Catalogue of Tlingit verb morphemes

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Contents

1. Introduction

This is a catalogue of morphemes in Tlingit verbs. It is inspired by Krauss's *Eyak morpheme list* (Krauss 1981) for the Eyak language but goes beyond his approach to include allomorphs and common combinations of morphemes as well as examples and cross references. It is meant to be a reference aid for language study and linguistic analysis and is not intended to be a comprehensive description of any particular grammar phenomenon.

This catalogue is organized into two parts: section 2 on page 9 is an alphabetic list of verb morphemes and section 3 on page 24 is an inventory of verb morphemes organized by their positions and related functions in verbs. The alphabetic list allows the reader to look up morphemes by phonological form (spelling) without needing to know a morpheme's meaning or function. The position and function list allows the reader to look up morphemes by meaning and function without needing to know a morpheme's form or allomorphy.

1.1. Alphabet ordering

The alphabetic listing follows a conventional Latin alphabet ordering, so for example *aa* precedes *ach* and *ee* precedes *ei*. Letters with underline diacritics (*g̲*, *k̲*, *x̲*) are listed immediately after the corresponding letters without an underline diacritic (*g*, *k*, *x*) so for example *ga* precedes *g̲a*. The two letters *y* and *ÿ* are not distinguished in order, so for example *ÿa* precedes *ye* precedes *ÿi*. Letters followed by an apostrophe – i.e. the ejective consonants – always follow letters without so for example *k̲a* precedes *k̲'a*.

- *a*, *ch*, *d*, *e*, *g*, *g̲*, *h*, *i*, *j*, *k*, *k̲*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *o*, *s*, *t*, *u*, *w*, *x*, *x̲*, *y*/*ÿ*, *'*

Symbols other than letters are given after the alphabetic entries. This includes symbols like μ (vowel length), *H* (high tone), and ⊗ (consonant deletion).

1.2. Morpheme representations

Different kinds of morphemes are represented in different ways. Tlingit has both affixes and clitics; among affixes there are both prefixes and suffixes and among clitics there are both proclitics and enclitics. Prefixes are represented like *x-* with a hyphen "-" following the form *x* and likewise suffixes are represented like *-y* with a hyphen preceding the form *y*. Proclitics are represented like *x=* with an equals sign "=" following the form *x* and likewise enclitics are represented like *=y* with an equals sign preceding the form *y*. This representation of affixes and clitics is consistent with the widely accepted *Leipzig glossing rules* (Comrie, Haspelmath, & Bickel 2008).

Some morphemes in Tlingit verbs are 'smaller' than even a single vowel or consonant. Most such morphemes involve tone or lengthening of a vowel or sometimes both. Tone is represented independently of a vowel as *H* for high tone and *L* for low tone. Lengthening of a vowel is represented independently of the base vowel as μ (Greek letter mu, the standard symbol for a mora). Morphemes consisting of tone or vowel lengthening are given as though they are prefixes or suffixes depending on their position, but it should be understood that they are not actually separate from the vowel segments that host them. One example is the vowel lengthening allomorph μ- of the stative prefix *ya-* ~ *i-* as in

x̲aatéen ‘I can see him/her/it’ versus *x̲at yatéen* ‘s/he/it can see me’. In the form *x̲aatéen* ‘I can see him/her/it’ the stative prefix appears as lengthening of the vowel in the *x̲aa* syllable which would otherwise be short *x̲a* as in *x̲ax̲á* ‘I am eating him/her/it’. Compare *x̲a-μ-²√tin-μμH* for *x̲aatéen* ‘I can see him/her/it’ with the *μ-* stative prefix versus *x̲a-²√x̲a-μH* for *x̲ax̲á* ‘I am eating him/her/it’ without the *μ-* stative prefix.

Beyond single morphemes like affixes and clitics, this catalogue also includes common combinations of morphemes as they appear within a verb word. These combinations are given without a hyphen or equals sign because they are not single morphemes; instead their definition is a sequence of separate morphemes and the reader should refer to each of the individual elements separately. As well as the lack of a hyphen or equals sign in their listing, all entries of combinations of morphemes can be identified by the “≡ *a-b-c-…*” in the beginning of their definition. This means that the combination is equivalent to “≡” the sequence of morphemes given. For example, the form *dli* ≡ *d-l-i-* is the combination of the *d-* voice prefix, the *l-* valency prefix, and the *i-* stative prefix. Having identified *dli* as a combination of morphemes, the reader can then look at the individual entries for *d-*, *l-*, and *i-*. This is illustrated by the following example entry:

dli ≡ *d-l-i-* combination of *d-* voice prefix, *l-* (or *l*ˢ-) valency prefix, and *i-* stative prefix
- *wutulitl’íx* (pfv; tr, ∅, ach) ‘we made it dirty’ with *l-i-*
  versus *sh wutudlitl’íx* (pfv) ‘we made ourselves dirty’ with *d-l-i-*

1.3. Lack of null morphemes

Null (zero) morphemes have been omitted from this catalogue. The purpose of this catalogue is to provide a quick reference for identifying morphemes based on their phonological forms and since null morphemes have no phonological form they do not fit within the purpose of this document. Null morphemes are really just artificial ‘bookkeeping’ elements used for linguistic analysis and do not actually exist in the language, so it is philosophically questionable to ascribe meanings to them. In addition, it is possible in principle to have a contrast between every overt morpheme and a corresponding null morpheme representing the absence of the overt morpheme. Compare the following two analyses of the same verb form *toox̲á* ‘we are eating him/her/it’ in (1) where (1a) has only overt morphemes and (1b) includes null morphemes. The analysis in (1b) has seven additional null affixes for the lack of an overt object, lack of overt irrealis, lack of overt aspect/conjugation, lack of overt modality, lack of a repetitive suffix, lack of overt past tense, and lack of overt clause type.

(1) a. Toox̲á.
too- ²√x̲a-μH
1PL·S-²√eat-VAR
IMPFV.we.eat
‘We are eating him/her/it.’

b. Toox̲á.
Ø- Ø- Ø- Ø- too- ²√x̲a-μH-Ø -Ø -Ø
3·O-REAL-IMPFV-NMOD-1PL·S-²√eat-VAR-NREP-NPAST-NSUB
IMPFV.we.eat
'We are eating him/her/it.'

Although null morphology like in (1b) can be useful for certain kinds of analysis, for most purposes it is needlessly complex. In addition, listing all of the possible null morphemes in Tlingit verbs here would at least double the size of this document, making it much less useful as a quick reference. The sole exception to the avoidance of null morphemes is the use of the symbol *Ø* to represent the distinct conjugation class that is characterized by the absence of one of the *n-*, *g̲-*, or *g-* prefixes. This *Ø* is not actually a morpheme but rather a label for the set of verbs that lack *n-*, *g̲-*, or *g-* in certain forms where one would otherwise be expected (e.g. imperative forms like *gashí!* 'sing it!' with *ga-* versus *x̲á!* 'eat it!' with nothing).

1.4. Verb root representation

Verb roots are represented in a similar way to the representation in Crippen 2019, but with one significant difference. Specifically, the unpredictable tone patterns are now given by a superscript capital letter ^{H} or ^{L} rather than the less transparent $^{\prime}$ or ^{h}. A root represented as *√CV^{h}* in Crippen 2019 is here given as *√CV^{L}* and a root represented as *√CV'C* in Crippen 2019 is here given as *√CV^{H}C*. This representation is iconically closer to the actual tone patterns in Northern Tlingit varieties.

