* [perf.] / =*t'ux* [fut.]. Used with sg. subj.

Distinct from =*tať* [imperf.] / =*taλ* [perf.] / =*tať* [progressive] / =*ta-k* [customary] with polysemy: 'to go / to come / to fly / to swim' used with pl. subj. [Kari 1994: 64, 406]. Perfective.

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 718, 1222, 1260; Poser 2011a: 92; Antoine et al. 1974: 309. Used with sg. & pl. subj. Actually, this is a classificatory verb with the generic meaning 'to handle a long rigid object in an uncontrolled manner' [Poser 1998/2013: 1222].

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 559, 911; Jones 1978: 65. Paradigm: =*t'oq* [neuter imperf.] / =*t'oχ* [momentaneous imperf.] / =*t'oq* [momentaneous perf.] / =*t'oχ-λ* [progressive imperf., momentaneous fut.]. Historically = =*t'əoq* with the "classifier" *t-* as follows from its synchronic morphophonological behavior [Jetté & Jones 2000: 559]. Used with sg. subj.

Distinct from =*na=yi:ť* [momentaneous imperf.] / =*na=yəť-λ* [progressive imperf.] / =*na=yəť* [perf.] 'to fly' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 691, 911; Jones 1978: 65] used with pl. subj. < the classificatory verb =*yəť* 'to move elongated object quickly'.

In the Upper dialect, 'to fly (pl. subj.)' is expressed by the general verb of plural motion =*ta:ť* [imperf.] =*ta:λ* [perf.] / =*tať* ~ =*tať-λ* [fut.] with polysemy: 'to go / to come / to swim / to fly' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 117, 919].

Degexit'an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1976: 48; Chapman 1914: 228. Paradigm: =*t'vχ* [imperf.] / =*t'vq* [perf.]. Polysemy: 'to fly / to throw stick'. Used with sg. subj.

Distinct from =*yəť* 'to fly', used with pl. subj. [Taff et al. 2007]. Perfective.

Sarsi: Li 1930b: 19; Hoijer 1956: 223. Paradigm: =*t'íh* [imperf.] / =*t'íy* ~ =*t'ík-* [perf.]. Used with sg. subj.

Distinct from =*tá:ł* [imperf.] / =*tá:ł* ~ =*tá:ł-* [perf.] with polysemy: 'to go / to come / to fly' [Li 1930b: 18] used with pl. subj.

31. FOOT

Hupa *POSSR*=*xé-?* (1), Mattole *POSSR*=*k^he?* (1), Kato *POSSR*=*k^{hw}e?* (1), Taldash Galice *POSSR*=*k^he?* (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina *POSSR*=*q^ha* (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina *POSSR*=*q^ha-λ'n-?a* (1), Inland Tanaina *POSSR*=*q^ha* (1), Iliamna Tanaina *POSSR*=*q^ha* (1), Central Ahtena *POSSR*=*q^he-?* (1), Mentasta Ahtena *POSSR*=*q^he-?* (1), Dogrib *POSSR*=*k^hè* (1), North Slavey (Hare) *POSSR*=*k^hié-?* (1), Tanacross *POSSR*=*k^hé-?* (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) *POSSR*=*k^he-?* (1),

Lower Tanana (Minto) *POSSR=k^ha-?* (1), Central Carrier *POSSR=k^he* (1), Koyukon *POSSR=q^ha:-?* (1), Degexit'an *POSSR=q^ha:-?* (1), Sarsi *POSSR=k^hÿ-?* (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*: ~ *xe* (as in *POSSR=xe:-t^ha?λ* ~ *POSSR=xe:-t^hul?* 'heel', literally 'foot stamper' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 799; Golla 1996: 45]) and *xe?* (as in *POSSR=xe?-k^{hw}e?c* 'toenail'). A cognate verb is *=xeh* [light impf.] / *=xiw* (< **=xih-i*) [heavy 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.: *POSSR=c'in-e?*.

Mattole: Li 1930: 130. Cf. the cognate verb *=k^he?* 'to track smbd.' [Li 1930: 21, 104] and the compound *POSSR=k^he?-k^wo:x^w-e?* 'ankle' (- *k^wo:x^w* 'joint') [Li 1930: 130].

Distinct from *POSSR=ča:t-e?* 'leg' [Li 1930: 131].

Bear River dialect: *POSSR=k^he(-)?* 'foot' [Goddard 1929: 316]. Attested also in the compound *POSSR=k^he-šim:-e* 'toenail' [Goddard 1929: 298]. Distinct from *POSSR=lok'e* (also erroneously *POSSR=lok^he*), glossed as 'leg' or 'lower leg' in [Goddard 1929: 308, 317], literally 'smbd.'s salmon' (corresponds to Hupa *POSSR=lo:q-e?* '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^he* without labialization. In [Goddard 1912: 22], the analysis *POSSR=k^{hw}e?* is proposed, but browsing through texts in [Goddard 1909] suggests that *k^{hw}e?* is used either without prefixed possessive pronouns (e.g., [Goddard 1909: 112 No. 18, 180 No. 10]) or with the indefinite possessive pronoun *k^{hw}*, i.e., *k^{hw}=k^{hw}e?* 'smb's foot' (e.g., [Goddard 1909: 116 No. 3/4/7, 118 No. 13]). Thus Goddard's *k^{hw}e?* 'foot' is historically a contraction from **k^{hw}=k^he?* 'smb's foot' - cf. the similar case of *k^wah* 'fat' q.v.

Distinct from *POSSR=wo:s* 'leg' [Goddard 1912: 22]. It must be noted that in [Curtis 1924: 201], 'leg' is quoted as *POSSR=c'an-e*, i.e., '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^{hw}e?* - a contraction from the possessed form **wa=k^he?* 'his/its arm' (see [Hoijer 1966: 321]). Cf. the cognate verb *=k^he?* 'to track down, trail (trans.)' [Hoijer 1973: 68].

Distinct from *POSSR=c'at-e?* with polysemy: 'bone / leg' [Hoijer 1973: 59; Landar 1977: 295].

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 94, 350; Kari 1977: 107.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 94, 350; Kari 1977: 106. Or, perhaps, to be read *POSSR=q^ha-λ'na* without the izafet exponent? Polysemy: 'foot / leg'.

Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 94, 350; Kari 1977: 107; Wassillie 1979: 73. Polysemy: 'foot / back paw'.

Iliamna Tanaina: Kari 2007: 94, 350; Kari 1977: 107.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 238, 523; Kari & Buck 1975: 70; Smelcer 2010: 51.

Lower Ahtena: *POSSR=q^he-?* [Kari 1990: 238, 523; Kari & Buck 1975: 70; Smelcer 2010: 51].

Western Ahtena: *POSSR=q^he-?* [Kari 1990: 238, 523; Kari & Buck 1975: 70; Smelcer 2010: 51].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 238, 523; Kari & Buck 1975: 70; Smelcer 2010: 51.

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 43, 166. Polysemy: 'foot / foot measure'.

Distinct from several terms for 'leg': *POSSR=cà* 'leg' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 40], compound *POSSR=cá-k^wò:* with polysemy: 'leg bone / leg' (literally 'leg's bone') [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 40] and simple secondary *POSSR=k^wò:* with polysemy: '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^hiè*.

Distinct from two terms for 'leg': *POSSR=w'én-è?* 'bone / leg' [Rice 1978: 107, 149], *POSSR=wów-è?* 'leggings, bloomers, pants / leg' [Rice 1978: 106, 149].

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 124; Holton 2000: 343; Brean & Milanowski 1979: 3; McRoy 1973: 9; Shinen 1958: 3. Polysemy: 'foot / paw'.

Distinct from *POSSR=çòl-?* 'leg' [Arnold et al. 2009: 163; Holton 2000: 155; Brean & Milanowski 1979: 25; McRoy 1973: 9; Shinen 1958: 3] and *POSSR=cá:d-?* 'lower leg, shin' [Arnold et al. 2009: 163; Brean & Milanowski 1979: 23].

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 74. For morphology, cf. the compounds *POSSR=k^he:-c'ò:-?* 'big toe' or *POSSR=k^he:-kây-?*

'toenail' [Milanowski 2009: 18].

Distinct from POSSR=*xoL-ʔ* 'leg' [Milanowski 2009: 77].

Northway: POSSR=*k^he-ʔ* 'foot' [Milanowski 2007: 8], POSSR=*xoL-ʔ* 'leg' [Milanowski 2007: 11].

Scottie Creek: POSSR=*k^he-ʔ* 'foot' [John 1997: 13] (cf. the compounds POSSR=*k^he:-k^hit* 'top of foot', POSSR=*k^he:-λ^hat* 'sole of foot'), POSSR=*t^hʔ^hn-ʔ* 'leg' [John 1997: 14].

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 151, 406; Tuttle 2009: 83. Polysemy: 'foot / footwear'. The non-possessed variant is *k^ha*.

Distinct from POSSR=*k^ha-č^hən-aʔ* 'boots / lower leg' [Kari 1994: 44, 151, 429] (literally 'base of foot'), POSSR=*γvθ-č^hən-aʔ* 'upper leg' [Kari 1994: 139, 429] (literally 'base of thigh').

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 209, 720; Poser 2011a: 93; Antoine et al. 1974: 27, 308. Polysemy: 'foot / hind paw / propeller'.

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

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 324, 912; Jones 1978: 66. Polysemy: 'foot / hind foot of animal'.

Distinct from the term for 'leg': POSSR=*λ^hən-əʔ* 'bone / skeleton / leg / shell' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 600; Jones 1978: 93].

Distinct from the term for 'lower leg': POSSR=*co:t-əʔ* 'leg, lower leg; tapered post, stanchion' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 178].

As explained by Jetté: "Especially the lower portion, from the knee down. [...] =*co:t-əʔ* and =*λ^hən-əʔ* are both said of the whole leg, but =*co:t-əʔ* 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=*q^ha:-λ^ho:v* 'sole of foot' [Kari 1978: 37], etc.

Distinct from POSSR=*t^hən* 'leg' [Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 37; Chapman 1914: 221].

Sarsi: Hoijer & Joël 1963: 67, 69; Hoijer 1956: 222. Polysemy: 'foot / shoe, moccasin'.

Distinct from POSSR=*γūs* 'leg' [Hoijer & Joël 1963: 69].

32. FULL

Hupa =*min* (1), Mattole =*piŋ* (1), Kato =*pəŋ* (1), Taldash Galice =*man* (1), Inland Tanaina =*l=vən* (1), Central Ahtena =*l=pen* (1), Mentasta Ahtena =*l=men* (1), Dogrib =*ʔō* (2), North Slavey (Hare) =*ʔō* (2), Tanacross =*l=ʔā:* (2), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) =*l=c'ak* (3), Central Carrier =*pən* (1), Koyukon =*l=ʔo:ŋ* (2) / =*l=ʔo:-ʔ* (4), Degexit'an =*vəŋ* (1), Sarsi =*c'is-t* (5).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 771; Golla 1996: 38; Golla 1970: 141. Verbal root 'to be full'. Originates from the heavy stem *=*min-i* with short *-i*. Cf. the cognate verb =*miŋ* < *=*me:n* [light imperf.] / =*men* < *=*me:n-i* [heavy imperf.] / =*miŋʔ* < *=*me:n-ʔ* [light perf.] 'to fill (trans.)' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 770; Golla 1996: 34] with long *-e-*.

Mattole: Li 1930: 84. Verbal root 'to become full'. Imperfective stem, originating from *=*pi(:)n*; the heavy perfective stem is =*pi:ʔn* < *=*pi(:)n-ʔ-i*.

Bear River dialect: not attested.

Kato: Goddard 1912: 69. Verbal root: 'to be full; to fill'. Imperfective stem, originating from *=*pi(:)n*; the perfective stems are =*piŋʔ* < *=*pi(:)n-ʔ* / =*pinʔ* < *=*pi(:)n-ʔ-i*.

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 63; Hoijer 1956: 223. Verbal root with polysemy: 'to be full / to be deep (said of river)'. Paradigm: =*man* [imperf.] / =*manʔ* < *=*man-ʔ* [perf.].

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Not attested.

Outer 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 =*vat* '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=vat* with the meaning 'to haul': "I haul wood" [Tenenbaum 1978: 148].

Distinct from the verb $=l=t'ac'$ / $=t=t'ac'$ '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. $=c^h uq'$ '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.

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 12, 168. Verbal root: 'to be full'. Examples: "Fill the barrel with oil" [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 12], "Fill it up only once" [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 53].

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 215, 410, 503; Hoijer 1956: 222. This is actually the "classificatory" verb $=a$ [imperf.] / $=\dot{a}$ [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'.

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 128. Verbal root: 'to be full (of liquid)'.
Distinct from $=l=tok$ 'to be packed, full', $=t^h ek$ 'to be full (from eating), satisfied' [Arnold et al. 2009: 128].

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 120.

Distinct from $=l=t^h ak$ 'to be full (from eating)' [Milanowski 2009: 53, 97].

Lower Tanana (Minto): Not documented properly.

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 728, 1218, 1249; Poser 2011a: 95; Antoine et al. 1974: 310. Verb with polysemy: 'to be full / to fill'.

Paradigm: $=pin$ [imperf., perf.] / $=pi-h$ [customary]. Cf. the examples: "The pail is full of rain water" [Poser 1998/2013: 127], "It (a glass) is half-full" [Poser 1998/2013: 338], "Williston Lake is full [of water]" [Poser 1998/2013: 447], "The barn is very full of hay" [Poser 1998/2013: 532].

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: $=l=lo: \eta-$ $=l=lo:n-?$ [neuter imperf.] / $=l=lo:-?$ [neuter perf.]. As plausibly proposed by Jetté & Jones, denasalized forms are due to influence of the generic classificatory verb $=lo:$ '(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'; $=c'is-t$ is the imperf. & perf. form. Final $-t^{(h)}$ is the fossilized perfective exponent, on which see further in [Li 1930b: 11].

33. GIVE

Hupa $=\dot{a}$: (1), Kato $=\dot{a}$ (1), Central Ahtena $=\dot{a}:-n$ (1), Mentasta Ahtena $=\dot{a}:-n$ (1), North Slavey (Hare) $=\dot{a}$ (1) / $=t=\check{s}\dot{u}$ (2), Tanacross $\check{\lambda}'\dot{a}:=...=\dot{a}:-y$ (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) $\check{\lambda}'\dot{a}:=...=\dot{a}:-$ (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) $\check{\lambda}'\dot{a}:=...=\dot{a}:-$ (1), Central Carrier $=\dot{a}$ (1), Koyukon $\check{\lambda}'\dot{a}:=...=\dot{a}:-y$ (1), Degexit'an $\check{\lambda}'\dot{a}:=...=\dot{a}:-y$ (1), Sarsi $=\dot{a}^h$ (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 $=\dot{a}-n$ (< $*=\dot{a}:-n$) / $=\dot{a}:-n$ (< $*=\dot{a}:-n-i$) is directional imperfective/perfective, $=\dot{a}$: / $=\dot{a}-?$ (< $*=\dot{a}:-?$) 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-ɲ [light; < *ʔa-n] / =ʔa-n [heavy; < *ʔa-n-i], nondirectional imperfective =ʔa: [light] / =ʔa-i [heavy; < *ʔa-i], nondirectional perfective =ʔa-ʔ [Li 1930: 72].

Bear River dialect: not attested.

Kato: Goddard 1912: 59 (sub =ʔaiʔ and =ʔaɲ). 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?" are not documented in [Goddard 1909], but contexts with generic objects are attested: "All the people gave (=ʔa) him different things (= made him presents of all kinds)" [Goddard 1909: 102 No. 5], "Many people [...] gave (=ʔa-ɲ) him various presents" [Goddard 1909: 157 No. 7]. Attested paradigmatic forms: directional imperfective =ʔa-š, directional perfective =ʔa-ɲ < *ʔa-n, nondirectional imperfective =ʔa: / =ʔa-i, nondirectional perfective =ʔa-ʔ (also secondary =ʔa-i-ʔ).

Taldash Galice: 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-š [imperf.] / =ʔā: < *ʔa-n [perf.] [Hojer 1973: 63 No. 11].

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Not attested.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Not attested.

Inland Tanaina: As follows from [Wassillie 1979: 44; Tenenbaum 1978: 132 ff.; Holton et al. 2004: 40 ff.], 'to give' is expressed by the so-called classificatory verbs with the general meaning 'to handle OBJ'. 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.

Iliamna Tanaina: Not attested.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 70, 527.

Lower Ahtena: =ʔa:-n [Kari 1990: 70, 527].

Western Ahtena: =ʔa:-n [Kari 1990: 70, 527].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 70, 527.

Dogrib: The meaning 'to give' is expressed by the so-called classificatory verbs with the general meaning 'to handle OBJ'. The choice of a specific verb depends on the kind of object. Cf. the list in [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 170]: =t^hè 'animate object', =ʔā 'chunky object', =č^hi 'cloth object', =xé 'heavy object', =wá 'many things', =k^há 'plateful', =lé 'plural objects', =t^hí 'rigid object', =č^hi 'single object'.

Which of the aforementioned classificatory verbs is used as the default one (i.e., in contexts such as "What did you give him?" or "Give me something") remains uncertain.

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 252, 404, 504. Paradigm: =ʔā [imperf.] / =ʔò [perf.].

The meaning 'to give' is expressed by the so-called classificatory verbs with the general semantics 'to handle OBJ' / 'OBJ is in position'. The choice of the specific verb depends on the kind of object. Cf. the list of classificatory verbs in [Rice 1989: 779-788] (Rice's description is generally based on the South Slavey language, but the North Slavey system is very similar). A distinctive feature of North Slavey and South Slavey is that the classificatory verbs are separated into two synonymous sets. The distinction between the action described by these two sets can be very roughly explained as controlled/uncontrolled or polite/impolite (without negative connotations). E.g., a verb from the first set describes the action 'to give carefully and politely', a verb from the second one describes the action 'to give quickly', see [Rice 1989: 784, 787].

According to [Rice 1989: 794], the most generic classificatory verbs combined with a wide spectrum of objects are "controlled" =ʔā [imperf.] / =ʔò [perf.] and "uncontrolled" =t=šù. Cf. some examples for =ʔā / =ʔò 'to give': "He gave roe a rolled up blanket", "Let me have the knife", "I gave him cents" [Rice 1978: 252]. Cf. some examples for =t=šù 'to give': "Give me the axe", "He handed me a pencil", "I handed him the baby" [Rice 1978: 251].

We treat =ʔā / =ʔò and =t=šù as synonyms. Rice 1978: 251, 458, 504.

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 131; Holton 2000: 269, 350. Paradigm: =ʔā-y [imperf.] (or =ʔā:-y?) / =ʔā: [perf.] / =ʔā:-ʔ [fut.] / =ʔā:-y [opt.].

The meaning 'to give' is expressed by the so-called classificatory verbs with the general meaning 'to handle OBJ' plus the specific prefix ʔā:-. 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]: =ʔā:-y [imperf.] / =ʔā: [perf.] 'general, compact object', =t^hi:y [imperf.] / =t^hā: [perf.] 'long object', =k^hā:y

[imperf.] / =*k^hā*: [perf.] 'pourable object, object in open container', =*č^hú:θ* [imperf.] / =*č^hú:θ* [perf.] 'flat, flexible object', =*č^hú:t* [imperf.] / =*č^hú:t* [perf.] 'piece of food', =*t^hè:y* [imperf.] / =*t^hè*: [perf.] 'living being', =*t^hè:y* [imperf.] / =*λàh* [perf.] 'plural objects'. There is also an eighth classificatory verb for 'mushy object', mentioned in [Arnold et al. 2009: 30].

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 115, 117. Paradigm: =*ā*: [imperf., perf.] / =*ā*:*k* [customary] / =*ā*:*t* [fut.].

The meaning 'to give' is expressed by the so-called classificatory verbs with the general meaning 'to handle OBJ' plus the prefix *λ'a*=. The choice of any specific verb depends on the kind of object. Cf. the list in [Milanowski 2009: 114-117]: =*ā*: 'general; round; hollow', =*t^hā*: 'long; speaker's vegetation; fluid mass', =*k^hay* 'fluid; object in open container', =*n^di:k* 'fabric', =*t^hi*: 'living being', =*λah* 'rope-like; plural objects'.

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 20, 266. Paradigm: =*ʔ**l-y* [momentaneous imperf.] / =*ʔ**l-ʔ* [momentaneous perf.] / =*ʔ**l-ʔ* [neuter imperf.] / =*ʔ**l-ʔ* [neuter perf.].

The meaning 'to give' is expressed by the so-called classificatory verbs with the general meaning 'to handle OBJ' frequently accompanied with the prefix *λ'ə*= [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 =*ʔ**l-* 'to handle compact object' is the most generic expression for 'to give'. Cf. some examples with *λ'ə*=...=*ʔ**l-* 'to give': "I gave her the hat", "give him the plate", "hand me that book" [Kari 1994: 20].

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 12, 1218, 1247; Poser 2011a: 98; Antoine et al. 1974: 310. Paradigm: =*ʔa* [continuous imperf.] / =*ʔai* [continuous perf.] / =*ʔai-h* [momentaneous imperf.] / =*ʔai* [momentaneous perf.].

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.]: =*ʔa* 'non-plural generic object', =*çai* 'uncountable objects (sugar, berries)', =*le* 'plural default objects', =*k^ho* 'contents of open container (cup of tea)', =*t^han* 'long rigid object (stick)', =*t^he* 'body (dog)', =*č^huš* 'two-dimensional flexible object (shirts)', =*λ^he* 'mushy stuff (mud)', =*ce* 'liquid (water); hay-like (hay)', =*to* 'fluffy stuff (down)', and some others which can be found in [Poser 1998/2013: 1247-1266].

Koyukon: Henry & Henry 1965; Jetté & Jones 2000: 40. Paradigm: =*ʔo-y* [momentaneous imperf.] / =*ʔo-ŋ* [momentaneous 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 *λ'o*= [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]: =*ʔo-y* / =*ʔo-ʔ* '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)'; =*t^hi-y* / =*t^ho*: 'rigid, usually slender object (e.g., pencil, log, lumber, door, dried fish, one snowshoe, feather, arrow, boat, sled, blade of grass)' with =*t^hi-y* / =*t^ho*: 'large, bulky object (e.g., mattress, packsack, bag of flour or sugar)'; =*t^ha-y* / =*t^ha-ʔ* 'animate or living being'; =*q^ho-y* / =*q^ho-ʔ* 'container and its contents (e.g., bowl of soup, cup of coffee, box of eggs, bucket of rocks, can of trash)'; =*k^hu:t* 'flexible or fabric-like object (e.g., article of clothing, blanket, tent, fishnet, piece of paper)'; =*λ^haχ* / =*λ^ha:q* 'soft, sticky mass (e.g., cooked cereal, dough, soft mud)'; =*k^hu:t* 'food that can be consumed immediately (e.g., a meal, soup, cooked meat)'; =*noχ* / =*no:q* 'powdery or granular mass not in a container (e.g., sand, flour, salt, sugar)'; =*la*: / =*lo*: 'general plural class' plus =*lya*: / =*lyo*: 'specialized plural class, usually small round objects of a large quantity and belonging to a set (e.g., unstrung beads, berries, rocks in a landslide, potatoes)'.

Degexit'an: Taff et al. 2007. Paradigm: =*ʔo-y* [imperf.] / =*ʔo-ʔ* [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 *λ'o*=. Apparently =*ʔo-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].

Sarsi: Li 1930b: 16; Cook 1984: 133, 140. Paradigm: =*ʔv̄h* [imperf.] / =*ʔv̄* ~ =*ʔv̄-n-* [perf.].

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]: =*ʔv̄h* / =*ʔv̄(n-)* 'round, solid object'; =*s=t^hāh* / =*s=t^hi(n-)* 'sg. living being'; =*t^hih* / =*t^hv̄(n-)* 'long object'; =*V=k^hv̄h* / =*V=k^hv̄(n-)* 'object with a dish'; =*cāh* / =*čā:ž* ~ =*čāč*- 'grain-like object'; =*s=c^hús* / =*s=c^hú:z* 'fabric-like object'; =*V=t^hās* / =*V=t^ház* ~ =*s=t^hác-* 'pl. living beings'; =*v̄* 'pl. object'.

34. GOOD

Hupa =*mo:n* (1), Mattole =*x^wo:n* (1), Kato =*šo:ŋ* (1), Taldash Galice =*šo* (1), Upper Inlet

Tanaina *ya=ʋəl-i* (2), Outer Inlet Tanaina *ya=ʋəl-i* (2), Inland Tanaina *ya=ʋəl-i* (2), Iliamna Tanaina *ya=ʋəl-i* (2), Central Ahtena *ʋel-i* (2), Mentasta Ahtena *ʋel* (2), Dogrib =ʒí (1), North Slavey (Hare) =zò (1), Tanacross =ʃũ: (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) =sō: (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) =zʉŋ ~ zʉ-ʔ-u (1), Central Carrier =zu (1), Koyukon =zu:-ŋ (1), Degexit'an =zɛ:-ŋ (1), Sarsi SUBJ=á-kù-nì-līh (3).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 797; Golla 1996: 41. Verbal root 'to be good'. The heavy imperfective stem, originating from *=no:n-i; the perfective stem is =woʔn < *=wo:n-ʔ-i with the causative menaing '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 *=xʷo:n-i; the light stem is =xʷoŋ < *=xʷo:n [Li 1930: 21 f.].

Bear River dialect: =xʷon ~ =hʷoŋ ~ =hʷaŋ 'to be good' [Goddard 1929: 316].

Kato: Goddard 1912: 67. Verbal root: 'to be good'.

Taldash Galice: Landar 1977: 294. Glossed as 'good, right'. Apparently an inaccurate transcription for the expected **=šō:.

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 316, 351; Kari 1977: 249.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 316, 351; Kari 1977: 249. The variant *ya=ʋal-i* is also attested [Boraas 2010: 43 et passim].

Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 316, 351; Kari 1977: 249; Wassillie 1979: 45.

Iliamna Tanaina: Kari 2007: 316, 351; Kari 1977: 249.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 218, 528.

Lower Ahtena: ʋel-i [Kari 1990: 218, 528].

Western Ahtena: ʋel-i [Kari 1990: 218, 528].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 218, 528. Regular reduction of final -i.

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 80, 171. Verbal root, glossed as 'to be good, right, nice, proper, neat'. Widely applicable, e.g., "He became a good man" [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 73], "Is the meat good?" [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 82], "Everyone serves the good wine first..." [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 99], "The radio is old so it doesn't sound good" [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 117].

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 302, 485, 507.

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 134; Holton 2000: 350; Shinen 1958: 20. Verbal root 'to be good', widely applicable.

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 97, 120. Verbal root: 'to be good'.

Scottie Creek: =šō: 'to be good' [John 1997: 1].

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 355, 412. The verb =zʉ ŋ 'to be good' and the cognate noun-like adjective zʉ-ʔ-u ~ zʉ-ʔ-u (< *zʉn-ʔ-u) 'good' coexist in the language. Widely applicable.

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 742, 1224, 1265; Poser 2011a: 103; Antoine et al. 1974: 311. Verbal stem: 'to be good', widely applicable. Paradigm: =zu [imperf.] / =zu-ʔ [perf.].

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 743, 919; Jones 1978: 72. Verbal stem: 'to be good', widely applicable. Paradigm: =zu:- ŋ [neuter imperf.] / =zu:-ʔ [neuter perf.].

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: "The 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 *ne:g* '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 =līh ~ =līn- [imperf.] / =lī:n [perf.] 'to be' [Li 1930b: 26] plus the impersonal subject prefix *ku* and "thematic" *ni* [Cook 1984: 171]. Probably the main meaningful element here is *à*, which can be analyzed as the postposition construction OBJ=á '(to be) like OBJ' or '(to be) on OBJ' [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 =*c^how* (1), Kato =*c^ho*: (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina *k'=t'un q^hi-ti-l-t'an-i* (2) / *k'=c^han q'ə-l-c^hin-i* (3), Outer Inlet Tanaina *k'=t'un q^hi-ti-l-t'an-i* (2) / *k'=č^han q^hi-ti-l-t'an-i* (3), Inland Tanaina *k'=t'un q^hi-ti-l-t'an-i* (2) / *k'=č^han q^hi-ti-l-t'an-i* (3), Iliamna Tanaina *k'=t'un q^hi-ti-l-t'an-i* (2) / *k'=č^han q^hi-ti-l-t'an-i* (3), Central Ahtena *λ'ov q'e-l-c^hi:n-i* (4), Mentasta Ahtena *λ'ov te-λ'es* (4), Dogrib *í=t'ò là:nì* (2), North Slavey (Hare) *?í=t'ó-?* (2), Tanacross *t=è=l=λ'é:z ~ t=è=l=λ'é:c* (5), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) *te=l=t^{oh}o*: (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) =*l=t^{oh}ox* (1) / =*l=t^{oh}uk* (1), Central Carrier =*l=λ'az* (6), Koyukon =*l=λ^hux* (1), Degexit'an *χəno:ʔya:l-χəq'əy* (7), Sarsi =*s=čvš* (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-y* 'to be green, unripe (of berries, fruits)' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 764; Golla 1996: 42].

Mattole: Not attested. Cf. the verb =*c^how* '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 *λ'ov t=c^ho*; translated by Goddard as "blue grass", also points to the meaning 'green'.

Taldash Galice: Not attested.

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 320; Kari 1977: 254. Kari 2007: 320; Kari 1977: 254.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 320; Kari 1977: 254. Kari 2007: 320; Kari 1977: 254.

Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 320; Kari 1977: 254. In [Wassillie 1979: 46], quoted as *k'=t'un q^hi-l-t'an-i*. Kari 2007: 320; Kari 1977: 254.

Iliamna Tanaina: Kari 2007: 320; Kari 1977: 254. Kari 2007: 320; Kari 1977: 254.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 364, 529; Kari & Buck 1975: 104; Smelcer 2010: 60.

Lower Ahtena: *λ'ov q'e-l-c^hi:n-i* [Kari 1990: 364, 529; Kari & Buck 1975: 104].

Western Ahtena: -1 Not attested.

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari & Buck 1975: 104.

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 54, 172. Literally 'leaf-like' with *í=t'ò* 'leaf' q.v. and the adverb *là:nì* 'like' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 67].

Plain *í=t'ò* or *í=t'ò-á* '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.)'.

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 137; Holton 2000: 178, 348; Brean & Milanowski 1979: 22; McRoy 1973: 16. Verbal stem =*l=λ'é:c* with polysemy: 'to be green / to be blue'. Initial *t=* is the adjectival/gender exponent [Holton 2000: 237 ff.]. The variant =*l=λ'é:z* is nominalized < **l=λ'é:c- V*

In [Shinen 1958: 18], the expression *čet^hatək'elc^hin* is quoted for 'green', to be read as analytic *č'è=t'á-? k'è=te=l=c^hi:* 'it resembles a leaf' with *č'è=t'á-?* 'leaf' q.v. (initial *č'è=* is the indefinite possessive pronoun) and the verb =*l=c^hi:* '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: *xəʔka:y tenih=λ'u:* 'green', a specification of the basic color term *tinih=λ'u:* 'blue' [John 1997: 32]. Cf. *tat=šāy* 'black' > *həʔka:y tat=šāy* 'brown' [John 1997: 32], containing the same element *xəʔka:y* in a different transcription.

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 314, 413; Tuttle 2009: 233. Verb with polysemy: 'to be yellow / tan / brown / blonde / green'.

Paradigm: =l=t^{oh}ux [neuter imperf.] / =l=t^{oh}ux [transitional imperf.] / =l=t^{oh}uk [transitional perf.]. Perfective.

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 745, 1223, 1261; Poser 2011a: 105; Antoine et al. 1974: 311. Verbal stem: 'to be green'. Cf. the example: "He made his snowshoes green" [Poser 1998/2013: 138].

Distinct from the verb =t'eh 'to be unripe, green' [Poser 1998/2013: 148, 745] and the noun-like adjective t'eh 'rare (of meat)' [Poser 1998/2013: 475].

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 586. Verbal stem, also functions as the noun-like adjective $\lambda^h u \beta \text{-} \partial \text{?}$. 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 "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=c^huχ 'to be yellow / to be green' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 648], which represents a cognate of =l=λ^huχ, having been borrowed from a neighboring lect.

Degexit'an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 55. Literally 'plant-like' with χ∂=no:=t=ya-l 'plant' (which literally means 'that which is growing' with =yo:- t [neuter imperf.] / =ya:-t [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 $c^h i = wa \text{-} \eta \text{?} \sim POSSR = c^h i = wa \text{-} n \text{?} \sim POSSR = c^h i = wa \text{?} \text{-} n \text{-} e \text{?}$ (1), Mattole $POSSR = c^h i \text{?} = k' a \text{?}$ (1), Kato $POSSR = si \text{:} \text{?} = ka \text{?}$ (1), Taldash Galice $POSSR = si \text{-} \text{?}$ (2), Upper Inlet Tanaina $c^h i = \beta u$ (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina č'ix (3), Inland Tanaina $c^h i = \beta u$ (1), Iliamna Tanaina $c^h i = \beta u$ (1), Central Ahtena $POSSR = c^h i = \beta a \text{-} \text{?}$ (1), Mentasta Ahtena $POSSR = c^h i = \beta a \text{-} \text{?}$ (1), Dogrib $POSSR = k^{hw} i = \gamma \acute{a} \text{-} \text{?}$ (1), North Slavey (Hare) $POSSR = f i = \gamma \acute{a} \text{-} \text{?}$ (1), Tanacross $POSSR = t^{oh} i = \chi \acute{a} \text{-} \text{?}$ (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) $POSSR = t^{oh} i \text{:} \text{?} = \chi a \text{-} \text{?}$ (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) $POSSR = t^{oh} i = \gamma \acute{a} \text{-} \text{?}$ (1), Central Carrier $POSSR = \zeta^h i = \gamma a \text{-} \text{?}$ (1), Koyukon $\lambda^h u \text{:} = \chi$ (1), Degexit'an $POSSR = t^{oh} e \text{:} = \beta \sim POSSR = t^{oh} e \text{:} = \beta o$: (1), Sarsi $POSSR = c^h \hat{v} = \gamma \hat{v} \text{-} \text{?}$ (1).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 736; Golla 1996: 43; Golla 1996a: 385. In [Golla 1996], these forms are quoted as $c^h i = w u \text{-} \eta \text{?} \sim = c^h i = w u \text{-} n \text{?}$. Compound of the root =c^he: ~ =c^hi 'head' (q.v.) and =wa? 'body hair, fur' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 792; Golla 1996: 43]. It is stated in [Golla 1964: 110] that the synchronic Hupa root is =wa? (not =wa:-? with the izafet exponent), cf. the full form $POSSR = c^h i = wa \text{?} \text{-} n \text{-} e \text{?}$, quoted in [Golla 1996a: 385]. Thus =wan? ~ =van? in the compounds for 'head hair' apparently originate from *=wa?n? with the cluster simplification. The final *-n-i? (> -η? ~ -n? ~ -n-e?) contains an old N-suffix with the synchronic izafet exponent -e?.

Mattole: Li 1930: 126. Synchronically, can be analyzed as =k'a? or =k'a-?. Compound of $POSSR = c^h i \text{?}$ 'head' q.v. and $POSSR = \gamma' a \text{-} \text{?}$ 'fur' [Li 1930: 126]. For γ instead of k see [Li 1930: 9].

Bear River dialect: $POSSR = si \text{:} \text{?} = \gamma a \text{?}$ 'head hair' [Goddard 1929: 317].

Kato: Goddard 1909: 144 No. 6; Curtis 1924: 201. Compound of $POSSR = si \text{:} \text{?}$ 'head' q.v. and $POSSR = ka \text{?}$ 'hair, fur' [Goddard 1912: 22].

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 59; Landar 1977: 294. Polysemy: 'head / head hair'. Transcribed by Landar as =s^hi:-?. In compounds, the form si:- is used [Hoijer 1973: 59].

The old root for 'hair' is retained in several synchronic variants:

1) $POSSR = wa \text{-} \text{?}$ 'body hair; wool, fur' [Hoijer 1973: 57].

2) $POSSR = \gamma a$: 'hair (not specified semantically)' [Hoijer 1956: 223].

3) =ka(?) in the compound $POSSR = ta = ka \text{-} \text{?}$ 'beard, moustache' [Hoijer 1973: 55; Landar 1977: 294] (lit. 'mouth hair' with =ta:- 'mouth' q.v.).

- Upper Inlet Tanaina:** Kari 2007: 87, 351; Kari 1977: 96. Apparently, can be used without obligatory possessor prefixes. The possessed form is $POSSR=c^hi=bu$.
- Outer Inlet Tanaina:** Kari 2007: 87, 351; Kari 1977: 96. Apparently, can be used without obligatory possessor prefixes. The possessed form is $POSSR=\check{c}ix-\lambda a$.
- Inland Tanaina:** Kari 2007: 87, 351; Kari 1977: 96; Wassillie 1979: 47. Apparently, can be used without obligatory possessor prefixes. The possessed form is $POSSR=c^hi=bu$.
- Iliamna Tanaina:** Kari 2007: 87, 351; Kari 1977: 96. Apparently, can be used without obligatory possessor prefixes. The possessed form is $POSSR=c^hi=bu$.
- Central Ahtena:** Kari 1990: 208, 531; Kari & Buck 1975: 60; Smelcer 2010: 44.
Lower Ahtena: $POSSR=c^hi=ba-?$ [Kari 1990: 208, 531; Kari & Buck 1975: 60; Smelcer 2010: 44].
Western Ahtena: $POSSR=c^hi=ba-?$ [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: $k^{hw}i=\gamma\acute{a}$ [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 $=k^{hw}i$ 'head' q.v. and the generic term $POSSR=\gamma\acute{a}$ 'hair, fur' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 27].
- North Slavey (Hare):** Rice 1978: 60, 143. Literally 'head's hair' with $POSSR=fi-?$ 'head' q.v. and the generic term $POSSR=\gamma\acute{a}-?$ 'hair, fur' [Rice 1978: 60; Hoijer 1956: 222].
- Tanacross:** Arnold et al. 2009: 140; Brean & Milanowski 1979: 24; McRoy 1973: 7; Shinen 1958: 3. Meaning 'head hair', literally 'hair of head' with $POSSR=\check{x}\acute{a}-?$ (human/animal) hair, fur' [Arnold et al. 2009: 128, 140; Holton 2000: 344] and $POSSR=t^{\theta}i-?$ 'head' q.v.
- Upper Tanana (Tetlin):** Milanowski 2009: 26, 70, 75. Meaning 'head hair', literally 'xa of head'. The noun $=xa-$ is not documented outside of this collocation. The noun $POSSR=t^{\theta}i-?$ 'head' can be used in the meaning 'head hair' in some contexts, cf. the example "She combs her hair ($=t^{\theta}i-$) every day" [Milanowski 2009: 94].
 Distinct from δuuh 'fur' [Milanowski 2009: 16].
Northway: $POSSR=t^{\theta}i?=\check{x}a-?$ 'head hair' [Milanowski 2007: 9], δuuh 'fur' [Milanowski 2007: 8].
Scottie Creek: $POSSR=t^{\theta}i?=\check{x}\acute{a}-?$ 'head hair', $POSSR=\check{x}\acute{a}-?$ 'hair, fur' [John 1997: 13].
- Lower Tanana (Minto):** Kari 1994: 129, 415; Tuttle 2009: 96. Literally 'head's hair' < $POSSR=t^{\theta}i-?$ 'head' (q.v.) plus generic $POSSR=\gamma\acute{a}-?$ with polysemy: 'hair / fur / feathers' [Kari 1994: 129].
- Central Carrier:** Poser 1998/2013: 505, 747; Poser 2011a: 107; Antoine et al. 1974: 49, 312. Literally 'head's hair' < $POSSR=c^hi$ 'head' (q.v.) plus generic $POSSR=\gamma a$ 'fur, hair' [Poser 1998/2013: 158; Antoine et al. 1974: 23].
- Koyukon:** Jetté & Jones 2000: 584, 923; Jones 1978: 76. Alienable possession; possessed: $POSSR=\lambda^hu:=b-\delta?$ ~ $POSSR=\lambda^hi:=bo:-?$. Meaning 'head hair'. The synchronic root $\lambda^hu\chi$ ($POSSR=\lambda^hu:=b-\delta?$) is the result of contraction and reanalysis of the more rarely used compound $POSSR=\lambda^hi:=bo:-?$, literally 'head's hair' with $POSSR=bo:-?$ 'fur, body hair' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 249].
- Degexit'an:** Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 33; Chapman 1914: 223. Meaning 'head hair'. The synchronic root $=t^{\theta}e:=bo:-(?)$ [Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 33] is the result of contraction and reanalysis of the compound $POSSR=t^{\theta}e:=bo:-(?)$ quoted for the archaic language in [Chapman 1914: 223] and also for the Kuskokwim dialect in [Kari 1978: 33]. Literally $POSSR=t^{\theta}e:=bo:-(?)$ means 'head's hair' with $POSSR=bo:-?$ 'fur, hair' [Chapman 1914: 223].
- Sarsi:** Hoijer & Joël 1963: 74; Hoijer 1956: 222. Meaning 'head hair'. Literally 'head's hair' < $POSSR=c^hi-?$ 'head' (q.v.) plus generic $POSSR=\gamma\check{v}-?$ 'hair' [Hoijer & Joël 1963: 69].

37. HAND

Hupa $POSSR=la?$ (1), Mattole 'POSSR=la? (1), Kato $POSSR=la?$ (1), Taldash Galice $POSSR=la?$ (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina $POSSR=qun-a$ (2), Outer Inlet Tanaina $POSSR=qun-\lambda a$ (2), Inland Tanaina $POSSR=qun-a$ (2), Iliamna Tanaina $POSSR=qun-\lambda a$ (2), Central Ahtena $POSSR=la-?$ (1), Mentasta Ahtena $POSSR=la-?$ (1), Dogrib $POSSR=i=\lambda\grave{a} \sim POSSR=i=\lambda\grave{a} \sim POSSR=\lambda\grave{a}$ (1), North Slavey (Hare) $POSSR=i=\lambda\acute{a}-?$ (1), Tanacross $POSSR=in=\lambda\acute{a}-?$ (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin)

POSSR=*ʔa*-ʔ ~ POSSR=*ʔa*:ʔ (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) POSSR=*l*ʔ-ʔ (1), Central Carrier
POSSR=*la* (1), Koyukon POSSR=*lo*:ʔ-ʔ (1), Degexit'an POSSR=*lo*:ʔ-ʔ (1), Sarsi POSSR=*lâ*-ʔ (1).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 761; Golla 1996: 43. Polysemy: 'hand / finger'. The synchronic root is *=laʔ* (not **=la*:ʔ with the izafet exponent), cf. the compound POSSR=*laʔ*-*k^hyeʔc* 'fingernail' q.v. and see [Golla 1964: 117].

The meaning 'arm' is expressed by the descriptive formation POSSR=*k^ya:ŋʔay* (< **=k^ya=win=ʔa-i*), 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 *qan*, attested in POSSR=*qan*-*t^haq* 'shoulders', if < 'between (=t^haq) arms' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 754].

Cf. a separate term for 'forearm, forearm muscles': POSSR=*c'e:lʔ* < **=c'e:l-iʔ* [Sapir & Golla 2001: 738; Golla 1996: 5].

Mattole: Li 1930: 132. Polysemy: 'hand / finger'. Cf. also compounds like POSSR=*laʔ*=*ç^heʔs* 'fingernail', POSSR=*laʔ*=*ç^howi* 'thumb' (*ç^howi* is the augmentative morpheme, see notes on 'big'), POSSR=*laʔ*=*y'a:x* 'other four fingers' [Li 1930: 132] (*y'a:x* means 'small (subst.)', see notes on 'small'), POSSR=*laʔ*-*k^wo:x^w-eʔ* 'wrist' [Li 1930: 130] (with *=k^wo:x^w* 'joint'). The place of accent (POSSR=*laʔ* instead of expected ***POSSR=l'aʔ*) should point to an old nasal prefix, i.e., **POSSR=n=laʔ*, see [Li 1930: 50].

Distinct from POSSR=*ka:n-eʔ* 'arm' [Li 1930: 129].

Bear River dialect: POSSR=*laʔ* 'hand' [Goddard 1929: 317]. Distinct from POSSR=*yan-e* 'arm' [Goddard 1929: 313].

Kato: Goddard 1912: 22; Curtis 1924: 201. Polysemy: 'hand / finger'.

Distinct from *kanih* (i.e., POSSR=*kan-iʔ*) 'arm' [Curtis 1924: 201] and POSSR=*k^{hw}an-eʔ* 'arm, shoulder' [Goddard 1912: 22; Goddard 1909: 160 No. 7]. It seems that Curtis' *=kan-* and Goddard' *=k^{hw}an-* represent two different terms.

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 61; Hoijer 1956: 223; Landar 1977: 294. Synchronically, either *=laʔ* or *=la*:ʔ.

Distinct from POSSR=*ka:n-eʔ* with polysemy: 'arm / branch of tree' [Hoijer 1973: 56]. In [Hoijer 1956: 223; Landar 1977: 294], quoted as *k^wa:n-iʔ* or *k^wa:n-e* - a contraction from the possessed form **wa=k^wa:n-eʔ* 'his/its arm' (see [Hoijer 1966: 321]).

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 91, 351; Kari 1977: 101.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 91, 351; Kari 1977: 101.

Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 91, 351; Kari 1977: 101; Wassillie 1979: 48.

Iliamna Tanaina: Kari 2007: 91, 351; Kari 1977: 101.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 270, 531; Kari & Buck 1975: 65; Smelcer 2010: 47.

Lower Ahtena: POSSR=*la*:ʔ [Kari 1990: 270, 531; Kari & Buck 1975: 65; Smelcer 2010: 47].

Western Ahtena: POSSR=*la*:ʔ [Kari 1990: 270, 531; Kari & Buck 1975: 65; Smelcer 2010: 47].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 270, 531; Kari & Buck 1975: 65; Smelcer 2010: 47.

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 42, 173. The most archaic form is probably *=t^hlâ* with the nasal gender prefix.

Distinct from POSSR=*kô*:ʔ 'arm' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 41, 141].

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 71, 143; Hoijer 1956: 222. As first element of compounds, the variant *lâ*- is used.

Distinct from POSSR=*kón-eʔ* 'arm / front legs of animals' [Rice 1978: 57, 116].

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 141; Holton 2000: 344; Breaan & Milanowski 1979: 25; McRoy 1973: 9. For the old polysemy: 'hand / branch', see notes on 'bark'.

Distinct from POSSR=*ká:n-ʔ* 'arm' [Arnold et al. 2009: 46; Holton 2000: 340].

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 20, 23. For morphology, cf. the compounds POSSR=*la*:*c'o*:ʔ 'three middle fingers' or POSSR=*la*:*kây*-ʔ 'fingernail' [Milanowski 2009: 19].

Distinct from POSSR=*ka:n*:ʔ 'arm' [Milanowski 2009: 67].

Northway: POSSR=*ʔa*-ʔ 'hand' [Milanowski 2007: 9], POSSR=*ka:n*:ʔ 'arm' [Milanowski 2007: 2].

Scottie Creek: POSSR=*lâ*-ʔ 'hand' [John 1997: 13], POSSR=*kâ:n*:ʔ 'arm' [John 1997: 11].

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 183, 415; Tuttle 2009: 96. Polysemy: 'hand / foreleg of quadruped / branch' (the meaning 'branch' is attested in compounds). Variant *lʔ*- in compounds.

Distinct from POSSR=*kʔm-aʔ* 'arm' [Kari 1994: 113, 363].

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 232, 748; Poser 2011a: 107; Antoine et al. 1974: 32, 312. Polysemy: 'hand / forepaw, paw'.

Distinct from POSSR=*kan* 'arm; foreleg (of animal)' [Poser 1998/2013: 156; Antoine et al. 1974: 22].

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 404, 925; Jones 1978: 76. Polysemy: 'hand / limb / forefoot of quadruped / branch' (the meaning 'branch'

only in compounds). Synchronously rather =*lo*-? than =*lo*?:, cf. *lo*- as the first element of compounds.

Distinct from two words for 'arm': POSSR=*qo:n-ə*? 'arm / foreleg / frontquarter of quadruped:' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 212, 847; Jones 1978: 12], POSSR=*λ'i:l-ə*? 'arm / forearm / foreleg of quadruped / sleeve' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 594, 847; Jones 1978: 12].

Degexit'an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 35; Chapman 1914: 217. The variant *lo*- is attested in compounds.

Distinct from POSSR=*qo:n* 'arm' [Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 34; Chapman 1914: 230].

Sarsi: Hoijer & Joël 1963: 69; Hoijer 1956: 222. Polysemy: hand / finger'.

Distinct from POSSR=*kân-ə*? 'arm' [Hoijer & Joël 1963: 70].

38. HEAD

Hupa POSSR=*e:=ta=ʔa-y* (1), Mattole POSSR=*c^hi*? (2), Kato POSSR=*si*?: (2), Taldash Galice POSSR=*si*-? (2), Upper Inlet Tanaina POSSR=*k^hi=n=ʔi* (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina POSSR=*n=ʔi* (1), Inland Tanaina POSSR=*c^hi* ~ POSSR=*n=c^hi* (2), Iliamna Tanaina POSSR=*n=c^hi* (2), Central Ahtena POSSR=*c^he-ʔ* (2), Mentasta Ahtena POSSR=*c^he-ʔ* (2), Dogrib POSSR=*k^{hw}i* (2), North Slavey (Hare) POSSR=*fⁱ-ʔ* (2), Tanacross POSSR=*t^{θh}i-ʔ* (2), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) POSSR=*t^{θh}i:-ʔ* (2), Lower Tanana (Minto) POSSR=*t^{θh}i-ʔ* (2), Central Carrier POSSR=*ç^hi* (2), Koyukon POSSR=*λ^hi:-ʔ* (2), Degexit'an POSSR=*t^{θh}e:-ʔ* (2), Sarsi POSSR=*c^hi*-? (2).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 730; Golla 1996: 44. Literally 'it extends against smb.' < **e:=ti=ʔa-i* with the verbal root =*ʔa*: 'to extend'.

The old term POSSR=*c^he*: 'head' is obsolete [Sapir & Golla 2001: 735] (specified as "a dialect form, generally replaced by POSSR=*e:=ta=ʔa-y*"). This root is also retained in compounds like POSSR=*c^he-k^{hw}iŋ*? 'back of the head' (literally 'base of head') [Sapir & Golla 2001: 735; Golla 1996: 44] or adverbial formations like *na:-c^he*: 'ahead, first, preceding' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 735; Golla 1996: 3]. The shortened variant *c^hi* is attested as the first element of some compounds [Sapir & Golla 2001: 736], particularly *c^hi=wa-ŋ*? 'hair' q.v.

Mattole: Li 1930: 131. The synchronic Mattole root is =*c^hi*? (not POSSR=*c^hi*-? with the izafet exponent), as follows from the compounds POSSR=*c^hi-ʔ-g^ha*? 'head hair' q.v. [Li 1930: 126] (= *ʔa*? 'fur' with plosivization *ʔ* > *g*) and POSSR=*si-ʔ-o:ʔ-e*? 'brain' [Li 1930: 133] (with sporadic fricativization *c^h* > *s*, for which see [Li 1930: 9 f.]).

