Lingít Yoo X̱'atángi
A Grammar of the Tlingit Language

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Dzéiwsh

Kaḵáak'w Hít yeedáx̱, Deisheetaan Naax̱, Shtax'héen Ḵwáan

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Tsu héide shugax̱tutaan, yáa yaak̲oosgé daakéit, haa jéexʼ anák̲ has kawdukʼéetʼ.

tsʰu	héːte	ʃukaχtʰutʰaːn		jáː	jaːqʰuːské	taːkʰéːt
cu	hé·de	šugax̱tuta·n		yá·	ya·qu·ské	da·ké·d
tsu	héi-dé	Ø-shu-gax̱tu-Ø-taan		yáa	yaak̲oosgé	daakéit
again	MPRX-ALL	3O-end-FUT.1PL.S-CL[−D,Ø,−I]-handle,		PROX	knowledge	box

haː	tʃíːxʼ	anáq	has kʰawtukʼíːtʼ
ha·	ǯí·xʼ	anáɢ	has kawdukʼí·tʼ
haa	jín-xʼ	a-nák̲	has-ka- y̆u-du-Ø-kʼéetʼ
1PL.PSS	hand-LOC	it-ELAT	3PL-HSFC-PFV-3OBV.O-CL[-D,Ø,-I]-leave

ʻagain hither we.will.open.it, this knowledge box, our hands.in without.it they.left

"We will open it again, this box of wisdom, which was left in our hands."
         — Kichnáalx̱, George Davis

This page will contain acknowledgements.

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1. *Introduction*

This work is a descriptive reference grammar of the Tlingit language. It is intended for a linguistically knowledgable audience, but assumes no particular theoretical framework for linguistic analysis. Rather than write for a narrow audience, I attempt to define all terminology which is not widely in use among descriptive linguists, particularly those terms and concepts which are unique to Athabaskanists.

I have chosen to first write a technical grammar rather than a pedagogical one because I feel that although the audience might be more limited, the result is more thorough and detailed than a pedagogical grammar could be. I do not mean to neglect the urgent need for pedagogy, but in my experience any teaching materials developed without basis in linguistic analysis end up being confusing, incomplete, and even misleading. Thus I intend for this grammar to serve as a solid foundation for later development of teaching materials which can serve the language revitalization community.

I do not offer here a normative prescription of how Tlingit *should be* spoken, but rather a record of how Tlingit *is* spoken. There are certainly many facets of the language which I have not addressed. I have attempted to be as comprehensive as possible in my description of the variation among Tlingit speakers, both currently and in the past, but I nonetheless have probably missed some kinds of variation that occur in the native speaker population. Thus it should not be assumed that if I have not documented something in this grammar then the phenomenon is not proper Tlingit. Where I have encountered a phenomenon which is not found among any Tlingit speakers, I take some pains to point the phenomenon out, and I show by means of elicited or otherwise documented examples how the phenomenon is excluded. Only in these particular cases can the reader assume that something is absolutely not allowed in the language.

I have endeavored to describe the language as it is spoken naturally, and as such the majority of my examples come from published sources or from narrative recordings which were not intended primarily for analytic use. This has

forced me to address a number of grammatical phenomena which are of questionable status, simply because they occur at least once in my sources. As such, there are quite a few problems in this grammar that remain unsolved, and which will probably continue to remain unsolved as dialects disappear and the native speaker population dwindles. Rather than sweep these issues under some analytical rug I have laid them out for others to consider, but they must be approached with the understanding that they may not be any more grammatical than some garden variety speech error in a better studied language.

My emphasis on naturally occuring language does not exclude the use of elicited forms, despite some claims in the language documentation literature that elicitation is unnecessary. In any language there are phenomena which occur so rarely that even a very large corpus will not feature more than one or two occurrences, and the corpus for Tlingit is rather small. In addition, lack of evidence does not constitute negative evidence, so for determining what is ungrammatical I find elicitation to be absolutely necessary. Where examples do not include a citation it can be assumed that I have elicited the form from at least one highly reliable native speaker, and usually from several.

My translations of Tlingit into English are often rather unidiomatic in English. I have done this on purpose, in order to make clear the structure of the Tlingit examples, rather than give more natural English forms. In many cases there are prior translations, but because most such translations were done for literary rather than linguistic use, they are not "honest" enough for my purposes. The reader should seek out the original sources for more idiomatic and literary translations of the Tlingit texts. My translations are not intended to cast Tlingit speakers as uneducated or confused; in fact, the majority of Tlingit speakers I quote are equally fluent and eloquent in English, and would probably find my overly literal translations to be clumsy and awkward, though certainly accurate.

Throughout this grammar I focus on the Northern dialect of Tlingit. There are three other major dialects, Southern, Transitional, and Tongass, but the last is extinct and the former two are nearly so. Northern Tlingit is thus the majority, and is the dialect of the modern literary tradition. I do include data on the non-Northern dialects and discuss them in the context of their contribution to understanding the language, but most of the data presented in this grammar is taken from Northern speakers. I thus treat Northern as the "unmarked" form of the language, although this may not be historically accurate. The internal dialectal structure of the Northern dialect is complex, see §3.5 for details.

Although I am a member of the Tlingit nation, being of the *Kaḵáakʼw*

Hít (*ka-ḵákw-k' hít* |ʜsꜰᴄ-basket/arch-ᴅɪᴍ house|,[1] "Basket/Arch House") of the *Deisheetaan* (*dei-shú-hít-taan* |trail-end-house-group|, "Beaver", see §4.15.2) clan, and of the Shtax'héen (*sh-táx'-héen* |ʀꜰʟx-bite-river|, "Stikine", see §??) Ḵwáan, I am not a native speaker of the Tlingit language. Indeed, my desire to learn the language is what drove me to study linguistics and write this grammar. The last Tlingit speaker in my family was my great grandmother, Margaret Bakke (née Gunyah), who died while her daughters were young and hence did not pass on her language. She was from Klawock (*Lawaaḵ*, see §??) and thus spoke the Henya subdialect of the Southern Tlingit dialect (see §3.5.3). Her Tlingit name[2] is lost to memory, but her daughter, my grandmother, was given the name of her mother Emma Dick: *Oonyeik*. This name may derive from *xoon yéigi* (*xoon yéik-ÿí* |north.wind spirit-ᴘss|). My Tlingit name is *Dzéiwsh*, which is apparently a Tlingit approximation of the English name "James", and it was held last by my distant uncle Evans Gunyah. I also hold another name, *Gaanyaa*, given to me by Theodore Roberts ⟦name⟧ of the *Ǥaanax.ádi* (*ḡaanáx-át-ÿí* |Ǥaanáx-thing-ᴘss|, "People of Ǥaanáx") in Klawock. Because this name does not belong to my clan I do not normally use it, but instead hold it in safe keeping until such time as a Ǥaanax.ádi man is appointed to carry it. The astute reader will notice a similarity to the surname "Gunyah", and indeed that derives from the last man to hold the name *Gaanyaa* before me, Chief George Gunyah. He was the *hít s'aatí* (*hít s'aat-ÿí* |house master-ᴘss| "house master") of *Yan Wuli-háshi Hít* (*ÿan=Ø-ÿu-li-hásh-ÿí hít* |ᴛᴇʀᴍ=3O-ᴘꜰᴠ-ᴄʟ[–ᴅ, *l*, +ɪ]-drift-ᴀᴛᴛʀ house|, "(Whale) Drifted Ashore House"), a Ǥaanax.ádi house in T'akjik'aan (⟦T'aḵjik⟧-aan |⟦T'aḵjik⟧-village|, "Tuxekan"), and also happened to be my great great great grandfather.

1.1. The name

The name "Tlingit" is pronounced in English by most Tlingit people as /ˈk-lɪŋ.kʰɪt/, approximated by the English sequence "cling-kit". An alternative sometimes heard is /ˈklɪŋ.ɪt/ approximated by "cling-it", but this is less common. Pronunciations like */təˈlɪŋ.gɪt/ are unknown and incorrect, although such forms appear in several English dictionaries presumably due to the capricious inventiveness of lexicographers. The name is spelt ⟨Tlingit⟩ due to an obscure acci-

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1. This is the conventional morphological analysis, but Jeff Leer has noted that the unusual form hints at the existence of an older morphology and meaning now lost.
2. For more on personal names see §4.15.1

dent of history which I will outline in this section, but the reason for its use is still not exactly clear.

The Tlingit word *lingít* /ɬinkít/ means "person, people", but is associated in Tlingit culture with the Tlingit themselves in contrast to other ethnicities such as the Haida (*Deikeenaa* /teːkʰiːnaː/), Tsimshian (*Ts'ootsxán* /ts'uːtsxán/), Athabaskan (*Gunanaa* /qunanaː/), and so forth. When used as an ethnic referent rather than as a basic noun, the usual orthographic practice is to capitalize it as ⟨Lingít⟩, so that ⟨lingít⟩ only refers to the common noun. This name is also used to refer to the Tlingit language in the phrase *Lingít Yoo X̱'atángi* /ɬinkít juːχ'atánki/ "Tlingit language".[3]

In the early exploration of the Northwest Coast, Europeans encountered many languages with lateral fricatives and affricates like [ɬ] and [tɬ], the presence of which is an areal linguistic feature in the region. Such sounds pervaded the trade jargon used for interethnic communication between various European and indigenous groups, the famous Chinook Jargon. In attempting to capture this sound, English and French speakers would typically use the cluster [kl] which occurs in both languages. As a consequence, the lateral fricatives and affricates in the region were usually written as ⟨cl⟩ or ⟨kl⟩, and a survey of placenames in the Pacific Northwest will turn up numerous examples. In some words however the form ⟨tl⟩ is found instead, as in for example the Chinook Jargon words *páɬəč* /ˈpa.ɬətʃ/ "give" and *páɬ* /pəɬ/ "full" which were often written as ⟨potlatch⟩ and ⟨patl⟩. Some writers developed a consistent habit of word initial ⟨kl⟩ and word medial or word final ⟨tl⟩, all representing lateral affricates and fricatives.

It thus appears that the written form ⟨Tlingit⟩ uses the digraph ⟨tl⟩ in an attempt to capture the initial lateral fricative in /ɬinkít/. The typical use of ⟨tl⟩ was however word-*medially* or word-*finally* rather than word-initially, so the reason why initial ⟨tl⟩ was used is still perplexing. I have not investigated the historical record for the first use of something like ⟨Tlingit⟩, so I am unaware of who deserves credit for this form.

As well as the myriad orthographic variations like ⟨Tlinkit⟩, ⟨Tlingkit⟩, and ⟨Klinkit⟩, the Tlingit people and their language are also known under a few other names. The most important of these alternate names is the Russian *Колюж* /koˈlʲuʐ/ or *Колюш* /koˈlʲuʂ/, often found in the plural with final *-u* or *-i* /i/.

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3. Morphologically this is: lingít   yoo=∅-x̱'a-∅-∅-∅-tán-k-∅-ÿí
                                        Tlingit   ALT=3O-mouth-ZCNJ-3S-CL[–D, ∅, –I]-carry-REP-NMZ-PSS
                                        "Tlingit speech"

Another frequent variation is *Колош* /koˈloʂ/, and this occurs in the German *Kolosch* and *Koloschische*. **emmons:1991** relates Veniaminov's derivation of the term from an Aleut (or perhaps Alutiiq?) *kaluga* which referred to a wooden dish, and by association referred to the labret which was worn in the lower lip by Tlingit women of high status. This word somehow obtained the Russian diminutive form *колюшка* /koˈlʲuʂka/, which then evolved into the other forms mentioned previously.

1.2. Organization of the grammar

This grammar is organized in a relatively linear manner from the most basic units of language to the most complex, namely from sounds to discourse. Bracketing this main body are two chapters, one providing a basic ethnographic sketch and the other providing a basic comparative-historical ("genealogical") sketch. The earlier chapters are mostly concerned with structure: sounds, nouns, adjectives, particles, adverbs, verb structure. The later chapters are more concerned with function: verb function, syntax, discourse. It is obvious that no strict line can be drawn between structure and function, and in fact the two are intermingled somewhat in every chapter. Nevertheless, the overall organization of each chapter reflects my attempt to organize it around a primary concern.

1.2.1. Citations

Throughout this grammar I refer very frequently to a number of Tlingit sources both for examples and for previous research. Because of the high frequency of these citations and because some sources have a number of authors or editors, the use of full citations is spatially inefficient and distracting. Instead I use abbreviations for the most frequently cited sources, e.g. **anon:1969 boas:1917 story:1973 leer:1978 leer:1991 leer:2001** A complete list of citation abbreviations is given in appendix ?? on page ??.

In order to maintain consistency throughout this book, I have transformed all Tlingit text from its original orthography or transcription into my own except where maintaining the original form is important. The major transcription systems and orthographies are discussed in §3.8 on page 59. As well as transforming prior written forms of the language, I have also returned to some recordings on which previous works were based. Since all prior transcriptions which were reviewed by a native speaker can be presumed to be grammatical

and hence valid data for most analytic purposes, I am occasionally faced with a quandary: whether to use my own transcription which may be more accurate or use the sanitized published forms which may perversely be more "natural" through the exclusion of mistakes, infelicities, etc. My decision has been one of convenience, in that I use whichever source either illustrates a point or otherwise happens to be more convenient for my purposes. When using data from a recording that was previously transcribed and published, I will include a citation for the published material as well as for the recording. Examples which only cite written materials are implicitly from the published version and not from my own retranscriptions.

1.2.2. Transcription conventions

Throughout much of this grammar I have adopted a slightly modified form of the Revised Popular orthography which has been used for Tlingit since the 1970s, particularly throughout the publications from Richard and Nora Dauenhauer. The modifications which I have made to the orthography are the change of ⟨g⟩ to the somewhat easier to read ⟨g̱⟩, and the addition of ⟨ÿ⟩ as both a linguistic symbol accounting for alternation between /j/ and /w/ and a grapheme representing /ɰ/ for those speakers who have this phoneme (see §3.1.5.4).

I have used the IPA for the representation of both Tlingit phonemes and phonetic segments in the chapter on sounds (chapter 3), as well as in other places where I need to distinguish between sound and writing. Although it is generally the custom for works on North American indigenous languages to use some variation of the Americanist transcription tradition, I have abandoned this because I feel that the use of Americanist transcription alienates a large audience.

The use of IPA means that my transcriptions reflect theoretical phonetic universals rather than phonological facts of the Tlingit language, a mismatch which can be somewhat clumsy. An example of this dichotomy is that in the IPA there is a symbolic distinction between stops and affricates, where stops are monographic but affricates are digraphic, reflecting the phonetic fact that affricates are composed of a sequence of stop and fricative. Many linguists have pointed out that languages often distinguish between affricates and stop+fricative sequences, as indeed occurs in Tlingit: /at.ʃí/ "song" vs. /a.tʃín/ "its hand, paw". The Americanist transcription tradition might instead use /adší/ vs. /ažín/ or /ajín/, with monographs for the affricates making the distinction clear. Despite the possible advantages of the Americanist tradition, I have decided that IPA is

more widely recognized and is better standardized, and with it I can address as wide an audience as possible.

1.2.3. Glossing

Glossing Tlingit is a challenging job for any linguist. The verb in particular has an overwhelming number of morphophonological changes which obscure underlying morphemes.[4] In addition, the wide variety of morphemes and the often semantically abstract meanings associated with them make for difficult interpretation. The resulting glosses are quite long and often do not fit well on a single line. I have taken some pains to ensure that every single example is as fully glossed as possible, even if it is not warranted by the example's purpose. In this respect I hope that every example is useful for more than one specific job, and I expect that interested linguists will find in the examples a wealth of phenomena which I have neglected or not thoroughly treated.

There are two exceptions to my practice of abundant glosses: names and certain kinds of nouns. Names are often left unglossed, as something like NAME, PLACE, or the like. This is because the underlying morphophonology of names is sometimes quite complicated, and usually irrelevant to the example. Check the name index in appendix ?? on page ?? for the primary reference of a name which will include its morphological structure. Also see §4.15 on page 82 for the general morphosyntactic properties of names in Tlingit, as well as a variety of personal names, clan names, ḵwáan names, ethnonyms, and placenames.

Some nouns, particularly those which derive from verb forms, have an unwieldy length when fully glossed. An example is *ḵugás'* "fog" which is underlyingly *ḵu-∅-gás'-∅* |AREAL-CL[–D, ∅, –I]-be.foggy-NMZ|. In most cases this level of detail would not be illuminating and would increase the size of the example needlessly. To compensate for this I have included a short dictionary which includes entries for all Tlingit words that appear in this grammar. The interested reader can thus refer to this dictionary in appendix ?? on page ?? for further explication.

Verb roots are particularly hard to gloss given that a single root can have a wide range of meanings, none of which may be succinctly expressible in English. For the various problems in glossing and determining the meaning of verb roots, see §?? on page ??.

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4. This complexity in fact calls into question the actual existence of the underlying morphemes, an issue which I discuss further in chapter ??.

A list of gloss abbreviations and other acronyms and abbreviations is given in appendix ?? on page ??. That list is comprehensive, containing every single abbreviation which occurs throughout the grammar.

Where the Tlingit names of living entities occur, I have taken some pains to determine the exact species or at least genus and include the current scientific names alongside the English names used locally. The scientific names are current as of the time of writing, but certain areas of biological nomenclature change rapidly and cannot be expected to remain constant. For this reason I have included the standard nomenclature authority abbreviations, thus allowing interested readers to verify the scientific names and determine if they have changed since publication.

All glosses and translations which appear in this work are my own except where indicated. Thus my glosses may often differ from those in previous publications. In some cases this is merely due to different names and abbreviations for the same structures, however there are many areas where my analysis is innovative and hence will not match previous descriptions. Since all sources of data are cited explicitly throughout this work, the curious reader should find it relatively easy to investigate some example further in other works.

1.2.4. Personal names

In this grammar I avoid using traditional Tlingit personal names except where they appear in literary or quoted contexts. This is because names are a form of *at.óowu*, literally "something owned", which is to say that they are a type of clan property which is loosely comparable to valuable family heirlooms in the European cultures (see also §2.2). Names have inherent and ascribed value, and as with other clan heirlooms, are assigned to individuals who fill the role of the name's caretaker as well as the name's living referent. Names gain or lose value by the actions of their caretaker, and when the caretaker dies the name may be assigned to a new individual in the clan. Since disputes over *at.óowu* can be acrimonious and may give rise to insult and conflict, I avoid using them out of context. In place of traditional names I use invented names which are either plausible forms based on Tlingit naming practices but are somewhat unlikely as *at.óowu*, or which are phonologically adapted from familiar English names. The choice between the two is somewhat arbitrary in any given instance, but I tend to select English-derived names when the underlying morphology of an invented Tlingit name would be distracting. For my analysis of various types of Tlingit names, see §4.15 on page 82.

1.3. Typological summary

This section offers a summary of issues that I feel are typologically interesting about the language. Of course, in my opinion everything about the language is interesting, but most other linguists probably do not share my penchant for the language. I offer this section with the assumption that typologists, theoreticians, and others interested in crosslinguistic phenomena can use this summary to get a feel for the major features of the language without having to read through the entire grammar. Each linguistic phenomenon discussed here includes a reference to the section where it is discussed in detail.

1.3.1. Sounds

Tlingit has a large consonant inventory, with between 44 and 48 consonants depending on dialect and in some cases idiolect (§3.1). There is a three-way distinction in stops and affricates between plain, aspirated, and ejective, and in fricatives there is a two-way distinction between plain and ejective except for the lack of */ʃ'/ (§3.1.2).[5] Tlingit has four unique consonants, the ejective fricatives /x'/, /xʷ'/, /χ'/, and /χʷ'/ (§3.1.4). In most dialects of Tlingit there is only one nasal /n/, which is also the sole voiced obstruent, however certain Interior Tlingit dialects have /m/ as well. Dialects lacking /m/ thus lack labial consonants, given that /w/ is not a labial but is instead a rounded counterpart of /ɰ/. The latter velar approximant /ɰ/ is now essentially extinct, having split and merged into /j/ or /w/ depending on rounding context, but /ɰ/ is recorded in speech as late as the 1970s and 1980s among some elderly speakers of certain dialects (§3.1.5.4). Tlingit has a large inventory of lateral sounds, both affricates and fricatives, but lacks the voiced lateral */l/.[6] There are rounded glottals /ʔʷ/ and /hʷ/ which are phonemic for some speakers but not for others; it is possible that rounded glottals were once more common but are being lost as with /ɰ/.

Vowels in Tlingit are relatively simple. All dialects have a four vowel system with /i/, /e/, /a/, and /u/, and all dialects have a distinction between long and short vowels. In the Carcross and Teslin communilects the short vowel /a/ merges with /e/ for most speakers, but the distinction is maintained in the long vowels. Tlingit dialects have various tone systems, with the majority form in Northern Tlingit having a two-way distinction between unmarked low tone and marked high tone, both of which are level. Southern Tlingit has a three-

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5. Forms given in slashes are transcribed in IPA.
6. Oddly, [l] occurs universally for /n/ with one recorded speaker. See §3.1.5.3 on page 45.

way tone system of low, high, and falling tones, with the falling tone having a contour that runs downward from the high tone to the low tone. Tongass Tlingit had a four-way nontonal system of syllable nuclei which were short, long, glottalized, and "fading" (falling pitch and breathy). The two-way tone system of Northern Tlingit may be evolving into a pitch accent system.

Syllable structure in Tlingit is relatively complex, but not as elaborate as found in other languages of the Pacific Northwest of North America. The basic syllables are CV and CVC, however the full pattern is $(C_0)C_1V(C_2(C_3))$. C_1 is obligatory, and syllables with no onset have a prothetic /ʔ/ prepended. C_0 can be a fricative as in /skʰúq/ "coughing, cold", an affricate as in /tʃʰχánkʼ/ "grandchild (affectionate)", or a stop as in /kʷʃé/ "maybe, perhaps". Onsets with two stops occur, e.g. /kʷqʰʷakuːt/ "I will go".

In the coda both /ʔ/ and /h/ are prohibited, as well as their rounded counterparts. Aspiration does not occur in the coda although release still occurs even word-medially; linguists have often perceived this as aspiration, as pointed out by **maddieson:2001** In all orthographies and in most transcriptions these released unaspirated stops and affricates in the coda are represented using aspirated graphemes. Approximants such as /j/ and /w/ can occur in the coda, leading to misperception of diphthongs which are actually vowel-approximant sequences; diphthongs do not occur.

In addition to the vowel-nucleus syllable described previously, there is also a relatively infrequent syllable F which consists of a lone plain (i.e. nonejective) fricative which can be /s/, /ʃ/, or /ɬ/, as in the verb /s.χʼa.ja.qʰá/ "they say", the honorific phrase /ʃ.jáː.ʔa.wu.ta.néː.xʼi/ "respected gentlemen and ladies", and the noun /ɬ.ʔuɬ.tʃí.ni/ "vest, sleeveless (thing)". One could symbolize the syllable structure of these three examples as F.CV.CV.CV, F.CVː.CV.CV.CV.CVː.CV, and F.CVC.CV.CV.

1.3.2. Nouns

Nouns are largely monosyllabic roots and polysyllabic compounds, however there are some polysyllabic nouns which are reconstructed in Proto-Na-Dene and which cannot be analyzed synchronically into component morphemes. Many monosyllabic nouns have the same shape as verb roots, and are semantically related to verbs, but it is not possible to prove derivation in either direction. Polysyllabic nouns which are not compounds or borrowings are usually derived from verbs, a class of nouns which includes a variety of words that are

usually considered "basic", e.g. *ḵugás'* /qʰukásʼ/ "fog" which is derived from the verb *ḵu-CL[–D, ∅]-gaas'* "be foggy".[7]

Nouns are divided into two classes of possessable and nonpossessable, with the latter category largely comprised of personal names, place names, and social group names. Possessable nouns are futher divisible into alienable and inalienable classes, with the latter having obligatory possession. Inalienable nouns are not marked for possession normally, and the addition of marking alienates them. Thus in the construction *xoots shá* /xuːts ʃá/ |brown.bear head| the inalienable noun *shá* can be marked for possession as *xoots shá-yi* /xuːts ʃá-ji/ |brown.bear head-PSS| but the semantics changes from "head of a (living) brown bear" to "severed head of a brown bear" as for a trophy.

Tlingit has two grammatical cases (§4.5.1), ergative *-ch* /-tʃ/ and unmarked absolutive. The ergative case is used to mark subject noun phrases of transitive verbs. It is not used to mark the sole argument noun phrase of an unergative intransitive verb. It is also occasionally used to mark instruments, as well as some other unusual usages. See §4.5.1.1 for more details.

There are nine local cases and several postpositions on Tlingit nouns (§4.5.2). The distinction between case and postposition is morphophonological, with cases being suffixes and postpositions being clitics or independent words. The locative case *-x'* (/-xʼ/) indicates basic spatial or temporal position. The allative *-dé ~ -de* (/-té(ː)/ ~ /-te(ː)/) indicates movement towards a position or towards a temporal point. The ablative *-dáx ~ -dax ~ -dx* (/-táχ/ ~ /-taχ/ ~ /-tχ/) indicates movement away from a position or after a temporal point. The perlative *-náx ~ -nax* (/-náχ/ ~ /-naχ/) indicates movement along a path, position across from another location (e.g. across a river), or occasion during a temporal extent. The adessive suffix *-ǥaa* (/-qaː/) indicates physical adjacency ("around, by"), movement following something ("after, following"), temporal approximation ("around, about"), temporal succession ("after, following"), and the object of an intention ("for, in order to obtain"). The instrumental *-teen ~ -een ~ -n* (/-tʰiːn/ ~ /-iːn/ ~ /-n/) has both instrumental and comitative functions, indicating either instruments or accompaniment.

Two cases in Tlingit are typologically unusual. The punctual *-t* (/-t/) indicates arriving at or being positioned at a spatial or temporal point, and also means moving about a point. This contrasts with the locative as the punctual refers specifically to a point, whereas the locative may apply to either a point

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7. From this point forward I will give Tlingit forms in two transcriptions. Italic forms are in the orthography used elsewhere in this book and forms between slashes are in IPA.

or an extent. The pertinent -*x̲* (/-χ/) indicates contact with a physical object, having the physical form or some other quality of an object, or being a member of a group. Although both are somewhat unusual, they are relatively common in speech. The exact semantics of both cases depend somewhat on particular verbs; for example the punctual indicates movement around a point when it is used with atelic imperfective verbs of the *na*-conjugation, but indicates a point destination with motion verbs.

In addition to possession, cases, and postpositions, there are two additional types of inflection on nouns, namely diminutive and plural. The diminutive -*k'* /-k'/ (also -*k'w* /-k'ʷ/ in rounded environments) is used productively to indicate smallness, endearment, and occasionally humility. Examples include *ax̲ yádi* /aχ játi/ "my child" versus *ax̲ yátk'i* /aχ játk'i/ "my little/dear child", and *áa* /á:/ "lake" versus *áak'w* /á:k'ʷ/ "small lake". The diminutive is common in many direct address forms of kinship terms, for example *dachx̲án* /tatʃχán/ "grandchild" becomes *chx̲ánk'* /tʃʰχánk'/ "dear grandchild". There are a small number of nouns which have the diminutive obligatorily attached, or alternatively which can be analyzed as having the diminutive lexically specified, such as *léelk'w* /ɬíːɬk'ʷ/ "grandparent". The diminutive occasionally appears suffixed to verbs as well, with a similar meaning of smallness or cuteness applied to the activity, but this does not seem to be a very productive use.

Plural inflection on nouns is complicated in several ways. First, plural marking is largely optional on nouns, a consequence of nouns in Tlingit being non-specific for number. Second, there are several different morphemes for plural marking. Third, plurality is often expressed in the verb rather than on nouns, using various plural morphemes and occasionally suppletive verb roots. The most common plural marker for nouns is the plural suffix -*x'* /-x'/ (also rounded -*x'w* /-x'ʷ/). It has the basic meaning of plurality, which can range from two to any uncountable number of referents. Examples are *du yátx'i* /tu játx'i/ "his children", *hítx'* /hítx'/ "houses", *k̲aa x̲oonx'í* /qʰaː χuːnx'í/ "one's friends". In addition there is a collective plural enclitic *sáani* /sá:ni/ which cooccurs with the plural suffix as in *du yátx'i sáani* /tu játx'i sá:ni/ "his children". The plural or collective plural *hás* /hás/ is an enclitic that is related to the independent plural third person pronoun and the plural verb prefix, among others. It is usually used to indicate collective plurals of people, and does not cooccur with the plural suffix -*x'* /-x'/. An example is *ax̲ káak hás* /aχ kʰá:k hás/ "my maternal uncles". There is another collective plural enclitic *yán* /ján/ which is used only with certain kinship terms, e.g. *ax̲ káani yán* /aχ kʰá:ni ján/ "my brothers-in-law".

1.3.3. Demonstratives

Tlingit lacks any analog to the articles found in European languages, however it does have a variety of demonstratives which sometimes serve a similar purpose. There is a four-way distinction in relative position among the demonstratives, namely the proximal *yáa* /já:/ "this (close to speaker)", mesioproximal *héi* /hé:/ "this (near listener and speaker)", mesiodistal *wéi* /wé:/ "that (closer to listener)", and distal *yóo* /jú:/ "that (distant from listener and speaker)". In practice the proximal and mesiodistal are used most commonly, with the distal being third most frequent and the mesioproximal used only occasionally. All four are used before nouns to indicate position in space, time, or discourse. They can take case suffixes as well, thus *yáa-t* /já:-t/ |DEM.PROX-PNCT| "here, this spot", *wéi-dei* /wé:-te:/ |DEM.MDIST-ALL| "that way, towards that". These demonstratives are found at the head of a number of complex demonstrative constructions, such as the proximal partitive demonstrative *yáat'aa* /já:t'a:/ "this one" which is composed of the proximal demonstrative *yáa* /já:/, the punctual case suffix *-t* /-t/, and the partitive pronominal *aa* /a:/ with ejection arising from the reduction of the transsyllabic cluster [t.ʔ] in the underlying form */já:t.ʔa:/.[8]

1.3.4. Adjectives

There are remarkably few true adjectives in Tlingit, although the category is not entirely absent. I have encountered eight prenominal adjectives and five postnominal adjectives, but there may be a few more which I have not found. Adjectives are only modifiers and never appear as predicates, with attributive forms of verbs serving for the predicate adjective role. Adjectives are entirely uninflected, with no change to their form in any context. The meaning of adjectives follows Dixon's [[cite]] classic generalization about languages with a closed adjective class, in that Tlingit adjectives express dimension, age, and value, but not position, speed, or human propensity. Tlingit always has exceptions to every generalization, and here the exceptions are that color is not specified by adjective contrary to Dixon's expectation, and also at least two physical properties are specified by adjective, namely *xook* /xuːk/ "dry, dried" and *ḵ'áatl'* "thin and flat".

I exclude all the obvious attributive verbs from the adjective category, e.g. *shayadihéin(i)* /ʃajatihéːn(i)/ "many" from the verb theme *sha-ÿa-S-CL[+D, Ø]-*

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8. This is a relatively uncommon process, but does occur in some other frequent compounds, e.g. *Lingit'aaní* /ɬinkit'aní/ "world, Earth" from *lingít aaní* /ɬinkít [ʔ]aːní/ "people's land".

haa-n "S be many", and *kuwáat'* /kʰuwá:t'/ "long" from the verb theme *O-*
CL[–D, Ø]-yaat' "O (sticklike) be long" plus the comparative string *ka-u-CL[–I]-*.
Beyond such forms there are a couple of adjectives which are probably deverbal
but which have been independent long enough that the derivational connection
is obscure. For instance the adjective *aak'é* /a:k'é/ "good" is certainly related to
the verb root *k'ei* /k'e:/ "be good" as in the verb *O-CL[–D, Ø]-k'ei* "O be good",
and *xook* /xu:k/ "dry" which has the verb root *xook* /xu:k/ "dry". These sorts of
adjectives, while obviously related to extant verbs, do not have a predictable
form derived from their source verb.

1.3.5. Numerals

The numeral system of Tlingit has undergone some restructuring in the past
century or so under the influence of Indo-European languages like English and
Russian. The original numeral system is quinquevigesimal, meaning that it is
based on fives and twenties, whereas the newer system is quinquedecimal be-
ing based on fives and tens. The original quinquevigesimal numeral system
is well documented and is still in use among some speakers, but the major-
ity of speakers today have shifted to the quinquedecimal system. In both sys-
tems the numerals less than thirty are identical, with the numerals from one
through five being basic, the numerals from six through ten being derived some-
what opaquely from one through five (e.g. *nas'gadooshú* /nas'katu:ʃú/ "eight" <
nás'k-du-shú /nás'k-tu-ʃú/ |three-his-end|?), and the teens and twenties derived
from ten or twenty and the subdecimal numerals (e.g. *jinkaat ḵa nas'gadooshú*
/tʃinkʰa:t qʰa nas'katu:ʃú/ "ten and eight"). Twenty is in both systems *tleiḵaa*
/tɬʰe:qʰa:/ which is derived from *tléix'-ḵáa* /tɬʰé:x'-qʰá:/ "one-man", and the nu-
merals from twenty-one to twenty-nine are simple compounds of twenty and
the subdecimal numeral, e.g. *tleiḵaa ḵa nás'k* /tɬʰe:qʰa: qʰa nás'k/ "twenty and
three". At thirty the two systems diverge, with the quinquevigesimal form be-
ing *tleiḵaa ḵa jinkaat* /tɬʰe:qʰa: qʰa tʃinkʰa:t/ "twenty and ten" versus the quin-
quedecimal form *nás'k jinkaat* /nás'k tʃinkʰa:t/ "three ten".

Numbers of one hundred and above do seem to have existed before Euro-
pean contact, but the original forms were replaced by borrowings from Chi-
nook Jargon or English at a fairly early point in history. La Pérouse (see §1.4.1.2
recorded the numeral *keijinḵaa* /kʰe:tʃinqʰa:/ "five man" for one hundred, and
jinkaatḵaa /tʃinkʰa:tqʰa:/ "ten man" for two hundred, so presumably the earlier
quinquevigesimal system was flexible enough to count well into the hundreds.
No term for thousands seems to have existed before European contact. The mod-

ern terms for hundred and thousand are borrowed from English, perhaps via Chinook Jargon. They are *háandit* /há:ntit/ "hundred" and *táawsan* /tʰá:wsan/ "thousand", and are used along with other numerals as in English, thus *déix háandit* /té:χ há:ntit/ "two hundred" and *nás'k táawsan* /nás'k tʰá:wsan/ "three thousand".

Tlingit has in addition to the basic cardinal numerals a few sets which are used to count particular things. These are transparently based on the cardinal numerals with the addition of various suffixes. The numerals which are used to count people feature a suffix *-náx* /-náχ/, so *tléináx* /tɬʰé:náχ/ "one person", *dáx(i)náx* /táχ(i)náχ/ "two people", *nás'gináx* /nás'kináχ/ "three people", *daax.oonínáx* /ta:xʔu:nináχ/ "four people", *keijínínáx* /kʰe:tʃínínáχ/ "five people", etc. Numbers of instances are counted with numerals including a suffix *-dahéen* /-tahí:n/, thus *tleidahéen* /tɬʰe:tahí:n/ "once", *daxdahéen* /taχtahí:n/ "twice", *nas'gidahéen* /nas'kitahí:n/ "thrice", and so forth.

[[Ordinals. Types.]]

1.3.6.   Adverbs

[[Adverbs.]]

1.3.7.   Verbs

[[Verbal morphology. Template system. Discontinuous morphology. Pronominal arguments. Incorporation. Number marking. Plural suppletion. Classificatory verbs.]] [[Transitivity. Lack of passive.]]

1.3.8.   Evidentiality

[[Evidentiality. Particles.]]

1.3.9.   Word order

[[Word order.]]

1.4.   Literature review

The primary sources of grammatical information about Tlingit are, in chronological order, **veniaminov:1846 kelly:1905 swanton:1911 boas:1917 story:1966 naish:1966 story:1972 story:1973** and **leer:1991** Only those works by Boas,

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Naish, Story, and Leer are reliable in terms of analysis, and beyond them only **kelly:1905** is phonemically accurate. All the references on Tlingit grammar are sketches except for **leer:1991** which is focused on the tense-mood-aspect system of the verb and otherwise can also be considered a sketch grammar. Thus Tlingit rejoices in nine different sketch grammars but no comprehensive reference grammar, hence the need for this work.

1.4.1. Early explorers

The earliest European explorers of the region encountered the Tlingit many times and recorded snatches of the language in their journals and logs. The earliest record of Tlingit speech is also the earliest historical contact with the Tlingit, namely the encounter of Aleksei Chirikov in Surge Bay on the outer coast of Yakobi Island in 1741. This record only gives one word, long debated in the literature. Numerous other explorers and traders visited the region up until the colonization by Baranov and the Russian American company in the early 1800s, but only a few explorers made any kind of reasonable record of Tlingit speech.

⟦Zaikov? Ismailov and Bocharov? Douglas?⟧
⟦Malaspina. Vancouver.⟧

1.4.1.1. Chirikov, 1741

The compendious tome by **dauenhauer:2008** contains the most thorough review and analysis of the first historically recorded contact between Tlingits and Europeans, with an intensive and thorough investigation by Allan Engstrom (**dauenhauer:2008**) that locates the event at Surge Bay on Yakobi Island, at the Tlingit village called *Apolosovo* or *Vorovskoe* (*Апоlосово* "ne'er-do-well", *Воровское* "(village) of thieves") in Russian (**dauenhauer:2008**).

The famous explorer Vitus Bering commanded a Russian naval expedition in 1741 to find the mythical Juan de Gama's Land which was reported to exist between 45° and 47° N, somewhere in the North Pacific (**dauenhauer:2008**). Alexei Chirikov (*Алексей Чириковъ*), captain of the Russian Navy packetboat *St. Paul* (*Святой Павелъ*), found land around 56°36′ N on 15 July 1741 near Cape Ommaney on the southern tip of Baranov Island. He traveled north along the coast of Baranov Island and attempted landing on 18 July 1741 at about 57°50′ N on the coast of Yakobi Island, intending to take on fresh water.

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Chirikov stood about a mile offshore in the *St. Paul* and sent the longboat commanded by Fleet Master Avraam N. Dement'ev (*Авраамъ Н. Дементьевъ*) accompanied by ten men (**dauenhauer:2008**). This longboat traveled out of sight and never returned. Chirikov could not anchor and tacked up and down the coast, buffeted by storms. On 24 July 1741 he sent the dory with a carpenter and caulker towards shore, figuring that the longboat could not return due to damage. This boat did not return either (**dauenhauer:2008**).

On 25 July 1741, two small Tlingit canoes paddled out of the bay towards the *St. Paul.* Chirikov could not make out their faces, but could hear them twice shouting "Agai, agai" and saw them wave their hands, then return to shore (**dauenhauer:2008**). They could not be convinced to come closer. Chirikov then gave up and departed the area, cutting short his exploration because he could no longer take on fresh water without small boats.

The meaning of "agai" (Cyrillic ⟨агай⟩ /agaj/) has been debated quite a bit over the years. **dauenhauer:2008** offer a summary of the debate. Emmons and following him De Laguna ⟦citation⟧ suggested *haadé* (/ha:té(:)/ *haa-dé* |hither-ALL|) "over here" which is a common Tlingit directive. Barratt ⟦citation⟧ supposed a typographic error confusing Cyrillic manuscript ⟨и⟩ /i/ and ⟨y⟩ /u/ to give a Cyrillic ⟨aray⟩ /agau/. Following this proposed rereading, Barratt then claimed that the original Tlingit was *haagú* "come here (sg.)", as in the following example.

(1) *haa=S-CL[–D, Ø]-goot* "S (sg.) come hither by foot"
    haagú!
    /ha:.kú/
    haa=Ø-Ø-Ø-gú
    hither=ZCNJ-2SG.S-CL[–D, Ø, –I]-go.foot.SG
    "come here (by foot)!"; sg. subject imperative

The Dauenhauers argued strongly against this hypothesis since the original is ⟨агай⟩ with a diacritic which does not normally occur over ⟨y⟩. The letter ⟨ў⟩ does occur in Belarusian to symbolize /w/, and has the same purpose in the Cyrillic alphabet for Siberian Yupik. It did not see regular use in Belarusian until the beginning of the 20th century, and ⟨ў⟩ is peculiar enough to Belarusian that there is a monument erected to it in the city of Polotsk. We can safely assume that Chirikov did not mistake ⟨й⟩ for ⟨ў⟩. Furthermore, as can be seen from the example above, the verb root indicates movement by foot rather than the

expected verb root *ḵoox̱* "go by boat, vehicle", as occurs in phrases like *haat yiḵúx̱*.

(2) *haat=S-CL[–D, Ø]-ḵoox̱* "S come hither by boat, vehicle"
     haat yiḵúx̱!
     /haːt.ji.qʰúχ/
     haa-t=Ø-yi-Ø-ḵúx̱
     hither-PNCT=ZCNJ-2PL.S-CL[–D, Ø, –I]-go.boat
     "come here (by boat)!"; pl. subject imperative

Although Interior Tlingit speakers (§2.1.2, §3.5.1.3) often do not maintain the distinction between movement by foot and movement by vehicle, Coastal Tlingit people (§2.1.1, §3.5.1) who travel extensively on the water are acutely aware of the difference and would be extremely unlikely to neglect making this distinction in their speech. Additionally, the verb in Barrat's analysis specifically for singular subjects rather than plural subjects, and it is unusual for Tlingit speakers to address a plurality using the singular imperative.

The Dauenhauers have instead speculated a few times that the Tlingit may have been saying *ax̱áa* "paddle! (sg.)" or *ayx̱áa* "paddle! (pl.)", encouraging the Russians to attempt crossing the treacherous mouth of Surge Bay by timing the waves at slack water and paddling hard in a manner similar to how La Pérouse described Tlingits entering Lituya Bay (**delaguna:1972**).

(3) *a-S-CL[–D, Ø]-x̱aa* "S paddle"

     a. ax̱áa!
         /ʔa.χáː/
         a-Ø-Ø-Ø-x̱áa
         3O-ZCNJ-2SG.S-CL[–D, Ø, –I]-paddle
         "paddle!"; sg. subject imperative

     b. ayx̱áa!
         /ʔaj.χáː/
         a-Ø-yi-Ø-x̱áa
         3O-ZCNJ-2PL.S-CL[–D, Ø, –I]-paddle
         "paddle!"; pl. subject imperative

As noted above, since Tlingit speakers are usually quite conscious of the difference between singular and plural subjects, it is probably more likely that

they would have said the plural imperative *ayx̱áa*. I speculate that Chirikov's ⟨агай⟩ may be a misremembering of heard ⟨айга⟩ /ajga/ which would be entirely compatible with Tlingit *ayx̱áa* over a long distance and noisy seas. This misremembering would not be unlikely given that naval commanders of the period would enter significant events into the ship's log typically several hours after the actual event, at some point when it was more convenient to spend some time writing in private. Additionally, in Russian the the diphthong ⟨ай⟩ /aj/ is uncommon in word-initial position, but is unremarkable word-finally.

