Tlingit Grammar Handbook

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27 May 2011

This handbook is a summary of various aspects of Tlingit grammar and grammatical analysis in tabular form. It is abstracted from work by Naish and Story (1966, 1972, 1973, etc.), Leer (1978, 1991, etc.), Cable (2008, 2010, etc.), and from the author's own research.

The tables here aim to be comprehensive for all Tlingit dialects except where they are explicitly noted to be specific for a single dialect. Where space is limited, dialectal forms are indicated with a subscript uppercase letter: x_T Tongass Tlingit, x_S Southern Tlingit (but x_S Sanya Tlingit versus x_H Henya Tlingit when the two are distinct), x_N Northern Tlingit, x_R Transitional Tlingit (Wrangell, Kake, etc.), x_G Gulf Coast Tlingit (Yakutat, Dry Bay, etc.), x_I Inland Tlingit. Lack of dialect specification indicates that an element is either identical in all dialects (except for certain details like variable vowel length) or that the element has only been documented in Northern Tlingit. Tongass Tlingit forms are often presented in opposition to forms which are identical in all the other dialects, in which case the latter forms are left unmarked.

The Tongass dialect has only been published in an orthographic form once (Williams, Williams & Leer 1978). That system depends on distinguishing the vowels *VV'* and *VV'* from ordinary *VV*, a difficult reading requirement. The revised orthography used here is based on the Revised Popular orthography with adaptations from Michael Krauss's Eyak orthography which has a similar vowel system. Thus *Vh* is used for prior *VV'* and *V'* for prior *VV'*. Leer's use of *V'* in transcription has been converted to *Vh* as well. Since *h* cannot occur at the end of a syllable in Tlingit this new system is unambiguous. Note however that the old Naish-Story system used *h* for single-letter vowels at the end of words, though this did not indicate a different length or quality.

Southern Tlingit has never been written extensively in an orthography that preserves its tone distinctions. The system used here is adapted from the Revised Popular orthography. It represents falling tone as an acute accent on the first letter and a grave accent on the second letter of long vowels, i.e. *V́V̀*, which is conceptually a sequence of high and low tones.

This document has been designed to be printed and bound as a pocketbook so it can be easily carried everywhere. The ideal format is two logical pages per printed page ("2 up"), double sided, folded in half widthwise and stapled along the fold. To keep the printed form small, there is no discussion other than what is presented in the tables.

This is a living document. Contributions are welcome and encouraged.

Na-Dene language family relationships:

- Na-Dene (Athabaskan–Eyak–Tlingit) family

    - Tlingit
    - Athabaskan–Eyak family

        ◇ Eyak
        ◇ Athabaskan family

            · Northern Athabaskan: Ahtna, Carrier, Gwich'in, Slave, …
            · Pacific Coast Athabaskan: Hupa, Mattole, Tolowa, …
            · Southern Athabaskan (Apachean): Navajo, W. Apache, …

Tlingit dialects and major settlements:

- **Tongass Tlingit** (T): Duke Island *Yi'x̱*, Metlakatla *Tahkw Ahni* (Coast Tsim. *Max̱łakxaała*), Port Stewart *G̱ahnax̱*, Tongass *Katuḵxuka*

- Southern Tlingit (S)

    - **Sanya Tlingit** (S): Cape Fox *G̱áàsh*, Kah Shakes Cove *G̱unéiḵ'an Héènak'u*, Naha Bay *Náà.á*, Unuk River *Jóònáx̱*, Chickamin River *X̱éèl*, Yes Bay *Yéès G̱èèyí*

    - **Henya Tlingit** (H): Craig *Sháànséet*, Klawock *Laawaak*, Tuxekan *T'aḵjik.áàn*, ʔKuyu *Kooyú*

- Northern Tlingit (N)

    - **Transitional Tlingit** (R): Wrangell *Ḵaachx̱ana.áak'w*, Petersburg *Gantiyaakw Séedi*, Kake *Ḵéex̱'*, ʔKuyu *Kooyú*, ʔSumdum *S'aawdáan*, some in Angoon *Aangóon*
    - Greater Northern Tlingit (N)

        ◇ **Central Tlingit** (N): Sitka *Sheet'ká*, Angoon *Aangóon*, Killisnoo *Kenasnoow*, Tenakee *T'anageiy*, Hoonah *Xunaa*, Auke Bay *Áak'w*, Juneau *Dzántik'i Héeni ~ Jóonu*, Douglas *X'aat't'áak*, Taku *T'aaḵú*, ʔSumdum *S'aawdáan*, Haines *Deishú*, Klukwan *Tlaakw.aan*, Skagway *Shgagwéi*

        ◇ **Gulf Coast Tlingit** (G): Lituya Bay *Ltu.áa*, Dry Bay *G̱unax̱oo*, Yakutat *Yaakwdáat*, Icy Bay *Ÿaas'é*, Kaliakh *G̱alyáx̱*

        ◇ **Inland Tlingit** (I): ʔSumdum *S'aawdáan*, Atlin *Áatlein*, Teslin *Deisleen*, Tagish *Taagish*, Carcross *Naadaashaahéeni*

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

Tlingit consonants in IPA transcription.

See also

Cons.	Explanation
p	only occurs in Inland [pátʰàː] 'butter', elsewhere [kʷátʰàː]
m	occurs for some /w/ in Carcross-Tagish and Teslin Inland Tlingit
l	only occurs in Inland [tàːlèːjí] 'lake trout' (Ath. borrowing?); also Jennie Manton (Hoonah) consistently used [l] for /n/ everywhere
ɥ	split merged with /j/ and /w/ except in Tongass and some elsewhere
ʔʷ	idiosyncratic: onset [ʔʷe...] of apophonic /ʔu.../ roots for some people
hʷ	idiosyncratic, as [ʔʷ]; also [ʔùˑhʷàːn] 'us' and [jìˑhʷàːn] 'you (pl.)' for more usual [ʔùˑhàːn]~[ʔùˑwàːn] and [jìˑhàːn]~[jìˑwàːn] etc.

Explanation of marginal consonants in Tlingit.

	bilabial	alveolar	postalveolar	lateral	palatal	velar	labial-velar	uvular	labial-uvular	glottal	labial-glottal
unaspirated stop	(b)	d				g	gw	g̲	g̲w		
aspirated stop		t				k	kw	k̲	k̲w		
ejective stop		t'				k'	k'w	k̲'	k̲'w	.	.w
nasal stop	m	n									
plain fricative		s	sh	l		x	xw	x̲	x̲w	h	hw
ejective fricative		s'		l'		x'	x'w	x̲'	x̲'w		
unaspirated affricate		dz	j	dl							
aspirated affricate		ts	ch	tl							
ejective affricate		ts'	ch'	tl'							
approximant				(l)	y	ÿ	w				

Tlingit consonants in the Revised Popular orthography.

	bilabial	alveolar	postalveolar	lateral	palatal	velar	labial-velar	uvular	labial-uvular	glottal	labial-glottal
unaspirated stop	b	d				g	gw	gh	ghw		
aspirated stop		t				k	kw	kh	khw		
ejective stop		t'				k'	k'w	kh'	kh'w	.	.w
nasal stop	m	n									
plain fricative		s	sh	ł		x	xw	xh	xhw	h	hw
ejective fricative		s'		ł'		x'	x'w	xh'	xh'w		
unaspirated affricate		dz	j	dl							
aspirated affricate		ts	ch	tł							
ejective affricate		ts'	ch'	tł'							
approximant				l	y	ÿ	w				

Tlingit consonants in the YNLC orthography.

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	bilabial	alveolar	postalveolar	lateral	palatal	velar	labial-velar	uvular	labial-uvular	glottal	labial-glottal
unaspirated stop	b	d				g	gw	gh	ghw		
aspirated stop		t				k	kw	kh	khw		
ejective stop		t'				k'	k'w	kh'	kh'w	.	.w
nasal stop	m	n									
plain fricative		s	sh	l		x	xw	xh	xhw	h	hw
ejective fricative		s'		l'		x'	x'w	xh'	xh'w		
unaspirated affricate		dz	j	dl							
aspirated affricate		ts	ch	tl							
ejective affricate		ts'	ch'	tl'							
approximant				(ll)	y	ÿ	w				

Tlingit consonants in the E-mail orthography.

	bilabial	alveolar	postalveolar	lateral	palatal	velar	labial-velar	uvular	labial-uvular	glottal	labial-glottal
unaspirated stop		d				g	g^o	g̣	$g̣^o$		
aspirated stop		t				k	k^o	q	q^o		
ejective stop		t!				k!	$k!^o$	q!	$q!^o$		—
nasal stop		n									
plain fricative		s	c	ł		x	x^o	x̣	$x̣^o$	h	
ejective fricative		s!		—		k!	$k!^o$	q!	$q!^o$		
unaspirated affricate		dz	dj	ʟ̣							
aspirated affricate		ts	tc	ʟ							
ejective affricate		ts!	tc!	ʟ!							
approximant					y	ỵ	w				

Tlingit consonants in Swanton 1911. Occasionally ^{u} for ^{o}.

	bilabial	alveolar	postalveolar	lateral	palatal	velar	labial-velar	uvular	labial-uvular	glottal	labial-glottal
unaspirated stop		d				g	g^u	g̣	g̣^{u}		
aspirated stop		t‘				k‘	k‘^{u}	q‘	q‘^{u}		
ejective stop		t’				k’	k’^{u}	q’	q’^{u}	’	
nasal stop		n									
plain fricative		s	c	ł		x	x^u	x̣	x̣^{u}	h	
ejective fricative		s’		ł’		x’	x’^{u}	x̣’	x̣’^{u}		
unaspirated affricate		dz	dj	ʟ̣							
aspirated affricate		ts	tc	ʟ							
ejective affricate		ts’	tc’	ʟ’							
approximant					y	y̱	w				

Tlingit consonants in Boas 1917.

	bilabial	alveolar	postalveolar	lateral	palatal	velar	labial-velar	uvular	labial-uvular	glottal	labial-glottal
unaspirated stop		d				g	g^{oo}	ġ	ġ^{oo}		
aspirated stop		t				c~k	k^{oo}	ḵ~ḳ	qu		
ejective stop		dt				g′	g′^{oo}	ḵ~ḳ	—	—	
nasal stop		n									
plain fricative		s	sh	hl		ch	ch^{oo}	‘h	‘h^{oo}	h	
ejective fricative		sz		dl		g`	g`^{oo}	g̈	g̈^{oo}		
unaspirated affricate		—	j	dl							
aspirated affricate		ts	ch	tl							
ejective affricate		dts	dj	ᴅʟ							
approximant					y		w~ŭ				

Tlingit consonants in Willard & Kelly 1905.

	bilabial	alveolar	postalveolar	lateral	palatal	velar	labial-velar	uvular	labial-uvular	glottal	labial-glottal
unaspirated stop		d				g	gʷ	ɢ	ɢʷ		
aspirated stop		t				k	kʷ	q	qʷ		
ejective stop		t́				ḱ	ḱʷ	q́	q́ʷ	'	
nasal stop		n									
plain fricative		s	c	ł		x	xʷ	x̣	x̣ʷ	h	
ejective fricative		ś		ł́		x́	x́ʷ	x̣́	x̣́ʷ		
unaspirated affricate		dz	ǰ	dł							
aspirated affricate		ts	tc	tł							
ejective affricate		t́ś	tć	tł́							
approximant					y	ỵ	w				

Tlingit consonants in De Laguna 1972.

	bilabial	alveolar	postalveolar	lateral	palatal	velar	labial-velar	uvular	labial-uvular	glottal	labial-glottal
unaspirated stop		d				g	gʷ	g̣	g̣ʷ		
aspirated stop		t				k	kʷ	q	qʷ		
ejective stop		t́				ḱ	ḱʷ	q́	q́ʷ	ʔ	
nasal stop		n									
plain fricative		s	š	ł		x	xʷ	x̣	x̣ʷ	h	
ejective fricative		ś		ł́		x́	x́ʷ	x̣́	x̣́ʷ		
unaspirated affricate		ʒ	ž	λ							
aspirated affricate		c	č	ƛ							
ejective affricate		ć	č́	ƛ́							
approximant					y	ỵ	w				

Tlingit consonants in Emmons & De Laguna 1991.