Bear River dialect: POSSR=*c^hi*? ~ POSSR=*si*? 'head' [Goddard 1929: 317].

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

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 59; Hoijer 1956: 223; Landar 1977: 294. Polysemy: 'head / head hair'. Transcribed in [Hoijer 1956: 223] as =*si*:-?; in [Landar 1977] as =*s^hi*:-?. In compounds, the form *si*- is used [Hoijer 1973: 59].

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 =*ʔi* is a contraction from **y=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 =*z*= (regularly > Upper Inlet =*y*=) or =*n=ʔi* < **nə=ʔu-i* with the imperfective exponent =*nə*=; in both cases final **-i* is the relative nominalizer -(*ʔ*)*i* / -(*y*)*i* [Kari 2007: 329; Boraas 2010: 17, 144]. Initial *k^hi*= 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 **=ʔu-i*, cf. the forms for 'heart', 'sun' q.v. and, e.g., the expression for 'fence' (literally 'linear extends in circle'): Upper Inlet *χniq^hana=y=ʔi-y*, Outer Inlet *naq^hana=z=ʔu-yi*, Inland *niq^hana=z=ʔi-y* [Kari 2007: 224].

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 87, 351; Kari 1977: 96. An unclear descriptive formation. In [Kari 1996: 61], explained as "meaning uncertain, from 'linear extends'", which implies the same contracted nominalized form **=ʔu-i* as in Upper Inlet Tanaina q.v., but with the perfective exponent =*ʔ*=.

Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 87, 351. In [Kari 1977: 96; Wassillie 1979: 49], only the variant POSSR=*c^hi* is quoted.

Iliamna Tanaina: Kari 2007: 87, 351. In [Kari 1977: 96], quoted as POSSR=*c^hi*.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 391, 533; Kari & Buck 1975: 60; Smelcer 2010: 44.

Lower Ahtena: POSSR=*c^he-?* [Kari 1990: 391, 533; Kari & Buck 1975: 60; Smelcer 2010: 44].

Western Ahtena: POSSR=*c^he-?* [Kari 1990: 391, 533; Kari & Buck 1975: 60; Smelcer 2010: 44].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 391, 533; Kari & Buck 1975: 60; Smelcer 2010: 44.

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 44, 175.

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 54, 143; Hoijer 1956: 222. Hoijer adduces the 19th c. archaic variant {=*kfiwi*}. As first element of compounds, the variant *fi-* is used.

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 143; Holton 2000: 344; Brean & Milanowski 1979: 23; McRoy 1973: 7; Shinen 1958: 3.

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 26, 70, 75. Synchronously, =*t^{oh}i:-?* with the izafet suffix (cf. the compounds like *t^{oh}i:-šo:* 'hat') and fossilized =*t^{oh}i:-?* (cf. the compounds like *t^{oh}i:-c^ho:* 'dragonfly').

Northway: POSSR=*t^{oh}i:-?* 'head' [Milanowski 2007: 9].

Scottie Creek: POSSR=*t^{oh}i:-?* 'head' [John 1997: 14].

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 312, 417. Variant *t^{oh}i-* is attested in compounds.

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 505, 751; Poser 2011a: 109; Antoine et al. 1974: 49, 312.

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 570, 926; Jones 1978: 78. Variants *λ^hi:-* ~ *λ^ha:-* ~ *λ^hu:-* are attested in compounds.

Degexit'an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 32; Chapman 1914: 220. The variants *t^{oh}e:-*, *t^{oh}ə-* are attested in compounds.

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

39. HEAR

Hupa =*c'eh* (1), Mattole =*nix* ~ =*ni-t* (3) / =*c'iy* (1), Kato =*c'e-γ* (1) / =*c'an* ~ =*c^han* ~ =*san* (2), Taldash Galice =*c'e:* (1) / =*c'ā-?* (2), Inland Tanaina =*nax* (3) / =*nik* (3), Central Ahtena =*c'a:n* (1), Mentasta Ahtena =*c'ā:* (1), Dogrib =*k^wō* (2), North Slavey (Hare) =*h=?* *ō* ~ =*h=w'ō* (2), Tanacross =*t^oək* (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) =*t^oak* (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) =*t^oan* (2), Central Carrier =*c'o* (2), Koyukon =*λ'o:n* (2), Degexit'an =*t^oo:n* (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* (< **-c'ih*) or *-c'iw* (< **-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'iw* is perception in general (e.g., feeling, taste), but the usual and most frequent meaning is simply 'hearing'. Examples for *-c'eh* / *-c'iw* 'it is heard' or 'SUBJ hears it' are numerous, e.g.: "I hear (*c'eh*) that bird 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'iw*) them get up" [Golla 1984: 13, 14], "Let me see what it was that I heard (*c'iw*) doing something" [Golla 1984: 19, 22], "in that direction inside it someone was singing there she heard (*c'iw*)" [Golla 1984: 28], "he sang along there she heard (*c'iw*)" [Golla 1984: 29], "And he walking along a creek heard (*c'iw*)" [Goddard 1904: 111], "he heard croak (*c'iw*)" [Goddard 1904: 112], "it sounded he heard (*c'iw*)" [Goddard 1904: 144], etc.

2) the adverb *ʔan-k^ʷa?* ~ *ʔun-k^ʷa?* (also plain *k^ʷa?*), 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 *ʔan-k^ʷa?* ~ *ʔun-k^ʷa?* is used together with the word that denotes perception. Examples for *ʔan-k^ʷa?* ~ *ʔun-k^ʷa?* with *-c'eh* / *-c'iw* in the meaning 'SUBJ hears (it)' are numerous. E.g.: "Then I heard (*ʔan-k^ʷa?* ... *c'eh*) something making a cracking noise going" [Golla 1984: 11], "Then in the middle of the night she heard (*ʔan-k^ʷa?* ... *c'eh*) something uncertain making a noise" [Golla 1984: 18, 22], "As she was coming down the ridge towards Xonsahding,

she heard (*?an-kʰaʔ ... c'eh*) people crying downstream from Xonsahding. She thought, 'I hear (*c'eh*) something there; let me go down there'" [Golla 1984: 21, 23], "Inside it she heard (*?an=kʰaʔ ... c'eh*) someone was singing" [Golla 1984: 28], "He was surprised to hear (*?un-kʰaʔ ... c'eh*) someone splitting logs" [Goddard 1904: 108], "As he walked along he heard (*?un-kʰaʔ ... c'iw*) laughing" [Goddard 1904: 109], "In a hollow tree she heard (*?un-kʰaʔ ... c'eh*) a baby rolling around" [Goddard 1904: 157], "when they came they heard (*?un=kʰaʔ ... c'eh*) talking" [Goddard 1904: 170], etc. Sometimes the second element of the collocation *?an-kʰaʔ ... -c'eh / -c'iw* can be omitted; two examples are found with the semantics of hearing: "Then she heard (*?un-kʰaʔ*) a baby crying" [Goddard 1904: 135], "he heard (*?un-kʰaʔ*) 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 *=ʔa* 'to extend': the descriptive collocations *POSSR=e:taʔay =ya* 'smb.'s head moves to' [Golla 1996: 45] and *POSSR=e:taʔay =ʔa* 'smb.'s head extends to'. Four examples have been found: "it was midnight and he heard (*POSSR=e:taʔay =ya*) a jingling noise he heard (*c'iw*)" [Goddard 1904: 293], "She heard (*POSSR=e:taʔay =ya*) no longer the sound of the games and the talk of the Kixunai" [Goddard 1904: 306, 308], "She did not hear (*POSSR=e:taʔay =ya*) their talk" [Goddard 1904: 307, 309], "Then she heard (*POSSR=e:taʔay =ʔa*) (something)" [Golla 1984: 28].

The statistical analysis clearly shows that the most common way to express the semantics of hearing is the enclitic *-c'eh / -c'iw*.

The suppletive nasal counterpart *=c'aʔn* (< perfective **c'a-n-ʔ-i*) functions as an inflected verb with the passive meaning 'to sound, be heard' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 737; Golla 1996: 45].

Cf. also a separate verb *=nin* 'to hear about smth.' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 779; Golla 1996: 45].

Mattole: Li 1930: 96. Imperfective stem; the perfective stem is *=ni-t*.

Two Mattole verbs for 'to hear' are quoted in [Li 1930]: *=nix* and *=c'eh*. 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 *=c'eh* < **=c'ex* and *=c'iy* < **=c'ex-i* [Li 1930: 23]; the suppletive perfective stem is *=c'aʔn* < **=c'an-ʔ-i* (for such a morphological pattern see [Li 1930: 29]). The separate verb for 'to listen' is based on the *n*-variant: imperfective *=c'aŋ* < **=c'an* and *=c'a:n* < **=c'an-i*, perfective *=c'aʔn* < **=c'an-ʔ-i* [Li 1930: 110].

Kato: Goddard 1912: 73. The imperfective stems are *=c'eh* < **=c'ex* and *=c'eʔ* < **=c'ex-i*. The suppletive perfective stem is *=c'an* ~ *=c'aŋ* ~ *=saŋ* [Goddard 1912: 73; Goddard 1909: 106 No. 9]. Polysemy: 'to hear / to listen'. Note the sporadic shift *c' > c^h* in the perfective stem. Perfective.

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 70 No. 269; Hoijer 1956: 223. Suppletive paradigm: *=c'e* [imperf.] / *=c'a-ʔ* < **=c'an-ʔ* [perf.]. The separate verb for 'to listen' is based on the *n*-root: *=c'a* [imperf.] / *=c'a-ʔ* [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 *=naʔ* is used [Boraas 2010: 47].

Inland Tanaina: Wassillie 1979: 49, 59. Cf. also the examples: "they heard him" [Tenenbaum 1978: 148], "I heard something" [Tenenbaum 1978: 190]. Polysemy: 'to hear / to listen'. Paradigm: *=naʔ* [imperf.] / *=nik* [perf.]. Perfective.

Iliamna Tanaina: Not attested.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 399, 534.

Lower Ahtena: *=c'a:m* [Kari 1990: 399, 534].

Western Ahtena: *=c'a:n* [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 hear 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=ʔi* ~ *=h=wʔi* [imperf.] / *=h=ʔò* ~ *=h=wò* [perf.]. In [Hoijer 1956: 222], the 19th c. archaic variant *=k^weʔy* is quoted, which apparently corresponds to modern *=h=ʔi* ~ *=h=wʔi*. 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 = λ i 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].

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 144; Holton 2000: 350; Shinen 1958: 43. Polysemy: 'to hear / to listen'; for 'to listen', cf. the example "I'm listening to something" [Holton 2000: 253].

A second verb for 'to listen' is $c\acute{i}$ -...- λ h [Arnold et al. 2009: 166], literally 'to extend the inner ear' with POSSR= $c\acute{i}$: 'inner ear, hearing' [Arnold et al. 2009: 106; Holton 2000: 344].

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 98, 100. Polysemy: 'to hear / to listen'.

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 319, 417; Tuttle 2009: 98, 120. Polysemy: 'to hear / to listen / to understand'. Paradigm: = t = t^{θ} \acute{o} \acute{n} η [imperf.] / = t = t^{θ} \acute{o} \acute{n} - η [perf.] / = t = t^{θ} \acute{i} - η [fut.].

Distinct from the more rare and specific verb OBJ= \dots = nik glossed with polysemy: 'to hear the sound of obj. / to make a noise' [Kari 1994: 216].

Distinct from = t^{θ} \acute{o} k 'to listen / to understand' [Kari 1994: 320, 431].

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 752, 1223, 1263; Antoine et al. 1974: 312. Cf. the cognate verb = t = ζ ' \acute{a} i 'to listen' [Poser 1998/2013: 792, 1263; Antoine et al. 1974: 317].

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 610, 927; Jones 1978: 78. Polysemy: 'to hear / to listen / to understand / to obey'. Paradigm: = λ ' \acute{o} : η [neuter imperf.] / = λ ' \acute{o} : n - η [neuter perf.] / = λ ' \acute{i} : y (< *= λ ' \acute{o} : n - y) [momentaneous imperf.] / = λ ' \acute{o} : η [momentaneous perf.]. The suppletive perfect form of the customary aspect: = λ ' \acute{i} : q [customary perf.] (quoted as = λ ' \acute{i} : k in [Jetté & Jones 2000]; this looks like a typo).

Distinct from = nik [perf.] 'to feel' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 449], and in particular 'to hear OBJ (sound, animal calling), become aware of OBJ by hearing' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 452].

Degexit'an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1976: 59; Chapman 1914: 220. Paradigm: = t^{θ} ' \acute{o} : η [imperf.] / = t^{θ} ' \acute{o} : n - η [perf.] / = t^{θ} ' \acute{e} : η [fut.]. Polysemy: 'to hear / to listen'. Cf. some examples: "I heard the bell", "I hear an echo", "What do you hear?" [Taff et al. 2007], "All at once she heard (= t^{θ} ' \acute{o} : η - it was the name of her husband. She listened (= t^{θ} ' \acute{o} : η), and looked at him" [Chapman 1914: 127], "A young man is paddling along. As if expecting to hear (= t^{θ} ' \acute{e} : η) something, he turns his head and listens (= t^{θ} ' \acute{o} : η)" [Chapman 1914: 157].

The suppletive imperfective stem = t^{θ} ' \acute{o} \acute{q} '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].

Sarsi: Li 1930b: 24; Hoijer 1956: 223; Cook 1984: 252. Ablaut paradigm: = c ' \acute{i} h [imperf.] / = c ' \acute{u} h ~ = c ' \acute{u} n- [perf.].

Distinct from = s : \acute{c} \acute{i} : ~ = s : \acute{c} ' \acute{k} - [imperf., perf.] 'to listen' [Li 1930b: 24].

39. HEAR

Mattole = c ' \acute{a} : η n (2).

References and notes:

Mattole: Perfective.

40. HEART

Hupa POSSR= k^h \acute{y} \acute{a} n-sa- η \acute{a} : n (1), Mattole POSSR= \acute{c} ' \acute{i} : y - e ? (2), Kato POSSR= \acute{c} ' \acute{i} : η ? (2), Taldash Galice POSSR= s \acute{i} : y - e ? (2), Upper Inlet Tanaina POSSR= k^h \acute{u} - y - η \acute{i} - n (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina POSSR= k^h \acute{u} - z - η \acute{i} - n (1) / POSSR= i \acute{q} ' \acute{t} \acute{i} (3), Inland Tanaina POSSR= k^h \acute{u} - z - η \acute{i} - n (1), Iliamna Tanaina POSSR= i \acute{q} ' \acute{t} - i (3), Central Ahtena POSSR= k^h \acute{y} = i = z = η \acute{a} : n - i (1), Mentasta Ahtena POSSR= c \acute{e} : y - η ? (2), Dogrib POSSR= c \acute{e} : (2), North Slavey (Hare) POSSR= c \acute{i} \acute{e} - η ? (2), Tanacross POSSR= \acute{c} ' \acute{y} - η ? (2),

Upper Tanana (Tetlin) *POSSR=ce:* ~ *POSSR=ce:-?* (2), Lower Tanana (Minto) *POSSR=çay-a?* (2), Central Carrier *POSSR=ci* (2), Koyukon *POSSR=ca:y-ə?* (2), Degexit'an *POSSR=ye:q'ə-d* (3).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 757; Golla 1996: 45. In [Golla 1996], quoted with *-k^{hy}un-*. Literally 'the round object that lies smb.'s insides' with the anatomical term *POSSR=k^{hy}a:n-e?* ~ *=k^{hy}a:n-e* ~ *=k^{hy}aj* ~ *=k^{hy}uj* 'insides, entrails, abdomen, stomach' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 757; Golla 1996: 50] and the classificatory verb *=ʔa:n* 'to handle a round object' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 731; Golla 1977: 357].

Mattole: Li 1930: 131.

Bear River dialect: *POSSR=çi?-e* 'heart' [Goddard 1929: 317].

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

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 59; Hoijer 1956: 223. The contracted form *POSSR=si:-?* is also attested in some constructions [Hoijer 1973: 68 No. 181, 73 No. 331]. The variant *si:?* is also used in the compound *si:?-ci:te?* 'sorrow' (literally 'sick hearted') [Hoijer 1973: 59] - a result of secondary reanalysis of the possessed form.

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 95, 351; Kari 1977: 104.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 95, 351; Kari 1977: 104. Two Outer Inlet terms are quoted as synonyms by Kari. Kari 2007: 95, 351; Kari 1977: 104.

Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 95, 351; Kari 1977: 104; Wassillie 1979: 49.

Iliamna Tanaina: Kari 2007: 95, 351; Kari 1977: 104.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 71, 534; Kari & Buck 1975: 68; Smelcer 2010: 49.

Lower Ahtena: *POSSR=k^{hy}i=z=ʔa:-n-i* [Kari 1990: 71, 534; Kari & Buck 1975: 68; Smelcer 2010: 49].

Western Ahtena: *POSSR=k^{hy}e=z=ʔa:-n-i* [Kari 1990: 71, 534; Kari & Buck 1975: 68; Smelcer 2010: 49].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 170, 534; Kari & Buck 1975: 68; Smelcer 2010: 49.

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 40, 175.

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 52, 144; Hoijer 1956: 222.

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 144; Holton 2000: 344; Brean & Milanowski 1979: 23; McRoy 1973: 10; Shinen 1958: 3.

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 16, 70.

Northway: *POSSR=ce:-?* 'heart' [Milanowski 2007: 9].

Scottie Creek: *POSSR=cè:y-?* 'heart' [John 1997: 14].

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 98, 418. The expression for 'chest', *POSSR=çay-tə-γan-a?* q.v., is based on this root. The shortened morpheme *ça-* 'chest / heart' is used as the first element of various compounds [Kari 1994: 97].

In the Chena dialect: *POSSR=çay-a?* 'heart' [Kari 1994: 98].

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 152, 752; Poser 2011a: 110; Antoine et al. 1974: 21, 312.

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 165, 927; Jones 1978: 78.

Degexit'an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 36; Chapman 1914: 210. Cannot be separated from Tanaina *POSSR=iq'-t-i* 'heart', literally 'within the inside', although the presumed stem *=ye:q'* '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=càγàni* 'heart' is quoted, not confirmed by other sources.

41. HORN

Hupa *POSSR=te-?* (1), Mattole *POSSR=te-?* (1), Kato *POSSR=te-?* (1), Taldash Galice *POSSR=te?* (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=te-?* (1), Mentasta Ahtena *POSSR=te-?* (1), Dogrib *POSSR=tè* (1), North Slavey (Hare) *POSSR=tié-?* (1),

Tanacross *POSSR=té-?* (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) *POSSR=te-?* (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) *POSSR=ta-?* (1), Central Carrier *POSSR=te* (1), Koyukon *POSSR=ta:-?* (1), Degexit'an *və=təq-əy* ~ *POSSR=ʁv=təq-əy* (2), Sarsi *POSSR=tù-?* (1).

References and notes:

- Hupa:** Sapir & Golla 2001: 748; Golla 1996: 47. The synchronic Hupa root is =*te*, not =*teʔ*, cf. the allomorph *te*: in the compound *k^hi-te:k^hiinʔ* 'spoon', literally 'smth.'s horn's base' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 748; Golla 1996: 89; Golla 1964: 111].
- Mattole:** Li 1930: 127. Morphologically =*te-?* or =*teʔ*.
Bear River dialect: *POSSR=te(-)ʔ* 'horn' [Goddard 1929: 317].
- Kato:** Goddard 1912: 22. Morphologically =*te-?* or =*teʔ*.
- Taldash Galice:** Hoijer 1973: 54; Hoijer 1956: 223; Landar 1977: 295. Morphologically, either =*te-?* or =*teʔ*. Polysemy: 'horn / horn-like root of tree'.
- Upper Inlet Tanaina:** Kari 2007: 13, 352; Kari 1977: 31.
- Outer Inlet Tanaina:** Kari 2007: 13, 352; Kari 1977: 31. The form *POSSR=ta* is modern, whereas *POSSR=tay-ʔa* with the izafet exponent *-a* (rather to be read *POSSR=tay-ʔaʔ*) originates from the 19th century sources.
- Inland Tanaina:** Kari 2007: 13, 352; Kari 1977: 31.
- Iliamna Tanaina:** Kari 2007: 13, 352; Kari 1977: 31.
- 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'.
- North Slavey (Hare):** Rice 1978: 49, 145; Hoijer 1956: 222. Polysemy: 'horn / antenna'.
- Tanacross:** Arnold et al. 2009: 147; Holton 2000: 344; Brean & Milanowski 1979: 3; McRoy 1973: 2.
- Upper Tanana (Tetlin):** Milanowski 2009: 13, 76. Glossed as 'horns, antlers'.
Northway: *POSSR=te-?* 'horn, antler' [Milanowski 2007: 10].
Scottie Creek: *POSSR=tè-?* 'horn, antler' [John 1997: 49].
- Lower Tanana (Minto):** Kari 1994: 59, 420; Tuttle 2009: 101. Variant *ta-* in compounds.
- Central Carrier:** Poser 1998/2013: 121, 757; Poser 2011a: 113; Antoine et al. 1974: 18, 313.
- Koyukon:** Jetté & Jones 2000: 107, 931; Jones 1978: 81. The variant *ta-* is used in compounds.
- Degexit'an:** Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 6. The form *və=təq-əy* is from [Taff et al. 2007], =*ʁv=təq-əy* is from [Kari 1978], both for 'horn(s)'; cf. *ko=ʁ=təq-əy* 'antlers' [Taff et al. 2007]. The forms contain the postposition =*təq* 'up' and the nominalizer *-əy*; thus *və=təq-əy* literally means 'that which is on top'.
- Sarsi:** Hoijer & Joël 1963: 69; Hoijer 1956: 222.

42. I

Hupa *me*: (1), Mattole *ši*: (1), Kato *ši*: (1), Taldash Galice *ši*: (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina *si* (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina *ši* (1), Inland Tanaina *ši* (1), Iliamna Tanaina *ši* (1), Central Ahtena *si*: (1), Mentasta Ahtena *si*: (1), Dogrib *śí* (1), North Slavey (Hare) *sè-nî* (1), Tanacross *šìh* ~ *šì*: (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) *šin* (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) *si* (1), Central Carrier *si* (1), Koyukon *si*: (1), Degexit'an *se*: (1), Sarsi *sí-ní* (1).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 796; Golla 1996: 49, 61; Golla 1970: 236. The same morpheme in the prefixal possessive pronoun *mi-* 'my' [Golla 1970: 212], 1 sg. subject verbal prefix *-m-* [Golla 1970: 69], 1 sg. object verbal prefix *-mi-* [Golla 1970: 103].

Mattole: Li 1930: 133. The same morpheme is also present in the prefixal possessive pronoun *ši-* 'my' [Li 1930: 133], 1 sg. subject verbal prefix *-š-* [Li 1930: 68], 1 sg. object verbal prefix *-ši-* [Li 1930: 64].

Bear River dialect: *ši* 'T' [Goddard 1929: 317].

Kato: Goddard 1912: 33. The same morpheme is found in the prefixal possessive pronoun *š-* < **ši-* 'my' [Goddard 1912: 21].

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1956: 223. The same morpheme in the prefixal possessive pronoun *š-* < **ši-* 'my' [Hoijer 1966: 322], 1 sg. subject verbal prefix *-š-* [Hoijer 1966: 325], 1 sg. indirect & direct object verbal prefix *-š-* [Hoijer 1966: 323, 324].

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 65; Kari 1977: 80.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 65; Kari 1977: 80.

Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 65; Kari 1977: 80.

Iliamna Tanaina: Kari 2007: 65; Kari 1977: 80.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 35, 461.

Lower Ahtena: *si*: [Kari 1990: 35, 461].

Western Ahtena: *si*: [Kari 1990: 35, 461].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 35, 461.

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 90; Marinakis et al. 2007: 40. Nasalization of *ī* is due to influence on the part of *nī* 'thou' q.v.

The same morpheme is present in the prefixal possessive pronoun *sé-* 'my', 1st sg. subject verbal prefix *-éh-*, 1st sg. object verbal prefix *-sé-* [Saxon & Siemens 1996: xiii; Marinakis et al. 2007: 39, 114, 128; Coleman 1976: 21].

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1989: 253; Hoijer 1956: 222. Final *-nī* is a suffix modifying personal and some other pronouns.

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 150; Holton 2000: 278. The same morpheme is present in the prefixal possessive pronoun *š-* 'my', 1st sg. subject verbal prefix *-ih-*, 1st sg. object verbal prefix *-š-* [Holton 2000: 145, 199, 248].

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 82. The same morpheme is present in the prefixal possessive pronoun *š-* / *s-* 'my' [Milanowski 2009: 9].

Northway: *ši*: 'T' [Milanowski 2007: 15].

Scottie Creek: *ši*: 'T' [John 1997: 5].

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 346. The same morpheme is present in the prefixal possessive pronoun *s-* 'my', 1st sg. subject verbal prefix *-as-*, 1st sg. object verbal prefix *-s-* [Kari 1994: 346-347].

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 431; Antoine et al. 1974: 351. The same morpheme is present in the prefixal possessive pronoun *s-* 'my', 1st sg. subject verbal prefix *-as-*, 1st sg. object verbal prefix *-s-*n** [Antoine et al. 1974: 349-350].

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 728, 805; Jones & Kwaraceius 1997: 4. The emphatic variant *si-n* 'T' is seldom used. The same morpheme is present in the prefixal possessive pronoun *sə-* 'my', 1st sg. subject verbal prefix *-as-*, 1st sg. object verbal prefix *-sə-* [Jetté & Jones 2000: 805].

Degexit'an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 25. The same morpheme is present in the prefixal possessive pronoun *sə-* 'my' [Kari 1978: 25].

Sarsi: Cook 1984: 62; Hoijer 1956: 222. Final *-nī* 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 *si-* 'my', 1st sg. subject verbal prefix *-s-*, 1st sg. object verbal prefix *-si-* [Cook 1984: 64, 193, 197].

43. KILL

Hupa =*wε*: (1), Mattole =*ke*: (1), Kato =*ki*:-*η* (1), Taldash Galice =*ke*: (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina *č^hi*=*OBJ*=*t*=*t*=*yuq* (2), Inland Tanaina *č^hi*=*OBJ*=*t*=*t*=*yuq* (2), Central Ahtena =*z*=*t*=*βε*: (1), Mentasta Ahtena =*z*=*t*=*βε*: (1), Dogrib =*wí* (3), North Slavey (Hare) =*h*=*xíè* (1), Tanacross =*h*=*xč̣*: (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) =*h*=*xĩ*: (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) =*t*=*ya* (1), Central Carrier =*t*=*ye* (1), Koyukon =*t*=*ba*: (1) / =*la*: (4), Degexit'an =*ba*: (1) / =*la*:-*χ* (4), Sarsi =*s*=*xá* (1) / =*s*=*yí* (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 =*wɛ:-n* < *=*wɛ:-n-i*.

Distinct from =*wɑ:n* < *=*wɑ:n-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 =*ki:-n* ~ =*ke-ʔ*. Used with both sg. and pl. obj.

Bear River dialect: =*kan*, =*kaŋ*, =*kin* '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 =*kaŋ* 'to kill', used with pl. obj. [Goddard 1912: 76].

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 67; Hoijer 1956: 223. Paradigm: =*ke*: [imperf.] / =*k̄i*: < *=*ki:-n* [perf.]. Used with sg. animated obj.

Distinct from the verb =*taʔ* ~ =*teʔ* [imperf.] / =*teʔʔ* < *=*teʔ-ʔ* [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 $\check{c}^h i$ =OBJ= \check{t} = $\check{t} i k$ / $\check{c}^h i$ =OBJ= \check{t} = $\check{t} i s$ '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]").

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Boraas 2010: 20, 42. In Boraas' examples, applied only to sg. obj.

Distinct from =*ɛun* 'to kill (pl. obj.)', whose main meaning is the generic 'to make' [Boraas 2010: 63].

Inland Tanaina: Wassillie 1979: 55; Holton et al. 2004: 39. Used with sg. subj. Cf. the examples: "They killed that moose" [Wassillie 1979: 55], "They killed him" [Holton et al. 2004: 25], "the wolf killed him (man)", "he (man) killed him (man)" [Tenenbaum 1978: 69]. But occasionally with pl. subj.: "they killed them" [Tenenbaum 1978: 77]. Initial $\check{c}^h i$ = is the action prefix 'play; death, illness; worry' [Tenenbaum 1978: 189].

Iliamna Tanaina: Not attested.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 213, 542.

Lower Ahtena: =*z=ʔ=ɛ*: [Kari 1990: 213, 542].

Western Ahtena: =*z=ʔ=ɛ*: [Kari 1990: 213, 542].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 213, 542. Polysemy: 'to kill / to beat up'.

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 32, 181. =*ní* after the prefixal =*h=*. Paradigm: =*wí* [imperf.] / =*wó* [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].

Distinct from =*dé* [imperf.] / =*dè* [perf.] 'to kill (pl. obj.)' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 32, 181]. Cf. the examples: "Sometimes hunters kill them" [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 32], "We are going to kill lots of fur-bearing animals" [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 103].

The expressions for 'to die' q.v. contain the same roots: =*wí* (sg. subj.) and =*té* (pl. subj.).

Distinct from the collocation POSSR=*wè*: =*c^h i* 'to kill' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 46, 132], literally 'to make death (*wè*) to smb'.

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 375, 435, 514; Hoijer 1956: 222. Paradigm: =*h-xiè* [imperf.] / =*h-xì* [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], "s/he 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 =*ɣò* '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-wí* 'to kill (sg. & pl. obj.)' [Rice 1978: 294, 478], a causative from =*wí* '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 =*fí* 'to kill someone by medicine or witchcraft' [Rice 1978: 371, 427].

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 158; Holton 2000: 160, 350; Shinen 1958: 45. Used with sg. obj. Applicable to both humans and animals.

With pl. obj., the verb =*ɣã*: 'to kill' is used [Arnold et al. 2009: 158; Holton 2000: 160].

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 62, 99. Paradigm: =*xí*: [imperf.] / =*xã*: [perf.] / =*xe:-k* [customary] / =*xeh* [fut.]. Used with

both sg. and pl. obj.

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 121, 426; Tuttle 2009: 111. Paradigm: =t=ya [imperf.] / =t=ya-ɪ [perf.] / =t=ya-t [fut.] / =t=ya-y [customary]. Used with sg. obj.

Distinct from =yan ɪ [imperf.] / =yan-ʔ [perf.] / =yan-y [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: =t=ye [imperf.] / =t=yi [perf.] / =t=ye-t [fut.]. Used with sg. & dual. obj. (with both humans and animals as a subject and as an object).

Distinct from =yan '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: =t=ba: [imperf.] / =t=ba:-ɪ [perf.]. Polysemy: 'to kill / to beat, injury'. Used with sg. obj. As noted in [Jetté & Jones 2000], =t=ba: is "mainly used with human objects, but can be used for killing animals".

For animal sg. object, the verb =la: with polysemy: 'to catch / to kill' seems preferable [Jetté & Jones 2000: 378] (used in the conversive aspect). We treat both as synonyms.

Distinct from =bo: ɪ 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: =ba: [imperf.] / =ba:-ɪ [perf.]. Used with sg. obj.

The second candidate is the verb =la:-χ [imperf.] / =la:-ɪ [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], =ba: 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, =la:-χ / =la:-ɪ is missing from [Taff et al. 2007] at all.

On the contrary, browsing through [Chapman 1914] suggests that the object of =ba: is normally humans or mythical heroes. Whereas =la:- 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 (=la:- ɪ) 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 (=la:-χ) them; but now that they are far away, I kill (=la:-χ) but few'. Then said his wife, 'Why is it that you get (=la:-χ) so few?'" [Chapman 1914: 125].

We treat =ba: and =la:- as synonyms.

Distinct from =bo: ɪ with polysemy: 'to make / to kill' used with pl. obj. [Kari 1976: 23; Chapman 1914: 223]. Kari 1976: 33; Chapman 1914: 217.

Sarsi: Li 1930b: 17; Hoijer 1956: 223; Cook 1984: 58. Ablaut paradigm: =s=xá [imperf.] / =s=yí ~ =s=yí-n- [imperf.] (yí < *yí). Used with sg. & dual. obj.

Distinct from =yúh ~ =yúh- 'to kill' [Li 1930b: 17; Cook 1984: 58], used with pl. obj. Perfective.

44. KNEE

Hupa *POSSR=qot'* (1), Mattole *POSSR=k^woʔt'* (1), Kato *POSSR=qo:t'* (1), Taldash Galice *POSSR=k^wai ~ POSSR=k^waiʔ* (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina *POSSR=c'as* (2) / *POSSR=qat'* (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina *POSSR=č^hiš* (3), Inland Tanaina *POSSR=č^hiš* (3), Iliamna Tanaina *POSSR=č^hiš* (3), Central Ahtena *POSSR=qoʔt* (1), Mentasta Ahtena *POSSR=qot* (1), Dogrib *POSSR=éh=kò* (1), North Slavey (Hare) *POSSR=kó-ʔ* (1), Tanacross *POSSR=kót* (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) *POSSR=kot* (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) *POSSR=kovt* (1), Central Carrier *POSSR=k^wat* (1), Koyukon *POSSR=qut* (1), Degexit'an *POSSR=c^hasto:qa:ʔ* (4), Sarsi *POSSR=kut-vʔ* (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^wo?* 'to stoop down (intrans.)' [Li 1930: 100] and the substantive =*k^wo:x^w* 'joint' (in the compounds POSSR=*k^he?*-*k^wo:x^w-e?* 'ankle', POSSR=*la?*-*k^wo:x^w-e?* 'wrist' [Li 1930: 130] with the roots 'foot' and 'hand' respectively) are related to =*k^wo?* 'knee'.

Bear River dialect: POSSR=*kot* ~ POSSR=*k^hyo* 'knee' (both forms are corrupt), POSSR=*kot* '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 =*k^wai(-)?* [perf.] 'to kneel' [Hoijer 1973: 67].

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 94, 352; Kari 1977: 107. Kari 2007: 94; Kari 1977: 107. Attested in the Talkeetna subdialect of Upper Inlet.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 94, 352; Kari 1977: 107.

Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 94, 352; Kari 1977: 107.

Iliamna Tanaina: Kari 2007: 94, 352; Kari 1977: 107.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 199, 543; Kari & Buck 1975: 70; Smelcer 2010: 50.

Lower Ahtena: POSSR=*qo?* [Kari 1990: 199, 543; Kari & Buck 1975: 70; Smelcer 2010: 50].

Western Ahtena: POSSR=*qot* [Kari 1990: 199, 543; Kari & Buck 1975: 70; Smelcer 2010: 50].

Mentasta Ahtena: 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 =*eh*= is a desemantized prefix, the same as in POSSR=*eh=ta* 'chin / beak, bill of a bird'. Plain *kò* is used in compounds and as the incorporated verbal morpheme, e.g., =*kò=...?á* 'to kneel' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 77].

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 56, 148; Hoijer 1956: 222.

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 158; Holton 2000: 344; Brean & Milanowski 1979: 23; McRoy 1973: 9; Shinen 1958: 3.

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 17, 70.

Northway: POSSR=*kot* 'knee' [Milanowski 2007: 11].

Scottie Creek: POSSR=*kòt* 'knee' [John 1997: 14].

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 117, 427; Tuttle 2009: 112.

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 161, 779; Poser 2011a: 122; Antoine et al. 1974: 25, 315. Polysemy: 'knee / leg bone (with marrow)'.
Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 219, 941; Jones 1978: 90.

Differently in the Lower dialect, where POSSR=*á^hu:q-ə?* 'knee' is used [Jetté & Jones 2000: 585].

Degexit'an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 37. Morphologically unclear.

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=šò* (3), Tanacross =*t=n'déy* (2), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) =*t=nay* ~ =*t=nāy* (2), Lower Tanana (Minto) =*t=nəy* (2), Central Carrier =*z'an* (4), Koyukon =*t=nəy* (2), Degexit'an =*nəy* (2), Sarsi =*nih* (2).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 738; Golla 1996: 54; Golla 1996a: 388.

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 < *=*c'it-i*; the light imperfective stem is =*c'ih* < *=*c'it* [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 =*c^hat* '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 *c^h* < **c*).
- Taldash Galice:** Hoijer 1973: 71. Polysemy: 'to know / to learn, come to know / to recognize'.
Distinct from =*yā*, 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 =*yən* (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 it's that 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 =*zən*, 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 =*zən* / =*zin*, however, seems to be 'to want' [Wassillie 1979: 108].
- Iliamna Tanaina:** Not attested.
- Central Ahtena:** Kari 1990: 309, 543.
Lower Ahtena: ta=OBJ=t=i=0=nə-s [Kari 1990: 309, 543].
Western Ahtena: ta=OBJ=t=i=0=nə-s [Kari 1990: 309, 543].
- Mentasta Ahtena:** Kari 1990: 309, 543.
- Dogrib:** Saxon & Siemens 1996: 129, 182; Marinakis et al. 2007: 162. Innovative pronunciation: =*zō*, after the suffixal *-h-* realized as =*šō* ~ =*sō*. Glossed as 'to know, realize'.
- 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 =*yō* [imperf.] / =*yā* [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 =*n^di:k* is used in the negative stem *c'...*=*t=n^di:g* 'do not know' [Arnold et al. 2009: 159].
- Upper Tanana (Tetlin):** Milanowski 2009: 48, 99. Nasal fluctuation is unclear. Imperfective stem. The perfective root variant =*n^di:k* is used in the negative stem *c'...*=*t=n^di:k* 'do not know' [Milanowski 2009: 49, 99]. Cf. the cognate verbs =*nāy* 'to believe', =*l=nāy* 'to remember' [Milanowski 2009: 48].
- 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 imperf. =*t=nay* is used for the positive meaning 'to know'. Cf. the negative stem *c'...*=*t=nik-ā* 'do not know (information, song, story)' [Kari 1994: 216] with the perfective root variant.
Distinct from =*l=tə* *ɪ* ~ =*t=tə* *ɪ* [imperf.] / =*l=tən-?* ~ =*t=tən-?* [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: =*zən* [imperf.] / =*zin* [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 OBJ'. The perfective root variant =*t=ni:k* is used in the negative construction 'do not know' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 451]. The polysemantic verb =*ni:y* / =*nay* / =*ni:k* generally refers "to awareness or sensory perception"

[Jetté & Jones 2000: 449].

Degexit'an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1976: 38; Chapman 1914: 214. Imperfective form. The perfective root variant *=nek* is used in the negative construction 'do not know' [Taff et al. 2007; Chapman 1914: 214].

Sarsi: Li 1930b: 20; Cook 1984: 235. Glossed as 'to know, to be aware'. Paradigm: *=nih* [imperf.] / *=nih ~ =ni-t^h* [perf.]; final *-t^h* is the perfective exponent [Li 1930b: 11].

Distinct from *=šá(n-)* [imperf.] / *=šâ:n* [perf.] (*=š... < *s=y... < *t=y...*) 'to know about' [Li 1930b: 16].

Distinct from *=šôh* [imperf.] / *=šôh ~ =šô-t^h* [perf.] (*=š... < *s=y... < *t=y...*) 'to find out, to know' [Li 1930b: 24; Cook 1984: 235].

46. LEAF

Hupa *POSSR=t'an?* (1), Mattole *POSSR=t'an?* (1), Taldash Galice *č'a=t'ã?* (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^ye=t'ã?* (1), Mentasta Ahtena *k^ye=t'a:n?* (1), Dogrib *í=t'ò ~ í=t'ò-á* (1), North Slavey (Hare) *ĩ=t'ó-?* (1), Tanacross *POSSR=t'ã?* (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) *POSSR=t'ã?* ~ *POSSR=t'a:n-?* (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) *POSSR=t'an?* ~ *POSSR=t'an-a?* (1), Central Carrier *POSSR=t'an* (1), Koyukon *POSSR=t'o:n?* (1), Degexit'an *POSSR=t'o:n?* (1), Sarsi *t'ásí ~ t'úsí* (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'un?*. Applied to trees and plants. May denote a single leaf or several leaves. The synchronic root is rather *t'an* (*POSSR=t'an?* < **POSSR=t'an-i?*), cf. compounds like *k^yi=nehs-t'a:n* (< **...-t'a:n-i*) 'tan oak', lit. 'its long leaves' and *t'an-q* 'autumn' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 789]. On the contrary, the cognate verb *k^yi=...t'a?n* (< **t'an?-i*) 'to come out (of leaves)' [Golla 1996: 56] is based on the possessed form.

Distinct from collective *POSSR=á'ow* (< **á'ow-i?*) 'plant's leaves, foliage', *á'oh* (< **á'ow*) 'grass, grassy plant, brush' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 768; Golla 1996: 56].

Mattole: Li 1930: 128. Originates from **t'an?*. The synchronic root is *t'an?*, not *t'an*, cf. the cognate verb *=t'a?n* (< **t'an?-i*) 'to become ripe' [Li 1930: 92].

Bear River dialect: not attested.

Kato: Not attested.

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 55. Synchronically, either *=t'ã?* or *=t'ã-?*. Initial *č'a=* is the indefinite possessive pronoun [Hoijer 1966: 322]. In [Hoijer 1956: 223], quoted as *t'ã* 'leaf'.

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 47, 61, 353; Kari 1977: 75.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 47, 61, 353; Kari 1977: 75.

Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 47, 61, 353; Kari 1977: 75. In [Wassillie 1979: 58], quoted with the izafet exponent: *POSSR=t'un-a* 'leaves'.

Iliamna Tanaina: Kari 2007: 47, 61, 353; Kari 1977: 75.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 340, 545; Kari & Buck 1975: 31; Smelcer 2010: 107.

Lower Ahtena: *k^ye=t'ã?* [Kari 1990: 340, 545; Kari & Buck 1975: 31; Smelcer 2010: 107].

Western Ahtena: *k^ye=t'a:n?* [Kari 1990: 340, 545; Kari & Buck 1975: 31; Smelcer 2010: 107].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 340, 545; Kari & Buck 1975: 31; Smelcer 2010: 107.

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 54, 183. Initial *í=* looks like an indefinite possessive pronoun; final *-á* is the diminutive suffix [Marinakis et al. 2007: 152 f.]. Glossed as 'leaf, leafy stuff'. The expressions for 'green' q.v. are based on this word.

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 34, 149; Hoijer 1956: 222. Initial *ĩ=* is the indefinite possessive pronoun [Rice 1989: 211]. Polysemy: 'leaf / flower / cabbage, lettuce, vegetables / green (adj.)'.

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 162; Holton 2000: 344; Shinen 1958: 13. Polysemy: 'leaf / feather', see notes on 'feather'.

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 14, 77. Synchronously, should rather be analyzed as $=t^h\tilde{a}?$ than $=t^h\tilde{a}-?$, if the compound $t^h\tilde{a}:-n\tilde{a}y$ 'fox sparrow' [Milanowski 2009: 26] is related.

Northway: POSSR= $t^h\tilde{a}?$ ~ POSSR= $t^h\tilde{a}:n?$ 'leaf' [Milanowski 2007: 11].

Scottie Creek: POSSR= $t^h\tilde{a}:$ 'leaf' [John 1997: 59].

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 257, 428. Polysemy: 'leaf / leafy plant / shrub'.

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 475, 784; Poser 2011a: 126; Antoine et al. 1974: 44, 316.

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 553, 944; Jones 1978: 92. Polysemy: 'leaf / flower / leafy plant / bush, shrub / feather'.

Degexit'an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 17; Chapman 1914: 228. Polysemy: 'leaf / leafy plant'.

Sarsi: Hoijer & Joël 1963: 70; Hoijer 1956: 222; Cook 1984: 68. Morphologically unclear.

47. LIE

Hupa $=t^he$: (1), Mattole $=t^he$: (1), Kato $=t^hi:-n$ (1), Taldash Galice $=t^h\tilde{i}$: (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina $=t^ha-n$ (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina $=t^ha-n$ (1), Inland Tanaina $=t^ha-n$ (1), Central Ahtena $=t^he:-n$ (1), Mentasta Ahtena $=t^he:-n$ (1), Dogrib $=t^h\tilde{i}$ (1), North Slavey (Hare) $=t^h\tilde{i}$ (1), Tanacross $=l=t^h\tilde{e}y$ (2), Lower Tanana (Minto) $=t^ha-n$ (1), Central Carrier $=t^hi$ (1), Koyukon $=t^ha:-n$ (1), Degexit'an $=t^ha:-n$ (1), Sarsi $=t^hih$ (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 $=t^hi:-n$ ($< *t^he:-n$) / $=t^he:-n$ ($< *t^he:-n-i$), nondirectional imperfective/perfective $=t^he$: / $=t^he-?$ ($< *t^hi-?$ $< *t^he:-?$) [Golla 1977: 357].

Cf. the verb $=t^he:c$: ($< *t^he:c:-i$) 'to lie, lie down (of humans and animals)' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 786; Golla 1996: 56; Golla 1970: 162], which is used with pl. subj.

Distinct from the verbs for 'to lie' used with inanimate subject: $=?a:-n$ 'to handle a round object' (sg. subj.) and $=la$: 'to handle several objects' (pl. subj.) [Sapir & Golla 2001: 731, 761; Golla 1996a: 388].

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 living being'. The directional imperfective stem is $=t^hi-x$; the directional perfective stems are $=t^he:h$ ~ $=t^hi-ŋ$ (both $< *t^he:-n$) and $=t^he:-n$ $< *t^he:-n-i$; the nondirectional imperfective/perfective stems are $=t^he$: / $=t^he-?$. The variant $=t^he:n$ 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.

Bear River dialect: $=t^he-$ 'to lie (down)' [Goddard 1929: 317].

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 $=t^h\delta-š$; the directional perfective stems is $=t^hi-ŋ$ ($< *t^hi:-n$) and $=t^hi:-n$ ($< *t^hi:-n-i$).

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 65 No. 97; Hoijer 1966: 326; Hoijer 1956: 223. Polysemy: 'to lie / to lie down'. Used with animated sg. & pl. subj. The intransitive perfective stem of the classificatory verb $=t^ha-š$ [imperf.] / $=t^h\tilde{i}$: $< *t^hi:-n$ [perf.] 'to handle a living being' [Hoijer 1973: 65 No. 81-82].

Distinct from the verbs $=c'e?$ [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]: $=t^ha-š$ [imperf.] / $=t^ha$ [imperf. continuative] / $=t^ha-n$ [perf.].

Inland Tanaina: Tenenbaum 1978: 140; Holton et al. 2004: 39. Polysemy: 'to lie / to lie down'. $=t^ha-n$ is the perfective stem of the classificatory verb $=t^ha-χ$ [imperf.] / $=t^ha-n$ [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 $=t^h a-n$: "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 $=t^h a-\chi$ ("I lie down customarily" [Tenenbaum 1978: 53], "Lie down!" [Tenenbaum 1978: 123]) or future $=t^h a-t$ ("I'll lie down" [Tenenbaum 1978: 105]).

The verb $=t^h a-\chi$ / $=t^h a-n$ is applied to sg. or dual subj. (for dual, cf. the example "we (dual.) are lying down" [Tenenbaum 1978: 63]).

It is not clear how the idea of lying is expressed for pl. subj. One could expect the classificatory verb $=ta\acute{t}$ [imperf.] / $=ta\lambda'$ [imperf.] / $=t\acute{o}t$ [fut.] 'to handle plural objects / to go / to come / to fly' (see notes on 'to go'). The only attested example of 'to lie (pl. subj.)' is, however, $q^h a=l=yu$ [Holton et al. 2004: 39], glossed as 'to lie prone', which consists of the incorporated $q^h a=$ 'foot' [Tenenbaum 1978: 164] and the verb $=yu$ 'to go (sg. & dual. subj.)' q.v.

Iliamna Tanaina: Not attested.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 328, 546.

Lower Ahtena: $=t^h e:-n$ [Kari 1990: 328, 546].

Western Ahtena: $=t^h e:-n$ [Kari 1990: 328, 546].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 328, 546.

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 118. This is the classificatory verb 'to handle rigid object' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: viii]. Used with sg. subj. When applied to animates, manifests polysemy: 'to be located / to lie / to lie down / to sleep'.

The expression for 'to lie (pl. animate subj.)' is not documented, but apparently the verb $=t^h \acute{e}$ 'to be located / to sleep', used with pl. animate subj. [Saxon & Siemens 1996: ix, 118], also means 'to lie / to lie down'.

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 284, 462, 516; 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'.

The expression for 'to lie (pl. animate subj.)' is not documented. Cf. the verb $=l=y\acute{a}$ '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': $=t^h \acute{z}$: [sg. subj.] / $=t^h \acute{z}:c$ [pl. subj.], quoted in [Holton 2000: 160], not found in [Arnold et al. 2009].

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Not documented.

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 229, 429; Tuttle 2009: 118. Paradigm: $=t^h a- \acute{t}$ [neuter imperf.] / $=t^h a-?$ [neuter perf.] / $=t^h a-y$ [momentaneous imperf.] / $=t^h a- \acute{t}$ [momentaneous perf.]. Polysemy: 'to lie / to lie down / to recline / to sleep'. Applicable to sg. anim. subj.

Distinct from $=t^h ac$ [neuter imperf.] / $=t^h a\acute{s}$ [momentaneous imperf.] / $=t^h ac$ [momentaneous perf.] 'to lie / to recline / to sleep' used with pl. anim. subj. [Kari 1994: 232].

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 805, 1222, 1259; Poser 2011a: 128; Antoine et al. 1974: 317. Paradigm: $=t^h i$ [imperf.] / $=t^h e-?$ [perf.]. Polysemy: 'to lie / to lie down / to sleep'. Used with sg. & dual. subj.

Distinct from $=t^h ez$ '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: $=t^h a- \acute{t}$ [neuter imperf.] / $=t^h a-?$ [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 $=t^h a-$ is the generic classificatory verb 'animate or living being is in position'.

Distinct from $=c\acute{o}t$ with polysemy: 'to lie / to lie down / to sleep', used with pl. subj. [Jetté & Jones 2000: 173; Jones & Kwaraceius 1997: 88].

Distinct from $=l=t^h \acute{o} \acute{t}$ 'to sleep' q.v.

Degexit'an: Taff et al. 2007; Chapman 1914: 227. Paradigm: $=t^h a- \acute{t}$ [imperf.] / $=t^h a-?$ [perf.]. Polysemy: 'to lie / to lie down'. Actually $=t^h a-$ is a generic classificatory verb with the meaning 'to handle animate OBJ' [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 $=c\acute{o}t$ '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: $=t^h ih$ [imperf.] / $=t^h \acute{a}h$ [perf.]. Polysemy: 'to lie / to sleep / sg.

living being is in position'; used with sg. subj.

Cf. the cognate active paradigm =^hàh [imperf.] / =^hih ~ =^hi-n- [perf.] 'to lie down / to handle sg. living being' [Cook 1984: 140-142].

Distinct from the verbs used with pl. subj.: neuter =V=^ház [imperf., perf.] / =V=^ház ~ =V=^hác- 'to lie / to sleep / several living beings are in position'; active =V=^hás / =V=^ház ~ =V=^hác- 'to lie down / to handle several living beings' [Li 1930b: 19; Cook 1984: 140].