1.4.1.2. La Pérouse, 1786

Commodore Jean-François de Galaup, Comte de La Pérouse was one of the earliest Europeans to visit the Tlingit, commanding the French naval frigate *L'Astrolabe* and accompanied by the *La Boussole* under Viscomte de Langle. La Pérouse came to the Alaskan shore on the morning of 23 June 1786, somewhere between Icy Bay and Yakutat[9] Bay at a place he called "Pointe de La Boussole" that **delaguna:1972** identifies as "a point just west of Sitkagi[10] Bluffs, or even what then corresponded to Point Riou at Icy Bay" (**delaguna:1972**). On 2 July 1786 La Pérouse arrived at Lituya Bay,[11] which he called "Port des Français", and in which he anchored and stayed for about a month. **delaguna:1972** offers an extended summary of the events and ethnographic details recorded to which the reader is recommended for further background. During La Pérouse's stay he and his crew picked up a bit of Tlingit, and essayed an attempt to transcribe some of the language. The following extracts are taken from the second volume of his four volume posthumous *Voyage de La Pérouse, Autour de Monde*, published 1798 in Paris. The translations are mine,[12] with some assistance from those in the anonymous 1799 translation into English published by John Stockdale (**la-perouse:1799**).

> *M. de Lamanon est l'auteur de la dissertation suivante sur la langue de ce peuple ; je n'en donnerai ici que les termes numériques afin de satisfaire les lecteurs qui aiment à comparer ceux des différens idiomes: […]*

---

9. See §?? for the meaning of Tlingt *Yaakwdaat* /ja:kʷta:t/.
10. From Tlingit *S'itkáÿi* /sʼitkʰáu̯i/ *s'it-ká-ÿí* |glacier-ʜsFC-ᴘss| "atop the glacier".
11. Tlingit *Ltu.aa* /ɬtʰuʔa:/ *lú-tú-ʔaa* |nose-inside-lake| "lake inside the nose".
12. Mary Walworth also deserves much credit for helping me with my rusty French, but I would have no blame upon her for my imperfect work.

> Monsieur de Lamanon is the author of the following dissertation regarding the language of this people; I have only given here the numerical terms for the satisfaction of readers who like comparing those [numerals] of different idioms: [see table 1.1, p. 21]

The way that this statement is worded makes it somewhat ambiguous as to the specific author of the numerals listed in table 1.1. I will assume that the numerals were collected by de Lamanon since he seems to have been the most linguistically inclined of the crew. It is nonetheless possible that some other member of the crew, perhaps even La Pérouse himself, actually elicited these numerals.

The transcription is remarkably accurate for being transcribed through French, partly aided by the fact that French speakers are familiar with uvular sounds due to the French uvular fricative /ʁ/. The numeral ⟨kouehok⟩ "nine" is a mispelling of original *⟨kouchok⟩ by the editor Milet-Mureau or whoever transcribed from the original manuscript. It is consistently misspelled in the numerals 29 and 180 as well. Given that de Lamanon was reliable at capturing /ʃ/ elsewhere as ⟨ch⟩, this misspelling is certainly due to mistaking ⟨c⟩ for ⟨e⟩ which is easily done with the dense formal handwriting used at the time.

There are several interesting features of de Lamanon's numerals. Most importantly, the system is clearly quinquevigesimal (bases five and twenty) rather than the later quinquedecimal (bases five and ten) system which seems to have developed in the late 19th century (see §??). This is clear from the unit ḵaa /qʰaː/ which is derived transparently from the word ḵáa /qʰáː/ "man", which indexes twenties as the sum of a man's fingers and toes. De Lamanon was apparently confused by this, despite French having its own vestiges of a vigesimal system, since he concluded that the base unit was ten instead. Thus de Lamanon has *trente* "thirty" for ⟨neiskrha⟩ which is *nas'ḵḵaa* /nasʼk.qʰaː/ "three-men, sixty". This mistake fortuitously led to him eliciting numbers up to 200 rather than stopping at 100, thus giving us proof that the Tlingit counting system of the time could extend at least to hundreds if not further. At the time Tlingits were probably not trading in such quantities very often, but during the Russian American era Tlingit people began to work with larger quantities as part of the fur trade.

De Lamanon seems to have perceived Tlingit /tɬʰ/ as /kl/, something common to speakers of most European languages. He is however inconsistent between ⟨kl⟩ and just ⟨k⟩, using the former only for six and numerals based upon it, and the latter for numerals based upon one.

> *Pour représenter l'*r *guttural, que ces peuples prononcent encore plus*

French	"La Langue"	Tlingit (IPA)	No.
un (1)	*keirrk*	tɬʰéːxʼ	1
deux (2)	*theirh*	teːχ	2
trois (3)	*neisk*	násʼk	3
quatre (4)	*taakhoun*	taːx.ʔuːn	4
cinq (5)	*keitschine*	kʰeː.tʃín	5
six (6)	*kleitouchou*	tɬʰeː.tuː.ʃú	6
sept (7)	*takatouchou*	taχ.ʔa.tuː.ʃú	7
huit (8)	*netskatouchou*	nasʼ.ka.tuː.ʃú	8
neuf (9)	*kouehok*	kuː.ʃúq	9
dix (10)	*tchinecate*	tʃin.kaːt	10
onze (11)	*keirkrha-keirrk*	tɬʰeː.qʰaː qʰa tɬʰéːxʼ	21
douze (12)	*keirkrha-theirh*	tɬʰeː.qʰaː qʰa teːχ	22
treize (13)	*keirkrha-neisk*	tɬʰeː.qʰaː qʰa násʼk	23
quatorze (14)	*keirkrha-taakhoun*	tɬʰeː.qʰaː qʰa taːx.ʔuːn	24
quinze (15)	*keirkrha-keitschine*	tɬʰeː.qʰaː qʰa kʰeː.tʃín	25
seize (16)	*keirkrha-kleitouchou*	tɬʰeː.qʰaː qʰa tɬʰeː.tuː.ʃú	26
dix-sept (17)	*keirkrha-takatouchou*	tɬʰeː.qʰaː qʰa taχ.ʔa.tuː.ʃú	27
dix-huit (18)	*keirkrha-netskatouchou*	tɬʰeː.qʰaː qʰa nasʼ.ka.tuː.ʃú	28
dix-neuf (19)	*keirkrha-kouehok*	tɬʰeː.qʰaː qʰa kuː.ʃúq	29
vingt (20)	*theirha*	teːχ.qʰaː	40
trente (30)	*neiskrha*	násʼk.qʰaː	60
quarante (40)	*taakhounrha*	taːx.ʔuːn.qʰaː	80
cinquante (50)	*keitschinerka*	kʰeː.tʃin.qʰaː	100
soixante (60)	*kleitouchourha*	tɬʰeː.tuː.ʃu.qʰaː	120
soixant-dix (70)	*takatouchourha*	taχ.ʔa.tuː.ʃu.qʰaː	140
quatre-vingt (80)	*netskatouchourha*	nasʼ.ka.tuː.ʃu.qʰaː	160
quatre-vingt-dix (90)	*kouehokrha*	kuː.ʃuq.qʰaː	180
cent (100)	*tchinecaterha*	tʃin.kʰaːt.qʰaː	200

Table 1.1: Tlingit numerals collected by de Lamnaon and La Pérouse (**la-perouse:1798**).

> *durement que les Allemands le* chr, *on a substitué le* rh, *comme si
> l'on prononçait* rhabiller *en grasseyant fortement, et comme plus con-
> forme à la langue française.*
>
> For the representation of the guttural *r*, which these people pro-
> nounce longer than the Germans do *chr*, one substitutes the *rh*, as
> one pronounces *rhabiller* ["to reclothe"] in a strong guttural voice,
> and more conforming to the French language.

What de Lamanon was attempting to do here was to describe the uvular
sounds of the Tlingit language, specifically the uvular fricative sound /χ/. His
reference to German ⟨chr⟩ is probably to the sound [χ] which occurs in some
German varieties, with ⟨ch⟩ capturing the the frication and voicelessness, and
⟨r⟩ indicating the uvularity since ⟨ch⟩ is usually either /ç/ or /x/. Tlingit /χ/ is
not really pronounced longer than what one might find among some German
speakers, but /χ/ may be somewhat more noisy and trill-like since it often oc-
curs as a voiceless uvular trill [ʀ̥]. This trilling is probably what de Lamanon was
trying to get at with his term *grasseyant fortement*, as French speakers often pro-
duce the voiced uvular trill [ʀ] for /ʁ/ when heavily emphasizing or prolonging
the sound.

> *Nos caractères ne peuvent exprimer la langue de ces peuples : ils ont, à
> la vérité, quelques articulations semblables aux nôtres; mais plusieurs
> nous sont absolument étrangères : ils ne font aucun usage des con-
> sonnes B, F, X, J, D, P, V; et, malgré leur talent pour l'imitation, ils
> n'ont jamais pu prononcer les quatres premières.*
>
> Our characters do not allow expression of the language of these
> people: they have, in truth, some articulations resembling ours; but
> more are to us absolutely strange: they do not use the consonants
> B, F, X, J, D, P, V; and, despite their talent for imitation, they can
> never pronounce the first four.

De Lamanon's statement that his alphabet cannot capture the sounds of
Tlingit is a familiar refrain heard throughout the historical records of the 19th
and early 20th centuries. With between 44 and 48 consonants, it is easy to see
why Europeans of the time would be daunted by the task of transcribing Tlingit.
De Lamanon correctly recognized that Tlingit has some sounds similar to those
in French, and since he had already discussed the uvular fricative it must be
assumed that he was here referring to the more prosaic sounds like /t/, /s/, /k/,
/kʷ/, and the like. He was also aware that there are sounds in Tlingit which do

not exist in any European language, and we now know that some Tlingit sounds are unattested in any other known language. De Lamanon must have felt some dismay at the fact that he could not do the Tlingit language any sort of justice in writing.

Tlingit lacks labial consonants in nearly every dialect, so de Lamanon was perfectly correct in noting the absence of [b], [p], [f], and [v]. What de Lamanon meant by ⟨J⟩ is probably the sound [ʒ], which Tlingit lacks along with any other voiced fricatives. His mention of ⟨D⟩ is interesting; de Lamanon probably meant to refer to [d], and this may indicate that he was aware of Tlingit's lack of voiced stops.

> *Il en a été de même pour l'L mouillée et le GN mouillé : ils articulaient la lettre R comme si elle était double, et en grasseyant beaucoup; ils prononcent le* chr *des Allemands avec autant de dureté que les Suisses de certains cantons. Ils ont aussi un son articulé très-difficile à saisir; on ne pouvait entreprendre de l'imiter sans exciter leur rire; il est en partie représenté par le lettres* Khlrl, *ne faisant qu'une syllabe, prononcée en même temps du gosier et de la langue : cette syllabe se trouve dans le mot* khlrleies, *qui signifie* cheveux. *Leurs consonnes initiales son K, T, N, S, M; le premières sont celles qu'ils emploient le plus souvent : aucun de leurs mots ne commence par R, et ils se terinent presque tous par* ou, ouls, oulch, *ou par des voyelles. Le grasseyement, le grand nombre de K, et les consonnes doubles, rendent cette langue très-dure; elle est moins gutturale chez les hommes que chez les femmes, que ne peuvent prononcer les labiales à cause de la rouelle de bois nommée* Kentaga, *qu'elles enchâssent dans la lèvre inférieure.*

On s'apperçoit moins de la rudesse de leur langue lorsqu'ils chantent. Je n'ai pu faire que très-peu d'observations sur les parties du discours, vu la difficulté de communiquer des idées abstraites par des signes : j'ai cependant reconnu qu'ils avaient des interjections pour exprimer les setnimens d'admiration, de colère, ou de plaisir ; je ne crois pas qu'ils aient des articles, car je n'ai point trouvé de mots qui revinssent souvent et quie servissent à lier leurs discours. Ils connaissent les rapports numériques ; ils ont des noms de nombres, sans cependant distinguer le pluriel du singulier, ni par aucune différence dans la terminaison, ni par des articles. Je leur ai fait voir une dent de phoque ; ils l'ont appelée *kaourré*, et ils ont donné

le même nom, sans aucun changement, à plusieurs dents réunies. Leurs noms collectifs sont en très-petit nombre : ils n'ont pas assez généralisé leurs idées pour avoir des mots un peu abstraits ; ils ne les on pas assez particularisées pour ne pas donner le même nom à des choses très-distinctes : ainsi chez eux *kaaga* signifie également tête et visage, et *alcaou* chef et ami. Je n'ai trouvé aucune ressemblance entre les mots de cette langue et celle d'Alaska, Norton, Nootka, ni celle des Groënlandais, des Esquimaux, des Mexicains, des Nadoessis et des Chipavas, dont j'ai comparé les vocabulaires. Je leur ai prononcé des mots de ces différens idiomes ; ils n'en ont compris aucun, et j'ai varié ma prononciation autant qu'il m'a été possible : mais, quiqu'il n'y ait peut-être pas une idée ou une chose qui s'exprime par le même mot chez les Indienes du Port des Français et chez les peurples que je viens de citer, il doit y avoir une grande affinité de son entre cette langue et celle de l'entrée de Nootka. Le K ets dans l'une et dans l'autre la lettre dominante ; on la retrouve dans presque tous le mots. Les consonnes initiales et les terminaisons sont assez souvent les mêmes, et il n'est peut-être pas impossible que cette langue ait une origine commune avec la langue mexicaine : mais cette origine, si elle existe, que ces idiomes n'ont quelques rapports que dans les premiers élémens des most, et non dans leur signification.

1.4.2.   Russian America

Review by **delaguna:1972**

Shelikov and Baranov's wordlist from **davydov:1810 wrangell:1839 kamenskii:1985**

1.4.2.1.   Veniaminov, 1840s

veniaminov:1846 was the pioneer of Tlingit grammatical studies with the publication of his Замѣчанія о колошенскомъ и кадьякскомъ языкахъ. This work has never been translated into English, so the following excerpts are the first published translations, however inadequate they may be.

> *Якутатскимъ* языкомъ говорятъ жители Якутата и далѣе къ западу. Онъ раздѣляется на два нарѣчія: *Якутатское* и *Угаленское*; число говорящихъ обѣими нарѣчіями не болѣе 300 душъ.

The *Yakutat* language is spoken in the village of Yakutat and further to the south. It is divided into two dialects: *Yakutat* and *Ugalentz*; the number of speakers of both dialects is not above 300 souls.

Veniaminov makes a distinction between the Tlingit language spoken in Yakutat and the Tlingit language spoken in Sitka, which he discusses below. Here he notes that in Yakutat there are two "dialects", one being "Yakutat" and the other "Ugalentz". The latter is actually the Eyak language, as noted by Krauss [[cite]]. Veniaminov's "Yakutat" dialect is Tlingit, but relations between the Russian colonists and the Yakutat Tlingit were poor such that Veniaminov may have been unaware that the two were actually the same language.

Ситхинскій или собственно такъ называемый *Колошенскій* языкъ употребляется отъ Льтуа до Стахина, и имѣетъ почти одно нарѣчіе; число говорящихъ имъ въ послѣднее время (послѣ оспы) не простирается болѣе 4500. О свойствѣ сего языка будетъ сказано ниже.

The *Sitka* or more properly the *Kolosh* language is used from Lituya to Stikine, and has essentially only one dialect; its number of speakers in later times (after smallpox) does not extend beyond 4500. [[…]]

Veniaminov here properly equates the language spoken in Sitka with "Kolosh", the Russian term for Tlingit. He states that it is used from Lituya Bay to the Stikine River; presumably Veniaminov was unaware of Interior Tlingit spoken up the Taku River and around the great glacial lakes, as well as the Southern Tlingit dialects spoken around Prince of Wales Island and Revillagigedo Island. Veniaminov is correct that Northern Tlingit from Lituya Bay to the Stikine River is essentially a single dialect, since speakers throughout that region have only minor differences in their speech. Some Stikine speakers spoke the Transitional dialect along with people from Kake and perhaps Angoon, but the differences between this and the Northern Tlingit dialect that Veniaminov was familiar with are minimal.

Всѣ наши Американскіе языки по образованію своему (сколко можно было узнать) раздѣляются на два главные вида, одинъ отъ другаго совершенно различные, а именно : *Уналашкинскій* и *Колошенскій.* Отличительныя ихъ свойства состоятъ въ слѣдующемъ: 1) Въ языкахъ перваго образованія три числа: единственное, двойственное и множественное; а въ языкахъ

втораго образованія обыкновенно два числа: единственное и множественное. 2) Падежи въ первыхъ языкахъ раздѣляются на неопредѣленные и прияжательные, и потому всѣхъ падежей или окончаній болѣе 36; а въ послѣднихьне болѣе трехъ падежей или окончаній. 3) Глаголы по числамъ и лицамъ въ первыхъ измѣняются обыкновенно на концѣ, или въ началѣ слова. 4) Въ языкахъ перваго образованія предлоги и нарѣчія имѣютъ числа, и потому суть части рѣчи измѣняемыя, а въ послѣднихъ языкахъ того совсѣмъ нѣтъ.

[[nadezhdin:1896 veniaminov:1901]]

1.4.2.2. German philologists, 1850s–1880s

Veniaminov's work on Tlingit reached a European audience relatively quickly but triggered only passing interest, unsurprising given the focus on Indo-European languages at the time. **buschmann:1857** seems to have been the first scholar outside of Russian-America to propose a historical relationship between Tlingit and some other Native American language. In this case, **buschmann:1857** offered some comparisons with Akimel O'odham (Pima) which, being based on Veniaminov's impoverished analysis of Tlingit phonology, were ultimately nonsense. For more on Buschmann's work as well as other early genealogical proposals see chapter ??.

[[Pfizmaier? Mentioned in **muller:1884**]]

muller:1884 a professor at the University of Vienna, also forayed into Tlingit based on Veniaminov's documentation. **muller:1884** was used to interpretational problems in philology, and so engaged in some creative reconstruction of Tlingit based on Veniaminov's flawed data. He proposed a five vowel system of ⟨i⟩, ⟨e⟩, ⟨a⟩, ⟨o⟩, and ⟨u⟩, as well as an impoverished consonant system with sixteen sounds that lacked uvulars or ejectives, and included an ⟨m⟩. **muller:1884** might have been productive had he actually worked with living Tlingit speakers, but instead his armchair effort is largely useless except as a historical curiosity.

1.4.3. Early U.S. period

Review by **delaguna:1972**

latham:1848

Dall, 1870. Bancroft, 1874. Lt. C.E.S. Wood, 1877. Muir, 1879.
Krause, 1881–1882 (**krause:1885 krause:1956 krause:1993**).

Schwatka, 1883. Abercrombie, 1884. Emmons, 1885. Young, 1880s (**young:1886**). Niblack, 1888. **de-la-grasserie:1902 jones:1914**

1.4.4. Kelly and Willard

kelly:1905

1.4.5. Swanton

swanton:1908; swanton:1909; swanton:1911

1.4.6. Boas and Shotridge

boas:1891 boas:1916 boas:1917 shotridge:1915

1.4.6.1. Other Boasian authors

goddard:1920 durlach:1928 miller:1930 velten:1939; velten:1944

1.4.7. J.P. Harrington

Sources?

1.4.8. Twentieth century anthropologists

oberg:1937 delaguna:1960 olson:1967 delaguna:1972

Besides the anthropologists listed previously there are a large number of other anthropologists who have conducted research among the Tlingit. The number is relatively large, and I can only approximate it with a list of those whom I have met or know secondhand.

⟦Viola Garfield, Sergei Kan, Thomas Thornton, Stephen Langdon, Steve Henrikson, Madonna Moss, Lydia Black, Judith Berman, Elizabeth Kunibe, Myra Gilliam, Kenneth Tollefson, Catherine McClellan, Julie Cruikshank, Laura Klien, Andrei Grinëv, Jeane Breinig, Kristin Barsness, Kirk Dombrowski, …⟧

Most have not published on the language, but their work may include the occasional linguistic insight which is not discussed elsewhere.

1.4.9. Naish and Story

1.4.10. The present

1.4.10.1. Krauss

1.4.10.2. Dauenhauers

1.4.10.3. Leer

1.4.10.4. Cable

1.4.10.5. Crippen

2.   The Tlingit people

The Tlingit people have been an enduring subject of anthropology since the dawn of the 19th century, including some of the most famous anthropologists of the American tradition. Like most Northwest Coast cultures, Tlingit life is saturated with art and ceremony, and the incredible natural wealth of the environment has provided for a rich, highly articulated culture despite being a "mere" hunter-gatherer society.

In this chapter I will attempt to give a crude outline of Tlingit life and society. There are far better works available by accomplished anthropologists, and I refer the interested reader to them rather than relying on my outline here. The essential ethnographies are **krause:1885** (translated into English as **krause:1956**), **oberg:1937** (published as **oberg:1973**), **olson:1967 delaguna:1972 kan:1989** and **emmons:1991** The last work by Emmons and De Laguna is probably the most accessible to a general readership, although for breadth and depth De Laguna's (**delaguna:1972**) *Under Mount Saint Elias: The History and Culture of the Yakutat Tlingit* is peerless.

2.1.   Location

The primary homeland of the Tlingit is called simply *Lingít Aaní*, literally "Tlingit land" or "land of the Tlingit".[1] It is today essentially coextensive with what is known as Southeast Alaska or "The Panhandle", a narrow strip of coastline backed to the east by the precipitous Coast Range and sheltered to the west by the innumerable thickly forested islands and long, convoluted fjords and channels of the Alexander Archipelago. The southernmost range of Tlingit territory is coincident with the USA-Canada border, on the landward side along the Portland Canal which terminates in the towns of Stewart (Canada) and Hyder (USA), and on the seaward side along the Dixon Entrance which separates the

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1.   Morphologically *lingít aan-ýí* |Tlingit land-pss|.

Alexander Archipelago from the Queen Charlotte Islands. The only exception in the south is the ocean-facing southwestern coast of Prince of Wales Island and other islands to the west which are Kaigani (Alaskan) Haida territory. This region appears to have been relatively recently settled by Haida from northern Graham Island and Langara Island, perhaps as late as a mere decade before European contact (Stephen Langdon, p.c. 2009).

⟦Need a line-drawing map of the territory and adjacent groups, including rivers.⟧

To the north *Lingít Aaní* extends along the coast of the Gulf of Alaska, reaching as far as Cape Suckling and the edge of Prince William Sound. From Yakutat towards the Sound the territory was traditionally inhabited by a mix of Tlingit and Eyak, with the Tlingit inexorably pressing westward and absorbing the Eyak population into Tlingit society. The Gulf Coast is like the Southeast in that it is a long narrow strip of coastline shrouded in temperate rainforest and backed by nearly impassible mountains. On the other hand the Gulf Coast is very unlike the Southeast because there are essentially no islands sheltering it from the open Pacific. Consequently canoe travel is somewhat different, and many other facets of life are distinct from the Southeast population.

There are seven rivers which pierce the coastal mountains, from south to north they are the Nass (*Naas*), Stikine (*Shtax'héen*), Taku (*T'aakú*), Chilkat (*Jilkaat*), the pair of Alsek and Tatshenshini (*Alséix̱*, *T'achanshahéeni*), and the Copper (*Eek̲ Héeni*).[2] Except for the last, each of these great rivers has at some point been a thoroughfare for Tlingits traveling into the interior of the continent. Two rivers ended up hosting a permanent interior population of Tlingits. The people traveling up the Taku, Chilkat, and Alsek–Tatshenshini traded and intermarried with the Tagish Athabaskans who inhabited the river valley and the great glacial lakes at the headwaters of the Yukon River: Teslin (*Deisleen*), Atlin (*Áatlein*), Tagish (*Taagish*), Bennett (⟦?⟧), and Lindeman (⟦?⟧). Intermarriage and acculturation eventually saturated the Tagish to the point that today they identify largely as Tlingit, and their particular dialects of the language show some innovative and conservative features that both unite them with and set them apart from their maritime cousins.

2.1.1. Coastal Tlingit

The Coastal Tlingit are those people who live near saltwater. The term used by the Interior Tlingit (see §2.1.2) in reference to the Coastal Tlingit is *Eil'ká*

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2. For glosses and meanings of the names of these major rivers, see §??.

Ḵwáan which means "on the saltwater people" (*éil'-ḵá ḵwáan* |salt.water-HSFC people|); this term seems to be catching on among the Coastal people as the modern level of interaction increases between the two groups. A more accurate term in English might be "Maritime Tlingit", given that although all of the *Eil'ká Ḵwáan* live on or very near salt water, many live deep in the Alexander Archipelago and hence quite far from the continental coastline. The Coastal Tlingit form the vast majority of the Tlingit population, both today and over the last two centuries of recorded history. Anthropologically the Coastal Tlingit have been the primary focus of investigation, and their lifeways and culture are often treated as prototypical for the Tlingit.

The homeland of the Coastal Tlingit is today generally referred to as "Southeast Alaska", which includes not only the islands of the Alexander Archipelago but also the continental coast from the Portland Canal to the area around Yakutat. Beyond Yakutat the traditional ownership overlaps with that of the neighboring Eyak people who were culturally assimilating to the Tlingit at the time of European contact. Both islands and coastline are steep, with mountains rising precipitously from the water. Fjords extend deep into the Coast Range of mountains, particularly Lynn Canal in the north and Portland Canal in the south. Geology is varied, [[Wrangell terrane, etc.]]. In contrast with the southern Pacific Northwest, glaciers are relatively common. The many glaciers emptying into Glacier Bay [[name]] north of Hoonah (*Xunaa*) feature prominently in a number of Tlingit myths and histories. The Mendenhall Glacier [[name]] stands prominently behind Auke Bay (*Áak'w*) and is a major geographic feature of the area. One of the largest glaciers in North America is Malaspina Glacier near Yakutat (*Yaakwdaat*), which has an area of 3900 km² and is up to 600 m thick in some places. Also near Yakutat is the longest tidewater glacier in North America, Hubbard Glacier [[name]], which is 122 km long and occasionally blocks off Russell Fjord causing massive glacial lake outburst floods when the dam is released. The southernmost tidewater glacier in North America is Le Conte Glacier (*Xeitl*) near Petersburg (*Gantiyaakw Séedi*); it drains the Stikine Icefield which also feeds the Stikine and Taku rivers.

Nearly all land is cloaked in thick coniferous rainforest, comprised primarily of *shéey ~ shéiy(i)* (*Picea sitchensis* (Bong.) Carr., "Sitka spruce") and *yán*[3] (*Tsuga heterophylla* (Raf.) Sarg., "western hemlock"). Interspersed in this forest is *x̱áay* (*Callitropsis nootkatensis*[4] (D.Don) Florin, "yellow-cedar"), *leiyís* (*Abies lasiocarpa* (Hooker) Nuttall "subalpine fir"), and at high elevations *s'éx̱*

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3. Also *yáy* in Teslin (**leer:2001**), not to be confused with *yáay* "whale".
4. Like the English name, the scientific name has a number of variations involving its ex-

(*Tsuga mertensiana* (Bong.) Carr, "mountain hemlock"). South of Sumner Strait the slightly warmer winter temperatures support *laax̱* (*Thuja plicata* Donn ex. D.Don, "western redcedar"), *leiyís* (*Abies amabilis* Douglas ex. J.Forbes "Pacific silver fir", synonymous with *Abies lasiocarpa*), and *s'áḵs*[5] (*Taxus brevifolia* Nutt., "Pacific yew, western yew"). [[muskeg]] In river valleys, around edges of standing water, and on disturbed sites the region's few large broadleaf (eudicot) trees can be found: *dúḵ* (*Populus balsamifera* ssp. *trichocarpa* Torr. & A.Gray, "black cottonwood"), *at daayí* (*Betula papyrifera* Marsh, "paper birch"), *x̱'áax'* (*Malus fusca* (Raf.) C.K.Schneid., "Pacific crabapple"), *kalchaneit* (*Sorbus sitchensis* M.Roem, "Sitka mountain-ash"), *shéix̱'w* (*Alnus rubra* Bong., "red alder, big alder"), *keishísh* (*Alnus viridis* ssp. *sinuata* (Regel) A.Löve & D.Löve, "Sitka alder, beach alder"), and *ch'áal'* (various *Salix* spp., "willow", especially *S. sitchensis* Sanson ex Bong., "Sitka willow").

Due to the colder winters, many well known trees of the southern Pacific Northwest are unknown in Southeast Alaska, such as Douglas fir (*Pseudotsuga menziesii* (Mirb.) Franco), western white pine (*Pinus monticola* Douglas ex D.Don), arbutus or madrone (*Arbutus menziesii* Pursh), and Pacific dogwood (*Cornus nuttallii* Audubon). Modern Tlingit speakers are often familiar with these trees through both travel and introduction by horticultural planting, but they report no traditional names for them, and Tlingits do not seem to have traded for them in the past. In contrast, the paucity of good *laax̱* (western redcedar) timber and bark meant that Tlingit people would traditionally trade for this wood with more southerly groups, particularly with the Coast Tsimshian (*Ts'ootsxán*) and Haida (*Deikeenaa*). Such trade is still in a sense maintained today through the harvest of *laax̱* in southern Southeast Alaska for traditional uses in northern Southeast Alaska, but international boundaries largely prevent importation from Canadian lands. A similar trade existed for *s'áḵs* (Pacific yew) before the introduction of firearms obsoleted the bow. *Laax̱* was replaced in the north with *sheey* (Sitka spruce) for housing and transportation construction, with the large "war canoe" imported whole from the Haida, though the occasional log of *laax̱* washed up on a beach was always put to good use.

Aside from the crabapple *x̱'áax'*[6] noted earlier, there are essentially no fruit

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act genus. Other genera applied to this species include *Cupressus*, *Chamaecyparis*, and *Xanthocyparis*.

5. Because this tree provides an excellent hard but bendable wood, it was extensively used for bowyery and hence the word *s'áḵs* also means "bow".

6. Often known as *Lingít x̱'áax'* "Tlingit apple" in contrast to European apples now called *x̱'áax'*.

trees in Southeast Alaska. Berry bushes are however numerous and widely varied. The generic term for berry is *tléiḵw*; this word was extended after European contact to cover all fruit but its basic referent remains as "berry". The most iconic types of berries in Tlingit culture are *shákw ~ shíkw* (*Fragaria chiloensis* subsp. *pacifica* (L.) Mill., "beach strawberry"), *tleiḵwyádi ~ tléiḵw yádi* (*Rubus leucodermis* Dougl. ex Torr. & A.Gray, "western raspberry"), *was'x'aan tléiḡu* or *tléiḵw wás'i* (*Rubus spectabilis* Pursh, "salmonberry"), and *kanat'á* (*Vaccinium ovalifolium* Sm., "Alaskan blueberry"). There are many other berry species harvested by the Tlingit, including *ch'eex'* (*Rubus parviflorus* Nutt., "thimbleberry"), *k'inchéiyi tléiḡu* (*Rosa nutkana* K. Presl, "rosehip"), *kaxwéix* (*Viburnum edule* (Michx.) Raf., "highbush cranberry"), *tleikatánk* (*Vaccinium parvifolium* Sm., "red huckleberry"), *xákwl'ee* (*Shepherdia canadensis* (L.) Nutt., "soapberry"),[7] and *neigóon* (*Rubus arcticus* L., "nagoonberry"), among many others. Today berries are often preserved according to European methods, but traditional sundried and smoked cakes (*at kaxúkw*) are also still produced.

The primary food sources of the Coastal Tlingit are the five species of western Pacific salmon: *t'á* (*Oncorhynchus tschawytscha* Walbaum, "king, chinook"), *ḡaat* (*O. nerka* Walbaum, "sockeye, red"), *l'ook* (*O. kisutch* Walbaum, "coho, silver"), *téel'* (*O. keta* Walbaum, "dog, chum"), and *cháas'* (*O. gorbuscha* Walbaum, "humpy, pink").[8] The gathering of salmon during the summer and fall necessi-

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7. Not locally known by the Chinook Jargon borrowing "soapolallie", unlike further south.

8. The genus name is from Greek ὄγκος *ónkos* "bend, hook" and ῥύγχος *rhúnkhos* "snout, beak", referring to the hooked upper jaw or "kype" of breeding males. The species names are from the Russian names чавыча /tɕaˈvɨ.tɕa/ (< Itelmen *čevičev*), нерка /ˈnʲerka/ (dial. нярка /ˈnʲarka/ < Proto-Samoyedic **n'arkə* "red", e.g. Nganasan *n'orə*), кижуч /ˈkʲiʐutɕ/ (also кизуч /ˈkʲizutɕ/ < Itelmen *kizuez*), кета /ˈkʲeta/ (< Evenki *ke:ta* or Even *qæta* < Chukchi-Koryak, e.g. Chukchi *qetaqet*), and горбуша /gorˈbu.ʂa/ (< Russian горб /gorb/ "hump"). The English name "chinook" is from the Chinook people at the mouth of the Columbia River, and "king" refers to its value. The name "coho" is of unknown origin, but the *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd. ed. (OED2) has the following early citations:

> **1859** *British Colonist* (Victoria, B.C.) 29 July 1/2 Lastly, there is the genus known by the Indian name of coocouse a hybrid bastard sort of fish, half trout, half salmon. **1869** *Mainland Guardian* (New Westminster, B.C.) 25 Sept. 2/1 The second of salmon in class is the Cohose, which comes in September and continues to run until November.

The alternate name "silver" refers to its bright silver skin. The name "sockeye" seems to derive from a reanalysis of something like /ˈsʌ.kaɪ̯/, derived from Halkomelem *sθə́kəẏ* /ˈsθə.kəjʔ/, with the earliest citation in OED2 being "**1887** GOODE *Amer. Fishes* 481 On Frazer River, where this species is the most important Salmon, it is known as the 'Suk-kegh', 'Sawquai' or 'Suck-eye'.". Its alternate name "red" refers to the dark color of the fish's flesh. The

tated frequent moves from one stream or river to another as each run played out. During this period small family groups would build a smokehouse near some number of productive salmon streams, and the group would engage in the strenuous work of fishing, preparing, and smoking salmon for winter consumption. When the last runs ended in late fall, these groups would return to a winter village where they would dwell together with their extended families in the great communal houses (*hít*, see §2.2.1) until spring.

Other major sources of food are likewise mostly litoral and pelagic, such as *tsaa* (*Phoca vitulina* L., "hair seal"), *saak* (*Thaleichthys pacificus* Richardson, "hooligan")[9], *yaaw* (*Clupea pallasii* Valenciennes, "herring"), *cháatl* (*Hippoglossus stenolepis* P.J. Schmidt, "halibut"), various kinds of shellfish, and a wide variety of seaweeds and beach grasses. Land mammals include *ḡuwakaan* (*Odocoileus hemionus sitkensis* Merriam, "(Sitka) deer"), *jánwu* (*Oreamnos americanus* Blainville, "mountain goat"), *ḡáx̱* (*Lepus americanus* Erxleben, "rabbit"), and *s'igeidí* (*Castor canadensis* Kuhl, "beaver"), among others.

The traditional houses or *hít* of the Coastal Tlingit are similar to those of the neighboring Haida and Tsimshian, constructed from large planks of *laax̱* ("western redcedar") or in the north of *sheey* ("Sitka spruce"). These houses are of post-and-lintel construction with four carved posts (*gáas'*, "housepost") and two lintels (*kax̱yeit* per **leer:2001** or *akax̱yee.ádi* per **delaguna:1972**). The floor consists of multiple concentric levels (*táax̱'*, "house tier") going down to a central fire pit, with a large carved screen separating the rearmost part of the house. **delaguna:1972** offers an extensive description of many houses of the various Gulf Coast ḵwáan, including relatively accurate Tlingit names for various parts of the house. Today nobody lives in traditional houses, having instead completely assimilated to life in typical North American single-family houses or apartments in some of the more urban areas. Nevertheless, having at least one traditional house is a great source of pride for most Coastal Tlingit communities, and the knowledge of building them and maintaining them has not been lost.

Being maritime, the Coastal Tlingit spent much of their life on the water, and early European explorers admired their skills in canoe construction

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name "chum" is from Chinook Jargon *čəm* or *tsəm* "spot" which is originally from [[?]], and the name "dog" refers to the enlarged teeth which are reminiscent of the canine teeth of dogs. The name "humpy" refers to the pronounced dorsal hump on males during spawning, and the name "pink" refers to the pale color of its flesh.

9. The usual name of this fish in English is "eulachon" /ˈu.lə.kən/ or "oolichan" /ˈu.lɪ.kən/ from Chinook Jargon *úłiχən*, however the name "hooligan" /ˈhu.lɪ.gən/ is used in Alaska.

and piloting. The *yaakw* was the traditional dugout canoe, carved from whole *laax* (redcedar) logs, and then steamed and spread open with stretchers. The term has since been extended to cover any type of boat, today ranging from the traditional canoe through small and large fishing vessels to the huge cruise ships which visit Tlingit waters every summer carrying thousands of inquisitive tourists. Very large ones were usually purchased from the Haida, who were acknowledged as having greater skill in canoe construction as well as having access to larger *laax* logs. The sail *s'ísaa* was unknown to Tlingits before European arrival, but was quickly adopted so that photographs in the late 19th century show Tlingit canoes fitted with masts and square canvas sails. Tlingit people routinely voyaged remarkable distances, travelling as far south as Oregon and as far north as Prince William Sound looking for trade and slaves. Foot travel was largely limited to short hunting or ambush treks through the forest, with only a few trails in the archipelago seeing extensive use. Coastal Tlingit life was and is intensely focused on the water; as **kan:1989** points out [[dark vs. light and open water vs. closed forest]].

Linguistically the Coastal Tlingit form the majority of the Tlingit speaking population, despite the drastic fall in numbers of speakers since the mid-20th century. The majority of dialect diversity is found among the Coastal Tlingit, particularly in the southern range of *Lingít Aaní*. Despite dialect variation, Coastal Tlingit speakers have little trouble understanding each other, with only lexical differences causing any serious difficulty. Contact between dialects was and is still common, with nearly every Coastal Tlingit speaker being able to recognize other dialects and having a general awareness of where particular speech varieties hail from.

In the past, multilingualism was probably the rule except perhaps in the most central ḵwáan like Angoon, Sitka, and Hoonah. Most Coastal Tlingit speakers have at least passing familiarity with the sound of Haida or Coast Tsimshian, particularly among those from the central and southern areas. Among the Heinyaa ḵwáan there was some degree of bilingualism with Haida, although the decline of both languages probably eliminated bilingualism some time during the mid-20th century. One speaker told me of his grandparents who spoke Tahltan, Haida, and Tlingit, and additionally had some command of Coast Tsimshian, Chinook Jargon, and English. The regular practice of intermarrying with outside groups combined with little linguistic discrimination meant that this sort of family was probably common.

2.1.2. Interior Tlingit

The Interior Tlingit are those who live on the eastern side of the Coast Mountains. In Tlingit they term themselves *Daḵká Ḵwáan* (*daaḵ-ká ḵwáan* |inland-HSFC people|), in opposition to the term *Eiŀká Ḵwáan* for the Coastal mentioned in §2.1.1. Some of the *Daḵká Ḵwáan* represent the ancestors Tlingits who migrated up the rivers to settle with their Athabaskan (*Gunanaa*) trade partners, and others represent the ancestors of those Athabaskans. In fact there is no real division between them, with everyone today identifying as Tlingit with some variable amount of Athabaskan heritage.

⟦⟦Environment.⟧⟧
⟦⟦Foods.⟧⟧
⟦⟦Housing.⟧⟧
⟦⟦Travel.⟧⟧
⟦⟦Linguistic situation.⟧⟧

2.2. Traditional culture

Tlingit traditional culture is relatively well documented in the remarkably voluminous anthropological literature on the Tlingit. The essential sources were mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, and it is needless to repeat them here. The basic concepts are the division into two moieties, further subdivision into matrilineal exogamous clans (*naa*), and subsubdivision into house (*hít*) lineages. Overlaid atop this system is the geographical system of *ḵwáan*, geopolitical units based around groups of settlements and surrounding territories.

2.2.1. Moiety and clan organization

The whole of Tlingit society[10] is organized into two moieties.[11] One side is routinely labelled *Yéil* "Raven", and the other is variously known as *Gooch* "Wolf" or *Ch'áak'* "Eagle". *Gooch* is probably the older term, with *Ch'áak'* coming from the parallel Haida system, which maps inversely to the Tlingit one ⟦⟦cite⟧⟧. There is no abstract term for moiety, although there are certain conventional names for the two moieties. ⟦⟦names of each moiety⟧⟧ In English the terms "Raven"

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10. Except the *Neix.ádi*, of Saanyaa Ḵwáan, for which see below.
11. The anthropological term *moiety* (pronounced /ˈmoɪ̯.ə.ti/) is from Anglo-Norman and Middle French *moitié* "half part", thence from Latin *medietās* "middle part" coined by Cicero for Plato's *μεσότης* "middle".

and "Eagle" are the typical labels for each moiety, and the abstract term is often "side". Thus in English a Tlingit elder of a Wolf/Eagle moiety might refer to "my uncles on the Raven side", and when planning for a potlatch one might say "we will greet the other side and then let them speak to us".

Beneath each moiety are a large number of clans, perhaps thirty on either side. Some of the clans are widely acknowledged as being older than others, and there are some groups which are well known to have split from other clans. A typical example is the Naanyaa.aayí clan which is said to have migrated down the Stikine River to the settle in the Wrangell area. The S'iknax̱.ádi clan is said to have either come down with them or perhaps split from them at some point during the migration. The Kayaashkiditaan is also closely associated, said to have formed from the Naanyaa.aayí when a particular house was so full that members had to sleep on platforms (*kayáash*) on the rafters, later moving into a new house and forming their own separate clan. Another example from the other moiety is the Ḵak'weidí which was (and still is) a subgroup of the Deisheetaan which dwelt in a village in Basket Bay (*Ḵák'w*) until its destruction. Depending on the particular individual, the Ḵak'weidí may be described as a separate clan or as a convenient name for a house group of the larger Deisheetaan clan. For an analysis of the various Tlingit clan names, see §4.15.2 on page 83.

Each clan is composed of one or more matrilineal house groups called *hít* "house" or *hittaan* "house group" (see §4.15.2). Historically these were quite literally a group of people in a single house, often 100 or more dwelling all in the same house in a winter village.

2.3. Regional ḵwáan organization

Crosscutting the moiety and clan system is a separate organization system which is based around the *ḵwáan* (< *ḵu-∅-∅-ʔáan* |INDH.O-ZCNJ-CL[–D, ∅, –I]-dwell| "people dwell"), a traditional geopolitical unit. A ḵwáan centers around a few villages, and extends through the traditional territories possessed by the various clans which are resident in those villages. Each ḵwáan has a name which may be derived from a particular village (e.g. *Sheet'ká, Ḵ'éix̱'*), a major geographical feature (e.g. *Shtax̱'héen, Xootsnoowú*), or some attribute of the people (e.g. *Gunax̱oo, Jilḵaat*). Because I make reference to various ḵwáan throughout the grammar in various contexts, I include a summary of the various ḵwáan and their relationships here.

2.3.1. Maritime

The ḵwáan whose territories are in the saltwater regions west of the coastal mountains.

2.3.1.1. Tongass

The Taantʼá Ḵwáan.

2.3.1.2. Southern

The Saanyaa Ḵwáan, Heinyaa Ḵwáan, Tʼakjikʼaan Ḵwáan, and Kooyu Ḵwáan.

2.3.1.3. Transitional

The Shtaxʼhéen Ḵwáan and the Ḵʼéiẋʼ Ḵwáan.

2.3.1.4. Northern

The Xootsnoowú (Xoodzidaa) Ḵwáan, Sheetʼká Ḵwáan, Xunaa Ḵwáan, Sʼawdaan Ḵwáan, Tʼaaḵú Ḵwáan, Áakʼw Ḵwáan, Jilḵoot Ḵwáan, Jilḵaat Ḵwáan, Ǥunaẋoo Ḵwáan, Laaxaayík Ḵwáan, and Ǥalyáẋ Ḵwáan.