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tone	height	short		long	
		front	*back*	*front*	*back*
high	high	í	ú	í:	ú:
	mid	é		é:	
	low		á		á:
low	high	ì	ù	ì:	ù:
	mid	è		è:	
	low		à		à:

Northern Tlingit vowels in IPA.

tone	height	short		long	
		front	*back*	*front*	*back*
high	high	í	ú	í:	ú:
	mid	é		é:	
	low		á		á:
low	high	ì	ù	ì:	ù:
	mid	è		è:	
	low		à		à:
falling	high			î:	û:
	mid			ê:	
	low				â:

Southern Tlingit vowels in IPA.

IPA	Leer 91	Leer 78	New Orthography	Name	Description
V	V	V	*i, e, a, u*	short	plain vowel
V:	V·	VV	*ee, ei, aa, oo*	long	long vowel
Vʰ	V'	VVˋ	*ih, eh, ah, uh*	fading	breathy in last half
Vˀ	V'	VV′	*i', e', a', u'*	glottalized	followed by glottal stop

Tongass Tlingit vowel types. Vowel qualities {*i, e, a, u*} as other dialects.

tone	height	short		long	
		front	*back*	*front*	*back*
high	*high*	í	ú	ée	óo
	mid	é		éi	
	low		á		áa
low	*high*	i	u	ee	oo
	mid	e		ei	
	low		a		aa

Northern Tlingit vowels in Revised Popular orthography.

tone	height	short		long	
		front	*back*	*front*	*back*
high	*high*	í	ú	î	û
	mid	é		ê	
	low		á		â
low	*high*	i	u	ì	ù
	mid	e		è	
	low		a		à

Northern Tlingit vowels in YNLC orthography.

tone	height	short		long	
		front	*back*	*front*	*back*
high	*high*	í(h)	ó(h)	ée	óo
	mid	é(h)		éi	
	low		ú(h)		á(h)
low	*high*	i(h)	o(h)	ee	oo
	mid	e(h)		ei	
	low		u(h)		a(h)

Northern Tlingit vowels in old Naish-Story (1960s).

| Tongass | Southern | | Northern | Leer 1991 |
	Sanya	Henya		
V	Ⅴ́	Ⅴ́	Ⅴ́	Ⅴ́
V	Ⅴ́	Ⅴ́ ~ Ⅴ̀	Ⅴ̀	V
Vʰ	Ⅴ̀ː	Ⅴ̀ː	Ⅴ̀ː	V'
VʰR	Ⅴ́Ⅴ̀R	Ⅴ́Ⅴ̀R	Ⅴ̀ːR	V'R
Vˀ	Ⅴ́Ⅴ̀	Ⅴ́Ⅴ̀	Ⅴ́ː	Ⅴ́'
Vː	Ⅴ́ː	Ⅴ́ː	Ⅴ́ː	Ⅴ́·
VːR	Ⅴ́Ⅴ̀R	Ⅴ́Ⅴ̀R	Ⅴ́ːR	Ⅴ́·R
Vː	Ⅴ̀ː	Ⅴ̀ː	Ⅴ̀ː	V·
VːR	Ⅴ̀ːR	Ⅴ̀ːR	Ⅴ̀ːR	V·R

Dialect tone correspondences in IPA. R = {/n/, /ɰ/, /j/, /w/}.

| Tongass | | Southern | | | | Northern | | Leer | Meaning |
		Sanya		Henya					
V	ta	Ⅴ́	tá	Ⅴ́	tá	Ⅴ́	tá	tá	sleep
V	ta ḵa'	Ⅴ́	tá ḵáa	Ⅴ̀	ta ḵáa	Ⅴ̀	ta ḵáa	ta qá'	sleeping man
Vʰ	shah	Ⅴ̀ː	shaa	Ⅴ̀ː	shaa	Ⅴ̀ː	shaa	ša'	mountain
VʰR	ahn	Ⅴ́Ⅴ̀R	áàn	Ⅴ́Ⅴ̀R	áàn	Ⅴ̀ː	aan	a'n	land, town
V'	ḵa'	Ⅴ́Ⅴ̀	ḵáà	Ⅴ́Ⅴ̀	ḵáà	Ⅴ́ː	ḵáa	qá'	man
Vː	aa	Ⅴ́ː	áa	Ⅴ́ː	áa	Ⅴ́ː	áa	á·	lake
VːR	heen	Ⅴ́Ⅴ̀R	héèn	Ⅴ́Ⅴ̀R	héèn	Ⅴ́ːR	héen	hí·n	fresh water
Vː	haa	Ⅴ̀ː	haa	Ⅴ̀ː	haa	Ⅴ̀ː	haa	ha·	us, our
VːR		Ⅴ̀ːR		Ⅴ̀ːR		Ⅴ̀ːR			

Examples of tone correspondences between dialects.

Position	Theme elements	Inflectional elements
1	Order 3 theme prefix	
2	Order 2 *ya-*	
3	Order 1 *ka-*	
4		Order 70 Benefactive prefix
5		Order 60 Irrealis prefix
6		Order 50 Continuative prefix
7		Order 40 (Im)perfective prefix
8		Order 30 Distributive prefix
9		Order 20 Pronominal prefix
10	Extensor series	Member of extensor series
11	Invariable stem component	Inflected stem form
12		Order 110
13		Order 120

Naish 1966 & Story 1966 verb template.

Position	Name	Type	Examples
1			*tu-, ji-, x̲'a-*
2		Theme prefixes	*ÿa-*
3			*ka-*
4	Irrealis		*u-*
5	Continuative		*na-, ga-, g̲a-*
6	Aspectival	Inflectional prefixes	*ga-, ÿu-*
7	Distributive		*daga-*
8	Subject		*x̲a-, i-, tu-*
9		Extensors	*ÿa-, di-, si-, dli-*
10		Stem	*.ee, goo, x̲aa*
11	Consonantal	Inflectional suffixes	*-ch, -kw, -x̲*
12	Functional		*-een, -eek̲, -nee*

Naish & Story 1973 verb template.

Cable & Crippen			Leer 1991		
+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 *has=* ∼ *s-*			a	
+14	objects		+6	b	incorp. obj. pronominals
+13	areal *ḵu-*		—		—
+12	alienable incorporates			a	incorp. alienable nouns
+11	inalienable incorporates		+5	c	incorp. inalienable nouns
+10	vertical surface *ÿa-*			b	
+9	horizontal surface *ka-*			a	
+8	self-benefactive *ga-*		+4	e	schetic prefixes
+7	outer conjugation/aspect			d	
+6	irrealis			c	
+5	inner conjugation/aspect			b	
+4	perfective and *ga-*			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	inner modals		−4		outer mode suffixes
−5	outer modals		−5		epimode and
−6	clause type				clause type suffixes
−7	bound auxiliaries		—		—

Verb template structure.

Position		Affixes
+18		P-*x'*, P-*t*, P-*x̱*, P-*dé*, P-*náx̱*, P-*dáx̱*, N *x̱'éi*, N *daséi(x')*, N *eetéenax̱*, …
+17	F	*gunayéi~gunéi=*, *áa=*, *shóo=*, *héeni=*, *gági=*, *éegi=*, *daagi=*
	E2	*k̲ut=*, *yux̱=*, *yaax̱=*, *héenx̱=*, *ux̱=*, *k̲wáak̲x̱=*, *yedx̱=*, *ÿaanax̱~ÿahnax̱*$_{T}$=
	E1	*ÿan*=*, *neil*=*, *haa*=*, *yóo*=*, *k̲ux̱*=*, *kux̱*$_{I}$*=
	D	*kei~keh*$_{T}$=, *yei~yeh*$_{T}$=, *ÿeik̲~ÿeek̲*$_{S}$~*ihk̲*$_{T}$=, *daak̲~dahk̲*$_{T}$=, *daak~dahk*$_{T}$=
	C	*yéi~yeh*$_{T}$=
	B	*ÿaa~ÿah*$_{T}$=
	A	*ÿaa~ÿah*$_{T}$=, *yoo~yuh*$_{T}$=
+16		*woosh=* RECIP, *dax̱=* DIST
+15		*has= ~ s-* PL
+14		*x̱at~ax̱-*, *haa-~hah*$_{T}$-, *i-*, *yi-*, *a~Ø-*, *ash-*, *k̲aa~k̲u-*, *at-*, *aa-*, *sh~Ø-*
+13		*k̲u-* AREAL
+12		*yaan-*, *shakux-*, *yata-*, *x̱'asakw-*, *g̲ax̱-*, *xee~xei-*, *k̲ee~k̲ei-*, *yee~yei-*, *kanik-*, *yak̲a-*, *saa-*, *aan-*, *naa-*, *sha.ax̱w-*, *yakw-*, *hin-*
+11		*ji-*, *x̱'a-*, *k̲'a-*, *tu-*, *sha-*, *shu-*, *lu-*, *se~sa-*, *x̱a-*, *gu-*, *ta-*, *daa-*, *x̱oo-*, *x̱an-*, *x̱'aa-*, *t'éi-*, *t'aa-*, *yik-*, *yee-*, *k̲i-*, *gin-*, *x̱i-*, *s'aan-*, *lidíx̱'*, *wak̲-*, *s'ak̲-*, *x̱'us-*, *s'ee-*, *duk-*, *laka-*, *tl'ik̲-*, *keey-*, *tóox'-*, *x̱'atu-*, *tuk̲x'e~tuk̲'e-*, *daa.it-*, *tax̱'-*
+10		*ÿa-* VSFC
+9		*ka-* HSFC
+8		*ga-* SBEN
+7		*ga-* GCNJ
+6		*u-*, *w-*, *oo-* (all IRR)
+5		*Ø-* ZCNJ, *na-* NCNJ, *g̲a-* G̲CNJ
+4		*ÿu-* PFV, *u-* PFV.TEL, *g̲a-* G̲MOD
+3		*dag̲a~dax̱-* DIST
+2		*x̱a-* 1SG.S, *tu-* 1PL.S, *i-* 2SG.S, *yi-* 2PL.S, *Ø-* 3.S, *du-* 3OBV.S, *du-* INDH.S
+1		CL[±D, S, ±I]: D ∈ {+D, −D}, S ∈ {Ø, *s*, *l*, *sh*}, I ∈ {+I, −I}
0		root
−1		*-'*, *-:*, *-h*, *-n*, *-ÿ* (all VAR)
−2		*-án*, *-shán*, *-ch*, *-ák̲w*, *-aa*, *-x̱aa*, *-ÿí*, *-ee*, *-k*, *-ál'~ch'ál'*, *-k̲*, *-nas*, *-nás'*, *-kát'*
−3		(A?) *-h*, *-k*, *-x̱*, *-ch*; (B?) *-t*, *-x'*, *-t'*, *-s'*, *-l'*
−4		*-ch*, *-(n)ee~(n)ih*$_{T}$, *-ín*
−5		*-een~ihn*$_{T}$, *-eek̲~ihk̲*$_{T}$~*k̲*
−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*$_{SRI}$~*'nihjihn*$_{T}$, =*núknee*$_{N}$~*níkwnee*$_{I}$~*níkwni*$_{SR}$~*nikwnih*$_{T}$, =*g̲anúgun*$_{N}$~*g̲anígun*$_{I}$~*g̲aníkw*$_{S}$~*g̲anikw*$_{T}$