48. LIVER

Hupa *POSSR=sit'* (1), Mattole *POSSR=c^hiʔt* (1), Kato *POSSR=t^hel-eʔ* (2), Taldash Galice *POSSR=saʔt* (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina *POSSR=yat'* (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina *POSSR=zət'* (1), Inland Tanaina *POSSR=zət'* (1), Iliamna Tanaina *POSSR=zət'* (1), Central Ahtena *POSSR=zeʔt* (1), Mentasta Ahtena *POSSR=zet* (1), Dogrib *POSSR=wò* (1), North Slavey (Hare) *POSSR=wé-ʔ* (1), Tanacross *POSSR=θét* (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) *POSSR=θat* (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) *POSSR=ðət* (1), Central Carrier *POSSR=zət* (1), Koyukon *POSSR=k^ho:l=ʔo:-n-ə ~ POSSR=k^ho:l=ʔo:-n-ə* (3), Degexit'an *POSSR=ç'ə=ʔə=ʔo:-n* (3), Sarsi *POSSR=zìʔ* (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=sat'* ~ *POSSR=sit'* 'liver' [Goddard 1929: 317].

Kato: Goddard 1912: 22.

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 58.

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 96, 353; Kari 1977: 105.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 96, 353; Kari 1977: 105.

Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 96, 353; Kari 1977: 105; Wassillie 1979: 59.

Iliamna Tanaina: Kari 2007: 96, 353; Kari 1977: 105.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 459, 547; Kari & Buck 1975: 69; Smelcer 2010: 50.

Lower Ahtena: *POSSR=zeʔt* [Kari 1990: 459, 547; Kari & Buck 1975: 69; Smelcer 2010: 50].

Western Ahtena: *POSSR=zet'* [Kari 1990: 459, 547; Kari & Buck 1975: 69; Smelcer 2010: 50].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 459, 547; Kari & Buck 1975: 69; Smelcer 2010: 50.

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 47, 185.

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 105, 150.

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 167; Holton 2000: 156; Brean & Milanowski 1979: 25; McRoy 1973: 10; Shinen 1958: 3.

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 24, 70.

Northway: *POSSR=θat* 'liver' [Milanowski 2007: 11].

Scottie Creek: *POSSR=θʔt* 'liver' [John 1997: 15].

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 90, 431.

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 590, 792; Poser 2011a: 130; Antoine et al. 1974: 56, 317.

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 48, 948; Jones 1978: 96. In [Jones 1978], quoted as =*k^ho:lʔo:na-ʔ*. Literally 'compact object in the abdomen' with the generic classificatory verb =*ʔo:-y* / =*ʔo:- ɿ* 'compact object is in position' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 40] and incorporated *k^ho:-* (< *POSSR=k^ho:* ʔ 'abdomen' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 298]).

Degexit'an: Kari 1978: 36. Verbal form with the generic classificatory verb =*ʔo:-y* [imperf.] / =*ʔo:- ɿ* [perf.] 'to handle compact object' [Kari 1976: 4], although further analysis is uncertain.

Sarsi: Hoijer & Joël 1963: 69.

49. LONG

Hupa =*ne:s* (1), Mattole =*ne:s* (1), Kato =*nes* (1), Taldash Galice =*tes* (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina =*t=nəy* (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina =*t=naz* (1), Inland Tanaina =*t=naz* (1), Iliamna Tanaina =*t=naz* (1), Central Ahtena =*t=ne:s* (1), Mentasta Ahtena =*t=ne:s* (1), Dogrib =*ⁿtè* (1), North Slavey (Hare) =*tiè* (1), Tanacross =*dé:θ* (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) =*n^diah* (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) =*naθ* ~ =*l=naθ* (1), Central Carrier =*yiẓ* (2), Koyukon =*na:t* (1), Degexit'an =*ηa:θ* (1), Sarsi =*λ'ú: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 **=ne:s-i*. Cf. the irregular short variant *nis*, which is possibly attested in the compound *nis-k'ij* 'fir, pine; any tall conifer', lit. 'tall tree' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 778; Golla 1996: 35].

Mattole: Li 1930: 95. Normally a verbal root: 'to be long'.

Bear River dialect: *nes* with polysemy: 'long / tall' [Goddard 1929: 318].

Kato: Goddard 1912: 65. Verbal root: 'to be long'.

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 64; Hoijer 1956: 223; Landar 1977: 295. 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=ne:s* [Kari 1990: 298, 548].

Western Ahtena: =*t=ne:s* [Kari 1990: 298, 548].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 298, 548.

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 80, 185. Innovative pronunciation: =*tè*.

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 259, 416, 517; Hoijer 1956: 222. Verbal stem: 'to be long'.

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 168; Holton 2000: 350; Shinen 1958: 20. Fossilized verbal form < **n^ddé:θ* 'it is long'.

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 21, 49, 100, 120. The fossilized verbal form *n^diah* ~ *n^dia*: 'long' < **n^dn^diah* '(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 *naθ* ~ *naθ-a?* '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=ʔl* [Kari 1994: 23] from the generic verb =*ʔl* '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=ʔl* is more rare than =*naθ* and its meaning is close to 'straight'.

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 794, 1224, 1264; Antoine et al. 1974: 317. Verb with polysemy: 'to be long (spatial) / to be tall'. Cf. some examples: "Tusayda Lake is very long and narrow" [Poser 1998/2013: 37], "long conifer branch" [Poser 1998/2013: 57], "The lake is long" [Poser 1998/2013: 106], "That man has long hair", "The song is long", "The tree is tall" [Poser 1998/2013: 126], "The posts form a long line to the east" [Poser 1998/2013: 139], "The road is long", "The river is long" [Poser 1998/2013: 183], "The rope is long" [Poser 1998/2013: 401].

In some fossilized forms, =*yiẓ* can also express the meaning 'to be long (temporal)', e.g., in the adverb *ntax^wal=yiẓ* 'all of the time, all along' [Poser 1998/2013: 335].

Distinct from =*t=çaa?* 'to be long (temporal)' < =*çaa?* '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: 124-125], "The lynx chased the rabbit a long ways" [Poser 1998/2013: 156].

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 432, 948; Jones 1978: 97. Verb with polysemy: 'to be long (spatial) / to be tall / to be long (temporal)'. Also used with the "classifier" *t-*. Cf. some examples: "The boat is long", "a long stick of wood", "The pencil is long", "The rope is too long".

Degexit'an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1976: 39; Chapman 1914: 211. Verb with polysemy: 'to be long (spatial) / to be tall / to be 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 *ɲaθ* 'long' may also be used [Taff et al. 2007].

Sarsi: Li 1930b: 27; Nanagusja 1996a: 129. Verbal stem: 'to be long'. Cf. some examples: "Does he have long hair?" [Nanagusja 1996a: 82], "It has long ears" [Nanagusja 1996a: 108], "It has big red eyes. It has long teeth. It is hungry" [Nanagusja 1996b: 296], "These pants are too long" [Nanagusja 1996b: 313]. Cf. the cognate noun *λ'út* 'rope' [Hojjer & Joël 1963: 68].

A second candidate is *=V=c^hɿs ~ =V=c^hɿs-t* 'to be long, tall' [Li 1930b: 24], but without examples or semantic specifications.

Distinct from *=nàz* 'to be tall, giant-like' [Li 1930b: 19]. Note that in [Hojjer 1956: 222] it is quoted in the Swadesh meaning 'long'.

50. LOUSE

Hupa *ya?* (1), Mattole *?i:=?a?* (1), Kato *ya?* (1), Taldash Galice *ya?* (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina *əyu* (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina *əyu* (1), Inland Tanaina *əyu* (1), Iliamna Tanaina *əyu* (1), Central Ahtena *ya?* (1), Mentasta Ahtena *ya?* (1), Dogrib *žà* (1), North Slavey (Hare) *yá?* (1), Tanacross *šá?* (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) *š^ya?* (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) *yá?* (1), Central Carrier *POSSR=ya?* (1), Koyukon *yo:?* (1), Degexit'an *yo:?* (1), Sarsi *yò?* (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], *ya?* is specified as 'body louse', whereas the meaning 'head louse' is ascribed to the compound *ya?-a?-qay* < **ya?-ti-qay*, literally 'white louse' (in [Golla 1996: 58], this compound is quoted as *ya?-u?-qay* with the direct translation 'white louse').

Mattole: Li 1930: 125. Glossed as 'head louse'. Apparently a contraction from **?i=ya?-e?* 'its/smbd.'s louse' with the indefinite possessive pronoun *?i-* (for which see notes on 'meat'). Cf. the similar contracted Hupa form *ma:ʔa?* 'its parasite' < **mi=ya?-i?* [Golla 1996: 58].

The old root *ya?* 'louse' is also retained in the compound *ya?-s-kai* 'white louse' (i.e., 'Arctothezia' or rather 'body louse?') [Li 1930: 125] (with *=kai* 'to be white' q.v.; medial *-s-* is the durative perfective exponent [Li 1930: 66]).

Bear River dialect: *ya?* ~ *ya* 'head louse', distinct from the compound *ya-s-ɣai* 'body louse' (lit. 'white louse') [Goddard 1929: 318].

Kato: Goddard 1912: 19. Specified by Goddard as 'head louse'. Cf. the compound *ya?-kai* 'white louse' (i.e., 'Arctothezia?') [Goddard 1912: 28] (with *ɬ=kai* 'white' q.v.).

Taldash Galice: Hoijjer 1973: 57; Hoijjer 1956: 223. Glossed simply as 'louse'. Distinct from the compound *ya?-kai* 'body louse' (lit. 'white louse') [Hoijjer 1973: 57].

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 44, 353; Kari 1977: 54.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 44, 353; Kari 1977: 54.

Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 44, 353; Kari 1977: 54.

Iliamna Tanaina: Kari 2007: 44, 353; Kari 1977: 54.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 431, 549; Kari & Buck 1975: 29; Smelcer 2010: 90.

Lower Ahtena: *ya?* [Kari 1990: 431, 549; Kari & Buck 1975: 29; Smelcer 2010: 90].

Western Ahtena: *ya?* [Kari 1990: 431, 549; Kari & Buck 1975: 29; Smelcer 2010: 90].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 431, 549; Kari & Buck 1975: 29; Smelcer 2010: 90.

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 135, 186. Innovative pronunciation: *zà*. Glossed with polysemy: 'louse / flea / tick' in [Saxon & Siemens n.d.], 'louse / tick' in [Saxon & Siemens 1996] (there are no expressions for 'flea' in the latter dictionary).
Distinct from *t^héhcè:* 'flea, tick (on dogs or rabbit)' [Saxon & Siemens n.d.].

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 110, 150; Hoijer 1956: 222.

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 164; Holton 2000: 344; Brean & Milanowski 1979: 8; McRoy 1973: 4; Shinen 1958: 11.

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 23, 76. Specified as 'lice (on people)'.
Distinct from *Á'ayŋ*, which is glossed as 'lice (on animal)' [Milanowski 2009: 26, 76].

Northway: *š^ya?* 'lice (on people)', *Á'eyŋ* 'lice (on animal)' [Milanowski 2007: 11].

Scottie Creek: *š^yâ?* with polysemy: 'louse / flea', *Á'u:* 'blood sucker' [John 1997: 44]. For the meaning 'flea' cf. the collocation *tí: š^yâ?* which is glossed as 'fleas', literally 'dog's *š^yâ?*' [John 1997: 44].

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 336, 432; Tuttle 2009: 122.

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 549, 800; Poser 2011a: 135. Inalienable possession. Polysemy: 'louse / flea / tick'. Synchronously either *=ya?* or *=ya-?*.

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 707, 949; Jones 1978: 98.

Degexit'an: Kari 1978: 15.

Sarsi: Hoijer & Joël 1963: 67; Hoijer 1956: 222.

51. MAN

Hupa *xo=ʔes=ta-y* ~ *xo=ʔos=ta-y* ~ *x^we=ʔes=ta-y* (1), Mattole *kaʔt'e:n* (2), Kato *naneš* ~ *nane:š* (3), Taldash Galice *te=s=te:* (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina *q^huxʔ'an-a* (4), Outer Inlet Tanaina *q^huxʔ'an-a* ~ *q^hut'an-a* (4), Inland Tanaina *q^hut'an* (4), Iliamna Tanaina *q^huxʔ'an-a* (4), Central Ahtena *q^hohʔ'e:n-e* (4), Mentasta Ahtena *q^hohʔ'e:n* (4), Dogrib *tóné* ~ *tó* (5), North Slavey (Hare) *tènè* (5), Tanacross *tèⁿdèh* (5), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) *tin^deh* ~ *tin^de:* (5), Lower Tanana (Minto) *təna* ~ *tənəh* (5), Central Carrier *tane* (5), Koyukon *təna:* (5), Degexit'an *təna:* (5), Sarsi *tinú* (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 **xo=čⁱ=s=ta-i* with the verb *=ta:* 'to stay, live; to sit down' (see notes on 'to sit'), i.e., 'man' as 'the one who sits down' ("[o]nly adult men were allowed to sit on redwood stools; woman and children sat on the ground").

Mattole: Li 1930: 129. Polysemy: 'man / husband'. Morphologically unclear. Li proposes that the first element *kaʔ-* means 'male', whereas *t'e:n* is to be analyzed as the verb *=t'e:* 'to be of such sort' [Li 1930: 92] (perhaps the same verb is used in *k^wo=ni=s=t'e?* 'person' q.v.) plus the ethnonymical suffix *-ni:* 'person' [Li 1930: 138].

Bear River dialect: *k^hat^hene* ~ *k^hat^hene* ~ *k^hat^hata* '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-t'e*, 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 *nən-k^ha-təŋ* [Goddard 1909: 165 No. 13, 173 No. 1, 9].

Distinct from the unanalyzable POSSR=*ye?-təŋ* 'husband' [Goddard 1912: 23; Goddard 1909: 132 No. 14], which probably contains the same verbal root *təŋ* as *nən-k^ha-təŋ* 'men' above. Formally it can be interpreted as the verb *=tən* 'to

die' q.v.

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 54; Hoijer 1956: 223; Landar 1977: 295. The pl. form is *te=s=te-yo*: 'men' with the rare plural suffix [Hoijer 1966: 322 f.]. Cf. with different grammatical exponents: POSSR=*te=sa=te-?* 'husband' [Hoijer 1973: 54], *č^ha=te*: 'old man' [Hoijer 1973: 54] and *ta=te*: 'person, human being' q.v. The term for 'people' is *ta=te*: according to [Hoijer 1973], cf. *nat^ha:ini-tate*: 'waterfall people (a tribal name)' [Hoijer 1973: 55], *λ^hoh-tate*: 'grass people (Umpqua Indians)' [Hoijer 1973: 62].

The archaic form of *=te*: is *=tai*, as follows from *ta=tai* 'people' [Jacobs 1968: 184 No. 6]; thus, Hoijer's synchronic root *=te*: 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=*k^ham?* [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').

Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 72, 353; Kari 1977: 88. Used only for sg. The pl. form is *q^hut'an-a*.

Iliamna Tanaina: Kari 2007: 72, 353; Kari 1977: 88. Used for both sg. ('man, person') and pl. ('men, persons').

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 87, 550; Kari & Buck 1975: 54.

Lower Ahtena: *q^hoht'e:n-e* [Kari 1990: 87, 550; Kari & Buck 1975: 54].

Western Ahtena: *q^hoht'e:n-e* [Kari 1990: 87, 550; Kari & Buck 1975: 54].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 87, 550; 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-ži*: ~ *tó-ži*: [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 20] can also be used, where POSSR=*ži*: means 'male', cf., e.g., *λ^hí-é-ži*: 'male dog' (*λ^hí* 'dog').

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 45, 151; Hoijer 1956: 222. Polysemy: 'man / person / people'.

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 170; Holton 2000: 344; Brean & Milanowski 1979: 15; Shinen 1958: 1. Polysemy: 'man / person'.

Paradigm: *tè^vdèh* [sg.] / *tè^vdè-y* [pl.]; for the rare human plural suffix *-y* see [Holton 2000: 157 f.].

Distinct from POSSR=*k^hčy-?* 'husband' [Arnold et al. 2009: 150; Holton 2000: 344].

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 16, 78, 81. Polysemy: 'man / person, people'.

Distinct from POSSR=*k^hčy-?* 'husband' [Milanowski 2009: 18, 76].

Northway: *tin^deh* with polysemy: 'man / people' [Milanowski 2007: 12, 14].

Scottie Creek: *tin^deh* with polysemy: 'man / person, people' [John 1997: 54, 82], POSSR=*k^hčy-?* 'husband' [John 1997: 54].

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 196, 434; Tuttle 2009: 127. Glossed as 'person, human; man', thus with polysemy: 'person / man'.

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 141, 809; Poser 2011a: 137; Antoine et al. 1974: 89, 318. Polysemy: 'man / person'.

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 427, 951; Jones 1978: 100. Polysemy: 'man / person'.

Distinct from POSSR=*q^hum?* 'husband' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 342].

Degexit'an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 29; Chapman 1914: 225. Polysemy: 'man / person'.

Distinct from POSSR=*q^həŋ?* 'husband' [Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 28; 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 *k^hì=t'in-ī* '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 *kù=t'in-ò* 'a tribe, a people', *c^húú=t'in-à* 'Sarsi' [Hoijer & Joël 1963: 72; Cook 1984: 1]. The starting verb can be *=t'í* ~ *=t'in-* 'to act, treat, work' [Li 1930b: 19]; *ku=* can be the locative/unspecified prefix [Cook 1984: 204].

Distinct from POSSR=*k^hvlà* 'husband' [Hoijer & Joël 1963: 71; Cook 1984: 64].

52. MANY

Hupa *łan* ~ *łan* (1), Mattole *łan* (1), Kato *łan* (1), Taldash Galice *łã*: (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina *k^hi=s=t'a* (2), Outer Inlet Tanaina *k^hi=ṣ=t'a* (2), Inland Tanaina *k^hi=ṣ=t'a* (2), Iliamna Tanaina *k^hi=ṣ=t'a* (2), Central Ahtena *=n=l=t'e-?* (2), Mentasta Ahtena *=n=l=t'e-?* (2), Dogrib

tó (1), North Slavey (Hare) =*tó* (1), Tanacross *n=λâ:n* (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) *n=λa:n* ~ *n=λâ:* (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) =*lon* (1), Central Carrier =*lai* (1), Koyukon =*lo:n* (1), Degexit'an =*lo:n* (1), Sarsi =*λ^húñ-* (1).

References and notes:

- Hupa:** Sapir & Golla 2001: 765; Golla 1996: 60. Golla 1996: 60. The variant *taŋ* < **ta:n*, the variant *ta:n* < **ta:n-i*. Also functions as a verb: =*ta:n* 'to be many, lots'.
- Mattole:** Li 1930: 120. An adverb. Also functions as a verb: =*la:n* < *=*lan-i* [imperf.] / =*la:n* < *=*lan-ʔ-i* [perf.] 'to be many' [Li 1930: 120].
Distinct from *ni=ç^hah-k^w* 'in large quantity' [Li 1930: 118], formed from the verb =*ç^hah* / =*ç^ha:γ* 'to be big' q.v. with the adverbial suffix -*k^w* [Li 1930: 137].
Bear River dialect: not attested.
- Kato:** Goddard 1912: 29, 64. Also functions as a verb: =*taŋ* 'to be many'.
- Taldash Galice:** Hoijer 1956: 223; Landar 1977: 295.
- Upper Inlet Tanaina:** Kari 2007: 327; Kari 1977: 261.
- Outer 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: =*n=l=t'e-ʔ* [Kari 1990: 346, 550].
Western Ahtena: =*n=l=t'e-ʔ* [Kari 1990: 346, 550].
- Mentasta Ahtena:** Kari 1990: 346, 550.
- Dogrib:** Saxon & Siemens 1996: 70, 187. Polysemy: 'many / much'. Also functions as a verb: =*λ^hó* 'to be many' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 80] (*λ^h* < **t-ʔ*).
- North Slavey (Hare):** Rice 1978: 452, 519; Rice 1989: 265; Hoijer 1956: 222. Verbal root with polysemy: 'to be many / to be much'.
- Tanacross:** Arnold et al. 2009: 171; Holton 2000: 288; Shinen 1958: 19. Verbal form: 'it is many' with the adjectival/gender exponent *n=* [Holton 2000: 237 ff.]. Polysemy: 'many / much'.
- Upper Tanana (Tetlin):** Milanowski 2009: 21, 78, 120. Polysemy: 'many / much'. Verbal form: '(it is) many'. Also functions as a verb: =*λâ:* 'to be many'.
Northway: *n=λa:n* '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 *nə=l=t'a-yi* 'many, lots' [Kari 1994: 252], derived from the verb =*t'a* '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 *h_l=l=λai* 'many' (< =*t=lai*) [Poser 1998/2013: 192; Antoine et al. 1974: 111]. Also functions as the adverb *tai* '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 *lo:ŋ* 'many'.
- Degexit'an:** Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1976: 33; Chapman 1914: 217. Verbal stem: 'to be many, numerous', also functions as the adverb *lo:ŋ* 'many' [Kari 1978: 53].
- Sarsi:** Li 1930b: 26; Hoijer 1956: 222. Paradigm: =*λ^hú* ~ =*λ^húñ-*. Verbal stem with polysemy: 'to be many / to be much'.

53. MEAT

Hupa *POSSR=c^hiŋʔ* (1), Mattole *ʔi=l=x'in-eʔ* (2), Kato *POSSR=səŋʔ* (1), Taldash Galice *POSSR=sanʔ* (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina *k'=c^həŋ* (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina *k'=c^həŋ* (1), Inland Tanaina *k'=c^həŋ* (1), Iliamna Tanaina *k'=c^həŋ* (1), Central Ahtena *k^ye=c^hẽʔ* (1), Mentasta

Ahtena $k^y e = c^h i?$ (1), Dogrib $mpò$ (3), North Slavey (Hare) $\tilde{?i} = y\tilde{e}$ (4), Tanacross $\tilde{?i}?$ (5), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) $\tilde{?i}?$ ~ $\tilde{?i}?$ (5), Lower Tanana (Minto) $POSSR = t^{\theta h} \partial n?$ (1), Central Carrier $POSSR = \zeta^h \partial \eta$ (1), Koyukon $n\partial = la:n-\partial$ (6), Degexit'an $ne = la:\eta$ (6), Sarsi $\acute{a} = l\acute{i}n-i$ (6).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 736; Golla 1996: 61; Golla 1964: 113. The synchronic root can be either $c^h in?$ or $c^h in$ ($POSSR = c^h in?$ < $*POSSR = c^h in-i?$). 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 $?i-$ is apparently a rare indefinite possessive pronoun, which regularly corresponds to Hupa $k^y i-$ with the same meaning (cf. the same structure in $?i = k^h at-e?$ 'root' q.v., $?i = k^h ah$ 'fat' q.v., $?i = y'e:x-e?$ 'egg' q.v., perhaps $y'a:ne?$ 'doe' [Li 1930: 125], etc.; for the historical phonetic development see [Li 1930: 36 ff.]); final $-e?$ is the izafet exponent. The stem $=l=xin$ coincides with the verb $=l=xin?$ (< $*=l=xin$) 'to be dark, black' [Li 1930: 80] (see notes on 'black'); thus, 'meat' = 'the dark one'.

Bear River dialect: the old term $POSSR = c^h an?$ < $*=c^h an-e?$ 'meat' is retained [Goddard 1929: 296].

Kato: Goddard 1912: 22.

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 58; Hoijer 1956: 223; Landar 1977: 295. Glossed as 'meat, flesh'. Synchronically, either $=san-?$ or $=san?$.

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 278, 353; Kari 1977: 212.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 278, 353; Kari 1977: 212.

Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 278, 353; Kari 1977: 212; Wassillie 1979: 63.

Iliamna Tanaina: Kari 2007: 278, 353; Kari 1977: 212.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 381, 551; Kari & Buck 1975: 141; Smelcer 2010: 75.

Lower Ahtena: $k^y e = c^h \tilde{e}?$ [Kari 1990: 381, 551; Kari & Buck 1975: 141; Smelcer 2010: 75].

Western Ahtena: $k^y e = c^h en?$ [Kari 1990: 381, 551; Kari & Buck 1975: 141; Smelcer 2010: 75].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 381, 551; Kari & Buck 1975: 141; Smelcer 2010: 75.

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 7, 72, 187. Innovative pronunciation: $pò$. Glossed with polysemy: 'food / meat'. For the generic meaning 'food', cf. $pò = wí$ 'to be hungry', $pò-xà\acute{e}h\tilde{t}'è$ 'cook' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 7].

Distinct from $POSSR = k^h w\tilde{o}$, glossed with polysemy: 'flesh / skin' in [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 44]. As follows from the animate possessive $kó = (kó = k^h w\tilde{o}$ 'his $k^h w\tilde{o}$ '), 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 ($wé = k^h w\tilde{o}$)" [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 18]. Additionally, $=k^h w\tilde{o}$ is widely used as a bound root with the meaning 'meat' in such compounds as $c^h h\tilde{h} - k^h w\tilde{o}$ 'duck meat', $té\tilde{i} - k^h w\tilde{o}$ 'moose meat', $e k^h w\tilde{o} - k^h w\tilde{o}$ 'caribou meat', etc. [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 8, 14, 31], and simply in the expression $e - k^h w\tilde{o}$ 'caribou', lit. 'its meat' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 31].

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 35, 151; Rice 1989: 10. Initial $\tilde{?}$ - is the indefinite possessive pronoun.

Distinct from $POSSR = f\tilde{e}-?$ 'flesh' [Rice 1978: 54; Hoijer 1956: 222]. Hoijer adduces the 19th c. archaic variant $\{=k\acute{f}we^n\}$.

Distinct from $pé?$, $POSSR = p\acute{e}r-\acute{e}?$ 'food' [Rice 1978: 38, 139].

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 172; Holton 2000: 186, 221; Breaan & Milanowski 1979: 20; McRoy 1973: 15; Shinen 1958: 15. Polysemy: 'meat / food (in general)'.

Distinct from the more specific term $n = \acute{f}\tilde{e}:n$ '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 $=\acute{f}\tilde{e}:n$ is unclear).

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 23, 74, 78. Polysemy: 'food / meat'. Cf. the example: "He chews meat and then swallows it" [Milanowski 2009: 41], "He's cutting the meat" [Milanowski 2009: 59], "This meat is tough" [Milanowski 2009: 108].

Distinct from the more specific or rare term $POSSR = t^{\theta h} \tilde{?}:-?$, 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: $\tilde{?i}?$ with polysemy: 'food / meat' [Milanowski 2007: 12].

Scottie Creek: $\tilde{?i}?$, $POSSR = t^{\theta h} \tilde{?}:-?$, both are glossed as 'meat', but according to the examples in [John 1997: 41-42] the former one is more common.

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 310, 435; Tuttle 2009: 130. Polysemy: 'meat / game / vagina'. The synchronous possessed form is $=t^{\theta h} \partial n?-0$ or sometimes $=t^{\theta h} \partial n-a?$ (< $=t^{\theta h} \partial n?-a?$).

Distinct from more rare *tan-i* 'game, meat' [Kari 1994: 78]. In the Chena dialect, the rare term *nə=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': *čə=nat* [Kari 1994: 224] (*čə=* is the indefinite possessive pronoun) and *POSSR=θa?* [Kari 1994: 91].

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 69, 507, 812; Poser 2011a: 139; Antoine et al. 1974: 50, 318. Applied to mammals and birds.

Distinct from *POSSR=yat* 'meat of fish' [Poser 1998/2013: 555; Poser 2011a: 139].

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 384, 953; Jones 1978: 101. Possessed: *POSSR=ən=lan-n-ə-?*. Glossed as 'meat, flesh of mammals'. Derived from *ta: η* 'green wood, timber, standing tree' (historically 'fresh object with sap or juice') with the anatomical gender exponent *ən-/nə-* [Jetté & Jones 2000: 460].

The old term *λ^hən?*, *POSSR=λ^hən?* 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 *nə=lan-n-ə*. This root is also retained in *kə=λ^hən?* 'piece of meat, supply of animal or fish meat' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 576] (*kə=* is the indefinite possessive) and several compounds.

Distinct from *POSSR=no:t* 'fish meat, flesh of cold-blooded animals' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 489].

Degexit'an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 80; Chapman 1914: 214. Historically = 'anatomical fresh object', see notes on Koyukon *nə=lan-n-ə* '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=t^həη?* 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 deer-meat in a large pot, and the other was cooking beaver-meat in a large pot" [Chapman 1914: 131].

Sarsi: Hoijer & Joël 1963: 73; Hoijer 1956: 222. Without the gender prefix: *POSSR=lín-ə* '(human) flesh'.

54. MOON

Hupa *ma:* ~ *xiλ'e?*=*ma:* (1), Mattole *xa:* (1), Kato *na=ka-i* (2), Taldash Galice *č'a:=l=sī:* (3), Upper Inlet Tanaina *βə=l=ca-y* (4), Outer Inlet Tanaina *βə=l=ča* (4), Inland Tanaina *βə=l=ča-y* (4), Iliamna Tanaina *βə=l=ča-y* (4), Central Ahtena *t^hec=na=?a:-y-e?* (5), Mentasta Ahtena *t^hec=na=?a:-y-?* (5), Dogrib *ácě=zà:* ~ *ácě=záh* (1), North Slavey (Hare) *?à=cié?* (4), Tanacross *γ=è=l=cè:y* (4), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) *č'=a=l=ce:k* ~ *č'=a=l=ce:γη* (4), Lower Tanana (Minto) *t^hat^θ=zə-?* (1), Central Carrier *sa* (1), Koyukon *t=o:=t'=t'o:l* (6), Degexit'an *t=o:=t'=t'o:l* (6), Sarsi *yì:=núγ-ú* (7).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 796; Golla 1996: 63, 92; Hoijer 1956: 223. The word *ma:* shows the standard areal polysemy: 'sun / moon', although there exists a specialized expression for 'moon': *xiλ'e?*=*ma:*, 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': *(ta?)-na-η?-a-?* ~ *na-η?-a-?*, literally '(one round object, i.e., moon) has come to lie there again' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 600; Golla 1996: 63] and *mi-nin*, literally 'its side, slope' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 777; Golla 1996: 63].

Mattole: Li 1930: 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: *kanin-x'a-?* 'moon' (the first element means 'evening') and *č'in-x'a-?* 'sun' (the first element means

'day').

Bear River dialect: *yan:iŋ-xa-ʔ ~ kanu-ma-ʔ* '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 *ša* with polysemy: 'sun / moon' is scarcely attested in the latter meaning: in one text as a full-fledged term [Goddard 1909: 122 No. 10-12, 16] and once in an idiomatic month name "long moon" [Goddard 1909: 121 No. 12].

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 61. In [Hoijer 1956: 223], quoted as *ya=l=si*. Both are nominalized verbal forms, although the verbal root *=sī:* seems synchronically isolated (cf. *=sī:* 'to make, prepare, do to' and *=sī:* 'to hide' [Hoijer 1973: 70]).

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 148, 354; Kari 1977: 135.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 148, 354; Kari 1977: 135.

Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 148, 354; Kari 1977: 135. In [Wassillie 1979: 64], quoted as the full form *ʋə=l=čə-yi*.

Iliamna Tanaina: Kari 2007: 148, 354; Kari 1977: 135.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 73, 334, 554; Kari & Buck 1975: 87; Smelcer 2010: 126.

Lower Ahtena: *t^hec=na=ʔa:-y-e?* [Kari 1990: 73, 334, 554; Kari & Buck 1975: 87; Smelcer 2010: 126].

Western Ahtena: *t^hec=na=ʔa:-y-e?* [Kari 1990: 73, 334, 554; Kari & Buck 1975: 87; Smelcer 2010: 126].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 73, 334, 554; Kari & Buck 1975: 87; Smelcer 2010: 126.

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 4, 189; Siemens et al. 2007: 2.

Several *sá*-based terms for 'moon' are quoted in [Saxon & Siemens 1996], out of which *áčēzà:* is the only one quoted in [Siemens et al. 2007]; so it is likely that *áčēzà:* is the most frequent and neutral expression for 'moon' in modern Dogrib. Literally 'sá of moonlight' with *áčē* 'moonlight' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 4]. Final *zà:* is the possessed form of *sá* 'sun, moon' (for which see below) with archaic intervocalic voicing and regular vowel change [Marinakis et al. 2007: 94 f.]. The abnormal form *=záh* is apparently a back-formation from *=zà:*. In turn, *áčē* 'moonlight' is not entirely clear, apparently a verbal form from the otherwise unattested verb 'to shine'; cf. *cē* 'day, daylight, light, brightness' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 22].

The second term is simple *sá* with polysemy: 'sun / moon / month' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 88, 189]. It is the default expression for 'sun' q.v. and 'month' in modern Dogrib, but its meaning 'moon' is apparently obsolete - in [Siemens et al. 2007: 59], *sá* is only glossed as 'sun / month'.

The third term is *t^hó=kóh=sá* 'moon' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 98], literally 'sá of the night (*t^hó*)' with the unclear element *kóh*.

The word *sá* can be safely posited as the Proto-Dogrib 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 'crescent moon', 'full moon', 'half moon', 'rainbow around moon'. Apparently a verbal form from the otherwise unattested verb 'to shine'.

Another expression for 'moon' is *t^həwè=tih=sà* [Rice 1978: 96], consisting of *t^həwè* 'night', *sà* 'sun / month' and (perhaps) *tih* 'here'. Cf. the mirroring expression *cinè=tih=sà* 'sun' with *cinè* 'day'.

Distinct from *sà* 'sun / month' q.v., which is quoted in [Hoijer 1956: 222] with the 19th c. archaic polysemy: 'sun / moon'. The word *sà* can be safely posited as the Proto-North Slavey term for 'sun / moon / month'.

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 176; Holton 2000: 345; Brean & Milanowski 1979: 13; McRoy 1973: 6; Shinen 1958: 13. Literally 'it shines' with the verb *=l=cèy* 'to shine (of a light other than the sun)' [Holton 2000: 137] and the conjugation prefix *ɣ=*. Cf. the parallel nominalized form *n=è=l=cè:y* 'any artificial light (e.g., candle)' [Arnold et al. 2009: 165; Holton 2000: 137] with another conjugation prefix *n=*.

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=ce:k* 'to light (as from a bulb)' [Milanowski 2009: 42]. Final *...ɣŋ < *...k-ə* with the *ə*-nominalizer.

Northway: *č̣=á=l=ce:k* 'moon' [Milanowski 2007: 12].

Scottie Creek: *č̣=à=l=cč̣:k* 'moon' [John 1997: 65].

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 236, 354, 438; Tuttle 2009: 135. This is the Minto form, literally 'night sun' with *t^hət^θ* 'night' and *so* 'sun'.

In the Chena dialect, either simply *so* with polysemy: 'sun / moon / month' is used [Kari 1994: 354] or $t^h\partial t^{\theta} \gamma\partial=l=cay-i$ 'moon' [Kari 1994: 98, 236], literally 'night shining' from $=l=cay$ (Minto: $=l=cay$) '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 $\lambda n\acute{c}i\acute{s} u-za-\acute{z}$, literally 'its *za* (< *sa*) at night' [Poser 1998/2013: 58; Poser 2011a: 142; Antoine et al. 1974: 35].

Distinct from *sa-nan* 'month' [Poser 1998/2013: 425, 816], literally 'nan of moon'. In [Morice 1932, 1: 30], simple *nan* 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: $to:t^{\theta}o:l-\partial \sim to:t^{\theta}o:l-i$. Literally 'burning object in position'. Derived from the generic classificatory verb $=t\partial=t^{\theta}o:l$: 'burning object is in position' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 549].

In the Lower dialect, it competes with a more rare term $no:=\acute{z}o:-y$, with polysemy: 'sun / moon', literally 'compact object that repetitively moves' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 53] < the generic classificatory verb $=\acute{z}o$: 'compact object is in position'.

There are also several expressions for 'moon' based on the words *so*: 'sun', $no:=\acute{z}o:-y$ 'sun / moon' and $\lambda^h\partial t / t^h\partial \lambda$ 'night' with the literal meaning 'night's sun' in non-Central dialects: Lower $\lambda^h\partial t-\partial no:=\acute{z}o:-y$ [Jetté & Jones 2000: 577], Lower $\lambda^h\partial ta:t zo:-\acute{z}o$ [Jetté & Jones 2000: 739], Upper (Toklat-Bearpaw subdialect) $t^h\partial \lambda zo:-\acute{z}$ [Jetté & Jones 2000: 514].

Distinct from several words for 'month': *so*: 'sun / month' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 739] (< *'sun / moon / month'), POSSR= $no:k-\partial$? 'eye / month' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 487] ('moon' as 'eye?'), POSSR= $ne \acute{t}$ [Jetté & Jones 2000: 470] (*'during a period').

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 $t=o:=t^{\theta}o:l$ 'moon': "At that time darkness was over all the earth; there was no sun ($no:=\acute{z}o:-y$) or moon ($to:t^{\theta}o:l$) there" [Chapman 1914: 106], "Dusk or darkness, no sun ($no:=\acute{z}o:-y$) no moon ($to:t^{\theta}o:l$), 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 $no:=\acute{z}o:-y$ '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= $\eta\partial \acute{n}$ (*'during a period'), $no:\acute{z}o:-y$ (apparently contraction of $no:=\acute{z}o:-y$ 'sun' q.v.).

Sarsi: Hoijer & Joël 1963: 73; Hoijer 1956: 223. Polysemy: 'moon / eye'. Literally 'his eye' with POSSR= $n\acute{y}\gamma-\acute{b}$? 'eye' q.v. and the fossilized 4th person possessive yi = [Cook 1984: 64].

55. MOUNTAIN

Hupa *ninis'a:n* (1), Kato $c^{\partial}=\acute{s}=no:-\acute{z}$ (2), Taldash Galice *na:c'an?* (3), Upper Inlet Tanaina *tx\acute{o}lay* (-1), Outer Inlet Tanaina *tx\acute{i}li* (-1), Inland Tanaina *tx\acute{i}li* (-1), Iliamna Tanaina *tx\acute{i}li* (-1), Central Ahtena $t=be=la:-y$ (4), Mentasta Ahtena *ce^t* (5), Dogrib *\acute{s}ih* (6), North Slavey (Hare) *\acute{s}i?* (6), Tanacross $t^{\theta}\partial t^{\theta}$ (5), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) $t^{\theta}a\acute{t}$ (5), Lower Tanana (Minto) $t^{\theta}\partial t^{\theta}$ (5), Central Carrier $\acute{c}a\acute{t}$ (5), Koyukon $\lambda\partial t^{\theta}$ (5), Degexit'an $t=e:=lo:-y$ (4), Sarsi $\acute{c}^h\acute{i}s \sim c^h\acute{i}s$ (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 $*nin^{\theta}-si-\acute{z}an-i$ '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

=no: 'to be vertical'.

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 55. Morphologically unclear. Looks like a possible match with Hupa *ninis'an* 'mountain / world' q.v., although a better morphological parallel to the Hupa form is Galice *nanʔ-s'ā:* 'world, cosmos' [Hoijer 1973: 55].

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 105, 354; Kari 1977: 120; Kari 1996: 61. The possessed form is regular: POSSR=*tkəlay-a* [Kari 1996: 61] (in [Kari 2007: 105], quoted with a typo: POSSR=*tkəlay-aʔ*).

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 105, 354; Kari 1977: 120; Kari 1996: 61. The possessed form is irregular: POSSR=*twil-ʔa* (in [Kari 2007: 105], quoted with a typo: POSSR=*twilʔu*).

Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 105, 354; Kari 1977: 120; Kari 1996: 61; Wassillie 1979: 65. The possessed form is irregular: POSSR=*twil-ʔu*.

Iliamna Tanaina: Kari 2007: 105, 354; Kari 1977: 120; Kari 1996: 61. The possessed form is irregular: POSSR=*twil-ʔu*.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 263, 555; Buck 1975: 81; Smelcer 2010: 98.

Lower Ahtena: qa=la:-y [Kari 1990: 263, 555; Kari & Buck 1975: 81; Smelcer 2010: 98].

Western Ahtena: t=wi=la:-y [Kari 1990: 263, 555; Kari & Buck 1975: 81; Smelcer 2010: 98].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 172, 555; Kari & Buck 1975: 81; Smelcer 2010: 98.

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 92, 190. Innovative pronunciation: *sih*. Glossed with polysemy: 'mountain / hill'.

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 92, 154.

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 178; Holton 2000: 345; Brean & Milanowski 1979: 13; McRoy 1973: 7; Shinen 1958: 13.

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 16. Glossed with polysemy: 'mountain / hill'. In [Milanowski 2009: 79], the collocation *tʰat* *čʰoh* is quoted as a default expression for 'mountain', literally 'big *tʰat*'.

Distinct from *ce:nʰah* 'cliff, a steep drop-off from a hill, mountain, or riverbank' [Milanowski 2009: 16].

Northway: *tʰat* *čʰoh* 'mountain', literally 'big *tʰat*' [Milanowski 2007: 12].

Scottie Creek: *tʰət* 'mountain' [John 1997: 47].

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 83, 439; Tuttle 2009: 138.

Distinct from *tʰəh* with polysemy: 'large stone / mountain' [Kari 1994: 306] (apparently not a frequent expression for 'mountain').

Distinct from nominalized *tə=y=i=lɔ-yi* 'mountain range, Alaska Range' [Kari 1994: 186] from the classificatory verb =lɔ 'plural objects are in position; sg. rope-like object is in position'.

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 154, 817; Poser 2011a: 143; Antoine et al. 1974: 97, 319.

A difficult case with two candidates for the slot:

1) *šɔs* glossed as 'hill, knoll, timbered mountain' in [Poser 1998/2013: 446, 817] and 'small mountain' in [Antoine et al. 1974: 211, 319] (the variant *-yɔs* in archaic compounds).

2) *çɔt* glossed as 'mountain above timberline' in [Poser 1998/2013: 154, 817] and generally 'mountain' in [Poser 2011a: 143; Antoine et al. 1974: 97, 319]. Cf. also *çɔt-zai* 'bare mountain' [Poser 1998/2013: 154, 817].

Apparently *çɔt* should be chosen to represent the Swadesh meaning. In particular, it seems to be more frequently used than *šɔs*. Cf. some examples with *çɔt*: "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 *sət* (retained historical *y-* is the possessed form: POSSR=*yəl-ət*) 'mountain, ridge, mountain range' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 692]. As noted by Jones, *sət* is used mainly in toponyms, the more common term for 'mountain' is *lət*.

Distinct from *təki:lo:yə ~ təki:lo:yi* '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 *tə=y=i=lɔ-yi* 'mountain range, Alaska Range'. In [Jones 1978], quoted as a Central dialect form; if so, Koyukon *tə=y=i=lɔ-yə* literally means 'those that are in a line' from the generic classificatory verb =lɔ: 'plural objects are in position'.

Degexit'an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 42; Chapman 1914: 230. Literally 'plural objects are in a line' with the generic classificatory verb =lɔ: 'to handle pl. obj.' [Kari 1976: 34].

Sarsi: Hoijer & Joël 1963: 68. Glossed as 'hill, mountain', a not very reliable item.

56. MOUTH

Hupa *POSSR=sah* (1) / *POSSR=ta-?* (2), Mattole *POSSR=ta?* (2), Kato *POSSR=ta?* (2), Taldash Galice *POSSR=ta?* (2), Upper Inlet Tanaina *POSSR=yaq'* (3) / *POSSR=tu* (2), Outer Inlet Tanaina *POSSR=zaq'* (3) / *POSSR=ti* (2), Inland Tanaina *POSSR=zaq'* (3) / *POSSR=tu* (2), Iliamna Tanaina *POSSR=zaq'* (3) / *POSSR=tu* (2), Central Ahtena *POSSR=za:* (1), Mentasta Ahtena *POSSR=za:* (1), Dogrib *POSSR=wà* (1), North Slavey (Hare) *POSSR=wá-?* (1), Tanacross *POSSR=θà:* (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) *POSSR=ðá:-t* ~ *POSSR=θá:-t* (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) *POSSR=ðá:-t* (1), Central Carrier *POSSR=zé* (1), Koyukon *POSSR=lo:* ~ *POSSR=lo:-t* (1), Degexit'an *POSSR=ðó:* ~ *POSSR=ðó:-t* (1), Sarsi *POSSR=zà-?* (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=sah* 'oral cavity', glossed by Golla as 'the inside of the mouth' and 'mouth (interior)'. The variant *sa:-* is used as an incorporate element, e.g., *POSSR=sa:=s-t^ha:n* 'tongue' q.v. (literally '(inside) the mouth (q.v.) it (stick-like object) lies'), etc. [Sapir & Golla 2001: 782]. Note the alternative variant *POSSR=sa:q'*, quoted in [Golla 1996: 63] for 'the inside of the mouth', which actually looks like the incorporate *sa:-* with the postposition *-eq'* 'inside' / *-q'* '(locative)' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 729, 781; Golla 1970: 225].

2) *POSSR=ta-?* 'mouth opening and lips', glossed by Golla as 'mouth, lips', although for 'lips' *per se* there is an alternative specialized expression: *POSSR=ta:-sic'*, 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 *=sah* and *=ta-?* as synonyms. Sapir & Golla 2001: 745, 746; Golla 1996: 63; Golla 1964: 111. The synchronic root is rather *ta:* then *ta?*, cf. *-ta:-* in various compounds [Sapir & Golla 2001: 745], although *ta?* is also used in compounds: *POSSR=ta?-k^hinč-e?* 'gums' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 746; Golla 1996: 42] and *POSSR=ta?-sic'* 'lips' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 746], although the latter is quoted as *POSSR=ta:-sic'* in [Golla 1996: 57].

Mattole: Li 1930: 127. The synchronic root is *=ta?*, cf. the compounds *POSSR=ta?-p^{ak}w* 'lip' [Li 1930: 126] (with *pak^w* '?') and *POSSR=ta?-c^he?š* 'lip' [Li 1930: 131] (with *=c^he?š* 'skin' q.v.).

The second root *sa* 'mouth, oral cavity' is retained in the compound *POSSR=sa-s-t^ha:n* 'tongue' q.v., literally '(inside) the mouth it (stick-like object) lies' [Li 1930: 131].

Bear River dialect: *POSSR=ta* '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 *=ta?* or *=ta-?*: both *ta?*- and *ta:-* variants are attested as the second element of compounds, see [Hoijer 1973: 53].

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 89, 354; Kari 1977: 99. Kari 2007: 89, 354; Kari 1977: 99.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 89, 354; Kari 1977: 99. Kari 2007: 89, 354; Kari 1977: 99. *=ti* instead of the expected *=tu* is unclear.

Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 89, 354; Kari 1977: 99. Kari 2007: 89, 354; Kari 1977: 99.

Iliamna Tanaina: Kari 2007: 89, 354; Kari 1977: 99. Kari 2007: 89, 354; Kari 1977: 99.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 447, 555; Kari & Buck 1975: 63.

Lower Ahtena: *POSSR=za:* [Kari 1990: 447, 555; Kari & Buck 1975: 63]. Alphonse Pinart (the 1870's) quotes 'mouth' as *POSSR=za:-t* [Kari 1990: 447] with a suffixal extension.

Western Ahtena: *POSSR=za:* [Kari 1990: 447, 555; Kari & Buck 1975: 63].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 447, 555; Kari & Buck 1975: 63.

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 46, 190. As the verbal incorporated element: *mà=*, e.g., in *mà=...=ðó* 'to keep in the mouth, chew on' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 117].

Distinct from POSSR=*éh=tà* 'chin / beak, bill of a bird' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 26]; the first element =*éh* is a desemanticized prefix, the same as in POSSR=*éh=kò* 'knee' q.v.

Distinct from POSSR=*tá:*, glossed as 'mouth area, lips' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 40].

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 105, 154; Hoijer 1956: 222. In compounds, the variant *wà-* is used.

Distinct from POSSR=*tá-?* 'beak' [Rice 1978: 43].

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 178; Holton 2000: 345; Brean & Milanowski 1979: 3; McRoy 1973: 8; Shinen 1958: 3.

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 23, 70. For the final *-t*, see notes on Lower Tanana.

Scottie Creek: POSSR=*qá:t* 'mouth' [John 1997: 15].

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 92, 439. The variant *ðl* is used as the first element of compounds, the incorporated morpheme and the postposition 'into the mouth of OBJ' [Kari 1994: 92]; therefore, final *-t* in POSSR=*ðl-t* 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 *-t* is the area nominalizer [Jetté & Jones 2000: 495].

Distinct from POSSR=*to-?* 'snout of mammal, beak of bird; opening, neck, rim of container', POSSR=*to-nə* 'around the (human) mouth; around the edge of' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 143, 144] (the suffix *-nə* means 'around' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 461]).

Degexit'an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 34; Chapman 1914: 219. The suffixless form POSSR=*ðo:* 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=*ða:-t* 'mouth' is added in [Kari 1978: 34]. In incorporation, the morpheme *ðo:-* 'mouth' is used [Taff et al. 2007].

Distinct from POSSR=*to-?* 'beak' [Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 14].

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

57. NAME

Hupa POSSR=*o:=me-?* (1), Taldash Galice POSSR=*o:=ší-?* (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina POSSR=*i=yi* ~ POSSR=*i=ya* (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina POSSR=*i=ži* (1), Inland Tanaina POSSR=*i=ži* (1), Iliamna Tanaina POSSR=*i=ži* (1), Central Ahtena POSSR=*?u=ze-?* (1), Mentasta Ahtena POSSR=*u=ze-?* (1), Dogrib POSSR=*i=zì* ~ POSSR=*ǰ=zì* (1), North Slavey (Hare) POSSR=*ǰ=zì* (1), Tanacross POSSR=*ù:=ší-?* (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) POSSR=*ð:=sí-?* ~ POSSR=*ð:=sì-?* (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) POSSR=*?u=z-a?* (1), Central Carrier *u=zi* (1), Koyukon *u:=s* (1), Degexit'an POSSR=*?e:=ze-?* (1), Sarsi POSSR=*zì-?* (1).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 796; Golla 1996: 65. The prefix *o-* 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 =*xi-?* [perf.] 'to call by name' [Li 1930: 80].

Bear River dialect: not attested.

Kato: Not attested. Cf. the verb =*yi*: 'to name, call by name' [Goddard 1912: 61].

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 60; Hoijer 1956: 223. Derived from the verb =*ši*: [imperf.] / =*ší-?* [perf.] 'to name, call by name' [Hoijer 1973: 71]. Can be used without obligatory possessor prefixes: *?o:=ší?*.

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 304, 354. The variant =*i=ya* apparently < **i=yi-a* with the optional izafet suffix.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 304, 354.

Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 304, 354.