2.3.2. Interior

The ḵwáan whose territories are east of the coastal mountains. The Aatlein Ḵwáan, Deisleen Ḵwáan, and Tagish Ḵwáan.

2.4. Language status

2.4.1. Population decline

2.4.2. Language death phenomena

2.4.3. Community attitudes

2.4.4. Revitalization efforts

3. Sounds

Although Tlingit has attracted researchers since the mid-19th century, there has been remarkably little done on the phonetics of Tlingit. **miller:1930** made the first attempt to address some phonetic characteristics of Tlingit speech, working from a phonograph record of Louis Shotridge.[1] Boas appears to have experimented with an oscilloscope in his investigation of Northern Tlingit tone, but the only result was one comment (see §3.2.2.3.1) and three graphs in his **boas:1917 (boas:1917)**. **maddieson:2001** present the only other serious study of Tlingit phonetics, and this is limited purely to segmental phenomena with a short discussion of tone. As such, one can fairly say that the sound system of Tlingit remains sorely underdocumented, despite being one of the more unusual and intriguing sound systems among the world's languages.

I will use the IPA rather than an orthography throughout this chapter for precision and accuracy. In §3.8 on page 59 I discuss the various orthographies and transcription systems that have been used for Tlingit, and present the orthography which I use throughout the rest of this grammar. The IPA is poorly adapted to languages in which affricates are a unitary phoneme, but for consistency's sake I use the clumsier IPA digraphs rather than the more traditional Americanist symbols ⟨č⟩, ⟨ƛ⟩, and the like.

The consonant inventory of Tlingit is largely invariable between different dialects, except for the bilabial nasal ⁰⁄₀/m/, the presence or absence of ˀ/ʔ ʷ/ and ˀ/hʷ/, and the recently extinct �†/ɰ/. With this variability, there are between 44 and 48 consonants in the language. The four-vowel system of /i/, /e/, /a/, and /u/ is also largely consistent among the dialects, with only the Carcross and Teslin communilects participating in a partial merger of /a/ with /e/, the result sounding something like [ə] or [ɛ]. Vowels have length in all dialects, and have

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1. I have been as yet unable to locate this recording, which was apparently made by the Victor company, "Record No. Bve 42429–1" (**miller:1930**). If found, it would be the earliest intelligible recording of Tlingit speech, excluding some wax cylinders of very poor quality.

tone systems in all but the Tongass dialect which instead has a register system that reflects the source of the tone systems in the other dialects.

3.1. Consonants

Like most languages of the Pacific Northwest of North America, and like most languages in the Na-Dene family, Tlingit has a relatively large inventory of consonants. Table 3.1 on page 42 presents the Tlingit consonant system schematically. Depending on what phonemes are included, the Tlingit inventory ranges between 44 and 48 consonants. The size of Tlingit's consonant inventory is large enough to have merited a mention in Mithun's compendium on the indigenous languages of North America (**mithun:1999**), but in the global context it is easily surpassed by !Xóõ and Ubykh, among others.

Tlingit has a number of typological peculiarities in its sound system. It has four unique consonants unknown elsewhere, a nearly complete contrast between ejective affricates and fricatives, a larger than usual number of lateral stops and affricates, and a large inventory of stops and affricates articulated back of the velar place. In terms of lacunae, Tlingit has a striking lack of voiced *[l] despite having a variety of laterals, an impoverished inventory of nasals despite the numerous places of articulation for oral stops, and completely lacks labials except in a few communilects (see §3.1.5.1).

3.1.1. Inventory

Tlingit features a three-way contrast between plain, aspirated, and ejective occlusives, and a two-way contrast between plain and ejective fricatives except for the lack of *[ʃ'] contrasting with /ʃ/. Ejective fricatives are extremely rare among human languages, and Tlingit has four phonemic ejective fricatives which are found in no other attested language, namely /x'/, /xʷ'/, /χ'/, and /χʷ'/ (Maddieson, p.c. 2009). This series exhibits another phonemic contrast of labialization (a.k.a. rounding) which is contrastive for all posterior consonants.[2] The POSTERIOR consonants are those which are articulated rearward of the palatal and lateral places of articulation, and the ANTERIOR consonants are those articulated forward of the velar place of articulation. The anterior consonants are the only group including affricates, which is another distinction between the two areas of articulation.

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2. This depends on the dialect or idiolect, since some have no labialization contrast for /ʔ/ or /h/, and the consonant [†]/ɯ̨/ is extinct today.

There are four consonants which are marginal in the language. The bilabial nasal stop [%]/m/ only occurs in the two Interior communilects of Carcross (Tagish) and Teslin. It is an allomorphophone of /w/ that occurs in certain words, e.g. [%]/mãː/ for /waː/ "how" and [%]/ʔamsikʰuː/ for /ʔawsikʰuː/ "he knows it". This sound may be a development due to language contact with Athabaskan languages like Tagish and Southern Tutchone which have this phoneme, or it may represent a Pre-Tlingit */m/ which was preserved only in this area, perhaps again due to contact influences. In those dialects which lack [%]/m/ the Tlingit consonant inventory is entirely without labials, a remarkable fact even among labial-poor Na-Dene languages.

Two other marginal consonants are [?]/ʔʷ/ and [?]/hʷ/ . It should be noted that ⟨hʷ⟩ does not represent a voiceless labial-velar approximant */ʍ/, but is instead a true labialized voiceless glottal fricative with no velarization, something like a very approximate [ɸ]. The two marginal consonants are not restricted to a particular dialect, but instead seem to be scattered idiolectically across the various dialects. They may be innovations which complete the labialization contrasts of posterior consonants, or they may be retentions which have been lost for other speakers. In any case, it is not uncommon that two speakers of the same communilect may vary in their use of these sounds. When considered as allophones they are relatively frequent in labialized/rounded environments, but many speakers do not seem to perceive them as distinct sounds.

The sound [†]/ɰ/ is a non-labialized voiced velar approximant. It has been extinct since the mid-20th century, but can be found in recordings made in the 1960s of a few speakers who retained it, and it appears in some early transcriptions of Tlingit as variously ⟨ɣ⟩, ⟨g⟩, ⟨r⟩, or Cyrillic ⟨г⟩. It has undergone a conditioned split, merging with /w/ in rounded environments and with /j/ otherwise. In linguistic publications the symbol ⟨ÿ⟩ (also earlier ⟨ɏ⟩, ⟨y̆⟩, and ⟨y̲⟩) represents this sound, and it is retained to explain alternations between /j/ and /w/, thus serving as a sort of archiphoneme in underlying phonological and morphological forms. Because of prior transcriptions of this sound as ⟨ɣ⟩ it is often called "gamma", e.g. by **dauenhauer:2002**

3.1.2. Contrasts

There are a number of systematic contrasts in the Tlingit consonant inventory. Among the stops and affricates there is a three-way contrast between plain, aspirated, and ejective. Thus for the nonlabialized uvular stops there are /qákʷ/

	anterior					posterior					
	bilabial	alveolar	postalveolar	palatal	lateral	velar	labial-velar	uvular	labial-uvular	glottal	labial-glottal
plain stop		t				k	kʷ	q	qʷ	ʔ	ʔ(ʔʷ)
aspirated stop		tʰ				kʰ	kʰʷ	qʰ	qʰʷ		
ejective stop		t'				k'	k'ʷ	q'	q'ʷ		
plain affricate		ts	tʃ		tɬ						
aspirated affricate		tsʰ	tʃʰ		tɬʰ						
ejective affricate		ts'	tʃ'		tɬ'						
plain fricative		s	ʃ		ɬ	x	xʷ	χ	χʷ	h	ʔ(hʷ)
ejective fricative		s'			ɬ'	x'	x'ʷ	χ'	χ'ʷ		
nasal stop	ˣ(m)	n									
approximant				j		†(ɰ)	w				

Table 3.1: Consonantal phonemes of Tlingit in IPA. ˣdialectal, ʔmarginal, †extinct.

"tree spine; dry and hard", /qʰákʷ/ "basket; arch", and /q'akʷ/ "western screech-owl (*Megascops kennicottii* Elliot 1867)" although tone differs on the last.

Minimal pairs for any particular contrast are difficult to collect because the consonant inventory is so large. Thus although /tʰá/ "sleep" contrasts with /t'á/ "king salmon (*Oncorhyncus tschawytscha* Walbaum 1792)", there is no */tá/. There is /tá:/ "weasel (*Mustela ?* L. 1758)" with a long vowel however. Because of the paucity of minimal pairs, I will often ignore certain phonological features like tone, vowel length, vowel quality, onset consonant, or coda consonant when illustrating contrasts. Such examples are not technically minimal pairs, but can be termed CONTRASTIVE PAIRS.

Aspiration is neutralized in the syllable coda so that there is only a two-way contrast between plain and ejective stops and affricates, e.g. [[…]]

3.1.2.1. Aspiration

3.1.2.1.1. Final release vs. aspiration

3.1.2.2. Ejection

3.1.2.3. Labialization and rounding

3.1.2.4. Alveolar nasal variation

3.1.3. Articulation

3.1.3.1. Places of articulation

Palatographic and linguographic evidence.

3.1.3.1.1. Stops

3.1.3.1.2. Affricates

In Tlingit phonology, as with its Na-Dene relatives, affricates behave much like stops; together the two are sometimes called PLOSIVES. This term is distinct from the IPA usage, where "plosive" is equivalent to "stop". Instead "plosive" is a superset of the stops and the affricates. The grouping is motivated by the shared distribution of features between the two classes, most importantly the syllable-initial three-way distinction between plain, aspirated, and ejective manners of articulation.

Affricates are not accorded a place in the IPA system of organizing sounds, since phonetically affricates are a sequence of stop and fricative which may be heterorganic. For Tlingit is convenient and phonologically sound to assign the affricates to places in common with their final fricatives. Thus the affricates of the /ts/ type – namely /ts/, /tsʰ/, and /ts'/ – can be assigned to the alveolar place alongside /s/. The affricates of the /tʃ/ type can be assigned to the postalveolar place alongside /ʃ/, and the affricates of the /tɬ/ type can be assigned to the lateral place alongside /ɬ/.

The three affricate series contrast with each other, thus /tsʰaː/ "harbor seal (*Phoca vitulina richardsi* Gray)" contrasts with /tɬʰáː/ "mother" and /tʃʰaː/ "brother-in-law!" (address).

3.1.3.1.3. Fricatives

Fricatives are articulated as far anterior as the alveolar place, and as far posterior as the glottal place.

3.1.3.1.4. Laterals

I have noted a tendency for laterals to be articulated more dorsally near the velar place of articulation, as well as the more common coronal and alveolar articulation. Thus the plain lateral affricate /tɬ/ is sometimes realized as a dorsal [cɬ] or [kɬ]. The variation seems to be idiolectal and random rather than geographic or social. Krause apparently noticed a similar sound, as witnessed by his occasional use of ⟨kl⟩ instead of his more usual ⟨tl⟩. Compare for example ⟨kled⟩ "Schnee" for /tɬeːt/ "snow" (**krause:1885**) and ⟨kɬk⟩ "nein" for /tɬeːkʼ/ "no" (**krause:1885**) with ⟨tlirā tātke⟩ "vorgestern" for /tɬiɰa·tʰaːtké/ "day before yesterday" (**krause:1885**) and ⟨tɬn⟩ "groß" for /tɬʰeːn/ "big, large" (**krause:1885**).

3.1.3.1.5. Nasals

In most Tlingit dialects there is only one nasal, the alveolar nasal /n/. This is unsurprisingly articulated at the same place as the plain alveolar stop /t/.

In the few communilects which have /m/ it is articulated bilabially with complete closure of both lips. This would be unremarkable except that most Tlingit dialects *lack* bilabial consonants such as /m/. See §3.1.5.1 for further details.

3.1.3.1.6. Approximants

3.1.3.2. Manners of articulation

3.1.3.3. Airflow

3.1.4. Ejective fricatives

3.1.4.1. Synchronic analysis

3.1.4.2. Typological comparisons

3.1.4.3. Diachronic hypotheses

3.1.5. Rare consonants

3.1.5.1. Dialectal bilabial and the lack of labials

3.1.5.2. Marginal labial glottals

3.1.5.3. Lateral approximant for alveolar nasal

[[Jennie Manton has [l] where everyone else has /n/. Was this idiolectal? Dialectal? A speech impediment? An indication of */l/ → /n/? Or something else entirely?]]

3.1.5.4. Extinct velar approximant

The velar approximant has the particular honor of being termed an extinct phoneme, in that it no longer exists in modern speech but is documented as having previously existed in both transcription and audio recordings. A rough comparison might be with the eventual fate of /ʍ/ in English, which is merging with /w/ in most English dialects.

[[Appearance in Veniaminov's transcriptions. Examples from Krause, Swanton, Olson. Velten?]]

Aurel Krause distinguished /ɰ/ which he wrote as ⟨r⟩. For example, his pronoun list has ⟨ri⟩ "ihr" and ⟨ri⟩ "euer" (**krause:1885**), representing the form /ɰi/ for the second person plural independent and possessive pronouns. Another example is Krause's ⟨ach-ssārī⟩ glossed as "mein Name" (**krause:1885**) which is clearly /aχ saːɰí/ "my name".

[[Documentation in Tongass Tlingit (**leer:1978**). Existence in Yakutat Tlingit – documentation? Occasional reference in Carcross, e.g. **leer:2001**]]

⟦Transcription and spectrogram of appearance in Frank Williams's speech, and in Jennie Manton's speech.⟧

The velar approximant has undergone a conditioned split, having merged with /w/ in rounded environments and with /j/ elsewhere. This split must have started at least earlier than the late 19th century, since Louis Shotridge did not have †/ɰ/ according to **boas:1917 boas:1917** did however encounter the sound when working with an older speaker of the Stikine ḵwáan (**boas:1917**). **boas:1917** cited Swanton's description of it as meaning that /ɰ/ only occurred in southern dialects (Southern, Transitional), but his citation is peculiar because **swanton:1911** says only that /ɰ/ changes to /w/ due to its "weakness" (**swanton:1911**). Perhaps **boas:1917** was informed directly by **swanton:1911** and erroneously cited Swanton's publication rather than his personal communication.

The following examples are adapted from **leer:1978** where Leer discusses the status of /ɰ/ (his ⟨ÿ⟩) in the now extinct Tongass Tlingit dialect spoken by Frank and Emma Williams (see §3.5.4). His "conservative Northern Tlingit" represents the speech of those Northern Tlingit individuals who still retain /ɰ/ as an underlying phoneme which has two realizations of [j] in unrounded environments and [w] in rounded environments. Leer's "innovative Northern Tlingit" represents the speech of Northern Tlingit speakers who have fully split the phoneme such that it no longer exists even as an underlying phoneme with two realizations, and thus both /j/ and /w/ are completely unpredictable and any alternations must be memorized.

(4)   Examples of the phonetic split of /ɰ/ into /j/ and /w/.

    a.   Tongass Tlingit
       /ɰak'e:/
       ∅-∅-ÿa-k'ei
       3O-ZCNJ-CL[–D, ∅, +I]-good
       "he is good"

    b.   conservative Northern Tlingit, [–rnd]
       /jak'é:/
       ∅-∅-ÿa-k'ei
       3O-ZCNJ-CL[–D, ∅, +I]-good
       "he is good"

c. innovative Northern Tlingit, [–rnd]
/jakʼéː/
Ø-Ø-ÿa-kʼei
3O-ᴢᴄɴᴊ-ᴄʟ[–ᴅ, Ø, +ɪ]-good
"he is good"

d. Tongass Tlingit
/tu   ɯiːt/
du   ÿeet
3ʜ.ᴘss son
"his son"

e. conservative Northern Tlingit, [+rnd]
/tu   wiːt/
du   ÿeet
3ʜ.ᴘss son
"his son"

f. innovative Northern Tlingit, [+rnd]
/tu   jiːt/
du   yeet
3ʜ.ᴘss son
"his son"

Given that /ɯ/ is gone in the speech of most (all?) Northern Tlingit speakers, there is a question as to why linguists maintain the morphophonological distinction of *ÿ* versus *w* and *y* (/j/) in the underlying morphological system. The reason is because the sound still represents a sort of "archiphoneme", i.e. that it represents a morphophonological constituent which accounts for otherwise unexplainable alternation in sounds.

(5) Alternation between /w/ and /j/ in the possessive suffix *-ÿí*.

    a. /aχ   tu:wú/
        ax̱   tú-ÿí
        1sg.pss inside-pss
        "my insides; my thoughts, my feelings"

    b. /a   k'i:jí/
        a   k'i-ÿí
        3n.pss base-pss
        "its base"

In the example above it can be seen that the possessive suffix *-ÿí* has a rounded form /wú/ after a word ending in a round vowel (i.e. /u/), but has an unrounded form /jí/ after a word ending in a nonround vowel (i.e. /i/, /e/, /a/). This alternation between rounded and unrounded forms did not exist in Tongass Tlingit, nor presumably in any other Tlingit dialect which retained the original /ɰ/ as a phoneme. It does appear in the "conservative" dialects but would be predictable to speakers since they retain the underlying phoneme and have regular alternation between /w/ and /j/ anywhere that /ɰ/ occured previously. In "innovative" dialects the regular alternation between /w/ and /j/ does not occur, and hence the alternation must be memorized for specific morphemes like the possessive suffix.

It seems that today the velar approximant is entirely extinct as a surface phoneme. I have not heard it at all in the speech of the oldest living speakers of any dialect. Some speakers still occasionally produce [ɰ] as an allophone of /w/ in less labialized environments, but seem to be no more aware of it than English speakers are of unaspirated [t] in /st/.

⟦Examples of occurrence as an allophone. Spectrogram of appearance in Forrest De Witt's speech. Anecdotal evidence from Harold Jacobs.⟧

3.2. Vowels

The Tlingit vowel system is quite simple in comparison to the consonant system. There are four basic vowels, and length is contrastive in all dialects. The Southern, Transitional, and Northern dialects all have tone, whereas the Tongass dialect had a register system which reflects the source of tone in the other dialects.

3.2.1. Vowel inventory

	short			long		
	front	*central*	*back*	*front*	*central*	*back*
high	í		ú	íː		úː
	é			éː		
		á				áː
low	i		u	iː		uː
	e			eː		
		a				aː

Table 3.2: Northern Tlingit vowels in IPA.

3.2.1.1. Minimal pairs

3.2.1.2. Formant structure

3.2.1.3. Variation

3.2.1.4. Diachronic issues

3.2.2. Suprasegmental phenomena

3.2.2.1. Length

3.2.2.2. Nasalization and lack thereof

3.2.2.3. Tone

Boas [[cite]] was the first to recognize that tone (his "pitch") was a phonemic phenomenon in Tlingit. Before him researchers like Swanton had analyzed tone as some sort of stress system. Consider that Veniaminov, Krause, and Swanton all spoke languages with stress accent, namely Russian, German, and English. It is unsurprising then that they did not recognize tone. [[Sapir sends his "talented chinaman", Fang- Kuei Li, to work on Chipewyan and discover the Athabaskan tone systems.]]

	Tongass	*Southern*	*Northern*
upstep	V	V́	V́
non-upstep	V	V́ %(~V̀)	V
	Vʰ	V̀:	V:
	V'	V̂:	V́:
upstep	V:	V́:	V́:
non-upstep	V:	V̀:	V:

Table 3.3: Tone correspondences between Tlingit dialects. % = only in Henya subdialect.

Each Tlingit dialect has a different tone system, or in the case of Southern Tlingit, two different tone systems. The correspondences between the different tone systems is given in table 3.3. The Northern dialect has a two-way contrast between low (unmarked) and high (marked) tones, a relatively simple system which may be turning into a sort of pitch accent system at least in nominal phonology. The Transitional dialect is not clear, but seems to have variously a two-way system or a three-way system with an unmarked middle tone. The Southern system must be divided into two subdialects, Sanya and Henya, on the basis of the differences between the two tone systems. In both there are high, low, and falling tones, but the distribution is slightly different. The Tongass dialect does not have a tone system, but instead has a four-way register system which appears to be more conservative than any of the tone systems.

3.2.2.3.1. Northern dialect

The Northern dialect has a two-way contrast between low and high tone. Boas was the first to fully understand this, as can be seen in his sketch grammar (**boas:1917**):

> Vowels have well-marked pitch. They are high, low, or indifferent. The actual difference between high and low pitch is not very great, the ratio of vibrations being about 14:15... The high pitch is always accompanied by greater stress, but, according to Mr. Shotridge's feeling, the pitch is essential, the stress accidental; for when words

were intentionally mispronounced, with stress accent on a low-pitch vowel, he interpreted them regularly according to the pitch values of the vowels.

3.2.2.3.1.1. Tone in the verb

3.2.2.3.1.2. Extraverbal pitch accent

Monosyllabic contrasts. Multisyllabic phenomena. Nominal suffix tone alternation.

3.2.2.3.1.3. Acoustic properties of tone

Acoustics in monosyllables. Acoustics in multisyllables: final high, penultimate high.

3.2.2.3.2. Southern dialect

Previous descriptions. Acoustic properties.

3.2.2.3.3. Transitional dialect

Three-way transcriptions. Acoustic properties. Possible description.

3.2.2.4. Tongass vowel system

Leer's description. Problems. Acoustic analysis.

3.3. Word structure

3.3.1. Syllables

3.3.1.1. Consonant clusters

Syllable initial. Syllable final.

3.3.1.2. Fricative syllables

Syllabic fricatives. Acoustic properties. Fricative syllable assignment.

3.3.2. Word boundary phenomena

3.3.2.1. Word-initial onset filling

If the initial syllable of a word has no onset consonant then the onset is filled by a glottal stop [ʔ]. Formally this can be represented by the following process:

(6) Word-initial Onset Filling: V(C…) → ʔV(C…) / #__

There are quite a few morphemes in Tlingit which have no onset consonant in their initial syllables. This process accounts for the appearance of glottal stops at the beginning of free morphemes which do not exist when the morphemes occur in compounds, as clitics, and in other situations. There are however some morphemes which have underlying word-initial glottal stops, particularly a large variety of verb roots. The following example shows that surface forms without the glottal stop are ungrammatical, despite not being in a word-initial position.

(7) Morpheme (verb root) with underlying initial glottal stop.

   a. /híːn   awsiʔátʼ/
      [híːn   ʔaw.si.ʔʌ́tʼ]
      héen   a-ÿu-Ø-si-ʔátʼ
      water   3O-PFV-3S-CL[–D, S, +I]-cold
      "he cooled water" (**story:1973**)

   b. *[híːn ʔaw.si.ʌ́tʼ]

   c. *[híːn ʔaw.si.jʌ́tʼ]

This process helps in determining where word boundaries occur, determining the status of morphemes as affixes versus clitics, and in sorting out compounding phenomena, among other things. In careful speech most speakers are likely to employ this process, but this is not always the case in casual or fast speech, where instead it is unpredictably ignored. The following example demonstrates this variation. In the first utterance, the process applies to both words. But in the second it is only applied utterance initially and not to the second word, consequently the second word is resyllabified such that it picks up the coda consonant of the previous word.

(8) Careful vs. relaxed speech and word-initial onset filling.

   a. careful
      /aχ   íːʃ/
      [ʔaχ   ʔíːʃ]
      1SG.PSS father
      "my father"

   b. relaxed
      /aχ   íːʃ/
      [ʔa   χíːʃ]
      1SG.PSS father
      "my father"

The variation in word-initial onset filling is reliable enough that it can be used to determine the cliticness or affixness of many morphemes. An example is the meaningless base *=ee* which is used with postpositional pronominals as described in §4.10.1.3.

(9) a. /aʃ=iː-n/
        [ʔaʃ ʔiːn]
        3PRX=BASE-INSTR
        "with him (proximate)"

     b. /aʃ=iː-n/
        [ʔa ʃiːn]
        3PRX=BASE-INSTR
        "with him (proximate)"

There are several pronominal object prefixes in the verb which have no onset consonant, namely second singular *i-*, third proximate *ash-*, the third person allomorph *a-*, indefinite nonhuman *at-*, and partitive *aa-*. The application of word-initial onset filling to verbs can be used to show what elements that occur left of these prefixes are proclitics rather than prefixes, an issue discussed further in §??.

3.4. Phonotactics and phonological processes

3.4.1. Consonants not occuring in verbs

3.4.2. Sequences

3.4.2.1. Typologically unusual sequences

Sequences of two ejective obstruents are not unknown in Tlingit, although they are relatively uncommon. They usually occur at syllable boundaries as the result of compounding, as in the following example. ⟦Need a spectrogram.⟧

(10) łak'itʃʼtʃʼíːni
     łak'íːtʃʼ-tʃʼíːn-uɥí
     occiput-ribbon-ᴘss
     "long feathers on the back of its head (of merganser)" (**leer:2001**)

   Such sequences are not reduced in any manner, nor is there an anaptyctic vowel inserted. Instead, the speaker simply articulates two ejective obstruents in a row, but with continuous closure of the glottis between the two articulations. ⟦Doesn't always occur across syllable boundaries, find an example otherwise.⟧

3.4.2.2. Disallowed sequences

3.4.2.3. Rare sequences

3.4.3. Labialization spread

3.4.3.1. Consonantal labialization

3.4.3.2. Vowel rounding

(11) a. /sakʷnéːn/
        [sʌkʷnéːn]
        "bread" (**naish:1976**)

    b. /suknéːn/
        [sʊkʷnéːn]
        "bread" (**leer:2001**)

3.4.4.   Delabialization

3.4.4.1.   Consonantal delabialization

3.4.4.2.   Vowel unrounding

3.4.5.   Tone sandhi

3.4.5.1.   Sandhi vs. pitch accent

3.4.6.   Denasalization

3.4.7.   Prenasalization in compounds

3.4.8.   Consonant assimilation

3.4.9.   Lexical alternations

3.4.9.1.   Fricative alternations

3.4.9.2.   Obstruent alternations

3.4.9.3.   Place alternations

3.4.9.4.   Vowel alternations

3.5. Dialectology

3.5.1. Northern dialect

3.5.1.1. Archipelago subdialect

Outer communilects (Angoon, Sitka). Inner comunilects (Chilkat, Hoonah, Auke, Taku). Speculations about Sumdum.

3.5.1.2. Gulf Coast subdialect

Neighboring languages (Eyak, Ahtna, Sugpiaq).

3.5.1.3. Interior subdialect

Atlin communilect. Teslin and Carcross communilects. Neighboring languages (Tagish, Southern Tutchone).

> [[From **dauenhauer:1987**]]
> [I]t is probably more likely that the present day Tlingit population of interior British Columbia and Yukon derives not from an original group that stayed behind, but from a coastal group that continued the migration back into the Interior at a much later date. The basis for this theory is primarily linguistic: there is very little difference between Interior Tlingit and Central Coast Tlingit, whereas if the Interior group had stayed behind since time immemorial, and had not shared in the migration to the coast, we would expect major dialect variation – at least as great as between Northern and Southern Tlingit, and probably even greater than between Tongass Tlingit and all other dialects.

3.5.2. Transitional dialect

Stikine communilect. Kake communilect. Possibility of Telegraph communilect per Pat Moore. Neighboring languages (Tahltan, Ts'ets'aut?).

3.5.3. Southern dialect

3.5.3.1. Sanya subdialect

3.5.3.2. Henya subdialect

3.5.3.3. Speculations about communilects

3.5.4. Tongass dialect

Neighboring languages (Haida, Coast Tsimshian, Nisg̱a'a, Ts'ets'aut).

3.6. Borrowing and adaptive phonology

3.6.1. Labial accomodation

3.6.2. Voiced lateral accomodation

3.6.3. Voicing accomodation

3.6.4. Accent conversion

3.6.5. Loanword inventories

3.6.5.1. Northwest Coast languages

3.6.5.2. Athabaskan languages

3.6.5.3. Russian

3.6.5.4. Chinook Jargon

3.6.5.5. English

3.7. Prosody and intonation

3.7.1. Intonation

3.7.1.1. Interactions between intonation and tone

3.7.1.2. Declarative intonation

3.7.1.3. Question intonation

3.8. Writing

3.8.1. Transcription systems

3.8.1.1. Emmons

3.8.1.2. Swanton

3.8.1.3. Boas

3.8.1.4. Frederica de Laguna 1

3.8.1.5. Naish and Story

3.8.1.6. Frederica de Laguna 2

3.8.1.7. Leer

Tongass system. Dissertation system. Current system.

3.8.2. Archaic orthographies

3.8.2.1. Veniaminov

3.8.2.2. Kelly and Willard

3.8.3. Modern orthographies

3.8.3.1. Naish and Story

Naish and Story 1 (Gospel of John, 1st Noun Dictionary). Naish and Story 2 (Verb dictionary.)

3.8.3.2. Revised popular

3.8.3.3. Canadian

3.8.3.4. E-mail

4. *Nouns*

Like most languages in the Na-Dene family, the noun in Tlingit has been neglected by linguists in favor of the verb. [[Cite Keren Rice.]] **leer:1991** only offered passing discussion of the noun since his real focus was verb tense-mood-aspect. **swanton:1911** did address some nominal morphology but **boas:1917** essentially ignored the noun completely. **story:1966** offers the most extensive investigation, which still only amounts to twelve pages out of two hundred. Lexicographically the noun is better represented. The noun dictionary by **leer:2001** is the most extensive available; although it only considers Interior speech, the forms in Atlin are generally the same as those found in the rest of the Northern dialect. The previous published dictionary by **naish:1976** is essentially a topically organized wordlist. Since nouns are readily approachable in comparison with verbs, there are also a few other community-developed noun dictionaries and word lists in circulation.

Nouns in Tlingit denote entities, times, spaces, physical and abstract relationships, sensations, human artifacts, supernatural entities, and natural objects and phenomena. The category of noun also subsumes a few things which might not be nouns in other languages, such as demonstratives and directions. Nouns can be distinguished from verbs by their lack of tense-aspect-mood, unlike for example nouns in Salishan languages [[cite]]. Some nouns are actually derived from verbs, e.g. *óoxjaa* "wind" and *tu.óoxs'* "horn" from *O-S-CL[–D, ∅]-ʔoox* "blow" (**story:1973**) and *yoo x̱'atángi* "language" from *(yoo=)x̱'a-S-CL[+D, ∅]-taan* "S speak" (**story:1973**), but what makes these clearly nominal is their ability to take case and other nominal suffixes.

The typical Tlingit noun is monosyllabic, with an inherent lexical tone. For Northern Tlingit this tone might be better characterized as a sort of pitch accent system, in contrast with the complex tone system of the verb root. Multisyllabic nouns are not uncommon, but can often be analyzed as compounds of multiple monosyllabic nouns. In multisyllabic nouns the pitch accent or tone sandhi system is clearly manifest: all noninflectional vowels except the last change to

the default low tone, and the last noninflectional vowel retains its lexical tone. The two examples below demonstrate this with the first showing lexical tone and the second showing the same noun with low tone in a compound.

(12) Pitch accent in noun compounds.

    a. du   lak'éech'
       3H.PSS occiput
       "his occiput" (**leer:2001**)

    b. a   lak'ich'ch'éeni
       a   lak'éech'-ch'éen-ÿí
       3N.PSS occiput-ribbon-PSS
       "long feathers on the back of its head (of merganser)" (**leer:2001**)

Nominal inflectional suffixes like case and possession do not participate in the same pitch accent or tone sandhi system. Instead the vowel in an inflectional suffix takes the opposite tone of the final noninflectional vowel, except for a few suffixes such as the adessive *-ḡaa* and in some cases the perlative *-náx̱*. Those inflectional suffixes which consist only of a posterior consonant undergo rounding depending on the roundness of the nucleus and/or coda of the non-inflectional syllable. In the following examples the suffixes on the nouns *x̱aat* "spruce root" and *héen* "fresh water" have alternating tone.

(13) Tone alternation in inflectional noun suffixes.

    a. du   x̱aadí   awli.óos'
       du   x̱aat-ÿí   a-ÿu-∅-li-ʔóos'
       3H.PSS spruce.root-PSS 3O-PFV-3S-CL[–D, *l*, +I]-wash
       "she washed her spruce roots" (**dauenhauer:2002**)

    b. tsu   héendei   ash kaawanáa
       tsu   héen-**déi** ash-ka-ÿu-∅-ÿa-náa₃
       again water-ALL 3PRX.O-HSFC-PFV-3S-CL[–D, ∅, +I]-command
       "he sent him to the water" (**dauenhauer:1987**)

⟦Give examples with the same suffix but different root tones.⟧
Tlingit nouns come in two basic types, possessable and unpossessable. The former type makes up the vast majority of nouns, while the latter consists essentially of proper names. Thus proper names cannot be the possessum in a

possessive construction, compare *Áanis hídi* |Alice house.PSS| "Alice's house" but **Áanis Jáani* *|Alice John.PSS| "Alice's John" and **Áanis du Jáan* "Alice her John".

The possessable nouns are separated into two subtypes, alienable and inalienable. Alienable nouns are optionally possessable, and have possessive suffixes when occurring as the possessum in a possessive construction. The possessive suffix is represented underlyingly as *-ÿí*, but since the consonant †*ÿ* (†/ɯ̯/, see §3.1.1 and §3.1.5.4) no longer exists, of course this is not how it surfaces. Instead it undergoes rounding, tone alternation, and consonant assimilation, becoming one of *-yí, -yi, -í, -i, -wú, -wu, -ú,* or *-u* depending on the shape of the noun.

Inalienable nouns are obligatorily possessed, and are consequently not marked for possession. When an inalienable noun is marked with the possessive suffix it is thereby converted to an alienable noun. In citation forms the inalienable nouns are shown with a dummy possessor which may be the third person human possessive *du*, third person nonhuman possessive *a*, indefinite human possessive *ḵaa* , or indefinite nonhuman possessive *at*.

(14) Alienable vs. inalienable possession.

    a. aẋ   hídi
        aẋ   hít-ÿí
        1SG.PSS house-PSS
        "my house"

    b. aẋ   shá
        1SG.PSS head:INAL
        "my head"

Inalienable nouns typically refer to body parts and kin, but there is also a large class of relational nouns which indicate spatial, temporal, or abstract relationships with their possessors. Relational nouns can be compounded to form quite complex concrete or abstract relationship terms which have interesting interactions with the local case system. An example of this complexity can be seen in the following example.

(15) Noun compounding.
    a   k'itukax̱'wáal'i
    a   k'í-tú-ká-x̱'wáal'-ÿí
    3N.PSS base-inside-horizontal.surface-down.feather-PSS
    "its plucked down (feathers)" (**leer:2001**)

Aside from possession, there are two other non-case kinds of noun inflection. The simplest is the diminutive which is a suffix *-k'* that may appear as a rounded *-k'w*. Like other consonantal suffixes, an anaptyctic vowel *a ~ u* may optionally be inserted between the suffix and any final consonants of the noun. The diminutive primarily indicates smallness or childlike qualities of the noun, but may also be used for expressing endearment, and sometimes appears to be purely lexical as in *(du) léelk'w* "(his) grandparent". Diminutives may also be formed phrasally with *yádi* "child of" or *k'átsk'u* "child of", with the latter apparently containing a diminutive suffix.

The other kind of non-case noun inflection is the plural. There are actually several types of plurals for nouns. The suffix *-x'* is common, and has a rounded allomorph *-x'w*. As with the diminutive, some speakers may insert an anaptyctic vowel between the suffix and the root to break up a resulting consonant cluster. Another plural is the clitic *=hás* which can be used to pluralize humans or other animate entities. The collective plurals *=sáani* and *=yán* are also used to pluralize humans, but each seems to be restricted to certain types of kin rather than being acceptable for any arbitrary human. Despite having this relative wealth of plurals, Tlingit speakers tend not to use them much, instead leaving plurality to be determined by context. This tendency to not mark plurals probably indicates that nouns are not inherently singular, but are in fact unspecified for number.

The cases and postpositions are the argument system of nominal morphology. Cases are divided into two types, the grammatical and local cases. The grammatical cases comprise the ergative *-ch* and the unmarked absolutive which I occasionally gloss as *-∅* for expository purposes. The ergative marks the subject of transitive sentences, as well as being used sometimes to mark instruments. It is somewhat peculiar for a typical ergative marker since it is often optional and very occasionally more than one may appear in a sentence. The absolutive, being unmarked, is unremarkable.

The local cases are suffixes that indicate spatial and temporal relationships. The locative *-x'* simply indicates location; note that it has the same form as the plural *-x'*. The locative has three allomorphs *-:* (i.e. long final vowel), *-i*, and *-∅*.

The allative *-déi* indicates motion towards the marked noun; it has a predictable allomorph *-dei* after nouns with high tone on final syllables, a phenomenon I call "alternate tone". The ablative *-dáx̱* indicates motion away from the marked noun; it also has alternate tone. The perlative *-náx̱* indicates motion along or through the marked noun. The perlative suffix sometimes shows alternate tone, but sometimes does not, and the reasons for this are not exactly clear, although it may be that the perlative is in transition from a postposition to a suffix. The adessive *-g̱aa* indicates something which is close to or following the marked noun. It can describe physical adjacency or succession, as well as similar temporal meanings. In addition it can indicate the purpose of an action. It does not have alternate tone, but is instead always low tone.

The instrumental suffix is either *-een*, *-teen*, or *-n* depending on noun shape. It is actually more accurately termed an instrumental-comitative, but I prefer the term "instrumental" for brevity's sake. On inanimate nouns the instrumental indicates the use of the marked noun as an instrument, whereas on animate nouns it indicates comitative accompaniment. It can also be used as a comitative with inanimate nouns where it means that the marked noun is carried or otherwise brought along by some agent. Roberta Littlefield (p.c. 2007) suggests that it may be separating such that *-een ~ -n* is becoming comitative and *-teen* is becoming instrumental, ignoring the phonological environment.

There are two cases which are typologically unusual and which have relatively opaque meanings, these are the punctual and pertingent cases. Despite being crosslinguistically peculiar, they are quite common in ordinary Tlingit speech. The punctual *-t* indicates motion which comes to a terminating point at the marked noun, or position at a point on the marked noun. The meaning of this case suffix can sometimes be somewhat obscure, particularly the reasons why a speaker chooses this case rather than the locative or pertingent in non-motion situations. Its exact meaning changes depending on the theme category of the verb, for example with *na*-conjugation atelic imperfectives it indicates movement around the marked noun rather than position. Unlike the locative, the punctual does not usually seem to cause anaptyxis. The pertingent *-x̱* indicates extended contact or location with the marked noun, and as an extension of this can indicate having the physical form or some other quality of the marked noun. Another extension of the basic meaning is that of membership, as found in the phrase *Deisheetaanx̱ haa sitee* "we are of the Deisheetaan (clan)"; this use is correlated with the verb theme *P-x̱ O-CL[–D, s]-tee* "O be a member of P, be one of P". It also may indicate repetitive physical arrival at the marked noun. The pertingent can cause anaptyxis, but unlike the anaptyctic effects of the other

cass suffixes, the anaptyctic vowel is never written with -*x̱*.

The locative-predicative -*u* is a case-like suffix which is used in sentences where a verb is unnecessary. Thus the marked noun (usually a relational noun or demonstrative) becomes the predicate of the sentence, and indicates that the subject is in the location of the marked noun.

(16) wéidu   ax̱   tlaa   áwé
      wéi-t-u   ax̱   tlaa   á-wé
      MDST-PNCT-LPRD 1SG.PSS mother FOC-MDST
      "there's my mother"

With demonstratives the locative-predicative usually ⟦always?⟧ follows the punctual case suffix -*t* as shown in the example above. This is essentially because such constructions are a verbal form of pointing, and as such the punctual is appropriate. Indeed, such uses of the locative-predicative are often accompanied by manual pointing where it is culturally appropriate.

The postpositions are similar to the local cases in that they indicate spatiotemporal relationships, but are distinct in their status as independent words rather than suffixes. Other authors, for example **dauenhauer:2000** have lumped the cases and postpositions together as "postpositions", but I distinguish the two because they have different phonological and morphological properties.

The similative postposition *yáx̱* indicates similarity with the marked noun, and is fairly close in meaning to the English adverbs "like" and "as". It may be derived from the relational noun *(a) yá* "(its) face, vertical surface" in combination with the pertinent suffix -*x̱*. As well as its use in indicating resemblance, it is also used in color constructions such as *dléit yáx̱ yatee* |snow SIM 30.be| "it is white". The benefactive postposition *yís* has an allomorph -*s* after some high-frequency words in some dialects, and indicates that the marked noun is the receiver or beneficiary of some action. The elative postposition *náx̱* indicates movement away from the marked noun, and is illustrated in the quote at the opening of this grammar. The exact difference between the elative postposition and the ablative case suffix still eludes me, although the elative does seem to have a subtle sense of abandonment. The abessive postposition *ḡóot* indicates the lack of the marked noun. ⟦Perhaps call this "privative"?⟧ The superlative postposition *yáanáx̱* indicates superlative comparison with the marked noun, and is thus common in comparative constructions. It often occurs with the third person nonhuman *a* "it", where that anaphor usually has a referent outside of the sentence. The sublative postposition *ḵín* is the opposite of the superlative,

and is also thus common in comparative constructions. Compared with the superlative, the sublative is somewhat less common.

4.1.   Basic phonological structure

Monosyllables. Open monosyllables. Closed monosyllables. Onset clusters. Coda clusters. Coda clusters appearing from suffixes, and anapyctic suffix avoidance.

Other issues?

4.2.   Possession and alienability
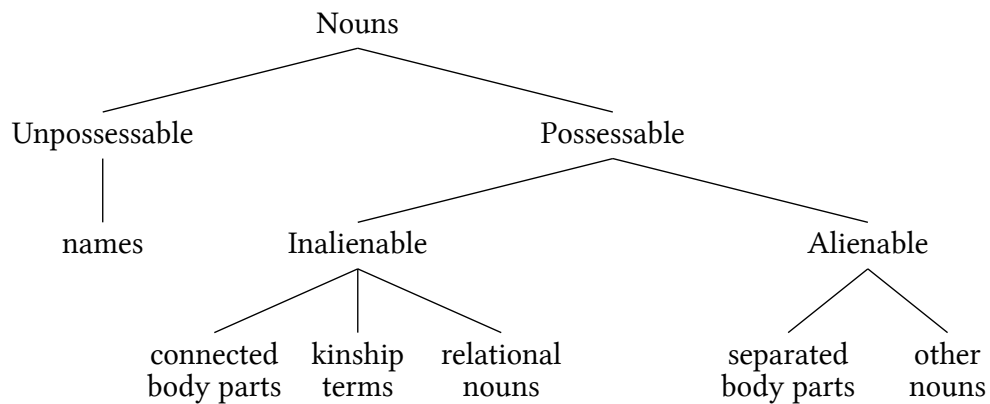
Figure 4.1: Noun possession classes.

Classes of possession; flexibility of possession class. Possessive constructions.

4.2.1.   Alienability

The term "alienable" and alternatives.

4.2.1.1.   Unpossessable nouns

Unpossessability of names. Possibility of other unpossessable nouns.

4.2.1.2.   Alienable nouns

Prototypical alienable nouns. Properties of alienable nouns. Types of alienable nouns.

4.2.1.3. Inalienable nouns

Prototypical inalienable nouns. Properties of inalienable nouns. Types of inalienable nouns. Conversion of inalienable nouns into alienable nouns via possessive suffixation.

4.2.2. Possessive pronouns

Definite possessive pronouns. Indefinite possessive pronouns. Relationship with Athabaskan and Eyak. Status as independent words versus prefixes.