Verb morphemes.

Grp.	Preverb	Gloss	Conj.	Description
	gunaÿéi~gunéi~gunaÿe'$_T$	INCEP	Ø	inceptive: beginning, starting
	aa~a'$_T$	LOC	?	locative: there
	áa~a'$_T$ (+ *ÿax̱*)	ROT	Ø	rotatory: turning over
F	*shóo~shu'*$_T$ (+ *ÿax̱*)	ADROT	Ø	adrotatory: turning over endwise
	héeni~heeni$_T$	INAQ	Ø	inaquative: into water
	gági	ABUMB	Ø	abumbrative: from shadow into open
	éeg̱i~eeg̱i$_T$	ABSILV	Ø	absilvative: from woods to shore
	dáag̱i~daag̱i$_T$	ABAQ	Ø	abaquative: from water to shore
	k̲ut	ERR	*ga*	errative: astray, lost, excessively (*-t*)
	ÿan, ÿax̱, ˀÿande	COMPLV	Ø	completive: completing, finishing (*-x̱* ?)
	yux̱	out	*na*	outside (*-x̱*)
	yaax̱~yahx̱$_T$	INVEH	*ga*	invehicular: into vehicle (*-x̱*)
E2	*héenx̱~heenx̱*$_T$	INAQ	*ga*	inaquative: into water (*-x̱*)
	ux̱ (+ *kei~keh*$_T$)	UNCTL	Ø	uncontrolled: blindly, out of control (*-x̱*)
	k̲wáak̲x̱ (+ *daak̲~dahk̲*$_T$)	wrong	Ø	by mistake, wrongly (*-x̱*)
	yetx̱~yedax̱$_T$	INIT	Ø	initial: starting off, taking off (*-dáx̱*)
	ÿanax̱~ÿahnax̱$_T$	under	*ga*	underground (*-náx̱*)
	ÿan, ÿax̱, ÿánde	ABMAR	Ø	abmarine: ashore, onto ground, resting
	neil(t), neilx̱, neildé	home	Ø	inside, homeward, into building
E1	*haat, haax̱, haadé*	hither	Ø	hither, this way, toward speaker
	yóot, yóox̱, yóode	hence	Ø	hence, away, off (indefinite location)
	k̲ux̱, ˀk̲uxx̱, k̲úxde	REV	Ø	revertive: aback, reversed direction
	kux$_I$*, kuxx*$_I$*, kúxde*$_I$	AGRND	Ø	aground, into shallow water (IT only)
	kei~kéi~keh$_T$	up	Ø	upward
	yei~yéi~yeh$_T$	down	Ø	downward, out of vehicle
	ÿeik̲~ÿéèk̲$_S$*~ihk̲*$_T$	ADLIT	Ø	adlitoral: down to shore, beachward
D	*daak̲~dáàk̲*$_S$*~dahk̲*$_T$	ABLIT	Ø	ablitoral: inland from shore, back from open, off of fire
	daak~dáàk$_S$*~dahk*$_T$	ADMAR	Ø	admarine: seaward, into open, falling from sky, onto fire
C	*yéi~ye'*$_T$*~yeh*$_T$	thus	?	manner: thus, so (*yeh*$_T$= is thematic)
B	*ÿaa~ÿa~ÿah*$_T$	MENT	?	mental state or activity
A	*yoo~yuh*$_T$	ALT	Ø	alternating: back and forth, to and fro
	ÿaa~ÿah$_T$	along	*na?*	along, down, obliquely, progressive

Preverbs (+17).

	Gloss	Source		Unmarked	Punctual -t	Pertinent -x̱	Allative -dé
		Form	Trans.				
Northern	ABMAR	*ÿán*	'shore'	*ÿan-*	*ÿan-*	*ÿax̱-*	*ÿánde-*
	home	*neil*	'home'	*neil-*	*neilt-*	*neilx̱-*	*neildé-*
	hither	*haa* ?	'us' ?	—	*haat-*	*haax̱-*	*haadé-*
	hence	*yóo*	'distal'	*yóo-*	*yóot-*	*yóox̱-*	*yóode-*
	REV	?	?	*ʔḵux̱-*	*ḵux-*	*ḵux-*	*ḵúx̱de-*
	aground	?	?	*ʔkux$_I$-*	*kux$_I$-*	*kuxx̱$_I$-*	*kúxde$_I$-*
Southern	ABMAR			*ÿan-*	*ÿan-*	*ÿax̱-*	*yándei-*
	home			*néìl-*	*néìlt-*	*néìlx̱-*	*néìldéi-*
	hither			*ʔháà-*	*háàt-*	*háàx̱-*	*háàdéi-*
	hence			*ʔyóo-*	*yóot-*	*yóox̱-*	*yóodéì-*
	REV			*ʔḵux̱-*	*ḵux-*	*ʔḵuxx̱-*	*ḵúx̱déi-*
Tongass	ABMAR			*ÿan-*	*ÿan-*	*ÿax̱-*	*yandeh-*
	home			*ʔnehl-*	*nehlt-*	*nehlx̱-*	*nehldei-*
	hither			*ʔhah-*	*haht-*	*hahx̱-*	*hahdei-*
	hence			*ʔyoo-*	*yoot-*	*yoox̱-*	*yoodeh-*
	REV			*ʔḵux̱-*	*ḵux-*	*ʔḵuxx̱-*	*ḵux̱deh-*

Group E1 preverb (+17) variants. *kux* only in Inland Tlingit.

Prefix	Source noun
*yaan*ₙ~*yáàn*ₛ~*ÿahn*ₜ-	*yaan* 'hunger'
shakux̱-	*shakoox̱*~*shakuhx̱*ₜ 'thirst'
ÿata-	–*ÿá* 'face, vertical surface' (?) + *tá* 'sleep'
x̱'asakw-	*x̱'aséikw* 'breath, life'
gax̱-	*gaax̱* 'crying, weeping'
*xei*ₙ~*xee*ₛᵣ~*xih*ₜ-	*xee* 'dusk, shadow' (cf. *shaa xeiyí* 'mtn. shadow')
*ḵei*ₙ~*ḵee*ₛᵣ~*ḵih*ₜ-	*ḵee* 'dawn' (cf. *ḵee.á* 'dawn', *ḵeex̱'é* 'daybreak')
*yei*ₙ~ˀ*yee*ₛᵣ~*ÿih*ₜ-	*ÿee* 'time' (cf. *yeedát* 'moment')
kanik-	*kaneek*~ˀ*kanéèk*ₛ~*kanihk*ₜ 'report, news'
kayik-	*kayéik* 'noise'
yaḵa-	*yaḵá* 'curse, reproach, rebuke'
saa~*sah*ₜ-	*saa* 'name'
*aan*ₙ~*áàn*ₛ~*ahn*ₜ-	*aan* 'land, town, settlement'
naa~*nah*ₜ-	*naa* 'clan, nation, people'
sha.ax̱w-	*sha.aax̱w* 'bundle'
yakw-	*yaakw*~*yáàkw*ₛ~*yahkw*ₜ 'canoe, boat'
hin-	*héen* 'fresh water, river, stream'

Alienable incorporated nouns (+12).

Prefix	Source noun
ji-	*–jín* 'hand, arm', *–jee* 'possession'
x'a~k'a-	*–x'éi* 'mouth'
tu-	*–tú* 'inside, mind, emotions'
sha-	*–shá* 'head'
shu-	*–shú* 'end'
lu-	*–lú* 'nose, point'
se(i)~sa-	*–séi* 'voice'
xa-	*–xaaw* 'fur'
gu-	*–gú* 'base, butt'
ta-	*–tá* 'bottom'
daa_N~dáà_S~dah_T-	*–daa_N~dáà_S~dah_T* 'around, surrounding, periphery'
xoo-	*–xoo* 'among, amidst, within'
xan-	*–xán* 'vicinity, near'
x'aa-	*–x'aa* 'space between, interstice'
t'éi-	*–t'éi* 'behind, screened by, obscured by'
t'aa-	*–t'áa~t'áak* 'landward side'
yik-	*–yík* 'inside (concave)'
yee-	*–yee* 'underneath, beneath'
ki-	??
gin-	*–geen* 'tail flipper'
xi-	*–xee* 'shoulder'
s'aan-	?? 'limb'
lidíx'-	*–lidíx'* 'neck, throat'
wak- (+ *ka-*)	*–waak* 'eye'
s'ak- (+ *ka-*)	*s'aak* 'bone' (alienable; *a s'aagí* 'its bone')
x'us- (+ *ka-*)	*–x'oos* 'foot, leg'
s'ee- (+ *ka-*)	*–s'ee* 'eyebrow'
duk- (+ *ka-*)	*dook* 'skin' (alienable; *a doogú* 'its skin')
la- (+ *ka-*)	*–laká* 'inside of mouth' (cf. *–leitóox'* 'in the throat')
tl'ik- (+ *sha-*)	*–tl'eek_S* 'finger' + *–shá* 'head' = *–tl'ikshá* 'fingertip'
keey-	*–keey* 'knee'
tóox'- (+ *ka-*)	*–tóox'-ká* 'kneeling'
x'atu-	*–x'éi* 'mouth + *–tú* 'inside'
tukx'e~tuk'e-	*–tukx'é* 'anus' (< *–túk* 'butt' + *–x'éi* 'mouth')
daa.it-	*–daa.éet* 'joint'
tax'-	*–téix'* 'heart'

Inalienable incorporated nouns (+11).