Iliamna Tanaina: Kari 2007: 304, 354.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 460, 557; Kari & Buck 1975: 168; Smelcer 2010: 100.
Lower Ahtena: POSSR=?u=ze-? [Kari 1990: 460, 557; Kari & Buck 1975: 168; Smelcer 2010: 100].
Western Ahtena: POSSR=?u=ze-? [Kari 1990: 460, 557; Kari & Buck 1975: 168; Smelcer 2010: 100].
Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 460, 557; Kari & Buck 1975: 168; Smelcer 2010: 100.
Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 42, 191. A deverbative form from the verb =í=...=zi: 'to name smth./smb., pronounce' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 128].
North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 113, 155; Rice 1989: 212; Hoijer 1956: 222. Cf. the cognate verb =zi 'to name (trans.), call by name' [Rice 1978: 380, 485].
Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 181; Holton 2000: 345; Shinen 1958: 17. Nominalization of the verb =ù=ših 'to call by name' [Arnold et al. 2009: 72; Holton 2000: 349]. Initial ù(:)= is the thematic prefix.
Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 22, 79.
Northway: POSSR=ô:=si-? 'name' [Milanowski 2007: 13].
Scottie Creek: POSSR=ô:=š-i-? 'name' [John 1997: 3].
Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 353, 442; Tuttle 2009: 140. A deverbative form from the verb OBJ=u=zi 'to call OBJ's name' [Kari 1994: 353]; -u- is the "conative" prefix [Kari 1994: 6].
Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 420, 822; Poser 2011a: 145; Antoine et al. 1974: 65, 320. Alienable possession. Possessed: POSSR=u=zi-?. Cf. the cognate verb =zi 'to name, nominate, vote for' [Poser 1998/2013: 1224, 1265].
Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 727, 962; Jones 1978: 108. Alienable possession. Possessed: POSSR=?u:=z-ə?. A deverbative form from the verb OBJ=(?)u:=zi: 'to name OBJ, call OBJ by name' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 727] (-(?)u:- is the "conative" prefix [Jetté & Jones 2000: 12]) reanalyzed as the nominal root *u:s*.
Degexit'an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 94; Chapman 1914: 210.
Sarsi: Hoijer & Joël 1963: 69; Hoijer 1956: 223; Li 1930b: 22. A deverbative form from the verb =zi [imperf.] / =zi [perf.] 'to call' [Li 1930b: 22].

58. NECK

Hupa POSSR=q'os (1), Mattole POSSR=k'os (1), Kato POSSR=t'ai (2), Taldash Galice POSSR=k'was (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'ò (1), Tanacross POSSR=k'òθ (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) POSSR=k'oh (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) POSSR=k'vθ (1), Central Carrier POSSR=ç'il-č^han (3), Koyukon POSSR=q'uł (1), Degexit'an POSSR=q'vθ (1), Sarsi POSSR=k'ús (1).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 782; Golla 1996: 65.
Mattole: Li 1930: 130.
 Bear River dialect: two specific terms are documented, POSSR=k'os 'back of the neck' and POSSR=niš 'front of the neck' [Goddard 1929: 318].
Kato: Goddard 1912: 22; Curtis 1924: 201.
Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 57; Hoijer 1956: 223.
Upper Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 90, 354; Kari 1977: 100.
Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 90, 354; Kari 1977: 100.
Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 90, 354; Kari 1977: 100; Wassillie 1979: 67.
Iliamna Tanaina: Kari 2007: 90, 354; Kari 1977: 100.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 259, 558; Kari & Buck 1975: 64; Smelcer 2010: 46.

Lower Ahtena: POSSR=q'os [Kari 1990: 259, 558; Kari & Buck 1975: 64; Smelcer 2010: 46].

Western Ahtena: POSSR=q'os [Kari 1990: 259, 558; Kari & Buck 1975: 64; Smelcer 2010: 46].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 259, 558; Kari & Buck 1975: 64; Smelcer 2010: 46.

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 43, 191.

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 69, 155; Hoijer 1956: 222.

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 182; Holton 2000: 345; Brean & Milanowski 1979: 23; McRoy 1973: 8; Shinen 1958: 3.

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 19, 70.

Northway: POSSR=k'oh 'neck' [Milanowski 2007: 13].

Scottie Creek: POSSR=k'òh 'neck' [John 1997: 17]. In [John 1997: 15], erroneously quoted as POSSR=k^hoh.

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 171, 443.

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 508, 823; Poser 2011a: 145; Antoine et al. 1974: 51, 320. Literally 'handle of elbow(s)' with POSSR=ç'il 'elbow' [Poser 1998/2013: 508] and POSSR=ç^han 'handle of broom, canoe paddle, or similar object, stem of plant' [Poser 1998/2013: 102]. Perhaps originally 'handle of upper arms'.

Cf. POSSR=ç'il-yoh 'nape of neck' [Poser 1998/2013: 508], literally 'in elbow(s)' ('in upper arms?') with the postposition -yoh 'in' [Poser 1998/2013: 563], or 'house of elbow(s)' with yoh 'house' [Poser 1998/2013: 563].

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 368, 962; Jones 1978: 108.

Degexit'an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 34.

Distinct from POSSR=ðan 'front of neck' [Taff et al. 2007], glossed as 'around one's neck' in [Kari 1978: 34] and simply as 'neck' in [Chapman 1914: 219].

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

59. NEW

Hupa *q'an* (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina *q'u-ti-ti* ~ *q'u-ti-χ-ya-ʔa* (2), Outer Inlet Tanaina *q'u-ti-ti* ~ *q'u-ti-q^hə-ya-ʔa* (2), Inland Tanaina *q'u-ti-ti* ~ *q'u-ti-q^hə-ya-ʔa* (2), Iliamna Tanaina *q'u-ti-ti* ~ *q'u-ti-q^hə-ya-ʔa* (2), Central Ahtena *ʔa-ti-ti* (2), Mentasta Ahtena *q'a-ti-ti* (2), Dogrib =kò: (3), North Slavey (Hare) *ʔè=k^hòni* ~ *ʔè=k^hònè* (4), Tanacross *k'a-ti-ti* (2), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) *k'a-tu-ʔu* (2), Central Carrier *ʔan-ti-t* (5), Koyukon *ət'ə-ʔ-t-ti-ʔi:* (6), Degexit'an *q'ò:-te:-d* ~ *q'ò:-te:-t* ~ *q'ò:-te:* (2), Sarsi *k^ha-hi-ta* (7).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 780; Golla 1996: 65. Polysemy: 'recently, just now / new'. In [Sapir & Golla 2001], *q'an* is only glossed as 'recently' (there are no expressions for 'new' in this dictionary); in [Golla 1996], *q'an* is transcribed as *q'un*.

Mattole: Not attested.

Bear River dialect: not attested.

Kato: Not attested.

Taldash Galice: Not attested.

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 164, 354.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 164, 354.

Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 164, 354; Wassillie 1979: 68.

Iliamna Tanaina: Kari 2007: 164, 354.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 250, 558; Kari & Buck 1975: 96; Smelcer 2010: 118.

Lower Ahtena: ʔa-ti-ti [Kari 1990: 250, 558; Kari & Buck 1975: 96; Smelcer 2010: 118].

Western Ahtena: ʔa-ti-ti [Kari 1990: 250, 558; Kari & Buck 1975: 96; Smelcer 2010: 118].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 250, 558; Kari & Buck 1975: 96; Smelcer 2010: 118.

- Dogrib:** Saxon & Siemens 1996: 48, 191; Marinakis et al. 2007: 157. Polysemy: 'new / fresh / young'. A suffix or noun-like adjective, enclitically attached to the noun.
- North Slavey (Hare):** Rice 1978: 186, 567. Polysemy: 'new / young / young person'. A noun-like adjective; initial *ʔe-* is the unspecified pronoun. Cf. the examples: "I bought new shoes yesterday" [Rice 1978: 318], "I have a new skirt" [Rice 1978: 373]. A cognate word is *kʰɔnè* 'already' [Rice 1978: 562].
- 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 *k'a-tu:ʔ ~ k'ah-tu:ʔ* '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 *ʔan-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 *ʔnyu* '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].
- Koyukon:** Jetté & Jones 2000: 127, 963; Jones 1978: 109. Cf. the attested examples: "she has new boots" [Jetté & Jones 2000: 127], "My mother has a new sewing machine" [Jones 1978: 99], "He is shopping for new clothes" [Jones 1978: 144]. This is the Central and Upper form. Derived from the adverb *ɔʔə-ʔ(ə)-ʔ ~ ɔʔə-ʔ(ə)-ʔ-tə* 'right now, recently, just now' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 127, 546] < *ɔʔə* 'right, correct, appropriate, genuine, actual' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 546].
- In the Lower dialect, the parallel formation *ɔʔə-ʔ-ti-ʔi:* 'new' is used < Lower *ɔʔə-ʔ-tə ~ ɔʔə-ʔ-tə* 'right now, recently, just now' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 127, 597].
- Degexit'an:** Taff et al. 2007; Chapman 1914: 230. The forms *q'ə:-te: ~ q'ə:-te:-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].
- Sarsi:** Goddard 1915: 212. Attested in the only example: "They gave him a new blanket" [Goddard 1915: 213]. For the adverbial suffix *-hi-*, cf. *tàà* 'here' [Cook 1984: 41] > *táá-hì* 'now' [Cook 1984: 52].

60. NIGHT

Hupa *xi=ʔ'eʔ ~ xu=ʔ'eʔ ~ xa=ʔ'eʔ* (1), Mattole *ča=kʷo=l=x'in* (2), Kato *ʔ'eʔ* (1), Taldash Galice *ʔ'eʔ* (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina *tʰəc* (3), Outer Inlet Tanaina *ʔ'aq'* (1), Inland Tanaina *tʰəc* (3), Iliamna Tanaina *ʔ'aq'* (1), Central Ahtena *tʰec* (3), Mentasta Ahtena *tʰec* (3), Dogrib *tʰó ~ tʰó:* (3), North Slavey (Hare) *tʰəwè* (3), Tanacross *tʰəd̥* (3), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) *tʰadn* (3), Lower Tanana (Minto) *tʰətʰ* (3), Central Carrier *tʰaz* (3), Koyukon *ʔʰət-ə* (3), Degexit'an *tʰət-a:-ŋəθ* (3), Sarsi *xit'* (4).

References and notes:

- Hupa:** Sapir & Golla 2001: 801; Golla 1996: 65; Golla 1964: 117. The first element *xV-* is not entirely clear; it may be a permutation of the root *xit'* '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=xin* (< **=l=xin*) 'to be dark, black' [Li 1930: 80] (cf. notes on 'black'). Initial *ča-* is the verbal prefix 'darkness' [Li 1930: 62]; *-kʷo-* is the prefix referring to place or weather [Li 1930: 61].

Bear River dialect: *ʔʔetanʰo*, 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 *cʰeut* - an unclear form.

- Taldash Galice:** Hoijer 1973: 62; Hoijer 1956: 223; Landar 1977: 295.
- Upper Inlet Tanaina:** Kari 2007: 157, 354; Kari 1977: 141.
- Outer Inlet Tanaina:** Kari 2007: 157, 354; Kari 1977: 141.
- Inland Tanaina:** Kari 2007: 157, 354; Kari 1977: 141.
- Iliamna Tanaina:** Kari 2007: 157, 354; Kari 1977: 141.
- Central Ahtena:** Kari 1990: 334, 559; Kari & Buck 1975: 91; Smelcer 2010: 116.
- Lower Ahtena:** t^hec [Kari 1990: 334, 559; Kari & Buck 1975: 91; Smelcer 2010: 116].
- Western Ahtena:** t^hec [Kari 1990: 334, 559; Kari & Buck 1975: 91; Smelcer 2010: 116].
- Mentasta Ahtena:** Kari 1990: 334, 559; Kari & Buck 1975: 91; Smelcer 2010: 116.
- Dogrib:** Saxon & Siemens 1996: 97, 192. Polysemy: 'night / dark, darkness'.
- Distinct from the word for 'evening': *xèh-c'ò*, glossed as 'evening, night' in [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 121], literally 'before the darkness' with *xèh* 'darkness' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 121] and *c'ò* 'until, before' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 106].
- North Slavey (Hare):** Rice 1978: 96, 156; Hoijer 1956: 222.
- Tanacross:** Arnold et al. 2009: 183; Holton 2000: 345; Brean & Milanowski 1979: 13; McRoy 1973: 7; Shinen 1958: 22.
- Upper Tanana (Tetlin):** Milanowski 2009: 24, 80. Final *dn* < **tə*.
- Northway:** t^hadn 'night' [Milanowski 2007: 13].
- Scottie Creek:** t^hət 'night' [John 1997: 65].
- Lower Tanana (Minto):** Kari 1994: 236, 444; Tuttle 2009: 143.
- Central Carrier:** Poser 1998/2013: 474, 824.
- Distinct from the adverb *ʔn(-)t-çis* '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.
- Koyukon:** Jetté & Jones 2000: 576, 964; Jones 1978: 110. Polysemy: 'night / at night', morphologically an adverb with the spatial/temporal suffix *-ə* [Jetté & Jones 2000: 10]. In the Toklat-Bearpaw subdialect of the Upper dialect, the non-metathesized substantive *t^həλ* 'night' is retained [Jetté & Jones 2000: 514].
- 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 *t^hət* 'night' and *ηəθ* 'long' q.v. Corresponds to Koyukon *λ^hətə ɣo-na:t* 'all night long'.
- Cf. some examples for *t^hət-a-ηəθ* 'night, at night': "So then, one night, 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].
- Sarsi:** Hoijer & Joël 1963: 67; Hoijer 1956: 223. Polysemy: 'night / date'.

61. NOSE

Hupa *POSSR=n=c^{hw}im* (1), Mattole *POSSR=n=c^hix* (1), Kato *POSSR=ən=č* (1), Taldash Galice *POSSR=ĩ:=sas* (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina *POSSR=n=c^his* (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina *POSSR=n=c^hiš* (1), Inland Tanaina *POSSR=n=c^hix* (1), Iliamna Tanaina *POSSR=n=c^hix* (1), Central Ahtena *POSSR=en=c^his* (1), Mentasta Ahtena *POSSR=en=c^his* (1), Dogrib *POSSR=ĩ=γò* (2), North Slavey (Hare) *POSSR=ĩ=γó-?* (2), Tanacross *POSSR=ìn=c^hĩ* (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) *POSSR=ĩ:=c^hĩ* (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) *POSSR=ən=c^hiy* (1), Central Carrier *POSSR=n=in=c^his* (1), Koyukon *POSSR=ən=c^həy* (1), Degexit'an *POSSR=a:η=c^he* (1), Sarsi *POSSR=c^hih* (1).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 741; Golla 1996: 66; Golla 1964: 114.

Cf. the verbs OBJ= $\acute{c}^{hw}im$ 'to smell at, investigate OBJ's odor, sniff' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 740; Golla 1996: 87] and $\acute{c}^{hw}ij < *c^{hw}en$ [light imperf.] / $\acute{c}^{hw}en < *c^{hw}en-i$ [heavy imperf.] 'to smell (trans., intrans.)' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 740; Golla 1996: 87].

Mattole: Li 1930: 129.

Bear River dialect: POSSR= $n=c^h uw$ ~ POSSR= $n=c^h ex^w$ 'nose' [Goddard 1929: 318].

Kato: Goddard 1912: 21; Curtis 1924: 201.

Cf. the verb $c^h an$ 'to smell (trans., intrans.)' [Goddard 1912: 75].

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 52; Landar 1977: 295. In [Hoijer 1956: 223], the root morpheme is transcribed as $\acute{s}a\acute{s}$.

Cf. the verbs $\acute{c}^{hw}an$ [imperf.] / $\acute{c}^{hw}a$: [perf.] 'to smell smth stinking' [Hoijer 1973: 71] and $\acute{s}an?$ [imperf.] 'to be stingy' [Hoijer 1973: 70].

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 89, 354; Kari 1977: 98.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 89, 354; Kari 1977: 98.

Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 89, 354; Kari 1977: 98; Wassillie 1979: 69.

Iliamna Tanaina: Kari 2007: 89, 354; Kari 1977: 98.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 390, 559; Kari & Buck 1975: 62; Smelcer 2010: 45.

Lower Ahtena: POSSR= $en=c^h is$ [Kari 1990: 390, 559; Kari & Buck 1975: 62; Smelcer 2010: 45].

Western Ahtena: POSSR= $en=c^h is$ [Kari 1990: 390, 559; Kari & Buck 1975: 62; Smelcer 2010: 45].

Mentasta Ahtena: 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= $\acute{c}^{hw}i$ 'nose' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 42, 192].

Of the two words, at least POSSR= $\acute{c}^{hw}i$ is also applicable to animals: $w=\acute{c}^{hw}i$: '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= $\acute{c}^{hw}i$ 'nostril, inside nose' [Rice 1978: 60].

The old root $s\acute{i}$ is apparently retained in the compound $\acute{s}\acute{i}-\acute{c}^{hw}i$ 'snot' [Rice 1978: 91].

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 185; Holton 2000: 345; Brean & Milanowski 1979: 24; McRoy 1973: 8; Shinen 1958: 3. Cf. the verb $\acute{c}^{hw}ij$ 'to smell (trans.)', $\acute{c}^{hw}i$ 'to smell (intrans.)' [Arnold et al. 2009: 240].

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 18, 70. Cf. the verbs $\acute{c}^{hw}an$ 'to smell (trans.)', $\acute{c}^{hw}an$ 'to stink' [Milanowski 2009: 56].

Northway: POSSR= $\acute{c}^{hw}i$: 'nose' [Milanowski 2007: 13].

Scottie Creek: POSSR= $\acute{c}^{hw}i$: 'nose' [John 1997: 15].

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 291, 445; Tuttle 2009: 144. Prefixal $-an-$ is a "gender" morpheme [Kari 1994: 194].

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 360, 825; Poser 2011a: 148; Antoine et al. 1974: 40, 320. Note the doubled gender n -prefix.

The alienable stem $in=c^h is$ 'nose, snout (of hog), nozzle' is also attested [Poser 1998/2013: 206].

Distinct from the obsolete term POSSR= $in=c^h is$ 'nose, snout' [Poser 1998/2013: 205].

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 638, 965; Jones 1978: 110. Polysemy: 'nose / muzzle of animal'. The initial element is the anatomical gender exponent $an/n\acute{a}$ [Jetté & Jones 2000: 460].

Degexit'an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 33; Chapman 1914: 216. In [Taff et al. 2007], the innovative variant POSSR= a : \acute{c}^{hw} of unclear nature is also quoted.

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

Distinct from POSSR= \acute{c}^{hw} ? 'beak (of a bird), snout (of animal)' [Hoijer & Joël 1963: 69].

62. NOT

Hupa $to:-$ (1), Mattole $to:-$ (1), Kato $to:-$ (1), Taldash Galice $to:-$ (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina $k'u\acute{s}t'a$ (2) / $z-$ (3), Inland Tanaina $n=c^h u$ (5) / $z-$ (3), Central Ahtena $=e$ (6) / $?e=le?$ (7), Mentasta Ahtena $=e$ (6) / $q'a=li?$ ~ $q'a=li?i$ ~ $q'a=li:$ (7), Dogrib $=lé$ (7), North Slavey (Hare) $=y\acute{i}=lè$ ~ $=lè$ (7) / $tù$ (1), Tanacross $k'a-$ (8) / $i:-$ (4), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) $k'a-$ (8) / $i:-$ (4),

Lower Tanana (Minto) =*ã* (6) / *ð*- (3), Central Carrier *t̥*- (7) / *z*- (3), Koyukon =*a*: ~ =*ə* (6) / *lə*- (3), Degexit'an *ð*- ~ *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 *to*- 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 *to:šx'i?*, 143 "He did not kill the people", 145 sub No. 9. Verbal prefix (or particle) *to*-, expressing negation of assertion. In the prohibitive form, the verb is modified with *to*- and the additional prefix *γi*- ~ *gi*- [Li 1930: 34].

Bear River dialect: not attested.

Kato: Goddard 1912: 41. The verbal prefix (or particle) *to*- expresses negation of assertion. The prohibitive pattern is unclear. Cf. the verb =*to*? (< *=*to*:-? [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 *k'ušt'a* 'not' + the verbal confix *z*-...-**V* in imperfective, future and customary, and similarly by the particle *k'ušt'a* '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., *-t̥* > *-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 *k'ušt'a* + the enclitic particle *-tu*.
- 2) The verbal enclitic *-u*.
- 3) The verbal enclitic *-iku*. Boraas 2010: 86-89.

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=č'u* 'not' (or *n=?uwa* ~ *n=luka* 'not yet') + the verbal confix *z*-...-**V* in imperfective, future and customary, and similarly by the particle *n=č'u* '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., *-t̥* > *-l*, *x* > *γ*, *χ* > *κ* 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=č'a* + the enclitic particle *-tu*.
- 2) The verbal enclitic *-ilay*.
- 3) The verbal enclitic *-a*. Tenenbaum 1978: 112-114; Holton et al. 2004: 32.

Iliamna Tanaina: Not attested.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 55, 66.

Lower Ahtena: =e [Kari 1990: 55, 66].

Western Ahtena: =e [Kari 1990: 55, 66]. Kari 1990: 276.

Lower Ahtena: ?e=le? [Kari 1990: 276].

Western Ahtena: *li?i* [Kari 1990: 276]. Instead of *li?i*, younger speakers of the Cantwell subdialects can use the particle *k'eye?* of unclear origin [Kari 1990: 126].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 55, 66. Kari 1990: 276.

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 =*lé*, 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=lè or simply =lè [Rice 1989: 1101],

2) the particle tù [Rice 1989: 1103].

The forms (=yí)=lè and tù 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)=lè [Rice 1989: 1102] and/or the complex particle ʔèhtíní [Rice 1989: 1105]. Rice 1989: 1103.

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'á- 'not' + the verbal prefix =í= + the verbal suffix *-Ũ. The morpheme *-Ũ is an etymological and morphophonological unit, phonetically realized as a zero, but causing the voicing of root final consonant (i.e., -t > -l, t^h > d^h and so on in the old intervocalic position). The prefix =í= appears in active perfective and stative imperfective verbs which lack an inner subject prefix, whereas in other forms, underlying =í= 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 *-Ũ causes the standard tonal assimilation of the root vowel.

Besides, the verbal suffix *-Ũ may combine with a specific "negative-descriptive" prefix c'- attested at least in the verbal stem c'...=t=n^di:g 'do not know' from =t=n^déy 'to know' q.v.

Prohibitive is formed with the particle sū:ʔ ~ sūʔū [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'á- 'not' + the verbal prefix =í= + the verbal suffix *-ə (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'á- and =í=), 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'á- and k'á-ʔey-.

The aforementioned negative construction competes with the less frequently used negative construction: proclitic lāh + enclitic -āʔ [Minoura 1997: 191-192].

Besides, there exists a specific "negative-descriptive" prefix c'-, attested in such verbal stems as c'...=t=n^di:k 'do not know' from =t=nāy 'to know' [Milanowski 2009: 49, 99] or c'...=l=kāy 'to taste bad' from =l=kāy 'to taste good' [Milanowski 2009: 45].

Prohibitive is formed with the particle sōʔ [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 -ā (tonal: -ā̃, sporadically denasalizes: -a) + one of the two prefixes: -ð- 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 -ā̃ may combine with a specific negative prefix ç'- which is glossed as 'negative descriptive, pejorative' in [Kari 1994: 3, 280]. It is attested in such verbal stems as ç'...=kvt-ā̃ 'to be blunt, stubby, dull' from =kat / =kvt 'to stab, spear, poke, prick, lance OBJ with pointed instrument' [Kari 1994: 107] or ç'...=t=nik-ā̃ 'do not know (information, song, story)' from =t=nik 'to know (information, song, story)' [Kari 1994: 216], etc.

It should be noted that simple -ā̃ does not obligatorily express negation of assertion, but may occasionally mark negative dimensional adjectives such as c^həλ'-ā̃ 'small', ti=c'ak-ā̃ 'narrow', =kvc-ā̃ '(to be) short' etc.

Prohibitive is formed with the particle ʂuʔu [Kari 1994: 356]. Kari 1994: 84; Urschel 2006: 39-40.

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 ʔ=. Additionally, the prefix =z= is used in imperfective, future, and optative forms. In imperfective and optative, ʔ...=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., -ʔ > -l and so on in the old intervocalic position).

There is also a special participial form ʔaw 'not' which is used for non-verb negation or for emphatic verb negation: "if placed immediately before the verb ʔaw 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, ʔaw is obligatory and must precede whatever is negated" [Poser 1998/2013: 31]

Prohibitive is expressed by the particle *čmih* + optative [Poser 1998/2013: 207] or by the particle *iloh* + imperative [Poser 1998/2013: 203]. Poser 2011b: 26.

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 *-a*: + one of the two prefixes: *-lə-* in non-perfective (i.e., imperfective and progressive) forms or *-i-* in perfective. As noted in [Jetté & Jones 2000: 5], suffixal *-a*: can be reduced > *-ə* (with *-ə* being even more common).

Additionally, the suffix *-ə* may combine with the specific negative prefix *c'ə-* which is glossed as 'pejorative, negative, lacking' in [Jetté & Jones 2000: 660]. It is attested in such verbal stems as *c'ə=...=t=ni:k-ə* 'do not know' from *=t=ny* 'to know', *c'ə=t=q^hun-ə* 'to be without a husband' from *=q^hun?* 'husband', etc. The full variant of this pejorative morpheme *c'ə-* 'bad, evil, difficulty' is used as the incorporated root or the first element of compounds [Jetté & Jones 2000: 672].

The suffix *-ə* alone is lexicalized in several verbs, where it emphasizes small dimensions, e.g., *=kuc-ə* 'to be small', *=c'a:q-ə* 'to be narrow' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 5].

Prohibitive is expressed by the enclitic/suffix *-yu ~ -yu:* + optative [Jetté & Jones 2000: 719; Thompson 1977: 29]. Jetté & Jones 2000: 374; Thompson 1977: 29.

Degexit'an: 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., *-t̥ > -l*, *-ɾ > -n*, etc. in the old intervocalic position). Additionally, the prefix *ð- ~ -θ-* is also used (apparently it is restricted to non-perfective forms, just like the related *-lə-* in Koyukon), as well as the enclitic particle *c'an?*. Cf. non-perfective: *t=a:ɕ=θ=θ=t=e:-t̥* 'we will do (it)' / *t=a:ɕ=θ=θ=t=e:-l c'an?* 'we won't do (it)' [Hargus 2000: 10], *nta:ɕ t=a:ɕ=t^h=o:=nət̥* 'What (*nta:ɕ*) will he say?' / *tə=t=e:=ne:l c'an?* 'he didn't say' [Hargus 2000: 14].

We treat *-p/-u-* and *c'an?* 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 *tú* is the most common way to express negation of assertion.

Another negative exponent is the verbal prefix/proclitic *c'ə*, attested in some examples [Cook 1984: 182].

There is also a particle *c^hú*, glossed as 'no' in [Cook 1984: 51] (with the example: "It wasn't water").

Prohibitive is expressed by *-t̥* in the suffix chain *-i-kù-t̥*, where *-kù* 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.

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 4; Urschel 2006: 39-40.

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 6; Thompson 1977: 29.

63. ONE

Hupa *ʔa?* (1), Mattole *ʔaiha?* (1), Kato *ʔaha?* (1), Taldash Galice *ʔa?* (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina *c'əʔ-* (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina *c'əʔ-* (1), Inland Tanaina *c'əʔ-* (1), Iliamna Tanaina *c'əʔ-* (1), Central Ahtena *c'ət-q'ey* (1), Mentasta Ahtena *c'ət-q'ey* (1), Dogrib *í=ʔè* (1), North Slavey (Hare) *líki* (1) / *lá-t'è ~ lá-t'ie* (1), Tanacross *c'éhtêg* (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin)

c'ehṭayη (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) *c'itk'-i* (1), Central Carrier *?i=to* (1), Koyukon *k'i:t-əq'-i*: (1), Degexit'an *kəṭ-əq-ə* ~ *kəṭ-əq* (1), Sarsi *λ^h-k'-āzā* (1).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 765; Golla 1996: 67; Golla 1970: 255.

Mattole: Li 1930: 134. Quoted by Li as *l'aiha?* - probably a typo, since *l-* in the initial position should not occur in Mattole. Historically *ṭai-ha?*, although the element *-ha?* is unclear: cf. the enclitic particle *-ha?*, probably with the emphatic function [Li 1930: 136].

Bear River dialect: *ṭaiha?* 'one' [Goddard 1929: 318].

Kato: Goddard 1912: 36; Curtis 1924: 205.

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1956: 223; Landar 1977: 295.

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 322.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 322.

Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 322; Wassillie 1979: 70.

Iliamna Tanaina: Kari 2007: 322.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 416, 562, 634; Kari & Buck 1975: 99; Smelcer 2010: 102. In [Kari 1990: 634], quoted as *c'it-q'ey* - a typo.

Lower Ahtena: *c'aṭ-q'ey* [Kari 1990: 416, 562, 634; Kari & Buck 1975: 99; Smelcer 2010: 102].

Western Ahtena: *c'eṭ-q'ey* [Kari 1990: 416, 562, 634]. In [Kari 1990: 634], quoted as *c'it-q'ey* - a typo.

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 416, 562, 634; Kari & Buck 1975: 99; Smelcer 2010: 102.

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 53, 194. The initial morpheme *ṭ-* is unclear.

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 77, 157; Rice 1989: 373; Hoijer 1956: 222. Polysemy: 'one / another'.

According to the description in [Rice 1989: 376-377] and available examples, Hare possesses two cardinal numerals for '1', *liki* and *lá-t'è*, and two cardinal numerals for '2', *rák^hiè* and *?ḏ=k^hè-t'è*.

In preposition to the counted noun, the forms *liki* '1' and *rák^hiè* '2' are used.

In postposition, *lá-t'è* '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 *rák^hiè* '2' and *?ḏ=k^hè-t'è* '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 *-t'è* / *-t'iè* is the verb 'there are number' [Rice 1989: 383, 385]. Further analysis of *liki* '1' and *lá-t'è* '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 *lá-t'è* '1' is *POSSR=lá-?* 'hand' q.v., but this solution is typologically not likely and also does not explain the high tone in *lá-t'è*. Rice 1978: 72, 157; Rice 1989: 373.

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 188; Holton 2000: 345; Brean & Milanowski 1979: 21; McRoy 1973: 16; Shinen 1958: 18.

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 80.

Northway: *c'ehṭayη* 'one' [Milanowski 2007: 13].

Scottie Creek: *c'èṭtik* 'one' [John 1997: 52].

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 301; Tuttle 2009: 148; Frank et al. 1988: 34. Applicable to things; *c'itk'-ə* *nis* applicable to humans.

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 35, 1284; Antoine et al. 1974: 396. The initial morpheme *?i-* is unclear. *?ito* is the generic form. Cf. other forms applicable to various objects: human & locative *?ito-γan*, multiplicative *?ito-h*, abstract *?ito-x^w*.

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 309, 391, 812; Jones 1978: 113. Applicable to things; *k'i:t-əq'-a* *ṭ-* *k'i:t-əq'-əṇ* is applicable to humans. Cf. *k'i:t-tə* *ṭ'* 'once', *k'i:t-χu* '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; *kəṭ-əq-ə* *nis* applicable to humans (both men and women); *ke:t-əχ* ~ *ke:t-əχ-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. *λ^hṭ-ná* 'one (person)', *λ^hṭ-ti* 'one (place)' [Cook 1984: 103], *λ^h-k'-i* 'one (out of several), some' [Cook 1984: 77].

64. PERSON

Hupa *k^yi=win=yaʔn=ya:n* (1), Mattole *k^wo=ni=s=t^eʔ* (2), Kato *naneš ~ nane:š* (3), Taldash Galice *ta=te*: (4), Upper Inlet Tanaina *q^huxʔan-a* (5), Outer Inlet Tanaina *q^huxʔan-a ~ q^hutʔan-a* (5), Inland Tanaina *q^hutʔan* (5), Iliamna Tanaina *q^huxʔan-a* (5), Central Ahtena *q^hohtʔe:n-e* (5), Mentasta Ahtena *q^hohtʔe:n* (5), Dogrib *tóné ~ tó* (6), North Slavey (Hare) *tènè* (6), Tanacross *tèⁿdèh* (6), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) *tin^deh ~ tin^de*: (6), Lower Tanana (Minto) *k^haxʔan-a ~ k^hahʔan-a* (5) / *təna ~ tənəh* (6), Central Carrier *tane* (6), Koyukon *təna*: (6), Degexit'an *təna*: (6), Sarsi *tiná* (6).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 805; Golla 1996: 71. Polysemy: 'person / people / Indians'. Literally 'acorn eater', from the word *k^yi-win-yaʔn* 'acorn' - literally '(what) someone eats' with *=ya:n* 'to eat' - and the same verb *=ya:n* 'to eat' q.v.

Mattole: Li 1930: 130. Li quotes this nominalized verbal form as the collective term 'people (Indian)', although the Bear River gloss *ko-ne-s-t^e* 'man' q.v. could point out that it can be used with the singulative meaning as well. Morphologically it looks like a deverbative from the verb *=t^e:* or *=t^eʔ* '?' (cf. *=t^e:* 'to be of such sort' [Li 1930: 92] and the expression for 'man' q.v.: *kaʔt^e:n*).

Cf. also the ethnonymical suffix *-ni*: 'person' [Li 1930: 138].

Bear River dialect: not attested. Cf. *ko-ne-s-t^e*, glossed in [Goddard 1929: 318] as 'man' (an error for 'person?').

Kato: Goddard 1909: 119 No. 3, 130 No. 1. Polysemy: 'man [sg.] / person [sg.] / people [pl.]'. Further see notes on 'man'.

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 54. Polysemy: 'person / Galice tribal name / relatives'. Originates from **=ta-i* 'to sit', further see notes on 'man'.

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 72, 353; Kari 1977: 88.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 72, 353; Kari 1977: 88.

Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 72, 353; Kari 1977: 88.

Iliamna Tanaina: Kari 2007: 72, 353; Kari 1977: 88.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 87, 566; Kari & Buck 1975: 54.

Lower Ahtena: *q^hohtʔe:n-e* [Kari 1990: 87, 566; Kari & Buck 1975: 54].

Western Ahtena: *q^hohtʔe:n-e* [Kari 1990: 87, 566; Kari & Buck 1975: 54].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 87, 566; Kari & Buck 1975: 54.

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 20, 196; Marinakis et al. 2007: 163. *tó* is the reduced variant of *tóné*. Polysemy: 'man / person / people / Dene people'.

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 45, 160. Polysemy: 'man / person / people'.

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 170; Holton 2000: 344; Shinen 1958: 1. Paradigm: *tèⁿdèh* [sg.] / *tèⁿdè-y* [pl.]. Polysemy: 'man / person'.

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski, p.c.; Milanowski 2009: 16, 78, 81. Polysemy: 'man / person / people'.

Distinct from the more specific term *k^hohtʔi:n ~ tʔin*, 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 *tʔi:n* (only used as the second element of compounds?) looks like a secondary abbreviation of *k^hohtʔi:n*. The latter corresponds to Ahtena *q^hohtʔe:ne* 'man / person', Tanaina *q^huxʔan-a* 'man / person' q.v. Tanana *k^hohtʔi:n* could be an Ahtena loanword.

Scottie Creek: *tin^deh* 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.: *k^haxʔan-a-yi* 'peoples'. To be analyzed in the same manner as Tanaina *q^huxʔan*, Ahtena *q^hohtʔe:ne* 'man / person' (q.v.): literally *k^haxʔan-a* 'one who has territory' with the verb *=t^e=a* *ʔ* (< *=t-ʔan*) 'to have, possess' and *-na* 'pl. human relative suffix' [Kari 1994: 196] (the original plural form 'persons' has superseded the singular one); initial *k^hax-* 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 *təna* with polysemy: 'person / man' (q.v.). We have to treat *k^haxt'an-a* and *təna* as synonyms for 'person'. Kari 1994: 196.

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 141, 838; Poser 2011a: 156. Polysemy: 'man / person'.

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 427, 976; Jones 1978: 118. Polysemy: 'man / person'.

Distinct from the collective term *nən-q^ho: xo-təna:-ʔ ~ nən-q^ho: təna:-ʔ* 'human beings, people, humanity' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 428], literally 'person(s) on surface of the earth' with *nənʔ* 'earth' (q.v.), *q^ho:* 'surface' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 334] and the areal prefix *xo-* [Jetté & Jones 2000: 266].

Degexit'an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 29; Chapman 1914: 225. Polysemy: 'man / person'.

Distinct from the collective term *ηənʔ-q^ho: cχv-təna:-ʔ* 'human beings' [Kari 1978: 29], literally 'person(s) on surface of the earth' with *ηənʔ* 'ground, world' q.v. and *q^ho:* 'covering' [Taff et al. 2007].

Sarsi: Hoijer & Joël 1963: 72; Hoijer 1956: 222. Polysemy: 'man / person / eyeball, pupil of the eye'.

65. RAIN

Hupa *na:=n=ya-y* (1), Mattole *=tiy* (2), Kato *t^hə=t=pəl ~ t^hə=t=pəł* (3), Taldash Galice *na:=ya:* (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina *k^hun* (4), Outer Inlet Tanaina *k^hun* (4), Inland Tanaina *k^hun* (4), Iliamna Tanaina *k^hun* (4), Central Ahtena *k^{hy}a:n* (4), Mentasta Ahtena *k^{hy}ã:* (4), Dogrib *č^hõ* (4), North Slavey (Hare) *šõ* (4), Tanacross *č^hã:* (4), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) *č^hã:* ~ *č^hã:* *t^hu-ʔ* (4), Lower Tanana (Minto) *č^han* (4), Central Carrier *č^han* (4), Koyukon *k^ho:ŋ* (4), Degexit'an *č^ho:ŋ* (4), Sarsi *č^há* (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 *k^{hy}an-k^{hy}oh* 'hailstorm' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 757] with the augmentative suffix *-k^{hy}oh* (for which see notes on 'big').

Mattole: Li 1930: 86. Verbal stem with the meaning 'to rain': *=teh* < **=tex* [imperf.] / *=tiy* < **=tex-i* [perf.]. Li does not quote any nominal forms for 'rain'; apparently, the default expressions for 'rain' are based on the aforementioned verb.

Bear River dialect: the old nominal root *č^ha=k^hon ~ ča=k^hon-e* 'rain' [Goddard 1929: 319] is retained (the first element is not entirely clear). A second word for 'rain', quoted in [Goddard 1929: 319], is an unclear *č^ha=k^hal*.

Kato: Goddard 1909: 74 No. 4, 93 No. 5; Curtis 1924: 205. Literally 'it falls, it sprinkles' from the verb *=pəł* < **=pil* [light imperf.] / *=pəl* < **=pil-i* [heavy imperf.] / *=pi:l* < **=pil-ʔ-i* [heavy perf.] 'to fall (pl. subj.), fall in drops' [Goddard 1912: 68].

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 55; Hoijer 1956: 223; Landar 1977: 295. In [Hoijer 1956], quoted as *na=i=ya:*. Literally 'it moves down' (*=ya:* 'to move, go' [Hoijer 1973: 69]), a good match to the Hupa form *na:=n=ya-y* 'rain'.

In [Hoijer 1973: 69], specific paradigmatic forms of *=ya:* 'to move, go' q.v. are treated as a separate verb for 'to rain': *=ya-š* [imperf.] / *=ya-ʔ* [perf.].

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 152, 356; Kari 1977: 138.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 152, 356; Kari 1977: 138.

Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 152, 356; Kari 1977: 138.

Iliamna Tanaina: Kari 2007: 152, 356; Kari 1977: 138.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 110, 574; Kari & Buck 1975: 89; Smelcer 2010: 127.

Lower Ahtena: *k^{hy}a:n* [Kari 1990: 110, 574; Kari & Buck 1975: 89; Smelcer 2010: 127].

Western Ahtena: *k^{hy}a:n* [Kari 1990: 110, 574; Kari & Buck 1975: 89; Smelcer 2010: 127].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 110, 574; Kari & Buck 1975: 89; Smelcer 2010: 127.

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 8, 202. Innovative pronunciation: $c^h\acute{o}$.

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 93, 165; Hoijer 1956: 222. Hoijer quotes the 19th c. archaic variant $\check{c}\acute{o}$. The verbal meaning 'to rain' is expressed analytically: $\check{s}\acute{o} \ t\acute{e}=l\acute{e}$, lit. 'rains falls' [Rice 1978: 444, 529].

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 209; Holton 2000: 346; Brean & Milanowski 1979: 12. In [Holton 2000], transcribed as $\check{c}^h\acute{a}:n$. Also functions as the verb $=h=c^h\acute{a}$: 'to rain' [Arnold et al. 2009: 209; Holton 2000: 351; McRoy 1973: 6; Shinen 1958: 13].

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 12, 79. The full collocation $\check{c}^h\acute{a}: \ t^h u-?$ literally means 'water of $\check{c}^h\acute{a}$ '. Also functions as the verb $=h=c^h\acute{a}$: 'to rain' [Milanowski 2009: 39].

Northway: $\check{c}^h\acute{a}: \sim \check{c}^h\acute{a}: \ t^h u-?$ 'rain' [Milanowski 2007: 13].

Scottie Creek: $\check{c}^h\acute{a}: \ t^h u-?$ 'rain', $=h=c^h\acute{a}$: 'to rain' [John 1997: 66].

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 48, 461. Also functions as the verb $=t=c^h\acute{a}n \ \eta$ 'to rain' [Kari 1994: 47; Tuttle 2009: 160].

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 101, 862; Poser 2011a: 168; Antoine et al. 1974: 69, 325.

Distinct from the verb $=t=t^h\acute{a}n$ ($=t=t^h\acute{a}-h$, $=t=t^h\acute{a}-t$) 'to rain' [Poser 1998/2013: 863, 1222, 1259].

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 300, 987; Jones 1978: 127. Cf. the cognate verb $=t=k^h\acute{o}$: η [imperf.] / $=t=k^h\acute{o}:n-?$ [perf.] 'to rain' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 299].

Degexit'an: Taff et al. 2007. Cf. the cognate verb $=c^h\acute{o}$: η [imperf.] / $=c^h\acute{o}:n-?$ [perf.] 'to rain' [Kari 1976: 27].

Sarsi: Hoijer & Joël 1963: 68. Polysemy: 'thunder / rain'. Cf. the cognate verb $=s=c^h\acute{u} \sim =s=c^h\acute{u}n-$ 'to rain' [Li 1930b: 25; Hoijer 1956: 223].

66. RED

Hupa $c^h\acute{e}:l\text{-}nehwa:n$ (1), Mattole $=\check{c}^h\acute{i}:\check{c}$ (2), Kato $t=\check{c}^h\acute{i}:k$ (2), Taldash Galice $=sit$ (3), Upper Inlet Tanaina $=l=t\acute{a}l$ (4), Outer Inlet Tanaina $=l=t\acute{a}l$ (4), Inland Tanaina $=t\acute{a}l$ (4), Iliamna Tanaina $=l=t\acute{a}l$ (4), Central Ahtena $=l=t\acute{e}l$ (4), Mentasta Ahtena $=l=t\acute{e}l$ (4), Dogrib $=k^{\acute{o}}$ (5), North Slavey (Hare) $t\acute{e}=t\acute{e}l\text{-}\acute{e}$ (4), Tanacross $t=\acute{e}=l=t^{\acute{e}}\acute{t}$ (6), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) $t=e=l=t^{\acute{a}}l$ (6), Lower Tanana (Minto) $=l=k^{\acute{a}}\acute{s}$ (5), Central Carrier $=l=k^{\acute{a}}n$ (7), Koyukon $=t=q^{\acute{a}}s$ (5), Degexit'an $=q^{\acute{a}}\acute{s} \sim =q^{\acute{a}}\acute{z}$ (5), Sarsi $=V=k^{\acute{a}}:\acute{z}$ (5).

References and notes:

Hupa: Golla 1996: 78. Not found in [Sapir & Golla 2001]. As noted by Golla, a contraction from $c^h\acute{e}:lin \ ne-h\text{-}wa:n$, literally $c^h\acute{e}:lin$ 'blood' q.v. + 'it resembles' [Golla 1996: 78; Golla 1970: 63].

Mattole: Li 1930: 116. Verbal root 'to be red'. Cf. the full form $t\acute{i}=\check{c}^h\acute{i}:\check{c}$ '(it is) red' (for the adjectival prefix $t\acute{i}$ - 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 $=\check{c}^h\acute{i}:\check{c}$, 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'.

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 70; Landar 1977: 295. Verbal root: 'to be red'. The adjectival form is $t=sit$.

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 319, 320, 356; Kari 1977: 253.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 319, 320, 356; Kari 1977: 253.

Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 319, 320, 356; Kari 1977: 253; Wassillie 1979: 80.

Iliamna Tanaina: Kari 2007: 319, 320, 356; Kari 1977: 253.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 148, 576; Kari & Buck 1975: 103; Smelcer 2010: 60.

Lower Ahtena: $=l=t\acute{e}l$ [Kari 1990: 148, 576; Kari & Buck 1975: 103; Smelcer 2010: 60].

Western Ahtena: $=l=t\acute{e}l$ [Kari 1990: 148, 576; Kari & Buck 1975: 103; Smelcer 2010: 60].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 148, 576; Kari & Buck 1975: 103; Smelcer 2010: 60.

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 16, 203. Verbal root: 'to be red'.

- North Slavey (Hare):** Rice 1978: 14, 416, 529; Rice 1989: 10. Verbal form 'it is red', eventually based on the substantive POSS=*tél-é?* 'blood' q.v.; initial *tè-* is the adjectival prefix [Rice 1989: 617], for the desemanticized verbal suffix *-e* see [Rice 1989: 816].
Distinct from more specific *sih* 'red ashes from driftwood / vermilion (adj.)' [Rice 1978: 90] (in [Hojjer 1956: 222], it is quoted as the basic term for 'red').
- Tanacross:** Arnold et al. 2009: 212; Holton 2000: 178, 351; Brean & Milanowski 1979: 22; McRoy 1973: 16; Shinen 1958: 18. The verb =*l=t'èt* 'to be red' with the adjectival/gender exponent *t=* [Holton 2000: 237 ff.].
Distinct from phonetically similar *tèt* 'blood' q.v.
- Upper Tanana (Tetlin):** Milanowski 2009: 15, 72. Formed from the verb =*l=t'at* 'to be red'.
Northway: *t=e=l't'al* '(it is) red' [Milanowski 2007: 15] (quoted with a typo).
Scottie Creek: *e=l=t'γt*, *t=è=l't'δl* '(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 *k'əz-a?* 'red'. Derived from the substantive *k'əš* 'thin leaf alder, red alder' [Kari 1994: 166].
The second candidate is the rarely used verb =*l=tal* 'to be red' [Kari 1994: 68] from *tət* 'blood' q.v.
- Central Carrier:** Poser 1998/2013: 865, 1221, 1256; Poser 2011a: 169; Antoine et al. 1974: 88, 325. Verbal stem: 'to be red'.
- Koyukon:** Jetté & Jones 2000: 358, 989; Jones 1978: 129. Glossed as 'to be red, reddish, orange, rust-colored'. Also functions as the noun-like adjective *q'əz-ə?* 'red' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 359]. Derived from the substantive *q'əš* 'alder' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 357].
In the Upper dialect, it competes with the more marginal verb =*l=tət* 'be red, be blood-red, be bloody' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 131] from *tət* 'blood' q.v.
- Degexit'an:** Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 55; Kari 1976: 43; Chapman 1914: 230. Verbal stem: 'to be red'.
- Sarsi:** Li 1930b: 22; Hoijjer 1956: 223; Cook 1984: 166. Verbal stem: 'to be red'.

67. ROAD

Hupa *t^hin* (1), Mattole *t^he:ni-ŋ* (1), Kato *t^hən:i* (1), Taldash Galice *t^hate*: (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina *t^hən* (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina *t^hən* (1), Inland Tanaina *t^hən* (1), Iliamna Tanaina *t^hən* (1), Central Ahtena *t^hene* (1), Mentasta Ahtena *t^hen* (1), Dogrib *t^hĩ-lí* (1), North Slavey (Hare) *kiè* (2), Tanacross *t^hěy* (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) *t^hāy* (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) *t^həna* (1), Central Carrier *t^hi* (1), Koyukon *t^hənə* (1), Degexit'an *t^həŋ* (1), Sarsi *t^hin̄v̄ ~ t^hin̄à* (1).

References and notes:

- Hupa:** Sapir & Golla 2001: 788; Golla 1996: 79. Originates from **t^hini*. Polysemy: 'trail, path / road'.
- Mattole:** Li 1930: 128, 148 sub No. 84. Glossed as 'road, trail'. The final element *-ŋ* is unclear. There is another attested variant: *tiniŋ* 'road' [Li 1930: 148 sub No. 84], phonetically obscure.
Bear River dialect: *t^hena ~ t^han:a* 'road' [Goddard 1929: 319].
- Kato:** Goddard 1912: 32, 120.
- Taldash Galice:** Hoijjer 1973: 54; Hoijjer 1956: 223. Glossed as 'road, trail'.
- Upper Inlet Tanaina:** Kari 2007: 234, 356; Kari 1977: 230. Possessed: POSSR=*t^hən* ~ POSSR=*t^hən-a*.
- Outer Inlet Tanaina:** Kari 2007: 234, 356; Kari 1977: 230. Possessed: POSSR=*t^hən* ~ POSSR=*t^hən-ŋa*.
- Inland Tanaina:** Kari 2007: 234, 356; Kari 1977: 230. Possessed: POSSR=*t^hən* ~ POSSR=*t^hən-a*.
- Iliamna Tanaina:** Kari 2007: 234, 356; Kari 1977: 230. Possessed: POSSR=*t^hən* ~ POSSR=*t^hən-ŋa*.
- Central Ahtena:** Kari 1990: 333, 579; Kari & Buck 1975: 81; Smelcer 2010: 98.
Lower Ahtena: *t^hene* [Kari 1990: 333, 579; Kari & Buck 1975: 81; Smelcer 2010: 98].
Western Ahtena: *t^hene* [Kari 1990: 333, 579; Kari & Buck 1975: 81; Smelcer 2010: 98].
- Mentasta Ahtena:** Kari 1990: 333, 579; Kari & Buck 1975: 81; Smelcer 2010: 98. Regular reduction of final *-e*.
- 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 *k'èli:* or *é=k'èli:-k'è* (with possessive *é*= 'its' and the postposition *-k'è* '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=k'íér-é?* [Rice 1989: 213] (apparently not *POSSR=k'ír-é?*). 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 *t'ò-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-è* 'to be round 3D' q.v.

Distinct from *t'ènè* 'path' [Rice 1978: 96, 159]. The words *t'ò-lù* 'large road' and *t'ènè* 'path' are cognate.

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 217, 274; Holton 2000: 348; Shinen 1958: 13. Polysemy: 'trail / road / path'.

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 24, 82. Polysemy: 'trail / road'.

Distinct from *n^hi:γη* 'way, route' [Milanowski 2009: 22].

Northway: *t'āy* '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: Taff 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 *ásti-* is quoted in the Swadesh meaning 'path'.