4.2.3. Possessive suffix

"Possessed" or "possessive" or "possessum"?

-ÿí	consonant final		vowel final	
	[–rnd]	[+rnd]	[–rnd]	[+rnd]
high	-i	-u	-yi	-wu
low	-í	-ú	-yí	-wú

Table 4.1: Forms of the possessive suffix *-ÿí*. The labels describe the syllable preceding the suffix.

4.3. Diminutive *-k'(w)*

Meaning. Productivity. Other diminutive constructions.

4.4. Plural

4.4.1. Plural suffix *-x'(w)*

4.4.2. Plural *hás*

4.4.3. Human collective *sáani*

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(17) aanyátx'u   sáani
      aan-yát-x'-ÿí   sáani
      town-child-PL-PSS COLL
      "little high class people, little aristocrats" (**leer**:2001)

(18) k'isáani
      k'i-sáani
      ??-COLL
      "young men" (**leer**:2001)

4.4.4. Kin collective *yán*

(19) du   kaani yán
      du   káan-ÿí=yán
      3H.PSS sibling.in.law-PSS=COLL
      "his brothers-in-law; his sisters-in-law" (**leer**:2001)

4.5.   Cases and postpositions

	Form	*Name*	*Abbv.*	*Meaning*
gram.	-ch	ergative	ERG	transitive verb subj.
	—	absolutive	ABS	trans. verb obj., intrans. subj.
local cases	-x' ~ -: ~ -i ~ -∅	locative	LOC	"at, in, by, on"
	-déi ~ -dei	allative	ALL	"to, toward, until, manner of"
	-dáx̱ ~ -dax̱ ~ -dx̱	ablative	ABL	"from, out of"
	-náx̱ ~ -nax̱	perlative	PERL	"along, by, via, during"
	-ḡaa	adessive	ADES	"around, about, by, after, for"
	-een ~ -teen ~ -n	instrumental	INSTR	"along with, using, as soon as"
	-t	punctual	PNCT	"at, to, about"
	-x̱	pertinent	PERT	"at, form of, concerning"
	-u	loc.-predicative	LPRD	location in verbless sentence
postpositions	yáx̱	similative	SIM	"like, as, similar to"
	yís	benefactive	BEN	"for, benefiting"
	náḵ	elative	ELAT	"away from"
	ḡóot	abessive	ABES	"without, lacking"
	yáanáx̱ ~ yáanax̱	superlative	SUP	"more than"
	ḵín	sublative	SUB	"less than"

Table 4.2: Postpositions and case suffixes.

4.5.1.   Grammatical cases

4.5.1.1.   Ergative -*ch*

Subject marking. Lack of marking with unergatives. Instrumental. Idiomatic and peculiar uses.

4.5.1.2.   Absolutive

Absence of absolutive marking.

4.5.2.   Local cases

Phonological arguments for suffix status.

4.5.2.1.   Locative *-x'* , *-ː* , *-i, Ø-*

Usual form *-x'*. Meaning.

Allomorph *-ː*, appearing with open monosyllables. Typical forms. Free variation is speaker dependent.

Allomorph *-i*, appearing where?

Allomorph *-Ø*, appearing where?

4.5.2.2.   Allative *-déi*

Meaning. Relationship with noun *déi* "trail, path, road". Alternate tone.

4.5.2.3.   Ablative *-dáx̱*

Meaning. Alternate tone. Allomorph *-dx̱* after certain open syllables, but not others. Free variation.

4.5.2.4.   Perlative *-náx̱*

Meaning. Alternate tone. Lack of tone alternation in some forms; may be still becoming a suffix. Lack of allomorph **-nx̱*.

4.5.2.5.   Adessive *-ḡaa*

Meaning. Lack of tone alternation.

4.5.2.6.   Instrumental *-een* , *-teen* , *-n*

Meaning. Status as comitative. Littlefield's split hypothesis.

Allomorph *-n* after open monosyllables.

Allomorph *-teen* after open syllables.

Difference between instrumental *-een* and pronominal base *ee*. Use of allomorph *-n* with pronominal base. Hypothesis regarding extension of *-een* from *ee-n*. Source of *-teen* as multicase construction.

4.5.2.7.   Punctual *-t*

Basic meanings. Meaning with particular verb theme categories.

Unwritten anaptyxis.

Choice between punctual, pertingent, and locative in non-motion contexts.

4.5.2.8.   Pertingent -*x̱*

Basic meaning. Extension as phsyical form or quality. Extension as member-
ship.
    Unwritten anaptyxis.

4.5.2.9.   Locative predicative -*u*

Meaning. Conventional forms. Productive forms.

4.5.3.   Postpositions

Phonological arguments against suffix status.

4.5.3.1.   Similative *yáx̱*

Meaning. Hypothesis as grammaticalization of ⊕*yá-x̱*.

4.5.3.2.   Benefactive *yís*

Meaning. Assimilatory phenomena in *jís, x̱'éis*.

4.5.3.3.   Elative *náḵ*

Meaning. Contrast with -*náx̱*.

4.5.3.4.   Abessive *ḡóot*

Meaning. Comparison with *ḡuna*.

4.5.3.5.   Superlative *yáanáx̱*

Meaning. Question of status as real postposition.

4.5.3.6.   Sublative *ḵín*

Meaning. Question of status as real postposition.

4.6.   Relational nouns

4.6.1.   Concrete relations

4.6.2.   Abstract relations

4.7.   Demonstratives

4.7.1.   Distance

4.7.2.   Definiteness

4.7.3.   Focus

4.7.4.   Topic

4.8. Compounding

4.8.1. Tone phenomena in compounds

4.8.2. Relational and nonrelational compounding

4.8.3. Possessive compounds

4.8.4. Nonpossessive compounds

4.9. Noun derivation

4.9.1. Deverbal derivation

4.9.2. Noun-verb-noun derivation

4.10. Pronominals and pronouns

The pronominal system of Tlingit is relatively complex, with five different paradigms and fourteen paradigmatic types. Two paradigms are part of the verb, namely the subject (+2) and object (+14–+16) prefixes; these are described as part of the chapter on verb structure (chapter **??**) in §**??**, §**??**, and §**??**, respectively. The rest of the pronominal system is comprised of three noun-like paradigms, the possessive, independent, and postpositional pronouns. In addition to these paradigms there are also a group of interrogative pronouns which have distinctly different forms and functions from the rest of the system; these are discussed in §4.10.2. I make a terminological distinction between pronominals in the verb and those outside, adopting PRONOUN for only the free words occuring outside of the verb, and PRONOMINAL for the prefixes that occur within the verb. In addition I use "pronominal" as a cover term for the entire category.

⟦⟦examples⟧⟧

4.10.1. Personal pronouns

A complete inventory of the personal (i.e. non-interrogative) pronominal system is given in table 4.3 on page 76. None of the pronominal paradigms is complete when compared to the others, meaning that there are gaps in every paradigm. The pronominal object prefixes (§**??**) have the most complete paradigm, missing only a third person obviate form. The possessive pronouns (§4.10.1.1) are the next most complete, with possibly missing but unverified third person obviate and partitive forms. The most defective paradigm is found in the subject pronominals (§**??**), where only the first and second person are complete, the third only occurs in plain and obviate forms, and the indefinite human occurs but the indefinite nonhuman does not.

Humanity is a distinction which is particularly salient in the pronominal system. Human and nonhuman are distinguished in both the third person pronouns and the indefinite pronouns. It may be that this distinction is older in the indefinites, given that the verb pronominals collapse the two in the third person. Humanity is most obvious in possessives, where inalienable nouns take on different meanings depending on the humanity of the possessor. Thus the alienable noun *goosh* has two distinct senses depending on its possessor, *du gooshí* |du goosh-ÿí| "his/her thumb" versus *a gooshí* |a goosh-ÿí| "its dorsal fin". In order to capture this distinction, dictionaries will usually include two entries for a single noun, one with a human possessor and one with a nonhuman possessor.

	Object (O)	*Subject* (S)	*Possessive* (PSS)	*Independent*	*Postpositional*
1SG	x̱at- ~ ax̱-₊₁₄	x̱a-₊₂	ax̱	x̱át	ax̱=ee ~ x̱aa
1PL	haa-₊₁₄	tu-₊₂	haa	uháan*	haa=ee
2SG	i-₊₁₄	i-₊₂	i	wa.é	i=ee
2PL	yi-₊₁₄	yi-₊₂	yi	yiháan*	yi=ee
3H }3	∅- ~ a-₊₁₄	∅-₊₂	du	hú	du=ee
3N }3			a	?	a
3PRX	ash-₊₁₄	—	ash	?	ash=ee ~ a=ee
3OBV	—	du-₊₂	?	?	?
INDH	ḵu- ~ ḵaa-₊₁₄	du-₊₂	ḵaa	?	ḵu=ee
INDN	at-₊₁₄	—	at	at	?
RFLX	sh- ~ ∅-₊₁₄	—	chush	?	chush=ee
PART	aa-₊₁₄	—	?	aa	?
RECIP	woosh-₊₁₆	—	woosh	wóosh	woosh=ee
(3)PL	has-₊₁₅	—	has-du	hás	has-du=ee

Table 4.3: Pronouns and pronominals (+2, +14, +15, +16). The *Object* and *Subject* columns are pronominal prefixes in the verb, all others are independent words. Question marks indicate uncertain gaps, em-dashes indicate verified gaps. Forms marked with an asterisk * are variable (see §4.10.1.2.2 and §4.10.1.2.4).

The distinction between proximate and obviate is only fully clear in the verb, with third obviate subject *du-* and third proximate object *ash-*. Note that the indefinite human *du-* is homophonous with the third person obviate subject *du-*, an issue addressed in §??. In each slot the opposition is between an unmarked third person and a discourse-marked third person, with the more marked discourse form representing the unexpected appearance of an otherwise less salient role. Since subjects are more likely to be discursively prominent, the marked form is the less topical third person obviate *du-*. In contrast, since objects are more likely to be discursively backgrounded, the marked form is the third person proximate *ash-*.

The reflexive, partitive, and reciprocal are somewhat less common pronominals. The reflexive and reciprocal are associated with middle voice and lowered

transitivity in the verb (see §??). ⟦[...]⟧

The first and second person pronominals are the only ones which have clear singular/plural distinctions. A third person plural exists in several paradigms, but it is not clear that it is a direct counterpart of the first and second plurals. In the possessive and postpositional pronouns the third person plurals *has-du* and *has-du=ee* are clearly compounds of the corresponding ordinary third persons and an underlying form related to the independent plural *hás*. The object pronominal *has-*$_{+15}$ is also separate from the third person object pronominal *Ø-* ~ *a-*$_{+14}$, and it occasionally indicates plurality of subjects and also possible of events. This obscurity surrounding plurals in the pronominal system actually reflects other semantic problems with number that are probably related to issues which **wilhelm:2008** has addressed in Dëne Sųłiné.

4.10.1.1. Possessive pronouns

4.10.1.1.1. First person singular *ax̱*

4.10.1.1.2. First person plural *haa*

4.10.1.1.3. Second person singular *ee*

4.10.1.1.4. Second person plural *yee*

4.10.1.1.5. Third person human *du*

4.10.1.1.6. Third person human plural *has-du*

4.10.1.1.7. Third person nonhuman *a*

4.10.1.1.8. Third person proximate *ash*

4.10.1.1.9. Third person obviate *a*

4.10.1.1.10. Indefinite human *ḵaa*

4.10.1.1.11. Indefinite nonhuman *at*

4.10.1.1.12. Reflexive *chush*

4.10.1.1.13. Reciprocal *woosh*

4.10.1.2.   Independent pronouns

4.10.1.2.1.   First person singular *x̲át*

4.10.1.2.2.   First person plural *ooháan**

4.10.1.2.3.   Second person singular *wa.é*

4.10.1.2.4.   Second person plural *yeeháan**

4.10.1.2.5.   Third person human *hú*

4.10.1.2.6.   Third person plural *hás*

4.10.1.2.7.   Indefinite human *at*

4.10.1.2.8.   Indefinite nonhuman *k̲áa*

4.10.1.2.9.   Partitive *aa*

4.10.1.2.10.   Reciprocal *wóosh*

4.10.1.3. Postpositional pronouns

The postpositonal pronouns are nearly identical with the possessive pronouns, although the third person proximate and indefinite human have different forms. The underlying principle seems to be that the possessive pronouns cannot directly take case suffixes and postpositions, hence a meaningless morpheme *=ee* is used as a host for case and postposition attachment. I have labeled this meaningless morpheme BASE in glosses, and term it the PRONOMINAL BASE.

I have analyzed the pronominal base *=ee* as a clitic. It has two phonemic forms, one with an initial glottal stop and one without. Thus the form *ax=ee-n* |1SG=BASE-INSTR| "with me" may be pronounced as /ʔaχʔiːn/ or /ʔaχiːn/, depending on the speaker and context. (The form with a glottal stop is usual in more careful speech.) This variation leads to the conclusion that the pronominal base is a clitic, so that when it is fully suffixed to the pronoun the glottal stop disappears, but when it is more independent the glottal stop arises according to the usual rule of word-initial empty onset filling: V(C) → ʔV(C) / #_ (see §3.3.2.1).

The source of the pronominal base is obscure. It could merely be a filler vowel that arose from anaptyxis, but it might have more a meaningful history. One form which could plausibly be related is the relational noun *eet* "remains" as in the compounds *gan eetí* "ash" (|firewood remains-PSS|), *g̱agaan eetí* "sunbeam" (*g̱agaan eet-ÿí* |sun remains-PSS|), and *tá eetí* "sign of having slept" (*tá eet-ÿí* |sleep remains-PSS|).[1]

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1. The term *tá eetí* is a sign of where an animal has slept, for example an area of bent grass where a deer spent the night. It can also refer to the space where a human has slept.

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4.10.1.3.1.   First person singular *ax̱=ee* ~ *x̱aa*

4.10.1.3.2.   First person plural *haa=ee*

4.10.1.3.3.   Second person singular *ee=ee*

4.10.1.3.4.   Second person plural *yee=ee*

4.10.1.3.5.   Third person human *du=ee*

4.10.1.3.6.   Third person human plural *has-du=ee*

4.10.1.3.7.   Third person nonhuman *a*

4.10.1.3.8.   Third person proxmiate *ash=ee* ~ *a=ee*

4.10.1.3.9.   Indefinite human *ḵu=ee*

4.10.1.3.10.   Reflexive *chush=ee*

4.10.1.3.11.   Reciprocal *woosh=ee*

4.10.2.   Interrogative pronouns

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4.10.2.1.   What *daa(t)*

4.10.2.2.   Which *daaḵw*

4.10.2.3.   Who *aa*

4.10.2.4.   Who *aadoo*

4.10.2.5.   Where *goo*

4.10.2.6.   How, why, what *wáa ~ máa*

4.10.2.7.   How much *x'oon*

4.10.2.8.   When-past *gwatk*

4.10.2.9.   When-future *gwatgeen*

4.11. Demonstratives

4.11.1. Nounlike qualities

4.11.2. Interaction with locative-predicative

4.12. Quantifiers

4.13. Directionals

The directional system of Tlingit has received very little research. **leer:1989** offers the only publication which contains an extensive investigation of this particular area, and it is situated in the context of Na-Dene historical reconstruction. **kari:1985** provides a slightly earlier look at Athabaskan directional systems which is useful for comparative understanding of the Tlingit system.

4.14. Kinship

Kinship is more properly an anthropological issue than a linguistic issue, but kinship terms in Tlingit have a few interesting linguistic properties which deserve discussion here. **durlach:1928** published the first linguistically informed examination of Tlingit kinship terminology along with a comparison to Haida and Coast Tsimshian kinship systems.

4.15. Names

Names are a salient category of nouns in Tlingit. Unlike most types of morpheme, there is an appropriate Tlingit term *saa* "name" for this grammatical category, along with the verb root *saa₂* "call"[2] that appears in the themes *O-S-CL[–D, Ø]-saa₂* "S name O, call O by name, nominate O", *S-CL[+D, Ø]-saa₂* "S breathe", *P-ch O-S-CL[–D, l]-saa₂* "S name O for some characteristic P", and *O-x'a-S-CL[–D, Ø]-saa₂* "S call on O (spirit)" (**story:1973**).

Names have a few special grammatical properties, the most important of which is that they are unpossessable (§4.2.1.1). ⟦Other grammatical properties.⟧

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2. There are also the homophonous roots *saa₁* "be narrow" and *saa₃* "rest" (**story:1973**).

Names can be divided into four major semantic domains based on the type of referent. Personal names are those which apply to an individual, either a human, e.g. *Dzéiwsh*, or to a legendary or mythical entity, e.g. *Dukt'ootl'* "Black Skin".[3] Clan names apply to clans and to moieties, and have certain characteristic morphological patterns that set them apart from other nouns. Ethnonyms are applied to non-Tlingit entities, with some being borrowings and some derived from Tlingit roots. Finally, placenames refer to geographical entities and extents, such as towns, the various ḵwáan, rivers, and mountains, among many other examples.

4.15.1. Personal names

There are a huge variety of personal names which exist in Tlingit, with thousands maintained by some clans. It is impossible to list them all, but to give some idea of the construction of personal names I present a select few names here. The names I have chosen are taken from the Dauenhauer's first collection of Tlingit oratory (**dauenhauer:1987**), being the personal names of the various individuals who provided those narratives.

[[*Shaadaax'* = *shaa-daa-x'* |mountain-around-ʟᴏᴄ|, *Ix̱t'ik' Éesh* = *ix̱t'- k' éesh* |shaman-ᴅɪᴍ father|, *Kéet Yaanaayí, Tseexwáa, Taakw K'wát'i* = *taakw k'wát'-ÿí* |winter egg-ᴘss|, *Yeilnaawú* = *yéil-naa-ÿú* |raven-corpse- ᴘss|, *Naakil.aan, Kaasgeiy, Ḵooteen, Yaaneekee, Jeeník, Asx̱'aak* = *aas- x̱'aak* |tree-space.between| (**dauenhauer:1987**).]]

4.15.2. Clan names

Tlingit clan names have their own special morphology which occurs nowhere else in the language. Some have clearly undergone extensive phonological reduction from earlier forms which are often maintained alongside the common names in oral traditions. The following are lists of the known Raven and Wolf/Eagle clans adapted from **hope:2003** There are probably a few other clans which were not included in that document, for example the *Til'hittaan* (**leer:2001**) which is included below in the Raven clan list.

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3. Dukt'ootl' is often known as "Strong Man" in English, which derives from his legendary exploits. The Tlingit name is from *dook t'ootl'* |skin charcoal|, with the word *t'ootl'* being an obscure variant of *t'ooch'* (see chapter **??**).

(20) *Yéil* (Raven) clans, adapted from **hope:2003**

Deisheetaan	Kooyu.eidí	L'uknax̱.ádi	Til'hittaan
G̱aanax̱.ádi	Kwaashk'iḵwáan	Naach'ooneidí	Tooḵa.ádi
G̱aanax̱teidí	Ḵ'óoxeeneidí	Noowshaka.aayí	Tuḵyeidí
Ishkahittaan	Ḵaach.ádi	Suḵteeneidí	T'aḵdeintaan
Ishkeetaan	Ḵak'weidí	Taakw.aaneidí	Watineidí
Kaasx̱'agweidí	Ḵoosk'eidí	Taalḵweidí	X'at'ka.aayí
Kiks.ádi	Lukaax̱.ádi	Teeyhittaan	X̱'alchaneidí
Kooḵhittaan	L'eeneidí	Teeyneidí	

(21) *G̱ooch* (Wolf) / *Ch'áak'* (Eagle) clans, adapted from **hope:2003**

Chookaneidí	Ḵaax̱'oos.hittaan	Shangukeidí	Was'ineidí
Dag̱isdinaa	Ḵookhittaan	Shankweidí	Wooshkeetaan
Daḵl'aweidí	Lḵuweidí	S'eet'ḵweidí	X̱ook'eidí
Jishḵweidí	Naanyaa.aayí	S'iknax̱.ádi	X'ax'ahittaan
Kaagwaantaan	Naasteidí	Teiḵweidí	Yanyeidí
Kadaḵw.ádi	Neix̱.ádi⁴	Tsaagweidí	
Kayaashkiditaan	Nees.ádi	Tsaateeneidí	

As can be seen from the lists above, there are a couple of regular patterns into which all clan names fit. I class them into *-taan* clans, *-ʔádi* clans, *-eidí* clans, and *-ʔaayi* clans, as well as one *ḵwáan* clan and one *naa* clan. The *-ʔaayí* clans are *Noowshaka.aayí* and *X'at'ka.aayí* on the Raven side and *Naanyaa.aayí* on the Wolf side. Each of these names is morphologically transparent: *noow-shá-ká-ʔaa-ÿí* |fort-head-HSFC-PART-PSS| "ones on the head of the fort", *x'áat'-ká-ʔaa-ÿí* |island-HSFC-PART-PSS| "ones atop the island", and *naanyaa-ʔaa-ÿí* |upriver-PART-PSS| "ones (from) upriver". Thus the *-ʔaayí* suffix is the partitive here translated as "one" with a possessive suffix on the end. The exact purpose of the possessive suffix is not entirely clear, but as will be shown, it occurs in two other clan name classes.

The *-taan* names are relatively numerous, and there are two subclasses that can be delineated. One is the *-hittaan* subclass and the other is the simple *-taan* subclass. Tlingit speakers usually translate *-hittaan* as "people of the house of", and this fits well with the known meanings of several clan

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4. The *Neix̱.ádi* are sometimes considered a "third" moiety, see [[?]].

names. On the Raven side *Deisheetaan* is derived from *déi-shú-hít-taan* |trail-end-house-people| "people of the house at the end of the trail", *Ishkahittaan* is from *ísh-ká-hít-taan* |fishing.hole-ʜꜱꜰᴄ-house-people| "people of the house atop the fishing hole", *Kookhittaan* is clearly *kóok̲-hít-taan* |pit-house-people| "people of the pit house", *Teeyhittaan* is *teey-hít-taan* |yellow.cedar.bark-house-people| "people of the yellow-cedar bark house", and *Til'hittaan* is from *téel'-hít-taan* |dog.salmon-house-people| "people of the dog salmon house". On the Wolf side the name *K̲aax̲'oos.hittaan* is derived from *k̲áa-x̲'oos-hít-taan* |man-foot-house-people| "people of the man's foot house", *K̲ookhittaan* is transparently *k̲ook-hít-taan* |box-house-people| "people of the box house", and *X̲'ax̲'ahittaan* is from *x̲'ax̲'aa-hít-taan* |cliff.edge-house-people| "people of the cliff edge house".

The *-taan* subclass is somewhat smaller. Most *-taan* clan names derive from *-hittaan* names that have been phonologically reduced, but for some the original derivation is unclear. On the Raven side *Ishkeetaan* is a reduced form of the previously described *Ishkahittaan*, here with loss of *h*, merger of *a* and *i* to give *ee*, and reduction of the transsyllabic sequence *tt* (phonetically IPA /t.tʰ/) to monosyllabic onset *t* (IPA /.tʰ/). The name *T'ak̲deintaan* is less clear. It is sometimes linked to the snail *táax̲'*, but this has an ejective consonant in the coda rather than the onset. **hope:2003** left it unanalyzed in the house name *T'ak̲dein Hít* "T'ak̲dein House", and it sometimes occurs as *Tak̲'deintaan* which may be either the earlier form or a reanalysis by analogy with *táax̲'*. There is the word *t'aak̲* which means "beside, at the side of" that is probably related. On the Wolf side there are three more *-taan* clan names, with *Kaagwaantaan* being reduced from an earlier **Kaawagaanihittaan* that derives from *ka-ÿu-ÿa-gaan-ÿí-hít-taan* |ʜꜱꜰᴄ-ᴘꜰᴠ-ᴄʟ[–ᴅ, ∅, +ɪ]-burn-ᴀᴛᴛʀ-house-people| "people of the burnt house". [[*Wooshkeetaan* = *woosh-ká-hít-taan*??]] *Kayaashkiditaan* is from *kayáash-ká-hít-taan* |platform-ʜꜱꜰᴄ-house-people| "people of the platform house". The exact phonological process which produced the sequence /kʰiti/ from /kʰahít/ is unclear, but there seems to be some sort of anticipation of /t/ involved, as well as retrogressive spreading of the front vowel.

[[*ʔádi*]]

[[*ʔeidí*]]

[[*k̲wáan* and *naa*]]

Some of the clan names are somewhat variable, particularly those which do not have a transparent morphological structure. As noted earlier, *T'ak̲deintaan* sometime occurs as *Tak̲'deintaan*, perhaps through folk analogy and subsequent reanalysis. Reduction of clusters over syllable boundaries is not uncommon, so for example in *G̲aanax̲.ádi* the cluster /χ.ʔ/ is often reduced to /χ/ giving

G̱aanax̱ádi with a new syllabification of [qaː.na.χá.ti]. Reduction is common in other names, as the pair *Ishkahittaan* and *Ishkeetaan* demonstrate. Vowel shortening is somewhat common in informal speech, so one can encounter forms like [wuʃkʰitʰaːn] for *Wooshkeetaan*. Lexical variation gives rise to a variation between *Naanyaa.aayí* and *Naanaa.aayí*, where *naanyaa* "upriver"[5] may have undergone reanalysis from /naːn.jaː/ to a prohibited /naː.njaː/ which is saved by deleting the /j/. The word *naanaa* has apparently dialectal distribution, occuring in the Interior dialects and some northern Coastal dialects, elsewhere occuring as *naanyaa*.

4.15.2.1. Grammar of clan names

Clan names are in effect ordinary nouns, although they are only occasionally found undergoing morphological processes like pluralization or case affixation. The following example has a clan name pluralized within the usual possessive morphology. The name *Kiks.ádi* can be analyzed as ending with *-ÿí* |-PSS| which is known to follow the plural suffix *-x'* (see §4.2.3, §4.4.1).

(22) Kiks.átx'i has nalgás'ch. Kiks.át-x'-ÿí has-na-∅-l-gás'-ch NAME-PL-PSS PL-NCNJ-3S-CL[–D, *l*, –I]-move.household-FREQ

"… the Kiks.ádi would move" (**dauenhauer:1987**)

4.15.3. Ethnonyms

⟦*Gunanaa* (Athabaskan), *Deikeenaa* (Haida), *Ts'ootsxán* (Coast Tsimshian), *Ḵuten Ḵwáan* (S. Tutchone), *Ayaane* (N. Tutchone, Hän), *Tsinx̱oo Ḵwáan* (Upper Tanana), *Iḵka Ḵwáan*? (Ahtna), Eyak?, *T'aawyáat' Ḵwáan* (American Indians, esp. Plains), *Ixkee Ḵwáan* ("southerners", PacNW south of Coast Tsimshian), *Ana.oot Ḵwáan* (Aleut).⟧

⟦*Anóoshi Ḵwáan* (Russian), *Gus'k'i Ḵwáan* ("under-the-clouds", "under-horizon", early explorers), *Wáashdan Ḵwáan* ("Boston-men", American), *Ginjuch Ḵwáan* ("King George men", Anglo-Canadian), *Hinginán Ḵwáan* (Anglo-Canadian), *Chaanwaan Ḵwáan* (Chinese), *Shakas'éet Ḵwáan* ("turban-wearing", Pakistani, Indian, Bangladeshi, etc.).⟧

⟦*Haadaa Ḵwáan* "foreigners", *haadaa-*. Connection with "Haida"? Or just "around us"?⟧

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5. Probably from an earlier *naaniyaa.

[[*Dleit Ḵáa, T'ooch' Ḵáa, …*]]

[[**Kwaseiyuks Ḵwáan, *Taaltan Ḵwáan, *Tagish Ḵwáan, *Tachun Ḵwáan, *Jawanee Ḵwáan, *Xwinikeen Ḵwáan, …*]]

4.15.4. Placenames

The term for placename in Tlingit is *aan saayí* (*aan saa-ÿí* |land name-PSS|). Placenames in Tlingit are generally nominal compounds, although some include deverbal forms or even conjugated verbs. An extensive atlas of *Lingít Aaní* is being prepared by Thomas Thornton, titled *Haa Leelk'w Hás Aaní Saax'ú* (*haa léelk'w=hás aan-ÿí saa-x'-ÿí* |1PL.PSS grandparent=PL land-PSS name-PL-PSS| "our grandparent's land's names"), which will provide a wealth of Tlingit placenames. This section offers an analysis of a small sample of Tlingit placenames, focusing on those names which are especially important in Tlingit culture. The three categories addressed are the great rivers, the major mountains, and the ḵwáan and settlements.

4.15.4.1. The great rivers

The seven major rivers in *Lingít Aaní* which pierce the coastal mountains are from south to north the Nass *Naas*, Stikine *Shtax'héen*, Taku *T'aaḵu*, Chilkat *Jilḵaat*, Tatshenshini *T'achanshahéeni*, Alsek *Alséix*, and Copper *Eeḵ Héeni*. This ordering of names is not an accident of geography. Tlingit people were migrating northward even as late as the first European contact, and the southern parts of Southeast Alaska are universally held to be the older homeland of the Tlingit. This is of course reflected in the fact that the most conservative dialect of Tlingit is also found in the southernmost part of *Lingít Aaní*, and in that linguistic change and linguistic homogeneity both increase in a northerly direction. Thus I will analyze each river name in turn from the southernmost to the northernmost.

The Nass River is highly significant in myth and legend, as the home of Raven (*Yéil*) and his Grandfather (*Naas-shakée Yéil* |Nass-top.of Raven|)[6], as well as the river down which a number of Tlingit clans migrated to the ocean. Today

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6. **swanton:1909** gives this name as *Nās-cᴀ´kî-yēł* and translates it as "Raven at the head of the Nass". I have however usually heard it in English as "Raven's Grandfather", and I will use this rather than a direct translation. Raven tricked the only daughter of *Naasshakée Yéil* into becoming pregnant with Raven so that he could be born into *Naasshakée Yéil*'s house and subsequently could steal daylight from him. This is an essential creation myth in Tlingit culture and is well known even among English monolinguals in Tlingit society.

the Nass is home to the Coast Tsimshian and Nisg̱a'a people, although at least some parts may have been Tlingit territory at some point in the past (Marie-Lucie Tarpent, p.c. 2009). The name *Naas* is simply "guts, intestine" as in *(du) naasí* "(his) intestines, guts" (**leer:2001**), and this refers to its role as a source of food via hooligan (*Thaleichthys pacificus*) and salmon runs. Intriguingly, the Tlingit name appears as *nis* in the name of the Tsimshianic people /nisqaʔa/ (Tarpent, p.c. 2009), and there is a possible etymology of this ethnonym from something like the Tlingit *Naas-ḵwáan |Nass-people| or perhaps *Naas ḵáa-ÿí |Nass man-PSS|, modified through Tsimshianic phonology and historical sound changes.

〚Note the Tsimshianic name (?) which is quite different and ended up not being the name used by English speakers.〛

The Stikine is called *Shtax'héen* in Tlingit, from whence the English name is derived. It is morphologically *sh-∅-∅-∅-tax' héen* |RFLX.O-ZCNJ-3S-CL[–D, ∅, –I]-bite river|, meaning something like "it bites itself river". This name is derives from the dangerous rapids of the Stikine Grand Canyon, and describes the manner in which water swirls around like a dog biting itself.[7] There are various other translations of the name given, such as "bitter water" (**hope:2003**), "milky river", and "river discolored by salmon milt", but these are less satisfying given that they do not have a possible Tlingit derivation that directly matches the name.

The Taku River is *T'aaḵu* which derives from *t'awaaḵ xoo* |canada.goose among|, "among the Canada geese". The *t'awaaḵ* is *Branta canadensis* ssp. *fulva* (Delacour), the Vancouver Canada goose which is both resident and migratory in Southeast Alaska and along the Pacific Northwest coast. The Taku River features a large migration of geese, and was hence named after this phenomenon. Like the Stikine River, the people who inhabit the mouth of the Taku River are named as a ḵwáan for the river, thus T'aaḵu Ḵwáan. The exact boundary between the T'aaḵu Ḵwáan and the Áak'w Ḵwáan is not entirely clear but it lies somewhere along Gastineau Channel near Juneau; like most traditional boundaries it was probably somewhat flexible. Nonetheless, there is still a distinction between people resident in the Juneau area who are T'aaḵu Ḵwáan descendants and those who are Áak'w Ḵwáan descendants.

The Chilkat is *Jilḵáat*, which like the Taku and Stikine is also the name of the ḵwáan which inhabits the area around the river's mouth. A possible derivation

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7. This explanation is due to *X̱aastánch* Charles De Witt, *X̱'aan Hít, S'iknax̱.ádi naax̱, Shtax'héen Ḵwáan.*

that has been offered by many is the form *chíl-x̲áat* |cache-fish| which seems to refer to fish in a cache, but this is not a noun compound that is commonly used nor is the change from *x̲* to *k̲* a usual occurrence. There is a comparable place-name in Eyak which is more convincing as a source for the Tlingit form, namely *žił-qa'-d* (IPA /t∫iɬqʰaʔt/) |cache-among-LOC| which means "among the cache(s)" (**leer:1990**), particularly given that high tone on a long vowel in Tlingit developed from an earlier **Vʔ* ([[see …]]). Michael Krauss (p.c., 2009) notes however that *žił* "platform cache" may be a loanword in Eyak rather than an indigenous word, comparing Minto (Upper Tanana) *žʳeł* (IPA /ʈʂəɬ/) but Proto-Athabaskan **ʒeł* (IPA /tsəɬ/) where the initial affricate should correspond with Eyak *ʒ* (IPA /ts/). Also this would be a remarkable location for an Eyak placename, since Eyak placenames are found just southeast past Yakutat and not much further along the coast. [[What about *Jilk̲oot*?]]

The Tatshenshini is *T'achanshahéeni* in Tlingit. This name is a nominal compound of *t'á-chán-shá-héen-ÿí* |king.salmon-stink-head-river-PSS| "king salmon stinking river head". The name refers to the smell of king salmon corpses rotting at the headwaters of the river after they have spawned. [[More?]]

The Alsek River is the northernmost great river still within Tlingit territory, with its mouth in Dry Bay (*G̲unaax̲oo*, see §??) halfway between Lituya Bay (*Ltu.aa < lú-tú áa* |nose-inside lake|) and Yakutat Bay (*Laax̲aayík & Yaakwdáat*, see §??). The Alsek is variously *Alséix̲* or *Aalséix̲* in Tlingit. It is usually translated as "resting", in which case the underlying verb theme must be *S-CL[+D, l]-saa* "S rest (self)" (**story:1973**), with the root undergoing apophony (§??) to become *séi* when suffixed with the habitual *-x̲* (§??). There are a few kinds of verb prefixes with the shape of *a-* or *aa-*, namely the third person object *a-* (§??), the partitive object *aa-* (§??), the locative preverb *aa=* (§??), and the rotatory preverb *áa=(ÿax̲=)* (§??). Note that none of these are subjects, so we must assume that the subject is the third person *∅-* (§??). The third person object would normally be *∅-*, but in the presence of the third person subject it changes to *a-* (§??) so this could be plausible. Unfortunately the theme only contains a slot for a subject, and no slot for an object, so it is hard to justify this. The rotatory preverb would imply turning over and over which does not seem to fit the meaning well, so the only likely candidate is the locative preverb *aa=*. This would fit well, giving *aa=S-CL[+D, l]-saa* "S rest there". Thus the underlying morphology of the name is probably *aa=∅-l-séi-x̲* |LOC=3S-CL[+D, l, –I]-rest-HAB|, meaning "he/she always rests there". Exactly who "he" or "she" was is unclear. It is possible that the name may once have had the plural prefix *has- ~ s-* (§??), but the forms *aahaslséix̲* and *aaslséix̲* have the unusual fricative sequence /sɬs/

which militates against using *has-* ~ *s-* which is optional anyway. The name might instead refer to some particular individual – maybe *Yéil?* – who has since been forgotten, or perhaps plurality might have been implicit since plural marking is often optional, thus the meaning might be "they always rest there".

The Copper River is technically outside of Tlingit territory, which ends around Katalla (*Ḵaataanáa*, see §**??**). Nevertheless it was well known to even the southernmost Tlingit as the source of native copper which was one of the most valuable substances in the traditional Tlingit world. Native copper inspired the Tlingit name, *Eeḵ Héeni*, which can be glossed as *eeḵ héen-ÿí* |copper river-PSS|. The Ahtna people living upstream who engaged in a lively trade of native copper are known by the Tlingit as *Iḵka Ḵwáan* [[check]].

4.15.4.2. Major mountains

[[Mount Saint Elias *Ÿaas'eit'ashaa*, from Yahtse River *Ÿaas'ei.*]]
   [[Mount Fairweather *Tsalxaan* "Land of the groundsquirrels"?]]
   [[Devil's Thumb *Taalḵunáxḵu Shaa* from *Taal* "flat basket".]]

4.15.4.3. Ḵwáan and settlements

[[*Taant'a, Gichxaan, Sanyaa, Hinyaa, Lawaaḵ, T'aḵjik'aan, Kaachxana.áak'w, Gantiyaakw Séedi, Ḵ'éix', Kooyu, Sheet'ká ~ Sheey At'iká, Xutsnoowú, Aangóon, S'awdaan, Áak'w, Dzantik'i Héeni, Áatlein, Deisleen, Jilḵoot, Deishú, Shgaǥwéi, Xunaa, Ǥunaxoo, Laxaayík, Yaakwdaat, Ǥalyáx, Ḵaataanaa.*]]

For the meaning of *Shtax'héen, T'aaḵu,* and *Jilḵáat* see the following section (§**??**).

5. Adjectives

Adjectives form a very small class in Tlingit. The vast majority of attributional and predicational words are instead verbs, and the attributive *-ÿí* suffix on the verb is a productive method of deriving new adjective-like words from the existing stock of verbs. Even among the few adjectives that I describe here there are a few which are obviously derived from verb roots although the exact process may not be entirely clear.

   Tlingit adjectives describe attributional qualities such as "good" (*aak'é*), "young" (*yées*), "large" (*tlein*), and "thin" (*ḵ'áatl'*). Verbs also cover the same semantic domains, e.g. *O- CL[–D, ∅]-k'ei* "O be good", *O-CL[–D, l]-gei* "O be big", *O-CL[–D, sh]-ḡaax̱'* "O (animal) be thin". Thus the semantic domain cannot necessarily be a distinction between verbs and adjectives. But adjectives cannot indicate tense-aspect-mood unlike verbs, and distributionally adjectives do not appear where one would expect verbs.

   In addition to the adjectives *per se*, in this chapter I also discuss a few parts of speech which have attributional qualities but which do not behave entirely like classically adjectival words. These are specifically the number and color words. Numbers have some properties which set them apart from all other parts of speech, including adjectives, but it is convenient to discuss them here. Colors are discussed here essentially for convenience, and because linguists tend to expect colors to be adjectives. [1] In Tlingit, colors are actually ordinary unpossessable nouns with dual meanings, and a special construction is used which implies their secondary color-term meanings.

5.1. Adjectives and degree words

⟦What other degree words are there besides *ḵúnáx̱* "very"?⟧

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1. Linguists are also unsurprised with colors as verbs, but the verb chapters are already too large.

⟦Why can't *ḵúnáx̱* be used with adjectives? Can it even be used with nouns? Perhaps it's an adverb after all.⟧

5.2.   Attributional and predicational adjectives

5.3.   Prenominal adjectives

5.3.1.   *aak'é* "good"

5.3.2.   *yées* "young"

5.3.3.   *ch'áagu* "old"

5.3.4.   *ḵáa* "male"

5.3.5.   *shéech* "female"

5.3.6.   *ḵustín* "giant"

5.3.7.   *ḵúnáx̱* "very"

5.3.8.   *aatlein* "much, lots"

5.3.9.   *shayadihéin* "many"

5.3.10.   *oosk'* "cute"

Perhaps from the verb root *ʔoos*? Compare *O-CL[–D, l]-ʔoos* "O be crazy, lively, noisy, never still", *O-tu-CL[+D, ∅]-ʔoos* "O sulk, be sulky, refuse to speak, refuse to run (of machine)", *O-ji-CL[–D, l]-ʔoos* "meddle, handle too much", and *O-x̱'a-CL[–D, l]-ʔoos* "O be talkative, gossipy, noisy" (**story:1973**). If so, would have diminutive *-k'* suffix. Apparently sometimes takes *-ÿí* attributive suffix, thus *oosk'í shaawát* or *oosk' shaawát*, although this may be a prothetic vowel for breaking up consonant clusters, and only coincidentally looks like *-ÿí*, or it may have begun as such but is turning into *-ÿí* among the youngest speakers.

5.4. Postnominal adjectives

5.4.1. *tlein* "large"

5.4.2. *k'átsk'u* "small"

5.4.3. *yádi* "child"

5.4.4. *xookw* "dry"

5.4.5. *ḵ'áatl'* "thin"

5.5. Deverbal adjectives and the attributive

5.5.1. Morphology of the attributive

5.5.2. Uses of the attributive

5.5.3. Differences between attributive and subordinative

5.6. Numerals

5.6.1. Subdecimal numerals

5.6.2. Old vigesimal system

5.6.3. New decimal system

5.6.4. Cardinal numerals

5.6.5. Ordinal numerals

5.7. Colors

5.7.1. Similative color construction

5.7.2. Non-similative color constructions

5.7.3. Conventional colors

5.7.4. Novel colors

6.   *Adverbs*

6.1.   Noun-derived

6.2.   Directional-derived

6.3.   Verb-derived

6.3.1.   Adverbializer *-dein*

6.3.2.   Abessive adverbs

7. Particles

The term "particle" is, in the descriptions of many languages, a sort of bucket into which all sorts of free morphemes of diverse functions are tossed. Most descriptions define the particle category by what it is not – not noun, not verb, not adjective, etc. I follow in this grand tradition by defining the Tlingit particle as specifically a free morpheme or sequence of morphemes which is not a noun, not a verb, not an adverb, and not an adjective.

There are a few generalizations that can be made about Tlingit particles. For one they are all together a closed class, in that no additional members can be added. Except for the negative and to some extent the interrogative particles, the particle class has relatively little morphosyntactic interaction with other parts of speech. Beyond these two relatively weak statements, the class is functionally vague.

Some profitable divisions can be made inside the particle class, and these divisions are probably indicative of more subtle differences between the various particles that I am as yet unable to uncover.

7.1. Focus particles

Form	Name	Gloss	Meaning
sá	Q particle	Q	wh-questions
gé	Yn particle	YN	yes-no questions
ágé	focus question	FOC.YN	focused yes-no questions
á	focus particle	FOC	focus or topicalize
ḵuʔaa ~ ḵwaa	contrastive	CONTR	"however", "but"
ásé	deductive	DED	"oh, so that's"
ásgé	reportative	REPRT	hearsay, "reportedly"
x̲aa ~ x̲áa	softening	SOFT	"you see"
óosh	hypothetical	HYP	"as if", "if only"
kushéi ~ kwshé	tentative	TENT	"maybe"
shágdé	dubitative	DUB	"perhaps", "probably"
(s)dáagáa	confirmative	CONF	"indeed", "for sure"
shéi	mirative	MIR	mild surprise
guʔáa ~ gwáa	admirative	ADMIR	strong surprise

Table 7.1: Focusing particles. Some 〚which?〛 may take a demonstrative suffix.