For the case of *√CV'C* → *√CV^{H}C*, compare the two roots *√xit* 'scratch' and *√si^{H}t* 'braid' (formerly *√si't*). The affirmative perfective forms in (2a) and (3a) both have a stem with a short vowel and high tone *-μH*. The negative perfective form for *√xit* in (2b) has the predicted stem with a long vowel and low tone *-μμL*. But the stem of *√si^{H}t* with *-μμH* in (3b) has high tone rather than low tone. This deviation from the expected low tone is reflected by the representation of the root as *√si^{H}t* with ^{H} which replaces the earlier *√si't*.

(2) a. Kax̲wlixít.
ka- w- x̲- l- i- ²√xit -μH
QUAL-PFV-1SG·S-XTN-STV-²√scratch-VAR
PFV.I.scratch
'I scratched, furrowed it.'

b. Tléil kax̲wlaxeet.
tléil ka- w- x̲- l- ²√xit -μμL
NEG QUAL-PFV-1SG·S-XTN-²√scratch-VAR
not PFV.I.scratch
'I didn't scratch, furrow it.'

(3) a. Kax̲wlisít.
ka- w- x̲- l- i- ²√si^{H}t -μH
QUAL-PFV-1SG·S-XTN-STV-²√braid-VAR
PFV.I.scratch
'I braided it.'

b. Tléil kax̲wlaséet.
tléil ka- w- x̲- l- ²√si^{H}t -μμH
NEG QUAL-PFV-1SG·S-XTN-²√braid-VAR
not PFV.I.scratch
'I didn't braid it.'

For the case of *√CV^{h}* → *√CV^{L}*, compare the two roots *√ta* 'boil' and *√ta^{L}* 'sg. sleep' (formerly *√ta^{h}*). The prospective forms in (5a) and (5a) both have a stem with a long vowel and high tone *-μμH*. The repetitive imperfective form for *√ta* in (5b) has the predicted stem

with a long vowel, ablaut, and high tone *-$\mu_e\mu H$*. But the stem of *√ta*^{L} with *-$\mu_e\mu L$* in (5b) has low tone rather than high tone. This deviation from the expected tone is reflected by the representation of the root as *√ta*^{L} with ^{L} which replaces the earlier *√ta*^{h}.

(4) a. Kuḵasatáa.
g- u- g̲- x̲a- sa- ¹√ta -μμH
GCNJ-IRR-MOD-1SG·S-CSV-¹√boil-VAR
PROSP.I.make.boil
'I will boil it.'

b. X̲asatéix̲.
x̲a- sa- ¹√ta -μ_eμH-x̲
1SG·S-CSV-¹√boil-VAR -REP
IMPFV.I.make.boil.REP
'I repeatedly boil it.'

(5) a. Kuḵasatáa.
g- u- g̲- x̲a- sa- ¹√ta -μμH
GCNJ-IRR-MOD-1SG·S-CSV-¹√sleep·SG-VAR
PROSP.I.make.sleep·SG
'I will make him/her/it sleep.'

b. X̲asateix̲.
x̲a- sa- ¹√ta^{L} -μ_eμL-x̲
1SG·S-CSV-¹√sleep·SG-VAR -REP
IMPFV.I.make.sleep·SG.REP
'I repeatedly make him/her/it sleep.'

1.5. Abbreviations and verb lexical information

Abbreviations have been generally avoided in favour of complete names in English. The only major exception is the representation of verb lexical information. A verb used in an example is given with its grammatical and lexical information in parentheses before the English translation. The first use of a verb in an example is followed in parentheses by the grammatical aspect, then a semicolon, and then most of the important lexical information separated by commas. The second use of the verb (usually in a form contrasting with the first form) has only the grammatical aspect in parentheses and the rest of the information is implicitly the same. Consider the following example:

- *at wutusi.ée* (pfv; tr, *g̲*, *-μμH* act) 'we cooked something'
  versus *wutusi.ée* (pfv) 'we cooked him/her/it'

Immediately following the form "*at wutusi.ée* is the parenthesized list "(pfv; tr, *g̲*, *-μμH* act)". This list has two parts: before the semicolon ";" there is the grammatical aspect of the verb form and then after the semicolon there is the lexical information of the verb. The grammatical aspect "pfv" indicates that the form is perfective aspect. The "tr" indicates that the verb is transitive (takes both subject and object arguments). The *g̲* means that this verb is a member of the *g̲* conjugation class and so for instance will have the prefix *g̲-* in an imperative mood form and the preverb *yei=* in a progressive aspect form. The "*-μμH* act" indicates the verb's eventuality class: the verb is an activity verb and its imperfective aspect forms will normally have *-μμH* stem variation with a long vowel and high tone. The second form *wutusi.ée* is based on the same verb lexical item with the same lexical information, so for brevity only its grammatical aspect is given in parentheses. Contrast this with the next example that has two different verb lexical items:

- *at wutusi.ée* (pfv; tr, *g̲*, *-μμH* act) 'we cooked something'
  versus *at wutuwax̲áa* (pfv; tr, *∅*, *-μH* act) 'we ate something'

Here the second form "*at wutuwaxáa*" is a different verb as can be seen by the stem *xáa* (thus root $\sqrt[2]{xa}$ 'eat') which is unrelated to the stem *.ée* (root $\sqrt[1]{.i}$ 'cooked'). Since this second form is a different verb it is given with its full list of verb lexical information. Comparing the two we see for example that where the verb of "*at wutusi.ée*" belongs to the *g* conjugation class, the verb of "*at wutuwaxáa*" belongs to the *∅* conjugation class. In addition, although both are activity verbs given "act", the verb of "*at wutusi.ée*" has *-μμH* long high tone stem variation in its imperfective aspect form (e.g. *at tusi.ée* 'we are cooking something') where instead the verb of "*at wutuwaxáa*" has *-μH* short high tone stem variation in its imperfective aspect form (e.g. *at tooxá* 'we are eating something').

The following lists give the abbreviations used for the different parts of verb form information. These lists are meant to be exhaustive so if there is an abbreviation used in the document that is not listed here, please report it so it can be corrected.