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

S (Series) labels the row grouping.

Classifier prefixes (+1).

Ci-		Ca-		C-	
Form	*Features*	*Form*	*Features*	*Form*	*Features*
di-	+D Ø +I	*da-*	+D Ø −I		
si-	−D s +I	*sa-*	−D s −I		
dzi-	+D s +I			*s-*	+D s −I
li-	−D l +I	*la-*	−D l −I		
dli-	+D l +I			*l-*	+D l −I
shi-	−D sh +I	*sha-*	−D sh −I		
ji-	+D sh +I			*sh-*	+D sh −I

Classifiers by phonological shape, excluding *Ø-* and *ÿa-*.

	Ø	l	s	sh
Ca-	*da-* +D	*la-* −D	*sa-* −D	*sha-* −D
C-	*Ø-* −D	*l-* +D	*s-* +D	*sh-* +D

Phonological shapes of classifiers with −I.

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

Northern prefix contractions with +4 perfective *ÿu-*.
*: actually +4 telic perfective *u-* rather than *ÿu-*.

Prefixes	Classifier shape		
	Ca-	C-	Ø-
ga-w-g̱a-x̱a- {	kuk̲aCa	kuk̲aC	kuk̲a
	kk̲waCa	kk̲waC	kk̲wa
ga-w-g̱a-tu-	gax̱tuCa	gax̱tooC	gax̱too
ga-w-g̱a-i- {	gagiCa	gageeC	gagee
	kg̲iCa	kg̲eeC	kg̲ee
ga-w-g̱a-ÿi-	gax̱ÿiCa	gax̱ÿiC	gax̱ÿi
ga-w-g̱a-du-	gax̱duCa	gax̱duC	gax̱du
ga-w-g̱a-Ø-	gux̱Ca	gugaC	guga
		kg̲waC	kg̲wa
CV-ga-w-g̱a-x̱a-	CVkwk̲aCa	CVkwk̲aC	CVkwk̲a
CV-ga-w-g̱a-tu-	CVgax̱tuCa	CVgax̱tooC	CVgax̱too
CV-ga-w-g̱a-i-	CVkg̲iCa	CVkg̲eeC	CVkg̲ee
CV-ga-w-g̱a-du-	CVgax̱duCa	CVgax̱duC	CVgax̱du
CV-ga-w-g̱a-Ø-	CVgux̱Ca	CVkwgaC	CVkwga

Northern prefix contractions with future *ga-w-g̱a-*...CL[−I]-.

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

Northern prefix contractions with +5 Ø-conjugation.
U: represents *oo* if V is *a*, or lengthened V otherwise.

Prefixes	Classifier shape				
	Ci-	Ca-	C-	Ø-	ÿa-
g̱a-x̱a-	ḵaCi	ḵaCa	ḵaC	ḵa	ḵaa
g̱a-tu-	g̱atuCi	g̱atuCa	g̱atooC	g̱atoo	g̱atuwa
g̱a-i-	g̱iCi	g̱iCa	g̱eeC	g̱ee	g̱iÿa
g̱a-ÿi-	g̱aÿCi	g̱aÿCa	g̱aÿiC	g̱aÿ	g̱aÿeeÿ
g̱a-du-	g̱aduCi	—	g̱aduC	g̱adu	g̱aduwa
g̱a-Ø-	g̱aCi	—	g̱aC	g̱a	g̱aa
u-g̱a-x̱a-	ḵwaCi	ḵwaCa	ḵwaC	ḵwa	ḵwaa
u-g̱a-Ø-	g̱waCi	g̱waCa	g̱waC	g̱wa	g̱waa
CV-g̱a-x̱a-	CVḵaCi	CVḵaCa	CVḵaC	CVḵa	CVḵaa
CV-g̱a-tu-	CVx̱tuCi	CVx̱tuCa	CVx̱tooC	CVx̱too	CVx̱tuwa
CV-g̱a-i-	CVgiCi	CVgiCa	CVgeeC	CVgee	CVgiÿa
CV-g̱a-ÿi-	CVx̱ÿiCi	CVx̱ÿiCa	CVx̱ÿiC	CVx̱ÿi	CVx̱ÿeeÿ
CV-g̱a-du-	CVx̱duCi	—	CVx̱duC	CVx̱du	CVx̱duwa
CV-g̱a-Ø-	CVx̱Ci	CVx̱Ca	CVgaC	CVga	CVgaa
CV-u-g̱a-x̱a-	CU:ḵaCi	CU:ḵaCa	CU:ḵaC	CU:ḵa	CU:ḵaa
CV-u-g̱a-Ø-	CU:x̱Ci	CU:x̱Ca	CU:gaC	CU:ga	CU:gaa
CV-oo-g̱a-x̱a-	CuḵaCi	CuḵaCa	CuḵaC	Cuḵa	Cuḵaa
CV-oo-g̱a-Ø-	Cux̱Ci	Cux̱Ca	CugaC	Cuga	Cugaa

Northern prefix contractions with +5 *ga*-conjugation or +4 *ga*-mode.
U: represents *oo* if V is *a*, or lengthened V otherwise.

Prefixes	Classifier shape				
	Ci-	Ca-	C-	Ø-	ÿa-
na-x̱a-	nax̱Ci	nax̱Ca	nax̱aC	nax̱a	nax̱aa
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-Ø-	naCi	—	naC	na	naa
u-na-x̱a- {	unax̱Ci	unax̱Ca	unx̱aC	unx̱a	unx̱aa
	nax̱wCi	nax̱wCa	nax̱waC	nax̱wa	nax̱waa
u-na-Ø-	unCi	—	unaC	una	unaa
CV-na-x̱a-	CVnax̱Ci	CVnax̱Ca	CVnx̱aC	CVnx̱a	CVnx̱aa
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-Ø-	CVnCi	CVnCa	CVnaC	CVna	CVnaa
CV-u-na-x̱a- {	CU:nax̱Ci	CU:nax̱Ca	CU:nx̱aC	CU:nx̱a	CU:nx̱aa
	CVnax̱wCi	CVnax̱wCa	CVnx̱waC	CVnx̱wa	CVnx̱waa
CV-u-na-Ø-	CU:nCi	CU:nCa	CU:naC	CU:na	CU:naa
CV-oo-na-x̱a-	Cunax̱Ci	Cunax̱Ca	Cunx̱aC	Cunx̱a	Cunx̱aa
CV-oo-na-Ø-	CunCi	CunCa	CunaC	Cuna	Cunaa

Northern prefix contractions with +5 *na*-conjugation.
U: represents *oo* if V is *a*, or lengthened V otherwise.

Prefixes	Classifier shape				
	Ci-	Ca-	C-	Ø-	ÿa-
ga-x̱a-	gax̱Ci	gax̱Ca	gax̱aC	gax̱a	gax̱aa
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-Ø-	gaCi	—	gaC	ga	gaa
ga-u-x̱a-	goox̱Ci	goox̱Ca	goox̱aC	goox̱a	goox̱aa
ga-u-Ø-	ˀgooCi	—	gooC	goo	ˀgoowa
CV-ga-x̱a-	CVgax̱Ci	CVgax̱Ca	CVkx̱aC	CVkx̱a	CVkx̱aa
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-Ø-	CVkCi	CVkCa	CVgaC	CVga	CVgaa
CV-ga-u-x̱a-	CVgoox̱Ci	CVgoox̱Ca	CVkwx̱aC	CVkwx̱a	CVkwx̱aa
CV-ga-u-Ø-	ˀCVgooCi	—	CVgooC	CVgoo	ˀCVgoowa

Northern prefix contractions with +7 *ga*-conjugation.

Prefixes	Classifier shape				
	Ci-	Ca-	C-	Ø-	ÿa-
ga-g̲a-x̱a-	ḵaaḵaCi	ḵaaḵaCa	ḵaaḵaC	ḵaaḵa	ḵaaḵa
ga-g̲a-tu-	gaax̱tuCi	gaax̱tuCa	gaax̱tooC	gaax̱too	gaax̱tuwa
ga-g̲a-i-	gaag̲iCi	gaag̲iCa	gaageeC	gaagee	gaag̲iÿa
ga-g̲a-ÿi-	gaax̱ÿiCi	gaax̱ÿiCa	gaax̱ÿiC	gaax̱ÿi	gaax̱ÿeeÿ
ga-g̲a-du-	gaax̱duCi	—	gaax̱duC	gaax̱du	gaax̱duwa
ga-g̲a-Ø-	gaax̱Ci	gaax̱Ca	gaagaC	gaaga	gaagaa
ga-u-g̲a-x̱a-	ḵwaaḵaCi	ḵwaaḵaCa	ḵwaaḵaC	ḵwaaḵa	ḵwaaḵaa
ga-u-g̲a-Ø-	gwaax̱Ci	gwaax̱Ca	gwaagaC	gwaaga	gwaagaa
CV-ga-g̲a-x̱a-	CVḵaaḵaCi	CVḵaaḵaCa	CVḵaaḵaC	CVḵaaḵa	CVḵaaḵaa
CV-ga-g̲a-tu-	CVgaax̱tuCi	CVgaax̱tuCa	CVgaax̱tooC	CVgaax̱too	CVgaax̱tuwa
CV-ga-g̲a-i-	CVgaag̲iCi	CVgaag̲iCa	CVgaageeC	CVgaagee	CVgaag̲iÿa
CV-ga-g̲a-ÿi-	CVgaax̱ÿiCi	CVgaax̱ÿiCa	CVgaax̱ÿiC	CVgaax̱ÿi	CVgaax̱ÿeeÿ
CV-ga-g̲a-du-	CVgaax̱duCi	—	CVgaax̱duC	CVgaax̱du	CVgaax̱duwa
CV-ga-g̲a-Ø-	CVgaax̱Ci	CVgaax̱Ca	CVgaagaC	CVgaaga	CVgaagaa
CV-ga-u-g̲a-x̱a-	CU:ḵaaḵaCi	CU:ḵaaḵaCa	CU:ḵaaḵaC	CU:ḵaaḵa	CU:ḵaaḵaa
CV-ga-u-g̲a-Ø-	CU:gaax̱Ci	CU:gaax̱Ca	CU:gaagaaC	CU:gaaga	CU:gaagaa
CV-ga-oo-g̲a-x̱a-	Cuḵaaḵaci	Cuḵaaḵaca	Cuḵaaḵac	Cuḵaaḵa	Cuḵaaḵaa
CV-ga-oo-g̲a-Ø-	Cugaag̲aCi	Cugaag̲aCa	Cugaag̲aC	Cugaag̲a	Cugaag̲aa