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7.1.1.   Interrogatives

7.1.1.1.   Wh-question *sá*

7.1.1.2.   Yes/no-question *gé*

7.1.1.3.   Focused Yes/no-question *ágé*

7.1.2.   Focus *á*

7.1.3.   Contrastive *ḵu.aa*

7.1.4.   Evidentials

7.1.4.1.   Deductive *ásé*

7.1.4.2.   Reportative *ásgé*

7.1.4.3.   Softening *x̱aa*

7.1.4.4.   Hypothetical *óosh*

7.1.4.5.   Tentative *kwshé*

7.1.4.6.   Dubitative *shágdé*

7.1.4.7.   Confirmative *(s)dáagáa*

7.1.4.8.   Mirative *shéi*

7.1.4.9.   Admirative *gu.áa*

7.2. Sentence-initial evidentials

Form	Name	Gloss	Meaning
tléil ~ tlél ~ hél ~ l	negative	NEG	"no", "not"
lí	prohibitive	PHIB	"don't", "let it not be"
guʔaal	optative	OPT	"hopefully"
gwál	dubitative	DUB	"perhaps"
x̱aju ~ k̲aju	counterfactual	CFACT	"actually", "in fact"
k̲ashde	cogitavissive	COGIT	"I had thought"
ch'aʔaan	resumptive	RESUMP	"however", "nonetheless"
ayáx̱	interpretive	INTRP	"thus", "that's how"
ách	explanatory	EXPLAN	"because", "that's why"

Table 7.2: Sentence-initial evidential particles.

7.2.1.   Negative *tléil* "no"

7.2.2.   Prohibitive *lí* "don't"

7.2.3.   Optative *gu.áal* "hopefully"

7.2.4.   Dubitative *gwál* "maybe"

7.2.5.   Counterfactual *x̱aju* "actually"

7.2.6.   Cogitavissive *k̲ashde* "I'd thought"

7.2.7.   Resumptive *ch'a.aan* "however"

7.2.8.   Interpretive *ayáx̱* "that's why"

7.2.9.   Explanatory *ách* "because"

7.3. Phrasal particles

7.3.1. Prephrasal particles

Form	Name	Meaning
ch'a		"just", "the very", "simply"
ch'as		"only", "just"
ch'u		"even", "exactly"
yéi		"thus"
tlax̱		"very"
ch'u tlei		"when", "while"
ch'u tleix̱		"forever"
ch'u shóogu		"the same"
ch'u déix̱		"both"
ch'a ldakát		"all", "every"
ch'a tlákw		"always"
ch'a yóok'		"suddenly", "immediately"
ch'a g̱óot		"different", "other"
ch'a yéi		"ordinary", "usual"

Table 7.3: Prephrasal particles.

7.3.1.1.   *ch'a* "simply"

7.3.1.2.   *ch'as* "only"

7.3.1.3.   *ch'u* "even"

7.3.1.4.   *yéi* "thus"

7.3.1.5.   *tláx̱* "very"

7.3.1.6.   *ch'u tlei* "while"

7.3.1.7.   *ch'u tleix̱* "forever"

7.3.1.8.   *ch'u déix̱* "both"

7.3.1.9.   *ch'u shóogu* "the same"

7.3.1.10.   *ch'a ldakát* "all"

7.3.1.11.   *ch'a tlákw* "always"

7.3.1.12.   *ch'a yóok'* "suddenly"

7.3.1.13.   *ch'a ḡóot* "other"

7.3.1.14.   *ch'a yéi* "usual"

7.3.2. Postphrasal particles

Form	Name	Meaning
tsá		"only then"
tsú		"also", "as well", "too"
s'é		"first"
déi		"now", "this time"
x'wán		"be sure to"
tsé		"be sure not to", "don't"

Table 7.4: Postphrasal particles.

7.3.2.1. *tsá* "only then"

7.3.2.2. *tsú* "also"

7.3.2.3. *s'é* "first"

7.3.2.4. *déi* "now"

7.3.2.5. *x'wan* "be sure to"

7.3.2.6. *tsé* "be sure not to"

7.3.3. Mobile particles

Form	Name	Meaning
tléi		"just", "simply", "just then"
déi		"already", "by now", "yet"
tsu		"again", "still", "some more"

Table 7.5: Mobile particles.

7.3.3.1. *tléi* "just"

7.3.3.2. *déi* "already"

7.3.3.3. *tsu* "again"

8.   Verb structure

The verb in Tlingit is the crowning glory of the language in terms of its flexibility, expressiveness, and complexity. Like all Na-Dene languages, the Tlingit verb has been the object of the majority of analytical efforts since at least **swanton:1911** Out of [[num]] pages of his **boas:1917 (boas:1917)**, Boas devoted [[num]] pages to the verb. Story's **story:1966 (boas:1917)** is almost entirely focused on verb morphology, with only [[sections]] discussing nouns and other topics. Leer's dissertation **leer:1991** addresses the morphology and semantics of the tense-mood-aspect ("schetic") system of the verb in 511 pages.

8.1.   Macrostructure of the verb

Table ?? presents the templatic structure of the Tlingit verb. The column labeled "Leer (1991)" is the template used by Jeff Leer in his dissertation on the Tlingit tense-mood-aspect ("schetic") system (**leer:1991**). The column labeled "Cable & Crippen" is the flatter template proposed by Seth Cable [[cite]] which I have adopted with the addition of the suffixes and some other minor modifications. Table ?? lists all the known affixes which appear in the verb.

In this grammar I am adopting a templatic, slot-and-filler, position class analysis of the verb. In the literature on Athabaskan languages there has been some extensive debate on the legitimacy of a templatic analysis of the verb, and to some extent the criticism also applies to Tlingit. Hoijer [[cite]] was apparently the first to use a template to describe Navajo. Notably, Sapir did not at any time use a template [[cite]], and it seems that Whorf had some reservations against a strict ordering as well [[cite]]. Even just after Hoijer's introduction of the template analysis, Reichard [[cite]] dissented. Nonetheless, templates have been continuously used since throughout the Athabaskan family.

Krauss deliberately has avoided templates in his reconstruction of Proto-Athabaskan and Proto-Na-Dene [[cite]]. Kari [[cite]] points out a number of

	Cable & Crippen		leer:1991		
disjunct	+17 preverbs		+8		proclitic adjunct phrases
	+16 reciprocal & distributive		+7	b	number prefixes
	+15 plural number			a	"
	+14 object		+6	b	incorporated obj. pronominals
	+13 areal				
	+12 alienable incorporated nouns			a	incorporated alienable nouns
	+11 inalienable incorporated nouns		+5	c	incorporated inalienable nouns
conjunct	+10 vertical surface *ya-*			b	"
	+9 horizontal surface *ka-*			a	"
	+8 self-benefactive		+4	e	schetic prefixes
	+7 outer aspect/conjugation			d	"
	+6 irrealis			c	"
	+5 inner aspect/conjugation			b	"
	+4 perfective			a	"
	+3 inner distributive		+3		distributive prefix
	+2 subject		+2		subject pronominals
	+1 classifier		+1		classifier
	0 root		0		ROOT
suffix	−1 derivation		−1		derivational suffixes
	−2 duration		−2	a	inner durative suffixes
				b	outer durative suffixes
	−3 stem variation		−3		inner mode suffixes
	−4 modes		−4		outer mode suffixes
	−5 modes		−5		epimode & clause type suffixes
	−6 postverbal auxiliaries				

Table 8.1: Tlingit verb template. Prefixes are positive, suffixes are negative. Suffix classifications for the *Cable & Crippen* column are tentative.

Position	Affixes
+17	(F) g̱unayéi ~ g̱unéi=, áa=, shóo=, héeni=, gági=, éeg̱i=, daag̱i=
	(E2) ḵut=, yuх̱=, yaaх̱=, héenх̱=, uх̱=, ḵwáaḵx=, yedх̱=, ÿaanaх̱ ~ ÿa'naх̱ₜ=
	(E1) yan*=, neil*=, haa*=, yóo*=, ḵuх̱*=, kux*=
	(D) kei=, yei=, yeeḵ ~ yeiḵ ~ i'ḵₜ=, daaḵ=, daak=
	(C) yéi ~ ye'ₜ=
	(B) yaa=
	(A) yaa=, yoo=
+16	daх̱-, woosh-
+15	has ~ s-
+14	х̱at ~ aх̱-, haa-, i-, yee-, ash-, a ~ ∅-, ḵu ~ ḵaa-, at-, aa-, sh ~ ∅-
+13	ḵu-
+12	yaan-, shakux-, yata-, х̱'asakw-, g̱aх̱-, xee ~ xei-, ḵee ~ ḵei-, yee ~ yei-, kanik-, yaḵa-, saa-, aan-, naa-, sha.aх̱w-, yakw-, hin-
+11	ji-, х̱'a ~ ḵ'a-, tu-, sha-, shu-, lu-, se ~ sa-, х̱a-, gu-, ta-, daa-, х̱oo-, х̱an-, х̱'aa-, t'éi-, t'aa-, yik-, yee-, ḵi-, gin-, х̱i-, s'aan-, lidíх̱'-, waḵ-, s'aḵ-, х̱'us-, s'ee-, duk-, laka-, tl'aḵ-, keey-, tóox'-, х̱'atu-, tuḵx'e ~ tuḵ'e-, daa.it-, taх̱'-
+10	ÿa-
+9	ka-
+8	ga-
+7	ga-, g̱a-
+6	u-
+5	∅-, na-, g̱a-
+4	ÿu-
+3	dag̱a ~ daх̱-
+2	х̱a-, tu-, ee-, yi-, ∅-, du-, du-
+1	CL[*d, s, i*]: $d \in \{+\text{D}, -\text{D}\}$; $s \in \{∅, s, l, sh\}$; $i \in \{+\text{I}, \text{I}\}$
0	root
−1	-án, -shán, -ch, -áḵw, -aa, -х̱aa, -ÿí, -ee, -k(w), -(ch')ál', -ḵ, -nas, -nás', -kát'
−2	(A) -', -k, -х̱, -ch
	(B) -t, -x', -t', -s', -l'
−3	-:, -', -', -ÿ, -n
−4	-ch, -nee ~ ee, -ín ~ ún
−5	-ee, -een, -(ee)ḵ, -ÿi
−6	=nooch ~ neechᵢ ~ nukchᵧ, =noojeen ~ ?neejeenₛ, =nóok(w) ~ néekwₛ, =núgwni ~ nígwniₛ, =g̱anúgun ~ g̱anígúnᵢ ~ g̱aníkwₛ

Table 8.2: Tlingit verb affixes. E1 preverbs take certain case suffixes. Subscripts mark dialect-specific forms (T: Tongass, S: Southern, I: Interior, Y: Yakutat).

flaws in templatic analysis, particularly the qualifiers; his solution is to propose "zones" wherein the ordering is more flexible, but zones themselves are fixed. Kari notes that templates are not in and of themselves a model of word formation, and later proposes a model for the Ahtna language [[cite]].

rice:2000b proposed and defended an analysis of verb structure using the Government and Binding framework, with semantic scope justifying the ordering relationships of the constituents.

Templatic complexity in analyses has increased markedly over time [[examples]], but things seem to have stabilized lately.

The Tlingit verb can be divided into three domains, namely the DISJUNCT DOMAIN, CONJUNCT DOMAIN, and SUFFIX DOMAIN. The disjunct and conjunct domains were named by [[Kari?]] for the Athabaskan languages. In that family the conjunct domain extends leftward from the root through the classifier, first/second subject, aspect prefixes, and the qualifier prefixes. Depending on the analysis, the conjunct domain may include the third person subject prefixes and the objects (e.g. **rice:2000b**), or it may not (e.g. [[Kibrik. Who else? Hoijer? Kari?]]). The disjunct domain starts from where the conjunct domain leaves off and continues leftwards through the the incorporates, distributive, iterative, multiple, areal, and the preverbs. Depending on the analysis, the disjunct domain may also cover the adjunct phrases which are lexically specified but not part of the verb. [[Justifications for the disjunct and conjunct domains.]]

The Tlingit division between disjunct and conjunct domains is not as well defined as is done for Athabaskan languages. I have applied them on the basis of analogy with Athabaskan languages, and there are some useful distinctions between the two domains, but the exact division is largely stipulative rather than phonologically or morphologically justified. Evidence for separation phonologically is that vowels in the conjunct domain cannot have high tone, whereas there are several prefixes (incorporated nouns and preverbs) which have inherent high tone. Another distinction is that prefixes in the disjunct domain always preserve their underlying vowels, whereas prefixes in the conjunct domain lose them in various contexts.

8.1.1. Disjunct domain

8.1.2. Conjunct domain

I have assigned the term "conjunct domain" to prefixes spanning from the classifier leftwards to the "surface" prefixes *ka-* and *ÿa-*.

8.1.3. Suffix domain

8.1.4. Leer's "Principle of Templatic Attraction"

8.1.5. Comparison with Athabaskan and Eyak

	Slot	Group
disjunct	proclitic adjunct preverb	
	areal multiple iterative distributive	quantificational elements
	incorporate	
conjunct	number object 3rd person subject transitivity decrease qualifiers (*d, n, γ*)	
	inceptive egressive conative	subsituation aspect
	achievement (*n-*) accomplishment (*s-*) semelfactive (*i-*) activity (*γ-*)	situation aspect
	imperfective perfective optative future	viewpoint aspect
	1st & 2nd subject classifier	
stem	root aspect suffix enclitic	

Table 8.3: Generalized Athabaskan verb template, adapted from **rice:2000b**

8.2. Lexical specification: The verb theme

The THEME is the unit of lexical specification for verbs in the Na-Dene family. [[Cite coinage.]] Elements which are lexically specified are thus termed THE-MATIC. This terminology unfortunately collides with the description of semantic relationships between noun phrases and verbs as "thematic roles", as well as the term "theme" that is sometimes used interchangeably with "patient". [[Cite.]] Because the idea of verb themes is well developed in Athabaskan literature I will maintain the tradition here.

A verb theme is composed of a root, two components of the classifier, argument slots, a conjugation prefix, and other assorted prefixes and proclitics. Certain suffixes may also be lexically specified, particularly the –1 derivational suffixes. In addition some verb themes also specify external arguments, usually a noun phrase marked with a specific local case, but sometimes more complex phrases occur. In representations of verb themes the argument slots are given as *S* and *O*, and any external argument is given as *P*.

8.2.1. Structure of the theme

Verb themes are usually represented as a string of discontinuous morphemes: *O-ÿa-S-CL[–D, l]- t'aaḵ* "S move heavy O a little at a time". An example of this theme shows how the fully inflected form has other prefixes which intervene between the thematic elements.

(23)   *O-ÿa-S-ᴄʟ[–ᴅ, l]-t'aak̲* "S move heavy O a little at a time"

    ax̲   yaagú   yakwk̲alat'áak̲

    ax̲   yaakw-ÿú ∅-ÿa-ga-u-g̲a-x̲a-la-t'áak̲

    1ꜱɢ.ᴘꜱꜱ boat-ᴘꜱꜱ   3ᴏ-ᴠꜱꜰᴄ-ɢᴄɴᴊ-ɪʀʀ-ɢ̲ᴄɴᴊ-1ꜱɢ.ꜱ-ᴄʟ[–ᴅ, *l*, –ɪ]-shift.around

    "I'm going to move my boat (down to the water)" (**story:1973**)

In this example, the thematic prefixes are the vertical surface (ᴠꜱꜰᴄ) prefix *ÿa-*, the D and S components of the classifier (ᴄʟ[–ᴅ, *l*]), and the verb root, as well as the open slots for the subject and object arguments. The other prefixes, namely the *ga-*conjugation/aspect, irrealis *u-*, *g̲a-* conjugation/aspect, and the I component of the classifier (ᴄʟ[–ɪ]), are all inflectional and are thus not specified in the lexicon.

The lexical-morphological structure of a verb theme can be more explicitly represented as a bundle of features and variables in an attribute-value matrix [[cite]] akin to those used in HPSG [[cite]].

(24)   *O-ÿa-S-ᴄʟ[–ᴅ, l]-t'aak̲*   :

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{root} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{phon} & \textit{t'ak} \\ \text{open?} & - \\ \text{variable?} & + \\ \text{vartype} & \text{long-high} \end{bmatrix} \\
\text{classifier} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{D} & - \\ \text{S} & l \end{bmatrix} \\
\text{category} & \text{6-processive} \\
\text{conjugation} & \text{∅-} \\
\text{noun-class} & — \\
\text{subject (S)} & \text{any} \\
\text{object (O)} & \text{[–human]} \\
\text{adjunct (P)} & — \\
\text{areal?} & - \\
\text{incorporates} & \langle \text{ʜꜱꜰᴄ}(\textit{ÿa-}) \rangle \\
\text{preverbs} & \langle \rangle \\
\text{suffixes} & \langle \rangle
\end{bmatrix}
$$

This representation makes explicit a number of things that are not normally indicated in the usual representation of a verb theme. The types of subject and object arguments that are permitted is not normally represented in a textual

representation of a theme. Here instead it is explicit that no human object is permitted, only nonhuman objects or objects which are not specified for humanity. Subjects in contrast can be of any type. The conjugation prefix is not usually specified in a theme, but here it is explicit. Root type and tone information is also not usually specified, but here again it is explicit. The disadvantage of course is that this takes up an enormous amount of space, even with unreadably small font sizes.

Another example below is the verb *ḵu-CL[–D, ∅]-k'ei* "be good weather". In this verb the verb root is open and variable, with the long-high variation type. The classifier's D component is –D and the S component ∅. The verb theme category is ÿ-stative, it uses the ∅-conjugation prefix, and it does not classify nouns. The theme takes neither subject nor object, and is not specified for any adjuncts. It includes an areal, and has no incorporates, preverbs, or derivational suffixes.

(25) *ḵu-CL[–D, ∅]-k'ei* :

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{root} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{phon} & k'e \\ \text{open?} & + \\ \text{variable?} & + \\ \text{vartype} & \text{long-high} \end{bmatrix} \\
\text{classifier} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{D} & - \\ \text{S} & ∅ \end{bmatrix} \\
\text{category} & \text{ÿ-stative} \\
\text{noun-class} & - \\
\text{conjugation} & ∅- \\
\text{subject (S)} & - \\
\text{object (O)} & - \\
\text{adjunct (P)} & - \\
\text{areal?} & + \\
\text{incorporates} & \langle \rangle \\
\text{preverbs} & \langle \rangle \\
\text{suffixes} & \langle \rangle
\end{bmatrix}
$$

⟦I'm almost certainly missing a couple of things that are lexically specified. The theme categories from Leer don't tell us about the semantic category of the verb (motion, eventive, dimensional, etc.). Does this need to be included for the morphology, or is it strictly semantic?⟧

8.2.1.1. Obligatory elements

8.2.1.2. Optional elements

8.2.2. Lexical specification beyond the verb

8.2.2.1. Direct arguments

8.2.2.2. Local arguments

8.2.2.3. Focused arguments

8.2.3. Comparison with Athabaskan and Eyak verb themes

8.2.4. Verb word formation

8.2.4.1. Kari's cyclic model for Athabaskan

8.2.4.2. A Tlingit tiered model

8.3. The root

8.3.1. Root meanings and glosses

The exact meaning of many verb roots is somewhat vague because most roots do not exist alone; instead they only occur in verb themes with additional morphemes that contribute to the lexical meaning. Thus it is often difficult to gloss verb roots. Tlingit roots vary in abstractness in a way very similar to that found in Athabaskan languages. Compare **young:1987** on Navajo:

> The concept expressed by the verbal root and its derived stems may be quite specific, as *yáá'* (Perfective), "ingest food, eat", or *lóóz* (Perfective), "lead one object"; or root/stem meaning may be broad and general to the point of abstraction, capable of multifaceted lexical representation, as *kaad* (Perfective/Imperfective), denoting "action, movement, state of being or shape characterized by an essential quality of flatness and expansiveness".

Some Athabaskanists have avoided the issue of how to gloss roots by simply not glossing them. I have endeavored to gloss everything as completely as possible, so this is not an option. Thus I am forced to deal with this problem. The method I use to determine the meaning of a verb root is to compare the meanings of a number of verb themes which are built upon the root. For example, the following verb themes illustrate the root *x'aas'* which clearly has a simple, concrete meaning "slice, cut" (**story:1973**).

(26)   a.   *O-S-CL[–D, Ø]-x'aas'*
             "slice (esp. preparing fish for drying)"

       b.   *O-S-CL[–D, l]-x'aas'*
             "slice open, split open (for drying)"

       c.   *O-ka-S-CL[–D, Ø]-x'aas'*
             "slice, cut into thin slices (food for cooking); rip, saw with the grain (boards)"

       d.   *O-ka-S-CL[–D, l]-x'aas'*
             "slice (food); bite (shark)"

Unfortunately many verb roots are not so clear because the various themes built around them have more divergent meanings. The root *tsoow* is one such root where each theme has a sense of vertical erection or vertical movement,

but the essential meaning of the root is difficult to pin down precisely as the following themes show (**story:1973**).

(27) a. *P-náx̱ O-S-CL[–D, Ø]-tsoow*
          "place upright (esp. stick like objects)"

      b. *P O-S-CL[–D, l]-tsoow*
          "connect up, connect together; splice"

      c. *P-náx̱ O-S-CL[–D, l]-tsoow*
          "place upright"

      d. *O-CL[+D, l]-tsoow*
          "move household (usually temporarily)"

      e. *ka-S-CL[+D, l]-tsoow*
          "plant (using digging stick)"

      f. *ÿan=tóox'-S-CL[–D, Ø]-tsoow*
          "kneel"

      g. *O?-s'ee-S-CL[–D, l]-tsoow*
          "frown (with effort or concentration), furrow the brow"

      h. *kei=O-ji-S-CL[–D, l]-tsoow*
          "raise the hand"

The semantic range of some verb roots is so large that it is essentially impossible to assign a single meaning. The root *nook₁* refers to sitting down or standing up, but a homophonous root *nook₂* has a variety of themes with widely varying meanings. The following is an exhaustive list from the *Tlingit Verb Dictionary* (**story:1973**).

(28) a. *tú-: O-S-CL[–D, Ø]-nook₂*
          "feel (physical or emotional)"

      b. *P-CASE S-CL[–D, Ø]-nook₂*
          "act like; feel like (esp. emotional); be willing, want to, agree to"

      c. *jín-: O-S-CL[+D, Ø]-nook₂*
          "touch, feel with hands"

      d. *x̱'éi O-S-CL[+D, Ø]-nook₂*
          "taste, sample"

e. *tléil jin-daa O-S-CL[+D, ∅]-nook₂*
   "misplace, mislay"

f. *P sh-S-CL[+D, ∅]-nook₂*
   "feel (esp. physical sensation)"

g. *O-du-CL[–D, ∅]-nook₂*
   "blow, be felt (of wind); taste"

h. *P-x' ÿán-ḡaa O-du-CL[–D, ∅]-nook₂*
   "suit, look well on, be becoming to; be suitable, fitting (in behavior and appearance), be approved of"

i. *O-S-CL[–D, l]-nook₂*
   "notify, inform, bring news (esp. serious or important news)"

j. *ḵaa tú-: O-S-CL[–D, l]-nook₂*
   "persuade, talk into willingness to do"

k. *ÿan=O-ka-S-CL[–D, s]-nook₂*
   "prove, verify, find out and be sure of; investigate, make trial of, test out"

l. *tléil tú-ḡaa O-ka-S-CL[–D, sh]-nook₂*
   "dislike, disapprove"

m. *O-ka-S-CL[–D, l]-nook₂*
   "doubt someone's ability, lack confidence in, consider unworthy"

n. *P tu-S-CL[–D, ∅]-nook₂*
   "suffer (physically or mentally)"

o. *P-x' tu-S-CL[–D, l]-nook₂*
   "persecute, cause to suffer (either physically or mentally)"

p. *P-dáx̱ ji-S-CL[+D, ∅]-nook₂*
   "desire, be anxious to acquire"

q. *O-sha-ka-CL[+D, ∅]-nook₂*
   "swell up, increase in volume by swelling, (fig.) multiply, increase in quantity"

r. *P-dáx̱ x̱'a-S-CL[+D, ∅]-nook₂*
   "be hungry for, be anxious to eat"

s. *ḵaa x̱'éi-dáx̱ x̱'a-S-CL[+D, Ø]-nook₂*
"be hungry for, be anxious to eat"

t. *P ḵu-S-CL[–D, Ø]-nook₂*
"behave like, do, act (in certain way, be customary to)"

It is clear that the basic meaning of *nook₂* has something to do with feeling and sensation, as in the first eight themes. But some themes do not seem to have much to do with sensation, yet apparently feature the same root. Either the lexicographers were wrong to lump the exceptional themes together with the nonexceptional ones, or we must accept that the verb root does not have as concrete a meaning as we might like. The latter case is most likely true, and we are left with the problem of glossing the root in some reasonable manner.

There are a few approaches possible for glossing such semantically wide-ranging roots. One is to not gloss them at all, instead using some inscrutable label like ROOT. This might be accurate but it is woefully uninformative. Another approach is to label the root with its most common meaning, in the case of *nook₂* with something like "feel" or "sense". This might be satisfactory in most cases, but can occasionally be confusing as in the following example.

(29) xóon   wuduwanúk
      xóon   Ø-ÿu-du-ÿa-núk
      north.wind 3O-PFV-INDH.S-CL[–D, Ø, +I]-feel
      "the north wind is blowing" (**story**:1973)

The last approach is to gloss the verb root with its English translational equivalent. This is unsatisfactory in some cases because it is misleading, but in others where there is no clearly dominant meaning among the various themes it is somewhat more useful. In this grammar I use a mix of the common meaning and translational equivalent approaches, depending on the particular verb. Since the *Tlingit verb dictionary* (**story**:1973) has examples of most verbs, the reader always has the option of checking my example glosses with that source.

8.3.2. Root variation and apophony

Verb roots in Tlingit vary in the length and tone of the vowel according to the particular conjugation of the verb. This particular type of variation will be called ROOT APOPHONY, since there are other types of variation that are lexical rather than being associated with certain conjugations (see for example §??).

8.3.2.1. Closed root variation

8.3.2.2. Open root variation

8.3.3. Invariable and disyllabic roots

8.3.4. Root suppletion

8.3.4.1. Plural suppletion

8.3.4.2. Classificatory suppletion

8.3.5. Irregular roots

8.3.6. Root polysemy

8.3.7. Root tuples

8.4. Prefixes and proclitics

The majority of verb structure appears to the left of the root, in the form of prefixes and proclitics. The conjunct domain (see §??, §??) comprises the classifier (+1), subject (+2), distributive (+3), tense-mood-aspect (+4−+7), and self-benefactive (+8) prefixes, along with the horizontal and vertical surface prefixes (+9, +10). The disjunct domain comprises the incorporates (+11, +12), areal (+13), objects (+14), plural (+15), reciprocal and distributive (+16), and the preverbs (+17).

The prefixes are a mix of inflectional and derivational elements, with the classifier being a portmanteau of both types, the subjects, distributive, and perfective being inflectional, the other tense-mood-aspect prefixes being both inflectional and derivational, the self-benefactive, horizontal and vertical surface, incorporates, and areal all being derivational, the objects, reciprocal, and distributive being inflectional, and the preverbs being derivational. This mixture is a clear violation of Greenberg's morphological universal 28: "if both the derivation and inflection follow the root, or they both precede the root, the derivation is always between the root and the inflection" [[cite Greenberg 1963:93]]. If the categories of inflection and derivation are diluted or even discarded then this ceases to be a problem, but the distinction is still useful in considering thematic structure. The other option is to discard the universal or at least downgrade it to a sort of tendency.

8.4.1. Classifier (+1)

		−D		+D	
		−I	+I	−I	+I
series	∅	*∅-*	*ÿa-*	*da-*	*di-*
	s	*sa-*	*si-*	*s-*	*dzi-*
	l	*la-*	*li-*	*l-*	*dli-*
	sh	*sha-*	*shi-*	*sh-*	*ji-*

Table 8.4: Tlingit classifier system

8.4.1.1. D component

8.4.1.1.1. Middle voice

8.4.1.1.2. Revertive agreement

8.4.1.1.3. Thematic and irregular uses

8.4.1.1.4. Change in Ø-series with subject *du-*

There is a rather obscure phenomenon associated with the indefinite human and third person obviate subject prefixes *du-* that occurs in classifiers of the type CL[+D, Ø]-. Whenever a subject prefix of the shape *du-* appears in a verb theme which normally has Ø in the S component and +D in the classifier, instead the D component changes to –D.

(30) *O-S-CL[+D, ∅]-naa* "S drink O"

    a. héen   x̱wadinaa
       héen   ÿu-x̱a-di-naa
       water PFV-1SG.S-CL[+D, ∅, +I]-drink
       "I drank water"

    b. héen   wuduwanaa
       héen   ÿu-du-ÿa-naa
       water PFV-INDH.S-CL[−D, ∅, +I]-drink
       "somebody drank water"

8.4.1.2. S component

8.4.1.2.1. Transitivity

8.4.1.2.2. Causativity

8.4.1.2.3. Noun classification

8.4.1.2.4. Negatives

8.4.1.2.5. Attitude and affect

8.4.1.2.6. Borrowing

8.4.1.2.7. Thematic and irregular uses

8.4.1.3. I component

8.4.1.3.1. Realis

8.4.1.3.2. Irrealis disagreement

8.4.1.3.3. Attributives and deverbal nouns

8.4.1.4.   Comparison with Athabaskan and Eyak

8.4.1.4.1.   The Proto-Athabaskan classifier

8.4.1.4.2.   The Eyak classifier and the Proto-Athabaskan-Eyak classifier

8.4.1.4.3.   Reconstruction of the Proto-Na-Dene classifier

8.4.1.4.4.   Semantics of middle voice across the family

8.4.1.4.5.   Complexity of the Tlingit S component

8.4.1.4.6.   Thematic uses across the family

		−D	+D
series	∅	*ø-	*də-
	ł	*l-	*łə- ~ *l(ə)-

Table 8.5: Prior Proto-Athabaskan classifier system (**leer:1990**)

		−D		+D
		−I	+I	
series	∅	*ø-	*ñə-	*də-
	ł	*l-	*ñə-l-	*łə- ~ lə-

Table 8.6: Current Proto-Athabaskan classifier system (**leer:2008**)

		−D		+D	
		−I	+I	−I	+I
series	∅	ø-	yi-ø-	də-	di-
	ł	l-	yi-l-	łə-	łi-

Table 8.7: Eyak classifier system (**krauss:1969**)

		−D		+D	
		−I	+I	−I	+I
series	∅	*ø	*yi-ø-	*ø-də-	*yi-ø-də-
	s	*s-	*yi-s-	*s-də-	*yi-s-də-
	ł	*l-	*yi-l-	*l-də-	*yi-l-də-

Table 8.8: Proto-Na-Dene classifier system (**leer:2008**)

8.4.2. Prefix coalescence from +1 to +14

The prefixes from the classifier (+1) to the objects (+14) show rather dramatic morphophonological changes when they appear together in various combinations, and these changes are hard to express both clearly and concisely. **leer:1991** opts for the concision over clarity, representing the system of "morphophonemic rules for prefix combinations" as a system of 21 rules in a generative phonology style, or actually 49 if all the sub-rules are counted separately, including feeding, bleeding, and counterbleeding, though without any counterfeeding. This presentation is difficult to comprehend even for someone familiar with Tlingit phonology. Leer's tables are somewhat more useful but suffer from poor layout choices which makes them also difficult to use.

⟦Talk about Seth's analysis in an OT framework which describes the system as a metrical (syncope) phenomenon.⟧

The prefix coalescence rules are morphophonological rules based on the shape of the classifier. There is a mismatch in forms between the ∅ series classifiers – i.e. those with ∅ in the S component – and the non-∅ series classifiers. This is because the coalescence rules are phonological rather than morphological, and so they are dependent on the phonological form of the classifier rather than its morphological features. Each non-∅ classifier has one of the forms *C-*, *Ca-*, or *Ci-*. The classifier CL[–D, *s*, +I] has the form *s-* and thus falls into the *C-* category, the classifier CL[–D, *sh*, –I] has the form *sha-* and thus falls into the *Ca-* category, and the classifier CL[+D, *l*, +I] has the form *dli-* and thus falls into the *Ci-* category. In contrast the ∅ classifiers can have any of the forms ∅-, *ÿa-*, *Ca-*, or *Ci-*; the form *ÿa-* is treated differently from *Ca-* because it has unique behaviors due to the consonant *ÿ*. In table ?? on page ?? the two groups of classifier shapes are given along with the various classifiers that fall into each category.

The prefixes which participate in prefix coalescence can be divided into two major classes, the coalescing prefixes and the edge prefixes. The coalescing prefixes are those whose underlying form is obscured to some extent by coalescence, and the class comprises the classifiers, the subjects, the conjugation/aspect prefixes, and the irrealis. This is thus all the positions from +1 to +7, but excluding the distributive in +3. ⟦Need a couple of paradigms of the distributive.⟧ The edge prefixes comprise the self-benefactive, the horizontal and vertical surface prefixes, the incorporated nouns, the areal, and the objects. Thus this class spans from +8 to +14. Not all edge prefixes matter for coalescence, since only those which have a CV(:) shape participate. Thus the horizontal and vertical surface prefixes will always participate, but only some

of the objects and incorporated nouns participate since in those positions there are many prefixes which have shapes other than CV(:).

Shape	Features	Series		
		l	s	sh
C-	CL[+D, –I]	l-	s-	sh-
Ca-	CL[–D, –I]	la-	sa-	sha-
Ci-	CL[+D, +I]	dli-	dzi-	ji-
Ci-	CL[–D, +I]	li-	si-	shi-

(a) Non-∅ shapes.

Shape	Features	Series
		∅
∅-	CL[–D, –I]	∅-
ÿa-	CL[–D, +I]	ÿa-
Ca-	CL[+D, –I]	da-
Ci-	CL[+D, +I]	di-

(b) ∅ shapes.

Table 8.9: Classifier shapes.

Prefixes	Classifier shape				
	∅-	C-	Ca-	Ci-	ÿa-
ÿu-x̱a-	x̱wa-	x̱waC-	x̱waCa-	x̱waCi-	x̱waa-
ÿu-tu-	wutoo-	wutooC-	wutuCa-	wutuCi-	wutuwa-
ÿu-i-	ÿi-	ÿiC-	ÿiCa-	ÿiCi-	ÿee- ~ iÿa-
ÿu-ÿi-	ÿeeÿ-	ÿeeÿC-	ÿeeÿCa-	ÿeeÿCi-	ÿeeÿ-
ÿu-du-	wudu-	wuduC-	—	wuduCi-	wuduwa-
ÿu-∅-	wu-	wuC-	—	wuCi-	woo- ~ uwa-
CV-ÿu-x̱a-	CVx̱wa-	CVx̱waC-	CVx̱wCa-	CVx̱wCi-	CVx̱waa-
CV-ÿu-tu-	CVwtoo-	CVwtooC-	CVwtuCa-	CVwtuCi-	CVwtuwa-
CV-ÿu-i-	CVÿi-	CVÿiC-	CVÿCa-	CVÿCi-	Ceeÿa-
CV-ÿu-ÿi-	CVÿeeÿ-	CVÿeeÿC-	CVÿeeÿCa-	CVÿeeÿCi-	CVÿeeÿ-
CV-ÿu-du-	CVwdu-	CVwduC-	—	CVwduCi-	CVwduwa-
CV-ÿu-∅-	CVwu-	CVwuC-	—	CVwC-	CV:wa-

Table 8.10: Coalescence of perfective *ÿu-*, subject, and classifier; also edge CV prefixes e.g. *ka+9-* or *ÿa+10-*.

Prefixes	Classifier shape		
	∅-	C-	Ca-
ga-ŭ-ḡa-x̱a-	⎧ kux̱a- ⎨ ⎩ (k)ḵwa-	kux̱aC- (k)ḵwaC-	kux̱aCa- (k)ḵwaCa-
ga-ŭ-ḡa-tu-	gax̱too-	gax̱tooC-	gax̱tuCa-
ga-ŭ-ḡa-i-	⎧ gaḡee- ⎨ ⎩ (k)ḡee-	gaḡeeC- (k)ḡeeC-	gaḡiCa- (k)ḡiCa-
ga-ŭ-ḡa-ÿi-	gax̱ÿi-	gax̱ÿiC-	gax̱ÿiCa-
ga-ŭ-ḡa-du-	gax̱du-	gax̱duC-	—
ga-ŭ-ḡa-∅-	⎧ guḡa- ⎨ ⎩ k̄ḡwa-	guḡa- k̄ḡwa-	⎫ ⎬ gux̱Ca- ⎭
CV-ga-ŭ-ḡa-x̱a-	CVkwḵa-	CVkwḵaC-	CVkwḵaCa-
CV-ga-ŭ-ḡa-tu-	CVgax̱too-	CVgax̱tooC-	CVgax̱tuCa-
CV-ga-ŭ-ḡa-i-	CVkḡee-	CVkḡeeC-	CVkḡiCa-
CV-ga-ŭ-ḡa-ÿi-	CVgax̱ÿee-	CVgax̱ÿeeC-	CVgax̱ÿiCa-
CV-ga-ŭ-ḡa-du-	CVgax̱du-	CVgax̱duC-	—
CV-ga-ŭ-ḡa-∅-	CVkwḡa-	CVkwḡaC-	CVgux̱Ca-

Table 8.11: Coalescence of future *ga-ŭ-ḡa-*, subject, and classifier; also edge CV prefixes e.g. *ka₊₉-* or *ÿa₊₁₀-*. Since future requires cl[–ı], only the classifiers *∅-*, *C-*, and *Ca-* occur.

Prefixes	Classifier shape				
	∅-	C-	Ca-	Ci-	ÿa-
∅-x̱a-	x̱a-	x̱aC-	x̱aCa-	x̱aCi-	x̱aa-
∅-tu-	too-	tooC-	tuCa-	tuCi-	tuwa-
∅-i-	ee-	eeC-	iCa-	iCi-	iÿa-
∅-ÿi-	ÿi-	ÿiC-	ÿiCa-	ÿeeÿCi-	ÿeeÿ-
∅-du-	du-	duC-	—	duCi-	duwa-
∅-∅-	∅-	iC-	Ca-	Ci-	ÿa-
u-∅-x̱a- {	x̱wa-	x̱waC-	x̱waCa-	x̱waCi-	x̱waa-
	ux̱a-	ux̱aC-	ux̱Ca-	ux̱Ci-	ux̱aa-
u-∅-∅-	u-	uC-	—	uCi-	uwa-
u-∅-du- {	udu-	uduC-	—	—	—
	du-	duC-	—	—	—
CV-∅-x̱a-	CVx̱a-	CVx̱aC-	CVx̱Ca-	CVx̱Ci-	CVx̱aa-
CV-∅-tu-	CVtoo-	CVtooC-	CVtuCa-	CVtuCi-	CVtuwa-
CV-∅-i-	Cee-	CeeC-	CeeCa-	CeeCi-	Ceeÿa-
CV-∅-ÿi-	CVÿ-	CVÿiC-	CVÿCa-	CVÿeeÿCi-	CVÿeeÿ-
CV-∅-du-	CVdu-	CVduC-	—	CVduCi-	CVduwa-
CV-∅-∅-	CV-	CVC-	CVCa-	CVCi-	CVÿa-*
CV-u-∅-x̱a-	CVʷ:x̱a-	CVʷ:x̱aC-	CVʷ:x̱Ca-	CVʷ:x̱Ci-	CVʷ:x̱aa-
CV-u-∅-∅-	CVʷ:-	CVʷ:C-	—	CVʷ:Ci-	CVʷ:ÿa-
CV-u-∅-du- {	CVʷ:du-	CVʷ:duC-	—	—	—
	CVdu-	CVduC-	—	—	—
CV-uː-∅-x̱a-	Cux̱a-	Cux̱aC-	Cux̱Ca-	CVux̱Ci-	Cux̱aa-
CV-uː-∅-∅-	Coo-	CooC-	CuCa-	CuCi-	Cuwa-
CV-ŭ-∅-∅-	Cu-	CuC-	CuCa-	CuCi-	Coo-

Table 8.12: Coalescence of ∅-conjugation/aspect, subject, and classifier; also edge CV prefixes e.g. *ka₊₉-* or *ÿa₊₁₀-*. * Note that *ka₊₉-ÿa₊₁-* → *kaa-*.

8.4.3.   Subject: (+2)

8.4.3.1.   First person singular *x̱a-*

8.4.3.1.1.   Comparison with Athabaskan

8.4.3.2.   First person plural *tu-*

8.4.3.3.   Second person singular *ee-*

8.4.3.4.   Second person plural *yi-*

8.4.3.5.   Third person *∅-*

8.4.3.6.   Third person obviate *du-*

8.4.3.7.   Indefinite human *du-*

8.4.4.   Distributive *dag̱a-* ~ *dax̱-* (+3)

8.4.4.1.   Scope over entities

8.4.4.2.   Subjecthood and objecthood

8.4.4.3.   Scope over events

8.4.4.4.   Relationship with +16 distributive

8.4.5. Perfective *ÿu-* (+4)

8.4.5.1. Comparison with Athabaskan *s*-perfective

8.4.6. Inner aspect/conjugation (+5)

8.4.6.1. *Ǥa*-conjugation/aspect

8.4.6.1.1. Comparison with Athabaskan *ɣ*-perfective

8.4.6.2. *Na*-conjugation/aspect

8.4.6.2.1. Comparison with Athabaskan *n*-qualifier

8.4.6.3. *Ø*-conjugation/aspect

8.4.7. Irrealis *u-* (+6)

[[**leer:1991** has three types of irrealis: *u-*, *u:-*, and *ŭ-*. Why?]]