68. ROOT

Hupa *qat* (1), Mattole *POSSR=k^hat-e?* (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina *POSSR=qac'-a* (2), Outer Inlet Tanaina *POSSR=qac'-a* (2), Inland Tanaina *POSSR=qac'-a* (2), Iliamna Tanaina *POSSR=qac'-a* (2), Central Ahtena *POSSR=k^{hy}en-e?* (3), Mentasta Ahtena *POSSR=k^{hy}en-?* (3), Dogrib *xóh* (4), North Slavey (Hare) *xàì* (4), Tanacross *xèy* (4), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) *xay* (4), Lower Tanana (Minto) *xv=n=kat^θ* (2), Central Carrier *POSSR=γih* (4), Koyukon *POSSR=qa:λ-ə?* (2), Degexit'an *POSSR=qa:d^θ* (2).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 753; Golla 1996: 80; 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'aylin*) root (*qut*)" [Goddard 1904: 197], "There he saw alder (*q'in*) 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=xa:č'-e?*, 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:

- 210, 213]. The same word is used in the expression for 'angelica, sweet anise, incense root': *mi-xa:č'-e? xo-le:n*, literally 'its-roots are-plenty' [Golla 1996: 4; Goddard 1904: 227]. It seems that POSSR=*xa:č'-e?* displays the specific collective meaning 'roots'; therefore, we exclude =*xa:č'*- from the list.
- Mattole:** Li 1930: 130. Quoted as *?i=k^hat-e?* with the indefinite possessive pronoun *?i-*, for which see notes on 'meat'. Cf. the non-possessed variant *k^ha?* in *k^ha? pay'eh* '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 > -?* [Li 1930: 20].
- Bear River dialect: not attested reliably.
- Kato:** Not attested.
- Taldash 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.
- Central Ahtena:** Kari 1990: 113, 579; Kari & Buck 1975: 31; Smelcer 2010: 107.
- Lower Ahtena:** POSSR=*k^hen-e?* [Kari 1990: 113, 579; Kari & Buck 1975: 31; Smelcer 2010: 107].
- Western Ahtena:** POSSR=*k^hen-e?* [Kari 1990: 113, 579; Kari & Buck 1975: 31; Smelcer 2010: 107].
- Mentasta Ahtena:** 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". The synonym is the compound *xó-č^hi:* 'root' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 121], literally '*č^hi* of root' with *-č^hi* 'tree, bush, log, twig, stick', see notes on 'tree'.
- North Slavey (Hare):** Rice 1978: 108, 167.
- Tanacross:** Arnold et al. 2009: 218; Holton 2000: 347; Brean & Milanowski 1979: 9; McRoy 1973: 5; Shinen 1958: 13. Usually glossed as 'spruce roots', but actually the word looks like a generic term, cf. the collocation for 'willow roots': *k'èy xèy-?*, literally 'xèy of willow' [Arnold et al. 2009: 218].
- Distinct from *c^hà:θ* 'edible root (carrot, Indian potato, potato)' [Arnold et al. 2009: 218; Brean & Milanowski 1979: 9].
- Upper Tanana (Tetlin):** Milanowski 2009: 28, 82.
- Distinct from *c^hu:* 'edible root' [Milanowski 2009: 25, 82].
- Northway:** *xay* 'root', *c^hu:* 'edible root' [Milanowski 2007: 15].
- Scottie Creek:** *xay*, POSSR=*xày-?* 'root' [John 1997: 60], *c^hu:* 'bear root (Hedysarum)' [John 1997: 57].
- Lower Tanana (Minto):** Kari 1994: 109, 465; Tuttle 2009: 166. Polysemy: 'root / willow root'. A form from the verb =*kaθ* [imperf.] / =*kat^θ* [perf.] 'to twist, wring'; initial *xv=* is the area gender prefix [Kari 1994: 135]. Cf. the noun *kat^θ* 'main spruce root' [Kari 1994: 109].
- Distinct from *xvy* 'spruce root, tree roots' [Kari 1994: 140], which is apparently more rare.
- Distinct from *č^hə-y^hl-c-a?* 'tree trunk and roots' [Kari 1994: 134] (*č^hə=* 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 *xoy*". Cf. the possibly cognate verb =*t=qəλ* 'to be twisted, awry, out of alignment' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 207].
- Distinct from *xoy*, glossed as 'spruce root, long thin tree roots' and specified as "The long slender roots of the spruce, used to sew together the birchbark 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 afterward 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=*qa:d^θ* is not found in [Taff et al. 2007].

The second candidate is *χvy*, glossed in [Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 17] simply as 'root(s)', but not found at all in [Chapman 1914]. The following examples are offered in [Taff et al. 2007]: "Willow root coiled basket or plate", "We're digging for roots", "My grandmother is going paddling for roots", "Edna is weaving a root basket".

Presumably the Degexit'an opposition between POSSR=*qa:d*^θ and *χvy* is the same as in Koyukon q.v.: POSSR=*qa:d*^θ is a generic term, whereas *χvy* denotes long slender roots used in handicraft.

Sarsi: Not documented. Cf. *xú:h* / POSSR=*xúy-ú?* 'edible root (chiefly, wild parsnips)' [Hoijer & Joël 1963: 67].

69. ROUND

Hupa =*wol* ~ =*wol*^l (1) / =*ma:c*' (2), Kato =*po:š* (2), Taldash Galice =*paš* (2), Inland Tanaina =*l=vic*' (2) / =*l=važ* (3), Central Ahtena =*l=ci:t* (4) / =*l=pa:c*' (2), Mentasta Ahtena =*l=ci:t* (4) / =*l=pa:c*' (2), Dogrib =*γĩ-á* ~ =*γĩ-á* (5), North Slavey (Hare) =*lùl-è* (6) / =*γén-é* (5), Tanacross =*t=xè:s* (3) / =*l=mà:t*^θ (2), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) =*t=xia* (3), Lower Tanana (Minto) =*l=γaš* (3) / =*bat*^θ ~ =*bat*^θ (2), Central Carrier =*ç'an* (7), Koyukon =*t=βas* (3), Degexit'an *kə=məθ* (2), Sarsi =*γà:l* (8) / =*mù:z* ~ =*mù:c*' (2).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 795; Golla 1996: 80. Verbal root 'to be round 3D'. Sapir & Golla 2001: 769; Golla 1996: 80. Verbal root with polysemy: 'to be round 2D / to coil (trans.), put in a circle' [Golla 1996: 19, 80].

Mattole: Not attested. Cf. the verb =*pas* 'to coil (a rope)' [Li 1930: 82], which corresponds to Hupa =*ma:c*'.

Bear River dialect: *č^ho=wol* 'round' [Goddard 1929: 319], i.e., 'to be round' (not specified semantically).

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 =*pu:c* 'to be round' and =*l=βay* 'to be round' is expected on the basis of the following documented collocations: *k't'un pu:c-a* 'quaking aspen, little cottonwood', lit. 'leaf-round' [Kari 2007: 50], *na-βə-l-βay-i* '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 =*pu:c* and =*βay*.

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 collocation: *c^hi-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=βə-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.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 174, 580.

Lower Ahtena: =*l=ci:t* [Kari 1990: 174, 580].

Western Ahtena: =*l=ci:t* [Kari 1990: 174, 580]. Kari 1990: 99, 580.

Lower Ahtena: =*l=pa:c*' [Kari 1990: 99, 580].

Western Ahtena: =*l=pa:c*' [Kari 1990: 99, 580].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 174, 580. Kari 1990: 99, 580.

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 52, 205; Marinakis et al. 2007: 154, 156. Verbal root: 'to be round'. Final *-á* is the common diminutive suffix [Marinakis et al. 2007: 152 ff.]. *-γĩ-á* ~ *-γĩ-á* is also commonly used as a noun-like adjective (or a suffix) 'round' [Marinakis et al. 2007: 156]. It is unclear whether =*γĩ-á* ~ =*γĩ-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

round" [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 37] can suggest the additional meaning 'round 2D'. Because of nasalization, $\text{=}\gamma\tilde{i}\text{-}\tilde{a} \sim \text{=}\gamma\tilde{i}\text{-}\tilde{a}$ 'round' seems unrelated to the noun $\text{POSSR}=\gamma\tilde{e} \sim \text{POSSR}=\gamma\tilde{e}$ 'egg' q.v.

No specific expressions for 'round 2D' have been found in the available sources.

Cf. also the verbal root $\text{=m}\tilde{o}$: with unclear meaning, attested in the substantive $\acute{e}c'\acute{a}=\tilde{e}h=\text{m}\tilde{o}$: $\sim \acute{e}c'\acute{a}=\tilde{e}=\text{m}\tilde{o}\text{-}\tilde{a}$ 'circle, round' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 37; Siemens et al. 2007: 25]; initial $\acute{e}c'\acute{a}$ - is the verbal spatial prefix 'in a circle' [Marinakakis 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) $\text{=l}\tilde{u}l\text{-}\tilde{e}$ 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) $\text{=}\gamma\tilde{e}n\text{-}\tilde{e}$ 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) $\text{=k}\tilde{u}l\text{-}\tilde{e}$ '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) $\text{=m}\tilde{e}n\text{-}\tilde{e}$ 'to be round 2D' [Rice 1978: 261, 453] (glossed as 'to be circular'), the example is: "The frame is round" [Rice 1978: 261]. Substantivized $\text{h}\tilde{i}=\text{m}\tilde{e}n\text{-}\tilde{e}$ means 'circle' [Rice 1978: 62].

5) $\text{=k}\tilde{o}l\text{-}\tilde{e}$ '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) $\text{=p}\tilde{a}r\text{-}\tilde{e}$ 'to be rounded, curved' [Rice 1978: 257, 531], e.g., "The knife is rounded" [Rice 1978: 257].

Provisionally we fill the slot with $\text{=l}\tilde{u}l\text{-}\tilde{e}$ 'round 3D' and $\text{=}\gamma\tilde{e}n\text{-}\tilde{e}$ 'round 2D', although further corpus analysis is required. Rice 1978: 260, 435, 531.

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 219; Holton 2000: 351. Verbal root: 'to be round 3D'. Cf. the cognate noun $\text{POSSR}=\chi\tilde{e}z\text{-}\tilde{?}$ 'egg' q.v. Arnold et al. 2009: 219. Verbal root: 'to be round 2D'.

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski, p.c. Verbal root: 'to be round'. Milanowski's only example points to the meaning 'round 2D': $c'\acute{e}txia\ t^{\theta}a\gamma n$ 'round dish'. Cf. the cognate noun $\text{POSSR}=\text{xia}\text{-}\tilde{?}$ 'egg' q.v.

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 123, 466. Verbal stem: 'to be round 3D'. Cf. the cognate noun $\text{POSSR}=\gamma a z\text{-}\tilde{a}$ 'egg' q.v.

A second, probably more specific candidate is $\text{=l}=\text{c}i\text{-}$, 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 $\text{=l}=\text{b}i\text{-}$ 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 $\text{=c}\tilde{'}i\text{-}$ '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 $\text{v}\tilde{a}s$ 'round 3D' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 236]. Cf. the cognate noun $\text{POSSR}=\text{v}\tilde{a}z\text{-}\tilde{a}$ 'egg' q.v.

No expressions for 'round 2D' are documented reliably. Cf. the noun-like adjective $q\tilde{a}c \sim q\tilde{a}c\text{-}\tilde{a}$, glossed as 'circular, spherical, solidly', with the example $\text{to:l}\tilde{a}l\ q\tilde{a}c$ 'silver dollar', literally 'round, solid dollar' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 204]. The cognate verb $\text{=l}=\text{q}\tilde{a}c$ means 'to be wide-eyed, go having one's eyes open wide' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 204].

Degexit'an: Taff et al. 2007. Expressions for 'round' are poorly documented in available sources. The best candidate is $k\tilde{a}=\text{m}\tilde{a}\theta$, glossed as 'round on the outside' in [Taff et al. 2007] with the only example "I have a round bowl". Cf. the cognate verb $\text{=k}\tilde{a}=\text{m}\tilde{a}\theta$ 'to roll' [Kari 1976: 18; Taff et al. 2007]. It is likely that $k\tilde{a}=\text{m}\tilde{a}\theta$ is the Degexit'an expression for 'round 3D'.

The second candidate is the verb $\text{=v}\tilde{a}c$ 'to be spherical' [Kari 1976: 24], not found in other sources.

Cf. the verb $\text{=}\eta\tilde{a}\tilde{d}$, 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 $\text{=}\eta\tilde{a}:\theta$ 'to be long', $\eta\tilde{a}\theta$ 'long' q.v.

Cf. the verb $\text{=v}\tilde{a}:\theta / \text{=v}\tilde{a}\theta$ '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 $\text{=}\gamma\tilde{a}l$ '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 $\text{=m}\tilde{i}s$ [imperf.] / $\text{=m}\tilde{i}z \sim \text{=m}\tilde{i}c$ [perf.] 'to roll (intr., ring-like object)' [Li 1930b: 17].

70. SAND

Hupa *t̥i=č̣im* (1), Mattole *t̥eš* (2), Kato *sai* (3), Taldash Galice *sai* (3), Upper Inlet Tanaina *suy* (3), Outer Inlet Tanaina *suy* (3), Inland Tanaina *suy* (3), Iliamna Tanaina *suyi* (3), Central Ahtena *sa:s* (3), Mentasta Ahtena *sa:s* (3), Dogrib *é=wà:* (3), North Slavey (Hare) *wà* (3), Tanacross *θà:y* (3), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) *θa:y* (3), Lower Tanana (Minto) *θny* (3), Central Carrier *šai* (3), Koyukon *ta:c* (2), Degexit'an *θo:y* (3), Sarsi *c^há-cìł* (4).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 744, 766; Golla 1996: 29, 81; Golla 1964: 114. Polysemy: 'sand / sandy dirt / dust'. The second element of this form is POSSR=*č̣im-e?* 'dust, particles of something' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 744; Golla 1996: 88], [Golla 1964: 114]. Initial *t̥i=* is not entirely clear (in [Sapir & Golla 2001: 766], this is treated as "thematic prefix in nouns"); it could be a reduced form of *t̥eh-* 'a sloppy object', which is singled out from the compounds *t̥eh-č̣ma:* 'blue clay', *t̥eh-t̥'e:t̥e?* 'mud', *t̥eh=q̣onč̣* 'salt' q.v. [Sapir & Golla 2001: 765, Golla 1964: 117].

Mattole: Li 1930: 132.

Bear River dialect: *t̥eš* 'sand' [Goddard 1929: 320].

Kato: Goddard 1912: 20.

Distinct from *t̥=č̣ḥaš* 'dust' [Goddard 1912: 16, 30], which corresponds to the Hupa term for 'sand' (with de-ejectivization *č̣ḥ < *č̣*).

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 58. However, in [Hoijer 1956: 223], the word for 'sand' is quoted as *s=tai* - an unclear form.

Distinct from *t̥=c'as* 'dirt / dust / cold ashes' [Hoijer 1973: 59], which corresponds to the Hupa and Kato terms for 'sand'.

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 146, 357; Kari 1977: 122.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 146, 357; Kari 1977: 122.

Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 146, 357; Kari 1977: 122; Wassillie 1979: 84.

Iliamna Tanaina: Kari 2007: 146, 357. In [Kari 1977: 122], quoted as *suy*.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 449, 581; Kari & Buck 1975: 81; Smelcer 2010: 98.

Lower Ahtena: *sa:s* [Kari 1990: 449, 581; Kari & Buck 1975: 81; Smelcer 2010: 98].

Western Ahtena: *sa:s* [Kari 1990: 449, 581; Kari & Buck 1975: 81; Smelcer 2010: 98].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 449, 581; Kari & Buck 1975: 81; Smelcer 2010: 98.

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 37, 206; Siemens et al. 2007: 26. Polysemy: 'sand / gravel'. Morphologically = 'its *má*'; cf. the non-possessed form *má* 'sand' in *má-řehtá* 'sandy point' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 116] and the toponym *má λ'à* 'Sandy Bay', literally 'bay (*λ'à*) of sand (*má*)' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 116].

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 105, 168; Hoijer 1956: 222. Glossed as 'sand'.

Distinct from deverbal *řè=h=λ'è-i*, glossed as 'mud, sand' [Rice 1978: 29] < =*λ'è* 'to be dark' [Rice 1978: 470].

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 136, 221; Holton 2000: 346; Brean & Milanowski 1979: 12; McRoy 1973: 6; Shinen 1958: 13. Polysemy: 'sand / gravel'.

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 24, 79. Polysemy: 'sand / coarse snow'.

Northway: *θa:y* 'sand' [Milanowski 2007: 13].

Scottie Creek: *θa:y* with polysemy: 'sand / gravel' [John 1997: 46].

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 93, 467.

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 440, 882; Poser 2011a: 177; Antoine et al. 1974: 208, 327.

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 385, 996; Jones 1978: 136. Polysemy: 'dirt / soil / sand / dust / ashes / clay / mud / any granular substance'. This is quoted in [Jones 1978] as the default expression for 'sand'; browsing through available sources confirms this, cf. the examples: "She brought some sand in" [Jones 1978: 28], "Some sand fell" [Jones 1978: 58], "There is lots of sand" [Jones 1978: 136], "the place became invisible with sand (due to a storm)" 24], "sand went in my eyes again" [Jetté & Jones 2000: 488], "it digs sand" [Jetté & Jones 2000: 489], "sand was flying" [Jetté & Jones 2000: 508], "water filter", lit. "that in

which liquid is drained from sand" [Jetté & Jones 2000: 649].

A second candidate is *to:y* '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 *c^há* 'stone' q.v. and *=cít* '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* ~ =ⁿ*tí* (1), North Slavey (Hare) =*tí* (1), Tanacross =*nìh* (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) =*nìh* (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) =*ni* ~ =*ti* (1), Central Carrier =*ni* (1), Koyukon =*ni:* (1), Degexit'an =*ne:* (1), Sarsi =*ní* (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 =*ye:n* [sg. subj.] / =*wa:n* [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].

Kato: Goddard 1912: 65. Polysemy: 'to say / to speak, talk'. Used in all grammatical persons.

Distinct from =*yi:s* 'to speak, talk', used in 1-2 person only [Goddard 1912: 62].

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 64; Hoijer 1956: 223; Landar 1977: 295. Suppletive verb =*tat* [imperf.] / =*ni* ~ =*niy-a* [perf.] with polysemy: 'to say / to tell, speak'. Perfective stem. The final element -(y)a is not entirely clear.

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Lovick 2005: 31 ex. 1.27a, 44 ex. 2.5c, etc. Polysemy: 'to say / to call'.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Boraas 2010: 56-58. Polysemy: 'to say / to tell / to deem / to call'.

Inland Tanaina: Wassillie 1979: 85; Lovick 2005: 25 ex. 1.18. At least synchronically distinct from the verbs =*nax* [imperf.] / =*nak* [perf.] 'to speak; to talk' [Wassillie 1979: 93, 100] and =*l=nək* 'to tell' [Wassillie 1979: 101].

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.

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 3, 206. The archaic root variant =ⁿ*tí* is scantily attested: *yèh=tí* ~ *yèh=ⁿtí* [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 133], *tí* ~ =ⁿ*tí* [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 19].

As noted in [Saxon & Siemens 1996: xi], this is actually a suppletive verb with the root =*sí* used in the 1st p. sg. and the root =(ⁿ)*tí* elsewhere. Cf. *á=tí* 'he said it' vs. *á=éh=sí* 'I said it' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 3, 4].

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 190, 421, 532; Rice 1989: 870; Hoijer 1956: 222. Suppletive paradigm: =*sí* [1 p. sg.] / =*tí* [elsewhere].

Distinct from =*fi* 'to talk' [Rice 1978: 386, 428].

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 222, 264; Holton 2000: 351; Shinen 1958: 54. Polysemy: 'to say / to tell'. Paradigm: =*nìh* [imperf.] / =*ni-?* [perf.].

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 49, 104. Paradigm: =*nìh* [imperf.] / =*nì:-?* [perf.] / =*n^di:-t* [fut.].

Distinct from =*he:* [imperf.] / =*ha:-?* [perf.] / =*he:-t* [fut.] 'to speak, talk' [Milanowski 2009: 43, 107].

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 206-207, 468; Tuttle 2009: 171. Paradigm: =*ni* ~ =*ti* [imperf.] / =*ni-?* ~ =*ti-?* [perf.]. The variant =*ni* is used for 1 & 2 p. sg., =*ti* for pl. For 3 p. sg. either =*ni* or =*ti* can be used, as may be seen from the data in [Kari 1994: 206-207].

Distinct from the verbs for 'to talk, speak': $x=...=ya-y$ [imperf.] / $x=...=y\iota-?$ [perf.] used with sg. & dual. subj. [Kari 1994: 335, 481], $k^h\partial na=...=t=l=y\iota\zeta$ used with pl. subj. [Kari 1994: 133, 481].

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 884, 1222, 1259; Poser 2011a: 179; Antoine et al. 1974: 327. Paradigm: $=ni$ [imperf.] / $=ni-?$ [perf.] / $=ni-h$ [customary]. Polysemy: 'to say / to sound'.

Distinct from $=t=tak$ 'to speak' [Poser 1998/2013: 923, 1219, 1251].

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 436, 997; Jones 1978: 136. Paradigm: $=ni:$ [imperf.] / $=ni-?$ [perf.]. Also used with the "classifier" \acute{t} .

Distinct from suppletive $=h(a)y$ [imperf.] / $=yo-?$ [perf.] glossed as 'to talk, speak, say, utter, pronounce, articulate', used with sg. & dual. subj. [Jetté & Jones 2000: 704] and its counterpart $=l=bus$ 'to make noise, holler, clamor, shout; to talk, speak', used with pl. subj. [Jetté & Jones 2000: 258].

Degexit'an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1976: 37; Chapman 1914: 214. Paradigm: $=ne:$ [imperf.] / $=ne-?$ [perf.]. Cf. some examples: "Down here they are going to stamp, they said", "What are they saying?", "Say it all again" [Taff et al. 2007].

Distinct from suppletive $=h(a)y$ [imperf.] / $\eta o-?$ [perf.] 'to talk' [Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1976: 2], which is probably restricted to sg. subj., and its counterpart $=bo\zeta$ [imperf.] / $=bo\zeta$ [perf.] 'to talk (pl. subj.)' [Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1976: 26].

Sarsi: Li 1930b: 20; Hoijer 1956: 223. Paradigm: $=ni$ [imperf.] / $=ni-?$ [perf.].

Distinct from $=c\grave{i}h$ [imperf.] / $=c\acute{y} \sim =c\acute{y}m- \sim =c\acute{a} \sim =c\acute{a}n-$ [perf.] 'to speak, utter' [Li 1930b: 24; Cook 1984: 252]; $=n\acute{a}h$ [imperf.] / $=n\acute{a}\acute{z}$ [perf.] 'to make a speech, to talk' [Li 1930b: 19].

72. SEE

Hupa $=c^his$ (1) / $=c^han$ (1), Mattole $=?i:n$ (2), Kato $=s\partial s$ (1) / $=c^han \sim =san\eta$ (1), Taldash Galice $=?i:$ (2), Inland Tanaina $=?an$ (2), Central Ahtena $=\acute{t}=?e:n$ (2), Mentasta Ahtena $=\acute{t}=?e:n$ (2), Dogrib $=?i$ (2), North Slavey (Hare) $=t\grave{a}$ (3), Tanacross $=n=h=?\acute{e}h$ (2), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) $=n=h=?i\grave{h}$ (2), Lower Tanana (Minto) $=n=\acute{t}=?an\eta$ (2), Central Carrier $=?en$ (2), Koyukon $=n\partial=\acute{t}=?a:n$ (2), Degexit'an $=t^{\theta}a:-y$ (1) / $=t^{\theta}o:n$ (1), Sarsi $=?in-$ (2).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 734, 736; Golla 1996: 82. Golla 1996: 82. The paradigm is irregular: $=c^his$ [imperf.] / $=c^han$ [perf.].

Distinct from the verb $=?e:n$ '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 (\acute{t} -classifier) / to have, possess (l -classifier) / to be related to (l -classifier) / to see (l -classifier). Paradigm: $=?i\eta$ (< $*=?in$) [light imperf.], $=?i:n$ (< $*=?in-i$) [heavy imperf.], $=?i\eta?$ (< $*=?in-?$) [perf.]. The perfective stem $=?i\eta?$ (heavy $=?i:?\eta$ < $*=?in-?i$) with the zero-classifier also functions as the separate verb 'to look' [Li 1930: 75].

Bear River dialect: $=san\eta$, attested in the expression 'nothing I see' [Goddard 1929: 300].

Kato: Goddard 1912: 67, 73. The paradigm is irregular: $=s\partial s$ [imperf.] / $=c^han \sim =san\eta$ [perf.]. Polysemy: 'to see / to find'.

Distinct from the verb $=?i\eta?$ (< $*=?in-?$ [perf.]) 'to look (on, at, etc.)' [Goddard 1912: 60]. Perfective stem.

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 63; Hoijer 1956: 223; Landar 1977: 295. Paradigm: $=?i:$ [imperf.] / $=?i-?$ [perf.]. Polysemy: 'to look at / to see'.

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Not attested.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Not attested.

Inland Tanaina: Wassillie 1979: 86; Holton et al. 2004: 24. The root $=?an$ displays synchronous polysemy: 'to do (\acute{t} -classifier) / to have, possess (l -classifier) / to see (zero- or \acute{t} -classifier) / to look (\acute{t} -classifier)' [Wassillie 1979: 29, 49, 60, 86].

Iliamna Tanaina: Not attested.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 86, 583.

Lower Ahtena: $=\acute{t}=?e:n$ [Kari 1990: 86, 583].

Western Ahtena: $=\acute{t}=?e:n$ [Kari 1990: 86, 583].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 86, 583.

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 60, 123, 207. The meaning 'to look' is expressed by the same root or by $=^n t\acute{a}$ '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 $=\acute{z}\acute{i}$ 'to search for' [Rice 1978: 265, 408]. In [Hoijer 1956: 222], the root 'to see' is quoted as $=\acute{z}i$, which probably reflects archaic usage of $=\acute{z}\acute{i}$.

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 168, 225; Holton 2000: 351; Shinen 1958: 66. Paradigm: $=n=h=\acute{z}\acute{e}h$ [imperf.] / $=n=h=\acute{z}\acute{e}-\acute{z}$ [perf.]. Polysemy: 'to see / to look'. Initial $=n=$ is the thematic prefix, $=h=$ is the "classifier".

Synchronously distinct from the verb for 'to do': $=t'=t=\acute{z}\acute{e}$ [imperf.] / $=t'=t=\acute{z}-\acute{z}$ [perf.] with the abnormal root shape $V\acute{z}V$, thematic(?) $=t'=$ and the "classifier" $=t=$ [Arnold et al. 2009: 99; Holton 2000: 349] (different paradigm in [Holton 2000: 167, 270]).

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 32, 43, 105. Paradigm: $=\acute{z}ih$ [imperf.] / $=\acute{z}i-\acute{z}$ [perf.] / $=\acute{z}i-\acute{z}$ [fut.] / $=\acute{z}i-k$ [customary].

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 11, 470; Tuttle 2009: 174. In [Tuttle 2009], quoted as $=n=l=\acute{z}a$ \acute{z} . Polysemy: 'to see / to look'. Paradigm: $=\acute{z}a \acute{z}$ [imperf.] / $=\acute{z}an-\acute{z}$ [perf.] / $=\acute{z}i-\acute{z}$ [future] / $=\acute{z}i-y$ [customary].

Synchronously, the root coincides with $=t=\acute{z}a \acute{z}$ 'to do' [Kari 1994: 8].

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 890, 1218, 1248; Poser 2011a: 182; Antoine et al. 1974: 327.

Distinct from $=\acute{z}en$ 'to do', which is mostly used with the "classifiers" $t=$ or $t=$ [Poser 1998/2013: 673, 1218, 1248; Antoine et al. 1974: 305].

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 21, 999; Jones 1978: 139. Paradigm: $=\acute{z}a: \eta$ [imperf.] / $=\acute{z}a:n-\acute{z}$ [perf.]. The root possesses synchronic polysemy: 'to do, act thus to / to see / to look'.

Degexit'an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1976: 53; Chapman 1914: 220. Paradigm: $=t^{oh}a:-y$ [imperf.] / $=t^{oh}o: \eta$ [perf.]. It should be noted that the imperfective stem $=t^{oh}a:-y$ is only quoted in [Kari 1976: 53], not being confirmed by other sources.

This looks like the most basic and frequently used verb for 'to see', cf. some examples: "She saw it", "They saw a wolf", "Did you guys see my older brother?", "I didn't see a red fox", "We saw a moose with the binoculars", "He saw a pretty woman" [Taff et al. 2007], "He paddled all day, and again he saw another stake set up" [Chapman 1914: 116].

The second candidate is $=\acute{z}a: \eta$ [imperf.] / $=\acute{z}a:n-\acute{z}$ [perf.] with synchronic polysemy: 'to do / to see / to look' [Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1976: 6; Chapman 1914: 209]. Cf. some examples where $=\acute{z}a: \eta$ is translated as 'to see': "I saw him a while ago", "I saw an animal", "I saw a black bear", "I saw a caribou", "Twice I saw a whirlwind" "binoculars (lit.: far away in it we see)", "mirror (lit.: in it we see ourselves)" [Taff et al. 2007], "Just let him see it!" [Chapman 1914: 114].

It seems, however, that, firstly, $=\acute{z}a: \eta$ is more rarely used for the uncontrolled action 'to see' than $=t^{oh}a:-y$ / $=t^{oh}o: \eta$. Secondly, the main meaning of $=\acute{z}a: \eta$ is the controlled action 'to look'.

Cf. the following passages where $=\acute{z}a: \eta$ 'to look' is opposed to $=t^{oh}o: \eta$ 'to see': "Then he looked ($=\acute{z}a:n-\acute{z}$) about, and upward also, and saw ($=t^{oh}o: \eta$) a house" [Chapman 1914: 116], "Though I have been looking ($=\acute{z}a:n-\acute{z}$) all over the world', she said, 'I could see ($=t^{oh}o: \eta$) no one but you'" [Chapman 1914: 140]. Perfective.

Sarsi: Li 1930b: 16; Hoijer 1956: 222; Cook 1984: 241. Paradigm: $=\acute{z}ih \sim =\acute{z}in-$ [imperf.] / $=\acute{z}i \sim =\acute{z}in-$ [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 him see it)" [Cook 1984: 116], "I saw it", "was seen" [Cook 1984: 126], "He saw me (really)" [Cook 1984: 169], "I'm blind, cannot see" [Cook 1984: 221], "I'll go to see him" [Cook 1984: 287].

Cf. the cognate verb $=s=\acute{z}i \sim =s=\acute{z}in-$ [imperf.] / $=s=\acute{z}i:n$ [perf.] 'to look' [Li 1930b: 16]. Almost coincides with $=s=\acute{z}i \sim =s=\acute{z}in-$ [imperf., perf.] / $=s=\acute{z}i:n$ [perf.] 'to do, act' [Li 1930b: 19]. Cf. also $=t'i \sim =t'in-$ [imperf.] / $=t'i:n$ [perf.] (< $*=t=\acute{z}in$) 'to do, act' [Li 1930b: 19; Cook 1984: 241].

A second candidate is $=s=c^h\acute{a}h$ 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].

73. SEED

Hupa $POSSR=sa:y \sim POSSR=sa:y-\acute{z}$ (1), Mattole $POSSR=c^h\acute{a}i-\acute{z}$ (1), Taldash Galice $m=\acute{a}:se-\acute{z}$ (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina $POSSR=n=c'\acute{a}s-a$ (2), Outer Inlet Tanaina $POSSR=n=c'\acute{a}s-\acute{z}a$ (2), Inland

Tanaina POSSR=*n=c'as-a* (2), Iliamna Tanaina POSSR=*n=c'as-ʔa* (2), Central Ahtena *k'y'e=n=c'es-e?* (2), Mentasta Ahtena *k'y'e=n=c'es-e?* (2), Dogrib *t'ási: téhšé: wéçì:* (3), North Slavey (Hare) *t'á=h=sì yáríyìè* (3), Tanacross *ù=ní=h=t'ó'é?* (4), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) *n^dešy^e:* (5), Lower Tanana (Minto) *tən=t^{oh}a-?* (6), Central Carrier *hanlyeh=mai?* (7), Koyukon *pəc'əŋ k'ə=təŋəya:ʔ-ə* (8), Degexit'an *vəc'an xono:tya:l* (9).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 782; Golla 1996: 82; Golla 1964: 112. Originates from **=sa:yi-*. Glossed in [Golla 1996] as 'small seeds'.

Distinct from POSSR=*na-?* 'large seed, pit' [Golla 1996: 82], literally 'eye(s)' q.v.

Mattole: Li 1930: 131. Glossed as 'seeds'. Synchronically, can be analyzed as *=c^hai-?* or *=c^hai?*.

Bear River dialect: not attested.

Kato: Not attested.

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 53. Quoted by Hoijer as *mā:se?* without morpheme boundaries, although in light of external evidence, the most probable analysis is *m=ā:=se-?* 'its seed' with the possessive pronoun *m=* [Hoijer 1966: 321, 322]. However, the nasalized morpheme *=ā:=* remains unclear (the gender prefix *-n-?*).

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 62, 357; Kari 1977: 77.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 62, 357; Kari 1977: 77.

Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 62, 357; Kari 1977: 77.

Iliamna Tanaina: Kari 2007: 62, 357; Kari 1977: 77.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 411, 583; Kari & Buck 1975: 31; Smelcer 2010: 108.

Lower Ahtena: *k'y'e=n=c'es-e?* [Kari 1990: 411, 583; Kari & Buck 1975: 31; Smelcer 2010: 108].

Western Ahtena: *k'y'e=n=c'es-e?* [Kari 1990: 411, 583; Kari & Buck 1975: 31; Smelcer 2010: 108].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 411, 583; Kari & Buck 1975: 31; Smelcer 2010: 108.

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 99, 207. *t'ási: téhšé:* means 'things grow' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 15, 99]. *wéçì:* (or possessed *wé=çì:?*) is less clear, but it means 'seeds' in the collocation *k'àláč'oh wéçì:* 'fluffy seeds' [Saxon & Siemens n.d.].

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 99, 169. The collocation literally means 'things grow' with *t'á=h=sì* 'thing' (from *=sì* 'to make') and *=yìè* '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 *=t'ó'é?* is unclear.

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski, p.c. Morphologically unclear.

Scottie Creek: *min=t^{oh}e-?* ~ *min=t^{oh}è-?* 'seed', attested in the examples "berry seed" [John 1997: 57], "The silverberry has seeds" [John 1997: 60]. Literally 'stone of *min*', the meaning of *min* is unclear.

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 306, 470. Polysemy: 'seed / fruit stone'. Literally 'stone of *tən*', the meaning of *tən* is unclear, cf. *tən* 'land, terrain' [Kari 1994: 69].

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 168, 891; Poser 2011a: 182; Antoine et al. 1974: 102, 327. Literally 'growing berries': verbal form *ha=n.ɬ=yeh* 'it (plant) grows' + *mai* 'berry' [Poser 1998/2013: 288; Antoine et al. 1974: 147], borrowed from Gitksan (Tsimshianic) *ma:y?* 'berry, fruit'. Final *-?* in *hanlyeh=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 *hanlyeh=mai?* 'seed' as a "native" item.

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 698. A poorly documented item. The only known expression *pəc'əŋ k'ə=təŋəya:ʔ-ə* 'seeds' literally means 'some plant [occurs] from it' < *təŋəya:ʔ-ə* 'plants, vegetation, vegetable' (literally 'that which grows'), *=c'əŋ* 'from'.

For the Upper dialect, POSSR=*ən=ʔ^ha:* 'seed, pit' is quoted [Jetté & Jones 2000: 562] < *ʔ^ha:* 'stone' q.v.

Degexit'an: Kari 1978: 17. A poorly documented item. The only known expression *vəc'an xono:tya:l* 'seeds' literally means 'vegetation [occurs] from it' < *no:tyal* ~ *xu=no:tyal* 'vegetation' [Kari 1978: 17] (literally 'that which grows').

Sarsi: Not documented.

74. SIT

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 *=tá* (2), North Slavey (Hare) *=tà* (2), Tanacross *=táh* (2), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) *=tah* (2), Lower Tanana (Minto) *=tʌ* (2), Central Carrier *=ta* (2), Koyukon *=to:* (2), Degexit'an *=to:* (2), Sarsi *=tʏ* (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:=ʔe:ʔ* '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 *=ʔa:* [sg. subj.] / *=ʔe:ʔ* [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 *=c^hah ~ =c^ha:t* [imperf., sg. subj.] / *=ta:* ~ *=ta-y* [perf., sg. subj.] / *=tiʔ* [imperf., pl. subj.] / *=te:ʔ* [perf., pl. subj.], see [Golla 1996: 85-86; Sapir & Golla 2001: 734, 745]. The general meaning of *=ta:* ~ *=ta-y* is 'to stay, live' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 745; Golla 1996: 57, 90]; the general meaning of *=tiʔ* / *=te:ʔ* is 'to go, move' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 750]; on the contrary, the root *=c^hah ~ =c^ha:t* seems unattested outside the stems for 'to sit down' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 734].

Mattole: Li 1930: 85, 107. Suppletive verb *=c^ha:* [imperf.] / *=ta:* [light perf.] / *=tai* < **=ta-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 *=sa* / *=ta-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 *=ʔi:l* < **=ʔiʔ-i* [imperf.] / *=ʔi:lʔ* < **=ʔiʔ-lʔ-i* [perf.] 'to sit / to sit down / to stay', used with pl. subj. [Goddard 1912: 60].

There is also a rare verb *=sat*, 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. & pl. subj.

Distinct from the verb *=sat* [imperf.] / *=saʔ* < **=sat-ʔ* [perf.], glossed as 'to sit, take a seat' [Hoijer 1973: 70]. This verb is apparently more rare than *=ta:*; perhaps the basic meaning of *=sat* is specifically 'to sit down'.

Distinct from the verb *=k^hā:*, 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 *=tu*, although there is also a specific verb for 'to sit down': *=c^hut*, 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], *=tu* is treated as a classificatory verb 'to handle a single animate object'. Paradigm: *=tu* [imperf.] / *=tu-ʔ* [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 *=t=l=cⁱ* with polysemy: 'to sit / to stay', used with pl. subj. [Tenenbaum 1978: 233, 237 #48; Holton et al. 2004: 39].

Distinct from *=c^hut* / *=c^hʊʔ* [fut.] 'to sit down' [Wassillie 1979: 89; Tenenbaum 1978: 59].

Iliamna Tanaina: Not attested.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 132, 588.

Lower Ahtena: =ta: [Kari 1990: 132, 588].

Western Ahtena: =ta: [Kari 1990: 132, 588].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 132, 588.

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 117, 210. Polysemy: 'to be located / to sit / to stay'; applied to sg. subj.

Distinct from =k^hé 'to be located / to sit / to stay' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 105, 210], applied to dual. subj.

Distinct from =k^wé '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 =k^hiè 'to sit / to sit down' [Rice 1978: 367, 440], used with dual. subj.

Distinct from =t^wî 'to sit / to sit down' [Rice 1978: 361, 480], used with pl. subj.

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 235; Holton 2000: 160, 351; Shinen 1958: 56. Applied to sg. subj. Polysemy: 'to sit / to stay'

Distinct from =l^tθ^h 'to sit / to stay' [Arnold et al. 2009: 235; Holton 2000: 160, 351; Shinen 1958: 56], applied to pl. subj.

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 40, 106, 116. Paradigm: =tah [imperf.] / =ta-? [perf.] / =ta:-t̄ [fut.] / =ta:-k [customary].

Polysemy: 'to sit / to stay'. Applicable to both humans and animals. Probably used with sg. subj. only. For pl subj., the verb =l^tθ^h is quoted in [Milanowski 2009: 116].

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 76, 475; Tuttle 2009: 180. Paradigm: =t^h [imperf.] / =t^h-? [perf.] / =t^h-t̄ [fut.] / =t^h-y [customary].

Polysemy: 'to sit / to sit down / to stay'. Applicable to sg. subj.

Distinct from =l^tθ^hi 'to sit / to sit down / to stay' [Kari 1994: 317, 475; Tuttle 2009: 181] used with pl. subj.

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 906, 1219, 1250; Poser 2011a: 188; Antoine et al. 1974: 329. Polysemy: 'to sit / to sit down / to stay'.

Applicable to sg. subj.

Distinct from =k^he 'to sit / to be located', used with dual. subj. [Poser 1998/2013: 906, 1221, 1255].

Distinct from =t^hçⁱ 'to sit / to be located', used with pl. subj. [Poser 1998/2013: 906, 1223, 1263].

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 139, 1007; Jones & Kwaraceius 1997: 44. Paradigm: =to: [imperf.] / =to:-? [perf.]. Polysemy: 'to sit / to sit down / to stay / to dwell'. Applicable to sg. & dual. subj.

Distinct from =l^tλⁱ: 'to sit / to sit down / to stay / to dwell' used with pl. subj. [Jetté & Jones 2000: 593; Jones & Kwaraceius 1997: 90].

Degexit'an: Taff et al. 2007; Chapman 1914: 226. Polysemy: 'to sit / to sit down / to stay / to dwell'. Applicable to sg. subj.

Distinct from =t^he: 'to sit / to sit down / to stay / to dwell' used with pl. subj. [Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1976: 59; Chapman 1914: 220].

Sarsi: Li 1930b: 18; Hoijer 1956: 223; Cook 1984: 144. Paradigm: =t^h [imperf.] / =t^h-? [perf.], meaning 'to sit'. Cf. the active sub-paradigm with the meaning 'to sit down': =t^h [imperf.] / =t^h [perf.] [Cook 1984: 144]. Used with sg. subj.

Distinct from =V=cⁱ [imperf.] / =V=cⁱ-? [perf.] 'to sit', =V=c^h [imperf.] / =V=c^h [perf.] 'to sit down' [Li 1930b: 24; Cook 1984: 144], used with pl. subj.

Distinct from =c^hÿ? ~ =c^hÿt- [imperf.] / =c^hÿ? ~ =c^hÿt- [perf.] 'to sit down quickly' [Li 1930b: 23].

75. SKIN

Hupa *POSSR=sic*' (1), Mattole *POSSR=t'a:s-e?* (2) / *POSSR=c^he?s* (1), Kato *POSSR=səc* (1), Taldash Galice *POSSR=š*i**: (3), Upper Inlet Tanaina *POSSR=yəs* (4), Outer Inlet Tanaina *POSSR=yəs* (4), Inland Tanaina *POSSR=yəs* (4), Iliamna Tanaina *POSSR=yəs* (4), Central Ahtena *POSSR=zes* (5) / *POSSR=cⁱ:s* (6), Mentasta Ahtena *POSSR=zes* (5) / *POSSR=cⁱ:s* (6), Dogrib *POSSR=k^{hw}ò* (7) / *POSSR=wò* (5), North Slavey (Hare) *POSSR=t'úw-é?* (8), Tanacross *POSSR=θéθ* (5), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) *POSSR=θuh* (5), Lower Tanana (Minto) *POSSR=ðəθ*

(5), Central Carrier *POSSR*=zʌz (5), Koyukon *POSSR*=lɔʔ (5), Degexit'an *POSSR*=qʰo:G (9), Sarsi *yì=s=ʌʊ* ~ *yì=s=ʌā* (10).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 783; Golla 1996: 86; Golla 1964: 112. Polysemy: 'bark / human skin / hide'.

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*=n'a:g-eʔ t'a:s-eʔ and compound *POSSR*=naʔ-cʰeʔs (the first element is *POSSR*=n'a:g-eʔ ~ =naʔ- 'eye' q.v.). We treat these terms as synonyms.

Bear River dialect: *POSSR*=l:ahan:e 'skin' [Goddard 1929: 320], an unclear form. Li 1930: 131.

Kato: Goddard 1912: 15, 22. Also used in the expression for 'bark' q.v. Note the de-ejectivization -c < *c'.

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 60. Polysemy: 'human skin / animal hide / bark'.

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 86, 358; Kari 1977: 95.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 86, 358; Kari 1977: 95.

Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 86, 358; Kari 1977: 95; Wassillie 1979: 89.

Iliamna Tanaina: Kari 2007: 86, 358; Kari 1977: 95.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 459, 589; Kari & Buck 1975: 60; Smelcer 2010: 44. **Lower Ahtena:** *POSSR*=zes [Kari 1990: 459, 589; Kari & Buck 1975: 60; Smelcer 2010: 44].

Western Ahtena: *POSSR*=zes [Kari 1990: 459, 589; Kari & Buck 1975: 60; Smelcer 2010: 44]. Kari 1990: 414, 589; Kari & Buck 1975: 60.

Lower Ahtena: *POSSR*=c'i:s [Kari 1990: 414, 589; Kari & Buck 1975: 60].

Western Ahtena: *POSSR*=c'i:s [Kari 1990: 414, 589; Kari & Buck 1975: 60].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 459, 589; Kari & Buck 1975: 60; Smelcer 2010: 44. Kari 1990: 414, 589; Kari & Buck 1975: 60.

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 44, 210.

There are two documented terms for 'skin': *POSSR*=kʰwò with polysemy: 'flesh (both human and animal) / human skin' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 44], and *POSSR*=wò 'skin' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 47]. Both are applicable to humans, as follows from the animate possessive kó=. For *POSSR*=kʰwò 'human skin', cf. the found example: "My skin is itchy" [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 37]. The second one - *POSSR*=wò - also represents the basic word for 'animal hide', cf. é=wò 'caribou hide', lit. 'its hide' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 37], cʰ-wò 'muskrat skin' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 23], káh-wò 'rabbit skin' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 39], nókè-wò 'fox skin' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 85]. We treat *POSSR*=kʰwò and *POSSR*=wò as synonyms. Saxon & Siemens 1996: 47. Polysemy: 'human skin / animal hide'.

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 99, 170. Polysemy: 'skin / bark'.

Distinct from *POSSR*=wé-ʔ 'hide, skin, leather' [Rice 1978: 105, 144], which is apparently applicable specifically to animals.

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 235; Holton 2000: 347; Brean & Milanowski 1979: 3; McRoy 1973: 2; Shinen 1958: 3. Polysemy: 'human skin / animal hide'.

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 25, 70. Applicable to both humans and animals. Polysemy: 'skin / bark' q.v.

Northway: *POSSR*=θuuh 'skin' [Milanowski 2007: 16].

Scottie Creek: *POSSR*=θuuh 'skin' [John 1997: 16].

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 90, 475; Tuttle 2009: 181. A generic term, applicable to humans and animals. Polysemy: 'skin / belt'.

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 590, 909; Poser 2011a: 189; Antoine et al. 1974: 56, 329. Generic term applicable to humans, mammals and fishes.

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 392, 1007; Jones 1978: 149. Generic term glossed with polysemy: 'skin of human or animal, hide, pelt / peeling / wrapper / sheath / cover / belt / tarpaulin'.

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].

Distinct from δəθ 'animal skin, hide' [Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 60; Chapman 1914: 213, 219], alienable possession. Cf.

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=*la:q'a:ð*, glossed simply as 'skin' in [Kari 1978: 32] (*la: ?*). This word is attested in [Chapman 1914: 228] as simply POSSR=*q'a:ð* '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'a:ð* means specifically 'fur-skin' in Chapman's texts. Apparently the same word is attested in [Taff et al. 2007] as POSSR=*le:q'a:ð* '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]; *=s=* is not entirely clear.

76. SLEEP

Hupa =*waj* (1), Mattole =*la:t* (2), Kato =*la:t* (2), Taldash Galice =*la:t* (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 *na:t-...-t-l-?e:n* (4), Mentasta Ahtena *na:t-...-t-l-?e:n* (4), Dogrib =*t^hi* (5), North Slavey (Hare) =*t=t^hi* (5), Tanacross =*t^hẽ:* (5), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) =*t^hi:* (5), Lower Tanana (Minto) =*t^ha-n* (5), Central Carrier =*t^hi* (5), Koyukon *pət-...-l-t^həŋ* (6), Degexit'an *vət-AUX* (6), Sarsi =*t^hih* (5).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 792; Golla 1996: 86. In [Golla 1996], quoted as =*waj*. The perfective root variant is =*wa:n* < =*wan-?i*. As analyzed in [Sapir & Golla 2001: 721, 758], the normal expression for 'to sleep' originates from *OBJ-*k^{hy}i-(w)-wan*, which literally means 'there is a sleep (*wan*) for X'. The element *-k^{hy}i-* is not clear, however [Sapir & Golla 2001: 758].

Cf. the distinct noun *mit* '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: =*la:t* 'to sleep' [Goddard 1929: 320; Li 1930: 3].

Kato: Goddard 1912: 63. The heavy stem is =*lal* < *=*la:t-i*. Glossed as 'to sleep, to dream'.

Distinct from the verb =*yal* 'to be sleepy' [Goddard 1912: 61], the morphological structure is the same as in the case of Hupa =*waj* 'to sleep': 'there is a sleepiness (*yal*) 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 =*la:l*.

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 101, 358.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 101, 358.

Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 101, 358; Wassillie 1979: 89; Tenenbaum 1978: 65-66.

Iliamna Tanaina: Kari 2007: 101, 358.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 84, 590.

Lower Ahtena: *na:t-...-t-l-?e:n* [Kari 1990: 84, 590].

Western Ahtena: *na:t-...-t-l-?e:n* [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 =*t^hé* '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 *^mpé(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 =l=yà is used with polysemy: 'to sleep / to stand' [Rice 1978: 334, 481, 535].
 Distinct from =h=xìè [imperf.] / =h=xì [perf.] 'to be sleepy' [Rice 1978: 209, 435].
- Tanacross:** Arnold et al. 2009: 237; Holton 2000: 351; Shinen 1958: 56. Paradigm: =t^hè: [imperf.] / =t^hé-? [perf.]. Used with sg. subj.
 Distinct from =h=t^hè:c 'to sleep' [Arnold et al. 2009: 237; Holton 2000: 351; Shinen 1958: 56], used with pl. subj.
- Upper Tanana (Tetlin):** Milanowski 2009: 54, 106, 120. Used with sg. subj. Paradigm: =t^hĩ: [imperf.] / =t^he-? [perf.] / =t^he:-ĩ [fut.] / =t^he:-k [customary].
 With pl. subj., the verb =h=t^hiat 'to sleep' is used [Milanowski 2009: 54, 106].
- Lower Tanana (Minto):** Kari 1994: 229, 476; Tuttle 2009: 182. Paradigm: =t^ha- i [neuter imperf.] / =t^ha-? [neuter perf.] / =t^ha-y [momentaneous imperf.] / =t^ha- i [momentaneous perf.]. Polysemy: 'to lie / to lie down / to recline / to sleep'. Applicable to sg. anim. subj.
 Distinct from =t^hac [neuter imperf.] / =t^haš [momentaneous imperf.] / =t^hac [momentaneous perf.] 'to lie / to recline / to sleep' used with pl. anim. subj. [Kari 1994: 232].
 Distinct from the substantive bət 'sleep' [Kari 1994: 35].
- Central Carrier:** Poser 1998/2013: 910, 1222, 1259; Poser 2011a: 191; Antoine et al. 1974: 329. Paradigm: =t^hi [imperf.] / =t^he-? [perf.]. Polysemy: 'to lie / to lie down / to sleep'. Used with sg. & dual. subj.
 Distinct from =t^hez 'to lie / to lie down / to sleep', used with pl. subj. [Poser 1998/2013: 910, 1222, 1259].
 Distinct from the baby-talk verb =k'o? 'to sleep' (any subj.) [Poser 1998/2013: 910, 1221, 1256].
 Distinct from the substantive pət 'sleep, dream' [Poser 1998/2013: 94].
- Koyukon:** Jetté & Jones 2000: 511, 1009; Jones 1978: 150. Apparently used with both sg. & pl. subj. Literally 'to t^hə ŋ the sleep' with the noun pət 'sleep, sleepiness, trance' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 95].
 Distinct from =cət with polysemy: 'to lie / to lie down / to sleep', used with pl. subj. [Jetté & Jones 2000: 173; Jones & Kwaraceius 1997: 88].
 Distinct from =t^ha:- i / =t^ha:-? '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 vət '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 =t^həŋ [Kari 1976: 46], as in "Did you sleep well?" [Taff et al. 2007], or something else.
 Distinct from the verb =dət, 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 =t^ha: ŋ '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; Hoijer 1956: 223; Cook 1984: 140. Ablaut paradigm: =t^hih [imperf.] / =t^hah [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=t^ház [imperf., perf.] / =V=t^ház ~ =V=t^hác- 'to lie / to sleep / several living beings are in position' [Li 1930b: 19; Cook 1984: 140].

