

The Basics of Tlingit Verbal Structure

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Dzéiwsh

Kaakáak'w Hít, Deisheetaan, S'iknaḡ.ádi y., Shtax'héen Kwáan

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Tsu héide shugaxtutaan, yá yaakoosgé daakeit, haa jéex' aanáḱ has kawdik'éet'.

tsu hé-dé 0-shu-ga-w-ga-tu-0-tan-h
again MPRX-ALL 3.0-end-GCNJ-IRR-GMOD-1PL.S-CL[-D,0,-I]-handle-VAR
again here toward we will open it

yá yaa=ḱu-0-s-ge-0 daa-ká-át haa jée-x'
PROX MENT=AREAL=3.S-CL[+D,S,-I]-know-NMZ around-HSFC-thing 1PL.PSS possession-LOC
this knowledge container our possession in

á-náḱ has=ka-ÿu-0-di-k'it'-h
3N-ELAT PL=HSFC-PFV-3.S-CL[+D,0,+I]-leave-VAR
away from it they left

We will open it again, this container of knowledge, that they left behind in our possession.

— Kichnáalḱ, George Davis

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1 Introduction

The Tlingit¹ verb is highly polymorphemic, meaning that verbs are made up of a large number of distinct morphemes. It is not only fully conjugated verbs that are polymorphemic, the actual lexical entries contain large numbers of morphemes as well. In addition, the sequence of morphemes in a lexical entry is not contiguous, meaning that inflectional morphemes intervene between the morphemes that are lexically specified. This intricate structure makes working with Tlingit data very difficult for the uninitiated. In this document I hope to set out the basic properties of Tlingit verbs in a manner that is accessible to nonspecialist linguists.

This document is not meant to be a reference grammar, but instead an introductory guide that provides enough description of the verbal morphology and lexical structure to make the rest of the language more open to investigation by nonspecialists. People interested in Tlingit but lacking training in linguistics would do better to look to Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 2000 and Story & Naish 1973 rather than struggle with this document, but advanced Tlingit language learners may find this document more approachable than Leer 1991.

Many of the verbal morphemes in Tlingit do not have independent meanings as such, but are instead only meaningful in combination with other morphemes. Some morphemes do have independent meanings but they are so abstract that it is difficult to understand them without having a thorough knowledge of other verbal phenomena. Because of the interdependence between different parts of the verb, it is almost impossible to describe the verbal morphology in any sort of linear, step-by-step manner. I have not really attempted to do so in this document, instead I have tried to focus on particular issues in each section and have left it to the reader to conceptually link them to issues addressed in other sections. It is probably best to read

1. Pronounced /'klɪŋ,kit/ or /'klɪŋ,gɪt/ in English, from Tlingit *Lingít* /ʔin.kít/ 'person'.

through this document more than once, since phenomena described early on may only truly make sense once one understands other phenomena that are dealt with later. The logic of Tlingit verbs can often be labyrinthine or even byzantine, but they are almost always coherent and indeed beautiful given enough patience.

It is a tragedy of Tlingit linguistics that there are severe inconsistencies in terminology between different linguists working on the language, and even for particular linguists over time. This is of course inevitable for any language, but Tlingit seems to suffer more than most in this regard. In this document I try to mention equivalent terms that have been used by other linguists, but I have leaned heavily toward adopting terminology that is used in the wider realm of linguistic analysis in the hope that this will reduce some of the needless difficulty in understanding Tlingit from a linguistic perspective. Readers familiar with other works on Tlingit grammar may thus find my presentation here confusing, but I would rather attempt to open the field to more outsiders than to slavishly follow existing practices without consideration of the difficulty for those unfamiliar with this highly specialized linguistic tradition. I do tend to retain terminology used generally among Athabaskanists because of the genealogical relationship, but I have also abandoned some of the opaque and less common Athabaskanist terms as well.

Most of what I present here is not original, but rather constitutes a coherent reinterpretation of research by Jeff Leer (Leer 1978, 1989, 1991, 2000, 2001, 2008; Leer, Hitch, & Ritter 2001; Williams, Williams, & Leer 1978), Constance Naish and Gillian Story (Naish 1966; Story 1966, 1972; Story & Naish 1973), Richard and Nora Marks Dauenhauer (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987, 1990, 2000, 2002; Dauenhauer 1974), Keri Edwards (Edwards 2009), Seth Cable (Cable 2006, 2010), Michael Krauss (Krauss 1968, 1969, 1977, 1980; Krauss & Leer 1981), Franz Boas (Boas 1917), Louis Shotridge (Shotridge 1915), John Swanton (Swanton 1909, 1911), and Ivan Veniaminov² (Veniaminov 1846). By synthesizing these people's work into a single document I intend to save others the countless hours of comparison and interpretation that I have spent. I no doubt have introduced errors, unfortunately, and I would have no blame placed upon any of my esteemed colleagues and academic ancestors for such lapses.

The Tlingit verb is an enormous topic, and even this summary descrip-

2. Pronounced /i'van ɤen.jə'min.af/ in English, /i'van v'e.n'a'm'in.oy/ in Russian.

tion is unavoidably large. The reader in a hurry can focus on the chapters on the template (ch. 4), root (ch. 5), theme (ch. 6), valency (ch. 8), classifier (ch. 9), stem variation (ch. 10), mode (ch. 13), epimode (ch. 16), and clause type (ch. 17). The concept of a verb theme will be familiar to Athabaskanists, but chapter 6 is nonetheless worth skimming since Tlingit's themes have a fairly different structure. The classifier is so different from the Athabaskan model that its description is also required reading even for the most experienced Athabaskanists.

2 Dialects and basic phonology

Tlingit has, in my view, a three-way division between basic dialects: Tongass, Southern, and Northern. The primary distinction between the three dialects is based on their tone systems. Northern Tlingit, the most well documented and best described, has a simple system of low / $\hat{V}(:)$ / and high / $\acute{V}(:)$ / tones, with high tone being phonologically marked in that it is less common and is the non-default in certain phonological phenomena. Southern Tlingit has a three-tone system with high / $\acute{V}(:)$ /, low / $\hat{V}(:)$ /, and falling / $\acute{V}\hat{V}$ / tones. Leer has argued that the Southern low tone is marked and the high tone is the default tone (Leer 2001), but there are still many gaps in the documentation of Southern Tlingit and so his plausible claim remains to be thoroughly verified.

Tongass Tlingit is extinct today, having been documented by Leer from two speakers (Williams, Williams, & Leer 1978). There may have been one or two other speakers of Tongass Tlingit still alive in the 1970s, but today there are none. Tongass was conservative in that it was toneless, instead having a four-way division in vowel phonation types: short / V /, long / $V:$ /, glottalized / V^2 / and fading / V^h /; phonetically these are [V], [V:], [Vʔ], and [V̥] ~ [Vh] respectively. Leer invented the term *STIGMA* to label these phonation types (Leer 1991: 8, 12–18), derived from Greek *στίγμα* *stigma* meaning ‘mark made by a pointed instrument’, cf. the verb *στίζειν* *stízein* ‘prick, puncture’. A more common term for this sort of phenomenon is *REGISTER* as found in Asian languages such as Burmese and Shanghainese, but I use the most explicit term *VOWEL PHONATION TYPE*. For the glottalized vowel phonation type Leer variously employs the symbols ‘, ’, or ʔ after a vowel, and for the fading vowel phonation type he uses either ` or ˘. Compare the latter symbols to Boas’s use of ‘ to indicate aspirated obstruents¹ (Boas 1917) which is prob-

1. Following Leer and several Athabaskanists, I use the term *OBSTRUENT* to refer to stops and affricates that together form a natural class apart from fricatives and sonorants.

ably derived from the Ancient Greek δασὺ πνεῦμα *dasy̅ pneûma* or ‘rough breathing’ diacritic ` that indicates the presence of /h/ before a vowel, e.g. ἄ /ha/, and which is traditionally known as ‘aspiration’.² I use *h* instead of Leer’s ` or ´ for the Tongass fading vowel because it is easier to differentiate from ´ or ´ indicating a glottalized vowel, and since the glottal fricative /h/ cannot occur in the coda of a syllable the use of *h* is unambiguous after a vowel. Leer dislikes this practice because it tempts analyses parallel to Eyak: the /Vh/ vowel phonation of Eyak is simply transcribed as *Vh* by Krauss (1968, 1969, 1977, 2006, 2009a,b,c), but this is actually more closely cognate with Tongass’s glottalized vowels than with its fading vowels. Nevertheless I find *Vh* much easier to distinguish than *V´*, and since there are no speakers nor learners of Tongass Tlingit there is no community to consult on literacy issues nor much potential for new documentation.

The division of Tlingit into three dialects is complicated by internal divisions within two of them. The Southern dialect can be divided into Sanya³ around Ketchikan and Behm Canal and Henya⁴ on the northwestern coast of Price of Wales Island, with Alaskan Haida intervening between the two. The difference between these two subdialects is purely phonological, based on their distinct distributions of tone on verb prefixes and their different realizations of verb prefix sequences, but there are also a few obscure lexical differences. Northern Tlingit is similarly subdivided into Transitional Tlingit, Central Tlingit, Gulf Coast Tlingit, and Inland⁵ Tlingit. The reasons for division of these subdialects are phonological and hence largely irrelevant here, but a few significant phenomena that appear frequently in published data will be described below.

Figure 2.1 gives my conceptualization of Tlingit dialect relationships in tree form. The following outline gives the dialect relationships in more detail, along with traditional and 20th century settlements where the dialects

2. The diacritic is also called δασεῖα *daseîa* in Ancient Greek and δασεῖα /ða'sia/ in Modern Greek, hence Unicode’s term ‘dasia’; also note Latin *spiritus asper*. Boas seems to have generalized it to mark aspiration on both consonants and vowels. The current phonetic term ‘aspiration’ for consonants also apparently derives from description of the vocalic phenomenon in Ancient Greek.
3. Tlingit *Saanyaa* from *saa-niÿaa* ‘south-direction’.
4. Tlingit *Heinyaa* from *héi-niÿaa* ‘MPRX-direction’, but often pronounced as *Hinyaa* and thus reanalyzed as from *héèn-niÿaa* ‘water-direction’.
5. Leer calls this subdialect ‘Interior Tlingit’ (e.g. Leer, Hitch, & Ritter 2001), but an informal poll I conducted in 2009 showed that people seemed to prefer ‘Inland Tlingit’ probably because it is semantically closer to the autonym *Daakká Kwáan* ‘People on the Inland’.

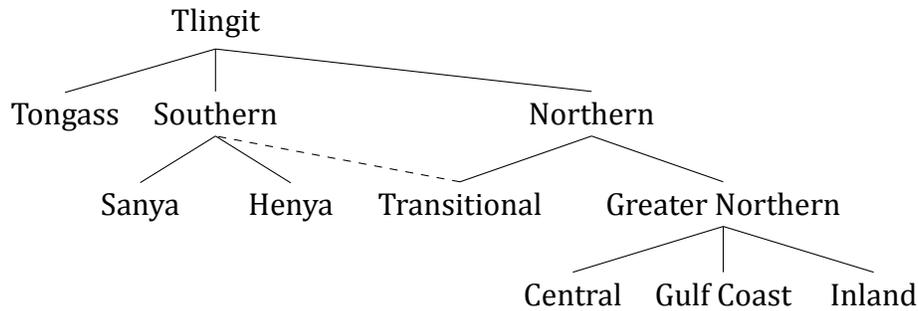


Figure 2.1: Tlingit dialect overview.

are concentrated. I use the one-letter symbols in parentheses for annotating forms in dialect variation, e.g. *geey*_{TSR} ~ *geiy*_{NGI}. A letter like “S” may be used to indicate Southern versus other Tlingit, or for Sanya versus Hanya Tlingit; the different uses are clear in context. The exact dialect used in some settlements is unknown since the settlements have been abandoned and native speakers not recorded. In such cases the settlement is noted in the most likely dialects, preceded with a superscript question mark [?] indicating uncertainty.

- Tongass Tlingit (T): Duke Island *Yi’x*, Metlakatla *Tahkw Ahni* (now Coast Tsim. *Maxlakxaata*), Port Stewart *Gahnaḡ*, Tongass *Katukḡuka*
- Southern Tlingit (S)
 - Sanya Tlingit (S): Cape Fox *Gaash*, Kah Shakes Cove *Gunéik’an Héènak’u*, Naha Bay *Naa.á*, Unuk River *Joonáḡ*, Chickamin River *Xeel*, Yes Bay *Yees Geeyí*
 - Hanya Tlingit (H): Craig *Shaanséet*, Klawock *Laawaak*, Tuxekan *T’akjik.aan*, [?]Kuyu *Kooyú*
- Northern Tlingit (N)
 - Transitional Tlingit (R): Wrangell *Kaachḡana.áak’w*, Petersburg *Gantiyaakw Séedi* ~ *Séet Ká*, Kake *Kéex’*, [?]Kuyu *Kooyú*, [?]Sumdum *S’aawdáan*, some in Angoon *Aangóon*
 - Greater Northern Tlingit (N)
 - ◊ Central Tlingit (N): Sitka *Sheet’ká*, Angoon *Aangóon*, Killisnoo *Kanasnoow*, Tenakee *T’anageiy*, [?]Sumdum *S’aawdáan*, Taku *T’aakú*, Juneau *Dzánti K’ihéeni* ~ *Jóonu*,

2. Dialects and basic phonology

Douglas *X'aat't'áak*, Auke Bay *Áak'w*, Hoonah *Xunaa*, Haines
Deishú, Klukwan *Tlaakw.aan*, Skagway *Shgagwéi*

- ◊ Gulf Coast Tlingit (G): Lituya Bay *Ltu.áa*, Dry Bay *Ḡunaḡoo*,
Yakutat *Yaakwdáat*, Icy Bay *Yáas'é*, Kaliakh *Ḡalyáḡ*
- ◊ Inland Tlingit (I): [?]Sumdum *S'aawdáan*, Atlin *Áatlein*, Teslin
Deisleen, Tagish *Taagish*, Carcross *Naadaashahéeni* ~
Naatasehéeni

One phenomenon within Northern Tlingit that has an obvious effect on vowels is uvular lowering. This is important for investigating syntax and semantics because the variation is explicitly reflected in the orthographies, and should not be taken to be a morphological difference. In Transitional Tlingit and the Southern and Tongass dialects, the long high front vowel *ee* is distinct from the long mid front vowels *ei* when occurring with a uvular stop in the onset or coda. In the rest of Northern Tlingit outside the Transitional Tlingit subdialect – i.e. in Greater Northern Tlingit – there is a tendency to shift the high front to mid front when adjacent to a uvular stop, thus Transitional Tlingit *geey* ‘bay’ but Greater Northern Tlingit *geiy* and Transitional *éek* ‘beach’ but Greater Northern Tlingit *éik* ~ *éek*. Phonetic diphthongization can usually be heard in this circumstance for both high and mid front vowels, producing something like [ʔéíq] for /ʔé:q/ and [qèèj] for /qè:j/ with a speaker from Hoonah or Haines, where in Transitional these would be [ʔííq] for /ʔí:q/ and [qììj] for /qì:j/ with a speaker from Wrangell or Kake.⁶ Among several other shared properties, this similarity of Transitional Tlingit to Southern Tlingit sets it apart from the rest of Northern Tlingit and thus warrants the occasional paraphyletic treatment of Transitional Tlingit as forming a subgroup with Sanya and Henya. It should be noted that the same lowering also occurs in a few other words without an obvious motivation from a uvular consonant. Thus the verb *xwaat'ee* ‘I found it’⁷ as occurring in Transitional Tlingit has a lowered *ei* in Greater North-

6. The town of Kake is *Kéex'* (said to be from *kée-x'é* ‘dawn-mouth’, a compound also found as *keex'é* ‘beginning of dawn’) in Transitional Tlingit which is the local subdialect, but the English name is taken from Greater Northern *Kéix'* which exhibits uvular lowering.

7. Atelic perfective of *O-S-CL[-D,Ø]-t'i* (*na*; -: Act, -*tx'* Pl Act) ‘S find O’:

Ø-*yü-xa-ya-t'i-h*

3.O-PFV-1SG.S-CL[-D,Ø,+I]-find-VAR

ern Tlingit: *xwaat'ei*, and the verb *awsinee* 'he did it'⁸ in Transitional Tlingit also has *ei* in the Greater Northern Tlingit form *awsinei*. This apparently unpredictable difference has yet to be investigated in any sort of detail. It occurs often in data collected by Story & Naish (1973) because they worked in Angoon which has a sizeable number of Transitional speakers presumably by intermarriage from Kake and Wrangell, or perhaps instead representing a remaining substrate unaffected by intermarriage with Greater Northern speakers from places like Sitka and Hoonah. Edwards (2009) also notes a few instances of this phenomenon from Angoon speakers.

Tonal dialects of Tlingit (Northern and Southern) have a phenomenon of tone alternation on certain CV suffixes. The possessive suffix *-yí* occurs with high tone after a syllable with low tone, e.g. *aḵsaayí* 'my name', but with low tone after a syllable with high tone, e.g. *aḵtéiyi* 'my stone'. Such suffixes are analyzed as having underlying high tone which is lowered due to an Obligatory Contour Principle effect. The lack of tone in Tongass Tlingit precludes such tone alternation, but it is significant that most of the elements that have tone alternation in the other dialects can be found with fading vowels in Tongass Tlingit.

Northern Tlingit has some vowels which vary idiolectally between long and short. Most of these vowels are found in word-final suffixes, such as the allative suffix *-dé* which can be realized as either *-déi* or *-dé* when it has high tone: *aandéi* ~ *aandé* 'toward town'. There are also a few variable length vowels in closed syllables, such as in the verb auxiliary *=nooch* 'habitually' which can also be found as *=nuch*. In Southern Tlingit these same vowels seem to be almost always short, and in Tongass Tlingit they are always long. This variation is not indicated in any consistent manner orthographically, though the trend over the last two decades has been to write them as short, and previously they were mostly written as long. In phonemic IPA transcriptions I represent them with a 'half-long' mark, thus /té·/ and /nù·tʃ/.

Another significant phenomenon that can be confusing is rounding spread. As with uvular lowering, this is reflected explicitly in the orthographies. In Southern and Transitional Tlingit sequences of high front vowels before labialized consonants are preserved, but in most Northern Tlingit there is a very strong tendency to spread labialization to the vowel. Thus

8. Atelic perfective of *O-S-CL[-D,S]-ni* (*na*; -: Act) 'S do O':
 a-ÿu-∅-si-ni-h
 3.0-PFV-3.S-CL[-D,S,+I]-do-VAR

Transitional *néekw* /ní:k^w/ ‘pain, sickness’ can be found as *nóok* /nú:k^w/ in some other Northern Tlingit, particularly in the Gulf Coast and Inland sub-dialects. This phenomenon has been lexicalized for most speakers in the communities where it occurs. There are some words in the language that normally are unrounded but which surprisingly spread rounding. I call this phenomenon ‘occult rounding’ and discuss it in section 5.1.1 in the context of verb roots.

Morphological compounding neutralizes tone in Northern Tlingit. Thus a compound *lú-tú-x’úx* ‘nose-inside-membrane’ surfaces as *lutux’úx* ‘nasal membrane’ with high tone preserved only on the final syllable (the head of the compound), and low tone occurring on all preceding syllables. This is neutralization rather than an Obligatory Contour Principle effect because existing low tones are not modified: *aan-daa* ‘town-around’ → *aandaa*. This phenomenon is called ‘tone stealing’ or ‘stolen tone’ by the Dauenhauers (e.g. Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987: 44).⁹ Morphological compounding can also reduce long vowels to short vowels in non-head elements, but this does not seem to be consistent across all compounds and still requires some documentation and description.

The extinct consonant *ɣ* also needs some discussion. This sound is called GAMMA (e.g. Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 2002: 87) though it was audio-recorded as a voiced velar approximant [ɰ] rather than a voiced velar fricative *[ɣ] from various speakers, so the name is a slight misnomer. The gamma was probably extant in nearly all Tlingit before the 19th century. During the 19th and early 20th centuries it underwent a split-merger with *y* and *w* depending on labialization in context. Veniaminov recorded it as Cyrillic *ɣ* [g] in Sitka (Veniaminov 1846), the Krause brothers recorded it as *g* [g] in the Chilkat area (Krause 1885, 1956, 1993), Swanton recorded it as *y* [ɰ] extensively in Wrangell but only occasionally in Sitka (Swanton 1909, 1911), Boas did not record it from Louis Shotridge who was from the Chilkat area but acknowledged its presence elsewhere (Boas 1917). In the latter half of the 20th century it was almost extinct, though Leer recorded it as *ɣ* [ɰ] in Tongass Tlingit (Williams, Williams, & Leer 1978), and De La-

9. Note that the comparative samples given by the Dauenhauers, *woogoodí* and *woogoodi yé* are not actually examples of ‘stolen tone’. The former is a subordinate verb which is marked with the *-ée* ~ *-í* suffix that alternates in tone depending on the verb stem. The latter is a relative clause with the suffix *-i* that does *not* alternate in tone, so that there is not any neutralization of tone due to the following *yé* ‘place, manner’ noun.

guna (1972: 11) recorded it as y [ɥ]¹⁰ from the speakers in Yakutat who also worked with Harrington (1939, 1940). There are several audio recordings of Tlingit speakers who preserved the gamma sound that are available in various archives, but no phonetic analysis has been done on them. No Tlingit speakers alive today have this sound as a distinct phoneme, but some will occasionally produce it as a phonetically delabialized variant of w in rapid speech, and it can sometimes occur as a phonetic velarization of y as well. The symbol \ddot{y} is retained in morphological and phonological analyses because it helps to explain otherwise mysterious alternations between y and w , and lacking it in analysis can be very troublesome as experienced by De Wolf (1977).

Readers with no knowledge of Tlingit orthographies should be aware of a few peculiarities. The period . represents a glottal stop /ʔ/ when it occurs before vowels, so for example *kinaak.ádi* ‘coat’ is /k^hinà:kʔáti/. Word-initial glottal stops are never written. Less frequently the period is used as a separator between consonant symbols that would otherwise form a digraph, e.g. *s.h* which is the sequence /sh/ and not the single sound /ʃ/: *yei nas.héin* /jè:nàshé:n/ ‘it is floating down’¹¹ versus *yaa anashéin* /jà:ʔànàʃé:n/ ‘it is barking along at it’¹² (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987: 47). Uvular sounds are represented by a subpositioned underscore diacritic, so that \underline{x} is the voiceless uvular fricative /χ/. Ejectives are represented by an apostrophe, so that \acute{x} is the ejective uvular fricative /χʼ/, a sound apparently unique to Tlingit (Maddieson, Smith, & Bessell 2001). Since clusters of consonant and glottal stop are possible, the apostrophe does not represent a glottal stop. That said, the apostrophe does very rarely serve to indicate a word-final glottal stop, e.g. *ha'* [haʔ] ‘wow!’, a sound which is parophonemic. Otherwise a postvocalic apostrophe indicates a glottalized vowel in Tongass Tlingit as noted earlier. ‘Voiced’ obstruent symbols always represent unaspirated obstruents, so that *dz* is the unaspirated alveolar affricate /ts/. Aspirated

10. De Laguna actually says “velar y (y) was usually gamma (γ) or velar gamma (γ), as indeed I was often inclined to hear it” (De Laguna 1972: 11). Her ear was rather imprecise however, given the many transcription mistakes throughout her work, so I believe that she did actually hear [ɥ] rather than [ɣ] but lacked the skill to distinguish them.

11. Progressive imperfective of *O-CL[-D,S]-ha* (?; -? ?) ‘O float’:

yei=θ-na-sa-ha-n
down=3.0-NCNJ-CL[-D,S,-I]-float-VAR

12. Progressive imperfective of *O-S-CL[-D,θ]-sha^h* (*ga*; -: Act) ‘S bark at O’:

ÿaa=a-na-θ-θ-sha-n
along=3.0-NCNJ-3.S-CL[-D,θ,-I]-bark-VAR

sounds are represented as ‘voiceless’, so that *ts* is the aspirated alveolar affricate /ts^h/. Note that syllable final obstruents are written as though they are aspirated whereas in fact they are unaspirated, thus *gaatl* ‘pilot bread’ is actually /qà:tʰ/ and not */qà:tʰ^h/. Long vowels are represented in an ‘Englishy’ manner, with *oo* being /u:/, *ee* being /i:/, and *ei* being /e:/, with *aa* is /a:/ “as in Saab” (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987: 42). Also because there is no voiced lateral, the symbol *l* always stands for a voiceless lateral fricative /ɬ/.¹³ Leer (Nyman & Leer 1993) developed a different orthography which represents uvulars as *Ch* where *C* is a velar symbol, and which has a different representation of vowel qualities, tone, and length. Naish and Story also had an earlier orthography which they replaced by the time they published their verb dictionary (Story & Naish 1973), but which was used in their translation of the Gospel of John (Anonymous 1969), and which featured a different vowel system that turned out to be too confusing for native speakers.

Naish and Story in their dictionaries and other texts not in phonetic transcriptions do not indicate high tone on *CVC* syllables when the syllable follows a high tone syllable, so for example their *k’anáaxan* ‘fence’ is now written *k’anáaxán* (both [q’à'ná:χán]).¹⁴ Naish and Story’s low tone marking on long vowels indicates stress or prominence rather than tone, a feature which is now ignored so that *woogòot* ‘he went’ is now written *woogoot* (both [wù:kù:t]). Such long vowels with low tone are another context where Naish and Story did not indicate following high tone, e.g. *shkalnèegee* ‘story’ for what is now *shkalneegí* (both [[k^hàt’nì:kí]). Their concept behind this was that since any syllables following a stressed vowel are going to be high tone, the high tone need not be written. This is not always the case however, so their practice can be confusing. In addition they always wrote variable length vowels as long whereas now these are generally written short.

Finally, the two early publications on Tlingit grammar in English need to be noted. Boas (1917) demonstrated very high skill in his transcription of Tlingit, aided extensively by native speaker Louis Shotridge *Stoowukáa*

13. The Inland dialect has a voiced [l] in a few borrowings from neighbouring Athabaskan languages. Jennie Manton of Angoon and Amy Marvin of Hoonah were also recorded as having a [l] for /n/, as was Sally Hopkins of Sitka, a situation which has also been reported anecdotally for some other very old speakers who were not recorded. Leer always reconstructs Proto-Na-Dene **n* and not **l* so that this is due to denasalization; cf. Eyak *l* < PAE **n*.

14. The word *k’anáaxán* is from Chinook Jargon *q’áláχən* or *q’áləχən* ‘fence’, where it was originally borrowed from an undetermined Coast Salish language.

who learned to transcribe his own speech from Boas (Shotridge 1915). In contrast, Swanton (1908, 1909, 1911) had much poorer transcriptions, frequently confusing uvular and velar sounds, fricatives and affricates, and various vowels, as well as completely lacking tone – though often accurately indicating stress. Unfortunately Swanton’s work has yet to be retranscribed in any sort of quantity, but Boas often offers much improved retranscriptions of small portions of his work and Leer, Edwards, and the Dauenhauers have each retranscribed a few stories in various manuscripts. Users of Boas’s data can be fairly confident in the forms except for some occasional errors in tone, but linguists resorting to Swanton’s data are strongly urged to consult native speakers or linguists with extensive experience in Tlingit before embarking on any sort of serious analyses of his materials.

3 Nouns and related issues

This document is about verbs, but nouns must unavoidably be discussed to some extent. Nouns in Tlingit are fairly simple, with much fewer phonological and morphological complications than are associated with verbs. The phonological effects of morphological compounding were discussed in chapter 2 so that they need not be addressed here. Other than this, the properties of nominal morphology that have a bearing on verbal morphology are possession, relational nouns, case suffixes and postpositions, nominal allomorphy, and the non-case nominal suffixes which consist of the plural suffixes and enclitics and the diminutive suffixes and enclitics. Other nominal issues such as determiner phrase structure, noun adjunction and syntactic compounding, focus particles, topicalization, noun semantics, and so forth will be left for a more complete grammar. Story (1966) has a fairly extensive analysis of nominal morphology and Naish (1966) of nominal syntax which I recommend for the reader interested in more about Tlingit nouns. Chapter 20 addresses pronouns as well as the pronominal elements in verbs.

3.1. POSSESSION

Nouns are divided into two basic classes, those which are possessable and those which are not possessable. Unpossessable nouns consist solely of names as far as I am aware, and they cannot enter into any sort of possessive construction. Compare the grammaticality of colloquial English *my Alice* which could be uttered by an individual married to a woman named Alice, versus the ungrammaticality of Tlingit **aχ Áanis* which speakers have found strange even when accepting the English counterpart.

Possessable nouns are further divided into two classes based on possession marking, the ALIENABLE and INALIENABLE classes. Alienable nouns can occur free, but when possessed they appear with the possessive suffix -*yí*.

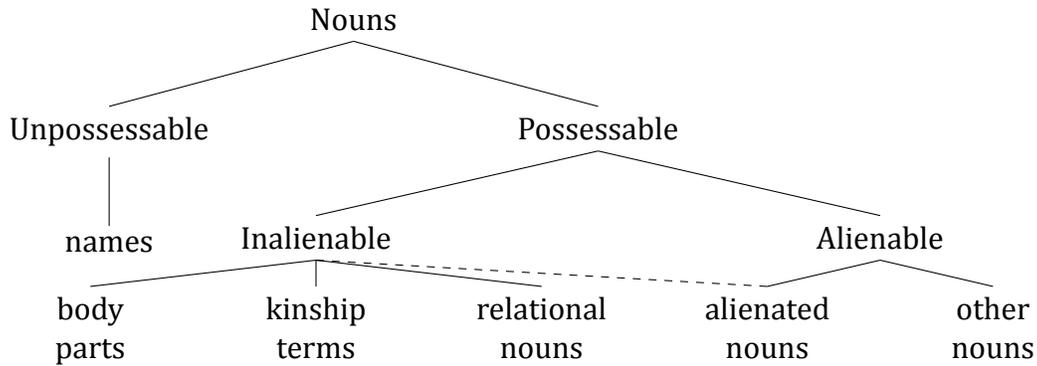


Figure 3.1: Noun possession types.

Inalienable nouns must be possessed and are not marked with the suffix *-yí*. The different possession types of nouns are summarized in figure 3.1.

The possessive suffix *-yí* comes after any plural or diminutive suffixes but before the oblique case suffixes and any enclitics. It appears on the possessum, indicating possession of the marked noun, and thus represents the ‘possessed’ status of the noun in a possessive construction. Contrast this with the English *-s* which appears on the possessor rather than the possessum.

- (1) a. John’s house
 John-’s house
 John-PSS house
 ‘John’s house’
- b. Jáan hídi
 Jáan hít-**yí**
 John house-PSS
 ‘John’s house’

The possessive suffix *-yí* has a variety of surface forms depending on the labialization and tone of the preceding syllable. The allomorphs are given in table 3.1. The basic principle is that if the syllable is open then an epenthetic glide *w* or *y* occurs, and if the syllable is rounded – i.e. containing a round vowel in the nucleus or a labialized consonant in the coda – then the suffix is rounded as well. The use of *y* could be avoided in *y*-less dialects since the rounding phenomenon is entirely predictable, but Tongass Tlingit has *y*

	<i>consonant final</i>		<i>vowel final</i>	
	<i>+round</i>	<i>-round</i>	<i>+round</i>	<i>-round</i>
<i>low</i>	-ú	-í	-wú	-yí
<i>high</i>	-u	-i	-wu	-yi

Table 3.1: Allomorphs of the possessive suffix *-yí*. The labels describe the environment, i.e. the syllable preceding the suffix.

rather than *y*. The contrast in this dialect is thus not between a palatal and a labial-velar, but between two velar approximants that are [+round] and [-round], so like with other attested instances of *ɥ* it is maintained in the abstract morphological representation despite not appearing in the segment inventory.¹ Like most other open syllable suffixes, the length of the vowel is variable in Northern Tlingit, usually short in Southern Tlingit, and usually long in Tongass Tlingit.

Inalienable nouns must always occur with a possessor and are not normally marked with the possessive suffix. They may be ‘alienated’ by adding a possessive suffix, with the meaning being that the noun is no longer an inalienable part of the possessor. The resulting form may have a bizarre or humorous meaning, but it is nevertheless grammatical. When cited without a possessor, inalienable nouns are given with a preceding en-dash, e.g. *-shá* ‘head’, in contrast to a suffix which has a preceding hyphen like *-yí* ‘PSS’. In typescripts Leer typically uses two hyphens *--shá* instead (e.g. Leer 2008), which may or may not be converted in publication to an en-dash. In glosses, if the alienability or inalienability of a noun is significant then I annotate it with :ALB or :INAL in the gloss following the Leipzig glossing rules (Comrie, Haspelmath, & Bickel 2008) for indicating inherent properties; normally I leave this property unindicated however.

The following examples demonstrate a few alienable and inalienable nouns and the different sorts of possession marking associated with them.

1. Note that no feature geometric analysis has been done for Tlingit segmental phonology, so that the equivalence of [±round] on consonants and vowels is purely descriptive here rather than being a theoretical claim.

- (2) a. *alienable noun*
 shákw
 strawberry
 ‘strawberry’
- b. *possessed alienable noun*
 aḵ shágu
 aḵ shákw-ŷí
 1SG.PSS strawberry-PSS
 ‘my strawberry’
- c. *inalienable noun*
 xóots shá
 brown.bear head:INAL
 ‘a brown bear’s head’ (attached to the rest of a brown bear)
- d. *inalienable noun without possessor*
 *shá
 head:INAL
 ‘a head’
- e. *inalienable noun with generic possessor*
 at shá
 INDN.PSS head:INAL
 ‘a head’, ‘something’s head’
- f. *alienated inalienable noun*
 xóots sháayi
 xóots shá-ŷí
 brown.bear head:INAL-PSS
 ‘a brown bear head’ (not attached to a brown bear)

I have heard reports of people who have reinterpreted the system as ‘human-possessed’ (inalienable) versus ‘nonhuman-possessed’ (alienable), so that *xóots sháayi* can refer to the head of a brown bear regardless of whether it is attached, and **xóots shá* is ungrammatical because the possessor is not human. I have never been able to verify this claim and I suspect that it is due to second language learners misinterpreting native speaker descriptions. Probably this misunderstanding arises from the discussion of disembodied animal parts versus attached body parts of humans. All speakers with whom I have worked have had the basic alienability distinction described here, with the ability to alienate inalienable nouns by the addition of

a possessor. The distinctions can be fairly easily elicited from native speakers with a live animal such as a dog, a part of an animal like a bear paw, and a human doll with a removable limb or head.

Not all body parts are inalienable. The basic semantic concept seems to be that if a body part is readily removed or if it is useful when removed from a body then it is alienable, with all other body parts being referred to by alienable nouns. Examples of alienable body parts that are easily removed include *shé_{NS}* ~ *shí_N* 'blood', *geitl'* 'mucus', *xaaw* 'fur, hair', *sheit* 'horn', and *t'aaw* 'feather'. Examples of less easily removed but useful body parts are *s'aak* 'bone', *dleey* 'flesh, meat', *dook* 'skin', and *naas* 'intestine'. There are a few alienable body parts which do not fit into either category, such as *dáal* 'rumen', and *téet'* 'vein'. There are also some which might be expected to be alienable by these criteria but are not, for example *-xaakw* 'nail'. Thus like most alienability systems the status of a particular noun is not entirely predictable and hence must be memorized.

Some inalienable nouns are actually alienable given that they obviously have a possessive suffix attached. They only rarely occur without possessors however, so they are treated by lexicographers as another kind of inalienable noun. Some speakers do not have access to the words in their alienable form, in which case the noun can be thought of as being a truly inalienable noun with a fossilized possessive suffix. Other speakers may be aware of the possibility of using the alienable form, with the difference between speakers probably due to different levels of conscious awareness and linguistic introspection. Like with most aspects of Tlingit grammar, skilled orators are more accustomed to considering these sorts of issues and are more likely to be aware of them. Examples of such pseudo-inalienable nouns include a few body parts like *-yooowú* 'stomach', *-keigú* 'lung', *-kalóox'shání* 'bladder', *-k'áax'i* 'kidney (of fish)', *-jikóoli_N* ~ *-chkóoli_{RS}* 'back of hand', and the words for different kinds of tails: *-koowú* 'bird/fish tail', *-l'eedí* 'animal tail', *-kuhaawú* 'beaver tail', and *-geení* 'tail flipper'.² Each of these have what appears to be the suffix *-yí* which has been emboldened.

The alienability distinction is important for nouns incorporated into the verb. Noun incorporation is not a free phenomenon but rather restricted to some class of nouns that has not been entirely enumerated yet but is probably both phonologically and semantically constrained. Alienable and in-

2. Possibly the obscure word *-líli* 'penis' also falls into this 'tail' category. The usual word for penis is *-laaw*, which is simply inalienable.

alienable incorporates occur in different slots and have different morphological and semantic properties, among other distinctions. Chapter 21 documents the phenomenon of noun incorporation in detail.

Although most inalienable nouns are body parts, there are a variety of other inalienable nouns as well. These are termed **RELATIONAL NOUNS** because they describe spatiotemporal or abstract relationships between the possessor and some other element external to the noun phrase. Relational nouns can be spatial such as *-daa* ‘around, surrounding of’, *-xoo* ‘among’, or *-gei* ‘enclosed within, between folds of’. The following examples demonstrate some uses of relational nouns.

- (3) a. shaa **geix'** has yatee
 shaa **gei-x'** has= \emptyset - \emptyset - $\dot{y}a$ -ti-h
 mountain **folds.of:INAL-LOC** PL=3.O-ZCNJ-CL[-D, \emptyset ,+I]-be-**VAR**
 ‘they are in between the mountains’
- b. wáa sá a **daax'** ituwatee ?
 wáa sá a **daa-x'** i-tu- \emptyset - $\dot{y}a$ -ti-h
 how Q 3N.PSS **around:INAL-LOC** 2SG.O-inside-ZCNJ-CL[-D, \emptyset ,+I]-be-**VAR**
 ‘how do you feel about it?’ (Story & Naish 1973: 226)

Relational nouns can be compounded like other nouns, so for example *-x'éi* ‘mouth’ + *-xoo* ‘among’ forms *-x'axoo* ‘distributed among (to eat)’, or *xuk* ‘dry’ + *-yá* ‘vertical surface’ + *-tú* ‘inside hollow object’ forming *xuky-atú* ‘drying place’. The latter also demonstrates how compounding of an alienable noun with an inalienable noun can provide the possessor for the inalienable one. Some relational nouns are not spatiotemporal but instead refer to purely abstract concepts that have some relation to the possessor. Thus *-lukaax* denotes ‘compelled by, set into immediate action by’, and *-kayaa* refers to ‘something sort of like, something not measuring up to’. Relational nouns may take case suffixes and postpositions like other nouns, for which see section 3.2.

The two relational nouns *-ká* and *-yá* are so frequently used in Tlingit that I have specific gloss abbreviations for them. The relational noun *-ká* refers to the horizontal surface of the possessor, and it is very frequent in postpositional phrases as a sort of semantic and morphological host for the postposition.³ The relational noun *-yá* refers to the vertical surface of the

3. The meaningless base *=ee* (see ch. 20) may have once been a relational noun like *-ká*, but completely bleached of meaning and thus grammaticalized.

possessor, or in the case of humans and animals the possessor's face. They are abbreviated HSFC for 'horizontal surface' and VSFC 'vertical surface' respectively. Both of these nouns have unique behaviour in the context of noun incorporation in the verb, and they also have a wider distribution than most other incorporated nouns. They are sometimes very vague in meaning, probably due to semantic bleaching from extensive use in a wide variety of contexts. This is most notable in the verb where they have become an important component of the noun classification system while retaining little of their original independent meanings, as well as being purely lexicalized and meaningless in many verbs.

3.2. CASE SUFFIXES AND POSTPOSITIONS

Tlingit has a fairly large inventory of case suffixes and postpositions. The difference between the two is phonological but not entirely well defined. There is an orthographic convention of writing CV case suffixes as separate words if the base word is fairly long. Postpositions are always written as separate words.

The case suffixes can be divided into two groups based on their syntactic functions. The grammatical case suffixes consist of the ergative suffix *-ch* and optionally the notional absolutive suffix *-∅*. The latter can be used in analysis to explicitly mark an absolutive argument, but this is not a true suffix in the language. The oblique case suffixes are all those which occur on noun phrases that are neither subject nor object. Most have a locative meaning, but a few have more abstract semantics.

The postpositions are differentiated from the oblique case suffixes because they act as independent phonological words, retaining their tone marking regardless of the noun's final syllable. The postpositions are difficult to distinguish from relational nouns, and they probably derive from relational nouns originally.

I will address each case suffix and postposition in turn, describing each one's basic semantics. Since this document is about verbs I will not explore their syntactic or semantic properties in any great detail, but I will point out some properties specifically correlated with verbs.

3.2. Case suffixes and postpositions

<i>Form</i>	<i>Abv.</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
-ch	ERG	ergative	subject of transitive verb
-x'	LOC	locative	at, on, in, by
-t	PNCT	punctual	at a point, to a point, around a point
-x̄	PERT	pertingent	contacting, form of, concerning
-dé	ALL	allative	to, toward, until, manner of
-dáx̄	ABL	ablative	from, out of
-náx̄	PERL	perlative	along, by, via, during, across
-gáa	ADES	adessive	around, about, by, after, for
-een	INST	instrumental	with, using, as soon as
-teen	COM	comitative	along, with, accompanying
-u	LOCP	locative predicate	verbless locative phrase
ǰáx̄	SIM	similative	like, as, similar to
yís	BEN	benefactive	for, benefiting
góot	ABES	abessive	without, lacking
nák̄	ELAT	elative	away from, leaving behind
ǰáanáx̄	more	superlative	more than
kín	less	sublative	less than

Table 3.2: Case suffixes and postpositions.

3.2.1. ERGATIVE SUFFIX

Although I promised to spend only a very little space in discussing the case suffixes and postpositions, the ergative suffix demands somewhat more attention than the others. This is because it is intimately associated with several different verbal phenomena and because it has some unusual impacts on the structure of the verb.

The ergative suffix was called the ‘subjectival syntactic marker’ by Story (1966: 30) and was labeled as ‘ergative’ by Leer (1991: 33). It has a cross-linguistically typical function, marking the subject argument of a transitive verb.

- (4) a. a_{x̄} éesh**ch** útl_{x̄} as.ée
a_{x̄} éesh-**ch** útl_{x̄} a-∅-∅-sa-i-:
1SG.PSS father-**ERG** soup 3.0-ZCNJ-3.S-CL[-D,S,-I]-COOK-VAR
‘my father is cooking soup’

- b. haa s'aaté**ch** ch'a du yéet
 haa s'aatí-**ch** ch'a du yéet
 1PL.PSS master-**ERG** just 3H.PSS son
 akaawaḱaa
 a-ka-ÿu-∅-ÿa-ḱa-h
 3.O-HSFC-PFV-3.S-CL[-D,∅,+I]-say-VAR
 'our master sent his own son' (Story & Naish 1973: 183)
 theme: *O-ka-S-CL[-D,∅]-ḱa (na?; -? Act)* 'S send O (on message, mission)'

The ergative might be more properly termed a clitic rather than a suffix, given that it scopes over an entire phrase rather than a single word. The following example shows how the ergative appears on the last element in a conjunction though it is semantically indicating that both elements of the conjunction are agents.

- (5) *ergative over conjunction*
 séew ḱa gagaan kagán**ich** áwé
 [séew ḱa gagaan kagán-ÿí]-**ch** á-wé
 [rain and sun light-PSS]-**ERG** FOC-MDST
 kei kanas.éin
 kei=∅-ka-na-∅-sa-.a-n
 up=3.O-HSFC-NCNJ-3.S-CL[-D,S,-I]-grow-VAR
 'rain and sunlight are making them (plants) grow'
 (Story & Naish 1973: 103)
 theme: *O-S-CL[-D,S]-a (ga; -? ?)* 'S cause O to grow'

I have not tested if it is possible to mark both elements of a conjunction with the ergative – e.g. [?]*séew**ch** ḱa gagaan kagán**ich*** – but I have never seen this and hence I suspect that it is ungrammatical.

Plural enclitics will occur before the ergative, as the following example shows. The interpretation of *ḱaa éesh háš* 'someone's father + plural' is generally interpreted as 'someone's father and other associated people', but in Tlingit oratory the term *aḱ éesh háš* 'my fathers' is used to address all males older than oneself of the opposite moiety so this is an alternate possible interpretation of the phrase.

- (6) a. *ergative after plural enclitic*
 du éesh háš**ch** útlḱi as.ée
 du éesh=hás-**ch** útlḱi a-∅-∅-sa-.i-:
 3H.PSS father=PL-**ERG** soup 3.O-ZCNJ-3.S-CL[-D,S,-I]-cook-VAR
 'his father and them are cooking soup'

b. *du éesh**ch** hás útl̥xi as.ée

c. *du éesh**ch** hás**ch** útl̥xi as.ée

It is ungrammatical to have the ergative on the inside of the plural enclitic, and it is also ungrammatical to have the ergative marked on both the noun and the plural enclitic.

A transitive verb with a middle voice object (reflexive, reciprocal) will not feature ergative marking on the subject noun phrase. Thus the first of the following examples with a third person subject and reflexive object is grammatical since it lacks *-ch*, but the second example that has *-ch* marked on the subject noun phrase is ungrammatical.

- (7) a. X̣'alchán sh dzixán
 X̣'alchán sh-∅-∅-dzi-xan-ÿ
 NAME RFLX.O-ZCNJ-3.S-CL[+D,S,+I]-love-VAR
 'X̣'alchán loves himself'

b. *X̣'alchán**ch** sh dzixán

The ergative also does not appear on the subject noun phrase if the object is indefinite. In the following sentence, the object *t'á* is not a specific king salmon but rather is an indefinite king salmon. Note that despite being indefinite the ordinary third person object *a-* is used, not the indefinite nonhuman object *at-*. The distinction between a semantically indefinite and a syntactically indefinite object has yet to be thoroughly explored, but this seems to be one diagnostic for semantic indefiniteness.

- (8) a. *indefinite object*
 aḵ éesh t'á awsit'éḵ
 aḵ éesh t'a a-ÿu-∅-si-t'éḵ-ÿ
 1SG.PSS father king.salmon 3.O-PFV-3.S-CL[-D,S,+I]-fish
 'my father was fishing for king salmon'⁴

b. *aḵ éesh**ch** t'á awsit'éḵ

As a side note, Leer listed the following indefinite and definite noun phrases in an undated class handout (ms. ca. 2003). He also pointed out that proper names, "such as names of persons, pets, or clan property such as houses or hats, are always definite".

4. 'King salmon' is the local English name for *Oncorhynchus tshawytscha* (Walbaum 1792), known as 'chinook salmon' or 'spring salmon' further south.

- indefinite NP
 - *hít* 'a house'
 - *dleit hít* 'a white house'
- definite NP
 - *yá hít* 'this house'
 - *wé dleit hít* 'that white house'
 - *we Dleit Hít* 'the White House'
 - *a_x hídi* 'my house'
 - *yá a_x hídi* 'this house of mine'
 - *ldakát hít* 'every house'
 - *ldakát wé hítx* 'all the houses'

Returning to the ergative suffix, it never appears with an intransitive verb, neither subject intransitive nor object intransitive. Note that even though the sole argument of the subject intransitive is an agent, it is nonetheless not marked with the ergative. This is fairly typical cross-linguistically for ergative marking.

- (9) a. *subject intransitive*
 X'alchán woogoot
 X'alchán ÿu-Ø-ÿa-gut-h
 NAME PFV-3.S-CL[-D,Ø,+I]-go.SG-VAR
 'X'alchán went'
- b. *X'alchán**ch** woogoot
- c. *object intransitive*
 X'alchán yanéekw
 X'alchán Ø-Ø-ÿa-nikw-:
 NAME 3.O-ZCNJ-CL[-D,Ø,+I]-sick-VAR
 'X'alchán is sick'
- d. *X'alchán**ch** yanéekw

To sum up the basic properties of the ergative suffix, it is used to mark the subject noun phrase of a transitive verb if and only if the object of the verb is definite and it is not coreferential with the subject (middle voice). It of course is not used if there is no independent noun phrase which can be marked with the ergative, so that most instances of first and second person subjects lack an ergative-marked noun phrase as well as with third person subjects where the independent noun phrase referencing the subject is omitted.

The ergative suffix is also used to indicate an instrument when the verb exhibits a local argument.

- (10) a. 'àx'únàyítc xvhjdjáq'
 aḵ óonaayích xwaliják
 aḵ óonaa-ÿí-ch Ø-ÿu-xa-li-jak-ÿ
 1SG.PSS gun-PSS-ERG 3.0-PFV-1SG.S-CL[-D,l,+I]-kill-VAR
 'I killed it with my gun'

The ergative has some peculiar effects on the verb depending on its position in the sentence. In a 3-on-3 conjugation where both the subject and the object are third person, the third person object will normally appear with the *a*- allomorph rather than the Ø- allomorph. If however the subject noun phrase appears immediately before the verb then the Ø- allomorph is used instead.

- (11) a. *SOV, object between subject and verb*
 aḵ éeshch útlxi as.ée
 aḵ éesh-ch útlxi a-Ø-Ø-sa-i-:
 1SG.PSS father-ERG soup 3.0-ZCNJ-3.S-CL[-D,S,-I]-cook-VAR
 'my father is cooking soup'
- b. *OSV, subject immediately preceding verb*
 útlxi aḵ éeshch sa.ée
 útlxi aḵ éesh-ch Ø-Ø-Ø-sa-i-:
 soup 1SG.PSS father-ERG 3.0-ZCNJ-3.S-CL[-D,S,-I]-cook-VAR
 'my father is cooking soup'

Curiously, this does not seem to hold when the subject noun phrase is a third person human pronoun, either *hú* 'third person human' or *hás* 'third person (human) plural'. The use of the independent pronouns is emphatic as shown in the English translation; sentences without pronouns are possible (and more common) due to the verb-internal person marking.

- (12) a. hóoch as.ée
 hú-ch a-Ø-Ø-sa-i-:
 3H-ERG 3.0-ZCNJ-3.S-CL[-D,S,-I]-cook-VAR
 'him, he's cooking it'
- b. hásch as.ée
 hásch a-Ø-Ø-sa-i-:
 3PL-ERG 3.0-ZCNJ-3.S-CL[-D,S,-I]-cook-VAR
 'them, they're cooking it'

It may be that the pronouns in these examples are actually focused or topicalized, and indeed people usually prefer to use them with an intervening focus particle like *áwé*. If they are indeed focused or topicalized then they are external to the verb phrase and hence they may not be able to trigger the *a- ~ ∅-* alternation. This phenomenon remains to be explored.

The ergative suffix may not be a true ergative marker typologically since it has some curious distributional properties. The following examples demonstrate a few peculiar instances of the ergative. The first example below shows a thematically specified ergative suffix.

- (13) *laak'áskch* *du* *yéet jeex'*
laak'ásk-ch *du* *yéet jee-x'*
 black.seaweed-ERG 3H.PSS son possession-LOC
awsiwóo
a-ÿu-∅-si-wu-ÿ
 3.0-PFV-3.S-CL[-D,S,+I]-send-VAR
 'he sent the black seaweed with his son'⁵(Story & Naish 1973: 183)
 theme: *P-ch a-S-CL[-D,S]-wu (∅; -x Act)* 'S send P'

This theme has a thematic object pronominal *a-* which is not referential, and hence it does not vary with subject inflection unlike the normal third person object *a-*.⁶ For this theme, the noun phrase referencing the entity being sent must be marked with the ergative suffix *-ch* even though the noun phrase's role is not an agent but instead a patient. (The destination or goal is optional, and marked with e.g. allative *-dé*.)

The following pair of examples demonstrate an unusual instance where the ergative suffix *-ch* marks the subject noun phrase as well as marking an oblique in the same sentence. The theme involved here is *P-ch O-S-CL[-D,S]-ke_N~ki_{ST} (∅; -? Act)* 'S pay O with P', where the oblique noun phrase referring to the instrument used to pay is marked with *-ch*. Since this is a transitive verb it is possible to also have a noun phrase referring to the agent and hence for it to be marked with the ergative suffix *-ch* according to its customary grammatical function.

5. 'Black seaweed' is the local English term for *Porphyra abbottiae* (V.Krishnamurthy 1978). It is related to species used for Japanese *nori* and Welsh laver (*bara lawr*).

6. The example form *aa akwkasawóo* (Story & Naish 1973: 183) confirms that *a-* is thematic, since it should not otherwise appear with the first person singular subject (*aa-a-ga-w-ga-xa-∅-*).

- (14) a. keijín dáanaa**ch** awsiḱéi du xooní
 keijín dáanaa-**ch** a-ÿu-Ø-si-ḱe-ÿ du xoon-ÿí
 five dollar-**ERG** 3.0-PFV-3.S-CL[-D,S,+I]-pay-VAR 3H.PSS friend-PSS
 aḱ tláa**ch**
 aḱ tláa-**ch**
 1SG.PSS mother-**ERG**
 ‘my mother paid her friend five dollars’ (Naish 1966: 30)
- b. keijín dáanaa**ch** wutusiḱéi du xooní
 keijín dáanaa-**ch** Ø-ÿu-tu-si-ḱe-ÿ du xoon-ÿí
 five dollar-**ERG** 3.0-PFV-1PL.S-CL[-D,S,+I]-pay-VAR 3H.PSS friend-PSS
 uháan**ch**
 uháan-**ch**
 1PL-**ERG**
 ‘we paid her friend five dollars’ (Naish 1966: 30)

The ergative can also fail to occur in sentences with transitive verbs where it would otherwise be expected to be found. Boas (1917: 99) provides the following pair of sentences where he intended to illustrate that the *-ch* suffix marked the actor in a “passive” sentence.