8.4.7.1. Comparison with Athabaskan *w*-negative

8.4.8. Outer aspect/conjugation (+7)

8.4.8.1. Modal *ḡa-*

8.4.8.2. *Ga*-conjugaton/aspect

8.4.9. Self-benefactive *ga-* (+8)

8.4.10. Horizontal surface *ka-* (+9)

8.4.10.1. Classificatory use

8.4.11. Vertical surface *ÿa-* (+10)

8.4.11.1. Classificatory use

8.4.12.   Inalienable incorporates (+11)

8.4.12.1.   Relational nouns

8.4.12.1.1.   End *shu-*

8.4.12.1.2.   Base *gu-*

8.4.12.1.3.   Bottom *ta-*

8.4.12.1.4.   Around *daa-*

8.4.12.1.5.   Midst *x̱oo-*

8.4.12.1.6.   Vicinity *x̱an-*

8.4.12.1.7.   Between *x'aa-*

8.4.12.1.8.   Behind *t'éi-*

8.4.12.1.9.   Backside *t'aa-*

8.4.12.1.10.   Inside *yik-*

8.4.12.1.11.   Beneath *yee-*

8.4.12.1.12.   Unknown *ḵi-*

8.4.12.2.   Body parts

8.4.12.2.1.   Hand *ji-*

8.4.12.2.1.1.   Classificatory use

8.4.12.2.2.   Mouth *x'a-* ~ *ḵ'a-*

8.4.12.2.3.   Inside *tu-*

8.4.12.2.4.   Head *sha-*

8.4.12.2.4.1.   Classificatory use

	Prefix	*Derivation*
relational nouns	daa-	*a daa* "its surrounding, periphery"
	gu-	*a gú* "its base, butt"
	ḵi-	*?* "?"
	shu-	*a shú* "its end"
	ta-	*a tá* "its bottom"
	t'aa-	*a t'áa ~ a t'áak* "its landward side"
	t'éi-	*a t'éi* "behind it, area screened by it"
	x̱oo-	*a x̱oo* "amidst them, within it"
	x̱an-	*a x̱án* "its vicinity, near it"
	x'aa-	*a x'aa* "spaces between it"
	yee-	*a yee* "its underneath, beneath it"
	yik-	*a yík* "inside it (shallow concave thing)"
body parts	daaʔit-	*du daaʔéet* "his joint" (e.g. elbow, wrist)
	duk(ka-)	*dook* "skin" (usu. not inalienable: *a doogú* "its skin")
	gin-	*a geen* "its tail flipper"
	ji-	*du jín* "his hand, arm"
	keey-	*du keey* "his knee"
	laka-	*laká* "alimentary cavity"
	lidíx̱'-	*du lidíx̱'* "his neck, throat"
	lu-	*du lú* "his nose, its point"
	se- ~ sa-	*?* "voice"
	sha-	*du shá* "his head, its top"
	s'aan-	*?* "limb"
	s'aḵ(ka-)	*s'aaḵ* "bone" (usu. not inalienable: *a s'aaḡí* "its bone")
	s'ee(ka-)	*du s'ee* "his eyebrow"
	tax̱'-	*du téix̱* "his heart"
	tóox'-	*du tóox' ká* "kneeling, on his knees"
	tu-	*a tú* "its inside, his mind"
	tukx̱'e-	*du tukx̱'é* "his anus" (from *du tuḵ* "his butt" + *a x̱'é* "opening")
	tl'iḵ(sha-)	*du tl'eiḵ* "his finger"
	waḵ(ka-)	*du waaḵ* "his eye"
	x̱a-	*a x̱aaw* "its fur"
	x̱i-	*?* "shoulder"
	x'a- ~ ḵ'a-	*du x̱'é* "his mouth, its opening"
	x'atu-	*du x̱'é* "his mouth" + *a tú* "its inside"
	x'us(ka-)	*du x̱'oos* "his foot, leg"

Table 8.13: Inalienable incorporated nouns (+11).

8.4.12.2.5.   Nose *lu-*

8.4.12.2.6.   Voice *se-* ~ *sa-*

8.4.12.2.7.   Fur/hair *x̱a-*

8.4.12.2.8.   Tail *gin-*

8.4.12.2.9.   Shoulder *x̱i-*

8.4.12.2.10.   Limb *s'aan-*

8.4.12.2.11.   Neck *lidíx̱'-*

8.4.12.2.12.   Eye *waḵ(ka)-*

8.4.12.2.13.   Bone *s'aḵ(ka)-*

8.4.12.2.14.   Foot *x̱'us(ka)-*

8.4.12.2.15.   Eyebrow *s'ee(ka)-*

8.4.12.2.16.   Skin *duk(ka)-*

8.4.12.2.17.   Finger *tl'iḵ(sha)-*

8.4.12.2.18.   Knee *keey-*

8.4.12.2.19.   Kneeling *tóox̱'-*

8.4.12.2.20.   Inside of mouth *x̱'atu-*

8.4.12.2.21.   Alimentary cavity *laka-*

8.4.12.2.22.   Anus *tuḵx̱'e-*

8.4.12.2.23.   Joint *daa.it-*

8.4.12.2.24.   Heart *tax̱'-*

8.4.13. Alienable incorporates (+12)

Prefix	Derivation
ǥax̱-	*ǥaax̱* "crying, weeping"
shakux-	*shakoox* "thirst"
x̱'asakw-	*x̱'aséikw* "breath, life"
yaan-	*yaan* "hunger"
yata-	*tá* "sleep"
taa-	? "missing"
kanik-	*kaneek* "report, news"
kayik-	*kayéik* "noise"
yak̲a-	*yak̲á* "reproach, curse"
k̲ee-~k̲ei-	**k̲ei* "dawn"
xee-~xei-	**xei* "dusk, shadow"
yee-~yei-	**yee* "time", cf. *yeedá(a)t* "moment"
aan-	*aan* "land"
hin-	*héen* "fresh water, river"
naa-	*naa* "clan, nation, people"
saa-	*saa* "name"
shaʔax̱w-	*sha.aax̱w* "bundle"
yakw-	*yaakw* "canoe"

Table 8.14: Alienable incorporated nouns (+12).

8.4.13.1. Cry *ǥax̱-*

The incorporated alienable noun *ǥax̱-* is derived from the independent noun *ǥaax̱* "cry, crying", which is the same root as in the verb *S-CL[–D, Ø]-ǥaax̱* "S cry, weep". The incorporated alienable noun *ǥax̱-* may an instance of an activity incorporate as discussed by **rice:2008**

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(31)   a.   *ḡax̱-S-CL[–D, s]-tee* "S cry"
             kei ḡax̱ ḡax̱yisatée
             kei=ḡax̱-ga-u-ḡa-yi-sa-tée
             up=cry-GCNJ-IRR-G̱CNJ-2PL.S-CL[–D, s, –I]-be
             "you (pl.) will cry" (**story:1973**)

The reasons for selecting either the verb theme *S-CL[–D, ∅]-ḡaax̱* "S cry" or the theme *ḡax̱-S-CL[–D, s]-tee* "S cry" with the incorporated *ḡax̱-* are unclear. It is possible that the latter may imply a sort of adversative because of causativity of the *s* series component in the classifier, but this is difficult to determine. Another possibility is that the theme with root *ḡaax̱* is more focused on the action of crying whereas the theme with incorporated *ḡax̱* is more focused on the state of crying, but again this is difficult to determine.

8.4.13.2.   Thirst *shakux̱-*

8.4.13.3.   Breath *x̱'asakw-*

8.4.13.4.   Hunger *yaan-*

8.4.13.5.   Sleep *yata-*

8.4.13.6.   Missing *taa-*

The incorporated noun *taa-* only appears in one verb theme and does not have any obvious corresponding independent noun. It is arbitrarily grouped with the alienable incorporates, and the lack of themes including this with other inalienable incorporates makes it impossible to determine which slot it falls into. I have glossed it as "missing" out of convenience, but it may actually have some other meaning of which I am unaware.

The theme which this incorporated noun appears is *P yá-x̱ O-taa-CL[–D, ∅]-ʔaas* "O be lonesome for (the visage of) P" (**story:1973**). Curiously, this is the only theme that occurs with the root *ʔaas*. The following two examples are given by **story:1973**

(32) *P yá-x̱ O-taa-CL[–D, Ø]-ʔaas* "O be lonesome for (the visage of) P"

    a. ax̱   aat   yáx̱   x̱at taawa.ás
       ax̱   aat   yá-x̱   x̱at-taa-ÿu-ÿa-ʔás
       1SG.PSS mat.aunt face-PERT 1SG.O-missing-PFV-CL[–D, Ø, +I]-lonesome
       "I'm lonesome for my maternal aunt" (**story**:1973)

    b. wóosh yáx̱   yee taagux̱da.áas
       wóosh yá-x̱   yi-taa-ga-u-ḡa-da-ʔáas
       RECIP   face-PERT 2PL.O-missing-GCNJ-IRR-ḠCNJ-CL[+D, Ø, –I]-lonesome
       "you will be lonesome for each other" (**story**:1973)

Pending further research, there is little further that can be said about this incorporated noun.

8.4.13.7. News *kaneek-*

8.4.13.8. Noise *kayik-*

8.4.13.9. Reproach *yak̲á-*

8.4.13.10. Dusk *xee- ~ xei-*

8.4.13.11. Dawn *k̲ee- ~ k̲ei-*

8.4.13.12. Time *yee- ~ yei-*

8.4.13.13. Land *aan-*

8.4.13.14. Water *hín-*

8.4.13.15. People *naa-*

8.4.13.16. Name *saa-*

8.4.13.17. Canoe *yaakw-*

8.4.13.18. Bundle *sha.aax̱w-*

8.4.14. Areal ḵu- (+13)

8.4.14.1. Types of areals

8.4.14.2. Status as incorporated noun

8.4.14.3. Status as object

8.4.14.4. Comparisons with Athabaskan and Eyak

In both Tlingit and the Athbaskan languages the verb "to say" is uniquely irregular with an indefinite human subject. Rather than marking the subject with the usual indefinite human subject morpheme, instead the areal prefix represents the subject.

(33) a. *Tlingit*
       yé: quya:waqa:
       yé:=qu-ÿa-ÿu-ÿa-qa:
       thus=AREAL-VSFC-PFV-CL[–D, Ø, +I]-say
       "people said so"

      b. *Koyukon*
       hʉdəɣe:ne:ʔ
       hʉ-də-ɣe-Ø-ne:ʔ
       AREAL-QUAL-PFV-CL[–D, Ø]-say
       "people said" (**jette:2000**)

The verb root in each is different, and the Koyukon *də*-qualifier and the Tlingit *ÿa*- thematic prefix are unrelated, but the areal prefixes *qu*- and *hʉ*- (< PA *qʷə-*, see **thompson:1993**) are cognate, as are the classifiers. The form of the perfective morpheme in both is quite similar, however this is probably coincidental. The Athabaskan *γ*-perfective derives from PND *Gə*- which has a Tlingit reflex *Ga*- that functions as a conjugation class and aspect marker. The reflex in Eyak is *Gə-*, it appears in Koyukon as *γə-* (**jette:2000**), and in Tsuut'ina (Sarcee) and Navajo as *yi*- (**rice:2009**). In contrast the Tlingit perfective *ÿu*- derives from PND *xʸi*- (**vajda:2009**) that developed into Eyak *s*- and the Athabaskan *s*-perfective appearing for example in Slave as *w*-, in Navajo as *si*- (**rice:1989a**), and in Galice as *s*- (**hoijer:1966**).

8.4.15.   Object (+14)

8.4.15.1.   Objects and incorporated nouns

8.4.15.1.1.   Possessor and inalienables

8.4.15.1.2.   Possibility of third person ∅- possessor

8.4.15.2.   First person singular _x̲át-_

8.4.15.3.   First person plural _haa-_

8.4.15.4.   Second person singular _i-_

8.4.15.5.   Second person plural _yee-_

8.4.15.6.   Third person _∅- ~ a-_

8.4.15.6.1.   Third person object alternation

8.4.15.6.2.   Comparison with Athabaskan alternation

8.4.15.6.3.   Interaction with ergative _-ch_

8.4.15.7.   Third person proximate _ash-_

8.4.15.8.   Indefinite human _k̲aa- ~ k̲u-_

8.4.15.8.1.   Distinguishing areal and indefinite human

8.4.15.9.   Indefinite nonhuman _at-_

8.4.15.10.   Partitive _aa-_

8.4.15.11.   Reflexive _sh-_

8.4.15.11.1.   Cooccurences of _sh-_ with other objects

8.4.15.12. Plural number *has-* ~ *s-* (+15)

The prefix *has-* ~ *s-* is a marker of plurality in the verb. It is related to the in-dependent third person plural pronoun *hás* (see §4.10.1.2.6) as well as the prefix *has-* which occurs in the third person plural possessive *has-du* (§4.10.1.1.6) and the third person plural postpositional *has-du=ee* (§4.10.1.3.6). The use of *s-* rather than *has-* appears to be purely idiosyncratic, although it seems impressionisti-cally to be somewhat more common among non-Northern dialects.

The plural prefix might be assumed to be a marker of plurality only in objects because of its position. This is not the case however, since it also appears to mark plurality of subjects in some verbs. The following example shows its use in pluralizing a subject.

(34) yóo   k'isáani   tleiḵaa has uwax̱ée
     yóo   k'i-sáani   tleiḵaa has-ÿu-∅-ÿa-x̱ée
     DEM.DIST young.man-COLL twenty   PL-PFV-3S-CL[–D, ∅, +I]-overnight
     "those young men camped twenty nights" (**swanton:1909**)

In this next example the plural is also used for a subject. Here it is some-what redundant since the verb root inherently specifies plurality, nonetheless the plural prefix still appears.

(35) *S-CL[–D, ∅]-ʔaat* "S go (pl.)"
     yoo s ya.átk
     yoo=s-∅-ÿa-ʔát-k
     ALT=PL-3S-CL[–D, ∅, –I]-go.PL-REP
     "they go to and fro" (**story:1966**)

8.4.16. Reciprocal and distributive (+16)

8.4.16.1. Reciprocal *woosh-*

8.4.16.2. Distributive *dax̲-*

8.4.17. Preverbs (+17)

(36) a. yan uwak̲úx̲
         ÿan=u-∅-ÿa-k̲úx̲
         ABMAR-PFV-3S-CL[–D, ∅, +I]-go.SG.boat
         "he went ashore" (**leer:1991**)

     b. yan áwé uwak̲úx̲
         ÿan=[ʔáwé]=u-∅-ÿa-k̲úx̲
         ABMAR-FOC.MDST-PFV-3S-CL[–D, ∅, +I]-go.SG.boat
         "it's that he went ashore"

     c. yax̲ yak̲g̲eegoodán
         ÿax̲=ÿa-k̲g̲ee-∅-goot-án
         TERM-VSFC-FUT.2SG.S-CL[–D, ∅, –I]-go.SG-REST
         "you will come around[1] (reform) in the end" (**leer:1991**)

     d. yax̲ ásé yak̲g̲eegoodán
         ÿax̲=[ʔásé]=ya-k̲g̲ee-∅-goot-án
         TERM-[DED]-VSFC-FUT.2SG.S-CL[–D, ∅, –I]-go.SG-REST
         "it seems that you will come around in the end"

(37) a. aan   neil aawagút
         a-n   neil=a-ÿu-ÿa-gút
         3N-INSTR ADDOM-3O-PFV-3S-CL[–D, ∅, +I]-go.SG
         "he came inside with it" (**leer:1991**)

     b. neil aan aawagút
         neil=[a-n]=a-ÿu-ÿa-gút
         ADDOM-[3N-INSTR]-3O-PFV-3S-CL[–D, ∅, +I]-go.SG

---

1. The meaning here is metaphoric, with the person coming around to the proper way of thinking or acting. The English "come around", with its concept of movement, is a good match.

Grp.	Prefix	Gloss	Description
A	yoo=	ALT	back and forth, to and fro
	ÿaa=	along	along, down, obliquely
B	ÿaa=	MENT	mental state or activity
C	yéi= ~ ye'_T=	thus	thus, so
D	kei=	up	up
	yei=	down	down, out of vehicle
	ÿeek̲= ~ ÿeik̲= ~ i'k̲_T=	ADLIT	shoreward, down to shore
	daak̲=	ABLIT	inland, back from open, off of fire
	daak=	ADMAR	seaward, into open, onto fire, fall
E1	ÿan=, ÿax̲=, ÿándei=	ABMAR	ashore, onto ground, rest
	neil=, neilx̲=, néildei=	ADDOM	inside, homeward, into building
	haa=, haat=, haax̲=, háadei=	HITHER	hither, toward speaker
	yóo= yóot=, yóox̲=, yóodei=	HENCE	hence, away, off (indef. loc.)
	k̲ux̲=, ʔk̲uxx̲=, k̲úx̲dei=	REV	aback, reversed direction
	kux=, kuxx̲=, kúx̲dei=	ADVAD	aground, into shallows
E2	k̲ut=	ERR	astray, lost (-t)
	ÿax̲= ~ ÿan= ~ ÿandei=	TERM	stop, end (-x̲)
	yux̲=	ELL	outside (-x̲)
	yaax̲=	INVEH	into vehicle (-x̲)
	héenx̲=	INAQ	into water (-x̲)
	ux̲=(kei=)	INVIS	out of control, blindly (-x̲)
	k̲wáak̲x̲=(daak̲=)	wrong	by mistake, wrongly (-x̲)
	yedx̲= ~ yedax̲_T=	ABINIT	starting off, taking off (-dáx̲)
	ÿaanax̲= ~ ÿa'nax̲_T=	INFRA	underground (-náx̲)
F	g̲unaÿéi= ~ g̲unéi=	INCEP	beginning
	aa=	LOC	there
	áa=(ÿax̲=)	ROT	turning over
	shóo=(ÿax̲=)	ADROT	turning over endwise
	héeni=	AQLOC	into water
	gági=	ABUMB	from hiding into open
	éeg̲i=	ABSILV	from woods onto beach
	dáag̲i=	ABAQ	out of water onto shore

Table 8.15: Adverbial proclitics (**leer:1991**).

⟦There's something either wrong or peculiar and hitherto undescribed with the glosses above. **leer:1991** says:

ne·ł#ʔa-·n#ʔa·wagúd
(inside#it-with#INDEF.singular.came)
'someone brought it inside', lit. 'someone came inside with it'

Note that he's given "INDEF" for what appears to be +14 *a-*, which is normally 30. Being an object argument for an ordinarily unergative verb that usually has a lone subject argument is weird. Also, why indefinite?⟧

(38) a. du een   neil aawa.aat
        du=ee-n   neil=aa=ÿu-Ø-ÿa-ʔaat
        3H.PSS=BASE-INSTR ADDOM=LOC=PFV-3S-CL[–D, Ø, +I]-go. PL
        "someone came inside with him" (**leer:1991**)

    b. *neil du een aawa.aat
        neil=[du=ee-n]=aa=ÿu-Ø-ÿa-ʔaat
        ADDOM=[3H.PSS=BASE-INSTR]=LOC=PFV-3S-CL[–D, Ø, +I]-go. PL

(39) a. hasdu   daa   kei yaa ḵushuguxsagéi
        has-du   daa   kei=ÿaa=ḵu-shu-gux-sa-géi
        PL-3H.PSS around up=MENT=INDH.O-tip-FUT-CL[–D, s, –I]-understand
        "they will understand" (**leer:1991**)

    b. kei s du daa yaa ḵushuguxsagéi
        kei=[s-du-daa]=ÿaa=ḵu-shu-gux-sa-géi
        up=[PL-3H.PSS-around]=MENT=INDH.O-tip-FUT-CL[–D, s, –I]-understand
        "they will understand"

8.4.17.1. Group A

8.4.17.1.1. Alternative *yoo=* "to and fro"

8.4.17.1.2. Translative *ÿaa=* "along"

(40) taan   yaa yandutsáḵ
        taan   ÿaa=ÿa-na-du-Ø-tsáḵ
        sea.lion   along-VSFC-NCNJ-3OBV.S-CL[–D, Ø, –I]-pursue
        "they are following along after a sea lion (to tire it out)" (**story:1973**)"

8.4.17.2. Group B

8.4.17.2.1. Mental *ÿaa=* "thought"

The mental preverb *ÿaa=* refers essentially to mental states and mental activities. It probably originated from an independent noun which is now lost, since the form of the preverb is comparable to PA **yǝn- ~ yi·n-* "mind" and Eyak *ʔi·lih* which is a preverb and incorporated noun referring to states of mind (**leer:1991**).

(41) a. *P daa ÿaa=ḵu-S-CL[–D, s]-ḡaat* "S confuse P"
        ḵugwás' aẖ   daa   yaa ḵoowsiḡát
        ḵugwás' aẖ   daa   ÿaa=ḵu-ÿu-Ø-si-ḡát
        fog   1SG.PSS around MENT=AREAL-PFV-3S-CL[–D, s, +I]-fall
        "the fog confused me" (**story:1973**)

     b. *P daa ÿaa=ḵu-shu-S?-CL[+D, s]-géi* "P understand S"
        tléil hasdu   daa   yaa ḵushuwusgé
        tléil has-du   daa   ÿaa=ḵu-shu-ÿu-Ø?-s-gé
        NEG PL-3H.PSS around MENT=AREAL-tip-PFV-3S-CL[+D, s, –I]-understand
        "they didn't understand" (**story:1973**)

This preverb does not necessarily occur in every theme which has to do with mental activity. The following are a few illustrations of verbs whose meaning might cause one to expect the use of the mental preverb, but in which themes the preverb does not in fact appear.

(42) a. *P daa O-tu-CL[–D, Ø]-tee₁* "S think about P"
       waa sá a   daax'   ituwatee?
       waa sá a   daa-x'   i-tu-Ø-ÿa-tee
       how Q 3N.PSS around-LOC 2SG.O-inside-ZCNJ-CL[–D, Ø, +I]-be
       "what do you think about it?" (**story:1973**)

    b. *P S-CL[–D, Ø]-jee* "S think P is the case"
       yéi x̱waajée
       yéi=ÿu-x̱a-ÿa-jée
       thus=PFV-1SG.S-CL[–D, Ø, +I]-think
       "I think so; I imagine so" (**story:1973**)

The first verb has the inalienable incorporated noun *tu-* "inside, mind" which is common to a number of verbs about thought and feeling. The second verb has only the root *jee* which is a basic verb root meaning "think".

8.4.17.3. Group C

8.4.17.3.1. Manner *yéi= ~ yei=* "thus"

The preverb *yéi= ~ yei=* is probably one of the most common preverbs in Tlingit speech. In most contexts its meaning is similar to English "thus" or "so", describing the manner in which an action or event occurs, or emphasizing the quality of a state. It also sees some minor use in redundantly indicating the future tense for some verbs, as well as a few other functions. It is obviously related to the phrasal particle *yé* which is used for much the same purpose. Interestingly, the connection between the particle and the preverb is still rather strong, since the particle occasionally appears to the right of the verb when the preverb fails to appear, pointing to the likelihood of the preverb being dislocated.

leer:2008 argues that the preverb *yéi= ~ yei=*, in Tongass Tlingit *ye'=*, derives from a PND ("PAET") form **'yaχ*, along with the independent particle *yéi* in modern Tlingit which has essentially the same meaning. The historical progression involves the sonorantization of a final fricative PND **χ* which becomes the voiced velar fricative **γ* in (Pre-)Pre-Tlingit, and then the voiced velar approximant **ÿ*. This then causes the vocalic shift of **a > e* before **ÿ* which is then converted to ', a proposal he claims is the essential source of *e* in Tlingit – PND lacking this vowel. The final ' in Tongass Tlingit and the high tone in other dialects he explains as being due to a glottal metathesis of the ' on *'y* with ' and then high tone developing from the new final '. The progression is thus:

(43) PND *’yaχ > PPT *’yaγ > *’yaÿ > PT *’ye‘ > OTl ye’ > TT ye’, ST yéi, NT yéi

(44) a. aadéi   yéi yoo asineek
          á-déi   yéi=yoo=a-∅-si-nee-k
          there-ALL   thus=ALT=3.O-3.S-CL[–D, s, +I]-carry-REP
          "she carries them there repeatedly" (**leer:1991**)

      b. aadéi   kei yéi anasneen
          á-déi   kei=yéi=a-na-∅-si-nee-n
          there-ALL   up=thus=3O-NCNJ-3S-CL[–D, s, –I]-carry-VAR
          "she is carrying them up there" (**leer:1991**)

      c. aadéi   yéi yaa anasneen
          á-déi   yéi=ÿaa=a-na-∅-si-nee-n
          there-ALL   thus=along=3O-NCNJ-3S-CL[–D, s, –I]-carry-VAR
          "she is carrying them along toward there" (**leer:1991**)

      d. aadéi   yaa yéi anasneen
          á-déi   ÿaa=yéi=a-na-∅-si-nee-n
          there-ALL   along=thus=3O-NCNJ-3S-CL[–D, s, –I]-carry-VAR
          "she is carrying them along toward there" (**leer:1991**)

8.4.17.4.   Group D

8.4.17.4.1.   Ascendant *kei=* "up"

(45) shaa   yadaax̱   kei nagút
      shaa   ÿá-daa-x̱   kei-na-∅-∅-gút
      mountain   face-around-PERT up=NCNJ-3S-CL[–D, ∅, –I]-go.SG
      "he is going up the mountain" (**story:1973**)

8.4.17.4.2.   Descendant *yei=* "down"

(46) shaa   kaadáx̱   yei nagút
     shaa   ká-dáx̱   yei-na-∅-∅-gút
     mountain HSFC-ABL down=NCNJ-3S-CL[–D, ∅, –I]-go.SG
     "he is going down the mountain" (**story**:1973)

8.4.17.4.3. Adlitoral *(ÿ)eek̲=* ~ *ÿeik̲=* "beachward"

The adlitoral[2] preverb *ÿeek̲-~ÿeik̲- ~ʔi'k̲ₜ-* indicates movement towards the shore from land. The Tongass dialect form *i'k̲ₜ-* shows that this preverb derives from the noun *eik̲ ~ eek̲ ~ i'k̲ₜ* "beach, shore". The initial approximant *ÿ* is thus an innovation which was perhaps modeled on the several other proclitics which begin with *ÿ*.

8.4.17.4.4. Ablitoral *daak̲=* "inland"

Ablitoral[3] *daak̲-* indicates movement inland from the shore.

8.4.17.4.5. Admarine *daak=* "seaward"

Admarine[4] *daak-* indicates movement out to sea from land.

    An unusual use of this preverb appears in the theme *daak=O-CL[–D, s]-taan* "O falls" in reference to atmospheric precipitation.

(47) a. séew daak wusitán
       séew daak=ÿu-∅-si-tán
       rain   ADMAR=PFV-3S-CL[–D, s, +I]-carry
       "rain fell" ⟦cite⟧

    b. dléit   daak wusitán
       dléit   daak=ÿu-∅-si-tán
       snow ADMAR=PFV-3S-CL[–D, s, +I]-carry
       "snow fell" ⟦cite⟧

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2. From Latin *ad* "toward" and *litus* "shore, beach".
3. From Latin *ab* "away from" and *litus* "shore, beach".
4. From Latin *ad* "toward" and *mare* "sea".

8.4.17.5. Group E1

Gloss	Base	Punctual -t	Pertingent -x̱	Allative -dé
ABMAR	ÿan=	—	ÿax̱=	ÿánde=
ADDOM	neil=	—	neilx̱=	néilde=
hither	haa=	haat=	haax̱=	háade=
hence	yóo=	yóot=	yóox̱=	yóode=
REV	ḵux̱=	—	ˀḵux̱x̱= (≡ ḵux̱=)	ḵúx̱de=
ADVAD	kux=	—	kuxx̱=	kúxde=

Table 8.16: Variant forms of the group E1 preverbs

The group E1 preverbs are characterized by having variant forms. **leer:1991** described these as being suffixed in their basic form with punctual case which in this situation is supposed to always be zero (-∅), thus claiming that the hither proclitic *haat=* and the hence proclitic *yóot=* were actually underlyingly *haat-∅=* and *yóot-∅=*, an argument which seems to needlessly multiply entities. Also, his analysis neglects the appearance of *haa=* 'hither, this way' in the imperative *haagú* "come here" (|*haa=∅-∅-∅-gú*| hither=ZCNJ-2SG.S-CL[–D, ∅, –I]-go.SG.foot), so often heard from speakers in casual conversation. Furthermore, Leer's claim that the whole group is derived from nominal stems followed by case suffixes is somewhat obscure, since the noun *haat* "current" is clearly unrelated, *haa* is a possessive pronoun, and *yóo* is a demonstrative.

Instead, I analyze the E1 preverbs as each having a basic form along with three variant forms, of which only the allative is definitely a complete paradigm. The base form is always unmarked. The *haa=* and *yóo=* preverbs have a punctual suffixed form which is more common than the base form, although examples of the base forms do exist. The pertingent forms exist for all of the E1 preverbs, but the form *ḵux̱x̱=* may be indistinguishable from the base form due to its phonological structure, and hence the two forms can be considered allomorphs if not actually identical. The allative forms can be found for all the E1 preverbs, and are more saliently distinct to speakers since they are composed of two syllables.

The "hither" preverb *haa-* and the "hence" preverb *yóo-* are probably derived from the second person plural object pronominal and the distal demonstrative, respectively. The abmarine *ÿan-*, homeward *neil-*, revertive *ḵux̱-*, and advadive *kux-* are all associated with directionals outside of the verb.

The association of the E1 preverbs with the E2 preverbs rather than with the D preverbs is a structural one following **leer:1991** None of the E1 preverbs can coccur with either the D or E2 preverbs, so there is no surface ordering associated with them. Nevertheless, the E1 preverbs have been associated with E2 since they have what appear to be case suffixes and the D preverbs do not. This ordering is purely a descriptive convenience, and does not indicate a functional division in the language.

8.4.17.5.1. Abmarine *ÿan=* ~ *ÿax̱=* ~ *ÿándei=* "landward"

The abmarine[5] preverb *ÿán=* ~ *ÿáx̱=* ~ *ÿándei=* indicates movement away from sea and towards land. The alienable noun *yán* means "shore, land" (**leer:2001**),[6] and it is from this noun that the abmarine prefix is most likely derived. **leer:1991** argues that *ÿán* originally meant "ground, earth" and descends from a Proto-Na-Dene source that also gave rise to the Proto-Athabaskan cognate **ŋən'* "earth".

⟦According to Leer there is a distinct difference between the abmarine and the terminative. The forms he gives for the abmarine are *ÿan#* and *ÿax̱#*, whereas the only form he gives for the terminative is *ÿax̱#*. This is incomplete since there are many examples of *ÿan=* for the terminative as well. Also, both the abmarine and the terminative can take directional case, e.g. *ÿándei=* can be either "towards the shore" or "towards completion". If there is no allomorphic difference between them, then why should they be considered separate? Particularly, why did he place them in different groups? Did he elicit some wacky motion verb with both abmarine and terminative proclitics or something?⟧

8.4.17.5.2. Addomitive *neil=* ~ *neilx̱=* ~ *néildei=* "homeward"

The homeward proclitic is *neil=*. It indicates that the motion described by the verb is either headed towards or will end at or inside the house, or instead at or inside a nearby building. Which particular house or building must be determined from context, although it is typically the home of the person being talked about. If the speaker is near a building then they typically will use a gesture to

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5. From Latin *ab* "away from" and *mare* "sea". This could also be "adterrive" with *terra* "land", but the symmetry between admarine and abmarine parallels well with the pair of adlitoral and ablitoral.

6. There is a homophonous noun *yán* meaning "western hemlock" (*Tsuga mertensiana*) which is unrelated although a vague relationship could be argued based on the mostly hemlock forest that crowds the shoreline.

indicate that the nearby building is the referent of *neil=*, or may gesture away from it to indicate their reference to some other building.

(48) a. neil gú
          neil=∅-∅-gú(t)
          HOME=2SG.S-CL[–D, ∅, –I]-GO.SG
          "come inside! (sg)" or "go home! (sg)" (**dauenhauer:2002**)

      b. neil yi.á
          neil=yi-∅-ʔá(t)
          HOME=2PL.S-CL[–D, ∅, –I]-GO.PL
          "come inside! (pl)" or "go home! (pl)"

Out of context it can be difficult to determine what the referent of *neil=* is. In this sentence, if the speaker was describing something that they experienced personally then the referent of *neil=* could be the building in which the speaker is located as they spoke, or the house which the speaker normally inhabits, or a building which the speaker was located in while the event they are describing took place, or a building which the speaker was near but outside of while the event took place. These are only a few of the possiblities. If the speaker was describing something that they did not experience, then the referent of *neil=* could be the house of the person they are discussing, the building in which the action they are describing took place, or any number of other possibilities.

Despite all this variation in meaning, given any sort of adequate context the meaning of *neil=* is usually quite clear. In addition, *neil=* is not often used in speech where the referent is not previously described, thus it is likely that the building or house will have already been mentioned.

The ambiguity between "house" and "building" is a result of cultural change over the last century or so. In traditional Tlingit life, there were only a few varieties of living spaces. The most common and certainly the normally assumed meaning of *neil=* was the *hít* "house", or more properly *naa hídi* "clan house-PSS", the clan house made of adze-hewn planks found throughout the Northwest Coast.

8.4.17.5.3. Hither *haa= ~ haat= ~ haax̱= ~ háadei=* "to here"

(49) a. haagú!
       haa=Ø-Ø-Ø-gú(t)
       hither=ZCNJ-2SG.S-CL[–D, Ø, –I]-go.SG
       "come here! (sg)" (**dauenhauer:2002**)

    b. haat yi.á!
       haat=Ø-yee-Ø-ʔá(t)
       hither=ZCNJ-2PL.S-CL[–D, Ø, –I]-go.PL
       "come here! (pl)" (**dauenhauer:2002**)

8.4.17.5.4. Hence *yóo= ~ yóot= ~ yóox̱= ~ yóodei=* "from here"

8.4.17.5.5. Revertive *k̲ux̲= ~ k̲úx̲dei=* "back"

The revertive preverb *k̲ux̲-* indicates backward motion or a reversal of motion. It is related to the relational noun *k̲úx̲*, which however has high tone unlike this proclitic.

    As explained in §??, the revertive adverbial proclitic *k̲ux̲-* requires +D in the classifier.

(50) a. k̲ux̲ akax̱wdidzée
       k̲ux̲=a-ka-ÿu-x̱a-di-dzée
       REV=3O-HSFC-PFV-1SG.S-CL[+D, Ø, +I]-halt
       "(when I saw the bear) I stopped short" (**story:1973**)

    [[Why does this example have *a-* instead of *Ø-*?]]

8.4.17.5.6. Advadive *kux= ~ kuxx̲= ~ kúxdei=* "aground"

The advadive[7] preverb *kux-* indicates movement into shallow waters or movement which may result in running aground.

8.4.17.6. Group E2

[[Explain why this group should be distinct from group E1.]]

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7. From Latin *ad* "toward" and *vadum* "shallow, shoal, ford".

8.4.17.6.1. Errative ḵut= "astray, lost"

The errative[8] preverb ḵut- indicates straying or losing.

(51) a. aax̱   dáanaa daakagwéili tóodax̱
          ʔax̱   dáanaa daakagwéili tú-dáx̱
          1SG.PSS money   around.bag   inside-ABL

          ḵut kax̱wlisóos
          ḵut=Ø-ka-ÿu-x̱a-li-sóos
          ERR=3O-HSFC-PFV-1SG.S-CL[–D, l, +I]-fall

          "I lost them from my purse" (**story**:1973)

      b. ax̱   x'eesháyi   ḵut x̱waax̱eech
          ax̱   x'eeshá-ÿí ḵut=Ø-ÿu-x̱a-ÿa-x̱eech
          1SG.PSS bucket-PSS ERR=3O-PFV-1SG.S-CL[–D, Ø, +I]-throw

          "I lost my bucket" (**story**:1973)

      c. du   yaagú   ḵut aawaḡéex'
          du   yaakw-ÿí   ḵut=a-ÿu-Ø-ÿa-ḡéex'
          3SG.PSS boat-PSS   ERR=3O-PFV-3S-CL[–D, Ø, +I]-throw

          "he lost his boat (as a wreck)" (**story**:1973)

      d. du   ch'éeni   ḵut awsiḡéex'
          du   ch'éen-ÿí   ḵut=a-ÿu-Ø-si-ḡéex'
          3SG.PSS ribbon-PSS ERR=3O-PFV-3S-CL[–D, s, +I]-throw

          aan   x'ayeex'
          ʔaan   x'éi-yee-x'
          town   mouth-below-LOC

          "she lost her ribbon in the street" (**story**:1973)

---

8. From Latin *erro* "to go astray, to lose oneself". Cf. Eng. "errant" as in "knight errant".

e. ḵut x̱at wudzigeet
ḵut=x̱at-ÿu-dzi-geet
ERR=1SG.O-PFV-CL[+D, s, +I]-fall
"I was lost" (**story:1973**)

8.4.17.6.2. Terminative *ÿax̱= ~ ÿan= ~ ÿandei=* "stop, end"

The terminative[9] preverb is *yan= ~ yax̱= ~ yándei=*. It indicates the termination or end of an action or change of state. As with the inceptive, it is not normally used with verbs which describe momentaneous events.

(52) a. laaḵʼásk   yax̱ akawsihaa
     laaḵʼásk   ÿax̱=a-ka-ÿu-∅-si-haa
     seaweed[10] TERM=3O-HSFC-PFV-3S-CL[–D, s, +I]- spread.out
     "he spread out the seaweed" (**story:1973**)

   b. waa   sá yan has kawdiyaayí
      waa   sá ÿan=has-ka-ÿu-di-yaa-ÿí
      what Q   TERM-PL-HSFC-PFV-CL[+D, ∅, +I]-happen-ATTR
      "what had happened to them" (**story:1973**)

---

9. Also known as "choative", "cessative", and "completive". The first two are obscure, and "completive" implies completion which is not necessary, the activity may simply terminate without having completed.
10. The seaweed called *laaḵʼásk* is probably a *Palmaria* species, in the *Rhodophyta* phylum. It is not *P. callophyloides* Hawkes & Scagel, but I have been unable to identify it further.

8.4.17.6.3. Ellative *yux̱=* "outside"

8.4.17.6.4. Invehicular *yaax̱=* "into vehicle"

8.4.17.6.5. Inaquative *héenx̱=* "into water"

8.4.17.6.6. Invisive *ux̱(-kei)=* "out of control, blindly"

8.4.17.6.7. Fallative *ḵwáaḵx̱(-daaḵ)=* "wrongly, mistakenly"

8.4.17.6.8. Abinitial *yedx̱=* ~ *yedax̱=* "starting off, taking off"

8.4.17.6.9. Infraessive *ÿaanax̱=* "underground"

8.4.17.7. Group F

8.4.17.7.1. Inceptive *ǥunayéi= ~ ǥunéi=* "beginning"

The inceptive[11] preverb is *ǥunayéi= ~ ǥunéi=*. This indicates the inception or beginning of an action or change of state. It is not normally used with verbs describing momentaneous events.

(53)   a. tléil ǥunayéi eelats'úx̱x̱ooḵ
           tléil ǥunayéi=i-la-ts'úx̱-x̱-ooḵ
           NEG INCEP=2SG.S-CL[–D, *l*, –I]-move.slightly-HAB-OPT
           "don't move it even the slightest bit" (**story:1973**)

      b. ǥunayéi at yasaxíx̱x̱
           ǥunayéi=at-ÿa-sa-xíx-x̱
           INCEP=INDN.O-VSFC-CL[–D, s, –I]-move-HAB
           "it is beginning to move" (**story:1973**)

8.4.17.7.2. Locative *aa=* "there"

8.4.17.7.3. Rotatory *áa(-ÿax̱)=* "turning over"

8.4.17.7.4. Adrotatory *shóo(-ÿax̱)=* "turning over endwise"

8.4.17.7.5. Aqualocative *héeni=* "in water"

[[Probably contains *héen-i* with the suffix *-i* being the locative.]]

(54)   héeni woogut
      héeni=ÿu-∅-∅-gut
      AQLOC-PFV-3S-CL[–D, ∅, –I]-go.SG
      "he went into the water" (**naish:1966**)

---

11. Also known as "initiative", "inchoative", or "ingressive". "Inceptive" is Leer's term and is easy to associate with inception, i.e. beginning of an action. "Inchoative" is traditional but obscure, "ingressive" is misleading because ingress or entry is not specified, and "initiative" implies a sense of volition which is not appropriate.

8.4.17.7.6. Abumbrative *gági=* "from hiding into open"

8.4.17.7.7. Absilvative *éeḡi=* "from forest onto beach"

8.4.17.7.8. Abaquative *dáaḡi=* "out of water onto shore"

Suffix	Gloss	Name
-x̱aa	MISS	amissive
-án	REST	restorative
-aa	SIM	simulative?
-ḵ	CPL	coplural?
-shán ~ -ch'án	INTNS	intensive?
-áḵw ~ -yáḵw ~ -ch'áḵw	DEPRV	deprivative
-ÿí	DENOM	denominal
-ee	LIAB	liabilitive?
-k ~ -kw	?	unknown
-ál' ~ -ch'ál'	?	unknown
-ch'	?	unknown
-nas	?	unknown
-nás'	?	unknown
-kát'	?	unknown

Table 8.17: Derivational suffixes (−1).

8.5. Suffixes

The suffix domain consists of a variety of different types of suffixes which appear in verb themes. Some are thematic and hence derivational, some are inflectional and interact with the tense-mood-aspect system. In addition there are the "root variation" suffixes which are mostly notional suffixes that account for variation of the verb root in vowel length, tone, and quality; an exception is the root variation suffix *-n* which appears along with other types of root variation in certain themes. The postverbs are actually enclitics rather than suffixes, but are grouped together with the other suffixes for descriptive simplicity.

8.5.1. Derivational (−1)

The derivational suffixes of position −1 are all associated with lexical semantic changes in the meaning of roots to which they are added. Table ?? contains a list of all the known suffixes as well as their gloss abbreviations and names. Some of the derivational suffixes are frequent, but most are rare. None seem to be fully productive, but the amissive *-x̱aa* and perhaps the restorative *-án* can be added to certain roots to derive new verbs.

Verb	Pg.	Root	Meaning
ʔúnx̱aa	270	ʔoon	miss the target when shooting
t'áchx̱aa	296	t'aach	miss the target when slapping
dzéix̱aa	296	dzoo	miss the target when shooting in basketball
shátx̱aa	309	shaat	miss the target when grabbing at something
gwálx̱aa	319	gwaal	miss the target when punching with fist
k̲'íshx̱aa	337	k̲'eesh	miss the target when hitting with a bat
x̱íchx̱aa	341	x̱eech	miss the target when hitting with a bat

Table 8.18: Verb roots with amissive *-x̱aa* from **story:1973**

A number of these suffixes are unique, occurring only on one verb root. In these cases, the status as a true suffix is proven by the fact that the verb root occurs elsewhere without the suffixal element, perhaps in a noun or in other verb themes. These unique or rare suffixes are difficult to describe in terms of their semantic content, and so are listed here as "unknown" in meaning. For a few I have proposed meanings which I am uncertain of, and so the function and associated name remain questionable. The coplural has a purely structural name based on the fact that it only cooccurs with the –2 plural suffix *-x'* (for which see §??).

8.5.1.1. Amissive *-x̱aa*

The amissive *-x̱aa* is the most semantically regular of all the –1 derivational suffixes. Every verb root that it appears with describes an action requiring some sort of aim, and *-x̱aa* reliably changes the meaning to that of aiming and missing the target.

story:1973 are not terribly helpful for analyzing this suffix as they provide no description of the verbs associated with it and only the simplest of examples. Under the heading "miss" they give the seven verbs which are listed in table ?? along with four third person subject forms that lack overt nouns. These examples are presented in glossed forms below.

(55) a. ayawsi.únx̱aa
          ʔa-ÿa-ÿu-∅-si-ʔún-x̱aa
          3O-VSFC-PFV-3S-CL[–D, S, +I]-shoot-MISS
          "he shot and missed it" (**story:1973**)

b. ayawligwálx̱aa
ʔa-ÿa-ÿu-∅-li-gwál-x̱aa
3O-VSFC-PFV-3S-CL[–D, *l*, +I]-punch-MISS
"he punched and missed it" (**story:1973**)

c. ayawlitʼáchx̱aa
ʔa-ÿa-ÿu-∅-li-tʼách-x̱aa
3O-VSFC-PFV-3S-CL[–D, *l*, +I]-slap-MISS
"he slapped and missed it" (**story:1973**)

d. ayawlidzéix̱aa
ʔa-ÿa-ÿu-∅-li-dzéi-x̱aa
3O-VSFC-PFV-3S-CL[–D, *l*, +I]-throw-MISS
"he threw and missed it" (**story:1973**)

e. ayawlix̱íchx̱aa
ʔa-ÿa-ÿu-∅-li-x̱ích-x̱aa
3O-VSFC-PFV-3S-CL[–D, *l*, +I]-club-MISS
"he clubbed and missed it" (**story:1973**)

f. ayawlik̲ʼíshx̱aa
ʔa-ÿa-ÿu-∅-li-k̲ʼísh-x̱aa
3O-VSFC-PFV-3S-CL[–D, *l*, +I]-swing-MISS
"he swung and missed it" (**story:1973**)

g. ayawlishátx̱aa
ʔa-ÿa-ÿu-∅-li-shát-x̱aa
3O-VSFC-PFV-3S-CL[–D, *l*, +I]-grab-MISS
"he grabbed and missed it" (**story:1973**)

Each of these verbs can be compared to a regular non-amissive form to highlight the differences between the amissive form and the regular form. The following sentences show how the verb *O-S-CL[–D, ∅]- ʔoon* "shoot" is changed to the amissive form *O-ÿa-S-CL[–D, s]-ʔún-x̱aa*.