77. SMALL

Hupa =kiye? ~ =kiye?-c ~ =kiy?-c (1), Mattole =k'ow' (2), Kato POSSR=yasč-c (3), Taldash Galice ?i=s=t'am? (4), Outer Inlet Tanaina qwa (5), Inland Tanaina =t=c^hək' (6) / quya (5), Central Ahtena =t=c^hi?-i (6) / qa:y (5), Mentasta Ahtena =t=c^hik^y-i (6) / qa:y (5), Dogrib =č^hà-lé ~ =č^hà-lé-á (7), North Slavey (Hare) =səl-è (8), Tanacross kà:y (5) / n=c^hû:L ~ n=c^hêL (8), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) ka:y (5) / n=c^hu:l (8), Lower Tanana (Minto) =c^həλ'-ā (8), Central

Carrier =*t'nm* (-1) / =*c^hul* (8), Koyukon =*kuc-ə* (9), Degexit'an *k'əʒ* (10), Sarsi =*c^hiλ'-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 =*keʔk-i-c* ~ =*keʔk^y-i-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^y > k* in both forms; the final element *-c* is the widely applicable diminutive suffix *-č(i)* [Golla 1970: 261] also with the symbolic shift *č > c* [Golla 1970: 44, 263].

It is unclear whether the adverb *mi=ne:k^y-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:m* '(animal's) young' according to [Sapir & Golla 2001: 805; Golla 1996: 81 sub '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 =*ya:x* 'small (subst.)' [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=*yaš-c*, literally 'X's its small'. Cf., e.g., *se u:=yaš-c* 'small stone' [Goddard 1909: 76 No. 10, 89 No. 15-16], *t^ho:nai o:=yaš-c* 'small fish' [Goddard 1909: 91 No. 1], *o:=yaš-c šahna?* 'small creeks' [Goddard 1909: 91 No. 10], *č'i:pe u:=yaš-c* 'small firs' [Goddard 1909: 93 No. 4] (opposed to =*č^hah* 'big [firs]' in the next phrase), etc. Originally POSSR=*yaš-c* 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 =*t'am?* 'to be small' seems unattested outside this expression). Cf. the variant *?i=š=t'am?* 'small, young' in [Jacobs 1968: 184 No. 10], which might be more archaic. In [Hoijer 1956: 223], quoted as *?ist'an?*, in [Landar 1977: 295], as *?iš't'an?* - 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) *šla*, attested in the expressions 'little friend (euphemistic name for wolverine)' [Boraas 2010: 39] and *k^hi-šla* 'a little more' (with the adverb/adjective *k^hi* 'more; another') [Boraas 2010: 43].

Inland Tanaina: Wassillie 1979: 90. Verb: 'to be small'. Applied to humans, areas, houses [Wassillie 1979: 90], cameras [Wassillie 1979: 17], gravel [Wassillie 1979: 46], block plane (tool) [Wassillie 1979: 75], rodents [Wassillie 1979: 88], sandpipers [Wassillie 1979: 84].

A second expression for 'small, little' is the noun-like adjective *quya* [Wassillie 1979: 57; Holton et al. 2004: 11], applied to babies (lit. 'small child') [Wassillie 1979: 6], winter birds [Wassillie 1979: 11], bulls ("yearling bull") [Wassillie 1979: 18], lambs [Wassillie 1979: 57], mice [Wassillie 1979: 66], dolls [Wassillie 1979: 30], creek [Wassillie 1979: 26, 81], island [Wassillie 1979: 54], lake [Wassillie 1979: 109], tree [Tenenbaum 1978: 160].

We treat =*t=č^hək* and *quya* as synonyms.

Distinct from the noun-like adjective (or the suffix) *šla*, 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-šla* '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: =*t=c^hiʔ-i* [Kari 1990: 392, 591].

Western Ahtena: =*t=c^hik^y-i* [Kari 1990: 392, 591]. Kari 1990: 191, 591.

Lower Ahtena: qa:y [Kari 1990: 191, 591].

Western Ahtena: qa:y [Kari 1990: 191, 591].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 392, 591. Kari 1990: 191, 591.

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 42, 80, 211; Marinakis et al. 2007: 154. Innovative pronunciation: =*c^hā-lé-(á)*. Verbal expression 'not to be big' with =*č^hā* 'to be big' q.v. and the negation *-lé* q.v. The optional *-á* is the diminutive suffix, see below.

=*č^hā-lé-(á)* 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 & Siemens 1996: 16], "The houses are both too small" [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 55], "small building" [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 58], "The puppy is small" [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 80].

Cf. the very common and productive diminutive suffix *-á* (*-ã* 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 *=sèl-è* 'to be small' or the noun-like adjective *sèl-è* 'small'.

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 239; Holton 2000: 31, 294.

Two expressions for 'small' are quoted in [Arnold et al. 2009: 239; Holton 2000: 294]: the noun-like adjective *kà:y* 'small' ("marten eat birds and small animals", "what a small amount!" [Arnold et al. 2009: 239], "the small boy is playing" [Holton 2000: 293]) and the verbal forms *n=c^hû:Ë* ~ *n=c^hêË* '(it is) small' ("mice are small" [Arnold et al. 2009: 239], "small house" [Holton 2000: 227]). We have to treat them as synonyms. Arnold et al. 2009: 239; Holton 2000: 227, 294, 352; Shinen 1958: 20. In [Holton 2000: 227], transcribed as *n=c^hû:l*. Initial *n=* is the adjectival/gender exponent [Holton 2000: 237 ff.].

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 17.

Two Tetlin expressions for 'small' are documented: the noun-like adjective *ka:y* with polysemy: 'small, little / young' [Milanowski 2009: 17] and verbal *n=c^hu:l* with polysemy: 'small / short' [Milanowski 2009: 22], *=c^hu:l* '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.

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 285, 477; Tuttle 2009: 183. Verbal stem: 'to be small'. Also functions as noun-like adjectives: *c^hòλ'-ã* 'small', *c^hòλ-a* 'small' [Kari 1994: 286]. Final *-ã* expresses negative dimensional semantics, see notes on 'not'. Cf. Kari's examples: "the sticks are small", "the prices are cheap", "small sled".

The second candidate is the noun-like adjective *ka* [Kari 1994: 114], an irregularly reduced form of the root *ka:y*, also attested in the substantivized adjective *ka:y-a?* 'young, baby or yearling animal' [Kari 1994: 114] (*-a?* is the adjective suffix). Cf. Kari's examples for *ka* 'small': 'small sled', 'baby boy', 'beaver kit'.

Since only *=c^hòλ'-ã* is quoted in [Tuttle 2009: 183] for English 'small', we assume that *ka* is a more rare and marginal word.

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 912, 1222, 1261. Apparently borrowed from Babine *=t'əm?* 'to be small'.

There are two main candidates for the meaning '(to be) small' in Central Carrier:

1) *=t'əm* 'to be small, little' [Poser 1998/2013: 912, 1222, 1261]. Cf. some of the numerous examples: "The ant is small and a good worker" [Antoine et al. 1974: 1], "We see mostly small whirlwinds" [Antoine et al. 1974: 3], "That man is small but very muscular" [Antoine et al. 1974: 41], "A small portion of devil's club is used to mix with herb medicines" [Antoine et al. 1974: 105], "The smaller boat took less freight in it" [Antoine et al. 1974: 110], "They gave me some small pups" [Antoine et al. 1974: 137], "The small room was built (joined) onto the house" [Antoine et al. 1974: 139].

2) *=c^hul* '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=c^hul*)" [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 *=t'əm* can be more frequently used than *=c^hul* (Bill Poser, p.c., confirms it). Nevertheless, we treat both items as synonyms, since *=t'əm* appears to be a loan from the neighboring Babine language, being unknown to other Carrier varieties (Bill Poser, p.c.).

Distinct from the diminutive suffix *-yaz* ~ *-ya* [Poser 1998/2013: 549, 556]. Cf. some stems with it: *t'ame-yaz* 'boy (up to about 12 years of age)' (literally 'little man') [Poser 1998/2013: 142], *c'ek^he-yaz* 'girl' (literally 'little woman') [Poser 1998/2013: 489], *ta't'ai-yaz* 'little bird' [Poser 1998/2013: 148]. Poser 1998/2013: 912, 1223, 1262; Poser 2011a: 191.

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 *=c^hòλ-ə* 'to be small, little' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 636] is used instead.

Distinct from the noun-like adjective *yo:z-ə* ~ *yo:s* 'small / young' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 715], whose normal meaning is 'young' (applicable to humans and animals). Cf. substantivized *yo:s* 'fetus, childbirth; young animal or waterfowl' [Jetté &

Jones 2000: 715].

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 =sʰʌ'-ə '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 c^hiʰʌ'-á 'small' [Cook 1984: 67]. 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 =c^hiʰʌ'-āā 'to be small' [Li 1930b: 25; Nanagusja 1996a: 129], but without textual evidence.

78. SMOKE

Hupa *ʰit* (1), Mattole *ʰih* (1), Kato *ʰət* (1), Taldash Galice *ʰat* (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina *ta=s=kət-i* (2), Outer Inlet Tanaina *ta=s=kət-i* (2), Inland Tanaina *ta=s=kət-i* (2), Iliamna Tanaina *ta=s=kət-i* (2), Central Ahtena *ʰet* (1), Mentasta Ahtena *ʰet* (1), Dogrib *ʰó* (1), North Slavey (Hare) *lè* (1), Tanacross *ʰèt* (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) *ʰat* (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) *ʰət* (1), Central Carrier *ʰat* (1), Koyukon *ʰət* (1), Degexit'an *ʰət* (1), Sarsi *ʰʰit-* (1).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 766; Golla 1996: 87; Golla 1964: 117. The same root as =*lit* 'to burn' q.v.

Mattole: Li 1930: 132. Regularly originates from **ʰit* [Li 1930: 20].

Bear River dialect: *ʰat* ~ *ʰat* ~ *ʰit* 'smoke' [Goddard 1929: 320].

Kato: Goddard 1912: 19; Curtis 1924: 205. The same root as =*lat* 'to burn' q.v.

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 61; Hoijer 1956: 223; Landar 1977: 295. Polysemy: 'smoke / gun powder'. Cf. the cognate verb =*lat* 'to burn up (intrans.)' [Hoijer 1973: 72].

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 249, 358; Kari 1977: 132.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 249, 358; Kari 1977: 132.

Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 249, 358; Kari 1977: 132; Wassillie 1979: 91.

Iliamna Tanaina: Kari 2007: 249, 358; Kari 1977: 132.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 278, 591; Kari & Buck 1975: 98; Smelcer 2010: 67.

Lower Ahtena: *ʰet* [Kari 1990: 278, 591; Kari & Buck 1975: 98; Smelcer 2010: 67].

Western Ahtena: *ʰet* [Kari 1990: 278, 591; Kari & Buck 1975: 98; Smelcer 2010: 67].

Mentasta 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=*lér-é?*.

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 240; Holton 2000: 347; Brean & Milanowski 1979: 12; McRoy 1973: 7; Shinen 1958: 13. Also functions as a verb: =*h-ʰèt* 'to smoke' as in "he is smoking a skin (part of tanning process)" [Arnold et al. 2009: 240].

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 20, 83.

Northway: *ʰat* 'smoke' [Milanowski 2007: 16].

Scottie Creek: *ʰət* 'smoke' [John 1997: 34].

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 180, 477; Tuttle 2009: 185. Quoted as *lat* by Kari. Polysemy: 'smoke / cigarette'.

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 283, 913; Poser 2011a: 192; Antoine et al. 1974: 146, 330.

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 396, 1011; Jones 1978: 153. Cf. the cognate verb =*ʰət* 'to become singed' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 396].

Degexit'an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 51.

Sarsi: Hoijer & Joël 1963: 68; Hoijer 1956: 223. Paradigm: *ʰʰi* / POSSR=*ʰʰit-ʰ?*.

79. STAND

Hupa =*ye:n* (1), Mattole =*yi:n* (1), Kato =*yinj* (1), Taldash Galice =*ke?* (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) =*wè* (3), Tanacross *ná=...=θèt* (3), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) *n^da=...=θat* (3), Lower Tanana (Minto) *n=...=ðat* (3), Central Carrier =*yin* (1), Koyukon =*ha:-ŋ* (1), Degexit'an *ntə=...=ðat* (3), Sarsi *nà=...=zít-* (3).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 806; Golla 1996: 90; Golla 1970: 189. Originates from =*ye:n-i*. Used with animated sg. subj. For animated pl. subj. the root =*ya:* is used instead [Sapir & Golla 2001: 804; Golla 1996: 90].

Distinct from =*no:* '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 =*k'ai*, which is glossed as 'to stand' in [Li 1930: 106], although all the examples point to the active meaning 'to stand up'; distinct from =*t^ha:t* [imperf.] / =*t^ha:ʔ* (< *=*t^ha:l-ʔ-i*) [perf.] with polysemy: 'to move one's foot / to stand up / to kick' [Li 1930: 57, 89].

Bear River dialect: not attested. Cf. =*k'ai* '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 =*kiʔ*, the default verb for 'to stand'. In [Hoijer 1973], glossed as 'to stand up straight, have an erect posture'.

Distinct from the active intransitive =*t^ha:t* [imperf.] / =*t^ha:ʔ* [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.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Boraas 2010: 21. Attested examples: "Pete is standing beside Albert" [Boraas 2010: 21], "stand straight up" [Boraas 2010: 48], "his friend is standing out in the open" [Boraas 2010: 48].

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=č^hit* / =*l=č^hat* '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.

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 79, 214. Used with sg. & dual. subj. (only inanimate?). Polysemy: 'to stand / to live / to stay'. Initial *nà=* is an adverbial prefix [Marinakis et al. 2007: 102] (perhaps the same adverbial prefix as *ná=* 'again, repeatedly' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 72; Marinakis et al. 2007: 103]).

Distinct from *nà=...=žá* 'to stand', used with pl. subj. (both inanimate and animate) [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 77].

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 317, 475, 538. Used with sg. & dual. animate subj.

With pl. subj., the verb =*l=yà* shows polysemy: 'to sleep / to stand' [Rice 1978: 311, 481, 538].

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 251; Holton 2000: 160, 352. Used with sg. subj. Initial *ná=* is a "thematic" prefix.

Distinct from *ná=...=t^ex* 'to stand' [Arnold et al. 2009: 251; Holton 2000: 160, 352], used with pl. subj.

Distinct from the specific verbs for 'to stand up': sg. subj. =*t=š^hâh*, pl. subj. =*t=tè:λ* [Arnold et al. 2009: 251-252].

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 55, 107.

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 90, 484; Tuttle 2009: 194. Initial *n=* is a "thematic" prefix. Polysemy: 'to stand / to stand up'.

Applicable to sg. & dual. subj.

Distinct from *n=...=tax* 'to stand / to stand up' [Kari 1994: 61, 484; Tuttle 2009: 194] used with pl. subj. < classificatory verb *=tax* 'pl. experience event involving abstract process (time, environment, emotion)' [Kari 1994: 60].

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 928, 1224, 1264; Poser 2011a: 199; Antoine et al. 1974: 331. Polysemy: 'to stand / to stand up'.

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 279, 1021; Jones 1978: 160; Jones & Kwaraceius 1997: 44. Paradigm: *=ha:- ɿ* [imperf.] / *=ha:-ʔ* [perf.]. Polysemy: 'to stand / to stand up'. Applicable to sg. & dual. subj.

Distinct from *=l=yo:* 'to stand / to stand up' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 408, 1021; Jones 1978: 160; Jones & Kwaraceius 1997: 93] used with pl. subj.

Degexit'an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1976: 13; Chapman 1914: 219. Polysemy: 'to stand / to stand up'. Used with sg. subj. Cf. some examples: "He's standing on the bank", "Who's standing by the doorway?", "A moose is standing on the trail", "A person is standing over there" [Taff et al. 2007].

Distinct from *=l=yo:* '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].

Sarsi: Cook 1984: 214; Hoijer 1956: 223. Missing from [Li 1930b]. Paradigm: *=ziʔ ~ =zit-* [imperf.] / *=ziʔ ~ =zit-* [perf.]. Used with sg. subj.

Distinct from *=V=ɣá* 'to stand / to camp' [Li 1930b: 17], used with pl. subj.

80. STAR

Hupa *c^hiŋʔ* (1), Mattole *c^hiŋʔ* (1), Kato *ko:yani:ʔ ~ ko:yaneʔ* (2), Taldash Galice *sanʔ* (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina *sin ~ sən ~ səm* (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina *sin ~ səm* (1), Inland Tanaina *sin ~ səm ~ sim* (1), Iliamna Tanaina *sin ~ səm* (1), Central Ahtena *sōʔ* (1), Mentasta Ahtena *sōʔ* (1), Dogrib *mō* (1), North Slavey (Hare) *wēʔ* (1), Tanacross *sénʔ* (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) *sanʔ* (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) *sənʔ* (1), Central Carrier *sum* (1), Koyukon *ʃ^hu:nʔ* (1), Degexit'an *t^θh:e:nʔ* (1), Sarsi *sùh* (1).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 736; Golla 1996: 90; Golla 1964: 113.

Mattole: Li 1930: 131.

Bear River dialect: *c^hiŋʔ ~ seŋʔ ~ sanʔ* '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:yani:ʔ ~ ko:yaneʔ*. 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 ʔanc ~ sən ʔans* - name of a specific star or constellation [Goddard 1912: 31; Goddard 1909: 101 No. 13].

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 58. In [Hoijer 1956: 223], inaccurately quoted as *ya=san*.

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 150, 358; Kari 1977: 136.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 150, 358; Kari 1977: 136.

Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 150, 358; Kari 1977: 136; Wassillie 1979: 95.

Iliamna Tanaina: Kari 2007: 150, 358; Kari 1977: 136.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 464, 598; Kari & Buck 1975: 88; Smelcer 2010: 126.

Lower Ahtena: *sōʔ* [Kari 1990: 464, 598; Kari & Buck 1975: 88; Smelcer 2010: 126].

Western Ahtena: *sonʔ* [Kari 1990: 464, 598; Kari & Buck 1975: 88; Smelcer 2010: 126].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 464, 598; Kari & Buck 1975: 88; Smelcer 2010: 126.

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 118, 214.

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 106, 173; Hoijer 1956: 222. Polysemy: 'star / wart'.

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 252; Holton 2000: 347; Brean & Milanowski 1979: 12; McRoy 1973: 6; Shinen 1958: 14. It should be noted that the etymologically expected Tanacross form should be ***θén?*; initial *s-* can be influenced on the part of Ahtena *son?* ~ *sō?* 'star' (cf. [Holton 2000: 143] for lexical borrowing from Ahtena into Tanacross).

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 22, 79.

Northway: *san?* 'star' [Milanowski 2007: 17].

Scottie Creek: *sòn?* 'star' [John 1997: 66].

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 346, 484; Tuttle 2009: 195.

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 443, 928; Poser 2011a: 200; Antoine et al. 1974: 209, 331.

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 585, 1021; Jones 1978: 160.

Degexit'an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 45.

Sarsi: Hoijer & Joël 1963: 67; Hoijer 1956: 223.

81. STONE

Hupa *c^he:* (1), Mattole *c^he:* ~ *se:* (1), Kato *se* (1), Taldash Galice *se:* (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina *q^ha=ʔ=nik-i* (2), Outer Inlet Tanaina *q^ha=ʔ=nik-i* (2), Inland Tanaina *q^ha=ʔ=nik-i* (2), Iliamna Tanaina *q^ha=ʔ=nik-i* ~ *q^ha=n=ʔ=nik-i* (2), Central Ahtena *c^hes* (3), Mentasta Ahtena *c^hes* (3), Dogrib *k^hwé* (1), North Slavey (Hare) *fê* (1), Tanacross *t^hè:* (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) *t^he:* (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) *t^ha-k'ona?* ~ *t^ha* (1), Central Carrier *ç^he* (1), Koyukon *lə=ʔo:n-a* (4), Degexit'an *no:=q^ho:q-əy* (5), Sarsi *c^húh-* (1).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 735; Golla 1996: 79; Golla 1964: 113.

Mattole: Li 1930: 131.

Bear River dialect: *se* 'stone' [Goddard 1929: 321].

Kato: Goddard 1912: 20.

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 58; Hoijer 1956: 223; Landar 1977: 295. In [Hoijer 1956], quoted as *sei*.

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 144, 359; Kari 1977: 123.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 144, 359; Kari 1977: 123.

Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 144, 359; Kari 1977: 123; Wassillie 1979: 82.

Iliamna Tanaina: Kari 2007: 144, 359; Kari 1977: 123.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 410, 600; Kari & Buck 1975: 81; Smelcer 2010: 98.

Lower Ahtena: *c^hes* [Kari 1990: 410, 600; Kari & Buck 1975: 81; Smelcer 2010: 98].

Western Ahtena: *c^hes* [Kari 1990: 410, 600; Kari & Buck 1975: 81; Smelcer 2010: 98].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 410, 600; Kari & Buck 1975: 81; Smelcer 2010: 98.

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 64, 216.

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 53, 174; Hoijer 1956: 222. Hoijer quotes the 19th c. archaic variant [*kfwε*]. Cf. the example: "he hit the bird with a stone" [Rice 1989: 302].

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 217, 255; Holton 2000: 346; Brean & Milanowski 1979: 12; Shinen 1958: 14.

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 25, 82.

Northway: *t^he:* 'stone' [Milanowski 2007: 17].

Scottie Creek: *t^he:* 'stone' [John 1997: 48].

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 170, 306, 486; Tuttle 2009: 196. The collocation *t^ha-k'ona?* literally means 'burnt stone' (the verb =*k'a ŋ* 'to burn' q.v., participle *k'un-a?*). It is proposed by Kari as the generic term for an average-size stone, cf. Kari's gloss: 'rock, stone (generic / that can be handled), steambath rock, cooking rock' with further explanation: "the importance of rocks as cooking stones is reflected in this compound".

Simple *t^{oh}a* 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: *δɔ=ʔo-n-i* [Kari 1994: 19], *baš* [Kari 1994: 34].

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 503, 875; Poser 2011a: 202; Antoine et al. 1974: 233, 326. A generic term for stones, cf. the examples: "Long ago they made arrowheads out of rocks" [Poser 1998/2013: 503], "The beaver makes his house of stones, sticks and mud" [Antoine et al. 1974: 27], "A kidney stone became lodged in the urinary tract" [Antoine et al. 1974: 35], "Old fashioned moosehide scrapers were made of stone" [Antoine et al. 1974: 59], "The (round) stone is large" [Poser 1998/2013: 357].

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 43, 1023; Jones 1978: 162. Generic term with polysemy: 'stone / boulder / tempered steel'. Literally 'compact object that is in position' < the generic classificatory verb =ʔo: '(compact) object is in position' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 40].

Distinct from the old term *λ^ha*: 'boulder / rocky cliff, bluff' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 561]. As explained by Jetté, *λ^ha*: "contrasts with *lɔʔo:nə* 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 *no:=q^ho:q-əy* 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 *no:=q^ho:y*, 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 *no:=q^ho:y c^huχ* 'big stone': "There are lots of big rocks", "A big rock was put in the road". This can imply that *no:=q^ho:y* has a more specific meaning than simply 'stone'. It must be noted that *no:=q^ho:y* is quoted in [Kari 1978: 43] as a Kuskokwim dialectal term for 'stone', which semantically corresponds to *no:=q^ho:q-əy* 'stone' in the Yukon dialect.

Both *no:=q^ho:q-əy* and *no:=q^ho:y* are also used in the expressions for 'stone axe': Yukon dialect *no:=q^ho:qəy t^{oh}əŋəʔt*, Kuskokwim dialect *no:=q^ho:y t^{oh}əŋəʔt* [Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 67].

Distinct from the old term *t^{oh}a*: 'boulder' [Kari 1978: 43].

Sarsi: Hoijer & Joël 1963: 67; Hoijer 1956: 223. Paradigm: *c^hú* / POSSR=*c^húh-vʔ*.

82. SUN

Hupa *ma*: (1), Mattole *xa*: (1), Kato *ša* (1), Taldash Galice *ša*: (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina *n=ʔu-yi* ~ *nu=ʔu-y* (2), Outer Inlet Tanaina *ni=ʔ-i* (2), Inland Tanaina *n=ʔu-yi* (2), Iliamna Tanaina *n=ʔu-yi* (2), Central Ahtena *na=ʔa:-y* (2), Mentasta Ahtena *sa*: (1), Dogrib *sá* (1), North Slavey (Hare) *sà* (1), Tanacross *sà*: (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) *sa*: (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) *šo* (1), Central Carrier *sa* (1), Koyukon *so*: (1), Degexit'an *no:=ʔo:-y* (2), Sarsi *č^hv̄*:=*t^hv̄y-v̄* (3).

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: *č^hŋk^{hy}o:wit-ma*, literally 'daytime' + 'sun', *č^hŋk^{hy}o:wit-qa:l*, literally 'daylight' + 'comes along', *te:ti-qa:l*, 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 *čij-x'a-?* 'sun' (the first element *čij* 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'.

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 60; Hoijer 1956: 223; Landar 1977: 295.

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 150, 359; Kari 1977: 135.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 150, 359; Kari 1977: 135.

Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 150, 359; Kari 1977: 135.

Iliamna Tanaina: Kari 2007: 150, 359; Kari 1977: 135.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 73, 603; Kari & Buck 1975: 87; Smelcer 2010: 126.

Lower Ahtena: na=?a:-y [Kari 1990: 73, 603; Kari & Buck 1975: 87; Smelcer 2010: 126].

Western Ahtena: na=?a:-y [Kari 1990: 73, 603; Kari & Buck 1975: 87; Smelcer 2010: 126].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 448, 603; Kari & Buck 1975: 87; Smelcer 2010: 126. Polysemy: 'sun / month'.

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 88, 217; Siemens et al. 2007: 59. Polysemy: 'sun / moon / month'.

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 *cē-kó-sà*: 'sun' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 22], literally '*sá* of the day (*cē*) with the unclear element *kó*. It must be noted that this compound is recent, since the intervocalic -s- has not voiced into -z-.

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 88, 175; Hoijer 1956: 222. Polysemy: 'sun / month'. In [Hoijer 1956: 222], *sà* is quoted with archaic polysemy: 'sun / moon'.

Another expression for 'sun' is *cinè=tih=sà* [Rice 1978: 52] with *cinè* 'day', *sà* 'sun' and perhaps *tih* 'here' [Rice 1989: 321]. Cf. the mirroring expression *t^hèwè=tih=sà* 'moon' with *t^hèwè* 'night'.

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 176, 258; Holton 2000: 347; Brean & Milanowski 1979: 13; McRoy 1973: 6; Shinen 1958: 18. Polysemy: 'sun / month'. In [Shinen 1958: 18], the pleonastic collocation *cèn sà*: 'sun', literally '*sà*: of day', is also quoted. The polysemy 'sun / month' indicates that *sà*: was the Proto-Tanacross term for 'sun / moon / month' (the modern expression for 'moon' q.v. is based on the verb 'to light').

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 22, 79.

Northway: *sa*: 'sun' [Milanowski 2007: 13].

Scottie Creek: *sa*: 'sun' [John 1997: 67].

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 354, 489; Tuttle 2009: 199. Cf. *t^hat^o=zo-?* 'moon' q.v., literally 'night sun'.

In the Chena dialect, *so* with polysemy: 'sun / moon' [Kari 1994: 354].

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 420, 939; Poser 2011a: 206; Antoine et al. 1974: 198, 332. Polysemy: 'sun / moon / generally any heavenly body other than a star'.

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 *can zo:-?o* 'sun', literally 'day's sun' is also used [Jetté & Jones 2000: 739].

There also exist several descriptive expressions for 'sun' based on the generic classificatory verb =?o: 'compact object is in position': *ʌʌ=?o:-l-ə ~ ʌʌ=?o:-l-i*: 'sun', literally 'compact object that moves along' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 53; Jones 1978: 165], *ʃc=?t=i:=?o:-n-ə* 'sun', literally 'compact object is in the area' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 49], Lower dialect *no:=?o:-y* with polysemy: 'sun / moon', literally 'compact object that repetitively moves' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 53; Jones 1978: 165].

Degexit'an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 45; Chapman 1914: 213. Literally 'compact object that repetitively moves' with the generic classificatory verb =?o:-y [imperf.] / =?o:- ɿ [perf.] 'to handle compact object' [Kari 1976: 4]. Cf. the examples for *no:=?o:-y* 'sun': "At that time darkness was over all the earth; there was no sun (*no:=?o:-y*) or moon (*to:-t-t'o:-l*) there" [Chapman 1914: 106], "Dusk or darkness, no sun (*no:=?o:-y*) no moon (*to:-t-t'o:-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], *no:=?o:-y* means both 'sun' and 'moon', but this is not confirmed by other sources. The original polysemy 'sun / moon / month' for *no:=?o:-y* is possibly revealed by *no:?o: ~ no:?* 'month' [Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 49], if these forms represent contraction of *no:=?o:-y*.

Sarsi: Hoijer & Joël 1963: 72; Hoijer 1956: 223. Unclear; can literally mean 't'vy of č'v' (cf. POSSR=t'áy-ù? ~ POSSR=t'vy-a 'feather?').

83. SWIM

Hupa =me: (1), Mattole =pe: (1), Kato =pe (1), Taldash Galice =t'oh (2), Outer Inlet Tanaina =pa (1), Inland Tanaina =c^{hi}=l=k^həʔ (3), Central Ahtena =pe:-s (1), Mentasta Ahtena =pe:-s (1) / t^ha=...=t=ʔ=t'en (4), Dogrib =^mpé (1), North Slavey (Hare) =piè (1) / =mì (1), Tanacross =mè:ʔ (1) / =meh (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) =^mbe:-ʔ (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) =ba-y (1), Central Carrier =pe (1), Koyukon =pa:-y (1), Degexit'an =va:-y (1), Sarsi =múh (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-ʔ (< *me:-ʔ). Perhaps this is the same word as the classificatory verb =me: [imperf.] / =me-ʔ [perf.] 'to gather small objects (berries, etc.)' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 770].

Mattole: Li 1930: 82. Paradigm: =pe: [imperf.] / =pe-ʔ [perf.]. Polysemy: 'to swim / to take a bath'.

Bear River dialect: =pe [imperf.] / =pe-ʔ [perf.] 'to swim' [Goddard 1929: 321].

Kato: Goddard 1912: 68. Paradigm: =pe [nondirectional imperf.] / =pi:-š [directional imperf.] / =pi:-n [nondirectional perf.]. Used with both sg. and pl. subj.

Distinct from the more specific verb =leh / =ley 'to swim under water' [Goddard 1912: 63] and from =k^heʔ 'to bath (pl. subj.)' [Goddard 1912: 78].

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 66; Hoijer 1956: 223. Paradigm: =t'oh [imperf.] / =t'oʔ [perf.].

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 =lav 'to swim', applied to fish, cf. the examples "A fish swam in to me" [Boraas 2010: 25] and "he swam around outside of him" [Boraas 2010: 26] (in the later case, the Raven, which has tuned into a fish, is mentioned).

Inland Tanaina: Wassillie 1979: 99. Applied to a human. The first element c^{hi} is the incorporated morpheme 'head'.

Distinct from the verb =lav, which seems to only be applied to fishes and (mythological) animals: nik'u=n=š=lav 'I swam' [Tenenbaum 1978: 182] with the directional adverbial prefixes nik'u 'out in a horizontal direction'; niq^ha=n=a=ʔi=lav (< *t=lav) 'he swam back to shore' [Tenenbaum 1978: 182] with the directional adverbial prefixes niq^ha 'to the beach or to higher ground from the water'; t^ha=n=š=lav 'I swam underwater' [Tenenbaum 1978: 185] with the directional adverbial prefixes t^ha 'submerged in water'; č'a=n=i=lav 'he swam (around outside of him)' [Tenenbaum 1978: 206].

Distinct from =l=k^hit 'to swim across' [Lovick 2005: 19, 61 ex. 2.30a; Tenenbaum 1976 1: 59, 60] - a causative from the classificatory verb =t=k^hit 'to handle a mushy or sticky object' [Tenenbaum 1978: 140].

Iliamna Tanaina: Not attested.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 101, 604.

Lower Ahtena: =pe:-s [Kari 1990: 101, 604].

Western Ahtena: =pe:-s [Kari 1990: 101, 604].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 101, 604. Kari 1990: 348, 604. Initial t^ha- 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 =l=ʔe:ʔ.

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: ix, 60, 217. Innovative pronunciation: =pé. Used with sg. & dual. subj.; applicable to humans, animals and inanimate subj.

Distinct from =ʔé / =ʔò 'to swim', pl. subj. [Saxon & Siemens 1996: ix, 60, 217].

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 302, 412, 541; Hoijer 1956: 222. Used with sg. & dual. subj. Synchronously suppletive stem: =piè

[imperf.] / =mì [perf.].

Distinct from =ʔiè '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], =mè:ʔ is to be historically analyzed as a suffixal formation: =mè:ʔ-ʔ, although -ʔ is the normal exponent of the future form [Holton 2000: 269].

In [Shinen 1958: 59], the full paradigm is quoted as =beʔ [imperf.] / =meh [perf.] 'to swim', where =beʔ is a phonetic variant of =mè:ʔ. Shinen 1958: 59. Perfective stem.

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 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 -ʔ is a rare suffix (synchronously -ʔ is the future exponent) which can be singled out by comparison with the cognate verb =t=ʔbe-k 'to swim across' [Milanowski 2009: 39, 107] ("A person swims across"), where -k is formally the exponent of customary aspect.

Distinct from the more marked verb =h=t'a 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].

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 31, 491; Tuttle 2009: 199. Paradigm: =ba-y [imperf.] / =ba-ʔ [perf.] / =ba-ʔ [future] / =bi-y [customary]. Glossed as 'to swim on surface'. Applicable to humans and animals incl. fish. According to [Kari 1994: 31], used with sg. subj. only, although already in [Tuttle 2009: 199] the full sg.-pl. paradigm is offered.

Distinct from =l=ʔal [imperf.] / =l=ʔaʔ [perf.] / =l=ʔol [fut.] / =l=ʔv-k [customary imperf.] / =l=ʔvl [progressive imperf.] 'to swim', used with pl. subj. [Kari 1994: 13, 491].

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 944, 1218, 1249; Poser 2011a: 208; Antoine et al. 1974: 333. Paradigm: =pe [imperf.] / =pi [perf.] / =pe-ʔ ~ =pi-ʔ [progressive imperf.]. Used with sg. & dual. subj. Cf. the example: "He is strong because he is always swimming" [Antoine et al. 1974: 180].

Distinct from =l=ʔel ~ =l=ʔil [imperf.] / =l=ʔel ~ =l=ʔil [perf.] 'to swim', used with pl. subj. [Poser 1998/2013: 944, 1218, 1248].

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 74, 1030; Jones 1978: 167; Jones & Kwaraceius 1997: 109. Paradigm: =pa-y [imperf.] / =pa-ʔ [perf.]. Used with sg. & dual. subj.

Distinct from =l=ʔaʔ [imperf.] / =l=ʔa:ʔ [perf.] '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 =ta:ʔ [imperf.] =ta:ʔ [perf.] / =təʔ ~ =təʔ-ʔ [fut.] with polysemy: 'to go / to come / to swim' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 116].

Degexit'an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1976: 8; Chapman 1914: 218. Paradigm: =va-y [momentaneous imperf.] / =va-ʔ [momentaneous perf.] / =va-ʔ [progressive imperf.] / =va-ʔ [progressive perf.]. 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 =ʔaʔ [imperf.] / =ʔa:ʔ [perf.] 'to swim', used with pl. subj. [Kari 1976: 6]. Not found in [Taff et al. 2007], where it is apparently supplanted with singulative =va-.

Distinct from =la:χ '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: =múh [imperf.] / =mí: ~ =míy- [perf.]. 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 =ʔúʔ [imperf.] / =ʔú:l [perf.] glossed as 'to bathe, swim' [Li 1930b: 16]. It is possible that =múh is applied preferably to humans, whereas =ʔúʔ 'to swim' is applied to animals, cf. the mirroring forms: yí=mú-ʔ-i 'the one (person) who is swimming' vs. yí=ʔú-ʔ-i 'the one (animal) that is swimming' [Cook 1984: 104].

Distinct from =V=kâʔ ~ =V=kât- ~ =V=kút [imperf.] / =V=kâʔ ~ =V=kât- [perf.] '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 $POSSR=k^{hy}eʔ$ (1), Mattole $POSSR=ç^{hi}i:ʔ$ (1), Kato $POSSR=ç^{hi}i:ʔ$ (1), Taldash Galice $POSSR=ç^{hi}i:ʔ$ (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina $POSSR=k^h al-a$ (2), Outer Inlet Tanaina $POSSR=k^h a$ (1),

Inland Tanaina *POSSR=k^ha-čat-a* (1), Iliamna Tanaina *POSSR=k^ha-čat-a* (1), Central Ahtena *POSSR=k^{hy}e-?* (1), Mentasta Ahtena *POSSR=k^{hy}e-?* (1), Dogrib *POSSR=č^hè* (1), North Slavey (Hare) *POSSR=šé-?* (1), Tanacross *POSSR=č^hé-?* (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) *POSSR=č^he-?* (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) *POSSR=č^ha-?* (1), Central Carrier *POSSR=č^he* (1), Koyukon *POSSR=k^ha:-?* (1), Degexit'an *POSSR=č^ha:-?* (1), Sarsi *POSSR=č^hǔ-?* (1).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 757; Golla 1996: 94; Golla 1964: 115. The synchronic root is *k^{hy}e?*, not *k^{hy}e*, cf. such compounds as *k^{hy}e?-nes* 'pine squirrel', literally 'long tail' or *k^{hy}e?-č^{hm}il* 'bobbed tail', literally 'tail-blunted' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 757; Golla 1996: 94].

Distinct from the separate term *POSSR=k^{hy}e:l-?* 'fish tail' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 758; Golla 1996: 94].

Mattole: Li 1930: 132. Morphologically =*č^hi:?* or =*č^hi:-?*.

Bear River dialect: not attested as a separate word. The old term is retained in the compound *č^hi:-nes ~ č^hi-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 *POSSR=t'a?* 'tail' [Goddard 1909: 86 No. 4; Goddard 1912: 22], applied to sea lions.

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 60; Hoijer 1956: 223; Landar 1977: 295. Synchronically =*č^hi-?*, if *POSSR=č^hi:la-?* 'tip of the tail' [Hoijer 1973: 61] can be analyzed as a compound =*č^hi:-la-* with the unclear second morpheme.

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^hač^a- ~ k^ha-* 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 *POSSR=k^ha* 'flat tail (of muskrat, beaver, bird)' [Kari 2007: 15; Kari 1977: 31].

Differently in [Wassillie 1979: 99], where *POSSR=k^hač^ata* is applied to a beaver, whereas *POSSR=k^ha* is applied to birds.

The verbal incorporated element 'tail' is quoted in [Tenenbaum 1978: 164] as *k^hač^a- ~ k^ha-* without semantic comments. These are either two different morphemes with different meanings (*k^hač^a-* is an abbreviated form of *POSSR=k^hač^ata*; *k^ha-* goes back to *POSSR=k^ha*), or the second variant *k^ha-* may be an abbreviated form of *k^hač^a-* (< *POSSR=k^hač^ata*).

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 *POSSR=k^ha-č^{at}-a* (< *...*t-?a*). According to [Kari 2007; Kari 1977], this denotes a 'round tail (dog, moose)', i.e., an elongated terete tail.

Distinct from *POSSR=k^ha* 'flat tail (of muskrat, beaver, bird)' [Kari 2007: 15; Kari 1977: 31].

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 112, 605; Kari & Buck 1975: 9.

Lower Ahtena: *POSSR=k^{hy}e-?* [Kari 1990: 112, 605; Kari & Buck 1975: 9].

Western Ahtena: *POSSR=k^{hy}e-?* [Kari 1990: 112, 605; Kari & Buck 1975: 9].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 112, 605; Kari & Buck 1975: 9.

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 23, 218. Innovative pronunciation: *POSSR=c^hè*. Applicable at least to mammals and fishes.

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 92, 176; Hoijer 1956: 222. Hoijer quotes the 19th c. archaic variant =*č^he*. Applicable to mammals.

Distinct from *POSSR=λà* with polysemy: 'bottom / tail (of fish)' [Rice 1978: 100, 138].

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 261; Holton 2000: 347; Brean & Milanowski 1979: 3; McRoy 1973: 2; Shinen 1958: 11.

Distinct from *POSSR=č^hè:l-?* 'fish tail' [Arnold et al. 2009: 119; Holton 2000: 343].

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 12, 84. Synchronously =*č^he*, not =*č^he?*, cf. the compound *č^he:-t'i:n* 'man with a tail' [Milanowski 2009: 12].

- Northway:** POSSR= $c^h e-ʔ$ 'tail' [Milanowski 2007: 17].
- Scottie Creek:** POSSR= $c^h e-ʔ$ 'tail' [John 1997: 50].
- Lower Tanana (Minto):** Kari 1994: 42, 491; Tuttle 2009: 200. In compounds, the variant $c^h a-$ is used.
Distinct from POSSR= $c^h a-l-aʔ$ 'fish tail' [Kari 1994: 42, 491].
- Central Carrier:** Poser 1998/2013: 102, 946; Poser 2011a: 209; Antoine et al. 1974: 17, 333. Applicable to mammals and birds.
Distinct from POSSR= $c^h eʔ a$ 'fish tail' [Poser 1998/2013: 102, 946; Poser 2011a: 209].
- Koyukon:** Jetté & Jones 2000: 289, 1030; Jones 1978: 168.
Distinct from POSSR= $k^h a:l-aʔ$ 'fish tail' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 289; Jones 1978: 168].
- Degexit'an:** Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 6.
Distinct from POSSR= $c^h a:l$ 'fish tail' [Kari 1978: 9; Chapman 1914: 222].
- Sarsi:** Hoijer & Joël 1963: 69; Hoijer 1956: 222.

85. THAT

Hupa $yo:w$ (1) / $ye:w$ (2), Mattole $yi:$ ~ $hai=yi:$ (2), Kato $hai=ye$ ~ $hai=yi:$ (2), Upper Inlet Tanaina $ʋi-n-i$ ~ $ʋi-n$ (3), Outer Inlet Tanaina $ʋi-n-i$ ~ $ʋi-n$ (3), Inland Tanaina $ʋi-n-i$ ~ $ʋi-n$ (3), Iliamna Tanaina $ʋi-n-i$ ~ $ʋi-n$ (3), Central Ahtena $ʋa-n-i$ (3), Mentasta Ahtena $ʋa-n-i$ (3), Dogrib $éyí$ (2), North Slavey (Hare) $ʔèyì$ ~ $ʔèyè-rì$ (2), Tanacross $nâ:$ ~ $nâ:-n$ (4), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) ay (2), Lower Tanana (Minto) $a=yi$ (2), Central Carrier $n=yu-n$ (2) / $n=\gamma an-l n$ ~ $\eta an-l n$ (3), Koyukon $i:y$ (2) / $noʋ$ (4), Sarsi $iyí$ (2) / $nùyú$ (4).

References and notes:

- Hupa:** Sapir & Golla 2001: 810; Golla 1996: 95. Originates < $*yo:w-i$.
The general deictic system in Hupa is ternary:
1) $te:$ ~ $te:-t$ ~ $hay=te:$ ~ $hay=te:-t$ 'this' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 747; Golla 1996: 96; Golla 1970: 299] (the plain form $te:$ with polysemy: 'this / here');
2) $yo:w$ ~ $hay=yo:w$ 'that (close by, visible)' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 810; Golla 1996: 95; Golla 1970: 299];
3) $ye:w$ ~ $hay=ye:w$ 'that (far off, invisible)' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 806; Golla 1996: 95; Golla 1970: 299].
We treat $yo:w$ and $ye:w$ as synonyms.
For the optional proclitic $hay=$, which functions like a definite article in nominal phrases, see [Golla 1970: 268 f.]. Sapir & Golla 2001: 806; Golla 1996: 95. Originates < $*ye:w-i$.
- Mattole:** Li 1930: 133. According to [Li 1930: 133], the system of Mattole demonstrative pronouns is binary: $ti:$ 'this, these' (also $hai=ti:$) / $yi:$ 'that, those' (also $hai=yi:$). 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' / $hai=ye$ ~ $hai=yi:$ 'that'. There is also a general demonstrative $hi:$, glossed by Goddard as 'the' and specified as "practically an article".
- Taldash Galice:** Not attested.
- Upper Inlet Tanaina:** Kari 2007: 65, 329; Kari 1977: 81.
- Outer Inlet Tanaina:** Kari 2007: 65, 329; Kari 1977: 81; Boraas 2010: 37.
- Inland Tanaina:** Kari 2007: 65, 329; Kari 1977: 81; Holton et al. 2004: 10.
- Iliamna Tanaina:** Kari 2007: 65, 329; Kari 1977: 81.
- Central Ahtena:** Kari 1990: 208, 607.
Lower Ahtena: $ʋa-n-i$ [Kari 1990: 208, 607].
Western Ahtena: $ʋa-n-i$ [Kari 1990: 208, 607].
- Mentasta Ahtena:** Kari 1990: 208, 607.

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 38, 220; Marinakis et al. 2007: 162. Polysemy: 'that / there'.

According to available sources, the system of Dogrib demonstrative pronouns (both attributive and nominalized) is binary: *tí:(-íyí:)* 'this' / *éyí* 'that; there'.

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1989: 255. Final *-ri* (< **-ti*) is an enclitic element modifying demonstrative and some other pronouns, e.g., *yè-ri* 'what' q.v.

According to [Rice 1989: 255], the system of Hare demonstrative pronouns is binary: *tè-ri* 'this' / *ʔèyí ~ ʔèyè-ri* 'that'.

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 266; Shinen 1958: 24.

Details are not documented, but according to [Holton 2000: 279], the basic opposition of Tanacross demonstrative pronouns (both attributive and nominalized) is binary: *čâ: ~ čâ:n* 'this (sg.)', *ʔèy* 'these (pl.)' / *nâ: ~ nâ:n* 'that (sg.); he, she, it', *ʔè ɲ* '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 *čâ-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: *čâ-n ~ čah* 'this' / *ay* 'that'.

The pronoun *ay* could be analyzed as *a=y*, see notes on Lower Tanana.

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 324, 494.

Available sources show that the basic opposition of Lower Tanana attributive demonstrative pronouns is binary: *čâ ɲ* 'this, these' / *ayí* 'that, those'.

The pronoun *ayí* 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 *ayə-ɪ* 'he, she, him, her, 3rd p. sg. human' [Kari 1994: 324], apparently also used as attributive 'that', is used.

In the light of such pronouns as *yə-t* 'there, at that place' and *yə-na* 'they, them, 3rd p. pl. human' [Kari 1994: 324], it is possible to analyze *ayí* 'that' as *ə=yí* with *ə-* 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)'. Paradigm: *nyu-n* [humans & dogs, sg.] / *nyu-n-ne* [humans & dogs, pl.] / *nyu* [non-human, sg. & pl.].

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: *nɬa-n* 'this (near the speaker)' / *nyu-n* 'that (near the addressee)' / *nyan-an ~ ɲan-an* 'that (far from the speaker & the addressee)'.

Initial *n=* is the common pronominal element, cf., e.g., *n=tai* '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: *nyan-an ~ ɲan-an* [humans & dogs, sg.] / *nyan-ne ~ ɲan-ne* [humans & dogs, pl.] / *nyan-i ~ ɲan-i* [non-human, sg. & pl.].

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 33, 806; Jones & Kwaraceius 1997: 15. Meaning 'that (near addressee)'. The variant found mainly in the Lower dialect is *oy*.

According to [Jones & Kwaraceius 1997: 15; Jetté & Jones 2000: 806], the system of Central Koyukon attributive demonstrative pronouns is quaternary: *ko:* 'this (near speaker)' / *i:y ~ o:y* 'that (near addressee); aforementioned (that one that we are talking about)' / *noʔ* 'that (far from speaker & addressee)' / *yəqə* 'that (far away)'. The latter item *yəqə* is apparently the same word as *yəqə* '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 *i:y* 'that (near addressee)' and *noʔ* 'that (far from speaker & addressee)' as synonyms for 'that'. Jetté & Jones 2000: 493, 806; Jones & Kwaraceius 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: *tí-* 'this' / *iyí* 'that (proximate)' / *nùyú* 'that (distant)'. We treat *iyí* and *nùyú* as synonyms for 'that'. Cook 1984: 73.

86. THIS

Hupa *te:* ~ *te:-t* (1), Mattole *tí:* ~ *hai=tí:* (1), Kato *tí:* (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 *kʷa:-n-i* (2), Mentasta Ahtena *kʷa:-n-i* (2), Dogrib *tí:* (1), North Slavey (Hare) *tè-rì* (1), Tanacross *čâ:* ~ *čâ:-n* (2), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) *ča-n* ~ *čah* (2), Lower Tanana (Minto) *ča* ~ *čaŋ* (2), Central Carrier *n=tɬ-n* (1), Koyukon *ko:* (2), Sarsi *tì-* (1).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 747; Golla 1996: 96. (=) *te:-t* originates <*(=) *te:-ti*. The plain form *te:* 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.

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 65, 329; Kari 1977: 81.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 65, 329; Kari 1977: 81; Boraas 2010: 37.

Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 65, 329; Kari 1977: 81; Holton et al. 2004: 10.

Iliamna Tanaina: Kari 2007: 65, 329; Kari 1977: 81.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 178, 608.

Lower Ahtena: *kʷa:-n-i* [Kari 1990: 178, 608].

Western Ahtena: *kʷa:-n-i* [Kari 1990: 178, 608].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 178, 608.

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 19, 221; Marinakis et al. 2007: 162. In [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 19, 221], the forms *tí:-íyî:* and *tí:-yî:* 'this' are also quoted. It is likely that simple *tí:* is used attributively (the example: "These houses are among the trees" [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 19]), whereas *tí:-íyî:* (contracted *tí:-yî:*) is a nominalized contraction with *íyî:* 'this one' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 54].

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 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 *čam-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: *ntɬ-n* [humans & dogs, sg.] / *ntɬ-n-ne* [humans & dogs, pl.] / *nti* [non-human, sg. & pl.]. See notes on 'that'.