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-	Ø-	ÿa-
na-g̱a-x̱a-	naḵaCi	naḵaCa	naḵaC	naḵa	naḵaa
na-g̱a-tu-	nax̱tuCi	nax̱tuCa	nax̱tooC	nax̱too	nax̱tuwa
na-g̱a-i-	nagiCi	nagiCa	nageeC	nagee	nagiÿa
na-g̱a-ÿi-	nax̱ÿiCi	nax̱ÿiCa	nax̱ÿiC	nax̱ÿi	nax̱ÿeeÿ
na-g̱a-du-	nax̱duCi	—	nax̱duC	nax̱du	nax̱duwa
na-g̱a-Ø-	nax̱Ci	nax̱Ca	nagaC	naga	nagaa
u-na-g̱a-x̱a- {	unḵaCi	unḵaCa	unḵaC	unḵa	unḵaa
	naḵwaCi	naḵwaCa	naḵwaC	naḵwa	naḵwaa
u-na-g̱a-Ø- {	unax̱Ci	unax̱Ca	nagwaC	unga	ungaa
	nax̱wCi	nax̱wCa		nagwa	nagwaa
CV-na-g̱a-x̱a-	CVnḵaCi	CVnḵaCa	CVnḵaC	CVnḵa	CVnḵaa
CV-na-g̱a-tu-	CVnax̱tuCi	CVnax̱tuCa	CVnax̱tooC	CVnax̱too	CVnax̱tuwa
CV-na-g̱a-i-	CVngiCi	CVngiCa	CVngeeC	CVngee	CVngiÿa
CV-na-g̱a-ÿi-	CVnax̱ÿiCi	CVnax̱ÿiCa	CVnax̱ÿiC	CVnax̱ÿi	CVnax̱ÿeeÿ
CV-na-g̱a-du-	CVnax̱duCi	—	CVnax̱duC	CVnax̱du	CVnax̱duwa
CV-na-g̱a-Ø-	CVnax̱Ci	CVnax̱Ca	CVngaC	CVnga	CVngaa
CV-u-na-g̱a-x̱a- {	CU:nḵaCi	CU:nḵaCa	CU:nḵaC	CU:nḵa	CU:nḵaa
	CVnḵwaCi	CVnḵwaCa	CVnḵwaC	CVnḵwa	CVnḵwaa
CV-u-na-g̱a-Ø- {	CU:nax̱Ci	CU:nax̱Ca	CU:ngaC	CU:nga	CU:ngaa
	CVnax̱wCi	CVnax̱wCa	CVngwaC	CVngwa	CVngwaa
CV-oo-na-g̱a-x̱a-	CunḵaCi	CunḵaCa	CunḵaC	Cunḵa	Cunḵaa
CV-oo-na-g̱a-Ø-	Cunax̱Ci	Cunax̱Ca	CungaC	Cunga	Cungaa

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-	Ø-	ÿa-
ga-g̱a-x̱a-	gaḵaCi	gaḵaCa	gaḵaC	gaḵa	gaḵaa
ga-g̱a-tu-	gax̱tuCi	gax̱tuCa	gax̱tooC	gax̱too	gax̱tuwa
ga-g̱a-i-	gagiCi	gagiCa	gageeC	gagee	gagiÿa
ga-g̱a-ÿi-	gax̱ÿiCi	gax̱ÿiCa	gax̱ÿiC	gax̱ÿi	gax̱ÿeeÿ
ga-g̱a-du-	gax̱duCi	—	gax̱duC	gax̱du	gax̱duwa
ga-g̱a-Ø-	gax̱Ci	gax̱Ca	gag̱aC	gag̱a	gag̱aa
u-ga-g̱a-x̱a-	gooḵaCi	gooḵaCa	gooḵaC	gooḵa	gooḵaa
u-ga-g̱a-Ø-	goox̱Ci	goox̱Ca	—	goog̱a	goog̱aa
CV-ga-g̱a-x̱a-	CVkḵaCi	CVkḵaCa	CVkḵaC	CVkḵa	CVkḵaa
CV-ga-g̱a-tu-	CVgax̱tuCi	CVgax̱tuCa	CVgax̱tooC	CVgax̱too	CVgax̱tuwa
CV-ga-g̱a-i-	CVkgiCi	CVkgiCa	CVkgeeC	CVkgee	CVkgiÿa
CV-ga-g̱a-ÿi-	CVgax̱ÿiCi	CVgax̱ÿiCa	CVgax̱ÿiC	CVgax̱ÿi	CVgax̱ÿeeÿ
CV-ga-g̱a-du-	CVgax̱duCi	—	CVgax̱duC	CVgax̱du	CVgax̱duwa
CV-ga-g̱a-Ø-	CVgax̱Ci	CVgax̱Ca	CVkg̱aC	CVkg̱a	CVkg̱aa
CV-u-ga-g̱a-x̱a-	CVkwḵaCi	CVkwḵaCa	CVkwḵaC	CVkwḵa	CVkwḵaa
CV-u-ga-g̱a-Ø-	CVgoox̱Ci	CVgoox̱Ca	CVkwgaC	CVkwg̱a	CVkwg̱aa

Northern prefix contractions with *ga*-conjugation and *g̱a*-mode.

Stem type	Closed roots			Open roots	
	CVC	CVC'	CV'C	CV:	CVh
closed plain stem					
main clause	CÝC	CÝC'	CÝC		
relative clause	CVC	CVC'	CVC		
open '-stem					
unsuffixed				CÝ	CÝ
decessive *-een*				CÝ'-een	CÝ'-een
other sfxs with *i*				CVh-...	CVh-...
auxiliary or *-ḵ*				CÝ:-...	CÝ:-...
:-stem	CÝ:C	CÝ:C'	**CÝ'C**	CÝ:	CÝ:
X-stem					
two suffixes	CÝC-X	CÝC'-X	CÝC-X	CÝ-X-X	CÝ-X-X
otherwise				CV̋:-X	**CV̈h**-X
n-stem	CÝC	CÝC'	CÝC	CV̋:-n	CV̋:-n*
ÿ-stem					
habitual *-ch*	CÝC	CÝC'	CÝC	CÝ:ÿ-ch	CÝ:ÿ-ch
otherwise				CÝ:	CÝ:
h-stem					
imperative	**CVhC**	CÝ'C'	CÝ'C	CVh	CVh
otherwise				CÝ	CÝ

* Exception: CVh stems √*ni-h* 'become' and √*ÿa-h* 'resemble' have *nihn* and *ÿehn* instead of **ní:n* and **ÿé:n*.

Stem variation (Leer 1991: 168).

	Plain CVC	Ejective CVC'	Glottalized CV'C	Stem type
short	CVC	CVC'	CVC	closed/*X*/*n*-stem
long *-:*	CV:C	CV:C'	**CV'C**	*:*-stem
fading *-h*	**CVhC**	CV'C'	CV'C	*h*-stem

Tongass variable closed root variation.

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	Low CVC	High CV́C(')	Stem type
short	CV́C	CV́C(')	closed/*X*/*n*-stem
long	CV́:C	CV́:C(')	*꞉*-stem
long low	**CV:C**	CV́:C(')	*h*-stem

Northern variable closed root variation.

Stem type	Tongass	Northern	Translation
	kei=O-(Ø)-S-cʟ[–ᴅ,l]-.at 'S pick up plural O'		
X-stem	*keh x̱la.atch*	*kei x̱la.átch*	'I keep picking them up'
ÿ-stem	*keh x̱wli.at*	*kei x̱li.át*	'I picked them up'
꞉-stem	*keh kwḵala.aat*	*kei kwḵala.áat*	'I will pick them up'
h-stem	*tleil keh kwḵala.aht*	*tléil kei kwḵala.aat*	'I won't pick them up'
	kei=O-(Ø)-S-cʟ[–ᴅ,l]-l'at' 'S pick up O with tongs'		
X-stem	*keh x̱lal'at'ch*	*kei x̱lal'át'ch*	'I keep picking it up with …'
ÿ-stem	*keh x̱wlil'at'*	*kei x̱wlil'át'*	'I picked it up with tongs'
꞉-stem	*keh kwḵalal'aat'*	*kei kwḵalal'áat'*	'I will pick it up with tongs'
h-stem	*tleil keh kwḵalal'a't'*	*tléil kei kwḵalal'aat'*	'I won't pick it up with tongs'
	kei=O-(Ø)-S-cʟ[–ᴅ,Ø]-shat 'S pick up O quickly'		
X-stem	*keh x̱ashatch*	*kei x̱ashátch*	'I keep grabbing it up'
ÿ-stem	*keh x̱wahshat*	*kei x̱waashát*	'I grabbed it up'
꞉-stem	*keh kwḵasha't*	*kei kwḵasháat*	'I will grab it up'
h-stem	*tleil keh kwḵasha't*	*tléil kei kwḵashaat*	'I won't grab it up'

Illustration of closed stem variation in Tongass and Northern Tlingit.
Themes are derived with *kei=(Ø)-* 'upward'.
Forms shown are (-*X*) Realis -*ch* Repetitive Imperfective, (-*ÿ*) Realis Telic
Perfective, (-*꞉*) Realis Future, and (-*h*) Irrealis Future.

Mode	Preverb +17	Asp./Conj. +7 − +4	I-Cpnt. +1	Var −1	Suff. −3
Imperfectives					
-: Active & *-:* Positional					
realis			−I	*-:*	
irrealis			−I	*-h*	
-h Active & *-h* Repetitive					
realis			−I	*-h*	
irrealis			−I	*-h*	
-' Active (open roots only)					
realis			−I	*-'*	
irrealis			−I	*-'*	
-n Active & *-n* Positional					
realis			−I	*-n*	
irrealis			−I	*-n*	
-X Active (*-s', -l' ,-t, -x', -t'*) & *-X* Repetitive (*-x, -ch, -k*)					
realis	(PVB=)		−I		*-X*
irrealis	(PVB=)		−I		*-X*
yoo=…-k Active & Repetitive					
realis	*yoo=*		+I		*-k*
irrealis	*yoo=*		−I		*-k*
Progressive					
realis	PVB=	*na-*	−I	*-n*	
irrealis	PVB=	*na-*	−I	*-n*	

Non-stative imperfective (declarative) modes.