(56) a. dzískw x̱waa.ún
dzískw ∅-ÿu-x̱a-ÿa-ʔún
moose 3O-PFV-1SG.S-CL[–D, ∅, +I]-shoot
"I shot a moose" (**story:1973**)

b. %dzískw yax̱wsi.únx̱aa
    dzískw ∅-ÿa-ÿu-x̱a-si-ʔún-x̱aa
    moose 3O-VSFC-PFV-1SG.S-CL[−D, s, +I]-shoot-MISS
    "I shot the moose and missed"

c. sh woodi.ún
    sh-ÿu-∅-di-ʔún
    RFLX.O-PFV-3S-CL[+D, ∅, +I]-shoot
    "he shot himself" (**story:1973**)

d. %sh yawdzi.únx̱aa
    sh-ÿa-ÿu-∅-dzi-ʔún-x̱aa
    RFLX.O-VSFC-PFV-3S-CL[+D, s, +I]-shoot-MISS
    "he shot himself and missed"

In both novel forms the *ya-* prefix is added, and both have the S component changed from ∅ to *s*, as well as the *-x̱aa* attached to the end. Other than that, the verb is unchanged between the regular form and the amissive form. Also note that the reflexive *sh-* requires middle voice which causes the D component of the classifier to change from −D to +D, as described in §??. This is retained with the change from the regular to the amissive form.

This example makes it clear that the amissive suffix *-x̱aa*, while the most obvious sign, is not the only component of the amissive verb form. In addition to the suffix *-x̱aa*, the amissive also adds the vertical surface *ya-* prefix (see §??) which here probably has its basic meaning of "vertical surface", and the S component of the classifier is changed from the original series to either the *s* or or *l* series.

⟦Note that the amissive may not be able to occur in any nonperfective forms, since it's likely that in Tlingit one cannot "be shooting and missing" as a unitary action.⟧

The verb root *gwaal* describes the action of punching with a fist. Two uses of the regular non-amissive form can be seen below.

(57) a. basketball akaawagwál
          basketball a-ka-∅-ÿa-gwál
          basketball 3O-HSFC-3S-CL[−D, ∅, +I]-punch
          "he punched the basketball" (**story:1973**)

b. x̱at yagwált
x̱at-ÿa-∅-∅-gwál-t
1SG.O-VSFC-3S-CL[–D, ∅, –I]-punch-??
"he kept punching me in the face" (**story:1973**)

Given the two sentences above we can propose the following two novel amissive forms. ⟦What is the *-t* suffix that appears to mean "keep doing" or "repeatedly"? It requires –I apparently. Is it the serial or successive?⟧

(58) a. %basketball akayawligwálx̱aa
basketball a-ka-ÿa-ÿu-∅-li-gwál-x̱aa
basketball 3O-HSFC-VSFC-PFV-3S-CL[–D, *l*, +I]-punch-MISS
"he punched the basketball and missed"

b. %x̱at yalgwálx̱aat
x̱at-ya-∅-l-gwál-x̱aa-t
1SG.O-VSFC-3S-CL[–D, *l*, –I]-punch-MISS-??
"he kept punching me in the face and missing"

Although most of the verbs it occurs with are clearly traditional, the meaning associated with *dzéix̱aa* is clearly modern. This verb was probably transferred from a more traditional activity of throwing things that is now unknown, just as the nouns *ḡaatl* and *kaax* no longer commonly refer to bracket fungus (*Fomitopsis officinalis* Laricifomes officinalis (Vill.) Kotl. & Pouzar) and blue or ruffed grouse (*Dendragapus obscurus* Say or *Bonasa umbellus* L.), but instead mean pilot bread and chicken (*Gallus gallus domesticus* L.).

Unlike most other –I suffixes, it is possible that the amissive is still productive in modern Tlingit. Thus the *-x̱aa* suffix might still be extended to other verbs which involve the activity of aiming for a target. A hypothetical example of this would be a verb root *taak̲* "poke" combined with *-x̱aa* to form *ták̲-x̱aa* meaning "poke and miss". In a concocted verb **ka-S-CL[–D, ∅]-taak̲* "to type (on a keyboard), to play (a keyboard)" we could then form **ka-S-CL[–D, s]-ták̲-x̱aa* "S to typo, to make a typing mistake", and thus **kax̱wsiták̲x̱aa* "I typoed".

(59) %kax̱waliták̲x̱aa
ka-ÿu-x̱a-li-ták̲-x̱aa
HSFC-PFV-1SG.S-CL[–D, *l*, +I]-poke-MISS
"I typoed", "I poked a surface and missed"

Another more traditional activity which could probably support the use of the amissive is shooting with a bow and arrow, the verb *O-S-CL[–D, ∅]-t'ook* (**story:1973**). Adding the amissive would produce **O-ÿa-S-CL[–D, s]-t'úk-x̱aa*, as might be used in the example below.

(60) a. núkt x̱waat'úk
          núkt ∅-ÿu-x̱a-ÿa-t'úk
          grouse 3O-PFV-1SG.S-CL[–D, ∅, +I]-shoot.bow
          "I shot a grouse (with a bow and arrow)"

      b. %núkt yax̱wasit'úkx̱aa
          núkt ∅-ÿu-x̱a-si-t'úk-x̱aa
          grouse 3S-PFV-1SG.S-CL[–D, s, +I]-shoot.bow-MISS
          "I shot and missed a grouse (with a bow and arrow)"

8.5.1.2. Restorative *-án*

Verb	Pg.	Root	Meaning
haanán	274	haan	(sg) restore confidence by reelection
naag̱án	284	naaḵ	(pl) restore confidence by reelection
xeexán	325	xeex	be restored to normality; become normal
taanán	292	taan	reconsider; set bone or joint to correct position
x̱eenán	338	x̱een	get back into joint by itself

Table 8.19: Verb roots with restorative *-án* from **story:1973**

(61) a. x̱'aháat x̱ánt yándei kḵwaháan
          x̱'aháat x̱án-t yándei-kḵwa-∅-háan
          door near-PNCT TERM.ALL-1SG.S.FUT-CL[–D, ∅, –I]-stand
          "I'm going to go stand by the door" (**story:1973**)

      b. daak wpdudzihán
          daak-∅-ÿu-du-dzi-hán
          DOWN-3O-PFV-INDH.S-CL[+D, s, +I]-stand
          "he was dropped from office" (**story:1966**)

c. a   tóox̱   yawdudzihaanán
    ʔa   tóo-x̱   Ø-ya-ÿu-du-dzi-haan-án
    it   inside-PERT   3O-VSFC-PFV-3OBV.S-CL[+D, s, +I]-vote.SG-REST
    "they reelected him" (**story:1973**)

d. gán   kát   tunáḵ
    gán   ká-t   tu-Ø-náḵ
    firewood   surface-PNCT   1PL.S-CL[−D, Ø, −I]-stand
    "we are standing on the firewood" (**story:1973**)

e. a   tóox̱   has yawdudzinaaḡán
    ʔa   tóo-x̱   has-ya-ÿu-du-dzi-naaḵ-án
    it   inside-PERT   PL-3O-VSFC-PFV-3OBV.S-CL[+D, s, +I]-vote.PL- REST
    "they reelected them" (**story:1973**)

(62) a. a   daax̱   ágé   tuyawditaanán?
         ʔa   daa-x̱   ʔágé   tu-ya-ÿu-Ø-di-taan-án
         it   around-PERT   FOCYN   3O-mind-VSFC-PFV-3S-CL[+D, Ø, +I]-carry- REST
         "did he reconsider it?" (**story:1973**)

     b. ax̱   káani   hídi   woo.oo
         ʔax̱   káan-ÿí   hít-ÿí   ÿu-Ø-ʔoo
         1SG.PSS aff.br-PSS   house-PSS   PFV-CL[−D, Ø, −I]-own

           daax̱   tuyax̱wditaanán
           daa–x̱   tu-ya-ÿu-x̱a-di-taan-án
           around-PERT   mind-VSFC-PFV-1SG.S-CL[+D, Ø, +I]-carry-REST
         "I reconsidered (buying and) owning my brother-in-law's house" (**story:1973**)

(63) a. a yáx̱   guyagax̱dutaanán
         [ʔa yáx̱]   gu-ya-gax̱du-Ø-taan-án
         correct   base-VSFC-INDH.S.FUT-CL[−D, Ø, −I]-carry-REST
         "they are going to put it (the bone) back in place" (**story:1973**)

     b. ax̱   jín   a yíx̱   guyanataanán!
         ʔax̱   jín   ʔa yík-x̱   gu-ya-na-Ø-taan-án
         1SG.PSS arm   it inside-PERT   base-VSFC-NCNJ-CL[−D, Ø, −I]-carry-REST
         "put my arm back in joint!" (**story:1973**)

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(64) a.   aax̱   kei guwjix̱ín
               ʔaa-x̱   kei-gu-ÿu-∅-ji-x̱ín
               3OBV.PRON-PERT UP-base-PFV-3S-CL[+D, *sh*, +I]-fall
               "he dislocated it" (**story:1966**)

      b.   a   yíx̱   guyawjix̱eenán
               ʔa yík-x̱   gu-ya-ÿu-∅-ji-x̱een-án
               it   inside-PERT base-VSFC-PFV-3S-CL[+D, *sh*, +I]-fall-REST
               "it got back into joint" (**story:1973**)

(65) a.   du   k̲usteeyí shágdé yax̱ yak̲ḡwaxeexán
               du   k̲ustee-ÿí shágdé yax̱-ya-k̲ḡwa-∅-xeex-án
               3SG.PSS life-PSS   DUB   TERM-VSFC-3S.FUT-CL[−D, ∅, −I]-occur- REST
               "maybe his life will get back to normal" (**story:1973**)

8.5.1.3.   Simulative *-aa*

8.5.1.4.   Coplural *-k̲*

(66) a.   diyát'x'
               ∅-di-yát'-x'
               3S-CL[+D, ∅, +I]-long-PL
               "they're long " (**story:1966**)

      b.   diyát'k̲x'
               ∅-di-yát'-k̲-x'
               3S-CL[+D, ∅, +I]-long-CPL-PL
               "they're all very long" (**story:1966**)

8.5.1.5.   Intensive *-shan* ~ *-ch'an*

(67) a.   x̲'akwli.áax̲ch'an
               x̲'a-ka-ÿu-∅-li-ʔáax̲-ch'an
               mouth-HSFC-PFV-3S-CL[−D, *l*, +I]-hear-INTNS
               "he is a fascinating speaker" (**story:1973**)

b. du   shkalneegí   x̱'akwli.áax̱ch'an
du   shkalneek-ÿí   x̱'a-ka-ÿu-∅-li-ʔáax̱-ch'an
3PSS story-PSS   mouth-HSFC-PFV-3S-CL[–D, *l*, +I]-hear-INTNS
"his story is fascinating" (**story**:1973)

(68) a. yéi x̱waajée
yéi-∅-ÿu-x̱a-ÿa-jée
THUS-3O-PFV-1SG.S-CL[–D, ∅, +I]-surmise

kei kagux̱latées'shan
kei=ka-gux̱-la-tées'-shan
UP-HSFC-3S.FUT-CL[–D, *l*, –I]-stare-INTNS
"I think it will be fascinating (to watch)" (**story**:1973)

b. ax̱   toowáa   koolitées'shan
ax̱   tu-ÿú-:   ka-ÿu-∅-li-tées'-shan
1SG.PSS mind-PSS-LOC HSFC-PFV-3S-CL[–D, *l*, +I]-stare-INTNS
"it is fascinating to me" (**story**:1973)

(69) a. teet   jiwustaan   koolix̱éetl'shani
teet   ji-ÿu-∅-s-taan   ka-ÿu-∅-li-x̱éetl'-shan-ÿí
wave   hand-PFV-3S-CL-carry HSFC-PFV-3S-CL[–D, *l*, +I]-fear- INTNS-ATTR

átx̱   sitee
ʔát-x̱   ∅-si-tee
it-PERT 3O-CL-be
"it's a dangerous thing when the waves are beating" (**story**:1973)

(70) a. ee   k'oodás'i   kashix̱'wáal'shan
ʔee   k'oodás-ÿí   ∅-ka-shi-x̱'wáal'-shan
2SG.PSS shirt-PSS   3O-HSFC-CL[–D, *sh*, +I]-soft-INTNS
"your shirt is as soft as down" (**story**:1973)

b. yáa   x̱'óow tléil koolx̱'wáal'shan
yáa   x̱'óow tléil ∅-ka-ÿu-l-x̱'wáal-shan
DET.MDIST blanket NEG 3O-HSFC-PFV-CL[–D, *l*, –I]-soft-INTNS
"this blanket has no nap (on it)" (**story**:1973)

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8.5.1.6. Deprivative *-(y)aḵw*

(71) a. aҳ   jín   kawdi.éiyaḵw
       ʔaҳ   jín   Ø-ka-ÿu-di-ʔéi-yaḵw
       1SG.PSS hand   3O-HSFC-PFV-CL[+D, Ø, +I]-injure-DPRV
       "my hand was injured and rendered useless" (**story**:1973)

(72) a. shaaw   ḡadus.éenin,
       shaaw   Ø-ḡa-du-s-ʔée-n-ín
       gumboot   3O-GHCNJ-INDH.S-CL[–D, s, –I]-cook-N-CTNG
         kadulnóox'aḵw
         Ø-ka-du-l-nóox'-aḵw
         3O-HSFC-INDH.S-CL[–D, *l*, –I]-remove-DPRV
       "when they've cooked the gumboots, they remove the shell" (**story**:1973)

(73) a. a   yáanaҳ   lich'éeyaḵw
       ʔa yáa-náҳ   Ø-li-ch'ée-yaḵw
       it PROX-PERL 3O-CL[–D, *l*, +I]-slow-DPRV
       "it's too slow" (**story**:1973)

   b. atҳá teen   ҳat ҳ'alich'éeyaḵw
       ʔatҳá-teen   ҳat-ҳ'a-li-ch'ée-yaḵw
       food-INSTR   1SG.O-mouth-CL[–D, *l*, +I]-slow-DPRV
       "I'm slow at eating" (**story**:1973)

(74) a. wéi   ҳaat naltl'éilaḵw
       wéi   ҳaat Ø-na-Ø-tl'éil-aḵw
       DET.MDIST fish 3O-NCNJ-2SG.S-CL[–D, *l*, –I]-remove-DPRV
       "remove the milt from that salmon" (**story**:1973)

(75) a. gáal' nalḡeiyáḵw
       gáal' Ø-na-Ø-l-ḡei-yáḵw
       clam   3O-NCNJ-2SG.S-CL[–D, *l*, –I]-scoop-DPRV
       "scoop the meat out of that clam" (**story**:1973)

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8.5.1.7. Denominal *-ÿi*

8.5.1.8. Liabilitive *-ee*

8.5.1.9. Unknown *-k(w)*

Verb	Pg.	Meaning
s'óoshkw	303	pinch with fingers and thumb
tlék̲wk	311	be greedy, eat fast, eat like a pig
tl'únkw	312	murmur, grumble
xwáchk	328	be paralyzed by sickness
k̲áchk	336	be lame, limp

Table 8.20: Verb roots with unknown *-k ~ -kw* from **story:1973**

8.5.1.9.1. Differences from repetitive

8.5.1.10. Unknown *-al' ~ -ch'ál'*

Verb	Pg.	Meaning
néegwal'	280	paint; make jam, preserves

Table 8.21: Verb roots with unknown *-ál' ~ -ch'ál'* from **story:1973**

8.5.1.11. Unknown *-ch'*

Verb	Pg.	Meaning
ḡeiḡách'	332	play on swings

Table 8.22: Verb roots with unknown *-ch'* from **story:1973**

8.5.1.12. Unknown *-ákw*

Verb	Pg.	Root	Meaning
seig̱ákw	300	saa₂?	regain breath, get one's wind back

Table 8.23: Verb roots with unknown *-ákw* from **story:1973**

8.5.1.12.1. Appearance in nominals

8.5.1.13. Unknown *-nas* and *-nás'*

Verb	Pg.	Meaning
ḵéenas	334	ask to exchange in close in-law relationship

Table 8.24: Verb roots with unknown *-nas* from **story:1973**

Verb	Pg.	Meaning
x̱aanás'	334	travel by raft

Table 8.25: Verb roots with unknown *-nás'* from **story:1973**

8.5.1.13.1. Possibility of being identical

8.5.1.14. Unknown *-át'*

Verb	Pg.	Meaning
tl'eekát'	311	thread stick through to stiffen meat for cooking

Table 8.26: Verb roots with unknown *-át'* from **story:1973**

8.5.2. Durational (–2)

8.5.2.1. Frequentive -ch

(76) a. át   nadatísch
         ʔá-t   na-Ø-da-tís-ch
         it-PERT NCNJ-3S-CL[+D, Ø, –I]-shuffle-FREQ
         "they shuffle around noisily on it" (**story**:1973)

8.5.2.2. Repetitive *-k(w)*

(77) a. *S-CL[–D, Ø]-ʔaat* "S go (pl)"
         yoo s ya.átk
         yoo=s-Ø-ÿa-ʔát-k
         ALT=PL-3S-CL[–D, Ø, –I]-go.PL-REP
         "they go to and fro" (**story**:1966)

     b. *O-ÿa-S-CL[–D, s]-ḵaa* "S say O"
         yéi yoo a yasiḵéik
         yéi=yoo=a-ÿa-Ø-si-ḵéi-k
         THUS=ALT=3O-VSFC-CL[–D, s, +I]-tell-REP
         "he says so (again and again)" (**story**:1966)

8.5.2.3. Habitual *-x̱*

(78) a. *O-CL[–D, Ø]-be* "O be"
         áa   yéi haa teex̱
         ʔá-:   yéi=haa-Ø-tee-x̱
         there-LOC THUS-1PL.S-CL[–D, Ø, –I]-be-HAB
         "we stay there" (**story**:1966)

     b. *S-CL[–D, Ø]-goot* "S go"
         g̱unayéi gútx̱
         g̱unayéi=Ø-Ø-gút-x̱
         INCEP=3S-CL[–D, Ø, –I]-go.SG-HAB
         "he always starts going" (**story**:1973)

(79) *S-CL[+D, l]-saa* "S rest (self)"

tléil ulséi_x_ nooch

tléil u-∅-l-séi-_x_ nooch

NEG IRR-3S-CL[+D, *l*, –I]-rest-HAB AUX.FREQ

"he never rests" (**story**:1973)

8.5.2.4. Consecutive

8.5.2.5. Serial *-s'*

(80) a. akakíks'

a-ka-∅-∅-kík-s'

3O-HSFC-3S-CL[–D, ∅, –I]-shake-SER

"she's shaking out (blankets)" (**story**:1966)

b. sh iltáx's'

sh-∅-l-táx'-s'

RFLX.O-3S-CL[+D, *l*, –I]-bite-SER

"he's biting himself (for fleas)" (**story**:1966)

(81) a. s'ú áwé dusx'éi_x_

s'ú áwé ∅-du-s-x'aa-_x_

root FOC.MDIST 3O-3OBV.S-CL[–D, s, –I]-twist-HAB

"they always twist roots[12] (to make them soft)" (**story**:1973)

b. awlix'éis'

a-ÿu-∅-li-x'aa-s'

3O-PFV-3S-CL[–D, *l*, +I]-twist-SER

"he twisted it (over and over)" (**story**:1973)

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12. The word *s'ú*, glossed here as "root", is described by Naish & Story as "long thin roots or branches" but is not found in any dictionary. It might be related to *s'út*, the unpossessed form of *(a) s'údi* "its forelimb" (**leer**:2001). Or it might be related to the verb *ÿa-s'oo* (**story**:1973).

(82) a. nadáakw akaawagwál
          nadáakw a-ka-ÿu-∅-ÿa-gwál
          table   3O-HSFC-PFV-3S-CL[–D, ∅, +I]-knock
          "he knocked on the table" (**story**:1973)

      b. kanagwáls'
          ka-na-∅-∅-gwál-s'
          HSFC-NCNJ-2SG.S-CL[–D, ∅, –I]-knock-SER
          "knock!" (imp.) (**story**:1973)

      c. x̱'áwool kadugwáls'
          x̱'áwool ∅-ka-du-∅-gwál-s'
          door   3O-HSFC-INDH.S-CL[–D, ∅, –I]-knock-SER
          "someone is knocking (on) the door" (**story**:1973)

8.5.2.6. Unknown -l'

(83) a. akawlixákw
          a-ka-ÿu-∅-li-xákw
          3O-HSFC-PFV-3S-CL[–D, l, +I]-grind
          "he ground it up"

(84) a. aklaxákwl'
          a-ka-∅-la-xákw-l'
          3O-HSFC-3S-CL[–D, l, –I]-grind-?
          "he's grinding it" (**story**:1966)

      b. dleey aklaxákwl'
          dleey a-ka-∅-la-xákw-l'
          meat   3O-HSFC-3S-CL[–D, l, –I]-grind-?
          "he's grinding meat" (**story**:1973)

8.5.2.7. Plural object -x'

(85) a. wéi   ḵáa   ligéi
          wéi   ḵáa   Ø-li-géi
          DEM.MDIST man 3O-CL[–D, *l*, +I]-big
          "that man is tall"

      b. wéi   sháa   dligéix'
          wéi   sháa   Ø-dli-géi-x'
          DEM.MDIST woman.PL 3O-CL[+D, *l*, +I]-big-PLO
          "those women are tall" (**story:1966**)

      c. ligéi
          Ø-li-géi
          3O-CL[–D, *l*, +I]-big
          "it's big"

      d. digéix'
          Ø-di-géi-x'
          3O-CL[+D, Ø, +I]-big-PLO
          "they're big" (**story:1966**)

(86) a. at kwáchx'
          at-Ø-Ø-kwách-x'
          INDN.O-3S-CL[–D, Ø, –I]-grab.handful-PLO
          "he's taking handfuls of stuff" (**story:1966**)

(87) a. gáal' yaa anas.ín
          gáal' yaa-a-na-Ø-s-ʔín
          clam ALONG-3O-NCNJ-3S-CL[–D, *s*, –I]-carry.FC
          "he's carrying clams (in a bucket)" (**story:1973**)

      b. at sa.ínx'
          at-Ø-sa-ʔín-x'
          INDH.O-3S-CL[–D, *s*, –I]-carry.FC-PLO
          "he's taking stuff in a container" (**story:1966**)

(88) a. ldakát haadéi   yak̲k̲wasak̲óox̲
          ldakát haa-déi   Ø-ya-kk̲wa-sa-k̲óox̲
          all   here-ALL   3O-VSFC-1SG.S.FUT-CL[–D, s, –I]-transport.boat
          "I'll bring everything here by boat" (**story**:1973)

      b. yawtusik̲úx̲x'
          Ø-ya-ÿu-tu-si-k̲úx̲-x'
          3O-VSFC-PFV-1PL.S-CL[–D, s, +I]-transport.boat-PLO
          "we transported it by boat" (**story**:1966)

(89) a. kíndei at sayík̲x'
          kíndei-at-sa-yík̲-x'
          UP.ALL-INDN.O-CL[–D, s, –I]-PLO
          "haul the stuff upward" (imp.) (**story**:1966)

(90) a. x̲'alitseen
          Ø-x̲'á-li-tseen
          3O-mouth-CL[–D, l, +I]-expensive
          "it's expensive" (**story**:1966)

      b. x̲'adlitsínk̲x'
          Ø-x̲'a-dli-tsín-k̲-x'
          3O-mouth-CL[+D, l, +I]-expensive-CPL-PLO
          "they're all very expensive" (id.)

(91) a. dax̲áchx'i
          Ø-da-x̲ách-x'-ÿi
          3O-CL[+D, Ø, –I]-tow-PLO-ATTR
          "tugboat" (**story**:1966)

(92) a. diyát'x'
          Ø-di-yát'-x'
          3S-CL[+D, Ø, +I]-long-PLO
          "they're long " (**story**:1966)

b. diyát'ḵx'
Ø-di-yát'-ḵ-x'
3s-cl[+d, Ø, +i]-long-cpl-plo
"they're all very long" (id.)

(93) a. áa   yéi du.úx̱x'
Ɂá-:   yéi=Ø-du-Ø-Ɂúx̱-x'
it-loc thus-3o-3obv.s-cl[–d, Ø, –i]-??-plo
"they put stuff there" (**story**:1966)

8.5.2.8. Plural object *-t'*

(94) a. shaawát wududlisháat
          shaawát Ø-ÿu-du-dli-sháat
          woman 3O-PFV-INDH.S-CL[+D, *l*, +I]-capture
          "they captured a woman" (**story**:1966)

      b. sháa   wududlishátt'
          sháa   Ø-ÿu-du-dli-shát-t'
          woman.PL 3O-PFV-INDH.S-CL[+D, *l*, +I]-capture-PLO
          "they captured the women" (**story**:1966)

8.5.3. Root variation (–3)

8.5.3.1. Synchronic systems of variation

8.5.3.1.1. Tongass variation system

8.5.3.1.2. Northern variation system

8.5.3.1.3. Southern variation system

8.5.3.2. Pre-Tlingit aspectual suffixes

8.5.3.2.1. Apparent functions

8.5.3.2.2. Comparison with Athabaskan and Eyak

8.5.3.2.3. Proto-Na-Dene aspectual suffixes

8.5.4.   Inner mode (–4)

8.5.4.1.   Contingent *-in ~ -un*

8.5.4.2.   Conditional *-ni*

(95)   a.   át   igútni
            ʔá-t   i-∅-gút-ni
            there-PNCT   2SG.S-CL[–D, ∅, –I]-go.SG-COND
            "when you get there" (**story:1966**)

       b.   haat gútni
            haat-∅-∅-gút-ni
            HITHER-3S-CL[–D, ∅, –I]-go.SG-COND
            "if he comes here" (id.)

       c.   (a   kaax̱)   at x̱áa   núgwni
            (ʔa ka-x̱)   at-∅-∅-x̱áa   núgwni
            (it surface-PERT) INDN.O-3S-CL[–D, ∅, –I]-eat AUX.COND
            "if he eats (from it)" (id.)

8.5.5.   Outer mode (–5)

8.5.5.1.   Decessive *-een*

(96)   a.   akahéix̱een
            a-ka-∅-∅-héix̱-een
            3O-HSFC-3S-CL[–D, ∅, –I]-plant-DEC
            "he used to plant" (**story:1966**)

       b.   akahéix̱   noojeen
            a-ka-∅-∅-héix̱   noojeen
            3O-HSFC-3S-CL[–D, ∅, –I]-plant AUX.FREQ.DEC
            "he always used to plant" (id.)

8.5.5.2. Optative -(ee)ḵ

(97) a. gwál haaẋ ugoodeeḵ
gwál haaẋ-u-∅-∅-goot-eeḵ
DUB HITHER-IRR-3S-CL[–D, ∅, –I]-go.SG-OPT
"I wish he'd come here" (**story:1966**)

(98) a. gu.aal kwshé ẋwaẋáaḵ
guʔaal kwshé ∅-u-ẋa-∅-ẋáa-ḵ
OPT   TENT 3O-IRR-1SG.S-CL[–D, ∅, –I]-eat-OPT
"I hope I eat it" (**leer:1991**)

(99) a. líl   ẋwaẋáaḵ
lí-l   ∅-u-ẋa-∅-ẋáa-ḵ
PHIB-NEG 3O-IRR-1SG.S-CL[–D, ∅, –I]-eat-OPT
"let me not eat it" (**leer:1991**)

b. tléil áẋ   igoodeeḵ
tléil ʔá-ẋ   i-∅-goot-eeḵ
NEG there-PERT 2SG.S-CL[–D, ∅, –I]-go.SG-OPT
"don't go there" (**story:1966**)

8.5.5.3. Attributive -ÿi

8.5.5.4. Subordinate -ÿí

8.5.6. Postverbs (–6)

8.5.6.1. Frequentative =nooch ~ =neech ~ =nukch

(100) a. sh kanẋalneekch
sh-ka-na-ẋa-l-neek-ch
RFLX.O-HSFC-NCNJ-1SG.O-CL[+D, l, –I]-tell-FREQ
"I always tell the story" (**leer:1991**)

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b. sh kax̱alneek   nooch
    sh-ka-x̱a-l-neek   nooch
    RFLX.O-HSFC-1SG.S-CL[+D, *l*, –I]-tell AUX.FREQ
    "I always tell the story" (id.)

8.5.6.2. Frequenative decessive *=noojeen ~ =neejeen*

8.5.6.3. Repetitive *=nóok ~ =néekw*

8.5.6.4. Conditional *=núgwni ~ =nígwni*

8.5.6.5. Contingent *=ḡanúgun ~ =ḡaníkw ~ =ḡanígún*

9.   *Verb function*

9.1.   Tense-mood-aspect system

9.1.1.   Declarative

9.1.1.1.   Non-habitual

9.1.1.1.1.   Perfective

9.1.1.1.2.   Decessive perfective

9.1.1.1.3.   Imperfective

9.1.1.1.4.   Decessive imperfective

9.1.1.1.5.   Future

9.1.1.1.6.   Decessive future

9.1.1.1.7.   Potential

9.1.1.1.8.   Decessive potential

9.1.1.2. Habitual

9.1.1.2.1. Perfective habitual

9.1.1.2.2. Decessive perfective habitual

9.1.1.2.3. Imperfective habitual

9.1.1.2.4. Decessive imperfective habitual

9.1.1.2.5. Future habitual

9.1.1.2.6. Decessive future habitual

9.1.2. Deontic

9.1.2.0.7. Imperative

9.1.2.0.8. Hortative

9.1.2.0.9. Admonitive

9.1.2.0.10. Prohibitive

9.1.2.0.11. Optative

9.1.3. Circumstantial

9.1.3.0.12. Consecutive

9.1.3.0.13. Imperfective consecutive

9.1.3.0.14. Future consecutive

9.1.3.0.15. Conditional

9.1.3.0.16. Imperfective conditional

9.1.3.0.17. Future conditional

9.1.3.0.18. Contingent

9.1.3.0.19. Imperfective contingent

9.1.3.0.20. Future contingent

9.2. Dependent clauses

9.2.1. Attributive

9.2.2. Subordinative

9.2.2.1. Adjunct

9.2.2.2. Complement

9.2.3. Gerundive

9.3. Transitivity

9.3.1. Active system

9.3.1.1. Unergativity and "intransitive"

9.3.1.2. Unaccusativity and "stative/objective"

9.3.2. Transitivization

9.3.3. Causativization

9.3.4. Detransitivization

9.4. Incorporation

9.5. Lexical classes

9.5.1. Non-motion

9.5.1.1. Stative

9.5.1.1.1. Descriptive stative

9.5.1.1.2. Dimensional stative

9.5.1.1.3. Cognitive stative

9.5.1.2. Processive

9.5.1.2.1. Telic

9.5.1.2.2. Telic with 0-aspect

9.5.1.2.3. Atelic

9.5.1.2.4. Atelic with invariant root

9.5.1.2.5. Ambitelic

9.5.1.3.   Eventive

9.5.1.3.1.   Intentional

9.5.1.3.2.   Involuntary

9.5.2.   Motion

9.5.2.1.   Telic

9.5.2.1.1.   Telic *ø*-conjugation

9.5.2.1.2.   Telic *-ch* iterative

9.5.2.1.3.   Telic *-ʻ* iterative

9.5.2.1.4.   Telic *-x̱* iterative

9.5.2.1.5.   Telic *yoo=…-[+ɪ]-…-k* iterative

9.5.2.1.6.   Telic *ÿa-u-* and *ÿaa=…-ch* iterative

9.5.2.1.7.   Telic *ÿa-u-* and *-x̱* iterative

9.5.2.2.   Atelic

9.5.2.2.1.   Atelic *na*-conjugation and *yoo=…-[+ɪ]-…-k* iterative

9.5.2.2.2.   Atelic *na*-conjugation without iterative

9.5.2.2.3.   Atelic *ga*-conjugation

9.5.2.2.4.   Atelic *ḡa*-conjugation

9.5.2.3.   Incorporated nominals

9.5.2.4.   Extensional imperfectives

9.5.2.5.   Dimensional and extensional imperfectives

9.5.2.6.   Positional imperfectives

Abbrev.	Class	Example nouns
SRO	Solid Round Object	apple, stone, egg, knife, slice of bread
NCM	Non-Compact Matter	wad of wool, fake beard, bunch of grass
MM	Mushy Matter	butter, mud, ice cream, slouched drunkard
FFO	Flat Flexible Object	sheet of paper, coat, blanket, sack
SFO	Slender Flexible Object	rope, belt, chain, snake, earthworm
SSO	Slender Stiff Object	bone, pencil, cigarette, bow, broom
ANO	Animate Object	person, lizard, fish, bird, doll
LPB	Load, Pack, or Burden	pack, bed, armchair, mattress, saddle, log
OC	Open Container	bowl, bottle, box, mud in shovel, liquid in hands
PLO1	Plural Objects 1	eggs, poles, shirts, kittens, beds, seeds, pollen
PLO2	Plural Objects 2	seeds, coins, bunch of arrows, bunch of ants

Table 9.1: Noun classes in Navajo (**young:1995**).

Class	Example form	Noun
Round/solid	tθe he-šuɬ ha	stone
Animate	ɬue he-ne ha	fish
Stick-like	detšən teɬ-xáɬ ha	stick
Fabric-like	yú heʔər ha	cloth
Contained in cup	lídí he-niɬ ha	tea (in cup)
Contained in pail	naɬtšəθ e heɬ-xes ha	(full) bag
Loose textured	tɬʼoɣ te-tšər ha	grass
Mushy	hotɬʼ əs te-tɬe ha	lard
Plural/ropelike {	tʼasí ɬã teɬ-déɬ ha	things
	tɬʼuli teɬ-déɬ ha	rope

Table 9.2: Verbs of handling for noun classes in Dëne Sųłiné (Chipewyan) (**cook:1986**). Examples are "3rd person will throw *noun*".

9.6. Classificatory verbs and noun classes

Like all Na-Dene languages, Tlingit has a system of classificatory verbs which depend on physical characteristics of an object referent.

Abbrev.	Class	Example nouns
GEN	General object	book, stone, brick, candy, unclassified
SRO	Small Round Object	coin, apple, ball, button, pinecone, egg
OWP	Object With Parts	belt, chair, radio, walkman
RFO	Round Framelike Object	bracelet, keyring, eyeglasses, string of beads
UFO	Uncoiled Flexible Object	rope, thread, bull kelp, spruce root, wire
CFO	Coiled Flexible Object	coil of spruce root, coil of rope, hank of yarn
FC	Filled Container	basket of berries, shovel of mud, jar of fish eggs
EC	Empty Container	cup, drum, bowl, pot, canoe, bucket, trash can
SSO	Slender Stiff Object	stick, rifle, broom, paddle, sapling, post, staff
SSS	Small Slender Stiff object	pencil, toothpick, splinter, knife, arrow, file
FFO	Flat Flexible Object	towel, shirt, flag, blanket, sail, pants, tent
AHO	Animate Holdable Object	baby, cat, dog, chicken, frog, sheep, downed bird
DWO	Dead Weight Object	corpse, carcass, sleeping child, unconscious body
BFO	Bundled Flexible Objects	bundle of blankets, bunch of shirts, pile of tarps
PLO	Plural Objects	tools, books, fistful of coins, handful of berries
...	...	...

Table 9.3: Tlingit noun classes.

Abbrev.	Verb	Example form	Noun
GEN	ÿa-tee	xʼúxʼ yaa anatéen	book
SRO	ka-ÿa-tee	koochʼéitʼaa yaa akanatéen	ball
OWP	si-tee	atshiḵóok yaa anastéen	radio
RFO	ka-si-tee	kées yaa akanastéen	bracelet
UFO	ji-ka-si-tee	tíxʼ yaa jikanastéen	rope
CFO	ji-ka-ÿa-tee	tíxʼ yaa jikanatéen	(coil of) rope
FC	si-ʔeen	káaxwei yaa anas.ín	(cup of) coffee
EC	ÿa-taan	gúxʼaa yaa anatán	(empty) cup
SSO	si-taan	ḵáasʼ yaa akanatán	stick
SSS	ka-si-taan	kooxídaa yaa akanastán	pencil
FFO	ÿa-ʔaax̱	kʼoodásʼ yaa ana.áx̱	shirt
AHO	si-noo	keitl yaa anasnúk	dog
DWO	si-taa	cháatl yaa anastéin	(dead) halibut
BFO	li-naa	sʼísaa yaa analnán	(bundle of) sails
PLO	yei-si-nei	jishagóonxʼ yaa yéi anasneen	tools

Table 9.4: Verbs of handling for noun classes. Examples are all "3rd person is carrying *noun*".

Abbrev.	Verb	Example form	Noun
GEN	ÿa-ḡeex'	x'úx' aawaḡíx'	book
SRO	ka-ÿa-ḡeex'	kooch'éit'aa akawooḡéex'	ball
OWP	si-ḡeex'	atshiḵóok awsiḡéex'	radio
RFO			
UFO			
CFO			
FC			
EC			
SSO			
SSS	ka-si-ḡeex'	kooxídaa akawoosḡéex'	pencil
FFO			
AHO	ÿa-ẍeech	keitl aawaẍích	dog
DWO			
BFO			
PLO	ÿa-ḡeech		

Table 9.5: Verbs of throwing for noun classes.

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Abbrev.	Verb	Example form	Noun
GEN	ÿa-t'ei	tákl aawat'ei	hammer
SRO	ka-ÿa-t'ei	k'wát' akaawat'ei	egg
OWP			
RFO			
UFO	si-t'ei	tíx' awsit'ei	rope
CFO			
FC			
EC			
SSO			
SSS	ka-si-t'ei	kooxídaa akawsit'ei	pencil
FFO			
AHO			
DWO			
BFO			
PLO			

Table 9.6: Verbs of finding for noun classes.

9.6.1.   General object (GEN)

9.6.2.   Small round object (SRO)

9.6.3.   Object with parts (OWP)

9.6.4.   Round framelike object (RFO)

9.6.5.   Slender stiff object (SSO)

9.6.6.   Small slender stiff object (SSS)

9.6.7.   Uncoiled flexible object (UFO)

9.6.8.   Coiled flexible object (CFO)

9.6.9.   Flat flexible object (FFO)

9.6.10.   Bundled flexible objects (BFO)

9.6.11.   Filled container (FC)

9.6.12.   Empty container (EC)

9.6.13.   Animate holdable object (AHO)

9.6.14.   Dead weight object (DWO)

9.6.15.   Plural objects (PLO)

9.6.16.   Other classes with defective paradigms

10. *Syntax*

Tlingit syntax is almost entirely unstudied. **naish:1966** made the first attempt to address the syntactic system of Tlingit, but did so using tagmemic theory which has since fallen out of fashion. **leer:1991** sketched Tlingit syntax in his dissertation (**leer:1991**) using a combination of ad hoc techniques and Sadock's autolexical syntax. Seth Cable[1] is currently the foremost expert on Tlingit syntax, working largely in the generative syntax tradition (Government and Binding, Minimalist Program, etc.). His dissertation (**cable:2007**) focused on certain syntactic properties of *sá* and the wh-questions with which it is used. Other problems he has addressed include various interrogative phenomena (**cable:2006b**), the apparent freedom of word order (**cable:2009**), and the underlying structure of free relative clauses (**cable:2005b**).

10.1.   Word order

Tlingit can be described as having free word order,[2] as seen in the following examples from **cable:2009** (Note that the *a-~∅-* alternation is predictable, see §?? for details.)

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1.   His website is http://people.umass.edu/scable/
2.   **schaufele:1991** offers the better "phrase order", but I will use the conventional term.

(101) a. SOV:

    wé   shaawátch   xóots   awsiteen

[S wé   shaawát-ch] [O xóots]   [V a-ÿu-∅-si-teen]

[S DEM.MDIST woman-ERG] [O brown.bear] [V 3O-PFV-3S-CL[–D, s, +I]-see]

"the woman saw the bear"

  b. SVO:

    wé   shaawátch   wusiteen   xóots

[S wé   shaawát-ch] [V ∅-ÿu-∅-si-teen]   [O xóots]

[S DEM.MDIST woman-ERG] [V 3O-PFV-3S-CL[–D, s, +I]-see] [O brown.bear]

  c. OVS: xóots awsiteen wé shaawátch

  d. OSV: xóots wé shaawátch wusiteen

  e. VSO: awsiteen wé shaawátch xóots

  f. VOS: awsiteen xóots wé shaawátch

Not all phrase orders are equal in Tlingit, however. **cable:2009** notes "there are of course discourse pragmatic effects associated with particular orders" (see §??), and further says "Keri Edwards (p.c.) reports that some speakers find the SVO and VSO orders … to be awkward, characterizing them as 'backwards' and only said in great moments of excitement".

[[See also §?? for effects of word order on discourse.]]

10.2. Transitivity

10.2.1. Causatives

10.2.2. Pseudopassives

10.3. Sentence types

10.3.1. Commands

10.3.2. Propositions

10.3.3. Requests

10.3.4. Declarations

10.3.5. Exclamations

10.3.6. Desideratives

10.3.7. Formulae

10.4. Focus

10.4.1. Focusing

10.4.2. Multiple foci

10.4.3. Extraposition

10.5. Topic

10.5.1. Topicality

10.5.2. Address

10.5.3. Interjections

10.6. Pronouns and anaphora

10.6.1. Pronouns

10.6.1.1. Differences between pronouns and pronominals

10.6.1.2. Personal pronouns

10.6.1.3. Discourse pronouns

10.6.1.4. Indefinite pronouns

10.6.1.5. Reflexives

10.6.1.6. Reciprocals

10.6.2. Antecedents

10.6.3. Locatives

10.6.4. Intersentential anaphora

10.7. Relativization

10.7.1. Subject relativization

10.7.2. Object relativization

10.8. Phrase structure

10.8.1. Noun phrases

10.8.2. Verb phrases

10.8.3. Postpositional phrases

10.9. Conjunction and coordination

10.10. Ellipsis

11.   *Discourse phenomena*

11.1.   Code-switching

The Tlingit speech community is today entirely bilingual in English. Many older speakers have English as an L2, having learned it during their early formal education around age ten or so, a fact evidenced by numerous types of interference despite decades of speaking mostly English. Younger speakers typically acquired English as an L1, contemporaneously with their acquisition of Tlingit. Because of this widespread bilingualism, code-switching is natural and common among all Tlingit speakers today.

I must note that I am not an expert on code-switching or bilingualism, and hence I can offer in this section only anecdotal evidence of Tlingit-English code-switching rather than an extensive analysis of the phenomenon. Nonetheless I hope that this will serve to at least inspire other researchers to investigate further. I also intend for this section to reassure language revitalizationists that code-switching is a natural phenomenon and should not be looked upon with concern by teachers and learners.