- (15) a. xòts we q’á ’awsit’ín
 xóots wé ḱáa awsiteen
 xóots wé ḱáa a-ÿu-Ø-si-tin-h
 br.bear MDST man 3.0-PFV-3.S-CL[-D,S,+I]-see-VAR
 ‘the brown bear saw the man’
- b. gùt**tc** wùsit’ín we k’èl
 goo**ch** wusiteen wé keitl
 goo**ch** Ø-ÿu-Ø-si-tin-h wé keitl
 wolf-**ERG** 3.0-PFV-3.S-CL[-D,S,+I]-see-VAR MDST dog
 ‘the wolf saw the dog’

Boas thought the second sentence was somehow passive because of the presence of the ergative marker, similar to how English uses ‘by’ to mark a passive agent. Thus he gave the translation ‘the dog was seen by the wolf’. We now know that Tlingit does not have passives, and that in fact the second sentence is an ordinary transitive. What is curious instead is that the first sentence which Boas thought to be an ordinary transitive is actually rather unusual because it *lacks* ergative marking. This cannot be dismissed on the

basis of an animacy difference between the two arguments, since the agent in that sentence is a brown bear which would be expected to be less animate than the human being, hence we would expect it to be more likely to be marked with the ergative, not less likely.

The ergative *-ch* is a component of the explanatory particle *ách* along with the third person nonhuman pronoun *á*. This particle is usually found at the beginning of sentences or independent clauses, indicating that the previous statement is an explanation for the subsequent statement. It is typically translated into English as ‘that’s why’ but the academic English terms ‘thus’, ‘therefore’, and ‘ergo’ are also accurate translations; sometimes a translator will precede the antecedent statement with ‘because’ instead. It is usually followed immediately by a focus particle such as *áwé* or *áyú*, but this is not always necessary.

- (16) a. **ách** haa dudlisáakw, K̲ak’weidí
ách haa-∅-du-dli-sa^w-k K̲ak’weidí
EXPLN 1PL.O-ZCNJ-INDH.S-CL[+D,l,+I]-call-REP NAME
 ‘that’s why they call us *K̲ak’weidí*’
 (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987: 66)
- b. **ách** áyú uháan tsú haa toowú a yáx̲
ách á-yú uháan tsú haa tú-ÿí a yáx̲
EXPLN FOC-DIST 1PL also 1PL.PSS inside-PSS 3N SIM
 wootee
 ∅-ÿu-ÿa-ti-h
 3.O-PFV-CL[-D,∅,+I]-be-VAR
 ‘this is why we also felt so’ (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1990: 160)

The explanatory particle can be thought of as having the third person nonhuman pronoun *á* serving as an anaphor for the preceding statement. This anaphor is marked with the ergative so that the antecedent statement that precedes the explanatory particle is then a sort of agent that causes the consequential statement following the explanatory particle.

The same form *ách* also occurs as an obligatory oblique, lexically specified as appearing immediately before a particular verb. The verb in question is *P-{t,x,dé} ách a-S-CL[-D,s]-wu (∅; -? Act)* ‘S send to P’, note the lexically specified object pronominal *a-* which is nonreferential. The following example is taken from a class handout by Leer.

- (17) *dáanaa aḵ jeet ách*
dáanaa aḵ jee-t á-ch
 money 1SG.PSS possession-PNCT 3N-ERG
awsiwóo
a-ÿu-Ø-si-wu-ÿ
 3.O-PFV-3.S-CL[-D,S,+I]-send-VAR
 'he sent me money'

In this example the word *dáanaa* 'money' looks to all the world like the object, and *ách* would be the subject with the ergative marker attached. But the subject and *ách* are not coreferential, as the following example shows.

- (18) *tsaa dleeyí áwé i ḵ'éide ách*
tsaa dleey-ÿí á-wé i ḵ'é-dé á-ch
 seal meat-PSS FOC-MDST 2SG.PSS mouth-ALL 3N-ERG
aa akwḵasawóo
aa-a-ga-w-ga-ḵa-sa-wu-:
 PART-3.O-GCNJ-IRR-GMOD-1SG.S-CL[-D,S,-I]-send-VAR
 'I will send you some seal meat' (Story & Naish 1973: 183)

Here the *ách* cannot be the subject because it is a third person whereas the verb is marked for first person singular. Also note the partitive object *aa*-appearing in the verb along with the lexically specified and nonreferential *a*-third person object. Leer (ms. ca. 2003) claims that this verb does not take an object, and that the noun phrase (*dáanaa* or *tsaa dleeyí*) is a sort of topic and not an object. The *ách* is, at "an abstract grammatical level" according to Leer, a dummy pronoun which is coreferential with the topic. He translates *dáanaa aḵ jeet ách awsiwóo* literally as 'it's money, he made a sent-offering to me by means of it'. This implies that the *-ch* is not an ergative but rather an instrumental.

Given the previous discussion, the following example from Naish & Story is probably a mistake. Rather than the verb root \sqrt{u} 'own', this should probably have \sqrt{wu} 'send' instead as in the examples above.

- (19) *kóox ḵa gáatl ách has wududzi.oo*
kóox ḵa gáatl á-ch has-Ø-wu-du-dzi-u-h
 rice and p.bread 3N-ERG PL-3.O-PFV-INDH.S-CL[+D,S,+I]-OWN-VAR
 'they gave them rice and pilot bread to take away'
 (Story & Naish 1973: 100)

3.2. Case suffixes and postpositions

If this example was not indeed a mishearing of \sqrt{wu} then this would constitute an additional verb in the lexicon which includes a thematic *ách*, at least for some people in Angoon. The likelihood of this being the case is rather small, but I have not checked it with any native speakers.

Although it mostly occurs on nouns, the ergative can also be suffixed to a subordinate verb. When done, this indicates that the subordinate clause is the explanation for some situation expressed in the main clause. Naish and Story call this construction a ‘causal subordinate clause’ (Naish 1966: 12). As Naish describes it, the subordinated verb marked with *-ch* represents the statement of ‘cause’ while the main clause is the statement of ‘effect’.

- (20) a. aagáa k̄iyeesheeyéech áwé,
 á-gáa k̄u-ÿu-ÿi-Ø-shi-h-ée-**ch** á-wé
 3N-ADES AREAL-PFV-2PL.S-CL[-D,Ø,-I]-search-VAR-SUB-**ERG** FOC-MDST
 yeeyt’ei
 Ø-ÿu-ÿi-ÿa-t’e-h
 3.0-PFV-2PL.S-CL[-D,Ø,+I]-find-VAR
 ‘because you searched for it, you found it’ (Story & Naish 1973: 183)

- b. ax̄ káa yaa kandatáx’eech
 ax̄ ká-’ yaa=ka-na-Ø-da-tax’-n-ée-**ch**
 1SG.PSS HSFC-LOC along=HSFC-NCNJ-3.S-CL[+D,Ø,-I]-bite-VAR-SUB-**ERG**
 x̄áa áwé wóoshdáx̄
 x̄áa á-wé wóosh-dáx̄
 SOFT FOC-MDST RECIP-ABL
 daak yax̄waat’éey
 daak=Ø-ÿa-ÿu-x̄a-ÿa-t’iy-h
 ADMAR=3.0-VSFC-PFV-1SG.S-CL[-D,Ø,+I]-elbow-VAR
 ‘because it was closing in on me, I elbowed it apart’ (Naish 1966: 12)

3.2.2. LOCATIVE SUFFIX

Story (1966: 29) called the locative suffix *-x’* ‘adessive’, and Leer (1991: 33) provided the term ‘locative’ which is more in keeping with its basic meaning. The locative suffix indicates that the marked noun phrase is a location for some other entity, and is usually translated into English as ‘at’, ‘on’, ‘in’, or ‘by’.

- (21) a. a_{x̄} hídi x' áwé
 a_{x̄} hí t - $yí$ - x' á-wé
 1SG.PSS house-PSS-**LOC** FOC-MDST
 'at my house'
- b. yú káayagijeit ká x'
 yú káayagijeit ká- x'
 DIST chair HSFC-**LOC**
 'on that chair'
- c. du shantó ox'
 du shá-tú- x'
 3H.PSS head-inside-**LOC**
 'in his head'
- d. aan x' yatee
 aan- x' \emptyset - \emptyset - $yá$ - $tí^h$ -h
 town-**LOC** 3.0-ZCNJ-CL[-D, \emptyset ,+I]-be-VAR
 'it's in town'

The locative suffix $-x'$ has the same phonological form as the plural suffix $-x'$, both being ejective velar fricatives, but the two are distributionally and semantically distinct. They occur for example in different positions in the sequence of suffixes that can attach to nouns.

- (22) a. a_{x̄} hí t x' i
 a_{x̄} hí t - x' - $yí$
 1SG.PSS house-**PL**-PSS
 'my houses'
- b. a_{x̄} hídi x'
 a_{x̄} hí t - $yí$ - x'
 1SG.PSS house-PSS-**LOC**
 'at my house'
- c. a_{x̄} hí t x' i x'
 a_{x̄} hí t - x' - $yí$ - x'
 1SG.PSS house-**PL**-PSS-**LOC**
 'at my houses'

The locative is often found attached to a relational noun rather than directly to some ordinary noun. This makes the location more explicit with

regard to the structure and alignment of the entity denoted by the ordinary noun. Because of this, Tlingit actually lacks postpositions for a number of spatial relationships that are expressed with prepositions in English, for example ‘on top of’, ‘around’, and ‘near’. Instead these are expressed with a relational noun and the locative suffix.

- (23) a. yá nadáakw káx'
 yá nadáakw ká-x'
 PROX table HSFC-LOC
 ‘on this table’, lit. ‘on the horizontal surface of this table’
- b. aḵ shutóox' daax'
 aḵ shutóox' daa-x'
 1SG.PSS ankle around-LOC
 ‘around my ankle’
- c. i xánx' yatee
 i xán-x' 0-0-ya-ti^h-h
 3H.PSS vicinity-LOC 3.0-ZCNJ-CL[-D,0,+I]-be-VAR
 ‘it’s near you’, ‘it’s by you’, ‘it’s in your vicinity’

The locative can also attach directly to a question word, usually *góo* ‘where’. The more common method of asking about a location is with the question *goosá* ~ *goosú* which is composed of *góo* ‘where’ and the wh-question particle *sá* with optional rounding. Nevertheless, the form *góox'* does occasionally occur, with the *sá* particle unattached as indicated by the lack of tone change. The reasons for choosing *góox'* *sá* over the *goosú* ~ *goosá* form are as yet undocumented.

- (24) góox' sá idanákw-s'een ?
 góo-x' sá 0-0-i-da-naḵw-s'-een
 where-LOC Q 3.0-ZCNJ-2SG.S-CL[+D,0,-I]-halibut.bait-PL-DEC
 ‘where did you used to halibut fish?’ (Story & Naish 1973: 91)

It may be possible to attach the locative suffix to other question words, but I do not recall encountering this. I suspect that for most question words it would be nonsensical, but perhaps acceptable for the temporal question words. Note that with the question word *x'óon* ‘how many’ the form *x'óonx'* does occasionally occur, but this is actually the plural suffix *-x'* and not the locative.

There is an allomorph *-'* of the locative suffix that occurs after the final CV syllable of a preverb (ch. 22) or an obligatory oblique phrase (ch. 8). The

allomorph is represented morphologically as *-'* due to its form in Tongass Tlingit as CV' with a glottalized vowel. The effect in Northern Tlingit is to change the CV to CV': with a long vowel and high tone, regardless of the original tone. In Southern Tlingit the result is CVV̄ with a long vowel and falling tone. These are the usual correspondences between Tongass glottalization and the tone systems of the two dialects.

- (25) a. kaawayík yaagú **áa** yei ish_ká_kch
 kaawayík-yaagú á-'=yei=∅-∅-sh-kak-ch
 air-boat 3N-LOC=down=ZCNJ-3.S-CL[+D,sh,-I]-land-REP
 'the airplane lands there' (Story & Naish 1973: 121)
- b. héen a_x toowáa sigóo
 héen a_x tú-ýá-' ∅-∅-si-gu-:
 water 1SG.PSS mind-VSFC-LOC 3.O-ZCNJ-CL[-D,S,+I]-enjoy-VAR
 'I want water'

This allomorph is in free variation with the basic locative allomorph *-x'* for many speakers, but it is not clear if this is the case for all speakers. The following example is the same as the previous, but with the *-x'* allomorph of the locative suffix instead.

- (26) héen a_x toowáx' sigóo
 héen a_x tú-ýá-x' ∅-∅-si-gu-:
 water 1SG.PSS mind-VSFC-LOC 3.O-ZCNJ-CL[-D,S,+I]-enjoy-VAR
 'I want water'

Both are acceptable to every speaker I have worked with, though the former form with *-'* is by far more common than the latter with *-x'*.

[[FIXME: *-i* allomorph? *-∅* allomorph? *-:* allomorph? Leer 1991: 34]]

The *-∅* and *-:* allomorphs occur with the postpositional pronouns and the meaningless base =*ee* (see ch. 20). Boas (1917: 94) noted the use of both in his discussion of =*ee* as expressing an indirect object.

- (27) a. xáa awlitóow
 xá: a-ýu-∅-li-tuw-h
 1SG-LOC 3.O-PFV-3.S-CL[-D,l,+I]-teach-VAR
 'he taught it to me' (Boas 1917: 94)
- b. haa ée woo.éex'
 haa=ee-∅ ýu-∅-ýa-ix'-h
 1PL=BASE-LOC PFV-3.S-CL[-D,∅,+I]-call-VAR
 'he called to us' (Boas 1917: 94)

3.2.3. PUNCTUAL SUFFIX

Story (1966: 29) termed the punctual suffix ‘illative’, whereas Leer (1991: 33) applied the term ‘punctual’, which I retain. (Boas 1917: 94) described it as indicating the “position resulting from a movement towards an object”, in contrast with the allative suffix *-dé* describing only “movement towards an object”. Its use revolves around the basic concept of a spatiotemporal point, but different verbs and modes give it different specialized interpretations.

Leer (1991: 33) states that the punctual suffix has three related meanings depending on the verb it occurs with. With positional imperfective forms of verbs it indicates that the marked noun is positioned at a point in space, similar to the meaning of the locative but with a more restrictive sense of position. With telic (\emptyset -conjugation class) motion verbs the punctual suffix indicates that the motion denoted by the verb is defined as terminating at the point denoted by the marked noun phrase, and this use represents the core of telicity expression in Tlingit. With atelic (*na-*, *ga-*, or *ga-* conjugation class) motion verbs the punctual suffix indicates that the motion expressed by the verb revolves around the point denoted by the marked noun phrase.

The following examples demonstrate the positional meaning, where the marked noun phrase indicates the point-like position of the verb’s object, which is some unspecified third person element.

(28) a. *stative imperfective with locative -x’*

áx’ yatee
 á-x’ \emptyset - \emptyset -yä-ti^h-h
 3N-LOC 3.0-ZCNJ-CL[-D, \emptyset , -I]-be-VAR
 ‘it exists there’ (no agency implied)

b. *positional imperfective with punctual -t*

át áa
 á-t \emptyset - \emptyset - \emptyset -a-:
 3N-PNCT 3.0-ZCNJ-CL[-D, \emptyset , -I]-situate-VAR
 ‘it’s situated there’ (probably as a result of being placed)

c. ?áx’ áa

á-x’ \emptyset - \emptyset - \emptyset -a-:
 3N-LOC 3.0-ZCNJ-CL[-D, \emptyset , -I]-situate-VAR

Note that the positional imperfective implies that some sort of agent may have placed the third person object there. This is not a presupposition since

it can be cancelled [[FIXME: example]], and because the verb is an object intransitive and hence lacks a subject the agency is not explicit. There is a transitive form of the positional imperfective which has *s* in the S component of the classifier [[FIXME: example]], and this does express agency explicitly. In contrast, the ordinary existential verb does not imply any sort of agent. This is conceptually separate from the punctuality of the location, but due to verbal semantics the two issues overlap considerably.

The telic interpretation of the punctual arises with motion verbs that are of the \emptyset -conjugation class, usually just termed ‘telic motion verbs’. These are technically derivations from verb themes that lack an inherent conjugation class, as described in section 12.1. The telic perfective is probably the most common form occurring in ordinary speech, where the perfective form of the motion verb indicates that the motion ends at the location. Telic motion verbs contrast with atelic motion verbs that belong to one of the other three conjugation classes. In their perfective forms, the atelic motion verbs occur with the allative *-dé* instead.

- (29) a. *telic perfective with punctual -t*
 Sheet’kát x̄waagút
 Sheet’ká-**t** ȳu-x̄a-ȳa-gut-ȳ
 Sitka-**PNCT** PFV-1SG.S-CL[-D,∅,+I]-go.SG-VAR
 ‘I arrived at Sitka’, ‘I got to Sitka’
- b. *atelic perfective with allative -dé*
 Sheet’kaadé x̄waagoot
 Sheet’ká-**dé** ȳu-x̄a-ȳa-gut-h
 Sitka-**ALL** PFV-1SG.S-CL[-D,∅,+I]-go.SG-VAR
 ‘I went towards Sitka’, ‘I went to Sitka’

The telic perfective example above expresses the fact that the speaker actually arrived at the destination, the town of Sitka. In contrast the atelic perfective example expresses the fact that the speaker did not actually arrive at Sitka, but was merely headed there. The distinction between the two is actually indicated by the verb stem rather than the postpositional phrase, since the punctual can also be used with the atelic verb.

- (30) *atelic perfective with punctual -t*
 Sheet’kát x̄waagoot
 Sheet’ká-**t** ȳu-x̄a-ȳa-gut-h
 Sitka-**PNCT** PFV-1SG.S-CL[-D,∅,+I]-go.SG-VAR
 ‘I went around Sitka’

Here the punctual suffix indicates that the speaker went around a point located in the town of Sitka. This is sometimes termed the PERAMBULATIVE use of the punctual suffix. The speaker may have actually gone around the entire town without having entered it, or may have just wandered around some point within Sitka, perhaps between the Pioneer and Ernie's.

3.2.4. PERTINGENT SUFFIX

Story (1966: 29) labeled the pertingent suffix $-x$ as 'prolative'. This is a peculiar name since the pertingent does not really have an association with movement. Rather, as Leer (1991: 33) describes it, the pertingent has to do with prolonged contact at a location, repeated arrival at a location, or having the form of something. Boas (1917: 96) thought of it as possibly the counterpart of the locative $-x'$ (sec. 3.2.2) in parallel with the relationship between the punctual $-t$ (sec. 3.2.3) and allative $-dé$ (sec. 3.2.5), but stated that this "does not appear clearly".

- (31) a. $nètx yéxàt wùt'ì$
 $neilx$ $yéi xat$ wootee
 $neil-x$ $yéi=xat-ÿu-ÿa-ti^h-h$
 home-**PERT** thus=1SG.0-PFV-CL[-D,Ø,+I]-be-VAR
 'I was at home' (Boas 1917: 96)
- b. $hīnx ye îcxî'xtc$
 $héenx$ $yéi ishxíxch$
 $héen-x$ $yéi=Ø-Ø-sh-xix-ch$
 water-**PERT** down=ZCNJ-3.S-CL[+D,sh,-I]-run-HAB
 'he always runs into the water' (Swanton 1909: 274)

In the verb theme $P-x$ $O-CL[-D,s]/-ti^h$ (?; $-h$ Stv) 'O be a member of P' the pertingent marks the set of which the object is described as a member.

- (32) a. $hīngítx sit'ì$
 $Lingítx$ sitee
 $Lingít-x$ $Ø-Ø-si-ti^h-h$
 Tlingit-**PERT** 3.0-ZCNJ-CL[-D,S,+I]-be-VAR
 'he is a Tlingit' (Boas 1917: 97)

- b. A lēn cāx wusiti'
 aatlein shaa~~x~~ wusitee
 aatlein shaa-~~x~~ Ø-ÿu-si-ti^h-h
 big mountain-**PERT** 3.0-PFV-CL[-D,S,+I]-be-VAR
 'it became a big mountain' (Swanton 1909: 97)

3.2.5. ALLATIVE SUFFIX

Story (1966: 29) provided the name 'allative' for the *-dé* suffix, which Leer maintained. Boas (1917: 94) contrasted it with the punctual suffix *-t* (sec. 3.2.3), saying that the allative describes "movement towards an object" versus the punctual describing the "position resulting from movement towards an object". It is often translated into English as 'to', though in fact 'toward' is more accurate because it does not imply completion of movement to the marked noun. Contrast this with the punctual suffix which does imply completion of movement in its denotation of telic motion.

This suffix is one of the case suffixes which contain a vowel and hence which participate in an Obligatory Contour Principle phenomenon I call TONE ALTERNATION. I analyze the allative suffix, along with the other vowel-containing case suffixes, as having high tone underlyingly in the tonal dialects (Northern and Southern). This high tone always appears when the preceding syllable of the noun has low tone, but when the preceding syllable of the noun has high tone then the suffix occurs with low tone.

- (33) a. aandé
 aan-**dé**
 town-**ALL**
 'toward the town'
- b. hítde
 hít-**dé**
 house-**ALL**
 'toward the house'

This suffix has variable length in Northern Tlingit. Earlier orthographic practice was to always write it as long, hence *-déi*, but current practice is to write it as short, thus *-dé*. Pronunciation of length varies idiolectally and even contextually for the same speaker, like with other variable length vowels in Northern Tlingit.

3.2.6. ABLATIVE SUFFIX

Story (1966: 29) was the first to label the *-dáx* suffix as ‘ablative’, and Leer retained this term. Its is usually translated in English as ‘from’ or ‘out of’, and Leer (1991: 34) notes its use with temporal noun phrases as meaning ‘since’. Swanton (1911: 194) represented it as *dax* or *dá'x* and simply translated it as ‘from’, classing it as a “locative adverb”. Boas (1917: 98) correctly recognized that its final consonant is uvular and also analyzed it as having underlying high tone as *-dáx*. He also noted the avocalic allomorph *-tx* (his *-tx*) which is an optional form that can be used after any noun ending in an open syllable, but which usually occurs only with fairly short nouns.

- (34) a. *xāt ā'ni dāx*
 xāat *aanídāx*
 xāat *aan-ŷí-dāx*
 salmon town-PSS-ABL
 ‘from the salmon town’ (Swanton 1909: 253)
- b. *'axyàdāx*
 aḡ *yaadāx*
 aḡ *yá-dāx*
 1SG.PSS face-ABL
 ‘ahead of me’, lit. ‘from my face’ (Boas 1917: 98)
- c. *Łdaka't yētḡ ducāq!awe'*
 ldakát yéitḡ *dusháax'* *áwé*
 ldakát yé-dāx *∅-∅-du-∅-sha-i-x'* *á-wé*
 all place-ABL 3.0-ZCNJ-INDH.S-CL[-D,∅,-I]-marry-VAR-PL FOC-MDST
 ‘people married her from everywhere’ (Swanton 1909: 259)
 theme: *O-S-CL[-D,∅]-sha (∅; -: Act) 'S marry O'*

Like the allative *-dé*, the ablative *-dáx* exhibits tone alternation depending on the tone of the final syllable of the noun. If the noun ends in a high tone syllable then the suffix is low tone, and vice versa.

- (35) a. *aandāx*
 aan-dāx
 town-ABL
 ‘from the town’

- b. **hít****dáx**
 hít-**dáx**
 house-ABL
 ‘from the house’

Similar to the explanatory particle *ách* described in section 3.2.1, there is a sort of intersentential conjunction *átx* or *aadáx* that is constructed from the third person nonhuman pronoun *á* and the ablative suffix *-dáx*. Where the explanatory *ách* is a reference to the preceding statement as an antecedent, the construction *átx* or *aadáx* instead only indicates that the preceding statement was temporally ordered before the following one and does not imply any sort of causation. Boas (1917: 98) translated it as “and then” in two examples taken from Swanton (1909) which are analyzed below.

- (36) a. **Atxá'**we dutá'yenax yūt k^udā'ítc
átx áwé du taýeenáx yóot
á-dáx á-wé du taýee-náx yóo-t
 3N-ABL FOC-MDST 3H.PSS beneath-PERL DIST-PNCT
 kda.éech
 Ø-ka-Ø-da-.i-ch
 3.O-HSFC-ZCNJ-CL[+D,Ø,-I]-slide-REP
 ‘after that it would always slide down there from under him’
 (Swanton 1909: 289)
 theme: *O-ka-CL[+D,Ø]-i~.e (ga; -ch Act)* ‘O slide down’
- b. **Ada'**xawe lē yaodu'dzîqōx łatsi'n duyîga'
aadáx áwé tle ýawdudziqōox
 á-dáx á-wé tle Ø-ýa-ýu-du-dzi-kux-h
 3N-ABL FOC-MDST just 3.O-HSFC-PFV-3OBV.S-CL[+D,s,+I]-go.boat-VAR
 latseen du ýéegaa
 latseen du=ée-gáa
 strength 3H=BASE-ADES
 ‘after that they just brought strength for him by boat’
 (Swanton 1909: 290)

The form *átx* is also sometimes written as *ádáx*, in parallel with the writing of *-tx* as *-dāx*.

3.2.7. PERLATIVE SUFFIX

Story (1966: 29) called the perlative suffix *-náx* ‘translative’.

- (37) a. *dùhídínáx*
 du hídináx
 du híť-ýí-náx
 3H.PSS house-PSS-PERL
 ‘through his house’ (Boas 1917: 99)
- b. Tāt yīnā’x awe’ ā’waya
 taat ýeenáx áwé aawayaa
 taat ýee-náx á-wé a-ýu-Ø-ýa-ya-h
 night inside-PERL FOC-MDST 3.0-PFV-3.S-CL[-D,Ø,+I]-pack-VAR
 ‘he carried it through the night’ (Swanton 1909: 258.9)

Phonologically the perlative suffix behaves almost identically to the ablative suffix *-dáx*, except that it does not have a contracted form **-n_x*. Thus it also exhibits tone alternation.

- (38) a. *aannáx*
 aan-náx
 town-PERL
 ‘through the town’
- b. *hítnáx*
 híť-náx
 house-PERL
 ‘along the house’

3.2.8. ADESSIVE SUFFIX

Story (1966: 29) termed the adessive suffix *-gáa* ‘objective’, and Leer (1991: 33) called it ‘vicinitative’.

Leer (1991: 33) translates its meanings in English as ‘in the area of’, ‘after’, ‘for’ (purpose), or ‘about the time of’.

3.2.9. INSTRUMENTAL AND COMITATIVE SUFFIXES

Story (1966: 29) called the *-teen* suffix ‘concomitant’.

3.2.10. LOCATIVE PREDICATE SUFFIX

The locative predicate suffix is unlike the other case suffixes and postpositions. It has mostly the same meaning as the locative suffix, but it expresses the location of a marked noun without the need for a verb phrase. Thus the locative predicate converts a noun phrase into a sentential predicate. It is easier to understand from examples than it is to understand by explanation.

- (39) a. yáadu aḵ hídi
 yá-t-**u** aḵ hít-ǵí
 PROX-PNCT-**LOCP** 1SG.PSS house-PSS
 ‘my house is here’
- b. aaá, du éesh néilu
 aaá du éesh néil-**u**
 yes 3H.PSS father home-**LOCP**
 ‘yes, his father is at home’

The locative predicate suffix serves a similar verb-avoidance role as do the focus particles. The latter can frequently be found serving as a sort of copula in verbless sentences.

- (40) a. aḵ hídi áyá
 aḵ hít-ǵí á-yá
 1SG.PSS house-PSS FOC-PROX
 ‘this is my house’
- b. ch’áak’ áyú
 ch’áak’ á-yú
 eagle FOC-DIST
 ‘that’s an eagle’⁷

The semantic difference between the locative predicate suffix and the copular use of the focus particles is that the locative predicate denotes existence at a specified location, whereas the focus particles denote existence within the demonstrative distance system (proximal, mesiproximal, mesiodistal, distal).

When combined with the demonstratives, the locative predicate suffix always occurs with a preceding punctual suffix *-t*. I have no hypothesis for why this is the case, but Leer may have worked out an explanation.

7. The word ‘eagle’ in local English refers almost exclusively to the bald eagle, *Haliaeetus leucocephalus* (L. 1766). The Tlingit word *ch’áak’* is specific to this species.

- (41) a. yáadu
 yá-t-u
 PROX-PNCT-LOCP
 ‘it’s here’
- b. héidu
 hé-t-u
 MPRX-PNCT-LOCP
 ‘it’s over here’
- c. wéidu
 wé-t-u
 MDST-PNCT-LOCP
 ‘it’s there’
- d. yóodu
 yú-t-u
 DST-PNCT-LOCP
 ‘it’s over there’

3.2.11. SIMILATIVE POSTPOSITION

3.2.12. BENEFACTIVE POSTPOSITION

3.2.13. ABESSIVE POSTPOSITION

3.2.14. ELATIVE POSTPOSITION

3.2.15. SUPERLATIVE POSTPOSITION

3.2.16. SUBLATIVE POSTPOSITION

3.3. PLURALITY

Nouns in Tlingit are mostly unspecified for number.

3.4. NOMINAL ALLOMORPHY

A few open monosyllabic morphemes have a peculiar tone and length alternation which is not entirely predictable. The most common morphemes

3.4. Nominal allomorphy

	<i>Dial.</i>	<i>Unsufl.</i>	<i>-CV*</i>	<i>-C</i>	<i>-n</i>	<i>-'</i> (<i>LOC</i>)
3N	N	á	aa-CV̇*	á-C	áan	áa
	S	á	aa-CV̇*	á-C	áàn	áà
	T	a	ah-CV*	a-C	?	a'
HSFC	N	-ká	-kaa-CV̇*	-ká-C	—	-káa
	S	-ká	-kaa-CV̇*	-ká-C	—	-káà
	T	-ka	-kah-CV*	-ka-C	—	-ka'
VSFC	N	-yá	-yaa-CV̇*	-yá-C	-yáan	-yáa
	S	-yá	-yaa-CV̇*	-yá-C	-yáàn	-yáà
	T	-ya	-yah-CV*	-yá-C	?	-ya'
1SG	N	xát	xaa-CV̇*	xáa-C	xáan	xáa
	S	xát	xaa-CV̇*	xáa-C	xáàn	xáà
	T	xát	xah-CV*	?	?	?xá'
BASE	N	=ee	=ee-CV̇*	=ée-C	=éen	=ée
	S	=ee	=ee-CV̇*	=ée-C	=éèn	=éè
	T	=ee	?	?	?	?=i'
inside	N	tú	too-CV̇*	tóo-C	tóon	tóo
	S	tú	too-CV̇*	tóo-C	tóòn	tóò
	T	tú	?	?	?	tu'

Table 3.3: Unpredictable nominal allomorphy. Note that suffixed 1SG is often $\underline{x}e=ee\dots$ using BASE instead of $\underline{x}a\dots$, but the choice between them is idiolectal.

exhibiting this phenomenon are the third person nonhuman pronoun *á* and the inalienable nouns *-yá* ‘face, vertical surface’ and *-ká* ‘horizontal surface’, though there are a few others. When suffixed these morphemes become long and low and the suffix takes a corresponding high tone if it normally undergoes tone alternation: *aadé* ‘toward it’, *aḵyaadé* ‘toward my face’, *a kaadé* ‘toward its horizontal surface’. For convenience these few morphemes are given in table 3.3, with *-CV** standing for any CV or CVC suffix and *-C* standing for any case suffix composed of a single consonant. The allomorph *-n* of the instrumental-comitative suffix is treated separately from the other single consonant suffixes since it causes falling tone in Southern Tlingit.

4 The verb template

The Tlingit verb, like its Athabaskan cousins, is traditionally described using a template. Each researcher has developed a different templatic structure, but since all describe the same phenomena they are essentially equivalent. I use a relatively flat template based on work by Cable (2006), who in turn based his work on Leer (1991), whose template was an extensive expansion of the original templatic descriptions by Naish and Story (Naish 1966; Story 1966, 1972; Story & Naish 1973). Boas (1917) did not have a template as such, probably because such an analytical tool did not develop in Athabaskan studies until the 1950s (Krauss 1980), but he did seem to be leaning in the direction of templatic analysis based on his example chart of Tlingit verb composition (Boas 1917: 24).

The verb template is in my analysis not a theoretical construct, but instead merely a descriptive tool that aids in understanding the positions and interrelationships of different morphological elements within the verb. To my knowledge no linguist has ever claimed that a Tlingit speaker actually manipulates verbs in their language with a mental template, although similar claims may have been made for Athabaskan languages. At least for Tlingit I consider such a hypothesis highly suspect, based on my experience working with native speakers and their intuitions about verb structure. Currently the mental representations underlying Tlingit verb morphology are entirely unknown. Based on purely impressionistic data, it seems that Tlingit speakers divide the verb into a few basic syllabic units, and that most verbal morphology is not consciously available for introspection without extensive training and practice. The most salient part of the verb is unquestionably the root, but linguistically naïve speakers often find it difficult to consciously distinguish it from the classifier and suffixes.

In my template there are eighteen slots centred on the verb root which is numbered as slot 0. Prefix slots are given positive numbers and suffix slots

are given negative numbers. There is no distinction in the slots between affixes and clitics since in some cases the same basic morpheme may have one allomorph that is phonologically a clitic and another allomorph that is phonologically an affix, as for example the proclitic *has=* and the prefix *s-* both of which indicate pluralization of a nonlocal¹ argument. I have mostly avoided the use of subslots to reduce descriptive complexity, though the proclitic “preverbs” slot +17 has cooccurrences of morphemes with ordering constraints and hence requires subslots A–F, and the suffixal “duration” slot –3 may have internal ordering with subslots A and B. The structural description of my template, along with Leer’s template for comparison, is given in table 4.1 on page 45.

In a template model of morphology the usual convention for defining a slot is that no morphemes within it can cooccur. Although this is mostly true in the template used here, I have not always followed this convention. For example, as far as I am aware it is impossible for epimode (–5) and clause type (–6) suffixes to cooccur. But rather than unifying them in a single slot as Leer did, I have taken the position that their very distinct semantic and syntactic functions warrant separating them more than their morphological cooccurrence restrictions justify unifying them. For this reason it should not be assumed that morphemes in a distinct slot can cooccur, nor that morphemes occurring in the same slot cannot cooccur. These assumptions are largely true, but because I consider the template to be a useful device for description to be discarded when inconvenient, such implications are not to be taken too seriously.

With those considerations in place, we can look more closely at the organization of morphemes in the verb. Any given slot may hold one or more morphemes, usually more than one. But in a fully conjugated verb there is usually only one morpheme per slot, and most slots are empty. The preverbs are exceptional since it is possible to have at least one preverb from each subslot, though perhaps not from all the preverb subslots at once. It is also occasionally possible to have more than one incorporated noun, though possibly this may only apply to the inalienable incorporated nouns in slot +11. There are a few incorporated nouns that when they occur as independent nouns are analyzed as being polymorphemic, for example *-tukx'é* ‘anus’

1. Leer uses the term ‘local argument’ for what most linguists call locatives, i.e. postpositional phrases that denote locations. I follow the widespread convention of local arguments being those referencing discourse participants, so that 1st and 2nd person are local arguments and other persons (3rd, indefinite, etc.) are nonlocal arguments.

<i>Cable & Crippen</i>		<i>Leer 1991</i>	
+18	bound phrasal adjuncts	—	—
+17	preverbs (A–D, E1, E2, F)	+8	proclitic adjunct phrases
+16	reciprocal & outer distributive	+7	b number prefixes
+15	plural number <i>has=</i> ~ <i>s-</i>		a
+14	objects	+6	b incorp. obj. pronominals
+13	areal <i>ku-</i>	—	—
+12	alienable incorporates		a incorp. alienable nouns
+11	inalienable incorporates	+5	c incorp. inalienable nouns
+10	vertical surface <i>ya-</i>		b
+9	horizontal surface <i>ka-</i>		a
+8	self-benefactive <i>ga-</i>	+4	e schetic prefixes
+7	outer conjugation/aspect		d
+6	irrealis		c
+5	inner conjugation/aspect		b
+4	perfective and <i>ga</i> -mode		a
+3	inner distributive	+3	distributive prefix
+2	subjects	+2	subject pronominals
+1	classifiers	+1	classifier
0	root	0	ROOT
-1	stem variation	-3	inner mode suffixes
-2	derivation	-1	derivational suffixes
-3	duration (A?, B?)	-2	durative suffixes (a, b)
-4	mode	-4	outer mode suffixes
-5	epimode		epimode and
-6	clause type	-5	clause type suffixes
-7	bound auxiliaries	—	—

Table 4.1: Verb template structure.

that is a compound of *-túk* ‘butt’ and *-x’é* ‘mouth’, but when this occurs as the incorporated noun *tukx’e- ~ tuk’e-* it is analyzed as monomorphemic. Compare the independent noun *-x’é* ‘mouth’ with the incorporated form *x’a-*, and note that the incorporated ‘anus’ is not **tukx’a-*.

Table 4.2 on page 47 gives the complete inventory of known morphemes in the Tlingit verb, with a few exceptions. The most important exceptions are a handful of procliticized postpositional phrases such as *adaχ= ~ aaχ=* ‘from it’ and *kanax=* ‘along its horizontal surface’, where the independent forms are *aadáχ* and *-kaanáχ*. Another set of morphemes not given in table 4.2 is the incorporated focus particles and phonologically small postpositional phrases that can sometimes be found occurring between some of the preverbs (Leer 1991: 140–141). The exact circumstances for when such procliticized or incorporated forms are selected over independent forms have yet to be investigated, though Leer supposes that both phonological properties and argument structure condition the choice for the incorporated phrases (Leer 1991: 141).

The various Tlingit orthographies currently in use attempt to make a distinction between clitics and most affixes, in that clitics are written as separate words. But some prefixes are also written as separately, for example the objects *xat-* ‘1st pers. sg. obj.’, *haa-* ‘1st pers. pl. obj.’, and *sh-* ‘reflexive obj.’, among others. In addition most of the alienable incorporated nouns are conventionally written as separate words, as are some of the inalienable incorporates. These very inconsistencies are telling, since the phonology does not always make clear whether a given morpheme has become fully affixed or not, and the precise phonological delineations between the two groups have not been thoroughly worked out. In general the orthography should not be relied upon to judge clitic versus affix status, but it can be a useful guide.

[[FIXME: Description of the disjunct and conjunct domains, and comparisons with Athabaskan. Note difference between inner and outer conjunct as described by Seth. Status of enclitics. Why slot +18 is included, lexical entry versus part of the verb itself.]]

[[FIXME: Subsections for each slot. Short descriptions of each morpheme with pointers to their discussion in the context of the appropriate modes etc.]]

4. The verb template

Position Affixes	
	+18 P-x', P-{t,x,dé}, P-náx, P-dáx, P x'é-', P dasé-', P gunayá-' P eetéénáx, ...
proclitics	+17 F gunayéi~gunéi=, áa=, shóo=, héeni=, gági=, éegi=, daagi= E2 kut=, yux=, yaa=, héen=, ux=, kwáak=, yed=, yaanax~yahnaax _T = E1 yan*=, neil*=, haa*=, yóo*=, kux*=, kux _I *= D kei~keh _T =, yei~yeh _T =, yeik~yeek _S ~ihk _T =, daak~dahk _T =, daak~dahk _T = C yéi~yeh _T = B yaa~yah _T = A yaa~yah _T =, yoo~yuh _T =
	+16 woosh= RECIP, dax= DIST
	+15 has= ~ s- PL
	+14 xat~ax-, haa~hah _T -, i-, yi-, a~∅-, ash-, kaa~ku-, at-, aa-, sh~∅-
	+13 ku- AREAL
	+12 yaan-, shakux-, yata-, x'asakw-, gax-, xee~xei-, kee~kei-, yee~yei-, l'il'-, kanik-, yaka-, saa-, aan-, naa-, sha.axw-, yakw-, hin-, lux'-, has'-, luk-
	+11 ji-, x'a-, k'a-, tu-, sha-, shu-, lu-, se~sa-, xa-, gu-, ta-, daa-, xoo-, xan-, x'aa-, t'éi-, t'aa-, yik-, yee-, ki-, gin-, xi-, s'aan-, lidíx', wak-, s'ak-, x'us-, s'ee-, duk-, laka-, t'ik-, keey-, toox'-, x'atu-, tukx'e~tuk'e-, daa.it-, tax'-
	+10 ya- VSFC
	+9 ka- HSFC
	prefixes
+7 ga- GCNJ	
+6 u-, w-, oo- (all IRR)	
+5 ∅- ZCNJ, na- NCNJ, ga- GCNJ	
+4 yu- PFV, u- PFV.TEL, ga- GMOD	
+3 daga~dax- DIST	
+2 xa- 1SG.S, tu- 1PL.S, i- 2SG.S, yi- 2PL.S, ∅- 3.S, du- 3OBV.S, du- INDH.S	
+1 CL[±D, S, ±I]: D ∈ {+D, -D}, S ∈ {∅, s, l, sh}, I ∈ {+I, -I}	
0 root (CVC, CVC', CV'C, CV, CV ^h)	
-1 -, -: -h, -n, -y (all VAR)	
suffixes	-2 -án, -shán, -ch, -ákw, -aa, -xaa, -yí, -ee, -k, -ál'~ch'ál', -k, -nas, -nás', -kát'
	-3 (A?) -h, -k, -x, -ch; (B?) -t, -x', -t', -s', -l'
	-4 -ch, -(n)ee~(n)ih _T , -ín
	-5 -een~ihn _T , -eek~ihk _T ~k
	-6 -ee~ih _T SUB, -i REL
	-7 =nóok _N ~néekw _{SRI} ~neekw _T , =nooch _N ~neech _{SRI} ~nihch _T ~nukch _G , =noojeen _N ~neejeen _{SRI} ~ [?] nihjih _T , =núknee _N ~níkwnee _I ~níkwni _{SR} ~nikwnih _T , =ganúgun _N ~ganígun _I ~ganíkw _S ~ganikw _T
enclitics	

Table 4.2: Verb morphemes.

5 The verb root

Verb roots are, as noted earlier, the morphological centre of verbs. Simply put, verb roots have prefixes preceding them and suffixes following them. Some verb roots have an independent life as nouns, for example *-jín* ‘hand, arm’ that occurs in the verb ‘have arms’, e.g. *xat lijíni* ‘I have arms’, or *séek* ‘belt’ that can be found in the verb meaning ‘put on a belt’ such as *kuḵalséek* ‘I’ll put on a belt’ (Story & Naish 1973: 28). Most verb roots are not found independently, however. A verb root cannot morphologically occur alone if it is to be a verb, though on the surface this is not always obvious. Consider the following example of a positional imperfective verb.

- (42) *át* *áa*
 á-t *∅-∅-∅-·a-:*
 3N-PNCT 3.O-ZCNJ-CL[-D,∅,-I]-sit-VAR
 ‘it is seated/situated there’

Here the verb root \sqrt{a} ‘be seated, situated’ appears to be bare in that there are no phonologically obvious elements other than the root. This is not the case however, given that there are actually three \emptyset - prefixes and a vowel-modifying suffix *-:* which have all gone through morphophonological adjustments to produce the surface form.

- (43) *góot*
 ∅-∅-∅-gut-:
 ZCNJ-3.S-CL[-D,∅,-I]-VAR
 ‘having gone, he ...’

This example has the verb root \sqrt{gut} ‘sg. go by foot’ in the consecutive form of the verb theme *S-CL[-D,∅]-gut* (\emptyset ; Mot, *-h* Rep) ‘S (sg.) go by foot’. The consecutive is formed with the conjugation class prefix of the verb theme, which in this case is \emptyset -. The subject is third person, hence \emptyset -. The classifier is the \emptyset series, with the [-D] and [-I] features, thus arising as \emptyset -. Finally, the

verb stem variation suffix used in the consecutive form is *-:* which produces a long vowel and high tone. So although this example appears to be a bare root, again there is substantial invisible morphology involved in this form.

It is of course possible to analyze Tlingit verbs so that no invisible elements like these are needed, but such an approach would fail to capture a large number of useful generalizations. With the invisible elements in place, it is the case that no verb root ever occurs alone, though roots that have a nominal use may occur independently as nouns.

5.1. ROOT PHONOLOGY

Verb roots have restricted phonological shapes; almost all are either CV or CVC in form. The morphophonology of the verb is sensitive to the differences between these two shapes, so it is necessary to keep track of them as OPEN ROOTS and CLOSED ROOTS respectively. As will be shown later, the open and closed roots have subtypes depending on their stem variation behaviour, but the basic division is between open and closed syllables.

There are a relatively small number of verb roots that have more complex shapes than CV or CVC. Nearly all roots that appear to be disyllabic are actually composed of a CV or CVC root with a derivational (slot -2) suffix, for example $\sqrt{.ún\grave{x}aa}$ 'shoot and miss' which is derived from $\sqrt{.un}$ 'shoot' and $-x\grave{aa}$ 'miss target'. A few of these suffixes are essentially stipulated rather than being understood as having independent meanings, for example $\sqrt{x\grave{a}an\acute{a}s}$ 'travel by raft' with $\sqrt{x\grave{a}}$ 'paddle, transport by boat' where again the *-nás'* suffix is otherwise undocumented but the connection between the two roots is nonetheless clear. Some disyllabic forms are originally nominalizations of roots which are then derived into new verbs. Thus $\sqrt{n\acute{e}egw\acute{a}l}$ 'paint' seems to be derived from an unattested root $*\sqrt{nikw}$ with the addition of the nominalizing suffix *-ál'* as found in e.g. $t\acute{a}ax\acute{a}l'$ 'needle' from \sqrt{tax} 'bite, pierce'; $t\acute{a}ag\acute{a}l'$ 'fastening peg' from $\sqrt{t\acute{a}k}$ 'shift, move slightly', and $tsaag\acute{a}l'$ 'spear' from \sqrt{tsak} 'push rod end forward'. There is one verb root that is verified as being truly disyllabic rather than decomposable into a root+suffix form, namely $\sqrt{.e\acute{e}shaan}$ 'poor, pitiful'. Once again this root seems to have been derived from the another root, specifically \sqrt{shan} 'old, grey-haired', but this has yet to be conclusively determined. There are no verb roots with more than two syllables.

Roots of the shape CVCC are often taken to be composed of a CVC root

plus a derivational suffix. For example, the derivational suffix $-k$ seems to denote the lack of something based on its appearance in roots like $\sqrt{x'wás'k}$ 'numb' and $\sqrt{yáshk}$ 'scarce'. It apparently also occurs in the deverbal construction $ka-CL[+D,l]-X-k$ 'lacking X' as in *kallítaak* 'without a knife' from *lítaa* 'knife' [FIXME: cite Katherine Mills's Raven & Deer story] and it is probably related to the derivational suffix $-ákw$ which denotes deprivation as in $\sqrt{.éiyákw}$ 'have paralyzed limb', $\sqrt{t'élákw}$ 'remove milt', and $\sqrt{séewch'ákw}$ 'rain-flavoured, tasteless'. Other two-consonant codas of roots are probably the result of a previously productive inflectional suffix having been reanalyzed as derivational, such as $\sqrt{ch'ách'x}$ 'spotted' probably having the repetitive suffix $-x$ and $\sqrt{tlékwk}$ 'eat greedily' the repetitive suffix $-k$. There are of course exceptions such as the root $\sqrt{núks}$ 'sweet, tasty' where the final affricate has no counterpart in other verb roots.

5.1.1. OCCULT ROUNDING

There are a number of CV roots which have the vowel *a* that do not behave predictably with regard to rounding of suffixes. For example, the verb *woonaa* 'he died' implies that the verb root is \sqrt{na} , but when suffixed with e.g. the relative suffix $-i$ (section 17.1) the resulting form is not the predicted $*woonaa*y*i$ but instead *woonaawu* '(one) that died'. It is not as if the verb root ends with a *w* rather than with the vowel *a* since it still behaves as an open root without a final consonant. Rather the verb root acts as if the vowel is *u*, with labialization predictably spreading from it. Thus the root's vowel seems to have a normally invisible [+labial] feature even though the vowel *a* is normally [-labial]. I call this phenomenon OCCULT ROUNDING and use a final superscript ^w to indicate that the root selects rounded forms rather than unrounded forms as might be expected, thus $\sqrt{na^w}$ 'die'.

- (44) a. *imperative*
 naná!
 Ø-na-Ø-na^w-h
 2SG.O-NCNJ-CL[-D,Ø,-I]-die-VAR
 'die!'

- b. *relativized perfective*
 woonaawu káa
 Ø-ÿu-ÿa-na^w-h-i káa
 3.0-PFV-CL[-D,Ø,+I]-die-VAR-REL man
 ‘a man who died’

Another such example is the root $\sqrt{sa^w}$ ‘breathe’ which undergoes the expected apophony $a \rightarrow éi$ when suffixed with the repetitive suffix *-k* (section 10.6.1) but unexpectedly occurs with the final consonant rounded: *daséikw* ‘he breathes’ (repetitive imperfective, section 13.1.3).

Occult rounding is not actually restricted to verb roots. Boas (1917: 18) pointed out a few examples of nouns that feature unexpected labialization after the vowel *a*.

- (45) a. Xunaa káawu
 Xunaa káa^w-ÿí
 Hoonah man-PSS
 ‘a man of Hoonah’
- b. áak’w
 áa^w-k’
 lake-DIM
 ‘little lake’

In addition, as noted by Boas (1917: 18), a few nouns have an epenthetic *a* before the diminutive suffix *-k’* which seems to feature occult rounding.

- (46) a. héenák’w
 héen-k’
 water-DIM
 ‘a little water’
- b. eexák’w
 eex-k’
 oil-DIM
 ‘a little oil’, ‘a little grease’

And most unusual of all is the following example from Boas (1917: 18). His gloss was incorrect, the usual word for ‘navel’ is *-kool*, and the word *-taanú* refers to the umbilical cord instead. The final element seems to be a possessive suffix, similar to other ostensibly inalienable nouns that have a fossilized possessive form (see section 3.1).

- (47) du taanú
 du taan-ŷí
 3H.PSS umbilical.cord-PSS
 'his umbilical cord'

This irregular form has been levelled for some Interior Tlingit speakers who instead have *-taaní*. Leer (ms., n.d.) recorded a form *-taanwú* from an unknown source, so that what appears to be a labialized form of the possessive suffix may have originally been some other non-possessive syllable containing *w* or *u* which has since been reduced.

5.1.2. ROOT VARIABILITY

Most roots are variable, meaning that they have different forms depending on conjugationally selected and lexically specified stem variation. This phenomenon is addressed in chapter 10. Roots that have been derived from some other form, either from a noun or from another verb, are invariable. Although there are some roots that are always invariable for no adequately explained reason, most invariable verb roots are derived, and hence their very invariability can be taken as an indicator of their derived status. Thus all CVCC roots are invariable, whether obviously including a fossilized derivational suffix or not.

The tradition begun by Leer has been to indicate variability with some sort of symbol at the end of the root. For Leer (1976, 1978, 1991) this has always been an asterisk *, and for Edwards (2009) this is a tilde ~. Since the majority of roots are variable, I find it more useful to indicate those that are *not* variable and assume that all others are variable. Thus I place a superscript saltire cross ^x at the end of *invariable* roots and leave the variable roots unmarked. It may however be a better idea to maintain consistency with the established tradition, and I have yet to make up my own mind on this issue.

5.1.3. ROOT BORROWING

Verb roots are only rarely borrowed from other languages, but there are several instances of English borrowings: $\sqrt{bélled} \sim \sqrt{bélt}$ 'be spelled', $\sqrt{dádi}$ 'study', $\sqrt{fóned} \sim \sqrt{fónt}$ 'telephone', and $\sqrt{.oh}$ 'amount to nothing' (from English *oh* for zero). The first two have their initial English /s/ reanalyzed as

the S component of the classifier, and the other two have novel \emptyset series classifiers. Note that only the root $\sqrt{dádi}$ [táti·] is disyllabic, given the pronunciations of \sqrt{belled} as [pélt], \sqrt{phoned} as [fónt], and $\sqrt{.oh}$ as [ʔo:]. As with other derived roots, all verb roots borrowed from English are invariable.

5.2. ROOT MEANINGS

Generally a given verb root occurs in multiple verbs, so that a verb root does not denote a single verb but rather a semantic class that is realized in a number of verbs with the same root. There are however a number of HAPAX¹ verb roots that only occur in a single verb. Some of these hapax roots can be related to other roots by derivation, so that for example the root $\sqrt{.en}$ which occurs in the verb ‘move one’s head’ can be related to the root $\sqrt{.a}$ meaning ‘move the end of something’ by suffixation and apophony. Other hapax roots can be related to nouns, as in the $-\sqrt{jín}$ ‘hand, arm’ and $\sqrt{jín}$ ‘have hands, arms’ example above. There are still a few hapax roots that resist connection to anything else, such as $\sqrt{.ekw}$ ‘whistle’ for example.