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 192, 806; Jones & Kwaraceius 1997: 15. Meaning 'this (near speaker)'. See notes on 'that'.

Degexit'an: Not documented properly.

Sarsi: Cook 1984: 73. Paradigm: *tì-ní* [sg. human] / *tì-ná* [pl. human] / *tì-yí* [sg./pl. non-human]. Final *-ní* is the same morpheme as in the personal pronouns (*sí-ní* 'I' q.v. etc.); final *-ná* is the plural human suffix. Further see notes on 'that'.

87. THOU

Hupa *nij* (1), Mattole *nij* (1), Kato *nij* (1), Taldash Galice *nan* (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina *nən* (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina *nən* (1), Inland Tanaina *nən* (1), Iliamna Tanaina *nən* (1), Central Ahtena *nen* (1), Mentasta Ahtena *nen* (1), Dogrib *ní* (1), North Slavey (Hare) *nè-nì* (1), Tanacross *nèn* (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) *nan* (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) *nəŋ* (1),

Central Carrier *nyʌn* (1), Koyukon *nəŋ* (1), Degexit'an *ŋəŋ* (1), Sarsi *ní-ní* (1).

References and notes:

- Hupa:** Sapir & Golla 2001: 778; Golla 1996: 110; Golla 1970: 236. The same morpheme in the prefixal possessive pronoun *ni-* 'thy' [Golla 1970: 212], 2 sg. subject verbal prefix *-n-* [Golla 1970: 69], 2 sg. object verbal prefix *-ni-* [Golla 1970: 103].
- 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 *ŋ-* < **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 \tilde{V}] / *t-* [before V] < **ni-* 'thy' [Hoijer 1966: 322], 2 sg. indirect & direct object verbal prefix *n-* [before C or \tilde{V}] / *t-* [before V] [Hoijer 1966: 323, 324].
- Upper Inlet Tanaina:** Kari 2007: 65; Kari 1977: 80.
- Outer Inlet Tanaina:** Kari 2007: 65; Kari 1977: 80.
- Inland Tanaina:** Kari 2007: 65; Kari 1977: 80.
- Iliamna Tanaina:** Kari 2007: 65; Kari 1977: 80.
- 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 *né-* 'thy', 2nd sg. subject verbal prefix *-né-*, 2nd sg. object verbal prefix *-né-* [Saxon & Siemens 1996: xiii; Marinakis et al. 2007: 39, 114, 128; Coleman 1976: 21].
- North Slavey (Hare):** Rice 1989: 253; Hoijer 1956: 222. Final *-nī* is a suffix that modifies personal and some other pronouns.
- Tanacross:** Arnold et al. 2009: 300. In [Holton 2000: 278], transcribed as *néni?*. The same morpheme is present in the prefixal possessive pronoun *n-* 'thy', 2nd sg. subject verbal prefix *-in-*, 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: *na* 'thou' [John 1997: 83].
- Lower Tanana (Minto):** Kari 1994: 202. The same morpheme is present in the prefixal possessive pronoun *nə-* 'thy', 2nd sg. subject verbal prefix *-nə-*, 2nd sg. object verbal prefix *-nə-* [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 *-in-*, 2nd sg. object verbal prefix *-nyʌ-* [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 *nə-* 'thy', 2nd sg. subject verbal prefix *-nə-*, 2nd sg. object verbal prefix *-nə-* [Jetté & Jones 2000: 805].
- Degexit'an:** Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 25. The same morpheme is present in the prefixal possessive pronoun *ŋə-* 'thy' [Kari 1978: 25].
- Sarsi:** Cook 1984: 62; Hoijer 1956: 222. Final *-ní* 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=sa:=s=t^ha:n* (1), Mattole *POSSR=sa=s=t^ha:n* (1), Kato *POSSR=so?* (2), Taldash Galice *=to-?* (3), Upper Inlet Tanaina *POSSR=c^hi-la* (2), Outer Inlet Tanaina *POSSR=c^hi-lu* (2), Inland Tanaina *POSSR=c^hi-la* (2), Iliamna Tanaina *POSSR=c^hi-la* (2), Central Ahtena

POSSR= $c^h u$ - la - $?$ (2), Mentasta Ahtena POSSR= $c^h u$ - la - $?$ (2), Dogrib POSSR= $wá$ = $lì$: ~
 POSSR= $wá$ = $rì$: (4), North Slavey (Hare) POSSR= $wá$ = $rì$: (4), Tanacross POSSR= $t^{\theta h} \ddot{u}$:- l - $?$ (2),
 Upper Tanana (Tetlin) POSSR= $t^{\theta h} u$:- L - $?$ (2), Lower Tanana (Minto) POSSR= $t^{\theta h} u$ - la - $?$ (2),
 Central Carrier POSSR= $\zeta^h u$ - la (2), Koyukon POSSR= $\lambda^h u$:- l - ∂ ? (2), Degexit'an POSSR= $t^{\theta h} e$:- l (2),
 Sarsi POSSR= $c^h \ddot{u}$ - $?$ (2).

References and notes:

- Hupa:** Sapir & Golla 2001: 782; Golla 1996: 98. A descriptive formation < **sah-si-t^han-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 =*t^han* (< *=*t^han-i*) 'to lie (said of long object)' [Li 1930: 89].
 Bear River dialect: POSSR=*sa-s-t^han* ~ POSSR=*sa-s-t^han* 'tongue' [Goddard 1929: 322].
- 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: POSSR=*ta*:-*to*? 'back/root of the tongue' [Hoijer 1973: 53] (with =*ta*:- 'mouth' q.v.) and POSSR=*sa*:-*to*? 'tip of the tongue' [Hoijer 1973: 58] (with =*sa*:- '?').
 In [Landar 1977: 295], the generic term for 'tongue' is quoted as the compound *ta*:-*to*: (i.e., *ta*:-*to*- $?$) with *ta*:- '?'.
 Cf. the word *to*:-*č^hoh* 'snake' q.v., literally 'big tongue' with the augmentative suffix -*č^hoh* (see notes on 'big').
- Upper Inlet Tanaina:** Kari 2007: 90, 359; Kari 1977: 99.
- Outer Inlet Tanaina:** Kari 2007: 90, 359; Kari 1977: 99.
- Inland Tanaina:** Kari 2007: 90, 359; Kari 1977: 99; Wassillie 1979: 103.
- Iliamna Tanaina:** Kari 2007: 90, 359; Kari 1977: 99.
- Central Ahtena:** Kari 1990: 397, 611; Kari & Buck 1975: 63; Smelcer 2010: 46.
Lower Ahtena: POSSR= $c^h u$ - la - $?$ [Kari 1990: 397, 611; Kari & Buck 1975: 63; Smelcer 2010: 46].
Western Ahtena: POSSR= $c^h u$ - la - $?$ [Kari 1990: 397, 611; Kari & Buck 1975: 63; Smelcer 2010: 46].
- Mentasta Ahtena:** Kari 1990: 397, 611; Kari & Buck 1975: 63; Smelcer 2010: 46.
- Dogrib:** Saxon & Siemens 1996: 46, 223. The rhotacized variant POSSR=*wá*:*rì* is glossed with polysemy: 'tongue / windpipe' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 46]. An unclear compound; for the first element cf. POSSR=*wá*-*zè*: 'spittle, saliva' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 46] (with -*zè*: '?'). It is tempting to analyze *wá* as POSSR=*wá*: 'mouth' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 46], but the tonal metathesis $\grave{a} > \acute{a}$ is abnormal.
- North Slavey (Hare):** Rice 1978: 105, 177; Hoijer 1956: 222. The first element synchronously coincides with POSSR=*wá*- $?$, *wá*- 'mouth' q.v. Cf. =*lá*- $?$ ~ =*lár*- ∂ ? 'tip of' [Rice 1978: 177].
- Tanacross:** Arnold et al. 2009: 272; Holton 2000: 348; Brean & Milanowski 1979: 24; McRoy 1973: 8; Shinen 1958: 3.
- Upper Tanana (Tetlin):** Milanowski 2009: 26, 70.
Scottie Creek: POSSR= $t^{\theta h} \ddot{u}$:- l 'tongue' [John 1997: 17].
- Lower Tanana (Minto):** Kari 1994: 314, 498; Tuttle 2009: 209. In compounds, the variant *t^hula*- is used: POSSR=*t^hula*- $\lambda^h ul$ - a ? 'frenulum of the tongue', literally 'tongue's cord' [Kari 1994: 314].
- Central Carrier:** Poser 1998/2013: 507, 962; Poser 2011a: 219; Antoine et al. 1974: 50, 335. We treat = $\zeta^h u$ - la as a historical compound, cf. - la 'tip' attested in POSSR= $\zeta^h il$ - la 'tip of elbow' [Poser 1998/2013: 508] (< POSSR= $\zeta^h il$ 'elbow').
- Koyukon:** Jetté & Jones 2000: 585, 1038; Jones 1978: 177. The incorporated variant of this word is $\lambda^h u$:-, thus POSSR= $\lambda^h u$:- ∂ ? is apparently the result of reanalysis of the old compound POSSR= $\lambda^h u$:- lo :- $?$ as a CVC-root with the standard izafet suffix - ∂ ?. Cf. *lo*:*y* 'tip' attested, e.g., in *t^o*:-*lo*:*y* 'tip of feather' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 552] (*t^o*: 'feather') or POSSR=*lo*:*y*- ∂ t 'end, tip' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 405] (locative suffix -*y ∂ t*).
- Degexit'an:** Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 34. Cf. POSSR=*lo*:*y* 'the tip or top of something' [Taff et al. 2007]. See further notes on Koyukon.
- Sarsi:** Hoijer & Joël 1963: 69; Hoijer 1956: 222.

89. TOOTH

Hupa *POSSR=wo?* (1), Mattole *POSSR=ɣ^wo?* (1), Kato *POSSR=wo:?* (1), Taldash Galice *POSSR=ko?* (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina *POSSR=bi* (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina *POSSR=zaq'=əz=ʔi* (2), Inland Tanaina *POSSR=bi* (1), Iliamna Tanaina *POSSR=bi* (1), Central Ahtena *POSSR=ku-?* (1), Mentasta Ahtena *POSSR=ku-?* (1), Dogrib *POSSR=ɣò:* (1), North Slavey (Hare) *POSSR=ɣú-?* (1), Tanacross *POSSR=ɣú-?* (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) *POSSR=xu-?* (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) *POSSR=ɣu-?* (1), Central Carrier *POSSR=ɣu* (1), Koyukon *POSSR=ku:-?* (1), Degexit'an *POSSR=ke:-?* (1), Sarsi *POSSR=ɣú-?* (1).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 795; Golla 1996: 95; Golla 1964: 110. Polysemy: 'tooth / fishhook'. Morphologically either =*wo?* or =*wo:-?*.

Mattole: Li 1930: 126. Morphologically either =*ɣ^wo?* or =*ɣ^wo:-?*.

Bear River dialect: *POSSR=wo?* ~ *POSSR=go* 'teeth' [Goddard 1929: 321].

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

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 56; Hoijer 1956: 223; Landar 1977: 295. Synchronically, either =*ko?* or =*ko:-?*.

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 89, 359; Kari 1977: 99.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 89, 359; Kari 1977: 99. Nominalized verbal forms, literally 'plural objects in mouth' with the incorporated morpheme *zaq'* 'mouth' 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., =*əzʔi* < **z=t=lu-i*.

Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 89, 359; Kari 1977: 99; Wassillie 1979: 103.

Iliamna Tanaina: Kari 2007: 89, 359; Kari 1977: 99.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 225, 611; Kari & Buck 1975: 63; Smelcer 2010: 46.

Lower Ahtena: *POSSR=ku-?* [Kari 1990: 225, 611; Kari & Buck 1975: 63; Smelcer 2010: 46].

Western Ahtena: *POSSR=ku-?* [Kari 1990: 225, 611; Kari & Buck 1975: 63; Smelcer 2010: 46].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 225, 611; Kari & Buck 1975: 63; Smelcer 2010: 46.

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 41, 223.

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 60, 177; Hoijer 1956: 222. In compounds, the variant *ɣú-* is used, e.g., *POSSR=ɣú-fě-?* 'gum' [Rice 1978: 60].

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 273; Holton 2000: 348; Brean & Milanowski 1979: 23; McRoy 1973: 8; Shinen 1958: 3.

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 29, 88.

Scottie Creek: *POSSR=ɣú-?* 'tooth' [John 1997: 17].

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 134, 498. In compounds, the variant *ɣu-* is used.

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 159, 963; Poser 2011a: 219; Antoine et al. 1974: 24, 333.

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 260, 1038; Jones 1978: 177.

In the Lower dialect, this item competes with the nominalized verbal form *POSSR=lo:=ʔə=ʔo:-ʔo* 'tooth' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 59, 404], literally '(compact) object in the mouth' < *lo:* 'mouth' q.v. + the generic classificatory verb =*ʔo:* '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.

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

90. TREE

Hupa *k^{hy}iŋ* (1), Mattole *ɸ^hiŋ* (1), Kato *č^han* (1), Taldash Galice *č^han* (1), Upper Inlet

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 *c'ape:-li* (2), Mentasta Ahtena *c'ape:-l* (2), Dogrib *té=č'hí* (1), North Slavey (Hare) *c'ùh ~ c'ù* (2), Tanacross *c'ôγ^w* (2), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) *c'o:* (2), Lower Tanana (Minto) *c'aba* (2), Central Carrier *tA=č'hAn* (1), Koyukon *c'apa:* (2), Degexit'an *c'həç* (3), Sarsi *ì=č'hí* (1).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 758; Golla 1996: 99; Golla 1964: 115. Polysemy: 'tree / stick / timber'.

Distinct from *č'hu:č'* 'wood, firewood' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 741; Golla 1996: 108].

Mattole: Li 1930: 130 (sub *s'ač'hij*), 132. Polysemy: 'tree / stick'. Additionally cf. the compounds *?is-č'hij* 'fir tree' [Li 1930: 132], *s'a-č'hij* 'acorn' [Li 1930: 130] (*č'hij* is also accepted as a word for 'tree' in [Hojjer 1956: 224]).

Distinct from *č'his* 'wood' [Li 1930: 132] (i.e., 'piece of wood', not 'forest?') and *?i=s=no:* 'timber' [Li 1930: 129] (literally 'what has been piled up', although =*no:* is not documented as a separate verb in [Li 1930]).

Bear River dialect: not attested. Cf. *č'hu:is ~ č'hex ~ č'hex ~ č'hes* '(piece of) wood' [Goddard 1929: 311, 322].

Kato: Goddard 1912: 16, 20, 25; Curtis 1924: 205. In [Curtis 1924], expectedly quoted as *č'həj*, whereas Goddard's transcription *č'həj* is not entirely clear (< **č'həj-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].

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 60; Hoijer 1956: 223; Landar 1977: 295. Polysemy: 'tree / stick, log'.

Distinct from *c'aye:* 'firewood' [Hoijer 1973: 59].

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 47, 360.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 47, 360. Note the unusual sound *w* (this form is confirmed in [Kari 1977: 59]) instead of expected *p*.

Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 47, 360.

Iliamna Tanaina: Kari 2007: 47, 360.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 102, 613; Kari & Buck 1975: 33; Smelcer 2010: 109.

Lower Ahtena: *c'ape:-li* [Kari 1990: 102, 613; Kari & Buck 1975: 33; Smelcer 2010: 109].

Western Ahtena: *c'ape:-li* [Kari 1990: 102, 613; Kari & Buck 1975: 33; Smelcer 2010: 109].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 102, 613; Kari & Buck 1975: 33; Smelcer 2010: 109. Regular reduction of final *-i*.

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 13, 224. Innovative pronunciation: *té=č'hí*. The possessed form is optionally rhotacized: POSSR=*té-č'hí:* ~ POSSR=*ré-č'hí:* [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 87]. Polysemy: 'tree / bush / twig / log / stick, pole / mile, yard (measure)'.

It may be seen from the numerous attested examples that *té=č'hí* 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 first element *té-* is a detachable gender prefix, cf. such compounds with *č'hí* 'tree' as *ñh-č'hí:* 'tree stump in the ground' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 53], *nóh-č'hí:* 'trees used as markers on a lake trail' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 85], *xó-č'hí:* 'root' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 121].

The second candidate is *c'í* with polysemy: 'tree / spruce / boat' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 105]. In [Siemens et al. 2007: 74], however, *c'í* 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 *c'í-wi:* 'cluster of trees' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 106], *c'í-žò:* 'old tree' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 106], *c'í-k^wò:* 'bare tree without branches' [Marinakis et al. 2007: 159].

Apparently, *c'í* 'spruce' has a tendency to denote 'tree' in general, but nevertheless, the default generic term in modern Dogrib seems to be *té=č'hí*.

Distinct from *č'hó* 'firewood, log, dry wood' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 104].

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 104, 178. Polysemy: 'tree / spruce / green wood'.

Distinct from *tè-sì*, POSSR=*tè-sìn-é?* 'wood (material) / stick' [Rice 1978: 47], although in [Hoijer 1956: 222] it is quoted as the term for 'tree'. Initial *tè-* is a gender prefix referring to wood [Rice 1989: 606].

Distinct from *sèh ~ sè* 'firewood' [Rice 1978: 90].

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 250, 275; Holton 2000: 50; Brean & Milanowski 1979: 9; McRoy 1973: 5; Shinen 1958: 14. Polysemy: 'tree / spruce'.

Distinct from *c^hèc* 'wood, firewood' [Arnold et al. 2009: 297; Holton 2000: 348].

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 27, 82. Polysemy: 'tree / spruce'.

Scottie Creek: *c'ok* with polysemy 'tree / spruce' [John 1997: 60, 61].

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 32, 500. Polysemy: 'tree / spruce, white spruce'.

Distinct from *tə-c^hə* *n'* 'stick, log, pole, post; wood, wooden object, frame; stem, stalk of plant' [Kari 1994: 45] (an unclear compound, cf. [Kari 1994: 66]).

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 132, 967; Poser 2011a: 221; Antoine et al. 1974: 84, 335. Polysemy: 'tree / wood, timber / stick'.

A compound with an unclear first component *tɪ* and POSSR=*c^han* 'handle of broom, canoe paddle, or similar object, stem of plant' [Poser 1998/2013: 102], where *c^han* seems to be the main meaningful element, cf. such compounds with *c^han* '*tree' as: *c^han-t^hoh* 'forest', literally 'among *c^han*' [Poser 1998/2013: 103], *c^han-lat* 'tree burnt yet standing', literally 'smoke of *c^han*' [Poser 1998/2013: 103], etc.

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 77, 1041. Polysemy: 'tree / spruce / spruce forest / wood, timber'.

Distinct from *tə=k^hə* *n'* 'stick, log, wood, tree, wooden object, handle, wooden frame; the woods, brush, timber; stem, stalk, trunk of plant' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 294]. Initial *tə-* is probably a gender prefix; the isolated *k^hə* *ɥ* POSSR=*k^hən-ə?* 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 *kə=c^hən* 'stump', *kə=tə=c^hən* 'stem, trunk, standing dead tree' [Kari 1978: 17] (*kə-* 'indefinite possessive', *tə-* '?').

Distinct from two dialectal words for 'spruce tree': Yukon *tə=λa:ŋ*, Kuskokwim *c'əvə* [Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 19].

Sarsi: Hoijer & Joël 1963: 72; Hoijer 1956: 222. Initial *i=* 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=*tí=c^hin-ù?* 'stick, piece of wood' [Hoijer & Joël 1963: 72] which contains the same root *c^hin* plus the desemanticized morpheme *tí*.

Distinct from *kàh ~ kəh* 'spruce tree' [Hoijer & Joël 1963: 67; Nanagusja 1996b: 109].

91. TWO

Hupa *nahx* (1), Mattole *nak^heh* (1), Kato *nak-k^ha?* (1), Taldash Galice *natei* (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina *nu-t^h-a ~ nu-t^h-ay ~ nu-t^h-ix-a* (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina *nu-t^h-ix-a* (1), Inland Tanaina *nu-t^h-ix-a* (1), Iliamna Tanaina *nu-t^h-ix-a* (1), Central Ahtena *na-te:qi* (1), Mentasta Ahtena *na-te:qe* (1), Dogrib *nàk^hé* (1), North Slavey (Hare) *rák^hiè* (1) / *ɔ̀̀=k^hè-t'è ~ ɔ̀̀=k^hè-t'iè ~ ɔ̀̀=k^hè-t'è* (1), Tanacross *ttí:k^hè:y* (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) *ta:k^hey* (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) *nat^hik'-a* (1), Central Carrier *na-n-k^hi* (1), Koyukon *nət^hi:q'-i* (1), Degexit'an *t^he:q^ha:* (1) / *no:t^h-ən* (1), Sarsi *ák^hi-yī ~ ik^hi-yī* (1).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 774; Golla 1996: 100; Golla 1970: 255. Originates < **nahxi*. The reduced variant, used as the first element of

compounds, is *nah*- [Sapir & Golla 2001: 774].

Mattole: Li 1930: 134.

Bear River dialect: *nak^hah* ~ *nak^ha* 'two' [Goddard 1929: 322].

Kato: Goddard 1912: 36; Curtis 1924: 205. Both sources explicitly quote this form with the double velar ...*k-k^h*...

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1956: 223; Landar 1977: 295.

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 322. Applied to things.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 322. Applied to things.

Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 322; Wassillie 1979: 105. Applied to things.

Iliamna Tanaina: Kari 2007: 322. Applied to things.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 287, 614, 634; Kari & Buck 1975: 99; Smelcer 2010: 102.

Lower Ahtena: *na-te:qi* [Kari 1990: 287, 614, 634; Kari & Buck 1975: 99; Smelcer 2010: 102].

Western Ahtena: *na-te:qi* [Kari 1990: 287, 614, 634; Kari & Buck 1975: 99; Smelcer 2010: 102].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 287, 614, 634; Kari & Buck 1975: 99; Smelcer 2010: 102. Regular assimilation *-i > -e*.

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 78, 225.

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: *rák^hiè* and *ṛòk^hè-t'è*, see notes on '1' for the difference. Numerals *rák^hiè* and *ṛòk^hè-t'è* are cognate with each other; initial *r- < n-* (the form with the retained nasal is documented in Hoijer's list), the forms *ṛòk^hè-t'è*, *ṛí-k^hè-t'è* are extended with vocalic prefixes, final *-t'è / -t'è* is the verb 'there are number' [Rice 1989: 383, 385]. Rice 1978: 179; Rice 1989: 376.

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 278; Holton 2000: 348; Brean & Milanowski 1979: 21; McRoy 1973: 16; Shinen 1958: 18.

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 80.

Scottie Creek: *tà:k^hay* 'two' [John 1997: 52].

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 238, 502; Tuttle 2009: 213; Frank et al. 1988: 34. Used with unanimated objects ("two things"). For humans the stem *nat^hix-na* is used ("two people") with the human pl. relative suffix *-na* [Kari 1994: 196]. Cf. also the adverb *nat^hix-ta* 'two times, places' [Kari 1994: 238].

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 *na-ne*, multiplicative *na-t*, locative *na-t,m*, abstract *na-x^w*.

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 504, 812; Jones 1978: 181. Applicable to things; Cf. other forms applicable to various objects: human *nat^hiχ-na*, way *nat^hiχ-c'an?*, direction *nat^hiχ-u*.

Degexit'an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 52. This numeral is applicable to women, animals and things, cf. some examples with *t^he:q^ha:*: "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': *no:t^h-ən* is applicable to men; *no:t ~ no:t^h-ə* is applicable to times ('twice') [Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 52; Chapman 1914: 215].

We treat *t^he:q^ha:* and *no:t^h-ən* as synonyms. Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 52; Chapman 1914: 215.

Sarsi: Cook 1984: 76, 103; Hoijer 1956: 222.

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 =*ḷ^há* (2), North Slavey (Hare) =*t=tà* (2), Tanacross =*hà:t* (1) / =*ṣàh* (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) =*ha:t* (1) / =*ṣ^yah* (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) =*ya* (1), Central Carrier =*ya* (1), Koyukon =*ho:* (1) / =*yo:* (1), Degexit'an =*ho:-?* (1) / =*yo:* (1), Sarsi =*yá* ~ =*yáh* (1).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 803; Golla 1996: 40; Golla 1970: 59 et passim. Same root as 'to come' q.v. The general meaning of the root is 'to move somewhere [intrans.]' [Golla 1970: 162, 301]. Used with sg. subj. The set =*ya*:-*m* (*=*ya*:-*m*-*i*) / =*ya* is treated in [Golla 1977: 357] as directional imperfective/perfective, whereas =*ya* / =*ya*-? (< *=*ya*:-?) is defined as nondirectional imperfective/perfective.

With pl. subj. the verb =*ti*? [light imperf.] / =*til* < *=*ti*?-*i* [heavy imperf.] / =*te*?λ' < *=*te*?-? [light perf.] / =*te*:λ' < *=*te*?-?-*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 go away'. Used with sg. subj.

Distinct from =*ti*? [imperf.] / =*te*:?l (< *=*te*?-*i*) [perf.] with polysemy: 'to go / to come / to go away / to fly' [Li 1930: 88], used with pl. subj.

Bear River dialect: perfective =*ya*-*x* 'to go' (used with sg. subj.) [Li 1930: 3].

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

Distinct from =*tə*? [imperf.] / =*tel*? (< *=*tel*?-*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 =*tə*? / =*tel*? is used with dual subj. only, although examples like [Goddard 1909: 96 No. 12] confirm the plural usage).

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 69. Paradigm: =*ya*-š [imperf.] / =*ya*: [perf.]. Polysemy: 'to go / to come'. Generic verb 'to move (intrans.)', used with sg. subj.

Distinct from =*ta*š [imperf.] / =*ča*: [perf.] 'to move (intrans.)', used with both sg. & pl. subj. [Hoijer 1973: 64]; historically =*ya*-š / =*ya*: with the prefixed *t*-classifier.

Distinct from =*ta*? ~ =*te*? [imperf.] / =*te*?t (< *=*te*?-?) [perf.] 'to move (intrans.)', used with dual. subj. [Hoijer 1973: 64].

Distinct from =*k*^h*at* [imperf.] / =*k*^h*a*? (< *=*k*^h*at*-?) [perf.] 'to move (intrans.)', used with pl. subj. [Hoijer 1973: 68].

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 234.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 234; Boraas 2010: 100. Paradigm: =*yu*-š [imperf. momentaneous] / =*yu*-*x* [imperf. repetitive] / =*yu* [perf. momentaneous] / =*yu*-*k* [perf. repetitive].

Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 234; Wassillie 1979: 44. The imperfective stem is =*yu*-*x*.

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, 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 =*tè* '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 (=tè) 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': =*tá* 'to walk (sg.)', =*ṭá* 'to walk (dual.)' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: ix]. With pl. subj. the aforementioned generic verb =*tè* '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 =*tá* 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 =*tá* '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 =*tá* (< =*t=a*) [imperf.] / =*yá* [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 =h=wi with polysemy: 'to go / to walk / to come / to run' [Rice 1978: 244, 479, 505] or =tiè 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: =hà:t [imperf., fut.] / =šàh [perf.]. As proposed in [Holton 2000: 214], the imperfective root is to be historically analyzed as a suffixal formation: =hà:-t, although -t is the normal exponent of the future form [Holton 2000: 269].

With pl subj., the verb =tét [imperf., fut.] / =tè:λ [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.

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 43, 119. A generic verb of going with polysemy: 'to go / to come', used with sg. subj. Suppletive paradigm: =ha:t [imperf., fut.] / =šàh [perf.] / =t=ta:-k [customary].

With pl subj., the verb =te:t [imperf., perf.] / =ta-t [fut.] / =t=ta-k [customary] 'to go / to come' is used [Milanowski 2009: 119]. Perfective stem, sg. subj.

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 332, 412; Tuttle 2009: 87; Urschel 2006: 26. A generic verb of going with polysemy: 'to go / to come', used with sg. & dual. subj. Paradigm: =ya-y [momentaneous/customary imperf.] / =ya [perf.] / =ya-t [momentaneous progressive].

Distinct from =ʔas [imperf.] / =ʔac [perf.] / =ʔvš [customary] 'to go / to come' used with dual. subj. [Kari 1994: 28, 411; Tuttle 2009: 87; Urschel 2006: 26, 84].

Distinct from =ta:t [imperf.] / =ta:λ [perf.] / =tət [progressive] / =tə-k [customary] 'to go / to come / to fly / to swim' used with pl. subj. [Kari 1994: 63, 412; Tuttle 2009: 88; Urschel 2006: 26, 83].

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 738, 1223, 1263; Poser 2011a: 103; Poser 2011b: 38; Antoine et al. 1974: 337. A generic verb of going with polysemy: 'to go / to come', used with sg. subj. Paradigm: =ya [continuous imperf.] / =ya-ʔ [continuous perf.] / =yai-h [customary/momentaneous imperf.] / =ya-t [progressive imperf.].

Distinct from =ʔas 'to go / to come' [Poser 1998/2013: 738, 1218, 1247; Poser 2011b: 38] used with dual. subj.

Distinct from =ti:t 'to go / to come' [Poser 1998/2013: 738, 1219, 1250; Poser 2011b: 38] used with pl. subj.

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 700, 918; Jones 1978: 71, 186; Jones & Kwaraceius 1997: 109. A generic verb of going with polysemy: 'to go / to come', used with sg. subj. Suppletive paradigm: =ho:-y [momentaneous imperf.] / =yo: [momentaneous perf.] / =ho:-t [momentaneous fut.] / =yo:-ʔ [momentaneous opt.] / =ho: [continuative imperf.] / =yo: [continuative perf.] / =ho:-t [continuative fut./opt.]. The Toklat-Bearpaw subdialect of the Upper dialect tends to use the root =yo: all through the paradigm.

Distinct from =ʔos [imperf.] / =ʔoc [perf.] / =ʔos-λ ~ =ʔas-λ [fut.] 'to go / to come' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 66, 919; Jones & Kwaraceius 1997: 109] used with dual. subj.

Distinct from =ta:t [imperf.] =ta:λ [perf.] / =tət ~ =tət-λ [fut.] with polysemy: 'to go / to come / to swim' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 116, 919; Jones & Kwaraceius 1997: 109] used with pl. subj. 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: =o:-y [momentaneous imperf.] / =yo: [momentaneous perf.] / =ho:-t [momentaneous fut.] / =yo:-ʔ [momentaneous opt.] / =ho:-ʔ [continuative imperf.] / =yo: [continuative perf.].

Distinct from =ʔos [imperf.] / =ʔoc [perf.] / =ʔvš [fut.] 'to go / to come' [Kari 1976: 5; Chapman 1914: 211] used with dual. subj.

Distinct from =ta:t [imperf.] =ta:λ [perf.] with polysemy: 'to go / to come / to swim' [Taff et al. 2007; Chapman 1914: 225] used with pl. subj. Perfective stem, sg. subj.

Sarsi: Li 1930b: 16; Cook 1984: 56. A generic verb of going with polysemy: 'to go / to come', used with sg. subj. Paradigm: =yá(h) [imperf.] / =yā [perf.].

Distinct from =t'ús [imperf.] / =t'ú:z ~ =t'ú:- [perf.] (< *t=ʔoc) 'to go / to come' [Li 1930b: 19; Cook 1984: 56] used with dual. subj.

Distinct from =tāt [imperf.] / =tá:l ~ =táλ- [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=káʔ ~ =V=kát- ~ =V=kūt [imperf.] / =V=káʔ? ~ =V=kát- [perf.] / =V=kù-t [continuative] [Li 1930b: 20; Cook 1984: 56]; pl. subj. =s=ʔús [imperf.] / =s=ʔú:z ~

=s=ʔuc- [perf.] [Li 1930b: 16; Cook 1984: 56].

93. WARM (HOT)

Hupa =se:l (1), Mattole =sel (1), Kato =səl (1), Taldash Galice =saʔ (1), Inland Tanaina =l=q^hən (2), Central Ahtena =l=k^yoq (3), Mentasta Ahtena =l=k^yoq (3), Dogrib =k^hō̃ (2), North Slavey (Hare) =wì (1) / =wèl-è (1), Tanacross =l=kón-ʔ (4), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) =l=k^huunʔ (2), Lower Tanana (Minto) =ðəʔ (1), Central Carrier =zəl (1), Koyukon =l=k^hux (3), Degexit'an =ðəʔ (1), Sarsi =zít (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.

Bear River dialect: =sal ~ =saʔ ~ =sul with polysemy: 'to be hot / to be warm' [Goddard 1929: 317, 322].

Kato: Goddard 1912: 66. Verbal root with polysemy: 'to be warm / to be hot' (applied to both objects and weather). Paradigm: -səʔ < *=səl [light stem] / -səl < *=səl-i [heavy stem].

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 70 No. 244/249; Hoijer 1956: 223; Landar 1977: 295. Polysemy: 'to be warm / to be hot'. Ablaut paradigm: =sít [imperf.] / =saʔ [perf.].

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=a=l=q^hən-i*. Ablaut paradigm: =l=q^hən / =l=q^hun / =l=q^hin; cf. fut./opt. =l=q^hi-ʔ [Kari 2007: 342] and imperfective causative =l=q^hi-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=q^hən: "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 *ə=va*. This is frequently glossed as 'hot' [Wassillie 1979: 51], but available instances suggest that *ə=va* is normally applied to weather. Cf.: "It is too warm (*ə=va*), open the door" [Wassillie 1979: 70], "It's a hot (*ə=va*) day, you go swimming" [Wassillie 1979: 99], "It was really hot (*a=va*)" (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 *ə=pa-ʔ* is used (phonetically an Upper Inlet or Outer Inlet variant). However, the collocation *ə=va-yi minʔni* 'hot water' (with *minʔni* 'water' q.v.) is significant, see notes on Common Tanaina. The semantic difference between =l=q^hən and =va is unclear.

Cf. also the verb =l=ʔuž, which is once translated as 'to be warm' in the significant context: "it is warm (water)" [Tenenbaum 1978: 152]. The correct meaning of =l=ʔuž seems, however, to be 'to boil', cf. the paradigmatic variant =l=ʔəč 'to boil' [Tenenbaum 1978: 123; Kari 2007: 293].

Iliamna Tanaina: Not attested properly.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 127, 618.

Lower Ahtena: =l=k^yoq [Kari 1990: 127, 618].

Western Ahtena: =l=k^yoq [Kari 1990: 127, 618].

Mentasta Ahtena: 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 *k^hō̃* '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 *t^hi*

mé=kʰò: *tʰó* 'thermos bottle, hot water bottle' with *tʰi* 'water' and *tʰó* 'container' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 97]).

The meaning 'to be hot' can additionally be expressed as *=kʰò tiè* 'to be hot' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 48, 177] with the adverb *tiè ~ ti*: 'very, really, too much, too many' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 20].

Distinct from the fossilized verbal form *é=ti* 'hot; heat, fever' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 25, 177]. The exact meaning and application of *é=ti* is unclear, but the explicit gloss *éti* 'hot weather' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: ii] and the collocation *éti-nèk'é* 'hot country, tropical land' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 25] suggest that *é=ti* is applicable to weather, not objects.

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 329, 479; Hoijer 1956: 222. Paradigm: *=wi* [imperf.] / *=wè* [perf.]. Additionally, a suffixed stem with retained final consonant *-l-* is used: *=wèl-è* [Rice 1978: 383, 476; Rice 1989: 243], for the desemantized verbal suffix *-e* see [Rice 1989: 816]. Verb with polysemy: 'to be warm / to be hot', *wèl-è* can also function as a noun-like adjective.

Cf. examples for *=wi* / *=wè*: "The stove is hot", "The house got warm", "I'm getting hot" [Rice 1978: 329], "Warm your hands" [Rice 1978: 317].

Cf. examples for *=wèl-è*: "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 *=kʰò* 'to be hot' [Rice 1989: 687, 816], not found in [Rice 1978].

Distinct from *=t=kʷi* ~ *=t=pi* 'to warm oneself' [Rice 1978: 317, 412, 551] (see [Rice 1978: 2] for this phonetic fluctuation). Rice 1978: 383, 476; Rice 1989: 243; Hoijer 1956: 222.

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 286; Holton 2000: 352. Verbal root: 'to be warm'. *=l=kón-?* is apparently the perfective stem; in [Holton 2000], the imperfective *=l=kón* is quoted. Applied to both weather/atmosphere and objects.

Distinct from *=ǫèʔ* '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 *-?*). Exact application is unclear. Derived from the noun *kʰum?* 'fire' q.v.

Distinct from *=luuk* ~ *=t=uk* 'to be hot' [Milanowski 2009: 46, 98].

Scottie Creek: *=l=kʰon-?* '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 *ǫəʔ* '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=ǫʰon?* '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 *(=)ǫəʔ* and *=l=ǫʰon?* is unclear, but it seems that *=l=ǫʰon?* is a more rare term.

Distinct from *=(l)=kun?* '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: *=ǫal* < **=t=ǫal*. Paradigm: *=ǫal* [stative imperf.] / *=ǫit* [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=ǳʷas* ~ *=l=ǳaz* ~ *=l=wʷas* '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=wʷas* for Poser's *=l=ǳʷas*). 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=ǳʷas* ~ *=l=ǳaz* ~ *=l=wʷas* 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 $=l=y^w\text{as} \sim =l=y\text{az} \sim =l=w\text{as}$ is 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].

Distinct from the more rare verb $=l=k^h\text{aw}\text{an}$ 'to warm with fire' [Poser 1998/2013: 986, 1256] < $k^h\text{aw}\text{an}$ 'fire' q.v.

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 $=l\text{at}$ 'to be hot', applicable exclusively to liquids [Jetté & Jones 2000: 392].

In the Central and Upper dialects, the rare verb $=l=k^h\text{an}?$ 'to be hot (of objects)' is also attested [Jetté & Jones 2000: 295].

Degexit'an: 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 $=t=\text{c}\text{v}\chi$ '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 $=q^h\text{an}?$ 'to be warm' [Kari 1976: 42], no examples found.

Distinct from $=q\text{an}?$ 'to be lukewarm' [Kari 1976: 22], no examples found.

Sarsi: Li 1930b: 22; Nanagusja 1996a: 129. Verbal stem: 'to be warm'. Paradigm: $=z\text{it}$ [imperf.] / $=z\text{il}$ [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 $=s=k^h\text{is}$ '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 $=\text{ti} \sim =\text{tin-}$ [imperf.] / $=\text{tin}$ [perf.] 'to be hot', applicable specifically to weather [Li 1930b: 18; Hoijer 1956: 223].

Distinct from $=\lambda\text{t}\text{z}$ 'to be very hot' [Li 1930b: 27].

94. WATER

Hupa $t^h\text{a}^?=\text{na}:n$ (1), Mattole $\text{ta}^?=\text{na}:h \sim \text{ta}^?=\text{na}:n$ (1), Kato $t^h\text{o}$: (2), Upper Inlet Tanaina pi^hni (3), Outer Inlet Tanaina mi^hni (3), Inland Tanaina $\text{vin}^h\text{ni} \sim \text{min}^h\text{ni}$ (3), Iliamna Tanaina $\text{vin}^h\text{ni} \sim \text{min}^h\text{ni}$ (3), Central Ahtena $t^h\text{u}$: (2), Mentasta Ahtena $t^h\text{u}$: (2), Dogrib $t^h\text{i}$ (2), North Slavey (Hare) $t^h\text{u}$ (2), Tanacross $t^h\text{u}$: (2), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) $t^h\text{u}$: (2), Lower Tanana (Minto) $t^h\text{u}$ (2), Central Carrier $t^h\text{u}$ (2), Koyukon $t^h\text{u}$: (2), Degexit'an $t^h\text{e}$: (2), Sarsi $t^h\text{u}\gamma$ - (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 < **t^ha=č̣i=t=na:n-i* (thus [Sapir & Golla 2001]; in [Golla 1996], the form **t^ha?=ti=na:n-i* 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 *t^ha=* 'into the water', for which see below. Cf. also recent compounds like *xon?-t^ha?na:n* 'alcohol', literally 'fire + water' [Golla 1996: 3], *t^ha?na:n-timin* 'coffee', literally 'water + black' [Golla 1996: 19].

The old root *t^ho:* is retained as *t^ho:* 'body of water, river, ocean' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 789; Golla 1996: 105], POSSR=*t^ho-?* 'juice, sap' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 789; Golla 1996: 51], the verb =*t^ho:* 'to extend, reach (of water)' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 789] and as an element of various compounds like *t^ho:-tinj* 'beach, shore, at the river' (literally 'water-place') [Sapir & Golla 2001: 789; Golla 1996: 9], *t^ho-sq'ac* 'spring (of cold water), cold water' < **t^ho:-si-q'ac* 'water + cold' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 789; Golla 1996: 19], etc.

The ablated variant of *t^ho:* functions as the verbal directional prefixes *t^ha:-* '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:h* / =*na:n* 'to drink' q.v., literally 'what one drinks' (see notes on Hupa).

The old root *t^ho:* ~ *t^he:* 'water' is retained in such compounds as *pi-t^ho-?* 'juice', POSSR=*na?-t^ho-?* 'tears' [Li 1930: 128] (with *na?* 'eye' q.v.), the verb =*t^ho-?* [perf.] 'to move (said of water)' [Li 1930: 91], the substantive *t^he:-γ* 'otter' [Li 1930: 128] (lit. 'in the water') and the verbal prefix *teh-* 'in(to) water' [Li 1930: 57] (with the regular deaspiration *t^h > t* in prefix syllables [Li 1930: 31]).

Bear River dialect: *ta=nah* ~ *t^ha=nah* ~ *ta=nan* '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 [Hojjer 1956: 223], the generic term is quoted as *t^ho:-*, although the hyphen sign should indicate that *t^ho:* was extracted by Hojjer from certain compounds. In [Hojjer 1973: 55], independent *t^ho:* is translated as 'flowing water; river; water in nature'. Two attested compounds with *t^ho:* prove, however, that *t^ho:* was indeed the generic Galice term for 'water' at least until recently: *t^ho:-sasať* 'hot water' (with =*sať* 'to be hot, warm') [Hojjer 1973: 55], POSSR=*ta:-t^ho:* 'tears' (lit. 'eye water' with POSSR=*ta:-* 'eye' q.v.) [Landar 1977: 294].

Cf. the ablaut variants of the same root: *t^ha:-* 'river, water' in *t^ha:-ni:sat* 'in the middle of the river' [Hojjer 1973: 54]; *t^ha-* in compounds like *t^ha-pa?* 'thirst', *t^ha-l-k^hat* 'water for domestic use', etc. [Hojjer 1973: 54].

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 121, 360; Kari 1977: 113.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 121, 360; Kari 1977: 113.

Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 121, 360; Kari 1977: 113; Wassillie 1979: 109.

In the Lime Village subdialect, the loanword *ama* can also be used for 'water' [Kari 2007: 121; Kari 1977: 113; Wassillie 1979: 109] < Central Alaskan Yupik *amaq* 'water'.

Iliamna Tanaina: Kari 2007: 121, 360; Kari 1977: 113.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 337, 619; Kari & Buck 1975: 77; Smelcer 2010: 96.

Lower Ahtena: *t^hu:* [Kari 1990: 337, 619; Kari & Buck 1975: 77; Smelcer 2010: 96].

Western Ahtena: *t^hu:* [Kari 1990: 337, 619; Kari & Buck 1975: 77; Smelcer 2010: 96].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 337, 619; Kari & Buck 1975: 77; Smelcer 2010: 96.

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 96, 228. Polysemy: 'water / liquid / lake'.

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 97, 182; Hojjer 1956: 222. Polysemy: 'water / diarrhea'.

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 287; Holton 2000: 348; Brean & Milanowski 1979: 13; McRoy 1973: 7; Shinen 1958: 14.

Cf. the ablaut variants of the same root, used as the incorporated element: *t^hā-* 'water' [Holton 2000: 258].

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 24, 88.

Northway: *t^hu:* 'water' [Milanowski 2007: 18].

Scottie Creek: *t^hu:* 'water' [John 1997: 48].

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 247, 507; Tuttle 2009: 220. In compounds, the variant *t^ha-* is used [Kari 1994: 240; Tuttle 2009: 220].

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 468, 989; Poser 2011a: 232; Antoine et al. 1974: 218, 337. Cf. the variant *t^ha-* 'water', used in verbal incorporation or as the first element of nominal compounds [Poser 1998/2013: 446].

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 533, 1050; Jones 1978: 188. In compounds and incorporated forms, the variants *t^ho:-* 'water' and *t^ha:-* 'in water' are used [Jetté & Jones 2000: 501].

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 *əma?* 'water' [Kari 1978: 40], borrowed from Yupik *əmaq* 'water'.
Sarsi: Hoijer & Joël 1963: 67; Hoijer 1956: 223. Paradigm: *t^hú* / POSSR=*t^húy-ð?*.

95. WE

Hupa *nehe*: (1), Mattole *noh-n'iy* (1), Kato *neh-iy* (1), Taldash Galice *tawwa* (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:-ne* (1), Mentasta Ahtena *ne:-n* (1), Dogrib *kó-xí* (2), North Slavey (Hare) *ràxè-nì* (1), Tanacross *nè:-xòn* (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) *n^de:-xon* (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) *təna-xvŋ* (1) / *xvŋ* (3), Central Carrier *x^weni* (3), Koyukon *χon* (3), Degexit'an *χvŋ* (3) / *təna:-χvŋ* (4), Sarsi *nāá-ní* (1).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 776, 779; Golla 1996: 105; Golla 1970: 236. As proposed in [Sapir & Golla 2001], *nehe* originates < **noh-e*: with secondary vowel assimilation (the final element *-e*: is unclear, however). The same morpheme constitutes the prefixal possessive pronoun *noh-* with polysemy: 'our / your (pl.)' [Golla 1970: 212], 1 & 2 pl. object verbal prefix *-noh-* [Golla 1970: 103]. But different morphemes are used for subject verbal prefixes: 1 pl. *-ti-*, 2 pl. *-oh-* [Golla 1970: 69].

Cf. the independent 2 pl. pronoun *noh-n* < **noh-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 *noh* '*we / you (pl.)' + *niy* '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-* [Li 1930: 65]. But different morphemes are used for subject verbal prefixes: 1 pl. *-ti-*, 2 pl. *-oh-* [Li 1930: 69].

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. *noh-iy* 'you (pl.)'; the same morpheme constitutes the prefixal possessive pronoun *noh-* with polysemy: 'our / your (pl.)' [Goddard 1912: 21].

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1956: 223. Originates from **nawa*. The same morpheme in the prefixal possessive pronoun *to:-* [before C] / *taw-* [before V] / *naw-* [before \tilde{V}] with polysemy: 'our / your (pl.)' [Hoijer 1966: 321-322] (< **naw-* or the like), 1 & 2 pl. indirect & direct object verbal prefix *to:-* [before C] / *taw-* [before V] / *naw-* [before \tilde{V}] [Hoijer 1966: 323, 324].

The independent pronoun for 2 pl. 'you' is not documented.

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 65. In [Kari 1977: 80] quoted as *na-na*.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 65; Kari 1977: 80.

Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 65; Kari 1977: 80.

Iliamna Tanaina: Kari 2007: 65; Kari 1977: 80.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 35, 295.

Lower Ahtena: *ne:-ne* [Kari 1990: 35, 295].

Western Ahtena: *ne:-ne* [Kari 1990: 35, 295].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 35, 295. Regular reduction of final *-e*.

Dogrib: 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) *ká:-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) *k^hí* '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-xí*, 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-xí* for 'we, us (dual., pl.)'.

It is likely that the most common pronoun of the 1st p. dual./pl. is *kó-xí* (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.)', *kó-xí* and *ná-xí* are attested: "We (*kó-xí*) don't live nowadays like the oldtimers did" [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 19], "We (*ná-xí*) painted the house ourselves" [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 120].

The same morpheme *ko* is present in the prefixal possessive pronoun *kó-* 'our (pl.)', 1st dual./pl. object verbal prefix -*kò-* [Saxon & Siemens 1996: xiii; Marinakis et al. 2007: 39, 128].

For the dual. possessive 'our', the 2nd p. pronoun is used: *ná-xí-* 'our (dual.) / your (dual., pl.)' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: xiii].

Different morphemes are used as subject verbal prefixes: 1st dual. subject -*wit-* ('we'), 1st pl. subject -*c'é-* ('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 *nàxè-nè*. Polysemy: 'we / you (pl.)'. Final -*ní* is a suffix modifying personal and some other pronouns.

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 288. In [Holton 2000: 278], transcribed as *nè-xón?*. 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 -*c'è-* is used [Holton 2000: 199, 243].

Cf. the 2nd pl. pronouns: independent *nùh-xòn* 'you' [Arnold et al. 2009: 300] (in [Holton 2000: 278], transcribed as *nùh-xón?*), prefixal possessive *nùh-* 'your', 2nd pl. object verbal prefix -*nùh-* [Holton 2000: 145, 248]. Etymologically distinct from the 2nd pl. subject verbal prefix -*àh-* [Holton 2000: 199].

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 82. The same morpheme is present in the prefixal possessive pronoun *n^de:(?)-* 'our' [Milanowski 2009: 9].

Cf. the 2nd pl. pronouns: independent *n^duh-xon* 'you' [Milanowski 2009: 82], prefixal possessive *n^duh(?)-* 'your' [Milanowski 2009: 9].

Northway: *n^de:xon* 'we' [Milanowski 2007: 15].

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 138, 196. It is suggested in [Kari 1994: 138] that both *tàna-xv* and simple *xv* can be used as the independent pronoun 'we'.

The same morpheme *tàna-* is present in the prefixal possessive pronoun *tàna-* 'our', 1st pl. direct object verbal prefix -*tàna-* [Kari 1994: 196]. Although for 1st pl. subject, the impersonal subject prefix -*c'ə-* is used [Kari 1994: 280].

Initial *tàna-* formally coincides with the substantive *tàna* 'man / person' q.v.

Cf. the 2nd pl. pronouns: independent *yox-v-yi* ~ *yox-vm-yi* (both < **yox-xvn-yi* with the same *xv* has in 'we') 'you', prefixal possessive *yox-* ~ *nox-* (with unclear *n-*) 'your', 2nd pl. direct object verbal prefix *yox-* [Kari 1994: 343]. Kari 1994: 138.

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 -*c'ŋ-* is used [Antoine et al. 1974: 350].

Cf. the 2nd pl. pronouns: independent *noh-ni* 'you', prefixal possessive *noh-* 'your', 2nd pl. direct object verbal prefix *noh-* [Poser 1998/2013: 366; Antoine et al. 1974: 349-351].

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 271, 805; Jones & Kwaraceius 1997: 4.

A different morpheme is found in the prefixal possessive pronoun *tàna-* 'our', 1st pl. direct object verbal prefix -*tàna-* [Jetté & Jones 2000: 428, 805]. For 1st pl. subject, the prefix -*c'ə-* is used [Jetté & Jones 2000: 805].

Pronominal *tàna-* formally coincides with the substantive *tàna*: 'man / person' q.v.

Cf. the 2nd pl. pronouns: independent *yox-o* (< *yox-xo*) 'you', prefixal possessive *yox-* 'your', 2nd pl. direct object verbal prefix *yox-*, 2nd pl. subject verbal prefix -*ox-* [Jetté & Jones 2000: 721, 805].