List of grammatical aspect, mood, tense, and clause type abbreviations:

admon	admonitive mood
cond	conditional mood
ctng	contingent mood
csec	consecutive aspect
hab	habitual aspect
hort	hortative mood
imp	imperative mood
impfv	imperfective aspect
past	past tense
pfv	perfective aspect
pot	potential mood
prog	progressive aspect
prosp	prospective ('future') aspect
rel	relative clause type
rep	repetitive iterativity
rlzn	realizational aspect
sub	subordinate clause type

List of transitivity abbreviations:

impers	impersonal: no subject and no object
subj intr	subject intransitive: subject but no object (≡ unergative)
obj intr	object intransitive: object but no subject (≡ unaccusative)
tr	transitive: both subject and object

List of conjugation class symbols:

n	*n* conjugation class reflected by *n-* prefix in imperative mood
g	*g* conjugation class reflected by *g-* prefix in imperative mood and *yei=* preverb in prospective aspect

g *g* conjugation class
reflected by *g-* prefix in imperative mood
and *kei=* preverb in prospective aspect

∅ *∅* conjugation class
reflected by absence of prefix in imperative mood

List of eventuality class abbreviations:

act activity
has an imperfective aspect form without stative prefix and without repetitive suffix, does not require motion derivation

state state
has an imperfective aspect form with stative prefix and without repetitive suffix, does not require motion derivation

ach achievement
does not have imperfective aspect form without repetitive suffix, does not require motion derivation

mot motion
does not have imperfective aspect form without repetitive suffix and requires motion derivation

2. Alphabetic listing of verb morphemes

2.1. A

a- argument marking prefix in object prefix position

1. 3>3 agreement of transitive verb: third person subject and third person object
   - *aawax̲áa* (pfv; tr, *∅*, *-μH* act) ‘s/he/it ate it’
     with *a-μw-wa-*$\sqrt[2]{}$*x̲a-μμH* using *a-* 3>3
   versus *wutuwax̲áa* ‘we ate it’
     with *wu-tu-wa-*$\sqrt[2]{}$*x̲a-μμH* using *tu-* ‘we’
2. indefinite nonhuman object of some transitive verbs instead of *at=*; verbs that use *a-* in this way usually also use *a-* 3>3; the reason for using *a-* instead of *at=* is still unclear
   - *al’óon* (impfv; tr, *n*, *-μμH* act) ‘s/he/it is hunting something’
     with *a-*$\sqrt[2]{}$*l’u*^{H}*n-μμH* using *a-* ‘something, stuff’
     (not **at l’óon* ‘s/he/it is hunting something’ using *at=* ‘sth., stuff’)
   versus *al’óon* (impfv) ‘s/he/it is hunting it’
     with *a-*$\sqrt[2]{}$*l’u*^{H}*n-μμH* using *a-* 3>3
     compare *g̲áx̲ al’óon* (impfv) ‘s/he/it is hunting rabbits’
     (*g̲áx̲ al’óon* cannot mean ‘s/he/it is hunting something rabbits’)
3. indefinite human subject of subject intransitive verbs instead of *du-*; probably all subject intransitive verbs use *a-* rather than *du-*
   - *ax̲éx’w* (impfv; subj intr, *n*, *-μH* act) ‘people are sleeping’
     with *a-*$\sqrt[1]{}$*x̲’ex’w-μH* using *a-* ‘someone, people’
     (not **dux̲éx’w* ‘people are sleeping’ using *du-* ‘someone, people’)
   versus *toox̲éx’w* (impfv) ‘we are sleeping’
     with *too-*$\sqrt[1]{}$*x̲’ex’w-μH* using *too-* ‘we’
   - *aawa.aat* (pfv; subj intr, *n*, mot) ‘people went’
     with *a-μw-wa-*$\sqrt[1]{}$*.at-μμL* using *a-* ‘someone, people’
     (not **wuduwa.aat* ‘people went’ using *du-* ‘someone, people’)
   versus *wutuwa.aat* (pfv) ‘we went’
     with *wu-tu-wa-*$\sqrt[1]{}$*.at-μμL* using *tu-* ‘we’
4. nonreferential expletive (filler) object; does not refer to anything
   - *awdigaan* (pfv; impers, g̲, ach) ‘it sunshined’
     with *a-w-d-i-*$\sqrt[2]{}$*gan-μμL* using *a-* expletive object and *d-* passive
     (not **g̲agaan awdigaan* ‘sun sunshined’)

aa= partitive proclitic

1. partitive third person object
2. partitive third person subject

aawa ≡ *a-μw-wa-* combination of *a-* argument marking prefix, *μw-* perfective prefix, and *wa-* stative prefix

- *aawajáḵ* (pfv; tr, *∅*, ach) ‘s/he/it killed him/her/it’
  with *a-μw-wa-*$\sqrt[2]{}$*jaḵ-μH*

ach= variant form of *ash=* object proclitic; probably derived from *á* third person pronoun + *-ch* ergative suffix or *sh* reflexive pronoun

1.

2.

as= allomorph of *has=* human pluralizer for third person subject or object; mostly occurs in Southern & Tongass communities

- *as dustaaÿch* (hab; tr, ∅, ach) “they would boil it” (Tongass dialect) (Williams, Williams, & Leer 1978: 24.80)
  with *as=du-d-s-*$\overset{1}{\surd}$*ta*^{L}*-μμ-ÿ-ch*
  versus *has dustáaych* ‘they would boil it’ (Northern dialect)
  with *has=du-d-s-*$\overset{1}{\surd}$*ta*^{L}*-μμH-ÿ-ch*

ash= object proclitic; probably derived from *á* third person pronoun + *sh* reflexive pronoun or *-ch* ergative suffix

1. third person proximate human object
2. special reflexive object

at= indefinite nonhuman object ‘something, stuff’; derived from noun *át* ‘thing’ (compare *át áwé* ‘it is a thing, it is something’); see also *a-* which is used instead of *at=* with some verbs

- *at wutusiteen* (pfv; tr, g, ach) ‘we saw something’
  with *at=wu-tu-s-i-*$\overset{2}{\surd}$*tin-μμL* using *at=* ‘something, stuff’
  versus *wutusiteen* (pfv) ‘we saw him/her/it’
  with *wu-tu-s-i-*$\overset{2}{\surd}$*tin-μμL* using third person object (no prefix)
- *at wusiteen* (pfv; tr, g, ach) ‘s/he/it saw something’
  with *at=wu-s-i-*$\overset{2}{\surd}$*tin-μμL* using *at=* ‘something, stuff’
  versus *awsiteen* (pfv) ‘s/he/it saw him/her/it’
  with *a-w-s-i-*$\overset{2}{\surd}$*tin-μμL* using *a-* 3>3

aw ≡ *a-w-* combination of *a-* argument marking prefix and *w-* perfective prefix

- *awsi.ée* (pfv; tr, ∅, *-μμH* act) ‘s/he/it cooked him/her/it’
  with *a-w-s-i-*$\overset{1}{\surd}$*.i-μμH*

awu ≡ *a-wu-* combination of *a-* argument marking prefix and *wu-* perfective prefix; occurs in negative, past tense, and subordinate clause forms where *ÿa- ~ i-* stative prefix is suppressed; compare *aawa* ≡ *a-μw-wa-* and *aw* ≡ *a-w-*

- *tléil awuxá* (neg pfv; tr, ∅, *-μH* act) ‘s/he/it didn’t eat him/her/it’
  with *tléil a-wu-*$\overset{2}{\surd}$*xa-μH* lacking *wa-* stative
  versus *aawaxáa* (pfv) ‘s/he/it ate him/her/it’
  with *a-μw-wa-*$\overset{2}{\surd}$*xa-μμH* using *wa-* stative
- *awuxáayin* (past pfv; tr, ∅, *-μH* act) ‘s/he/it had eaten him/her/it’
  with *a-wu-*$\overset{2}{\surd}$*xa-μμH-yin* using *-yin* past and lacking *wa-* stative
  versus *aawaxáa* (pfv) ‘s/he/it ate him/her/it’
  with *a-μw-wa-*$\overset{2}{\surd}$*xa-μμH* using *wa-* stative