The opposite phenomenon, where a verb root appears in a large number of verbs, is quite common. Verb roots that are found in a large number of verbs are what I term PROMISCUOUS roots. Perhaps the most promiscuous root is \sqrt{ha} that has the general meaning of ‘move invisibly’, but which appears in around 50 different verbs with meanings ranging from ‘be many’ and ‘be hungry’ to ‘remember’ and ‘wrestle’. Because of this promiscuity, some roots can be nearly impossible to assign a single coherent meaning. In such cases the gloss of a verb root is merely a convenient approximation appropriate to the particular verb rather than a firm statement of its semantic range.

There are quite a few verb roots that are homophonous but semantically distinct. There is a convention of labeling each homophonous root with a homonym number, thus $\sqrt{.a_1}$ ‘situate’, $\sqrt{.a_2}$ ‘move end’, and $\sqrt{.a_3}$ ‘delay’, but there is no consistency among linguists in the assignment of homonym numbers. Thus Naish and Story assigned ‘sit’ number 1 (Story & Naish 1973: 267) but Leer assigned it number 4, and tentatively merged Naish and Story’s $\sqrt{.a_2}$ ‘examine; swim’ with their $\sqrt{.a_3}$ ‘move end’, assigning that root as number 1 (Leer 1978: 4). I generally follow Naish and Story’s numbering where pos-

1. From the Greek term ἅπαξ λεγόμενον *hápax legómenon* meaning ‘said once’, a common term in philology, corpus linguistics, and lexicography.

sible since it is the most well documented, but in general homonym numbers should only be understood to indicate distinctness between homonyms and do not represent consistent indices. The criteria for distinguishing homophonous but semantically distinct roots is by no means well established, which is a major factor in the proliferation of inconsistent numbering. Another contributing factor is that Tlingit linguists have historically tended to work alone rather than collaborating extensively. Compounding the problem is that Leer's catalogue covers all possible roots regardless of whether they occur in verbs or not, so that his numbering for $\sqrt{.a}$ roots also includes \acute{a} 'it', $\acute{a}a$ 'lake', the aa in $k\acute{u}.aa$ 'but', and so forth. Eventually when a database of all Tlingit roots and verbs is complete the Tlingit linguistic community will hopefully settle on a single numbering system.

6 Lexical entries: Verb themes

The verb **THEME** is the lexical entry of a verb. The term “theme” is an Athabaskanist one, as is the adjective **THEMATIC** which means “lexically specified as part of the verb theme”. This term has nothing to do with the syntactic notion of thematic roles nor the term “theme” used as an equivalent to “patient”. I maintain the Athabaskanist use of the term “theme” because it is so widespread throughout Tlingit description, and use the term **SEMANTIC ROLE** or just **ROLE** in place of “thematic role” to avoid confusion, though for syntax in the Government and Binding tradition I still use “ θ -role”.

A minimal verb theme in Tlingit consists of a verb root, two features of the classifier, and either an argument slot or an incorporated noun. In addition there are a few other lexical features which are not always realized in every conjugated verb but which nonetheless cannot be predicted where they do occur. These features are the conjugation class, the theme category, the imperfective stem variant, and the imperfective repetitive form. The following outline describes a transitive verb theme meaning ‘S(subject) see O(object)’.

- root: \sqrt{tin} (0)
- classifier: (+1)
 - D component: [-D]
 - S component: [s]
- core arguments: S (+2), O (+14)
- obligatory oblique arguments: none
- conjugation class: *ga-* (+5)
- imperfective stem variation: *-h* (-1)
- theme category: Active
- repetitive form: regular, *ga-*conjugation class $\rightarrow yei=$ (+17D) + *-ch* (-3)

Since this is a large amount of information that must be given, themes are usually represented in a more compact manner. The basic components

of a theme can be represented with a string of morphemes and morpheme placeholders. The above verb theme is represented here with the string *O-S-CL[-D,s]-tin* 'S see O'. If represented templatically this might appear as:

(48) O- S- CL[-D, s]- tin
 +14 +2 +1[] 0
 OBJ SUBJ CL[D S] see
 'S see O'

Although this level of detail is not normally given, it will later be useful for illustrating the details of verb conjugation. Note that the slots specified in the theme are highly discontinuous, so that the object is shown immediately to the left of the conjugation class prefix, but there are actually nine intervening slots between them. A more honest representation would show all the empty slots in the theme:

(49) ... O- S- ...
 ... +14 +13 +12 +11 +10 +9 +8 +7 +6 +5 +4 +3 +2 ...

Obviously this is not a very efficient representation, however. The string representation thus saves space, but it can be misleading to those who are not intimately familiar with the template.

As can be seen from the detailed outline of the theme that was given above, there is more to a verb theme than just a string of morphemes. The elements of a verb theme can be divided into two basic types, those which are morphologically obvious and those which are not. Morphologically obvious elements show up in every single verb conjugation in one form or another. These obvious elements are the root, classifier, subject and/or object, incorporated nouns, mandatory oblique arguments, and any derivational elements such as directional preverbs or derivational suffixes. All of these elements are given as part of the morpheme string.

The non-obvious elements of a verb theme are the conjugation class (ch. 12), imperfective stem variation (ch. 10, ch. 13), theme category (ch. 13), and repetitive imperfectives (ch. 13), as well as any restrictions against the use of certain modes. For the sake of a convenient label I call these non-obvious elements of a theme the EPHEMERA since they are ephemeral or fleeting elements that only matter and can only be detected under certain circumstances. Unfortunately most ephemera were not documented by Naish and Story in their verb dictionary (Story & Naish 1973), so that our most thorough and readily accessible documentation of verb themes lacks these elements. Edwards has documented the conjugation class, imperfective type,

and at least one repetitive imperfective for all of the verbs in her dictionary (Edwards 2009), but because her representation of stem variation is specific to the Northern Tlingit dialect (Edwards 2009: 31–33) her documentation does not completely record the imperfective stem variation for verb themes. Leer has documented essentially everything in manuscript form but only a smattering of his findings are available in any sort of publicly accessible format, such as scattered throughout his dissertation (Leer 1991). Instances of verbs in various conjugations can determine some of the ephemera for a theme, so for example an imperative or potential form provides the conjugation class of a theme; for more details on this see chapter 13.

The theme we have been looking at is expressed in full as: *O-S-CL[-D,S]-tin (ga; -h Act) 'S see O'*. The morpheme string was discussed earlier. The portion in parentheses comprises three ephemeral elements: the conjugation class, the imperfective stem variation suffix, and the imperfective type. Following the parentheses a conventional English translation is given, where 'S' is the subject and 'O' is the object. Leer generally uses a similar representation except that he gives the imperfective stem variation suffix as a prefix on the imperfective type, thus “-Active” for our example theme.¹ Edwards also uses a similar representation, but leaves out the stem variation suffix in favour of tone and length marking on the root and giving a set of sample conjugations (Edwards 2009).

Themes can contain more than what has been given in this simple example. Additional elements are often lexically specified, but fortunately these are all morphologically obvious. Incorporated nouns, direction preverbs, the self-benefactive prefix, derivational suffixes, and postpositional adjunct phrases are all given as part of the prefix string. [[FIXME: Give examples of each.]]

6.1. THEME CATEGORIES

Leer (1991: 235) categorizes verb themes into what he calls **THEME TYPES** or **THEME CATEGORIES**, which are similar to but not the same as Kari's description of verb theme categories for Ahtna (Kari 1979).² These theme categories

1. He also used “Processive” for this theme category (Leer 1991) where he earlier (Leer 1978) and now again uses “Active”, cf. Edwards's **ACT** type (Edwards 2009).
2. Leer waffles between calling the Tlingit system ‘theme types’, and calling it ‘theme categories’ following Kari. I adopt Kari's term for consistency with the Athabaskan litera-

are, as the name implies, lexically specified as part of the verb theme. Leer (1991: 234) says that there are three kinds of information necessary to fully specify a theme category:

1. motion — whether a theme is a motion verb or not
2. conjugation class — the conjugation class prefix of a non-motion theme, or of a derivation of a motion theme
3. imperfective type — the kind of primary imperfective applicable to the theme, if one exists

The motion themes are dealt with more fully in section 12.1. The basic feature of motion themes is that they are not specified for conjugation class or imperfective type, but must instead have these derived along with various directional preverbs and other additional elements. The derived motion themes fall into specific theme categories as a result of the motion derivation process, rather than having lexically specified theme categories. The imperfectives that arise from motion derivation are all secondary imperfectives (repetitive imperfectives) and as such motion verbs are like eventives in that they lack primary imperfectives.

Conjugation class is described in detail in chapter 12. There are four classes based on which one of the four conjugation class prefixes { \emptyset -, *na-*, *ga-*, *ga-*} are selected in certain modes like imperatives and potentials. Each verb theme belongs to one of these classes, with additional lexical features such as telicity and selection of specific repetitive imperfectives arising from conjugation class membership.

This leaves the imperfective type and hence the concept of a primary imperfective. Every verb theme has at least one imperfective form with a few exceptions. The ‘default’ imperfective form is termed by Leer the PRIMARY IMPERFECTIVE (Leer 1991: 238). This form is essentially unpredictable and hence must be lexically specified. A given theme may have more than one imperfective form, with semantic distinctions between them, and these other imperfectives are termed by Leer SECONDARY IMPERFECTIVES (Leer 1991: 238). The secondary imperfectives of a theme are either the progressive imperfective or what Leer (1991: 238) refers to as DURATIVE IMPERFECTIVES which are a category lumping together repetitive imperfectives and various additional active imperfectives (Leer 1991: 240). Secondary imperfectives are not necessarily lexically specified because they can be predicted

ture. Although the systems of theme categories are different between Tlingit and Athabaskan languages, the conceptual framework is certainly genealogically related.

from the conjugation class (see chapter 12), or they are associated with particular verb derivations, or they form an epiaspect (see chapter 19).

Non-motion themes are divided into four separate subtypes by Leer according to their kinds of primary imperfective forms, outlined below:

- STATIVE THEME — has a stative imperfective
- ACTIVE THEME — has an active imperfective
- POSITIONAL THEME — has a positional imperfective
- EVENTIVE THEME — lacks a primary imperfective

STATIVE THEMES have stative imperfectives which are characterized by having [+I] in the classifier for realis forms. This is in contrast with the other imperfectives which have [-I] in the classifier for realis forms.³ Stative themes generally denote states. Some stative themes however denote situations that might be thought of as more like actions rather than states, for example smelling or feeling (Leer 1991: 244) with the verbs *O-S-CL[-D,s]-nix'* (\emptyset ; -: Stv) 'S smell O'⁴ and *jée O-S-CL[+D,∅]-nikw~nuk* (\emptyset ; -h Stv) 'S feel, palpate O'. Thus the category of stative, as with many of Leer's distinctions, is one defined on the basis of morphological distribution rather than semantics. Note that Naish and Story used the term 'stative' to refer to themes that take an object argument but not a subject (Story & Naish 1973), what Leer (1991) called 'objective' themes and what are here called object intransitives (see chapter 8). Although many stative themes are indeed object intransitives because they often denote involuntary (non-agentive) situations, there is no implication that statives must be object intransitives or vice versa.

There are four kinds of basic stative themes which are distinguished by their stem variation in their imperfective forms: *-ỵ* stative, *-:* stative, and *-h* stative, with the *-n* stative only occurring with the root \sqrt{ha} 'be many'. The details of stem variation are explained in chapter 10 and the structure of stative imperfectives are explored in section 13.1.5. The *-ỵ* stative themes are considered to be the default type of stative by Leer (1991: 244), with *-:* stative themes generally denoting possession and comparison with some denoting perception or cognition, and *-h* stative themes generally denoting perception

3. The *yoo=[+I]-...-k* repetitive imperfective and *yoo=[+I]-...-k* active imperfective are exceptions to this rule, having [+I] in the classifier rather than the expected [-I]. These are the only exceptions.
4. Edwards (2009: 194) erroneously lists this as an active verb, but her example of the imperfective *asinéex* 'he is smelling it' shows that with [+I] it must be stative or otherwise a peculiarly unique irregularity among active themes.

and cognition. The *-n* stative themes are all formed with the root \sqrt{ha} ‘be many’ as noted previously, and as the category is defined they all occur with [+I] in the classifier and *-n* stem variation in their imperfective forms: *O-sha-ÿa-CL[+D,Ø]-ha* (*na*; *-n* Stv) ‘O be many’, *O-sha-ÿa-S-CL[-D,l]-ha* (*na?*; *-n* Stv) ‘S have many O’, *at-ji-ÿa-S-CL[-D,l]-ha* (*na?*; *-n* Stv) ‘S have many possessions’ (all from Leer 1976: 1).

There are a few additional kinds of stative imperfectives which are secondary rather than primary imperfectives. These are the extensional statives and the multipositional statives. Being secondary imperfectives, these additional stative imperfectives do not constitute part of a theme category.

ACTIVE THEMES, also sometimes known as PROGRESSIVE THEMES by Leer (e.g. 1991), are characterized by having [-I] in the classifier in their primary imperfective forms, along with other non-statives. As with stative themes, active themes have a number of different subtypes depending on stem variation in their imperfective forms, but unlike statives these subtypes are much more numerous: *-:* active, *-'* active, *-h* active, *-x̄* active, *-k* active, *CL[+I]-...-k* active, *yoo=CL[+I]-...-k* active, *-ch* active, *-t* active (repeating), *-s'* active (serial), *-l'* active (serial), *-x'* active (plural), and *-t'* active (plural).

POSITIONAL THEMES denote body posture or physical configuration of something. They always require an oblique argument in a postpositional phrase which is the location of the denoted entity. This oblique is usually marked with the punctual suffix *-t*, which with positional themes means ‘at a point’. [[FIXME: Leer skipped this section in his dissertation.]] There are only two positional imperfective subtypes, namely *-:* positional, and *-n* positional. An example of a *-:* positional imperfective is the theme *P-t O-S-CL[-D,s]-a^h* (?; *-:* Pos) ‘S seat O at P’. [[FIXME: Example of *-n*.]]

EVENTIVE THEMES denote “events that culminate in an instantaneous change of state” (Leer 1991: 286–287), and which have only marginally acceptable inceptive and completive derived forms (Leer 1991: 286) unlike the other theme categories. Eventive themes are unique in that they lack primary imperfectives (Leer 1991: 235), hence there are no large lists of imperfectives with different stem variations unlike for stative, active, or positional themes. Eventive themes may or may not have secondary imperfectives, and when lacking imperfectives entirely an eventive theme will only be found in other modes like the perfective and future. Leer (1991: 287, 289) gives a few typical eventive themes such as the theme *O-S-CL[-D,Ø]-jak* (\emptyset ; Evt, *-x̄* Rep) ‘S kill O’ which has a repetitive imperfective *xajákx̄* ‘I kill it, I keep trying to kill it’ and a progressive imperfective *yaa n̄xaják* ‘I’m killing it’ but no pri-

mary imperfective. Another example is the theme *O-S-CL[-D,∅]-t'i^h* (*ga*; Evt, *-ch* Rep, *-x'* Rep) 'S find O' which has a repetitive imperfective *kei xat'eech* 'I find it repeatedly, I keep finding it', a plural repetitive imperfective *xat'éetx'* 'I find them repeatedly, I keep finding them', and a progressive imperfective *kei n_xat'een* 'I'm finding it; I'm in the process of finding it', but again this theme lacks a primary imperfective.

Leer terms eventive themes that are semantically resultative as INVOLUNTARY EVENTIVE THEMES (Leer 1991: 235) which can be members of the *∅-*, *na-*, or *ga-*conjugation classes but apparently not of the *ga-*conjugation class (Leer 1991: 290). Eventive themes which are object intransitive are predictably involuntary eventives (Leer 1991: 292). The usual translations of some eventive themes can be confusing, such as for example the theme *O-S-CL[-D,s]-ku^h* (*∅*; Inv Evt) 'S know O' which is usually translated as 'know' but according to Leer (1991: 292) actually means 'become familiar with' or 'come to know' and hence denotes a change of state rather than merely the existence of a state. The involuntary eventive theme *O-S-CL[-D,s]-tin* (*ga*; Inv Evt) 'S see O' is less misleading in its English translation, given the English verb 'see' can denote the state of seeing or the event of seeing, and the event can be interpreted as being involuntary.

7 Conjugating verbs

In this section I will demonstrate my mental model of how Tlingit verbs are conjugated. This is not a well-founded theoretical model nor a model of how native speakers produce verbs, but rather a heuristic process by which I have learned to conjugate verbs to produce spoken forms.

The following example demonstrates one conjugation of the verb theme *O-S-CL[-D,∅]-tak* (\emptyset ; Mot, \bar{x} Rep) ‘S poke O’ in the telic (\emptyset -class) perfective *ÿu-CL[+I]-...-ÿ* with a first person singular subject *x̄a-* and a second person singular object *i-*.

	+14	+4	+2		+1	0	-1
<i>theme</i>	O- OBJ		S- SUBJ	CL[-D]	CL[∅]	√tak̄ poke	
<i>person</i>	i- 2SG.O		x̄a- 1SG.S				
(50) <i>mode</i>		ÿu- PFV			CL[+I]		-ÿ VAR
<i>string</i>	i-	ÿu-	x̄a-	CL[-D]	CL[∅]	CL[+I]	tak̄ -ÿ
<i>prefixes</i>	ix̄wa-			ÿa-			tá̄k̄
<i>result</i>	ix̄waatá̄k̄ ‘I poked you’						

The first line in the example is the verb theme, which comes from the lexicon. The second line is the assignment of person, which is constrained by the subject and object slots in the theme. The third line is the mode, which is constrained by the verb theme’s ephemera that are not shown here – the \emptyset -conjugation class means that the perfective is telic and hence has \bar{y} stem variation. The fourth line is the morpheme string which is constructed from

the morphemes derived from the three prior lines. The fifth line is the first step of morphophonology, where the various prefixes are contracted together. The final line is the second step of morphophonology, with the prefix chunks further contracted into a single unit.

Motion verbs are initially derived before they can be conjugated (see 12.1), a fact which was not represented above. The next example features a verb theme *S-CL[-D,∅]-kux* (Mot) ‘S go by boat, vehicle’ which is first derived into a productive theme with the derivational string *yán-{t,x,dé}= (∅; -h Rep Mot)* ‘go to shore, come to rest’. The mode applied here is the future, which consists of the *ga*-conjugation prefix (here used for mode specification rather than conjugation class), the *w*-irrealis allomorph specific to the future and comparatives, the *ga*-mode prefix, [-I] in the classifier, and the *-:* stem variation suffix.

	+17E1	+7	+6	+5	+2	+1	0	-1
<i>theme</i>					S-	[-D] [∅]	√ <i>kux</i>	
<i>deriv</i>	<i>yán</i> *=				SUBJ		go.boat	
<i>person</i>					<i>x</i> a-			
<i>mode</i>	- <i>dé</i>	<i>ga</i> -	<i>w</i> -	<i>ga</i> -			[-I]	<i>-:</i>
	ALL	GCNJ	IRR	GMOD				VAR
<i>string</i>	<i>yán-dé</i> =	<i>ga</i> -	<i>w</i> -	<i>ga</i> -	<i>x</i> a-	[-D] [∅]	[-I]	<i>kux</i> <i>-:</i>
<i>prefixes</i>	<i>yánde</i> =		<i>k</i> <i>k</i> wa-			∅-		<i>k</i> óox
<i>result</i>				<i>yánde</i>	<i>k</i> <i>k</i> wa <i>k</i> óox			‘I will go ashore’

Not shown in this particular example is that the motion derivation step also adds to the verb theme’s ephemera, as defined in chapter 6. This particular motion derivation places the theme in the ∅-conjugation class and defines a *-h* repetitive imperfective.

[[FIXME: Examples of conjugation prefixes in use.]]

[[FIXME: Examples of lexically specified imperfective stem variation in use.]]

[[FIXME: Examples of morpheme replacement, where a morpheme is replaced by another one due to inflectional or derivational requirements.]]

8 Valency

The basic valency distinction in Tlingit is whether a theme takes a subject prefix, an object prefix, both, or neither. Object prefixes are positioned near the left edge of the verb in slot +14, similarly to the Athabaskan languages and Eyak which also have their object prefixes quite far from the root. Unlike the Athabaskan languages however, Tlingit subject prefixes are not split between inner and outer prefixes. Instead Tlingit has all the subject prefixes near the verb root in slot +2 just to the left of the classifier. A particular subject or object prefix is called a PRONOMINAL, in contrast with a PRONOUN which is a nominal element occurring outside the verb. Thus the prefix *xa-* which occurs in slot +2 of the verb is the first person singular subject pronominal. Whether the pronominals are truly arguments of the verb or not – the Pronominal Argument Hypothesis – is a theoretical issue which I will not address here.

Themes that take a subject are given with a notional *S-* prefix in place of some subject pronominal, and themes that take an object are given with a notional *O-* prefix in place of some object pronominal. If a theme has an *S-* or an *O-* then no instance of that verb can occur without the appropriate slot filled by some pronominal. If a theme lacks an *S-* or an *O-* then no instance of that verb can occur with a pronominal in that slot. Thus themes do not have optional subjects and/or objects, either a theme has a mandatory requirement for a subject or object or it cannot ever occur with one.

Only considering the requirement of subjects or objects is actually too simplistic a model of verb valency for Tlingit. A theme may include a subject or object pronominal which is nonreferential and does not change across conjugations. These lexically specified uses of subject and object pronominals are termed THEMATIC PRONOMINALS. Thematic object pronominals are limited to third person *a-*, third person proximate *ash-*, indefinite nonhuman *at-*, reflexive *sh-*, and perhaps indefinite human *ku-*; no allomorphs of these

prefixes are ever thematic. The only thematic subject is indefinite human *du-*. Note that all of these pronominals are non-local arguments, i.e. none are first or second person and thus they do not index discourse participants.

I use the terms ‘subject intransitive’ and ‘object intransitive’ as transparent equivalents for the more opaque ‘unergative intransitive’ and ‘unaccusative intransitive’ terms that are conventionally used for describing active/agentive transitivity systems [FIXME: cite]. Naish and Story called the subject intransitives simply ‘intransitive’ (Story & Naish 1973: 366–366), but called object intransitives ‘stative’ (Story & Naish 1973: 366) which is a misnomer since these themes do not necessarily have stative semantics. Despite recognizing the cross-linguistic phenomenon of active/agentive systems and noting established terminology, Leer used the terms ‘intransitive’ and ‘objective’ for the two intransitive types (Leer 1991: 49), as well as sometimes calling the subject intransitive ‘subjective’ [FIXME: cite]; these terms again can imply semantic distinctions that are not appropriate in my opinion. In addition, like Naish & Story’s practice, Leer’s application of the epithet ‘intransitive’ to the subject intransitives fails to capture the fact that intransitives are in general verbs which take a single argument regardless of the syntactic or semantic role of that argument. The category of ‘impersonal’ as used by Naish and Story has a more broad meaning since they did not distinguish between verbs that have no pronominals like *xee-CL[-D,∅]-.at* (\emptyset ; -: Act) ‘sun set, dusk’ (Story & Naish 1973: 268) and those which have thematic pronominals like *a-CL[+D,∅]-gan* (*ga*; -h? Act) ‘sun shine’ (Story & Naish 1973: 318).

The following list gives examples of all of the basic valency categories in Tlingit with consideration of thematic pronominals.

- transitive:
O-S-CL[-D,s]-tin (*ga*; -h Act) ‘S see O’
- subject (unergative) intransitive:
S-CL[-D,s]-ga \bar{x} (*ga*; -: Act) ‘S cry’
- object (unaccusative) intransitive:
O-CL[-D,∅]-k’e (*ga*; -: Stv) ‘O be good’
- impersonal:
kee-CL[-D,∅]-.a (\emptyset ; -n Act) ‘sun rise, dawn’
- subject (unergative) intransitive with thematic object:
a- $\bar{y}a$ -u-S-CL[+D,∅]-gut (\emptyset ; - \bar{x} Rep) ‘S go back’

- object (unaccusative) intransitive with thematic subject:
O-ka-du-CL[-D,Ø]-say ($\emptyset?$; -y? Stv) ‘O be hot, sweaty’
- impersonal with thematic subject:
du-CL[-D,Ø]-nikw ($na?$; -h Act) ‘wind blow’
- impersonal with thematic object:
a-CL[+D,Ø]-gan (ga ; -h? Act) ‘sun shine’

Certain themes have incorporated nouns, which will be discussed in more detail in chapter 21. Incorporation can have an effect on the valency of a verb theme. Some themes which have argument positions may instead have an incorporated alienable noun in place of the argument. Such themes then have their valency for that argument saturated and no longer have free variation of that argument pronominal. The following examples demonstrate a basic subject intransitive theme along with derived themes where an incorporated alienable noun has reduced the valency of the theme.¹

- (52) a. *subject intransitive + obligatory P*
s'eik du éet uwaháa
s'eik du ee-t u- \emptyset -yá-ha-ỹ
smoke_i 3.PSS BASE-PNCT PFV.TEL-3.S_i-CL[-D,Ø,+I]-move.invis-VAR
 ‘he wants to smoke’ (Story & Naish 1973: 242)
 theme: $P-\{t,x,dé\}$ S-CL[-D,Ø]-ha (\emptyset ; -h Rep) ‘S go invis. to P; P have urge for S’
- b. *subject intransitive + obligatory P*
atshook xáat uwaháa
atshook xaa-t u- \emptyset -yá-ha-ỹ
laughter_i 1SG-PNCT PFV.TEL-3.S_i-CL[-D,Ø,+I]-move.invis-VAR
 ‘I feel like laughing’ (Story & Naish 1973: 242)
- c. *impersonal + obligatory P*
 du éet **yaan** uwaháa
 du ee-t **yáan**-u-yá-ha-ỹ
 3.PSS BASE-PNCT **hunger**-PFV.TEL-CL[-D,Ø,+I]-move.invis-VAR
 ‘he is hungry’ (Story & Naish 1973: 112)
 theme: $P-\{t,x,dé\}$ yáan-CL[-D,Ø]-ha (\emptyset ; -h Rep) ‘P be hungry’

1. The themes here illustrate the incorporated *yáan*- ‘hunger’ and *lux*- ‘urine’. Other possible alienable incorporates here are *shakux*- ‘thirst’, *luk*- ‘hot drink’, *yáta*- ‘sleep’, *l'il*- ‘defecation’, *has*- ‘vomit’ (Leer 1976: 4/2).

d. *impersonal + obligatory P*du éet **lux'** uwaháadu ee-t **lux'**-u-ÿa-ha-ÿ3.PSS BASE-PNCT **urine**-PFV.TEL-CL[-D,Ø,+I]-move.invis-VAR

'he needs to urinate'

theme: *P*-{*t,x,dé*} *lux'*-CL[-D,Ø]-*ha* (Ø; -*h* Rep) 'P need to urinate'

The basic verb in these examples is *P-t S-CL[-D,Ø]-ha* (Ø; -*h*? Mot) 'S move invisibly to P', with various derivations via incorporated alienable nouns. The first example sentence shows a subject intransitive verb theme that takes an obligatory postpositional phrase (described below) indicating the experiencer and marked by the punctual case suffix *-t*. The subject is the agent, expressed both in the verb with the third person subject prefix as well as externally with the noun phrase *s'eik* 'smoke', both of which are coindexed. The second example demonstrates a similar form, but this time with a postpositional phrase formed around a first person pronoun rather than the third person pronoun that requires a meaningless base for postposition attachment. The third example is a derived form with the alienable noun *ÿaan* 'hunger'. Note how the verb has become impersonal, no longer containing subject marking, and with no external noun phrase. The fourth example is similar, with the alienable noun *lux'* 'urine' incorporated.

In the themes with incorporates above it is ungrammatical to include an external noun phrase as an argument of the verb. Compare the first two with the subject intransitive theme where an external noun phrase is coindexed with the subject pronominal in the verb.²

Another issue involving valency is whether a theme requires an OBLIGATORY OBLIQUE or not. Tlingit does not have indirect objects like those found in Indo-European languages because Tlingit lacks ditransitive verbs that take two grammatical objects. Tlingit does however have a large number of verb themes which have obligatory oblique arguments in the form of postpositional phrases, where a sentence containing such a verb is ungrammatical if it lacks the postpositional phrase. The postpositions occurring in such obligatory obliques are the punctual *-t*, pertinent *-x*, locative *-x'*, and ergative *-ch* (see section 3.2). [FIXME: Verify; Leer's *-t* may actually be *-t* ~ *-x*

2. I do not know if it is possible for this theme to take a local argument rather than a third person argument. If so, e.g. if *du éet xwaaháa* 'I came to him invisibly' is grammatical, then this would unquestionably have a subject slot. As it stands this could actually have an object slot instead, perhaps *du éet xat uwaháa*. It may actually be impossible for this theme to have a local argument of either kind which is itself interesting.

~ *-dé*. He also says that those with *-t* and *-x̣* are *always* bound, which obviously needs to be proven.]] The obligatory obliques also seem to have an additional restriction in that they always occur immediately before the verb and sentences are judged to be awkward if the phrase is moved elsewhere, e.g. after the verb.³ Unlike Indo-European indirect objects, the obligatory obliques do not only occur with transitive verbs, but rather they also occur with intransitives of both types and even with impersonals. Since they are lexically specified they can be included as part of the valency of verbs just as subjects and objects are so considered. The requirement for obligatory obliques is common throughout the Na-Dene family, with the symbol *P* (for ‘postposition phrase’) representing one in a verb theme.

[[FIXME: Go over table 8.1 and check to see which of the question marks are attested.]]

The following examples demonstrate two themes which have obligatory obliques. The first is an object intransitive theme where there is no subject argument, but there is an obligatory oblique. The second is a transitive theme (causativized from the prior theme) with all three arguments. Both of these examples are ungrammatical without the postpositional phrase that is the obligatory oblique.

(53) a. *object intransitive with obligatory oblique*

tléil a_{x̣} kát sawoox’aakw
 tléil a_{x̣} ká-t Ø-sa-u-ÿu-Ø-x’a_{x̣}w-h
 NEG 1SG.PSS HSFC-PNCT 3.O-voice-IRR-PFV-CL[-D,Ø,-I]-forget-VAR
 ‘he didn’t forget me’ (Story & Naish 1973: 96)
 theme: *P* ká-*{t,x̣}* Ø-sa-CL[-D,Ø]-x’a_{x̣}w (Ø; -h Rep Stv) ‘O forget P’

b. *tléil sawoox’aakw
 tléil Ø-sa-u-ÿu-Ø-x’a_{x̣}w-h
 NEG 3.O-voice-IRR-PFV-CL[-D,Ø,-I]-forget-VAR
 ‘he didn’t forget’

3. This is only a description of my perceptions. I have not thoroughly explored this part of the grammar and lexicon, so the properties of these obligatory obliques are still open questions needing further research.

<i>Valence category</i>	S	O	P
transitive	+	+	±
subject intransitive	+	-	±
object intransitive	-	+	±
impersonal	-	-	±
object intransitive + thematic S	×	+	±
subject intransitive + thematic O	+	×	±
impersonal + thematic S	×	-	±
impersonal + thematic O	-	×	±
impersonal + thematic S & O	×	×	±
transitive + obligatory P	+	+	+
subject intransitive + obligatory P	+	-	+
object intransitive + obligatory P	-	+	+
impersonal + obligatory P	-	-	+
?	×	+	+
?	+	×	+
?	×	-	+
?	-	×	+
?	×	×	+

Table 8.1: Valency of Tlingit verbs. +: required present, -: required absent, ±: optional, ×: thematic (lexically specified and nonreferential)

c. *transitive with obligatory oblique*

a kát has sawtulix'ákw

a ká-t has=Ø-sa-ÿu-tu-li-x'a_{kw}-ÿ

3N.PSS HSFC-PNCT PL=3.0-voice-PFV-1PL.S-CL[-D,l,+I]-forget-VAR

'we made them forget it' (Story & Naish 1973: 96)

theme: P ká-{t,x} O-sa-S-CL[-D,l]-x'a_{kw} (Ø; -? Stv) 'S make O forget P'

d. *has sawtulix'ákw

has=Ø-sa-ÿu-tu-li-x'a_{kw}-ÿ

PL=3.0-voice-PFV-1PL.S-CL[-D,l,+I]-forget-VAR

'we made them forget'

Another very frequent theme that has an obligatory oblique is the theme P tú-ÿá-x' O-CL[-D,s]-gu (ga; -: Stv) 'P like, want O'. This is a complex postpo-

sitional phrase, where P acts as the possessor of the inalienable noun compound *-tú-ǵá* ‘mind-face’ which then has the locative suffix *-x*’ attached to it. This compound is usually found with the locative allomorph *-’* so that the compound is then realized as *-toowáa* in Northern Tlingit, but occasionally *-toowáx*’ may be encountered even among the youngest speakers.

- (54) a. *tsu dáanaa du toowáa*
tsu dáanaa du tú-ǵá-’
 again money 3H.PSS mind-VSFC-LOC
aa sigóo
aa-∅-si-gu-:
 PART.O-ZCNJ-CL[-D,S,+I]-enjoy-VAR
 ‘he wants some more money’ (Story & Naish 1973: 241)
 theme: *P tú-ǵá-x’ O-CL[-D,s]-gu (ga; -: Stv)* ‘P like, want O’
- b. *aḡ toowáa sigóo*
aḡ tú-ǵá-’ ∅-∅-si-gu-:
 1SG.PSS mind-VSFC-LOC 3.O-ZCNJ-CL[-D,S,+I]-enjoy-VAR
neildé ḡwagoodée
neil-dé=ǵu-ḡa-∅-gut-h-ée
 home-ALL=PFV-1SG.S-CL[-D,∅,-I]-go.SG-VAR-SUB
 ‘I want to go home’ (Story & Naish 1973: 241)

Note that with this theme the patient argument is a noun phrase receiving no case marking, or else it is an otherwise unmarked subordinate verb. The locative postpositional phrase is *not* the verb’s direct object, it is instead an obligatory oblique that indexes the experiencer role. In the first example the noun phrase is probably the object of the main verb, though I have not tested this and am unaware if others have done so. Verb phrase arguments can be marked for grammatical case (i.e. ergative *-ch*) if they are subordinate, but this does not occur with this theme, so it must be assumed that the verb phrase in the second example is also the main verb’s object argument, perhaps with the support of an invisible PRO or the like.

There are two themes which may or may not have both a thematic subject and thematic object pronominal. The uncertainty is because of a morphological inconsistency in Tlingit, whether the areal prefix *ku-* is identical with the allomorph *ku-* of the indefinite human object which is otherwise *kaa-*. This issue is addressed in subsection 20.6 in more detail. If the areal is in fact an object pronominal then the following two examples demonstrate

the only two themes that are documented to have both thematic subject and object pronominals.

- (55) a. **kukawduwagít**
ku-ka-ÿu-du-ÿa-git-ÿ
 AREAL-HSFC-PFV-INDH.S-CL[-D,Ø,+I]-dark-VAR
 ‘it is squalling’ (Story & Naish 1973: 166)
 theme: **ku-ka-du-CL[-D,Ø]-git** (?; -? ?) ‘rain in squalls’
- b. **kukawduwayél’**
ku-ka-ÿu-du-ÿa-yel’-ÿ
 AREAL-HSFC-PFV-INDH.S-CL[-D,Ø,+I]-peace-VAR
 ‘it is calm weather’ (Story & Naish 1973: 41)
 theme: **ku-ka-du-CL[-D,Ø]-yel’** (?; -? ?) ‘be calm weather’

8.1. MODIFYING VALENCY

There are only a few methods to modify the valency of verbs, namely true antipassivization, pseudo-antipassivization, and pseudo-passivization. Antipassivization is the process of reducing valency by removing an object, as widely described in the literature on languages with ergative/absolutive grammatical case systems. Contrast this with passivization where a subject is removed, as is found in English and other European languages. True antipassivization in Tlingit is a reduction of valency without any nonreferential pronouns, whereas pseudo-antipassivization and pseudo-passivization are valency reduction processes that feature a nonreferential pronoun in the place of the deleted argument.

The basic form of antipassivization in Tlingit is the TRUE ANTIPASSIVE where a transitive theme loses its object slot (Leer 1991: 98). Concomitant with this loss is the change of the D component of the classifier from [-D] to [+D]; for more details on the D component see subsection 9.1.

- (56) a. *transitive*
 x’úx’ tlein akaguxshaxéet
 x’úx’ tlein a-ka-ga-w-ga-Ø-sha-xit-:
 book_i big 3.0_i-HSFC-GCNJ-IRR-GMOD-3.S_j-CL[-D,sh,-I]-furrow-VAR
 ‘he_j is going to write a big book_i’ (Story & Naish 1973: 251)
 theme: **Ø-ka-S-CL[-D,sh]-xit** (Ø; -h Act) ‘S draw, paint, write O’

b. *true antipassive with [+D]*

Lingít x'éináx kashxeet áwé
 Lingít x'é-náx ka-∅-sh-xit-h á-wé
 Tlingit mouth-PERL HSFC-3.S-CL[+D,sh,-I]-furrow-VAR FOC-MDST
 ashigóok
 a-∅-∅-shi-góok^x
 3.O-ZCNJ-3.S-CL[-D,sh,+I]-know.how
 'he knows how to write in Tlingit' (Edwards 2009: 283)
 theme: ka-S-CL[+D,sh]-xit (∅; -h Act) 'S draw, paint, write'

In the first example above the verb theme takes both an object and a subject, and thus is transitive. The second example shows nearly the same verb, but without an object pronominal and with [+D] in the classifier. The theme in the second example is the antipassive of the theme in the first example. The custom in Tlingit description has been to treat antipassivization as a derivational phenomenon, so that when an initially transitive theme is antipassivized the result is a new object intransitive theme. It has not however been demonstrated that this is in fact derivational, or whether true antipassivization is instead an inflectional – and hence perhaps syntactic – phenomenon.

Another flavour of antipassivization is the pseudo-antipassive. PSEUDO-ANTIPASSIVES are not true antipassives where an object argument is deleted, but instead have a filler argument in the object position. The filler is *at-*, the indefinite nonhuman object 'something'.

(57) a. *transitive*

útlxi awsi.ée
 útlxi a-ÿu-∅-si-.i-ÿ
 soup_i 3.O_i-PFV-3.S-CL[-D,S,+I]-cook-VAR
 'he cooked soup'
 theme: O-S-CL[-D,S]-.i (∅; -: Act) 'S cook O'

b. *pseudo-antipassive with at-*

at wusi.ée
 at-ÿu-∅-si-.i-ÿ
 INDH.O-PFV-3.S-CL[-D,S,+I]-cook-VAR
 'he cooked', 'he cooked something'
 theme: at-S-CL[-D,S]-.i (∅; -: Act) 'S cook'

c. *ungrammatical referential object*

*útl̥xi **at** wusi.ée
 útl̥xi **at-ŷu-∅-si-.i-ŷ**
 soup_i **INDH.O_i-PFV-3.S-CL[-D,S,+I]-COOK-VAR**
 ‘he cooked soup’

The indefinite nonhuman object *at-* fills the object slot in the theme. It is however nonreferential, meaning that no object noun phrase can be coreferential with it. This is thus a form of antipassivization since the object valency of the theme is reduced, but since there is still a thematic element in the object position I refer to it with the ‘pseudo-’ prefix.

Unlike antipassives, Tlingit does not have true passives where the valency of a verb is reduced through removal of the subject position. There is a phenomenon I call the PSEUDO-PASSIVE where the subject position is filled by a nonreferential *du-* which is the indefinite human subject pronominal. It is obviously a parallel to the pseudo-antipassive shown above. Pseudo-passivization may not be a completely productive process, but there are a number of pairs of themes that exhibit this phenomenon. A frequent instance of such pseudo-passives is the pair ‘S hear O’ and ‘O be heard’ as in the following examples.

(58) a. *transitive*

gaaw tléil **x̣wa.aax̣**
 gaaw tléil ∅-ŷu-**x̣a-∅-.ax̣-h**
 drum_i NEG 3.O_i-PFV-**1SG.S-CL[-D,∅,-I]-hear-VAR**
 ‘I didn’t hear the drum’ (Story & Naish 1973: 107)
 theme: **O-S-CL[-D,∅]-.ax̣** (?; -ch Rep) ‘S hear O’

b. *pseudo-passive with du-*

nadáakw **duwa.áx̣ch**
 nadáakw ∅-∅-**du-ŷa-.ax̣-ch**
 table_i 3.O_i-ZCNJ-**INDH.S-CL[-D,∅,+I]-hear-REP**
 ‘the table is making noise (squeaking)’, lit. ‘the table is being heard’ (Story & Naish 1973: 107)
 theme: **O-du-CL[-D,∅]-.ax̣** (?; -ch Rep) ‘O be heard’

c. *ungrammatical referential subject*

***ḳaach** nadáakw **duwa.áx̣ch**
ḳaa-ch nadáakw ∅-∅-**du-ŷa-.ax̣-ch**
 INDH_j-ERG table_i 3.O_i-ZCNJ-**INDH.S_j-CL[-D,∅,+I]-hear-REP**
 ‘someone hears the table’

As with true antipassives and pseudo-antipassives, the pseudo-passives are conventionally treated as a lexical phenomenon where a pseudo-antipassive theme is derived from a transitive theme. Again, this assumption has yet to be demonstrated, and it may be possible that it is instead an inflectional phenomenon.

Middle voice can result in modification of valency but this is not a necessary requirement of middle voice marking. The phenomenon of middle voice is discussed at length in section 9.1 along with the D component of the classifier which is the characteristic indicator of middle voice.

9 The classifier

The classifier is the most important element of a verb besides the verb root. The presence of classifier morphemes is the hallmark of all Na-Dene languages, and it is in Tlingit that the classifier has its most elaborate structure and function.

Classifiers are tripartite portmanteau morphemes. They are at most a CV syllable, but the simplest classifier is \emptyset - which has no surface phonological form. The complete inventory of classifiers is given in table 9.1. The three features of classifiers are the D component, S component, and I component. All three features are obligatory in every conjugated verb, though only the D component and S component are lexically specified. Both D and I components are binary, but the S component is quaternary with the four values \emptyset , *s*, *l*, and *sh*. Note that the three nonzero forms of the S component are Tlingit's three plain anterior fricatives, a fact that is important for both phonology and for historical reconstruction. The classifiers essentially mark voice and valency, but the details are complicated and will be explored at length below.

The cognate classifiers in Athabaskan languages lack the I component except for a few vestigial alternations (Krauss 1969: 59), and the S component consists only of alternation between a Proto-Athabaskan $*t$ and $*\emptyset$ – perhaps more mnemonically termed a ‘ Ł component’. The Athabaskan D component is consistent with Tlingit, but is somewhat more subtle in its phonology due to various historical effects. To some extent Eyak retains the I component as a separate prefix *yi-* preceding the classifier (Krauss 1969: 58; Leer 2008: 25), thus being more conservative than Tlingit in this regard. Eyak however has the simpler $t \sim \emptyset$ alternating S component rather than Tlingit's four-way system (Krauss 1965: 175). It is likely that Tlingit innovated the expanded S component inventory rather than it being a retention of the Proto-Na-Dene system, though Leer (2008: 27) proposes that Proto-Na-Dene had both causative *s* and “mutual interrelationship” t as distinct elements, with Tlin-

		-D		+D	
		-I	+I	-I	+I
S (series)	∅	∅-	yə-	da-	di-
	s	sa-	si-	s-	dzi-
	l	la-	li-	l-	dli-
	sh	sha-	shi-	sh-	ji-

Table 9.1: Classifier morphemes.

git’s additional *sh* and the collapse in distinct meaning between *s* and *l* being later innovations.

Edward Sapir first labeled the classifier in Athabaskan languages as a “third modal’ element” whose “primary significance is to define *voice*, i.e., such notions as transitive, intransitive, and passive” (Sapir 1915: 540 fn. 6, *emph. orig.*). He did not however recognize its presence in Tlingit, presumably due to having had little experience with the language: “As far as is known, Athabaskan ‘third modal’ elements find no counterpart in Tlingit” (Sapir 1915: 541 fn. 4). Franz Boas did recognize its presence in Tlingit and seems to have been the first to publicly label the classifier as such, saying “It is fairly clear that the primary function of these elements is a classificatory one” (Boas 1917: 28). Boas was misled by his carefully collected paradigms however, since the noun classification function of the S component is in fact relatively obscure when compared to the effects on transitivity and voice. Leer (1990: 93 fn. 12) notes:

A better term would be something like “valentizers”, since their principal function is to indicate the valence of the verb [...] However, since the name classifier is one of the few grammatical labels sanctioned by common use among Athabaskanists, it is probably not worth the trouble to try to change it.

Unfortunately for the description of Tlingit, Naish and Story did indeed attempt to change it, calling it an “extensor” (e.g. Story 1966: 63). This term never caught on, with Krauss (1969) and Leer (1978, 1991) retaining “classifier” and all other Tlingit linguists having followed. Since then for Athabaskan languages Kibrik (1993, 1996) has offered “transitivity indicator” abbreviated T1 and Rice (2000, 2009) has tried “voice/valence prefix” abbreviated v/v, but neither has become popular and “classifier” seems to

be firmly stuck.

The fact that only one of Tlingit's sixteen classifiers is unrealized on the surface is a strong argument for a zero morpheme. It is however rather peculiar that the [+1] version of \emptyset -, namely $\ddot{y}a$ -, has \ddot{y} as its consonant. In \ddot{y} -less Tlingit we can consider this to be a realization of the vowel i since the consonant is realized as y in non-rounded environments and is regularly rounded to w ; this very explanation was offered by Edwards (2009: 30), following Story [[FIXME: cite]]. Unfortunately this model does not work for Tongass Tlingit nor for any conservative examples of Southern or Northern Tlingit where the \ddot{y} phoneme still had an independent existence. Leer is, to my knowledge, still working out a complete historical explanation for this problem, but it is probably from an earlier $*\ddot{y}i$ - prefix cognate with Eyak y_i -as will be described in the subsection on the I component.

Since each component has in many ways its own separate morphological life, I will describe each in turn in its own subsection. Interactions between them are rather minor morphologically, though of course the whole complex is phonologically difficult to slice apart.

9.1. THE D COMPONENT AND MIDDLE VOICE

Edwards (2009: 30–31) gives the D component as a prefix preceding the classifier, though she mixes this with a description of it as a binary feature. I do not adopt the practice of representing it as a prefix, but instead hold to Leer's representation where the D component is only a binary feature of the classifier prefix. This is because the D component is phonologically invisible on the surface when it occurs in the [-1] classifiers that have a nonzero S component. These three forms – s -, l -, and sh - – could potentially be analyzed as affricates like $d + s \rightarrow dz \rightarrow s$ but they still contrast with affricates in the Tongass and Southern dialects and the Transitional subdialect of Northern Tlingit. This contrast is because of devoicing of the i vowel in [+1] classifiers with nonzero S components, a phenomenon which will be addressed in more detail in section 9.3 on the I component below. Edwards did not need to deal with this because of her exclusive focus on the non-Transitional subdialects of Northern Tlingit. In her defence however, it is much easier to list themes with d - or nothing rather than $CL[+D]$ - versus $CL[-D]$ - in a dictionary. Nevertheless, suffice to say that the D component cannot be consistently analyzed as a separate prefix, but instead must be analytically treated as a feature of

the whole portmanteau morpheme that is the classifier, regardless of how one represents it lexicographically.

Absence of the D component, or rather the occurrence of [-D] in the classifier, is the norm for most verbs. Presence of the D component, or [+D], indicates middle voice. Middle voice covers a number of different verb inflections and derivations. The simplest instances of middle voice are inflection with reflexives and reciprocals.

- (59) a. *non-reflexive atelic perfective*
 i_xwsiteen
 i-*ÿu-xa-si-tin-h*
 2SG.O-PFV-1SG.S-CL[-D,S,+I]-see-VAR
 ‘I saw you’
 theme: *O-S-CL[-D,S]-tin (ga; -h Act) ‘S see O’*
- b. *reflexive*
 sh *xwadziteen*
 sh-*ÿu-xa-dzi-tin-h*
 RFLX.O-PFV-1SG.S-CL[+D,S,+I]-see-VAR
 ‘I saw myself’
- c. *non-reciprocal*
 awsiteen
 a-*ÿu-Ø-si-tin-h*
 3.O-PFV-3.S-CL[-D,S,+I]-see-VAR
 ‘he saw him’
- d. *reciprocal*
 woosh *wudziteen*
 woosh=*ÿu-Ø-dzi-tin-h*
 RECIP=3.O-PFV-3.S-CL[+D,S,+I]-see-VAR
 ‘they saw each other’

In the above examples note how the classifier changes from [-D] in the non-reflexive and non-reciprocal forms to [+D] in the reflexive and reciprocal forms. This is characteristic of INFLECTIONAL middle voice, where the middle marking of [+D] is caused by changes in argument structure and transitivity.

A particularly unusual instance of inflectional middle voice is the indefinite human subject *du-*. Whenever a theme with a classifier S component of

s, *l*, or *sh* is conjugated with an indefinite human subject *du-*, then the classifier must have [+D]. In this situation the indefinite human subject *du-* thus requires middle voice marking.

- (60) a. *awsí.ée*
a-ÿu-∅-sí-.i-ÿ
 3.0-PFV-3.S-CL[-D,S,+I]-cook-VAR
 'he cooked it'
 theme: *O-S-CL[-D,S]-i (∅; -: Act) 'S cook O'*
- b. *wududzi.ée*
*∅-ÿu-**du-dzi**-.i-ÿ*
 3.0-PFV-**INDH.S**-CL[+D,S,+I]-cook-VAR
 'people cooked it'
- c. **wudusi.ée*
*∅-ÿu-**du-si**-.i-ÿ*
 3.0-PFV-**INDH.S**-CL[-D,S,+I]-cook-VAR

As if to confuse the issue, the opposite is true where the theme has a \emptyset classifier with [+D]. If such a theme is conjugated with the indefinite human subject *du-* then the classifier must be changed to [-D], meaning that the verb is 'demiddled'. This is inflectional rather than derivational; the verb theme is still the same in all other respects.

- (61) a. *awdináa*
*a-ÿu-∅-**di**-na-ÿ*
 3.0-PFV-3.0-CL[+D,∅,+I]-drink-VAR
 'he drank it'
 theme: *O-S-CL[+D,∅]-na (∅; -h Act) 'S drink O'*
- b. *wuduwanáa*
*∅-ÿu-**du-ÿa**-na-ÿ*
 3.0-PFV-**INDH.S**-CL[-D,∅,+I]-drink-VAR
 'people drank it'
- c. **wududináa*
*∅-ÿu-**du-di**-na-ÿ*
 3.0-PFV-**INDH.S**-CL[+D,∅,+I]-drink-VAR

The same effect also happens with [-I] classifiers, where the expected *da-* is instead replaced by \emptyset .

- (62) a. tléil wudaná
 tléil Ø-u-ÿu-Ø-**da**-na-h
 NEG 3.0-IRR-PFV-3.S-CL[+D,Ø,-I]-drink-VAR
 ‘he didn’t drink it’
- b. tléil wuduná
 tléil Ø-u-ÿu-**du**-Ø-na-h
 NEG 3.0-IRR-PFV-**INDH.S**-CL[-D,Ø,-I]-drink-VAR
 ‘people didn’t drink it’
- c. *tléil wududaná
 tléil Ø-u-ÿu-**du-da**-na-h
 NEG 3.0-IRR-PFV-**INDH.S**-CL[+D,Ø,-I]-drink-VAR

This does not apply to themes with classifiers of the *s*, *l*, or *sh* series.

[[FIXME: Examples.]]

Antipassives were discussed in subsection 8.1 above. The D component has a central role in true antipassivization. In this phenomenon the valency of a theme is reduced by deletion of the object (contrast passivization where a subject is deleted), and in addition the D component shifts from [-D] to [+D]. This use of the D component is also a form of inflectional middle voice, where again it indicates lowered valency of the theme. The example below of two active imperfectives shows how the first theme is antipassivized to form the second theme containing [+D].

- (63) a. *transitive theme*
 atéew
 a-Ø-Ø-Ø-tiw-:
 3.0-ZCNJ-3.S-CL[-D,Ø,-I]-read-VAR
 ‘he is reading it’
 theme: *O-S-CL[-D,Ø]-tiw_{TSR}~tuw_N* (Ø; -: Act) ‘S read, count O’
- b. *antipassivized subject intransitive theme*
 datéew
 Ø-Ø-**da**-tiw-:
 ZCNJ-3.S-CL[+D,Ø,-I]-read-VAR
 ‘he is reading’
 theme: *S-CL[+D,Ø]-tiw_{TSR}~tuw_N* (Ø; -: Act) ‘S read, count’

Arguably this process of reducing the valency of a theme could be considered to be derivational rather than inflectional. This is a typical problem

with valency-modifying processes. [[FIXME: Point to some general literature on the problem and leave it unresolved.]]

Inflectional middle voice is not only associated with elements inside the verb. The INDIRECT MIDDLE VOICE is a type of inflectional middle voice which occurs with obliques that have lowered *semantic* valency. No syntactic arguments are changed but these arguments are coreferential rather than referencing distinct entities. In the first example below the two arguments are distinct: singular first person and plural third person. In the second example the two arguments are now coreferential, since any element in the set of references for one argument is also an element in the set of references for the other argument.