PVB= ∈ {∅= if ∅-; *yoo=* if *na-*; *kei=* if *ga-*; *yei=* if *g̱a-*}

X ∈ {*-x̱, -ch, -k, -s', -l', -t, -x', -t'*}

Active = "act", "eventive", "processive"; Repetitive = "iterative"

The *-X* Repetitive suffix is thematically specified.

-X Active is derived but such verbs are treated as distinct themes.

Mode	Preverb +17	Asp./Conj. +7 – +4	I-Cpnt. +1	Var −1	Suff. −3
Imperfectives (cont'd)					
-ː Stative					
realis			+I	-ː	
irrealis			−I	-h	
-ÿ Stative					
realis			+I	-ÿ	
realis √ti-h 'be'			+I	-h	
irrealis					
closed root			−I	-ÿ	
open root			−I	-ʼ	
Stative with invariable root					
realis			+I		
irrealis			−I		
-h Extensional Stative					
realis		CNJ-	+I	-h	
irrealis		CNJ-	−I	-h	
-ÿ Extensional Stative					
realis		CNJ-	+I	-ÿ	
irrealis		CNJ-	−I	-ʼ	
-k Multipositional Stative					
realis					
closed root		CNJ-	+I		-k
open root		CNJ-	+I		-kw-t
irrealis					
closed root		CNJ-	−I		-k
open root		CNJ-	−I		-kw-t

Stative imperfective (declarative) modes.

CNJ- ∈ {∅-, *na-*, *ga-*, *g̲a-*}

Stative = "state", "neuter"; Multipositional = "multiple-positional"

Mode	Preverb +17	Asp./Conj. +7 – +4	I-Cpnt. +1	Var −1	Suff. −3
Perfectives					
Telic (∅-) Perfective					
realis		*ÿu-* ~ *u-*	+I	*-ÿ*	
irrealis					
open root		*ÿu-* ~ *u-*	−I	*-ʼ*	
closed root		*ÿu-* ~ *u-*	−I	*-h*	
Atelic (*na-*, *ga-*, *g̲a-*) Perfective					
realis		*ÿu-*	+I	*-h*	
irrealis		*ÿu-*	−I	*-h*	
Realizational — always realis					
realis		CNJ-	+I	*-ː*	
Future					
realis	PVB=	*ga-u-g̲a-*	−I	*-ː*	
irrealis	PVB=	*ga-u-g̲a-*	−I	*-h*	
Potential					
closed root					
non-decessive		*u-*CNJ*-g̲a-*	+I	*-h*	
decessive		*u-*CNJ*-g̲a-*	−I	*-h*	
open root					
non-decessive		*u-*CNJ*-g̲a-*	+I	*-h*	
decessive		*u-*CNJ*-g̲a-*	−I	*-h*	
some Active Telic (∅-) themes with open root					
non-decessive		*u-∅-g̲a-*	+I	*-ÿ*	
decessive		*u-∅-g̲a-*	−I	*-ÿ*	
Habituals					
Telic (∅-) Habitual					
closed root		*u-*	−I	*-h* ~ *-ÿ*	*-ch*
open root		*u-*	−I	*-ÿ*	*-ch*
Atelic (*na-*, *ga-*, *g̲a-*) Habitual		CNJ-	−I		*-ch*

Non-imperfective declarative modes.

CNJ- ∈ {∅-, *na-*, *ga-*, *g̲a-*}

PVB= ∈ {∅= if ∅-; *yoo=* if *na-*; *kei=* if *ga-*; *yei=* if *g̲a-*}

Mode	Preverb +17	Asp./Conj. +7 – +4	I-Cpnt. +1	Var −1	Suff. −3
Deontic modes					
Imperatives — always realis					
Telic (∅-) Imperative					
open root		∅-	−I	-h ~ -ÿ	
closed with DIR=	DIR=	∅-	−I	-h	
closed otherwise		∅-	−I	-ÿ	
Atelic (*na-*, *ga-*, *g̲a-*) Imperative		CNJ-	−I	-h	
Hortative — always realis		CNJ-*ga-*	−I	-h ~ -ÿ	(-ih)
Admonitive		*u*-CNJ-	−I	-ː	
Circumstantial modes					
Consecutive		CNJ-	−I	-ː	
Conditional		CNJ-	−I	-n	-(n)ih
Contingent		CNJ-*g̲a-*	−I	-n	-ín

Deontic and circumstantial (non-declarative) modes.

CNJ- ∈ {∅-, *na-*, *ga-*, *g̲a-*}

DIR= ∈ {*kei*= up, *yei*= down, *ÿeek̲*= ADLIT, *daak̲*= ABLIT, *daak*= ADMAR, *neil-* home, *g̲unayéi*= INCEP}

Mode	Epimode		Clause type		
	Decessive	Prohib.-Opt.	Subordinate	Attributive	Realis
Declarative modes					
Imperfectives	±	±	±	±	±
Perfectives	±	±	±	±	±
Realizational	−	−	−	−	+
Future	±	−	±	±	±
Potential	±	−	−	±	±
Habitual*	±	−	±	±	±
Deontic modes					
Imperative*	−	−	−	−	+
Hortative*	−	−	−	−	+
Admonitive	−	−	−	−	±
Circumstantial modes					
Consecutive	−	−	−	−	±
Conditional	−	−	−	−	±
Contingent	−	−	−	−	±
Composite modes with auxiliaries					
Imperfective habitual	−	−	±	±	±
Imperfective consecutive	−	−	−	−	±
Imperfective conditional	−	−	−	−	±
Imperfective contingent	−	−	−	−	±
Future habitual	±	−	±	±	±
Future consecutive	−	−	−	−	±
Future conditional	−	−	−	−	±
Future contingent	−	−	−	−	±

Modes and their subtypes.
Epimodes are mutually exclusive as are clause types. Habituals lack realis subordinate and realis decessive subordinate. Imperatives and hortative irrealises are replaced by the imperfective and perfective prohibitives. Note imperative and hortative are CL[−I] despite being realis.

Suffix	Name	Gloss	Meaning
-án	restorative	REST	restore previous state
-x̱aa	amissive	MISS	miss the target of action
-áḵw	deprivative	DEPRV	remove, deprive, lacking
-aa	play	PLAY	playing, pretending
-jaa	radiative ?	RAD	give off something?
-shán	intensive ?	INTNS	intensifies meaning?
-ḵ	coplural ?	COPL	occurs with plural *-x'*
-í	property	PPTY	have, have the property of
-k	?	UNK	unknown
-(á)ch'	?	UNK	unknown
-ál'	?	UNK	unknown
-g̱ákw	?	UNK	unknown
-nás	?	UNK	unknown
-nás'	?	UNK	unknown
-át'	?	UNK	unknown
-x̱	?	UNK	unknown

Derivational suffixes (−2).

Sfx.	Stem	Pg.	Root	Stem meaning
	haanán	274	*haan*	(sg.) restore confidence by reelection
	naag̱án	284	*naaḵ*	(pl.) restore confidence by reelection
-án	*taanán*	292	*taan*	reconsider; reset bone/joint
	xeexán	325	*xeex*	be restored to normality; become normal
	x̱eenán	338	*x̱een*	get back into joint by itself
	.únx̱aa	270	*.oon*	miss target when shooting
	t'áchx̱aa	296	*t'aach*	miss target when slapping
	dzéix̱aa	296	*dzoo*	miss target when throwing round object
-x̱aa	*shátx̱aa*	309	*shaat*	miss target when grabbing something
	gwálx̱aa	319	*gwaal*	miss target when punching with fist
	ḵ'íshx̱aa	337	*ḵ'eesh*	miss target when hitting with stick
	x̱íchx̱aa	341	*x̱eech*	miss target when hitting with stick

Some verbs with −2 derivational suffixes in Naish & Story 1973.

Sfx.	Stem	Pg.	Root	Stem meaning
	.éiyákw	265	.eik ?	have a useless/injured limb
	nóox'ákw	283	nóox'ₙ	remove shell, esp. from gumboots
	ch'éeyákw	306		be slow
-ákw	tl'éilákw	311	tl'eilₙ	remove milt from fish
	geiyákw	332		scoop out, esp. from clamshell
	xaayákw	340	xaaw	shed hair, esp. of animal in spring
	xoonákw	S66:56	xoon ?	drowning ?
	séewch'ákw	S66:56	seewₙ	tasteless, rain-flavoured
	héixwaa	271	heexw	make magic, perform positive rites
	wéinaa	278	woo₂	powder face; have face powdered
	t'áax'aa	296	t'aax'	play with marbles
	t'ájaa	296	t'aach	play at swimming
	ts'ígwaa	299	ts'eek	be a delicate issue, require diplomacy
-aa	ts'íxaa	300		sneeze (onomatopoetic?)
	ch'éit'aa	306		play with ball, esp. basketball
	dlénxaa	310	dlaan ?	tempt, try out, test
	kíts'aa	321	keets'	play on seesaw
	k'éinaa	322	k'ein	play at jumping or twirling around
	góol'aa	S66:55	gool'	wink
	sáyjaa	301	saay	give off lots of heat; be sweaty
-jaa	gíx'jaa	334	geex'	creak, squeak; play bowed instrument
	x'éel'jaa	S66:55	xeel' ?	groan
	.áaxch'án	270	.aax	be fascinating to listen to
-shán	tées'shán	289	tees'	be fascinating to watch; be fascinated
	xéetl'shán	338	xeetl'	be dangerous
	x'wáal'shán	342	x'waas'₁?	be soft like down; (neg.) lack softness
	x'wás'k	330		be numb
-k	yát'kx'	S66:59	yaat'	be long (pl.)
	tsínkx'	S66:59	tseen	be expensive (pl.)
	yáshk	S66:59	yaach' ?	be scarce

More verbs with –2 derivational suffixes in Naish & Story 1973. x_n noun.

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Sfx.	Stem	Pg.	Root	Stem meaning
	l'eedí	S66:54	l'eet$_n$	have a tail or handle
	jíni	S66:54	jín$_n$	have arms or sleeves
-í	x̱'oosí		x̱'oos$_n$	have feet or legs
	saayí	301	saa$_2$	have an important name
	koodzí	320		be amazing, awesome
	tleilk'ú	310		make string figures
	s'óoshkw	303		pinch with fingers and thumb
	tléx̱wk	311	tleix̱w ?	be greedy, eat fast, eat like a pig
-k	tl'únkw	312		murmur, grumble
	xwáchk	328	xwaach	be paralyzed by sickness
	ḵáchk	336	ḵaach	be lame, limp
-(á)ch'	geig̱ách'	332	g̱eiḵ$_1$	swing
	séewch'áḵw	S66:56	seew$_n$	tasteless, rain-flavoured
-ál'	néegwál'	280		paint; make jam, preserve fruit
-g̱ákw	seig̱ákw	300	saa$_2$	regain breath, get one's wind back
-nás	ḵéenás	334	ḵei$_1$	in-law property exchange
-nás'	x̱aanás'	334	x̱aa$_2$	travel by raft
-át'	tl'éekát'	311	tl'een ?	thread stick through to stiffen
-x̱	ch'ách'x̱	307	ch'aach'	be spotted (inanimate) (≡ FREQ?)