- *awuxaayí* (sub pfv; tr, *Ø*, *-μH* act) ‘while s/he/it ate him/her/it’
  with *a-wu-²√xa-μμL-yí* using *-yí* subordinate and lacking *wa-* stative
  versus *aawaxáa* (pfv) ‘s/he/it ate him/her/it’
  with *a-μw-wa-²√xa-μμH* using *wa-* stative

ax= allomorph ‘my’ of *xat=* ‘me’ first person singular object from possessive pronoun (compare *ax keidlí áwé* ‘it is my dog’), only used as possessor of incorporated nouns; some speakers disprefer *ax=* and only use *xat=*

- *ax shalxáash* (impfv; tr, *n*, *-μμH* act) ‘s/he is cutting my hair’
  with *ax=sha-l-²√xash-μμH* using *ax=* ‘my’
  versus *xat shalxáash* (impfv) ‘s/he is cutting my hair’
  with *xat=sha-l-²√xash-μμH* using *xat=* ‘me’

2.2. D

d-, da- voice prefix of classifier
1. middle voice
2. passive voice
3. antipassive voice

daak= directional preverb indicating out to sea away from land; derived from directional noun *dáak* ‘out at sea’ (compare *dákde* ‘seaward’)

daak= directional preverb ‘inland (away from water body)’; derived from directional noun *dáak* ‘inland’ (compare *dákde=* ‘to inland’, *dakká* ‘on inland’)

daga- allomorph of *dax=* distributive pluralizer or non-human pluralizer; position of this allomorph is uncertain as it is only attested in forms without argument or aspectual prefixes

dákde= directional preverb *daak=* ‘inland’ with allative postposition *-dé* ~ *-de* ‘toward’

dax= distributive pluralizer or non-human pluralizer; can occur before human pluralizer *has=* but not after

deik= variant form of *daak=* ‘out to sea’ in Southern and Transitional Northern communities; the reason for using *deik=* versus *daak=* is still unclear

- *deik koowatín* (pfv; subj intr, *Ø*; ach+mot) ‘he has gotten vision’ (Leer 1973: 06/212)
  versus *daak koowatín* (pfv) ‘he has gotten vision’

deik= variant form of *daak=* ‘inland’ in Southern and Transitional Northern communities; the reason for using *deik=* versus *daak=* is still unclear

- *i chkáx deik tí* (imp; tr, *Ø*; mot) ‘put it (glove) on your hand’ (Southern dialect) (Leer 1973: 05/79)
  versus *i jikáx daak tí* (imp) ‘put it (glove) on your hand’ (Northern dialect)

di ≡ *d-i-* combination of *d-* voice prefix and *i-* stative prefix

- *tuwatéen* (impfv; tr, *∅*, *-μμH* state) ‘we can see it’
  with *tu-wa-²√tin-μμH*

  versus *sh tuditéen* (impfv) ‘we can see ourselves’
  with *sh=tu-d-i-²√tin-μμH* using *sh=* reflexive and *d-* middle voice

dli ≡ *d-l-i-* combination of *d-* voice prefix, *l-* (or *l^{s}-*) valency prefix, and *i-* stative prefix

- *wutulitl’íx* (pfv; tr, *∅*, ach) ‘we made it dirty’
  with *wu-tu-l-i-¹√tl’ix-μH*

  versus *sh wutudlitl’íx* (pfv) ‘we made ourselves dirty’
  with *sh=wu-tu-d-l-i-¹√tl’ix-μH* using *sh=* reflexive and *d-* middle voice

du- 1. indefinite human subject of transitive verbs
   - *x̲at wududziteen* (pfv; tr, *g̲*, ach) ‘someone/people saw me’
     versus *x̲at wusiteen* (pfv) ‘s/he/it saw me’
2. indefinite experiencer subject
   - *xóon wuduwanúk* (pfv; obj intr, *∅*, ach) ‘north wind was felt’
3. expletive/filler subject
   - *x̲at kawduwasáy* (pfv; obj intr, *∅*, ach) ‘I got hot/sweaty’
   - *haa kawduwak’éin* (pfv; obj intr, *g*, mot) ‘we jumped’
     versus *x̲wajik’éin* (pfv; subj intr, *g*, mot) ‘I jumped’

dzi ≡ *d-s-i-* combination of *d-* voice prefix, *s-* valency prefix, and *i-* stative prefix

- *wutusi.ée* (pfv; tr, *∅*, *-μμH* act) ‘we made it cooked’ with *s-i-*
  versus *sh wutudzi.ée* (pfv) ‘we made ourselves cooked’ with *d-s-i-*

2.3. E

ee- allomorph of *i-* second person singular subject

ee= allomorph of *i-* second person singular object

2.4. G

g-, ga- *g* conjugation class prefix, upward spatial orientation; prospective aspect prefix with *w-* irrealis and *g̲-* modal; can occur together with *g-* comparative prefix

g-, ga- irregular allomorph of *ka-* comparative prefix; identifiable by occurence together with

- *ch’a yéi googéik’* (impfv; obj intr, *n*, *-μμH* state) ‘just a little’
  versus *yagéi* (impfv) ‘it is big’

ga- self-benefactive prefix, occurs with transitive verbs and requires *d-*; unclear if a *g-* allomorph is possible; coccurrence with *g-* conjugation prefix and *ga-* comparative prefix uncertain

gági= directional preverb indicating out into open; derived from noun *gáak* ‘protrusion’ with special locative postposition *-í ~ -i*; motion derivation *gági* (*∅*, *-x̲* rep) ‘emerging, out into open’

- *gági uwaháa du wak̲shayeex' ch'áak' k̲uyéik* 'it emerged before his eyes, the eagle spirit' (Leer 1973: 01/6)

guga̲ ≡ *g-u-ga̲-* combination of *g-* conjugation prefix, *u-* irrealis prefix, and *ga̲-* modality prefix, together indicating prospective ('future') aspect; this form occurs when there is no subject prefix and no immediately preceding vowel (incorporated noun, object prefix, preverb, etc.); *kg̲wa* occurs instead if there is a preceding vowel
- *at gug̲ax̲áa* (prosp; tr, *∅*, *-μμH* act) 's/he/it will eat something' with *at=g-u-ga̲-*
  versus *akg̲wax̲áa* (prosp) 's/he/it will eat him/her/it' with *a-g-u-ga̲-*

2.5. G̲

g̲-, g̲a- *g̲* conjugation class prefix, downward spatial orientation; can occur together with *g̲-* modality prefix

g̲-, g̲a- modality prefix in prospective aspect, hortative mood, potential mood, and contingent mood; can occur together with *g̲-* conjugation class prefix in hortative, potential, contingent; allomorph *x̲-* when in a syllable coda, forms *k̲* or *k̲a* when combined with *x̲-* / *x̲a-* first person singular subject
1. prospective aspect: *g̲-* conjugation + *u-* irrealis + *g̲-* modality
   - *gug̲atáa* (prosp; *n*, *-μH* act) 's/he/it will sleep' with *g-u-g̲a-∜ta^{L}-μμH*
     versus *wootaa* (pfv) 's/he/it slept' with *wu-μ-∜ta^{L}-μμL*
2. hortative mood: *CNJ-* conjugation + *g̲-* modality
3. potential mood: *u-* irrealis + *CNJ-* conjugation + *g̲-* modality
4. contingent mood: *CNJ-* conjugation + *G̲-* modality (+ -N + *-ín*)

g̲unéi= variant form of *g̲unayéi* 'starting, beginning' inceptive preverb, arising from contraction; some speakers use only *g̲unéi* with verbs and reserve *g̲unayéi* as a noun