(64) a. *non-middle*

aḡ kaadé has awli.aat
 aḡ ká-dé has=a-ÿu-Ø-li-.at-h
 1SG.PSS HSFC-ALL PL=3.O-PFV-3.S-CL[-D,l,+I]-handle.PL-VAR
 ‘they put them (e.g. blankets) on me’
 theme: *P-dé O-S-CL[-D,l]-.at (na; yoo=[+I]-...-k Rep)* ‘S handle O (pl.) to P’

b. *indirect middle*

wooch kaadé has awdli.aat
wooch ká-dé has=a-ÿu-Ø-dli-.at-h
RECIP.PSS HSFC-ALL PL=3.O-PFV-3.S-CL[+D,l,+I]-handle.PL-VAR
 ‘they put them on each other’

Thus, although one might make the conclusion that middle voice is a reduction of syntactic valency, this is incorrect. Middle voice does not imply a reduction of syntactic valency, unlike in many languages where valency and voice are largely inseparable. In Tlingit, a fully transitive theme may be marked for middle voice and yet undergo no reduction in the number of syntactic arguments. The previous examples demonstrate this phenomenon, where the transitive theme *P-dé O-S-CL[-D,l]-.at (na; yoo=CL[+I]-...-k Rep)* ‘S handle O (pl.) toward P’ retains all three arguments S, O, and P even when P is reciprocal and thus [+D] occurs in the classifier.

There are a very few exceptions to inflectional middle voice marking (Story 1966: 89). These can be considered to be thematic irregularities since they are apparently unpredictable and are hence must be lexically specified. The example below shows a theme that does not have [+D] despite a reciprocal oblique.

- (65) **wóoshdáx** daak yaḡwaat'éey
wóosh-dáx daak=∅-yä-ÿu-xa-ÿa-t'iy-ÿ
RECIP-ABL open=3.0-VSFC-PFV-1SG.S-CL[-D,∅,+I]-elbow-VAR
 'I elbowed it apart' (Story 1966: 89)

[[FIXME: This needs to be checked to ensure that it's not just a speech error. But how many people have this obscure verb in their lexica?]]

9.1.1. DERIVATIONAL MIDDLE VOICE

Many instances of middle voice, and hence [+D], are DERIVATIONAL MIDDLE VOICE. Whereas inflection involves the selection of arguments and of tense-mood-aspect categories that are added to themes to produce conjugated verbs, derivation instead modifies themes to produce new themes and is mostly independent of inflection. Derivational middle voice is the modification of a theme to produce a new theme that includes [+D] in the classifier. There are several different derivations that involve middle voice marking.

- self-benefactive: *ga-* (+8) and [+D]
- revertive motion with intransitives
 - *kux=* revertive: *kux=* (+17 E1), ∅-conjugation class, and [+D]
 - ◊ when *kux=* is used with transitive verbs the [+D] does not occur (i.e. [-D])
 - *a-ÿa-oo-* revertive: *a-* '3.O' (+14), *ÿa-* 'VSFC' (+10), *oo-* 'IRR?' (+6), and [+D]
 - ◊ can be more complex motion derivations: *kei=a-ÿa-oo-CL[+D,∅]-at* 'pl. escape on foot'
 - ◊ this only occurs with subject intransitive verbs
- cooccurring motion: *ka-* 'HSFC' (+9), [+D], and [s]
- dissimulative: *sh-* 'RFLX.O' (+14), *k'a-* 'mouth' (+11), [+D], and [l]
- recreational: *ash-* '3OBV.O' (+14), *ka-* 'HSFC' (+9), *u-* 'IRR' (+7), [+D], [l]?, and *-aa* 'PLAY' (-2)
- deprivative: [+D] and *-ákw* 'DEPRV' (-2)
- plural objects: [+D] and *-x' ~ -t'* 'PL.O' (-3)
- plural comparison: *ka-* 'HSFC' (+9) or *ga-* 'GCNJ' (+7), *u-* 'IRR' (+6), and [+D]

- (66) a. *transitive*
aawaják
a-ÿu-∅-ÿa-jak-ÿ
3.0-PFV-3.S-CL[-D,∅,+I]-kill-VAR
‘he killed it’
- b. *transitive with self-benefactive*
agawdiák
a-ga-ÿu-∅-di-jak-ÿ
3.0-SBEN-PFV-3.S-CL[+D,∅,+I]-kill-VAR
‘he killed it for himself’
- (67) a. *telic perfective*
neil x̣waagút
neil-t=u-x̣a-ÿa-gut-ÿ
home-PNCT=PFV.TEL-1SG.S-CL[-D,∅,+I]-go.SG-VAR
‘I got home’
theme: *neil-{t,x̣,dé}=S-CL[-D,∅]-gut (∅; -h Rep Mot)* ‘S arrive home, come inside’
- b. *telic perfective with revertive* kux̣=[+D]- (∅; -ch Rep)
kux̣ x̣wadigút
kux̣=u-x̣a-di-gut-ÿ
REV=PFV.TEL-1SG.S-CL[+D,∅,+I]-go.SG-VAR
‘I got back’
theme: *kux̣~kúx̣de=S-CL[+D,∅]-gut (∅; -ch Rep Mot)* ‘S go back, return’
- c. *repetitive imperfective*
neilx̣ x̣agoot
neil-x̣=∅-x̣a-∅-gut-h
home-PERT=ZCNJ-1SG.S-CL[-D,∅,-I]-go.SG-VAR
‘I go home repeatedly’, ‘I keep going home’
theme: *neil-{t,x̣,dé}=S-CL[-D,∅]-gut (∅; -h Rep Mot)* ‘S arrive home, come inside’
- d. *repetitive imperfective with* kux̣=[+D]-
kúx̣de x̣adigútch
kúx̣-dé=∅-x̣a-di-gut-ch
REV-ALL=ZCNJ-1SG.S-CL[+D,∅,-I]-go.SG-REP
‘I go back repeatedly’, ‘I keep going back’
theme: *kux̣~kúx̣de=S-CL[+D,∅]-gut (∅; -ch Rep Mot)* ‘S go back, return’

- (68) a. *telic perfective*
 haat uwagút
 haa-t=u-Ø-ÿa-gut-ÿ
 hither-PNCT=PFV.TEL-3.S-CL[-D,Ø,+I]-go.SG-VAR
 ‘he came here’
 theme: *haa-{t,x,dé}=S-CL[-D,Ø]-gut (Ø; -h Rep Mot)* ‘S come here’
- b. *telic perfective with revertive a-ÿa-oo-[+D]-*
ayawdigút
a-ÿa-u-Ø-di-gut-ÿ
3.O-VSFC-PFV.TEL-3.S-CL[+D,Ø,+I]-go.SG-VAR
 ‘he returned’
 theme: *a-ÿa-oo-S-CL[+D,Ø]-gut (Ø; -x Rep Mot)* ‘S go back, return’
- c. *repetitive imperfective*
 haax goot
 haa-x=Ø-Ø-Ø-gut-h
 hither-PERT=ZCNJ-3.S-CL[-D,Ø,+I]-go.SG-VAR
 ‘he comes here repeatedly’, ‘he keeps coming here’
 theme: *haa-{t,x,dé}=S-CL[-D,Ø]-gut (Ø; -h Rep Mot)* ‘S come here’
- d. *repetitive imperfective with revertive a-ÿa-oo-[+D]-*
ayawdagútch
a-ÿa-oo-Ø-da-gut-ch
3.O-VSFC-IRR-3.S-CL[+D,Ø,+I]-go.SG-REP
 ‘he returns repeatedly’, ‘he keeps returning’
 theme: *a-ÿa-oo-S-CL[+D,Ø]-gut (Ø; -x Rep Mot)* ‘S go back, return’
- (69) a. *atelic perfective*
 wujixeex
 ÿu-Ø-ji-xix-h
 PFV-3.S-CL[+D,sh,+I]-run-VAR
 ‘he ran’
 theme: *S-CL[+D,sh]-xix (na; yoo=[+I]-...-k Rep Mot)* ‘S run’
- b. *atelic perfective with dissimulative sh-k’a-CL[+D,l]-*
sh k’awdlixeex
sh-k’a-ÿu-Ø-dli-xix-h
REFL.O-mouth-PFV-3.S-CL[+D,l,+I]-run-VAR
 ‘he pretended to run’
 theme: *sh-k’a-S-CL[+D,l]-xix (na; yoo=[+I]-...-k Rep Mot)* ‘S pretend to run’

- (70) a. *atelic perfective*
 wudit'aach
 ÿu-Ø-di-t'ach-h
 PFV-3.S-CL[+D,Ø,+I]-swim.surface-VAR
 'he swam'
 theme: *S-CL[+D,Ø]-t'ach~t'ash_{ST}* (*na*; -h Act) 'S swim (on surface)'
- b. *active imperfective with recreational* ash-ka-u-CL[+D]-...-aa
ash kudat'ájaa
ash-ka-u-Ø-da-t'ách^x-aa
3PRX.O-HSFC-IRR-3.S-CL[+D,Ø,-I]-swim.surface-PLAY
 'he is swimming for fun' (Nora Dauenhauer)
 theme: *ash-ka-u-S-CL[+D,Ø]-t'ách^x~t'ásh^x_{ST}-aa* (*na?*; Act) 'S swim for fun'

9.1.2. THEMATIC MIDDLE VOICE

The D component can be thematic [+D], lexically specified as part of the verb theme. This is not a representation of middle voice in the syntactic sense, since it does not necessarily affect the valency of the theme. Instead, thematic [+D] is a representation of semantic middle voice, indicating that the theme denotes a situation that involves self-affectedness. This self-affectedness is not merely a reflexive 'X does X to self' but rather a more general 'be involved in X and be affected by X' where X is some situation denoted by the verb theme. Thus agent and affected are coreferential, and hence the semantic valency is reduced. The various themes demonstrated below should help elucidate this concept.

Perhaps the most common examples of thematic [+D] are among object intransitives, where the object argument is a patient that experiences some event or state and is somehow affected by it.

- (71) a. [*+D*] *object intransitive (telic perfective)*
- | | | |
|------------------------------|--------|-----------------------|
| wuditláx | a | tuk ₂ daa |
| Ø-ÿu-di-tlax-ÿ | a | túk ₂ -daa |
| 3.O-PFV-CL[+D,Ø,+I]-mold-VAR | 3N.PSS | butt-around |
- 'the bottom around it is moldy' (Edwards 2009: 258)
 theme: *O-CL[+D,Ø]-tlax* (Ø; -kw Rep Event) 'O be moldy'

b. [+D] object intransitive with obligatory oblique (atelic perfective)

té x'áakde wdzigeet
 té x'áak-dé Ø-yu-dzi-git-h
 rock between-ALL 3.0-PFV-CL[+D,s,+I]-fall-VAR
 'he fell in the crevice of the rock' (Edwards 2009: 87)
 theme: P-dé O-CL[+D,s]-git (na; yoo=[+I]-...-k Rep Mot) 'O fall into P'

Object intransitives are not the only examples of thematic [+D], however. Subject intransitives exhibiting thematic [+D] are in fact fairly common. The subject argument is of course an agent rather than a patient, and the situation caused by the agent affects the agent.

(72) a. [+D] subject intransitive (atelic habitual)

ts'ootaat áwé a tóo
 ts'ootaat á-wé a tú-x'
 morning FOC-MDST 3N.PSS inside-LOC
 yagalxéech
 ÿa-ga-Ø-l-xi-ch
 VSFC-GCNJ-3.S-CL[+D,l,-I]-overnight-HAB
 'it remains alight through to the morning'
 (Story & Naish 1973: 144)
 theme: ÿa-S-CL[+D,l]-xi (ga; -? Act) 'S remain alight overnight'

b. [+D] subject intransitive (telic habitual)

keex'é shukát áwé
 kee-x'é shuká-t á-wé
 dawn-mouth ahead-PNCT FOC-MDST
 shoodanookch ax léelk'w
 sha-u-Ø-da-nuk-h-ch ax léelk'w
 head-IRR-3.S-CL[+D,Ø,-I]-mv.vert-VAR-HAB 1SG.PSS grandparent
 'my grandfather gets up before dawn' (Edwards 2009: 199)
 theme: sha-S-CL[+D,Ø]-nuk (Ø; -x Rep Event) 'S get up, rise'

c. [+D] subject intransitive with obligatory oblique (atelic perfective)

gandaadagóogu wéit wudikeen
 gandaadagóogu wé-t ÿu-Ø-di-kin-h
 woodpecker¹ MDST-PNCT PFV-3.S-CL[+D,Ø,+I]-fly-VAR
 'a woodpecker was flying around there' (Edwards 2009: 168)
 theme: P-t S-CL[+D,Ø]-kin (na; yoo-[+I]-...-k Rep Mot) 'S fly around P'

1. From *gan-daa Ø-da-gu'k-i* 'firewood-around 3.S-CL[+D,Ø,-I]-peck-NMZ', cf. *O-S-CL[-D,Ø]-*

The semantic and morphological boundaries between self-affected and self-unaffected are fuzzy, at least in terms of thematic [+D] marking. Certainly any theme of controlled locomotion could be said to involve self-affectedness of the agent by the locomotion. Most verbs of locomotion like *P-{t,x,dé} S-CL[-D,Ø]-gut (Ø; -h Rep Mot)* ‘S (sg.) arrive at P’ do not feature a thematic [+D] however, so the diagnostic of self-affectedness fails in such instances. As such, thematic [+D] may be indicative of something more specific than self-affectedness, but this remains to be researched.

Some impersonal verbs also have thematic [+D]. These seem to all be weather verbs, but since most impersonal verbs are weather verbs this is not particularly surprising. Both flavours of impersonals occur, those with thematic pronominals and those without (but with the areal *ku-*).

- (73) a. [+D] impersonal (telic perfective)
 koow**di**gwás’
 ku-ÿu-**di**-gwas’-ÿ
 AREAL-PFV-CL[+D,Ø,+I]-fog-VAR
 ‘it was foggy’ (Edwards 2009: 99)
 theme: *ku-CL[+D,Ø]-gwas’ (Ø; -x Rep Event)* ‘be foggy’
- b. [+D] impersonal (thematic a-; atelic perfective)
 wé kagít tóox yaa ntoo.ádi
 wé kagít tú-x ÿaa=na-tu-Ø-.at-n-ée
 MDST dark inside-PERT along=NCNJ-1PL.S-CL[-D,Ø,-I]-GO.PL-VAR-SUB
 aw**di**lidées
 a-ÿu-**di**-di’s-h
 3.0-PFV-CL[+D,I,+I]-moon-VAR
 ‘the moon shone while we went along in the darkness’
 (Edwards 2009: 70)
 theme: *a-CL[+D,I]-di’s (ga; -ch Rep Event)* ‘moon shine’
- c. [+D] impersonal (thematic a-; progressive imperfective)
 yei andagán
 yei=a-na-**da**-gan-n
 down=3.0-NCNJ-CL[+D,Ø,-I]-burn-VAR
 ‘it’s getting sunny’ (Edwards 2009: 82)
 theme: *a-CL[+D,Ø]-gan (ga; -ch Rep Event)* ‘sun shine’

gu’k (?; -h Act) ‘S peck O’ (Story & Naish 1973: 147). The *-i* suffix is optional.

9.1.2.1. TRANSITIVE THEMES WITH THEMATIC MIDDLE VOICE

Leer (1991: 96) explicitly says that thematic [+D] only occurs in ‘intransitives’, which in his terms means only object intransitives. The above examples of subject intransitives and impersonals invalidate this claim. Leer gives only one exception to his claim, namely the transitive theme *O-S-CL[+D,Ø]-na* (Ø; -*h* Act) ‘S drink O’ which occurs with thematic [+D]. This theme is extremely important for historical reconstruction because the same thematic [+D] occurs in cognate themes found in Eyak and in the Athabaskan languages. Thus Eyak has a theme *O-S-CL[+D,Ø]-la* ‘S drink O’ where Proto-Athabaskan-Eyak **n* became Eyak *l* [[FIXME: cite]]. Proto-Athabaskan has a reconstructed theme **O-S-CL[+D,Ø]-na:η* ‘S drink O’ [[FIXME: cite]], based on examples such as Plains Apache *hišdlq̄q̄*’ (de Reuse 2006: 257), Carrier *əsdnai* [[FIXME: cite]], Kaska *esda:n* (Patrick Moore, p.c.), Slave *ehd̥* (Patrick Moore, p.c.), and Tanana *əsd̥ənun̥* [[FIXME: cite]] which all mean ‘I am drinking it’. Compare Tlingit *xadinaa* ‘I am drinking it’ in addition, where the first person singular subject is *x̄a-* versus *s-* or *š-* in most Athabaskan and *h-* in Slave, Proto-Na-Dene **š-* ‘1st person singular’.²

Despite the importance of this theme for historical reconstruction, Leer’s claim that the theme ‘S drink O’ is the “lone transitive theme” featuring a thematic [+D] (Leer 1991: 96) is incorrect. There are in fact several transitive themes documented by Edwards (2009) which feature thematic [+D]. The following example demonstrates a theme *O-S-CL[+D,s]-gáax̄* (*ga*; Act) ‘S ask, cry for O’ which is clearly transitive but also clearly contains [+D].

(74) *perfective*

atxá daakahídix’	gishoo taayí	ka	k’wát’
atxá daa-ká-hít-yí-x’	gishoo taay-yí	ka	k’wát’
food around-HSFC-house-PSS-LOC	pig	fat-PSS	and egg

awdzigáax̄

a-yü-Ø-dzi-gáax̄^x

3.0-PFV-3.S-CL[+D,s,+I]-cry

‘she ordered eggs and bacon at the restaurant’ (Edwards 2009: 102)

theme: *O-S-CL[+D,s]-gáax̄* (*ga*; Act) ‘S ask, cry for O’

2. This particular sound is reconstructed separately from the fricative system. For details on the reconstruction of the first person singular fricative **š* see Krauss 1977 and Leer 2008.

The possibility that this theme has a thematic *a*- which is nonreferential can be ruled out since the *a*- disappears as expected when occurring with other arguments besides the 3-on-3 pattern.

(75) *perfective*

dáanaa du ééx x̣wádzigáax̣
 dáanaa du=ée-x̣ Ø-ÿu-x̣a-dzi-gáax̣^x
 money 3H.PSS=BASE-PERT 3.0-PFV-1SG.S-CL[+D,S,+I]-cry
 'I asked for money from him'

There are other transitive themes that feature [+D] as well. Edwards (2009: 194) offers an alternative perfective form *awdziníx'* 'he smelled it' with [+D] for the theme *O-S-CL[-D,S]-nix'* (Ø; -h Act) 'S smell O' that usually has [-D]: *awsiníx'* 'he smelled it'. This flavour of the theme is confirmed by a Tongass Tlingit example from Leer (1975: 1073), though the corresponding future form in that source is [-D].

(76) a. *perfective*

aw**d**znix'_T
 a-ÿu-Ø-**d**zi-nix'-ÿ
 3.0-PFV-3.S-CL[+D,S,+I]-smell-VAR
 'he smelled it'

b. *future*

akgwasneex'_T
 a-ga-w-ga-Ø-**s**-nix'-:
 3.0-GCNJ-IRR-GMOD-3.S-CL[+D,S,-I]-smell-VAR
 'he will smell it'

A thematic *a*- cannot be excluded in this case because we lack examples of the theme in other than 3-on-3 conjugations.

Edwards also gives the two themes *jee O-S-CL[+D,Ø]-nuk* (Ø; -h Stv) 'S feel, touch O with hands' and *x'úi O-S-CL[+D,Ø]-nuk* (Ø; -h Stv) 'S taste, sample O', both of which are based on the root $\sqrt{nuk}_N \sim \sqrt{nikw}_{RST}$ 'feel' and which feature thematic [+D]. She does not give examples of these themes, but Story & Naish (1973: 282) do list them as well, giving the following examples.

(77) a. *perfective*

tsaa dleeyí ágé x'úi yidínúk ?
 tsaa dleey-ÿí á-gé x'úi Ø-ÿu-i-**di**-nuk-ÿ
 seal meat-PSS FOC-YN mouth 3.0-PFV-2SG.S-CL[+D,Ø,+I]-feel-VAR
 'have you tasted seal meat?' (Story & Naish 1973: 224)

b. *hortative*

xáach jee kádanooɡú !
 xáa-ch jee 0-0-ga-xa-da-nuk-h-í
 1SG-ERG hand 3.0-ZCNJ-GMOD-1SG.S-CL[+D,0,-I]-feel-VAR-HORT
 'let me feel it!' (Story & Naish 1973: 232)

[[FIXME: Reflexive 0-? Incorporated x'ei and jee? These must be ruled out for them to be truly transitive with thematic [+D].]]

A very good example of a transitive verb theme with thematic [+D] is *O-S-CL[+D,s]-e^h* (*ga*; -? Act) 'S ask for more O'. This was documented by Story & Naish (1973: 22, 265) as being transitive, and was also noted by Leer (1978: 6) though he did not indicate its transitivity there. Leer (1976: 123/46) documented this same theme with the meaning 'S wish for O'. The following examples demonstrate this theme in use.

(78) a. *atelic perfective*

íxt' awdzi.ei
 íxt' a-yu-0-dzi-e-h
 shaman 3.0-PFV-3.S-CL[+D,s,+I]-ask.for-VAR
 'the shaman asked for more of it' (Story & Naish 1973: 22)

b. *imperative*

xút'aa x'wán gees.ei
 xut'aa x'wán 0-ga-i-s-e-h
 adze be.sure 3.0-GCNJ-2SG.S-CL[+D,s,-I]-ask.for-VAR
 'be sure to ask for more adzes' (Story & Naish 1973: 22)

c. *atelic perfective*

laxéitl xwadzi.ei
 luck 0-yu-xa-dzi-e-h
 luck 3.0-PFV-1SG.S-CL[+D,s,+I]-ask.for-VAR
 'I wished for (more?) luck' (Leer 1976: 123/46)

The first of these examples has a third person subject noun phrase *íxt'* 'shaman' but no third person object phrase.³ The verb shows three-on-three marking in the verb, with *a-* and *0-* where *a-* only occurs either thematically or when there is a *0-* third person subject marked. Since this theme does not otherwise occur with a thematic *a-*, that third person object prefix must

3. The occurrence without ergative *-ch* on the subject noun phrase is interesting. I believe that this is allowed when there is no object noun phrase present, or when animacy makes the agent obvious.

be indexing an object, and hence the verb must be transitive. The second example has a separate noun phrase, *xút'aa* 'adze', with a second person singular subject marked. The second person singular subject is only marked in imperatives when the classifier has [+D], otherwise the \emptyset -allomorph is used instead. This indicates that the *s*- in the classifier position is not the reduced *sa*- [[FIXME: xref]] but is instead the true CL[+D,s,-I] classifier. The third example has an unquestionable first person singular subject *xá*- along with an object noun phrase. None of these examples has any sort of morphology that would suggest some other reason for middle voice marking. The example translations do however suggest some sort of self-affectedness, if only rather vaguely.

Despite their meanings, these three examples confirm that this theme is unquestionably transitive with thematic [+D]. Consequently, the claim by Leer (1991: 96) that the theme 'S drink O' is the only transitive theme with thematic [+D] can be discounted.

9.2. THE S COMPONENT AND TRANSITIVITY

The S component is the heart of the classifier. There are four possible values of the S component, namely \emptyset , *s*, *l*, and *sh*. A classifier must have one of these four values. The \emptyset value is the most common, followed by *s* and then by *l*. The *sh* value is somewhat rare. Leer (1991: 99) calls the S component the 'series' component, in reference to the consonantal series (place of articulation) for each of the fricatives. Although I usually use 'S' in favour of 'series' because it parallels 'D' and 'I', I still sometimes find it useful to refer to e.g. the '*l* series' of classifiers which is the set {*la*-, *li*-, *l*-, *dli*-}.

The values of the S component are mostly lexically specified, but there are some fairly regular alternations between values. These alternations are essential in trying to understand the syntactic and semantic functions of the S component. In many Athabaskan languages there is a fairly regular alternation between \emptyset in intransitive verbs and *l* in transitive verbs (Kibrik 1993, 1996). Tlingit shows this as well in some themes, as in the following pair.

- (79) a. *object intransitive*
 wook'éi
 Ø-ÿu-ÿa-k'é-ÿ
 3.O-PFV-CL[-D,Ø,+I]-good-VAR
 'it's good'
 theme: O-CL[-D,Ø]-k'é (ga; -ÿ? Stv) 'O be good'
- b. *transitive*
 awlik'éi
 a-ÿu-Ø-li-k'é-ÿ
 3.O-PFV-3.S-CL[-D,I,+I]-good-VAR
 'he improved it'
 theme: O-S-CL[-D,I]-k'é (ga; -:? Act) 'S improve O'

Another example of transitive $\emptyset \sim l$ alternation in the S component of the classifier is shown in the following examples. The former has the theme *P ká-' daak=O-sa-CL[-D,Ø]-ha* (\emptyset ; -:? Act) 'O remember P', which is an object intransitive theme that takes the remembered entity as a complex postpositional phrase. The other theme *P ká-' daak=O-sa-S-CL[-D,I]-ha* (\emptyset ; -:? Act) 'S cause O to remember P' exhibits increased transitivity with the addition of a subject argument that represents the causer, with the O and P arguments remaining the same. The switch from \emptyset to *l* in the S component of the classifier is correlated with the addition of a subject to the theme.

- (80) a. a káa daak has seiwaháa
 a ká-' daak=has=Ø-sa-ÿu-ÿa-ha-ÿ
 3N.PSS HSFC-LOC ADMAR=PL=3.O-voice-PFV-CL[-D,Ø,+I]-move.invis-VAR
 'they remembered it' (Story & Naish 1973: 170)
- b. a káa daak xat sawliháa
 a ká-' daak=xat-sa-ÿu-Ø-li-ha-ÿ
 3N.PSS HSFC-LOC ADMAR=1SG.O-voice-PFV-3.S-CL[-D,I,+I]-move.invis-VAR
 'he reminded me' (Story & Naish 1973: 170)

Similar patterns of transitivity-related alternation can be found between \emptyset and *s* as well, usually formed from the causative derivational strings *S-CL[s]-* or *O-CL[s]-* applied to either object or subject intransitives respectively (Leer 1991: 52–53).

- (81) a. *subject intransitive*
 x̣waanúk
 ỵu-x̣a-ỵa-nuk-ỵ
 PFV-1SG.S-CL[-D,∅,+I]-sit.SG-VAR
 ‘I sat down’
 theme: *S-CL[-D,∅]-nuk (ga; -? Act) ‘S (sg.) sit down’*
- b. *causative*
 x̣at wusinúk
 x̣at-ỵu-∅-si-nuk-ỵ
 1SG.O-PFV-3.S-CL[-D,s,+I]-sit.SG-VAR
 ‘he made me sit down’
 theme: *O-S-CL[-D,s]-nuk (ga; -? Act) ‘S seat O (sg.)’*

Unfortunately there are many counterexamples where the alternation is due to some other phenomenon, often the object noun classification system. Such counterexamples are easily found among transitive themes.

- (82) a. *transitive*
 aawaxaash
 a-ỵu-∅-ỵa-xash-h
 3.O-PFV-3.S-CL[-D,∅,+I]-cut-VAR
 ‘he cut it’
 theme: *O-S-CL[-D,∅]-xash (na; -: Act) ‘S cut O’*
- b. *transitive*
 awlixaash
 a-ỵu-∅-li-xash-h
 3.O-PFV-3.S-CL[-D,l,+I]-cut-VAR
 ‘he cut it (rope)’
 theme: *O-S-CL[-D,l]-xash (na; -: Act) ‘S cut O (rope-like)’*

There are three possible analyses of S component alternation. One is that the S component can regularly alternate between ∅ and either *s* or *l* to switch from intransitive to transitive themes, and that this phenomenon is blocked by the use of the S component in object noun classification. The converse is that object noun classification is the default and is blocked by S component alternation for transitivity. Given that this is historically less supported than the former analysis, it is less plausible. The third analysis is that both are lexical phenomena that are only partly predictable and hence must be largely

learned as incomplete generalizations from patterns in the lexicon. In practice this third analysis seems to be what most linguists working on Tlingit have adopted, but there has not been any serious argumentation for taking any of these three positions.

The argument for unpredictability of S component use in various themes is strengthened by the distribution of non- \emptyset values of S components in intransitive themes. The following four examples documented by Story & Naish (1973: 362) demonstrate object intransitive themes that each have one of the four S component values.

- (83) a. **uwat'áa**
 \emptyset -u-**ya**-t'a- \ddot{y}
 3.0-PFV.TEL-CL[-D, \emptyset ,+I]-hot-VAR
 'it's hot'
- b. **wusináa**
 \emptyset - \ddot{y} u-**si**-na- \ddot{y}
 3.0-PFV-CL[-D,**s**,+I]-damp-VAR
 'it's damp'
- c. **wulixoon**
 \emptyset - \ddot{y} u-**li**-xun-h
 3.0-PFV-CL[-D,**l**,+I]-thin-VAR
 'he's thin'
- d. **wushiné \underline{k}**
 \emptyset - \ddot{y} u-**shi**-ne \underline{k} - \ddot{y}
 3.0-PFV-CL[-D,**sh**,+I]-slush-VAR
 'it's slushy'

The above examples show that a particular S component value does not necessitate a particular valency, since all are object intransitives.

9.2.1. NEGATIVE S COMPONENT ALTERNATION

The S component alternates between $\{\emptyset, s, l\}$ on the one hand and *sh* on the other in a small class of verbs. This phenomenon, which I call *sh*-alternation, is often triggered by negation of the clause. This alternation is lexically specified, and does not apply to all verb themes. The following theme *O-CL[-D, \emptyset]-k'éi* (*ga*; Stv) 'O be good' is one theme which undergoes *sh*-alternation.

- (84) a. *positive form*
yak'éi
 Ø-Ø-**ya**-k'éi
 3.0-ZCNJ-CL[-D,Ø,+I]-good
 'it's good'
 theme: **Ø-CL[-D,Ø]-k'éi** (*ga*; Stv) 'Ø be good'
- b. *negative form*
 tléil ooshk'é
 tléil Ø-u-Ø-**sha**-k'éi
 NEG 3.0-IRR-ZCNJ-CL[-D,**sh**,-I]-good
 'it's not good', 'it's bad'

The negative form of this verb always occurs with *sh*, even though other irrealis forms of the verb do not occur with *sh*. The following example shows this, with a dubitative which is also irrealis-marked like a negative, but which does not change to the *sh* classifier.

- (85) *dubitative form*
 gwál yéi ook'é
 gwál yéi=Ø-u-Ø-k'éi
 DUB thus=3.0-IRR-CL[-D,Ø,-I]-good
 'it might be good'

Note that this root $\sqrt{k'éi}$ is essentially an invariable root except that it irregularly exhibits shortening of the vowel to *k'é* in irrealis forms. This irregularity is independent of the *sh*-alternation since it happens with all irrealis forms, as seen in the previous example, rather than being restricted to only negative forms.

This *sh*-alternation seems to be associated with specific roots rather than specific themes. Another theme based on the same root is *ku-CL[-D,Ø]-k'é* (*ga?*; Stv) 'weather be good' where the areal prefix *ku-* denotes weather. The positive form has the classifier *ya-* but the negative form again has the classifier *sha-* rather than expected *Ø-*.

- (86) a. *positive form*
 koowak'éi
 ku-yu-**ya**-k'éi
 AREAL-PFV-CL[-D,Ø,+I]-good
 'the weather is good'

- b. *negative form*
 tléil kooshk'é
 tléil ku-u-ÿu-**sha**-k'éi
 NEG AREAL-IRR-PFV-CL[-D,**sh**,-I]-good
 'the weather is bad'

Negative triggered *sh*-alternation is not the only type of *sh*-alternation. The verb *S-CL[-D,∅]-ta^h* (*na*; -*h* Act) 'S sleep' has an optional alternation in at least the imperative form. The form with *sh* is used to indicate the speaker's displeasure with the referent of the second person pronominal.

- (87) a. *normal imperative*
 natá !
 na-∅-∅-ta-h
 NCNJ-2SG.S-CL[-D,∅,-I]-sleep-VAR
 'sleep!'
- b. *angry imperative*
 nash^{tá} !
 na-∅-**sha**-ta-h
 NCNJ-2SG.S-CL[-D,**sh**,-I]-sleep-VAR
 'sleep, dammit!'

Rather than grammatical negativity, this use of negative *sh*-alternation seems to be associated with *affective* negativity, i.e. the negative attitude of the speaker. This phenomenon has yet to be explored thoroughly. It seems to be marginal and is probably not productive for any speakers, though there are one or two other verbs which also exhibit this alternation.

It should be understood that the use of *sh* in the S component of the classifier is by no means restricted to *sh*-alternation. There are many themes which use *sh* in an unqualified manner, for example the theme *S-CL[+D,sh]-k'e'n* (*ga*; -? Act) 'S jump' or the theme *O-CL[-D,sh]-ne'k* (*∅*; -? Stv) 'O be slushy'.

9.3. THE I COMPONENT AND STATIVITY

The [+I] value of the I component is generally realized as the presence of a vowel *i* in the classifier. Thus CL[-D,S,+I] is *si-* and CL[+D,I,+I] is *dli-*. The classifier with the features CL[-D,∅,+I] is a bit unusual because it is realized

as *yá-* (*ya-* varying with *wa-* in *y̆*-less dialects). The [-I] value is polyphonic, being either a vowel *a* as in *sa-* CL[-D,S,-I] or nothing as in *l-* CL[+D,I,-I].

The I component is never lexically specified. Instead it indexes the ‘state-ness’ of a conjugated verb. In perfectives the I component is [+I] when realis, representing the fact that perfectives describe a state of the world. In irrealis perfectives the I component is [-I] because the verb describes a state of the world that does not exist, a non-state. This can be seen clearly in the various imperfectives, where stative imperfectives (plain stative imperfectives, extensional stative imperfectives, and multipositional stative imperfectives) always have [+I] in their realis forms but non-stative imperfectives (active imperfectives, repetitive imperfectives, and progressive imperfectives) always have [-I] in their realis forms. This is because stative imperfectives describe a state whereas non-stative imperfectives describe an event or process instead.

The following examples show a stative verb in three different conjugations. [[FIXME: Verb theme]] The first is the future, which has [-I] for all verbs. The second is the perfective which has [+I] when it is realis, in this case an ordinary non-negative form. The third is an imperfective, which since this verb is stative is necessarily a stative imperfective. As with all stative imperfectives, this has [+I] in the classifier.

(88) a. *future with [-I]*

yá táakw kei kuguxsa.áat'

yá táakw kei=ku-ga-w-ga- \emptyset -sa-.at'-:

PROX winter up=AREAL-GCNJ-IRR-GMOD-3.S-CL[-D,S,-I]-cold-VAR

‘it’s going to be cold this winter’ (Story & Naish 1973: 51)

b. *perfective with [+I]*

kusi.áat'

ku-y̆u- \emptyset -si-.at'-h

AREAL-PFV-3.S-CL[-D,S,+I]-cold-VAR

‘it was cold (weather)’

c. *stative imperfective with [+I]*

kusi.áat'

ku- \emptyset - \emptyset -si-.at'-:

AREAL-ZCNJ-3.S-CL[-D,S,+I]-cold-VAR

‘it’s cold (weather)’

Compare the previous forms with the following examples that show a non-stative verb.

9.4. MORPHOPHONOLOGICAL PECULIARITIES

The classifiers are subject to some morphophonological changes that result in unusual forms in some situations. A few of these will be documented in this section, though some are better documented in the chapter on prefix morphophonology (ch. 15).

9.4.1. CLASSIFIER A VOWEL LOSS

Classifiers of the *s*, *l*, or *sh* series will occur as single consonants when they have [+D] and [-I], so that the classifier prefix *s*- surfaces from the features CL[+D,s,-I], *l*- from CL[+D,l,-I], and *sh*- from CL[+D,sh,-I]. But these consonantal forms also result from a morphophonological reduction which occurs with a few preceding prefixes (Leer 1991: 175). When preceded by the perfective *yü*- or *u*-, the *na*- conjugation prefix, the irrealis *u*-, the distributive *daga*-, a word initial *ga*- conjugation prefix or mode prefix, or the third person object prefix *a*-, each without any other non-null prefixes intervening, then the three classifiers *sa*-, *la*-, and *sha*- are all reduced to consonants. Thus both CL[+D,C,-I] and CL[-D,C,-I] patterns can result in *s*-, *l*-, and *sh*- forms.

- (89) a. *yá* *tléikw* *tléil* **ulnúkts**
yá *tléikw* *tléil* **Ø-u-la-núkts^x**
 PROX berry NEG 3.0-IRR-CL[-D,l,-I]-sweet
 ‘this berry is not sweet’ (Story & Naish 1973: 219)
 theme: *O-CL[-D,l]-núkts^x* (?; Stv) ‘O be sweet’
- b. *yaa* **nas.íx’**
yaa=Ø-na-Ø-sa-.ix’-n
 along=3.0-NCNJ-3.S-CL[-D,s,-I]-call-VAR
 ‘he’s going along sounding (a horn)’ (Story & Naish 1973: 202)
 theme: *O-S-CL[-D,s]-.ix’* (Ø; -? Act) ‘S sound O (horn, whistle, etc.)’
- c. *júx’aa* *tóot* **astán** *du* *jín*
júx’aa *tú-t* **a-Ø-Ø-sa-tan-n** *du* *jín*
 sling inside-PNCT 3.0-ZCNJ-3.S-CL[-D,s,-I]-handle-VAR 3H.PSS arm
 ‘he has his arm lying in a sling’ (Edwards 2009: 229)
 theme: *P-t O-S-CL[-D,s]-tan* (-n Pos) ‘S have O (long) lie at P’

This phenomenon occurs before other prefix contractions described in chapter 15, so that the classifier shape that occurs in the prefix string is *C-* rather than *Ca-* when prefix contraction is applied.

- (90) a. *with classifier* li-
awlitín
a-**ÿu-∅**-li-tin-n
3.0-PFV-3.S-CL[-D,l,+I]-see-VAR
'he watched him'
theme: *O-S-CL[-D,l]-tin (∅; -n Act) 'S watch O'*
- b. *with classifier* la-
tléil **aw**lteen
tléil a-u-**ÿu-∅-la**-tin-h
NEG 3.0-PFV-3.S-CL[-D,l,-I]-see-VAR
'he didn't watch him'
- c. *tléil **awl**ateen
tléil a-u-**ÿu-∅-la**-tin-h

9.4.2. CLASSIFIER *I* VOWEL LOSS

In Southern Tlingit and to some extent in Tongass Tlingit the *i* vowel of classifiers is frequently deleted. This is noted in passing by Leer (1991: 180) as rule number (13'c) of his prefix morphophonology rules. He states that the *i* vowel of a classifier is deleted when the classifier occurs as the first syllable of the verb word or when it is preceded by a vowel. He also describes this phenomenon in the introduction to the *Tongass Texts* collection of texts from Frank Williams *Geetwein* (*Gaanax.ádi*) and Emma Williams *Kalnaakw* (*Teikweidí*) who were the last two speakers of Tongass Tlingit (Williams, Williams, & Leer 1978: 16–17). The following examples, constructed from various sources, demonstrate the phenomenon of *i* vowel loss.

- (91) a. *Northern Tlingit*
héen a_x toowáa sigóo
héen a_x tú-**ÿá'** ∅-∅-si-gu-:i
water 1SG.PSS mind-VSFC-LOC 3.0-ZCNJ-CL[-D,s,+I]-enjoy-VAR
'I want water'

b. *Southern Tlingit*

héèn	aḵ	twáa	sgóo
héen	aḵ	tú-ýá'	∅-∅-si-gu-:
water	1SG.PSS	mind-VSFC-LOC	3.0-ZCNJ-CL[-D,S,+I]-enjoy-VAR
'I want water'			

c. *Tongass Tlingit*

hi'n	aḵ	tuwa'	sigoo
hi'n	aḵ	tu-ýa'	∅-∅-si-gu-:
water	1SG.PSS	mind-VSFC-LOC	3.0-ZCNJ-CL[-D,S,+I]-enjoy-VAR
'I want water'			

The examples above show the same conjugation of the same verb theme in Northern, Southern, and Tongass Tlingit. The classifier is phonologically verb-initial since the preceding morphemes are all \emptyset . Also note the falling tone on the word *héèn* which is a regular phenomenon in syllables with a long vowel and high tone that end in sonorants. The reduction of the word *tuwáa* to *twáa* is typical [[FIXME: mandatory?]] for syllables ending in a short *u* before another syllable with onset *w*.

This vowel loss is not entirely complete phonetically. In rapid speech they can be hard to detect, but in somewhat slower speech the deleted vowels are still slightly audible or they are devoiced so that a noticeable short pause between consonant articulations can be heard. Thus although phonemically the form *sgóo* is /skú:/, it can be heard as [sᵢkú:] with a breathy vowel, [sᵢkú:] with a voiceless vowel, and [s:kú:] with a lengthened [s], among other pronunciations. This phenomenon obviously needs more investigation, but the precipitously declining population of Southern Tlingit speakers may limit any future work to archived materials.

9.4.3. S COMPONENT S SUBSTITUTION

Leer (1991: 99) says that the *s* value of the S component is the default value in derivations which replace the original S component of a theme. There is a morphophonological restriction on this however, in that the *s* value cannot occur with a root that begins with an affricate. As such the *s* value in such derivations will alternate with the *l* value in themes containing an affricate-initial root.

[[FIXME: Examples.]]

9.4.4. CLASSIFIER DELETION WITH *DU-*

[[FIXME: See section 9.1.]]

9.4.5. UNUSUAL CONTRACTIONS

There are a few instances where the classifier is contracted with the onset of the root. These are rare and lexicalized, and hence they can be surprising.

The verb theme *S-CL[+D,sh]-xix* (Mot) ‘S run’ exhibits the unusual contraction of *sh-* ‘CL[+D,sh,-i]’ with the onset *x* of the verb root, producing the sequence *sh* (Leer 1991: 103). This occurs with any of the motion derivations based on this motion theme where the classifier is not modified. The first example below demonstrates the atelic perfective form of this theme which does not feature the contraction, whereas the second example demonstrates the irrealis atelic perfective with the contraction occurring.

(92) a. *atelic perfective*wujix^heexÿu-Ø-**ji-xix**-h

PFV-3.S-CL[+D,sh,+i]-run-VAR

‘he ran’

theme: *S-CL[+D,sh]-xix* (*na; yoo=[+i]-...-k* Rep Mot) ‘S run’b. *irrealis atelic perfective*tléil wush^heextléil u-ÿu-Ø-**sh-xix**-h

NEG IRR-PFV-3.S-CL[+D,sh,-i]-run-VAR

‘he didn’t run’

This contraction seems to be universal among Tlingit speakers, and hence it is firmly embedded in the language despite not being regular, nor frequent, nor productive. This very unusual phenomenon in Tlingit is reminiscent of the frequent reduction of classifiers and verb root onsets in Athabaskan languages.

The verb theme *O-CL[-D,l]-tsin* (*ga; -h* Stv) ‘O be strong’ is *litseen* in its imperfective form, but in its irrealis form it is *ulcheen*. This can be seen in the following examples. The reduction of the classifier *la-* to *l-* after the irrealis prefix *u-* is a regular phenomenon, see section 9.4.1 for details.

(93) a. *imperfective***litseen**Ø-Ø-**li-tsin**-h

3.0-ZCNJ-CL[-D,l,+I]-strong-VAR

'it's strong'

theme: *O-CL[-D,l]-tsin (ga; -h Stv)* 'O be strong'b. *irrealis imperfective*tléil **ulcheen**tléil Ø-u-Ø-**la-tsin**-h

NEG 3.0-IRR-ZCNJ-CL[-D,l,-I]-strong-VAR

'it's not strong', 'it's weak'

This irregular form seems to be related to the reduction of the classifier, but it is not entirely clear. In any case, this form must be memorized since it is not found for any other verbs with similar phonology. A few speakers do not have this, instead using the predictable form *ultseen*. This is not a general phenomenon, since other verbs with an initial alveolar affricate do not change to a postalveolar affricate, for example *lidzée* 'it's difficult' but *tléil uldze* 'it's not difficult' and not **tléil uljee*.

It is interesting that the two contractions discussed above both are found with irrealis morphology. The reason for this is not clear, but obviously needs further study.

10 Stem variation

STEM VARIATION consists of predictable changes of the vowel in a verb root depending on the particular conjugation of the verb. It is one of the most opaque phenomena in the Tlingit verb, yet it is very stable across speakers and dialects and is crucial to distinguishing several different conjugations. Stem variation was first thoroughly described by Leer (1991: 152–157, 160–174) though it had been noticed earlier by Boas (1917: 25–27) and Story (1966: 48–56). Under Leer’s analysis, stem variation is accounted for by a set of largely abstract suffixes on the verb root which cause changes in vowel length, tone, and sometimes apophony.¹ These suffixes are *-n*, *-j̥*, *-:*, *-h*, *-’*, and *-X*. The last is not a suffix per se, instead standing for the set of duration suffixes in slot –3: *-k*, *-x̣*, *-ch*, *-h*, *-t*, *-x’*, *-t’*, *-s’*, and *-l’*, all of which have similar morphological and phonological behaviours.

The root together with a stem variation suffix forms the STEM of a verb. It is almost impossible for verb roots to occur without stem variation suffixes, the only exceptions being invariable roots. Hence the root and stem are often conflated when discussing conjugated verbs, but it is nonetheless analytically more sound to consistently distinguish between roots and stems.

Although Leer does represent the stem variation suffixes as what he calls ‘stigmatic suffixes’ (Leer 1991: 167), he does not typically refer to the stem variation suffixes per se but instead to the stems that they form in combination with roots. Thus where I speak of the stem variation suffix *-h* in some context, Leer instead refers to the ‘fading stem’. This can be confusing when a particular stem does not actually have the feature that Leer has labelled the stem with, e.g. the fading stem of the root $\sqrt{sha’t}$ ‘handle quickly’ being *sha’t* with a glottalized vowel in Tongass Tlingit rather than the **shaht* with a fading vowel that is implied by the name ‘fading stem’. This is exactly why I refer to the suffixes explicitly rather than the stems that they form, since it is con-

1. Leer calls this apophony ‘umlaut’ though it does not involve true *CVCi* sequences.

ceptually easier to grasp that a suffix can produce different forms depending on its combination with other elements. Additionally, because Leer's 'stigmata' (vowel phonation types, see chapter 2) do not exist in Northern and Southern Tlingit I have adopted the more dialect-neutral term 'stem variation suffix' rather than his 'stigmatic suffix'.

The realization of stem variation depends not only on the stem variation suffixes, but also on the shapes of the roots. Closed roots and open roots can have quite different realizations with the same stem variation suffix. Although closed roots all have mostly the same realizations of stem variation, there are some minor but predictable differences that require splitting them up into three subtypes: CVC, CVC', and CV'C.² Open roots also show similar minor differences that produce two subtypes: CV and CV^h.³ The details regarding these subtypes will be covered later.

The complete system of stem variation is given in table 10.1. In this table I use a transcription system that combines the vocalic features of the Tongass and Northern dialects together, similar to the combined transcription used by Leer in his dissertation (Leer 1991). Northern high tone is marked and can be ignored for Tongass. Glottalization and fading in Tongass can be treated as identical to length in Northern. Thus a form CVhC is exactly that in Tongass and is CV:C (low tone) in Northern. However, CV'C and CV':C are both CV':C in Northern but are distinct CV'C and CV:C in Tongass. The \check{V} or \acute{V} stands for apophony of the vowel which is discussed in the subsections on the relevant stem variation suffixes.

The stem variation suffixes for the most part do not have inherent meanings, but instead serve as additional markers of the modes. Their distribution across the various modes is given in table 10.2. The - \check{y} suffix is associated with some of the stative imperfectives as well as the perfectives, and hence may have something to do with stativeness, an issue explored further in section 10.2.

The -*n* suffix is mostly non-stative although there is one group of stative themes that have imperfectives with -*n*, namely the handful of themes similar to *O-sha- $\check{y}a$ -CL[+D,Ø]-ha* (*na*; -*n* Stv) 'O be many'. As will be detailed in chapter 13, the stativeness is from [+1] in the classifier of the imperfective. All the other imperfectives with -*n* have [-1] and are hence non-stative.

The -*r*: suffix is strongly associated with realis except in the admonitive

2. I like to pronounce these as [sivi'si], [sivi's'i], and [si'vi?si].

3. These I usually pronounce as [si'vi] and either [si'vih] or [si'vihə].

Stem Var. Suffix	Closed roots			Open roots	
	CVC	CVC'	CVC	CV	CV ^h
-n	CVC	CVC'	CVC	CV̇:-n	CV̇:-n*
-ÿ					
habitual -ch	CVC	CVC'	CVC	CV̇:ÿ-ch	CV̇:ÿ-ch
otherwise				CV̇:	CV̇:
-:	CV̇:C	CV̇:C'	CVC	CV̇:	CV̇:
-h					
imperative	CVhC	CVC'	CVC	CV̇	CV̇
otherwise				CVh	CVh
-X ∈ {-k, -x, -ch, -h, -t, -x', -t', -s', -l'} ₋₃					
two suffixes	CVC-X	CVC'-X	CVC-X	CV̇-X-X	CV̇-X-X
one suffix				CV̇:-X	CVh-X
-' (open roots only)					
no other suffix				CV̇	CV̇
auxiliary or prohib.-opt. -k̄				CV̇:-...	CV̇:-...
decessive -een				CV̇'-een	CV̇'-een
other suffixes with i~ee				CVh-...	CVh-...
closed plain					
relative clause	CVC	CVC'	CVC		
otherwise	CVC	CVC'	CVC		

* Exception: CV^h stems √ni^h 'become' and √ÿa^h 'resemble' have *neen~nihn_T* and *ÿein~ÿehn_T* instead of **néen~neen_T* and **ÿéin~ÿein_T*.

Table 10.1: Stem variation system (Leer 1991: 168). Stem variation realizations that define the distinct root types are emphasized in bold. Invariable stems are excluded.

<i>Suffix</i>	<i>Modes</i>
- <i>ÿ</i>	- <i>ÿ</i> stative imperfective, - <i>ÿ</i> extensional stative imperfective, realis telic perfective, some active atelic potentials, telic habitual, some telic imperatives, some hortatives
- <i>n</i>	- <i>n</i> active imperfective, - <i>n</i> positional imperfective, progressive, - <i>n</i> stative imperfective, conditional, contingent
- <i>z</i>	realis - <i>z</i> : active imperfective, realis - <i>z</i> : positional imperfective, realis - <i>z</i> : stative imperfective, realizational, realis future, admonitive, consecutive
- <i>h</i>	irrealis - <i>z</i> : active imperfective, irrealis - <i>z</i> : positional imperfective, - <i>h</i> active imperfective, - <i>h</i> positional imperfective, irrealis - <i>h</i> stative imperfective, realis - <i>h</i> stative imperfective of $\sqrt{ti^h}$ 'be', - <i>h</i> extensional stative imperfective, irrealis telic perfective of closed roots, atelic perfective, irrealis future, most potentials, some telic habituals, most telic imperatives, some hortatives
-'	-' active imperfective (open roots only), irrealis - <i>ÿ</i> stative imperfective of open roots, irrealis - <i>ÿ</i> extensional stative imperfective of open roots, irrealis telic perfective of open roots
- <i>X</i>	- <i>k</i> repetitive imperfective, [+I]-...- <i>k</i> repetitive imperfective, <i>yoo</i> =[+I]-...- <i>k</i> repetitive imperfective, - <i>x</i> repetitive imperfective, - <i>ch</i> repetitive imperfective, - <i>t</i> active (repeated) imperfective, - <i>x'</i> active (plural) imperfective, - <i>t'</i> active (plural) imperfective, - <i>s'</i> active (serial) imperfective, - <i>l'</i> active (serial) imperfective

Table 10.2: Distribution of stem variation suffixes across modes. For specific modes see chapter 13.

which includes the irrealis prefix *u-*. The *-h* suffix is strongly associated with irrealis except for the realis stative imperfective of the root $\sqrt{ti^h}$ ‘be, exist’. Finally, the *-’* is also associated with irrealis except for its occurrence in both the realis and irrealis forms of the *-’* active imperfective. None of these occurrences seems to demonstrate an obvious independent meaning for any of the suffixes, though further research could clarify this situation.

As discussed above, the Northern Tlingit dialect does not feature all of the stem variation distinctions that are found in the Tongass Tlingit dialect. The Northern system is thus somewhat simpler, and I will sketch it for ease of reference here. Linguists should generally attend to the full system as found in Tongass Tlingit, but language learners are better served by focusing on only the Northern stem variation system. For convenience I have given table 10.1 in modified form as table 10.3 which shows the variations that occur in Northern Tlingit only.