Even more verbs with –2 derivational suffixes in Naish & Story 1973.

Form	Name	Gloss	Meaning
-ch	habitual	HAB	usually, always
-k ~ -kw	repetitive	REP	repeatedly, over and over
-x̱ ~ -x̱w	frequentive	FREQ	frequently, often
-x' ~ -x'w *-t'*	plural object	PL	more than one object
-s'	serial	SER	repeatedly in sequence
-l'	?	UNK	unknown (≡ serial?)
-t	serial?	SER	repeatedly in sequence

Durational suffixes (−3).

The *-ch*, *-k~kw*, and *-x̱~x̱w* are thematically specified repetitives as well.

Form	Name	Gloss	Meaning
-ch	habitual	HAB	usually, always
*-(n)ee ~ -(n)ih*ₜ	conditional	COND	if
*-ín ~ -in*ₜ	contingent	CTING	whenever

Inner modal suffixes (−4).

Form	Name	Gloss	Meaning
*-een ~ -ihn*ₜ	decessive	DEC	used to
*-éeḵ ~ -eeḵ*ₜ*~ -ḵ*	optative	OPT	hopefully
	prohibitive	PHIB	don't, hopefully not (neg.)

Outer modal suffixes (−5). (Leer's 'epimodes'.)

Form	Name	Gloss	Function
*-í ~ -i ~ -ih*ₜ	subordinate	SUB	marks subordinate clauses (CL[−I])
-i	attributive	ATTR	marks attributive verbs and
	relative	REL	relative clauses

Clause type suffixes (−6).

Form	Name	Gloss	Meaning
$nóok_N$ $néekw_{SRI}$ $neekw_T$	repetitive auxiliary	REP.AUX	repeatedly, over and over
$nooch_N$ $neech_{SRI}$ $nukch_G$ $nihch_T$	habitual auxiliary	HAB.AUX	often, always, habitually
$noojeen_N$ $neejeen_{SR}$ $ʔnihjihn_T$	decessive habitual aux.	DEC.AUX	always used to
$núknee_N$ $níkwnee_I$ $níkwni_{SR}$ $nikwnih_T$	conditional auxiliary	COND.AUX	if, when
$ganúgun_N$ $ganígun_I$ $\underline{g}aníkw_S$ $\underline{g}anikw_T$	contingent auxiliary	CTING.AUX	whenever

Bound postverbal auxiliaries (−7).

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

Pronouns and pronominals in Northern Tlingit.

	Form	*Abbv.*	*Description*
grm.	*-ch*	ERG	transitive verb subject, agent
	—	ABS	transitive verb object, patient
oblique cases	*-x' ~ -: ~ -i*	LOC	locative, 'at, in, by, on'
	-t	PNCT	punctual, 'at, to, about' (telic)
	-x̲	PERT	pertingent, 'at, form of, concerning'
	-dé	ALL	allative, 'to, toward, until, in manner of'
	-dáx̲ ~ -dx̲	ABL	ablative, 'from, out of'
	-náx̲	PERL	perlative, 'along, by, via, during, across'
	-g̲áa	ADES	adessive, 'around, about, by, after, for'
	-een ~ -n	INST	instrumental, 'with, using, as soon as'
	-teen	COM	comitative, 'along with, accompanying'
	-u	LPRD	locative-predicate, verbless locative
postpositions	*ÿáx̲*	SIM	similative, 'like, as, similar to'
	yís ~ -s$_{\text{SR}}$	BEN	benefactive, 'for, benefiting'
	g̲óot	ABES	abessive, 'without, lacking'
	nák̲	ELAT	elative, 'away from, leaving behind'
	ÿáanáx̲	more	superlative, 'more than'
	k̲ín	less	sublative, 'less than'

Case suffixes and postpositions.

Class	Form	Gloss	Name
-ː	-ː	LOC	locative
-CV*	-dé	ALL	allative
	-dáx̲	ABL	ablative
	-náx̲	PERL	perlative
	-g̲áa	ADES	adessive
	-teen	INST	instrumental
-C*	-x'	LOC	locative
	-ch	ERG	ergative
	-t	PNCT	punctual
	-x̲	PERT	pertingent
	-dx̲	ABL	ablative
	-n	INST	instrumental

Classification of case suffixes by phonological shape.

Nom.	Dial.	Unsuf.	-CV*	-C*	-ː (LOC)
3N	N	á	aa-CV́*	á-C*	áa
	S	á	áà-CV́*	á-C*	áa
	T	a	ah-CV*	a-C*	a'
HSFC	N	–ká	–kaa-CV́*	–ká-C*	–káa
	S	–ká	–káà-CV́*	–ká-C*	–káa
	T	–ka	–kah-CV*	–ka-C*	–ka'
VSFC	N	–ÿá	–ÿaa-CV́*	–ÿá-C*	–ÿáa
	S	–ÿá	–ÿáà-CV́*	–ÿá-C*	–ÿáa
	T	–ÿa	–ÿah-CV*	–ÿá-C*	–ÿa'
1SG	N	x̲a-	x̲aa-CV́*	x̲áa-C*	x̲áa
	S	x̲a-	x̲áà-CV́*	x̲áa-C*	x̲áa
	T	x̲a-	x̲ah-CV*	?	?
BASE	N	=ee	=ee-CV́*	=ée-C*	=ée
	S	=ee	=éè-CV́*	=ée-C*	=ée
	T	=ee	?	?	?

Unpredictable nominal allomorphy with case suffixes.
Note that 1SG is often *ax̲=ee…* instead.

	Form	Gloss	Meaning
Northern	*yáa ~ yá*	PROX	proximal: 'this near me', 'here'
	héi ~ hé	MPRX	mesioproximal: 'this not so near me', 'the other'
	wéi ~ wé	MDST	mesiodistal: 'that near you', 'there'
	yóo ~ yú	DIST	distal: 'that far away from us', 'yonder'
Southern	*yáà ~ yá*	PROX	proximal: 'this near me', 'here'
	héì ~ hé	MPRX	mesioproximal: 'this not so near me', 'the other'
	wéì ~ wé	MDST	mesiodistal: 'that near you', 'there'
	yóò ~ yú	DIST	distal: 'that far away from us', 'yonder'
Tongass	*yaa*	PROX	proximal: 'this near me', 'here'
	hei	MPRX	mesioproximal: 'this not so near me', 'the other'
	wei	MDST	mesiodistal: 'that near you', 'there'
	yoo	DIST	distal: 'that far away from us', 'yonder'

Demonstratives.

Noun	Noun + dé	Noun + naa	Preverb	Meaning
(di)kée	*(di)kínde*	*(di)kéenaa*	*kei=*	up above
(di)yée	*(di)yínde*	*(di)yéenaa*	*yei=*	down below
naakée	*nánde*	*naan(ÿ)aa*	—	upstream, north (*naa* 'river')
éex ~ ixkée	*íxde*	*ixinaa*	—	downstream, south
ée<u>k</u> ~ éi<u>k</u>	*í<u>k</u>de*	*i<u>g</u>inaa*	*ÿei<u>k</u>=*	landward, to land from sea
dáa<u>k</u>	*dá<u>k</u>de*	*da<u>g</u>inaa*	*daa<u>k</u>=*	inland, back from open
deikée	*dákde*	*daginaa*	*daak=*	seaward, out into open
diyáa	*diyáade*	—	*yaa=*	across, along, other side
ÿán	*ÿánde*	—	*ÿan*=*	ashore, onto ground
neil	*néilde*	—	*neil*=*	inside, home
gáan	*gá(a)nde*	—	—	outside
—	*(gánde)*	—	—	(outhouse, toilet)
—	*<u>k</u>úxde*	—	*<u>k</u>ux*=*	revertive, back from
—	*<u>k</u>úxde*_I	—	*kux*_I=*	aground, into shallow water

Northern Tlingit directionals.
Note that *naa < nyaa < niÿaa* 'direction' ≠ *naa* 'river'.

	Direction	Preverb	Noun	
Northern	out to sea from shore	*daak=*	*deikée*	↑
	in to shore from sea	*ÿan=*	*ÿán*	↓
	down to shore from land	*ÿeik̲=*	*éek̲~éik̲*	⥣
	up into land from shore	*daak̲=*	*dáak̲*	↓
Southern	out to sea from shore	*dáàk=*	*ˀdeikée*	↑
	in to shore from sea	*ÿan=*	*ÿán*	↓
	down to shore from land	*ÿéèk̲=*	*éek̲*	⥣
	up into land from shore	*dáàk̲=*	*ˀdáak̲*	↓
Tongass	out to sea from shore	*dahk=*	*deikee*	↑
	in to shore from sea	*ÿan=*	*ÿan*	↓
	down to shore from land	*ihk̲=*	*ihk̲*	⥣
	up into land from shore	*dahk̲=*	*dahk̲*	↓

Shore-centered directional system.

Form	Translation
aak'é __	'good, well'
yées __	'young, new'
ch'áagu __	'old, ancient'
tlagu __	'ancient, archaic, long ago'
ḵáa __	'male, he-'
sheech ~ shich₁ __	'female, she-'
ḵustín __	'giant, humongous'
ḵúnáx̱ __	'very, actual, real'
aatlein __	'much, lots of'
shóogu __	'first, initial'
tatgéiÿi __	'of yesterday'
__ *ÿéis'*	'immature, dusky, dark'
__ *tlein ~ tlen*	'large, big'
__ *tlénx'*	'large, big' (plural)
__ *ḵ'áatl'*	'thin and flat'
__ *k'wát'*	'spherical, egg shaped'
__ *xook*	'dry, dried'
__ *sákw*	'future, to be, for'
__ *ÿéeÿi*	'past, former, ex-'
__ *shaan*	'old, elderly'
__ *yádi*	'small, little, childlike'
__ *lél'k*	'soft'

Tlingit prenominal and postnominal adjectives.