g̲ax̲= incorporated noun indicating crying, saturates object argument; derived from *∜g̲ax̲* 'cry'
- plural *g̲ax̲satí* (impfv; subj intr?, *g̲*, *-μH* act) 'they cry' (with *s-∜ti^{L}* 'be')
  versus singular *g̲áax̲* (impfv; subj intr, *g̲*, *-μμH* act) 's/he/it cries'
- *kei gax̲ gax̲yisatée* (prosp) 'you pl. will cry' (Story & Naish 1973: 60.683)

g̲unayéi= inceptive preverb indicating initiation of motion or other eventuality; variant form *g̲unéi* arising from contraction; derived from the noun *g̲unayéi* 'elsewhere, different place' from *g̲una* 'different, other' and *yé ~ yéi* 'place, way' probably with *-μ* allomorph of *-x'* locative postposition
1. initiation of motion; motion derivation *g̲unayéi ~ g̲unéi* (*∅*, *-x̲* rep) 'starting off, setting out'
   - *g̲unayéi wutuwa.át* (pfv; subj intr, *∅*, *-x̲* rep) 'we started off'
     versus *wutuwa.aat* (pfv; subj intr, *n*, *yoo=i-…-k* rep) 'we went'

2. initiation of other eventuality; eventuality derivation *g̲unayéi ~ g̲unéi* (*∅*, ach, *-x̲* rep) ‘beginning, starting, initiating’
    - *g̲unayéi aawax̲áa* (pfv; tr, *∅*, ach) ‘s/he/it started eating him/her/it’ versus *aawax̲áa* (pfv; tr, *∅*, *-μH* act) ‘s/he/it ate him/her/it’

2.6. H

haa= first person plural object (compare *haa keidlí áwé* ‘it is our dog’); although this is homophonous with the possessive pronoun, *haa=* as an object is not necessarily possessive
- *haa yisiteen* (pfv; tr, *g̲*, ach) ‘you sg. saw us’ versus *x̲at yisiteen* (pfv) ‘you sg. saw me’

has= human pluralizer for third person, allomorphs *as=* and *s=*; note that since Tlingit is number neutral (nouns are not singular by default), a form without *has=* may still refer to plural humans, i.e. *has=* is not required for third person human plural arguments
1. human pluralizer for third person subject
    - *t’á aawax̲áa* (pfv; tr, *∅*, *-μH* act) ‘s/he/it ate king salmon’ versus *t’á has aawax̲áa* (pfv) ‘they (humans) ate king salmon’
2. human pluralizer for third person object
    - *has tushik’áan* (impfv; tr, *g*, *-μμH* state) ‘we hate them’ versus *yee tushik’áan* (impfv) ‘we hate you guys’
3. human pluralizer for both third person subject and third person object; some speakers do not accept this use of *has=* for both subject and object at the same time
    - *has awsiteen* (pfv; tr, *g*, ach) ‘they saw them’ or ‘s/he/it saw them’ or ‘they saw him/her/it’

2.7. I

i- second person subject or object; long vowel allomorphs are *ee-* and *ee=*; subject versus object is typically distinguished by position in the verb word but can sometimes be ambiguous
1. second person singular subject
    - *x̲at iyatéen* (impfv; tr, *g*, *-μμH* state, only impfv) ‘you (sg.) can see me’
2. second person singular object
    - *ix̲aatéen* (impfv; tr, *g*, *-μμH* state, only impfv) ‘I can see you (sg.)’
3. ambiguous: second person subject or object depending on context
    - *iyatéen* (impfv; tr, *g*, *-μμH* state, only impfv) ‘you (sg.) can see him/her/it’ or ‘s/he/it can see you (sg.)’

i- stative prefix of classifier; allomorphs *ÿa-*, *wa-*, *μ-*

2.8. J

ji- incorporated noun indicating hand or possession; qualifier indicating object with extended projections (fingers); derived from relational nouns *jín* 'hand' and *jee* 'possession'

ji- ≡ *d-sh-i-* combination of *d-* voice prefix, *sh-* valency prefix, and *i-* stative prefix

2.9. K

k-, ka- incorporated noun indicating horizontal surface, derived from relational noun *ká* 'horizontal surface, flat top of'; can occur together with *ka-* small round or *ka-* comparative or *ka-* unknown

k-, ka- qualifier indicating small round object; can occur together with *ka-* horizontal surface or *ka-* comparative or *ka-* unknown

k-, ka- qualifier of unknown meaning; can occur together with *ka-* small round qualifier or *ka-* horizontal surface or *ka-* comparative

k-, ka- comparative prefix, used along with irrealis *u- ~ oo- ~ w-*, required in comparative forms of state verbs denoting dimensions

- *k̲údáx̲ koodáal* (impfv; obj intr, *n*, *-μμH* cmpv state) 'it is too heavy'
  versus *yadál* (impfv; obj intr, *n*, *-μH* state) 'it is heavy'

kk̲wa ≡ *g-u-g̲-x̲a-* combination of *g-* conjugation prefix, *u-* irrealis prefix, and *g̲a-* modality prefix, together indicating prospective ('future') aspect with first person singular subject *x̲-* / *x̲a-*; this form occurs when there is an immediately preceding vowel (incorporated noun, object prefix, preverb, etc.);

- *yee kk̲wax̲áa* (prosp) 'I will eat you (pl.)' with *ÿee=g-u-g̲-x̲a-*
  versus *at kuk̲ax̲áa* (prosp; *∅*, *-μμH* act) 'I will eat something' with *at=g-u-g̲-x̲a-*

kuk̲a ≡ *g-u-g̲-x̲a-* combination of *g-* conjugation prefix, *u-* irrealis prefix, and *g̲a-* modality prefix, together indicating prospective ('future') aspect with first person singular subject *x̲-* / *x̲a-*; this form occurs when there is no immediately preceding vowel (incorporated noun, object prefix, preverb, etc.); *kk̲wa* occurs instead if there is a preceding vowel

- *at kuk̲ax̲áa* (prosp; *∅*, *-μμH* act) 'I will eat something' with *at=g-u-g̲-x̲a-*
  versus *yee kk̲wax̲áa* (prosp) 'I will eat you (pl.)' with *ÿee=g-u-g̲-x̲a-*

kuk̲wa variant of *kuk̲a*

kwk̲a variant of *kk̲wa* used primarily in Story & Naish 1973

2.10. K̲

k̲, k̲a ≡ *g̲-x̲-* combination of first person singular subject *x̲-* / *x̲a-* with either one of *g̲-* conjugation class prefix or *g̲-* modality prefix

1. with *g̲-* conjugation class prefix: *g̲-x̲a-* ⟶ *k̲a*
2. with *g̲-* modality prefix: *g̲-x̲a-* ⟶ *k̲a*

k̲aa= allomorph of *k̲u-* indefinite human object ‘someone, people, one, them’; possibly like *ax̲=* used only as possessor of incorporated noun (compare *k̲aa keidlí áwé* ‘it’s someone’s dog’)