There are still differences between roots in Northern Tlingit, but these differences are not as complex as those in the Tongass Tlingit dialect. Thus a CVC root \sqrt{gut} ‘sg. go (by foot)’ with the *-h* stem variation suffix will result in a stem *goot*, as in the atelic perfective *woogoot* ‘he went’. An ejective-final CVC’ root \sqrt{nut} ‘swallow’ with *-h* will have the form *nóot’* as in the atelic perfective *aawanóot’* ‘he swallowed it’, with the final ejective obstruent ‘pulling up’ the tone, presumably by the spread of a laryngeal feature. Although there are no glottalized vowels in Northern Tlingit, CV’C roots still occur with high tone, thus behaving like the roots with final ejective obstruents. The CV’C root $\sqrt{ni'kw}$ ‘sick’ with *-h* then has the form *néekw* as in *woonéekw* ‘he was sick’ rather than the **neekw* that would be expected if it were a CVC root instead. Edwards (2009) only documents Northern Tlingit with language learners in mind as the primary audience, and as such represents these three closed root types as *goot~* (CVC), *nóot’~* (CVC’), and *néekw~* (CV’C) in her dictionary.

The open roots also both still vary in Northern Tlingit, though again not as much as they do in Tongass Tlingit. A CV^h root $\sqrt{ta^h}$ ‘sleep’ has a repetitive imperfective with the *-x̣* repetitive suffix which is one of the *-X* suffixes that cause apophony. This root $\sqrt{ta^h}$ with *-x̣* is realized as *teix̣* with a long apophonized vowel and low tone: *teix̣* ‘he sleeps repeatedly’. In contrast a CV root \sqrt{la} ‘flow out’ with the repetitive suffix *-x̣* gives a repetitive imperfective with a long apophonized vowel and *high* tone: *laléix̣* ‘it melts’. Edwards (2009) represents the open roots as *taa~* (CV^h) and *lóa~* (CV). Leer usually gives these as CV*’ and CV*’ respectively.

Stem Var. Suffix	Closed roots			Open roots	
	CVC	CVC'	CV'C	CV	CV ^h
-n	CVC	CVC'	CV'C	CV̇:-n	CV̇:-n*
-ẏ					
habitual -ch	CVC	CVC'	CV'C	CV̇:ẏ-ch	CV̇:ẏ-ch
otherwise				CV̇:	CV̇:
-:	CV̇:C	CV̇:C'	CV̇:C	CV̇:	CV̇:
-h					
imperative	CV:C	CV̇:C'	CV̇:C	CV̇	CV̇
otherwise				CV:	CV:
-X ∈ {-k, -x̄, -ch, -h, -t, -x', -t', -s', -l'} _{slot-3}					
two suffixes	CVC-X	CVC'-X	CV'C-X	CV̇-X-X	CV̇-X-X
one suffix				CV̇:-X	CV̇:-X
-' (open roots only)					
no other suffix				CV̇	CV̇
auxiliary or prohib.-opt. -k̄				CV̇:-...	CV̇:-...
decessive -een				CV̇:-een	CV̇:-een
other suffixes with i~ee				CV:-...	CV:-...
closed plain					
relative clause	CVC	CVC'	CVC		
otherwise	CVC	CVC'	CVC		

* Exception: CV^h stems √ni^h 'become' and √yā^h 'resemble' have *neen* and *yēin* instead of **nēen* and **yēin*.

Table 10.3: Stem variation system in Northern Tlingit

10.1. NASAL *-N*

There are two stem variation suffixes that have true surface forms, these are *-n* and *-ŷ*. The *-n* suffix is the more frequently occurring one, hence I will discuss it first. It does not seem to have an easily identified meaning, so I gloss it simply as **VAR** indicating that it is a stem variation suffix. The *-n* suffix occurs in progressives, conditionals, contingents, *-n* active imperfectives, *-n* positional imperfectives, and with one root where the imperfective forms of the themes are apparently stative.⁴ Probably the most obvious mode where this suffix occurs is the progressive, though some verbs are somewhat difficult to elicit in the progressive mode due to their semantics. However, like the conjugation prefix *na-*, the stem variation suffix *-n* should not be taken to be inherently progressive in meaning.

The effect of *-n* on closed roots is to always produce a short vowel with high tone, i.e. *CVC-n* → *CV̇C*, or just *CVC* in Tongass Tlingit.

- (94) a. *yaa anatán*
 ŷaa=a-na-∅-∅-tan-**n**
 along=3.0-NCNJ-3.S-CL[-D,∅,-I]-handle-**VAR**
 ‘he is going along carrying it’
 theme: *O-S-CL[-D,∅]-tan* (*na*; Mot) ‘S handle O (wooden?)’

With open roots however, the *-n* suffix always produces a long vowel with high tone *CV̇:*, or just a long vowel *CV:* in Tongass Tlingit.

- (95) a. *yaa anatéen*
 ŷaa=a-na-∅-∅-ti^h-**n**
 along=3.0-NCNJ-3.S-CL[-D,∅,-I]-handle-**VAR**
 ‘he is going along carrying it’
 theme: *O-S-CL[-D,∅]-ti^h* (*na*; Mot) ‘S handle O (generic)’

The *-n* suffix causes apophony in open roots where the vowel is either *a* or *u*, so that a sequence *Ca-n* becomes *Céin* and a sequence *Cu-n* becomes *Cwéin* if the consonant has a corresponding labialized form or otherwise it becomes *Céin*. All posterior⁵ consonants have a labialized form so that for example \sqrt{xa} ‘pour’ will have *xa-n* → *xwéin*. The gamma *ŷ* usually becomes *w* in this context, but because there are no roots of the form $\sqrt{\ddot{y}u}$... we do not know if a root like $\sqrt{\ddot{y}u}$ would have *ŷu-n* → *wéin* or not. The two glottal

4. For details on these and other modes mentioned here, see chapter 13.

5. Recall that ‘posterior’ means velar and further back.

consonants. (i.e. /ʔ/) and *h* are posterior consonants which may or may not have labialized counterparts *.w* and *hw*. The use of these labialized forms is apparently now idiolectal, so for some speakers the root $\sqrt{.u^h}$ 'handle clothing, dress' has a stem *.u-n* appearing as *.wéin* and for others it occurs only *.éin*. Having *.w* and *hw* as distinct phonemes is probably conservative but is now apparently marginal, and in most places a sound like [ʔ^w] only occurs as a predictable phonetic labialization before a round vowel, e.g. *ónaa* 'gun' being pronounced [ʔ^wú:na:] but being phonemically just /ʔú:na:/. The following examples illustrate a few instances of the *-n* triggered apophony in roots with *a* and *u*.

(96) a. *telic (∅ conjugation) perfective*

aawaḵáa

a-ÿu-∅-ÿa-ḵa-ÿ

3.O-PFV-3.S-CL[-D,∅,+I]-eat-VAR

'he ate it' (Leer 1976: 785/453)

theme: *O-S-CL[-D,∅]-ḵa* (∅; -*h* Act, -ḵ Rep) 'S eat O'b. *progressive imperfective*

yaa anaḵéin

ÿaa=a-na-∅-∅-ḵa-n

along=3.O-NCNJ-3.S-CL[-D,∅,+I]-eat-VAR

'he is going along eating it' (Leer 1976: 785/453)

c. *atelic (non-∅ conjugation) perfective*

aḵ náḵ wusiḥoo

aḵ náḵ ÿu-∅-si-**hu-h**1SG.PSS away PFV-3.S-CL[-D,S,+I]-**swim-VAR**

'it swam away from me' (Leer 1976: 64)

theme: *S-CL[-D,s]-hu* (*na?*; -? ?) 'S swim on surface, wade'd. *progressive imperfective*kéet yaa nas.**hwéin**kéet ÿaa=na-∅-sa-**hu-n**killerwhale ALONG=NCNJ-3.S-CL[-D,S,-I]-**swim.sfc-VAR**

'a killerwhale is swimming along' (Leer 1976: 64)

In the last form, the *sa-* classifier has its vowel deleted following the *na-* prefix as according to the usual rule documented in section 9.4.1. The *.* does not represent a glottal stop, but is instead used as a separator so that *s.h* means /sh/ rather than /ʃ/ as described in chapter 2.

For open roots the *-n* always arises as a surface segmental phoneme. In contrast, it only seems to appear in the conditional forms of a few closed roots such as \sqrt{gut} ‘sg. go by foot’. Otherwise the *-n* suffix is never seen with closed roots.

- (97) a. haat uwagút
 haa-t=u-∅-jä-gut-j̥
 hither-PNCT=PFV.TEL-3.S-CL[-D,∅,+I]-go.SG-VAR
 ‘he came here’
 theme: $P-\{t,x,dé\}$ S-CL[-D,∅]-gut (∅; -h Rep) ‘S (sg.) arrive at P’
- b. haat gútnee
 haa-t=∅-∅-∅-gut-n-ih
 hither-PNCT=ZCNJ-3.O-CL[-D,∅,-I]-go.SG-VAR-COND
 ‘if he comes here’

Leer (1991) deals with this problem by offering two allomorphs of the conditional, the *-nih* and *-ih* forms with the *-n* stem variation suffix never surfacing for closed roots and the *-nih* allomorph being lexically specified. This seems to me to be needlessly complicated. Instead I consider the occasional appearance of *-n* with closed roots to the lexicon as a purely lexical irregular phenomenon, with no unusual allomorphs necessary.

10.2. VELAR APPROXIMANT -j̥

The *-j̥* stem variation suffix is the other stem variation suffix which has a true surface form, but it is generally more obscure. This suffix is actually quite common underlyingly despite its rare surface appearance, occurring in the realis forms of *-j̥* stative imperfectives and *-j̥* extensional stative imperfectives as well as in realis telic perfectives, some potentials with open roots, most telic habituals, some hortatives, and most telic imperatives. It was probably originally a sort of stative marker given its role in these modes and likely cognates in Eyak [[FIXME: Leer p.c., but ∃cite?]]. The only place where it still obviously appears in most Tlingit today is in telic habituals of themes that have open roots. In these forms the sequence *CV-j̥-ch* is realized as *CV̇:j̥ch* in Northern Tlingit, with *j̥* being either *w* or *y* depending on rounding.

- (98) a. *perfective*
 dleey x̣waax̣áa
 dleey Ø-ÿu-x̣a-ÿa-x̣a-ÿ̥
 meat 3.0-PFV-1SG.S-CL[-D,Ø,+I]-eat-**VAR**
 ‘I ate meat’
 theme: O-S-CL[-D,Ø]-x̣a (Ø; -h Act) ‘S eat O’
- b. *telic habitual*
 dleey x̣waax̣áaych
 dleey Ø-u-Ø-x̣a-Ø-x̣a-ÿ̥-ch
 meat 3.0-IRR-ZCNJ-1SG.S-CL[-D,Ø,-I]-eat-**VAR-HAB**
 ‘I always eat meat’

There are a few roots where the -j̥ stem variation suffix seems to have been reanalyzed as part of the root’s coda. A good example of this is the root $\sqrt{.u}$ ‘own, possess’ which has the counterpart $\sqrt{.uw} \sim \sqrt{.u}$ ‘buy’ where the *w* may be originally from the stem variation suffix -j̥. The latter root behaves like a closed root when it occurs with the final *w*, taking the typical *CVC-j̥* → *CVC* form, whereas the open root instead has the form *CV-j̥* → *CVC*: that is predictable for other similar open roots. These two roots are illustrated below.

- (99) a. *-j̥ stative intransitive*
 Dzantik’i Héeni áwé aya.óo
 dzánti-k’i héen-ÿí á-wé a-Ø-Ø-ÿa-u-ÿ̥
 flounder-base river-PSS FOC-MDST 3.0-ZCNJ-3.S-CL[-D,Ø,+I]-own-**VAR**
 ‘he owns Gold Creek’ (Leer 1976: 142)
 theme: O-S-CL[-D,Ø]-u (na; -ÿ̥ Stv) ‘S own, possess O’
- b. *telic perfective also with -j̥*
 yax̣ ayawsi.úw
 ÿax̣=a-ÿa-ÿu-Ø-si-.uw-ÿ̥
 CPLV=3.0-VSFC-PFV-3.S-CL[-D,s,+I]-buy-**VAR**
 ‘he bought them all’ (Leer 1976: 151/57)
 theme: ÿax̣=O-ÿa-S-CL[-D,s]-.uw (Ø; -ÿ̥? Stv) ‘S buy O completely’

The example with $\sqrt{.u}$ demonstrates that it is a typical open root, taking the predictable form .óo in combination with the -j̥ suffix. The example with $\sqrt{.uw}$ shows that it is a closed root, taking the predictable form .úw in combination with the -j̥ suffix. Thus although these two roots were probably identical originally, the latter is now acting like a typical closed root rather

than an open one, and the -j̄ has been reanalyzed as *w* in the coda of the root rather than an independent suffix, with a new -j̄ added through the stem variation system.

10.3. LONG -ɪ AND CV'C ROOTS

The other three stem variation suffixes -ɪ, -h, and -' are essentially notional in that they are never realized as segments in most Tlingit dialects. The -ɪ suffix (Leer's -·) is realized mostly as a long vowel in Tongass Tlingit and always as a long vowel with high tone in Northern Tlingit. It occurs in the realis forms of the -ɪ active, -ɪ positional, and -ɪ stative imperfectives, in the realizational, the realis future, the admonitive, and the consecutive. Its meaning is obscure, occurring in both realis and irrealis (the admonitive mode is irrealis with *u-*) conjugations, as well as in active, stative, and positional imperfectives.

Although in Northern Tlingit the -ɪ stem variation suffix always results in long vowels with high tone, in Tongass Tlingit there is one exception which is crucial to the division between the three types of closed roots. Both CVC and CVC' roots in Tongass Tlingit have the form $CVC^{(l)}-ɪ \rightarrow CV:C^{(l)}$, in parallel with the Northern Tlingit form $CVC^{(l)}-ɪ \rightarrow C\acute{V}:C^{(l)}$. But CV'C roots in Tongass Tlingit have the form $CV'C-ɪ \rightarrow CV'C$ instead, whereas Northern Tlingit has $CV'C-ɪ \rightarrow C\acute{V}:C$.

The following examples illustrate this difference by giving realis future conjugations of the same verb themes in the two dialects (from Leer 1991: 163–164). The first pair below show a CVC root $\sqrt{.at}$ 'handle pl.', where the Tongass form has the long vowel *aa* in the stem and the Northern form has the long high-tone vowel *áa* in the stem.

- (100) a. *Tongass*
 keh kw̄k̄ala.aat
 keh=∅-ga-w-ga-x̄a-la-.at-ɪ
 up=3.O-GCNJ-IRR-GMOD-1SG.S-CL[-D,l,-I]-handle.PL-VAR
 'I will pick them up'
 theme: *keh=O-S-CL[-D,l]-.at* (∅; -ch Act) 'S pick up O (pl.)'

b. *Northern*

kei kwk̄ala.áat

kei=∅-ga-w-ga-x̄a-la-.at-ʔ

up=3.0-GCNJ-IRR-GMOD-1SG.S-CL[-D,l,-I]-handle.PL-VAR

'I will pick them up'

theme: *kei=O-S-CL[-D,l]-.at* (∅; -ch Act) 'S pick up O (pl.)'

The next pair show a CV'C root $\sqrt{sha't}$ 'handle quickly'. The Tongass Tlingit form has the glottalized vowel *a'* in the stem, which is different from the previous example. In contrast the Northern Tlingit form has the long high-tone vowel *áa* in the stem, just as in the previous example.

(101) a. *Tongass*

keh kwk̄asha't

keh=∅-ga-w-ga-x̄a-∅-sha't-ʔ

up=3.0-GCNJ-IRR-GMOD-1SG.S-CL[-D,∅,-I]-handle.quickly-VAR

'I will snatch it up'

theme: *keh=O-S-CL[-D,∅]-sha't* (∅; -ch Act) 'S pick up O quickly'b. *kei kwk̄asháat*

kei=∅-ga-w-ga-x̄a-∅-sha't-ʔ

up=3.0-GCNJ-IRR-GMOD-1SG.S-CL[-D,∅,-I]-handle.quickly-VAR

'I will snatch it up'

theme: *kei=O-S-CL[-D,∅]-sha't* (∅; -ch Act) 'S pick up O quickly'

Both of these roots, $\sqrt{.at}$ and $\sqrt{sha't}$, have short vowels in the perfective: Tongass *keh x̄wli.at* and Northern *kei x̄wli.áat* 'I picked them up', and Tongass *keh x̄wahshat* and Northern *kei x̄waashát* 'I snatched it up'. This makes it clear that the glottalization shown in the root $\sqrt{sha't}$ is not present in every stem, but is instead a feature of the root that appears when the root occurs with the *-h* stem variation suffix.

For Northern Tlingit the distinction between CVC' roots and CV'C roots is irrelevant at least with *-h* as shown above, but for Tongass this distinction is significant for stem variation. There is as far as I am aware no other justification for treating CV'C roots separately, so this occurrence of ' with -ʔ stem variation is the precise method for distinguishing CV'C roots from the other types. Obviously Edwards (2009) does not consider this root type at all in her treatment of stem variation since there is no distinction in Northern Tlingit. I am unaware if the Southern Tlingit dialects maintain this distinction.

10.4. FADING *-h* AND CVC ROOTS

The fading suffix *-h* is another mostly notional stem variation suffix. It is associated with two non-stative imperfective types and one extensional stative imperfective as well as with atelic perfectives, potentials, most imperatives, and many different irrealis forms. It has a few different realizations in all the dialects. The one realization that gives it its name is distinct in both Tongass and Northern Tlingit. This is the effect on CVC roots in contrast with CVC' and CV'C roots.

For Northern Tlingit the CVC' roots have the form $CVC'-h \rightarrow CV':C$, and CV'C roots similarly have the form $CV'C-h \rightarrow CV':C$. In contrast, unmarked CVC roots have a different form $CVC-h \rightarrow CV:C$ where the result has a long vowel but low tone rather than high tone.

Tongass Tlingit is the reason why this stem variation is designated with a fading vowel symbol, which is Leer's ' or ` and which is *-h* in my representation. CVC' roots and CV'C roots with *-h* have an identical surface form of stem vowels in a manner similar to Northern Tlingit, thus $CV'C-h \rightarrow CV'C$ and $CVC'-h \rightarrow CV'C'$, where the resulting stem for both has a glottalized vowel. In contrast, CVC roots have a fading vowel rather than a glottalized vowel, so $CVC-h \rightarrow CVhC$.

Thus both Tongass and Northern Tlingit demonstrate the necessity for a division of closed roots with CVC on the one hand and CVC' and CV'C on the other. As noted earlier, Northern Tlingit does not make a distinction between CVC' roots and CV'C roots so these two classes can be lumped together in opposition to CVC roots. In contrast, Tongass maintains a distinction between all three classes.

Open roots with the *-h* stem variation suffix are realized in two ways. Nearly all modes have open roots with *-h* arising as CV' in Northern Tlingit or CV in Tongass Tlingit. In imperatives, where *-h* occurs in some telic imperatives and all atelic imperatives, open roots with *-h* are instead found with the stem shapes CVh with a fading vowel in Tongass Tlingit and $CV:$ with a long vowel and low tone in Northern Tlingit.

10.5. GLOTTALIZATION -' AND OPEN ROOTS

The glottalization stem variation suffix -' is restricted to open roots. It surfaces in Tongass Tlingit when a root occurs with a following decessive suffix

-ihn_T, so that the shape is CV'yihn.

- (102) a. has gax̣ sati
 has=gax̣-∅-∅-sa-ti-'
 PL=cry-ZCNJ-3.S-CL[-D,S,-I]-handle-**VAR**
 'they are crying' (Leer 1991: 174)
- b. has gax̣ sati'yihn
 has=gax̣-∅-∅-sa-ti-'-ihn
 PL=cry-ZCNJ-3.S-CL[-D,S,-I]-handle-**VAR-DEC**
 'they had been crying' (Leer 1991: 174)

In other dialects the -' stem variation suffix is purely notional since glotalized vowels are not phonemic. The following examples of Northern Tlingit demonstrate this difference.

- (103) a. has gax̣ satí
 has=gax̣-∅-∅-sa-ti-'
 PL=cry-ZCNJ-3.S-CL[-D,S,-I]-handle-**VAR**
 'they are crying'
- b. has gax̣ satéeyeen
 has=gax̣-∅-∅-sa-ti-'-éen
 PL=cry-ZCNJ-3.S-CL[-D,S,-I]-handle-**VAR-DEC**
 'they had been crying'
- c. xax̣á
 ∅-∅-x̣a-∅-x̣a-'
 3.0-ZCNJ-1SG.S-CL[-D,∅,-I]-eat-**VAR**
 'I eat it'
- d. xax̣áayeen
 ∅-∅-x̣a-∅-x̣a-'-éen
 3.0-ZCNJ-1SG.S-CL[-D,∅,-I]-eat-**VAR-DEC**
 'I had been eating it'

10.6. DURATION SUFFIXES -X

The duration suffixes are a set of suffixes in slot -3 which all share the same stem variation pattern. The suffixes are the three repetitive suffixes -k, -x̣, and -ch which are used for various repetitive imperfectives depending on a

theme's conjugation class, and the suffixes *-h*, *-t*, *-x'*, *-t'*, *-s'*, and *-l'* which are all derivational suffixes that provide either secondary imperfectives or new themes. They are represented by the abstract stem variation suffix *-X* where *X* stands for an obstruent.

All the duration suffixes have the same stem variation, with closed roots arising as CVC in Tongass Tlingit and CVC̣ in Northern and Southern Tlingit. Open roots behave differently depending on whether they occur with one suffix (most of the duration suffixes) or with two suffixes. With one suffix the vowel of an open root will undergo apophony similar to that found with the *-n* stem variation suffix, but with CV roots occurring as long with high tone CṼ: in Northern and Southern Tlingit and simply long CṼ: in Tongass Tlingit, and with CV^h roots occurring as long with low tone CṼ: in Northern and Southern or a fading vowel CṼ^h in Tongass Tlingit. With two suffixes⁶ the open roots do not undergo apophony, instead occurring with short vowels in all dialects and with high tone in Northern and Southern Tlingit. The effect is that two duration suffixes makes the root surface as though it were a closed root rather than an open one.

Since each of the duration suffixes has a distinct meaning and a distinct distribution across themes, I will discuss each separately below.

10.6.1. REPETITIVE -K SUFFIX

The *-k* suffix denotes a “series of actions involving repeated contact with a back-and-forth motion” (Leer 1991: 245). In combination with [+I] in the classifier, it denotes a “series of back and forth actions”, with the pair together occurring “only with a few themes” (Leer 1991: 245). This suffix also occurs with the *yoo=[+I]-...-k* repetitive and active imperfectives which are discussed in section 13.1.

The *-k* suffix has a rounded form predictably after roots which have the round vowel *u* or a labialized consonant *C^w*. Note that this occurs regardless of whether the root is open or closed, meaning that for closed roots the labialization spreads across the coda even if the coda consonant cannot be labialized itself.

6. Only two pairs of duration suffixes occur together, *-kw-t* and *ḵw-x'*. For these see sections 10.6.1 and 10.6.2 respectively.

- (104) a. *yoo*=[+I]-...-*k* *repetitive imperfective*
yoo yagútkw
yoo=∅-∅-ÿa-gut-k
 ALT=ZCNJ-3.S-CL[-D,∅,+I]-GO.SG-REP
 ‘he goes repeatedly’ (Story 1966: 57)
 theme: *S-CL[-D,∅]-gut* (*na*; *yoo*=[+I]-...-*k* Rep Mot) ‘S (sg.) go’

Rounding applies before the vowel undergoes apophony, as the following form demonstrates. This root \sqrt{gu} irregularly becomes *géikw* instead of the expected **gwéikw* (Leer 1991: 153), but this has no effect on the rounding of the suffix. In other modes which have apophony the more usual form occurs.

- (105) a. *atelic perfective*
s’ísaa teen aax̣ x̣waligoo
s’ísaa teen á-dáx̣ ∅-ÿu-x̣a-li-gu-h
 cloth-INSTR 3N-ABL 3.0-PFV-1SG.S-CL[-D,l,+I]-wipe-VAR
 ‘I wiped it off with a cloth’ (Story & Naish 1973: 248)
 theme: *O-S-CL[-D,l]-gu* (*ga*; -*k* Act) ‘S wipe O’
- b. -*k* *active imperfective*
algéikw
a-∅-∅-la-gu-k
 3.0-ZCNJ-3.S-CL[-D,l,-I]-wipe-REP
 ‘he’s wiping it’
- c. *progressive imperfective*
t’áa ká yaa analgwéin
t’áa ká ÿaa=a-na-∅-la-gu-n
 floor HSFC along=3.0-NCNJ-3.S-CL[-D,l,-I]-wipe-VAR
 ‘he’s going along wiping the floor’ (Story & Naish 1973: 248)

There are also a few verb roots where the -*k* suffix occurs in its rounded form even though there does not appear to be a phonological justification. These are treated as lexicalized.

- (106) a. *yoo yadidlákw*
yoo=ÿa-∅-∅-di-dlak-k
 ALT=VSFC-ZCNJ-3.S-CL[+D,∅,-I]-gain-REP
 ‘he keeps making money’ (Story 1966: 104)
 theme: *ÿa-S-CL[+D,∅]-dlak* (*na*; -? Act; -*kw* Rep) ‘S make money’

In combination with the *-t* suffix (see section 10.6.4) the *-k* suffix also occurs in its rounded form. This combination only occurs in motion themes with open roots which are derived to produce *-k* multipositional statives [[FIXME: section ??]] as documented by Leer (1991: 153, 328), thus sequences of *-kw-t*. For closed roots only the ordinary *-k* suffix occurs, with predictable rounding as appropriate.

(107) a. *multipositional stative with closed root*

á_{x̣} nali.átk
 á-_{x̣} Ø-na-li-.at-k
 3N-PERT 3.O-NCNJ-CL[-D,Ø,+I]-go.PL-REP-REP
 ‘they lie here and there along it’ (Leer 1991: 329)
 theme: *O-CL[-D,l]-at* (*na*; *-k* MPos Mot) ‘O (inanim.) lie multiply along P’

b. *multipositional stative with open root*

á_{x̣} naadákwt
 á-_{x̣} Ø-na-*ya*-da-k-t
 3N-PERT 3.O-NCNJ-CL[-D,Ø,+I]-flow-REP-REP
 ‘they (water bodies) lie here and there along it’ (Leer 1991: 328)
 theme: *P-x̣ O-CL[-D,Ø]-da* (*na*; *-k* MPos Mot) ‘O (water) lie multiply along P’

10.6.2. REPETITIVE -x̣ SUFFIX

The *-x̣* suffix denotes an “action leading to transformation from one state to another” (Leer 1991: 245). It is the usual suffix for repetitive imperfectives of causatives as described in section 8.1.

[[FIXME: boiling, steaming, soaking, freezing, thawing, removing contents, shaping, growing]]

Story (1966: 57, 104) calls this suffix the ‘habitual’ suffix.

(108) *active imperfective with -x̣*

cháas’ dush.útl_{x̣}
 cháas’ Ø-Ø-du-sha-.utl-_{x̣}
 humpy 3.O-ZCNJ-INDH.S-CL[-D,sh,-I]-boil-REP
 ‘people boil humpies’⁷ (Story & Naish 1973: 33)
 theme: *O-S-CL[-D,sh]-.utl* (?; *-x̣* Act) ‘S boil O (fish)’

7. ‘Humpy salmon’, also known as ‘pink salmon’ locally, are *Oncorhynchus gorbuscha* (Walbaum 1792).

- (109) *active imperfective with -x̄*
 kaxwéix̄ kadulnálx̄
 kaxwéix̄ Ø-ka-Ø-du-la-nal-x̄
 highbush.cranberry 3.0-HSFC-INDH.S-CL[-D,l,-1]-steam-VAR
 ‘people steam highbush cranberries’⁸ (Story & Naish 1973: 211)
 theme: *O-ka-S-CL[-D,l]-nal* (?; -x̄ Act) ‘S steam O (esp. berries)’

10.6.3. REPETITIVE -CH SUFFIX

The *-ch* suffix is a repetitive suffix which is limited to a few themes. It occurs in the repetitive imperfectives of a small number of \emptyset -conjugation class motion derivations with various directional preverbs, for which see 12.1.1. It also occurs in the repetitive imperfectives of the *ga*- and *ga*-conjugation class motion derivations as discussed in section 12.1.2.

Story (1966: 57, 103) treats this suffix as identical to the habitual *-ch* suffix, which in her terms is the ‘frequentative’. Leer (1991: ??) however distinguishes the *-ch* suffix of repetitive imperfectives from the *-ch* suffix of habituals. He puts the habitual suffix together with the conditional *-nee* and contingent *-ín* suffixes, and puts the repetitive *-ch* suffix together with the other duration suffixes that cause stem variation. Since the *-j̄* suffix actually surfaces with open roots in habituals, the habitual *-ch* suffix is not directly associated with stem variation, in contrast with the repetitive *-ch* suffix. An additional distinction between the two is that the repetitive *-ch* suffix causes apophony like the other *-X* duration suffixes whereas the habitual *-ch* suffix does not cause apophony.

10.6.4. REPETITIVE -T SUFFIX

The *-t* suffix denotes a “series of discrete actions involving repeated contact which is instantaneous and usually violent” (Leer 1991: 245). [[FIXME: hitting, shooting, poking, cutting to pieces]]

8. The highbush cranberry is *Viburnum trilobum* (Marshall), also treated as *V. opulus* subsp. *trilobum* ((Marshall) Clausen).

10.6.5. PLURAL -X' SUFFIX

The -x' suffix is obviously related to the nominal plural suffix of the same shape. On verbs this suffix denotes an "action involving the movement or transformation of multiple discrete entities" (Leer 1991: 245).

10.6.6. PLURAL -T' SUFFIX

The -t' suffix is another plural-like suffix found on some imperfectives. As (Leer 1991: 245) describes it, the -t' suffix "denotes [an] action leading to [the] destruction of discrete multiple entities". [[FIXME: burn, die]]

10.6.7. SERIAL -S' SUFFIX

The -s' suffix denotes a "series of actions involving repeated contact with [a] cumulative result" (Leer 1991: 245).

[[FIXME: sew, rub, feel, shake, knock, encourage, advise]]

(110) a. *telic perfective*

wudiwóo

ÿu-Ø-di-wu-ÿ

PFV-3.S-CL[+D,Ø,+I]-lunch-VAR

'he took lunch along'

theme: S-CL[+D,Ø]-wu (Ø; -s' Act) 'S take along lunch'

b. *imperfective with -s'*

dawéis'

Ø-Ø-da-wu-s'

ZCNJ-3.S-CL[+D,Ø,-I]-lunch-SER

'he takes lunch along'

c. *noun*

wóow daakéit

wóow daa-ká-át

lunch around-HSFC-thing

'lunch container'

- (111) a. *future*
 l'oowú k̄élaa kookalanéis'
 l'oow-ÿí k̄élaa Ø-ka-ga-w-ga-xa-la-nes'-:
 wood-PSS platter 3.0-HSFC-GCNJ-IRR-GMOD-1SG.S-CL[-D,l,-I]-oil-VAR
 'I'm going to oil the wooden platter' (Story & Naish 1973: 141)
 theme: *O-ka-S-CL[-D,Ø]-nes'* (Ø; -? Act) 'S oil O'
- b. *future*
 at doogú kookalanáa
 at dook-ÿú Ø-ka-ga-w-ga-xa-la-na-:
 INDH.PSS skin-PSS 3.0-HSFC-GCNJ-GMOD-1SG.S-CL[-D,l,-I]-oil-VAR
 'I'm going to oil the (thing's) skin' (Story & Naish 1973: 141)
 theme: *O-ka-S-CL[-D,Ø]-na* (Ø; -s' Act) 'S oil O'
- c. *imperfective with -s'*
 akalanehs'_T
 a-ka-Ø-la-na-s'
 3.0-HSFC-3.S-CL[-D,l,-I]-oil-SER
 'he's oiling it' (Leer 1975: 900)
- d. *independent noun*
 nehs'_T
 neis'_N
 'oil, liniment' (Leer 1975: 902)
- e. *noun compound*
 yaneis'í
 ÿa-neis'-ÿí
 face-oil-PSS
 'deer tallow', used on face (Leer 1975: 902)

10.6.8. SERIAL -L' SUFFIX

The -l' suffix is reported as occurring with only one theme: *O-ka-S-CL[-D,l]-xakw* (Ø; -l' Act) 'S grind O'. The -l' suffix is probably a variant of -s' but this has yet to be explored. It only occurs in the imperfective form of this theme.

- (112) a. *active imperfective with -l'*
 dleey akłaxákwł'
 dleey a-ka-∅-∅-la-xakw-ł'
 meat 3.0-HSFC-ZCNJ-3.S-CL[-D,∅,-I]-grind-SER
 'he is grinding meat' (Story & Naish 1973: 102)
 theme: *O-ka-S-CL[-D,l]-xakw (∅; -l' Act) 'S grind O'*
- b. *perfective*
 akawlixákw
 a-ka-ÿu-∅-li-xakw-ÿ
 3.0-HSFC-PFV-3.S-CL[-D,l,+I]-grind-VAR
 'he ground it' (Leer 1976: 616/310)

This particular root has been nominalized twice, producing two unique nouns. One is *kaxágwaa* 'pestle, grinder' which is formed with the instrumentalizing suffix *-aa*, compare *t'áax'aa* 'biter, mosquito' from $\sqrt{t'ax}$ 'bite'. The other is the more opaque *xákwł'ee* 'soapberry'⁹ which is apparently derived from the imperfective form of an unattested theme **O-S-CL[-D,l]-xakw (∅; -l' Act) 'S grind O'* since it includes the *-l'* suffix and lacks *ka-*.

The somewhat obscure word *yadzánł'* 'bumpy, ugly (pock-marked?) face' may also include the *-l'* suffix. This is not however a verb, as can be seen in the following example where it is possessed like an ordinary alienable noun.

- (113) *imperative*
 du yadzánł'i latín
 du ÿá-dzánł'-ÿí ∅-∅-∅-la-tin-ÿ
 3H.PSS face-??-PSS 3.0-ZCNJ-2SG.S-CL[-D,l,-I]-see-VAR
 'look at his ugly face'
 theme: *O-S-CL[-D,l]-tin (∅; -n Act) 'S look at, see O'*

It is unclear what *dzánł'* alone means, but if *-l'* were indeed a separate suffix then we could posit the underlying root \sqrt{dzan} . What semantic contribution *-l'* would have in this case is unknown. This may be related to *dzánti* 'flounder',¹⁰ but if so then the relationship is not obvious.

9. Also known as 'Canada buffaloberry', 'foamberry', or 'soopolallie' elsewhere, this is *Shepherdia canadensis* (L.) Nutt. 1818.

10. Two species *Lepidopsetta bilineata* Ayres 1855, and *L. polyxystra* Orr & Matarese 2000.

10.7. CLOSED ROOTS WITH NO SUFFIX

[[FIXME: Not invariable roots. I only know these when they occur in relative clauses, but Leer (1991) implies in various places that variable closed roots can occur without stem variation or other suffixes. I don't think that this applies to $-\emptyset$ relatives because these normally seem to have some sort of stem variation, e.g. *aadé góot káa* 'the man who goes there'. Need to learn more about this.]]

10.8. INVARIABLE ROOTS

Invariable roots do not exhibit stem variation by definition. This causes an analytical problem for stem variation because it is then impossible to say what stem variation suffixes occur with a particular root in any modes that have more than one possible stem variation suffix.

With invariable roots it is impossible to say which particular imperfective type is used for a given theme. Although the general theme category can be determined from semantics, the specific stem variation cannot.

- (114) k'idéin ashigóok kakúxaa
 k'e-déin a- \emptyset - \emptyset -shi-góok* -{ỵ, :}? kakúxaa
 good-ADV 3.0-ZCNJ-3.S-CL[-D,sh,+I]-**know.how**-VAR? bailer
 layeix̣
 \emptyset - \emptyset - \emptyset -la-yex̣-h
 3.0-ZCNJ-3.S-CL[-D,l,-I]-make-VAR
 'he knows how to build bailers well' (Edwards 2009: 92)
 theme: *O-S-CL[-D,sh]-góok** (*ga*; Stv) 'S know, learn how to do O'
 theme: *O-S-CL[-D,l]-yex̣ (θ; -h Act)* 'S make O'

In the example above, the verb *ashigóok* is clearly an imperfective since it has no distinct mode prefixes. It also has [+I] in the classifier, meaning that it cannot be any of the active, repetitive, positional, or progressive imperfectives.¹¹ It must then be a stative imperfective, but whether it is a $-\text{:}$ stative or a $-\text{ỵ}$ stative cannot be determined since in this mode these two suffixes never surface hence they can only be distinguished by changes in the root vowel. Because of this peculiar analytical problem, invariable roots are assigned their own type of imperfectives, namely the stative with invariable

11. The $yoo=CL[+I]-\dots-k$ active and $yoo=CL[+I]-\dots-k$ repetitive actually have [+I], but the lack of either $yoo=$ or $-k$ in the imperfective obviously excludes these from consideration.

root type. [[FIXME: Check with Jeff to ensure that there aren't any non-stative imperfectives with invariable roots. He probably said this in his dissertation somewhere.]] Thus the previous example is more normally segmented as $a-\emptyset-\emptyset$ -*shi-góok*^x with no stem variation suffix. It would be analytically reasonable to add a zero stem variation suffix $-\emptyset$ to express this particular type of stem non-variation, but adding more zero morphology to Tlingit's already abundant inventory of null morphemes is not particularly advisable.

Although invariable roots do not show stem variation in their imperfective forms, this does not mean that they never occur with stem variation suffixes. Those stem variation suffixes which have surface forms can still be found with invariable roots, it is just that the root does not form the stem expected to occur with the suffix.

- (115) *conditional mode with invariable root*
 sh kanxalneeknee
 sh-ka-na-xa-l-neek^x-n-ee
 RFLX.O-HSFC-NCNJ-1SG.S-CL[+D,l,-I]-tell-**VAR**-COND
 'if I tell a story' (Leer 1991: 211)
 theme: *sh-ka-S-CL[+D,l]-neek*^x (*na*; Act) 'S tell a story'

In the example above, the verb root \sqrt{neek} ^x is invariable, hence it does not exhibit stem variation. Yet the conditional mode (subsection 13.9) requires the $-n$ stem variation suffix which surfaces in this form. Though the root is invariable and hence the stem maintains its low tone and long vowel, the stem variation suffix nonetheless appears. Thus it is not the case that stem variation suffixes never occur with invariable roots, but rather the non-surfacing stem variation suffixes are not seen occurring with invariable roots. It is thus analytically possible that a particular theme based on an invariable root may have a stem variation suffix in its imperfective form, but which particular suffix occurs can never be determined.

11 Root suppletion

Root suppletion is the replacement of one verb root by another in a paradigm of verb conjugations. Root suppletion is a purely lexical phenomenon in that suppletive pairs are specified in the lexicon and cannot be otherwise predicted. Although this phenomenon might better be termed ‘root alternation’ since it involves an alternation between two lexical entries dependent on some other grammatical feature, I have maintained the term ‘suppletion’ since there are already a number of other situations in Tlingit described as ‘alternations’.

Root suppletion is found for plurals and for noun classification, each of which is dealt with separately below. The most significant semantic domains where plural root suppletion occurs are in motion verbs and handling verbs. Most of the basic motion verbs have suppletion for plural subjects. The noun classification system uses root suppletion of handling verb roots for various classes of nouns.

11.1. ROOT SUPPLETION FOR NUMBER

A number of verb themes show suppletion of the root depending on number. This phenomenon is essentially independent of number marking in pronominals, the *has=* ~ *s-* plural prefix, or the plural object suffixes. The most frequent root suppletion for number in speech is the suppletion of the root \sqrt{gut} ‘sg. go by foot’ with $\sqrt{.at}$ ‘pl. go by foot’. The following two examples demonstrate this phenomenon with telic perfectives and third person subjects.¹

1. The preverb *neil=* is described by Leer (1991: 137, 298–299) as having a zero punctual suffix instead of *-t*, but I have encountered it with a surfaced suffix as well.

- (116) a. neilt uwagút
 neil-t=u-Ø-ÿa-gut-ÿ
 home-PNCT=PFV.TEL-3.S-CL[-D,Ø,+I]-go.SG-VAR
 ‘he got home’
 theme: $P\{-t, \underline{x}, dé\} S\text{-CL}[-D, \emptyset]\text{-gut} (\emptyset; \text{Mot}, -h \text{ Rep})$ ‘S (sg.) arrive at P by foot’
- b. neilt **has** uwa.át
 neil-t=**has**=u-Ø-ÿa-.at-ÿ
 home-PNCT=**PL**=PFV.TEL-3.S-CL[-D,Ø,+I]-go.PL-VAR
 ‘they got home’
 theme: $P\{-t, \underline{x}, dé\} S\text{-CL}[-D, \emptyset]\text{-at} (\emptyset; \text{Mot}, -h \text{ Rep})$ ‘S (pl.) arrive at P by foot’

Note the inclusion of the plural *has=* in addition to the plural meaning that is supplied by the verb root. This duplicate specification of plurality also occurs with pronominals that are inherently plural, as the following pair of telic perfectives shows.

- (117) a. shgóont **x**waagút
 shgóon-t ÿu-**x**a-ÿa-gut-ÿ
 school-PNCT PFV-**1SG.S**-CL[-D,Ø,+I]-go.SG-VAR
 ‘I got to school’
 theme: $P\{-t, \underline{x}, dé\} S\text{-CL}[-D, \emptyset]\text{-gut} (na; \text{Mot}, -h \text{ Rep})$ ‘S (sg.) arrive at P by foot’
- b. shgóont wutuwa.át
 shgóon-t ÿu-**tu**-ÿa-.at-ÿ
 school-PNCT PFV-**1PL.S**-CL[-D,Ø,+I]-go.PL-VAR
 ‘we went toward school’
 theme: $P\{-t, \underline{x}, dé\} S\text{-CL}[-D, \emptyset]\text{-gut} (na; \text{Mot}, -h \text{ Rep})$ ‘S (pl.) arrive at P by foot’

It is ungrammatical to use a plural pronominal or other plural marking with a singular root and vice versa.

- (118) a. *shgóont **x**waa.át
 shgóon-t ÿu-**x**a-ÿa-.at-ÿ
 school-PNCT PFV-**1SG.S**-CL[-D,Ø,+I]-go.PL-VAR
- b. *shgóont wutuwagoot
 shgóon-t ÿu-tu-ÿa-gut-ÿ
 school-PNCT PFV-**1PL.S**-CL[-D,Ø,+I]-go.SG-VAR

This phenomenon is purely lexical. If we switch to a root that describes some other kind of locomotion, in this case \sqrt{kux} ‘travel by boat or other vehicle’, we see that suppletion does not occur.

- (119) a. Jónodé yaa **n̄xakúx̄**
 Jónono-dé yaa=na-x̄a-Ø-k̄ux̄-n
 Juneau-ALL along=NCNJ-1SG.S-CL[-D,Ø,-I]-go.boat-VAR
 ‘I’m going to Juneau by boat’ (Story & Naish 1973: 233)
 theme: *P-dé S-CL[-D,Ø]-k̄ux̄* (*na*; -? Mot) ‘S go toward P by boat, vehicle’
- b. haat wutuwa**kúx̄**
 haa-t=ÿu-tu-ÿa-k̄ux̄-ÿ
 hither-PNCT=PFV-1PL.S-CL[-D,Ø,+I]-go.boat-VAR
 ‘we came by boat’ (Story & Naish 1973: 52)
 theme: *P-{t,x,dé} S-CL[-D,Ø]-k̄ux̄* (Ø; -h Rep) ‘S arrive at P by boat, vehicle’

There is in fact a root \sqrt{gu} that describes what might be construed as plural locomotion of boats, but it actually refers to the group of boats themselves rather than the people travelling in them. The verb denotes the motion of a group of things travelling along the surface of water, as for example a school of killerwhales or a herd of seals. It is metaphorically extended to a fleet of boats, and is thus not a purely plural counterpart of \sqrt{kux} . The referent is a unit rather than a plurality, as can be seen in the following examples.

- (120) a. kéet yaawagoo
 kéet Ø-ÿa-Ø-ÿa-gu-h
 killerwhale 3.S-VSFC-ZCNJ-CL[-D,Ø,+I]-school-VAR
 ‘a school of killerwhales is swimming’ (Story & Naish 1973: 221)
- b. yaakw haadé yakwgagóo
 ÿaakw haa-dé=Ø-ÿa-ga-w-ga-Ø-gu-ÿ
 boat hither-ALL=3.S-VSFC-GCNJ-IRR-GMOD-CL[-D,Ø,-I]-school-VAR
 ‘the boats will be coming here’ (Story & Naish 1973: 233)

Note also in the above examples that the subject NP is not marked for plurality (no plural *-x’* suffix) and the third person subject pronominal does not have an accompanying *has=* plural proclitic. This indicates that plurality of killerwhales or boats in these examples is not a grammatical feature. It is likely that the nouns here refer to the type of school and the verb provides the semantic concept of a group. Nouns in Tlingit are generally unspecified for number rather than default singular, and though there are a few nouns that are inherently plural these particular nouns are not.

11.2. ROOT SUPPLETION FOR NOUN CLASS

Another type of root suppletion is part of the noun classification system. This will be dealt with as a full system in chapter 24, here I will only demonstrate the part interacting with lexical selection of roots. Noun classification is triggered by the shape or composition of the referent of nouns, so that the verb reflects the object noun's physical properties in the real world. Similar systems have been extensively documented in Athabaskan languages [[FIXME: cite a few]]. The noun classification system in Tlingit is fairly complicated and not entirely documented, but there are several of the more obvious categories that are well understood.

The following examples, selected from a longer list given by Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer (2002: 60–62), demonstrate a few of the noun classification categories for verbs of handling. These themes represent only a small sampling of the whole system, chosen to demonstrate just the portion of the system that depends on root suppletion. All the forms here are telic imperatives with the \emptyset -conjugation class prefix (see chapters 12 and 13).

(121) a. *generic object*

haat tí	wé	x'úx'!
haa-t= \emptyset - \emptyset - \emptyset - \emptyset - ti -h	wé	x'úx'
hither-PNCT=3.0-ZCNJ-2SG.S-CL[-D, \emptyset , -I]- handle -VAR	MDST	book
'bring that book here!'		

b. *empty container*

haat tán	wé	gúx'aa!
haa-t= \emptyset - \emptyset - \emptyset - \emptyset - tan -h	wé	gúx'aa
hither-PNCT=3.0-ZCNJ-2SG.S-CL[-D, \emptyset , -I]- handle -VAR	MDST	cup
'bring that (empty) cup here!'		

c. *filled container*

haat sa. ín	wé	gúx'aa!
haa-t= \emptyset - \emptyset - \emptyset -sa- in -h	wé	gúx'aa
hither-PNCT=3.0-ZCNJ-2SG.S-CL[-D,S, -I]- handle -VAR	MDST	cup
'bring that (filled) cup here!'		

d. *animate holdable object*

haat sanú	wé	dóosh!
haa-t= \emptyset - \emptyset - \emptyset -sa- nu -h	wé	dóosh
hither-PNCT=3.0-ZCNJ-2SG.S-CL[-D,S, +I]- handle -VAR	MDST	cat
'bring that cat here!'		

e. *fabric object*

haat áx	wé jigwéinaa !
haa-t=∅-∅-∅-∅- áx -h	wé ji-gwéinaa
hither-PNCT=3.0-ZCNJ-3.S-CL[-D,∅,-I]- handle -VAR MDST hand-wiper	
'bring that hand towel here!'	

For simplicity's sake I have glossed the roots all as 'handle' though each has its own distinct meaning. The occurrence of *s* versus \emptyset in the S component of the classifier is not important here, though other portions of the noun classification system do depend on alternations of the S component (see section 9.2 and chapter 24). Note how in particular the classificatory difference between the empty container and filled container examples is represented only in the verb, with the object NP in both examples being just *gúx'aa* 'cup'. As with the root suppletion for plurality described earlier, this classificatory root suppletion is a lexical phenomenon and cannot be predicted from syntax alone. Indeed, the fact that the same noun phrase can occur with different verb themes and give perceptively different meanings means that it is not even a lexical phenomenon in some sense, but instead a semantic phenomenon dependent on largely unpredictable encyclopedic knowledge and experiential reasoning.

[[FIXME: Other flavours of suppletion?]]

12 Conjugation class

The CONJUGATION CLASS of a theme is defined by its use of one of the four CONJUGATION PREFIXES \emptyset -, *na*-, *ga*-, and *ga*- in certain modes such as the potential and conditional. Every theme belongs to one of the four conjugation classes, except for motion themes which have no inherent conjugation class but instead are derived into any of the four depending on telicity and direction or manner of movement. This unique property of motion themes is treated in subsection 12.1.

Leer (1991: 203) calls the conjugation prefixes ‘aspect prefixes’ and describes them as markers of ‘lexical aspect’ (Leer 1991: 72), which is essentially the division between \emptyset -marked ‘telicity’ on the one hand and *na*-, *ga*-, or *ga*-marked ‘atelicity’ on the other. Telicity should be taken loosely here, it was coined by Leer based on the semantics of motion verbs when derived into the \emptyset -conjugation class versus the other classes. He argues that telicity is inherent in all \emptyset -conjugation class verbs, regardless of whether they are motion verbs or not, and that all non- \emptyset -conjugation verbs are atelic. This is rather difficult to support given the variety of verbs in each of the categories, so that one must stretch the conventional definition of telicity quite far to meet Leer’s assertions. But since Leer considers the cross-linguistic status of telicity to be irrelevant to the analysis of Tlingit, in his usage the term ‘telic’ can be taken as basically equivalent to ‘ \emptyset -conjugation’. I waffle between using the more explicit term and continuing his usage, but it should always be kept in mind that ‘telic’ and ‘atelic’ are essentially alternative labels for conjugation classes and not necessarily indicative of the fixed point of a situation.

Aside from telicity, in Leer’s analysis the term ‘lexical aspect’ also includes a verb’s theme category, such as active or stative, which is in fact largely independent of the conjugation class. Again this has relatively little to do with the conventional concept of aspect; rather it is closer to the tradi-

<i>Cls.</i>	<i>Pfx.</i>	<i>Preverb</i>	<i>Pfv.</i>	<i>Rep. Impfv.</i>	<i>Telicity</i>	<i>Movement</i>
\emptyset	\emptyset -	none or <i>yaa</i> = ‘along’	- <i>ỵ</i>	- <i>ch</i>	telic	bounded
<i>na</i>	<i>na</i> -	none or <i>yaa</i> = ‘along’	- <i>h</i>	<i>yoo</i> =[+I]-...- <i>k</i>	atelic	unbounded
<i>ga</i>	<i>ga</i> -	<i>yeyi</i> = ‘down’	- <i>h</i>	<i>yeyi</i> =...- <i>ch</i>	atelic	downward
<i>ga</i>	<i>ga</i> -	<i>kei</i> = ‘up’	- <i>h</i>	<i>kei</i> =...- <i>ch</i>	atelic	upward

Table 12.1: Conjugation classes and their associated features. *yaa*= occurs in the progressive, and is absent in the future.

tional Athabaskanist use of the term ‘aspect’ to refer to what is often called ‘aktionsart’ elsewhere. Because conjugation class and theme category constitute independent phenomena both morphologically and semantically, I refer to them as separate categories and have discarded Leer’s conceptualization of lexical aspect.

The selection of a conjugation prefix is not the only feature dependent on the conjugation class of a theme. Certain modes select preverbs depending on the conjugation class, so for example a future form of a *ga*-class occurs with the *kei*= ‘up’ preverb, one of the *ga*-class occurs with the *yeyi*= preverb, and themes of the \emptyset -class or *na*-class do not occur with a mode-specific preverb in the future. The *yaa*= preverb occurs with the \emptyset - and *na*-classes in the progressive, with *yeyi*= and *kei*= appearing again with the *ga*- and *ga*-classes. The distinction between \emptyset -class and the other three classes is a basic feature of telicity. Telicity is also realized in some modes by different stem variation suffixes (chapter 10), so that a realis perfective of a \emptyset -class theme will have the -*ỵ* stem variation suffix but one of a *na*-, *ga*-, or *ga*-class theme will have the -*h* suffix instead. Repetitive imperfectives of non-motion themes are also dependent on conjugation class, with \emptyset -class themes having a -*ch* repetitive imperfective, *na*-class themes having a *yoo*=[+I]-...-*k* repetitive imperfective, *ga*-class themes having a *yeyi*=...-*ch* repetitive imperfective, and *ga*-class themes having a *kei*=...-*ch* repetitive imperfective; these may be overridden by various derivational processes however. Table 12.1 illustrates the four classes and their various realizations (adapted from Leer 1991: 72, 246).

This division of verb themes into classes on the basis of prefix selection brings to mind the phenomenon in Athabaskan languages where perfective forms feature one of the four lexically specified prefixes *s*-, *n*-, *y*-, or \emptyset -. The

selection in Tlingit however happens in other modes instead of perfectives, although as has already been noted the stem variation of the perfective is sensitive to telicity and hence conjugation class.¹ The following examples demonstrate four themes that belong to different conjugation classes in the imperative mode which requires the class's conjugation prefix (Leer 1991: 73).

(122) a. *imperative of \emptyset -class*

layéx̄ !