Degexit'an: Kari 1978: 25. Two independent pronouns meaning 'we' are quoted in [Kari 1978] without additional details: *χv* and *tàna:-χv* We have to treat them as synonyms.

The prefixal possessive pronoun 'our' is *tàna-* [Kari 1978: 25]. For 1st pl. subject, the prefix -*c'ə-* is used [Hargus 2000].

Cf. the 2nd pl. pronouns: independent *yəχ-v* (< *yəχ-χv*) 'you', prefixal possessive *yəχ-* 'your' [Kari 1978: 25]. Kari 1978: 25.

Sarsi: Cook 1984: 62; Hoijer 1956: 222. Final -*ní* is a morpheme common for all independent personal pronouns.

Cf. the 2nd pl. independent pronoun *nīhī-nī* 'you' [Cook 1984: 62].

Cf. grammatical exponents which may not discriminate between the 1st and 2nd person: the prefixal possessive pronoun *nīhī-* 'our / your', 1st pl. subject verbal prefix *-aat-* (opposed to 2nd pl. *-as-*), 1st/2nd pl. object verbal prefix *-nīhī-* ~ *-naa-* [Hojijer & Joël 1963: 66; Cook 1984: 193, 197].

96. WHAT

Hupa *tay-t* ~ *tiy-t* (1), Mattole *t'i:-to?* (1), Kato *ti:-č'i:* (1), Taldash Galice *ti* (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina *ya-ta* (2) / *ya=ta* (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina *ya-ti* (2) / *ya=ti* (1), Inland Tanaina *ya-ta* (2) / *ya=ta* (1), Iliamna Tanaina *ya-ta* (2) / *ya=ta* (1), Central Ahtena *yi-ti* (2) / *yi=ti* (1), Mentasta Ahtena *yi-ti* (2) / *yi=ti* (1), Dogrib *á=yì:* (2), North Slavey (Hare) *yè-rì* ~ *ʔà=yè-rì* (2), Tanacross *tí:* (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) *tí:* (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) *tə-ya* (1) / *tə=ya* (2), Central Carrier *ti* (1), Koyukon *kən* ~ *kən-i:* (3), Degexit'an *ka:n* (3), Sarsi *tì-t'á* (1).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 747; Golla 1996: 106; Golla 1996a: 380; Golla 1970: 237. The morpheme *-t* < **-ti* is a general pronominal interrogative element, see examples in [Golla 1970: 237; Golla 1996a: 380]. Cf. the cognate indefinite pronoun *tay-mo?* ~ *tiy-mo?* 'something' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 747; Golla 1996a: 380; Golla 1970: 237], formed with another general enclitic.

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 *-č'i:* is a general pronominal interrogative element.

Taldash Galice: Landar 1977: 295 No. 83. Attested in the phrase "What do you call this?".

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 343; Kari 1977: 282. Kari 2007: 343; Kari 1977: 282.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 343; Kari 1977: 282. Kari 2007: 343; Kari 1977: 282.

Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 343; Kari 1977: 282; Lovick 2005: 208. Kari 2007: 343; Kari 1977: 282; Lovick 2005: 208.

Iliamna Tanaina: Kari 2007: 343; Kari 1977: 282. Kari 2007: 343; Kari 1977: 282.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 440, 621.

Lower Ahtena: *yi-ti* [Kari 1990: 440, 621].

Western Ahtena: *yi-ti* [Kari 1990: 440, 621]. Kari 1990: 440, 621.

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 440, 621. Kari 1990: 440, 621.

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 6, 229; Marinakis et al. 2007: 162. Used with all numbers? Apparently *áyì:* 'what?' and *ámè:* 'who?' q.v. are to be analyzed as *á=yì:*, *á=mè:* with the common desemantized element *á-*.

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1989: 257. Final *-ri* (< **-ti*) is an enclitic element modifying demonstrative and some other pronouns; initial *ʔa-* is a proclitic element optionally modifying interrogative pronouns.

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 291; Holton 2000: 280.

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].

A second candidate is (probably more marginal) *tač'a* 'what?' [Poser 1998/2013: 110, 992; Antoine et al. 1974: 73] with the examples: "What does he mean?", "What do you think?" [Poser 1998/2013: 110].

Distinct from *n=tai* 'what?, which?' [Poser 1998/2013: 332; Antoine et al. 1974: 164, 354].

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 187, 1052; Jones & Kwaraceius 1997: 4; Jones 1978: 191. Final *-i*: is the non-human relativizer 'the one that, the thing that' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 7]. Cf. the example: "What do you want? I want water".

In the Upper dialect (Toklat-Bearpaw subdialect) two pronouns for 'what?' coexist: inherited *čən* (< *kən*) and borrowed *taya*: (< Lower Tanana *tə-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=ta:ɜ* '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=ta:ɜ təjət'a:y*) 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 *-t'a* is found in some other pronouns, e.g., *λ^hàá-t'á-à* 'all' q.v., *xà-t'á-á* 'what (kind)' [Cook 1984: 60].

97. WHITE

Hupa =*qay* (1), Mattole =*kai* (1), Kato *t=kai* (1), Taldash Galice =*kai* (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina =*l=qəy* (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina =*l=qəy* (1), Inland Tanaina =*l=qəy* (1), Iliamna Tanaina =*l=qəy* (1), Central Ahtena =*l=qay* (1), Mentasta Ahtena =*l=qey* (1), Dogrib =*kó:* (1), North Slavey (Hare) *tè=k'àl-è* (2), Tanacross *t=è=l=kèy* (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) *t=e=l=kay* ~ *t=e=l=kay* (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) =*l=k'vλ* (2), Central Carrier =*t=yal* ~ =*l=yal* (3), Koyukon =*l=q'ot* (2), Degexit'an =*q'vł* (2), Sarsi =*V=kúy* ~ =*V=káy* (1).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 754; Golla 1996: 107. Verbal root: 'to be white'.

Mattole: Li 1930: 97. Verbal root 'to be white'; adjective *tí=k'ai* 'white' [Li 1930: 64]. Distinct from the specific term *?i=γ^{too}oi* 'white people' [Li 1930: 126] (for the impersonal thematic pronoun *?i*- cf. [Li 1930: 37 f.]).

Bear River dialect: not attested.

Kato: Goddard 1912: 28; Curtis 1924: 203. An adjective-like deverbative form.

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 67; Hoijer 1956: 223; Landar 1977: 295. Verbal root with polysemy: 'to be white / to be grey'. The adjectival form is *t=kai*.

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 319, 321, 361; Kari 1977: 253.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 319, 321, 361; Kari 1977: 253.

Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 319, 321, 361; Kari 1977: 253; Wassillie 1979: 111.

Iliamna Tanaina: Kari 2007: 319, 321, 361; Kari 1977: 253.

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.

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 14, 230. Verbal root: 'to be white'.

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 221, 442, 552. Verbal form 'it is white', initial *tè-* is the adjectival prefix [Rice 1989: 617], for the desemantized verbal suffix *-e* see [Rice 1989: 816].

Distinct from the verb =*kà* which is quoted in [Hoijer 1956: 222] as =*kay* '(to be) white', but in modern language =*kà* means 'to be holly, pure / to come (of daylight)' [Rice 1978: 220, 430], although the old meaning is retained in =*h=kà* 'to make white' [Rice 1978: 220, 430] and =*t=kà* 'to become white' [Rice 1978: 222, 430].

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 293; Holton 2000: 178, 353; Brean & Milanowski 1979: 22; McRoy 1973: 16; Shinen 1958: 18. Consists of the verb =*l=kèy* 'to be white' with the adjectival/gender exponent *t=* [Holton 2000: 237 ff.].

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 15, 42, 72. Formed from the verb =*l=kay* 'to be white'.

Northway: *t=e=l=kay* '(it is) white' [Milanowski 2007: 19].

Scottie Creek: *e=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'vλ* [neuter imperf.] / =*l=k'al* [transitional imperf.] / =*l=k'aλ* [transitional perf.]. Also functions as the noun-like adjective *k'vλ-a?* 'white'.

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 995, 1224, 1265; Poser 2011a: 237; Antoine et al. 1974: 241, 339.

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 369, 1054; Jones 1978: 193. Verbal stem: 'to be white'. Paradigm: =*q'oʔ* [neuter imperf.] / =*q'o:ʔ* [momentaneous imperf.] / =*q'o:λ* [momentaneous perf.]. Also functions as the noun-like adjective *q'oʔ-əʔ* 'white'.

Degexit'an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 55; Kari 1976: 44; Chapman 1914: 230. Verbal stem: 'to be 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 =*V=k'hū:n* 'to be white' [Li 1930b: 21], not specified semantically, without examples.

Distinct from =*V=k'í:l* 'to be white' [Li 1930b: 22] with the only example "It (hair) is white" [Cook 1984: 166].

Distinct from =*V=kúš* 'to be very white', applied to cloth, paper, etc. [Li 1930b: 21; Cook 1984: 163, 166].

98. WHO

Hupa *tan-t* (1), Mattole *t'an-to?* (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), Dogrib *á=mè:* ~ *á=mì:* (2), North Slavey (Hare) *mè-nǐ* ~ *ʔà=mè-nǐ* ~ *ʔà=mè-n* (2), Tanacross *tó:* (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) *to:* (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) *tə-ba* (1) / *tə=ba* (2), Central Carrier *m=pe* (2), Koyukon *tə-pa:* (1) / *tə=pa:* (2), Degexit'an *tə-va:* (1) / *tə=va:* (2), Sarsi *ātáyá* (3).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 746; Golla 1996: 107; Golla 1996a: 380; Golla 1970: 237. In [Golla 1996], transcribed as *tun-t*. For the general pronominal interrogative element *-t* see notes on 'what'. Cf. the cognate indefinite pronoun *tan-mo?* 'someone' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 746; Golla 1996a: 380; Golla 1970: 237], formed with another general enclitic.

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: Not attested.

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 343; Kari 1977: 284. Kari 2007: 343; Kari 1977: 284.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 343; Kari 1977: 284. Final *-n* is the human singulative exponent *-ən* [Kari 2007: 329; Boraas 2010: 17, 52]. Kari 2007: 343; Kari 1977: 284.

Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 343; Kari 1977: 284; Lovick 2005: 208. Kari 2007: 343; Kari 1977: 284; Lovick 2005: 208.

Iliamna Tanaina: Kari 2007: 343; Kari 1977: 284. Kari 2007: 343; Kari 1977: 284.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 103, 621.

Lower Ahtena: *pe-te* [Kari 1990: 103, 621].

Western Ahtena: *pe-te* [Kari 1990: 103, 621]. Kari 1990: 103, 621.

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 103, 621. Kari 1990: 103, 621.

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 5, 230; Marinakis et al. 2007: 162. Sg. form; dual. & pl. form is *ámi:-k^hé*. For initial *á-*, cf. notes on *á=yi:*

'what?'

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1989: 257. Initial *ʔa-* is a proclitic element optionally modifying interrogative pronouns; final *-nī* is a suffix modifying personal and some other pronouns.

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 293; Holton 2000: 280.

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 16, 88.

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 31, 66, 510; Tuttle 2009: 226. See notes on *tə-ya* 'what'.

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 289, 996; Antoine et al. 1974: 147, 339, 353. Initial *m=* is a common pronominal element, realized as *n=* before non-labials, cf., e.g., *n=tai* 'what?, which?', *n=tet* 'when?', *n=yu-n* 'that'.

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 76, 1054; Jones & Kwaraceus 1997: 4.

Degexit'an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 101; Chapman 1914: 226.

Sarsi: Cook 1984: 60. Morphologically unclear.

99. WOMAN

Hupa *c^hamehsʔo:n* (1), Mattole *yan-k^heh* (2), Kato *ček* (3), Taldash Galice *c'ā:k^he*: (4), Upper Inlet Tanaina *tə=k'is-ən* ~ *k'is-ən* (5), Outer Inlet Tanaina *k'is-ən* (5), Inland Tanaina *tə=β=k'is-ən* (5), Iliamna Tanaina *k'is-ən* (5), Central Ahtena *c'aq^he*: (3), Mentasta Ahtena *c'aq^he*: (3), Dogrib *c'èk^hó* (3), North Slavey (Hare) *c'ék^hù* (3), Tanacross *c'éhxèh* (3), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) *c'exeh* (3), Lower Tanana (Minto) *çaxa* (3), Central Carrier *c'ek^he* (3), Koyukon *so:t-t'a:n* (6), Degexit'an *nə=q'ó:=t=o-n* ~ *n=q'ó:=t=o-n* (7), Sarsi *c'ik^hv̄* ~ *c'ik^há* (3).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 734; Golla 1996: 108. In [Golla 1996], transcribed as *c^hum...* A descriptive formation; as noted by Golla, < **c^han me:-s-ʔo:n-i*, literally 'deerskin apron (*c^han*) tied (*ʔo:n*) on to her'.

Mattole: Li 1930: 125. As proposed by Li, this form consists of *yan-* 'female' (probably also attested in *ya:ne?* 'doe' [Li 1930: 125]) and the suffix *-k^heh*; the literal meaning of the entire form is 'female class'.

Bear River dialect: *yan-k^hah* ~ *yi-yan-k^ha* '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: *ček* [Goddard 1912: 20] and *čyan* [Goddard 1912: 24] (the latter looks like a verbal form, currently unanalyzable). Browsing through [Goddard 1909] suggests that *ček* is the default expression for sg. 'woman' (ca. 15×), whereas the form *čyan-k^hi*: is the default expression for pl. 'women' (ca. 10×; the final element *-k^hi*: is the rare plural exponent [Goddard 1912: 20]). In a couple of cases, *ček* is used for pl. 'women', but the general distribution *ček* [sg.] / *čyan-k^hi*: [pl.] is beyond doubt.

It must be noted that the plain form *čyan* seems very rare in Goddard's texts, if it exists at all, but the suffixed stem *čyan-c* (final *-c* 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'ā:k^he-yo*: 'women' (with the rare plural suffix *-yo*: [Hoijer 1966: 322 f.]), although there is also an alternative plural form *c'e-yo*: 'women, women folks' [Hoijer 1973: 59] with a separate root *c'e-*.

Historically, *c'ā:k^he*: is the plural form *c'ā-k^he*: '*women' with the fossilized plural suffix *-k^he*: (for which see [Hoijer 1966: 322 f.]).

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 72, 361.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 72, 361.

Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 72, 361; Wassillie 1979: 113.

Iliamna Tanaina: Kari 2007: 72, 361.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 238, 623; Kari & Buck 1975: 54.

Lower Ahtena: *c'aq^he*: [Kari 1990: 238, 623; Kari & Buck 1975: 54].

- Western Ahtena:** c'aq^he: [Kari 1990: 238, 623; Kari & Buck 1975: 54].
- Mentasta Ahtena:** Kari 1990: 238, 623; Kari & Buck 1975: 54.
- Dogrib:** Saxon & Siemens 1996: 105, 231; Marinakis et al. 2007: 163. An unclear fossilized compound. Polysemy: 'woman / girl / queen in cards'.
- North Slavey (Hare):** Rice 1978: 102, 185. Polysemy: 'woman / girl / queen in cards'. An unclear fossilized compound; for the first element *c'é-* 'female' cf. *c'é-yúne?* 'old woman' [Rice 1978: 103] (*-yúne?* 'old' [Rice 1989: 238]), POSSR=*c'é-wé-?* 'embryo skin, womb', lit. 'female's hide' [Rice 1978: 102].
In [Hojjer 1956: 222], the compound *c'e-line* 'woman' is quoted, not found in modern sources.
- Tanacross:** Arnold et al. 2009: 296; Holton 2000: 348; Brean & Milanowski 1979: 15. An unclear fossilized compound. The plural form is quoted as *c'éhxê-y* in [Holton 2000: 158] and as *c'éxè-y-in* in [Arnold et al. 2009: 296] with irregular loss of medial *-h-* (a typo?); for the rare human plural suffix *-y* and the more common plural exponent *-in*, see [Holton 2000: 157 f.].
Distinct from POSSR=*â:t* 'wife' [Arnold et al. 2009: 294; Holton 2000: 348].
- Upper Tanana (Tetlin):** Milanowski 2009: 27, 89. Pl.: *c'exe-?in* 'women'.
Distinct from POSSR=*â:t* 'wife' [Milanowski 2009: 12, 89].
Northway: *c'exeh* 'woman', POSSR=*â:t* 'wife' [Milanowski 2007: 19].
Scottie Creek: *c'èxeh* 'woman', POSSR=*â:t* 'wife' [John 1997: 56].
- Lower Tanana (Minto):** Kari 1994: 280, 512; Tuttle 2009: 230. Looks like a historical compound. For the first element cf. *ç'a* which means 'female' in such collocations as POSSR=*ba-ç'a-?* 'aunt, mother's brother's wife' (*ba* '?'), *yunana? ç'a-?* 'white woman' (*yunana?* 'Outside of Alaska') [Kari 1994: 280]. Final *-xa* is unclear.
Distinct from POSSR=*â:t* 'wife / female mate of animal' [Kari 1994: 26, 510].
- Central Carrier:** Poser 1998/2013: 489, 998; Poser 2011a: 238; Antoine et al. 1974: 229, 339. Plural: *c'ek^hu* 'women'. Cf. the morpheme *-c'e* 'female', the marker of feminine gender of animals [Poser 1998/2013: 488].
Distinct from *â:t* 'wife' [Poser 1998/2013: 29].
- Koyukon:** Jetté & Jones 2000: 740, 1057; Jones 1978: 196. Polysemy: 'woman / female (of animals)'. The plural form is *so:t^tan* 'women' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 544; Jones 1978: 196] with a unique case of reduction *a* > *ə*. An unclear formation consisting of *so:t* '?' (not attested beyond this stem) and *=t'a* *ŋ* which can go back to *=t=ʔan* 'to do', 'to see' or 'to own, dwell' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 544].
A more rare expression for 'woman' is the deverbative expression *təna=q'ə:=t=ə- ɿ* [sg.] / *təna=q'ə:=t=ta:t-nə* [pl.] [Jetté & Jones 2000: 701], literally 'the one that causes us to walk around' with the suppletive verb *=(h)o*: [sg.] / *=ta:t* [pl.] '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 *c'a* 'woman' retained in a couple of compounds [Jetté & Jones 2000: 652].
Distinct from POSSR=*ə:t* 'wife' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 65].
- Degexit'an:** Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 29; Chapman 1914: 215. Suppletive plural: *n=q'ə:=t=dat-an*. Polysemy: 'girl / woman'. Literally 'the one that causes (us) to walk around', see further notes on Koyukon *təna=q'ə:=t=ə- ɿ* [sg.] / *təna=q'ə:=t=ta:t-nə* [pl.] 'woman'. This is the basic term for 'woman' with numerous examples.
The second candidate is the rare term *çat-t'a* *ŋ* 'woman' [Kari 1978: 29], not found in other sources. Morphologically unclear; corresponds to Koyukon *so:t-t'a* *ŋ* 'woman' q.v.
Distinct from POSSR=*ə:t* 'wife' [Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 28; Chapman 1914: 211]. In the Kuskokwim dialect, it sounds as POSSR=*ə:v* 'wife' according to [Kari 1978: 28], although [Chapman 1914: 211] gives both variants, POSSR=*ə:t* and POSSR=*ə:v*, apparently for the Yukon dialect.
- Sarsi:** Hoijer & Joël 1963: 73; Hoijer 1956: 222; Cook 1984: 67. Non-standard pl.: *c'ù-k^húy^v ~ c'ì-k^húwá* 'women' with the suffix *k^huyv ~ k^huwa*, on which see further in [Cook 1984: 67].
Distinct from POSSR=*c'ây-ə* 'wife' [Hoijer & Joël 1963: 71].

100. YELLOW

Hupa *ta?k^{hy}a:w-nehwa:n* (1), Mattole =*c^how* (2), Kato *t=č^hi:k* (3), Taldash Galice =*c^oh* (4), Upper Inlet Tanaina *ti=tə=c^hik-i* (3) / *l=c^həɸ-i* (5), Outer Inlet Tanaina *ti=tə=č^hik-i* (3) / *l=c^həɸ-i* (5), Inland Tanaina *ti=t=č^hik-i* (3) / *l=c^həɸ-i* (5), Iliamna Tanaina *ti=t=č^hik-i* (3) /

$l=c^h\partial B-i$ (5), Central Ahtena $=l=c^h\partial B$ (5), Mentasta Ahtena $=l=c^h\partial B$ (5), Dogrib $=k^{hw}\acute{o}$ (5), North Slavey (Hare) $t\grave{e}=f\grave{o}$ (5), Tanacross $t=\grave{e}=l=t^{\theta h}\grave{o}x$ (5), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) $te=l=t^{\theta h}o$: (5), Lower Tanana (Minto) $=l=t^{\theta h}ux$ (5) / $=t=c^hik$ (3), Central Carrier $=l=c^ho$ (2), Koyukon $=l=\lambda^hu\chi$ (5), Degexit'an $=t^{\theta h}uB$ (5), Sarsi $=V=c^h\acute{u}w$ (2) / $=V=c^h\acute{u}y$ (5).

References and notes:

Hupa: Golla 1996: 110. A descriptive formation, literally *taʔ-k^{hw}arw* '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. *čun-nehwan* 'brown' (literally 'muddy water' + 'it resembles') [Golla 1996: 14] and *c^hel-nehwan* 'red' (literally 'blood' + 'it resembles') q.v.

By contrast, 'yellow' is quoted as $=c^how$ in [Hoijer 1956: 223; Li 1930: 10], coinciding with the term for 'green' q.v. Thus it is very likely that $=c^how$ 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: $ti=c^how$ 'blue / yellow'.

Bear River dialect: $ti=c^hič$ '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 $t=c^oh$.

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 320, 361; Kari 1977: 254. Kari 2007: 320, 361.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 320, 361; Kari 1977: 254. Kari 2007: 320, 361.

Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 320, 361. Kari 2007: 320, 361.

Iliamna Tanaina: Kari 2007: 320, 361. Kari 2007: 320, 361.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 394, 625.

Lower Ahtena: $=l=c^h\partial B$ [Kari 1990: 394, 625].

Western Ahtena: $=l=c^h\partial B$ [Kari 1990: 394, 625].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 394, 625.

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 16, 232. Verbal root: 'to be yellow'.

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 220, 429, 554; Hoijer 1956: 222. Hoijer quotes the 19th c. archaic variant $\{-kfwoy\}$. Verbal form 'it is yellow'; initial $t\grave{e}$ - is an adjectival prefix [Rice 1989: 617].

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 299; Holton 2000: 178, 206; Brean & Milanowski 1979: 22; McRoy 1973: 16; Shinen 1958: 18. Derived from the verb $=l=t^{\theta h}\grave{o}x$ with polysemy: 'to be yellow / to be brown'. Initial $t=$ is the adjectival/gender exponent [Holton 2000: 237 ff.].

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski, p.c.; Milanowski 2009: 72. Polysemy: 'green / yellow / brown' (specified by Milanowski "part of the broad spectrum of brown"). Nominalized verbal form: 'it is brown'.

Scottie Creek: $e=l=t^{\theta h}oh$ '(it is) yellow' [John 1997: 32].

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 314, 513; Tuttle 2009: 233.

There are two Lower Tanana expressions for the yellow part of spectrum: 'yellow-brown' and 'yellow-orange'.

1) The verb $=l=t^{\theta h}ux$ [neuter imperf.] / $=l=t^{\theta h}ux$ [transitional imperf.] / $=l=t^{\theta h}uk$ [transitional perf.] with polysemy: 'to be yellow / tan / brown / blonde / green' plus the cognate noun-like adjective $t^{\theta h}ux$ 'yellow-brown' [Kari 1994: 314].

2) The verb $=t=c^hik$ [neuter imperf.] / $=t=c^h\acute{u}y$ [semelfactive imperf.] 'to be yellow-orange' plus the cognate noun-like adjective c^hik 'yellow-orange' [Kari 1994: 290].

We treat both forms as synonyms. Kari 1994: 290, 513.

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 1002, 1223, 1262; Poser 2011a: 241; Antoine et al. 1974: 89, 340.

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 586, 1060; Jones 1978: 199. Verbal stem, also functions as the noun-like adjective $\lambda^hu\chi-\partial\lambda$. 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'.

Sarsi: Li 1930b: 24; Cook 1984: 166. There are two Sarsi verbs for 'yellow': =V=c^húw glossed as 'to be yellow (green)' (this is not the expression for 'green' q.v., however), and =V=c^háy 'to be orange-yellow'. Apparently they denote 'light yellow' and 'dark yellow' respectively. We have to treat them as synonyms. Li 1930b: 23; Cook 1984: 166.

101. FAR

Hupa =sa:t (1), Kato =se (1), Taldash Galice =cah (2), Inland Tanaina =sat (1), Central Ahtena =zet (1), Mentasta Ahtena =zet (1), Dogrib =wà (1), North Slavey (Hare) ní=wá^á (1), Tanacross =θá:t (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) n^d=i:=θa:dn (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) =t=ðat (1), Central Carrier ní=t=çá? (2), Koyukon ní=t=lo:t (1), Degexit'an nə=t=ðo:t-ə ~ ne:=ðo:t-ə (1), Sarsi ku=ti=ni=sat (1).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 782; Golla 1996: 24, 33. Verbal root with polysemy: 'to be far / to be deep'. Originates < *sa:t-i; the parallel light variant is =sah < *sa:t.

Mattole: Not attested. Cf. the verb =c^hat '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 t-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'.

Iliamna Tanaina: Not attested.

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 =mà: [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 93]. The expressions for 'near' q.v. are based on this verb: =wà-lé-(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-ə 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 =t=çá? 'to be long (temporal)' [Poser 1998/2013: 794, 1219, 1252], further to =çá? '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]

The second candidate is the more rare form $\eta\sigma=\dot{\eta}a:\theta$ '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 $=ta:s$ (1), Kato $=tas$ (1), Taldash Galice $=tas$ (1), Inland Tanaina $=\dot{t}=tuz$ (1), Central Ahtena $=\dot{t}=tes$ (1), Mentasta Ahtena $=\dot{t}=tes$ (1), Dogrib $=t\grave{a}$ (1), North Slavey (Hare) $=k^h\dot{i}$ (2), Tanacross $n=t\acute{a}:\theta$ (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) $=tuu:h \sim =tuu:$ (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) $=t\grave{a}\theta$ (1), Central Carrier $=ta\grave{z}$ (1), Koyukon $=to:\dot{t}$ (1), Degexit'an $=to:\theta$ (1), Sarsi $=k^h\dot{i}\dot{t}$ (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'.

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 64; Landar 1977: 295. Verbal root: 'to be heavy'.

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Not attested.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Not attested.

Inland Tanaina: Wassillie 1979: 49. In [Tenenbaum 1976 3: 56], quoted as $=\dot{t}=tus$ ("his pack was heavy").

Iliamna Tanaina: Not attested.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 152, 534.

Lower Ahtena: $=\dot{t}=tes$ [Kari 1990: 152, 534].

Western Ahtena: $=\dot{t}=tes$ [Kari 1990: 152, 534].

Mentasta Ahtena: 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 $=t\grave{a}$ '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 $n-t\acute{a}:\theta \sim n-t\acute{a}:\theta^{\theta} \sim n-t\grave{e}:\theta$. 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 $n=tu:h \sim n=tuu:$ '(it is) heavy'.

Northway: $n=tu:h$ '(it is) heavy' [Milanowski 2007: 14].

Scottie Creek: $=n=t\acute{a}$ '(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 $=ti\eta$ (1), Kato $=t\grave{a}n$ (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina $\chi u\beta$ (2), Inland Tanaina $\chi u\beta$ (2), Central

Ahtena *ka:k-e* (2), Mentasta Ahtena *ka:k-a* (2), Dogrib *=wà-lé* (3), North Slavey (Hare) *ní=wá-lé* (3), Tanacross *à:=xá?* (2), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) *a:=xah* (2), Lower Tanana (Minto) *=l=kvc-a* (4) / *OBJ=?lɣa* (5), Central Carrier *x^w=e=n=ɣoh* (2) / *x^w=e=n=ɣan* (6), Koyukon *OBJ=c'u-χu* (7), Degexit'an *nə=t=qvɔ3 ~ nə=t=qvc-ə-tə* (4) / *OBJ=?o:k* (5), Sarsi *ku=s=č^han-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 *=teʔn < *=tin-ʔ-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 *=tən-č* with the diminutive suffix *-c ~ -č*.

Taldash Galice: Not attested.

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Not attested.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Boraas 2010: 20.

Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 333.

Iliamna Tanaina: Not attested.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 203, 558.

Lower Ahtena: *ka:k-e* [Kari 1990: 203, 558].

Western Ahtena: *ka:k-e* [Kari 1990: 203, 558].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 203, 558. Regular assimilation *-e > -a*.

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 *-lé* q.v.

The higher degree of closeness is expressed by *=wà-lé-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=kà* '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 *ní=wá-lé* 'near' literally means 'it is) not far' with *ní=wá* '(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=tüw-è* [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 *=ɣá* '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 *ɣ* should indicate that initial *à*: is a prefix.

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 12, 80.

Northway: *a:=xah* 'near, nearby' [Milanowski 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* (*< -ã*) 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=?lɣa* 'near, close to OBJ' [Kari 1994: 16, 443], cf. Kari's examples: "Golstream is near Cache", "they were not close to the Minto people".

We have to treat *=l=kvc-a* and *OBJ=?lɣa* as synonyms. Kari 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) *x^w=e=n=ɣoh* (the spatial examples: "When they were near the bear den, they began to run back", "They are living close to Tache").

2) $x^m=e=n=\gamma m$ (the spatial example: "They made camp close to the river").

Both of them represent fossilized verbal forms, initial x^m is the areal prefix. We treat them as synonyms. Poser 1998/2013: 527, 823; Antoine et al. 1974: 247, 320.

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 $=c'an$ 'to, toward, at, in the direction of' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 664] + the clitic χu 'general area, the place where, the time when' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 262]. Since $=c'u-\chi u$ 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) OBJ= $\lambda o:-t^h o\chi \sim =\lambda o:-t^h \partial$ '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) OBJ= $c^h i:-t o:v-\partial$ 'near to, close to, in the neighborhood of' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 137] $< =t o:\chi \sim =t o:v-\partial$ 'preceding, ahead of, in front of' + $c^h i:$ '?' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 623]. The examples are: "there were no people near them", "he was walking around close to the camp".

3) OBJ= $n o:t-\partial$ '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. Adverbialized verbal form from $=q u\zeta$ ($< * =q u c-\partial$) '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 OBJ= $\lambda o:v$ '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 $n \partial =t =q u\zeta$ and OBJ= $\lambda o:v$ as synonyms. Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 104.

Sarsi: Nanagusja 1996a: 128. Not a very reliable form found in one source only. Initial $ku=$ is the locative prefix; final $-a$ is the diminutive suffix $-a \sim -aa$ [Li 1930b: 9].

104. SALT

Hupa $\acute{t}eh=q'on\check{c}$ (1), Kato $\acute{t}e=to:\eta?$ (2), Upper Inlet Tanaina $nu-t^h i$ (3), Outer Inlet Tanaina $nu-t^h i$ (3), Inland Tanaina $nu-t^h i$ (3), Iliamna Tanaina $nu-t^h i$ (3), Central Ahtena $na-t^h u-?$ (3), Mentasta Ahtena $na-t^h u-?$ (3), Dogrib $t\acute{e}w\acute{a}$ (4), North Slavey (Hare) $l\acute{e}s\acute{i}l\acute{i} \sim l\acute{e}s\acute{i}l \sim l\acute{e}h s\acute{i}l\acute{i}$ (-1), Tanacross $l s\acute{e}l$ (-1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) $s e:l$ (-1), Lower Tanana (Minto) $n \acute{a}-t^h u$ (3), Central Carrier $l i s e l \sim l \acute{a} s e l$ (-1), Koyukon $s o:l \acute{a} \sim s o:l$ (-1), Degexit'an $t o:k \acute{a} \gamma \acute{a} q \sim t v k \acute{a} \gamma \acute{a} q$ (-1).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 765; Golla 1996: 81. For the first element $\acute{t}eh-$ 'a sloppy object', see notes on 'sand'. The root $q'on\check{c}$ is not entirely clear (cf. the verbal root $=q'o\check{c}$ '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 deverbative from $=t o:n$ '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 $=k'o:c$ [Goddard 1912: 79].

Taldash Galice: Not attested.

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 128, 290, 357; Kari 1977: 221.

Distinct from the special term for 'store-bought salt': $k'=t^h u=\lambda't-i$ [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: $na-t^h u-?$ [Kari 1990: 337, 581; Kari & Buck 1975: 147; Smelcer 2010: 79, 97].

Western Ahtena: $na-t^h u-?$ [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'.

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 221; Holton 2000: 142; Brean & Milanowski 1979: 20; McRoy 1973: 15. Borrowed from French $\{le\ sel\}$ 'salt' [Holton 2000: 142].

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski, p.c. Borrowed from French $\{le\ sel\}$ 'salt'. Seldom used, according to Milanowski.

Scottie Creek: $l\acute{i}sel'$ 'salt' [John 1997: 43].

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 247, 467. Polysemy: 'salt / saltwater / ocean, Pacific Ocean'. Literally 'water of na ' with $t^h u$ 'water' q.v., the meaning of na 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 $sol'j$ 'salt'.

Degexit'an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 83. Borrowed from Yupik $taxyuq$ 'salt'.

Sarsi: Not documented.

105. SHORT

Hupa = cit (1), Mattole = $\check{c}^h i:t$ (2), Kato $s=wo:l-\check{c}$ (3), Upper Inlet Tanaina = $t=q\acute{a}c'$ (4), Outer Inlet Tanaina = $t=q\acute{a}\check{c}'$ (4), Inland Tanaina = $t=q\acute{a}\check{c}'$ (4), Iliamna Tanaina = $t=q\acute{a}\check{c}'$ (4), Central Ahtena = $t=tiy-e$ (5), Mentasta Ahtena = $t=tiy$ (5), Dogrib = $k'\acute{o}-\check{a}$ (6), North Slavey (Hare) = $h=t\acute{u}w-\acute{e}$ (5) / = $\check{c}\acute{o}r-\acute{e}$ (7), Tanacross = $k'\acute{o}\acute{L}$ (8), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) $n=c^h u:l$ (9), Lower Tanana (Minto) = $kvc-\check{a}$ (4), Central Carrier = $t\acute{a}k^w$ (5), Koyukon = $quc-\acute{a}$ (4), Degexit'an = $quc \sim =qu\check{v}$ (4), Sarsi = $k'^w\acute{v}n-\acute{a}\acute{a} \sim =k'^w\acute{a}n$ (6).

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: = $\check{c}et$ 'to be short' [Goddard 1929: 320] (to be read as $**=\check{c}^h et$).

Kato: Goddard 1909: 116 No. 9. Browsing through [Goddard 1909] suggests that the meaning '(to be) short' is expressed by the forms $s=wo:l-\check{c}$ ("short sticks" [Goddard 1909: 116 No. 9, 117 No. 9]) ~ $\check{c}=wo:l-\check{c}$ ("short riffles" [Goddard 1909: 121 No. 8]) ~ $\check{s}=wu:l-c \sim \check{s}=wo:l-\check{c}$ ("short back-bone" [Goddard 1909: 138 No. 11, 142 No. 15]). The first element is not entirely clear, whereas the final $-\check{c} \sim -c$ is the common diminutive suffix [Goddard 1912: 27]. It must be noted that in [Goddard 1912: 36], $s=wo:l-\check{c}$ 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: =t=tiy-e [Kari 1990: 155, 586].

Western Ahtena: =t=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 -ǎ is the common diminutive suffix [Marinakis 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 =čǎr-è '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 (Tetlin): 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 =c^hu:l.

Lower Tanana (Minto): 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" =t= or =l=. Final -ā 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" t-. Final -ə 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 -ɔ < *-c-ə.

Sarsi: Li 1930b: 22; Nanagusja 1996a: 129; Nanagusja 1996b: 317. Verbal stem: 'to be short (spatial)'. Final -a is the diminutive suffix -a ~ -aa [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 =tùs-t-āā 'to be short', quoted without specifications and examples in [Li 1930b: 18] (-t- is the fossilized perfective exponent plus the diminutive suffix -aa).

106. SNAKE

Hupa *λ'iwin* ~ *λ'i:m* ~ *λ'im* (1), Mattole *λ'iyiš* (1), Taldash Galice *λ'a:š* (1) / *ʔo:-č^hoh* (2), North Slavey (Hare) *rá=tù* (3), Central Carrier *λ'λγns* (1).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 767; Golla 1996: 87; Golla 1964: 117. Polysemy: 'snake / rattlesnake'. The form *λ'iwin* is original, *λ'i:m* and *λ'im* are contracted; in the modern source [Golla 1996], only the latter variant is quoted.

Mattole: Li 1930: 133. Morphologically unclear.

Bear River dialect: *ʔeγaš* 'snake' [Goddard 1929: 320].

Kato: Not attested. Cf. the specific term *ʔkaš* '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 *λ'a:š* and descriptive *ʔo:-č^hoh*, both of them without additional specification. We treat them as synonyms. Hoijer 1973: 62 No. 298. Literally 'big tongue' with *ʔo:* 'tongue' q.v. and the augmentative suffix -č^hoh (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.

Dogrib: No original term. There are no or almost no endemic snake spp. in the Northwest Territories. In [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 211], a number of terms for 'snake' is quoted, all of which look like artificial innovations, almost all of them based on the generic term for 'insect' *kò*. These are: *kò*: 'insect, bug, worm, snake' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 48]; *kò: né-čhà*: 'snake' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 48] (literally 'big worm' with =čhà 'to be big'); *kò:-čhó* [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 48] (literally 'big worm' with the augmentative suffix -čhó), *kò-fì*: 'leech, snake' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 48]; also *nàéti:-čhó* 'snake, serpent' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 76] (literally 'big bulldog fly' with *nàéti*: 'bulldog fly, large fly' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 76] and the augmentative suffix -čhó).

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 85, 171; Rice 1989: 170. Nominalized verbal form 'it crawls' from =*t-tù* 'to crawl' [Rice 1978: 359, 422].

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 *ł'əyəy ~ ł'əyəs* from the Chena dialect is quoted with polysemy: 'arctic lamprey, eel / snake'. Its Minto counterpart *ł'əyəs* is glossed simply as 'eel, lamprey' in [Krauss 1974: 12]. Apparently 'snake' is a recent artificial meaning for this word.

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 480, 915; Poser 2011a: 193; Antoine et al. 1974: 225, 330. Meaning specifically 'garter snake', the only snake endemic in the region, although can be used generally for any snake.

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 *nàtúziyá*, 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 *nàtúziyá* is offered in [Hojjer 1956: 223] for the meaning 'worm' q.v. (Hojjer 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'ałmye*: (1), Mattole =*č'ix* (3), Taldash Galice =*t'a?* (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'a:n-e* (1), Mentasta Ahtena =*l=t'a:n* (1), Dogrib =*t^hó-lé-á ~ t^hó-lé* (4), North Slavey (Hare) =*pèl-è* (5), Tanacross =*t'á:n* (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) =*t'á:n* (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) =*t=łvs-k-ã* (7), Central Carrier =*t'an ~ t'on* (1), Koyukon =*t=łus-k-ə* (7), Degexit'an =*tə=łəs-k-ə* (7), Sarsi =*t'v:n* (1).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 790; Golla 1996: 96. Verbal root: 'to be thin (2D)'. Historically, < *=*t'anłmye*, 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'ã?*. Verbal root: 'to be thin'. The exact semantics and application remain unknown.

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 131.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 131, 184.

Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 131; Wassillie 1979: 101.

Iliamna Tanaina: Kari 2007: 131.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 341, 608.

Lower Ahtena: =l=t'a:n-e [Kari 1990: 341, 608].

Western Ahtena: =l=t'a:n-e [Kari 1990: 341, 608].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 341, 608. Regular reduction of final *-e*.

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^hó 'to be thick' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 16] and the negation *-lé* q.v. Optional final *-á* 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^hó-lé-(á) 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].

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 267.

There are two documented verbs with the meaning 'to be thin', both only with examples for the meaning 'thin 2D':

1) =t'á:n [Arnold et al. 2009: 267], cf. the example "rabbit skin is thin" [Arnold et al. 2009: 267];

2) =t-ǰón [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^ha ɬ Kati:t'an '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=*lɔs-ka*-(?) 'membrane, thin skin' [Kari 1994: 179], where *-ka* is a nominal suffix [Kari 1994: 106]. Final *-ā* expresses negative dimensional semantics, see notes on 'not'.

The only candidate for 'thin 1D' is the verb =c'ak-a glossed as 'to be narrow, thin, skinny' plus the noun-like adjective c'ak-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* (< *-ā*) 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: 425, 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=*lɔs-k-ā* 'to be thin 2D'. Also functions as the noun-like adjective *lus-k-əʔ* 'thin 2D'.

Distinct from the noun-like adjective t'o:n-əʔ 'thin 2D' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 553], which seems to be applicable specifically to leather.

Degexit'an: 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'o:n '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 =mì:l 'to be thin and spread out' [Li 1930b: 18], which we treat as 'thin 1D', although no examples have been found.

Distinct from =č'ák'-āā 'to be narrow, to be slim' [Li 1930b: 25].

107. THIN₂

Hupa =*t'ik*^y (2), Central Ahtena =*t=c'e:ʔ-e* (3), Mentasta Ahtena =*t=c'e:q-e* (3), Dogrib =*pó-á* (5), Tanacross =*t=ʔòn* (6), Lower Tanana (Minto) =*c'ak-a* (3), Central Carrier =*tat* ~ =*tot* (8), Koyukon =*c'a:q-ə* (3), Sarsi =*mì:l* ~ =*mìl-āā* (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'.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 404, 608.

Lower Ahtena: =*t=c'e:ʔ-e* [Kari 1990: 404, 608].

Western Ahtena: =*t=c'e:q-e* [Kari 1990: 404, 608].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 404, 608.

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens n.d.; Marinakis et al. 2007: 154. Final *-á* is the diminutive suffix [Marinakis et al. 2007: 152 ff.].

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 267; Holton 2000: 352.

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 295. Meaning 'to be thin 1D'.

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 956, 1219, 1250. Meaning 'to be thin 1D'. Cf. the available examples: "The rope is thin" [Poser 1998/2013: 125], "The alders around here are very thin" [Poser 1998/2013: 530].

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 *-a* ~ *-aa* [Li 1930b: 9].

108. WIND

Hupa *t^heh=s=c'e*: (1), Kato *wa=nə=n=c^hi:ʔ* (1), Taldash Galice *t=c^hi*: (1), Upper Inlet Tanaina *t=c'əy* (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina *t=c'əy* (1), Inland Tanaina *t=c'əy* (1), Iliamna Tanaina *t=c'əy* (1), Central Ahtena *t=c'i*: (1), Mentasta Ahtena *t=c'i*: (1), Dogrib *n=ǰ=h=c'i* (1), North Slavey (Hare) *n=ǰ=h=c'i* (1), Tanacross *è=h=c'èy* (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) *e=h=c'ay* (1), Lower Tanana (Minto) *ə=t=c'əy* (1), Central Carrier *ni=t=c'i* (1), Koyukon *ə=t=c'i:y* (1), Degexit'an *ə=t=c'e:y* ~ *χə=te=c'əy* (1), Sarsi *ní=s=c'i* (1).

References and notes:

Hupa: Golla 1996: 107. Literally 'it blows along' from the verbal root =*c'e*: 'to blow (of wind)' [Sapir & Golla 2001: 742; Golla 1970: 169, 201]. Names of specific kinds of wind are mostly based on the same root [Golla 1996: 107].

Mattole: Not attested.

Bear River dialect: *ta=s=c'i* ~ *ta=s=c'iʔ* 'wind' [Goddard 1929: 322]. Corresponds to the Hupa form q.v.

Kato: Goddard 1909: 74 No. 2, 80 No. 12; Curtis 1924: 205. Literally 'it blows through' from the verb =*c^hi*: 'to blow (of wind)' [Goddard 1912: 74]. It is unclear whether =*c^hi*: is used outside this expression; the generic verb for 'to blow (particularly of wind), fan' is =*yo:ʔ* [Goddard 1912: 62]. Note the sporadic de-ejectivization in the root =*c^hi*: < *=*c^hi*.

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 60; Hoijer 1956: 223; Landar 1977: 295. Nominalized form of the verbal root =*c^hi*:, not attested outside this expression.

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 154, 361.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 154, 361.

Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 154, 361.

Iliamna Tanaina: Kari 2007: 154, 361.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 411, 622; Kari & Buck 1975: 90; Smelcer 2010: 127.

Lower Ahtena: ʔ=c̄i: [Kari 1990: 411, 622; Kari & Buck 1975: 90; Smelcer 2010: 127].

Western Ahtena: ʔ=c̄i: [Kari 1990: 411, 622; Kari & Buck 1975: 90; Smelcer 2010: 127].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 411, 622; Kari & Buck 1975: 90; Smelcer 2010: 127.

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 82, 230. Polysemy: 'wind / breeze / air'. A nominalized verbal form from =c̄i *'to blow (of wind)'; the verb itself is attested as =c̄i 'to turn, change direction (of wind)' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 37], =c̄ih 'to be blown about' [Saxon & Siemens 1996: 60].

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 82, 184; Hoijer 1956: 222. Nominalized verbal form from =c̄i 'to blow (of wind)' [Rice 1978: 473].

Tanacross: Arnold et al. 2009: 295; Holton 2000: 353; Shinen 1958: 14. Glossed as 'it is windy'. Literally: 'it blows'.

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski 2009: 60, 110, 120. Literally: 'it blows'.

Scottie Creek: e=h=c̄ay '(wind) blows' [John 1997: 67].

Lower Tanana (Minto): Kari 1994: 282, 510; Tuttle 2009: 228. Quoted as ʔ=l=c̄ay by Kari. Literally: 'it blows'.

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 356, 997; Poser 2011a: 237; Antoine et al. 1974: 172. Literally: 'it blows'.

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 671, 1055; Jones 1978: 194. Literally: 'it blows'.

Degexit'an: Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 46. Literally: 'it blows'.

Sarsi: Hoijer 1956: 223; Goddard 1915: 234, 268; Cook 1984: 45. Literally 'it blows' from the verb =s=c̄i 'to blow (of wind) / to blow (trans.)' [Li 1930b: 24].

109. WORM

Hupa *qo:* (1), Mattole *yane?* (2), Kato *qo:* (1), Taldash Galice *ko:* (1), North Slavey (Hare) *kù* (1), Central Carrier *?nsko* (3).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 755; Golla 1996: 108; Golla 1964: 116. Polysemy: 'worm / maggot'.

Mattole: Li 1930: 125. Could be a verbal form.

Bear River dialect: *ko:h* 'worms' [Goddard 1929: 322]. Corresponds to the Hupa form.

Kato: Goddard 1912: 16, 20, 102.

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 56. Polysemy: 'worm / maggot'.

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': *kò:*, 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.

Tanacross: There are no endemic earthworms in Alaska. Cf. the generic term *kù:* 'insect, bug, worm' [Arnold et al. 2009: 153, 297; Holton 2000: 348; Brean & Milanowski 1979: 8].

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): There are no endemic earthworms in Alaska.

Scottie Creek: Cf. the generic term *kù:* '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 *təç^hə kuy-a?* 'tree worm' (literally 'worm of wood'). There is also a specific term *t^hak*, attested in the compound *təç^hə t^hak-a?* 'wood worm', literally 't^hak of wood' [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, *ʔasko* 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].

Distinct from *čʰlʰ-γas* 'wood worm' [Poser 1998/2013: 102] and *čʰanaʰ-γak* 'tapeworm' [Poser 1998/2013: 106; Antoine et al. 1974: 72], both morphologically unclear.

Koyukon: There are no endemic earthworms in Alaska. Cf. the generic terms *qu:ʔ* ~ *qu:χ* 'insect, bug, fly, worm' [Jetté & Jones 2000: 215].

Degexit'an: There are no endemic earthworms in Alaska. Cf. the generic term *qe:χ* '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 *qe:χ ɲəθ* 'long worm'.

Sarsi: No expressions for 'earthworm' are documented reliably. The only known word for 'worm' (not specified) is the unclear form *nàtúziγá* in [Hojjer 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 *χəyi* (1), Outer Inlet Tanaina *χəyi* (1), Inland Tanaina *χəyi* (1), Iliamna Tanaina *χəyi* (1), Central Ahtena *χay* (1), Mentasta Ahtena *χey* (1), Dogrib *xó* ~ *xó:* ~ *xóyé* (1), North Slavey (Hare) *xàì* (1), Upper Tanana (Tetlin) *xay* (1), Central Carrier *γas-kʰat* (2), Koyukon *χoy* (1).

References and notes:

Hupa: Sapir & Golla 2001: 799; Golla 1996: 108, 110; Golla 1964: 115. Polysemy: 'year / winter'.

Mattole: Not attested. Cf. *kʰait* 'winter' [Li 1930: 130].

Bear River dialect: not attested.

Kato: Not attested. Cf. *kʰai* 'winter' [Goddard 1912: 20].

Taldash Galice: Hoijer 1973: 56. Polysemy: 'year / winter'.

Upper Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 159, 361; Kari 1977: 146.

Outer Inlet Tanaina: Kari 2007: 159, 361; Kari 1977: 146.

Inland Tanaina: Kari 2007: 159, 361; Kari 1977: 146. In [Wassillie 1979: 113], quoted as *χəy* 'winter'.

Iliamna Tanaina: Kari 2007: 159, 361; Kari 1977: 146.

Central Ahtena: Kari 1990: 212, 625.

Lower Ahtena: *χay* [Kari 1990: 212, 625].

Western Ahtena: *χay* [Kari 1990: 212, 625].

Mentasta Ahtena: Kari 1990: 212, 625.

Dogrib: Saxon & Siemens 1996: 121, 232. Polysemy: 'year / winter'. *xó:* and *xó* are reduced variants of *xóyé*.

North Slavey (Hare): Rice 1978: 108, 186. Polysemy: 'year / winter'.

Tanacross: The only source which offers an expression for 'year' is [Shinen 1958: 22], where the form *na=ne=?=te=θet* 'year' is quoted.

Theoretically, it can mean something like 'it stands' from the verb *ná=...=θet* 'to stand' q.v.

Cf. *xəy* 'winter' [Arnold et al. 2009: 295; Holton 2000: 348; Shinen 1958: 22].

Upper Tanana (Tetlin): Milanowski, p.c.; Milanowski 2009: 28. Polysemy: 'year / winter'.

Scottie Creek: *xay* with polysemy: 'year / winter' [John 1997: 68].

Lower Tanana (Minto): Not documented. Cf. *xvy* 'winter' [Kari 1994: 140; Tuttle 2009: 229].

Central Carrier: Poser 1998/2013: 583, 1002; Poser 2011a: 241; Antoine et al. 1974: 287, 340. Polysemy: 'on top of snow / winter / year / birthday'. Literally 'on top of snow' with *γas* 'snow' and the postposition *-kʰat* 'on'.

Koyukon: Jetté & Jones 2000: 276, 1059. Polysemy: 'year / winter'.

Degexit'an: Not documented reliably. Cf. *χəy* 'winter' [Taff et al. 2007; Kari 1978: 49].

Sarsi: Not documented.