- *k̲aa seiwa.áx̲* (pfv; tr, *∅*, ach) ‘s/he/it heard someone’s voice’

k̲u- 1. areal prefix indicating space, area, extent, or weather; (compare *k̲úx̲(-de)=* ‘back, returning’, *k̲ut=* ‘lost’)
   - *k̲uwak’éi* (impfv; impers, *g*, *-μμH* state) ‘it is good weather’
     versus *yak’éi* (impfv; obj intr) ‘it is good’
2. indefinite human object ‘someone, people, one, them’ (compare PP pronoun *k̲ú-* ‘someone, people, one, them’); also allomorph *k̲aa=* possessor of incorporated noun
   - *k̲uwsiteen* (pfv; tr, *g̲*, ach) ‘s/he/it saw someone/people’

2.11. L

l-, la- valency prefix of classifier
1. argument addition
   1.1. lone argument of intransitive
   1.2. causative
   1.3. applicative
2. spatial extension
   2.1. extended entity
   2.2. extended eventuality

l^{s}-, l^{s}a- allomorph of *s-* ~ *sa-* valency prefix of classifier; occurs when any fricative /s, sʼ, ɬ, ɬʼ, ʃ/ or any affricate /ts, ts^{h}, tsʼ, tɬ, tɬ^{h}, tɬʼ, tʃ, tʃ^{h}, tʃʼ/ occurs in the onset or coda of the stem syllable; phonetically indistinguishable from *l-* ~ *la-* and may be represented as such if the distinction is not important

- *lichán* (impfv; obj intr, *g*, *-μH* invar. state) ‘it stinks’ (not **sichán*)
- *wutuliyík̲sʼ* (rep pfv; tr, *n*, mot) ‘we repeatedly pulled it (long obj.)’
  versus *wutusiyeek̲* (pfv) ‘we pulled it (long obj.)’

…l ≡ *d-l-* combination of *d-* voice prefix and *l-* or *l^{s}-* valency prefix, appears only as a coda consonant and so requires a preceding vowel

- *sh ilg̲ásʼx̲* (rep impfv; tr, *∅*, ach) ‘s/he/it repeatedly scratches self’ with *d-l-*
  versus *sh wudlig̲ásʼ* (pfv) ‘s/he/it scratched self’ with *d-l-i-*
- *tléil sh kawulháachʼ* (neg pfv; tr, *n*, *-μμH* state) ‘s/he/it didn’t shame self’ with *d-l-* versus *sh kawdliháachʼ* (pfv) ‘s/he/it shamed self’ with *d-l-i-*

le-, la- incorporated noun indicating throat or inside of mouth

li ≡ *l-i-* combination of *l-* or *l^{s}-* valency prefix and *i-* stative prefix

2.12. M

m- allomorph of *wu-* perfective prefix in coda of a syllable; currently used only in Inland Tlingit varieties in place of *w-* elsewhere, but may also occur elsewhere in older Tlingit (e.g. song lyrics)

- *amsiteen* (pfv; tr, *g̲*, ach) ‘s/he/it caught sight of (saw) him/her/it’
  (instead of *awsiteen*)
  versus *x̲at wusiteen* (pfv) ‘s/he/it caught sight of (saw) me’

2.13. N

n-, na- 1. *n* conjugation class prefix, horizontal spatial orientation
   - *nayx̲éix’w!* (imp; subj intr, *n*, *-μμH* act) ‘you guys (go to) sleep!’
   - *nak̲ahoon* (hort; tr, *n*, *-μμH* act) ‘let me sell it’
2. progressive aspect prefix
   - *yaa nx̲ax̲éin* (prog; tr, *∅*, act) ‘I am going along eating it’
     versus *x̲ax̲á* (impfv) ‘I am eating it’

-n stem suffix of uncertain meaning; causes ablaut /a, u/ ⟶ [eː] of *√Ca* and *√Cu* roots except for $\sqrt[1]{na}^{L}$ ‘die’ and $\sqrt[2]{ya}$ ‘pack’

1. with progressive aspect
   - *yaa anax̲éin* (prog; tr, *∅*, *-μH* act) ‘s/he/it is going along eating him/her/it’
     with root $\sqrt[2]{x̲a}$ ‘eat’
     (not **yaa anax̲áan*)
     versus *aawax̲áa* (pfv) ‘s/he/it ate him/her/it’
   - *yaa anaskwéin* (prog; subj intr, *∅*, ach) ‘s/he/it is coming to know him/her/it’ with root $\sqrt[2]{ku}^{L}$ ‘know’
     (not **yaa anaskóon*)
     versus *awsikóo* (pfv) ‘s/he/it came to know him/her/it’
2. with conditional mood
3. with contingent mood
4. irregularly in a few imperfective state verbs

2.14. O

oo- allomorph of *u-* irrealis prefix

2.15. S

s-, sa- valency prefix of classifier

1. argument addition
   1.1. lone argument of intransitive
   1.2. causative
   1.3. applicative
2. spatial extension
   2.1. extended entity

2.2. extended eventuality

…s ≡ *d-s-* combination of *d-* voice prefix and *s-* valency prefix, appears only as a coda consonant and so requires a preceding vowel
- *ya<u>x</u> sh <u>x</u>asnei* (rep impfv; tr, *∅*, ach) ‘I repeatedly dress myself’ with *d-s-*
  versus *yan sh <u>x</u>wadzinéi* (pfv) ‘I dressed myself’ with *d-s-i-*

s= allomorph of *has=* human pluralizer for third person subject or object

se-, sa- incorporated noun indicating voice or vocalization

sh= reflexive object; requires middle voice *d-*

sh-, sha- valency prefix of classifier
1. pejorative
   1.1. pejorative entity
   1.2. pejorative eventuality
2. negative
3. unclear meaning

…sh ≡ *d-sh-* combination of *d-* voice prefix and *sh-* valency prefix, appears only as a coda consonant and so requires a preceding vowel
- *yaa sh kan<u>x</u>ashx’á<u>k</u>w* (prog; tr, *n*, ach) ‘I am making myself comfortable’ with *d-sh-*
  versus *sh ka<u>x</u>wjix’aa<u>k</u>w* (pfv) ‘I made myself comfortable’ with *d-sh-i-*

sha- incorporated noun indicating head or hair of the head; derived from relational noun *shá* ‘head’

shakux= incorporated noun indicating thirst, saturates object argument; derived from *shá* ‘head’ and *∜kux* ‘dry’ in verb *<u>x</u>at shaawakúx* (pfv; obj intr, *∅*, ach) ‘I got thirsty’ suggesting a nominalization *shakoox* ‘thirsting’
- *a<u>x</u> éet shakux uwaháa* (pfv; obj intr, *∅*, mot) ‘thirst appeared to me’, i.e. ‘I got thirsty’ (Leer 1973: 01/11)

shi ≡ *sh-i-* combination of *sh-* valency prefix and *i-* stative prefix

si ≡ *s-i-* combination of *s-* valency prefix and *i-* stative prefix

2.16. T

tu- first person plural subject; note that Story & Naish 1973 write all cases of *tu-* as *too-* so they do not distinguish the two allomorphs
- *wutuwa<u>x</u>áa* (pfv; tr, *∅*, *-μH* act) ‘we ate it’
  versus *too<u>x</u>á* (impfv) ‘we eat it; we are eating it’

tu- incorporated noun indicating mind, emotion, or bodily spirit; derived from relational noun *tú* ‘inside of (hollow object)’ used metaphorically as ‘mind, emotion, bodily spirit’ as in *a<u>x</u> toowú yanéekw* ‘my mind hurts’

too- allomorph of *tu-* first person plural subject
- *toox̲á* (pfv; tr, *Ø*, *-μH* act) ‘we eat it; we are eating it’
  versus *wutuwax̲áa* (pfv) ‘we ate it’