Form	Name	Gloss	Meaning
sá	Q-particle	Q	marks *wh*-questions
gé	YN-particle	YN	marks yes-no questions
á-DEM	focus particle	FOC	focuses or topicalizes phrase
á-gé	focus question	FOC-YN	focuses a yes-no question
ásé	deductive	DED	understanding of something
ásgé	reportative	REPORT	secondhand information, hearsay
*ku̲.aa ~ ku̲.ah*_T *~ k̲waa ~ k̲wa*_{SR}	contrastive	CONTR	'but', 'however'
x̲á ~ x̲áa	softening	SOFT	softens assertion, 'you see'
shéi (-DEM-*gé*)	mirative	MIR	mild surprise
gu.áa ~ gwáa	admirative	ADMIR	strong surprise
(s)dágáa	assertive	ASSERT	'indeed', 'for sure', 'certainly'
shágdé	dubitative	DUB	likelihood, 'perhaps', 'probably'
gushéi ~ kwshé	tentative	TENT	unlikelihood, 'maybe', 'I wonder'
*óosh ~ uhsh*_T	hypothetical	HYP	'if only', 'as if', 'even if'

Focus particles. All can take a demonstrative (-DEM) suffix.

	Form	Name	Gloss	Meaning
Northern	*-yá ~ -ya*	proximal	PROX	'this', 'here'
	-hé ~ -he	mesioproximal	MPRX	'this other', 'there'
	-wé ~ -we	mesiodistal	MDST	'that', 'over there'
	-yú ~ -yu	distal	DIST	'that way off', 'yonder'
Southern	*-ya ~ -yáà*	proximal	PROX	'this', 'here'
	-he ~ -héì	mesioproximal	MPRX	'this other', 'there'
	-we ~ -wéì	mesiodistal	MDST	'that', 'over there'
	-yu ~ -yóò	distal	DIST	'that way off', 'yonder'
Tongass	*-ya*	proximal	PROX	'this', 'here'
	-he	mesioproximal	MPRX	'this other', 'there'
	-we	mesiodistal	MDST	'that', 'over there'
	-yu	distal	DIST	'that way off', 'yonder'

Demonstratives (-DEM) in focus particles.

Form	Name	Meaning
tléil ~ tlél ~ hél ~ l	negative	no, not; none, not any
lí (+ *l* neg.)	prohibitive	don't; let it not be that
ilí ~ eelí ~ ihí	2nd. sg. prohib.	don't! don't you dare! stop!
*gu.aal ~ gu.ahl*ᴛ	optative	hopefully
gwál	dubitative	perhaps, maybe
*ḵashde ~ ḵashdeh*ᴛ	cogitavissive	it seemed that; I had thought
aÿáx̱	interpretive	and so; thus; that's how; right
ách	explanatory	because; that's why
*ch'a.aan*ɴ *~ ch'a.áàn*ꜱ	resumptive	however; anyway; nonetheless
x̱ach ~ ḵach *~ x̱aju ~ ḵaju*	counterfactual	actually, in fact
chaa	??	"denoting duration" (N66: 54)

Sentence-initial discourse particles.

Form	Meaning
ch'a	just, the very, simply
ch'as	only, just
ch'u	even, exactly
yéi	thus, so, as such
tlax̱	very, really, emphatically
ch'u tle	then, when (not ques.), just then
ch'u tleix̱	forever
ch'u shóogu	the same
ch'u déix̱	both
ch'u nás'k	all three
ch'a tléix'	just one
ch'a ldakát	all, every
ch'a tlákw	always, forever, continually
ch'a yóok'	suddenly, immediately, all of a sudden
ch'a g̱óot	other, different
ch'a yéi	ordinary, usual, typical, plain, just so

Prephrasal discourse particles in Northern Tlingit.

Form	Gloss	Meaning
tsá	only.then	only then, just then
tsú ~ tsóo	also	also, additionally
s'é	first	first, initially
dé ~ déi	IMM	now, immediately, this time; right now!
x'wán	HORT	be sure to (imperative or hortative verbs)
tsé	ADMON	be sure not to (admonitive verbs)

Note: *x'wán* & *tsé* cannot occur after focus particles.

Postphrasal discourse particles in Northern Tlingit.

Form			Meaning
Northern	Southern	Tongass	
tle ~ tlei	*tle*	*tleh*	just, simply, just then
de ~ dei	*de*	*deh*	already, by now
tsu ~ tsoo	*tsu*	*tsuh*	again, still, some more

Mobile (pre-/postphrasal) discourse particles.

Form	Meaning
tléix'	one
déix ~ déex	two
nás'k ~ nás'ɪ	three
daax'oon ~ daax.oon	four
keijín ~ keejínɪ	five
tleidooshú ~ tleitwooshús	six
dax.adooshú ~ dax.atwooshús	seven
nas'gadooshú ~ nas'gatwooshús	eight
gooshúḵ	nine
jinkaat	ten
jinkaat ḵa tléix'	eleven
⋮	⋮
tleiḵáa	twenty
tleiḵáa ḵa tléix'	twenty-one
⋮	⋮
nás'k jinkaat ~ tleiḵáa ḵa jinkaat	thirty
⋮	⋮
daax'oon jinkaat ~ nas'kḵáa	forty

Cardinal number examples.

No.	Times	People	At a time	Ppl. at a time	Groups
1	tledahéen	tléináx	tlék'gaa	tlék'gaanáx	tleiyeeká
2	daxdahéen	dáxnáx	dáxgaa	dáxgaanáx	daxyeeká
3	nas'gidahéen	nás'gináx	nás'gigáa	nás'gigáanáx	nas'giyeeká
4	daax'oondahéen	daax'oonínáx	daax'oongáa	daax'oongáanáx	daax'oonyeeká
5	keijindahéen	keijíniná x	keijíngaa	keijíngaanáx	keijinyeeká

Ordinal number examples.

Abbreviations

X- prefix *X*
X= proclitic *X*
-X suffix *X*
=X enclitic *X*
–X inalienable noun *X* when cited without a possessor
1, 2, 3 person
ABAQ abaquative, 'from water to shore'
ABES abessive, 'without, lacking'
ABL ablative case, 'away from, departing'
ABLIT ablitoral, 'inland from shore, back from open, off of fire'
ABMAR abmarine, 'ashore, aground, onto ground, resting'
ABS absolutive (unmarked or logically -$\emptyset$)
ABSILV absilvative, 'out of forest to shore'
ABUMB abumbrative, 'from shadow into open'
ADES adessive case, 'about, around, near, by, for'
ADLIT adlitoral preverb, 'down to shore from upland'
ADMAR admarine preverb, 'out to sea from shore, falling from sky, onto fire'
ADMIR admirative, strong surprise
ADMON admonitive, 'don't you dare; be sure not to'
ADROT adrotatory, 'turning over endwise'
AGRND aground
ALL allative case, atelic, 'to, towards'
ALT alternative, 'back and forth, to and fro'
ASSERT assertive, 'indeed, for sure, certainly'
ATTR attributive, relativizing suffix
BEN benefactive postposition, 'for, benefiting'
BASE meaningless postposition base
CFACT counterfactual, 'actually, in fact'
CL classifier: voice, valency, realis, noun class, lexical
 +D D component: middle voice or lexical
 S S component: {$\emptyset$, *s*, *l*, *sh*}; valency, noun classification, or lexical
 +I I component: realis or conjugational
COGIT cogitavissive, 'it seemed that, I had thought that'
COM comitative case, 'along with, accompanying'
COND conditional, 'if'
COPL coplural, occurs on verb stems with plural suffix
CONTR contrastive, 'but, however, nevertheless'
CMPLV completive, 'completing, finishing'

CNJ	conjugation
CTNG	contingent, 'whenever'
DEC	decessive, 'used to, was the case that'
DED	deductive, understanding reason for something
DIR	directional preverb
DIST	distal deictic or demonstrative, 'yonder'
DUB	dubitative, 'perhaps, probably'
ELAT	elative postposition, 'leaving behind'
ERR	errative, 'astray, lost, excessively'
ERG	ergative *-ch*, subject of transitive verb, agent
EXPLAN	explanatory, 'because, that's why, since'
FOC	focus
FREQ	frequentive, 'often, repeatedly, frequently'
GCNJ	*ga*-conjugation, +7
G̱CNJ	*ga*-conjugation, +7
G̱MOD	*ga*-mode prefix, +5
H	human (possessor, pronoun, pronominal object)
HAB	habitual, 'usually, always'
HORT	hortative, 'you'd better; be sure to'
HSFC	horizontal surface, 'top' (noun and incorporated noun)
HYP	hypothetical, 'if only, as if, even if'
INAL	inalienable
INAQ	inaquative, 'into water'
INCEP	inceptive, 'beginning, starting'
IND	indefinite (no explicit definite marking)
INIT	initial, 'starting, taking off'
INST	instrumental case, 'with, by, using'
INTNS	intensive, 'stronger, moreso than normal'
INVEH	invehicular, 'into vehicle'
LPRD	locative-predicate (verbless locative)
LOC	locative
MENT	mental state or activity
MDST	mesiodistal deictic or demonstrative, 'there'
MIR	mirative, mild surprise
MISS	amissive, 'missing the target'
MPRX	mesioproximal deictic or demonstrative, 'near here'
N	nonhuman (possessor, pronoun, pronominal object)
NEG	negative, 'no, not; none, not any'
NCNJ	*na*-conjugation, +5
NMZ	nominalizer

O	object
OBV	obviate (backgrounded discourse pronoun or pronominal subject)
OPT	optative, 'hopefully'
PART	partitive, 'some, one' (pronoun or pronominal)
PERL	perlative case, 'through, via, along'
PERT	pertingent case, atelic, 'in contact with, a part of, member of a set'
PFV	perfective, +4
PL	plural
PLAY	play suffix, 'playing, pretending'
PNCT	punctual case, telic, 'at a point, around a point'
PPTY	property, 'have, have the property of'
PROHIB	prohibitive, 'don't, let it not be that'
PROX	proximal deictic or demonstrative, 'here'
PRX	proximate (foregrounded discourse pronoun or pronominal object)
PSS	possessive
PURP	purposive, 'in order to do something'
PVB	preverb
Q	*wh*-question
RAD	radiative, 'giving off, making noise'
RECIP	reciprocal
REL	relative, marks verb of a relative clause
REP	repetitive, 'repeatedly, over and over'
REPORT	reportative, secondhand information, hearsay
REST	restorative, 'back into place, back to proper state'
RESUM	resumptive, 'however, anyway, nonetheless, in any case'
REV	revertive, 'aback, reversed'
ROT	rotatory, 'turning over'
RFLX	reflexive
S	subject, +2
SER	serial, 'repeatedly in sequence'
SOFT	softening, 'you see, you know'
SG	singular (1st and 2nd person only)
SIM	similative postposition, 'like, similar to'
SUB	subordinate
TENT	tentative, 'maybe, possibly, I wonder'
UNCTL	uncontrolled, 'blindly, out of control'
VAR	verb root variation; one of {-:, -', -h, -ÿ, -n}
VSFC	vertical surface, 'face' (noun and incorporated noun)
YN	yes/no-question, polar question
ZCNJ	∅-conjugation