 \emptyset - \emptyset - \emptyset -la-yex̄-ÿ3.0-**ZCNJ**-3.S-CL[-D,l,-I]-make-VAR

'make it!'

theme: *O-S-CL[-D,l]-yex̄* (\emptyset ; -: Act) 'S make O'b. *imperative of na-class***na**.óos' ! \emptyset -**na**- \emptyset - \emptyset -.us'-h3.0-**NCNJ**-3.S-CL[-D, \emptyset ,-I]-wash-VAR

'wash it!'

theme: *O-S-CL[-D, \emptyset]-us'* (*na*; -kw Act) 'S wash O'c. *imperative of ga-class²***ganú** ! \emptyset -**ga**- \emptyset - \emptyset -nuk-h3.0-**GCNJ**-3.S-CL[-D, \emptyset ,-I]-sit.SG-VAR

'sit down!'

theme: *O-S-CL[-D, \emptyset]-nuk* (*ga*; -? Act) 'S (sg.) sit down'd. *imperative of ga-class***gashí** ! \emptyset -**ga**- \emptyset - \emptyset -shi-h3.0-**GCNJ**-3.S-CL[-D, \emptyset ,-I]-sing-VAR

'sing it!'

theme: *O-S-CL[-D, \emptyset]-shi^h* (*ga*; -' Act) 'S sing O'

1. Telic perfectives have *u-* rather than *ÿu-* with either both third person subject and object or with intransitives of third person, in combination with the CL[-D, \emptyset ,+I] classifier *ÿa-*. This is a different phenomenon however.
2. The root \sqrt{nuk} 'sg. sit' irregularly lacks the coda consonant in the imperative. The two other roots with this same property are \sqrt{gut} 'sg. go' and \sqrt{at} 'pl. go'.

Note the distribution of the stem variation suffixes in the examples above. The \emptyset -class theme has $-y\ddot{y}$ in the imperative whereas the other three have $-h$ instead. This division is because the \emptyset -class is associated with telicity whereas the other three classes are associated with atelicity, and imperatives select stem variation based on this telicity distinction.

The meanings of the conjugation prefixes are fairly obscure in the context of most themes. They have distinct meanings in motion verbs, where themes are not intrinsically members of any of the conjugation classes but are instead derivationally assigned to them as described in subsection 12.1 below. As noted earlier, telicity is a distributional category rather than a purely semantic one, and it is much less clear in non-motion verbs than in motion verbs. Nonetheless, Leer (1991: 79) argues that the following distribution of themes demonstrates the inherent telicity of non-motion verbs which are \emptyset -conjugation class.³

- inherently telic, \emptyset -class
 - active: process, activity
 - ◊ *O-S-CL[-D,l]-yex* (\emptyset ; $-h$ Act) ‘S make O’
 - ◊ *O-S-CL[-D,s]-i* (\emptyset ; $-h$ Act) ‘S cook O’
 - ◊ *O-S-CL[-D,\emptyset]-xa* (\emptyset ; $-'$ Act, $-x$ Act) ‘S eat O’
 - ◊ *a-S-CL[-D,\emptyset]-lux'* (\emptyset ; $-h$ Act) ‘S urinate’
 - eventive: punctual event
 - ◊ *O-S-CL[-D,s]-ku^h* (\emptyset ; Evt) ‘S (come to) know O’
 - ◊ *O-S-CL[-D,\emptyset]-jak* (\emptyset ; Evt) ‘S kill O’
 - ◊ *O-S-CL[-D,\emptyset]-ax* (\emptyset ; Evt, $-ch$ Rep) ‘S (be able to) hear O’
 - ◊ *O-CL[+D,\emptyset]-xwetl* (\emptyset ; Evt, $-x$ Rep) ‘O be tired’
 - stative: property, situation
 - ◊ *P-x O-CL[+D,\emptyset]-xwas'* (\emptyset ; $-y\ddot{y}$ Stv) ‘O (pl.) hang at P’
- inherently atelic, non- \emptyset -class
 - *na*-class
 - ◊ active
 - *O-ka-S-CL[-D,\emptyset]-nik* (*na*; $-:$ Act) ‘S tell O’
 - *O-S-CL[-D,\emptyset]-us'* (*na*; $-k$ Act) ‘S wash O’
 - *O-S-CL[-D,\emptyset]-jun* (*na*; $-:$ Act) ‘S dream O’
 - ◊ eventive
 - *O-CL[-D,\emptyset]-ni_{TSRI}~ne* (*na*; Evt) ‘happen to O’

3. Leer did not give the actual themes, but merely the translations. I have listed the actual themes here.

- *P O-S-CL[-D,s]-ni_{TSRI}~ne* (*na*; Evt) ‘S do P to O’
- *O-CL[-D,∅]-na* (*na*; Evt) ‘O die’
- ◊ stative
 - *O-CL[-D,∅]-ge* (*na*; -: Stv) ‘O be big’
 - *O-CL[-D,∅]-le* (*na*; -ÿ Ext Stv) ‘O be far’
 - *yéi=u-S-CL[-D,∅]-ji* (*na*; -: Stv) ‘S think’
- *ga*-class
 - ◊ active
 - *O-S-CL[-D,∅]-ix’* (*ga*; -: Act) ‘S invite O’
 - *O-sha-ka-S-CL[-D,∅]-ya* (*ga*; -h Act) ‘S comb O’s hair’
 - ◊ eventive
 - *O-S-CL[-D,s]-tin* (*ga*; Evt) ‘S see O’
 - *S-CL[-D,∅]-nuk* (*ga*; Evt) ‘S sit down’
 - ◊ stative
 - *ku-CL[-D,∅]-k’éi^x* (*ga*; Stv) ‘weather be good’
 - *O-(ga)-CL[-D,∅]-dlan* (*ga*; -h Stv) ‘O be deep’
 - *O-CL[-D,∅]-ti^h* (*ga*; -h Stv) ‘O be, exist’
- *ga*-class
 - ◊ active
 - *O-S-CL[-D,∅]-shi^h* (*ga*; -h Act) ‘S sing O’
 - ◊ eventive
 - *S-CL[+D,∅]-han* (*ga*; Evt) ‘S stand up’
 - *O-S-CL[-D,∅]-t’i_{TSR}~t’e* (*ga*; Evt) ‘S find O’
 - ◊ stative
 - *O-CL[-D,∅]-k’éi^x* (*ga*; Stv) ‘O be good’
 - *O-CL[-D,∅]-t’a^h* (*ga*; -h Stv) ‘O be hot’
 - *O-S-CL[-D,∅]-tin* (*ga*; -: Stv) ‘S be able to see O’
 - *O-S-CL[-D,s]-xan* (*ga*; -ÿ Stv) ‘S love O’

Although only the translations of the themes are given above, note that the valency of a theme is irrelevant to either its conjugation class or to its theme category.

The conjugation class prefixes do not appear in all modes, so it can be somewhat difficult to identify. The following list of modes are those in which the conjugation class prefix is always found. The \emptyset -conjugation class prefix is apparent in these modes by the *lack* of one of the other prefixes, and so only exists in contrast.

- imperfectives

- *-h* extensional stative imperfective
- *-j̄* extensional stative imperfective
- *-k* multipositional stative imperfective
- realizational
- potential
- habituais
- imperatives
- hortative
- admonitive
- consecutive
- conditional
- contingent

The habituais feature distinct stem variation between the \emptyset -conjugation class and the other three classes, as well as exhibiting the various conjugation class prefixes. Although the perfective does not show distinct conjugation class prefixes, it does show distinct stem variation between \emptyset and non- \emptyset classes, with the former having *-j̄* stem variation and the latter having *-h* stem variation. The potentials and imperatives also shows this behaviour to some extent, but because it is not consistent across all themes it cannot be relied on as an indicator of conjugation class unlike the behaviour with the perfectives.

The conjugation class has explicit morphology in a few other modes despite not featuring the conjugation class prefixes themselves. In these cases, which were already touched upon earlier, a directional preverb is used to indicate the class instead of a conjugation class prefix. The associations between classes and directional preverbs were given earlier in table 12.1. The following is a list of modes in which the directional preverbs are used instead of conjugation class prefixes.

- imperfectives
 - *-X* active imperfective
 - *-X* repetitive imperfective
 - progressive
- future

If a theme belongs to the *ga*-conjugation class then in any of these modes the verb will always have the preverb *yei=* ~ *yeh=*_τ 'down'. If a theme belongs to the *ga*-conjugation class then in any of these modes the verb will have the

preverb *kei=* ~ *keh=*_T 'up'. The association of these conjugation classes with the two vertical directions is also apparent in the semantics of the motion derivation strings that fall under these conjugation classes, for which see section 12.1. Themes in either the *na*-conjugation class or the \emptyset -conjugation class do not take a directional preverb in the modes listed above. An exception is the progressive mode, where *na*- and \emptyset -class themes *do* occur with the preverb *yaa=* ~ *yah=*_T 'along' if and only if this preverb is not blocked in the theme by any of the other +17D preverbs: *kei=* ~ *keh=*_T 'up', *yeyi=* ~ *yeh=*_T 'down', *yeyik=*_N ~ *yeyek=*_S ~ *ihk=*_T 'down to shore, beachward', *daak=* ~ *dahk=*_T 'inland from shore, back from open, off of fire', and *daak=* ~ *dahk=*_T 'seaward, into open, falling from sky, onto fire' (Leer 1991: 204).

It can be seen that this group of preverb-selecting modes, along with those modes directly selecting a conjugation class prefix, actually covers most of the mode inventory in Tlingit and hence most conjugational possibilities for verbs. Only the perfective modes and the rest of the imperfectives occur without some indication of the conjugation class. These two groups of modes are unfortunately the most common in speech and in oral literature, hence most naturally occurring instances of a theme do not indicate the conjugation class.

Two modes use a conjugation class prefix across all of the classes, in effect overloading the usual class-marking use of the conjugation class prefixes. The two modes are the progressive imperfective and the future. The progressive imperfective has the prefix *na-* in all of its forms regardless of the conjugation class of the theme. The future has the prefix *ga-* in all of its forms regardless of the theme's conjugation class. These two modes feature the directional preverbs distinguishing conjugation classes as described earlier.

The *ga-* mode prefix is easily confused with the *ga*-conjugation class prefix: they are homophonous, have similar morphophonology, and occur very close to each other in the template. The two *ga-* prefixes are primarily distinguished by their distribution among the different modes. In addition, like the other conjugation class prefixes, the *ga*-conjugation class prefix never cooccurs with any other conjugation class prefix. Contrast this with the *ga*- mode prefix which occurs for example in the future along with the *ga*-conjugation class prefix. The *ga*- mode prefix and *ga*-conjugation class prefix can occur together, as for example in the potential form of a theme in the *ga*-conjugation class, where they can be found surfacing as e.g. *kaaka-* with the first person singular subject or *gaagi-* ~ *gaagee-* with the second person

singular subject.

12.1. CONJUGATION CLASS AND MOTION VERBS

Motion verbs are members of the conjugation classes like all other verbs, but the relationship is rather different. Leer (1991: 72, 234) defines motion themes on the basis of their conjugation class and telicity – a purely distributional distinction – but motion themes are also members of a semantic class circumscribing events where some kind of movement takes place, as the name implies. The class is not exclusive to locomotion, although verbs like *S-CL[-D,∅]-gut* (Mot) ‘S (sg.) go by foot’ are indeed ideal examples. Instead the class is broader, including verbs of handling and verbs involving metaphoric motion as well. But the semantic class of motion does not always overlap with what we might expect from a naïve Anglocentric perspective. The theme *O-CL[-D,∅]-shu^h* (Mot) ‘O be extended’ is a motion theme (Leer 1991: 319) though it can also describe what might be abstractly thought of as a state, and *O-S-CL[-D,∅]-ka* (∅; -s’ Act) ‘S sew O’ (Leer 1991: 268) and *O-ka-S-CL[-D,∅]-ha* (∅; -x Act) ‘S dig O’ (Leer 1991: 269) are not motion verbs despite describing activities that obviously involve some sort of motion. It is thus best to think of the class in terms of its distributional properties as Leer has done rather than to try to slice up the semantic space of motion themes in terms of the movement properties of events.

Leer (1991: 293) provides a list of motion themes which he categorizes on the basis of the controlledness of the denoted motion and the valency of the theme. I replicate this list below. This is not exhaustive, but is instead merely a sampling of the more frequent themes.

- intransitive controlled motion
 - *S-CL[-D,∅]-gut* (Mot) ‘S (sg.) go by foot’
 - *S-CL[-D,∅]-at* (Mot) ‘S (pl.) go by foot’
 - *S-CL[-D,∅]-kux* (Mot) ‘S go by boat, vehicle’
 - *O-ya-CL[-D,∅]-gu* (Mot) ‘O (fleet of boats) go’
 - *S-CL[+D,∅]-kin* (Mot) ‘S (sg.) fly’
 - *O-ka-CL[+D,l]-yich* (Mot) ‘O (pl.) fly’
- intransitive uncontrolled motion
 - *O-CL[-D,∅]-xix* (Mot) ‘O (sg.) fall, move through space’
 - *O-CL[+D,sh]-xin* (Mot) ‘O (sg., wooden) fall, move through space’
 - *O-CL[+D,s]-git* (Mot) ‘O (sg., animate) fall, move through space’

- *O-ka-CL[-D,∅]-s'u's* (Mot) 'S (pl.) fall, move through space'
- *O-CL[+D,∅]-ga't* (Mot) 'S (pl.) fall scattered'
- transitive controlled motion
 - *O-S-CL[-D,∅]-ti^h* (Mot) 'S handle O (sg.)'
 - *O-S-CL[-D,∅]-tan* (Mot) 'S handle (wooden)'
 - *O-S-CL[-D,s]-nuk* (Mot) 'S handle O (sg., anim.)'
 - *O-S-CL[-D,s]-ta^h* (Mot) 'S handle O (sg., dead/unconscious anim.)'
 - *O-S-CL[-D,l]-at* (Mot) 'S handle O (pl., inan., dead/uncon. anim.)'
 - *O-S-CL[-D,s]-ki* (Mot) 'S handle O (pl., anim.)'
 - *O-ka-S-CL[-D,∅]-jel* (Mot) 'S handle O (pl., disorganized bunch)'
- transitive uncontrolled motion
 - *O-S-CL[-D,∅]-gix'* (Mot) 'S throw O'
 - *O-S-CL[-D,∅]-xich* (Mot) 'S throw O (wooden or anim.)'
 - *O-S-CL[-D,∅]-gich* (Mot) 'S throw O (pl.)'

None of these themes can be used as is, but must instead be derived with a particular motion derivation string. Each string assigns the theme to a particular conjugation class, and nearly all strings provide an imperfective type as well. The \emptyset -conjugation class derivations are the most numerous, and all are telic in that they denote motion that has a defined endpoint.⁴ This telicity is the specific reason why the \emptyset -conjugation class is considered to be telic in contrast to the atelicity of the other three classes. The *na-*, *ga-*, and *ga-* conjugation classes are atelic in that they denote motion that may have a target but the termination of motion at the target is not presupposed.

12.1.1. TELIC \emptyset -CONJUGATION CLASS MOTION DERIVATION

Motion themes derived into the \emptyset -conjugation class are telic, meaning that they denote motion that has a defined endpoint. The majority of motion derivation strings produce themes in the \emptyset -class. All \emptyset -class derivations involve some sort of change to the morphology of the theme, at least adding a bound adjunct PP.

The following examples demonstrate the motion verb theme *S-CL[-D,∅]-gut* (Mot) 'S (sg.) go by foot' as it occurs with the motion derivation string *P-{t,x,dé}* (\emptyset ; -h Rep) 'terminate at P'. The derived theme is *P-{t,x,dé} S-CL[-D,∅]-gut* (\emptyset ; -h Rep) 'S arrive at P', meaning that the theme requires a locative

4. Telicity is distinct from achievement. The endpoint is defined regardless of whether the motion is achieved, so that a \emptyset -class theme in the future does not presuppose that the motion will terminate, only that it is expected to terminate.

adjunct PP with a suffix *-t*, *-x*, or *-dé* depending on the mode, the theme is a member of the \emptyset -conjugation class, and the theme's imperfective type is the *-h* repetitive imperfective.

(123) a. *with P-t in the telic perfective*

aant x̄waagút
 aan-t u-x̄a-ÿa-gut-ÿ
 village-PNCT PFV.TEL-1SG.S-CL[-D,∅,+I]-go.SG-VAR
 'I arrived at the village'
 theme: *P-{t,x,dé} S-CL[-D,∅]-gut (∅; -h Rep)* 'S arrive at P'

b. *with P-x̄ in the -h repetitive imperfective*

aanx̄ x̄agoot
 aan-x̄ ∅-x̄a-∅-gut-h
 village-PERT ZCNJ-1SG.S-CL[-D,∅,-I]-go.SG-VAR
 'I arrive at the village repeatedly'; 'I keep arriving at the village'

c. *with P-dé in the future*

aandé kw̄kagóot
 aan-dé ga-w-ga-x̄a-∅-gut-:̄
 village-ALL GCNJ-IRR-GMOD-1SG.S-CL[-D,∅,-I]-go.SG-VAR
 'I will arrive at the village'; 'I will go toward the village'

d. *with P-t in the potential*

aant k̄waagoot
 aan-t u-∅-ga-x̄a-ÿa-gut-h
 village-PERT IRR-ZCNJ-GMOD-1SG.S-CL[-D,∅,+I]-go.SG-VAR
 'I might arrive at the village'

The first example shows the theme in the perfective, which is specifically the telic perfective since this theme is a member of the \emptyset -conjugation class. The locative adjunct PP takes the punctual *-t* suffix which indicates that the motion terminates (and thus is telic) at the location referenced by the noun *aan*. The telic perfective has its usual *-ÿ* stem variation suffix producing a *CVC* stem with the closed root (see subsection 10.2), and the telic perfective has the +4 telic perfective prefix *u-*.⁵ The imperfective type is the *-h* repetitive imperfective which is specified by the derivational string.

5. The telic perfective prefix *u-* is only distinguished from the ordinary perfective prefix *ÿu-* when it occurs with the third person, otherwise the two surface with exactly the same phonological results. See section 13.2 for more on perfectives.

12.1. Conjugation class and motion verbs

<i>Cls. Derivation</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
with <i>-h</i> repetitive imperfective	
∅ P- $\{t, \underline{x}, d\acute{e}\}$	arriving at P, coming to P
∅ $\underline{y}an= \sim \underline{y}an\underline{x}= \sim \underline{y}ande=$	moving ashore, to rest, completing
∅ P- $x' \underline{y}an= \sim \dots$	coming to rest at P
∅ P- $n\acute{a}\underline{x} \underline{y}an= \sim \dots$	moving across P, to other side of P
∅ $\underline{y}an= \sim \dots + k'i-$	setting up, erecting
∅ $\underline{y}an= \sim \dots + sha-$	setting up, leaning against
∅ $kux= \sim kux\underline{x}= \sim k\uacute{x}de=$	moving aground, into shallow water
∅ $neil(t)= \sim neil\underline{x}= \sim neild\acute{e}=$	moving inside, coming home
∅ P- $x' neil(t)= \dots$	moving inside house at P
∅ $haat= \sim haax\underline{x}= \sim haa(n)d\acute{e}=$	coming hither
∅ $y\acute{o}o-\{t, \underline{x}, de\}=$	going away
with <i>-ch</i> repetitive imperfective	
∅ $kei=$	moving up
∅ $u\underline{x}=kei=$	moving out of control, blindly, amiss
∅ P- $\underline{x}'\acute{e}-x' kei=$	catching up with P
∅ $y\acute{e}i=$	disembark, exit boat or other vehicle
∅ $y\acute{e}ek_{\underline{s}} \sim \underline{y}eik_{\underline{N}} \sim ihk_{\underline{T}}=$	moving down to shore
∅ $h\acute{e}eni=y\acute{e}ek_{\underline{x}}= \dots$	moving down into water
∅ $daak_{\underline{x}}=$	moving up from shore, back from open
∅ $d\acute{a}agi=daak_{\underline{x}}=$	moving further up from shore
∅ $k\underline{w}\acute{a}ak_{\underline{x}}=daak_{\underline{x}}=$	doing by mistake, wrongly
∅ $k\underline{x}\underline{x}= \sim k\uacute{x}\underline{x}de= [+D]-$	reverting, returning
∅ P- $x' k\underline{x}\underline{x}= [+D]-$	reverting, returning to P

Table 12.2: Some telic \emptyset -conjugation class derivation strings for motion themes.

12.1. Conjugation class and motion verbs

<i>Cls.</i>	<i>Derivation</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
with \bar{x} repetitive imperfective		
∅	P- x'	coming near P
∅	P- $\bar{y}á'$	coming up to P
∅	P $\underline{g}unajá'$	separating from P
∅	P $\underline{j}ishá'$	getting ahead of P
∅	$\underline{g}ági=$	emerging, coming out into open
∅	$\underline{d}áagi=$	coming out of water
∅	$\underline{h}éeni=$	going into water
∅	$\underline{g}unayéi\sim\underline{g}unéi=$	beginning
∅	P- \bar{x}	moving in place at P, while stuck at P
∅	P- x' $\bar{y}ax=$	turning over by P
∅	$\acute{a}'=\bar{y}ax=$	turning over
∅	$\underline{sh}ú'=\bar{y}ax=$	turning over end by end
∅	$\bar{y}et\bar{x}\sim\bar{y}eda\bar{x}_T=$	starting, taking off, picking up
with $yoo=[+I]-\dots-k$ repetitive imperfective		
∅	$yoo\sim yuh_T=$	moving back and forth, to and fro
∅	$\bar{y}an=yoo\sim yuh_T=$	moving up and down (from surface)
with $\bar{y}a-oo\sim\bar{y}aa=$ and $-ch$ repetitive imperfective		
∅	P- \bar{x} $\bar{y}a-oo- \sim \bar{y}aa=$	moving obliquely, circuitously along P
∅	P $\underline{d}aa-\bar{x} \dots$	circling around P
∅	P- $\underline{d}é \bar{y}a-oo- \sim \bar{y}aa=$	moving obliquely, circuitously toward P
∅	$\underline{h}é-\underline{d}é \dots$	moving over that way, aside, out of the way
∅	P- $\underline{d}á\bar{x} \bar{y}a-oo- \sim \bar{y}aa=$	moving obliquely, circuitously away from P
∅	P $\underline{j}ikaa-\underline{d}á\bar{x} \dots$	getting out of P's way
∅	P- $\underline{n}á\bar{x} \bar{y}a-oo- \sim \bar{y}aa=$	moving obliquely, circuitously along P
∅	P- x' $\bar{y}a-oo- \sim \bar{y}aa=$	moving obliquely, circuitously at P
∅	P $\underline{d}asé-x' \dots$	exchanging places with P
with P- \bar{x} $\underline{sha}-\bar{y}a-oo-$ and $-ch$ repetitive imperfective		
∅	P- \bar{x} $\underline{sha}-\bar{y}a-oo-$	hanging up at P
∅	$\bar{y}ax=\underline{sha}-\bar{y}a-oo-$	hanging up
with $a-\bar{y}a-oo-[+D]-$ and \bar{x} repetitive imperfective		
∅	$a-\bar{y}a-oo-[+D]-$	reverting, turning back

Table 12.3: More telic \emptyset -conjugation class derivation strings for motion themes.

Although there are a large variety of derivational strings for motion which result in \emptyset -conjugation themes, not all strings provide the same primary imperfectives. The derivational string $P-\{t, \underline{x}, d\acute{e}\}$ (\emptyset ; $-h$ Rep) described above is one of several that produce motion themes in the \emptyset -class which have a $-h$ repetitive imperfective. Another set of derivations in the \emptyset -class instead give themes which have $-ch$ repetitive imperfective forms as their primary imperfectives. These two groups are documented in table 12.2 on page 141. Other groups of \emptyset -class motion derivation strings produce $-x$ repetitive imperfectives, $yoo=CL[+I]-\dots-k$ repetitive imperfectives, and $-ch$ repetitive imperfectives. These are documented in table 12.3 on page 142.

Note that the locative $-x'$ suffix has an allomorph $-'$ after vowels which in Tongass Tlingit results in a glottalized vowel and in Northern and Southern Tlingit results in a long vowel with high tone. This allomorph is the default (and possibly the only allowed form) in proclitics and most of the bound adjunct PPs. Thus for example the motion derivation string $\acute{a}'=\underline{y}a\underline{x}$ (\emptyset ; $-x$ Rep) 'turning over' will normally surface as e.g. *áa ya\underline{x} xwaatán* 'I turned it over' (perfective) in Northern Tlingit rather than *áx' ya\underline{x} xwaatán*. The details of this allomorphy and morphophonology are beyond the scope of this document, but it is useful nonetheless to be aware of the phenomenon.

It would take a very large amount of space to demonstrate all of the various \emptyset -conjugation class motion derivation strings. Instead the following examples, taken from Leer (1991: 297–306) show an assortment of themes demonstrating each type of repetitive imperfective. Most of these examples are based on the motion theme $O-S-CL[-D, \emptyset]-tan$ (Mot) 'S handle O (wooden)', though the last example uses $S-CL[-D, \emptyset]-gut$ (Mot) 'S (sg.) go by foot' instead. The last example has the motion derivation string $a-\underline{y}a-oo-[+D]-$ ($-h$ Rep) 'reverting, turning back' including a thematic pronominal $a-$ 'third person object' and thus cannot be applied to transitive or object intransitive themes (see chapter 8).

- (124) a. *with neil= and -h repetitive imperfective*
 neil\underline{x} \underline{x}ataan
 neil-\underline{x}=\emptyset-\emptyset-\underline{x}a-\emptyset-tan-h
 home-PERT=3.0-ZCNJ-1SG.S-CL[-D, \emptyset, -i]-handle-VAR
 'I bring it inside repeatedly'; 'I keep bringing it inside' (p. 300)
 theme: $P-\{t, \underline{x}, d\acute{e}\}$ $O-S-CL[-D, \emptyset]-tan$ (\emptyset ; $-h$ Rep) 'S bring O to P'

- b. *with kei= and -ch repetitive imperfective*
 kei xatánch
 kei=0-0-xa-0-tan-ch
 up=3.0-ZCNJ-1SG.S-CL[-D,0,-I]-handle-REP
 ‘I bring it up repeatedly’, ‘I keep bringing it up’ (p. 298)
 theme: *kei=0-S-CL[-D,0]-tan (0; -ch Rep)* ‘S handle O upwards’
- c. *with á-x’=yax= and -x repetitive imperfective*
 áa yax xatánx
 á-x’=yax=0-0-xa-0-tan-x
 3N-LOC=ROT=3.0-ZCNJ-1SG.S-CL[-D,0,-I]-handle-REP
 ‘I turn it over repeatedly’, ‘I keep turning it over’ (p. 302)
 theme: *á-x’=yax=0-S-CL[-D,0]-tan (0; -x Rep)* ‘S turn O over’
- d. *with ÿan=yoo= and yoo=CL[+I]-...-k repetitive imperfective*
 yan yoo xaatánk
 ÿan=yoo=0-0-xa-ÿa-tan-k
 ABMAR=ALT=3.0-ZCNJ-1SG.S-CL[-D,0,+I]-handle-REP
 ‘I am lifting it up and down repeatedly’, ‘I keep lifting it up
 and down’ (p. 303)
 theme: *ÿan=yoo=0-S-CL[-D,0]-tan (0; yoo=[+I]-...-k Rep)* ‘S lift O up and down’
- e. *with hé-dé ÿa-oo- ~ ÿaa= and -ch repetitive imperfective*
 héide yaa xatánch
 hé-dé ÿaa=0-0-xa-0-tan-ch
 MPRX-ALL along=3.0-ZCNJ-1SG.S-CL[-D,0,-I]-handle-REP
 ‘I am moving it aside repeatedly’, ‘I keep moving it aside’ (p. 305)
 theme: *hé-dé (ÿaa)=0-ÿa-oo-S-CL[-D,0]-tan (0; -ch Rep)* ‘S move O aside’
- f. *with a-ÿa-oo-[+D]- and -x repetitive imperfective*
 awuxdagút̄x ~ ayaxdagút̄x
 a-ÿa-oo-0-xa-da-gut-x
 3.0-VSFC-IRR-ZCNJ-1SG.S-CL[+D,0,-I]-go.SG-REP
 ‘I am turning back repeatedly’, ‘I keep turning back’ (p. 306)
 theme: *a-ÿa-oo-S-CL[+D,0]-gut (0; -x Rep)* ‘S turn back’

12.1.2. ATELIC {*NA*, *GA*, *GA*}-CONJUGATION CLASS MOTION
DERIVATION

The atelic motion derivation strings assign one of the *na*-, *ga*-, or *ga*-conjugation classes to the derived motion verb theme. They are much less numerous than the telic \emptyset -conjugation class motion derivation strings. The *na*-conjugation class strings either assign the *yoo=CL[+I]-...-k* repetitive imperfective or they give themes with no imperfective. The latter are the only motion derivation strings that produce themes without an imperfective type, though there are non-motion themes that lack imperfective types as well. The *ga*- and *ga*-conjugation class motion derivation strings give themes with a *-ch* repetitive imperfective. All the atelic motion derivation strings are given in table 12.4 on page 146 (Leer 1991: 306–315).

Reviewing the meanings of the various atelic motion derivation themes reveals patterns in their meanings according to the particular conjugation class. The *ga*-conjugation class is associated with upward motion and initiation of movement. This is supported by the use of the preverb *kei*= ‘up’ to mark the conjugation class where the conjugation prefix is otherwise blocked. The *ga*-conjugation class is associated with downward motion, which is supported by the use of the preverb *yei*= ‘down’ for marking the conjugation class where the conjugation prefix is blocked. The *na*-conjugation class has two senses, one associated with lateral motion and the other with undirected motion.

12.2. CONJUGATION CLASS AND REPETITIVE
IMPERFECTIVES

The formation of repetitive imperfectives is also dependent on conjugation class. This is demonstrated in table 12.5 where the four different classes have different kinds of repetitive imperfectives.

The first verb theme illustrated in table 12.5 is the theme *O-S-CL[-D,S]-i* (\emptyset ; -: Act) ‘S cook O’. This theme is a member of the \emptyset -conjugation class, and non-motion themes in this class regularly take the *-x* repetitive imperfective. The following example illustrates a few forms of this theme.

12.2. Conjugation class and repetitive imperfectives

<i>Cls.</i>	<i>Derivation</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
with <i>yoo</i> =[+I]-...- <i>k</i> repetitive imperfective		
na	—	moving along
na	P- <i>x̄</i>	moving along P
na	P- <i>dé</i>	moving toward P
na	P- <i>dáx̄</i>	moving away from P
na	P- <i>náx̄</i>	moving by way of, through P
na	<i>yu</i> <i>x̄</i> =	moving out of house
na	P- <i>x'</i> <i>yu</i> <i>x̄</i> =	moving out of house at P
without imperfective		
na	P- <i>t</i>	moving about P
na	P <i>áa</i>	moving about
with <i>-ch</i> repetitive imperfective		
ga	—	falling (intransitive uncontrolled themes)
ḡa	<i>yaa</i> =	moving down
ḡa	<i>yaax̄</i> =	embarking, getting into boat, vehicle
ḡa	<i>yana</i> <i>x̄</i> =	moving down into ground
ḡa	P- <i>x̄</i>	moving down along P
ḡa	<i>héen</i> - <i>x̄</i> =	moving into water
ḡa	<i>káx̄ sha</i> -	falling over, prone
ga	P- <i>náx̄</i>	moving down by way of, through P
with <i>-ch</i> repetitive imperfective		
ga	—	starting off, picking up
ga	P- <i>dáx̄</i>	starting off, picking up from P

Table 12.4: Atelic *na~ga~ga*-conjugation class derivation strings for motion themes.

12.2. Conjugation class and repetitive imperfectives

Class	Preverb	Classifier	Suffix	Example
∅		[-I]	-x̣	<i>as.éex̣</i> 'he cooks it'
na	<i>yoo=</i>	[+I]	-k	<i>yoo ayal'únk</i> 'he hunts it'
ga	<i>yei=</i>	[-I]	-ch	<i>yei adagánch</i> 'it gets sunny'
ga	<i>kei=</i>	[-I]	-ch	<i>kei latseench</i> 'he gets strong'

Table 12.5: Conjugation class and repetitive imperfectives. Adapted from Edwards 2009: 26.

(125) a. *telic perfective*

awsí.ée
a-u-∅-sí-.i-ÿ
3.0-PFV.TEL-3.S-CL[-D,S,+I]-COOK-VAR
'he cooked it'

b. -: *active imperfective (primary)*

as.ée
a-∅-∅-sa-.i-:
3.0-ZCNJ-3.S-CL[-D,S,-I]-COOK-VAR
'he is cooking it'

c. -x̣ *repetitive imperfective (secondary)*

as.éex̣
a-∅-∅-sa-.i-x̣
3.0-ZCNJ-3.S-CL[-D,S,-I]-COOK-REP
'he keeps cooking it', 'he is cooking it repeatedly'

The second verb theme in table 12.5 is the theme *O-S-CL[-D,∅]-l'u'n* (na; -: Act) 'S hunt O'. This theme is a member of the *na*-conjugation class, and hence is an atelic (non-∅-class) theme. Non-motion themes in the *na*-conjugation class regularly take the *yoo=CL[+I]-...-k* repetitive imperfective, the only type of repetitive imperfective which has [+I] in the classifier.

(126) a. *atelic perfective*

aawal'ón
a-ÿu-∅-ÿa-l'u'n-h
3.0-PFV-3.S-CL[-D,∅,+I]-HUNT-VAR
'he hunted it'

12.2. Conjugation class and repetitive imperfectives

- b. -: *active imperfective (primary)*

al'óon

a-∅-∅-∅-l'u'n-:

3.0-ZCNJ-3.S-CL[-D,∅,-I]-hunt-VAR

'he is hunting it'

- c. yoo=CL[+I]-...-k *repetitive imperfective (secondary)*

yoo ayal'únk

yoo=a-∅-∅-ÿa-l'u'n-k

ALT=3.0-ZCNJ-3.S-CL[-D,∅,+I]-hunt-REP

'he keeps hunting it', 'he hunts it repeatedly'

13 Mode: Aspect, tense, mood, etc.

Tense, mood, aspect, polarity, and modality are lumped together by Leer (1991) as ‘schetic categories’ after the Greek term *σχέσις* *sk^hésis* ‘relation, state, condition’.¹ Leer argues that Tlingit does not distinguish the various categories in any sort of clean morphological manner, and hence he develops a different categorization system consisting of **MODE** that covers perfectivity and habituality, **LEXICAL ASPECT** that covers dynamicity and boundedness, and **EPIASPECT** that covers progression and repetition (Leer 1991: 67). In this section I will only consider mode. Despite Leer’s curious statement, mode covers far more than merely perfectives and habituais, as will be shown in great detail below.

Leer divides the modes into three basic types: declarative modes, deontic modes, and circumstantial modes. The first two terms have their typical linguistic meanings, with **DECLARATIVE MODES** denoting “that the proposition expressed by a speaker’s utterance is offered as an unqualified statement of fact” (Loos et al. 2004), and **DEONTIC MODES** denoting “the speaker’s degree of requirement of, desire for, or commitment to the realization of the proposition expressed by the utterance” (Loos et al. 2004). The **CIRCUMSTANTIAL MODES** denote the circumstances of the event or property that is denoted by the verb. This may seem to be a circular definition, but it will be explained more thoroughly in section 13.9.

The following list outlines the various modes. There are various imperfectives distinguished by stem variation suffixes which will be detailed in section 13.1 below; they are not shown in this list for brevity’s sake.

1. The Oxford English Dictionary (2nd edn.) describes the term *schesis* as obsolescent, giving the definition “the manner in which a thing is related to something else” as well as the definition “a temporary habit or state of the body” specific to medical physiology. Both have citations from the late 17th and early 18th century. Leer coined the term directly from Greek.

- declarative modes
 - imperfectives
 - ◊ non-stative imperfectives
 - active imperfectives
 - positional imperfectives
 - repetitive imperfectives
 - progressive imperfectives
 - ◊ stative imperfectives
 - plain stative imperfectives
 - extensional stative imperfectives
 - multipositional stative imperfectives
 - perfectives
 - ◊ telic perfective
 - ◊ atelic perfective
 - realizational
 - future
 - potential
 - habituais
 - ◊ telic habitual
 - ◊ atelic habitual
- deontic modes
 - imperatives
 - ◊ telic habitual
 - ◊ atelic habitual
 - hortative
 - admonitive
- circumstantial modes
 - consecutive
 - conditional
 - contingent

The formation of the various modes is done with a number of different morphemes in the verb. The stem variation suffixes, the I component of the classifier, and the various aspectual and conjugational prefixes from +7 to +4 are the basic morphological elements that specify different modes. In addition certain imperfectives use duration suffixes in the -3 slot for mode specification. Several different modes use certain preverbs in cases where the conjugational prefixes are used for aspect marking rather than conjugation marking. Finally, the habituais, hortative, conditional, and contingent

13. Mode: Aspect, tense, mood, etc.

<i>Mode</i>	<i>Preverb</i> +17	<i>Asp./Conj.</i> +7 - +4	<i>I-Cpnt.</i> +1	<i>Var</i> -1	<i>Suff.</i> -3
DECLARATIVE MODES					
<i>imperfectives</i>					
<i>-i</i> active & <i>-i</i> positional					
realis		∅-	-1	-i	
irrealis		u-∅-	-1	-h	
<i>-h</i> active & <i>-h</i> repetitive					
realis		∅-	-1	-h	
irrealis		u-∅-	-1	-h	
<i>-'</i> active & <i>-'</i> positional (open roots only)					
realis		∅-	-1	-'	
irrealis		u-∅-	-1	-'	
<i>-n</i> active & <i>-n</i> positional					
realis		∅-	-1	-n	
irrealis		u-∅-	-1	-n	
<i>-X</i> active (<i>-s'</i> , <i>-l'</i> , <i>-t</i> , <i>-x'</i> , <i>-t'</i>) & <i>-X</i> repetitive (<i>-x</i> , <i>-ch</i> , <i>-k</i>)					
realis	(PVB=)	∅-	-1		-X
irrealis	(PVB=)	u-∅-	-1		-X
[+1]-...- <i>k</i> active & repetitive					
realis		∅-	+1		-k
irrealis		u-∅-	-1		-k
<i>yoo</i> =[+1]-...- <i>k</i> active & repetitive					
realis	<i>yoo</i> =	∅-	+1		-k
irrealis	<i>yoo</i> =	u-∅-	-1		-k
progressive					
realis	PVB=	<i>na-</i>	-1		-n
irrealis	PVB=	<i>u-na-</i>	-1		-n

Table 13.1: Non-stative imperfective (declarative) modes.

modes all have specific suffixes of their own used in addition to other morphemes. Tables 13.1, 13.2, 13.3, and 13.4 on pages 151 through 154 illustrate all of the various modes. To save space there is much that is left unexplained in the tables, hopefully the reader will be able to make sense of them after having read through the sections on each mode.

13. Mode: Aspect, tense, mood, etc.

<i>Mode</i>	<i>Preverb</i> +17	<i>Asp./Conj.</i> +7 - +4	<i>I-Cpnt.</i> +1	<i>Var</i> -1	<i>Suff.</i> -3
DECLARATIVE MODES (cont'd)					
<i>imperfectives</i> (cont'd)					
- <i>z</i> stative					
realis		∅-	+I	- <i>z</i>	
irrealis		<i>u</i> -∅-	-I	- <i>h</i>	
- <i>ÿ</i> stative					
realis		∅-	+I	- <i>ÿ</i>	
irrealis					
closed root		<i>u</i> -∅-	-I	- <i>ÿ</i>	
open root		<i>u</i> -∅-	-I	-'	
- <i>n</i> stative					
realis		∅-	+I	- <i>n</i>	
irrealis		<i>u</i> -∅-	-I	- <i>h</i> ?	
√ <i>ti^h</i> 'be' stative					
realis		∅-	+I	- <i>h</i>	
irrealis (cf. - <i>ÿ</i> stative)		<i>u</i> -∅-	-I	-'	
stative with invariable root					
realis		∅-	+I		
irrealis		<i>u</i> -∅-	-I		
- <i>h</i> extensional stative					
realis		CNJ-	+I	- <i>h</i>	
irrealis		<i>u</i> -CNJ-	-I	- <i>h</i>	
- <i>ÿ</i> extensional stative					
realis		CNJ-	+I	- <i>ÿ</i>	
irrealis		<i>u</i> -CNJ-	-I	-'	
- <i>k</i> multipositional stative					
realis					
closed root		CNJ-	+I		- <i>k</i>
open root		CNJ-	+I		- <i>kw-t</i>
irrealis					
closed root		<i>u</i> -CNJ-	-I		- <i>k</i>
open root		<i>u</i> -CNJ-	-I		- <i>kw-t</i>

Table 13.2: Stative imperfective (declarative) modes.

13. Mode: Aspect, tense, mood, etc.

<i>Mode</i>	<i>Preverb</i> +17	<i>Asp./Conj.</i> +7 - +4	<i>I-Cpnt.</i> +1	<i>Var</i> -1	<i>Suff.</i> -3
DECLARATIVE MODES (cont'd)					
<i>perfectives</i>					
telic (∅-) perfective					
realis		<i>yū-</i> ~ <i>u-</i>	+1	- <i>ỵ</i>	
irrealis					
open root		<i>yū-</i> ~ <i>u-</i>	-1	-'	
closed root		<i>yū-</i> ~ <i>u-</i>	-1	- <i>h</i>	
atelic (<i>na-</i> , <i>ga-</i> , <i>ga-</i>) perfective					
realis		<i>yū-</i>	+1	- <i>h</i>	
irrealis		<i>yū-</i>	-1	- <i>h</i>	
<i>realizational</i> — always realis					
realis		CNJ-	+1	-:	
<i>habituals</i>					
telic (∅-) habitual					
closed root		<i>u-∅-</i>	-1	- <i>h</i> ~ - <i>ỵ</i>	- <i>ch</i>
open root		<i>u-∅-</i>	-1	- <i>ỵ</i>	- <i>ch</i>
atelic (<i>na-</i> , <i>ga-</i> , <i>ga-</i>) habitual					
		CNJ-	-1		- <i>ch</i>
<i>future</i>					
realis	PVB=	<i>ga-u-ga-</i>	-1	-:	
irrealis	PVB=	<i>ga-u-ga-</i>	-1	- <i>h</i>	
<i>potential</i>					
closed root					
non-decessive		<i>u-CNJ-ga-</i>	+1	- <i>h</i>	
decessive		<i>u-CNJ-ga-</i>	-1	- <i>h</i>	
open root					
non-decessive		<i>u-CNJ-ga-</i>	+1	- <i>h</i>	
decessive		<i>u-CNJ-ga-</i>	-1	- <i>h</i>	
some active telic (∅-) themes with open root					
non-decessive		<i>u-∅-ga-</i>	+1	- <i>ỵ</i>	
decessive		<i>u-∅-ga-</i>	-1	- <i>ỵ</i>	

Table 13.3: Non-imperfective declarative modes.

13.1. Declarative modes: imperfectives

<i>Mode</i>	<i>Preverb</i>	<i>Asp./Conj.</i>	<i>I-Cpnt.</i>	<i>Var</i>	<i>Suff.</i>
	+17	+7 - +4	+1	-1	-3
DEONTIC MODES					
<i>imperatives</i> — always realis					
telic (\emptyset -) imperative					
open root		\emptyset -	-I	-h ~ -ỹ	
closed with DIR=	DIR=	\emptyset -	-I	-h	
closed otherwise		\emptyset -	-I	-ỹ	
atelic (<i>na-</i> , <i>ga-</i> , <i>ga-</i>) imperative					
		CNJ-	-I	-h	
<i>hortative</i> — always realis					
		CNJ- <i>ga-</i>	-I	-h ~ -ỹ	(-ih)
<i>admonitive</i> — always irrealis					
		<i>u</i> -CNJ-	-I	-:	
CIRCUMSTANTIAL MODES					
<i>consecutive</i>					
		CNJ-	-I	-:	
<i>conditional</i>					
		CNJ-	-I	-n	-(n)ih
<i>contingent</i>					
		CNJ- <i>ga-</i>	-I	-n	-ín

Table 13.4: Deontic and circumstantial (non-declarative) modes.

13.1. DECLARATIVE MODES: IMPERFECTIVES

There are twenty-seven² different kinds of imperfectives in Tlingit. The category of imperfective subsumes a number of different aspectual distinctions which are generally thought of as distinct aspects by most linguists, including generic situations, habitual situations, progressive situations, collective reference to multiple situations, continuous situations, serial situations, distribution of a situation among multiple participants, and iterating or repeating situations. Leer (1991) has explored the semantics of the various imperfectives in extensive detail, though confusingly he has done so using his own semantic framework so that it requires careful translation for a more general audience.

Morphologically there are two basic kinds of imperfectives, the stative imperfectives and the non-stative imperfectives. The distinction between

2. At last count. Occasionally a new type of imperfective may turn up since some obscure themes have uniquely irregular imperfectives, or from previously undocumented dialectal or idiolectal variation.

the two kinds is based on the presence of [+I] in the classifier of stative themes in their realis forms and [-I] in the classifier of the realis forms of non-stative themes. The exception to this rule is that the imperfectives with *CL[+I]-...-k* and *yoo=CL[+I]-...-k* have *CL[+I]* despite being non-stative.

Statives have typical stative semantics in their imperfectives, but have either stative or transitional semantics in other modes. This can be seen from the examples below (taken from Leer 1991: 364) where the English translations of the non-imperfective modes illustrate the ambiguity.

- (127) a. *stative imperfective with -ÿ*
 yak'úi
 Ø-Ø-ÿa-k'úi-ÿ
 3.0-ZCNJ-CL[-D,Ø,+I]-good-VAR
 'it is good'
 theme: *O-CL[-D,Ø]-k'úi^(x)* (*ga; -ÿ Stv*) 'O be, become good'
- b. *atelic (-h) perfective*
 wook'úi
 Ø-ÿu-ÿa-k'úi-h
 3.0-PFV-CL[-D,Ø,+I]-good-VAR
 'it was good', 'it became good (and still is)'
- c. *future*
 gugak'úi
 Ø-ga-w-ga-Ø-k'úi-h
 3.0-GCNJ-IRR-GMOD-CL[-D,Ø,-I]-good-VAR
 'it will be good', 'it will become good'
- d. *habitual*
 gak'úich
 Ø-ga-Ø-k'úi-ch
 3.0-GCNJ-CL[-D,Ø,-I]-good-HAB
 'it is always good', 'it always becomes good'

The non-stative imperfectives do not feature this sort of ambiguity since they denote actions rather than states. There is however an ambiguity in the non-stative imperfectives between the concurrent or progressive reading and the generic or habitual reading, similar to that which can be found in the imperfectives of other languages like English. The following examples show this with their permissible English translations (Leer 1991: 363).

(128) a. *active imperfective with -'*
 dleey tooḵá
 dleey Ø-Ø-tu-Ø-ḵa-'
 meat 3.0-ZCNJ-1PL.S-CL[-D,Ø,-I]-eat-VAR
 'we are eating meat', 'we eat meat'
 theme: O-S-CL[-D,Ø]-ḵa (Ø; -' Act) 'S eat O'

b. *telic (-ÿ) perfective*
 dleey wutuwaḵáa
 dleey Ø-ÿu-tu-ÿa-ḵa-ÿ
 meat 3.0-PFV-1PL.S-CL[-D,Ø,+I]-eat-VAR
 'we ate meat'

Temporally all imperfectives must have their event time in the present. The two temporal demonstrative phrases *yá yeedát* 'this moment' and *yá yagiye* 'this day' can occur with imperfectives but not the two phrases *tatgé* 'yesterday' or *seigán* 'tomorrow' (Leer 1991: 362), as the following examples demonstrate. All of these illustrate the same verb theme in the same -': active imperfective form.

(129) a. *yá yeedát du een kadunéek*
yá yeedát du=ee-n Ø-ka-Ø-du-Ø-nik-:
 PROX moment 3H.PSS=BASE-INSTR 3.0-HSFC-INDH.S-CL[-D,Ø,-I]-tell-VAR
 theme: P-n O-ka-S-CL[-D,Ø]-nik (na; -: Act) 'S tell about O to P'
 'people are telling it to him right now'

b. *yá yagiye du een kadunéek*
yá yagiye du=ee-n Ø-ka-Ø-du-Ø-nik-:
 PROX day 3H.PSS=BASE-INSTR 3.0-HSFC-INDH.S-CL[-D,Ø,-I]-tell-VAR
 'people are telling it to him today'

c. **tatgé du een kadunéek*
tatgé du=ee-n Ø-ka-Ø-du-Ø-nik-:
 yesterday 3H.PSS=BASE-INSTR 3.0-HSFC-INDH.S-CL[-D,Ø,-I]-tell-VAR
 'people are telling it to him yesterday'

d. **seigán du een kadunéek*
seigán du=ee-n Ø-ka-Ø-du-Ø-nik-:
 tomorrow 3H.PSS=BASE-INSTR 3.0-HSFC-INDH.S-CL[-D,Ø,-I]-tell-VAR
 'people are telling it to him tomorrow'

Leer's assertion that imperfectives are always in the present must be modulated by the fact that they often occur in non-present contexts. Narratives are almost always situated in the past but show imperfectives very frequently. The temporal frame of a narrative has to be distinguished from the temporal frame of any given event described in the narrative. Thus although an imperfective can describe an event that happened in the past, it is expressed as a present event within the past narrative frame.

Both stative and non-stative imperfectives are subdivided by their stem variation suffix and by their theme category. The theme category is not morphologically distinguished but is critical to the semantics of the imperfective, so that an active category theme and a positional category theme (both non-statives) are identical morphologically but are distinguished by their meanings, with the imperfective of the active category theme denoting an activity and the imperfective of the positional category theme denoting a position or location. Certain stative imperfectives do have distinguishing morphology, so that a plain stative imperfective and an extensional stative imperfective may both have the *-ȳ* stem variation suffix but the extensional stative features a conjugation prefix not found in the plain stative. Table 13.1 on page 151 gives the complete inventory of non-stative imperfectives with their characteristic morphologies, and table 13.2 on page 152 gives the inventory of stative imperfectives.

Leer (1991) divides the imperfectives into two categories, PRIMARY IMPERFECTIVES and SECONDARY IMPERFECTIVES. The distinction is defined essentially on whether a particular type of imperfective can be specified as the imperfective form for a given theme. Those imperfective types which can be the sole thematically specified imperfective for a theme are primary imperfectives, and those which are never the sole thematically specified imperfective are secondary imperfectives. This distinction was also noted in section 6.1. The primary imperfectives are all of the positional imperfectives and the active and stative imperfectives that occur with the \emptyset -conjugation prefix. The secondary imperfectives are the progressive imperfective, the extensional stative imperfectives, the multipositional stative imperfective, and the repetitive imperfectives; all of these except the repetitive imperfectives occur with a conjugation prefix that is not \emptyset - (*na-* for the progressive, the conjugation class for the others). Leer (1991: 357) notes that primary imperfectives "can refer to an ongoing situation, but can also be used for generic sentences" in contrast with secondary imperfectives which "necessarily involve progressivity, habituality, iterativity, conativity, or multiple

reference”.

Each subsection below considers a particular type of imperfective. Since active imperfectives seem to be the most numerous these are dealt with first. The other non-stative imperfectives are presented following the active imperfectives, and then finally the stative imperfectives are described.

13.1.1. ACTIVE IMPERFECTIVES

ACTIVE IMPERFECTIVES are imperfective forms that occur with themes involving some sort of action, as opposed to a state. Leer called these PROGRESSIVE IMPERFECTIVES in his dissertation (Leer 1991) but previously called them ‘active’ (Leer 1976; Williams, Williams, & Leer 1978) and now does so again (Leer 2000). Like all non-stative imperfectives they have [-I] in the classifier, except the *yoo=CL[+I]-...-k* have CL[+I] active imperfective. The various subtypes of active imperfectives are distinguished by their stem variation in the realis forms. Themes with a particular subtype of active imperfective do have some common meanings, but this commonality is rather unreliable so that the phonological differences between the various stem variations is more prominent than any semantics. The following outline lists the different subtypes of active imperfectives with their semantic properties as given by Leer (1991: 244–245):

- -: Active — action leading to product or oral activity: making, cutting (creating product), roasting, inflating, chewing, spitting, licking, telling, whistling, weeping, selling
- -' Active — rare, mostly denoting oral activity: eating, drinking, saying, weeping, working
- -h Active — action viewed as process, especially physical manipulation: binding, rolling up, mashing, wringing, rubbing, peeling, shaving, scratching, pushing with stick, hunting, gathering, fighting, playing, dancing, telling a story, laughing, asking
- -x Active — action leading to transformation from one state to another: boiling, steaming, soaking, freezing, thawing, removing contents, shaping, growing
- -k Active — actions involving repeated contact with a back-and-forth motion: stroking, sweeping, wiping
- CL[+I]-...-k Active — rare, series of back-and-forth actions: breathing, blinking

- *yoo=CL[+I]-...-k* Active —
- *-ch* Active — rare: plural falling, shouting
- *DIR=...-ch* Active —
- *-t* Active — series of discrete actions involving repeated contact which is instantaneous and usually violent: hitting, shooting, poking, cutting to pieces
- *-s'* Active — series of actions involving repeated contact with cumulative result: sewing, rubbing, feeling, shaking, knocking, encouraging, advising
- *-l'* Active — unique theme: grinding
- *-x'* Active — action involving movement or transformation of discrete multiple entities
- *-t'* Active — action leading to destruction of discrete multiple entities: burning, dying

The following example demonstrates a theme which has a *-:* active imperfective as its primary imperfective form. Note that the theme, *O-S-CL[-D,∅]-nik* (*na; -:* Act) ‘S tell O’, denotes a kind of oral activity. This is characteristic of themes which have a *-:* active imperfective. The zero conjugation marker *∅-* is common with nearly all imperfectives, and since this is an active theme it has *[-I]* in the classifier. The *-:* stem variation suffix produces a basic stem shape with a long vowel and high tone for closed roots as this example shows, and also long and high for open roots.