2.17. U

u- irrealis prefix

u- *Ø* conjugation class perfective, occurring in some perfective aspect forms and some habitual aspect forms of *Ø* conjugation class verbs

2.18. W

w- allomorph of *wu-* perfective prefix in coda of a syllable; in Inland Tlingit *m-* is used instead, may also occur elsewhere in older Tlingit (e.g. song lyrics); 19th century Tlingit occasionally has full *wu-* rather than *w-*, e.g. *awusikóo du éesh hídi* ‘she knew her father’s house’ (Swanton 1909: 255.7)
- *awsiteen* (pfv; tr, *g̲*, ach) ‘s/he/it caught sight of (saw) him/her/it’
  versus *x̲at wusiteen* (pfv) ‘s/he/it caught sight of (saw) me’

w- allomorph of *u-* irrealis prefix

wa- allomorph of *ÿa-* stative prefix when preceded by labialized (round) sound

wu- perfective prefix; allomorphs include *m-*, *w-*, *μw-*, combinations include *ÿi*, *ÿee*, *ÿeeÿ*; see also *Ø* conjugation class perfective *u-*

wush= variant form of *woosh=* reciprocal proclitic

wooch= variant form of *woosh=* reciprocal proclitic

woosh= reciprocal proclitic

2.19. X̲

x̲-, x̲a- first person singular subject
- *laak̲’ásk kax̲sat’aak* (impfv; tr, *Ø*, *-μμL* act) ‘I am pressing black seaweed’
  versus *laak̲’ásk x̲ax̲á* (impfv; tr, *Ø*, *-μH* act) ‘I am eating black seaweed’

x̲- allomorph of *g̲-* conjugation prefix when in a syllable coda
- *kax̲lax̲óot’* (imp; tr, *g̲*, *-μμH* act) ‘(you sg.) chop/adze it!’ in syllable *kax̲*
  (not **kag̲alax̲óot’* or **kak̲lax̲óot’*)
  versus *kag̲aylax̲óot’* ‘you pl. chop/adze it!’ in syllable *g̲ay*

x̲- allomorph of *g̲-* modality prefix when in a syllable coda
- *at gax̲toox̲áa* (prosp; tr, *Ø*, *-μH* act) ‘we will eat something’ with *x̲-*
  (not **at gag̲atoox̲áa* or **at gak̲toox̲áa*)
  versus *at gug̲ax̲áa* (prosp) ‘s/he/it will eat something’ with *g̲a-*

x̲at= first person singular object; allomorph *ax̲=* ‘my’ with incorporated nouns

- *x̲at yisiteen* (pfv; tr, *g*, ach) ‘you sg. saw me’
  versus *ix̲wsiteen* (pfv) ‘I saw you ’

2.20. Y

ÿ- allomorph of *i-* second person singular subject prefix

ÿa-, ÿ- qualifier or incorporated noun indicating vertical surface or face, derived from relational noun *ÿá* ‘face’; can occur together with *ÿa-* unknown

ÿa-, ÿ- qualifier of unknown meaning; can occur together with *ÿa-* face qualifier

ÿa- allomorph of *i-* stative prefix
- *yadál* (impfv; obj intr, *g*, *-μH* state) ‘it is heavy’ with *ÿa-*$\sqrt[1]{}$*dal-μH*
  versus *si.áat’* (impfv; obj intr, *g*, *-μμH* state) ‘it is cold’ with *s-i-*$\sqrt[0]{}$*.at’-μμH*

ÿaa= directional preverb indicating progression or movement along a space (compare $\sqrt[2]{}$*ÿa* ‘move’, directional noun *diÿáa* ‘across, other side’, *niÿaa* ‘direction’);
1. progression, used in progressive aspect for *ø* and *n* conjugation class verbs
   - *yaa x̲at nalnítl* (prog; obj intr, *ø*, ach) ‘I am getting fat’
     versus *x̲at wudlinítl* (pfv) ‘I got fat’
2. movement along a space
   2.1. motion derivation *ÿaa* (*g*, *yei=…-ch* rep) ‘down along’ (*yei* in repetitive blocks *ÿaa*)
   2.2. motion derivation *ÿaa* ~ *ÿa-u-* (*ø*, *-ch* rep) ‘obliquely, circuitously’

ÿaa= preverb indicating mental phenomenon, limited to a couple of verbs; uncertain if it can occur together with *ÿaa* ‘along’; possibly related to Proto-Dene **yən-* ~ **yi:n-* ‘mind’ and Eyak *ʔi:lih* ‘mind’
- *yaa k̲ux̲dzigéi* (impfv; subj intr, *g*, *-μμH* state) ‘I am smart, wise’
- *yaa ak̲oowlig̲át* (pfv; tr, *ø*, ach) ‘s/he/it forgot him/her/it’

ÿaan= incorporated noun indicating hunger, saturates object argument; derived from noun *ÿaan* ‘hunger’ (now rare)
- *ax̲ éet yaan uwaháa* (pfv; obj intr, *ø*, mot) ‘hunger appeared to me’ (i.e. ‘I got hungry’)
  (not **yaan ax̲ éet uwaháa*)

ÿan= directional preverb indicating motion to shore, motion to ground, or termination; allomorphs are *ÿax̲* and *ÿánde*: *ÿax̲* is used with repetitive, *ÿánde* with progressive and prospective, and *ÿan* elsewhere (e.g. pfv, imp); morphologically a specialization of the *NP-{t,x̲,dé}* (*ø*, *-μμL* rep) ‘arriving at NP’ motion derivation, so the *ÿan* probably used to end with *-t* ‘to a point’ punctual postposition as **ÿant*; derived from noun *ÿán* ‘shore’ (< Pre-Tlingit **ŋan*^{h} < Proto-Na-Dene **ŋən*^{ʔ} ‘ground, earth’)
1. motion on water to shore, can be translated ‘ashore’; motion derivation *ÿan* / *yax̲* / *ÿánde* (*ø*, *-μμL* rep) ‘ashore’

2. motion to ground or other horizontal surface, can be translated ‘down’ or ‘on ground’; motion derivation *ÿan* / *yax̲* / *ÿánde* (*∅*, *-μμL* rep) ‘on ground’ optionally with incorporates (*k’i-* ‘base’ for ‘setting up, erecting’, *sha-* ‘head’ for ‘leaning against’)
3. termination of eventuality, can be translated ‘ending, terminating, finishing’; eventuality/motion derivation *ÿan ~ yax̲ ~ ÿánde* (*∅*, *-μμL* rep) ‘ending, finishing’ optionally with *NP-x’* ‘coming to rest at NP’; derives from metaphor of ‘shore’ as ‘end of journey’ and thus ‘end of event’

ÿánde= allomorph of *ÿan* directional preverb ‘ashore’ or ‘ending’ with *-dé ~ -de* ‘toward’ allative postposition
- *yánde gax̲took̲óox̲* (prosp; subj intr, *∅*, mot) ‘we are going to boat ashore’ versus *yan wutuwak̲úx̲* (pfv) ‘we boated ashore’