Code-switching from Tlingit to English and back is not uncommon in Tlingit narrative, although it is usually not very extensive. In contrast, code-switching from English to Tlingit and back is relatively common in English narrative. Thus although a long narrative in Tlingit might have only one or two phrases in English, a long narrative in English will often have occasional interjections of Tlingit words, names, and phrases. The latter does depend on the audience however, and when speaking to English monolinguals it is not uncommon for a Tlingit speaker to provide sequential translations of Tlingit elements injected in English narrative.

dauenhauer:1987 offer some examples of code switching selected from the narratives collected in their book *Haa Shuká, Our Ancestors*. They explain:

> [English code-switching] is usually done for some kind of emphasis,

sometimes for humor or to establish detachment or "aesthetic distance" from the story – but not because they don't know the Tlingit word.

dauenhauer:1987 give four different examples, each of a somewhat different type of code-switching. All are taken from *Shaadaax'* Robert Zuboff's telling of *Táax'aa* "Mosquito".[1] The first two are in a single sentence, where *Shaadaax'* is discussing his boat "Guide".

(102) a. Tle ch'u yées yadák'wx̱   x̱at sateeyídax̱
           tle ch'u yées yát-k'-x̱   x̱at-sa-tee-ÿí-dax̱
           just even young child-DIM-PERT 1SG.O-CL[–D, s, –I]-be-ATTR-ABL

              s'eenáa yaakw ax̱   jee   yéi wootee.
              s'eenáa yaakw ax̱   jín-:   yéi=Ø-ÿu-ÿa-tee
              lamp   boat 1SG.PSS hand-LOC thus=3O-PFV-CL[–D, Ø, +I]-be

           "From just when I was a young child I had a gas boat."

       b. I had nineteen hundred and six model

       c. tle   shóogunáx̱   come outx̱
           tle   shóogu-náx̱ come out-x̱
           just first-PERL   come out-PERT

              yaa nastéeni.
              ÿaa=Ø-na-s-tée-n-ÿí
              along=3O-NCNJ-CL[+D, s, –I]-be-VAR-ATTR

           "from when they first came out."

The next example is from a few moments later, where *Shaadaax'* says that he had given one of his boats to his son who wrecked it.

(103) a. Tle akawliwál',
           tle a-ka-ÿu-Ø-li-wál'
           just 3O-HSFC-PFV-3S-CL[–D, l, +I]-break

           "He just broke it (into many pieces),"

       b. he wrecked the boat,

---

1. This story is also known in English as "The Cannibal Giant", and tells the story of a man who kills a giant cannibal whose ashes become mosquitos.

    c.   wé   a   yíkt   át

        wé   a   yík-t   á-t

        DEM.MDIST 3N.PSS inside-PERT there-PERT

         naxakúxji   aa   kúnáx.

         na-xa-Ø-kúx-ch-ÿí   aa   kúnáx

         NCNJ-1SG.S-CL[–D, Ø, –I]-go.boat-FREQ-ATTR PART very

        "the one I used to go around a lot in."

Another wonderful example is from *Kéet Yaanaayí* Willie Marks, telling the story of Naatsilanéi. [2] In this story *Kéet Yaanaayí* code-switches between Tlingit and English a number of times, but at one point code-switches to Cantonese which he learned from cannery workers in his youth. The original Cantonese numbers are given in IPA with customary tone numbers.

(104) a. Yet, gee, saam, sée,

          /jat¹/ /ji⁶/ /sa:m¹/ /si:³/

          one   two three   four

           yóo áwé kei kawduwagíx'.

           yóo=áwé=kei=Ø-ka-ÿu-du-ÿa-gíx'

           thus=FOC.MDIST=up=3O-HSFC-PFV-3OBV.S-CL[–D, Ø, +I]-throw.SRO

           "One, two, three, four, they tossed it up (in the air)."

---

2.   This is the story of the man *Naatsilanéi* who creates killer whales (*kéet, Orcinus orca* L.) from yellow-cedar (*xaay, Callitropsis nootkatensis* (D. Don) Florin) wood, whom he directs to kill his brothers in revenge for abandoning him.

11.2.   Reference tracking

11.3.   Point of view

11.4.   Functions of relatives

11.5.   Tense/aspect/mood in narratives

11.6.   Topic shift

11.7.   Word order

11.8.   Ellipsis

12.   *Language contact*

12.1.   Russian

12.2.   Chinook Jargon

12.3.   English

12.4.   Effects on other languages

12.4.1.   English

English has borrowed two substantive nouns from Tlingit, namely *nagoonberry* and *hooch*, as well as a wide variety of placenames and personal names.

12.4.2.   Kaska

The Kaska language is an Athabaskan language spoken in the southeastern Yukon Territory and northeastern British Columbia. Traditional Kaska territory borders the Interior Tlingit as well as the Tahltan. **moore:2002** discusses historical Tlingit–Kaska interactions, and offers a short list of loanwords in Kaska which derive from Tlingit.

Tlingit	English	Kaska	English
hít-ÿí	house-PSS	hédi	house
gúxʼaa	cup, dipper	kukʼaa	cup
táaxʼálʼ	needle	taakʼátl	needle
óonaa	gun	úúnee	gun
at tuteiyí	bullet	etutèéʼ ~ eedutèéʼ	bullet
gamdáan	horse	gúndáán	horse
xʼúxʼ	paper, membrane	kʼúúk	paper, book
sʼeik̲	smoke	tsʼiík	cigarette
sukwnéin	flour	súgunèéʼ ~ súnèéʼ	flour
kʼúntsʼ	potato	kʼųųts ~ kʼuuts	potato

Table 12.1: Tlingit loanwords in the Kaska language, adapted from **moore**:2002
Note that the Tlingit forms given here are specific to the Interior dialect.

13.   Genealogy

Speculation about the relationship of Tlingit to other languages has a long, distinguished history.

buschmann:1857 made an early attempt to connect Tlingit to the Akimel O'odham (Pima) language of Arizona and Sonora. He seems to have worked from Veniaminov's publication about Tlingit (**veniaminov:1846**), which poorly represented the phoneme system of Tlingit and hence was not very effective for historical-comparative work. The results that **buschmann:1857** offered are predictably unconvincing, although it is intriguing that his comparandum of Akimel O'odham was not very geographically distant from the Southern Athabaskan languages which have proven today to be distant relatives of Tlingit.

13.1.   Pre-Tlingit

13.2.   Leer's endohybrid hypothesis

13.3.   Proto-Na-Dene

An outstanding problem in the reconstruction of Na-Dene is the relative paucity of cognate nouns between the Athabaskan languages and Tlingit.

13.4.   Dene-Yeniseic hypothesis
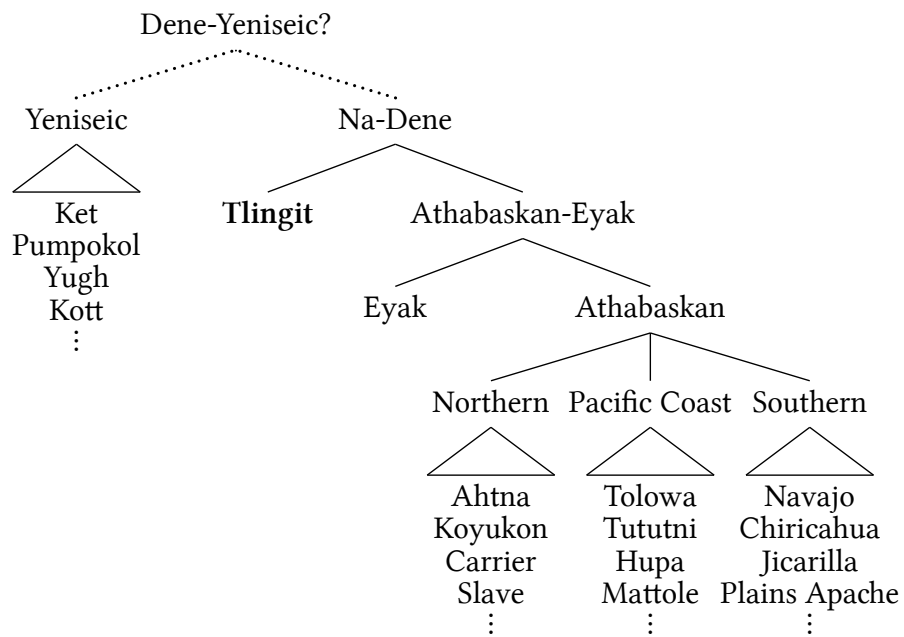
Figure 13.1: Na-Dene genealogical relationships. Haida is excluded. Athabaskan organization is geographic and not historical.

Appendices

A.   *Sample texts*

A.1.   Other sources for written Tlingit

A.1.1.   Published works

A.1.2.   Unpublished sources

A.2.   Other sources for spoken Tlingit

Public archives. Private archives. Unpublished transcriptions.

A.3.   Conversational text

A.4.   Oral history text

B. Dictionary

This dictionary provides a list of all Tlingit words which appear in the examples and texts in this grammar. Entries are separated by type, with one section for verb themes, one section for nouns, and another section for words of all other types (particles, adjectives, adverbs).

B.1. Verb themes

This section is organized similarly to the system used by **story:1973** for the Tlingit–English part of that dictionary. Thus themes are organized alphabetically by root, and then subsequently by classifier and thematic prefixes. Note that themes appearing in this grammar may not exist in **story:1973** and themes that do appear in both may have a different meaning here than given by **story:1973**

B.2. Nouns

This section is organized alphabetically by initial letter, ignoring any obligatory possessors for inalienable nouns. Nouns listed here which appear in **leer:2001** are noted [[how]], and those which appear in **naish:1976** are noted [[how]].

B.3. Others

This section is simply organized alphabetically by initial letter.

C.   Phoneme illustrations

C.1.   Consonants

The following table gives example nouns with each phonemic consonant in Tlingit appearing in both word-initial and word-final positions. The example words are adapted from **maddieson**:**2001** with various corrections, changes, and additions. Parts of the table filled with em dashes indicate positions where consonants which do not occur. Thus aspirated obstruents do not occur in the coda, nor are glottal consonants permitted finally. The only lacuna in this table is final /qʼ/; this is an accidental gap given both that labialized /qʷ/ exists and that Tlingit speakers feel that final /qʼ/ is possible but just does not occur. The orthographic symbols for unaspirated consonants are applicable only to syllable-initial position since the symbols for aspirated consonants are used for coda consonants which are actually unaspirated.

	Cons	Orth	Initial		Final	
			Word	*Translation*	*Word*	*Translation*
Apical	t	*d*	táː	weasel	ʔaːt	father's sister
	tʰ	*t*	tʰaːn	sealion	—	—
	tʼ	*tʼ*	tʼá:	board	χʼʷáːt	dolly varden
	ts	*dz*	tsaːs	thong	kʰats	lime
	tsʰ	*ts*	tsʰaː	harbor seal	—	—
	tsʼ	*tsʼ*	tsʼáqɬ	filth, dirt, stain	xaːtsʼ	distant blue sky
	s	*s*	saːk	eulachon	ʔaːs	tree, spruce
	sʼ	*sʼ*	sʼaːw	dungeness crab	haːsʼ	vomit
	n	*n*	naː	clan, tribe	ʔaːn	town, land

(continued on next page)

	Cons	Orth	Initial Word	Initial Translation	Final Word	Final Translation
Palatal	tʃ	j	tʃá:tʃi	snowshoe	qá:tʃ	rug
	tʃʰ	ch	tʃʰa:n	mother-in-law	—	—
	tʃ'	ch'	tʃ'á:k'	bald eagle	ʃá:tʃ'	needlefish
	ʃ	sh	ʃa:	mountain	tʃá:ʃ	brush (plants)
	j	y	ja:	sea trout	tʰa:j	hot springs
Lateral	tɬ	dl	tɬe:t	snow	tʃʰa:tɬ	halibut
	tɬʰ	tl	tɬʰá:	mother	—	—
	tɬ'	tl'	tɬ'e:q	finger	tɬ'á:tɬ'	yellow
	ɬ	l	ɬáx'	heron, crane	ʃá:ɬ	fish trap
	ɬ'	l'	ɬ'á:	breast	ká:ɬ'	clam
Velar	k	g	ka:w	drum, hour	ɬ'a:k	dress
	kʰ	k	kʰa:	yardstick	—	—
	k'	k'	k'á:χ'	fish kidney	kʰa:k'	forehead
	kʷ	gw	kʷé:ɬ	sack	na:kʷ	medicine
	kʰʷ	kw	kʰʷá:n	smallpox	—	—
	k'ʷ	k'w	k'ʷát'	bird's egg	ʔa:k'ʷ	small lake
	x	x	xa:k	empty seashell	s'áx	starfish
	x'	x'	x'á:	point	x'á:x'	apple
	xʷ	xw	xʷátʃa:	scraper	ká:xʷ	duck
	x'ʷ	x'w	x'ʷán	boot	qá:x'ʷ	herring roe
	w	w	wa:q	eye	ja:w	herring
	†ɰ	ÿ	ɰá	face, horiz. sfc.	ɰa:ɰ	whale
Uvular	q	ḡ	qá:tɬ	pilot bread	tɬ'á:q	arrowhead
	qʰ	k̲	qʰákʷ	basket	—	—
	q'	k̲'	q'á:tʃ'	red seaweed	?	?
	qʷ	ḡw	qʷá:ɬ	fart	ná:qʷ	octopus
	qʰʷ	k̲w	qʰʷá:n	people, tribe	—	—
	q'ʷ	k̲'w	q'ʷátɬ	cooking pot	q'é:q'ʷ	knife wound
	χ	x̲	χa:kʷ	fingernail	s'á:χ	groundhog
	χ'	x̲'	χ'á:kʷ	kokanee	tʃʰe:χ'	thimbleberry
	χʷ	x̲w	χʷastá:	canvas, denim	húnχʷ	older brother
	χ'ʷ	x̲'w	χ'ʷá:ɬ'	down feathers	ɬé:χ'ʷ	red face paint

(continued on next page)

	Cons	Orth	Initial		Final	
			Word	Translation	Word	Translation
	ʔ	.	ʔáː	lake	—	—
Glottal	ˣʔʷ	.w	⟦ʔ⟧	⟦ʔ⟧	—	—
	h	h	háːt	riptide	—	—
	ˣhʷ	hw	jiːhʷaːn	you (pl.)	—	—

Table C.2: Words illustrating Tlingit consonants. Adapted and extended from **maddieson:2001**

C.2. Vowels

Vow.	Open		Closed	
	Word	*Meaning*	*Word*	*Meaning*
/iː/	/síː/	doll	/kʰí:t/	killer whale
/i/	/kʼí/	base, rump	/sʼín/	carrot
/eː/	/teː/	trail, path, road	/neːɬ/	home, indoors
/e/	/sé/	voice	/nesʼ/	lotion, liniment
/aː/	/sáː/	name	/haːt/	current, flow
/a/	/ʃá/	head	/qáχ/	rabbit
/uː/	/χuː/	among	/kúːn/	gold
/u/	/ʃú/	end	/kʰút/	nest

Table C.3: Vowels in closed and open syllables.

Rnd.		Vow.	Word	Meaning
–	{	/iː/	/híːn/	fresh water, river
		/i/	/hít/	house, building
+	{	/uː/	/huːn/	sale, commerce
		/u/	/húnχʷ/	older brother

Table C.4: Front unrounded and back rounded vowels in comparison.

D. Verb paradigms

In this chapter I offer a handful of illustrative verb paradigms for the major types of verb themes.

(105) Intransitive closed root, thematic object *a*: *a-S-CL[–D, Ø]-ḡwáal'* "S fart (loudly)"

    a. third singular subject, imperfective
        aḡwáal'
        a-Ø-Ø-Ø-ḡwáal'
        3O-ZCNJ-3S-CL[–D, Ø, –I]-fart
        "he farts; he is farting"

    b. third singular subject, imperfective negative
        tléil ooḡwáal'
        tléil a-u-Ø-Ø-Ø-ḡwáal'
        NEG   3O-IRR-ZCNJ-3S-CL[–D, Ø, –I]-fart
        "he does not fart; he is not farting"

    c. third singular subject, perfective
        aawaḡwál'
        a-ÿu-Ø-ÿa-ḡwál'
        3O-PFV-3S-CL[–D, Ø, +I]-fart
        "he farted; he has farted"

    d. third singular subject, perfective negative
        awuḡwáal'
        a-u-ÿu-Ø-Ø-ḡwáal'
        3O-IRR-PFV-3S-CL[–D, Ø, –I]-fart
        "he did not fart; he has not farted"

e. third singular subject, perfective habitual (simplex)
    ooḡwáal'ch
    a-u-∅-∅-∅-ḡwáal'-ch
    3O-IRR-ZCNJ-3S-CL[–D, ∅, –I]-fart-HAB
    "he always farts; he farts all the time"

f. third singular subject, perfective habitual (composite)
    aḡwáal'   nooch
    a-u-∅-∅-∅-ḡwáal'   nooch
    3O-IRR-ZCNJ-3S-CL[–D, ∅, –I]-fart   AUX.HAB
    "he always farts; he farts all the time"

g. third singular subject, future
    akḡwaḡwáal'
    a-ga-u-ḡa-∅-∅-ḡwáal'
    3O-GCNJ-IRR-ĠCNJ-3S-CL[–D, ∅, –I]-fart
    "he will fart"

h. third singular subject, potential negative
    tléil aadé   ooḡaaḡwaal'i   yé
    tléil á-dé   a-u–ḡa-∅-∅-ḡwáal'-ÿi   yé
    NEG it-ALL 3O-IRR-ĠCNJ-3S-CL[–D, ∅, –I]-fart-ATTR thus
    "no way can he fart"

i. third singular subject, potential decessive
    ooḡaḡwáal'in
    a-u-ḡa-∅-∅-ḡwáal'-in
    3O-IRR-ĠCNJ-3S-CL[–D, ∅, –I]-fart-DEC
    "he would have farted"

D.1.   S cook O *O-S-CL[–D, s]-ʔee*

D.2.   S eat O *O-S-CL[–D, s]-x̲aa*

Imperfective	*Imperfective Negative*
x̱asa.ée	tléil ux̱sa.ee
∅-∅-x̱a-sa-ʔée	tléil ∅-u-∅-x̱a-sa-ʔee
3O-ZCNJ-1SG.S-CL[–D, s, –I]-cook	NEG 3O-IRR-ZCNJ-1SG.S-CL[–D, s, –I]-cook
"I cook it"	"I don't cook it"
tusa.ée	tléil tusa.ee
∅-∅-tu-sa-ʔée	tléil ∅-u-∅-tu-sa-ʔee
3O-ZCNJ-1PL.S-CL[–D, s, –I]-cook	NEG 3O-IRR-ZCNJ-1PL.S-CL[–D, s, –I]-cook
"we cook it"	"we don't cook it"
isa.ée	tléil isa.ee
∅-∅-i-sa-ʔée	tléil ∅-u-∅-i-sa-ʔee
3O-ZCNJ-2SG.S-CL[–D, s, –I]-cook	NEG 3O-IRR-ZCNJ-2SG.S-CL[–D, s, –I]-cook
"you (sg.) cook it"	"you (sg.) don't cook it"
yisa.ée	tléil yisa.ee
∅-∅-yi-sa-ʔée	tléil ∅-u-∅-yi-sa-ʔee
3O-ZCNJ-2PL.S-CL[–D, s, –I]-cook	NEG 3O-IRR-ZCNJ-2PL.S-CL[–D, s, –I]-cook
"you (pl.) cook it"	"you (pl.) don't cook it"
as.ée	tléil oos.ee
a-∅-∅-sa-ʔée	tléil ∅-u-∅-∅-sa-ʔee
3O-ZCNJ-3S-CL[–D, s, –I]-cook	NEG 3O-IRR-ZCNJ-3S-CL[–D, s, –I]-cook
"he cooks it"	"he doesn't cook it"
has as.ée	tléil has oos.ee
has-a-∅-∅-sa-ʔée	tléil has-∅-u-∅-∅-sa-ʔee
PL-3O-ZCNJ-3S-CL[–D, s, –I]-cook	NEG PL-3O-IRR-ZCNJ-3S-CL[–D, s, –I]-cook
"they cook it"	"they don't cook it"
dus.ée	tléil dus.ee
∅-∅-du-s-ʔée	tléil ∅-u-∅-du-s-ʔee
3O-ZCNJ-INDH.S-CL[+D, s, –I]-cook	NEG 3O-IRR-ZCNJ-INDH.S-CL[+D, s, –I]-cook
"people cook it; it is cooked"	"people don't cook it; it isn't cooked"

Table D.1: Imperfective paradigm of *3O-S-CL[–D, s]-ʔee* "S cook 3rd O"

Imperfective Decessive	*Imperfective Decessive Negative*
x̱asa.eeyín	tléil ux̱sa.eeyín
∅-∅-x̱a-sa-ʔee-ín	tléil ∅-u-∅-x̱a-sa-ʔee-ín
3O-ZCNJ-1SG.S-CL[–D, s, –I]-cook-DEC	NEG 3O-IRR-ZCNJ-1SG.S-CL[–D, s, –I]-cook-DEC
"I used to cook it"	"I didn't used to cook it"
tusa.eeyín	tléil tusa.eeyín
∅-∅-tu-sa-ʔee-ín	tléil ∅-u-∅-tu-sa-ʔee-ín
3O-ZCNJ-1PL.S-CL[–D, s, –I]-cook -DEC	NEG 3O-IRR-ZCNJ-1PL.S-CL[–D, s, –I]-cook-DEC
"we used to cook it"	"we didn't used to cook it"
isa.eeyín	tléil isa.eeyín
∅-∅-i-sa-ʔée	tléil ∅-u-∅-i-sa-ʔee-ín
3O-ZCNJ-2SG.S-CL[–D, s, –I]-cook-DEC	NEG 3O-IRR-ZCNJ-2SG.S-CL[–D, s, –I]-cook-DEC
"you (sg.) used to cook it"	"you (sg.) didn't used to cook it"
yisa.eeyín	tléil yisa.eeyín
∅-∅-yi-sa-ʔée	tléil ∅-u-∅-yi-sa-ʔee
3O-ZCNJ-2PL.S-CL[–D, s, –I]-cook -DEC	NEG 3O-IRR-ZCNJ-2PL.S-CL[–D, s, –I]-cook-DEC
"you (pl.) used to cook it"	"you (pl.) didn't used to cook it"
as.eeyín	tléil as.eeyín
a-∅-∅-sa-ʔee-ín	tléil a-u-∅-∅-sa-ʔee-ín
3O-ZCNJ-3S-CL[–D, s, –I]-cook-DEC	NEG 3O-IRR-ZCNJ-3S-CL[–D, s, –I]-cook-DEC
"he used to cook it"	"he didn't used to cook it"
has as.eeyín	tléil has as.eeyín
has-a-∅-∅-sa-ʔée	tléil has-∅-u-∅-∅-sa-ʔee
PL-3O-ZCNJ-3S-CL[–D, s, –I]-cook-DEC	NEG PL-3O-IRR-ZCNJ-3S-CL[–D, s, –I]-cook-DEC
"they used to cook it"	"they didn't used to cook it"
dus.eeyín	tléil dus.eeyín
∅-∅-du-s-ʔée	tléil ∅-u-∅-du-s-ʔee
3O-ZCNJ-INDH.S-CL[+D, s, –I]-cook-DEC	NEG 3O-IRR-ZCNJ-INDH.S-CL[+D, s, –I]-cook-DEC
"people used to cook it;	"people didn't used to cook it;
it used to be cooked	it didn't used to be cooked"

Table D.2: Imperfective decessive paradigm of *3O-S-CL[–D, s]-ʔee* "S cook 3rd O"

Perfective	Perfective Negative
x̱wasi.ée	tléil x̱wasa.í
Ø-ÿu-x̱a-si-ʔée	tléil Ø-u-ÿu-x̱a-sa-ʔee
3O-PFV-1SG.S-CL[–D, s, +I]-cook	NEG 3O-IRR-PFV-1SG.S-CL[–D, s, –I]-cook
"I cooked it; I have cooked it"	"I didn't cook it; I haven't cooked it"
wutusi.ée	tléil wutusa.í
Ø-ÿu-tu-si-ʔée	tléil Ø-u-ÿu-tu-sa-ʔee
3O-PFV-1PL.S-CL[–D, s, +I]-cook	NEG 3O-IRR-PFV-1PL.S-CL[–D, s, –I]-cook
"we cooked it; we have cooked it"	"we didn't cook it; we haven't"
yisi.ée	tléil yisa.í
Ø-ÿu-i-si-ʔée	tléil Ø-u-ÿu-i-sa-ʔee
3O-PFV-2SG.S-CL[–D, s, +I]-cook	NEG 3O-IRR-PFV-2SG.S-CL[–D, s, –I]-cook
"you (sg.) cooked it; have cooked it"	"you (sg.) didn't cook it; you haven't"
yeeysi.ée	tléil yeeysa.í
Ø-ÿu-yi-si-ʔée	tléil Ø-u-ÿu-yi-sa-ʔee
3O-PFV-2PL.S-CL[–D, s, +I]-cook	NEG 3O-IRR-PFV-2PL.S-CL[–D, s, –I]-cook
"you (pl.) cooked it; have cooked it"	"you (pl.) didn't cook it; you haven't"
awsi.ée	tléil awus.í
a-ÿu-Ø-si-ʔée	tléil Ø-u-ÿu-Ø-sa-ʔee
3O-PFV-3S-CL[–D, s, +I]-cook	NEG 3O-IRR-PFV-3S-CL[–D, s, –I]-cook
"he cooked it; he has cooked it"	"he didn't cook it; he hasn't cooked it"
has awsi.ée	tléil has awus.í
has-a-ÿu-Ø-si-ʔée	tléil has-Ø-u-ÿu-Ø-sa-ʔee
PL-3O-PFV-3S-CL[–D, s, +I]-cook	NEG PL-3O-IRR-PFV-3S-CL[–D, s, –I]-cook
"they cooked it; they have cooked it"	"they didn't cook it; they haven't"
wududzi.ée	tléil wudus.í
Ø-ÿu-du-si-ʔée	tléil Ø-u-ÿu-du-sa-ʔee
3O-PFV-INDH.S-CL[–D, s, +I]-cook	NEG 3O-IRR-PFV-INDH.S-CL[–D, s, –I]-cook
"people cooked it; it was cooked"	"people didn't cook it; it wasn't cooked"

Table D.3: Perfective paradigm of *3O-S-CL[–D, s]-ʔee* "S cook 3rd O"

Perfective Habitual	Perfective Habitual Negative
x̱wasa.éeych	tléil x̱wasa.éeych
∅-ÿu-x̱a-sa-ʔée-y-ch	tléil ∅-u-ÿu-x̱a-sa-ʔée-y-ch
3O-PFV-1SG.S-CL[–D, s, –I]-cook- -VAR-HAB	NEG 3O-IRR-PFV-1SG.S-CL[–D, s, –I]-cook- -VAR-HAB
"I always cook it"	"I never cook it"
tusa.éeych	tléil tusa.éeych
∅-ÿu-tu-sa-ʔée-y-ch	tléil ∅-u-ÿu-tu-sa-ʔée-y-ch
3O-PFV-1PL.S-CL[–D, s, –I]-cook- -VAR-HAB	NEG 3O-IRR-PFV-1PL.S-CL[–D, s, –I]-cook- -VAR-HAB
"we always cook it"	"we never cook it"
isa.éeych	tléil isa.éeych
∅-ÿu-i-sa-ʔée-y-ch	tléil ∅-u-ÿu-i-sa-ʔée-y-ch
3O-PFV-2SG.S-CL[–D, s, –I]-cook- -VAR-HAB	NEG 3O-IRR-PFV-2SG.S-CL[–D, s, –I]-cook- -VAR-HAB
"you (sg.) always cook it"	"you (sg.) never cook it"
yisa.éeych	tléil yisa.éeych
∅-ÿu-yi-sa-ʔée-y-ch	tléil ∅-u-ÿu-yi-sa-ʔée-y-ch
3O-PFV-2PL.S-CL[–D, s, –I]-cook- -VAR-HAB	NEG 3O-IRR-PFV-2PL.S-CL[–D, s, –I]-cook- -VAR-HAB
"you (pl.) always cook it"	"you (pl.) never cook it"
oos.éeych	tléil oos.éeych
a-ÿu-∅-sa-ʔée-y-ch	tléil ∅-u-ÿu-∅-sa-ʔée-y-ch
3O-PFV-3S-CL[–D, s, –I]-cook- -VAR-HAB	NEG 3O-IRR-PFV-3S-CL[–D, s, –I]-cook- -VAR-HAB
"he always cooks it"	"he never cooks it"
has oos.éeych	tléil has oos.éeych
has-a-ÿu-∅-sa-ʔée-y-ch	tléil has-∅-u-ÿu-∅-sa-ʔée-y-ch
PL-3O-PFV-3S-CL[–D, s, –I]-cook- -VAR-HAB	NEG PL-3O-IRR-PFV-3S-CL[–D, s, –I]-cook- -VAR-HAB
"they always cook it"	"they never cook it"
dus.éeych	tléil dus.éeych
∅-ÿu-du-s-ʔée-y-ch	tléil ∅-u-ÿu-du-s-ʔée-y-ch
3O-PFV-INDH.S-CL[+D, s, –I]-cook- -VAR-HAB	NEG 3O-IRR-PFV-INDH.S-CL[+D, s, –I]-cook- -VAR-HAB
"people always cook it; it is never …"	"people never cook it; it is always …"

Table D.4: Perfective habitual paradigm of *3O-S-CL[–D, s]-ʔee* "S cook 3rd O"

Future	*Future Negative*
kuk̲asa.ée	tléil ux̱sa.ee
∅-ga-u–g̱a-x̲a-sa-ʔée	tléil ∅-u-∅-x̱a-sa-ʔee
3O-GCNJ-IRR-G̱CNJ-1SG.S-CL[–D, s, –I]-cook	NEG 3O-IRR-ZCNJ-1SG.S-CL[–D, s, –I]-cook
"I will cook it"	"I don't cook it"
gax̲tusa.ée	tléil tusa.ee
∅-ga-u-g̱a-tu-sa-ʔée	tléil ∅-u-∅-tu-sa-ʔee
3O-GCNJ-IRR-G̱CNJ-1PL.S-CL[–D, s, –I]-cook	NEG 3O-IRR-ZCNJ-1PL.S-CL[–D, s, –I]-cook
"we will cook it"	"we don't cook it"
gag̱isa.ée	tléil isa.ee
∅-ga-u-g̱a-i-sa-ʔée	tléil ∅-u-∅-i-sa-ʔee
3O-GCNJ-IRR-G̱CNJ-2SG.S-CL[–D, s, –I]-cook	NEG 3O-IRR-ZCNJ-2SG.S-CL[–D, s, –I]-cook
"you (sg.) will cook it"	"you (sg.) don't cook it"
gaxyisa.ée	tléil yisa.ee
∅-ga-u-g̱a-yi-sa-ʔée	tléil ∅-u-∅-yi-sa-ʔee
3O-GCNJ-IRR-G̱CNJ-2PL.S-CL[–D, s, –I]-cook	NEG 3O-IRR-ZCNJ-2PL.S-CL[–D, s, –I]-cook
"you (pl.) will cook it"	"you (pl.) don't cook it"
agux̲sa.ée	tléil oos.ee
a-ga-u-g̱a-∅-sa-ʔée	tléil ∅-u-∅-∅-sa-ʔee
3O-GCNJ-IRR-G̱CNJ-3S-CL[–D, s, –I]-cook	NEG 3O-IRR-ZCNJ-3S-CL[–D, s, –I]-cook
"he will cook it"	"he doesn't cook it"
has agux̲sa.ée	tléil has oos.ee
has-a-ga-u-g̱a-∅-sa-ʔée	tléil has-∅-u-∅-∅-sa-ʔee
PL-3O-GCNJ-IRR-G̱CNJ-3S-CL[–D, s, –I]-cook	NEG PL-3O-IRR-ZCNJ-3S-CL[–D, s, –I]-cook
"they will cook it"	"they don't cook it"
gax̲dus.ée	tléil dus.ee
∅-ga-u-g̱a-du-s-ʔée	tléil ∅-u-∅-du-s-ʔee
3O-GCNJ-IRR-G̱CNJ-INDH.S-CL[+D, s, –I]-cook	NEG 3O-IRR-ZCNJ-INDH.S-CL[+D, s, –I]-cook
"people will cook it; it will be cooked"	"people don't cook it; it isn't cooked"

Table D.5: Future paradigm of *3O-S-CL[–D, s]-ʔee* "S cook 3rd O"

Imperative	Perfective Prohibitive
sa.í	líl yisa.eeyík̲
Ø-Ø-Ø-sa-ʔí	lí-l Ø-u-ÿu-i-sa-ʔee-ík̲
3O-ZCNJ-2SG.S-CL[–D, s, –I]-cook	PHIB-NEG 3O-IRR-PFV-2SG.S-CL[–D, s, –I]-cook-OPT
"(you (sg.)) cook it!"	"(you (sg.)) don't cook it!"
yisa.í	líl yeeysa.eeyík̲
Ø-Ø-yi-sa-ʔí	lí-l Ø-u-ÿu-yi-sa-ʔee-ík̲
3O-ZCNJ-2PL.S-CL[–D, s, –I]-cook	PHIB-NEG 3O-IRR-PFV-2PL.S-CL[–D, s, –I]-cook-OPT
"(you (pl.)) cook it!"	"(you (pl.)) don't cook it!"

Hortative	Hortative Negative
k̲asa.ee	
Ø-g̱a-x̱a-sa-ʔee	
3O-GCNJ-1SG.S-CL[–D, s, –I]-cook	
"let me cook it"	
g̱atusa.ee	
Ø-g̱a-tu-sa-ʔee	
3O-GCNJ-1PL.S-CL[–D, s, –I]-cook	
"let's cook it"	
ax̱sa.ee	
a-g̱a-Ø-sa-ʔee	
3O-GCNJ-3S-CL[–D, s, –I]-cook	
"let him cook it"	
has ax̱sa.ee	
has-a-g̱a-Ø-sa-ʔee	
PL-3O-GCNJ-3S-CL[–D, s, –I]-cook	
"let them cook it"	

Table D.6: Miscellaneous paradigms of *3O-S-CL[–D, s]-ʔee* "S cook 3rd O"

Potential	Potential Negative

Table D.7: Potential paradigms of *3O-S-CL[–D, s]-ʔee* "S cook 3rd O"

Imperfective	Imperfective Negative
x̱ax̱á	tléil x̱wax̱á
∅-∅-x̱a-∅-x̱á	tléil ∅-u-∅-x̱a-∅-x̱á
3O-ZCNJ-1SG.S-CL[–D, ∅, –I]-eat	NEG 3O-IRR-ZCNJ-1SG.S-CL[–D, s, –I]-eat
"I eat it; I'm eating it"	"I don't eat it; I'm not eating it"

Table D.8: Imperfective paradigm of *3O-S-CL[–D, ∅]-x̱aa* "S eat 3rd O"

E. Abbreviations

[[This list of abbreviations is handmade. It should be replaced with an automatic one.]] [[Need references to the sections where each abbreviation is discussed.]]

1, 2, 3	person
ABS	absolutive case, object of transitive verb
ALB	alienable noun
ALL	allative, "to, toward"
ALT	alternative, "back and forth"
AREAL	areal, "space, environment, weather, extent"
ASP	unspecified aspect
ATTR	attributive
AUX	auxiliary
BASE	meaningless base for pronominal attachment
cf.	compare
CL	classifier: voice, valency, realis, noun class, thematic
±D	D component: +D middle voice or thematic; –D non-middle
S	S component: {∅, *s*, *l*, *sh*}; valency, noun class, thematic
±I	I component: +I realis; –I irrealis
COND	conditional, "if, when"
CNJ	unspecified conjugation/aspect
CTNG	contingent, "if ever, whenever"
DEC	decessive
DEM	demonstrative
DIM	diminuitive
DIST	distal, far from speaker and listener
DSTRB	distributive
Eng.	English
ERG	ergative case, subject of transitive verb
FOC	focus
FREQ	frequentative aspect

FUT	future tense
GCNJ	*ga*-conjugation/aspect
G̱CNJ	*g̱a*-conjugation/aspect
H	human
HAB	habitual aspect
HSFC	horizontal surface, "top, flat, surface"
INAL	inalienable noun
INDH	indefinite human, "somebody"
INDN	indefinite nonhuman, "something"
INSTR	instrumental(-comitative) case, "with, using, accompanying"
IRR	irrealis
L1	first language
L2	second (or other) language
LOC	locative, "at, in, by, on"
MDST	mesiodistal, nearer to listener
MPRX	mesioproximal, nearer to speaker
N	nonhuman
NCNJ	*na*-conjugation/aspect
NEG	negative
O	object
OBV	obviate discourse argument
OPT	optative mood
PA	Proto-Athabaskan
PAE	Proto-Athabaskan-Eyak
PAET	Proto-Athabaskan-Eyak-Tlingit, a.k.a. Proto-Na-Dene (PND)
PFV	perfective aspect
PERL	perlative case, "through, along, across"
PERT	pertingent case, "at, in contact with, having the form of, member of"
PL	plural
PNCT	punctual case, "at/to a point"
PND	Proto-Na-Dene, a.k.a. Proto-Athabaskan-Eyak-Tlingit (PAET)
PROG	progressive aspect
PROX	proximal, closest to speaker
PRX	proximate discourse argument
PSS	possessive pronoun or possessed suffix
Q	wh-question
QUAL	qualifier
RECIP	reciprocal

REP	repetitive aspect
REV	reversive, "back, backwards"
RFLX	reflexive
S	subject
SBEN	self-benefactive
SER	serial aspect
SIM	similative, "like, as, similar to, equivalent with"
SG	singular
TERM	terminative, "cease, end, coming to a point"
VAR	stem variation
VSFC	vertical surface, "side, face, flat"
YN	yes/no question
ZCNJ	Ø-conjugation/aspect

F.   Symbols

The symbols in table ?? appear throughout this document attached to many different kinds of linguistic data. Preceding example sentences, they indicate the grammaticality of the sentence in relation to native speaker judgements. Preceding phonemes and words, they indicate the phonemic or historical status of the item. As such, they are often referred to as "stigmata" in the linguistic literature, a term which unfortunately collides with Leer's (**leer:1991**) "syllable nucleus stigmata" which are the four vowel modifications used in Tongass Tlingit and in historical reconstructions of Pre-Tlingit and Proto-Na-Dene. Instead of refering to the items in table ?? as stigmata, they will be simply termed "symbols" herein. The two subgroups in the table are defined by their contexts of use, with the grammaticality symbols used to indicate grammatical or phonological status of a given exemplar, and the phonemicity symbols used to indicate the phonemic status of exemplary sounds and words.

In grammatical examples, the symbol * (called "star") indicates that an example is ungrammatical, and the symbol ? (called "question") indicates that the example is questionably grammatical or otherwise grammatically peculiar. The following English examples demonstrate this usage.

(106)   a.   There is a pair of pants on the floor.

   b.   ? There are a pair of pants on the floor.

   c.   * There are the pair of pants on the floor.

The symbol % (called "percent") indicates that a given example is not elicited from a native speaker, but is instead extrapolated from existing data to form a *probably* grammatical sentence. The following Japanese examples demonstrate this function.

	Sym.	Meaning
grammaticality	*	ungrammatical
	?	questionable, peculiar, unknown
	%	not elicited from a native speaker, extrapolated
	!	irregular, remarkable, but still grammatical
	√	underlying or root form, not spoken
phonemicity	*	reconstructed, not historically attested
	†	dead, historically attested but no longer used
	?	questionable, marginal
	%	dialectal

Table F.1: List of grammaticality and phonemicity symbols.

(107) a. Hawai ga daisuki.
Hawai'i NOM love
"I love Hawai'i"

b. %Arasuka ga daisuki.
Alaska NOM love
"I love Alaska"

The symbol ! (called "bang"), which is only rarely used in this grammar, indicates a form that is expected to be ungrammatical but is nonetheless accepted and/or produced by native speakers such that it seems to be grammatical. Thus this symbol marks irregular forms where they are not adequately explained. This symbol should not be confused with the ordinary exclamation mark used at the end of utterances to indicate exclamatory forms such as anger, surprise, imperatives, and so forth.

(108) *na-S-CL[–D, Ø]-goot* "S (sg.) go (by foot)"

a. yaa nagút
ÿaa=na-Ø-Ø-gút
along=NCNJ-3SG.S-CL[–D, Ø, –I]-go.SG
"he is going along"

    b.   !gúk!
          Ø-Ø-Ø-gúk
          ZCNJ-2SG.S-CL[–D, Ø, –I]-go.SG
          "go!" (imperative)"

The grammaticality symbols *, ?, %, and ! can all be used in phonological contexts as well. The following examples illustrate their use in discussing [[a phonological issue]].

[[insert illuminating phonology example here]]

The √ symbol (called "root") is used to indicate that a given form is an underlying root rather than a noun, an important distinction given that nouns and roots often have similar shapes. For example, the Tlingit root √t'eex' is a root which indicates ice, hardness, and solidity, and it appears in a number of verb themes such as *O-Ø-CL[–D, Ø]-t'eex'* "O be difficult, hard", *O-ka-Ø-CL[–D, Ø]-t'eex'* "O harden, cake together", and *O-Ø-S-CL[–D, l]-t'eex'* "S freeze O, turn O to ice". But the root √t'eex' is also associated with the noun *t'éex'*, which differs from the root only in tone since roots are usually unspecified for tone. Here tone is distinctive, but for nouns with low tone the corresponding root may appear to be equal. To make the distinction clear, the symbol √ is used before roots to indicate their special status.

Discussion of sounds and phonemicity involves a different set of distinctions which uses some of the same symbols. Historical linguistics has a long tradition of using * to indicate sounds and etyma which are reconstructed and not historically attested in any spoken language. Thus the Proto-Indo-European (PIE) reconstruction *pṓds* has the Proto-Germanic (PGmc) reflex *fōtuz*, giving Gothic 𐍆𐍉𐍄𐌿𐍃 *fotus* and Modern English *foot*. These show the historical change of PIE *p to PGmc *f and thence to Gothic 𐍆 *f* and English *f*.

The symbol * also has another use, indicating that sounds are not phonemic or allophonic. This is similar to its use in grammatical and phonological contexts. Thus one might say that the sound *[b] does not exist in Tlingit and hence a form *[bʌ́.tə] from English /ˈbʌ.təɹ/ [ˈbʌ.ɾɻ] must become [kʷʌ́.tə] in Tlingit, phonemically /kʷá.ta/.

Sounds which are demonstrably extinct are rare among languages, usually occurring only in those languages that have an extensive literary tradition which records phonemes explicitly. Tlingit is a bit unique in this respect, since we have recordings of speakers who had a phoneme †/ɯ̨/ but this sound is lost today. The use of † (called "dagger" or "cross") to indicate extinct sounds is un-

common, but should be relatively transparent from its similar uses in biology to indicate extinct species and in genealogy to indicate deceased individuals.

Questionable or marginal sounds are indicated using $^?$ which is superscripted and thus different from ? used to indicate questionable grammatical or phonological forms. The meaning is roughly similar, thus $^?$/l/ can be said to have questionable status in Tlingit as an independent phoneme, as it appears only in a few Athabaskan borrowings in the Interior dialect and is otherwise regularly replaced by /n/.

The symbol $^\%$ indicates sounds that are dialectally restricted in distribution. The labial nasal $^\%$/m/ is one such sound, found only in the Interior dialects in certain morphophonological environments as well as in the word $^\%$/mã:/ which is otherwise /wa:/ in Tlingit. The distinction between questionable/marginal and dialectal is one of degree, explained for each particular exemplar.

G. Glossary

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Bibliography