(130) *active imperfective with -:*

kaxanéek

∅-ka-∅-xa-∅-nik-:

3.0-HSFC-ZCNJ-1SG.S-CL[-D,∅,-I]-tell-**VAR**

theme: *O-S-CL[-D,∅]-nik* (*na; -:* Act) ‘S tell O’

‘I’m telling it’ (Leer 1991: 247)

The next sentence is an example of an active imperfective with *-'* stem variation. This type of stem variation only occurs with open roots, as detailed in section 10.5, and produces a basic stem shape with a short vowel and high tone. This particular example is from Roby Littlefield *Koolyéik*³ who asked Richard Marvin [[FIXME: name? clan?]] «*Tsaa eexí gé ixá?*» “Do you eat seal oil?”. Richard Marvin replied with this sentence, which is humorous because it is a sequence of three *xa* syllables.

3. Kook Hít, Kookhittaan Kaagwaantaan; Sheet'ká Kwáan.

where a glottalized stem occurs for an otherwise fading stem in Tongass Tlingit, and in Northern Tlingit a long vowel with high tone occurs where it would otherwise be low tone.

- (133) *active imperfective with -h*
 sh k'ada.ées
 sh-k'a-∅-∅-da-i's-h
 RFLX.O-mouth-ZCNJ-3.S-CL[+D,∅,-I]-hiss-VAR
 'he is whistling under his breath (making an "ees ees" noise)'
 (Leer 1976: 137/53)
 theme: *sh-k'a-S-CL[+D,∅]-i's* (∅; -h Act) 'S whistle under breath'

The meaning of this verb theme is to make a quiet, repetitive sound like [ʔs:ʔs:ʔs:] or one like [ʔuʔuʔu]. This is often done by people when idling during some activity, or when pausing momentarily to consider the course of an action. It may also be done as a means of quietly soothing a fussing infant. The root is probably onomatopoeitic. In Tongass Tlingit this example would have the form *sh k'ada.i's*, i.e. /ʃq'ataʔi's/, with a glottalized vowel in the stem.

The -x active imperfective is demonstrated below with the theme *O-ka-CL[-D,∅]-a* (*na*; -x Act) 'O (plant, tree) grow'. This theme has the promiscuous root $\sqrt{.a}$ 'end move, extend' which denotes the movement or extension of the end of an object, as also found in themes like *kee-CL[-D,∅]-a* (*na*; -h Stv, -ch Rep) 'dawn', *O-yā-CL[-D,∅]-a* (*na*; -x Act) 'O (fish) migrate', *P-náx O-x'a-ka-CL[+D,s]-a* (∅; -y Stv) 'O (pointy) be sticking out of P', and so forth. This particular theme has a -x active imperfective, which is characteristic of themes that denote activities that are transformation from one state to another and which happen in a relatively repetitive or continuous manner.

- (134) *active imperfective with -x*
 daa sá i táayi geix'
 daa sá i táay-yí gei-x'
 what Q 2SG.PSS garden-PSS between.folds-LOC
 ka.éix ?
 ∅-ka-∅-∅-a-x
 3.O-HSFC-ZCNJ-CL[-D,∅,-I]-move.end-REP
 'what is growing in your garden?' (Story & Naish 1973: 103)
 theme: *O-ka-CL[-D,∅]-a* (*na*; -x Act) 'O (plant, tree) grow'

The next example also demonstrates the same $-x$ active imperfective but this time with the closed root $\sqrt{.it}$ 'soak'. Coincidentally this root also has two forms \sqrt{it} and $\sqrt{.ut}$ according to Story & Naish (1973: 201), but this is not confirmed by Leer (1976: 135/52, 1978: 7) who only lists $\sqrt{.it}$ and gives $\sqrt{.ut}$ as only 'adhere by suction' (Leer 1976: 154/58, 1978: 9).

- (135) *active imperfective with -x*
 shaaw kadul.ít'x
 shaaw Ø-ka-Ø-du-la-.it'-x
 gumboot 3.0-HSFC-ZCNJ-INDH.S-CL[-D,l,-I]-soak-REP
 'they soak gumboots' (Story & Naish 1973: 201)
 theme: *O-ka-S-CL[-D,l]-.it'~.ut' (?) ; -x Act* 'S soak O'

This example also demonstrates the 'habitualish' use of active imperfectives when they occur with an indefinite human subject or with a third person subject. This particular use is an expression of what might otherwise be considered to be a habitual activity, and could thus be expected to be given in the habitual mode (section 13.6). The distinction between true habituals and this 'habitualish' use of the imperfective seems to be based on the referentiality of the person involved, so that an indefinite human 'somebody, people' or a generic third person 'a person' merits the active imperfective and a definite human merits a true habitual. This distinction could also be due to whether the speaker is emphasizing the activity in which case they select the active imperfective, or whether they are emphasizing the disposition of the actor in which case they select the habitual. This is still an open area of research, though Leer (1991: 356–365, 393–423) discusses this issue in some detail in his study of the semantics of imperfectives and habituals.

The $-k$ active imperfective occurs with verb themes that denote an activity involving repeated back-and-forth motion in contact with a surface. The next example shows the theme *O-S-CL[-D,l]-gu* (*ga~na; -k Act*) 'S wipe O' which has a $-k$ active imperfective form as its primary imperfective. It should be noted that the root \sqrt{gu} behaves somewhat irregularly here, undergoing the usual apophony triggered by the $-k$ suffix but with the rounding of the onset consonant being lost unlike with apophony of other roots containing a round u vowel (Leer 1991: 153); thus *géikw* and not **gwéikw*. This is a lexically specified irregularity of this particular root. Also this theme is apparently in the process of shifting from the more conservative *ga*-conjugation class to the more widespread *na*-conjugation class (Leer 1991: 272), hence the representation of the conjugation class as *ga~na*. This inconsistency be-

tween conjugation classes has no effect on the form of the active imperfective, however.

- (136) *active imperfective with -k*
 xalagéikw
 Ø-Ø-xa-la-gu-k
 3.0-ZCNJ-1SG.S-CL[-D,l,-I]-wipe-REP
 ‘I’m wiping it’ (Leer 1991: 271)
 theme: O-S-CL[-D,l]-gu (ga~na; -k Act) ‘S wipe O’

The denotation of this theme is enough to explain why it takes a *-k* active imperfective that looks suspiciously similar to repetitive imperfectives. The action of wiping something denoted by this theme is a nearly instantaneous activity, with a single wipe only taking a moment in most situations. This momentaneousness is then difficult to reconcile with the imperfective aspect which generally extends over a period of time before and after the now-point on timeline of the situation. Consequently the active imperfective form denotes not the instantaneous action of wiping, but instead a sequence of repeated wiping acts over a period of time.

- (137) *active imperfective with CL[+I]-...-k*
 ch’a yeisú diséikw
 ch’a yeisú Ø-Ø-di-sa^w-k
 just still ZCNJ-3.S-CL[+D,Ø,+I]-breathe-REP
 ‘he’s still breathing’ (Story & Naish 1973: 35)
 theme: S-CL[+D,Ø]-sa^w (na; [+I]-...-k Act) ‘S breathe’

- (138) *active imperfective with -ch*
 kadás’ kadagátch
 kadás’ Ø-ka-Ø-da-gat-ch
 hail 3.0-HSFC-ZCNJ-CL[+D,Ø,-I]-fall.PL-REP
 ‘hail is falling’ (Story & Naish 1973: 85)
 theme: O-ka-CL[+D,Ø]-gat (ga; -ch Act) ‘O (pl.; small round objects) fall’

- (139) *active imperfective with -t*
 gúnxaa altákt
 gúnxaa a-Ø-Ø-la-tak-t
 abalone 3.0-ZCNJ-3.S-CL[-D,l,-I]-poke-SER
 ‘he’s poking abalone’ (Story & Naish 1973: 154)
 theme: O-S-CL[-D,l]-tak (Ø; -: Act, -t Act) ‘S poke O’

[[FIXME: The *da*- classifier is deleted with preceding *du*-, see section 9.1.]]

- (140) *active imperfective with -s'*
 tl'iknaa.át een dukéís'
 tl'eeḱ-naa.át ee-n Ø-Ø-du-da-ka-s'
 finger-clothing BASE-INSTR 3.0-ZCNJ-INDH.S-CL[+D,Ø,-I]-sew-SER
 'people sew with a thimble' (Edwards 2009: 164)
 theme: *O-S-CL[+D,Ø]-ka* (Ø; -s' Act) 'S sew O'
- (141) *active imperfective with -l'*
 dleey aklaxákwl'
 dleey a-ka-Ø-Ø-la-xakw-l'
 meat 3.0-HSFC-ZCNJ-3.S-CL[-D,l,-I]-grind-SER
 'he's grinding meat' (Story & Naish 1973: 102)
 theme: *O-ka-S-CL[-D,l]-xakw* (Ø; -l' Act) 'S grind, smush O'
- (142) *active imperfective with -x'*
 neildé ashatlékwx'
 neil-dé=a-sha-Ø-Ø-Ø-tlékw-x'
 home-ALL=3.0-head-ZCNJ-3.S-CL[-D,Ø,-I]-grab.up-PL
 'he grabbed and took them inside' (Story & Naish 1973: 102)
 theme: *O-sha-S-CL[-D,Ø]-tlekw* (na; -x' Act) 'S grab and take O'

[[FIXME: Leer definitely wrote *has náat'* but why isn't this **has néit'* instead? Usually a *a* vowel undergoes apophony with a *-X* suffix, i.e. *CV̆:-X*, but that's not happening here.]]

- (143) *active imperfective with -t'*
 has náat'
 has=Ø-Ø-Ø-na-t'
 PL=3.0-ZCNJ-CL[-D,Ø,-I]-die-PL
 'they are dying off' (Leer 1978: 243/85)

The root \sqrt{gan} 'burn' shows up in a few themes that have a *-t'* active imperfective. Since this root is closed, the stem is *gánt'* with a short vowel and high tone. Story & Naish (1973: 318) treated the root \sqrt{gan} as distinct from $\sqrt{gánt'}$, and judging by their definitions of the themes as "burn (usually out of doors), burn over an area" and "burn (esp. trash)" they were not aware of the pluralization implied by the *-t'* suffix. In addition they did not understand that the S component difference of \emptyset versus *s* in the various themes based on

\sqrt{gan} does not actually distinguish intransitives and transitives. Instead, as Leer (1976: 645/365) documented, there are pairs of *O-S-CL[-D,s]-gan* (*na*; Evt) ‘S burn O’ and *O-CL[-D,s]-gan* (*na*; Evt) ‘O burn’, as demonstrated by *awsigaan* ‘he burned it’ and *wusigaan* ‘it burned’, as well as *O-ka-S-CL[-D,s]-gan* (*na*; Evt) ‘S burn surface of O’ and *O-ka-CL[-D,s]-gan* (*na*; Evt) ‘surface of O burn’ as in *akawsigaan* ‘he burned it’ and *kawsigaan* ‘it burned’.

Being eventive the above themes lack primary imperfectives, thus there is no form such as **asgáan* ‘he’s burning it’. Instead *-t’* is used to form a secondary imperfective which includes the additional meaning of a plurality of objects. In this case the *-t’* may not only be plural but also pluractional, since it might denote a single action of burning multiple objects or a plurality of actions of burning individual objects. Note that all the forms with *-t’* that have been attested are transitive, so that it may be possible that the plurality and/or pluractionality has an additional presupposition of the existence of an agent, an issue which needs to be checked with native speakers.

The first pair of examples below contrasts the future of *O-CL[-D,s]-gan* (*na*; Evt) ‘O burn’ and the secondary active imperfective of *O-S-CL[-D,s]-gan* (*na*; Evt) ‘S burn O’ with the *-t’* suffix. I present these in contrast because I lack examples of non-imperfective forms of the transitive themes.

(144) a. *future*

i k’wádli kaadé guxsagáan
 i k’wátl-ýí ká-dé Ø-ga-w-ga-sa-gan-:
 2SG.PSS pot-PSS HSFC-ALL 3.O-GCNJ-IRR-GCNJ-CL[-D,s,-I]-burn-VAR
 ‘your pot (and its contents) will burn’ (Story & Naish 1973: 38)

b. *active imperfective with -t’*

naa.át aksagánt’
 naa.át a-ka-Ø-Ø-sa-gan-t’
 clothing 3.O-HSFC-ZCNJ-3.S-CL[-D,s,-I]-burn-PL
 ‘he is burning clothing’ (Story & Naish 1973: 38)

The next pair of examples contrast the (atelic, non-Ø-class) perfective of the theme *O-ka-CL[-D,s]-gan* (*na*; Evt) ‘surface of O burn’ with the secondary active imperfective of the theme *O-ka-S-CL[-D,s]-gan* (*na*; Evt) ‘S burn surface of O’.

13.1.2. POSITIONAL IMPERFECTIVES

Positional themes are unusual in that they can only occur in the imperfective mode, unlike any other types of themes. [[FIXME: xref to theme types]] Positional imperfectives are identical in form to active imperfectives, they are only distinguished by their semantics and by the fact that positional themes do not occur with all of the stem variations found among active themes. Indeed, the only stem variations that do occur with positional imperfectives are *-:*, *-'*, and *-n*.

The following example demonstrates a typical positional imperfective, one with *-:* stem variation. As with other non-stative imperfectives the positional imperfective is characterized by $[-I]$ in the classifier and the \emptyset -conjugation class prefix.

- (147) *positional imperfective with -:*
- | | | | |
|-------------|-----------|---------------------------------------|--------|
| t'ook | kát | as.áa | du |
| t'ook | ká-t | a- \emptyset - \emptyset -sa-.a-: | du |
| cradleboard | HSFC-PNCT | 3.0-ZCNJ-3.S-CL[-D,S,-I]-seat-VAR | 3H.PSS |
| yádi | | | |
| yát-ýí | | | |
| child-PSS | | | |
- 'he has his child seated on the cradleboard' (Edwards 2009: 328)
 theme: *P-t O-S-CL[-D,S]-a (na; -:* Pos) 'S have O seated at P'

Leer (1991: 324) considers positional themes to be derived, with an obligatory *P-t* postpositional phrase where *P* is the location of the verb's object. He says that positional imperfectives usually have a semantic relationship with some other theme that supplies the non-imperfective modes. Edwards (2009: 168) gives the theme *S-CL[-D, \emptyset]-ki (na?; -n Pos)* 'S (pl.) be seated'. Contra Leer, she states that this verb theme has an *optional* postpositional phrase *P-t*, thus allowing both of the following examples.

- (148) a. has k_éen
 has= \emptyset - \emptyset - \emptyset -k_i-n
 PL=ZCNJ-3.S-CL[-D, \emptyset , -I]-sit.PL-VAR
 'they are sitting' (Edwards 2009: 168)
 theme: *S-CL[-D, \emptyset]-ki (na?; -n Pos)* 'S (pl.) be seated'

- b. át has kéen
 á-t has=Ø-Ø-Ø-ki-n
 3N-PNCT PL=ZCNJ-3.S-CL[-D,Ø,-I]-sit.PL-VAR
 ‘they are sitting there’ (Edwards 2009: 168)
 theme: *P-t S-CL[-D,Ø]-ki* (*na?*; *-n* Pos) ‘S (pl.) be seated at P’

The related theme *S-CL[-D,Ø]-ki* (*ga*; *Evt*) ‘S (pl.) sit down’ (Edwards 2009: 168) is the non-positional counterpart to the previous theme. This theme, being eventive, lacks a primary imperfective form, but it does have forms of the other modes such as perfective, repetitive imperfective, and so forth.

The following is a positional imperfective according to Leer (1991: 247).

- (149) *positional imperfective with -’*
 xatá
 Ø-xa-Ø-ta^h-’
 ZCNJ-1SG.S-CL[-D,Ø,-I]-sleep-VAR
 ‘I’m sleeping’ (Leer 1991: 247)
 theme: *S-CL[-D,Ø]-ta^h* (*na*; *-’* Pos) ‘S sleep’

This may in fact not be a positional imperfective for two reasons. One is that Leer also gives a perfective form of this theme which is peculiar if it is positional, but reasonable if it is an active verb. The second reason is that this is the only positional imperfective recorded that has *-’* stem variation, a fact which Leer (1991: 244) notes. Edwards (2009: 227) instead lists this verb as an active theme, with a perfective, an active imperfective (probably *-’* but this is not clear from Edwards’s notation), and a *-x* repetitive imperfective. She also gives the following example of a subordinated hortative form of this theme.⁶

- (150) haaw yan awli.át a káa
 haaw yan=a-ÿu-Ø-li-.at-ÿ a ká-’
 branch ABMAR=3.0-PFV-3.S-CL[-D,l,+I]-handle.PL-VAR 3N.PSS HSFC-LOC
ngataayít
na-ga-Ø-Ø-ta-h-ée-t
 NCNJ-ḠMOD-3.S-CL[-D,Ø,-I]-sleep-VAR-SUB-PNCT
 ‘he put down branches in order to sleep on them’
 (Edwards 2009: 227)

6. Edwards’s translation ‘he put branches down so he could sleep on them’ leads one to surmise that this verb is a potential because of the ‘could’, but the verb is actually a ‘purposive’ (Story 1966: 106) that is constructed from a subordinated hortative with the punctual case suffix added. I think my translation is more accurate.

Class	Preverb	Example
∅	<i>yaa=</i>	<i>aadé yaa has na.át</i> ‘they are walking along there’
na	<i>yaa=</i>	<i>aagáa yaa kunashéen</i> ‘he is going along searching for it’
ga	<i>yei=</i>	<i>yei andagán</i> ‘it is getting sunny’
ga	<i>kei=</i>	<i>kei ndahán</i> ‘he is standing up’

Table 13.5: Conjugation class and progressive imperfective directional preverbs. Adapted from (Edwards 2009: 25).

13.1.3. REPETITIVE IMPERFECTIVES

[[FIXME: Note ITERATIVE IMPERFECTIVES, MULTIPLE-ITERATIVE IMPERFECTIVES, and CONATIVE IMPERFECTIVES (Leer 1991:239). The former two “freely form epiaspectual paradigms”.]]

[[FIXME: Also OCCASIONAL.]]

13.1.4. PROGRESSIVE IMPERFECTIVE

PROGRESSIVE IMPERFECTIVES are only secondary imperfectives, never primary imperfectives for any theme. Progressive imperfectives are characterized by the appearance of the *na-* conjugation prefix. They also have [-I] in the classifier for both realis and irrealis forms, and have the *-n* stem variation suffix. Although the *na-* conjugation prefix is always present, progressives are nonetheless sensitive to conjugation class, with each class having a specific directional preverb. The distribution of preverbs selected by the progressive imperfective and conjugation class is given in table 13.5.

The ∅- and *na-*conjugation classes both select the *yaa=* ‘along’ preverb, an unusual division which ignores the telicity split between ∅ and the other three classes. This particular *yaa=* is not the same as the homophonous preverb referring to mental activity that shows up in themes such as *yaa=ku-S-CL[+D,s]-ge* (*ga*; -y Stv) ‘S be intelligent, wise’. Leer (1991: 135–136) takes some pains to show that the two preverbs must be ordered separately, so that *yaa=* ‘along’ occurs in slot +17A whereas *yaa=* ‘MENT’ occurs in +17B; in addition he notes that *yaa=* ‘along’ is in complementary distribution with the other directional preverbs (Leer 1991: 136).

- (151) a. aadé **yaa** has **na.át**
 á-dé **yaa=has=na-∅-∅.at-n**
 3N-ALL **along=PL=NCNJ-3.S-CL[-D,∅,-I]-GO.PL-VAR**
 ‘they are walking along toward there’
 theme: *P-{t,x,dé} O-CL[-D,∅]-.at (∅; -h Rep Mot) ‘O (pl.) go by foot to P’*
- b. aagáa **yaa** **kunashéen**
 á-gáa **yaa=kun-na-∅-∅-shi-n**
 3N-ADES **along=AREAL-NCNJ-3.S-CL[-D,∅,-I]-search-VAR**
 ‘he is going along searching for it’
 theme: *P-gáa S-CL[-D,∅]-shi (na; -h Rep Mot) ‘S search for P’*
- c. **yei andagán**
yei=a-na-da-gan-n
down=3.0-NCNJ-CL[+D,∅,-I]-burn-VAR
 ‘it is getting sunny’
 theme: *a-CL[+D,∅]-gan (ga; -h ?) ‘sun shine’*
- d. **kei ndahán**
kei=na-∅-da-han-n
up=NCNJ-3.S-CL[+D,∅,-I]-stand-VAR
 ‘he is standing up’
 theme: *S-CL[+D,∅]-han (ga; -h Rep Mot) ‘S stand up’*

13.1.5. STATIVE IMPERFECTIVES

13.2. DECLARATIVE MODES: PERFECTIVES

The meaning of the Tlingit perfective is cross-linguistically typical, in that it denotes a situation which began at some point in the past and either in the case of a state it continues to persist to the time of utterance or in the case of a non-state it is implied to have ceased at utterance time.

The basic perfective prefix is *yü-*. This is usually found as *wu-* and has been given that way by Cable (2006). The use of *yü* rather than *w* is because of the form of perfectives with second person subjects. When occurring with the second person singular subject *i-* the combination of the two as *yü-i-* occurs as *yü* (*yee* when with the classifier *yá-*). Thus the following example with both Northern Tlingit and Tongass Tlingit forms.

- (152) *yisiteen_N*
ÿisitihn_T
 Ø-ÿu-i-si-tin-h
 3.0-PFV-2SG.S-CL[-D,S,+I]-see-VAR
 ‘you (sg.) saw it’

The plural has a similar appearance, where the sequence of the perfective *ÿu-* and the second person plural subject *ÿi-* arising as *ÿeeÿ*. The Northern and Tongass forms make this evident.

- (153) *ÿeeysiteen_N*
ÿihÿisitihn_T
 Ø-ÿu-ÿi-si-tin-h
 3.0-PFV-2PL.S-CL[-D,S,+I]-see-VAR
 ‘you (pl.) saw it’

If we were to describe the perfective prefix on the sole basis of (non-conservative) Northern Tlingit then we would be forced to deal with the difficult alternation between *w* and *y*, where *w* would usually win due to regular spread of rounding but not in this particular case. Tongass and conservative Northern Tlingit preserved the *ÿ* as a distinct phoneme, and it seems that here we can analyze the vowel *u* of the perfective prefix *ÿu-* as being lost, but the *ÿ* as remaining. For similar reasons the second person plural has *ÿ*, since we would expect a glide *y* to arise from a vowel *i*, but instead we find *ÿ*.

Although the preceding discussion treated the perfective as a single mode, there are actually two kinds of perfectives depending on whether the theme is telic or atelic, as defined by the Ø-conjugation class on the one hand and the *na-*, *ga-*, and *ga-* conjugation classes on the other (see chapter 12). Atelic perfectives always occur with the perfective prefix *ÿu-*, as well as with the *-h* stem variation suffix. Telic perfectives have the *-ÿ* stem variation suffix instead. Telic perfectives have a distinct perfective prefix *u-* which is indistinguishable from the atelic perfective prefix except where the subject or object is zero (third person) and the classifier is CL[-D,Ø].

- (154) a. *telic perfective*
shgóont **uwagút**
shgóon-t **u-Ø-ÿa-gut-ÿ**
 school-PNCT **PFV.TEL-3.S-CL[-D,Ø,+I]-go.SG-VAR**
 ‘he got to school’
 theme: *P-{t,x,dé} S-CL[-D,Ø]-gut (Ø; -h Rep Mot)* ‘S arrive at P’

b. *atelic perfective*shgóonde **woogoot**shgóon-dé **ÿu-Ø-ÿa-gut-h**school-ALL **PFV-3.S-CL[-D,Ø,+I]-go.SG-VAR**

'he went toward school'

theme: *P-dé S-CL[-D,Ø]-gut (na; yoo=[+I]-...-k Rep Mot) 'S go toward P'*

The above pair illustrate two motion derivations as described in section 12.1. The first theme is derived into the \emptyset -conjugation class which is telic. The second theme is derived into the *na*-conjugation class, one of the three {*na, ga, ga*} atelic classes. Each type has a different postposition associated with it, the telic one being *-t* in the perfective and the atelic one always being *-dé*.

The *u*-telic perfective prefix is indistinguishable from the atelic perfective prefix except in the special cases where the subject prefix is \emptyset - or absent, and the object prefix is \emptyset - (not *a*-) or absent. Compare the previous examples with the following two which have a first person subject instead.

(155) a. *telic perfective*shgóont **ẋwaagút**shgóon-t **u-ẋa-ÿa-gut-ÿ**school-PNCT **PFV.TEL-1SG.S-CL[-D,Ø,+I]-go.SG-VAR**

'I got to school'

b. *atelic perfective*shgóonde **ẋwaagoot**shgóon-dé **ÿu-ẋa-ÿa-gut-h**school-ALL **PFV-1SG.S-CL[-D,Ø,+I]-go.SG-VAR**

'I went toward school'

Non-motion themes also feature the same distinction, being telic or atelic depending on their lexically specified conjugation class.

(156) a. *atelic perfective***woogaax̄****ÿu-Ø-ÿa-gax̄-h****PFV-3.S-CL[-D,Ø,+I]-cry-VAR**

'he cried'

theme: *S-CL[-D,Ø]-gax̄ (ga; -ch Act) 'S cry'*

b. *telic perfective*

at uwaxáa

at-u- \emptyset - \dot{y} a-xa- \dot{y} INDN.O-PFV.TEL-3.S-CL[-D, \emptyset ,+I]-eat-VAR

'he ate'

theme: *at-S-CL[-D, \emptyset]-xa* (\emptyset ; -h Act) 'S eat'

Some themes have invariable roots and hence it can be difficult to tell whether the theme has a telic or atelic perfective.

(157) woosháash

 \emptyset - \dot{y} u- \dot{y} a-sháash3.O-PFV-CL[-D, \emptyset ,+I]-wear.out

'it wore out'

theme: *O-CL[-D, \emptyset]-sháash^x* (*ga*; Evt, -ch Rep) 'O wear out by friction'

In such cases the conjugation class still applies, it is merely that the distinction between the \emptyset -class on the one hand and the *na-*, *ga-*, and *ga*-class on the other is not visible in the perfective since this distinction is only signalled by stem variation. The example above is atelic since it is a member of the *ga*-conjugation class, thus if this were not an invariable root it would be expected to have the form **shaash*.

There are a very few themes which lack perfectives. One example is *O-tu-CL[-D,l]-an* (*ga*; -h Stv) 'O be kind, gentle' which only occurs in the imperfective as *tuli.aan* 'he is kind' and does not have a perfective form. Another example is *O-ka-CL[+D,l]-ch'ách'x^x* (?; Stv) 'O (natural obj.) be spotted' which has the form *kadlich'ách'x* 'it (rock, wood) is spotted' and also cannot occur in the perfective.

13.3. DECLARATIVE MODES: REALIZATIONAL

The realizational mode is an archaicism that is all but dead in modern Tlingit. It can be found in songs and in some set phrases, and it very occasionally occurs in the speech of highly skilled orators. Semantically it is similar to the perfective, but expresses the speaker's relief or surprise about the perfectivity of the situation. Leer (1991: 379) says that it "seems to convey an impression of vividness or immediacy".

The realizational is formed from the verb theme's conjugation class prefix, [+I] in the classifier, and the -: stem variation suffix. Since this mode is so rare, the examples here are all taken from those collected by (Leer 1991).

- (158) wáa sáyá dé at **naanée** ?
 wáa sá-ŷá dé at-**na-ŷa**-ni-:
 how Q-PROX now INDN.O-NCNJ-CL[-D,Ø,+I]-happen-VAR
 ‘what (on earth) has happened now?’ (Leer 1991: 379)

The example above illustrates the eventive theme $O\text{-CL}[-D,Ø]\text{-}ni_{TSRI}\sim ne$ (*na*; Evt) ‘happen to O’. This theme is a member of the *na*-conjugation class, hence the realizational appears with *na*-. The classifier *ŷa*- is contracted with the preceding *na*- to produce *naa*, and with the open root the stem variation suffix -: gives *CV̇*: in Southern and Northern Tlingit.

- (159) yéi **naaté** aankáawu
 yéi=Ø-**na-ŷa**-ti^h-: aankáawu
 thus=3.O-NCNJ-CL[-D,Ø,+I]-be-VAR aristocrat
 xat gasháa
 xat-Ø-ga-Ø-Ø-sha-ŷ
 1SG.O-ZCNJ-GMOD-3.S-CL[-D,Ø,-I]-marry-VAR
 ‘let it be that an aristocrat should marry me’ (Leer 1991: 379)

- (160) shunliháash aḵ adaawóotli
 Ø-shu-na-li-hash-: aḵ adaawóotl-ŷí
 3.O-end-NCNJ-CL[-D,l,+I]-float-VAR 1SG.PSS trouble-PSS
 ‘my trouble has floated away’ (Leer 1991: 380)

- (161) aḵ leelak’w hás hídi anák
 aḵ léel(a)k’w=hás hít-ŷí a-nák
 1SG.PSS grandparent=PL house-PSS 3N-ELAT
 yéi naḵjigéet
 yéi=Ø-na-xa-ji-git-:
 thus=3.O-NCNJ-1SG.S-CL[+D,sh,+I]-fall-VAR
 ‘I have put my grandparents’ house behind me’ (Leer 1991: 380)
 theme: $O\text{-S-CL}[+D,sh]\text{-}git$ (*na*; -? Act) ‘S leave behind O’

- (162) daak galis’ées du toowú
 daak=Ø-ga-li-s’is-: du tú-ŷí
 ADMAR=3.O-GCNJ-CL[-D,l,+I]-blow-VAR 3H.PSS inside-PSS
 i yéili
 i yéil-ŷí
 2SG.PSS raven-PSS
 ‘your raven’s soul has blown out to sea’ (Leer 1991: 381)

Leer (1991: 380) says that the following example is “the only instance where I have heard the Realizational used spontaneously in conversation”. In keeping with his usual practice, Leer does not segment the example. He does not say who uttered it, and since he gives it in his idealized transcription it is impossible to determine the original dialect.

- (163) *yanaxtuwadláak*
 Ø-*ya*-*na-ga*-*tu-ya*-*dlak*-{:h}?
 3.0-VSFC-NCNJ-**G**MOD-1PL.S-CL[-D,Ø,+I]-win-VAR
 ‘we’ve made it!’ (Leer 1991: 380)

Leer’s claim that this is an example of the realizational is somewhat problematic. The sequence *naxtu* is the usual surface form of the prefixes *na-ga-tu-*. Since *tu-* here is indisputably the first person plural subject, as confirmed by the English translation, the *x* cannot be the first person singular subject. Thus *ga-* has to be the *ga*-mode prefix. This has never been reported as being part of the realizational mode, but is instead expected in the hortative which is composed of *cnj-ga-[-I]-...-h~ỵ-(ih)*. The presence of *wa* in *naxtuwa* indicates that the classifier is *ya-*, hence having [+I] in contrast with the hortative’s [-I]. The only mode where the *ga*-mode prefix occurs with a conjugation class prefix and [+I] is the potential, but this would also have the irrealis *u-* that should surface as something like either **yoonaxtuwadláak* or **yoonaxtuwadlaak* depending on stem variation (-*ỵ* or -*h* respectively).

13.4. DECLARATIVE MODES: FUTURE

The future is one of the least complicated modes in Tlingit from a learner’s perspective, but it has some unusual morphological and semantic properties. Futures always contain the string of prefixes *ga-w-ga-* where *ga-* is the *ga*-conjugation prefix, *w-* is an allomorph of the irrealis prefix, and *ga-* is the *ga*-mode prefix. The latter prefix does not seem to have any independent meaning, it is simply a morphological adjunct that helps to distinguish certain modes from others. The *w-* prefix is similar to the more usual *u-* irrealis prefix, and can be analyzed as contributing the irrealis part of the semantics of the future, though Leer (1991) avoids addressing its meaning.

In addition to the prefix string *ga-w-ga-*, the future also always occurs with [-I] in the classifier. Conceptually this can be thought of as the future not being a state, which accords not only with its point-like temporal semantics but also with the fact that the future is not realized.

The positive future is reliably distinguished from the negative future, with the positive form having *-:* stem variation and the negative form having *-h* stem variation. The following example demonstrates this distinction.

- (164) a. *positive future*
 neildé kkwagóot
 neil-dé=ga-w-ga-xa- \emptyset -gut-:
 home-ALL=GCNJ-IRR-GMOD-1SG.S-CL[-D, \emptyset ,-I]-go.SG-VAR
 ‘I will go home’
- b. *negative future*
 tléil neildé kkwagoot
 tléil neil-dé=ga-w-ga-xa- \emptyset -gut-h
 NEG home-ALL=GCNJ-IRR-GMOD-1SG.S-CL[-D, \emptyset ,-I]-go.SG-VAR
 ‘I won’t go home’

13.5. DECLARATIVE MODES: POTENTIAL

- (165) ch’u tle yé a xánt
 ch’u tle yé a xán-t
 even just thus 3N.PSS near-PNCT
 ayeel’óoni tsá
 a-yü-i- \emptyset -l’u’n-h-ée tsá
 3.0-PFV-2SG.S-CL[-D, \emptyset ,-I]-hunt-VAR-SUB only.then
 giya.óon
 \emptyset -u- \emptyset -ga-i-ÿa-u’n-h
 3.0-IRR-ZCNJ-GMOD-2SG.S-CL[-D, \emptyset ,+I]-shoot-VAR
 ‘when you have gotten near it, then you can shoot it’ (Leer 1991: 386)
- (166) ch’a goot’aagáan sá tsá
 ch’a goot’aagáan sá tsá
 even whenever Q only.then
 yéi nkwasinee
 yéi= \emptyset -u-na-ga-xa-si-ni-h
 thus=3.0-IRR-NCNJ-GMOD-1SG.S-CL[-D,S,+I]-do-VAR
 ‘someday I can do it’ (Leer 1991: 386)

- (167) ch'a yáax' ganú
 ch'a yá-x' ga-∅-∅-nuk-h
 even PROX-LOC GCNJ-2SG.S-CL[-D,∅,-I]-sit-VAR
 iḵduwajaak
 i-u-∅-ga-du-ya-jak-h
 2SG.O-IRR-ZCNJ-GMOD-INDH.S-CL[-D,∅,+I]-kill-VAR
 'sit right here, (or else) someone might kill you' (Leer 1991: 386)
 theme: S-CL[-D,∅]-nuk (ga; -? Act) 'S (sg.) sit down'
 theme: O-S-CL[-D,∅]-jak (∅; Event.) 'S kill O'
- (168) daagu káach sá xat gwaaxsineix ?
 daakw káa-ch sá xat-ga-u-ga-∅-si-nex-h
 which man-ERG Q 1SG.O-GCNJ-IRR-GMOD-3.S-CL[-D,S,+I]-save-VAR
 'which man can save me?' (Leer 1991: 387)
 theme: O-S-CL[-D,S]-nex (ga; -? Act) 'S save, rescue O'

13.6. DECLARATIVE MODES: HABITUALS

- (169) a dahkak'ats'i aweh
 a dah-ka-k'ats'-yi a-weh
 3N.PSS around-HSFC-thorn-PSS FOC-MDST
 ahx (w?)duxas'ch s'e
 a-dax=∅-u-∅-du-∅-xas'-y-ch s'e
 3N-ABL=3.O-IRR-ZCNJ-INDH.S-CL[-D,∅,-I]-scrape-VAR-HAB initially
 'initially the thorns are scraped off of it'
 (Williams, Williams, & Leer 1978: 48)

13.7. DEONTIC MODES: IMPERATIVES

13.8. DEONTIC MODES: HORTATIVE AND ADMONITIVE

13.9. CIRCUMSTANTIAL MODES: CONSECUTIVE, CONDITIONAL, CONTINGENT

The circumstantial modes comprise the consecutive, conditional, and contingent. The CONSECUTIVE mode indicates that the described event or prop-

13.9. Circumstantial modes: consecutive, conditional, contingent

erty occurs subsequent to some other circumstance. It is conventionally translated as ‘when’, i.e. ‘when V occurs’ for the marked V. The consecutive mode is formed with the theme’s conjugation prefix, [II] in the classifier, and the -: stem variation suffix. As a string this can be represented *CNJ-CL[-I]-...-:*.

(170) *consecutive*

ách áyá atx gadaháan
 ách á-yá á-dáx ga-∅-da-han-:
 EXPLN FOC-PROX 3N-ABL GCNJ-3.S-CL[+D,∅,-I]-stand.SG-VAR
 ldakát du daa yéi yatee
 ldakát du daa-∅ yéi=∅-∅-jä-ti-h
 all 3H.PSS around-LOC thus=ZCNJ-3.S-CL[-D,∅,+I]-be-VAR
 ‘so she stands up from it and it’s all over her’
 (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1987: 196)
 theme: *S-CL[+D,∅]-han* (*ga*; -*ch* Rep Mot) ‘S (sg.) stand up’
 theme: *yéi=∅-CL[-D,∅]-ti^h* (*na*; -*h* Stv) ‘O be thus, so’

This particular example is from Frank Dick Sr. *Naakil.aan*’s rendition of the popular ‘Girl who Married the Brown Bear’ story. The context here is that the girl has just stepped in a pile of brown bear feces, slipped, and then fallen down. She then proceeds to curse brown bears for their defecatory practices, calling them *tukx’agékákwx’w* or ‘big basket anuses’ (*túk-x’é-gé-kákw-x’* ‘butt-mouth-large-basket-PL’). The consecutive is the first of the two verbs in the sentence that describes the girl standing up, and this is framed by the stative imperfective verb where the feces ‘is all around on her thus’.

The **CONDITIONAL** mode indicates that the described event or property is a condition for some other circumstance. It is conventionally translated as ‘if’, i.e. ‘if V is/were the case’ for the marked V. The conditional mode is formed with the theme’s conjugation prefix, [-I] in the classifier, the -*n* stem variation suffix, and the conditional suffix -*ee* ~ -*ih*_T. In a string this can be given as *CNJ-[-I]-...-n-ee*.

(171) a. *conditional*

haat gútnee
 haa-t=∅-∅-∅-gut-n-ee
 hither-PNCT=ZCNJ-3.S-CL[-D,∅,-I]-go.SG-VAR-COND
 ‘if he gets here’ (Story 1966: 106)
 theme: *P-{t,x,dé} S-CL[-D,∅]-gut* (*∅*; -*h* Rep Mot) ‘S (sg.) arrive at P’

13.9. Circumstantial modes: consecutive, conditional, contingent

b. *conditional*

sh kanxalneeknee

sh-ka-na-xa-l-neek^x-n-ee

RFLX.O-HSFC-NCNJ-1SG.S-CL[+D,l,-I]-tell-VAR-COND

'if I tell a story' (Leer 1991: 211)

theme: *sh-ka-S-CL[+D,l]-neek^x* (na; Act) 'S tell a story'

The CONTINGENT mode indicates that the described event or property is associated with the occurrence of some other circumstance. It is conventionally translated as 'whenever', i.e. 'whenever V is the case' for the marked V. The contingent mode is formed with the theme's conjugation prefix, the *ga-* mode prefix, [-I] in the classifier, the *-n* stem variation suffix, and the contingent suffix *-ín* ~ *-in_T*. The string representation is *CNJ-ga-CL[-I]-...-n-ín*.

(172) a. *contingent*

haat gagúdin

haa-t=∅-ga-∅-∅-gut-n-ín

hither-PNCT=ZCNJ-GMOD-3.S-CL[-D,∅,-I]-go.SG-VAR-CTING

'whenever he gets here' (Story 1966: 106)

theme: *P-{t,x,dé} S-CL[-D,∅]-gut (∅; -h Rep Mot)* 'S (sg.) arrive at P'

14 Polarity: Realis and irrealis

15 Prefix morphophonology

The morphophonology of Tlingit verb prefixes is labyrinthine. I will describe the morphophonology for Northern Tlingit since I do not yet fully understand the system that is found in Southern and Tongass Tlingit, which is shared to some extent by speakers of Transitional Tlingit. The Northern system and the Tongass–Southern system seem to be distinct, so separate treatment is warranted.

The basic issue in verb prefix morphophonology in Northern Tlingit is metricality, with a strong pressure to contract prefix strings to one or two syllables through syncope (Cable 2006). I call this phenomenon **PREFIX CONTRACTION**. The complex interactions between consonants and vowels in the prefix contraction process give rise to a bewildering variety of patterns with numerous exceptions. Rather than attempt to formally explain this process in a rule-based framework as Leer (1991) did, or in a constraint-based framework as Cable (2006) did, I will instead simply describe the basic contraction patterns in a loosely structured and informal manner.

There are a few phonological domains that can be defined over the prefix contractions. The classifier (+1), subject (+2), and mode prefixes (+4 – +7) are the central domain of contraction, which Cable (2006) terms the **INNER CONJUNCT DOMAIN**.¹ The CV prefixes from the self-benefactive (+8) through the object prefixes (+14) have some influence on the contraction process and Cable (2006) calls these the **OUTER CONJUNCT DOMAIN**. The prefixes within these two domains which participate in prefix contraction are given in table 15.1 on page 182.

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1. The term ‘conjunct’ is by analogy with the similar division between the prefix domains in Athabaskan languages, so the prefixes and proclitics leftward of +14 are thus termed ‘disjunct’ prefixes. This division between disjunct and conjunct may be purely accidental in Tlingit or it may be inherited from a common phenomenon in Proto-Na-Dene. I take no position on that issue, merely considering the terms descriptively convenient.

15. Prefix morphophonology

<i>outer conjunct CV prefixes</i>						<i>inner conjunct prefixes</i>					
+14	+13	+11	+10	+9	+8	+7	+6	+5	+4	+2	+1
i-	ku-	ji-	ya-	ka-	ga-	ga-	u-	∅-	yu-	xa-	∅-
yi-		x'a-					w-	na-	u-	tu-	ya-
a-		k'a-					oo-	ga-	ga-	i-	da-
ku-		tu-								yi-	di-
		shu-								∅-	sa-
		lu-								du-	si-
		se-								du-	s-
		sa-									dzi-
		xa-									la-
		gu-									li-
		ta-									l-
		ki-									dli-
		xi-									sha-
											shi-
											sh-
											ji-

Table 15.1: Verb prefixes participating in prefix contraction.

Ci-		Ca-		C-	
<i>Form</i>	<i>Features</i>	<i>Form</i>	<i>Features</i>	<i>Form</i>	<i>Features</i>
<i>di-</i>	+D ∅ +I	<i>da-</i>	+D ∅ -I		
<i>si-</i>	-D S +I	<i>sa-</i>	-D S -I	<i>s-</i>	-D S -I
<i>dzi-</i>	+D S +I			<i>s-</i>	+D S -I
<i>li-</i>	-D l +I	<i>la-</i>	-D l -I	<i>l-</i>	-D l -I
<i>dli-</i>	+D l +I			<i>l-</i>	+D l -I
<i>shi-</i>	-D sh +I	<i>sha-</i>	-D sh -I	<i>sh-</i>	-D sh -I
<i>ji-</i>	+D sh +I			<i>sh-</i>	+D sh -I

Table 15.2: Classifiers by phonological shape, excluding ∅- and ya-.

The prefix contraction process is sensitive to the shapes of the classifiers. For convenient reference all the classifiers are organized by shape in table 15.2, except that \emptyset - and $\check{y}a$ - (CL[-D,0,-I] and CL[-D,0,+I]) are excluded since each forms its own unique phonological group. The basic phonological distinctions among all the others are between C - shaped, Ci - shaped, and Ca - shaped classifiers. Note that the phonological properties are all that matter in the context of prefix contraction, so that although da - is [+D] it patterns with the other Ca - prefixes which are [-D], and thus the semantics of the morphology are irrelevant. In addition, note that the C - prefixes can arise from classifier a vowel loss of what would otherwise be the Ca - prefixes sa -, la -, and sha -, as described in section 9.4.1. The same independence of phonological and semantic properties is also true for other prefixes involved in the prefix contraction process, so that the $\underline{g}a$ - conjugation prefix and the $\underline{g}a$ - mode prefix behave the same if either is present regardless of the semantic distinctions between them.

The tables 15.3 through 15.11 show the results of prefix contraction across the various combinations of prefixes. The various classifier shapes are given along the top of each table and the prefix strings with which they are combined are given along the left side of each table. Thus in table 15.3, the first row has the prefix string $\check{y}u\text{-}\underline{x}a$ - which is the perfective prefix and the first person singular subject prefix. These are then combined with a Ci - shaped classifier to produce a form $\underline{x}wCi$. Taking the classifier di - for example, the prefixes are $\check{y}u\text{-}\underline{x}a\text{-}di$ - and the resulting form is $\underline{x}wadi$, as in the verb $\underline{k}u\underline{x}de$ $\underline{x}wadigoot$ 'I went back' formed from $\underline{k}u\underline{x}\text{-}d\underline{e}=\check{y}u\text{-}\underline{x}a\text{-}di\text{-}gut\text{-}h$ 'REV-ALL=PFV-1SG.S-CL[+D,0,+I]-go.SG-VAR'.

The second set of lines in table 15.3 are the forms resulting from contraction with prefix strings that include CV prefixes in the outer conjunct domain. The specific CV prefixes were given in table 15.1 previously. A string $CV\text{-}\check{y}u\text{-}\underline{x}a$ - combined with a Ci - classifier gives a form of $CV\underline{x}wCi$, so that the string $\underline{k}u\text{-}\check{y}u\text{-}\underline{x}a\text{-}dzi$ - becomes $\underline{k}u\underline{x}wdzi$, as in the verb $\underline{k}u\underline{x}wdzitee$ 'I was born' formed from $\underline{k}u\text{-}\check{y}u\text{-}\underline{x}a\text{-}dzi\text{-}ti\text{-}h$ 'AREAL-PFV-1SG.S-CL[+D,S,+I]-be-VAR'.

The distinct forms resulting from the \emptyset - and $\check{y}a$ - classifiers become apparent in comparison with the two examples given above. The combination of $\check{y}u\text{-}\underline{x}a\text{-}\emptyset$ - results in $\underline{x}wa$ and the combination of $\check{y}u\text{-}\underline{x}a\text{-}\check{y}a$ - results in $\underline{x}waa$, both of which are different from the forms found with the other classifier shapes. For example, consider the verb $\underline{t}l\underline{e}il$ $\underline{x}wagoot$ 'I didn't go' with $\underline{t}l\underline{e}il$ $\check{y}u\text{-}\underline{x}a\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}gut\text{-}h$ 'NEG PFV-1SG.S-CL[-D,0,-I]-go.SG-VAR' and the verb $\underline{x}waa\text{-}goot$ 'I went' with $\check{y}u\text{-}\underline{x}a\text{-}\check{y}a\text{-}gut\text{-}h$ 'PFV-1SG.S-CL[-D,0,+I]-go.SG-VAR'.

Subj.	Prefixes	Classifier shape				
		Ci-	Ca-	C-	∅-	ÿa-
1SG	ÿu-xa-	xwaCi	xwaCa	xwaC	xwa	xwaa
1PL	ÿu-tu-	wutuCi	wutuCa	wutooC	wutoo	wutuwa
2SG	ÿu-i-	ÿiCi	ÿiCa	ÿiC	ÿi	ÿee
2SG	u-i-	ÿiCi	ÿiCa	ÿiC	ÿi	iÿa
2PL	ÿu-ÿi-	ÿeeÿCi	ÿeeCa	ÿeeÿC	ÿeeÿ	ÿeeÿ
INDH	ÿu-du-	wuduCi	—	wuduC	wudu	wuduwa
3	ÿu-∅-	wuCi	—	wuC	wu	woo
none	ÿu-	wuCi	—	wuC	wu	woo
3	u-∅-	wuCi	—	wuC	wu	uwa
none	u-	wuCi	—	wuC	wu	uwa
1SG	CV-ÿu-xa-	CVxwCi	CVxwaCa	CVxwaC	CVxwa	CVxwaa
1PL	CV-ÿu-tu-	CVwtuCi	CVwtuCa	CVwtooC	CVwtoo	CVwtuwa
2SG	CV-ÿu-i-	CVÿCi	CVÿCa	CVÿiC	CVÿi	Ceeÿa
2PL	CV-ÿu-ÿi-	CVÿeeÿCi	CVÿeeÿCa	CVÿeeÿC	CVÿeeÿ	CVÿeeÿ
INDH	CV-ÿu-du-	CVwduCi	—	CVwduC	CVwdu	CVwduwa
3	CV-ÿu-∅-	CVwCi	—	CVwuC	CVwu	CV:wa
none	CV-ÿu-	CVwCi	—	CVwuC	CVwu	CV:wa

Table 15.3: Northern Tlingit prefix contractions with +4 perfective *ÿu-* or *u-*.

The irrealis prefixes *u-* and *oo-* are not morphophonologically distinguished in forms of the perfective mode, so that Leer (1991) claimed that the prefixes simply did not exist in perfectives. I take a different approach, supposing that the irrealis prefixes do exist in perfectives just as in most other modes, but they are simply obscured by the perfective prefix morphology. Thus the sequence *u-ÿu-xa-∅-* ‘**IRR**-PFV-1SG.S-CL-’ contracts to *xwa* which is exactly the same as the sequence *ÿu-xa-∅-* ‘PFV-1SG.S-CL-’ without the irrealis prefix. Because of this lack of surface differences between presence and absence of irrealis prefixes, they are not indicated in table 15.3.

There are actually two distinct perfective prefixes in Tlingit, namely *ÿu-* and *u-*. The latter is the telic perfective prefix whereas the more common *ÿu-* can be thought of as unspecified for telicity (membership in the \emptyset -conjugation class, see ch. 12 and sec. 13.2). This distinction is almost com-

pletely invisible in the language except in a few special cases. When a telic perfective occurs with the second person singular *i-* and the classifier *yä-* and with no preceding CV prefixes in the conjunct domain then the form *iyä* occurs (row four, last column in table 15.3), whereas an atelic perfective has *yee* instead (row three, last column in table 15.3). When a telic perfective occurs with either the third person \emptyset - or with no subject prefix and with the classifier *yä-* and no CV prefixes in the conjunct domain then the form *uwa* occurs (rows nine and ten, last column in table 15.3), whereas an atelic perfective has *woo* instead (rows seven and eight, last column in table 15.3). The only other situation where the telic perfective prefix *u-* may be analyzed as occurring distinctly from the ordinary perfective *yü-* is in telic habituals, as described in section 13.6.

Some combinations of prefixes have more than one resulting form, either due to dialect differences or idiolectal habits. The different forms of the future are an excellent case in point. Table 15.4 shows the various forms of the future prefix string *ga-w-ga-* ‘GCNJ-IRR-GMOD-’ when combined with the subject prefixes and classifiers. Since the future mode can only occur with [-I] classifiers there are only three possible classifier shapes *Ca-*, *C-*, and \emptyset -.

The different forms of the future result from different amounts of phonological contraction of the string of prefixes. The sequence *ga-w-ga-xa-* with the first person singular subject is reduced to *kuḵa* in all Tlingit dialects, and this is the only form permitted in Tongass Tlingit. The other dialects permit two further reductions *kwḵa* and *kḵwa* where the initial *kw* or *k* is usually found in the coda of some preceding syllable (either a preverb or a separate word). Southern Tlingit permits an even further reduction to just *kḵwa* as well, which is also occasionally heard in Northern Tlingit in casual fast speech. Where a given dialect permits multiple contracted forms the fullest forms are generally considered to be the most formal and the shortest forms the most informal. Some younger speakers may be unaware of the fact that there are multiple forms permitted in a dialect, probably the result of generalizing the most common form in local speech when they were children.