ÿata= incorporated noun indicating sleep, saturates object argument; apparently derived from *ÿá* ‘face’ and $\sqrt[1]{ta}^{L}$ ‘sg. sleep’
- *ax̲ éet yataawaháa* (pfv; obj intr, *∅*, mot) ‘sleep appeared to me’, i.e. ‘I got sleepy’
- *ax̲ yaadáx̲ yataawahaa* (pfv; obj intr, *g̲*, mot) ‘sleep disappeared from my face’, i.e. ‘I became wakeful’

ÿax̲= allomorph of *ÿan* directional preverb ‘ashore’ or ‘ending’ with *-x̲* ‘contacting’ perlative postposition; used only with repetitive versus *ÿánde* (prog, prosp) or *ÿan* (pfv, imp, etc.)
- *yax̲ took̲oox̲* (rep impfv; subj intr, *∅*, mot) ‘we repeatedly boat ashore’ versus *yan wutuwak̲úx̲* (pfv) ‘we boated ashore’

ÿee- allomorph of second person singular subject *ÿi-*

ÿee= allomorph of second person singular object *ÿi-*

ÿee= incorporated noun indicating time

ÿee ≡ *wu-i-μ* combination of *wu-* perfective prefix and *i-* second person singular prefix and *μ-* stative prefix

ÿeeÿ second person plural subject *ÿi-* combined with either one or both of *wu-* perfective and *ÿa- ~ i-* stative
1. *ÿeeÿ* ≡ *ÿi-ÿa-* with *ÿa-* stative
2. *ÿeeÿ* ≡ *wu-ÿi-* with *wu-* perfective
3. *ÿeeÿ* ≡ *wu-ÿi-ÿa-* with *wu-* perfective and *ÿa-* stative
4. *ÿeeÿsi* ≡ *ÿi-s-i-* with *i-* stative and *s-* (or *l-* or *sh-*) valency
5. *ÿeeÿsi* ≡ *wu-ÿi-s-i-* with *wu-* perfective and *i-* stative and *s-* (or *l-* or *sh-*) valency

yei= direction preverb ‘down’; may reflect *g̲* conjugation class or a *∅* conjugation class motion derivation; part of directional element paradigm of $\sqrt{ÿi}^{n}$ ‘down’: *(di)ÿée* ‘below’, *(di)ÿín-de* ‘to below’, *(di)ÿee-naa* ‘downward’; related to *ÿee* ‘beneath, below’

1. reflects *g̲* conjugation class in prospective, progressive, and repetitive imperfective
2. *g̲* conjugation class motion derivation
3. *∅* conjugation class motion derivation

yéi= manner preverb ‘thus, so’; derived from noun *yéi ~ yé* ‘place, way, manner’

ÿi- second person plural subject or object; long vowel allomorphs are *ÿee-* and *ÿee=*
1. second person plural subject
2. second person plural object

ÿi ≡ *wu-i-* combination of perfective *wu-* and second person singular subject *i-*

ÿu- abstract representation of perfective *wu-*; this form does not actually occur in speech, instead see *wu-*, *w-*, *m-*, *μw- ÿi*, *ÿee*, *ÿeeÿ*

yoo= alternating eventuality preverb

yóo= quotative preverb

2.21. Symbols

μ- allomorph of stative *ya- ~ i-*
- *x̲at yatéen* (impfv; tr, *∅*, *-μμH* state) ‘s/he/it can see me’ with *ÿa-*
  versus *x̲aatéen* (impfv) ‘I can see him/her/it’ with *μ-*
  (not normally **x̲ayatéen*, although some speakers also permit this form)

μw- allomorph of perfective *wu-* when preceded by CV and followed by *ÿa-* stative
- *aawajáḵ* (pfv; *∅*, ach) ‘s/he/it killed him/her/it’ with *a-μw-wa-*$\sqrt[1]{}$*jaḵ-μH*
  versus *wutuwajáḵ* (pfv) ‘we killed him/her/it’ with *wu-tu-wa-*$\sqrt[1]{}$*jaḵ-μH*

-μL stem variation: short vowel with low tone [V̀]
- *neil uwagudi ḵáa* (pfv rel; subj intr, *∅*, mot) ‘man who went home’ with $\sqrt[1]{}$*gut* ‘sg. go’ and *-μL* in *∅* conjugation class perfective aspect relative clause

-μH stem variation: short vowel with high tone [V́]
- *neil uwagút* (pfv; subj intr, *∅*, mot) ‘s/he/it went home’ with $\sqrt[1]{}$*gut* ‘sg. go’ and *-μH* in *∅* conjugation class perfective aspect main clause

-μμL stem variation: long vowel with low tone [V̀ː]
- *neildé woogoot* (pfv; subj intr, *n*, mot) ‘s/he/it went homeward’ with $\sqrt[1]{}$*gut* ‘sg. go’ and *-μμL* in *n* conjugation class perfective aspect main clause

-μμH stem variation: long vowel with high tone [V́ː]
- *neildé gug̲agóot* (prosp; subj intr, *∅*/*n*, mot) ‘s/he/it will go home’ with $\sqrt[1]{}$*gut* ‘sg. go’ and *-μμH* in prospective aspect main clause

-μ_eμL stem variation: ablaut (/a, u/ > [e]) long vowel with low tone [èː]; normally occurs only with *√CV*^{ʟ} (Tongass *√CV*^{h}) roots

- *x̲ateix̲* (rep impfv; subj intr, *n*, *-μH* act) ‘I repeatedly sleep’ with *¹√taᴸ* ‘sg. sleep’ and *-μₑμL-x̲*
  versus *x̲atá* (impfv) ‘I am sleeping’ with *-μH*
  but *yaa nx̲atéin* (prog) ‘I am falling asleep’ with *-μₑμH-n*

-μₑμH stem variation: ablaut (/a, u/ > [e]) long vowel with high tone [é:]; normally occurs only with *√CV* roots

- *x̲ax̲éix̲* (rep impfv; tr, *∅*, *-μH* act) ‘I repeatedly eat it’ with *²√x̲a* ‘eat’ and *-μₑμH-x̲*
  versus *x̲ax̲á* (impfv) ‘I am eating it’ with *-μH*

-⊗ stem variation: irregular deletion of final consonant and short vowel with high tone; only occurs in imperatives with *¹√gut* ‘sg go’, *¹√.at* ‘pl go’, *¹√nuk* ‘sg sit’

- *neildé nagú!* (imp; subj intr, *n*, mot) ‘(you sg.) go homeward!’
  with *neil-dé na-¹√gut-⊗*
  versus *neildé yeegoot* (pfv) ‘you sg. went homeward’
  with *neil-dé ÿ-i-μ-¹√gut-μμL*
- *neildé nay.á!* (imp; subj intr, *n*, mot) ‘you guys go homeward!’
  with *neil-dé na-ÿ-¹√.a-⊗*
  versus *neildé yeey.aat* (pfv) ‘you guys went homeward’
  with *neil-dé ÿμ-iÿ-ÿa-¹√.at-μμL*
- *g̲anú!* (imp; subj intr, *g̲*, mot) ‘(you sg.) sit down!’
  with *g̲a-¹√nuk-⊗*
  versus *yeenook* (pfv) ‘you (sg.) sat down’
  with *ÿ-i-μ-¹√nuk-μμL*

3. Inventory of verb morphemes by position and function

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