The future has an unusual contraction when it occurs with a preceding *ka-* ‘HSFC’ prefix and the first person singular subject *xä-*. The usual form resulting from contraction with a preceding CV prefix is *kakwḵa*, as in *kakwḵalatín* ‘I’m going to observe it’ (Story & Naish 1973: 141). An alternative contraction reduces the form further, merging the *ka-* and *ga-* prefixes and spreading the rounding of *w-* across the whole vowel. The result of this is *kooḵa*, as in *kooḵalanáa* ‘I’m going to oil it’ (Story & Naish 1973: 141). I have

15. Prefix morphophonology

Subj.	Prefixes	Classifier shape		
		Ca-	C-	∅-
1SG	ga-w-ga-xa-	kuk̩aCa	kuk̩aC	kuk̩a
		kw̩k̩aCa	kw̩k̩aC	kw̩k̩a
1PL	ga-w-ga-tu-	k̩k̩waCa	k̩k̩waC	k̩k̩wa
		gaɣtuCa	gaɣtooC	gaɣtoo
2SG	ga-w-ga-i-	gagiCa	gageeC	gagee
		k̩giCa	k̩geeC	k̩gee
2PL	ga-w-ga-ÿi-	gaɣÿiCa	gaɣÿiC	gaɣÿi
INDH	ga-w-ga-du-	gaɣduCa	gaɣduC	gaɣdu
3	ga-w-ga-∅-	gux̩Ca	gugaC	guga
none	ga-w-ga-	kgwaC	kgwaC	kgwa
		gux̩Ca	gugaC	guga
1SG	CV-ga-w-ga-xa-	CVkw̩k̩aCa	CVkw̩k̩aC	CVkw̩k̩a
1PL	CV-ga-w-ga-tu-	CVgaɣtuCa	CVgaɣtooC	CVgaɣtoo
2SG	CV-ga-w-ga-i-	CVk̩giCa	CVk̩geeC	CVk̩gee
2PL	CV-ga-w-ga-du-	CVgaɣduCa	CVgaɣduC	CVgaɣdu
3	CV-ga-w-ga-∅-	CVgux̩Ca	CVkw̩gaC	CVkw̩ga
none	CV-ga-w-ga-	CVgux̩Ca	CVkw̩gaC	CVkw̩ga
1SG	ka -ga-w-ga-xa-	kakw̩k̩aCa	kakw̩k̩aC	kakw̩k̩a
		koo̩k̩aCa	koo̩k̩aC	koo̩k̩a

Table 15.4: Northern prefix contractions with future *ga-w-ga-...CL[-I]-*. The CV prefix *ka-* with 1SG.S *x̩a-* has an additional optional contraction.

not actually heard this particular contraction myself, so I am not entirely sure that it is still in use. I suspect that it may actually be *kookka* with the second *k* of *kakwka* preserved, but lacking data I am merely speculating about this.

Subj.	Prefixes	Classifier shape				
		Ci-	Ca-	C-	∅-	ya-
1SG	∅-x̄a-	x̄aCi	x̄aCa	x̄aC	x̄a	x̄aa
1PL	∅-tu-	tuCi	tuCa	tooC	too	tuwa
2SG	∅-i-	iCi	iCa	eeC	ee	iya
2PL	∅-yi-	yiCi	yeeyCa	yiC	yi	yeey
INDH	∅-du-	duCi	—	duC	du	duwa
3/ <i>none</i>	∅-(∅-)	Ci	Ca	iC	∅	ya
1SG	u-∅-x̄a-	{ x̄waCi ux̄Ci	{ x̄waCa ux̄Ca	x̄waC	{ x̄wa ux̄a	{ x̄waa ux̄aa
3/ <i>none</i>	u-∅-(∅-)	uCi	—	uC	u	uwa
INDH	u-∅-du-	{ — —	{ — —	{ uduC duC	{ udu du	{ — —
1SG	CV-∅-x̄a-	CVx̄Ci	CVx̄Ca	CVx̄aC	CVx̄a	CVx̄aa
1PL	CV-∅-tu-	CVtuCi	CVtuCa	CVtooC	CVtoo	CVtuwa
2SG	CV-∅-i-	CeeCi	CeeCa	CeeC	Cee	Ceeya
2PL	CV-∅-yi-	CVyeeyCi	CVyCa	CVyiC	CVy	CVyeey
INDH	CV-∅-du-	CVduCi	—	CVduC	CVdu	CVduwa
3/ <i>none</i>	CV-∅-(∅-)	CVCi	CVCa	CVC	CV	CVya
3/ <i>none</i>	ka-∅-(∅-)	kaCi	kaCa	kaC	ka	kaa
1SG	CV-u-∅-x̄a-	CU:x̄Ci	CU:x̄Ca	CU:x̄aC	CU:x̄a	CU:x̄aa
3/ <i>none</i>	CV-u-∅-(∅-)	CU:ci	CU:Ca	CU:C	CU:	CU:ya
INDH	CV-u-∅-du-	{ — —	{ — —	{ CU:duC CVduC	{ CU:du CVdu	{ — —
1SG	CV-oo-∅-x̄a-	Cux̄Ci	Cux̄Ca	Cux̄aC	Cux̄a	Cux̄aa
3/ <i>none</i>	CV-oo-∅-(∅-)	CooCi	CooCa	CooC	Coo	Cuwa
3/ <i>none</i>	CV-w-∅-(∅-)	CuCi	CuCa	CuC	Cu	Coo

Table 15.5: Northern prefix contractions with +5 ∅-conjugation. U: represents oo if V is a, or lengthened V otherwise.

<i>Prefixes</i>	<i>Classifier shape</i>				
	Ci-	Ca-	C-	∅-	ÿa-
na-x̣a-	na _{x̣} Ci	na _{x̣} Ca	na _{x̣} aC	na _{x̣} a	na _{x̣} aa
na-tu-	natuCi	natuCa	natooC	natoo	natuwa
na-i-	niCi	niCa	neeC	nee	niÿa
na-ÿi-	naÿCi	naÿCa	naÿiC	naÿ	naÿeeÿ
na-du-	naduCi	—	naduC	nadu	naduwa
na-∅-	naCi	—	naC	na	naa
u-na-x̣a- {	una _{x̣} Ci	una _{x̣} Ca	un _{x̣} aC	un _{x̣} a	un _{x̣} aa
	na _{x̣} wCi	na _{x̣} wCa	na _{x̣} waC	na _{x̣} wa	na _{x̣} waa
u-na-∅-	unCi	—	unaC	una	unaa
CV-na-x̣a-	CVna _{x̣} Ci	CVna _{x̣} Ca	CVn _{x̣} aC	CVn _{x̣} a	CVn _{x̣} aa
CV-na-tu-	CVntuCi	CVntuCa	CVntooC	CVntoo	CVntuwa
CV-na-i-	CVniCi	CVniCa	CVneeC	CVnee	CVniÿa
CV-na-ÿi-	CVnaÿCi	CVnaÿCa	CVnaÿiC	CVnaÿ	CVnaÿeeÿ
CV-na-du-	CVnduCi	—	CVnduC	CVndu	CVnduwa
CV-na-∅-	CVnCi	CVnCa	CVnaC	CVna	CVnaa
CV-u-na-x̣a- {	CU:na _{x̣} Ci	CU:na _{x̣} Ca	CU:n _{x̣} aC	CU:n _{x̣} a	CU:n _{x̣} aa
	CVna _{x̣} wCi	CVna _{x̣} wCa	CVn _{x̣} waC	CVn _{x̣} wa	CVn _{x̣} waa
CV-u-na-∅-	CU:nCi	CU:nCa	CU:naC	CU:na	CU:naa
CV-oo-na-x̣a-	Cuna _{x̣} Ci	Cuna _{x̣} Ca	Cun _{x̣} aC	Cun _{x̣} a	Cun _{x̣} aa
CV-oo-na-∅-	CunCi	CunCa	CunaC	Cuna	Cunaa

Table 15.6: Northern prefix contractions with +5 *na*-conjugation. U: represents *oo* if V is *a*, or lengthened V otherwise.

Prefixes	Classifier shape				
	Ci-	Ca-	C-	∅-	ÿa-
ga-xa-	k̲aCi	k̲aCa	k̲aC	k̲a	k̲aa
ga-tu-	g̲atuCi	g̲atuCa	g̲atooC	g̲atoo	g̲atuwa
ga-i-	giCi	giCa	geeC	gee	giÿa
ga-ÿi-	g̲aÿCi	g̲aÿCa	g̲aÿiC	g̲aÿ	g̲aÿeeÿ
ga-du-	g̲aduCi	—	g̲aduC	g̲adu	g̲aduwa
ga-∅-	gaCi	—	gaC	ga	gaa
u-ga-xa-	k̲waCi	k̲waCa	k̲waC	k̲wa	k̲waa
u-ga-∅-	g̲waCi	g̲waCa	g̲waC	g̲wa	g̲waa
CV-ga-xa-	CVk̲aCi	CVk̲aCa	CVk̲aC	CVk̲a	CVk̲aa
CV-ga-tu-	CVx̲tuCi	CVx̲tuCa	CVx̲tooC	CVx̲too	CVx̲tuwa
CV-ga-i-	CVgiCi	CVgiCa	CVgeeC	CVgee	CVgiÿa
CV-ga-ÿi-	CVx̲ÿiCi	CVx̲ÿiCa	CVx̲ÿiC	CVx̲ÿi	CVx̲ÿeeÿ
CV-ga-du-	CVx̲duCi	—	CVx̲duC	CVx̲du	CVx̲duwa
CV-ga-∅-	CVx̲Ci	CVx̲Ca	CVg̲aC	CVg̲a	CVg̲aa
CV-u-ga-xa-	CU:k̲aCi	CU:k̲aCa	CU:k̲aC	CU:k̲a	CU:k̲aa
CV-u-ga-∅-	CU:x̲Ci	CU:x̲Ca	CU:g̲aC	CU:g̲a	CU:g̲aa
CV-oo-ga-xa-	Cuk̲aCi	Cuk̲aCa	Cuk̲aC	Cuk̲a	Cuk̲aa
CV-oo-ga-∅-	Cux̲Ci	Cux̲Ca	Cug̲aC	Cug̲a	Cug̲aa

Table 15.7: Northern prefix contractions with +5 *ga*-conjugation or +4 *ga*-mode. U: represents *oo* if V is *a*, or lengthened V otherwise.

<i>Prefixes</i>	<i>Classifier shape</i>				
	Ci-	Ca-	C-	∅-	ÿa-
ga-x̣a-	gax̣Ci	gax̣Ca	gax̣aC	gax̣a	gax̣aa
ga-tu-	gatuCi	gatuCa	gatooc	gatoo	gatuwa
ga-i-	giCi	giCa	geeC	gee	giÿa
ga-ÿi-	gaÿCi	gaÿCa	gaÿiC	gaÿ	gaÿeeÿ
ga-du-	gaduCi	—	gaduC	gadu	gaduwa
ga-∅-	gaCi	—	gaC	ga	gaa
ga-u-x̣a-	goox̣Ci	goox̣Ca	goox̣aC	goox̣a	goox̣aa
ga-u-∅-	?gooCi	—	gooC	goo	?goowa
CV-ga-x̣a-	CVgax̣Ci	CVgax̣Ca	CVkx̣aC	CVkx̣a	CVkx̣aa
CV-ga-tu-	CVktuCi	CVktuCa	CVktooc	CVktoo	CVktuwa
CV-ga-i-	CVgiCi	CVgiCa	CVgeeC	CVgee	CVgiÿa
CV-ga-ÿi-	CVgaÿCi	CVgaÿCa	CVgaÿiC	CVgaÿ	CVgaÿeeÿ
CV-ga-du-	CVkduCi	—	CVkduC	CVkdu	CVkduwa
CV-ga-∅-	CVkCi	CVkCa	CVgaC	CVga	CVgaa
CV-ga-u-x̣a-	CVgoox̣Ci	CVgoox̣Ca	CVkwx̣aC	CVkwx̣a	CVkwx̣aa
CV-ga-u-∅-	?CVgooCi	—	CVgooC	CVgoo	?CVgoowa

Table 15.8: Northern prefix contractions with +7 *ga*-conjugation.

Prefixes	Classifier shape				
	Ci-	Ca-	C-	∅-	ya-
na-ga-xa-	na _{ka} Ci	na _{ka} Ca	na _{ka} C	na _{ka}	na _{kaa}
na-ga-tu-	na _x tuCi	na _x tuCa	na _x tooC	na _x too	na _x tuwa
na-ga-i-	nagiCi	nagiCa	nageeC	nagee	nagiya
na-ga-yi-	na _x yiCi	na _x yiCa	na _x yiC	na _x yi	na _x yeey
na-ga-du-	na _x duCi	—	na _x duC	na _x du	na _x duwa
na-ga-∅-	na _x Ci	na _x Ca	nagaC	naga	nagaa
u-na-ga-xa- {	un _{ka} Ci	un _{ka} Ca	un _{ka} C	un _{ka}	un _{kaa}
	na _k waCi	na _k waCa	na _k waC	na _k wa	na _k waa
u-na-ga-∅- {	una _x Ci	una _x Ca	nagwaC	unga	ungaa
	na _x wCi	na _x wCa		nagwa	nagwaa
CV-na-ga-xa-	CVn _{ka} Ci	CVn _{ka} Ca	CVn _{ka} C	CVn _{ka}	CVn _{kaa}
CV-na-ga-tu-	CVna _x tuCi	CVna _x tuCa	CVna _x tooC	CVna _x too	CVna _x tuwa
CV-na-ga-i-	CVngiCi	CVngiCa	CVngeeC	CVngee	CVngiya
CV-na-ga-yi-	CVna _x yiCi	CVna _x yiCa	CVna _x yiC	CVna _x yi	CVna _x yeey
CV-na-ga-du-	CVna _x duCi	—	CVna _x duC	CVna _x du	CVna _x duwa
CV-na-ga-∅-	CVna _x Ci	CVna _x Ca	CVngaC	CVnga	CVngaa
CV-u-na-ga-xa- {	CU:n _{ka} Ci	CU:n _{ka} Ca	CU:n _{ka} C	CU:n _{ka}	CU:n _{kaa}
	CVn _k waCi	CVn _k waCa	CVn _k waC	CVn _k wa	CVn _k waa
CV-u-na-ga-∅- {	CU:na _x Ci	CU:na _x Ca	CU:ngaC	CU:nga	CU:ngaa
	CVna _x wCi	CVna _x wCa	CVngwaC	CVngwa	CVngwaa
CV-oo-na-ga-xa-	Cun _{ka} Ci	Cun _{ka} Ca	Cun _{ka} C	Cun _{ka}	Cun _{kaa}
CV-oo-na-ga-∅-	Cuna _x Ci	Cuna _x Ca	CungaC	Cunga	Cungaa

Table 15.9: Northern prefix contractions with *na*-conjugation and *ga*-mode. U: represents *oo* if V is *a*, or lengthened V otherwise.

Prefixes	Classifier shape				
	Ci-	Ca-	C-	∅-	ya-
ga-ga-xa-	kaakaCi	kaakaCa	kaakaC	kaaka	kaaka
ga-ga-tu-	gaaxtuCi	gaaxtuCa	gaaxtooC	gaaxtoo	gaaxtuwa
ga-ga-i-	gaagiCi	gaagiCa	gaageeC	gaagee	gaagiya
ga-ga-yi-	gaaxyiCi	gaaxyiCa	gaaxyiC	gaaxyi	gaaxyeeɣ
ga-ga-du-	gaaxduCi	—	gaaxduC	gaaxdu	gaaxduwa
ga-ga-∅-	gaaxCi	gaaxCa	gaagaC	gaaga	gaagaa
ga-u-ga-xa-	kwaakaCi	kwaakaCa	kwaakaC	kwaaka	kwaakaa
ga-u-ga-∅-	gwaaxCi	gwaaxCa	gwaagaC	gwaaga	gwaagaa
CV-ga-ga-xa-	CVkaakaCi	CVkaakaCa	CVkaakaC	CVkaaka	CVkaakaa
CV-ga-ga-tu-	CVgaaxtuCi	CVgaaxtuCa	CVgaaxtooC	CVgaaxtoo	CVgaaxtuwa
CV-ga-ga-i-	CVgaagiCi	CVgaagiCa	CVgaageeC	CVgaagee	CVgaagiya
CV-ga-ga-yi-	CVgaaxyiCi	CVgaaxyiCa	CVgaaxyiC	CVgaaxyi	CVgaaxyeeɣ
CV-ga-ga-du-	CVgaaxduCi	—	CVgaaxduC	CVgaaxdu	CVgaaxduwa
CV-ga-ga-∅-	CVgaaxCi	CVgaaxCa	CVgaagaC	CVgaaga	CVgaagaa
CV-ga-u-ga-xa-	CU:kaakaCi	CU:kaakaCa	CU:kaakaC	CU:kaaka	CU:kaakaa
CV-ga-u-ga-∅-	CU:gaaxCi	CU:gaaxCa	CU:gaagaC	CU:gaaga	CU:gaagaa
CV-ga-oo-ga-xa-	CukaakaCi	CukaakaCa	CukaakaC	Cukaaka	Cukaakaa
CV-ga-oo-ga-∅-	CugaagaCi	CugaagaCa	CugaagaC	Cugaaga	Cugaagaa

Table 15.10: Northern prefix contractions with *ga*-conjugation and *ga*-mode. U: represents *oo* if V is *a*, or lengthened V otherwise.

Prefixes	Classifier shape				
	Ci-	Ca-	C-	∅-	ya-
ga-ga-xa-	ga _{ka} Ci	ga _{ka} Ca	ga _{ka} C	ga _{ka}	ga _{kaa}
ga-ga-tu-	ga _x tuCi	ga _x tuCa	ga _x tooC	ga _x too	ga _x tuwa
ga-ga-i-	ga _{gi} Ci	ga _{gi} Ca	ga _{gee} C	ga _{gee}	ga _{gi} ya
ga-ga-yi-	ga _x y _i Ci	ga _x y _i Ca	ga _x y _i C	ga _x y _i	ga _x y _{eey}
ga-ga-du-	ga _x duCi	—	ga _x duC	ga _x du	ga _x duwa
ga-ga-∅-	ga _x Ci	ga _x Ca	ga _{ga} C	ga _{ga}	ga _{gaa}
u-ga-ga-xa-	gook _{ka} Ci	gook _{ka} Ca	gook _{ka} C	gook _{ka}	gook _{kaa}
u-ga-ga-∅-	goox _{ka} Ci	goox _{ka} Ca	—	googa	googaa
CV-ga-ga-xa-	CVk _{ka} Ci	CVk _{ka} Ca	CVk _{ka} C	CVk _{ka}	CVk _{kaa}
CV-ga-ga-tu-	CVga _x tuCi	CVga _x tuCa	CVga _x tooC	CVga _x too	CVga _x tuwa
CV-ga-ga-i-	CVk _{gi} Ci	CVk _{gi} Ca	CVk _{gee} C	CVk _{gee}	CVk _{gi} ya
CV-ga-ga-yi-	CVga _x y _i Ci	CVga _x y _i Ca	CVga _x y _i C	CVga _x y _i	CVga _x y _{eey}
CV-ga-ga-du-	CVga _x duCi	—	CVga _x duC	CVga _x du	CVga _x duwa
CV-ga-ga-∅-	CVga _x Ci	CVga _x Ca	CVk _{ga} C	CVk _{ga}	CVk _{gaa}
CV-u-ga-ga-xa-	CVkw _{ka} Ci	CVkw _{ka} Ca	CVkw _{ka} C	CVkw _{ka}	CVkw _{kaa}
CV-u-ga-ga-∅-	CVgoox _{ka} Ci	CVgoox _{ka} Ca	CVkw _{ga} C	CVkw _{ga}	CVkw _{gaa}

Table 15.11: Northern prefix contractions with *ga*-conjugation and *ga*-mode.

16 Epimode: Aspectual and modal extension

The category of EPIMODE consists of two mutually exclusive suffixes that can be added to various modes to provide further distinctions of aspect and modality. This term, coined by Leer, refers to the fact that these elements are like other mode features but occur apart from them. The Greek prefix ἐπι- *epi-* means among other things ‘close to, in addition to’, hence the term means ‘in addition to mode’ or perhaps ‘like mode’.

The DECESSIVE suffix *-een* ~ *-ihn_T* indicates that the event or property described by the verb was once the case in the past but is not the case at present. The term is derived from Latin *dēcēssus* ‘going down, decreasing’ which is the antonym of *accēssus* ‘coming up to, increasing’. Naish and Story were apparently the first to apply this name (Story 1966: 105). The PROHIBITIVE-OPTATIVE suffix *-eek* ~ *-ihk_T* ~ *-k* indicates either that the event or property described by the verb is desired to be the case (optative) or that it is desired to not be the case (prohibitive) depending on whether the clause has positive or negative polarity. Naish and Story applied the name ‘optative’ (Story 1966: 105) while noting that it has a prohibitive meaning in negative contexts, and Leer (1991) established the hyphenated name.

The epimode suffixes are mutually exclusive, meaning that a verb can be marked for neither, one, or the other, but never both. Thus it is impossible for a verb to be marked both decessive and prohibitive or optative at the same time.

Not all modes can be extended with an epimode suffix. Only certain declarative modes can host an epimode suffix, so that none of the deontic modes or circumstantial modes can be decessive or prohibitive-optative. The modes which can be extended with an epimode are not the same, with the decessive being permitted on more modes than the prohibitive-optative.

16. Epimode: Aspectual and modal extension

<i>Mode</i>	<i>Epimode</i>		<i>Clause type</i>	
	<i>Decessive</i>	<i>Prohib.-Opt.</i>	<i>Subord.</i>	<i>Relative</i>
<i>Declarative modes</i>				
Imperfectives	±	±	±	±
Perfectives	±	±	±	±
Realizational	-	-	-	-
Future	±	-	±	±
Potential	±	-	-	±
Habitual*	±	-	±	±
<i>Deontic modes</i>				
Imperative*	-	-	-	-
Hortative*	-	-	-	-
Admonitive	-	-	-	-
<i>Circumstantial modes</i>				
Consecutive	-	-	-	-
Conditional	-	-	-	-
Contingent	-	-	-	-
<i>Composite modes with auxiliaries</i>				
Imperfective habitual	-	-	±	±
Imperfective consecutive	-	-	-	-
Imperfective conditional	-	-	-	-
Imperfective contingent	-	-	-	-
Future habitual	±	-	±	±
Future consecutive	-	-	-	-
Future conditional	-	-	-	-
Future contingent	-	-	-	-

Table 16.1: Combinations of modes with epimode and clause type suffixes.

Table 16.1 shows the distribution of the epimode suffixes, along with the clause type suffixes (chapter 17) which have similar restrictions.

The decessive suffix can be applied to imperfectives, perfectives, the future, the potential, and the habituais. The only declarative mode which does not accept the decessive suffix is the realizational mode. Decessives can also be formed with the future + habitual auxiliary which is described in chapter 18. The decessive form requires [-I] regardless of the I component in the non-decessive form. This is because the decessive denotes a situation which is no longer the case, so that e.g. a stative with [+I] with the I component indexing the reality of the state must change to [-I] because the state described by the verb no longer exists. The following is an example of the basic decessive versus a non-decessive counterpart.

- (173) a. *telic perfective*
 xwasikóo
 Ø-ÿu-xa-si-ku^h-ÿ
 3.0-PFV-1SG.S-CL[-D,S,+I]-know-VAR
 'I know it' (Leer 1991: 212)
 theme: O-S-CL[-D,S]-ku^h (Ø; Event) 'S know, realize O'
- b. *decessive telic perfective*
 xwasakóowoon
 Ø-ÿu-xa-sa-ku^h-ÿ-**een**
 3.0-PFV-1SG.S-CL[-D,S,-I]-know-VAR-DEC
 'I used to know it' (Leer 1991: 212)

Note that the vowel of the decessive suffix predictably undergoes progressive rounding. Decessives can be applied to relative and subordinate forms of verbs as well, as the following two examples demonstrate. The first example below shows that the decessive form of a relativized verb does not feature the decessive suffix *-een*, but instead has the relative suffix *-i* and [-I] in the classifier. Contrast this with non-decessive relatives which may or may not have the suffix *-i* and always have [+I] in the classifier.

- (174) a. *decessive relative telic perfective*
- | | | |
|------|---|----|
| wé | xwasakóowu | át |
| wé | Ø-ÿu-xa-sa-ku ^h -ÿ- i | át |
| MDST | 3.0-PFV-1SG.S-CL[-D,S,-I]-know-VAR-REL | 3N |
- 'thing I used to know' (Leer 1991: 214)

b. *decessive subordinate telic perfective*

xwasakoowóo yéeyi

∅-ÿu-xa-sa-ku^h-h-ée=yéeyi

3.0-PFV-1SG.S-CL[-D,S,-I]-KNOW-VAR-SUB=DEC

'which/when I used to know it' (Leer 1991: 214)

As can be seen with the second example above, decessive subordinates have the enclitic =yéeyi 'former, previous' rather than the decessive suffix. This enclitic is also used with nouns, such as ax shát yéeyi 'my former wife'.

[[FIXME: Leer (1991:212) says that the verb form is always irrealis for decessives and for prohibitive-optatives: "if there is a special Non-assertive/Irrealis form of the mode, this is used in all cases where the verb is marked for status ... or epimode ..., as well as in Subordinative forms and verbal nouns. The Assertive Realis form is therefore used only where the verb is Realis, not Subordinative, and not marked for epimode." But this doesn't make sense, since his examples seem to show a verb *not* marked for irrealis but nonetheless subordinate. The problem is compounded by his using a verb that doesn't have an obvious marker of irrealis, instead only showing classifier and stem variation.]]

The prohibitive-optative suffix is much more restricted than the decessive suffix, being only permitted with imperfectives and perfectives. It cannot occur with any other declarative modes, nor with any deontic or circumstantial modes nor with auxiliaries. The optative reading of the suffix is the default, occurring with positive forms of verbs, whereas the prohibitive reading occurs with negative forms of verbs that also include the negative particles *tléil* or *l* or their allomorphs preceding the verb.

(175) a. *prohibitive imperfective*

tléil áx igoodéek

tléil á-x u-∅-i-∅-gut-h-éek

NEG 3N-PERT IRR-ZCNJ-2SG.S-CL[-D,∅,-I]-GO.SG-OPT

'don't go there' (Story 1966: 105)

theme: P-{t,x,dé} S-CL[-D,∅]-gut (∅; -h Rep) 'S arrive at P'

b. *optative imperfective*

gwál haax ugoodéek

gwál haa-x=u-∅-∅-∅-gut-h-éek

DUB hither-PERT=IRR-ZCNJ-3.S-CL[-D,∅,-I]-GO.SG-VAR-OPT

'hopefully he'd come here' (Story 1966: 105)

17 Clause type: Relativization and subordination

The epimode is one dimension that expands off of the basic modes, and clause type is the other. There are two mutually exclusive clause type suffixes, the SUBORDINATE clause suffix *-ée_{SN} ~ -ih_T* and the RELATIVE clause suffix *-i ~ -∅*. The relative suffix forms relative clauses and the subordinate suffix forms other types of embedded clauses.

The following pair of examples demonstrates an ordinary main clause verb in contrast with a relative clause using the relative suffix *-i*. The latter example has the object *shaawát* as the external head of the relative clause, with *uwashayi* being the relativized verb and *xóotsch* as the subject noun phrase within the relative clause.

(176) a. *non-relativized verb*

xóotsch shaawát uwasháa
xóots-ch shaawát ∅-u-∅-yä-sha-ÿ
brown.bear-ERG girl 3.O-PFV.TEL-3.S-CL[-D,∅,+I]-marry-VAR
‘the brown bear married the girl’
theme: *O-(∅)-S-CL[-D,∅]-sha* ‘S marry O’

b. *relativized verb*

wé xóotsch uwashay*i*
wé xóots-ch ∅-u-∅-yä-sha-*i*
MDST [_{RC} brown.bear-ERG 3.O-PFV.TEL-3.S-CL[-D,∅,+I]-marry-**REL** _{RC}]
shaawát
shaawát
girl
‘that girl who the brown bear married’

Compare the previous examples with the following examples demonstrating subordination.

- (177) a. *non-subordinated verb*
 xóots aawaják̄
 xóots a-ÿu-∅-ÿa-jak̄-ÿ
 brown.bear 3.0-PFV-3.S-CL[-D,∅,+I]-kill-VAR
 ‘he killed a brown bear’
- b. *subordinated verb*
 xwasiteen xóots
 ∅-ÿu-xa-si-tin-h xóots
 3.0-PFV-1SG.S-CL[-D,S,+I]-see-VAR [Sub brown.bear
 awujaagí
 a-ÿu-∅-∅-jak̄-h-éé
 3.0-PFV-3.S-CL[-D,∅,-I]-kill-VAR-SUB Sub]
 ‘I saw (that) he killed a brown bear’

In the second example the verb *awujaagí* has been marked for subordination and the entire phrase is now embedded below the verb *xwasiteen*.

The traditional term for the relative suffix is ATTRIBUTIVE based on its formation of verbs that modify nouns in a manner similar to adjectives, hence ‘attributive verbs’. These verbs are actually small relative clauses, since most such attributive verbs can optionally have preceding non-verbal elements (argument noun phrases, locative postpositional phrases, adverbs, etc.). Thus this suffix always forms relative clauses, and as such I have renamed it to be more explicit about its function. Leer (1991) often refers to the ‘proclitic form’ of verbs, which is the form of a verb once it is relativized with either *-i* or *∅*. He sees this verb form as being procliticized to the head noun, though this is in fact incorrect unless the entire relative clause phrase is to be analyzed as a giant proclitic. His perspective was limited only to the verbs themselves in a phonological sense, not considering the larger phrase structure in which they are embedded.

Both the relative suffix and the subordinate suffix are restricted in the inventory of modes which they can be applied to. Their distribution is given in table 16.1 on page 196 along with the distribution of epimode suffixes. Neither of the relative or subordinate can be applied to any of the deontic modes (imperative, hortative, admonitive) nor to any of the circumstantial modes (consecutive, conditional, contingent). In the declarative modes the

imperfectives, perfectives, future, and habitual can have either suffix, but only the relative can be applied to the potential mode and neither can be applied to the realizational mode. With auxiliaries (Leer's 'composite modes', see chapter 18) both the relative and the subordinate are permitted with the imperfective habitual and the future habitual, but none of the others.

The surface form of the subordinate suffix is somewhat variable. In Tongass Tlingit it is always *-ih*, but in Northern Tlingit (and probably also Southern) the form can be either *-ée* if the verb stem has low tone or *-ee* if the verb stem has high tone. In contrast the relative suffix *-i* is always low tone (no tone applies to the \emptyset allomorph). Both suffixes are somewhat variable in their length in Northern Tlingit, and seem to usually be short in Southern Tlingit. I write the subordinate suffix *-ée* as long in morpheme segmentations merely to distinguish it from the relative suffix *-i* which I always write short. The current orthographic convention is to write both suffixes as short, though like with other variable length vowels the earlier practice was to write them as long.

Because of their extremely similar forms, the relative suffix and the subordinate suffix can be difficult to distinguish in some contexts. There are distinct morphological correlates however, so that the whole verb always distinguishes the two. Regardless of the non-subordinate verb form, the subordinate always occurs with $[-I]$ classifiers. In contrast the relative can occur with either $[-I]$ or $[+I]$ classifiers. Subordinate-marked verbs can take case suffixes to express various types of embedded clauses, whereas relative-marked verbs never occur with case suffixes. As noted above, the relative suffix is never high tone, whereas the subordinate suffix has tone opposite of the verb stem. The subordinate suffix always appears with any mode where it is permitted, whereas the relative suffix only appears with stative imperfectives, perfectives, and the potential.

17.1. RELATIVES

As noted earlier, relative clauses are formed with relativized verbs. Relativized verbs are verbs marked with the relative clause suffix and often with different stem variation from their main verb counterparts. There are two allomorphs of the relative suffix in my analysis, the *-i* allomorph and the \emptyset allomorph. The *-i* allomorph occurs along with $[+I]$ in the classifier, whereas the \emptyset allomorph is found when a verb has $[-I]$ in the classifier.

17.2. SUBORDINATES

18 Auxiliaries: Mode combination

[[FIXME: Source of auxiliaries.]]

19 Epiaspect: Mode recursion

Tlingit verbs can be conjugated beyond the modes that are described in chapter 13. There are three types of what Leer (1991: 215) calls EPIASPECTS which are essentially recursive extensions of the mode system. These three types are founded upon three particular modes: repetitive imperfectives, progressive imperfectives, and realizational. It is simpler to demonstrate an instance of epiaspect than to try to explain them, so the following example demonstrates

20 Pronouns and pronominals

Tlingit has a somewhat large system of pronoun-like elements. They are divided into two categories, the pronominals which are prefixes in the verb and the pronouns proper which occur outside the verb. The pronominals are further divided into subject and object, and the pronouns are divided into possessive, independent, and postpositional. Subject and object pronominals are fairly self-explanatory. Possessive pronouns are those which occur as the head of a possessive construction. Postpositional pronouns are those which occur with a postposition such as the ergative *-ch* or ablative *-dáχ*. The independent pronouns are those which occur as an independent noun phrase, i.e. being neither the head of a possessive construction nor the complement of a postposition. My analysis of the system is given in table 20.1.

The discourse local pronominals, i.e. the first and second person pronominals, are the only ones which inherently distinguish plurality, with both singular and plural forms. The singular forms only refer to a single person, the plural forms refer to more than one person. The other pronominals have unmarked plurality, so that e.g. the third person subject can refer to a single third person or to multiple third persons. Explicit plurality arises with particular verb roots that are inherently plural (see ch. 11), with plural verb suffixes (see section 10.6.5), and with the nonlocal pluralizer *has=* ~ *s-* discussed in section 20.9.

The nonlocal pronominals are divided into third person and non-third. The third person pronominals are divided into ordinary third person and discourse-specified third person, all of which are discussed in section 20.3. Animacy and humanity of the third person pronominals is not distinguished in the verb, however there are distinct extra-verbal pronouns for human versus nonhuman. The indefinite pronouns are distinct for humanity and animacy in the verb, and are discussed in section 20.4. The partitive is discussed in section 20.5.

		<i>Pronominals</i>		<i>Pronouns</i>		
		<i>Object</i>	<i>Subject</i>	<i>Possessive</i>	<i>Independent</i>	<i>Postpositional</i>
<i>local</i>	1SG	<i>x̄at-</i> ~ <i>a_{x̄}-</i>	<i>x̄a-</i>	<i>a_{x̄}</i>	<i>x̄át</i>	<i>a_{x̄}=ee-</i> ~ <i>x̄a-</i>
	1PL	<i>haa-</i>	<i>tu-</i>	<i>haa</i>	<i>uháan</i>	<i>haa=ee-</i> ~ <i>haa(n)-</i>
	2SG	<i>i-</i>	<i>i-</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>wa.é</i>	<i>i=ee-</i>
	2PL	<i>yi-</i>	<i>yi-</i>	<i>yi</i>	<i>yiháan</i>	<i>yi=ee-</i>
<i>nonlocal</i>	3H } ₃	<i>∅-</i> ~ <i>a-</i>	<i>∅-</i>	<i>du</i>	<i>hú</i>	<i>du=ee-</i> ~ <i>u-</i>
	<i>a</i>			<i>á</i>	<i>a=ee-</i> ~ <i>a-</i>	
	3PRX	<i>ash-</i>	—	<i>ash</i>	<i>ash</i>	<i>ash=ee-</i>
	3OBV	—	<i>du-</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>á</i>	<i>a=ee-</i> ~ <i>a-</i>
	INDH	<i>k̄aa-</i> ~ <i>k̄u-</i>	<i>du-</i>	<i>k̄aa</i>	<i>k̄áa</i>	<i>k̄aa~k̄u=ee-</i>
	INDN	<i>at-</i>	—	<i>at</i>	<i>át</i>	<i>at=ee-</i>
	PART	<i>aa-</i>	—	<i>aa</i>	<i>aa</i>	<i>aa=ee-</i>
<i>other</i>	AREAL	<i>k̄u-</i>	—	—	—	[?] <i>k̄u-</i>
	RFLX	<i>sh-</i> ~ <i>∅-</i>	—	<i>chush</i> ~ <i>sh</i>	<i>chúsh</i>	<i>chush</i>
	RECIP	<i>woosh=</i>	—	<i>woosh</i>	<i>wóosh</i>	<i>woosh</i>
	(3)PL	<i>has= + ...</i>	<i>has= + ...</i>	<i>has-du</i>	<i>hás</i>	<i>has-du=ee-</i>

Table 20.1: Pronouns and verb pronominals.

Postpositional pronouns are a special series of pronouns that serve as complements of postpositions. The most general pattern is a possessive pronoun encliticized with a meaningless base =*ee* to which the postpositions are attached. An alternative form, which is probably older, is available for the first persons, the third person human and nonhuman, and the third person obviate. These alternative forms have their postpositions attached directly without the use of the meaningless base.

20.1. FIRST PERSON

All first person singular pronouns and pronominals are characterized by the uvular fricative *x̄*. The first person singular ‘sound’ is reconstructed separately from the rest of the sound system in Proto-Na-Dene, usually indicated as **š*. Krauss (1977) is responsible for the reconstruction of this, showing that it is cognate to Athabaskan **š* and **x̄*^y in various forms, and to Eyak *x̄*^(w)

and s. Leer (2008: 5) reconstructs Proto-Athabaskan-Eyak first person singular *\$ as actually being *x^(w). He says that Tlingit's \underline{x} is still an open question, but that probably the Proto-Na-Dene form was velar. The lack of velar fricatives in most of the Tlingit conjunct verb prefix zone may have something to do with this proposed shift.

The first person plural forms are diverse. The subject pronominal is *tu-*, but the object pronominal is *haa-* like the possessive pronoun and the postpositional pronoun. It is probably not a coincidence that the first person plural *haa-* is similar in form to the directional preverb *haa=* 'hither', and there may be a connection to the *-haan* found in the plural independent pronouns *uháan* '1PL' and *yiháan* '2PL'.

20.1.1. FIRST PERSON SUBJECT

The first person plural subject pronominal is uniquely *tu-*. It may be somehow related to the inalienable noun *-tu* 'inside (of closed container)', but this is purely speculative. That particular noun also appears as the incorporated inalienable noun prefix *tu-* which should not be confused with the first person plural subject. The following examples show the difference.

[[FIXME: Examples.]]

20.1.2. FIRST PERSON OBJECT

The first person singular object pronominal prefix is normally $\underline{xat-}$.

(178) a. *Ø-conjugation imperative*

\underline{xat} idashí !

\underline{xat} -Ø-i-da-shi-h

1SG.O-ZCNJ-2SG.S-CL[+D,Ø,-I]-reach.hand-VAR

'help me!'

b. *atelic perfective*

\underline{xat} wusiteen

\underline{xat} -yü-Ø-si-tin-h

1SG.O-PFV-3.S-CL[-D,S,+I]-see-VAR

'he saw me'

The first person object occasionally takes the form of the first person singular possessive pronoun *a \underline{x}* when the verb contains an inalienable incorporated noun Leer (1991: 42–43). In such cases the object *a \underline{x}* seems to act as

the possessor of the incorporated noun, with the pair together indicating the object of the verb. The following examples demonstrate the variation between an unincorporated noun, an incorporated noun with *aχ-*, and an incorporated noun with *χat-*. Note that the use of *aχ shá* ‘my head’ for usual *aχ shaxáawu* (*shá-χaaw-ŷí* head-fur-PSS) ‘my head-hair’ is idiomatic.

(179) a. *unincorporated inalienable noun*

aχ shá awlixaash
aχ shá a-ŷu-∅-li-xash-h
 1SG.PSS head 3.0-PFV-3.S-CL[-D,l,+I]-cut-VAR
 ‘he cut my hair’

b. *incorporated inalienable noun with aχ-*

aχ shawlixaash
aχ-sha-ŷu-∅-li-xash-h
 1SG.O-head-PFV-3.S-CL[-D,l,+I]-cut-VAR
 ‘he cut my hair’

c. *incorporated inalienable noun with χat-*

χat shawlixaash
χat-sha-ŷu-∅-li-xash-h
 1SG.O-head-PFV-3.S-CL[-D,l,+I]-cut-VAR
 ‘he cut my hair’

This is the only object pronominal which has a distinct form when acting as a possessor rather than an ordinary object. The choice of using *aχ-* versus *χat-* is apparently idiolectal. According to Leer (1991: 123), some speakers never use *aχ-* and only use *χat-*, other speakers have *aχ-* and *χat-* in free variation. He is unclear if there is a regular distinction between the choice of *aχ-* among different speakers. He is also unclear if *aχ-* is permitted without an incorporated noun. Given that I have encountered no examples of such constructions, I suspect that *aχ-* is only allowed with incorporates, but this remains to be verified.

The first person plural object pronominal *haa-* has the same form as the first person plural possessive pronoun *haa*. This is quite distinct from the first person plural subject prefix *tu-* as discussed in section 20.1.1.

20.1.3. INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS

The first person singular independent pronoun is simply *χát*, or *χat_T* in Tongass Tlingit. It is distinct from the first person singular object pronominal

prefix *ɣat-* in that the object pronominal always has low tone in Northern Tlingit and the independent pronoun always has high tone. The two can otherwise be confused in written materials since the object pronominal is written as a separate word.

The first person plural independent pronoun is highly variable. In Tongass Tlingit it was *uhwaan*_T (IPA /ʔu^hwa:n/) with an initial fading vowel. In Southern Tlingit it is usually *uháàn*_S with a short initial vowel and falling tone on the second vowel, but it is sometimes heard as *uwáàn*_S with the same vowels but with a voiced labial-velar approximant instead of a glottal fricative. In Northern Tlingit several forms are common: *uháan*, *uwáan*, *ooháan*, *oowáan*, *oohwáan* (IPA /ʔu^hwá:n/), etc. The variation between forms is largely idiolectal, frequently with multiple forms used by the same speaker. The form *oohwáan* is one of the few words that exhibits a phonemic labialized glottal fricative *hw* /h^w/ for those who have this sound in their inventory.

20.1.4. POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS

20.2. SECOND PERSON

20.2.1. INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS

The second person singular independent pronoun is *wa.é*, or *we.é* in Inland Tlingit with lowering of *a* to *e*. It is unusual in form when compared to all other second person singular pronouns and pronominals in Tlingit. Leer thinks it likely that the *.é* portion is from a former **.i* which would then be more clearly related to the other second person singulars.

The second person plural independent pronoun is, like the first person plural, very variable. In Tongass Tlingit there were three forms recorded: *ihyaan*_T (IPA /ʔi^hɥa:n/), *yihwaan*_T (IPA /ɥi^hwa:n/), and *yiyaan*_T (IPA /ɥiɥa:n/). Southern Tlingit has either *yiwháàn*_S (IPA /jiwháàn/) or *yiwáàn*_S (IPA /jiwáàn/) according to Leer, though variation is probably the same as in Northern Tlingit except for the falling tone on the second vowel. Northern Tlingit has *yihwáan* (IPA /yih^wá:n/), *yeewáan*, *yiwháan* (IPA /jiwhá:n/), *yeeháan*, *ihwáan* (IPA /ʔih^wá:n/), and so forth.

20.3. THIRD PERSON

20.3.1. THEMATIC THIRD PERSON

20.4. INDEFINITE PERSON

20.4.1. THEMATIC INDEFINITE PERSON

20.5. PARTITIVE

(180) a. wé k'únts' áwé x̣waax̣áa
 wé k'únts' á-wé Ø-ÿu-x̣a-ÿa-x̣a-ÿ
 MDST potato FOC-MDST 3.0-PFV-1SG.S-CL[-D,Ø,+I]-eat-VAR
 'I ate potatoes' (Leer 1991: 124)

b. wé k'únts' áwé aa x̣waax̣áa
 wé k'únts' á-wé aa-ÿu-x̣a-ÿa-x̣a-ÿ
 MDST potato FOC-MDST PART-PFV-1SG.S-CL[-D,Ø,+I]-eat-VAR
 'I ate some potatoes' (Leer 1991: 124)

(181) aa at eenéen
 aa-at-Ø-Ø-Ø.in-h-éen
 PART-INDN.0-ZCNJ-3.S-CL[-D,Ø,-I]-kill.PL-VAR-DEC
 'some (aa-) used to kill things (at-)' (Leer 1991: 124)

Leer (1991: 124) claims that the partitive pronominal can be coreferential with a first or second person plural independent pronoun. He gives the following two examples justifying this claim.

(182) a. kwáakt tsé aa néi x'wán
 kwáakt tsé aa-Ø-Ø-Ø-ne-? x'wán
 amiss ADMON PART-ZCNJ-3.S-CL[-D,Ø,-I]-happen-VAR IMP
 yehwáan
 yehwáan
 2PL
 'don't let something happen to any of you'

- b. tléil aadé gunéi aa uxjixeexi
 tleil á-dé gunéi=aa-u-∅-ga-∅-ji-xix-h-i
 NEG 3N-ALL INCEP=PART-IRR-ZCNJ-GMOD-3.S-CL[+D,sh,+I]-run-VAR-REL
 yé uháan
 yé uháan
 manner 1PL
 ‘there was no way we could start running’

While it is certainly true that the partitive pronominal is semantically coreferential with the independent pronouns here, it is not necessarily the case that they are syntactically coreferential. The second example is unquestionably a relative clause with the relativized form of the verb including the relative suffix *-i*, and with the light noun *yé* ‘manner’ as its external head. In this situation the *uháan* must then be outside of the relative clause, coming after the head as it does. Instead, the verb has a third person subject due to the narrative perspective of being disjunct with the speaker, who then clarifies the relationship between the third person and self in the matrix clause.

20.6. THE AREAL PREFIX

20.7. REFLEXIVE

The reflexive object *sh-* occurs as *∅-* when used with an incorporated noun. My discussion here is entirely based on Leer (1991: 97–98).

- (183) a. *non-reflexive*
 aawa.óos’
 a-ÿu-∅-ÿa-.us’-ÿ
 3.0-PFV-3.0-CL[-D,∅,+I]-wash-VAR
 ‘he washed it’
 theme: *O-S-CL[-D,∅]-.us’ (na; -kw Rep)* ‘S wash O’
- b. *reflexive*
sh wudi.óos’
sh-ÿu-∅-di-.us’-ÿ
RFLX.O-PFV-3.0-CL[+D,∅,+I]-wash-VAR
 ‘he washed himself’

- c. *non-reflexive with obligatory oblique*
 du yá aawa.óos'
 du yá a-ÿu-∅-ÿa.us'-ÿ
 3H.PSS_i face 3.0-PFV-3.0_j-CL[-D,∅,+I]-wash-VAR
 'he_j washed his_i face'; either $i = j$ or $i \neq j$
- d. *non-reflexive with incorporated object*
 ayaawa.óos'
 a-ÿa-ÿu-∅-ÿa.us'-ÿ
 3.0_i-face-PFV-3.S_j-CL[-D,∅,+I]-wash-VAR
 'he_j washed his_i face'; only $i \neq j$
- e. *reflexive with incorporated object*
 yawdi.óos'
 ∅-ÿa-ÿu-∅-di.us'-ÿ
 RFLX.O_i-face-PFV-3.S_i-CL[+D,∅,+I]-wash-VAR
 'he_i washed his_i face'

Examples (a) and (b) show the verb without a 'face' element, and example (c) has 'face' as a direct object. Example (d) shows the verb with 'face' incorporated into the verb, where the third person object cannot be coreferential with the third person subject. Example (e) demonstrates how the reflexive object occurs with its zero allomorph, with the subject and object being coreferential. In this case the reflexive object could also be *sh-*, so *sh yawdi.óos'*, with exactly the same meaning. It is unclear if this choice between the two allomorphs is free or not. If the reflexive object is thematic, i.e. lexically specified, then the use of the ∅- allomorph is ungrammatical.

20.8. RECIPROCAL

[[FIXME: Previously discussed in section 9.1.]]

[[FIXME: The *woosh*= proclitic. Also the oblique *woosh*, possessive *woosh*, etc.]]

20.9. NUMBER AND DISTRIBUTIVITY

[[FIXME: Plural *has*= ~ *s-*. Plural object *-x'* and other pluralizing suffixes.]]

20.9.1. PLURAL PREFIX

The *has=* plural in the verb is a proclitic, and its allomorph the *s-* plural is a prefix. The distinction is subtle, largely made due to the presence of a glottal stop before a subsequent vocalic prefix like *a-* ‘3.O’. A form like *s awsiteen* can be pronounced as either /sʔawsit^hi:n/ or as /sawsit^hi:n/, in contrast a form like *has awsiteen* is almost always pronounced as /hasʔawsit^hi:n/ and only very occasionally encountered as /hasawsit^hi:n/ in rapid, casual speech. Although it is not a proclitic, *s-* is usually written as a separate word orthographically. The *s-* allomorph is more common in the Transitional and Southern dialects, and is less common in the rest of Northern Tlingit. There is no semantic difference between the two allomorphs. Although it is morphologically proper to distinguish between the two as proclitic and prefix, for convenience I refer to them both as the ‘plural prefix’.

The *has=* ~ *s-* plural indicates the plurality of a third person argument. The following example is a basic demonstration of the use of *has=* ~ *s-*. The verb is a \emptyset -conjugation perfective with a third person subject. The third person subject is pluralized with the *has=* proclitic. Note that the verb agrees in plurality with the noun *k’isáani* ‘young men, boys’ which is inherently plural, being the plural counterpart to the noun *yadák’w* ‘young man, boy’.¹

- (184) yú k’isáani tleiḱaa has uwaḱée
 yú k’isáani tleiḱaa has=u- \emptyset -ḱa-xi-ḱ
 DIST young.men twenty PL=PFV.TEL-3.S-CL[-D, \emptyset ,+I]-overnight-VAR
 ‘those young men camped twenty nights’ (Swanton 1909: 354)

The plural prefix is used even when plurality is specified elsewhere in the verb. In this next example the verb root *.at* ‘pl. go (by foot)’ is inherently plural, being used as the counterpart to the inherently singular verb root *gut* ‘sg. go (by foot)’; see section 11.1 for more on this kind of verb root suppletion.

1. The word *k’isáani* is also the plural counterpart to the noun *yadak’wátsk’u*. Both refer to young men or boys, and both contain the noun *yát* ‘child’ and have an unpredictably rounded form of the diminutive suffix *-k’*. The second form also contains the noun *k’átsk’u* which seems to be some sort of diminutive, e.g. *atk’átsk’u* ‘child’, *shaatk’átsk’u* ‘girl’ (containing *shaawát* ‘girl’, itself from *sháa* ‘woman’ + *yát* ‘child’), and *sándi k’átsk’u* ‘Saturday’ (containing *sándi* ‘Sunday; week’).

- (185) yoo s ya.átk
 yoo=s-∅-∅-ÿa-.at-k
 ALT=PL-ZCNJ-3S-CL[-D,∅,+I]-GO.PL-REP
 “they go to and fro” (Story 1966: 104)

The preceding examples have pluralization of the subject. But the plural prefix is not specific for subject or object, and can be used to indicate plurality of either. The following examples from Leer (1991: 131) demonstrate that *has=* can pluralize either the subject or the object with the same verb theme.

- (186) a. *has= pluralizing object*
 has xwasiteen
 has=∅-ÿu-xa-si-tin-h
 PL=3.0-PFV-1SG.S-CL[-D,S,+I]-see-VAR
 ‘I saw them’
- b. *has= pluralizing subject*
 has xat wusiteen
 has=xat-ÿu-∅-si-tin-h
 PL=1SG.S-PFV-3.S-CL[-D,S,+I]-see-VAR
 ‘they saw me’
- c. *ambiguous plurality*
 has awsiteen
 has=a-ÿu-∅-si-tin-h
 PL=3.0-PFV-3.S-CL[-D,S,+I]-see-VAR
 ‘they saw him’, ‘he saw them’, ‘they saw them’

The last example above demonstrates that *has=* can be ambiguous when both the subject and object are third person (3-on-3). If one of the arguments has an animate referent then that is presupposed to be the plural referent, since number is unspecified for most inanimate nouns, and indeed for most nouns generally.

If a theme is intransitive then the plural prefix can only pluralize the sole argument of the theme. Thus a subject intransitive with plural prefix has a plural subject, and an object intransitive with a plural prefix has a plural object.

[[FIXME: Examples.]]

The plural prefix also occurs with the third person possessive and the third person postpositional pronouns (Leer 1991: 132). In this case it is usu-

ally written as part of the pronoun, but may occasionally be seen as a separate orthographic word.

- (187) a. du éex' at wulitéew
 du=ee-x' at-ÿu-Ø-li-ti'w-h
 3H=BASE-LOC INDN.O-PFV-3.S-CL[-D,l,+I]-teach-VAR
 'he taught him (something)'
- b. hasdu éex' at wulitéew
 has-du=ee-x' at-ÿu-Ø-li-ti'w-h
 PL-3H=BASE-LOC INDN.O-PFV-3.S-CL[-D,l,+I]-teach-VAR
 'he taught them (something)'
- c. du éesh woonaa
 du éesh Ø-ÿu-ÿa-na-h
 3H.PSS father 3.O-PFV-CL[-D,Ø,+I]-die-VAR
 'his father died'
- d. hasdu éesh woonaa
 has-du éesh Ø-ÿu-ÿa-na-h
 PL-3H.PSS father 3.O-PFV-CL[-D,Ø,+I]-die-VAR
 'their father died'

20.9.2. DISTRIBUTIVE PREFIXES

[[FIXME: Distributive *daga-* and *daga-* ~ *dax-*.]]

20.9.3. PLURAL OBJECT SUFFIX

[[FIXME: Ref section 10.6.5 and section 10.6.6.]]

21 Incorporated nouns

[[FIXME: Inalienable nouns and object possessors.]]

[[FIXME: Alienable nouns and decreased transitivity, as discussed in chapter 8.]]

22 Proverbs

23 Derivation

23.1. SUFFIXAL DERIVATION

24 Noun classification

[[FIXME: Boas and Naish & Story's descriptions.]]

[[FIXME: The Dauenhauers' list of categories.]]

[[FIXME: Jeff's list of categories from Leer, Hitch, & Ritter 2001.]]

[[FIXME: Separating manner from noun classification.]]

[[FIXME: The problem beyond just handling verbs – positionals, motion, etc.]]

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